THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF LAND BASED FUR TRADE POSTS IN WESTERN CANADA:

A History and Critical Analysis

by

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B.A. (Hons.) McMaster University 1975

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THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department

of

ARCHAEOLOGY

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

Fur trade archaeology has experienced an unprecedented rate of growth since the 1960s in western Canada. Employing a historical approach and a critical analysis, this thesis examines the development of and context in which these studies flourished, with emphasis on the political, social, academic and ideological factors operating at the time.

Studies in fur trade archaeology rose dramatically in the 1960s, peaked in the 1970s and have gradually declined since the 1980s. From an academic perspective these studies are subject to criticism. Reports tend to appear about a decade after the project, complete site synthesis are low, newsletter items or short summaries are all that exist for a quarter of the site investigations, artifact collections sit in varied stages of analysis with most incomplete, and principal research objectives have focussed solely on site discovery and identification for gaining structural information in support of restoration.

The problems of fur trade archaeology can be attributed to political and cultural forces in place at the time of site investigation. The historical roots of the field can be traced to the historic sites commemoration and development movement of the late 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, in conjunction with tourist and economic opportunities. This was an optimistic era of centennials and celebrations and the search for a Canadian identity. Political and social concerns, however, continue to drive fur trade archaeology to the present. Provincial heritage legislation requires developers to mitigate sites before destruction, and local communities or historical societies search for sites to add to their heritage roster for tourism promotion. Each of these constrains the nature of the field and incorporates both implicit and explicit political motivations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I will examine the development and achievements of fur trade archaeology in western Canada with special reference to the scholarly, social, political and ideological factors which influenced and affected fur trade studies. These factors played an integral role in the support and timing of this field in determining the priorities for excavation or protection of sites, in the definition of problems and procedures used, and in the final results or interpretations. In examining the relationship between theory and problem-formation in relation to social and political views or beliefs I provide insight into fur trade archaeology and the role of Canadian ideology and the increasing self-awareness of archaeologists. By revealing the inherent biases and trends in the discipline, I will demonstrate a more objective understanding of past activities and interpretations. Given these times of fiscal restraint, with emphasis on cost-effectiveness and funding priorities, such a critical history and examination of the discipline are necessary if we are to understand the forces which influence our discipline and play an important role in its continuance as a viable field of research. The fur trade for purposes of this study is limited to the EuroCanadian experience and does not include the American incursion known as the "Whiskey Trade".

The first two chapters are devoted to setting the stage by outlining the players, the theoretical orientation, research focus, study area and methodology to be employed. Chapter 3 chronicles the history of fur trade archaeology by province in western Canada. The effect of theoretical developments on the practice of fur trade archaeology and its practioners are discussed in Chapter 4. A critical analysis of the social and political forces which influenced fur trade archaeology is presented in Chapter 5 while Chapter 6 examines the role of Canadian ideology, particularly nationalism, as it relates to the discipline.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Recent theoretical developments in archaeology (see Leone 1982, 1986, Wylie 1985, 1989a, b, c, Pinsky and Wylie 1989, Trigger 1980, 1984, 1989, Christenson 1989, McGuire 1992) place an emphasis on critical thinking to understand how interpretation(s) of the past is derived. Such forms of critical analysis open to question the discipline's methods, research questions or problems, interpretations and goals. It also stresses the interrelatedness of contemporary ideology, social relationships, politics and administration, research methods, and archaeological theory. To achieve such a critical analysis of western Canadian fur trade archaeology requires researching past actions, motives, and events within a contextual framework. Thus, the key concepts central to this thesis become *critical analysis, history* and *context*.

Critical Analysis

Two critical traditions influence archaeological thought at present: (1) continental critical theory (Frankfurt Programme) and structuralist Marxism, both emphasising ideology, and (2) the Strong Programme sociology of science concerned with exposing the social, political nature of science (Wylie 1989a).

Critical Theory

"Critical theory" emerged from the left-wing intellectual circle of philosophers, literary critics, sociologists, psychologists, economists and political scientists who formed the Frankfurt Programme during the mid 1920s (Piccone 1978:xi) and is identified primarily with the early works of Horkheimer, Marcuse, Neumann, Kirchheimer, Lowenthal, Fromm, Adorno, and later Habermas. Deriving from the traditions of Kantian critical philosophy and Marxian critique of ideology, this "new" type of theory had four essential distinguishing features: (1) as guides for human action in producing enlightenment and emancipation in 'agents' by allowing them to determine their true interest; (2) in allowing some freedom from the coercion of

conscious human action; (3) as possessing a cognitive content (a form of knowledge); and (4) as differing epistemologically in theories from the natural sciences in that natural science theories are "objectifying" whereas critical theories are "reflective" (Geuss 1981:2). In short, critical theory is a reflective theory which, through knowledge, produces enlightenment and emancipation. For the Frankfurt Programme the criticism of positivism became the focal point (basic goal) of critical theory (McGuire 1992:37).

Many differences existed among the members of the Frankfurt Programme. The institute was originally established during the first years of the Weimar republic to study Marxist theory. Only during the 1930s was there ever a "Programme" —generally looked upon as a "code-name" for Marxism— comprised of the "older generation" of critical theorists, such as Horkheimer, Marcuse, and Pollock (Arato and Gebhardt 1978:3, McGuire 1992:36). These early studies focused on Marxist theory, or more specifically political economy or political sociology (i.e. state organized industrial social formations).

In 1931 Horkheimer became director of the Institute of Social Research, a post he held until its dissipation in the late 1960s, and shifted its focus from history and economics to social philosophy (Bottomore 1984:12-13, Piccone 1978:xiv, Arato and Gebhardt 1978:3). Horkheimer's philosophy developed through his criticism of positivism or empiricism, particularly with relation to the social sciences in its treatment of human beings as "mere facts and objects within a scheme of mechanical determinism", in its denial of any distinction between "essence and appearance", and in its divorce of facts from value, which separates knowledge from human interests (Bottomore 1984:16, Keat and Urry 1975:220, McGuire 1992:37-38). Horkheimer proposed a "dialectical theory" in which "individual facts always appear in a definite connection" and which "seeks to reflect reality in its totality" (Bottomore 1984:16). Marcuse also advocated a dialectical social theory in opposition to a positivist social science, and viewed reason as a central concept. Positivism was regarded as denying the intelligibility of the concept of reason and it supported the *status quo* because it ruled out the "possibility of a

theory of society based upon the critical, philosophical concept of reason" (Keat and Urry 1975:220).

Another element of critical theory includes the ideological influence of science and technology as a major factor in constituting or creating new forms (technocratic-bureaucratic) of domination. This idea was presented in Horkheimer and Adorno's work *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944) in which both viewed technology as producing a "uniform and debased mass culture which aborts and silences criticism" (Bottomore 1984:19).

From the 1930s to 1960s, Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse discussed and elaborated upon these elements of critical theory. With the deaths of Adorno and Horkheimer and the decline of the radical student movements in the 1960s, the Programme ceased to exist. Certain central elements or ideas of critical theory, however, have survived in the works of several scholars, particularly Habermas, whom some credit as the principal architect of neo-critical theory, because of his sustained attempt to clarify the underlying epistemological assumptions of the critical theory (Bottomore 1985:55, Geuss 1981:3). Habermas continued the critique of positivism and along with other critical theorists continued to build upon Marx's attempt to relate "the foundations of knowledge to fundamental characteristics of the human species" (Keat and Urry 1975:222) which for Marx is work or labour (Wylie 1985:135, McGuire 1992:38), and to refute the objectivist pretensions or delusions of positivist social science. Habermas argued that:

> both the "reality" a discipline presumes to investigate, and the routines it develops to eliminate subjective bias in its understanding of this reality, are a function of fundamental "knowledge-constitutive" interests that the discipline serves (Wylie 1985:135).

In expanding upon Marx's knowledge-constitutive interests (i.e. labour), Habermas distinguishes three forms of knowledge: (1) empirical-analytic — a technical interest grounded in material needs and labour; (2) historical-hermeneutic — a practical interest which deals with inter-subjective meanings which "undertake to promote consensus in understanding

through interpretive explication" (Wylie 1985:136); and (3) self-reflection — an emancipatory interest, which deals with human autonomy and responsibility (Bottomore 1985:57, Keat and Urry 1975:222-224). Whereas the first two serve to enhance the established modes of production and reinforce the supporting social order by replacing common-sense understanding with scientific descriptions, the latter is itself involved in critical theory.

Wylie (1985:137) notes that critical theory is "critical" in two senses:

> First, it involves critical reflection on the knowledge-producing enterprize, itself . . . Second, where this self-consciousness reveals the form of a dominant ideology and social order as mediated by the scientific production of knowledge, it provides a basis for reflective understanding and criticism of the social context of research; it takes the form of prospective social criticism and action.

Both of these forms of critical awareness are gaining prominence or at least attention in archaeology. Although the New Archaeology marked a "loss of innocence" by becoming critically self-conscious and undertaking an "explicit scrutiny of the philosophical assumptions which underpin and constrain every aspect of archaeological reasoning, knowledge and concepts" (Clarke 1973:11-12), it failed to follow through on its commitment (Wylie 1989 b, c). Instead it promoted positivism as a methodology capable of eliminating error and "assuring approximation to an ideal of objective and possible truth in knowledge claims about the past" (Olsen 1986:39, Wylie 1985:133). In the 1980s Leone (1982) drew attention to critical theory and with Potter and Shackel (1987:283) in their manifesto (see Washburn 1987), defined critical theory as "a set of varied attempts to adapt ideas from Marx to the understanding of events and circumstances of 20th-century life " in which the important issue is epistemology or the nature of knowledge of human society. They emphasize that social, economic and political factors or decisions affect the practice of archaeology. Included here are the ownership and control of remains, reburial of human remains, and repatriation. They further emphasize that archaeological interpretations may be used to serve social or political ends, unintended by the archaeologist. Leone and others (Leone et al. 1987:284) view ideology as the central concept

"for addressing the relationship between knowledge of the past and the social and political context of its production". Ideology

> . . . comprises the givens of everyday life, unnoticed, taken for granted, and activated and reproduced in use. It is the means by which inequality, bondage, frustration, etc., are made acceptable, rationalized or hidden. Ideology serves to reproduce society intact; knowledge, or consciousness of ideology, may lead to illumination or emancipation (ibid)

Accordingly, critical theory in archaeology is meant to expose ideology so that a more reliable knowledge of the past may be produced. The radical critique, one variant of postprocessualist theory, singles out objectivity, theory, inference and social relevance as problem areas, and concludes that positivist approaches incorporated within the New Archaeology have misled our understanding of human society (Earle and Preucel 1987:507). Basically, radical archaeologists view scientific objectivity as a false and misleading goal for archaeology, criticize New Archaeology for its reliance on ecological functionalism without concern for the individual and unique historical conditions, point out that the assumption of a direct relationship between spatial form and behavioral process is unfounded, and attack New Archaeology for its lack of social consciousness (Earle and Preucel 1987:508).

Like the term culture, ideology has many meanings and implications. Geuss (1981) distinguishes between ideology in the descriptive sense, the positive sense and the pejorative sense. The latter which refers to delusion or false consciousness, is the best known and Geuss (1981:12-20) identifies three ways in which consciousness can be ideologically false: (1) "... in virtue of some *epistemic* properties of the beliefs which are its constituents," for example as to whether the "descriptive beliefs contained in the form of consciousness are supported by the available empirical evidence"; (2) "... in virtue of its *functional* properties," such as the role it plays in supporting, stabilizing, or legitimizing certain kinds of social institutions or practices —Habermas' ideology as a world-picture"; and (3) "... in virtue of some of its *genetic* properties," — "the origin, genesis, or history, about how it arises or comes to be acquired or held by agents."

Critical theory in archaeology concerns itself primarily with functional properties, particularly ideology's role in archaeological reconstruction and interpretation, and the relationships between archaeology and social and political interests (see Leone 1986, Handsman 1980, 1983, Handsman and Leone 1989, Meltzer, 1981 Trigger 1980, 1984, 1986, Shanks and Tilley 1987a, McGuire 1992). Leone, with regard to outdoor museums, and Handsman, with respect to New England historical settlement patterns, focus on contemporary archaeological reconstructions of the cultural past in images of contemporary familiar forms which serve existing dominant social, political interests by assuming that they are an inevitable outgrowth of the past (Wylie 1985:138). Meltzer (1981) looks at how material culture is incorporated into the prevailing social and political ideology, while Trigger (1980, 1984, 1986) argues that close relationships exist between the nature of archaeological research and the social milieu in which it is practised and that what people believe about the present conditions their understanding of the past. Shanks and Tilley (1987a:187-190) further elaborate upon the theme of politics and archaeology, identifying such current issues as: the perceived notion that archaeology can be separated from current political events; the relationship between archaeology as an academic discipline and the wider social context; the relationships of major institutions (such as museums) to both the public and to archaeology; feminist archaeology; and the relationships between archaeological research and minority interests. Addressing the latter concern, McGuire (1992:218) utilizes an historical critical approach to discover how archaeologists come to lay claim to the Native's past and how this influences the development of Native-white relations.

Shanks and Tilley (1987a) emphasize that in archaeology the main purpose of a critique has become "one of consciousness raising and the correction of bias" in which the concept of ideology is central and stress the responsibility of academics to consider the use of the past, because:

> Discussions about the form and nature of archaeology in academia inevitably filter back in one form or another to affect the manner in which millions of people make sense of, or have sense made for them, of *their* past, and its connections with the present (1987:204).

Works by Gero et al. (1983), Gero and Conkey 1991, Durrans (1989), Olsen (1989), Kristiansen (1989), Pinsky and Wylie (1989), and McGuire (1992) indicate that critical traditions or approaches are gaining more prominence in archaeology and addressing concerns voiced by Shanks and Tilley (1987a, 1987b).

The main thrust of critical theory in archaeology appears to be the revelation of the hidden political dimension of archaeology. But as Olsen (1989:39) warns, "a Critical Archaeology must do more than serve as a 'bad conscience' which corrects our value-loaded errors and guides us more safely along the road to the 'true' past" because there is no "monolithic 'true' past". Instead a critical perspective in archaeology should bring "political pluralism" into open view "so that it can be discussed and used to serve progressive interests" (Olsen 1986:40).

Strong Programme of Sociology of Science

In the last two decades, the Strong Programme has placed an emphasis on the social, political nature of science whose influence is demonstrated through the detailed analysis of particular instances or episodes of scientific practice (Wylie 1989a:94, Bloor 1976:45). Focusing on social interests affecting research, theories and judgements, the 'strong programme' consists of two schools — the Edinburg Strong Programme and the Paris Programme (Harré 1983:162).

The Edinburgh Programme, commonly associated with the work of Bloor (1976) and Barnes (1977), emphasized the role of the external political and social context, particularly class interests, in shaping scientific practice (Brown 1984:13, Harré 1983:162, Wylie 1989a:94). In fact, the Programme maintains that not only are social causes always present, they are the determining factors in shaping practice (Brown 1984:9).

Bloor (1976:4-5) has proposed four tenets for the sociology of scientific knowledge. First, it should be causal, in that it is concerned with the conditions which bring about belief or states of knowledge, and that other causes apart from social ones also will influence belief. Second, knowledge should be impartial with respect to truth and falsity, rationality or irrationality, success or failure and that both of these dichotomies require explanation. Third, it should be symmetrical in its style of explanation. The same types of cause would explain say, true and false beliefs. Finally, it should be reflexive and its patterns of explanation should, in principle, be applicable to sociology itself. These four tenets of causality, impartiality, symmetry and reflexivity define what is called the Strong Programme in the sociology of knowledge.

Bloor (1976:3) advocates that any study of the nature of scientific knowledge should be done in a scientific fashion, that is the identification of regularities and general principles or processes at work, followed by the building of theories to explain these regularities. As Brown (1984:11) summarizes, "to be truly scientific . . . one has to look for the *causes* of beliefs." What are these causes? Here, Barnes and Bloor (1982:23) advocate the 'equivalence' postulate or symmetry which they view as a feature of relativism. Their stated position is that:

> . . . the incidence of all beliefs without exception calls for empirical investigation and must be accounted for by finding the specific, local causes of this credibility. This means that regardless of whether the sociologist [for purposes of this thesis one may read archaeologist] evaluates a belief as true or rational, or as false and irrational, he must search for the causes of its credibility. In all cases he will ask, for instance, if a belief is part of the routine cognitive and technical competences handed down from generation to generation. Is it enjoined by the authorities of the society? Is it transmitted by established institutions of socialization or supported by accepted agencies of social control? Is it bound up with patterns of vested interest? Does it have a role in furthering shared goals, whether political or technical, or both? What are the practical and immediate consequences of particular judgements that are made with respect to the belief? All of these questions can, and should be answered without regard to the status of the belief as it is judged and evaluated by the sociologist's own standards. (Barnes and Bloor 1982:23).

In short, they investigate the determinants of belief and reasoning without regard to truth or rationality. The Edinburgh Programme accomplishes this through historical case studies and

the re-examination of textual accounts which Bloor (1976) applies to the field of mathematics (Chubin and Restivo 1983:54). A good example of the Edinburgh approach in archaeology is Gero's (1989) account of the debate between scientific archaeologists and the American public regarding the interpretation of New England 'beehive structures'. The latter are dry-masonary fieldstone constructions, typically 1 to 2 metres in diametre, free-standing stone vaults sometimes mounded with earth, or built into sloping banks or the sides of hills (Gero 1989:97). While the professional archaeological community interpret these as possible root cellars of relatively late origin, amateurs attribute them to pre-Columbian European colonization by Celts, Phoenicians, Portuguese or Maltese, and dispute the elitist academics for control over interpreting their past (Gero 1989:98-101).

Some scholars have reservations regarding the Edinburgh Programme's tenets of impartiality and the relativist/symmetrical approach (Chubin and Restivo 1983:54), the heavy emphasis on the social causation of knowledge —the reduction of knowledge to a social entity (Harré 1983:164-165), and Bloor's notion "that if sociologists study science using the methods of science, all will be well" (Chubin and Restivo 1983:55).

The Paris Programme (so called by Harré 1983) centres on the work of Latour and Woolgar (1979) and Knorr-Cetina (1981, 1983) and concentrates on the internal social-political dynamics of the discipline. Employing an anthropological approach they equate the scientific community with 'a tribe' (Harré 1983:165, Wylie 1989a:94) and advocate a relativist-constructivist paradigm where the focus is not on the potential "social causes of particular scientists' belief-preferences", but "on the processes of interaction between scientists and others within which and through which scientific beliefs take shape" or are constructed or fabricated (Knorr-Cetina 1981:5, 1983:117-119). In studying institutions and laboratory situations, microscopic examination of the social classes to which director, researchers, and technicians belong provide the framework in which scientific writing may be evaluated (Harré 1983:166). Apart from criticisms of subjectivism and relativism levied at such work (Knorr-Cetina

1981:136), Harré (1983:172) points out that the Paris Programme ignores one crucial feature —
the moral system to find not only career interests but also the cognitive interests of the tribe.

Despite the shortcomings or problems levied at the Strong Programme, this avenue of
research draws attention to the important role played by social and political forces in science,
such as mathematics and theoretical physics, which were once thought to be neutral with
respect to political interests and power structures.

In archaeology, despite the fact that there appears to be no evident influence of Strong
Programme sociological critiques, "the socio-political analyses . . . tend to focus on the political
nature of archaeology via case studies and cover both dimensions of Strong Programme
analysis" (Wylie 1989a:95). Studies range from the legitimization of ideology (e.g. Leone
1984), to the mythic structure of archaeological accounts (DeBoer 1982), to cultural imperialism
(e.g. Trigger 1984), to the internal political structure of the discipline (e.g. Gero et al. 1983). In
all these instances, the role of politics in shaping archaeological practice emerges as the
central theme and the intent of such studies is not to create "paralysis" but to provide "new
energy and direction" in the discipline (Wylie 1989a:95).

Political Uses of Archaeology

Archaeology is often closely tied into regional traditions which serve to foster the
interests of the ruling classes or dominant ethnic group. Trigger (1984, 1989) has identified
three social contexts —colonialist, nationalist and imperialist— which cross-cut regional
traditions based on a country's political, economic and cultural position in the world.
Nationalist archaeology seeks to bolster the pride and morale of a nation or ethnic groups,
emphasizes the accomplishments of the more recent past, draws attention to the political and
cultural achievements of ancient civilizations, establishes and enhances claims of a national
heritage, and uses a culture history approach (Trigger 1984:358-360, 1989:174). Colonialist
archaeology downplays or denigrates the heritage of conquered people. In these cases the

Native populations are wholly replaced or "overwhelmed" by European settlements and archaeology denigrates Native societies by demonstrating they were static in prehistory and lacked initiative to develop on their own. This subsequently can be used as a justification for their extinction or exploitation (Trigger 1984:360-362). Imperialist archaeology or world-oriented archaeology is associated with a small number of states or nations, such as Britain (1850s-1900), Russia (from 1929 onwards), and the United States (1960s), which have enjoyed or exerted political dominance over large areas of the world (Trigger 1984:363). Often this type of archaeology seeks to discover generalized patterns of culture or its underlying processes in lieu of cultural and historical distinctions.

Political uses of the past have been documented for many countries. In fact, two issues of the journal *World Archaeology* were devoted to regional traditions of archaeological research in the early 1980s, while more recent books such as *The Politics of the Past* (Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990) have further addressed this topic. Perhaps the most blatant use of archaeology for nationalist purposes and that most often cited was by the National Socialist regime in Germany from 1933 to 1945. Incorporating Kossina's *Kulturkreis* theory which identified geographical regions with specific ethnic groups on the basis of material culture, and the assumption of superiority of the Germanic race, the distribution of archaeological types was used as an argument for expansionist aims. The mere presence of artifacts or sites designated as Germanic was justification enough for forceful colonization and domination (Arnold 1990:464, Trigger 1989:163-166, Harke 1991:188). In such an atmosphere, archaeology was a tool of the state and archaeologists either conformed to the party line or were persecuted (Arnold 1990:471-472).

Many more recent examples of this same type of politic can be given, though not as overt. In Meso-America, governments control national heritage or lands containing archaeological remains, and archaeology is used to create and promote a past for national integration and for tourism (Lorenzo 1981:201). As well, Lorenzo's (1981:193) study traces the

image of the Natvie people in Meso-American history. He (1981:193) states that in Meso-America the Spanish colonizer viewed Native people as something impending and negative that came under natural law. Native people were believed to be a manifestation of Providence, "a responsibility God had turned over to the Spaniards with its accompanying rights and duties, which spelled the mandatory destruction of the Indian world, its negation and repudiation". By the 19th century Native people were present and sensed in a two-fold aspect, first as a historical element and secondly as a contemporary fact —absent and present at the same time. Native people in Meso-America were not left out of the Hispano-American histories, but was treated as "them as seen by us" (Lorenzo 1981:197). A similar case could be made for treatment of the Native people in fur trade histories —basically them as "seen by us".

The Peruvian government penalizes multi-site and multi-valley research programs, thereby enforcing its preference for single site research wherein it exercises strict control over the excavation of "national patrimony" by controlling the extent and number of sites covered by a permit (Schaedel and Shimada 1982:366). In Rhode Island, a reinterpretation of Narrangansett remains by archaeologists has helped to provide a tribal identity and continues to promote an active resistance to colonial assimilation (Lowenthal 1990:310-311). In Lebanon, Masonite Christians have used archaeology to emphasize links to the Phoenicians and downplay more than a millennium of the Muslim past (Seeden 1990:146). And in Israel, archaeology has become big business stressing the antiquity of the Jewish presence and as justification for the maintenance of occupied lands (Seeden 1990:146). In the latter case, the State of Israel explicitly uses archaeology to provide concrete reality to their direct heritage and to heighten national consciousness and strengthen claims. For the Jewish people the site of Masada plays an important role in this political arena, as a symbol reminding them of an earlier tragedy of national existence at the hands of the Romans and serving as a powerful political metaphor for the modern besieged State of Israel (Bar-Yosef and Mazar 1982:322, Silberman 1989:87-88).

In China the Communist Party controls archaeology in that all archaeologists work directly for the central government via bureaus or through provincial or subprovincial museums administered by the Bureau and must justify their work in terms of current applicability (Chang 1981:167, Fowler 1987:237). During the 1930s, Russia searched for self-concsiousness and expression of national pride through the study of ethnogenesis where attempts were made to trace the ancestral roots of various nationalities (Bulkin, Klejn and Levedev 1982).

History

Histories of the discipline of archaeology are not new. Examples from the last 60 years include Daniel's (1943) *The Three Ages* (1943) (also see Daniel 1950, 1975, 1981a, 1981b), Taylor's (1948) *A Study of Archaeology*, Willey and Sabloff's (1974) *A History of American Archaeology*, Patterson's (1986) *The Last Sixty Years: Toward a Social History of Americanist Archeology* and Trigger's (1989) *A History of Archaeological Thought* . Some areas, such as the history of Mesoamerican archaeology (Schavelzon 1989:107), have enjoyed a longer period of development and interest than others. Most of these histories narrate the adventures of men, chronicle markers of archaeological developments or regional trends, or criticize interpretations or academic objectives —always portraying the historical process as a linear progression (Patterson 1986:7, Schavelzon 1989:107, Pinsky 1989a:51-52, Murray 1989:56, Fahnestock 1984:9). As Hinsley (1989:80) recently noted:

> . . . most are 'Whig' history, an Enlightenment legacy that assumes what it purports to illustrate: an upward trajectory toward more accurate, cumulative knowledge. As such it celebrates the generative powers of theory and data, a dialectical process of testing and changing that is presumed to be largely autonomous and self-regulatory.

Whig histories represent one popular variety of historiography which reduces history to a "field for a dramatic struggle between children of light and children of darkness . . . [and] wrenches the individual historical event from the complex network of its contemporary context

in order to see it in abstracted relationship to analogues in the present . . . " (Stocking 1968:3-4). The majority of these archaeological histories fail to examine the historical conditions permitting archaeology as a field of inquiry, and the social, political and ideological (institutional) conditions in which archaeological knowledge is produced (Patterson 1986:7).

New Archaeology played an important role in stemming critical historical analysis because history bore little relevance to contemporary issues and the positive philosophy of science —an aspiration of New Archaeology (Pinsky 1989a:52, Tilley 1989). At most, New archaeologists viewed the history of the field as disciplinary or intellectual 'dilettantism' — a trivial, marginal pursuit (McVicar 1984:3, Fahnestock 1984:7, Murray 1989:57). Not limited to archaeology, historians Vaughn (1985) and Fischer (1985) admit that an antihistorical trend or hostility to historical thought pervades many professions and they attempt to define and defend the relevance and utility of history. Both argue that history's purpose is not to justify present institutions, social relations, or morales but to:

> . . . clarify contexts in which contemporary problems exists — not by a presentist
> method of projecting our own ideas into the past but rather as a genuinely
> empirical discipline, which is conducted with as much objectivity and
> historicity as is humanly possible (Fischer 1985:391)

In the past decade, history, particularly critical historiographies, have gained attention in archaeology (for example Trigger 1980, 1981, 1984, 1986, Kristiansen 1989, Murray 1989, Gero et al. 1983, Gero and Conkey 1991, Pinsky and Wylie 1989). Viewed as an indicator of a discipline's maturity (Christenson 1989:1, McVicar 1984: 2-3) these critical historical analyses go beyond narrative descriptions or historicism where emphasis is on understanding the past for its own sake, or presentism which "seeks knowledge of the past for the sake of the present —legitimization of the present through the past (Pinsky 1989b:89-90). They contribute to our understanding of historical contexts and processes out of which present day archaeological knowledge has emerged. Fahnestock (1984:7) elaborates that critical historiography:

centres on the view that adequate historical understanding requires the
consideration of events and ideas in relation to their specific contemporary
contexts and the complex variety of factors which have shaped them, rather
than as chronological isolates in a single-strand genetic chain".

With the prevalence of non-contextual histories in archaeology, a need exists for critical

historiography in order to enhance our understanding of the nature of archaeological

knowledge and in producing new historical accounts within a contextual framework.

Context

     Context, the common denominator in the terms historical context, contextual history,

contemporary context, contextual factors, cultural or social context, plays a central role in

critical historiography (Fahnestock 1984, McVicar 1983, Christenson 1989, Pinsky 1989a, b,

Murray 1989, Trigger 1980) and a contextualist view represents one major tenet of critical

theory, as advocated by Adorno of the Frankfurt Programme (Geuss 1981:63). Context

encompasses social, economic, cultural, political, intellectual, ethical and institutional arenas

(McVicar 1984:4, Pinsky 1989a:53, Chippindale 1989:32). Christenson (1989:75-76) recognized

two aspects of context in the history of archaeology, the socio-political context within which

archaeology has taken place, and the intellectual context within which the history of

archaeology is written. These represent the two dimensions of the Strong Programme. He

further argued along with McVickers (1989:114) that previous work must be judged in its own

cultural context, especially, since archaeologists are usually the first to condemn the careers of

their predecessors out of historical context.

     The socio-political context has received wide attention in critical historical analyses

(Olsen 1986, Kristiansen 1989, Durrans 1989, Damm 1986, Gero et al. 1983, Gero 1985, 1989, Gero

and Conkey 1991, Wylie 1985, 1989a, Trigger 1980, 1984, Madrid 1986, Tilley 1989, Christenson

1989). Archaeologists do not function in a political or social vacuum. They correlate selection of

priorities for excavation, the protection of sites, the definition of problems, the ways problems

are formulated, and the procedures or techniques used to solve them, with their intellectual

and political tempers, which are shaped by class, culture, gender, age and ethnic group (Patterson 1986:20-21, Kristiansen 1989:24, Shennan 1986:353, Meltzer 1989). As Kristiansen (1989:27) and others (Trigger 1985, Patterson 1986, Gero et al. 1983, Kehoe 1989) have pointed out, administration, research and political ideology (views/beliefs) cannot be separated. An archaeologist's work is constrained by social, economic and political rules and realities, and interpersonal relations in the work place (Bender (1989:57, Gero et al. 1983:1). These affect research emphasis in such areas as the questions asked and the answers that are perceived or permitted. Such activities may encourage or suppress certain types of archaeological activities, as well as favour specific areas or interpretations of archaeological data (Trigger 1985:229, Tilley 1989:110).

Specific areas or groups identified as influencing archaeological research include institutional structures, relations with governments and the general public, organizing concepts and categories, as well as archaeology's relationships with its cognate disciplines (Murray 1989:57, Schavelzon 1989:110).

INTENT OF THE STUDY

The theoretical concepts and issues which I have discussed above, particularly history and social, political and ideological contexts, play an important role in a better understanding of fur trade archaeology where the primary focus or emphasis has been on ethnocentric Euro-Canadian issues. I intend to apply such critical thinking to western Canadian fur trade archaeology. To date basic research questions in this sub-field have dealt with socio-economic relations within a post and how this illustrates the transport of civilization to the west, ethnicity (European versus Métis), architecture, spatial orientation or patterning, economics and transportation. Little attention has been directed towards Native peoples or ecology. Why is this so?

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH STRATEGY:
PROBLEMS, GOALS, RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND STUDY AREA

Researchers in archaeology may ask: "Why write the history of fur trade archaeology"? Suffice it to say that history allows us a chance to see that the inherited "concepts and categories we take for granted are not in fact *sui generis,* and that they often need demystification before we can understand their influence on our thinking" (Murray 1989:57, see also Meltzer 1989:19). Pinsky (1989:90-91) succinctly clarifies the important relationship between archaeology and history:

> Archaeology, like other intellectual activities, is historically constituted, and can be regarded as an 'evolving historical entity' (Toulmin 1972, p. 141) characterised by an interrelated set of questions and problems that are constantly redefined in relation to changing historical circumstances. Any attempt to understand the present configuration of the discipline must therefore be grounded in a systematic and empirically detailed analysis of its past history and practice.

Writing the history of fur trade archaeology, therefore, supplies a necessary perspective on the contextual development of the theoretical, social, political and methodological positions which directly impinge on its research and practice (Bender 1989:55). It also allows us to explore the role this subdiscipline has had in the production and reproduction of Canadian ideology within the auspices of the Canadian Historic Sites Service and the building of a nation.

The term fur trade immediately conjures up visions of beavers, hardy voyageurs battling rapids in canoes or traversing portages, Hudson's Bay (HBC) and North West Company (NWC) posts in the wilderness, and trading ceremonies with Native groups —all described within a prevailing atmosphere of romanticism and adventure. One needs but turn to such book titles by Peter C. Newman as *The Company of Adventures* (1985) and *Caesar's of the*

Wilderness (1987) or *Battle for the West: Fur Traders and the Birth of Western Canada* by Daniel Francis (1982) for testament.

The fur trade —this early exploratory and pioneering European venture into a new frontier wilderness— has captured the academic interest of many social scientists interested in history, both social and economic, as well as cultural geography and archaeology. In the case of the latter some 300 excavations have been carried out in western Canada in the last half of the 20th century. This large number of trading posts represent various phases of the fur trade and include small 'pedlar' or independent posts, primarily of the late 18th century, NWC and HBC posts during the competitive era of the 1780s-1821, and large administrative centres, such as York Factory, Fort George, Fort Gary, and Fort Edmonton, before and after the amalgamation of the HBC and NWC in 1821. Much money, time and labour have been vested in these archaeological ventures, but here the romance and adventure end.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

In recent critiques of western Canadian fur trade archaeology (Adams 1981, Pyszczyk 1987), researchers have exposed it as a "massive industry" in a "messy state of affairs". Problems identified primarily include, few statements of research goals and objectives and the lack of rigorous research designs, each contributing to criticisms of irrelevancy, redundancy and a paucity of published results. Of the 144 papers examined by Adams in 1981 only 70 were published and readily available to other researchers and of these over half consisted of small summary statements or research notes — all under three pages in length. In fact, the major problem orientation for historical archaeological studies of the fur trade has been the location of buildings for reconstruction and the acquisition of artifacts for display purposes. In more recent times there has been a promising trend to implement more problem-oriented research with expansion of questions to deal with subsistence and diet, as well as artifact patterning for explanations of socio-economic and cultural formation processes (Adams 1981).

Yet, and in spite of these trends, researchers continue to lament that:

> ... some of the most useful results come from historic documentary data,
> not archaeological data. .. [and that] the use of only an archaeological
> data base . . . is far too limiting for [certain] types of questions [material
> culture and social structure] (Pyszczyk 1987)

Indeed these criticisms raise the question: Can the existing archaeological data base address even the most basic questions of history or anthropology? Perhaps such expectations are not realistic.

Although clearly elucidating the problems in the discipline and acknowledging its deplorable state, most historic archaeologists do not consider the historical forces which created the current situation —the context of fur trade archaeological research. Rather, they concentrate on factors limiting fur trade studies —a backlog of unanalyzed materials housed at numerous institutions, the absence of historical archaeologists employed on staff at those same institutions and a lack of funds and time for analysis and publication. The logical question of why these sites were excavated in the first place if such commitments could not be made has been avoided. Most researchers also ignore the equally important theoretical, social, and political circumstances that generated and supported or conversely inhibited these studies — factors crucial to this thesis.

Having spent 15 years in this field of research, I have encountered all of the cited problems —lack of published reports, unanalyzed materials, accessibility, funding restraints, and low level research objectives. I too have suffered the same frustrations voiced by Adams and Pyszczyk. The group of researchers in this sub-field is small, involved, motivated, and fraught with interpersonal dynamics. It is time to evaluate how our present state came to be and plot new or alternate directions for the future.

RESEARCH GOALS

This study confines itself to fur trade archaeology, more specifically, that of the western EuroCanadian fur trade, and concerns not the history of the fur trade, but the discipline of fur trade archaeology itself —its origins, growth and goals. By identifying the rationale behind these studies, available funding sources, reasons for sponsorship, and the social, political and academic atmosphere, I will clarify the direction and focus of this field.

Three general research aims guide this study:

(1) to describe the state of western Canadian fur trade archaeology and understand the constraints within which it developed to permit a more objective understanding of past activities and interpretations;

and in a broader context,

(2) to examine the impact of the relationships of archaeological theory and problem formation to social and political ideological constructs in fostering/promoting fur trade archaeology in western Canada;

and

(3) to place the study of fur trade archaeology in its larger political context within Canada and the implications this had for the promotion of a nationalist ideology.

RESEARCH APPROACH

How does one proceed to address the above concerns? Such a study depends on establishing the context through a historical analysis and a first objective is to reveal basic trends in the field including when fur trade archaeology flourished, what institutions were involved and when, the individuals concerned, the intent and results of the studies, and the distribution or use of the information. Once determined these trends may be analysed for their underlying political or social causes and associated affects on the discipline.

Two areas of concern to this study include the writing of critical, disciplinary histories —the methodological approach— and the acquisition and analysis of the data —the research methodology. The two primary sources were written documents, such as fur trade reports, and informant interviews.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

There is no unified approach on how to write disciplinary or critical history (Pinsky 1989b:89, Gero 1985:343). Advancing beyond anecdote or chronicle, writing history represents a "highly complex, non-linear undertaking that inevitably involves confrontation with and mediation of *contexts*, both within the past itself, and between the past, present and future" (Pinsky 1989b:89). Given the importance and complexity of such an enterprize, who then is best qualified to write a critical history? At this point a methodological problem arises, that of internal versus external history. The former deals with theoretical or intellectual pursuits internal to the discipline and concerns itself with the development of scientific ideas, how these were received, why they occurred and how they were integrated into the discipline (Meltzer 1989:17, Kuhn 1979:123). Usually these are undertaken by the practicing scientist. Conversely, external history concentrates on the 'interface' between the discipline and society — the political, social, economic, industrial or governmental forces which affected its growth or development — and are examined by historians or sociologists (Meltzer 1989:17, Kuhn 1979:123). As a topic of debate in the past two decades, there is now a general acceptance that the two approaches are not totally independent or mutually exclusive, but are complementary (Hinsley 1989:94, Pinsky 1989b:89). Therefore, the question of who is better qualified to write the present history —an archaeologist or an historian— is a moot point, since these two disciplines differ in fundamental ways —in their perspectives, assumptions and objectives— but taken together they will lead to a better understanding of the historical contexts and processes from which present-day fur trade archaeology has emerged.

Because of its immediacy there are practical problems and limitations, as well as benefits involved in the historiography of fur trade archaeology. Most archaeologists in this subfield are alive today and, Christenson (1989) identifies a number of possible problem areas:

(1) delving into sensitive aspects of behaviour, such as personalities and personal relationships — world view, research decisions, biases, jealousy, friendship;

(2) the influential power of the potential subject (such as a government official);

(3)   the author's inclusion in the part of history being investigated, thereby impeding his or her objectivity.

While these are all problems in the writing of recent or contemporary history, there are some noted advantages. First, the contemporary historian "being trapped . . . in the emotions of their own age" can better understand what is going on (Schlesinger 1967:74). Second, the present live participants can aid in revealing the past and make contemporary history "more exacting in its standards — of evidence, of precision, of judgement, of responsibility" (Schlesinger 1967:74). Despite these problems, Sabloff (1989:35) still maintains that "although it may be difficult to obtain a historical perspective on such a recent past, it is far from impossible and definitely worth the effort".

Various methods or techniques employed by archaeologists attempting historical studies include questionnaires and analysis of curriculum vitae (Embree 1989a, b), a careful reading of as much of the available archaeological literature, discussions or oral interviews with other archaeologists (Sabloff 1989), and analysis of illustrations and museum displays (Hinsley 1989, Handsman and Leone 1989).

Drawing on the above concerns , issues and experiences, I employ the following methods:

(1)   compiling and synthesizing available fur trade data;

(2)   identifying the various policies and mandates of governments and other institutions sponsoring fur trade archaeological studies;

(3)   interviews with fur trade researchers to establish project goals and rationale;

(4)   identifying the theoretical and philosophical issues current in archaeology at the time of the studies;

(5)   identifying events, such as centennial or tourism projects, fostering interest in fur trade archaeology; and

(6)   critically evaluating the relationship between the social, political and ideological contexts and archaeological theory as applied to fur trade studies.

The two data sources, reports and personal interviews, which I have chosen to outline the growth and history of fur trade archaeology each present their own particular limitations. On the one hand, the reports provide many of the "pure" facts to establish or reveal trends and

patterns, but they shed little light on the circumstances or "behind the scenes" activities which fostered, influenced or hindered these studies and which led to the present state of fur trade archaeology in western Canada. Interviews with informants, on the other hand, reveal the atmosphere —the social and political dynamics— at the time, clarify processes and lend a humanistic dimension to the field of fur trade studies. Whether dealing with reports or interviews, requires an ongoing critical assessment with regards to bias, "intended audience", completeness and accuracy of information.

Other factors influencing my collection and recording of data include discretion, self preservation, and my closeness to the topic. Despite these limitations and inherent biases, the process of writing the history of fur trade archaeology proved a rewarding and important exercise. In fact the enthusiasm, willingness and cooperation of the 24 informants — professional, academic, avocational, and government officials (listed in Appendix A)— attests to the interest and need for such a study.

These two different kinds of information required different approaches to the collection of information. For the written documentation a form (Figure 1) was employed to extract information on the following topics: dates of field research and reports; institutions and individuals; report types and availability; funding; field research and goals; and artifact status. While certain categories such as post name, location, report title, author, excavator, institution conducting work, funding agency, and date of investigation are straightforward, others require some explanation of the sub-categories. These categories include type of work, type of project, report type and report status (see Table 1 for a breakdown of these categories).

The divisions within work type refer to archaeological practices. These include a survey project which deals with the location and identification of sites, a testing/assessment type project consisting of subsurface excavations, an excavation project where large areas are exposed, a monitoring project to address heritage conservation concerns, and a project type focussed on surface collection of artifacts.

Excavation/Research Report

Name of Post: _____   Location: _____

Report Title & Author:

Excavator: _____

Institution: _____

Funding: _____

Date (of excavation): _____

Type of Work: _____   Type of Project: Research   Salvage

Report Type: _____   Report Satus _____

Research Purpose/Goals/Objectives: (Implicit or Explicit)   Research Intent: Id   D   In

Content (table of content): _____

Inclusions: Stratigraphy: _____
              Feature Descriptions: _____
              # of artifacts: _____
              Other: _____

Artifacts: Full Analysis: _____
             List: _____
             Other: _____

Status: Artifacts: Actively Studied Yes ___ No ___
                   House at: _____
                   Catalogued Yes ___   No ___   Accompanies artifacts Yes ___ No ___
        Field Notes: Yes ___   No ___
                   Included with artifacts : Yes ___ No ___

Conclusions:

Figure 1. Form Employed for the Analysis of the Written Documentation.

Table 1. Major Categories and their Sub-categories for Report Analysis.

Type of Work		Report Type	
R	Reconnaissance/Survey	R	General Report
T	Testing/Assessment	A	Article
Ex	Excavation	S/N	Summary/Notes
Mon	Monitoring	Th	Thesis
Col	Surface Collection	CRM	Cultural Resource Management Report
		Prsntn	Paper Presentation
		P/RD	Proposal Research Design
Research Intent		Report Status	
Id	Locate, Identify	P	Published
D	Description	Ms	Unpublished
In	Integrated	IN	Inhouse publication
		CRM	Cultural Resource Management Report

Research intent involves the general orientation or focus which directs a project. Identification [Id], largely associated with surveys, pertains to the fundamental level of locating and identifying sites as to company affiliation and date. Identification might also involve testing or excavation once the location is known. Description [D], as it implies, deals with the pure description of features or artifacts, usually to gain structural information or functional information. Integration [In], describes all studies which manipulate, integrate and interpret the data at higher research levels, such as activity patterning, ethnicity, status, and subsistence practices.

Fur trade data exist in a variety of reporting styles, largely as a result of the number of institutions or groups involved in their production. To address this situation report is used as a generic term referring to all types of articles, theses, conference presentations and proposal/research designs. The category general reports includes interim and preliminary reports as well as Parks Canada inhouse publications and Research Bulletins. Summary/notes refer to all items less than three pages in length. Cultural Resource Management (CRM) reports pertain to unpublished reports produced purely as a result of developmental activities requiring a heritage impact assessment. If published they become general reports.

Reports may exist in one of four states: published, unpublished, inhouse publications or Cultural Resource Management reports. The Parks Canada inhouse publications include a manuscript and microfiche series and along with Cultural Resource Management reports are categorized separately because they represent specific types or reports intended for a particular audience and have a limited distribution. Theses, proposals/research designs, and paper presentations, each of which also is directed towards a limited, specific audience, are classified as unpublished.

Interviews

No formal questionnaire was designed for personal interviews. Individuals came from diverse academic backgrounds, experiences and had different degrees of involvement in fur trade archaeology. However, to give the interviews consistent structure, general interest areas were defined (Figure 2). These included academic background, training and work experience, colleagues, research orientation or goals, funding patterns, publication outlets, institutional or personal struggles, meetings/conferences and general political/social climate. I adhered to these interest areas as closely as possible for consistency of coverage, but modified or ignored them depending upon the individual informant's background. For example, questions pertaining to publication outlets would not be pertinent or relevant to a government official who dealt with policy. One question I consistently asked of informants dealt with research interests they would pursue if granted unlimited time and funds. Such a "wish" question not only provides insight into possible research directions in the future, but also identifies areas of current concern.

Using the above, 24 informants were interviewed, many other individuals were consulted to clarify particular points, and 534 paper reports were documented.

Interview Question Areas

Name: _____

1. Academic Background:

University:
Department:
Degree:
Program/Major
Thesis:
Year graduated:

Why &/or how did you choose fur trade archaeology?

2. Training/Work Experience:

Institution(s):
Year(s):
Project(s):
Type of work:

Areas of specializtion?

Why site(s) chosen for investigations?

3. Colleagues: (during fur trade research)
Did they influence your work, theory etc? How?

4. Research orientation(s) or goals: (i.e. culture history, cultural-ecological, etc.)

5. What would you like to research if you had unlimited time and funding?

6. Funding patterns (government allotments, grants, etc.)
What was funding slated for? (i.e. field work, analysis, etc?)

7. Preferred publication outlets

8. Institutional/personal struggles ?

9. Formal and informal meetings

10. General social or political climate at time of fur trade studies. (i.e. social atmosphere, government attitude, general feeling of the time)

Figure 2. Form Employed to Structure Informant Interviews.

THE FUR TRADE AND THE STUDY AREA

Local, regional and areal developments, each with their own evolutionary sequence of events characterize American archaeology (Reyman 1989:41). The area of western Canadian fur trade archaeology, which is the focus of this study, represents one such region. A brief overview of the fur trade and the biophysical characteristics of the region are presented to provide the historical background upon which fur trade archaeology was focussed.

Fur Trade

What is the fur trade? Depending upon the researcher, date of research, and area of interest the focus of this topic shifts and reveals not a single fur trade experience, but a number of different experiences influenced by geography, biotic zone, climate, and Native cultures. Fundamentally, the fur trade represented a capitalist, European venture to procure furs for the European market. However, the trade fostered social and economic forces which played an important role in the development of western Canada.

The potential wealth of the northern fur trade was noted in the late 1600s by Groseilliers and Radisson who took their information to England after being spurned in New and Old France. Following a successful English trading expedition into Hudson's Bay in 1668, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was established by right of Charter in 1670 (Williams 1970:5-7). During the first century of its existence, the HBC maintained a policy of operating a few posts along the shores of the Bay to keep costs at a minimum, thus forcing the Native groups to travel to the Bay. However, the French challenged the HBC's purported monopoly to the Bay and heavy competition ensued from 1682-1713. During this period posts often changed hands and as a result the supply of trade goods tended to be erratic, especially under the French who did not attempt to send yearly supply ships (Russell 1982:98). In 1713 with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, the HBC again obtained control of the Bay and maintained their isolationist policy.

Not to be daunted by the HBC control of the Bay, traders from Quebec ventured into the west via the Great Lakes. The best known are La Verendrye's expeditions/explorations in the 1730s and 1740s to discover a route to the "Sea of the West" (Morton 1973). A result of these efforts was the establishment of a number of interior posts which served to intercept trade destined for the Bay. Other traders followed and by 1754 the HBC began sending personnel such as Anthony Henday, William Pink and Mathew Cocking into the interior to encourage the Native groups to trade at the Bay and to report upon their inland competitions (Morton 1973).

The French trade in the west ended abruptly in 1769 with the surrender of Montreal to the English. Independent traders, referred to as Pedlars, continued trading inland and their presence eventually forced the HBC to build an inland post —Cumberland House in 1774 on the Saskatchewan River. Soon after, the HBC began establishing a network of inland operations along the Saskatchewan River and its North branch.

While the HBC expanded operations up the Saskatchewan River, Peter Pond entered the Athabasca District where he "traded the shirt off his back" (Williams 1970:32) and initiated events which would greatly effect the western trade. His revelation of the area's potential wealth prompted the creation of the North West Company (NWC). A period of intense competition and bitter rivalry, at times ending in violence, followed (Morton 1973). As a result, the number of posts mushroomed. The NWC scattered small, mobile posts throughout the country, many of them established for the primary purpose of obtaining provisions to sustain brigades destined for the Athabasca country. To counter the stiff competition provided by the NWC and independents, the HBC began an intensive campaign of building inland posts adjacent to or further ahead of the NWC (Morton 1973). Smaller firms such as the XY Company attempted to enter the scene but usually folded quickly. By 1821 after suffering the affects of prolonged, intense competition the HBC and NWC amalgamated into a single operation under the HBC (Rich 1958). This event heralded a new era in the fur trade affecting not only the trade but its social nature. Charged with the reorganization of the new company

Governor George Simpson reduced the number of posts and personnel, centralized administrative power, initiated animal conservation practices, encouraged the use of York boats over canoes to transport goods, provided fewer gratuities to the Native groups, and forbade the use of alcohol in trading with the Native groups (Williams 1970, Morton 1973). Although not liked by all, these new policies brought economic success until the 1860s. After this time, the decline of the bison herds and the inevitable arrival of settlement and agriculture relegated the fur trade to a minor role, in all areas except for the northern regions.

The above presentation outlines the chronological development of the western fur trade. The posts and traders, however, did not function in a cultural void. In fact, arriving in the west, European explorers and fur traders encountered a number of different Native groups with established socioeconomic organizations, occupational differentiation and food production systems —from the nomadic, plains, bison hunters to the small, mobile groups of the forest dependent upon less gregarious species. The major language families included Algonkian (Blackfoot, Blood, Cree, Gros Ventres, Ojibway, Piegan), Siouan (Lakota, Assiniboin) and Athapaskan (Beaver, Carrier, Slavey, Sekani, Chipewyan).

Native groups did not represent separate social entities isolated within a particular geographical region. Alliances and warfare, as well as social gatherings, brought people together often times in extremely large aggregations. Such gatherings caused the fur traders consternation. Planning and participation in bison pounding or warfare diverted the attention of the Native groups away from the more important task of trapping furs and, in the latter case, also could result in the trading post holding the debts of Natives who had died in battle. At times, hostilities between Native groups spilled over into the fur trade. For example, the Gros Ventres who initially lacked firearms, viewed the fur traders as allies of their enemies, the Cree, who had guns. Consequently, they attacked the HBC South Branch House in 1793 killing the inhabitants (Morton 1973:457), resulting in the locale being abandoned until the early 1800s.

Friendly relationships also developed between the traders and the Native peoples. Be it for political alliance or economic purposes, or for personal fulfillment, many European men married Native women (see Brown 1980). Their progeny —the French and English Métis— would greatly influence Western Canadian history. As well, the traders often depended on the knowledge of the Native peoples for survival and learned many Native skills, such as making pemmican, or fishing with nets (Arthurs 1980). In the early fur trade, the Native groups controlled the trade and their culture (Fisher 1977, Lytwyn 1991) and apart from trying to focus the attention of the Native groups on acquiring furs, the trader did not attempt any major interference with the Native way of life. Even though the involvement of the Native population in the fur trade differed substantially from place to place (Ray 1977:46), this early self control of their own culture appears universal. Conditions and cultural dynamics, however, changed with the ever-increasing encroachment of the Europeans and a growing reliance on European goods.

Geographical Area

Geographically, the western Canadian fur trade, for purposes of this study, extends from northwestern Ontario westward into northeastern British Columbia. In northwestern Ontario the Albany River System and its tributaries form the eastern boundary of the study area while the Rocky Mountain foothills constitute the western extent. A complex of biophysical and cultural historic diversity characterize this large expanse of land. Biophysical regions include boreal forest, parkland, and grasslands (prairie) each with their accompanying biota.

The different biophysical regions played an important role in the types of posts established in specific locations as well in archaeological research considerations, especially if a post was slated for reconstruction to promote tourism. A brief sketch of significant biophysical features pertinent to fur trade activities follows.

Biophysical Features
Vegetation and Animals

Three distinct vegetation zones — boreal forest, parkland, and prairie — characterize the study area. The boreal forest, composed primarily of conifers, particularly white and black spruces as well as broadleaf species of birch and poplar, (Rowe 1972, 1974:266) supported a range of animals important for both food or fur. Large game hunted for subsistence consisted of moose, elk, and woodland caribou, while the relative abundance and variety of small-game, such as beaver, muskrat, wolf, fox, and rabbit, provided fur and modest amounts of food (Ray 1972:105). As well, during the initial fur trade influx (circa 1790s) woodland bison inhabited the more southern latitudes such as the Peace River district (MacKenzie 1971).

Peter Pond's discovery of the Methye Portage route into the rich fur-bearing area of the north in 1778 (Morton 1973:328) created the need for a complex system of posts in other vegetation zones to exploit subsistence resources required to outfit canoe brigades entering the Athabasca. Apart from the NWC's Fort Chipewyan, which was their regional headquarters in the Athabasca district, fur trade posts in this area tended to be small, temporary wintering houses or outposts often hastily built for the express purpose of collecting furs over the winter months.

The parkland zone played an important role in fur trade economy. Characterized by aspen groves and open meadows with grasslands, primarily fescue prairie (Coupland and Rowe 1969:74), this transitional zone between the boreal forest and the prairies supported large game animals, moose, elk, prong-horn antelope, mule deer and most importantly, the gregarious bison (Ray 1972:105). Bison meat manufactured into pemmican was a dietary staple of critical significance for the northern brigades. Small game such as beaver, muskrat, rabbit, wolf, fox, lynx and porcupine inhabited this area, as did a variety of water fowl and fish. The posts in this area included both regional headquarters, such as Brandon House 1, Fort Riviere Tremblante, Fort Carlton and Fort George as well as temporary or short term wintering posts,

such as Fort Assiniboine, Grant/McLeod Post, Rocky Mountain Fort and Fort St. John (Hamilton 1990:6).

The open grasslands supported bison, as well as prong-horn antelope and white-tailed deer. Small game important for their pelts however, was less abundant. Bison hides did not constitute an important trade item until the late fur trade when the HBC accepted them to keep the Native groups from trading with American interests (Klimko 1983). Because the NWC and HBC could obtain bison meat or pemmican from Plains Native populations without establishing posts in the area, not to mention their fear of certain Native groups, such as the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres, they established few posts on the plains. Exceptions were the Chesterfield Houses built in the early 1800s by the Hudson's Bay (Peter Fidler), North West and XY companies on the South Saskatchewan River, near present day Swift Current, Saskatchewan (Morton 1973:511). Not until the advent of American entrepreneurs in the late 1860s, a phenomemon referred to as the Whiskey Trade, did this area experience an increase in economic ativities (see Kennedy 1991).

Waterways

The Nelson, Churchill, Saskatchewan, Winnipeg, Slave, Mackenzie and Peace river systems —the highways of the fur trade— played an important role in the westward expansion of European commerce. Using the network of the river systems and portages, the traders could traverse from either the Bay or the Great Lakes into the heart of Western Canada. Not only did the rivers provide an avenue into the interior they also supplied fish, an important food source in many northerly areas. As such the traders located their posts strategically along the banks or shores of these rivers, streams or lakes.

