

# Hudson's Bay Company

Posts & Depots



Images from a Vanished Era

Thomas Schultze

This study is dedicated  
to the voyageurs,  
to the oarsmen from the Orkney Islands and  
to the dog teams and their drivers.

They moved their canoes and boats and sleds  
for a hundred years and thousands of miles,  
under extreme conditions.

Without them, no exploration  
and no human transport,  
no provisions,  
no trade goods,  
no furs.

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# Introduction

## A Visual Record

During the first two centuries of its fur trade the Hudson's Bay Company operated hundreds of posts and depots.<sup>1</sup>

Some above-ground structures have survived, such as the Staff House at Moose Factory, the Gated Archway Warehouse at Norway House and the stone forts of Prince of Wales Fort and Lower Fort Garry. At other locations below-ground outlines have been excavated: York Factory, Fort Edmonton IV (Rossdale Flats) and Fort Franklin. Outlines and wooden remnants are visible at Fort Chipewyan and Fort Anderson.<sup>2</sup> Several sites have been recreated or restored, or partially restored.<sup>3</sup>

Much physical evidence may be gone but Canadian archives and museums hold a wealth of images of HBC installations: plans, sketches, paintings and early photography. Many of these have found their way into journal articles or monographs dealing with the history of the Company or into Parks Canada site descriptions. But they remain largely unknown to the general public.

This study places them at its centre. It examines what they reveal about a site's location, its layout and appearance and the intended use of its buildings. Orientation maps, key historical dates and visitors' impressions provide background and context.

## The Geography (see Fig. 1)

This discussion centers around Rupert's Land<sup>4</sup> and the North. Fort William, today's Thunder Bay, is included. A Northwest Company establishment until 1821, it did continue to play a significant role as transshipment post and depot on the route from Montreal (Lachine) to the interior, the *pays d'en haut*.

HBC Posts stood along a waterway that stretches from York Factory in Hudson Bay to the Mackenzie River. This route first followed the Hayes/Nelson Rivers to Lake Winnipeg and hence to the Red River Valley. It was called the 'Main Line', its terminus Norway House. Distance: 585 km.

From there, the Saskatchewan River provided access to the West and North:

From Cumberland House, one heavily travelled route led via the Sturgeon-Weir River, Frog Portage to Lac Ile-à-la-Crosse, Rendez-vous Lake and Methye (La Loche) portage. This portage, at 19 km the longest, traversed the height of land between the Hudson Bay and Arctic watersheds.

An alternate route to the North led along the North Saskatchewan River to Fort Edmonton (c. 1100 km) and from there, using pack horses, along the 100 mile-long 'Athabasca Landing Trail' to the Athabasca River. The distance from Fort Edmonton to Fort Simpson (Mackenzie River) totals about 1000 km, by water.

## The Images

The earliest documented views in this publication date from 1624 and 1697 - a picture map of the mouth of the Churchill River and a view of York Fort under attack by D'Iberville.

Early images of York and Prince of Wales forts consist of maps and plans only. Samuel Hearne has left one view of each from the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He also produced the earliest map of Moose Factory, in James Bay.

The majority of visual material stems from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, a period of heightened exploration and travel.

The number of images produced at any one post varied depending on the relative significance of the establishment and on access to it. Upper Fort Garry, situated at the crossroads of transportation routes, the heart of the Red River Colony and the seat of the governor of Rupert's Land, is the subject of at least two dozen views seen by this author. Files on posts in the North are slim.

Where multiple views of a building or building complex, from the same period exist, the decision of choosing one image over another was guided by its documentary value.

The reproduction of different views of the same establishment over time documents a post's move to a new site or the growth in size or change in building arrangement.

York Factory underwent seven or eight changes to its appearance during its 200-year history.<sup>5</sup> At Moose Factory change is barely noticeable over the span of a century.

### **Portrayal of Indigenous Peoples**

A number of images show the Indigenous populations living near an HBC settlement. They show varying degrees of interaction with the Europeans and involvement in their life and business.

Samuel Hearne's painting of Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson Bay shows an encampment of Dene and Cree. These 'homeguards' played a vital role by supplying the post with meat, fish, cold-weather clothing and snowshoes. They also served as guides, couriers and trappers.

Cree, Ojibwa and Assiniboin living near posts in the West can be seen pursuing their daily activities such as fishing, repairing canoes or building lodges. They appear to live apart from the Europeans, with little or no apparent interchange - Indigenous people in the foreground, the Company's establishment in the back. At times the artist uses a body of water to emphasize the physical and cultural divide.

An exception is Jean L'Heureux' view of Rocky Mountain House where we witness a number of Indigenous men and their families either coming to trade or work around the fort, cutting wood or building York boats and carts.

The Mohawk from Kahnawake, near Montreal, worked as voyageurs propelling the canoe brigades. They were hired and thus part of business operations. Images of Fort William show them with their craft.

Métis appear in views of the Assiniboine-Red River junction, i.e. Fort Gibraltar and Upper Fort Garry, as well as everywhere in the West and North. They seem to be the most integrated and mingle freely with the Europeans, working in and around the fort. Winter scenes show them driving dog trains, cutting and hauling wood or ice-fishing. In the Prairies they are depicted as drivers of ox-carts, on the water they work in York boat brigades.

### **The Artists**

Only two of the artists represented here were known as such at their time - William Armstrong and Paul Kane. All others came from various and differing backgrounds.

To begin with, there were the Company's employees themselves, who sketched and painted their environment: a canoeist, a cooper, a clerk, a fur trader or a post manager. The quality of their views ranges from naïve to highly skilled.

A second group consisted of surveyors, civil engineers, members of the military and members of exploratory expeditions. Their depictions are the most reliable. They were trained in the observation and interpretation of topographical and architectural features. They had an eye for scale and perspective and executed the most precise views before photography.

And there were the visitors: relatives of HBC staff, settlers, missionaries, journalists, interpreters, men and women.

Especially for those in the latter group travelling as passengers in canoe or York boat brigades was arduous. Most had no previous experience with the rough conditions and rough schedules awaiting them. Certainly not the Swiss settlers headed to the Red River Colony, young Peter Rindisbacher among them.

Voyageurs, Orkney-men and Métis worked sixteen and eighteen hour days moving their craft. Mornings started well before daybreak. At portages, women had to be carried over rocks and fallen timber and had to wear veils against the clouds of black flies and mosquitoes. Sleeping in wet clothes was not uncommon. Isobel

Finlayson, artist and newly-wed wife of an HBC official, has chronicled travel in her *York Boat Journal*, in which she includes several sketches.<sup>6</sup>

Rindisbacher paints a view of the difficult task of poling and lining York boats containing his countrymen, against the current and over shoals, up the Hayes River, the men in the water (see Rock Depot).

Winter travel was by dog-train and on snow shoes and sketching was near-impossible. Even indoors, conditions were not artist-friendly. Robert Hood, member of Franklin's first expedition, in January 1820, at Cumberland House:

*We kept the chimneys in a constant blaze, notwithstanding which, our pens and brushes were frozen to the paper.*<sup>7</sup>

Artists recorded their impressions as part of journal entries or as souvenirs or gifts, or to be sold. The preferred medium were pencils, a sketch pad, c. 11 cm x 18 cm, and a small water colour set (*Winsor & Newton* after 1832).<sup>8</sup>

Chief Factor James Cotter at Moose Factory experimented with photography from the 1860s on and had equipment and materials sent from London with the annual supply ship to York Factory.<sup>9</sup> Among the first photographers to take their equipment into the open country were Humphrey Hime and Charles Horetzky, during exploratory expeditions in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Spelling and Usage**

*Assiniboine* refers to the river of that name.

*Assiniboin* refers to the First Nation.

The chief administrator of Rupert's Land is the *governor*; thus "governor George Simpson". The HBC's head in London is the *Governor*. In many quoted texts

Governor, upper case, refers to a post manager.

*Officers* are post managers and administrators, Factors and Chief Factors, surgeons, writers and apprentices.

*Men* are craftsmen, trip men (voyageurs and York boat rowers), sailors, labourers, and servants.<sup>10</sup>

### **Abbreviations**

DCB - Dictionary of Canadian Biography

HBCA - Hudson's Bay Company

Archives, Archives of Manitoba

LAC - Library and Archives Canada

NRC - Natural Resources Canada

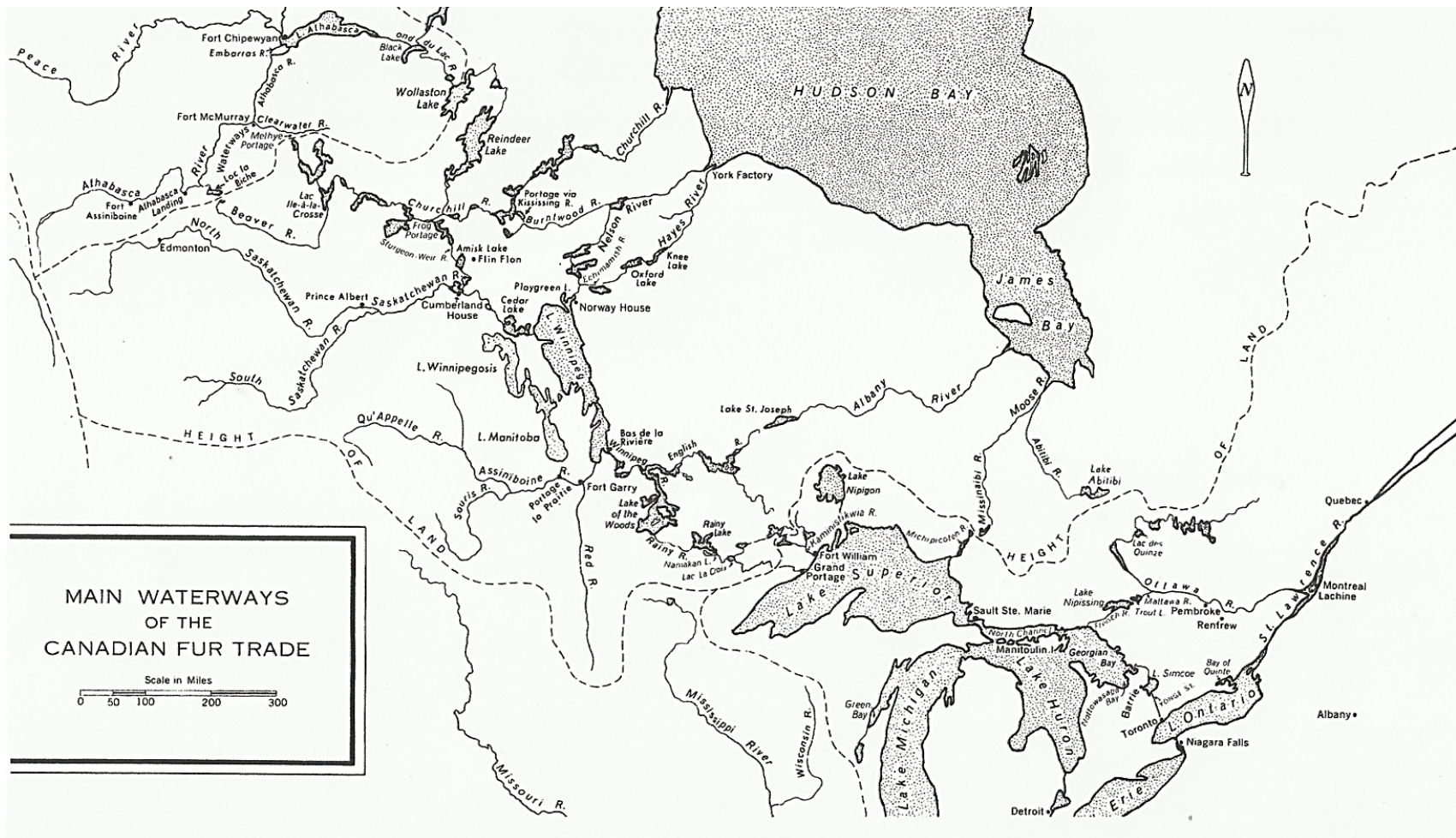
TCE - The Canadian Encyclopedia

**Figure 1**

Main waterways of the Canadian Fur Trade.  
Eric W. Morse, *Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada*. PDF p. 120

The map illustrates a predominantly west-to-east river flow. Note lines indicating height of land, separating three drainage

basins: to the Arctic, to Hudson Bay - essentially Rupert's Land - and to the Atlantic





# James Bay

**Figure 2**  
Orientation map of southern James Bay.  
NRC Toporama

James Bay is a shallow brackish inland sea. River deltas in the southern part discharge large amounts of fresh water from a vast river system that reaches far inland. By August the bay is ice-free. Freeze-up begins in November.

“The coast along western James Bay stretches far inland, and is near-level. Along eastern James Bay the rivers drop through thunderous cataracts to a swampy



coastal plain, blank and featureless.”<sup>11</sup>

It was at the ‘Bottom of the Bay’ that the four earliest HBC trading posts were established, all at the mouths of the rivers whose names they bear. The earliest was Charles Fort, later called Rupert House, on the Rupert River (today’s Waskaganish). It was followed by Moose Factory (Moosonee), Fort Albany, and Eastmain.

# Beginnings

On September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1668, a tiny ship, the *Nonsuch*,<sup>12</sup> landed on the shores of lower James Bay. On board were ‘a little band of adventurers’ led by the Sieur des Groseilliers.

“There, the party erected Charles Fort, later Rupert House. A ‘League of Friendship’ was established with the local First Nations and the land was ‘formally purchased.’ In the spring, a group of over 300 Indigenous people came down to trade. When the ice broke in Hudson Bay, the furs were loaded on board and the *Nonsuch* headed home to England with her precious cargo.”<sup>13</sup>

On May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1670, King Charles granted a Royal Charter to the *Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay*.

The Charter granted exclusive trading rights in the territory traversed by rivers flowing into Hudson Bay (Hudson Bay Drainage Area). This vast region was named Rupert’s Land, in honour of the King’s cousin, Prince Rupert, first Governor of the newly-formed Hudson’s Bay Company.

**Figure 3**  
Map of Rupert’s Land  
TCE



**Figure 4**  
Building of Charles Fort  
Mural by Adam Sheriff Scott and  
Edwin Tappan Adney  
Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

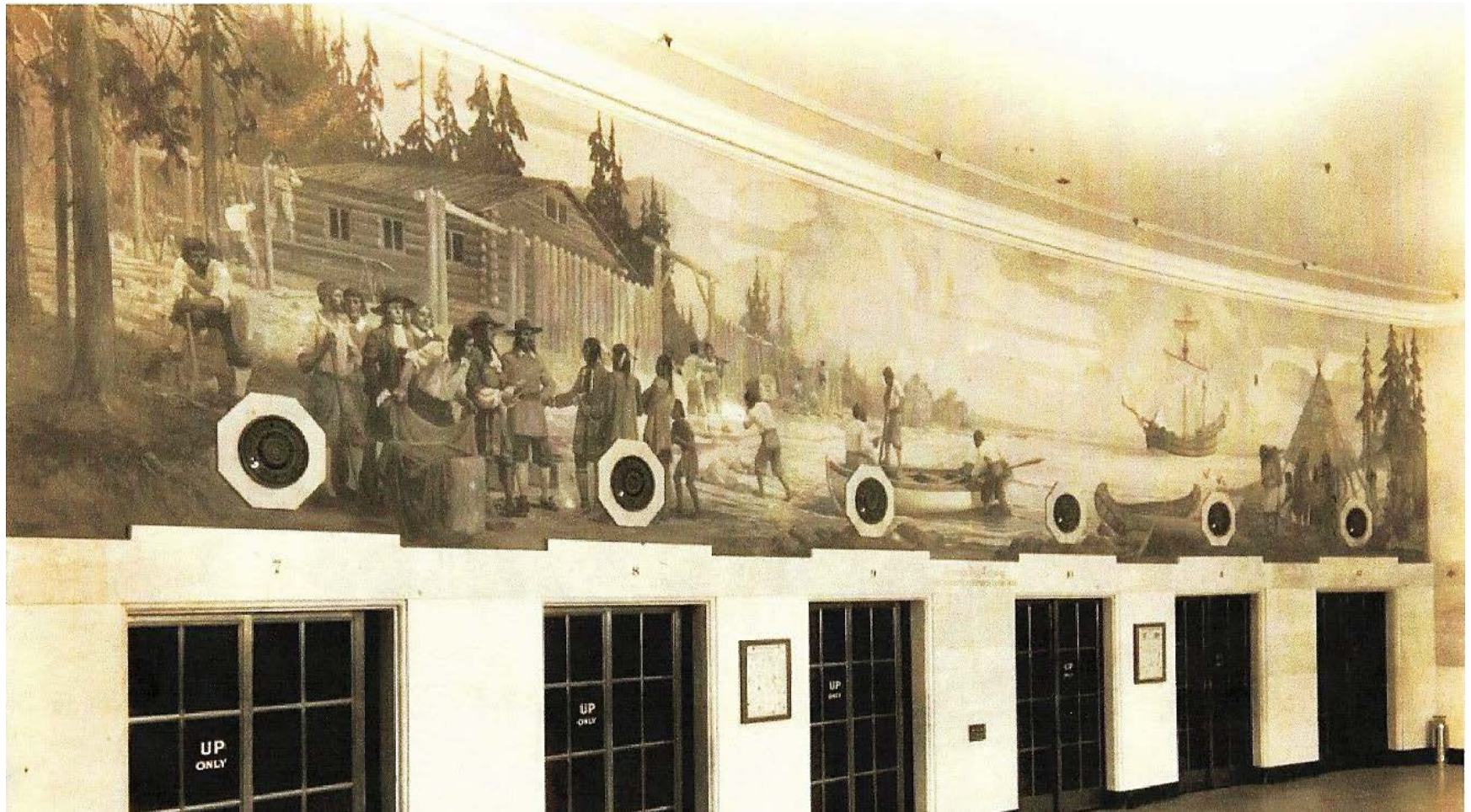
This grand historical panorama depicting the building of Charles Fort and first contact between Indigenous (Cree) people and de Groseilliers stretched across the width of six elevator banks in the HBC's state of the art store, in Winnipeg.<sup>14</sup>

The mural was one of two wall paintings above facing banks of elevators in the concave lobby.<sup>15</sup>

Above elevators 7 and 8, the artists show the Sieur de Groseilliers and several of his men engaged in conversation with three adults and a child while construction of the fort's palisades is going on in the back. The Englishmen are in the process of showing some blankets as trade goods. There are no pelts, yet. Both parties look dignified. The panel above elevators 9 and 10 depicts the unloading of trade goods

from a dinghy which shuttles them from the *Nonsuch*, anchored off-shore. The background shows the main gate and work on the palisades.

Above elevators 11 and 12 we get a partial view of an Indigenous encampment with teepee and canoes, providing a contrast to the solid-looking structure on the left and the *Nonsuch*, here oversized.



**Figure 5**

Charles Fort or Rupert House  
Drawing. Artist and date unknown  
Toronto Public Library.<sup>16</sup>

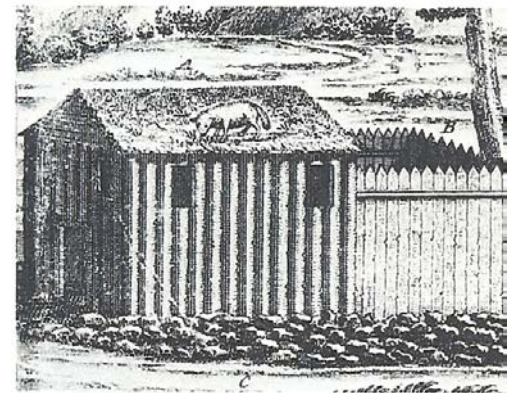
Caption: *Hut with vertical logs and  
thatched roof, probably much the same as  
the first Company House at Rupert River  
where the crew of the Nonsuch wintered.*

This drawing is the only indication we have of what that first settlement might have looked like: a two storied, square or rectangular shelter with a palisaded enclosure, somewhat less impressive than the one in Fig.4. There is no reference to letters *A*, *B* and *C*. *C* may refer to the edge of the Rupert River. *B* could refer to the enclosure, *A* is unknown. Note layout for

defense: two-story-high palisade and windows on second floor only.

The animal grazing on the roof is a Wolverine or “Quick Hatch”, as drawn and described by Henry Ellis during his expedition in 1746.<sup>17</sup> It is not known whether wolverines can climb smooth wooden walls.

No early images of Rupert House exist.<sup>18</sup>



# Moose Factory (Ontario)

Est. 1673

**Other names: Moose Fort, Fort St.**

**Louis (Fr.)**

**Cree: Moosonee Ministik**

**(“Moosonee Island”)**

## Location

Moose Factory is located on an island in the mouth of the Moose River, across from today’s Moosonee, Ontario. Tributaries of

the Moose, such as the Missinaibi, Mattagami and Abitibi Rivers and their

systems, reach deep into northern Ontario, offering access for exploration and trade.



**Figure 6**  
Map of drainage area south of Moosonee.  
NRC/Toporama

### **From the Post History**

Cree First Nations lived in the area before contact.

Moose Factory, the HBC's second oldest post, is the oldest settlement in Ontario. The first HBC establishment was Charles Fort, later Rupert House, today Waskaganish, Quebec (Fig. 2).

**1671** Pierre-Esprit Radisson visits the site.

**1672** or **1673** Charles Bayly, first HBC governor of Rupert's Land, establishes a small house for occasional occupation on Hayes Island. Moose becomes the principal post in James Bay.

By the **1680s** there was a three-storey timber dwelling surrounded by a square of palisades, flanked by four bastions.

**1686** June 21: the Chevalier de Troyes captures the post and renames it Fort St. Louis.

**1693** Governor James Knight recaptures Moose Fort for the Company.

**1713** During French-English hostilities the fort changes hands a number of times. It is finally ceded to Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht.

**1810** Moose Factory becomes headquarters of the Southern Department of Rupert's Land.<sup>19</sup>

**1820s** The post manager's dwelling and two-storied staff house are built.

**1821** After the merger of the HBC with the

Northwest Company, Moose Factory becomes a supply point for posts inland as far as Lake Timiskaming.

**1834-1844** The HBC's Dr. John Rae, future arctic explorer, spends 10 years at Moose as a medical doctor. He learns from the Cree how to travel and survive living off the land.

**1930s** The Timiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway to Moosonee ends the isolation of Moose Factory and signals its transition from a fur trade post to a settled service-type economy.

**1978** The Staff House is officially turned over to the Province of Ontario. Today it is part of the Centennial Park Museum at Moose Factory.

**Figure 7**

Map by Samuel Hearne, 1774

Inscription: *Plan of Moos [sic] River, in  
Hudsons Bay, North America Lat 53° N  
Lon 85° W from London by SH 1774*

26 x 44 cm

Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

North is to the upper right.

With an extraordinary gift for observation and attention to detail, Hearne records every land and water feature. He notes water depth in fathoms (1 fathom = 6 feet),

sand banks and areas dry at low water; he indicates and names each creek, each little islet, two beacons, and even includes one hunting and one trapping log tent. Moose Fort can be seen on an island in the main channel of the Moose River, on the left,

above the letter "P" of *Plan*. To the southwest of the fort lies Hayes Island, where the original post was founded by Charles Bayly, in 1673.





**Figure 8**

East View of Moose Factory, 1804-1811  
Watercolour by William Richards  
34.5 x 24.2 cm  
Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

De Troyes describes the fort at the time of its conquest (1686):

*It was square, each side a hundred and thirty feet long and protected by palisades from sixteen to eighteen feet high; the palisades were flanked by bastions of soil kept in place by stone-work, and the two bastions facing the river mounted three cannon each ...*<sup>20</sup>

There is no extant image of the site which De Troyes describes. Fig. 8 is the earliest view of the establishment. Richards grew up on James Bay and was largely self-taught. The picture looks naïve but is historically valuable because various buildings could be identified.

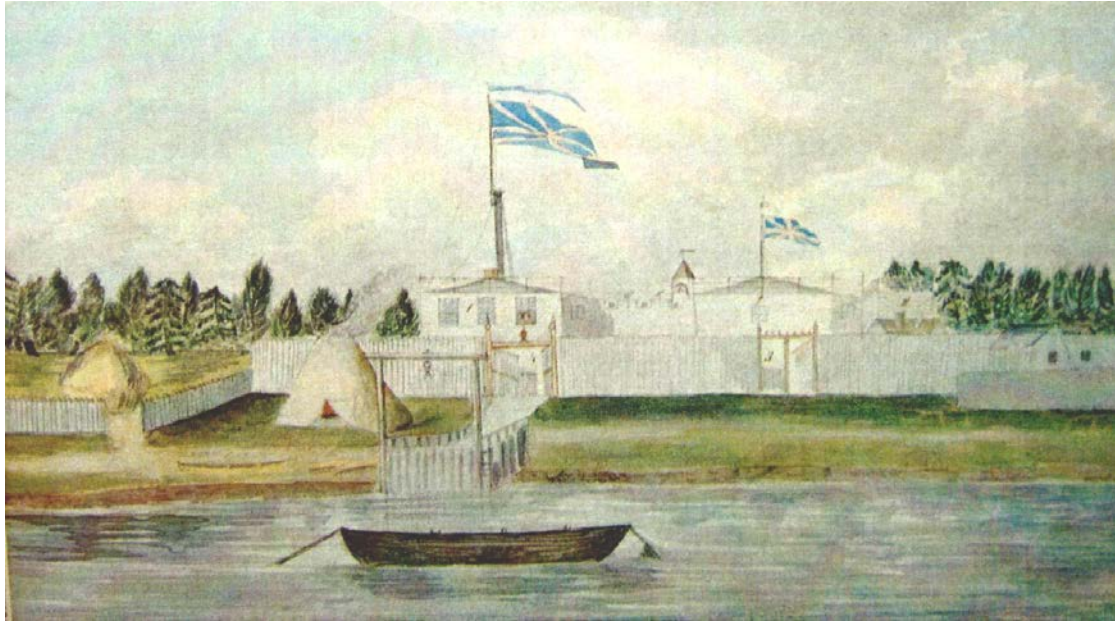
“This unnamed, unsigned watercolour was identified by comparison with a somewhat similar one ... which had a detailed description on the back ... The key to the numbers and other buildings reads: 1 Dwelling; Flanker; 2 Warehouse & North Flanker ... ; 3 Principal Gateway; 4 Boatyard Do. [Dock?]. ...”<sup>21</sup>

This is still a fortified installation, with high palisades. Two solid-looking buildings, each two stories high, face the onlooker. Both bear the number 1. On the left is the “Dwelling”, or men’s house, with chimney and windows. The facing structure on the right looks like a warehouse (no chimney, one window). Between them we can make out an open

courtyard with another building at right angles, in back. Note shallow-pitch roofs. The bell tower appears in all later images.

In the background, to the right, are the outlines of the “North Flanker” (2) and in front of it, a small, L-shaped house with steep roof and chimney, likely the post manager’s residence.

To the left of the enclosure there is a cattle yard with hay stack. In the foreground Richards includes a teepee with smoke from a lit fire within and some canoes on the beach. The boat anchored offshore is a York boat.<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 9**

Moose Factory

Drawing by William Trask, 1854

(detail)

Lithograph, b&w&yellow

24.5 x 38 cm

Inscription, ll.: *W.Trask*; lr.: ?

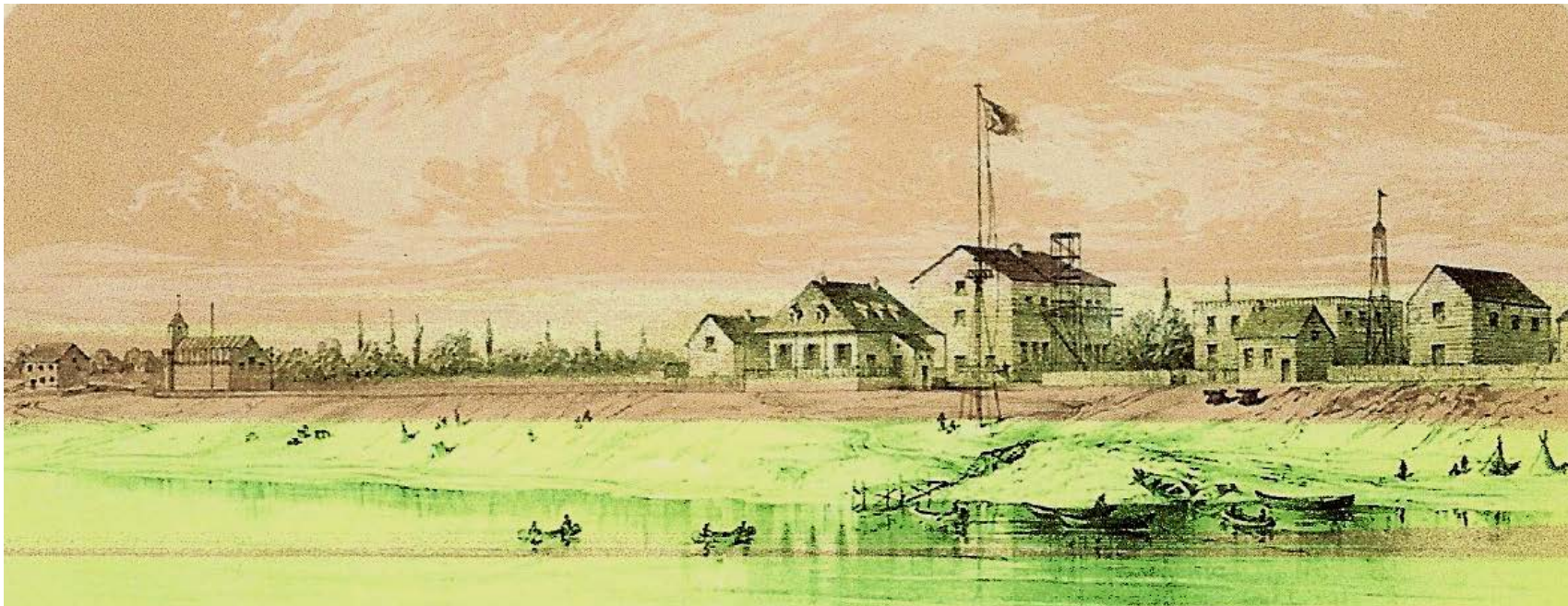
Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

This sketch was drawn after an early photograph.<sup>23</sup> The post manager's dwelling, with hip roof and dormer windows, is on the left. The Staff House, built in 1847-50, is the last surviving fur

trade officer's dwelling in Canada and the oldest building in the James Bay area. To the right are the store and warehouse (with flat roof), and the belfry. The small building in front of the belfry may be a

private dwelling (chimney). To the left can be seen the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, later an Anglican church. Teepees, canoes and York boats provide human interest and scale.



**Figure 10**

View of the port and fort of  
Moose Factory during the summer (detail)  
Photographer unknown, possibly  
Charles Horetzky or James Cotter, ca. 1869.  
Archives of Ontario



Fifteen years after Trask's view this photograph shows the layout as it was to remain for decades. The white building on left, with veranda, is the post manager's residence, significantly altered from its 1854 appearance. The two-storied, dark building behind it is the Staff House, only slightly redesigned.

"The Staff House was constructed in the mid-19th century to provide shelter for the doctors, ship captains, clerks, and secretaries that came to Moose Factory from Great Britain to work on five-year

work contracts. This two-storey building was constructed using traditional British ship-building techniques: horizontal squared logs were pinned together using steel spikes, then the joints between the timbers were chinked with oakum, a tar and jute fibre mixture used for caulking seams in wooden ships. Clapboard siding provided additional weatherproofing. The staff house continued to be used as a residence until 1977, when it was transferred to the Province of Ontario. In 1979 and 1980, archaeological excavations

on the grounds of the staff house revealed over 40,000 artifacts, representing the centuries of trade between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, as well as the lifestyles of the HBC employees." Parks Canada

Behind the bell tower are the store and warehouse, with flat roof. To the right of it is a dwelling. The depot was housed in the large dark building in the centre. Further to the right is what looks like the boat-house, with large door and ramp. Note size of York boats.

**Figure 11**

Moose Factory (detail)

Photograph by James L. Cotter, 1868

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba



The photograph by Chief Factor James L. Cotter shown in the June 1946 issue of *The Beaver*, carries this caption:

“1868: The settlement’s only road, viewed from the post manager’s residence. Down the left hand side are seen the decorated gateway to the old store; a small dwelling and the carpenter’s shop, both still standing [1946], the belfry, the joiners’ shop, and at the end, the palisade of the depot, where the goods from London were stored, demolished in 1932. In the distance is a schooner bringing goods from the London ship (anchored out of sight) and transferring them to a lighter in which they were conveyed to the wharf (seen directly below). - The white building near the river was used as a steam sawmill from 1883 to 1914.”<sup>24</sup>

**Significance**

“In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the settlement was a shipping centre moving furs out and receiving trade goods from the ocean-going ships in harbour at

the mouth of the Moose River. While considered a remote community by today’s standards, in its time Moose was the ‘capital’ of James Bay, being chosen the administrative headquarters of the

Southern Department. The governor of Rupert's Land and Council met frequently at Moose to discuss plans for the coming year's operations.”<sup>25</sup>

# Albany Factory (Ontario)

Est. 1674

## Location

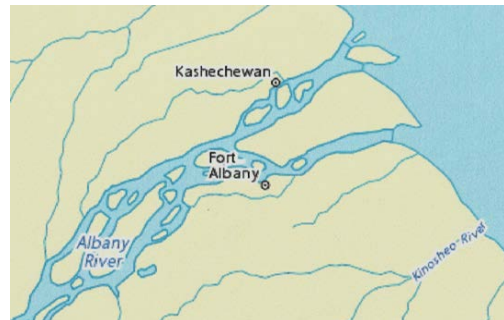
Albany Factory, or Fort Albany, is located in southwestern James Bay, at the mouth of the Albany River, about half way

between Moosonee and Attawapiskat (Fig. 2), near today's Kashechewan.

During its history it occupied three different locations in the river delta.

## Figure 12

Map of Albany River delta.  
NRC/Toporama





### **From the Post History**

Cree First nations inhabited the area before contact.

**1674** The HBC's Charles Bayly establishes a post called Chichewan River, today's Albany River.

**1679** Bayly retires and the London Committee writes: *Wee [sic] are well pleased that there is a house of some strength at Chichiwewen [sic], Mr. Bayly having assured us that the quantity of*

*Beaver from there will be very extraordinary. . . .*<sup>26</sup>

**1683-84** The post is moved to a new and better location on the south bank of the river, about 6.5 km (4 miles) from its mouth, to improve access. It is now called Fort Albany.

**1686** Summer: Albany is captured by the French, under the command of the Chevalier de Troyes, who renames it Fort

Ste. Anne.<sup>27</sup>

**1693** The post is recaptured by the HBC's James Knight.

**1719-21** Chief Factor Joseph Myatt builds a new post (third location) on *Bayly's Island*.

**1844** The fort is damaged by flooding.

**1847** January: Fire destroys most of the fort.

**Figure 13**

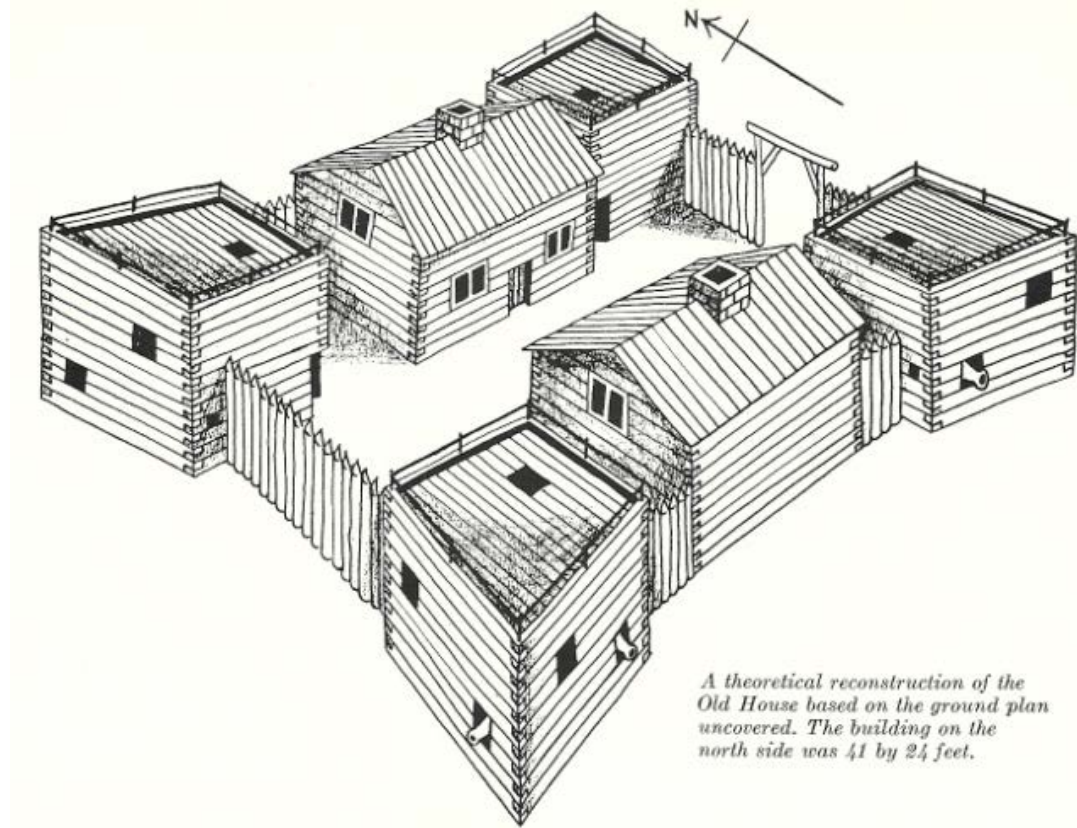
Fort Albany, second site (1684 - c. 1720).

