LOWER FORT GARRY NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK:
A PERIOD LANDSCAPE STUDY
by Greg Thomas
1979
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Preface

In 1978 a team was assembled to prepare the research and pre-design phase for Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park. This history of the fort's landscape was a cooperative effort involving the support of all the team members but especially Linda Dicaire, the landscape architect; Peter Priess, the team archaeologist and David McDougall, Interpretive officer at Lower Fort Garry.

I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Ian Clarke, Laura McLauchlan and Madeleine Vachon. Finally, I would like to thank the staff at the Hudson's Bay Archives for permission to consult and quote from the archival collection in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba and also the personnel at the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to use the company's photo collection for research purposes.
Introduction

When Pierre Leblanc's work party arrived at the site for the "New" Fort Garry in the spring of 1831, it already represented a well established tradition. The Hudson's Bay Company had been involved in building trading posts in North America since 1668 when Boston seaman Zachariah Gillam and his crew entered Rupert River in James Bay, chose a site, and erected a house of upright logs, with a thatched roof of a "ranke sort of grasse growing on ye marshes; and with a cellar twelve feet deep." For more than a century, the Hudson's Bay Company built palisaded wood forts at strategic locations near the mouths of main tributaries leading into James Bay and Hudson Bay. Only once did they depart from this format when the ill fated Prince of Wales' Fort was erected in stone. Then, with the movement inland after 1774 in competition with the Canadian traders, the Hudson's Bay Company extended their trading operations within palisaded enclosures at the seasonal assembly points of the Indian bands. At the height of this competition with the North West Company, post crowded post on the site, or attempted to cut off rival trade by locating further along the main approaches.

The choice of site and the design of early trading posts rested upon four main considerations: defence, trade, shelter and the local environment. After 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company was increasingly influenced in its various site selections by the accessibility of building materials and fort location vis à vis the transportation and trading networks. The debate over the location of Lower Fort Garry is well known. The original Fort Garry at the junction of the Red and
Assiniboine, once known as Fort Gibralter II, had been ruined in the flood of 1826. In Governor Simpson's opinion, a new site down river provided an excellent opportunity to erect "a good solid establishment at once of stone and lime, in such a situation to be entirely out of the reach of high water...(which) would facilitate any extensive operations connected with craft and transport which may hereafter be enter into." Aside from its strategic potential for the operation of the fur trade, the new stone fort would also serve as a comfortable family retreat for Simpson and his young bride Frances, far removed from the business of the Red River settlement where "not a wife can sell her butler nor a farmer his grain without an audience with the Governor." Yet, within three years of its conception in 1830, Lower Fort Garry's future was in jeopardy. Mrs. Simpson withdrew from the colony following the death of their son, and a depressed Sir George Simpson succumbed to the pressure to rebuild Fort Garry at the forks as the administrative headquarters of the fur trade. The Lower Fort was completely downgraded and even the agricultural function was withdrawn when the Hudson's Bay Company's experimental farm was located several miles up the Assiniboine River near the mouth of Sturgeon Creek. Nevertheless, the geographical location of Lower Fort Garry, and the potential of its landscape to support subsidiary roles in the operation of the fur trade, ensured the stone fort's survival. The next one hundred years would see the fort's structures and landscapes adapted and transformed to act as a trading post, transhipment centre, agricultural-industrial complex, penitentiary-asylum, motor country club, and ultimately, a National Historic park.

The course of these functional adaptations was reflected in the evolution of the historical landscape at Lower Fort Garry. The term "landscape" requires careful definition, particularly when it is considered within an historical context. In one sense, "landscape" can be viewed as a "mental construct"
a view or vista of scenery or land interpreted in written form or by a visual means such as a painting or photograph. "Landscape" can also depict a more developed state or condition; for instance, a garden landscape implies the introduction of a piece of ground by contouring the land and planting flowers, shrubs or trees. A study of an historic landscape must attempt to identify the physical nature of the landscape while integrating the varying perceptions of that environment during each historical period. For example, it is not enough simply to determine the physical location and the dimensions of the flower beds around the Big House. The larger questions surrounding the introduction of horticulture at the remote fur trade posts in the mid 19th century must be examined as well. Similarly, the Hudson's Bay Company hierarchy finally decided to expand the agricultural farm at Lower Fort Garry. It is just as important to understand the nature of agricultural experimentation in the 19th century as it is to identify the precise alterations to the landscape that such a decision entailed.

The various occupations of Lower Fort Garry complicate the identification and analysis of the successive historic landscapes. Even when the Hudson's Bay Company was the principal occupant, Lower Fort Garry was in a constant state of flux. Initially designed as an administrative and warehousing facility, the site's potential for field agriculture and livestock was already well known. What had begun as a fairly traditional Hudson's Bay Company post landscape became an extensive field operation covering a large area outside the confines of the stone walls. Then in the 1870s the company curtailed its operation and the human impact on the surrounding landscape retreated accordingly.

The historical ecology and landscape of Lower Fort Garry and its environs have been in a state of constant change since 1830. This process has been exaggerated by the fact that the
Stone fort was a working environment throughout most of its history. Only within the fences of the Big House did the fur traders make a consistent effort to control the landscape and to re-create some familiar aspects of their old surroundings. Consequently, in order to deal effectively with the various landscape features at Lower Fort Garry, this study adopts, in part, the methodology utilized by Ian Clarke in his landscape study of Motherwell Historic Park, and to a lesser extent the approach of historical geographer W. Scace in his period landscape history of Fort Walsh National Historic Park. The latter study concentrates on the historical ecology and landscape of the Fort Walsh area in the period from 1870-1883. Scace, as a geographer, was particularly interested in the changes in landscape which may have resulted from human action. He concentrated on the physical components of the park landscape such as vegetation, wildlife, trails, buildings and miscellaneous artifacts. While Scace recognized man's perception of the landscape at different periods of time as an important variable, Clarke, benefitting from a more precisely defined area and a series of oral interviews, was able to analyse the Motherwell landscape in a more lucid and comprehensive manner. Clarke divided the Motherwell farm into a series of smaller landscapes associated with particular structures or landscape features. Through these divisions the natural processes and human activities which influenced the site can be traced through an analysis of the appearance of the landscape at different chronological periods, the agents that brought about changes, and the procedures that might be introduced to restore the Park Landscape to its condition during a particular period.

Organic landscapes by their very nature are always changing, unlike the built environment which usually maintains a more fixed presence. Lower Fort Garry represents a particularly dynamic landscape. A Hudson's Bay Company post was
more than a simple mercantile operation. It was a community of individuals who both worked and lived in the immediate environment. This close relationship of the company employee with the site, magnified, and to a certain degree, accelerated the human impact upon the landscape.

This history of the Lower Fort Garry landscape will depend upon a re-evaluation of the traditional sources and previous historical studies in conjunction with current interdisciplinary resources. An archaeology programme has been carried out at Lower Fort Garry since 1962.9 There have been excavations in all areas of the fort to investigate the location of most major buildings. Further excavations have been carried out in aid of reconstruction, while some have been done in support of other forms of site development not necessarily involving building location. The excavations and other archaeological activities have investigated the location and nature of major building remains, the nature of some outbuildings, the accumulated soil layers at numerous locations in and around the fort, and a large quantity and variety of artifacts related to the buildings and soil layers. The archaeological record, therefore, forms a major framework for the analysis of the Lower Fort Garry landscape. Without the archaeologist's systematic identification of the landscape resources, the historian is too dependent upon historical accounts and comparative material from other Hudson's Bay Company posts. Of course, comparative studies also provide valuable insights into the evolution of historic landscapes. The company's post journals detailed the operation and activities of each establishment on a daily and seasonal basis. Unfortunately, only one Lower Fort Garry post journal has survived for the period, 1868-1874.10 Consequently, other more fully documented company posts such as Norway House and York Factory have been used to illustrate certain landscape features and influences. Fortunately, by the 19th century the Hudson's Bay Company was following many standard procedures
with regard to the operation of their trading establishments. This apparent uniformity of structured and business like methods lends some credence to the comparative approach.

The other invaluable interdisciplinary resource is the landscape architect. The architect's familiarity with the physical characteristics of landscape such as the vegetation and topography acts as an important qualifying influence upon the historical documentation. In 1972 restoration landscape architect John Stewart prepared maintenance guidelines and restoration drawings for the area including the Engineer's Cottage, Fraser House and Blacksmith shop. Stewart was primarily concerned with the lack of cohesion between the three historic buildings and their immediate landscape. In his opinion, "their relationship to the land, to each other and to the fort is non-existent." This disfunction could only be remedied by restoring the original road and path system in this area while adapting it to visitor circulation as well as introducing a maintenance program which reflected 19th century land use.

Stewart's landscape maintenance guidelines for the Engineer's Cottage and environs were a beginning. In 1978 a multi-disciplinary team was established to research and reconstruct the appearance and characteristics of the Lower Fort Garry Historic Park landscape at significant points in the site's history. This historical study is a response to the broader mandate of the project team. Without a careful analysis of the fort's historic landscape, the introduction of a period landscape to complement the restored structures would certainly lack credibility. The report is an attempt to trace the evolution of the historical landscape at Lower Fort Garry, with particular emphasis upon its occupation by the Hudson's Bay Company from 1830 to 1875.
On June 11, 1830 two canoes made their way down the Red River from Fort Garry. The passengers included Governor and Frances Simpson, as well as the two company officers in charge of the Red River district, Donald McKenzie and Duncan Finlayson. Before they parted company with McKenzie that afternoon, Governor Simpson has selected the site of a new establishment to be known as Lower Fort Garry. Frances Simpson described the location as "a beautiful spot on a gentle elevation, surrounded by wood, and commanding a fine view of the river."\(^1\)

Over the next 20 years Governor Simpson's chosen location gradually assumed the appearance of a prosperous Hudson's Bay Company trading operation. The Big House and Retail Store were followed by the stone warehouse, various outbuildings and, eventually, by the stone wall that defined the primary boundaries of Lower Fort Garry. Throughout this period, the state of the landscape was generally dependent upon the Company's vacillating policy. Regrettably, this early period in Lower Fort Garry's history is not well documented. There are no post journals describing daily influences on the landscape nor are there any surviving plans, sketches or photographs. Only through Company documents and contemporary descriptions, can the development of the fort between 1830 and 1845 be traced.

After the destruction of Fort Garry at the Red-Assiniboine junction in the disastrous flood of 1826 Simpson located the new Fort above a 35 foot river bank several miles
below St. Andrew's rapids in what is classified geographically as a Central Lowland Landscape area. The bank was actually a low river levee, composed of black soil over fine-textured Red River clay. The clay is a thirty-five to forty foot thick calcareous lacustrine deposit containing scattered granite and dolomitic limestone boulders. Preliminary investigators of the fort site have questioned why the main establishment was not built closer to the nearby creek where there was easier access to the river and a wider belt of well-drained land. But Simpson was not basing his location of the main buildings on a sophisticated analysis of the landscape. He merely attempted to meet the major requirements for a company establishment. The high location presented a sweeping view both up and down the river as well as immunity from the flood waters of the Red. The ready availability of stone and lime would encourage the eventual construction of solid stone structures, while the stands of scrub oak, poplar, and spruce would provide the initial building material as well as protection from the winter winds. Simpson held a distinct prejudice against "tottering wooden buildings" and was largely responsible for the Company's extensive use of stone during his tenure.

The construction of the first two buildings at Lower Fort Garry did not gain momentum until the summer of 1831 when Pierre Leblanc moved to the site with the "McKenzie River men and recruits" and began work on the Big House. It is generally assumed that Simpson drew up the plans for the fort himself. In a letter to his colleague and close friend John McTavish, Simpson bragged that if "the plan I have begun be followed up it will be a respectable and comfortable establishment." In the 18th century, detailed plans of new establishments had to be submitted to the London Governor and Committee for approval. After 1821, this process was modified to allow greater latitude in the field, although
the London hierarchy maintained its interest in control of building expenses while sacrificing its control over design.

In 1832 Henry Hulse Berens, a newcomer to the fur trade but an educated observer nevertheless, described Lower Fort Garry as being similar to the plan of York Factory since it arched in a "crescent like fashion towards the river forming three sides of a square" with the "living house" dominating the centre. Berens' reference to York Factory is interesting. The Factory was the Company's major depot in Rupert's Land, and was undergoing a major change in the 1830s. Instead of the complex octagonal shaped layout introduced by Joseph Colen in 1790s, the Company was now leaning toward the construction of a main house which dominated the centre of the fort with support buildings flanking the central structure and forming a quadrangle.

During the preliminary construction phase the chief factor or trader, in conjunction with his most experienced tradesman, sketched the general outline of the building locations in relation to one another. The dimensions of the buildings were sometimes included. Donald Ross, chief trader at Norway House, sent such a plan to Simpson in 1831, showing the location of the existing buildings with the proposed additions and alterations marked in red ink. Obviously the security factor which so influenced the design of Hudson's Bay Company posts in the 18th century had been virtually abandoned by 1830. Ross's plan for Norway House was motivated principally by his desire to separate the dwelling houses from the stores and warehouses "for the convenience" and "even for the safety of the place." The proposed magazine was totally isolated from the main plantation and buildings. Other plans produced in this period show a similar tendency toward a clear division between the areas committed to living accommodation for the employees and those devoted to the working operation of the post. One of the important implications such functional segregation had for the post was the
potential for individual officers to control and develop the landscape to their own taste.

Lower Fort Garry was a full fledged construction site by the summer of 1831. The impact on the landscape was immediate. To allow for the foundations of the Big House and retail store Leblanc's men had to clear the land of underbrush and trees. Access to the site also had to be provided. Most of the building materials arrived on the river, and a track from the river bank to the Big House would have been necessary.

One can safely assume that Leblanc's men cleared enough land to allow for the transportation and storage of building materials as well as the construction of temporary living quarters. The Hudson's Bay Company's wariness of fire probably forced Leblanc's crew to dig out the stumps and trees. Certainly that was the process followed at Norway House and Fort Edmonton when those two building sites were being prepared. Because Simpson had decided to erect "solid substantial buildings of stone and lime," a stone quarry was also required. According to Henry Berens' 1832 description of the lower fort site, the first stone quarry was situated "immediately in front of the house on the River side." A lime kiln was probably also built at this early date but its original location is not known. The remains of a later kiln, constructed on the south bank of the creek, have been identified and recorded by the archaeologists.

Although one cannot trace the initial construction process precisely, it obviously altered the natural landscape from its pre-occupation state. The stone quarry on the river bank meant the vegetation and tree cover had to be removed and a track laid down for the hauling of stone. As most of the building material and tools as well as the men's supplies were sent down from old Fort Garry, a landing place for the company's boats was also essential. Throughout its history, the main landing area has been at the mouth of the creek south
of the fort, and a well defined track, identified by the archaeologists during their 1966 excavations, ran up the slope from the creek, in front of the Engineers Cottage and continued toward the east gate of the main establishment. A possible secondary location for the early landing area is at the foot of the pathway leading to the river bank immediately north of the North-East Bastion. The route is identified by Robert Watson's 1926 map as a "pathway leading down to River for Watering Cattle," the slope of the bank is steeper here, but it was at least closer to the early buildings. Another possible landing stage identified by the archaeologists lay immediately south of the eventual location of the south-east Bastion.

The scale of clearing for the landing and the first buildings is open to speculation. Traditionally, the heavy consumption of wood for fuel and building purposes required the company to denude the immediate landscape of all substantial trees. Today, isolated stands of scrub oak, poplar and willow can be seen west of the site while north and south of the park stunted oak, poplar, willow and elm grow with the occasional white spruce situated along the river bank. In the creek bed south of the fort, comparatively large elm and oak grow, possibly due to the richer soils provided by flood deposits. These are all doubtless later stands given the thoroughness of the woodsmen.

Pioneer Surveyor Henry Youle Hind prepared a "Plan of Selkirk Settlement" in 1858 which identifies the general zones of vegetation. For the Lower Fort Garry area, Hind noted that the area east of the Red River contained small aspen woods, oak, elm, and maple while the western side was characterized as "light aspen woods." His evaluation is confirmed in part by George Finlay who sketched Lower Fort Garry during his residency as a member of the Sixth Regiment of Foot, the British military contingent garrisoned at the stone fort from 1846 to 1848. In Finlay's sketches of
Plan of Selkirk Settlement from H.Y. Hind's Survey, 1857-58 (Manitoba Archives). This was the earliest map of the Red River area to identify the initial road system as well as topographic features.
View of sail boats on Red River upstream from the Lower Fort, 1847, by George E. Finlay (Glenbow-Alberta Institute). Note the heavy open forest on both river banks south of Lower Fort Garry.
the distillery-cottage area and the view of the fort from the east side of the river, the area around and west of the main buildings is clear of foliage. The land south of the creek and the land on the east side of the river are heavily forested; probably with elm, oak and Manitoba Maple. A detailed description of the early landscape in the 1830s has not been discovered. The petulant Englishman Henry Berens remembered "the view up and down the river" but was disappointed by the tree cover of "aspen trees or poplar which had a very still appearance."^21

Pierre Leblanc, the "Conductor of Works," probably ordered the removal of the trees and foliage in the main building area to allow for easier access and to provide fuel and building material. The local poplar stands would have served above-ground building conditions but, according to archaeologist James Chism, it is unlikely that the oak in the immediate area would have been large enough for foundations and heavy stress members in anything but very small structures.^22 The oak timbers used for the beams in the Big House and Retail Store were probably rafted down the Red River from the more heavily wooded areas near the forks.

As Leblanc and his men proceeded with the construction of the Big House and Retail Store they were confronted by a perennial problem at most Hudson's Bay Company posts—drainage. At the company's posts on Hudson's Bay during the 18th century, poor drainage systems and an inability to cope with permafrost caused erosion which undermined the building foundations and wooden stockades.^23 Leblanc did not face drainage and erosion problems of this magnitude but some form of drainage was required for the excess water on the north-west side of the Big House. There is no documentary record or archaeological evidence of how Leblanc may have dealt with this problem. At Norway House, where considerable construction was also underway in 1830-31, the officer in charge, Donald Ross, had large quantities of gravel laid down around the buildings.
Open trenches were dug in the garden "for drawing the water" from that area which was surrounded by stockades. At York Factory by the 1830s, every new building had a drainage system which led ultimately to the Hayes River. Built for reasons of sanitation as well as maintenance, the York Factory drains were both "open" and "closed." The closed drains were fitted with a pine frame and then earth filled. Inevitably, this total drainage system, with some sections running more than two hundred feet, required regular maintenance. At York Factory the open drains were cleaned after the spring thaw and again in the autumn after the supply ships and brigade boats had departed.

Simpson Residence at Lower Fort Garry
Governor and Mrs. Simpson moved to Lower Fort Garry in the fall of 1832 and took up residency in the Big House. Although the lower fort was said to be "in a state of forwardness" it probably lacked much in finished detail, and certainly did not have the many buildings and facilities that would grace the compound by the 1860s. As historian George Ingram has hypothesized, the grounds around the buildings probably presented a dreary landscape for like any construction site, they were bare of foliage, and were dominated by piles of construction material. As the Simpson's stay at Lower Fort Garry only lasted until the summer of 1833 it is doubtful that they personally introduced any major changes to the landscape.

The previous year had been difficult for Mrs. Simpson. She had lost her first born, in the spring of 1832, and she had no close friends in Red River. During their stay at the stone fort, however, there appears to have been some socializing with fetes, horse racing on the frozen river, and the Governor and his lady riding throughout the settlement in their colourful carriole. These social activities, and the wide administrative responsibilities now centered at the
View of Lower Fort Garry from the opposite bank, 1847, by George E. Finlay. (Glenbow-Alberta Institute).

Landscape features emphasized in the sketch include the steep banks with sparse vegetation, the clumps of trees west and north of the fort walls and the flagpole located in the area of the North-East Bastion.
Lower Fort Garry, required horses for transportation and the horses required a stable. Erected somewhere in the vicinity of the two main buildings, its location, like the other support structures built in the early 1830s, has not been conclusively identified. Before the 1840s when the walls and bastions were constructed, the boundaries of the lower fort were not as pronounced and there was no clear distinction between the inner compound and the ground south of the fort.

The Simpsons left Red River in June 1833. Thomas Simpson remained in residence as the chief clerk and Pierre Leblanc continued to oversee development of the fort. In the fall of 1833-34 Thomas Simpson was inspired to write that "we are exceedingly comfortable here this season," but the Lower Fort was proving less than ideal for the company's administration depot. Alexander Christie, who arrived in 1834 as chief factor for the Red River district and Governor or Assiniboia, was required to travel to the forks regularly to tend to the administrative duties of the colony. This constant commuting was both tiring and time-consuming. It was not surprising, therefore, that upon Simpson's return to Red River later in 1834, he was urged to readopt the forks as the natural administrative centre for the company's operation. Simpson reluctantly agreed and by the following summer, the construction of Upper Fort Garry had commenced.

This decision had immediate repercussions for Lower Fort Garry. As the senior company officer, Alexander Christie had to move back to the forks. The ambitious building program was halted. "A large granary and provision store," planned for construction in the summer of 1834, was delayed indefinitely. Improvements to the grounds were no longer necessary. Despite this downgrading, however, the Lower Fort continued to perform an important service role. The retail store remained open for the benefit of the local settlers. By 1835 the Hudson's Bay Company had two schooners travelling the route from Norway House to Lower Fort Garry, and, as the two
vessels, The George and The Alexander, could only navigate the St. Andrew's rapids during the spring highwater, the outfits were usually unloaded at the lower fort and placed in the saleshop. The recognition of the lower fort as a transshipment location meant the company had to maintain and develop one or all of the three potential landing areas.

There may also have been some additional construction at Lower Fort Garry during the mid 1830s. In 1839 the company's clerk at Red River made a rare inventory of articles in use; rare in the sense that it delineated the articles for each structure. In addition to the Big House and the Retail Store/Fur loft, the separate structures in use by 1839 included the "Ice House," "old kitchen," "carpenter shop," "men's house," "stables" and "hay yard." None of the archaeological surveys have determined the precise locations of these early facilities. The ice house, later permanently ensconced in the South-East Bastion, may have been located near the river, the major source of ice that was cut in large blocks during January and February and hauled to the ice house by sleighs. It is also possible that the ice house was the spruce wood structure that is located to the west of the Retail Store/Fur Loft in the Finlay sketches.

The "old kitchen" may have been built west or north of the Big House to serve Leblanc and his men. It was the traditional place for the officer's summer kitchen and because of the constant threat of fire, the company preferred to isolate the cooking facilities whenever possible. The kitchens built at York Factory in the 18th century were actually outside the palisades.

The carpenter's shop is very interesting. While it may only have been another room partitioned off from the Sales Shop, there is also some speculative evidence that it may have been located in the north-west corner of the fort. In the Finlay sketch of the northwest corner of the fort and in H.L. Hime's 1858 photograph of the Big House a one storey
frame building appears in the area west of the Stone Warehouse but east of the eventual construction of the North West Bastion. That particular site has never been excavated in its entirety nor has there been an opportunity to identify the exact location, dimensions, and foundation details of this unidentified building. Such work may indicate the presence of a carpenter's shop.

The existence of the "hay yard" in 1839 foreshadowed the development of the agricultural complex at Lower Fort Garry. Simpson had always considered it to be an ideal location for a Company farm. In 1838, two years after the ill-fated experimental farm had been established on the Assiniboine, Simpson speculated about the lower fort's agricultural potential:

As it is intended the Farming operations shall be on a large scale, I think it will be necessary to have two Establishments, instead of one; i.e. one at the Forks and the other at the stone fort... For various reasons, I think that [the lower fort] will in due time become the Principal Farming Establishment as the pasture is more rich and abundant in that Neighbourhood than anywhere else with dry ridges that may with little labour be cleared of the willows & underwood, so as to become peculiarly well adapted for sheepwalks.

By 1841 the Assiniboine experimental farm had been abandoned and the Superintendent, George Cary, was allowed to take over part of the farm as a private concern. Instead of instituting an agricultural programme at the lower fort, however, the Company shied away from large scale farming for more than a decade. Nevertheless, Simpson's awareness of Lower Fort Garry's agricultural potential had important implications for the fort landscape. For one thing, it encouraged the Company to maintain and expand their land reserve on the east side of the river and on both sides of the fort compound. Any applications for land on the reserve either from company personnel or local settlers were rejected.

Descriptions of the landscape during the late 1830s and
early 1840s are rare and not particularly enlightening. In 1839 Adam Thom, the first Recorder of Rupert's Land, moved his family into the Big House. Although he was not popular with many Red River settlers, and particularly the Métis, his residency at Lower Fort Garry did bring the stone fort back into the mainstream of Red River society. Unfortunately, Thom's voluminous correspondence is almost totally devoid of commentary about fort activities. In 1840 he wrote to George Simpson thanking the Governor for the horses and mentioning that Mrs. Thom frequently rode in the neighbourhood, which explains the continued need for the stables.

On the other hand there is no indication that Mrs. Thom was interested in gardening or similar pursuits. When Isobel Finlayson, Frances Simpson's sister, arrived at the lower fort in 1840 she was surprised by its deteriorating condition:

little or no change has taken place since my sister left it, the large old dwelling house built of stone, which must have been cold and comfortless, even in its best days, was standing just as in her time, but it looked old and dilapidated as well as the buildings around it. But various changes are now in contemplation, dwelling houses and stores very different to the former ones are to be erected which will render it necessary to pull down some of the old buildings for they will not correspond with their new ones.43

Like most British travellers who recorded their observations and impressions of Rupert's Land in the mid 19th century, Isobel Finlayson was critical of the human impact on the landscape. She noted that throughout the Red River Settlement the houses displayed a "cold and naked appearance as scarcely a tree or shrub has been left standing near them."44 H.L. Hime's photographs taken in 1857 and 1858, only reinforce Finlayson's appraisal of the "bleak" Red River landscape, as the early settlers cleared the land indiscriminately for crops, building material, and fuel. The European concept
of the picturesque landscape garden had not yet taken hold in Red River.

Finlayson's references to a revived period of building at Lower Fort Garry were not without foundation. It was very unusual for the Hudson's Bay Company not to have some form of palisade or stockade around their establishments. Therefore, it is possible that the early buildings at the lower fort were surrounded by a temporary structure. But in 1838 Simpson decided to put the lower fort "in a defencible [sic] state," implying that if the fort had been palisaded during its first decade, it was not sufficient to repel an armed attack. The Governor instructed Christie to get,

stone quarried and hauled so as to form a strong wall round that establishment with flancking [sic] bastions for protection, the wall to be of sufficient extent to enclose a square of which the main house and the river were to form two sides, and the stores already noticed with a range of buildings opposite to form the other two sides... The construction of the walls only began in 1841 when two Scottish stone masons, Duncan McRae and John Clouston, were free to supervise the project. Even then, progress was abysmally slow and only with the appearance of the Sixth Regiment of Foot in 1846 was there sufficient free manpower to accelerate the process. In 1848 when building was completed, the fort enclosure was approximately 450 feet square, enclosing an area of nearly four and one-half acres. This was large for a Hudson's Bay Company establishment, particularly one that did not perform a major role in the fur trade. Nevertheless, the decision to construct the loopholed walls was a significant transition in terms of the Lower Fort Garry landscape. It defined the boundaries of the inner landscape and segregated the functions of the fort. The construction of the bastions, for instance, allowed the company to isolate certain functions such as cold storage, munitions security, and baking that may have been outside the main "plantation" initially.

The walls and bastions were not the only new structures under construction in the early 1840s. The stone warehouse
contemplated as early as 1834 for the north side of the compound was completed and in service by 1844. In 1840, an annex or "addition" had already been added to the west side of the Big House. Connected to the old part of the first floor and basement levels, the annex was constructed of colombage pierrote or wood framing with rubble masonry fill. In terms of architectural style and building techniques this was a considerable departure from the solid stone construction of the Retail Store, Warehouse and main section of the Big House.

The establishment of a distillery at Lower Fort Garry during these years was a continual source of debate. As early as 1831 the costly importation of spirits for trading and for consumption by the Company's servants led Simpson to consider the establishment of a local source of supply. When the first proposal failed, Simpson continued to nurture the idea, and in 1837 the Governor and Committee selected the Red River Settlement as the site. Only the upper and lower forts were considered for the distillery's location. Of these Simpson favoured the latter because of its isolation and safety from flooding. Only the lack of an adequate fresh water supply at the lower fort served to temper his enthusiasm. He expressed his reservations to Christie in the summer of 1837:

In regard to the Distillery, I think it should be established at the Lower Fort if water can be obtained by sinking a well or in any other way, and in the course of winter before proceeding with the buildings, I would recommend your ascertaining that fact by boring down to the level of the river where I think there can be no doubt that water would be found. In the event of no water being found there, I am quite at a loss where to recommend the Distillery being placed.

Apparently, they could not locate the water table at Lower Fort Garry and ten days later Simpson recommended that the upper fort be selected. Shortly thereafter, in spite of the extensive preparations, the plans for the distillery were
cancelled indefinitely.

Water problems appear to have plagued Lower Fort Garry throughout its history. There is no evidence which identifies the existence of a well at the site although a spring in the vicinity of the creek may have provided some fresh water for the fort inhabitants. Certainly, the Red River was an increasingly hazardous source for drinking water as the settlers upstream were in the habit of dumping refuse and manure in the river, particularly during the cold seasons. The creek itself was the logical alternative. Since the construction of the nearby highway the creek has flowed only during spring run-off, but the earlier presence of the Company's steampowered mill over the creek indicates a reasonably persistent water course before the existence of major roadway in the area. Conceivably reservoir dams were placed on the creek but if so they would have been temporary or makeshift since no evidence of them remains. Of course the safest supply of drinking water would have come from the ubiquitous rain barrel.

After nearly a decade of delay, the construction of a distillery and a malt barn at Lower Fort Garry finally gained the approval of the company hierarchy and the Council of Assiniboia. Only one month after the Council's decision in June, 1845, Christie informed Simpson that the construction had started on "the creek immediately above the lower fort." They excavated the bank "to a considerable depth," but the company's workers were delayed by the engineering difficulty of pumping water "somewhat more that 24 feet in height." This was accomplished with a common pump powered by oxen. Work continued into the fall and winter of 1845. In December, Christie made a progress report:

We are proceeding with the preparatory erections for the Distillery at the lower fort, and the houses will be ready for receiving Barley before the first March next, but the entire works cannot be completed before next autumn.
But as early as July Simpson was able to make reference to the "distillery and malting house lately erected near the Lower Fort." For one of the rare occasions in its history, work was completed ahead of schedule at Lower Fort Garry.