Climate

A continental climate with cold winters and hot or warm summers characterizes the study area, although considerable variations in climatic conditions occur from one place to

another (Chakravarti 1969:60). Because of the dependence upon river travel, climatic conditions controlled European access and fur trade operations in the west. The canoes had to reach their destinations before freeze-up and could not embark upon the return journey to their respective depots before break-up. Cold winters with snow meant sled travel on land or river.

Apart from influencing the mode of travel and conditions, the climate also affected the subsistence base of the fur trade. Cold winters forced the bison into more wooded areas such as the parkland for shelter (see Morgan 1979), thus supplying the traders and Native groups with easy access to an abundant resource with little effort. Conversely, a mild winter, which allowed the bison to remain on the plains caused concern because of the uncertainty and time necessary to obtain adequate provisions.

Comment

The preceding sketch of the western fur trade and its geographical area demonstrates the complex web of interrelationships between natural environment, Native groups, and fur traders in the study area. Natural resources and Native cultural and social dynamics influenced the type, number and location of fur trade posts in western Canada. These same factors, to varying degrees, have also affected fur trade archaeology and its practice, along with other governmental, academic or personal factors.

CHAPTER 3

THE GROWTH OF FUR TRADE ARCHAEOLOGY
IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES

"Just the facts, ma' am. " This famous line from **Dragnet**, an old television detective series, epitomizes an approach based on a disciplined, methodological, objective search for truth through the scientific gathering of facts —a goal of modern archaeology. Unfortunately, this premise represents an ideal in archaeology —a discipline highly dependent on a variety of sources of data to formulate or support interpretations. Pure facts do exist in such tangibles as dates, people, and projectile point attributes, but subjectivity and bias enter all studies the moment we begin to organize these facts —either through the questions we ask or the selection of certain facts, criteria or attributes, for interpretation. As noted by Haraway (1986:79) "Facts are theory-laden; theories are value-laden; values are story-laden. Therefore facts are meaningful within stories." How data are organized, gathered and interpreted represent areas crucial to a reflexive study as promoted by critical theorists. In this chapter the historical conditions under which fur trade archaeology functioned as a viable field of inquiry are chronicled for each province. By clarifying the context in which contemporary problems came to be, a more objective view may be gained on the history of this field.

This chapter chronicles the growth of fur trade archaeology through the end of 1992. Published and unpublished reports constitute the primary data source, providing the pure facts used to establish or reveal trends in fur trade research. Although every attempt was made to locate or note all materials extant as of June 1993, I have undoubtedly overlooked some works. However, their small numbers should not effect the general trends. Informant interviews helped clarify processes or provided background information not contained in the reports. This was crucial as many of the political and social events affecting fur trade archaeology are unrecorded and most of the major "players" are still alive and practicing.

I have arranged the information or data on western Canadian fur trade archaeology by province, starting with northwestern Ontario, and working westward to northeastern British Columbia. The chapter ends with a comparison of the five provinces and a synthesis of the general themes which emerged from the research and interviews.

NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO

Dawson (1984:27) divides the archaeological history of northern Ontario into three arbitrary periods:

Early, 1850-1940, characterized by nonprofessional activities;
Middle, 1941-1966, characterized by increased professional involvement; and
Late, 1967-1983, characterized by extensive systematic professional research.

Although prehistoric studies conducted by institutions such as the National Museum of Man and the Royal Ontario Museum (hereafter ROM) dominated the Middle period, the latter institution did initiate a study of fur trade sites during this period through excavations at Albany House. Subsequent fur trade studies have involved 24 fur trade posts (Figure 3, Table 2), the involvement of six institutions or groups (Figures 4 and 5), and the production of over 60 reports.

Sites, Institutions and People

During the 1960s, a decade encompassing Dawson's Middle and Late periods, two institutions, the ROM and Lakehead University, dominated northwestern Ontario fur trade archaeology (Figure 4). In 1960 Kenyon of the ROM visited the site of Albany House to assess its potential for excavation based on a Department of Travel and Publicity report submitted by Frank Fogg (Kenyon 1986). While visiting a number of settlements in northern Ontario in 1959, Fogg had learned of the site from local inhabitants and recorded its location (Kenyon 1986:11). Kenyon conducted archaeological excavations at the site until 1965, and then returned to the
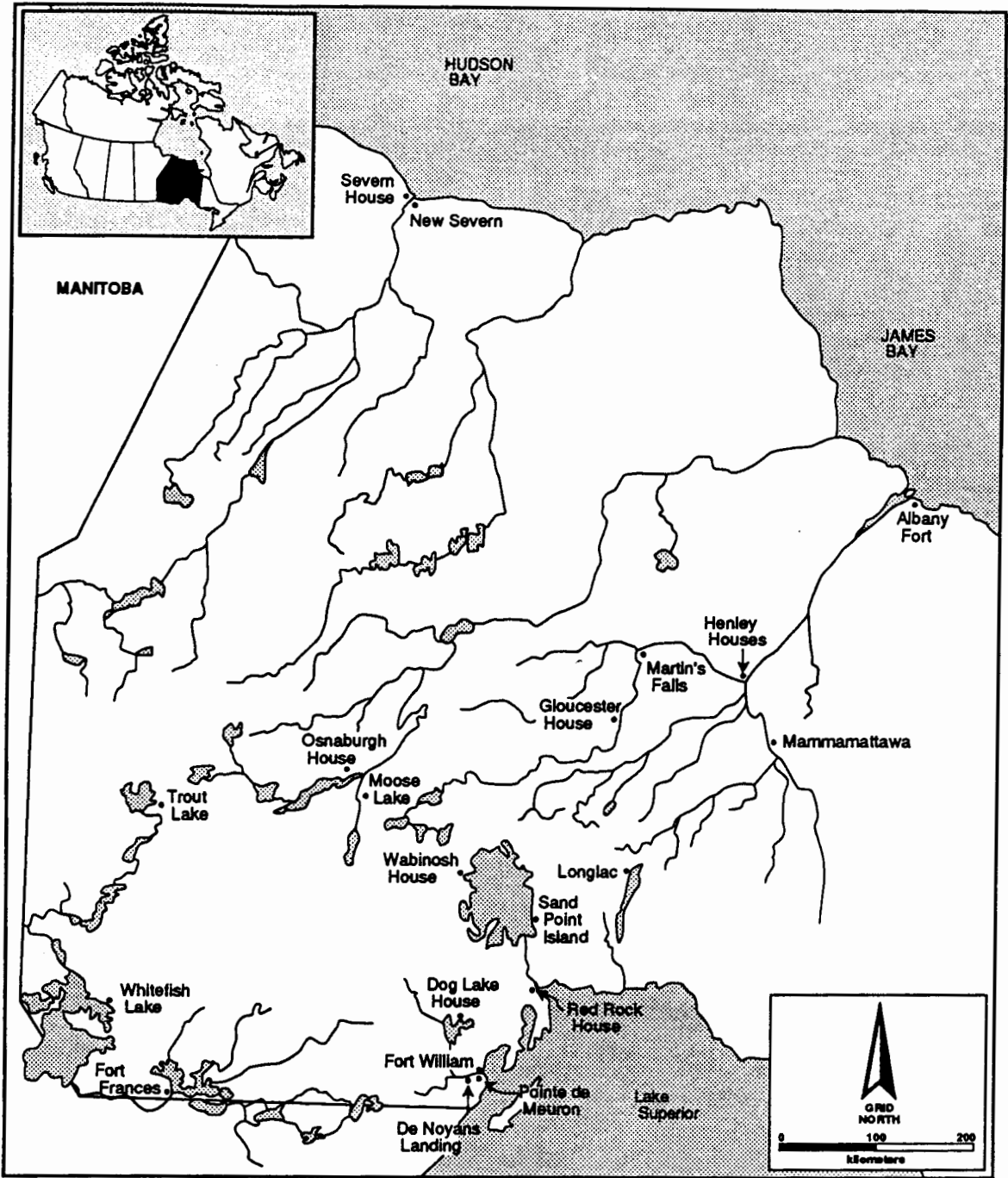
Figure 3. Location of Fur Trade Posts Examined in Northwestern Ontario.

Table 2. Fur Trade Sites Examined in Northwestern Ontario.

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
Fort William	NWC	Dawson	1968, 1969	LU	R: T	Locate: Structural Data
1803-1891± Admin. Centre		Dawson & Kleinfelder	1970	LU	Ex	Strcutrual Data
		Kleinfelder	1971	LU	Ex	Structural Data
		Fox	1976	RAO	Mon: Map	Monitor Disturbances: Map Features
		Arthurs	1988	RAO	Ex	Structural Data
Pointe de Meuron	HBC	Kleinfelder	1971	LU	R: T	Locate: Identify
1816-1821: Wintering		Fox	1975	RAO	R: T	Locate: Identify
		Coolen	1983	P Con	Mag	Locate
		Hinshelwood	1989	P Con	T	Locate: Identify
Wabinosh House	HBC	Dawson	1967, 1968	LU	R: T	Locate: Identify
1821-1851: Wintering						
Red Rock House	HBC	Dawson	1969	LU	R	Locate: Identify
1859-1900: Other		Arthurs	1982, 1983	RAO	T	Structural Data
		Coolen	1984	P Con	Mag	Magnetometer Survey
		Hamilton	1984, 1985	P Con	Ex	Assessment: Locate & Identify Features
Sand Point Post	Ind/	Dawson	1969	LU	R	Identify
1890-1939: Wintering	HBC	Dawson & Kleinfelder	1970	LU	R: T	Locate: Structural Data
Whitefish Lake Post	NWC/	Reid	1977- 1984	RAO	R: Ex	Locate: Structural & Artifact Data
1804-1939:Wintering	HBC					
Dog Lake Trading Post	Ind	Dawson	1969	LU	R	Locate: Identify
late 19th c: Wintering						
Moose Lake Post	HBC	Newton & Engelbert	1975	RAO	R	Locate: Identify
@1840: Wintering						
Martin's Falls	HBC	Newton & Mountain	1975	RAO	R: T	Locate: Identify
1782-1923: Reginal HQ.						
Mammamattawa	HBC	Pollock	1975	RAO	R	Site Information
1796-1946: Other		Trott	1977	Band	Map	Site Features
Fort Severn	HBC	Pollock & MacLeod	1975	RAO	R	Site Information
1759-present: Other						
New Severn	HBC	Pollock & MacLeod	1975	RAO	R: T	Identify
1702-1704: Other		Christianson	1978	Ind Rsch	Ex	Age: Artifact Patterns
Fort Albany	HBC	Kenyon	1960-1965, 1970	ROM	R: Ex	Age: Structural & Artifact Information
1679-1930: Other						

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
Charlton Island House 1680-1686: Wintering	HBC	Kenyon	1972, 1973	ROM	R; Ex	Structural & Artifact Information
Gloucester House 1777-@1818: Wintering	HBC	Dawson	1969	LU	R	Locate: Identify
		Newton & Mountain	1976	RAO	R: T	ReLocate: Identify
		Balmer	1979	WPAS	R	ReLocate
Big Trout Outpost @1894: Wintering	HBC	Balmer	1979	WPAS	R	Locate: Identify
Post Narrows ?: Wintering	HBC	Balmer	1979	WPAS	R	Locate: Identify
Osnaburgh House 1786-1815+:Reginal HQ.	HBC	Smith	1978	WPAS	R	Locate: Identify
Longlac Post 1790-1921: Other	NWC/ HBC	Dawson Balmer	1963, 1964 1970	LU WPAS	R: Ex R	Identify: Structural Data Site Assessment
Old Henley Post (EgIc-2) late 19th c: Wintering	HBC	Trott	1977	Band	R: T	Locate: Identify
Henley House I (EgIc-1) 1743-1759: Wintering	HBC	Julig	1981	Ind Rsch	R	Locate: Identify
Old Henley Post (EhIb-1) 1766-1830(?): Wintering	HBC	Trott	1977	Band	R: T	Locate: Identify
Henley House II (EhIb-3) 1766-1820s: Wintering	HBC	Trott Julig	1977 1981	Band Ind Rsch	R R	Locate: Identify Locate: Identify
De Noyan's Landing 1803-1821±: Other	NWC/ HBC	Newton, Arthurs Taylor	1974 1988	RAO P Con	T Ex	Acitivity & Habitation Patterns Structural & Activity Information
Fort Frances @1818-1874: Wintering	HBC	Rajnovich & Reid	1984	RAO	Ex	Structural Data

Institution
LU = Lakehead University
RAO = Regional Archaeology Office
P Con = Private Consultant
Band = Constance Lake Band
WPAS = West Patricia Archaeological Study
Ind Rsch = Independent Researcher

Type of Work
R = Reconnaissance?Survey
T = Testing/Assessment
Ex = Excavation
Mon = Monitor

Post Type
Admin. Centre = Administrative Centre
Reginal HQ. = Reginal Headquarters
Wintering = Wintering Post
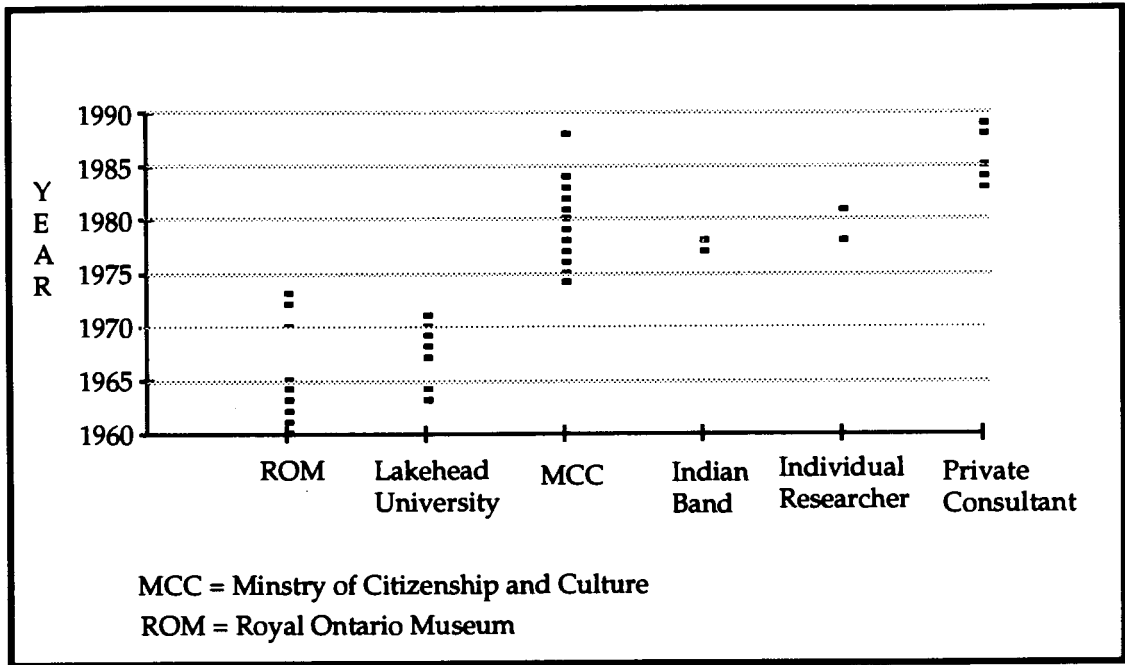
Figure 4. Institutions Involved in Northwestern Ontario Fur Trade Studies by Year.
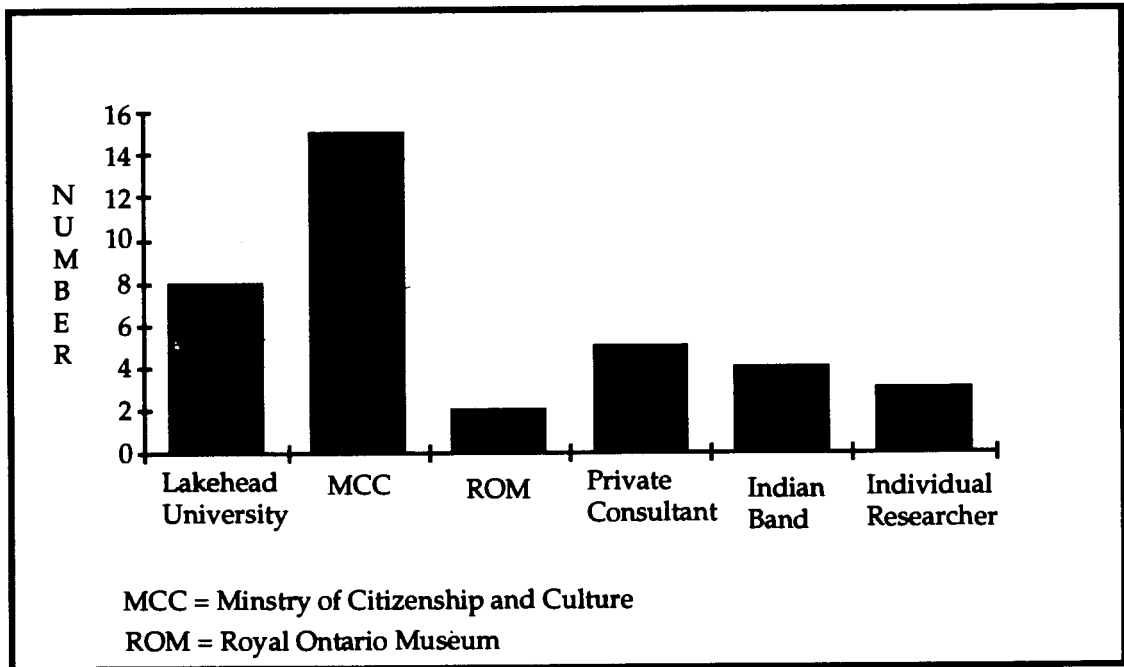
Figure 5. Number of Individual Posts Investigated by Different Institutions in Northwestern Ontario.

area for a few years in the early 1970s (1970, 1972, and 1973) to finish work at Albany House and Charlton Island House (Figure 6).

While the ROM concentrated its efforts on two posts in the James Bay area (Figure 5) Dawson, from the newly established Department of Anthropology at Lakehead University, initiated surveys in the Lake Nipigon region and Middle Albany area, as well as excavations at Fort William. Very little archaeological information existed for northwestern Ontario and Dawson spent much time conducting reconnaissance work to establish baseline archaeological data both for precontact and historic sites. Major excavations at Fort William, located under the Canadian Pacific Railroad yards in the city of Thunder Bay, came about in response to a tourism initiative which called for reconstruction of the post. While Dawson was instrumental in getting archaeological concerns addressed, the actual excavations were conducted by J. Kleinfelder. The details of this project are further discussed in Chapter 5. Eventually, throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, Lakehead University investigated eight fur trade posts (Figure 4) with the majority of work done at Fort William and Longlac Post (Figure 6).

The ROM and Lakehead University continued field work into the mid 1970s, at which time the provincial government became directly involved. Anticipating economic development of more northerly regions in 1972, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources began land-use planning, including heritage concerns. This eventually resulted in a regional archaeological office at Thunder Bay under the direction of William Fox, followed shortly by a second regional archaeological office in Kenora under the direction of 'Paddy' Reid and Grace Rajnovich, the latter individual leaving in the late 1980s as a result of budgetary reductions. These two offices were ultimately placed under the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, later to be known as the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Because the nature of the heritage resource base was still virtually unknown, despite Dawson's work, extensive surveys were sponsored and undertaken by regional staff (Reid and Conway 1980). One of the larger projects was the West Patricia Archaeological Study, itself a part of an interdisciplinary study which
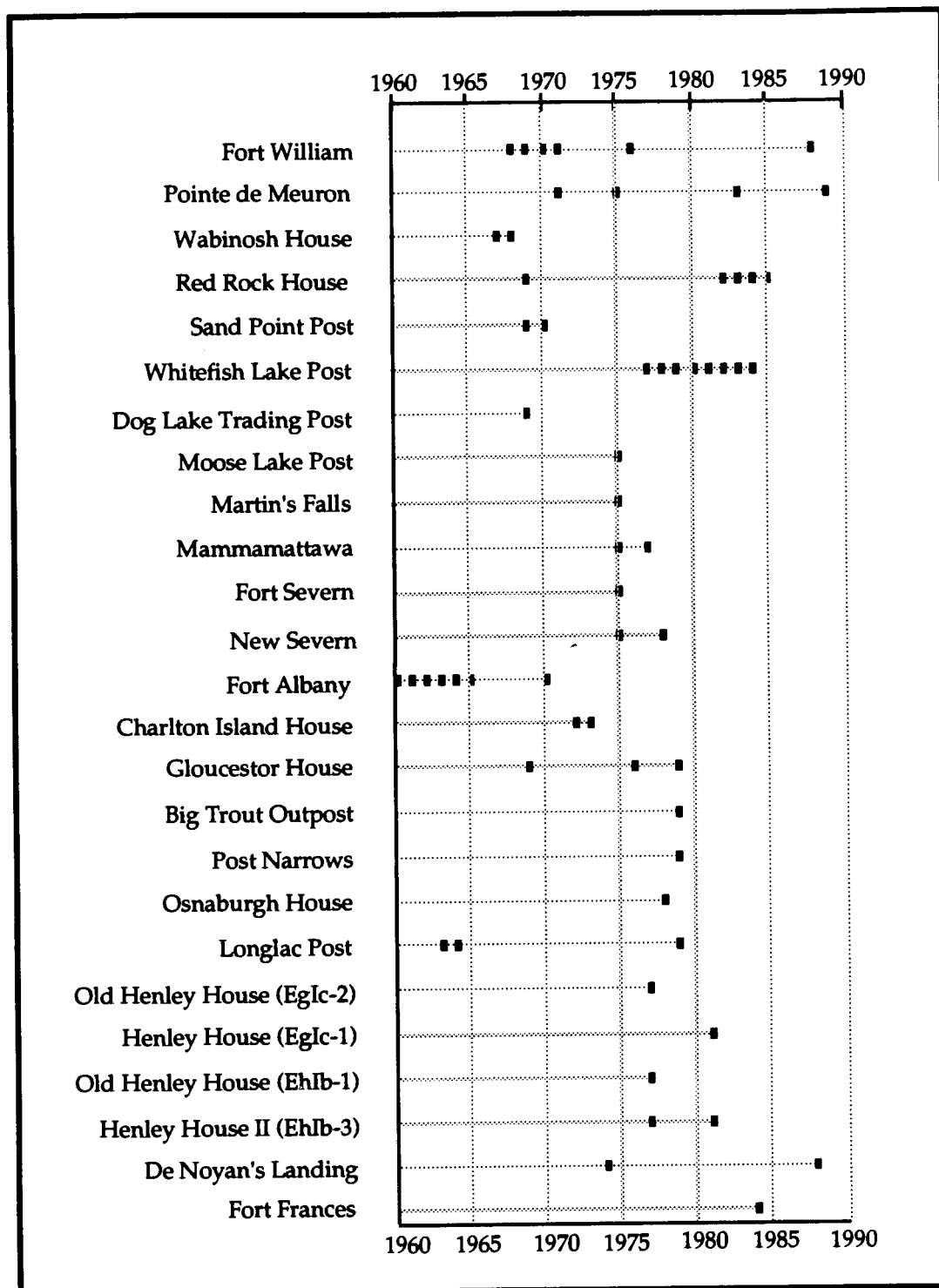
Figure 6. Years Investigations Carried Out at Northwestern Ontario Fur Trade Posts.

included earth and natural sciences north of the 50th parallel, with funding provided by the provincial Ministry of Northern Affairs and the Ministry of Natural Resources. After three years the project wound down but the Ministry of Northern Affairs continued funding a number of archaeological projects. The primary result of all these surveys in the 1970s was an increase in the number of projects as well as posts investigated (Figure 7). Although increasing the number of documented posts (Figure 7), these surveys limited the amount (Figure 6) and type of field work conducted at each site.
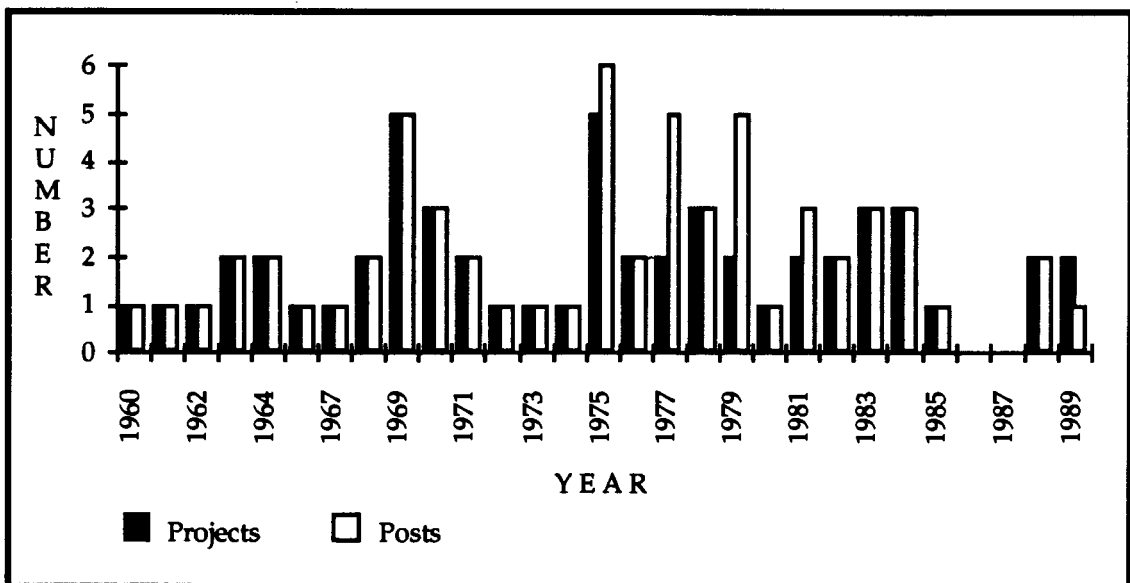
Figure 7. Comparison Between the Number of Projects Carried Out and the Number of Actual Posts Investigated per Year in Northwestern Ontario.

During the 1970s two other groups minimally became involved in fur trade studies in northwestern Ontario (Figure 4). These included the Constance Lake Band, which sponsored an archaeological survey on their reserve under the direction of Christopher Trott (Trott 1978), and an independent researcher, David Christianson, who conducted excavations at New Severn as thesis studies for McMaster University (Christianson 1980).

Provincial Archaeological Offices continued directing the bulk of fur trade studies in the first half of the 1980s with crews composed of summer students or consultants. In the case of consultants, they were responsible for the actual field work, but the regional office provided laboratory space and supplies (David Arthurs 1992, pers. comm.). The Red Rock Project, located within the town of Nipigon, was conducted by Hamilton under such conditions (Hamilton 1985, 1986a) with funding provided by the Ministry of Northern Development. This Ministry funded much of the archaeological research at this time largely as a result of Reid's efforts, and the fact that archaeological research could be incorporated into economic development and tourism plans (David Arthurs 1992, pers. comm.).

One independent fur trade study took place in 1981 under the direction of Patrick Julig, (Julig 1984) who conducted a survey along the lower Albany River as part of his Masters thesis research at . Although his primary objective had been to determine the degree of prehistoric occupation of the Hudson Bay Lowlands, Julig visited and surveyed a number of trading post locations (Julig 1984:3). In the mid 1980s, the direction of the Provincial Offices shifted away from archaeological field work to management of grants and resources. Private consultants now carried out the bulk of fur trade studies.

In more recent years the Regional Offices have experienced staff reductions and financial restraints which have prohibited any further active field study of fur trade posts in northwestern Ontario. As demonstrated above, the majority of archaeological research conducted in northwestern Ontario to the end of the 1980s centered on extensive surveys to gain baseline information. This type of study tended to limit theoretical concerns and archaeological methodology. Research objectives were at a low descriptive level associated with the location and identification of sites followed by description and assessment of structural remains. Only a few reports ($n = 3$) —two theses and a university research paper— advanced beyond this fundamental level. As well, most of this archaeological field work

consisted of simple reconnaissance and testing with varying amounts of excavation conducted at only nine of the 25 posts.

Funding

The Ontario provincial government, through its various departments, grants and foundations, funded all fur trade studies in northwestern Ontario from the 1960s to the 1990s. Interestingly, the Regional Offices which exist within the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture were able to obtain funds from other Ministries to conduct archaeological research at several sites.

Reports

In total 69 reports (referenced in Appendix B) documenting fur trade research in northwestern Ontario have been produced. These consist of general reports (n = 32 or 46%), articles (n = 13 or 19%), summary/notes (n = 16 or 24%), Cultural Resource Management Reports (n= 5 or 7.5%) and theses (n = 3 or 4%) (Figure 8). The majority of reports appeared in the 1970s and early 1980s (Figure 9), a time of apparent archaeological prosperity, along with two theses produced from the research programme carried out at New Severn in 1978. A noticeable decline followed in the later half of the 1980s (Figure 9) which corresponded with the shift in direction instituted by regional offices and the subsequent contracting of work to private consultants. This shift resulted in more Cultural Resource Management reports being produced (Figure 9).

Despite 69 reports produced for the 25 posts, coverage and depth of analysis varies. At least one reference (Table 3) exists for all sites. The Fort Frances analysis is restricted to skeletal remains while the remaining materials are being analysed at present. The number of references for northwestern Ontario fur trade archaeology totals 80.[1] Only eight of the 25 posts

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[1] The discrepancy between number of reports and references is a result of one or more reports making reference to more than one site.
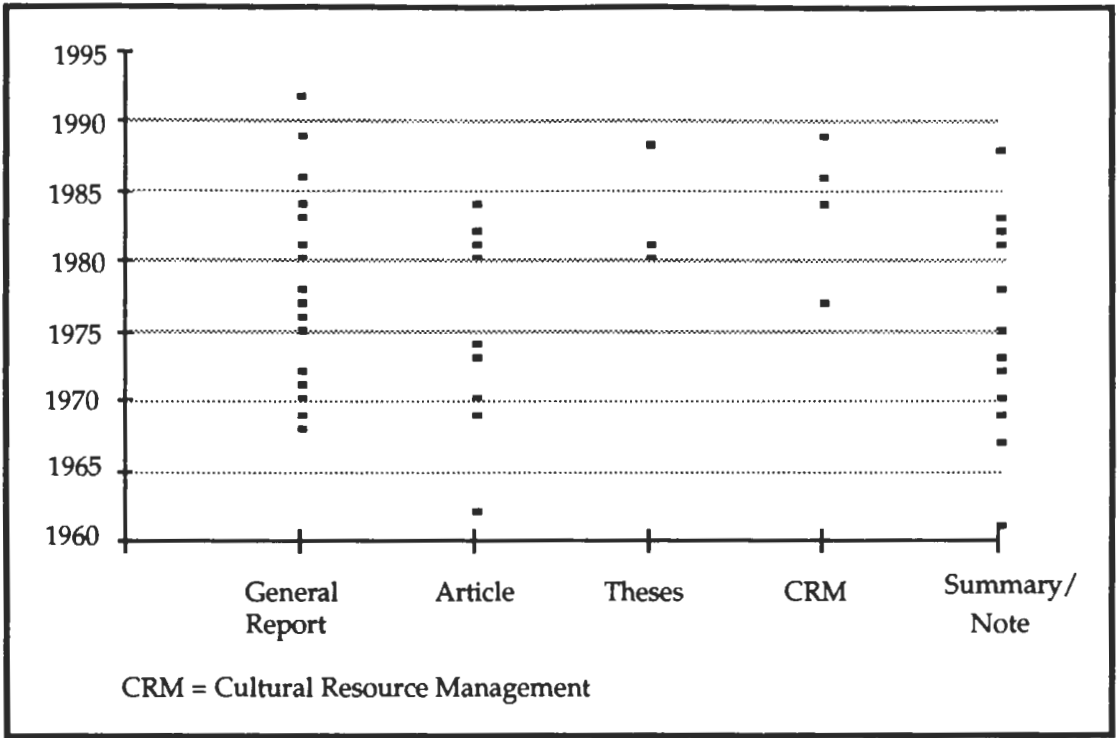
Figure 8. Report Types Produced by Year in Northwestern Ontario.
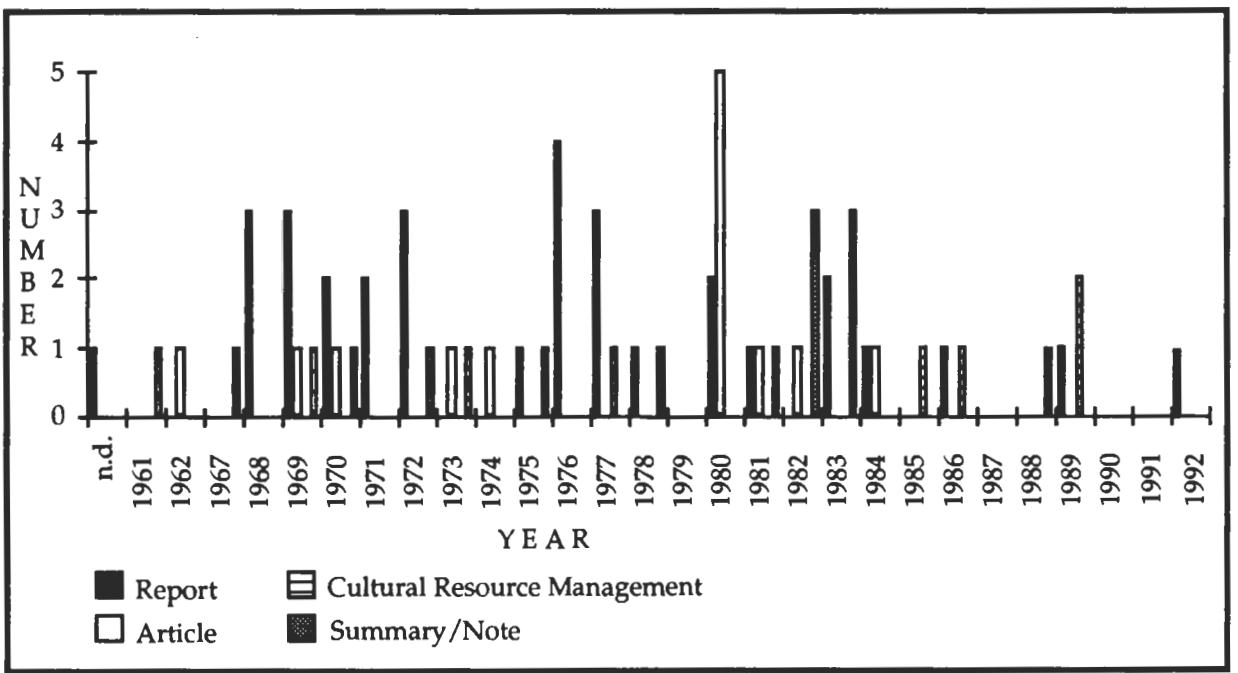
Figure 9. Comparison of the Four Major Northwestern Ontario Report Types — General Reports, Articles, Cultural Resource Management and Summary/Notes — by Year.

Table 3. Reference Data for the Investigated Northwestern Ontario Sites.

	# References	Report Type							Report Status				Research Intent		
		R	A	P/RD	Prsntn	Th	CRM	S/N	Ms	P	IN	CRM	Id	D	In
Fort William	17	9	1				1	6	7	10				17	
Pointe de Meuron	7	5					1	1	6			1	7		
Wabinosh House	1	1							1				1		
Red Rock	7	3					2	2	3	4			3	4	
Sand Point Post	3	3							3				2	1	
Whitefish Lake Post	6	1	1					4	1	5			1	4	1
Dog Lake Trading Post	1							1		1			1		
Moose Lake Post	1	1							1				1		
Martin's Falls	1		1							1				1	
Mammamattawa	2	2							1	1			1	1	
Fort Severn	2	1	1							2			2		
New Severn	6	2	2			2			3	3			4		2
Fort Albany	6	1	2					3		6			1	5	
Charlton Island House	2	1	1							2				2	
Gloucester House	4	3	1						1	3			4		
Big Trout	1	1							1				1		
Post Narrows	1	1							1				1		
Osnaburgh House	1		1							1			1		
Longlac Post	4	2	2						2	2				4	
Old Henley Post EgIc-2 (HBC)	1	1							1				1		
Henley House I (EgIc-1)	1		1							1			1		
Old Henley Post (EhIb-1)	1	1							1				1		
Henley House II EhIb-3	2	1	1						1	1			2		
De Noyan's Landing	2	1					1		1	1				2	
Fort Frances	2	1				1			1	1					2
Total	82	42	15	0	0	3	5	17	36	45		1	36	41	5

Report Type
R = General Report
A = Article
P/RD = Proposal/Research Design
Prsntn = Presentation
Th = Thesis
CRM = Cultural Resource Management
S/N = Summary/Note

Report Status
Ms= Unpublished manuscript
P = Published
IN = Inhouse
CRM = Cultural Resource Management Report

Research Intent
Id = Identify
D = Description (Features or Artifacts)
In = Integration

enjoy more than one or two references (Table 3). In fact, of 80 references, 17 (or 21%) pertain to Fort William, a site at which many seasons of excavation took place.

Predominant research objectives for these projects were to locate, identify and describe individual posts. The lack of higher-level anthropological or historical problem orientation can largely be attributed to the nature of the reconnaissance work being undertaken. Even where additional research followed, the focus remained on the description of structural or site features. Broader, more integrated research objectives were proposed for Fort William but final reports were never completed. Taylor is currently working on a study dealing with Fort William structures and space, perhaps rectifying the problem in the future. The four research studies going beyond description included two theses produced on New Severn, one produced on Fort Frances and a university research paper on the material culture at Whitefish Lake Post. All four appeared in the 1980s and adopted a problem-oriented approach concerned with artifact patterning, activity areas or subsistence and diet.

Northwestern Ontario fur trade reports cater primarily to two audiences —the professional/academic and the avocational archaeologist. Dissemination of information to the latter group occurs mainly through the *Wanikan* —a newsletter produced by the Thunder Bay chapter of the Ontario Archaeological Society.

Over 60% of the reports are published, including most Cultural Resource Management reports (Table 4). Whereas published and unpublished reports occurred almost equally in the 1960s and 1970s, published materials increased greatly in the 1980s resulting from the publication policy of the Ontario Ministry. Despite this dramatic increase, close to 75% of the general reports remain as unpublished manuscripts. The forecast looks bleak for the 1990s though work is progressing on a number of previously excavated sites —Fort Frances, Whitefish Lake and Fort William (Reid and Ross 1993, pers. comm.) and it is hoped that they will soon appear in published format.

The published and unpublished reports produced by the government archaeology group, as well as those written for the *Wanikan*, are easily accessible at the two Ministry regional offices. The Thunder Bay office also contains copies of most of Dawson's reports —the originals being archived in the Anthropology Department at Lakehead University. At the latter institution, one needs to make arrangements with one of the archaeology staff to gain access.

Table 4. Status of the Various Report Types for Northwestern Ontario Fur Trade Sites.

Report Type	Unpublished Manuscript	Published	CRM	Total
General Report	23	9		32
Articles		13		13
Theses	3			3
CRM		4	1	5
Summary/Notes	1	15		16
Total	27	41	1	69

CRM = Cultural Resource Management

Artifact Status

The two regional archaeological offices serve as repositories for collections acquired under their sponsorship. The collections are catalogued along with accompanying field notes (Table 5). The majority (60% or $n = 15$) include few specimens and are completely or partially analyzed and reported upon. Artifact collections from large-scale excavation projects vary in their degree of analysis. Whereas the artifact analysis from New Severn currently held by the Ontario Heritage Foundation is complete, the Fort William collection requires much work and is housed at the Provincial Ministry office in Thunder Bay. The Whitefish Lake assemblage needs a major overall synthesis and 'Paddy' Reid is currently working on the Fort Frances artifact collection. Artifact assemblages collected by Dawson are housed at Lakehead University. The ROM maintains the Fort Albany and Charlton Island materials.

Table 5. Status of Artifact Collections from Northwestern Ontario Fur Trade Sites.

Site	Housed at	Catalogued		Catalogue with Artifacts		Analysed		Field Notes		Notes:
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Fort William	MCC-Th Bay	x		x		P*		x		food related items only
Pointe de Meuron	MCC-Th Bay	x		x			x	x		
Wabinosh House	Lakehead U?	?		?			x	?		Dawson
Red Rock	MCC-Th Bay	x		x		x		x		
Sand Point Post	Lakehead U	x		?		P		?		Dawson, Kleinfelder, Taylor
Whitefish Lake Post	MCC-Kenora	x		x		x		x		recent material being processed
Dog Lake Trading Post	Lakehead U	?		?			x	?		Dawson
Moose Lake Post	MCC-Th Bay	x		x		x		x		
Martin's Falls	MCC-Th Bay	x		x		x		x		
Mammamattawa	MCC-Th Bay	x		x		P		x		
Fort Severn	OHF	x		x		x		x		
New Severn	OHF	x		x		x		x		
Fort Albany	ROM	x		?		x		?		
Charlton Island House	ROM	x		?		x		?		
Gloucester House	MCC-Kenora	x		x		x		x		
Big Trout	MCC-Kenora	x		x		x		x		WPAS
Post Narrows	N/A									WPAS -site features mapped
Osnaburgh House	MCC-Kenora	x		x		P		x		WPAS
Longlac Post	MCC-Kenora									
Old Henley Post (EgIc-2)	MCC-Th Bay	x		x			x	x		
Henley House I (EgIc-1)	MCC-Th Bay	x		x			x	x		
Old Henley Post (EhIb-1)	MCC-Th Bay	x		x			x	x		
Henley House II (EhIb-3)	MCC-Th Bay	x		x			x	x		
De Noyan's Landing	MCC-Th Bay	x		x		x		x		
Fort Frances	MCC-Kenora	x		x				x		analysis in progress

Institution

MCC-Th Bay = Ministry of Culture & Communication (Thunder Bay Office)

MCC-Kenora =Ministry of Culture & Communication (Kenora Office)

Lakehead U = Lakehead University

ROM = Royal Ontario Museum

OHF = Ontario Heritage Foundation

Index

P* = Partial analysis or preliminary analysis

WPAS = West Patricia Archaeological Study

MANITOBA

The earliest excavation in search of a fur trade post in Manitoba was conducted by an avocational archaeologist, Chris Vickers, in the 1940s. While investigating a Native site in the area of Pine Fort, Vickers recovered "White contact goods" at a spot believed to be the Native encampment related to the Fort occupation (Tottle 1981:25). Vicker's missed the actual fort by a few yards. Since that time 31 fur trade posts (Figure 10) representing different company affiliations (Table 6) have received some form of archaeological investigation, ranging from reconnaissance/survey to testing to excavation, in Manitoba. Nine different institutions, groups or agencies have participated in fur trade studies at various times and over 100 reports (including articles, presentations, and proposals) have emerged on different aspects of fur trade study.

Sites, Institutions and People

After Vicker's early discoveries at Pine Fort, a project funded by the Manitoba Scientific and Historical Society, the next foray into fur trade studies took place in the late 1950s at Fort Prince of Wales in northern Manitoba. This stone fort represents a unique architectural anomaly in both its construction and shape, and was the scene of early French-English conflicts for control of the fur trade. The Canadian Historic Sites Service [2] sent Douglas Leechman in 1958 and 1959 to undertake a condition study and collect artifacts during restoration work at the site (Lunn 1985:59). This represented the first of many research projects (Figure 11) by this institution in western Canada. Within Manitoba Parks Canada staff have investigated six fur trade posts (Figure 12) with Lower Fort Garry and York Factory receiving most attention (Figure 13). Investigation of those latter two sites occurred in two different eras —the 1960s to the late 1970s, and the late 1970s to the present— and were motivated by either restoration or resource management concerns.

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[2] Later renamed National Parks and Historic Sites, Parks Canada, Environment Canada Parks, Canadian Parks Service and again Parks Canada.
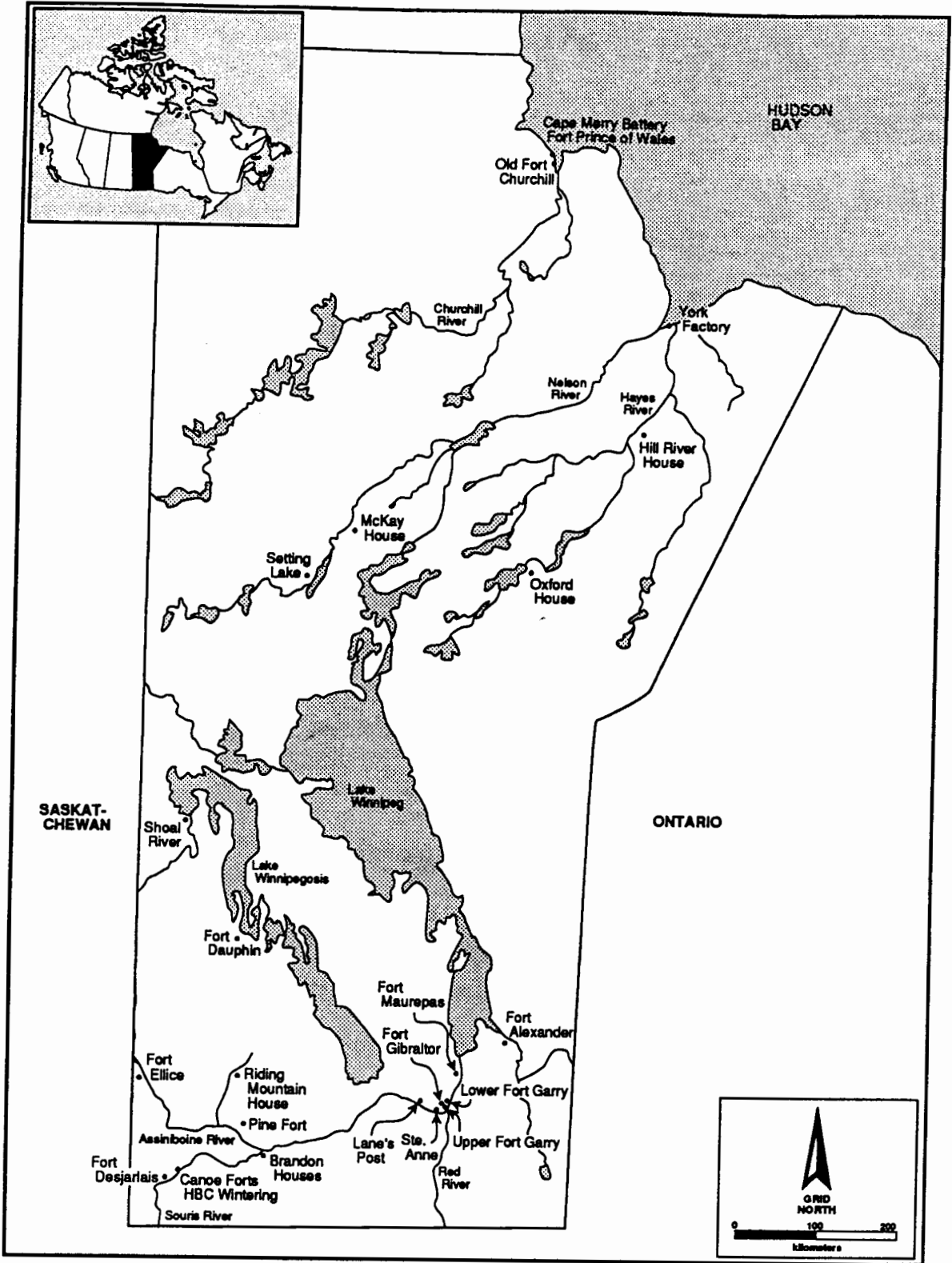
Figure 10. Location of Fur Trade Posts Examined in Manitoba.

Table 6. Fur Trade Sites Examined in Manitoba.

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
Prince of Wales Fort 1731-1782: Admin. Centre	HBC	Leechman	1958, 59	PC	R: Col	Condition Study: Artifact Catalogue
Lower Fort Garry 1831-Present: Depot	HBC	Rodger	1962	PC	Ex	Locate: Identify
		Chism	1965, 66, 67, 70	U of M: PC	T: Ex	Structural Data: Identify: Age
		Priess	1968, 77-78, 89, 90-91		Ex	Structural Data
		Moussette	1969	PC	Ex	Structural Data
		Folan	1971	PC	Ex	Structural Data: Identify
		Dendy	1972	PC	Ex	Structural Data
		Dewhirst	1973	PC	Ex	Structural Data
York Factory 1684-1957: Admin. Centre	HBC	MacKie	1969	U of M	R	Locate: Identify
		Chism & Karklins	1970	PC	R	Condition Study
		Adams	1978-1983, 1989	PC	R: T: Ex	Locate: Assess: Excavate
		Priess	1991, 92	PC	Ex	Slavage Excavation
Cape Merry Battery same as Prince of Wales	HBC	Sears	1980	PC	Ex	Structual Data
Upper Fort Garry 1835-1882: Admin. Centre	HBC	Priess	1978	PC	T:	Structural Data
		Monks	1981, 82, 83	U of M	T: Ex	Locate: Identify: Assess
		Kelley	1979, 1982	P Con	Monitor	Monitor Development Impacts
		McLeod	1986	HB	T	Structural & Artifact Data
Fort Gibraltars (The Forks) 1897-1826: Wintering	HBC	Priess	1984, 88	PC	T:Ex	Locate: Identify: Salvage Excavation
		Monks	1988	U of M	T	Locate: Identify
		Kroeker	1989, 90, 91	P Con	Ex	Locate: Identify
Pine Fort 1785-1794: Reginal HQ.	NWC	Vickers	1948	S & H Soc	T	Locate
		Tamplin	1968	U of M	R	Salvage Mapping
		MacKie	1971, 72, 73, 74	MMMN	Ex	Identify: Structural Data
Shoal House 1831-1869: Wintering	HBC	Tamplin	1967	U of M	R: T	Locate: Identify
Fort Desjarlais 1836-1855: Wintering	HBC	Martin	1967, 68	?	T: Ex	Limits of Fort: Structural Data
Setting Lake Chimney 1795-1796 : Wintering	HBC	MacKie	1972	MMMN	R	Identify: Age
		Hems	1986	HB	T	Structural Data
		Smith	1988, 1990	P Con	Ex	Identify: Age: Structural Data
Fort Maurepas 1734-1737: Wintering	French	McDonald	1973	U of M	R: T	Locate: Identify: Test
		McLeod	1983	HB	R	Assessment of Potential Impacts
Fort Dauphin 1806-1821: Wintering	HBC	Daupin Arch Chpt	1975, 76	Arch Soc	Col: T	Locate: Identify
		Syms	1977	BU	T	Locate: Identify
		Monks	1978, 79	U of M	T	Locate: Identify
Fort Alexander 1822-1930: Other	HBC	Steinbring	1976	U of W	R	Identify
Oxford House 1798-Present: Regional HQ	HBC	Wheeler	1978	BU	T	Locate: Identify
		Hanks	1979	?	R	Locate: Identify
Fort Ellice 1831-1862: Regional HQ	HBC	n/a	1978	BU	Archival	Structural & Activity Data

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
St. Anne's Trading Post @1871-@1880: Other	HBC	McLeod	1980	HB	T	Artifact Pattern Distribution
SM-NWC 1801 Wintering	NWC	Hamilton	1981	HB	R: T	Locate: Identify
SM-XY 1793-1805: Wintering	XY	Hamilton	1981	HB	R: T	Locate: Identify
SM-NWC 1821 Wintering	NWC	Hamilton	1981	HB	R: T	Locate: Identify
Brandon House II 1818-1821: Wintering	HBC	Hamilton	1981	HB	R: T	Locate: Identify
SM-HBC 1830 Wintering	HBC	Hamilton	1981	HB	R: T	Locate: Identify
McDonell's House 1796-@1805: Regional HQ.	NWC	Hamilton Nieuwhof	1981 1983	HB HB	R: T R: T	Locate: Identify: Remote Sensing Activity Spheres
Brandon House I 1793-1811: Regional HQ.	HBC	Hamilton Hems	1981 1984, 85	HB HB	R: T: Ex R: T: Ex	Locate: Identify: Remote Sensing Activity Spheres
Lane's Post @1855-1883: Other	HBC	McLeod	1986	HB	T	Locate & Identify Buildings
Ash House 1795-1796: Wintering	NWC	Hems Nieuwhof	1986 1990	HB P Con	R T	Locate: Identify Identify: Condition Study
HBC Wintering Unknown	HBC	Hems Nieuwhof	1986 1990	HB P Con	R T	Locate: Identify Identify: Condition Study
Canoe Fort I Undetermined	Am	Hems Nieuwhof	1986 1990	HB P Con	R T	Locate: Identify Identify: Condition Study
Canoe Fort II Undetermined	Am	Hems Nieuwhof	1986 1990	HB P Con	R T	Locate: Identify Identify: Condition Study
Riding Mountain Ho. Late 1850s: Other	HBC	Hems	1987	HB	R	Map Site: Record Artifact Collection
Hill River Ho. 1816-?: Wintering	HBC	Petch	1987, 88	P Con	R: T	Locate: Identify: Salvage Excavation
McKay's Post 1790-1794: Wintering	NWC	Smith	1991	P Con	Ex	Identify: Structural Data
Old Fort Churchill 1717-1936: Regional HQ	HBC	Petch	1992	P Con	Ex	Structural and Artifactual Data

Institution
U of M = University of Manitoba
PC = Parks Canada
P Con = Private Consultant
Arch Soc = Archaeological Society
BU = Brandon University
S & H Soc = Scientific & Historical Society
MMMN = Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature
HB = Heritage Branch
U of W = University of Winnipeg

Index
Ho. = House
SM = Souris Mouth

Post Type
Admin. Centre = Administrative Centre
Regional HQ. = Regional Headquarters
Wintering = Wintering Post

Type of Work
R = Reconnaissance/Survey
T = Testing/Assessment
Ex = Excavation
Col = Collection

Figure 11. Institutions Involved in Manitoba Fur Trade Studies by Year.
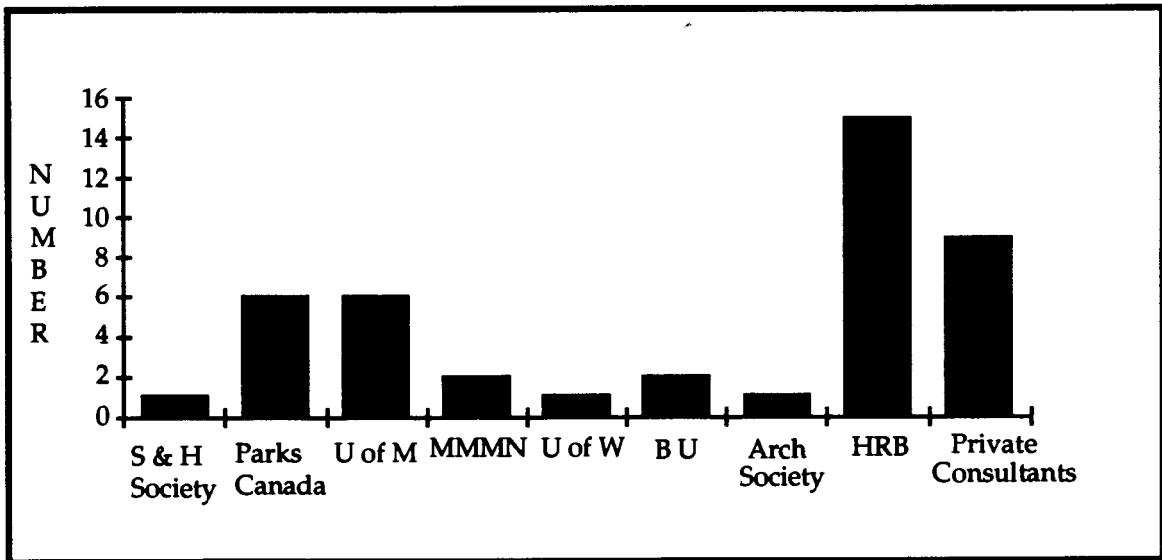
Figure 12. Number of Individual Posts Investigated by Different Institutions in Manitoba.