Caption: *A theoretical reconstruction of the Old House based on the ground plan uncovered.*

In Kenyon, "The 'Old House' at Albany," 51.

"The site was likely laid out by compass, due north. Construction was of squared timbers, laid horizontally, logs neatly mortised together at right angles and set in clay. The fort was a well-designed structure consisting of four flankers or bastions, connected on the east and west sides by curtain-walls [palisades] of upright poles.

Inside stood two substantial buildings, 41 x 24 feet, whose rear walls formed part of the north and south perimeters; these were linked to the flankers by short curtains [palisade walls]. The entire fort measured only 100 feet wide by 85 feet deep, and because of its shape, every inch of its outer walls could be covered by musket-fire from within."<sup>28</sup>



*A theoretical reconstruction of the Old House based on the ground plan uncovered. The building on the north side was 41 by 24 feet.*

**Figure 14**

“Albany Fort, North America”

Red & black ink on vellum, artist unknown

6.3 cm diameter

Front cover of Albany account book,

1791-1792

Hudson’s Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

The view is of the third location. Although simply drawn it shows the U-shape layout of the two-storied building with windows and arched entrance (Fig. 15).



**Figure 15**

Albany Factory - A South East View  
Watercolour by William Richards, c. 1805  
31 x 54.5 cm  
Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

This view is of Albany's third location, on Bayly's Island. The frozen, snow-covered Albany River is in the foreground. The open side of the U-shaped design faces the river. It is a fairly massive, two-storied building covered by shallow hipped roofs.

We can see several outbuildings, haystacks and a meticulously drawn palisade. The tall, round, pointed structure to the right, with smoke coming from it, looks like an outdoor oven. There is also interest in the rendering of people and animals:

"The tiny figures are executed with great delicacy by a man whose hands must have been calloused by hard work in the canoes and at coopering. In this animated scene he shows, near hayrick on left, an animal and a man leading a team of horses drawing wood; figure on snowshoes carrying gun, approaching the Fort; well for drawing water through the ice, in front of gate; two figures cutting wood, others hauling logs; horned cattle feeding from tubs below hayrick on right; mottled dog chasing a black fox."<sup>29</sup>



### **Quality of Trade Goods**

The HBC's policy of providing good quality products is spelled out in this directive from the Governor and Committee in London to the Factor at Albany, as early as May 21, 1680:

*You are to send us home by every return of our Ships all such goods as are either defective or not acceptable to the Natives and to inform us wherein they are deficient. And also to direct us exactly as you can of what form, quality & conditions*

*every sort of goods which is demanded there ought to be for the best satisfaction of the Indians, and we will do our utmost that you shall be supplied with every species of commodity in perfection.*<sup>30</sup>

### **The Beaver and the Standard of Trade**

The HBC used the 'Made Beaver'<sup>31</sup> as a unit of currency that could be traded at their posts for various European trade goods. A Standard of Trade evolved as a means of exchange to ensure consistent pricing throughout Rupert's Land. Before this practice took hold, each post set its own rate of exchange for trade goods. ... . The prices of all trade goods were set in values of Made Beaver (MB) with other

animal pelts, such as squirrel, otter and moose quoted in their MB equivalents. For example, two otter pelts might equal 1 MB.<sup>32</sup>

Albany's general account book of 1732-33 shows some examples of equivalents:

12 Beaver = 1 gun  
4 Beaver = 1 pistol  
2 Beaver = one hatchet  
1 Beaver = 2 ice chisels or 8 knives or 12 needles or 2 net lines or 20 flints or 4 gun worms or 1 pair of gloves or 1 pair of shoes.<sup>33</sup>

# York Factory (Manitoba)

Est. 1684

## Location

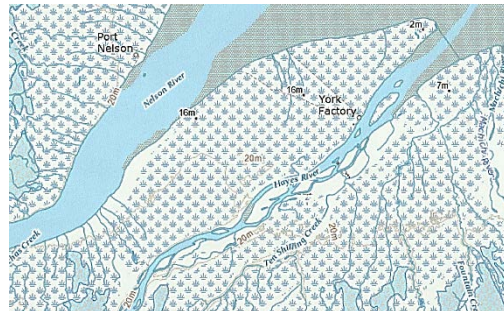
York Factory is situated on the western shore of Hudson Bay, c. 200 air km (120 miles) south-east of Churchill, on a low-lying narrow peninsula formed by the mouths of the Nelson and Hayes Rivers.

“The location was key for several reasons. Both major rivers led inland, although the Hayes was less rough and thus the preferred route to and from the interior. Along the shore of Hudson Bay silted mudflats deposited by river outflows made

for shallow waters, keeping large vessels at a distance. But ocean-going ships could anchor at Five Fathom Hole, a deep anchorage some seven miles (11 km) off York Factory and sloops were sent out to load and offload cargoes.”<sup>34</sup>

## Figure 16

Location map of York Factory.  
NRC/Toporama



**From the Post History**

Cree First Nations inhabited the area before contact.

**1684** The HBC's Governor George Geyer builds York Fort, on the north shore of the Hayes River mouth.

**1694-97** Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville captures York Fort. The fort is recovered by the English but recaptured again by D'Iberville.

**1713** The Fort is restored to the HBC in the Treaty of Utrecht.

**1782** York Fort is again captured and destroyed, this time by the Comte de La Pérouse (Lapérouse).

**1786-87** Resurgence of York and key to inland transport.

**1788-92** The Hayes River rises 32½ feet (c. 11 m) during spring thaw of 1788, causing severe ice damage. Construction of

a new fort based on Chief Trader Joseph Colen's plan.

**1810** York becomes headquarters of the new Northern Department of the HBC.<sup>35</sup> By mid-century the post attains its peak in operations.

**1819** Capt. John Franklin and members of his first arctic expedition land at York.

**1957** York closes as a fur trade post. Today, it is a Parks Canada National Historic Site.

**Figure 17**

“A Draught of Nelson & Hayes’s Rivers”

Drawing by Joseph Robson, 1752

From: *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson’s-Bay, from 1733 to 1736, and 1744 to 1747.*

(London, 1752). Frontispiece

Acadia University, NS, Vaughn Library,  
Rare Books

When John Franklin passed through York on his first expedition to the Polar Sea in 1819, he described the topography:

*York Factory, the principal depôt of the Hudson’s Bay Company, stands on the west bank of the Hayes River, about five*

*miles above its mouth, on the marshy peninsula which separates the Hayes and Nelson Rivers. The surrounding country is flat and swampy, and covered with willows, poplars, larch, spruce, and birch-trees; but the requisition for fuel has expended all the wood in the vicinity of the*

*fort, and the residents have now to send for it to a considerable distance. The soil is alluvial clay, and contains imbedded rolled stones. Though the bank of the river is elevated about twenty feet, it is frequently overflowed by the spring floods, and large portions are annually carried away by the disruption of the ice.<sup>36</sup>*





**Figure 18**

Bombardment of York Fort by the French.

Artist unknown, 1697

From de La Potherie's 'Histoire de  
L'Amérique Septentrionale' Volume I <sup>37</sup>

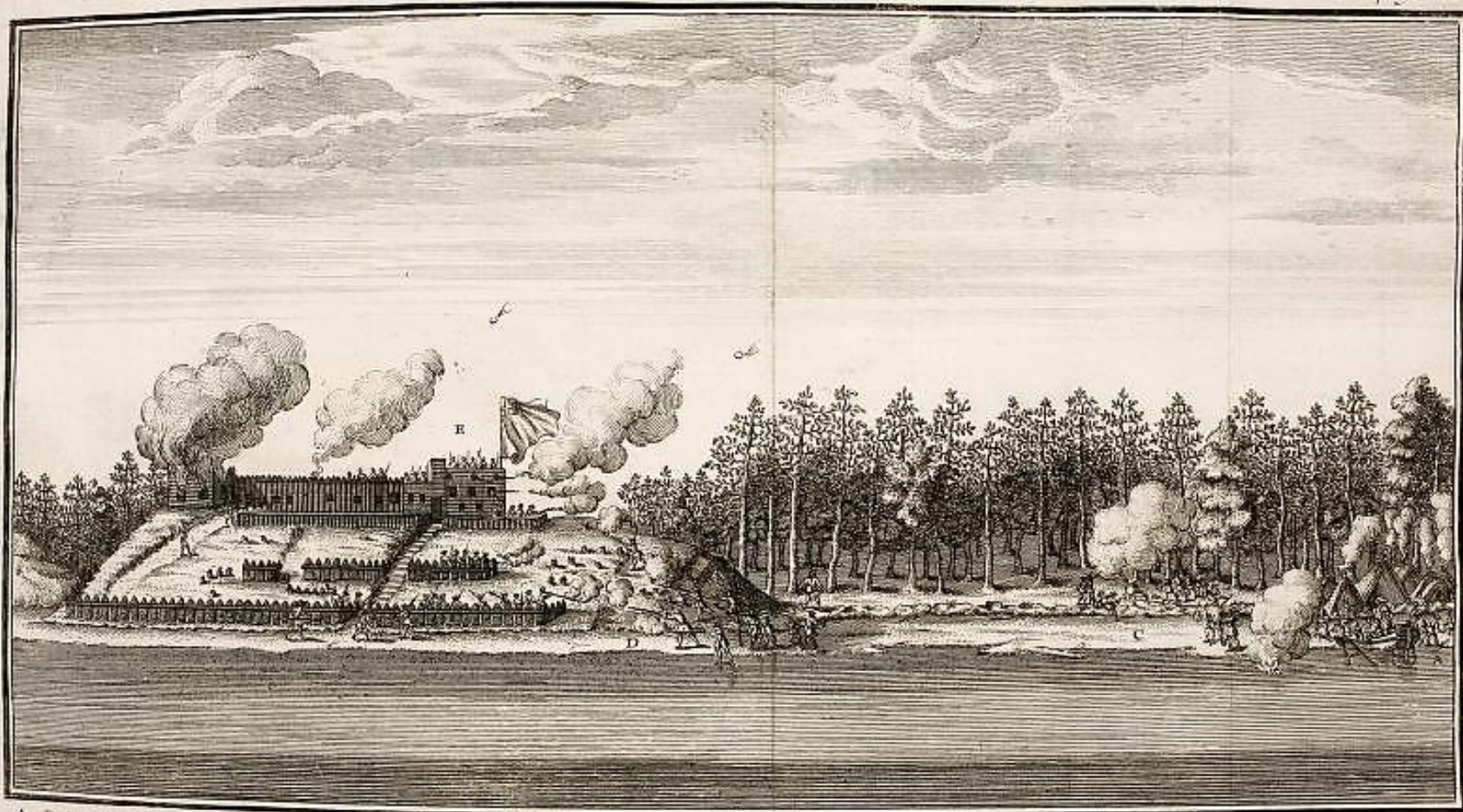
Online

This is the earliest view of York Fort. In the fall of 1697 Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville first defeated three English warships at the mouth of the Nelson River and then (re)captured York Fort. Nicolas Jérémie<sup>38</sup>, a French contemporary, describes the installation:

*The fort had four bastions. The trading store was in one of these bastions; another served as a supply store, and the other two were used as guard houses to hold the garrison. The whole was built of wood. In line with the first palisade were two other bastions, in one of which the officers lodged, the other serving as a kitchen and forge for the garrison. Between these two bastions was a kind of half-moon space in which were eight cannon, throwing an eight pound ball, which commanded the river side. Below this half-moon space was a platform, at the level of the water, which held six pieces of heavy cannon.*<sup>39</sup>

In front of the main wall or "curtain", which links the two bastions, there is a fortified terrace. There are two rows of palisades facing the water for additional protection.

Note bombs with winglets launched by a mortar off to the right, near ship. Note also that the French called the fort *Fort de Nelson*.



A. Debarquem' des Munitions de guerre et de Bouche . B. Camp de Bourbon . C. Mortié' caché' dans le Bois D Escarmouches . E. Fort de Nelson .

**Figure 19**

York Fort

Illustrated Plan by James Isham, 1743

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

North is down.

In the upper part of this illustrated 'aerial' view we witness a flotilla of canoes arrive. Two York boats are anchored in mid-stream. The first such boats were built at York in 1749 but early versions were operating at Fort Albany around 1746.<sup>40</sup>

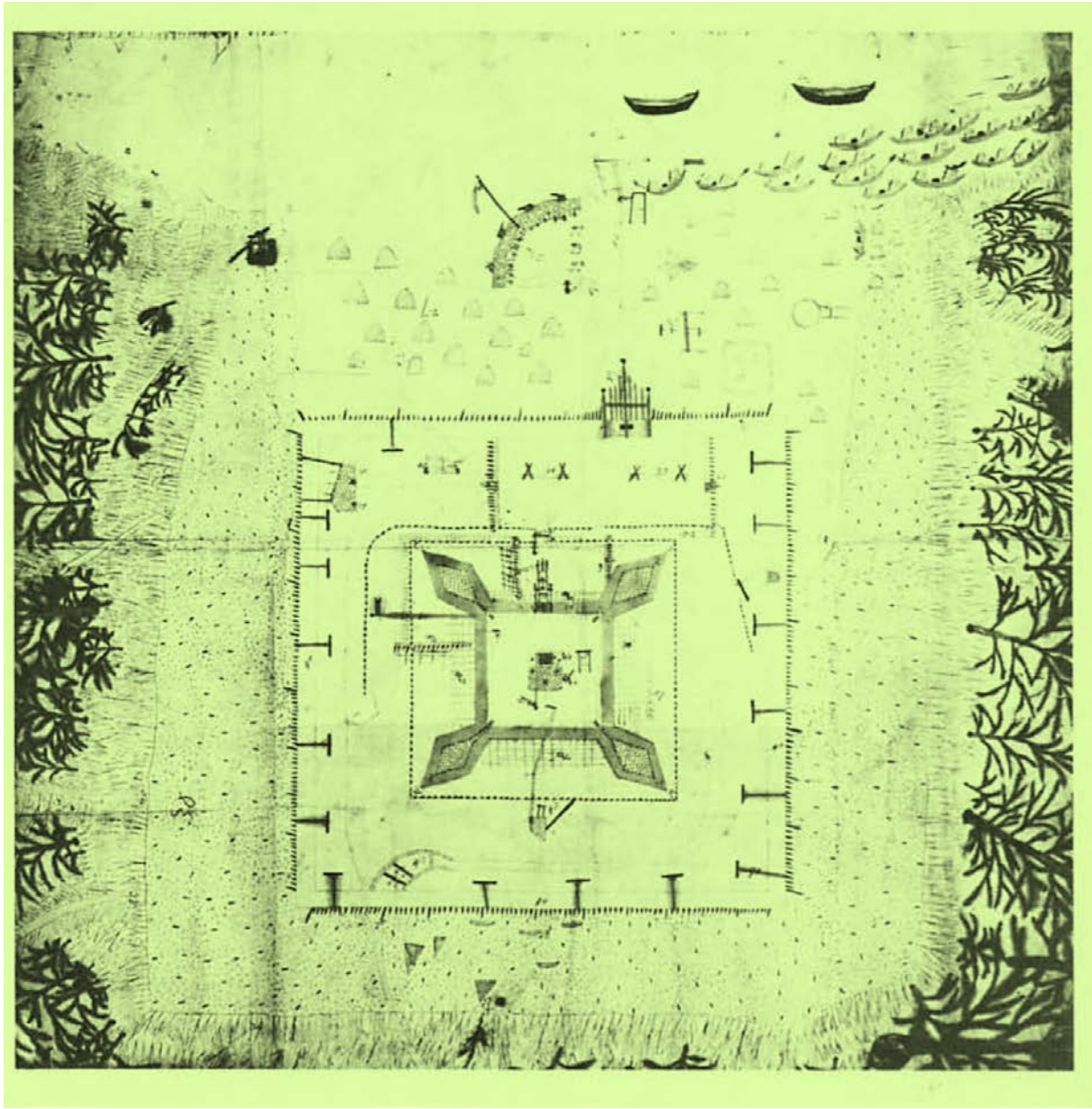
Henry Ellis who, during his attempt to find a northwest passage in 1746-47, had wintered upstream from the fort notes:

*On the 5<sup>th</sup> [of June, 1747], nineteen Canoes of Indians, laden with Furs, passed by us,*

*on the Way to York-Fort, and the next Day seventy more.*<sup>41</sup>

On a crescent-shaped mound with flag guns point downstream, commanding the river. Between river and first palisade was the "plantation" where the Indigenous visitors pitched their camp. The establishment itself stands a short distance from the river bank, in a clearing surrounded on three sides by woods of what looks like pine or juniper. A row of high palisades surrounds the compound, with the main gate facing the river.

"The factory itself was a square fort having four bastions, each two storeys in height, with platforms on the top and parapets. Here the heavy guns were placed. Palisades ran from bastion to bastion. In the center of these were buildings with projections from the second storey, from which defenders could command the palisades and gates. Following a wooden walk from the river bank, one passed through the gate into an open space dominated by the bastions. In the upper storey of the south-easterly bastion was the Governor's apartment, four rooms, with a fire-place in the largest. ... Other bastions and other buildings were used for magazine, trading room, and stores [storage]. ..."<sup>42</sup>



**Figure 20**

York Factory

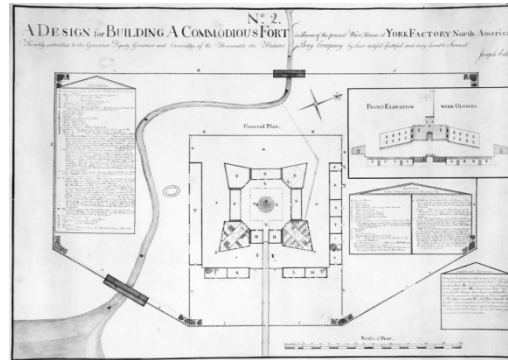
Plan by Joseph Colen, Resident Chief,

1786 and 1787

Inscription: *A Design for Building a Commodious Fort in Room of the Present Warehouse at York Factory North America*

Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

Colen's picture plan is illustrated and annotated with detailed references to all rooms and their usage as well as a drawing of the future front elevation.



The fort was a star-shaped octagon with five-sided flankers at each corner.

“Between each of these were rectangular rooms called curtain sheds [palisade walls]. These forts could be defended by shooting from the flankers, along the outside walls of the curtain sheds. The Octagon was entered only through the main gate and each flanker and curtain were reached only from the courtyard.”<sup>43</sup>

**Figure 21**

Detail of Fig. 20

References

North is up.

*A Magazine in Centre of the Fort, Built with Stone in Form of a Dome*

*B Flanker - Dwelling for Chief and Officers*

*C Flanker - Dwelling for Men*

*D Flanker - Provisions*

*E Flanker - Furs and Packaging*

*F Trading Room*

*G Ware Houses for Dry Stores*

*H Tradesmen's Stores and Tools*

*I Chief's book Room*

*K Carpenter's Shop*

*L Cooper's Shop*

*M Smith's Shop*

*N Men's Book Room*

*O Brew House*

*P Coals, Iron*

*Q Naval Stores, Ropes, Nets*

*R Cattle*

*S Hogs*

*T Boat House*

*U A good Birth for Large Guns*

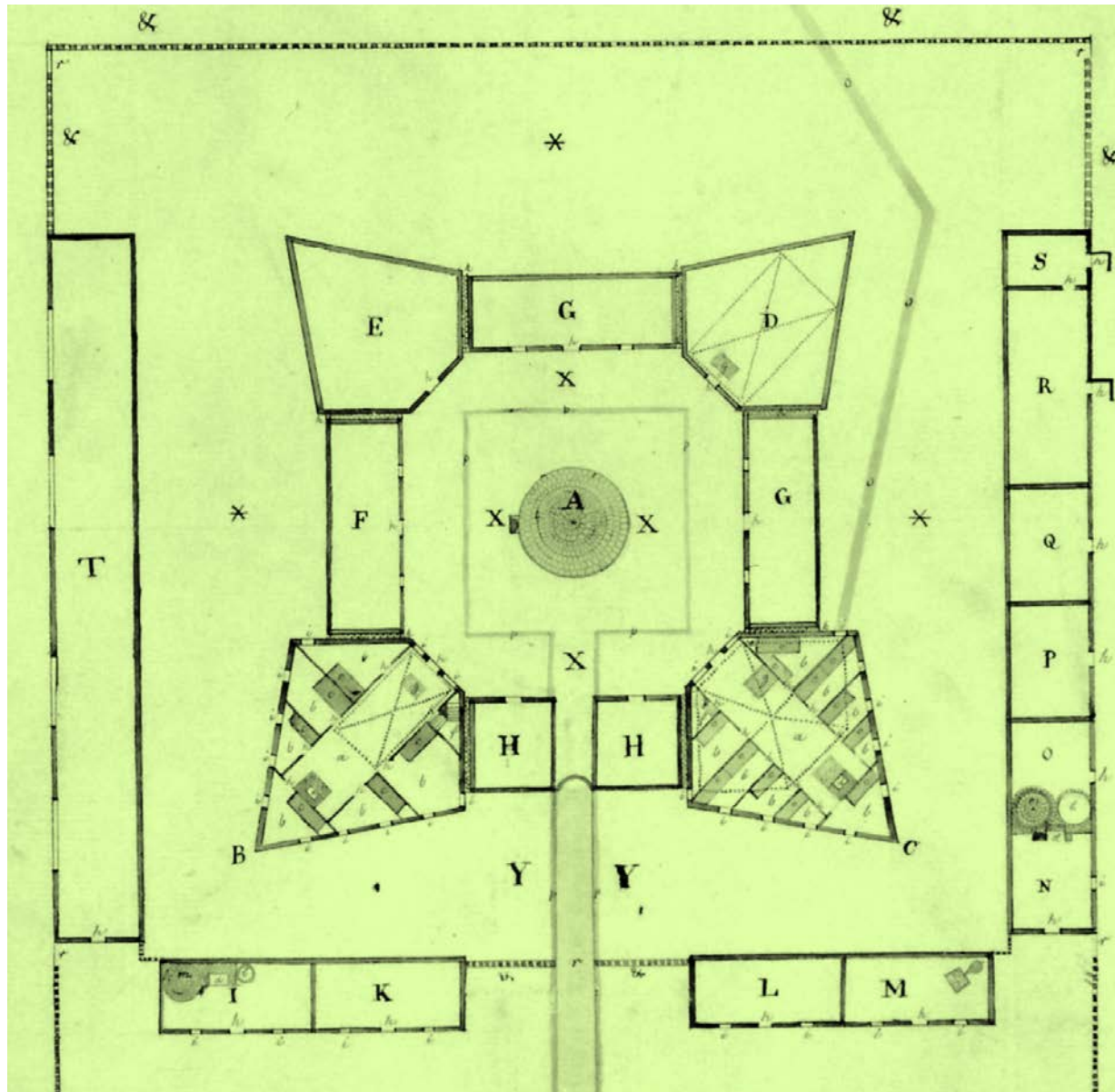
*V Bridges over the Creek*

*W The Creek for High Tides/High Water*

*X Yard within the Fort*

*Y Yard between Fort and Offices*

*& = Stockades*



## Figure 22

York Factory

The Octagon Revealed Octagon Remains<sup>44</sup>

Parks Canada

“In 1991, Parks Canada archeologists working between the floor joists inside the ‘Depot’ [depot walls outlined here in heavy black] found well preserved remains of the ‘Old Octagon’, constructed between 1788 and 1795 in the same spot where the Depot now stands. In 1992, more Octagon remains were found in insulation and drainage trenches excavated outside the Depot.

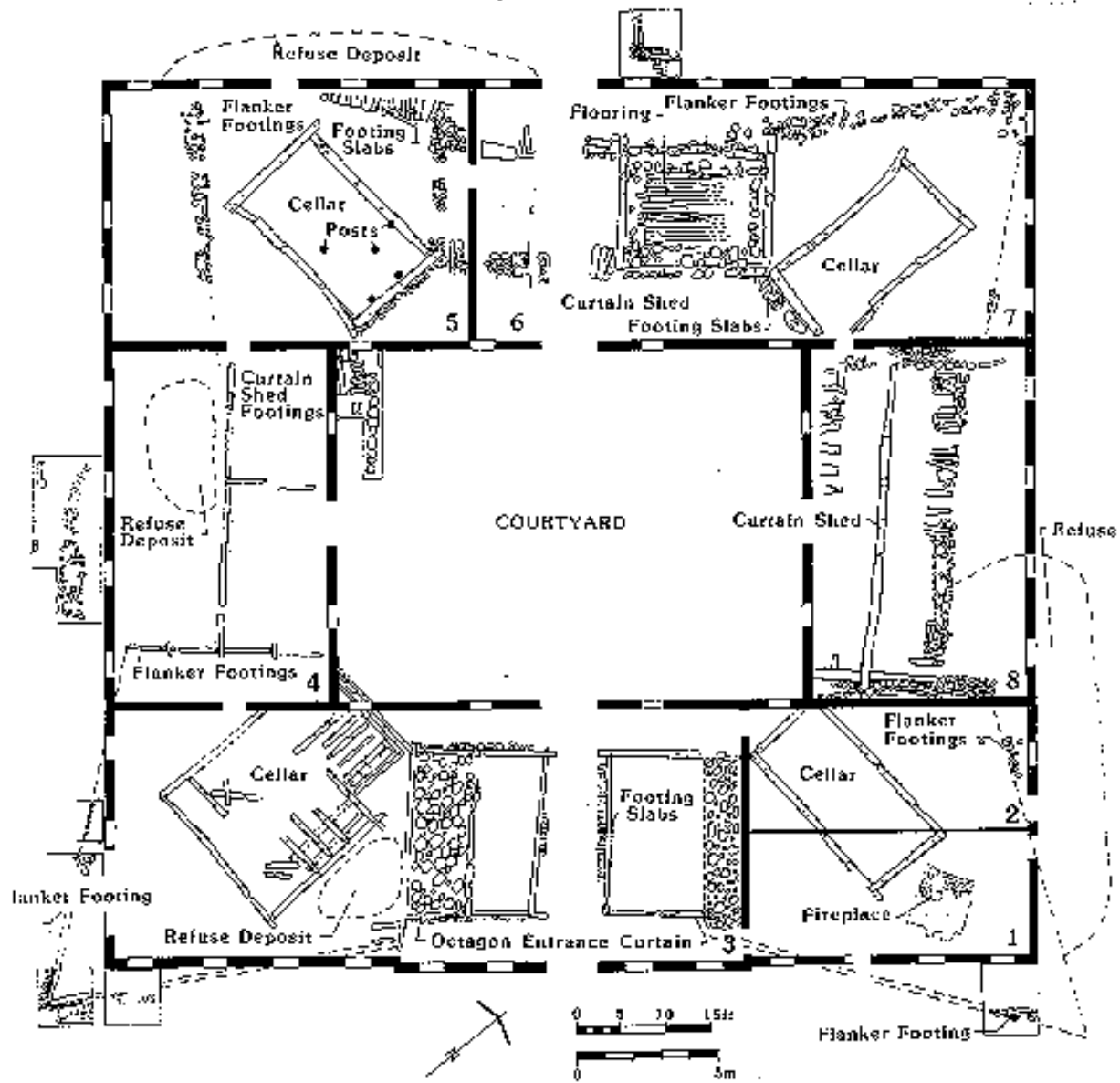
The Octagon was a star-shaped fort. It had four five-sided structures called flankers at each corner.

By 1831, after being used for only 35 years, the Octagon had to be replaced. Its weakness was its rigid stone and brick foundation and the solid wood and brick walls. This kind of building works well in the British climate, but was not flexible enough for the heaving and pressure of the Canadian permafrost. Both the foundations and the building quickly fell apart and could no longer be used.

Archaeologists were surprised to find well preserved Octagon remains even though the building was demolished in 1831.

The structure was also disturbed from subsequent Depot construction and repairs as well as relentless frost-heave. These Octagon remains include cellars under all four flankers, footing remnants of the officers' and men's flankers, a fireplace or chimney foundation, curtain shed foundations, footings and a possible oven from the 1810 cook room, and a thick refuse deposit encircling the perimeter of the Octagon.”<sup>45</sup>





**Figure 23**

Departure of the Second Colonist  
Transport from York Fort to Rockfort, 1821  
Watercolour by Peter Rindisbacher, 1821  
21.6 x 15.9 cm  
Inscription: *Abfahrt ... den 6 7ber*  
[6<sup>th</sup> September] 1821  
Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

View is to the north.  
The fort sits high on the embankment, the river low in September. The central structure, to the right of the flag pole and with embrasures, is part of the central Depot, in later views with hip roof.

Some outbuildings are scattered to the front, left and right, including warehouses, boat houses and an Indigenous encampment, to the right. We can see a high scaffold-like boat dock or hoist and a steep ramp or slip to its right.

The colonists for Red River are setting off in York boats. Three boats have just left and are headed upstream, sails hoisted. Three empty boats are pulled up on shore, another one is still docked at the bottom of a steep slip in what looks like preparation for departure.



**Figure 24**

York Factory 1853

Artist unknown

From a sketch attributed to Chief Trader  
Alexander Hunter Murray (detail)<sup>46</sup>

Lithograph, black & white & yellow.

Lithographers: Ford & West

25 x 37.5 cm

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

View is to the north, looking down from an imaginary elevated position.

By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century York was a sprawling complex with over fifty buildings and at the zenith of its influence. Some smaller structures can be seen behind the core. The core itself consisted of, from left, two fur warehouses linked by a

walkway between their lofts; the summer mess house; bell tower and flagpole. Next is the Depot's south elevation with its three-storied middle section. It is the only building left standing today (Fig. 26). The long building to the right with eight windows, served as trading store. The eastern perimeter is lined with two Red

River Settlement warehouses, also called Inland Outfit warehouses.

The field on the left, separated by a fence from the central pathway, is the vegetable garden. Another fence keeps in sheep grazing in front of the store. Palisades have become simple fences, boardwalks indicate poor drainage.



Paul & West, Lith. Boston, Geo. W. Child, Del.

YORK FACTORY. - 1853.

**Figure 25**

“Depot Building, in centre, at  
York Factory, 1870s” (detail)  
Photographer: W. Youker  
Hudson’s Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba



View is to the north-west.  
The photograph shows how faithfully  
Murray had rendered all architectural  
details twenty years earlier, incl. top of bell  
tower.

**Figure 26**

York Factory today, aerial view (detail)  
Parks Canada

View is to the east, toward the mouth of the Hayes River. The photograph gives an idea of the dimensions of the central block, called the Depot, and of the size of its storage facilities. Note inner courtyard and the added small belfry on top of the centre roof.



**Significance**

“[For almost] seventy-five years York Factory was the hub of the Hudson’s Bay Company operation. It was the port of entry for the yearly supply ship from England with its cargo of goods for the

Indian trade as well as of provisions for the company’s trading posts throughout the interior of the country. It was also the port of shipment for the wealth of furs harvested each year. ... It was the company’s accounting centre. ... It was the

great depot where supplies and trade goods were warehoused. ... It was also for many years the place where the annual meetings of the Northern Council, the governing body presided over by Sir George Simpson, were held. ... .”<sup>47</sup>

# Churchill (Manitoba)

Est. 1717, 1732, 1783

## Location

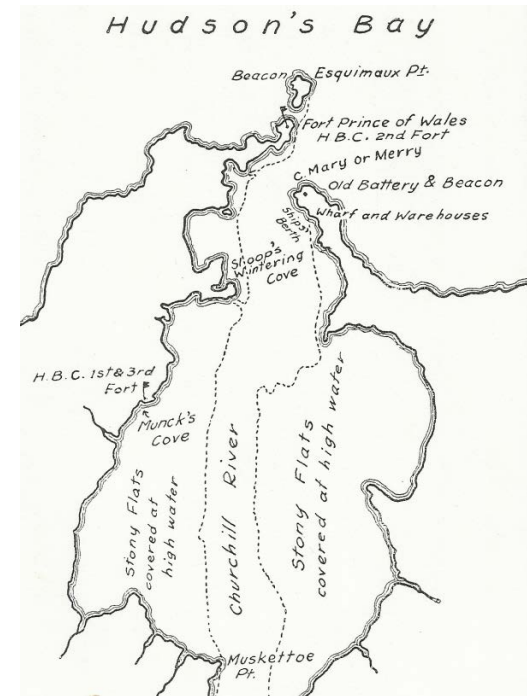
There were three different locations in the vicinity of today's Churchill, MB.

## Figure 27

Sketch map of the Churchill River estuary  
By Joseph Robson drawn between 1733  
and 1747 (detail).

Map Nr. 3 in Morton: A History ...<sup>48</sup>

Map shows the three locations of HBC posts in the area. Modern-day Churchill is located at tip of the eastern arm, at 'Wharf and Warehouses'.





### **From the Post History**

Dene and Cree First Nations inhabited the area before contact.

**1619-20** Jens Munk (Munck), a Norwegian-Danish explorer is the first European to winter in the Churchill area.<sup>49</sup>

**1717** James Knight, from York Factory, builds Fort Churchill. The site is about 8 km (5 miles) south of Eskimo Pt., near Munk's landing spot.<sup>50</sup> No images survive.

**1718** The post is re-named Prince of Wales Fort.

**1730-31** The HBC authorizes the construction of a stone fort at the mouth of the Churchill River at Eskimo Point. Construction takes four decades.

**1769-72** The HBC's Samuel Hearne undertakes three expeditions to the Arctic from Prince of Wales Fort.<sup>51</sup>

**1782** Samuel Hearne, then governor of the fort, surrenders it to French commander de la Pérouse without a fight.<sup>52</sup>

**1783** Hearne begins construction of a new post, this time 8 km (5 miles) upstream, on the site of the old wooden fort, at 'Munks' Cove': Fort Churchill (Churchill Factory). Churchill Factory operates as a fur trade post and store up to the 1930s.

**1920s-1950s** Parks Canada undertakes reconstruction of the stone fort, today a National Historic Site.

**Figure 28**

Churchill Harbour

Woodcut map by Jens Munk<sup>53</sup> 1624

In *Navigatio Septentrionalis*<sup>54</sup>

Copenhagen, 1624, following leaf 10

John Carter Brown Library,

Brown University, Providence, RI

This picture map shows the mouth of the Churchill River and Munk's two ships moored on its western shore. It is the earliest extant image of the location.

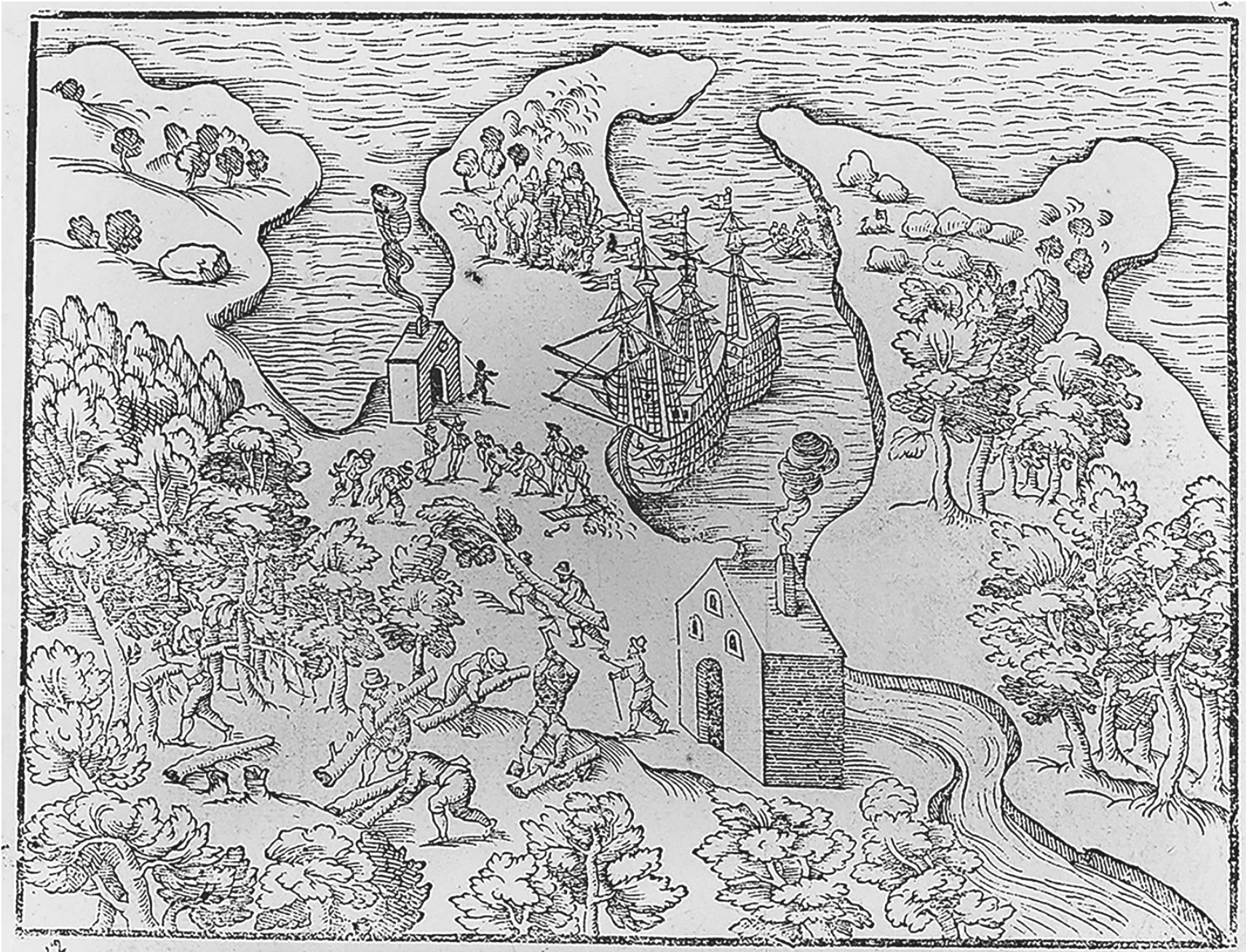
Richard Ruggles in his *Historical Atlas of Manitoba*: "The shape of the harbour with its encircling arms is properly, though crudely, represented and its axis is correctly oriented north to south."<sup>55</sup>

In this remarkable view the map is seen as a thin slab of land, the shore getting shallower toward Esquimaux Point. Men and objects closer to the viewer are larger, those further away, smaller.

