THE HISTORIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF FORT D'EPINETTE (Harc 27): CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF ETHNICITY

by

Elisabet Louise Bedard
B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1983

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS in the Department of Archaeology

© Elisabet Louise Bedard 1990
Simon Fraser University
January 1990

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.
APPROVAL

Name: Elisabet Bedard
Degree: Master of Arts (Archaeology)
Title of Thesis: The Historic and Ethnographic Background at Fort D'Epinette (HaRC 27), Considerations for the Archaeological Determination of Ethnicity.

Examinining Committee:
Chairman: Brian Hayden, Professor

Phil Høfler
Associate Professor
Senior Supervisor

Dr. David Burley
Assistant Professor

Dr. Knut Fladmark
Professor

Dr. Colin Terbury
Professor/Director
Centre for Distance Education
Simon Fraser University
I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

THE HISTORIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF

FORT D'EPINETTE (HgRC27), ARCHAEOLOGICAL

CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE DETERMINATION OF ETHNICITY

Author:

(signature)

ELISABET BEDARD

(name)

March 30, 1990

(date)
ABSTRACT

THE HISTORIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND AT FORT D'EPINETTE (HaRc 27), CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF ETHNICITY

This thesis undertakes a contextual examination of the artifact record from Fort D'Epinette (HaRc 27). The artifacts and their distributions are interpreted using ethnographic and historic data to determine whether archaeological identification of ethnic groups is possible. An attempt is made to determine whether the artifact assemblage contains distinctive distributions and types of artifacts that reflect the ethnic diversity indicated to be present in written records.

Through the use of historic and anthropological data, this study presents a picture of the events and social background at Fort D'Epinette on the Peace River in the early 19th century. Emphasis has been given to native Indian groups who participated in the fur trade and the stylistic and ethnic attributes of material culture which may reflect their presence within a fur trade fort. Those traits thought to reflect the presence of Indian groups are assessed against the artifact assemblage.

The examination of ethnically related traits within the Fort D'Epinette assemblage reveals some patterning. However, the link between this patterning and specific ethnic groups cannot be reliably determined from the data at hand. The historic and ethnographic background indicates an interdependence of groups in the area. Much of the spatial patterning of artifacts at Fort D'Epinette confirms this. The study indicates that determination of ethnicity within a fur trade context has limitations because of the multiethnic nature of the population which overrides the
expression of ethnic traits. Interpretations of this lack of ethnic patterning are discussed. Finally, the validity of the application of the concept of ethnicity to a fur trade assemblage is examined, and suggestions are made for future studies.

Through the examination of the historic and ethnographic background and the artifact record from Fort D'Epinette, a more complete understanding of the social environment and its effects on the artifact record has been gained.
I want to thank the many people who helped to make the completion of this thesis possible. Initial acknowledgement goes to Dr. Knut Fladmark for giving me the opportunity to work on the Fort d'Epinette project. Without his initial support, interest and generosity in lending source materials and providing ideas, this thesis would not have been possible. I would also like to thank him for permitting me to make use of his drawing of Fort d'Epinette and the ground plan for the site.

I also want to thank my senior supervisor, Prof. Phil Hobler who has been a source of encouragement and advice in addition to generously lending equipment and offering a rational approach to a sometimes overwhelming task. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Burley for comments and editorial advice on the numerous readings of the manuscript as well as the generous loan of source material. Dr. Colin Yerbury was also helpful in offering constructive ideas and comments.

Acknowledgement is also due to Bill Quackenbush for his comments critiques and advice, through the different stages of the thesis, as well as allowing me to use his drawings of certain artifacts. I also owe a debt to Scott Hamilton for his encouragement in the early stages of this thesis, and to Denise for her help and positive attitude in dealing with administrative details.

Finally, I would like to thank Aneez and Chad for their tolerance and understanding, and my parents for their support.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSTRACT</th>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</th>
<th>LIST OF TABLES</th>
<th>LIST OF FIGURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION
- Problem Statement and Objectives: 1
- Theoretical and Practical Considerations: 4
- Sources for the study of Indians: 5
- Thesis Organization: 6

## CHAPTER 2: ETHNIC CONSIDERATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD
- Introduction: 10
- Fur Trade Assemblages and Artifact Classes: 10
- Ethnic Considerations and their Relationship to Artifact Classes: 11
- The Expression of Ethnicity in the Archaeological Record: 13
- Summary: 17

## CHAPTER 3: HISTORIC BACKGROUND
- Introduction: 19
- Historic Background: 19
- History of the Establishment of Trade in the Peace River Region: 26
- Establishment of Fort D'Epinette: 29
- Post Merger Effects: 33
- Summary: 39
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sideplates</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigger Guard</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumbler</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunflints</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead shot</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Projectile Points</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Hooks</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trap Parts</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaw Post</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bow</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinge</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swivel Hook</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobtail Trap Part</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridle Bits</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand Tools</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoe Knife</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason's Trowel</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawblade</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adze</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot Chisel Handle</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold Chisel</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axe Blades</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strike-a-Lights</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punches</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Files</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offset Awls</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Items</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knives</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forks</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Utensils</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razors</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX: CONTINUED

Kettle Handle ................................................................. 160
Brass Spigot ............................................................... 160
Selve ................................................................. 160
Kettle Hooks ............................................................. 160
Lantern Shade ............................................................ 161
Kettle Spout .............................................................. 161
Kettle Fragments ....................................................... 161
Pins and Needle .......................................................... 161
Metal Buttons ............................................................. 161
Scissors ................................................................. 162
Pencil Lead ............................................................... 162
Ball Fasteners and Kettle Lugs .............................. 162

Personal Adornment .................................................. 163
Silver Jewelry ............................................................ 163
Earrings ................................................................. 164
Brooches and Gorgets ........................................... 164
Cut Silver ............................................................... 165
Silver Crucifixes ...................................................... 165
Silver Tinkler ........................................................... 165
Silver Cufflink .......................................................... 165
Silver Bell ............................................................... 166
Brass Rings ............................................................. 166
Glass Jewelry ............................................................ 166
Earrings ................................................................. 166
Crucifix ................................................................. 166
Tinkling Cones ........................................................ 167
Hawk Bells .............................................................. 167
Shell Ornament ......................................................... 167
Thimbles ................................................................. 167
Clothing ................................................................. 168
Shoe Fragments ........................................................ 168
Fabric ................................................................. 168
Braid Trim ............................................................... 169
Cordage ................................................................. 169
Clothing Fasteners ................................................... 169
# APPENDIX: CONTINUED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whizzers</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew's Harp</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Clay Pipes</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipestems</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone and Antler Artifacts of European Manufacture</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combs</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Manufactured Bone</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utensil Hafts</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone Buttons</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bale Seals</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudson's Bay Company Weight</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrel Strapping</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Fittings Iron and Brass</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wire</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotter Pins</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swivel Hooks</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinges, Bolt, Lug</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatulate Tool</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spike Items</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Metal</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Lead, Copper, Brass</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Iron</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk Industries</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone Pipes</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone Awls</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netting Needles</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaming Pieces</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow's Scratching Stick</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flesher</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird Bone Beads</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX: CONTINUED

Blanket Pins .......................................................... 183
Modified Eagle Phalanges ........................................... 184
Net Gauge ................................................................ 184
Trace Buckles .......................................................... 184
Canoe Ribber ............................................................ 184
Bone Scraper .............................................................. 184
Miscellaneous Bone and Antler ..................................... 185
Dentillium ................................................................. 185
Lithics ..................................................................... 185
ARTIFACT FIGURES .................................................. 186
REFERENCES CITED .................................................... 215
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Table Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Artifact Categories of Native Manufacture from Individual forts</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Artifact Categories and Counts</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Artifacts Counts and Percentages According to Site Areas</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Coefficients for Different Areas</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Distribution of Folk Industry Artifacts compared with European Classed Artifacts</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Location of Fort D’Epinette (HaRc 27)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fur Trade Forts Along the Peace River</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Geographic Location of the Beaver and Sekani in the Early 1800’s</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fort d’Epinette Ground Plan, Excavation Units and Hypothesized Building Structures</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ground Plan of St. Mary’s</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hypothesized Reconstruction of Fort d’Epinette</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Plan view of Main House</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Stratigraphic Profile of North Cellar Wall in Main House</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Men’s House Plan View</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Men’s House Stratigraphic Profile</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Workshop Plan View</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Hinges and Escutcheon Plate</td>
<td>188b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Hinges and Punches</td>
<td>188b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Gun Parts</td>
<td>189b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gun Parts</td>
<td>189b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Serpent Side Plates</td>
<td>190b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Trigger Guard</td>
<td>190b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Gunflints</td>
<td>191b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ferrous Projectile Points</td>
<td>191b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Trap Parts</td>
<td>192b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Trap Parts</td>
<td>192b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mason’s Trowel</td>
<td>193b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Axeblade</td>
<td>193b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Kettle Hooks and Punches</td>
<td>194b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Files</td>
<td>194b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Offset Awls and Needle</td>
<td>195b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Clasp Knives</td>
<td>195b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td>196b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Brass Spigot</td>
<td>196b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ferrous Selve</td>
<td>197b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ferrous Lantern Shade</td>
<td>197b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Silver Plated Brass Wire Pins</td>
<td>196b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>199b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>199b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Ad Hoc Cut Silver Items</td>
<td>200b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Tinklers</td>
<td>200b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>201b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Clay Pipes</td>
<td>201b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Bone Combs</td>
<td>202b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Micmac Type Pipe</td>
<td>202b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Stone Pipes</td>
<td>203b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Pipebowl Preform</td>
<td>203b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Bone Awls</td>
<td>204b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Netting Needles and Trace Buckles</td>
<td>204b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Blanket Pins and Pendants</td>
<td>205b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Cortical Spall Scrapers</td>
<td>205b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Buttons</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Birchbark Container</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Birchbark Container</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Decorated Birchbark</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Key and Latchbar Catch</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Scissors</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Cordage</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Bale Seals and Hudson's Bay Company Weight</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Nail Head and Point Types</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1975 and 1976 Dr. Knut Fladmark of Simon Fraser University, excavated the site of Fort d'Epinette, situated at the confluence of the Peace and Beatton Rivers in northeastern B.C. (Figure 1). A large assemblage of artifacts and associated features was recorded. Fort d'Epinette was occupied from 1806 to 1823 when it was abandoned after the murder of several Hudson's Bay Company employees. The fort, originally established by the North West Company as St. Johns, was taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821. At that time the name of the fort changed to d'Epinette along with its management.

Problem statement and objectives

The purpose of this thesis is an analysis of the Fort d'Epinette (HaRc 27) artifact assemblage and its spatial distribution. This is undertaken in conjunction with a study of the social environment within the fur trade fort in order to explore the possibility of identifying ethnic groups in the archaeological record. It is hypothesized that the distribution and types of artifacts recovered from Fort d'Epinette reflect the ethnic diversity known from the written record. This hypothesis is constructed with reference to the social and historic background of the fort and is tested against empirical data of the archaeological record.
Figure 1. Location of Fort d’Epinette (HaRc 27)
The study employs historic and anthropological data to provide a picture of the events and social background at Fort d'Epinette in the early 19th century. Particular emphasis has been given to Native Indian groups who participated in the fur trade. Within the limitations of this study, stylistic and ethnic attributes which may reflect the presence of Indian groups within a fur trade fort are identified, and problems associated with distinguishing ethnicity in the archaeological record are assessed against the artifact assemblage.

The idea that ethnicity can be determined in the archaeological record through an examination of ethnically distinct markers (e.g. McGuire 1982), or by the distribution of artifacts (e.g. Adams 1983) has been the subject of numerous studies. These studies see cultural differences as being maintained and expressed along ethnic lines and boundaries. Thus the archaeological expression of social identity occurs in the stylistic attributes of artifacts and artifact spatial distributions. If the idea that ethnic markers exist is accurate, then ethnic differences between Eurocanadians and indigenous groups should exhibit recognizable distributions of aboriginal and European manufactured artifacts. These distributions should be the result of ethnically determined behaviours and material culture. Within such a framework, this thesis examines whether the presence of Indians at Fort d'Epinette is reflected in the archaeological record.

The appropriateness of this type of a problem applied to Fort d'Epinette is justified by written documentation from the fort which indicates a large degree of interaction by different indigenous groups in the region. The artifact assemblage from the fort itself has a significant
component of items described as "folk tradition", or aboriginally styled. This, supported by references from the fort journal, strongly indicate that there were Indians living at the fort (HBCA B.189/a/1-1).

Another factor contributing to the suitability of Fort d'Epine for this study is that the fort was occupied for a limited 17 year span; thus social changes accompanying the fur trade through a longer time span are avoided. The relationships represented at this fort offer a view into the latter part of the competitive trade period, and the short period immediately after the amalgamation of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the North West Company.

An examination of ethnicity in this study is undertaken in the following steps. First the historic and ethnographic context of the fort is examined. Second, potential behavioural and material correlates of ethnicity are identified. Third, based on this background, classes of artifacts which are seen as representative of the ethnic diversity are established, and their distribution is plotted. Finally, based on the spatial distribution of established classes it will be determined if patterning indicative of ethnicity exists.

**Theoretical and practical considerations**

In order to place this work in context and to establish the validity of the study, a short review of previous work and sources is necessary. Much of the previous work in fur trade archaeology has explored the European participation in the fur trade. This thesis seeks to examine the Native participation in the trade and to redress what Klimko terms an absence of "cultural reconstruction" (1983:1). This also supports Diggins (1984) call for understanding the general background context or circumstances from
which specific phenomenon arise prior to interpretation. For the fur trade in general, and at Fort d'Epinette, the social context or environment was a dynamic interplay between different social groups, including Eurocanadians and the various aboriginal populations, each with their own distinct economy and culture. The mix of different cultures was a crucial component of the fur trade, consequently determining the social environment within individual fur trading establishments. This theme reflects the recent emphasis placed on Indian cultures in the fur trade, especially in attempting to understand how Indians were affected by, and in turn influenced Eurocanadian trade culture (e.g. Ray 1984, Fisher 1983).

Sources for the study of Indians in the protohistoric and early historic period on the Peace River of Northeastern B.C.

Problems encountered in this study include a limited historic source data base, with few historic and archival documents available for study. In addition, there is a poorly understood material culture baseline for the proto and early historic Native groups in the region, and the definition of ethnicity and its expression in the archaeological record is still being debated. Because the period of study in the early 19th century is poorly documented, one of the major debates in the early historic study of Northern Athapaskans centres on the extent to which Native peoples were influenced by the fur trade, and the impact these influences may have had on traditional lifeways (see Krech 1983b; Yerbury 1977, 1986; Janes 1976). In this respect Trigger and others have pointed out the importance of analyzing the specifics of Native interactions with Eurocanadians (Trigger 1986:46).
The data base for the Athapaskan region and fur trade archaeology ranges from written histories and archival records, to reports from archaeological field work. Here it is important to be aware of the limitations and biases of the historical record prior to incorporating the data into explanatory statements. In this regard Krech warns about "historiographical naivete", or to assume that a written document means exactly what it says (1983b:130). In the region being dealt with, the data concerning the Native cultures at the time of contact is often sparse and biased. Therefore, the contrast between a people whose traditions were primarily oral, and the Eurocanadians who had a written tradition results in a greater emphasis being placed on the more easily accessible written works, an imbalance in sources, and a potentially inaccurate picture. Because there is an unspoken kinship and cultural continuum present with regards to the Eurocanadian data base, it becomes easy for the researcher to attach a greater reliability to it than it might merit. In this regard Trigger points out that "Historical records can be interpreted only when the cultural values of both the observer and the observed are understood" (Trigger 1986:168).

In this sense the problem of context is important, objectivity in written accounts of Native people by the fur traders cannot be assumed. Frequently information concerning Indians was written to correspond with prevailing ideas (Trigger 1986:14). The written word was, and often still is a reflection of the perceived social milieu as opposed to an objective account of the past. Factors which served to ensure partial or biased reporting of the Indian were due to European ignorance, racial prejudice and the idea that they were inferior due to cultural and physical differences (ibid). It must also be borne in mind that the primary purpose
in keeping written accounts was seldom to study Indians, and the accounts were a by product of financial record keeping, business accounts, or travel journals (Russell 1982:93). A further drawback to the use of journals is that, while Europeans record aspects of Indian culture, they seldom attempt to understand Indian culture. The accounts are descriptive rather than interpretive. Another important factor to be considered when using European documents as a source for studying early historic Native groups is that there was often an emphasis by the recorder on unusual or unique events, and not common aspects of day to day life (McGuire 1984). A positive aspect concerning the accounts written by the Europeans is that they often had longterm and intense contact with the Indians. Therefore, though not overtly interpretive or objective, it is often possible to glean a great deal of information from them.

Another potential data source is the use of Indian oral traditions. Oral histories for the Beaver were obtained by Goddard (1916) at the turn of the century and Rube Behn (n.d.) in the 1970's. These oral traditions can be informative regarding early historical events, but they also have certain limitations. Limitations are created by the role that oral histories play in Native society where they tend towards "validating current social relations" (Trigger 1986:167). Comparisons of oral traditions with early historical documentation and archaeological research indicates inaccuracies can occur (Ibid). These inaccuracies are dependent on the amount of time which has passed since the events occurred, and they are also dependent on the amount of cultural integrity which a Native group has managed to maintain.

Specific sources for Fort d'Epinette include a journal kept at the fort for the year 1822-23 spanning a period of eight months, as well as a
supplies list for 1823. In addition, there is also a document written by Francis Heron in 1824, concerning the "murders" at the fort, and there have been several other articles written concerning these murders (Finlay 1976, Krech 1983 a & b). A report has also been prepared by Bishop and Ray concerning life and trade at the fort (1987). Reports of archaeological field work have been written by Knut Fladmark (1975, 1976), and a Master's Thesis dealing with the faunal assemblage from d'Epinette was written by Jean Williams (1978). References to Fort d'Epinette occur in Fladmark's article on "Early Fur Trade Forts of the Peace River Area of British Columbia" (1985) and work done at Rocky Mountain Fort (Hamilton et al 1988), as well as a dissertation "Economic and Social factors in the Consumption of Material Goods in the Fur Trade of Western Canada" (Pysczcyk 1987). These sources, as well as excavated artifact assemblages, comprise the bulk of data for the site. Other archival sources include the journals of Daniel Harmon (1957) and Samuel Black (1955) which have brief references to Fort d'Epinette, as well as incidental references from the Fort Dunvegan journals, and other fort journals and letters.

**Thesis organization**

This thesis will examine Fort d'Epinette through the study of its social and historical background outlining factors relevant to a determination of ethnic groups in the archaeological record. To implement this, chapter two will describe European and aboriginal artifacts as they are commonly identified in fur trade archaeology. Some of the pertinent aspects of ethnicity applicable to the study are pointed out and possible
correlations with the artifact record are proposed. Chapter three outlines the historical background, and chapter four the ethnographic data which are important in understanding the social context of the fort. Chapter five describes the archaeology carried out at the fort and the physical evidence for the fort itself. Chapter six describes the categories of artifacts found, and their spatial distributions and interpretations. The concluding chapter, chapter seven will summarize and review principal interpretations. Here an evaluation is made of the approaches to studying social groups. The appendix contains the artifact catalogue, and detailed information on artifact distributions.
CHAPTER 2

ETHNIC CONSIDERATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Introduction

In this chapter an approach to the recognition of European and aboriginal artifact classes is described. Examining the material correlates of ethnicity, characteristics used to define Indian groups are identified. A definition of ethnicity will be outlined, as well as some pertinent ideas that apply to the study at hand. These ideas will be examined and their potential for correlation with the archaeological record assessed. Problems with the use of diagnostic artifacts for the determination of ethnic groups are pointed out. A suggestion for the most productive manner of determining ethnically correlated artifacts is made.

Fur trade assemblages and artifact classes

The artifact record, and excavated structures and activity areas in a fur trade fort, comprise a primary data base for fur trade archaeology. The artifact assemblages recovered from fur trade posts represent different facets of life essential to the functioning of individual posts. Included here are the procurement and preparation of furs, provisioning, day to day tasks such as food preparation, clothing manufacture and repair,
recreation and trading activities. Not only do the artifacts represent the activities carried out within the fort, but they have the recognized potential to provide information on the different ethnic groups present. In most analyses of fur trade artifacts, the assemblage is divided into general classes of European and aboriginal manufacture as well as functional categories, these will be described in Chapter 6 (Noble 1973, Pyszczyk 1983, Klimko 1983, Kidd 1970).

Goods brought in by the trading companies for trade or maintenance tasks within the fort generally include items of European manufacture, such as guns, ceramics, glassware, and clay pipes. Items made of local materials in a traditional aboriginal manner are classed as artifacts of Native manufacture or folk industry. This category includes stone tools, such as scrapers, projectile points and stone pipes, as well as bone artifacts including awls, fleshing tools and beads. The primary determination of a Native presence in fur trade sites has been through the identification of these artifact forms (Noble 1973, Pyszczyk 1983). The term aboriginal or Native artifacts is based on the sense the archaeologist has of the items, and their presumed linkages to aboriginal cultures in the region. These artifacts have been identified as lithics and flakes (Klimko1983:269), and those items “made from Native material or that resemble regional aboriginal tools often used during the fur trade era” (Pyszczyk1983:88).

Ethnic considerations and their relation to artifact classes

Ethnicity is a concept which has generated an enormous debate and the literature on ethnicity is extensive (see Kelly & Kelly 1980, Deagan
A review of the literature is beyond the scope of this study. Only those points pertinent to later discussion in this thesis will be outlined.

The concept of ethnicity is based on the recognition of differences between groups. These differences are recognized on an inter and intragroup level and are maintained through the recognition of boundaries between groups (Barth 1969:9, Kelly & Kelly 1980, Askins 1985). It is the recognition of these boundaries which defines interaction between groups, while allowing them to maintain their distinct identities. Membership within an ethnic group is recognized from within and outside the group. A separate ethnic identity is characterized by distinctive behaviours, communication and shared values. An ethnic group is also self perpetuating (Barth 1969:11).

Ethnicity is an emic concept which describes a group's sense of itself. The participants within a group recognize cultural similarities which they possess, and which other groups do not. Thus, the intragroup similarities will be greater than intergroup similarities (Barth 1984:79, Robbins 1973, Linton 1940). The perception of differences and the maintenance of ethnic separateness occurs when groups interact within a slightly antagonistic or competitive atmosphere. Examples of this include cases where there is differential power or unequal access to resources (Noel 1968).

How can this definition be applied to the archaeological determination of ethnicity? According to McGuire (1984) historical archaeology has "great potential" for studying ethnic relationships through time. Material culture is suited to the study of ethnic relations because, while written sources emphasize outstanding events, common events are
generally not seen as worth reporting. Archaeological evidence deals with the remains from mundane daily processes with unusual events being poorly represented (Ibid:161).

The expression of ethnicity in the archaeological record

To determine the archaeological correlates of ethnicity, one must identify the social group, and find "covariation in the material culture" produced by or reflecting this group (Askins 1985:209). The traditional method for determining cultural differences looks at trait lists and their intercultural variations (Barth 1984:79). In this sense the identification of Native artifacts within a fur trade fort can theoretically give us information concerning the presence of Native groups, and the distribution of these artifacts could indicate activity or residence areas. This type of research incorporates what McGuire (1984) describes as "studies of ethnic criteria to establish standards for identifying specific groups". The aim in this study is to recognize ethnic markers that can be used to distinguish ethnic groups.

The concept of ethnic markers assumes a correlation between each ethnic group and diagnostic artifacts. However, when the utility of artifact types transcends cultural boundaries, this can blur distinctive distributions. Thus, the presence of diagnostic items, while giving an indication of Native presence, cannot guard against the possibility that the Eurocanadian fur traders may also have been making and using these same items. Conversely it is known that the Indian participants in the fur trade adopted items of Eurocanadian material culture.

Intergroup differences can have various archaeological expressions.
These can be shown in two basic ways, stylistically and through behaviour (Askins 1985:209). Stylistic attributes are the identifying markers which a group claims as its own. These include items such as distinctive dress styles and in some cases tool manufacture. The behavioural expression of ethnicity is seen in terms of social customs, such as kinship patterns, mortuary and trade rituals. Stylistic or aesthetic attributes serve to signal group distinctiveness in material culture, while behaviours are part of the collective emic experience.

Stylistic attributes can be fairly easily discerned in the material record, but to provide a more accurate determination of ethnic presence the researcher needs to assess whether the more entrenched values exhibited in ethnically determined behaviours can be determined. According to McGuire “the material correlates of ethnically specific behaviours are more likely to be represented in the archaeological record than material symbols of ethnic identity” (McGuire 1982:163). This is because ethnic boundaries “channel social life” (ibid). Thus often repeated behaviours have a greater probability of being preserved in the archaeological record.

How can concepts of ethnicity be applied to archaeological research at a fur trade fort? What are the behavioural correlates for ethnic groups that would be visible in the archaeological record? Because the fur trade fort was a business enterprise, this means an emphasis was placed on business related and maintenance activities centering around provisioning, trading, and fort maintenance. This limits the types of Native behaviours and tasks that would have been carried out in the fort. Specific tasks which can be ascribed to Natives, though not exclusively so, include activities such as snowshoe making, hide preparation, and the production
of pemmican. However, patterning of ethnically specific behaviours is difficult to distinguish from the general "background noise" of fort activities, especially if more than one ethnic group participated in them. Because of this, the written record must be relied on to provide information concerning who carried out these functions.

There are two points of view regarding the performance of specific roles by Indians in the fur trade. Eurocanadians have been depicted as fairly helpless and dependent on the Natives for the performance of tasks such as snow shoe and pemmican making (Van Kirk 1980). At other times, due to sheer difficulty in obtaining enough employees, and due to time constraints, tasks were performed by the non-Native employees. There are recorded instances where the Eurocanadians are known to have performed tasks normally ascribed to Indians (Simpson 1938:83). But the preferred situation was to have Natives, in many cases women, carry out most of these tasks (Innis 1975:136, Rich 1938:342).

A major problem in using artifacts as ethnic markers is that cultures will adopt or adapt to new cultural forms. Linton (1940) attributes this to a tripartite structure of culture where the most readily changeable aspect is the material one, while the sociological and ideological aspects of culture are more entrenched. Three stages in the adoption of a new item into a culture are proposed by Linton. These include the acceptance of the trait by key people within a culture called innovators, second is the subsequent dispersal of the trait to other people, and third is the adjustment of the existing traditional culture in order to accommodate the new trait. The acceptance of a new item depends on its perceived usefulness, its adoption by the elite, the compatibility of the trait to the existing cultural matrix, and ultimately the adaptability of the group.
The adaptability of material culture and the adoption of new material traits or acculturation is a major problem in this type of study (Kelly and Kelly 1980:133).

Despite the problems accompanying the mix of stylistically distinctive traits across ethnic boundaries and the error that this may introduce, several researchers have pointed out that stylistic or aesthetically distinctive artifact classes are still the most "sensitive" indicators of ethnicity that exist (Kelly & Kelly 1980:136; Buchignani 1987:21). The question then arises as to how significant are these traits? Is their presence in the archaeological record enough to indicate the presence of an ethnic group? Those traits which have a high symbolic importance to a group tend to be more indicative of ethnic presence than strictly functional items (Buchignani 1987:20). This is because the symbolic function also serves a role in signalling ethnic differences.

Because the process of acculturation can weaken the informative value of ethnic markers, artifacts which exhibit aesthetic and stylistically distinctive traits must be examined together with the behaviours that they represent. McKee (1987) brings up a crucial point and says that the researcher needs to work towards interpreting ethnic groups in terms of their importance and the functions they fulfilled. Therefore, the greatest probability of finding evidence for Native presence is in those cases where ethnically stylistic artifacts correspond with tasks routinely performed by Indians. The greater the degree of job specialization by the representatives of an ethnic group, the greater the possibility of identifying it in the archaeological record. According to Kelly and Kelly (1980:136), items of local manufacture and origin are better identifiers of ethnic groups than those which come from a greater
distance. In this study attention will be paid to identifying artifacts of Native style and manufacture which would have been used to perform tasks within the fur trade fort in addition to those items which are of symbolic significance.

Based on the foregoing considerations the examination of ethnically representative artifacts or ethnic markers rests on certain assumptions: 1) that ethnic groups will be visible archaeologically because of distinctive features in material culture and behaviour; and 2) ethnic identity will be maintained, override and be expressed over ecological and economic determinants. The validity of these assumptions will be further discussed in chapter six.

Summary

This chapter has proposed a basic definition of ethnicity and discussed how this may be reflected in the archaeological record. As has been discussed, the expression of ethnicity can vary through time by the process of acculturation. Acculturation directly affects the material culture sphere which is the primary data base available for study. Despite the problems inherent in this change, stylistically representative artifacts are still considered the best measure of ethnicity available for the archaeologist.

The representativeness of ethnically related artifacts should increase when job specialization and stylistic attributes correlate. Therefore, in looking at historic and ethnographic data, information indicating job specialization and attributes will be noted as they pertain
to Fort d'Epinette. The artifacts representing these attributes are examined for their presence or absence, and distinctive spatial patterning.
CHAPTER 3

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

Introduction

This chapter looks at the social and historic background for Fort d'Epinette, and the surrounding region. The compilation of archival information helps to provide a chronological framework, as well as an understanding of the processes affecting the function of the fort. Particularly important is the documentary evidence for resource shortages, as well as the hostilities besetting the fort in the last stage of its occupation as both have a direct influence on the material record.

Historic background

The excavation and archival research associated with the Fort d'Epinette study have helped to clarify the role this site played in the Peace River fur trade, as well as fill in gaps in the historical and archaeological record of the Peace River region (Fladmark 1985:48). Not only has the location of Fort d'Epinette been clearly identified but a firm understanding of the dates of occupation, as well as the sequence of occupation at Fort d'Epinette and adjacent sites has been gained (Ibid).

The upper Peace River region where Fort d'Epinette is located was integrated into the fur trade at a relatively late date compared to eastern Canada. It was not until the 1770's that European traders entered the region. The earliest posts were Pond's Post established at Lake
Athabasca in 1778, and Fort Vermillion on the Peace River in 1787 (Ives 1985:113). Fort Chipewyan was established in 1789 on Lake Athabasca and became one of the main trade establishments in the region. In 1792, the North West Company's Fort Fork was built at the junction of the Peace and the Smoky rivers and subsequently abandoned. In 1793 Alexander McKenzie travelled up the Peace River on his way to the Pacific. His travels helped promote fur trade expansion up the river. It is thought that the first fort established in the westernmost section of the Peace was Rocky Mountain Fort, started by John Finlay in 1794. This was a North West Company post situated near the junction of the Moberley and Peace River (Fladmark 1985:49).

In 1803, at the junction of the Smoky and Peace Rivers, Fort Fork was re-established by the XY Company. In 1805, Rocky Mountain Portage House was established near present day Hudson's Hope, and continued in operation for nine years, being abandoned in 1814. Fort Dunvegan was constructed in 1805 (Pyszczyk 1983:9) the same year that Rocky Mountain Fort was abandoned. Fort d'Epinette started its operation in 1806.

The North West Company's expansion into the area was marked by rapid advancement and establishment of forts. It took only 16 years from the establishment of the first post at Lake Athabasca until the upper regions of the Peace River were brought into direct contact with traders in 1794. The Hudson's Bay Company made inroads into the area in 1818 with the establishment of St. Mary's in the vicinity of the previously abandoned Fort Fork (Figure 2).