INDEX

S & H = Scientific and Historical Society

U of M = University of Manitoba

MMMN = Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

U of W = University of Winnipeg

B U = Brandon University

Arch Society - Archaeological Society

HRB = Heritage Resources Branch
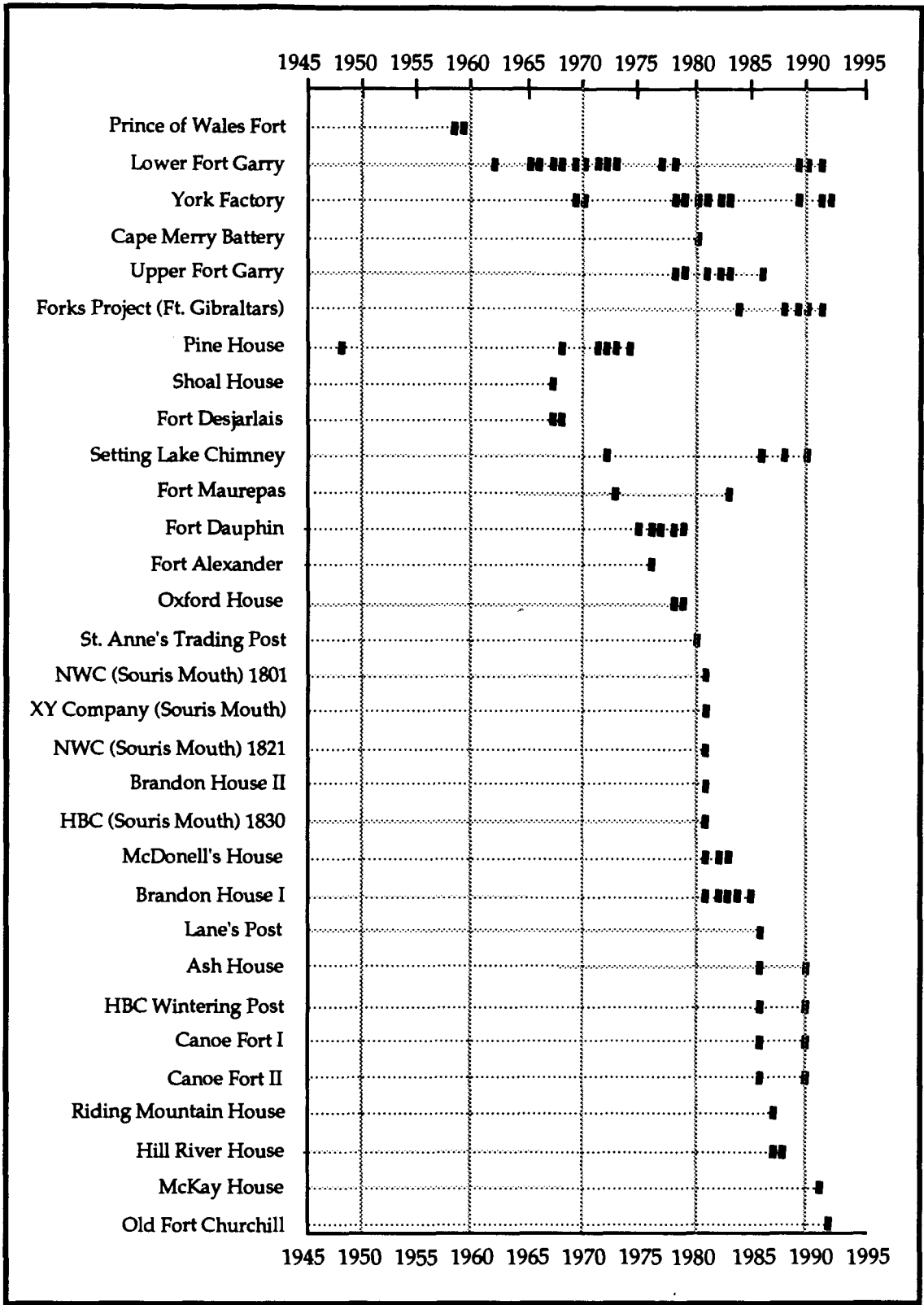
Figure 13. Years Investigations Carried Out at Manitoba Fur Trade Posts.

Developmental plans for Lower Fort Garry, situated outside the city of Winnipeg, required locational and structural data for building reconstruction and interpretation. Not only did Lower Fort Garry include extant buildings, it was one of the better preserved sites in western Canada, having stone walls with a bastian. The Motor Country Club leased the site for 50 years beginning in 1913 prior to the site being taken over by the Parks Service (Leigh Syms 1992, pers. comm., Parks Service 1993:35). Lower Fort Garry, established in 1830 to serve as the HBC headquarters for the Red River, never became the centre of "gentle" society or the centre of HBC adminstration (Parks Service 1993:35). It did however, function as a trans-shipment and warehousing point, acted as the focus for company farming activities, served as a facility for troops stationed at Red River, and provided facilities for the first penitentiary and the first mental asylum in Manitoba (Parks Service 1993:35). As such, the post is hardly representative of the fur trade.

Research at York Factory, on the other hand, was and still is today dominated by condition studies, assessments and salvage excavation. The site's location in a most inhospitable climate with many logistical problems affects its tourist potential, but because of its historical importance condition studies and salvage excavations are continually ongoing at the site.

The different treatment of these two sites can be attributed to individual developmental plans catering to extremely different tourist potentials. The later focus on cultural resource management reflects a general shift for most of Parks Canada work in the late 1970s and 1980s (Ellen Lee 1992, pers. comm.). Cultural resource management types of projects are characteristic of Lower Fort Garry (Priess 1979, Priess and Sears 1979), Cape Merry Battery in the Prince of Wales area (Sears 1980), and Fort Gibraltar located at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers within the city of Winnipeg (Adams et al. 1990).

In the mid 1960s Parks Canada maintained no archaeological staff or office in Manitoba. Consequently, work at Lower Fort Garry was undertaken as a joint effort with the

Anthropology Department at the University of Manitoba. William Mayer-Oakes, archaeologist on faculty there, believed that wherever archaeologists`were based 50% of their research effort should be undertaken in the local area (personal communication Leigh Syms 1992). This belief, coupled with Parks Canada's desire to encourage a historic archaeology programme within a university, led to a five year joint programme at Lower Fort Garry, with Parks Canada financing the project and the University directing it (John Rick 1993, pers. comm.). To this end Mayer-Oakes set up a research strategy for Lower Fort Garry and brought James Chism from the University of Kansas to direct the project. Many of Parks Canada's current long term research staff received their training on this project —Peter Priess, Karlis Karklins, Olive Jones, and Lynn Sussman. In addition, many other western Canadian archaeologists, such as Leo Pettipas and Leigh Syms, gained their initial archaeological training at Lower Fort Garry. However, with the establishment of a regional office in 1976, Parks Canada now conducts much of its archaeological research in house.

Aside from Lower Fort Garry, the University of Manitoba conducted research at five other fur trade posts (Figure 12), although it never developed a historic archaeology programme. These projects were undertaken by Tamplin, who investigated features unearthed by a road cut at Pine Fort in 1968 (Tottle 1981); MacKie (1969) who spent one season in the York Factory area; MacDonald (1973) who searched for Fort Maurepas and by Monks who conducted field schools at Fort Dauphin in 1978 and 1979 (Monks et al. 1980, 1983), Upper Fort Garry in 1981, 1982, and 1983 (Monks 1982, 1983, 1984) and in 1988 at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers searching for Fort Gibraltar (Monks 1988). Monk's interest and focus on the fur trade developed in response to pressure from the department and the promise of a tenured position (Greg Monks 1992, pers. comm.). Monks has since attained tenure and is redirecting his attention to earlier interests in Northwest Coast faunal studies.

In the 1960s and early 1970s the Anthropology Department at the University of Manitoba grew rapidly, including its graduate programme. The department filled an important

role in the archaeological community, providing trained personnel and handling both research and archaeological salvage concerns, as exemplified at Pine Fort in 1968. As well, in the early 1970s, the University, through MacKie, was indirectly involved with the Pine Fort excavations funded by both the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and the Heritage Branch of Manitoba. The Museum obtained the collection and provided analytical space.

Other institutions or organizations which briefly participated in fur trade archaeological investigations during the 1970s included: the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature who sent Hugh MacKie (1973) to the Setting Chimney Lake Site to determine age and affiliation; the University of Winnipeg through a survey of the Winnipeg River and identification of Fort Alexander; the Dauphin Archaeological Society whose members undertook continuous surface collection at Fort Dauphin; and Brandon University Anthropology Department under the direction of Leigh Syms who excavated Fort Dauphin and Oxford House and whose faculty completed detailed archival work prior to planned but never implemented excavations at Fort Ellice. The latter post was slated for reconstruction and would have represented the only reconstruction of a fur trade post undertaken by the province. Syms left Brandon in the mid 1980s to join the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, and Brandon University has not participated in any further fur trade archaeology.

In the 1980s the provincial Historic Resources Branch and private consultants (Figure 11) entered the arena of fur trade studies in Manitoba and a marked rise occurred in the number of posts investigated (Figure 14) —the latter due largely to a Souris River Survey conducted by Hamilton and Hems in the early 1980s (Hamilton 1982, Hems n.d.). That survey was initiated by concern over a proposed bridge which would impact a number of fur trade sites. The project received four years of provincial funding which led to extensive testing of a number sites, particularly Brandon House I and MacDonell's House. The bridge was eventually built at a different location, and after the five field seasons the project ended with some money provided for analysis. However, limited funds and a change in government led the Historic Resources
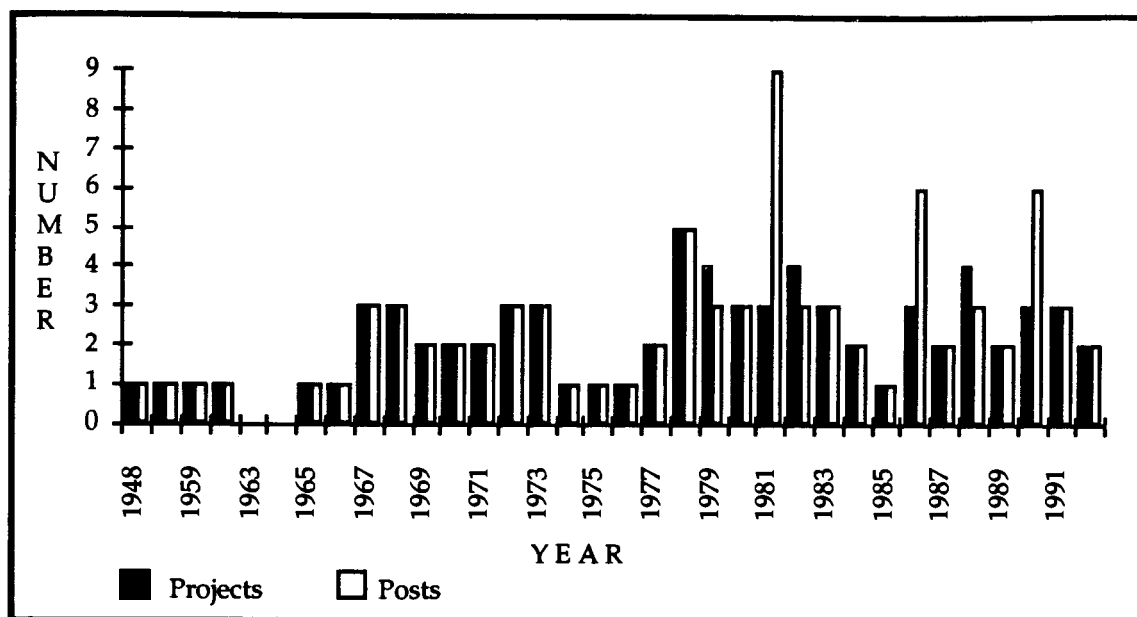
Figure 14. Comparison Between the Number of Projects Carried Out and the Number of Posts Investigated per Year in Manitoba.

Branch to limit its publications programme and further support was withheld (Dave Hems 1992, pers. comm.). At this point a number of the researchers became disillusioned and began re-evaluating their careers in archaeology. By the end of the decade the Historic Resources Branch turned its attention on related impact assessments and while fur trade studies have continued to the present, the majority are being done by only two groups — Parks Canada and private consultants. Apart from their limited involvement in the 1970s the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature has not participated in active fur trade archaeological studies, but provides space for analysis.

Recently a number of projects have been promoted by local communities. This includes Smith's work at Chimney Setting (Smith 1988, 1991), Nieuwhof's survey along the Souris River (Nieuwhof 1990) and Petch's excavations at Old Fort Churchill (Manitoba Archaeological Society Newsletter 1993).

Manitoba fur trade studies, in terms of the number of institutions involved, projects conducted, and number of posts examined, flourished between 1976 and 1986 (Figure 14). Since

then a decline has occurred with only sporadic bursts of interest. Most fur trade research has been dominated by site discovery and identification, with low level description of structural features a second objective. As a result, archaeological work in Manitoba can be characterized as primarily reconnaissance in nature with excavation occurring at only ten of the 31 posts. Both the preeminence of low level fundamental research objectives and dominance of reconnaissance and testing has affected the number and type of reports, research concerns and the level of knowledge produced.

Funding

Although distributed through various institutions, the federal and provincial governments financed all Manitoba fur trade studies, including salvage work. The federal government, through Parks Canada, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) grants, and employment programs such as Opportunities for Youth, supported the bulk of research in the 1960s and 1970s. The province, through the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and the Heritage Branch, provided minimal financial or logistical support. In the 1980s the province's involvement and support increased, with funds directed through the Historic Resources Branch and the Manitoba Heritage Foundation. In recent years, the Forks Renewal Corporation, established to oversee major land development around the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in Winnipeg, has financed major archaeological work there, but it too receives funding from federal, provincial, and municipal governments. A recent but significant shift is present with the increasing sponsorship of local communities.

Reports

A total of 159 reports (referenced in Appendix B) have been written on Manitoba fur trade post archaeological projects. These range from general descriptive monographs to articles, formal research designs, paper presentations, theses, Cultural Resource Management

reports and short summary reports/notes. Monographs comprise 48% ($n = 77$) of the collection, followed by summary/notes ($n = 24$ or 15%) and Cultural Resource Management reports ($n = 11$ or 7%). General reports represent the most common medium for disseminating information from the 1960s to 1980s (Figures 15 and 16). Since then other types of reports predominate, including published articles along with official proposals and research designs, theses, presentation papers and Cultural Resource Management reports.

The 183 references to the 31 posts vary greatly (Table 7). For example, 45 references deal with aspects of York Factory archaeology while in comparison only two small summary notes exist for Fort Desjarlais. In fact, references for four projects —York Factory, Upper Fort Garry, Lower Fort Garry and The Forks (Fort Gibraltar)— all primarily dominated by Parks Canada efforts, comprise 60% ($n = 109$) of the total. Only one to two references exist for the majority of other sites ($n = 21$ or 68%).

General reports of the 1970s contain purely locational and descriptive data. However, along with the greater variety of reports noted for the 1980s, there was also a broadening of anthropological or historical research objectives, with attempts at historical integration, data analysis, and interpretation at higher research levels. More recent projects adopting a problem-oriented approach have placed theoretical emphasis on cultural ecology, systems models and middle range theory (Adams 1979, 1980, Hamilton 1986), Research concerns have included status considerations, artifact patterning, activity area delineation, subsistence strategies and resource exploitation. This shift to a defined research orientation can be directly attributed to three primary researchers —Gary Adams for York Factory, Greg Monks for Upper Fort Garry, and Scott Hamilton for Pine Fort and Brandon House I. As a faculty member at the University of Manitoba, Monks has had considerable influence on future researchers. In a 1992 article on Upper Fort Garry, Monks has gone one step further to apply a post modernist perspective to fur trade studies. Here he examines the architectural change at the fort as aspects of non-verbal communication signalling economic and social changes within which the
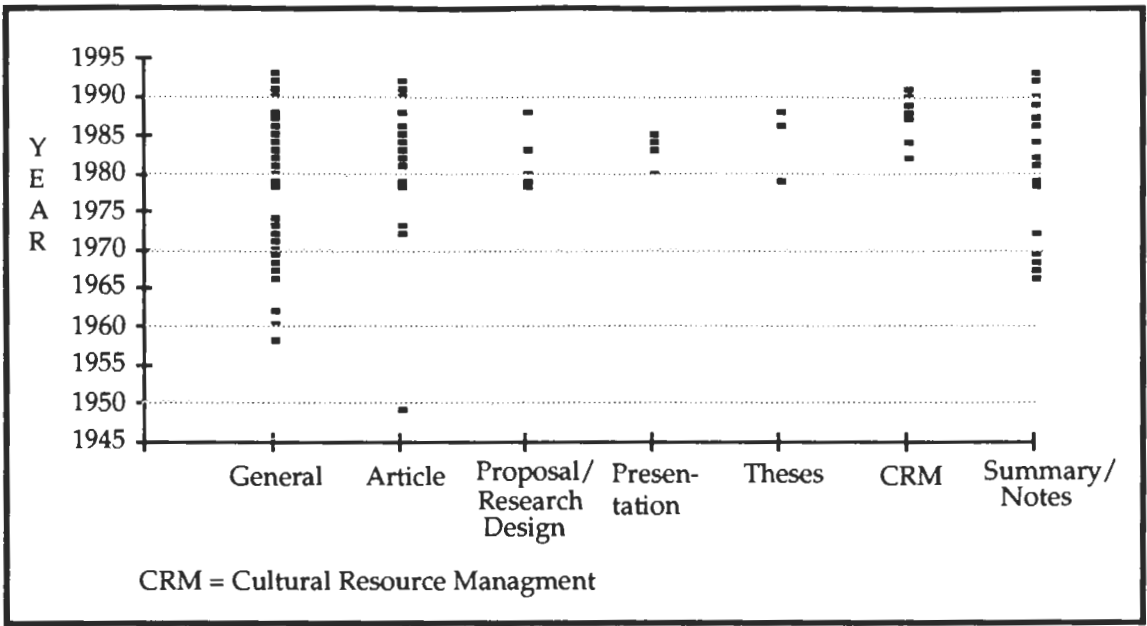
Figure 15. Report Types Produced by Year in Manitoba.
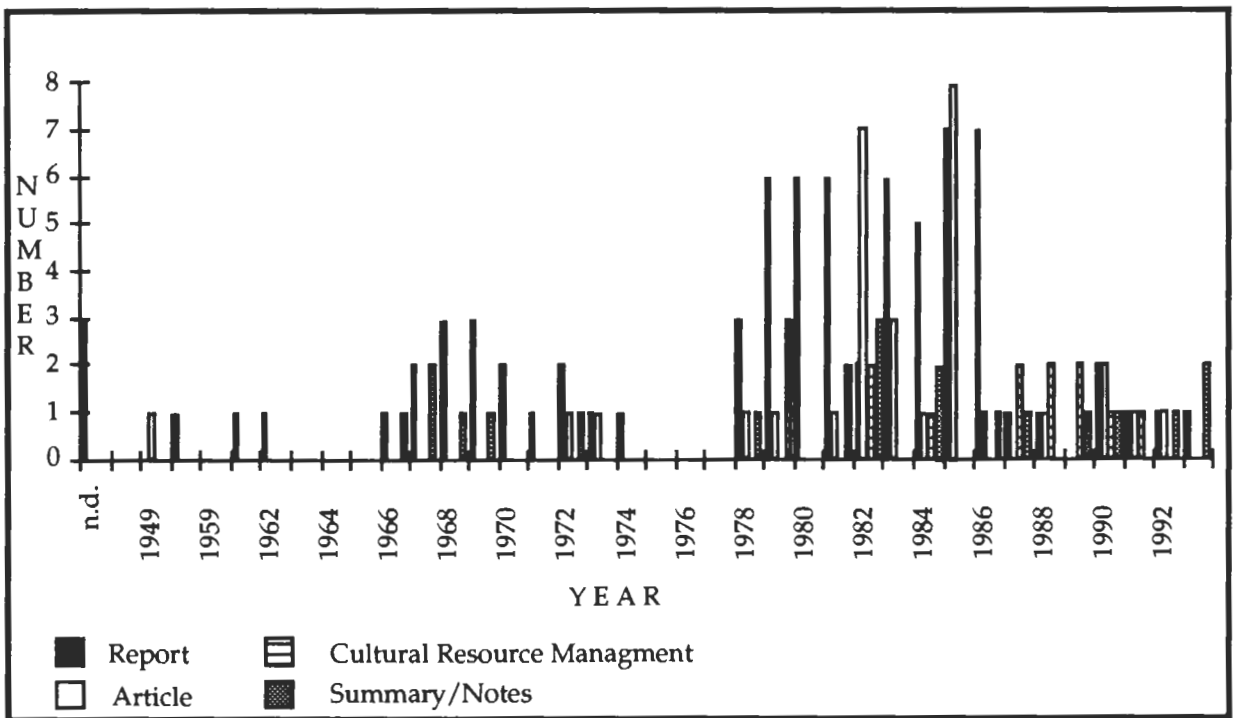
Figure 16. Comparison of the Four Major Manitoba Report Types — General Reports, Articles, Cultural Resource Management and Summary/Notes — by Year.

Table 7. Reference Data for the Excavated Manitoba Sites.

Site	# References	Report Type							Report Status				Research Intent		
		R	A	P/RD	Prsntn	Th	CRM	S/N	Ms	P	IN	CRM	Id	D	In
Prince of Wales	2	2							1		1		1	1	
Lower Fort Garry	26	17	2					7	7	10	9		5	21	
York Factory	45	18	11	5	3			8	14	27	4		5	28	12
Cape Merry Battery	5	3	1					1	1	3	1			5	
Upper Fort Garry	22	3	7		1	3	2	6	5	14	1	2	5	11	6
The Forks	16	9	1	1				5	3	10	3		6	9	1
Pine Fort	7	3	2			1		1	2	5			3	2	2
Shoal House	1	1							1				1		
Fort Desjarlais	2							2	2				2		
Setting Chimney Site	4	1	1				2		1	1		2	2	2	
Fort Maurepas	2	1					1		1			1	2		
Fort Dauphin	6	2	2					2	2	4			2	4	
Fort Alexander	1	1								1			1		
Oxford House	2	1						1	1	1			2		
Fort Ellice	2		1	1					1	1					2
St. Anne Trade Post	1	1							1						1
Souris Mouth Survey I	1	1							1				1		
SM - NWC 1801	1						1					1	1		
SM- XY 1801	1						1					1	1		
SM - NWC @1821	1						1					1	1		
SM - HBC @ 1830	1						1					1	1		
McDonell's House	8	5			1		1	1	6	1		1	4	1	3
Brandon House I	13	6	3				1	3	6	6		1	3	2	8
Lane's Post	1						1					1	1		
Ash House	2	1					1		1			1	2		
SM - HBC Wintering	2	1					1		1			1	2		
Canoe Fort I	2	1					1		1			1	2		
Canoe Fort II	2	1					1		1			1	2		
Riding Mountain House	1						1					1	1		
Hill River House	2						2					2	2		
McKay House	1						1					1		1	
Total	183	79	31	7	5	4	20	37	60	84	19	20	61	87	35

Report Type
R = Report
A = Article
P/RD = Proposal/Research Design
Prsntn = Presentation
Th = Thesis
CRM = Cultural Resource Management
S/N = Summary/Note

Report Status
Ms = Unpublished Manuscript
P = Published
IN = Inhouse
CRM = Cultural Resource Management

Research Intent
Id = Identify
D = Description (Features or Artif
In = Integration
Misc = Miscellaneous

Hudson's Bay Company tried to establish and maintain its dominant position in the Red River settlement. Whether this new approach marks the beginning of a trend remains to be seen.

The above reports have been of benefit to one particular audience, the academic community, though a few of the more recent efforts have also tried to reach a wider audience. Articles written for the general public and the more knowledgeable avocational archaeologist have begun to appear in such outlets as the *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly, The Beaver, National Geographic,* and *The Canadian Collector* (Table 8). York Factory in particular has enjoyed wide exposure in the early 1980s in these mediums. Catering to the non-academic sector, these articles have largely been descriptions of artifact or building remains or highlights of other interesting finds.

Table 8. Articles on Manitoba Fur Trade Sites Geared Towards the Non-Academic Community.

Site	Author(s)	Year	Journal/Magazine
GENERAL PUBLIC			
York Factory	Adams	1982	*The Beaver*
York Factory	Ray	1982	*The Beaver*
York Factory	Adams and Hamilton	1982	*Manitoba Nature*
York Factory	Carlyle-Gordge	1982	*Manitoba Nature*
York Factory	Carlyle-Gordge	1982	*Motorways Miler*
York Factory	Richards	1982	*National Geographic*
York Factory	Adams and Lunn	1985	*Canadian Collector*

AVOCATIONAL COMMUNITY

All articles appeared in the *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly*

Oxford House	Wheeler	1979
Upper Fort Garry	Monks	1982
Upper Fort Garry	Monks	1983a
Upper Fort Garry	Monks	1983b
Fort Dauphin	Robertson	1983
*York Factory	Adams	1985
*Prince of Wales	Lunn	1985
*Lower Fort Garry	Priess	1985
*The Forks	Priess	1985
Pine Fort	Hamilton	1985
Lane's Post	McLeod and Seyers	1988
Tort Ellice	Hamilton	1978

* articles appeared in a special issue of the *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* to celebrate Parks Canada's Centennial.

The report type, the intended audience, and the institution have all influenced report status. Over half (*n* = 40 or 52%) of the general reports (Table 9) still remain unpublished manuscripts, while the remainder are about equally split between published and Parks Canada inhouse publications (either in the Manuscript Report or Microfiche Series). The majority (*n*= 93 or 58%) of the reports, published and unpublished, appeared in the 1980s in about equal numbers — a situation also evident in the 1970s. Cultural Resource Management reports also date to the 1980s. Before the 1970s, most archaeological reports were unpublished manuscripts.

Table 9. Status of the Various Report Types for Manitoba Fur Trade Sites..

Report Type	Unpublished Manuscript	Published	Inhouse Publication	CRM	Total
General Report	40	18	19		77
Article		31			31
Proposal/Research Design	7				7
Paper Presentation	5				5
Thesis	4				4
CRM				11	11
Summary/Notes	2	22			24
Total	**58**	**71**	**19**	**11**	**159**

CRM = Cultural Resource Management

Published reports including Parks Canada Research Bulletins are readily available. Gaining access to unpublished reports, in contrast, requires a great expenditure of effort, in time and logistics. The Parks Canada inhouse series is accessible at Parks Canada offices or at provincial archives. Unfortunately, they cannot be removed, thus limiting their usefulness, especially if one requires them for comparative analytical purposes, although parts can be photocopied. Resource Management reports are accessible through the provincial Historic Resources offices and although they cannot be removed, they may be reproduced on request.

Despite the investigation of 31 posts, the production of 159 reports, and attempts at higher level research, the number of complete site reports suitable for comparative purposes, remains low. Basic site syntheses incorporating historical data, objectives or goals, methodology, excavation results such as description of structural remains, and full artifact analyses exist in completed form only for the Setting Chimney Site, McKay House, the Forks project, St. Anne's Post, and Lane's Post. This information also exists in rough form for Brandon House I, and in scattered separate reports for York Factory. Reports for other sites may describe the work done, structural/feature remains, or site stratigraphy, with artifact information ranging from a brief mention to basic counts. Alternately some reports focus on specific artifact categories, such as hardware, ceramics or fabric. The latter are produced as separate material culture studies ($n = 8$) conducted by Parks Canada researchers or as theses projects ($n = 2$).

Artifact Status

The investigation of 31 posts over a 40 year time span by various institutions in the absence of a central body responsible for the curation or standardized processing of collections makes, it difficult to track down the whereabouts and current condition of many artifacts. Artifact collections are housed at a variety of institutions or museums throughout the province (Table 10). Fortunately most ($n = 5$) of the institutions — Parks Canada, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, University of Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, and the Historic Resources Branch— are in one location, Winnipeg. The majority of artifact collections are catalogued (Table 10), although information on certain assemblages obtained before the creation of the Historic Resources Branch in the early 1980s is not easily attained because of the passage of years and change in personnel.

Table 10. Status of Artifact Collections from Manitoba Fur Trade Sites.

Site	Housed at	Catalogued		Catalogue with Artifacts		Analysed		Field Notes		Notes:
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Prince of Wales Fort	PC Ottawa	x		-		x		-		
Lower Fort Garry	PC Winnipeg	x		x		P		x		
York Factory	PC Winnipeg	x		x		x		x		recent material being processed
Cape Merry Battery	PC Winnipeg	x		x						
Upper Fort Garry	PC & MMMN	x		x		x		x		recent material being processed
Fort Gibraltars	PC & MMMN	x		x		x		x		recent material being processed
Pine Fort	MMMN	x		x		P		x		
Shoal House	U of M?	?		?		?		?		Tamplin
Fort Desjarlais	?	?		?			x	?		Martin's work 1967
Setting Lake Chimney	Thompson Museum	x		x		x		x		
Fort Maurepas	Band Council	?		?			x		x	1973 Ft. Alexander project
	HRB	x		x			x		x	
Fort Dauphin	Ft. Dauphin Museum	x		x		?		x		field school U of M
Fort Alexander	U of W?									
Oxford House	U of W?	?		?			x			
Fort Ellice	N/A									no excavations conducted
St. Anne's Trading Post	HRB	x		x		x		x		
SM-NWC 1801	HRB	x		x			x	x		
SM-XY	HRB	x		x			x	x		
SM-NWC 1821	HRB	x		x			x	x		
Brandon House II	HRB	x		x			x	x		
SM-HBC 1830	HRB	x		x			x	x		
McDonnell's House	HRB	x		x		P		x		
Brandon House I	HRB	x		x		x		x		
Lane's Post	HRB	x		x		x		x		
Ash House	HRB	x		x			x	x		
HBC Wintering	HRB	x		x			x	x		
Canoe Fort I	HRB	x		x			x	x		
Canoe Fort II	HRB	x		x			x	x		
Riding Mountain Ho.	N/A									observed collection only
Hill River Ho.	HRB	x		x			x	x		
McKay's Post	Wabowden Museum	x		x		x		x		
Old Fort Churchill	?	-		-		-		-		work in progress

Institution

U of M = University of Manitoba

PC = Parks Canada

BU = Brandon University

MMMN = Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature

HRB = Heritage Resources Branch

U of W = University of Winnipeg

Index

P* = Partial analysis or preliminary analysis

SASKATCHEWAN

Motivated by his sense of professional duty and the belief that old fur trading post sites most accurately represented Saskatchewan's rich history, famed western historian A. S. Morton in the 1930s initiated the province's first systematic archival and field search for sites of the fur trade era (1750 to 1870s) (Champ 1991:43). From these early beginnings, a total of 51 sites, representing different company affiliations (Figure 17, Table 11) have received some form of archaeological research, ranging from reconnaissance and survey to testing to full excavation. Further, several unsuccessful attempts have been made to locate the early 1800s Chesterfield House, beginning with MacKie (1970) and followed by Dyck (1978), Wardill (1982) and Klimko (1993). It represents the earliest attempt by three different fur trade companies, Hudson's Bay, North West and XY Companies, to establish trade relations with the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres, and continues to attract local interest. One focus of this interest continues to be the exploits of Peter Fidler who established the Hudson's Bay Post of Chesterfield House. In Saskatchewan, eight different institutions or agencies and a number of individuals (Figures 18 and 19) have participated to differing degrees in fur trade studies at various times, and over 100 reports document these research efforts.

Sites, Institutions and People

Morton's belief in the importance of geography and the discovery of tangible historic evidence spurred him to venture into the field, or to encourage students, such O.C. Furniss and colleagues, such as the prominent western historian Grant MacEwan, to locate fur trade sites. Morton personally visited and observed or mapped over 30 posts (see Table 12), although his identifications and interpretations at times are misleading or questionable (Clark 1969, MacKie 1968, Smythe and Chism 1969). Morton's enthusiasm and determination in preserving and promoting fur trade sites led to the establishment of a trust enabling the Board of Governors of the University of Saskatchewan to acquire historic properties (Champ 1991:48). A lack of
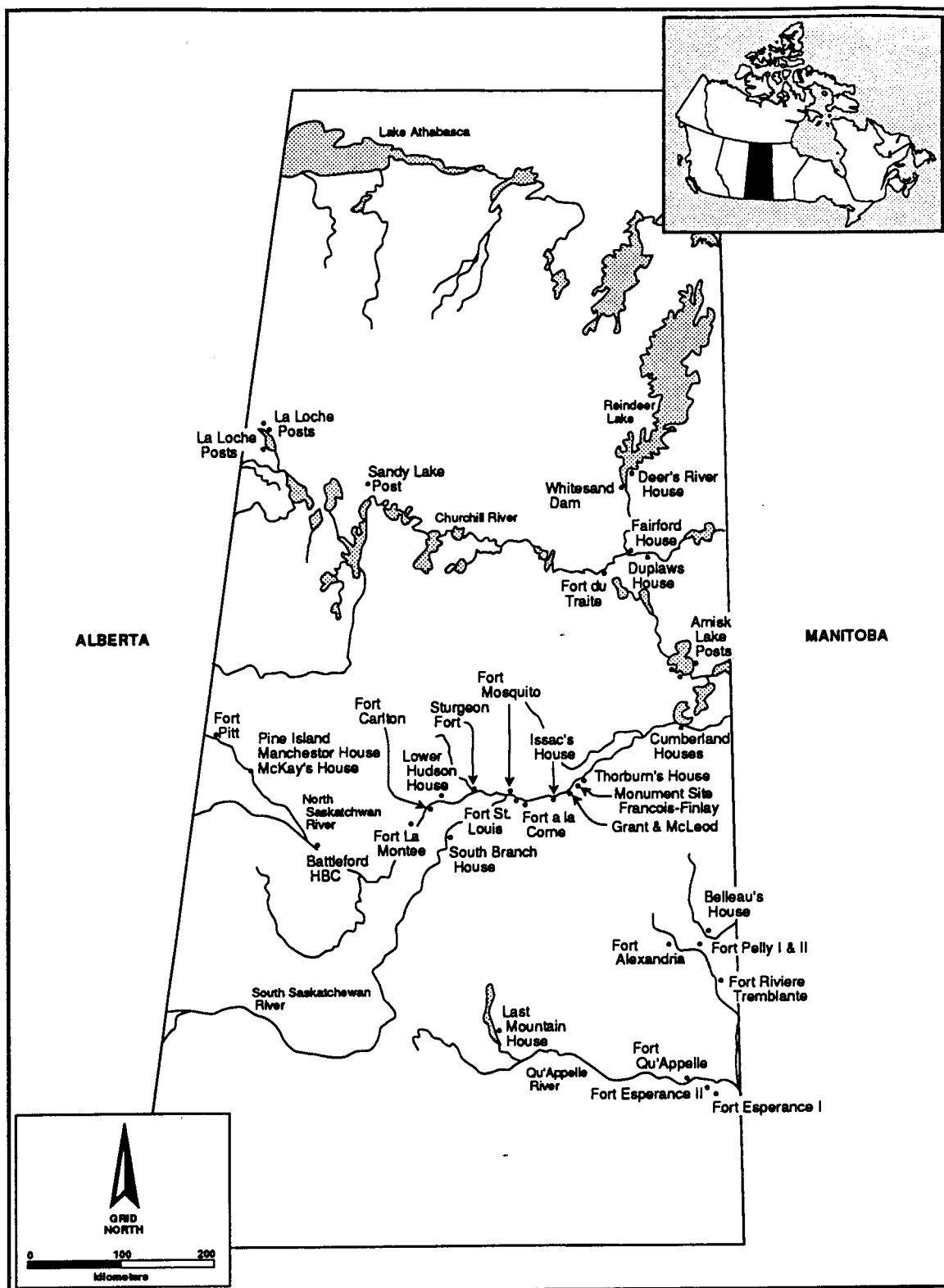
Figure 17. Location of Fur Trade Posts Examined in Saskatchewan.

Table 11. Fur Trade Sites Examined in Saskatchewan.

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
Fort aux Trembles/	Ind	Morton	1931	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
Isaac's House		MacKie	1968	SMNH	R	Identify: Map Features
1773-1777: Wintering		Meyer	1976, 77, 81	SRC	Mon: R	Monitor Disturbances
		Wilson	1978	SRC	T	Limits of Post
Thorburn's House	NWC	Furniss	1942	Ind	T	Locate: Identify
1789-1791: Wintering		Brown	1960	SMNH	R	Locate: Identify
Monument Site	HBC	Kehoe	1964	SMNH	Ex	Structural Data
early 1800s: Wintering		Ranere	1967	HSB	Ex	Slavage Excavation: Cellar
		Meyer	1976	SRC	R	Monitor Disturbances
		Klimko	1981, 82	SRC	Ex	Id: Structural Data
Francois-Finlay	Ind	Morton	1930	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1768-1800s: Wintering		Kehoe	1960,63, 64	SMNH	R: Ex	Structural Data
		Meyer	1976	SRC	R	Condition Study
		Klimko	1981, 82, 84, 85	SRC	T: Ex	Id: Structural Data: Activity Patterns
Grant & McLeod	Ind &	Furniss	1942	Ind	T	Locate: Identify
1973-1795: Wintering	NWC	Klimko	1981, 82, 83, 84	SRC	R: T: Ex	Locate: Identify: Activity Patterns
Sturgeon Post (Pond)	Ind	Furniss	1942	Ind	T	Locate: Identify
1776-1780: Wintering		Barka & Barka	1962	PC	Ex	Structural Data
		Foster	1966	HSB	Ex	Salvage Excavation: Cache Pit
Fort Esperance I	NWC	Morton	1939	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1781-1810: Wintering		Smythe & Chism	1969	PC	R	Locate: Identify
Fort Esperance II	NWC	Morton	1939	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1816-1819: Wintering		Johnson	1948	Ind	R	Locate: Identify
		Chism & Smythe	1968	PC	R	Locate: Identify: Assess
		Chism	1971	PC	T	Limits of Posts
Fort Qu'Appelle	HBC	Morton	1939	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1864-1872: Pemican Post		Dreger	1951	DNR	T	Locate
		Brandon	1990	P Con	Ex	Salvage Excavation
		Brace	1991	SMNH	Ex	Slavage Excavation
Vicker's Narrows	?	Moody	1952, 53	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering						
GcMn-2	?	Moody	1954	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering						
GcMn-3	?	Moody	1954	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering		Brown	1961	SMNH	R	Relocate
GcMn-5	?	Moody	1954	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering		Nemeth	1979	Ind	R	Relocate
GcMn-7	?	Moody	1954	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering		Brown	1961	SMNH	R	Relocate
GcMn-8	?	Moody	1954	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering		Brown	1961	SMNH	R	Relocate
Fort Henry (GdMo-1)	Ind	Moody	1953, 54	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Identify: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering						

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
GdMo-2	(?)	Moody	1953, 54	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Identify: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering		Nemeth	1979	Ind	R	Relocate
GdMo-3 (Fidler ?)	HBC (?)	Moody	1953	Ind	T: Ex	Locate: Identify: Obtain Artifacts
?: Wintering		Brown	1961	SMNH	R	Relocate
GdMm-1	?	Nemeth	1979	Ind	R	Locate
?: Wintering						
South Branch House I	NWC	Dyck	1978	SMNH	R	Locate
1786-1794: Wintering						
Fort Carlton	HBC	Morton	1929	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1810-1885: Regional HQ.		Ranere	1964, 65, 66	SMNH	Ex	Structural Data: Reconstruction
		Foster	1968	HSB	T	Locate Factor's House
		Clark	1969	HSB	Ex	Structural Data: Factor's House
		Dyck	1977, 78, 79	SMNH	T	Locate: Structural Data
		Burley	1985	P Con	T	Assessment: Relocate Factor's House
		Walde	1986	P Con	T	Assessment Development Area
		Jones	1988	P Con	Mon: T	Monitor Development Impacts
		Gibson	1989	SRC	Mon: T	Monitor Development Impacts
		Parr	1991	P Con	Mont: T	Monitor Development Impacts
Fort a la Corne	HBC	Morton	1929	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1846-1885: Wintering		Boreskin	1961	?	R	Locate: Identify
		Ranere	1967	HSB	T	Locate: Identify
Fort St. Louis	NWC	Morton	1929	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1795-1805: Wintering		Brown	1960	SMNH	R	Locate: Map
		MacKie	1970	HSB	T	Locate: Identify: Structural Data
		Klimko	1985	SRC	T	Limits of Site: Map
Cumberland House 1	HBC	Ranere	1967	HSB	R:T	Locate: Identify
1774-1794: Regional HQ.		Meyer	1991, 92	U of S	T: Ex	Locate: Identify: Limits of Site
Cumberland House 2	HBC	Brown	1960	SMNH	R	Locate: Identify
1794-present: Regional HQ.						
Last Mountain House	HBC	Hodges	1965-1969	RAS	Ex	Structural Data: Reconstruction
1869-@1874: Wintering		Burley	1985	P Con	T	Assess Development Impact Area
		Conaty	1987	SMNH	Ex	Structural Data: Public Program
Pine Island	NWC	Morton	1927	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1785-1794 :Wintering		Ranere	1966, 67	HSB	T	Structural Data: Limits of Site
Manchester House	HBC	Ranere	1966	HSB	R	Record Features
1786-1794: Wintering						
McKay's House	Ind	Ranere	1966	HSB	R	Record Features
1780s: Wintering						
Ft. Riviere Tremblante	NWC	Morton	1938	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1791-@1797: Regional HQ.		MacKie	1966,67,68	U of S	R: Ex	Structural Data
Fort Alexandria	NWC	MacKie	1968	HSB	R	Locate: Identify
1795-1805: Wintering						
Belleau's Post	NWC	Herbert	1955	HSB	T	Locate: Identify
1795-1797: Wintering		Clark	1969	HSB	T	Structural Data
Lower Hudson House	HBC	Morton	1931	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
1779-89: Wintering		Clark	1969	HSB	T	Structural & Site Information

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
Old Fort Methy Lake post 1821	HBC	Steer	1971	U of S	T	Locate: Identify
Provision Post (Methye) post 1821	HBC	Steer	1971	U of S	T	Locate: Identify
Provisions Post (Methye) post 1821	HBC	Steer	1971	U of S	T	Locate: Identify
West La Loche post 1821	HBC	Steer	1971	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
HBC Depot post 1821	HBC	Steer	1971, 72	U of S	R: Ex	Structural Data
La Loche House 1789-1791: Wintering	Ind	Steer	1971, 72	U of S	R: Ex	Structural Data
HBC Battleford @1876-1885: Store	HBC	Perry	1972	SMNH	Ex	Structural Data
Fort Pelly 1 1824-1856: Regional HQ.	HBC	Morton	1938	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
		MacKie	1968	HSB	R	Assess Archaeological Potential
		Watson	1971, 72, 74	SMNH	Ex	Structural Data: Reconstruction
Fort Pelly 2 1856-@1900: Regional HQ.	HBC	Morton	1938	U of S	R	Locate: Identify
		Chism	1971	PC	T	Assess Site Integrity
Fort Pitt 1829-1885: Provision Post	HBC	MacKie	1970	HSB	?	?
		Dyck	1976	SMNH	T	Locate: Limits of Site
Fort du Traite 1774-1793: Wintering	Ind	Meyer & Smailes	1973	SMNH	R: T	Locate: Identify
Fairford House 1795-1796: Wintering	HBC	Meyer & Smailes	1974	SMNH	R	Locate: Identify
Deer River House late 18th c.: Wintering	HBC	Meyer & Smailes	1974	SMNH	R	Locate: Identify
Duplaws House late 18th c.: Wintering	NWC	Meyer & Smailes	1974	SMNH	R: T	Locate: Identify
Whitesand Dam late 18th c.: Wintering	HBC	Meyer & Smailes	1974	SMNH	R: T	Locate: Identify
Fort Mosquito 1816-1817: Wintering	NWC	Meyer	1980	SRC	R	Locate: Identify
La Montee 1817-1821: Wintering	NWC	Stupnikoff	1980s	Ind	Col	Surface Collect Artifacts
Sandy Lake 1891-1909: Wintering	HBC	Jarvenpa & Braumbach	1979	Ind	R	Map

Institution
U of S = University of Saskatchewan
SMNH = Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History
SRC = Saskatchewan Research Council
Ind = Independent
HSB = Historic Sites Branch
PC = Parks Canada
DNR = Department of Natural Resources
P Con = Private Consultant
RAS = Regina Archaeological Society

Type of Work
R = Reconnaissance/Survey
T = Testing/Assessment
Ex = Excavation
Mon = Monitor
Col = Collection

Post Type
Regional HQ. = Regional Headquarters
Wintering = Wintering Post
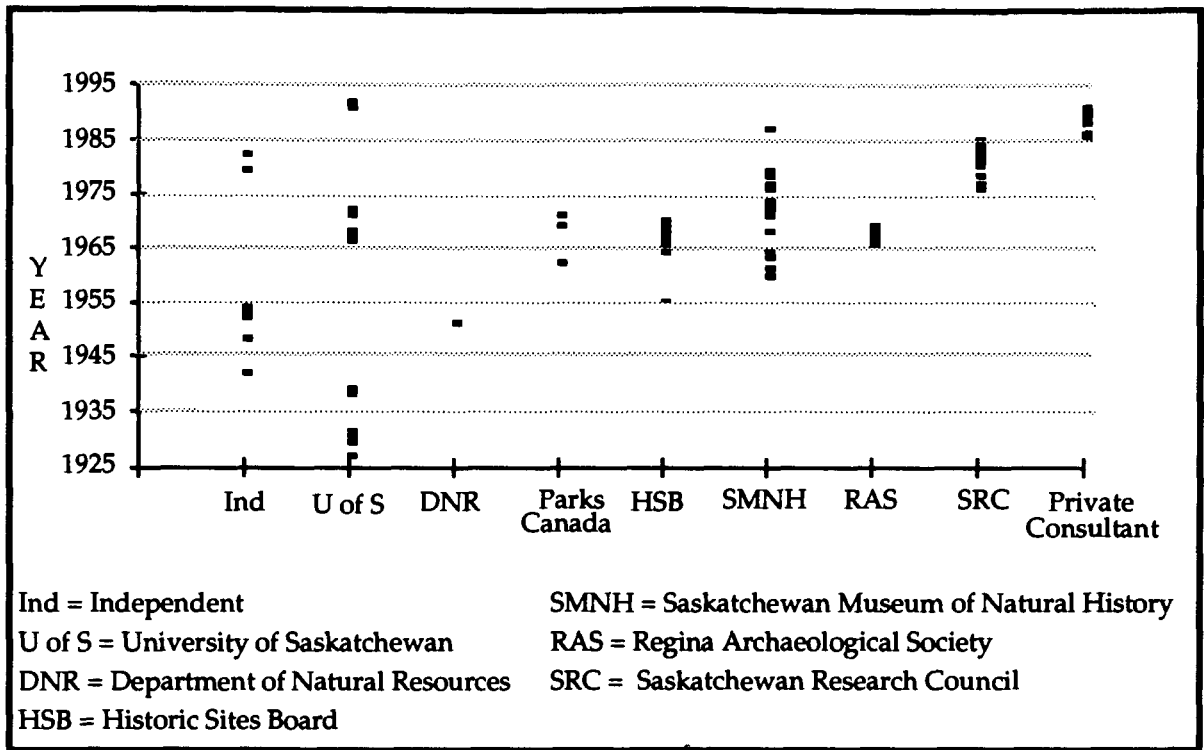
Figure 18. Institutions Involved in Saskatchewan Fur Trade Studies by Year.
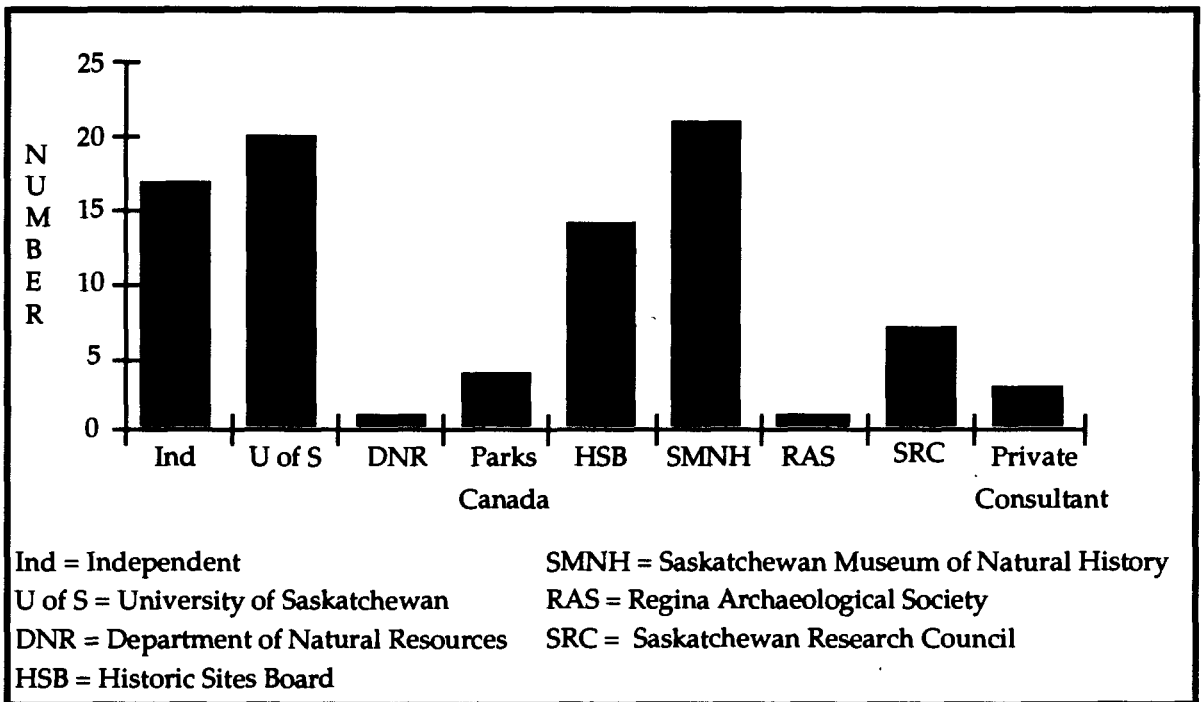
Figure 19. Number of Individual Posts Investigated by Different Institutions in Saskatchewan.

Table 12. Sasakatchewan Sites Visited By Morton.

Post	Year Visited	Observed/ Notes	Mapped	Searched Not Found	Notes
Nipawin Area					
Francois-Finlay Post	1930	x	x		
Fort Aux Trembles	1931	x	x		also known as Isaac's House
La Corne/Forks Area					
Fort a la Corne (HBC)	1929,34,38,41	x	x		
Fort St. Louis (NWC)	1929,38,41, 42	x	x		
Carlton House I	1929, 38	x	x		
3 pedlars	1929, 38	x	x		mapped 2 of 3 sites
Fort Mosquito	1941	x			
Prince Albert Area					
Holmes Island Fort	1930s, 40s			x	
Pond's Sturgeon Post	1931, 1942	x			Furniss 'tested' in 1942
Fort du Milieu	1935	x	x		
Upper Hudson House	1934			x	
Lower Hudson House	1931, 36	x	x		
Fort Carlton	1929, 32	x	x		
La Montee (1817-1821)	1929, 41	x			
Battleford Area					
Turtle River Posts	1928, 30, 32	x	x		
(Pangman, Gregory-McLeod)					
Pine Island Fort	1927	x	x		
Fort Pitt Area					
Umfreville's Post (NWC)	1933	x	x		
South Branch River					
Fort des Isles (n = 2)	1936, 42	x	x		
South Branch Ho. 1 (HBC)	1942	x			
South Branch Ho. 1 (NWC)	1942	x	x		
Belleau's Post (1801)	1941 or 42	x	x		
South Branch No. 2 (NWC)	1942	x	x		
HBC Carlton House	1941	x			
Qu'Appelle Forts					
Qu'Appele Posts (n = 5)	1930s	x			
Fort Esperance	1939	x	x		
XY Post	1930s		x		site mapped by F.J. Collyer
Fort John	1939	x	x		
Assiniboine/Shell River Area					
Fort Riviere Tremblante	1938	x			
Glascow Ho. I	1941	x			
Glascow Ho. 2 (Albany Ho.)	1941	x	x		
Fort Alexandria	1938	x	x		
Fort Pelly 1	1938	x	x		
Fort Pelly 2	1938	x			
Fort Hibernia	1941	x			
Marlborough House (HBC)	1938			x	
Peter Grant & NWC	1938			x	
Belleau's Post	1938			x	
XY Post	1941			x	
Little Touchwood Hills Post	1930, 40	x	x		1877 post

financial resources after the Great Depression led to a demise of the Trust and with Morton's

death in 1945, the University's involvement with fur trade research ended until the late 1960s

(Figure 18). The establishment of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the

University in 1964 marked a new era of study.

  With Morton's death, the responsibility for historic fur trade sites was delegated to

the Saskatchewan Archives Board. In 1950, it was again transferred to the Saskatchewan

Department of Natural Resources (Champ 1991:49), a department whose focus concentrated on

the marking of historic sites. J. D. Herbert, an employee of the department, was appointed

Saskatchewan's first director of Historic Sites in 1953. Temporarily assigned to the Golden

Jubilee Sub-Committee on Historic Sites and Publication, Herbert, along with others,

designated and marked over 49 historic properties, of which several were fur-trade posts

identified by Morton (Champ 1991:49). Beyond this programme, the fur trade sites themselves

received little archaeological attention (see Figures 18 and 20). Exceptions were a couple of

sites in the Qu'Appelle area (Dreger 1951, Shaw 1954), while R.H. Moody, an avid amateur

encouraged by Herbert, located and extensively tested a number of sites (Figure 17) in the Amisk

Lake area in northern Saskatchewan between 1952 and 1954 (Moody 1958).

  Fur trade archaeology in the 1960s experienced an explosion in the number of

institutions involved, projects conducted and the number of sites investigated (Figure 21).

