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Historic Furnishings Report

INDIAN TRADE HOUSE and STRONG ROOM

Fort Union Trading Post
National Historic Site/North Dakota

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HISTORIC FURNISHINGS REPORT

Indian Trade House
and
Strong Room

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site
Williston, North Dakota

by

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Harpers Ferry Center
National Park Service
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ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site was authorized by Congress on June 20, 1966, "in order to commemorate the significant role played by Fort Union as a fur trading post on the Upper Missouri River." Reconstruction work between 1985 and 1991 recreated parts of the fort as it existed in 1851, the year for which the best documentation exists, due largely to the drawings and writings of Rudolph F. Kurz, a Swiss artist who worked at the fort in 1851 and 1852. The Indian Trade House was the administrative and ceremonial center of the fort, and a meeting between the *bourgeois* [manager], Edwin Denig, and an important Cree chief, which took place on October 19, 1851, in the building's office, was the subject of a drawing by Kurz which is the primary document for the refurnishing of that room.

PRIOR PLANNING DOCUMENTS

Documents affecting the use and management of the Indian Trade House and Strong Room at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site are:

IDLCS: Not available. The List of Classified Structures (LCS) has not been updated to include Fort Union Trading Post NHS. The LCS Regional Coordinator for the Rocky Mountain Regional Office is working to update this information, and when it has been completed, the IDLCS, Management Category, and status on National Register will be available.

"A proposed Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site." National Park Service, Midwest Region, 1967.

"Master Plan, Fort Union Trading Post NHS." National Park Service, 1967.

"1969 Excavations at Fort Union Trading Post NHS, North Dakota: A Progress Summary." National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1969.

"Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Alternatives for Fort Union Trading Post NHS." National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, 1975.

"Fort Union Reconstruction Analysis." National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, 1979.

"Fort Union Trading Post NHS, Material Culture Reports, Parts 1-5." National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1986.

"Fort Union, the 1986 Excavations." National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1988.

"Indian/Artisan House Reconstruction" [construction drawings]. National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, 1989.

"The 1987 Investigations at Fort Union Trading Post: Archeology and Architecture." National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1990.

"A Magnetic Survey of the Fort Union Trading Post NHS: Correlations With Three Seasons of Excavations." National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1991.

ANALYSIS OF HISTORIC OCCUPANCY

Construction of the Indian Trade House at Fort Union was probably begun in 1829 with the rest of the fort, although substantial rebuilding of most fort structures took place shortly after the initial construction phase. Lynelle A. Peterson and William J. Hunt, Jr., in their analysis of the 1987 archeological investigations, use the terms "Fort Union I" [1829-33] and "Fort Union II" [1833-67] to distinguish between the two phases of construction. They state that "although built in 1829, remodeling of the fort began almost immediately, and between 1832 and 1836, the majority of the buildings located within the fort were torn down and replaced with larger, more substantial structures."[1]

A rough diagram of the fort drawn by Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, during his 1833 visit, depicts a long building along the south palisade, west of the gate, which is identified as "forges" and "Indians' apartments."[2] He also notes that there were "rooms for receiving and entertaining the Indians" within the fort walls.[3]

The journal of Charles Larpenteur contains descriptions of the rebuilding of parts of the fort. Of particular interest are his entries for June 1835, when the Indian house was pressed into service for fur storage during the reconstruction of the store and warehouse building. He writes that

> Smith and Landrie carried the iron out of the Indian house in to the South Bastion and prepaired [sic] it to receive the Packs of robes...employed thirteen hands carrying packs of Robes in to the Indian house which amounted to one hundred and ninety two packs. *Commenced pulling down the store & ware houses.*[4]

John James Audubon, visiting Fort Union in 1843, first mentions the building when recounting the visit of a group of Assiniboines to the fort: "Mr. Culbertson sent Mr. Denig to ask them to come in by the front gate of the fort, and put them in the Indian house, a sort of camp for the fellows."[5] He later requested that Edwin Denig (a clerk at this time, but promoted to *bourgeois* in 1848) provide a

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[1] National Park Service, *The 1987 Investigations at Fort Union Trading Post: Archeology and Architecture*, by Lynelle A. Peterson and William J. Hunt, Jr. (Lincoln, Nebraska: Midwest Archeological Center, 1990), p. 105.

[2] Ibid., p. 105.

[3] Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, (New York: AMS Press, 1966), vol. 22, p. 377.

[4] Charles Larpenteur, "White Man Bear, Upper Missouri Trader: Journals and Notes of Charles Larpenteur between 1834 and 1872," unpublished manuscript transcribed by Erwin N. Thompson, p. 46.

[5] Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960), vol. 2, p. 77.

written description of the fort, which includes the only contemporary description of the Indian Trade House. He describes it as

> a house 50 by 21 feet, which, being divided into two parts, one half opening into the fort, is used as a blacksmith's, gunsmith's, and tinner's shop; the other part is used as a reception-room for Indians, and opens into the passage, which is made by the double gate. There are two large outside gates to the fort....At the front there is an inside gate of the same size at the inner end of the Indian reception room, which shuts a passage from the outside gate of 32 ft. in length, and the same width as the gate; the passage is formed of pickets. The outside gate can be left open, and the inside one closed, which permits the Indians to enter the reception room without their having any communication with the fort. Into this room are brought all trading and war parties, until such time as their business is ascertained; there is also behind this room a trade shop, and leading into it a window through which the Indians usually trade, being secure from rain or accident; there is also another window through the pickets to the outside of the fort, which is used in trading when the Indians are troublesome, or too numerous.[6]

The picture that Denig creates is of a "complex" consisting of three rooms plus the attached 11- by 32-foot "strong room," added for security after the smallpox epidemic of 1837-38. The reception room was approximately 19 by 29 feet; it occupied the eastern end of the building and was accessible only from the strong room. A large stone fireplace was placed off-center on the west wall. A door in the middle of the south wall allowed the trader access into the 11- by 14-foot trade shop, which was fitted between the south palisade, which forms its southern wall, and the reception room. Wickets in the north, east, and south walls allowed trading either through the fort wall or into the reception room, and after the strong room was built on the eastern side of the building, trade could also be conducted with a group of Indians occupying that space.

To the west of the reception room was the artisans' shop, which was apparently one room, approximately 19 by 28 feet, divided into two work spaces. The western end of this room was unfloored and was originally used as a blackmith's shop, with a forge on the western wall. The eastern end was used, according to Denig, as a gunsmith's and tinsmith's shop. A fireplace on the eastern wall backed up against the one in the reception room and shared the same foundation. Sometime between 1843 [Denig's description] and 1851 [Kurz's drawing], the western half was floored and the room was converted into an office. In Kurz's drawing of the office, the exposed beam running across the room apparently marks the point at which the flooring originally stopped. The function of each room was, briefly, as follows:

STRONG ROOM: While not actually part of the building itself, and having no roof, the strong room was, nevertheless, tied to the building functionally. It provided security by allowing the Indians part way into the fort; if necessary, they could be confined there, to conduct their trade through the wicket communicating with the trade shop. Audubon noted that a particular group of Assiniboines "were

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[6] Ibid., pp. 185-86.

not allowed inside the inner gate on account of their filthy condition,"[7] which shows the use of this area as a place in which to screen visitors.

Indians were sometimes allowed to spend the night in this space, a fact also mentioned by Audubon, who worried that a group of Assiniboines would ignite the fort with their large fire.[8] From the strong room Indians could be allowed into the courtyard or into the reception room.

RECEPTION ROOM: This room served a ceremonial function as well as being a convenient location for gathering groups of Indians arriving for trade. The "rooms for receiving and entertaining the Indians"[9] noted by Prince Maximilian presumably refers to the reception room. The traders and Indians met here to eat, smoke, and discuss the terms of trade; this ceremony was extremely important to the Indians' sense of decorum, as will be seen later, in the section on receptions, where additional detail will be provided on the use of the room. This space was probably sparsely furnished, and a minimal refurnishing, using reproduction artifacts, will allow use of the room for a wide range of interpretive activities.

TRADE SHOP: Connected to the reception room by a door and a wicket, the trade shop probably held a variety of trade goods and was where the trader stationed himself to trade goods for furs through any of the three wickets, to groups in the reception room, the strong room, or outside the fort wall. Larpenteur states that during the winter of 1837-38, shots were fired at him "through the wicket during the night liquor trade."[10] He was undoubtedly stationed in the Indian house trade shop, since Audubon describes Larpenteur trading with six Chippewas and a dozen Assiniboines in 1843: "They brought in some few robes to barter, and the traffic was carried on by Mr. Larpenteur in his little shop, through a wicket."[11]

The trade shop was not large, and, lacking a counter, it was probably not accessible to the Indians in the same way that a retail store would be, so it would not have been possible to effectively display trade goods for casual "shopping" by the customers. Instead, furs and trade goods would be passed back and forth through the wickets; the values of goods and furs could be set in advance, and the Indians in many cases may have already known what goods they wanted. Edwin Denig said that the Crees, for example, "trade only useful articles....The majority

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[7] Ibid., p. 128.

[8] Ibid., p. 108.

[9] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 22, p. 377.

[10] Elliot Coues, ed., *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: the Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872*, (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1960), p. 135.

[11] Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, vol. 2, p. 126.

reckon up the value of their hunt and consult their wants before they enter the store and cannot be enticed to buy articles which they do not need."[12]

The main storage for trade goods and furs was in the store range on the east side of the fort, so it is possible that certain goods in predetermined amounts were brought into the trade shop prior to the commencement of trade. It is also likely that by 1850 the Indians traded at the retail store in the store range, and that the trade shop was either no longer in use, or used only when the Indians were too troublesome to be allowed into the fort proper. Thaddeus Culbertson (half-brother of Alexander Culbertson, Upper Missouri Agent for the American Fur Company) wrote while visiting Fort Union in 1850 that

> a room is...built against the wall by the gate, in which they used to trade through a small hole about one foot square in the wall. Now however they trade at the retail store inside of the fort. The Assiniboines and the Crees are the people principally trading here.[13]

ARTISANS SHOP/OFFICE: Occupying the western end of the building, this room will be interpreted to 1851, when it was being used as an office. This is the room depicted by Kurz in his drawing of the reception for the Cree chief le Tout Piqué on October 19 of that year, and it is the room for which the best documentation exists. We can identify the use of this room because of Kurz's references to it in his journal; he states, for instance, that the reception was going to be held "in the office."[14] Kurz also tells us that his portrait of Denig was "to hang in the office where it will strike the Indians with awe."[15] The portrait is shown clearly in the drawing, on the east wall of the room. To complicate matters somewhat, there had been an office in the Bourgeois house, but whether it was still in use in 1851 is unknown; Kurz's descriptions and illustration are only of the office in the Indian Trade House.

The event depicted by Kurz demonstrates that the office was used for ceremonial functions as well as for fort business of a more mundane nature. Since it was accessible only from the fort interior, it is likely that its use for Indian receptions was limited to the entertaining of important or trusted groups.

Edwin Denig felt that the Indian facilities at the fort were inadequate, and with Kurz's help, began the planning of an additional structure in 1851:

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[12] Edwin Thompson Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, John C. Ewers, ed., (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961) p. 133.

[13] Thaddeus A. Culbertson, *Journal of an Expedition to the Mauvaises Terres and the Upper Missouri in 1850*, John Francis McDermott, ed., (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office [hereafter cited as GPO], 1952), p. 105.

[14] J.N.B. Hewitt, ed., *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. 203.

[15] Ibid., p. 121.

When the Indians are at the Fort in such numbers an especial need is felt for a room of good size with a large fireplace, where the redskins can be quartered en masse. As things are now, they have to be crowded into at least five rooms already occupied, an arrangement that is uncomfortable for both the occupants and the visitors. At this especial time of the year all of them like to squat about the fire, and they interfere with the cooking.....Mr. Denig is speaking of having an Indian lodge built; by so doing he would not only satisfy a need but also win for himself a great many friends. We have already devoted our combined efforts to drawing a plan for the construction.[16]

This was written on December 1, 1852. On February 9, he reported that "Morgan with his workmen set out for the timber yard to get lumber ready to build the new Indian lodge at the fort."[17] This structure was never built, however, and Kurz makes no further references to the construction of it, perhaps because he and Morgan were away from the fort from March 7 through April 14, and he left Fort Union for good on April 19, 1852.

The period of historic occupancy of the Indian Trade House ended in 1867, when Fort Union was sold and dismantled. A quote from 1866 shows the building in the last stages of use: Charles Hoffman, sutler at the Army's Fort Buford nearby, said that there was "a large building at Fort Union for the purpose of entertaining the Indians. Dirt floor with big opening in center of the roof so they could have a fire."[18] The floor boards were torn up and sections of the roof removed to allow fires to be built in the center of the reception room. This was confirmed by archeology investigations in 1988, when evidence of these fires was found in the center of the room.

In these last days, the type of use the building received must have been far removed from the ceremonial receptions of earlier days.

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[16] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 244.

[17] Ibid., p. 293

[18] National Park Service, *Historic Structures Report, Part 2, Historical Data Section*, by Erwin N. Thompson (Washington, DC: GPO, 1968), p. 182.

FORT UNION AND THE FUR TRADE

Fort Union owes its existence to the Upper Missouri fur trade carried on by the American Fur Company. That company was formed in 1808, two years after Lewis and Clark completed their journey to the Pacific; it was the creation of John Jacob Astor, a German immigrant who was already successful in the fur and China trades. Astor envisioned a trading network operating on a basis "more extensive than it is done by the comaneys in Canada" and planned to control "the whole of the furr trade and to extend it to the weastern ocean" within four or five years.[19]

By following Lewis and Clark's route, establishing posts along the way, with a terminus on the Pacific, Astor would be able to integrate the fur trade into his existing China trade, shipping trade goods from China to the Columbia River, trading along the Northwest coast, and returning to China with pelts.[20] He also hoped to be able to force British traders [the powerful Hudson's Bay and North West Companies] out of United States territory.

The American Fur Company, although chartered in 1808, was not immediately active under that title, as embargo and war slowed Astor's ability to realize his ambitions for his new enterprise. In the meantime, however, Manuel Lisa, a Spanish trader from New Orleans, had led an expedition up the Missouri in 1807, building Fort Raymond--also known as Lisa's Fort or Manuel's Fort--at the confluence of the Big Horn and Yellowstone rivers.[21] The interest that this trip generated in St. Louis encouraged the formation of the St. Louis, Missouri Fur Company, in which Lisa was joined by, among others, Auguste Chouteau and Pierre Chouteau, Sr. They returned to the Big Horn in 1809 and also established a short-lived post far up the Missouri at Three Forks. The Big Horn post was abandoned in 1811 after the company suffered heavy financial losses due to the trade restrictions that preceded the War of 1812, which reduced beaver pelt prices by half.[22] These early ventures, however, served as a model for the later operations of the American Fur Company.

Astor, meanwhile, had formed the Pacific Fur Company, in 1810, to explore the Columbia River country, then the Southwest Company, in partnership with Canadian firms, to exploit the trade west of the Great Lakes. The Pacific Fur Company was sold to the North West Company in 1813, but Astor later bought

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[19] Ibid., p. 2.

[20] David Lavender, "Some American Characteristics of the American Fur Trade," in *Aspects of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the 1965 North American Fur Trade Conference*, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), pp. 30-31.

[21] Paul Chrisler Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), vol. 2, p. 260.

[22] Ibid., pp. 262-69.

out his Canadian partners in the Southwest Company after Congress passed an Exclusionary Act to bar foreigners from the American Indian trade. In David Lavender's words, "The purchase was consummated early in 1817 for about $100,000, and at last, nine years after its chartering, the American Fur Company was operating as a self-contained unit."[23]

According to Paul Chrisler Phillips, poor economic conditions prevailing early in the nineteenth century made the upper Missouri appear unattractive to American traders for a time, and "the prestige of the Northwest Company also tended to check the return of American traders....Thus, the whole of the upper Missouri was free of white traders until after 1820."[24] Lisa had died that year, and a depression in 1819 had kept fur prices down, but the trade was soon to experience an upswing. Phillips estimates that by 1822, 300 men were trading on the upper Missouri and the Yellowstone rivers, sending down an estimated $25,000 worth of furs that year.[25]

By 1822-23, the American Fur Company was able to establish itself in St. Louis, an important location for trade since the mid-eighteenth century, when it began to be used as a point of access to the Mississippi by French traders seeking to avoid British prohibitions. According to a British official in 1771, "a great part of the peltry exported from his majesty's Dominions in America through the Channel of the Mississippi is carried directly to Foreign Market Contrary to the Laws and Policy of This Kingdom."[26] Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage, British Commander in Chief in America, had estimated that France received £80,000 worth of furs through New Orleans each year in this period.[27]

St. Louis was the point from which goods were shipped up the Missouri and down the Mississippi. Hiram Martin Chittenden called it "The actual base from which all operations in the Western country were carried on...."[28] He continues:

> All parties were organized and all outfits were made up there. The returns of the trade en route to market all passed that way. Most of the traders resided there, and all non-resident firms maintained houses there. Great establishments arose for the convenience of the trade, while the port of St. Louis became a center of commerce almost as widespread as that of New York itself....In the earlier years communication with New York and other seaboard towns took place principally by

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[23] Lavender, "Some American Characteristics of the American Fur Trade," p. 35.

[24] Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, vol 2, p. 389.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, vol. 1, p. 600.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, (Stanford, California: Academic Reprints, 1954), vol. 1, p. 2.

> way of the Ohio River or the Great Lakes. In later years, after the use of steamboats became general, commerce usually passed by way of New Orleans.[29]

By 1823, the American Fur Company consisted of two departments: the Northern, controlling the Great Lakes area, and the Western, managing trade along the Missouri. Ramsay Crooks, Astor's partner, took over the management of both.[30]

> Astor's major competitors for trade on the Missouri at this time were Bernard Pratte & Company and the Columbia Fur Company. Marriages of business interests and of individuals [Crooks and Pratte's daughter] brought the Pratte company and the AFC together in 1827, giving Bernard Pratte & Co. control of the Western Department. Further negotiations conducted by Crooks [Astor's headquarters remained in New York] brought the Columbia into the organization in the same year, as the "Upper Missouri Outfit," with Kenneth McKenzie of the Columbia in control of that department. Pierre Chouteau, Jr. of Bernard Pratte & Co. became manager at St. Louis also in 1827; in succeeding years he would assume increasing importance in his company as it became first Pratte, Chouteau & Co., and then Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co. [Pratte, Chouteau & Co. purchased the Western Department from Astor on his retirement in 1834; Bernard Pratte, Sr. died in 1836, and in the mid-1840s Bernard Pratte, Jr. retired, giving Chouteau the chance to increase his share in the company and assume control].[31]

THE FUR POSTS

Kenneth McKenzie was on the upper Missouri in 1829 and established Fort Union near the mouth of the Yellowstone in the fall of that year. It was to become, in Erwin N. Thompson's words, "the grandest of the extensive network of fur posts erected on the upper Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers by the American Fur Company and its rivals in the nineteenth century."[32] A headquarters post, it was described by Prince Maximilian in 1833 as

> one of the principal posts of the Fur Company, because it is the central point of the two other trading stations, still higher up, towards the Rocky Mountains, and having the superintendence of the whole of the trade in the interior, and in the vicinity of the mountains.[33]

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 402.

[31] John E. Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri*, 1840-1865, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 4.

[32] Erwin N. Thompson, *Fort Union Trading Post: Fur Trade Empire on the Upper Missouri*, (Medora, North Dakota: Theodore Roosevelt Nature and History Association, 1986), introduction, p. iii.

[33] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 22, p. 377.

The two other posts Maximilian refers to were Fort Cass, at the junction of the Big Horn and Yellowstone rivers, which traded with the Crow Indians, and Fort McKenzie on the Marias river, which traded with the Blackfeet and had been built to replace Fort Piegan [or Piekann] which was burned the year after it was constructed. He continues:

> The latter station [Fort McKenzie] has been established about two years, and as the steamers cannot often go up to Fort Union, they despatch keelboats to supply the various trading posts with goods for barter with the Indians. They then pass the winter at these stations, and in the spring carry the furs to Fort Union, whence they are transported, in the course of the summer, to St. Louis, by the steamers.[34]

By the 1830s, permanent posts on the upper Missouri included Cabanne's Post and Forts Pierre, Clark, Union, and McKenzie. Fort Pierre controlled operations between Cabanne's and Union, while Fort Union, described by trader Nathaniel J. Wyeth in 1833 as "better furnished inside than any British fort I have ever seen"[35] and by Edwin Denig in 1843 as "the principal and handsomest trading-post on the Missouri River,"[36] superintended trade for the establishments farther up the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, and served as a depot or storage house for those posts.

In addition to the permanent posts the AFC had, according to Prince Maximilian,

> small winter posts, called log-houses, or block-houses, among the Indians, quickly erected, and as quickly abandoned: to these the Indians bring their furs, which are purchased, and sent, in the spring, to the trading posts. The American Fur Company has, at present, about twenty-three, large and small, trading posts.[37]

Three to six men were usually employed at the block-houses; when choosing locations for them, "the controlling factor...was the convenience of the Indians."[38]

The above quotes provide an idea of how the AFC operated within the upper Missouri fur trade system as it was developing in the 1830s. Fort Union's importance lies in the fact that it was centrally located and able to trade on its own while also serving as a depot for furs going downriver from other posts, and trade goods--and Indian annuities--going up. Unlike most other posts, Fort Union traded with several tribes. Rudolph Kurz, writing in 1851, explains that

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[34] Ibid., p. 378.

[35] Ray H. Mattison, "The Upper Missouri Fur Trade: Its Methods of Operation," reprinted from *Nebraska History*, March 1961, vol. 42, no. 1, p. 4.

[36] Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, vol. 2, p. 180.

[37] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 22, p. 379-80.

[38] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. 1, p. 49.

> Fort Berthold, which is really under control of Fort Pierre, is not a trading post of much consequence. Trade is carried on with only one tribe; and moreover, business is done, for the most part, on credit, which frequently results in loss. Here, on the other hand, Assiniboine, Crows, Cree, and half-breeds do their trading; and besides, Fort Union is the depot or storage house for the more distant posts, Fort Benton and Fort Alexander.[39]

Downriver in St. Louis, goods from around the world were gathered for shipment to the posts. Among the items reaching Fort Union, according to Kurz, were bells and mirrors from Leipzig, clay pipes from Cologne, beads from Italy, merinos and calicos from France, woolen blankets and guns from England, sugar and coffee from New Orleans, clothing and knives from New York, and powder, shot, meal, and corn from St. Louis.[40] He continues:

> The company owns factories both at home and abroad for the manufacture of their staple goods; their trade in furs extends throughout the entire Indian domain from the upper Missouri to Mexico...trade is distributed through the districts according to the location of navigable streams or some other means of communication: Upper Mississippi Outfit, Lower Mississippi outfit, Platte Outfit, etc. Members of the company, P. Chouteau, Jr., Sarpy, Berthold, O'Fallon, et al., live in St. Louis, where they have their office, an immense storehouse. From there goods are shipped to the various posts, skins and furs are received in exchange, and are sold throughout the world, especially to Russia.[41]

Frank Mayer, an American artist travelling the upper Mississippi in 1851, left a vivid description of St. Louis as he passed through it:

> A city of rapidly increasing importance, it is strictly a commercial city commanding the great produce trade of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin & Missouri. It...supplies the Missouri and the neighboring states with goods of all sorts--& it is on the road to the improving regions of the "far-west." The old or French portion of the town...extends along the river which runs at the foot of a wide "levee" which affords landing for at least 100 steamboats nearly that number being always moored to the bank, taking in and discharging freight, letting off steam, and pushing out or arriving....There is probably no busier scene in America in the same space. For two miles a forrest [sic] of smoke stacks is seen towering above the "arks" from which they seem to grow. All between this and the warehouses is filled with a dense mass of apparently inextricable confusion and bustle, noise and animation.[42]

Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co. had opened a new office and warehouse on Laurel Street in 1840. It consisted of a four-story office building and salesroom, with a

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[39] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 123.

[40] Ibid., p. 234.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Frank Blackwell Mayer, *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: the Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*, Bertha L. Heilbron, ed., (St. Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society, 1962), pp. 70-74.

three-story warehouse, described as "the most extensive" and "no doubt the best" new business quarters in the city.[43]

The link that was needed to connect the network of trading posts with the source of supply and distribution in St. Louis was reliable and regular transportation on the river. The posts were useless, John E. Sunder states,

> unless they were adequately provisioned, defended, and supervised. Men, supplies, and trade goods were needed regularly, and the furs and robes accumulated by the posts were needed in St. Louis. Dependable steamboat transportation from St. Louis to the upper Missouri and back again answered the American Fur Company's problem. Steam unsealed the upper river: unsealed its isolation, kept the seal broken, and strengthened, through improved communications, the Company's hand in the upper valley.[44]

Kenneth McKenzie, over the objections of several Company stockholders, convinced the Company to attempt a steamboat run to Fort Union in 1831. The *Yellow Stone,* with Pierre Chouteau on board, made it as far as Fort Tecumseh that year, but low water in the midsummer made Union inaccessible until the next year, when the *Yellow Stone* went up on the spring rise and reached the fort in mid-June.[45]

Steamboat travel on the Missouri long remained a risky business. The river frequently changed course, and boats frequently burned, exploded, ran aground, or sank, but gradual improvements in boat design as well as in navigational skills made river transportation by steamer increasingly practical and profitable. The hazards, however, persuaded the Company to charter its boats rather than to continue to build and rebuild its own.

Above Fort Union, at least initially, mackinaw boats were used to carry goods down river from the headwaters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers; they were also needed during periods of low water, and as a supplement to the steamers. According to T. Lindsay Baker:

> ...the robe trade produced from 5 to 10 pounds of robes for every pound of trade goods so the steamboats could only carry down a small proportion of the robes purchased every year. The rest had to be carried by mackinaw boats....The typical mackinaw could easily carry one hundred or more bales of robes.[46]

The mackinaws were descendants of boats used earlier in the Canadian fur trade. They were cheaply built upriver and could be sold or broken up at their

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[43] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865,* p. 3.

[44] Ibid., p. 19.

[45] Ibid., p. 20.

[46] T. Lindsay Baker, "Beaver to Buffalo Robes: Transition in the Fur Trade, Part 2," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly,* (Chadron, Nebraska: The Museum of the Fur Trade), Spring 1987, pp. 9-10.

destination. The typical mackinaw was about 40 feet long by 10 feet wide, fairly comfortable and fast-moving, and drew only 15 to 20 inches of water, even when loaded with ten to fifteen tons of furs or supplies. The cargo, covered with "lodge skins" over a wooden frame, occupied the center of the boat, while the oarsmen were situated in the bow and sometimes also in the stern. The steersman, who commanded the craft, was perched on an elevated seat in the stern. Mackinaw cargoes were often transferred to steamboats west of St. Louis, especially after 1839, says John E. Sunder,

> because the insurance companies refused to cover mackinaw cargoes on the busy river below St. Joseph. The boats were poor insurance risks, mackinaws were lost regularly on snags, and the *voyageurs* drank heavily on the way downstream and thereby endangered the cargo they carried. Many mackinaws, however, continued to float downriver to St. Louis after 1839.[47]

Edwin Denig explained that the supplies for each year's trade were brought up in the spring and summer by steamboat and distributed to the forts along the Missouri, as far as Fort Union. From there, keelboats were used to reach Fort Benton, in Blackfeet country. "From these forts or depots the merchandise is carried into the interior in different ways, to wherever the Indians request trading houses to be established."[48]

From St. Louis, the AFC operated the trade through its field agents, *bourgeois*, and traders, assisted by clerks, *engagés*, *métises*, hunters, trappers, craftsmen, and other workers and hangers-on at the forts. "At Fort Union, artisans of almost every description are to be met with, such as smiths, masons, carpenters, joiners, coopers, tailors, shoemakers, hatters, &c," according to Prince Maximilian.[49]

Rudolph Kurz, who worked as a clerk at Fort Union under *bourgeois* Edwin Denig, provided additional details on the operation of the AFC. He stated that each district was run by an agent, paid a fixed salary of $2,000 plus a certain percentage of profits. Each agent was in charge of several posts. Alexander Culbertson, a former trader and bourgeois and Kenneth McKenzie's successor as Chief Agent of the Upper Missouri Outfit, supervised Forts Union, Benton, and Alexander at the time. W. Picotte was agent for the Lower Missouri Outfit, which included Forts Pierre, Lookout, Vermillion, Clark, and Berthold. Mr. Papin was agent for the Platte River area, having charge of Forts Hall and Laramie. A bourgeois, stationed at each fort, received a salary of $1,000 plus a percentage of sales. He ordered his goods from the agent, who in turn ordered them from the Company. The price of goods was stipulated in advance, and if the furs received in trade by the bourgeois and agents brought a high price when later sold, the

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[47] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865*, pp. 22-23.

[48] Edwin Thompson Denig, "Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri," J.N.B. Hewitt, ed., in *Bureau of American Ethnology Forty-sixth Annual Report (1928-1929)*, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1930), p. 347.

[49] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 2, p. 378.

profit belonged to them. The stockholders assumed the responsibility for goods in transit; insurance costs were high because of the many hazards encountered in shipping.[50]

Kurz also provides the following information on salaries:

> A craftsman or workman receives $250 a year; a workman's assistant is never paid more than $120; a hunter receives $400, together with the hides and horns of the animals he kills; an interpreter without other employment, which is seldom, gets $500. Clerks and traders who have mastered the court language, i.e., the speech of those Indians for whose special advantage the trading posts are established, may demand from $800 to $1,000 without interest. All employees are furnished board and lodging free of charge.[51]

OPERATION OF THE FUR TRADE

The American Fur Company's principal posts held stock worth $15,000 to $20,000, while the value of goods shipped to the temporary posts ranged in value from $500 to about $3000. In 1831, William Laidlaw reported to Pierre Chouteau, Jr. that Fort Tecumseh (later replaced by Fort Pierre) had on hand 6000 pounds of powder, 13,000 pounds of lead, and 6000 pounds of tobacco "and liquor a pretty good quantity" valued at $19,700.[52] Prince Maximilian stated that in 1833 when he was shown the stores at Fort Pierre, the fort contained goods worth $80,000 in addition to the robes obtained from the Indians.[53]

Large amounts of goods were needed to barter for the pelts and robes [and other products as well, such as tongues and tallow] on which the company made its profits. Indian customers were discerning and often had definite preferences based on what they had been used to receiving from the British via the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies. As a result, American traders, especially in the early period, were at a disadvantage when it came to supplying goods. Astor complained in 1829 that

> none of the woolen goods fit for the Indian trade, such as Indian blankets, strouds, and cloths of particular descriptions, are as yet manufactured in this country. We are therefore obliged to import them from England, and it so happens that those are just the articles paying the heaviest duty. The English traders have theirs free of duty....But this is not all. They are by these means enabled to send their furs here (New York) and actually do come and undersell the American traders. It is unaccountable that they should be permitted to bring their furs here free of duty,

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[50] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, pp. 234-235.

[51] Ibid., p. 236.

