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CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE / *THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE*

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* Gabriella Prager

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* Behavioral Implications of Cultural Transformation Processes: An Example from Fur Trade Archaeology

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* Simon Fraser University

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/*GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1980

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* Dr. Knut R. Fladmark

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BEHAVIORAL IMPLICATIONS OF CULTURAL FORMATION PROCESSES: AN EXAMPLE FROM FUR TRADE ARCHAEOLOGY

by

Gabriella Prager
B.Sc., University of Alberta, 1974

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

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
April, 1980

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Author: _____
(signature)

Gabriella Prager
(name)

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(date)

APPROVAL

Name: Gabriella Prager

Degree: Master of Arts

Title of Thesis:

Examining Committee:

Chairman: Richard Shutler, Jr.

Knut R. Fladmark
Senior Supervisor

Jack D. Nance

Brian D. Hayden

John S. Nicks
External Examiner
University of Alberta

Date Approved: April 17, 1980

ABSTRACT

Quantitative comparisons were made between Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company inventories of fur trade goods, and archaeological collections from two 18th Century fur trade posts. This study was designed to determine the relationships between material items in cultural context and in corresponding archaeological context. The quantifications consisted of direct frequency and relative proportion comparisons between individual artifact types and between functional groups, ratios, relative rankings of artifact types and functional groups, and simple presence/absence of artifact types. Hypotheses were formulated concerning archaeological effects of differential behavior in regulating the condition of and the manner in which different cultural objects are deposited.

The results indicated that no simple quantitative relationship exists between these historic inventories and the archaeological assemblages; however, in terms of basic presence of artifact types, a high degree of representation was noted. Some significant aspects of tool use and discard behavior were identified as contributors to the formation of particular configurations of archaeological deposits. Based on these results some generalizations were proposed which should be applicable to other types of cultural deposits. It is suggested that historical archaeology is a valuable and unique aid in the determination of some aspects of human behavior from archaeological deposits and more research should be directed toward such aims.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have provided assistance with various aspects of this analysis, in terms of conscientious data collection and provision of rare information or specialized facts of fur trade life. They are all gratefully acknowledged. In particular, Doug Babcock is thanked for freely placing at my disposal all of his painstakingly gathered data on the North West Company. Dr. Tim Losey is gratefully thanked for providing opportunities to work in the field and gain direct experience in excavation and interpretation, and for allowing access to the Fort George data.

My deep thanks and appreciation go to my committee. My senior supervisor, Dr. Knut Fladmark, provided kind counsel and much assistance and guidance from the first day of my graduate program to the last. The other committee members, Dr. Jack Nance and Dr. Brian Hayden provided valuable comments on drafts of this thesis. Special thanks to Brian Hayden for supplying a stimulating theoretical influence throughout my graduate program and to Jack Nance for his dogged efforts to make us understand the frightening world of statistics. John Nicks kindly consented to be my external examiner and much thanks are due him for being a bountiful source of information about the fur trade and for providing the Buckingham House data.

Much appreciation is also extended to Penny Scharf, who took on the awful task of typing the final copy and competently

took care of all matters of format, with little assistance from me. Special appreciation goes to Ingrid Bell for her good natured concern of all the graduate students and for putting so much effort into helping us along and making our journey through university rules and forms so much easier.

Heartfelt thanks go to my husband, Heinz Pyszczyk, for his steadying influence and always available encouragement and assistance. And very special thanks to my father, whose constant encouragement and never-failing faith in my abilities lifted me through the inevitable low times.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate some of the processes involved in the formation of archaeological sites, more specifically; those involved in the transfer of items from an ongoing cultural system to their subsequent depositional context. This investigation is ultimately directed toward formulation of a quantitative transformation model (Schiffer 1976) through comparisons of relative quantities of goods listed in inventories of the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company, with relative quantities of artifacts recovered from two early fur trading posts. The degree of representativeness of the archaeological record will be tested; in addition, some hypotheses concerning the processes affecting disposal and survival of certain classes of goods will be formulated, based on behavioral considerations derived from historical documents. It is also intended that this analysis demonstrate the utility of historical archaeology in formulating and testing behavioral hypotheses relevant to other archaeological and anthropological studies.

This type of study is important since assumptions about the comparability between archaeological remains and past cultural behavior are at the very base of all subsequent interpretations. They are the foundations upon which theories are built and must therefore be made as sound as possible. It is thus important to understand how different behaviors

are displayed in various archaeological contexts, and what other cultural and noncultural factors may act on archaeological remains to distort relevant patternings. This study will examine specific aspects of these behavioral processes using a valuable but generally ignored data base, which may allow formulation of general behavioral principles affecting artifact deposition.

Theoretical Development

In order to place this research in proper context, consideration will be given to the historical development of theory concerning behavioral interpretations of archaeological data, as well as theory in historical archaeology.

Cultural Processes

Prior to the 1930s, North American archaeology consisted mainly of descriptive and chronological studies (c.f., Willey and Sabloff 1974). In the late 1930s, some researchers began to suggest that attempts at behavioral interpretations should be made, in particular, methods of manufacture and use (e.g., Strong 1936, Kluckhohn 1940). Steward and Setzler (1938) maintained that archaeologists were so immersed in minute detail, that they never came to grips with the "larger objectives" of archaeology. Taylor (1948) suggested that a "conjunctive approach" be utilized to get at behavioral factors. This approach encompassed our present day interdisciplinary approach and the scientific method of hypothesis

testing. In his ideas concerning the nature of archaeological data, Taylor was probably two decades ahead of his time. However, he was not totally ignored, since some researchers exhibited concern about their methods and goals (Willey and Sabloff 1974:145).

The next major theoretical milestone came in 1958, when Willey and Phillips stated "Archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing" (1958:2). This contention, coupled with additional urging by Lewis Binford (1962) led to a new climate in archaeology, in which almost any type of behavioral interpretation could be attempted, and the emphasis was on explanation of archaeological remains in terms of interactions of nonmaterial aspects of culture and environment. Refinement of methods was also deemed necessary (c.f., Deetz 1970, Gummerman 1973), both in excavation and interpretation, and the use of the "scientific method" of investigation was advocated (Watson et al. 1971).

Some interesting studies resulted from this new outlook (e.g., Hill 1968, Longacre 1968, Flannery 1968). However, some caution was interjected by Michael Schiffer (1972), when he pointed out that the archaeological record was not as clearcut as some appeared to believe, and that there were cultural and noncultural processes involved in the formation and distortion of archaeological remains. He suggested methods for recognizing and dealing with some of these processes (1976), so that they would not adversely affect interpretations. There

have been other contributors to this new emphasis (e.g., Reid 1974, Deetz 1977, Rathje and McCarthy 1977), all pointing out new directions to pursue in the investigation of cultural behavior in the archaeological record.

Historical Archaeology

The development of theoretical orientations in historical archaeology has been painstakingly slow, with a single dominant question until very recently: Should this field of research be a subdiscipline of history or anthropology? This debate began in 1910 with Carl Russel Fish who advocated a close connection with history, as did Harrington when the debate resurfaced in 1955. However, it was not until the formation of the Society for Historical Archaeology and the first annual conference in 1967 that the debate came to the fore and became an important theoretical discussion. Some researchers were strongly against the "intrusion" of anthropological principles into what they believed should be a purely historical discipline (e.g., Noel Hume 1969; Walker 1967, 1972; Dollar 1968). In fact, Walker (1967) went so far as to state that historical archaeology should avoid "getting bogged down in aimless theory".

There were numerous outcries from anthropologically oriented historical archaeologists (e.g., Fontana 1968, Cleland and Fitting 1968, Schuyler 1970), who, it now appears, eventually won the debate. These archaeologists pointed out

that to restrict the use of historical data to simple historic documentation was a grave underestimation of the power of these data. They stated that by approaching historic sites with an anthropological perspective, some major theoretical and methodological contributions could be made. Some even pointed out that historic archaeology had some advantages over prehistoric archaeology in furthering the aims of anthropology (e.g., Schuyler 1970, Klein 1973), in particular, better initial control over the data base, so that interpretations and methods can be better evaluated.

Historical archaeology can be used to test methods of excavation and interpretation in prehistoric archaeology, as well as to shed some light on processes operating in the formation of the archaeological record. Behavioral patterns which may be applicable to prehistoric situations can be identified in historic sites. In short, historical archaeology provides many possibilities to formulate and test hypotheses about human behavior which should be useful in anthropology in general, and in prehistoric archaeology in particular.

The Research Problem

One of the first practical attempts to demonstrate the theoretical applicability of historical archaeology was Stanley South's (1977) Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology. Here he stressed that historical archaeologists must provide rigorous quantitative data so that patterns may

be recognized, leading to an understanding of cultural processes (South 1977:31). Based on comparisons of relative percentages of artifacts across several assemblages, he derives some refuse disposal patterns and "artifact patterns", which are interpreted as demonstrating behavioral variations in different cultural contexts. Unfortunately, the manner in which South attempted this is wrought with problems; however, he gave historical archaeologists a much needed push to get moving on the anthropological track.

One of the more potentially useful aspects of South's book was his attempts to compare his artifact patterns to historical documents, specifically wills (South 1977:190-198), to test the validity of the archaeologically derived "patterns" with the presumed cultural reality. This attempt was very inconclusive, primarily due to the inadequacies of wills for this purpose; however, it was this part of the book which prompted the analysis contained in this thesis. South's book, together with Schiffer's attempts to delineate formation processes, form the theoretical basis of this research.

During consideration of South's assemblage-will comparisons, it was suspected that more representative historical documents must exist; wills generally contain only those items considered valuable. The fur trade inventories used here are relatively complete lists of all items thought to be necessary in carrying on the trading business and maintaining the lives of fort employees. Therefore, these lists present a more or less complete "potential tool kit" of the items which were

likely present at the forts, with the minor exceptions of the very few personal belongings allowed to company employees. Thus, quantitative comparisons of these inventories with artifact collections from historic forts, should indicate the extent to which the archaeological remains reflect the original cultural situation.

Toward this end, the thesis begins with some theoretical considerations concerning behavioral representations. Chapter 3 presents the archaeological and historical background, including relevant aspects of lifestyles and behavior of fort inhabitants, and discussion of the nature of the inventory lists. The last three chapters present the analysis of the quantitative comparisons, discussion of the results, and general conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Nature of Archaeological Assemblages

The only definite statement which can be made about archaeological assemblages is that they are the remains of past human activity filtered through various mechanisms. This is the only fact of archaeology - all other statements are based on assumptions, analogies, theories and logic. The first logical jump is made when it is stated that these remains, being products of culture, must somehow "represent" that culture. The next major assumption seems to be that the tools are dropped where they are used and consequently it should be possible to recognize specific activities, tool groups related to each type of activity, and relationships between activities from spatial arrangements. Such interpretive considerations are functional-technological, which are generally considered to be fairly reasonable and highly probable. However, there are certainly many more aspects of culture, and recently archaeologists have been concentrating on more "tenuous" types of interpretations concerning non-material aspects of culture. As a major proponent of this direction of research, Binford has stated:

> Granted we cannot excavate a kinship terminology or a philosophy, but we can and do excavate the material items which functioned together with these

> more behavioral elements within the appropriate cultural subsystems. (Binford 1962:219)

Binford stresses that no limitations should be placed on what information archaeological assemblages contain, that theoretically every aspect of the living culture is represented in the material remains and that only artificial limits are imposed by present methods of observation and interpretation. Such less empirical interpretations are more difficult to justify, thus the theoretical foundations must be very carefully constructed, a process only recently begun.

What, then, do archaeological assemblages represent? At this time, there can be no definitive answer, since investigative and interpretive techniques are still improving rapidly. Archaeologists are now proposing types of behavioral inferences which would have been thought to be impossible speculation only 20 years ago. Unfortunately, some researchers have been too eager in their zeal to make grand interpretations (e.g., Binford 1968, 1972) and have not considered the "validity of archaeological inferential methodology" (Bonnichsen 1973), a practice termed "leapfrogging" by Tringham (1978). Thus, with careful refinement of this inferential methodology, the archaeological assemblage will represent more and more to us. However, it must always be kept in mind that it is impossible to be absolutely sure of behavioral interpretations; they will remain, at best, statements of probability.

Not only must the validity of initial assumptions be examined, but all possible factors involved in the formation

and subsequent alteration of the archaeological assemblage must be investigated as well. Binford's initial zeal was misdirected when he stated that archaeological remains are a "...'fossil' record of the actual operation of an extinct society" (1964:425). In fact, as Schiffer has succinctly noted:

> Between the time artifacts were manufactured and used in the past and the time these same objects are unearthed by the archaeologist, they have been subjected to a series of cultural and noncultural processes which have transformed them spatially, quantitatively, formally, and relationally. (1976:11)

This marks the beginning of recognition of the complexity of the archaeological assemblage, and the difficulties in defining the relationship between it and cultural reality, that is, the original integration and operation of the cultural system.

Schiffer (1976) identifies processes affecting the archaeological record, as cultural and noncultural formation processes. He groups these into specific types of processes based on how they contribute to the transformation of items between and within systemic context (that is, the living behavioral system) and archaeological context:

1. S-A processes - those resulting in cultural deposition.
2. A-S processes - those which remove items from the archaeological context back into a behavioral system.
3. A-A processes - natural post-depositional factors.

4. S-S processes - those which convert items from state to state within the behavioral system.

The latter are the most difficult to identify and deal with, since they often do not leave any evidence in the archaeological record. These include lateral cycling (change in user); recycling, where the object is changed in form suitable for a different use; secondary use, when an object is used for a new purpose without modification; manufacturing processes, that is, conversion of raw materials into useable items; curation; and choices of locations of activity areas on and around the site.

Another set of behavioral processes are S-A processes. These include discard methods, loss of objects, site abandonment processes and burial practices.

A-A and A-S processes are all post-depositional and include ploughing and other later land uses; rodent, root and carnivore activity; sedimentation processes; environmental and geological disturbances; preservation factors; later scavenging or "potting" of sites, and archaeological excavations.

Once the relevant processes have been identified, they are used as the basis for formulation of cultural (C) and non-cultural (N) transforms, defined as principles which specify the variables resulting in the form of the cultural deposit as found. Each of the above processes can be represented by an appropriate C- or N- transform. Some examples are:

1. Loss probability varies inversely with an object's mass (Schiffer 1976:32).

2. The more useful and scarce a raw material, the more likely it is to be recycled.
3. The more useful an item, the more maintenance effort will be involved, and the less likely it is to be discarded in other than an exhausted state.

Such transforms may then be used to formulate test implications and hypotheses concerning the nature of the archaeological record; what materials are expected to be deposited in a particular spatial configuration and what evidence could result from particular types of modification processes. Lack of understanding of all the relevant processes will result in lack of ability to validly interpret the important behavioral implications of the archaeological record (c.f. Bonnichsen 1973). Hypotheses regarding relationships between archaeological and systemic contexts will be specifically formulated with respect to the data of this analysis following presentation of background information; relevant formation processes will be subsequently discussed. The analysis will concentrate on behavioral factors (that is, S-A and S-S processes), since historical archaeological studies are among the very few (including ethnoarchaeological and urban archaeological studies) in which such factors can be investigated.

CHAPTER 3

THE DATA BASE

Archaeological Recovery Methods

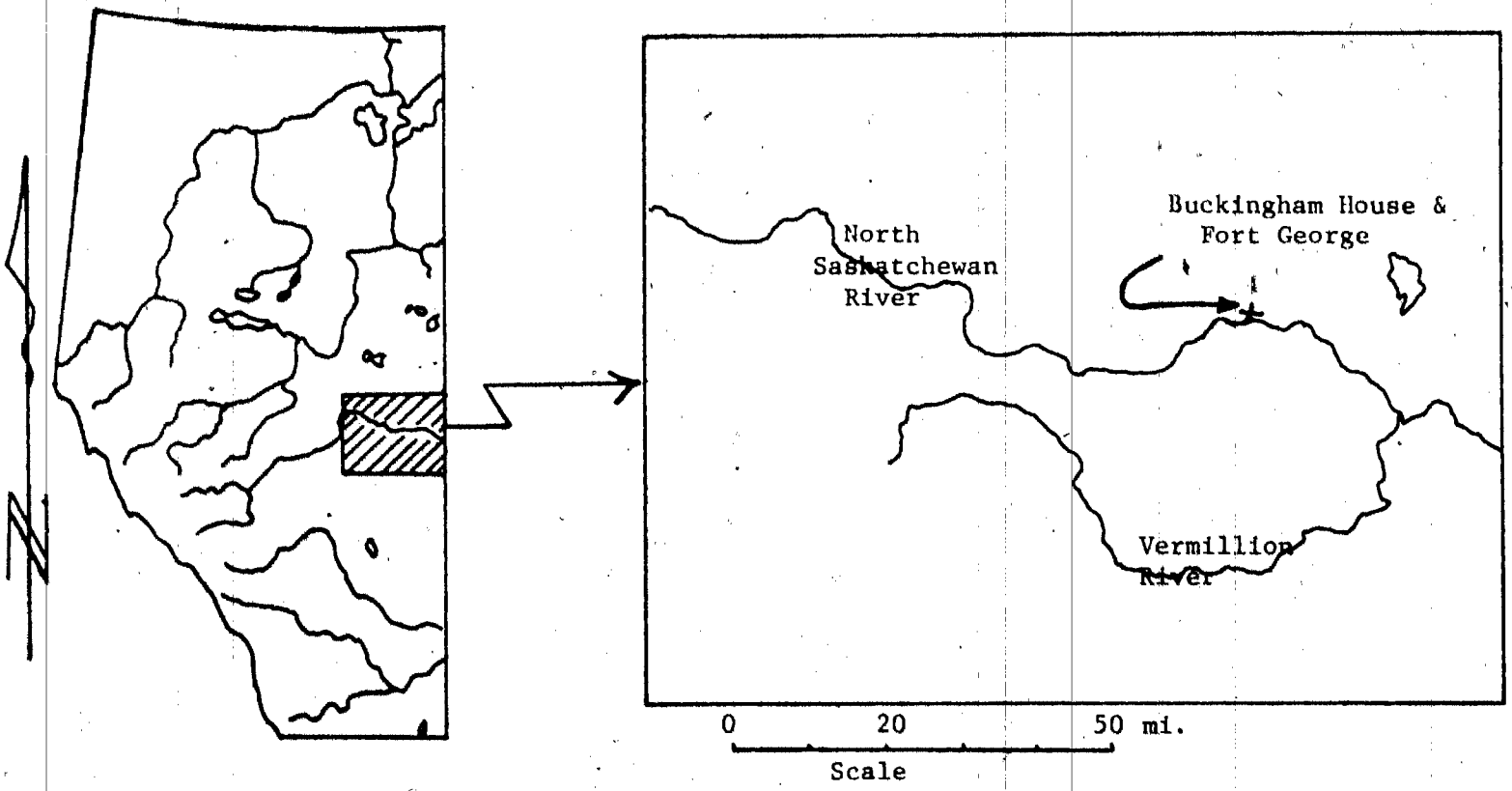
Fort George and Buckingham House are situated on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan River (about 0.4 km apart), approximately 48 km west of the Alberta-Saskatchewan boundary and 240 km north east of Edmonton (Fig. 1). They were the first historic fur trading posts in Alberta to be investigated archaeologically. Work began at Fort George in 1965, marking the beginning of a Provincial Museum of Alberta program in historical archaeology. Buckingham House was extensively tested the following year by a Provincial Museum team (Hurlburt 1977).

The major emphasis in this analysis will be on Fort George, since that is the site at which the author conducted fieldwork. Information from Buckingham House will be included for comparative purposes.

Fort George

In 1964, the Alberta Historic Sites Advisory Committee decided to begin a historic archaeology program at Buckingham House. At that time, Fort George was believed to be Buckingham House; thus, in 1965 Robert Kidd of the Provincial Museum of Alberta began excavations at Fort George. The site was virtually undisturbed up to that point, with the exception of

Fig. 1. Map of Alberta showing location of Fort George and Buckingham House. (After Losey et. al. 1978)



the east palisade area which was ploughed. Kidd spent two and a half months testing the main house at the north end of the site. The following year, he spent three weeks testing the hangard. In 1967, the two months of excavations were aimed at testing most of the site area to locate palisade lines, cellars, building walls and the blacksmith's shop. In 1970, several days were spent excavating a chimney in the main house. Unfortunately, Kidd was not the first person to dig at Fort George. Steve Andrishak of Elk Point had periodically visited the site with a metal detector for over 30 years. However, it appears that his digging was relatively localized, mostly in the vicinity of the large midden south of the south palisade.

Buckingham House and Fort George were chosen by the Alberta government for possible reconstruction as a historic park. It was discovered that reconstruction of Fort George could not proceed without more structural detail. Thus, in 1977, Dr. Timothy Losey was given an excavation contract; the project was run as an archaeological field school sponsored by the University of Alberta.

In 1977, four months of excavation concentrated on identifying corner construction techniques of the main house, investigating a previously unexcavated area between the main house and the north end of the west structure. In 1978, due to governmental directives, the strategy was to open as much area as possible; thus, in three and a half months the north,

south and east palisade lines were completely exposed, the hangard was totally excavated, and almost the entire west structure was opened. Work at Fort George is expected to continue for two more seasons.

Excavation techniques and strategies employed on the site have been variable, generally dependent on aims of excavation and types of features. Kidd's excavation strategy was directed toward extensive testing of the entire site (Kidd 1971:214). This approach resulted in numerous small, shallow units across the whole site (Fig. 2), contributing to a general understanding of the site, but little detail. With Losey, the strategy became more intensive, resulting in detailed knowledge of construction methods of several complete features (Fig. 3).

In general, excavation methods involved shovel-shaving of the shallow overburden to a level slightly above suspected features, then trowelling and brushing to completely expose features. The north, east and about half of the south palisades were initially exposed by bulldozer and levelled by shovel-shaving and trowelling.

Almost all matrix removed was screened through one-fourth inch mesh, except in 1978 when only about fifty percent of matrix was screened, due to the volume of work required by the contract. Palisades were only sample screened. Where high bead concentrations became evident, one millimeter mesh was used. Artifacts and bones were not normally mapped in

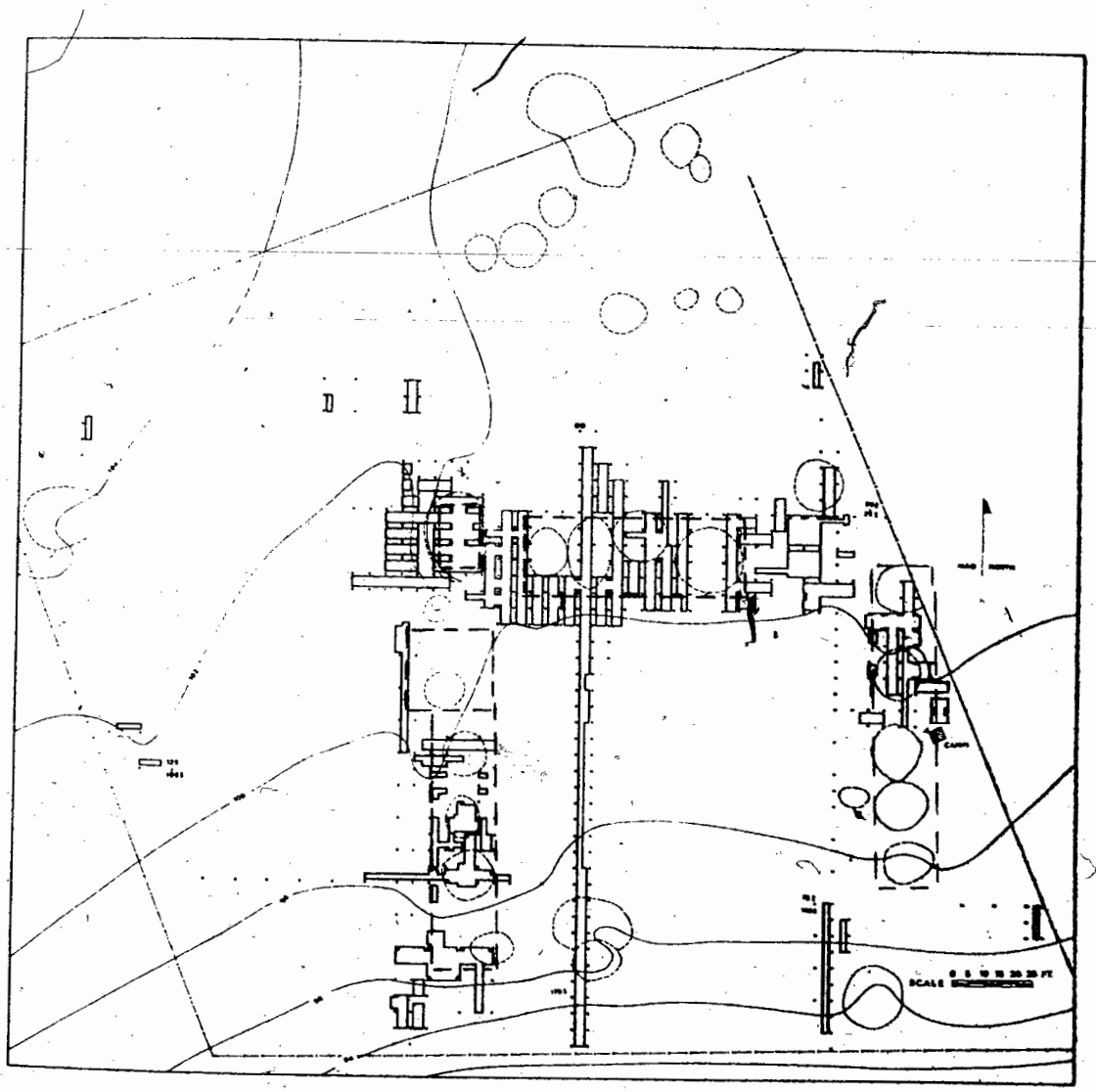


Fig. 2. Excavations at Fort George, 1965 - 1970 (After Kidd 1971).