Provincial (Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History, Historic Sites Programme, University

of Saskatchewan), federal (Parks Canada) and avocational (Regina Archaeological Society)

agencies, departments and groups took part in fur trade archaeological research. Thomas

Kehoe joined the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History as their first archaeologist in 1959

and immediately began planning a survey of the province to discover and inventory key

archaeological resources (Dyck 1987:25). In 1960 and 1961 James Brown, whom Kehoe hired as

the northern archaeologist (Thomas Kehoe 1993, pers. comm.), travelled throughout the

northern part of the province locating and recording both prehistoric and fur trade sites. It was
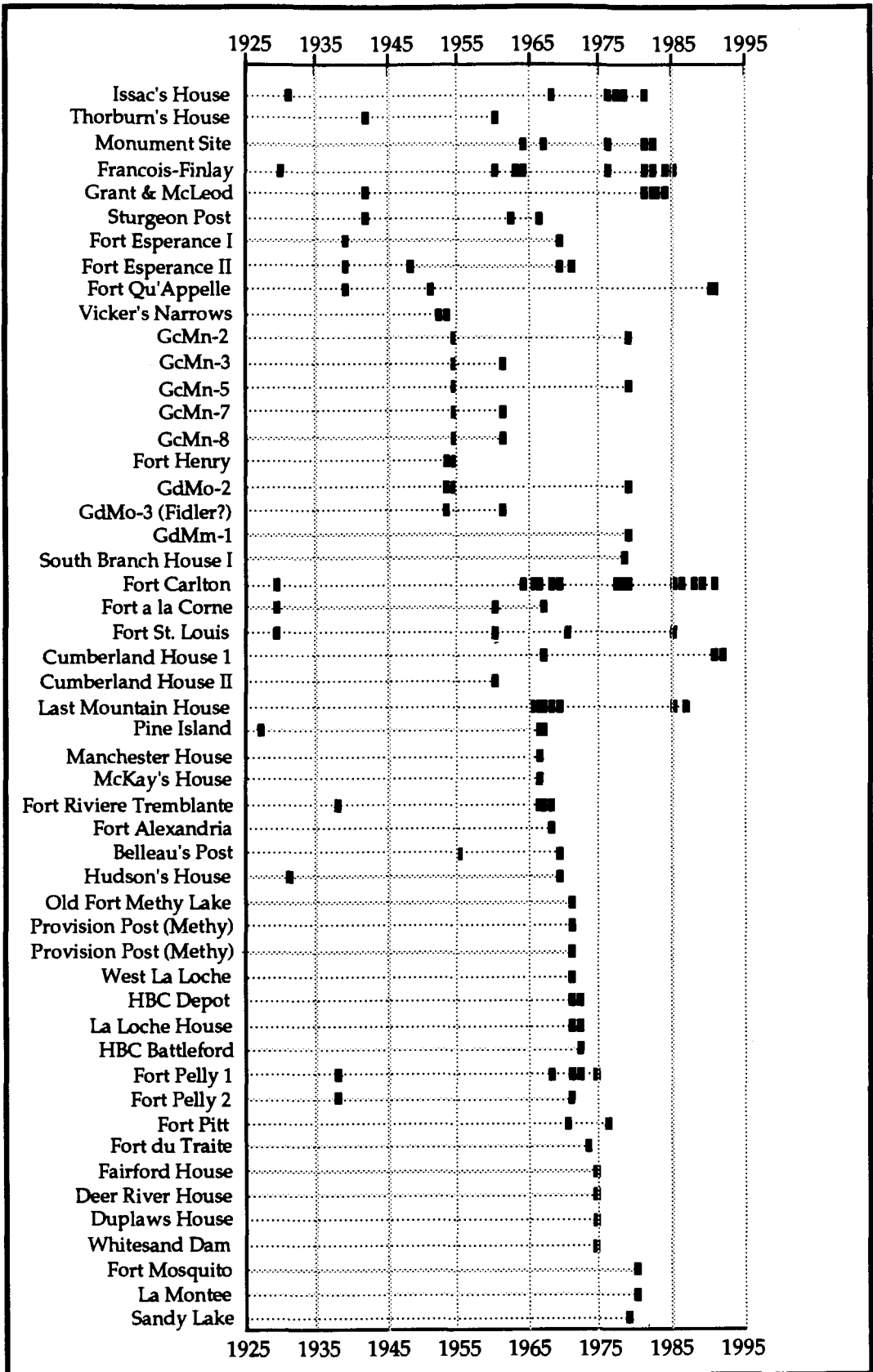
Figure 20. Years Investigations Carried Out at Saskatchewan Fur Trade Posts.
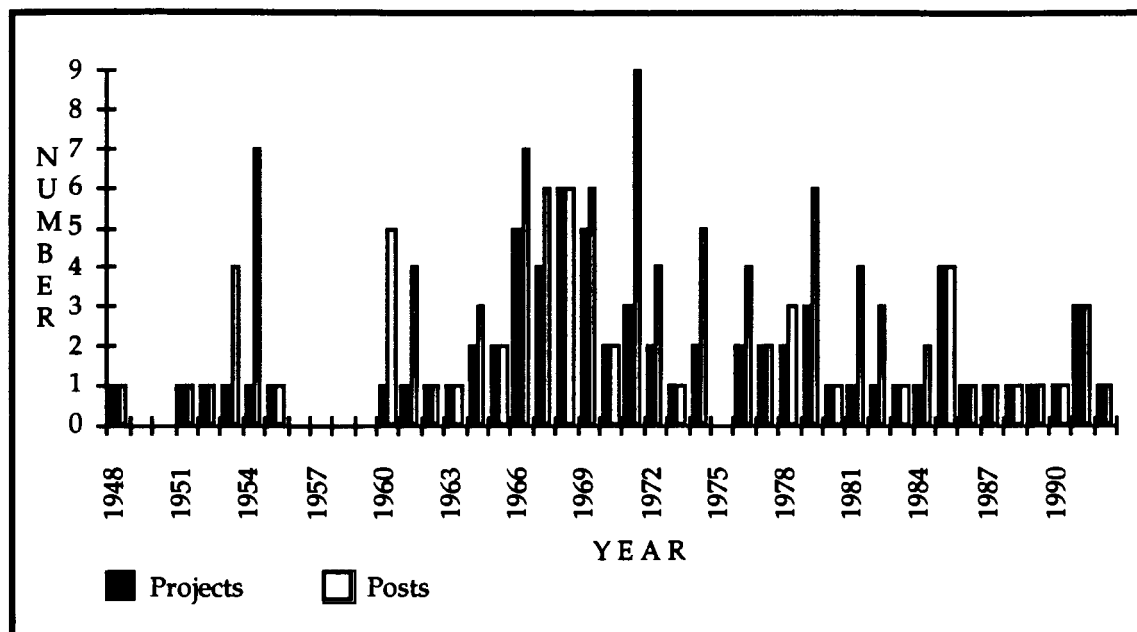
Figure 21. Comparison Between the Number of Projects Carried Out and the Number of Actual
Posts Investigated per Year in Saskatchewan.

not until 1964, however, that a major research effort began. This project, a large scale salvage

excavation at the Francois-Finlay complex, marked the beginnings of an active role in fur trade

archaeology by the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History. The Francois-Finlay complex

is the name attributed by Alice Kehoe to building remains believed to be the posts of Francois

Leblanc and James Finlay. Kehoe, who accompanied her husband Thomas to Saskatchewan,

conducted the field work at Francois-Finlay as a support person who only received

compensation for incurred expenses. The funding for this project was provided by the

Saskatchewan Power Corporation in conjunction with their hydroelectric development

downriver. Interestingly, the Francois-Finlay remains were not threatened by the Squaw

Rapids Dam (now renamed the E.B. Campbell Hydro Electric Station), but Kehoe still

managed to convince the Saskatchewan Power Corporation to finance excavations there in 1963-

1964 as part of the mitigative process. Much of the interest in these sites derived from their historical identification by Morton and the excellent preservation of features.

The Saskatchewan Historic Sites Programme which had all but disappeared with the departure of Herbert in 1955, was revitalized in 1961 within the Department of Natural Resources and under the supervision of M. K. Baker. A. J. Ranere was hired in 1964 as an historic archaeologist. Over the next six years a close relationship existed between the Historic Sites Archaeology Programme and the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History, with the two being integrated during the early 1970s. Together, these two programs carried out projects ranging from reconnaissance of the Saskatchewan and North Saskatchewan River, salvage mitigation to alleviate bank erosion at the Monument site, to full scale excavation. In total 38 sites (Figure 20) received some form of investigation. Despite this impressive number, depth of coverage was often spotty, with the most extensive and intensive studies focused on Fort Carlton (Figure 20), a site associated with both the fur trade and the Northwest Rebellion and slated for reconstruction for Canada's 1967 centennial.

During the 1960s, the Regina Archaeological Society was formed and took on the task of excavating Last Mountain House, a Hudson's Bay Company outpost located near the provincial capital. Encroaching gravel quarrying activities and highway realignment provided the official reason for the archaeological excavations. Logistical support came from the Department of Highways whose Deputy Minister was also a member of the newly formed Regina archaeological society. Highways developed the site into a rest stop, fixed the road and put in toilets (Ian Dyck 1992, pers. comm.). However, a separate agenda existed in the Museum where the director, who had little regard for professionals, wanted to prove that amateurs could competently excavate a site, which would result in lessening the financial obligations of the Museum. To this end the Museum director convinced the Historic Sites Branch to initiate the project. As well, the educational and tourist potential of the site was recognized which led to its eventual reconstruction.

Excavated entirely with volunteer labour over a five year period, the Last Mountain House project represented a unique venture in the realm of avocational and public involvement. The Historic Sites Branch invited and encouraged society members and provided technical and advisory assistance. Requiring the dedication and endless hours of a devoted, knowledgeable avocational, John Hodges came forward to direct the project. Whereas he received adequate support for field endeavours, he encountered difficulties with artifact identification and report preparation and received no further government support. Because of these problems similar endeavours have neither been attempted nor encouraged. Completion of the artifact analysis and the production of a complete site report (Klimko and Hodges 1993) finally occurred 30 years after the field work ended.

During the 1960s, the University of Saskatchewan again promoted fur trade archaeology. Zenon Pohorecky, in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, actively encouraged a student, Hugh MacKie, to obtain funding and investigate such fur trade sites as Fort Riviere Tremblante. Located in east central Saskatchewan the site faced possible inundation as a result of the proposed Shellmouth River Dam in Manitoba (Hugh MacKie 1992, pers. comm., MacKie 1974). MacKie, spurred on by his personal interest in fur trade activities such as trapping, the public promotion of archaeology and his sense of being a Canadian, undertook the project. A number of now senior Saskatchewan archaeologists, such as David Meyer and James Wilson and government officials such as Dean Clark, received their initial training as a result.

Parks Canada involvement in fur trade archaeology in Saskatchewan was minimal in comparison to Manitoba. In 1962, Norman Barka and Anne Barka (1976) excavated Sturgeon Post located not far from the city of Prince Albert. J. D. Herbert, who at that time was with Historic Sites in Ottawa, contracted with the Barkas to conduct excavations there (John Rick 1993, pers. comm.). In 1969 and 1971 Smythe and Chism (1973) also surveyed parts of the province, conducting limited survey or test excavations at Forts Esperance, Qu'Appelle and

Pelly 2. Most major Parks Canada research in Saskatchewan has been focussed on North West Mounted Police Posts, such as Fort Battleford and Fort Walsh, and the site of the Riel Rebellion at Batoche.

In discussing the 1960s, Ian Dyck, now at the Archaeological Survey of Canada, recalls the impression that fur trade archaeology was going on "anywhere one looked in the province". He attributes this to a number of factors, including the tangible nature of the sites, the presence of historical documentation, the presence of numerous artifacts, and of crucial importance, the exoticism of the local fur trade after it had totally vanished. The fur trade era was not only exotic but exciting. It extended European history beyond the pioneer settlers and added European time depth to the province (Ian Dyck 1992, pers. comm.). The prevailing feeling regarding fur trade archaeology was one of progress in the pinning down of archaeological resources and accomplishment in the recovery of data. By this time major excavations had taken place at Sturgeon Post, Francois-Finlay, Last Mountain House and Fort Carlton.

Throughout the 1970s, there continued to be a steady, albeit less extensive study of fur trade sites in Saskatchewan (Figure 21). With the departure of Kehoe from the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History in 1965, Gilbert Watson an amateur archaeologist, whom Kehoe had hired as an assistant in 1963, inherited responsibility for the museum's archaeology programme (Gilbert Watson 1991, pers. comm). At the urging and lobbying of the Pelly Historical Society in east central Saskatchewan,the support of their elected Member of the Legislative Assembly, and the new Museum Director's aim of demonstrating the site's potential to entice federal government involvement, Watson was sent to begin excavations at Fort Pelly 1 in 1971 (Gilbert Watson 1991, pers. comm., Ian Dyck 1992, pers. comm.). Fort Pelly had not only served as the regional headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company, but also had a long history and was seen as having regional significance (Ian Dyck 1992, pers. comm.). The ultimate vision was reconstruction. The provincial government had spent large sums on Fort Carlton and, realizing the large amount of financial aid required to support an amateur group as at Last

Mountain House, hoped to get the federal government involved in a joint federal/provincial archaeological venture. The Federal government, through Parks Canada, sent James Chism to do some survey work at Fort Pelly 2 located nearby but no major project materialized and the federal contribution consisted only of the erection of a marker at the site of Fort Pelly 2 (Gilbert Watson 1991, pers. comm., Ian Dyck 1992, pers. comm.).

In 1972 Ian Dyck joined the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History as supervisor of Historic Resources and took on the combined duties of museum archaeologist and provincial historic sites officer. During the ensuing years the Museum played an active and central role in the archaeology of the province. Fur trade research centred on a few posts such as Forts Pelly 1, Pitt and Carlton, in contrast to the wider inventory projects of the Historic Sites Programme in the previous decade. Factors driving archaeological investigations included Parks Branch inventory needs within park boundaries, assessment of archaeological site integrity and potential and putting archaeology on display for the public (Ian Dyck 1992, pers. comm.). While funding was provided for field work in the 1960s and 1970s, no provisions were made for analysis of the massive collections of artifacts retrieved from all the large scale excavations at Fort Carlton, Last Mountain House, Francois-Finlay, and Fort Pelly. Many of these projects had received funding from different sources such as Saskatchewan Power Corporation, Historic Sites Programme, or the Parks Branch but the responsibility for analysis and report preparation fell upon the Museum with no accompanying funds.

In the 1970s the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History also became involved in the Churchill River Study —an environmental impact assessment resulting from the Saskatchewan Power Corporation's interest in developing a hydroelectric dam (Epp and Khalladkar 1973:129). Surveys conducted by David Meyer and Sidney Smailes located a number of posts in this region. In addition to fur trade research, the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History promoted other archaeological issues, including the standardization of records, collections management, field research, promotion of heritage legislation and the development of an

archaeological resource management programme (Dyck 1987:34). At the same time, the University of Saskatchewan maintained a small hand in fur trade studies with a survey of the Methye Portage conducted by Donald Steer, under the supervision of James Millar. Steer later became the Head of Archaeological Research in Parks Canada Western Division office in Calgary.

A new player to emerge on the scene during the 1970s was the Saskatchewan Research Council, a provincial Crown Agency. Although sponsoring archaeological research as early as 1954, the Council hired its first staff archaeologist, David Meyer, in 1976 (Meyer 1987:55). Meyer and others were primarily involved with archaeological consulting in service of resource management projects. A number of these included large reconnaissance studies, such as the Nipawin Reservoir Survey in 1976 and early 1980s, and the Saskatchewan River Forks Projects. Both of these were in response to the Saskatchewan Power Corporation's desire for suitable hydroelectric locations on the Saskatchewan River. Both also led to the location of fur trade sites, and in the case of the Francois-Finlay Dam in the Nipawin area, the Saskatchewan Research Council completely excavated a number of posts under my direction (e.g. Klimko 1987). Smaller Saskatchewan Research Council projects have included a condition study at Isaac's House by Meyer (Wilson et al. 1979) and an assessment at Fort St. Louis on the James Smith Reserve by myself (Meyer and Klimko 1986). Work at the latter site was carried out in response to the Band's desire to increase tourism potential through heritage and recreation. The Band Council hoped to reconstruct the post and build a golf course, neither of which were implemented. In 1990-1991 the Saskatchewan Research Council phased out its archaeology programme, partially as a response to the existing Conservative governments focus on privatization, thereby ending its involvement in archaeology.

During the 1980s direct government participation, particularly the role of the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History in active field work began to decline, primarily in response to hard economic times. In 1981 the Museum turned its attention away from active

field work to concentrate on analysis and writing, as well as other museum issues (Dyck 1987:37). In 1984 Dyck left the Museum and Gerald Conaty was hired to take over the archaeology programme. Field work continued to be limited and in the case of fur trade studies consisted of a short volunteer programme at Last Mountain House in 1987. The passage of the Saskatchewan Heritage Act in 1980, also created a new government department to administer the act, which served to relieve the Museum of its resource management programme. Therefore, through the 1980s, the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History saw a marked decrease in its involvement in archaeological field work, both of the precontact period and fur trade.

The Saskatchewan Heritage Act led to a considerable amount of archaeological work for the Saskatchewan Research Council and private consultants and some of this centred on the fur trade (Figure 18). Apart from major excavations at the Grant and McLeod site and Francois-Finlay Complex in the Nipawin area, most projects consisted of assessment prior to proposed developments; consequently, the number of posts investigated dropped sharply in the late 1980s (Figure 21).

By the 1990s only two groups, private consultants and the University of Saskatchewan, continued to participate in fur trade studies of any type. While the first group principally dealt with developmental impacts, the University of Saskatchewan at which Meyer was now on faculty was involved with research at Cumberland House 1. This project is primarily due to the Native community's desire to gather information and materials for their museum.

Saskatchewan fur trade studies thrived from the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s (Figure 21), in terms of the numbers of participating institutions, projects conducted and posts investigated. A gradual decline with bursts of activity followed. However, no formalized research programme, such as the earlier Historic Sites Programme, now directs or focuses archaeological efforts. Instead, cultural resource management concerns set the criteria and agenda for fur trade archaeology.

As in Manitoba and Ontario much of the fur trade archaeological research in Saskatchewan has been dominated by goals of basic site discovery and identification, with low level description of structural features a second priority. Reconnaissance work exemplified in such major surveys as the Churchill River Study, The Forks Survey, the Nipawin Hydroelectric Project, and Amisk Lake surveys in the 1960s and 1970s exemplifies this inventory level of study. Major large scale excavations, however, have been carried out at 11 posts and research concerns have ranged from the gathering of structural and site layout/configuration data (Ranere n.d.) to problem-oriented studies dealing with subsistence, activity areas and site placement (Klimko 1987). In fact, fur trade archaeological research in Saskatchewan is the most intensive of any province. Unfortunately this intensity of research has not transpired into a solid foundation base for fur trade sites. The pre-eminence of low level fundamental research objectives, the dominance of reconnaissance and testing and the level of archaeological training of the researchers has affected the number and types of reports produced, research concerns addressed and the level of knowledge produced.

Funding

The Saskatchewan government financed most fur trade studies in the province whether research or salvage. The early work of Morton was funded by the Department of Natural Resources, while the Historic Sites Programme was responsible for many research projects of the 1960s. Often this was done through a collaborative effort between a number of departments, such as Highways, the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History and the Parks Branch —a tradition which continued into the 1970s. In the 1980s and 1990s the Parks Branch was responsible for financing all cultural resource management work in their parks.

At times, certain projects received additional support from outside sources, such as the Manitoba government or the Federal government. Two examples of this outside financing are the Churchill River Study funded by Saskatchewan (43%), Manitoba (7%) and the Federal

Government (50%), and the Fort Riviere Tremblante excavations funded by the Manitoba

Historic Sites Advisory Board and the Saskatchewan Historic Sites Branch. In the last five to

ten years, the Saskatchewan Heritage Foundation and the Saskatchewan Archaeological

Society, both supported by government money, have provided grants for archaeological studies

such as the excavations at Fort Qu'Appelle, or the printing of the Last Mountain House report.

The Saskatchewan Power Corporation represents a second major financial contributor to

fur trade archaeology, having financed the early (1960s) Saskatchewan Museum of Natural

History excavations at the Francois-Finlay site complex, the Nipawin Archaeological Studies

in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and the Forks Archaeological Study in the early 1980s.

Federal programs have aided Saskatchewan fur trade studies only minimally. Parks

Canada research efforts at Sturgeon Post and Smythe's and Chism's survey and testing

programme, are the only direct programs. Indirect programs such as the Opportunities for

Youth used to employ students on the Methye Portage Study, and the Access to Archaeology

Programme which provided a grant for work at Cumberland House are examples of other

support. As well, the Archaeological Survey of Canada partially financed the test

excavations carried out by the Saskatchewan Research Council at Fort St. Louis on the James

Smith Reserve.

Reports

Documented information (referenced in Appendix B) for the 51 fur trade sites is uneven,

ranging from site forms and archival notes to proposals, presentations, completed site reports

and Cultural Resource Management reports. Of the 144 written documents over a third ($n = 60$ or

42%) represent summaries or short notes followed closely by general reports ($n = 42$ or 29%).

These two represent the most common medium used to disseminate information from the 1960s to

the 1980s (Figure 22). In the 1980s, however, other types of reports such as theses, official

proposals and research designs, presentation papers and Cultural Resource Management reports
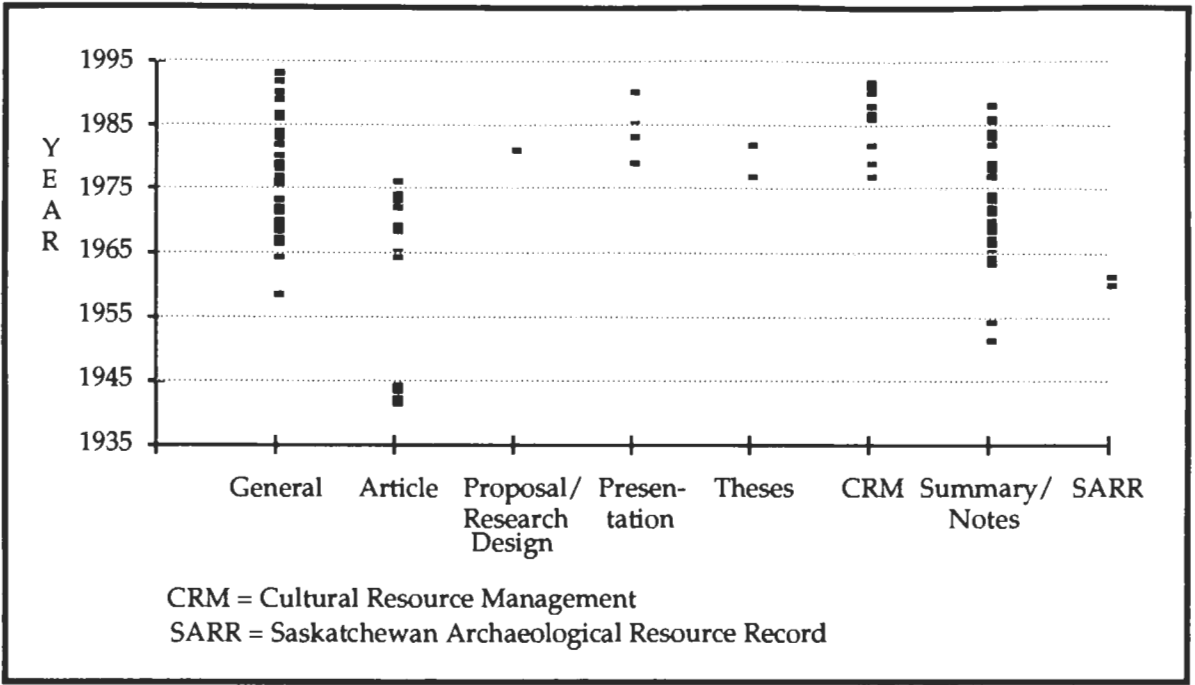
Figure 22. Report Types Produced by Year in Saskatchewan.
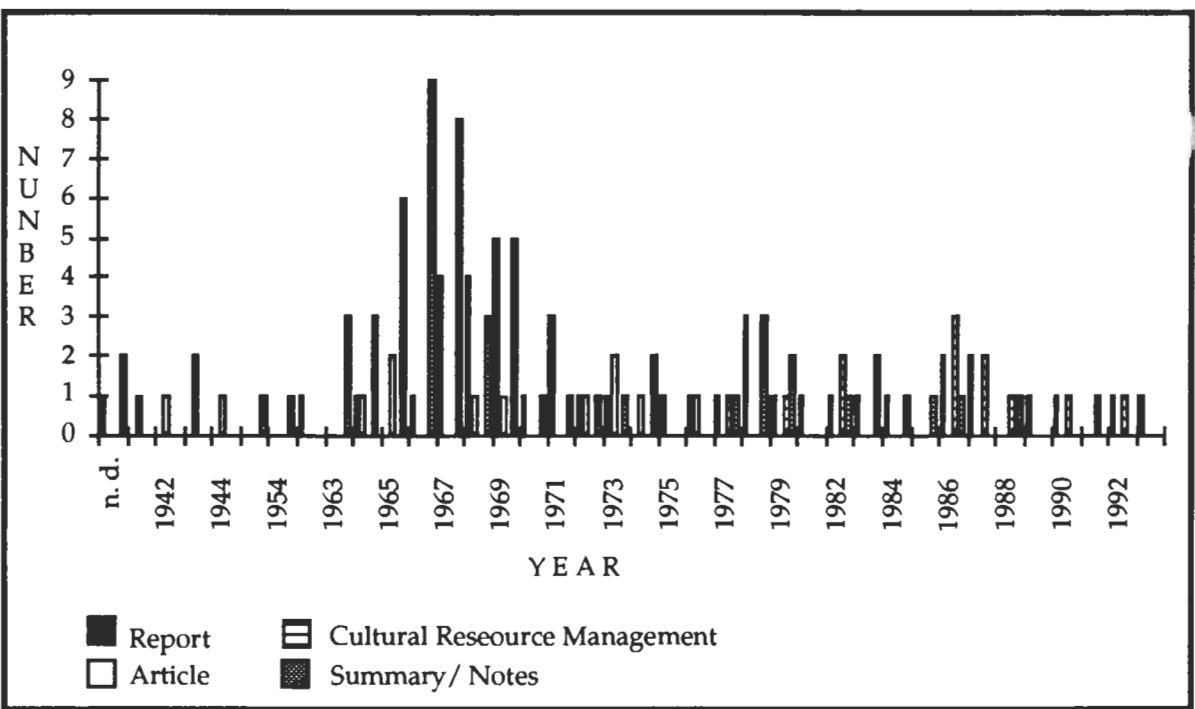
Figure 23. Comparison of the Four Major Saskatchewan Report Types — General Reports, Articles, Cultural Resource Management and Summary/Notes — by Year.

Table 13. Reference Data for the Investigated Saskatchewan Sites.

	# References	R	A	P/RD	Prsntn	Th	CRM	S/N	SARR	Ms	P	IN	CRM	SARR	Id	D	In	Misc
				Report Type							Report Status					Research Intent		
Fort aux Trembles	5	1	1				3			1	1		3		2	3		
Thorburn's House	2		1						1		1			1	2			
Monument Site	6	1					2	3		1	3		2		5	1		
Francois-Finlay	21	2	5	1	1		2	10		3	16		2		5	14	2	
Grant & McLeod	8		1		1		3	3		1	4		3		3	3	2	
Sturgeon Fort	6	2	1					3		1	5				1	5		
Fort Esperance I	2	1	1								1	1			2			
Fort Esperance II	3	2						1		1	1	1			3			
Fort Qu'Appelle	4	1	1				1	1		1	2		1		3	1		
Amisk Lake Posts (n = 10)	6	2							4	2				4	6			
South Branch House I	1							1			1				1			
Fort Carlton	30	8			1		5	16		9	16		5		1	28	1	
Fort a la Corne	3	1	1					2		2	1				3			
Fort St. Louis	4	1						2	1	3				1	3	1		
Cumberland House 1	2	2								2					2			
Cumberland House 2	1								1					1	1			
Last Mountain House	21	5					1	15		3	17		1			19	2	
Pine Island Posts (n = 3)	7	2						5		3	4				1	6		
Manchester House	1	1								1					1			
McKay's House	1	1								1					1			
Fort Riviere Tremblante	11	2	2					7		2	9				4	7		
Fort Alexandria	1	1								1					1			
Belleau's Post	1	1								1						1		
Hudson's House	3	1	1					1		2	1				1	2		
Methy Portage (n = 4)	1	1								1					1			
HBC Depot (Methye)	4	2				1		1		2	1	1			1	3		
La Loche House	6	2	2			1		1		2	3	1			2	4		
HBC Battleford Store	1	1								1						1		
Fort Pelly 1	10	3	3		1	1		2		4	6				2	5	3	
Fort Pelly 2	2	1	1							1	1				1	1		
Fort Pitt	2	1						1		1	1				1	1		
Churchill River (n = 5)	3	1						2			3				3			
Fort Mosquito	1						1						1		1			
La Montee	1	1								1								1
Sandy Lake HBC	2	2								1	1						2	
Total	183	53	21	1	4	3	18	77	7	55	99	4	18	7	64	106	12	1

Report Type
R = General Report
A = Article
P/RD = Proposal/Research Design
Prsntn = Presentation
Th = Thesis
CRM = Cultural Resource Management
S/N = Summary/Note
SARR = Saskarchewan Archaeological Resource Record

Report Status
Ms= Unpublished manuscript
P = Published
IN = Inhouse
CRM = Cultural Resource Management Report
SAR = Saskarchewan Archaeological Record (Site Form)

Research Intent
Id = Identify
D = Description (Features or Artifacts)
In = Integration
Misc = Miscellaneous

became more common (Figure 23). Published articles, while present in small numbers early on, drop off dramatically by the end of the 1970s, with no articles recorded after 1980 (Figure 23).

For the 51 posts, 183 references could be located which vary widely in format and representation (Table 3.12). For example 30 references pertain to Fort Carlton (Table 13) while Cumberland House 2 warrants only a site form [3]. In fact, over half ($n = 93$) of the references pertain to five posts —Francois-Finlay, Fort Carlton, Last Mountain House, Fort Riviere Tremblante and Fort Pelly 1.

The flurry of fur trade research in Saskatchewan in the 1960s is reflected in the number of reports produced during that era. The predominant theme dealt with the location and identification of posts and the description of remains. Although Kehoe (1965, 1976) addressed broader concerns of inter-group contact and ethnicity, not until the 1980s was more attention focussed on an expanded set of research objectives. This later work adopted a problem-oriented approach with emphasis on cultural ecology, subsistence strategies, status, pattern recognition and activity areas (see Klimko 1982, 1987). The latter research orientation can be attributed to a handful of people: myself in directing the excavations at Grant and McLeod Site and Francois-Finlay Complex in the 1980s, and in the analysis and report on Fort Pelly 1 (Klimko 1982, 1983) and Last Mountain House excavations (Klimko and Hodges 1993); Jean Hourston-Wright (1993) who analysed the Last Mountain House faunal assemblage and established the approach used by Dale Walde for the Grant and McLeod faunal collection; and Jarvenpa and Brumbach (1989) who attempted to study economic and social interaction between several cultural and ethnic groups and mapped a number of sites.

The Saskatchewan fur trade reports are geared towards two audiences —the professional or academic and the interested, knowledgeable avocational archaeologist. A few reports, such as Saskatchewan Power Corporations *News*, the Annual Reports of the

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[3] A site form is only counted as a reference when no other information exists.

Department of Natural Resources and an article by Christensen (1982) in *The Beaver* were
written for a wider audience.

The intended audience played a crucial role in the status of the reports. Most (72% or 32
of 42) of the general reports (Table 14) still sit in manuscript form housed at the Saskatchewan
Museum of Natural History, whereas 96% (58 of 60) of the summaries and short notes are
published, primarily in newsletters, such as the *Saskatchewan Archaeological Newsletter* or
the *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* (Table 15). Theses, proposals, and paper
presentations also remain unpublished.

Table 14. Status of the Various Report Types for Saskatchewan Fur Trade Sites.

Report Type	Unpublished Manuscript	Published	inhouse Publication	CRM	SARR	Total
General Report	32	8	2			42
Articles		15				15
Proposal/Research Design	1					1
Paper Presentation	4					4
Thesis	2					2
CRM Report				13		13
Summary/Note	2	58				60
SARR					7	7
Total	41	81	2	13	7	144

CRM = Cultural Resource Management
SARR = Saskatchewan Archaeological Resource Record

Table 15. Publications Containing Summary/Notes Pertaining to Saskatchewan Fur Trade Sites.

Publication	Number of Items
Saskatchewan Archaeological Newsletter	27
Annual Report - Department. of Natural Resources	4
Sask Power News	1
American Antiquity - Current Research	5
Plains Anthropologist	4
Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter	8
Other	11
Total	60

The published reports, including newsletters, general reports and articles are accessible in libraries or by contacting the appropriate institution, such as the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History. Access to unpublished documents is more restrictive, and often requires a visit to the appropriate institution. Cultural Resource Management reports also can be reviewed at the provincial Heritage Branch, Archaeology Section, but cannot be removed.

Despite the investigation of 51 fur trade sites, with major excavations at 11 of these and the production of 144 reports, the number of complete site reports is low. Basic syntheses presenting historical data, objectives or goals, methodology, excavation results and full artifact analysis exist for only nine posts. These include the Monument Site, Francois-Finlay Complex, Grant and McLeod Site, Isaac's House, Sturgeon Post, Last Mountain House, HBC La Loche Depot, La Loche House and Fort Pelly 1. Even here, the reports were written anywhere from five to 30 years after the final season of excavation (with the exception of Isaac's House which was produced within a couple years). The remaining site reports, excluding summaries or notes, often describe the work done, the structural remains or features encountered, stratigraphy, and recommendations for future work. Artifact information is minimal, ranging from a brief mention of some items to the complete analysis of collections, the latter being common in Cultural Resource Management reports.

Artifact Status

The Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History represents the central repository for Saskatchewan fur trade collections, although it lacks some of the early assemblages collected by individual researchers. Unfortunately, the presence of these collections under one roof does not guarantee a standard level of treatment nor accompanying documentation, as noted in Table 16. The majority of artifacts stay unanalyzed and, in seven instances (Table 16), accompanying field notes do not exist. Field documentation for the remaining sites also varies greatly, depending upon the original researcher.

Table 16. Status of Artifact Collections from Saskatchewan Fur Trade Sites.

Site	Housed at	Catalogued		Catalogue with Artifacts		Analysed		Field Notes		Notes:
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Fort aux Trembles	SMNH	x		x		x		x		
Thorburn's House	?	?		?			x	?		Furniss 1942
Monument Site	SMNH	x		x		x		x		WHS report in draft form
Francois-Finlay	SMNH	x		x		x		x		WHS report in draft form
Grant & McLeod	SMNH	x		x		x		x		
Sturgeon Post	PC?	x		x		x		x		Barkas' work
	SMNH	x		x			x	x		Foster's work
Fort Esperance I	N/A									PC condition study: no artifacts
Fort Esperance II	PC - Ottawa?	x		x			x	x		
Fort Qu'Appelle	SMNH	x		x		x		x		1990s study
Amisk Lake Posts (Moody's Work in the 50s)										
Vicker's Narrows	SMNH				x		x		x	general notes & diaries only
GcMn-2, 3, 5, 7, & 8	SMNH				x		x		x	
Fort Henry (GdMo-1)	SMNH				x		x		x	
GdMo-2	SMNH				x		x		x	
GdMo-3 (Fidler?)	SMNH				x		x		x	
GdMm-1	SMNH				x		x		x	
South Branch House I	N/A									site location: no artifacts
Fort Carlton	SMNH	x		x			x		x	
Fort a la Corne	SMNH	x		x			x		x	
Fort St. Louis	SMNH	x		x			x		x	MacKie's work
	ASC	x		x		x			x	Klimko's 1980s work
Cumberland House 1	SMNH	x		x		x			x	1991 season: not 1967 or 1992
Cumberland House 2	N/A									Locate only
Last Mountain House	SMNH	x		x		x		x		
Pine Island	SMNH	x		x			x		x	
Manchester House	N/A									list of features only
McKay's House	N/A									list of features only
Ft. Riviere Tremblante	MMMN	x		x		P*			x	field notes not at MMMN
Fort Alexandria	N/A									locate & identify site only
Belleau's Post	SMNH	x		x			x		x	
Hudson's House	SMNH	x		x			x		x	
Old Fort Methy Lake	?	x		?			x		x	
Provision Post (Methy)	?	x		?			x		x	
Provision Post (Methy)	?	x		?			x		x	
West la Loche	?	x		?			x		x	
HBS Deport	?	x		x		x			x	
La Loche House	?	x		x		x			x	
HBC Battleford	SMNH	x		x		P		x		
Fort Pelly 1	SMNH	x		x		x		x		
Fort Pelly 2	PC -Ottawa	x		x			x	x		
Fort Pitt	SMNH	x		x		x			x	draft in possession of analyst
Fort du Traite	SMNH	x		x			x		x	
Fairford House	N/A									locate only
Deer River House	N/A									locate only
Duplaws House	SMNH	x		x			x		x	locate only
Whitesand Dam	N/A									locate only
Fort Mosquito	N/A									locate only
La Montee	personal collection	?		?		x			?	surface collection
Sandy Lake	?	?		?		x			?	Brumbach & Jarvenpa study

Institution
SMNH = Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History
PC = Parks Canada
ASC = Archaeological Survey of Canada
MMMN = Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

Index
P* = Partial analysis or preliminary analysis

ALBERTA

The fur trade posts of the Peace River of western Alberta attracted much interest in the 1920s and included both field investigations to verify and map remains, or archival research to sort out the chronology and locations of posts. For example a Mr. Johnston, an early settler, led Judge Howay who became part of the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board in 1923, to fur trade sites believed to be those of Fort Fork and possibly Fort McLeod. J. N. Wallace, a historian, and later James MacGregor also combed documented sources to provide a chronology and capture the personalities of the Peace River traders (Wallace 1929:108-109, MacGregor 1952:130-135, Taylor 1990:61). Similar interest existed in southern Alberta. In 1931 J. E. MacLeod visited the ruins of Old Bow Fort, and found the remains of 11 chimneys, traces of a stockade and the arrangement of buildings around a central court or quadrangle (MacLeod 1931:407). Resorting to the then sparse historical documentation for the Alberta fur trade, he concluded that Old Bow Fort and Piegan Post were the same. Such visitations and speculations by interested individuals and scholars, although rarely reported, reflect the early years of Alberta fur trade post research. This situation persisted until the early 1960s when major systematic, organized excavations began at Rocky Mountain House, heralding the beginning of a dynamic era of fur trade archaeological studies within the province. The involvement of eight institutions or groups have led to the investigation of 38 fur trade sites (Figure 24, Table 17) and the production of over 100 reports.

Sites, Institutions and People

In the 1920s the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada commemorated three fur trade posts in Alberta, Fort Edmonton, Fort Augustus and Jasper House (Rasmussen 1990:237). Until 1962, heritage conservation of fur trade sites in Alberta continued in the footsteps of the national programme and focussed on the erection of markers and acquisition of properties by the historic sites programme. For example, in 1955 the Parks Board purchased the early fur-trade
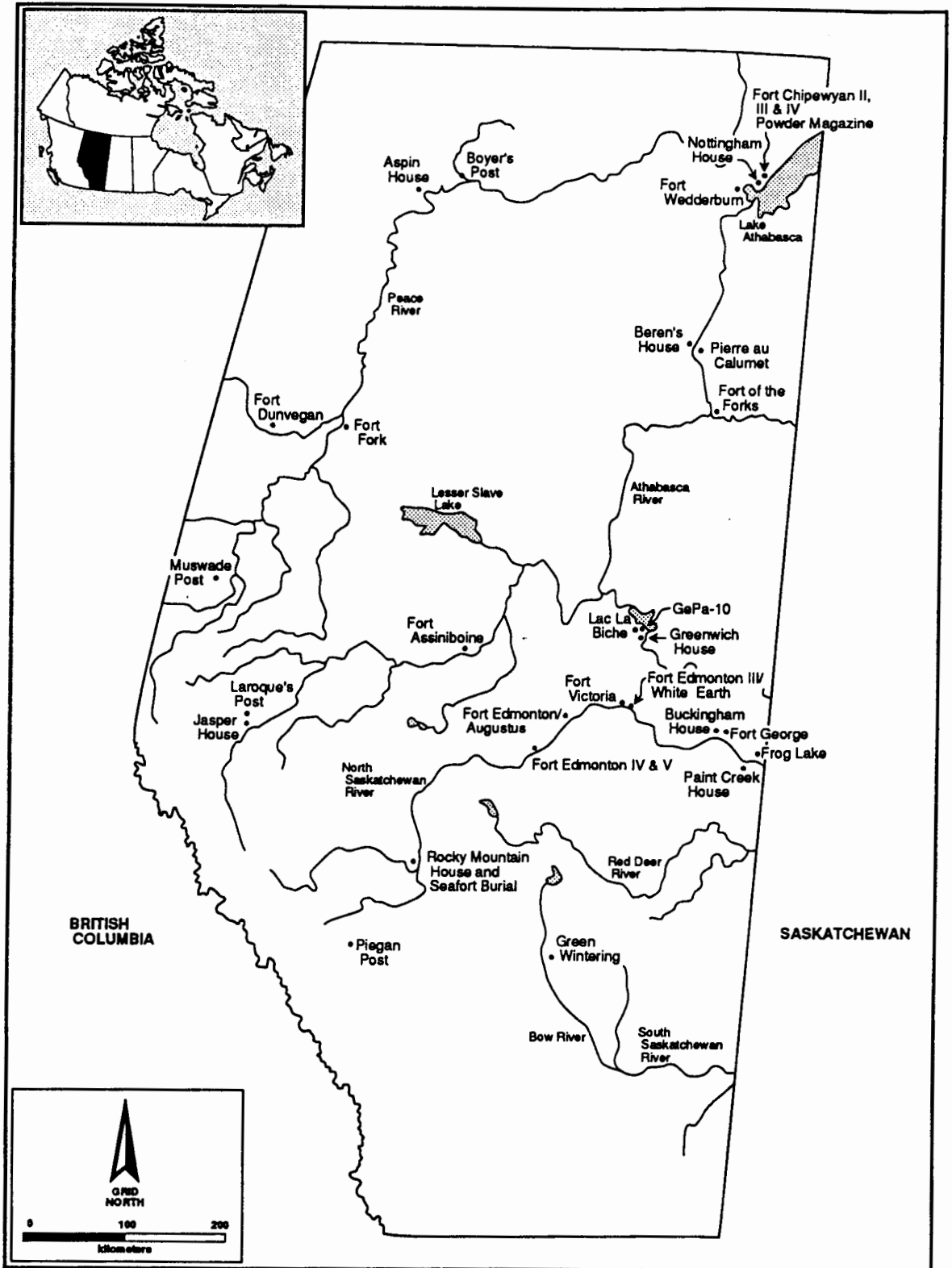
Figure 24. Location of Fur Trade Posts Examined in Alberta.

Table 17. Fur Trade Sites Examined in Alberta.

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
Rocky Mountain Ho. (13R) late 18th c - early 19th c	HBC/ NWC	Forbis	1962	Glenbow	T	
		Noble	1963	U of C	Exc	Identify Affiliation
		Steer & Rosser	1982	PC	Exc	Re-locate Features
Rocky Mountain Ho. (1R) 1866-1875: Wintering	HBC	Vaucher	1966	U of C	R: Ex	Identify: Structural Data
		Steer	1975, '84	PC	Exc: Mon	Salvage Excavation
Rocky Mountain Ho. (15R) 1835-1861: Wintering	HBC	Steer & Rogers	1975, 76, 77	PC	R: T	Locate: Identify: Assess
		Steer & Gullason	1984	PC	Mon	Monitor Trail Route
		Porter	1989	PC	R	Check River Bank Erosion
Rocky Mountain Ho. (16R) 1799-1821: Wintering	NWC	Steer & Rogers	1975, 76, 77	PC	R: T	Locate: Identify: Structural Data
Seafort Burial (RMH) circa 1835-1861	HBC	Skinner	1969, 71	U of A	Exc	Age: Company Affiliation
		Steer	1979, 80	PC	Exc	Burial Information: Re-internment
Fort George 1792-1800: Regional HQ.	NWC	Kidd	1965, 66, 67	PMA	Exc	Identify: Structural Data
		Losey	1977, 78, 79	U of A	Exc	Structural Data: Field School
		Forsman	1989	ASA	Exc	Structural Data
Buckingham House 1792-1800: Regional HQ.	HBC	Kidd & Nicks	1966, 68	PMA	Esc	Structural Data
		Nicks (J & G)	1971, 72	PMA	Exc	Structural Data
Fort Edmonton III/ White Earth 1810-1815: Regional HQ.	HBC	Kidd & Nicks	1966	PMA	Exc	Structural Data
		Nicks (J & G)	1968, 69, 70	PMA	Exc	Structural Data
White Earth/Edmonton/Augustus III 1810-1813: Wintering	NWC	Nicks	1968, 69, 70	PMA	Exc	Structural Data
Ft. Edmonton I/Ft. Augustus I 1795-1801: Wintering	HBC/ NWC	Kidd	1967	PMA	T	Identify: Affiliation
Fort Victoria 1864-1897: Depot	HBC	Arnold	1971	HSB	T	Locate: Identify
		Clark & Nicks	1971	HSB	Exc	Structural Data
		Losey	1974, 75, 76	U of A	Exc	Structural Data: Field School
		Forsman	1977, 78	ASA	Exc	Structural Data: Artifact Patterns
		Newton	1978	HSB	Exc	Check Disturbed Features
Fort Wedderburn II 1815-1821: Regional HQ.	HBC	Chism & Smythe	1969	PC	R	Locate: Identify: Map
		Karklins	1971	PC	Exc	Affiliation: Structural Data
Jasper House 1829-@1890: Depot	HBC	Elliot & Anderson	1970, 71	U of C	R	Locate: Identify
		Picard	1984, 85, 86	PC	Exc	Structural Data: Assessment
Laroque's House ?: Wintering	NWC	Elliot & Anderson	1971	U of C	R	Locate: Identify
Piegan Post 1832-1843: Wintering	HBC	MacLeod	1931	Ind	R	Locate: Identify
		Nesbitt	1971	U of C	Exc	Structural Data
Fort Forks 1792-1805: Wintering	NWC	Nicks	1970	PMA	R	Locate: Identify
		Arnold	1970, 71	PMA	Exc	Salvage Excavation
		Korevemaker	1976	HSB	R	Dismantled & Removed Fireplace
Fort of the Forks @1788-1800s: Wintering	NWC	Nicks	1970	PMA	R	Locate: Identify
		Forsman	1979	ASA	T	Structural Data: Site Integrity
Nottingham House 1802-1806: Wintering	HBC	Chism & Smythe	1969	PC	R	Locate: Identify
		Nicks	1970	PMA	R	Locate: identify
		Karklins	1972, 72, 77	PC	Exc	Structural & Artifactual Data
Fort Assiniboine 1724-post 1870:Depot	HBC	Vickers	1975	ASA	Exc	Salvage Excavation

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
Muswade Post 1898: Wintering	Ind	Slater	1976	P Con	T: T	Identify
Lac La Biche 1799-1800: Wintering	HBC	Bryan Davis & Smith	1977 1978	U of A P Con	T Exc	Identify Affiliation Salvage Excavation
GePa-10 ?: Wintering	Ind	Smith	1992	P Con	Exc	Identify
Fort Chipewyan I 1788-1800: Regional HQ.	NWC	Karklins	1970	PC	R	Locate: Identify
Ft Chipewyan Powder Mag. see Fort Chipewyan III & IV	HBC	Forsman	1985	ASA	Exc	Salvage Excavation
Fort Chipewyan III & IV @1801-present: Regional HQ.	NWC/ HBC	Nicks Heitzmann Forsman	1970 1978, 79, 1986, 87, 88	PMA P Con ASA	R R: Exc Esc	Locate: Identify Salvage Excavation Structural Dat
Fort Edmonton IV mid-late 1800s : Regional HQ.	HBC	Aresco	1977	P Con	Mon	Monitor Backhoe Trenches
Fort Edmonton V late 1800s-1915: Regional HQ.	HBC	Steer Pyszczyk	1979 1992	P Con ASA/PMA	Mon Exc	Feature Information Structural Data: Public Program
Green Wintering post 1820: Wintering	?	Forsman	1979	ASA	T	Identify
GePn-1 ?	NWC	Forsman	1980	ASA	R: T	Locate, Identify: Age
Beren's House 1819-1821: Wintering	HBC	McCullough	1981	P Con	Mon	Locate
Pierre au Calumet 1819-1821: Wintering	NWC	Nicks McCullough	1970 1981	PMA P Con	R Mon	Locate: Identify Locate: Identify
Fort Dunvegan 1805-1918: Regional HQ.	HBC	Nicks Pyszczyk Smith	1970 1982-1985 1987, 89	PMA ASA ASA	R Exc Exc	Site Evaluation Structural Data Structural Data
Frog Lake @1882-1885: Other	HBC	Forsman Pyszczyk Forsman	1982 1984 1985	ASA ASA P Con	R T R: T	Evaluate Disturbances Map Locate Features: Map
Hunt House ?	HBC	Pyszczyk	1985	ASA	Exc	Identify: Site Integrity
Greenwich House 1799-1800: Wintering	HBC	Forsman	1985	ASA	T	Locate: Assess Disturbance
Boyer's House 1788-1791: Wintering	NWC	Pyszczyk	1987, 88	ASA	T	Locate: Identify: Age
Aspin House 1792-@1799: Wintering	NWC	Pyszczyk	1987, 88	ASA	T	Locate: Identify
Paint Creek House @1800-1816: Wintering	NWC/ HBC	McCullough	1991	P Con	Col	Salvage artifacts from disturbed site

Institution	Type of Work	Post Type
U of C = University of Calgary	R = Reconnaissance/Survey	Regional HQ. = Regional Headquarters
PC = Parks Canada	T = Testing/Assessment	Wintering = Wintering Post
U of A = University of Alberta	Ex = Excavation	
PMA = Provincial Museum of Alberta	Mon = Monitor	
ASA = Archaeological Survey of Alberta	Col = Collection	
HSB = Historic Sites Branch	Re-in = Re-interment	
P Con = Private Consultant		

sites of White Earth and Fort Vermilion and in 1959-60 the sites of Fort George and Fort Victoria (Rasmussen 1990:241).

In 1962 (Figure 25) the Glenbow Institute, created by the oil millionaire Eric L. Harvie in 1955, undertook their first and only major study of a fur trade site, Rocky Mountain House, and in 1963 (Figure 26) sponsored extensive excavations at this site (Table 17). J. D. Herbert, who had left Saskatchewan in the mid 1950s, was now the director of the Glenbow and along with Hugh Dempsey, an active promoter of Alberta's heritage, and Richard Forbis, staff anthropologist and archaeologist hired in 1957, initiated archaeological research at the the site of one of the Rocky Mountain House post locations (Richard Forbis 1993, pers. comm.). A number of posts bearing this name were built in close proximity by the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company. Forbis continued directing this archaeological project after joining the University of Calgary in 1965 (Noble 1973:56, Rasmussen 1990:245). The objective of this early study was to determine the Company affiliation of the excavated post.

In 1962 the Alberta government established the Provincial Museum Branch out of which the Provincial Museum and Archives grew. With the goal of increasing the knowledge of Alberta's heritage, a major archaeological programme was initiated (Harrison 1970:iii). This was accompanied by the transfer of the historic sites marker programme from the Alberta Government Travel Bureau to the Provincial Museum. Emphasis now rested on acquiring information about Alberta's past through "documentation and archaeological research on sites already owned by the province" (Harrison 1970:iii). Robert Kidd was employed as Museum archaeologist and with a dedicated budget, initiated an intensive archaeological fur trade programme over the next decade (Figure 25). During the 1960s and early 1970s, the Provincial Museum of Alberta conducted research at 11 different sites (Figure 26) with fieldwork ranging from simple inspection to extensive excavation.

Focusing attention primarily on the North Saskatchewan River, Kidd (1987:99) wanted to develop a regional fur-trade chronology with research directed towards settlement patterns,
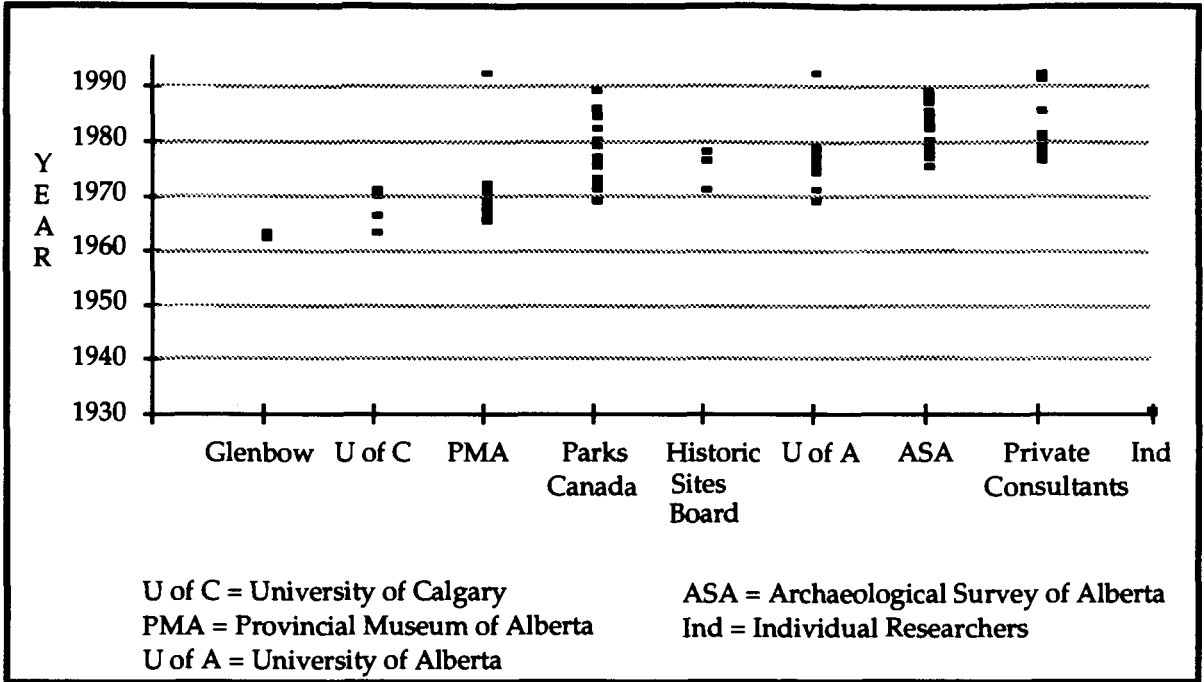
Figure 25. Institutions Involved in Alberta Fur Trade Studies by Year.
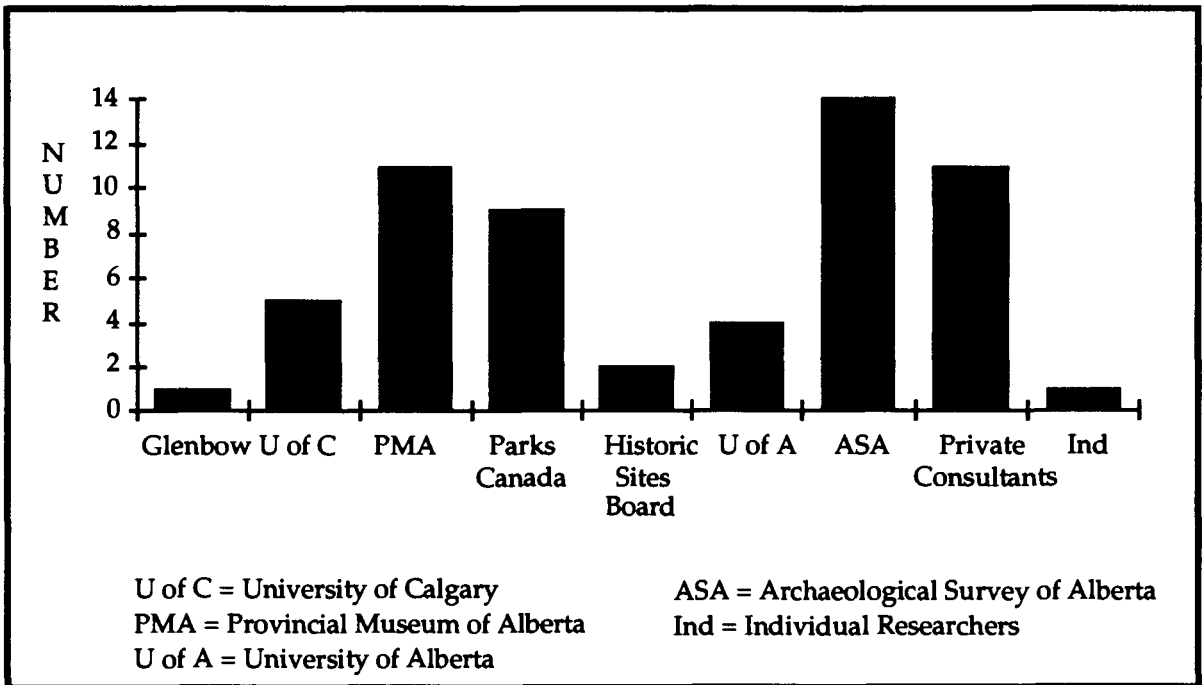
Figure 26. Number of Individual Posts Investigated by Different Institutions in Alberta.

building styles, and artifact technologies. In 1964 work was initiated at what was believed to be the site of the Hudson's Bay Company Buckingham House, but discovered to be the North West Company's Fort George (Kidd 1970:1). Since that time this fort has received continued, although sporadic, field investigation (Figure 27) by Losey who conducted field schools here for the University of Alberta in 1977, 1978 and 1979 (Losey et al. 1978, 1978 1980), and by Forsman of the Archaeological Survey of Alberta in 1989 (Figure 27). Kidd was assisted in his work by J. and G. Nicks. J. Nicks, an historian, had previous fur trade archaeological experience assisting Ranere in Saskatchewan and also had been involved with identifying heritage sites for centennial purposes there (John Nicks 1993, pers. comm.). G. Nicks, then a graduate student at the University of Alberta, completed the first Master's degree (Nicks 1969) in Alberta to deal with archaeology of the fur trade —Buckingham House and Fort White Earth. Her work (1969) attempted to formulate a trait list based on types of artifacts to determine company affiliation. In 1972 the Provincial Museum of Alberta discontinued active field study of the fur trade and shifted its focus to late nineteenth century Métis Buffalo hunter's camps (Kidd 1987:102). The Historic Sites Service continued limited fieldwork in the mid 1970s, but this responsibility soon fell upon other groups. One such group, the Stony Band commissioned research at Old Bow Fort, also known as Piegan Post. Paul Nesbit, associated with University of Calgary, supervised the excavation which was carried out by Band members (Nesbit 1971). Other projects of the 1970s contributed to a major growth in the number of players and institutions involved in fur trade studies (Figure 25).