The construction of the distillery/brewery and the malt house in 1845-46 had important implications for the landscape. Along with the nearby cottage on the north side of the creek the new buildings formed the nucleus of the industrial complex which later included a Miller's house, a Grist mill, a Saw mill, a Grain Flailing Building and several smaller structures such as the lime and malt kilns as well as a root house. This creation of an "industrial park" allowed the company to reserve a greater portion of the inner plantation for the domestic and recreational use of the officers and servants. The warehouse and Retail Store basically served only storage and administrative functions; and only the bakehouse in the North-West Bastion could be considered a cottage industry occupation similar to those concentrated on the creek.

Clearly, the creek had been serviceable enough to attract the entire industrial mode of the Company's operation. There is no evidence to indicate any structural presence on the land directly north of the main site between 1835 and 1845. Yet the 1839 inventory identified a local "hay yard" and the fort must have had a large vegetable garden. To ensure the health of company servants and to reduce the quantities of provisions imported from Europe, garden seeds and seeds of the English staple grains had been sent out to Hudson's Bay as early as 1674. Although they eventually abandoned their attempt to make the Bayside posts agriculturally self-sufficient, the London Committee continued to regard gardening as an important enterprise throughout the 18th century.

When the Hudson's Bay Company moved inland, the over-extension of the transportation and supply network necessitated the establishment of vegetable gardens at inland
posts. Seeds were imported from London and distributed to the interior with the annual outfits. Once the agricultural base in the Red River settlement began to stabilize in the 1820s, the company establishments there began to develop vegetable seeds for distribution throughout Rupert's Land. For instance, the Donald Ross papers contain a list of garden seeds packed at Red River for distribution in 1837 which includes Early Red and Dwarf Cabbage, carrots, curled cress, white and Hammersmith lettuce, mustard, onions, radishes, prickling and round spinach, and swedish turnips. A more complete list of garden seeds available at Upper Fort Garry in 1834-1836 provides a more comprehensive record of the variety of vegetables grown in Red River by the 1830s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Red Beets</th>
<th>Cucumbers</th>
<th>Mustard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buttersea Cabbage</td>
<td>Rye Grass</td>
<td>Deptford Onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwarf Cabbage</td>
<td>Clover Grass</td>
<td>Witch Onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Cabbage</td>
<td>Pot Herbs</td>
<td>Parsley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early York Cabbage</td>
<td>Scotch Kale</td>
<td>Early Peas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple Brocoli</td>
<td>Sea Kale</td>
<td>Salmon Radishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Brocoli</td>
<td>Leek</td>
<td>Turnip Radishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cauliflower</td>
<td>Green Coss Lettuce</td>
<td>Early White Turnips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrots</td>
<td>Marseilles Lettuce</td>
<td>Dutch Turnips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celery</td>
<td>Mangel Wortzel</td>
<td>Lapland Turnips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cress</td>
<td>Melon</td>
<td>Stone White Turnips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow Turnips</td>
<td>Savoy</td>
<td>Wheat Seeds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The location of the garden within the fort complex varied from post to post. In Joseph Colen's grandiose plan for York Factory which he sent to London in 1787, the garden was to occupy the entire outer courtyard while no garden plots were indicated outside the outer stockades. Nineteenth century plans such as W. Vavasour's 1846 plans of Fort Carlton on the Saskatchewan River and Fort Ellice on Beaver Creek near the Assiniboine River illustrated well-defined fields and gardens outside the fort walls or pickets. In fact, movement of the garden beyond the inner fort area...
appears to have been fairly common after 1821 although the gardens continued to be enclosed by some form of fence or stockade. The increasing presence of livestock, the attraction of wild animals and the tendency of local settlers and Indians to steal vegetables were all good reasons for the Hudson's Bay Company to continue the practice. At Norway House the erection of the garden stockades was a major task. Trenches were dug, ribbons laid, and then birch slabs firmly placed in the ground.\textsuperscript{67} By the time three labourers had completed the garden stockades on June 8, 1831, two thousand slabs had been used to enclose a large plot in order to accommodate the main potato crop as well as the other varieties.

More importantly, where was the fort's first vegetable garden? Watson identifies the area immediately north of the North-West Bastion as the vegetable garden during the penitentiary period. Certainly that would have been an excellent location for a garden plot during the company's occupancy. It was level, well drained and removed from the main working and living compound and given the natural tendency to work already friable soil it is reasonable to assume that one garden merely succeeded another.

The introduction of gardens, stables, hay yards and other facilities all required a certain degree of maintenance. At most Hudson's Bay Company posts, the officer in charge introduced a cleanup programme into the seasonal duties of the labourers. In the spring, drains were cleared and rubbish and wood chips were removed from the "plantation." At Lower Fort Garry there is evidence that refuse was dumped into the river, buried in trash pits or discarded in latrines; the latter becoming a scatalogical mother lode.

Later in the year, after the boat brigades had gotten underway in early June, the servants were available for any major maintenance or rebuilding work. This included the replacement of stockades and fences, the construction of new structures, stockpiling wood, and other related occupations.
There are references to the men "mowing the grass" at York Factory in September, 1839.\textsuperscript{69} Apparently, the grasses were cut to reduce the risk of brush fires and the ground around the haystacks was burnt, also as a fire preventative. In the fall, the major tasks were the storage of boats and canoes for the winter, and the stockpiling of wood in the vicinity of the main living quarters. In the case of Lower Fort Garry, the location of the woodpiles can only be speculated upon but the areas west of the Big House, and against the west wall behind the Men's house were logical locations. A woodpile may also have been required for the Retail Store/fur loft building.

The Lower Fort Garry landscape probably supported several minor structures and outbuildings which do not appear in the documentary and archaeological sources for Lower Fort Garry but were common features at other 19th century Hudson's Bay Company posts. Fish racks were one such item. Fish nets were set in the Red and in the creek by Indians and company employees\textsuperscript{71} and the annual catch served as a staple of the men's diet. Consequently the fort required a process for splitting and drying the fish and an adequate system of storage. The ice house was a potential storage area although there is some question as to the propriety of storing meat and fish together. Eric Krause's study of the Hudson's Bay Company fisheries at Fort Chipewyan includes a description of the drying and smoking process.\textsuperscript{72} Once the fish were filleted they were,

thrown over a stage of 4-inch poles, high enough to be out of reach of dogs and small children; the fillets hand down on one side, the backbone on the other. They are left here about three days, after which they are removed to similar racks in a smoke-tent or house, where a poplarwood fire smoulders on the floor.\textsuperscript{73}

While the presence of a smokehouse at Lower Fort Garry is doubtful due to the availability of fish and the preference
of the men for a "fresh catch," the possible location of fish racks somewhere on the grounds should not be dismissed.

While a fish rack or stage may or may not have been in use at the Lower fort, it is certain that a flagpole was erected at Lower Fort Garry shortly after its foundation. A common feature at Hudson's Bay Company posts, the location and style of the Lower Fort Garry flagpole is a source of debate. According to the Watson Map, the former position of the company's flagpole was the south-east corner of the fenced area around the Big House. Yet, George Finlay's "View of Lower Fort Garry from the opposite bank," sketched in 1847, shows the flagpole towering over the north-east side of the fort. There is no pictorial evidence of a flagpole near the Big House until the Wolseley expedition to the lower fort in 1871. A sketch of the fort during their occupation shows a wooden flagpole supported by three pegged wires in the south-east corner of the fenced area around the Big House. The flag was still in that location in the early 1880s.

Other necessary structures in the Lower Fort of the 1830s included both latrines and water closets. A "verandah privy" was discovered against the south wall in 1966 but the rubbish recovered and the scatalogical analysis strongly suggest that it dated from the 1880s or 1890s. A troop latrine was located by the archaeologists directly south of the retail store/fur loft. The dated ceramic objects from strata below the upper layer ranged through almost every period of the fort's history, with a particular concentration and the earliest representations from the period between 1846 and 1867. This latrine was possibly built to serve the Sixth Regiment of Foot who used the retail store as a barracks. It is possible that an earlier latrine was associated with the first Men's House but its location is unknown.

The daily routine of Hudson's Bay Company servants was regulated by a large bell which rang throughout the day to signify meals and changes of activity. Robert Watson's Map
of Lower Fort Garry locates the bell beside the walkway leading to the east entrance of the Big House. The first reference to the existence of a fort bell is clerk William Lane's August, 1854 description of a day in the life of Lower Fort Garry which began at "five o'clock when the Fort Bell rings the men to work." A large bell tower was constructed against the south wall immediately southwest of the retail store but its precise date of construction is not known. It does not appear in the Hime photographs or Finlay sketches but it is clearly visible behind the new sales shop in a photograph taken by Dr. Robert Bell in the 1878-1880 period.

By 1845 most of the traditional features of a 19th century Hudson's Bay Company trading post were intact and in operation at Lower Fort Garry. The Big House and its flanking stone warehouses dominated the central compound. Auxiliary structures such as the original men's house, carpenter's shop and ice house were located nearby. Essentially, the landscape reflected the lower fort's major commitment to a retail and transhipment role. As yet, there was little evidence of the agricultural development west and north of the fort and the industrial complex south of the fort by the creek. Despite the brief residence of the Simpson's in the Big House during the early 1830s, the elaborate garden and fence had not been established by 1845.

Summary
Between 1830 and 1845 the landscape at the site of Lower Fort Garry was transformed from a lightly wooded plateau to an extensive Hudson's Bay Company establishment. Its development was sporadic but within two years the land was cleared, stone quarried, and two major stone buildings, the Big House and Retail Store, erected. But when the major administrative responsibility was returned to the forks in 1834, Lower Fort Garry's fortune declined and the buildings ran down. Then,
after 1840 the lower fort enjoyed a resurgence. The Big House annex was added, the stone warehouse took shape and work began on the stone walls and bastions. By 1845 construction had expanded beyond the fort walls with the erection of the distillery and the malt barn south of the creek.

These major buildings were complemented by smaller structures and outbuildings whose exact location, dimensions and construction details have been obscured by a singular lack of evidence. An 1839 inventory confirms the existence of a Men's House, carpenter's shop, Ice House and stable. Comparative evidence suggests the early presence of latrines, a garden, and a hay yard. Other possible site features introduced during the 1830-45 period include a flagpole, the fort bell, root cellars, wood piles, bakeovens, tethering posts and a well.

The construction of the stone wall and bastions throughout the 1840s marked a major turning point in the development of the landscape at Lower Fort Garry. It separated the domestic and administrative functions from the industrial and agricultural pursuits which, from the 1840s onward, were concentrated south of the fort at Monkman's creek and north of the fort in an adjacent field. While it is unlikely that the grounds around the Big House were improved to any extent during this period, the space was available for those interested in landscape gardening. The Thom family were the principal residents in the Big House from 1839 to 1845 but there is no evidence to suggest that they were avid horticulturalists, although some Red River settlers were importing flower seeds from England by the 1830s.

The few references to the vegetation at Lower Fort Garry suggest that the site was not heavily treed, probably due to construction requirements and the large consumption of wood for fuel. The Finlay sketches suggest extensive tree stands on the outer fringes of the river front and upriver but the
walled compound was totally open by 1847. This was not un­usual since Hudson's Bay Company posts were, above all, working environments with particular functions to perform as competently as possible. Ironically, Lower Fort Garry had been envisioned by its founder as a country retreat but by 1845 that dream was behind it.
II The Lower Fort Garry Landscape: 1845-1860
Stability and Development

Lower Fort Garry was settling peacefully into its principal occupations as trans-shipment depot and company retreat when word reached Red River in 1846 that British troops, the Sixth Regiment of Foot, would arrive in the settlement that autumn. As Governor Simpson and the Hudson's Bay Company were the main local protagonists of the expedition, it was quickly agreed that Lower and Upper Fort Garry would be turned over to the troops for their accommodation. Plans were confirmed to remove the company's operations to the recently completed distillery and malting barn by the creek while a reluctant Adam Thom was told to vacate his comfortable perch in the Big House. Captain Beatty of the Royal Engineers arrived with an advance party and began the transformation of the Big House and the "2 good stone stores" into barracks for the officers and men.

The arrival of the Sixth Regiment of Foot at Lower Fort Garry foreshadowed its dual personality over a better part of the next 40 years. Because of the fort's location away from but within easy commuting distance of the forks as well as its solid nucleus of stone buildings and support structures, Lower Fort Garry became the logical choice for any extraordinary involvement to which the company committed itself. The lower fort personnel had only settled back into the fort for a year after the departure of the soldiers when it was announced that Deputy Governor Colvile would take up residency in the Big House while he supervised the diverse affairs of Rupert's Land. Later in the 1850s, Simpson
finally decided to exploit the considerable agricultural potential of the Lower Fort Garry land reserve. A few years later, the company decided to expand the industrial base at the creek. Every change in direction at Lower Fort Garry held important implications for the landscape and its use and the changes in the fort’s landscape are comprehensively documented for the period after 1845. Besides the Finlay sketches, there are H.L. Hime’s invaluable collection of photographs taken during the Saskatchewan and Red River exploring expedition in 1858. For the Colvile residency there is the public correspondence of Eden Colvile published by the Hudson’s Bay Record Society which is supplemented by the private correspondence and business papers of William Lane, clerk at Lower Fort Garry from 1849 until 1855.

The Lower Fort Garry landscape experienced some dramatic changes during the 1845-60 period. Not only were several structures built, but trees were planted and flowers were introduced at the lower fort in one of the first conscious efforts to beautify Hudson’s Bay Company posts. It must be emphasized, however, that this response to the landscape was limited to a relatively small number of Hudson’s Bay Company posts and generally involved the commissioned officers and their wives, who possessed the leisure time to introduce horticulture and a crude form of landscape architecture to the Canadian west.

The Residency of the Sixth Regiment of Foot 1846-49
When Major John Polliott Crofton, Commanding Officer of the Sixth, arrived at Lower Fort Garry in September 1846, he was pleased to find that the fort had been prepared for the troops. Under the direction of clerk John Black, the company had moved its operations to the expanding complex near the creek south of the fort shown in the 1847 sketch by George Finlay.
The 1845 distillery/brewery stood on the north side of the creek, paralleling the Red River. Behind it and cut into the north bank of the creek stood the malt barn which was later expanded and modified as a grist and saw mill, and a lathe room. Immediately west of the malt barn was a structure identified on Watson's 1926 map as the malt kiln. On the elevated bank to the north of this complex, Finlay noted a small cottage, fenced on the south side and flanked on the northwest by a smaller one-storey structure that is assumed to be the blacksmith shop.

Archaeology has identified all structures of the industrial complex during past excavations at Lower Fort Garry. The "old distillery" is really a misnomer because the building served several functions, none of which included distilling on a commercial scale. Historian George Ingram indicated that brewing and general storage were its primary functions except for the period of general company occupation from 1846 to 1848. The hip-roofed two or two and one-half storey structure displayed three chimneys. It was rectangular in shape and sat on a north-south axis. The archaeologists noted some interesting adaptations of the landscape to accommodate the construction of the distillery/brewery and the malt barn. A technique of cut and fill was used to create a depression and a stone retaining wall was built along the north slope of the depression. It consisted of a single thickness of lightly mortarred, unevenly coursed, split-faced and square-cut limestone blocks with rubble fill in the space between the facing stone and the slope. The wall began in the area of the malt barn foundation and continued eastward until it turned north to the neighbouring brewery/distillery. Bordering the base of the retaining wall was a stone-lined gutter which began 11.5 feet south of the west end of the retaining wall, extending eastward into the area associated with the brewery. There it joined
the gutter from that structure in a common gutter running south to the creek. Limestone rubble and crushed brick pavement was set between the gutter and the foundation of the building. A roadway bordering the river bed had also been built into the depression's northwest corner. It has not been determined whether this was built to service the distillery or a post-destruction feature, which would have nullified that function.

The malt barn and malt kiln were also built in depressions cut into the north bank of the creek. Prior to the construction of a grist mill in the 1860s the building identified as a malt barn did not straddle the creek like the later grist/saw mill complex. Although there was not enough documentation to determine the style of construction, archaeology revealed a half-timbered building with an associated restoring wall, stone gutters and paving. In conjunction with the identification of the malt barn, malt kiln and distillery/brewery, a structure on the north bank of the creek south of the fort was also partially excavated in 1966. Watson's 1926 map identified the building at this location as a log storehouse which was later moved into the fort as a sales shop. Ingram agreed that this might have been the log "Red Store" moved inside the fort enclosure in 1873. He also cited evidence which suggested that the storehouse was constructed as early as June, 1847. Because it was near the distilling complex, it might have been built to store the production of planned commercial distilling and brewing. The Hime photo of this area shows a hip-roofed, east-west building of two and a half stories with dormer windows. Partial excavation revealed the widely scattered remains of a building approximately 29 feet x 67 feet built on an east-west axis. It had an exterior drainage system and a retaining wall around its three up-hill sides. One particularly interesting feature uncovered by the archaeologists was at the south-east
corner of the building where the paving gave way to a covered plank drain which in turn connected with a line of limestone rubble extending down the creek bank. The archaeologists speculated that a wooden gutter may have bordered the building on the north, east and west sides and then may have been covered for a short distance to accommodate foot traffic, before it entered a stone drain.

Only a few yards west of the log store was a building, which has been identified as a beer and spirits cellar. The troops consumed large quantities of beer during their residency, and there was an obvious need for such a structure by 1846, although there is no specific information beyond Watson's 1926 identification of the structure as a log beer cellar torn down about 1884. Partial excavation revealed a 40.8 foot by 20 foot semi-subterranean frame structure with a north-south orientation and a small, off-centre door stoop at the south end, which is seen as the most likely place for an entrance.

Another potential period structure dating from the Company's move to the creek during the troop's occupation was the west lime kiln. On the Watson Map, Item 137, the west lime kiln was shown as a ten foot circular structure. By the 1960s this structure was distinguishable as the western most of two deep depressions cut into the right bank of the ravine south of the creek. The excavation of the kiln determined its dimensions as 18 feet in diameter and at least 8 feet deep. According to interviews with Frank Philpott, the last man associated with lime burning at the lower fort, this particular lime kiln was generally referred to as a "pot" kiln because it resembled a large cauldron or pot in shape. This variety of pot kiln did not have any depression in the floor to act as a firebox so a fire tunnel had to be constructed above the door. In the excavated kiln, there was a slight constricting of the walls towards the top. Mr. Philpott explained that this was to deflect heat into the
loaded kiln. Fuel was then fed through the service aperture. After burning for a few days under supervision, the weakened arch of limestone was broken down with a long rod, and the lime unloaded through the service aperture. Gravity fed the aperture and long handled hooks were used for unloading. As pot kilns are top loading, it seemed likely that any kilns used at the fort were built into the river or creek bank. These lime kilns at the creek may have been among the original kilns built in the 1830s, or they may have been introduced in 1845-46 for the specific construction of buildings near the creek.

The Finlay sketch of the mouth of the creek clearly illustrates the presence of a single storey structure with a fence running east to west on its south side. This building has survived and is known today as the Engineer's Cottage because of the residency of Engineer E.R. Abell and family during the 1860s and 1870s. The cottage was constructed in 1845 or 1846 to serve as the living accommodation for clerk John Black while the Sixth Regiment of Foot occupied the Lower Fort. The Finlay sketch does not show the later addition of the front verandah or the separated kitchen in the rear. Close observations of the Finlay sketch will reveal a small shed or lean-to at the south-west corner of the house. This was possibly a summer oven or a latrine. Nothing very conclusive can be determined about the south fence in the 1847 Finlay sketch except that it appears to have been a one or two board rail fence which extended to, and perhaps over, the edge of the river bank.

North of the Engineer's Cottage one can also make out the faint outline of a railing fence in the Finlay drawing. The 1858 Hime photograph of the industrial area also shows a fence similar to the one illustrated by Finlay. Chism expressed his surprise that this fence appears to be much farther north than the perspective would have suggested. But what really interested Chism and Karklins was whether the structure drawn by Finlay to the right of the cottage was the
blacksmith shop or the small structure seen in front of the cottage in later photographs. Chism and his colleagues argued that the building depicted in the Finlay sketch was indeed the original blacksmith shop. The location of the building in the Finlay sketch does correspond approximately to Watson's 1926 location. The 1966 archaeological excavations in this area revealed two shops, a small earlier shop separated by a layer of rubble from a larger, later shop and annex. Although the blacksmith shop probably would have appeared in the 1829 inventory there was greater justification for the construction by the 1870s when one considers the fort's growing commitment to boat maintenance, construction and agriculture. The excavation indicated that blacksmith shop I was an 18 foot by 20 foot log structure. Blacksmith shop II was also a log structure but an expanded facility built over the rubble of the earlier shop and utilizing the same forge for its operation. The later structure, measuring 26 feet by 18 feet lay directly over the west, south and east walls of the earlier shop, but was 6 feet longer on the north side. It also included a 21 foot by 14 foot annex.

Evidently the major construction programme launched south of the fort in 1845-47 altered the landscape to a considerable extent. The Finlay sketch of the creek with the fort enclosure in the background emphasized the forest cover on the south side of the creek. No tree cover is perceived on the north side except the undergrowth near the top of the bank in front of the Engineer's Cottage. That the land south of the fort wall was open prairie with light aspen cover to the west is confirmed by George Finlay's "View of Lower Fort Garry from the opposite bank" of the Red River. In this sketch Finlay includes trees on the western side of the fort but the main emphasis in this sketch is the steepness of the embankments.

The development of the creek area south of the fort led inevitably to the extension of the trails and roadways to
this area. In 1966, James Chism and his archaeological crew traced and tested the road system south of the fort enclosure. While not all those roadways were fully developed by 1846, the major arteries probably have not changed to any considerable degree. Aerial photographs show the roads as lines of indentation. One line, running northeasterly, began near the present Highway No. 9 on the south bank of the creek, began again across the creek, then turned east toward the Red. No evidence of a bridge has been found at this location. Another line branched off from this road shortly before it crossed this creek and ran along the south bank until it turned off to the Miller's Residence. As the Miller's residence was not erected until the 1860s and corresponding photographic evidence shows the area south of the creek as wooded, this south road was introduced in conjunction with the erection of the Miller's abode.

The aerial photographs also indicate what might have been another road branching off from the first road shortly after it had crossed the creek. This slight linear depression, obscured by the comparatively heavy forest cover, may have extended as far as the storehouse which is known to have stood on the north bank of the creek by the 1850s. Meanwhile, the main roadway crossing the creek continued up the bank and then gradually sloped eastward toward the distillery/brewery building at the mouth of the creek.

The archaeologists also investigated the loading area on the north bank of the ravine near the river. In this heavily gravelled area, a linear depression was recognized running north and south and contained heavy gravel and small limestone cobbles which may have formed part of a drain. After further investigation for possible logs beneath the gravel or evidence of corduroy road construction, the archaeological team concluded that this area possibly served as a loading area for the adjacent milling-brewing complex.

The archaeology survey of this area also uncovered other
features which may have dated from as early as the 1840s. To the east of the "drain-like depression," the excavations revealed a roughly rectangular patch of brickwork, overlain by crushed brick which may have formed the floor of a small construction shed. Another feature in this area was a 33 foot line of large stones oriented northwest-southeast. At first this path of stones was thought to be a retaining wall to prevent soil erosion, but a retaining wall discovered at the foot of the slope near the brewery/distillery, led to speculation that the path of stones was a sidewalk. Directly north of this area was a possible refuse pit, the last major feature near the mouth of the creek uncovered during the archaeological investigation in this heavily used area.

The investigation of the road system was completed by a series of tests on the roadway running west from the loading area. Crushed limestone surfacing was discovered only in the area above the industrial complex at the mouth of the creek. Where roads ran diagonally across steep slopes to reduce the grade, soil was cut from the slope and used as fill adjacent to the cut, a traditional technique in road construction. This road system appears to have been a branch of the main river road indicated on A.H. Vaughan's 1874 survey map showing Lower Fort Garry in relation to the Hudson's Bay Company reserve.

It is unfortunate that the archaeological survey of the road system did not include a detailed investigation of the roadway leading up the river bank from the creek past the Engineer's Cottage and beyond to the west gate of the fort. The earliest delineation of this route to the mouth of the creek can be found in Hime's 1858 photograph of the Industrial complex. Shot from the top of the bank north of the creek the photograph shows a trail running parallel to the shore and then turning gradually up the bank north of the cottage. Because of the snow no gravel or limestone can be distin-
South-West Bastion of the Fort in Winter, 1847, by George E. Finlay (Glenbow-Alberta Institute).
guished along the surface. Other interesting landscape features are the clutters of dense underbrush on both sides of the roadway as well as the erratic pattern of erosion along the top of the riverbank.  

With the Company relocated to the creek area, Captain N.A. Sullivan commanded the one hundred and fifty men of the Sixth Regiment of Foot barracked within the fort enclosure. The stone warehouse and Retail store were fitted out as barracks for the men while the officers took up residence in the Big House. According to Major Crofton's tour of inspection in September, 1846, "Cooking places were nearly ready, privies had been dug, and were nearly finished...I found that a large quantity of grain...had been stored within the Walls...and that a good oven had been constructed for the use of the Troops..." As the warehouse and the sales shop presumably had not been occupied as living quarters by Hudson's Bay Company servants prior to 1846, the new latrines may have been located near these two major storage facilities. As for the storage of grain the known alternatives were the South West Bastion, the old Men's House or the mystery building near the North West Bastion that appears in two Finlay sketches and the Hime photographs. One must remember that the construction of the north wall extension including the North West Bastion and the Powder Magazine in the North East Bastion were not finished until after the departure of the British regiment.

With regard to Crofton's reference to the "cooking places" and a "good oven" these activities were most likely located in the South West Bastion and the adjoining structures. The South West Bastion, built about 1845 or 1846, apparently was used by the troops as a Wash and Cook House. If one refers to Finlay's 1847 sketch of the structure, the basic appearance of the exterior was much the same as it is now, except the dormers have been added and chimneys dismantled. The fort walls were altered to join with the wall of the
Bastion. As the masons initially had planned a higher elevation for the defensive wall, they had keyed it into the Bastion wall accordingly. The perimeter wall, however, was never finished as planned.

In the same Finlay sketch a complex of three small structures stood north of the bastion. These structures were excavated by the archaeologists in 1967. The largest of the three structures appears to have been a rectangular, single-storey, gabled wooden building. Next to it was a small circular structure adjacent to a similar sized building rectangular in shape, both crowned by chimneys. The rounded one closely resembled an exterior bake oven while the rectangular structure had the appearance of a small smoke-house or perhaps the frame for a second oven. The excavation determined that this was a work area and subsequently not subject to any landscape improvements or horticultural experiments.

During his Inspection, Crofton also mentioned that as "there are no wells in the fort...I would supply this defect by filling the large Ice House with Ice from the River and next season Wells can be sunk inside the walls." The ice house referred to by Crofton was the permanent ice house located in the South East Bastion. Whether a well was in fact dug inside or outside the walls has never been conclusively proven. Watson's map only recognizes the spring well in the north ravine of the south creek. Of course, wells were common features at Hudson's Bay Company posts. A forty-two foot well was dug at Upper Fort Garry in October, 1851, and the following summer the masons were occupied "laying stone" for the inside of the wall. There are no documentary references to a well at Lower Fort Garry until 1868 when Mr. Flett, the chief trader in charge, ordered some servants to seal the water pipes leading from the well to the pump as a precautionary measure for winter. Unfortunately the location of at least the remains of a well has not been discovered at Lower Fort Garry.
For nearly two years 150 men of the Sixth Regiment and their officers followed a daily routine at Upper and Lower Fort Garry. Crofton remembered the days being spent much as they are in all remote stations in the army. We parade every morning at 10 o'clock, go through, as the weather suits, few or many of the useful movements, after which the Guard mounts. The Officers inspect the Barrack Rooms, and then variously employ or amuse themselves. At 4 o'clock we have Roll-Call, attended by the orderly Officers.

This daily routine of parades and drills was carried out on the grounds in front of the Big House or outside the walls. It is not known how many horses were required but it most certainly called for the expansion of the Hudson's Bay Company stables. Watson identifies the foundation of an old stable near the west wall but this structure does not appear in the Finlay or Hime photographs nor has that particular area been investigated by the archaeologists for evidence regarding its foundations.

The two year residency of the troops placed a heavy demand on the company to meet the terms of the provisions contract. Chief Factor Christie was particularly worried about the lack of country produce for the soldiers. One solution proposed by Christie was "to get the garden at the Lower Fort brought into a better state of cultivation" either by the troops themselves, or others employed by the Company. The location of Christie's garden remains a mystery. One possible setting was the north-west corner of the fort sketched by George Finlay during the 1846-47 or 1847-48 season. A particularly enlightening sketch, it suggests that the north-west corner was the last section of the wall to be built. Furthermore, the picket fence extending south from the one storey gabled structure and then turning west perhaps represents the original boundaries of the fort enclosure. On the northern extension of this fence, Finlay has drawn what might be interpreted as the contour lines of a cultivated field. They ex-
tend northward until the forest cover takes over. This seems the most logical location for the Lower Fort's early garden.

Besides the daily military routine during the months of moderate weather, the troops assisted in the extension of the walls and bastions. As influenza and crop shortages restricted the involvement of local labourers, Royal engineer Captain Beatty purchased what "boards or slabs" were available from the settlers and had the troops quarry the required stone at the lower fort.83 The contract for firewood at both establishments had been awarded to entrepreneur Andrew McDermot and his son-in-law, Thomas Truthwaite.84 At the rate of 4 shillings per cord they stood to make a handsome profit. Accordingly, wood piles rapidly became a prominent landscape feature behind the fort's various facilities. The Sixth Regiment of Foot for example, left behind 587 cords of ash, oak, elm and poplar in 1848 when they departed for England.85

During their stay, the Sixth also demanded fresh meat from the company as part of the provisions contract. Cattle were bought from the settlers in autumn, 1846, and kept over the winter at the lower fort.86 Whether this called for the construction of cattle byres and stables at this time is not known. George Finlay's 1847 sketch offers no indication of any buildings north of the fort.87 It is possible that the company delayed construction of the barns and stables until 1848 or after when thoroughbred breeding stock brought in to improve the local herds were located at the lower fort.

Finlay's sketches located other structural and landscape features difficult to pinpoint precisely before 1847. His drawing of the Fur Loft/Retail Store includes a sentry box at the west corner of the north face and a small wooden structure of simple Red River frame construction a few yards west of the main building.88 Probably the original ice house, this building may have remained as a storage structure until
the 1870s when the new sales shop was erected on that location. In the same sketch, beyond the wall, the soldier artist included the roofs of the supposed Blacksmith shop and the officer's cottage. Earlier in this study, there was speculation as to the initial position of the flagpole. In two Finlay sketches, an extraordinarily tall flagpole can be seen towering over the fort from its location either within the northeast Bastion or just beyond it. They may have first erected the flagpole within the Bastion, because the powder magazine was not constructed until 1852.