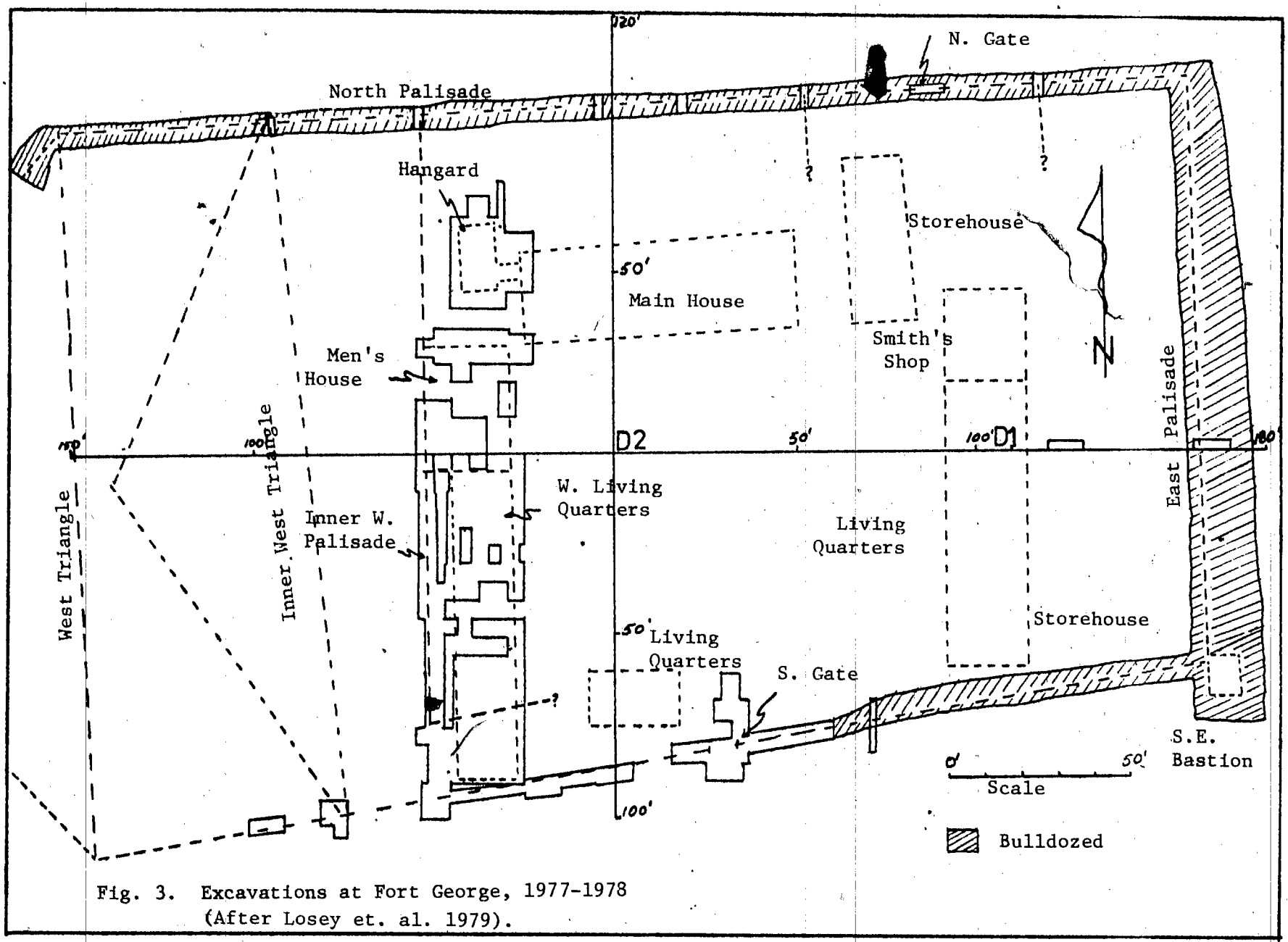


Fig. 3. Excavations at Fort George, 1977-1978 (After Losey et. al. 1979).

situ; the historic living surface is about one inch in depth and the great majority of undisturbed artifacts occur within this level. Control was maintained within ten feet square (or smaller) units by changing provenience numbers frequently as excavations proceeded in depth (the historic living surface was assigned separate provenience), or by assigning different provenience numbers to various features within one excavation unit. Thus, artifacts can be located within a maximum area of ten by ten feet (usually smaller) and within a very few inches in depth. More accurate vertical control of individual artifacts was not deemed necessary, due to the short period of site occupation. For further details regarding excavation strategies and methods, the reader is referred to Kidd (1971) and to Losey et al. (1978, 1979).

The tentative plan of the fort as it is known thus far, is shown in Figure 3. Interpretations of probable building functions are primarily based on architectural features, with artifacts providing secondary confirmation.

A substantial amount of evidence suggests much constructional activity at Fort George during its eight year occupation. For instance, the west living quarters were removed, indicated by deliberate filling of all cellars and removal of rocks from all fireplaces. This building was apparently replaced by the smaller men's house.

The palisades provide additional evidence of rebuilding. The posts were apparently removed from the inner west palisade

trench, and the men's house west sill is superimposed over that trench. There is evidence of a south trench running under the west living quarters, joining the inner west trench and angling along the same line as the south palisade. There are also two triangular enclosures at the west end of the compound, the furthermost west one lacking posts in the area thus far exposed (see Fig. 3).

On the basis of the archaeological evidence, some tentative construction phases have been proposed (Fig. 4). Such a large amount of constructional change is certainly surprising over an eight year span of occupation; there are indications from the Buckingham House journals that it is related to fluctuations in trade volumes at these forts, and to some extent, anticipated Indian attacks. The effects of such activity on artifact distributions were probably quite severe; effects on artifact content were probably less, a proposition to be discussed later.

Buckingham House

There is yet no final report available on the excavations at Buckingham House; this section is based on a preliminary draft report (J. Nicks 1977) as well as personal communications with J. Nicks.

Most of the site was extensively and continuously cultivated for many years (possibly since 1915), until it was purchased by the Alberta Government in 1959. Some "potting" was also done by Steve Andrishak.

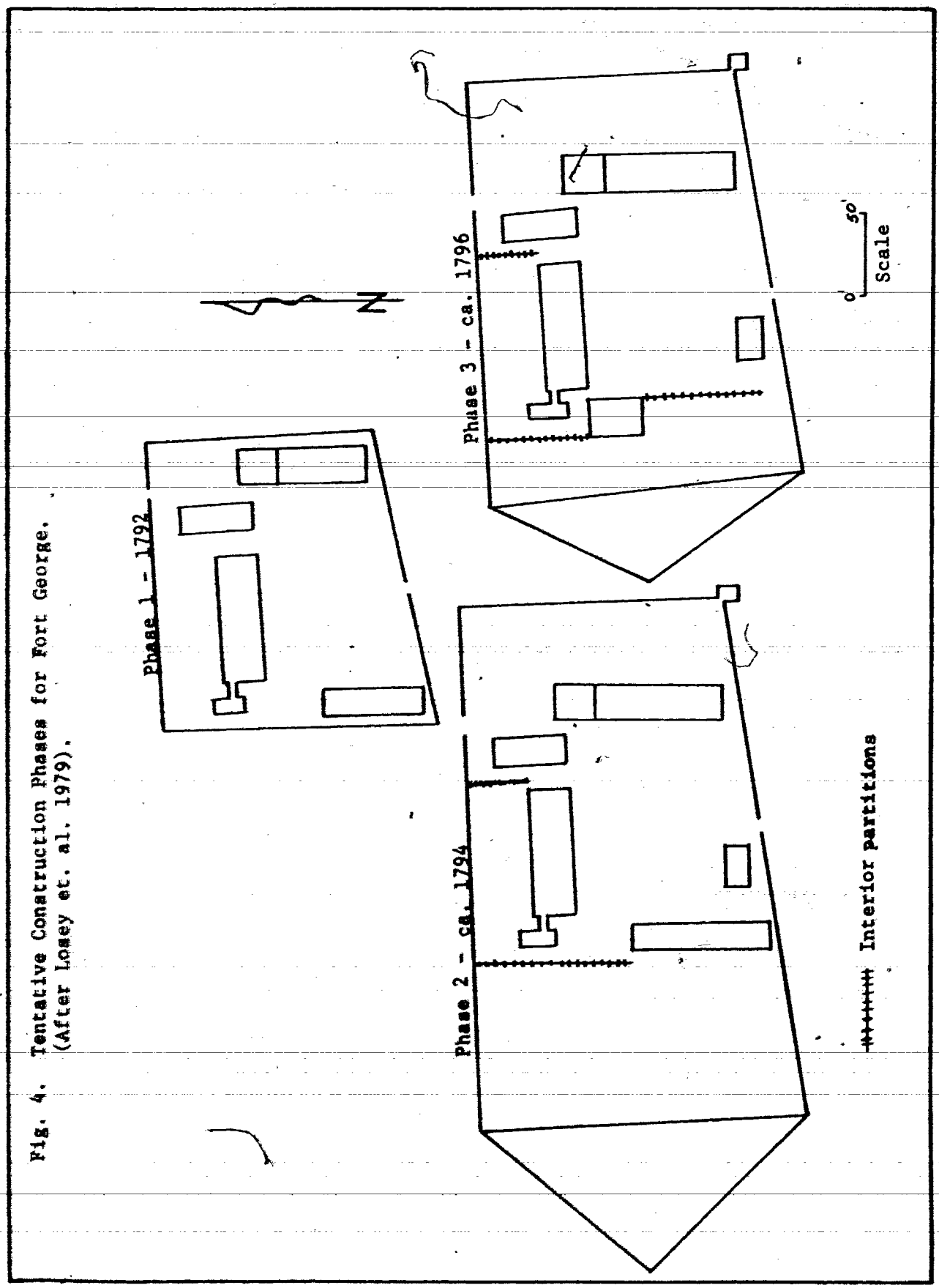


Fig. 4. Tentative Construction Phases for Fort George. (After Losey et. al. 1979).

Robert Kidd directed the Provincial Museum of Alberta excavations in 1966, which consisted of extensive testing to locate palisade and building features. The 1971 and 1972 investigations, under Gertrude Nicks, involved more intensive excavations with complete exposure of palisades and major buildings in the cultivated area. This involved stripping the entire area by grader and tractor. Additionally, in 1972, some hand excavation was carried out in the uncultivated portion, which consisted of the eastern edge of the site and the north east corner. In preparation for potential reconstruction, some small structural details were investigated in 1975 under the direction of John Nicks.

Excavation and artifact recovery strategies varied with the changes in directors and changes in directives from the government. Excavation units were generally five or ten feet square, at maximum. In all instances where screening occurred, one-fourth inch mesh was utilized, as well as some sample screening through finer mesh. All matrix associated with features was screened, except from palisades; in 1975 it was felt that an adequate sample of artifacts had been recovered, and screening was restricted to midden areas and undisturbed strata (Hurlburt 1977:10). In most cases, artifacts occurring within structures were measured in individually; this was not the case in refuse areas, where artifacts are locatable by excavation unit (J. Nicks, personal communication).

Buckingham House also shows some evidence of constructional change, although it is not as extensive as that at Fort George. Figure 5 shows the floor plan, and the palisade expansions of 1794. It has been suggested that these expansions were due to an effort to increase defensive capabilities (Nicks 1977:5).

Comparison of Recovery Techniques

In general, the excavation and recovery methods used at both sites were grossly similar. Table 1 summarizes the methods and gives some rough estimates of the percentages of total site area to which these methods were applied.

At both sites, the dominant excavation method was shaving off the overburden, then trowelling to expose features; the fact that a grader was used at Buckingham House should not have affected the structural remains of the historic occupation, as it was only used to remove disturbed overburden. Agricultural ploughing likely caused much more damage to features, although probably had less effect on artifact content, since there is evidence to suggest that repeated ploughing moves objects back and forth and up and down, within a small area (Pyszczyk, personal communication). Ploughing and bulldozing, taken individually, would have few effects relevant to this study; however, taken together in such a situation as Buckingham House, they almost certainly resulted in the removal or displacement of some items. The ploughing

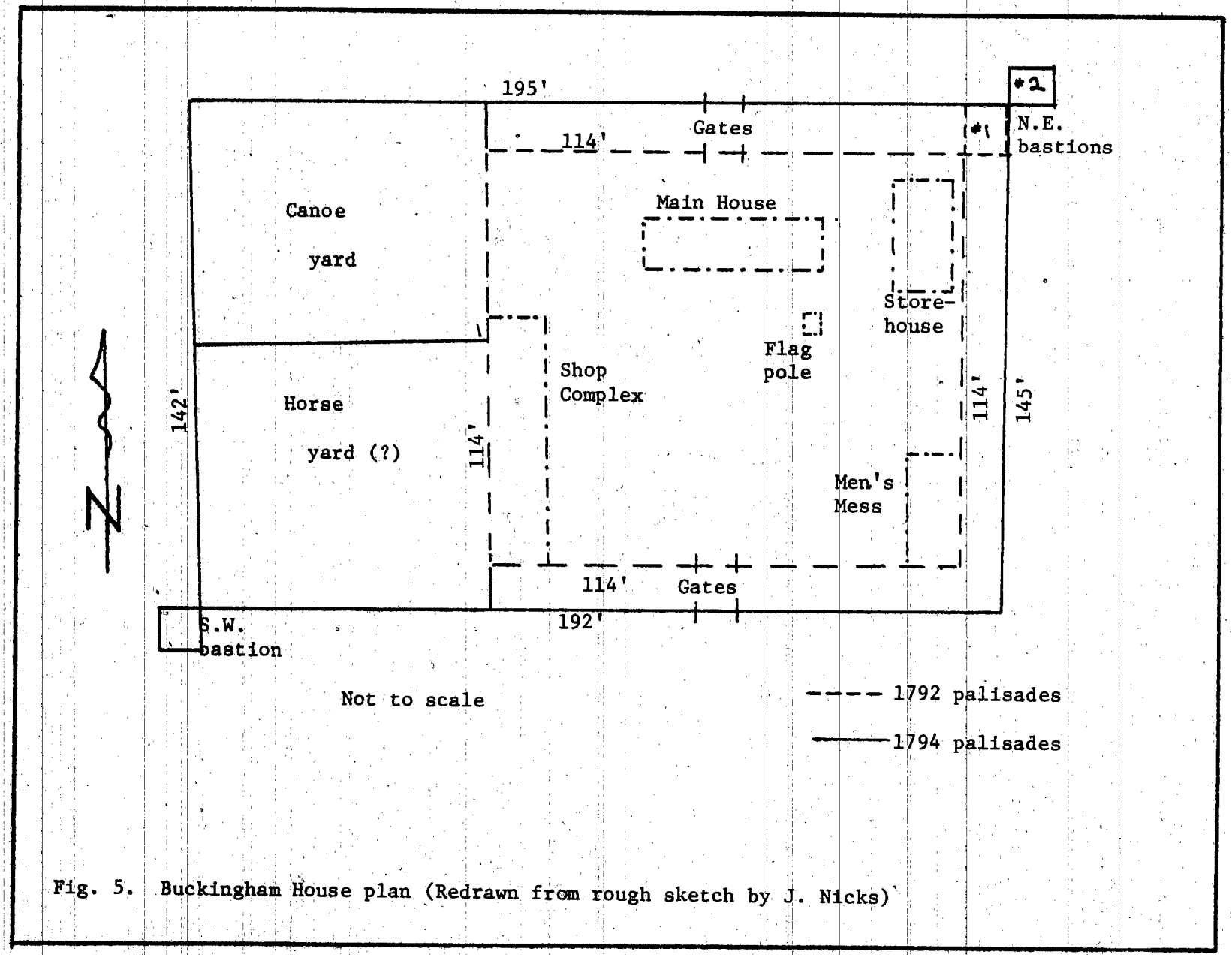


Fig. 5. Buckingham House plan (Redrawn from rough sketch by J. Nicks)

Table 1. Comparison of archaeological recovery methods used at Fort George and Buckingham House (by percentage).

	Fort George	Buckingham House
Cultivated	15	90
Bulldozed	11	90
Excavated		
- total site area	60	80
- buildings	80	100
- palisades	60	100
- compound	10	50?
- surrounding area	near 0	Tested
Screened (of excavated portion)		
- total site area	50	50?
- buildings	80	100
- palisades	10	5?
- compound	100	10?
- surrounding area	100	100
Fine screened	±2?	±2?

would have left some unknown proportion of the cultural remains in the "overburden", which was subsequently bulldozed into one big heap (and not sample screened). The quantitative effects of these processes cannot be estimated at this site since there are no controls; these must be quantified through experimentation. However, logically it can be postulated that these disturbances should have affected the entire site similarly and that no one particular artifact class would be differentially affected. In other words, the cultural materials remaining in the ground, are assumed representative of those bulldozed away. This assumption must stand until detailed experiments on the effects of ploughing have been completed.

Although Fort George has not been as totally excavated as Buckingham House, virtually all building features at Fort George have been sampled and most have had a large proportion of area excavated (see Figs. 2 and 3). The primary difference in terms of features excavated at the two sites is that two middens outside the fort were tested at Buckingham House, while virtually no outside testing was done at Fort George. However, several areas within Fort George (e.g., filled cellars), contained substantial amounts of refuse. Therefore, the artifact sample from Fort George should be as representative as that of Buckingham House, and further excavations will likely not result in any new artifact types, nor, it must be assumed, greatly alter relative quantities.

Screening strategies were basically similar at both sites, as suggested by Table 1; one-fourth inch mesh was primarily used at both sites, and the proportion of the sample fine screened at both sites was probably also similar.

It thus appears reasonable to conclude that excavation and artifact recovery techniques should not have differentially affected either sample to any significant extent. Therefore, these sites should be comparable in terms of assemblage composition, that is, the excavated samples truly represent the total cultural inventories in the entire site volumes.

Fur Trade History

The Hudson's Bay Company, established in 1670 by an Act of the British Parliament had assumed monopoly trading rights to the entire Northwestern North America. This was not challenged until half a century later, first by the French and later by independent Canadian traders.

During this initial period, the Hudson's Bay Company's policy of conducting trade consisted of establishing trading posts at the Bay on the major rivers leading west, and convincing the interior Indians to come to them. This was naturally the most economical method of gaining the greatest returns, and by 1750, the Company's influence extended to the Rocky Mountains (Heidenreich and Ray 1976:43).

However, beginning in the 1730s, the French began to move west from the Great Lakes and by 1753 they had established a

trading post at the forks of the Saskatchewan River. This action allowed the French to intercept the Indians on their way to Hudson's Bay; however, the British conquest of Canada in 1763 effectively removed the French competition.

This reprieve for the Hudson's Bay Company was brief, however, as in 1767 independent traders from Montreal began to establish posts on the Saskatchewan River. Although this influx caused major declines in profits at the Bay posts (c.f., Williams 1969), the Hudson's Bay Company was still reluctant to move into direct competition; finally in 1774, they realized that there was no alternative but to pursue the Canadians inland, and established Cumberland House on Pine Island Lake.

More independent traders arrived and competition among themselves as well as with the Hudson's Bay Company became fierce. By 1780, the need for a union of the independents became obvious since individual competition with the established and well financed Hudson's Bay Company as well as with each other, was simply too expensive. Additionally, trading permits and transportation rights were more difficult to obtain for individual traders than for a company, and smallpox had begun to decimate some Indian populations, creating a shortage of furs (Morton 1929). Thus, the first North West Company was formed in 1784, initially a five year agreement, with a pooling of goods and division of each year's profits; this agreement was renewed several times over the following thirty-five years.

This union of Canadian traders strengthened their position against the Hudson's Bay Company and the rivalry was heightened. The two companies began leapfrogging up the North Saskatchewan River (Fig. 6), both trying to establish holds over new fur rich areas and neither gaining any great advantage. Generally, the North West Company seemed to be the forerunner, establishing the first posts in new areas, but the Hudson's Bay Company was never far behind. Thus, the North West Company established Fort George in what is now Alberta, in the spring of 1792 and the Hudson's Bay Company opened Buckingham House only 400 yards to the west in the fall of the same year. Both forts were totally abandoned by 1800.

Life in Early Fur Trade Posts

Activities

In order to better understand the archaeological remains, an examination of the historic literature was undertaken, with respect to daily activities carried out within forts, particularly those connected with tools and trade goods. The tabulation of daily activities (Table 2) is based on the following journals:

1. Edmonton House 1795-1799, by William Tomison and George Sutherland (Johnson 1967).
2. Buckingham House 1792-1799, by William Tomison and Peter Fidler (Hudson's Bay Company Archives (B.49/a/1 to 6).

Fig. 6. Expansion of the fur trade in the Saskatchewan District, 1775 - 1800.

1. Sturgeon Fort (1776)
2. Lower Hudson House (1779)
3. Fort de I'Isle (1786)
4. Manchester House (1786)
5. South Branch Houses (1786)
6. Fort George (1792)
   Buckingham House (1792)
7. Fort St. Louis (1794)
8. Carleton House (1795)
9. Fort Augustus (1795)
10. Edmonton House (1795)
11. Upper Terre Blanche (1799)
12. Nelson House (1799)
13. Rocky Mountain House (1799)
14. Acton House (1799)
15. Chesterfield Houses (1800)

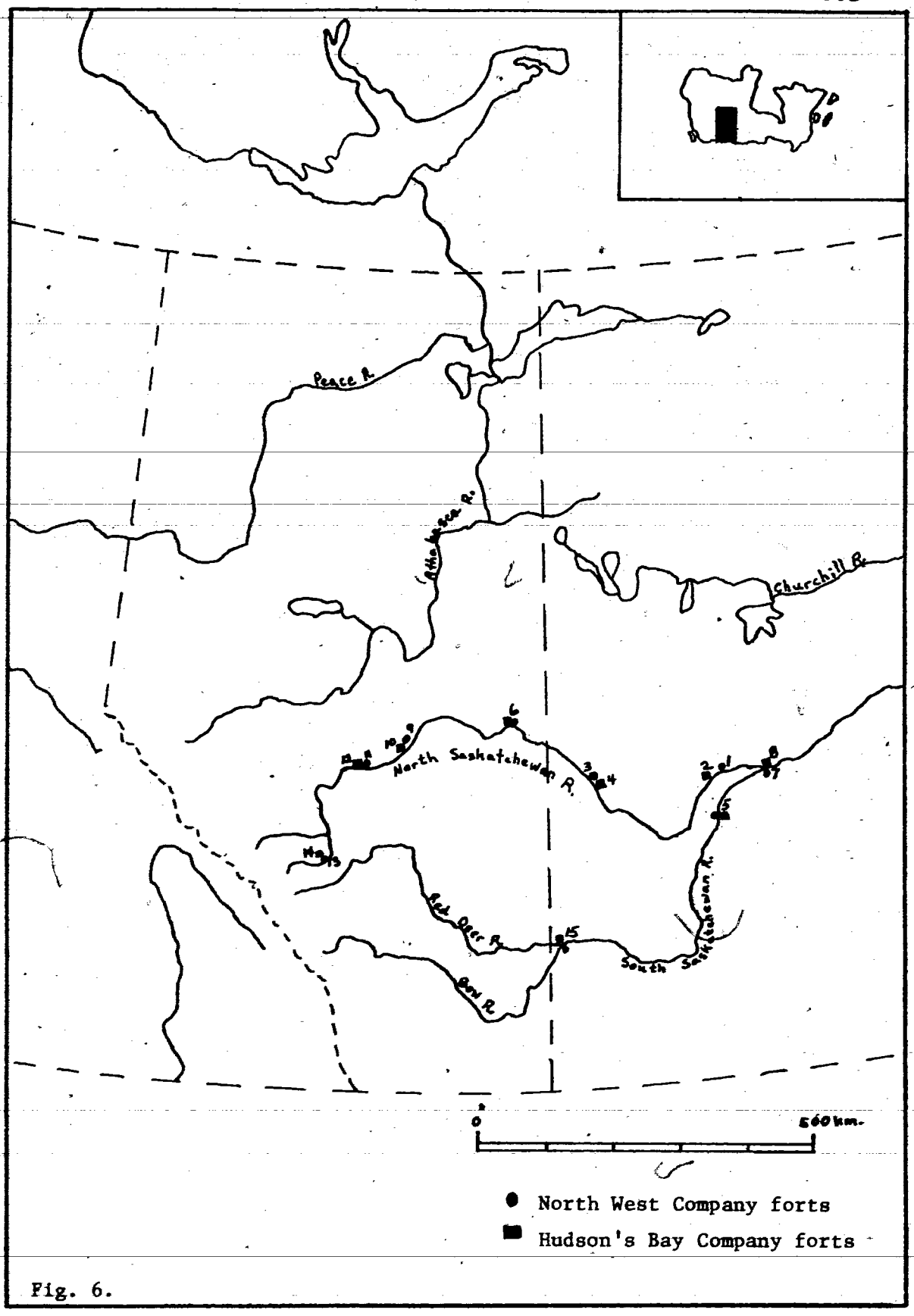

Peace R.
Athabasca R.
Churchill R.
North Saskatchewan R.
Red Deer R.
South Saskatchewan R.
Bow R.
0
560 km.
North West Company forts
Hudson's Bay Company forts

Fig. 6.

Table 2. Daily Activities in Saskatchewan District Fur Trading Posts.

June to early September
- tending gardens
- cutting firewood
- repairing fort structures

Late September to early October
- canoes arrive
  - goods unpacked and inventoried
- some trading - men watch storehouse
- gathering garden produce

October
- finish repairs around fort
- cutting firewood
- collect hay for horses
- lay up canoes for winter
- hauling meat from hunters' tent(s)
- some men leave to winter on Plains

November to February
- some trading throughout winter
- major employ of most men is cutting firewood
- hauling meat
- clearing snow from yard
- making soap
- making charcoal for smith
- tradesmen very busy:
  - smith making steels, awl blades, repairing guns & hatchets, making various metal items
  - carpenter repairing structural problems, directing wood cutting for various repairs & canoe, boat building
  - tailor making Indian clothing and repairing & making clothing for men
  - cooper making kegs

March
- begin building or repairing fur press
- hauling ice & snow into meat storage house
- cutting firewood
- making pemmican
- building or repairing boats and canoes
- major trading period begins - men watch trading store

April
- begin repairs of fort
- repairing canoes & boats
- packing fur bundles
- bagging pemmican
- clearing and preparing garden

Table 2. Daily Activities in Saskatchewan District Fur Trading Posts (continued).

May

- pitching and gumming canoes
- cleaning winter debris from buildings & yard
- second major wave of trading - men watch store
- finish packing fur bundles and pemmican
- clearing and preparing garden

End of May

- planting garden
- most men leave with eastbound canoes and boats

Note: Saturdays were often reserved for light or special duties, e.g., cleaning fort.
Sundays were always rest days.

3. Fort George 1794-1795, by Duncan M'Gillivray (Morton 1929).

4. Fort Vermilion 1809-1810, by Alexander Henry (Coues 1897).

These journals, in addition to many others examined, reveal a very similar common routine. Only two periods during the year were hectic in Saskatchewan district posts: mid-September to mid-October when the canoes returned laden with trade goods and Indians arrived to trade their summer hunt, and March to May when preparations were underway for the eastward departure of canoes loaded with the year's furs, and many Indians came to trade their winter hunt. During the peak trading times, the men of the fort could do little more than watch the Indians in the trading store.

A primary occupation of the men during the rest of the year was cutting firewood. For example, at Fort Edmonton in January, 1796, an average of approximately 18 men spent 378 man-days cutting and hauling firewood. The only men consistently excused from this duty were the smith, the tailor and Tomison (the chief factor). It is little wonder that they looked forward to the rare privilege of hunting as a diversionary activity (Morton 1929:67).

The work of women in the forts is rarely mentioned. This is likely because both companies frowned on the common practice of taking Indian women as "country wives". At the 1806 annual meeting of the North West Company, it was resolved

that no man be allowed to take an Indian woman into a fort to live with him; daughters of white men were excluded from this rule (Wallace 1934:211). Both companies viewed the women and their children as a great financial burden. However, they did aid substantially in the conduct of the trade, as evidenced by Fidler's 1796/97 journal at Buckingham House:

> ...paid Mag. Spence for his wife and children for making Parchment Skins as much as made 30 Pimmican bags and a great deal of line for tying up Furrs...

and

> (paid Jas. Gaddy's wife) for speaking to the Stone Indians several times in the Winter...(Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.49/a/27b).

It is interesting to note that these statements only appear in Fidler's rough journal for that year and have been omitted in his official journal for submission to the Committee. Thus, besides the normal female chores of cooking, mending and cleaning, the women of the fort and often their children, contributed directly to the business.