We observe groups of sailors going about various activities. In the foreground, men are felling trees and cutting them up for firewood. Two men are returning from a

hunt carrying heavy animals, maybe caribou. There is the burial of a comrade with military honours. A group of men is gathered around a fire in front of some trees, visible behind and to the left of the ships' flags. And on the upper right, we see four men in a boat shooting at a polar bear.

The round-arched doors and windows of the two buildings are an incongruous addition by the artist.



**Figure 30**

Plan of Prince of Wales Fort [II]

Drawing by James Isham, 1743

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

References taken from James Isham:

*Observations on Hudsons Bay.*<sup>56</sup>

*... The fort will be of Suffitient strength when finishd (which I believe never will) being built of stone, the Rampart 38 foot wide with a stone Parapet of 6 foot.*<sup>57</sup>

North is to the upper right.

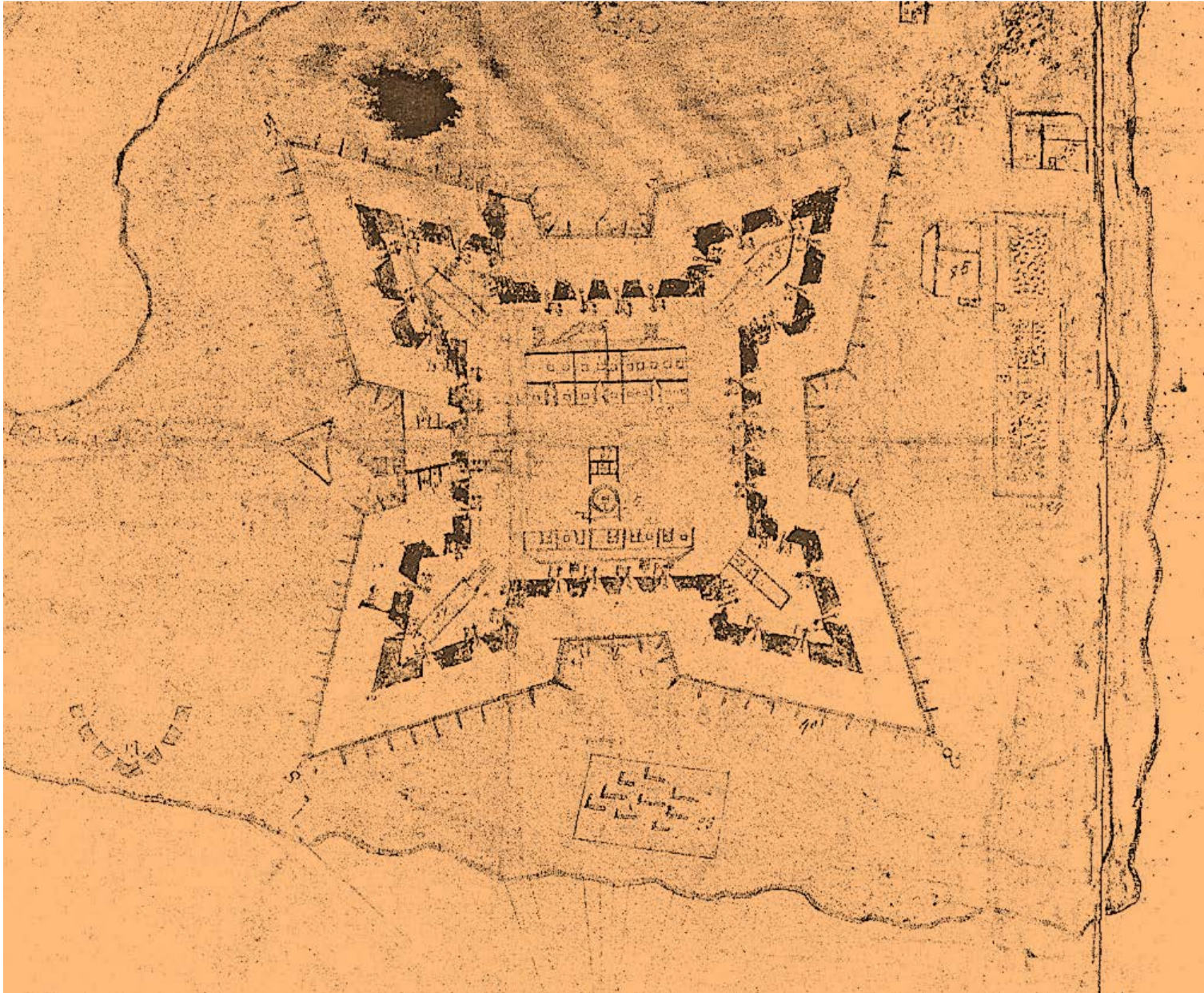
The plan shows the star-shape layout of European military fortifications with four bastions. The outer walls were 6.5 m high,

11 m wide and separated from the inner wall by an earthen rampart. Forty cannon can be seen mounted within the embrasures along the parapet. They commanded every approach. In addition, the main gate, here on the left, was protected from direct attack by a triangular structure called ravelin.

Inside the fort we can make out elevation drawings of two structures facing each other across the yard. The single storey

building running along the south-east wall is subdivided into at least five rooms or "houses", such as workshops or dwellings. The two-storey building across from it was the governor's and officers' residence, indicated by the flag pole in front.

There is a well<sup>58</sup> with a crank and a belfry in front. There are some outbuildings and a vegetable garden toward the right, near the shore.<sup>59</sup>



**Figure 31**

Prince of Wales Fort - A North West View  
Drawing by Samuel Hearne, 1777

Engraving by J. Saunders

21.5 x 34.3 cm

Inscription, b.:

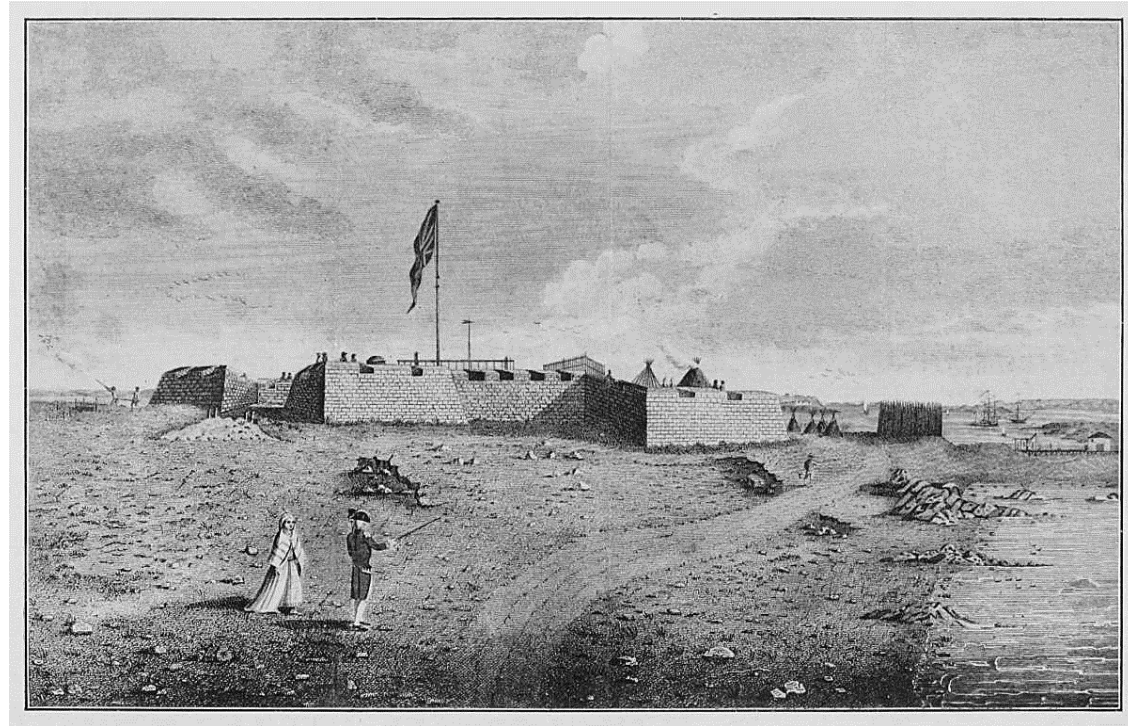
*A North West View of Prince of Wales's  
Fort in Hudson's Bay, North America, 1777*

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

View is to the south-east, across the river mouth. This is the only existing contemporary image of the Fort (Prince of Wales II). Note the massive stone walls of the arrow-shaped bastions with embrasures along the top. The point of the north-west flanker with its two embrasures is just above the couple who are placed there for scale and human interest.

Further down the pathway a man is carrying a bucket, next to a shallow pit with crates. We notice several persons looking over the parapet and, off to the left, someone hunting wild geese. Behind the walls we can make out some wooden wall



and roof structures; one of them looks like the gable end of a building with saddle roof. Isham in his plan (Fig. 30) indicates one one-storey building and one with two floors.

Some ships lie off shore and between fort and water there is an encampment of Indigenous families. "These 'homeguards' provisioned the post with meat, fish and country-made articles, cold-weather clothing and snowshoes for winter travel. They served as guides and couriers, trappers, provisioners and consumers."<sup>60</sup>

**Figure 32**

Prince of Wales Fort today

Aerial view (detail)

Parks Canada

View is to the north.

The north-west bastion, on upper left, is the one shown in Hearne's painting, Fig. 31.

There are two dwelling structures. The larger one, to the left, is the post manager's and officers' residence. On the right are the workers' houses and stores (Fig. 30).

Note the elongated rectangular depressions inside each bastion. "The 'floor' of the bastion was actually the roof of a small storage area. When the French destroyed the fort the bastion areas were either blown up (this is the case for the NW bastion as it contained the gunpowder) or they fell in over time."<sup>61</sup>



### **Life at Prince of Wales Fort**

“The conditions inside the Fort were harsh. ... Chopping wood occupied much of the time, as it took four carts of wood a day in winter to warm the living quarters. As one post governor reported in 1741, the fort's living quarters were ... *very cold, freezing everything in the cabin, though a fire kept in from five in the morning till nine at night; and when the fire is out, a red hot shot, twenty-four pounds weight [cannon ball] hung up at the window to thaw it; on the outside there are shutters to every window, six inches thick; four large fires made in the stoves every day - a cartload of wood for each; yet all this will not keep things from freezing within doors.*”<sup>62</sup>

“[By the end of October, 1741] the snow was twelve feet deep and the men had to use axes to hack ice off the *inside* walls of the factor's house. Smoke was intolerable because chimneys were closed to keep the heat in. Alcoholic beverages froze in their glass.”<sup>63</sup>

Hudson's Bay Company employees at the fort were divided into three categories:

The officers were the governor, surgeon, sloop master, deputy governor and the clerk writer. Benefits of higher pay, a varied daily routine and diet, more leisure time and private accommodations reflected their status.

Tradesmen were stone masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, armourers, coopers, tailors and other skilled employees.

Labourers carried out much of the day to day unskilled work at the post, such as loading and unloading ships, hunting game, hauling water and chopping wood.<sup>64</sup>



**Significance**

“Once established at York Factory ... the HBC looked north to increase its scope of trade and profit in Rupert’s Land. A trading post was built on the Churchill

River primarily to trade with the Dene peoples, Inuit from the northwest coast of Hudson Bay, and the Cree living north of the Nelson River. It was a base for

northern exploration, whaling, and the search for precious metals.” Parks Canada

# Rock Depot (Manitoba)

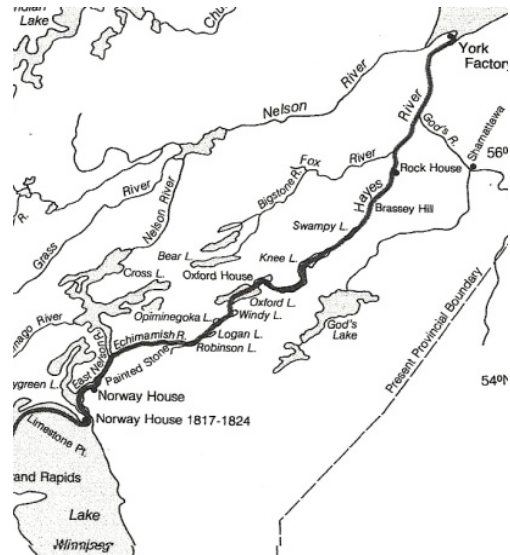
Est. 1793-94/1816

## Location

Rock Depot (Rock House) was situated south of the confluence of the Hayes and Fox Rivers, due west of present-day Shamattawa.

## Figure 33

Map of the Hayes River 'Mainline' between York Factory and Norway House. Map 1 in: Houston, ed. *Arctic Artist*.



### **From the Post History**

Cree First Nations inhabited the area before contact.

**1794** The HBC's William Tomison orders a depot constructed at the "Rock", the first major obstruction going up the Hayes River from York Factory. Here York boats had to transfer their loads to canoes. In that year, Joseph Colen [at York] establishes a depot, first known as Gordon House, 193 km (120 miles) above York Factory, a little

more than half way to Oxford House (Fig. 33).

**1813-14** Rock Depot is chosen by Lord Selkirk to be one of the first major depots in a planned winter road system between York Factory and the Red River Settlement. This road, however, was never completed.

**1819** Cpt. John Franklin stops at "a depot called Rock House."<sup>65</sup>

**1821** The post closes briefly but reopens and remains an important way station.

**1850s** York Factory and the inland transportation route along the Hayes River begin to decline in importance. Rock Depot operates until at least 1856 but does not appear in the records after that.

**Figure 34**

Arrival and Stay at Rockfort

Watercolour by Peter Rindisbacher, 1821

21.9 x 15.9 cm

Inscription: *Ankunft und Aufenthalt in Rockfort den 21. 7ber* [September] 1821.

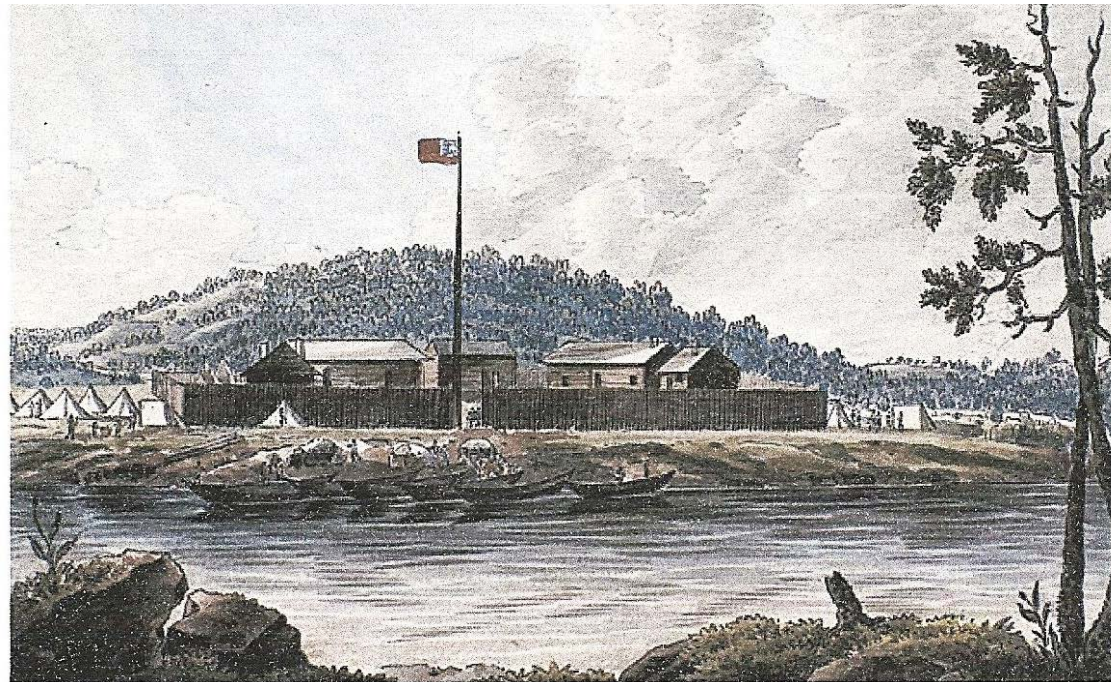
Library and Archives Canada

View is to the north.

Robert Hood, Midshipman with Franklin's first polar expedition, describes the site on Sep. 17<sup>th</sup>, 1819:

*[Rock House] is a post of late establishment, having been erected as a depot for the canoes which come from the Athapescow [Athabasca]. Three houses form as many sides of a square, and the forth side is open towards the water.<sup>66</sup>*

Two years later, Rindisbacher, part of a group of settlers headed for the Red River Colony from York Factory, produced this view. It is a simple rendition but the only one extant of the site. It shows a small

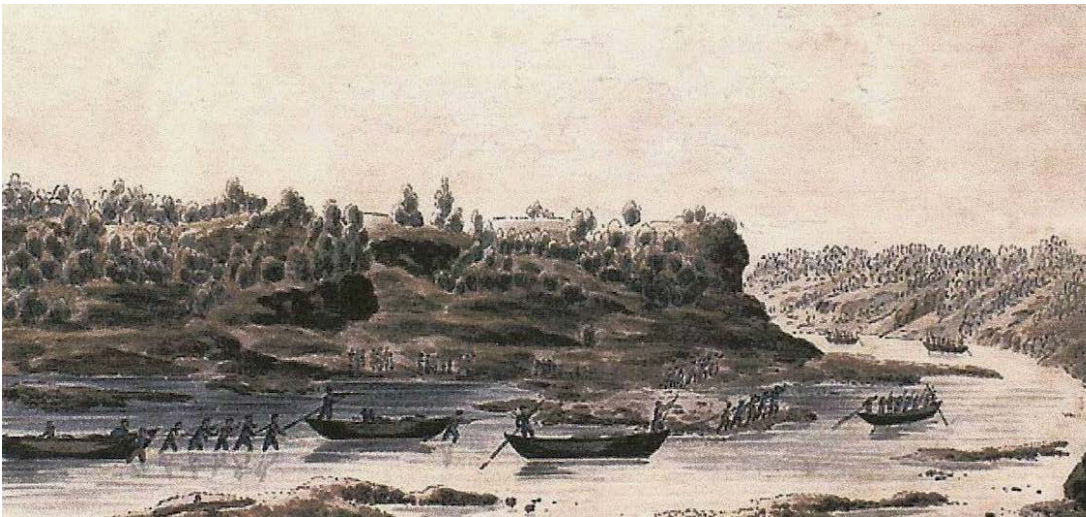


establishment at the foot of a wooded hill, one of its slopes showing signs of timber cutting. The stockade now encloses at least five buildings. Outside the palisades, to the

right and left, are Cree encampments. People can be seen around their tents, in the main gateway or working on the expedition's York boats. Normally, between here and Norway House canoes would be used.

**Figure 35**

Difficult voyage up the South-Hill River  
[Hayes River] to Rock Fort in September,  
1821 Watercolour by Peter Rindisbacher  
(Support): 21.7 x 16.0 cm  
Inscription: *Bechwerliche [sic] Fahrt auf  
dem ...*  
Library and Archives Canada



Rindisbacher gives an illustration of York boats being towed by ropes or poled up-river over shallow water during this “arduous journey”. It looks like each boat has about seven or eight occupants. The men on shore carry cargo or pull the tow-line.

The current in this image looks manageable. However, there were perilous moments along this stretch. Following is a description by George Back, Midshipman with the first Franklin expedition. He travelled the route two years earlier:

[Sept. 14, 1819]: *We went up Hill's [Hayes] River - here we found the current increasing in strength and shoalness - oars and poles were of no use, for we could not move the boat one inch from where she was - we went into the water and tried to lift her over the shoal, this also proved ineffectual ... the men the whole time were either in the water or the mud. ... We grounded near the centre of the rapid - the men (but four) leaped out and tried to force*

*her ahead - while the officers aided them with poles. Finding this did not answer, some of the crew got in again, - at this moment the line to which we were secured broke - and she was immediately hove broadside into the stream ...*

*17<sup>th</sup> - Early in the morning we set out pulling and tracking, and after passing through some intricate channels arrived at the Rock Portage ... and in a short while*

*we arrived at the Rock house [sic] ... at this place, which comprises three log houses principally adapted for the reception of stores from the Interior &c. ... [we] were accommodated with what the house afforded and at 2 pm again set out ...<sup>67</sup>*

**Significance**

“A rocky barrier in the stream at this point was the first serious bar to navigation inland from York. Canoes would need to be carried, boats could go no further. ... The Rock, in its first year, became the terminus depot at which the [York] boats must hand over their freight to lighter craft

[canoes]. Henceforth, York boats were to be used on the lower stretch and canoes on the upper course. Colen later perfected the system by which canoes would be used through the difficult stretch of the river, from Rock Depot to Jack River (Norway House). From there to Cumberland House, York boats would again be used. Apart

from being a depot and transfer point the post also served to provide goods to local Aboriginal hunters during the winter to prevent loss of time in travelling to York Factory during the hunting season.”<sup>68</sup>

# Norway House (Manitoba)

Est. (1796), 1814, 1826

## Location

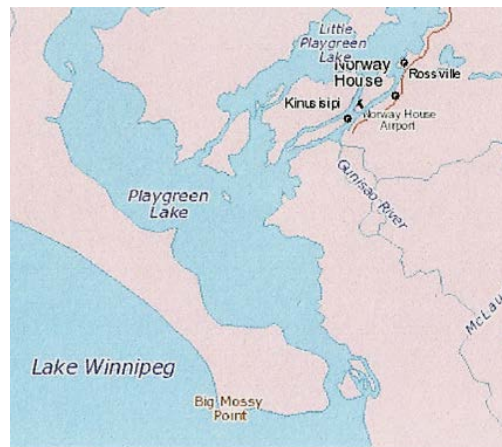
Today's Norway House is the third of three locations. Strategically placed, the post allowed for access to and from the

Saskatchewan, Red and Hayes River systems and became a significant depot for trade goods inbound and furs outbound. The distance between Norway House and

York Factory is 585 river km (363 miles), with 35 portages.

**Figure 36**

Location map of Norway House and the outflow of Lake Winnipeg.  
NRC/Toporama





### **From the Post History**

Cree First Nations inhabited the area before contact.

**1796** The HBC builds a post to assist inland transport, called Jack River House (Norway House I). It is meant as a provision depot between York Factory and the Athabasca region.

**1814** Norway House was first meant as a staging post for the construction of a winter road from York Factory to the Red River Settlement. In 1814 a crew of Norwegians build a shelter here, which

was later named in their honour. The winter road project was later abandoned.

**1817** Jack River House is abandoned and its business transferred to a new site, near Mossy Point, at the 'First Narrows'. This is Norway House II (Fig. 36).

**1824** The post is destroyed by fire; a store house is rebuilt later that year.

**1826** Due to high waters at the Narrows (the only outflow of Lake Winnipeg) governor George Simpson orders the post to be rebuilt at a higher location, back near

the old Jack River House site, on Little Play Green Lake, 29 km (18 miles) north-east from Mossy point. This is Norway House III, today's location (Norway House Cree Nation).

**1875** September 24<sup>th</sup>: Treaty Nr. 5 is signed here.

**Figure 37**

Arrival at Norway House [II] on the great  
Lake Winipesi, Oct. 14, and departure  
thence, Oct. 16, 1821  
Peter Rindisbacher  
Watercolour, pencil, pen and ink. 1821  
15.8 x 21.6 cm  
Library and Archives Canada

View is possibly to the west.  
This is the only known image of the site on  
Mossy Point. We witness the departure of a  
small flotilla of Red River settlers in York  
boats under sail, on a cold and breezy  
October day. They are setting out for the  
Red River settlement. The canoe route  
followed the eastern shore of Lake  
Winnipeg to Berens River, an early HBC  
post and Métis stopping point.

Rindisbacher gives a panoramic view, as if  
taken from one of the boats. The scene is  
dominated by an immense sky filling  
nearly two thirds of the painting.

The post they have just left consists of  
three or four buildings surrounded by a  
stockade. The large structure in back is the  
warehouse. A smaller dwelling, to the  
right, seems to be standing next to a  
scaffold or hoist.

Five or six buildings are scattered outside  
the palisades. It is a fairly substantial  
installation reflecting the role of the site as  
a depot. George Back, two years earlier,  
mentions *one good dwelling house and two  
stores* [warehouses].<sup>69</sup>



**Figure 38**

Norway House, Lake Winnipeg  
Watercolour, gouache by W.H.E. Napier  
ca. 1847 [more likely 1857 or 1858]<sup>70</sup>  
Inscription, l.l.: *Norway House. HB.Co.*  
*Lake Winepeg* [sic]  
17.2 x 30.7 cm  
Library and Archives Canada

View is to the north.  
This is Norway House III, today's location.  
Napier increases the degree of slope, thus giving the fort a more dominant appearance. A photograph, taken twenty years later, shows near-level topography (Fig. 39).

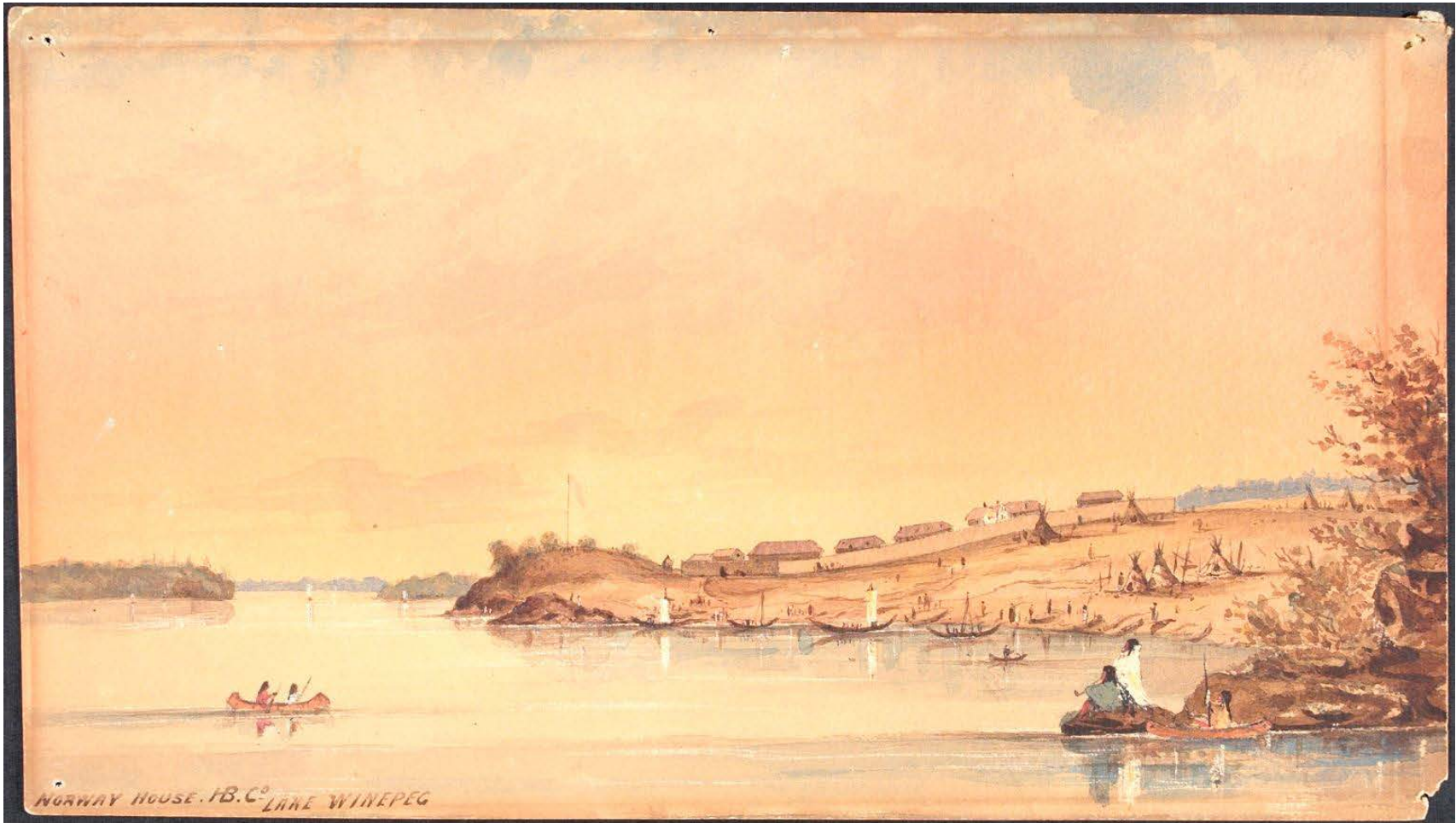
Several buildings are identifiable. The one on the far right is the manager's residence. The structure on the far left, facing the river, is the Archway Warehouse, still standing. The four buildings parallel to the south wall are, from left, the provisions store, the prison, (also still standing), the depot store and the trading and fur packing store.

Napier places the Company's installation fairly far away and isolated in its enclosure, filling the open space in the middle ground with a Cree encampment and York boats.

The three Indigenous women looking out over the smooth water and the canoe gliding across make for a peaceful early evening scene. Note the few touches of highlighting white on the sails and the woman's blanket and the artist's rendering of York boats as some exotic gondolas.

Robert Michael Ballantyne<sup>71</sup> in the early 1840s:

*The houses are ranged in the form of a square. ... A large, rugged mass of rocks rises up between the fort and Playgreen Lake, which stretches out to the horizon on the other side of them. On the top of these rocks stands a flag-staff as a beacon to guide the traveler. ... Behind the fort stretches the thick forest, its outline broken here and there by cuttings of firewood or small clearings for farming. From the rock before mentioned, on which the flagstaff stands, we had a fine view of Playgreen Lake. ... It was pleasing and tranquil, and enlivened by one or two boats sailing about on the water.*<sup>72</sup>



NORWAY HOUSE. H.B.C. LAKE WINNEPEG

**Figure 39**

Norway House from 'Swan River Rock'

Photograph by Robert Bell, 1878

11.8 x 19.4 cm

Library and Archives Canada

View is to the North. Note low relief, compared with Napier's view.

Several buildings are identifiable. The one on the far right, with its large veranda, is the residence. The structure on the far left, facing the river, is the gated Archway Warehouse, still standing. The four buildings parallel to the south wall, facing the onlooker are, from left, the provisions store, the prison, (also still standing), the depot store and the trading and fur packing store.

Note the additional wharf on right, above onlooker with hat and the number of York boats, which were built at the post.

Annually, since 1973 the Norway House Cree Nation hosts the 'Treaty and York Boat Days'.



**Figure 40**

York boat.

The Canadian Encyclopedia online

Note seating arrangement, packages of freight and mast carried alongside.

“Each boat was propelled by six or eight oarsmen working oars over 6 meters in length. To balance them the oarsman was seated on the opposite side of the boat from the oar lock. He stood up to push the oar forward and sat down as he pulled his

stroke. Pure brute strength pulled the men from one post to the next, and they often rowed for up to sixteen hours a day. When the rivers were shallow the boats were poled, when very swift they were "tracked", pulled with two ropes by the crew along the bank. For open water, the York boat was equipped with a mast,

which could be dismantled, about 2.7 meters long and large square sail. The sail not only enabled it to sail on large rivers or lakes but also served as a tent at night. A typical boat measured 12 meters in length.”<sup>73</sup>



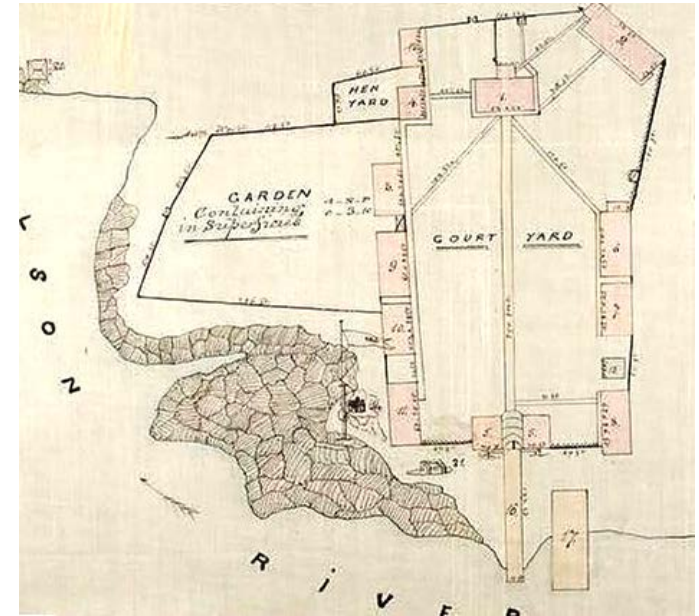
**Figure 41**

Plan of Norway House (detail)  
Plan by C.J. Bouchette,<sup>74</sup> 1889  
Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

North is to the left.

- 1 Headquarters
- 2 Private Residence
- 3 Old Council House
- 4 Bachelors Hall
- 5 Forwarding and Boat Agret<sup>75</sup> Store
- 6 Trading and Fur Packing Store
- 7 Depot Store
- 8 Provision Store
- 9 Outpost Store
- 10 Private Property Store

- 11 Boat Building House
- 12 Ice House
- 13 Prison
- 14 Blacksmith's Shop
- 15 Fish House
- 16 Steam Boat Launch
- 17 York Boat Launch
- 18 Garden
- 19 Hen Yard
- 20 Stone Building Magazine
- 21 Saw Pit





**Figure 42**  
Norway House, 1925  
Aerial photograph  
Photographer unknown  
Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba



North is to the left.

The aerial view shows essentially the same layout as the plan in Fig. 41, from 36 years earlier. Note the popular hipped roof construction on all buildings, some with dormer windows. At bottom, centre, is the Archway Warehouse, with small belfry on roof. Clockwise from there: the building with the wide opening facing the water is the boat building shop; the next three buildings are storage warehouses. Next is the "Bachelors Hall", then the two-storied building in back, centre, the Headquarters (administration).

Off to the right and set back, with wrap-around veranda, is the post manager's residence. The buildings along the south perimeter are the provisions store, the depot store and the trading and fur packing store.

Note elevated walkways indicating poor drainage, and the large dock for steamers.<sup>76</sup>

### **Significance**

“If there were to be anything of an export trade [wool, flax, hemp, from the Red River Colony to England] the water-way to York factory must be improved and transportation organized. Selkirk planned improvements at the portages which would have facilitated summer traffic and a winter road for sleds running on the frozen streams and over the carrying places. The company was to establish it as far as Lake Winnipeg, and Lord Selkirk was to be responsible for its continuation to the Settlement. ... Establishments along the route, with farms providing vegetables such as potatoes and storing meat, were to eliminate the risk of starvation along the way. Norwegians, apparently ex-convicts, were brought out for this work and built Norway House to be the depot on Lake Winnipeg.”<sup>77</sup>

The Archway Warehouse, built in 1840-1841, is the oldest surviving Red River frame warehouse in western Canada and also Manitoba’s oldest log edifice on its original site.

For nearly a century, Norway House was a clearing house for freight going into the interior from York Factory and furs coming from the interior going to York. The summer months saw much activity with traffic flowing in both directions.

Following are extracts from the Post Journal of June and July of 1830, noting traffic moving from the interior downriver to York Factory, and the last one, in the opposite direction, to the Mackenzie:

*June 18 - Chief Factor Stuart embarked with two boats for York Factory.*

*June 20 - Cadotte with the Portage La Loche brigade under his charge embarked early this morning.*

*June 23 – Chief Factor David Cameron arrived from Lac La Pluie with two boats for York Factory.*

*June 25 – C.F. [Chief Factor] J. Charles arrived from Isle a la Cross with three boats for York Factory.*

*July 15 – The boats from Athabasca arrived in good order.*

*July 28 - The ... [?] Governor arrived with two boats of Mackenzie River Outfit.<sup>78</sup>*

Treaty No. 5 was signed here on 24<sup>th</sup> September 1875.

# The Northwest Company

“Founded in 1779, the North West Company was a major force in the fur trade from the 1780s to 1821. Managed primarily by Highland Scots who migrated to Montreal after 1760, or came as Loyalists escaping the American Revolution, it also drew heavily on French-Canadian labour and experience. The name first described Montreal traders who in 1776 pooled resources to reduce competition among themselves and to resist inland advances of the Hudson’s Bay Company.

Originally, the company’s 16 shares were held by nine partnerships, including business leaders Simon McTavish, Isaac Todd and James McGill. A 1780 reorganization joined McTavish, the Frobisher brothers, the McGills and the Ellices, with Peter Pond as their agent in the Athabasca country.

In mid-1787 the Nor’Westers and Gregory, McLeod and Co amalgamated. Dominated by the Montréal firm of McTavish, Frobisher, and Co, dynamic entrepreneurs thus came together — men such as the McGillivrays and, from the ranks of their

former rivals, Roderick McKenzie and Alexander Mackenzie.

While McTavish and Frobisher handled Montreal affairs, Alexander Mackenzie led inland expansion. The Athabasca trade was reorganized with a new base, Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca. A far-flung system of canoe brigades, provisioned by pemmican from the plains, furnished transport and brought out up to 20,000 Made Beaver annually. It also gave Mackenzie the support needed to explore the Mackenzie River to its mouth in 1789.