[52] Mattison, "The Upper Missouri Fur Trade: Its Methods of Operation," p. 8.

[53] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol 22, p. 317.

while we, if we send any to the British dominions, are obliged to pay 15 per cent duty.[54]

A letter from trader William Gordon to Superintendent of Indian Affairs General William Clark in 1831 echoes the same sentiment:

> Woollen goods of coarse fabric, such as blue and red strouds, blankets etc. constitute the most costly items of trade--they are almost exclusively of English manufacture, and tho' coarse, are good--the Indians are good judges of the articles in which they deal, and have always given a very decided preference for those of English manufacture....[55]

Chittenden agrees, especially with regard to cloth, since "at this early day, American manufactures, in blankets and cloths particularly, were so inferior that the Indians did not want them, having learned through the British traders what a really good article was."[56]

Trade goods came from many sources: in addition to the woolens, guns, knives, and traps from England, the AFC acquired beads from Italy and vermilion from China. "These items were often specifically ordered by the Indians, and the Crow, for example, would accept only the finest products in exchange for their superlative robes and furs," notes David Wishart[57].

The success of the trade depended on each party in the barter getting something it wanted or needed at a cost that was considered advantageous. In other words, each party needed to think it was getting more than it was giving, and in a sense this was actually the case, since to the Indian, furs were plentiful, and to the trader, they were a valuable commodity that was obtainable for cheap, mass-produced goods. Trader Zenas Leonard was amazed to discover that "to get a beaver skin from these Indians (Shoshone) worth eight or ten dollars never cost more than an awl, a fishhook, a knife, a string of beads, or something equally as trifling."[58] On the other hand, a Montagnais Indian said that, "the English have no sense" because they were willing to trade good knives for beaver skins, while a Micmac disdained the French as a poor people who "glory in our old rags and miserable suits of beaver."[59]

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[54] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. I, p. 21.

[55] David Wishart, "Cultures in Co-operation and Conflict: Indians in the Fur Trade on the Northern Great Plains, 1807-1840," in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2, 4, (1976), p. 323.

[56] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, p. 5.

[57] Wishart, "Cultures in Co-operation and Conflict: Indians in the Fur Trade on the Northern Great Plains, 1807-1840," p. 323.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Carolyn Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet: the Great Lakes Fur Trade*, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982), p. 5.

Indian attitudes toward the trade varied, of course, with the tribes and their needs or lack of them. According to Wishart:

> ...the nomadic tribes, being mobile and stronger than the horticulturalists, maintained a rather independent posture toward the fur trade. The Crow, for example, were always receptive to American traders, but as explained Prince Maximilian in 1833, the Crow attitude was always one of haughtiness and the only reason that they tolerated the traders was that they provided the horses and goods that the Crow desired. The fur trade was absorbed into the Crow horse-raiding tradition and the frequent loss of horses, furs and equipment added greatly to the overhead costs of trading and trapping in Crow country.[60]

Edwin Denig also said that the trade with the Crows was never profitable, because

> they buy only the very finest and highest priced goods which are most desired for the horse trade. Their own clothing also, of European manufacture, consists chiefly of blankets, cloths, etc. which, with English guns and brass kettles, do not bear a large advance of price when sold to them.[61]

Profits, which could be high, were reduced by "the overhead costs of maintaining the trading post, by the gift-giving system and by the costs of transportation,"[62] but if prices were raised in an effort to increase profits, the Indians "would and could dispense with nearly all items of trade."[63] A mutual dependence could be created, however, through debt, a good example of which was the practice of advancing to the Indians on credit items necessary for hunting and trapping. Edwin Denig described this system in some detail as practiced by the Hudson's Bay Company; the basic idea was to advance credit in the form of goods,

> varying the same according to the character of the individual credited. Indians of established reputation, who have always paid their debts, can get advances to the extent of 30 plues while others of a doubtful cast must be satisfied with barely a sufficiency to enable them to prosecute their employment, say from five to ten plues.[64]

A plue was a beaver skin, the name being a French term, and both the proceeds of the hunt and the merchandise received were reckoned by plues. The quote above shows that the term also came to symbolize the value of a beaver skin in

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[60] Ibid., p. 318.

[61] Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, p. 204.

[62] Ibid., p. 323.

[63] Ibid., pp. 323-24.

[64] Ibid., p. 122.

either goods or currency. Denig said that it was "an imaginary amount used to value skins equal to about 2/ Sterling."[65]

In actual practice, of course, the value of a plue varied with time and place, and also with the goods being traded for, since the prices of goods could be adjusted according to how necessary they were to the Indians:

> care is taken not to rate too high such things as guns, ammunition, horses, traps and other things absolutely required for hunting purposes. In that case most of the Indians not being able to procure them their hunts and consequently the best interests of the traders would suffer. But such commodities as tobacco, cloth of gay colors, beads and other ornaments bear very high prices in proportion to their actual cost.[66]

The operation of this system can be seen in a Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co. ledger titled "Accounts with Individual Indians, 1846-48." A summary of this volume appears in Appendix E of this report.[67] The advancement of hunting equipment on credit is probably indicated by the entries for weapons, powder, flints, lead, horses and horse equipment, and by the fact that the guns and horses are often paid off in installments.

Prince Maximilian noted while at Fort McKenzie that "the Piekanns...catch the most beavers. Beaver traps (which are lent them) were distributed among them to-day and many Indians went away to hunt beavers."[68] Rudolph Kurz also observed instances of traders advancing equipment on credit to expedite the hunt:

> Summer and autumn are the dullest seasons in trade hereabouts. Hides are not yet available; therefore Indians have no medium of exchange. They must make preparations then for the winter hunting, yet have no equipment and seldom have credit. They keep, to be sure, a supply of cured meat, but that brings in only less important things, such as knives, beads, calico, powder and lead, not guns, blankets, or horses....Oftentimes a trader feels compelled to lend an Indian a gun during the hunting season, though he knows that he is virtually making a present--entailing a loss. If he presses the redskin for payment, the latter transfers his patronage to the opposition.[69]

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Unpublished ledger, Missouri Historical Society collection of fur trade ledgers. Microfilm, vol. KK. This volume, referred to hereafter as the *Indian Ledger*, lists trade goods charged to the accounts of approximately 250 individual Indian customers.

[68] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 23, p. 162.

[69] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 216.

Kurz also noted that Peter Sarpy, at Belle Vue post, let Indians have gunpowder, lead, and tobacco on credit, to prepare them for the hunting season.[70] Carolyn Gilman believes the Indians used their debt to the traders to retain the traders' loyalty, since the debt would keep the traders concerned for the welfare of those who owed them.[71]

Some tribes were scrupulous in keeping track of their debts, and considered it a point of honor to pay fully for goods received. According to Thaddeus Culbertson, trader Charles E. Galpin had a high opinion of the honesty of the Blackfeet for this reason:

> He said...that they are most excellent men, although they certainly bear a bad name with other traders. He said that the young braves of noble families despise a mean action, such as not paying for anything a trader might advance them on credit--that they would cast it up as a reproach to any one who should fail in doing so.[72]

Taken as a whole, the fur trade produced some large profits as well as some large losses and bankruptcies. Its effect on the economy of the country, however, was not large, according to James L. Clayton, who states that

> the American fur trade was never very important economically, even in its palmiest days....Regardless of continued growth, the fur trade as a business simply did not amount to much, any time, anywhere....This is not to say that the American fur trade had no importance as a vehicle of westward expansion, but that its importance must be sought in areas other than economics.[73]

FURS AND TRADE GOODS

The fur trade consisted of the pelts, robes, and other animal products on the one hand, and the goods exchanged for them on the other. These will be discussed separately, beginning with the furs, and how they were obtained and handled, and by whom.

Beaver

The most popular fur in the trade, initially, was the beaver pelt. Since it was the fur in the highest demand, it also became the medium of exchange, as seen in

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[70] Ibid., p. 64.

[71] Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet: the Great Lakes Fur Trade*, p. 55.

[72] Culbertson, *Journal of an Expedition to the Mauvaises Terres and the Upper Missouri in 1850*, p. 82.

[73] James L. Clayton, "The Growth and Economic Significance of the American Fur Trade, 1790-1890," in *Aspects of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the 1965 North American Fur Trade Conference*, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), pp. 71-72.

Denig's quote above, where the *plue* or pelt had a set monetary value, and goods were reckoned against the plue rather than against its value in currency. Trading tokens bearing a beaver image were issued by the British, and the Indians themselves had systems for working out comparative values, also figured against the value of a beaver pelt.

According to Donald J. Lehmer, there were very practical reasons, [aside from the popularity of beaver as a fashionable fur, important to the hat-making industry] for concentrating on this fur in the trade:

> Until the opening of the water route up the Missouri in the 19th century provided easy transportation for bulky cargoes, beaver skins (not buffalo hides) were the mainstay of the fur trade. The difficulties of the overland routes to the Canadian rivers and the western Great Lakes, and of the canoe traffic to eastern Canada, were an obstacle which would have made the export of pressed and baled buffalo hides prohibitively expensive.[74]

Beavers were hunted by both whites and Indians, giving rise to two systems of fur production and distribution. David Wishart's description of these is helpful:

> The St. Louis fur trade, as it crystallized in the 1820s after two decades of experimentation, consisted of two production sub-systems. The Rocky Mountain trapping system excluded the Indian from the production line. The most important fur was beaver, the organizational hub was the rendezvous and the principal producer was the white trapper....In contrast, the other production sub-system, the upper Missouri fur trade, was dependent on the Indians of the northern Great Plains. The upper Missouri fur trade was, in effect, an Indian trade, and profits were derived from the exchange of manufactured products as well as from the sale of furs. The main resource was the bison robe, produced entirely by the Indians and traded through the network of posts that lined the Missouri River and its major tributaries. That river system allowed transportation of bulky products over great distances and, compared to the precarious Rocky Mountain trapping system, the upper Missouri fur trade was relatively stable.[75]

It is clear from this that although Indians did hunt beaver, the bulk of the trapping was done by whites until the decline of the beaver put an end to the rendezvous system. The major contribution of the Indians to the fur trade came when the buffalo robe became the staple of the trade.

There were two classes of white trappers: the hired trappers, taken on by the fur companies for a set term (normally three years) and salary of $100 to $200; and the free trappers, a more independent sort who supplied their own equipment and trapped where they pleased, selling their furs to the highest bidder.[76] Prince

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[74] Donald J. Lehmer, 'The Other Side of the Fur Trade," in *Reprints in Anthropology*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: J & L Reprint Company, 1977), vol. 8, p. 98.

[75] Wishart, "Cultures in Co-operation and Conflict: Indians in the Fur Trade on the Northern Great Plains, 1807-1840," p. 312.

[76] Mattison, 'The Upper Missouri Fur Trade: its Methods of Operation," pp. 6-7.

Maximilian noted that those trappers who were bound to the Company lived at their own cost, but that their "present wants, such as horses, guns, powder, ball, woollen cloths, articles of clothing, tobacco, &c. &c., are supplied by the Company...."[77]

The Indians, he says, devoted themselves to the trapping of beavers in the spring and summer, "for which they receive every encouragement from the merchants, who lend or advance them iron traps for the purpose."[78] In the autumn and winter they moved closer to the posts, to barter their skins.

Prince Maximilian estimated the value of beaver in 1833 at $4 a pound. The pelts were shipped in packs of approximately 60, weighing 100 pounds. He also estimated that the Company had shipped approximately 25,000 skins down the river that year.[79] According to T. Lindsay Baker, a 100 lb. pack of beaver skins was worth $500 to $600, while the same weight of buffalo robes [ten skins] was worth only about $30.[80] First class beaver sometimes sold for as much as $6 a pound.

The decline in the market for beaver pelts was due to the decline in beaver populations, caused by too much trapping, and to successful attempts to find cheaper substitutes for beaver fur in the manufacture of high-quality hats. In hat manufacture, the fur was removed from the skin and felted, often with other fibers, into a hat body. An outer layer of fine underfur was then added, which formed the napped surface of the hat. Hatters had been experimenting with substitutes, turning first to the nutria, a South American water rat, which could be procured cheaply. According to Baker:

> ...the fur companies discovered that they could buy nutria skins in Buenos Aires and elsewhere in South America far cheaper than they could secure beaver pelts from the Rocky Mountains, and within a dozen years the Nutria successfully displaced the beaver for almost all hat manufacture. The final death blow for beaver felt came a few years later with the introduction of silk as a substitute for hair in the manufacture of high-quality hats.[81]

It was found that chopped silk fibers could be used to provide the napped surface of the hat in place of beaver fur. John Jacob Astor had written as early as 1832 that "beaver will not sell well soon unless very fine, it...appears that they make

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[77] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 22, p. 379.

[78] Ibid., p. 380.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Baker, "Beaver to Buffalo Robes: Transition in the Fur Trade," p. 3.

[81] Ibid., p. 5.

hats of silk in place of beaver."[82] Erwin N. Thompson explains that this letter indicates Astor's realization that

> the heyday of the beaver trade (and the fabled mountain man) was drawing to a close. Silk was in fashion, and also, the beaver was fairly well trapped out. Beaver would continue to be an acceptable fur, along with all the others, but as far as Fort Union was concerned, the buffalo, already important, would play an increasing role in the returns.[83]

In 1839 the American Fur Company abandoned the rendezvous system, and the next year the last rendezvous was held in the Rocky Mountains, shifting the focus of the western fur trade "from the mountains to the plains as it changed from beaver to buffalo robes."[84] Rupolph Kurz said, speaking of the mountain men, that "Since beaver pelts have fallen in price, that far-famed class of trappers is almost non-existent. Throughout the entire territory...the trappers are no longer found at all."[85]

This is the sequence of events as usually stated. Paul Chrisler Phillips, however, offers a slightly different interpretation. After quoting both John Charles Frémont stating that the trappers had "almost entirely disappeared" by 1843, and trader James Clyman saying in 1844 that they were "now reduced to less than thirty men," he goes on to propose that their numbers were indeed reduced, but not quite so drastically as that. The trappers were still there, but they "were hard to find because they no longer operated from the same centers or in the same way."[86] He also presents a somewhat different version of the fate of the beaver and the beaver trade:

> It is beyond dispute that the beaver collections of Canada and the U.S. fell off from the high point of 1820-29 during the succeeding two decades, but then rose to ever greater heights until about 1870, when another decline set in....The beaver supply of the far west remained adequate to support the demands made upon it by trappers of the late period. The frightening drop in returns noticed at the 1833 and '34 rendezvous represented a temporary situation which was alleviated by the departure of many trappers. In areas where trappers continued to operate in concentrated numbers, the reproductive capacity of the animals could not overcome the incessant raids, but elsewhere there appears to have been almost a total recovery within 5 to 10 years. By 1850 the recovery was general, and other factors were responsible for the sorry state of the fur trade at that time.[87]

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[82] National Park Service, *Historic Structures Report*, p. 46.

[83] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[84] Baker, "Beaver to Buffalo Robes: Transition in the Fur Trade," p. 5.

[85] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 125.

[86] Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, p. 526.

[87] Ibid., pp. 527, 532.

Edwin Denig wrote in 1855 that beaver were still plentiful in some areas, such as the Yellowstone Valley, and on the Little Missouri, but almost extinct in the Cree territory and most other areas except the north, where hunting was regulated by the Hudson's Bay Company:

> They allow the Indian to trap certain streams at stated seasons and prohibit the successive hunting of any place for two or three years. The country in which that animal abounds is parcelled out into hunting portions which are worked in rotation each third year, leaving them the intervening two years to accumulate. In this way the animals are and will be preserved for a great length of time.[88]

Buffalo

As early as 1823, when the American Fur Company's competitors Stone, Bostwick & Company were absorbed by the AFC, David Stone was already trading buffalo robes (the skin of a winter-killed buffalo cow dressed with the hair on), from the lower Missouri and finding his own markets for them. Ramsay Crooks wrote to Astor that Stone had made large profits in this trade, but Astor was not familiar with this product, and was more interested in bringing Stone and his associates into line with AFC business practices. Similarly, the Columbia Fur Company, prior to being bought out by the AFC in 1827, was making most of its profits on buffalo robes. Astor was still not much interested, seeing no market for robes in New York City.[89] He seems to have been coming around by this time, however, since he wrote to Crooks in the spring of 1827, "About buffalo I think they will do if you can get the whole and not otherwise...I mean...at least 5/6 of them so as to have the command of the market." Soon after, he wrote that "Buffalo robes, like beaver, will not fail," and he instructed Crooks to buy all he could, "if the quantity is not exceeding 30M." Astor felt that 30,000 was all the market could absorb, yet there were probably 50,000 in St. Louis at the time in various hands, half of them belonging to the Columbia, which would not sell to Astor.[90]

The robe trade grew in importance gradually, as the beaver trade declined. T. Lindsay Baker states that

> the robe trade began to grow during the 1820s and 1830s principally because of changes which had come about in transportation, changes which for the first time permitted comparatively economical movements of buffalo robes from the plains to the markets.[91]

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[88] Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, p. 121.

[89] Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, p. 416.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Baker, "Beaver to Buffalo Robes: Transition in the Fur Trade," p. 4.

He identifies these changes as the opening of the Santa Fe Trail and the advent of steamboat service on the Missouri River, and continues:

> The decline in the beaver market just happened to coincide with the opening of improved transportation via the Santa Fe Trail and on the Missouri River steamboats equipped for hauling the heavier and bulkier robes and the huge quantities of trade goods needed to buy them.[92]

Looking back to Prince Maximilian's statistics of 1833, quoted earlier in part, we see that he estimated that 25,000 beaver skins and 40-50,000 buffalo robes were sent downriver that year. The difference in numbers does not seem very dramatic until the numbers of skins are converted into numbers of packs. At 60 skins to the pack, that would equal approximately 417 100-pound packs of beaver, but at 10 skins to the pack, between 4000 and 5000 100-pound packs of buffalo robes.

In the early years of the robe trade, most of the product was absorbed by a limited domestic market; the demand in Europe was very small. Ramsay Crooks found this out in 1841-42, when he sent some robes to German furriers. They replied that they preferred the less costly European sheepskins, so Crooks advised Pierre Chouteau to build an American market large enough to handle most of the robes produced. The AFC "took the challenge and made Americans buffalo-robe conscious," says John E. Sunder.[93] Beaver skins were bringing lower prices, and although they continued as an item of trade, he continues, "deer, muskrat, and, especially, buffalo robes led on the St. Louis market. Robes...were worth three to six dollars each, depending upon the supply."[94] Twenty years earlier, they had rarely brought more than three dollars each.

Robes were now the staple of the fur trade: the Jesuit missionary Father Pierre Jean DeSmet reported that the Chouteau company brought 45,000 robes to St. Louis in 1839, and 67,000 in 1840. The St. Louis market taken as a whole averaged 90,000 robes per year in the 1840s, and 100,000 during the 1850s and '60s. Dried buffalo meat, tongues, and pemmican were also an increasing part of the market for buffalo products.[95]

Since the robe trade was exclusively in Indian hands at the supply end, a means had to be found to meet the rapid rise in demand and to produce robes in quantities like those shown above. Indians hunted for subsistence, states Paul Chrisler Phillips, and were

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865*, p. 17.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid. Pemmican is pulverized buffalo meat, mixed with fat and berries.

> generally averse to killing these animals except for food, shelter, and clothing.... When the Columbia Fur Company entered the far northwest, traders generally found the same reluctance of Indians to kill the bison beyond the need for food. The attraction of trading goods and the Indians' great need doubtless broke down some of this feeling....Indians lived to hunt bison, and when their scruples were overcome, they entered into the hunt as a sport. They thus provided themselves with an abundance of choice food and had the skins to trade.[96]

Edwin Denig, speaking of the Crees, said that they had originally hunted nothing for trade but beaver, since the skins were valuable and easy to transport. The few robes they prepared were for their own use. When the fur company offered them good prices for their robes, however, it "gave them an opportunity to equip themselves better for hunting and war than heretofore and tended considerably to restrict their wandering habits." They were now able to purchase "such articles as they most wanted either for defence, convenience, or barter for horses with the tribes farther in the mountains."[97]

Thus the buffalo supported both traders and Indians in a mutually beneficial relationship. The credit system, described earlier by Denig as being based on the *plue*, was now, says David Wishart,

> conducted against the standard of the buffalo robe....Credit was forwarded each fall in the form of merchandise and hunting equipment. The debt was payable at the end of the season in furs valued at the robe standard.[98]

The ultimate fate of the buffalo need not be treated here, but it is interesting to note that as early as 1833, Prince Maximilian made a statement that foretold the disappearance of the buffalo later in the century:

> The agents of the Company recklessly shoot down these noble animals for their own pleasure, often not making the least use of them except taking out the tongue. Whole herds of them are often drowned in the Missouri;...from this we may form some idea of the decrease of the buffaloes, which are now found on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, where they were not originally met with, but whither they have been driven.[99]

Edwin Denig was also aware of their probable fate, writing that the buffalo

> appear in full as great numbers at this time, 1855, as at any period during the last 20 years, though there is little doubt but the whole number is rapidly decreasing

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[96] Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, p. 416.

[97] Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, p. 185.

[98] Wishart, *Cultures in Co-operation and Conflict: Indians in the Fur Trade on the Northern Great Plains, 1807-1840*, p. 322.

[99] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 22, p. 382.

and those remaining confined to a small range, having entirely abandoned other sections, where a few years back they were found in abundance.[100]

The tendency of every trade is towards extinction of the game and diminishing the value of the country for hunting. Some animals...may be perpetuated by the enforcement of laws as is done by the Bay Company. But it is owing to the habits of these animals confining them to certain localities these means become feasible. Buffalo, wolves, foxes and other migratory quadrupeds could not be thus protected. Neither do we see any way of preventing their ultimate extinction except the abandonment of the trade entirely, and reducing the natives to their primitive state of arms and means.[101]

Other Furs

Despite the emphasis on beaver and buffalo as the staples of the trade, many other furs figured into the trade as well, to a lesser extent. Some were much more costly than beaver, being more rare. Several contemporary accounts describe furs in the trade, including Prince Maximilian, who listed what the AFC was taking in 1833:

1. Beavers: about 25,000 skins...a large beaver skin weighs about two pounds--sometimes more. The usual price is four dollars a pound.
2. Otters: 200 to 300 skins.
3. Buffalo cow skins: 40,000 to 50,000.
4. Canadian weasel: 500 to 600.
5. Martin: about the same quantity.
6. Lynx (the northern lynx): 1,000 to 2,000.
7. Lynx (the southern or wild cat): ditto.
8. Red foxes: 2,000.
9. Cross foxes: 200 to 300.
10. Silver foxes: twenty to thirty. Sixty dollars are often paid for a single skin.
11. Minks: 2,000.
12. Musk-rats: from 1,000 to 100,000.
13. Deer: from 20,000 to 30,000.[102]

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[100] Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri,* p. 118.

[101] Ibid., p. 123.

[102] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* vol. 22, pp. 380-81.

He also notes that elk were used only for home consumption, and that wolf skins, while not sought by the Company, were bought to avoid creating any dissatisfaction among the Indians, and later resold for about a dollar each.[103]

Charles Larpenteur, while a clerk at Fort Union, listed the fur returns for the winter of 1834-35: from Fort Assiniboin were brought 179 red foxes, 1646 prairie foxes, 18 cross foxes, 74 badgers, 269 muskrats, 89 white wolves, 196 white hares, 5 swanskins, 4200 buffalo robes, 37 dressed cowskins, and 12 dressed calfskins. Non-fur products brought in consisted of 450 salted tongues, 3500 pounds of powdered and 3000 pounds of dried buffalo meat. James Kipp brought 9000 robes, 1020 beavers, 40 otters, 2800 muskrats, 180 wolves, 200 red foxes, 1500 prairie dogs, 19 bears, and 390 buffalo tongues from Fort McKenzie.[104]

Hiram Martin Chittenden adds raccoon, squirrel, and pole cat to the list of furs collected[105], and Rudolph Kurz noted all the animals represented by furs stored in the pressroom at Fort Union in April 1852, "for the pelts stored there afford a rather complete list of those four-footed beasts which are native here."[106] He found buffalo, elk, Virginia deer, antelope, gray wolf, prairie wolf, gray fox, red fox, mouse, grizzly bear, beaver, bighorn, black-tailed deer, ermine, hedgehog, muskrat, white hare, otter, marten, skunk, and cross fox. He also came upon one wolverine skin, but failed to find any rabbit, squirrel, badger, rat, black bear, or black or red wolf pelts.[107]

Finally, Edwin Denig, in his description of the Crees, noted that

> though the buffalo are the principal game hunted, yet other skins and furs are collected, more especially by the bands occupying the wooded districts northward. These trap and kill wolves, fisher, marten, foxes, wolverine, muskrats, lynxes, hares, rabbits, badger, skunk, ermine and occasionally a few otter, beaver and black bear. All of these skins are much desired by and bear a high price with the English traders in proportion to their scarcity and the labor required to procure them.[108]

He also provided information on the relative scarcity and cost of some of these furs in the mid-1850s:

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[103] Ibid., p. 381.

[104] Coues, *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: the Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872*, p. 79.

[105] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. 2, p. 826.

[106] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 329.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, pp. 117-18.

Wolves are very numerous...and are of three kinds, the large white, large grey back and small prairie wolf....The larger sized skins are worth 3/0 Sterling and the smaller 1/6 at the Hudson's Bay Company posts. Red, cross, silver grey and kit foxes are hunted by all the Crees....But of late years a great reduction is felt in their numbers, particularly in the silver grey and cross kinds....the price of a single skin has risen in a short time from 1 pound to 4 pounds Sterling for the first named fox. The other is rated about half that value. Red foxes are still caught in considerable numbers....Grey kit foxes are yet abundant....The price of a skin is about 1 shilling.

Fisher and marten are peculiar to the wooded districts. The fur of the latter is in great demand....Neither are very numerous but the fisher is the most rare and its skin brings about 4/6 Sterling.

Muskrats are very prolific....These formerly were a principal article of traffic but of late years the price of the fur has so depreciated as not to compensate the Indians for the time and labour of killing and skinning them....

...The wolverine...is worth about 4/6 Sterling.

Hares and rabbits are hunted mostly by the boys....The skins of both are salable at a low price. They are also wrought by the natives into caps, mittens and woven into coarse durable blankets for their own use.

The other animals named are not extensively killed. Otter are uncommon, black bear not numerous and elk and deer so few as scarcely to be considered a source of profit to this nation.[109]

As price and desirability of furs rose and declined, the companies would instruct their agents to accumulate or avoid them. John Jacob Astor, for example, wrote from New York in 1827 to Ramsay Crooks in St. Louis not to purchase "unless cheap and that only of good deer, good beaver and muskrat." A month later he cautioned "5000 good hatters raccoon sold for only fifteen and sixteen cents each...touch not raccoon."[110] Astor was in touch with foreign markets from his vantage in New York and was able to advise on what would and would not find ready sale in Europe, Russia, and the Orient.

VALUES OF GOODS IN THE TRADE

For the trade to be as profitable as possible for the companies, robes and furs first had to be procured cheaply from the Indians and then sold for as much as possible in St. Louis. Henry Boller, a clerk at Fort Atkinson in 1858, gave the value of a robe to an Indian at "4 cups of either sugar, coffee or tea."[111]

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[109] Ibid., pp. 119-22.

[110] Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, p. 404.

[111] Mattison, "The Upper Missouri Fur Trade: Its Methods of Operation," p. 14.

Rudolph Kurz gives a similar value: "2 gallons of shelled corn, from 3 to 4 pounds of sugar, or 2 pounds of coffee."[112] Figured against hunting supplies rather than foodstuffs, a robe yielded

> 60 loads of powder and shot; for 6-10 robes, a gun, which may or may not be a good one but is always fit for use. So for one robe he gets in return a sufficient number of shots to kill at least fifty of the larger or smaller fur-bearing animals.[113]

Father DeSmet figured the value of a beaver skin at "nine or ten dollars worth of provisions or merchandise, the value of which does not amount to a single silver dollar."[114]

The total expense to the trader for preparing a buffalo robe for sale, using Kurz's figures, did not exceed one dollar. If the robe sold at wholesale in St. Louis for two dollars, "the agents and bourgeois can easily realize 100 percent profit if they know the trade."[115] John E. Sunder provides a caution, however, to balance Kurz's optimistic assessment:

> The robe cost the trader less than one dollar on the upper river, but transportation charges to St. Louis were high and the average robe sold finally for little more than its total cost to the trading company. As a result, robes had to be procured and sold in volume to be profitable items of trade.[116]

Kurz believed that the return was less now that whiskey was scarce, since the profit on that article was so high: the traders had "made a gain earlier ranging from 200 to 400 percent; their gain today is not more than 80 percent."[117] Denig gave the cost of a buffalo robe in merchandise in 1854 as about $1.35, plus additional costs of another $1.20, for a total of $2.55.[118]

The pricing of furs and trade goods was a complicated process that needed to take into account the high overhead involved in procuring, shipping, and insuring vast cargoes over long distances, up and down the river and back and forth between Europe and America. Chittenden speculated that

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[112] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 236.

[113] Ibid., p. 176.

[114] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 27, p. 261.

[115] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 236.

[116] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865*, p. 35.

[117] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 177.

[118] Mattison, "The Upper Missouri Fur Trade: Its Methods of Operation," p. 14.

it would be interesting to trace an invoice of...merchandise from the manufactories of Europe...to New York, New Orleans, St. Louis, and thence to the...trading posts...; and there,...to witness the exchange of these goods for...fur, and to follow the latter back through St. Louis, New York, and London, to its final destination in...Europe. The complete round occupied fully four years. Could we know the price of the merchandise as it left the factory and its equivalent in fur as sold in the completed garment, the increase would be found to be several hundred per cent. This did not...all represent profit. The insurance by sea, the losses by river and land...and the services of the many hands through which both the merchandise and the furs had to pass, account to some extent for the increase; but there was still a heavy increment that represented the profits of the trader.[119]

The result was that the goods marketed to the Indians, and to the Company's white employees as well, might be marked up anywhere "from 80 to 2,000 per cent, depending upon the item, the post, the trader, and the trapping season."[120] Kurz gives the cost of supplies to fort employees as $1 for a pound of coffee, brown sugar, soap, or for seven ship biscuits or a yard of calico; and 25 cents for a pound of meal or for the laundering of one shirt.

A buffalo robe cost an employee $4 for a medium, $8 for a prime, and $15 for an ornamented robe. Kurz was allowed to sell robes as one of his duties: "The price has been advanced from $4 to $5 apiece, just at this time when they are most in demand. Mr. Denig claims that he makes so little profit on them here he would do better to send them to St. Louis."[121]

Making the maximum profit at the forts, either from Indians or employees, was considered to be necessary in order to return a dividend to the investors, and the same attitude prevailed downriver in St. Louis, where, according to Sunder,

> ...the sale of inferior summer robes, old bull skins, and water-damaged or vermin-infested robes shipped from St. Louis were regular business practices of the fur companies. Buyers who visited the fur warehouses in St. Louis were less likely to lose money, however, on furs and robes. They could personally examine the goods, select bales of well-seasoned pelts and robes, buy a few excellent buffalo-calf skins or used robes that were durable and evidenced little wear, and, on occasion, pay well for a rare light-skinned (white) robe for display purposes.[122]

Many fur dealers did not trust the fur companies to provide a regular supply of high-quality robes and furs; at any time, says Sunder, "a shipment of poor pelts might follow a shipment of good ones from Chouteau's warehouse, and any bale

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[119] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, p. 5.