Other aspects of life in fur trade posts which are of importance when dealing with artifact inventories are customs of personal hygiene and refuse disposal. These factors will affect the distribution and quantities of artifacts in archaeological contexts. Again, the historic records provide little information on these factors. In general, it appears that the forts were kept relatively clean and that the men exhibited the same attitudes towards personal hygiene as was common in Europe at that time, not particularly good by

today's standards. There are frequent references in journals to the men cleaning the fort yards; for example, at Edmonton House in 1796 and 1797 the fort was cleaned out every Saturday (Johnson 1967). At Chesterfield House in 1800, the yard was cleaned about every second Saturday (Johnson 1967). Although Duncan M'Gillivray does not mention cleaning the yard at Fort George, it cannot be assumed that it was not done, since he tended to avoid writing about more mundane aspects of fort life (Morton 1929:29). Since "the yard" likely referred to the area enclosed within palisades, it can be assumed that the refuse was deposited outside the palisade walls, although precisely where is difficult to ascertain. It appears that in most cases it was dumped in the vicinity of the gates (Fig. 7; c.f. Pyszczyk 1978:85). However, there are some references to rubbish being burned in the spring at Edmonton House (Johnson 1967:117) and at Chesterfield House (ibid:289); in these cases the refuse was likely carried some distance from the fort to prevent fire hazards to the fort. This also has important implications for the archaeology of the fur trade.

There are no references to rubbish pits anywhere within the stockades of the forts, nor any mention of privies. Such features must be identified solely on the basis of archaeological work.

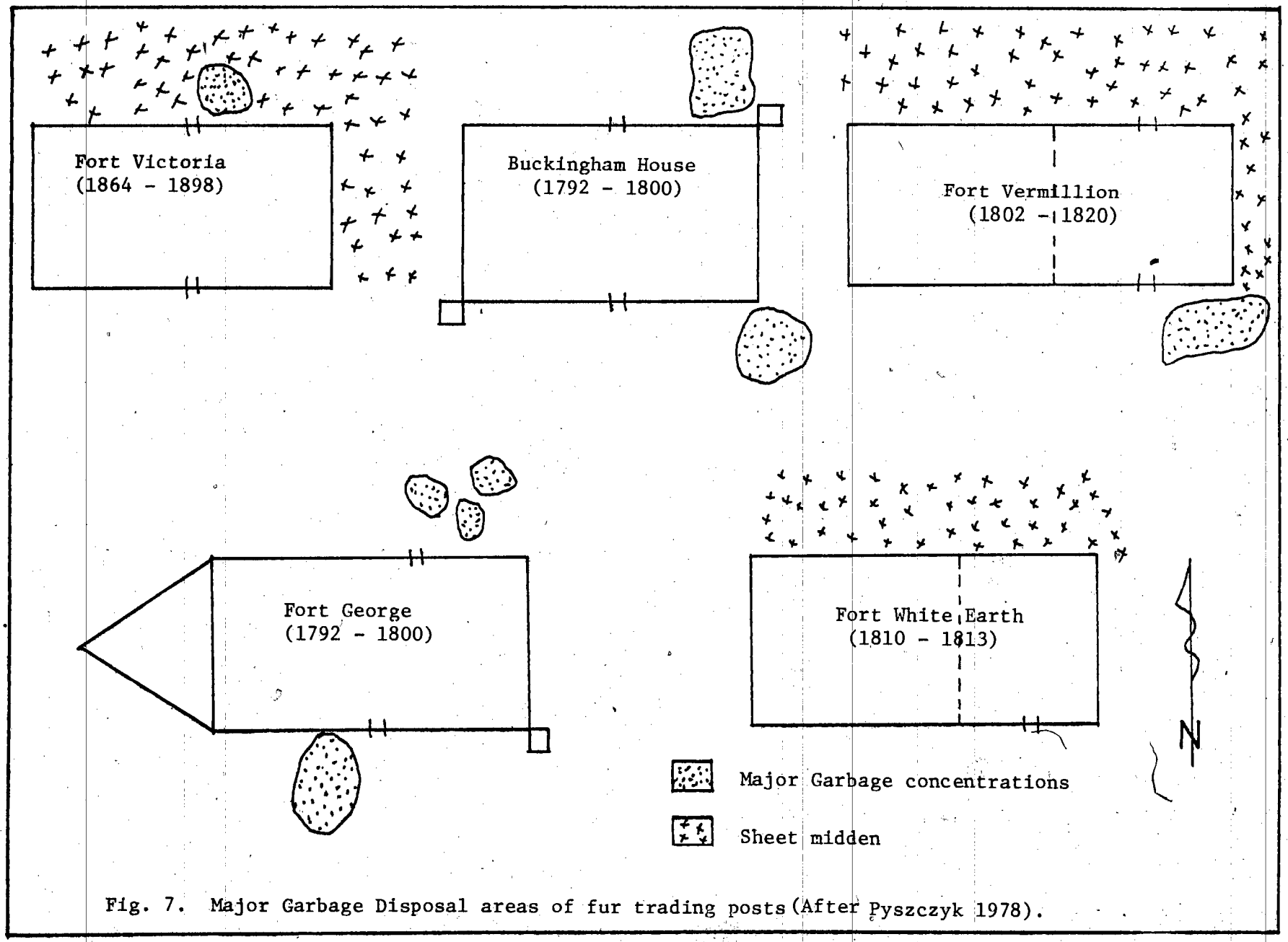


Fig. 7. Major Garbage Disposal areas of fur trading posts (After Pyszczyk 1978).

Trade Goods

Considering the wide range of activities carried on within forts, it is to be expected that a varied collection of artifacts, in some way "representative" of those activities, should remain. Historical documents were examined for references to types of goods used within the forts. This research was directed toward providing predictions of types of goods which could be expected at fort sites.

It would seem reasonable to expect normal household goods and some personal items, but the situation regarding trade goods is less clear. Many were shipped in, but they were meant to be bartered out of the fort. Therefore, should trade goods be found there, what factors contributed to their presence? Those complete trade items found in historic site excavations may have been simply lost while trading with Indians; however, they may have also been deposited while being used by the men and their families within the fort. Were the men permitted access to any trade goods they desired? The historic literature is not particularly helpful in resolving this question. With regard to the policies of the North West Company relating to trade goods, Article 10 of the 1802 North West Company agreement states:

> ...it being the intention that neither of the Parties who winter in the Indian country or who come from Montreal to the Grand Portage on the business of the concern shall be allowed while there out of the common stock more than their personal necessaries but that whatever shall be expended by them or either of them exceeding this

> limitation shall be placed to the account of him or them making such expenditures. (Wallace 1934:115)

It is unclear exactly what are considered "personal necessaries" nor whether "while there" refers only to Grand Portage. Also, this article seems to only relate to the partners of the company. No mention is made of the policy with respect to the workers, though it would seem reasonable to assume that the workmen would have even less access to the goods than the partners.

With regard to the Hudson's Bay Company, David Thompson at York Factory in 1786 notes:

> The men in this service had 8 pounds sterling each year, out of which they had to furnish their clothing and their other necessiarys. The goods sent inland being wholly for the furr trade and provisions, they had to buy all they wanted at the Factory, where every article was plain and good and at a moderate price. That furnished by the Company were a leather coat (instead of Beaver) Cap and Mittens and Snow Shoes. (Hopwood 1971:83)

In Table 3, are listed some of the men's debts from the York Factory account book of 1792-93. Some of these men served in the Saskatchewan District, (e.g., Gilbert Laughton, the very capable smith at Buckingham House and Edmonton House). These debts indicate that the men most often bought clothing and brandy. The most common non-perishable goods obtained by the men were knives, needles and pipes. These records suggest that Thompson's observation regarding the men's inaccessibility to goods at inland posts was still valid in the 1790s.

Table 3. Men's debts, York Factory Account Book 1792-93. (H.B.Co. Archives B.239/d/99)

John Peter Pruden		
Blankets, large	no.	3
Buttons, sleeve	"	3
waistcoat	"	16
Cloth, blue	yds.	2¼
Combs, horn	no.	4
ivory	"	1
Drawers	pr.	1
Duffle	yd.	½
Flannel	"	4½
Handkerchiefs		
silk	no.	1
?	"	3
Hat, common	"	1
fine	"	1
Knives		
best clasp	"	2
common	"	3
Needles	doz.	6
Pot, tin 1 qt.	no.	1
Shirt, cotton	"	3
Shoes	pr.	3
Soap	lb.	9
Stockings		
worsted knit	pr.	4
Sugar, brown	lb.	6
Trousers, cotton	pr.	2
fearnaught	"	1
Twine, fine	sk.	1
Signed		

Magnus Chambers		
Brandy	gal.	2
Drawers, grey	pr.	1
Hat, common	no.	1
Needles	doz.	2
Soap	lb.	1
Sugar loaf	"	6
his X mark		

John Flett		
Brandy	gal.	4
Knife, best clasp	no.	1
Pipes	doz.	6
Signed		

Bengamin Bruce		
Blankets, large	no.	3
Cloth, blue	yd.	1
Combs, horn	no.	2
Duffle, blue	yd.	1½
Flannel	"	2½
Handkerchiefs		
pocket	no.	2
silk	"	3
Hat, common	"	1
Jacket, unlined	"	1
Knives, clasp		
best	"	6
yew	"	6
Needles	doz.	1
Pipes	"	3½
Pots, tin 1 pt.	no.	2
1 qt.	"	1
Soap	lb.	3
Sugar Loaf	"	11
Thread, blue	sk.	4
Tobacco	lb.	3 3/4
Trouser, duck	pr.	2
Twine, fine	sk.	1
Waistcoat		
blue serge	no.	1
Sugar, brown	lb.	5
Signed		

Gilbert Laughton		
Brandy	gal.	3½
Signed		

However, Fidler's Buckingham House journal indicates that Indian women living within the forts did obtain some trade goods. The items paid to Jas. Gaddy's wife as interpreter were: One and one-half yards blue cloth, one yard red cloth, three-fourths pound beads, 20 yards gartering, three knives, two ounces thread, two pounds tobacco, one small silk handkerchief, two combs, one awl, one steel, 12 rings, two needles, two ounces paint, one wood box and one iron tobacco box (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.49/a/27b). It is unclear whether these goods were available to all the women living within the forts since they were Indian and generally had large families outside the fort; however, it is most likely that these disbursements were only in payment for special services. It may not have been a common practice, but only one which Fidler implemented on his own initiative. In any case, it would appear that Hudson's Bay Company trade goods were generally reserved solely for trade, and can thus be expected to have moved out of the forts. It is most likely that the North West Company had a similar policy, since costs of transporting goods inland were so high that the Company would surely have frowned on the men having free access to such expensive goods.

It was also anticipated that the research into historic journals might provide some specific indications of peoples' attitudes towards various types of goods, which would be useful in formulating hypotheses regarding differential disposal

and abandonment behavior. Virtually no such information was located. However, general indications permit some speculation. For instance, larger metal items, considered very useful by both Indians and White men, were relatively scarce in the Western districts, due to distance and carrying difficulties. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that such metal objects would be repaired and recycled frequently, and useable kettles, axes, etc., or fragments thereof rarely discarded or abandoned.

As intimated earlier, men of the forts were permitted few luxury items (that is, objects of no utilitarian value), nor did they appear to desire them; their situation left little place for frivolities. Some of the clerks may have had a few small items of sentimental value, but the average workman did not appear to be interested in such possessions, perhaps because he often had to carry the goods over rough portages along the route from Eastern supply depots. Therefore, few luxury items are to be expected in inland forts, with the possible exception of senior officers' belongings.

In summary, it is obvious that historic journals do not provide clearcut statements concerning tools used in daily activities, types of items required or desired by both men and women, or refuse disposal and hygienic practices. This is not surprising, since people today also do not record such "mundane" aspects of life:

> Simple people doing simple things, the normal, everyday routine of life and how these people thought about it, are not the kinds of things anyone thought worthy of noting. (Deetz 1977:8)

However, these few references can still be used to make predictions about the types of goods we may expect to find in the archaeological context, as well as some gross estimations of relative representations of items used in certain activities. These will be itemized in detail later.

The Inventory Lists

Since Fort George is a North West Company post, it would be most reasonable to use North West Company inventory lists for comparisons with the artifact assemblage. The most useful inventory would be one which lists all goods sent to the western departments, in particular the Saskatchewan district. However, a wide search revealed only one North West Company inventory, which does not have all the desired qualities. It was taken at the Grand Portage in June, 1797 (Appendix A), and is most likely an 'end of season' inventory recorded before the supplies for the next outfit arrived, which was usually in early July. Although this list is probably a reasonable representation of the basic types of goods used by the North West Company, it is not useful as a representation of the relative quantities of goods required in normal operations of fur trade posts. It is also apparent that there are some goods missing which were definitely used, e.g., dishes, lead shot, trade points.

For comparison, a later inventory of goods requested for the Columbia department has been included (Dempsey 1973),

which is also not a good representation of a normal, fully established trade situation (Appendix A, Section ii). It will be noted that the quantities of goods requested are very low, and there is little variety of goods. This is due to the fact that these were the initial years of establishment of trading networks in the Columbia district. In 1807, David Thompson, with nine men, one large canoe and three horses, began exploration of this region (Hopwood 1971:240). Since this was an exploratory trip and there was little cargo space, a highly selective assortment of goods was taken, probably consisting of only those goods most desired by Indians. By 1814, the quantities and variety of goods shipped to the Columbia region were more comparable to the Grand Portage inventory (Davidson 1918:221-223).

The situation of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to surviving inventories is quite different. Many detailed records remain. The lists used in this analysis are of goods sent inland from York Factory in the years 1791 to 1799 (Appendix B), the period of occupation of Fort George and Buckingham House. Therefore, these lists provide a reliable source of the types and relative quantities of goods used on the Saskatchewan River, since for most of this early period there were no other inland Hudson's Bay Company posts.

In the search for differences in operations between the two companies which may be reflected in the archaeological record, an initial focus can be placed on this obvious

difference in the existence of historical documents. One contributing factor in the differential survival of documents is the much longer existence of the Hudson's Bay Company, about 300 years compared to about 30 years for the North West Company. The chances of more Hudson's Bay Company documents surviving are obviously much better; however, additional factors must be involved.

It has been an apparent assumption of some researchers that the people in charge of North West Company posts were illiterate or less capable in record keeping. This assumption probably arises from the commonly held belief that the North West Company was run by French Canadians, simply because it was based in Montreal. In reality, the North West Company partners and chief clerks were predominantly Scots or Englishmen, generally well educated (see Wallace 1934: Appendix A). Thus, there should have been little difference in the manner in which individual North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company posts were managed; that is, people with the same potentials for management and record keeping were involved in both companies.

Another possibility to account for the differences in availability of documents is the difference in organization of the companies. The Hudson's Bay Company required accurate inventories and accounts, because the majority of their shareholders had never been to North America and had little idea of the methods of trading and the problems involved. The

North West Company on the other hand, was composed of experienced fur traders, all of whom had good detailed knowledge of trading and the realities of life in isolated trading posts. It may thus be surmised that the North West Company had less need for the highly detailed records required by the Hudson's Bay Company. While this may have been a factor in the amount of detail in such documents as official post journals, inventories of the North West Company should not have exhibited any less detail than those of the Hudson's Bay Company. This is pointed out by Article 9 in the 1790 North West Company agreement:

> Ninth.
> All persons of what denomination soever, whether principals, or others, who winter in the interior country, or elsewhere, shall deliver, or send to the Portage annually, an exact account of the goods, or other property they had remaining, as also of the peltries and canoemen, they may have left in the country, and as far as they are able, shall produce faithful accounts of their transactions, and the expenditure of the goods, comitted to their care the preceding year. The principals who winter, as well as those who come up from Montreal (while on the voyage, and at this place) shall be allowed their personal necessaries, out of the common stock of the concern, and no more, every thing exceeding this limitation, they are required to keep an account of, and either send or bring the same to the portage annually, in order that it may be charged to their accounts. (Wallace 1934:87)

This directive is repeated in Article 10 of the 1802 agreement (Wallace 1934:115).

It is therefore reasonable to assume that the wintering partners of the North West Company wrote similar accounts and kept similar records of transactions as their counterparts

in the Hudson's Bay Company. It seems that the subsequent handling of document files may be primarily responsible for the different rates of survival. After 1674 the Hudson's Bay Company had a relatively permanent central depository for their records (Rich 1942:xliv). The chief agents for the North West Company (McTavish, M'Gillivrays & Company) had other business interests and probably had less space to keep the many yearly documents in proper order. But probably the crucial factor was that McTavish, M'Gillivrays & Company went bankrupt in 1823, shortly after the North West Company was absorbed by the Hudson's Bay Company (the latter seized some of the North West Company records in the turbulent years prior to amalgamation). The agents' offices were vacated, and portions of their records were probably seized by various creditors, contributing to the dispersal of the documents. Today North West Company documents may be found scattered across Canada, in the United States and in the United Kingdom, a frustrating situation for researchers.

Several investigators have attempted to "discover" differences between the two companies, both in construction techniques and in trade goods, which would allow a trading post site of unknown affiliation to be identified (c.f., Barbeau 1945, Nicks 1969). It is becoming apparent that very few clearcut differences may be recognized in the archaeological record. All attempts to discover constructional differences have been demonstrated to be inconclusive (e.g.,

Barbeau's (1945) contentions concerning corner post construction differences have been shown to be false by numerous excavations.

Artifacts are only a little more helpful in distinguishing between North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company sites. G. Nicks (1969:96) found only three types of artifacts which could be used:

1. Buttons: The Hudson's Bay Company had two types of buttons which are diagnostic, one with the company coat of arms and one with four beavers and a cross;
2. Ceramics: The North West Company imported some Chinese porcelain since it traded directly with China, while the Hudson's Bay Company shipped few ceramics inland;
3. Trade silver: Some silver items bear diagnostic trade marks, as the Hudson's Bay Company had trade silver manufactured in England, while the North West Company dealt primarily with Montreal silversmiths (Barbeau 1942:11, 13).

Some other kinds of artifacts which sometimes bear makers' or suppliers' marks may also be useful (e.g., some metal tools, bale seals, clay pipes), but little research into the origin of these marks or whether they are "company-specific" has been completed.

It is apparent that the great majority of goods used by the two companies was virtually identical. This is certainly

not suprising when historical documents are examined, since they show that both companies imported most of their goods from England (Davidson 1918:221; Innis 1970:128). This has long been general knowledge where the Hudson's Bay Company is concerned, but not as certain with respect to the North West Company. However, Davidson (1918:221-223) provides detailed lists of goods imported from Britain to the Columbia River area by the North West Company from 1814 to 1819 (Table 4). Davidson notes that liquor provisions, as well as some tobacco, were purchased in Canada and the United States, but adds that "other items of Canadian and American produce and manufacture were no doubt also utilized in the trade". By comparing this list with Appendix B, the similarities in goods between the two companies are obvious.

Through this consultation of the historic literature, it can be concluded that a quest for distinguishing material characteristics between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company is most likely to be unproductive. Knowledge of the backgrounds of executives and the sources of goods of both companies leads to the realization that there is no reason to expect appreciable differences in the archaeological record between posts of the two companies.

One potentially useful difference does emerge from an examination of historic journals. During this early time period, the Hudson's Bay Company appears to have suffered from a shortage of trade goods and personnel. It is frequently

Table 4. Goods imported from Britain by the North West Company for the Columbia district, 1814 - 1819 (from Davidson 1918).

British manufactured goods

Wearing apparel, felt hats, slops, haberdashery, butter, cheese, pickles and sauces, suet, candles, gunflints, gunpowder, guns, military stores, saddlery, fishing tackle, playing cards, stationery, tobacco pipes, wrought brass, copper, iron, leather, pewter, tinware, turnery, grindstones, soap, seeds, painters colors, woolen goods (including baize, blankets, stockings), apothecary wares, beer and ale, cotton goods (including calicoes and muslins), fustians, velvets, sewing cotton, earthenware, window and bottle glass, hardware and cutlery, jewelry, lead and shot, linens, machinery, brass and iron ordnance, perfumery, pistols, silk stockings and gloves (plus silk/worsted stuffs), snuff, unwrought steel, umbrellas, cordage, yarn cotton, lace, netting, pitch, tar, salt, saltpetre, silk ribbons, swords, tobacco, vinegar, brushes and brooms, chalk, castor hats, lime juice, mathematical instruments, musical instruments, plated and gilt ware, sugar and twine.

Foreign manufactured goods

Bar iron, Russia linen, pepper, Indian calico, prize silk, tar, brandy, Geneva spirits, plantation rum, French, Portugese and Spanish wines, glass, nankeens, steel, tea, plantation sugar, and quicksilver.

mentioned by Tomison (e.g., Johnson 1967:14,29,50,51), a Hudson's Bay Company factor, that the "competition" is gaining strength due to a lack of trade goods in his own forts and a lack of skilled craftsman to make trade items at the posts. Tomison's observation was tested by comparison of the quantities of certain key items on the inventory lists (Table 5). It can be seen that the quantity of goods left over at Grand Portage is greater than the number of goods sent inland by the Hudson's Bay Company in the same year. Tomison's criticisms would seem to be borne out. The lack of craftsmen also implies that broken goods could not be repaired; this would lead the Indians to go to North West Company posts, who also had better quality goods (Innis 1970:157). Additionally, these factors may have implications for the archaeological context, in that we may expect less maintenance and recycling to be evident in Hudson's Bay Company posts. Unfortunately, detailed descriptions of condition of artifacts found at Buckingham House are not yet available, hence this hypothesis could not be tested here.

It should be apparent that similarities between North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company forts far outweigh the differences. It is upon this observation that the use of the Hudson's Bay Company inventory lists in this research is justified. They are detailed, clearcut, and all items listed in the Hudson's Bay Company inventory were definitely sent to inland posts, while the same cannot be said of the inventory taken at Grand Portage. Some variations in trade goods

Table 3. Comparisons of Quantities of Some Key Goods Listed for 1797 for Both Companies.

	North West Co.	Hudson's Bay Co.
Guns, complete	68	285
parts	1,233	73
Gunflints	1,463	6,700
Knives	4,434	4,421
Axes	130	6
Hammers	8	19
Files	319	500
Adzes & Planes	23	11
Chisels	5	285
Gimlets	12	14
Saws	53	6
Awls	2,364	492
Firesteels	1,025	-
Razors	315	8
Scissors	204	8
Kettles	144	61
Tobacco boxes	354	15
Mirrors	120	67
Buttons	1,296	4,716
Buckles	517	9
Rings	5,472	700
Armbands	13	180
Brooches	3,436	1,458
Earrings	248	296
Thimbles	1,308	36
Bells	1,584	159
Crosses	2,635	100
Clay pipes	5,760	1,728
Fish hooks	3,500	600
Total	38,023	22,945

preferences due to different needs of Indians in various regions have been pointed out by Arthur Ray (1974:144-156) for a later period. This variation is not considered to apply to this early period, since there were few Hudson's Bay Company forts outside of the Saskatchewan district. Furthermore, Buckingham House and Fort George were major trading centres until at least late 1795, and can thus be expected to have received a large and varied percentage of all goods shipped to the Saskatchewan district. The Hudson's Bay Company lists are thus assumed to be accurate representations of the goods to be expected at the inland posts (that is, the Saskatchewan district) and will be more extensively utilized than the North West Company inventory in the majority of comparisons with the archaeological assemblage from Fort George. To evaluate this assumption, the Hudson's Bay Company lists will be compared to the Buckingham House assemblage, which could be expected to be more similar to the Hudson's Bay Company lists. The only exceptions to this are Naval Stores, Gunner Stores and Distillery Stores. These are assumed to relate only to forts on large bodies of water, or larger posts along the canoe route which were major depots for the brigades. Moreover, none of these categories contributes any appreciable quantity of goods to the total Hudson's Bay Company inventory (see Appendix B).

In summary, it is probable that no significant differences exist between the companies in types of trade goods, in methods

of conducting trade or in types of activities relating to the business of the forts. Thus, the two inventory lists will be used under the assumption that the items listed were shipped to Saskatchewan district posts. This provides the background necessary for an understanding of the following comparisons made with the archaeological assemblage.

Hypotheses

A theoretical basis has been formulated and some archaeological and historical background has been presented. Based on this information, some general hypotheses can be constructed which will be tested by quantitative comparisons between the inventory lists and the archaeological assemblages. The main goal of this analysis is to formulate a quantitative transformation model, which will represent the relationship between the historic inventory lists (that is, "cultural reality") and the artifact assemblages from Fort George and Buckingham House. Therefore, the first major hypothesis must be that:

1. There will be a quantifiable relationship between the inventory lists and the artifact assemblages manifest in similar relative proportions of various artifact classes.
2. Low initial quantities may result in no representation of such goods in the archaeological remains.
3. Artifacts associated with activities occurring away from the habitation areas will be poorly represented. For instance, there should be almost no evidence of that activity which

occupied a major portion of the men's time, that is, wood chopping, since it occurred some distance from the fort; this should also relate to other activities such as fishing, hunting and butchering. Conversely, there should be an artificially high representation of household goods and personal items, since domestic activities were the primary ones occurring within the fort.

4. Because of their special function outside the site, trade goods should be under-represented relative to the inventory totals. That is, it is apparent that trade goods were generally not utilized within the fort, but rather were actively channelled outwards. Therefore, a low percentage of these items is expected, and those which are present were likely lost, defective or broken.

5. A large portion of trade goods, namely cloth and clothing, will not be represented at all, due to lack of preservation.

6. Due to the useful and rare nature of all types of metal during this period, it is expected that few complete metal items will be found. Additionally, because of its value, metal will likely be extensively recycled, thus few large unmodified scrap metal fragments are expected.

7. Because of their rarity and value, items such as guns and tradesmen's tools will be highly curated and hence not deposited in the fort context, except when irreparably broken.

8. Refuse disposal practices should result in relatively few items remaining within the fort outside of refuse pits; small

items (that is, lost) may remain in and around houses, with larger items, probably broken, being collectively dumped in refuse pits or outside the fort.

9. The gradual abandonment of these forts combined with the high value of trade items and scarcity of most industrial items, should have resulted in few, if any, useable objects being left behind. Therefore, all tools and other large objects found should be broken, while some smaller functional items (e.g., beads) which were lost, may remain intact.

10. There should be some similarities between the two archaeological assemblages, certainly in terms of presence/absence, and possibly in proportional terms, although the degree is difficult to predict. However, there appear to be few differences between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company which would result in radically different assemblages. The functions of the sites are similar, input of cultural items similar, and the sites were occupied contemporaneously. It thus seems reasonable to expect general parallels.

To summarize, these hypotheses have been based on a survey of historical data, combined with some theoretical implications as recently developed in behavioral archaeology. The actual manifestations of these hypotheses in this archaeological context will next be examined, and specific relationships identified.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND INVENTORY COMPARISONS

General Methods and Assumptions

The artifact classification system was originally devised for Fort George by Robert Kidd (1971:69) and was followed as closely as possible by the subsequent research team of Losey, et al. The categories listed in Appendix C are a very close approximation of the original system, with some categories combined, some added, and a few minor ones removed for convenience of comparison with the inventory lists. If the reader is concerned about these minor changes, it is suggested he compare Kidd's tables (1971:Appendix 1) with Appendix C.