During 1790-91, McTavish attempted unsuccessfully to have Britain end the HBC monopoly. Later efforts to lease transit rights from the HBC through its depots on Hudson Bay were rebuffed as well. The only remaining option was to intensify direct rivalry with the "English," who were extending their own network of inland posts. Through the 1790s the Nor’Westers prevailed. Their control of over two-thirds of the Canadian fur trade by 1795 was complemented by Mackenzie's reaching the Pacific overland in July 1793. Potential rivals in Montreal were muted by a 1792 agreement to co-operate.

In exploration, the NWC kept the upper hand, with Duncan McGillivray, David Thompson and Simon Fraser crossing the Rocky Mountains and the latter two reaching the Pacific.

The HBC posed trade challenges and, with the earl of Selkirk, was planning an agricultural colony in an area pivotal to the Nor’Westers' transportation and provisioning networks. NWC attempts to block the plan by buying up HBC stock in London and by discouraging prospective colonists in Scotland failed.

The stage was thus set for a series of bitter and costly clashes at Red River Colony, Fort William and elsewhere. The Seven Oaks Incident, 19 June 1816, was the worst event in a conflict neither side could win. From 1815 to 1819, repeated clashes and seizures of men and goods in Athabasca exacerbated bad feeling.

In 1821, a parliamentary Act granted exclusive trade to the HBC and to William and Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice of the NWC, in an effort to placate all parties by devising coalition, not amalgamation. A Deed Poll designated 53 field officers, 32 NWC and 21 HBC, as shareholding chief factors and chief traders, under the charge of HBC governors William Williams and George Simpson, the latter a newcomer. The name, charter and privileges of the old HBC provided a foundation for the new firm, while the Nor’Westers' skills and experience contributed a scope and dynamism that served the company well.”

Jennifer S. Brown, *The Canadian Encyclopedia* [excerpted]

# Fort William (Ontario)

Est. (1684) 1717 (French), 1798 (NWC), 1821 HBC

## Location

Fort William stood on the north shore of the northern arm of the Kaministiquia River delta, just below the letter T of 'Thunder Bay', in map.

## Figure 43

Thunder Bay, ON, with lower course and Delta of the Kaministiquia River  
NRC/Toporama



**From the Post History**

Ojibwa and Cree First Nations inhabited the region before contact.

**1717** Frenchman Zacharie Robutel de La Noue<sup>79</sup> establishes a small fort on the lower Kaministiquia River.

**1731** De la Vérendrye<sup>80</sup> spends the winter at the delta during his search for the ‘Western Sea’.

**1784** The Northwest Company completes construction of Grand Portage Fort.<sup>81</sup>

**1794** The Jay Treaty between Britain and the US places Grand Portage in US

territory. As a consequence the NWC moves north and establishes a new post on or near the site of the old French fort.

**1807** The New Fort is named Fort William, after William McGillivray, then director of the NWC. The post becomes the new inland headquarters of the NWC and the location of the annual ‘Great Rendezvous’ where canoe brigades from Montreal and those from the interior transferred trade goods and furs.

**1816-17** Capture and occupation by Lord Selkirk (HBC).

**1821** After amalgamation Fort William becomes an HBC post. By mid-century the fort begins to decline as a trading center. More and more furs and trade goods are being transported by way of York Factory and Norway House.

**1883** All buildings but the Stone Store are levelled for CPR freight yards.

**1970s** Reconstruction of 42 buildings of Fort William on the north shore of the Kaministiquia, 14 km (9 miles) inland from the original Fort.

**Figure 44**

Fort William

Watercolour by Robert Irvine, c. 1811

30.6 x 34.7 cm.

Inscription, b.: *Fort William – N.W.-*

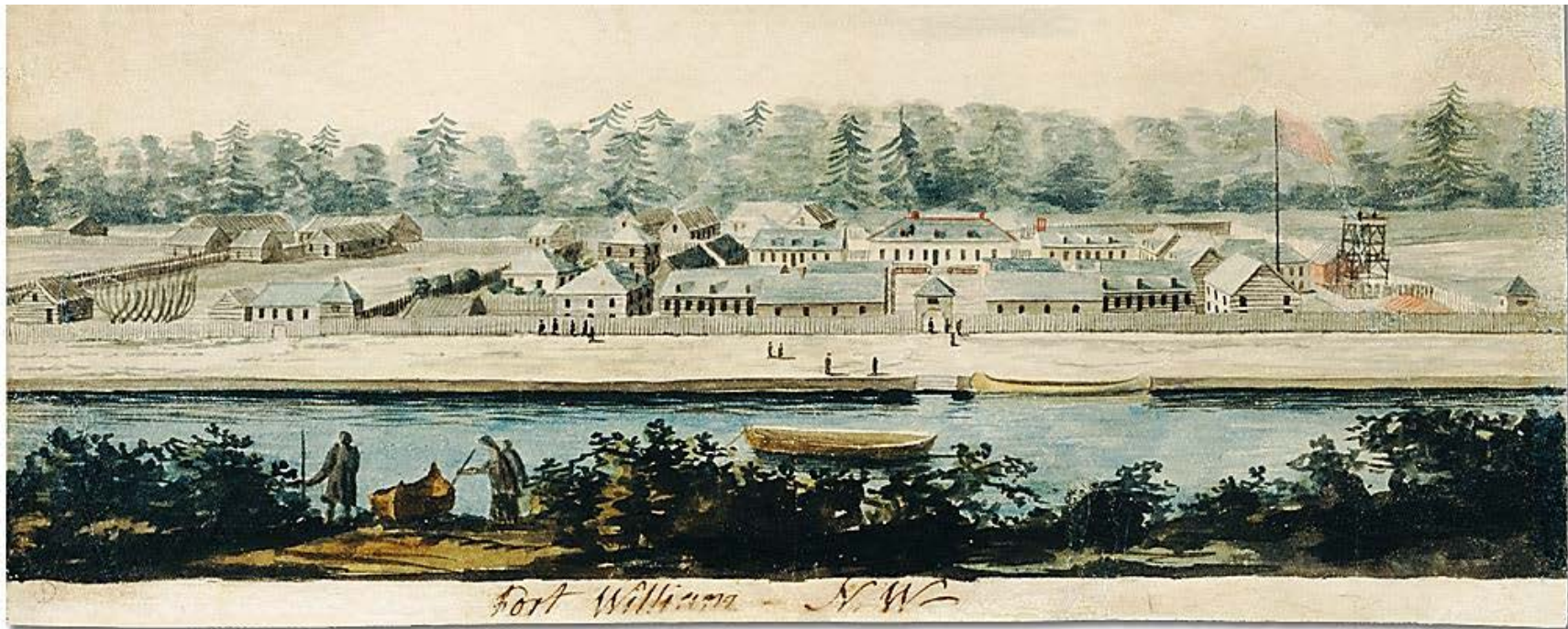
Library and Archives Canada

View is to the north.

The image is of the NWC post on the north branch of the River delta. “The work shows Irvine's faithful rendering of all buildings which could subsequently be

identified and which helped in the reconstruction of the fort [1971-84]. The majority of the buildings were made of wood. A few had stone foundations, for example the wine cellar under the Great

Hall and the Ice House und the Dairy. The Stone Store and the Powder Magazine, far right, outside the compound, were made of stone. In the centre stand the main gate and guard house.”<sup>82</sup>



**Figure 45**

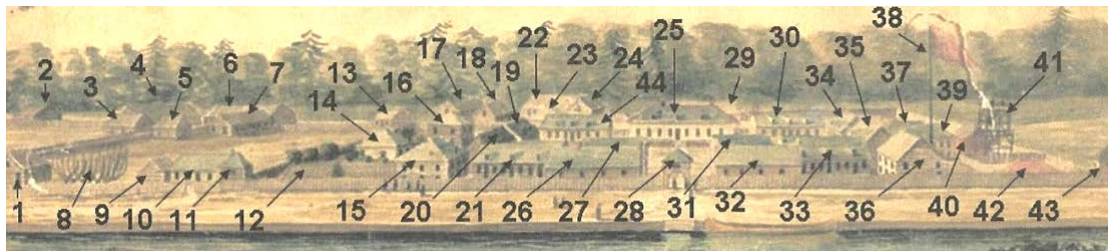
Fort William (detail)

Watercolour by Robert Irvine, c. 1811

30.6 x 34.7 cm.

Detail of Irvine's painting shows each building numbered and referenced.

Courtesy Fort William Provincial Park



- |                                 |                                     |                       |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 – Naval Shed                  | 16 – Gaol                           | 31 – Corn Store       |
| 2 – Farm Cottages               | 17 – Tradesmen's House              | 32 – Apothecary       |
| 3 – Cattle Barn                 | 18 – Carpenter's & Joiner's Shop    | 33 – Provision Stores |
| 4 – Hay Barn                    | 19 – Outfits                        | 34 – East House       |
| 5 – Cattle & Sheep House        | 20 – Shops                          | 35 – Fur Stores       |
| 6 – Equipment Barn              | 21 – Liquor Store                   | 36 – Indian Shop      |
| 7 – Stable & Cow House          | 22 – Armourer's Shop                | 37 – Fur Stores       |
| 8 – Schooner under construction | 23 – Council House                  | 38 – flag pole        |
| 9 – shed                        | 24 – Tinsmith's & Blacksmith's Shop | 39 – Fur Stores       |
| 10 – Tait's House               | 25 – Great Hall                     | 40 – Hangard          |
| 11 – Guard House                | 26 – Wintering House                | 41 – Observatory      |
| 12 – unidentified building      | 27 – Corn Store                     | 42 – Powder Magazine  |
| 13 – Dairy                      | 28 – Main Gate & Guard House        | 43 – Guard House      |
| 14 – Counting House             | 29 – Canoe Shed                     | 44 – North West House |
| 15 – Stone Store                | 30 – Bell House                     |                       |

**Figure 46**

Fort William, Lake Superior,  
at the Mouth of the Kaministiquia River  
Watercolour by W.H.E. Napier, July, 1857  
17.2 x 25.1 cm  
Library and Archives Canada

View is to the west, upriver, toward Mt. McKay.

To the right are the main gate and Guard House, not white-washed as in later views.

It is the time of year when canoe brigades from Montreal loaded with trade goods and provisions and those from the interior carrying furs met at Fort William and

exchanged their cargo. On the left, a canoe is being loaded. It is a 'North canoe', destined for the journey inland. "This vessel was seven metres (c. 21 feet) long, light enough that two men could carry it, and required a crew of only six to eight men. It was most often used in the West because of shallower and swifter rivers and many portages. Due to its smaller size, it

could only carry about a ton and a half of freight."<sup>83</sup>

A couple of canoes are pulled up either for repairs or for voyageurs to sleep under, *en bivouac*. A schooner is being loaded or unloaded. The tents on the right are those of the voyageurs; those across the river form part of an Ojibwa encampment.





**Figure 47**

Canoe Launching at Fort William, Ontario  
Watercolour, pen and ink over graphite  
by William Armstrong, 1865  
25.2 x 35.8 cm  
Inscription: *1865 – W. Armstrong*  
Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum

View is to the East.

Note whitewashed buildings.

On the far left is the main gate. Next to it stand two provision stores. The steep hipped roofs were typical for HBC architecture. These roofs covered vast loft areas. “The lofts in the buildings, (generally one large room running the entire length of the structure) were put to various uses - fur storage, storage of provisions, a sail maker’s loft, even accommodations for cooks and bakers.”<sup>84</sup>

The storage areas were unheated. Toward the back is a private residence with saddle roof and chimney. In the distance we can glimpse the silhouette of Thunder Cape.

The subject of the painting is the launch of a freight canoe. It is a *canot du maître*, also called ‘Montreal canoe’. It was up to 12 m (c. 36 feet) long, 3 m (six feet) wide and used to transport crews of 10 to 14 voyageurs plus a payload of up to three tons. The vessel weighed up to 600

pounds, empty, and could be carried by four to six voyageurs.<sup>85</sup>

Fur trader H.J. Moberly:

*The canoes in which we travelled were made of birch bark and beautifully built. The crew consisted of twelve middlemen, bowman and a steersman - fourteen in all. We carried between six and seven thousand pounds weight of luggage, provisions, etc., and two passengers, and were prepared to navigate the big lakes.*<sup>86</sup>



**Figure 48**

Fort William from Indian Camp  
Watercolour over pencil  
by William Armstrong, 1869  
17.3 x 32.7 cm  
Library and Archives Canada

The view is from the opposite shore,  
looking downriver.

The fort with its many buildings forms the  
background. To the right of the gate and  
flag pole we can identify the same two  
storage buildings as in Fig. 47. There is  
activity along the shore and around the  
dock. Schooners are waiting to be loaded  
or unloaded.

There is little or no activity within the  
Indigenous summer encampment in the  
foreground of which we, the onlookers, are  
part. The substantial structures on the  
opposite shore are set off against the teepee  
and the two loosely-built racks for drying  
clothes. Two persons are sitting on the  
ground, seemingly doing nothing; one may  
be smoking a pipe. At the back, two others  
are repairing a canoe. Someone is fishing.  
Several dogs lie about.

These people live their lives apart,  
separated from the foreigners by the river,  
a physical and cultural divide.



### Significance

“... [T]he water-way leading westward through Rainy Lake from Lake Superior at Kaministikwia, where Fort William now stands, and where La Vérendrye was subsequently in command, ... is the most convenient, the surest, and possibly the shortest route to the Sea of the West.”<sup>87</sup>

“Fort William was ... the nerve centre of the North West Company’s vast fur trading

enterprise. It was the grand depot for the interior posts - the place to which each year during the Great Rendezvous the furs were brought and from which the supplies and trading goods were procured.

It was also the place where each summer the wintering partners from the inland posts of the *pays d’en haut* and the agents from Montreal gathered to conduct the business of the Company.

Fort William was chiefly active during the relatively short period each summer of the rendezvous. At that time as many as two thousand people crowded into the fort and surrounding area. They included gentlemen partners and agents, clerks, guides, interpreters, skilled artisans, canoe men, labourers, and Indians. They were of many races but were primarily Scotsmen, French, Canadian, Métis and Ojibwa.”<sup>88</sup>

### Figure 49

Aerial photograph of the reconstructed Fort William, at Pointe de Meuron, 14 km inland from the old fort (now rail yards). Fort William Provincial Park



# Forts at ‘The Forks’

## Figure 50

Map of a Portion of the City of Winnipeg  
Showing Present Plan and Old Forts.  
George Bryce, 1885<sup>89</sup>

North is to the right.

Bryce’s map of the Red and Assiniboine River junction, commonly referred to as “The Forks”, gives locations and dates of establishment of the various historical forts that existed here during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. From left to right:

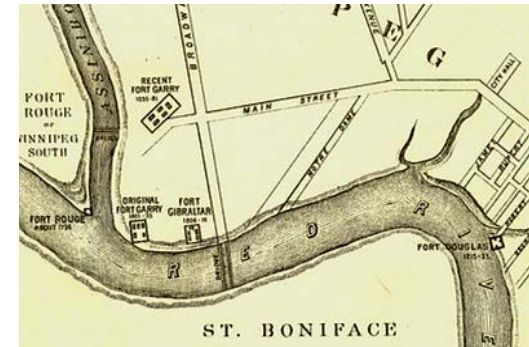
**Fort Rouge** - on tip of land formed by confluence of Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

**Original Fort Garry** - also called Fort Gibraltar II, before 1821.

**Recent Fort Garry** - later known as Upper Fort Garry, at south end of Main Street.

**Fort Gibraltar** - Forts Gibraltar I and II.

**Fort Douglas** - about a mile downstream to the north, inside river bend. Later moved next to Ft. Gibraltar II



**Significance**

“People have used The Forks as a meeting place, fishing camp, trading place and settlement for at least six thousand years. Both the Red and the Assinboine rivers have historically been major transportation corridors in western Canada. As the traditional transition area between the

prairies and the woodlands, [The Forks] has been a meeting and trading point for a wide range of First Nations cultural groups including Algonquin peoples from central and southern Manitoba, northwestern Ontario and Minnesota, and possibly parts of North Dakota. During the 18th century it provided an intermittent seasonal camp for

Assiniboin, Ojibwa (Saulteaux), Cree and Dakota (Sioux) peoples.

The first European settlement in western Canada (La Vérendrye’s Fort Rouge, 1736-1740s) was located nearby. In the 19th and 20th centuries it was a staging point for western expansion and settlement.”<sup>90</sup>

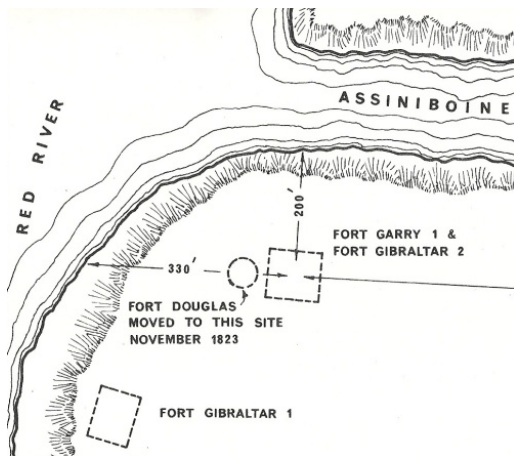
# Fort Gibraltar II/Fort Garry (Manitoba)

Est. 1817 (NWC); 1821 (HBC)

## Location

North is down.

The post was located on the north bank of the Assiniboine, on the bluff overlooking the confluence, across from the old Fort Rouge site.



**Figure 51**

Location map of Fort Gibraltar II (detail)  
Guinn, 265, Fig. 24.



### **From the Post History**

A first fort Gibraltar (NWC) existed between 1810 and 1817, in the vicinity of Fort Gibraltar II. No traces are left, there are no images extant.

**1817** The NWC begins rebuilding old Fort Gibraltar I, now known as Fort Gibraltar II.

**1821-22** After amalgamation of the NWC with the HBC, governor George Simpson has Fort Gibraltar II renovated and names it Fort Garry.<sup>91</sup>

**1823** Fort Garry becomes the headquarters of the reorganized HBC.

**1826** After the disastrous Red River flood the fort continues to deteriorate.

**1852** The remains of Fort Garry are dismantled after another flood destroys two buildings and one bastion.

### **Significance**

“Secure in its possession of the products of the upper Red River valley, the [NWC] decided to erect a fort at the strategic junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers.

Such a fort would ensure their control over the flow of supplies, especially the pemmican, coming down these rivers, a vital link in the Nor’Westers’ supply line stretching between Lake Superior, the

Rockies and the Athabasca country to the north.”<sup>92</sup>

**Figure 52**

Fort Garry [until 1822 Fort Gibraltar II]  
“Winter fishing on ice of Assynoibain [sic]  
& Red River” (detail).  
Inscription illegible.  
Watercolour by Peter Rindisbacher, 1821  
[winter 1822?]  
21.6 x 32.4 cm  
Library and Archives Canada

View is to the north-east.

The later south-western square tower or flanker is still missing. Outlines of a new structure (bell-tower?) on the south-east corner are visible. Roof joists are being installed on one of the buildings and there are roof lines indicating two additional structures. The pediment above the gate is

unusual. Across the Red River, in back, we see the simple log structure of St. Boniface’s church and nunnery, built in 1818.

Rindisbacher assembles various personages and their winter activities in this tableau. In the foreground a group of

Métis and an officer<sup>93</sup> gather around a net with freshly caught fish. There are fur trappers returning with sled and dogs and someone is hauling logs on a sledge, pulled by a horse. Further back, we see ice fishing and a fresh hole being cut with an axe.



**Figure 53**

Fort Gibraltar II

Pencil drawing by Peter Rindisbacher,

c. 1820 (detail)

21.2 cm x 27.8 cm

Glenbow Museum

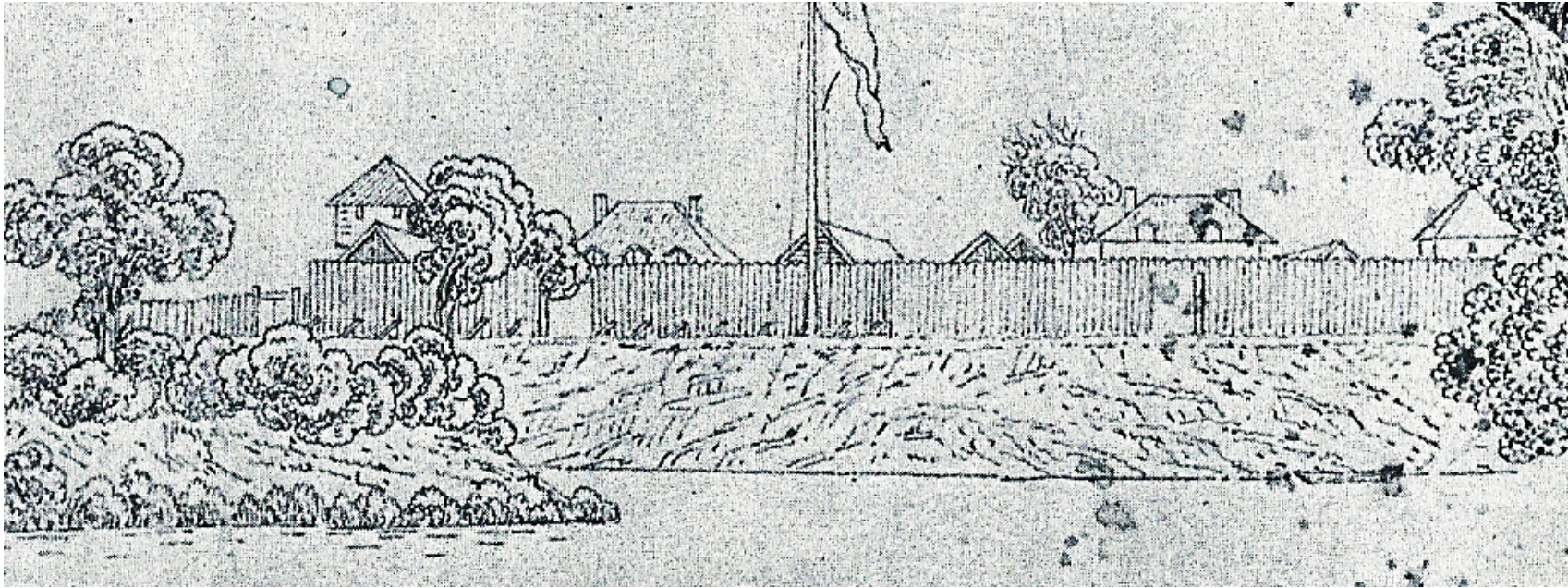
View is to the north-west.

The drawing is a view of the south and east palisades in the summer of 1822 (?). It shows the fort straddling the promontory at the confluence, the Assiniboine merging from the left, just below the flag. The tip of land to the left is the old Fort Rouge site.

Rindisbacher must have sketched the site and finished it later - note carefully drawn palisade and roof lines using a straight-edge. Inside the enclosure we can make out two large two-storied buildings with dormer windows and chimneys, likely residences. Several smaller buildings are

warehouses or “stores” and shops. Note two square bastions on the north-east and north-west corners. It is not clear whether they are inside, or outside the pickets.

“By the mid-1820s Fort Garry included a retail sales shop, warehouse, dwelling house, ice house, root house [vegetable storage], and powder magazine.”<sup>94</sup>



# Lower Fort Garry (Manitoba)

Est. 1831 (HBC)

## Location

The post is located on the west bank of the Red River, about half way between the Forks and the river delta at Lake Winnipeg.

## Figure 54

Location map of Lower Fort Garry.  
Parks Canada



### **From the Post History**

**1830** The Northern Council at York Factory recommends that a new post be built to replace the aging and flood-damaged Fort Gibraltar II/Fort Garry. Governor Simpson chooses a site 32 km (about 20 miles) north of the Forks, because of its high ground and location below the St. Andrew's Rapids, thus eliminating the portage of heavy packs and York Boats. Simpson also wants a new and comfortable home for his young bride Frances, away from the Forks.

**1831** October: Construction begins (ended in 1839).

**1832** The "Big House" and the fur-loft retail shop are completed. The Simpsons

move in. Lower Fort Garry becomes the administrative headquarters of Rupert's Land.

**1833** Simpson and his wife, both suffering from ill health, return to England.

**1834** Alexander Christie, Governor of Assiniboia (Red River Settlement), points out the inconvenience and inefficiency due to the distance between the Forks and Lower Fort Garry. He urges the London Committee to move back to the Forks and into a new installation to better serve the settlers and reinforce company authority.

**1840s** The HBC constructs a number of industrial buildings around Lower Fort Garry, including a gristmill and saw mill,

brewery and distillery, blacksmith shop and lime kilns. The Fort's strategic location for water transportation is integral to these activities.

**1850s-1860s** The fort becomes the Southern depot for provisioning the fur trade and the centre for the HBC's production of food supplies (farming).

**1871** Treaty No. 1, between the Crown and the Anishinabek and Swampy Cree of southern Manitoba is signed here.

**1965** The walls, bastions and six original buildings of Lower Fort Garry existed when archaeological investigations began at the site in 1965.

**Figure 55**

Lower Fort Garry

by John A. Fleming, Sept. 1857

Watercolour over pencil

17.4 cm x 33.8 cm

Inscription, l.l.: *J. Fleming del. Sep '57*

b.: *Lower Fort Garry or Stone*

*Fort - Red River*

Toronto Public Library

J. Ross Robertson Collection

View is to the south, upstream.

Note steep river banks and York Boats pulled up. The fort sits well back.

Fleming provides a good view of the long stone walls and the massive round northeast and southeast bastions.

Behind the long north wall, stands the Old Warehouse, later Penitentiary. Facing it across the yard is the Fur-loft and Store. Tucked in behind them and facing the river, is the governor's residence.

Note the number of outbuildings. They included a gristmill and saw mill, brewery and distillery, blacksmith shop and lime kilns.





*Lower Fort Garry — or Stone Fort — Red River.*

**Figure 56**

Interior of Lower Fort Garry

by John Arnot Fleming, September? 1857

Watercolour

13.6 x 19.4 cm

Inscription, l.l.: *J. Fleming del.*;

b.: *Interior of Lower Fort Garry,  
(or Stone Fort.)*

Toronto Public Library

J. Ross Robertson Collection

View is from the southeast bastion to the northwest, across the open yard, with its typical layout: three sides lined by buildings, the fourth open to the water, here off to the right.

Starting from the left and closest to the viewer is the Fur-loft and Sales building with two floors. “It contained a retail sales shop on the ground floor. On the second and third floors was storage space for dry goods and furs. The original fur press used

by the Hudson's Bay Company has survived, and some of the marks used to distinguish the bales belonging to the Company may be seen on the walls of the upper storeys.”<sup>95</sup>

The centre is taken up by the governor's residence, fenced in, with kitchen attached, at rear. Note deep veranda, facing yard and river. The building served as home of the governor and his family, provided housing of officers in charge of

the fort and, as the seat of government, saw annual council meetings.

On the right, and completing the symmetrical layout, is the Old Warehouse, later Penitentiary. Its design mirrors the Fur-loft structure.

All buildings have stone foundations and stone walls, and the HBC's standard hipped roofs.



*Interior of Lower Fort Garry, (or Stone Fort.)*



**Figure 58**

Lower Fort Garry

Southwest Bastion, Winter, 1847

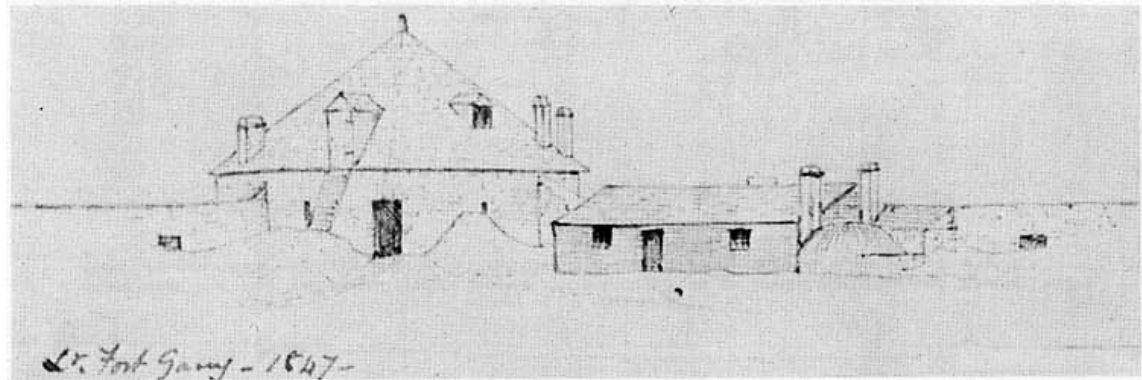
Pencil sketch by Lieut. George. E. Finlay

Inscription, l.l.: *Lr. Fort Garry – 1847 -*

Manitoba Pageant

Autum 1966, Vol. 12, Nr. 1

“Lower Fort Garry is home to several different architectural designs that flourished in the fur trade era. The fact that there was wood 32 km (20 miles) to the north as well as a generous supply of limestone at the fort enabled several different methods of construction to be used in the settlement. Designs using both stone and wood abounded in the settlement back then, and the current historic buildings are examples of construction techniques used 150 years ago. ...



The Southwest Bastion is a good example of functional 19th century military defense design. Its low, circular, tower form, used for wall bastions at the fort, distinguishes it. In keeping with its role as part of the fort's defense system, the building has stocky proportions and a scale that is dictated by the fort's wall height.”  
Parks Canada

**Figure 59**

Lower fort Garry

Dog Trains in front of Factor's House

Drawing by C.C. Jefferys, 1942

Based on an early photograph

cwjefferys.com

The residence is to the right. The building in back could not be identified. It is Nr. 20 in the plan, Fig. 57.

Dog trains were used until 1909. Here we see seven or eight loaded sleds, about two dozen dogs, their drivers and a cariole with passenger, ready for departure. Each sled typically was pulled by four to six dogs, in line. Voyageur or Métis drivers owned their dogs.



**Significance**

“Lower Fort Garry is significant for its role as a major agricultural and industrial supply centre in the fur trade of Western Canada. The bulk of the trade with the local settlers was with farm produce. The HBC hoped that the farmers in the settlement would be able to supply a large portion of the food needed by the Company workers up North, since shipping from Lower Fort Garry would lower the cost as the food didn't have to come from England and would be fresher. Thus Lower Fort Garry became, for a short time, a major transshipment post for the HBC. This,

combined with the ample Company space able to house hundreds of hired tripmen to work the boat runs, made the lower fort an ideal site for this task. ...”<sup>96</sup>

“Lower Fort Garry from its very beginning served as an integral link in the transportation system used by the Portage la Loche - Norway House - York Factory canoe and boat brigades.”<sup>97</sup>

The first treaty made by the Dominion government with the Indigenous people of western Canada (Saulteaux, Anishinaabe, Ojibway and Swampy Cree First Nations)

was signed outside the gates of the fort (see Fig. 57).

The fort served as the base of the North West mounted Police during the first year of the force's existence in 1873-1874.

Today Lower Fort Garry is a National Historic Site administered by Parks Canada

# Upper Fort Garry (Manitoba)

Est. 1835 (HBC)

## Location

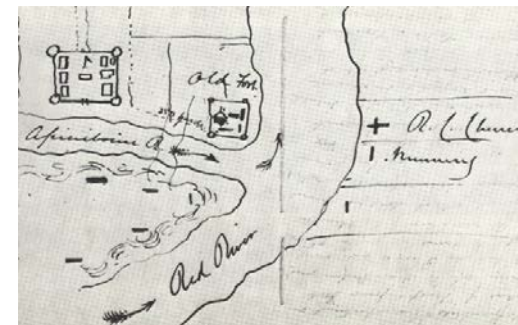
Upper Fort Garry was located at what today is Winnipeg's lower Main Street.

## Figure 60

The Red-Assiniboine Junction (detail)  
Sketch by Henry James Warre, 1845  
Library and Archives Canada

The sketch shows the relative locations of the "Old Fort" (Fort Gibraltar II/ Fort Garry) and the new Upper Fort Garry, to the west. Warre gives the distance between the forts as 350 yards (320 m). Inside the square, defined by four round flankers, he

shows three buildings along the eastern and western walls, and one rectangular structure, arranged east-west, in the centre. It is the Main House or officers' quarters. On the right bank of the Red he indicates the church and nunnery of St. Boniface.





### **From the Post History**

**1835-38** Construction of a new stone fort at the Forks begins. It is called Upper Fort Garry.

**1846** To counter possible American expansion, the British government stations 246 troops and officers in the fort.

**1851-54** After the influx of military personnel the fort is extended northward, roughly doubling its size. Upper Fort Garry becomes the administrative centre of the HBC and of the Red River Settlement.

**1869** November: About 120 men of the Métis Comité National enter the fort. The Métis form a provisional government to assert their rights and defend their properties against non-Métis settlers.

The HBC signs a deed of transfer surrendering Rupert's Land to the British Crown for 1.5 Million Dollars. The Crown, in turn, cedes the land to the new Dominion of Canada.

**1870** May: The Parliament of Canada passes the Manitoba Act.<sup>98</sup> Some demands made by the Métis are met.

**1873** The city of Winnipeg is established.

**1881** The HBC completes construction of its first retail store in what is now Winnipeg. Upper Fort Garry is demolished. Only the north gate remains

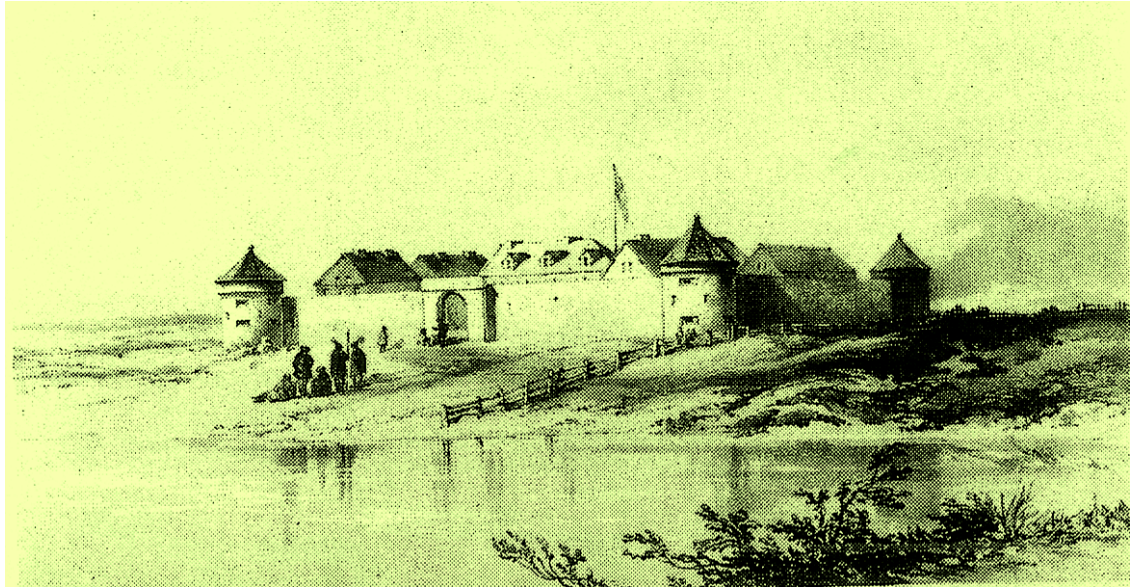
**Figure 61**

Fort Garry (Upper Fort Garry - June 1845)  
by Henry James Warre [1848] (detail)  
Lithograph, b&w  
37 x 54.2 cm  
Hudson's Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

View is to the north-west.  
Note high water level during spring  
flooding. Normally, the fort sits well back  
and elevated (see other views from the  
south).

The fort was a walled-in quadrangle of 73  
x 76 m or 240 x 250 feet (Voorhis: 240 x  
280 feet) with stone walls 13-14 feet high  
and 3 feet wide and, by 1845, four corner  
bastions armed with cannon and musketry.  
Its main gate faced the Assiniboine. Inside  
the wall, a gallery connected the bastions  
(see Fig. 62).

Warre is precise in his rendering of various  
architectural features, such as the gate, the  
bastions with their embrasures, and the



dormer windows of the Main House. He  
places a group of Métis outside the gate to  
show the “exotic” setting and to give scale.

The principal dwelling house or  
Main House (with three dormer windows)  
for the officers occupied the centre of the  
square; behind it stood the flagstaff and  
belfry.

The buildings along the western wall  
stored furs, trade goods, provisions

and supplies. They included an inland  
depot, a fur store and pemmican  
warehouse.

Along the east side, right behind the south-  
east bastion, was the sales shop. The need  
for access to this store by fort personnel  
and the local population resulted in a  
number of later structural changes to the  
wall to make room for a store with an entry  
from the outside (Fig. 69).