[120] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865*, p. 36.

[121] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, pp. 129, 245.

[122] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri*, p. 36.

of robes might contain a variety of grades, perhaps even a few well-rotted hides."[123]

The Company claimed that this was unavoidable, given the bulk of merchandise and the uncertain handling, but one furrier's assessment apparently echoed the feelings of many others on the receiving end of Company goods: "The upper Missouri robes are not what they ought to be for the price....We opened 3 packs to find a good handsome skin the other day without success and had to open a Bale of No. 1 before we could find a skin to suit."[124] Note that the bales are identified by a numerical grade, No. 1 being the best.

Kurz had a better opinion of the quality of the Company's robes:

> The bourgeois sell thousands of buffalo robes in packs of ten robes each. Salesmen first examine the packs and sort the robes, including in every assortment, both at this trading post and in St. Louis at Chouteau Jr. & Co., at least one robe of the best quality in every pack of 10.[125]

He became more critical, however, when looking for one for himself. After noting that the Crow were famous for their robes, their products being unmatched by those of any of the other nations in terms of softness and pliability, he searched in vain for a perfect one for his bed. From a group of 130 just delivered, "on most of them I found the hair imperfect; furthermore, they were cut in two and sewed together in a seam down the middle."[126] Although it was normal for the skins to be cut and sewed, he explained that when the Crow made robes for their own use, they were not cut, that the hair was long and silky, and that they were as pliable as blankets. But they had learned that they would be paid no more for a good robe than an ordinary one, and "fur traders pay more attention to quantity than quality."[127]

Kurz tried again for a good robe the next month when he looked through another 130 hides:

> On most of them the hair, here and there, is like black silk velvet, but they are either tanned in a superficial way or cut in two and sewed in a seam down the middle, or of good, soft skin, lacking the best hair.[128]

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[123] Ibid., p. 34.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 251.

[126] Ibid., p. 250.

[127] Ibid., p. 251.

[128] Ibid., p. 260.

He was disappointed as well with 400 Assiniboine robes sent in from McKenzie's post, though he noted that they were tanned in a painstaking manner, but all of these were cut and seamed as well:

> This is due to the fact that the women, to save themselves trouble, cut out that part of the hide which, even on a cow's back, is very thick, and then sewed the two parts together with thread made from dried sinews or tendons. Now and then it happens that they sew together parts of hides that were taken from different animals, which provides a singular effect.[129]

There may have been motivations other than ease of preparation for removing a strip from the middle of a hide: according to T. Lindsay Baker, among tribes where buffalo robes were scarce, "the women sometimes kept for themselves long strips of fur several inches wide taken from the center."[130] Baker's description of the skinning process is good, and explains the initial need to split the hide:

> Many of the robes, especially in earlier times, were tanned in two pieces because the traditional Indian method of butchering a buffalo was to prop the animal upright and split the hide down the center of the back. The skin was then left lying outstretched on both sides of the carcass. The meat was carefully cut away from the bones and piled on the skin. After the meat was taken off and the marrow bones were separated, the skin was cut in two along the belly and the rest of the bones were left on the prairie. The two halves of the skin were tanned and then sewed together with sinew.[131]

Finished buffalo robes received by the traders were baled in preparation for shipment downriver. The baling was accomplished through the use of a press, operated by lever, wedge, or screw, which compacted the hides into a manageable size. For buffalo robes this size was approximately 2 1/2 feet long, by 20 inches wide, by 18 inches high for a 100-pound pack. The robes were folded with the hair side in, and were capable of being pressed compactly because the skin had been thinned during preparation. The compactness of the bale was important not only for ease of handling, but also to help keep moisture and vermin out.[132]

To bale hides, pack cords of rawhide, buffalo, deerskin, or heavy cod line were laid in the press, over which was placed a lower covering of buffalo hide, deerskin, or old beaver. The companies prohibited the use of good or expensive skins, such as bear or quality beaver, or unsuitable skins, like wolf, though they were sometimes used anyway. A top layer of the same material was laid on top of the stacked robes, pressure was applied, and the cords tied up while the robes were under pressure.

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[129] Ibid., p. 261.

[130] Baker, "Beaver to Buffalo Robes: Transition in the Fur Trade," p. 4.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., p. 7.

At Fort Clark, Francis Chardon noted that he traded with the Indians for pack cords. In one instance, he traded with the Sioux for "12 sacks of cords" for baling. He also mentioned killing buffalo bulls to make cords from the skins, and in one instance had idle fort employees "dress cords for my Packs."[133]

As the bale was tied up, a wooden stave with information such as number, weight, and point of origin was attached to the outside, under the cords, and a ticket with the contents and other information was placed inside the bale, so if it came apart, or had to be unwrapped for drying at some point in its journey, it could be identified and reassembled.

Bales of hides may also have been marked as company property by the use of lead bale seals, one of which was excavated at Fort Union bearing an imprint that may have been used by the American Fur Company.[134] These seals were probably most frequently used on merchandise shipped to the fur trade posts, which would have been packed differently than outgoing furs. Fort Union's employees may also have used lead seals if they were repacking merchandise for distribution to other posts. Fort inventories list baling needles, which would have been used to sew up goods in canvas bales. Kurz writes of "getting together the goods for Carafel's winter quarters and packing them into uniform bales weighing on an average of 70 pounds each"[135] These bales were probably sewn up into canvas.

TRADE GOODS

Typical trade goods found at Fort Union can be discovered in the fort inventories, fort archeology, various contemporary descriptions, and, for a slightly different perspective, the Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger." The ledger, while not specific to Fort Union, lists trade goods charged to the personal accounts of many individual Indians.

Fort inventories (see Appendix A) list dozens of items that are, and some that may be, trade items. Some articles would have had uses both in the trade and in the fort as well, such as buttons, clothing, tools, and ammunition, so it would be difficult to determine the percentage of the total used for trade. The inventories were prepared in the spring of each year, after the winter trading season, and prior to the arrival of the steamers which delivered new goods and supplies and took the accumulated furs and the completed inventories. The 1848 inventory, for example, is dated May 17th; the AFC steamer *Martha* left St. Louis on May 9 that

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[133] Annie Heloise Abel, *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark*, 1834-1839, (Pierre, South Dakota: Department of History, State of South Dakota, 1932), pp. 50, 119, 179.

[134] Paul L. Hedren, "An American Fur Company Bale Seal," in *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 4, Winter 1989, p. 10.

[135] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 190.

year (the earliest date in four years for an upriver voyage) to supply the upper river. It made the trip to Fort Union and back in 65 days; arriving at St. Louis on July 14, the *Martha* unloaded "over 1,700 bales of robes, approximately 260 packs of furs, and thousands of salted buffalo tongues."[136] Other fur returns were brought down, for both the AFC and the opposition, in mackinaws.

According to John E. Sunder, when the Company officers received the fort inventories, they had to decide

> whether or not to send small amounts of emergency supplies to the upriver posts before winter set in. Since some of the traders who returned to St. Louis by steamer or mackinaw each summer headed back to the upper river in September or October, they could be required by the fur companies, if necessary, to escort pack trains of supplies to the upriver posts....
>
> ...by early November, 1848, the autumn pack trains were on their way to the fur posts, [and] the last summer cargoes of Upper Missouri robes and pelts were stacked in fur warehouses in St. Louis and the East....[137]

In the Fort Union inventories included in this report, blankets are listed first. A variety of blanket types appear, in five different colors, sizes ranging from 0 to 4 points, and as many as 17 different combinations of color and size. Amounts on hand varied from 124 to 132, 189 1/2, and 389 1/2 pairs for the four years represented. The chart below compares the combinations of colors, types, and sizes. The numbers represent sizes in points.

The actual sizes represented by the point designations varied over the years, but a 2 point blanket, for instance, would be approximately 3.5 to 4 feet wide and 4.5 to 5 feet long; a 3 point blanket would be approximately 5 feet wide and 6 feet long. A pair of blankets would be twice as long. Fort Union's blankets were counted in pairs, but since half pairs appear in the totals, we can assume that there were blanket pairs both joined and separated in stock.

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[136] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri*, pp. 106, 109.

[137] Ibid., pp. 110-11.

1848	1849	1850	1851
3 1/2 Dk. Blue	3 1/2 Dk. Blue		
2 1/2 Dk. Blue			
		3 Indigo Blue	
		2 1/2 Indigo Blue	2 1/2 Indigo Blue
		4 Sky Blue	4 Sky Blue
3 Sky Blue	3 Sky Blue	3 Sky Blue	3 Sky Blue
		2 1/2 Sky Blue	2 1/2 Sky Blue
		0 Sky Blue	
		Sky Blue Red Ends	
3 Scarlet	3 Scarlet	3 Scarlet	3 Scarlet
	2 1/2 Scarlet	2 1/2 Scarlet	2 1/2 Scarlet
3 Green	3 Green	3 Green	3 Green
3 Wt. Mac			
2 1/2 Wt. Mac			
2 Wt. Mac			
1 Wt. Mac			
3 French	3 Wt. French		
	3 Wt. Best	3 Wt.	
			2 Wt.
		1 Wt.	

1848	1849	1850	1851
		3 Hud. Bay Com.	
2 1/2 Hud. Bay	2 1/2 Hud. Bay	2 1/2 Hud. Bay	
	Com. Hud. Bay		
3 Com. Wrapper	Wrappers	Wrappers	Wrapper
		3 Carpet	
		1 Carpet	

Beads were also stocked in quantity and in a variety of types, the average for the four years being 16 different types and colors. Quantities were figured in pounds, bunches, and sometimes dozens within each inventory, so it would be difficult to judge the total number of beads on hand each year. Pounds varied from a low of 376 1/4 in 1851, to 2025 in 1850, with 1848 and 1849 at 683 1/4 and 669 respectively. The average for the four years was 938 3/8 pounds. Bunches varied from a low of 136 in 1850, to a high of 469 3/4 in 1848. Inventories for 1849 and 1851 show 179 and 220 1/4 respectively: the average was 249 1/2 bunches. Beads were also counted by dozens in 1849 (14 dozen) and 1851 (53 dozen). The chart compares types of beads from the four inventories:

Pound Beads (large, cheap, hollow-cane beads, sold by the pound)

Sky Blue		Sky Blue	
White	White	White	
Red	Red		Red
Black	Black	Black	
Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	
Blue (Lg.)	Blue		Blue
		Carnelian	
			Seed

1848	1849	1850	1851
			Loose
			Purple

Seed (small, donut-shaped, hollow-cane beads, between 1/16" and 3/32" diameter)

Ass't		Ass't	
	Seed		Seed Pound
	Loose		

Agate (large, round or ovoid beads)

Round Blue	Blue	Round Blue #9	Blue #9
		Round Blue #10	Blue #10
Round White		Round White #9	
			White #4

Barleycorn (crow beads, the next size up from pound beads)

Large			
	Blue	Small Blue	Small Blue
	Ruby	Small Red	Small Red
	Black		
			Large White
			Small White

Pigeon Egg (large, ovoid, wire-wound necklace beads)

Blue	Blue	Blue

1848	1849	1850	1851
		White	White
		Coral	
			Red
		Mixed	

Snake

Large	Red

Necklace (large beads with an individual value, probably inlaid 'fancy' beads)

	Gilt
	Bead
	Black
	Blue

Other

Red	Cut Glass (hexagonal faceted, hollow-cane beads)
Black	White Oblong
Small blue	

A final category of trade goods stocked in a large variety of types is represented by textiles. Types include strouding, saved list cloth, flannels, calicos, sheeting, checks, and several other styles. The chart below compares cloth styles for the four inventories; definitions of the various cloth types are found in the appendix:

1848	1849	1850	1851
Scarlet S.L. Cloth	Scarlet L.S. Cloth	Scarlet S.L. Cloth	Scarlet S.L. Cloth
Green S.L. Cloth	Green L.S. Cloth	Green S.L. Cloth	Green S.L. Cloth
		Blue S.L. Cloth	Blue S.L. Cloth
Blue Stroud			
Super Blue Cloth	Fine Blue Cloth	Super Blue Cloth	
	Blue Satinet	Blue Casinet	Blue Satinette
	Gray Satinet	Gray Casinet	
			Mixed Satinette
	White Flannel	White Flannel	White Flannel
	White Flannel Fine		
		Scarlet Flannel	Red Flannel
		Green Flannel	Green Flannel
		Twilled Flannel	
	Russia Sheeting	Russia Sheeting	
	Brown Cotton		
	Blue Cotton		
		Bleached Cotton	
	Blue Check	Check Cotton	Cotton Check
	Furniture Check		
	Bed Tick		

1848	1849	1850	1851
	Fancy Calico	Fancy Calico Avg.	Fancy Calico Avg.
		Fancy Blue Calico	
		Blue Calico	
		Red Calico	
		Yellow Calico	
	Salempores	Salempores	Salempores
		Fancy Prints	
		Blue & White Prints	Blue & White
		Blue & Orange Prints	Blue & Orange
		Fine Prints	
		Madder Prints	
		Plaid Linsey	Linsey
		Victoria Plaid	Victoria Plaid
		Plaid Woolens	Plaid Woolens
	Fancy Barege		
			Jeans
			Fancy Jeans

In the lists above, S.L. [Saved List] and L.S. cloth are probably the same and are grouped together. Satinet and Casinet, being similar cloths, are also grouped together. Since the colors are the same, the terms may have been used interchangeably. (Note: the following trade goods are taken directly from the fort inventories, therefore the spelling of some items may appear incorrect but reflect the spelling used during the time the inventory was taken.)

Other trade goods listed in the fort inventories (1848-51 combined) include:

Chiefs coats: scarlet, blue, laced, scarlet laced

Capots and Surtouts: Indian blanket capots, men's blanket capots, olive and blue surtouts [also listed as super blue and super olive]

Vests: casinet (or cassinette), calico, super cloth, blue cloth

Shirts: cotton check, red flannel, white cotton, hickory, fancy calico

Handkerchiefs: blue cotton, figured silk, cotton flag, maddrass, Italian silk

Shawls: worsted, merino

Caps and Hats: woolen, white wool, cloth, black fur, plush, glazed, nutria and white nutria, white Russia, palm leaf

Mittens: woolen

Colored thread, colored yarn, colored sewing silk, twist, spool cotton, Holland twine, sturgeon twine, red cord

Ribbons, scarlet gartering, colored binding

Wampum: white and purple mock wampum, moons, hair pipes

Shells: St. Lawrence, California, common oval

Ear bobs

Combs: crambo, German silver, ivory, tuck, boxwood

Buttons: bone shirt, pearl shirt, bone coat and suspender, orange coat, coat moulds, vest moulds, figured coat, bullet

Hooks and eyes

Bells: Hawk, rough house, silver tray, horse and cow, hand, zinc

Needles: sewing, glovers

Buckles

Thimbles: brass and tailors

Scissors and shears

Lace: silver, wire, white and yellow wire

Turkey wings

Brass cap plates

Bead reticules*

Red epaulets

Company medals: F & I and P.C. Jr.

Tin dress ornaments

Brass finger rings

Tacks: brass, saddler's, sprigs

Wire: large and small iron, large and small brass, brass collar

Mirrors: paper covered, Britannia, gilt figured, pocket, mirrors with drawers

Tin arm bands

Pigments: verdigris, American, Chinese, and Blackfeet vermilion, yellow ochre, chrome yellow

Snuff and tobacco boxes

Fire steels

Pipes: clay, redstone (and stems), medicine pipe stem

Tobacco: plug, cut, Spanish, cavendish, smoking weed, rappee snuff

Fishing supplies: large fish hooks, fly hooks, catfish hooks, fishing line

Beaver traps, trap springs, and chains

Guns and parts: North West gun locks, maple gun stocks, used guns, U.S. muskets, repeating rifle, used sham twist gun, Belgian gun, Barnets northwest gun, Hawkins rifle, double-barrel percussion gun, iron pistol, brass-barrel pistol, old pistol

Flints: rifle, musket, gun, horse pistol

Percussion caps

Wire gun worms

Lead: balls, pig, bars, buckshot

Gunpowder and rifle powder [rifle powder is in canisters]

Powder horns, copper powder flasks

Powder measures

Assiniboine lances, polished and large

Green handle spear points (or spear-point knives)

Axes: Indian half axes, tomahawks, squaw axes

Knives: Pocket, pen, cartouche, buck carvers, G. Halsp__., Tillotson, Hyslop, Russell, scalping, Wards scalping, cocoa handle (cocobolo), eye dagues, green handle butcher

Pockamogans (Pogamoggan: war club): ornamented, painted

English sabres, Dragoon swords

Hickory for Indian bows, hickory bows

Tin shields

Horse equipment: saddle web, leather surcingles, snaffle and fancy bridles, stirrup irons (brass-plated)

Indian awls, Nail gimblets, tap borers

Files and rasps

Kettles: S.I., tin [1/2 to 4 gallon]; kettle covers, ears, and rivets
Tin pans and cups

Coffee pots

Pocket compasses

Japanned lamps

Not every item in each grouping above is necessarily a trade item; some may have been reserved for fort use. Most of the above items, however, were either grouped with trade goods, or stocked in large enough numbers to indicate that they may have been traded to the Indians. Foodstuffs were probably also traded, as shown by the entries in the Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger," but this is difficult to determine from the inventories. Those foods that were most likely to have been traded, judging by type and quantity, would be salt, pepper, brown Havana sugar, molasses, tea and coffee, and possibly dried apples and peaches, flour, rice, and corn.

The inventories also include a number of items, mostly furs and hides, that were probably taken in trade from the Indians, but which appear in the inventories rather than in fur returns. Included in this category are: rawhides, half and whole cow skins, dressed cow skins, parfleches and painted parfleches, lodge

skins, elk skins, cabrie skins, porcupine skins, sinews, apichemos, and rendered grease.[138]

Finally, the inventories include a few Indian-made items that may have been taken in trade, or were perhaps gifts from visiting Indians. This group includes a painted Indian drum, an arrow quiver with 47 arrows, a tiger skin arrow quiver, and a bow and 20 arrows. Also included are garnished Indian shirts, garnished elkskin pants, and as many as 33 pairs of garnished moccasins. These may have been stocked for sale or trade like the other items of clothing.

Archeological excavations at Fort Union uncovered almost 40,000 beads as well as combs, fire steels, gun parts, flints, shot and bullets, percussion caps, powder flask parts, trap parts, fish hooks, a harpoon, a knife, many buttons, and pipes and pipestems. Also discovered were gaming pieces of Indian make which, while not trade goods, might have been used in areas of the fort such as the reception room. The archeological reports provide additional detail on these artifacts.[139]

Contemporary accounts provide additional descriptions of trade goods; the majority of accounts in which trade goods are mentioned are descriptions of individual Indians or of dress and ornament common to certain tribes. Since some of these descriptions are lengthy, and often contain interesting information on native dress or customs, they are included in Appendix D in their entirety.

The Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co. "Indian Ledger," covering the years 1846-48, lists trade goods on the personal accounts of many individual Indians. The ledger contains items that do not appear in other sources, and it is interesting because it shows the amount of goods purchased by each customer, and gives an indication of which items were purchased repeatedly. The most popular items of trade in this document, based on number of purchases are sugar, shirts, blankets, vermilion, gun powder, knives, flour, lead, flints, cloth (woolen), scarlet (cloth), strouds (coarse woolens), coffee, bridles, and stirrups and/or stirrup leathers. An analysis of the ledger, with the total number of purchases, listing of all goods purchased, and volume of goods appears as Appendix E of this report.

An interesting aspect of the ledger is the amount of foodstuffs traded to the Indians, items of trade not indicated in most other sources in the variety in which they are represented here. The 1848-51 fort inventories, for instance, do not list many foods, nor are they listed in quantities that would indicate a large trade in foodstuffs. Foods, however, were a popular and necessary item of trade. In addition to the mention of sugar, coffee, tea, and shelled corn as being traded for

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[138] Parfleches are rawhide storage containers; cabrie skins are antelope; apichemos are fur saddle blankets.

[139] National Park Service, *Fort Union Trading Post NHS, Material Culture Reports, Parts 1-5*, by William J. Hunt, Jr. (Lincoln, Nebraska: Midwest Archeological Center, 1988). See also NPS, *Beads of the Bison Robe Trade: The Fort Union Trading Post Collection*, by Steven Leroy DeVore (Williston, North Dakota: Friends of Fort Union Trading Post, 1992).

buffalo robes, there are other references to foods as a profitable article of trade. Edwin Denig stated that the Assiniboines have developed a taste for "flour, coffee, and other things,"[140] and Rudolph Kurz described a crisis due to lack of sugar:

> We have another great stir in fort and camp. The sugar is out. No more sugar for coffee, no more sugar given away, no sugar either for sale or for buffalo hides....It will be almost half a year before a fresh cargo can be had. The sweet-tooth engagees have well supplied themselves...they went...into the storehouse and...put 50 pounds, in secret, to their account. In that way several barrels have been emptied without Mr. Denig's knowledge....What damage to trade! 10 barrels more of meal and 20 barrels more of sugar would have been no appreciable increase in the steamer's cargo, while for want of a sufficient quantity of these commodities several hundred buffalo robes are lost to the company, for the reason that Indians put themselves to little trouble for other goods on sale. In winter they prefer robes to woolen blankets, and their own sort of clothes made of skin to those made of cloth....[141]

Kurz also described the common method of measuring loose foodstuffs like sugar, when he defined a *beaker* as a "mug, cup, tin drinking cup, but also used for measuring sugar, coffee, and meal. It holds a pint. Coffee struck off level with the top, sugar or meal heaped up, is reckoned a pound."[142] The old axiom of "a pint a pound, the world around," however, is somewhat of an oversimplification, since pints of diverse materials will not weigh the same. The British used pint measures of varying sizes to accommodate these differences, but this system was officially replaced by the Imperial Measure system in 1824.[143] The expedient adopted at Fort Union was apparently to give a level or heaping measure depending on the food being dispensed, and the Indians probably had to be watchful to make sure that a full measure was given; a Cree chief in the eighteenth century had warned his trader to "Tell your servants to fill the measure and not to put their fingers within the brim...."[144]

One important item of trade which will not be found in the inventories is the liquor intended for the Indian trade. It was considered indispensable to the trade, and much effort was expended in finding ways of carrying it upstream undetected. American traders had always claimed that alcohol was necessary in order to compete with the British, a view represented by John Jacob Astor's candid remarks in 1822:

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[140] Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, p. 95.

[141] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, pp. 246-47.

[142] Ibid., p. 170.

[143] National Park Service, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860: A Historical Archeological Investigation of the Goods Imported and Manufactured by the Hudson's Bay Company*, by Lester A. Ross (Vancouver, Washington: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, 1976), vol. 4, pp. 1359-61.

[144] Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet: the Great Lakes Fur Trade*, p. 54.

> Wherever the trade is exclusively in the hands of our own citizens, there can be no doubt that the uniform and complete enforcement of such a law [prohibiting liquor] will be beneficial both to the Indians and the traders; but at those points where we come in contact with the Hudson's Bay Company we must either abandon the trade or be permitted to use it, to a limited extent at least, in order to counteract, in some measure, the influence of our rivals, who can introduce any quantity they please.[145]

The trade in liquor does not need to be explored in depth for the purposes of this report, since it was done surreptitiously after the law of 1833 prohibiting importation of liquor into Indian country, and at Fort Union particularly after Kenneth McKenzie's distillery experiment that same year was made public. Charles Larpenteur noted in 1834 that trade commenced in the fall,

> principally in jerked buffalo meat and tallow, both mostly traded for liquor. The liquor business, which was always done at night, sometimes kept me up all night turning out drunken Indians, often by dragging them out by arms and legs. Although the still house had been destroyed, the Company found means to smuggle plenty of liquor.[146]

It should be recognized that liquor was thought to be essential to the Indian trade, and that it was a major point of contention between rival fur companies and between the companies and the government. It was smuggled upriver in barrels and bales of trade goods, and overland on pack animals in flattened kegs. Continuing evasion of the laws was risked because of the enormous profits that could be made in the selling of it, and because of its usefulness in retaining the patronage of Indian tribes and keeping them away from the competition.

American Fur Company traders constantly demanded alcohol in order to be able to compete with their rivals; the following quote from Honoré Picotte at Fort Pierre to Pierre Chouteau in 1843 is typical:

> In one thing they (Fox, Livingston and Company) have the advantage and that is liquor. We know to a certainty that they have five barrels at Cedar Island, seventeen at Fort Union (Fort Mortimer near Fort Union), seven of which were taken up by the steamboat New Haven last fall from Fort George, and three at Fort Clark....Pratte and Cabanne have twelve kegs *en cache* at the head of the Cheyenne....Under these circumstances you see plainly that we must lose the Blackfeet and Assiniboine trade next year *unless we have liquor*. I therefore request you to use all your influence to send us some of that article next year, say four or five hundred gallons in canteens, kegs, even in bottles, if in no other way. It will require that quantity to compete with Cutting....At all events *we must have it*.[147]

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[145] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, p. 26.

[146] Coues, *Forty Year a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: the Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872*, p. 74.

[147] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

One way in which the American Fur Company attempted to get the better of the competition, since shipping liquor was difficult, was to appear to be in favor of government prohibitions, even to the point of assisting government agents in cracking down on the trade, especially the trade of the competition. If lack of alcohol were to force out the opposition companies, then it would be back to business as usual for the AFC, dealing in liquor in its low-key way. This strategy was aided by the appointment of Andrew Drips as Upper Missouri Indian Agent in 1842, since Drips was a former AFC employee. In the spring of 1843 he was ordered to Fort Union, where he would accept the hospitality of the AFC while pursuing his investigations. John A. Ebbetts, whose company was in competition with the AFC at the time, boasted that as long as he controlled the better part of the liquor trade on the upper Missouri, the "damnd agent (Drips) of the Co's notwithstanding,"[148] he would continue to trade successfully. According to John E. Sunder:

> ...by January, 1843, he was ready to take liquor into the Sioux camps near Fort Pierre. His alcohol, mixed with river water and a few condiments (usually chewing tobacco, Jamaica ginger, molasses, and peppers) looked like whiskey, at least to an Indian, and tasted spirited.[149]

The Sioux themselves, however, "favored an end to the liquor trade and were surprised that the Great White Father had not sent soldiers to control it."[150] Another AFC competitor, the Pratte and Cabanne Company, "do not deny having liquor but defy me to find it," wrote Indian subagent Joseph Varnum Hamilton in 1844.[151] All of this playing hide and seek with liquor supplies began to jeopardize American Fur Company trade, since they were obliged to hold down their liquor traffic while Drips conducted his "investigation." The desired effect was eventually obtained, however, when both Ebbett's Union Fur Company and the Pratte and Cabanne Company left the upper Missouri in 1845.[152]

One final form of trade goods which has not yet been described is Indian-made items that were either presented to the traders by the Indians, or were the subject of private transactions between whites and Indians. Irish adventurer John Palliser, who visited Fort Union during the winter of 1847-48, bought the scalp of an Oto from a group of Sioux, "also the poor devil's head-dress, made of the scalp of a black bear, for which I gave about fifteen rounds of ammunition and a striped

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[148] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865*, p. 56.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid., p. 69.

[151] Ibid., p. 70.

[152] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

cotton shirt."[153] Rudolph Kurz provides several instances of this kind of trade: in one case, Edwin Denig was presented with a "genuine Blackfeet scalp" by the "famous Absaroka amazon" (a well-known female Crow warrior). Denig later gave it to Kurz, who was happy to have it for his collection because an Indian "seldom parts with those trophies." Besides, Kurz had his suspicions that a scalp he had previously received from his Indian father-in-law was actually a piece of bear skin.[154]

Denig bartered with another Crow for "a charming pipe-bowl of red sandstone" (pipestone or catlinite), which he also offered to Kurz

> at cost price for my collection....I bought the beautiful pipe bowl for $7 and had it charged to my account. For such a treasure I should have to pay, among the Crows, the price of a pack horse....These pipe bowls are fashioned (drilled out, shaped, and polished) by the Sioux, but are offered as articles of trade among all the rest of the natives as well.[155]

Later, Denig bartered again with the Crow, this time for a necklace of bear's claws. Kurz commented that

> when an Indian offers such ornaments for sale one gets them always for much less than when one asks the redskin to set his price....Mr. Denig barters for such trinkets and trappings as an accommodation to the Indians only when he sees that he can dispose of the object in question at a profit, or at least without a loss. He offered me the necklace at the cost price ($10). I took it at once.[156]

As a final example, Denig was presented with a "military headdress containing 36 eagle feathers, that is, three full eagle tails valued by the Indians at the price paid for three good pack horses" ($36).[157] This valuable and important item was not an outright gift, however. The chief who gave it expected something in return, says Kurz:

> Indians are never generous toward a white person; they expect always a gift in return, sooner or later. Even among his own people an Indian is liberal with gifts (meat excepted) only to win friends or partisans, to secure for himself a large number of adherents.[158]

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[153] John Palliser, *Solitary Rambles and Adventures of a Hunter in the Prairies*, (Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969), p. 97.

[154] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, pp. 213-214.

[155] Ibid., p. 257.

[156] Ibid., p. 259.

[157] Ibid., p. 269.

[158] Ibid.

The exchange of presents between traders and Indians was an important component of the trading ritual which will be treated below, in the section on receptions. The chief who gave Denig the headdress had come to sell robes. The Indian-made goods that Denig received in this way were probably displayed in the Fort; we can see several items in Kurz's drawing of the Indian Trade House office, and other items were probably displayed in the Reception room and the Bourgeois house.

RECEPTIONS

Receptions opened the trade, and the proper ceremonies had to be conducted for the entrance of an important group of Indians into the fort, even before the reception could begin. Prince Maximilian described the opening of trade at Fort McKenzie in 1833, conducted by David Mitchell, AFC trader and builder of that fort:

> On the 10th of August preparations were made for the solemn reception of the Indians, which always precedes the opening of the trade, and which is considered by the Indians as a matter of great importance. The flag being hoisted, two small cannons, placed in the middle of the courtyard, fired signals for the commencement of the trade....When Ninoch-Kiaiu (the bear chief) approached the gate, it was opened, and the two cannons were again fired. He entered, followed by three or four chiefs, who approached Mr. Mitchell with their heads inclined; and, after shaking hands with him, were made to sit down in the Indian apartment.[159]

He goes on to say that chiefs were always welcomed by the firing of the cannons; the chiefs then "delivered their colors, most of which they had received from English merchants, and which were carried before them on long ensign staffs, quite in military style."[160] Mitchell had attempted, in the previous year, "to dispense with these salutations, but the Indians immediately took offence and were even going to part without transacting any business; for they are extremely punctilious in points of honour."[161]

Later, at Fort Union, "General Jackson," with 23 of his warriors, made his entry "in due form into the fort. They advanced in a line, and were conducted to the Indian apartment, where they smoked their pipes."[162] Prince Maximilian also noted that a group of Assiniboines had visited Fort Union, and that the gate was shut, with

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[159] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 23, p. 125.