While the presence of the Sixth Regiment was a major factor in the completion of the walls and the bastions as well as several auxiliary structures, they do not appear to have launched any major landscape changes beyond these structural alterations and additions. There is no indication that Captain Sullivan and his fellow officers were interested in flower gardens or the improvement of the grounds. The daily parades certainly required the maximum amount of open space so it is unlikely that they placed the fence around the Big House at this time. Furthermore, the lower fort appears to have escaped the ravage of prairie fires that threatened Upper Fort Garry in October, 1846. The Company and those settlers with provision contracts were the major benefactors. As historian George Ingram reflected, they had pacified the colony as much with their purchasing power as with law enforcement. In August, 1848 the troops left the lower fort for York Factory and England. The Hudson's Bay Company began the tedious process of moving back from the buildings south of the fort and John Black summarized the impact of the military occupation:

We are now busy putting the lower fort into some sort of order for being again occupied for the company's business, and I can assure you that the restoration of the place even to its former imperfect condition will be no easy job.
The Colvile Era
With the departure of the Sixth Regiment of Foot and the Company's reestablishment within the fort, Lower Fort Garry settled back into its role as a trans-shipment depot and retail centre for the lower settlement. This tranquility was only temporary. In 1849 two major decisions were taken which would eventually contribute to the development of the Lower Fort Garry landscape. In January, 1849, Eden Colvile, son of a deputy governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, was named associate Governor of Rupert's Land. He would live in the colony while Simpson remained at Lachine. Meanwhile, as the Colviles were not scheduled to arrive at Lower Fort Garry until the summer of 1850, the Big House was made ready for Reverend David Anderson, who had been consecrated Bishop of the newly established diocese of Rupert's Land.

In May, 1849 Simpson gave explicit instructions to Chief Factor Ballenden with regard to the necessary alterations to the Big House. While the annex was retained for the use of the Company, the rest of the establishment was blocked off from the wing, "thereby making two entirely distinct houses, with separate entrances." The decision to introduce two entranceways must have altered the external landscape as a separate pathway was not required for the annex. Simpson's orders were carried out promptly and by July, the house, with the exception of the furnishings, was ready for the occupancy of the Bishop and his family who arrived at the Big House in early October. Yet the Bishop's stay in the Big House was extraordinarily brief. Just as he was "entering the river" in October, John MacAllum, the principal of the Boy's School, died, leaving the school without management. The Bishop agreed to purchase the school and moved to St. John's sometime in December.

It is not known whether the improvements to the Big House in 1849 were complemented by appropriate alterations to the grounds. Had the Bishop and his unmarried sister remained,
they would have made major changes for they were keen horticulturalists and the year after settling into their house at St. John's, they established a large flower garden. For Anderson the garden was:

"a source of great enjoyment... its produce very delightful after our long winter, and the flowers which we had seen blooming at home seemed a link connecting us with distant friends and days gone by. Some crocus and snowdrop bulbs, which we had out from England last autumn, were just appearing above ground when the water rose: they were I believe, the first ever grown in Rupert's Land, and would have been midsummer flowers, had they not been destroyed."

Flower gardens appear not to have been a familiar sight in Red River. The Bishop had started the flowers from seed inside during the winter. They "exhibited a curiosity to all my pupils, who had never seen anything of the kind before." The pair had "taken pleasure in saving seeds of various kinds, and giving them to many of the people around us thinking that flowers have a humanizing effect on the mind." Anderson obviously viewed the introduction of horticulture as a civilizing influence on Red River society and a factor in the extension of British civilization to the wilds of British North America.

Eden Colvile and his wife Ann arrived at Red River in August, 1850 and settled in the Big House at the lower fort. He shared the main house with Augustus Pelly, the accountant, and his wife, and probably with William D. Lane, a postmaster. Shortly after his arrival, Colvile decided "to send Pelly to the Upper Fort...and retain young Lane, who seems a swaggering sort of chap, here." This was an important decision with respect to the landscape because Lane, an Irishman raised in France, became an enthusiastic horticulturalist during his residency at the lower fort.

In his two years at Red River, Colvile presided over the council of Assiniboia and was responsible for the administra-
tion of the Northern Department. With these cumbersome duties, as well as a busy social calendar, the daily affairs of the fort were primarily the responsibility of John Black and then William Lane although Colvile did make certain decisions involving Lower Fort Garry and its immediate landscape. In a letter to George Simpson, he referred to "the reserve round this establishment, which appears to be needlessly large as the land for one mile in breadth on each side of the Fort is lying waste." Colvile was aware that Simpson "for some reason or another" was anxious to keep this land in the Company's hands. Nevertheless, he boldly proposed that "one half of this land on either side" be sold to "a few useful tradesmen which might be convenient for any work we wanted done at the Fort." Simpson's reply to Colvile was not retained but he did express his view on the same issue in a letter to Chief Factor Donald Ross:

I am sorry that it is not in my power to promote your wishes in reference to obtaining a lot in the reserve at the Lower Fort. The proprietary necessity for maintaining their reserve has been canvassed over and over again, and always with the same result, that it should never be encroached on.

Simpson was confirming the opinion that the Company would exploit the agricultural potential of the land surrounding the lower fort. In the meantime, the landscape north, south and west of the fort should not be encroached upon by settlers. This explains, in part, why the forest cover north, south and east of Lower Fort Garry appeared relatively unchanged during the years between the Finlay sketches and the Hime photographs of 1857-58.

The Colviles resided at Lower Fort Garry for nearly two years before they left the Red River settlement. Historians of the Fort traditionally have assumed that Eden and Anne Colvile were responsible for the introduction of the lawn and flower gardens at Lower Fort Garry. Such improvements were first acknowledged by Bishop Anderson, also an avid gardener,
in the spring of 1852 when another Red River flood forced many company officials and local numeraries to flee to the lower fort. Anderson found that, "the Fort has been improved with much taste by Governor and Mrs. Colvile and it began to wear much more of an English aspect; the annuals were above ground and the lawns smooth and green." Anderson made no mention of the fence but the lawn and flower garden may have been enclosed within a newly fenced area immediately in front of the Big House, setting off the ornamental from the functional operations of the Company in the adjacent buildings.

The development of a flower garden and lawn at Lower Fort Garry during the early 1850s was part of a trend which also saw landscaped gardens introduced at Upper Fort Garry, further north at Norway House and among the more affluent settlers at Red River. Essentially, it was a co-operative effort involving church representatives, residents of the Red River settlement and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Reverend David Anderson had only recently arrived from England when he introduced crocus and snow bulbs in 1852. By this time Mrs. Bird, Mrs. Logan and Mrs. McDermot, three of the colony's more prominent personalities, all had flower gardens. The Alexander Ross residence, Colony Gardens, was graced by a flower garden in front of the house which was said to be "a perfect forest of rich beauty, flowers of every hue and colour...from the lovely daisy, to the rose, from the violet to the prince's feather." Set along the railing in front of Ross's flower garden was a row of maples, one of the earliest shelter belts in Western Canada.

The main enthusiasts behind the introduction of flower gardens and fruit trees at the Hudson's Bay Company posts in Manitoba were three career fur traders: John Ballenden, George Barnston and Donald Ross. Each from different regions of Scotland, they had all spent more than 20 years in the fur
trade without demonstrating any particular interest in horticulture or landscape gardening. Suddenly they were building hot houses adjacent to the officers residence at Norway House, experimenting with plum and cherry trees in climatically hostile environs, and planting elaborate flower displays where only dirt had sufficed for two previous generations of the fur trade. Barnston was the most active horticulturist among them. An avid naturalist as well, he transformed Donald Ross's garden plot into a flora display that Reverend John Ryerson found "truly and exquisitely fine:"

the flowers are in great variety, and in beauty in richness and colours are not surpassed anywhere. Mr. Barnston has great taste for flowers and cultivates them with great skill. He showed me several kinds which he had procured from Mr. Lunn's garden in Montreal.

Obviously, Barnston went to extraordinary lengths to achieve his landscape garden. He imported seeds from Montreal and England, and used the company brigades to transport seedlings and potted flowers from Red River to Norway House.

In April, 1852 the Red River breakup caused flood damage unparalleled since the disaster of 1826. At its height the settlers in the vicinity of the forks and at Upper Fort Garry were forced to abandon the area for higher ground. Major Caldwell and Bishop Anderson were among those who moved to the stone fort. Although above the flood waters, the Lower Fort did not escape unscathed. On April 24, 1852 the rampaging ice crushed part of the distillery wall and flooded the large grainery next to it. The water, which continued to rise until May 12, also, may have done some structural damage to the Distillery/Brewery complex and the adjacent buildings.

Although the Colviles introduced the lawn and garden at the lower fort, it was William Lane who maintained and developed it between 1852 and 1855. After Colvile's departure Lane remained in charge of the fort and was the sole
permanent occupant of the Big House. The periodic requests which came to him from George Barnston at Norway House and A. Buchanan, chief trader at the Upper Fort, provide information of the flowers and trees that had been planted at the Lower Fort. Lane's references to "my" garden also suggest the possibility that he had his own kitchen garden somewhere in the vicinity of the Big House. The south-west side was a potential location of the hot bed that is visible in later photographs. As early as September 6, 1852 Lane was commended for providing the upper fort with vegetables and preserves, particularly the melons and plums "which are quite a treat." The following spring Buchanan approached Lane for some melon seeds and rhubarb roots as he was planning "to get a hot bed made shortly" at Upper Fort Garry. A unique photograph shows a hot bed at Upper Fort Garry in the early 1870s, but it is of particular interest that the company officers were introducing hot bed horticulture as early as 1853.

In 1852 Chief Factor Donald Ross had left Norway House and retired to the cottage by the creek at Lower Fort Garry where he spent the last year of his life. His successor, George Barnston, considered Ross an "amateur in flowers and trees," but competent enough to gather up Red River "roots or seeds for trial in Ross' old garden ground." Ross and Lane assembled "common wood plums, cherry trees and currant bushes" and sent them with the roots well protected by the brigade boats to Norway House. The "bushes" from Red River were then planted in the fort garden. According to Roderick McKenzie Jr., Barnston's assistant, "if they survive the winter frost, they will certainly improve the looks of it very much." Apparently Barnston's technique was successful. By the following summer young McKenzie reported to Ross that "the garden is coming on very well, the borders are beautifully set off with such a variety of flowers which is beyond my skill of horticulture to name." "Melons and cucumbers" also "graced the garden" and "Barnston himself"
had "constructed a hot house to which he pays great attention."\textsuperscript{126}

Barnston's periodic requests for "grafted Plum or Cherry plants" as well as flower and vegetable seeds strongly implies that these varieties were well established at Lower and Upper Fort Garry by the early 1850s, and that they stood a strong chance of succeeding in a more northerly climate.\textsuperscript{127}

A list of flower seeds has been discovered from this period. It was prepared by Mary Anderson, the sister of the Bishop. These early horticulturalists were always willing to exchange flower and tree seeds, and it is possible that the lower fort gardens contained many if not all of the species on Miss Anderson's list:\textsuperscript{128}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Sweet William & White Jerusalem & Dwarf Pea \\
Heart's Ease & Star & Larkspur \\
French Pink & Bergamot & Scarlet Lichens \\
Virginia Stock & Marvel of Peru & Candy Luft \\
Nastertium & Mignonette & Saffron \\
London Pride & Double Poppy & Lupines \\
Jancreda & Sweet Pea & \\
\end{tabular}

Sixty-four varieties in all, this combination of perennials and annuals were probably imported from England although Barnston had contacts in Montreal who also sent him seeds.

There is no photographic or documentary evidence to indicate the initial location of the flower borders at the lower fort. Immediately in front of the porch to the east and south was most logical while other beds could be located alongside the platform leading from the main entranceway. It is not known whether these beds took on the exaggeration of line and form in the Victorian landscape.\textsuperscript{129} Plants with large, coarse-textured leaves became popular as did double flowers.\textsuperscript{130} Sun dials were popular sculptural features to be placed within a garden or against a shrub thicket at the edge of a lawn or near a walk path.\textsuperscript{131} Within the flower beds, intricate patterns were made with flowers.
It is doubtful William Lane had enough leisure time after overseeing the operations of the fort to concentrate upon elaborate garden designs. His correspondence with Jane McKenzie at Norway House mentions the balsams which he had started from seed in the winter and then transplanted in the spring.\footnote{132} John Ballenden, chief factor at the Upper Fort, reminded him periodically to tend "the apple trees" and "look to the Rose bush."\footnote{133} If by "balsam" Jane McKenzie was referring to Balsam poplar, they are a tree native to Manitoba and conceivably not difficult to grow at a location such as Lower Fort Garry.\footnote{134} The H.L. Hime 1858 photograph of the Big House shows a tree in front of the east entranceway that may well be a balsam poplar.\footnote{135} The other possibility is that they were discussing balsam fir; a tall forest tree more common in north and eastern Manitoba but also native to the Red River region.\footnote{136} As for Ballenden's reference to the rose bushes, there are at least two roses native to Manitoba, the Prickly Rose (Rosa acicularis), a common shrub which grows about three feet high, or the Smooth Rose, a frequently found shrub also about three feet high characterized by its bright red stems and pink flowers.\footnote{137} The apple and plum trees mentioned in the correspondence between Norway House and Red River were not plant species native to the region. The seeds were probably imported, started inside, and then transplanted in the spring.

Lane and Barnston both appeared to have a great interest in exotic flowers. In 1855, shortly before Lane was transferred to the post at White Horse Plains, Barnston wrote Lane:

should my carnations live I shall send you one or two by the summer boat. The winter has made sad havoc among them. Are you acquainted with laying and piping the stems? The seeds of the Canary plant are not good, they have all rotted but the others sent by you have vegetation. Can you forward to me by the boats a small plant or two of the former in a post of earth or box, it would come safe. I am anxious to know if a dried specimen would do, if you cannot find another.\footnote{138}
Apparently Barnston kept the more exotic plants in cellars during the winter and if the roots survived, they were transplanted in June.

Although William Lane left Lower Fort Garry in 1855 he continued his communications with George Barnston and several Red River women who were particularly interested in flower gardens. Barnston was the acknowledged expert in this field. Besides his borders, cross-walks and garden grounds, he kept plants in window boxes. When they had a surplus, he sent them to Lower Fort Garry for distribution to Mrs. Mills, Miss Anderson and others willing to transplant the flowers. These flower boxes were usually accompanied by a keg of cranberries and assorted seeds such as wild sage which was used as a pot herb in Red River.

During the early 1850s, the building program reinitiated in the mid 1840s gained momentum once again, both inside and outside the walls. The servant's quarters, built during the 1830s, were either replaced or removed to make way for the Men's House that has survived on its present location since about 1852. Located against the west wall just north of the west gate, there were possibly several landscape features associated with the Men's House that have not been identified through documentary or archaeological investigation. First, the location of the obligatory latrines has not been identified. Second, at other company posts such as York Factory, the men were allotted their own garden space. There was enough room for a small garden plot north of the Men's House, or, alternatively somewhere in the ample company reserve either west or north of the fort. Thirdly, Robert Watson's 1926 map identifies the foundations of an old stable, rectangular in shape, south of the Men's House and across the path leading eastward from the west gate. This may have been the stable identified in the 1839 Inventory or a later addition when the Men's House was the quarter for the fort's livestock groom.
During the period between 1850 and 1855 the four bastions were all completed. After the departure of the troops, the South-West Bastion was relegated to a storage function. The smokehouse-oven complex immediately west of this bastion was removed elsewhere or torn down sometime between 1850 and 1870. Meanwhile, sometime after the North West Bastion and walls were finished (circa 1848-49), part of the wall was removed and the bakehouse built to provide hard-tack biscuit for the company's Northern Department and the Red River posts.\(^\text{143}\) The bakehouse operation changed the complexion of the landscape in the northwest corner of the fort. Every spring, wood for firing the ovens was hauled to the area by a company labourer. Large quantities were required and woodpiles may have been started along the walls outside the bastion. A path probably extended from the main walkway to the bastion. The final bastion work was completed in the summer of 1852 and one of the masons working on the well at Upper Fort Garry was released to enable Lane "to get on with the powder magazine."\(^\text{144}\)

South of the fort the landscape was not altered significantly during the 1850s. The distillery building was used primarily for the production of beer while the adjacent malt barn was used for grain storage.\(^\text{145}\) As there was an escalating demand for lime at Upper Fort Garry, the lime kilns on the south bank of the creek and the stone quarries remained active. In 1853 William Lane also referred to the repairing of the lake schooner at the lower fort. The Schooner "Mary," which was used on the Norway House route, was stored at the lower fort every winter.

The use of the land north of the fort during the 1850s is open to speculation. In 1848 the Hudson's Bay Company sent over English thoroughbred breeding stock in an attempt to improve the settlers' herds.\(^\text{146}\) A stallion, a mare, a bull and two cows arrived in November and were dispatched immediately to the lower fort with the groom who had been sent out to care for the valuable stock. George Ingram has specu-
lated that a stable was constructed at this time in order to house the new animals. One possibility was the stable that Watson located inside the west gate. The alternative was the horse stable located north of the fort enclosure. Excavated in 1966, it has always been presumed that the horse stable was built in accordance with Simpson's 1857 decision to develop the agricultural potential of the lower fort. John Ross Robertson's sketch of Lower Fort Garry, 1857-58, clearly illustrates two side by side structures north of the fort wall in the area excavated by James Chism. Described by Watson as a stone building, the horse stable was of the same "rubble-filled" or "half-timbered" construction as the Big House annex and the Men's House, both structures erected while mason Duncan McRae was active at the establishment during the 1850s. They may well have preceded Simpson's intervention by a number of years. Overlying the rubble outside the north foundation of the horse stable was a 0.4 foot to 0.8 foot thick deposit of manure with a covering of sod, suggesting that the animal yard was on the north side of the stable.

In 1966 the archaeologists also excavated a building believed to be the ox stable. Although photographs show the nearby horse stable in considerable detail, the ox stable was never more than a roof in the background of similar size and style of gabled roof. The excavation revealed a rectangular 31 foot by 61.5 foot structure with an east-west long axis. Overlying the floor as well as the gravel outside the stable was a layer of manure, further evidence that the Hudson's Bay Company had constructed yards in association with the rubble-filled, post-on-sill stables.

In conjunction with the excavation of the ox and horse stables, the archaeologists also excavated a building north of the fort enclosure which was thought to be a cow barn. Watson identified both this structure and one immediately north of it as cow stables of log construction built on stone foundations. These buildings may have been built in
1857-58 when the farming operation was expanding rapidly. Excavation of the south cow barn revealed a stone foundation supporting a structure 68 feet by 16.2 feet, with evidence of a 10 foot wide lean-to along its east wall. The companion structure, identified as the north barn, was also excavated in 1967. Identified by Watson as a cattle stable, the excavation uncovered a somewhat larger structure with a stone foundation and dimensions of 198.6 feet north-south by 15.6 feet east-west, with a 12 to 13 foot wide lean-to standing along the main structure's east wall.

The stables and barns north of the fort were all related to the Hudson's Bay Company's decision to establish a major farm at Lower Fort Garry in the autumn of 1857. Initially, the farm was placed under Mr. Alexander Lillie, "a very active and promising officer," who had gained a practical knowledge of farming in his native Fifeshire, Scotland. By September 1857, between 40 and 50 acres had been ploughed, preparations for a winter fencing operation were underway and all available feed grain and surplus cattle were purchased from the settlers. During the next decade, the two major ingredients of the company farm, cultivation and the raising of livestock, developed simultaneously and interdependently. The large herd of oxen, kept mainly for the transport service, was frequently called upon to supply draught animals for the day-to-day field work and for transporting the farm produce. Alternatively, cultivation was an important adjunct to the keeping of oxen. Haying continued to be an important task at the lower fort and turnips were grown specifically to feed the stock. Certainly, both the development of the farm and the livestock operation meant major changes in the fort landscape, particularly outside the fort walls.

The area under cultivation is particularly relevant to this study. In 1857, the first year of the farm, forty to fifty acres were already ploughed by early fall and it was
planned to equal that total once again before winter in an effort to prepare 100 acres for the spring planting of wheat, barley, oats, peas, potatoes and turnips. Ingram has speculated that most of the broken ground was located across the road west of the fort.\textsuperscript{164} Simultaneously, land south of the fort enclosure was used as meadowland where hay was cut in late summer and autumn.\textsuperscript{165} By 1860, the year of the bumper crop, considerably more land must have been under cultivation. The yield in wheat was expected to be over 4,000 bushels which, on the generous basis of 40 bushels per acre, a minimum of 100 acres of wheat alone was sown.\textsuperscript{166}

The precise location of the wheat acreage is not known. The Hudson's Bay Company had established a land reserve early in the fort's history and zealously guarded it against encroachment by retiring servants or local settlers. A plan adapted by historian Dale Miquelon from A.H. Vaughan's 1874 survey identifies the reserve.\textsuperscript{167} By that point, the farming operation had been severely curtailed but it does provide a framework to distinguish between cultivated, meadow and undeveloped land. The reserve extended approximately a mile north and a mile south of the fort, and at least four miles to the west. Cultivated land included a small tract of land immediately west of the King's road as well as a long narrow belt running westward from the intersection of the road and the creek. Marked "park" on the Vaughan plan, this long strip was probably used for wheat. If Vaughan's survey is accurate, the area east of the road both south and north of the fort was maintained as meadow. This does not discount the possibility and the evidence of the Finlay sketch that the area immediately north of the fort may have been the site of the original Lower Fort Garry garden.\textsuperscript{168}

Less than a year after Simpson decided to exploit the agricultural potential at the lower fort, the company establishment was visited by Humphrey Hime, the official photographer
for the Canadian Red River expedition. Hime arrived fully equipped including a two inch portrait and a two inch landscape lens with a field of $f \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. While in Red River between September 4 and November 30, Hime took at least three dozen photographs. The majority were taken on clear bright days, from the Lower Fort to the Middle and Upper Settlements, and along the banks of the Red and Assiniboine.

The four surviving Hime photographs of Lower Fort Garry illustrate a variety of important landscape features and structural details. The view of the fort from the south, for example, confirms the existence and location of buildings within the fort walls while clearly depicting the land use between the south wall and the creek. No trees are visible in the foreground although the underbrush and tall grass suggest possibilities for grazing and haying. Good details of the barrels and other materials stored along the wall outside the retail store/fut loft are also discernible. The blacksmith shop of the Finlay sketches drawn ten years earlier is conspicuous by its absence. Either the angle of the shot excludes it or the early sketches are misleading. Inside the walls all of the major surviving buildings are recognizable. In addition a single storey gable roofed structure stands against the north wall and has been identified as a possible carpenters shop. The roof of another unidentified structure appears just above the south wall to the west of the retail store, which may have been the original ice house.

The photograph was taken from the creek area looking north, and Hime also shot a panorama of the creek area and its structures from the river's edge looking south. This photograph confirms that the treeless area extended only as far as the creek. Heavy woods and brush predominated immediately to the south of the creek and industrial area. Buildings clearly depicted by this photograph include the distillery/brewery near the creek mouth, the malt barn immediately west and further up the embankment the large store or warehouse.
In the foreground is the company cottage and its fenced surroundings. There are also three lean-to sheds immediately south-east of the outer boundaries of the fence associated with the cottage, and the trail running along the shore and then branching up the hill to the upper embankment is clearly illustrated. Erosion had already taken its toll as indicated by the collapse of the riverbank in several places.

In terms of the landscape, Hime's most significant photograph was his view of the Big House taken from the grassy area south-east of the House fence. Actually, Hime's two photographs of the fort interior provide the first concrete evidence for the existence of a fence around the Big House. The fence extended along the east and north exposure of the Big House grounds and may have linked up with a fence along the west and south sides. The Hime photograph of the officer's quarters shows evidence of a west fence in the background to the south of the annex. The western delineation of the Big House fence has always been complicated by the areaway, related structures and the pathway on that side of the fort.

The fence itself is a combination of styles. The support posts were planted approximately six feet apart with a single dark coloured railing running the length of the fence. The top half of the space between the posts consisted of approximately twenty white pickets. The lower half of the fence was composed of irregularly sized horizontal planks joining the posts. The photographs give every indication that the fence was sturdily and elaborately constructed but neither includes the main entranceway on the eastern exposure. However, John Fleming's sketch of the Big House dated 1857 shows the elaborate pillared entrance to the Big House.

Several important landscape features were caught by Hime's photograph of the officer's quarters. Outside the fence, the grass was properly maintained and the stark absence of tree cover or shrubbery offers a barren impression of the grounds. Inside the fence, attempts were made to
landscape. A deciduous tree, already devoid of leaves, extends above the verandah immediately south of the pathway leading to the main stairwell. Other shrubs appear lightly visible on the other side of the entranceway. The white outline of snow extending around the base of the verandah may indicate the presence of a border for the annuals referred to earlier by Colvile. Near the lower extremity of the south-east corner of the verandah is a spruce or fir tree. Faint outlines of trees in that same area are also visible through the fence pickets. At the west end of the verandah on the south side of the Big House another unidentifiable shrub or small tree was growing.

Hime's photograph of the Stone Warehouse against the north wall also includes clearly visible structural details of the fence and other landscape features. The original fence appears to have extended much farther north towards the warehouse than the re-constructed version. Two trees visible within the fence further suggest that company officers had overseen the planting of trees and shrubs throughout the inner confines of the Big House yard. Outside the fence, the plantation grass has been cut low. Small rocks were scattered throughout but particularly along the main roadway. These rocks were not organized formally like in later years. This thoroughfare, leading from the east gate to the warehouses, consisted of crushed limestone base approximately twenty-five feet in width. In 1858 this roadway was not heavily rutted by the carts used to transport furs and goods from the boats to the warehouse. The road was elevated above the surrounding grade with shallow ditches on both sides. The total lack of vegetation on either side of the warehouse reinforced the functional dominance of Hudson's Bay Company post landscapes. The only area of visible landscape "improvement" was within the Big House fence. Outside its boundaries, company business dictated a very functional approach to the landscape.
Unfortunately, Hime did not take a photograph of the fort from west of the fort, for it would have provided a more concise indication of the location and extent of cultivation in that area prior to 1860. The road system on the west side of the fort is also confused by the lack of detailed documentary or photographic evidence. For instance, was the west gate built with the wall or was it a later addition? There is also the question of the "King's Road," the main highway which followed, according to Henry Hind, a direct route from Upper Fort Garry to the lower fort with "bridle paths" branching off to the river lot farms. Traditionally, it has always been thought that this early trail approached the fort on the west side and entered it by the west gate. Hind's survey "Plan of the Selkirk Settlement," drawn in 1858, indicates the fusion of the "King's Road" and the "inner road" precisely at Lower Fort Garry. There was also a trail on this map which follows directly beside the river as it meandered through the settlement. This riverside path or trail may have connected with the series of trails leading to the buildings at the creek.

Summary
When company servant Roderick Campbell arrived at Lower Fort Garry in 1859, he commented favourably on its "outward sign of future prosperity, however misty its past history might have been." In 1859 the lower fort was entering its most intensive decade of development as a trans-shipment centre and as an agricultural and industrial station. It was during the 1845-1860 period, however, that the structural topography of Lower Fort Garry was determined.

The most intensive structural development during this crucial period took place south of the fort enclosure. The distillery/brewery, malt barn, and large warehouse as well
as the smaller structures near the mouth of the creek committed that area of the fort landscape to functional purposes. Retaining walls, walkways and a road system were introduced to link this area with the fort and the King's Road. The Finlay sketches and Hime photographs confirm that the area bordered by the King's Road on the west, the creek on the south and the fort wall to the north was primarily short grass meadow devoid of tree cover. The area south of the creek remained undeveloped aspen forest protected by the company's land reserve.

The Engineer's cottage, along with the Men's House and Big House within the fort walls, represent the three earliest domestic landscapes at Lower Fort Garry. Separated from the industrial complex by a fence, the cottage was the temporary home of several company officers, including Chief Factor Donald Ross who retired to the lower fort for the last year of his life; 1851-52. An acknowledged gardening enthusiast, improvements to the grounds about the cottage may have been initiated by Ross and his wife. By 1850, the introduction of flower gardens and the planting of trees for aesthetic and shelter purposes was gaining increasing acceptance among the establishment of Red River. This was, in part, a response to the generally barren appearance of the Red River landscape caused by the large consumption of wood for fuel and building material as well as the devastating impact of prairie fires.

Within the fort walls, the major landscape change was the separation of the Big House from the fort's functional operations by the means of an elaborate fence inside which the company's officers, following the example of Deputy Governor Eden Colvile, oversaw the introduction of flower beds and the planting of trees. The specific type of flowers and trees planted around the Big House lawns is not known. Comparative information, however, has provided a list of approximately sixty flower seeds circulating in Red River by the early 1850s. It was very possible that a majority of these flower varieties were planted at the lower fort, if not
during the Colville residency then during the occupation of the Big House by William Lane. His exchanges with Chief Factor George Barnston at Norway House indicate that they were more than ready to experiment with apple and plum trees as well as exotic flowers common in England but untried in Rupert's Land.

Outside the Big House fence, the Hime photographs illustrate the apparent lack of trees or foliage within the working area of the fort compound. In terms of land use, there were some important changes brought about by the addition and rearrangement of several buildings and structures. The completion of the walls allowed the company to centralize certain functions in the four bastions. The ice house, for instance, was removed from a structure west of the retail store to a permanent home in the South East Bastion. A cooking and oven complex erected outside the South West Bastion by the Sixth Regiment of Foot may have been dismantled after the troops departure and the subsequent construction of a bakehouse in the North West Bastion after 1848. The powder magazine, finished in 1852, completed the occupation of the lower fort's four bastions.

The major change outside the Big House area was the construction of a Men's House in the early 1850s on a permanent location adjacent to the west gate. The company servants may have introduced their own kitchen garden and fences but there is no documentary or photographic evidence to confirm or discount that development.

North of the fort wall, the decision to proceed with a major agricultural farm in 1857 brought about the accelerated development of this area. An ox and horse stable were erected as well as two barns and accompanying byres. The animal buildings were erected in close proximity to gardens and cultivated fields and the stables and barn may have been surrounded by fences. Although the Hudson's Bay Company bought over one hundred head of cattle and oxen, only a small number were ac-
tually retained at the fort. The majority were sent to company grazing stations at Cook's Creek and Netley Marsh.