Prior to the establishment of fur trade forts on the upper Peace River, indirect effects of the EuroCanadian trade presence in Eastern Canada and on the Pacific Coast were felt. These indirect effects included population
movements of the Cree westward and the subsequent displacement of indigenous groups (Ives 1985, Yerbury 1986:60-61). Other indirect effects included the spread of disease through regions in advance of the arrival of the Eurocanadians (Krech 1983b), as well as the trade of European material cultural items, which moved along prehistoric trade routes (Ridington 1979:65). For example, iron was traded from the Pacific Coast to the Peace River area via the Carrier and Nahanny Indians and was noted by Alexander McKenzie in his travels through the region in 1793 (Jenness 1937:4). Trade goods also moved westward through Cree middlemen (Yerbury 1986:60-61, Innis 1975:202).

At present the indigenous groups inhabiting the upper Peace include the Sekani, Cree, and Beaver. However, there is dispute as to the cultural continuity of these groups in the region. Evidence indicates that there was a westward movement of these groups, caused by incursions of aggressive and armed Cree in the mid 1700's. According to researchers (Dyen & Aberle 1974; Yerbury 1986), Cree expansion drove the Beaver from their lands around Methy Portage to the west, where they displaced the Sekani moving them up to the Rocky Mountains. The Sekani in turn displaced the Kitchika River Kaska who are thought to have occupied what is now Sekani territory in the upper Peace River area (Dyen & Aberle 1974:251). Other groups affected include the Chipewyan, Hare and Slave who moved northward (ibid). The most westerly expansion of the Cree along the Peace River was further west than the Parsnip and Finlay Rivers (Yerbury 1986:61). However, Ives characterizes the protohistoric conflicts between the Sekani, Beaver, Chipewyan and the Cree as part of an ongoing conflict, existing from prehistoric times up to the protohistoric and historic period (Ives 1985: 112).
Fur Trade Forts On The Peace River

Figure 2. Fur trade forts along the Peace River

1 Rocky Mountain Portage House, NWCo 1804
2 Rocky Mountain Fort, NWCo 1794
3 Fort de Pinette, HBCo 1820
4 Fort St. John, HBCo 1860's
5 Fort d'Epinette (Fort St John), NWCo and HBCo 1806 - 1823
6 Dunvegan, NWCo and HBCo 1805
7 Fort Fork, NWCo 1792
8 St. Mary's House, HBCo 1818, 19, 20
9 Fort Vermillion, NWCo 1798
10 Fort Wederburn, HBCo 1815
11 Fort Chipewyan, NWCo 1800
12 Ponds Post, NWCo 1778
Though the time depth of Cree hostilities is in dispute there is historic evidence that Cree groups were hostile, and this created a climate of fear in the Athabasca region (Yerbury 1986: 21,61). The most hostile actions of the Cree were waged from the 1770's, until trade posts became established in the area. During this time they acted as middlemen in the trade between the easterly Eurocanadian traders and the Beaver Indians (Yerbury 1986:61).

Although smallpox affected the Cree in the years 1781-82 and greatly diminished their strength, they were still in a powerful position in 1793 (Yerbury 1986:61). The weakening of Cree dominance due to epidemics favoured a southern expansion of the Chipewyan into the North Peace where they adopted the role of middlemen in the fur trade (Ibid).

Because of protohistoric population movements in the area, a polarized dispute has arisen over cultural continuity for local groups; some argue strongly for cultural continuity, others for significant cultural disruption. Yerbury takes the position that there has been an almost complete cultural disruption of aboriginal peoples (Yerbury 1977: 350), while Janes posits a strong cultural continuity (Janes 1976:345).

The importance of understanding whether or not there was change in the aboriginal cultures in the region has a direct bearing on the determination of the material correlates of ethnicity. In the absence of archaeological work done at historic Indian sites for the period in question, the determination of a baseline aboriginal culture can only be done by evaluating the material culture studies of later time periods including those of Goddard (1916), Jenness (1937,1986), and Honigmann (1964). However, with an undetermined amount of change in material culture, it is difficult to set a cultural baseline. Therefore, the traits
characteristic of later time periods need to be compared to earlier archaeological cultures in an attempt to find continuities and discontinuities.

With regard to the above, Yerbury warns about the "fallacy of the ethnographic present" (1977:350), whereby ethnographic studies and observations done after the protohistoric period are taken as reflections of prehistoric patterns and fail to give an accurate picture of the "significant re-orientation" of the people to the land, due to the movement from their original lands and the subsistence changes caused by the trapping of furs. Janes (1976:344) disagrees with this and stresses the persistence of precontact adaptability and lifeways despite population movements, and the influence of the fur trade. He sees the ecological necessities of survival as paramount, and the influence of the fur trade as additive, rather than as causing a fundamental change.

It should be pointed out that Athapaskan populations were mobile to begin with, and their movement to an environmentally similar and productive area to the west did not necessarily imply pronounced hardships. If correct, McKenzie's description of the upper Peace as being abundantly populated by animals in 1793 and being "so crowded with animals as to have the appearance, in some places, of a stall yard" (1967:60-61) indicates a move to a productive area.

Another indication of cultural long term continuity is the apparent time depth of similar archaeological traits. Early work by Wright (1975) describes the archaeological assemblages from the western end of Lake Athabasca, specifically Big Bay, Shelter Point, and Fort Chipewyan as being "quantitatively and qualitatively" similar to those found along the lower Peace River and argues for a cultural persistence from 1,000 B.C. up
to the arrival of the Cree in this region. The traits Wright feels are significant derive from the Northern Plains Besant Phase. The assemblages from western Lake Athabasca and the Peace River are dominated by cobble tools and cobble spalls. A date derived from 14C samples was obtained from Stata III at Big Bay, from a hearth feature A.D. 690±170 (Wright 1975:137). Based on this date and artifact similarities Wright postulates that the Beaver Indian occupation extends from at least the Besant phase and possibly as early as Pelican Lake, thus encompassing the period from 1,000 B.C. up through the Cree infiltration into the area in the mid 1700's (Wright 1975).

More recent work at Charlie Lake Cave (Fladmark 1988) has established that initial occupation of the Peace River areas extends to at least 10,500 years ago. When the Athapaskans entered this region is uncertain, but the occurrence of items still present in historic material culture contexts is evident in the Taltheliei Shale tradition from approximately 1,000 A.D. up to the historic period (McMillan 1988:216). Despite the uncertainties concerning cultural continuity in the area, it is necessary to bear in mind that the placement of groups at the time of contact, after the arrival of the Cree, is probably geographically representative of a segment of their pre and protohistoric hunting ranges. This would not necessarily give a causal role to population movement as a factor in cultural change. However, it does not preclude change due to the shifting economic patterns created by the fur trade.
The construction of the first fort on the upper Peace, Rocky Mountain Fort, took place in 1794, only a single year after Alexander McKenzie's voyage through the region to the Pacific Coast (Fladmark 1985, Finlay 1976). From the time of this first incursion by Eurocanadians, the settlement of the area can be characterized as an opportunistic one, concerned with advancing the interests of the North West Company. This occupation of the region ended in 1823, when the murders at Fort d'Epinette led to the abandonment of the upper Peace River until the mid 1800's.

The data base for Fort d'Epinette is uneven and sometimes sparse, resulting in gaps in the historical record. There are several reasons for this, principal of which is the North West Company's failure to keep detailed records.

Fort d'Epinette was initially established in 1806, by the North West company and occupied by these traders until the merger with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. At this time it was taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company and functioned for two years. However, there is a gap in the documentation of the fort for approximately seven years, between 1813 and 1820 when no mention of it is made in any of the known fur trade documents (Fladmark 1976:124-5). Fladmark has stated that there is no reason to believe that there was a significant abandonment of the fort during these years. In the Fort d'Epinette journal of 1822/23 there is reference to a hunter who worked at the fort for several years prior to the Hudson's Bay Company takeover. In 1822-3, the officer in charge, Hugh Faries, complains frequently about the difficulties of obtaining provisions,
and that the hunters have to go long distances to hunt. This would be consistent with resource depletion in the area caused by a continuous occupation of the fort (Ray 1974, Burley and Hamilton 1989).

After 1820, the character of the occupation at Fort d'Epinette may have been directly influenced by the competitive nature of the fur trade. In general the intense competition between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in the Athabasca region led to a form of trade different from that taking place under more settled conditions. Because the goal of competition was to achieve a trade monopoly, the focus was on short term goals, with a lack of attention to long term planning in terms of animal conservation and Native-trader relationships. This emphasis on short term goals manifested itself in the use of inducements to lure the Indians to trade at establishments. In most areas the competitive atmosphere led to the liberal dispensing of alcohol, price competition between the different companies, coercion of the Indians, as well as inducing Indians to sabotage the competitor's trade, in addition to economic expansion and overextension. It is possible some of these effects were felt in the upper Peace River trade at this time. An important consequence of competition was the bringing in of non-local trappers, such as the Iroquois.

A further significant factor which affected the fort and its archaeological remains was its occupation by the two different fur trading companies. Company policies differed markedly between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. The personnel working for the North West Company were for the most part Metis and Canadians. They were seasoned woodsmen and hunters and part of a tradition familiar in dealing with Indians. Simpson (1938:379) points out that they made good
use of the local resources and were more independent in regards to staples and the necessities of life than the Hudson’s Bay Company employees.

The North West Company personnel had close ties with the Native people and Simpson notes that as a general rule they "...have Metis progeny." (Simpson 1938:388). Simpson describes the Iroquois, the free Canadians and their Metis "progeny as more proficient hunters of deer and Buffalo than even the Natives (local Indians)" (Ibid). Despite the fact that they charged more for their services, they were still seen as a "lucrative" group to employ. Evidence for this is seen, in 1820-21, when the Hudson’s Bay Company was actively trying to draw some of these hunters away from the North West Company (Simpson 1938:381).

The North West Company was generally well supplied with trade goods. Their personnel were "experienced voyageurs" (Simpson 1938:230 ) who were able to converse with Indians. They also had many attached halfbreeds "who are a most useful set of people...their women are faithful to their cause and good interpreters..." (Simpson 1938: 230-1). While the Hudson’s Bay Company men were often "...raw and inexperienced who have not the physical strength to undergo the labours and privations of a voyaging life" (Simpson 1938 230).

The differences between the two companies is further seen in a scathing attack on Hudson’s Bay Company hiring policies, and the effect that these had on the functioning of the fur trade. Simpson notes that their employees were the product of ineffectual hiring policies because of

their appearance when compared with the North West people, one would suppose that the Compys Agents at Montreal had made a selection of the blind, the Lame , and the superannuated, and being useless members of society at home, were out of charity sent to the
Indian Country, under the impression that a change of climate might improve their constitutions..." and their general appearance in contrast to the North West Company employees "... would lead one to suppose that want of physical strength, and infirmity were essential requisites in the Compys Servants. (Simpson 1938:382).

These ineffectual hiring policies would have had the effect of creating a working situation characterized by less efficient trade and provisioning operations. Hugh Faries, the chief trader at d'Epinette, in 1822 constantly complained about the lack of effort expended by the working men. He terms them "lazy (sic) scoundrels" (HBCA B.189/a/1. Nov 12, 1822). The changeover in management of the fort had the potential for creating a tense relationship with the Indians. According to many accounts this is precisely what happened, and the tensions led to escalating hostilities which culminated in the murders of Company employees.

Establishment of Fort d'Epinette

Trade was expanded to the Peace River region for many reasons. Primarily it was an untrapped area and there was a wealth of beaver to be obtained. Secondly, the area contained an abundant population of ungulates, needed by the North West Company to provision its fur brigades. Finally, the Peace River was one of the main overland routes through to New Caledonia, another area rich in potential fur resources. Thus, the establishment of forts on the Peace River functioned to open a new area for fur exploitation and provisions, and after 1805 it also served as an access route for the New Caledonia brigades.
As previously mentioned it can be established with reasonable
certainty that Fort d'Epinette was occupied from 1806 to 1823 (Fladmark
1976; Harmon 1957; Rich 1938; HBCA B. 189/a/1). This time period which
saw the occupation of the fort by the two different fur trade companies
also saw a change in fort name. The North West Company termed it St.
John's, and the Hudson's Bay Company called it Fort d'Epinette.

The documentation of the North West Company occupation is sparse.
For the first few years of occupation much of the written information
comes from Daniel Harmon's journal at Dunvegan (Harmon 1957). Its
establishment was noted at Fort Dunvegan, and in 1806 on Oct. 14, 1808
Harmon mentions in his journal that "F. Goedike & c" set off for St. Johns
where they would pass the following winter (Harmon 1957: 119). On Dec.
29, 1808 he mentions that "Goedike & c" returned from St. Johns in the
company of Simon Fraser from Rocky Mountain Portage (Harmon 1957: 119).
On May 10, 1809 Harmon mentions the arrival of Mr. F. Geodike with the
Returns of St. Johns (1957: 121). The charge of St. Johns was changed, and
in the summer of 1809 Archibald McGillivray was in charge of St. Johns,
and in October Mr. Clarke went to take over the fort (Harmon 1957: 124).

Harmon notes that supplies came for Dunvegan and St. Johns on Oct.
11, 1809, when seven canoes arrived (Harmon 1957: 124). Because
Dunvegan was the closest fort to St. Johns, a considerable amount of
traffic went back and forth, and in the winter of 1809, Harmon writes
that J. Clarke came from St. Johns to spend Christmas at Dunvegan
(Harmon 1957: 125). The following summer the charge of the fort changed
again, and on April 12, 1810 Archibald McGillivray returned to spend the
summer at the post (Harmon 1957: 125).
On Oct. 10, 1810, Harmon arrived at St. Johns on his way to Stuarts Lake, in New Caledonia. At this time Archibald McGillivary was still in charge (Harmon 1957:125). There is a two year hiatus in journal references to the fort while Harmon was in New Calendonia, but on Feb. 25, 1813 when Harmon returned from New Caledonia and stopped at Fort St. John, Archibald McGillivary was still in charge. During this visit Harmon notes that the amounts of moose, deer and buffalo were "tolerably plentiful" (Harmon 1957:156). He returned to the fort again on March 17, 1813 to obtain provisions for the trip to McLeod's Lake in New Caledonia (Harmon 1957:158). This is the final documentary mention of the fort until after the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company.

During the initial occupation of the region the local faunal resources were abundant, not only in terms of furs, but also food resources (Harmon 1957:156; Hamilton et al.1988:127). However, within the span of 30 years the resources in the region were depleted; fur stocks dwindled and food resources became unpredictable. Hugh Faries, the chief trader at Fort d'Epinette complained frequently in his journal of the difficulty in procuring adequate food resources for the New Caledonia brigades and fort personnel. He notes that the hunters had to go so far afield for meat that they ended up consuming a significant amount of the kills themselves (HBCA B 1/a/1). This increasing scarcity of food can be seen to turn up in the archaeological record as well. Hamilton et al. point out that a comparison of the faunal remains obtained from Rocky Mountain Fort with those from Fort d'Epinette shows that bison was almost completely replaced by moose, a less desirable species which is more difficult to obtain (1988:152). They state that
bison and moose have an inverse relationship within the Rocky Mountain Fort and d'Epinette samples... At Rocky Mountain Fort, bison are estimated to represent 39% of the ungulate bone while moose accounts for 3%. At d'Epinette, moose estimates are 40% of the sample while bison accounts for 8% (Ibid).

Finlay (1976:10) points out that Hugh Faries does not mention buffalo meat as coming into the fort at all during the time he was in charge at d'Epinette. This indicates that bison remains present in the Fort d'Epinette faunal assemblage were obtained earlier in its occupation. The absence of bison is one indication of localized resource shortages in the region. This situation appears to have been widespread, and even at St. Mary's in 1820 severe hardships were encountered in the procurement of food resources (Ibid:11).

Though there is no documentation from Fort d'Epinette for the time period from 1813 up to the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, after 1820 this must have been a tense time period. Surviving journal entries from St. Mary's, a Hudson's Bay Company outpost down river, give an indication of these tensions. Colin Robertson describes the mood and his frustration at the general situation caused by competition in the following excerpt from the 26th of Oct. 1819:

Seven half loaded Canoes of the N.W. Co, passed here this morning, such a number of canoes and men threw a damper on the spirit of our Indians, which was considerably augmented in the evening, by the arrival of Mr. McBean, in two canoes, with scarcely twenty pieces in both. This is the supply sent from the Lake! All the young Gentlemen's equipment and orders seems to have been taken out, no axes, no capots. Well may the Committee find fault with the deranged state of their affairs in this country. Here I am placed in a most awkward predicament, not having a sufficient quantity of good (sic) to equip one half of the Indians assembled at this post, so that
I must not only give up the idea of establishing Rivierre de Pinnet, but be burdened with the men of that post, without the means of supporting them at this place (HBCA B. 190/a/1).

Post merger effects

Tensions between the traders and the Indians did not immediately decline after the 1821 amalgamation of the two competing companies. The reorganization of the trade, the change in company policy concerning alcohol, and new pricing systems were important new sources of stress for the Indians. In addition to this were continuing problems with epidemics.

After the 1821 merger, measures were taken to compensate for some of the excesses which had been engaged in to gain the economic upper hand. George Simpson, the Hudson’s Bay Company Governor for the Athabasca District began a campaign designed to streamline trading operations and to make them more economical now that a monopoly position had been achieved. One of the steps taken that would directly affect Fort d’Epinette was a closure of Peace River posts which were not economically productive. The North West Company forts were often chosen as the sites to maintain because they were frequently better situated and constructed with a longer history of trade in the region. This was the case with Fort d’Epinette. After the merger the Hudson’s Bay Company abandoned their nuisance post established in 1820 at the mouth of the Moberley, and moved to the North West Company’s fort at the mouth of the Beatton River (Figure 2).

There is little direct information concerning what life was like at Fort d’Epinette because of the lack of written documents prior to the
merger of the two companies. Most of the journal entries and letters after the merger deal with business specifics. Nevertheless, some insights can be gained regarding daily life at the fort.

After the merger, Fort d’Epinette did not fare well. McIntosh when he visited the fort on August 21, 1822 describes it as an “insignificant post”. He goes on to state

The fur Hunt of the few Beaver Indians who are at the place is no object whatever (18 beaver skins) and the Slaves have after an absence of two years returned with about three Packs. The Efforts of the Natives of this Station is tolerable (HBCA B. 39/b. 2). He also complains that the efforts of his group to obtain provisions were not very successful, “... and the very great scarcity of animals (made) our gleanings in provisions fall far short of the demands made upon us.” (Ibid). He finally predicts that there will not be enough supplies obtained to provision the New Caledonia brigade.

Another visitor to Fort d’Epinette a month later on September 28, 1822 was Joseph McDougal on his way to New Caledonia. He states the condition of the fort is poor and “... this place is very bare of Provisions.” He further notes that “ I have been as moderate as possible in my Demands but Mr. Linton can let us have only one Keg of Grease,... yet to get that in stead of 3 Bags of Pimmican (sic), the usual quantity of Provisions allowed each Canoe. I must content myself with two and dry meat...”(HBCA B.39/b. 2). He also expresses sympathy for the manager of the post because of its deplorable state and says “The Indians have nothing, and are in a most disorganized state nore (sic) can it well be expected that Mr. Linton can bring them to their senses situated as he is...”(Ibid). According to a letter written by McIntosh from Dunvegan the New Caledonia brigade
carried off most of the provisions available at Fort d’Epinette (HBCA B.39/b.2/44-47).

Hardships were widespread in the region at this time, and exacerbating the shortages at Fort d’Epinette was Mr. Linton’s apparent incompetence. A letter written from Fort Dunvegan to the Chief Factor at Athabasca, Edward Smith, on the 8th of February 1823, stated that it would be advantageous to move Fort d’Epinette up to the Portage and that the post the previous summer had been “...left to Mr. Linton, a young man of neither judgment nor experience, who would give no information, nor ask Mr. McIntosh’s advice, altho’ so near, and the consequence was, that the Trade has suffered, and the Indians were dissatisfied.” (HBCA D. 4/2)

Hugh Faries took charge of Fort d’Epinette in the fall of 1822 from Mr. Linton. Faries was in charge until the spring of 1823. At this time he continually expressed concern about obtaining enough supplies, and reports on March 31, 1823 “I really am apprehensive I will have some trouble in procuring the stack of Provisions necessary at the Portage for the New Caledonia People” (HBCA B.189/a/1). Because of the lack of food and fur resources in the region around the fort, Hugh Faries thought that the move to re-establish Rocky Mountain Portage House would be a good idea as did some of the Indians. On March 21, 1823 he notes “The Indians wish the Establishment to be removed to or near the Old Fort of Beaver River (Rocky Mountain Fort), in my opinion it is the best place, owing to the scarcity of animals about here at present & a more centrical place for the Slave Indians exclusive of the Conveniency of a lake in the vicinity where plenty of fish may be taken they tell me” (Ibid).

Because of a lack of animals for provisioning (Finlay 1976:9-11) as well as unrest and hostility among the Indians, there were plans made to
abandon Fort d'Epinette in 1822 and to re-establish Rocky Mountain Portage House (HBCA d. 4/87 dos. 95-8; Finlay 1976:4). This move was to take advantage of the trade with the Sekani, while urging the Beaver Indians to go to Fort Dunvegan to trade. The proposed closure of Fort d'Epinette resulted in increasingly antagonistic attitudes on the part of the local Indians who became angry that they would be forced to travel greater distances and through hostile territory in order to trade their furs (HBCA d. 4/87 dos. 95-8).

Such potential hardships resulted in tension at the fort and hostility was felt towards company personnel by the Indians attached to the fort. These problems were evident as far away as Fort Dunvegan, but the personnel there were powerless to act. Indians came from d'Epinette to Dunvegan for supplies because there were none available upriver. The policy at Dunvegan was to discourage the Indians and to send them away. An entry from June 28, 1822 states,

> A few men of the St. Johns (d'Epinette) Indians arrived and we persist in our determination of giving them no encouragement. Moreover we have no authority to interfere with the arrangements of that station however much they require it. (HBCA B. 56/a/1)

On the 5th of August a letter arrived at Dunvegan from d'Epinette requesting our presence at St. Johns as the Beaver Indians and Slaves were ungovernable and in a state of open Warfare. Five Indians of that place arrived late in the evening who corroborated the above account (Ibid).

All accounts received from the fort were unfavourable.

After Hugh Faries left Fort d'Epinette, Guy Hughes was put in charge and the problems at the Fort worsened. In addition to the resource and supply shortages, the decision to abandon Fort d'Epinette and re-establish
Rocky Mountain Portage House was to be carried out. An eyewitness
description of the worsening situation at d'Epinette was written by
Francis Heron. He was assigned to re-establish Rocky Mountain Portage
House. In the course of his journey to the new fort he was to deliver
enough supplies to Guy Hughes at d'Epinette enabling him to remain there
and trade until December 1823. In return for obtaining supplies from
Hughes the Indians were to promise that they would go to Dunvegan the
following year to trade (HBCA d.4/87 dos.95-8). Heron arrived at
d'Epinette on Oct 28th and noted that;

I found the greater portion of the Indians assembled there who
seemed to feel considerable regret at the post being abandoned .... but
when I acquainted them with Mr. McIntosh's intentions (though done in
the most conciliatory manner in my power) respecting their being
required to trade hereafter at Dunvegan, they became quite
exasperated, and positively refused complying with his wishes,
declaring that however wretched they might be rendered for want of
those necessaries they had hitherto been accustomed to receive from
the traders for procuring themselves and families the means of
subsistence, they were unanimously determined not to barter
at Dunvegan (Ibid).

Heron also observed that the Indians were upset because they were
'on bad terms' with the Indians around Dunvegan and they preferred to
trade at Rocky Mountain Portage House. If they were permitted to trade at
the latter establishment they promised they would provision the post, and
they would "exert themselves to the utmost in their power in procuring
furs, and pledged themselves to live in the strictest unanimity with the
Slaves..." (Ibid). Heron departed from d'Epinette the same day along with
Mr. Black and a Canadian crew. Hughes was left alone at the fort with a
"halfbreed". While at the fort he was murdered by Beaver Indians.
The most informative account concerning the murder of Hughes and four other employees is from the document written by Francis Heron (HBCA d.4/87 dos. 95-8). He states that on the 2nd of November Hughes was shot twice and killed and his body was left in the house to be buried. The next day while the Indians were looting the store and transporting the goods across the river, four men who had been sent down by Samuel Black from Rocky Mountain Portage arrived. They were shot and stabbed and their bodies thrown into the river. According to Heron there were four murderers, but most of the Indians participated in looting the establishment.

The end of Fort d'Epinette as a trading establishment occurred earlier than planned as a result of the murders. In retaliation for the murders and the failure of the Beaver Indians to turn over or punish the murderers the entire region was closed to trade. This initially led to a heavy concentration of hunters around Fort Vermillion exhausting the resources in that area by April 1827 (HBCA B. 224/a/2). Dunvegan was closed for two years, while the Upper Peace River itself was not reoccupied until about 1860. The murderers were never caught, though there were rumours that they fled to Fort Vermillion and were seen by the Indians in that area (Krech 1983a:38).

Krech (1983a:38) feels that the murders were the result of long term frustrations on the part of the Indians resulting from the stress of resource shortages, alcohol and social disruption which were further exacerbated by the competitive trade climate. The competition between the different trading companies was characterized by an aggressiveness and a lack of scruples in trading practices which often took the form of the "ravaging" of Native women (Krech 1983b:35).
Additional explanations have been given for the murders at Fort d'Epinette. These include anger on the part of the Indians because their alcohol supply had been cut off (Godsell 1938:188). Another explanation implicates Samuel Black in stealing the wife of one of the Natives. Among the Beaver Indians themselves it is thought that Guy Hughes cast bad medicine on an Indian boy which caused his death (Goddard 1916:289). Other more complex appraisals of the situation look at the interplay of many different factors, such as the plans to close the fort and shift the trade into hostile territory around Fort Dunvegan (Finlay 1976).

After the killings, the site was effectively abandoned. Samuel Black later visited Fort d'Epinette after the abandonment and said he "...saw no appearance of any of our People or Indians about this abandoned Establishment" (Black 1955:205). There are some indications that the fort buildings were occasionally used by travellers through the region. It also appears that wood from the building structures may have been burned, evidence for this is the large number of nails found in the fireplaces, though it is possible that this occurred during the occupation of the fort itself. Sometime after the abandonment of the site the buildings burned. During excavation a great deal of charred and burned wood from the buildings within the stockade was found.

Summary

Through the use of archival and historic sources, this chapter gives a background through which the character of the fort can be understood. The social relations were complex, there were numerous people who had dealings with the fort, and there was a steady contingent of local
indigenous employees who had a permanent role in the operation of the fort.

The first few years the fort was in operation appeared to have been a relatively productive period, with plentiful food and fur resources. This contrasts with the latter period of fort occupation which was beset by numerous difficulties. The depleted resources in the region appear to have contributed significantly to these problems and incompetent management of the fort worsened the volatile atmosphere. In addition to these stresses, the changes that took place after the Hudson's Bay Company's amalgamation with the North West Company meant different operating procedures, culminating in the decision to abandon the fort and ultimately resulting in the murder of five employees.

Fort d'Epinette's operation, reflecting the North West Company's occupation of the region, and the initial years of amalgamation is interesting as it suffers many of the same stresses that other forts do in this period. But, the conditions were such that violence erupted while many other forts remained peaceful.
CHAPTER 4

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Introduction

This chapter will describe the ethnographic background of Fort d'Epinette. It provides information on aspects of Native culture which have the potential for affecting interaction with the Eurocanadian fur traders, as well as aspects of the material culture that may be present within the fort.

Indigenous Indian Groups of the Peace River Region

A recurring problem in historical studies of the Athapaskan area is the correct designation of Indian groups. The designation of groups as Beaver, Sekani and Dogrib for instance was not an emic perception on the part of the groups themselves. Krech notes the difficulty in assigning tribal names to groups in this area because of “the tremendously fluid nature of the early fur trade in this region” (1983a:40). He also notes that the terms Beaver, Sekani and Slavey were without political, economic or social meanings (ibid) and appear to have more geographical origins than cultural. Based on first hand observations, those major “tribal” divisions were first applied by Daniel Harmon (1957) in the 19th century and have stayed in use since. These group divisions were later developed and described by Hodge (1907).
The apparent protohistoric and historic interdependence of groups in the region prior to the establishment of the fur trade contrasts with the present day cultural distinctions between bands or tribes. It is important to note that the current division of these groups into discrete bands has more to do with the European imposition of "identifiers" and divisions than a recognition of real differences between the groups themselves (McClellan 1981:384). The similarity of cultural traits in this region reflect the mobility of groups before the arrival of the Europeans (Richmond 1970). Jenness also comments on intergroup similarities, specifically between the Beaver and Sekani (1986:383). Among contemporary groups, intergroup distinctions are based on location as opposed to cultural differences (Ibid). The predominant factor in shaping the Native cultures in the region appears to be a regional hunting and gathering adaptation to a harsh environment, which resulted in generally similar subsistence and settlement patterns (Helm 1981, Oswalt 1977:121). Thus, for archaeologists there is difficulty in distinguishing individual groups without knowledge of historic distributions.

The local Beaver and Sekani populations were characterized by a social system based on cooperation and reciprocity. The Beaver, Sekani and adjacent groups lived in small mobile hunting and gathering bands, primarily family based and economically and politically egalitarian (Ridington 1981:350-2). Authority was vested in band members who earned the respect of others through their generosity and hunting abilities. There were "negative sanctions" imposed against individual hoarding, as it operated counter to the interests of the group as a whole (Ray 1984:3). The value of group interdependence and generalized reciprocity is illustrated by Savishinsky who points out that:
a person's possession of surplus food, time or equipment is partly a function of his luck in a somewhat unpredictable environment, a rigid set of rules that bound him to dispensing goods and services through a rigid network of kinsmen might not benefit those who were in need at a particular moment (Savishinsky 1970:49).

Band egalitarianism resulted in a strong emphasis on generalized reciprocity, wealth redistribution and decisions made by consensus. The emphasis on co-operation still forms one of the basic tenets of Athapascan culture and affects their relationship to the world. It has been noted by Ridington that for the Beaver "there must be social accord before people can be in accord with the animals that give them life" (1988:76). Also important was the stress on kinship ties, behavioural adaptability and emotional restraint (Savishinsky 1970:31).

Vanstone (1981:38) characterizes Beaver settlement patterns as that of restricted wandering, where movement whether random, or as part of a seasonal round occurs within circumscribed area which, along with its resources, the group claims as its own. This recognition of resource ownership within certain territories is one of the factors which gave rise to intergroup hostilities in the historic period. Recurring conflicts between the upper Peace River Beaver and Sekani, as well as the Beaver in the vicinity of Dunvegan are probably illustrative of an unequal distribution of resources. In those cases where family or trade co-operation between different resource areas did not exist, hostilities could occur. The primary exploitative unit was the local band. When resource shortages occurred, the local band would move within the regional band.
network to obtain help from groups with whom they had kin ties (Asch 1984:16).

**Indian groups at Fort d'Epinette**

The groups present at Fort d'Epinette who are mentioned in the fort journal for the winter of 1622/23, include Beaver, Sekani, Iroquois and Cree (HBCA B 1/a/1). These groups are also mentioned in the Dunvegan journal and by Harmon (1957). In Simpson's journal (Simpson 1938) there is mention of Metis presence in the region, and he notes that "The Natives of the Peace River are Beaver Indians, there are also a few emigrant Soataux from the Plains; the former may be computed at 130 to 150 hunters and the latter about 20 to 30" (Simpson 1938:387). There is mention of a halfbreed at d'Epinette by Francis Heron (HBCA D.4/87,dos.95-8).