[160] Ibid., pp. 126-27.

[161] Ibid., p. 127.

[162] Ibid., p. 202.

> a guard set before it, for too many Indians are never admitted at the same time, because they can never be implicitly trusted. On this occasion, only the chiefs and about thirty of the principal warriors were admitted, who sat down around the apartment which was allotted to such meetings.[163]

Father Nicholas Point described a very formal procession of Gros Ventres, about 200 lodges in all, visiting Fort Lewis in 1846. He also says that "only the great men would have free entry into the fort" [about fifty in all], but the larger group, assembled outside the fort, must have been an impressive sight:

> While the American flag fluttered in the wind and the cannon echoed along the banks of the river, the authorities of the fort advanced to meet their visitors, who were on foot, arranged in several rows. The chiefs and the calumet bearers were in the front line, the older warriors and the great men were in the second line. In the third line were the soldiers proper, that is, young men commissioned to maintain order.[164]

Feasting, smoking, gift-giving, and speechmaking were the important features of a reception, and several accounts document in detail the ritual as conducted at the forts. This material should help in the furnishing and interpretation of the reception room, since we lack any real description of the room itself. The objects mentioned in these accounts may have been the closest things to furnishings in this room.

Receptions were time-consuming and expensive for the fur trade companies, but indispensable for keeping the patronage of the Indians, especially since alcohol had to be either withheld or distributed discreetly, and not during public occasions. One of the most important, and for the trader, costly, components of a reception was gift-giving. Prince Maximilian gives several instances in which David Mitchell was under obligation to distribute expensive gifts, first to Mehkskehme-Sukahs [the Iron Shirt] and a group of Piegan chiefs:

> The chief...took out of a bag a chief's scarlet uniform, with blue facings and yellow lace, which he had received from the English, six red and black plumes of feathers, a dagger with its sheath, a coloured pocket-handkerchief, and two beaver skins, all which he laid before Mr. Mitchell as a present, who was obliged to accept these things whether he liked or not, thereby laying himself under the obligation of making presents in return, and especially a new uniform.[165]

This presentation took place at an Indian camp. The next day, Iron Shirt and his entourage visited Mitchell at Fort McKenzie:

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[163] Ibid., p. 16.

[164] Nicholas Point, S.J., *Wilderness Kingdom: Indian Life in the Rocky Mountains: 1840-1847, the Journals & Paintings of Nicholas Point, S.J.*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 210.

[165] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. 23, p. 124.

> The chiefs and about thirty of the principal warriors were admitted, and, after being seated on buffalo hides in the dining apartment, they refreshed themselves by drinking and smoking....The chiefs wore, for the most part, the uniform received from the Company, made in the fashion of a great coat, with round hats and tufts of feathers, on which they prided themselves greatly....Some of their uniforms were of two colours--one half red, and the other half green....[166]

While the warriors smoked, Mitchell made a present to one of the chiefs of

> a new uniform, half red and half green, with red and green facings, and trimmed with silver lace; a red felt hat, ornamented with many tufts of feathers; in short, a complete dress, and a new double-barrelled percussion gun. Mr. Mitchell wished particularly to distinguish this man, because he had never been to the north to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. When he had equipped himself in his new uniform, which was worth 150 dollars...it immediately became evident that the distinction conferred upon him made no favourable impression on them...[the other chiefs].[167]

Iron Shirt and others, who had also made presents to Mitchell, were embarrassed by this attention to only one of their number, but Mitchell intended the presentation as an object lesson: he explained that the American Fur Company rewarded its faithful friends in this way, and that for those who traded with the English, it would be in their interest to deal exclusively with the AFC in the future.[168]

Not long after this, the principal chiefs of the Piegans visited,

> whom Mr. Mitchell clothed in red uniforms, calico shirts, and every other article of dress--hung about their necks round looking-glasses, or silver medals with the bust of the president, &c....he put on them new red felt hats, with red plumes of feathers....They...received other presents, such as powder, ball, tobacco, knives, &c. The dress of every chief might be estimated at ninety dollars.[169]

Prince Maximilian also commented on the attitude of the Indians towards gifts. They believed that they were entitled to this tribute, he said, for letting the whites, whom they considered a weak, dependent race, trade with them. At Fort Clark,

> Mr. Sanford, the sub-agent of the Mandans, Manitaries, and Crows, had a conference with Eripuass (the rotten belly), the distinguished chief of the latter....Mr. Sanford recommended to the chief continued good treatment of the white people who should come to his territory, hung a medal round his neck, and, in the name of the government, made him a considerable present of cloth, powder, ball, tobacco, &c., which this haughty man received without any sign of gratitude; on the

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[166] Ibid., p. 126.

[167] Ibid., p. 127.

[168] Ibid., pp. 127-28.

[169] Ibid., p. 161.

contrary, these people consider such presents as a tribute due to them, and a proof of weakness.[170]

Union Fur Company trader Fulton Cutting, at Fort Mortimer, discovered how costly gift-giving could be, especially if it backfired:

> He bartered liberally--too liberally--for robes and furs and on one occasion presented the Assiniboine Chief Crazy Bear with a full military outfit, "fine fur hat and feathers," and a "beautiful sword." The Chief took his gaudy new costume to the agent at Fort Union and turned it over to him as a sign of Assiniboine loyalty to the American Fur Company. Cutting was astonished by the Indian's lack of good faith....[171]

Charles Larpenteur was the original source for this story, and he goes on to say that Crazy Bear was indignant at the thought that he could be "seduced with trinkets" by Cutting. At Fort Union, Crazy Bear told Alexander Culbertson that he had not refused the presents, since he had been treated well by Cutting, and had not asked for anything. No gifts, however, could make him abandon "this house, where are buried the remains of our fathers, whose tracks are yet fresh in all the paths leading to this place."[172]

Larpenteur also records gifts to another chief in 1835:

> The twenty two indians which arrived on the 6th started back to their camp With a little amunition and Tobacco the Moose Dung as being a very considerable man received a present consisting of three hundred Balls and powder seventy twist of tobacco two knives four gun worms ten flints two awls one vile of Pepper mint one vile of eye water and one yard of calico. the old fellow had the misfortune to have had his horse either stolen or lost which obliged him to borrough one from the company for which he promised to pay four Robes. Traded from them eleven good Robes.[173]

John James Audubon describes the gifts presented at Fort Union by Alexander Culbertson to a band of Cree who had threatened to take their trade to the British, since they could get alcohol at Hudson's Bay Company forts:

> After a long talk and smoking of pipes, tobacco, flints, powder, gun-screws and vermilion were placed before their great chief...who examined everything minutely,

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[170] Ibid., vol. 22, p. 351.

[171] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865*, pp. 54-55.

[172] Coues, *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: the Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872*, pp. 183-84.

[173] Larpenteur, "White Man Bear, Upper Missouri Trader: Journals and Notes of Charles Larpenteur between 1834 and 1872," pp. 91-92.

counting over the packets of vermilion; more tobacco was added, a file, and a piece of white cotton with which to adorn his head....[174]

Finally, Rudolph Kurz explained the need for gift-giving in this way:

> Among themselves, Indians value liberality, "largesse," very highly as a virtue....But generosity on the part of a paleface wins neither their friendship nor their respect. They do not look upon a white person as one of themselves or as a recognized friend; his liberality shows his dependence; he seeks protection. The paleface owns no land; he is obliged to get permission to found his fort, to trade with the native race; and he is required to pay formal tribute for the privilege.[175]

Thaddeus Culbertson, George Catlin, and Frank B. Mayer have left detailed descriptions of receptions from the 1830s through the early 1850s. Due to their length, they appear as Appendix C of this report. They are interesting for the sense of solemnity and dignity they convey to the reader, and for showing the length of time needed to conduct a reception properly. A more casual relationship existed at certain places and times, however, in contrast to the gravity of the formal receptions. James Chambers noted in his journal at Fort Sarpy in 1855:

> Cold morning fort full of Crow loafers no robes--dull times the settee in the office affords a fine lounge for those Indans [sic] who poor fellows have to wait often some Minutes for their coffee As that piece of furniture is not of unlimited length some are obliged to sleep standing whilst others find a more comfortable snoozing place on the floor among the dogs. Sugar & credit much in demand the former to drink the health of the fort the latter merely to have something to be remembered by.[176]

Note that Chambers refers to the Indians waiting in the office for their coffee, on the settee. At Sarpy, the office must have been accessible to the Indians and served as the place where they were entertained. Settees and benches must have been common seating furniture in fort offices and other rooms where groups assembled. Kurz shows a long bench, apparently built of boards, in the office at Fort Union, where three Indians sit watching Denig and le Tout Piqué. Kurz also mentions Indians being fed in the office, in late October 1851, during the visit of a group of Crow led by Chief Rottentail. The chief and his entourage had to be brought first to the interpreter's room rather than to the office or reception room, since the fort's only interpreter for the Absaroka language, Packinaud, was wounded and bedridden:

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[174] Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, vol. 2, p. 109.

[175] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 154.

[176] "Original Journal of James H. Chambers, Fort Sarpy," in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, (Helena, Montana: Naegele Printing Co., 1940), vol. 10, p. 155.

> As soon as the Crow women had brought in their heavy bundles and everything was in order Rottentail produced a superb military headdress, which he put on the bourgeois' head, and hung a handsome buffalo robe on his shoulders.[177]

This was the second headdress Denig had received from Rottentail, and the second buffalo robe in a week. After this meeting, the Crow were "served meats, crackers, and sweetened tea in the office."[178] The "heavy bundles" mentioned above as being carried in by the women were, undoubtedly, buffalo robes.

How much trade was conducted at the receptions is unknown, but it was probably limited to ceremonial exchanges, such as the uniforms and headdresses mentioned above. Kurz, in his description of the reception for le Tout Piqué, said that the Cree chief received a decorated pipe stem, and Edwin Denig received a buffalo robe. Both are shown in his drawing. The real reasons for the reception are probably indicated by the chief's remarks to Denig that he was a loyal patron of the fort who had never traded with the opposition, but that he had left fifty tents of his band behind, who were waiting to learn how he had been treated. Denig, in reply, promised "friendship and fair prices."[179]

In other words, the meeting set the tone for the trade that would follow; the Indians let the trader know what their expectations were, and he, in turn, would assure them of good prices for their robes and furs.

Indians would expect a "feast" at their reception, along with plenty of tobacco and coffee to accompany the eating and speechmaking. These elements of the reception provide clues to the types of artifacts that might be present in the reception room. For example, Nicholas Point describes "not only the great calumet but also kettles of corn and jars of water mixed with molasses" being present at a reception for fifty "great men" of the Gros Ventres at Fort Lewis in 1846. They were disappointed, however, in one respect: "the drink, not having the stimulating power of former years, brought forth sad complaints...."[180]

Thaddeus Culbertson, in telling us of a reception at Yankton Trading house given by his brother, felt that all that was required was "a little coffee and some gammon, or mush served in the simplest style."[181] Sixty or seventy Indians were gathered for this occasion; two kettles were placed on the floor, and each guest

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[177] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 212.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 203-04.

[180] Point, *Wilderness Kingdom: Indian Life in the Rocky Mountains: 1840-1847, the Journals & Paintings of Nicholas Point, S.J.*, p. 210.

[181] Culbertson, *Journal of an Expedition to the Mauvaises Terres and the Upper Missouri in 1850*, p. 53.

received "a pan of some kind." After speeches had been given by Culbertson and one of the Indian elders, coffee and gammon were served.[182]

Less than a month later, Culbertson observed another reception at Fort Pierre for a group of Blackfeet, who had arrived, about fifty lodges in all, on horseback, preceded by several on foot bearing two American flags. Four five-gallon kettles were placed in the middle of the room, filled with "most tempting mush," plus "two others, equally large, filled with equally tempting coffee, already sweetened, while on the floor were fifty large hard crackers (pilot bread), and about one-hundred plugs of very common tobacco."[183]

Culbertson noted that the Indians were all in full dress, some wearing "the much coveted soldier coat," others wearing fur caps decorated with feathers. Those who could get them were seated on chairs, while those in the middle sat on the floor. Each one "had his pan (they provide their own utensils for eating here)"; one old man who had no pan was given a large tin mug when the coffee was served and, out of respect, a triple portion of that beverage. After eating, each guest was given two plugs of tobacco. These Indians traded a large number of robes that afternoon, mostly for food, since they had been in an almost starving condition for some time.[184]

The providing of food at a reception, and probably the reception itself, depended in most cases on the Indians bringing something to trade. Kurz says that since Crazy Bear's family had brought

> four packs of buffalo hides--that is, 40 robes--the bourgeois had a meal served them, consisting of boiled meat and corn, sweetened coffee, and beugnies....Men were served first, then women; children were counted with their mothers.[185]

Similarly, when "a band of Assiniboine came from their settlement on horseback, bringing dried buffalo meat for sale," they were "invited to partake of sweetened coffee, which must now replace the whisky that used to be served."[186]

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[182] Ibid.

[183] Ibid., p. 81.

[184] Ibid., pp. 82-83.

[185] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 218.

[186] Ibid., p. 130.

EVIDENCE OF ROOM USE AND FURNISHINGS

RECEPTION ROOM

The quotes cited earlier agree in most respects with regard to the features of a typical reception. It would appear that most of what would be found in the reception room at Fort Union would be those things that are mentioned in the descriptions, such as pans and kettles, or those things implied by the mention of others, such as the fireplace equipment that would be needed for the preparation of the food in the kettles, assuming that it was either cooked or kept hot at the fireplace in this room. Other items, such as lighting devices, are not mentioned in the descriptions but would probably be present in very small numbers.

The following quote, although it describes a group of Indians in the interpreter's room at Fort Union, evokes the appearance and mood of the reception room as it probably looked while in use:

> The room, dimly lighted by the open fire and one candle, was crowded with performers and onlookers made up of redskins, white people, and halfbreeds. According to Indian custom, eight Herantsa and seven Assiniboine sat opposite one another on the floor, encircled about a pile of bows, quivers, knives, calico, etc....[187]

Shortly after his arrival at Fort Union, Rudolph Kurz noted that

> a young grizzly bear and a war eagle, both alive, are confined behind the powder house. A number of Indian trinkets are displayed in the reception room and there are, besides, a stuffed Rocky Mountain sheep (female bighorn), black-tailed deer, large white owl, prairie hens, and pheasants, all of which will afford me, meanwhile, sufficient models for sketches and studies.

Depending on how this statement is read, it may mean that all of the above-mentioned animals were displayed in the reception room, or that the "Indian trinkets" were there, and the stuffed animals were displayed in various locations around the fort. Kurz gives us some additional information when he writes, in a footnote to his December 14, 1851, entry, that

> according to Audubon and Bachman, the head of a buck in our public room at this fort is of the Columbia Blacktail species (Richarsonii), not the same as the mule deer....This head has ears...that cover the first branching-off of the horns and are larger than those of the *Cervus Macrotis*.[188]

This probably means that the stuffed black-tailed deer listed above was the head on the reception room wall. The Rocky Mountain sheep, then, may also have

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[187] Ibid., p. 200.

[188] Ernst J. Kläy and Hans Läng, *Das romantische Leben der Indianer, malerisch darzustellen...Leben und Werk von Rudolf Friedrich Kurz (1818-1871)*, (Solothurn, Verlag AARE, 1984), p. 247.

been a mounted head in the same room, and the owl, prairie hens, and pheasants could have been displayed in various locations around the room, on shelves, branches, or around the fireplace.

Kurz is really specific about only two of the items that were in the reception room in the fall of 1851, because they were two of his paintings. He refers to the first painting in this way, while describing a visit by a group of Herantsa on October 16: "they...inspected the white lady on the wall in the reception room, examining her from every side, even from heels to head...."[189] This is undoubtedly a semi-nude painted for Denig earlier that month, which was a variation of a drawing Kurz had been working on for some time. Kurz's first assignment at the fort was "to paint, first of all, the front of the house, and then...to decorate the reception room with pictures,"[190] and we know that at least two paintings were hung there: this one and a portrait of Alexander Culbertson. Kurz describes the circumstances surrounding the painting of this figure in this way:

> Mr. Denig came upon me while I was working on a sketch of my feminine beau ideal. He was extraordinarily pleased with the form and wished to have it painted at once, so that he might hang the picture on the wall in the reception room. He could not forebear his bad jest, however, concerning my hard task in attempting to portray a naked human figure so divine, so exalted, that it would make no appeal to the sensual.[191]

This was on October 4; the next day:

> Mr. Denig came again to see the sketch of my ideal human figure, repeating his obscene remarks, and expressed again his desire to possess a painting of it. When he received, on the contrary, a curt refusal, he found only faults in my conception of feminine loveliness--she looked ugly, was much too thin, etc. I replied that I would much rather hear him find fault with the sketch than to listen to coarse remarks. To paint a nude figure merely for the sake of appealing to his carnal passions and those of other men was beneath my dignity. For the painting of other objects I was entirely at his service, but I would not paint this...[the remainder of his quote is edited out of this edition].[192]

Two days later he seems to have thought better of his refusal, since he writes that "for the sake of keeping on good terms with my bourgeois I began to paint another female figure, but not entirely in the nude."[193] Kurz's drawing style, and his way of portraying the human figure, can be seen in many of his sketches from his time at Fort Union, particularly his depictions of Indians [both women and

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[189] Ibid., p. 199.

[190] Ibid., p. 121.

[191] Ibid., p. 166.

[192] Ibid., pp. 166-67.

[193] Ibid., p. 167.

men]. His figures are very classical in proportion and fit his attitude, seen in his journal, that the Indians are a noble race existing in a state of nature:

> My ideal of the perfect human form was at first only [an impractical fancy]....As I progressed, however, in my studies...my conception of the high purpose of the fine arts gave to that early fancy a more and more definite and lofty direction....To create the human form in its highest perfection...became my high ideal. While my present aim to reproduce this Indian life in art is merely a preparation for my ultimate life achievement, still the two purposes are inseparably connected. I must become acquainted with the mode of life among primitive people in order that I may truly represent them....However, it is not primitive man in his life of untroubled ease that I shall attempt to reproduce in painting; I will represent him under circumstances that test his faculties of heart and mind--his force of character. For that reason I am studying American Indians....[194]

By October 9, the painting is finished:

> I have finished the picture I was painting. While working on it, I was often set laughing by Denig's remarks. At every stroke of the brush he found fault, just as with the other one. I let him chatter, because his judgement is in no sense authoritative so far as I am concerned. In other matters I strive to please him. Finally when the meaning of the picture began "to be apparent" he began to understand and became then just as much concerned for fear I might spoil what I had done well. "Don't touch it again. You will certainly ruin it. Stop! Stop!" And so on.[195]

By the next day he could say "I have cleared up everything; the bourgeois has all now that he desires from me as a painter."[196]

By November, the second of Kurz's portraits, a painting of Alexander Culbertson, was added to the room's furnishings. On November 5, Kurz began

> painting Mr. Culbertson today, under the same difficulties due to insufficient colors and wrong sort of brushes: ceruse [sic], black, vermilion, Prussian blue, yellow ochre, and chrome yellow are the only colors I have, while my brushes are those used, in general, for the beard and for flat painting.[197]

Kurz was forced to hurry with the painting and probably finished it in a day. It was "immediately hung on the wall in the reception room, where it was soon damaged by Indian women and children who insisted on touching it to convince

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[194] Ibid., pp. 90-93.

[195] Ibid., p. 170.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Ibid., p. 223. Vermilion and chrome yellow are pigments used in the trade with the Indians, along with verdigris or chrome green.

themselves that the figure painted there was really alive."[198] He wasn't able to repair it until November 22; however, he notes he has "restored Mr. Culbertson's portrait as well as I could."[199] Two sketches of Culbertson exist from Fort Union which are dated November 6 and 11. The portrait was probably very similar to them.[200]

The interior walls of this room had been previously painted by Kurz; back in September he spent a day "painting, with the assistance of two clerks...the balcony and reception room...."[201]

The paintings in the reception room were obviously a great curiosity to the Indians, and were among the items whose placement was calculated to be a source of wonderment to them.

Other items that should be included in the room's furnishings are the "Indian trinkets" mentioned above. These were probably articles of the type presented to Denig, such as pipes, beaded bags, decorated robes, parfleches, scalps, or other items typical of the tribes with which the fort traded. Additional robes, for seating or to represent trade, should be included, as well as any of the items mentioned above as having been presented to Indians at receptions, such as chief's coats, hats, medals, mirrors, knives, guns, tobacco, pipes, ball, powder, flints, gun worms, cloth, swords, awls, vermilion, or vials of peppermint or eyewater.

Finally, objects needed for conducting a reception, whether provided by the visitors or by the fort, should also be included, such as peace pipes, tobacco, kettles, pans, tin cups, or horn spoons; as well as items that, while not documented, may have been present as room furnishings, such as benches, fireplace equipment, or lighting devices. One of Kurz's eagle flags, hung as an enticement to visiting chiefs, would also not be out of place here.

OFFICE

We are more fortunate with regard to the office, since several items can be documented either through Kurz's descriptions, his illustration of the meeting with le Tout Piqué, or both. Kurz specifically mentions two of the items that also appear in his illustration: his portrait of Edwin Denig and one of his eagle banners.

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[198] Ibid., p. 224.

[199] Ibid., p. 238.

[200] Kläy and Läng, *Das romantische Leben der Indianer, malerisch darzustellen...*, p. 104.

[201] Ibid., p. 122.

Kurz had said that one of Denig's projects for him was "to execute a life-size portrait of himself that is to hang in the office where it will strike the Indians with awe."[202] This was in early September; by September 24, he writes that he "began a portrait of Mr. Denig--life-size, knee-length. This work is to be finished before Mr. Culbertson's return from Fort Laramie for the reason that he may possibly take me with him to Fort Benton."[203]

Denig had some very specific opinions about painting, as can be seen above in his criticism of the "white lady." Kurz said that he thought

> a portrait worthless unless the eyes follow a person who gazes upon it, no matter on which side the beholder stands; furthermore, a portrait must be drawn life-size and painted in oil, he says--otherwise it is of no value as a true representation. A watercolor, it appears, has no worth.[204]

One other detail about the painting is mentioned in Kurz's journal: Denig was troubled, late in the year, by a swollen, infected thumb; Kurz was

> frequently summoned...to write something down, because his sore thumb is giving him a great deal of pain. (The thumb he is in the habit of thrusting into his waistcoat, just as I represented him in the portrait I painted.)[205]

Note that in Kurz's drawing, the men's clothing is buttoned right over left, and that it is Denig's left thumb which is in his waistcoat in the painting. Unfortunately, the drawing shows few other details of the painting; Kurz changed the back wall in the drawing, shifting the locations of the north wall, fireplace, and portrait, so these show up as double images. All that can be seen, besides the posture and the attitude of Denig's left arm and thumb, is that he is shown in a coat with lapels and cuffs, and that the painting is unframed and hanging from a nail in the wall. Kurz's sketches of Alexander Culbertson show him in a frock coat of this period, and the steamboat *Arabia* collections contain a brown coat of this type, dated to 1856. Kurz and Nicholas Point also show shirts with collars turned down over knotted scarves [silk or printed cotton] rather than standing collars with stocks or formal cravats.

He also mentions one item that does not appear in the illustration and which was probably on a wall not visible in the drawing: his companion portrait of Denig's dog, Natoh. Kurz had painted it earlier than the one of Denig, on September 22:

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[202] Ibid., p. 121.

[203] Ibid., p. 141.

[204] Ibid., p. 130.

[205] Ibid., p. 256.

> Today I painted a good-sized picture of my bourgeois' pet, Natoh, whose image I represented so true to life that his master was perfectly satisfied and the women especially delighted. I took pleasure in the work on my part, because it has been so long since I painted in oil that I feared I might get out of practice.[206]

Natoh appears in the foreground of Kurz's drawing.

On October 16, Denig brought a group of Herantsa through the office and reception room:

> "Now I will see what they think of the portrait--vas?" he remarked aside to me.
>
> They recognized Mr. Denig's picture immediately upon entering the office, strode up to it, and offered to shake hands. As they found no response whatsoever on the part of the image they were extraordinarily astonished. They placed their fingers on their lips in token of their amazement. No living person was standing there; the image was not reflected in a mirror; they found the solution of this mystery beyond them.
>
> Natoh's picture they recognized also, but could not comprehend why one would pay such honor to a dog....After they had inspected the white lady on the wall in the reception room...Mr. Denig asked them whether they believed that he or his dog must inevitably die on account of this.[207]

This latter statement reflects the suspicion that had grown up among the Indians that Kurz's drawings and paintings were the source of disease and misfortune, and that anyone painted would die. Unfortunately, Natoh did die shortly after, on November 17, so his picture was removed from the office. Kurz found it in a garret on November 24: "Is it due to delicate sensibilities or superstition that they keep his image in hiding?"[208]

Kurz's other painting project that is evident in the office is the eagle flag on the north wall. It shows clearly in the drawing and is described in his journal as well:

> September 20. Mr. Denig has again contrived some employment for me, i.e., to paint the picture of an eagle, life size, on cotton cloth; then to sew thereon stripes of red and white cloth in alternating stripes about 15 feet long, thus providing flags for Indians. They are to pay the handsome price of 20 robes apiece for these standards; so only the wealthiest among them can afford to enjoy the distinction of possessing one....After a few studies from life and further understanding as to the position the eagle was to have in relation to the peace pipe, I set to work at once.[209]

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[206] Ibid., p. 137.

[207] Ibid., p. 199.

[208] Ibid., p. 239.

[209] Ibid., p. 133.

The eagle represented on the flag is probably a golden eagle, since Kurz made studies from life before beginning the flag, and he states that the golden eagle is well known to the Indians, but the bald eagle, symbol of the United States, is not known on the Missouri.[210] The eagle is depicted holding a peace pipe in its talons. Judging by the apparent length of the banner in the drawing, which does not extend as far as the door on the north wall of the office [the location of which, though not shown in the drawing, can be figured from the beam in the floor], the stripes must have been considerably shorter than 15 feet, probably closer to 10 feet, on a banner with a total length of about 13 feet, and a height of almost 3 feet.

The flag was completed by September 21, and must have been an appealing item to the chiefs. It may have been designed to be carried on a long ensign staff, in the way that Prince Maximilian described the Indians visiting Fort McKenzie carrying the colors they had received from the English. Kurz was requested to paint another flag on November 24: "I painted a large eagle for Bearshead; he has to pay 20 robes for the flag."[211] He doesn't say whether the original flag had been sold, or whether it was kept on the office wall for advertising purposes, and a new flag painted each time one was needed for sale. Kurz makes no mention of additional flags, so we don't know if he painted more than the two he specifically describes.

The remaining two items in the picture which are described by Kurz are not actually furnishings, but are important for interpretation of the room's ceremonial use: they are the pipe and buffalo robe exchanged by Denig and the chief. Kurz had decorated the pipestem but allowed Denig to claim it as his own work in exchange for being invited to attend the meeting:

> Some time ago I painted a flat pipestem white and sky blue in alternating fields, and in the four white fields I painted, respectively, a buffalo, a wolf, an owl, and a bear. This pipe I presented to Piqué.

In return, Denig was given a robe:

> I found Battiste sitting in the middle of the room as interpreter; on the floor beside him lay a beautiful buffalo robe....With much dignity of port Piqué now came forward, put the handsome buffalo robe about Mr. Denig's shoulders, and, holding the new peace pipe with his right hand, offered us his left in greeting.[212]

There are a few other clues in Kurz's description that help us visualize the scene in the office. First of all, there were two bands of Cree men present, all of whom

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[210] Ibid.

[211] Ibid., p. 239.

[212] Ibid.

were permitted to attend this event: "Against the walls braves of both bands were squatting in close rows. Rassade au Cou, Bras Casse, and one other were seated on a sofa."[213] There were probably not many chairs in the room, perhaps only the three illustrated, and only one of the three is probably an armchair, since the fort inventory for 1851 lists only one armchair.

The "sofa" appears as more of a plain wooden board bench with a back and arms, like a settle. Whether or not it has a cushion or any other padding or ornamentation is unknown but unlikely. It is probably not the same as the "sofa" listed in the fort inventory for that year, and definitely not the same as the "cloth covered and padded sofa new" also listed. Previous inventories listed a "sofa," "sofa and mattrass," and "cov'd settee," and James Chambers had referred to the "settee" in the office at Fort Sarpy, which was probably a bench like the one Kurz depicts: a simple, cheap, and utilitarian piece, probably made in-house.

Finally, Kurz says that after smoking the pipe "the guests were served baked meats and sweetened coffee."[214] Whether there were any cooking or eating vessels or utensils in the room at the time of the meeting is impossible to tell from the drawing. It may be that the food and coffee were brought in from the kitchen or reception room. This being October, there would probably be a fire in the fireplace, but no objects are visible there in the drawing, since le Tout Piqué is standing directly in front of it. The 1848-51 fort inventories do, however, list an assortment of fireplace tools, including up to seven pairs of andirons and assorted shovels, tongs, and pokers.

The furnishings which are depicted in Kurz's drawing, but not described, are as follows:

Deer head over fireplace (see discussion of types in section on reception room).

Two Indian-made objects flanking Denig's portrait: decorated pipe bag and an assemblage of trade medals, ribbon, and a bone whistle.

Armchair with padded seat and back; furniture of this type would have been shipped upriver from St. Louis.

Two common side chairs, probably wooden seats.

Desk, counting-house or clerk's type, probably cloth-covered (fort inventories list a cloth-covered desk and an office desk).

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[213] Ibid.

[214] Ibid., p. 204.

Book or ledger, on desk, open [fort inventories list ledgers and blank books].

Inkwell and pen, on desk (fort inventories list between two and four inkstands, and steel pens, clarified quills, good quills, and common quills).

Pipe, probably red clay (pipe bowl and stem are separate, unlike white kaolin pipes).

Unidentified object next to pipe (fort inventories list a variety of other desktop accessories such as penknives, patent and parallel rulers, wafers and wafer box, sealing wax, and a letter stamp). The object may also be an accessory for the pipe, such as tobacco or matches.