By 1860 the omnibus nature of Lower Fort Garry's function had been determined by the Hudson's Bay Company's senior officers. The landscape, in turn, reflected this diversity. As a trans-shipment and agricultural centre, the land south, north and west of the fort were essentially working areas. A certain level of maintenance was met by the company but no concerted effort was made to beautify these areas. Only individual employees exercised any control over the appearance of the environment within the boundaries of their domestic dwellings. In the case of the officers, this meant the establishment of a lawn and flower garden within the fence that surrounded the Big House. While the Company's tradesmen and labourers did not go as far as to plant flower gardens, they did have access to the company's kitchen garden located west or north of the fort and gradually the more highly paid tradesmen were moving outside the fort to establish their own domestic environment.
As the stone fort entered its fourth decade, its potential was only beginning to be realized. Built initially as a rural retreat and administrative centre, by 1860 the fort and its reserve had been transformed into an important transportation and provisioning depot. As the company's Red River posts gained importance during the turbulent 60s, the nucleus of buildings, land and equipment already at Lower Fort Garry were adapted to fulfill the new obligations. South of the fort enclosure, for instance, the malt barn was modified to include a lumber and grist mill while the sheds were renovated for the maintenance of steamboats which were now replacing the York Boat. Within the fort walls, the Big House was used more as a residence for the company's officers and less as a guest home for favoured itinerants. With the transfer of control over Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Canadian government in 1870, the company retained ownership of the lower fort but no longer required all of its superior facilities. Therefore, with the leasing of the north side of the fort to the federal government as a penitentiary complex in 1871, the lower fort entered yet another period of dual occupancy which also included the residency of the first contingent of North West Mounted Police during the winter of 1873-74.

As usual, the precise impact of these diverse occupations upon the landscape is difficult to measure comprehensively. The tradition of a landscape garden with flower borders and trees for shade had been established by Eden Colvile and
sustained by William Lane. Further development of this garden depended to a large extent upon the attitude and energy of their successors living in the Big House. We do know that a gardener, a certain James Voiler, had established himself as a permanent feature by the late 1860s. Outside the confines of the Big House fence, the landscape continued to be subservient to the fort's various trading, agricultural and industrial operations. With this diversity of activity and increased manpower also came an increasing number of domestic residences for the employees. The cottage, once the preserve of company gentleman, became the domicile of the resident engineer. Nearby was the residence of the farm manager and across the creek, a house was erected for the miller. Landscape features such as gardens, fences and walkways must also be considered in light of these new additions. By the 1860s, the traditional practice of the company's officers living solely in the Big House and the servants in the Men's House was breaking down.

For the benefit of organization, this chapter will be divided into a number of sections to allow for the inclusion of the great variety of references to various landscape features. The Hudson's Bay Company operations continued to be the major controlling influence in terms of the landscape and its use. The occupation of the fort by the Wolseley Expedition in 1870, the establishment of the penitentiary complex and finally, the brief residency of the North West Mounted Police, will all be dealt with separately as they involve considerable rearrangement of existing facilities as well as new structures.

The Agricultural Complex: 1860-1875
The agricultural operation at Lower Fort Garry involved the cultivation of several cereal and vegetable crops, the maintenance of a large vegetable garden and the associated retenue of livestock which included cattle, oxen, sheep, hens, pigs and
other farm animals. The housing and maintenance of the livestock was centred in the barns and stables located north of the fort while the main area of cultivation was a small area immediately west of the fort and a long, thin strip of cultivated land running westward from the King's Road across from the creek.²

Although archaeologists have identified the main structures associated with the company farm and George Ingram has written a comprehensive overview of its operation, certain landscape features require further elaboration. Traditionally, the Red River settlers and the Hudson's Bay Company had adopted a riparian form of agriculture bound closely to the borders of the Red, Assinibione and their tributaries.³ Implements were of poor quality and few in number, methods of cultivation were crude and thus the acreage under cultivation was limited to only 6,392½ acres by 1850.⁴ The fields were fenced in what the Scots called "parks." As the proportion of wild land to be cultivated was so in favour of the former, they fenced the grain and let the stock run at large, a consideration which outweighed the harm done to the stock by the running at large of bulls.⁵ The fences were of "post and slab" for smaller fields and yards, of rails for larger fields, giving the river front the impression of one continuous farmyard. A photograph of a farm near Dynevor, Manitoba, circa 1869-70, is an excellent example of the different fences constructed by the settlers.⁶ The outer farm yard was protected by an elongated rail fence apparently constructed of small poplar rails and the inner farm buildings surrounded by regular picket fences. H.L. Hime's 1858 photograph of Bishop David Anderson's residence in the upper settlement also illustrates the elaborate network of inner and outer fences favoured by the residents of Red River prior to 1870.

It is not known precisely what changes to the landscape at Lower Fort Garry were brought about by the appointment of
Farm on Red River near Dynevor, circa 1869-1870, by Ryder Larsen (Manitoba Archives). The photograph illustrates the common technique of fencing in the Red River Settlement; the rail fencing defining the outer yard and the tall picket fence surrounding the inner hay yard and barns.
Residence of Bishop of Rupert's Land, September-October 1858 by H.L. Hime. (Glenbow-Alberta).
This early photograph provides excellent detail on the complex series of rail fences on the house's riverside. Note also the unkempt appearance of the landscape.
Alexander Lillie to the position of farm manager in 1857. A native of Fifeshire, Scotland with considerable experience in farm management, Lillie revolutionized the traditional company approach to agriculture by introducing modern agricultural implements and "intensive" methods of crop tillage. The extension of cultivation across the King's Road and the concentration of agricultural building north of the fort also represented a considerable break from tradition. Observers of the agricultural operation were certainly impressed. When Roderick Campbell arrived at the lower fort in October, 1859 he toured the place and "imagined" he had fallen into a "large farmyard in the country of Midlothian, so great were the number of wheat, barley and oat stacks in the farmyard in the wilderness." Lillie reversed the usual Red River practise of letting the stock run at large by erecting cattle and ox byres in the area around the stables. Only cattle ready for slaughter and enough oxen for the fort's immediate needs were kept at the fort proper. The majority were sent to various subordinate stations such as Cook's Creek, in the Indian settlement at St. Peter's, and Netley Creek, near the mouth of the Red River. Most importantly, Lillie was responsible for establishing an annual routine for the agricultural operations. The spring planting began each year toward the end of April both in the garden and the cultivated areas. The following excerpts from the Lower Fort Garry Journal explain the routine. By that time Lillie had long since left the lower fort but the farm was again in the hands of a specialist, Mr. Geddes.

- 21 April Commenced garden
- 26 April began farming this morning
- 2 May the ground is drying up considerably and I hope that we will be able to go on with the farming tomorrow
- 3 May Mr. Geddes with fifteen boys & men out in the field ploughing, sowing and harrowing
12 May  Mr. Geddes with a man and some boys
       planted some potatoes
13 May  planted more potatoes
15 May  33 men cutting seed potatoes
18 May  last of wheat sown today - 250 bushels
19 May  eight men & boys working in the field
       planting potatoes and sowing barley
24 May  Mr. Geddes & his men finished the
       farming today
11 June  four men sowing turnips
Once the seeds were in the ground the fields were fenced. As this appears to have been an annual activity, the fences presumably were dismantled in the spring and autumn to allow farm machinery to enter and leave the fields without disruption. In early April, 1869, "four men were painting and peeling pickets" made of juniper for the field fence and in June, after the seed was in the ground, five men were "working at the fencing." Beside the juniper pickets prepared for the fencing, the journal refers to Mr. Geddes and a crew of men and women "working at the paling for out in the field." Unfortunately, there is no photographic evidence for this period which details the style or the layout of these fences.

Fencing at Lower Fort Garry was not restricted to the fields. Later in November, 1869, four men were making a fence to surround the straw on the ice to prevent the cattle from breaking through the ice and drowning. Near the fort's agricultural complex, fencing was used to delineate separate "yards" for hay, corn and grain. The hay yard was already well established in April, 1869 when three labourers were appointed to "clear a place" for a "corn yard." Enclosed with a paling fence and gate, the corn yard was for the storage of oats and Indian corn. A new grain yard, meanwhile, was established behind either the north or south barn in August of
1869. The cattle and oxen byres attached to the stables or barns were also fenced.

If the farm manager decided to cultivate more land, the ground was usually broken by plough during the summer months. In June and early July there are references to men "ploughing fallow ground." This implies that the company farm managers had adopted a more sophisticated form of crop rotation. In mid summer local women were hired for "grubbing and weeding" the cereal crops as well as hoeing the larger vegetables crops such as potatoes and turnips.

The harvest commenced in August with the cutting of hay and then the wheat. By the 1860s the congestion of buildings north and south of the fort restricted the land available for hay so the main hay source was now twenty miles north at Netley Creek. Although the company had purchased a reaping machine from St. Paul and harness, ploughs and implements from England, the harvest remained a labour intensive operation throughout this period. On the 19th of August, 1870, for instance, Mr. Geddes was out reaping and binding barley with a work party of two men and fifteen women. The barley and oats were usually harvested by mid-September when, weather permitting, the crews turned to the wheat and vegetables. Again, the Lower Fort Garry Post Journal is the best source for the description of the harvest routine. It was a curious blend of old and new agricultural techniques as the work parties made their way through the fields:

27 August two men behind Long Lake cutting hay with the mower
28 August commenced reaping wheat...Mr. Geddes out in the field binding and cutting tracks in the wheat for the reaper
2 October finished reaping wheat today
4 October thirteen carts hauling in wheat/three men building grain stacks in the yard
5 October  Mr. Geddes and his party continued out in the field reaping and binding oats
7 October  Some women cutting the pease
8 October  finished cutting the crop today, pease, barley, and wheat
14 October had some women with two men pulling turnips and putting them in the store
15 October all the others with some swampy women taking up potatoes (took 335 bus. potatoes today)
22 October the last of the crop taken in today
5 November began threshing

After the harvest was finished, the crops were either immediately transferred to the grist mill by the creek or piled in stacks in the corn, hay or grain yard for threshing at a later date. The turnips and potatoes were stored in the root house while the majority of the fresh vegetables from the fort garden were either preserved or consumed immediately by the officers and servants mess. After the wheat was threshed, it was kept in various buildings about the fort including the barn, the distillery and possibly the stone warehouse. In the early 1860s, the wheat was hauled by cart or boat to Tait's mill a few miles up-river or McDermot's mill at the junction of Sturgeon Creek with the Assiniboine River. In 1865 the company purchased a steam mill for the old malt barn and thereafter, the grinding process was completed at the lower fort over the winter months.  

Farm Buildings: Agriculture
There were a number of buildings and structures associated with the agricultural operation both north and south of the fort. In the previous chapter, the horse and ox stable, the south and north cow barns north of the fort as well as the storehouse and root house south of the fort were described briefly.
This section will complete the identification of buildings and residences associated with the farming complex.

Farm Manager's Residence
In 1967 the archaeologists excavated a structure south of the fort enclosure thought to have been the farm manager's residence. Identified by Watson as such, item 124, this was a log house dismantled in 1884. The farm manager residence may have been a modification or addition to the structure that appears in an 1847 Finlay drawing or a new structure. Reference is also made in the Post Journal to the construction of a house for Mr. Geddes in 1868. The archaeological excavation indicated a small log structure, 12 feet by 30 feet, built upon a north-south long axis, with either a porch or an additional room, two cellars and a chimney, and possibly a fireplace. Although somewhat scattered, joints and fragments east of the east wall probably meant a porch was constructed on that exposure. An 8 foot by 12 foot porch is usually a fair indication that the building was used as a residence. It is also interesting to note that the date of manufacture for the ceramic artifacts ranged from 1833 to 1847 and 1847 to 1867 with clustering primarily in the 1847 to 1867 range. The extremely high percentage of wrought nails also led the archaeological investigators to support the proposition that the building was already standing in the mid 1840s. Once the farm was established after 1857, the company simply modified the structure to serve as a residence for the farm manager.

Grain - Flailing Barn
The 1967 excavations revealed the foundation and floor area of a building traditionally referred to as the grain-flailing barn.
It is not identified in the pre-1875 documentary sources but Watson's map indicated a building with an east-west long axis between the creek and the fort enclosure described as a log grain flailing building. If Watson's location of the building is accurate, Hime's 1858 photograph taken from south of the fort should have included this structure but it obviously post dates that shot. Two photographs taken between 1883 and 1911 showed a wooden, barn-like building with vertical siding in this location but unlike Watson's map, it has a north-south long axis.

The excavations confirmed the north-south long axis and an estimated building size of 81.5 feet by 23.5 feet. A thin layer of manure overlying the destroyed footing and a thick layer outside the west wall suggests the flailing barn was also used for housing livestock. As there was no indication of superstructure found during the excavations, the building could have been either log or light frame construction.

The portable artifacts were mostly circa 1900 except the nail types which supported a construction date sometime in the 1860s with considerable alteration at some point after 1880.

The Root House

Robert Watson's invaluable map of Lower Fort Garry identifies a small root house located immediately south-east of the grain flailing barn. Another victim of the many structures dismantled south of the fort in 1883, from the documentary sources it appears that it was partially or wholly covered with earth. In June, 1869 "two men were clearing away the earth and roof of the root house" to ready it for the crop of that year. Later two men were "covering up the root house" and, in October, when the crop was probably inside, one company employee was "making latches for the root house." It appears that the root house was covered with earth to protect its con-
tents from heavy frosts. Produce was then taken out as the need arose. In April 1870, for instance, "two men were hauling turnips from the root house." 41

**Corn, Grain and/or Hay Yard**
This area consisted of one or two yards surrounded by a paling fence where oats, hay and barley were stacked. By paling, the journal writer William Flett, was presumably referring to a wooden rail fence. 42 Watson shows a hay yard for the cattle to the rear of the stables on the north side of the fort. There may also have been "yards" to the south of the fort enclosure near the grain flailing building.

**Pigstyes**
There was more than one pigstye in operation at Lower Fort Garry by the early 1870s. The location is not known but it was probably a crude log structure associated with the farm buildings north of the fort. 43 Like the byres, they were muddied annually in the fall. 44

**Stablemen's House**
Watson included on his map the residence of a stableman north of the fort enclosure. 45 This was one area tested by the archaeologists where they found no structural evidence of such a structure. 46 The building, however, does appear on Vaughan's 1874 survey map 47 and a photograph taken from the north-east, circa 1871-80. 48 The latter photograph shows a whitewashed, one storey building running on a north-south axis with doors on the north and east walls and a chimney at the north-west corner. This building survived until at least the 1880s.
Dairy
Although its location is unknown, there was a dairy in operation at the fort by the late 1860s. Milk cows were kept to supply milk and cheese for the Upper and Lower Forts. The size of the dairy herd was not large as one maid, Charlotte Swain, was sufficient to do the milking. Documentary evidence for the existence of a "dairy" building is limited to an 1861 reference to a padlock being issued for the "dairy." Such scanty documentation does not dismiss the possibility that the dairy may have been part of another building such as the north or south barns.

Company Garden
The exact location of the company garden has not been established conclusively. The penitentiary officials supervised the operation of a vegetable garden enclosed by a stockade, 350 feet by 175 feet, immediately north of the North West Bastion. The company either had handed over that area to the penitentiary personnel in 1871 or they had another garden elsewhere. The logical location was across the road west of the fort. According to A.T. Cowley's description of life at Lower Fort Garry in 1868, "the garden was in charge of an old English gardener who got all his seeds from England, and he was a master in his work. Beginning with asparagus, he gave the officer's mess and Fort everything as it came in season, but "woe betide anyone who touched anything without his permission." The gardener to whom Cowley was referring was James Voller. Apparently, he tended both the vegetable garden as well as the flower beds. The Lower Fort Garry journal mentions Voller working away in the garden planting and transplanting as it was required. When a major task such as digging, weeding or harvesting was called for, Flett simply hired enough local labourers to complete the task. The only landscape feature
mentioned by Flett associated with the garden were the willows behind it which he kept cut down to allow maximum sunlight.  

**Industrial Complex 1860-1875**

When the Hudson's Bay Company moved back within the fort walls upon the departure of the Sixth Regiment of Foot, they were left a nucleus of buildings at the creek with no obvious function. Faced with the upkeep of these structures, the Hudson's Bay Company gradually adopted the facilities to meet the fort's increasing responsibilities as a transportation and agricultural centre. By 1865 the creek supported an impressive array of small cottage industries which included a steam mill for the production of flour and lumber, a brewery, and a maintenance complex for boat building. This escalating activity south of the fort had a considerable impact on the landscape. As buildings were now in operation on both sides of the creek, trees and brush had to be cleared for their operation and to allow for the construction of the Miller's house. The road system was expanded to include a trail along the south side of the creek to connect the Miller's house with the main road west of the fort. The following section describes briefly this resurgence of activity at the creek emphasizing wherever possible the impact upon the landscape.

**Boat Building**

Boat building began at Lower Fort Garry as a sideline to its role as a main transportation depot for the company's operations in the Northern Department. York boats stationed there required seasonal repair and frequent replacement. After 1865, when the steam mill was built in the renovated malt barn, Lower Fort Garry became the construction site for the Schooner *Polly* and later the steamboat *Chief Commissioner*. It should be
stressed that there is no evidence to suggest that ship building was a permanent industry at the fort; that is, no dry dock or elaborate installations were built at the mouth of the creek.

Lower Fort Garry was well equipped for York boat construction. There was the blacksmith, Norman Morrison, who supplied the necessary ironwork, and "old Cox" was particularly adept at making sails. By the late 1860s, and perhaps earlier, there was a boat shed where the York Boats were built. Although Watson does not show a boat shed on his plan, a small building clearly evident in Robert Bell's 1879 photograph of the industrial complex appears to be the proper size and in a logical location for a boat shed. The archaeologists carried out tests in 1965 and 1966 to locate this building. Alluvial deposits up to six feet deep, however, covered the underlying dolomitic limestone foundation. There was no sign of timbering, foundations or distinctive artifacts which might have indicated boat construction or storage.

The Lower Fort Garry Journal for 1868-74 documents the annual preparation for the navigation season in the late winter and spring. The reference to the "last of the twenty York Boats" being put into the water on 28 May 1869 is an indication of the considerable number stationed at the Lower Fort. Each fall they were hauled up "from the river to the top of the bank" for repair and to remove them from the ravages of ice.

The building and outfitting of the larger schooners and steamboats was done primarily outside, probably at the mouth of the creek. The adjacent buildings were available to the tradesmen and labourers connected with the work. In 1869 the Steamer International was pulled out of the water at the Lower Fort for extensive repairs. Captain Aymond and his crew laid down wood skids for hauling the steamboat ashore. Apparently, after the repairs were finished, the skidway was
The construction of the steamboat Chief Commissioner during the 1871-72 winter was according to George Ingram, a one-shot effort using make-shift methods. The construction took place outside and ways to launch the steamer were fashioned at the last moment, further evidence that there was no permanent physical establishment for ship building.

The Distillery/Brewery Complex
The building erected at the mouth of the creek in 1845 to act as a distillery was used as a brewery and storage area throughout the 1860s and early 1870s. In 1869, for instance, two men were occupied heading up flour barrels "from the Distillery" and in 1870 "all the men were hauling up wheat from the old Distillery." In 1870-71 considerable activity in the distillery and malt house suggests that the brewery establishment was being revived after a considerable period of disuse, or that is was being enlarged. In November, 1870 the malt house was cleaned out and a malt pit dug. The malt kiln was re-activated the following spring and beer making commenced. The brewery process continued at Lower Fort Garry throughout the 1870s. By the end of that decade, however, the alternative sources and the gradual reduction of non-fur trade functions at Lower Fort Garry dictated the end of the brewery. In April 1880 the fort's labourers were employed in "demolishing the brewery."

The Grist Mill/Saw Mill Complex
In 1966 and 1967, the archaeological team excavated a multi-purpose structure identified by Robert Watson as the grist mill. Historians and archaeologists now agree that the structure was constructed as a malt barn in 1845 and then converted to a multi-purpose building in 1865. The expense of transportation and the precarious timetable of the private
mills had persuaded the Company to establish its own steam mill at Lower Fort Garry in 1865. Men "working at the steam mill" in October, 1865 were probably engaged in its construction and in November, Samuel Taylor noted in his journal that a steam mill for the grinding of wheat had commenced operating at the Lower Fort. The renovation of the malt barn to include a steam driven grist mill also involved the introduction of a saw mill. The steam sawmill was definitely in operation by the late 1860s using the same source of power as the grist mill.

The transition from a malt barn to a grist mill/saw mill complex involved the removal of portions of the wooden flooring at the east end of the building and the construction of stone platforms for steam equipment. The operation may also have included a lathe room. In 1869, a "turning lathe" was brought to the fort and, according to the post journal, a building constructed to accommodate it. If, in fact, a separate building was built to house the lathe, no evidence has survived to confirm its location or structure. Archaeologist James Chism has suggested that alterations might have been made to accommodate a heavy metal lathe in the grist mill. This might have involved the strengthening of the flooring directly west of the steam engine and the erection of a partition to form a room at the west end of the building.

The introduction of the steam powered grist and saw mill in 1865 undoubtedly influenced the immediate landscapes. In preparation for grinding, the boiler was cleaned, the millstone picked and the boiler pumped up. Any waste material was unceremoniously dumped into the creek. John Clouston, a local settler interviewed by Barbara Johnstone, remembered the water wheel in the first grist mill. He also contended that the creek was dug out wider at the mill and a dam built to hold back the water. This dam, which according to Clouston was built of logs, has proved impossible to verify by means of archaeological or historical research. Cordwood for the steam
engines and boilers was transported from across the river, thereby further denuding the aspen forest on the east bank of the Red River.

For the saw mill operation, logs were floated to the creek mouth by the river route and then hauled up to be dried and stripped. The sawn lumber was stored by the mill, possibly in sheds, or taken inside the fort for protection. A saw pit was maintained in the area for specialized jobs such as cutting roots for York Boat frames.

The grist mill continued to operate on a moderate scale until 1874 when a large milling apparatus was introduced at the Upper Fort. The smaller mill at the Lower Fort, along with the saw mill, continued in limited production until 1879, when competition from private local operators and the company's investment in the Fort Garry mill persuaded the Company to shut down the pioneering venture.

Miller's Residence
The Hudson's Bay Company's commitment to the operation of the grist mill after 1865 also involved the hiring of a miller and the construction of a log house near the river bank south of the creek. This building appears on the Watson map as well as in the background of Robert Bell's 1879 photograph of the industrial complex at the creek. It was clearly a single storey post-on-sill building. Excavation in 1965 and 1966 revealed a wooden floored log structure, 16 feet by 22.5 feet, built on a north-south long axis, with a shallow basin-shaped central cellar. The Bell photograph which includes this residence shows no concise evidence of particular landscape features such as fences, garden and walkways. The archaeologist did trace a roadway heading to the residence along the south side of the creek.
The Storehouse
Finlay's 1847 sketches showed a log storehouse north-west of the malt barn. This building, recorded by Watson and described as a store, was dismantled in March and April, 1873. It was moved inside the fort where it was re-erected as the new saleshop west of the retail store/fur loft. On April 21, 1873 "four men" were carrying the rafters from the "old red Store" into the fort, while two men "marked the logs" so "as it may be put up in some way." The removal of the large storehouse inside the fort in 1873 foreshadowed the almost wholesale dismantlement of the industrial complex in the early 1880s.

Engineers Cottage
The cottage south of the fort has been the subject of more intensive investigation with regard to its landscape than any other historic structure at Lower Fort Garry. In 1970 James Chism and Karlis Karklins investigated the documentary and archaeological evidence for fences surrounding the Engineer's Cottage. Shortly thereafter, John Stewart produced landscape maintenance guidelines for the area south of the fort with particular emphasis on the Engineer's Cottage. The result is that the historic landscape surrounding the cottage should be a fairly accurate restoration of the period when the house was occupied by Edmund Abell and his family.

The extensive use of steam engines in the boats and mills of the Company required an engineer to supervise their operation and maintenance. E.R. Abell was hired sometime in the 1860s, probably first working on the International launched in 1862, and continued to work for the Company until the 1880s. He took up quarters in the cottage and continued to live there with his wife and children until he left the Hudson's Bay Company. An American, little is known about Abell's personal
life or his stay at the cottage. He appears to have been a self taught mechanic rather than a trained engineer.

What improvements were made to the landscape around the Engineer's Cottage during the 1860s and 1870s probably can be attributed to the persistence of Mrs. Abell. In the fall of 1868, John Smith commenced work on the cottage kitchen; a separate structure initially but later attached to the rear of the main building. By the early 1870s reference to repairs for the cottage were frequent. Most significant, in terms of the landscape, came in May, 1873 when three men "commenced working at the paling round Mr. Abell's quarters." A week long project, the new fencing consisted of poplar slabs for paling and posts. The somewhat dilapidated vertical slat fence seen in the 1879 Bell photograph was conceivably the remains of the poplar fence built for Mr. Abell six years earlier. Chism and Karklins concluded that the 1873 fence was the earliest actual yard enclosure at the cottage. The Bell photograph referred to by Chism and Karklins, however, lacks certain details with regard to the fence. There is nothing to indicate the presence of a fence running east-west in the area to the south of the house. Furthermore, one cannot tell whether the north fence extends westward beyond the rear of the house or whether it turned in line with the back of the house and abuts its north-west corner. In the Bell photograph, the fence does not appear to have been whitewashed although this may have been the effect of weathering. Constructed of vertical slats of an uneven nature, the width of the slats not only varies from slat to slat but the individual slats are also of varying heights.

The fence erected in 1873 enclosed a small front yard where sometime during the 1870s a row of small coniferous trees were planted approximately three feet inside the east fence. In the restored landscape, some balsam fir equally spaced were planted parallel to the fence. Besides their
ornamental value these six fir trees served the functional purpose of a windbreak protecting the cottage from wind channeled along the river. The Bell photograph also identifies a small out-building; possibly a privy a few feet outside the front fence just short of its south end. This shed may also have been associated with the fort's boat maintenance function.

The front garden to the Abell residence was further enclosed in 1877 with the addition of a porch and double windows. The restored landscape includes a kitchen garden on the west side of the house. As the Abell's had a separate mess from the other company employees, a kitchen garden was a logical addition. The wood chopping and storage area presumably was also on the west side of the house.

Landscape Maintenance
The Hudson's Bay Company's expanding range of activities and structures required an organized approach to the maintenance of the fort throughout the year. During the winter, snow was cleared away from the main pathways and platforms and "tracks" kept open to the river; the main roadway during the winter months. Every spring, company servants were occupied clearing away rubbish from about the various domestic residences. At the creek, the saw mill generated large quantities of wood chips and other surplus material that required the men's attention.

Access surface water continued to be a problem in the 1860s and 1870s. In April, 1873 two men were "making drains round the fort to run off the water;" a year later two labourers were "cutting a drain below the saw mill," possibly part of the system discovered during the archaeological excavations. The persistent problem with drainage throughout the fort strongly suggests that the company's officers never did introduce a systematic approach to the drainage difficulties.
They simply added wood drains on an ad hoc basis when a new structure was constructed.

Road maintenance was another on-going responsibility overseen by the clerk or trader in charge. In July 1869, three men were "hauling stones" and "making a track" in front of the fort.\textsuperscript{104} Traditionally the "front" of the fort referred to the riverside outside the east gate. The following year, the summer renovations involved the hauling of gravel presumably from the river bank, "for the walks in need of repair within the fort walls."\textsuperscript{105} These gravel walkways possibly were complemented by the wooden platforms running along the front of the main buildings. The post journal makes no reference to lawn mowing except a rather ambiguous reference to a man "cutting down some grass inside" the walls in July, 1874.\textsuperscript{106}

Most of the summer work at Lower Fort Garry took place in locations difficult, if not impossible, to determine precisely. Every spring, for instance, hides and furs were spread outside to be aired and cleaned.\textsuperscript{107} This activity might have taken place outside the fur loft or in a specific place on the grounds. Another example is the carpenters' "yard," from which men were hauling surplus timber in August, 1872. The "yard" might have been near the creek or tucked away somewhere inside the fort.\textsuperscript{108} The maintenance of the company's dogs at the lower fort is yet another mystery. The dogs used in the winter mail brigade to Norway House and York Factory were retained at the Red River posts throughout the 1860s.

The Landscape Inside the Fort: 1860-1875
The landscape inside the fort did not change dramatically during the 1860s. The Big House lawn and garden introduced in the 1850s were maintained and at least one interesting feature added. Outside the fence, the walkways were repaired
periodically and several buildings constructed. This pattern of development was interrupted in 1870 upon the arrival of the Wolseley expedition and subsequently, in 1871, when the northern half of the fort plantation was leased to the federal government as part of the penitentiary complex.

After William Lane's departure for the White Horse Plains post in 1855, a succession of clerks and traders resided in the Big House until 1868, when William Flett and his family settled in for a fifteen year stay. References to the Big House garden for this period are rare. H.M. Robinson, a visitor in the 1870s, described the Big House and the grounds surrounding it in lofty terms:

It is a long two-storey stone building with a broad piazza encircling it on three sides. A square plot of green sward surrounding it is fenced in with neat railing, and kept in extremely good order. A broad gravel walk leads from the gateway to the piazza. Huge shade trees border it and beds of waving and fragrant flowers load the business air with their perfume.109

Obviously the company had decided to retain the Big House environs as a landscape garden in the Victorian tradition. The lawns were being cut and maintained, flower beds were not well established and the trees bordering the walkway were beginning to lend a refined air to the Big House grounds.

The improvements to the grounds were a gradual process. In June, 1861 when Scot Alexander Lillie was in charge, reference was made in the fort accounts to "5 panes of glass" being issued for the "hot bed in garden."110 This isolated reference to a hot bed meant a permanent structure was under construction or it may have been little more than a temporary measure to protect young plants. Whatever the scale of the hot bed, an 1883 photograph of the Big House shows a wooden hot house with frame windows located alongside the veranda on the south side of the Big House.111 This south exposure was the logical location for the original hot bed as well. For comparative evidence there is also a detailed 1870s photograph
The Garden at the Governor's Residence, Upper Fort Garry, circa 1871-75 (Hudson's Bay Company). This is the most detailed photograph of a historic landscape garden in the Hudson's Bay Company tradition. Note the Greenhouse and cold frame with the glass frame doors at both ends of the structure to allow for maximum exposure to sunlight. Also note the castor bean and other flowering plants located symmetrically in a star design throughout the lawn with wire hoop supports for the larger varieties.
of a Greenhouse and coldframe in the garden at Upper Fort Garry. A more sophisticated structure than the hot house at Lower Fort Garry, this particular one held rows of potted plants on shelves. Glass Frame doors were installed at both ends of the structure to allow for maximum exposure to sunlight. The Greenhouse, in turn, was protected by a tight board windbreak fence. By the 1870s the company encouraged the hop vines to grow up the sides of the buildings. In this same Upper Fort Garry photograph, also note the castor bean and other flowering plants located symmetrically in a star design throughout the lawn with wire hoop supports for the larger varieties. This Victorian style garden was also highlighted by a carefully positioned border parallel to the walkway, made of evenly spaced planks.