Not only did local Indians have dealings with the fort, but the trade companies also brought in non-locals to help with provisioning and trapping. A model has been proposed by Ray and Freeman (1977) that describes the type and intensity of interaction at the forts based on proximity to the fort and the functions fulfilled by the Indians. According to Ray and Freeman there were three zones surrounding the forts. The first zone was the closest, and these homeguard Indians had the most intense first hand interaction with the fort personnel (Ibid 48). The second zone farther from the fort comprised the area from which the middlemen in the trade were drawn from. These middlemen would have engaged in trade with the Indian trappers from the more distant zone three (Ibid).
In 1822/23 the roles fulfilled by the Indians at the fort included trapping for beaver and hunting for provisions. Translators were highly valued and this role was fulfilled both by Native men and women. Native women also served as wives to the traders and helped to carry out domestic functions at the fort.

Beaver Indians

The Beaver Indians are presumed to have had the most contact with the traders at Ft. d'Epinette. The Beaver as a whole were located along the Peace River ranging from Lake Athabasca in the east to the upper Peace, around present day Ft. St. John. The Beaver were divided into Upper and Lower groups, with the territorial boundaries of the latter beginning around Ft. Dunvegan and extending to Lake Athabasca (Figure 3). In the early nineteenth century this group showed a great deal of Cree influence (Jenness 1986:383-4). The upper Beaver will be the group primarily dealt with in this study because they are presumed to have had the most contact with Fort d'Epinette. This is based on the location of the fort within what was recognized at the time as upper Beaver territory. As mentioned, because of the scarce documentary record, there are difficulties in accurately reconstructing early historic group divisions and also in estimating the numbers of Beaver Indians. Jenness proposes a precontact population of 1,500 Beaver (1986:384) though this is speculative.
Figure 3. Geographic location of the Beaver and Sekani in the early 1800's.
**Character of Beaver Indians**

There are some interesting insights on Beaver Indian character and the Eurocanadian traders attitudes towards them that can be gleaned from early fur trade journals. Though descriptions often varied depending on the writer, the traders held high respect for these people. For instance Simpson saw the Beaver as being "of a bold and Manly character..." without "treachery" or "selfishness, covetousness or avariciousness" (Simpson 1938:387). Harmon also admired them and stated that "the Beaver Indians are a peaceable and quiet people and perhaps the most honest of any on the face of the earth" (Harmon 1957:123). This view of the Beaver stands in stark contrast to Hugh Faries description of them as "worthless vagabonds, their fur hunts seldom or ever exceeds from five to seven packs throughout the year" (HBCA B.189/a/1 Oct. 22, 1822).

Simpson (1938:387) described them as being "particularly uxorious, and the very suspicion of incontinence is attended with Trajick consequences...". Harmon concurs with this description and states that chastity in young women was considered a virtue by the Indians on the East side of the Rockies (1957:215). They are further described as being kind and hospitable..." (Simpson 1938:388).

George Simpson, in 1821, states that the Beaver Indians were quick in resenting injuries, but possessing none of that detestable treachery which characterizes the Chipewyans, nor have they any of their selfish, covetous and avaricious dispositions... They take their revenge on the impulse of the moment but give their victim a chance of his Life by putting him on his defence. To the Europeans they are kind and hospitable, and they boast that no white man has ever fallen by the hands of any of their tribe (Simpson 1938:387-8).
The Beaver Indians have been portrayed as being of a fairly independent nature. Yerbury (1986:72) describes them as "suspicious" and "unreceptive" to the activities of the traders. This he attributes to the defensive stance acquired because of the aggressive intrusion of the Cree. This outside stress or disruption seemed to have the effect of causing them to try and maintain their culture through the rejection of outside influences, thus lessening the risk of encountering hostile situations.

Ethnographic information about the Beaver Indians in the Peace River area is sparse. The work that has been done was carried out more than 100 years after initial contact. Early sources include fur trade journals and accounts, and later ethnographic studies done by Goddard (1916) and Jenness (1934) in the early 20th century.

The history of the Beaver Indians has been characterized by a great deal of turmoil. To a significant extent this can be attributed to the presence of the Cree in the territory occupied by the Beaver, Slave, Dogrib and Hare. This Cree presence, though periodic, worsened over time, culminating in the years 1759-60 (Yerbury 1986:43). Cree power was weakened in 1781-2 when they were decimated by smallpox. Though the Cree were able to regain their power and continue warring and hostilities, by 1793 the Beaver had obtained guns and were able to offer significant resistance (Ibid). Nevertheless, they continued to suffer from Cree hostilities and as late as 1798 a Cree war party killed and wounded several of them (Ibid:62).

In addition to continuing Cree hostilities, the Beaver suffered from changing social and environmental conditions. In the summer of 1802 disease killed at least ten Beaver, and the following winter of 1802-3 was harsh, with the occurrence of widespread starvation (Yerbury 1986:72).
Written accounts emphasize the severe conditions and continue to relate deaths and hardships. In 1820, it was noted by George Simpson that "...there has been great mortality among the Beaver Indians this year, and that we have lost many valuable hunters..." (Simpson 1938:61). Disease also appeared at Dunvegan in the years 1821-3 and killed many of their best hunters. In 1823, a clerk at Dunvegan noted that up to one quarter of the Indians had died of disease (Krech 1983a:43). Part of the reason for the high mortality rate among the Beaver Indians may have been their apparent excessive addiction "to spiritous liquors which they used immoderately and unadulterated" (Ibid). This caused them to have "delicate" constitutions, and they were beset by pulmonary complaints (Simpson 1938:388).

Simpson notes that the Beaver Indians ".....seldom or never intermarry with neighboring tribes and it is against their religious tenets to have connexion with the Civilized, so that there are no Beaver Indian halfbreeds..." (Simpson 1938:387-8). Brown concurs with this and adds that of all Canadian Indian groups the Beaver "consistently shunned" marital contact with outsiders (Brown 1980:60). If this description is accurate, then this apparent unwillingness to marry outside the group has interesting implications when it comes to relationships with fur traders. From the documentary sources it is known there were women at the fort, if they were not from the Beaver Indians then they are most possibly Sekani or Dogrib women. However, it is possible that changes in social relationships within the fur trade may have changed this stricture. Harmon notes that there was a great deal of importance placed on a woman's morals in Beaver society and he states that "chastity in young
women is considered a virtue..." and unmarried girls past a certain age were not allowed to go about without a chaperone (Harmon 1957:215).

The Beaver Indians placed a strong emphasis on familial and group relationships. Upon the death of a relative the Beaver showed a great deal of grief. As part of the ritual surrounding death, family members would destroy all of the dead person's goods "muskets, axes, kettles and even the furs they had laboriously accumulated" (Giraud 1986:8; Jenness 1986:384). The high mortality rate among the Beaver Indians, in the early 1820's, may have had a significant impact on the fur trade situation at Fort d'Epinette.

Material Culture

Beaver Indian subsistence strategies reflect the adaptive nature of their hunting and gathering lifestyle to a limiting environment. This lifestyle was characterized by small mobile groups who merged and split according to seasonally available resources. The Beaver were nomadic hunters (Jenness 1986:116) who focussed more on hunting than fishing. Moose, caribou, buffalo and beaver were all exploited. Jenness states that moose were more highly prized among the Beaver than buffalo because moose, in addition to being a source of meat, was also used for clothing and tents (Ibid:383). However, this dependence on moose could be more a reflection of bison scarcity than a preference.

The Beaver appear to have been an independent group, not only socially as expressed in their reluctance to marry outside the group, but also in terms of material culture. They were not lured into the trade for "baubles" as readily as other groups. Simpson notes that "The Beaver despite their easier life, despise... all finery and decoration" he states that they did not
highly prize...European articles except such as became absolutely necessary to them viz: Ammunition tobacco Blankets &c" (Simpson 1938:368). However, this lack of interest in baubles could have its roots in the diminished level of trade due to the scarcity of beaver in the early 1820's. This observation by Simpson contradicts Harmon's observation in 1809 that "the greater part of the Beaver Indians have European clothes and firearms and no bows and arrows" (Harmon 1957:123). Though incorporating European technology, it appears they continued to rely on effective and simple hunting techniques such as the use of snares and pounds for buffalo (Jenness 1986:383). Jenness noted that they had spears, bows and arrows, and that flint was in general use for knife blades, and arrow heads, but some were made from moose horn and beaver teeth (Jenness 1986:384). Fishing technology was also simple and effective. For fishing they would use a bone hook attached to a babiche line, and stone weirs with pole platforms would also be used (Ibid).

Jenness describes the use of conical tipi-like structures that were covered with moose hide. In summer, lighter shelters made of brush would be used (Jenness 1986:383). Domestic utensils were made of moose or caribou skin, as well as of netted babiche (Ibid:384). At Fort Dunvegan Harmon notes that, while their families are away hunting, the old and infirm Indians lived in lodges close to the fort "a few rods away" because they are unable to walk well (Harmon 1957:123). At d'Epinette, Hugh Faries mentions an old Indian, "Chimarouche", who on the morning of Jan 14, 1823 was found dead in the lodge, he has been a cripple for these several years past, he remained for these three years past at the Fort, his son is generally a Fort Hunter, poor old creature had been complaining
for these two of three days past, he was severely scorched, seemingly struggling in his last moments he rolled into the fire his hands and arm was very much scorched, there was no person in the lodge, but another old Indian that was both blind & lame (HBCA. B.189/a/1).

Sekani Indians

According to the Fort d'Epinette journal the Sekani Indians also had fairly extensive dealings with the fort, as they are mentioned numerous times (HBCA B.189/a/1). The cultural dividing line between the Beaver and Sekani Indians is not a clear one. In the Fort d'Epinette journal Hugh Faries refers to the Sekani as the Slave Indians. McKenzie called them "Rocky Mountain Indians", in reference to not only the Sekani, but the western group of Beaver Indians. These people occupied lands between Smoky River and Hudson's Hope, and they had not been influenced by Cree culture (Jenness 1937:5). The term Sekani, was first used by Harmon (1957), originally referred to one group residing in the area of the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers.

Harmon conjectured that the Beaver and Sekani were originally one group, because of the similarities in customs and language. He attributes the split between the two groups to "...some quarrel.." (Harmon 1957:131). Jenness states "that it is fairly certain that the Beaver and Sekani were a few hundred years previously a single people who were grouped into several different bands, they stretched through the area from Lake Athabasca to the Rocky Mountains" (Jenness 1937:6-7). Another group of Sekani was located in the vicinity of Moberly Lake (Black 1955:204).

The nature of the data for the Sekani as for the Beaver is poor, but there were evidently a great many similarities between the two groups.
Whether their contiguous location meant there was a cultural continuum is unknown, but similarities in material culture, language and physical characteristics are strong. Samuel Black in a negative vein, typical of his style, wrote of this physical similarity in 1824. He states that the Sekani looked "...as bad as the Rocky Mountain Indians of St. John's like Imps staring through human materials." (Black 1955:51).

The territory of the Sekani at the time of first contact corresponded with their present location along the Parsnip, Finlay and Upper Peace River (Jenness 1937:5). The Sekani, like the Beaver Indians, were indirectly affected by population displacements caused by the westward movement of the Cree. Harmon notes that the Sekani arrival on the west side of the Rockies had taken place only a few years previously (Harmon 1957:256). Jenness states that the Sekani population prior to the arrival of the Europeans would have been greater than 1,000.

According to Harmon the Sekani were "a quiet and inoffensive people..." (1957:130). Harmon describes them as being surrounded by hostile Beaver Indians and Cree to the East and Tacullies (Carrier) and Atenas to the West (1957:130). They were surrounded by enemies against which they were "too feeble" to defend themselves (1957:130). Because of their weak and vulnerable position they were frequently in want of food (Ibid). Harmon notes that the Sekani "...are a wretched people; for they suffer greatly for the want of food, during nearly one fourth part of the year, when they barely support life, by means of a few unpalatable roots" (Harmon 1957:257). In contrast to this, Hugh Faries, in the d'Epinette journal, notes that they were much harder workers than the Beaver Indians, and "What furs (are) procured here are chiefly got from the Slaves" (HBCo A B.189/a/1 Oct. 22, 1822). Further illustrating the
diversity of impressions concerning them Simpson notes that they were "... of a bold and warlike character, friendly yet irritable and easily roused, when they are capable of acts of the most savage ferocity; they stand on as little ceremony with the Life of a Man as that of a Beaver" (Simpson 1938:390).

Like the Beaver, the Sekani were mobile hunters without permanent village sites. Political and social organization were, according to Jenness, very simple. The Sekani were divided into several bands, and the leader was recognized by consensus (Jenness 1986:380). The Sekani, because of frequent intermarriage and a common language, had a distinct identity, but familial feuds did occur (Jenness 1986:380).

In contrast to the Beaver Indians who utilized the region to the east of the Rockies, the Sekani went to the west side of the Rockies in the summer, and they spent the winter on the Eastern side of the Rockies where they could find "buffaloes, moose and deer" (Harmon 1957:130). Black noted that they would spend their winter in the area of the Rocky Mountain establishment (Black 1955:53). Hunting was carried out year round (Jenness 1986:379). The Sekani, conforming to the basic Athapascan hunting pattern, had a primary subsistence reliance on the hunting of large game animals with an emphasis on the moose and bear, as well as smaller game such as the porcupine and beaver (Jenness 1986:379). They hunted year round, and fished when large game animals were scarce (Ibid).

The Sekani had a simple yet highly adaptive material culture. According to Harmon they "... are not an ingenious people and I know of nothing which they manufacture excepting a few ill wrought bowes and arrows, wooden dishes, &c." (Harmon 1957:257). Like the Beaver Indians,
the Sekani domestic cooking vessels were constructed from spruce bark or baskets made from woven spruce roots (Jenness 1986:37-9). Dishes were made from bark or wood, bags for storage and transportation were made of babiche netting or hides. Caches were used for food storage. Their housing consisted of “rough conical lodges that had a framework of poles with a spruce bark covering (Jenness 1937:37-9). Lean-to shelters made of bark, skins, and brush were also used.

Sekani weapons and hunting technology were characterized by the use of bows and arrows, moose mandible clubs, and spears with fixed and toggling heads. But the emphasis was on the use of snares which were made of babiche (Jenness 1986:379). Fishing was done with nets made of “willow bark or nettle fibres” and fish hooks were made with a wooden shank and a bone hook (Jenness 1986:379). Lights were made of jackpine torches and night fishing took place. Weirs of brush were also constructed (Jenness 1986:379). Items made of stone were adze blades, projectile points and knives (Jenness 1986:379).

Prior to direct European contact Sekani clothing consisted of animal skins (Jenness 1937:37-9). Winter clothing consisted of robes, as well as a cap and mittens. Decorative porcupine quill work was done on moccasins and shirts (Jenness 1986:380). Bracelets of horn and bone were worn by males and females, while dentalia ear pendants were also worn (Jenness 1986:380).

According to Simpson, the Sekani were anxious to have the Hudson’s Bay Company trade in the region west of the Rocky Mountains. In 1819, they attempted to persuade the Company to come to this area by saying that their lands had an abundance of beaver (Yerbury 1986:89). Simpson, anxious to expand trade, urged his men to establish “connubial alliances”
and "...to form connections with the principle Families immediately on their arrival..." (Simpson 1938:392).

In addition to supplying a significant number of beaver pelts to Fort d'Epinette the Sekani also helped to supply pemmican to fur trade personnel on Lake Athabasca and for the canoe brigades (Yerbury 1986:69). But, though their interactions with the fur traders were amicable, the Sekani became demoralized by alcohol and diseases after the arrival of Europeans in the area (Jenness 1986:378).

Iroquois

The Iroquois are a third Indian group mentioned by Hugh Faries in the Fort d'Epinette journal. Iroquois are important not only in terms of this site, but in the whole of the western fur trade. In 1801, more than 300 Mohawk, or Iroquois, were hired for three years to work in the Athabasca district (Giraud 1986:178).

Iroquois importance to the fur trade was based on their hunting abilities. As described by Simpson, they were better hunters than the "Natives" (Simpson 1938:186), as he termed the local Indians. The importance of the Iroquois as hunters is emphasized by the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company willingly employed them, even though they were forced to pay them higher salaries than the "Natives" (Simpson 1938:186). George Simpson repeatedly emphasizes how crucial it is for the traders in the Athabasca District to employ Iroquois as hunters. In a letter to Finlayson at St. Mary's, in February 1821, he stresses "We absolutely need their services (Iroquois) and you will therefore make the best bargain you can" (Simpson 1938:277).
The value of the Iroquois resulted in a great deal of scheming between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company to secure their services. In the expansion westward up the Peace River, Simpson went so far as to state that if the services of the Iroquois are obtained, the Peace River trade will be secured. He also felt that the Iroquois hunt was essential for the provisioning of the New Caledonia brigade (Simpson 1938:62).

With the entrenched presence of the North West Company in the upper reaches of the Peace River, the Iroquois were anxious for the arrival of the competing company. This was interpreted by Simpson, rather naively, as indicating the superiority of the Hudson's Bay Company practices over the North West Company (Simpson 1938:104). However, it is more likely that the effects of direct competition in the upper reaches of the Peace River, would enhance the bargaining power of the Iroquois hunters.

The Iroquois performed a variety of tasks. They were good canoe handlers, but their primary importance was seen in their skills as hunters (Giraud 1986:178). Their importance, in this respect, is underlined by the fact that in the years 1803-1804 in the Peace River area, a significant number of the furs obtained were by the Iroquois. The 110 Iroquois in the region obtained 76 packs out of a total of 315 for the area in total (Yerbury 1986:70). The Iroquois are also known to have been working as provisioners to help provide pemmican for the Lake Athabasca trading establishments by 1803-1804 (Yerbury 1986:69).

Despite the laudatory attitude that Simpson had towards the Iroquois, others were less positive. Harmon notes that the Natives of the country considered the Iroquois as "intruders", whose mobile habits disinclined them to take an interest in maintaining the animal stocks in the regions in
which they hunted. He states "...they make great havock among the game, destroying alike the animals which are young and old" (Harmon 1957:193). This is supported by Simpson's observation that "the Iroquois kill male and female animals young and old promiscuously" (Rich 1938:384).

Hugh Faries, in the Fort d'Epinette journal, states that there were "...a few rascally Iroquois lurking about the place, vagabonds whom I arranged last spring to go across the Mountains to make a Beaver hunt & return here with the same .... they went made a tolerable good Beaver hunt, took the greater part of it to Macleods Lake..." (HBCA B.189/1/1 Oct. 22, 1822).

Some of the Iroquois did not show allegiance to any one post, and traded on terms most favorable to themselves.

The role of the Iroquois is unique because they were a mobile labour force who were unaligned with any particular trading company or area. The Iroquois were engaged by a trading company, for a fixed period of time, with a small advance payment to induce them to work for the company (Simpson 1938:186). The preference was to pay them with trade goods, but in times of scarcity their wages were paid in money (Yerbury 1986:70).

The importance of the Iroquois to the trading companies is exemplified by the two tiered price system for trade goods that the North West Company had in the Peace River area. The Iroquois were only required to pay half of what the local Beaver Indians paid. This preferential treatment was the result of the North West Company's attempt to keep on good terms with the labour pool they had brought into the region and in order to maintain their investment (Yerbury 1986:85).

Although the primary work of the Iroquois was as valued hunters, they also served as boatmen, guides and interpreters (Simpson 1938). In terms
of hunting, not only did they work to obtain furs but by 1803 and 1804 they served as provisioners to help provide pemmican for the Lake Athabasca trading establishments (Yerbury 1986:69). The amount of labour expected of the Iroquois was intense, and Harmon attributes the death of one of his Iroquois to the heavy loads they were required to carry over portages (Harmon 1957:71).

The Iroquois hunters would encamp around forts waiting for work (Harmon 1957:118). Though they were primarily a mobile labour pool who moved to areas where work was available and freely sold their labour to the highest bidder, it does appear that they established local ties. For example, there is evidence that they married local Native women and had families (Harmon 1957:118). Yerbury states that there were marriages that took place between the Iroquois, the Saulteaux and Beaver Indians. These alliances he sees as functioning to diminish friction between the different ethnic groups. The alliances also gave the Beaver and Saulteaux access to the more favourable prices for trade goods which the Iroquois had (Yerbury 1986:85).

**Metis**

Another group thought to have been present at Fort d'Epinette is the Metis. Their presence, though difficult to document, is inferred because they were an important work force in the western fur trade. Because their parentage originated with Eurocanadian fur traders and Native women, the Metis have been referred to as "the children of the fur trade" (Harrison 1985:18).
In the Fort d'Epinette journal, there are numerous references to workers with French names who could be Metis, but other than Francis Heron's note concerning a halfbreed in his document about the 1823 murders, there are no specific references to their presence at the fort.

In the fur trade context their presence is difficult to isolate because they embodied many of the attributes of Eurocanadian and aboriginal culture. Problems in this respect and the lack of a clear cut definition of Metis have been pointed out by McMillan (1988:273-5). There have been many subjective descriptions of their character, differentiating temperamental types based on differences in European ancestry. These often betray more about the writer's prejudices than the Metis themselves. For example French Metis are seen as being "a merry, light hearted obliging race, recklessly generous, hospitable, and extravagant... they are grossly immoral, often dishonest and generally not trustworthy. ... But as hunters, guides and voyageurs, they are unequalled." (Milton and Cheadle, quoted in Harrison 1985:12). While English Metis were more inclined to the "pursuit of husbandry to the chase, and follow close on the heels of the Scotch in the path of industry and moral rectitude" (ibid). But, these descriptions do little to portray the important role they played in the fur trade.

The Metis are loosely defined as those people of mixed Native and European parentage. Earlier definitions of Metis described the French speaking mixed bloods who lived in the Red River settlement (Sawchuk 1978:2). The Metis were seen as more suited to the fur trade, with its intense physical demands and the need for adaptability in dealing with uncertain and often hostile physical and social situations, than many of the European employees of the trade. They were described as being better
hunters, the prime source of food provisions (Simpson 1938:381), and their women more faithful and better interpreters (Ibid:230-231).

Certain material culture traits seen as characteristic of Metis, include distinctive types of pipes, needle and quill work (Harrison 1985:49-52). Metis clothing included European and Native elements, Native decoration, beadwork and fringes as well as materials such as skins and quill work were commonly combined and added to clothes of European style. Specific design elements characteristic of the Metis included the use of floral motifs of European origin and Cree decorative designs (Ibid 84). Clothing items described as distinctively Metis include "L'Assomption sashes", embroidered skin caps, coats and cloth vests. However, these design elements developed through time as a result of the adoption of European traits and their integration into a general native complex. This constellation of traits was first fully expressed in the Red River settlement and continued to be developed. Therefore, a clear determination of "Metis" traits at a locale such as Fort d'Epinette is not certain.

The role of Native women

Based on historic sources there appears to have been a great deal of interaction between the Eurocanadians and the aboriginal inhabitants during the course of the Athabasca district trade. The nature of this interaction is complex, for not only were trade and labour relationships important, but also marriages that occurred "à la façon du pays" (or marriages "in the custom of the country") without the benefit of clergy or legal records (Van Kirk 1980, Brown 1980). A significant amount of
research on fur trade social history has recently examined the nature of
the familial relationships between the fur traders and indigenous women.
This research illustrates the pervasive nature of these relationships and
how fundamental they were to the functioning of the trade (Ibid).

Officially the North West Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company had
different policies in regards to relationships between their employees and
Native women. The North West Company condoned them, while the Hudson’s
Bay Company’s policy was for the most part negative, though this changed
through time (Van Kirk 1980:36-7, Brown 1980:52). The relationships
served an important function for the trade and Native women served as
intermediaries between the Eurocanadian trade culture and Native culture
(Van Kirk 1980:4). In addition, the women were a much needed labour
force for the fur trade (Ibid). Marriages were also useful to cement trade
ties (Ibid:29). The families of Indian women encouraged the formation of
alliances because of the benefits they would derive from the close
association with the traders (Brown 1980:83).

Although the alliances with Indian women were beneficial to the
trade, after amalgamation, the policy of the Hudson’s Bay Company ran
contrary to this. In his journal, Simpson criticized this policy, which was
being flaunted by many Hudson’s Bay Company personnel. He wrote; the
matrimonial restrictions

which I consider most baneful to the interests of the Compy are
tantamount to a prohibition of forming a most important chain of
connection with the Natives, so that we have solely to depend on the
Indians who have no other feelings than those which interest and
mercenary views create towards us; it is never matured to
attachment and a price is only required to make those on whom our
existence depends our inveterate Enemies (Simpson 1938:396).
Marriages with Native women were beneficial to the trade. Native women not only provided companionship and trade links but were an essential source of labour for the forts. Bishop points out that seldom did the writers of fort journals mention the jobs that were being performed by the women. He nevertheless asserts that "they were an important labour force that is largely indiscernible in the records of most posts" (1968:9). In an excerpt from a letter to Joseph Greill at Berens house, Simpson writes that he had complaints from employees at the fort that Mrs Greill, Joseph's Native wife would not make shoes for the men and he states;

it is customary for the Ladies of this country to do all that is required in that way around the fort, and I hope there will be no further cause of complaint on the subject; the woman and child you know are a heavy expense on the Post and it is not unreasonable to require that she works for her maintenance (Simpson 1938:174).

The jobs expected of the Native women were clearly defined, and the women were considered part of the labour force. In this respect, Simpson instructed Robt. McVicar at Fort Wedderburn in 1821, that he expected "...each woman will proved 50 lbs. of Watappe" (Simpson 1938:342). Not only were women essential to the daily functioning of the fort, but they also served the crucial role of interpreter. In many instances Simpson instructed fort traders to do whatever possible to secure the services of Indian women. For example, he states that "Cayenne Grognes (an Indian) is absolutely required as a guide for Grande River, and his wife is a good interpreter" (Simpson 1938:244), and "La Mallice's wife is an interpreter and valuable we must not alienate him because we need her" (Simpson 1938:73).
At some times the women were so valuable that inducements were needed in order to obtain their work. In one case, the wife of an employee named Andries was reluctant to move further north, and Simpson ordered that because she had a great deal of influence over him that it was important to manipulate her weak side and, "the promise of a present from the Depot may have some weight, she is a useful woman, and therefore must be humored" (Simpson 1938:109). The inducements were evidently useful, because in November of 1820, she was engaged as an interpreter for McKenzie's River (Ibid 113). At this point Simpson complained of the luxuries demanded by them, but Andries wife "...on whom we depend in a great measure as an interpreter will not join unless it is complied with ..." (Ibid 136).

Based on this, and references in the Fort d’Epinette journal by Hugh Faries, we know that women were present at the fort, and no doubt they were necessary to its functioning. Hugh Faries mentions that "the women have gone for berries" (HBCo A B.189/a/1 Nov. 4, 1822) and five days later on Nov. 9th the women returned. On Jan. 3 1823, Hughes wrote in his journal that he gave out three pairs of snow shoes to the women to net, he notes that one pair was completed on Jan. 19th by Ross' woman.

Hughes also felt it noteworthy to mention that the wife of one of the men in his employ, 'Mallet' had a daughter on Nov. 13th (Ibid). In the journal entries, Hughes makes incidental references to 'The Old Indian woman that is here" (Ibid Jan 10,1823), as though being such a well known fixture her identity would be readily recognized. He also criticizes Sancho, a Beaver Indian who would not "leave his old wife, a worthless old jade that was formerly with one of the labouning men & who remains here
at present sick & wishes to leave him to go & join her relations at Athabasca among the crees" (ibid May 22, 1823).

It is interesting that Beaver Indian women were mentioned by several different traders in the region as not being willing to marry out of their band. If this is true, then the women at Fort d'Epipinette were probably Sekani, Hare, Dogrib or from other groups further east. The reference, in the journal, of a woman who had relations at Lake Athabasca indicates perhaps one of the women was Cree. However, with the changes wrought by the fur trade, it is possible that some of the strictures supporting Beaver Indian endogamy had broken down in the fur trade.

It is most probable that the women at the fort were from the local region, as Brown (1980:108) points out, in general employees were reluctant to move Indian women to a different area, because then they would lose their kin ties and be entirely dependent on the fur trade, thus placing a heavier burden on the companies.

In traditional Beaver and Sekani culture a strict sexual division of labour exists (Ridington 1986b:41). Therefore, those tasks performed in traditional aboriginal society that were also carried over into the fur trade may be discernable. These tasks would include traditional methods of preparing hides. Tools used for this include a mehkeqone or scraper (Behn n.d.). The mehkeqones were made from the tibia of a caribou, elk or moose. The distal end is sharpened at an angle and small even teeth are incised at the tip. This was used for scraping flesh and tissue from hides. For scraping off hair a mehtaegun (also called "chi-tho") is used. This tool is made from a stick split at one end, into which a stone sharpened by percussion is inserted and fastened with babiche (ibid). The latter is a cortical spall scraper, and though it is easy to manufacture, it has a high
value in Athapaskan cultures. They are curated items and there have been reports of specimens being in use for over 100 years (Albright 1984:58).

Sewing tools used by women included bone awls for piercing hides, and the sharpened foreleg of a lynx or bird for fine sewing. Snowshoe netting was also part of the women's tasks. The tool kit for this included hooking tools and bone netting needles (Behn n.d.).

Storage containers were another part of the women's material culture sphere, and women would use vessels of leather, netting and bark. The bark vessels were made from spruce or birch bark, these were folded and sewn with hemlock roots (Ibid). Goddard notes that these were made by women and were "...decorated with incised lines and applied borders ..." (Goddard 1916:221). In the region birch bark containers are a material culture component with a tradition extending into prehistoric times. Decorative geometric designs on the containers appear to have their roots in prehistoric quill work designs (Duncan 1988:32).

**Summary**

The picture presented by the ethnohistorical background is one which illustrates the interdependence of the Eurocanadian traders and the Indian participants in the fur trade. This conforms with research which suggests that the fur trade represents a unique adaptation, where the participants draw from their different backgrounds and skills to create an intermediary or "semiautonomous culture" (Van Kirk 1980, Brown 1980).

Because of general areal similarities in Native material culture, the archaeological differentiation of different groups at Fort d'Epinette, such as the Beaver and Sekani is not possible. Nor are there clearly distinctive
traits which are indicative of Iroquois. The Metis have a stylistic tradition which, given the proper conditions for the preservation of clothing and decorative items, may be identifiable.

The Native Athapaskan traits which have the potential for material correlates in the archaeological record include those which are represented by traditional Native stone tool manufacturing, hide preparation, snowshoe making, and characteristic clothing and items of personal decoration.

Items which are judged to be useful in indicating Indian presence include hunting implements and material culture specific to the region, such as projectile points, spear points, flint knife blades, moose horn and beaver knives, stone adzes, bone fish hooks, moose mandible clubs and net gauges. More perishable items include babiche snares, and willow bark or nettle fibre fishing nets. Domestic utensils include bags made of moose, caribou skin and babiche, spruce bark cooking vessels, baskets from woven spruce roots, dishes of bark and wood.

Tasks which have the potential for leaving evidence of ethnic presence include the netting of snowshoes, which requires the use of a kit comprised of bone awls, a hooking tool and netting needles. Awls would also be used for sewing. Hide preparation activities would be represented by fleshers, or (mehkeqones), as well as scrapers (mahtegun or chithos).

Decorative items indicative of Native presence include horn and bone bracelets, scratching sticks and dentalia. The presence of these items and their distributions at Fort d’Epinette will be further discussed in chapter six.
CHAPTER 5
ARCHAEOLOGY

Introduction

This section describes excavations carried out at Fort d'Epinette (HaRc 27), provides interpretations for several of the site features and describes post abandonment disturbances at the fort. Initially, the site of Fort d'Epinette (HaRc 27) was located by Fladmark in 1974. At this time Fladmark (1975) reports the presence of several surface features indicating former structures, including chimney mounds, a large cellar depression, as well as several smaller mounds and depressions. In the initial season, a small number of test pits were excavated, from which an artifact sample, including a handwrought nail and stone pipe fragment were recovered. These items were consistent with the identification of this site as an early fur trade fort. Archival research by Fladmark and Finlay and excavations of the site by the Simon Fraser University field school, took place during the following two field seasons. This work has conclusively established the site to be Fort d'Epinette (Fladmark 1976:128).