In the late 1960s, Parks Canada sponsored a fur trade post survey by James Chism, with an emphasis on northern Alberta. Major excavation programs soon followed at a number of the relocated posts. Karlis Karklins was sent from Ottawa to conduct excavations at Fort Wedderburn II in 1971 and Nottingham House in 1972, 1973 and 1977 (Karklins 1981, 1983). In 1977 a regional office for archaeology was established in Calgary under the direction of Donald Steer, who formerly had worked at the Methye Portage in Saskatchewan. During the latter
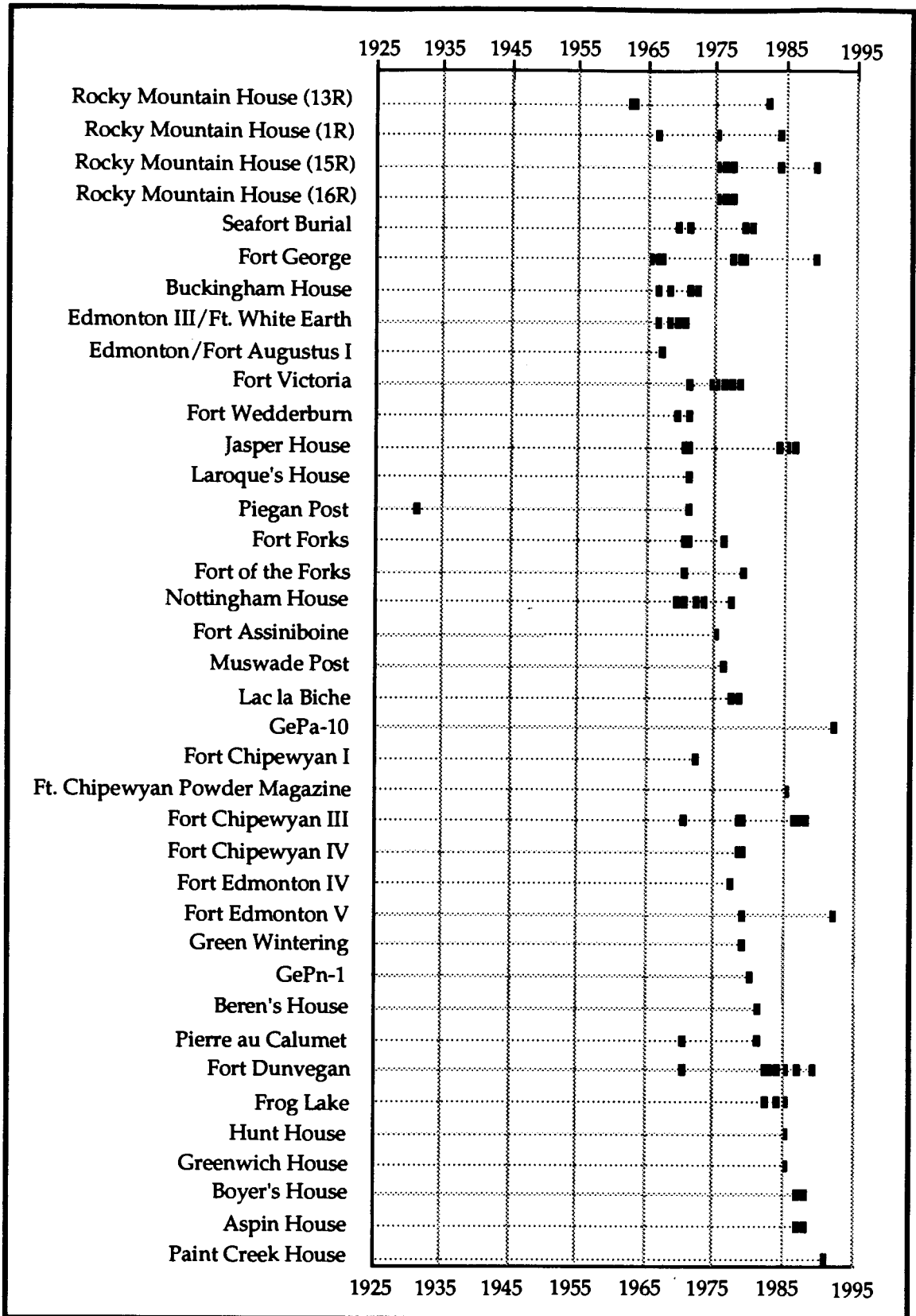
Figure 27. Years Investigations Carried Out at Alberta Fur Trade Posts.

half of the 1970s the Rocky Mountain House area, previously investigated by the Glenbow, received substantial renewed research attention (see Steer and Rogers, 1976, 1978) to try and sort out its complex history. Regular monitoring of the site continues to the present (Figure 27). The site had been privately owned during the early 1960s, but became a designated historic site under the Provincial Parks Act in 1965 when the province purchased the property and in 1977 was transferred to the federal government in return for assistance in developing the site as Alberta's first national historic park (Rasmussen 1990:248). During the 1980s, Parks Canada focussed additional research on Jasper House with Rod Pickard carrying out excavations there from 1984 to 1985 (Pickard 1985, Pickard and D'Amour 1987).

In 1973 The Alberta Heritage Act was passed and the next year was amended and renamed The Alberta Historical Resources Act. At the time it represented the most powerful heritage legislation in Canada and according to Spurling (1986:101) "sponsored several sociological changes in the discipline's practice." It required impact assessment and mitigation to be paid for by a developer which had a substantial impact on the field of fur trade research. First, it created the Archaeological Survey of Alberta to implement the act and second, a consultant community quickly developed. The Archaeological Survey of Alberta also continued the Museum's role in fur trade studies. Staff were encouraged to produce data necessary for properly managing the province's resources (Spurling 1986:102). M. Forsman was hired in 1977 and in 1983 H. Pyszczyk joined the staff. Between these two individuals the Archaeological Survey conducted various levels of investigation at 14 sites (Figure 26). Private consultants worked at other fur trade sites in their provision of cultural resource management services (see Figure 25). During the 1970s Alberta witnessed an unprecedented growth in heritage and cultural institutions sponsored largely by the provincial government. Significantly, one of the province's defined economic strategies was focused on cultural tourism and this led to many site developments from the Tyrell Museum of Paleontology to Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump. Fur

trade sites such as Fort Victoria and Fort Dunvegan were also included (David Burley 1994, pers. comm.).

By the 1980s the Alberta economy was in a down turn and a marked decrease occurred in fur trade activities reaching a trough in 1985 with only a moderate level of activity to the end of the decade (Figure 28). Much of the work in the 1980s was directed at Fort Dunvegan where a couple of standing buildings faced impacts, and Fort George slated for additional reconstruction. In both cases, local historical societies exerted a great deal of public pressure. Both Dunvegan and Fort George had previously been identified as worthy of development for tourism needs. Fort Chipewyan and a few smaller posts in northern Alberta also received some level of investigation in preparation for the Fort Vermilion Bicentennial. The Archaeological Survey of Alberta maintained fur trade research throughout the 1980s, but government financial restraints in the later part of the decade resulted in staff reduction and the incorporation of the Archaeological Survey of Alberta, now called the Archaeological Survey Section, within the Provincial Museum of Alberta in 1991. As well, since about 1983 there has been an added push to cultivate members of the public as a lobby group for archaeological support (Heinz Pyszczyk 1991, pers. comm.).
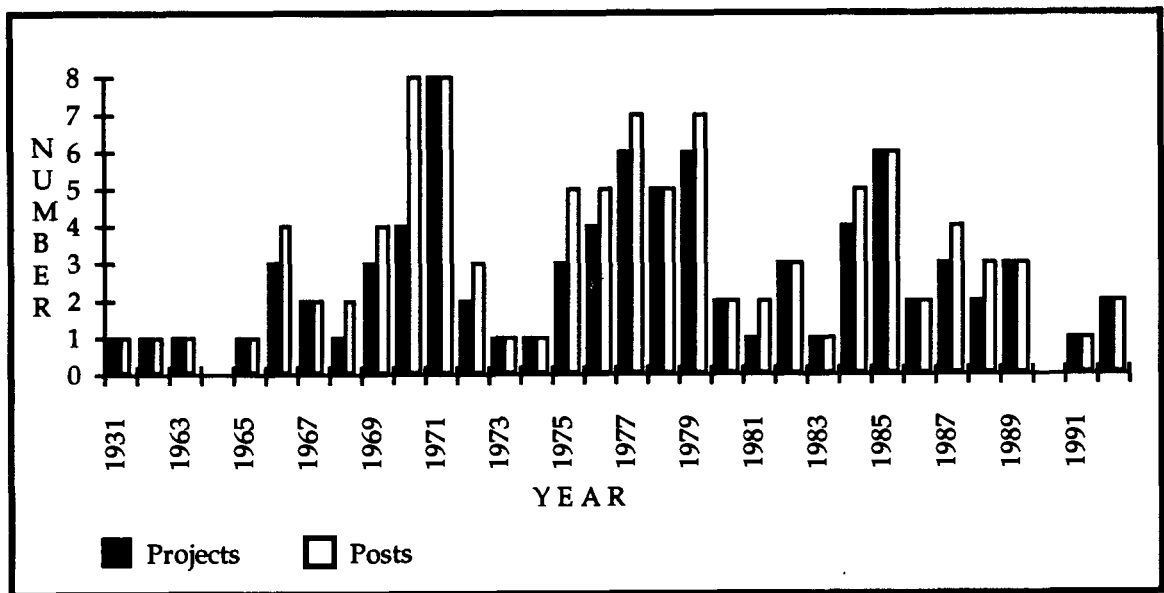
Figure 28. Comparison Between the Number of Projects Carried Out and the Number of Actual Posts Investigated per Year in Alberta.

Two institutions which have maintained a hand in fur trade research over the past three decades are the University of Calgary and the University of Alberta. While the former participated briefly in the early 1960s at the Rocky Mountain House site, as well as in a couple of surveys in the early 1970s, the University of Alberta played a more prominent role. In the 1970s, the University of Alberta Anthropology department, in co-ordination with Alberta Historic Sites Service, conducted an archaeological field school at Fort Victoria, which had the oldest standing fur trade structure still in its original location in Alberta, and at Fort George under the direction of Losey. This programme covered a period of six years and a number of fur trade archaeologists such as Pyszczyk and G. Prager received their early archaeological training here. The latest co-operative venture between the University of Alberta and the Archaeology Survey Section included excavation at Fort Edmonton V in 1992 (Heinz Pyszczyk 1992, pers. comm.). That post is conveniently located on the parliament grounds in Edmonton, and serves as a good public vehicle for the promotion of archaeology, government sensitivities to heritage concerns and the Alberta past.

To summarize briefly, Alberta fur trade studies prospered during the 1970s in terms of participating institutions, projects, and number of posts investigated (see Figures 25 and 27). Although activity continued in the 1980s, the impetus of the 1970s no longer existed and recent figures indicate a slow start for the 1990s with work primarily conducted by the Provincial Museum of Alberta and private consultants. The quick explosion in the 1970s as a result of developmental concerns and resource management issues led to investigations which focussed on structural features and artifact collections. However, this period of intensive activity also fostered research extending beyond identification and description. Examples include G. Nicks attempts to determine artifact trait lists for the HBC and NWC mentioned earlier, Hurlburt's (1977) analysis of the Fort White Earth faunal remains for evidence of status and Forsman's and Gallo's (Forsman and Gallo 1979) attempts to establish a fur-trade artifact pattern. Unfortunately these studies compose about 10% of all the reports produced, with the majority

(71%) of site reports devoted to descriptive presentations of the site excavation, methodology and remains.

Funding

The provincial government of Alberta and the federal government financed the majority of fur trade research in Alberta. The province provided monies through the Provincial Museum, the Historic Sites Branch, the Archaeological Survey of Alberta, and Alberta Transport. Town councils, Native Bands and developers have financed some fur trade studies, but on a very small scale. The federal government supported fur trade research through Parks Canada efforts.

Reports

A total of 124 reports (referenced in Appendix B) have been written on the 38 sites at which work has been conducted. These range in stature from summary/notes, to theses, to complete site reports. General reports, including interim reports, Parks Canada Research Bulletins and updates, comprise 40% (n = 50) of the manuscripts, followed by summary notes (n = 27 or 21%), Cultural Resource Management reports (n = 20 or 16%) and articles (n = 19 or 15%). General reports, summaries or short notes and articles represent the most common medium used to disseminate information (Figure 29). In the 1970s, there was quick proliferation of Cultural Resource Management reports as a consequence of Heritage Legislation (Figure 30). In the 1980s all four report types continued, but at a decreased level. The late 1980s and early 1990s show that while reports, articles, Cultural Resource Management reports and short summaries continue, their production was sporadic compared to the preceding decade and a half. Alberta can still boast about having the largest number of published site reports in relation to the number of sites investigated.
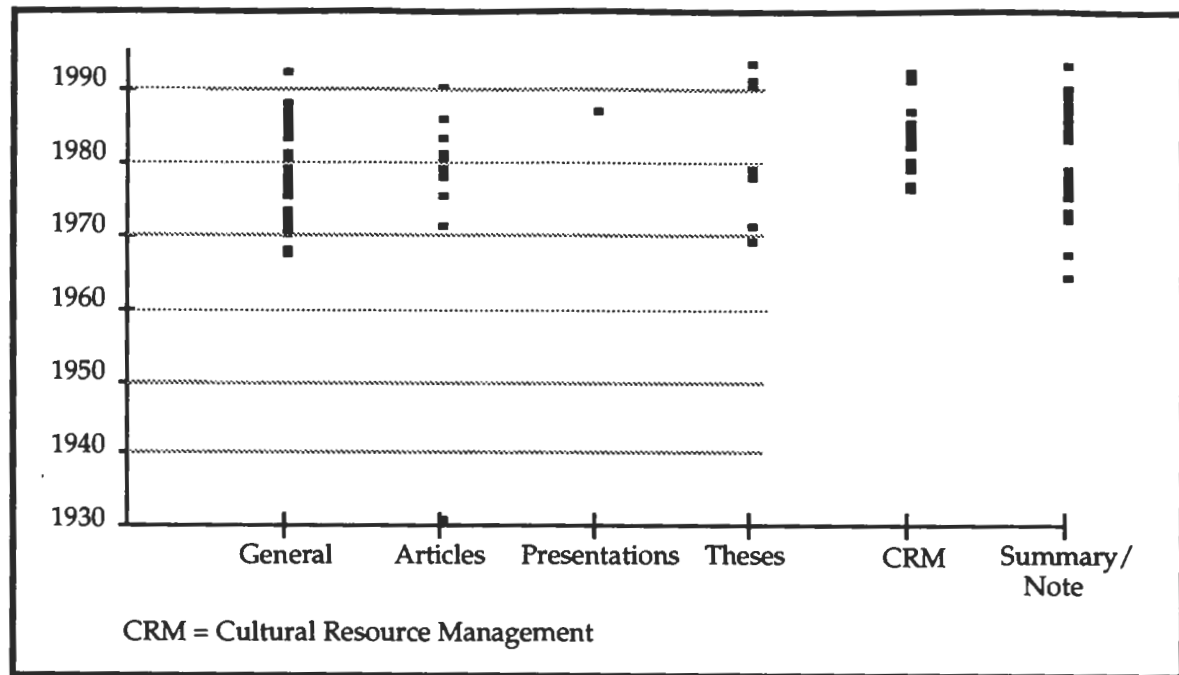
Figure 29. Report Types Produced by Year in Alberta.
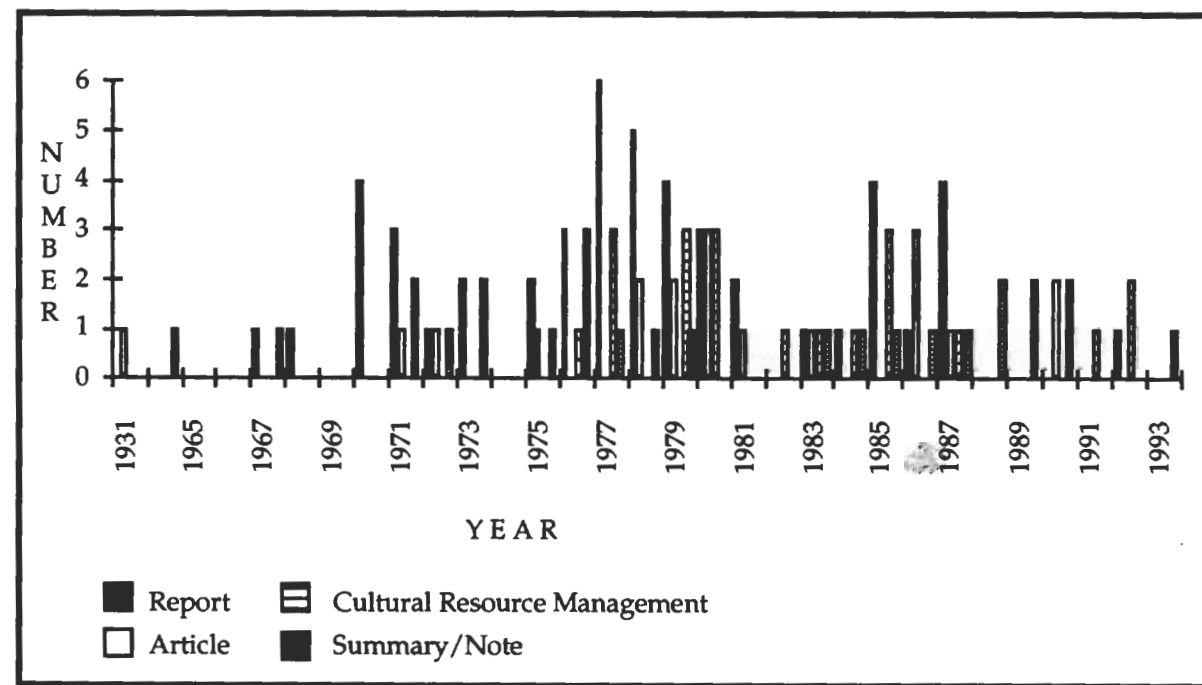
Figure 30. Comparison of the Four Major Alberta Report Types — General Reports, Articles
Cultural Resource Management and Summary/Notes — by Year.

Alberta students have produced six theses (Figure 29) between 1960 and the present. These include the Seafort Burial Site associated with the site of Rocky Mountain House (Skinner 1971, Carlson 1993), Buckingham House/Fort White Earth (Nicks 1969), Fort Victoria (Pyszczyk 1978), Fort George (Gullason 1990) and Fort Dunvegan (Mann 1991). The seventh thesis is Karklins' (1979) analysis of the Nottingham House materials.

Fur trade reports incorporate 157 references (Table 18) to the 38 different posts. The sites most extensively researched are also the best documented and include the Rocky Mountain Houses, Jasper House, Fort George, Fort Victoria, and Fort Dunvegan (Table 18). In fact the references from these sites comprise 57% ($n = 90$) of the total and represent the efforts of two major institutions in the 1970s —Parks Canada and the Archaeological Survey of Alberta.

The predominant research objectives of these studies through the 1970s was to locate, identify and describe individual sites. This reflected the Provincial Museum's goal of developing a regional chronology. Although the Provincial Museum identified higher levels of anthropological concerns (Kidd 1987:15-17), they were not attained. However, a number of reports, particularly from the 1970s onward, have attempted a more integrated approach focussing on broader research objectives. An early example is Skinner 's (1971) research into the process of acculturation seen at the Seafort Burial Site. Other studies have adopted a problem-oriented approach addressing such concerns as activity areas or patterning, subsistence, status and ethnic identity. Three individuals played an important roll in fostering broader research objectives —Pyszczyk at Fort Dunvegan and Fort Victoria, Forsman at Fort Victoria and Fort George, and Pickard at Jasper House. Broader research objectives continued into the 1980s and 1990s, though the majority of reports continue to focus strictly on identification and description.

Two audiences have been targeted by Alberta fur trade researchers, the academic community and the interested avocational archaeologist. Of the few attempts to reach a broader audience, an important one is a newsletter article highlighting excavations on the Fort George Plantation by Linda Gullason (1989) who was seeking to identify Native encampments.

Table 18. Reference Data for the Investigated Alberta Sites.

	# References	Report Type R	A	P/RD	Prsntn	Th	CRM	S/N	Report Status Ms	P	IN	CRM	Research Intent Id	D	In
Rocky Mountain Ho. (13R)	4	2						2	1	3				4	
Rocky Mountain Ho. (1R)	8	5						3	2	3	3			8	
Rocky Mountain Ho. (15R)	14	9						5	2	7	5		3	11	
Rocky Mountain Ho. (16R)	10	7						3		6	4		3	7	
RMH - Seafort Burial	5	2	1			2			4	1			1	2	1
Fort George	12	4	4			1		3	4	8			1	9	2
Buckingham House	3	1				1	1		2	1				3	
Fort Edmonton III/White Earth	2	1				1			1	1				1	1
Ft. Edmonton I/Augustus I	4	2						2	3	1			1	3	
Fort Victoria	13	5	2			1		5	4	9				10	3
Fort Wedderburn II	3	3								2	1		1	2	
Jasper House	12	8		1				3	5	3	4		3	7	2
Laroque's	1	1									1		1		
Piegan Post (Bow Post)	2		1					1	1	1			1	1	
Fort Fork	4	3						1	3	1			2	2	
Fort of the Forks	3	1	1				1		1	1		1	1	2	
Green Wintering	1		1							1				1	
Nottingham House	6	3				1		2	2	3	1		2	4	
Fort Assiniboine	1						1					1		1	
Muswade Post	1						1					1	1		
Lac La Biche	3	1					2		1			2	1	2	
GePa-10	2						1	1		1		1		2	
Fort Chipewyan I	1						1			1			1		
Ft. Chipewyan Powder Mag	1		1							1				1	
Fort Chipewyan III & IV	8	1	3				2	2	1	5		2	1	7	
Fort Edmonton IV	1						1					1		1	
Fort Edmonton V	3	1					1	1	1	1		1		3	
GePn-1	2		1				1			1		1	2		
Beren's House	1						1					1	1		
Pierre au Calumet	2	1					1		1			1	2		
Fort Dunvegan	13	1	2			1	5	4	2	6		5	2	8	3
Frog Lake	2	1	1						1	1			2		
Hunt House	1						1					1		1	
Greenwich House	1						1					1	1		
Boyer House	4		2					2		4			2	2	
Aspin House	2		1					1		2			2		
Paint Creek House	1						1					1		1	
Total	157	63	21	1		8	21	43	42	75	19	21	38	106	12

Report Type
R = General Report
A = Article
P/RD = Proposal/Research Design
Prsntn = Presentation
Th = Thesis
CRM = Cultural Resource Management
S/N = Summary/Note

Report Status
Ms= Unpublished manuscript
P = Published
IN = Inhouse
CRM = Cultural Resource Management Report

Research Intent
Id = Identify
D = Description (Features or Artifacts)
In = Integration

Over 40% of the reports are published, particularly the summaries or short notes (Table 19). Close to half of the general reports sit as unpublished manuscripts, while the remaining half are divided between published and Parks Canada inhouse reports. Theses and presentations are also unpublished.

Table 19. Status of the Various Report Types for Alberta Fur Trade Sites.

Report Type	Unpublished Manuscript	Published	inhouse Publication	CRM	Total
General Report	23	13	14		50
Articles		19			19
Paper Presentation	1				1
Thesis	7				7
CRM				20	20
Summary/Note	5	22			27
Total	36	54	14	20	124

CRM = Cultural Resource Management

The published reports, including the Parks Canada Research Bulletins, are readily available through libraries or by contacting the appropriate institutions (such as the Provincial Museum of Alberta or Parks Canada). Acquiring unpublished reports and Parks Canada inhouse reports require greater effort. In most cases these reports are accessible by visiting the Parks Canada Western Region Office in Calgary or the Archaeology Section of the Provincial Museum of Alberta in Edmonton. The latter repository also holds Cultural Resource Management reports, facilitating their access and availability, especially since one can search the computerized archaeological data base to easily produce an inventory of fur trade sites.

Of the 38 posts investigated, only 14 have been extensively researched and have at least one complete site report (Table 20) covering the historical data, objectives or goals, methodology, excavation results and full artifact analysis. Most of the reports appeared within ten years of the final excavation with the exception of the 1970s work at Buckingham House/Fort White Earth. In this case, one report does exist, but deals only with the early excavations, while the materials collected in the early 1970s remain unanalyzed. Other

reports, apart from the summaries and short notes, deal with structural information, condition studies or site assessment, or specific topics such as faunal analysis or dendrochronology. In most cases artifacts are scarce or have been treated in a perfunctory manner, being only mentioned or listed.

Table 20. Alberta Fur Trade Sites with Complete Site Reports.

Site	Author	Year Excavated	Year Reported	Report Type
Rocky Mountain House (13R)	Noble	1963	1973	R
Rocky Mountain House (15R)	Steer, Rogers, Lutick	1977	1979	R (IN)
Rocky Mountain House (16R)	Steer and Rogers	1977	1978	R (IN)
Fort George	Kidd	1967	1970	R
	Losey et al.	1977	1978	R
	Losey et al.	1978	1979	R
	Losey et al.	1978	1979	R
	Losey et al.	1979	1980	R
Buckingham House/White Earth	Nicks	1968	1969	Th
Fort Edmonton/Augustus I	Kidd	1967	1987	R
Fort Victoria	Losey et al.	1974	1977	R
	Losey et al.	1975	1977	R
	Losey et al.	1976	1977	R
	Forsman	1978	1985	R
Fort Wedderburn	Karklins	1971	1981	R
Jasper House	Pickard	1984	1985	R
	Pickard and D'Amour	1986	1987	R
Nottingham House	Karklins	1977	1979	Th
			1983	R
GePa-10	Smith	1992	1992	CRM
Ft. Chipewyan Powder Magazine	Forsman	1985	1985	A
Fort Chipewyan III and IV	Heitzmann	1978	1979	CRM
		1979	1980	CRM
Fort Dunvegan	Pyszczyk	1982	1983	CRM
	Pyszczyk and Belokrinicev CRM		1983	1984
	Pyszczyk and Smith	1984	1985	CRM
	Pyszczyk et al.	1985	1987	CRM
	Smith et al.	1989	1991	CRM

R = Report   A = Article
R (IN) = Report - Inhouse   CRM = Cultural Resource Management Report
Th = Thesis

Artifact Status

The Provincial Museum of Alberta houses the majority of the provincial collections, while the assemblages recovered by Parks Canada are deposited in the Western Region Office in Calgary or in Ottawa (see Table 21). Because two major institutions, Parks Canada and the Provincial Museum of Alberta/Archaeology Section, controlled artifact collection and documentation from the inception of fur trade research, a fairly uniform standard of classification exists for the majority of the collections. One exception is the Piegan Post data. Since the Stony Band commissioned the work in 1970, it is believed that the Band has retained the field notes, artifacts and reports.

The majority (63% or $n = 24$) of the artifact collections have received some form of analysis (Table 3.20), although quality and thoroughness varies. Some($n = 4$) of the more recently acquired assemblages are currently being processed.

Table 21. Status of Artifact Collections from Alberta Fur Trade Sites.

Site	Housed at	Catalogued		Catalogue with Artifacts		Analysed		Field Notes		Notes:
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Rocky Mountain Ho. (13R)	PC - Calgary	x		x		x		x		
Rocky Mountain Ho. (1R)	PC - Calgary	x		x		P*		x		
Rocky Mountain Ho. (15R)	PC - Calgary	x		x		x		x		recent material being processed
Rocky Mountain Ho. (16R)	PC - Calgary	x		x		x		x		
RMH - Seafort Burial	PC - Calgary	x		x		x		x		
Fort George	PMA	x		x		x		x		recent material being processed
Buckinham House	PMA	x		x		P		x		
Ft. Ed. III/White Earth	PMA	x		x		x		x		1970s material need analysis
Fort White Earth	PMA	x		x			x	x		1970s material need analysis
Ft. Edmonton I/Augustus I	PMA	x		x		x		x		
Fort Victoria	PMA	x		x		x		x		
Fort Wedderburn II	PC - Ottawa	x		x		x		x		
Jasper House	PC - Calgary	x		x		x		x		
Laroque's House	N/A									Locate & identify only
Piegan Post (Bow Post)	Stony Indian Band	?		?		?		?		
Fort Fork	PMA	x		x		P		x		
Fort of the Forks	PMA	x		x		x		x		
Green Wintering	PMA	x		x			x	x		
Nottingham House	PC - Ottawa	x		x		x		x		
Fort Assiniboine	PMA	x		x			x	x		
Muswade Post	PMA	x		x			x	x		
Lac La Biche	PMA	x		x		x		x		analysis is poor
GePa-10	PMA	x		x		x		x		
Fort Chipewyan I	PC - Ottawa	x		x			x	x		
Ft. Chipewyan Powder	PMA	x		x		P		x		
Ft. Chipewyan III & IV	PMA	x		x		x		x		recent material being processed
Fort Edmonton IV	N/A									no historic resources disturbed
Fort Edmonton V	PMA	x		x			x	x		material being processed
Pembina River	PMA	x		x		x		x		
Beren's House	N/A									no historic resources found
Pierre au Calumet	N/A									locate & identify only
Fort Dunvegan	PMA	x		x		x		x		
Frog Lake	N/A									site mapped
Hunt House	PMA	x		x		x		x		
Greenwich House	N/A									historic resource not disturbed
Boyer House	PMA	x		x		x		x		article in press
Aspin House	N/A									no artifacts collected
Paint Creek House	PMA	x		x		x				

Institution
PMA = Provincial Museum of Alberta
PC = Parks Canada

Index
P* = Partial analysis or preliminary analysis
Ft. Ed. III = Fort Edmonton III

NORTHEASTERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The quest to locate fur trade posts on the Peace River by J. N.Wallace (1929) and James MacGregor (1952) through historical sources extended into northeastern British Columbia. However, it was not until 1969 when Parks Canada began to develop Fort St. James (Figure 31) that fur trade archaeology was initiated in northeastern British Columbia. Since then an additional six posts have been investigated by the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University (Table 22) and individual consultants.

Table 22. Fur Trade Sites Examined in NE British Columbia.

Site	Company	Excavator(s)	Dates Researched	Institution	Type of Work	Research Objectives
Fort St. James	HBC	Harris	1971, 1972	PC	Ex	Structural Data
1806-		Karklins & Lee	1973, 1974	PC	Ex	Structural Data
		Snow	1976	PC	Ex	Structural Data
		Sumpter	1988, 1989	PC	Mon: T	Monitor Disturbances
		Porter	1989, 1990, 1991	PC	R: T	
Ft. St. John I/Ft. d'Epinette	NWC/HBC	Fladmark	1974, 1975, 1976	SFU	R: Ex	Locate: Identify: Structural Data
1806-1823: Wintering		Burley & Bedard	1987	SFU	T	Controlled Faunal Materials
Fort St. John II	HBC	Fladmark	1974	SFU	R	Locate: Identify
1857-		Carlson & Burley	1987	SFU	R: T	Site Integrity: Condition Study
Rocky Mountain Portage Ho.	NWC/HBC	Fladmark	1974	SFU	R	Locate: Identify
1805-1814 & 1823-1824		Spurling	1976	SFU	Map	Map Site
Wintering		Howe	1987	SFU	T	Feature Information
Rocky Mountain Fort	NWC	Finlay	1975, 1976	SFU	Ex	Structural Data
1794-1804: Wintering		Fladmark	1985	SFU	R	Magnetometer Study
		Burley & Hamilton	1986, 1987	SFU	Ex	Structural Data: Activity Patterns
McIntosh's Post	NWC	Fladmark	1975	SFU	R	Locate: Identify
1820-1821: Wintering		Finlay	1976	SFU	Ex	Structural Data
		Burley	1986, 1987	SFU	Ex	Structural Data: Move Fireplace
McLeod's Lake Post	NWC/HBC	Burley & Quackenbush	1986	SFU	T	Inventory & Assessment
1805-1952		Burley & Quackenbush	1987	SFU	Ex	Test Resource Base
		Bedard	1992	P Con	T	Test Village Site

Institution
PC = Parks Canada
SFU = Simon Fraser University
P Con = Private Consultant

Type of Work
R = Reconnaissance/Survey
T = Testing/Assessment
Ex = Excavation
Mon = Monitor

Post Type
Wintering = Wintering Post

Sites, Institutions and People

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board recognized the national historic significance of Fort St. James in 1948 and erected a plaque in 1952 (Searth 1990). As the headquarters for
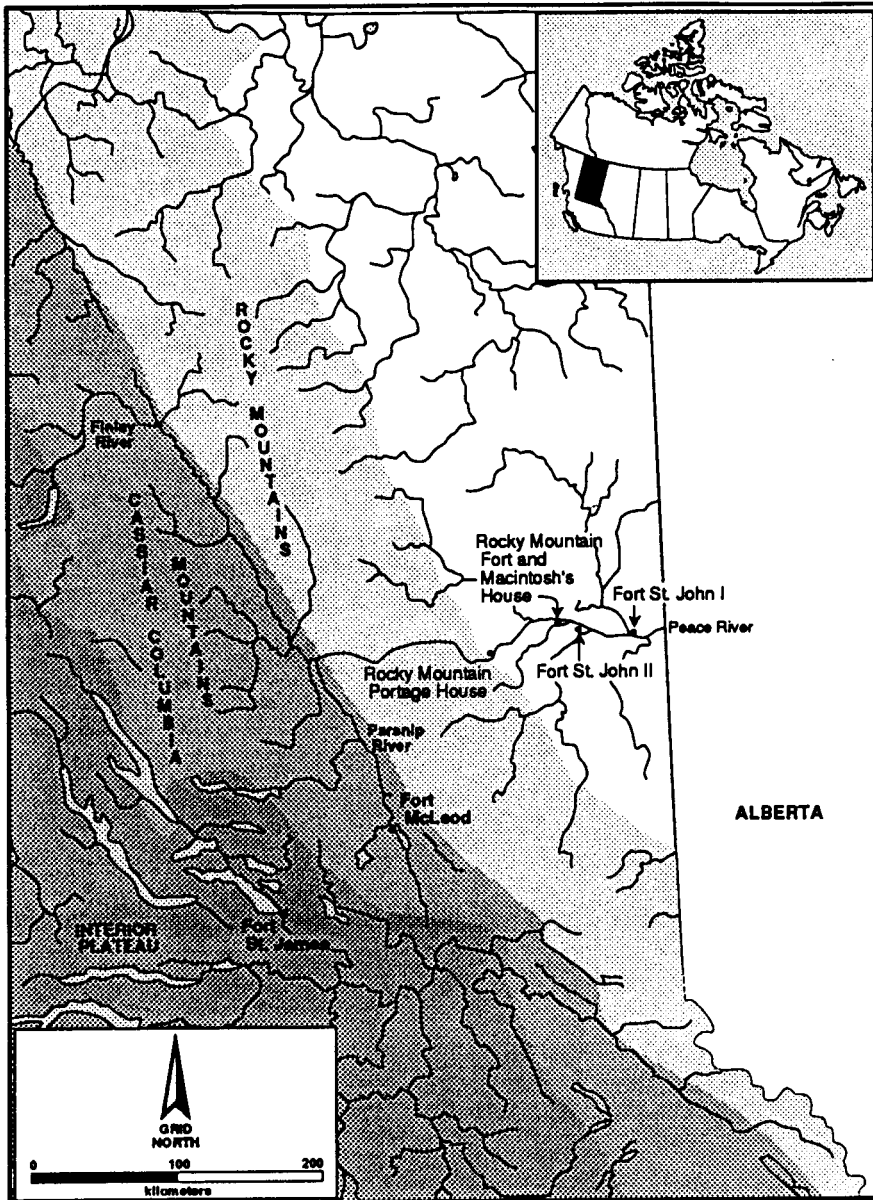
Figure 31. Location of Fur Trade Posts Examined in Northeastern British
Columbia.

New Caledonia extant structures such as the fish cache and warehouse remained intact and in 1969 the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, along with the support of the local Fort St. James Historical and Restoration Society, decided that the post should be developed. A provincial and federal agreement to this effect was reached in 1969 (Searth 1990) and in 1971 Parks Canada began excavations at Fort St. James primarily to seek "structural evidence concerning its buildings and features both extant and missing" (Harris 1972:1). Investigations continued throughout the first half of the 1970s (Figure 32) under a number of different supervisors (Table 22) again to gather structural information for interpretive purposes. By the late 1970s Parks Canada Western region had been established and continued work at the site, now largely for resource management purposes. Monitoring, testing and reconnaissance activities have continued to the present (Figures 33 and 34). This post represents Parks Canada's only involvement in fur trade research in this part of British Columbia.

Although Wallace in the 1920s and MacGregor in the 1950s attempted to chronicle the location, duration and use of fur trade posts on the Peace River it was not until Simon Fraser University entered the area in the mid 1970s that actual field search was undertaken for these sites. In response to plans by British Columbia Hydro to construct dams at two locations along the Peace River—Site "C" and "E"— Knut Fladmark, then a newly appointed faculty member, began reconnaissance work to "secure as much data as possible about the archaeological potential of a little-known area . . ." (Fladmark 1975:4, Burley in press). Fladmark employed crews including graduate students, such as B. Spurling, and F. Finlay, to assist in surveying both shores of the Peace River for a distance of over 100 km (Burley in press). Work continued in the region for the next three years and fur trade archaeology focussed on Fort St. John/d'Epinette, although other sites such as Rocky Mountain Fort were tested. BC Hydro has not proceeded with their plans at this time.

B.C. Hydro in the 1970s only required information on the archaeological resource base and an evaluation of the dam impacts on this resource. To this end an inventory and assessment
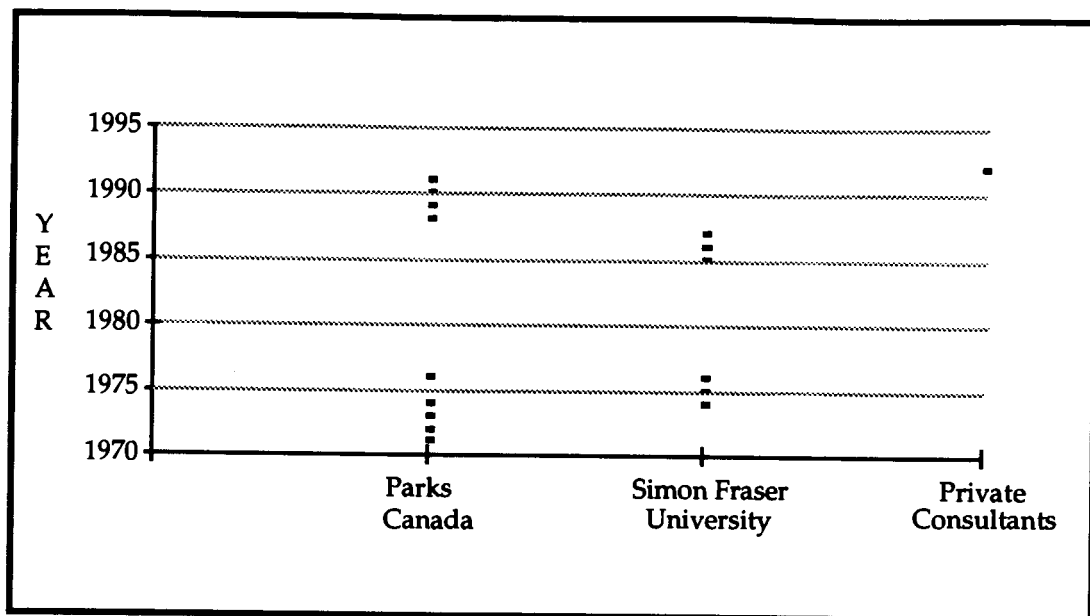
Figure 32. Institutions Involved in Northeastern British Columbia Fur Trade Studies by Year.
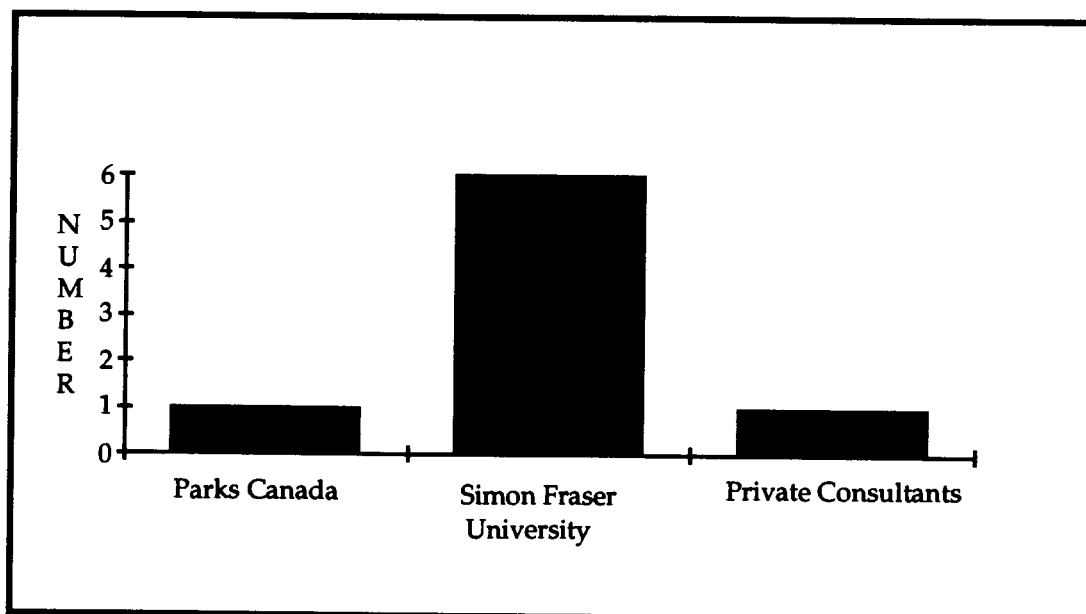
Figure 33. Number of Individual Posts Investigated by Different Institutions in Northeastern British Columbia.
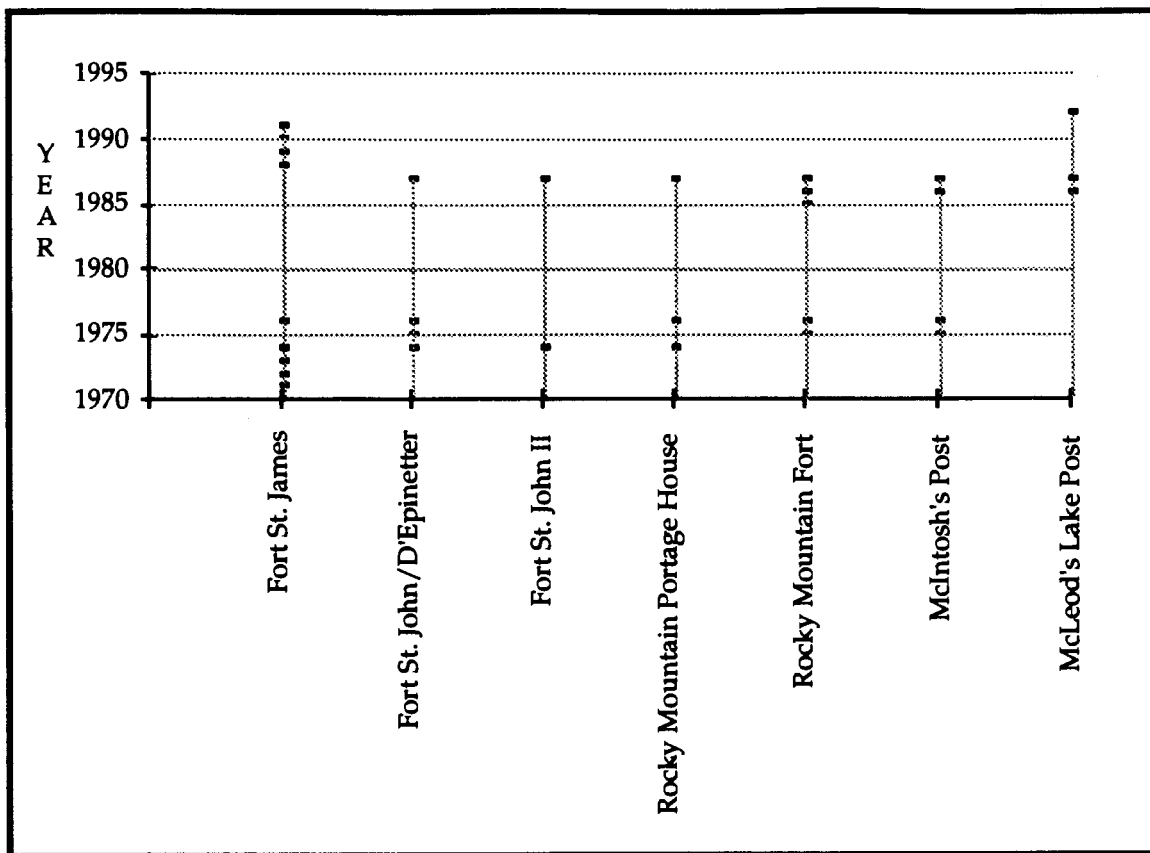
Figure 34. Years Investigations Carried Out at Northeastern British Columbia Fur Trade Posts.
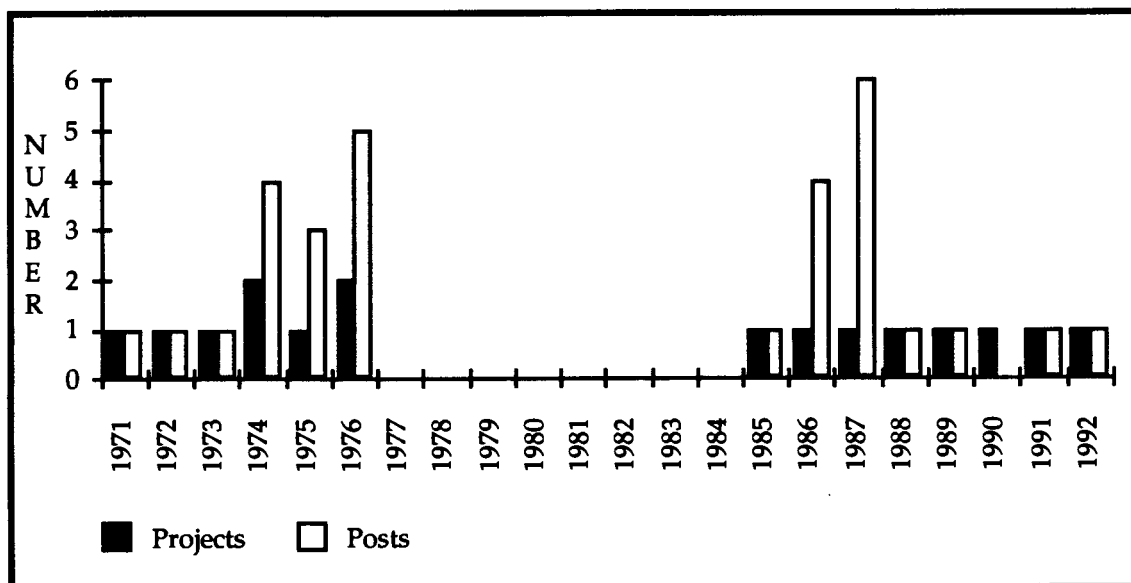
Figure 35. Comparison Between the Number of Projects Carried Out and the Number of
Actual Posts Investigated per Year in Northeastern British Columbia.

of archaeological sites fulfilled this requirement and additional work did not proceed. Despite

funding extensive excavations were carried out at Fort St. Johns. Fladmark's interest in the

Peace River did not wane and in 1984, in collaboration with historian A. Ray of the University

of British Columbia and ethnohistorian C. Bishop of the State University of New York,

Oswego, proposed a combined historical, ethnohistorical and archaeological study focusing on

the westward penetration and development of the fur trade in northeastern British Columbia

(Burley et al.1987:ii). British Columbia Heritage Trust financed this joint proposal for three

years. Fladmark sought a doctoral student to undertake the project and Scott Hamilton, who

had previously worked at Manitoba and northwestern Ontario fur trade sites, accepted the

position. Because of a serious automobile accident in 1985, Fladmark could not continue the

project, and D. Burley acted as supervisor through to the end of the project in 1987. Together,

Burley and Hamilton completed the project which marked the end of Simon Fraser University

involvement in historical archaeology in the Peace River area.

In the 1970s only Parks Canada and Simon Fraser University conducted field work in

historic archaeology in northeastern British Columbia and as a result no more than two projects

took place in any one year (Figure 35). After the initial burst of activity in northeastern

British Columbia, a hiatus of eight years followed before archaeological work again resumed

in the area. As noted above Simon Fraser University was instrumental in furthering

archaeological investigations in the Peace River area. In 1986 to 1989 Burley and Hamilton

conducted an archaeological field school whose activities centred on Rocky Mountain Fort, and

incorporating this information with previous research (such as Williams 1978), addressed

concerns dealing with environmental resource stress on a regional basis (Burley and Hamilton

1991).

Burley and William Quackenbush also carried out research at McLeod's Lake with the

intent of assessing the archaeological resource base of the 1823-1952 post era. They directed

their attention towards environmental and economic concerns with regard to the pre- and post

1879 period and the relations between the traders and the Tsek'ehni (Quackenbush 1990). In 1992 the McLeod Lake Tsek'ehni Band hired Elizabeth Bedard, a private consultant, to work on the village site associated with Fort McLeod. Bedard conducted test excavations at the site currently located on reserve land to gather information on the houses and supplemented this work with oral history and ethnographic work. One of the main goals was to acquaint the people with the visible remains of their own history. The crew consisted of "Challenge" students employed under a federal job creation programme (Bedard 1992). In 1993 the Band employed Eldon Yellowhorn to continue the archaeological research (Eldon Yellowhorn 1994, pers. comm.)

Parks Canada has restricted its involvement in the area to monitoring development activities at Fort St. James.

Funding

Three different groups financed archaeological research in northeastern British Columbia. The federal government through Parks Canada supported the Fort St. James investigations, and indirectly through the Challenge Programme. British Columbia Hydro and Simon Fraser University financed the original salvage work in the Peace River area, while the provincial government via the British Columbia Heritage Trust provided a grant for the research project in the 1980s. British Columbia Parks also provided contract funds for the work at McLeod's Lake undertaken by Quackenbush and Burley.

Reports

The 38 reports recorded for the Northeastern British Columbia fur trade posts basically represent general reports (n = 18 or 47%) followed by Cultural Resource Management reports (n = 7 or 18%) and short summary/notes (n = 5 or 14%). General reports represent the most common

medium used to disseminate information in the 1970s and 1980s (Figures 36 and 37). Articles are few (Figure 36), but may increase in the 1990s as the material is analyzed and reported upon.

Despite 38 reports produced for the seven posts, coverage and depth of analysis varies. At least two references (Table 23) exist for all sites and those most extensively excavated — Fort St. James, Fort St. John's I/Ft. d'Epinette and Rocky Mountain Fort— have the most references. In fact, 35 or 69% of the references pertain to these three posts, although complete site reports exist only for Rocy Mountain Fort. The MacLeod's Lake Post data also have been completely analysed for a Master's thesis (Quackenbush 1990).

Table 23. Reference Data for the Investigated NE BC Sites.