In the 1883 photograph of the Big House, the sun dial sits on the lawn immediately west of the hot house. This was another feature of the landscape garden which had survived from an earlier period. It is also quite possible that the flagpole, located in the North East Bastion in the Finlay sketches, had been moved by the 1860s to the location in the south-east corner of the Big House lawn. According to previous Lower Fort Garry historians, the flagpole was placed there so as to be prominent to river transport. It remained in that location until 1886 or 1887 when its destruction by a storm persuaded company officials to move it to a new location outside the South West Bastion.

Lack of photographs and documentary evidence for the 1860s make it difficult to trace the evolution of the landscape around the Big House. Features which appear in the 1880 photographs when the lower fort had begun to decline probably were introduced during the 1860s when the fort was at its height of activity. On the basis of the secondary sources, it appears that the company continued to maintain the inner area around the Big House as a landscape garden. The gardener, Englishman James Voller, enjoyed the benefit of earlier horti-
cultural experiments in Red River as well as an improved transport system which could deliver seeds within a year from Eastern Canada, the United States or England.

Outside the Big House grounds the intensive activity generated by the operation of the farm and the assorted endeavours at the creek compelled the company to expand its facilities within the fort walls. In 1867 work began on a large Northern Department warehouse to complement the other two major warehouses at Lower Fort Garry. Situated against the east wall but north of the east gate, surviving photographs show the building clearly. A photograph, circa 1871-75, and another taken in 1880 show a two and one half storey structure with weatherboard siding and distinctive half windows under the eaves. Two drawings, one of 1871 and another dated from 1873, confirm the location and the building style. Archaeological excavation uncovered the structural remains of the main building with a lightly constructed porch-like structure at the south end. In terms of location and dimensions the main building consisted of a 32 foot by 72 foot foundation with a stone central footing bisecting the structure along its north-south axis. The porch-like extension at the south end of the building added another 12 feet to the overall length of the structure. Large limestone blocks found near the north end of the building suggested that a porch may also have been constructed at that end of the building.

Several years after the new Northern Department Warehouse was completed in 1868, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to erect a sales shop immediately west of the fur loft/retail store. Instead of a new building, they dismantled the large storehouse by the creek, and moved it to the site inside the walls where it became the new sales shop. Further west of the new sales shop, Watson identifies the foundations of a meat warehouse, presumably built during the 1860s and removed during the general blitz on the fort's building in 1881-82. The only
reference to such a structure are two references to a "beef store" in the Lower Fort Garry post journal. The area identified by Watson as a meat warehouse has not been investigated by the archaeologists as yet. Certainly, the need for such a facility did exist. There are frequent references in the journal and daily account books to the slaughtering of oxen or cattle for the mess and fur trade. On the third and fourth of November, 1873, for example, 29 cattle were slaughtered and the mutton stored somewhere at Lower Fort Garry.

The landscape along the south side of the fort was becoming crowded with structures by the 1860s. Posts for tethering horses were located by Watson inside the wall by the South East Bastion. A photograph taken during the 1880s, however, clearly shows the tethering posts positioned along the outer perimeter of the Big House fence on the south side. If, in fact, the tethering posts were located along the south wall, it seems strange that this was the area of wall removed in 1882 to take the Northern Department warehouse and another structure intact to a new location. Alternatively, when the wall section was removed, perhaps the tethering posts were then moved to the fence area as a logical replacement. As horses were such a prominent mode of transportation at Red River, it is highly probable tethering posts were introduced early in the fort's history.

The daily routine at Hudson's Bay Company trading posts, and the stone fort was no exception, was regulated by the ringing of the bell to signal meals, the commencement of work and the day's activities. William Lane related how the "Fort Bell rings" about five o'clock every morning (except Sunday) to call the servants to work. Mrs. A.T. Cowley, daughter of chief trader William Flett, remembered the ringing of the fort bell throughout the day to call the men to meals and change of occupation. It rang so many times she was always relieved to hear the six o'clock bell when "everything was
closed for the day.\textsuperscript{129} The location of the bell was on a wooden frame, about 13 feet from the west wall, behind the location of the sales shop erected in 1873.\textsuperscript{130} The Hime photograph taken from the south side of the fort near the creek shows a roof peeking over the wall which may be the original bell tower.\textsuperscript{131} A later photograph by Dr. Robert Bell, circa 1878-80, contains a wooden tower behind the retail store which also may have housed the fort bell.\textsuperscript{132} Whatever its original location, Watson speculated that in 1911 the bell was moved to the tree in front of the Big House.\textsuperscript{133}

The Second Battalion, Quebec Rifles
Lower Fort Garry remained relatively isolated from the major events that transpired during the Riel Resistance of 1869-70. During November, 1869, Colonel Stoughton Dennis failed to rally support for the Canadian government from his temporary headquarters at the lower fort and by Tuesday, December 13, 1869, clerk William Flett could report that the last "government officials" had left.\textsuperscript{134} Tranquility prevailed until the following summer when the Wolseley expedition arrived at Red River to suppress the Métis resistance. Lower Fort Garry, a symbol of the established order under attack, was turned over to the Second Battalion, Quebec Rifles, who arrived on August 26th.

The stone fort had been suggested as a good place for quartering the troops before the expedition had started westward. Consequently, similar to the fort's experience with the Sixth Regiment of Foot, plans were underway to build new structures before the arrival of the troops.\textsuperscript{135} A sketch of the proposed structural additions are reproduced in the landscape plans.\textsuperscript{136} The impact on the landscape was considerable. The plans included major changes to the north side of the fort in the form of several new buildings as well as renovations
Plan of alterations to be made for the Second Battalion, Quebec Rifles, 1870. (National Archives of Canada).
to several others including the Northern Department warehouse, the stone warehouse and the servant's quarters by the west gate. Outside the fort walls, the company's barn was re-shingled and loaded with grain from the company's stores, while a troop canteen or temporary men's house was erected south of the fort near the Blacksmith shop. The work of altering the fort to suit the needs of the troop continued throughout the autumn but was completed before the harsh winter weather set in.

By the east gate of the fort a two storey guard house was erected complete with an orderly room, pay office and living quarters for the pay master and quarter master. This "guard room and sergeants mess" appears in the photograph taken from outside the fort or the north side, circa 1870-75, as well as the "birdseye view of fort enclosure, 1871." The Northern Department Warehouse built in 1867 was appropriated as a barracks for 180 men and a hand rail and porch added for the troops. For the men's convenience a 20 foot by 10 foot privy with "6 seats and Urinals at each end" was built against the north wall parallel to the former Northern Department warehouse. The original stone warehouse was also converted to a barracks and an ablution room, 30 feet by 15 feet, and a cook house, 40 feet by 17 feet, erected behind the north-west corner of the barracks against the wall. The "log house," which had appeared in the early Finlay sketches and then partially in the Hime photograph of the Big House, was to be converted into a hospital with a passage and an addition connected to the north side to include a privy, ablution room and kitchen. This building, described earlier as the original carpenter shop, was later removed for the construction of the Doctor's Office. Directly west of the hospital, the Quebec Rifles planned to erect "a two storied House 50 feet x 20 feet" with enough space "to hold 50 men." It is not clear whether or not this building actually was built. The post journal for
19 September, 1870, recorded the arrival of Duncan McRae and Robert Clouston to lay the foundations for a new storehouse, 24.5 feet by 50 feet.\textsuperscript{146} That isolated reference was not elaborated upon any further by the company clerk in charge, William Flett. Nor does this building exist on the "Birds-eye view of fort enclosure, 1871,"\textsuperscript{147} or the plan of building occupied by the North West Mounted Police during the winter of 1873-74.\textsuperscript{148} A comprehensive archaeological investigation of that area between the Northwest Bastion and the hospital/carpenter's shop may shed further light on this confusing area of the post landscape. Another latrine was also planned for the mystery building. The accommodation of the troops was completed with the occupation of the Men's House as a recreation room and issuing store and the Big House as the officer's quarters.\textsuperscript{149}

Of the buildings constructed for the Quebec Rifles, the only one excavated was the troop canteen south of the fort enclosure identified by Robert Watson as the log men's house and canteen which was torn down about 1884.\textsuperscript{150} Excavation uncovered a fragmentary structure in the area delineated by Watson with a north-south orientation; the east wall measured 92.5 feet, the west wall 60.3 feet and the width was 15 feet.\textsuperscript{151} Chism elaborated that these figures, as was so often the case, represented the logs' deteriorated and compressed dimensions rather than the original size.\textsuperscript{152} Variations in the thickness of the fill suggested that the northern part of the building was constructed over what had been a natural depression running toward the river. This depression had been filled with clay to provide a level construction surface. An entrance to the structure was on the east side; a path, therefore, may have led from this main entrance to the trail leading to the east gate of the fort. A privy was probably the only exterior support structure for the temporary residence.

Alterations to the lower fort were barely complete by the spring of 1871 when the decision was made to send the troops
back to Eastern Canada. Most of the troops had departed by early June. The impact on the landscape was restricted primarily to the structural additions and renovations on the south side of the fort and the increased stimulus to the fort's existing facilities such as the stable, grist mill and inevitably, the brewery. As the Quebec Rifles had departed by early spring, it is unlikely that they started a garden. Presumably, they passed the winter mounting guard, drilling, and carrying out the mundane daily routines practiced by soldiers not actively involved in a military campaign.

The Penitentiary Complex
The departure of the Quebec Rifles in the spring of 1871 left Lower Fort Garry with more facilities than its trading and auxiliary operations now required. Their exit also coincided with the province's search for a location to serve the purpose of a penitentiary. Lieutenant-Governor Adams G. Archibald visited Lower Fort Garry on May 22, 1871 and declared that he had found "a two storey (sic) stone building within the walls of the Fort, which, with some small expenditure, could be made to answer temporarily the purpose of a Penitentiary till a suitable building can be erected." On June 1, 1871 the Hudson's Bay Company and the provincial government reached an agreement whereby the latter party leased the stone warehouse and all the land and smaller buildings enclosed in a stockade, for one thousand dollars annually. This arrangement continued until 1874 when the penitentiary complex passed from provincial to federal control.

The establishment of Manitoba's first provincial penitentiary at the stone fort resulted in various building modifications and landscape alterations which effectively divided Lower Fort Garry into two separate communities; the Hudson's Bay Company who continued to supervise their trading and industrial operation from the Big House, the sales shop and the
complex south of the fort, and the penitentiary complex surrounded by a stockade in the north side of the fort with the large stone warehouse the focal point of its activity. The warden, Samuel Lawrence Bedson, preferred to establish his own service facilities instead of depending entirely upon the Hudson's Bay Company. Consequently, the prisoners had their own ice house, root house, garden and bake ovens, facilities that the company already had in operation in other areas of the fort. The result was that the landscape, particularly on the north side of the fort and beyond the wall by the agricultural barns and stables, became increasingly congested with structures and activity.

Perhaps the most interesting landscape feature introduced by the penitentiary officials was the palisade built to enclose the exercise yard. Sketched by Robert Watson in his 1928 map, the palisade supposedly extended along the south face of the penitentiary building, then ran diagonally to the powder magazine and then several feet west of the structure turned north to the wall. According to Watson, this stockade ran about 36 feet out from the wall and at the west end, a "strong wooden gateway approximately 20 feet high" was erected. A portion of the prison yard and palisade directly east of the penitentiary was excavated in 1965 and 1969 to determine the construction and state of preservation of the palisade and to confirm its location. A trench and the below-surface portions of the pickets were found as well as some evidence of the exercise yard enclosed by the palisade. Pickets found in the main trench consisted primarily of round and quadrilateral timbers, but some appeared to be planks made of white oak. Subsequent investigation of the palisade in 1971 at the south end of the penitentiary demonstrated that the uprights were formed of 6 to 11 inch wide planks. Some of the planks probably made of split logs, were round on one side, suggesting that the builders did not use only squared lumber in the palisade. The most important discovery by
the archaeologists, however, came east of the penitentiary, where two right angles in the palisade not recorded by Watson in 1926 were shown to exist. Nevertheless, to Watson's credit, there was an empty trench in that section of the palisade dug by the archaeologists which he had miscalculated in his fort plan. This palisade detail is visible in an 1873 drawing as well as the photograph showing the fort from the north-east, circa 1871-80. Clearly more than ten feet in height, the palisade had a gable-like addition to offset the height of the north fort wall where the two intersect northeast of the penitentiary.

In 1971 Peter Priess supervised shallow excavations in front of all entrances to the penitentiary to determine whether or not features such as walkways, steps and roofed porches were associated with the building. Nothing was discovered relevant to the northern entrance but a stone-lined, gravel walkway was located leading to the western entrance. A shallow, stone-rimmed opening near the south-eastern corner of the west door was thought to be a support for some type of narrow pole. This pole may have stood alone or have been associated with some other unidentified feature. On the entrance to the eastern end of the southern wall similar shallow excavations revealed a flagstone footing of undetermined age.

While the palisade was the major structural addition to the Lower Fort Garry landscape by the penitentiary officials, other structures and functions should be briefly described. The prisoner's ice house was located outside the wall at the east end of the palisade. Directly behind the penitentiary building, the company's masons or some local contractor installed a bake oven against the north wall. Farther afield, a root house was built into the river bank north of the fort enclosure. Careful scrutiny of the photograph taken from the northeast shows a gabled structure built into the
river bank with a fresh spoil pile indicating recent construction activity.\textsuperscript{173} Partial excavation of this building in 1967 revealed that a dolomitic limestone building was still present in relatively stable condition. The walls, floor and one gable were intact, protected by a clay fill which, according to Chism, could have been insulation clay from the collapsed roof.

The prison root house excavated was semi-subterranean with outside dimensions of 17 feet by 14 feet. The walls were constructed of two feet thick random-course split-faced limestone.\textsuperscript{174} An interesting feature not readily apparent in the photograph was a stone-lined, semi-circular gutter, 1.5 feet to 2.5 feet wide by 0.3 feet deep, resting on the bank above the house. Designed to divert water away from the root house, the gutter ran to a point midway around the sides of the root house.\textsuperscript{175} The approach to the root house was either along the top of the bank or down the pathway visible to the south of the root house in the circa 1871-80 photograph of the penitentiary complex.\textsuperscript{176} This roadway does not appear to have been gravelled but it was lined with stones or boulders.

The root house was necessary to store the large quantities of vegetable produce grown in the prisoner's garden. The penitentiary garden, according to Watson, covered a stockade 2½ acre plot immediately north of the fort.\textsuperscript{177} Either this area was previously developed as a garden by the Hudson's Bay Company or it was introduced by the prisoners specifically for the use of the penitentiary. Whatever its origin, this garden enterprise grew rapidly despite the fact the 1875 crop was destroyed by locusts.\textsuperscript{178} The succeeding year's crop, which warden Bedson described as "enormous," covered a wide array of common vegetables from French beans to tomatoes. A complete list of the garden produce, quantity grown and price is reproduced in the Goldring Report.\textsuperscript{179} The location of the prisoner's garden north of the fort raises the question of
where to locate the Hudson's Bay Company garden. Was it within the fort walls or across the King's Road on the eastern edge of the company's considerable agricultural reserve. Two photographs included in the landscape plans show a corral west of the fort which might enclose a garden.\textsuperscript{180}

There are several other minor landscape features associated with the penitentiary complex. In November, 1874, the convicts' daily routine involved the digging of the well.\textsuperscript{181} The location of this well has never been identified but one would assume that it was somewhere within the leased property north of the fort. Perhaps connected to this well was a drain laying project completed during 1875.\textsuperscript{182} The men were also engaged in various work parties outside the walls, farming, cutting wood, and carrying water. There was also the traditional prison practise of breaking rock. The archaeologists uncovered crushed limestone in the vicinity of the prison yard. Watson was informed by Alfred Franks that the prisoners themselves brought the rocks "from the river bank, in hand barrows," which might account for the rocks shown strewn about the riverbank in the photograph of the penitentiary complex.\textsuperscript{183}

\textbf{The North-West Mounted Police at Lower Fort Garry: 1873-1874}

The occupation of Lower Fort Garry by the Hudson's Bay Company and the penitentiary complex was further complicated by the decision to barrack the first contingent of North-West Mounted Police at the stone fort in the autumn of 1873.\textsuperscript{184} According to historian Philip Goldring, the acquisition or rental of buildings and grounds at the lower fort was not without complications.\textsuperscript{185} The government already owned several buildings there, but expensive alterations were required and the Hudson's Bay Company, which had previously surrendered the stone warehouse for the penitentiary was reluctant to rent out more than one of its remaining buildings. Despite the pressure on its facilities and the extra labour needed to fulfill the
force's required fuel and rations, the Company benefitted financially by the police occupation. Beside the 3,000 dollar rent for three buildings they must have made a profit on their supply contract and the canteen which they operated for the police.\textsuperscript{186}

The impact of 150 recruits upon the Lower Fort Garry landscape was most visibly represented by the addition and alteration of several buildings as well as the establishment of new stables to accommodate fifty horses. Goldring supports the idea that stables were erected near the fort with harness rooms and storage for hay and oats.\textsuperscript{187} Neither the sketch of the fort showing the mounties' accommodation within the fort\textsuperscript{188} or the building contract records confirm the location or indeed, existence of the new stables.\textsuperscript{189} It is possible that the Hudson's Bay Company simply arranged to have their stables north of the fort expanded to house the police mounts. Meanwhile, before the bulk of the force arrived, Colonel Smith ordered the "lay out" of an "exercise ground, about 40 by 50 yards" in the vicinity of the stone fort. According to James Fullerton's memories, this "hippodrome" was lined with brick to help prevent broken bones.\textsuperscript{190} The exact location of this exercise ground is not known.

As much as possible, the Company hoped that the police activities would be carried out in buildings already owned by the government. If one refers to the landscape plan of the police occupation,\textsuperscript{191} these government buildings consisted of a small structure between the men's house and the bakery which was renovated by the addition of a kitchen and wash-room to serve as a hospital, and the guardhouse beside the river gate which continued to serve that function. The large Northern Department fur and pemmican warehouse near the North East Bastion became the barracks for "A" and "C" divisions.\textsuperscript{192} The balance of the contingent took up quarters in the new retail shop along side the old Hudson's Bay Company retail
store while the officers, to their disgruntlement at times, found themselves in the attic of the Big House. New structural additions included the kitchen, washroom and latrine behind the old Northern Department warehouse; a kitchen and washroom at the rear of the new barracks and a connected cooking and washing facility was attached by covered passageway to the old Quebec Rifles canteen now used as a hospital. As the new buildings did not include the meat store west of the new salesshop, one can presume that this small storage structure was built earlier either by the Hudson's Bay Company or the Quebec Rifles.

The North West Mounted Police residency at the lower fort clarified several landscape features. The area from the river gate to the south wall, with the Big House fence bordering on the west, served as the parade ground. Presumably this open space in the now congested inner fort had never been committed to structures. The sketch of the Mounted Police headquarters, shows the Big House fence forming a rectangular enclosure around the Big House garden. A roadway followed the same route outside the fence, branching off periodically to the various structures. In 1873-74, the flagpole was firmly ensconced inside the Big House fence at the south-east corner. As the Fletts continued to occupy the main floor of the Big House, they remained in charge of the Big House garden and lawns with the aid of the English gardener, James Voiler.

The police force's short stay at Lower Fort Garry was run along strict military lines which saw the men spend most of the daylight hours pursuing rigorous riding and foot drills. Their impact on the landscape is difficult to measure outside the structural changes, the new stables and the intensive use of the parade grounds. The heavy demand for fuel during the winter had the company scurrying about for cordwood but they still had a firm control over their agriculture reserve, surveyed in 1874 by A.H. Vaughan. As late as 1880 the Hudson's
Bay Company still retained 930 acres on the west side of the Red River and 816 acres on the east side so apparently they did not lack for sources of firewood.\textsuperscript{196} When the Mounted Police left in June, 1874, however, "leaving a few cattle, rooms full of discarded furniture and equipment and their unpaid bills,"\textsuperscript{197} it symbolized the beginning of a slow retreat of activity at Lower Fort Garry. The penitentiary remained until 1877 but the large agricultural and industrial network accumulated after 1858 gradually was dismantled or destroyed.

**Conclusion**

The period from 1865 to 1875 represents the most hectic period in Lower Fort Garry's history in terms of activity, building and diversity of operation. Besides the expansion of the company's agricultural and industrial complex, there was the occupancy of parts of the fort by non-Company functions and personnel. Despite these developments, the constantly changing landscape of the fort and its environs was not altered immeasurably. The agricultural reserve, for instance, had been assembled during the 1840s and 1850s and only awaited the company's decision to cultivate it. That resolution was made in 1857. The Big House fence and garden remained intact and from the scanty available evidence, the trees and flower beds continued to mature during this period.

Above all, this busy time at the lower fort exemplified how closely intertwined and subservient the landscape was to the company's economic operation. With the exception of the Big House and its garden, the buildings were simple, substantial and above all functional. The landscape reflected the functional nature of the structures erected by the company. Trees and ground cover were sacrificed indiscriminately if a building or activity was decided upon. Roadways and paths were developed as the need arose. Although the Hudson's Bay
Company did not adhere to any organized system of development, it was to their advantage to maintain the landscape. To detract from the constant threat of fire, the grounds were periodically cleaned of rubbish and the grass cut for hay. The series of drains built throughout the fort were repaired and cleaned annually. The agricultural operation, with its myriad of barns, stables and fields required more careful organization than in the past. The Hudson's Bay Company adopted the system of fenced "yards" to store their hay, grain and assorted crops as well as to protect them from the livestock maintained north of the fort.

The more intensive use of land at Lower Fort Garry during the 1860s and 1870s necessitated a more controlled approach to the landscape. The lease of the north side of the fort for the use of the penitentiary meant palisades were erected for a prison yard and large stockades for their substantial garden. South of the fort, the specialists now employed by the Company to run the farm and the industrial complex introduced or expanded their own segregated domestic landscapes. The Abell's residence at the Engineer's Cottage is the best example of this development. A fence enclosed their garden and fir trees were planted for shelter and ornamental purposes. The miller and the farm manager may have adopted a similar approval to their domestic surroundings. By the 1870s Lower Fort Garry supported a wide spectrum of landscape features associated and influenced directly by the surrounding activity or domicile.
Lower Fort Garry always had been insulated to a certain degree from dramatic change. When the Hudson's Bay Company's transportation network shifted southward from York Factory to Upper Fort Garry and St. Paul, the Lower Fort had emerged as an important trans-shipment point, farming centre and the location of several thriving cottage industries. When the fur trade began to decline in the southern and more populated region of Western Canada, the company sustained its impressive array of buildings and facilities by a lucrative leasing arrangement with the provincial and federal penitentiary system. Meanwhile, as settlers arrived in growing numbers at the embryonic city of Winnipeg, Lower Fort Garry was safely ensconced on its comparatively large land bank. The railway age, however, which began in the 1870s and continued to the end of the century brought about the steady decline and obsolescence of Lower Fort Garry as a trading and trans-shipment post. Once it was decided that the transcontinental railway would pass through Winnipeg rather than Selkirk, it became evident that Lower Fort Garry would never again be more than a summer retreat, a local sales shop and a minor administrative centre for smaller outposts on Lake Winnipeg.

Lower Fort Garry did not die. The Hudson's Bay Company simply decided to change the emphasis of its operation. Most of the buildings at the creek south of the fort were dismantled and moved or destroyed during the early 1880s. The land under cultivation was drastically reduced and most of the livestock
sold although the Company did retain some of the barns and stables until the turn of the century. Inside the fort, the penitentiary complex continued to operate until 1877 when they moved the prisoners to new quarters at Stoney Mountain. The complex was revived temporarily in 1884-85 as a lunatic asylum but upon their departure, the majority of the palisades and facilities were eliminated.

The Big House and its environs, meanwhile, remained the focal point of the fort. The occupation of the Big House by inspecting Chief Factor Robert Hamilton in the fall of 1874 signified the fort's reemergence as a retreat for the company's commissioned officers.¹ For the next thirty years, chief commissioners with their families and guest would occupy the Big House during the summer months. This guaranteed the survival and development of the landscape garden surrounding the Big House. As the operational aspect of the fort declined, the recreational potential of the site encouraged the company to enhance its natural beauty. Perhaps for the first time, trees were planted and allowed to grow outside the Big House fence. They no longer interfered with the Hudson's Bay Company's trading and trans-shipment operations.

As the miracle of photography took hold in North America after 1880, the photographic record of Lower Fort Garry increased accordingly. Where we had no shots of the fort interior for the 1860-1875 period, commencing with the camera work of Dr. Robert Bell, who visited the fort in 1879, there is a variety of photographs depicting the fort's buildings and landscape features. Hence, instead of the previous concentration on the landscape in terms of land use and structural evolution, this section will emphasize in greater detail, specific landscape features such as the Big House fence, patterns of tree growth and the various pathways and roads interconnecting the establishment's facilities. As the Lower Fort was in a state of gradual contraction in terms of buildings throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the chapter will also attempt
to identify what structures were dismantled when, what the landscape was subsequently used for and what traditional company occupations did survive beyond the fur trade era.

In 1875 the Hudson's Bay Company operation continued to be under the supervision of Chief Trader William Flett who supervised the activity of two clerks as well as several tradesmen and labourers preoccupied mainly with the steamboat operation and the trans-shipment of supplies to northern outposts. Edmund Abell supervised the maintenance of the steamers and continued to live with his family in the Engineer's Cottage until the early 1880s. The grist and saw mill complex continued to operate although production was now limited. In 1873 there had been speculation about the construction of a new mill, the machinery was actually moved to the lower fort but the following year the company relocated it outside Upper Fort Garry, where they began milling on a large scale. Nevertheless, we can presume that the Miller's cottage south of the creek was occupied at least until 1879, when the milling operation was terminated.

Lime burning and stonework were two traditional company practices that continued throughout this period at Lower Fort Garry. The lime was first used in stone construction and, after 1858, for use in fertilizer for the agricultural lands. By the 1860s, there was at least one kiln for burning lime and a shed near the byres for storing the finished product. By the 1870s the Company was threatening to prosecute parties who were quarrying stone within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company reserve. In September 1874, Commissioner Grahame expressed his alarm with regard to this quarrying because it was on "the Point of land above the Creek" which "should be preserved intact as a protection to the Mills from the Ice in the spring." Here was a rare example of a senior company official expressing his concern for the protection of the Lower Fort Garry landscape and property.
The residents at Lower Fort Garry experienced a serious setback in May, 1877, when a servant of the company, a certain George Turner, obtained a barrel of black powder from the magazine and moved it to the blacksmith's forge, which was situated just south of the fort wall. While Turner was setting off amateur rockets to the delight of the numerous spectators, including the children of the fort, the powder barrel exploded, killing and injuring a number of adults and children. Included among the dead were two of the Flett's children. The Blacksmith shop was also destroyed in the ensuing blaze and it does not appear to have been rebuilt. The forge's destruction, which had been a familiar site south of the fort since the 1840s, was a premonition of the changes to come.

The Flett's had little time to grieve their loss. In mid-August, 1877, Grahame wrote to Flett to inform him of the impending visit of the Canadian Governor General, Lord Dufferin:

As it is possible that Lord Dufferin may visit your post in passing during the current week I have to request that you will try and have all about in good order and extend any hospitality in your power to himself and party. I must leave the details to your own good judgement—of course you should hoist the H.B.C. red flag but do not have any firing.

Grahame's reference to the guns is an interesting one in terms of the landscape. Watson's map shows two old cannons mounted by the east entrance of the Big House. A circa 1880 photograph, however, shows no evidence of these cannons. They may have been placed near the east gateway or outside near the parade ground used by the North West Mounted Police.

Nevertheless, the Governor General and his party spent two nights at Lower Fort Garry before embarking for a trip across Lake Winnipeg. The Countess of Dufferin commented in her journal that the Lower Fort was "quite a fortified place," reinforcing the imposing image presented by the stone buildings and walls.
sitting on the elevated river bank. Unfortunately, she did not offer her impressions of the fort landscape.

During the late 1870s the Hudson's Bay Company entered protracted negotiations with the federal government about railways and their proposed route across Western Canada. Lower Fort Garry became of particular interest in 1879 when company land commissioner Charles Brydges decided that Lower Fort Garry would be an excellent point for the railway to bridge the Red River. In Brydges' opinion "nature seems to have provided the most suitable place at the Lower Fort...if the crossing can be brought to the point it will be a very important matter for our lands there." By 1880 the company lands at the lower fort included 930 acres on the west side of the Red River and 816 acres on the east side. Brydges was prepared to put these lands into a common purse with the federal government's one thousand acres at Selkirk, make the best arrangement for the sale of the whole and divide the proceeds. After considerable negotiation they decided to build the bridge at Selkirk instead of Lower Fort Garry, wherein the offer to sell the lower fort buildings and lands collapsed.

Although the sale of Lower Fort Garry to the federal government may or may not have signified the eradication of the old stone fort, the decision to place the railway crossing at Selkirk had long range implications. When the tracks of the Canadian Pacific reached Selkirk, the Hudson's Bay Company had a spur line constructed to Cook's Creek where a more effective link up could be made with the steamboats. The new depot, Colvile Landing, would replace Lower Fort Garry as the transshipment point for the Northern Department supply network in 1880. To meet the need for storage facilities at Colvile Landing, arrangements were made "for putting two of the warehouses now at the Stone Fort at the end of this track, so as to save as much as possible the cost of handling and transports for goods going up to the Saskatchewan River and furs coming down from the same country." What warehouses from Lower Fort Garry
South-West Corner, Lower Fort Garry,
Manitoba, 1878-80, Photo by Dr. Robert
Bell. (Public Archives of Canada).
actually went down to the new trans-shipment depot is not totally clear. In correspondence with William Flett in 1879, James Grahame discussed the company's intention to move the "wooden warehouse alongside the front gate of Lower Fort Garry" to "the steamboat landing." A Mr. Clarke henceforth offered to pull down "a portion of the Fort Walls" and drag the building on skids to its new position. Whether Grahame was referring to the creek south of the fort or to Colvile landing cannot be confirmed. Both Robert Watson and George Ingram argued that the North Department warehouse was among the buildings removed to support the new depot. In a Brigden's photograph dated 1883, however, the roof of a building in the same location as the wooden warehouse is clearly visible. Either the dating of the photograph is not correct or the company removed buildings at the creek for Colvile Landing instead. There is conclusive evidence that the old steamer Chief Commissioner, which was serving as a dock at the creek, was dragged down to the river and hauled out of the water to serve as a warehouse at Colvile Landing in 1880.