The following section will describe those archaeological features that are important to the analysis at hand. The archaeological evidence obtained from the excavation will be examined and used to describe the building structures found at the site. Functional interpretations for the structures were determined in the field, and supported in the initial excavation reports (Fladmark 1975, 1976). For the sake of consistency, these names will continue to be used. This section will also describe the character of different areas within the fort compound.
The 1975 field season commenced with the preparation of a site map and a metal detector survey. North/south and east/west base lines were established with the latter being roughly parallel to the Peace River. A 2 meter grid was superimposed over the site for provenience control. Within each excavated 2 x 2 m unit, 30 cm baulks were left along the eastern and southern walls of the units for soil sample extraction and profile drawings. Artifacts and identifiable bone were recorded with three dimensional provenience in reference to a permanent datum.

In 1975, 60 units of 1.7 x 1.7 m were excavated, within what was shown to be a stockaded fort, while nine more units were positioned outside. There were 3,318 artifacts recorded in catalogue records for 1975 although, this number includes identifiable bone (Fladmark 1976:128-9) (Figure 4).

The 1976 field season led to a further 41 units being completed, resulting in an additional 1,145 specimens. In this season however, bone was not assigned three dimensional provenience, nor was it given individual catalogue numbers (ibid). With research objectives placing an emphasis upon the location of in situ materials through trowelled excavations, screening was selectively applied in both 1975 and 1976. Though a problem for small item recovery, control samples taken in 1986 illustrate original faunal recoveries to be representative (Burley and Bedard 1989).
Figure 4. Fort d'Epinette ground plan, excavation units and hypothesized building structures. (After Fladmark 1985)
There is little direct historical information concerning the construction and layout of the fort. The only written information on fort structures consists of incidental references in the fort journal. These, incorporated within the 1822-23 journal, (HBCA B. 189/a/1) describe repair work and some new construction. However, good preservation of structural remains allowed Fladmark to carry out a reasonably accurate reconstruction of the post. Based on Fladmark's plans, Fort d'Epinette was laid out in a similar fashion to St. Mary's (Figure 5), the Hudson's Bay Company fort established down river in 1818 (Figure 6). This plan includes the presence of three houses arranged in a U-shaped configuration.

The most visible surface feature at Fort d'Epinette is a large depression which represents the cellar feature of the largest structure. This structure would have served as residence for the chief trader and accordingly was termed the **main house** by Fladmark (1976:142). The main house, at the time of abandonment, actually consisted of two buildings joined together (Ibid). This building has two large chimney mounds with wall ridges defining two perimeters.

A smaller structure southwest of the main house has been identified as the **men's house**. Only a small portion of this structure remains intact, the remainder lost to riverbank erosion. Housed within this structure were the Canadian labourers, Iroquois, local native guides and perhaps hunters. A single chimney feature is also associated with this structure.

Southeast of the main house there is evidence of a small building which, provisionally, has been termed a **workshop** (Fladmark 1976).
A- Dwelling 60' x 26'
B- Cookhouse 25' x 15'
C- Woodyard
D- Stores, etc. 60' x 20'
E- South stockade with gate 130' long, 13' high
F- Long stockade 150'
G- Gardens
H- Short stockade, 6' high
I- Dwelling for guides and interpreters
J- Dwelling for Canadians
K- Dwelling for Iroquois
L- Long stockade
M- Short stockade
N- Yard
O- Long stockade, 150'
P- Fence

Figure 5. Ground plan of St. Mary's (not to scale), (HBCA B. 190/a/1)
Figure 6. Hypothesized Reconstruction of Fort d’Epinette (HaRc 27), broken line indicates extent of river erosion. (After Fladmark 1985)
Because of the lack of diversity in artifact types within this structure, in comparison to the others, it is conceivably one of the 'new structures' referred to in the fall of 1822 (HBCA B. 189/a/1). Alternatively only a small corner of it remained, and the artifact count may not accurately reflect what was present in the rest of the structure. If this is one of the new structures, it would have been occupied for only one year, and this could also account for the limited artifact yield.

Finally, there is evidence for a stockade extending around the perimeter of the fort. During excavations three sides of the stockade were identified, the fourth side has been destroyed by riverbank erosion.

It is reasonable to assume that because of the harsh climate, buildings would have been refurbished and repaired several times during the occupation of the fort. At Fort Dunvegan, a contemporaneous site 150 km downriver, buildings required frequent repair and maintenance (Pyszczyk 1983), and construction activities seemed continuous. The surviving journal from Ft d'Epinette also mentions that the fort buildings were being repaired and walls were being mudded over in 1822. At the time Hugh Faries took over as chief trader, he described the place as "want(ing) a thorough repair, it is all fallen in ruins, the wood of the buildings being perfectly rotten" (HBCA B.189/a/1 Oct 22, 1822). The presumed repair work, refurbishing and new construction at the fort makes it difficult to gain a clear picture of what the fort compound may have looked like at different times in its history.

References to construction work mention the building of new houses and chimneys, putting flooring in a house and the plastering of buildings with yellow mud for insulation purposes. Among these notes, Hugh Faries writes that "Morrin arrived with 6 kegs of yellow earth" (Oct 30, 1822, HBCA
B.189/a/1) and "LaValle finished plastering the stable" (Nov 2), "Bouchard built a chimney in one of the new houses" (Nov 1), and on Nov 3 "Bouchard finished chimney in the small house". Further, it notes "Grandbois painting buildings with yellow earth", and "La Valle and Bouchard put flooring to the house" (Nov 4).

Main Stockade

Three sides of the stockade have been eroded by river action. Remains of the south wall are completely gone with sections of the east and west sides also destroyed. The length of the complete north wall is 30.7 m, the remaining east wall is 15.5 m, and the west wall is 23.0 m. Based on a rectangular fort layout, similar to St. Mary's, Fladmark (1976:136) has hypothesized the length of the east and west walls to have been 33.5 m long (Fladmark 1976). This provides an area of 1,028 m² within the stockade perimeter. Assuming these estimates to be accurate, the known area inside the definable stockade walls at the time of excavation was 577 m², this would indicate a loss of 451 m², or roughly 45% of the original site to riverbank erosion.

According to Fladmark (1976:139), Fort d'Epinette stockade pales are not as massive as might be expected for defensive purposes. Maximum diameter of the posts is less than 20 cm and, on the north wall, they are set 10 cm apart with a maximum excavated depth of 40 cm. The apparently flimsy nature of the stockade poses an interesting problem. It may indicate it served a symbolic function to separate the traders from the Indian community. This symbolic reinforcement of their separateness and power, could have psychologically aided in gaining the upper hand in trading. This is seen by Pyszczyk (1983:10) as a common purpose for stockade
construction, as opposed to strictly defensive purposes. A second possibility is that a more substantial construction may have been prohibited due to the availability of wood. Mention is made in the fort journal of firewood being thrown down from the upper terrace (HBCo A B.189/a/1 Dec 24, 1822). Conceivably if only small sapling size material was available, then this would have been the material used. A late period construction is also supported by the fact that infill in the stockade trench was comprised of cobbles, large bones as well as redeposited artifacts. A third possibility is that the construction of the stockade was merely to keep scavenging animals from the garden. As an important food source, the construction of protective fencing would be understandable. Finally, other possibilities for palisade function include traffic control and limiting fort access for the convenience of the traders.

A break in the north stockade wall indicates the presence of a gate opening to the rear of the fort. This gate provided access to the post’s midden as well as areas in which day to day maintenance tasks were performed. An opposite gate in the south wall, based upon comparative plans at other forts (Pyszczysyk 1983:10), must be anticipated.

Fladmark points out that the construction of the stockade walls becomes more solid as the walls approach the river front. Also the western wall has a slightly different construction technique and is characterized by “thin slabs interspaced with small sapling like poles” (Fladmark 1976:140). This, as interpreted by Fladmark, forms a convenient wall for construction of a lean-to. Archaeological data supporting this interpretation includes timbers aligned roughly parallel to each other and at right angles to the stockade. The presence of bale seals, and a Hudson’s Bay Company weight
found in this immediate vicinity could indicate the use of this west wall lean-to as fur storage.

House structures

Because of the routine nature of day to day tasks and the predictability of activities occurring within, there are certain assumptions which can be made concerning the function of house structures in a fur trade fort. Based on his observations of Dunvegan, Pyszczyk states that there are four building types that can be identified. These are "1. Living quarters for the engages and their families; 2. storage buildings for meat, garden produce, trade articles and furs; 3. workshops such as the carpenters shop and the blacksmith's shop; and 4. ...stables and barns for livestock" (1983:11).

At Fort d'Epinette, excavated structures incorporate both living and storage functions. Storage space is represented by the cellar feature in the main house, from which gun parts, wooden barrel staves and a brass spigot were recovered. This indicates storage of alcohol, valuable guns and gun parts. In addition, the "workshop" structure shows evidence for storage functions. This is indicated by a well constructed floor, as well as trade artifacts such as beads and shot which appear to have fallen between the floor boards.

Workshop facilities are not in evidence and there is no indication of a blacksmith's shop. There is potential evidence for a stable structure occurring along the outside northeastern portion of the stockade. This is represented by beams and the presence of two bridle bit elements.
Main house

In terms of surface evidence, the main house at Fort d'Epinette is the most apparent. Its central location within the fort, and large size in comparison to the other structures, in conjunction with a distinctive artifact distribution, suggests it to have been the residence of the chief trader. This pattern has also been noted by Pyszczyk (1987). It would have been the most labour intensive structure to complete and symbolically illustrates the status of the chief trader. Fladmark (1976:142) has pointed out that the main house actually appears to be two structures, a west structure and an east structure, built at different times in the fort's history and later joined together (Figure 7). The main house has overall measurements of 11.8 m for the north and south walls with the west wall measuring 7.2 m. and the east wall 7.0 m.

Two fireplaces, one in the northwest corner of the western structure and the other in the eastern structure, are constructed of sandstone slabs. The easternmost fireplace is H shaped, with a separate hearth facing each of two rooms comprising this portion of the building. The collapsed chimneys show evidence of cribbing and chinking. This type of cribbed and mudded chimney was in wide use throughout the region, and is the construction type found at Dunvegan as well (Pyszczyk 1983:12-13).

Because the building burned at some time after its abandonment, there is good preservation of some main house construction features. There is evidence of a sill along the north and east wall of the main house and flooring running the house width in an east-west direction. Differential wear is evident on floor boards in the center of the north wall, illustrating heavy traffic and a possible doorway. Floor planks were cut to a uniform length and, in the eastern part of the main house, were set on joists spaced.
at 2.32 m intervals. The eastern portion of the house had tongue and groove flooring, while the western portion had less well fitted floorplanks in some cases with gaps of up to 2.5 cm between. Artifacts were found beneath the floor boards, some of which may have fallen through cracks. These artifacts included items such as an iron projectile point, dentalia shell, glass fragments, pipe stems and nails. The presence of a large masons trowel beneath the floorboards is also indicative of construction work.

Due to post abandonment burning there is scant evidence for the type of wall and roof construction (Fladmark 1976:159). It is assumed that the construction would have been post-on-sill, a common construction technique for the region. Supporting this is a portion of a "half-lap joint" (Fladmark 1976:148) characteristic of post-on-sill technology. Fladmark (1976:159) points out that there is a lack of nail concentrations along the wall lines, and this indicates a frame type of construction was probably not used (Ibid).

Based on the reconstructed height of the chimney in the eastern portion of the main house, Fladmark feels that the roof in this portion of the structure had a minimum height of 4.5 m (Fladmark 1976:162). Though no archaeological evidence exists for roofing materials, it is probable they were made of pine bark, as is the case at Dunvegan (Pyszczyk 1983:11).

Stratigraphy in the area of the main house consists of an upper level of humus with a sandy clay matrix, grading into a silty sand with strong evidence of burning and concentrations of chinking interspersed with sterile areas of grey green silty sand. Below this is a burned clay and sand layer interspersed with orange red stains and scattered charcoal. Finally sterile deposits of an olive grey green silty sand represented the lowermost excavated matrix.
The cellar, because of its size and depth, is the most visible surface feature on the site (Figure 8). The horizontal measurements prior to excavation were 5 x 4 m with a depth of 1.5 m. The original cellar was smaller, but slumpage of the edges by erosion has increased its size. A return visit to the site in 1986 indicated that the unexcavated portion of the cellar had been dug out even further, possibly by pot hunters. After excavation in 1975 the original size of the cellar was identified as 2.2 x 1.8 m with a depth of 2 m beneath the house floor.

At the base of the cellar excavation were found several 10 cm in diameter poles spanning the length and width of the cellar walls. A second interesting feature was a large amount of birch bark intermingled with these timbers. According to Fladmark (1976:143) these poles and birch bark represent the remnants of a "crib-work and birch-bark lining" (Fladmark 1976:143). This, he suggests, would have protected the store of contents from moisture and falling debris and provided a constant storage temperature for items such as alcohol and gunpowder (Fladmark 1976:144).

The cellar would have functioned to store valuables. The recovery of selected items such as gun parts and the remains of storage kegs, accompanied by the lack of day to day debris, supports the interpretation of this as strictly storage.

Men's house

At Dunvegan, the engages and their families lived in "long barracks like buildings that were partitioned into rooms" (Pyszczyk 1983:11). Potential evidence for a "row house" also comes from the excavations at Rocky Mountain Fort (Hamilton et al 1988). The "men's house" appears to
Figure 8. Stratigraphic profile, main house cellar, north wall.
I Surface humus
II Burned silt and clay 7.5 YR 7/6
III Charcoal
IV Loose silty clay 10 YR 3/2
V Compact silty clay 10 YR 3/2
VI Desintegrated charcoal and silt 10 YR 2/2
VII Buried soil horizons, sterile brown silt 10 YR 3/2
VIII Sterile silty clay 10 YR 3/2
IX Charcoal and ash intermixed
--- Probable position of cellar wall
B Birch bark
■ Burned wood
■ Rotted wood

Key to Figure 8
form the northernmost end of one of these row houses. This structure has a large number of artifacts and diversity of types including a large folk industry component. This could be due to several factors such as heavy usage, numerous inhabitants, a long occupation and refuse disposal patterns which varied compared to the main house. The determination of numerous occupants is difficult to support without documentation, but the presence of North West Company style bail fasteners indicates it was one of the older structures at the site dating from the North West Company’s occupation. Only a portion of this structure remains, with an unknown amount destroyed by erosion.

Structural evidence for this building is poor and neither the architectural style nor exact wall boundaries were able to be determined. Using the spatial extent of charcoal, burned chinking and oxidized sediments as indicating the remnants of wall lines, Fladmark (1976:167) was able to estimate the width of the house as 6 m (Figure 9). The length based on similar structures at St. Marys is estimated at 12 m (Ibid).

Principal features in the men’s house include a fireplace and several depressions which potentially represent garbage pits. The fireplace, located in the northwest corner of the men’s house, is constructed of sandstone slabs, similar to those in the main house. The upper courses are composed of river cobbles. The outside measurement of the fireplace is 1.2 m, and the hearth area is 60 - 70 cm wide and 40 cm deep. The floor of the fireplace consists of silty clay (Fladmark 1976:170).

Charred beams and boards in the men’s house are oriented in a southwest to northeast and northwest to southeast direction. The average width of these beams is 19 cm. Other beams lay in a north-south direction. Most beams are burnt on all sides indicating structural members that were
Figure 9. Plan view men's house.
fully accessible to fire. The matrix surrounding the beams contained large amounts of charcoal, intermixed with burnt earth, chinking and burned bone. These data indicate the structure burned and a subsequent collapse of the wall and roof occurred. The lack of uniform direction for the wood remains suggests the absence of a wooden floor. Fladmark (1978:169) stating that the house floor was probably composed of clay, suggests that the large quantity of artifacts found in the structure, is consistent with disposal and loss in a floor matrix. As with the main house, there is no evidence from the men's house to indicate the type of construction used for the walls and roof.

A depression is present in the floor of the men's house. It extends to a depth of 1.52 m below the present ground surface, and has a significant number and diversity of artifacts as well as faunal remains. It is unclear whether this served as a storage cellar or a garbage pit. Artifacts located within the depression include bottle and metal fragments as well as nails and a large amount of faunal material. This assemblage implies a garbage pit; especially the large numbers of faunal remains. The latter exhibited a jumbled placement, consistent with garbage disposal (Figure 10).

The large number of folk industry artifacts, including bone awls, cortical spall scrapers, and a metapodial flesher, in addition to the smashed nature of the faunal remains, indicate that the inhabitants of this structure were either Indian, or well aquainted with indigenous culture. Williams (1978:244) points out that smashing of long bones was commonly carried out by Indian and Metis in order to extract grease and marrow for pemmican production.
Key
I- Sandy clay with humic bits
II- Disturbed fill
III- Burned clay 7.5 YR 6/6
IV- Sandy clay with burned clay 10 YR 4/3, with 7.5 YR 6/6
V- Compact silt
VI- Sand
VII- Ash
VIII- Dark organic stain
R- Rocks
?- Planks

Figure 10. Men's House stratigraphic profile.
Excavations in the area northwest of the men's house produced a great number of artifacts, indicating it to have been a focus for outdoor activities. These artifacts include the only examples of shaft smoothers, typically used for smoothing arrow shafts, found at the site. In addition, birch bark and lithics, as well as a large number of faunal remains were recovered from this area.

The men’s house excavation revealed a dark surface soil intermixed with ash and charcoal. This changed to a silty clay with ash and charcoal, with patches of burned reddish yellow clay (5YR 5/6) and burned wood grading into silty sandy clay (7.5 YR 3/2). Sterile deposits were reached along the northern wall of the men’s house at 20 cm below the surface. In the center of the men’s house, adjacent to the fireplace, sterile matrices were encountered between 30–40 cm below the surface, while in the southern portion of the men’s house adjacent to the river bank, sterile sediments were encountered between 40–50 cm below the surface.

**Workshop**

Little of the workshop structure remains intact, with all but the northeast corner destroyed through river erosion (Figure 11). Archaeological evidence does not clearly point to its use as a workshop. This functional identification is based upon the presence of three tools from the structure. Fladmark (1976:173) also believes at least part of this structure may have been used as a store house. This interpretation is based on the presence of a well made plank floor, a feature presumably designed to safeguard contents from dampness. The presence of glass beads and lead shot might be spilled trade materials which fell between the floorboards (ibid).
Figure 11. Plan view, workshop.
Excavations in the workshop area revealed a dark brown silty sand matrix, both burned and unburned. Intermixed with this was charcoal, burned faunal material, and chinking. decayed and burned wood, the remains of structural members, was found running in an east-west direction. No sill beams or construction details other than the flooring were discovered. By analogy to St. Mary's, Fladmark feels the size of the structure would be the same as the row house in which the men's house is located. The depth of cultural deposits in this structure extended to 10-15 cm below the surface.

Journal entries (HBCA B. 189/a/1) indicate that new houses were being constructed at the site in 1623, and it is possible that this represents one of these newer buildings. The artifact classes recovered from the structure lack diversity, suggestive of a short occupation or limited use.

Additional structures

At most other fur trade forts, special purpose structures were constructed for a variety of uses. At Dunvegan for example, these included a blacksmith's shop, an outdoor oven, an ice house, a hangard or storage cellar and a powder house (Pyszczyk 1983:12), and at St. Mary's a separate cookhouse existed. An ice house was mentioned in the Fort d'Epinette journal (HBCA B. 189/a/1), but no evidence of this was found in archaeological excavations. This structure was most probably dug into the river bank and has subsequently been eroded away.

A fur press is mentioned by Samuel Black who describes the murder of Guy Hughes as taking place near the press (HBCA B. 119/b/1). No archaeological evidence for this was found and it is possible the area where the press stood has been eroded by river action.
**Inside the stockade**

Areas within the stockade vary in artifact density, depth of cultural deposit and the presence of features. For purposes of description these are divided into west, south and north stockade zones.

**West Stockade Zone**

This refers to the area between the men's house and the stockade, north of the men's house and west of the main house. The zone contains a number of interesting features including several depressions, and one possible lean-to structure. This area also had a high number of artifacts associated with activities or midden refuse adjacent to the northwest corner of the men's house. An oval (0-2 N, 0-2 E) depression measuring 1.10 x 1.80 m with a depth of .60 m is interpreted as a fire pit. The matrix in the depression walls contained pockets of ash and exhibited discolouration, while fire cracked rock and large amounts of burned bone were also present.

A second pit close to the fire pit is larger, being 2.4 x 2.0 m with a depth of 80 cm below the surface. Filled with sandstone slabs, these exhibit no patterning, they are angled into the soil, and they lie horizontal to the pit surface. This lack of orientation indicates they were tossed into the pit. There is evidence of yellow and red pigment, probably vermillion in direct association with the sandstone slabs. At some point the slabs appear to have been plastered over. There is evidence of firing in the pit with some of the slabs showing evidence of burning, there are also areas of burned earth, charcoal, ash and desintegrating chinking present. The function of the pit is unclear, but Fladmark believes it was excavated "as a source of plastering material, (perhaps for a new chimney)" and "was utilized as a handy means of getting rid of the remains of an older fireplace" (1976:179).
There is evidence for a lean-to structure associated with the sandstone filled pit, and adjoining the west stockade wall. This evidence includes remnants of timbers aligned in an east-west direction. This could indicate a lean to joining the west stockade wall in this area, or a porch to the north of the men's house.

Within the west stockade zone the depth of cultural deposits varied. Excavation adjacent to the men's house (4-6 S, 4-6 E) was taken to a maximum depth of 1.02 m below the surface. The predominant matrix in this area was a light yellow silty sand and clay (10 YR 3/2) containing scattered charcoal and ash concentrations. Sterile deposits consisting of a compact silty sand, occurred between .70 -1.02 m below surface.

South Stockade Zone

The south stockade area is enclosed by buildings south of the main house. This area would be expected to have been the focus of a large number of activities because it is the central portion of the fort, with a good southern exposure. However, only a small number of artifacts are present. It is interesting to note that the same pattern is observed at Rocky Mountain Fort. Hamilton et al (1988:30) describe this area as revealing "... an overall dispersal of cultural material..." which occurs "within disturbed sediments that have been mixed and compressed by pedestrian traffic". The disturbed sediments are comprised of backdirt from the main house cellar, and cover refuse in the courtyard area indicating an upgrading of facilities (ibid:32). It is possible the same process was operant at Fort d'Epinette, where a concern with appearance would have led to the courtyard area being kept relatively free from refuse.
North Stockade Zone

This zone refers to the area north of the main house inside of the north stockade wall. It has relatively low frequencies of artifacts, but a high diversity of types. This zone would have included the pathway to the midden.

The dominant feature occurring in this area is a large depression adjacent to the stockade wall. It measures 4 x 2.5 m with a depth of 1 m. This, it is thought, represents a hangard. Fills within the depression are characterized by successive charcoal layers and burned silty clay. Numerous bone fragments were encountered in excavation. These are burned and unburned, and a large percentage are complete. Cultural deposits in this area are uniform consisting of a compact silty clay and sand with humic patches (7.5 Yr 3/2-5/2). A sterile silty clay layer lies between 16 and 30 cm below surface. No evidence of a structure associated with this depression was encountered.

Midden

The midden is situated outside of and north of the fort. Present within midden deposits are a great number of food remains, including butchered, cracked and fragmented bones (Williams 1978). This area also contains a diverse variety of artifact types. There is evidence of frequent burning episodes and disposal events, characterized by an uneven distribution of faunal and cultural material over the midden area.

The surface of the midden area is characterized by numerous irregularities, small mounds and depressions indicative of dumping events. The stratigraphy within the midden also reflects numerous burning and dumping events. Sterile deposits consist of a clay matrix which occurs on
average between 30 - 40 cms below the surface. Overlying this are areas of red brown burned sediment, mixed charcoal and ash, as well as a heavily burnt yellowish brown clay (10 YR 5/6). Interspersed with this are areas of a dark loose organic matrix (10 YR 3/2) within a predominantly sandy clay matrix.

Site Integrity

Before artifact distributions can be examined and interpreted, it is necessary to assess site integrity. The effects of possible post abandonment disturbances, including looting, scavenging, fire, pot hunting and nonhuman disturbances will be looked at. Unfortunately sparse information regarding the site area after abandonment limits this discussion.

The first potential incident to affect site deposits may have been the looting of the fort after the 1823 murders. It is documented that the general Indian population around the fort took part in this looting. The evening of November 3, employees arriving at the fort from Rocky Mountain Portage, were told by an old Indian that the murderers had just gone "across the River with part of the property they had taken from the Stores, and were then on the eve (sic) of returning for more" (Heron HBCA D.4/87 dos.95-8). Other Indians in the vicinity waited until the murderers left the area and "carried off some private property from the place" (Ibid). The looting would have centered on the main house and store house, where the most valuable items would have been located, though most areas of the fort would probably have been affected. The physical results of looting would be the removal of readily transportable items of value, and the breakage and spreading of containers and items of lesser value. It is
interesting that many of the trunk fittings are bent and broken, perhaps reflecting this incident. Additional evidence for looting may be seen in the large clusters of beads found in restricted areas within the main house. These could be the result of spillage, with beads lost under the floor boards. However, this could also have occurred at an earlier period in the fort occupation. An area probably not affected by looting would be the midden. Because it was outside the stockade area there would have been freer access to it at all times as opposed to the restricted area within the fort compound. Thus scavengeable material would have been retrievable at all times.

Following the abandonment of Fort d'Epinette there are limited accounts of travellers visiting the location and staying in the buildings, Samuel Black stayed at the fort for several days in 1824 (Black 1955:205; Fladmark 1976:128). There is some evidence for these post abandonment visits. The recovery of a leather shoe, which in manufacturing style post-dates the occupation of the fort, is probably indicative of these visits. Other evidence comes from the large numbers of nails found in hearth features, which probably result from the burning of lumber used in construction. These short term visits could affect the artifact distributions through the scavenging of items overlooked in the looting, and the removal of anything useful to the travellers, as well as the disposal of their refuse. These clues, though inconclusive, indicate possible short term reuse of the fort site at later periods. There is no evidence for large numbers of items dating from later periods which might indicate a longer term occupation.

At some point after the site was abandoned the buildings were burned. Post abandonment accounts of the fort include a visit to the site in 1828.
and 1833. In 1828, McDonald described the houses as still standing (in Fladmark 1976:127). In 1833, John McLean visited the fort and noted the structures were "tenantless" (in Fladmark 1976:151). The burning would probably have occurred within a generation after the abandonment, before the building structures rotted.

As mentioned previously there is a report that a farm operated in the area in the early twentieth century (Fladmark 1976). The exact location is not known, therefore this disturbance is speculative. The rooting of pigs in the site area would have the potential for enormous disturbance and mixing of artifacts. Excavation of the site did not reveal disturbance of the soil consistent with disturbance from farming activities. In later periods there has also been limited pothunting by locals. There are reports of digging taking place in the main house cellar, and evidence of disturbance near the west chimney in the main house, and the chimney in the men's house.

The most significant disturbance affecting site deposits is river bank erosion. If Fladmark's estimates are correct, then almost half of the site has been lost. Fladmark (1976:134) observes that the cottonwood trees growing on the river bank are 75 to 100 years old, indicating that a major flood affected the site before this time. The instability of the river bank would have been worsened by the cutting of all trees in the vicinity of the fort during its occupation (ibid). There is no indication of a silt cap over the site as a result of flooding, indicating that high river levels were probably not a factor affecting artifact distribution.
Though historical descriptions for fort layout and construction are inadequate, archaeological excavations provide considerable detail for internal settlement pattern. The fort, like others in the region, most probably conforms to a U shaped plan. The western portion consists of the men's house, which by analogy to other sites would have been part of a row house. The main house forms the northern portion, and the workshop forms the eastern portion of the U.

The functional description of structures has been determined on the basis of characteristics such as size, the amount of time and energy expended in their construction, and the nature of the artifact assemblage from the respective buildings. This information, when compared with the map from St. Mary's (HBCA B. 190/a/1) allows a reasonably accurate interpretation of the function of the buildings at Fort d'Epinette for the latter period of its occupation. However, it is possible that during the Northwest Company's occupation of the site that building structures may have served different purposes. As has been pointed out, the extent of construction activities and rebuilding is unknown. But the main house shows strong evidence for the later addition of an eastern structure, and the western fireplace was rebuilt at least once. There is less evidence concerning the men's house and the workshop.

The most well built structure is the eastern portion of the main house. Its tongue and groove floor and H shaped fireplace indicate a large expenditure of effort. The rebuilding of the chimney in the western portion of the main house indicates an older age for this portion of the structure. The men's house, with its lack of flooring and in floor refuse pits shows
less time and effort were spent in maintaining appearances and comforts in comparison to the main house.

Other features include the stockade, a lean-to and various pits, inside the stockade compound and within the structures. The area inside the stockade appears to have been well utilized, especially the zone to the north of the men's house, while the courtyard area to the south of the main house appears to have been kept clear of debris, attesting to its importance in maintaining appearances.
CHAPTER 6

THE ARTIFACT RECORD

Introduction

This chapter examines some of the parameters used for distinguishing Folk Industry and European artifacts. It reviews artifact types and their distributions at Fort d'Epinette with particular emphasis on Folk Industry items. Full artifact descriptions and specific distributions are incorporated within the appendix.

The highest frequencies of artifacts occur in the main house, men's house and midden. A higher frequency of artifacts classed as Folk Industry occurs within the men's house compared to other site areas. However, a rank order correlation coefficient for all artifact categories within different areas of the fort indicates a close correlation between these areas. The Folk Industry class in the men's house also corresponds with high frequencies of European artifacts. Considerations concerning the meaning of the distribution are discussed.

Distinguishing Material Culture Correlates of Ethnicity

Artifacts that will be examined to see if their occurrence at the site reveals ethnic correlation are those which show manufacture by aboriginal methods, and are used in tasks performed by Indians. The artifacts are those which have analogues in aboriginal culture prior to European contact.

The presence of Folk Industry artifacts in analyses of other fur trade
assemblages, reveals a consistent identification of certain classes as either indicating Native presence or a strong Native influence. These artifacts, made by traditional methods of flaking, pecking, grinding and drilling, are of stone, bone, antler and bark. Selected sites and the classes of Native styled artifacts found therein are noted in Table 1. A description of the rationale for their determination as "native" by the individual researchers follows.

Alice Kehoe, in her study of Francois House, a "pedlar's post" occupied between 1768 and 1773 in Saskatchewan, sees evidence for Native activities in the presence of artifacts used for "hide preparation and the manufacture of Native tools" (Kehoe 1978:109). These, she feels, were used by Indian women living with traders, and Indians camped on the plantation. Kehoe sees little potential for cross cultural mixing of artifacts when the imported European items and the Native items comprise parallel categories, and serve a similar function. The maintenance of these parallel categories with distinct cultural origins Kehoe attributes to behaviour which uses the tools to symbolize ethnic distinctiveness (Ibid).

Rocky Mountain House, located on the Saskatchewan River in Alberta, was periodically occupied from 1799 to 1832 by both the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Company, Noble (1973:152-3), notes the presence of aboriginal artifacts associated with the fort which have prehistoric analogues in the area. He does not question their relationship to Indians at the site, but does note that they cannot be specifically linked with the various indigenous groups visiting the fort (Ibid).

The assemblage at the Northwest Company's Rocky Mountain Fort 1794-1805, has a component Hamilton (1988:59) describes as Folk Industry. The items in this category may have been manufactured at the site
from local materials by Indians and "country skilled voyageurs" who were influenced by Indian culture (Ibid).