The initial attempt was to quantitatively compare the artifacts directly with the inventory lists, in terms of relative frequencies (Table 6). Relative proportions were used, since it was obvious that the absolute frequencies would be very different, but it was anticipated that the relative representations of each artifact type should be more similar to the inventories. This comparison was based on the artifact types found at Fort George; that is, only those items which were found archaeologically were pulled from the inventory lists for comparison. All items listed in the inventories and not found at Fort George will be considered later in this analysis. Buckingham House artifacts were also

Table 6. Relative Frequency Comparisons of Archaeological Remains from Fort George and Buckingham House with Inventories of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company.

	Fort George Artifacts		Buckingham House Artifacts		Hudson's Bay Co. Stores		Hudson's Bay Co. Stores & Trade Goods		North West Co. 1797	
	#	p.	#	p.	#	p.	#	p.	#	p.
Guns: complete	-	.0026	-	.0045	11	.0411	2364	.0152	68	.0375
parts	76		24		698		698		1233	
Gunflints	229	.0079	107	.0199	-	-	49,780	.2469	1463	.0422
Gunworms	1	.0001	3	.0006	-	-	4062	.0201	-	-
Shot & balls	795	.0276	258	.0481	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trade points	69	.0024	25	.0047	-	-	2016	.0100	-	-
Knives	32	.0011	13	.0024	126	.0073	37,290	.1850	4434	.1279
Axes	17	.0006	1	.0002	158	.0092	158	.0008	130	.0037
Hammers	1	.0001	-	-	69	.0040	69	.0003	8	.0002
Files	145	.0050	31	.0058	1968	.1141	4903	.0243	319	.0092
Adzes & planes	2	.0001	-	-	117	.0068	117	.0006	23	.0007
Chisels	8	.0003	1	.0002	79	.0046	3633	.0180	5	.0001
Gimlets	8	.0003	1	.0002	269	.0156	269	.0013	12	.0003
Saws	8	.0003	1	.0002	64	.0037	64	.0003	53	.0015
Awls	25	.0009	3	.0006	-	-	8186	.0406	2364	.0682
Rasps	2	.0001	-	-	60	.0035	60	.0003	132	.0038
Firesteels	10	.0003	2	.0004	-	-	6148	.0305	1025	.0296
Razors	13	.0004	1	.0002	-	-	46	.0002	315	.0091
Scissors	2	.0001	1	.0002	11	.0006	187	.0009	204	.0059
Kettles (lugs, rims, handles)	68	.0024	12	.0022	13	.0008	3677	.0182	144	.0042
Tobacco boxes	16	.0006	1	.0002	-	-	546	.0027	354	.0102
Dishes	104	.0036	196	.0365	225	.0130	225	.0011	-	-
Mirrors	28	.0010	41	.0076	-	-	954	.0047	120	.0035
Buttons	100	.0035	99	.0184	300	.0174	41,316	.2049	1296	.0374
Buckles	27	.0009	8	.0015	224	.0130	406	.0020	517	.0150
Rings	38	.0013	2	.0004	-	-	9446	.0469	5472	.1578
Armbands	14	.0005	19	.0035	-	-	1612	.0080	13	.0004

Table 6. Relative Frequency Comparisons of Archaeological Remains from Fort George and Buckingham House with Inventories of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company (continued).

	Fort George Artifacts		Buckingham House Artifacts		Hudson's Bay Co. Stores		Hudson's Bay Co. Stores & Trade Goods		North West Co. 1797	
	#	p.	#	p.	#	p.	#	p.	#	p.
Brooches	34	.0012	8	.0015	-	-	1528	.0076	3436	.0991
Earrings	22	.0008	9	.0017	-	-	2218	.0110	248	.0072
Thimbles	8	.0003	3	.0006	35	.0020	327	.0016	1308	.0377
Bells	39	.0014	4	.0007	-	-	6302	.0313	1584	.0457
Pendants	29	.0010	5	.0009	-	-	194	.0010	2635	.0760
Clay pipes	1155	.0401	1476	.2751	12,816	.7433	12,816	.0636	5760	.1661
Beads	25,672	.8915	3011	.5611	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	28,797	1.000	5366	1.000	17,243	1.000	201,617	1.000	34,675	1.000

tabulated for this initial set of comparisons (G. Nicks 1969; J. Nicks, personal communication). Since it was a Hudson's Bay Company post, it should logically provide the most conclusive test of relationships between the artifact assemblage and the inventory lists. The Buckingham House list was also compared to the Fort George assemblage.

It will be noted by comparing Table 6 with Appendix C, that not all artifacts found were used in the inventory comparisons. Some items for which function could not be determined were omitted (e.g., lead scrap, miscellaneous perforated metal, wire coils). Other items had to be omitted because quantities could not be compared; that is, many items on the inventory lists were quantified in pounds, e.g., beads, wire, lead shot and balls, nails; or in masses; or strings of beads, etc. Other artifacts, such as tinkling cones were omitted because they were not imported but made at the fort from scrap metal. Scrap metal found archaeologically was separated into types of metal, in the hope that they could be directly compared to the various types of metal containers which were imported. Clear flat glass was quantified as window or mirror glass, since there is some question as to whether window glass was shipped to the Saskatchewan district at this time (Nicks 1969:154). Native industries were not included at all, for the obvious reason that the items were made at the fort and not imported; it is immaterial in this analysis whether they were made by traders or Natives.

The two main divisions of goods in the Hudson's Bay Company inventory, Stores and Trade goods, were maintained in comparisons with the archaeological assemblage, as far as possible. The reasoning was that since the Stores group was certainly used only by the fort inhabitants, it may show more significant similarities to the archaeological situation within Fort George. There were several basic assumptions made in pursuing this analysis:

1. All European artifacts found at the forts arrived there via routes and connections controlled by the North West Company or Hudson's Bay Company.
2. These artifacts need not have been originally shipped in the form in which they are found (e.g., re-use of broken metal items).
3. Every item listed on the inventory lists had the same potential of arriving at the forts and ending up in the archaeological assemblage.
4. All the artifacts found at the forts are assumed to have been used by the fort inhabitants and thus form an integral part, and the interpretative basis of the lives of these people. Even those trade goods found inside the fort will initially be assumed to have been used by the fort inhabitants, even though smaller items may have been lost while trading, and not utilized within the fort.
5. The inventory lists accurately represent the relative importance of every item at all inland posts, except for Distillery, Gunner and Naval Stores at Saskatchewan district posts.

6. Since it was hoped that a simple relationship between archaeological remains and cultural reality could be demonstrated, differing degrees of fragmentation were not initially considered. It was initially assumed that the numbers of fragments of any kind of artifact may bear some direct relationship to the number of complete items originally sent. This was later reconsidered.

7. It was assumed that the relatively intensive "potting" of some areas of the sites has not significantly altered the archaeological relationships between the artifacts over the entire site. This is based on Table 7, where the Fort George artifacts contained in Mr. Andrishak's collection are generally relatively few when compared with the totals resulting from the archaeological excavations.

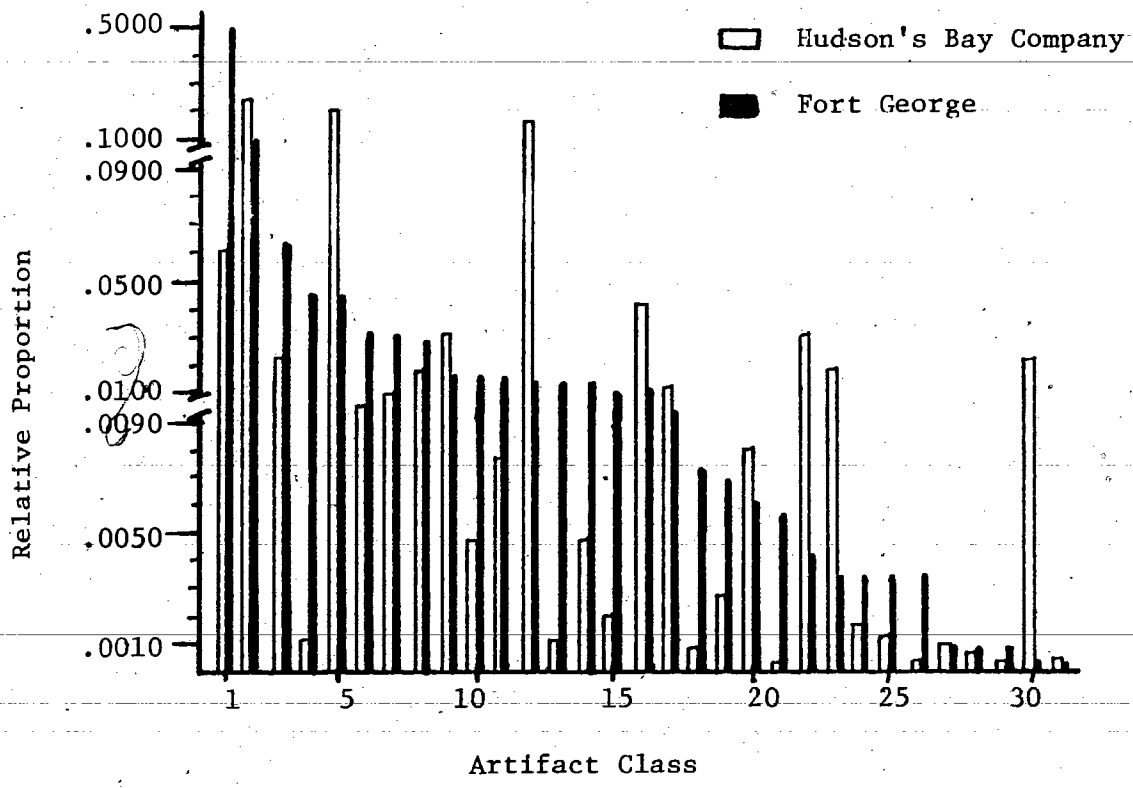
8. It is evident that Andrishak found nothing which the archaeological excavations did not reveal and thus the collection of artifacts from Fort George is assumed to be representative of the variety of items originally deposited at the site.

Analysis

As is evident from Table 6, very little correspondence was noted in relative proportions of each artifact class between the archaeological collections and the two inventory lists. In order to demonstrate this more clearly, some bar graphs were drawn (Fig. 8,9), comparing the relative pro-

Table 7. Comparison of Andrishak Artifact Collection with Archaeologically Recovered Assemblage from Fort George.

	Andrishak	Archaeological
Gun parts	16	76
Gunflints	30	229
Lead balls & shot	4	795
Trade points	3	69
Knife frags.	4	32
Harpoon frags.	3	4
Axe frags.	1	17
File frags.	9	145
Chisels	1	8
Adzes/Planes	3	2
Hinges/door parts	1	13
Awls	1	25
Firesteels	2	10
Scissors	1	2
Bone awls/handles	3	11
Container lugs	7	32
Lock parts	1	1
Tin box frags.	1	11
Spigot parts	4	1
Ceramics	19	104
Mirror frags.	1	28
Medicine bottle frags.	14	68
Bone combs	1	10
Buttons	13	100
Bone button backs	4	25
Cufflinks	1	2
Buckle frags.	12	27
Rings	50	38
Brooches	3	34
Earring frags.	3	22
Crosses	2	1
Tinkling cones	2	141
Brass bells	16	39
Beads (-seed beads)	135	365
Baling seals	2	7
Clay pipe frags.	16	1,155
Stone pipe frags.	13	42
Bone fleshers	1	6
Snowshoe needles	1	1
TOTALS	404	3,698



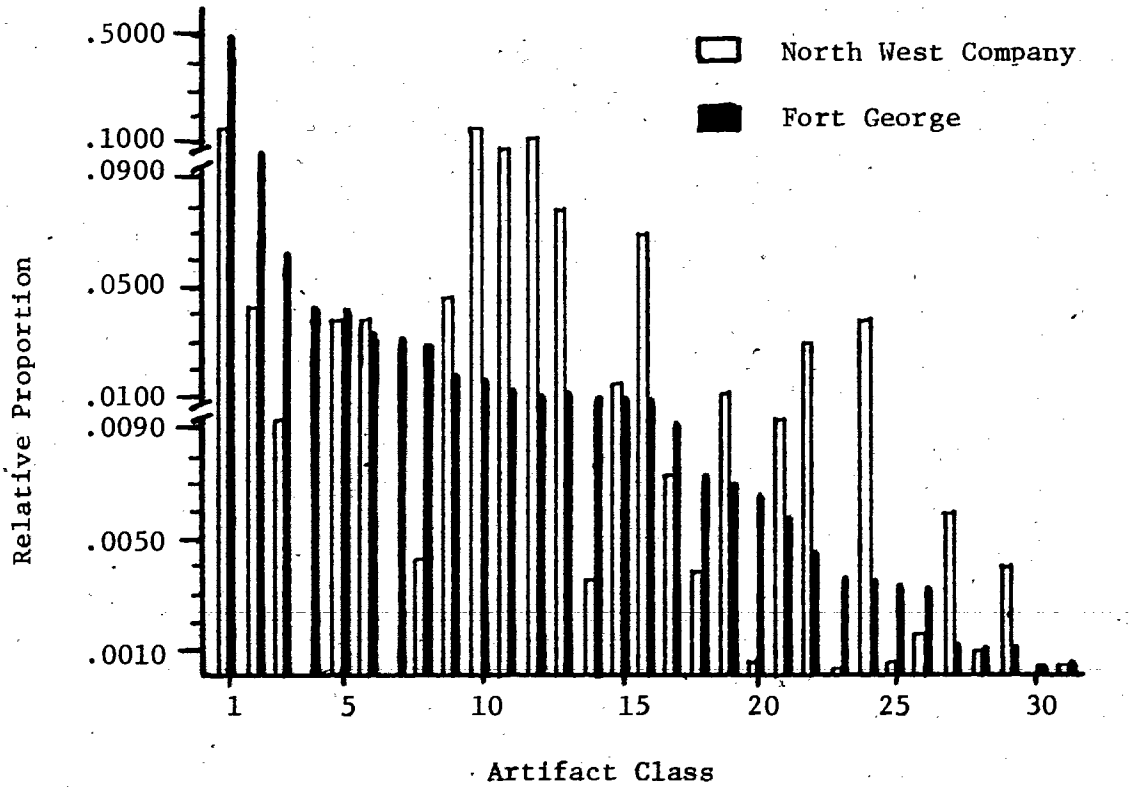


Fig. 8. Comparisons of relative proportions of some artifact classes (see Table 8) for Fort George and inventory lists.

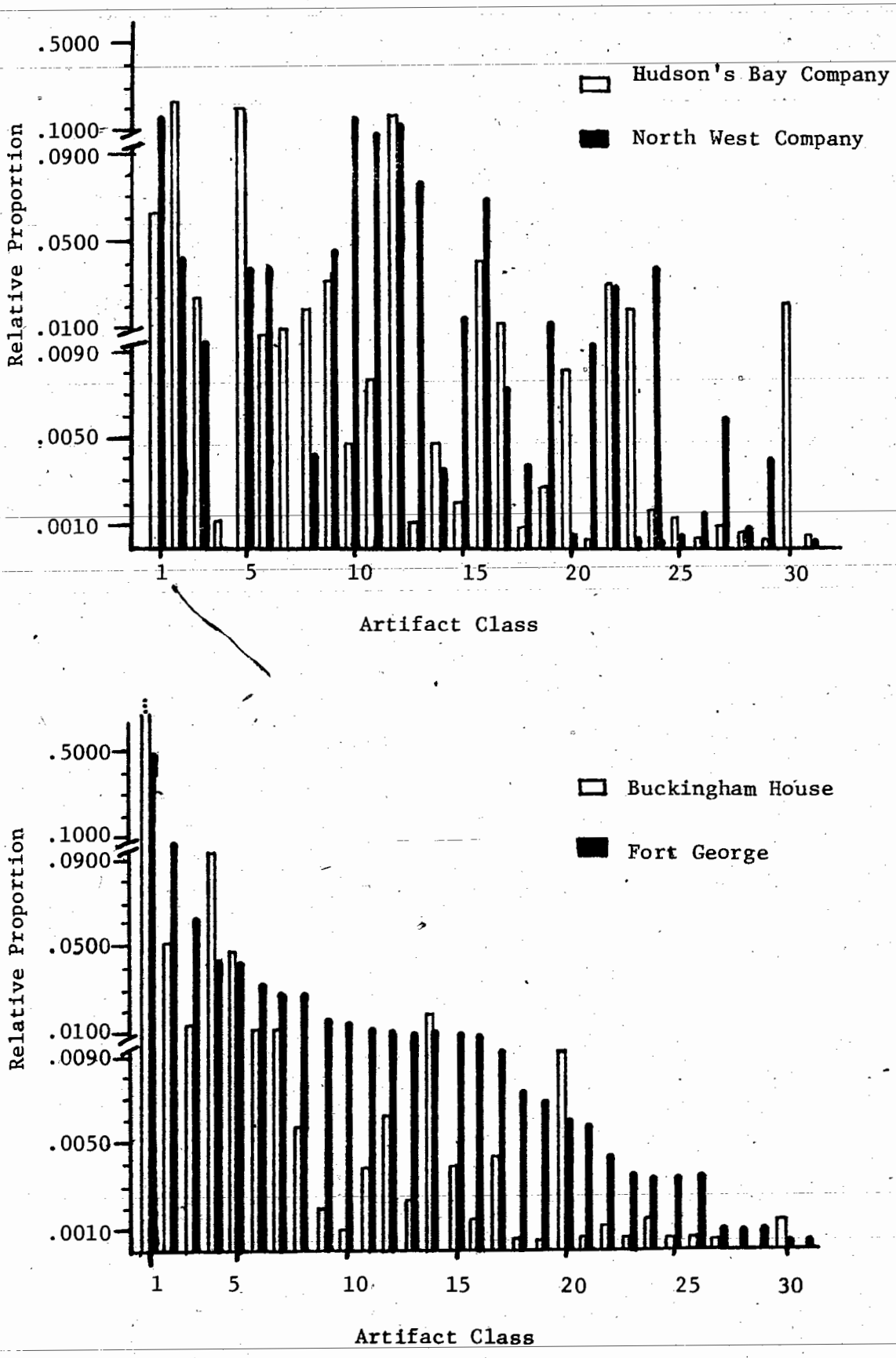


Fig. 9. Comparisons of relative proportions of some artifact classes (see Table 8) for inventory lists and archaeological assemblages.

portions, arranged by decreasing relative frequencies for artifact classes from Fort George (Table 8). It should be noted that the ordinate of each graph is broken in two places, signifying scale changes which were necessary to accommodate values of all classes on one graph. The effect of this is to reduce the magnitude of difference in classes with values over 0.01; this was not viewed as a significant disadvantage since the differences are still quite readily apparent.

Additionally, some Pearson's r correlation coefficients were computed and demonstrated that even the two inventory lists differed to some extent (r=0.3841); this is likely due to the previously discussed inadequacies of the North West Company list. The Fort George and Buckingham House assemblages looked somewhat similar, and a Pearson's r correlation coefficient demonstrated this, with a result of r=0.9126. To check if this apparent correlation is as strong as it appears, a correlation coefficient was computed between Buckingham House artifacts and the total Hudson's Bay Company inventory, with a resulting value of 0.1398. There does appear to be a much stronger relationship between the two archaeological collections than between the Hudson's Bay Company fort and the Hudson's Bay Company goods shipped inland. More will be said about this later.

With respect to the differences between the archaeological assemblage and the inventory lists, it was postulated that

Table 8. Artifact class key and proportions used for graphs.

	Fort George		Buckingham House		Total Hudson's Bay Co. Inventory		North West Co. Inventory	
	#	p	#	p	#	p	#	p
1. Clay pipes	1155	.4957	1476	.7039	12816	.0636	5760	.1661
2. Gunflints	229	.0983	107	.0510	49780	.2469	1463	.0422
3. Files	145	.0622	31	.0148	4903	.0243	319	.0092
4. Dishes	104	.0446	196	.0935	225	.0011	-	-
5. Buttons	100	.0429	99	.0472	41316	.2049	1296	.0374
6. Gun parts	76	.0326	24	.0114	3062	.0152	1301	.0375
7. Trade points	69	.0296	25	.0119	2016	.0100	-	-
8. Kettles	68	.0292	12	.0057	3677	.0182	144	.0042
9. Bells	39	.0167	4	.0019	6302	.0313	1584	.0457
10. Rings	38	.0163	2	.0010	9446	.0469	5472	.1578
11. Brooches	34	.0146	8	.0038	1528	.0076	3436	.0991
12. Knives	32	.0137	13	.0062	37290	.1850	4434	.1279
13. Pendants	29	.0124	5	.0024	194	.0010	2635	.0760
14. Mirrors	28	.0120	41	.0196	954	.0047	120	.0035
15. Buckles	27	.0116	8	.0038	406	.0020	517	.0150
16. Awls	25	.0107	3	.0014	8186	.0406	2364	.0682
17. Earrings	22	.0094	9	.0043	2218	.0110	248	.0072
18. Axes	17	.0073	1	.0005	158	.0008	130	.0037
19. Tobacco boxes	16	.0069	1	.0005	546	.0027	354	.0102
20. Armbands	14	.0060	19	.0091	1612	.0080	13	.0004
21. Razors	13	.0056	1	.0005	46	.0002	315	.0091
22. Firesteels	10	.0043	2	.0010	6148	.0305	1025	.0296
23. Chisels	8	.0034	1	.0005	3633	.0180	5	.0001
24. Thimbles	8	.0034	3	.0014	327	.0016	1308	.0377
25. Gimlets	8	.0034	1	.0005	269	.0013	12	.0003
26. Saws	8	.0034	1	.0005	64	.0003	53	.0015
27. Scissors	2	.0009	1	.0005	187	.0009	204	.0059
28. Adzes & planes	2	.0009	-	-	117	.0006	23	.0007
29. Rasps	2	.0009	-	-	60	.0003	132	.0038
30. Gunworms	1	.0004	3	.0014	4062	.0201	-	-
31. Hammers	1	.0004	-	-	69	.0003	8	.0002

the significant "noise" factor might be fragmentation. Different materials fracture with varying degrees of ease and the number of fragments that any one type of item may break into cannot be predicted; for example, a ceramic plate may break into two or 50 fragments, depending on the circumstances of the breakage. Thus, only those artifacts which are found in a relatively complete condition were compared with the inventory lists (Table 9).

Table 10a shows the resulting rankings of relatively complete artifact classes from highest proportion to lowest for each of the four groups. It is evident from these rankings that the relative frequencies of goods are no more similar in this case, than when all major artifacts were considered. Ratios of recovered items to the numbers of those items listed in the inventories were computed (Table 10b). This was done only for those artifacts found in a relatively complete condition. The ratios were computed for three comparisons: Fort George to North West Company inventory, Fort George to total Hudson's Bay Company inventory, and Buckingham House to total Hudson's Bay Company inventory. The Hudson's Bay Company total inventory ratios are naturally higher than the North West Company ratios because eight years of imports are being considered. Even though the ratios for Fort George to Hudson's Bay Company and Buckingham House to Hudson's Bay Company are not similar in terms of absolute frequencies, there is some tendancy for those ratios which

Table 9. Relative frequency comparisons of complete artifacts with inventory totals.

	Fort George		Buckingham House		Hudson's Bay Co. Stores		Hudson's Bay Co. Stores & Trade Goods		North West Co. 1797	
	#	p	#	p	#	p	#	p	#	p
Gun parts	76	.0997	20	.0750	698	.3700	698	.0042	1233	.0453
Gunflints	229	.3005	84	.3146	-	-	49,780	.2968	1463	.0537
Trade points	69	.0906	23	.0861	-	-	2016	.0120	-	-
Knives	32	.0420	12	.0449	126	.0667	37,290	.2223	4434	.1628
Axes	17	.0223	1	.0037	158	.0836	158	.0009	130	.0048
Chisels	8	.0105	-	-	79	.0418	3633	.0217	5	.0002
Gimlets	8	.0105	1	.0037	269	.1424	269	.0016	12	.0004
Awls	25	.0328	3	.0112	-	-	8186	.0488	2364	.0868
Firesteels	10	.0131	2	.0075	-	-	6148	.0367	1025	.0376
Razors	13	.0171	1	.0037	-	-	46	.0003	315	.0116
Buttons	100	.1312	92	.3446	300	.1588	41,316	.2463	1296	.0476
Buckles	27	.0354	8	.0300	224	.1186	406	.0024	517	.0190
Rings	38	.0499	1	.0037	-	-	9446	.0563	5472	.2010
Brooches	34	.0446	8	.0300	-	-	1528	.0091	3436	.1262
Thimbles	8	.0105	3	.0112	35	.0185	327	.0019	1308	.0480
Bells	39	.0512	4	.0150	-	-	6302	.0376	1584	.0582
Pendants	29	.0381	4	.0150	-	-	194	.0012	2635	.0968
TOTALS	762	1.000	267	1.000	1889	1.000	167,743	1.000	27,229	1.000

Table 10. Comparisons of Relative Ranks and Ratios for Complete Artifacts and Inventories.

	10(a) Rankings				10(b) Ratios		
	Fort George	Buckingham House	North West Co.	Hudson's Bay Co. total goods	Fort George to North West Company	Fort George to Hudson's Bay Co.	Buckingham House to Hudson's Bay Co.
Gun parts	3	4	10	11	1:16	1:9	1:35
Gunflints	1	2	7	1	1:6	1:217	1:592
Trade points	4	3	17	9	-	1:29	1:88
Knives	8	5	2	3	1:139	1:1165	1:3108
Axes	12	13.5	14	16	1:8	1:9	1:158
Chisels	16	-	16	8	1.6:1	1:454	-
Gimlets	16	13.5	15	14	1:1.5	1:34	1:269
Awls	11	10.5	5	5	1:95	1:327	1:2729
Firesteels	14	11	11	7	1:103	1:615	1:3074
Razors	13	13.5	13	17	1:24	1:3.5	1:46
Buttons	2	1	9	2	1:13	1:413	1:449
Buckles	10	6.5	12	12	1:19	1:15	1:51
Rings	6	13.5	1	4	1:144	1:249	1:9446
Brooches	7	6.5	3	10	1:101	1:45	1:191
Thimbles	16	10.5	8	13	1:164	1:41	1:109
Bells	5	8.5	6	6	1:41	1:162	1:1575
Pendants	9	8.5	4	15	1:91	1:7	1:49

are high in one case to also be high in the other case, and similarly, those ratios which are low, tend to be low in both cases. There is also a tendancy for some ratios of tools and personal items (e.g., axes, gimlets, razors) to be smaller than trade items (e.g., awls, rings, brooches), that is, more tools and personal items are found relative to the amounts shipped, than for trade goods. The case of Fort George chisels, where the archaeological figure is higher than the North West Company inventory total, demonstrates some of the inadequacies of the North West Company inventory. That is, some inconsistencies are to be expected in direct frequency comparisons between an inventory for a single year and a site occupied for eight years. However, this should not affect relative frequency comparisons, assuming no major annual changes.

If this was an ideal case and one of the inventories listed goods shipped specifically to Fort George over the eight year period of occupation, the ratios could be considered to represent the percentage of recovery. However, since these inventories can only be used as examples of the general characteristics of site assemblage, such an exercise is futile with these data.