A chart of furnishings and office equipment which may have been in this room and/or the bourgeois house office follows. It begins with those items identified as furniture; that part of the column is empty for 1850, since those pages are missing from the microfilm copy of the inventory for that year:

1848	1849	1850	1851
1 U.S. chart	1 U.S. chart		1 U.S. chart
1 tin writing desk	1 tin writing cupboard		
			1 tin post office
	1 writing table		1 writing table
1 office desk	1 office desk		1 sma.desk
1 sma. cov'd writing desk	1 cloth covered desk		1 cloth covered desk
1 sofa			1 sofa
1 sofa and mattrass	1 sofa and mattrass		
	1 cov'd settee		
	1 damask covered sofa and chair		1 cloth covered and padded sofa new

2 arm chairs	2 arm chairs	1 arm chair
1 bookcase	1 bookcase	1 bookcase
	1 tobacco receiver	1 tob'o receiver
1 brass candlestick	1 brass candlestick	2 pr. brass candlesticks
2 old candlesticks		1 com'n do.
	1 japanned lamp	1/2 doz. sconces
7 pr. andirons	3 pr. andirons	3 prs. andirons
	2 pr. andirons	
2 fire shovels		2 tin shovels
2 pr. tongs	2 pr. tongs	
	1 poker	

The following furnishings and office-related objects appear in other parts of fort inventories:

2 prs. andirons	6 pr. andirons	2 pr. andirons
	1 pr. brass knob andirons	1 pr. andirons
1 pr. tongs & shovels	1 pr. tongs & shovels	1 ea. shovel & tongs
1 pr. tongs	3 prs. tongs	
	2 fire shovels	

1848	1849	1850	1851
		3 brass candlesticks	2 candlesticks
		1 candlestick	
1/4 doz. pocket inkstands	1/4 doz. pocket inkstands	1/4 doz. pocket inkstands	1/6 doz. pocket inkstands
2 red stone pipes	2 red stone pipes	2 red stone pipes	2 red stone pipes
1 ream cap paper	1/2 ream ruled cap paper		1 1/2 ream cap paper
1 ream letter paper	1/4 ream letter paper	1 ream letter paper	
		3/4 ream faint line paper	
	3/4 ream invoice paper	1/4 ream invoice paper	
	4 quires envelope paper		2 qrs. envelope paper
			4 1/2 sheets oil paper
	6 qr. wrapping paper		1/2 rhm. wrapping paper
	5 quires bills of lading	2 C blank bills of lading	4 qrs. bills of lading

1848	1849	1850	1851
	1/2 C engagements pr. ream	1 C blank engagements	1 qr. blank engagements
1/2 doz. blank day books	2 r'd ledgers	1 3 qr. blank book	3 1 qr. blank books
			1 copying press
			1 cap copying book
			1 letter copying book
			1 copying brush
			2 bot. copying ink
1/4 lbs. red sealing wax	1/4 lb. sealing wax		
wafer box			2 wafer boxes
7/12 doz. ink powder	1/6 doz. ink powder	3/4 doz. ink powder	2/3 doz. ink powders
		1 1/2 doz. blue ink	1 qt. black ink
	2 inkstands	1 inkstand	3 inkstands
	1 inkstand	1 inkstand	inkstand
1 desk penknife	1 desk penknife		5 1/2 doz. single pen knives
	5 doz. steel pens		3 doz. steel pens

1848	1849	1850	1851
	2 C good quills	1 C clarified quills	
		2 1/2 common do.	
	1/2 doz. lead pencils		
1 letter stamps	1 letter stamp		
1 parallel ruler	1 par'l ruler		1 patent ruler
1 sand box	1 sandbox & slate	1 sandbox	
		1 slate	1 slate
1 old robe in office			

(Note: quire= 24 or sometimes 25 sheets; ream= 20 quires, 480 or 500 sheets.)

TRADE SHOP

Trade Shop and Retail Store

The few quotes that describe trade in the Indian Trade House trade shop were given earlier in this report, and Thaddeus Culbertson's remark that as of 1850 the Indians were allowed to trade at the retail store inside the fort has been noted. Prior to this time the retail store was apparently restricted to white customers, since Edwin Denig had written in 1843 that

> on the east side of the fort...is a building, or range, all under one roof,...used for the following purposes. A small room at the north end for stores and luggage; then the retail store, in which is kept a fair supply of merchandise, and where all white persons buy or sell. The prices of all goods are fixed by a tariff or stationary value, so that no bargaining or cheating is allowed; this department is now in charge of Mr. Larpenteur.[215]

Next to the store was the wholesale warehouse, "in which is kept the principal stock of goods intended for the extensive trade; this room is 57 ft. in length." Adjoining the warehouse was a small room for meat storage, and, at the end, "the press room, where all robes, furs, and peltries are stored....It will contain from 2800 to 3000 packs of buffalo robes."[216] This would indicate clearly that the bulk of the trade goods were kept in the warehouse, and were probably brought to the trade shop or the retail store as needed.

There are illustrations extant of retail stores serving an Indian clientele at other fur trade posts, including one from Fort Union, by William Cary, done in 1861, which shows a trader stationed behind a high counter, with goods displayed on shelves behind. There are also several accounts that mention stores, such as Charles Larpenteur's account of having shutters put up over the counter of his adobe trade store outside Fort Union in 1868: "Employed a Carpenter to make Sliding Shutters over the trade Store Counter which form an Indian house, and Indian Store."[217] The purpose, according to Erwin N. Thompson, was to close off the area in front of the counter so he could hold talks there with the Indians, or allow certain Indians to sleep there.[218]

Henry Boller, in a letter from Fort Atkinson in 1858, said that the store at that fort "is only open when the Indian wants to trade, and not more than 5 or 6 allowed

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[215] Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, vol. II, p. 183.

[216] Ibid., pp. 183-84.

[217] Larpenteur, "White Man Bear, Upper Missouri Trader: Journals and Notes of Charles Larpenteur between 1834 and 1872," pp. 464-65.

[218] Ibid., p. 498.

in at one time, & are prevented by a high square counter from any more than passing a threshold."[219]

Hiram Martin Chittenden noted the death of Thomas L. Sarpy, brother of John B., as a result of an accident in the store at the post of the Oglallah Indians, in 1832:

> ...he was putting away the robes which had been taken in. An assistant was handing them over a counter on which a lighted candle sat. A spark from the candle, it is supposed, was blown by the gusts caused in handling the robes, into a fifty-pound keg of powder which sat uncovered just behind the counter. In the explosion that followed, the building was completely demolished and Sarpy was instantly killed....[220]

Father Nicholas Point noted that in 1846 at Fort Lewis, "on the 26th, articles of trade were displayed in the stores."[221] Since the word "stores" is plural [assuming it is rendered correctly in translation from the original French], he probably means stores in the sense of a warehouse. There are no descriptions, however, beyond Culbertson's, of Indians trading at the store at Fort Union. The only other references to it are in the context of incidents involving white employees. Sunder states that "In 1840 an American Fur Company employee robbed the store at Fort Union,"[222] and Larpenteur relates an incident in which Alexander Harvey (an AFC competitor and former employee) had caught up with an enemy, Isador Sandoval, at Union: "Isidoro...went into the retail store and remained behind the counter." Harvey left the store and dared Sandoval to come out. When he refused, Harvey "went back in the store...and shot him through the head."[223]

Hudson's Bay Company trader George Simpson described a trading session that took place aboard a fur company steamship in 1841; if the wicket of the trade shop at Fort Union is substituted for the hatchway of the ship, this description may correspond in some respects to trade there:

> The standard of prices being fixed after two hours of higgling, the business then went on briskly. To avoid the inconveniences and danger of a crowd, half a dozen only of the savages were to be admitted on deck at once; and, in order to enforce the regulation, five sentinels were stationed....Stationing himself at the steerage hatchway, Captain McNeill threw down each skin, as he examined it, with its price

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[219] Mattison, "The Upper Missouri Fur Trade: Its Methods of Operation," p. 13.

[220] Chittenden, *A History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. I, pp. 390-91.

[221] Point, *Wilderness Kingdom: Indian Life in the Rocky Mountains: 1840-1847, the Journals and Paintings of Nicholas Point, S.J.*, pp. 209-10.

[222] Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri*, 1840-1865, p. 59.

[223] Coues, *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872*, p. 170.

chalked on it--the equivalents being handed up from below by the two or three men that were in charge of the store.[224]

With the possibility that the retail store was the location for most of the Indian trade by 1851, the problem is presented of how much of the trade to interpret in the trade shop. Since the store range has not been reconstructed, it would be logical to interpret the trade in the trade shop since it is unlikely that it ceased to be used altogether. Being adjacent to the reception room, it may also have been used as a staging area for receptions and meetings, holding goods to be presented to the chiefs by the trader, and robes or other objects brought either as presents to him or for the trade.

With this in mind, the objects most likely to be found there in any case would probably be furs and robes; these could have been received in trade, used as seating during receptions, or presented to the trader. Other items that could represent either trade goods or gifts would be chief's coats, hats, mirrors, medals, knives, guns, tobacco, pipes, ball, powder, flints, gun worms, awls, swords, cloth, and vermilion: basically the same items that might appear in the reception room. Many other items that represent trade goods listed in the fort inventories can also be included. The room should be fitted with shelves for this merchandise.

Trade was carried on at night, especially in the early years when liquor was traded heavily, so some form of lighting would be needed. Fort inventories list candlesticks, sconces, and lanterns, and a hanging lantern and/or a cheap candlestick on a desk or table would be more than enough for this small room. One of the common mistakes in furnishing historic spaces where candles were the primary source of light is putting in too many lighting devices.

Equipment sufficient for conducting the trade would also be necessary. Items in fort inventories that relate to the handling of furs and trade goods include: 1 large iron beam and wooden scales; up to 8 pairs of steelyards, measuring between 49 and 250 lbs.; 1 patent spring balance; a tobacco cutter, tin scoops, funnels and dippers; a molasses knife; merchandise boxes; gun cases; bale cloth; barrels and casks; and leather sacks. Not all of these items would have been in the trade shop, of course, but a pair of steelyards, a tobacco cutter, scoops, and other vessels such as tin cups in various sizes for measuring out bulk goods could have been there.

Finally, a small number of office items would be needed to account for goods going out and coming in. The fort inventories list "1 store desk," which was probably in the retail store, as well as a tin writing desk, a small desk, and a writing table, in addition to the "office desk" and "cloth-covered desk" which would have been in the fort office(s). These entries suggest the use of a desk in the trade shop. It should be small, and on it should be placed items such as a

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[224] Canadian Park Service, *Fort Langley: An Overview of the Operations of a Diversified Fur Trade, 1848-1858*, Fort Langley National Historic Park, British Columbia, typewritten interpretive guide.

ledger, paper, an inkstand, and a pencil, quill, or steel pen. Personal items belonging to the trader might also be present, and would serve to indicate his position in the fort's hierarchy. These might include a coat and/or hat, hung on the wall, and his pipe and tobacco.

ALLEYWAY BEHIND INDIAN TRADE HOUSE

Edwin Denig said that the framework that holds up the pickets

> forms all around a space about eight feet wide described by the braces or X, and about fifteen feet high. A balcony is built on the top of this, having the summit of the X for its basis, and is formed of sawed plank nailed to cross beams from one brace to another....The openings that would necessarily follow from such a construction, under the gallery, are fitted in some places with small huts or houses....Several houses...are also built on the west and south sides; one contains coal for the blacksmiths, and ten stables, in all 117 ft. long, and 10 ft. wide, with space enough to quarter fifty horses....These buildings...do not interfere with the Area or Parade of the fort, and are hardly noticed by a casual observer, but occupy the space under the balcony that would otherwise be useless and void. Fifty more of the same kind could be put up without intruding upon any portion of the fort used for other purposes.[225]

There were five of these "buildings" behind the kitchen as well, used as stable, hen-house, artist's studio, cooper's shop, and dairy. From this description it would seem as if much of the space against the pickets, being formed into boxes by the X-bracing, would have been occupied by stored materials and accumulations of all sorts. The space behind the Indian Trade House, being a dead-end alley, would not have been particularly accessible, especially since access was from the end, through three cross-braces. Anything that did accumulate there, however, was probably not cleaned out regularly. There also appeared to have been a trash dump west of the building, in the space between it and the blacksmith's shop, making regular access to the space even more difficult and unlikely.

Rudolph Kurz, in a sketch of the northwest corner of the fort, shows wood (possibly firewood being brought in), stacked against the wall connecting the back corner of the bourgeois house and the north palisade, and crude sketches of a horse and buffalo drawn on the north wall of the ice house. He also shows, in a sketch of Fort Berthold, material, including a bull-boat and lumber (probably including the beams that secure the gate when closed), in the space between the palisade and the corner of the powder magazine.

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[225] Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 184-85.

According to the archeological reports for Fort Vancouver National Historic Site:

> ...residential trash was commonly deposited next to, behind, under, and between buildings. Often sweepings were discarded directly to the right or left of rear doorways, thus indicating that floors were occasionally swept. Broken articles or items of no further use were frequently thrown outside and against stockade walls. Food remains were likewise discarded, but scavenging dogs often cleared such organic items from the area.
>
> Based upon privy pit analyses, there is evidence to demonstrate that broken articles were occasionally discarded in one area only to be rediscarded in privies at a later date.[226]

Fort archeology turned up very little artifactual evidence of the use of the space behind the Indian Trade House. To determine what materials might have been deposited behind the building, we would have to determine what the potential sources of that material might be. A few possible sources are as follows:

1) Since the roof of the building was sod, it is likely that some debris from the roof would have fallen into the space, along with anything else that might have been on the sod. Also, if the roof were being repaired, debris and other materials may have fallen in at that time.

2) The space behind the building was closed off by the trade shop on the east end, creating a space that could have been used for storage of infrequently-used material. This might include lumber; waste products from the blacksmith shop, such as broken implements, tools waiting to be repaired, or bits of iron; packing cases or barrels; wagon wheels and parts, or other outdoor equipment that was either broken or used infrequently.

3) Since the gallery passes over this space, it is possible that material may have been discarded or fallen from above. Crockery, bottles, cartridges and cartridge paper, bullets and shot, and similar items could easily accumulate and not be cleaned out again for long periods of time.

4) The office window communicates with the space, so it is possible that items may have been discarded through the window. Papers, an ink bottle, worn-out quills, or broken pipes or glassware could have accumulated outside the window.

5) Since the fort often seemed to be full of Indians, employees, and dogs, material related to their occupation of the odd corners of the fort would be found, such as animal bones brought in to be eaten by the dogs; bones left from human meals eaten outside; or pieces of wood, antler, leather, or other materials left by someone who was making or repairing weapons, tools, or clothing.

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[226] National Park Service, *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860: A Historical Archeological Investigation...*, vol. 4, p. 1357.

The list which follows includes a variety of items that could have been found in the area behind the building. With no direct evidence of the use of this space, however, the list is necessarily conjectural. Since the area is now also closed off on the west end by the shed that houses the entrance to the collections storage area under the building, choices and locations of objects should take into account the presence of this additional structure. The inaccessibility of the palisade walkway behind the building will also affect placement of objects, since they will not be readily visible from above. It may therefore be advisable to compensate by reducing the number of artifacts.

FURNISHING PLAN

INTERPRETIVE OBJECTIVES

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site was established "in order to commemorate the significant role played by Fort Union as a fur trading post on the Upper Missouri River". It was a central point for the collection of furs going downriver and for trade goods being distributed to the more remote fur posts maintained by the American Fur Company.

The interpretation of Fort Union and of the Indian Trade house and its trade shop will focus on the importance of this site and the business of the fur trade. As a leading outpost of a large fur company, Fort Union was comparatively large and well-staffed. It served a ceremonial function for maintaining relationships with the tribes that traded with the fur company, and the construction and operation of the fort reflected these uses.

The interpretation of the Indian Trade house will emphasize the business, ceremonial, and commercial functions of the fort. The office will be furnished according to Rudolph Kurz's drawing of Edwin Denig's meeting with the Cree chief le Tout Piqué in October, 1851. It will recreate a moment in time and serve to interpret the business and ceremonial functions of the building. The few furnishings present in this room, from Denig's desk, chair, and portrait, to the eagle flag, intended for sale to important chiefs, all have important stories to tell about these functions.

The reception room, even more sparsely furnished, will be used to interpret the receptions given for groups of Indians prior to the commencement of trade, when food and gifts were presented and the terms of trade discussed. As a room designed to be accessible to the Indians, it will be an effective location in which to interpret, especially with groups, the relationship that existed between the visiting tribes and the fort staff.

The trade shop will be the location in which the business of trade and the types of goods and furs exchanged will be interpreted. Since the warehouse and retail store have not been reconstructed, the trade shop will symbolize those functions and serve as the location in which to discuss the movement, storage, and trade of goods and furs. Additionally, it will also be used as a working store, where reproductions of many trade goods will be available for sale. This will lend an immediacy and reality to the room that could not otherwise be achieved. The shop will be the focus of an effort to provide high-quality reproductions of trade goods that are not currently available, and the overall interpretation of the fur trade should benefit from a more exacting examination of what goods were actually being traded at sites like Fort Union.

OPERATING PLAN

The reception room will lend itself to a variety of interpretive activities, from reenactments of receptions to formal interpretive talks. Interpretive media could be provided for times when the room is not open or staffed.

The office will be a formal exhibit recreating the meeting in Kurz's drawing, using furnishings and mannequins. Interpretive signs and/or audio messages will tell the story of this meeting, explain the use of the room, provide background information on the Crees, Kurz, or Denig, and provide graphics, such as the drawing, and additional Kurz artwork illustrating people or objects in the room.

The trade shop will be an active, usable space. Interpretation of trade and the actual business of sales of trade goods can occur simultaneously in this room, and the potential exists for effective living history programming using the characters of traders, Indians, and others. The trade shop can function together with the reception room or the strong room to interpret the control of access to the fort and the various ways of conducting trade. The trade shop can also function as an unstaffed, formal exhibit if necessary, with the addition of barriers and interpretive signs.

RECOMMENDED FURNISHINGS

RECEPTION ROOM

1) **BENCH,** plain wooden settle bench, to match Kurz's drawing of bench in office. App. 8 ft. long x 46 in. high x 12 in. deep.

Documentation: Kurz drawing, reception room descriptions.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: North or South wall.

2) **PAINTING,** [after about Nov. 6], portrait of Alexander Culbertson, unframed, painted in oil on board or canvas, app. 2 ft. x 3 ft.

Documentation: Kurz description, sketches [see Kläy and Läng, p. 104].

Source: Reproduce using Kurz sketches as a guide.

Location: West wall, to left of fireplace.

3) **PAINTING,** figure of semi-nude woman, unframed, painted in oil on board or canvas, app. 2 ft. x 3 ft.

Documentation: Kurz description, sketches [see Ernst J. Kläy and Hans Läng, *Das romantische Leben der Indianer, malerisch darzustellen...*, pp. 85, 101].

Source: Reproduce using Kurz sketches.

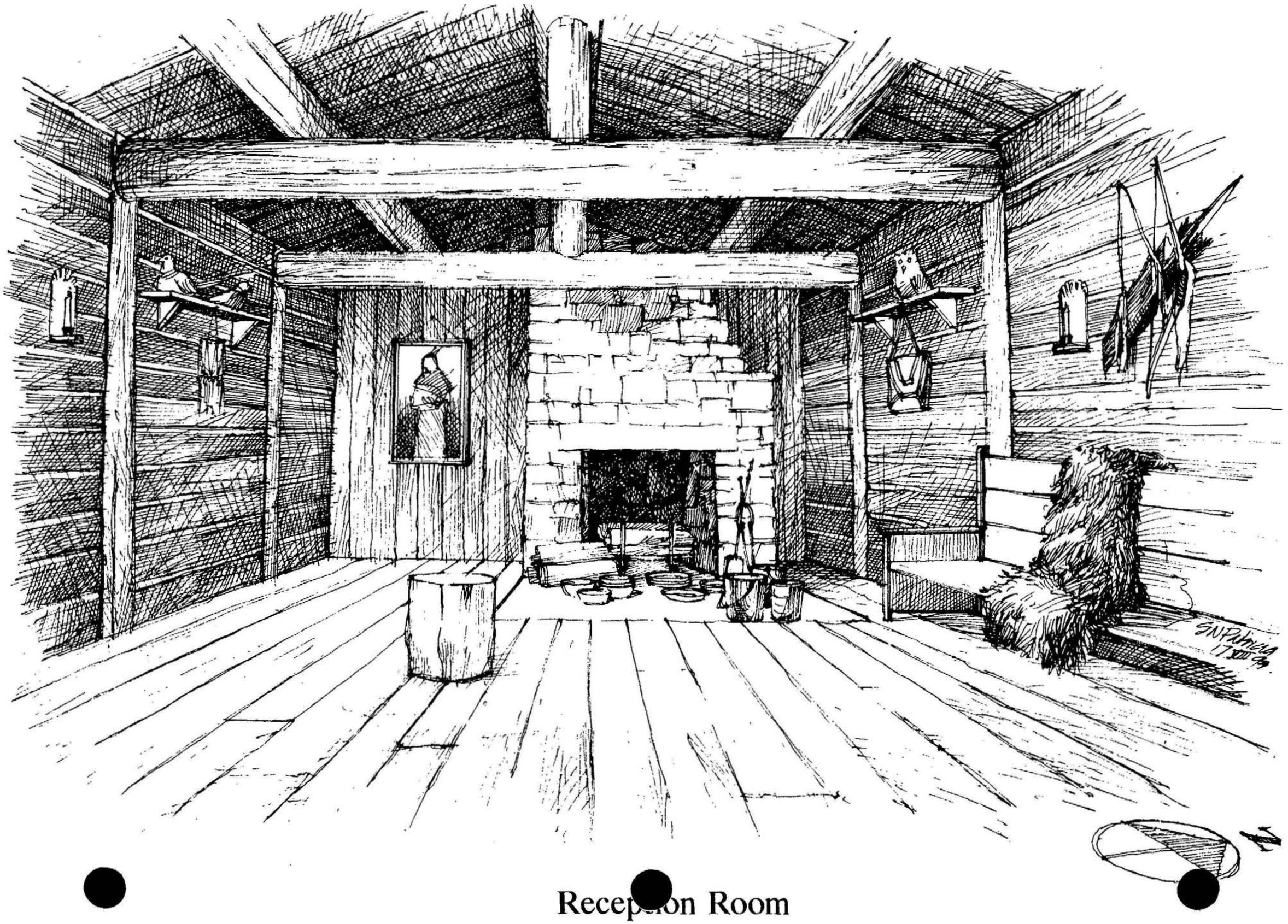
Location: North wall, western end.

4) **MOUNTED HEAD,** Columbia Blacktail deer, with antlers.

Documentation: Kurz description.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: East wall, above door.



Reception Room

5) **MOUNTED HEAD,** female Bighorn sheep

Documentation: Kurz description.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: North or south wall.

6) **WHITE OWL,** stuffed and mounted

Documentation: Kurz description.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: South wall, near southwest corner.

7) **PRAIRIE HENS** (2), stuffed and mounted

Documentation: Kurz description.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: On a shelf attached to north wall, fairly high up.

8) **RUFFED GROUSE,** 2, stuffed and mounted. (Kurz refers to these as *pheasants* in his journal.)

Documentation: Kurz description.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: On a shelf attached to wall, fairly high up.

9) **BUFFALO ROBES** (at least 2), cut in two lengthwise and resewn with sinew.

Documentation: Commonly found in fur trade forts as a trade item, a gift to the *bourgeois* from Indians, and as seating and bed coverings. Also used by Indians as seating and as an outer wrap.

Source: Acquire old or new robe; cut and seam as done in this period.

Location: Can be left on floor or bench, or moved around room as needed for interpretive purposes.

10) **TIN SCONCES with TALLOW CANDLES** (2), ca. 1830-50.

Documentation: Period usage; fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: One each on north and south walls.

11) **GRATE**, iron, for fireplace, ca. 1850.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Fireplace.

12) **KETTLES** (4), two 5-gallon iron and two 3-gallon tin, ca. 1850. Iron kettles should have covers and should be typical mid-nineteenth century cooking kettles; tin kettles should be of trade type.

Documentation: Fort inventories, reception descriptions. Reception descriptions list anywhere from one to six or eight kettles being used to serve food and coffee.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: In and around fireplace.

13) **PANS** (6), tin, ca. 1850, two larger to represent cooking and serving; four smaller to represent eating dishes.

Documentation: Fort inventories, reception descriptions. Most descriptions mention the use of pans and wooden bowls for eating.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Around fireplace.

14) **WOODEN BOWLS** (6), to represent eating vessels.

Documentation: Reception descriptions.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Near pans.

15) **FIREPLACE SHOVEL, TONGS, and POKER**, iron, no brass ornamentation, mid-nineteenth century style.

Documentation: Fort inventories; period usage.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: At fireplace.

16) **INDIAN-MADE ITEMS** used as wall decorations: painted parfleches and an Indian bow and arrows, Assiniboine, Crow or Cree.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Kurz drawing.

Source: Reproduce.

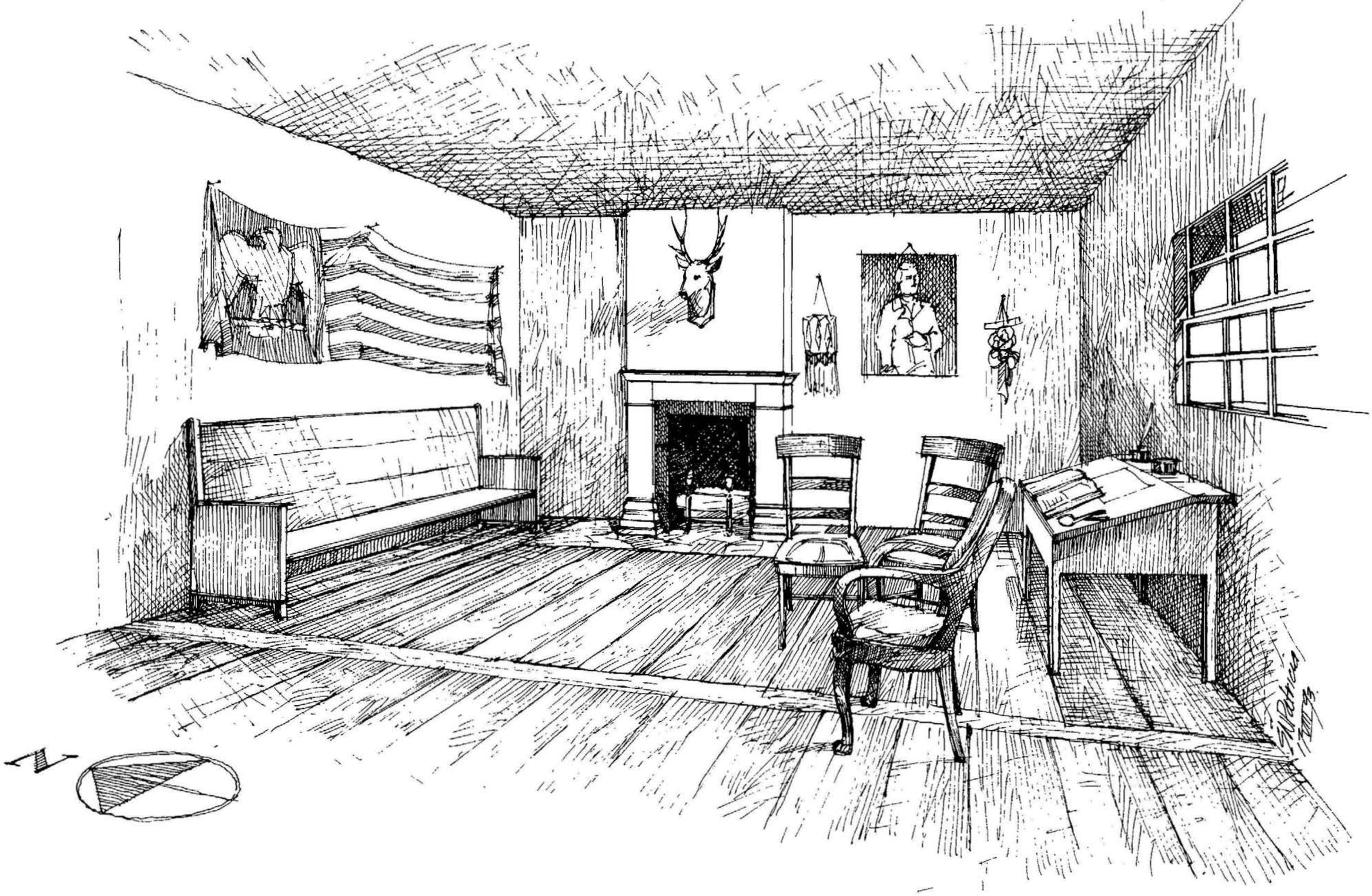
Location: Hung on walls.

17) **CALUMET PIPE,** catlinite with ornamented stem; also ornamented tamper and beaded or quilled pipe bag.

Documentation: Kurz drawing; reception descriptions.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Wherever needed for interpretive purposes; can be hung on wall as an ornament when not in use.



Office

OFFICE

1) **PORTRAIT of EDWIN DENIG,** oil on canvas or board, app. 28 in. wide x 40 in. high, unframed.

Documentation: Kurz drawings; Kurz journal description.

Source: Reproduce, using Kurz drawings and later photograph of Denig.

Location: Centered on east wall south of fireplace. Hang high on wall (between 8 and 12 feet) with a cord and a single nail. Cord should be attached to back of painting about one third of the way from the top, and should be long enough to allow the nail to be seen (about a 3-inch gap between the nail and the top of the painting).

2) **PORTRAIT of NATOH** [Denig's dog], oil on canvas or board, same size or slightly smaller than portrait of Denig, unframed.

Documentation: Kurz drawing; Kurz journal description.

Source: Reproduce using Kurz description and drawings of dogs.

Location: Not shown in Kurz drawing; could have been hung on west wall, opposite Denig's portrait, or on north or south walls, west of the door or window. Placement should be in one of these locations, according to traffic flow or the needs for security or room barriers. Hang in same manner as Denig portrait.

3) **EAGLE FLAG,** cotton, app. 13 ft. long. Painted portion is white cotton, app. 36 in. wide x 33 3/4 in. high, with a golden eagle painted life-size in oil, holding a peace pipe. Nine alternating red and white stripes of cotton cloth, each stripe being 3 3/4 in. wide x 10 ft. long, are sewed to right side of painted portion.

Documentation: Kurz drawing, Kurz journal description.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: North wall, app. 12 in. from east wall and 24 in. from door. Attach to wall with three nails or tacks.

4) **BENCH**, settle type, unornamented, made of boards, probably cottonwood. Size to be app. 8 ft. long x 46 in. high x 12 in. deep.

Documentation: Kurz drawing.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: North wall, centered under flag.

5) **DESK**, standing counting-house type, pine, app. 42 in. long x 23 in. deep x 48 in. high at back, or grain-painted or painted a typical color such as gray, red, or green. Lid 42 in. x 20 in., covered in green baize, with cleats around edges to hold cloth in place.

Documentation: Kurz drawing; fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: South wall, centered under window.

6) **ARMCHAIR**, upholstered, round back, seat and back trimmed with brass tacks.

Documentation: Kurz drawing.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: As shown in drawing; use exposed floor beam as a guide.

7) **COMMON CHAIRS** (2), painted with wooden seats, ca. 1840-50.

Documentation: Kurz drawing.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: As shown in drawing.

8) **DEER HEAD,** Mule deer.

Documentation: Kurz drawing.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: Over fireplace.