A "Native industry" category at Fort Dunvegan 1805-1877, according to Pyszyzck (1983:88) comprises those items either "made from Native materials or resembling regional aboriginal tools that were often used during the fur trade era". He assumes that stone tools were made and used by Native or Metis, but cautions that some of the bone tools may have been manufactured and used by all fort personnel (Ibid).

At Fort Pelly 1824-1856 in Saskatchewan, Klimko (1983: 269) classes artifacts from the fort excavations as Native, if they resemble prehistoric artifacts of the region.

At these forts, the items thought to represent Indian presence are dominated by bone and stone implements (Table 1). Items present in these categories which are not mentioned in the ethnographies for the upper Peace River, but which have the potential for being part of the Native material culture include stone pipes, worked bird bone, elk tooth pendants, stone drills, anvil stones, and hammerstones.

Folk Industry artifacts which have previously been mentioned as correlating with an Indian presence at Fort d'Epinette correspond with these categories. However, as has been discussed, not all objects have equal value as ethnic markers (Buchignani 1987:20). The artifacts which appear most useful for determining ethnic correlation are those which were highly valued either because of their symbolic importance, or because their manufacture represented a considerable expenditure of labour.

Therefore, material culture items most informative with respect to ethnic correlation include, curated items such as cortical spall scrapers. In addition, items such as fleshing tools which required a considerable
### Table 1

**ARTIFACT CATEGORIES OF NATIVE MANUFACTURE FROM INDIVIDUAL FORTS**

**DUNVEGAN (Pyszyzck 1983)**

**Worked Bone**
- Sawn antler
- Antler handle
- Beaver tooth scraper

**Lithics**
- Quartzite core
- Sandstone uniface
- Fire cracked quartzite

**Miscellaneous**
- Miscellaneous worked bone/antler fragments

**ROCKY MOUNTAIN FORT (Hamilton et al 1988)**

**Bone**
- Awls
- Antler tine tools
- Wapiti teeth pendants

**Miscellaneous**
- Miscellaneous bone, preforms debitage

**Lithics**
- Vermilion stained cobble
- Pecked cobble

**FT PELLY (Klimko 1983)**

**Lithics**
- Flakes
- Basal frag of point or knife

- Worked sandstone

- Side notched point base
Table 1. Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Artifacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE (Noble 1973)</td>
<td>Lithics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scrapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flesher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stone pipes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORT GEORGE (Kidd 1970)</td>
<td>Bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fleshers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worked bird bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bone/antler awls/hafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous worked bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lithics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Projectile point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abraders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dentalium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANCOIS HOUSE (Kehoe 1978)</td>
<td>Bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thong softener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scrapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous worked bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lithics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Projectile point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scrapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
expenditure of effort to produce and elaborately carved blanket pins are important. Other items such as specialized tools used for netting snowshoes and hide preparation and items valued for their aesthetics have been shown in studies to be strongly linked with ethnic variation (Buchignani 1987:21), therefore items used as ornamentation, bracelets and earrings should also be informative.

Studies have shown (see Deagan 1982, Deetz 1978) that in those situations where different ethnic groups interact, the most conservative segment in terms of material culture is made up of women. Therefore, attention will be paid to those items which are part of the women's cultural sphere.

In the following section the presence and horizontal distribution of Folk Industry items, including those thought to have greater interpretive value for indicating ethnic behaviour, and items characteristic of Athapaskan groups in general, will be examined, along with those of European manufacture.

Artifacts

The artifacts recovered from Fort d'Epinette number 4,461. These have been divided into 15 major categories, representing many diverse classes and activities. General categories are based on function, descriptive traits and material of manufacture. An attempt is made to organize the artifact groupings in a manner representative of their utilization. Problems in determining accurate categories have been pointed out by other researchers and include the functional overlap of artifacts in several different categories, as well as delineating
appropriate groupings to handle specific research questions (Klimko 1983, Hamilton et al 1988).

Two categories dominate the collection. Trade beads are the most numerous, including 1,583 items or 35% of the total collection. The second most numerous category, "construction hardware", numbers 1,096 and makes up a further 24%. The remainder of the collection includes a broad range of categories (Table 2).

Artifact distributions

The overall distribution of artifacts illustrate the highest numbers are associated with two of the buildings, the main house and the men's house. The main house had 28% of the artifacts and the men's house 27%. The midden is third in frequency with 17%, the general area inside the stockade 9% and the workshop 8% (Table 3).

Main House

The main house contained examples of almost all artifact categories. However, in some instances these were represented by only a few items. The main house area comprised a considerably larger building than the other structures at the site. The artifact count per square metre for this structure is 15. This is the lowest frequency for any of the remaining buildings at the fort.

The most numerous artifact category within the main house is beads, accounting for 68% of the total. The high occurrence of beads is possibly indicative of storage functions as opposed to activity related patterning.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>COUNT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Construction Hardware</strong></td>
<td>1,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locks and Hinges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails and Spikes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hunting and Trapping</strong></td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunparts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunflints</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead shot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Projectile Points</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Hooks and Trap Parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hand Tools</strong></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axe Blades, Cold Chisel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot Chisel Handle, Adze</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawblade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trowel, Canoe Knife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strike-a-lights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Files and Rasp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offset Awls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domestic Items</strong></td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utensils</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razors, Kettle, Lantern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pins and Needle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail Fasteners, Kettle Lug</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Adornment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver Jewellery</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass and Brass Jewellery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinklers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Bells</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thimbles; Shell Ornament</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fasteners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews Harp; Whizzers</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Clay Pipes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,503</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Made Bone and Antler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combs; Haft Handles; Misc. Items</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone Buttons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bale seals; Scale Weight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrel Strapping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Continued

| Miscellaneous Iron and Brass Fittings, Wire | 32 |
| Iron and Brass Fittings                    |
| Wire                                      |
| Bridle Bits                               |

| Miscellaneous Metals                      | 215 |
| Ferrous                                   |
| Lead, Copper and Brass                    |

| Folk Industries                           | 267 |
| Stone Pipes                               |
| Birchbark Containers and Misc.            |
| Awls, Netting Needles, Gaming Pieces      |
| Scratching Stick, Flesher                 |
| Bird Bone Beads, Blanket Pins             |
| Modified Eagle Phalanges, Net Gauge       |
| Canoe Ribber, Bone Scraper                |
| Dentalium, Lithics                        |
The next most frequent artifact type is nails, with 19% of the total. Other artifact categories making up the remaining 13% include, hinges, hasps, and gunparts which were clustered in the cellar. Lead shot, metal projectile points, and trap parts are also present in the main house structure. Handtools from this structure include a trowel, cold chisel and files. Knives and a straight razor are also present, as are glass and ceramic fragments. A brass spigot occurs in the cellar. Other categories present include silver jewelry, a brass Lorraine cross, tinkler, hawk bell, jews harp, clay pipes, bone comb, bone button blanks, miscellaneous metal fragments, stone pipes, dentalium, and lithics.

Folk Industry items are not numerous in the main house. There are six examples of stone pipes, or 17% of the total stone pipe assemblage. All of these are pipe bowl preforms, or crudely made unfinished bowls. These are best interpreted as a manufactured product for trade. No bone and antler items of aboriginal style manufacture are present, nor is birch bark. There are six items in the lithic category. These include a sawn piece of siltstone and a thin tabular slate object with one polished and bevelled edge. The remaining items are made of black chert, and consist of an unmodified nodule, a core fragment, a flake and a biface.

Men's House

The men's house contained numerous examples of almost all artifact classes. The artifact count per square metre is 37, the second highest concentration within the remaining fort structures.

There is a great deal of diversity present in the artifacts from the men's house. The most numerous category represented is hardware and construction, comprising 23%. Other categories present include gunparts,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>MEN'S HOUSE</th>
<th>MAIN HOUSE</th>
<th>WORKSHOP</th>
<th>MIDDEN</th>
<th>STOCKADE</th>
<th>NO PROV.</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hardware (construction)</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>1096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting and trapping</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand tools</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Items</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Adornment</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation Items</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone Items (European Manuf.)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage (strapping)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron, Brass Fittings, Wire &amp; M'</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Metals, Lead, Copper, Br</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc Iron</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk Industries</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals and Percentages</td>
<td>(27%) 1226</td>
<td>(28%) 1241</td>
<td>(8%) 341</td>
<td>(17%) 737</td>
<td>(9%) 383</td>
<td>(12%) 533</td>
<td>(101%) 4461</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gunflints, leadshot, metal projectile points, trap parts and fish hooks. Also found was an adze, an axe blade, strike-a-light, punches, files and knives. Glass and ceramic fragments are present as are kettle hooks, kettle fragments, pins, pencil lead, bail fasteners, a kettle lug, silver, brass and glass jewellery, tinklers, thimbles, shoe fragments, cordage, buckles, and whizzers. The diversity of items in this structure is also seen in the presence of clay pipes, glass beads, bone combs, bone hafts and button blanks, wire, an eyebolt, a hook, miscellaneous ferrous and nonferrous metal fragments, stone pipes, birchbark, numerous bone and antler artifacts, dentalium and lithics.

The Folk Industry category recovered from the men's house is numerous and represented by a diverse collection of items. Most of the stone pipes from the site, 19, or 53%, are present within the structure. The stone pipes include specimens of extraordinary workmanship, including lead inlay and elaborate carving as well as preforms. Birchbark is also well represented, with 15 items or 60% of the total for the site. Four well made birchbark dishes or bowls with perforated designs were recovered. Four circular pieces of birchbark with central perforations also occur, as do birchbark rolls.

Worked bone tools come predominantly from the men's house. This structure contained nine awls. The five netting needles from the site also came from this area. A possible gaming piece, an antler cube with incised X's along one side, a drilled and shaped phalanx which is part of a cup and pin game, as well as a typical Athapaskan metapodial flesher, two bird bone beads, a net gauge, two trace buckles, a canoe ribber, and three eagle phalanges, (two filled with lead and one drilled) all came from the men's house.
Most of the dentalium, 22 pieces or 69%, were also from this structure. Almost half (45%) of the lithics from the site, 69 items, also occurred in the men's house. The most numerous type consists of black chert flakes and retouched flakes and cores. Also present are flakes of quartzite and obsidian. There are eight cortical spall tools. Grinding stones of siltstone with ground and smoothed surfaces are present. One piece is of tabular slate with edges that have been grooved, then broken and smoothed. On one face were inscribed X's and straight lines.

Midden

The midden has a diverse representation of artifacts. In this area construction hardware predominates, with miscellaneous ferrous and nonferrous metal next in frequency. Also present are glass beads, gunparts, lead shot, metal projectile points, bridle bits, a strike-a-light, iron punches, files, offset awls, knives, glass and ceramic fragments, kettle spout and handle, pins, bail fasteners, silver and brass jewelry, hawk bells, thimble, clothing, a whizzer, clay pipes, lathed and polished bone fragments from a cylindrical object and button blanks, wire, cotter pins, stone pipes, birch bark, a bone awl and scratching stick.

Folk Industry items represent 5% of the artifacts from the midden. Present are three stone pipebowl fragments, one piece of birchbark, one bone awl, a scratching stick, and five pieces of dentalium. Scattered in the midden area were five grindstones, five black chert flakes, one with retouch, one cortical spall tool, and a stone drill.
Stockade Area

The area inside the stockade has 9% of the total artifacts from the site. The most numerous is the construction category comprising 47%. Next is the Folk Industry category with 14%, followed by beads and combined miscellaneous metals, each with 11%. Domestic items were few and make up 7%, followed by clothing at 3%. Hunting and trapping made up 2% while the remaining tools, adornment, recreation, bone items and commercial comprise 1%. Absent from this area is the iron, brass fittings and wire category.

Folk Industry items from inside the stockade area include a fragmented bird bone bead from the west stockade zone close to the men's house, and a complete blanket pin from the west stockade trench. There were two shaft smoothers from the west stockade zone, as well as cortical spall tools, a hammerstone, flakes, and cores as well as worked siltstone. The north stockade zone contains flakes, a chopper, cortical spall tools and worked siltstone. The courtyard or southern stockade zone also had a cortical spall tool, flakes and worked siltstone.

Three of the cortical spall tools were found along the northeastern and eastern stockade wall. If these indicate hide working activities, then it is possible hides were stretched from the stockade wall to be worked on.

Pipe bowl preforms are present in the west and northern zones inside the stockade. Only two fragmented specimens, one from the west and one from the northern zone, were from finished pipebowls. There were no pipe fragments from the southern stockade zone, nor is there worked bone from this area.
Workshop

There were only a few artifact categories represented in the "workshop" area, yet the artifact density was 48 per square metre, the highest of any of the fort structures.

The most numerous category in the workshop is beads, followed in frequency by nails. Also present are a stem and bowl fragment from a clay pipe, an escutcheon plate, an offset awl, a file, a punch, gunflints, leadshot, glass fragments, and a fish hook. The only item present from the Folk Industry class is a piece of worked siltstone from the area of the north wall of the structure.

COMPARISONS

Two comparisons of the spatial distribution of artifacts between different areas of the fort will be done. The first is a general comparison between site areas of all artifact categories, the second is a specific examination of Folk Industry artifact distribution.

Using artifact category frequencies Spearman's rank order correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the degree to which the kinds and proportions of artifact categories in each of the different parts of the fort resemble one another (Table 4). This statistic is nonparametric and based on ordinal data. The highest positive value is +1 and -1 a perfect negative value. The statistic as indicated in Table 4 shows a positive correlation between all areas of the fort. The lowest value is 0.67 between the workshop and the area inside the stockade. The workshop shows the lowest values in relationship to all areas of the fort. The highest degree of correspondence is between the men's house and the
Table 4. Spearman's rank order correlation coefficients for different site areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEN'S HOUSE</th>
<th>MAIN HOUSE</th>
<th>WORKSHOP</th>
<th>MIDDEN</th>
<th>STOCKADE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEN'S HOUSE</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAIN HOUSE</td>
<td>0.923</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORKSHOP</td>
<td>0.798</td>
<td>0.828</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDEN</td>
<td>0.936</td>
<td>0.925</td>
<td>0.787</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STOCKADE</td>
<td>0.891</td>
<td>0.835</td>
<td>0.676</td>
<td>0.817</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
midden with a value of 0.93. The structure correlating highest with all other areas is the main house.

The correlation table suggests that categories of artifacts are equal in their rank order distribution in all areas of the fort. In other words, the various areas do not appear distinctively different in general artifact category content. This similarity of general classes of artifacts indicates an overall uniformity at the site. This can be due to several different factors. It is possible this pattern is a reflection of the uniform nature of activities carried out at the fort. Or the possibility exists that the gross nature of the artifact categories employed may obscure subsite variation. Prior to a discussion of the distribution of specific Folk Industry items, the results of the rank order correlation will be examined in reference to the structures as a reflection of fort activities, then the nature of the artifact categories as they may affect the patterning will be discussed.

Discussion

Artifact distribution is affected by the type and intensity of activities performed. Schiffer notes that the physical patterning revealed by artifacts in the archaeological record reflects the patterning of past activities (1972:156). The material record is the result of the “elements” derived from activities. These elements are defined as being “durables and consumables” (ibid). Providing factors of preservation are uniform within the different fort areas, past activities should become more visible the more frequent and patterned or routine they are. If post abandonment disturbances have not been too great, then the patterning evident at the site should indicate activities which occurred.
The main house has the highest overall correlation values with respect to all areas of the fort. Because of this it can be assumed that it is representative of the artifact categories and their relative order of occurrence at the site. The main house structure has the lowest numbers of artifacts per square metre of any of the structures at the fort. Apart from the construction and bead categories, the main house has low numbers of artifacts, especially in relationship to the men’s house.

The men’s house has a diverse representation of artifacts with most categories present, and the second highest number of artifacts per square metre. This could be due to several different factors, a longer history of occupation than other structures at the fort, a greater amount of activity in the area, or a larger number of inhabitants. If the men’s house is part of a barracks like building, and represents the living area for the laborers then, as Adams (1981:106) points out, the smaller the living space, the more activities that must occur in that space. This corresponds with the variety and amounts of artifacts in the structure and it appears to have been the focus of numerous activities. Other factors to be considered are the lack of flooring and different refuse disposal patterns in the men’s house. These have the potential for incorporating a greater number of artifacts into the floor matrix in comparison to the main house.

The artifact assemblage in the men’s house differs from that of Rocky Mountain Fort, where beads are the predominant artifact type (Hamilton et al. 1988:28). However, this could be due to the differing approaches to screening used between the two sites. In the men’s house at d’Epinette, beads are the second most numerous category after construction hardware. This is a fairly small difference which may be attributable to several different causes. The difference in types of
abandonment between the two forts, rapid and unplanned at Fort d'Epinette, as opposed to planned abandonment at Rocky Mountain Fort could account for the differential occurrence of beads. Another possible cause relates to the difference in supply networks between the earlier Rocky Mountain Fort and Fort d'Epinette. The later fort's improved logistical networks could have resulted in a greater quantity of construction hardware being present. In addition, post-abandonment factors, such as the burning of construction materials, could have increased the number of nails found in the structure. A similar scenario would be expected in the main house as well.

The workshop area is most dissimilar with reference to other site areas and has a restricted number of artifact categories present. However, this building has the highest density of artifacts per square metre. This indicates a functional, or occupational history which differs from those of the other two structures. Based on the foregoing it can be inferred that the main house and men's house had more similar activities and functions in comparison to the workshop.

An important factor to consider when examining the nature of the frequencies and spatial distributions of artifacts across the site, is refuse disposal patterns. The men's house is an area where the large amounts of bone and artifacts appear to be due to primary refuse, discarded in the habitation in pits and incorporated into the floor matrix. This corresponds once more with the equivalent structure at Rocky Mountain Fort (Hamilton et al 1988:28). The midden area indicates secondary refuse (Schiffer 1972:163) perhaps from all areas of the fort, but especially from the main house, where a lack of subfloor refuse pits indicate refuse was disposed of elsewhere. As has been pointed out by
other researchers, the inhabitants of the main house, being of a higher social rank would probably have presented a prestigious front, consistent with "social posturing" (Hamilton et al 1988:146, Pysczcyk 1987). Therefore, refuse disposal away from the main house in the midden area may have occurred as part of maintaining image and social status. If refuse disposal patterns varied between the different structures this would be reflected in the numbers and varieties of items found in the different areas.

There are other assumptions which need to be considered prior to understanding the artifact distribution. These include the questions of contemporaneity of structures and whether use of these remained the same throughout occupation of the fort. If structures were built at a later period in the fort's occupation, or abandoned at an early date, then the different period of occupation would exhibit differences in archaeological content in comparison to a structure which had been continuously occupied. These differences would be based on which company was in charge, as well as variations in supply logistics and trade goods. In addition, a change in structure function would affect the artifact record. For example, a structure that initially served as living quarters, may have subsequently been converted to a cookhouse. Within the 17 year occupation of Fort d'Epinette this change in functions would be difficult to distinguish, yet it could have a profound impact on the artifact distribution. If refurbishment of structures was carried out sporadically and refuse pits were dug into the floor, in addition to change in use patterns within a building, then a complex artifact pattern such as that exhibited in the men's house might result. If the occupation of the fort had continued for another decade, with continued refurbishment and possible
change in building functions, it is conceivable that the artifact pattern in the workshop for instance might have paralleled that of the men's house.

The classes employed in this study may also contribute to the high degree of correlation between areas. The gross nature of the comparative classes may obscure variation. The employment of European and Folk Industry classes is an example of this, but for the purposes of this study are the most expedient manner in which to organize the data. Being cognizant of these as working classifications reflecting differences in manufacture, their use is still informative. In addition, as previously mentioned, artifact classes are not necessarily exclusive, therefore the placement of an artifact within one class might be problematical. For instance, stone pipes within the Folk Industry group might also be grouped with recreation, or metal projectile points in the hunting category, might be grouped with Folk Industry. The deciding factor in the organization of these items are the techniques and materials of manufacture, and whether these are more Eurocanadian, or correspond with those techniques used by Indians in the historic or prehistoric period.

In addition, numerically beads have the potential for skewing the percentages of artifact occurrences within each feature. The numbers of beads which have the potential for being incorporated into the artifact record as the result of one loss event, is large in comparison to the loss of a hide scraper or a trigger from a trade gun. For this reason in the analysis of the Fort George artifacts, Kidd (1970) placed the beads in a separate category, as opposed to incorporating them with the rest of the collection. In the Fort d'Epinette main house fully 69% of the artifacts are beads. This indicates either a storage function, or possibly a single event where beads were lost. In the workshop area 71% of the artifacts are
beads, indicating storage functions or losses occurring in this area as well. The workshop area has very low percentages of beads and restricted categories of other items which could be due to several possibilities. If this area was primarily used for storage, then looting at the time of the murders would have seen the removal of most items. The workshop may also have been one of the newer structures and seen less use than other fort areas.

The Spatial Distribution of Folk Industry Items

The examination of the general categories based on rank order correlation coefficients revealed no appreciable intrasite variation. However, as pointed out previously, the gross nature of these categories has the potential for obscuring variation within the classes themselves. To try to correct for this, a more specific examination of the Folk Industry class of artifacts and its spatial distribution will be done, with an emphasis on the informative value of these artifacts as ethnic markers. To accomplish this, artifact frequencies in this class and their spatial distributions are examined to determine whether patterning exists. It has been pointed out (Earle 1985:78) that percentage data are well suited to the evaluation of stylistic differences (see Table 5).

As previously mentioned, the more frequent and routine the activities were, the greater the likelihood of patterning having occurred. Thus, the presence of a distinct pattern reflected in the Folk Industry class of artifacts may indicate the presence of ethnically correlated behaviours, tasks and perhaps social or ethnic composition as conditioning its occurrence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>MEN'S HOUSE</th>
<th>MAIN HOUSE</th>
<th>WORKSHOP</th>
<th>MIDDEN</th>
<th>STOCKADE</th>
<th>NO PROV.</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Artifacts</td>
<td>1075 (26%)</td>
<td>1224 (29%)</td>
<td>4340 (8%)</td>
<td>704 (17%)</td>
<td>329 (8%)</td>
<td>502 (12%)</td>
<td>4174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk Industries</td>
<td>151 (53%)</td>
<td>17 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (0%)</td>
<td>33 (11%)</td>
<td>54 (19%)</td>
<td>31 (11%)</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1226</td>
<td>1241</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>4461</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. The distribution of Folk Industry artifacts compared with European classed artifacts.
Based on the earlier discussion it was determined that the most informative artifacts, are those which have a highly symbolic value within the culture, are stylistically characteristic and which serve specialized tasks. Information on the ethnic groups who had dealings with Fort d'Epinette has provided data on some types of indigenous artifacts characteristic of the region. Journal references also mention specific tasks performed by the Indians.

Most of these journal references deal with the numbers of beaver trapped, and provisions brought in, activities which would encompass the artifacts in the hunting and trapping category. The correlation of this group of artifacts with only Native hunters is doubtful for the presence of these items within the fort is probably more indicative of storage functions, and their use by all employees. The ethnographic literature mentions snares as being a commonly used hunting technique. All wire fashioned in the form of snares is from the men's house and the midden. No babiche or cord snares were recovered or identified.

Because of the differentiation of female and male tasks and the conservative nature of female material culture (Behn n.d., Ridington 1968:41, Deagan 1982, Deetz 1978), artifacts representative of gender based tasks should also be discernable in the archaeological record. Bishop mentions that at Fort Dunvegan women worked at "leather equipment making and repair, hay making, wattap collection and gardening" (1988:9). In the Fort d'Epinette journal specific tasks mentioned being performed by women were the gathering of berries and the netting of snowshoes.

The gathering of berries was carried out away from the fort, and this would mean that containers for transportation and storage were needed.
In addition to containers obtained in trade, birch bark, hide and woven basket containers were commonly used. No evidence for hide or basket containers was recovered. Several specimens of birch bark with evidence of stitching and decoration came from the men's house. However, their small size precludes their efficient use for storage or transportation. Plain birch bark, and decorated birch bark containers (Figure 48), found only in the men's house, are informative. Given the utility of these containers in a region where the difficulty in the shipping of ceramics and glassware would have relegated them to status items (Hamilton 1988:120), the use of birch bark dishes and containers would be a practical and economical alternative. Their sole use by Native women cannot be determined with any certainty, but their manufacture can be more reliably inferred. A few of the birch bark items have decorative incised patterns and evidence of well executed stitching, skills which belong to the Native women's work sphere as opposed to the presumed manufacture of expedient dishes by labourers. Goddard mentions that as late as 1916, when he visited the Beaver, women were still making these dishes. The geometric decoration of these items is a typical Athapaskan tradition, in which the designs themselves are scraped away. In comparison, Algonquian (Cree) birch bark designs see the removal of the background, leaving the outer bark as the design element (Duncan 1989:32). With the decorated birch bark containers from the men's house, a strong link with Athapaskan women at the fort is suggested.

The netting of snowshoes was a task commonly carried out by women, while the manufacture of the frames was usually undertaken by men (National Museum of Man 1974). The netting of snowshoes required a specialized netting kit, comprised of awls, a hooking tool and netting
needles. A hooking tool was not found but five netting needles and 12 bone awls were encountered, all within, or immediately outside the men's house and the midden (Figure 43).

An artifact which may be interpreted within the symbolic sphere in general Athapaskan culture includes a widow's scratching stick (Figure 45). This item was used by widows for a year after their husband's death when they were forbidden to comb their hair (National Museum of Man 1974). This is an item which in its original context, would not have been used cross culturally. The scratching stick was recovered from the midden area.

Though not mentioned in the journal, a task traditionally performed by Indian women was the preparation of hides (Albright 1984:52). This is an activity which exhibits a great deal of continuity in tools and techniques, from early historic times to the present (Ibid:51). Several cortical spell tools are interpreted to be a component of the Athapaskan mahtaegun, a tool used to remove hair from hide (Figure 46). Though they required little effort to make, ethnographic data indicates that not only did these tools serve a specific function, but as part of a woman's tool kit, they also had a high symbolic importance and could be passed on for generations (Albright 1984:58).

Albright (Ibid:52) indicates hide working requires an activity area comprising about 200 square metres. Though this would be dependent on the amount of hides being processed, and the number of women working. The widespread distribution of scrapers at the post is consistent with requirements for a large work area. They are found in the midden area (n=2), the northern stockade zone (n=2), along the eastern stockade (n=1), in the western stockade zone close to the men's house (n=5), the southern
stockade zone (n=1), and the men's house (n=3). There were no scrapers encountered in the mainhouse or workshop area. If the presence of these scrapers outside the men's house indicates women's activity areas, then it can be inferred that hide working made use of most areas around the fort, especially the western stockade zone adjacent to the men's house. In addition a complete metapodial flesher or mehkeqone (Behn n.d.), with a denticulate end was also recovered from the men's house.

According to Simpson (1938:388), the Beaver Indians had a sparse culture and did not esteem finery. The men's house contained most of the jewelry, including earrings, rings, crucifixes and brooches. It is possible that these items were used by women who lived in the fort. However, ornamental items were highly esteemed, and they were used for decoration by both Native men and women. Silver brooches and gorgets were a highly prized form of decoration (Frederickson 1980:49). If Simpson is correct then they may have been used by either Beaver, Cree, Sekani or Dogrib men or women who lived at the fort.

Other decorative items specifically included within the Folk Industry class include dentalia, decorated eagle phalanges and blanket pins. The dentalia is centered in the men's house and midden, with some examples coming from the main house as well. This contrasts with Rocky Mountain Fort where dentalia comes from the main house (building A) and the midden (Hamilton et al 1988:112). Three modified eagle phalanges, drilled and filled with lead, also came from the men's house. These probably served decorative purposes, and historic accounts indicate they were used by Indians for decoration on pipestems (Rotstein 1973:153).
Other decorative items include three blanket pins (Figure 45) one coming from the infill in the west stockade trench, and one from the men's house.

Folk Industry items indicative of recreation activities also occur. One of these from the men's house is a drilled phalanx (Odocoileus), flattened proximally and distally from a juvenile animal. This is a component from a cup and stick game, a game which was wide spread among Indian groups in the early historic period irrespective of ethnic affiliation (University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology, Accession #D2.162; National Museum of Man 1974, Stone 1974:154). Three other small pieces of worked bone with carved incisions have been interpreted as gaming pieces. Provenience was available for one of these, a polished bone tube 10 mm square with incised X's, which is from the men's house.

The distribution of lithics conforms to the other groups within the Folk Industry class. Most of the lithic flakes and cores are from the men's house (n=69), the western zone inside the stockade (n=25), and the midden (n=20). The main house (n=8), the south stockade zone (n=10), north stockade zone (n=8), and workshop (n=1) have low numbers. Certain items in this category indicate strong associations with Indians, including shaft straighteners and the previously mentioned cortical spall tools. However, other items such as grinding stones were probably used by all inhabitants at the fort.

The stone pipe category, does not closely follow the expected pattern of Folk Industry items. Though 53% of these come from the men's house and 17% from the main house, the pipes from the main house are all pipe blanks (Figure 42). Finished pipes occur in the men's house, western
stockade zone and the midden. This indicates that these items were probably being manufactured by traders for sale to Indians and possibly for use by employees in general.

In terms of overall distributions, Folk Industries make up 6% of the artifact collection. Most of the artifacts in this class are located in the men’s house which contained 53%. The area inside the stockade has 19%, much of this being from the area close to the men’s house. The midden area has the next highest amount with 11%, while the main house has 6% (Table 5).

The identification of 6% of the entire collection as Folk Industry is a larger amount than found at several other forts. At Rocky Mountain House a similar industry comprises less than 1% (Noble 1973:152). At Rocky Mountain Fort the Folk Industry also represents less than 1% (Hamilton et al 1988), while Fort George, without the inclusion of trade beads, had 2% of the collection represented by Native industries (Kidd 1970).

The anomalously high percentage of Folk Industry items from this site in comparison to other fur trade forts mentioned, could be due to the rapid unplanned abandonment of this fort in comparison to planned abandonment at other sites. The supply problems created by its remote location may also have lead to a greater reliance on Folk Industry items at Fort d’Epinette.

Discussion

One of my initial assumptions was that if ethnic markers did exist, then distinctive spatial distributions and occurrences of Folk Industry and European manufactured articles should be apparent. These differences
would result from ethnically determined behaviours and material cultures. In fact the spatial distribution of Folk Industry items reveals more intense concentrations of these items in the men's house, along the west stockade wall, and in the midden area. More than half of all the Folk Industry items are found within the men's house, while only one quarter of all European items come from this area. The area inside the stockade has almost 20% of the Folk Industry items and the midden 11%. Combined these three areas contain 83% of the Folk Industry items. This spatial distribution indicates subsite variation to be present within the Folk Industry class.

It is the meaning of this patterning and whether it can be linked to a specific groups which will be addressed next. Researchers (Pyszczyk 1987:89, Van Kirk 1980:12) have pointed out that ethnic affiliation often corresponds with specific social ranks at forts and the laboring group often included Indians. The organization of these employees within the fort means that they often shared one "barracks like" structure, which is evident in the the map from St. Marys. This focus of one social rank comprised of different ethnic groups within one structure is consistent with the artifact patterning, characterized by special purpose tools of Native type in conjunction with a diverse and numerous representation of European manufactured items.

The concentration of Folk Industry items in the men's house, along the stockade and in the midden area suggests that access to the fort by Indians may have been restricted to these areas. When the distribution of Folk Industry artifacts is compared to those of European manufacture, they also exhibit a similar distributional pattern and a range of diversity. If the Folk Industry items do correspond to the presence of Indians and
activities performed by them within the fort, then it appears that many Folk Industry artifacts indicative of living, storage and specific activities correlate with the men's house and the western stockade zone. These include the materials for sewing, snowshoe making, hide fleshing, food related birch bark containers and the presence of a large amount of lithic materials which indicates the manufacture of expedient tools.