**Figure 62**

Front Gate, Fort Garry (detail)

Pencil drawing by Isobel Finlayson, 1840

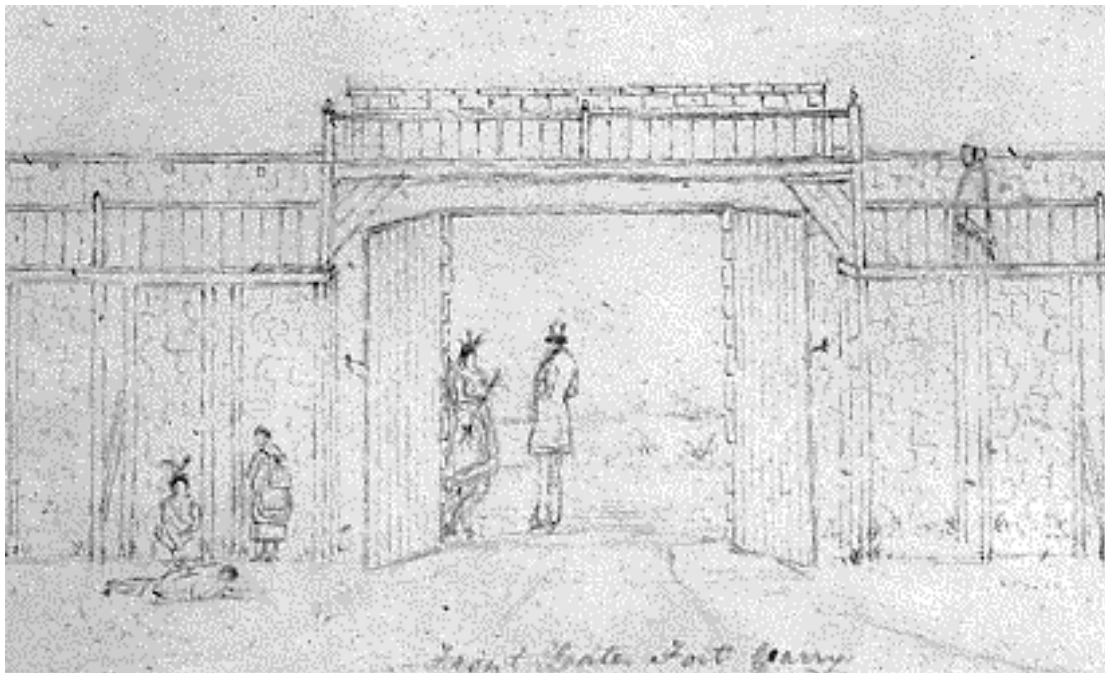
11.2 x 18.2 cm

In the artist's *Journal of a Voyage from Gravesend to York Factory and Red River Settlement*, 1840..1

Inscription, b.: *Front Gate Fort Garry*

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba



Finlayson portrays herself walking along the wooden gallery which ran along the top of the walls inside the fort, “at about eight and a half feet above the ground. This balcony-like structure was supported by wooden posts placed every 4 feet. The guards [who] occasionally patrolled the fort likely accessed this gallery through the fort’s bastions. ... The original walls of Upper Fort Garry were of solid limestone which was likely quarried from Bird’s Hill, about 30 kilometers to the northeast.”<sup>99</sup>

The limestone walls and gallery supports are clearly visible. The Assiniboine River can be seen beyond the gate.

The artist enlivens the view by including a group of Métis, a man with top hat and women with feathers stuck in their hair, lounging inside the gate.

**Figure 63**

Upper Fort Garry, North Wall

Pencil drawing by Lieut. George Finlay,  
1846 (detail)

Inscription, b.: *Upper Fort Garry -  
N. America... Oct.1-/46.*

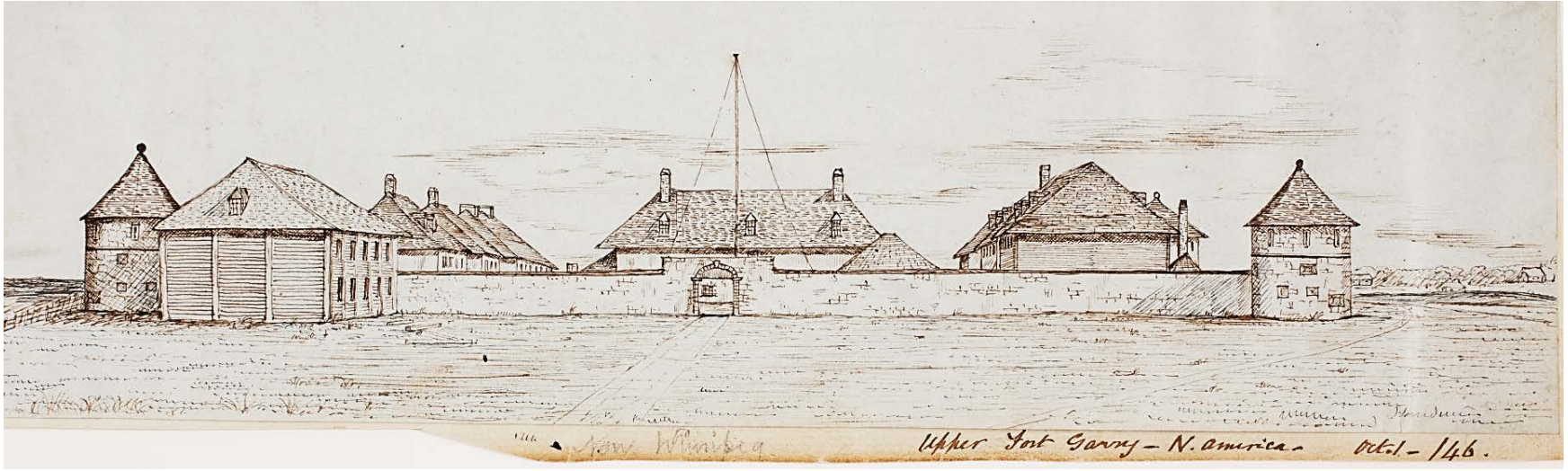
Glenbow Museum

View is to the south.

Finlay's detailed sketch shows the building arrangement from the rear, shortly before expansion. The large building in the center is the Main House; the building to its left, with two square chimneys, is the trading store and the bastion on the far left the

armory. Outside the wall, to the left, a new barracks has been built, meant for soldiers after the influx of troops in 1846. Finlay was part of this detachment.<sup>100</sup> A second, identical, barracks was put up between 1846 and 1850.

Note hipped roofs on all buildings and construction method of horizontal squared timbers slid into grooves in vertical posts. (See also post on sill construction, Cumberland House). - The Assiniboine can be seen in the back, right.



**Figure 64**

[Upper] Fort Garry

Pencil and watercolour sketch by John A. Fleming, [September?] 1857 or 1858 (detail)

19.8 x 28 cm

Inscription, l.r.: *Fort Garry; Sept* (effaced)

Toronto Public Library -

J. Ross Robertson Collection



Fig. 64

View is from the south-west.

In the early 1850s the walls were extended northward about 330 feet (c. 100 m), thus doubling the fort's size and including two residences for military. The new walls, built of oak timbers, were three feet thick

with a core of packed earth. A northern stone gateway was added. The image gives an idea of the west wall and its extension beyond the NW bastion, ending just to the right of the outbuilding.

Note low water in late summer. Various canoes and York boats are in or out of the

water. A Red River cart can be seen near the west wall and a horse-drawn carriage in front of the main gate.

Note windmill in background, right.<sup>101</sup>

**Figure 65**

Fort Garry from the South

Watercolour by W.H.E. Napier,

c. 1858-1863

Inscription, u.r.: *Fort Garry from South*

Glenbow Museum

Napier visited Upper Fort Garry in 1857 as accompanying engineer of a scientific expedition.<sup>102</sup>

He paints a wide, layered view formed by prairie sky, man-made structures, land features and water. The fort sits well back from the Assiniboine's steep north bank.

Note low water level and the artist's characteristic treatment of York boats.

Parallel to the south wall and gate stands the Officers' Quarters, the dominating structure. To its right is the General Store, to the left are the Inland Depot, Fur Store and the Pemmican Store. Visible to the rear, left, is the northward extension

beyond the north-west bastion. Métis encampments can be seen all around the perimeter of the fence.

The two Métis women in the foreground provide contrast and distance.





**Figure 66**

Fort Garry, Rupert's Land, 19 March 1858

Watercolour by George Seton,

Major R.C.R. [Royal Canadian Rifles].<sup>103</sup>

Inscription, b.: *Fort Garry. Rupert's Land*

*19 March 1858*

15.8 x 25 cm

"Sketches by Major Seton", folio 18 recto

Library and Archives Cana



In this impression of a breezy early spring day the artist places the fort between frozen river and a vast prairie sky. Clouds and bits of blue are reflected in the snow along the river bank.

We see people enjoying the outdoors. Two persons are walking a dog, someone is taking a ride in a horse-drawn cariole, a dog team is approaching and some people can be seen near the front gate. York boats are pulled up high. All lines and movements converge on the fort.

Note that the artist omits the northward extension of 1851-54, possibly to show the building complex defined by its flankers. Note also the large building to the left of the perimeter, with yard enclosed by a stockade. During the mid-1850s a number of residences and outbuildings had sprung up around the fort.

**Figure 67**

Upper Fort Garry

Watercolour by W. H. E. Napier, 1857

Inscription, lr: *McDermots from*

*Bannatynes House - Fort Garry - 1857*

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

View is from the north-east.

The image is of interest for two reasons. It is a rare view from the north of the extended fort. We are looking at the new north-east corner and the large stone gate in the new north wall, the only surviving structure. Just inside the gate is the Main House, with its two chimneys. There are no flankers on the new north-eastern and north-western corners.

Second, the painting shows the appearance of substantial-looking buildings outside the fort's perimeter, in the background and foreground, right. Andrew Graham Bannatyne and Andrew McDermot, were two businessmen in the area.

Napier enlivens the scene by including various people and animals. On the left, a bundled-up person enjoys a ride in a cariole pulled by dogs.



To the right, a horse-drawn sled with dog is waiting for the groom and its passenger. The artist places the Indigenous women and children, huddled up against the cold,

right behind the two men, the sled and the solidly built homes, creating a scene of human interest in the foreground against the fortified installation in the ba

## Figure 68

Upper Ft. Garry, Interior

Watercolour by H. A. Strong, 1869

later lithographed

57 x 86 cm

Inscription, b.: *The Interior of Fort Garry –*

*A Vanished Scene in the Early History of*

*our Country Dedicated to the Pioneer*

*Settlers of the Canadian North West*

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

“[Strong] enlivened a detailed architectural setting with groups of figures. ... The buildings of the fort include the officers' quarters directly opposite the gate, the store on the far right, and the factor's residence next door. The time is the winter of 1869. In the courtyard Indians, Métis, and Europeans are engaged in business and social intercourse. As the artist indicated, the fort had disappeared in 1883. Since he was in Winnipeg before Fort Garry was demolished, Strong could have sketched the buildings first hand, but he may also have copied them from photographs. The watercolour aroused enough interest in Winnipeg, where there was already nostalgia for “the old days”, for Strong to have it chromolithographed in Montreal

and patented in both Ottawa and Washington.”<sup>104</sup>

Many figures fill the square like a stage. Persons and objects are carefully arranged, including the animals, most prominently the sled dogs with their driver. There are official-looking men and traders with fur coats and fur hats. Métis, wrapped in blankets, are shown as convivial partners, not set apart. There are women and a couple of children. The artist also includes various modes of transportation and places the dogs and sled in the foreground.

The distinguished looking gentleman with fur coat, gesturing toward both fur sled and store, to the right, is the Chief Factor, representing here all the HBC's traders and factors.

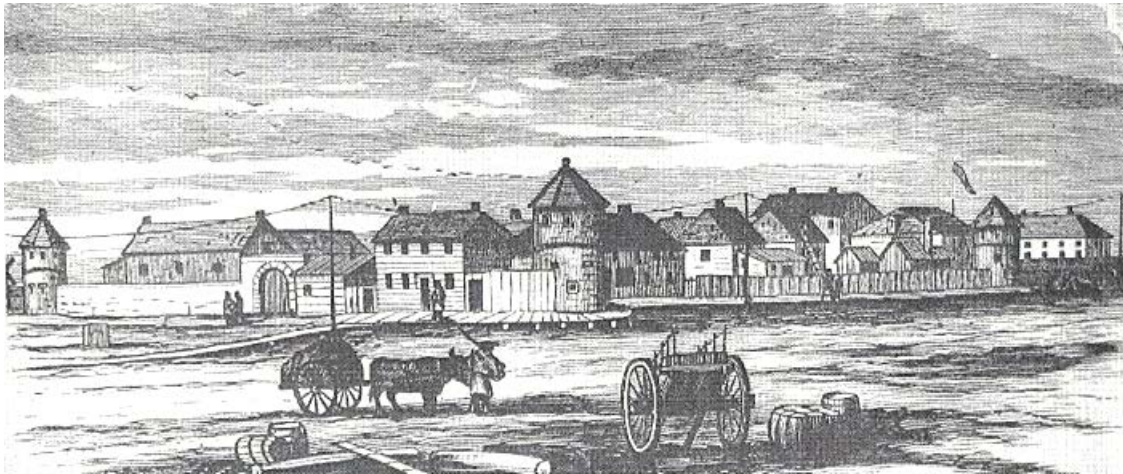
The square is viewed from a slightly elevated vantage point, i.e. from the south gate. From here to the two-storied officers' quarters, behind the flagpole, is a depth of c. 200 m. The flag, with *HBC* clearly visible, marks the center. The oval around it is repeated in the circle of blue in the sky.

Note the absence of the massive Main House or officers' quarters, built between 1835 and 1837 and visible in earlier views. It had stood in the centre, where the flagpole now stands. Note also the second building, on left, with its half-timber or *colombage* construction and the two common types of roof construction, hip and saddle.



**Figure 69**

[Upper] Fort Garry  
Engraving after a painting by  
F.A. Verner ca. 1876  
Engraver unknown  
11.4 x 18 cm  
Library and Archives Canada



View is to the northwest.

The retail store, behind the southeast bastion and recessed from the wall, has street access. So does the liquor store, although still flush with the south wall.

On the far right can be seen the residence of the Governor of Assiniboia and Manitoba's first official Government House (1870-1873). A number of smaller new structures have been built inside the east wall. It is the view of a growing establishment, beginning to open itself to the outside.

Note Red River ox carts, board walks and telegraph wires. The first telegraph lines linked Winnipeg and eastern Canada in 1871, via St. Paul, Minnesota

### **Significance**

“Upper Fort Garry was the administrative center of Rupert’s Land, a massive mercantile empire that stretched from the east of Hudson Bay to the Arctic Ocean and to the Pacific coast as far south as modern Oregon [Fort Astoria) and Washington [Fort Vancouver]. It lay at the terminus of the Fort Garry-Fort Edmonton Trail, which extended 1,400 kilometers and which was the principal overland trail route in the North West for much of the 19th century. By mid-century it was used extensively by Métis freighters driving Red River carts; it also served early explorers and surveyors.”<sup>105</sup>

“Upper Fort Garry was built to fulfill several functions. ... The first was directly related to the logistics of the fur trade. A storage depot was required above the Red River rapids [St. Andrews rapids] to serve the posts of the district. Second, ‘the Forks’ of the Red and Assiniboine rivers was the customary location for the retail trade with local settlers. Third, the settlement of Lord Selkirk’s will left the Hudson’s Bay Company with significant civil responsibilities to the legal entity called the District of Assiniboia, the fulfillment of which was concentrated at the upper fort.”<sup>106</sup>

As headquarters of the HBC and the seat of government for the Red River colony, the fort was also the social center of the settlement, which welcomed travelers of all kinds from mid-century on: HBC employees, traders, scientists and explorers, military personnel, pioneers of the Red River Settlement, clergymen, engineers, artists and early photographers. Many of them recorded their impressions, sketching and painting. No other HBC installation has been portrayed as often.

# Cumberland House (Saskatchewan)

Est. 1774

## Location

The post is situated on Cumberland Lake, in the Cumberland River Delta, just west of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan border.

## Figure 70

Orientation map of Cumberland House. NRC/Toporama

The diamond in the map marks today's location, on Cumberland Island (Spruce Island). The Saskatchewan River can be seen to the south, at Pemmican Portage.



Samuel Hearne's first site was c. 2 km to the south-east of today's location, near the road, shown in red. The marshy area between the original site and today's Cumberland House was open water at Hearne's time.<sup>107</sup>



**From the Post History**

Cree, Sauteaux (Plains Ojibwa), Assiniboin, Dakota, Sioux and Dene/Chipewyan inhabited the area before contact.

**1743** James Isham, HBC Factor and naturalist, argues that the English ought to go inland, to the country west of Churchill ... in order to meet French competition.<sup>108</sup>

**1754** Isham sends explorer Anthony Henday, in company with a band of Cree, on the first of several journeys which take him to the Saskatchewan River.<sup>109</sup>

**1773-74** The Governor and Committee decide to establish a post in the interior<sup>110</sup> and choose Samuel Hearne to undertake the venture.<sup>111</sup>

**1774** June 23: Hearne chooses a strategic site on Pine Island Lake (Cumberland Lake, Sask.), 97 km (60 miles) above Basquia. Hearne keeps journal entries.<sup>112</sup>

**1775** May 30<sup>th</sup>. Hearne takes out the first furs with the Indian canoes going down to York.

**1790** The NWC builds a post beside the HBC site as a supply depot of pemmican for its northern brigades.

**1819** John Franklin and his men stay at the post on their way to the Arctic (first expedition).

**1821-30** Cumberland serves as winter headquarters for HBC governors of the Northern Department.<sup>113</sup>

**1874-1900** The steamer *Northcote* and her sister ships carry freight and passengers from Grand Rapids at the north end of Lake Winnipeg, west as far as Edmonton.

**1924** Cumberland House is designated a national historic site.

**Figure 71**

Cumberland House - Saskatchewan

Watercolour, pen and ink by

John A. Fleming, 1858<sup>114</sup>

10.2 x 16.3 cm

Inscription, b.l.: *Cumberland House*

*Aug. 17, 1858*

Toronto Public Library -

J. Ross Robertson Collection

Regrettably, there is no early visual record of Cumberland House, not even from Hearne himself, to whom we owe the only late 18<sup>th</sup> century views of York Factory and Prince of Wales Fort. There are no contemporary images until 1858, some 80 years after foundation.

View is to the North, with Cumberland Lake in the distance, right.

Fleming shows seven or eight structures within the inner fence, the largest being the warehouse, with hipped roof. The small building at right angles to it and with flag is the post manager's residence. It had an unobstructed view across the courtyard

down to the lake. Just this side of it there is a building under construction. We can make out window and/or door openings in a post on sill frame. One structure near the lake, to the right of the flag pole, seems to be under construction as well. The portion of the roof facing north looks like it is finished.

Note boat lift, centre back.



**Figure 72**

HBC store at Cumberland House

Photographer unknown [possibly D. Cadzow]<sup>115</sup>, c. 1900-1929

Courtesy Prince Albert Historical Society

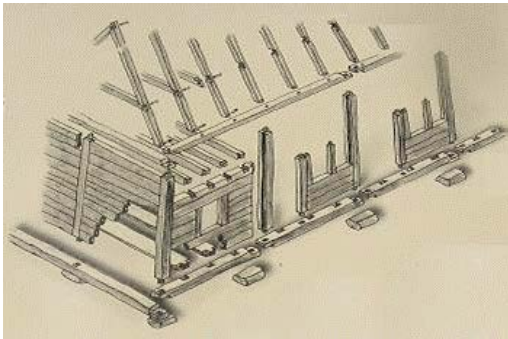
About fifty men and many dogs are assembled for this photograph on a sunny winter day. The store or warehouse shows

the HBC's typical post-on-sill or *pièce-sur-pièce* style of timber frame house construction. Note ends of massive

squared timbers of the second floor jutting out from the wall. They had to bear the weight of large quantities of trade goods, provisions and furs.



**Figure 73**  
Post and Sill Construction of a  
typical HBC Warehouse and Store.  
Drawing: Father Lacombe Chapel website.



“Large squared timbers were used as sills placed on a field stone foundation, to lay out the basic configuration of the structure. Upright posts were mortised into the sill logs, usually about 2 metres or 6 to 7 feet apart. The posts were cut with a groove on two sides (at 90 degrees for corners and 180 degrees on walls) and the spaces between these upright posts were filled with squared timbers. These wall timbers were tenoned at either end allowing them to slip into the grooved uprights. Doors and windows were added using smaller uprights or by placing them against a major post. Walls were then finished with a top wall plate.

Various types of roof could be attached to the wall plates. Typically these were steeply pitched gable or hipped roofs to shed snow and made from boards or bark.

The use of squared timbers meant that buildings constructed using post on sill methods were relatively weather-proof. They did not usually have the kind of gaps between logs that are typical of log buildings built using round timbers. Nonetheless, most were finished by adding chinking to fill gaps and often a layer of “mud” – particularly if they were intended as housing – to improve their insulation. ...

In the interior, floors could be left as dirt or wood flooring added by laying it on large “sleepers” or horizontal timbers laid on the ground to support the floor. Sleepers could be attached to the building frame, but often they were placed independent of the walls creating a form of ‘floating’ floor.”

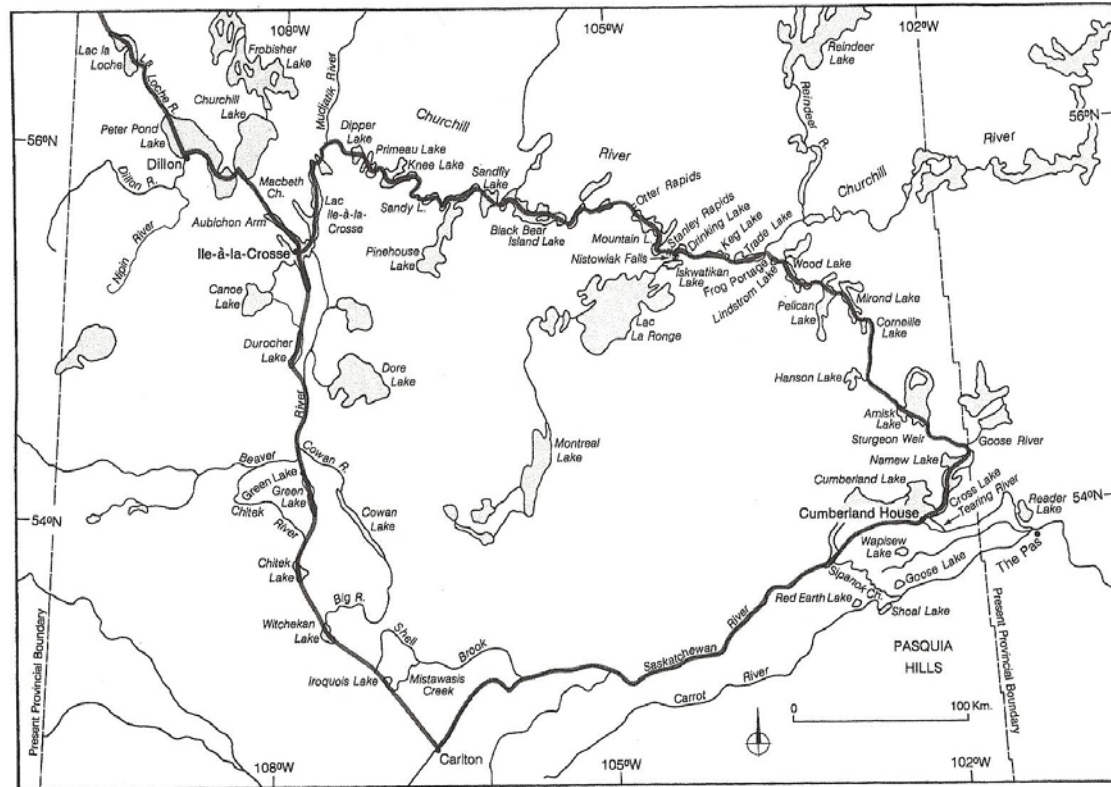
Parks Canada

**Figure 74**

Cumberland House and routes west and north. Map 2 in Houston, C. Stuart, ed. *Arctic Artist*.

Strategically located, Cumberland House became a principal administration and distribution centre as the HBC expanded its network of inland posts throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century and early decades of the nineteenth.

The post sat at the cross-roads of major fur trade routes where large numbers of Cree gathered in the spring to trade for the rich furs they collected over the winter months. To the west, the Saskatchewan River provided access all the way into the Rocky Mountains. To the north, via the Churchill River, Ile à la Crosse and Methye Portage lay the route to the Athabasca. As a result, Cumberland House became an important depot and distribution centre for boat brigades.



In the early years the HBC sent hundreds of York boats up and down the river, supplying its network of posts. After 1821 Cumberland House declined in importance since Norway House was named the new

supply depot for the west ... but Cumberland House continued to carry on fur trade as well as acting as a pemmican and country produce depot for northern posts.<sup>116</sup>

**Significance**

The construction of Cumberland House in 1774 marked a change in HBC policy, which had hitherto expected native people to bring their furs to the bay posts to trade.

It also marked the beginning of intense rivalry between the HBC and Montreal traders, later the NWC, which lasted until 1821.<sup>117</sup>

# Carlton House (Saskatchewan)

Est. 1786 (NWC), 1795, 1805, 1810  
(NWC/HBC), 1835, 1855 (HBC)

## Location

Carlton House is located on the North Saskatchewan River, c. 100 km north of Saskatoon, due west of the hamlet of Carlton, SK.

## Figure 75

Carlton, SK  
NRC Toporama.

Note braided river bed with sand banks, a constant obstacle for early steamboats.  
Note also contour lines showing steep escarpment of prairie to river bed: from 500m down to 460m.





### **From the Post History**

Plains and Wood Cree, Assiniboin and Blackfoot First Nations inhabited the region before contact.

**1795-98** A total of five posts (Carlton House I-V) are built in succession in the area. The NWC builds in the vicinity or right next to the HBC. The HBC's Carlton House III and the NWC's Fort La Montée are enclosed by a common stockade (Fig. 77).

**1816** Rivalry between the two companies intensifies. The NWC moves out and establishes a new La Montée post about 5

km upstream from Carlton. Carlton's defenses are strengthened, incl. two watchtowers and a new stockade. The post carries on a profitable trade with the Assiniboin and Cree and organizes the acquisition of the vast amounts of pemmican needed for the northern brigades.

**1824** The volume of furs traded at Carlton and in the Saskatchewan district is second only to that of the Athabasca district.

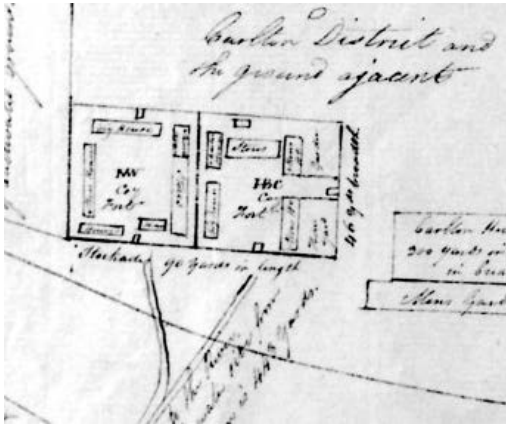
Attacks by hostile Blackfoot remain a constant threat.

**1876** August 23: Indian Treaty No. 6 is signed here.

**1880-85** The fort is maintained primarily as a storage facility.

**1885** Beginning of the Métis uprising. The post is accidentally set on fire as it is being abandoned. It is never re-established.

**1967** The Province of Saskatchewan undertakes the reconstruction of 1875 Carlton House (V). It is today's Fort Carlton National Historic Site.



**Figure 76**

“Carlton District and the ground adjacent [sic]” (detail).

Artist unknown, no date [but before 1816]

Hudson’s Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

North is down.

The plan is of interest because it shows a site shared by both companies. It is undated but from before 1816, when the NWC left. Each post has a square layout. A stockade with dimensions given in the inscription as 90 x 46 yards (c. 82 x 42 m), encloses both posts.

There are five buildings in the HBC enclosure (right), two gardens and two gates, one to the north and one to the west.

Note that there is no opening indicated in the wall separating the two companies. Communication took place either in writing or outside the stockade.

Distance from the river (bottom) is given as 445 yards. Several gardens were planted outside the perimeter

**Figure 77**

Carlton House from the East  
Watercolour by George Back, 1820  
11.3 x 17.7 cm

Caption: *Carlton House from the Eastward  
in the Plain Feb. 7<sup>th</sup> 1820*  
George Back Sketchbook  
Library and Archives Canada

Back shows the site of Carlton House III, built in 1810. Note the bastions on 4 m stilts, outside palisades. This type of construction was later abandoned in favour of bastions which were part of the stockade corner and linked by catwalks, as in earlier HBC establishments.

Note building on left, part of the enclosure and unheated in February. It must be the warehouse.

George Back in 1820:

*The fort itself contains three or four separate buildings with several smaller ones forming the three sides of a quadrangle and is surrounded by an exact square of high and closely connected posts - having at each angle a square tower - erected on strong posts about 12 feet from the ground.*



*At a former time both companies for mutual security had resided within this square, but at present they are separated three miles. ...*

*The Indians resorting here are the Assiniboines or Plain Indians and the Cree Tribe - few peltries are obtained - and it is considered chiefly as a provision store -*

*supplying many other posts with made pemmican for summer stock. ...*

*The house is situated about a ¼ mile from the river at the base of a high hill - which when ascended leads to the plains - The buffalo were so numerous that they frequently made their appearance on the banks.<sup>118</sup>*

**Figure 78**

Fort Carlton Interior

Pencil sketch by Sidney Prior Hall, 1881

22.4 x 35 cm

Inscription, b.: *Pahonan (Waiting Place. Cree)*

- *Fort Carlton HBC*

Library and Archives Canada

View is to the south.

This fine sketch, both atmospheric and informative, shows the post's square in the afternoon sun. People seeking shade are squatting or leaning against the large building, right, the store or warehouse. The

two oxen are dozing; a lone dog is making its way across the yard.

Note post and sill construction and saddle roofs on all buildings. The two chimneys

on the building in centre, which looks white-washed, and the board-walk leading to it across the yard, suggest the post manager's residence.

Note high palisades and steep slope of prairie embankment.



Patrons (Waiting) (see list)

York (Boston) A.B.C.

**Figure 79**

Fort Carlton

Photograph by Charles Horetzky, 1871

20.3 x 25.4 cm

Library and Archives Canada

This view to the northwest shows the location of the last fort - its proximity to the Saskatchewan River, the wooded hills on the north shore, and, judging by the path in the foreground, the steep slope from the prairie down to the river flood plain.

The stockade is now more than twenty feet (7 m) high. Note integrated corner bastions. The large building with hipped roof and dormer windows likely is the officers' residence; the long structure with saddle roof, running north-south, the warehouse, unheated.



**Significance**

“The advantages of this site were many. Nearby were large stands of poplar and birch. The extensive prairies to the south were home to vast numbers of buffalo;

across the river to the north were the woodlands, home to beaver, mink and other furbearers. Of paramount importance was the fort’s location at a well-used ford - the Great Crossing Place over the North

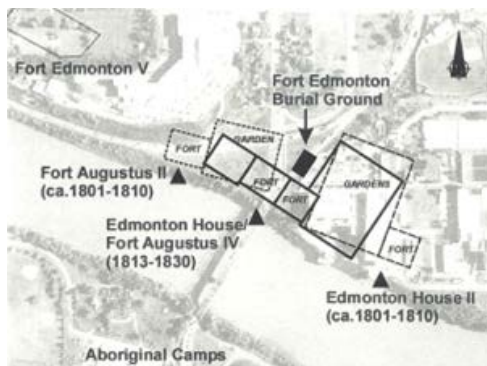
Saskatchewan. Here was the junction of several of the major fur trade routes: one going north toward Green Lake and Île à la Crosse, another heading west to Fort Edmonton.”<sup>119</sup>

# Fort Edmonton (Alberta)

Est. 1795 (NWC, HBC)

## Location

Map shows some of the locations of Fort Edmonton, at or near Rossdale Flats. On the upper left was Fort Edmonton V, near where the Alberta Legislature now stands.



**Figure 80**

Rossdale Flats, Edmonton (detail).  
Courtesy Nancy Saxberg,  
Rossdale Historical Land Use Study,  
1999.



**From the Post History**

Before contact, Woods Cree and Strongwood Nakoda, Plains Cree, Plains Nakoda (Assiniboin or Stoney), and the Blackfoot Confederacy lived to the north and south of today's Edmonton.

**1795** A NWC post, called Fort Augustus, is established at a site ca. 30 km northeast of today's Edmonton, on the North Saskatchewan River near the mouth of the Sturgeon River. The HBC establishes a post, later called Fort Edmonton,

practically next door.<sup>120</sup> Both companies want the trade with the Piegan (Blackfoot Confederation) of the area, rich in beaver furs.

**1801-21** Both companies shift their operations a number of times either to neighbouring or shared sites.

**1821** After amalgamation, the HBC takes over the NWC post of Fort Augustus.

**1830** Due to flood danger the post is

relocated a few hundred feet upstream and halfway up the bank, just below where the Alberta Legislature now stands (Fort Edmonton V).

**1873** A new post manager's residence is built on a hill, outside the fort.

**1915** Fort Edmonton is demolished. The Company's focus is now on the growing retail trade.

**Figure 81**

Plan of Fort Edmonton [V] on the  
Saskatchewan River

Sketch by Mervin Vavasour, 1846

w. References and Inscription, l.r.:

*Scale 100 feet to 1 inch*

*M Vavasour Lieut. Royal Eng.s 1846*

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

North is up.

This is a field engineer's precision plan with references clearly written in, and commenting on the state of buildings and pickets. Vavasour notes pickets to the north-west of being 25 feet high.

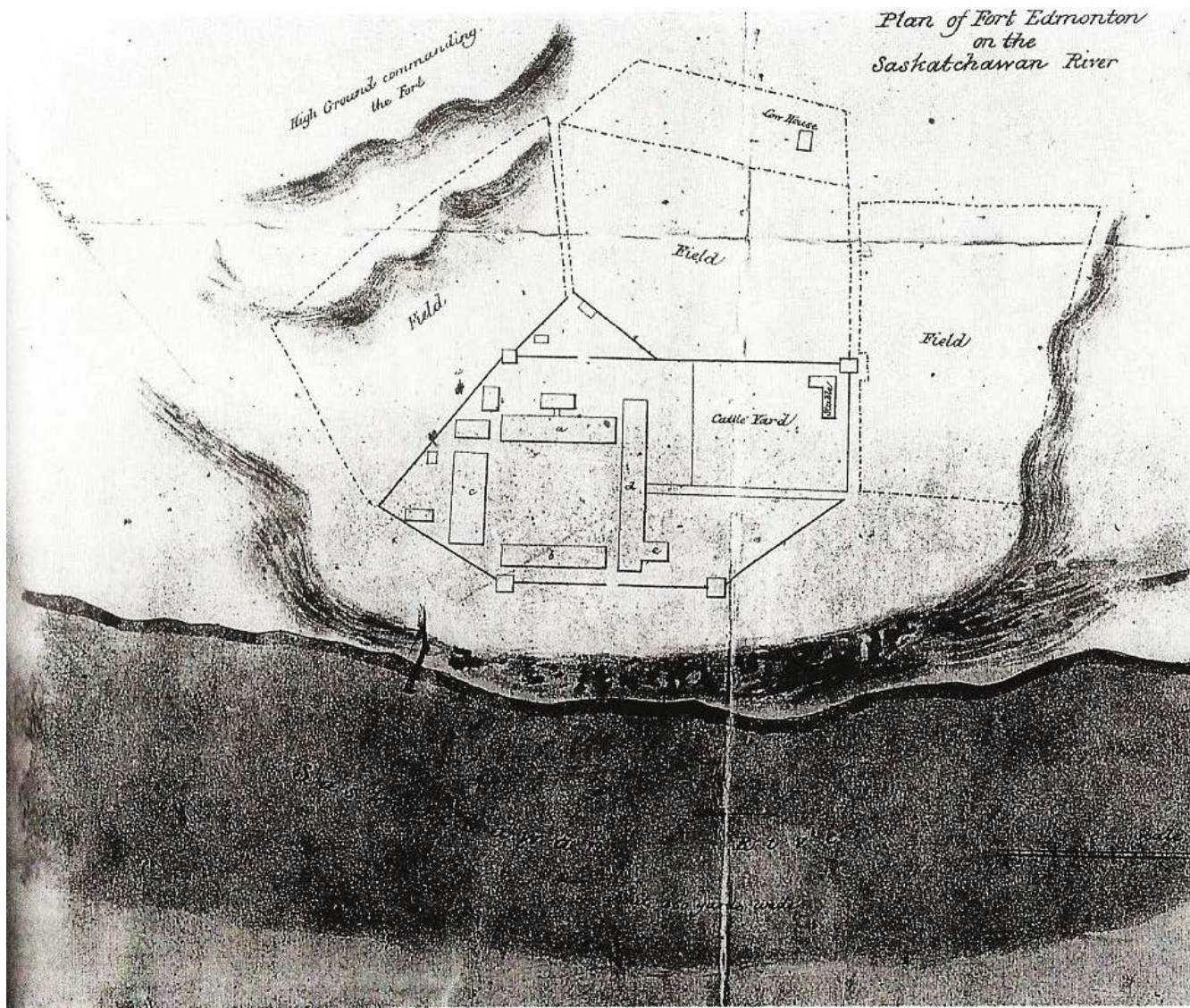
Note steep slope from flat area down to river bed. The main gate opened south,

with a path leading down to a fording place. Two bastions flanked the entrance. Behind it, between buildings [b] and [c], a second set of gates could be closed during trading to separate the commercial from the private lives at the fort.

"To the east, the 'Men's Houses' [d] comprised the clerks' quarters, kitchen,

and a large mess hall or 'Great Hall', where Paul Kane witnessed the Christmas meal and dance of 1847. On the south side of the open square was the 'Indian House' [b], a row of rooms for servants and artisans: carpenter's shop, blacksmith forge, special quarters for the Orkney families who assisted the boat builders. Along the western wall stood the 'New Dwelling House & Stores' [c], a two-storied structure of squared timber."<sup>121</sup>

Plan of Fort Edmonton  
on the  
Saskatchewan River



High Ground commanding  
the Fort

Reference  
a Dwelling House.  
b Indian D<sup>o</sup>  
c Non Dwelling House & Stores  
2 Storied, of squared timber  
d Mens Houses  
e Blacksmiths Shop  
Pickets 20 feet high.  
Each Bastion contains a 1 P<sup>r</sup>.  
Iron gun and is loopholed  
The buildings and pickets are  
in bad repair, excepting c.