Comparisons were also made between artifact functional groups and corresponding groups from the Hudson's Bay Company inventory; Table 11 consists of groups based on the archaeological classification (Kidd 1971). Of the five functional

groups, all except the Trade Goods group were compared to the Hudson's Bay Company Stores, which represents items used in everyday activities within the fort. The Hudson's Bay Company Trade Goods were used only in comparisons with the artifactual Trade Goods. Separating the groups in such a manner avoided the problem of comparing one archaeological total of an item with two Hudson's Bay Company totals, one in Stores and one in Trade Goods. For example, files, axes and knives occur in both sections of the Hudson's Bay Company inventory. Those artifacts in the Trade goods class were compared to the corresponding items in the Hudson's Bay Company Trade goods section of the inventory, except in the case of razors which were placed in Personal Items. This was done because the low quantities shipped, lead to the supposition that they were meant to be used by the men in the fort.

Again, it is quite obvious that there is little similarity between the relative frequencies of artifacts and the corresponding goods in the inventory lists. The five industries were totalled and their relative contributions in each assemblage were computed; the rank ordering shows that only one of the five groups (construction and hardware) occurs in the same relative position (Table 11), obviously not a high degree of similarity.

The next test was designed to investigate the validity of the archaeological functional groups. It was postulated

Table 11. Archaeological Functional Group Comparisons Between Fort George and Hudson's Bay Company Inventory.

	Fort George			Hudson's Bay Company		
	#	p.	Rank	#	p.	Rank
Hunting, Trapping, Defense						
Gun parts	76	.6786	1	698	.7978	1
Knives	32	.2857	2	126	.144	2
Traps	4	.0357	3	51	.0583	3
TOTALS	112	1.000		875	1.000	
Construction & Hardware						
Axes	17	.0900	2	158	.0580	3
Hammers	1	.0053	7	69	.0253	6
Files	145	.7672	1	1968	.7225	1
Adzes & planes	2	.0106	6	117	.0430	4
Chisels	8	.0423	4	79	.0290	5
Gimlets	8	.0423	4	269	.0988	2
Saws	8	.0423	4	64	.0235	7
TOTALS	189	1.000		2724	1.000	
Household						
Scissors	2	.0110	4	11	.0285	4
Kettles	68	.3757	2	13	.0337	3
Dishes	104	.5746	1	225	.5829	1
Drinking glasses	7	.0387	3	137	.3549	2
TOTALS	181	1.000		386	1.000	
Personal Items						
Buttons	100	.0767	2	300	.0224	3
Buckles	27	.0207	3	224	.0167	2
Thimbles	8	.0061	5	35	.0026	5
Razors	13	.0100	4	46	.0034	4
Pipes	1155	.8864	1	12,816	.9549	1
TOTALS	1303	1.000		13,421	1.000	
Trade Goods						
Gunflints	229	.4141	1	49,780	.5600	1
Trade points	69	.1248	2	2016	.0227	7
Awls	25	.0452	8	8186	.0920	3
Firesteels	10	.0181	12	6148	.0691	5
Tobacco boxes	16	.0289	10	546	.0061	11
Mirrors	28	.0506	7	954	.0107	10
Rings	38	.0687	4	9446	.1062	2
Armbands	14	.0253	11	1612	.0181	8

Table 11. Archaeological Functional Group Comparisons Between Fort George and Hudson's Bay Company Inventory (continued).

	Fort George			Hudson's Bay Company		
	#	p.	Rank	#	p.	Rank
Trade Goods (continued)						
Brooches	34	.0615	5	1528	.0172	9
Earrings	22	.0398	9	2218	.0249	6
Bells	39	.0705	3	6302	.0709	4
Pendants	29	.0524	6	194	.0022	12
TOTALS	553	1.000		88,930	1.000	

Group Totals	Fort George			Hudson's Bay Company		
	#	p.	Rank	#	p.	Rank
Hunting, Trapping, Defense	112	.0480	5	875	.0082	4
Construction & Hardware	189	.0808	3	2724	.0256	3
Household	181	.0774	4	386	.0036	5
Personal Items	1303	.5573	1	13,421	.1262	2
Trade Goods	553	.2365	2	88,930	.8363	1
TOTALS	2338	1.000		106,336	1.000	
Trade Goods	553	.2365	2	17,406	.8363	1
All other goods	1785	.7635	1	88,930	.1637	2
TOTALS	2338	1.000			1.000	

that the manner in which the people themselves classified their tools may be more realistic. Thus, the artifacts were classed into groupings resembling as closely as possible, the Hudson's Bay Company Stores groups (Table 12) with Trade Goods making up only one group, thus being given equal weight with all other groups. This seemed a reasonable approach, since to the fort inhabitants, trade goods did not necessarily have the same higher importance as they did to the agents in Montreal or London. As with the previous comparison, where an item occurred in both a Stores category and Trade Goods, it was placed under "Stores" and the Trade Goods total ignored.

There was an added problem here, in that several items occurred in more than one tradesman's group. In this case, the item would be considered in that group in which it was considered to be most important (by frequency). In two cases, two groups were combined, Carpenter/Sawyer and Armourer/Smith, since one man commonly did both jobs in each case, particularly in the inland posts.

It is apparent that the relative proportions of various items are no more similar than in the archaeological groupings. In general, the ranking of artifact classes within each group are more similar in this case. However, due to the small number of classes within each group, this is not likely a significant result.

In terms of the group totals, the relative rankings of these five groups show more similarity between the archaeological and inventory groups than did the archaeological typology.

Table 12. Inventory Functional Group Comparisons Between Fort George and Hudson's Bay Company Inventory.

	Fort George			Hudson's Bay Company		
	#	p.	Rank	#	p.	Rank
Trade Goods						
Gunflints	229	.4141	1	49,780	.5600	1
Trade points	69	.1248	2	2016	.0227	7
Awls	25	.0452	8	8186	.0920	3
Firesteels	10	.0181	12	6148	.0691	5
Tobacco boxes	16	.0289	10	546	.0061	11
Mirrors	28	.0506	7	954	.0107	10
Rings	38	.0687	4	9446	.1062	2
Armbands	14	.0253	11	1612	.0181	8
Brooches	34	.0615	5	1528	.0172	9
Earrings	22	.0398	9	2218	.0249	6
Bells	39	.0705	3	6302	.0709	4
Pendants	29	.0524	6	194	.0022	12
TOTALS	553	1.000		88,930	1.000	
Slops						
Buckles	27	.2126	2	224	.4275	2
Buttons	100	.7874	1	300	.5725	1
TOTALS	127	1.000		524	1.000	
Armourer/Smith Stores						
Gun parts	76	.3408	2	698	.2561	2
Files	145	.6502	1	1968	.7219	1
Rasps	2	.0090	3	60	.0220	3
TOTALS	223	1.000		2726	1.000	
Carpenter/Sawyer Stores						
Adzes & planes	2	.0741	4	117	.1957	2
Chisels	8	.2963	2	79	.1321	3
Hammers	1	.0370	5	69	.1154	4
Gimlets	8	.2963	2	269	.4498	1
Saws	8	.2963	2	64	.1070	5
TOTALS	27	1.000		598	1.000	
Factory Stores						
Axes	17	.0122	5	158	.0117	3
Dishes	104	.0746	2	225	.0166	2
Glasses	8	.0057	6.5	137	.0101	4
Kettles	68	.0488	3	13	.0010	7
Knives	32	.0230	4	126	.0093	5
Scissors	2	.0014	8	11	.0008	8
Thimbles	8	.0057	6.5	35	.0026	6
Pipes	1155	.8286	1	12,816	.9479	1
TOTALS	1394	1.000		13,521	1.000	

Table 12. Inventory Functional Group Comparisons Between Fort George and Hudson's Bay Company Inventory (continued).

	Fort George			Hudson's Bay Company		
	#	p.	Rank	#	p.	Rank
Group totals						
Armourer/Smith	223	.0960	3	2726	.0256	3
Carpenter/Sawyer	27	.0116	5	598	.0056	4
Slops	127	.0546	4	524	.0049	5
Factory	1394	.5998	1	13,521	.1273	2
Trade Goods	553	.2380	2	88,930	.8366	1
TOTALS	2324	1.000		106,299	1.000	
Trade Goods	553	.2380	2	88,930	.8366	1
All other goods	1771	.7620	1	17,369	.1634	2
TOTALS	2324	1.000		106,299	1.000	

Only Factory Stores and Trade Goods are in reversed positions; this observation is worthy of additional attention. In both Tables 11 and 12, the Trade Goods group contributes the greatest proportion in the inventory lists, but is of secondary importance in the archaeological case. In Table 12 in particular, it is noteworthy that Factory Stores contribute a much higher relative proportion than Trade Goods. An examination of the items composing the Factory Stores group provides a reasonable explanation; this group consists of household objects and things necessary for everyday functions in the operations and maintenance of the fort and individual households. These items would thus be used inside the fort, having a greater potential of being broken or lost inside the fort, while the majority of the trade goods moved out of the fort.

In order to gain some idea of that portion of the cultural assemblage which is totally absent from Fort George, the types and quantities of all inventoried items not identified in the archaeological assemblage were tabulated (Tables 13 and 14). The great majority of missing perishable goods are various types of cloth and clothing, mostly trade items, as well as food. Missing non-perishable goods are generally either curated items (e.g., guns, tradesmen's tools) or those represented by very low frequencies, with a few exceptions. Some of the items may be missing due to a lack of ability on the part of the archaeologist to recognize them. For example,

Table 13. Goods Listed in the 1797 North West Company Inventory and Not Recovered at Fort George.

Non-perishable Goods

1½	doz.	cow bells
17 5/12	doz.	horse bells
9	pr.	steelyards
5½	doz.	crooked knives
11		cork screws
6	doz.	shoemaker's awls
30		hangers
10		pewter spoons
2		powder horns
4		smoothing irons
101		bayonettes
2	doz.	packing needles
288		button moulds
9		scrapers
8		sickles
24		hoes
4		iron shovels
5		gorgets + 15 Moons
36		scythes
13		augers
10		spades
5		caulking irons
10	pr.	pistols
50		complete guns
32		tap boarers
1 5/12	doz.	marking irons
47 1/3	doz.	canoe awls
37 1/3	doz.	ivory & horn combs
2,800		needles
18		muskets with bayonettes
2		mortars

Perishable Goods

lots of cloth, shoes, ribbon, handkerchiefs, twine, trousers, jackets, coats, tobacco, thread, feathers, fish nets, snowshoes, gun powder, medicines, harnesses/riding equipment.

Table 14. Hudson's Bay Company Goods Not Recovered at Fort George.

Non-perishable goods

Trade Goods

51	Pewter basons
3748	bayonettes
247	brass collars
3709	horn & ivory combs
105	cutlasses
24	magnets
548	medals, brass
134	mocotoggans
210	pistols
90	scrapers
239	pewter spoons
184	sword blades
25	cups & balls
513	powder horns

Armourer Stores

3	gouges
2	prs. pincers
168	pipes?
3	pr. plyers
16	prickers
225	ramrods
27	vice
4	brass moulds for casting balls

Carpenter Stores

6	sets augers
13	gouges
57	irons
2	pin mauls
8	pr. pincers
2	pr. plyers
4	reels?
28	rules
3	turkey oil stones

Factory Stores

5	basons - pewter
1	beam & scales
1	bell for table
26	buts & screws
24	candlesticks
2	taylor's smoothing irons
2	cases drawing instruments
10	lamps - tin
2	mattocks
4	measures - wine
504	phials
23	pewter plates
2	cork screws
20	shovels
14	sheers for taylor
15	slates
4	snuffers
37	spades
20	steelyards
97	whetstones
3	telescopes

Cooper's Stores

18	borers - tap
2	pr. compasses
4	drivers, steel
7	marking irons
3	pr. pincers
1	set rules
5	vices

Blacksmith's Stores

2	anvils
2	vices

Table 14. Hudson's Bay Company Goods Not Recovered at Fort George (continued).

Perishable Goods

Trade Goods

Baizes
binding
blankets
boots
wood boxes
brandy
cloth - various types and colours
cottons, printed
duffel
feathers
epaulets
flannel
gartering
handkerchiefs
hat bands
lace
ribbon
sashes
serge
shirts
shoes
stockings
thread
tobacco
twine
vitery
"waters"

Armourerer Stores

Alkanet root
Aqua Fortis
emery
fish skin
red oil
sand paper
rosin
solder
varnish

Factory Stores

account books
bibles
prayer books
journal books
spelling books
wood bowls
brimstone
broomhead
brushes
candles
canvas
table cloth
crepe
duck
flags
gauze
ink
horse hide
napkins
fishing nets
linseed oil
paint
paper - various types
pencils
rosin
silk
sponges
tape
various medicines, foods, etc.
yarn

Carpenter Stores

fish skin
glue
chalk lines

Slops

- various kinds of cloth, garments, shoes, chocolate, coffee, tea

no pewter objects were found, possibly because pewter is difficult to positively identify; items such as shoemaker's awls, canoe awls and marking irons may not have been found because fragments of such items (not in general use today) would be difficult to identify. Metal fragments would be particularly difficult, (e.g., shovel and spade fragments) especially since large pieces of metal were presumably very valuable and reworked to serve other functions. Other items such as brass medals and gorgets were given as gifts to influential Indians, so few were imported and all were given away. Finally, all missing items listed under Stores in the Hudson's Bay Company inventory were imported in low numbers and were generally integral parts of the tradesmen's tool kits and thus highly curated.

It is apparent from the results, that these quantitative comparisons did not demonstrate a high degree of similarity. Simple numerical correlations do not exist; the problem is much more complex. Presence-absence of non-perishable items showed the highest degree of similarity, but relative importance of artifact types within the original cultural framework could not be determined through comparisons of relative proportions. The significance of these results will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Based on this analysis a number of general statements can be made and some relationships formulated with respect to fur trade archaeology, archaeology in general, and the formation of the archaeological record as well as the cultural processes involved.

It is obvious that no direct correlation exists between the archaeological assemblage at Fort George and the historic inventory lists. That is, in terms of relative proportions of various artifacts or artifact classes, the composition of the archaeological assemblage bears little resemblance to the historic situation; there seem to be no consistent quantifiable relationships. However, with respect to non-perishable items, the archaeological representation is excellent in terms of simple presence. Virtually all items imported in annual quantities greater than five to 10, were represented in the archaeological context. There are probably two major factors involved here: first, laws of probability, that is, the greater the quantity of an item present in a site, the greater the chances of it being deposited and recovered. The second could be "laws of supply and demand", that is, the less available an item and the greater the need, the more highly valued and thus the more

curated it is, and less likely to be left behind at abandonment. Conversely, the more easily available the item, the less likely it is to be treated with care, either in use or in maintenance or recycling. Examples of these principles are in metal items - guns were highly valued items in short supply; therefore, much time and energy was invested in maintaining and repairing them, and no complete examples were found archaeologically, as suggested earlier. All large metal items, such as kettles, were valued for the material they were composed of - they were also initially frequently repaired, but when finally completely broken, they were always recycled and made into many other items, e.g., smaller containers, tinkling cones, pendants, metal hardware; therefore, very few sizeable unmodified scrap metal fragments were found, as hypothesized.

An ~~interesting~~, potentially useful trend was noted while examining the inventory lists and that was that different types of metal containers often appear to be made of specific metals, for example, large kettles were usually brass, plates and funnels were usually tin, small kettles and pots often copper, etc. Careful quantification of this trend may provide a probabalistic model for distinguishing metal fragments found archaeologically. Unfortunately, neither Kidd nor Losey et al. classified metal fragments in this manner, therefore this proposition could not be tested here.

There are of course, several other factors involved in skewing the relative representation of items in the archaeological record. Although proportions of complete artifacts are in little better agreement with the inventory quantities, degree of fragmentation does distort the true representation in that it inflates the importance of easily broken items (e.g., dishes, mirrors, pipes). With a large number of sites, it may be possible to quantitatively correct this skewing factor for specific artifact types.

Differing degrees of preservation have a substantial effect on representation, in that a large percentage of trade items (and personal items), primarily cloth, clothing, shoes and hides, are virtually unrepresented. These results from Fort George indicate the speed with which deterioration of such materials proceeds, with only a few fragments found; a large portion of the cultural inventory is missing.

The fact that some activities occurred away from the site must also have had an effect on artifact representations. These include fishing, hunting, trapping and butchering, chopping and sawing wood. The artifact remains of these activities are poorly represented, as expected, although in the case of hunting and chopping wood, the primary implements involved (guns and axes) are also highly curated. However, the situation is different with respect to fishing, where thousands of fish hooks were imported (4035 by the Hudson's Bay Company), but none found archaeologically.

This is likely because fishing camps were set up at the lakes, and fishermen generally resided there. It should be emphasized that the primary activity of the winter season, chopping wood, is hardly represented.

One of the most prominent cultural processes affecting this assemblage must be the trading activities. The purpose of this site was to distribute trade goods outside the fort in exchange for furs; hence, it was expected that the representation of this group of goods should be the most contrary to the inventory lists. And indeed, the ratios of artifacts to Hudson's Bay Company inventory totals generally show this (Table 10) - trade goods frequencies are much lower than those for tools or personal items. However, the sheer numbers of these goods brought in resulted in a substantial relative representation, since it is unlikely, as previously noted, that the fort inhabitants used these goods extensively.

There are two major cultural processes involved in disturbing the cultural deposits at Fort George: fort construction/reconstruction and clean-up of the fort compound. There is much evidence to suggest that few buildings of the fort remained unchanged from the initial construction, and that the entire fort area was expanded and/or contracted more than once. This great amount of constructional change over an eight year occupation period must have had major effects in altering artifact distributions and probably artifact quantities to some extent. However, with respect to the latter,

it is reasonable to suspect that while the ground was disturbed, whatever was contained in the deposits would remain, although in altered relative positions. Hence, relative quantities may not have been greatly affected.

Periodic clean-up of the compound would also have substantial effects on the distributions of artifacts, with some effect on quantities; the location of all refuse dumps should theoretically result in recovery of all artifacts deposited at the fort. Neither the construction nor cleaning processes appear to have significantly affected simple presence of non-perishable items, and although quantities may be somewhat altered, it is suspected that the effects on relative proportions of all artifact classes should be minimal. These disturbances clearly cannot account for the large discrepancies between the archaeological collection and the inventories.

The similarities in relative ratio size (not frequency) for Fort George and Buckingham House (Table 10b) suggest that there is some general relationship between the archaeological assemblages and the inventory lists which may be a consistent one. This stems from the similarity between the archaeological assemblages, that is, because the two archaeological cases are similar, they show similarities when compared to the Hudson's Bay Company inventory. If this similarity in archaeological assemblages can be shown to be consistent over

a number of sites, it may eventually be possible to formulate consistent ratios which allow estimates of the "actual" number of items originally present.

From the functional group comparisons (Tables 11 and 12), it appears that the archaeological assemblage is more accurately grouped according to inventory classifications than by traditional archaeological groupings. This has implications for the study of typology in general and demonstrates the difficulties inherent in attempting to duplicate "emic" classification systems. The fact that this is so in this case, where the artifacts being dealt with are relatively similar to our own cultural inventory, suggests that difficulties will be compounded when dealing with unfamiliar assemblages, such as most prehistoric collections. Thus, it may be less useful to pursue the "discovery" of the correct classification, than to orient formation of typologies towards solving specific problems, as suggested by Hill and Evans (1972), among others.

It is also interesting to observe from these comparisons, that in both cases (Tables 11 and 12) there is an almost exact reversal in percentage contribution by trade goods and other goods, between the archaeological remains and the inventory list. That is, the archaeological situation is roughly 20 percent trade goods and 80 percent tools and personal items, while the inventory lists are composed of about 80 percent trade goods and 20 percent others. This

confirms the expectation that items used in activities within the fort, especially for daily living, would be better represented than trade goods, which are intentionally channelled out of the fort. It is an interesting trend which should be further investigated by similar tabulations of archaeological assemblages from a number of fur trade sites. Perhaps a specific "fur trade pattern" can be identified. This also has implications for prehistoric sites where goods are specially processed to be used elsewhere.

One of the most interesting results in this analysis was the high correlation between the archaeological assemblages from Fort George and Buckingham House and the correspondingly low correlation between Buckingham House and the Hudson's Bay Company inventory. This indicates that, even though the initial quantities of goods differed to some unknown extent, the relative compositions of the final archaeological deposits are quite similar, as a result of some transformation processes. To judge the significance of this apparent relationship all known formation processes must be considered. It is evident from earlier discussion that quantities of trade goods shipped inland by the two companies probably differed, with the North West Company quantities being greater. However, this does not necessarily affect relative proportions of classes of items. It is unlikely that post-depositional factors caused the archaeological similarities since these have been quite different for the two site areas, as

far as is known. Buckingham House was almost completely ploughed, while only a small portion of Fort George was ploughed, the major part of the site being essentially undisturbed by later land use practices. Old informants in the area suggested that Fort George may have been more subject to effects of winds, blowing sand, and shifting sediments, during the 1930s. Both sites have been potted by the local collector, but he apparently spent more time digging at Fort George. Since he used a metal detector, he would most likely have removed more metal objects than any other type; he likely removed a wider range of objects from Buckingham House since some objects would be on the surface due to ploughing. Scavenging immediately after site abandonment may have occurred, depending on how thorough abandonment procedures were. It is suspected that the inhabitants took all useable objects, in particular metal items, these being the primary goods desired by the Indians. If indeed there was scavenging going on, it would likely be more prevalent at Fort George, since the North West Company was known for better quality goods, and since Buckingham House burned down sometime after abandonment, making it less visible. With respect to archaeological recovery techniques, it appears that there were no homogenizing effects, that is, no differentially applied techniques which would cause the two assemblages to resemble each other, if they were initially deposited differently.

It is suggested here that the similarity between the archaeological assemblages is due to: 1. Initial similarities in inventories, and 2. Similarities in cultural processes during occupation, in particular, similarities in attitudes towards possessions and fort goods, refuse disposal, and abandonment behavior. The two groups of fort occupants were from similar backgrounds, lived in the same situations, carried out basically the same activities and abandoned the forts in similar manner to move the same distance upstream (to Fort Edmonton and Fort Augustus). It therefore seems reasonable they would treat their possessions and those of the company similarly; organize their communities within each fort similarly; maintain the forts in a similar state of cleanliness and repair; and, when moving, have similar attitudes about what was important to take along and how to carry out the moving process. However, in light of the fact that the inhabitants of the two forts never forgot that they were rivals and actually had relatively little social contact, it is still exciting to see such similarities reflected in the archaeological record. Perhaps this may provide a basis for identifying culture-specific artifact patterns, leading to a better understanding of general behavioral similarities. Other well sampled early fur trade sites should be quantified in this manner and compared to these results to examine the spatial and temporal applicability of this potential pattern.

This chapter has provided some basic conclusions and identified some tendencies evident in a comparison of Fort George with the historic inventories. The results of the analysis are summarized in Table 15. The major processes responsible for observed discrepancies in these data are listed, and their effects (that is, distortions) are described. This sample size (that is, two), is obviously not sufficient to build models applicable to all fur trade sites, or ideally, to all archaeological sites. A much larger and more representative sample of sites is required, and it is hoped that future research in historical archaeology will be directed toward an examination of some of these tendencies.

Table 15. Cultural Formation Processes Regulating Deposition in Historic Trading Posts.

Process	Items Affected	Expected Effect	Observed
Variations in initial quantities among artifact classes	Any or all classes, esp. low initial input	High initial number = definite representation Low initial number = questionable representation.	Yes
Trading	Items specially imported for trade, e.g., luxury items (jewellry), awls, knives	Low representation relative to initial input.	Yes
Recycling	Metal items, esp. large ones, e.g., kettles	Little scrap metal found & high percentage of modification of all broken metal items.	Yes
Curation	Guns, tradesmen's tools, large metal objects	No complete examples of these found; those found, generally beyond repair or reuse.	Yes
Activity location	Those items related to activities carried on outside the fort, e.g., axes, fishhooks	Under-representation of outside activities, e.g., fishing, wood chopping, with relative over-representation of domestic and personal items.	Yes
Cleaning & refuse disposal	All discarded items, esp. larger, broken objects	Few objects in houses (mostly small items, lost) & collection of most items in a few specific areas, e.g., cellar fill, outside fort.	Yes

Table 15. Cultural Formation Processes Regulating Deposition in Historic Trading Posts (continued).

Process	Items Affected	Expected Effect	Observed
Gradual abandonment	All useable objects, esp. tools and trade goods	Very few unbroken items - most of those found, were small & may have been lost e.g., beads.	Yes
Differential fragmentation	All breakable items, e.g., glass, pipes, ceramics	More easily breakable items are more likely to be discarded, and high number of fragments found relative to other goods & relative to initial input.	Yes
Differential preservation	Easily decomposed items, e.g., cloth	No representation of these goods, therefore missing large percentage of trade goods.	Yes
Differential loss due to size	Small items, e.g., beads small pieces of broken items	Small items distributed in and around houses, larger items purposely discarded in refuse areas.	Yes

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis has been directed toward an examination of the relationship between cultural reality and the archaeological record. Several different quantitative comparisons have been made to test for consistency between historic inventory lists and the archaeological remains, and to identify potential frequency patterns. The comparisons included direct frequency and relative proportion comparisons between individual artifact types and between functional groups, ratio comparisons, and basic presence/absence comparisons.

This analysis has had interesting results regarding some factors involved in the formation of archaeological deposits in historic fur trading posts, which may be more widely applicable. Unfortunately, with respect to the "accuracy" of the archaeological remains in representing cultural reality in any simple manner, the conclusions to be drawn from this analysis are negative and are difficult to operationalize into principles useful in all archaeological interpretations. This realization is not unique in this study, but has been discovered by other equally well-intentioned researchers in archaeology (e.g., Yellen 1977:133). It is also evident in other people's works, though they often do not admit it; for example, although Schiffer's initial efforts (1972, 1976) at identifying the cultural and non-cultural processes involved

in the formation of the archaeological record were useful, his subsequent attempts to operationalize these processes have fallen short (Schiffer 1978, Wilks and Schiffer 1979). Similarly, Stanley South's attempts at identification of patterns fall short of his stated goals (to understand past lifeways - 1977:xiii), and provide no explanatory basis. It is suggested here that this is due to the large and varied data base that archaeologists have to study, as well as the large number of possible cultural formation processes. In order to test the validity of one general behavioral hypothesis, a great variety of known cases must be examined and a large number of processes evaluated, in order that any resulting generalization may have a high probability of accuracy when applied to unknown cases. This is a difficult process in archaeology, partly because known cases are not particularly numerous. Ethnographic studies were the first to be used in this manner, recently urban studies have provided starting points for testing behavioral generalizations, and now historic archaeological studies may begin to make major contributions (South 1977b:5).

There are, of course, some positive aspects to this analysis. Some of Schiffer's ideas regarding cultural formation processes have been applied to a new body of data, producing results which correspond to some of his results (c.f. 1976, 1978), thereby adding information which will be useful in formulating general principles of disposal behavior.

As noted previously, other researchers are investigating cultural formation processes (e.g., Reid, Rathje), and Lewis Binford has recently turned to such investigations (c.f., 1977, 1978, 1980). Using an ethnoarchaeological approach, he has come up with some important generalizations regarding curation and some relationships between technological organization and cultural deposition. In particular, his curation generalization is relevant to the results of this analysis:

> Important items are maintained and curated, thus their entry into the archaeological record, in terms of frequency, is inversely proportional to the level of maintenance and hence their technological importance, other things being equal. (1977:34)

He makes an interesting suggestion later in the same article, hinting at possible cultural patterning:

> ...we might anticipate certain regular contrasts between archaeological assemblages deriving from highly organized, curated technologies, versus those that are poorly organized and tend toward the expedient manufacture, use and abandonment of instrumental items in the immediate context of use. (1977:34)

This statement could be modified with regard to the results of this analysis:

> Within one archaeological assemblage, there may be certain regular contrasts between highly curated items of the technology, and those less important items which tend more toward being used and abandoned in immediate context.