The presence of one quarter of the European artifacts in conjunction with over half of the Folk Industry artifacts might indicate the adoption of European style artifacts by the Indians, or conversely the use of Folk Industry items by non-Native employees of the fort. As part of the Hudson's Bay Company's measures to economize after amalgamation, Simpson encouraged the making and using of "country articles" (Innis 1975 cited in Pyszczycy 1988). This area of cross-cultural borrowing is one over which we have little control. Unless it is clear that one ethnic group performs specific jobs, then the utility of the items for specific tasks, such as snowshoes for travelling in winter, guns for hunting, iron pots for cooking, would transcend ethnic boundaries. In addition, stylistically diagnostic artifacts could be made by fort personnel. Items such as stone pipes, tinklers and iron projectile points were often made for trade with Native people. Their occurrence at Fort d'Epinette could therefore be due to their manufacture at the fort for trade. Stone pipes are an excellent example of this. It has also been suggested that dentalia may have been a trade item brought in by Eurocanadian traders (Hamilton et al 1988:112).

Based on the possibility of cross-cultural borrowing it becomes apparent that not all artifacts within the Folk Industry group are equally informative regarding ethnic affiliation. The Folk Industry category, as a whole, is an organizational tool which indicates techniques and materials
of manufacture which have aboriginal analogues. As a whole its spatial distribution appears to indicate ethnographic native tasks and their patterned nature within the fort.

However, within the general folk industry category specific items representative of different tasks, and symbolic values do occur. As pointed out, these may have a greater informative value regarding to ethnic affiliation, with the most useful items being the cortical-spall scrapers. Their function, social value and their spatial distribution is known. The spatial patterning of these items in the fort conforms to an expected pattern indicating hide processing by Native women. Other useful categories include bone awls and netting needles, which are centered in the men's house, where they indicate sewing and netting tasks. Because of the non-specialized nature of these jobs, it is possible that they were performed by Native women at the fort, but the ease of making these tools and the necessity of having snowshoes does not strongly tie these tools to any specific ethnic group. As Pyszyzck (1983:86) cautions, bone tools have the potential for being manufactured and used by all personnel within a fort.

An exception to this might be the presence of a bone flesher. This specialized part of the Athapaskan women's tool kit, required a considerable amount of effort to produce. The presence of this tool in the men's house thus has a greater informative value than other bone tools of more expedient manufacture.

Recreational items, such as birchbark whizzers, gaming pieces, parts of a cup and pin game, as well as pipes, comprise the least informative segment of the Folk Industry group. The cross cultural nature of the games indicates these activities to occur, but their ethnic link is weak.
The informative value of specific items within the Folk Industry category is dependent on our knowledge of the role of such items within a native culture. As mentioned in chapter four, an impediment in this respect is the lack of historic ethnographic information and cultural change regarding Native cultures in the study area.

Another problem is that the numbers of Indians present within the fort may have been small. This can mean that evidence of their activities, although archaeologically very visible may only represent a small percentage of the total activities carried out in the fort.

The presence of Folk Industry items associated with specialized female tasks, and possible female luxury goods, corresponds to references of Indian women in the fort journal. The presence of Indian men within the fort compound is less reliably determined.

Initial impetus for this study is due to the numerous references to Indians in the Fort d'Epinette journal. These references often refer to the Indians in terms of their linguistic affiliations such as Slaves, Cree, or Beaver and much less frequently mention them by individual name. This creates the impression of ethnic distinctiveness within the fur trade environment, where the primary descriptive characteristic of the people is based on ethnic affiliation. But the emphasis on tribal or band names may have been more for the benefit of the reader than a reflection of perceptions by the traders. This depersonalization of the Native participants into groups or adjectives "rascally Iroquois" "worthless old jade" or 'the Slaves' reflects biases on the part of the writer and might give a misleading picture of the actual situation. Harmon (1957) is a prime example of this. As pointed out by Brown (1980:105-8) his Native
wife is referred to as 'the mother of my children', 'my sons mother' or 'the woman', never as his wife, or by name.

Yet, if the Indian participants were closely integrated into the life of the fort, and ethnic distinctions became secondary to personal and economic factors, then artifact patterns such as those at Fort d'Epinette may be understandable. In relying on the fur trade written record, the written sphere reflects European interests and biases, whereas the comparison of the written record and the archaeological record indicates that there may have been a much smaller distinction between ethnic groups. There are other cases (i.e. Castille 1985:232) where the differentiation of known socio-economic classes and ethnic group variability has been rendered futile due to their close spatial proximity which blurs distinctive ethnic differences.

Conclusion

Through the examination of spatial distributions of Folk Industry items it is apparent that some patterning does exist, and there is the implication of ethnic variability. However, factors such as the lack of ethnographic information, cross cultural borrowing of items and an interdependence of people of different ethnic make up within the laboring group interfere with the interpretation of the patterning. The picture which does occur indicates task specialization within certain areas of the fort from which ethnic affiliation can be inferred in only specialized instances. The inability to clearly determine the presence of Natives is a reflection of the specialized economic, task and behavioral demands of the fur trade which created a unique social subfield.
At the beginning of this study, the determination of ethnically representative artifacts was assumed to be possible because of distinctive features in behaviour and material culture which would be visible archaeologically. These distinctive features should have been maintained in spite of economic factors. The pattern from Fort d'Epinette indicates that there is a selective expression and maintenance of those Native traits which integrated well with fur trade needs, however, because of the interdependence of the Native and the Eurocanadian traders, their clear association with only a Native ethnic group is less clear.
Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

An approach has been developed in this thesis to examine the artifact assemblage of a fur trade fort with reference to ethnographic and historical contexts. The importance of this type of study in understanding the past has been pointed out. The problems with the historic and ethnographic record in providing information in this respect have been outlined and possible useful traits for the determination of ethnicity have been looked at to determine their utility. Traits thought to be most useful are those illustrating stylistic and symbolic attributes as well as those indicative of specialized tasks.

To determine the specific ethnic traits which might be present in the archaeological record, an ethnographic and historical background was presented. Items were identified that might be ethnically diagnostic. The presence or absence of these in the archaeological record from Fort d’Epinette were noted. The traditional division of artifacts into European and Folk industries was compared to the artifact distributions from the site.

A strong correlation between all areas of the fort based on general artifact categories was noted. The patterns of European and Folk industries did not exhibit distinctive differences clearly indicative of ethnicity. The presence and distribution of Folk Industry items exhibited patterning with regards to certain areas of the fort. This patterning appears to reflect specific activities and social rank. In certain cases there are indications of ethnic affiliation. It appears that the presence of
Native women has a greater potential for being determined, because the more specialized the task, the greater the possibility that its relationship to gender and ethnic affiliation can be determined.

From the preceding discussion it can be seen that the determination of ethnicity has limitations. Based on the artifact distributions and the distributions of Folk Industry and European artifacts, it can be inferred that there was little circumscription of ethnic groups. Thus the co-occurrence of the artifacts grouped in European and Folk Industries appears to be the result of the adaptive and elastic nature of the social and economic environment, as well as the presence of an established social rank structure within the fort.

Within this study distinctive ethnic markers were not discernable in terms of their distributions. However, the presence of implements associated with Native female tasks indicates the possibility of determining ethnically distinctive task related behaviours. Only a selective survival of ethnically diagnostic traits occurs, suggesting that those ethnic traits which appear to coincide with and compliment the requirements of the fur trade economic situation were maintained.

At this point, because of the presence of activity-related Native items, there does seem to be corroboration of the written record and confirmation of the presence of Indians in the fort. One area of the fort, the men's house, was the primarily focus of Folk Industry items. This corresponds with the use of this building by laborers, a group with a multi-ethnic composition.

Based on this study it can be suggested that within a fur trade fort the determination of ethnic presence is limited by its specific economic demands. The lack of clear cut ethnically correlated artifact distributions
within Fort d'Epinette appears due to the domination of a fur trade economy and organization which overrode the ethnic expression of the different groups. The economic interdependence of the members created a syncretic blending which limits the application of the determination of ethnicity within a fur trade fort.

Based on the examination of the artifact evidence from Fort d'Epinnette, the determination of ethnic presence is still problematical. But based on the variety and frequency of Native artifact classes in association with European items it is suggested that stylistic traits, when they correspond with specialized ethnically related tasks, have the potential for correlating with the presence of Indians within the fort. Further corroboration of this artifact patterning would come from the study of contemporaneous Native habitation sites. This could supply information about the type of material culture the Indians had at the time of early contact, and changes to this culture during this time period. This could provide baseline data that would help determine whether perceptions of ethnic differences in the past also have their correlates in the material record.

The adaptiveness of culture means that ethnic parameters will change according to cultural needs. The determination of ethnicity needs to take into account this process of change, especially in a period such as the fur trade which brought about fundamental changes to Native cultures.

Is it valid to try and determine ethnicity within a fur trade fort? Though there are problems, the study of a fur trade fort in the context of all its participants has the potential for giving an integrated, fuller understanding of the nature of the trade, and possible variation within and between forts. An overall determination of "ethnicity" may be difficult or
impossible to achieve, but based on a study of historic and ethnographic sources in combination with the archaeological record the determination of discrete aspects of an ethnic identity should be possible.

This thesis has outlined some of the difficulties and potential productive areas for further research in the archaeological study of ethnicity. It has also stressed the importance of trying to look at the fur trade in the context of some of the archaeologically less visible but important participants.
APPENDIX
APPENDIX
Artifact Descriptions

Methodology

The following section comprises a descriptive summary of artifacts excavated from Fort d'Epinette during the 1975 and 1976 field seasons. The descriptions are grouped according to categories. Each category is organized according to function, where this is not possible, the material of manufacture is used. The categories include hardware, hunting and trapping, handtools, domestic items, personal adornment, recreation, beads, bone and antler items of European manufacture, commercial, storage, miscellaneous metal, and folk industries. These categories are not all mutually exclusive and some items may fit into more than one category. The organization of historic artifacts into categories is an area where refinements are being implemented and various schemes have been utilized (see Kehoe 1978, Kidd 1970, Stone 1974, Hamilton 1988). The organization scheme used for this collection uses categories suitable for the problems addressed in the site analysis.

The initial steps include identification of the artifact and a literature search to identify similar items. Metric characteristics are noted in those cases where this provided significant information. Any unusual or diagnostic artifacts are noted as well as artifact reuse.

Different classes of each category are tabulated and percentages determined. Fits and refits were recorded where evident. Spatial distribution is tallied according to the following site areas: 1) the area outside the stockade, the midden area. 2) Inside the stockade, 3) the main house, 4) the workshop and 5) men's house. If the artifact is found within one metre of the outside limits of a structure it is counted with that feature.

Most of the ferrous materials were corroded and in an unstable condition, therefore conservation of these artifacts was carried out. A considerable number of them had desintegrated in the eight years which had elapsed between excavation and analysis. Stabilization of the remaining artifacts was achieved through coating them with wax and wrapping them in acid free tissue paper.
ARTIFACTS

HARDWARE AND CONSTRUCTION

Locks and Hinges

This group of artifacts includes 17 pintles, hinges, keys, escutcheon plates and a latchbar catch. The condition of these artifacts is poor. Most are of iron and their condition is corroded, fragmented, and bent.

Keys (n=3)

All of the keys are single bit with oval key bows. Only one key is in good condition, this key (1328) has a hollow shank and two notches on the key blade. On the two more poorly preserved specimens it is not possible to tell if the shanks are hollow or to discern distinctive features on the key blades. The largest key has a length of 79.2 mm and a shank diameter of 9.1 mm (6073). The other two specimens (1326, 5096) (Figure 51a) measure 71.2 x 7 mm and 48 x 5.5 mm.

Keyhole Escutcheons (n=6)

Two of these escutcheon plates and fragments (4130, 1771) are oval with centered rectangular keyholes. The complete plate still has one nail attached, it has a length of 49 mm, a width of 36.5 mm and a thickness of 43 mm. On both of the specimens two nail holes are present.

An iron trunk handle escutcheon plate was also recovered (2242). This is complete and has an oval shape with an indented bottom. Attached to this plate is a gable headed nail and a protruding perforated square fastening. Five other fastening holes are still visible. The width is 64 mm, the height of 27.5 mm, and thickness 2.2 mm.

Another escutcheon plate with a roughly triangular shape and rounded corners (4231), has a centered rectangular keyhole. Three attachment holes are visible, one on each corner of the plate. The bottom edge is been curved
over, thus the approximate length is 72 mm, width 66.5 mm, and thickness 3.5 mm.

An ornamental broken keyhole escutcheon plate was also found (1225) (Figure 12b). It has a semicircular portion where the keyhole is broken. The keyhole is rectangular and centered, an attachment hole is located in the arrowlike projection. This is probably from a trunk. The item has been curled and bent. The length (Incomplete) is 89 mm, the width is 63.5 mm and the thickness is 3.5 mm.

Another possible escutcheon plate (1914) is badly bent and extremely corroded.

Latchbar Catch (n=1)

One latchbar catch was excavated (2638) (Figure 51b). Latchbar catches were driven through the doorframe and serve to hold the latchbar. The catch is U shaped and is rectangular in cross section. The overall bent length is 71.9 mm, the narrow portion for insertion into the door frame is 40.8 mm in length. The width of the catch at its widest point is 18.9 mm.

Pintle Hinges (n=2)

Pintle hinges were designed to be hung from pintles. Only one of these is complete (4826) (Figure 13f). This hinge has a rectangular shank and a rounded pin. The length of the shank is 116 mm. The broken pintle (2033) (Figure 13d) consists of the pin which is rounded and grades into the remaining portion of the rectangular shank. The length of the pin is 49.9 mm, and its widest radius is 10.3 mm.

Hinges (n=3)

A complete iron hinge and a fragmentary hinge of the same type were found. The complete hinge (4581) has a rectangular shape decreasing in width towards the center where the two halves are held together with a pin. The hinge fragment (850) (Figure 12a) is of the same type, but only half is present. Four attachment holes are visible.
A broken rectangular hinge fragment with a pointed projection at one end was also found (2151) (Figure 12 c). This hinge is possibly from a trunk. Two small nail holes and a larger hole are visible. However, there has been a great deal of fragmentation, and the shape of the broken end is difficult to discern.

Miscellaneous (n=3)

Three artifacts appear to be lock plate or hasp fragments. However, their degree of fragmentation makes this difficult to determine accurately. One item (4527) is rectangular with rounded edges, it has three nail holes visible on three of the corners and one round centered hole which is much larger. The size is 97 x 30 x 3.2 mm. Another possible plate portion (1995) is broken and irregular with one nail hole present, its longest measurement is 63 mm. The third possible plate or hasp is made of copper (2114), it is rectangular with a nail hole visible in each corner. The size is 81.6 x 49.5 x 0.9 mm.

The locks and hinges were found primarily in the midden area, men's house and main house. A total of 29% (5) of the items are from the men's house and another 29% (5) come from the main house. In the main house these artifacts are primarily clustered in the cellar feature indicating a possible storage function for that area. An additional 24% (4) artifacts are from the midden area and 6% (1) are from the workshop.

Nails and Spikes (n=1079)

One of the largest artifact classes from the site is represented by nails and spikes. There are approximately 1,079 nails and spikes from the site. However, many of the specimens are so fragmented and corroded that precise counts and nail identifications are not possible. Roughly 90% of the nails and spikes are too fragmented to gain an accurate description or length measurement. The nail descriptions obtained are based on technique of manufacture, head type, point, and shank characteristics.

The period of occupation at the Fort between 1806 - 1823 cross cuts three possible types of manufacturing techniques for nails, spikes and tacks. These include handwrought, the predominant technique employed at
Fort d'Epinette, and also early machine cut which spanned the time period between 1810 and 1825 (Noble 1973:124). The third type which has the potential of appearing at the site but a low probability are stamped nails which were made from 1820 onwards (Noble 1973:124).

Both nails and spikes were recovered and identified from the site. The categories are differentiated by length, and 100 mm is arbitrarily assigned as the dividing point between nails and spikes. Because of the fragmentary nature of the artifacts in the collection, attributes such as minimum shank thickness are not deemed to be diagnostic in determining whether a fragmentary item might be a spike. Most criteria for determining spikes have been decided arbitrarily (see Nicks 1969:137). The 100 mm minimum length for spikes corresponds with the designation for spikes in the British and American linear penny sizing systems. In these categories spikes are classified as those fastenings which are four to five inches or longer (Ross 1976:90). There are 12 specimens that based on length can clearly be classified as spikes.

Head types are one of the more variable and loosely organized descriptive categories (Figure 55). The primary types recognized are L heads, T heads, rose heads, flat heads and gable heads. For the most part corrosion and breakage make this a difficult category to determine. But, 457 nails are well enough preserved that head types can be identified. The most numerous are flat head nails. This is rather an amorphous category, in this group the head varies from rectangular to round, and is flat on top with a square shank (Kidd 1970:100). In some cases these might be battered rose heads. Flat head nails are represented by 178 examples.

L heads also comprise a significant category. These heads are flat and rectangular. The diagnostic trait is formed by lateral expansion of one of the edges of the nail. Ideally the shape of the shank is rectangular close to the head, and square in midshank with the length varying between 36.3 - 71.2 mm (Kidd 1970:101). However, the length varies depending on the researcher, and Losey identifies the length limits as being between 15 - 75 mm (Losey 1974:160). There are 99 L heads.

T heads are those nails with a flat and rectangular head. Sometimes there is a narrow shoulder on one face beneath the base of the head (Kidd 1970:98). Kidd identifies the shoulder as being between .8 - 1.6 mm deep, and also identifies the shank as square in cross section with a gradual
The point is either flat, chisel or wedge shaped (ibid). In the Fort d’Epinette collection the T heads are distinctive because they consistently occur slightly off center. There are 99 T heads in the collection.

Gable headed nails are represented by 11 examples. This type has two edges of the head set sharply down at a sharp angle to dig into the wood. The length is defined by Kidd as being between 62-68 mm (Kidd 1970:100). This nail is for finishing work, primarily with soft woods, the head clasps the wood, preventing it from working loose (ibid:142).

Rose heads generally have three or four facets on top, the head shape when viewed superiorly can vary from square to round and the overjet can vary in size (Kidd 1970:99). There are 61 rose heads in the collection.

Of the 12 spikes, the most common head type is a T head, which is represented by eight specimens, there is also one rose head and one flat head spike.

The designation of Brads and Sprigs is not used, although Nicks defines these as being headless L or T heads. The smaller specimens, those less than 50 mm are termed sprigs while those larger are termed brads.

When nail tips were examined (Figure 55), the categories of pointed, flat pointed, broad points, blunt points and chisel tips were all observed (Barka 1974). As with the determination of other aspects of the nail / spike category, this one was also difficult to determine because of the degree of corrosion. In 396 of the specimens the type of tip is visible. The most common type is the generic sharp point with 321 examples. Next is a blunt point with 36 examples, the most common head type associated with this type of tip is a rose head, with 11 examples, then flat heads with four examples, L heads with three examples and T heads with two examples. There are 22 nails with flat points, nail heads associated with flat points include T heads=4, L heads, Flat heads, Gable heads=2 each, and one rose head. There are 12 nails with broad points, five of these have rose heads and two have T heads. There are five chisel point nails, two have flat heads, of these there is one L and rose head each.

In the spike category, the only tip varieties observed are four sharp and one chisel point.

The majority of nails and spikes are from the men’s house, main house and the midden area. The courtyard area to the south of the main house contained no nails.
HUNTING AND TRAPPING

GUN PARTS (n=38)

The gunpart category includes sideplate fragments, gun barrels, frizzens, frizzen springs, a tumbler, trigger guard, and buttplate. Most of these are heavily corroded, and some parts show evidence of reuse, for example cut gunbarrels and a modified buttplate. The dual occupation of the fort by the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company is reflected in the different types of gunparts found. The butt plate is North West Company type, and serpent side plates are indicative of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The most numerous categories are triggers and gunbarrels, each comprising 16% (6) of the gunparts. Frizzen springs make up 14% (5) of the collection. Frizzens, sears and mainsprings each made up 8% (3) of the total. There are 2 examples each of butt plates and sideplates or combined (10%)

Gun barrels (n=6)

All of these specimens are incomplete and some are extremely corroded. Some examples also show evidence of reuse through cutting, one barrel (425) appears cut at both ends. Other specimens are bent and compressed. The mean length of the specimens is 200 mm with a range from 49.5 to 336 mm. The bores range from 28 gauge to 12 gauge with the mean being 16 gauge.

Triggers (n=5)

The five triggers identified are mostly complete (Figure 14). Three of the specimens (2437, 4385, 2537) have a rectanguoid fastening section and a curved and recurved pull. The other specimens also have curved and recurved pulls which exhibit a greater degree of curvature, one (2335) expands in thickness distally, another one (2537) has a convex shape anteriorly.
Frizzen Springs (n=5)

All of the frizzen springs (2312,2439,2440,4853,5023) are heavily corroded, some specimens were broken and crushed.

Frizzens (n=3)

These are heavily corroded (Figure 15 a,b,c), and only one specimen (5140) is complete. Two of them (2061,5140) have oval shaped superior portions while (1245) has more of a point superiorly. This specimen also has the shortest height at 53.5 mm compared to 59.5 and 69.2 mm.

Sears (n=2)

Two sears were identified (Figure 14 f,g), (4436) is complete and the screwhole is not been corroded, while (2475) is very corroded.

Mainsprings (n=3)

Two of the mainsprings are complete (2278, 2483), the third (2212) is very corroded and the projection for the screw hole is missing. The overall length of all three mainsprings is 70 mm. The height is 21.5 mm.

Buttplate (n=2)

One of the buttplates (2069) corresponds with what Klimko (1983:214) describes as a North West Company type. Diagnostic are the square holes left from spikes to secure the plate to the butt of the gun. The tang is bent opposite to the direction it was originally fastened. The other specimen is a portion of a buttplate which has been cut in a rectangular shape.

Sideplates (n=2)

Two fragments of brass serpent side plates from flintlocks were recovered (Figure 16 a,b). One is a screwhole segment (2258) and the other
(25) is a portion of the main body showing a raised decorative pattern. According to Kidd (1970:70) these sideplates were in use in North America from 1700 until sometime around 1886. The earlier plates were thinner than the later post-1826 ones. Kidd mentions 3.0 mm as a dividing line between the early and later serpent side plates. Therefore the main body portion is consistent with the earlier specimens having a thickness of 2.5 mm.

**Trigger Guard (n=1)**

A complete trigger guard (Figure 17) was identified. It corresponds to Klimko’s style C (1983:216-7), the more typical type of trigger guard for trade guns. It is made of ferrous metal and has elongated oval finial tang ends. There are two screw holes, each occurs at the center of the indented tang. The length is 228 mm, the width is 25.2 and the thickness is 3.9 mm.

**Pan (n=1)**

One specimen (4566) is classified as a powder pan. The curved pan portion is 29.1 mm in length, while the width of the entire pan including stem is 32.7 mm.

**Tumbler (n=1)**

One tumbler (4330) (Figure 15 e) was found. This specimen is corroded, but the distinctive curved plate and rounded stem are visible. The width of the curved plate is 25.2 mm, the overall height is 11.3 mm.

The densest distribution of gunparts is in the main house where 35% (13) were found. There is a distinct clustering in the cellar feature indicating that this may have been a storage area. Outside the stockade in the midden area 22% (9), were found. This is representative as 23% of the total number of artifacts come from this area. Next in quantity is the men’s house with 16% (6) of the gunparts. The men’s house is underrepresented in terms of the expected number of gunparts, as 26% of all the artifacts are from this structure. The area inside the stockade but outside of the structures had 12% (5), this corresponds to the 11% of the entire collection.
which came from this area. A total of 14% (5) of the collection was without provenience.

**Gunflints (n=69)**

Most of the gunflints (Figure 18) show heavy utilization, only 10% of the collection are close to complete, while 29% are heavily utilized. The remaining gunflints range from light to heavy use, but tend towards heavier usage. Gunspalls comprised 8% of the collection. The colouring of the gunflints ranges from light brown to a dark brown with some light grey. Three gunflints show evidence of burning, they are whitened and cracked.

The gunflints are concentrated within the men's house, which contained 54% (37). An interesting concentration occurs along the north wall. In fact 25% (17) of the entire collection comes from within a 2m square excavation unit. An additional 13% (9) of the gunflints were scattered inside the stockade. Most of these occur in the western stockade zone. From the midden area come 9% (6), and an additional 9% (6) came from the workshop area. There was no provenience available for 10% (7) of the gunflints.

**Lead Shot (n=148)**

A total of 148 pieces of lead shot and sprue were recovered from the site. Based on Klimko's (1983:219) distinctions, gunshot is differentiated from musket balls by size. Gunshot is defined as those pieces of shot ranging between 3-7 mm in diameter, while musket balls are 8 mm and up. Gunshot is more numerous with 118 pieces, while 27 musket balls occur. The range of measurements for gunshot is between 3.5-6.11 mm with a mean diameter of 5.1 mm. Musket balls range in size between 8-19 mm with a mean diameter of 13.8 mm. There are three pieces of sprue from casting present, and several pieces of shot still have sprue adhering.

Provenience is available for 42% (62) of the lead shot. The distribution of lead shot correlates with structures within the stockade, and with the midden area. Most of the gunshot, 15% (22) comes from the vicinity of the men's house, the workshop area has 11% (17), and the midden
contains 9% (13) of the shot, while only 3% (4) comes from the main house and 4% (6) is from inside the stockade area.

The most interesting differences in the distribution of gunparts and related shot and gunflints occurs in the main house. Most of the gunparts came from this structure (35%), while there were no gunflints at all recovered from this building, and only 3% of the shot came from this structure. The men's house had the overall highest amount of gun related paraphernalia, but the comparison with the mainhouse indicates that the high value of guns may have led to safe storage in the cellar.

**Metal Projectile Points (n=15)**

There were 16 metal projectile points excavated from the site (Figure 19). Most are fairly complete. The projectile point shapes are all dissimilar, indicating that they are probably the products of casual manufacture. The most common material of manufacture is iron, 14 of the points were made of this material, while the remaining two are of brass.

The relatively large number of metal projectile points found at this site is worthy of note. Noble (1973:148-50) has commented that normally only single examples are found, large numbers could indicate either local Native preference, or be the result of the rapid site abandonment.

The points fall into rough shape categories. Most of the projectile points are stemmed (9). One of these has bifacial striations along the edges (1524). There is one leaf shaped point (613), one spear point (640) and one corner notched point (4301), three of the points have tapering shoulders and the remaining three are too fragmented to accurately determine their shapes.

The thickness of the iron projectile points ranges from 1.5-6 mm with a mean of 2.7 mm. The remaining two brass projectile points are 1, and 1.5 mm in thickness.

The metal projectile points are distributed throughout the fort with 27% (4), from the midden area and 27% (4) from the men's house. Two of the projectile points were found embedded in the north stockade wall.
Fish Hooks (n=3)

The fish hooks (4142, 4850, 4222) are made of a ferrous wire with a diameter of 2.5 and 3 mm. The respective lengths are 79 and 83 mm. The ends are pointed and not barbed. Corrosion and possible breakage at the attachment end has obscured any evidence of attachment features. One hook comes from close to the west stockade, near the men's house, the second is from the workshop area.

Trap Parts (n=6)

The trap parts consist of a swivel hook, a jawpost, a bow fragment and a hinge (Russel 1967:139; Kidd 1970:85). Metal traps were in use at Fort d'Épinette, and in Hugh Faries journal on Saturday the 9th of November 1822 he mentions that he gave the Slaves two beaver traps, there is also an entry on April 13, 1823 which states that "Sancho (a Beaver Indian) caught a Large Beaver this morning in a steel trap" (HBCo A B.189/a/1).

There is no indication that more than one trap is represented by the trap parts recovered at the site. However, the distribution of the parts would tend to indicate that either the trap was broken, and the parts were spread around the site, or fortuitous preservation resulted in the preservation of only one element from different traps.

Jawpost (n=1)

One face of a jawpost (4423) (Figure 20 c) was found (Russel 1967:139; Kidd 1970:85) inside the western stockade zone. Two attachment holes for the pins attaching it to the jaw are visible. The incomplete length is 36.5 mm, with a width at the superior portion of 27.1 mm. The thickness is 4.1 mm.

Bow (n=1)

The bow portion from a trap spring (4632) (Figure 20 b) was found inside the men's house. Its incomplete length is 61.7 mm. The outside
width of the bow is 37.2 mm while the inside width of the aperture is 26.2 mm with an inside length of 29.5 mm. The thickness of the bow is 5.7 mm.

Hinge (n=1)

A roughly rectangular hinge (704) (Figure 20 a, 21 a) from a trap has a greater width at the hinge than towards the edges. The length from the edge to the hinge is 45.9 mm and the thickness is 2.7 mm. Attachment to the trap is by six fastenings close to the hinge, and one centered close to the edge. In spite of corrosion, three nails are still present.

Pan (n=1)

Also present is a pan (2435) for bait placement (Figure 21 c).

Swivel hook (n=1)

A swivel hook (2850) (Figure 20 d), for the attachment of a chain was also recovered.

Bobtail trap part (n=1)

This piece (6077) possibly from a bobtail trap (Russel 1967:119,121), has a length of 84.2 mm with the bent up end portions measuring 36.8 mm and the thickness of the iron itself being 6.8 mm (Figure 21 b).

Bridle Bits (n=2)

Two items identified as bridle bit fragments were found (218,2115), they resemble those described by Hume (1969:241). Both are of iron and consist of a portion of rod which terminates in a loop at the end. The fragments have a width of 8 mm and an incomplete length of 111.5 and 116 mm. Both are from the midden area.
HANDTOOLS

A considerable diversity in handtools was found. The collection is characterized by individual or few examples of each type.

**Canoe Knife (n=1)**

One canoe knife with a curved blade (7071) was present. The overall length is 98.8 mm, and the maximum width close to the attachment area for the handle is 17.4 mm while the thickness of the blade is 4.4 mm. There is no provenience available for this specimen.

**Mason's Trowel (n=1)**

A large complete trowel (4534) (Figure 22) was excavated. It is from underneath the floor planking in main house. It is of iron, and has an overall length of 173 mm with a width at its widest portion of 112.5 mm and a thickness of 7.1 mm.

**Sawblade (n=1)**

The distal portion of an iron sawblade (4227) was found inside the western portion of the stockade, just north of the men's house. It is extremely corroded, the end is flat, curving towards the top portion opposite the teeth. The length of this fragment is 97.5 mm the width at the widest portion close to the break is 70 mm while the thickness of the blade is 3 mm.

**Adze (n=1)**

One complete iron adze blade (4612), has a length of 153 mm and a width ranging between 32 to 52 mm. The width increases towards the working edge. It has an average thickness of 9 mm. The working end is slightly curved and bevelled in cross-section, it was found among fallen chimney stones in the men's house.
Hot Chisel Handle (n=1)

A partial handle for a hot chisel was also recovered (6071). This is made of iron and consists of a section of rod which is recurved with one end curved upwards. The ends are broken off. The incomplete length is 104.6 mm and the width of the rod is 7.9 mm. There is no provenience available for this specimen.

Cold Chisel (n=1)

An iron cold chisel (4377) has a length of 121 mm a width of 12 mm and a thickness of 9.8 mm. It was recovered from the main house.

Axe Blades (n=2)

The two axe blades recovered both have complete blades, but are broken towards the poll. One specimen (4821) (Figure 23) was found in the stockade trench associated with a stained dark organic soil and burned bone, it has a short cutting edge in comparison to the length of the blade. This axe blade is a round poll European axe. The other axe blade (4307) comes from the men's house, the broken length of the blade is 115.5 mm while its width at the cutting edge is 113.5 mm. This axe blade had a very broad cutting edge in comparison with the other specimen.