M. Van der  
Sant Hogeling 1856

**Figure 82**

The 'Big House' at Fort Edmonton

Reconstruction

Wikimedia Commons

The 'Dwelling House' also called the 'Big House', was the Chief Trader's residence. It was built during the early 1840s for Chief Factor John Rowand.

"It had three stories and a full above-ground basement. It measured thirty by eighty feet, making it the largest such building west of York Factory. Along its entire length both front and back on the

second-storey level was a magnificent gallery. An imposing flight of steps led to the main doorway in the center of the building. A prominent feature of this imposing structure was the large number of windows - each paned with seven-by-eight-inch pieces of glass. ...

On the first or main floor were the principal reception room, the gentlemen's

dining-room, ladies' dining-room and offices for the chief factor and the clerk. The kitchen, stewards' and servants' quarters, interpreter's room, rum room, and storage area were located in the basement.

On the second floor were the living quarters for the chief factor, chief trader, and their families and guest rooms for important visitors."<sup>122</sup>



Paul Kane:

*Edmonton is a large establishment: as it has to furnish many other districts with provisions, a large supply is always kept on hand, consisting entirely of dried meat, tongues and pimmi-kon [pemmican].*

*There are usually here a chief factor and a clerk, with forty or fifty men with their wives and children, amounting altogether to about 130, who all live within the pickets of the fort. Their employment*

*consists chiefly in building boats for the trade, sawing timber, most of which they raft down the river from ninety miles higher up, cutting up the small poplar which abounds on the margin of the river for fire-wood, 800 cords of which are consumed every winter, to supply the numerous fires in the establishment....*

*The employment of the women, who are all, without a single exception either squaws or half-breeds, consists in making*

*moccasins and clothing for the men and converting the dried meat into pimmi-kon. ... Provisions are in the greatest plenty, consisting of fresh buffalo meat, venison, salted geese, magnificent whitefish, and rabbits in abundance, with plenty of good potatoes, turnips and flour. ... The corn [wheat] is ground in a windmill. ... Outside, the buffaloes range in thousands close to the fort.*<sup>123</sup>

**Figure 83**

“Fort Edmonton” Hudson’s Bay Company  
Plains Cree, Assiniboin  
Oil on canvas by Paul Kane, 1849-1856  
43 x 71 cm  
Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum

The artist may have sketched this view in September of 1846, en route to the lower Columbia and Fort Vancouver. When he stopped here again on his return it was Christmas, 1847.

View is of Fort Edmonton V, from the South-East. Like a European castle controlling the river at its feet, it overlooks the North Saskatchewan. Water and sky on the left are contrasted with the human scene in the foreground, right: women and children in front of their teepees; a man leading a horse with a load of hay on a travois up the steep slope.

Kane uses the fort as part of an early evening impression but also gives architectural detail. He shows the high palisade angled toward the south-east, and all four corner bastions (Fig. 81). The large roof with dormer windows belongs to the “Men’s House” (d) in Vavasour’s plan. Teepees outside the eastern wall give scale.



**Figure 84**

Fort Edmonton

Oil on board by Emile Petitot, c. 1870s

43.2 x 76.2 cm

Courtesy Legislative Assembly of Alberta

View is to the northwest.

Petitot gives a charming and informative picture of the establishment in the 1870s, including much detail of the surrounding countryside.

The entire complex is shown in a bird's eye view with great precision although there is no major height of land on the south shore of the North Saskatchewan River from where this view could have been taken.

The layout has changed from that of mid-century. The Big House dominates the compound. There are a number of warehouses, not heated, and small residences, with chimneys. The large building up on the hill behind the enclosure is the new residence of chief factor Richard Hardisty, built after 1872.

The area of today's Rosedale Flats, on the right, is occupied by an Indigenous encampment. There are fenced-in pastures,

each fence post meticulously drawn, a couple of Red River carts and several York boats on the river. These were built here and at nearby Rocky Mountain House. Note the treatment of the terraced slopes showing old river flood plains.

Petitot also takes care in depicting the foreground with its vegetation as well as the hills in the back, denuded by timber cutting. The ensemble is seen through the eyes of someone with an interest in topography and land cover.



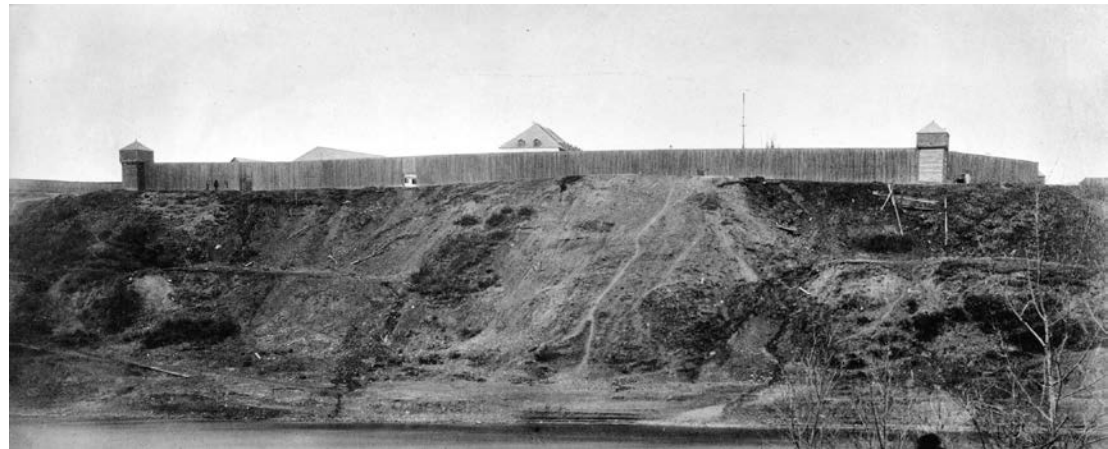


**Figure 85**

Fort Edmonton, from the opposite side,  
Fort Edmonton (Alta.): October 24, 1870.  
Photographer: Charles Horetzky  
Library and Archives Canada

View is to the north.

This photograph, taken from across the North Saskatchewan River, gives a good idea of the size of the installation. Note massive, three-story high bastions on the southwest and southeast corners. They measured 35 feet in height. The northeast bastion is barely visible. The human figures to the left of the entrance give scale. Palisades were 20 feet high and at that time did no longer serve as protection, but were meant to impress and convey the authority of the Company.



### **Trade at Fort Edmonton**

One effect of the union [of NWC and HBC in 1821] was to stabilize the posts on the Saskatchewan. The old ruinous policy of killing off the beaver in a region and passing on, which characterized the half-century of rivalry, came to an end. ... Fort Edmonton, besides gathering its own furs and pemmican and playing the part of chief post of the District, was a point of departure for the boats in the valley of the Athabaska and for the Columbian brigade.<sup>124</sup>

“The **fall** fur trade activity at Edmonton began with the arrival of the brigades,

### **“Hazards of Long-Distance Trade**

Tribes such as the Mandan, Blood, Blackfoot, and some Athabascan groups had a round trip of well over a thousand miles [more than 1600 km] to York Factory. ... Such trading expeditions were arduous and dangerous. For instance, the remote trading groups who used canoes to traverse part of the distance, such as the Mandan, Blood, and Blackfoot, had to contend with the problem of the short open water season that characterizes the lower reaches of rivers flowing into Hudson Bay.

Unless they reached the bay, traded, and departed before the second or third week in

some ten boats manned by fifty men, from York Factory, in late September, early October. The [trade] goods were put immediately into the store and anything wet, set out to dry. ... The outfits for the upper posts must be got to their destination before the ice could form. The “pieces” for the several posts were set apart, the men allocated to the several expeditions, and the number of pack-horses required noted. ... Finally, the boats for Rocky Mountain House left Edmonton.”<sup>125</sup>

“The second peak of activity occurred in the **spring**. With the breakup of the rivers,

August at the latest, Indians from the... upper Saskatchewan and Churchill rivers faced the danger of freeze-up before they reached their homeland. Starvation and death were usually the consequences if this occurred.

This hazard was further compounded by the fact that the English ... traders who operated the Hayes’ River post [York Factory] carried only a one year’s supply of trade goods. Thus, replenishment of trade good stocks depended on the timely arrival of supply ships from Europe – usually in mid-August. Occasionally, however, a ship was lost or arrived late.

the canoes and packhorses began arriving from the outlying posts, bringing the furs traded during the past winter. All these had to be inspected and sorted; then, using the fort’s large wooden fur press, the lustrous pelts were pressed into ninety-pound bales of uniform size.

Finally, about the middle of May, the work completed and the hectic days of activity over, the chief factor and many of the men of the fort embarked in the canoes and set off down the Saskatchewan headed for York Factory, nearly a thousand miles [c. 1,600 km] away.”<sup>126</sup>

Such occurrences delayed the departure of the Indian trading parties, and increased the likelihood that they would be caught by freeze-up before arriving home.

The Cree and Assiniboin, living between these more distant tribes and Hudson Bay, were able to make the trip to York Factory and return with a somewhat safer time margin. ... Thus, there was an advantage in having the Assiniboin and Cree carry their furs [those of the remote trading groups] down to the bay [for them].”<sup>127</sup>

# Rocky Mountain House (Alberta)

Est. 1799 (NWC, HBC)

## Location

The archaeological site of Rocky Mountain House is situated south-west of the modern town of that name. The site occupies the north shore of the North Saskatchewan River, inside a bend, north-west of the Clearwater River junction.

“Rocky Mountain House, the ruins of an old fort of the Hudson’s Bay Company, is situated on an alluvial grassy flat bounded on the south and east by the river and on the north and west by dense forests and swamps ... opposite the old fort the river is four hundred feet wide.”<sup>128</sup>

## Figure 86

Confluence of the North Saskatchewan with the Clearwater River.  
NRC/Toporama



**From the Post History**

Piegan (Blackfoot), Gros Ventre, Sarcee, Stoney and Assiniboin populated the area before contact.

**1799** The NWC's John McDonald of Garth establishes Rocky Mountain House, the HBC's James Bird establishes Acton House.<sup>129</sup>

**1821** It is likely that after amalgamation, Acton House was abandoned in favour of the larger and more strongly fortified Rocky Mountain House.<sup>130</sup>

**1828** From 1828 onward Rocky Mountain House is kept open only during the winter for trade with the Piegan.

**1848** Spring. Paul Kane visits the site from Fort Edmonton.

**1859** John Palliser visits the fort.

**1861** The post is temporarily abandoned due to hostilities from the Blackfoot and lack of provisions. It lies deserted and after three years is burned down by the Blackfoot.

**1864** A new fort is built about 1¼ mile upstream from the river junction, 40 to 50 feet above the water level.<sup>131</sup>

**1869** The new structure is in use. Most windows have glass, some have parchment. Roofs are shingled.

**1875** The post is permanently closed

**Figure 87**

"Rocky Mountain House," Assiniboin and Hudson's Bay Company.

Oil on canvas by Paul Kane, 1849-1856

45.8 x 74.2 cm

Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum

Paul Kane sketched this scene in 1848 and later produced two near identical paintings, the only contemporary views of the site.<sup>132</sup> Clearly, the artist's interest is with the Assiniboin women and their summer dwellings - teepees made of poles and branches, and the scaffold for the drying of buffalo hides.<sup>133</sup>

The post itself appears in the distance with the Rocky Mountains as backdrop. We can make out two outside bastions and, judging from the distance, an enclosure of very high palisades, partially topped by a gallery.

The roof line of one large building inside the enclosure is visible. A gate can be seen between the standing woman's head and the western bastion. It must face the river, off to the left.

The HBC's W.J. Moberly was at the fort in October of 1854 and gives the fur trader's impression:

*The post was surrounded by the usual twenty-eight foot pickets with a block bastion at each corner and a gallery running all round inside about four and a*

*half feet from the top, each bastion containing a supply of flint locks and ammunition. Within was a square formed by the officers' houses, men's houses, storehouses and the general trading shops, a square between this and the pickets for boat building, with forges and carpenter shops, another square for horses and a fourth for general purposes.*

*There were two gates, the main gate on the north side, a smaller one on the south side leading through a narrow passage into a long hall the height of the stockade. In this hall were received the Indians amid much speech making.<sup>134</sup>*



**Figure 88**

View of Rocky Mountain House HBC  
Animated Plan by Jean l'Heureux, 1873  
48.8 x 61.6 cm.  
Library and Archives Canada

This is the post rebuilt in 1864. L'Heureux gives a bird's eye view of the fort and its surroundings. He shows a large and busy installation. We see an elevation of the main buildings and the population occupied with various activities such as tree cutting, animal husbandry, gardening and crafts. It is a 'look-and-find' picture with many details.

The Rocky Mountains are to the west and, further east, there are hills covered with coniferous trees. In front of them, rows of deciduous trees. There is timber cutting and logs are being hauled away in an oxcart.

Behind the fort there are a number of horses and small farm animals. Closer to the front,

right, we witness the building of carts, one being pulled by a horse, and a number of cattle driven down the river bank.

To the left of the fort there is an Assiniboin [?] encampment with about a dozen teepees. It looks like there is a fairly large Indigenous population.

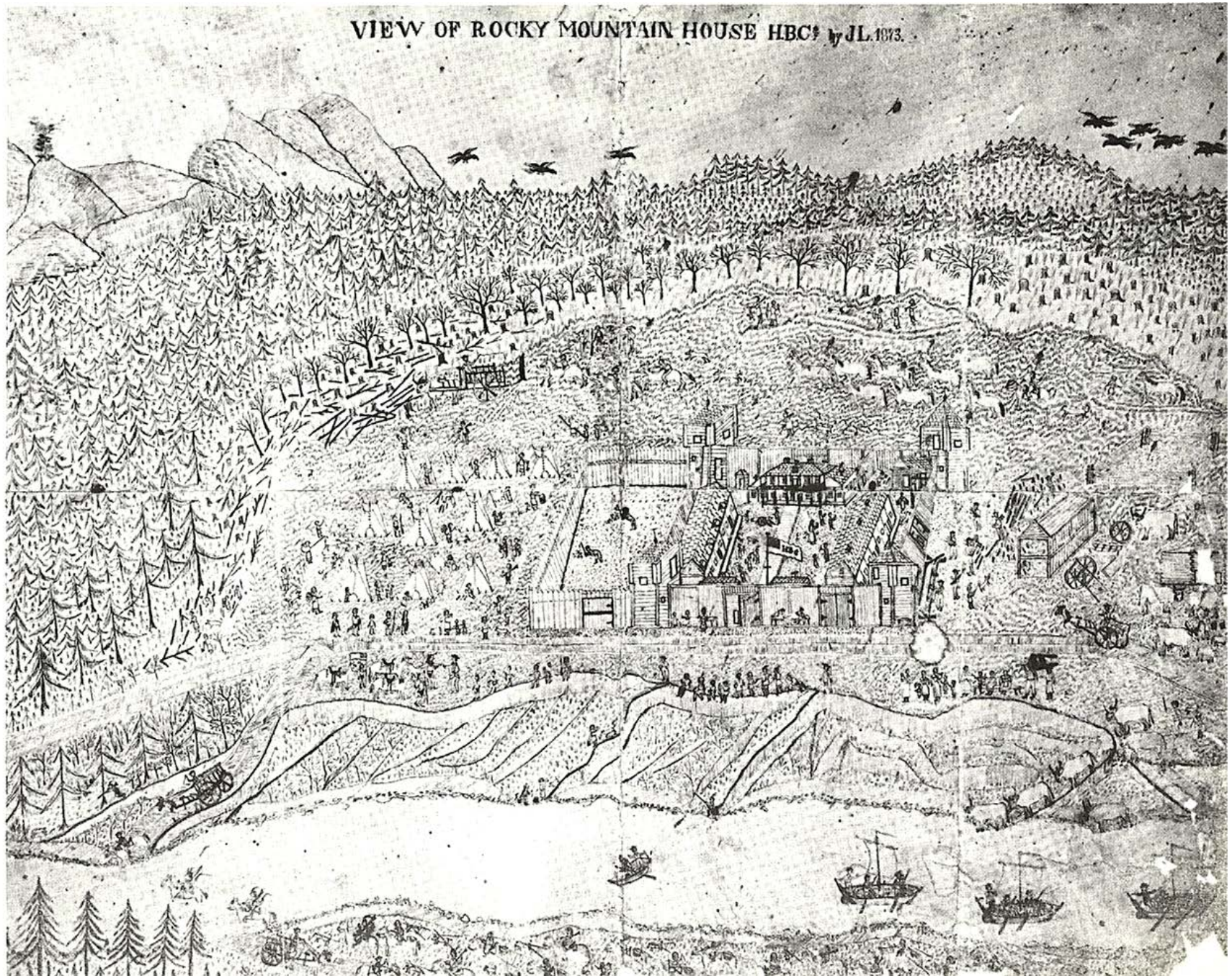
The fort, itself, has four corner bastions of two or three floors and a high palisade with a number of gates. Note massive construction of gate doors. A walled-in garden is attached, on the left. The two-storied building with veranda is the Chief factor's residence. The long building along the west side of the courtyard must be the warehouse (no chimneys), the one

on the east side probably is the Men's House, for staff and officers, heated. A York boat is under construction, leaning against the east wall. On the river, a flotilla of York boats is headed downstream, toward Fort Edmonton.

On the south shore, left, a group of Indigenous traders arrive with horse and dog travois. They are crossing the river at a fording place and are welcomed on the other side by the post manager. Many young people are sitting on the edge of the river bank and there are women with children.



VIEW OF ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE HBC: JULY 1873.



**Figure 89**

Ruins of Rocky Mountain House  
from the South side of the Saskatchewan  
River (detail)

Photograph by J.B. Tyrell, 1884  
Geological Survey of Canada  
Library and Archives Canada

The remaining two corner bastions and  
stone chimneys give an idea of the size of  
the installation in the mid-to late 19<sup>th</sup>  
century.



**Significance**

“The North West Company, ever in the vanguard of those opening up new country to the fur trade, determined to advance to the upper limits of practical navigation on the North Saskatchewan within sight of the great mountain barrier of the Rocky Mountains just to the west and there built a fort. Their objective was two-fold. First, they anticipated establishing a lucrative

trade with the Kootenays from the beaver-rich country on the west side of the mountains, who were prevented from trading with forts farther east because of the implacable enmity of the powerful Blackfeet. Second, this fort would serve as a convenient base from which the company explorers could probe the mountains in their search for a feasible pass leading to the Columbia River valley.”<sup>135</sup>

“The anticipated trade with the Kootenay Indians, who lived west of the mountains, did not develop, but the post ... drew in the trade of the Blackfoot, Peigan and Blood Indians, as well as that of the Stoney, Sarcee, Gros Ventre and Cree. The North West Company post was also used as a base for exploration and from it, in 1807, David Thompson crossed the Rockies to the Columbia River.” Parks Canada

# Fort Chipewyan (Alberta)

Est. 1778 (NWC), 1802 (HBC)

## Location

The fort sits in the centre of the Mackenzie River drainage system, which is formed by the Athabasca River from the South, the Peace from the West and the Slave to the North.



**Figure 90**

Map showing today's Fort Chipewyan at the western end of Lake Athabasca.

NRC/Toporama

**From the post History**

Cree and Chipewyan Indigenous peoples lived in the area before contact.

**1788** Roderick Mackenzie of the NWC builds a first Fort Chipewyan on the south shore of Lake Athabasca.

**c. 1803** The NWC abandons this site and erects a new fort, on the north-west shore of the lake. This post, in turn, is shifted to a rocky promontory, c. 2 km to the east and remains there into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Forts Chipewyan II and III).

**1815** John Clarke of the HBC builds a post immediately opposite Fort Chipewyan III, on Coal Island, now Potato Island. The installation is named Fort Wedderburn.<sup>136</sup>

**1817-20** Increasing tensions between NWC and HBC over Fort Wedderburn.

**1820** September: George Simpson, (after 1821 governor of the HBC's Northern Department), arrives at Fort Wedderburn<sup>137</sup> and spends the winter. John Franklin prepares his first arctic expedition at Fort Chipewyan.

**1821** Upon amalgamation only Fort Chipewyan is retained. From now on this site is the sole trading post in the region.

**1899** Treaty No 8 is signed there.

**1939** All HBC buildings are demolished except for the chief Factor's residence.

## Figure 91

Fort Chipewyan

Watercolour sketch by Lieutenant

George Back, 1820

Inscription, top: 'Fort Chipewyan' May 27<sup>th</sup>  
1820, G.B.

Library and Archives Canada

George Back took part in Franklin's first two expeditions, 1819-1822 and 1825-1827.

View is to the west.

Back sees the post as a well-fortified castle nestled in the hills overlooking Lake Athabasca. The elevation is exaggerated.

The tower is part of the 'Summer and Winter House', the long building below the flag is the 'Men's House'. Italianate features such as the campanile and round window seem out of place. Three bastions and the main gate are visible.

For contrast, Back places two Indigenous figures and their teepee in the foreground.

"[The fort] was about 160 yards square, contained about fifteen buildings within the palisaded enclosure, ranging in size from the largest, sixty by twenty feet, to the smallest, the sixteen-by-fourteen foot blacksmith shop.

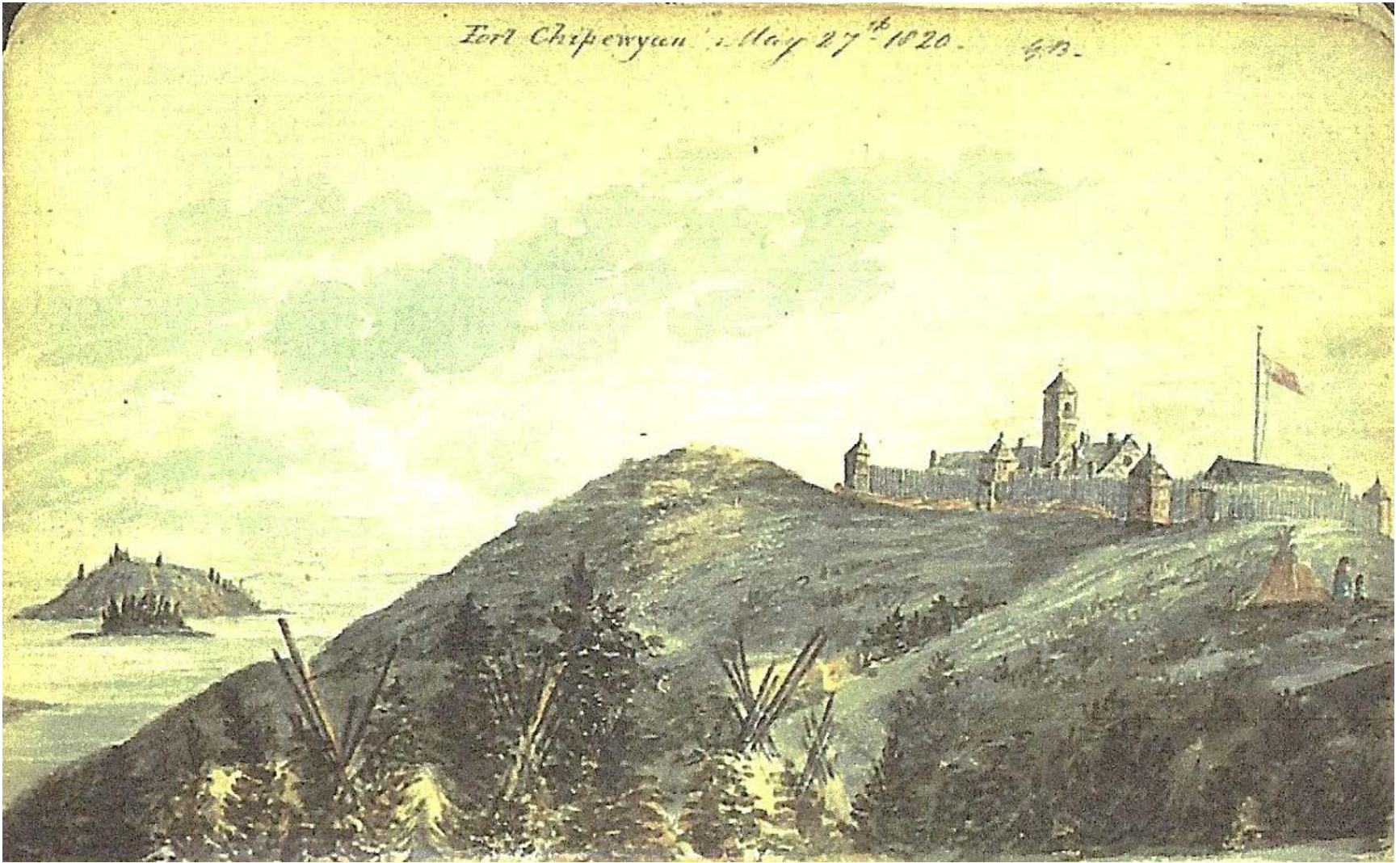
The summer and winter house held the stores and the officers' quarters, while the summer depot contained the Indian hall. ... Squared logs *poteau sur sol* used for the foundations were laid on the sandy rock base. ... Wooden pegs were used in place of nails. Clay, sand and grass were used as caulking between the logs, and shingles made of bark covered the roofs. These shingles had to be renewed every year. Parchment covered the windows in all the buildings except the factor's house, which had glass panes. Fireplaces provided both heat and light. These were made of clay and stone, which became as hard as cement."<sup>138</sup>

George Back in 1820:

*Fort Chippewyan stands on a rock on the north side of the Athabasca Lake and is the most regular and best constructed establishment we have seen in the country.*

*It is the depôt of the North and capable of containing some hundreds of persons - the Gentlemen from the different establishments from great Bear Lake to New Caledonia<sup>139</sup> resort here in the spring, previous to their departure with the peltries to Fort William. - It differs from the other posts by being more extensive and having what is termed an observation [tower] about the centre of the principal building - The Hudson's Bay Company's fort [Fort Wedderburn] is on an island about a mile distant and is not so commodious as the NW [Company's].<sup>140</sup>*

Fort Chipewyan May 27<sup>th</sup> 1820. G.D.



**Figure 92**

“A Plan or Rough Sketch of Fort Chipewyan Depot N.W. Indian Territories” (detail).

Plan by Chief Factor James Keith, 1823  
Hudson’s Bay Company Archives  
Archives of Manitoba

This view of the fort’s interior blends front elevation of buildings with ground plan, a technique often used in early renditions of three-dimensional structures (see also Prince of Wales Fort, Rocky Mountain House).

The compound is surrounded by pickets and five flankers, or ‘Block Houses’, two stories high; the main one being the entrance, No 1, the same as in Back’s view.

Three major buildings enclose an open yard. Building No. 4, on the west side, is

the warehouse, or ‘Stores’ and is the only one with two floors. Note fur packing press (No. 3) outside, in the yard. Note also the different shape of ‘Watch House and Observatory’ (No. 9) with a level top, compared with Back’s somewhat romanticized view.

References (North is up)

- 1 Front gate
- 2 Flag Staff
- 3 Packing Press [fur press]
- 4 Stores, with Ice cellar
- 5 Powder Magazine yard
- 6 Interpreter & Guides House
- 7 Ft. Chipewyan Winter & Summer House

- 8 Covered Passage
- 9 Watch House & Observatory
- 10 Depot Summer House
- 11 Depot Summer House Kitchen
- 12 Depot Summer House Fish Oven
- 13 Salter [?]
- 14 Winter Fish Oven

- 15 Ft. Chipewyan Kitchen
- 16 Mens [sic] Houses & Blacksmith Shop
- 17 Block Houses or Bastions
- 18 Summer Court & wood yard
- 19 Winter Court & wood yard
- 20 Side Gate

*Outside the Fort:*

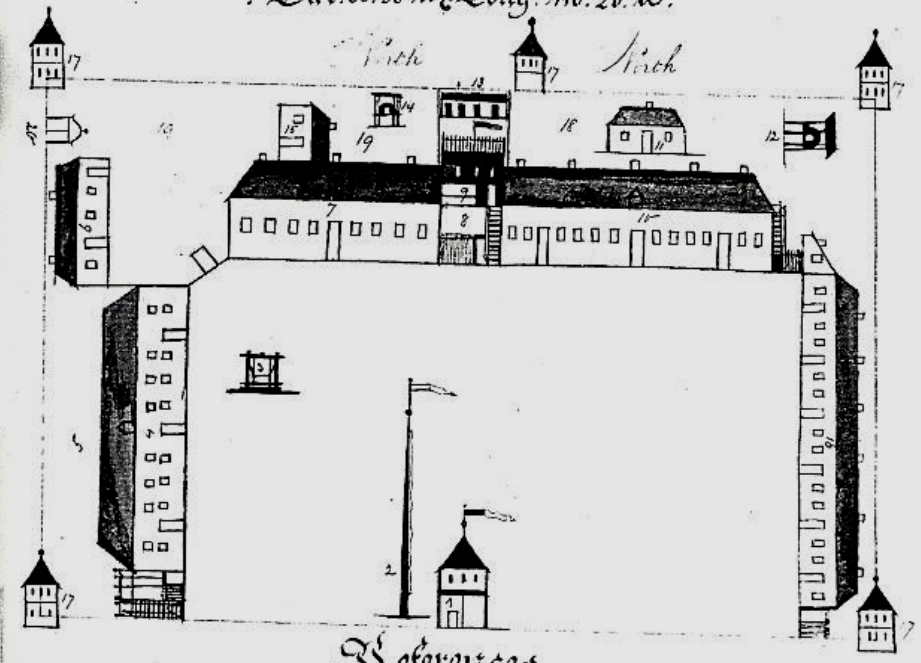
- Boat Store & yard*
- Canoe Store & yard*
- Stable*
- Dogs Kennel & yard*



# A Plan or Rough Sketch of Fort Chipewyan Depot

## N.W. Indian Territories.

Lat: 58.38 W Long: 110.20 W.



### References

- |               |                              |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Grand Gate  | 14 Windows East Wall         |
| 2 Flag Staff  | 15 P. Chipewyan Station      |
| 3 Baking Shop | 16 Mess Room & Washmill Shop |

**Figure 93**

H.B. Co. Ft. Chipewyan in summer [Alta.].  
Photograph by James William Tyrrell,  
1900 (detail)  
Library and Archives Canada

View is to the north.

In 1875 the HBC had rebuilt and expanded the post. A Dr. Maccun describes it: *All the buildings are of most substantial character, all shingled and whitewashed, and of imposing appearance. Two large stores with glass windows ... stand next the landing. Eight houses are occupied by*

*employees of the Company.*<sup>141</sup> There has been a significant change since the 1820s. Note that the buildings have been moved since Back painted his view. They now sit on a slightly sloping plain, set back from the shore. The large two storied building in back, with veranda, is the officers'

quarters. The small house with three windows and saddle roof, off to the right, is the new blacksmith's shop. Until 1898 a terraced square tower with prison and lookout on stood in its place. The "two large stores" facing the shore are the store, left, and depot, right.



**Significance**

Fort Chipewyan is the oldest continuously occupied settlement in Alberta.

“The Fort Chipewyan archaeological site contains evidence of one of the most influential late eighteenth/early nineteenth-century fur trade posts established in the Athabasca region, and the oldest continuously occupied Euro-Canadian settlement in Alberta. It is situated on nearly three hectares of land within the modern town of Fort Chipewyan.

Fort Chipewyan became an entrepôt for northern and western exploration and the expanding fur trade. As the most important

NWC fort in the north, it was the distribution hub for the entire Athabasca district. Its significant role in the fur trade declined after the introduction of steamboats on Lake Athabasca.

Fort Chipewyan administered and supplied several subsidiary posts. It also served as the stopping or overwintering location for numerous eighteenth and nineteenth-century northern exploration parties: Alexander Mackenzie; surveyors Philip Turnor and Peter Fidler; Geographer David Thompson; Arctic explorer John Franklin together with Dr. John Richardson, George Back and Robert Hood; fur traders Peter Warren Dease, Dr. John Rae and scientist

Captain John Henry Lefroy, who spent the winter of 1843 at the post and noted a population numbering sixty people.”<sup>142</sup>

“This [NWC] fort ... was the distribution hub of the highly efficient and superbly organized transport system involving outward delivery of furs and inward receipt of goods and supplies for the entire Athabasca district. ... The lustrous furs of the Athabasca were considered well worth the tremendous effort and cost required to acquire them, and the NWC would tolerate no intrusion on its monopoly of the area.”<sup>143</sup>

# Fort Dunvegan (Alberta)

Est. 1805 (NWC), 1821 (HBC)

## Location

The fort was located on the north bank of the Peace River, about 26 km south-west of Fairview, AB.



**Figure 94**

Orientation map shows a stretch of the Peace River, in north-western Alberta.  
NRC/Toporama

**From the Post History**

Beaver (Dane-zaa) First Nations inhabited the Peace River area before contact.

**1804** The NWC's surveyor David Thompson notes a spot on the north shore of the Peace River, west of the junction with the Smoky River, as a suitable place for a fort.

**1805-06** Construction of Fort Dunvegan I takes place under the NWC's Archibald Norman Macleod.

**1821** After amalgamation the fort becomes a major HBC Post in the Peace River District. It has substantial trade and functions as transshipment point for brigades to New Caledonia (Northern BC).

**1828** August: Gov. Simpson, with 19 men in two express canoes, stops at the fort on his way to the Columbia River.<sup>144</sup> The fort enjoys its most prosperous period into mid-century.

**1860s** The fur trade begins to decline.

**1877- 79** The fort's buildings are deteriorating and a new fort, Fort Dunvegan II, is built about a third of a mile downstream.

**1878 - 86** Dunvegan is headquarters of the HBC's Peace River District.

**Figure 95**

Fort Dunvegan (I)

Watercolour & ink by Rollin Price Meade,

c. 1866

14 cm, diameter

Inscription, b.: *R.P. Meade*

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

View is to the north.

This is a striking image with much detail within its diameter of only 14 cm. Most prominent are the snow-covered hills and their deeply incised valleys and slanted snowdrifts, to the left of the gully, and to its right, the two frozen waterfalls. This surreal-looking hillside hovers above the small settlement, separated from it by rows of trees.

The fort's buildings form the standard layout, with a central courtyard open to the river. Meade shows a major dwelling in the back, facing the entrance, the post manager's residence. There are two large rectangular structures along each side, subdivided. The front enclosure looks like a combination of squared logs and low pickets. Note absence of bastions.

The level area between fort and river is blown in with snow, the snow banks repeating the pattern on the hill. One York

boat is pulled up on the bank and several canoes can be seen further up. Off to the right can be seen the horse pasture and fields.

In the foreground, left, we see an adult person with a child, maybe feeding birds, and in the centre, a man leading a draft animal and sleigh. Two people are carrying water, drawn from a hole in the river ice, while some dogs wait to drink. Other figures can be seen approaching the fort from the river bank.



**Figure 96**

View of Fort Dunvegan I (detail)

Photograph by Charles Horetzky, 1872

Canadian Pacific Railway Survey

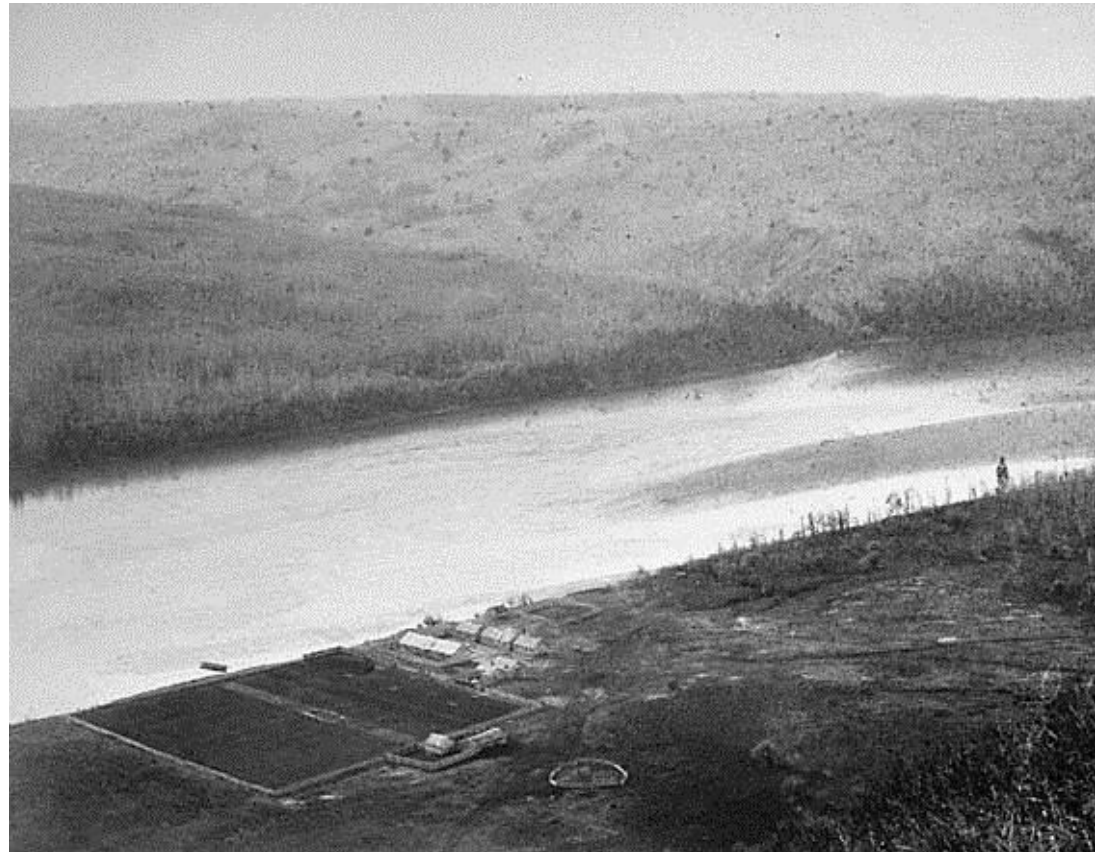
15.1 x 19.7 cm

Library and Archives Canada

View is toward the south-west, taken from top of hillside in Figs. 94 and 96.