9) **INDIAN-MADE CROW BEADED PIPE BAG.**

Documentation: Kurz drawing.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: East wall, to the left of Denig's portrait, hanging from a nail.

10) **ASSEMBLAGE of FOUR TRADE MEDALS, BONE WHISTLE, and RIBBON**

Documentation: Kurz drawing.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: East wall, to the right of Denig's portrait, hanging from a nail.

11) **LEDGER or DAYBOOK,** containing accounts, correspondence, or notes. Leather-bound, app. 7 in. x 10 in.; displayed open.

Documentation: Kurz drawing; fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Center of desk lid.

12) **PAPER,** two sheets, folded.

Documentation: Kurz drawing.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Behind and partly under ledger.

13) **INKSTAND,** ceramic.

Documentation: Kurz drawing, fort inventories, fort archeology.

Source: Acquire period example or reproduce.

Location: Left side of desk, on flat portion above lid.

14) **PEN,** steel nib in brass holder.

Documentation: Kurz drawing, fort inventories, steamboat *Arabia* collection.

Source: Acquire period example or reproduce.

Location: In inkwell.

15) **PIPE,** red clay, with reed stem.

Documentation: Kurz drawing; steamboat *Arabia* collection.

Source: Acquire period example or reproduce.

Location: Lower right-hand portion of desk lid.

16) **MATCH SAFE,** white metal.

Documentation: Kurz drawing; fort archeology.

Source: Acquire period example or reproduce.

Location: To the right of the pipe.

17) **ANDIRONS** (1 pair), iron and/or brass, ca. 1840-50. A pair is listed in the fort inventories as "brass knob and irons"; the others are not described.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Acquire period example or reproduce.

Location: In fireplace.

18) **SHOVEL, TONGS, and POKER,** iron.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Acquire period example or reproduce.

Location: Fireplace.

19) **U.S. CHART [Map of United States],** ca. 1845-50, commercially printed map with hand-coloring; hung between black-painted wooden rods.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce from original map at Library of Congress.

Location: West wall.

20) **CALUMET PIPE,** catlinite with painted wooden stem.

Documentation: Kurz drawing; Kurz journal description. Also see pp. 103-04 of Kläy-Läng, *Das romantische Leben der Indianer, malerisch darzustellen...,* for a photograph of a pipestem painted by Kurz.

Source: Reproduce.

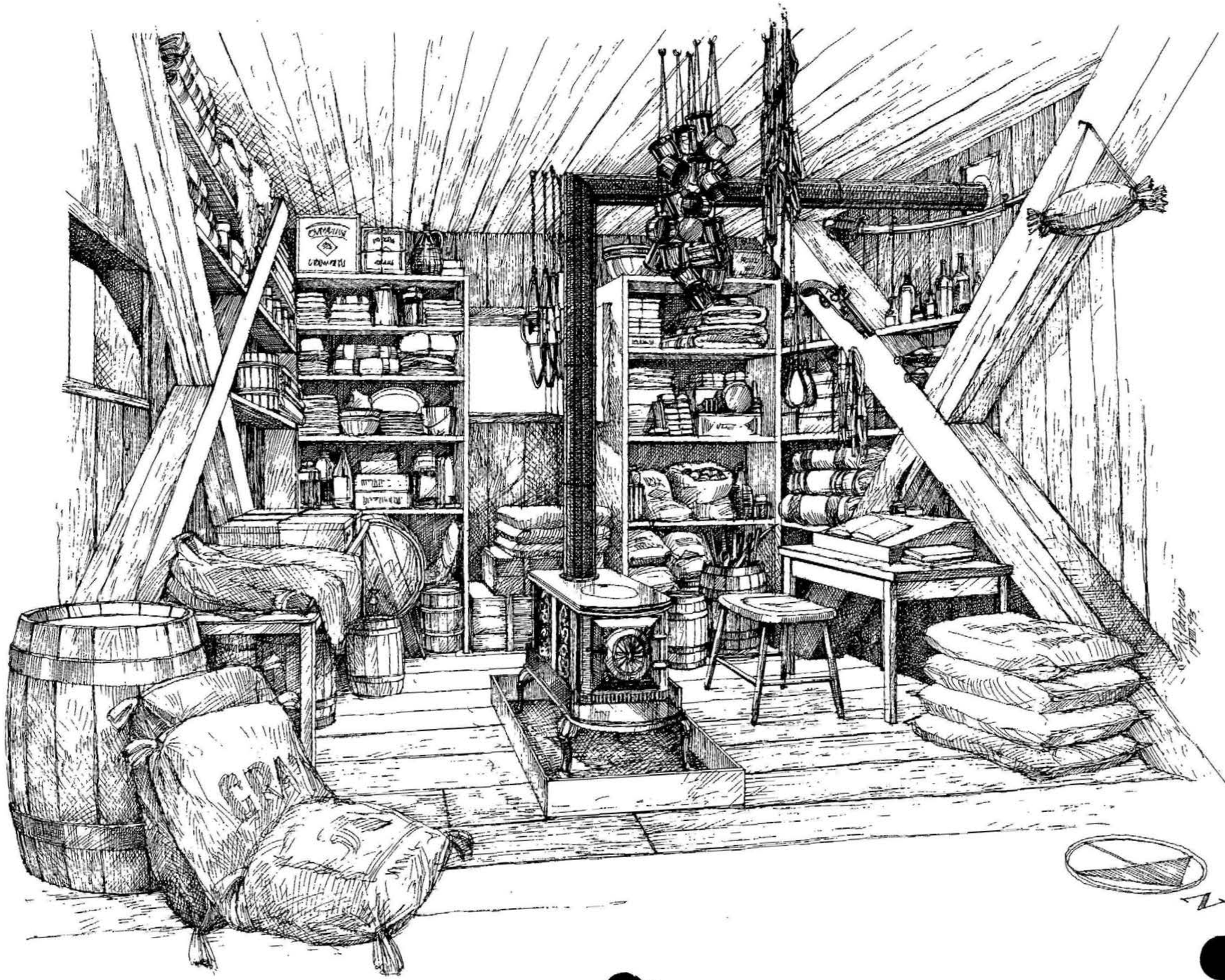
Location: In hands of mannequin, or placed in room in a conspicuous location, such as on Denig's chair with buffalo robe, or on desk.

21) **BUFFALO ROBE**, possibly decorated, or at least of very good quality ("a beautiful buffalo robe")

Documentation: Kurz drawing; Kurz journal description.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On mannequin of Denig, or placed on Denig's chair.



Trad Shop

TRADE SHOP

1) **DESK**, portable, tin or painted pine.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Center of west wall, on table (below).

2) **TABLE**, common, pine or cottonwood, painted; sized to accommodate writing desk.

Documentation: Fort inventories; period practice.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Center of west wall.

3) **CHAIR**, common plank-seat windsor, ca. 1830s, painted, with back removed.

Documentation: Fort inventories, period practice. It was common in the mid-nineteenth century to use old, backless chairs, for a variety of purposes in addition to seating. In this instance, the chair could also be used for standing on, to reach high shelves, and as a convenient, moveable surface on which to place items being taken from boxes or shelves, or being measured or weighed.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Near desk.

4) **STOVE**, small, cast or sheet iron (depending on availability), ca. 1850.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: In center of room, standing in a low box of sand or on a metal plate.

5) **SHOVEL and POKER,** ca. 1830-50.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Near stove.

6) **FIREWOOD,** several pieces.

Documentation: Kurz's journal, p. 229. Firewood also implied by presence of stove.

Source: Use local wood.

Location: Under and around stove.

7) **CUSPIDOR,** wood, ceramic, or tin.

Documentation: Period practice.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On floor near stove.

8) **CANDLESTICK,** painted tin.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On table near desk.

9) **SLATE,** in wooden frame, with a slate pencil on a string.

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hang on wall near one of the windows on a nail through a hole in top of frame. Hang slate pencil from same nail. Place a piece of chalk on table for chalking prices on backs of robes and hides.

10) **INKSTAND,** glass or ceramic, of an inexpensive type.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On desk.

11) **SANDER,** japanned tin.

Documentation: Sand was required for drying ink before blotters became available.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On desk near inkstand.

12) **QUILL PEN,** goose or turkey feather, cut short and with the barbs removed from one side.

Documentation: Fort inventories list "good," "clarified," and "common" quills.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On desk.

13) **PENCIL,** graphite and wood.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On desk.

14) **LEDGER,** leather and paper binding.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On desk.

15) **PIPE** with short stem, white clay.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Kurz drawings; period practice.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On table near desk.

16) **TOBACCO BOX,** oval, brass or japanned iron.

Documentation: Fort inventories; period practice.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Near pipe.

17) **STEELYARDS,** iron, 200 lb. capacity.

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Acquire period set. See *Arabia* examples for painted decoration.

Location: Hung from overhead beam.

18) **PATENT SPRING BALANCE,** hanging balance with brass face and circular or linear weight indicator dial, and tin or brass pan hung on chains.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce or acquire period artifact.

Location: Hang from a ceiling beam.

19) **FROCK COAT,** brown wool with wool binding trim.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Kurz drawings; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hung on peg on wall near door.

20) **HAT,** black fur felt, tall rounded crown, narrow brim turned up all around, silk ribbon and buckle trim.

Documentation: Kurz drawings; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hung on peg with coat.

21) **BARRELS** (6), oak with iron hoops, various sizes, to represent shipping and storage containers for foodstuffs such as sugar, salt, flour, and meats, as well as for lead, flints, knives, and other goods packed and shipped in bulk.

Documentation: Fort inventories; period practice.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On floor around edges of room.

22) **POWDER KEGS** (6), oak with hickory hoops, 6 1/4-, 12 1/2-, and 25-pound sizes. Powder was bought by the Indians by the pound, in small quantities, occasionally by the keg.

Documentation: Fort inventories [for total amounts of gunpowder on hand]; *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly,* Winter 1968, article on wooden powder kegs; Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger."

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Grouped in southeast corner of room.

23) **WHISKEY BARREL,** oak with iron hoops, 5 or 10 gallon capacity, on its side in a cradle, with wooden spigot.

Documentation: See p. 41 for discussion of liquor trade.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On floor near south (palisade) window.

24) **SCOOPS** (2), tin.

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: In opened barrels and bags.

25) **SHOT BAGS** (3), linen, 25-pound size, from St. Louis Shot Tower Company; two full, one partly empty. Shot was bought by the Indians in 2 1/2 to 5-pound quantities, according to the Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories for total amount of shot on hand; Museum of the Fur Trade collections for samples of shot bags.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

26) **TOBACCO CUTTER,** all iron or iron on wooden base.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Mounted on table.

27) **TRADE BLANKETS**, 2 1/2 point indigo blue, 3 point sky blue, sky blue with red ends (size unknown), 2 1/2 or 3 point scarlet, 3 point green, 2 point white or white Mackinaw, 2 1/2 point Hudson's Bay, wrapper blankets (size unknown). Blankets were bought by the Indians in pairs and also individually.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce. Obtain several of each, if available, to show variety; display more white blankets, which were stocked in larger numbers than the other colors.

Location: On shelves, folded.

28) **SAVED-LIST CLOTH with white selvedge,** (one bolt each of blue, green, and scarlet).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce. Roll into bolts around thin wooden staves.

Location: On shelves.

29) **PLAID WOOLEN CLOTH,** a black-and-white Shepherd's Plaid or similar material.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce. Display in bolts, as above.

Location: On shelves.

30) **FLANNELS,** (one bolt each of white, green, red), woolen.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

31) **SALEMPORE** (one bolt), cotton, checked. Salempores were purchased by the Indians in pieces ranging from 16 to 20 yards, in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

32) **SATINET** (one blue bolt), wool-and-cotton.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

33) **CALICO** (five bolts), fancy prints and Indian-trade motifs. Fort inventories list fancy blue, blue red and yellow, fancy prints, blue and white prints, madder prints, and blue and orange prints. Colors should be printed primarily in either blue, red, purple, or black on light grounds.

Documentation: Fort inventories; *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, Fall 1988.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

34) **CHECKED COTTON** (one bolt), blue and white.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

35) **RUSSIA SHEETING** (one bolt), linen.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

36) **BED TICKING** (two bolts), cotton, blue-and-white stripe. In the "Indian Ledger," typical ticking purchases are 48-yard pieces.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce. Find an early pattern with wide stripes if possible.

Location: On shelves.

37) **LINSEY** (linsey-woolsey), one bolt, wool and linen, plaid.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

38) **CHIEF'S COATS** (2), one blue, one red. Although not identified as such in fort inventories, a coat made half blue or green and half red would also be appropriate. The blue coat should be faced with red, and the red with blue, and both should be trimmed with silver or gold metallic lace and large brass buttons.

Documentation: Fort inventories; period descriptions; drawings of Rudolph Kurz and Father Nicholas Point.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging.

39) **CHIEF'S HATS** (2), red felt with round crown and feather decorations.

Documentation: Fort inventories; period descriptions; especially Maximilian.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

40) **BLANKET CAPOT** (1), blue.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging, with other coats.

41) **CALICO SHIRTS** (4), square-cut, pull-over style, in print calicos, as material listed above. Average numbers of shirts purchased in the Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger" range from one to four and also include half shirts.

Documentation: Fort inventories; period descriptions; Kurz drawings.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging or folded on shelves.

42) **FLANNEL SHIRTS** (2), same cut as above, in red wool flannel.

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging or on shelves.

43) **HICKORY SHIRT** (1), same cut as above, in cotton twill hickory cloth, with narrow white stripes on blue ground.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging or on shelves.

44) **VEST** (1), blue casinet.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging.

45) **MITTENS and KNITTED GLOVES** (2 pairs each).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

46) **HANDKERCHIEFS** (6), two silk, two cotton flag, two madras.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

47) **BINDING, SCARLET GARTERING, RIBBONS, RED CORD, FERRETING** (trims for clothing and decoration, of wool, cotton, and/or silk), on rolls, a roll of each, to be sold by the yard. Ribbons may also be pre-cut to length and sold in pairs.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

48) Black and colored **SEWING SILK**, colored **THREAD, SPOOL COTTON, BALL COTTON**, black silk **TWIST** (sewing and/or buttonhole thread), **CANDLE WICK**, colored **WORSTED YARN, HOLLAND TWINE**, and **STURGEON TWINE**. Available in balls (twine), spools (cotton thread), and in skeins or hanks (twist, worsted, sewing silk, some cotton).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

49) **SEWING NEEDLES, PINS: Tailor's, Glover's, Sewing, Baling.** Needles were carried by the dozens, hundreds, and thousands; pins were carried in dozens, thousands, and pounds. Pins were put up in papers, needles in both papers and boxes.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce papers and boxes; use modern needles and pins in one open box or paper of each.

Location: On shelves.

50) **HOOKS and EYES,** brass, packaged on cards.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

51) **BUTTONS,** bone and pearl (mother-of-pearl) shirt buttons; bone coat and suspender buttons; overcoat, coat and suspender buttons; coat and vest moulds; orange coat buttons; bullet buttons; figured coat buttons. Carried by the gross, and probably packaged both on cards and in papers. Display buttons of several different materials and sizes.

Documentation: Fort inventories, fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

52) **BEADS**, blue, white, yellow, red, and black pound beads; seed beads in assorted colors; blue and white agate beads; blue and white pigeon egg beads; blue and red barley corn beads. Pound, pigeon egg, and seed beads carried by the pound, the others by the bunch. Display loose, strung, and packaged beads; packages are doubled paper, bound with twine. Beads were purchased by the Indians by the pound and the bunch in the "Indian Ledger," with typical purchases being one or two bunches or half pound of beads.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology; *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, Winter 1989.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves, hanging on nails.

53) **WAMPUM and SHELLS**, purple and white mock wampum, wampum hair pipes, nests of wampum moons, St. Lawrence shells, California shells (small and large). Hairpipes are measured in inches, mock wampum by the pound, dozen, and thousand grain, but it is all probably strung and sold by the strand. Sea shells and moons are counted and sold individually. The average purchase of wampum in the "Indian Ledger" was 19 strands, with actual purchases ranging from 4 to 32 strands.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections; Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger."

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging on nails, moons and shells on shelves.

54) **COMBS**, crambo, ivory, bone, boxwood, tuck, german silver; carried by the dozen, probably put up in wooden boxes.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: In boxes on shelves.

55) **BRASS TACKS, SADDLER'S TACKS, and SPRIGS**, carried by the thousand, sold by quantities such as a dozen, 50 or 100 at a time, according to the "Indian Ledger." Tacks and nails seem to have been commonly packaged in papers holding a thousand, half a pound, or a pound.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger"; Russell and Erwin Manufacturing Co. catalogue, 1865.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

56) **FISH HOOKS**, fly and catfish, large and small. Carried by the hundred, probably packaged in small cardboard boxes and sold in small numbers.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

57) **FISHING LINE**, cod or sturgeon line, on a spool.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

58) **TURKEY WINGS**, used by the Indians as an ornament and fan. There were 50 on hand in the 1851 inventory. Hang several together in a bunch on a cord.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hang from ceiling.

59) **RED EPAULETS** (one pair), strap, crescent, and fringe all made of red wool.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

60) **TIN DRESS ORNAMENTS,** one box. Probably tin brooches. Carried by the box; in the "Indian Ledger," brooches are identified as "C", "#4", and "embossed," and are sold 10 to 20 at a time.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger."

Source: Reproduce. Acquire both tin and german silver brooches.

Location: In box on shelves.

61) **RINGS,** brass; plain, decorated, or with glass "stones." Carried by the gross, probably sold several at a time.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: String several dozen on a cord, hang from ceiling.

62) **WHITE and YELLOW WIRE LACE** (several rolls of each), sold as decorative trimming, also used on chief's coats and as hat bands. Carried by the pound, probably sold by the yard.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

63) **BELLS: Hawk, Tray [zinc and silver], Horse, Rough House**. Hawk bells were carried by the paper, tray and horse bells by the dozen, and rough house bells by the pound. Typical purchases in the "Indian Ledger" were from 4 to 24, with several being large amounts such as 40 or 90. Hawk bells should be packaged in paper, others displayed loose or strung. Rough house bells are probably unpolished bells used as call bells in the home (see Russell and Erwin catalog), and are bigger than the others. Charles Larpenteur says that "The Light" returned from Washington with a house bell that he hung up in front of his lodge.[227]

Documentation: Fort inventories; Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger"; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce. Display one paper of hawk bells, several dozen of the horse and tray bells, and two or three house bells.

Location: On shelves, hanging on a cord.

64) **BRASS CAP PLATES**, probably a surplus military item. Carried by the dozen.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

65) **BRASS THIMBLES**, carried by the gross, probably bought a few or a dozen at a time, to be pierced and used as ornamental tinklers.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves, in a box or paper package.

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[227] Coues, *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: the Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872*, p. 413.

66) **SILVER EAR BOBS**, three dozen. Carried by the pair, bought in large numbers, 30 to 160 at a time, in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

67) **BUCKLES** (12), brass. Carried by the gross.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

68) **TIN ARM BANDS** (one pair).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

69) **BEADED RETICULES** (2), one silk, one cotton.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging against wall.

70) **BRASS COLLAR WIRE** (narrow-gauge brass wire), and **LARGE BRASS WIRE**, carried by the pound, probably sold by the piece. Display a coil of each.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

71) **IRON WIRE**, large and small, carried by the pound, probably sold by the piece. Display a coil of each.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

72) **POCKET COMPASSES** (2), brass case.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

73) **MIRRORS**, britannia, #3 & #4; paper covered; small gilt; large gilt, #1 & #2; figured; pocket; P.C.; mirrors with drawers. Display several of each, but more britannia and paper covered mirrors than the others.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

74) **CLAY PIPES,** white clay, and red clay with reed stems. Display several dozen in a wooden box, packed in straw; display a bundle of reed stems separately. Pipes were carried by the gross (having been shipped in 4-gross boxes) and probably sold one or a few at a time.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

75) **TOBACCO BOXES,** oval, brass and japanned iron, and **SNUFF BOXES** (including mirror snuff boxes). Carried by the dozen, probably sold individually. Display several of each.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

76) **TOBACCO,** Spanish, cut, plug, Cavendish (sweetened chewing tobacco in plug form), "smoking weed," and rappee snuff. Most of the tobacco and snuff listed in fort inventories is by the pound, except for cut, which is listed by the dozen. Plug tobacco is in half pound plugs, and is stocked in very large quantities. Typical purchases, in the "Indian Ledger," are half pound, with snuff sold by the bottle. Display twists (roll tobacco twisted into a loop), "carrots" (a large roll wrapped in canvas and rope), bulk tobacco, plugs (in rectangular packages), and snuff (in wide-mouthed, green glass bottles).

Documentation: Fort inventories; Fort Vancouver archeological reports;[228] Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hang carrots from overhead; display some plug tobacco, opened, near cutter. Display twists on a cord and snuff bottles on shelves.

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[228] National Park Service, *Fort Vancover, 1829-1860: A Historical Archeological Investigation...,* vol. 2, pp. 799-802.

77) **PIGMENTS: Vermilion, Chrome Yellow, and Verdigris**, carried by the pound. Vermilion was sold by the pound and the paper [paper, in this case, being a small packet] in the "Indian Ledger." Chrome yellow and verdigris were sold in mostly unidentifiable amounts, although the "Ledger" records several 1/4-pound purchases of chrome yellow and chrome green (the successor to verdigris, becoming available in the 1850s). The steamboat *Arabia* collections contain a 6-lb. box of American vermilion.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger"; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Display papers of vermilion on shelves; reproduce vermilion box for bulk storage of vermilion, chrome yellow, and verdigris, with labels stencilled on the ends; display these on an upper shelf.

78) **COFFEE** (in a sack, 165 pounds), carried by the pound. Sack should be open and turned down at the top, with a tin pint cup for measuring laying on top (see Kurz's *Journal*, p. 170). The typical purchase in the "Indian Ledger" is 5 pounds, with 4 purchases of sacks of 165 and 167 lbs.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On floor.

79) **Brown SUGAR** (in a barrel), carried by the pound. The "Indian Ledger" shows a typical purchase to have been between 2 1/2 and 5 pounds, with 4 purchases by the barrel, of between 245 and 265 lbs. This would seem to indicate a large barrel for sugar, yet Kurz mentions the engagés having emptied several barrels by putting away 50 lbs. to their account. Sugar was also transported in boxes. The fort stocked New Orleans and Havana sugar.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On floor.

80) **FLOUR** (one sack and one barrel), carried by the pound. Flour was purchased by the pound, sack, and barrel in the "Indian Ledger," with a typical purchase being under 100 lbs. (weights of purchases by the barrel and sack were not given). Fort Vancouver received local flour in Russia sheeting bags, while barrels would be used for flour coming from a distance. Kurz refers to "a sack (70 lb.) of meal."[229]

Documentation: Fort inventories; Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger"; Fort Vancouver archeological reports.[230]

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On floor.

81) **SALT** (one canvas bag), carried by the pound. Typical purchases in the "Indian Ledger" are for 5 and 10 pounds. Salt was also commonly put up in barrels.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Chouteau Co. "Indian Ledger."

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On floor.

82) **MEDICINES: TURLINGTON'S BALSAM and ESSENCE OF PEPPERMINT** (6 bottles of each). Both are listed in fort inventories by the dozen, Turlington's found in fort archeology. Also **EYEWATER** (6 bottles), possibly Dr. Thompson's, not in inventory but found in fort archeology and period accounts.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce existing original bottles.

Location: On shelves.

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[229] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 44.

[230] National Park Service, *Fort Vancouver: 1829-1860: A Historical Archeological Investigation...*, vol. 3, pp. 982-83.

83) **TIN TABLE and TEA SPOONS** (one dozen of each), carried by the dozen in fort inventories.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves, in a box.

84) **TIN PANS** (8), four medium and four large, carried by the dozen in fort inventories, and bought 3, 5, or 10 at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

85) **TIN KETTLES** (10), two each of 1/2, 1, 2, 3, and 4-gallon sizes; some with covers. Also SHEET IRON kettles, size unknown. Kettles were carried in fort inventories in large numbers, and were bought, in the "Indian Ledger," one at a time. The "Ledger" lists camp, copper, japanned, tea, and brass kettles in addition to tin ones.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves. Nest the kettles and stack covers separately.

86) **KETTLE EARS and KETTLE RIVETS** (a box of each), carried in fort inventories by the dozen, gross, pound, and thousand.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

87) **TIN CUPS** (2 dozen), 12 one-half-pint and 12 pint sizes, carried by the dozen, probably bought individually.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hang in a bunch from a cord.

88) **COFFEE POTS** (3), tin, large and small, carried by the dozen in fort inventories.

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

89) **JAPANNED LAMPS** (5), small, portable oil lamps with hinged tin chimneys and a small mica window, carried by the dozen.

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

90) **TIN LANTERNS** (3), pierced tin or tin with glass sides, carried by the dozen.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging on a cord.

91) **STIRRUP IRONS** (4 pairs), iron and brass-plated, carried by the pair in fort inventories; bought a pair at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hang from ceiling on STIRRUP LEATHERS, which were sold frequently with stirrups in the "Indian Ledger."

92) **SNAFFLE BRIDLES** (2), iron and leather, carried by the dozen in fort inventories; bought one or two at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hang from above, with stirrups.

93) **LEATHER SURCINGLES** (3), carried by the dozen in fort inventories; bought one or two at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hang near other horse tack.

94) **SADDLE WEB** (one bolt).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

95) **SCISSORS and SHEARS** (2 pairs of each), iron, carried by the dozen in fort inventories; bought one at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories; *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly,* fall 1982.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves, in a box.

96) **FIRE STEELS** (1 dozen), U-shaped or oval trade type, carried by the dozen.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology; *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly,* Fall 1984.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves, in a box.

97) **FILES:** 5" Rattail; 8" & 14" Flat Bastard; 8", 9" & 10" Half-Round; Horse Rasps; Wood Rasps. Several of each, in a box, carried by the dozen in fort inventories; bought one or two at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

98) **NAIL GIMLETS** (1 dozen), steel with wooden cross-handle, carried by the dozen.

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

99) **INDIAN AWLS** (2 dozen), double-pointed, carried by the gross in fort inventories; bought one at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves, in a small wooden box.

100) **KNIVES: Pocket, Pen, and Cartouche** (1 dozen in combination), carried by the dozen in fort inventories; bought one or two at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories; steamboat *Arabia* collections; period hardware catalogues.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

101) **EYE DAGUES [knives]** (2), carried in small numbers.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

102) **KNIVES: Scalping** (warranted, 5 1/2 Wards, common), **Butcher** (and 5" butcher), 10" **Tillotson's**, 8" & 9" **Cooks's**, 6 1/2" & 7" **Wilson's**, 6" **Cocoa [cocobolo] Handle**, 10" **Hyslop**, 9" **Russell's**. The major types are butcher and scalping knives (also skinning, sticking, and boning), made either in Sheffield, England, by makers such as John Wilson, or in America, by makers such as John Russell. Display a mix of butcher and scalping knives, about a dozen in all, in a small keg.[231] Knives are listed in fort inventories by the dozen, and bought in the "Indian Ledger" between one and four at a time.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On floor.

103) **GREEN HANDLE SPEAR POINTS** or SPEAR POINT KNIVES (6), carried by the dozen.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

104) **AXES: Squaw** (2 1/2 & 3 lb.), **Indian Half Axes, Tomahawks** (display 2), listed individually in fort inventories; bought one at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

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[231] Arthur Woodward, *The Denominators of the Fur Trade*, (Pasadena: Socio-Technical Publications, 1970), p. 67.

105) **ASSINIBOINE LANCES** (3), large and polished, listed individually in fort inventories.

Documentation: Fort inventories; Museum of the Fur Trade collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

106) **ARROWHEADS** (several dozen), metal

Documentation: Fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves, in a box.

107) **INDIAN BOWS** (3), hickory.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging against wall.

108) **ENGLISH DRAGOON SABRE with SCABBARD** (1), British military surplus, Napoleonic period. Listed in small numbers.

Documentation: Fort inventories; *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, summer 1984.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging against wall.

109) **POCKAMOGAN** (1), painted and ornamented, listed individually in fort inventories, in small numbers.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

110) **TIN SHIELD** (1), listed individually in fort inventories.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging on wall.

111) **PISTOLS**, brass or iron-barrelled, probably older flintlock. Display one, either type. Listed in small numbers.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging against wall.

112) **NORTHWEST GUNS**, Belgian or English (Barnett). Display two, one of each type. Listed individually in fort inventories.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging on pegs on wall, horizontally.

113) **NORTHWEST GUN LOCKS** (6), listed by the dozen in fort inventories.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

114) **DOUBLE-BARRELLED PERCUSSION SHOTGUN** (1), listed individually in fort inventories; purchased one at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging on wall with other guns.

115) **BEAVER TRAPS**, also **TRAP SPRINGS and CHAINS** (6 complete traps), listed individually in fort inventories.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging from overhead beam from chains. Spare chains and springs can be placed on a shelf, but not in a prominent position.

116) **GUN WORMS** (50), carried by the gross.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves, in a box.

117) **FLINTS**: gun, musket, rifle, horse pistol; carried by the hundred and thousand, bought 10 or 20 at a time in the "Indian Ledger." Display in papers of 500.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology; Museum of the Fur Trade Collections.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

118) **PERCUSSION CAPS**, various sizes, carried by the thousand, probably bought by the box (several round tin boxes are rolled together in a paper tube). Display several tubes, some opened to show individual boxes.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves.

119) **POWDER HORNS** (4), listed individually in fort inventories; bought one at a time in the "Indian Ledger."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging against wall.

120) **POWDER FLASKS** (5), copper, listed by the dozen in fort inventories.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Hanging against wall, with powder horns.

121) **LEAD**, in bars, balls, and shot, carried by the pound in fort inventories, bought by the pound in the "Indian Ledger" (8 to 16 pound for bar lead; 2 1/2 to 5 pound for shot). Display bar lead, with an appropriate marking, such as St. Louis Shot Tower Company, standing upright in a keg (steamboat *Arabia* collections: as found, not as displayed), or in a canvas bag (steamboat *Bertrand* collections: see *the Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, winter 1970). Display shot in 25-pound bags, #20, above.

Documentation: Fort inventories; fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On shelves and floor.

122) **BUFFALO ROBES** (3), two folded and bound with a cord, one unfolded half skin.

Documentation: Fort inventories list whole and half cowskins.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: On floor, below one of the wickets.

123) **ELKSKINS** (2).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: On floor, with robes.

124) **ANTELOPE SKIN** (1).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: On floor, with other skins.

125) **BEAVER SKINS** (4), one stretched, in a willow frame.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: With other skins.

126) **OTTER SKINS** (2).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: With other skins.

ALLEYWAY

1) **BARREL**, oak with iron hoops, broken.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Against palisade wall.

2) **IRON TIRE** for Wagon Wheel.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Leaning against palisade wall, place where visible from window.

3) **Assorted IRON PIECES**, typical of forge work, especially broken items and scrap iron.