Before the 1880s decision was made to remove several buildings from the lower fort to Colvile Landing, several photographs were taken in the 1878-80 period which are attributed to Dr. Robert Bell, who was associated in some way with the geological survey of Canada. These photographs are particularly enlightening with regard to landscape features. The shot taken from south of the South West Bastion confirms that the area south of the fort remained primarily a working area with unmowed grass and no visible bush or tree cover. A road paralleling the west wall was connected to a wagon trail which branched toward the Engineers' cottage at a point outside the south corner of the South West Bastion. Resting against the south wall were the remnants of an old York boat, obviously abandoned there, and further afield, several tents completed the scene. This photograph also is the best evi-
dence of the wooden bell tower constructed behind the new retail shop. Another photograph attributed to Bell was taken from outside the South East Bastion. When this shot was taken the Northern Department warehouse was still intact, reinforcing the possibility that this structure was not removed until later in the 1880s. This particular photograph also confirms the existence of the flagpole at the southeast corner of the Big House fence and the flourishing tree cover on the Big House grounds. The shape and foliage of the tree cover suggests the presence of at least a one spruce or evergreen as well as a number of maple or elm trees interspersed on the east side of the Big House lawn. Outside the wall the grass is closely cropped along the roadway although the road by no means is well defined on the landscape. Gravel was not in evidence nor were there any distinguishing markers like the white rocks which lined the roads inside the fort by the turn of the century.

Robert Bell also took a photograph of the industrial area of the creek which contrasts neatly with the first photograph of this area taken by H.L. Hime 20 years earlier. This 1879 photograph definitely captures a landscape in a state of neglect. The old pathway to the river bank was overgrown and surrounded by garbage. The banks were already falling away exposing outcrops of limestone and mud. At the mouth of the creek the steamer Colvile was tied alongside the former steamer, the Chief Commissioner, now serving as a floating warehouse. A small wooden wharf had been laid down connecting the old steamer to the shore. At the mouth of the creek large piles of wood were stacked in front of the shed which is thought to be associated with storage or building of boats. The distillery/brewery/storehouse building appeared relatively unchanged on the exterior but the old malt barn now straddled the creek and had a tall chimney to serve its new purpose as a grist mill and saw mill. By this time, of course, the storehouse had been moved inside the fort to become the new saleshop.
The 1879 Bell photograph of the industrial area also clearly depicts the picket fence surrounding the garden of the Engineer's Cottage on the east and north exposure. Obviously dilapidated and in need of paint by this point, the eastern face of the fence was supported by boards propped against it. Inside the fence, there is evidence of small fir trees growing along the east fence and perhaps, some floral growth along the front of the house. By their height, we can presume that these trees were probably planted during the Abell's residence in the cottage. Across the creek the Miller's house was still standing. There appears to be some form of fencing or possibly a clothesline on the west side of the Miller's residence. One must emphasize that the forest cover continued to encroach almost to the south bank of the creek. Unlike the eastern bank of the Red River where dwellings and clearing were well established by 1879, the Hudson's Bay Company had maintained the land south of the Miller's residence as an undeveloped section of the Hudson's Bay Company reserve. Obviously the Hudson's Bay Company had continued to resist any development or approaches by settlers to buy the reserve. The reasons behind their intransigent attitude are not known although in 1877, commissioner James Grahame did mention that he objected to anyone "occupying Buildings so near the Fort on account of fire risk." After the removal of the buildings to Colvile Landing, Lower Fort Garry enjoyed a short respite before the company decided to sell off more of the industrial and agricultural buildings. In 1882 a Mr. Clarke was hired "to move some of the Buildings outside Fort Garry." The grist mill, which ceased operation in 1879, was supposedly among the buildings sold in 1882. Either it was removed to another location or dismantled for its materials. According to Robert Watson, once the grist mill was sold, the saw mill ceased operation and was pulled down. That same year the malt kiln west of this complex was also dismantled. The other buildings
removed in 1882 were the original brewery at the mouth of the creek and the Miller's cottage on the south side of the creek. In the next two years the decimation of this once congested area of cottage industry was completed by the removal of the Men's House and canteen outside the South East Bastion, the farm manager's residence, the root house and the beer cellar. By 1885 only the Engineer's Cottage and the grain flailing barn were left standing. The area north of the fort fared better during the early 1880s as only the frame lime house was pulled down. The agricultural barns and stables remained intact until 1887 when the cattle and cow stables were removed.

The Fort Interior
Inside the fort walls the removal of buildings was not as general as south of the establishment but by 1885 the inner fort plantation was definitely less congested. According to Robert Watson, who remains the authority on this period of the fort's history, a section of the wall thirty feet from the end of the South East Bastion was removed to allow two houses to be transported intact in 1882. The buildings possibly removed by means of this rather ingenious method may have included the meat warehouse, the guard room and former sergeant's mess adjacent to the east gate, the Northern Department warehouse discussed earlier and the dwelling house occupied by the North West Mounted Police north of the Men's house. Whatever buildings were removed by the contractors in 1882, all these aforementioned structures were gone by 1890.

Meanwhile, inside the Big House fence, the officer's quarters continued to be the centre of fort life. In 1879 Chief Commissioner James Grahame had taken over part of the Big House from the Flett's and moved his family there for the summer from Montreal. They came again the following summer after
extensive renovations to the Big House were completed. In taking up quarters in the stately old quarters during the summer months, Grahame initiated a trend which was followed by his successors Joseph Wrigley and Clarence Campbell Chipman until the turn of the century. 39

Three photographs taken during the early 1880s supplement the limited documentary record for this period and provide some illuminating insights into the appearance of the landscape within the fort walls. The most valuable is an 1883 photograph taken from a viewpoint near the South West Bastion looking toward the Big House, exposing for the first time the landscape west of the Big House. 40 First of all, inside the Big House fence, it confirmed the existence of a wooden hot house complete with paned windows nestled against the south verandah. The sun dial stood slightly to the west of the hot house. Vegetation visible in this traditional garden area included hop vines attached to the verandah pillars, a flower bed possibly inside the south-west corner of the fence and two spruce trees in the foreground which appear to have been pruned near their base. The grass was well maintained. A well worn pathway led from the west gate of the Big House fence parallel to the south wall of the Big House annex to the verandah stairway.

This same photograph is equally enlightening with regard to the landscape outside the Big House fence. 41 For instance, it was previously presumed that the fence enclosed a square plot of land around the Big House. 42 However, by 1883 the west fence abruptly ended at a shed behind the north corner of the Big House annex. The grass cover outside the fence was predominantly wild grasses such as clover but it was obviously cut periodically during the summer. A gravel path followed a line from the south-west corner of the Big House fence in a diagonal direction towards either the west gate or the Men's House. Surprisingly, two fruit trees were in full bloom on the north side of the grounds near the building
traditionally referred to as the carpenters shop. It is not known whether these trees were planted in this location as seedlings or as Robert Watson argues, they grew from "blown seed," encouraged by the protection of the walls. One should also note the survival of the barns and stables beyond the north wall as well as the carpenters' shop or warehouse; a building totally overlooked by Watson's 1926 map of Lower Fort Garry.

Another Brigdens photograph, circa 1880, shows the Big House and landscape from an eastern exposure. From the deteriorating appearance of the verandah and walkway it seems that this photograph was taken before the major renovations completed in 1880 by order of Commissioner Grahame. Hop vines were not growing along the verandah on this side nor were the flower beds well cared for. Of course, by the lack of vegetation on the two elm trees it may have been early spring or late fall. The walkway to the east gate was also in a state of deterioration.

The other photograph dating from the early 1880s was taken outside the west gate of the Big House fence looking toward the retail store and sales shop. Details of the fence are clearly visible, particularly the relatively complex structural framework of the fence design. What appear to be small wooden flower boxes about one foot high can be seen through the slats of the fence. This south-west corner apparently was the favoured area for the planting of flowers. This photograph also reinforces the fact that the flagpole, throughout most of the fort's occupation by the Hudson's Bay Company, stood near the south-east corner of the lawn. It was not, however, as close to the corner as Watson places it on his map.

While the commissioners' summer visits to Lower Fort Garry provided enough incentive for the company to maintain the Big House and keep the sales shop open, the remaining faci-
The Governor's House, Lower Fort Garry, circa 1880. (The Hudson's Bay Company). Note the declining condition of the Big House porch and the maturity of the trees in forefront or the east lawn.
lities that survived the blitz of 1882-84 remained under-used; particularly the penitentiary complex which was abandoned in 1877 in favour of the recently constructed Stoney Mountain penitentiary. A temporary reprieve came in December 1884 when commissioner J. Wrigley announced that the Company had leased to the provincial government "for one year...for the purpose of a Lunatic Asylum, such buildings and party of the enclosure of the fort as are shown on the accompanying sketch plan." Wrigley included in the plan a red line which was to signify the fence which was to be built "to prevent the possibility of any of the inmates of the Asylum getting into the other parts of the enclosure of the fort." The proposed palisade fence would enclose the men's house, the old carpenter's shop/warehouse and the original stone warehouse that had been converted to a penitentiary in 1871. There is no evidence to confirm whether or not this fence was actually erected during the asylum's tenancy at Lower Fort Garry from February 20, 1885 until May 1886.

Initially, 28 men and eight women were transferred from Stoney Mountain and the Winnipeg jail to Lower Fort Garry's temporary asylum. The women were housed in the men's house and the men in the former penitentiary. One new structure was added during their stay. A frame structure, traditionally known as the Doctor's office but in actual fact, Dr. Young's dispensary, was constructed just east of the north gateway. Apparently, after its completion, the old Red River frame structure shown in the Wrigley plan, was demolished. The impact of the asylum upon the landscape was not as pronounced as the penitentiary prisoners who were more numerous and pursued a wider range of activities. There was some attempt to amuse or distract the asylum patients with both work and recreation. The men, for instance, were active from time to time "wheeling barrows," digging a drain, and ploughing, planting, and tending a small garden which included celery, cabbage, cauliflower
and tomatoes. This garden plot has not been located but it may have been in the same area used by prisoners north of the fort between 1871 and 1877. There is also a reference to a well being dug for the Asylum by a Mr. John Reid but its location or indeed, whether it was ever completed, cannot be established.

With the asylum temporarily occupying the north side of the fort, the Hudson's Bay Company turned its attention to the maintenance of its other buildings. In 1885, Commissioner Wrigley sent an architect, C.O. Wickenden of Winnipeg, to report on the condition of the remaining buildings at Lower Fort Garry. Wickenden was particularly concerned about the state of the Big House. Among his recommendations he suggested that the area and basement entrances on the west side of the Big House be filled in, the south verandah be repaired, the fence be rebuilt, and that a soil pit should be built close to the house. Many of Wickenden's suggestions were carried forward. His rationale for the decay of the Big House fence was based on its lack of paint. If one refers to the photographs of the west side of the Big House discussed earlier in this chapter, one will observe that the fences were in dire need of paint by the early 1880s.

Inside the fence the company continued to maintain the flower garden and hot house throughout the late 1880s. In 1886 garden seeds were purchased from a Windsor, Ontario firm called D.M. Fenny & Company. Clerk F.W. Holloway was responsible for ordering the seeds which he used at the fort and also sold to local settlers through the sales shop. The order included the following flower and vegetable seeds:

**Flower Seeds**
- 2 Cenrolus Major mixed
- 3 Mignonette Common Sweet
- 1 Mignonette Golden Green
- 4 Nasturtium mixed
- 1 Mymphaea Oderata
- 1 Cockscomb mixed
- 1 Geranium Pelangoneum diadematum
1 Fuschia double finest mixed
1 Begonia Robusta Perfecta
Collection of 9 varieties best pansies
1 Canadian grenadin

Vegetable Seeds
1 lb. Golden wax beans
1 oz. Brussel sprouts
1 Early York Cabbage (Large)
1 package Winningstadt cabbage
1 packet Cucumbers "Improved Long green"
1 oz. lettuce "Fenney's early prime head"
2 oz. onions "Large Red Wellersfield"
1 packet Parsley "Carter's finn leaves"
1 package Premium flat Dutch Cabbage
1 oz. Early long scarlet radish
1 packet Early snowball Cauliflower
1 oz. Celery Golden Heart
1 oz. Carrots "Long Orange"
1 Excelsior weeding hook
2 packets Tomato "Canada Victor"
1 oz. Turnips "Early White flat Dutch"

After nearly two centuries of growing kitchen gardens with English and then native seeds, first on the Bay and then inland, the Hudson's Bay Company was depending upon a southern Ontario company for its vegetable seeds. It would be interesting to know to what extent they had adapted the first flowers planted at Red River in the 1840s and 1850s from seeds imported from England.

By 1886-87 the company was experiencing some difficulties with their vegetable garden. In May, 1886 Holloway warned local miller, Joseph Clouston, about his pigs which were getting into the fort garden in contravention of the municipal bylaw which prevented pigs from running at large during the spring and summer. The following year newly appointed chief trader, William McLean, saw the traditional fort garden threatened by road development.

Previous to my being aware that part of the old Garden which has been in use here for so many years past were taken in by a survey of the Public Highway. I had the part in question manured and some of it ploughed last fall with a view to its being in better condition for seeding this spring and having
gone to the trouble and expense, whilst ignorant of facts, I would deem it a favour if you will permit me to sow the part of the garden in question this year again.  

The location of the company's principal vegetable garden immediately west of the fort was reaffirmed by two photographs taken from west of the fort. The Bell photographs show a crudely constructed rail fence surrounding what is supposedly a garden.

It had long been suspected that the company's principal vegetable garden was located west of the fort and the main road to Selkirk. Surprisingly, McLean's request to the St. Andrew's municipal council and the two photographs were the first confirmation of the garden's locale since A.H. Vaughan's 1874 survey map identified the company's agricultural reserve. Shortly after the expansion of the highway in 1887 the company moved its garden to the north side of the fort where the dismantling of the cattle and cow stables in 1887 had left that area open for alternative activities.

The Hudson's Bay Company continued to reduce its operations at the lower fort as the 1880s progressed. The agricultural complex in particular was cut back drastically. The grain flailing barn near the creek now stored the old machinery left over from the steamboat and milling operation.

In 1887 the company mess was cancelled which meant Alfred Franks lost his position and the remaining livestock, a cow, two calves and a steer were sold. Only a yoke of oxen were left in control of George Franks, the lone labourer at the stone fort by 1887. The company did continue to generate revenue through its retail shop and post office as well as the continual demand for lime and cordwood. In 1886 Holloway contacted many of Winnipeg's prominent contractors to solicit their purchase of cordwood:

As I understand you are enquiring for wood by the car-load from this neighbourhood, I beg to advise you that I can supply immediately from one to fifty
car-loads of body poplar green at $1.85 per cord located on the car here.\textsuperscript{67}

The Company procured this wood from their land reserve using temporary labour hired locally. They continued this practise until after the turn of the century.

Lower Fort Garry maintained its contact with the fur trade through its supervisory connection to outposts such as Little Grand Rapids, Dog Head, Fort Alexander, Fisher River, and Berens River. The Hudson's Bay Company continued to absorb a profitable return in furs from these more remote areas. Lower Fort Garry's function was to provision these posts and serve as their administrative centre.\textsuperscript{68} The clerk at the lower fort was also responsible for the Indian treaty payments at Lake Winnipeg posts such as Little Grand Rapids. On the basis of its role as a depot for these outposts and the revenue generated by the wood and country produce traded at the retail store, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to maintain Lower Fort Garry as a business venture as well as a summer retreat for the officers.

Beginning in 1887 a series of inspection reports for the Red River district posts, including Lower Fort Garry, register a record of the buildings, their present use and condition and the company's plan for them as well as information on the post's furs, accounts, inventory and personnel.\textsuperscript{69} The information pertaining to buildings is particularly relevant to this study as it provides a more precise record of what buildings have survived and their current use. By 1889 the surviving buildings, being nearly all stone and virtually impossible to move, had reconciled senior company officials to support a program of maintenance to prevent them from becoming too dilapidated.\textsuperscript{70} The surviving buildings within the walls included the Big House, Retail Store/Fur Loft now used as a warehouse, the retail shop erected in 1873, the old stone warehouse which formerly served as a penitentiary, the former men's house
now serving as a warehouse, the doctor's office and lastly, one unidentified building described as "Warehouse, 40 x 18, Frame, shingle roof, in bad repair, useless." All these structures have survived to the present day except the unidentified warehouse mentioned above which might have been one of the structures built to accommodate the Wolseley expedition or the North West Mounted Police. The bakehouse remained in the North West Bastion but it was no longer functional. The South West Bastion was a storage area in 1889 while the Ice House in the South East Bastion was intact but described as "out of repair and useless as an ice house." The same fate had befallen the powder magazine in the North East Bastion.

Outside the walls, the fort was only a shadow of its former self. The stone cottage with its attached log kitchen was in good condition and obviously still inhabitable because the company rented it to local settlers. An "all log and frame" barn, presumably the building described by Watson as the Grain flailing building, completed the structures by the creek where only 20 years earlier, as many as ten structures were occupied by company activities. North of the fort at the former agricultural complex, three buildings survived; two stables described as "60 x 30, an old log and frame building, getting out of repair," and "a very old log and stone building, shingle roof. Much out of repair." According to Robert Watson, the cattle and cow stable were pulled down in 1887 leaving only the ox and horse stable. The latter may be the surviving stables mentioned in the 1889 report but it is not clear what the inspector meant to signify in the case of "the old log and stone building" unless it was the stablemen's house. This structure was never positively identified by means of archaeological investigation.

One must also bear in mind that many of the fort's major structures had lean-tos associated with them and that water-closets remained a fact of life. Buildings with lean-
The Retail Store, Sales Shop (1873) and Roadway on the west side of Lower Fort Garry, circa 1902-11. (Campbell and Chipman Photograph Collection).

This view confirms the transfer of the flagpole to the area outside the South-West Bastion, the tethering poles outside the south Big House fence and the non presence of a platform outside the furloft/retail store on the new sales shop.
attached in 1889 included the Retail Store, the men's house, the Big House and one of the two surviving stables. Two 12 foot by 7 foot wood frame water closets were also tucked away within the fort walls but their location is not known. Although they had shut down the agricultural operation by 1890, there remained in storage or scattered about the post an assortment of equipment which included hay racks, a water cart, a mower and rake, and wood racks.

When Clarence Campbell Chipman became the Hudson's Bay Company land commissioner in 1891 he decided to continue the tradition established by his predecessors, James Grahame, and J.W. Wrigley, by taking his family to the lower fort for the summer months. Each spring, in preparation for the Chipman's arrival, extensive work was done to the house and grounds under the supervision of clerk John H. Stanger, the Hudson's Bay Company official in charge from 1893 to 1911. C.C. Chipman's son, Hamilton, wrote an account of their experiences at the lower fort which offers some interesting insights into the landscape in the late Victorian period. The fact that "plumbing was primitive and there was no electric lighting" suggests that the company hierarchy were still resigned to outdoor privies during the 1890s and that power poles did not crisscross the fort's grounds as yet. Telephones had been installed during the 1880s, however. The supply of rain water was replenished daily from barrels placed under the eavestroughs. Hamilton, as a small boy, remembered the numerous guests, "content to laze around in the sunshine, lolling in hammocks on sprawling in deck chairs" spread about the Big House lawn. Hamilton Chipman mentioned that the Reids and Vaughans were locals who had tennis courts. While not clarifying whether or not the Lower Fort had a tennis court by the 1890s, the tennis rage had swept Great Britain, the United States and Canada by the 1890s. If remote ranches in the Alberta foothills had crude grass tennis courts by the
1890s, it seems likely that the Chipman's enjoyed tennis on the lower fort grounds during their summer stays.

The Chipmans took a keen interest in the gardens. In June, 1891 a bad storm did considerable damage to the lower fort buildings and grounds. In his damage report, chief trader McLean reported that most of the Big House fence had blown down and many of the posts were broken. McLean recommended that this paling, "which had become very rotten, be replaced by a cheaper wire fence on tamarac posts, with 3 strands of wire, a top-rail and a 12 inch board at base," at a cost not exceeding seventy-five dollars. The fence was repaired but if one compares photographs taken about 1900 with those of the early 1880s, the fence style is seemingly unchanged except for the paint. Nor was the fence extended beyond the north wall of the Big House annex. The accompanying photograph, dating from the 1905-10 period, shows a fenced area enclosing a privy on the west side of the annex, but no fence extending further northward. In this same photograph one should note the presence of a fence west of the old stone warehouse as well as evidence of a white picket fence running along the walkway west of the Big House areaway. The delineation of the fence in this northwest corner will probably continue to confuse observers until further photographs or archaeological assessments can determine the precise path of the Big House fence.

The flag staff was also blown down during the June, 1891 storm. It may have been at this juncture that the company decided to build a more substantial stone foundation for the flag pole outside the South West Bastion. A photograph dated circa 1890-95 shows a large stone platform supporting a flag staff in that location. The same photograph shows an elm or maple tree in the background growing against the west wall, further evidence that by the 1880s the officers in charge were allowing trees to grow outside the Big
The Area south of Lower Fort Garry, circa 1885-1890. (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Museum).

Note the picket fence and fir trees prospering around the Engineer's Cottage. Also refer to the shed in the area of the blacksmith shop and the large quantities of cordwood stored outside the south wall.
House boundaries.

A photograph taken during the 1890s looking east from the North West Bastion towards the Doctor's office and stone warehouse demonstrates how that area of the fort enclosure had changed since 1883. By the 1890s a broad gravelled walkway running along the south side of the former Doctor's office and stone warehouse was lined with painted white stones. A fenced area at least six feet high was a new addition by the north gate. This may have been a summer corral for the Chipman's horses and those of their guests. The other interesting landscape feature recognizable for the first time is the tree growth, one tree inside the corral in the foreground, at least three trees immediately against the south wall of the warehouse and approximately five trees, supposedly Manitoba Maple seedlings, along the east wall. In this photograph the Big House fence runs along the north side of the grounds and then turns toward the Big House, further supporting the fence arrangement suggested in the accompanying landscape photograph.

The Big House garden continued to be improved during the 1890s. On two occasions, in 1894 and 1895, John T. Clarke was paid to plant a total of twenty spruce trees on the lawn surrounding the Big House. In 1896 the lattice around the verandah was added to enhance the appearance of the residence. The biggest single problem with the house, however, was its drainage. In 1891 commissioner Wrigley had ordered McLean to remedy the problem of surface water running into the basement. A man had been hired to construct a gutter that would lead the water through a grating into the main drain leading to the bank of the river. This solution may not have worked because three years later the company hired men to bank earth and gravel against the Big House and sales shop, a further attempt to resolve this traditional drainage problem.

Apparently, the lower fort continued to support a vegetable garden during the 1890s, although its exact location is
unknown. In May 1897, John Stanger reported to Chipman, that "in the garden we have sown peas, beans, tomatoes, onions, turnips, parsnips, beets, carrots two kinds, lettuce two kinds, and planted 150 cabbage plants and 24 cauliflower plants, and some potatoes." By this time Stanger enjoyed the luxury of the Selkirk greenhouses. If any plants failed, it was a simple measure to purchase replacement seeds and plants in Selkirk.

The Chipmans were not the only benefactors of Lower Fort Garry's pleasant surroundings during the 1890s. Church and other Winnipeg social groups came by train to hold their annual picnics on the increasingly scenic grounds. Stanger made sure that the flowers were put in every spring and that the lawn was top dressed and well manicured. In August 1896, the troops of the Royal Canadian Dragoons moved to the lower fort for their summer exercises. As they operated three messes, the soldiers must have assembled a fairly large contingent for this visit. A photograph, presumably taken during this period, shows a large number of tents pitched south of the fort on the former location of the blacksmith shop and farm manager's house. In this same photograph, one should note the successful growth of the fir trees on the river side of the former Engineer's Cottage as well as the replacement of the picket fence with a simple rail fence. This cottage was rented by 1895 to a Mr. Latulippe for the nominal fee of one dollar a week.

By the 1890s the number of structures at Lower Fort Garry had stabilized, with a few exceptions, to its present level. Of the buildings standing at present only a few structures have been removed since 1896. Within the fort walls, the 15' x 15' liquor house, located behind the sales shop, was torn down around 1900. The two water closets were never located precisely but they were probably replaced later by the Motor Country Club. South of the fort, the cottage and grain
West side of Lower Fort Garry with the Men's House in the background, circa 1900-1910. (Margaret Arnett McLeod Collection, Manitoba Archives).
Note the painted rocks lining the fort's driveway by the turn of the century.
flailing barn remained intact until the latter facility was torn down in 1920.\textsuperscript{105} North of the fort only the horse stable remained in 1896.\textsuperscript{106}

As the documentation for the 1895-1910 period at Lower Fort Garry is very limited in terms of references to landscapes and land use, the photographs provide a more comprehensive record of the landscape's evolution during this quiet period in the fort's history. A photograph from the Margaret Arnett Collection catches certain landscape details relevant to the west side of the fort plantation.\textsuperscript{107} This particular shot is highlighted by a Stony Indian sitting on a stool with the old Men's House in the background. The area was grassed with intersecting walkways running east-west from the west gate and north-south in front of the Men's House. The only visible tree cover was one Manitoba Maple growing against the east wall of the Men's House between the two windows. Sections of two fences are visible as well. At the south-west corner of the extension to the Men's House, there is a four rail high wood fence abutting the wall. North of the dwelling, a fence appears to be running in a north-south direction which suggests that the area between the North West Bastion and the Men's House may have been utilized as either a stable or garden by 1900.

The majority of the surviving photographs for the 1895-1910 period were shot from either the south or east side of the Big House fence. During the renovations to the Big House grounds during the 1890s, a formal border fence was erected along the south east side of the verandah. Constructed of wood and approximately one foot high, this border fence separated the flower bed and four young trees from the main lawn. These four trees, probably Manitoba Maple, form the background of a formal garden photograph taken in 1904.\textsuperscript{108} On the south side of the Big House verandah, shrubs and vines were creeping up the lattice as well as the four young trees. The hot house,
an integral part of the landscape in front of the south verandah since the 1860s, had been removed either to a new location or dismantled completely. The hitching rail, however, remained intact outside the south fence and apparently it had been the recent recipient of a coat of paint.109

The Chipman's summer residence at the lower fort produced some excellent photographs; particularly shots of the children outside the east gate of the Big House fence.110 By 1900 the area east of the Big House lawn was predominantly grass that was mowed and maintained by the company. A gravelled roadway was maintained from the east gate directly to the Big House but it was no longer gravelled along the north or south routes to the old warehouses.111 Perhaps on account of the reduced commercial traffic, the officials had decided to allow the former roadway to grow over. In the Chipman photographs, the maturity and luxurious summer growth of the elm and maple trees on the east lawn is clearly visible.112 Of course, some of these trees, first apparent in the Hime photographs, were approaching fifty years of age.

Details of the main entranceway and the elaborate pillared gate can be seen clearly in a circa 1910 photograph taken by R.W. Brock.113 By 1910, stones painted white lined all the fort's walkways. In the same picture, the border fence had been removed from its previous location beside the south east verandah. Furthermore, the maple trees, which were prospering in that fenced border, also had been removed or transplanted by 1910.114

While the landscape on the east side of the Big House was growing apace, the north-west corner of the Big House lawn was complicated by changes in the fences and structures between the south corner of the annex and the rear of the Big House. In 1883, a photograph of this area showed the formal Big House fence extending northward to a position only several yards beyond the north-west corner of the Big House annex.115
Chipman Family on the East Side of the Big House Fence, circa 1900-1905. (Campbell and Chipman Collection).
Note the mature trees in full bloom inside the Big House fence.
Roadway leading to Big House, Lower Fort Garry, circa 1900-1905. (Cowley Collection, Manitoba Archives).

Note the elaborate gateway to the Big House lawn and the grass appearing through the limestone pathway.
West Side of Big House, Lower Fort Garry, circa 1908-1911. (Brigden's Collection, Hudson's Bay Company).
Near the end of the Motor Country Club, the fences and grounds inside the fort became very dilapidated. This photo identifies the location of sheds built adjacent to the Big House annex.
At the northern extension of the formal fence, a framed shed stood and possibly blocked the view of a plank fence running east toward the rear of the Big House. By the time the next surviving photograph of this area was taken, circa 1905-10, the formal fence remained but the 1883 shed had been replaced by a privy with a crude wood fence on the north side and a painted picket fence leading to the south wall of the annex. While little or no vegetation was visible in this yard in 1883, by 1905-10 there were three spruce trees along the north wall of the annex as well as several elm or other tree species. In this particular photograph, a small unpainted gate stood at the south-west corner of the yard. Several years later, judging from the growth of the spruce tree outside the south annex window, the layout of the area and its landscape had undergone further change. The fence remained intact about the yard but it was in a serious state of dilapidation. A section of the Big House fence had been removed to allow for a roadway to the south verandah. The old gate was still standing but the frame had fallen away and a set of antlers now adorned its top. In addition to the privy at the northern corner of the Big House fence, a shed and an L-shaped wooden structure had been added. They replaced the spruce trees formerly visible at the north-west corner of the annex building. A clothes line hanging across the verandah was a further indication that this photograph was taken during the transitional period between the Hudson's Bay Company's operation of the fort and the takeover by the Motor Country Club.

Scattered about the Lower Fort Garry landscape were objects or equipment associated with former company activities or introduced by the company to enhance the lower fort as a summer retreat. Falling into the former category is the old turnstile located outside the North East Bastion. Neither its construction date nor its original purpose is known but it survived until the 1950s. It may have been associated
with the agricultural complex nearby except it does not appear in Robert Bell's 1878-80 photograph of the fort.\textsuperscript{120} Watson also identified the "old steps down to the Landing Stage."\textsuperscript{121} The steps may have been an addition made by the Motor Country Club as they do not appear until two 1920 photographs of the fort from the east side of the river.\textsuperscript{122} The old seat by the steps leading to the river was another site feature identified by Robert Watson but not apparent in the surviving photographs.\textsuperscript{123} According to Watson, this seat was located by the riverbank in 1881 by Alfred Franks, along with another seat which has now been removed.\textsuperscript{124} Hamilton Chipman recalled in his memoirs that "as the evening shadows lengthened family and guests would seat themselves along the river bank and watch the Red River flow by."\textsuperscript{125}

South of the fort the Hudson's Bay continued to maintain the cottage and barn until 1911 when the latter structure was torn down.\textsuperscript{126} A photograph taken at the turn of the century provides a view of this area\textsuperscript{127} as well as a landscape photograph reproduced below.\textsuperscript{128} About 1900 a barbed wire fence was constructed from the corner outside the South East Bastion south toward the stone cottage.\textsuperscript{129} A rudimentary four rail wooden gate was located approximately at the site where the second men's house and canteen had been erected during the early 1870s. The western parameters of this field were marked by a similar barbed wire fence beginning at the western corner of the South West Bastion.\textsuperscript{130} The fences' primary purpose probably was to restrain the company's horses from interfering with the main road. The southern boundaries of this field were represented by a fence running from the stone cottage to within twenty yards of the old grain flailing building where it turned south and proceeded toward the creek.\textsuperscript{131} By the 1900s the stone cottage had undergone considerable repairs and upkeep. The traditional white picket fence was intact forming a yard highlighted by seven spruce trees parallel-
Lower Fort Garry from the east bank of the Red River, 1920. (Hudson's Bay Company). Note that by 1920 the fence around the Engineer's Cottage had been removed in order to allow the golf course to operate smoothly in the area surrounding it.
closed by a rail fence mentioned earlier. In the foreground of this photograph, there are visible depressions on the ground surface marking the former location of the blacksmith shop and farm manager's house.