Identification of buildings from Ground Plan of Fort Dunvegan, Peace River, 1875, HBCA G.1/283 (N4831):

- Row of three buildings, from river: Interpreter's House, Men's Houses.
- Facing two buildings, across the yard: Provision Store, Fur Store, Shop.
- Buildings to the north of this row: Officers' House, Kitchen, Dairy, Potato Cellar.
- Buildings north of Potato fields: Stables, Hay.







**Figure 97**

Chief Factor's House, restored,

Fort Dunvegan

Photographer unknown.

Courtesy Historic Dunvegan National and  
Provincial Park - Government of Alberta.

Parts of the 1877-1918 Fort have been restored, in particular the chief factor's house.

Note the now denuded hillside in back, showing instability.

“The Factor's House is one of the earliest buildings still extant in Alberta and forms a vital link to the history of the Hudson's Bay Company in shaping the early society and economy of the province.”<sup>145</sup>

“Rectangular in shape, surmounted with the typical Hudson's Bay Company's hipped roof, and built of hand-hewn timbers with dovetailed corners, the building is an enduring witness of its 117 years of existence. ... [It] has been restored and furnished to reflect its appearance during the years 1892-98. ... The front door opens into a wide central hallway that extends from front to back, dividing the building into two halves, with a parlor and a dining room to the left and two bedrooms to the right. This hallway was more than a reception center; it was also a work area and medical office.”<sup>146</sup>

### Significance

“Dunvegan became a significant post in the HBC's Peace River region, serving as a source for furs and provisions and as a trans-shipment centre for the brigades.

After some tumult in the area following the reorganization of the HBC under governor George Simpson, Fort Dunvegan emerged as a consistently profitable fur trade post. In addition to acquiring furs from local

First Nations, the traders at the post also capitalized on the fertility of Dunvegan's alluvial flats to grow grains and vegetables for local use and export to other posts.

Following Alexander Mackenzie's voyage to the Pacific Ocean, other traders travelled up the Peace River and, beginning with Boyer's Post near Fort Vermilion in 1788, over 20 trading establishments were

constructed over the years, including five different posts built at various times around the location of Fort St. John. Simon Fraser built a strategic post, Rocky Mountain Portage House, at the head of navigation in 1805 (now present day Hudson's Hope). The river remained a major freighting route well into the 20th century.”<sup>147</sup>



# Fort Simpson (Northwest Territories)

Est. 1804 (NWC), 1821 (HBC)

## Location

Fort Simpson is located on an island off the western shore of the Mackenzie River, just below the Liard River junction.



**Figure 98**

Junction of the Mackenzie and Liard rivers.

NRC/Toporama

**From the Post History**

Dene (South Slavey) First Nations inhabited the area before contact.

**1800** The NWC establishes a trading post on the eastern shore of the Mackenzie, opposite the mouth of the North Nahanni River.

**1804-1822** The old post is closed down and replaced by a new one called Fort of

the Forks, on an island off the left bank of the Mackenzie River, just below the mouth of the Liard. This fort operates as the NWC's principal fur trading post and its headquarters for the Mackenzie District.

**1821-22** After amalgamation, the HBC takes over operations and rebuilds the post. It is now named Fort Simpson, after the governor of Rupert's Land.

**1822-92** Fort Simpson serves as the HBC's headquarters of the Mackenzie River District.

**1886** The first steamer, *Wrigley*, built for the Mackenzie, arrives at the fort.

**1921** July 11<sup>th</sup>: Treaty No. 11 is signed here.

**Figure 99**

Fort Simpson, McKenzie River  
Back View from near Blacksmith's Shop  
Pen & ink drawing by  
Alexander Hunter Murray, 1852  
14.5 x 26.4 cm  
Inscription, ll. and bottom center:  
*1852 Blacksmiths Shop – Fort Simpson  
McKenzie River, Back View from near the  
Blacksmith's Shop. U.r.: [River]  
McKenzie; l.r: AHM*  
Hudson's Bay Company Archives,  
Archives of Manitoba

View is to the east.  
The McKenzie River is visible in the back,  
flowing right to left. Note steep river  
banks.

The hunting scene dominates the  
foreground. Murray shows a substantial,  
well-constructed establishment with  
several large buildings, enclosed by high

palisades and square flankers. By mid-  
century Fort Simpson was the  
administrative headquarters of a district  
with eleven sub-posts.<sup>148</sup>

“[The post's] staff, in addition to the  
regular complement of personnel required  
for trading, included a surgeon, postmaster,  
and chief accountant. ... This meant that it

was larger and its buildings more solidly  
built than usual. The buildings, constructed  
of massive hand-squared timbers, were laid  
out along three sides of a large courtyard,  
the open end facing the river. In the early  
days the entire complex was enclosed with  
a palisade.”<sup>149</sup>



1852.  
Blacksmith's Shop

John Simpson - Mechanics Point

Back view from near the Blacksmith's Shop



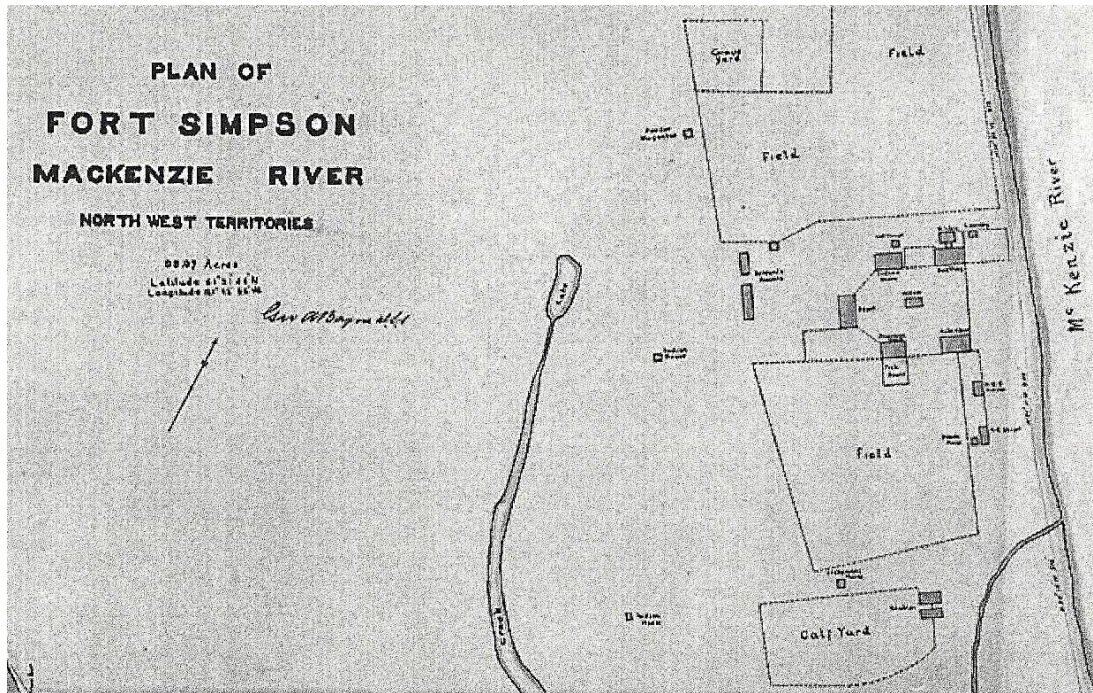
**Figure 100**

Detail of Fig. 101



The large rectangular building with saddle roof and three chimneys is the depot or warehouse containing trade goods. To the right is the provisions store, unheated, that stored dried meat and fish. It is the only structure with a hip roof. Down, on the left side, but inside the pickets, and with smoke coming from its chimney, is the Big House, home to senior officers and their families and a library. The building on the far left, outside the perimeter, could not be identified.





**Figure 101**

Plan of Fort Simpson Mackenzie River North West Territories” (detail).

Plan by George A. Bayne, D.L.S. [1898] Hudson’s Bay Company Archives

North is up.

“On the south side, closest to the river, was the store house whose upper storey in later years housed an excellent natural history museum amassed under the encouragement of Captain Bell of the steamer *Wrigley*. To the west of it stood the provisions house where bales of dried meat and fish were stored. Across the back of the square, to the west, was the warehouse [Depot] with the inventory of trading goods.

The rear building on the north side was the sales shop, where the barter of furs for trade goods took place. The building to the east of the sales shop was the Big House, home to senior officers and their families. It had two stories and a gallery across the front of the second floor. It contained a large dining hall, kitchen in the back, bedrooms, family room and library.”<sup>150</sup>

Between the Big House and the river we can make out the Laundry. In the centre of the open court yard stood the Office.

**Figure 102**

The Fort Simpson Library c. 1909 in  
*The New North* by  
Agnes Deans Cameron  
Photograph by Agnes Deans Cameron  
Project Gutenberg, online



Fort Simpson had a lending library of about 2,000 volumes. Each post in the district was entitled to borrow a supply of books for winter reading, to be returned the following spring. The books were mostly of a philosophical, classical or biographical

nature. The December 1924 issue of *The Beaver* carries an article entitled “The old Library of Fort Simpson”. It quotes excerpts from the book *The New North* by Agnes Deans Cameron, in which she gives a “delightful description of her visit to the old fort and her adventure among these old books.”

“An outer stairway leading to the second story of a big building invites us. Opening the door, we find ourselves in the midst of an old library, and moth and rust, too, here corrupt. We close the door softly behind us and try to realise what it meant to bring a library from England to Fort Simpson a

generation ago. First, there arose the desire in the mind of some man for something beyond dried meat and bales of fur. He had to persuade the authorities in England to send out the books. Leather-covered books cost something six or seven decades ago, and the London shareholders liked better to get money than to spend it.

We see the precious volumes finally coming across the Atlantic in wooden sailing-ships to Hudson Bay, follow them on the long portages, watch them shoot rapids and make journeys by winter dog-sled, to reach Simpson at last on the backs of men. ...”<sup>151</sup>

### **Fur Trade and Transport**

“In addition to being the administrative centre for the Mackenzie District, Fort Simpson was the seat of a flourishing trade in furs. The major furs handled were beaver and marten. In the year of the coalition (1821), only 111 bales of fur were brought out of the Mackenzie country. Ten years later its output had increased by one-third. For the three-year period of 1853 to 1855, a staggering total of 137,132 martens came from the various Mackenzie River posts.”<sup>152</sup>

### **Significance**

“Fort Simpson became one of the biggest supply depots of the Company. It was a haven for hundreds of explorers, traders and prospectors in the period of 19<sup>th</sup> century exploration, northward to the Arctic coast and westward into the dangerous vastness of the mountains. No northern fur trade post had a greater

“Immediately upon the spring break-up in the Mackenzie River, the brigade left Fort Simpson for the Mackenzie posts [downriver] to pick up the winter’s catch of furs and to deliver the supplies and trading goods for the forthcoming season. It first went down to Fort McPherson on the Peel River and then worked its way back up the Mackenzie, stopping en route at Forts Good Hope and Norman.

Once back at Fort Simpson, the brigade continued south to Fort Chipewyan on

library, and none could boast a more extensive natural history museum, than the Fort then had. The soil in the region is arable and has always given good crops of potatoes, oats and barley. Its pastures have fed cows and oxen. Although the settlement is on a latitude cutting across Greenland, it is said to benefit from the

Lake Athabasca. Here another brigade took over and carried the furs via the Athabasca River as far as Rendezvous Lake on the Methye Portage.

At this point the northern brigade met the provision-laden brigade from Norway House on Lake Winnipeg, the furs were exchanged for supplies and trading goods, and each brigade, loaded with their new cargo, quickly commenced their long return journey.”<sup>153</sup>

Chinook winds coming down the Liard [River].”<sup>154</sup>

Fort Simpson served as the headquarters of the Mackenzie River District from 1822 to 1892. The post has occupied the same site longer than any other settlement on the Mackenzie River.

# Fort Franklin (Northwest Territories)

Est. 1799/1800 (NWC), 1825-1827 (HBC)

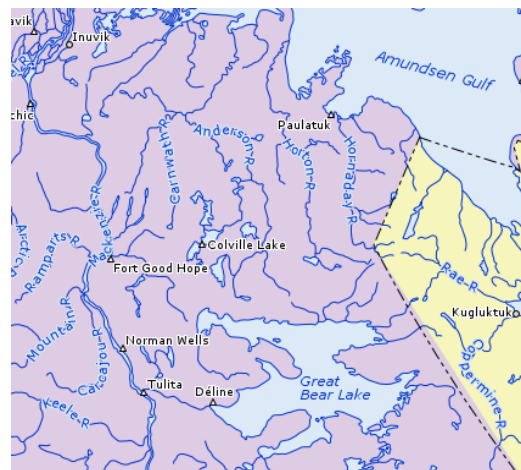
## Location

Fort Franklin was constructed on the site of a traditional seasonal Déline fishery at the headwaters of the Great Bear River, which drains Great Bear Lake and joins the Mackenzie at Tulita.

## Figure 103

Map of Great Bear Lake, showing Déline, and the Mackenzie River.

NRC/Toporama



### **From the Post History**

Dene peoples comprising a variety of First Nations such as the Denesoline (Chipewyan), Tlicho (Dogrib) and Dinjii Zhuh (Gwich'in) populated the area before contact.

**1799 or 1800** The NWC establishes a trading post in the area.<sup>155</sup>

**1820** For his second expedition Captain John Franklin requests the services of [NWC] Factor Peter Warren Dease in obtaining provisions, managing Indigenous and voyageur support, and constructing a base on Great Slave Lake.

**1825** July: Dease, by now HBC, arrives with 15 voyageurs, an interpreter and four Chipewyan hunters, to begin construction of a base for Franklin's party.

August: George Back arrives with an advance party.

**1825-27** Second Franklin expedition. The fort becomes the staging area and winter quarters of Franklin's party.

**1987** The original fort site is excavated by the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre.

"The below ground remnants of Franklin's winter quarters consist of the Great Hall, men's house, interpreters house,

blacksmith's shop, palisade and observatory. The outlines of all the structures are visible on the surface. Excavation on the Great Hall has provided material for the eventual interpretation of the site."<sup>156</sup>

"The central building had squared log walls. Corners were post-in-ground. The wall timbers were connected at the corners using a modified mortise and tenon joint. Vertical corner posts were notched to receive the tenoned ends of the horizontal wall logs."<sup>157</sup>

**1996** Déline Fishery/Franklin's Fort is designated a National Historic Site of Canada.

**Figure 104**

Winter View of Fort Franklin from the Little Lake.

Watercolour over pencil by George Back, December, 1825 - March 26, 1826

From Sketch Book: *Views from Upper Canada along the McKenzies [sic] River Great Bear Lake, 1825 – 1826.*

13 x 21 cm

Library and Archives Canada

On October 20, 1825 the first major winter storm of the season struck the fort and Franklin notes in his journal:

*[We] were visited by the first decided snow storm which continued without intermission 36 hours. Though this change put a period to the amusements of skating and the evening games on the ice we could not but rejoice, as there was now sufficient snow on the ground for putting in practice the winter modes of travelling.*<sup>158</sup>

Back shows the Main House, a smaller structure to the left, part of the barricade and a small outbuilding, likely the blacksmith's shop.

The first gusts of an approaching blizzard grab at the coats of the two hunters. They and their dogs are straining to get indoors before the storm hits. Bizarrely shaped snow and ice drifts along the lake shore and threatening black clouds form a dramatic contrast to the seemingly

defenceless dwelling. Smoke from the chimneys signals shelter and warmth. A few last sunrays hit the building - and the flag.

Back portrays a fragile human presence in an unforgiving land and a sense of great isolation.



# Fort Anderson (Northwest Territories)

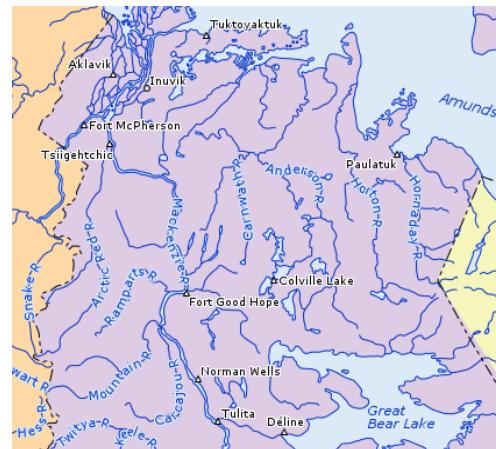
Est. 1861 (HBC)

## Location

At latitude  $68^{\circ}45'N$  Fort Anderson was the northernmost HBC establishment. It was located on the east bank of the Anderson River, 50 km (31 miles) north of its junction with the Carnwath River.

**Figure 105**

Orientation map shows the Anderson River (centre) in relation to Great Bear Lake, the NRC/Toporama





### **From the Post History**

Inuvialuit peoples lived in the area for about a thousand years before contact.

**1857** Chief Factor James Anderson of Fort Simpson is in charge of the Mackenzie River Distri

ct. He dispatches Roderick MacFarlane from Fort Good Hope to explore the valley of the Beghulatessa or Inconnue River. It is the eastern tributary of the Anderson River, to the east of Colville Lake. MacFarlane meets a large group of Inuvialuit who are clearly hostile and has to flee.<sup>159</sup>

**1859** Inuvialuit travel from the mouth of the Mackenzie River to Fort Simpson to request that a trading post be built in their territory. The HBC agrees, but decides instead to build the post further to the east.

**1858-59** MacFarlane returns to trade with the Inuvialuit and experiences no further difficulties.

**1860** MacFarlane is given orders to establish a trading post on the river that had now been re-named after Chief Factor James Anderson.

**1861** May: MacFarlane chooses a location on the right (east) bank of the river.<sup>160</sup> Construction is completed before the onset of winter. Trade begins and continues to be profitable.

MacFarlane begins to collect specimens of animals and plants for the Smithsonian Museum, Washington DC and the Geological Survey of Canada.<sup>161</sup>

**1865** Fall: An outbreak of measles and scarlet fever at the fort results in the death of approximately 150 of the local people. The HBC orders MacFarlane to close the fort. It is abandoned one year later.

## Figure 106

Fort Anderson

Pencil sketch by Père Petitot, 1865.

Engravers Honnery and Fernique [?]

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Archives of Manitoba

North is to the left.

This is the only known image of the establishment. Petitot, who arrived at the fort in March of 1865, shows a large and massive fortification. Fort Anderson was built with defense in mind.

“Traceable on the ground 25 feet from the present river bank is the outline of the picket palisades which form a rectangle 125 across the front and about 115 feet deep [c. 38 x 35 m] that marked the perimeter of the fort. .... Within the compound were five buildings including a store and carpenter's shop in one, a double-walled house with two chimneys for the man-in-charge, another house for officers or clerks, a barracks for the remaining men, and at least one house for a married man... The buildings were constructed of logs built around 6 x 6-inch squared timber

frames with the wall surfaces mudded inside and out.”<sup>162</sup>

There were four square corner bastions, three stories high. The main gate, facing the river, was built like a bastion and topped with a gallery, which extended along the walls. - There is no indication on the height of the palisades. Judging from this view, they were at least 20 feet high.

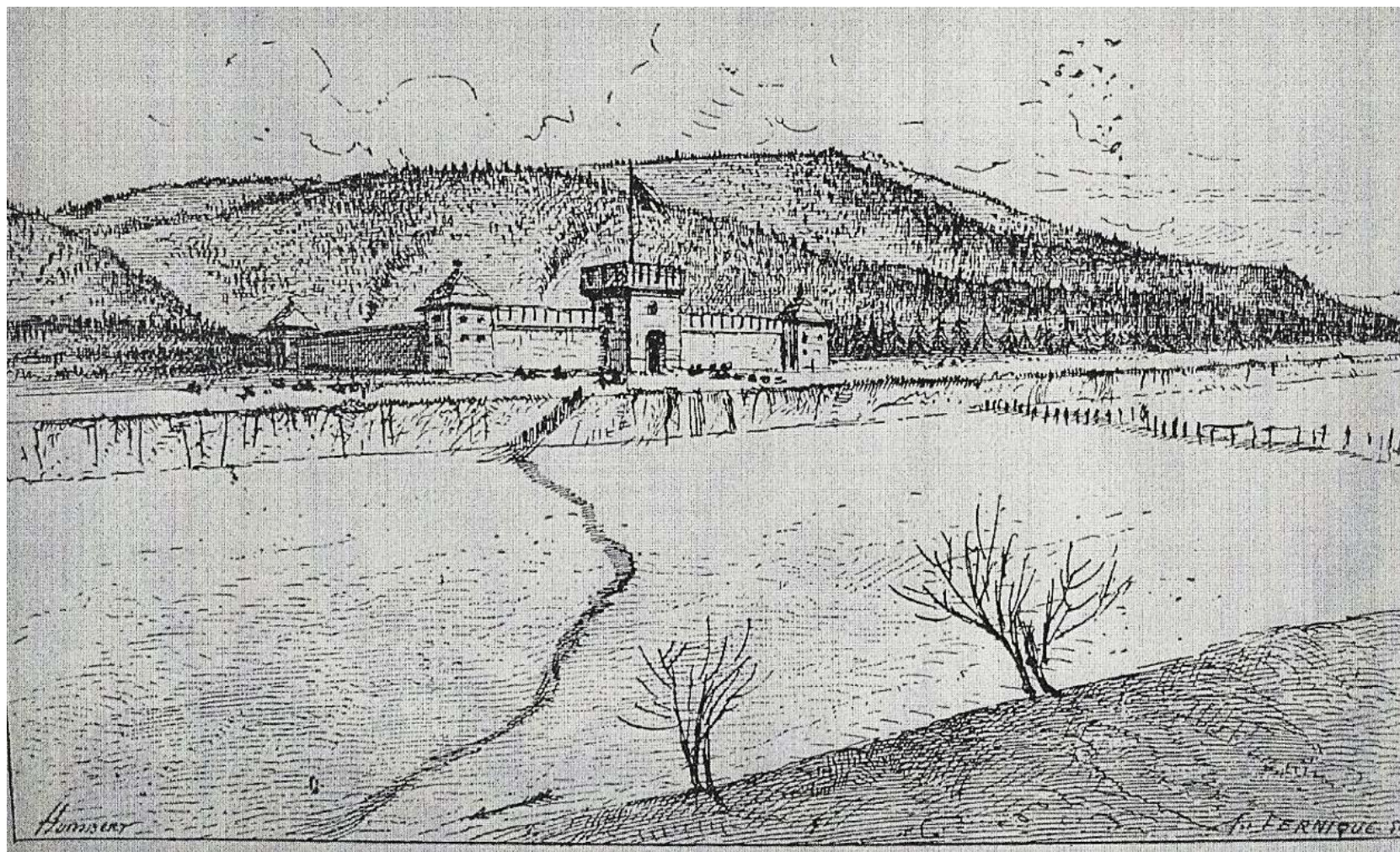
A fairly large number of people, dogs and sleds can be seen outside the walls. There was considerable hunting and trapping activity during the winter.

Also, all trade goods - primarily tobacco, beads and iron tools - as well as supplies needed to operate the post were brought in from Fort Good Hope in winter by dog

team. Furs, mostly arctic fox, were shipped out the same way.

Part of the caption in *The Beaver*, Winter 1963 p. 27: “Track made by dog teams crosses the frozen river and row of poles on right were for setting fish-nets.”

E.O. Hohn places the fort on the left bank of the Anderson River.<sup>163</sup> That the post was established on the eastern, i.e. right bank is confirmed by an interview with elder Billy Jacobson<sup>164</sup>, and by the arrow in the foreground indicating the direction of flow, which is northward.



### **Trade at Fort Anderson**

“The opening of the fort was primarily to engage the Eskimos in trade [mostly Arctic fox], and at the time there were probably 500 living about the mouth of the Anderson River. Some of the Indians who normally traded at Fort Good Hope would also be drawn to the new post, but there were not many; perhaps 100 Indians frequented the upper Anderson River hunting grounds. ...

Unfortunately, the location was not central to the distribution of coastal natives; no one lived on the coast between Cape Bathurst and Coppermine River ...The Mackenzie River Eskimos continued to trade in the Delta, so that Fort Anderson was unable to attract increased commerce from the east or west and this disadvantage became a strong factor in the decision to abandon the post. ... In the few years of its existence the entire outfit of Fort

Anderson, both goods and furs, was transported by an overland winter route from Fort Good Hope. The winter journey with dogs could be made in eight hard days, but on the whole was much less difficult than a canoe trip involving many portages. ... The Mackenzie River posts had to allow three years to have requests filled. ... Fort Anderson required another year.”<sup>165</sup>

**Significance**

Fort Anderson was the HBC's only fur trade post in the western Arctic and had an unusually massive defensive layout.

The Fort is linked to Roderick MacFarlane's large ethnographic and zoological collection, which is housed at the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington,

DC. In his five years at Fort Anderson MacFarlane collected and sent over 5,000 specimens to the Smithsonian. MacFarlane met Robert Kennicott of the Smithsonian while Kennicott traveled to northern Canada and today's Alaska. Their correspondence is preserved.<sup>166</sup>

Outstanding among the many items of the MacFarland collection are the ornithological collection and fifteen hand-sized wooden plaques with painted scenes of traditional Inuvialuit life.<sup>167</sup>

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HBCA Keystone Archives Descriptive Database

HBCA Biographical Sheets

HBCA Search Files

HBCA History Sheets (not accessible online but courteously made available to the author, electronically).

HBC Heritage sites: business, people, places, acquisitions, transportation and technology

HBC Information Sheets: Glossary of Terms

Canada's History Archive, featuring back issues of *The Beaver* from 1920-2013

Dictionary of Canadian Biography

Environment Canada

Manitoba Historical Society

Minnesota Historical Society

Natural Resources Canada, Online Atlas of Canada/Toporama - Contains information licensed under the Open Government Licence - Canada

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Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

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# Appendix

## Artists & Photographers

Unless otherwise noted, all entries are drawn from Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Dictionary of Canadian Artists and The Canadian Encyclopedia.

**Armstrong, William** (1822-1914). Civil engineer, artist and photographer. He immigrated to Toronto from Ireland in 1851, and worked as a railway engineer. This gave him opportunities to indulge his hobby of painting in not yet settled parts of the country [Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon]. He painted native life in the style of Paul Kane and his sketches of troops in the Red River Rebellion (1870) appeared in the *Canadian Illustrated News*. He was a competent watercolourist and in works such as *The Arrival of the Prince of Wales at Toronto* (1860) he has left a valuable record. Armstrong was much admired in his day and, as drawing master at the Toronto Normal School for 26 years, had a

lasting influence. He was associate member of the Royal Canadian Academy at its founding. Armstrong was also one of the earliest collodion wet-plate practitioners, but few of his photographs have survived.

**Back, Lt. George** (1796-1878) was a naval officer, Arctic explorer and artist. Back joined the Royal Navy in 1808 and served in HMS 'Arethusa'. In 1809 he was captured during a naval incident and spent five years as a French prisoner-of-war. During this time he educated himself in drawing and French. Back accompanied Sir John Franklin on arctic expeditions in 1818 and 1819-1822. Franklin made free use of Back's watercolours and drawings to illustrate his published narratives of both land expeditions. As the products of one of the first competent artists to penetrate into the Canadian Arctic, these illustrations are now considered an invaluable record of early northern history.

**Colen, Joseph** (1751-1818) was engaged as a writer by the Hudson's Bay Company for five years in 1785. A year later he was appointed resident chief at York [Factory]. On taking up his new appointment Colen was directed by the HBC's London committee to forward "the building of a new Factory."

**Cotter, James Laurence** (1839-1888) was born in India. He came to Canada in 1857 and entered the service of the HBC. Cotter

worked his way from Clerk to Chief Factor at Moose Factory and Rupert's House. Cotter was also an excellent amateur photographer, known as the "first photographer of the North". [The December 1933 issue of *The Beaver* contains an article written by his son, H.M.S. Cotter, entitled "Chief Factor and Photographer" (pp. 23-26/66). In it Cotter Jr. describes the so-called wet-plate process of early photography at Moose Factory].

**Finlay, George E., Lieutenant** (active 1837-1848) was a topographical artist and officer in the 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, which was stationed in the Red River Settlement between 1846 and 1848. On the journey from York Factory to Red River, and while in the Settlement, Finlay made a series of sketches which constitute an informative historical record.

**Finlayson, Isobel** (1811-1890), diarist and artist, was Sir George Simpson's sister-in-law (sister of Frances Simpson). She married Duncan Finlayson who became the governor of Assiniboia in the spring of 1839. She joined her husband a year later. Her travel experience in an open York boat from York Factory to Upper Fort Garry is recounted in her "York Boat Journal".

**Fleming, John Arnot** (1836-1876) was a topographic artist. He came to Canada in 1847 and in 1861 qualified as a provincial land surveyor and draughtsman. In 1857 he



accompanied Henry Youle Hind as his assistant on the expedition sent out to explore the routes to Red River. He was again Hind's assistant the following year on the expedition to the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan rivers to explore the agricultural and settlement possibilities of the prairies. In the course of this expedition Fleming led a small party down the Saskatchewan River from Fort-à-la-Corne to the Red River Settlement by way of the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan and of Lake Winnipeg.

**Hall, Sidney Prior** (1842-1922) was a journalist, painter and illustrator and one of the leading reportage artists of the later Victorian period. Hall was a member of the press party which accompanied the Governor General of Canada, Sir John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, the Marquis of Lorne (1878 -1883), on a tour of the North West Territories in 1881 to promote the agricultural potential of western Canada.

**Hearne, Samuel** (1745-1792) was an explorer, fur-trader, author, and naturalist. Hearne joined the HBC in 1766 after some elementary education and ten years in the Royal Navy. Nothing is known about any artistic training. Maybe he received basic instruction in the military, along with surveying and topography. Between 1769 and 1772 Hearne explored the North West, in particular the Coppermine River, during three travels. He recounted his experiences

in *A journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean : undertaken by order of the Hudson's Bay Company for the discovery of copper mines, a North West Passage, &c., in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, & 1772*. After the extraordinary hardships suffered during these years Hearne was chosen in 1773 to set out from York Factory to found the Company's first western inland post [Cumberland House].

**Horetzky, Charles** (1838-1900) HBC clerk, photographer, surveyor, author, engineer, and office holder. Horetzky is known principally for his photography, an aspect of his work that he always considered secondary to his engineering achievements. A skilled artist with the camera, he produced an outstanding collection of photographs of the Canadian North-West Territories and British Columbia in the late 19th century. A self-taught amateur photographer and former employee of the HBC at Moose Factory, Horetzky accompanied Sandford Fleming's 1871 survey party to western Canada. The Fleming party surveyed the Canadian Rockies for a possible route for the proposed transcontinental railway.

**Isham, James** (1716-1761) HBC factor and naturalist. Isham was hired by the HBC as "writer" in 1732 and later commanded the factories of York and Churchill before his death at York in 1761.

He was also an amateur naturalist, sending home specimens of several North American birds that had never before been described by British ornithologists. His "Observations on Hudson's Bay," written in 1743 to fill the long winter nights at Churchill, also included his descriptions of HBC forts, thoughts on the fur trade (including plans for combatting French traders inland), and vocabularies of several Aboriginal languages.

**Jefferys, Charles William** Jefferys (1869-1951), painter, illustrator, muralist, writer, teacher. Determined to explore both "the true nature of our landscape" and the historical (and prehistorical) background that shaped Canadian society, Charles William Jefferys was a strong advocate of artistic nationalism. ... He was appointed chief illustrator of the *Toronto Star* (1905) and art director of *Toronto Star Weekly* (1910), before launching a freelance career. He also taught at the School of Architecture, University of Toronto, 1911–39. Jefferys is ... best known for his "visual reconstructions" of Canadian history.

**Kane, Paul** (1810-1871) emigrated from Ireland to Canada around 1819. Between 1836 and 1841 he lived and worked as portrait painter in Detroit and the southern US. During a journey in the early 1840s to Rome, Naples, Florence and Venice he copied the old masters, then moved to Paris

and London where he met American artist George Catlin. Inspired by Catlin he returned to Toronto in 1845 to paint North American Native peoples and the countryside. That summer he met Sir George Simpson who was impressed with Kane's work and gave him free transportation with the HBC fur trade brigades and allowed him to live at HBC forts. Between 1846 and 1847 Kane visited Fort William, Fort Garry, Norway House, Fort Edmonton, the Columbia River (Fort Vancouver) and Fort Victoria. On his return trip to Toronto in 1848, he visited Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House. Kane produced series of pencil, watercolour and oil sketches and kept a journal of his travels (see Sources). Many of Kane's sketches are particularly important for the study of 19th-century Canada. His portrayal of the Métis buffalo hunt is detailed and of tremendous interest.

**L'Heureux, Jean** (1837-1919) was an interpreter and self-declared lay clergyman, who lived among the Blackfoot, Blood and Peigan First Nations. In 1873 he drew a map and made a census of Blackfoot territory for the HBC trader at Rocky Mountain House (AB). In 1878 L'Heureux compiled an English-Blackfoot dictionary for a trader at Fort Calgary, and in 1884 he wrote "Ethnological notes on the astronomical customs and religious ideas of the Chokitapia or Blackfeet Indians, Canada."

**Meade, Rollin Price** (1837-1879), born Roland Price Mead (without "e"), was an artist, adventurer, newspaper editor and house painter. He lived mostly in Manitoba. In the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, he also spent some time in Cumberland House and The Pas, Manitoba. Mead painted the first canvas curtain at the historic Walker Theatre in Winnipeg. It was a background scene portraying the Rocky Mountains and the buffalo. In 1869, at the time of Louis Riel's Rebellion in Manitoba, he was an artist and the editor of the *Nor' Wester* Newspaper. Mead died of lead poisoning contracted through the contact with oil-based paints. (Meade family web site)

**Murray, Alexander Hunter** (1818-1874) was an HBC fur trader and topographic artist. After emigrating from Scotland he worked for the American Fur Company in the southern US. In 1845 Murray entered the service of the HBC and was sent to the Yukon and McKenzie River areas. He established Fort Yukon in 1847, was promoted to Chief Trader at Fort Ellice (MB) in 1857 and subsequently served at Fort Ellice, Fort Pelly (SK) and Lower Fort Garry (MB). Murray drew numerous sketches of fur trade posts and of indigenous people and wrote the *Journal of the Yukon, 1847-48*.

**Napier, William Henry Edward** (1830-1894) was a civil engineer and artist. He

was born in Quebec, was at Fort William in 1857 and accompanied Henry Youle Hind on the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition in 1858, as an engineer. He visited Fort Garry and Norway House in 1857 and 1858. In later life Napier sketched throughout Quebec (1863-1878). Three of his Quebec scenes are at the McCord Museum, Montreal. His topographic views of Norway House, Fort William and Fort Garry are his best known.

**Petitot, Père Émile** (1838-1917) was a painter and illustrator. He came to Canada as member of the Oblate Order in 1861 or 1862 and was one of the first missionaries to work north of the Arctic Circle, among Native peoples of the McKenzie River. He published several books on geography, anthropology and linguistics of the area. He painted original landscapes in primitive style and completed pen and ink illustrations for his books. He painted the interior of his chapel at Fort Good Hope.

**Richards, William** (c. 1785-1811) was the first artist of the Hudson's Bay region who is known to have been native born ... the son and grandson of Hudson's Bay Company employees and women of native or mixed blood. Born shortly before 1786, Richards was educated at Albany Factory with the sons of the Chief and the carpenter, apprenticed to the cooper, and in 1803 became the third generation of his family to enter the service of the Company. His talent was apparently recognized and

encouraged. There is no indication of any art education or what triggered his interest in putting paint to paper but we do know that he did order art supplies from London in 1805. He spent his whole life in the James Bay region (Albany 1800-1803; Moose 1803-1804 and 1805-1811; Eastmain 1807-1808). With hands of a labourer he painted the company post that formed his little world. After he had died in his mid-twenties of tuberculosis, the Company's records described him as 'a useful Servant and remarkable for his genius in drawing.'

**Rindisbacher, Peter** (1806-1834) was a Swiss painter who, in 1821, emigrated with his family to the Red River Colony via Hudson's Bay. He had sketched continuously from a very early age, and was encouraged and supervised by his parents who were farmers. In 1818 he briefly received instruction in landscape painting. After a first winter of terrible hardships in the Colony the fifteen year-old boy supplemented the family income with earnings as a clerk at the HBC store in Fort Garry and from the sale of his sketches and paintings. From 1823 James Hargrave, a company clerk at the post, received orders for him from traders and officials who were delighted with his colourful and accurate depiction of life in the northwest. We owe some of the best views of HBC installations to Rindisbacher's eye. From 1829 until his death in 1834 he lived in St. Louis.

**Robson, Joseph** (1733-1763) was a stonemason, surveyor and engineer. He was engaged by the HBC as a stonemason for three years to help build the massive stone Prince of Wales Fort (Churchill, Man.). He returned to the bay in 1744 for another three-year period as "Surveyor and Supervisor of the Buildings," first at York Factory (Man.), and then during his last year at Churchill again.

**Seton, George** (1819-1905) was a major in the British army and an artist, trained in creating panoramas for military purposes. He served in the Royal Canadian Rifles from 1853-58, the last two years stationed at Fort Garry, Manitoba (Rupert's Land), at the behest of the Hudson's Bay Company who had requested protection from supposed American and native threats. At the end of his posting he participated in two expeditions, one British and one Canadian, sent out to report on the Canadian Plains.