Documentation: Fort inventories, proximity to blacksmith's shop.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On ground, at western end of space.

4) **COAL**, small amounts scattered around.

Documentation: Fort archeology.

Source: Acquire coal in appropriate size.

Location: scattered and piled at western end of space.

5) **LUMBER,** such as "maple for ox yokes."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Cut modern lumber to appropriate dimensions.

Location: Assorted pieces placed on the ground and leaning against cross-bracing.

6) **SCYTHE,** steel and wood, "worn out, broken, and useless."

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: Leaning against building wall, place where visible from window.

7) **ANTLERS,** antelope or deer.

Documentation: Contemporary references.

Source: Wherever available.

Location: On ground.

8) **BOTTLES** (2), black glass junk bottle (used for beer, cider, etc.).

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On ground.

9) **BOTTLE,** black glass ink bottle.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On ground, near window.

10) **PLATE**, transfer-print, broken.

Documentation: Fort archeology.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On ground.

11) **QUILLS**, cut short.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On ground, near window.

12) **WRITING PAPER**, several sheets; written on and crumpled.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On ground, near window.

13) **CLAY PIPES** (2), stems broken off at bowl.

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On ground, near window.

14) **CARTRIDGE CASINGS and PAPERS.**

Documentation: Fort inventories.

Source: Reproduce.

Location: On ground, scattered along line of palisade.

There may have been an accumulation of soil and sod in this area, below the building's eaves. Building up the ground a little will provide additional visual interest and provide a raised area where several of the items can be "displayed."

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: 1851 drawing of reception for Cree Chief "Le Tout Piqué" in Fort Union by Rudolph Kurz in *Das romantische Leben der Indianer, malerisch darzustellen...Leben und Werk von Rudolf Friedrich Kurz (1818-1871)* on p. 99.



Figure 2: Sketches by Rudolph Kurz in *Das romantische Leben der Indianer, malerisch darzustellen...Leben und Werk von Rudolf Friedrich Kurz (1818-1871)* on pp. 90, 92, 101, and 104. These studies show the subjects of several of the paintings executed by Kurz at Fort Union. Clockwise from upper left hand corner: Edwin Thompson Denig, Marina (Kurz' "Beau Ideal"), Alexander Culbertson, an eagle's head and claws (used on his "Eagle Flags").



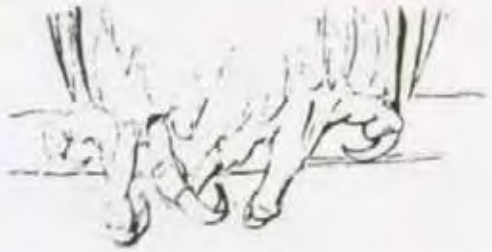








Figure 3: Indian pipe painted by Rudolph Kurz, illustrated in *Das romantische Leben der Indianer, malerisch darzustellen...Leben und Werk von Rudolf Friedrich Kurz (1818-1871)* on p. 103.



Figure 4: "Edwin Thompson Denig and Mrs. Denig" from the *Bureau of American Ethnology,* 46th Annual Report, plate 63. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution, neg.no. 24-a-2.





EDWIN THOMPSON DENIG AND MRS. DENIG

Figure 5: 1847 watercolor illustration of post on Upper Missouri. "Souvenirs des Montagnes Rocheuses," by Nicolas Point, S.J. Courtesy Archives de le Compangnie de Jesus.



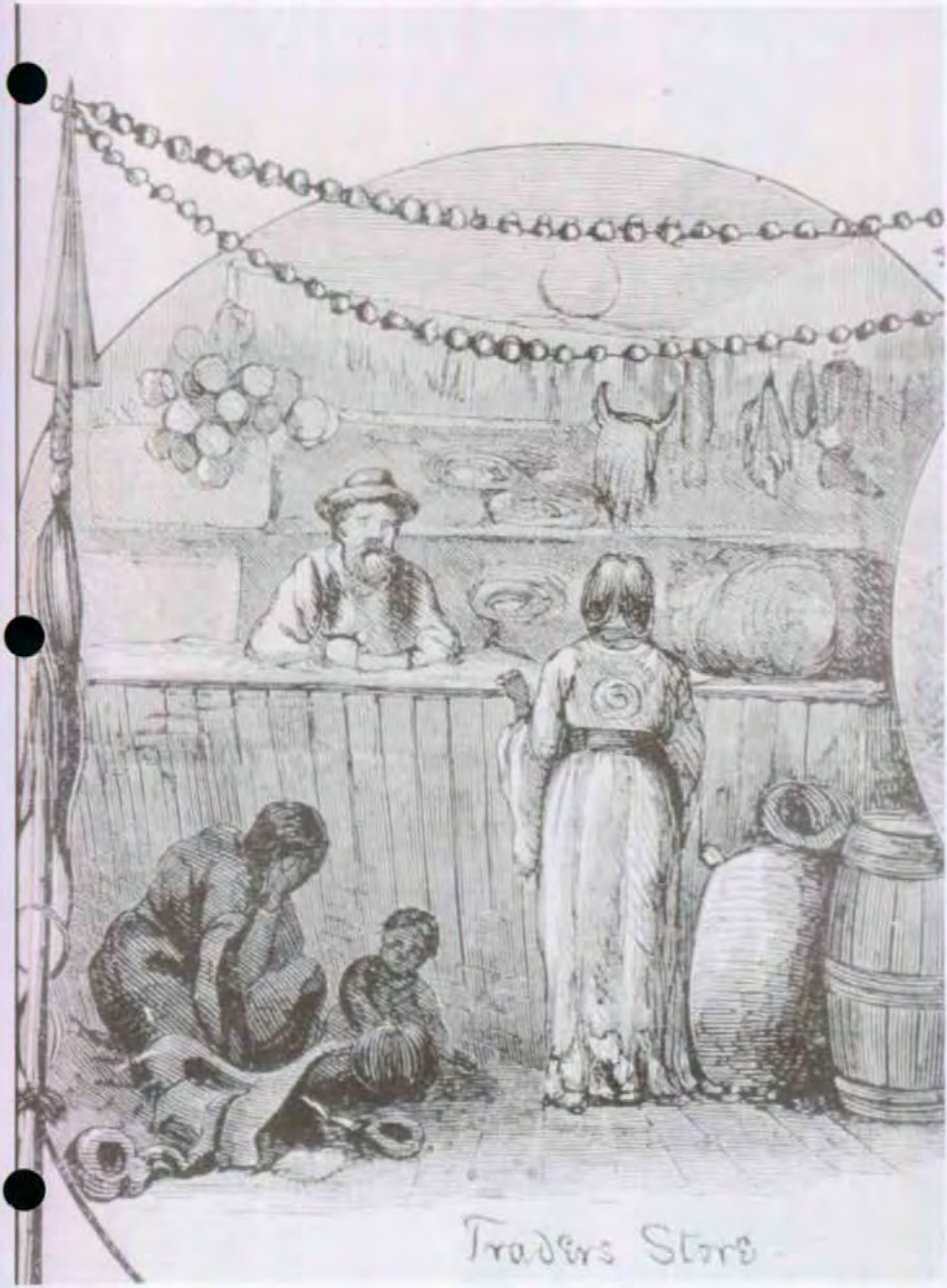
Figure 6: Interior of sutler's store, Fort Dodge, copied from *Harper's Weekly*, May 25, 1867. Courtesy the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.



Figure 7: "Indian Trading—Drawn by W.M. Cary." from *Harper's Weekly*, April 1, 1876, p. 272. This drawing relects scenes captured by Cary at Fort Union on the occasion of his visit in 1861.



Figure 8: "Traders Store" from *Harpers Weekly*, April, 1, 1876 as drawn by W.M. Cary. This detail of figure 3 shows Fort Union's retail store as it appeared in 1861.



Traders Store

Figure 9: Sketch in a Hudson Bay Company Trading Store.
Drawn by Frederic Remington.



SKETCH IN A HUDSON BAY COMPANY TRADING STORE.—Drawn by Frederic Remington.—

Figure 10: "The Trading-Store" from Hudson Bay, p. 62.



THE TRADING-STORE.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Fort Union Inventories, 1848 to 1851

FORT UNION INVENTORY (May 17th, 1848)

1	pr.	3 1/2	pt.	Dark Blue		Blankets
2 1/2	"	3	"	"	"	"
20	"	3	"	Scarlet		"
14	"	3	"	Sky blue		"
2 1/2	"	3	"	Green		"
37	"	3	"	Wht. Mac[inaw]		"
33 1/2	"	3	"	French		"
3	"	3	"	Com'n wrapper		"
3 1/2	"	2 1/2	"	Hud Bay		"
6 1/2	"	2 1/2	"	Wht. Mac.		"
7 1/2	"	2	"	"	"	"
1	"	1	"	"	"	"

9 1/4 yds. Scarlet S.L. cloth
18 " Blue Stroud
16 " Green S.L. Cloth
9 " Super Blue "
5 Laced chiefs coats
1 Indian Blanket Capot
1 Cassinette Vest
4 Blue cloth "
2 1/2 doz. Knit country socks
1 " damaged "
1 5/12 " White Cott hlf. hose
2 /3 " Woolen Caps damg'd
3/4 " Blue Cotton Hakfs [handkerchiefs]
1/2 " Neck Stocks
1/2 " White wool Hats
1/2 " Blk Fur do.
1 1/4 " Mens Brogans
9 prs. Sewed Boots
1 " " Shoes
Used Large Fort Flag
1 Am'n Ensign Flag
11 prs. Ribbons 4/no. 6 7/no. 4
7 lb. Candlewick
1 " Col'd Worsted Yarn
1/4" All col'd Thread
1 1/2 Doz. Spool Cotton
3/8 lb. Blk. Sewing Silk
5/8 lb. Light [____?] do.
3/8 " Black Twist
1 1/4 Gro. Scarlet Gartering
5 " Col'd Binding
2/3 Bolt Saddle Web
1/6 doz. Snaffle Bridles
507 1/4lb. Sky Blue pound beads
16 1/2 " White " "

12 lb. Red pound beads
8 " Black " "
2 1/2 " Yellow " "
51 1/4 " Ass'd col'd seed "
89 1/2 " Bunches round blue agate "
37 3/4 " " " white " "
96 Small " " " " "
12 1/4 " Large barleycorn "
68 1/2 " Small blue "
132 1/4 " Lg. Red "
23 " Black "
10 1/2 " Lg. Snake "
5 3/4 lb. Blue pigeon egg "
80 " " Pound beads large size
6 1/5 Nests Wampum Moons
16 lb. Purple Mock Wampum
7 1/2 M Grains White do. per
Sundry Loose beads valued at
172 in. Wampum Hair pipes
1 Saint Lawrence Shells
2 California Sea Shells
10 Common Oval do.
93 1/2 doz. Crambo Combs
3 3/4 " Fine ivory "
1 3/4 " Boxwood "
11/12 " Ladies tuck "
21 1/2 M Sewing needles
3 doz. Tailors "
2 2/3 " Baleing "
1 [___?]Gro. Bone Shirt Buttons
6 " Pearl " "
4 3/4 " Bone Suspender "
1 3/4 " Orange Coat "
1/6 " Bone "
9 " Coat moulds
3 1/2 " Vest "
1 Beaded bag on Silk
1 doz " " on Cotton
2 6/10 MBrass Tacks
1 1/2 Saddlers "
3/10 Spriggs
4 1/8 doz. Brass Hinges
1/4 M Pins
1/4 doz. Scissors
2/3 " Shears
2 C Very large fish hooks
3 " Small " "
6 pr. Brass plated Stirrup Irons
12 Assiniboine Lances
3 Painted pockamogans
Do. Blade
1/4 Gro. Buckles
1/6 " Cow Bells
1/4 doz. Padlocks
1/6 " Trunk Locks
2 3/4 " N.W. Gun Locks [Northwest gun]

7 1/2 " Tin Table Spoons
7 " " Tea "
4 Cases Razors 2 ea.
8 7/8 doz. com'n "
2 11/12" Single pocket knives
2 " Snuff Boxes
11/12 " Shaving Brushes
7/12 " Silver Tray bells
3 lb. Rough House "
60 Papers Hawk "
Large Fort " 170 lbs.
1/4 doz. Pocket Inkstands
1/4 " Tobacco boxes
1 " Tap Borers
1 1/3 " Nail Gimletts
43 1/3 " Brittania Mirrors
14 1/6 " " "
1/4 " Mirror Snuff Boxes
3 1/2 " Hand saw files
5 2/3 " Pittsaw "
1/4 " 12 in. Smooth "
1/6 " 14 in. Bastard "
1/4 " 8 in. " "
2 " 5 " Rattail "
1 1/4 " Used ass'd "
1 1/2 " Wood rasps
1/2 " Horse "
1/2 " Copper powder flasks
1 Pat. Top Shot Bag
5 11/12 doz. Comp'n. Medals F&I
1 /2 Doz. Comp'n. Medals PC Jr.
32 1/4 lb. White & Yellow Wire lace
32 1/2 Gro. Brass Finger Rings
5 2/3 " Wire gun worms
2 M Gun flints
3 1/3 " Musket "
3 C Rifle "
1/3 doz. Used Stock Locks
2 Coopers Saws 1/100 1/125
10/12 doz. 600/double and 1/3 doz. 300/single plane irons
1/6 " White wash brushes
1/3 doz. Clothes brushes
1/6 " Painters "
1 Cloth Broom "
1/3 doz. Drawing Knives
1 Double iron Smoothing Plane
2 2 in. 75/Morticing & 2 2 in. 56 1/4/Turners Chisels
1 Set ea. turners 450/chisels & 450/Gouges
3 Augers 12 Qtrs.
9 lb. solder
2 " Zinc
7/8 Box sheet tin
12 doz. Kettle Ears

103 lb. Iron Wire
2 " Brass Collar wire
25 " Large Brass "
16 " 4 Gal. Tin Kettles
14 " 3 " " "
3 " 2 " " "
6 1/6 " 1 " " "
8 Pair Arm Bands
1/6 doz. pt Tin Cups
172 lb. Sheet Iron
16 doz. Japanned Lamps
2 Tin Lanterns
1 1/2 Gro. Indian Awls
1 Frying Pan
5 doz. Iron Grattes
1/4 " Fire Steels
69 1/2 doz. Warr'd [warranted] scalping knives
20 " Damaged " "
11 " Ass'd " "
5 " 10in. Tillotsons "
11 " 9 " cooks "
3 2/8 " 8 " " "
8 1/2 doz. 7 in. Wilsons knives
19 " 6 1/2 " " "
14 " 5 1/2 " Wards "
3 1/2 " 6 " Cocoa Hdle " [cocobolo]
1 Large Iron beam & Wooden Scales
8 Pr. Steelyards 530 lbs.
6 " " 1/200, 1/150, 2/49, ea. 1/250. 1/207 lb.
1 Pat. Spring Balance
8 Pr. Copper Scales & 2 Sets Weights
6 English sabres
1 Blacksmiths Bench vice 37 lbs.
8 Coopers Jointer plane
5 Beaver Traps & Chains
8 " " Broken no chains
2 Hollow planes no bits
40 Indian Hlf. Axes 2 1/2 ea.
5 Tomahawks
1 Old Pistol
1 Used Gun
19 Used Rifles out of order & wanting moulds
1 Repeating do.
2 Rifle barrels
31 US muskets
18 Belgian Guns
1 Brass Swivel on Carriage
1 3 Pounder Iron Cannon
1 4 " " " Mounted complete
33 Cannon Balls 3 lb. ea 99 lbs.
6 Cannisters " 4 " " 24 lbs.
31 Cannisters " 3 " " 93 lbs.
30 lb. Grape Shot
2 Sets Rammers & Wipers
1 Powder Cannister
25 Maple & Walnut Gun Stocks
144 lb. Lead in balls

745 lb. " in bars S&C
560 lb. " 8 pigs 70 lb. ea.
596 1/2 " Gunpowder
Sundry Loose fire works worth perhaps
23 lb. Flat Bar German Steel
85 " Eng'h [English] blister "
44 " Crawley [Crowley] "
651 " Bar iron
11 1/2 " Hoop "
216 " Square in a bar
94 lb. 6 d Cut Nails
48 " 4 1/2 in. wrot [wrought] spikes
3 Hlf. boxes Window Glass 8 x 10
6 1/4 lb. Buck Shot
2 Redstone pipes
10/12 Gro. clay "
26 1/2 lb. cast wheel boxes
378 " Plug Tobacco 2 to lb.
309 3/4 doz. Cut do.
1/2 Box Shaving Soap
2 Bu. G.A. Salt
45 lb. Mohawk Corn
1 Medicine Cupboard & Complete Ass't Medicines
1 /4 doz. lg. Oil Spruce & 1 3/4 doz. Sma. Do.
15 lb. Roll brimstone
5 " Alum
22 " Saltpetre
1 lb. Flow. Sulph. Cammomile
7 1/4 " Epsom salts
1/2 lb. Gentian
1 /2 " Aloes
1/6 doz. British oil
1/2 " Lees pills
4 lb. Peru bark
1/4 lb. Manna
1/2 " Quill bark
3/4 " Burgundy pitch
3 1/4 " caric Seed
24 " Emery
1/4 " Pulvd Jalap
4 Bougies
4 Bot. Castor oil
2 " Olive oil
1/2 Pt. Laudanum
1 3/4 doz. Seidlitz
2/3 " Cayenne
2 lb. fustic
1/2 " Turmeric
10/12 doz. Turlington
2 Gal. Demijohn
1 Mortar & pestle
2 pr. Pullicans
1 Spring Lancet
2 Thumb "
1 Tourniquet
5/12 doz. P.P. Syringes
1 Case Pocket Instruments

9 lb. Chip'd Logwood
11 lb. Gro. Camwood
5 lb. Gum Lac
34 lb. Ipecac
2 lb. Red [?] Ginger
1 1/2 lb. Sugar Lead
1/4 " Ging. Lozenges
1 qt. do.
1/2 Gum Arabic
1 1/2 lb. Carb. Soda
2 1/4 " Borax
1 3/4 " Arrow root
5 1/2 " Flow. sulph.
5 " Red Columbo
12 1/2 " Pearl sago
3 1/2 " [Brazing?]
1/2 Gro. Vials
1 Bot. Oil Stone
1 " " Spike
1 2/3 doz. Chapman
1/2 " Lampblack
1 Bot. Nitric Acid
2 lbs. Copperas
1 " Red Lead
1 1/2 [INF?] indigo
2 Junk bottles [black glass porter bottles]

1 " Scalpels
1 Apothecaries Scales & Weights
1 Electrical machine broken
1 Magic Lantern & Paintings
1 Hydrometer
1 Military Drum
1 Brass keyed clarionet
1 Brass mounted telescope
1 1/2 Boxes Water colors
1 Ream Cap paper
1 " Letter do.
1/2 doz. Blank Day Books
1/4 lbs. Red Sealing wax
7/12 doz. Ink Powder
1 Desk Penknife
1 Parallel Ruler
1 Letter Stamps
2 3/4 lbs. Verdigris
4 Pat. Green in Oil
5 Kegs Spanish Brown
12 lbs. " " in Kettles

Sand box

Wafer box

The following Articles in Use & at their estimated value.

2 drawing knives
4 Tin Scoops
4 Used Gun Locks
1 Coopers Hammer
3 Crooked drawing Knives
1 Hoop driver
7 Moulding planes
1 Smoothing plane
9 Large chisels
1 Tool chest Good & Strong
2 Iron Ovens
2 Small tin pans
1 Iron Anvil
1 Old blacksmiths bellows
10 Brass cocks no keys
10 Mowing scythes worn out broken & useless
3 Scythe Sneaths
4 Old planes
3 Copper Measures
2 Large Coffee pots
1 Iron Shovel
1 Gal. kettle
2 Lanterns
2 Watering pots damaged
2 picks
1 Good Grindstone
1 Old jointer plane
11 pr. Iron Hobbles
2 Gouges
1 pr. Brass buckshot moulds
5 " Ball moulds worn out & broken valued at ea. 8.00
1 " " Do. Good no Shears
1 Tobacco Cutter

2 Augers
3 Tin Cups
2 Tin plates
1 Do. Cant hook
4 Tap borers
1 Oil can
1 Fore plane
1 Jack plane
1 Spike gimlet
1 Coopers Jointer
1 Do. broken
3 Old Pitsaws
7 Paint kettles & Oil cans
6 pr. Single ball moulds
1 Ind'n battle axe
5 Tin funnels
5 Cups
2 Camp kettles
7 Hoes
1 Caboose kettle
1 Cast pot broken
1 Hall bell
40 lb. Old nails
2 Wooden Rakes
2 Old axes
1 pr. Iron Handcuffs
2 Paint brushes
1 Glass Lantern

7 Chop'g axes
4 Stock Locks
3 Wht wash brushes
1 Gimlet
1 Saw Set
2 Single gages
3 Candle moulds
1 Large ice hook
2 Powder cannisters
3 [Hall?] adzes
3 Potash kettles
1 Powder measure

1 Small Stove & pipe broken
1 Cooking " "
5 Sets Am'n leather Wagon Harness complete
2 " " " Back Bands & Trace chains
1 " Parflesche " " " ".
1 " Trace chains
3 Set double parflesche Cart harness complete
2 " Single ox " " "
Sundry portions of Harness equal to 2 double sets
1 American Riding Saddle 1 Bridle
7 Spanish old " not complete No stirrups or surcingles
1 " " Complete
36 Pack saddles not complete very old & much worn
17 Packsaddle trees 3 Spa'h [Spanish] saddle trees
1 Bear Skin Saddle cover 2 Used bridles
5 Old broken bridles 6 Saddle blankets
6 Parflesche halters 2 Leather halters
3 One horse ploughs
1 Harrow broken
3 Ox Yokes
4 Log chains
1 New four wheeled wagon Ironed & painted complete
1 " " " 2 horse wagon
1 Large Ox Cart complete
1 Smaller " " "
3 Single horse "
1 Hay cart
4 " " Bodies
2 pr. Wheels & Axles
2 Wooden Sleds
1 Old Dearborn
2 Extra Size mdse [merchandise] boxes
9 Large " "
7 Medium " " "
4 Small " "
3 Old Liquor Cases no bottles 1 Med chest
1 Hat box 1 Gun Case 1 Cupboard

<u>House furniture</u>

1 Bureau 1 Brass Candlestick 2 Arm Chairs
1 Looking Glass 2 Half Rd Tables 2 1 Qt.Kettles
2 Wash stand 1 Sofa 1 Beadstead & Hangings
1 Small Cupboard 2 Decanters 9 Chairs
7 pr. Andirons 2 Fire shovels 1 Bookcase
1 Sheet copper 6 lb. 1 Office desk 1 Rd. table
2 Dining tables 1 Square table 2 pr. Tongs
1 Pier glass broken 1 Sofa & Mattrass
1 U.S. Chart 1 Tobacco Receiver 1 Tin pitcher
2 Hall bells 1 Tin Chandelier 1 dinner horn
1 Tin writing desk 1 Kitchen cupboard
2 Kitchen Tables 1 Spade 1 Trap Chain
1 Walnut Cupboard 1 Mess Table
1 Table Cloth 3 Com'n Bedsteads 3 Chop Axes
1 Cupboard 2 Painted bedsteads
1 Clothes brush 1 Sma. Cov'd writing desk
1 1 1/2 Gal. Kettle 1 Com'n table 1 Old Axe

2 Bedsteads
2 Small Cupboards

1 Lantern
1 Shovel

2 Old Candlesticks
1 1 gal. Kettle

Kitchen utensils

5 Dinner plates
12 Knives & forks
9 Tin Cups
2 Brass candlesticks
1 Cake Cutter
1 Soup tureen
3 3 Gal. Kettles
1 Frying pan
1 Cleaver

1 Cracked Tureen
5 Tin Spoons
5 Pepperboxes
1 Grater
1 Tin Lantern
3 1 Gal. Kettles
1 Copper do. 8 lb.
3 Cast Ovens
1 Funnel

2 Sug'r bowls
6 Iron Tea Spoons
1 Tin creampot
1 Salt cellar
4 Oval Tin Dishes
3 2 Gal. Kettles
1 Grid iron
3 Plate heaters
1 Flesh fork
2 Axes

1 Tin Roaster
1 Cast Tea Kettle
1 Smoothing iron
1 [Carrier?]
1 Pr. pot hooks
35 Milk pans
1 Tin Bucket
1 Skimmer

1 Tin Creampot
1 Tin pan
1 Tin waiter
1 Poker
1 Mustard pot
6 Very large do.
1 Strainer
2 Churns

1 Lg. Coffeepot
1 Old corn mill
1 Water barrel
2 Skimmers

2 2 Gal. kettles
3 Cheese moulds
1 Funnel

Carpenters tools

1 Turning & polishing machine out of order & incomplete
1 Blacksmiths Bench vice
1 Jointer
16 Moulding & Beading planes
1 Small plough do.
1 pr. 3/4 in. Flooring do.
1 Pat. plough & 9 bitts
2 Bevel Squares
2 Tennant [tenon] saws
1 Oil Stone
1 Oil [primer?]
2 Wood rasps
1 Hand Hammer
8 Augers
12 Gouges
1 Gudgeon & Crank for Grindstone
1 Wheel Tool
1 Turners Compass
2 Chopping Axes
3 Mallets
1 Coopers heading tool
1 Morticing adze
3 Wooden wheel guages
1 Hammer
1 Plumb
7 Caulking Mallets
1 Small grindstone
2 Pitsaws
1 Paint marble Slab & Muller

3 Foreplanes
1 Jack plane
2 Rabbit do.
1 Pr. Plough & Groove do.
1 Sash do.
1 Spokeshave
2 Trying do.
2 Handsaws
1 Pr. Compasses
Bevel guage
5 Old files
1 Wrench
24 Ass.d Chisels
9 Turning do.
2 Scribes
3 Froes
1 Double guage
1 Hand axe
1 Iron Crow Bar
1 Round a adze
1 Slick
1 Brace & 68 Bitts
1 Compass
1 File
1 Large grindstone
2 Cross cut Saws
1 Oil can 1 Used 1 Gal. kettle
1 Work bench

3 Smoothing do.

2 Compass saws broken
1 Draw'g Knife
1 Pr. pincers
1 Iron [__?]
2 Handsaws
1 Frame Saw

4 Do. Chisels

1 Foot adze
50 Single do.
3 Broad axes
1 Wrench chain

1 Iron wedge

1 Saw Set
7 Caulking irons

Tailors

1 pr. Tailors Shears

1 pr. Scissors

1 Iron Goose

Masons
1/2 Set Masons & Mining Tools

Tinners
3/4 set Tinners Tools

Articles in use
Blacksmiths & Tin Shop
Carpenters & Coopers Shop & Other shops
Kitchen utensils & Furniture
Waggon, Carts, Harnesses & Ox Yokes
Riding & Pack Saddles
Improvements (Ft. Benton & Ft. Alexander)
7 Mules
1 Bull
8 Oxen 2 years old
2 "
12 Cows
5 Yearlings
7 Calves
6 Hogs
6 Pigs
3 Forts viz. Ft. Union Ft. Benton Ft. Alexander

Blacksmiths tools

1 Large bellows
1 Bench Vice
43 Axe Mandrils
24 Swedges & Splitting hammers
9 Large punches
1 pr. Pincers
6 Screw plates with Taps & Dies
15 Gun Lock Tools
1 Drill bow & plate
2 Nipple wrenches
11 Small punches
3 Wrenches
1 Nail wrench
1 pr. Large Iron Shears
1 [Ball?] Ladle
1 [Doubling?] iron
2 Draw bores
1 Large Hammer

2 Anvils
12 Pr. Tongs
1 Sledge
10 Cold chisels
1 Brace
1 Compass wheel

1 Iron Square
2 Gimlets
2 Hand vices
14 Files
Large Bench drill
1 Buttress
16 Old files
2 Iron Rakes
1 Drawing knife
1 Saw stock
1 Pit. saw iron

1 Shovel & scraper
17 Heading Tools
7 Hammers

4 Cherries
5 Wrenches

1 [?] Ramrod
2 Screwdrivers
5 Chisels
3 Horse stamps

1 Shoeing hammer

1 Float
1 1/2 pr. clamps
1 Spade
1 Ramrod bitt

Live stock
1 California Running Horse
1 American do. do.
1 Indian pack do.
7 Mules
1 Full grown Bull
1 Old ox (Swan) worn out useless
2 Serviceable do.
8 2 Yr. Old Oxen not broken
13 Milch Cows
5 1-1/2 Yr. Old Calves
6 Small do.
1 Large Hog

5 Middling Size do.
6 Pigs

10 doz. Green Hdle. Butcher knives
11 " " " spears
1 Tiger Skin Arrow quiver
65 Dressed Cow Skins
29 Raw Hides no hair
34 Apichimos
280 Parflesches
203 Lodge Skins
1 Old Robe in Office
118 lb. 4 1/2 in. Wrought Spikes
71 lb. 6d Cut Nails
50 lb. Oakum
1 Jack Screw damaged
1 Brass Swivel
1 Large Iron Anchor
1 Medium " "
1 Chain Cable
1 Steel Caboose broken
1 Tin powder Cannister
2 Mackinaw boats 65 ft. ea.
2 Skiffs
2 Used Rifles
1 Used Musket
1 Gun 1 Horn

FORT UNION INVENTORY (May 20th, 1849)

1 1/2	pr.	3 1/2	pt. DK [dark] Blue	Blankets
42	"	3	" Scarlet	"
33 1/2	"	2 1/2	" "	"
11	"	2 1/2	" Hudson Bay	"
19	"	3	" Sky Blue	"
48	"	3	" White Best	"
14	"	3	" Green	"
4	"	3	" White French	"
10 1/2	"		Com. Hudson Bay	"
6	"		Wrappers	
13 1/4	yds		Fine Blue	Cloth
1 1/4	"		Green L.S.	"
37	"		Scarlet "	"
54	"		Blue Satinet	
15 1/4	"		Grey "	
36 1/4	"		White Flannel	
45[3]	"		" " Fine	
4[2]	"		Fig'd Carpeting	
55	"		Russia Sheeting	
48[2]	"		Brown Cotton	
262[2]	"		Blue Do	
41 1/4	"		Bed Tick	
131[2]	"		Furniture Check	
204[2]	"		Blue "	
157[1]	"		Fancy Calico	
23[3]	"		" Barege	
3[2]	"		Salempores	
2 ps			Musquito Netting	
2			Diaper table Clothes	
1			Fancy table Cover	
1 1 /3	doz.		Fig'd Silk Handkerchiefs	
3 /12	"		Cotton flag	
1/4	"		Maddrass	
2			Shawls 1/100 1/150	
1			Worsted Shawl	
1			Scarlet laced Chiefs Coat	
6			Olive Surtouts No 964	
6			Blue Ditto " 745	
4	"	"	" 303	
2			Mens Blkt Capots	
10			Boys Ditto "	
4			Childrens " "	
1 1/2	doz.		Cloth vests 1 doz/33¢ & 1/2 dz./30¢	
1			Cassinet Vest	
1/3	doz.		Cloth Caps	
11/12	"		Plush do	
11/12	"		Glazed do	
3/4	"		Nutria do fine	
1/4	"		" " Com.	
7/12	"		Woolen "	
5/12	"		White Nutria Hats	
7/12	"		Palm Leaf	
1	pr.		Garnish'd Elkskin pants	