	# References	R	A	Report Type P/RD	Prsntn	Th	CRM	S/N	Ms	Report Status P	IN	CRM	Research Intent Id	D	In
Fort St. James	10	4					3	3		4	3	3		10	
Peace River Fur Trade (General)	4	2		1			_	1	3	1			2	1	1
Fort St. John I/Ft. d'Epinette	14	4	1		2	2	4	1	8	2		4	2	9	3
Fort St. John II	2	2							2				1	1	
Rocky Mouuntain Portage House	4	3	1						3	1			2	2	
Rocky Mountain Fort	11	6	2		2			1	8	3			8		3
MacIntosh's House	3	2	1						2	1			2	1	
McLeod's Lake Post	4	3				1			3				1	2	1
Total	52	26	5	1	4	3	7	6	29	12	3	7	18	26	8

Report Type
R = General Report
A = Article
P/RD = Proposal/Research Design
Prsntn = Presentation
Th = Thesis
CRM = Cultural Resource Management
S/N = Summary/Note

Report Status
Ms= Unpublished manuscript
P = Published
IN = Inhouse
CRM = Cultural Resource Management Report

Research Intent
Id = Identify
D = Description (Features or Artifacts)
In = Integration

The predominant focus of the work in the 1970s centred on the location and identification of sites along with excavations for structural information. This fundamental level of research reflects the infancy of fur trade archaeology in northeastern British Columbia and the unknown archaeological potential of the area. However, data collected from the Fort d'Epinette excavations provided sufficient materials for two theses (Williams 1978, Bedard
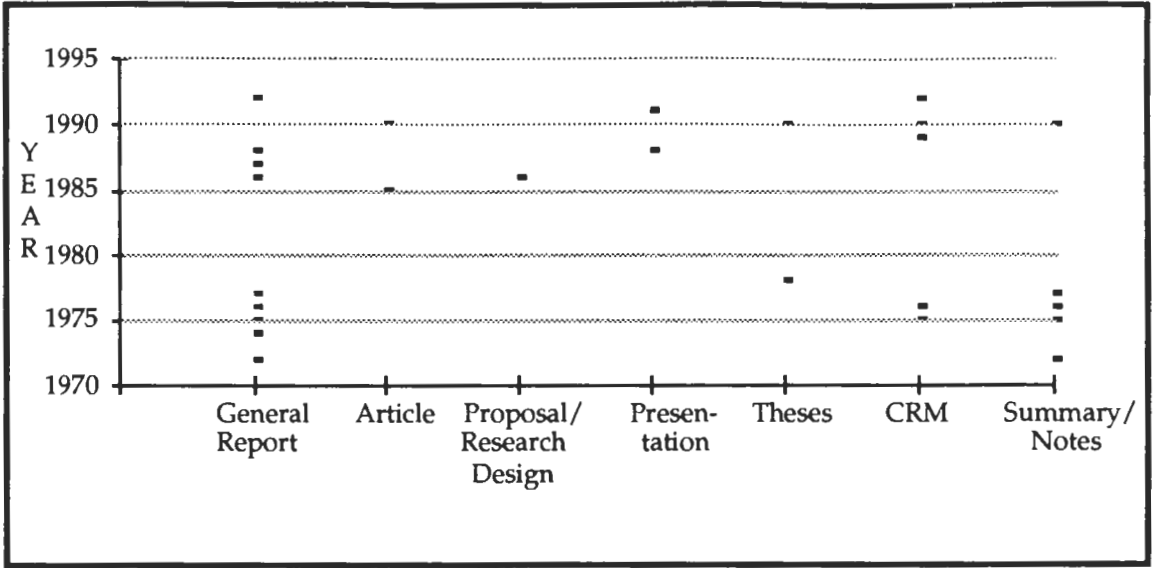
Figure 36. Report Types Produced by Year in Northeastern British Columbia.
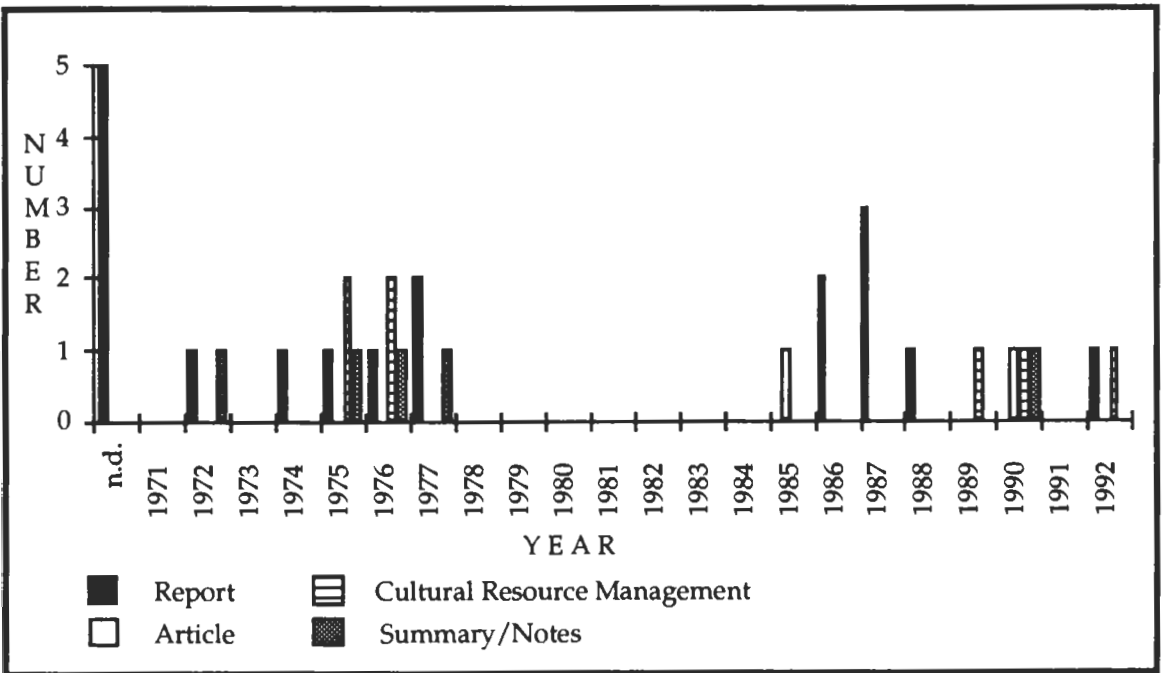
Figure 37. Comparison of the Four Major Northeastern British Columbia Report Types — General Reports, Articles, Cultural Resource Management and Summary/Notes — by Year.

1990). In the 1980s, research at Fort St. James continued to be directed towards gathering locational and structural information largely because of the shift entirely to resource management activities, a trend which has continued into the 1990s. Simon Fraser University's work in the 1980s adopted a problem oriented approach with research emphasis on subsistence, artifact patterning, and resource exploitation. The broader research focus may be attributed to the two individuals—Knut Fladmark and David Burley— who designed and implemented the study and helped to supervise the Master theses. In the 1990s a promising trend has begun with Native groups becoming interested and involved in recovering aspects of their own history associated with the fur trade. Bedard's work with the Tsek'ehni Band reflects this event, which hopefully will grow in the 1990s.

Northeastern British Columbia fur trade reports cater primarily to one audience —the professional or academic archaeologist. Even the short summary/notes appearing in the *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter* is geared towards the professional. This focus likely accounts for the low number of published works available on these posts (Table 24). One exception is Fladmark's 1985 article in *B.C. Studies*, geared at least to the interested avocational. However, Burley, Fladmark and Hamilton are currently working on a book which chronicles the history of the posts and the excavations and is geared for the general public. Published or unpublished, the majority of the reports appear in the 1970s and 1980s (Figure 37) when the field research was carried out.

The predominant unpublished nature of the reports also affects their availability. Most require some expenditure of personal and logistical effort. Reports on Fort St. James may be accessed by visiting Parks Canada Western Region office in Calgary. The Peace River reports can be accessed by visiting the provincial archaeological resource management office in Victoria or through Knut Fladmark or David Burley at Simon Fraser University.

Table 24. Status of the Report Types for Northeastern British Columbia Fur Trade Sites.

Report Type	Unpublished Manuscript	Published	Inhouse Publication	CRM	Total
General Report	14	1	3		18
Article		2			2
Proposal/Research Design	1				1
Paper Presentation	2				2
Thesis	3				3
CRM				7	7
Summary/Note		5			5
Total	20	8	3	7	38

CRM = Cultural Resource Management

Artifact Status

The Fort St. James artifacts collected by Parks Canada require a major programme of analysis/synthesis. Although two Parks Canada offices (Ottawa and Calgary) conducted excavations, the collection is housed in one place, the Western Regional office in Calgary. At present the Peace River artifact collections are housed at two different locations. The Fort d'Epinnette materials are at the Fort St. John Museum while the remaining collections are stored at Simon Fraser University. Currently, there are reports on the collections from Fort St. John I/Fort d'Epinette, Rocky Mountain Fort and McLeod's Lake Post (Table 25) with reports on the remainder of the collections in progress (David Burley 1993, pers. comm.).

Table 25. Status of Artifact Collections from Northeastern British Columbia Fur Trade Sites.

Site	Housed at	Catalogued		Catalogue with Artifacts		Analysed		Field Notes		Notes:
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Fort St. James	PC- Calgary & Ottawa	x		x			x	x		
Ft. St. John I/Ft. d'Epinette	SFU	x		x		x		x		
Fort St. Jonh II	SFU	x		x		x		x		report in progress
Rocky Mtn. Portage House	SFU	x		x		x		x		
Rocky Mountain Fort	SFU	x		x		x		x		
MacIntosh's House	SFU	x		x		x		x		report in progress
McLeod's Lake Post	SFU	x		x		x		x		

Institution
PC = Parks Canada
SFU = Simon Fraser University

SYNTHESIS

In this chapter my aim has been to introduce the "players" in western Canadian fur trade archaeological studies and to present and organize "pure facts," augmented by data from informants, to establish trends in the field. I have identified the different institutions/groups involved, the number of posts investigated, the number of projects carried out in any one year, funding, reports (number, type, status, audience, availability), and artifact status. A synthesis of this information follows.

Sites and Institutions

Systematic, professional fur trade archaeology in western Canada area began in earnest in the 1960s. Although Morton spearheaded Saskatchewan fur trade studies in the 1930s and 1940s, and other individuals such as Wallace and MacGregor in the Peace River area in the 1920s and 1950s respectively investigated a number of sites, no major systematic excavations took place before the 1960s. For all provinces except northeastern British Columbia, at least two institutions participated in fur trade studies (Table 26), conducting anywhere from 11 to 16 projects (Table 27, Figure 38) at five to nine posts (Table 28, Figure 39). (See Appendix C for a list of the individual posts investigated by decade for each province). Saskatchewan proved the exception during the 1960s with a burst of fur trade research: five institutions carried out 28 projects (Table 27, Figure 38) and investigated over 20 posts (Table 28, Figure 39). Institutions primarily involved in 1960s fur trade studies (Table 29) included universities, such as Lakehead and University of Manitoba; museums such as the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History and the Provincial Museum of Alberta; government agencies both provincial such as the Historic Sites Board in Saskatchewan and Alberta and federal such as Parks Canada - Ottawa. The latter focussed its energy in Manitoba with surveys conducted in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

In the 1970s, fur trade research began in northeastern British Columbia and all other provinces showed an increase in the number of institutions involved (Table 26), projects

Table 26. Number of Institutions/Groups Involved in Fur Trade Research By Decade and Province.

	NW Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	NE British Columbia
1920s			1		
1930s			1		
1940s		1	2		
1950s		1	2		
1960s	2	2	5	4	
1970s	5	6	6	7	2
1980s	3	4	4	3	2
1990s		2	2	4	2

Table 27. Number of Projects Conducted By Decade in Each Province.

	NW Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	NE British Columbia
1930s			6	1	
1940s		1	2	-	
1950s		2	5		
1960s	16	11	28	12	
1970s	22	24	19	40	8
1980s	16	27	13	27	5
1990s		8	5	3	3
Total	54	73	78	83	16

Table 28. Number of Posts Investigated By Decade for Each Province.

	NW Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	NE British Columbia
1930s			13[1]		
1940s			4		
1950s		1	11[2]		
1960s	8	5	24	9	
1970s	20	16	28	25	6
1980s	8	22	8	17	7
1990s		10	3	3	2

[1] Morton's reconnaissance work
[2] Nine sites pertain to Moody's Amisk Lake Work
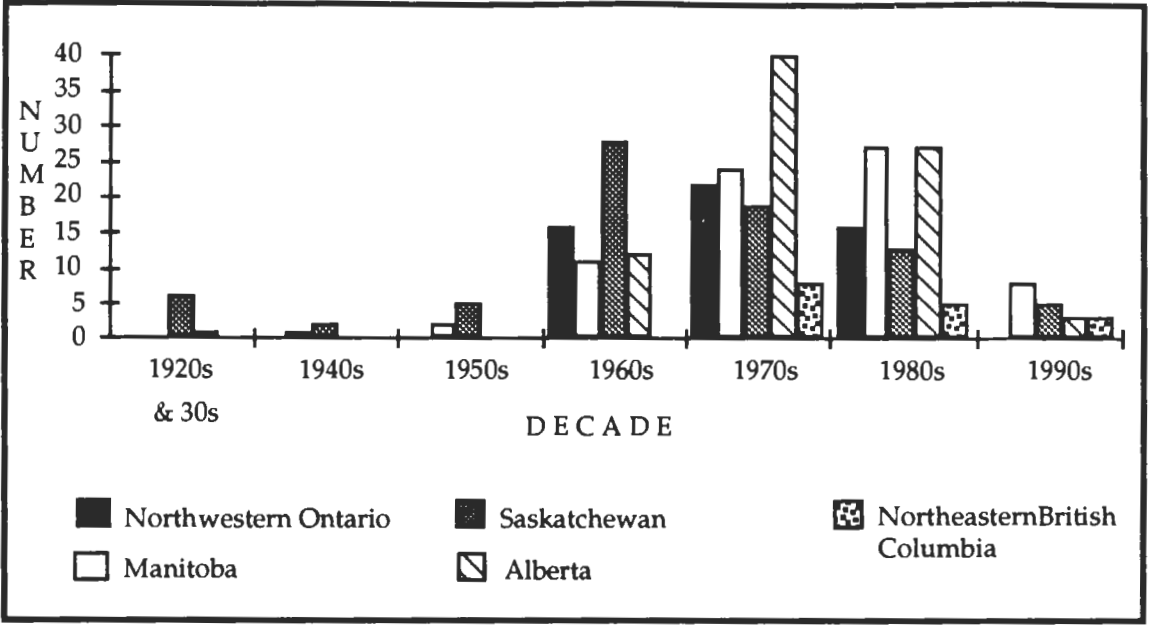
Figure 38. Number of Projects Carried Out in the Western Provinces per Decade.
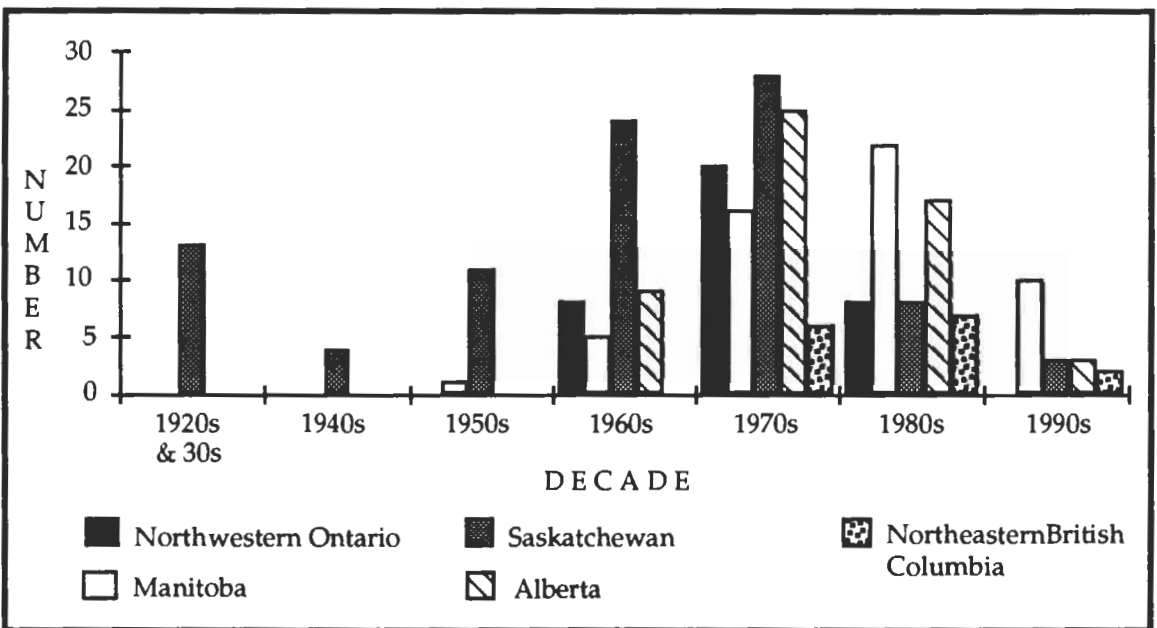
Figure 39. Number of Individual Posts Investigated in the Western Provinces per Decade.

Table 29. Institutions Invovlved in Fur Trade Research By Decade and Province.

	NW Ont	Man	Sask	AB	NE B. C.
1960s					
Universities	x	x	x	x	
Museums	x		x	x	
Government Agency					
Provincial			x		
Federal -Parks Canada		x	x	x	
Private Consultants					
Other*			x	x^1	
1970s					
Universities	x	x	x	x	x
Museums	x	x	x	x	
Government Agency					
Provincial	x		x	x	
Federal -Parks Canada		x	x	x	x
Private Consultants				x	
Other*	x	x	x		
1980s					
Universities		x			x
Museums			x		
Government Agency					
Provincial	x	x	x^2	x	
Federal -Parks Canada		x		x	x
Private Consultants	x	x	x	x	
Other*	x		x		
1990s					
Universities			x	x	
Museums				x	
Government Agency					
Provincial					
Federal -Parks Canada		x		x	x
Private Consultants		x	x	x	x
Other*					

[1] Glenbow Foundation

[2] Saskatchewan Research Council

conducted (Table 27, Figure 38) and posts investigated (Table 28, Figure 39), except for

Saskatchewan which witnessed a decrease in the number of projects (Table 27, Figure 38).

Provincial government agencies participated actively in research while in Alberta university

involvement centred on field school activities. Parks Canada conducted extensive work in

Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia with cursory/preliminary investigations in

Saskatchewan and no work in northwestern Ontario. Towards the end of the decade and as a

result of provincial heritage legislation, private consultants began carrying out fur trade

studies in Alberta.

During the 1980s, Manitoba and northeastern British Columbia managed to continue the

pace set previously while northwestern Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta showed a marked

decrease (Tables 26, 27, and 29, Figures 38 and 39). Private consultants along with government

agencies now conducted most of the research (Table 29). This decline in institutions, number of

projects and sites, continued into the 1990s with a marked absence of direct provincial

government involvement in field studies (Table 29). During the 1980s and 1990s Parks Canada

shifted its focus from site development to site management.

Over the entire time when fur trade studies were carried out, 27 institutions/groups and

a number of individuals carried out 303 projects at 151 posts with 46 (30%) of these being

extensive excavations (Table 30). The number of projects carried out within the provinces is

about the same, with the exception of northeastern British Columbia (Figure 40) which is

smaller in area. Saskatchewan has the largest number of posts investigated (Figure 40).

Funding

The bulk of funding for fur trade archaeology in western Canada has come from

government sources —both federal and provincial. In northwestern Ontario the provincial

government, through its regional offices, or the Royal Ontario Museum, financed all

excavations. A more equitable split between the provincial and federal governments existed in

Table 30. Sites Receiving Major Excavations.*

Province	Site	Institution/Group	Decade Excavated	Complete Site Report Yes	No
NW Ontario	Fort William	Lakehead University	60s, 70s		x
	Red Rock	Lakehead University	60s	?	
		MCC-Thunder Bay	80s	x	
		Private Consultant	80s	x	
	Whitefish Lake	MCC-Kenora	70s, 80s		x
	New Severn	Individual Researcher	70s	x	
	Fort Albany	Royal Ontario Museum	60s, 70s	x	
	Charlton Island House	Royal Ontario Museum	70s	x	
	Longlac	Lakehead University	60s	x	
	De Noyans	MCC-Thunder Bay	70s	x	
		Private Consultant	80s	x	
	Fort Frances	MCC-Kenora	80s		x
Manitoba	York Factory	Parks Canada	60s, 70s, 80s, 90s	x	
	Upper Fort Garry	Parks Canada	70s		x
		Private Consultant	70s, 80s	?	
		University of Manitoba	80s	P	
		Heritage Branch	80s	P	
	Lower Fort Garry	University of Manitoba	60s		x
		Parks Canada	60s, 70s, 80s, 90s	P	
	The Forks	Parks Canada	80s	x	
		University of Manitoba	80s	P	
		Private Consultant	90s	x	
	Pine Fort	Uni of Manitoba	60s		x
		MMMN	70s	P	
	Setting Chimney	Private Consultant	80s, 90s	x	
	Brandon House I	Heritage Branch	70s, 80s	P	
	McDonell's House	Heritage Branch	70s, 80s	P	
	McKays House	Private Consultant	90s	x	
Saskatchewan	Monument Site	SMNH	60s	x	
		SRC	70s, 80s	x	
	Francois-Finlay	SMNH	60s	x	
		SRC	70s, 80s	x	
	Grant & McLeod	SRC	80s	x	
	Sturgeon Post	PC - Ottawa	60s	x	
	Fort Carlton	SMNH	60s, 70s,		x
	Last Mountain House	Regina Arch. Society	60s	x	
	Fort Riviere Tremblante	MMMN	60s		x
	Belleau's Post	HSB	60s		x
	Methy Portage HBC Depot	U of Saskatchewan	70s	x	
	La Loche House	U of Saskatchewan	70s	x	
	Fort Pelly 1	SMNH	70s	x	

Province	Site	Institution/Group	Decade Excavated	Complete Site Report Yes	No
	Fort aux Trembles	SRC	70s, 80s	x	
Alberta	RMH (13R)	Glenbow	60s	x	
	RMH (15R)	PC-Calgary	70s	x	
	RMH (16R)	PC-Calgary	70s	x	
	Fort George	PMA	60s	x	
		University of Alberta	70s	x	
		ASA	80s		x
	Buckingham/White Earth	PMA	60s	x	
	Fort White Earth	PMA	70s		x
	Fort Victoria	University of Alberta	70s	x	
		ASA	70s	x	
	Fort Wedderburn	PC-Ottawa	70s	x	
	Jasper House	PC-Calgary	80s	x	
	Nottingham House	PC-Ottawa	70s	x	
	GePa-10	Private Consultant	90s	x	
	Fort Dunvegan	ASA	80s	x	
NE British Columbia	Ft. St. John I/Ft. d'Epinette	SFU	70s, 80s	x	
	Rocky Mountain Fort	SFU	70s, 80s	x	
	McLeod's Lake Post	SFU	80s	x	
	Fort St. James	PC-Ottawa	70s	x	

Institution/Group
MCC-Thunder Bay = Ministry of Culture and Communication, Thunder Bay Office
MCC-Kenora = Ministry of Culture and Communication, Kenora Office
U = University
MMMN = Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature
SMNH = Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History
SRC = Saskatchewan Research Council
PC = Parks Canada
 Regina Arch. Society = Regina Archaeological Society
HSB = Historic Sites Branch
PMA = Provincial Museum of Alberta
ASA = Archaeological Survey of Alberta
SFU = Simon Fraser University

Index
P = Partial site report (either features/structures or artifacts are not analysed)
x = does not include 90s work

* Major excavations refer to any program which extends beyond testing and assessment.
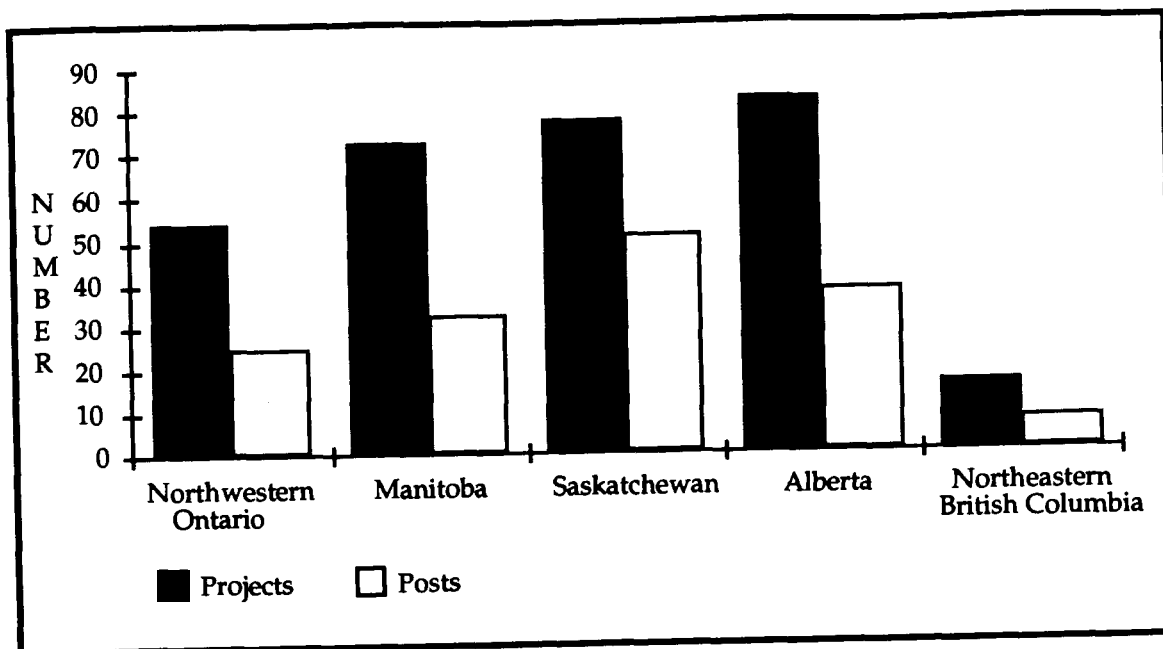
Figure 40. Comparison Between the Number of Projects Carried Out and the Number of Actual Posts Investigated Within Each Province.

Manitoba. While federal monies included Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council grants, the Opportunities for Youth Programme and Parks Canada support, provincial assistance was provided by the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Heritage Resources Branch and the Manitoba Heritage Foundation. A similar situation existed in Alberta where federal participation through Parks Canada and provincial support through various agencies such as the Provincial Museum of Alberta, Archaeology Survey of Alberta, Historic Sites Branch and Alberta Transport financed all fur trade studies, with the exception of the early Rocky Mountain House excavations supported by the Glenbow Foundation.

In Saskatchewan federal support has been comparatively limited and restricted to some Parks Canada research in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Archaeological Survey of Canada funds and grants such as the Opportunity for Youth Programme and more recently Access to Archaeology. The province has contributed substantially more through the

Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History and government departments such as the Historic

Sites Branch and Natural Resources. As well, corporate funding provided by the Saskatchewan

Power Corporation (SPC) played a major role in fur trade investigations largely as a result of

hydroelectric development. This support includes work conducted in the Nipawin area in the

1960s, 1970s and 1980s, and the Saskatchewan Forks area in the early 1980s.

A more equitable split between the federal government through Parks Canada, the

province via the Heritage Trust and corporate funding characterized the northeastern British

Columbia situation. Whereas Parks Canada managed Fort St. James, the Province, British

Columbia Hydro and Simon Fraser University supported the Peace River archaeological

projects. British Columbia Hydro's involvement resulted from their proposed development of

the Site C Dam.

The major sources of funds for western fur trade research, therefore, came either from

the federal government, mostly through Parks Canada, or the provincial government,

primarily through museums or branches of government associated with heritage resources (e.g.

Archaeological Survey of Alberta). In three instances, —the Peace River Study (northeastern

British Columbia), Nipawin (Saskatchewan) and the Forks Projects (Saskatchewan)— funding

has come from corporate sources.

Reports

As noted above, 152 fur trade posts have received some form of investigation, be it basic

reconnaissance, limited assessment or detailed excavation. This activity has produced 534

reports categorized into a number of different types (Table 31) with Manitoba sites having

received the most attention (Figure 41). If one includes the number of references to individual

posts, the number rises to 657 notations for 152 fur trade sites —an impressive number. A more

detailed scrutiny, however, reveals that only 41% (n = 219) (Table 31) of the reports represent

general reports and these vary substantially in degree of coverage and analysis. Of these,
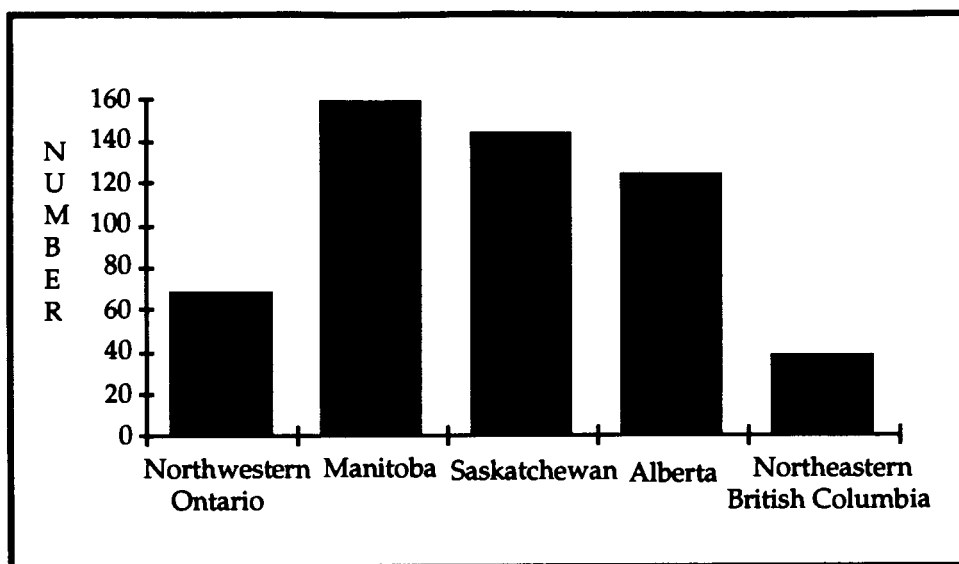
Figure 41. Number of Fur Trade Archaeological Documents for Each Province.
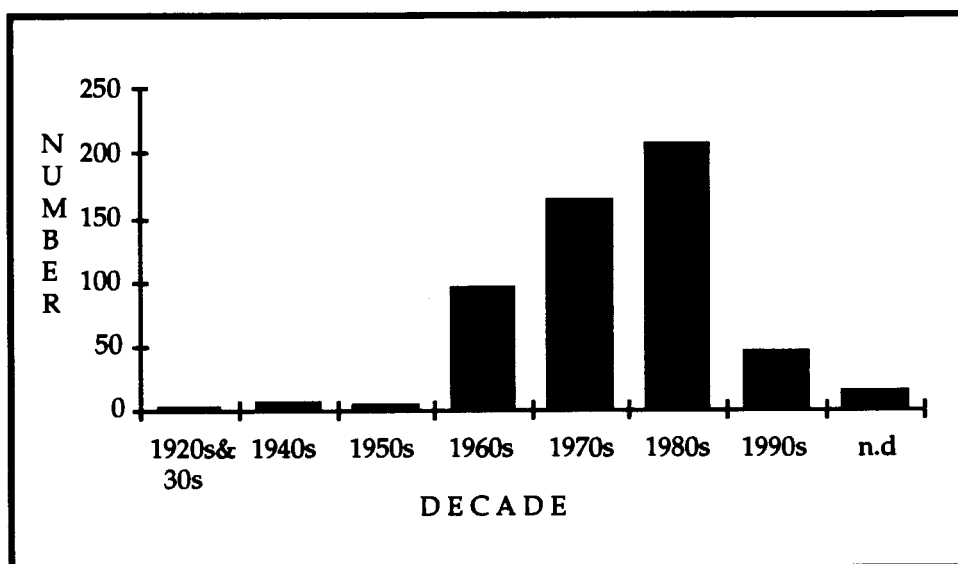
Figure 42. Number of Fur Trade Archaeological Documents per Decade.

major syntheses account for 19% (n = 41) while a quarter (n= 132) of the reports consist of nothing more than short summary/notes (Table 31). Close to half (47% or n = 254) of the 534 reports were published while the remainder are unpublished, Cultural Resource Management or Parks Canada inhouse materials.

Table 31. The Various Report Types By Province.

	NW Ont	Man	Sask	AB	NE B. C.	Total
General Report	32	77	42	50	18	219
Article	13	31	15	19	2	80
Proposal/Research Design		7	1		1	9
Paper Presentation		5	4	1	2	12
Thesis	3	4	2	7	3	19
CRM Report	5	11	13	20	7	56
Summary/Note	16	24	60	27	5	132
SARR			7			7
Total	69	159	144	124	38	534

CRM = Cultural Resource Management
SARR = Saskatchewan Archaeological Resource Record

Some reports exist for the pre-1960s work (Figure 42), but most occur after that date, with a steady increase into the 1980s. Unpublished manuscripts, published works and Cultural Resource Management reports also follow the same trend while Parks Canada inhouse reports decrease in the 1980s. The dramatic drop noted for the 1990s may change as the decade unfolds. On average, reports appeared about a decade after completion of the project.

How do the above report types, production, and publication rate relate to individual provinces? Production of reports (Figure 43) for all provinces except Saskatchewan and northeastern British Columbia follow the general trend noted above. In Saskatchewan report production rose dramatically in the 1960s, followed by a general decline in the 1970s and 1980s (Figure 43). In northeastern British Columbia (Figure 43) report production began in the 1970s
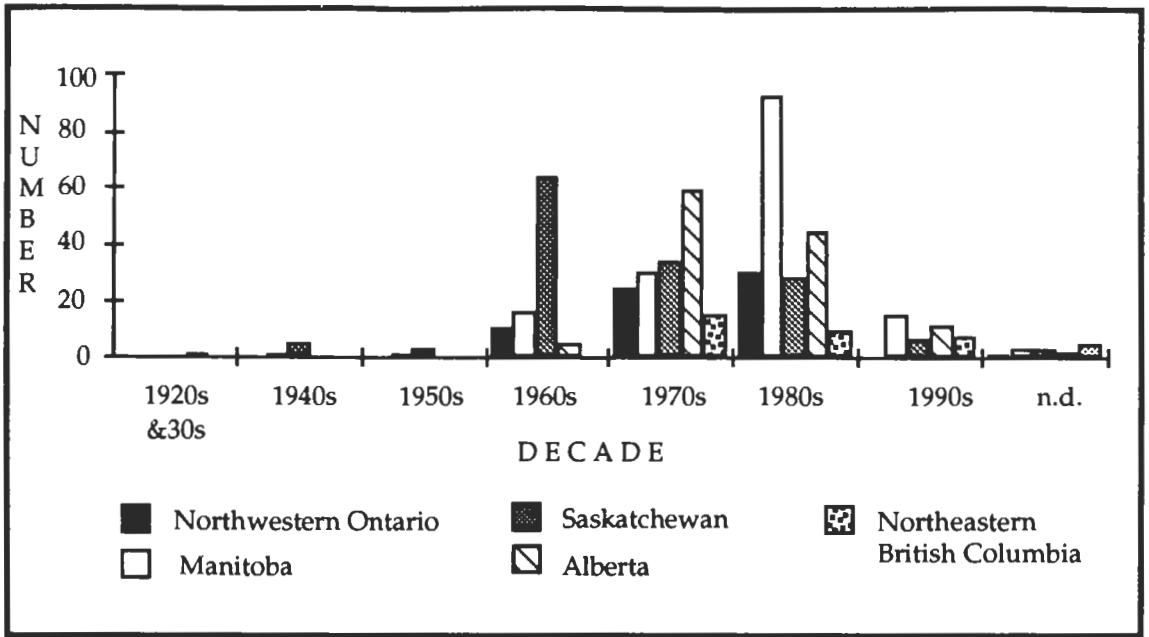
Figure 43. Number of Fur Trade Archaeological Documents Produced by Each Province per Decade.
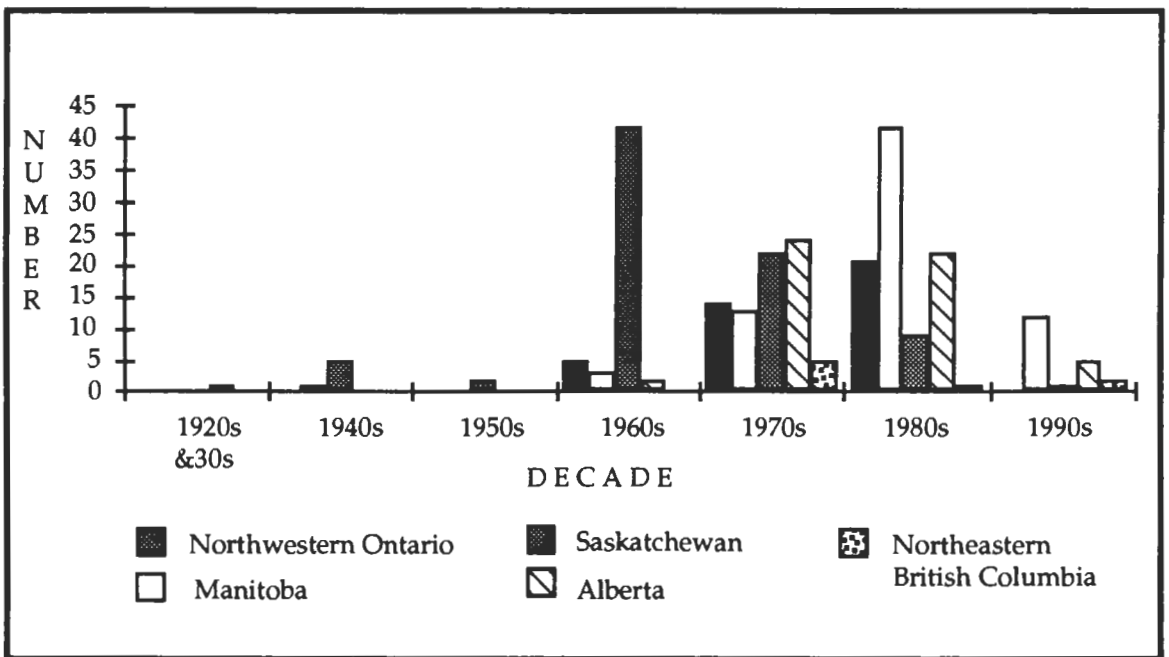
Figure 44. Number of Published Fur Trade Archaeological Documents For Each Province per Decade.

with a gradual decrease in the 1980s and 1990s. Despite the production of numerous reports, the coverage for individual sites varied greatly within each province —often with a few sites in each province being better documented than the rest.

General reports represent the most common kind of information in all the provinces except Saskatchewan, where summary notes comprise over a third of the reports. Although published reports predominate in all the provinces, except northeastern British Columbia, many of the general reports remain unpublished. The bulk of the published reports for each province appeared in the 1970s and 1980s (Figure 44) with Saskatchewan being the exception. Published reports followed the same trend as report production with the largest number appearing in the 1960s and a gradual decline in the 1970s and 1980s.

The different report types primarily were aimed at two audiences —the academic/professional and the interested avocational archaeologist. In the 1980s, a greater effort was made to reach a broader audience, primarily in Manitoba regarding the work at York Factory. The content of the reports usually focus on the basic research methodology, location and identification of sites, and the description of features and artifacts. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, researchers were exerting a more concerted effort to expand beyond these basic data. Such an approach can be attributed to a handful of people within each province. However, these attempts are few and the predominant method of "locate, identify and describe," prevails.

The availability of reports varies greatly depending upon the report type and status. Most of the published reports can be acquired with a modicum of effort on the researcher's part. Unpublished manuscripts, Parks Canada Inhouse publications, theses, presentation papers, proposals/research designs, and Cultural Resource Management reports usually require visiting the institution housing them or contacting the author directly. While some institutions or groups will reproduce reports, most are short-staffed and can only comply to a small request.

Artifact Status

Generally, the artifacts recovered from the mid 1970s onward have been processed (cleaned and catalogued) with accompanying catalogue and field notes, although this does not guarantee a constant level or standard of analyses. Collections prior to this time vary greatly. Usually, these have been cleaned and catalogued, but field notes are often missing or limited in detail or completeness. Most collections are housed at a few major institutions within each province. Few unfortunately, have been properly conserved.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND PARTICIPANTS
IN FUR TRADE ARCHAEOLOGY

Criticisms levied at fur trade reports and at fur trade archaeological research in general (see Adams 1980, Pyszczyk 1987a) include lack of research design or problem statement, no theoretical orientation or anthropological objectives, inability of data to support scientific analysis, poor artifact analysis (little or no description or quantification) and emphasis on structural description. As presented in Chapter 3 an incredible amount of work has been carried out in only a few decades but researchers (e.g. Adams 1981, Pyszczyk 1987a) feel that the corresponding amount of knowledge has lagged far behind. From a historical perspective, what factors have contributed to these problems and how does this situation compare with the development of other types of archaeology, both within the general discipline and more specifically within historic archaeology?

To address the above criticisms and account for a "seemingly" deplorable state of affairs as Adams (1981) has called it, this chapter examines the placement of fur trade archaeological research within the the prevailing archaeological climate at the time individual studies were being undertaken and assesses the researchers themselves —their backgrounds, goals, influences and personal or institutional struggles.

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

Fur trade archaeology cannot be divorced from the broader discipline of archaeology, particularly historical archaeology, and to this end a brief overview of significant developments and events in both fields follows. More comprehensive overviews or histories may be found in Trigger (1989a,1989b), Patterson (1986), or Dunnell (1986).

Before the 1960s, the overwhelming concern in archaeology rested on the chronology of diagnostic artifacts and their spatial distribution. Referred to as a culture-historical

approach, as defined by Willey and Sabloff (1974), emphasis was placed on "culture traits,

trait lists, histories of sites and/or areas — all on a time-space dimension" (Martin 19971:1).

This approach adopted a normative view of culture defined as the shared ideas, values and

beliefs, the collective norms of a human group (Flannery 1972:103). Common terminology and

classificatory concepts within a region became important criteria for site comparisons,

ultimately leading to regional syntheses. Unfortunately, descriptions and classification for

their own sake became a primary focus for much of this work. Not surprisingly this focus

produced dull, uninteresting reports concerned solely with artifact inventories, chronological

ordering, and descriptions of changing architectural features at individual sites (McC Adams

1968:1188, Caldwell 1959:304).

Frustrated with the culture-history approach, "New Archaeology" burst onto the scene

in the 1960s with the publication of *New Perspectives in Archaeology* (Binford and Binford

1968), and this led to a fundamental change or revolution in archaeology. During the 1950s

there had been a trend for all disciplines in the United States to become more scientific

(Redman 1991:295) and archaeology was no exception. Advances were being made in dating

techniques, multidisciplinary approaches were encouraged and the use of statistics was being

explored. As well, the National Science Foundation became a major funding source for science in

the United States and archaeology desired to more closely emulate a scientific model of

scholarly behaviour (Trigger 1986:201). In reflection Redman (1991:296) notes that "The sixties

provided the nation with both the optimistic Kennedy years, with an emphasis on science and

the conviction that we were capable of accomplishing wondrous things, and the cynical

Vietnam era." The latter led a younger generation to question and distrust the "informed

wisdom" of its leaders which carried over into archaeology (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1989:4).

New Archaeology integrated concepts of evolutionism, cultural ecology and systems

theory, allowing archaeologists to deal with questions and problems concerning social

organization, ideology, demography, primitive exchange, individual and class status

differences and settlement patterns (Leone 1972:19, Willey and Sabloff 1980). Rooted in anthropological theory and embracing a scientific paradigm based on the positivism of Hempel, New Archaeology promoted a rigourous methodology in formulating research designs for field and analytical strategies, a systemic view of culture and the seeking of general laws of cross-cultural applicability (Redman 1991:297). Law-governed explanation and systematic testing became the essential components in processualist scientific practice and the cultural past was argued as an archaeologically knowable subject through an ecosystem model (Wylie 1989d:95). History, the humanities and individuals were accorded low status (Trigger 1986:201). Trigger (1989b:23) equates the diminished view of the capacity of individuals to bring about cultural change with "the gradual replacement of many small competing industries by large, bureaucratically controlled multinational conglomerates in American society".

Processualist archaeology caught on quickly because its promotion of a scientific approach was timely, it demanded social relevance and rejected arguments based on authority alone (Redman 1991:296). New Archaeology also coincided with the expansion of university departments offering anthropology and many practitioners embracing this philosophy obtained teaching positions and thus had an important impact on the profession as a whole (Trigger:1986:203). As university appointments were no longer available students of the New Archaeology came to occupy government positions or became private consultants (Trigger 1986, 1989a, Lamberg-Karlovsky 1989:4-5). Supporters also began to control research funding (Trigger 1989b:24). Lamberg-Karlovsky (1989:7) for example notes that one major government funding agency only favoured proposals whose research designs were framed according to the deductive-nomological hypothesis-testing approaches advocated by New Archaeology. Lamberg-Karlovsky (1989:7) adds one other dimension which quickened the acceptance and spread of processualism— that of "sociality". "What counts is if a commodity sells, if it is popular, if it's the in-thing — not whether it is credible, correct or even comprehensible"

(Lamberg-Karlovsky 1989:7). To support this claim, he cites the following passage from Binford (1972:13):

> We had fun that night. All my students were there . . . People from other places who were doing innovative things were at the party ... We laughed, we sang, we joked . . . Change could occur. The younger students began to refer to us as the 'Mafia.'

One of the main problems with processualist archaeology lay in its inability to achieve desired results, the construction of general cross-cultural laws (Redman 1991:297). Research attempts to test explanatory hypotheses often have met with trivial success or non-controversial or uninteresting hypotheses (Wylie 1989d:96). By the late 1970s surface cracks began to appear, both as a result of internal critiques and the promotion and general acceptance of Marxist and idealist positions incorporated under the rubric of postprocessual archaeology (Patterson 1990:191). Binford (1983:12) himself acknowledged problems in transcending the limitations of traditional research but attributed this to the lack of an established body of properly scientific interpretive principles. Middle-range theory, involving the establishment of interpretive principles through actualistic studies, became the means for addressing the problem. However, middle-range theory as practised by archaeologists has been found lacking, in that the range of inferences is limited to natural laws or biophysical conditions with which human agents interacted and inadvertently produced the archaeological record, and provide no knowledge on the cultural significance, such as the social or ideational context, of these behaviours (Trigger 1991:93, Wylie 1989d:101).

Doubts and criticisms of processual archaeology existed from its conception (Trigger 1973), and a number of researchers (i.e. Deetz 1977, Leone 1982) believed the rejection of psychological and symbolic factors was too restrictive and eliminated a crucial element in deciphering the past. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the largest and most vocal opposition to processualist theory came from Great Britain, headed by Cambridge archaeologist Ian Hodder. Hodder (1982, 1984) argued that interpretations of the past need to take greater account of meaning, the individual, culture and history. Integral to all aspects of contextualism is the

view of culture as meaningfully constituted, a conceptual framework accepted within the normative view with its emphasis on 'norms' and artifacts as expressions of ideas (Hodder 1982:11). This postprocessual movement as it is called by no means represents a cohesive monolithic perspective. Watson (1990:614) has identified two major groups, the cognitive, structural and symbolic approaches and the critical or Marxist approaches. Patterson (1990:192) distinguishes between three postprocessual archaeologies which employ different elements from structuralism, phenomenology, poststructuralism and critical theory. These first include Hodder's "rapidly mutating strain" which centres on history, relations of power and authority amongst participants in discourses about the past. The archaeological record is a text to be decoded and the processualist's middle range theory is criticized as inadequate. A second postprocessual archaeology stresses phenomenology and poststructuralism positions which advocate a realist view of the past and look at interpretive practices, and social and political factors in the production of knowledge. Finally, there is an ideological strand which promotes critical self-consciousness. Despite the different perspectives, one common threa, runs through postprocessualist studies —the denial of a scientific neutrality in the practice of archaeology.

While the debate between processualism and postprocessualism continues in some circles, there is a growth and greater acceptance of different conceptual approaches in North American archaeology (see Duke 1991, 1993, Gero 1991). Several researchers (i.e. Patrik 1985, Spaulding 1988, Redman 1991) are now suggesting that the two approaches are complementary and represent alternative systems of knowing, each with their own contributions providing a needed diversity in the discipline.

Historical Archaeology Theory

The fundamental changes which swept North American archaeology in the 1960s, also affected historical archaeology, even though the discipline was in its infancy. Archaeology on historic sites took place prior to the 1960s but as an identified field, historical archaeology owes its origins to the founding of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1967. At that time

practitioners were few and most were trained in history and the humanities (Cleland 1993:13). Debate centred around whether the new field should be history or anthropology, giving rise to a "crisis of identity" (see Harrington, Noel-Hume, Walker, Cotter, Fontana and Griffin, Cleland in Schuyler 1978). Historian archaeologists advocated a particularistic paradigm described as idiographic and inductive (the "handmaiden to history" approach), while anthropological archaeologists, advocates of the New Archaeology, promoted the scientific method with an emphasis on discovering cultural patterns and processes (Cleland 1993:13). Despite these changes in archaeological approaches, South (1993:15) notes that most of the reports in the early 1970s were "narrative, site descriptive, methodological, or synthesizing in nature."

Not until the late 1970s did new or major developments take place in historical archaeology. Deagan (1993:20) identifies three seminal works which appeared in 1977: South's *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, Deetz's *In Small Things Forgotten* and Ferguson's edited volume, *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things*. South focused on quantification and pattern recognition and the emphasis upon scientific and processual research. Deetz, on the other hand, promoted a humanistic and cognitive approach. In the work edited by Ferguson, discussion centred on different conceptual approaches available to study material culture. The recognition and early acceptance of a "paradigmatic pluralism" (Fitting 1977:67), and a resistance to abandoning the historical dimensions of the subject, allowed historic archaeology to escape the dogmatism of processualist archaeology which pervaded prehistoric archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s. But it was not until the mid 1980s that historical archaeology began to break free of its "famous person styles of research and its historical particularism" (Adams 1993:29).

In the early 1980s, Deagan (1982:153) commented that in only two decades, historical archaeology had made rapid theoretical progress from descriptive and chronological concerns, through cultural historical studies, to problems of culture process, cognition and archaeological

principles. Today, the trend continues, with emphasis on middle-range theory, symbolism, structuralism, and postprocessual concerns, such as socio-political influences/implications, critical analysis and gender (see Gould and Schiffer 1981, Spencer-Wood 1987, Leone and Potter 1988, and Beaudry 1988).

Theoretical Orientations and Development in Fur Trade Archaeology

Changes in theory and method in fur trade archaeology in Western Canada paralleled basic developments outlined for historical archaeology in general. Before the 1970s, identification and description of architectural traits prevailed as they did in the general discipline of historic archaeology (Cleland 1993:13, South 1993:15). One notable exception was Kehoe's (1965) attempt to identify Native-White contact at the Francois-Finlay fur trade complex in Saskatchewan. Many of the early fur trade archaeologists, such as Robert Kidd, James Chism, Anthony Ranere and Alice Kehoe who participated in the 1960s, were trained in prehistory in the United States, while others such as John Nicks and Hugh MacKie came from a history background. At the time, they focussed their energies on discovering and identifying sites to establish regional histories and producing artifact typologies and chronologies, to provide a basis or foundation for comparative studies. There was an overriding preoccupation with site layout, building construction, feature descriptions, and artifact typology, manufacture and production.

To deal with the large collections of fur trade materials recovered from Lower Fort Garry, Parks Canada began to train material culture specialists in the 1970s. Individuals such as Olive Jones (bottles) Karlis Karklins (beads), Lynne Sussman (ceramics), Peter Priess (hardware) and others have greatly advanced knowledge in their respective specialty fields. Unfortunately, much of this expertise was not available in the early years of excavation and represents one reason for the long delay in the production of site reports. Other factors include the lack of financial resources, time, personal or institutional priorities and general loss of interest in the site once field studies were complete —topics addressed later in this chapter.

In the 1970s broadening of research objectives began to occur, especially after 1977. This is evident in Table 32 which lists the date, author and the research approach employed. It should be noted here that the materialist classifications such as cultural materialism, cultural ecology and cultural behaviour used in Tables 32, 33 and 34 are arbitrary and very general, because most works could not be easily classified into one category. As noted by Kohl (1981:96) these approaches are difficult to separate because the divisions between cultural materialism and cultural ecology, or between economic and historical materialism are subtle and difficult to determine. The divisions used here include ecological and settlement approach which incorporates subsistence economies, settlement pattern and the relationship of humans to their environment, basically the adaptive features of culture; cultural materialism which focuses on technology, demography, subsistence, economic relations and adaptation to the prevailing ecological setting; cultural behaviour which looks at patterns and systems; and historical materialism which focuses on classes and status.

Efforts in expanding research horizons practically doubled in the last two years of the decade (1978 and 1979) — one year after the three aforementioned works appeared in historical archaeology. Of those three, South's pattern recognition approach, which promoted a hypothetico-deductive method and quantification of artifact assemblages exerted the greatest influence and was readily picked up by a younger generation of researchers (Forsman and Gallo 1979, Forsman 1973, 1983, Hamilton 1986b). The adoption of a problem-oriented approach also began to gain prominence in the Parks Canada Winnipeg office, as witnessed in the early proposals of Adams (1979, also see Appendix B) —a shift which coincided with the arrival of the new Chief of Archaeology, John Combes, an American historical archaeologist. Combes had been directly involved with South and others in formulating the pattern recognition approach and this provided a favourable environment for pursuing new research aims. This, however, was not the case in Parks Canada Ottawa, where little sympathy or support existed for such concerns. While not totally discouraged, it was an approach not actively promoted

Table 32. Research Concerns Addressed By Decade.

Date of Publication	Author	Research Approach	Concerns
1960s			
1965	Kehoe (A)	Historical Materialism	Ethnicity: Native-White Contact
1970s			
1970	Nicks	Culture History & HM	Trait list: temporal indicators
1972	Skinner	Historical Materialism	Acculturation
1975	Losey and Prager	Cultural Ecology	Role of bison in subsistence
1976	Kehoe (A)	Historical Materialism	Ethnicity: Native-White Contact
1977	Hurlburt	CM & CE & HM	Fauna: subsistence, Native presence
1978	Hamilton	Cultural Behaviour	Hypothetico-deductive
1978	Hamilton	Cultural Behaviour	Hypothetico-deductive
1978	Pyszczyk	CM & CE & HM	Fauna: subsistence, Native presence
1978	Ray	Middle Range Theory	Protohistoric in archaeological record
1978	Williams	CE & CB & CM	Fauna: subsistence & patterning
1979	Adams	CE & CM	
1979	Adams	CE & CM	
1979	Adams	Cultural Ecology	
1979	Forsman	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Recognition: South
1979a	Forsman & Gallo	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Recognition: South
1979b	Forsman & Gallo	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Recognition: South
1979	Hamilton	Cultural Behaviour	Activity spheres
1980s			
1980	Adams	CE & CM	
1980	Burnip & Adams	Systems Model	
1980	Christianson	Cultural Behaviour	Artifact Pattern - South
1980	Jarvenpa & Brum	Ethno-archaeology	Structures, food use
1980	Prager	Cultural Behaviour	Quantitative analysis
1980	Stevenson	Critical Analysis	Misused in archaeological research
1981	Adams & Burnip	Cultural Ecology	Land use
1981	Balcolm	CM & CE	Faunal analysis: subsistence & diet
1981	McLeod	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Identification
1982	Bobrowski	Middle Range Theory	Patterning
1982	Klimko	Historical Materialism	Status: Hypothetico-deductive
1983	Adams & Lunn	Middle Range Theory	Gastropods
1983	Belokrinicev	Historical Materialism	Status: ceramic analysis
1983	Forsman	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Recognition: South
1983	Justice	Experimental archaeology	Clay pipe fragmentation
1983	Klimko	Historical Materialism	Status: Hypothetico-deductive
1983	Klimko	Historical Materialism	Status
1983	Monks	CM & CB	Frontier Model
1983	Petch	Cultural Behaviour	Artifact Pattern - South
1983	Pyszczyk	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern distribution: activity area
1984	Hamilton & Hems	Cultural Behaviour	Activity areas
1984	Hems	Cultural Behaviour	Activity spheres
1984	Hourston-Wright	CM & CE	Diet
1984	Pyszczyk	Pattern Recognition	Quantitative analysis
1984	Smith	CM & CE & CB	Fauna -diet, butchering, seasonality
1984	Zwiazek & Shay	Cultural Ecology	Wood supply & locale

Date	Author	Research Approach	Concerns
1985	Adams	Historical Materialism	Status: Pattern Recognition
1985	Adams	Cultural Behaviour	Site Patterning
1985	Adams & Lunn	CM & HM	Contact; work environment
1985	Burley	Critical Review	Status - advocate Mid-Rng
1985	Forsman	Cultural Behaviour	Artifact Pattern - South
1985	Hamilton	Historical Materialism	Status
1985	Monks	Historical Materialism	Status
1985	Prager	Historical Materialism	Status: NWC vs HBC
1985	Pickard	Cultural Materialism	Structural Data
1985	Pyszczyk	Historical Materialism	Status
1985	Rosser	Cultural Behaviour	Patterning
1985	Smith	CE & CM & CB	Fauna: diet butchering, seasonality
1985	Smith	CM & CE & CB	Fauna -diet, butchering, seasonality
1986	Burley	Historical Approach	
1986	Fifik	Historical Materialism	Status
1986	Hamilton	Cultural Behaviour	Activity spheres
1986	Hems	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Identification
1986	Klimko	Cultural Materialism	Feasibility Study
1986	Pyszczyk	Symbolic & MC	Status, architect style
1986	Smith	CM & CE & CB	Fauna -diet, butchering, seasonality
1987	Hamilton	Cultural Ecology	Resource exploitation
1987	Klimko	CM & CE & CB	Id, patterns,
1987	Pickard & D'Amour	Cultural Materialism	Structural Data
1987a	Pyszczyk	Symbolic	Material goods - social information
1987b	Pyszczyk	CM & Symbolism	Architecture - ft size & rank
1987	Walde	Cultural Ecology	Diet and seasonality
1988	Burley & Dalla Bona	Symbolic	Palisades
1988	Burley & Hamilton	Cultural Ecology	Subsistence economies
1988	Hamilton et al.	CE & CB	Subsistence, activity patterning
1988	Larcombe	Historical Materialism	Status
1988	Pyszczyk	Cultural Materialism	Consumption
1988	Seyers	CM & CE	Faunal analysis: subsistence
1989	Brumbach & Jar	Ethno-archaeology	Structures, food use
1989	Gullason	Historical Materialism	Native presence
1989	Klimko	Critical Review	Faunal analysis
1989a	Pyszczyk	Cultural Materialism	Ethnicity: consumption, ethnicity
1989b	Pyszczyk	Critical Review	Role of hist arch & site info
1990s			
1990	Bedard	CB & CM	Ethnicity: style & artifact pattern
1990	Hamilton	Cognitive: Symbolic	Social data through architecture, space & material culture
1990	McLeod	Cultural Behaviour	Patterns: South: formation processes
1990	Gullason	Historical Materialism	Gender, acculturation
1990	Quackenbush	CM & CE	Environment; economics
1990/91	Hamilton	Cultural Ecology	Fauna - subsistence pratctices
1991	Burley & Hamilton	Cultural Ecology	Subsistence economies
1991	Carl	Historical Materialism	Colour preferences
1991	Mann	Cultural Behaviour	Faunal analysis
1992	Monks	Symbolic	Architecture: social maintenance of economics & individuals
1992	Pyszczyk	Symbolic	Architecture: inequality
1992?	Pyszczyk	Cultural Materialism	Ethncity: Style
1993	Klimko & Hodges	CM & CE	Status, subsistence, behaviour
1993	Hamilton	Cultural Ecology	Subsistence economies
in press	Pyszczyk	Critical Analysis	Reflexive: selection of historic sites
in prog	Pyszczyk	Symbolic	clay pipes

because it did not serve immediate interests of site development and interpretation (see Swannack 1975).