Strike-a-Lights (n=4)

The four fragments of strike-a-lights all have a flat oval form. Two are fragmented flat oval bars (6074, 6076). The largest specimen has a length of 39 mm, the thickness of the bar is 4 mm and is similar to that illustrated in Kehoe (1978:156 Fig 44K) and Stone's type T1 (1974:187). The most complete specimen (4405) is from the men's house. It has a straight back or striking edge with one recurved edge ending in a taper. The most fragmented strike-a-light (1837) is a small curved portion of flat metal, this is from the midden area.
Punches (n=6)

There are six items identified as punches (375, 1557, 1763, 4254, 4860, 7095), four of these have round cross sections, the other two a square cross section, while one is bent at a 90 degree angle with a change in the cross section from round to square to rectangular (7095) (Figure 24 d).

The longest specimen is 242.6 mm in length (4860)(Figure 24 c), it is round in cross section with a diameter of 8.3 mm and tapers to a point at one end, this is from the men's house. The next specimen (1763) from the midden area is 221 mm in length, at the widest point close to the dull end it is squared in cross section and has a thickness of 10.5 mm, the cross section becomes round and it tapers to a point, at the sharp tip the width is 6.4 mm. Another interesting specimen is (375), on this punch at the dull end the iron is flattened and there are faint longitudinal grooves visible, possibly for ease of hafting. This punch has a length of 108 mm and a width of 8.5 mm and is from the midden area. The three remaining punches (1764, 4220,4254) are round in cross section and pointed at the tip. The longest specimen is 194 mm in length.

Files (n=12)

A total of 12 artifacts are identified in the file/rasp category (Figure 25). Most of these are fragmented, and corrosion makes it difficult to determine the type of teeth present. The most common cross sectional shape is rectangular and 10 of the files are in this category. The most common identifiable working edge consists of fine double cut teeth. Six of the files and the rasp fall into this category.

All of the tangs present are offset and tapered. In the case of the more complete specimens five of the files have a tapered body, while in the highly fragmented segments it is difficult to determine body shape. One rasp fragment (43) has a plano-convex cross section, double cut teeth and a tapering body.
Offset Awls (n=6)

There are six iron offset awls (332,743, 931, 2175, 4718, 4880, 6070), four of these are complete (Figure 26). All are of the double pointed type with the exception of one specimen. The double pointed type is designed to be provided with handles by the users. The one offset awl which is not double pointed is much thicker than the rest, 10 mm as opposed to an average thickness of 6.07 mm, and has a length of 115 mm compared to 95.33 mm. None of the awls show any evidence of hafting.

DOMESTIC ITEMS

UTENSILS (n=28)

This category includes knives, razors, forks, handles and scissors. All of the utensils are corroded and no makers marks are evident. There are no concentrations of these items within the fort, they are scattered throughout the compound and midden.

Knives (n=19)

No makers marks are visible on any of the knives. Clasp types knives make up 63% (6) of this group (Figure 27). Only one clasp knife is complete. There were two handle elements found, one of which is from the stockade trench as well as two smaller pocket knives identified. There are three miscellaneous blade fragments and 1 copper handle which has a perforated design. Knives handles consist of bone/copper (517) (Figure 27b), wood (1172, 1347, 2193, 2215), iron (4713)(Figure 27f), bone (5019) and one composite ornamental handle with iron and brass (2740) (Figure 27 c) similar to that illustrated in Kidd (1970:84).

Four of the knives have a straight clipped point, and appear to be of the same type; (1107) is the best example, it is 115 mm. long. According to Karklins (1981 238,239a) these are clasp knives which are of the French or Spanish types.
Clasp knives are the most common with angular backed blades being the most numerous. Bone handles are the most common, of the six specimens with handles 4 are of bone, while wood and copper are represented by one example each. Of the bone and wood handles the lengths are 81.5, 70, 76, 75 mm with maximum widths respectively of 9, 15.5, 16.5, 14 mm. Lugs or bolsters are visible on three of the specimens.

There is one large knife with a handle and blade, but the corrosion is so severe that it is difficult to determine whether this is a clasp knife. It has an overall length of 176 mm and the width at the greatest point is 20 mm. The blade itself is 80 mm in length (1347).

There are three table knives all of which are fragmented, two have portions of a metal handle (4151) measuring 176 mm in length with a width at the greatest point of 20 mm. The blade is 80 mm in length. One specimen has a portion of a wooden handle and an overall length of 214.5 mm, with a blade length of 164.5 mm. In addition a broken table knife blade was found with a length of 134 mm.

One specialized knife blade without a handle was also recovered, though the handle is missing there is a tang attachment, probably of a ferrulous pin. A similar one is from Ft Michilimackinac (Stone 1974:274). The blade is short compared to the hafting stock. The heel is curved and the cutting edge is angled up towards the point. The non cutting edge is convex-curved (4867).

Forks (n=3)

One specimen has a wooden handle with an overall length of 184 mm (2193). One fragmented fork has a rat tail tang for handle attachment (2246), and the other fragmented fork also has a hafting rivet in evidence on the corroded handle (1340).

Miscellaneous utensils (n=2)

A utensil handle of white metal has a broken working edge. The handle is 61 mm in length. There is also a fragmented portion of cutlery with a bolster, and portion of a handle (912).
The majority of glass found consists of small unidentifiable fragments. However, there are some complete items, including two lenses from eye glasses and a stopper from a cruet jar. Most of the glass, 73% or 42%, are flat glass fragments, they are predominantly green, blue and clear. The next most numerous category is the miscellaneous one. These fragments are unidentifiable in terms of shape or colour primarily due to burning, they are essentially melted lumps and comprise 29% of the total. Olive green coloured "rum" bottle fragments number 19 or 11% of the total. Patent medicine bottle fragments number 18 or 10%. These fragments are from Turlington Balsam of Life bottles and an Essence of Peppermint bottle (2615). Seven of these fragments come from one Turlington Balsam of Life bottle. There are also unidentifiable patent medicine bottles where the letters can not be discerned. Miscellaneous bottle fragments number 5 or 3%, one of these has a raised ribbed design running longitudinally. Also present are fragments with applied lips and mouth fragments. Curved glass fragments which are unidentifiable beyond their shape number 4 or 2%. There are 2 eyeglass lenses and one bottle or cruet stopper.

Most of the collection is highly fragmented, iridescent patination is common with some crizzling evident. Burning and melting of much of the glass has occurred. There is also evidence of reuse on some of the specimens, one fragment has retouch along one edge (4611), and striations occur indicating that they had been used for cutting or scraping purposes (4245, 4311, 4315). One example (3510) shows etching prior to breaking.

Most of the glass fragments, 69, or 39% come from the midden area, while 27% or 48 fragments are found in the men's house. Surprisingly only 16 pieces or 9% of the total came from the main house. This is interesting because of the difficulties in transporting this type of material, it would be expected to be a status item. Inside the stockade 22 glass fragments or 13% of the total are scattered. Three of the glass fragments come from the workshop area or 2%, while 18 fragments or 10% are unprovenenced.
Ceramics (n=46)

The small number of ceramics in the collection is probably due to the isolated nature of the fort and transportation difficulties. A similar situation was observed at Rocky Mountain House (Noble 1978) and Rocky Mountain Fort (Hamilton 1988). The ceramic items would have been luxury goods and highly prized. Those recovered are all extremely fragmented and no complete specimens exist (Figure 28). Some of the fragments are so small that determination of design elements is not possible. The largest sherd measures 73.8 x 63.4 mm while the smallest is 12.7 x 11 mm. The average sherd size is 34.1 x 23 mm.

The majority of the collection (30 items or 65%) are willow ware. There are three polychrome fragments, one with a blue/grey glaze, and two with a brown/tan glaze. There is one creamware porcelain fragment, and one stoneware. There are eight porcelain fragments, only one stoneware and the rest is classified as general ceramic.

Because of the fragmented nature of the collection, description beyond possible bowl and plate fragments is impossible. But three plate base fragments are identified (2330, 2650, 4832) as well as one bowl fragment and one white glazed handle fragment, there are also 14 rim/wall fragments from cups or bowls, and two rim fragments from plates.

One of the white ceramic plate base fragments (2650), has use marks in the form of long scratches evident from utensil usage on the superior surface. Five fragments from one willow ware container, (702, 2339, 2836, 3552, 3690) show evidence of holes which had been drilled through the vessel.

Razors (n=2)

There were two razors found, each shows the presence of a hinge element. Both are straight folding razors, the largest specimen (2708) has a complete blade and measures 140 mm in length, with a width of 19.5 mm, and a blade thickness of 6 mm. This razor came from the men’s house. The second specimen (815) was recovered from the main house. It has a broken blade, and its incomplete length is 134 mm.
Kettle Handle (n=1)

A kettle handle (1511) made of iron rod 9 mm in diameter was recovered. One end is broken, the other has a hook for attachment to the kettle, overall length is 145 mm. This is from the midden area, and is well preserved. It is tinged with red indicating it may have been burnt in a fire.

Brass Spigot (n=1)

A brass spigot (2307) (Figure 29) in an excellent state of preservation is from the cellar area in the main house, where it was associated with barrel staves. This is of interest because at the time of the killings at Fort d'Epinette, the looting which subsequently followed was motivated in part by a search for a rumoured keg of rum. The spigot has a longitudinally incised pattern on the insertion portion. It is similar to one illustrated in Smith (1960:134). The overall length is 148 mm.

Seive (n=1)

A large grater or seive (2463) (Figure 30) was found associated with the east stockade wall. It is rectangular in shape with edges curved up on four sides. It is punctured on its entire surface by holes made by square nails. It is one of the largest artifacts found at the site, and measures 390 x 241 mm. Its function may have been as a seive through which boiled bone was strained to extract the fat for pemmican making. A similar one is illustrated in Nicks (1969:129).

Kettle Hooks (n=3)

Of the three double kettle hooks found (2317, 3615,7098)(Figure 24 a,b). Two are from the men's house, the other has no provenience. They are made of iron rod which appears handwrought with an irregularly shaped cross section ranging from round to square, averaging 9 mm in thickness. Two of the specimens have rounded hooks on the end. These are 290 and 286
mm in length. The third specimen has a rounded hook on one end and an angular flat hook area on the other; it is 539.1 mm in length.

Lantern Shade (n=1)

A lantern shade (4170) (Figure 31) from the area in front of the main house is in poor condition, corroded and flattened. The original shape appears to have been conical, with decorative incisions along the lower edge, and what appears to have been a floral pattern along the body of the lamp. The height is 112 mm and the compressed diameter is 118 mm.

Kettle Spout (n=1)

A tin kettle spout (227) comes from the midden area. It is broken off at the base where it would have joined the body of a vessel. It is roughly triangular in profile, and has a length of 115 mm, and width of 21 mm.

Kettle Fragments (n=2)

Two pieces from an iron kettle are from the men’s house (4667). The largest fragment measuring 101 x 39 mm has a finished edge. The thickness of the fragments measures 3.8 mm.

Pins and Needle (n=19)

There were 19 pins and one large needle (4736)(Figure 32,261) recovered. There are 13 complete and five fragmented pins. The most numerous category consists of 13 silver plated brass wire pins with a coil wire head (Figure 32). There are four iron needles and one of brass. The mean length of the complete items is 50.71 mm with a mean diameter of 1.4 mm.

Metal Buttons (n=51)

A total of 51 metal buttons were recovered (Figure 47). Of these 40 were brass three were white metal, two were iron, three copper, one lead, white metal, and pewter. Most of the buttons were of the plain stamped
variety, three were cast and three appear to have been homemade. Fourteen examples have a shank with a soldered foot (Figure 47a), while 16 have a shank soldered without a foot (Figure 47b). One poorly preserved button (2871) appears to be cast with a drilled shank.

One button (936) (Figure 47c) has a foliate pattern on the upper half and SUPERFINE around the rim on the bottom half. Another example (3535) has GILT stamped close to the shank (Figure 47d), a DOUBLE GILT stamp, and a raised rim are also present on another button (2130) (Figure 47f). A concave button (2124) has a floral pattern on the face (Figure 47 h).

A flat stamped button has a raised rim and four holes, this is probably a suspender attachment for pants (Kenyon 1984:4) (Figure 47 g). Three additional flat buttons are of cruder manufacture and appear homemade. Two of these (2093,2421) are made of lead with two holes. Another (1779) (Figure 47e) is made of iron sheet metal and has two squared holes which appear to be made with a square nail.

The distribution of the provenienced metal buttons indicates most are from the men's house, with 46% (22), while 27% (13) are from the midden, 13% (6) from the west stockade zone, 8% (4) from the south stockade zone, 4% (2) from the workshop, and only 2% (1) from the main house.

Scissors (n=2)

There were two pairs of scissors recovered (Figure 52). One pair is complete but extremely corroded (3589), it has an overall length of 151 mm. The second pair is also corroded and very fragmented (2417). One pair is from the main house, and the second is from the men's house.

Pencil Lead (n=1)

There was one five sided pencil lead (774) recovered from the men's house.

Bail Fasteners and Kettle Lugs (n=9)

There were six bail fasteners and three kettle lugs recovered (494, 579, 832, 1735, 1870, 2032, 4329, 4619). Ball fasteners serve to attach
the wire bail handle to a brass or copper pail. Five of the bail fasteners were North West Company style, based on similarities with those described by Dempsey for Rocky Mountain House (1973:149). The North West Company utilized two small flat copper plates cut from sheet copper. This was folded and fastened to the pail with two large rivets. For only one of the bail fasteners is the style not able to be determined. The thickness of the bail fasteners is 1 mm for two specimens and 1.4 mm for three specimens. The bail fastener which is not clearly of North West Company style has a thickness of 1.7 mm. The bail fasteners are broken and of varying degrees of fragmentation. The most complete has a height of 47.8 mm and a width of 37.5 mm.

The three kettle lugs are fragmented and all had one edge with two perforations. They are similar to those illustrated in Stone (1974:172-4). One specimen still has two rivets intact. These are of copper.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT

There is a large variety of items that fit into this category. The items of adornment range from ad hoc adaptations made of readily available materials, to brass trade rings, silver trade items and a cufflink, with elaborate engraving.

Silver Jewelry (n=25)

There are 25 pieces of silver jewelry, several of these items show evidence of reuse. These include earrings, brooches and gorgets, crosses, a silver tinkler, a cufflink, what appears to be silver leaf and ad hoc cut silver. Fredrickson (1980) in his book about Indian trade silver, stresses that the Indians had a highly developed practice of gift exchange, and the EuroCanadian traders made use of this predeliction for trade and ceremony through the exchange of silver and other ornaments. According to Fredrickson silver was only actively traded between 1760 and 1821. The trade in silver dropped in 1821 after amalgamation of the Northwest Company with the Hudson’s Bay Company, when a monopoly situation lessened the need for inducements such as silver for competitive trade (ibid:43). The possession of silver was considered prestigious. The most
common category of silver jewelry traded, consisted of brooches, which could be attached in great numbers everywhere on an individual’s clothing indicating status (ibid:49). Most of the silver traded was obtained from Montreal.

**Earrings (n=5)**

The earrings are all found in the men’s house. A thin wire loop (3569), with a suspended cone similar to the earbob illustrated in Fredrickson (1980:146) (Figure 33 f) was recovered. A badly damaged earring (3568), appears to be a wire loop with three small decorative balls (Figure 33 e). Another earring (2228), is a wire loop attached to a fixed pendant, in the center of the pendant is an incised strip with a cross hatched pattern (Figure 33 c). It is similar to that illustrated in Barbeau (1942:11). Another portion of an earring (2639), consists of a wire attached to an oval portion with a cross hatched pattern (Figure 33 b).

**Brooches and gorgets (n=4)**

One of the brooches (3570) is a round concave silver brooch with a central perforation (Figure 34 b). This has the makers mark NR indicating it was made by Narcisse Roy who was a silversmith in Montreal between 1765 - 1819. The measurements of this brooch are 18.5 x 19 x .4 mm. This item would probably have been brought in during the North West Company’s occupation. A circular brooch (1766) (Figure 34 d) with incised undulating lines around the perimeter (see Fredrickson 1980:97) has a makers mark RC indicating it was made by Robert Cruickshank, who worked as a silversmith in Boston and Montreal between 1767 - 1809. The size of this item is 44.6 x 46.5 x .5 mm. A large gorget (2812) (Figure 34 a) is round and concave with an incised crown and double undulating incised lines around the perimeter, also comes from the men’s house. The makers mark is a KC. This gorget has a diameter of 70.2 and a thickness of 1.8 mm.

A unique brooch with a set quartz-like stone (373) is 22.6 x 16.7 x 3.2 mm. The setting for the stone has a scalloped edge, with a silver wire boundary.
Cut Silver (n=11)

Cut silver items at the site are of ad hoc manufacture, made from scrap metal or the reworking of other items, and indicate reuse of a valuable material (Figure 35). These are primarily trapezoidal pieces, intended for use as decorative elements by the Indians. They were designed to be hung from clothing. Similar trapezoidal pendants were recovered from Rocky Mountain Fort (Hamilton 1988:92).

There are six thinly cut strips of silver sheet (1495, 2756, 2858, 4724, 4544) some of these have traces of designs from the original silver item. The largest strip is 80 x 2.9 x .5 mm, the smallest is 14.4 x 7.2 x .5 mm. A recut fragment from a crucifix (5121) was also found.

There are four cut fragments for pendants, these are roughly triangular shapes. Two of these (2808, 3571) have a perforation for suspending the ornament and an indented base. Others (1738, 2757) have no perforations and are triangular in shape, the latter has indented basal corners.

Silver crucifixes (n=3)

Three fairly complete crucifixes are in the collection. Two of these are Lorraine crosses (5015) (Figure 34 c) similar to those illustrated in Fredrickson (1980:135), and one is plain (4526) (Figure 34 b). Both the plain cross and the Lorraine cross are from the men's house.

Silver Tinkler (n=1)

A silver tinkler (Figure 36 e) is damaged and compressed. The shape is conical and the length is 30 mm and the width at the base 18.1 mm.

Silver cufflink (n=1)

This cufflink (1919) is an oval shape. It has ornate initials which appear to read WGAY, perhaps indicating William McGillivray who had charge
of Fort d'Epinette 1805-7 (Harmon 1957). Around the perimeter is an incised line. An eye is soldered on the back, and the makers mark PM also appears on the back (Figure 33a).

Silver Bell (n=1)

Fragments of a silver bell (2767) indicate a hollow cylinder with an attached eye. The largest piece measures 12.2 x 13 x .4 mm.

Brass rings (n=6)

There were six brass rings recovered. Five of these are plain bands, and one has a setting with a rounded green stone. The diameters of the bands range from 22 mm to 16.9 mm (463, 1727, 2010, 2859, 4420, 5144). One ring (1671) has an inlaid green stone.

Glass Jewellery (n=3)

A facetted cut glass pendant in a heart shape (Figure 33d) was also recovered (833). This pendant has a drilled hole for suspension, its size is 19.3 x 11.5 mm and 4.3 mm thickness. One small red cut glass chip was found (5071), judging from its small size it is probably the inlay for a ring. Another facetted glass chip, (7115) is colourless, and probably also served as a setting in a ring.

Earrings (n=2)

A brass earring (677) for pierced ears has a hook fastener for going through the ear. The decorative element is a brass filigree pattern with a central circle surrounded by smaller filigree circles. Also (2859), is an earring fragment of molded brass wire with three decorative circular pieces at the end (Figure 33e).

Crucifix (n=1)
A broken brass Lorraine cross (2043) was recovered from the main house.

**Tinkling Cones (n=7)**

The seven tinkling cones recovered from the site, (2795, 2855, 4210, 4387, 4914, 4646) (Figure 36), are all made from rolled sheets of copper, formed into a conical shape. They were meant to be used as decorative attachments to clothing. All are in good condition. The lengths range from 30.5 to 11.4 mm, with an average length of 17.5 mm. The width at the base ranges from 4.1 to 6.6 mm with an average width of 5.4 mm. The thickness of the copper sheet is from .5 to 1.0 mm with an average thickness of .8 mm.

Five of the tinkling cones come from the men's house, one from the main house and one is without provenience.

**Hawk Bells (n=3)**

Of the three hawk bells found (1187, 2083, 2464), two are brass, and one is of copper. Two came from the midden area and one from the main house. The diameter of the bells is 14.6, 15.3, 16.9 mm. These are two piece bells which have been soldered together.

**Shell Ornament (n=1)**

A shell ornament with a copper wire fragment (1852) (Figure 37 d) inserted along the crevice was found in the men's house. The shell is fragmented and it is difficult to assess how much of the original ornament is preserved. The most probable use for this item is suspended from a wire which could have been worn as a neck ornament. The copper wire measures 78.0 mm in length and has a thickness of 1 mm. The shell fragment length is 42.8 mm. The shell is white, but the species cannot be determined.

**Thimbles (n=3)**

Three thimbles and fragments were found (1889, 2737, 3536) (Figure 37 a,b,c). Two are made of brass and one of copper. Two of the thimbles are complete. One of these has two holes punched in the top for suspension,
thimbles were often used in this manner to decorate clothes. The bases have rolled edges, the brass thimble has a cross hatched pattern, and the copper thimble has impressed dots.

One of the thimbles comes from the midden area and two are from the men's house. The width at the base of the two complete specimens is 14.9 and 16.0 mm with a height of 19.9 and 17.0 mm, the thickness of plate is .8 and 1.1 mm.

Clothing (n=30+)

Clothing consists of a few pieces of unidentifiable fabric, some pieces of decorative cordage and braid or trim, possibly from a trading chiefs uniform. In the fort d'Epinette journal on April 17, Hugh Faries mentions "The Indians all arrived this morning gave them their usual allowance of liquor on such occasions & clothed the two Chiefs" (HBCo A B.189/a/1). As well as braid trim, a few unidentifiable leather fragments and the remains from two leather shoes were recovered.

Shoe fragments (n=16)

The 16 fragments of leather shoes (3026) came from the midden area. Fragments ranged in size from 8.5 x 4.5 cm to 6.5 x 3.5 cm. With an average thickness of .5 cms. Perforations are evident on two of the fragments. It appears that the heel of the shoe was attached by stitching or nailing as described in Klimko (1983:96). This stitching technique indicates deposition after the site was abandoned. There are also fragments from the upper portion of the shoes, several of which have perforations. The sole of the shoe and the heel were also recovered in fairly complete condition. The sole is 27 cm in length, 8 cms at its widest point, and 2 cms thick. The heel is comprised of 3-4 layers of leather.

Fabric (n=1)

The cloth fragments found are extremely fragile and fragmented (1644, 3038), because of this, measurements and the determination of a
weave is difficult. At least 6 fragments were recovered from the midden area, the larger fragments are approximately 2 x 2 cms.

Braid Trim (n=1)

The three pieces of braid trim (1643, 2380, 2404) (Figure 53 c) are most probably from trading chief's suits. The braid trim consists of a metal wrap (copper loops) over a central wire. On (2380, 2404) the string in the center has an 'S' twist. As Stone has pointed out (1974:78) the metal on these would contribute to preservation.

There are also three pieces of string with a thin filament of copper wind wrapped around it. There is a definite undulating pattern to the string indicative of the patterning found in uniform braiding.

Cordage (n=2)

There are two fragments of cordage (1031, 1166) (Figure 53 a,b). Both are fragile and almost impossible to measure accurately. Both have a three strand Z twist. One (1031) is cordage with a bone bead and a knotted fringe adjacent to the bead. The length of the cordage is approximately 25 cms the thickness is somewhat less than 1 mm. This artifact is from the men's house.

Clothing Fastenings (n=3)

A brass chain and two buckles were found. The brass chain (1904) is a probable cloak fastener (Hume 1970:85) and is made up of a single strand with S shaped links. Its length is 182 mm with a width of 3 mm. The chain appears complete because at each end of the S links is a round attachment link. It is from the midden area. Two buckles were recovered, one from the men's house is made of brass (4586) and has a square shape with two pointed hooks extending from the hinge bar, this is probably a belt buckle. The overall size is 14.6 x 16.1 x 2 mm. The second buckle (1359) is made of iron and appears to be a shoe buckle (Hume 1970:86). It is fragmented and incomplete, three sides of a rectangle are present, with an overall size of 41.2 x 36.9 x 4.5 mm. This buckle is from the midden area.
RECREATION

Whizzers (n=5)

There are five whizzers identified (26, 1194, 2421, 3549, 3561). These are similar to those illustrated by Stone (1974:154). They are flat discs made of lead with perforations for the attachment of string or thongs. These were swung through the air to make a distinctive noise. Four of these are from the men's house and one is from the midden area. The average diameter of the whizzers is 31.7 mm and the average thickness 1.7 mm.

Jew's Harp (n=1)

A curved portion of a ferrous jew's harp comes from the main house (2103 b). It is similar to that illustrated in Stone (1974:142), square in cross section with a width of 12.2 mm and a thickness of 6.3 mm, the broken length is 20.7 mm.

European Clay Pipes (n=82)

Clay pipes total 82 items, these are primarily pipe bowl and stem fragments (Figure 38). Most of the collection 60% (48) is comprised of pipe stem fragments, while 35% (28) is represented by bowl fragments. Four pieces, 5% consist of bowl and stem juncture fragments. Most of the clay pipes have a white base colour.

An unusual pipe bowl (1195) (Figure 38 g) is made of lead, and appears to be the inner lining to a pipe bowl. A raised collar exists around the rim, and two small spurs extend from the pipe face. The external surface is rough. Hume notes that metal pipes were designed for use by trappers and hunters for whom a clay pipe would be too fragile (1970:308), it is possible this may be an example of this type of pipe.
Three ceramic pipe bowl fragments (2835, 3555, 3952), exhibit an alternating decorative pattern of raised dots and lines, extending up the bowl. Hume (1970:302) classifies this type of ornamentation as diagnostic of pipes manufactured in England between 1780 - 1820.

Makers marks are visible on 11% of the collection. On two of the pipes (370, 5125), the letters T and D which possibly refer to Thomas Dormer of Bones Yard in London (Oswald 1960:68) are visible on each face of the spur. The letters T and D are also visible on another specimen, a complete pipe bowl (4520), on which a cartouche containing a T and D within a circle are also visible.

Another cartouche has the letters G and D inside a circle imprinted on a fragment of pipe bowl (1902). Other pipe bowl fragments with cartouches present include one (576), which has a portion of a circle with what appears to be part of an S. Another two examples (557) have a portion of circle with a small portion of lettering and (4858) the faint indications of a letter within 1/3 of an impressed circle.

Two additional examples of marks on spurs include the letter W on one side of a spur (1000) possibly from the William Murray Company in Glasgow (Klimko 1973: 176), and the letter W on one side of a spur and either a C or G on the other (437). On those specimens where spurs are preserved they are all flattened (Figure 38 a, b).

Pipebowl shape is difficult to determine due to the fragmentary nature of the pipes. Only four pipe bowls are complete enough to allow shape determination according to Oswald (1961) of these, three fall into his 12 b category and one into 12 c. This category places the dates of manufacture between 1820 -1870. Therefore, these pipes may have been brought in by the Hudson's Bay Company. However, as pointed out by Klimko (1963:172) these shape categories subsume much variation within manufacturing styles during this time period.

Pipestems (n=80)

There are 80 kaolin pipe stem fragments. There is little evidence for a tapering shape to the stems, but this could be due to their highly fragmented condition. Few of the stems are discoloured from tobacco, this indicates possible breakage during shipping and subsequent disposal.
Because of the short occupation of the fort, the use of bore diameters to determine temporal limits of manufacturing is of limited informative value. However, some interesting features were noted in regard to pipe stems. Toothwear is evident on three fragments (453, 2508, 4655). Cut marks are visible on one (1301) perhaps indicative of bead manufacture (Nicks 1970:155).

BEADS (n=1,583)

There are a total of 1,583+ beads recovered from the site. The predominant bead shape corresponds with Kidd's (1970) classification IIa-(Kidd 1970:51) which is represented by 1,477 specimens, or (93%) of the bead collection. These are blown and drawn simple tube beads primarily white and blue with a few red and one brown example. These average 2.7 mm in length and 3.0 mm in width.

The second most numerous category is the Kidd classification Wlc. These are simple wire wound tubes, and are represented by 44 items or (3%) of the collection, the colours range from white, translucent red, black, blue and brown, with an average length of 9 mm and width of 5 mm. One unusual Wlc bead (1905) is a complex white tube with a swirled or combed foliate design, around the center of the bead.

Wlb the 29 wire wound simple tubes, comprised (2%) of the collection. The colours include black, blue, white and iridescent, the average length is 7.1 mm and the width 8.3 mm.

There are 21 beads or (1%) are representing the Kidd classification IVa, these occur in the colors of yellow/white and red/black, and red/clear, there are several Cornaline D'aleppo beads in this category. IVa 1 (1303) is a Cornaline D'aleppo bead which is blown, redipped and drawn, with a black interior color and a redipped red, the length is 3 mm and the width 3.8 mm. IVa 2 is a compound tube (1127) blown and drawn with a clear interior, while the exterior is a solid red colour, the length is 1.7 mm and the width is 2.8 mm.

IIb is represented by (1522) a blown compound tube, redipped with an inlay, the colours are black and white and the length is 2.2 mm with a width of 2.5 mm.
This bead (1021) is blown and drawn with ground facets to create a squared shape. The colour is red.

Wild (1064) is a wire wound complex tube, with the decorative elements drawn, blown and twisted. The colours are red, white and black, the base colour is red, and there is a black and white spiral exterior inlay.

There are also individual occurrences of the categories Ia; Ibb; Ila 16; II; Ila/b; Wibl; Wibl 16; Wld; If; If 2; and IVb.

An unusual specimen which does not fit into the Kidd classification (4990); is a complex tube bead, blown, drawn, combed, and inlaid with grey, blue, white and pink. The central portion of the tube has lateral inlaid strips of white and a central pink inlay on a grey coloured background with blue circular appliques at both ends of the tube.

The distribution of beads reflects some interesting differences compared to other categories of artifacts. Other than gunparts, this is the only category which occurs in greater quantity in the main house than elsewhere in the fort. In the main house and the workshop beads predominate significantly. This points to possible storage functions within both of these structures, or loss.

**BONE AND ANTLER ARTIFACTS OF EUROPEAN MANUFACTURE**

There are seven bone items of presumed European manufacture. Two of these are comb fragments, while of the five remaining bone items, three are highly polished or lathed fragments, from an unknown type of vessel, possibly the same container. The two remaining items are haft pieces, presumably utensil handles.

**Combs (n=2)**

Two combs made from land mammal bone (4347, 4378) are ground, polished and carved (Figure 39). Williams (1978:534,535) classes them as of European origin. The largest specimen is found in the men's house, it has an overall length of 52 mm, a width of 40 mm, and a thickness of 2 mm. It has a central solid portion with teeth extending in two directions along the width (Figure 39 b). The second comb comes from the main house. This comb is much more fragmentary, but is of the same design with a solid
central portion with teeth extending along the width (Figure 39 a). The width of this specimen is 37 mm. Its fragmented length is 11 mm and the thickness is 1.5 mm.

**Miscellaneous Manufactured Bone (n=3)**

These worked bone fragments (952, 2539, 2770), are all similar and may all be from the same vessel or similar containers. However, they do not fit together. They are of relatively thin bone, measuring between 2.5 and 3 mm in thickness, with a highly polished finish. At the finished edge there is an incised groove which is present on all three specimens. The lengths of the fragments are 41.5, 32, and 42 mm. The maximum width of the fragments is 5, 8, and 10 mm. Two of these bone fragments are from the men's house and one is from the midden.

**Utensil Hafts (n=2)**

Two fragmented utensil hafts (3610, 4892) are of antler and are split, bevelled and ground. One of the specimens still contains an attachment nail and three other nail holes. The other specimen has no evidence of nail holes, however, because of its fragmentary nature these may not be preserved. The more complete specimen measures 90 mm in length, and maximum of 17 mm in width, with a thickness of 6 mm. The other more fragmentary specimen has a length of 42.5 mm, a width of 16 mm and a thickness of 9.3 mm. Both of these specimens come from the men's house.