It is anticipated that a quantitative "fur trade" transform may be formulated to show this "regular contrast", when a

larger sample of forts has been investigated and quantitatively compared to inventory lists.

In his discussion of the Mask site, Binford observes that the primary activity of the site (that is, observing game) only represented 24 percent of the total man-hours of activity recorded, and resulted in no recognizable archaeological consequences (1978:335). This observation is directly relevant to this analysis in two respects:

1. The primary function of these forts was to trade, but that activity probably took less than 24 percent of the inhabitants' time and resulted in no direct archaeological evidence, that is without historic records to identify trade goods.

2. Actual time spent in all activities related to the site may not be identifiable from archaeological remains, e.g., wood chopping, the most time-consuming domestic activity, is virtually unrepresented.

Rathje and Sabloff (1975) have considered the problems of identifying trade centers in Mesoamerica, and also note that it is unlikely that large quantities of trade goods should be present:

> ...[there are] constraints upon the functions of trading centers, not as final destination of goods, but merely as facilities which rapidly effect their transshipment. A trading system which "leaks" large quantities of goods locally would not be functioning as a useful trading center. (1975:13; brackets mine).

This notion is supported by these results from fur trade posts, where trade goods only contribute a small percentage to the total archaeological assemblage, while having been imported in much higher proportions than all other goods.

Rathje and Sabloff also note that caches on Cozumel (a Mesoamerican trading center) are poor in number and contents, and the contents were often broken and useless (1975:14). This was also observed in these fur trade sites, although other factors have been identified as also contributing to this feature in these sites.

This analysis also has specific implications for historical archaeology, in particular, for the current trend toward pattern recognition (e.g., South 1977, Forsman 1979, Tordoff 1979). While this is certainly a necessary step in any analysis, the manner in which it is generally carried out in historical archaeology is somewhat simplistic. It is somewhat akin to one side of the old typology debate, that is, correct quantification is all that is necessary to "discover" cultural patterns and cultural relationships. It is obvious from this analysis (and others) that the road from cultural reality to archaeological deposition is extremely complex, with many intervening factors. There are no simple relationships between fur trade inventory lists (the best available approximation of cultural reality) and presumably closely related archaeological deposits. This suggests that to imply behavioral similarities between sites, based on gross artifact

group similarities is without good foundation and no other possible contributing factors have been considered in such studies in the literature to date. There are apparent similarities between the two archaeological assemblages considered in this analysis, but the significance of these is difficult to evaluate at this time. Two sites are not a statistically significant sample (nor is five, c.f., South 1977:103), and there may still be some as yet unrecognized factors contributing to such similarities. Only by studying these similarities with assemblages from other fur trading forts of this time period, and later expanding to include forts of other time periods, can the significance of this apparent archaeological relationship be properly evaluated and explained.

The following generalizations based on this analysis are offered in the hope that they may be further tested and applied in other situations:

1. In habitation sites (NOT short-term campsites or single activity sites), there is a high probability that the archaeological record will provide a relatively complete representation of the range of tool types in use at that site, with the possible exception of very valuable, difficult-to-obtain items. Percentage recovery of the total assemblage will be low (except perhaps in cases of forced abandonment).
2. In frontier situations (that is, where a group moves into a new, unexplored territory), few useable objects will be left behind in sites in the new territory.

3. It cannot be assumed at any site that simple relative percentages of artifact types in any way represents their original relative quantities or the relative importance of activities they represent.

4. In general, the more highly represented a complete item is, the more likely that it or the raw material was easily obtainable. Conversely, if an artifact is very rare and only found in a broken state, it is likely that it was a difficult to procure item or raw material. Additionally, such items are likely to be recycled and reused until exhausted, therefore their initial form may be unidentifiable.

5. Items which are frequently used at a habitation site have a higher chance of being deposited there, either through loss or breakage, than items used infrequently or those used outside the habitation area.

6. At those sites where goods are processed specifically to be moved out of that site (e.g., quarry sites, craft specialization sites, trade sites) there may be a consistent quantifiable relationship between those goods to be shipped out and all other goods.

7. Within particular types of sites or specific cultural groups, there may be identifiable regularities in the proportional composition of archaeolgical assemblages, regardless of quantitiative differences in initial input of items.

It is evident that the identification of patterns in the archaeological record and their subsequent interpretation in

terms of cultural reality is extremely difficult, a reflection of the complexity of the situation. There is apparently no simple direct relationship; so many cultural and non-cultural factors are operating in the formation of the archaeological record, many of which have been discussed here, that to make any behavioral interpretations directly from archaeological remains without consideration of these factors now seems foolhardy, although frequently done in the past. All possible influences must be considered, even if we do not yet have the methodology to deal with them.

The fur trade era is an ideal research area in this regard, since it is a case of the incoming, recording group, adapting to a large extent, to the prehistoric way of life, although that was already somewhat altered. Hence, an essentially "Indian" way of life was being lived and recorded by many of these white men. Thus, this area of study should be rated high, along with ethnoarchaeological studies, as an excellent medium for generating and testing hypotheses relevant to prehistoric behavioral patterns.

The search for tendencies such as those listed above, in all ethnographic, historical and archaeological analyses must continue, along with quantification of all relevant data, so that when a statistically adequate sample has been collected, we may begin to quantify these generalizations to formulate methods to deal with such distortion factors.

APPENDIX A: North West Company Inventories

Section (i): Inventory of Goods Taken at the Grand Portage June, 1797.

Section (ii): Order for the Columbia Department, 1807-08.

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
597		Blanket coats	–	–
461		Illinois capots	6	12
20		Chiefs coats laced	–	2
26		" " gartered	2	8
35		Capots, laced	–	–
37		" 4½ Ells	–	–
30		" 4 Ells	4	10
113		" 3½ Ells	15	20
184		" 3 Ells	12	12
154		" 2½ Ells	4	6
107		" 2 Ells	2	6
118		" 1½ Ells	–	6
210		" 1 Ells	–	6
436		Swanskin jackets	–	–
205	prs.	Leggins	–	–
582	"	Callicoe trousers	–	–
472	"	Cotton "	–	–
87	"	Russia sheeting trousers	6	12
256	"	Large sleeves	–	–
68	"	Middling sleeves	–	–
306	"	Small sleeves	–	–
100		Portage slings	4	6
121	prs.	Beef shoes	–	–
27		Soldiers coats	–	–
233		Callico jackets	–	–
124		Boys white shirts	–	–
244		Children's white shirts	–	–
35		Children's callico shirts	–	–
195		Mens white shirts	–	–
18		Russia sheeting shirts	–	–
5		Common cotton shirts	24	30
7		Fine cotton shirts	–	–
–		Flannel shirts	10	15
20	pieces	Brown Russia sheeting	–	–
17	Fathoms	" " "	2	4 (yds.)
220		Callimancoe mantlets	–	–
270		Flannel robes	–	–
11		Bath coating robes	–	–
26		Callico robes	–	–
8		Bath coating great coats	–	–
2		Ratteen great coats	–	–
5		Sailors jackets	–	–

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
6		Clerks equipments	-	-
9		Molton jackets	-	-
6		Bath Coating jackets	-	-
13 2/3	pieces	Common Strouds	½	1
18	Fathoms	" "	-	-
11	"	Blue common strouds	-	-
-		White strouds	½	1
3	pieces	Common HBred strouds	½	1
9	Fathoms	" " "	-	-
2	pieces	Fine HBred "	-	-
3½	"	" " blue strouds	½	1
14		Large tents 18@ 20 Ells	-	-
1		Middling tent	-	-
27	pieces	White molton	-	-
26	Fathoms	" "	-	-
19	pieces	Blue "	-	-
33½	Fathoms	" "	-	-
7	pieces	Red "	-	-
16	Fathoms	" "	-	-
54	prs.	Blankets 3 pt.	12	10
72½	"	" 2½ pt.	12	12
31	"	Blankets 2 pt.	2	4
107	"	" 1½ pt.	2	4
101	"	" 1 pt.	2	6
3	pieces	Tow sheeting	-	-
3	"	Scotch sheeting	-	-
47½	Fathoms	" "	-	-
4½	pieces	Hesseus(?)	-	-
14		English Oil cloths	-	-
3		Russia sheeting cloths	-	-
36		Bags for shot	-	-
14½	doz.	Stone calumets	-	-
44	lbs.	Spunge	2	4
106 3/4	lbs.	Vermillion	-	4
270		Velvet bound hats	-	4
23		Plain "	-	-
15		Laced "	-	-
123		Children's hats	-	-
44 1/3	doz.	Milled hose	-	-
13 7/12	doz.	Worsted "	-	-
197		Common belts	20	50
264		Fine "	-	-
86	yds.	Sail cloth	-	-
29½	doz.	Milled caps	-	4
1	"	Worsted "	-	-
2 5/12	doz.	Cotton "	-	-
13 5/12	"	Children's worsted hose	-	-

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
61½	doz.	horn folding knives	–	–
118	"	Wood " "	–	–
1½	"	Bone handled "	–	–
12¼	"	Clasp "	–	–
156 5/12	"	Butchers "	–	–
9	"	Inlaid Cartouche "	–	–
7	"	Camwood(?) " "	–	–
1	"	Silver handled "	–	–
1 1/12	"	Pen knives	–	–
–	"	Scalping knives	6	14
3/4	doz.	Children's knives	–	–
17½	"	Steel tobacco boxes	4	6
12 5/12	"	Japanned boxes	2	6
1½	"	Cow bells	–	–
11	gross	Hawk bells	–	6
17 5/12	doz.	Horse bells	–	–
20 10/12	"	Nonsopretties(?)	–	–
9 1/12	gross	Thimbles	–	–
26		Fine callicoe mantlets	–	–
28		Common " "	2	6
71½	lbs.	Worsted (no red)	–	–
68	"	Collar wire	–	–
51	"	Snare "	–	–
12	"	Ear "	–	–
26¼	doz.	Razors	4	4
2 1/3	"	" in cases	–	–
9	gross	Sleeve buttons (yellow)	–	–
–	"	Coat "	–	2
17	doz.	Fine gunscrews	–	–
9	prs.	Small Steelyards	1	1
5½	doz.	Crooked knives	–	–
11		Cork screws	–	–
17	doz.	Scissors	–	12
7	prs.	Sheers	–	–
12½	"	Shoe brushes	–	–
76	lbs.	Blue beads	–	–
37	"	White & coloured beads	4	6
55	"	Natateuze(?) beads	–	–
2½	doz.	14 inch files	–	–
4½	"	9 inch files	4	6
10 10/12	"	8 inch files	–	–
		7 inch files	2	6
3/4	"	Saw files	4	2/3
5 3/4	"	Files - assorted	3	½
3¼	"	Rasps 12 in. (?)	–	–
2 1/6	"	" " " flat	–	–
5 7/12	"	" assorted	–	–

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
145	prs.	Childrens Monoco(?) Shoes	-	-
105	"	" Leather "	-	-
12	pcs.	Common Callicoe	-	-
24	Fathoms	" "	6	15
12	"	Furniture "	-	-
26	"	Fine "	-	-
7		Fine Linen Shirts	-	-
80 3/4	yds.	Irish Linen	-	-
12½	doz.	Red Silk Handkerchiefs	-	1½
1 7/12	"	Black " "	-	-
30 3/4	"	Large Red & Blue Cotton Handkerchiefs	-	1½
8	"	India Romals(?)	-	-
27 3/4	"	Common "	-	-
402	prs.	Common Shoes	-	-
17	"	Fine "	-	-
4 5/12	"	Pocket Handkerchiefs	-	-
8 1/12	"	Shawls	-	-
17	gross	Small Yellow Crosses	-	-
38	"	Rings	-	-
58		Fustian Jackets	-	-
2½	doz.	Fine Shoe Buckles	-	-
33 7/12	"	Common " "	-	-
85¼	"	Firesteels	12	24
32		Tapboarers	-	-
5		Brass Cocks	-	1
1 5/12	doz.	Marking Irons	-	-
4		Hammers	1	1
21		Gun Locks	-	-
3		Hand Saws	1	1
1	doz.	Gimblets	1	2
33	rolls	Indian Ribbon	-	-
3	"	Broad "	-	-
9	"	Tincel "	-	-
7	"	Hair "	-	-
7	doz.	Hat Bands & Buckles	-	-
14	pcs.	Feuets(?)	-	-
26	doz.	Black Ostrich Feathers	-	-
22¼	"	Cock Plumes	-	-
44		Chiefs Feathers	-	-
274	masses	Barley Corn Beads	-	-
38	strings	Pigeon Eggs	-	-
32	masses	Large White Beads (no.3)	-	-
20	"	Small " "	-	-
8	"	Glass spotted Beads	-	-
171	"	Common China Beads	-	-
48	lbs.	Wax Candles	2	3

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
40		Pad Locks	–	2
3		Fine Double Locks	–	–
12		Augers	–	3
2		Common Locks	–	–
14¼	doz.	Sceen(?) Twine	–	–
20	bunches	Sturgeon Twine	4 lbs.	12 lbs.
–	skein	Holland Twine	24	36
23	prs.	Fine Cotton Trousers	–	–
33	"	Ratteen "	–	–
12		Capots, striped coating	–	–
6		" gray Ratteen	–	–
1		" blue cloth	–	–
13		Corderoy Jackets	–	–
5	prs.	" Trousers	–	–
11		Ratteen Jackets	–	–
6		Bath Coating Jackets	–	–
38	prs.	Fustian Trousers	–	–
20		Callico Waistcoats	–	–
47 1/3	doz.	Canoe Awls	4	–
16 5/12	gross	Indian Awls	–	2
3500		Cod Hooks	–	50
–		Misc. Hooks	50	150
16		Nets	–	–
1		Coat of Grey Cloth	–	–
3½	pcs.	Plattilles(?)	–	–
38	fathoms	Plattilles(?)	–	–
3	gross	Fine Crimson Bed Lace	–	–
8		Small Hair Trunks	–	–
12½	pcs.	Striped Callimancoe	–	–
17 1/3	doz.	Ivory Combs	–	1
6 1/3	doz.	Horn " made like Ivory	–	–
13 2/3	"	" "	–	6
10½	"	Box "	–	–
6	"	Shoemaker's awls	–	–
5	gross	Common bed Lace	–	–
46		Quart Basons	–	–
–		Gun Worms	–	6 doz.
7	gross	Gun Screws	–	–
24 1/3	doz.	Paper Looking glasses	–	6
10	"	Oval Gilt Looking glasses	–	–
4	lbs.	Smoking Tobacco	–	–
3	rolls	Pigtail "	2	6
2		Fort Flags	–	1
123	pcs.	Gartering	4	12
7 3/4	lbs.	Fine Thread	–	–
13½	"	Net Thread	13	18
5	"	Coloured "	1	3

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
16	lbs.	Stitching Thread	-	-
21		Broad Belts with beads	-	-
10	prs.	Pistols	-	-
30		Hangers	-	-
6½	yds.	Crimson Taffetie(?)	-	-
2	prs.	Boys Ratteen Trousers	-	-
24		Copper Tea Kettles	-	-
17 1/6	doz.	Tin Plates	-	-
-		Tin Dishes (large)	-	2
10/12	"	Pewter Spoons	-	-
2		Powder Horns	12	many
4		Smoothing Irons	-	-
23	lbs.	Pepper	4	4
195		Quart Pots	-	-
187		Pint "	1	2
184		Half Pint Pots	1	2
-		¼ " "	1	2
-		1/8 " "	1	4
140		Gall.(?) "	-	-
32		Half Gal.(?) Pots	-	-
136		Tin Funnels, assorted	-	1
1		Maitie de Netz (?)	-	-
22	lbs.	Allum	1/16	¼
17½	"	Rice	-	-
33	"	Pearl Barley	-	-
101		Bayonettes	-	-
15 3/4	doz.	Hand Dags	2½	5½
1	"	Eyed "	-	-
36	masses	Mock Garnets	-	-
15	lbs.	Pipe Beads	-	-
40,600		White Wampum	-	-
23,650		Black Wampum	-	-
13		Natateuze(?) Belts	-	-
8		Silver Hair Pipes	-	-
2,800		Needles	100	200
14	packs	Cards	2	6
14	papers	Ink Powder	2	4½
24	sticks	Sealing Wax	4	6
3	boxes	Wafers	-	-
22		Pocket Inkstands	-	-
3	sheets	Abstract Paper	-	-
2		Slates	-	-
1	pr.	Fleecy Boots	-	-
2	doz.	Packing Needles	-	-
1/3	doz.	Lead Pencils	½	1
2	gross	Button Moulds	-	-
10¼	Fathoms	Corderoy	-	-

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	(ii) 1808
12	Fathoms	Shalloon	–	–
3	"	Striped Cotton	–	–
56		Tincel(?) strings for Hats	–	–
15	lbs.	Cotton Wick	10	12 (balls)
21	Fathoms	White Bunting	–	–
15½	"	Blue "	–	–
3	"	Red "	–	–
3	"	Brown Molton	–	–
8	"	Striped Coating	–	–
1,463		Gunflints	8	15 (doz?)
40	half pound	Bottles, mustard	–	–
12		New Sails	–	–
4	prs.	Shoe Binding	–	–
7		Blanket Matrassess(?)	–	–
6½	Fathoms	Coarse Linen	–	–
3	"	White Baize	–	–
1	Sett	Books bound in calf	–	–
1½	yds.	HB Green Strouds	–	–
6		Pint Basons	–	–
6		Half-pint Basons	–	–
29		New Guns	10	20
3		Old "		
1	roll	Damaged Tobacco	–	–
53	lbs.	Shot	1	3 (bags)
290	"	Ball	1	1 (bags)
–	prs.	Ball Mould	1	2
¼	keg	High Wines	–	–
½	"	Rum		–
1		Small tin kettle	–	–
–		Mathematical Instruments	–	–
1		Small Brass kettle	–	–
1	doz.	Tin wrist bands	–	–
125		Half axes	2 cases	60
3		Scrapers	–	–
42		Good Beaver traps	–	–
12		Damaged Capots	–	–
5	prs.	Snow shoes	–	–
1		Hand Mill	–	–
1		" " very old	–	–
1		Sieve	–	–
18		Muskets w/bayonettes	–	–
50	masses(?)	Shingle nails	–	–
21	"	Case(?) nails	–	–
70	lbs.	Chalk	–	–
2½	bushel	Green Pease	–	–
43	gallons	Linseed Oil	–	–
4	"	Sweet Oil	–	–

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
2/5	keg	Salts	-	½
6	Blls.(?)	Pork	-	-
1	bale	Oakum	-	-
6	Blls.(?)	Pitch tar	-	-
24	bales	Copper kettles	½	1
968	lbs.	" "	-	-
311	"	Brass kettles	-	-
11	nests	Tin kettles	-	-
9		Beaver traps damaged	-	-
90	lbs.	lamp black	-	-
8		Sickles	-	-
5		Carpenter axes	-	-
5		Carpenter adzes	-	1
128		Sauteux(?) Trenches	-	-
10		Piochons(?)	-	-
71		Narrow Trenches	-	30
-		Broad Trenches	-	30
21		Narrow hoes	1	1
3		Broad hoes	-	-
52		Cassetêtes(?)	-	-
5		Large axes	-	4
1		Anvil	-	-
108	prs.	Darts	12	24
42	kegs	Beef	-	-
2	"	Tongues	-	-
4	cases	Pipes	-	-
9	boxes	Candles	-	-
1	keg	Salt	-	-
36	gallons	Spirits (?)	-	-
52½	"	Vinegar	-	2
11		Frying pans	-	-
9		New whip saws	-	-
8		Cross cut saws	-	-
5		Hand saws	-	-
2		Coopers saws	-	-
6		Saw setts	-	-
1		Cooper's round adze	-	-
1		" drawing knife	-	-
4		Iron shovels	-	-
1,291	lbs.	Bau(?) Iron	-	-
206	"	Steel	-	-
1,484	"	Old Iron	-	-
1		Fine Gun	-	-
1		Gun stock-split	-	-
8	kegs	Good Powder	2	5
11½	"	Damaged Powder	-	-
2	bales	Brass kettles	-	-

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		— Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
78	lbs.	Soap	20	30
7	prs.	Blue Boundgore(?) Handkerchief	–	–
13	yds.	Bleached Sheeting	–	–
17		Cod lines	4	6
1	pc.(?)	Brown Molton	–	–
7	Cwt.(?)	Shot	–	–
12	kegs	Pork	–	–
3	"	Port Wine	–	–
3	"	Madeira	–	1
16	"	Grease	–	–
3	"	Teneriffe(?) Wine	–	–
9½	"	Spanish Wine	–	–
18	prs.	Jean Trousers	–	–
6	"	Nanken "	–	–
4		" vests	–	–
7		Fustian vests	–	–
2	Bls.(?)	Loaf sugar	–	–
1	"	Shrub(?)	–	–
3/4	kegs	Lime juice	–	–
5,088	lbs.	Gum	–	–
95	rolls	Wide bark	–	–
150	"	Narrow bark	–	–
3,955	bundles	Ouattap(?)	–	–
28		Sails - half pieces	–	–
19		" - one-third pieces	–	–
3,638	lbs.	Sugar	–	–
1		Large tent	–	–
5		Large tents very old	–	–
884	bushels	Hulled corn	–	–
714½	"	Unhulled corn	–	–
157½	"	" worm eaten	–	–
2		New Canoes	–	–
1½	pr.	Blanket 2½ pt. pieces(?)	–	–
15		Moons Chiefly large	–	–
5		Gorgets	–	–
1	pr.	Arm bands, No.2	–	–
4		Large Beaver	–	–
6		Small Beaver	–	–
2		Turtles	–	–
16		Double crosses	–	–
4		Triple crosses	–	–
8		Ear wheels	–	–
21		Large Hollow broaches, No. 1	–	–
21		Middling sized " No. 2	–	–
26		" " " No. 3	–	–
130		Smallest Sort "	–	–
21	prs.	Silver rings	–	–

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
1		Large box	–	–
167		Small scolloped crosses	–	–
115	prs.	Common ear bobs	–	–
1,900		Common broaches	–	–
1,217		Small "	–	–
121		Heart "	–	–
150		Wampum	–	–
		Medicines		
5½	lbs.	Epicacuantha(?)	–	–
1	"	Cantharides(?)	–	–
4	oz.	Flower Zinc	–	–
2½	"	Oil Peppermint	24	24 (bottles)
3	"	" Aniseed		
½	lb.	Laudanum	–	–
6	oz.	Tincture Guidcum(?)	–	–
1	lb.	Extract of Giulard(?)	–	–
4	"	Antimonial(?) Wine	–	–
6	oz.	Other	–	–
3	"	Spirits Nitre(?)	–	–
½	"	Corrasive(?) Sublunate (?)	–	–
9	half pint bottle	Spr.(?) Turpentine	–	–
2¼	lb.	Cream Tartar	–	–
½	"	Bals. Capivi(?)	–	–
4	oz.	Red Precipited	–	–
1½	"	Colonice	–	–
2	lbs.(?)	Lunar(?) Caustic	–	–
1 3/4	lbs.	Cetrinum(?) Ointment	–	–
3	"	Fine Link(?)	–	–
1	"	Salt Tartar	–	–
2		Morters	–	–
1		Large Syringe	–	–
4		Small Syringe	–	–
3½	oz.	Philonium Landininen	–	–
3/4	lb.	Tartar, Emetic	–	–
1	"	Mercurial Ointment	–	–
1	"	Guaiacum Wood	–	–
1	"	Liquorice Root	–	–
2	oz.	Crud Opium	–	–
1	lb.	Magnesia	2	2 (oz.)
1½	oz.	Aloes(?)	–	–
3	"	Gum Myrrh	–	–
½	lb.	Salt Nitre (?)	–	–
2	lbs.	Prepared chalk	–	–
3/4	"	White Vitriol	–	–
1	"	Salt Ammoniae	–	–

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
1.6	Oz.	Gum Camphor	2	4 (lbs.)
6		Rupture Trusses	-	-
2	doz.	Phials	-	-
26	boxes	Theriac	-	-
16	boxes	Drawing Salve	-	2
3	boxes	Healing "	-	-
8	Gallipots	Drawing Salve	-	-
2	"	Healing Salve	-	-
4	"	Softening Ointment	-	-
3	"	Mercurial Ointment	-	-
12	lbs.	Castile Soap	-	-
3	"	Tow	-	-
3/4	"	Sticking Plaster	-	-
		Blistering Plaster	2	2 (oz.)
4½		Papers Pills Boxes	-	-
3/4	lbs.	Sugar of Lead	-	-
5½	"	Peruvian Bark	-	-
10¼	"	Iallap(?)	-	-
15 1/6	doz.	Purging Powders	-	-
9	"	Injection Powders	-	-
16 2/3	"	Vomits	24	2
3 2/3	"	Lancets	-	-
6	bottles	Eye Water	-	-
32	"	Scented Water	-	-
19		Bougies(?)	-	-
2	bottles	Essential Oil Mint	-	-
3 3/4	lbs.	Rhubarb in Powder	2	2 (oz.)
46	"	Glauber Salts	-	-
5½	"	Ginger	-	-
8	"	Ginger in Powder	-	-
2	"	Liquorice	-	-
3/8	"	Cloves	1	1 (lb.)
2½	"	Allspice	-	-
4¼	"	Mace	½	1 (oz.)
1.6	oz.	Cinnamon	1	2 (lb.)
11	lbs.	Salt Petie	-	-
14	oz.	Borax	-	-
1¼	lbs.	Rozin	-	-
2.14	oz.	Blue Vitriol	-	1 (oz.)
1½	lbs.	Stone Brimstone	-	-
2	"	Flower Brimstone	-	-
3 3/4	"	Spermacete	-	-
1.3	oz.	Saffron Flowers	-	-
3½	lbs.	Rhubarb Root	-	-
6	oz.	Grand River Root	-	-
3	gross	Phial Corks	-	-
1	pr.	Large Scales & Weight	-	-

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Goods	(ii) 1807	1808
1	pr.	Small Scales & Weight	-	-
1		Tin Bason	-	-
1		Funnel	-	-
4		Tin Boxes	-	-
½	lb.	Manoique(?)	-	-
2	packets	Garden Seeds	A Quantity	
		Utencils		
24		Good Copper kettles with cover	-	-
29		Good Copper kettles without covers	-	-
10		Brass kettles	-	-
25		Tin kettles	-	-
12		Kettles, mended but serviceable	-	-
1		Large Copper kettle	-	-
1		Iron tripper(?)	-	-
1		Brass boiler, broke	-	-
18		Kettles, unserviceable	-	-
1		Single Stove	-	-
2		Whip saws, good	-	-
2		Whip saws, broke	-	-
3		Cross cut saws, good	-	-
1		Cross cut saw, broke	-	-
1		Iron chain (34 lbs.)	-	-
908		Bags, used	-	-
18		Old guns	-	-
1		Blunderbush	-	-
36		Scyths	-	-
18		Hand saws	-	-
10		Spades	-	-
14		Carpenter planes	-	-
18		Pioches	-	-
2		Drawing knives	-	-
13		Augers	-	-
27		Files - assorted	-	-
6		Dags	-	-
3		Carpenter adzes	-	-
12		Large axes	-	-
6		Small axes	-	-
2		Small hammers	-	-
2		Masons hammers	-	-
4		Scrapers	-	-
6		Piochons	-	-
4		Chizzels	-	-
5		Caulking Irons	-	-
1		Waffle Iron	-	-
3		Tranches - narrow	-	-