The Hudson's Bay Company continued to occupy and operate Lower Fort Garry until 1911. In that year C.C. Chipman retired as the company's chief commissioner and retired to England, removing the major raison d'être for maintaining the fort. That same year, the company decided to close the sales shop for the final time. Mr. Chipman's retirement may have come as a surprise as only a year before extensive alterations to the fort's buildings had been recommended by the inspecting officer, J.S. Braidwood, at a cost of nearly three thousand dollars. The major renovations included the removal of the old lean-to and shed outside the Big House kitchen and the construction of a new summer kitchen. Braidwood's report also identified the major drainage problem associated with the Big House for which he recommended the laying of an eight inch pipe from the Big House to the river. It is not known whether these improvements were carried out. An inventory of the building and lands retained by the company in 1910 as reproduced below as a further proof that Lower Fort Garry, by 1911, was only a remnant of its former self:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buildings and Lands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Warehouse 70 x 27 2½ storeys stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Warehouse 68 x 30 2½ storeys stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Office 17 x 14 1 storey wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Water Closet 12 x 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Warehouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Oil Store 15 x 15 1 storey frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Stable 59 x 30 Stone with oak frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cottage 24 x 18 1 storey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Barn 24 x 45 Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dwelling House 81 x 35 1½ storeys 19 Rooms &amp; Basement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dwelling House 30 x 35 1½ storeys 8 Rooms &amp; Cellar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Store 69 x 28 1½ storeys, Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Bastions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Ice House (South East Bastion)
1 Stable (North West Bastion)
1 Lumber Room (South West Bastion)
1 Not Used (North East Bastion)

4⁰ acres enclosed by stone wall 3 feet thick, 7 to 11 feet high, 6 feet below surface.

Summary
Between 1875 and 1911 Lower Fort Garry survived a major transition from being a major trans-shipment centre for the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department to a summer recluse for the company's commissioners. Unlike other 19th century company trading posts in Western Canada, which were either replaced with modern department stores or absorbed by urban development, Lower Fort Garry's substantial stone walls and buildings were maintained and adapted to serve the company's purposes. Not that the lower fort was never threatened with extinction. If land commissioner Charles Brydges had persuaded the federal government in 1879 that the Lower Fort Garry site was the most suitable for a railway river crossing, the fort probably would have been sacrificed. When those negotiations failed, the company simply moved its unused structures to Colvile's landing and retained the fort proper as a summer retreat. By 1900, when maintenance costs were beginning to agitate some officials, the company hierarchy, and C.C. Chipman in particular, also realized that the stone fort rapidly was becoming a valuable historical community.

The Lower Fort Garry landscape reflected these changes in a variety of ways. By 1880, the company's agricultural and industrial operations were reduced to the collection of cordwood, lime burning and the care of a few horses and cattle. Left with a surplus of structures both at the creek south of the fort and north of the establishment, the company either moved the buildings to other other locations, sold them to
local settlers or dismantled them for their materials. By 1890, only the engineer's cottage and grain flailing barn survived by the creek while the horse barn was the only surviving symbol of Governor George Simpson's bold agricultural experiment. The company did not allow the aspen forest to take over. They retained the open space for hay with the exception of a plot outside the north wall which may have become the vegetable garden. Along the riverbank the trails to the traditional landing locations were allowed to decay and grow over.

Inside the fort walls, changes evident in the general landscape were more pronounced. This was due in large measure to the superior photographic record available for the 1875-1911 period. It allows the observer to analyze the change and modification of landscape features visually instead of relying so heavily upon sporadic documentary references. The Big House garden and lawn remained the centre-piece of the fort landscape. The Manitoba maples and elms as well as the spruce trees planted in the 1850s and 1860s had matured and offered excellent shade for the summer residents. Flower beds were retained along the south and east verandah as well as in the south-west corner of the Big House garden. The variety of flowers grown is not known except for an 1886 list of garden seeds purchased from a Windsor, Ontario firm; D.M. Fenny and Company. By the 1890s responsibility for the garden appears to have fallen to an appointed company gardener or labourer acting under the supervision of John H. Stanger. Evidently, the spirit of horticultural experimentation initiated by personalities such as the Colviles, George Barnston and William Lane had died away by the 1880s. By the 1890s hammocks and lawn chairs had replaced the hot house and elaborate floral arrangements of an older era.

The Big House fence underwent several major changes during the 1875 period. First of all, an 1883 photograph taken from the South West Bastion looking northward strongly
suggests that the palisade fence planned for the temporary asylum was never erected. Certainly, this same picture as well as subsequent ones confirm that the Big House fence never formed a perfect square or rectangle around the Big House grounds. Instead, the fence along the west side only extended from its north-east corner to a point parallel with the area-way of the Big House. In the 1890-91 period the fence situation changed considerably. A picket fence was erected at the rear of the annex which enclosed a privy, shed and several trees. The west gate of the Big House fence was abandoned for a wider gravelled walkway leading to the south verandah of the Big House and, between 1905 and 1911, the walkway leading to the rear of the Big House was also straightened to lead directly to the west gate.

Outside the Big House fence, the major change was the appearance of trees within the traditional working areas. Of course, the termination of so many of the company's historical functions left more available space for tree cover. The only structural addition during this period was the doctor's house by the north gate. Moved or destroyed during the 1880s were the wood frame Northern Department storehouse and guard room/sergeant's mess by the east wall; the meat warehouse west of the new sales shop; the carpenter's shop/hospital between the North West Bastion and the west gate; and other minor structures associated with the penitentiary complex and its subsequent use as an Insane Asylum. The trees appeared sporadically along the north and east wall as well as against the exteriors of the old stone warehouse and men's house. Whether it was a conscious effort to beautify the surroundings is not readily apparent. Historian Robert Watson believed that the trees inside the fort walls were never planted, but grew from blown seed. Whether they were planted systematically or they germinated naturally, the trees represented a considerable break from the company's traditional attitude to the fort landscape.
Lower Fort Garry from the West Gate, circa 1913-1915. Photograph by Paul Chipman. (Hudson's Bay Company).

The revitalization of the landscape after the lease of the site to the Motor Country Club is clearly evident in this photograph. Note the well-groomed walkway, the painted and repaired fence and the elegantly dressed guests.
Besides the encouragement of tree cover, the occupation of the lower fort as a summer retreat for company personnel brought about other modifications to the landscape. The North West Bastion was converted from its former occupation as a bakehouse to a stable. A simple rail fence was erected to form a corral on the north side of the former men's house and may have extended as far as the west gate. As for the roadways inside the walls, the company began to line them with painted white stones during the 1890s. That practise was adapted by the Motor Country Club. Thelphone poles along the west wall were a major modern intrusion upon the landscape after 1885. West of Lower Fort Garry the railway line and the fort's siding ran across the company's former agricultural lands.

Despite the modern intrusions introduced after 1880, the lower fort recaptured to a certain degree the atmosphere of rural isolation and natural beauty which had attracted Sir George Simpson to the location in 1830. With the removal or destruction of the majority of buildings and structures associated with the fort's height of activity between 1855 and 1875, it was the substantial stone buildings constructed during the early years that survived.
Shortly after Hudson's Bay Company land commissioner Clarence Campbell Chipman retired in 1911 the Hudson's Bay Company decided to close the Lower Fort Garry sales shop, thereby ending 80 years of trade at the stone fort. The lower fort was not abandoned. A group led by Sir Edmund Walker, Chairman of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Lord Strathcona, former Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and railway entrepreneur, Sir William MacKenzie, approached the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Rogers, about the possibility of the federal government purchasing the lower fort as "a national reserve." Shortly thereafter the Hudson's Bay Company offered "the sale of an area not exceeding 25 acres, on a portion of which Lower Fort Garry stands at $2,000 per acre, and $10,000 for the buildings, to the Government as a National Reserve."

When the proposed arrangement with the federal government collapsed, W.R. Bawlf and W.E. Wright, President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively, of the Winnipeg Automobile Club, approached the company's Board of Governors to lease the property at the lower fort to the Winnipeg Automobile Association; the social organization which became the Motor Country Club. The lease arrangement, signed on 15 April 1913, guaranteed, among other terms, the survival of the fort landscape:

That the lessee will during the said term keep up and preserve in good order and condition the lawn and garden belonging to the said premises, and carefully protect and preserve all trees, bushes, shrubs, plants and flowers now growing and henceforth during the said term to grow therein from waste, injury or destruction...and will not suffer or permit any horses, cattle or sheep to have access to the said premises.
Plan of Lower Fort Garry, 1913.
(Hudson's Bay Company).
Plan showing river frontage across the north 3 chains of lot 130, also lot 131 in St. Andrews and portion of lot 1 in St. Clements, Manitoba, 1912. (Hudson's Bay Company).

It is interesting to note that Lord Strathcona, Donald A. Smith, owned the property north of Lower Fort Garry.
PLAN

Showing River Frontage across the North Schemes of Lot 150
also Lot 131 in St. Andrews and Portion of
Lot 1 in St. Clements, Manitoba.

Scale 300 feet to an inch.
The Hudson's Bay Company, who extended the original lease in April, 1914, for a further four and one-half year period, had protected the Lower Fort Garry landscape by means of a binding legal arrangement.

The lease agreement also included two plans of Lower Fort Garry which have been reproduced for this report. (See figure 19 and figure 20). Term four of the lease dictated what roadway at the fort could be modified and used by the patron's automobiles. The first plan outlines the new road, the caretakers house and the land reserved by the Hudson's Bay Company. The second plan outlines the boundaries of Lower Fort Garry showing the river frontage and the portions of St. Andrews and St. Clements involved in the lease. As late as 1910, the Hudson's Bay Company still controlled approximately 1,500 acres in the parishes of St. Andrews and St. Clements. Included within this parcel were 64.25 acres between the highway and the river ranging from Lord Strathcona's property on the north to the south boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company land. This area, along with the 5.85 acres within the fort walls, was leased to the Motor Country Club. One wonders why Lord Strathcona had purchased land in the vicinity of the fort. Was he speculating in land or was he attempting to isolate the historical establishment from further encroachment by the agricultural settlement?

The Motor Country Club leased the Lower Fort Garry facilities and grounds from the Hudson's Bay Company from 1913 to 1963. While they were tenants, this social club, comprised principally of prominent Winnipeg businessmen, could not make any major changes to the structures of the landscape without consultation with the Hudson's Bay Company. Obviously, the inevitable landscape changes did take place; trees grew old and were replaced. Flower beds were moved to new locations. Fences disappeared. Unfortunately, the documentation of these changes either does not exist or it is buried in the
company's unclassified records. Hence, this section on the Motor Country Club occupation depends almost entirely upon the excellent photographic record reinforced by the memoirs of Henry Sprong, a gardener for the Motor Country Club and presently an employee at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park. Manitoba historian, Margaret Arnett MacLeod, was also an interested observer of Lower Fort Garry's development during this period.

At first glance one would assume that the Motor Country Club was little more than a reflection of the automobile enthusiasm which transferred North America during the first decade of the 20th century. But it was also part of an equally significant movement. From the late 1890s onward, Canadian urban society experienced a reawakened interest in the "pastoral theme," as exemplified by the city dwellers desire to "return" periodically to a rural setting. People from Winnipeg, the Manitoba metropolis, began to build summer homes and cottages. Railway tours through Manitoba gained popularity. The Motor Country Club was simply another reflection of this broader movement. Lower Fort Garry certainly met all the requirements. Only 35 miles from Winnipeg, it was a pleasant drive from Winnipeg. The historic structures coupled with the pleasant natural surroundings certainly provided a pastoral rural setting. Not many Canadians enjoyed the privilege of playing tennis in front of a former Chief Factor's residence or playing golf along side the former location of Western Canada's earliest brewery.

The Motor Country Club at Lower Fort Garry was officially opened in June, 1913 by James Thomson, land commissioner for the Hudson's Bay Company. By that early date in its occupation the club had already spent over 6,000 dollars, principally on the renovation of the Big House as a clubhouse, the old stone warehouse-penitentiary as a shower and locker room and the former company Men's House as a stable. They also planned to in-
introduce a ten hole golf course south of the fort. At the opening ceremonies the president mentioned the sun dial "said to have been placed on the ground by Sir John Franklin." Although the validity of the statement cannot be confirmed, a sun dial had been an integral feature of the Big House garden landscape from an early date. The members of the Motor Country Club were well aware of the fort's significant history.

On August 2, 1913, the Motor Country Club hosted its first annual orphan day outing. More than 55 automobiles carried orphan children from Winnipeg to the lower fort for a picnic. The main entrance to the establishment was now by way of the west gate. The parking was against the east wall overlooking the river. Three photographs reproduced in the Winnipeg magazine, Gas Power Age, captured the appearance of the landscape inside the east wall. It is difficult to discuss whether the children were picnicking in the north-east corner or the south-east side of the grounds. Nevertheless, in that general area, the Motor Club had erected nets for a grass tennis court. Shade was provided by elm or maple trees growing against the east wall at regular intervals. These two trees appeared to be at least ten years old as they extended as high as the fort wall.

South of the Fort Walls

By May, 1915, the Motor Country Club was well established at Lower Fort Garry. The golf course introduced south of the fort was highlighted by the natural hazard of having to shoot across the ravine and creek to the holes situated on the south side. As only two holes were on the north side of the creek, the club maintenance people must have cleared the tree cover south of the former miller's house unless it already had been done during the administrative period. At the mouth of the creek, a landing stage for motor boats had been erected.
The only surviving structure south of the fort was the stone cottage.\textsuperscript{18}

In a photograph taken in 1920 from the east side of the river, the cottage and its landscape are clearly delineated.\textsuperscript{19} The traditional picket fence erected in the 1870s had been removed on the river side as well as the rail fence which had extended almost as far south as the grain flailing barn as recently as 1900.\textsuperscript{20} The porch remained but only three balsam fir had survived. The angle of this particular photograph does not show whether the detached kitchen and privy were still intact although they may have been removed to make way for the golf course.\textsuperscript{21}

North of the cottage, or more precisely, beginning at the exterior wall of the South East Bastion, a fence remained.\textsuperscript{22} Constructed of wood posts with barbed wire supports, the fence ran south approximately 30 yards to a wood gateway consisting of five wood rails and one cross beam. Presumably, this fence marked the outer boundaries of the golf course. A similar fence began outside the South West Bastion and ran parallel to the Selkirk highway.\textsuperscript{23}

The appearance of the river bank had not changed dramatically since the Hudson's Bay Company occupation. The vegetation had remained sparse. The old company track to the York boat landings north and south of the fort remained visible despite their abandonment. Erosion, however, was beginning to take its toll along the steep embankments.\textsuperscript{24} A cave-in had occurred outside the South East Bastion. One wonders if this was the result of the Hudson's Bay Company's failure to introduce a systematic drainage system during their tenure. Further north, outside the west gate, the principal landscape fixtures were the stairway leading to the shore and the pump house.\textsuperscript{25} Curiously, in his plan drawn in August 1926, "to slow present and former buildings, palisades, etc." Robert Watson includes the "old steps down to landing stages" but
Automobiles parked outside the walls at Lower Fort Garry, circa 1920. (Hudson's Bay Company).
Note the full growth of the trees running along the inside of the east wall.
Fort Garry from South-East of the fort, circa 1915-20. (Manitoba Archives). Note the erosion and bank shippage along the riverbank. This photo also identifies a wire fence and gate running parallel to the South-East Bastion.
North of the Fort Walls
North of the fort, the Motor Country Club continued to main­
tain the large horse stable until the 1920s. It was dismantled
between May 2, 1920 and 1926 when the first aerial photographs
of Lower Fort Garry show only the ground remains of the struc­
ture. Either before or after the destruction of the horse
barn, the Motor Country Club established a large garden which
ran the length of the north wall. Several photographs shot
from different angles north of this garden have survived and
are reproduced in the landscape plans. A barbed wire fence
enclosed this large garden plot. It extended west to a line
parallel with the interior corner of the North West Bastion,
north approximately 50 yards and east to within 15 yards of
the riverbank edge. At the south-east end of the garden a
wooden turnstile had been erected. The detail of this old
turnstile can be found in the landscape plans. The Motor
Country Club garden was obviously a very ambitious enterprise.

West of the Fort Walls
Our understanding of the pre-1925 landscape west of the fort
is limited to one photograph from the Campbell and Chipman
collection. This photograph, taken from a location across
the highway from the South West Bastion captures a gathering
of people by the municipal road leading west from the Selkirk
highway. Although by the 1920s the highway remained an un­
paved dirt road, in recent years it had been elevated to form
a swale or ditch on both sides. A barbed wire fence separated
the road allowance from the golf course on the south side
while north of the club a picket fence is visible. The
only modern intrusion visible in this photograph were the
telephone poles, four of which were placed against the west wall and bastions. By the 1920s one should also note the maturity of the trees within the fort walls, particularly in the vicinity of the North West Bastion.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{The Fort Proper}

Inside the fort walls the grounds and buildings assumed an air of revived prosperity under the management of the Motor Country Club. In the last few years of the Hudson's Bay Company, the grounds had deteriorated considerably. The Big House fence was buckling in places and in dire need of paint, the trees required pruning and the grass was overtaking the gravelled roadways. The contrast, for instance, between a photograph of the Big House garden taken circa 1910-12\textsuperscript{33} and a similar view dated 1916 is considerable.\textsuperscript{34} By 1916 the club officials had closed in the verandah with a screened porch and removed the lattice from the exterior.\textsuperscript{35} A screen door and stairway now led to the garden at the south-east corner. At the north end, a new summer kitchen was constructed with the permission of the Hudson's Bay Company. On the Big House grounds, the two cannons with their wooden foundations were removed from their former position on the lawn to a resting place on the bannisters outside the east entrance to the club house.\textsuperscript{36} This 1916 photograph, taken by prominent Winnipeg photographer L.B. Foote, also shows an elderly gardener turning over the ground along the south verandah. This area had been a flower bed during the garden's most prolific period between 1855 and 1885. Obviously it had been abandoned during the last years of Chipman's residency in Winnipeg as the company's land commissioner.

The Motor Country Club probably retained a gardener and groundskeeper for the golf course throughout their tenure. By the mid 1920s a formal garden had been reintroduced along
Lower Fort Garry Courtyard during the Motor Country Club Occupation, post-1920. (Hudson's Bay Company).
Big House and grounds during the early Motor Country Club Period, 1916. (Manitoba Archives). Note the enclosed verandah, the mounted guns on stairwell and gardener at work.
Eaton's Demonstration Teams West of the Big House, September 1920. (Manitoba Archives).
Hudson's Bay Company Pageant at Lower Fort Garry, May 1920. (Foote Collection, Manitoba Archives).

By 1920 the fences surrounding the Big House had been removed. The size and maturity of the treescape by 1920 is also a noteworthy landscape feature.
Circular Stone Gardens west of the Big House, Lower Fort Garry, 1933. (Hudson's Bay Company).
the east fence of the Big House. Perennial and annuals were interspersed with shrubs and young Manitoba Maples. Flowers were also planted along the gravelled walkway. The large number of plants visible by the 1920s suggests that the greenhouse established outside the North West Bastion may have been an early innovation by the Motor Country Club.

On May 2, 1920 the Hudson's Bay Company returned to Lower Fort Garry to celebrate their two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. A large crowd gathered on the grounds to witness Hudson's Bay Company Governor, Robert M. Kindersley, smoke the ceremonial peace pipe with Indians from throughout western Canada. Lewis B. Foote photographed the celebrations and in the process, recorded the landscape and structural appearance of the lower fort. By 1920 the Big House fence had been removed entirely from its former location. The fence's removal may have taken place as early as 1914. The only fence now in the vicinity of the Big House was by the annex.

The Big House lawn was now enclosed by the mature spruce, elm and maple trees planted during the administration period. Two structures were still standing in May, 1920 that were removed during the next few years. The wood frame sales shop, moved to its location west of the original retail store in 1873, was dismantled as was the older horse stable north of the fort. As mentioned earlier, the road system around the inner fort was upgraded to serve the automobile traffic and the company tradition of lining the road boundaries with stones was retained. One Motor Country Club innovation was the circular stone lined garden beds introduced inside the east gate on both sides of the road by the Big House itself and by the former south-east corner of the Big House lawn directly in front of the retail store/fur loft. A similar stone bordered flower bed was also established on the north side of the walkway leading to the Big House rear.

The Motor Country Club gardeners introduced various land-
scape improvements west of the Big House as well. The sheds and fence against the west wall of the annex were gone but there remained the summer kitchen and fence at the north end of the Big House. An elaborate oval shaped flower bed was located adjacent to the west gate across from the former Mens House, now converted to a stable. A similarly designed flower bed was also situated by the flagpole where the roadway curved northward to the west gate. The Motor Country Club gardeners introduced their most sophisticated and luxurious flower beds in the area between the South West Bastion and the roadway. The accompanying photograph shows a club member standing in front of a large s-shaped bed resplendent with rhododendrons, peonies and other flower varieties. In the background is the flagpole, moved to this location after a storm destroyed the former one situated on the Big House lawn. The Company's replacement, with its massive stone foundation and three major anchors with wire support, certainly guaranteed the pole's survival until it was removed during the fort's restoration in the 1960s.

In the 1960s either the company gardener or the officers in residence had encouraged the growth of ivy vines on the Big House verandah. By the 1920s, vines, ivy and Virginia creeper were a common decorative feature on the walls of buildings throughout the fort. The accompanying photograph of the stable house by the west gate illustrates the growing popularity of vine during the 1920s.

On March, 1926 the first aerial photographs of Lower Fort Garry were taken. Obviously, they offer a new and interesting perspective on the Lower Fort Garry landscape because, for the first time, a panoramic view of all the fort's features is available for one specific time period. One is struck by the total lack of tree cover or vegetation north and south of the fort property. The former prison garden outside the North West Bastion was not a hay field while the company
Flower Gardens and beds in front of the South West Bastion, Lower Fort Garry, 1927. (Hudson's Bay Company).

The landscape, particularly the flower beds, has not been altered to any considerable degree since this photograph. The flagstaff, white stones and telephone pole have been removed.
Southwest Bastion and South Wall
Flower Beds and Vines on Men's House, Lower Fort Garry, 1929. (Manitoba Archives).
Aerial View of Lower Fort Garry, 1920s. (Brigden Collection, Hudson's Bay Company). Note the land use north of the fort and the stone outcroppings visible along the river-bank.
garden across the main road was open field intersected by the railway line and Selkirk highway. Inside the fort, the season of the year prevents a systematic analysis of tree coverage. The spruce trees continued to dominate the south and east side of the Country Club Garden. The maples and elms allowed to proliferate inside the walls, particularly on the north and east sides, are another important landscape characteristic closely associated with the Motor Country Club period.

Although the available documentation prevents a comprehensive analysis, it does appear that the Lower Fort Garry landscape underwent many fundamental changes during the 1930s and 1940s. Granted, the photographic record for the period is restricted to one aerial shot, circa 1930s, besides a few isolated photographs of structures. The accompanying aerial photograph, obviously taken during the summer, shows that the proliferation of tree cover within the fort walls was the most obvious landscape characteristic. This particular aerial photograph is also visual evidence that the Motor Country Club maintenance staff were encouraging the growth of vegetation outside the wall. A conglomeration of trees were growing along the highway fence south of the fence and the shrub cover on the riverbank definitely had increased since the 1920s. The appearance of the 1930s landscape was in sharp contrast to the early years of the fort's history when the physical environment was so obviously subordinate to the structures and operations of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading establishment.

Many of the familiar landscape features introduced during the fort's fur trade and administration period were carefully safeguarded by the Motor Country Club. The old fort bell, formerly located behind the sales shop, was moved to an old elm tree on the Big House lawn. When the tree trunk eventually rotted away, the bell was relocated on a wooden support elsewhere in the Big House garden. The old turnstile leading
to the Motor Country Club garden was another relic carefully maintained.\textsuperscript{60}

On the 17th of January, 1951, Lower Fort Garry became a National Historic Park. The Motor Country Club, however, continued to lease and occupy the property until 1963, when the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development initiated the restoration of the fort to interpret the fur trade period. The photograph record for this period is comprehensive. By the 1950s two greenhouses were in use. One was situated immediately outside the North West Bastion parallel to the north wall and the other smaller structure was located west of the former Doctor's office which had been converted to a laundry by the Motor Country Club.\textsuperscript{61} The close proximity of greenhouses allowed the club gardener to propagate the flowers inside instead of depending on Winnipeg or Selkirk suppliers for the annuals. Between 1955 and 1960 the greenhouse by the west gate was removed.\textsuperscript{62} In 1955 the vegetable garden north of the fort wall was also in a flourishing state. By 1960, in anticipation of the tourist trade at the historic park, this garden was curtailed and a parking lot introduced outside the north gate.\textsuperscript{63}

The layout of the interior was relatively unchanged from 1920. The roadway was still intact and bordered with those familiar white stones. The main addition to the Big House grounds was the stone monument located on the west lawn to commemorate the Hudson's Bay Company\textsuperscript{64} and the foliage which now camouflaged the verandah and the kitchen at the north end of the Big House. In the area outside the walkway, the greenhouse appears to have been the only major modern addition. Behind the laundry, two sets of wooden posts had been erected to serve as clotheslines.\textsuperscript{65} The Motor Country Club was careful not to disturb the remains of historic buildings. The aerial photographs, for instance, show the outline of the foundations belonging to the sales shop removed during the 1920s. One could also discern the remains of the barns and stables north
Aerial View of Lower Fort Garry, 1930s.  
(Manitoba Archives).
Aerial View of Lower Fort Garry, 1955. (Manitoba Archives).
This photograph shows the greenhouse complex outside the North West Bastion.
Aerial View of Lower Fort Garry, 1962. (Brigden's Collection, Hudson's Bay Company).
of the fort from this same source.

In terms of vegetation, the most pronounced changes had taken place south of the fort. The former site of the industrial complex at the creek was now partially hidden by stands of elm and oak, beneficiaries of the rich soils provided by flood deposits. The golf course on the former meadow land was also shaded by tree cover along the west fence as well as flourishing groves of elm, poplar, and maple west of the present site of the reconstructed Blacksmith shop.66 As the land north of the fort was partially under cultivation as a vegetable garden and hay land, it remained free of tree cover throughout the 1913-1963 period.

Summary
The Motor Country Club were the conscientious proprietors of Lower Fort Garry for 50 years. They assumed responsibility for the establishment at a crucial point when the Hudson's Bay Company no longer considered it a viable economic operation and the concept of National Historic preserves, let alone parks, was in its infancy. During their tenure, they ensured that the essence of the historic fabric and landscape was not sacrificed. In fact, as the Motor Country Club was essentially a rural retreat devoted to the entertainment and leisure of its members, the landscape assumed a special importance. Certainly, the scale of maintenance had never been as pronounced. The well-groomed golf course, the greenhouses, the elaborate floral displays—all those attest to the club's awareness of the landscape as an integral part of the total environment.
Conclusion
In a recent article considering Canada's landscape heritage, John Stewart, a landscape architect by profession, concluded that in terms of heritage conservation, historic landscape and gardens constitute as significant an element as those structures which reflect a particular architectural style or historic era. Essentially Stewart was arguing that an historic structure should not be considered in isolation from its natural habitat. This study of Lower Fort Garry's historic landscape has rested upon this very premise. To divorce the lower fort's structural development and land use from its landscape evolution creates an imbalance; particularly at a national historic park committed to the recreation of the physical and structural appearance of a mid 19th century Hudson's Bay Company post.

Every landscape, by definition, is unique. What is not unique is man's response to a particular natural environment. Certainly, when the Hudson's Bay Company officers, led by Governor George Simpson, decided upon the location for Lower Fort Garry in 1830, they brought a traditional approach to the chosen landscape. For more than 150 years Hudson's Bay Company officers and servants had been planning and building trading posts in North America based upon the main prerequisites of defence, shelter and trade. By 1830 this traditional approach to the fort environment was changing. Instead of a very centralized group of buildings surrounded by a network of stockades and courtyards, company posts were moving toward a gradual separation of the working and domestic environment. The plan of Lower Fort Garry, presumably drawn by George Simpson in collaboration with his chief tradesman, Pierre Leblanc, still retained the officer's quarters as the focal point with the stores and warehouses forming the only flanks until the walls and four bastions were constructed in the 1840s. Tradesmen were not allowed to live outside the walls until the 1850s when the specialized farming and industrial activities
were introduced.

Hudson's Bay Company posts were essentially working communities living within a restricted area. Lower Fort Garry was no exception. In the process of creating this working environment, the native landscape was committed to whatever company occupation was deemed necessary. What aspen forest cover was intact when the Leblanc crew arrived was sacrificed for construction purposes and building materials. A quarry was introduced immediately on the river bank to take advantage of the limestone outcroppings. As river transportation was paramount, trails and paths were rapidly established to connect the boat landing with the company store and warehouses. Another traditional company practice usually introduced in the first years was the preparation of a vegetable garden. Although the initial location of the garden at the lower fort is not known, one can safely assume that one did exist west or north of the main buildings.

The end result of the construction phase at a company post was usually a landscape which appears devoid of vegetation and tree cover. Humphrey Hime's early photographs of the Red River landscape, and Lower Fort Garry in particular, reinforce this impression. But the Hudson's Bay Company's traditional approach to the post environment was undergoing some significant changes after 1821. The company always had insisted upon careful maintenance of the landscape. Every spring the grounds were meticulously cleared of rubbish to avert the constant threat of fire and the drains were cleaned for sanitary purposes. The most significant change influencing the Lower Fort Garry landscape, however, was the introduction of horticulture at certain company posts. The trees planted and the flowers introduced during the Eden Colvile residency in the Big House represented one of the first conscious efforts to beautify a Hudson's Bay Company post. It must be emphasized that this response to the landscape was limited to a relatively small
number of Company posts and generally involved the commissioned officers and their wives, who possessed the leisure time to introduce horticulture and a crude form of landscape architecture to the Canadian West.

The flower garden and the lawn were established within the picket and board fence surrounding the Big House. Spruce, maple and elm trees were planted and by the early 1860s, a small greenhouse or hot bed had been erected on the south side of the Big House. After the Colvile's departure, the flower garden was developed under the supervision of William Lane, the officer in charge of the lower fort until 1855. Lane was in continual contact with other avid horticulturalists in the Red River settlement, and elsewhere. They exchanged plants and ideas on how to develop their gardens. Perhaps the most sophisticated gardener was George Barnston, the chief factor at Norway House during the 1850s. Barnston went to extraordinary lengths to achieve his landscape garden. He imported seeds from Montreal and England, and used the company brigades to transport seedlings and potted flowers from Red River to Norway House.