**Bone Buttons (n=21)**

Of the 21 bone buttons and button blanks 18 are one hole blanks, as illustrated in Stone (1974: 59-61 illus. 32 Q). One specimen has 2 holes and one four holes. One of the specimens is too fragmentary to judge the number of holes.

The size of these buttons ranges from a diameter of 21.5 mm to 11 mm, with a maximum thickness of 4.5 mm and a minimum of 1.5 mm. The distribution of the bone buttons is centered in the midden 38% (8), the mens
house 29% (6), main house 14% (3), and the area immediately north of the men's house 19% (4).

COMMERCIAL

Bale Seals (n=2)

The two lead bale seals found (2040, 4538) are both similar to Stone's (1974:281) series A type one. One of the bale seals is from inside the west stockade, immediately north of the men's house, and the other from the north area inside the stockade, north of the main house (Figure 54 a,b).

Hudson's Bay Company Weight (n=1)

A bronze scale weight with the Hudson's Bay Company insignia on it is from inside the west stockade, north of the men's house. It is in excellent condition and has a diameter of 35 mm with a thickness of 8.9 mm (Figure 54 c).

STORAGE

Barrel Strapping (n=2)

There were two pieces of barrel strapping found. Both of these are of iron and are curved. One fragmented specimen (5117) has two nail holes and measures approximately 95.1 mm in length, with a width of 25 mm and a thickness of 4 mm. The other complete specimen is from the northern portion of the area inside the stockade. On this piece of strapping the area where the piece was joined to itself is evident, but extremely corroded. The diameter of this piece is 132.5 mm at the narrowest portion and 150 mm at the widest point of curvature.

MISCELLANEOUS FITTINGS IRON AND BRASS
Miscellaneous fittings number 21 specimens. There are 13 pieces of wire and two items which appear to be cotter pins, two swivel hooks, one hinge element, one eyebolt, a large iron hook, and a T shaped hinge or lug.

**Wire (n=13)**

The most numerous type of wire is of copper. This is represented by eight lengths, while three are of brass wire and two of lead.

Three specimens of copper wire are curled in circular sections (1839, 2021, 4209). One appears to be an unravelled circular section of copper wire (4658). In one example a snare is represented (7001), and one length appears to be an unravelled snare (7006). The other two lengths are short miscellaneous pieces (1891, 1942).

The pieces of brass wire are all straight (5144, 2673, 4426b, 4426c), with an average diameter of 1.9 mm.

**Cotter pins (n=2)**

The cotter pins are made of iron and brass and are similar to those illustrated in Klimko and Kidd (Klimko 1983:250 fig 96d; Kidd 1970:108 fig. 67s). The iron specimen (1777) is larger than the brass, it has a length of 48 mm a width of 12 mm and a thickness of 2.5 mm. The brass pin (1959) is 31.4 mm in length 5.6 mm wide and 1.7 mm thick. Both of these specimens come from the midden area.

**Swivel hooks (n=2)**

The swivel hooks are both made of iron, one is broken into two pieces (7069) but its length would have been a minimum of 39.1 mm, its width 8 mm and the thickness 4.1 mm. The hook element on this specimen is shallow. The second swivel hook (2850) comes from the men's house. The length of this specimen is 58.1 mm, the width 8.8 mm and the thickness 5.4 mm.

**Hinge Element, Eyebolt, Hook and T Shaped Lug (n=4)**
The hinge element (704) is of iron. Although there are still nails present, the degree of corrosion is such that it is difficult to determine fine details. There are three fastening elements along each of the hinge flanges which are separated by the moving mechanism holding the flanges together. The hinge element is preserved complete but bent. The length of one of the flanges is 46.5 the width is 45.9 and the thickness is 2.7 mm. The hinge element is from the main house.

The eyebolt (2322) is made of brass and was found in the men's house. The width of the round eye portion is 21.9 mm while the incomplete length from the eye to the broken screw portion is 35.5 mm. The hook (2383) is made of iron, it has a hole at the top for the insertion of a holding element. The tip of the hook is sharp with a nail like projection. The complete length is 74 mm and the width 9 mm. The hook is from the men's house.

The T shaped lug appears to have a specialized and as yet unidentifiable use. It is made of iron and at each of the projections of the T there are holds for fastening the lug. It is corroded but complete, the length is 69.5 mm while the width of each of the lug projections is 17 mm and the thickness is 7 mm. The provenience for this artifact is unknown.

**Spatulate tool (n=1)**

An unidentified tool (4856) made of iron is from the main house. It has a rectangular flat spatulate portion which changes shape to a thin handle like element with indentations for handle attachment. The overall length is 131 mm, while the width of the spatulate portion is 29 mm, and its thickness is 3 mm.

**Spike Shaped Items (n=2)**

An iron spike-like item (1557) was recovered from the men's house. It has a round cross section with a pointed end. The opposite end has a flattened tip with a V shaped indentation. This continues onto the iron bar itself into a short groove on both sides. The length is 189 mm and the diameter of the rod is 10 mm.
Another item (1480) is made of iron, and is round in cross section with a length of 134 mm and a diameter of 4.5 mm. At its sharp end there is an uneven point, which could be due to corrosion. This is from the main house.

MISCELLANEOUS METAL

Miscellaneous Lead, Copper and Brass (n=209)

This category shows a high degree of reuse and reworking of scrap metal, these are items which Nicks describes as ad hoc inventions (Nicks 1969:135). These range from cut scraps to crude but effective cutting tools (4931,560, 670, 4849), with serrated cutting edges and usewear.

Copper (n=115)

The 115 pieces of copper are predominantly flat square sections of sheet copper that have been cut and shaped into rectangular and long strips. These appear to be the by product of secondary manufacturing or reworking of the copper into items such as tinklers and projectile points.

Brass (n=45)

The 45 pieces of brass vary in shape from folded and rolled strips, to pieces of sheeting. Possibly also the by product of the manufacture of tinklers and ornamental items.

Lead (n=75)

The lead items are primarily irregularly shaped lumps and rods. To a great extent they consist of slag and sprue, remnants of the manufacture of shot and musketballs.

The distribution of the miscellaneous metal reveals some interesting concentrations. The densest concentration occurs in the men's house. It is probable that there was a great deal of reworking of materials by the
labourers, for trade and personal use as well. The second highest concentration occurs in the midden area. Because of the high degree of metal reworking evident in the men's house, and the apparent value and utility which the scrap metal had, it is interesting that these miscellaneous metals were disposed of at all.

**Miscellaneous Iron Fragments (n=440+)**

A precise count of iron pieces is not possible because of their extremely fragmentary nature. This group of artifacts fall into five general categories. These include; 1) Flat sheet metal fragments of varying shapes, the most numerous group, comprising 40% of the unidentified iron fragments. 2) Miscellaneous iron is the next most numerous, and includes 28% of the items. These are primarily unidentifiable lumps of iron. 3) Pieces of iron rod are the next most numerous with 17%. These range from purely round cross sections, to shaped rectangular specimens, some of which are bent and curved. 4) Next in quantity is sheet metal, which shows clear signs of intentional modification, primarily reuse. This comprises 7% of the total. 5) Sheet metal stripping is 6%, there are a few examples of stripping with perforations, this comprises less than 1% as do wire fragments and slag.

Most of the unidentified iron fragments are found in association with the fort structures, and in the midden area. Of the collection 81% or 357 of the unidentified iron fragments are provenanced. The men's house contains most of these with 58% (206), the midden area contains 32% (83) of the total. Scattered around the inside of the stockade are 7% (24) and the workshop has 1% (4).

**FOLK INDUSTRIES**

Folk industries refer to those artifacts that are often classed as aboriginal, or are non-European in type, function and manufacturing technique. It is not certain that these were solely manufactured by or used by the Native people at the fort and from the surrounding area. But they are items that have prehistoric analogues.
There is a considerable diversity in stone pipes recovered from the site. These range from a finished and highly ornate pipe bowls to crude pipe bowl preforms. Of the 36 items, 33 are pipebowls, or pipebowl fragments, while only three are stem fragments. This is an interesting contrast to the European manufactured pipes. The pipe stem fragments outnumber bowl fragments 2:1 in this instance. This is due to the difference in manufacturing techniques which would have seen more wooden stems on stone pipes. In addition, the mode of individual manufacture of the stone pipes would have added to their value and may have lead to their curation.

Some of the stone pipes show exceptional workmanship. The most striking example from the men’s house is (2185) (Figure 40), it is a ‘Micmac’ type pipe made of red pipestone with a decorative lead inlay. The inlay is around the lip of the pipe, and extends down onto the wall of the bowl. Incised cross hatching occurs close to the bottom of the base. Horizontally etched lines are placed below this, and in the center of the base is a hole for a thong attachment. The overall height of the bowl is 103.6 mm.

Another well worked example from the northern stockade zone is (1453) a red pipestone bowl fragment with triangular incisions extending upwards from the bowl base, with drilled decorative holes at the base of the triangle. It has a height of 30.9 mm.

Pipestone is also used for a partial bowl fragment (1697). This is made in a teardrop shape, with the widest portion to the base. The outside has been ground and highly polished with an everted lip and beneath it an incised line. This is from the midden.

Another finished bowl fragment (1866) from the men’s house, is similar to that illustrated in Kidd (1970:158 b.). It is made of slate and the exterior has been ground and polished. The base of the bowl is indented with a broken squared off projecting base. The height of the bowl is 22 mm and the rim area is slightly indented with a flared lip.

From the men’s house comes another ornamental pipebowl, (2106) (Figure 41 a) is made of ground and incised siltstone. The bowl shape is thin and rectangular, and the base is indented with a hole for a carrying
strap drilled into it. It measures 33.7 mm in height and 36.5 mm in length at the base.

Red pipestone was used for another bowl (2299) (figure 41 c). This bowl is 59.5 mm high, it also has a decorative base fragment 27.3 mm in length. The base fragment has horizontal incised lines along the bottom of the base, and there are three decorative projections extending from the base along with a hole for a thong attachment. This specimen is from the western zone inside the stockade.

A pipebowl base fragment (3557) (Figure 41 b) from the men’s house, has two projecting feet and horizontal decorative incised lines along the base. The base has a length of 35.5 mm.

The remaining pipebowl fragments are preforms in various degrees of completion. They show evidence of whittling, sawing and drilling and are of siltstone and red pipestone (Figure 42). The pipestem fragments are all of red pipestone and have been carved, ground, drilled and polished.

**Birchbark (n=24)**

There were several pieces of worked and unworked birchbark recovered at the site. The Fort D’Epinette journal mentions that birchbark was to be sent to the fort for canoemaking (HBCo A B.189/a/1 Nov 14, 1822) and on April 13, 1823 Hugh Faries notes that two employees arrived from Dunvegan with “..Indifferent Bark for Canoes” (Ibid). The birchbark rolls and containers found at the site form a relatively well preserved and interesting component of the artifact collection.

There are four discernable bark containers or bowls (Figures 48,49). In addition, there are four button shaped objects, perhaps whizzers. There are also 4 + decorative fragments which are cut in a geometric zig zag pattern and show evidence of incised lines and decorative stitching (Figure 50). According to Losey, birch bark with linear perforations as opposed to decorative is used for canoe repair (1973:60). There are also six rolls of birchbark, and several distinctively shaped and cut pieces. Ethnographic literature indicates an emphasis on the use of birchbark by the Athapascan Indians for eating utensils and storage (Honigman 1964:45; Goddard 1916:219), as well as for birchbark canoes.
Only 14 pieces or 60% of the birch bark has provenience information. Except for one fragment of birch bark that was found in the dump area behind the north wall of the palisade, all birch bark comes from the vicinity of the men's house.

Bone and Antler Artifacts

The bone and antler artifacts of aboriginal style are represented by 40 items.

Awls (n=12)

The awls are well preserved specimens that have been ground and polished (Figure 43). Two specimens (856, 3628) have traces of red pigment. The fragmented tip of an awl (1022) was also recovered. (2409, 2642, 2726, 2918, 3557, 4032, 4268, 4973, 6824) are typical examples of awls, the average length of the complete specimens is 155 mm, with a range from 91.5 to 270 mm. One of the awls is from the midden, and the remainder from the men's house.

Netting Needles (n=5)

Two of the netting needles (1193, 2783) have a central perforation and two pointed ends (Figure 44 a,b). One (2445), is fragmented and has a portion of the central perforation and one pointed end. Another, (2842) is a unipoint needle with a slightly off center perforation (Figure 44 e). Another specimen (4473), is extremely fragmented but it has evidence of a point and a drilled hole. All are from the men's house.

Gaming Pieces (n=3)

There are three small gaming pieces. An antler cube (1249), has two incised X's along one side. A bone cube (5103) is also a probable gaming piece. From the men's house is a drilled phalanx (odocoileus) (1862), flattened proximally and distally, used for a cup and pin game (National

**Widow's Scratching Stick (n=1)**

A widow's scratching stick (715) comes from the midden (Figure 45 e). This is a unipoint made of bone with a rounded head for attachment to a thong. According to Athapaskan ethnographic custom a widow after her husband's death was only allowed to scratch herself by means of this type of a stick (National Museum of Man 1974).

**Flesher (n=1)**

One well preserved flesher of typical Athapaskan style is made from a moose (Alces alces) metatarsal (2556). The distal end is bevelled and the end is serrated. Its length is 323 mm with a width of 28 mm. This item is from the men's house.

**Bird Bone Beads (n=5)**

Three of the bird bone beads are decorated, one example from the men's house has incised x's (5065), and one (7013) has incised lines. Another example (2097) has horizontal incised lines with traces of red pigment. Two specimens were fragmented (4246, 4317). One of these from the northern zone inside the stockade has evidence of cut marks.

**Blanket Pins (n=3)**

One complete blanket pin, (4323) (Figure 45 a) from the infill in the west wall of the stockade trench, has its proximal end carved and decorated. Its length is 91 mm with a width of 10.5 mm. A proximal portion of a blanket pin (7072) (Figure 45 b), with intricate carving on four faces and a rectangular cross section was recovered, as was a fragment of a probable blanket pin (4978) with a carved decorated end.
Modified Eagle Phalanges (n=3)

Three eagle phalanges (2188, 2833, 2869) (Accipitridae) were recovered from the men's house. Two of the phalanges were filled with lead, and one had a hole drilled in it. All had the proximal articulating surface removed. These were often used as decorative items by Indians and would be suspended from pipestems (Rotstein 1973:153).

Net Gauge (n=1)

One antler cube (2325) from the men's house, measures 16 x 14.7 x 12.5 mm, and is probably a net gauge. This identification is based on its size, and the degree of use polish on it.

Trace Buckles (n=2)

There are two trace buckles for a dog sled harness in the collection (Figure 44 c,d), both of which come from the men's house. These have an ovoid shape with a large central hole and a smaller adjacent hole. One (2549), measures 47 mm in length with a width of 24.5 mm, and a thickness of 5.5 mm. The other specimen (5108) has a length of 70 mm, width of 31.5 mm, and a thickness of 1.5 mm.

Canoe Ribber (n=1)

A large antler canoe ribber (3618) is wedge shaped at the proximal end and polished at the distal end. The length is approximately 323 mm and at its thickest point it is 38.5 mm wide. The ribber is from the men's house.

Bone Scraper (n=1)

Also found was a scraper (7106) made from the scapula or pelvic portion of a large mammal. Scratches from use wear are evident on the worked edge. It is roughly rectangular and the working edge is tapered to make a sharp working edge. It measures 78.3 x 61 x 4.3 mm.
Miscellaneous Bone and Antler (n=3)

One antler tine (1065) from the midden, is carved at both ends. There are two decoratively carved bone fragments, (2136, 2538) (Figure 45 c,d), which are possible portions of blanket pins or pendants.

Dentalium (n=32)

The dentalium found at the site was probably traded in from the northwest coast. Dentalium was highly prized as an ornament for clothing. Its distribution over the northwestern portion of North America is extensive, reaching from the West Coast to the Missouri River. The possibility has been raised that dentalium may have been a trade item obtained from the Eurocanadian traders (Hamilton 1988). There are 32 specimens of Dentalium periosum found. These ranged from complete to fragmentary specimens. In length they ranged from 2.5-7.6 cms.

Most of the dentalium, 69% comes from the men's house. A few examples are from the main house and the midden.

Lithics (n=152)

The lithic category at the site is relatively crude, and primarily represents expedient utilitarian items requiring little time or skill to produce. The items recovered from the site include flakes, core fragments, abraders, retouched flakes, cortical spall scrapers, two projectile points, a hammerstone and a biface. The most common lithic materials present are black chert, sandstone, quartzite and siltstone.

Lithic Types and Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flakes</th>
<th>Core frags</th>
<th>Abraders</th>
<th>Retouched flakes</th>
<th>Tools</th>
<th>Raw mats</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common lithic type consists of flakes, which comprise 20% of the collection, thereafter core fragments are the most numerous and make up 19% of the collection. Abraders make up 16% and retouched flakes 11%. Tools make up 4%, this category includes, cortical spall choppers, two
shaft straighteners, a retouched biface, two projectile points and a hammerstone. The miscellaneous category includes natural curiosities, these are oddly shaped pebbles, fossils and natural concretions found in a cultural context. The miscellaneous category also includes items consisting of usable shapes, such as drills, with indeterminate modification.

Items of usable manufacture but with no signs of modification are classed as lithic raw materials, this category makes up 5%.

The most favored lithic raw material, making up 44% of the lithics is black chert. Next in frequency is sandstone used for abraders 12%, then quartzite 11%, siltstone 8%, colored chert (not black) 7%, unknown materials 5%, slate 4%, 7% is a miscellaneous category that includes metamorphic and argillaceous stone, pipestone, obsidian and ochre.

Cortical spall tools are one of the interesting lithic types found, these are characteristic of the region and are well represented in prehistoric contexts as well (Wright 1975). There are 16 examples of these tools (Figure 46). Two shaft straighteners were recovered from the north east corner of the men's house. One bifacially flaked scraper, typical of the region was recovered from the main house.

The distribution of the lithic items shows a concentration in the men's house, with 45% of the lithic items from this area, the next highest concentration is from the western zone inside the stockade, which contained 16%, while overall the general area inside the stockade combined had 26% of the lithics. The midden area had 13%, and the main house 5%.
Artifact Figures
Figure 12. Hinges and escutcheon plate.
Left to right, a; hinge b; keyhole escutcheon c; hinge fragment.

Figure 13. Hinges and punches.
Left to right, a; punch b,d; partial pintle hinges c; ferrous rod e; punch f; complete pintle hinge.
Figure 14. Gun parts.
Left to right, top to bottom, a,b,c; triggers, rectanguloid fasterning, curved recurved pull d,e; triggers f,g; sears

Figure 15. Gun parts.
Left to right, top to bottom, a,b,c; frizzens d; pan fragment e; tumbler.
Figure 16. Serpent side plate fragments. Left to right, a, b; side plate fragments from trade gun c; cut portion of buttplate from trade gun.

Figure 17. Trigger guard.
Figure 18. Gunflints.

Figure 19. Ferrous projectile points.
Figure 20. Trap parts.
Left to right, top to bottom, a; hinge b; bowpost fragment c; jawpost fragment d; swivel hook

Figure 21. Trap parts.
Left to right, top to bottom, a; hinge b; bobtail trap base c; pan fragment.
Figure 22. Mason's trowel.

Figure 23. Axeblade.
Figure 24. Kettle hooks and punches.
Top to bottom, a; kettle hook b; kettle hook c; punch d; punch

Figure 25. Files, offset and tapered tangs.
Figure 26. Offset awls and needle.
Left to right, a,b,c,d,g; ferrous offset awls f; ferrous needle.

Figure 27. Clasp knives.
Left to right, top to bottom, a; bone handle b; bone and copper handle c; iron and brass handle d; bone handle e; wood handle f; iron handle.
Figure 28. Ceramics.
Left to right, top to bottom, a; bowl fragment c,d,e,g; rim fragments b,f; miscellaneous fragments.

Figure 29. Brass spigot.
Figure 30. Ferrous sieve, holes punched with square nails.

Figure 31. Ferrous decorative lantern shade.
Figure 32. Silver plated brass wire pins with coil wire heads.
Figure 33. Jewellery
a; silver cufflink, with engraved initials b; earring c; earring d; cutglass heart pendant e; earring f; earbob.

Figure 34. Jewellery
Left to right, top to bottom, a; silver gorget b; silver crucifix c; silver Lorraine cross d; silver brooch e; cuffling f; silver brooch.
Figure 35. Ad hoc cut silver items.

Figure 36. Tinklers
Figure 37. Jewellery
Left to right, top to bottom, a; thimble b; thimble c; thimble fragment d; shell ornament.

Figure 38. Clay pipes
Left to right, top to bottom, a; clay pipe bowl b; clay pipe bowl and stem juncture, flattened spur c; clay pipe bowl fragment d; bowl/stem fragment e,f; bowl fragments g; lead pipe bowl h-j; bowl fragments k-n; stone bowl fragments.
Figure 39. Bone combs

Figure 40. Micmac type pipe
Figure 41. Stone pipes
Top to bottom, left to right, a; ornamental pipe bowl base, siltstone b; ornamental pipe bowl base c; pipe bowl and base, red pipestone.

Figure 42. Pipebowl preform
Figure 43. Bone awls

Figure 44. Netting needles and trace buckles
Left to right, top to bottom, a,b; netting needles e; unipoint needle c,d; trace buckles.
Figure 45. Blanket pins and pendants
Left to right, a; carved blanket pin fragment b; carved blanket pin c,d; possible pendants e; widow's scratching stick.

Figure 46. Cortical spall scrapers
Figure 47. Buttons

a; plain shank with soldered foot  b; shank soldered without foot  c; foliate pattern  d; gilt button  e; handmade sheet metal ferrous button  f; double gilt button with raised rim  g; probable suspender attachment for pants  h; cast, concave button with floral pattern.
Figure 48. Birchbark container
Figure 49. Birchbark container
Figure 50. Decorated birchbark
Figure 51. Key and latchbar catch
Figure 52. Scissors
Figure 53. Cordage
Top to bottom, a; Z twist b; cordage with bone bead c; braid trim, central wire overlaid by copper loops.
Figure 54. Bale seals and Hudson’s Bay Company weight
Top to bottom, a,b; bale seals c; Hudson’s Bay Company weight.
Figure 55 Nail head and point types
References Cited

Adams, Gary
1983  Tipi Rings at York Factory: An Archaeological Ethnographic Interface; Plains Anthropologist vol 28,102(2):7-16

Asch, M.
1984  Home and Native Land, Methuen, Toronto

Askins, W.

Barth, Frederik
1969  Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, The Social Organization of Culture Difference; Little, Brown and Company, Boston

Barbeau, M.
1942  Indian Trade Silver; in The Beaver, Outfit 273:10-12

Behn, Rube
n.d  "Unpublished Notes from Interviews with Tribal Elders", manuscript in possession of Rube Behn, Ft. St. John, Treaty 8 Tribal Association

Bishop, C.A.
Bishop, C.A.

Bishop, C.A. & Ray A.
1987 Fort St John, 1922-3: Initial Impressions, Unpublished manuscript in possession of the authors.

Black, Samuel
1955 Black’s Rocky Mountain Journal 1824; Hudson’s Bay Society, London.

Brown, J.

Buchignani, N.
1987 Ethnic Phenomena and Contemporary Social Theory: Their Implications for Archaeology, in Ethnicity and Culture Archaeological Association, University of Calgary.


Burley, D. & S. Hamilton

Castille III, G. A.
Deagan, K.

Deetz, J.

Dempsey, H.

Diggins, J.P.
1984  The Oyster and the Pearl: The Problem of Contextualism in Intellectual History; in History and Theory, 23:151-169

Dyen, I. & D. Aberle

Driver, H.E.
1973  The Indians of North America, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago

Earle, T.

Fisher, R.
1983  Contact and Conflict, Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890, U.B.C. Press, Vancouver
Finlay, F.
1976 History and Mythology The Murders at Ft. St. John, Manuscript on file Dept. of Archaeology, S.F.U.

Fladmark, K., J. Driver & D. Alexander

1985 Early Fur Trade Forts of the Peace River Area of British Columbia; BC Studies no. 65:46-65


1975 Report on the 1975 Field Season Fort D'Epinette Submitted to the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board and B.C. Hydro

Fredrickson, N.
1960 The Covenant Chain: Indian Ceremonial and Trade Silver, National Museum of Man, Ottawa

Giraud, M.
1986 The Metis in the Canadian West, Edmonton Univ. Alberta Press

Goddard, P. E.

Godsell, P. H.
1938 Red Hunters of the Snows; Robert Hale Ltd. London

Hamilton, S. et al.
1988 Rocky Mountain Fort and the Land Based Fur Trade Research Project, the 1987 end of Season Report, Report submitted to the B.C. Heritage Trust.
Harmon, Daniel W.
1957 Sixteen Years in Indian Country; Macmillan Co. of Canada, Toronto

Harrison, J.
1985 Metis, People Between Two Worlds, Douglas McIntyre Ltd.
Vancouver

Helm, J.
Smithsonian Institute, Washington,

Honigmann, J.J.
1964 The Kaska Indians an Ethnographic Reconstruction, Yale
University Publications in Anthropology

Hodge, F.W.
1907 Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bulletin 30,
Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington,
D.C.

Hume, N.
1970 Artifacts of Colonial America, A. Knopf, N.Y.

Innis, H.A.
1975 The Fur Trade in Canada; Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto

Ives, J.W.
1985 Northern Athapaskan Social and Economic Variability,
Unpublished Phd. dissertation, Univ of Michigan

Janes, R.
1976 On Culture Contact in the MacKenzie Basin, in Current
Anthropology 17: 344-5
Jenness, Diamond
1937 *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia*, Canada Department of Mines and Resources, Printer to the King, Ottawa

1986 *The Indians of Canada*, Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto

Kehoe, A.
1978 *Francois' House; An Early Fur Trade Post on the Saskatchewan River*, Pastlog 2, Saskatchewan Culture and Youth

Kent, G.
1983 *More on Gunflints*, Historical Archaeology, vol.17(2)

Kelly, M. & R. Kelly
1980 *Approaches to Ethnic Identification in Historical Archaeology* in *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity* ed. R. Schuyler, Baywood Publishing Co. Farmingdale

Kidd, K.E. & M.A. Kidd
1970 *A Classification System for Glass Beads for the use of Archaeologists*, in *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, #1

Kidd, R. S.

Klimko, O.
1983 *The Archaeology and History of Fort Pelly 1, 1824-1856*, Pastlog No. 5, Saskatchewan Culture and Recreation, Regina

Krech, S.
Krech, S.

Linton, Ralph
1940 Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, Peter Smith, Gloucester Mass.

Losey, T.

McClellan, C.

McKee, L.W.
1987 Delineating Ethnicity from the Garbage of Early Virginians: Faunal Remains from the Kingsmill Plantation Slave Quarter, in American Archaeology; 6(1)

McMillan, A.
1988 Native People and Cultures of Canada, Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver

MacKenzie, A.

McGuire, R.
1984 The Study of Ethnicity in Historical Archaeology: in Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, 1:159-78
National Museum of Man,
1974  Athapaskans: Strangers of the North, National
       Museum of Man; Southam Mercury, Toronto

Nelson, L. H.
1963  Nail Chronology as an aid to Dating Old Buildings: Technical
       Leaflet 48, American Association for State and Local History,
       Nashville

Nicks, G.C.
1969  The Archaeology of two Hudson’s Bay Company Posts:
       Buckingham House (1792-1800) and Edmonton House III (1810-1813)
       Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Dept. of Anthropology, Univ. of Alberta

Noble, W. C.
1973  The Excavation and Historical Identification of Rocky
       Mountain House, in Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in
       Archaeology and History, No. 6, National Historic Sites Service,
       Ottawa

Noel, D.L.
1968  A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification, in Social
       Problems; 16:157-72

Oswalt, W.H.
1977  Northern Athapaskan Food-Getting Technology, in The
       Athapaskan Question. Helmer, J.; Van Dyke S.; Kense, F. editors;
       Archaeological Association, Department of Archaeology, University
       of Calgary, Calgary

Pyszczyk, H.
1984  Historical and Archaeological Investigations Fort Dunvegan,
       Alberta (GIQp-3). Ms on file at the Archaeological Survey of
       Alberta, Alberta Culture
Pyszczyk, H.

Ray, A.

Ray, A. & Freeman.
1978 Give Us Good Measure, University of Toronto Press, Toronto

Russel, C.P.
1967 Firearms, Traps and Tools of the Mountain Men, A. Knopf, N.Y.

Simpson, G.

Richmond, S.
1970 Cognitive and Structural Basis for Group Identity: The Case of the Southern Arctic Drainage Dene in the Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology 2:1

Ridington, R.

1988 Trail to Heaven, Douglas McIntyre, Vancouver

Robbins, E.
Rotstein, A.
1973 Trade and Politics, in The Precarious Homestead, new press, Toronto

Russel, D.

Savishinsky, J.
1970 Kinship and the Expression of Values in an Athapaskan Bush Community, in Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, 2

Sawchuk, Joe
1978 The Metis of Manitoba; Peter Martin Associates Ltd. Toronto

Schiffer, M.
1972 Archaeological Context and Systemic Context; American Antiquity 37:156-165

Slobodin, R.
1966 The Subarctic Metis as Products and Agents of Culture Contact, in Arctic Anthropology; 2:2

South, S.
1977 Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology, Academic Press, N.Y.

Stone, L.M.
1974 Fort Michilimackinac, Publications of the Museum, Michigan State University, East Lansing

Trigger, B.
1986 Natives and Newcomers; McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, Montreal

224
Vanstone, J.
1974 *Athapaskan Adaptations*, Aldine Publishing Co. Chicago

Van Kirk, S.
1980 *Many Tender Ties*, Watson Dwyer Publishing Ltd., Winnipeg

White, S.
1975 Gunflints: Their Possible Significance for the Northwest, Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, 9:51-67

Woodward, A.
1948 Trade Goods of 1748, The Beaver, Outfit 279:3-6

Williams, J. H.
1978 *Fort D’Epinette: A Description of Faunal Remains From an Early Fur Trade Site in Northern British Columbia;* unpublished M.A. thesis S.F.U.

Wright, J.
1975 *The Prehistory of Lake Athabasca, an Initial Statement*, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa

Yerbury, C.


Archival Material

HBCA. D.4/87, dos. 95-8 *A Statement of Circumstances Connected with the Murder of Mr. Guy Hughes and Four Men at St. John’s in Peace River, by the Indians of that Place on the 2nd. and 3rd. of November Last*, by Francis Heron.
HBCA B.189/a/1-1 Journal of Occurrences St. Johns P.R. 1822-3, by Hugh Faries C.Trader

HBCA B. 39/b/2 Fort Chipewyan Letter Book, Letters Inward
Letter from McTavish to Dunvegan 21st Aug. 1822
Letter from Jos. McDougal St. Johns 28th Sept. 1822

Fo. 41 (P) 49 Letter no. 21 From Dunvegan to Edward Smith Esq. Chief Factor, Athabasca, 8th. Feb. 1823

HBCA B. 119/b/1 Western Caledonia Letter Book 1823-4, John Stuart McLeods Lake
Letter 139 fo. 101-3 From Samuel Black, R. Mt. Pt. 15th Dec. 1823

HBCA B.109/b/1 St Mary's Correspondence Book 1818-19
Fo. 24 Letter from John Clark (St. Mary's) to Wm. Williams

HBCA B.190/a/1 St Mary's Journal 1818 - 1820

HBCA B.224/a/2 Journal of Occurrences at Fort Vermilion 1826/27 by Colin Campbell