The number of publications concerned with quantification, hypotheses formation, pattern recognition and the scientific method reached its peak in the mid 1980s —primarily due to a session at the University of Calgary Chacmool conference devoted to status. South's influence is particularly evident in the work of Klimko (1982) —hypothetico-deductive; McLeod (1981), Forsman (1983), Christianson (1980), Petch (1983) —pattern recognition; and Prager (1980), Pyszczyk (1978)—quantitative analysis (see Table 33). A materialist position with emphasis on the role of the environment and culture pervaded most of the work whether it pertained to an individual post (Table 34) or thematic issues cross-cutting site specific interpretations (see Table 33 and Appendix B). Research concerns of this era also began to focus on such issues as status through material culture research, non-verbal communication and symbolism.

Towards the end of the 1980s, a few researchers began reaching beyond a processualist approach to embrace symbolic, cognitive orientations (Table 32) and critical approaches or reviews. These include Pyszczyk's studies of material cultural in providing social information on rank and ethnicity (1987a), and of architecture (1987b) in denoting rank; Burley and Dalla Bona's (1988) paper on the message relayed by the presence of palisades; Klimko's (1989) review of the state and potential of faunal analyses; and Pyszczyk's (1989b) review of the role of historic archaeology and site information.

In the 1990s, there has been a mixture of research orientations (Table 32). While scientific, problem-oriented research continues in strong fashion, "humanistic" approaches also enjoy more attention. Examples include Hamilton's (1990s) analysis of the role of architecture, space and material culture in reinforcing social information within the fort community; Monk's (1992) identification of HBC's use of architecture at Lower Fort Garry in reinforcing its

Table 33. Thematic Concerns Addressed by Individual Researchers.

Author	Report Type	Date	Institution	Research Approach	Concerns
Belokrinicev	Prsntn	1983	-	Historical Materialism	Status: ceramic analysis
Burley	A	1985	ASA	Critical Review	Status - advocate Middle -Range Theory
Burley & Dalla Bona	Prsntn	1988	SFU	Symbolic	Palisades
Forsman	A	1979	ASA	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Recognition: South
	A	1983	ASA	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Recognition: South
Forsman & Gallo	A	1979a	ASA	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Recognition: South
	A	1979b	ASA	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Recognition: South
Hamilton	Th - Ph. D	1990	SFU	Cognitive: Symbolic	Social information
	A	1993	LU	Cultural Ecology	Subsistence economies
Justice	R	1983	-	Experimental archaeolog:	Clay pipe fragmentation
Klimko	A	1989	SFU	Critical Review	Faunal analysis
Nicks	A	1970	U of A	Culture History & CM	Trait list: temporal indicators
Prager	Th - MA	1980	SFU	Cultural Behaviour	Quantitative analysis
	A	1985	ASA	Historical Materialism	Status: NWC vs HBC
Pyszczyk	A	1984	ASA	Pattern Recognition	Quantitative analysis
	A	1985	ASA	Historical Materialism	Status
	Th -Ph. D	1987a	SFU	Symbolic	Material goods - social information
	A	1987b	ASA	MC & Symbolism	Architecture - fort size & rank
	A	1988	ASA	Cultural Materialism	Consumption
	A	1989a	ASA	Cultural Materialism	Ethnicity: consumption, ethnicity
	A	1989b	ASA	Critical Review	Role of historic archaeology & site data
	A	1992	PMA	Symbolic	Architecture: inequality
	Prsntn	1991	PMA	Cultural Materialism	Ethncity: Style
	A	in press	PMA	Critical Analysis	Reflexive: selection of historic sites
	A	in prog	PMA	Symbolic	Clay pipes
Ray	A	1978	York U	Middle Range Theory	Protohistoric in archaeological record
Stevenson	R	1980	PC -W	Critical Analysis	Mis-used in archaeological research

Institution	Report Type	Research Approach
ASA = Archaeological Survey of Alberta	R = Report	CM = Cultural Materialism
SFU = Simon Fraser University	A = Article	
U of A = University of Alberta	Prsntn = Presentation	
PMA = Provincial Museum of Alberta	Th - MA = Thesis, Masters	
York U = York University	Th - Ph.D = Thesis, Ph. D.	
PC-W= Parks Canada, Winnipeg Office		
LU = Lakehead University		

Table 34. Integrated Research Concerns Addressed For Individual Fur Trade Posts.

Post	Institution	Report Type	Author	Date	Research Approach	Notes
NW ONTARIO						
Whitefish Lake	Lakehead	R	Petch	1983	Cultural Behaviour	Artifact Pattern - South
New Severn	McMaster	Th - MA	Christianson	1980	Cultural Behaviour	Artifact Pattern - South
	U of M	Th - MA	Balcolm	1981	CM & CE	Faunal analysis: subsistence & diet
MANITOBA						
York Factory	PC	P/RD	Adams	1979	CE & CM	
	PC	P/RD	Adams	1979	Cultural Ecology	
	PC	P/RD	Adams	1979	CE & CM	
	PC	P/RD	Adams	1980	Systems Model	
	PC	Prsntn	Burnip & Adams	1980	Cultural Ecology	Land use
	PC	R	Adams & Burnip	1981	CE & CM	Patterning
	Ind Rsch	A	Bobrowski	1982	Middle Range Theory	Gastropods
	PC	P/RD	Adams & Lunn	1983	CM & HM	Contact; work environment
	PC	A	Adams & Lunn	1985	HM & CB	Status: Pattern Recognition
	PC	R	Adams	1985	Cultural Behaviour	Site Patterning
	PC	Prsntn	Adams	1985	Cultural Behaviour	Patterning
	Ind Rsch	Prsntn	Rosser	1985	Cultural Ecology	
Upper Fort Garry	U of M	Prsntn	Monks	1983	CM & CE	Frontier Model
	U of M	A	Monks	1985	Historical Materialism	Status
	U of M	Th - MA	Fifik	1986.	Historical Materialism	Status
	U of M	Th - MA	Seyers	1988	CM & CE	Faunal analysis: subsistence
	U of M	Th - MA	Larcombe	1988	Historical Materialism	Status
	HRB	A	McLeod	1990	Cultural Behaviour	Patterns: South: formation processes
	U of M	A	Monks	1992	Symbolic	Non-verbal communication
The Forks	PC	R	Smith	1985	CE & CM & CB	Fauna: diet butchering, seasonality
Pine Fort	BU	Th & A	Hamilton	1979 & '86	Cultural Behaviour	Activity spheres
St. Anne	HRB	R	McLeod	1981	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Identification
McDonell's House	HRB	R	Hems	1984	Cultural Behaviour	Activity spheres
	U of M	R	Zwiazek & Shay	1984	Cultural Ecology	Wood supply & locale
	Ind Rsch	Prsntn	Hamilton & Hems	1984	Cultural Behaviour	Activity areas
Brandon House I	HRB	R	Smith	1984	CM & CE & CB	Fauna -diet, butchering, seasonality
	HRB	R	Smith	1985	CM & CE & CB	Fauna -diet, butchering, seasonality
	Ind Rsch	A	Hamilton	1985	Historical Materialism	Status
	HRB	R	Smith	1986	CM & CE & CB	Fauna -diet, butchering, seasonality
	HRB	R	Hems	1986	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern Identification
	Ind Rsch	A	Hamilton	1987	Cultural Ecology	Resource exploitation
	LU	A	Hamilton	1990/91	Cultural Ecology	Fauna - subsistence pratctices
	Ind Rsch	A	Carl	1991	Historical Materialism	Colour preferences
Fort Ellice	BU	P/RD	Hamilton	1978	Cultural Ecology	Hypothetico-decuctive
		A	Hamilton	1978	Cultural Ecology	Hypothetico-decuctive
SASKATCHEWAN						
Francois-Finlay	SMNH	A	Kehoe (A)	1965	Historical Materialism	Ethnicity: Native-White Contact
	Lafayette	A	Kehoe (A)	1976	Historical Materialism	Ethnicity: Native-White Contact
Grant & McLeod	SRC	CRM	Klimko	1987	CM & CE & CB	Id, patterns,
	SRC	CRM	Walde	1987	CE & CM	Diet and seasonality

Post	Institution	Report Type	Author	Date	Research Approach	Notes
Fort Carlton	SRC	R	Klimko	1986	Cultural Materialism	Feasibility Study
Last Mountain House	Ind Rsch	R	Hourston-Wright	1984	CM & CE	Diet
	WHS	R	Klimko & Hodges	1993	CM & CE & HM	Status, Subsistence, Behaviour
Fort Pelly 1	U of S	Th - MA	Klimko	1982	Historical Materialism	Status: Hypothetico-deductive
	SMNH	R	Klimko	1983	Historical Materialism	Status: Hypothetico-deductive
	SRC	Prsntn	Klimko	1983	Historical Materialism	Status
Sandy Lake #6	?	R	Jarvenpa & Brum	1980	Ethno-archaeology	Structures, food use
		R	Brumbach & Jar	1989	Ethno-archaeology	Structures, food use

ALBERTA

Post	Institution	Report Type	Author	Date	Research Approach	Notes
RMH -Seafort Burial	U of A	A	Skinner	1972	Historical Materialism	Acculturation
Fort George	U of A	S/N	Gullason	1989	Historical Materialism	Native presence
	U of A	Th - MA	Gullason	1990	Historical Materialism	Gender, acculturation
Fort Edmonton III	PMA	R	Hurlburt	1977	CM & CE & HM	Fauna: subsistence, Native presence
Fort Victoria	U of A	A	Losey and Prager	1975	Cultural Ecology	Role of bison in subsistence
	U of M	Th - MA	Pyszczyk	1978	CM & CE & CB	Fauna: subsistence, Native presence
	ASA	R	Forsman	1985	Cultural Behaviour	Artifact Pattern - South
Jasper House	PC	R	Pickard	1985	Cultural Materialism	Structural Data
	PC	R	Pickard & D'Amour	1987	Cultural Materialism	Structural Data
Fort Dunvegan	ASA	A	Pyszczyk	1983	Cultural Behaviour	Pattern distribution: activity area
	ASA	A	Pyszczyk	1986	Symbolic & MC	Status, architect style
	U of A	Th - MA	Mann	1991	Cultural Behaviour	Faunal analysis

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Post	Institution	Report Type	Author	Date	Research Approach	Notes
Peace River	SFU	P/RD	Burley	1986	Historical Approach	
Fort D'Epinette	SFU	Th - MA	Williams	1978	CE & CB & CM	Fauna: subsistence & patterning
	SFU	Prsntn	Burley & Hamilton	1988	Cultural Ecology	Subsistence economies
	SFU	Th - MA	Bedard	1990	CB & MC & CB	Ethnicity: style & artifact pattern
	SFU	Prsnt	Burley & Hamilton	1991	Cultural Ecology	Subsistence economies
Rocky Mountain Fort	SFU	R	Hamilton et al.	1988	CE & CB	Subsistence, activity patterning
McLeod's Lake	SFU	Th - MA	Quackenbush	1990	CM & CE	Environment; economics

Institution
PC = Parks Canada
U of M = University of Manitoba
Ind Rsch = Independent Researcher
BU = Brandon University
HRB = Historic Resources Branch
LU = Lakehead University
SMNH = Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History
SRC = Saskatchewan Research Council
WHS = Western Heritage Services
U of S = University of Saskatchewan
U of A = University of Alberta
PMA = Provincial Museum of Alberta
ASA = Archaeological Survey of Alberta
SFU = Simon Fraser University

Report Type
R = Report
A = Article
P/RD = Proposal/Research Design
Prsntn = Presentation
Th - MA = Thesis - Master's
CRM = Cultural Resource Management
S/N = Summary/Note

Research Approach
CE = Cultural Ecology
CM = Cultural Materialism
CB = Cultural Behaviour
HC = Historical Materialism

dominant economic and social position within the community; and Gullason's (1990) concerns with gender and acculturation at Fort George.

To summarize, fur trade archaeological studies have mirrored theoretical developments in archaeology, particularly historical archaeology. Changes in theoretical orientation began in earnest in the 1970s and continue today. While this situation seems encouraging, the overriding concern with historical questions dealing with site discovery, identification, and chronology which initiated the early fur trade sites surveys continues to drive many fur trade programmes. Archival documentation exists, but not for all posts and the surviving records vary in scope and detail,thus making simple infield identification difficult. These historical questions need to be answered before entertaining more complex research concerns.

RESEARCHERS

The pursuit of broader research goals in fur trade archaeology has mainly occurred in the academic sector, or in certain non-academic institutions largely as a result of individual efforts by persons in prominent or influential positions. Examples include Combes and Adams in Parks Canada; McLeod in the Manitoba Heritage Resources Branch; Burley and Fladmark at Simon Fraser University; Monks at the University of Manitoba; and Pyszczyk and Forsman at the Archaeological Survey of Alberta. Unfortunately, analysis of the reports indicates that site location, and particularly description or delineation of architectural detail, still predominate. This in itself is not bad, because as Adams (1993:29) notes, these provide the "basic foundation stones" upon which theory is built. Yet his criticism that few historical archaeology site reports meet this fundamental professional requirement reflects a situation prevalent in fur trade archaeological studies where many research efforts remain unpublished and incompletely analyzed. What factors led to this state and continue to perpetuate this condition? At this point the individuals involved and the institutions promoting or conducting these studies and the attendant interrelationships become important.

The intent here is not to discuss each individual involved in fur trade studies, but to identify key players and the constraints, motivations, and external or personal forces directing fur trade research.

The Early Years — 1960s

The early practitioners of fur trade archaeology in western Canada encountered a situation characterized by a rich archaeological resource base with great public appeal and interest as well as much documented historical information. Unfortunately, what they lacked was basic comparative data and material culture studies needed to build a foundation for broad ranging research concerns. Overcoming this problem became the task of Dawson in northwestern Ontario, Chism in Manitoba, Kehoe and Ranere in Saskatchewan and Kidd in Alberta. All, except Dawson, were trained in prehistoric archaeology in the United States and were recruited to work on Canadian fur trade sites. Dawson, a Canadian educated at the University of Toronto, also majored in prehistoric archaeology. The impetus for most of the work rested on the need for archaeological information —primarily architectural and artifactual— for the development and interpretation of historic sites designated by provincial or federal Historic Sites Advisory Boards or Programs. These priorities coupled with the infancy of fur trade archaeology and the training of archaeologists in prehistory greatly affected the direction and state of fur trade research.

Dawson, a professor at Lakehead University, took an active interest in all sites in northwestern Ontario —historic and prehistoric— and spent much of his time doing survey and test excavations. Always able to sense an opportunity to enhance archaeological endeavours, Dawson quickly became involved with a project at Fort William being promoted by local and provincial interests to foster tourism in the area. Fort William had been the western headquarters and transhipment point for the NorthWest Company and the Ontario government provided five years of financial support, three for field work and two for analysis and reporting.

Dawson initiated the project but Joyce Kleinfelder, a local teacher and a graduate from the University of Toronto, along with the assistance of A. Marie Taylor also from Toronto, conducted the actual field work. Because "authentic" reconstruction was the main goal, architectural information became paramount for National Heritage, a private company formed to carry out development (A.M.Taylor, and W. Ross 1992, pers. comm.). Kleinfelder and Taylor, however, could employ whatever research approach they desired as long as the company obtained the basic data. Interested in the functional aspects of the posts, they focussed on the archaeological and written sources looking for contradictions between the two and trying to account for these. Unfortunately, funding ended before a final report was completed. Being a perfectionist, Kleinfelder became overwhelmed and obsessed with the details and never completed the overall archaeological synthesis —one of four proposed reports on the work at Fort William. Two works were eventually completed on a study of food-related artifacts (Cloutier 1976), and everyday life at the post (Campbell 1976). With Kleinfelder's death in the 1980s the materials and notes reverted to the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Taylor's research on site structures and spatial organization was similarly left unfinished. Taylor became disillusioned with reconstruction plans, especially a decision to reconstruct the post nine miles from its original location which was in the Canadian Pacific rail yards (purportedly for political reasons), despite theso called emphasis on authenticity. Recently Taylor has agreed to complete her analysis of the Fort William structures for the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture.

After this major project, fur trade research in northwestern Ontario reverted to surveys and limited testing dependent upon funding obtained by Dawson. Unfortunately, much of this early work remains unreported, with Dawson's interests primarily on field studies rather than laboratory analyses.

In Manitoba, the University of Manitoba hired James Chism as a research associate to conduct excavations at Lower Fort Garry, a site chosen for development by the Federal Historic

Sites Programme. Instead of conducting the work themselves, Parks Canada under the direction of John Rick, contracted the work to the University in hopes of initiating a historic archaeology programme (John Rick 1993, pers. comm.). Chism directed the project, but Parks set the objectives which centred on obtaining architectural details necessary for the development and interpretation of the site. While the excavations met this directive and introduced fur trade archaeology to students, including Priess, Karklins, Jones and Sussman all of whom continued in the discipline, the historic archaeology programme at the University of Manitoba ended when funding ceased.

During the course of the Lower Fort Garry field project Chism realized that very little was being done with material culture analysis beyond pure quantification. There was no attempt to integrate the materials within the broader perspective of post origins or function of the post. Such questions were not entertained because at that time the emphasis was on reconstruction of buildings and time was not allotted for interpretive or academic type of researches. This reflected the attitude prevalent within Parks, not only at that time, but also at present (John Rick 1993, pers. comm.). The role of archaeology and history was and is to provide information for the management and development of parks and any time afforded to do sound academic work constitutes a bonus. Parks role is not to be in the forefront of archaeological research but archaeologists, in addition to providing the required information, should be able to produce work beyond this level. Therefore, while research was not discouraged, the onus fell upon individual researchers.

The work at Lower Fort Garry had two beneficial effects according to Chism. First, it introduced an excavation methodology other than the prevalent 5' squares with bulks that was being used extensively in prehistoric archaeology. Second, it revealed the need for a culture material data base, because the basic identification of artifacts was often difficult. The latter was beneficial in that it spurred Parks Canada to begin building expertise in material culture and to this end they hired Chism as Head of Artifact Research after the end of the Lower Fort

Garry project. Although crucial, the time required to build material culture expertise often created tensions because government groups needed the information immediately for interpretation and reconstruction. This was a common problem in the 1970s and also today. As noted by Schuyler (1976:35) "professional archaeologists have yet to discover any shortcut around laboratory analysis and many projects simply will not tolerate the extent of needed time or money for analysis." Wylie (1983:122) notes, and most archaeologists would agree, primary fieldwork still commands the most support and prestige.

In the early 1970s, Chism's position within Parks changed and he became the "western fur trade archaeologist" with the mandate to travel, along with Smythe, a historian, within western Canada to look at sites worthy of commemoration by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. They were to assess the "documentary and archaeological research potential of these areas. . . the logistics and local research interests and capabilities of the various researchers and institutions in the Provinces and Territories" (Smythe and Chism 1973). They concluded that a final assessment of the problems and potentials of the sites and the development of a firm research design would be possible only after more areas had been visited and additional reconnaissance was recommended (Smythe and Chism 1973). As a result of grappling with the problems of site significance for commemorating the western fur trade and establishing governmental priorities, Chism left Parks Canada in the early 1970s (1992, pers. comm.). Unfortunately little followup was done after Chism's study, an exception being Karklins excavations at sites on Lake Athabasca.

Two different sets of circumstances led to the recruitment of Ranere and Kehoe in Saskatchewan. One dealt with commemoration, while the other was a proposed hydroelectric development by the Saskatchewan Power Corporation. Kehoe, through the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History, conducted research at the Francois-Finlay Fort complex on the Saskatchewan River. Her research orientation was not restricted to the acquisition of architectural data for reconstruction purposes and she employed an anthropological approach

to look at ethnicity and Native-White contact. Kehoe was not a salaried employee, but a volunteer Research Associate of the Museum. When an archaeologist was required to carry out the increasing archaeological workload of the museum, Ranere, a Harvard student, was hired (Tom Kehoe 1993, pers. comm.). The increase of work resulted from the Historic Sites Board's desire to celebrate Saskatchewan's Diamond Jubilee and Canada's Centennial through the development of a major historic site in Saskatchewan. John Nicks, a historian, had conducted an inventory of all potential historic sites in the province associated with specifically designated themes, such as the fur trade and the North West Rebellion. Tourism and economic development factored prominently in site selection and, because background data existed on Fort Carlton, this site was chosen for reconstruction. Ranere, like Kleinfelder and Chism, was sent to gather architectural data, accompanied by John Nicks. With little experience in fur trade archeology, Ranere followed Parks Canada excavation strategies as well as others employed on Missouri and European sites. The excavations at Fort Carlton differed considerably from those at Francois-Finlay as a result. Ranere was predominantly interested in features and to expose those he employed heavy machinery including a road grader to open up large areas. Ranere's techniques further influenced the methodology used by John Hodges, the avocational archaeologist in charge of the Last Mountain House project.

Funding was limited for all of these early works in Saskatchewan and, with an emphasis on fieldwork for structural information combined with a lack of knowledge of historic material culture, artifact analysis and report production lagged far behind. Alice Kehoe did complete a full analysis of the Francois-Finlay material in the 1970s but the Last Mountain House synthesis (Klimko and Hodges 1993) did not appear until the 1990s while the Fort Carlton artifacts continue to remain unanalyzed.

In Alberta, the archaeological programme at the Provincial Museum of Alberta began in direct relationship to the Historic Sites Programme, originally under the auspices of the Tourism Department. At first the Program's major emphasis rested with the marking of

historic sites (Kidd 1987:15). In the mid 1960s, the Provincial Museum of Alberta hired Kidd to work on Fort George to gather artifacts for interpretive exhibits for the new museum. A committee composed of the Museum Director Hugh Dempsey of the Glenbow and several historians chose Fort George because it was reasonably well known, historic research already existed, it was accessible and it represented an early site in east-central Alberta. Because of the Historic Sites directive and financial support, the main archaeological emphasis was on establishing a chronology of fur trade material for the area, interpreting the site and determining and confirming the location of other fur trade sites, providing interpretive and exhibit material for the Provincial Museum of Alberta and gaining architectural information. Excavations were carried out using a 5' grid and bulk system. Kidd (1987:15-17) did identify more abstract theoretical objectives including pattern recognition, the "Native perspective", and cultural formation processes but these were rarely achieved due to financial constraints and staff reductions which inhibited completion of basic artifact analyses and site reports. In fact, many seasonal reports from this early work remain unwritten due to staff turnaround and shifts in museum directives coinciding with the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of Alberta (Kidd 1991).

Early fur trade archaeologists in western Canada faced the same types of problems no matter where they were situated. Included here was a limited knowledge of historic artifacts, an emphasis on reconstruction and development and limited or no experience in dealing with the remains of historic structures. However, they did communicate and confer with one another for ideas and support and brought fur trade archaeology into the public and academic arena. More importantly these individuals influenced future researchers.

Growing Pains — Late 1960s to Late 1970s

Many of the early pioneers such as Dawson, Chism and Ranere continued fur trade research into the late 1970s. Others whose influence would be felt latter began entering the

scene in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Three prominent individuals include Hugh MacKie, Leigh Syms and Timothy Losey.

MacKie, a University of Saskatchewan history student with an interest in the fur trade, began his archaeological experience with Ranere at Fort Carlton. Ranere's practice of hiring predominantly American crews upset MacKie and he set out to initiate his own fur trade project. In this he was encouraged and sponsored by Zenon Pohorecky, an archaeologist at the University of Saskatchewan. MacKie managed to obtain money from the Saskatchewan and Manitoba governments to carry out excavations at Fort Riviere Tremblante (Cuthbert Grant's House) —a fur trade post in Saskatchewan threatened by Manitoba's proposed Shell Mouth River Dam. Over a three year period, Saskatchewan students, including Dean Clark and David Meyer, were trained in the techniques MacKie had learned from Ranere at Fort Carlton. The driving goals behind the Fort Riviere Tremblante project included the "proving" of Canadian researchers and the "authentic restoration" of the post for the public who ultimately paid for the work. These two factors led MacKie to emphasise detail and the aesthetic presentation of the site, going so far as staking out the site with white and red survey pegs. MacKie was hired by the University of Manitoba for two years to analyse and write the report. However, he encountered a common problem faced by previous researchers —the lack of adequate funding for laboratory work and little knowledge of fur trade artifacts. MacKie never completed the analysis but continued to work for provincial institutions and carry out fur trade research at other posts in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

MacKie eventually took a position at Glenlawn Collegiate (highschool) in Winnipeg. Continuing to have an interest in fur trade archaeology, he initiated a project at Pine Fort in conjunction with the Manitoba Museum. Here MacKie employed high school students, two of whom, Hems and Hamilton, went on to pursue a career in fur trade archaeology. MacKie's goal at Pine Fort was the reconstruction of the fort for public interest. After four years, the Museum and the provincial heritage agency switched its interest from Pine Fort to possible

reconstruction of Fort Ellice — a site promoted by Leigh Syms. Once again, disillusioned and frustrated by the institutions and individuals involved, MacKie left the discipline. Pine Fort and Fort Riviere Tremblante artifacts are now housed at the Manitoba Museum. Hoping to return to his analysis he has retained the field notes from the latter site. MacKie's (1992 pers comm.) interest went beyond reconstruction in also including the Native's role in the fur trade.

Leigh Syms began his early archaeological training at Lower Fort Garry under Chism and Peter Priess, Chism's assistant. Syms' main interest eventually centred on prehistory and the need to see artifacts as the end result of people's activities, "not as living entities in themselves" (Leigh Syms 1992, pers. comm.). Syms was influenced by Taylor's conjunctive approach and systems theory and he entered the doctoral programme at the University of Alberta. Here he developed a co-influence sphere model for the Manitoba plains and parkland which focused on social process, basically the cultural dynamics operating in the larger social, temporal and ecological contexts. Syms carried this anthropological approach into fur trade studies — an interest he always maintained— and while employed at Brandon University encouraged students such as Scott Hamilton to look beyond basic description. This is evident in Hamilton's B.A. Honours (1979a) thesis dealing with activity patterning at Pine Fort.

While at Brandon University Syms became involved with the Fort Ellice project, a site which the Manitoba Heritage Resources Branch wanted to develop for tourism. Syms received a contract to initiate preliminary work before intensive field excavations. Syms involved two of his senior students, Scott Hamilton and Bev Nicholson, in this project. Unfortunately, negotiations between the government and the landowners, who initially favoured reconstruction, fell apart and after two to three years of failed attempts the government abandoned the project.

After Brandon University, Syms moved to the Manitoba Museum where he still maintains an active interest and role in fur trade studies. For example the Manitoba Museum is housing artifacts and documents associated with the Fort Gibraltor site excavations undertaken

as part of the Winnipeg Forks Renewal Projects. Syms has also emphasized the need for analysis and report production of previous fur trade research, both for the professional and the general public. The lack of funding and staff form major barriers to this goal.

Timothy Losey, after meeting Kidd at an American Anthropological Association meeting, came to Edmonton and began working at Buckingham House with John and Gertrude Nicks. Losey's main interest originally lay in prehistoric archaeology, particularly cultural ecology, which he pursued at the University of Alberta. During this time the Historic Sites Branch, then under the Direction of Dean Clark, decided to develop Fort Victoria and approached the University of Alberta to conduct a field school at the site. Losey directed the field school for three years and was assisted by Roderick Vickers as crew director and Heinz Pyszczyk, a student. The terms of reference for this project related to developmental needs such as structural information for reconstruction but once this was accomplished the researchers could pursue broader goals. Toward this end Losey encouraged students such as Pyszczyk to examine subsistence concerns and the presence of Natives in the archaeological record through faunal analyses — a direction he himself had employed for Franklin's post in the North West Territories (Losey 1973).

After Fort Victoria, Losey continued field school activities at Fort George for three years from 1977 to 1979, again under the encouragement of the Historic Sites Branch. Like Ranere at Fort Carlton, Losey employed heavy machinery and this caused differences of opinion between government archaeologists (Historic Sites Branch and Archaeological Survey of Alberta) and the researcher. Despite the restrictions and priorities set by government terms of reference, Losey and the field school did collect a large quantity of material and encountered the ever-plaguing problem of limited financial resources to analyse and report upon the artifacts. Basic site reports were produced but Losey felt more could be done with the data. Losey emphasized the importance of historic sites archaeology to test methods used in prehistoric archaeology —a form of middle range theory.

These last three individuals, MacKie, Syms, and Losey, reflect the divergent themes in fur trade archaeology operating at the time — approaches which influenced upcoming younger researchers. Whereas MacKie's interest lay in field techniques, particularly attention to detail and precision (i.e. the use of nested screens), Syms promoted an anthropological approach reaching beyond the description of buildings and artifacts while Losey stressed the contributions of historic archaeology in testing archaeological methods and addressing broader concerns. All faced disappointments arising from political decisions or actions and the continuous lack of financial resources for laboratory work and report production.

Many other people participated in fur trade studies during these growing years. Individuals such as Dean Clark, Gilbert Watson, John Nicks, Peter Priess, Karlis Karklins and Donald Steer continued along the same path established by the pioneers. Developmental priorities and the search for comparative data continued to direct archaeological research, but important changes were taking place. American researchers no longer predominated; there was more University involvement through fieldschools or contracts; and there was a move away from a strictly historical orientation towards an anthropological perspective. Also a landmark development at this time was the completion of western Canada's first fur trade archaeology thesis (M.A.) in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alberta. Authored by Gertrude Nicks (1969), she attempted to identify distinctive material culture traits associated with the NWC and HBC from the sites of Buckingham House and Fort White Earth.

Towards Maturity: The Late 1970s and Onward

The early 1970s still carried with them the sense of discovery prevalent in the 1960s enforced by the need for basic information with the latter often taking the form of architectural information for reconstruction or comparative purposes. By the mid 1970s the emphasis on reconstruction started to wane as the primary directive for fur trade research and cultural resource management concerns began to increase. However, the focus upon historic documentation and description of the physical arrangement of sites and artifacts continued as

legitimate research efforts. Younger researchers, such as Pyszczyk, Prager, Forsman, Adams, Klimko, Hamilton, Hems, McLeod, Burley and Monks —many positively or negatively influenced by preceding practitioners— represented the burgeoning of a new era of archaeologists who came into their own in the 1980s and 1990s. These individuals had been trained as archaeologists and were heavily influenced by theoretical developments of the 1970s. They were also acutely aware of the lack of problem-oriented research in fur trade archaeology and eager to test new approaches. Some switched to fur trade studies from prehistory while others such as Pyszczyk obtained their entire training in historic archaeology. As well, the positions previously or currently held by these people reflect the diversity of institutions or groups involved —government (federal and provincial), academic and private enterprize— in promoting a more dynamic approach to fur trade studies.

This new generation of archaeologists employed a variety of approaches (see Table 4.3). Some, such as Forsman and his concern for pattern recognition focussed on a particular perspective. Others such as Pyszczyk, Monks, Burley and Hamilton were more eclectic in their concerns. Although the number of researchers increased dramatically in the 1980s the following seven, Pyszczyk, Hamilton, Adams, Klimko, Forsman, Monks and Burley stand out for the number of integrated research publications (see Table 4.3) produced or for the promotion of broader objectives through courses, fieldschools, or thesis supervision.

Despite the ulterior motives of producing broader problem-oriented research publications, this younger generation of fur trade researchers also faced a number of problems hampering this goal. One major reason for the continuation of base level research rests on the "mission oriented" goal fostered by cultural resource management studies. These reflect managerial priorities concerned with site documentation and identification, determination of site integrity, and vulnerability to destruction (Hamilton 1990:194). Intended to satisfy legal obligations these impact studies are tightly focussed into managerial concerns to satisfy legislation in the most cost effective manner (Hamilton 1990:194, Fladmark 1980:15). Rarely do

these studies permit time and finances required to more fully investigate the gathered data. There are many other problems identified by the informants for their lack of productivity. Some have claimed an absence of publication outlets in the 1980s for large monographs, especially if these are not site specific, and the long turnaround time for journal articles. Others cite personal discouragement with government directives (i.e. site development) promoting fur trade archaeological research, lack of support or encouragement for analysis and report production and attitudes or policies (i.e. internal review) regarding publication of data. Others note the low status assigned to site reports in attaining tenure or promotion at universities. All are frustrated with the overwhelming volume of artifacts, the lack of adequate support staff and finances to process collections, and the small number of granting agencies available for obtaining funds for pure research.

DISCUSSION/SYNTHESIS

In this chapter I hoped to set the theoretical context in which the individual researchers operated, demonstrate how their work reflected the prevalent themes and developments in vogue at the time, establish the conditions —personal and external— driving or affecting their research and approaches and identify key players and their influence on the discipline and each other.

Fur trade archaeological studies tended to reflect the prevailing views, attitudes and technologies/methods in practise in the larger discipline. The early years were characterized by individuals trained in prehistoric archaeology, the emphasis on sites for development and interpretation purposes, the subsequent excavation of sites for architectural information geared towards reconstruction and the lack of basic comparative data for historic material culture analysis. A number of the early pioneers proposed broader research designs but due to external factors such as lack of funds, staff and government directives beyond their control, their work rarely progressed beyond descriptive reports of field work, architectural features and site layout. The biggest problem of the early period was the lack of detailed reports, or reports

with limited content, especially in artifact analysis. The work truly fell within a "handmaiden to history" approach.

This basic approach with all of its attendant problems carried on into the 1970s, although new methods and directions began to take place —primarily in the Universities and Parks Canada's Winnipeg office. By the late 1970s, a new, younger generation of researchers began occupying government and academic positions. Caught up in the "revolution" occurring in historical archaeology, they were eager to adapt New Archaeology to fur trade data. Unfortunately, the lack of completed artifact analyses and site reports and the difficulty of obtaining manuscripts provided obstacles for addressing problem-oriented research concerns, despite all of the previous work. Adams (1992, pers. comm.) clearly identified the circumstances leading to this problem. Fur trade archaeology jumped from cultural identification to cultural integration and missed the cultural descriptive stage. Adams describes the latter as the culture history of material items —not just the basic description of such items as machine cut nails, but their history within the context of the fur trade. Despite the fact that different approaches were being utilized, the primary foundation base necessary for theory building never completely materialized. Fur trade archaeologists identify problems of funding, government priorities and restraints, limited publication outlets in the late 1980s and personal goals as factors perpetuating this state. Earlier work still sits unpublished or unanalyzed and descriptive reports rule the day. As well, the Cultural Resource Management movement in the last 15 years has continued to perpetuate low level research as investigators fulfil minimum requirements.

The major impact studies associated with Cultural Resource Management can be viewed as representing a "Good News, Bad News" scenario. The "Good News" was that large sums of money became available, the number of researchers increased and opportunities arose for training students and obtaining thesis data. The "Bad News" was that the managerial priorities of provincial government agencies charged with heritage management overrode any

personal research objectives. "Applied" archaeology", and not "academic" or "pure" archaeological research, resulted from such impact assessments. Although one could pursue more integrated research, the onus rested on the individual finding the time and funds. Adams (1992, pers. comm.) and Fladmark (1980:16) both recognized that universities should get back to doing "pure" research, while consultants carry out the "applied" archaeology and concentrate on providing good, comprehensive baseline data. At this point more historic archaeologists are needed on university faculties, a situation not easily rectified given recent economic conditions.

Despite the advances made in the 1970s and 1980s, fur trade archaeology was never able to completely break away from reconstruction, tourism, or commemorative themes — well illustrated by the recent work at Fort George (Forsman 1991, pers. comm.), Fort Dunvegan (Pyszczyk 1991, pers. comm.), and the Fort Chipewyan/Fort Vermilion region in Alberta (see McCormak and Ironside 1990). Decreasing funds and a demand that government agencies become more accountable for expenditures have led fur trade archaeologists to become more attuned to the needs of the general public who fund these projects. As a result fur trade archaeology has not completely broken away from the tourism aspect. In the past, fur trade archaeology provided the details required to authentically reconstruct or restore fur trade forts for the visiting public. Today the archaeology itself often becomes the attraction without reconstruction as the end goal. Recent examples include the Fort Edmonton project on the legislative grounds in Edmonton and the Forks project in downtown Winnipeg.

No one factor led to the recent state of fur trade archaeology. Instead, a combination of events, developments and circumstances, coupled with individual personalities of the time, created the current situation. Fur trade archaeology did not lag behind theoretical development but unlike prehistoric archaeology it had the added burden of disassociating itself from history and trying to gain acceptance and recognition by non-historical archaeologists.

CHAPTER 5

IN SUPPORT OF OUR CULTURAL IDENTITY:
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PARAMETERS

Schuyler (1976:29) suggests that the context within which scholarly research is conducted, rather than the specific methodology employed eventually determines the quality and type of end product. In this regard the cultural context within which western Canadian fur trade studies evolved becomes important for understanding its present state and some of the frustrations voiced by the archaeologists. The historical roots of this type of study can be traced to the historic site commemoration and development movement of the late 1950s and 1960s. This context proved to be qualitatively different and more delimiting than that of prehistoric archaeology. Beyond raising national awareness, heritage became intrinsically tied with tourism and economic concerns which led to a heritage industry. Issues pertaining to cultural identity and 'invented' pasts or traditions emerged. Reference is made here to Hobsbawn's (1983:1) concept of 'invented tradition' which he defines as:

> . . . a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.

Ceremonies, social rituals and reconstruction all play an important role in this process and, subsequently exerted considerable influence on fur trade archaeology — an influence some would say still presides today. Establishing the cultural context which fostered the growth of fur trade archaeology and its function in the heritage movement and the concomitant exclusion of the Indian's role in this venture is the focus of this chapter.

HISTORIC SITES BOARDS AND PROGRAMS

Events in the federal heritage programme via the Historic Sites and Monument Board of Canada provided a model for later provincial heritage societies. Even though archaeology did not seriously enter the scene until the 1960s, the early exploits of this federal Historic Sites and Monument Board and the provincial counterparts set the stage for archaeological pursuits.

Created in 1919 the Historic Sites and Monument Board concerned itself with questions of national significance and the commemoration of selected sites, but not site development (Taylor 1990:xvi). The board concentrated its efforts on commemoration, not preservation, because the former was relatively inexpensive, problems were theoretical rather than practical and inscriptions were more didactic than preserved buildings. In this manner, persons, places and events were easily and economically commemorated by placing a bronze plaque with a short narrative on the wall of existing structures, or on a specifically built cairn (Fry 1986:38). This reflected the Board's view of themselves as part of an educated elite whose duty lay in imparting proper values of patriotism, duty, self-sacrifice and spiritual devotion to young and new Canadians and members of lower orders of society (Taylor 1990:47). The themes chosen by this group included French and English settlement, the loyalist defence of Upper Canada and discovery and exploration. The latter set the tone for sites chosen in western Canada, where sites commemorating exploration and the fur trade predominated. The fur trade was seen as symbolizing the opening of the west and defining its geopolitical boundaries (Payne 1991a, Taylor and Payne 1992). Commemorated sites included Fort Garry, Prince of Wales Fort, Cumberland House, Fort Edmonton, Jasper House, Henry House, Rocky Mountain House, Fort Fork, Fort Chipewyan, the Methye Portage and Fort Langley (Taylor and Payne 1992, Morton 1992). These sites constitute some of Parks Canada's most developed programs (Payne 1991a).

Although consumed with commemoration the Board did identify a number of fur trade sites for preservation. These included Fort Pelly in Saskatchewan, believed to be the scene of the first Northwest Territorial Council in 1877, the well-preserved structures of Lower Fort Garry near Winnipeg and Prince of Wales' Fort at Churchill, Manitoba (Taylor 1990:59).

Development never proceeded at Fort Pelly and preservation of the other two posts did not come about until the 1930s and 1950s both without initial archaeological input. Commemoration continued as the primary focus of the historic sites programme in the 1930s and 1940s, although preservation and heritage development began gaining greater public interest (Taylor 1990:103).

In the 1950s the Massey Commission was formed to investigate the role such federal agencies as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, and the Public Archives could play in promoting Canadian history, traditions, national life and common achievements (Taylor 1990:131, Heick 1975:117). This committee, composed almost entirely of academics, presented its report in June of 1951 consisting of two parts. The first summarized the committee's findings based on the numerous briefs it received and the evidence it collected while the second presented detailed recommendations on future cultural policy formation (Taylor 1990:132, Heick 1975:119). One of the significant aspects of the report was the belief that, if the government took charge and provided adequate funding and a comprehensive policy, the "precarious state" of Canadian culture as identified by the Commission would change for the better (Taylor 1990:132). Although the Massey Commission more directly affected future communications policy, its importance for historic sites rested on two tenets. The first was the need for a unifying national heritage which they identified with the commemorative work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. The second, which seemed a contradiction of the first, was the concern with special interest groups and their demand for greater regional expression and an emphasis on architectural preservation (Taylor 1990:133). As a result, the views of local groups concerned with heritage issues gained importance and this led to greater regional expression in the sites chosen and also to a greater emphasis on interpretation and architectural preservation (Friesen 1990a:194). The development of historic sites and the implementation of historic sites policy fell on the Parks Branch and, even though their involvement increased dramatically as a result, they were restricted to sites —primarily

forts— designated by the Board. Forts favoured prominently because they were physically imposing and attracted widespread public attention (Taylor 1990:137).

Archaeology did not enter the scene until 1962 when J. D. Herbert, a newly appointed head of research in the National Parks and Historic Sites division, hired an archaeologist, John Rick. Herbert previously had been involved with heritage concerns in Saskatchewan, where he encouraged archaeological pursuits, albeit at an avocational level and in Alberta where he promoted major excavations at Rocky Mountain House. Herbert promoted the concept of a 'living museum' which dealt with the exact reconstruction of a house or fort at a given period (Taylor 1990:147). Archaeology thus entered the picture as the 'hand maiden to history', filling in the "lacunae" in the historic record (Pyszczyk 1989:7). Archaeology 's purpose was to identify sites, locate structures and recover artifacts (Fry 1986:38). It offered an aura of authenticity for whatever interpretation programme was chosen, be it the technological, economic or social aspects of the fur trade.

During the 1960s and into the early 1970s the Parks Branch undertook a number of large developments and archaeology expanded in response to the needs of the department. Archaeology took on a "mission-oriented" approach as support for restoration projects and development programmes (Swannack 1975, Burley 1994). It was to test for correct identification, to assess the potential for acquisition and development, or simply to record prior to construction work (Fry 1986:38). In western Canada work progressed at three fur trade posts —restoration and reconstruction work at Lower Fort Garry near Winnipeg, at Fort St. James in northeastern British Columbia and initial development at Rocky Mountain House in Alberta. During the 1970s the rapid increase of the Parks Branch led to decentralization, with the creation of five regional offices in Halifax, Québec, Cornwall, Winnipeg and Calgary. During this period of growth, characterized by expansion and development pressures, archaeology at Parks Canada constituted 'applied' or salvage archaeology.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the appearance and growth of nationalist sentiment not only expanded federal cultural agencies but also spurred the rise of provincial heritage agencies, which accelerated fur trade archaeological activities. Regional histories gave depth and meaning to local areas and revealed that "not all history happened in Eastern Canada". The provincial organizations closely resembled the federal heritage programme by commemorating and plaquing historically significant sites. For example, the Manitoba Historic Sites Advisory Board, composed of "professional" historians, archaeologists and historical writers, followed the ideological tenets of W. L. Morton, whose work centred on the Red River society and the fur trade (Friesen 1990b:214). A similar situation occurred earlier in Saskatchewan with A. S. Morton promoting heritage sites —particularly fur trade posts (Kerr 1990:281). However, it took two government initiated celebrations, the Golden Jubilee of 1955 and the Silver Jubilee and Centennial of 1965-67, to entrench heritage concerns in Saskatchewan. In Alberta, the flourishing Historical Society of Alberta in 1955 lobbied the provincial government which in turn directed the Parks Board to begin purchasing early fur trade sites including Forts White Earth, Vermilion, George and Victoria (Rasmussen 1990:241).

During the 1960s and 1970s the western provinces began taking greater control of their heritage. Commemorative celebrations, the creation of museums and the growing interest in actual historical and archaeological site preservation began replacing the sign or rustic plaques. Paralleling the federal situation, provincial interests now turned to site preservation, restoration and reconstruction. Large archaeological projects took place at Fort Carlton, Last Mountain House and Fort Pelly in Saskatchewan, and at Fort George, Fort White Earth, and Fort Victoria in Alberta while in Manitoba preliminary studies began on Fort Ellice. In this climate many smaller fur trade projects also took place leading to the proliferation of fur trade archaeology recorded for the 1960s and 1970s in Chapter 3.

These large projects, on both the federal and provincial levels, reflected the attitudes and aspirations of Canadian society. In the 1960s, despite approaching its centenary, Canada

was experiencing what might be termed an "adolescent identity crisis" (Cook 1971:24). The provinces were challenging Ottawa's ascendancy, French-Canadian nationalism threatened to divide the country and American infiltration was creeping into every aspect of Canadian life (Cook 1971:24, Shouldice 1985:271). During the 1960s the latter two issues, that of French-Canadian relationships and the American presence seemed to culminate in Grant's political evaluation *Lament for a Nation* (1965). One response to these threats was the reinforcement of national sovereignty through a process of cultural and political self-assertion (Shouldice 1985:271-272). In 1968 Pierre Trudeau was elected Prime Minister. He rejected the traditional rhetoric of preceding politicians and initiated a programme for rebuilding Canadian unity and self-confidence (Cook 1971:21-23). The late 1960s and early 1970s came to represent a period of economic prosperity, growth, change and hope, in which science and technology appeared to hold the keys to a better future (Fry 1986:41,). The New Archaeology also appeared at this time, paralleling this time of change. However, the economic hardships and uncertainties of the 1980s gave rise, on the federal level, to a policy of government restriction — a direction closely followed by provincial counterparts (Taylor 1990: 189). The era of the big project came to an end and heritage developments and fur trade archaeological studies began to decline in size and number. On a more positive note, this recession removed developmental pressures, allowing fur trade archaeologists to regroup and critically assess past activities (basically 'mission-oriented' approach), and acquire a sense of future direction acknowledging social responsibility to the world and the discipline (Rasmussen 1990:252, Fry 1986:41).

TOURISM, CELEBRATIONS, AND THE HERITAGE INDUSTRY

Even in its early years the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board believed that historic sites had a useful function in contemporary society and stressed two points —the commercial aspect of sites as tourist attractions and the moral value of these sites "in helping to civilize a raw and materialist society" (Taylor 1990:47). Despite the realized importance of

tourism benefits, especially in the preservation of certain sites, the Board did not immediately carry out this aspect of the programme. Only in the 1950s did preservation and restoration become important heritage aspects. Tourism benefits served to promote a nationalist ideology and also provided economic benefits to regions where votes were important (Taylor 1990:xv). A prime example is the Fortress of Louisbourg project, which the Parks Branch undertook within a larger governmental mandate for economic development and to provide jobs in an economically depressed region of the country, Cape Breton Island (Taylor 1990:175, Schuyler 1976, Bruce Fry 1993, pers. comm.).

Provincial heritage agencies may not have wholeheartedly followed the nationalist ideology conceptual framework, but they did perceive the benefits of developing historic sites for recreational and tourist purposes. In fact, Rasmussen (1990:259) attributes Alberta's heritage boom to the general recognition of the economic values of resource development and that heritage was more than "motherhood". It was alluring and intriguing. In 1985, the heritage tourism industry in Alberta accounted for about one-third of the $2.3 billion tourism revenue generated annually (Rock 1992:295). Economic benefits aside, the heritage movement explicitly or implicitly did concern itself with national or regional identity and "invented traditions" promoted through reconstruction and commemorative ceremonies. The latter two greatly affected the growth and role of fur trade archaeology in western Canada.

Friesen (1990a:193) regards heritage as "tangible historiography which visibly and often permanently proclaims the values and ideals of each generation." This "restructured" or "invented history" deals with remembered values, recollected knowledge and traditions with "a broad contemporary public purpose" (Friesen 1990a:193, Connerton 1989:3). Remembering our past is essential for our sense of identity, which rests on a continuity of the past with the present (Lowenthal 1985:193, Handler and Linnekin 1984:275). Commemorative ceremonies serve as a social memory to help a community or nation remember its identity —find its common traditions (Smith 1982:45). Provincial Jubilees and Canada's Centennial fulfilled this role in

western Canada during the 1950s and 1960s. In Saskatchewan one purpose of the Golden Jubilee (50th anniversary) was:

> . . . to focus attention on the historical traditions of this province by emphasizing or creating visual stimuli or to put it in language I can understand, by marking historic sites.
> This entire operation consists of searching for, identifying, acquiring, preserving, marking and developing places of historical interest in the province.
> (SAB: R190.2: Herbert 1950)

At this particular time the programme was limited to marking the chosen sites with plaques, a common practice adopted by most provinces as mentioned previously. Marking a site draws attention to familiar persons, places and objects and enables us to reconstruct past events by locating the "antiquity on our mental map [and] emphasizing its special antiqueness" (Lowenthal 1979:109). Through widespread plaquing it also asserted a visible claim to the land.

Plans associated with Canada's centennial of 1967 spurred a growth in museums and heritage sites alike and since the chief characteristic of any "anniversary" celebration is to search the past for points of reference to the present, European exploration and first settlement became a primary area of concentration (Smith 1982:51). In this venue, fur trade sites, especially those in western Canada, formed an important category. Reconstruction and restoration became avenues for establishing a direct emotional link between the present and the past —they made the past tangible— (Schuyler 1976:33, Lowenthal 1979:106). The visual impact of a reconstruction helped provide a vivid immediacy that assures that a past really existed and produces an affecting presence concerned with potency, emotions, values and states of being or experience (Armstrong 1971:4). Reconstructions, such as fur trade posts, represent a class of things which produce an affect —a feeling— a symbolic link with our past. Archaeology becomes the vehicle for providing information and lending authenticity and begins the process of making the past tangible. Early examples of reaching out to touch and

experience the past more directly include Tyrell's interest in the 1880s and 1890s of travelling the routes and visiting the camps of David Thompson, and Voorhis's and Morton's investigations in the 1920s and 1930s of fur trade posts (Taylor and Payne 1992, Champ 1991).

More recent attempts to provide an authentic feeling or experience of the past takes place in living history museums which incorporate reconstructed or restored buildings accompanied with "animation" which might have people dressed in period costumes or carrying out tasks attributed to the residents of the place at a given time (Taylor 1990:147, Taylor and Payne 1992). In other words, it is the "simulation of life in another time" (Anderson 1985:3). Basically a postwar phenomena, the concept of living history museums was borrowed from Colonial Williamsburg which in turn adopted the idea from open-air and folk museums in Europe (Taylor and Payne 1992). It was strongly promoted by the Canadian government, particularly Herbert, in the 1950s and 1960s (Taylor 1990:147). Leone (1981, 1983) and Handler (1987) warn that while archaeology is used to provide accuracy for authentic reconstruction and artifact replication, the living museums are more about the present than the past and "shot through with the sentiments and motivations of modern culture". Often archaeological findings are disregarded in favour of other interpretations chosen by officials (Leone 1981:8). Living museums are basically unreflexive and do not encourage its participants to question the values being presented which unconsciously reflect those of the present (Handler 1987:341). For archaeology the importance rests in its public practice. While the archaeologist is concerned with scientific rigour and accuracy, the public is interested in a story to be interpreted. Archaeologists, therefore, must be aware of the messages our creations give to society and be prepared to accept that different groups may have a vested interest in particular interpretations (Leone 1981:12, Hodder 1991:16-17).

Site reconstructions serve to create cultural identity, enforce values and evoke a nationalist feeling. Equally important are the political and economic benefits of tourism which proved to be major motivating forces behind heritage development. This leads us to another

entirely different although complementary concern associated with restoration —the

"heritage industry" which has grown exponentially since the 1970s. The primary motivation

of the heritage industry is economic and is geared towards the general public with money and

leisure time. Heritage, in the context of cultural tourism, becomes an entertainment commodity

competing for dollars. This link with economic development leads to danger on a number of

fronts for heritage and ultimately for archaeology. First, they become subject to changes in the

"leisure fashion" —the market evaluation of what attracts tourists to an area, be it ethnic

food, architecture or casinos (Friesen 1990a:197). Second, interpretation is geared towards the

largely white middle class, and presents a non-offensive, sanitized and idealized version of

the past (Brown in Payne 1991c:10, Coutts 1992:287, Bowes 1977:20, Laenen 1989:88). Heritage

agencies tend to adopt a noncontroversial path in which "little thought is given to challenging

visitors' preconceptions, or attempting to revise outdated, flawed or even racist

interpretations" (Coutt 1992:287). Instead, images of the colourful voyageurs and the heroic

trader/explorer continue to dominate interpretive programming, thus perpetuating the

"invented" fur trade tradition which has become part of Canadian mythology (Coutt 1992:287).

From a physical perspective, the sites are modernized, the grounds are maintained, and comfort

and safety are major concerns. As Fry (1969:53) humorously points out:

> Whereas the original inhabitants might have been inured to mud, mire and
> stench, to rodents and vermin, and were sensible enough to keep clear of unsafe
> areas, most visitors would balk at having to get their shoes dirty, while the
> loss of a tourist over a parapet or down an open well is likely to cause problems.