The motivation behind the growing interest in horticulture and landscape gardening among a select number of Hudson's Bay Company officers and residents of Red River is not readily apparent. For Bishop Anderson and his sister, both keen horticulturalists, their garden was not only a major source of pleasure and another means by which to educate the Red River children, but an important link to England. Anderson viewed the introduction of horticulture as a civilizing influence on Red River society and articulated this viewpoint. William Lane's involvement in the development of the gardens at Lower Fort Garry was motivated in part by his desire to appease the interest of his fellow officers such as Donald Ross and George Barnston and improve his position within the company hierarchy. Nevertheless, during his tenure at the lower fort, Lane was
responsible for the development of the flower gardens and the gradual beautification of the Big House grounds.

While the Hudson's Bay Company was gradually improving the grounds around the Big House, the operational functions continued to dictate the physical appearance and structural topography of the Lower Fort Garry landscape. By 1860 the lower fort was entering its most intensive decade of development as a trans-shipment centre and as an agricultural and industrial station. The most intensive structural development during the 1860s took place south of the fort enclosure. The distillery/brewery, malt barn and large warehouse as well as the small structures near the mouth of the creek committed that area of the fort landscape to functional purposes. Retaining walls, walkways and a road system were introduced to link this area with the fort and the King's Road. The Finlay sketches and Hime photographs confirm that the area bordered by the King's Road on the west, the creek on the south and the fort wall to the north was primarily short grass meadow devoid of tree cover. The area south of the creek remained aspen forest protected by the company's land reserve until the miller's residence south of the creek dictated a clearing south of the creek.

North of the fort wall, the decision to proceed with a major agricultural farm in 1857 brought about the accelerated development of this area. An ox and horse stable were erected as well as two barns and accompanying byres. The animal buildings were erected in close proximity to the gardens and cultivated fields and the stables and barn may have been surrounded by fences. The only domestic residence in the vicinity of the agricultural complex was the stableman's house. Although Robert Watson included the structure on his plan, it was one building that the archaeologists were unable to locate and record.

The men's house, the engineer's cottage, the farm manager's house and the miller's dwelling represent the earliest domestic
landscapes at Lower Fort Garry separate from the officers' quarters. Although not as sophisticated as the Big House lawns and gardens, the occupants of these dwellings did exercise a certain degree of individual control over their immediate landscapes. Unfortunately, our knowledge of these domestic landscapes remains relatively limited. A kitchen garden was a popular feature although one should realize that there is no documentary or visual evidence to confirm the presence of vegetable gardens adjacent to the cottage or the farm manager's residence. It is quite possible that the company garden west of the fort was used by all the company employees. These gardens and perhaps a small lawn area in front of the dwellings were segregated by fences. In the case of engineer's cottage, a picket fence was erected on the eastern side of the house while the west side was isolated from the open area by an extended rail fence. Landscaping of these domestic residences was apparently minimal. Outside of a few fir trees inside the east fence, little attempt was made to beautify the surroundings.

When the fur trade began to decline in the southern and more populated region of Western Canada after 1870, the company temporarily sustained its impressive array of buildings and facilities by means of a lucrative leasing arrangement with the federal and provincial penitentiary service as well as the North West Mounted Police. The arrival of the railway in the 1880s, however, brought about the steady decline and absolescence of the lower fort as a trading and trans-shipment post. The Lower Fort Garry landscape reflected these changes in a variety of ways. By 1880 the company's agricultural and industrial operations were reduced to the collection of cordwood, lime burning and the care of a few horses and cattle. Left with a surplus of structures both at the creek south of the fort and north of the establishment, the company either moved the buildings to Colvile landing, sold them to local settlers or
dismantled them for their materials. By 1890 only the engineer's cottage and grain flailing barn survived by the creek while the horse barn was the last remnant of the agricultural complex. The company did not allow the aspen forest to take over. They retained the open space for hay with the exception of a plot immediately outside the north wall which was retained as a vegetable garden. Along the river bank the trails leading to the traditional landing locations were allowed to decay and grow over.

Inside the fort walls, the occupation of the Big House as a summer retreat ensured the survival of the Big House lawns and gardens. In fact they remained the centre-piece of the fort landscape. The Manitoba maples and elms as well as the spruce trees planted in the 1850s and 1860s had matured and offered excellent shade for the summer residents. Flower beds were retained along the south and east verandah as well as in the south-west corner of the Big House garden. By the 1890s responsibility for the gardens appears to have fallen to an appointed company gardener or labourer acting under the supervision of the clerk in charge, John Stewart. Evidently, the era of horticultural experimentation so vibrant in the 1850s had diminished by the 1890s.

Outside the Big House fence, the major change was the appearance of trees within the traditional working areas. Of course, the termination of so many of the company's historical functions left more available space for tree cover. The trees appeared sporadically along the north and east wall as well as against the exteriors of the old stone warehouse and men's house. Whether it was a conscious effort to beautify the surroundings is not known. Historian Robert Watson believed that the trees inside the fort walls were never planted, but grew from blown seed. Whether they were planted systematically or they germinated naturally, these trees outside the confines of the Big House fence represented a considerable break from the company's traditional attitude of the fort landscape.
As Lower Fort Garry's involvement in the operational aspects of the fur trade diminished and its occupation as a summer retreat for company commissioners gained popularity during the 1890s, the maintenance and, indeed, the beautification of the landscape became a higher priority. It did not cost the company a great deal to maintain the grounds and flower beds and, of course, there were the public relation benefits of allowing prominent Winnipeg social and business groups to hold summer outings at the lower fort. When company commissioner Clarence Chipman retired to England in 1911, however, the lower fort landscape and buildings rapidly fell into a state of disrepair and neglect. The leasing arrangement with the Motor Country Club in 1913 therefore, was timely as it guaranteed the maintenance of the surviving structures and landscape. In fact, one term of the lease specifically protected the fort's landscape from major change without the permission of the Hudson's Bay Company. Throughout their 50 year tenure, the Motor Country Club did an exceptional job protecting the natural environment. The only major landscape modification was the golf course introduced south of the fort as well as the numerous flower beds developed by the Motor Country Club gardener throughout the fort's grounds.

When Lower Fort Garry was declared a National Historic Park, the initial plan was to concentrate upon the stabilization of the surviving structures, and then to proceed with the buildings' restoration and interpretation to the fur trade period. The restoration program did not integrate any overall plan to coordinate these historic structures with their natural environment. The result has been a Big House restored to the 1850-52 period which is surrounded by a landscape which more closely approximates its probable appearance during the Motor Country Club occupation. This section of the report does not pretend to unravel the complexities involved in the coordination of the historic structures with their immediate environment.
The study has attempted to identify and describe the lower fort's principal landscape features in the context of the fort's three major historical eras. The Hudson's Bay Company, as the creator, owner and principal occupant of Lower Fort Garry from 1830 to 1913 controlled the overall appearance and utilization of the fort landscape. Nature's impact upon the landscape cannot be dismissed but, above all, it was the company's officers who, through the development of the fort's operations as well as their leisure pursuits, determined the use and appearance of the Lower Fort Garry landscape.
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174  See landscape plans, drawing number 2, location drawing number 1, detail number 5, 5/2
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44 See figure 10.
45 See landscape plans, drawing number 7, location drawing number 7, detail number 6, $\frac{6}{7/7}$
46 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., item 32, site plan, p. 57.
47 HBCA, B.303/d/1, fo. 224, J. Wrigley, Winnipeg, to F. Holloway, December 24, 1884.
48 Ibid.
50 Ibid., p. 52.
52 Ibid., p. 19.
53 Ibid., p. 20.
54 HBCA, B.303/b/3b, fo. 381, F.W. Holloway, Lower Fort Garry, to S.L. Bedson, August 18, 1885. "Mr. John Reid the man you had here digging the well for the Asylum went away in the company's debt to the amount of $65."
55 George Ingram, The Big House...op. cit., pp. 119-120.
56 Ibid.
243

57 See landscape plans, drawing number 7, location drawing number 7, detail number 5, \( \frac{5}{7/7} \)

58 HBCA, B.303/b/5, fo. 15, F.W. Holloway, Lower Fort Garry to D.M. Fenny & Company, May 5, 1886.


60 Ibid., B.303/b/5, fo. 11, F.W. Holloway to Joseph Clouston Miller, Lower Fort Garry, May 1, 1886.

61 Ibid., B.303/b/4, fo. 52, W. McLean to the Reeve and Councillors, The Municipality of St. Andrew's, May 7, 1887.

62 See landscape plans, drawing number 8, location drawing number 8, detail number 5, \( \frac{5}{8/8} \)

Also, ibid., \( \frac{6}{6/8} \)

63 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., pp. 57-58.

64 HBCA, B.303/b/5, fo. 22, F. Holloway to W. Clark, May 8, 1886.

65 Ibid., B.303/c/1, W. Adams to W.J. McLean, November 3, 1886.

66 Ibid., W. Wrigley to Lower Fort Garry clerk, May 16, 1887. By March, 1884, there was a Lower Fort Garry siding on the Canadian Pacific Railway line to Selkirk.

67 HBCA, B.303/b/5, fo. 11, F.W. Holloway to Fred J. Cox, April 28, 1886.

68 HBCA, B.303/b/1, John Moor, Little Grand Rapids, to J. McLean, February 3, 1890.

69 See for example, HBCA, D.25/3, fo. 79, Inspection Reports, Lower Fort Garry, March, 1887.

70 HBCA, B.303/d/1, fo. 23, J. Wrigley, Winnipeg to W.J. McLean, Lower Fort Garry, August 8, 1889.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid., fo. 3.

73 Ibid.
74 HBCA, B.303/c/l, Mr. Clark to J.H. Stanger, April 4, 1895.

75 Ibid., B.303/e/2, fo. 3, Lower Fort Garry Inspection Report, 1889.

76 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., pp. 57-58.

77 HBCA, B.303/d/198, fo. 62, Lower Fort Garry Accounts, 1888-89.

78 Ibid., fo. 62d.

79 Ibid., fo. 63.

80 George Ingram, The Big House...op. cit., p. 111.


82 George Ingram, The Big House...op. cit., p. 111.

83 Ibid.

84 Hamilton B. Chipman, op. cit., p. 12.

85 HBCA, B.303/c/l, W.J. McLean to C.C. Chipman, June 26, 1891.

86 Compare landscape drawing number seven, location drawing seven, detail number two with landscape drawing 7, location drawing number 7, detail number 8.

87 See landscape plans, drawing number 7, location drawing number 7, detail 7, 7.

88 Ibid.

89 HBCA, B.303/c/l, W. McLean, Lower Fort Garry to C.C. Chipman, 26 June 1891.

90 Figure 12. See also landscape plans, drawing number 7, location drawing number 7, detail number 9, 9.

91 Ibid., 10.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., 7.

94 HBCA, B.303/d/246, fo. 384, April 23, 1895.

95 HBCA, B.303/d/258b, fo. 96, June 29, 1896.
96 HBCA, D.18/8, Commissioner Joseph Wrigley, Correspondence Outward, fo. 454, Wrigley to McLean, February 3, 1891.

97 HBCA, B.303/e/7, fo. 1, McLean to Wrigley, 21 February 1891.

98 HBCA, B.303/d/246, fo. 214, Lower Fort Garry Accounts, October 27, 1894.

99 HBCA, B.303/b/14, fos. 183-184, J. Stanger to C.C. Chipman, May 13, 1897.

100 HBCA, B.303/c/1, C. Chipman to J.H. Stanger, May 38, 1894, August 24, 1895.

101 Ibid., Adams to J.H. Stanger.

102 See landscape plans, drawing number 8, location drawing number 6, detail number 2, $\frac{2}{6/8}$

103 HBCA, B.303/c/1, Mr. Clark to J.H. Stanger, April 4, 1895.

104 Ibid., B.303/d/253, fo. 56, May 31, 1896.

105 See landscape plans, drawing number 8, location drawing number 6, detail number 2, $\frac{2}{6/8}$


107 See figure 13.

108 See Lower Fort Garry Landscape photograph collection, Prairie Region, Parks Canada, Winnipeg Number 58.

109 Ibid.

110 See landscape plans, drawing number 7, location drawing number 7, detail number 8, $\frac{8}{7/7}$

111 Ibid., $\frac{10}{7/7}$

112 Ibid., $\frac{8}{7/7}$

113 Ibid., $\frac{3}{7/7}$

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., $\frac{2}{7/7}$
116 Ibid., \( \frac{7}{7/7} \)
117 See figure 13.
118 See landscape Photograph Collection, number 58.
119 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., item 117, Watson site plan, p. 58.
120 See landscape plans, drawing number 8, location drawing number 6, detail number 1, \( \frac{1}{6/8} \)
121 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., item 120, Watson site plan, p. 59.
122 See figures 17 and 22.
123 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., p. 58.
124 Ibid.
125 H.T. Chipman, "Boyhood at the Lower Fort," The Beaver, op. cit., p. 12.
126 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., pp. 158-159.
127 George Ingram, Industrial and Agricultural...op. cit., p. 84.
128 See Figure 17.
129 Ibid.
130 See landscape plans, drawing number 8, location drawing number 6, detail number 7, \( \frac{7}{6/8} \)
131 See George Ingram, Industrial and Agricultural...op.cit., p. 84.
132 HBCA, B.518/1, Stores Correspondence, Case No. 5, Report of J. Braidwood, Lower Fort Garry, January 14, 1910.
133 Ibid.
135 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., p. 55.

V The Lower Fort Garry Landscape: 1913-1963

The Motor Country Club Period

1 Dale Miquelon, A Brief History of Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., p. 33.
2 HBCA, A.12/L/MISC./55, B.E. Walker, Toronto, to Mr. Rogers, Minister of Interior, December 19, 1911.
3 Ibid., E.C. Ingrams to James Thomson, HBC Land Commissioner November 30, 1912.
5 Ibid., Lower Fort Garry file, 1912-14.
6 Ibid., Hudson's Bay Company Land at Lower Fort Garry, 1905-1910, A.12/5/598/1.
8 *Gas Power Age*, vol. VI, No. 6, June 1913.
9 Ibid.
10 See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 1, 1/9
11 *Gas Power Age*, August 1913.
12 See figure 18, and figure 23.
13 *Gas Power Age*, August 1913.
14 Ibid.
15 See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 1, 1/9
17 Ibid.
18 See figure 17.
19 Ibid.
20 George Ingram, Industrial and Agricultural...op. cit., p. 84. This photograph is the best example of the rail fence erected west of the Engineer's cottage possibly during the Administrative period or earlier in the fort's history.
21 See figure 17.
22 See figure 22.
23 See landscape plans, drawing number 8, location drawing number 6, detail 7, 7/6
24 See figure 22.
25 See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 1, \( \frac{1}{9/9} \).
26 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., pp. 70-71.
27 See figure 30.
28 See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 7, \( \frac{7}{9/9} \).
29 Ibid., \( \frac{6}{9/9} \).
30 Ibid., \( \frac{7}{9/8} \).
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 See figure 16.
34 See figure 4.
35 See figure 24.
36 Ibid.
37 See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 1, \( \frac{1}{9/9} \).
38 Ibid., \( \frac{2}{9/9} \).
39 Robert Watson, Lower Fort Garry...op. cit., p. 51.
40 See figures 17 and 26.
41 See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 4, \( \frac{4}{9/9} \).
42 See landscape collection on Number 102.
43 See figure 23.
44 Ibid.
45 See figure 27.
46 See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 1, \( \frac{1}{9/9} \).
47 See figure 29.
48 See figure 28.
49 Ibid.
See landscape plans, drawing number 7, location drawing number 7, detail number 2, \( \frac{2}{7/7} \)

See figure 29.

Ibid.

See figure 30.

Ibid.

See figure 30.

See landscape collection, numbers 92 and 113.

See figure 31.

See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 5, \( \frac{5}{9/9} \)

Ibid.

Ibid., \( \frac{6}{9/9} \)

See figure 32.

See figures 32 and 33.

See figure 33.

See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 9, \( \frac{9}{9/9} \)

See figure 33.

See landscape plans, drawing number 9, location drawing number 9, detail number 2, \( \frac{2}{9/9} \)
Appendix A. List of Flowers Made up by Margaret J. Anderson, May 1852. (Notes prepared by L.G. Thomas for research team, revised by L. Fardin).

1. **Sweet William:** (A) *Dianthus barbatus*

2. **Hearts Ease:** (A) *Viola tricolor*, Wild Pansy of Parkinson *Parasbius Terrestis*, 1629, and Milton's "pansy freak" with jet "-garden pansy probably derived from this."

3. **French Pink (2 types):** (A) Carnation? Or one of the other many kinds of pinks; though too early for Mrs. Sinkins (1867), *Dianthus caryophyllus*.

4. **Virginia Stock:** (A98) Under Crucifera-Malthiola Malcolmia maritima. "Is the Virginia Stock (although from Greece and Albania) a variable annual, 15-30 cm. (6-12 in.) tall, with racemes of lilac, rose, red or white flowers. There is also a yellow variant..."

5. **Nastertium (sic):** *Nasturtium* (A66) Many substitutes for caper (*Capporis spinoa*), "particularly Nasturtium (*Tropaeolum majus*) seed" I think this is the one she would grow, or want to, because of its culinary use (see also Perry, A298-8). Introduced from Central South America; *Tropaeolum majus*, strong climber from Peru, introduced to Britain circa 1686. Margaret Anderson would probably use it as a creeper—or want to. It ought to have been satisfactory annual at Red River in 1852, though very sensitive to frost.

6. **London Pride:** English name of *Saxifraga umbrosa* - able to survive in smoggy atmosphere (A274 "S. xurbicim,
(S. spathularis, S. umbrosa is the plant usually grown as London Pride). It would be expected to survive in Red River as most common saxifragas are pretty hardy.

7. White Jerusalem Star: Possibly (A151) Phlomis fruticosa Jerusalem Sage "one of the hardiest of the shrubby species" A.W. Smith, A Gardener's Book of Plant Names Harper & Row, New York, 1963 (Isadore's late husband) lists J. artichoke (Helianthus tuberosus), Jerusalem cherry (Solanum capsicum), Jerusalem oak (Chenopodium Botrys.L). Jerusalem sage (Phlomis), Jerusalem thorn (Parkinsonia aculeata). I could not get much out of Perry on these. The first is a vegetable, the second usually a house plant, the last probably a tropical shrub or tree. Checking these against other listings for a white or star-shaped flower might be useful or possibly the Star of Jerusalem (Ornithogalum umbellatum).

8. Bergamot: Monarda didyma, also Bee Balm (A152), also "four leaves sometimes made into tea." From North America to Mexico and several species had been introduced to England as garden flowers. Would have seemed worth a try.

9. Marvel of Peru: (A195) Mirabilis jalapa, also "Four O'Clock Plant," herbaceous perennial, ca. 60 cm.—2 ft.—high, used in tropics for bedding or mixed border, so one might have one's doubts about Red River unless as a house or green house plant.

10. Double Poppie (sic): Poppy. Probably Papaver rhoeas, Shirley Poppy or Corn poppy, or somniferum, Opium poppy, orientale according to Perry (A220-222) too early for Shirley Poppy but she does refer to Doubles. The most likely (although presently prohibited by the RCMP) would be Papaver somniferum, which seems to have had doubles before the Shirley poppy.
11. **Convolvulus (sic) Major** (2 sorts): *Convolvulus* (A89-90). "Major" suggests a climber, but "two sorts" might mean colour (blue, white, pink or even red) or type (climber or border plant). The Morning Glory, *Ipomoea purpurea* etc., may have been available this early but it is doubtful it would have had much success in Red River's short-growing season, unless started indoors. More and more, it seems more likely M. Anderson had some kind of greenhouse or hot frame.

12. **Mignonette**: *Reseda odorata* (A23-6) Easily grown even in foothills, though sensitive to frost like most annuals, even quite "hardy" ones. Very popular in the early 20th century South Alberta gardens.

13. **Sweet peas**: *Lathyrus odoratus* (A161); in England since 1699, this popular climber would be a natural for Red River.

14. **Dwarf Pea**: Perry (A161) mentions dwarf varieties of modern sweet peas, and perhaps there were earlier ones. Could she have been thinking of an edible?

15. **Larkspur**: These are more likely annual larkspur for massing than *Delphinium*, the hardy perennial, but both have been so much developed since 1852 that one would need to be very careful here.

16. **Scarlet Kotens(?) (sic)**: Could this be *Scarlet Avens* (A263) *Geum Auellyon*? Unlikely! Possibly *Scarlet chalcedonica*, Jerusalem or Maltese Cross, certainly a very common perennial in the foothills gardens (A71-2). It is hard to believe it would not be on Miss Anderson's seed list.

17. **Candytuft**: (A98) *Iberis sempervirens* or *I. amara* (the annual, at one time particularly popular). *Sempervirens* is the rock garden form and less likely to be thought of in Red River terms.
18. **Saffron**: Smith lists saffron (Crocus officinalis or C. sativus), false (C. earthamus), spring meadow (Colchicum automnale). The most likely is *Crocus Sativus*, Saffron crocus, source of drug and dye in Britain since middle ages, flavour in saffron cakes, Saffron Walden, Essex, centre of the industry.

19. **Lupins**: (A162-3) Perennial lupins before Russell were pretty dull plant material so perhaps she was interested in the annuals. (L. laxiflorus, L. lapidus, L. mutabilis, were used by Russell to get away from the white, blue and purple colours of perennial).

20. **Lavatera**: (sic) Lavatera (A185) L. arborea, Tree Mallow; L. albia, Tree Lavatera; L. Trimestris, annual, Herb tree mallow. She might have meant any of these but the third, Lavatera trimestris, is more likely.


22. **Hos adonis (?)**.

23. **Manophala**: "Mono" as a prefix indicates "one" "Phaios" - "shining."

24. **Egg Plant**: (A282) "Solanum melongena esuclentum" Aubergine, "well-known vegetable with edible fruits." But could it be Smith's "Butter-and-eggs" - Linaria-Toadflax (A280)?

25. **Double Marigold**: *Calendula officinalis* (A87). Pot Marigold, "slight culinary properties" Hardy, does well in Alberta.

26. **Holly**: Presumably the glossy leaved red-berried Christmas shrubbery tree, *Ilex*, which does well in England and Vancouver Island, but would not be hardy in Red River.

27. **Acorus flower**.

28. **Name unknown**.
29. Large red flowers (name unknown).
30. Purple stem with stock (?).
31. Mixed China Aster (sic): Callistephus chinensis, annual; "mixed" probably refers to colours.
32. Negella Romanis (?): Nigella damascena, Love-in-a-mist. From "black" niger, seeds of these annuals (Smith, op. cit). Nothing in Perry.
33. Malope Grandiflora (?): Malope.
34. Petunia Thenisa (?): Petunia is generally treated as an annual, though strictly perennial (A286). Thenisa is unknown.
35. Dianthus Atrorubens: (A70-71). A Pink or Carnation. Smith (p. 52) describes atrorubens as "dark red" so there is a dark red pink (or carnation).
36. Portlakie Selesonia: Portulaca - purslane - Portulaca grandiflora, Rose Moss or Sun Plant of Brazil; many colours are available and it does well under prairie conditions as an annual, even seeding itself, though very susceptible to frost. Likes a sunny location.
37. Galliopsis atropurpurea: Atropurpurea, see Smith, means dark purple. So it has perhaps "maroon & crimson flowers." G. ladanum is red hemp nettle.
38. Name unknown.
39. Malva zebrina - Variety of Mallow Zebrina (Smith 374), zebra-striped. But see also (A77) Zebrina pendula, the common house-plant.
40. Xeranthemum Annuum Alba: Eternal flower. (Smith 373). The flower heads dry, retain form and colour and are much used for winter decoration. Madly popular in 1852, and just the ticket to make a house a home in Red River. (A87-Another genus, Helichrysum bracteatum is an Australian perennial treated as annual in gardens and one often referred
to as "Everlasting" - also called Straw flower).

41. **Scarlet striped Balsam**: *Impatiens Holstii* or *I. Wallerana* or "Busy Lizzie," or Patience plant. (A39, "brilliant shades of scarlet...") most probably. But possibly *I. Balsamina* (often with dark red flowers). It is more likely to be Busy Lizzie, easy to pot up and keep indoors over the winter, and very colourful outside in the frost-free period.

42. **Eschscholzia**: *E. californica*, California poppy (A220, 224), State flower of California. Showy hardy annual, many colours but in 1852 probably only orange easily available. It seeds itself at Kapasiwin and elsewhere very freely.

43. **Clarkia Pulchella**: Clarkia (Smith, 102, North American annual named in honour of Captain William Clark, 1770-1838) Pulchella, pretty. A useful annual on the prairies. See any good Canadian seed catalogue.

44. **Malva Mauritiana**: *Malva Sylvestris*. Often used medicinally. The hollyhock is a species of this family. *Alcea* (*Althaea*) *rosea*, and may have been what Mrs. Anderson wanted. A very popular cottage garden plant.

45. **Gilia Tricolor**: Tricoloured Gilia or Bird's Eye Gilia.

46. **French Marigold**: *Tagetes patula*.

47. (?) **Ten Week Stock**, *Matthiola incana*.

48. **White Candytuft**: Candytuft. *Iberis* (see 17, above).

49. **African Marigold**: *Tagetes erecta*. Vigorous annual, of which there are many modern cultivars.

50. **Virgina Stock**: (See 4, above).

51. **Cyanus**: Smith, 122 (*Cyanis*: Old name and now the specific name for cornflower, signifying blue) *Centaurea,*
Echinacea. One would certainly expect to find Centaurea cyanus, European cornflower, Blue Bottle or Bachelor's buttons in a Red River garden.

52. Adonis something, etc: Perry (A251) describes Adonis aestivalis, the Pheasant's Eye from S. Europe, as an annual, crimson flowers on 1 foot stems. Smith defines "autumnalis" as "pertaining to autumn" and "vernalis" as "of spring; spring-flowering."

53. Halana Paradopa (?): Possibly using Smith, may be Solana Paradoxa, a strange plant of the genus Solanum, which includes potato, etc.

54. Collinsea Bicolor: Collinsia heterophylla or Chinese Houses. Annuals named in honour of Zaccheus Collins, 1764-1831. Not in Perry. The Collinsias are mentioned in London (p. 343) as among the natives of Mexico and California that embrace "some of the prettiest and most useful annuals in British gardens."

55. Larkspur: See 15. above. She probably wanted to try both annual and perennial larkspurs, perhaps including delphinium. Perennial larkspur is quite common in Alberta foothills - "locoweed," deadly or so reputed, for stock, and both domesticated larkspurs flourish.

56. Hibiscus africanus or Hibiscus trionum: Flower of an Hour. (A182-4) Grown under glass in temperature countries; e.g. H. McCuaig's solarium at Kapasiwin. If Anderson is making up her list from Red River, she must have an idea of the growth conditions there, and some of her orders, like this, suggest that she had in mind some kind of greenhouse. As some pretty sophisticated farmers were in Red River, by 1852 would this be a possibility? The glasshouse is much a part of English horticultural tradition.
57. **Sweet William** - See 1. above.

58. **Mignonette** - see 12. above.

59. (?) **Adonis**: See 52. above.

60. **Marsh Stallion**: March mallow? *Althaea officinalis* (A182). Perry refers to "medicinal virtues of ancient origin." Many of the plants of this list are of medicinal interest. Is there any connection between Anderson and medicine? One supposes many women in the early west had a knowledge of medicinal herbs.

61. **Indian Pink**: See 3. above. But Perry (A71) specifies Indian Pink, *Dianthus Chinensis* as one of the parents of carnations grown commercially under glass. A carnation under glass would provide highly desirable cutflowers in the Red River winter, and a social as well as a horticultural coup.

62. **Stermspylla**: Could be *Hemerophylla* or *Thermopsis* otherwise known as a false lupins.

63. **Lupins**: See 19. above. Probably she wanted both annual and perennial.
Appendix B. Requisition on Fort Garry of the following Garden Seeds for William Lane - Circa 1855-1870

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vegetable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asparagus</td>
<td>- giant</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- German Wax</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- German Yellow 6 weeks</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Royal Dwarf Kidney</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Large White</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Scarlet Runner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beets</td>
<td>- Turnip Bassano</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Blood turnip selected</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Long Dark Blood</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brocoli</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>- Early Large York</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Early Winningstadt</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Fine Red Dutch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carrots</td>
<td>- Early Horn</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Long Orange</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cauliflower</td>
<td>- Eye Paris</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Early London</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Large White Solid</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>- Common Sugar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Sweet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cress</td>
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Mustard - White English
Nastertium - Tall Yellow
Onions - L.R. Wethersfield
Parsley - Curled
Pepper - Bull Nose
Peas - Carters 1st Crop
Pumpkins - Large Yellow
Radishes - Turnip Rooted
Spinach - Round Summer
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<th>Variety</th>
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site plan, 1830-1875 period

survey plan as of 1875

A cultivated field

serial of fort and garden
This photograph shows the remains of a farm complex located in the Lower Fort Garry area, north of the north side. The farm complex includes a number of structures, including a horse stable, cow barns, and farm buildings. The farm buildings are situated around the complex, with the horse stable and cow barns forming the central focus. The plan of the north cow barn and the east-west profile of the south cow barn are also shown. The farm complex is depicted in a composite hatch of 1151, with the Upper Fort Garry in the background and Lowar Fort Garry surroundings. At the extreme right, an arched thatched roof log table with lean-to is visible. A paling fence runs up to the table, with probably a lock corral. The farm complex is part of the agricultural area which developed into the depicted plan. The farm buildings are shown as a light agglomeration of buildings and lean-to, split facing surrounding barnyard areas. A tear shed barn, roaming on, and dog table are arranged around the complex.

The photograph of the horse stable shows the remains of a horse stable, with a wooden structure and surrounding area. The horse stable is part of the farm complex and is depicted in the plan. The east-west profile of the south cow barn is also shown, with the farm buildings surrounding the area. The farm complex is depicted in a composite hatch of 1151, with the Upper Fort Garry in the background and Lowar Fort Garry surroundings. The farm buildings are situated around the complex, with the horse stable and cow barns forming the central focus. The plan of the north cow barn and the east-west profile of the south cow barn are also shown. The farm complex is part of the agricultural area which developed into the depicted plan.
outside the south-east bastion
outside the south-west bastion
south of the fort
west of fort circa 1878
west of fort circa 1886
select road
facing east gate
site plan, post 1913

big house circa 1914

bell

turnstile

vegetable garden north of fort circa 1927

big house circa 1955

facing east gate circa 1958

h.b.c. monument circa 1956