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Utensils	(ii) 1807	1808
3		Large Carpenter axes	-	-
2		Coutreaux(?)	-	-
5		Scapes(?)	-	-
1		Large Chizzel	-	-
2		Mason trowels	-	-
1	pr.	Large Steelyards	-	-
1		Pick Axe	-	-
1	old pr.	Copper Scales	-	-
1		Try Angle	-	-
1	pr.	Hand Cuffs	-	-
1		Draw knife	-	-
1		Hammer for Shingles	-	-
4	sheets	Sheet Iron	-	-
1	pr.	Stirrups	-	-
2	"	Scales & Beams	-	-
1	"	" " " very old	-	-
		Weight as follows		
		8 -- 56 lb.	-	-
		2 -- 28 "	-	-
		1 -- 14 "	-	-
		3 -- 4 "	-	-
		5 -- 2 "	-	-
		1 -- 1 "	-	-
		1 -- ½ "	-	-
		1 -- ¼ "	-	-
9½	rolls	Spencers twist, damaged	-	-
1	"	Brazil	-	-
156	lbs.	Carrot	-	-
13	pieces	Lodge	-	-
1		Iron crow bar	-	-
3		Good carts	-	-
7		Harnesses, old & new	-	-
1	pr.	New Cart Wheels	-	-
4		Traines	-	-
		Cattle		
6		Horses	-	-
1		Colt - 3 yrs. old	-	-
5		Cows	-	-
1		Bull	-	-
2		Oxen	-	-
2		Calves	-	-
6		Sheep	-	-

North West Company Inventories (continued)

(i)		Blacksmith's Shop	(ii) 1807	1808
1	pr.	Bellows	-	-
2		Anvils	-	-
2		Vices	-	-
5	pr.	Pinchers	-	-
1		Large hammer	-	-
1		Middling hammer	-	-
3		Small hammers	-	-
-		Axes, square headed for canoes	2	4
-	keg	Brandy, french	1	1
-	doz.	File, half round 10"	1	1/6
-	"	File, " " 8"	1	1/6
-	"	File, Rat tail	1	1/6
-		Gouges of ½"	-	1
-		" 3/4"	-	1
-		Gimlets, spike	1	1
-	doz.(?)	Quills	½	-
-		Vices, small key	-	1

APPENDIX B

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company

Trading Goods Shipped Inland			1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Arrow barbs		#	720	–	288	576	432	–	–	–	–
Awl blades		"	648	432	640	916	600	548	492	300	3600
Baizes - blue		yd.	65	14	34	12	17 3/4	36	–	100	–
- green		"	60	64½	40	19½	17½	40	44	70	–
- red		"	32	20	28	40	77	–	–	155 3/4	154¼
- white		"	–	–	10	–	12	–	27	100	–
Basons - pewter	2 qts.	#	–	–	–			–	2	–	–
	3 pts.	"	–	–	–	10	3	–	6	3	9
	2 pts.	"	–	–	–			6	2	–	–
	1 pt.	"	–	–	–			–	4	–	6
Bayonets - large		"	216	288	194	244	156	398	508	204	324
- small		"	216	168	192	400	240				
Beads - China	#1	lb.	3	5 3/4	–	–	–	–	–	–	
	#13	"	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	
	#17	"	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	
	#31	"	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	
	#271	"	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	17 3/4
	#285	"	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
	#290	"	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	
	#291	"	–	3¼	–	–	–	–	–	–	
	#292	"	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Barley corn	#131	"	–	–	–	7	–	–	–	–	–
Fine	#2	"	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	#3	"	6¼	5½	6½	6	–	–	–	–	–
	#4	"	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–
	#5	"	–	–	–	2¼	–	–	–	–	–
	#107	"	8	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–
	#174	"	–	–	–	6¼	–	–	–	–	–
	#211	"	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland			1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
	#247	"	17¼	6	9	–	–	–	–	–	–
	#249	"	–	5 3/4	4	–	1¼	–	–	–	–
	#252	"	–	8	4	–	3	–	–	–	–
	#255	"	4	5 3/4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	#256	"	–	4	–	–	8¼	–	–	–	–
	#258	"	–	3 3/4	2½	–	–	–	–	–	–
	#259	"	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
	#276	"	–	–	–	–	5¼	–	–	–	–
	#277	"	–	–	9	–	–	–	–	–	–
	#278	"	4	7	7	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beads, common	#162	"	–	–	22	6 3/4	–	–	–	–	–
	#168	"	–	4	–	41½	15½	–	–	–	–
	#179	"	–	–	9	–	–	–	–	–	–
	#180	"	8	5¼	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	#183	"	–	–	–	7 3/4	–	–	–	–	–
	#186	"	–	–	–	–	15¼	–	–	–	–
	#189	"	–	–	–	–	6 3/4	–	–	–	–
	#193	"	–	–	–	12½	3	–	–	–	–
	#196	"	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
	#202	"	27	25	62	22½	20	–	–	–	–
	#203	"	–	–	–	–	10	–	–	–	–
	#204	"	3 3/4	–	4	1	1 3/4	–	–	–	–
	#207	"	4	2	6	2 3/4	24	–	–	–	–
	#210	"	10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	#230	"	24	24	46	4¼	31¼	–	–	–	–
blue, dark		"	–	–	–	–	–	10	30	10¼	50½
light		"	–	–	–	–	–	–	20	30	77
dove colour		"	–	–	–	–	–	10	12	–	30
green, dark		"	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	5¼	30½
light		"	–	–	–	–	–	12	37	–	10¼
ice colour		"	–	–	–	–	–	6	19	–	5

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
red, dark	lb.	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	5	17 3/4
light	"	-	-	-	-	-	12	50	2	10
white	"	-	-	-	-	-	31	100	25	82½
yellow, dark	"	-	-	-	-	-	5	25	5½	10
light	"	-	-	-	-	-	7½	12	5½	7
Bells, Hawk	prs.	64	75	339	937	307	378	159	496	396
Binding, worsted	yd.	72	-	656	324	558	72	-	-	-
Blankets 1 pt.	#	4	-	8	18	4	6	92	126	67
1½ pt.	"	5	50	50	23	-	2	73	72	36
2 pt.	"	3	-	50	51	14	58	54	18	10
2½ pt.	"	8	-	32	19	60	30	84	12	116
3 pt.	"	38	35	68	87	66	101	134	60	172
3½ pt.	"	-	-	-	-	6	-	66	20	24
4 pt.	"	-	-	-	-	-	12	47	12	53
Blankets striped green	"	9	-	12	7	-	45	-	-	25
red	"	72	60	70	29	91	96	190	28	165
red & green	"	-	-	30	82	37	69	148	97	87
Boots - water	prs.	-	-		-	-	-	8	-	-
Boxes - wood(egg&barrel)	#	8	10	47	30	12	6	12	-	72
Boxes - tobacco-japanned	"	24	15	41	25	19				
-oval iron	"	26	33	75	28	7	34	11	53	24
- " " w/slide	"	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
-japanned w/burning glass	"	18	-	29	35	21	13	3	-	12
Bracelets - brass arm	pr.	64	18	49	1	48	-	-	-	-
white arm	"	-	-	-	-	-	48	180	96	144
" wrist	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	108	200
Brandy - English	gal.	738¼	884	1360	2243½	1709¼	2668½	3540	3689	3906
Buckles - shoe	pr.	-	-	-	-	-	28	9	18	36
- breast	#	-	-	-	-	-	180	1458	600	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Buttons - metal coat	doz.	-	-	-	46	102	300	-	-	-
coat	"	66	84	114	140	60		228	240	312
waist coat	"	76	88	130	176	72	252	165	232	360
sleeve	" pr.	-	-	-	-	-	39	6	41	30
Cannisters 4 lb.	#	6	-	2	3	1	4	-	3	-
3 lb.	"	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	3	-
2 lb.	"	-	-	2	3	1	-	-	4	-
1 lb.	"	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	2	-
Chisels, ice - broad	"	103	32	142	127	127	157	69	120	200
narrow	"	94	99	126	223	120	233	202	250	230
Cloth - aurora	yd.	-	-	-	-	-	324 3/4	90	45½	208¼
" corded	"	-	-	-	-	-	57	-	-	-
blue	"	260 3/4	245¼	315½	353	177	596	620	430	604½
" corded	"	536½	306½	1251 3/4	682 3/4	520¼	711½	1313	656¼	1419 3/4
" fine	"	154½	71½	125½	104	162 3/4	211 3/4	130 3/4	222 3/4	188
embossed	"	-	-	-	-	-	79¼	-	110	9
green	"	30	53½	125½	43 3/4	36	41½	227	220¼	100
" corded	"	24	-	94	124 3/4	31	118¼	328	66 3/4	47
" fine	"	2 3/4	-	26	45	77 3/4	51½	-	-	-
red	"	180½	306½	431 3/4	186½	23	134¼	55	22½	225 3/4
" corded	"	529¼	591½	576¼	514½	590¼	448	1162	296 3/4	1719¼
" fine	"	99 3/4	61 3/4	140½	127½	110 3/4	17¼	-	-	-
white	"	23	24	45	109	84	111	154	-	101¼
yellow	"	-	-	7	-	33	18½	76	15	-
" corded	"	-	-	-	23½	3¼	-	-	-	-
" fine	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-
Collars of sizes - brass	#	33	28	22	80	12	64	-	8	-
Combs Horn - large	"	14	24	72	158	38	64	71	150	12
small	"	-	-	-		36	100	20	150	144
dressing	"	-	-	62	48	36	72	79	150	160
Ivory	"	195	110	264	323	124	384	61	300	288

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Cottons - printed	yd.	83½	-	187½	77½	89½	116½	197 3/4	224½	63
Crosses - white	#	-	-	-	-	-	18	50	4	-
yellow with stones	"	-	-	-	-	-	61	50	11	-
Cups and balls	"	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	4	-
Cutlasses	"	8	19	17	9	25	7	-	-	20
Duffel - blue	yd.	-	20	5 3/4	8½	13¼	21½	5	-	-
red	"	-	14	48½	19	-	9¼	-	30	-
white	"	-	-	75	30½	25 3/4	32½	-	30 3/4	-
" w/blue stripe	"	-	21 3/4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
" striped red	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-
" striped red & blue	"	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ear drops	pr.	96	-	60	36	24	-	41	-	-
yellow & white	"	-	-	-	-	-	129	-	-	-
Epaulets white	#	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-
yellow	"	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-
Feathers, coloured (Ostrich)	"	68	17	54	126	100	104	12	151	-
to go round hats	"	48	30	11	41	18	48	29	6	-
Files	"	243	268	410	270	238	380	252	492	597
Flannel	yd.	46½	5	61	80	79	78¼	96	12	260½
Flints	#	3040	2800	9000	4620	4040	4980	6700	8000	6600
Gartering	yd.	1605	2030	7200	6051	5904	3330	12236	10102	11862
Glasses-looking-book (red leather)	#	64	56	66	4	42	59	100	71	48
-gilt paper	"		32	56	55	29	59	60	48	-
-octagon	"	-	31	50	60	37	64	64	170	101
-oval-gilt frame	"	-	-	-	-	-	12	3	48	14
-wood frame	"	-	-	-	-	-	6	12	-	2
Gunpowder	lb.	1545	1642	1656½	2367	1785½	2674½	1762	2827¼	3585 3/4

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Guns 4 ft.	#	36	35	37	37	43	62	40	72	81
3½ ft.	"	93	70	103	140	114	130	109	143	146
3 ft.	"	72	84	71	89	40	103	136	124	80
2½ ft.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	51
Handkerchiefs-small silk	"	83	77	-	-	30	58	77	144	51
-black & culgus(?)	"	-	-	-	-	-	118	257	219	316
-bandana	"	-	-	-	-	-				
-linen	"	-	-	-	-	-	39	108	96	63
-sooseè(?)	"	-	-	-	-	-	30	56	132	10
Hat bands - white	"	-	-	-	-	-	36	6	-	-
- yellow	"	-	-	-	-	-	36	6	-	-
Hatchets - large	"	92	108	218	147	122	160	100	646	378
- middling	"	181	79	128	40	52	150	300	144	305
- small	"	12	184	117	179	42	34	30	149	150
- oval-eyed	"	176	28	340	200	279	300	20	248	68
Hats (plain w/large crowns)		100	78	77	135	102	116	180	91	188
Hooks - fish	"	100	-	40	490	225	580	600	1000	600
Horns - powder*1 lb.	"			20		14				
3/4 lb.	"	43	18	10	67	20	126	100	61	10
½ lb.	"			5		19				
Kettles - brass 6 gal.	#	-	-	-	2	3		2	-	-
5 gal.	"	-	-	-	9	1		2		
4½ gal.	"	-	-	-	2	10		2		
4 gal.	"		-	-	13	-		5		
3½ gal.	"		25	10	17	23		5	8	13
3 gal.	"		52	4	15	18		4	36	3
2½ gal.	"		-	16	41	18	1	2	39	5
2 gal.	"	1	34	20	28	34		6	14	12
1½ gal.	"		21	1	39	31		3	17	15
1 gal.	"		20	44	30	22		2	26	18
7 pts.	"		-	4	18	12		8	-	-
6 pts.	"		20	11	20	14		4	7	-
5 pts.	"		-	-	-	-		4	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
4 pts.	#		13	8	21	15		6	8	-
3 pts.	"		-	29	-	-		2	-	-
2 pts.	"		20	44	10	11		2	-	-
1 pt.	"		36	-	4	26		-	-	-
½ pt.	"		-	59	106	20		-	29	-
Kettle, tin No. 1-3	"	3	2	-	-	4	2	-	-	-
1-4	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
4-6	"	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	-	-
5-6	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7-9	"	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-
10-12	"	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
13-14	"	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
15-16	"	-	1	2	-	2	1	-	-	-
17-18	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
19-20	"	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
- camp copper ½ pt.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80
#1 1 pt.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
#2 1 qt.	"	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	18
#3 2 qt.	"	-	-		-	-	1	-	-	18
#4 3 qt.	"	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	18
#5 1 gal.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
#6 2 gal	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
#7 3 gal.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
#8 4 gal.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
#9 5 gal.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Knives - box butcher	"	24	-	120	312	60	96	964	1500	1096
- brass handled	"	-	-	-	108	72	552	632	300	-
- clasp	"	200	166	198	402	279	493	1580	600	743
- jack	"	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- long-large	"	576	643	504	168	384	361	-	700	360
-small	"	360	432	580	312	48	288	394	200	440

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
- roach-large	#	456	504	780	144	792	336	500	1500	1628
-small	"	528	420	880	336	408	480	-	200	208
- yew handle	"	760	988	1000	852	660	721	344	400	1242
- table - bone handle	"	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-
Lace-orrice white broad	yd.	200	200	150	432	150	342	300	50	170
narrow	"	150	100	100	200	222				
yellow broad	"	200	200	150	406	222	596	100	50	250
narrow	"	200	100	100	200	150				
worsted	"	224	-	200	495	372	-	-	-	-
Magnets	#	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-
Medals, brass	"	-	-	-	-	-	72	60	616	-
Mocotoggans (crooked knives)	"	48	12	20	-	36	24	-	-	-
Needles - brown thread	"	400	524	300	1100	200	1095	-	400	1000
- fine	"	-	-	-	-	-	1200	1400	300	1300
- glovers	"	500	200	100	650	500	1500	1700	200	200
- quilting	"	500	700	600	1400	700	1448	500	260	2700
Pistols	"	20	17	3	39	23	53	40	15	-
Pans - tin pudding	"	-	-	-	-	-	12	18	11	25
Pots - japanned 1 qt.	"	-	13	5	17	10	6	11	4	26
1 pt.	"	-	15	14	27	18	28	13	5	29
½ pt.	"		13	29	36	30	20	38	10	24
¼ pt.	"	-	-	-	11	42	28	14	2	12
- tin 2 qt.	"	-	-	-	1	3	1	31	67	72
1 qt.	"	-	-	-	2	9	2			
1 pt.	"	-	-	-	1	2	2			
Razors	"	6	-	-	18	-	2	-	20	-
Rings - ear	pr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	-	626
- plain	#	420	292	84	352	288	1500	500	400	2028
- seal	"	-	292	274	768	576	1200	100	-	1000
- stone	"	360	268	186	-	144	1308	100	100	916

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Ribbon of colours	yd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	386½	-
Rundlets 1 qt.	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
2 qts.	"	3	27	20	34	36	20	50	48	-
3 qts.	"	9	15	30	38	17	16	56	36	-
4 qts.	"	17	48	48	62	56	84	87	54	-
6 qts.	"	8	45	34	56	22	27	20	33	130
8 qts.	"	140	119	162	182	162	178	4	62	158
Sashes - worsted	"	64	32	39	156	68	127	40	13	22
Scissors	pr.	32	-	48	36	-	20	8	2	30
Scrapers - double	#	-	-	-	12	2	4	36	-	36
Serge - embossed	yd.	12	10	39¼	38½	13	-	20	44	8
Shirts - calico-infant	#	-	-	-	2	14	43	53	62	126
-boy	"	-	-	-	24	8	37	47	2	45
-youth	"	-	-	-	19	41	28	49	2	47
-adult	"	-	-	-	-	-	12	20	-	78
- checked	"	38	26	34	27	20	-	90	105	45
- strapt	"	70	93	62	54	41	73	50	33	50
- cotton	"	183	162	290	170	189	260	328	134	553
Shirts - white plain	"	51	30	54	5	4	16	40	107	12
- irish ruffled	"	19	-	28	36	31	-	22	-	43
- strapt	"	60	36	46	62	45	73	40	102	15
Shoes - flat soled	pr.	} 53	13	20	} 60	28	-	55	10	-
- pumps	"		16	11		17	-	66	20	72
- turned up soles	"		10	10		14	49	-	20	15
- boys	"	-	-	-	-	12	6	20	20	-
Shot - bristol	lb.	795	526	2075	1434	1036	1410	3916	746	2284
duck	"	196	228	392	196	224	-	300	448	-
goose mould	"	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-
low India	"	1432	1084	2336	1883	784	1005	900	1708	1612
partridge	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56	112
plover	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56	56

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Silver ornaments	#1 #	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–
	#2 "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	–
	#3 "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–
	#4 "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	–
	#5 "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	–
	#6 "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	43	–
	#7 "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	43	–
	#8 "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	43	–
	#9 "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–
Spoons -pewter (of sorts)	"	12	8	12	12	18	59	50	8	60
Steels, fire	"	360	432	468	754	492	842	–	1010	1790
Stockings worsted-knit	pr.	28	14	22	39	35	45	30	90	78
-ribbed	"		13	–						
yarn blue	"	15	22	24	20	16				
green	"	9	46	34	25	19	54	70	82	68
red	"	21	18	24	12	16				
Sword blades	#	–	15	–	50	48	18	–	53	–
Thimbles	"	–	–	–	9	27	220	36	–	–
Thread - blue	lb.	6	4¼	4	7¼	9 3/4	5 3/4	6	–	3
green	"	3	2	1	6½	8	3	9	½	5
red	"	3	3	2	6	9	3	9	¼	9
white	"	3	3	5	2½	2	–	–	–	4
yellow	"	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
of colours	"	–	–	–	–	–	5½	9	1	3
Tobacco Brazil	"	3587	2448½	1980	2647½	1850	2859	1800	3737	1651
Cut	"	66½	6	12	33	43	72	206	161	312
Leaf	"	456	18	4½	–	–	153	660	–	366
Roll	"	203 3/4	110 3/4	397 3/4	984 3/4	570 3/4	1013½	400	312	1200½
Spencer's twist	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1919	2448
Trunks - large	#	11	5	5	17	22	14	12	1	–
- middling	"	8	6	11	11	12	17	16	3	–
- small	"	8	7	–	10	4	5	–	1	–

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Trading Goods Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Tumblers-japanned-pint	#	-	-	-	-	-	11	61	15	12
½ pt.	"	-	-	-	-	-	6	12	6	-
¼ pt.	"	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	10	8
gill	"	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	4	-
Twine #1 (fine)	Skns.	67	76	71	267	212	342	330	300	615
#2 (coarse)	"	-	-	52	24	20	40	74	64	256
#3 (coarse)	"	-	-	4	-	31				
#4	"	53	8	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
#6	"	-	-	-	65	-	-	-	-	-
#7&8	"	-	-	74	13	-	-	-	-	-
#10 (net line)	"	25	3	10	76	84	109	72	73	237
Vermillion	lb.	12	12 3/4	18 1/8	16½	15½	23	10	39½	20
Vitery (cf factory stores)	yd.	-	-	-	-	-	150	100	300	250
Waters - red	gal.	7	16	-	30 5/8	-	7 7/8	-	12	-
- white	"	7	7	-	45½	13½	38	60	53	31
Wire - brass	lb.	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Worms - gun	#	224	372	264	772	208	378	-	168	1676

Slops Sold to Men or Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Breeches - Blue serge	pr.	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brown serge	"	2	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	1
Corduroy	"	18	17	29	13	18	19	13	10	4
Boots	"	-	3	1	-	1	-			
Buckles - shoe copper	"	4	3	4	10	28	remainder transferred to trading goods			
pinchbeck	"		-	-	-	23				
plated	"	3	3	-	13	21				
and bands for hats	set	-	10	-						

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Slops Sold to Men or Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Buttons - coat mohair (blue, green & red)	doz.				-	12	-	-	3	-
- waistcoat mohair	"				-	8	-	-	2	-
- sleeve bath metal	doz. pr.	294	-	84	137	218	remainder transferred to trading goods			
stone	"	-	-	16						
Caps Dutch	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Leather	"	1	3	8	5	4	6	4	15	-
Chocolate (cf. provisions)	lb.	-	10	5						
Coats - great - blue	#	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	4
Coffee (cf. provisions)	lb.	-	11	6						
Drawers - brown	pr.	-	26	17	2	7	7	50	9	-
- flannel long	"	19	16	63	22	-	-	-	5	11
- grey	"	1	3	3	3	4	1	1	35	21
- white	"					12	47	30	46	60
Frocks - duck (see Guernsey at end)	#	14	4	49	10	8	11	41	35	62
Gloves	pr.	-	3	-						
Handkerchiefs - silk black (lg)	#	128	-	94	159	114	remainder transferred to trading goods			
bandana	"		135	17						
soosee (?)	"	4	10	8	14	67				
fancy linen	"	14	23	58	53	78				
Jackets - calico	"					15	14	14	-	-
- large lined	"	2	-	1	3	2	5	7	5	27
- " unlined	"	3	3	11	6	-	6	9	21	24
Shirts - Irish fine	"	5	14	10	10	-	2	-	13	50
Flannel	"							36	52	48
calico white	"							-	-	2

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Slops Sold to Men or Shipped Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Tea - bohea (cf. provisions)	lb.	-	9	3						
- green (cf. provisions)	"	-	8	4						
Trousers - cotton	pr.	38	30	70	32	33	53	46	29	53
duck	"	65	76	123	72	88	106	64	30	238
fearnought (?)	"	8	4	11	-	-	9	-	8	14
woolen	"							5	2	1
Waistcoat - blue serge	#	13	39	74	43	20	24	2	32	28
red serge	"	7	5	8	5	7	10	1	28	9
white	"	24	22	79	51	47	69	62	31	75
flannel short	"							2	6	41
Frocks-Guernsey	"									10

Armourer's Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Alkanet Root	lb.	1	1	-	½	some	-	1	-	-
Aqua Fortis	Oz.	-	8	-	40	some	10	10	-	40
Barrels for hunting 3 ft.	#	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
3½ ft.	"	4	4	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
4 ft.	"	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bits - boring	#	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
half round	"	-	-	-	-	6	-		-	-
screwing	"	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
small	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	-	-
spring file cut	"	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
square rimming	"	-	-	-	-	6	-		-	-
Bolts	"	-	-	10	-	2	-	-	-	-
Borax	Oz.	1	-	-	16	16	-	-	-	-
Boxes - drill	#	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Breech plate-forged	"	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Armourer's Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Chisels - paring small	#	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	6
Cocks - for gun locks	"	-	-	2	-	2	-	6	-	24
- for pistols		-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Countersunk roses (?)	"	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7
Draw Borers - strong	"	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Emery coarse	lb.	1	2	-	some	some	2	½	-	2
fine	"	-	-	-	some	some	2	1	-	1
flour	"	-	2	-	-	some	-	1	-	1
Files - flat bastard	12½d #	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
	12d "	-	-	1	4	2	6	-	-	-
	10d "	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8d "	2	-	-	7	6	6	-	-	-
	6d "	2	10	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
	4d "	1	-	-	8	7	4	-	-	-
	3d "	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
	2½d"	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	2d "	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-
assorted	"							18	-	30
flat rough	10d "	2	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	-
	8d "	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4d "	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
	3d "	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-
	2½d"	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
flat rough assorted		-	-	-	-	-	15	25	12	32
flat smooth	12 "	1	2	-	-	1	3	-	6	3
" "	10 "	1	-	-	4	-	2	-	-	4
" "	8 "	2	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	4
" "	6 "	1	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	6
" "	4 "	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	6
" "	3 "	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	9	4
" "	assorted"	-	-	-	-	-	6	96	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Armourer's Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Files - feather edged	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-
half round bastard	12d"	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	12	2
" " "	8d"	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	12	2
" " "	6d"	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
" " "	asst."	-	4	-	-	-	-	33	3	6
" " rough	12d"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
" " "	10d"	-	3	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
" " "	8d"	-	-	-	2	-	4	-	-	-
" " "	6d"	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	6
" " "	4d"	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	24	-
" " "	3d"	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
" " "	2½d"	-	2	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
" " "	asst."	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-
" " smooth	12d"	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	
" " "	10d"	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	
" " "	8d"	-	-	-	3	12	-	-	-	20
" " "	6d"	-	-	-	1	10	-	-	-	
" " "	3d"	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
" " "	2½d"	-	-	-	6	4	-	-	-	-
" " "	asst."	-	-	-	-	-	6	8	-	-
rat tail	"	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	12
round assorted	"	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
slitt	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
2½ tumbler bent	"	2	-	-	9	2	-	-	-	16
Warding assorted	"	2	-	-	8	8	12	-	10	12
Fish skin	"	3/4	-	1	little	-	-	-	-	-
Gimblets - of sizes	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2
Gouges - scribing	"	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- pipe	"	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Guards - for guns	"	-	-	-	7	6	26	12	36	4
- for pistols	"	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	2	-
Hafts - for files	"	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Armourer's Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Hammers for gun locks	#	–	4	2	6	–	12	–	6	–
for pistols	"	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–
Iron for soldering copper	"	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Jaws - upper	"	–	–	–	6	6	–	–	–	–
Locks for gun	"	5	3	7	4	2	2	–	–	5
for pistols	"	–	–	1	–	–	–	6	2	–
Loops	"	–	21	–	6	6	–	–	20	–
Mould - brass for casting balls	"	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–
Nails - breech	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	20	18	20
- cock	"	–	10	–	–	4	–	54	–	6
- lock	sets	–	some	6	7	12	20	–	–	7
- for ramrods	oz.	some	some	–	–	–	–	30 (#)	–	–
- side	sets	10	some	6	10	6	10	20	–	20
- tumbler	#	–	8	6	8	2	–	–	–	–
Oil - red	qts.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Paper - sand	quires	1	2	4 sheets	2	2	1	–	2	2
Pincers	pr.	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Pipes	#	6	6	24	40	12	2	–	48	40
Plates - heel	"	6	3	–	7	7	–	–	24	6
- lock	"	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	2	–
- screw & taps	"	–	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–
- side	"	6	–	10	3	3	–	6	–	–
Plyers	pr.	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
Prickers	#	–	–	6	–	–	–	4	–	6
Ramrods	"	50	50	20	50	5	50	–	–	–
Ramrod bores	"	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rasps - flat 10 d	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	}	}
" 8 d	"	2	–	2	2	–	–	–	24	12
" 6 d	"	–	–	1	2	1	–	–		
" 4 d	"	1	–	1	3	2	–	–	–	–
" 3 d	"	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Armourer's Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Rasps - halfround 12 d	#	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
6½d	"	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rivets - copper assorted	lb.	some	2	4	3	2	2½	1	2	1½
Rosin - yellow	"	-	-	6	4	-	-	-	-	-
Sal ammoniac	"	some	½	¼	½	-	-	¼	-	-
Saws - spring	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Screws	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	-	-
for guards	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	-
wood	"	-	-	-	some	-	-	-	-	88
Seers	#	20	3	-	6	6	-	10	6	-
Sights	"	-	10	6	-	-	-	-	6	-
Solder - soft	lb.	some	¼	¼	5/8	-	-	-	½	-
- spelter	"	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
Springs - hammer	#	12	4	6	6	12	-	15	-	-
- main	"	12	10	6	6	12	-	8	48	6
- seer	"	-	10	-	12	12	-	10	12	6
Stocks	"	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Triggers	"	12	10	-	9	12	-	-	-	-
Tumblers	"	10	-	-	8	12	-	-	-	-
Varnish	pt.	some	1	-	-	some	-	-	-	-
Vice - bench	#	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
- hand	"	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	6
- handkey	"	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1
- pinning	"	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
- table	"	-	1	-	2	2	1	-	-	1
Wire - brass annealed	lb.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
lays	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	some
iron binding	"	2	3	2	4	4	some	-	-	1
iron larger pinning	"	4	-	8	some	12	12	-	-	4