**Strong, H.A.** (no information is available on his initials) was in Winnipeg from 1880 to 1886 and perhaps earlier. He seems to have been well-educated with a cosmopolitan background (his father was consul general in Athens). In 1880 -1881 Strong made a detailed pen sketch of both sides of Winnipeg's Main Street from Rupert Street to the Assiniboine River. The sixty-foot picture, in two parts, showed all the buildings on both sides of the street. In the 1890's he lived in St. Paul, MN.

**Trask, William** (active mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.) artist and lithographer. No biographical information was available as of publication of this book. Search indicates that he was in Leeds, UK around 1840s working as a lithographer. There is no record of his life or work in Canada.

**Tyrrell, Joseph Burr** (1858-1957), geologist, explorer, historian. Tyrrell explored the vast areas of western and northern Canada, consolidating information gathered by earlier explorers and filling in blank spots on the maps, especially in the Northwest Territories, while working for 17 years for the Geological Survey of Canada (1881-98). He explored the Dubawnt and Thelon rivers to Chesterfield Inlet under considerable hardship, discovered the rich dinosaur beds of southern Alberta and important coal beds at Drumheller, Alta, and Fernie, BC, and added knowledge to the geography, botany, entomology, mammalogy and ornithology of many regions. He was also involved in several historical publications, most notably in editing the diaries of Samuel Hearne and David Thompson. He was president of the Champlain Society and received many honours, including the Royal Society of Canada's Flavelle Gold Medal.

**Warre, Captain (later Lieutenant) Henry James** (1819-1898) was a topographical artist. He joined the British army in 1837 and spent six months in

Paris, studying the paintings at the Louvre and learning French. In 1845 Warre was sent on a secret mission to the Oregon Territory. He took the HBC route from Fort Garry west, crossed the Rocky Mountains and arrived at Fort Vancouver on August 25, 1845. Warre's presumably

amateur drawings and paintings were undertaken as military reconnaissance in case the Anglo-American territorial dispute over the Oregon Territory degenerated into war. Warre made over eighty watercolour drawings, some of which portrayed subjects of military importance. He often

placed small figures of Aborigines in the foreground, so as not to convey the true purpose of his landscapes. Warre published two books on his travel experiences [see Sources].

# Notes

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## Introduction

<sup>1</sup> The year 1670, when a Royal Charter was granted to the ‘Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay’, signaled the beginning of the fur trade. Two hundred years later, the Hudson’s Bay Company began the move from trading in furs to selling farm lots to settlers and beginning its retail business. A rough count through HBCA post maps by province and territory shows over 700 installations. “Many posts were opened, closed, reopened, moved a short distance and renamed. “Depending on how you define the operation of a post, the number would fluctuate and be different at any given time. Then there were a number of small satellite posts, like Henley House, that operated seasonally and whose takings were rolled up into the statements of their parent post, in this case, Albany. To make it more confusing, posts that were founded by the NWC or others at some point were taken over and operated by the HBC. And the HBCA’s [HBC Archives] numbers are not complete in that they list only posts for which they hold records – which is not all the posts that were ever operated by the HBC.” Joan K. Murray, corporate historian, HBC, to the author, Dec.10, 2014.

<sup>2</sup>In 1964 geographer John Stager visited the site of Fort Anderson, NT, and reported: “... the charred end of one of the stockade pickets. These can be seen intermittently around the fort fence line. ... Outside the stockade lie the ruins of a meat cache. Squared timbers with groove fittings and bored holes... .” See Stager, 51-52

<sup>3</sup> Restorations or recreations of HBC posts: York Factory, MB; Prince of Wales Fort, MB; Fort William, ON; Carlton House, SK; Fort Edmonton, AB; Fort Dunvegan AB (Factor’s residence).

<sup>4</sup> Rupert’s Land: On 2 May 1670 Charles II of England granted to the Hudson’s Bay Company a large portion of North America, named Rupert’s Land, in honour of Prince Rupert, the king’s cousin and the company’s first Governor. This grant comprised the entire Hudson Bay drainage system, which in modern geographical terms included northern Québec and Ontario north of the Laurentian watershed, all of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, southern Alberta and a portion of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. The company was to have a monopoly and complete control of the territory. TCE.

<sup>5</sup> Donaldson, Bruce F. *York Factory: A Land-Use History*.

<sup>6</sup> Besides Finlayson two other wives of HBC officials wrote travel diaries: Letitia Hargrave and Frances Simpson. See Sources.

<sup>7</sup> Houston, ed. *To the Arctic by Canoe*, 167.

<sup>8</sup> The cover of George Back’s sketchbook (1821-1822) measures 11.1 x 18.3 cm.

<sup>9</sup> H.M.S. Cotter, “Chief Factor and Photographer,” *The Beaver*, December 1933, 23–26.

<sup>10</sup> See also the HBC glossaries at <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/glossaries.html#occupational-groups>

<sup>11</sup> Francis and Morantz, *Partners in Furs*, 3.

<sup>12</sup> The *Nonsuch* measured 53 feet (16 m) in length and 15 feet (5 m) in width. She was small enough to be pulled ashore during that first winter. On board were Captain Gillam, Groseilliers, two mates, a French surgeon, and a crew of seven or eight. A replica can be seen at the Manitoba Museum, Winnipeg.

<sup>13</sup> HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/people/explorers/radisson>

<sup>14</sup> The HBC's Winnipeg store in 1926: "Opening day, promptly at 9:00 a.m., George F. Galt, member of Hudson's Bay Company's Canadian Committee, inserted a golden key into the lock of the central Portage Avenue entrance and entered at the head of a crowd that marched down the aisle twelve abreast for nearly an hour before its pace somewhat abated. Two thousand staff members provided 50,000 customers with excellent customer service. ... While it may be difficult to think of a building from 1926 as modern, consider some of the features of the Winnipeg store. There were a dozen elevators - arranged in two banks of six each, facing each other in a concave arrangement. Their lobbies were decorated with immense murals depicting scenes of the Company's early history by artists Adam Sheriff Scott and Edward Tappan Adney. Eight of the original elevators were subsequently removed, as was one of the murals, but the second mural - "*The Pioneer*" at *Fort Garry, 1861* - remains to this day. ... The Winnipeg store had every conceivable amenity for its day: a beauty parlour, public telephones, a post office and a library. It would continue to live up to its grandiose beginnings. Later additions would include an auditorium with its own orchestra and, in 1930, the very first of a series of aerial navigation beacons installed in western Canada. At 200 feet in height the beacon could be seen up to 100 miles away. It was first lit March 3rd, 1930 - Beacon Day - the day of the inaugural airmail flight from Winnipeg to Calgary." HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/places/stores/edmonton>

<sup>15</sup> "The mural is usually known as The Nonsuch at Fort Charles. The companion piece, The Pioneer at The Forks in 1861, was removed from the Winnipeg store in January 2014 for conservation and eventual donation. The date on both pieces is 1927. The two works were painted on canvas which was then affixed to the walls. They were commissioned for the new state of the art store at Portage Avenue and Memorial Blvd. which opened on November 18, 1926, and were installed the following year. Removed in 1948 when escalators were installed to replace half of the store elevators, approximately one third of the mural is in storage at HBC headquarters in Toronto. The balance, unfortunately, has been lost." Joan K. Murray, HBC Heritage.

<sup>16</sup> The source for this image is given as: Toronto Library Board. The author's inquiry and correspondence with staff could not verify this. TPL to the author, Jan. 13, 2011: "Either the image was from the Picture Collection, 40 plus years ago, more likely from a monograph or book the author [Glyndwr William] consulted but did not explicitly credit." A similar rendition of an early shelter can be found in Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*. Title page and extracts reprinted in *The Beaver*, March 1946, 40-43.

<sup>17</sup> Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*. Title page and extracts reprinted in *The Beaver*, March 1946, 40-43. Note image and description of the "Quick-Hatch or Wolverine" [sic].

<sup>18</sup> Searching HBCA, LAC, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, the Archives Canada-France (Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Amérique septentrionale), yielded no results.

### **Moose Factory**

<sup>19</sup> Rupert's Land Departments: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/places>

The Southern Department comprised the area south of James Bay, the Great Lakes and Lower Canada (Quebec). Most of the profitable fur areas were in the Northern Department, which covered the region westward from Manitoba to the Pacific coast.

<sup>20</sup> Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*, vol. I, 214.

<sup>21</sup> Johnson: "James Bay Artist, William Richards," 4-10.

<sup>22</sup> The first of these heavy freight boats were built at York Factory in 1749.

<sup>23</sup> On the role of early photography in art and the blurred distinction between the two, see Janet Clark: *William Armstrong 1822-1914*, exhibition catalogue, Thunder Bay Art Gallery and the Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1996, p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> Wilson, "Moose Factory," 22-29.

<sup>25</sup> HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/places/forts/moose>

### **Albany Fort/Factory**

<sup>26</sup> Morton, 79-80

<sup>27</sup> De Troyes and his "army" - some thirty professional soldiers including Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur d'Iberville, seventy Canadian "irregulars" and a few native guides - left Montreal by canoe as soon as the spring break-up permitted and travelled over 1,280 km (800 miles). Eighty-two days later they appeared out of the bush and successfully assaulted Moose Factory and Rupert House before making their way to Albany. HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/places/forts/albany>

<sup>28</sup> Kenyon, "Old House at Albany," 51.

<sup>29</sup> Johnson, "James Bay Artist," 4-10.

<sup>30</sup> Letter to governor Nixon [at Albany] from the Governor and Committee, London, May 21, 1680. Reproduced in modern English in: *The Unchanged Standard*: "choice goods as can be bought for money," *The Beaver*, Spring 1968, 2.

<sup>31</sup> A prime beaver pelt was called a 'made beaver' after it had already been worn for at least one season and from which most of the long outer hair had worn off. The greasy beaver wool was easily shaved from the skin by felters, and turned into the finest felt for making hats. HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/business/fur>

<sup>32</sup> HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/business/fur/standardtrade>

<sup>33</sup> HBCA B.3/d-41/fo-005

### **York Factory**

<sup>34</sup> HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/places/forts/york>

<sup>35</sup> The Northern Department of the Hudson's Bay Company was the administrative body of five "Northern Factories." In 1810, the HBC divided its districts into two departments, the Northern and the Southern as a reaction to difficulties in the transport of trading supplies and business communication. Governors were appointed to head each department. The Northern Department's territorial jurisdiction encompassed what is now Northern and Northwestern Ontario, the Winnipeg River system, the Prairies, the Mackenzie River area, and the Rockies. This made the Northern Department the most prominent administrative section of Rupert's Land. York Factory acted as the principal factory and headquarters, as well as main supply depot for the districts of the Northern Department. The department was run by a council consisting of the governor, one or two deputy governors - commonly referred to as "seconds" - and not less than seven chief factors who acted as councillors. The seconds were chief factors who performed the duties of the governor in his absence. Meetings of the council of the Northern Department were held midsummer at York Factory, Norway House and Upper or Lower Fort Garry. These meetings dealt with all administrative details of the fur trade and aspects of servants' employment. A copy of the council minutes was sent to each district headquarters. HBC Archives.

<sup>36</sup> Franklin: *Narrative of a Journey*, 27.

Captain John Franklin (1786-1847): naval officer, arctic explorer, and author. During his first expedition to find a Northwest passage (1819-1822) he was accompanied by midshipmen George Back and Robert Hood, surgeon and naturalist John Richardson, and seaman John Hepburn. DCB

<sup>37</sup> Claude Charles le Roy Bacqueville de la Potherie (1678?-1738?): *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Divisée en quatre Tomes*. Paris, Nyon Fils, 1753. Vols. 1-3 have been scanned and are available online in the Internet Archive: <https://archive.org/search.php?query>

<sup>38</sup> Nicolas Jérémie, dit Lamontagne, ( 1669-1732) was an interpreter and clerk for the trading-posts of the [French] king's domain and on Hudson Bay. He experienced the military campaigns first-hand. Nicolas Jérémie's "Relation du Détroit et de la Baie d'Hudson" was first published in the *Recueil d'arrests et autres pikes pour l'établissement de la Compagnie d'Occident* (Amsterdam, 1720); the second edition of the "Relation" appeared in *Recueil de voyages au Nord* (Amsterdam, 1732), III. - Jérémie's work, written after his return for good from Hudson Bay, is concise but nonetheless accurate. Except for the historical portion, it is the work of an eye-witness. "I note down nothing," he wrote, "until I have seen and examined it myself: and in order not to advance anything on the word of others, I have visited nearly all the places which I speak of." It is essentially a narration and a report. The author first groups his material by subjects: early history, description of the country and its fauna, the conquest by the French of parts of Hudson Bay, a phase with which he had been intimately associated; then he comes back to the fauna. At this point his narration turns into a report on the future prospects of the Hudson Bay territory and the regions to the west. It is evident that this report was destined for someone close to the king's counsellors, perhaps even for the minister. DCB

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Morton, *A History*, 116.

<sup>40</sup> For over a century, the York boat was the main mode of transportation between the inland trading posts and HBC's York Factory, the major transshipment point at the mouth of the Hayes River on Hudson Bay. Named after its ultimate destination — York Factory — early versions of the vessel were operating at Fort Albany by 1746. In the years following 1821, the York boat grew to replace the canoe for freight. The reason for its introduction was its superior payload: the boats could carry more than three tons of goods — about three times the capacity payload of the largest *canot du nord*. <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/things/technology/the-york-boat>

<sup>41</sup> Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 209.

<sup>42</sup> Morton, *A History*, 149.

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/mb/yorkfactory/edu/visites-tours.aspx>

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.pc.gc.ca/en/lhn-nhs/mb/yorkfactory/decouvrir-discover/archaeo>

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> The sketch referred to appears in *The Beaver*, June 1934 issue, p. 32 with the caption: *York Factory, the Great Supply Depot of the Hudson's Bay Company on Hudson Bay. From a Drawing made by A.H. Murray.*

Another reference is in the HBCA finding aid: "According to Clifford Wilson in *The Beaver*, Winter 1957, p. 10, this is supposed to have been done from a sketch made by Chief Trader Alexander Hunter Murray." HBCA

<sup>47</sup> Browne-Losey, 25-26.



### **Churchill / Prince of Wales Fort**

<sup>48</sup> The map is based on a *Draught of Churchill River* in: Robson, Joseph. *An Account of Six Years' Residence, 1733-36/1744-47*, facing p. 8.

<sup>49</sup> Munk's ships, the *Enhiörningen* (Unicorn) and the *Lamprenen* (Lamprey) entered Hudson Bay after a tortuous journey through Hudson Strait. Not knowing that ice would close the strait as winter advanced, Munk sailed to the west coast of the bay and was forced to winter in the estuary of the Churchill River where his ships were frozen in. The winter was a disaster. Scurvy broke out among the crew and over the course of the winter all but three perished. National Maritime Museum: <http://www.rmg.co.uk/explore/sea-and-ships/in-depth/north-west-passage/exploration-adventure-and-tragedy/jens-munks-expedition-1619-20>.

The death of Munk's men may also be attributable to Trichinosis, which was endemic in polar bears. The men ate improperly cooked bear meat. See Young, "Was There an Unsuspected Killer ...?" 9-15.

<sup>50</sup> "[Knight] had never seen such a miserable place in all his life. ... After having spent a terrible winter of deprivation Knight describes the region in his report to London: 'York Fort is bad but this is ten times worse.' There, over the bones of the Danish dead, and looking down on Munk's brass cannon in the tidal mud-flat, Knight built Fort Churchill, or as it soon came to be called, Prince of Wales's Fort." Morton, *A History*, 137-138.

<sup>51</sup> Hearne's account of these expeditions can be found in his *A journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean : undertaken by order of the Hudson's Bay Company for the discovery of copper mines, a North West Passage, &c., in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, & 1772*. London: Printed for A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1795. Dublin: Printed for P. Byrne and J. Rice, 1796. Reprint, Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1971. There are two annotated editions: 1. Edited by Joseph Burr Tyrrell with introduction, notes, and illustrations, Toronto: Champlain Society Publications No. 6, 1911. 2. Edited by Richard G. Glover, Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1958.

<sup>52</sup> Morton, *A History*, 300: "The failure to defend such a strong position has been put down to the weak passive disposition of the explorer to the Coppermine. It is true that the fort was elaborately armed, but it was beyond the few inmates to man it. Moreover this was but another case of servants of the Company, hired to trade, being reluctant to risk life and limb playing the part of soldiers in the face of a trained enemy – all on traders' pay without any assurance or pensions. La Pérouse took Hearne home as a prisoner, but was so struck with his accomplishments that he returned the manuscript of his book [Journey to the Coppermine] to him on condition that he should publish it."

<sup>53</sup> Munk's journal of the expedition was published in 1624. Only Munk and two of his crew survived and returned to England on one of two ships. It is not known who produced the woodcut.

<sup>54</sup> *Navigatio septentrionalis* (lat.) means "northern search". The Danish text means roughly: "A relation or description about sailing and travelling on this Northwest Passage that is named Nova Dania (new Denmark) in the year 1619.

<sup>55</sup> Ruggles, Warkentin, *Historical Atlas of Manitoba*, 24-25.

<sup>56</sup> For complete title see Sources.

<sup>57</sup> Isham, *Observations on Hudsons Bay*, 176

<sup>58</sup> No. 35 in plan. Isham: "... a well 15 foot Deep being of great Service in Suplying the fort with water for cooking & washing but not fit to Drink being thick and bad tasted." [Brackish water?]. *Observations on Hudsons Bay*, 176

<sup>59</sup> Despite the harsh northern climate, gardens proliferated at Hudson's Bay Company posts, providing fresh food and helping to maintain the health of HBC employees and their families.... Wherever the Hudson's Bay Company established posts, European-style gardening was introduced not long after - no matter how inhospitable the climate. HBC gardens were more than just a way to promote the health of its overseas servants; there was a clear economic benefit to them as well. In the remote areas where the HBC operated, everything had to be imported. Foodstuffs were a major expense and occupied valuable cargo space. As early as 1674, seeds for vegetables and grains were included in the annual outfit shipped overseas, the intent being that posts could grow their own crops, thereby reducing the need for costly importations. However, initial results were not encouraging. Grain crops, particularly wheat, rye, barley, and oats, did poorly. The London Committee's belief that North American growing conditions would be the same as those of European locations sharing the same latitude proved to be more optimistic than scientific. <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/history/fur-trade/company-gardens>

<sup>60</sup> Parks Canada: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/mb/prince/index.aspx>

<sup>61</sup> Heather MacLeod Interpretive Coordinator Wapusk National Park. Parks Canada, Churchill MB

<sup>62</sup> Parks Canada. <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/mb/prince/natcul/natcul5/natcul5c.aspx>

<sup>63</sup> Newman, *Company of Advenurers*, 125.

<sup>64</sup> Parks Canada. <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/mb/prince/natcul/natcul5/natcul5c.aspx>

<sup>65</sup> Franklin: *Narrative of a Journey*, 33.

<sup>66</sup> Houston, ed. *To the Arctic by Canoe*, 28.

<sup>67</sup> Houston, ed. *Arctic Artist*, 11-12.

### **Rock Depot**

<sup>68</sup> Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company*, Vol II, 280.

### **Norway House**

<sup>69</sup> Houston, ed. *Arctic Artist*, 20.

<sup>70</sup> [The] Canadian Red River, Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition [of which Napier was part] ... was directed and funded by the Province of Canada and led by Henry Youle Hind, an English-born geologist and instructor at Trinity College in Toronto. The expedition departed from Toronto in 1857 with Hind and three other principals: George Gladman, a former fur trader; Simon Dawson, a surveyor; and W.H.E. Napier, an engineer. Their mission was to find a reliable route from Lake Superior to the Red River Settlement, and then to inspect the potential of the land west of Red River for its fitness for future settlement. In 1857 the party journeyed from Lake Superior to Fort Garry and mapped the area; in June 1858 it left Fort Garry and spent three months exploring what is today southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan.

<sup>71</sup> Ballantyne, Robert Michael (1825-1894) was a Scottish author chiefly famous for his adventure story *The Coral Island* (1858). This and all of Ballantyne's stories were written from personal experience. The heroes of his books are models of self-reliance and moral uprightness. *Snowflakes and Sunbeams; or, The Young Fur Traders* (1856) is a boys' adventure story based on Ballantyne's experiences with the Hudson's Bay Company. Annoyed by a geography-related mistake he had made in *The Coral Island*, he afterward traveled widely to research the backgrounds of his stories. Encyclopedia Britannica

<sup>72</sup> Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay*, 72-73 and 87-88. Ballantyne notes that his first journey from York to Norway House took eighteen days. This was in a York boat. On his second visit, also from York, he was passenger in a small canoe. He mentions that this journey took 12 days and "passed over upwards of thirty portages."

<sup>73</sup> HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/transportation/yorkboat>

<sup>74</sup> Nothing is known about Bouchette other than that he was a salaried teacher at Norway House, 1888-89.

<sup>75</sup> Agret is a collection of materials used by voyageurs en route to make repairs to the canoe and to furnish their camp.

<sup>76</sup> The first steamer to dock at Norway House was the *Colville*, in 1875. It carried Governor Momis and his entourage for the signing of Treaty No. 5 in September of that year.

<sup>77</sup> *Morton, A History*, 594

<sup>78</sup> "Little Journeys to Fur Trade Posts ... Norway House," *The Beaver*, April 1921, p.11.

### **Fort William**

<sup>79</sup> Zacharie Robutel de la Noue (1665-1733), [...] captain, seigneur of Châteauguay. [De la Noue] regularly took part in various expeditions of the time. In 1692 for example, with 3 Canadians and 25 Indians, he escorted in the Ottawa River region 43 Frenchmen who were making their way from Montreal towards Michilimackinac. The following year La Noue led a party of 625 men which set out from Montreal to attack three Mohawk villages. From 1717 on, Robutel de La Noue was in the governor's service, with the task of trying to discover the northern sea by an inland route through New France. He set out in July 1717, with three canoes and the order "to establish the first post on the Kanastigoya [Kaministiquia] River in the northern part of Lake Superior ..." He remained at Kaministiquia until 1721. DCB.

<sup>80</sup> Pierre Gaultier de Varennes et de la Vérendrye (1685-1749) - also called Boumois - officer, fur-trader, explorer.

<sup>81</sup> Grand Portage was a NWC fur trade depot at the mouth of the Pigeon River, c. 70 km south of the mouth of the Kaministiquia.

<sup>82</sup> Joe Winterburn, Fort William Provincial Park.

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/things/technology/the-canoe>

<sup>84</sup> Joe Winterburn, Fort William Provincial Park.

<sup>85</sup> The voyageurs paddling the canoes were for the most part French Canadians [and Iroquois (Mohawks)] hired from the farms and villages of the St. Lawrence valley. Paddlers on the Montreal- Fort William route were hired for the season and went home in the winter. By contrast, *les hommes du nord* or "northmen," worked in the Northwest and were hired on multi- year contracts. Many never returned home and remained in the Northwest as "freemen" (*gens libres*) after they had served out their contracts. TCE:NWC.

<sup>86</sup> Moberly, "Reminiscences" Chapter II

<sup>87</sup> *Morton, A History*, 163

<sup>88</sup> Browne-Losey, 319

### **Forts at the Forks**

<sup>89</sup> Bryce, George. Portion of City of Winnipeg Showing Present Plan and Old Forts [map]. 1:13,464. In: George Bryce, *The Five Forts of Winnipeg*, [Winnipeg]: Royal Society of Canada, 1885, plate II. Reprinted from: Proceedings and transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Transactions, Section II, 1885, part. VIII, p. 135-145.

<sup>90</sup> *Parks Canada*: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/mb/forks/index.aspx>

<sup>91</sup> Nicholas Garry was deputy-governor of the HBC and oversaw amalgamation.

<sup>92</sup> Browne-Losey, 389

<sup>93</sup> On the use of the term “officer” see p. 7.

<sup>94</sup> Browne-Losey, 586.

### **Lower Fort Garry**

<sup>95</sup> Parks Canada

<sup>96</sup> Parks Canada

<sup>97</sup> Browne Losey, 557

### **Upper Fort Garry**

<sup>98</sup> The Manitoba Act of 1870 provided for the admission of Manitoba as Canada's fifth province. It marked the legal resolution of the struggle for self-determination between people of the Red River Colony and the federal government that began with the purchase of Rupert's Land by Canada. The Act contained protections for the region's Métis. However, these protections were not fully realized, resulting in many Métis leaving the province for the North-West Territories. TCE

<sup>99</sup> <http://www.upperfortgarry.com/information/discovering-ufg/historic-structures/stone-walls-trellis/>

<sup>100</sup> In 1846, to counter possible American expansion, the British government stationed the Sixth Regiment of Foot at the fort. In May 1846, three companies totaling 300 men set sail from Cork, Ireland, and arrived six weeks later at York Factory. After another seven weeks, on September 17, the “Redcoats” arrived at Red River and were divided between the Lower and Upper forts.

<sup>101</sup> In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company sent out to York Factory on Hudson Bay the machinery required for the erection of a wind-powered gristmill. [...] The machinery remained [...] at York Factory and in August 1822 selected parts of it were forwarded to the colony. The selection was made by James Mitchell, a Scottish millwright who had arrived that year in the Company ship from England to supervise the erection of a gristmill at Red River. [...] It was located on the southern edge of Point Douglas about a mile north of Upper Fort Garry. MHS, Manitoba History, Number 2, 1981.

<sup>102</sup> The Hind expedition was formally named the Canadian Red River, Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition (see also Endnote 45). In 1857 the party journeyed from Lake Superior to Fort Garry and mapped the area; in June 1858 it left Fort Garry and spent three months exploring what is today southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. One of the expedition members, Humphrey Lloyd Hime, took the first photographs in Saskatchewan. Hind's preliminary report to the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada was published in 1859; his later narrative book with maps and artwork was published in 1860.

<sup>103</sup> A regiment of the Royal Canadian Rifles was sent from Montreal in July 1857 via York Factory. It was at Fort Garry by early October and remained in garrison until 1861. Major George Seton was the detachment's commander. DCB

<sup>104</sup> Berry, *Vistas of Promise*, 18.

<sup>106</sup> MHS website: Historic Sites of Manitoba, <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/sites/upperfortgarry.shtml>

<sup>106</sup> Loewen, *A History of the Structures ...* , 12.

### **Cumberland House**

<sup>107</sup> Richards, "Cumberland House", 10.

<sup>108</sup> Isham maintained that "settlement by the shores of the bay was impossible since food crops could not be grown there, that inland posts were needed even at uneconomic costs in transportation, and that no practicable northwest passage existed". DCB

<sup>109</sup> Isham's trade at York improved greatly as a result of such voyages, and he fostered a notable group of inland travelers (Joseph Smith, Joseph Waggoner, William Grover, Isaac Batt, and George Potts); he instilled his ideas into two later masters, Andrew Graham and Humphrey Marten, who always acknowledged their debt to him as the "beloved Friend" and "worthy" of their generation. Indeed, Isham's ideas were in advance of the governor and committee, for in 1756 he ordered Henday to choose a site for a post about 500 miles up-country. This was the thinking which went into the ultimate plan to establish Cumberland House. DCB

<sup>110</sup> The HBC's first inland post was Henley House (1743), a branch of Albany Fort, 200 km inland, on the Albany River.

<sup>111</sup> "This difficult task was thrust upon [Hearne] by the Governor and Committee in recognition of his remarkable feat in penetrating across the Barren Grounds to the Copper Mine and to the polar shore of the North American continent. Having learned to live off the land, Hearne took minimal provisions for the eight Europeans and two Home Guard Cree who accompanied him." Morton, *A History ...*, 290.

<sup>112</sup> "August 1774 Monday the 29<sup>th</sup>... after a long Consultation with the Indian Chiefs and others in Company, I determin'd to build the house, at least for the inseason winter, at a Part Call'd Pine Island Lake [today Cumberland Lake]- it is commodious both for Drawing the Indians to Trade as well as for Provisions than Basquiau [today's The Pas], it laying in the middle between three tribes.  
September 1774 Saturday the 3<sup>rd</sup>... sot out early in the Morning and Paddl'd about 10 Miles up the above little River [Tearing River] then came into Pine Island Lake [Cumberland Lake], we then went about 2 Miles to the Westward on the South side, when we came to a fine Bay, which seem'd very Comodious for building on, so we landed and I Pitch'd on the part I thought would be most convenient. Emp'd the Remaindor of the Day in Clearing a spot of Ground to Build a log Fort on for the Present. ... The Spot I Propose to build the Proper house on is fine and Level, and tho not very high has seldom or Ever ben known to overflow by any of Indians in the Company... It has a Commanding view of Pine Island Lake for several miles each way and is said to have some good fishing places near, also plenty of Grass, Spring and Fall." Tyrell (ed.), *Journals of Samuel Hearne*, 126-144.

<sup>113</sup> By the terms of the merger [of the HBC with the NWC] the administration of the Company was split into two regions, the Northern and Southern Departments, each with its own Governor. Most of the profitable fur areas were in the former area, which covered the region westward from Rainy Lake and Fort Albany to the Pacific coast. HBC Heritage website: <http://www.hbcheritage.ca/hbcheritage/history/people/builders>

<sup>114</sup> In 1857 John Arnot Fleming (1835-1876) accompanied Henry Youle Hind as his assistant on the expedition sent out to explore the routes to Red River. He was again Hind's assistant the following year on the expedition to the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan rivers to explore the agricultural and settlement possibilities of the prairies.

<sup>115</sup> The name D. Cadzow appears on the right margin of the original photograph, with the addendum: Photo Artist. No date.

<sup>116</sup> HBCA Search File, Cumberland House.

<sup>117</sup> TCE-Cumberland House.

<sup>118</sup> Houston (ed.). *Arctic Artist*, 35.

<sup>119</sup> Browne-Losey, 271.

### **Fort Edmonton**

<sup>120</sup> After Edmonton, Middlesex, the birthplace of Sir James Winter Lake, the Hudson's Bay Company's Deputy Governor at the time.

<sup>121</sup> Brown-Losey, 226.

<sup>122</sup> Brown-Losey, 225-26.

<sup>123</sup> Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist*, 82 ff.

<sup>124</sup> Morton, 462-63; 698-99

<sup>125</sup> Morton, 701

<sup>126</sup> Browne Losey, 228.

<sup>127</sup> Ray, *Give Us Good Measure*, 40-51.

### **Rocky Mountain House**

<sup>128</sup> Joseph Burr Tyrell of the Geological Survey of Canada, September of 1886. Quoted in Smyth, *Fur Trade Posts at Rocky Mountain House*, 64.

<sup>129</sup> In mid-September, a combined expedition of [NWC] men, led by John McDonald of Garth, and [HBC] men, led by James Bird, departed from Fort Augustus and Edmonton, by water and by land ... . Upon their arrival at the sites, the men of the two companies proceeded to erect their separate forts. (Smyth, 47, 52). - Fleming ("Rocky Mountain House", *The Beaver*, December 1949) gives either Duncan McGillivray (William McGillivray's younger brother) or Angus Shaw as founder of the NWC site.

<sup>130</sup> On the discussion of which post was retained see Smyth, 53 ff: “There is no historical evidence to indicate which of the two posts, if either, was retained following the merger.”

<sup>131</sup> Smyth, *Fur Trade Posts*, 61-63.

<sup>132</sup> The twin painting: “Cree or Assiniboin Lodges in Front of Rocky Mountain Fort (Alta)” Watercolour over pencil by Paul Kane, 1848, 13.8 x 23.4 cm (support) Inscription, recto: *Cree or Assiniboin Lodges in Front of Rocky Mountain Fort (Alta)* is at LAC, Acc. No. 1981-55-46

<sup>133</sup> “To the Plains Indians the buffalo meant food, clothing and shelter. His thick hide made warm coverings, clothing, teepees and boats. His flesh was as flavoury as fine beef. From the bones and horns they made weapons, spoons and other articles of utility. In the lining of his stomach they cooked their meals”. Moberly, *Reminiscences*, Chapter X

<sup>134</sup> Moberly, “Reminiscences”, Chapter X

<sup>135</sup> Browne-Losey, 250

### **Fort Chipewyan**

<sup>136</sup> Andrew Wedderburn, later Andrew W. Colville, was a shareholder and member of the governing board of the HBC and brother-in-law to Lord Selkirk.

<sup>137</sup> “[Fort] Wedderburn ... was more or less as John Clarke and his men had laid it out in 1815, a ‘scarcely habitable’ north-facing assemblage of damp and smelly low-doored, sparsely windowed, hand-hewn, moss-chinked log buildings with its own approximation of a pointed log palisade surrounding the installation. ... And in front, off to the right, barely ten paces from Fort Wedderburn itself, was a most vexacious watch house built by the Nor’Westers ... in the summer of 1819 to intimidate the enemy.” Raffan, *Emperor of the North*, 108-109.

<sup>138</sup> Browne-Losey, 136, 144.

<sup>139</sup> New Caledonia (“New Scotland”) was a name given in 1806 to the central and highland plateau area of what is now British Columbia by Simon Fraser, a partner, trader and explorer in the NWC. The area comprises the inland portion of what is now BC, between 51 and 57 degrees north latitude.

<sup>140</sup> Houston (ed.), *Arctic Artist*, 59

<sup>141</sup> Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts*, 52.

<sup>142</sup> TCE, Parks Canada

<sup>143</sup> Browne-Losey, 136-137

### **Fort Dunvegan**

<sup>144</sup> Holmgren, “Fort Dunvegan”, *The Beaver* Autumn 1981, 53-59.

<sup>145</sup> Alberta Culture and Community: [www.historicplaces.ca](http://www.historicplaces.ca)

<sup>146</sup> Browne-Losey, 336.

<sup>147</sup> Alberta Culture and Community: [www.historicplaces.ca](http://www.historicplaces.ca)

### **Fort Simpson NT**

<sup>148</sup> Forts Simpson, Liard, Nelson, Norman, Wrigley, Good Hope, McPherson, Smith, Resolution, Black River and Halkett.

<sup>149</sup> Browne-Losey, 309.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> E-book: The Gutenberg Project: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12874/12874-h/12874-h.htm>

<sup>152</sup> Browne-Losey, 311.

<sup>153</sup> Browne-Losey, 308

<sup>154</sup> Mocassin Telegraph, 123.

### **Fort Franklin**

<sup>155</sup> Two online sources refer to an early NWC presence at or near the site:

1. Hanks, Salvage Excavations, PWNHC, 4-5 (PDF)

2. The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre website states that “Captain Franklin set up his post, Fort Franklin, on the remains of an old North West Company trading post.”  
[http://www.pwnhc.ca/programs/historicplaces/fort\\_franklin.asp](http://www.pwnhc.ca/programs/historicplaces/fort_franklin.asp)

<sup>156</sup> PWNHC [http://www.pwnhc.ca/programs/historicplaces/fort\\_franklin.asp](http://www.pwnhc.ca/programs/historicplaces/fort_franklin.asp)

<sup>157</sup> Hanks, Salvaging Excavations, 16-17

<sup>158</sup> Davis, *Sir John Franklin's Journals*, 132.

### **Fort Anderson**

<sup>159</sup> Hohn: “Roderick MacFarlane”, 22-29. The article gives an account of that expedition.

<sup>160</sup> Stager, “Fort Anderson”, 49.



<sup>161</sup> See <http://www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca> for a detailed description of the MacFarlane Collection at the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History, Washington or the Smithsonian's website under NMNH (National Museum of Natural History).

<sup>162</sup> Stager, 53-54.

<sup>163</sup> Hohn, 22-29.

<sup>164</sup> The Inuvialuit Living History website, <http://www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca> includes an interview from *15 February 2011* with one of the Inuvialuit elders, Billy Jacobson, who talks about his time on the Anderson River in the 1950s. He recounts how, as a boy of sixteen, he came across a cabin that had been made of wood from the fort. There is also mention of some "bleached" remnants of a watchtower at the old site.

<sup>165</sup> Stager, 53-54

<sup>166</sup> Correspondence of MacFarlane to Spencer F. Baird and Robert Kennicott, 1861-1866. MacFarlane's letters go into great detail reporting on his collecting activities. Coordinates, specimen lists, habitat information, and other details are included in these letters. Localities discussed in these letters include Fort Anderson, Anderson River, Barren Ground, Horton River, Franklin Bay, Fort Simpson, Rendezvous Lake, Wooded Country, and other localities mentioned throughout his field notes.

<sup>167</sup> To view items see Inuvialuit Living History website: [www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca/collection](http://www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca/collection)

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Thomas Schultze began his academic life with four years of undergraduate studies in geology. After a career change he first became a private school teacher. From 1962 to 1967 he taught German, geography and introduction to Western art at the Dunn School, a preparatory school in southern California. In 1965 he graduated from the University of California, Santa Barbara, with a B.A. in German Literature. From the mid-sixties to mid-seventies Schultze taught and did graduate studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies (M.A., 1970). In 1975 he moved to Montreal and for the next five years taught at McGill and at l'Université de Montréal. He spent the last twenty years of his professional life with the *Goethe Institut*, Germany's cultural organisation operating world-wide. His main responsibility was the professional support of German teachers in Western Canada and in Bulgaria. - Coming face to face with Frances Anne Hopkins' *Canoes in a Fog* at the Glenbow Museum, in 1998, was the beginning of his fascination with the fur trade. It led to the publication of his monograph on the artist, ten years later. The present study reflects two life-long interests: geography and architecture.

## Publications

- *Von der Akropolis zum Bauhaus - A History of Architectural Style for the High School German Class*. Teacher's manual, glossaries, grammar and exercises. American Association of Teachers of German, 2001
- *Frances Anne Hopkins - Images from Canada*. Penumbra Press, 2008

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