Finally, most reconstructions are sponsored by tax payer's money and therefore, governments are

pressured to show budgetary value —a value which rests on a lesser appreciation of accuracy,

quality and authenticity than that demanded by professionals (Fry 1969:53).

Fur trade archaeology figures in this scenario in that it owes its creation to restoration

projects associated with the reconstruction of pre-selected posts. As a result it was carried out

by archaeologists employed by heritage agencies and driven by requests for specific information

for immediate restoration or for anticipated programming needs (Payne 1991b). One major

consequence is the almost exclusive employment of fur trade archaeologists within museum and

historic site service positions, past and present. The goals and priorities of these groups often

are at "loggerheads" with the archaeologist's goal or view of the data, especially since facts

rarely speak for themselves, or at least rarely with a single voice (Payne 1991b, Schuyler

1976).

<div align="center">SITES CHOSEN FOR RECONSTRUCTION</div>

The interaction of the political and social factors discussed above and the attendant

concerns are revealed in even a quick perusal of federally or provincially selected fur trade sites

for which some reconstruction or restoration was slated —although this did not always

materialize.

The federally owned sites of Rocky Mountain House in Alberta and Fort Prince of Wales

in Manitoba each had standing physical remains and were associated with such men of stature

as Samuel Hearne and David Thompson (Taylor and Payne:1992). A standing chimney

survived at Rocky Mountain House and large scale archaeological research provided much

archaeological information used in the interpretive centre and in the self guided walking tour.

At Fort Prince of Wales very little archaeological research has been conducted. However, the

architectural remains consisting of the stone fortress walls are visibly outstanding and have

been restored. Whereas Rocky Mountain Fort is easily accessible to the public, the northerly,

remote location of Fort Prince of Wales restricts its tourist potential.

Prior to it being acquired by Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry not only retained standing

buildings such as the big house which served as a community club house but also fortifications

and bastians. It also is located near, but not within, a large urban centre and therefore is easily

accessible to visitors. For restoration purposes, these two factors weighed more heavily on its

reconstruction than the post's function in the fur trade (Taylor and Payne 1992). Much

archaeological research took place here in the 1960s, with the largest seasons being 1965-1967

—pre-centennial. During these years, however, there was little association between the archaeological information and development, except for the Big House and blacksmith shop (Priess 1985:2). After this period, the excavations became more directly associated with ongoing or pending developments but primarily as a way of providing answers for the architects, engineers or others involved with the standing structures (Priess 1985:3). Without the recovered archaeological data being integrated in the final design (Priess 1985:3) a pressing need for analysis and reporting did not occur.

This latter problem was also characteristic of the reconstruction of Fort William in northwestern Ontario. Encouraged by local interest and support, the Ontario government provided funds for reconstruction to promote tourism. The original site was located beneath the Canadian Pacific rail yards in Thunder Bay and negotiations were underway to attain that property. Authenticity was considered to be all important and archaeological investigations were conducted to gain information. However, part way into the project, and for reasons unknown, an alternate site was chosen for the reconstruction. This began while archaeological investigations were underway at the original site and much of the reconstruction was based on documentary rather than archaeological data (Taylor 1992, pers. comm.). The location of the site nine miles or 13 kilometres inland negated the post's primary importance as a sentinel, with a view of activities on Lake Superior and as a depot for ships and freight canoes (Taylor 1976). Incensed by the government's claim of authenticity regarding the reconstruction, Taylor (1976), an archaeologist associated with the excavations, responded to government officials, various media and heritage associations with a report outlining the inconsistencies and errors in the reconstruction. In this report she concluded that the historical social setting was "impregnated with a lot of twentieth century middle and upper class values", but did not elaborate what those were (Taylor 1976).

The Alberta and Saskatchewan government tended to employ archaeological data more resolutely in their reconstructions but the intent and criteria of selection differed little

from those identified above. Fort Carlton, located in central Saskatchewan, was chosen as a centennial project within the fur trade theme. Criteria for selection included the amount of funding required for development in relation to what funds were available, the amount of background data already known, cost of acquisition of a site if not already owned by the province and the distribution of heritage sites around the province (John Nicks 1993, pers. comm.). Fort Carlton not only represented a fur trade post, but cross-cut other themes, such as its significance in the Northwest Rebellion and the nearby signing of Treaty Six between the Cree and the Crown. Tourism and economic development also figured prominently in the decision, along with local support and interest. Archaeological investigations proceeded there in the mid 1960s with part of the post reconstructed for the 1967 Canada centennial.

In Alberta, archaeological research preceded restoration at Fort George and Fort Dunvegan. In those cases, local historical societies, or the more general community with interests in regional pride/nationalism or tourism, lobbied political powers for site development money. For example, the Elk Point Historical Society exerted pressure in the 1950s and 1960s to have the 'Big House' restored at Fort George leading Kidd to initiate an archaeological programme. According to Kidd (1991, pers. comm.) other factors involved in the decision to restore included background historical data, early representation and accessibility. The house was not restored at that time but in the 1980s the local historical society again successfully obtained funding for development. Alberta Historic Sites administered and directed the development and allocated, by comparison, a small percentage for continued archaeological research. Cumulatively about 15% of the site is now excavated, with most attention focussed on the main house (Mike Forsman 1991, pers. comm.). At Fort Dunvegan, the presence of a standing structure and its accessibility also figured prominently in the development of this site.

Local community support and interest played instrumental roles in precipitating archaeological work at other sites, such as Fort Pelly in Saskatchewan, Fort Chipewyan, in

Alberta (although reconstruction never materialized) and Fort St. James in northeastern British Columbia. In the latter case, there were extant buildings, such as the fish cache and the warehouse had been used as a museum by the Fort St. James Historical and Restoration Society. Once the site had been acquired by parks Canada archaeological work preceded reconstruction of the men's house and fur trade store, and the restoration of the original manager's house. Presently plans exist to replace the palisade and this will be supported by archaeological studies (Heitzmann 1994, pers. comm.). In Manitoba, the landowners of Fort Ellice initially petitioned the Manitoba government to develop that site for tourism albeit they could not come to an acceptable agreement (Leigh Syms 1992, pers. comm.).

Fort Victoria in Alberta, like Lower Fort Garry and others, contained a standing structure, in this case the oldest standing fur trade building still in its original location in the province. Fort Victoria did not play a major role in HBC operations but from a modern developmental perspective it was ideally located about 100 km east of Edmonton in a scenic location along the North Saskatchewan River. Realizing its recreational potential, Dean Clark, head of Historic Sites Service in the 1970s, proposed development directed at limited restoration of the "Chief Trader's" house (Forsman 1985).

Work at the above sites took place primarily in the 1960s and 1970s. Tourism, local interest and political consideration continue to affect archaeological research today although the end goal is not always reconstruction. Recent examples include excavations (1992 - 1993) at Fort Edmonton on the Parliament grounds in downtown Edmonton in easy public view (Heinz Pyszczyk 1992, pers. comm.), the 1993 search for Chesterfield House in southwestern Saskatchewan for tourism purposes (Klimko et al. 1993), late 1980s excavations at posts in the Fort Chipewyan/Vermilion area of Alberta as part of the community's 200th birthday (Heinz Pyszczyk 1991, pers. comm.), and excavations in search of Fort Gibraltar (1990-1991) at the Forks in downtown Winnipeg (Kroker 1990, 1991).

DISCUSSION/SUMMARY

Early archaeologists working on fur trade sites found themselves incorporated into a well established historical programme which had been created over a number of decades. By the 1960s and 1970s, federal and provincial agencies had identified sites for commemoration and chosen a number for reconstruction or restoration activities based on nationalist and tourist or economic concerns. Commemorations such as Canada's centennial spurred nationalistic pride while economic opportunities of tourism were recognized and exploited by all levels of government, including municipalities. As a result, specific sites, most being large centres, were chosen for a variety of reasons. Archaeology entered the scene not only as the "hand-maiden to history," but immediately took on a "mission oriented" approach. Information was needed to fill in historical gaps, closely followed by restoration or reconstruction. In some cases such as Fort William, reconstruction paid little heed to archaeological data. Fortunately the post was reconstructed elsewhere, thereby not destroying the original site. However, this project raises two important issues —that of authenticity and on-site restoration.

Archaeology lends an air of authenticity. Physical features and artifacts present tangible evidence that a past really existed and allows one to experience a direct and real contact with this past however incomplete the experience may be (Lipe 1984:4). How we interpret this evidence is a different story. If one confers with Friesen (1991a) and Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983:12) that traditions are 'invented' or 'reconstructed' and that these "traditions" use history to legitimate action and to cement group cohesion, then archaeology provides the physical foundations for their historical claims. South (1993:18) states that authenticity based on original data (i.e. archaeological) gives substance to 'fabrications' or interpretive stories. South, however, is more concerned with defending his objective, scientific method than interpretation. Nevertheless, archaeology and authenticity are linked together. MacKie (1992, pers. comm.) carefully and painstakingly excavated Fort Riviere Tremblante and Pine Fort in the hopes of authentic restoration for public and educational consumption. Pride and nationalism were motivating factors in this case. Although archaeology can aid

authenticity in such tangibles as building locations and dimensions, interpretation often reflects contemporary views, be they theoretical or functional. These are most visible in living history museums. Buildings at Lower Fort Garry for example stand in their original location but the messages conveyed via the interpretation of these data represent pioneer values of cleanliness, tidiness and industriousness. This significantly positions the fur trade as the precursor to settlement (Taylor and Payne 1992). Such interpretations at times can produce conflict or angst between archaeologists and other involved parties.

Restoration or reconstruction not only produces relics to aid the imagination in a desire to recapture and experience the past, it provides employment and promotes tourism. However, in the process, archaeological features are destroyed or disturbed for future research and in the end, as Schuyler (1976:34) notes, no matter what past cultural context is given to the reconstructed site, it is still distorted by its removal from the broader context.

Most major restorations or reconstructions took place in the 1960s and 1970s during an optimistic era of centennials and celebrations. Since then no new sites, federal or provincial, have been developed. As a result, few if any reflect the "new politics of fur trade historiography very well" (Payne 1991a), which include issues of gender relations, family patterns and Native involvement. One recent attempt to implement a broader perspective is seen in the proposed development plans for Fort George and Fort Dunvegan in Alberta. In this case, the Alberta Historic Sites Services organized a workshop with historians and archaeologists invited to discuss new research directions in the fur trade and Native history (Payne 1991c). An important point which emerged from this meeting focussed on the different contexts of the fur trade including Native values, fur trade society, women's role, and function of the posts. Also examined were the problems of interpretation to the public, not the least of which being the romanticized adventures of the fur traders and the trade in furs as a "pre-industrial" state leading to civilization. Rarely do these incorporate the environmental damage of overexploitation of animal populations, nor do they treat the Natives as a vital and

dynamic force in the historic period. How did the fur trade factor in Native history? Such concerns need to be addressed if a more balanced interpretation is to be presented but that will ultimately rest on public support and acceptance of the costs.

In the 1980s and 1990s political and social concerns continue to propel fur trade archaeology. Provincial heritage legislation requires developers to mitigate sites before destruction while local communities or historical societies search for sites to add to their heritage roster to promote tourism. To quote Fladmark (1980:20):

> Archaeology is carried out by people who work within belief systems and organizational structures that shift and change, and it would be unreasonable to expect the archaeologists to remain unaffected.

As Leone (1981, 1983) and Hodder (1991) point out, archaeologists should not try to hide behind the veil of science but play a more active role in public interpretation while understanding that external pressures and "different voices" or perspectives are always present and changing, and will influence the discipline.

WHERE ARE THE NATIVES?

Where are the Natives? Throughout this entire discussion the Native peoples have been conspicuously absent or ignored. Although they actively participated in the fur trade and were instrumental in its success by providing geographical knowledge and survival skills in addition to furs and provisions, they were and in many cases still are presented as "mere bit players in this important wilderness drama" (Ewers 1972:1). What does this have to do with the state of western fur trade archaeology examined in this thesis? Although seemly two disparate topics, they are intricately interrelated as each owes its current status to events — political and social— which shaped and directed the growth of the discipline. The context within which the discipline, archaeologists, and theoretical/philosophical ideals flourished, represented a dynamic process shaped by a nexus of personalities, events and

attitudes. The mix of these various factors created unique situations attributable to particular eras or events within which the image of the Native changed accordingly.

The early direct efforts of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board to promote a Canadian view of nationalism focused entirely on EuroCanadian achievements — a view adopted by provincial Historic Sites Boards or Programs in the 1950s and 1960s. For western Canada the themes of exploration and bringing "civilization" into the wilderness was ideally exemplified in the exploits of the fur trade. For A. S. Morton, the HBC posts represented the birthplace of national (i.e. British) qualities —understanding, tolerance, and mutual appreciation among races (Champ 1991:43). Accordingly Morton believed that by preserving or restoring these posts one was "preserving the symbols of honour and fair play upon which the West had been built" (Champ 1991:41). The advent of Canada's centennial in 1967 provided an opportune time to flaunt EuroCanadian achievements. Although Native sites were considered for tourist development they most frequently had some connection with EuroCanadian events, such as Cut Knife Hill or Batoche both associated with the 1885 Riel Rebellion (Taylor 1990:89). In this nationalistic scenario Native people provided the important contrast between "savagery /wilderness" and civilization a contrast needed to demonstrate EuroCanadian achievements (Francis 1992).

To authenticate such progress, fur trade post remains and restorations or reconstructions provided the powerful material symbols for transmitting cultural information through time. Reconstructions relayed the appropriate societal messages needed to solidify a subjective sense of group permanence and legitimacy (Lipe 1984:6). These values were directed towards the general public, the EuroCanadian (White) middle class which possessed both the means and time to enjoy or participate in this venture. Not to antagonize these visitors the past becomes simplified and sanitized through lifeless, homogenized restorations or reconstructions depicting pseudo-events acceptable to the tourist (Coutts 1992:228). Chartrand (1987:27) alludes to one enduring myth of the fur trade:

... the "happy-go-lucky Canadian voyageurs, always French Canadians, singing a song and paddling their canoes into the unknown and unexplored territories of the eighteenth-century West. They are usually associated with hard drinking, debauchery with Indian women, and tinges of cruelty in their otherwise fairly kind heart. They are seen as a jovial group of double-dealing traders and free roamers with no apparent attachments to any form of authority. Add the mystique of French names in the most unlikely far-flung places dotting Western maps, and the illusion is complete."

Beginning in the 1950s and climaxing in the 1960s with Canada's centennial, these three factors —nationalism, economy, leisure audience— coalesced to create the stage for fur trade archaeology. Primarily interested in the retrieval of architectural data for reconstructive and interpretive purposes, the sponsoring or funding institutions did not desire information on the Native people's participation or contributions. If incorporated, Native sites included either those somehow involved with the "civilization " process such as the signing of treaties (e.g.Treaty Six at Fort Carlton), or prehistoric sites (such as Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump) emphasizing the Native people's association with nature, the environment or the wilderness which needed to be tamed or civilized. Their participation in the fur trade was acknowledged, but only as backdrop to substantiate their subservient role in the inevitable civilization of the west. Indeed, the exploitation and manipulation of Native people would constitute an incompatible theme for presentation.

Archaeologists trained in 'prehistoric' archaeology and armed with the methods and philosophy of the time —culture history— were not prepared to deal with the large scale posts chosen for commemoration and reconstruction by the various heritage agencies or groups. Archaeology proved to be an event in itself, providing the public with that link to the past — their past. However, once the field season ended and served its legitimating function, funds and time were rarely provided for laboratory work and publications. Development agencies required the necessary architectural information for reconstruction purposes and were not interested in integrative or regional studies. If the archaeologists wanted to pursue other avenues of research they could do so, but at their own time and expense.

The early researchers did not intentionally ignore the Native people's contributions or their role in the fur trade. Since most of these individuals worked for museums or government agencies the social/political conditions of the time directed their efforts. For example, the restrictive mandate of federal programmes prohibited researchers from working beyond the project boundaries (Herst 1994) and rarely are Native sites identifiable within a fort. The prevailing theoretical and philosophical discussions and issues also tempered research approach. Kehoe (1965 and 1976) tried to infer Native-White relations at a fur trade post but this situation represents a unique attempt. While the work of the 1960s and early 1970s has been criticized as being redundant or irrelevant, particularly in its inability to provide new or useful information for historians or interpreters, it fulfilled its primary function of providing authenticity in the construction of the "authoritative" fur trade story. By the time major theoretical advances began to materialize in the late 1970s in historic archaeology, the optimistic, economic climate which characterized this decade was being replaced by an atmosphere of uncertainty combined with economic hardships — a climate which prevailed throughout the 1980s and continues today. Despite this gloomy outlook, a positive, major shift occurred in the approach to cultural resources —largely in response to financial restraints. Preservation, rather than reconstruction or restoration, ruled the day. The number of sites investigated declined but research horizons broadened in tandem with theoretical developments in historic archaeology during the late 1970s and 1980s. Pattern recognition, science and processes became fashionable.

The most common themes expressed in the "wish question" of the interview pertained directly to the above concerns —the focus on certain sites, insubstantial baseline data and Native absence. Provided with unlimited time and funds many would concentrate their efforts on existing collections to strengthen the data base or the smaller short-termed posts operated by only a few people. Others noted the concentration on fur trade posts with little or no attention to Native sites associated with the fur trade. What influence did the fur trade experience

have on Native economy, technology and social organization? It is precisely in these areas that fur trade archaeology can substantially contribute to the understanding of contact and processes of cultural interaction and colonization. Another concern of those being interviewed dealt with the literature, or lack of, as it has been written for the general public or the Native people themselves. There are many publics interested in archaeology and so far studies cater dominantly to a limited audience of professionals or avocational archaeologists.

Towards the end of the 1980s research directions in fur trade archaeology began to address the issue of Native groups. Whether the stimulus came from social historians (Foster 1977, Van Kirk 1980, Brown 1980), ethnohistorians (Francis and Morantz 1983) or cultural geographers (Ray 1974), it represents a start in rectifying the neglect of the previous decades. These studies include Gullason's (1990) attempt to identify Native campsites in the 'plantation' outside Fort George; Reid's (n.d., 1992a & b) work at the Ballynacree site, a multicomponent precontact and contact Native site in northwestern Ontario; and Riddle's work at a contact (1790-1810) Cree or Chipewyan site in northwestern Manitoba. Reid's and Riddle's studies are of particular note for they represent Native sites outside the orbit of the trader's posts, thereby getting away from history set in terms of relations between European traders and the Native groups (Brown 1990:16). Although the potential of these sites to reveal other truths or events is promising, one major problem lies in finding and identifying such sites. Lack of stratigraphy, a problem often encountered in boreal forest areas, makes the separation of components difficult, while in Gullason's case the short duration of the Native groups on the 'plantation' outside the post left little evidence in the archaeological record.

This trend towards Native issues and concerns reflects the larger socio-political atmosphere presently pervading the country. Paynter and McGuire (1991:13) see power in human relations, "as the capacity to alter events" and that this capacity rests on "the control of force, consciousness, tools, and the ability to create pleasure and a positive social sense of self." With the boycott of "The Spirit Sings" Glenbow exhibition by the Lubicon Band in the

late 1980s to draw attention to their unresolved land claim, followed by the confrontational events between the Natives and non-Natives at Oka in Quebec, and Elijah Harper's role in the Meech Lake constitutional defeat, Native groups have demonstrated their capacity to alter events and are a formidable force to no longer be ignored. Consequently, they are challenging the stereotypic image of Native people as obedient children unable to change (Francis 1992:220) or as "impediments to settlement" (Burley 1984:13). Other images, promoted by museums, portray the "the "historical Indian", as a member of a disorganized, unsophisticated, scattered people occupying a virtually empty land" (Doxtator 1988:26) and whose culture — technological and intellectual— was inferior and could not survive in competition with EuroCanadian society. Accordingly museums attempted to collect the "last vestiges" of true "Indianness" before it disappeared forever and preserved and presented these objects in glass cases within the idiom of the "ethnographic past" (Doxtator 1988:27-28). Often these displays are housed within museums of natural history, such as in Saskatchewan, and further serve to visibly separate Native history from EuroCanadian settlement which in Saskatchewan is presented in Western Development Museums. Such images exist and persist because they function as readily understood symbols in the predominant culture and not because of their fallacy or accuracy (Doxtator 1988:26). If knowledges and truths are always changing and always linked to power as Tilley (1990:340) advocates, then the increasing Native presence in politics should alter presently accepted "truths", thereby forcing "a viewing of past events from multiple directions simultaneously " (Wylie 1992:593).

Archaeologists are not immune to social and political environments. The concerns about a career acknowledges the influence of economic power and if the career happens to be with an institution such as a museum or government office, current perceptions and events figure prominently. How such social and political factors influence the practise and philosophical development of archaeology and ultimately the interpretation of data need to be constantly analysed if objectivity is the desired end. Subjective elements do influence our thinking and

cultivating an awareness of these helps avoid a myopic viewpoint. However, we do not have

to become mired in self-reflective, relativistic analyses, for some objective knowledge can be

achieved (Trigger 1990:780). What one needs to understand as Wylie (1993:11) poignantly

points out is that objectivity is;

> . . . a matter of degree: it is always defeasible; it is never achieved once and for
> all but rather requires a commitment to hold open to critical scrutiny all the
> assumptions that frame inquiry, not all at once but certainly one by one. The
> aim of systematic empirical inquiry (whether dignified as science or not) must
> be to successively break the grip —to make clear the limitations and
> partiality— of what has come to be accepted (by "us") as "common sense", not to
> ascend to some (idealized, unattainable) standpoint outside all frames.

Understanding the role fur trade studies have played in the discipline of archaeology

and in the public arena, and our interpretations of the data within certain contexts, helps

explain how we came to be in our present state and identifies areas where we can productively

contribute towards a more comprehensive understanding of past cultures.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION:
THE NATION AND FUR TRADE ARCHAEOLOGY

The approach outlined in Chapter 1 incorporated three concepts, critical theory, history and context. Within critical theory two traditions were identified, continental critical theory which incorporates ideology and self-reflection and the Strong Programme of sociological thought which looks at social and political factors operating within the external world and within the discipline itself.

In a critical theory approach, the researcher must look at "the observable social world of institutions and practices" and ask the following question about social knowledge. "Where does it come from, and whose interests does it serve?" (McGuire 1992:38). A critical theory also is not universal or neutral but pertains only to a specific time, place and social context and "cannot transcend the social context of its making" (McGuire 1992:38). In this study, fur trade archaeology in western Canada and its development in the last half century form the context for the production and use of knowledge.

As in all cases dealing with the production of knowledge, the political nature of our thoughts need to be known and this requires an examination of the historical context in which the past was made and the social context of the researcher (McGuire 1992:12, Potter 1991:227, Leone 1991:235). Archaeologists function in a culture composed of certain beliefs and social relations. We inherit conditions and rarely reflect on how these conditions or modes of thought arose. A historical approach helps establish social and cultural contexts in order to examine the connections or interplay between the two in a broader historical perspective. A self-critical historical analysis should reveal why certain paths were followed, what the end results were and whose interests they served. Context becomes important because it provides insight into the attitudes of people or institutions towards the world and plays an important role in the

recovery of meaning in a particular case, since context is not static but continually changing (Beaudry et al. 1991:160-161, Hodder 1989:70).

Using these guidelines fur trade archaeology was examined to determine its growth and role within the overall society in which it operated, both its conscious or unconscious purpose, and within the discipline of archaeology looking at theoretical approaches and individual participants. Fur trade archaeology owes much of its growth to nation building activities, events and views and as such the above two objectives will be reviewed within this nationalistic tradition.

NATIONALIST TRADITIONS

Ideology and the Growth of a Nation

Critical theory as promoted by the Frankfurt school, especially Habermas and Althusser, stands on two ideas, ideology and domination. This adopts a Marxist philosophy in which ideology functions to mask, hide or obscure the real nature of social relations from people in society and in such instances ideology becomes a tool of the ruling class and pertains to political ideas linked to class interests. Ideology is an aspect of culture which consciously or unconsciously promotes power relations of one group over others.

Differing views of ideology do exist. Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski (1991) have adopted the dominant ideology thesis of Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1980). They challenge ideology's role in effecting social action and argue that the dominant ideology serves mainly to integrate the dominant class and that the subordinate classes reject it. One study of the heritage industry in Britain suggests that heritage visiting is practised by the well-educated and affluent and "if a dominant ideology does exist, then it acts to bind the dominant through a common cultural activity rather than as a kind of false consciousness which prevents the dominated from recognising their situation" (Merriman 1988:149). People are not deceived by the supposed ideological message but, instead, their image of the past is related to their

current social position and occupation. Images are used to articulate some feeling about the present and for those in privileged positions the past can be seen as something one has progressed from and therefore, as a legitimation of one's dominant position, at least to themselves (Merriman 1988:154).

McGuire (1992:141) criticizes Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1980) for focusing on the actions of the elite. Instead, he offers the following observations regarding ideology. First, ideology "may have multiple functions in the negotiation of social relations" (McGuire 1992:142). Second, there is no single ideology and that "the same sets of beliefs, symbols and rituals may have different meanings and importance in different sectors of society and at different times" (ibid). Third, ideology is important for a group trying to attain a political consciousness which ultimately "serves to integrate some class or portion of a class in power struggles" (ibid). To this end the dominant class "needs to be integrated by an ideology" which will "mystify domination by representing their interests as the common interests of the whole society" (ibid). This ideology may be accepted or reworked by the subordinate classes. Finally, the prevailing ideology exists in observable material and behavioural manifestations, such as social groupings, behaviour and material objects which embody the ideology and give it reality. The creation of these material objects serves to fulfil the expectations of the ideology and thus affirm, recreate and legitimate the ideology (ibid).

Whether we adopt the view of ideology proposed by the Frankfurt School, Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1980) or McGuire (1992), fur trade archaeology in western Canada has been affected by ideological underpinning. Early interest existed in fur trade sites as noted in Tyrell's study in the late 1800s but it increased dramatically in the first half of the 20th century when the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board as well as individuals such as A. S. Morton associated the process of civilization with the the fur trade and viewed it as the first step in the natural, evolutionary progress of civilization via scientific and economic means. This theme also appears in the early historic works of Innis (1956) who focussed on the

development of European commerce while Rich (1958) documented the history of the Hudson's

Bay Company as a founding Canadian institution. As well, the Historic Sites and Monuments

Board considered it their moral duty:

> to civilize a raw and materialist society [and] impart proper values of
> patriotism, duty, self-sacrifice, and spiritual devotion to young and new
> Canadians and members of the lower orders of society (as cited in Taylor
> 1990:47)

These lower orders would include immigrants and First Nations peoples.

This Historic Sites and Monuments Board view follows in the tradition of Victorian

science wherein the natural was identified with the rational and the usefulness of science was

emphasized. Much of this view of science rested with Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in which

the world became an organism in the process of historical change (Zeller 1987:4). Out of this

grew the 'geographical' tradition whose main purpose was to explore and exploit new lands

throughout the world to increase and diffuse knowledge. Inventory science became the common

purpose and highlighted the mapping and cataloguing of resources and other natural

phenomena including culture (Zeller 1987:4). Science became a tool not only for locating

material wealth but to construct an ordered society. It was the means by which an industrial

society could dominate the physical surrounding and the ideological framework within which

to do it. Inventory science laid out the resources which could be possessed. Exploration and fur

trade became themes associated with Western Canada (Taylor 1990) and these fit intricately

into this scientific tradition. This inventory aspect can be seen in the early work of Tyrell, a

geologist, whose interest in the fur trade explorer David Thompson spurred him to locate fur

trade posts during his geological surveys of Western Canada; A. S. Morton's attempts to visit

and locate fur trade sites in the 1920s to 1940s; and the fur trade surveys of Parks Canada during

the 1960s and 1970s and provincial government agencies to establish a fur trade site inventory.

The fur trade also established the crucial link with the past needed to legitimate

EuroCanadian expansion in Western Canada, particularly British, and hence give the

appearance of national growth. This is vividly demonstrated in the following quote by Innis (1977:401):

> The fur trade permitted the extension of the combination of authority and independence across the northern half of the continent. Moreover, the business structure shifted from the elastic organization characteristic of the Northwest company along the St. Lawrence from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the more permanent organization from Hudson Bay. The diversity of institutions has made possible the combination of government ownership and private enterprise which has been a further characteristic of Canadian development. Canada has remained fundamentally a product of Europe.

In the early years of its existence the Historic Sites and Monuments Board was able to maintain this ideology through commemoration and through their identification of sites of national historic significance. During the 1950s there began a growth of government interest in the sites themselves. This was especially noticeable in Saskatchewan where Herbert encouraged avocationals to conduct archaeological excavations. By the 1960s with the approach of Canada's centennial, other provincial celebrations and the search for cultural identity fur trade archaeology experienced an exponential growth, one which set it upon a path leading to its present condition. More often than not archaeology was used to provide the appearance of authenticity while the results were ignored.

Social and Political Forces

Social and political forces within Canada have played an important role in shaping fur trade archaeology and its promotion of the national ideology. Fur trade archaeology became intricately interwoven with nationalism and heritage which ultimately resulted in a heritage industry. As noted in Chapter 1, Trigger (1984, 1989) identified three social contexts —colonialist, nationalist and imperialist—which structure the practise of archaeology. Fur trade archaeology encompasses aspects of both nationalist and colonialist traditions.

The nationalist strategy seeks to bolster national or ethnic pride by emphasizing accomplishments of the more recent past to support claims of a national heritage through the

use of a culture history approach (Trigger 1989:358-360). This is evident in the following aspects. First, until the last decade and a half fur trade archaeology was the primary domain of government agencies such as provincial museums, heritage branches or Parks Canada. Non-archaeologists chose the sites upon which archaeological investigations would centre and research knowledge was a secondary consideration, one destined to provide authenticity. Academic involvement was minimal unless it involved financial support for archaeological research, such as in the case of Lower Fort Garry.

A related problem to archaeology as authenticity was the lack of funds for analysis or full publication of data. Once artifacts were excavated, identified and put on display, research had accomplished its objective and further analysis was not needed unless it was to establish a chronological sequence or manuals (i.e. those produced by Parks Canada) to facilitate identification. At its best, this type of archaeology in support of development became dominated by description leading to charges of redundancy and irrelevancy.

The second aspect of a nationalist tradition in fur trade archaeology deals with the emphases of a recent past to promote cultural achievements of a dominant class through claims of a national heritage. Commemorations during the 1950s and the 1967 Canadian centennial promoted the accomplishments, both political and cultural, of EuroCanadians in taming the west and bringing civilization in the guise of European values. A proliferation in fur trade archaeology occurred during the 1960s and these remains provided the proof —a tangible contact with the past— which legitimized the civilizing process as a natural, common sense occurrence. The fur trade exemplified the first attempts of a rational control over nature through scientific and technical means. Similar instances are noted in Japan, where the late 19th century colonization of Hokkaido, an area populated by the Ainu, was portrayed as a continuation of Japanese historical expansion northward through the Japanese archipelago (Ikawa-Smith 1982:302-303, Trigger 1989:179); and in Israel where archaeology is used to provide concrete reality to a direct heritage (Silberman 1989:87-88).

In Canada the "prehistoric" period is not an integral part of Canadian history but a form of study set apart. Fur trade posts play a role in promoting the nation's integration but Native groups are almost always placed in a subordinate/subservient position if present at all. Indeed, living history programs at developed fur trade sites such as Fort William are frequently dominated by young white Canadians playing out roles associated with Métis or even Native people (Scott Hamilton 1994 pers. comm.). Native women are rarely portrayed in these open-air museums and if they are included, they again are depicted by white-Canadian women. The exploitative relationship of the trader to Native society is difficult to interpret and a sanitized version incorporating contemporary values results.

Often these invented pasts or traditions foster a sense of romanticism such as the "Viking syndrome" noted in Scandinavian countries (Moberg 1981:214). Museums accentuate this part of history, money is made available for Viking archaeology, the public likes it, and the Viking trademark plays an important ideological role in athletics and sports conveying concepts of strength, courage, endurance and prowess (Moberg 1982:214). The fur traders, especially the voyageur, could be paralleled with the Viking allure and image —the romantic, hardy, courageous, adventurous, kindly but wanton individual braving unexplored or uncivilized lands. Recreations, such as the Festival de Voyageur in Winnipeg, focus on such physical aspects as endurance and strength that are cherished and promoted by society. Other less flattering characteristics are downplayed.

A colonialist tradition denigrates the heritage of conquered people and does so through the demonstration of cultural stasis in prehistory. Native people lacked initiative to develop on their own and thus justifies their integration or exploitation (Trigger 1989:360-362). In fur trade studies the focus in the past has been on European endeavours, capitalist commerce and courage in a wilderness setting. Native groups, on the other hand, were hunters and gatherers, a lifeway little changed from their earliest ancestor. In this light the introduction of European goods was their enlightenment. A similar situation is noted in Australia where the Aborigines

are viewed as a mirror of the distant past —the living Palaeolithic (Murray and White 1981:258). In Canada, however, more recent historical studies by scholars such as Ray (1974), Foster (1977), Brown (1980) and Van Kirk (1980), and archaeological studies by Reid (1994) have begun to examine the social nature of the fur trade, its affect on the Native groups and the role of the Native people in the process.

Material Culture, Symbols and Nationalism

An important aspect in creating and maintaining a nationalist ideology is the manipulation of material culture. Unlike the spoken word material objects have considerable durability which provides a long term means of controlling meanings (Hodder 1989:71). Material objects effect human action and reveal and reflect relations. For example, in Bolivia archaeological ruins left by ancient cultures are not inert or dead objects but have a reality which actively influences lives individually and collectively. They provide a link with a dignified and autonomous past in which the people had their own government and were subjects of their own history. In short, the ruins are a source of identity (Condori 1989:49).

Material culture is used to create a common identity and in the case of the fur trade this is done through the use of history and archaeology. The archaeological remains and site reconstructions provide the visible link promoting a view of the fur trade as the common, natural and inevitable extension of a European value system. The use of scientific disciplines to find or create a coherence through folklore, oral tradition, history or archaeology is not uncommon in nations searching or celebrating their identity (Leone 1991:236). Governments tend to focus on tangible sets of historic objects, structures or places because they create the appearance of a known, given past and present "a tangible aura of accuracy" (McGuire 1992:224). In this sense, fur trade sites become symbols which signify and express this ideology and play an active role in its creation and reproduction (Wurst 1991, Beaudry et al. 1991). Reconstructed posts such as Fort William in northwestern Ontario, Lower Fort Garry in

Manitoba, Fort Carlton and Last Mountain House in Saskatchewan, Forts George, Dunvegan and Edmonton in Alberta, and Fort St. James in northeastern British Columbia are visible and constitute part of the built landscape —they represent incarnations of social relationships.

The excavated artifacts contribute to this fur trade drama. These objects, as well as the structural remains, not only exist in the present, they provide an opportunity by which one has a direct sensory experience of surviving historical events (Prown 1988:20). Artifacts provide legitimacy and authenticity through their very numbers, their durability, their age and their context (Shanks 1992:101). In cases where replicas are used authenticity still prevails in that these are based on the original item. Artifacts may not be "important historical events, but they are, to the extent that they can be experienced and interpreted as evidence, significant" (Prown 1988:20). They provide the perception that the events they represent are real (Meltzer 1981:119).

The visible nature of material objects including artifacts, archaeological remains and restorations serve to communicate information rapidly and repeatedly and as such remove the onus from retaining cultural information entirely in human cognition (Lipe 1984:5, Eighmy 1981: 32). The messages relayed via fur trade remains and objects cater to exploration, technology, civilization and "progress" —a linear evolutionary approach highlighting EuroCanadian accomplishments. As Sherratt (1993:129) notes when discussing ethnographic materials: How many displays of objects raise the question of the genocide of native populations? Similar questions also are not addressed in the display of fur trade materials nor are questions concerning environmental devastation caused by overtrapping or hunting.

POLITICAL AWARENESS AND USES OF ARCHAEOLOGY BY ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

Often elites exert control by structuring the social processes which provide the data for analysis, such as documents, surveys, and interviews. Governments, universities and other institutions such as museums exert control over archaeological jobs, research and the use of data.

In the past, Native peoples were less educated and functioned in what to them was a foreign social situation. However, times are changing and Native peoples are becoming more educated and learning the importance of and how to manipulate resources such as history and archaeology. The fur trade is also a part of the Native heritage and they are beginning to take an interest in this part of their history. The James Smith Band in Saskatchewan allots equal importance to fur trade and prehistoric sites on their reserve. In northeastern British Columbia, the Tsek'ehni Band is attempting to discover its own role in the fur trade and subsequent changes to their culture (Bedard 1993, Eldon Yellowhorn 1994 pers. comm.). The latter is a start in correcting the bias noted by Brown (1990:17) that we often miss Native perspectives in our studies. This results in Native history being restricted "to the confines of certain rather specialized Native-White relations, rather than drawing attention to what was happening among Native people themselves".

ARCHAEOLOGISTS, THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

Fur trade archaeology in the early years of the 1960s paralleled prehistoric archaeological research in that it was not "particularly burdened with doctrinaire constraints" (Wright 1985:426). There were few professional archaeologists in Canada and even fewer with training in historic archaeology. Museums and governments looked towards the United States for individuals to undertake fur trade archaeological studies — a case of the metropolis servicing the satellite (Olsen 1991:215). Armed with the current theoretical orientation of the day, culture history, these individuals began the arduous task of creating the data base for fur trade archaeology.

The importation of archaeologists from the United States or England is not uncommon in countries where archaeological studies lacked funding or trained personnel. For example, in Australia most of the archaeologists, especially from 1960 to 1980, were trained in Cambridge (Murray and White 1981:256). In Peru during the last three decades the United States has

funded and conducted most of the archaeological research and as a consequence research designs and techniques reflect general trends in United States archaeology (Schaedel & Shimada 1982:366). A similar trend appears in Canadian fur trade archaeology but differs in that the work is now carried out by Canadians. However, the theoretical trends and orientations employed reflect developments in the United States. This is not surprising considering Canada's close geographic proximity and comparatively small archaeological community.

This assimilation of theoretical approaches, particularly processualism, brought its own set of baggage to fur trade studies. Processualism represented an ideology founded in capitalism which promoted the maximization of profit and minimisation of effort (Shanks and Tilley 1987b:49-51, Shanks 1992:163, Yoffee and Sherratt 1993:7), championed the political neutrality of science while disclaiming the relevance of socio-political considerations (Wobst 1989:138) and accredited relatively low prestige to history (Kohl 1993:14). In such a theoretical orientation, societies were treated as natural objects of science and social practice was treated as behaviour —actions stripped of meaning and intentionality (Shanks 1992:26). A result of this integration of capitalist ideology into the explanations of other cultures serves to destroy culture, time, space, and history (Handsman 1983:64). In historic archaeology, these tenets of processualism were most evident in South's hypothetico-deductive method which was eagerly picked up in the 1970s and 1980s (see Chapter 4). However, as espoused by Handsman (1983:65) such an approach never leads to information on culture or history. For example, fur trade archaeological studies tended to focus on attempts to determine a fur trade pattern (i.e. Forsman and Gallo 1979), behavioural processes through activity patterning (i.e. Christianson 1980 and Hamilton 1986b), or socio-economic concerns such as status (i.e. Monks 1985) or ethnicity (i.e. Bedard 1990).

Whether American or Canadian, most historic archaeologists worked for government agencies or museums and were restricted in their ability to select sites, or progress beyond the descriptive report. In many cases even the latter stage was not always reached. Institutions set

their own agendas and are particularly attuned to public, political and economic conditions. In fact, Sherratt (1993:122) views archaeology in general as "an aspect of industrial capitalism" and that its long-term growth is related to the economic fortunes of the societies concerned. Today, fur trade archaeology is still primarily confined to museums and government departments and individuals who wish to be gainfully employed cannot afford to be insensitive to the pressures of the outside world and their effects on the functioning of specific institutions (Sherratt 1993:124). A primary example of this is Parks Canada's current focus on resource management rather than development. Unfortunately, academic involvement, which does not suffer from the same restrictions, was limited in the past with a few individuals such as Fladmark and Dawson taking an active interest. Faculty positions in historic archaeology represent a fairly recent (1980s) phenomenon in western Canada but with recent economic hardships and university budget reductions, future prospects are not promising.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Archaeology is a social product, often practised by white middle-class interests and as such archaeologists need to critically think about the social and historical context within which they operate. The contexts in which archaeological practice may structure or influence the interpretation of the past is becoming a matter of critical concern (Fowler 1987:240). The past and monuments of the past have long been used to legitimize authority and to assert or symbolize nationalist ideologies and archaeologists have, knowingly or otherwise, participated in these "uses" (Fowler 1987:240). The fur trade is a good example. Researchers have their own ideas or objectives but follow the archaeological tradition in which they were trained and for personal reasons such as gainful employment adhere or follow government policy. At times the use of the past by the archaeologist may be at polar opposites to nationalist considerations (Fowler 1987:241).

History and archaeology are done by different groups —such as Native versus EuroCanadian—within a social order and therefore, may see the past differently and attach a different significance to the past depending on that position. Today, the rise of Native awareness, consciousness and education demands that the purpose and role of archaeology be questioned. Many Native groups are demanding control of their own history and question the value and practice of archaeology. The Lubicon Lake First Nation's boycott of "The Spirit Sings" exhibition at the Glenbow Museum provided the impetus for bringing Native peoples and museums together in a series of discussions to develop ethical frameworks and strategies to represent Native history and culture (see Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association 1992 Task Force Report). Native people are beginning to use archaeology for their own political purposes —land claims being the most obvious and well known.

Archaeology plays an important role in nation building, self-identity and awareness, and is subject to the political, social and economic conditions of the time. It is imperative that archaeologists be aware of these influences on their own cultural behaviour and how these fit within the ideological tenets and values of one's uses of the past. Interpretations or uses of the past are seldom value neutral. This is especially true in a world where social and political environments are in constant contact and flux.

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APPENDIX A

PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Alphabetical Order

Gary Adams	February 21, 1992
David Arthurs	February 20, 1992
Dean Clark	March 20, 1991
Jim Chism	February 10, 1992
Ian Dyck	April 27, 1992
Mike Forsman	February 28, 1991
Bruce Fry	April 6, 1993
Scott Hamilton	March 2, 1992
David Hems	February 14, 1992
Karlis Karklins	May 9, 1992
Bob Kidd	March 1, 1991
Ellen Lee	April 29, 1992
Bill Long	March 22, 1991
Tim Losey	March 31, 1992
Hugh MacKie	May 31, 1992
Greg Monks	March 16, 1992
G. (Trudy) Nicks	April 24, 1992
John Nicks	April 5, 1993
Peter Priess	February 17, 1992
Heinz Pyszczyk	February 28, 1991
John Rick	April 6, 1993
Leigh Syms	March 18, 1992
A. M. (Jo) Taylor	March 3, 1992
Gil Watson	March 21, 1991

Although not formally interviewed the following people provided much needed background information: Bill Ross, Andrew Hinshelwood, John Porter, Rod Heitzmann, Gerry Conaty, David Meyer, Paddy Reid, David McLeod, Peter Nieuwhof, Knut Fladmark, David Burley Frank Korvemaker, Stan Saylor, Dave Riddle, Tom Kehoe, Richard Forbis, Michael Payne and David Smyth.

APPENDIX B

FUR TRADE REFERENCES

Northwestern Ontario

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APPENDIX C

FUR TRADE POSTS INVESTIGATED
BY PROVINCE AND DECADE

Table C.1. Breakdown of Various Posts Investigated By Decade and Province.

Northwestern Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	Northeastern British Columbia
1920s & 30s				
		Fort aux Trembles		
		Francois-Finlay		
		Ft. Esperance I (NWC)		
		Ft. Esperance II (NWC)		
		Fort Qu'Appelle		
		Fort Carlton		
		Fort a la Corne		
		Fort St. Louis		
		Pine Island		
		Ft. Rivierie Tremblante		
		Hudson's House		
		Fort Pelly 1		
		Fort Pelly 2		
1940s				
		Thorburn's House		
		Grant & McLeod		
		Sturgeon Post		
		Ft. Esperance II (NWC)		
1950s				
	Prince of Wales Fort	Fort Qu'Appelle		
		Belleau's Post		
		Vicker's Narrows		
		GcMn - 2, 3, 5, 7, & 8		
		GdM0 - 1, 2, & 3		
1960s				
Fort William	York Factory	Sturgeon Post	RMH (13R)	
Wabinosh House	Lower Fort Garry	Fort Carlton	RMH (1R)	
Red Rock	Pine fort	Pine Island	RMH - Seafort Burial	
Sand Point Post	Fort Desjarlais	Last Mountain House	Fort George	
Dog Lake Trading Post	Shoal House	Cumberland House	Buckingham House	
Fort Albany		Fort aux Trembles	Ft. Ed. III/White Earth	
Gloucester House		Fort Alexandria	Ft. Ed. I/Ft. Augustus	
Longlac Post		Fort Pelly 1	Fort Wedderburn	
		Belleau's Post	Nottingham House	
		Hudson's House		
		Monument Site		
		Thorburn's House		
		Francois-Finlay		
		Ft. Esperance I (NWC)		
		F.t Esperance II (NWC)		
		Fort a la Corne		
		Fort St. Louis		
		Cumberland House 2		
		Manchester House		
		McKay's Post		
		Ft. Riviere Tremblante		
		GcMn-7		
		GcMn-8		
		GdMo-3		

Northwestern Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	Northeastern British Columbia
1970s				
Fort William	York Factory	Fort aux Trembles	RMH (1R)	Fort St. James
Pointe de Meuron	Upper fort Garry	Monument Site	RMH (15R)	Ft. St. John I / Ft. d'Epinette
Sand Point Post	Lower Fort Garry	Francois-Finlay	RMH (16R)	Fort St. John II
Whitefish lake Post	Fort Dauphin	Ft. Esperance II (NWC)	RMH - Seafort Burial	Rocky Mtn. Portage Ho.
Martin's Fall	Pine Fort	South Branch Ho. I (NWC)	Fort George	Rocky Mountain Fort
Mammamattawa	Fort Maurepas	Fort Carlton	Buckingham House	MacIntosh's Post
Fort Severn	Oxford House	Fort St. Louis	Fort White Earth	
New Sever	Setting Chimney Site	Old Fort Methy	Fort Victoria	
Fort Albany	Fort Alexander	MP-HBC Provision Post	Fort Wedderburn	
Charlton Island House	SM - NWC - 1801	MP-HBC Provision Post	Jasper House	
Gloucester House	SM - XY 18801	West La Loche House	Laroque's House	
Big Trout HBC Post	SM - NWC @1821	MP - HBC Depot	Piegan Post (Bow Fort)	
Post Narrows	SM - Brandon House I	MP - Free Trader's Ho.	Fort Fork	
Osnaburgh House	SM - Brandon House II	HBC Battleford Store	Fort of the Forks	
Longlac Post	SM - HBC @1830	Fort Pelly 1	Nottingham House	
Old Henley Ho. (EgIc-2)	SM - McDonell's House	Fort Pelly 2	Fort Assiniboine	
Old Henley (EhIb-1)		Fort Pitt	Muswade Post	
Henley Ho. II (EhIb-3)		Fort du Traite	Lac La Biche	
De Noyan's Landing		Fairford House	Fort Chipewyan I	
		Deer River House	Fort Chipewyan III & IV	
		Duplaws House	Fort Edmonton IV	
		HBC - White Sand	Fort Edmonton V	
		Sandy Lake #6	Green Wintering	
		GcMn - 2, 3 & 5	Fort Dunvegan	
		GdMo-2	Pierre au Calumet	
		GdMm-1		
1980s				
Fort William	York Factory	Fort aux Trembles	RMH (13R)	Fort St. James
Pointe de Meuron	Cape Merry Battery	Monument Site	RMH (1R)	Ft. St. John I / Ft. d'Epinette
Whitefish Lake Post	Upper Fort Garry	Francois-Finlay	RMH (15R)	Fort St. John II
Henley Ho. I (EgIc-1)	Lower Fort Garry	Grant & McLeod	RMH - Seafort Burial	Rocky Mtn. Portage Ho.
Henley Ho. II (EhIb-3)	The Forks	Fort Carlton	Fort George	Rocky Mountain Fort
De Noyan's Landing	Fort Maurepas	Fort St. Louis	Jasper House	MacIntosh's Post
Fort Frances	Riding Mountain House	Last Mountain House	Ft. Chipewyan Powder	McLeod's Lake Post
	Setting Chimney	La Montee	Ft. Chipewyan III & IV	
	Hill River House		Pembina River	
	St. Anne Trading Post		Fort Dunvegan	
	Lane's Post		Beren's House	
	SM - NWC - 1801		Pierre au Calumet	
	SM - XY 18801		Frog Lake	
	SM - NWC @1821		Hunt House	
	SM - Brandon House I		Greenwich House	
	SM - Brandon House II		Boyer House	
	Canoe Fort I		Aspin House	
	SM - McDonell's House			
	Ash House			
	HBC Wintering - SM			
	Canoe Fort II			
1990s				
	York Factory	Fort Qu'Appelle	GePa-10	Fort St. James
	Lower Fort Garry	Fort Carlton	Fort Edmonton V	
	The Forks	Cumberland House	Paint Creek House	
	Setting Chimney			
	McKay House			
	Ash House			
	HBC Wintering - SM			
	Canoe Fort I			
	Canoe Fort II			

Ho. = House	SM = Souris Mouth	RMH = Rocky Mountain House
Ft. = Fort	MP = Methye Portage	Ft. Ed. = Fort Edmonton

Table C.2. Breakdown By Province and Decade of the Investigated Posts.

NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO

1920s & 30s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
			Fort William	Fort William	Fort William	
			Wabinosh House	Pointe de Meuron	Pointe de meuron	
			Red Rock	Sand Point Post	Whitefish Lake Post	
			Sand Point Post	Whitefish lake Post	Henley Ho. I (Eglc-1)	
			Dog Lake Trading Post	Martin's Fall	Henley Ho. II (Ehlb-3)	
			Fort Albany	Mammamattawa	De Noyan's Landing	
			Gloucester House	Fort Severn	Fort Frances	
			Longlac Post	New Sever		
				Fort Albany		
				Charlton Island House		
				Gloucester House		
				Big Trout HBC Post		
				Post Narrows		
				Osnaburgh House		
				Longlac Post		
				Old Henley Ho. (Eglc-2)		
				Old Henley Ho. II (Ehlb-1)		
				Henley Ho. II (Ehlb-3)		
				De Noyan's Landing		

MANITOBA

1920s & 30s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
		Prince of Wales Fort	York Factory	York Factory	York Factory	York Factory
			Lower Fort Garry	Upper fort Garry	Cape Merry Battery	Lower Fort Garry
			Pine fort	Lower Fort Garry	Upper Fort Garry	The Forks
			Fort Desjarlais	Fort Dauphin	Lower Fort Garry	Setting Chimney
			Shoal House	Pine Fort	The Forks	McKay House
				Fort Maurepas	Fort Maurepas	Ash House
				Oxford House	Riding Mountain House	HBC Wintering - SM
				Setting Chimney Site	Setting Chimney	Canoe Fort I
				Fort Alexander	Hill River House	Canoe Fort II
				SM - NWC - 1801	St. Anne Trading Post	
				SM - XY 18801	Lane's Post	
				SM - NWC @1821	SM - NWC - 1801	
				SM - Brandon House I	SM - XY 18801	
				SM - Brandon House II	SM - NWC @1821	
				SM - HBC @1830	SM - Brandon House I	
				SM - McDonell's House	SM - Brandon House II	
					Canoe Fort I	
					SM - McDonell's House	
					Ash House	
					HBC Wintering - SM	
					Canoe Fort II	

SASKATCHEWAN

1920s & 30s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Fort aux Trembles	Thorburn's House	Fort Qu'Appelle	Sturgeon Post	Fort aux Trembles	Fort aux Trembles	Fort Qu'Appelle
Francois-Finlay	Grant & McLeod	Belleau's Post	Fort Carlton	Monument Site	Monument Site	Fort Carlton
Ft. Esperance I (NWC)	Sturgeon Post	Vicker's Narrows	Pine Island	Francois-Finlay	Francois-Finlay	Cumberland House
Ft. Esperance II (NWC)	Ft. Esperance II (NWC)	GcMn - 2, 3, 5, 7, & 8	Last Mountain House	Ft. Esperance II (NWC)	Grant & McLeod	
Fort Qu'Appelle		GdM0 - 1, 2, & 3	Cumberland House	South Branch Ho. I (NWC)	Fort Carlton	
Fort Carlton			Fort aux Trembles	Fort Carlton	Fort St. Louis	
Fort a la Corne			Fort Alexandria	Fort St. Louis	Last Mountain House	
Fort St. Louis			Fort Pelly 1	Old Fort Methy	La Montee	
Pine Island			Belleau's Post	MP-HBC Provision Post		
Ft. Rivierie Tremblante			Hudson's House	MP-HBC Provision Post		
Hudson's House			Monument Site	West La Loche House		
Fort Pelly 1			Thorburn's House	MP - HBC Depot		
Fort Pelly 2			Francois-Finlay	MP - Free Trader's Ho.		
			Ft. Esperance I (NWC)	HBC Battleford Store		
			F.t Esperance II (NWC)	Fort Pelly 1		
			Fort a la Corne	Fort Pelly 2		
			Fort St. Louis	Fort Pitt		
			Cumberland House 2	Fort du Traite		
			Manchester House	Fairford House		
			McKay's Post	Deer River House		
			Ft. Riviere Tremblante	Duplaws House		
			GcMn-7	HBC - White Sand		
			GcMn-8	Sandy Lake #6		
			GdMo-3	GcMn - 2, 3 & 5		
				GdMo-2		
				GdMm-1		

ALBERTA

1920s & 30s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
			RMH (13R)	RMH (1R)	RMH (13R)	GePa-10
			RMH (1R)	RMH (15R)	RMH (1R)	Fort Edmonton V
			RMH - Seafort Burial	RMH (16R)	RMH (15R)	Paint Creek House
			Fort George	RMH - Seafort Burial	RMH - Seafort Burial	
			Buckingham House	Fort George	Fort George	
			Ft. Ed. III/White Earth	Buckingham House	Jasper House	
			Ft. Ed. I/Ft. Augustus	Fort White Earth	Ft. Chipewyan Powder	
			Fort Wedderburn	Fort Victoria	Ft. Chipewyan III & IV	
			Nottingham House	Fort Wedderburn	Pembina River	
				Jasper House	Fort Dunvegan	
				Laroque's House	Beren's House	
				Piegan Post (Bow Fort)	Pierre au Calumet	
				Fort Fork	Frog Lake	

Alberta (cont'd)

1920s & 30s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
				Fort of the Forks	Hunt House	
				Nottingham House	Greenwich House	
				Fort Assiniboine	Boyer House	
				Muswade Post	Aspin House	
				Lac La Biche		
				Fort Chipewyan I		
				Fort Chipewyan III & IV		
				Fort Edmonton IV		
				Fort Edmonton V		
				Green Wintering		
				Fort Dunvegan		
				Pierre au Calumet		

NORTHEASTERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

1920s & 30s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
				Fort St. James	Fort St. James	Fort St. James
				Ft. St. John I/Ft. d'Epinette	Ft. St. John I/Ft. d'Epinette	
				Fort St. John II	Fort St. John II	
				Rocky Mtn. Portage Ho.	Rocky Mtn. Portage Ho.	
				Rocky Mountain Fort	Rocky Mountain Fort	
				MacIntosh's Post	MacIntosh's Post	
					McLeod's Lake Post	

Index
Ho. = House
Ft. = Fort
SM = Souris Mouth
MP = Methye Portage
RMH = Rocky Mountain House
Ft. Ed. = Fort Edmonton