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Carpenter's Stores		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Adzes	#	2	4	2	3	2	3	-	1	4
Augers	sets	1/3	part	7/9	1½	2	2/9	-	part	-
Awls for brads	#	-	12	6	4	-	-	28	12	-
Axes - broad	"	1	3	2	2	2	2	4	2	3
Brads 6 in.	M	-	-	-	-	½	10	-	-	-
4 in.	"	-	-	-	-	2	10	3	-	-
3 in.	"	-	-	-	-	1½	4	1	-	-
2 in.	"	-	½	-	-	2	5	-	some	-
1½in.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	¼
1 in.	"	-	-	¼	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chisels - firmers 2"	#	} 8	3	8	12	12	8	-	1	1
1½"	"									
1"	"									
- mortice	"	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	-
- socket	"	-	5	3	2	5	4	-	-	2
Compasses	pr.	4	4	2	5	1	2	3	6	1
Files - hand saw	#	12	48	30	41	48	48	50	36	20
- pannel saw	"	2	2	-	-	24	-	-	12	20
- sash saw	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	20
- tenon saw	"	-	6	-	-	12	10	-	-	5
Fish Skin	"	-	-	-	part	-	-	-	part	part
Gimblets-double worm small	"	22	66	24	28	60	4	-	6	40
- spike of sizes	"	-	-	-	2	2	3	-	2	2
Glue	lb.	2	6	2	some	-	-	-	some	4
Gouges - carving	#	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- sorted	"	-	-	-	5	4	-	1	2	-
Hammers - claw large	"	-	} 6	} 4	2	3	2	12	5	2
small	"	3			4	4	6	-	2	2
Irons - for planes	"	-	2	10	9	7	3	-	6	16
- jack plane	"	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- jointer	"	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Carpenter's Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Lead - black lump	lb.	-	2	1	some	-	-	1	some	½
Lines - chalk	#	24	12	6	12	12	6	12	24	12
Nails - clasp 40 d	M	-	-	-	-	½	-	-	some	2
30 d	"	-	-	-	1/10	½	½	3	some	3
20 d	"	some	1	1	1½	2	1	3	some	20
10 d	"	some	½	-	6/10	3	4	-	some	3
8 d	"	-	1	½	¼	3	1	-	some	3
6 d	"	some	-	¼	1/10	2	3	-	some	2
4 d	"	-	-	1	1/10	-	-	-	-	2
- clout 20 d	"	-	¼	1½	-	-	-	-	-	1
8 d	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
6 d	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	-
4 d	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	-
- flat 6 d	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	½	-
4 d	"	some	½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 d	"	some	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	-
- pump 1½d	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	1
Pin mauls	#	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Pincers	pr.	1	1	1	1	-	2	-	2	-
Planes - bead	set	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-
- grooving	#	-	-	-	1	2	2	6	1	3
- hand smoothing	"	-	4	5	3	3	3	-	3	2
-double iron	"	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
- jack	"	-	1	2	4	2	7	2	2	5
- jointer	"	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
- necking	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
- ogee	"	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
- phillistic moving	"	1	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	1
- plow	set	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
- rabbet square	#	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	2	-
- rabbet skew	"	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Carpenter's Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Planes - sash	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
- trying	"	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1
" double iron	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Plyers	pr.	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reels	#	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Rules - box of 2ft.	"	2	1	-	4	1	6	2	9	2
3 ft. double	"	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saws - hand	"	1	2	-	1	1	5	2	1	3
- pannel	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
- turning	"	2	2	1	-	3	3	-	-	-
- sets	"	3	1	-	-	-	3	2	1	1
Screws for wood-assorted	"	-	some	24	-	72	12	52	-	10
Skew hinges	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Spikes - assorted	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	-
Stones - turkey oil	"	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Tacks - Flemish 5 d	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
4 d	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
3 d	"	-	-	½	-	3/4	-	-	some	3
2 d	"	-	¼	¼	-	¼	-	-		
1½d	"	-	1	½	-	-	-	-		

Cooper's Stores Inland										
Adzes - hand	#	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Axes	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Bits - dowling	"	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	12
Borers - táp	"	1	-	2	2	1	6	-	3	3
Compasses - large	pr.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cork - wood	lb.	some	some	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drivers - steel	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Irons, marking	"	2	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Cooper's Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Knives, drawing	#	2	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	1
heading	"	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
hollowing	"	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Nails - flat 3 d	M	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	½
2 d	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	½
rose 3 d	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	¼	–
2 d	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	some	–
Pincers	pr.	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Rivets	M	some	some	–	some	1	some	–	–	–
Rules, of 2 ft.	#	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Shave - handrounding	"	1	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
- inside	"	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Vyces, heading	"	1	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	–

Distillery Stores Inland										
Cocks - common brass	#	–	–	–	4	–	2	–	–	–
" " with lock	"	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–

Factory Stores Inland										
Axes - felling	#	36	8	24	30	37	18	–	–	–
pick	"	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	2
Basons - hand, pewter	"	–	2	–	2	–	1	–	–	–
- slop, earthen	"	–	–	–	–	–	4	1	–	–
Beam & scales - copper - small	"		–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Factory Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Bell - small for table	#	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bibles - octavo	"	-	2	1	1	-	2	-	1	1
- quarto	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Books - accounting										
3 quire	#	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
2 quire	"	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
1½ quire	"	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	-
1 quire	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
- common prayer 12 mo.	"	-	3	4	3	-	1	1	-	-
8 vo.	"	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
- journal marble										
2 quire	"	2	2	1	2	4	1	3	5	3
1½ quire	"	-	6	3	2	4	6	6	10	6
1 quire	"	2	8	5	11	14	17	13	8	4
3/4 quire	"	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	8	10
½ quire	"	3	6	6	6	3	14	12	16	8
" vellum										
3 quire	"	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
1 quire	"	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
-spelling	"	-	-	-	-	6	30	-	-	-
Bowls - wood	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Brimstone flour	lb.	-	4	2	2	2	some	-	-	-
Brimstone roll	"	4	6	5	4	3	3	-	3	3
Broomhead hair	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-
hearth	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Brushes-cloth	"	2	2	1	1	-	1	2	-	-
-hearth	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
-marking	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
-painting	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	9	8
-sash	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	2
Buts & screws	"	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	6	6

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Factory Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Calumets	#	5	8	4	16	6	12	9	5	-
" stems	"	-	-	-	-	6	4	3	3	-
" stone with stems for Indians	"	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Candles	"	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	120
Candlesticks, brass	"	2	1	2	2	2	-	-	-	-
" flat	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
tin	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
upright	"	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	-
Canvas - new	yd.	172	600	120	some	100	60	94	200	252½
old	"	800	some	1186	1223	1500	1600	412	1700	-
Cloth - for table	#	2	6	4	3	2	9	4	6	4
Cocks - brass common	"	6	6	4	4	9	9	9	10	4
with lock	"		2	2	3	5	2	4	6	2
Contracts - blank	quire	-	-	½	-	-	2	-	-	some
Corks for nets	set	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
for quart bottles	gross	-	-	3	-	some	-	some	-	some
for phials	"	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crepe	yd.	-	8	10	-	some	some	3	12	6
Cups & saucers-china	#	-	-	4	-	-	-	2	-	-
-common	"	-	6	4	-	-	6	12	12	36
Decanter	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Dishes - earthen	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
- large Queen's Ware	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
- pewter flat	"	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drum & sticks	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Duck - raven	yd.	400	100	150	40	150	200	-	414	150
Flags- Union-large	#	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
-small	"	-	9	6	1	14	6	-	12	-
-10 ft. hoist	"	1	1	2	1	-	6	2	1	1

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Factory Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Funnels - tin of sizes	#	5	6	2	9	7	9	6	6	5
Gauzes - green	yd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-
Geese - for taylor	#	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Glasses - for beer	"	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
- tumbler	"	-	6	8	12	2	6	18	12	6
- for wine	"	-	3	4	2	6	6	20	10	12
- window	panes	24	36	60	-	60	50	50	-	60
Grindstones	#	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Guns - for hunting	"	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hide - horse	"	-	-	some	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ink - powder	paper	3	10	9	14	12	16	18	18	18
- red	pint	½	3/4	-	-	1	1	1	1	1
- horn-portable	#	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	4	-
- stand - glass	"	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- " - pewter	"	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indentures - for apprentices	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	-
Instruments - drawing case		-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Kettles - cooking-copper	#	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- tea	"	-	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	2
- tin iron	"	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1
Knives - carving	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
- pen	"	4	6	6	8	6	13	-	14	-
Knives & forks	"	6	6	6	12	12	24	12	30	12
Ladle-soup	"	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lamp - black	lb.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
- tin	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	some
Lines - beaver	"	-	32	15	-	-	120	-	-	-
Locks - box	"	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
- cabin doors	"	-	4	4	-	4	3	1	2	4
- chest	"	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
- cupboard door	"	2	4	1	2	3	3	2	6	2

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Factory Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Locks - drawer	#	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
- pad	"	-	4	2	4	4	4	4	5	6
- splinter	"	1	4	6	4	4	6	6	4	7
- stock - wood	"	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	3
Mattocks	"	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Measures - wine 1 qt.	"	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 pt.	"	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
½ pt.	"	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medicines	case	-	-	1	some	some	-	-	-	-
Mill - pepper	#	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nails - copper	"	-	-	500	some	-	-	-	-	-
Napkins	"	2	8	10	2	-	6	12	6	2
Needles - glovers fine	"	160	320	12	-	-	200	250	-	-
- packing	"	50	50	100	-	-	48	-	-	160
- taylors - Whitechapel	"	204	560	456	-	150	600	600	-	-
- to thread beads	"	-	-	300	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nets - fishing - jack	"	-	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
- tickameg	"	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
- trout	"	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oil - Linseed-boiled	gal.	some	-	-	-	2	some	4	2	1½
unboiled	"	-	-	-	-			-	-	-
Paint - black	lb.	-	-	some	some	some	-	some	-	-
- blue	"	-	-	some	some	some	some	-	-	-
- green	"	-	-	some	some	some	-	-	-	-
- red	"	-	-	some	-	some	-	some	-	-
- white	"	-	-	some	-	some	some	some	-	8
- yellow	"	-	-	some	-	-	-	some	-	-
Pan - frying - iron	#	1	4	6	4	3	4	2	2	4
pudding - tin	"	4	12	1	9	12	6	-	-	-
sauce - copper	"	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
sauce - iron	"	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Factory Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Paper - blotting	quire	-	½	½	some	½	½	1	some	1
- cartridge Dutch	"	1	5	6	3	2	3	6	some	4
- Demy	"	1 1/3	4	3	7	6	4	4	6	2
- packing										
light brown	"	12	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
" white	"	8	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
- post	"	-	4	6	4	8	4	3	6	16
-quarto	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	2
-small	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
thick for buildings	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	some	-	-
writing common	"	13	30	40	34	49	39	54½	46	40
Pencils - black lead	#	-	18	6	26	24	12	26	30	24
- slate	"	-	12	12	18	17	16	12	12	20
Phials	gross	some	3	½	-	some	-	-	-	-
Pipes - tobacco	doz.	36	-	-	-	60¼	96	144	204	528
Plates - desert										
Queen's Ware	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
- earthen-flat	"	-	-	-	-	-	24	12	24	30
-soup	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	12	6
- pewter-flat	"	-	2	3	-	3	8	-	-	-
-soup	"	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
-water	"	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
- tin	"	-	18	-	10	18	24	24	4	12
Platters - wood	"	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pots -drinking-japanned										
1 qt.	"	9	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 pt.	"	10		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
½ pt.	"	7		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-tea - earthen	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
- pewter	"	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	2	-
- tin	"	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Porringers-pewter	"	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Factory Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Prints	#	many	some	some	a few	some	some	-	-	-
Pepper box-tin	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Rosin	lb.	-	-	some	some	4	3	-	-	-
Rundlets 7-10 gal.	#	123	160	150	160	152	385	ca.	-	-
3-7 gal.	"	35	176	140	28	36		300	-	-
Salt cellar - pewter	"	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	2	-
Sassafras	lb.	some	some	4	-	-	18	some	some	-
Scissors - for taylor	pr.	-	2	1	2	1	-	-	3	2
Screws - cork	#	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Scythe & furniture	set	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Sheers for taylor	pr.	3	2	1	2	-	-	1	3	2
Shovel - steel ballast	#	-	1	2	2	4	2	3	6	-
Silk - sewing	lbs.	¼	some	½	some	some	1¼	some	some	some
twist	sticks	34	some	18	some	-	36	some	some	some
Slates for accounts	#	-	4	1	1	3	3	1	2	-
Snuffer with stand	"	-	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	
Soap - hand	lb.	30	36	50	57	73	39	40	60¼	336
Spades - steel	#	4	-	5	5	6	3	2	-	12
Sponges - large	"	25	30	18	29	28	16	-	-	-
Spoons - soup	"	-	1	-	-	-	9	-	1	-
- table	"	6	12	4	9	8	22	18	-	-
Steelyards - balance	pr.	-	1	1	-	-	5	-	1	3
- barrel	"	2	2	1	-	-	3	1	-	-
Stones - rag	#	3	8	6	5	7	5	5	12	19
- scythe	"	11	-	2	-	2	2	5	-	12
Tape - red	pieces	4	15	6	13	11	9	-	12	18
Telescope-accromatic	#	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thimbles - for taylor	"	some	15	8	9	-	-	-	-	-
Tin - block for solder	lb.	some	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- sheets	#	6	-	12	-	-	12	12	some	some
Toys	box	part	part	-	-	part	-	part	part	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Factory Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Turmerick	lb.	some	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turpentine spirits	gal.	-	-	1½	-	some	some	-	some	-
Vittery	yd.	200	160	136	some	some	-	-	-	-
Wafers	lb.	-	some	some	some	some	-	-	-	1
Wax - bees	"	2	2	4	3	3	3	¼	-	1½
- sealing	"	1	some	1	¼	1½	1½	1	1½	3
Weights - small brass	set	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wine - spirits	gal.	-	-	½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wire - brass snaring	lb.	-	-	3½	some	4	some	-	-	some
Yarn - cotton	balls	15	4 lb.	1 lb.	4 lb.	3	some	-	some	6

Gunner's Stores Inland										
Bayonets	#	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	-
Blunderbuss	"	-	-	-	-	-	22	-	2	-
Cutlasses for defense	"	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
Durk's & officer's belts	"	-	-	-	-	-	13	2	1	-
Paper - cartouche	quire	1	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	-
Pistols for defense	#	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-

Naval Stores Inland										
Brushes for tar	#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Bunting - blue	yd.	-	some	some	25 yds	-	-	-	-	-
- red	"	-	some	some		-	-	-	-	-
- white	"	-	some	some		-	-	-	-	-
Compasses - brass for boats	#	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Naval Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Irons - palms	#	8	-	6	-	-	6	-	-	-
Lines - log	"	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
- for tracking canoes	coil	2	33	-	-	7	3½	-	4	6
Needles - sail	#	130	80	40	-	50	150	-	-	150
Pitch	Bar.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	½
Rope - twine 1¼"	coil	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tar - Stockholm	Bar.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1½
Thrumbs	lb.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Turpentine-refined	Firkin	-	-	½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Twine - sewing	Sk.	some	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-
Yarn - spun	coil	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-

Sawyer's Stores Inland										
Boxes, tillers & sets for pit saw	set	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Compasses	pr.	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	6	2
Files - cross cut	#	30	18	48	53	48	27	-	50	116
- pitsaw	"	12	36	60	42	60	38	-	17	109
Lines - chalk-coarse	"	2	14	6	5	-	6	-	24	6
Ochre - red	lb.	-	-	-	-	-	some	-	-	-
Rule - box 2 ft.	#	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Saws - crosscut	"	3	2	2	3	-	3	-	3	3
- pit	"	1	1	2	2	-	5	-	3	2
- turning	"	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
- sets	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Shipwrights' Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Adzes	#	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	1	1
Augers of sizes	"	–	–	4	7	1	2	–	–	–
Axe - broad	"	–	–	2	3	–	2	2	–	1
Chisels - socket - sorted	"	–	–	5	2	4	3	14	–	10
Compasses	pr.	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	2
Files - handsaw	#	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–	–
Gimblets - double wormed	"	–	–	4	–	4	–			
- single wormed	"	–	–	–	–	1	–	14	24	24
- spike	"	–	–	1	2	–	18			
Hammers - claw	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	3	–
- rivetting	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	3	–
Irons - caulking	"	–	–	–	–	–	6	4	2	–
- plane	"	–	6	3	–	–	2	–	–	–
- roving	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Ladles - iron - small	"	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Lines - chalk	"	–	–	–	–	3	1	–	6	3
Mauls - pin	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–
Nails - batton	M	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
- boat 6 d	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
8 d	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–
10d	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3
12d	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	3	2
clench 10d rounded	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–
12d rounded	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Dog	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Pincers	pr.	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Planes - bead	#	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Rule of 2 ft. box	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Saws - hand	"	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
- turning	"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–

Goods Sent Inland by the Hudson's Bay Company (continued)

Shipwrights' Stores Inland		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799
Tacks	1½ d M	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1½	½
	2 d "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	½	½
	3 d "	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	½	½

Smith's Stores Inland										
Anvil	#	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
Hammers - hand	"	1	–	–	–	1	2	2	–	3
- rivetting	"	2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Iron bars - broad & narrow of sorts	bales	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
Saws for keys	#	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
Vice - standing	"	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–

Artifacts Recovered from Fort George.

	?	Main House	- West Passageway	- North Hangard	Men's House - Total (ex. N. wall)	- North wall - exterior	- Room #1	- Room #2	- Room #3	West Structure - Total (ex. shop)	- Shop	- Room #1	- Room #2	- Room #3	- Room #4	East Building - Total	- Blacksmith's Shop	Palisades - General	TOTALS
Hunting, Trapping & Defence																			
Gun Parts	11	3	5	3	7	2	1	1	-	15	3	2	6	1	1	21	13	6	76
Gunflints	9	22	3	1	13	4	1	4	2	122	20	6	23	47	13	14	3	21	229
Gun worm	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lead balls & shot*	543	20	1	7	21	2	1	9	-	35	153	3	8	8	5	8	3	5	795
Lead scrap	4	5	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	25	-	1	10	7	2	1	1	5	46
Lead sprue	-	4	-	1	9	-	1	1	2	2	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	24
Trade points	16	4	1	2	9	-	-	3	-	19	5	1	1	9	3	5	4	8	69
Knife frags.	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	15	1	1	3	8	1	7	2	5	32
Trap frags.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	4
Harpoon frags.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	4
Construction & Hardware																			
Axe frags.	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Hammer frags.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dividers frag.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
File frags.	12	2	1	-	6	1	2	2	-	13	2	3	2	3	1	107	53	1	145
Rasp frags.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
Drill bits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Chisels	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	1	8
Gimlets	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	8
Picks/Punches	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	7
Plane/Adze frags.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Saw frags.	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	3	1	-	8
Hinges/Door parts	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	13
Perforated metal	2	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	12	2	1	2	5	1	19	7	2	41
Wire frags.	7	17	1	2	8	1	1	2	1	39	7	1	11	13	5	48	19	3	133
Brass wire coils	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	5	7	-	2	-	1	20
Gate hook/pin	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Rivets	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	23	17	1	26
Screws	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	3
Spikes	-	4	-	2	6	-	1	-	1	6	-	-	-	-	1	3	2	3	24
T-head nails																			
-shouldered	1	34	4	4	3	2	-	-	-	7	2	-	1	1	1	2	2	2	61
-unshouldered	7	47	7	6	11	3	2	3	1	34	10	2	3	8	6	6	2	6	137
Rosehead nails	27	35	19	19	12	3	2	2	1	129	-	6	38	51	5	51	24	23	318
Flat-head nails	6	11	2	6	18	1	1	5	3	22	5	-	5	11	-	6	3	2	79
Gable-head nails	1	1	1	-	7	-	3	1	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	13
L-head nails	1	4	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	2	1	5	-	1	18
Headless nails	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	6	2	-	-	2	-	10	5	-	20
Miscellaneous*																			
-shaft frags.	366	13	-	3	64	1	18	8	9	59	25	9	3	5	9	?	?	9	807
-Indeterminate head types		7	3	8	72	3	17	16	7	127	38	9	7	8	18	-	-	9	
Tacks	1	4	3	2	1	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	1	3	1	1	-	2	20
Miscellaneous scrap metal*	355	12	3	8	65	3	6	4	4	155	36	8	21	12	35	41	21	13	691
Business, Household & Personal Items																			
Iron awls	1	7	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	5	4	1	2	-	-	2	2	3	25
Pins/needles	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Firesteels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	8	1	-	10
Slate frags.	2	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	8
Scissors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Razor frags.	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	2	6	2	-	13
Sealing wax ?	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1	4	-	1	-	1	12
Kettle parts																			
-lugs	2	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	1	2	1	12	4	2	32
-hooks/handles	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	9

? provenience unknown

* - Kidd did not report distribution for these artifacts

Artifacts Recovered from Fort George (continued)

	?	Main House	- West Passageway	- North Hangard	Men's House - Total (ex. N. wall)	- North wall - exterior	Room #1	- Room #2	- Room #3	West Structure - Total (ex. shop)	- Shop	- Room #1	- Room #2	- Room #3	- Room #4	East Building - Total	- Blacksmith's shop	Palisades - General	TOTALS
Metal con-tainer frags.	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	11	14
Rim frags.	-	-	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	7	1	1	2	1	2	10	2	2	27
Spigot frags.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Trunk parts	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Lock parts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tobacco lid frags.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	5
Tin box frags.	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	11
Tin scraps	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	6	6	2	13	2	3	34
Creamware-plain	4	8	-	2	9	4	-	-	3	11	1	-	-	2	3	8	-	11	57
-blue-on-white	4	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	8	-	-	-	7	-	2	-	2	27
-misc.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	7
Porcelain	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	8
Stoneware	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
Mirror/window glass	22	3	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	61	-	4	23	15	5	18	6	4	116
-silvered frags.	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
Bottle glass-misc.	34	54	9	10	56	12	4	9	2	75	35	3	7	45	1	40	3	17	
-green (liquor?)	-	10	6	24	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	3	6	8	-	27	9	15	
-medicines	-	6	-	7	6	-	1	-	-	32	5	-	9	10	2	10	4	3	542
-bases	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	7	2	1	2	-	1	1	-	3	
Misc. glass	-	7	4	16	15	2	2	1	1	60	10	2	12	8	2	11	2	25	139
Drinking glass frags.		3	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Bone comb frags.	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	10
Clothing & Ornaments																			
Cloth/hide frags.	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	6
Buttons	9	4	2	4	13	1	-	5	1	45	7	1	13	19	4	9	2	6	100
Button eyes	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	8	1	-	2	5	-	3	-	1	17
Bone button backs	1	3	-	-	5	1	-	2	-	7	2	-	1	-	3	4	2	2	25
Cuff links	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Buckle frags.	1	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	17	-	1	4	8	1	4	1	1	27
Rings	2	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	24	1	1	8	10	2	5	-	2	38
Armband frags.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	3	2	2	-	2	-	2	14
Brooches		-	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	18	3	1	5	8	-	4	2	5	34
Misc. silver frags.		1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	5
Earring frags.	1	1	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	7	5	-	1	5	-	1	1	2	22
Pendants	4	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	18	1	4	6	6	-	2	1	2	29
-chains		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tinkling cones -complete	5	2	2	7	13	4	1	10	1	89	14	4	32	30	7	7	3	12	141
Thimbles		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	3	-	1	2	1	-	8
Brass bells	3	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	21	4	-	8	7	3	3	-	2	39
Beads-tubular	17	6	2	1	3	1	-	2	1	42	88	8	9	11	10	6	3	6	
-barrel		24	12	2	5	1	1	3	1	39	25	2	8	23	-	11	1	10	318
-spherical	-	8	-	1	12	1	-	11	1	4	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	
-seed*	20,588	12	368	63	256	13	30	207	19	717	3155	222	14	71	126	-	-	96	25,268
-shell*	36	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
Transportation																			
Bridle frags.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	2	2	-	8
Barrel hoop frags.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	4
Baling seal frags.		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	7
Recreation																			
Clay pipe frags.	87	57	12	33	111	7	8	33	4	613	48	22	227	203	87	92	12	95	1155
Stone pipe frags.	3	2	1	1	7	1	3	-	-	20	1	-	4	7	-	2	1	5	42
Native Industries																			
Stone tools	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Stone flakes	5	10	-	2	2	-	-	2	-	8	9	2	1	-	2	3	2	3	42
Abrasive stone frags.		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	8
Bone awl hafts/handles		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	-	-	1	-	2	2	1	11
Antler handle frags.		-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	4	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	3	11
Bone fleshers		1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6
Bone gaming pieces		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Worked mammal bone		-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	9	2	-	-	2	3	2	-	4	21
Worked antler	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	2	6	5	-	10	4	3	29
Worked bird bone	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	2	9
Cowrie shells		-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	10	1	-	2	6	-	-	-	-	12
Dentalium shells		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
Snowshoe needle		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

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