2 pr. Cow Skin "
5 Cotton Rugs
1 Garn'd Ind'n Shirt
1 doz. Fig'd Satin Socks [or stocks: see 1851 inventory]
1/2 " Silk " " F.P.
5/12 " Blk " "
1/3 " Mens Brogans
7 pr. Sewed Boots
1 " Ea. Pumps 100/ & Gloves 27 N.Y.
1/6 doz. Woolen Mittens
1 2/3 " " Socks
3/4 " Wht. Cot. hlf hose
1 Large Fort Union Flag
1 " " " "
1 Fort Streamer 40 feet x 6
1/2 lb. Col'd Worsted Yarn
11/16 " Ass'd Col'd Sewing Silk
1 1/8 " Blk " "
1/2 " " Twist
3 1/4 " All Col'd Thread
1 " Blue "
2 " Cotton Balls
6 " Sturgeon Twine
3 doz. Holland "
1 1/4 Roll Gartering
5 lb. Candle wick
3 pr. Ribbon No. 6
48 " " " 3
1 Bead Reticule on silk
1 doz. " " on Cotton
4 1/2 " Fine Ivory Combs
41 1/2 " Crambo "
3/4 doz. G. Silver fine "
1/2 " Boxwood "
11/12 " Ladies Tuck "
1/4 Bolt Saddle web
1 [?]Gro Shirt Bone Buttons
1/3 " " " Pearl "
1 " " Coat & Suspender "
1/6 " " " "
8 " Coat Moulds
3 " Vest "
1/6 " Fig'd Coat Buttons
505[2] lb. Blue pound Beads
80 " " " " FP
2 1/2 " White " "
2 1/2 " Yellow " "
1 " Red " "
3 " Black " "
3 doz. Cut Glass "
1/6 " Gilt Necklace "
10 3/4 " Bead "
1/4 B. White oblong Beads
3/4 " Blue Agate "
3 " Red Snake "
1/6 doz. Blk Necklace "
36 3/4 B. Blue Barley Corn "

8 1/4 " Blk " " "
123 " Ruby " " "
53 1/2 lbs. Seed Beads 30/72 + 23²/150
14 " Do loose
7 " Ass'd Garn'h Beads
504 in: Wampum Hair Pipes
16 Nests " Moons 10/112 + 6/87²
9 Sea Shells
2 California "
13 Purple MK [mock] Wampum
7 1/2 M White "
7/12 doz. Silver Tray Bells
5/12 " Cow "
19 papers Hawk Bells
16 1/4 " Rough House "
5/12 doz. Horse "
1 Fort Bell 170 lb
1/2 doz. Socket Chisels
1 sett Turners ditto
1 " " Gouges
3 Hand Bells
1/2 doz. Morticing Chisels
11 Augers 56 Qtr.
1 Oil Stone
1/3 doz. Butt Hinges
4 3/4 " Brass "
24 lb. Hooks & Hinges
1 1/2 " Pins
3 1/8 M Sewing Needles
5 C Glovers "
4 1/2 doz. Baling "
3 1/2 Gro. Vest Buttons
1/3 " O. Coat "
1 doz. Pearl " "
1 11/12 " Snuff Boxes
1/6 " Tobacco Boxes
1/4 " Pocket Inkstands
4 Cases Razors 2 ea.
8 " " 1 "
1 doz. Com "
3/4 " Shaving Boxes
1 6/12 " " Brushes
3/4 Box " Soap
1 doz. Tap Borers
3 C Lg. Fish Hooks
3 1/2 " Fly "
1 1/2 doz. Buckles
1/12 " Small Spy Glasses
1/4 " Scythe Stones
1/12 " Handvices
1 " Nail Gimblets
1 1/2 Gro. Screws 1 gro./1 1/2in. 50 1/2/1/2 39²
1/4 " Tailors [?] Thimbles
1/6 doz. Brass Thimbles
3 1/4 " Teaspoons & table Iron 1 11/12 tea 15 1 5/12 table 50
1/2 " Tin"
1/2 " Scissors

1/6 " Shears
1 " Sheep Shears
1/6 " Trunk Locks
1 " Knob Door "
1/6 " Stock " & keys
1/2 " Padlocks " "
1 1/2 " Silver Lace
2/3 doz. Perfumery
5/12 " Fishing Lines
1/2 " Paste Blacking
5/12 " Rat Spears
2 1/6 doz. N.W. Gun Locks
4 1/6 " Compn Medals
2 Mariners Compasses
1/2 doz. Copper Powder flasks
11 Beaver Trap springs
5 Ind. Hlf. axes
1 Box Tin Dress Ornament 20¢
1 Flour Seive
1 Brass Ball Mould (good) 24B
1 " " " (new) 14"
3 " " " (old) ea. 24"
1 Iron " " (good)
3 " Single "
1 doz. Mouse Traps
1 pr. Knob & Irons
1 Broad Axe
1 Foot Adze
1 Iron Square
1 doz. Dble Plane Irons
3/4 " Single " "
1 Shingling Hatchet
1 pr. Tongs & shovels
1/3 doz. Thumb wrenches
5/12 " Clothes Brushes
1/2 " Painters ditto
1/6 " W. Wash "
1 C.S. Pitsaw 6 1/2 feet
1/6 Gro. Indian awls
1/6 " Finger Rings
1 2/3 doz. 14 in. coarse files
7 " 6 " Pitsaw "
1 5/12 " 5 " Rat Tail "
2 1/6 " 5 " Hand Saw "
1/3 " Armourers "
7/12 " Horse Rasps
1 1/4 " Wood "
1 1/4 " Used files
1 10/12" Single Pocket Knives
1/2 " Buck Carvers
3 2/3 " Knives & Forks
5 10/12" G. [Halsprpt]? Knives
3 7/12 " 10 in. Tillottson"
3 " 10 " Hyslop "
6 " 9 " Russell "
100 Wards Scalping "
2 doz. Com. Scalping Knives

6 Assiniboine Lances
5 English Sabres
3 A. Ornamented Pocamogins
5 Gro. Clay pipes
2 Red Stone Pipes
7 1/6 doz. Pap: Covd. Mirrors
18 " Britania "
22 3/4 " " "
1/6 " EA. Scythes & Sneathes
1 pr. Am. Saddle Bags
1 Pat. Top shot Bags
1 1/3 doz. Snaffle Bridles
45 1/3 " Solder
2 " Zinc
10 M Kettle Rivetts, Ea. 45/1 1/2 + 30/25
5 1/2 Gro. " Ears No.4
12 1/3 Box Tin 1/3x
165 lb. Iron wire
26 1/4 " Brass " very large
35 " 6 doz. Shingling Nails
37 " 4 " " "
1 Bench Vice 57
1 Obl Ironed Jack Plane
2 Coopers Joiners
2 Nests S. I. Kettles
1 13/doz. 16 qt Tin ditto
2/3 " 12 " " "
1 " 8 " " "
4 1/12 " 4 " " "
7/12 " Tin Pans 1/4/$2/312 1/3/$1/425
1 " " Cups
1/2 " 8 in. hlf r. files
1 Skimmer 20 [?] & Grates 12 1/2
1 pr. Steelyards 530 lb.
1 " do 250 "
1 " do Ea. 207, 200 & 150
2 " do 49
1 pat. Spring Balance
1 pr. Copper Scales & Weights
1 Iron Beam & Wooden Scales
1 M Rifle Flints
2 6/10 " Musket "
1 8/10 " Gun "
3 " Horse Pistol"
3 doz. Leather Surcingles
1 Medicine Cupboard and Complete Assortment of Medicines
1/6 doz. Dailey's Pain Extractor
1 1/2 lbs. Sugar Lead
1 1/4 " Cochineal
1/4 " Gentian
1 1/2 " Arrow Root
2 1/4 " Borax
1 " Liquid Blue
1 oz. Sulp. Zinc
1 doz. Ess Peppermint
2 lbs. Copperas
1 " Pruss Blue

3/4 lb. Nutmeg
2 " Indigo
1/2 " Red Lead
1/2 doz. Lees Pills
2 " Mustard in Cans
1 " Adhesive Plaster
1 qt. British oil
1 " Oil Stone
1/12 doz. Olive Oil
1 Bot Laudanum
1 lb. Blue Mass
1 " Copperas
1/2 " Turmeric
1 1/4 " Lampblack
1/2 " Q Bark
6 1/2 " G. Emery
1/4 " Salamoniac
1 oz. Red Precipitate
1 doz. Ess. Lemon
1 " Cayenne
2 2/3 " Turlington
2 " Fustic
1/2 " Lampwick
10 lb. Putty
4 1/2 " Turmeric
1 qt. Nitric Acid
1 " O. spike
5/12 " Castor Oil
1 " Asafoetida
1 1/6 doz Chapman
1 lb. Spunk
3/4 " Elm Bark
1/4 " Lozenges
1 1/2 " Sage
1 " B. Pitch
1 3/4 " Camomile
4 1/2 " Culumbo
20 " C. Emery
2 " Ginger Root
10 " Borax
5/12 doz P.P. Syringes
10 " Camwood
1 " Bal copaiva
3 lb. P. Bark
1/4 " Manna
1/2 " Gum Arabic
3/4 " Epicac
5 " Gum Lac
2 3/4 " [Brazing?]
1 1/4 " Caric Seed
7 " Sulpher
21 Salt Petre
1 CSyringe
15 lb. Brimstone
8 " Logwood
9 1/2 E. Salts
1 case Pocket Instruments

1 " Scalpels
2 Tooth pullers
2 Thumb Lancets
1 Catheter
1 Torniquet
1 Spring Lancet & 3 Bougies
1 Apothecaries Scales & Weights
1 Mortar & Pestle
1 Demijohn
3 2 qt Bottles
30 Junk "
1/6 Gro. Ea Vials & Corks
1 1/2 lb. Carb. Soda
1/2 lb. Aloes
5 Quires Bills of Lading
4 " Envelope Paper
3/4 Ream Invoice ditto
1/2 " Ruled Cap "
1/4 " Letter "
1/2 CEngagements pr. Ream
1 Letter Stamp
1/4 lb. Sealing wax
1/6 doz. Ink powder
1 Desk pen knife
1 Par'l Ruler
2 Inkstands
1 Sand Box & slate
5 doz.Steel pens
1 1/2 box Water cols & pencils
2 CGood Quills
1/2 doz. Lead Pencils
1 Hydrometer
1 Brass mtd. Telescope
1 Electric Machine
1 Military Drum
1 rass keyd. Clarionet
1 Magic Lantern & paintings
1 Britania Pitcher
1 doz. Glass Tumblers
1/6 " " Mustards
1/6 " " Salts
6 3/4 " Printed Teas
1/6 " " Sugars
1/6 " " Creams
2 5/12 " " Plates
1/4 " " Butter "
1 sett Britania Castors
1 pr. Brass Candlesticks
6 qr. Wrapping Paper
1 lb. Prussian Blue in Oil
2 gls. Linseed Oil & Cans
6 lb. White Lead in Oil
5 1/2 Kegs Span Brown
3 Kegs Pat Green
20 lb. White Lead
10 lb. Yellow Ochre
1/2 " " Chrome

1 " American Vermillion
05 1/2" Chinese Ditto
8 1/4 " Verdigris
1/4 doz. Lg. Oil Spruce
1 3/4 " Small " "
17 lb. Blk. pepper
50 lb. Salt
1 box Raisins
76 lb. Sheet iron
138 " Nail rod "
3 " Hoop "
360 " Bar "
216 " Square " in a bar
38 " Cast steel "
24 " German " "
91 " Blister "
273 " Balls
2 1/2 " Brass
27 Canisters 3 lb. ea. 81
6 " 4 " ea. 24
33 Canon 3 " ea. 99
2 Powder canisters
621² lb. Gun powder
595 lb. Pig lead
616 lb. Sm. bar "
Sundry fireworks
49 Powder horns
5 Setts wheel boxes 139 lb.
1 Repeating rifle (16 shot)
1 Used "
1 Old pistol
1 Used sham twist gun
30 Belgian "
24 U.S. muskets >
10 " do. > 34
1 Mtd. brass swivel
1 " Iron 3 pounder Canon
1 " " 4 " "
4 Used Guns
32 lb. Grape shot
2 Setts harness & wipers
4 Maple gun stocks
59 pr. Hickory for Ind. bows
301 1/4 doz. Cut Tobacco
78 lb. Plug "
13 1/2 " Spanish "
2 " Cavendish "
2 doz. Atwoods Rat Poison
1 lb. Crude Arsenic
3/4 doz. Collins Chopping Axes
60 lb. Oakum
1/2 box Glass 8 x 10
48 Gourds
2 Good fore planes
2 [?] ditto
1 Jack " do.
1 Smoothing "
20 Moulding & beading planes
1 Coopers hammer
1 Coopers Dog

4 Crooked Drawing Kives
1 Iron Hoop Driver
11 Tap Borers
1 Tin Speaking Trumpet
1 Skimmer
10 Good Chpg' Axes
2 Shovels @ 50
7 Spades
3 Small Grindstones
2 Mattocks
4 Cast Ovens
2 Good Pitsaws
2 Cross Cut saws
1 Lg. Gouge
14 Qtr. Augers
1 Doz. Candle Moulds
1 Pr. Press Irons
3 Caulking Irons
7 Good Scythes
8 " Sneaths
9 Old Scythes
3 Tin scoops
3 Cast pots
3 Lg. Coffee Pots
3 Old liquor cases
1 Anvil 96 lb.
1 Tobacco Hook
1 Cleaver
1 Tobacco Cutter
1 Medicine Chest
5 Funnels
1 Marking Pot
1 Pr. Tongs
3 Halters
3 lg. Kettles
4 Rings & Staples
1 Old Pitsaw
1 " Broad axe
1 Jack screw
3 One Horse Ploughs
1 Small Stove (Broken)
1 Cooking " & pipe Complete
1 Skimmer
1 Old Bellows
1 Pr. Stirrups
4 Ox Yokes Ironed Complete
13 Spanish Riding Saddles "
1 American " " "
16 Pack " "
19 " " not complete
6 Spa. "
4 Setts Am. Leather Breeching &Traces
4 " " " Waggon Harness Complete
2 " Dbl. Cart Harness "
3 " " " " nearly "
2 " Bull Harness "
4 Rakes

1 Gage
2 Sawsettes
1 Spike Gimblet
3 Old Pitsaws
2 Glass Lanterns
28 Small do.
2 Broken @ 25
3 Potash Kettles
8 Old Kettles
4 Log Chains
8 Drawing Knives
3 Froes
8 Lg. Drawing Knives
1 Claw Hammer
1 Marlin Spike
2 Lanterns
2 W.W. Brushes [whitewash]
1 Inkstand
1 Corn Broom
1 Looking Glass
1 1/4 Doz. used files
7 Paint Brushes
2 Watering Pots
2 Tin Cups
1 Bellows
1 Grab Hook
1 Butcher Knife
1 Pewter [Q_?]
1 Sand Box
1 large Funnel
1 Spike Gimblet
2 Prs. and Irons
1 Coffee Pot
1 Kettle
1 Pan
5 Mallets
1 Cast oven
2 Picks
11 Pr. Iron Hobbles

5 Dbl. Blocks & Tackle
2 R'd Ledgers
1 Bridle

1 Pitch Fork

1 Nail do.
3 Old axes
1 Camboose Kettle
10 Brass Cocks
1 Tool chest
2 Copper [Q_?]
8 Old axes
18 Nutts & Bolts
5 Hoes
2 Iron Rakes

2 Single mattrasses
1 4 Wheeled Dearborne Complete
1 4 " Waggon
2 Ox Carts
5 Single ditto
5 Hay Cart Bodies
3 Dog Sleds & Harness
28 Ox "
5 Single Sleds
1 Extra large Merchandise Box
6 large " "
7 Small " "
1 Gun Case
24 Pr. Garnished Moccasins
40 " Travelling do.
3 Dressed Antelope Skins

1 Wheel Barrow

Mason tools
1/2 Sett Masons & Miner's tools

Tailors
1 Pr. Large Shears

1 Goose

Tinman's
3/4 Sett Tinmans Tools

Blacksmiths
1 Bellows 2 Anvils
1 Pr. Clamp
1 " Iron Shears
6 Axe Mandrels
36 Eye wedges & Splitting tools
2 Fullers 2 Splitting Chisels
1 Punch hammer
1 Pr. iron hand Cuffs
15 Heading Tools
36 Pr. Horse Shoes
39 Ox "
17 Punches & Cold Chisels
23 Setts & Swedges
1 Small Screwplate & Taps
5 Large " with " & Dies
1 Poker Shovel & Scraper
2 Ramrod Bitts
9 Drills Cherries & Countersinks
2 Thumbvices
3 Chisels & Gouges
1 Drill Bow & plate
1 Bench Drill
1 Sledge Hammer
2 Rivetting "
1 Rifle Barrel
200 Lb. Old Iron & portions of Gun Locks

2 Vices
9 Pr. Tongs
2 Flattening hammers
2 Sett hammers

4 Sledge punches
1 Cast Iron Pot
1 Iron Brace
1 Saw Stock
1 Compass wheel
1 Pr. pincers
3 Wrenches

1 Tap Borer

1 Pit saw Iron
1 Ten'n. saw

16 Used files
3 Hand Hammers
1 Buttress
1 Musket Barrel

Carpenters
34 Chisels & Gouges
1 Thumbvice

12 Turning Chisels
1 pat. Plough & [?] Bitts

5 Medium do.
4 Casks
1[_?] Bale Cloth

1 float

1 Sash plane
1 Philister & 2 Rabbet planes
1 Qtr. bead plane
1 Pat. gage3 Com'n gages
1 Spoke shave
1 Brace 40 Bitts
1 Sash Saw1 Dove Tail do.
2 Nail wrenches
1 Spike Gimblet
2 Foreplanes
2 Smoothing
1 Oil Stone10 Augers 50 Qtr.
1 Frow
2 Chop'g axes
1 Foot adze
1 Long Crow Bar
1 Painters Stone & Muller
1 Wheel tool
1 Turning lathe
2 Large framing Chisels
2 Grindstones

1 Pr. Tongue & Groover

4 Rasps

1 Pr. pincers
5 Handsaws

1 Screw wrench
3 Large Drawing Knives
& 2 Jack Planes
& 2 Trying Squares

3 Hand axes & 1 Hatchet
& 3 Broad axes
1 Morticing adze
& Chain & Hook

1 Coopers Groover
1 Primer 3 Gages
1 Iron Square
& 1 pr. Compasses

Kitchen

1 Large Earthen Dish
2 Creampots
2 Sug'r Bowls
1 Tin Teapot
1 Carving Knife
7 Table Spoons
1 Flesh fork
1 Tin waiter
1 Cast pot 1 Frying pan
1 Creampot
1 Grid iron6 Kettles
1 Tea Kettle
1 Funnel 1 Cleaver
12 Candlemoulds
10 Tin pans & Plates
1 Corn Mill
1 Frame Saw
1 Coffee Boiler
1 Copper Kettles

12 Plates
18 Cups & Saucers
2 Butter plates
11 Teaspoons
16 Knives & forks
1 Pr. patent Hooks
1 Tin Coffee Pot
1 " pan 1 Tin Caster
1 Cutter
& 3 Cast Ovens
1 Salt Cellar
3 Plate heaters 1 Grater
2 Tin pitchers
8 Tin Cups
& 1 Tin Roaster
1 Soup Tureen
& 2 Water Barrels
3 Pep'r Boxes
1 Chop Axe

Dairy

33 Large tin pans
5 Large Kettles
1 Funnel 1 Skimmer

2 Strainers
3 Cheese Moulds
& 2 Churns

Furniture

1 Office desk
1 Book Case
1 Round Table
1 Sofa & Mattrass
2 Pr. And Irons
1 Mah'g Bureau
1 Damask Covered Sofa & Chair
1 Turned bedstead & Damask hanging

& 1 Writing table
2 Hlf. Rd. Tables
2 Dining "
& 2 Pr. Tongs
& 1 Pier Glass
1 Small Cupboard

1 U.S. Chart
1 Looking Glass & 2 Cut Decanters
1 Wash Stand & 20 Chairs
2 Arm Chairs & 1 Mess Table
1 Brass Candle Stick 2 Table Cloths
1 Walnut Cupboard
2 Shts. Sheet Iron 8 lb. & 1 Sheet Copper 6 lb.
1 Chandelier 1 Com'n Cupboard
1 Cloth Covered Desk 1 Tin writing do.
1 Com'n Wash Stand 9 Com'n Bedsteads
1 Old Cupboard 1 Kitchen do.
3 Pr. And Irons & 1 Jap'd Lamp
3 Com'n Tables & 1 Cov'd Settee
4 Old axes 1 Poker & 1 Lantern
Carpenters Work Bench 1 Tailors Ditto
1 Tobacco Receiver & 1 Qt. Kettle

Live Stock
10 3 Yr. old [_____?] work oxen
2 Old Oxen "Swan" & "Bessy"
1 Large Blk Bull
1 " Red cut "
3 2 1/2 Yr. Old Oxen
15 Milch Cows
1 Yearling Heifer
6 Calves
3 Mules
2 American Running Horses
7 Indian Horses
1 Sow
9 Pigs
1 Train dog "Lion"
3 Forts; viz Fort Union, Fort Benton & Fort Alexander with Improvements

2 Used Rifles
7 " Muskets
6 " Guns
3 Powder Horns
1 Pr. Brass Buckshot Moulds
3 Horse Stamps
1200 Sinews
3 Dress'd Cowskins for F.P.O. 1849
60 Elkskins
74 Hlf. Cowskins
17 Whole "
34 Parfleches
100 Cabresses
1 Iron'd Waggon Complete
1 Sett Harness for 4 horses
1 Bbl. Smoking Weed
15 lb. Powder
28 " Balls
1 Powder Canister
3 Chains & [?] & B
2 Beaver Traps & Chains
2 Tin plates 1 Cast oven
2 Trap Chains on Camboose

1 Cast Camboose Complete & Kettles
1 Sheet iron do. " "
2 Keel Mainsails
1 Brass Swivel
2 Covered Mackinaw Boats "wind" & "storm"
2 Iron Anchors
1 Chain Cable
1 Skiff
32 Lodge Skins

The following which bear no Reduction viz.
1 New Ironed & Tired Ox Cart Complete
1 " " & " Single " "
1 " " & " Rivetted Tombreau
1 Flat Boat
1 New Mackinaw Boat

FORT UNION INVENTORY (1850)

28	pr.			Sky	Blue	Blankets	red ends
15	"	3	pt.	"	"	"	
1 1/2	"	4	"	"	"	"	
3	"	0	"	"	"	"	
1/2	"	2 1/2	"	"	"	"	damg'd
12 1/2	pr.	3	"	Green		"	
87 2/	"	3	"	Scarlet		"	
28	"	2 1/2	"	"		"	
1 1/2	"	3	"	Indigo	Blue	"	
31 1/2	"	2 1/2	"	"	"	"	
124	"	3	"	White		"	
27 1/2	"	2 1/2	"	H. Bay		"	
7	"	3	"	"		"	com'n
1 /2	"	1	"	White		"	
6	"	3	"	Carpet		"	
2	"	1	"	"		"	

14 Wrappers
10 Cotton rugs

263 1/2	Yds.	Blue S.L.	Cloth
53 1/2	"	Green	"
12	"	Scarlet	"
3 3/4	"	Super Blue	"
1 1/4	"	Blue Casinet	
23 1/2	"	Gray	"
38 1/2	"	Venitian Carpet	
215	"	Scarlet flannel	
74 1/4	"	Twilled	"
50 1/2	"	Green	"
122 1/2	"	White	"
387	"	Plaid woolens	
744	"	Salempore	
536 1/2	"	Fancy Blue Calico	
280 1/4	"	Blue Red & Yellow do.	
121 3/4	Yds.	Fancy	prints
139 1/4	"	"	"
29	"	"	"
194 1/4	"	"	"
483 1/2	"	Blue & white	"
151	"	Fancy	"
64	"	"	"
196 1/4	"	"	"
29	"	"	"
396	"	Fine	"
139	Yds.	Fine	prints
175	"	Madder	"
223^3	"	"	"
207_3	"	Blue & Orange	"
229^2	"	" & White	"
484^2	"	" "	"
776	"	Madder	"
474	"	Plaid Linsey	
286 1/2	"	Victoria plaid	
429 1/6	"	Cott. Check	

453 1/2" Fan[cy] Calico Avge.
77 " Blea[ched?] Cotton
11 1/2 " Russia Sheeting
1 Fig'd Linen Table Cloth
1 Mosquito Bar
5 Super Olive Surtout coats
21 " Blue " "
1 " " " "
4 Tweed frock coats
10 Ermineteen "
4 Scarlet chiefs "
1 Blue " "
1 " Blkt. "
1 Black Cloth "
5 Plaid woolen "
2 Jeans "
10 Childrens plaid"
17 " Jean & blkt. "
2 pr. Summer pants
3 " Jeans "
1 " Ea. Blk. & Blue Cloth pants
1 " " Silk & Satin Vests
1 1/3 doz. Super Cloth "
9 Calico "
2 Casinet "
2 1/2 doz. Cot. Check Shirts
1/3 " Red flannel "
5/12 " White cotton "
1 3/4 " Hickory "
10 1/3 " Fan. Calico "
1 1/2 " Knit under "
1/6 " " Drawers
1 2/3 " Suspenders
1 " Woolen Gloves
1/2 doz. Woolen Socks
5/12 " " Caps
7/12 " Plush "
10/12 " Glazed"
1/6" Cloth " damaged
1 Fine " "
1 5/12 doz Blk. fur hats
10/12 " " Wool do.
2/3 " Wht. Russia "
1/2 " P.L. " "
1/2 " Large Neck Stocks
1 " Satin " "
1 " Blk. Italian Silk hdkf.
10/20 Pr. " Silk "
1 2/3 doz. fancy "
3 6/4 Merino Shawls
2 6/4 Com. "
1 6/4 Plaid "
3 Fancy Table Covers
7 pr. Sewed Boots
1 " Ea. Shoes & Brogans
33 " Garnished Moccasins
1 " " Pantaloons

1/2 Roll gartering
26 1/2 pr. ass.d ribbons #4
2 " " " #9
11/12 doz. Beaded Reticules
1 10/12" Fine Ivory Combs
1/2 " G.S. " [German silver]
1/3 " Boxwood "
2 1/3 " Crambo "
11/12 " Ladies tuck "
1097 lb. Sky Blue pound beads
420 1/2 " Carnelian " "
48² " Yellow " "
122² " Black " "
48² " Wht. " "
26 1/2 " Ass'd Col'd Seed "
110 lb. Wht. Pigeon Egg "
45² " Coral " " "
56 " Blue " " "
10 " Loose mixed "
120 Bunches Small red Barleycorn "
16 " " Blue " "
27 1/4 lb. Rd. Blue Agate beads #10
11 1/4 " " " " " #9
3 " " Wht. " " #9
100 Small California Shells
50 Large " "
6 Sea Shells
17 Saint Lawrence
11 3/5 Nests Wampum Moons
12 1/2 doz. Purple Mock Wampum
7 1/2 M Grs. Wht. "
129 Inches Wampum hair pipes
7/12 doz. Scythe Stones
12 1/2 Gro. Gun Worms
5/12 Boxes Hooks & Eyes
2 11/12 M Percussion Caps
3 Gro. Bone Shirt Buttons
1 " " " Small
1/3 doz. Paste Blacking
1/3 " Clothes Brushes
1/12 " Painters do.
2 Red Stone pipes & Stems
7 1/2 C Gun flints
3 doz. Oval fire Steels
1/2 " Leather Surcingles
2 7/10 M Needles
11 1/4 C Glovers do.
3 1/2 doz. Baling do.
4 3/4 " Grattes
1/4 Bolt Saddle web
1 doz. Sheep Shears
1/2 " [Shop?] "
11/12 " " Scissors
1 " Tap Borers
5/12 " Rat Spears
2/3 " Perfumery
1 2/3 " Brass thimbles

1 1/6 " Tailors "
1/3 " Fish Lines
5 C Fly Hooks
2 1/10 Catfish hooks
1 Box Tin dress ornaments
5 Eye dagues
1 Battle axe
1 Small Spy Glass
1/2 Gro. Wood Screws
1 doz. Nail Gimlets
6 M Saddlers tacks
5 doz. Comp'n Medals
7/12 " Copper powder flasks
7/12 " Shaving Boxes
1 1/4" " Brushes
1/6 " Tobacco Boxes
1 1/2" Snuff "
1 Pocket Compass
1 3/4 doz. Single pocket knives
1/4 " " Inkstands
7/12 Gro. Indian Awls
4 Cases Razors 2 ea.
8 " " 1 ea.
1 doz. com'n "
1/2 " Tin Spoons
1/2 " Tea "
1 1/4" Iron "
1/4 " " Table "
1/2 Gro. finger Rings
4 3/4 doz. Brass hinges
1/4 " Iron Butts
1 5/12 " Buckles
1/2 " Silver Tray Bells
6 Papers Hawk "
1/2 M Brass Tacks
2 Gro. Pearl Shirt buttons
2 " Bone " "
5 " Coat moulds
1 " Vest "
1 1/2 lb. Pins
6 1/2 " Holland Twine
8 " Sturgeon "
2 1/2 " Ass'd Sewing Silk
5 1/4 " Col. Thread
1/2 " Blk. Twist
1/4 " Ball Cotton
1/2 " Col'd Worsted Yarn
4 9 Ward Stock Locks
2 8 " " "
1 doz. 3 in. Padlocks
2/3" N.W. Gun Locks
1 " 3 in. trunk "
1/3 doz. Trunk Locks no Keys
1 " 4 in. Cupboard Locks
6 Gro. Clay pipes
12 Assiniboine lances polished
6 " " Large

1 pr. Tongs & Shovel
1 " Brass Knob Andirons
45 Qrs. [bright?] Augurs
1 Broad Axe
1/2 Doz. Socket Chisels
5 lb. Hooks & hinges
1 Set Turners Gouges
1 " " Chisels
1 Collins Axe
1 Foot Adze
1 Oil Stone
2 Coopers Saws
11/12 doz. Double plane irons
7/12 " Single " "
1/4 " Thumb Wrenches
1 Medicine Pipe Stem
1 Coopers Joiner
1 Dbl. iron Smooth plane
37 lb. Horse bells
1/2 doz. Cow do.
1 Fort Bell 170 lb.
1 Fort Flag 40 x 30 ft.
1 " " 26 x 16 "
1 Fort Union streamer 40 x 6
3 Ornamented Pockamogans
2 Dragoon Swords
13 doz. Gilt fig'd mirrors #1
1 " " " " "2
1/6 " Pocket "
1/2 " P.C. "
17 1/6 " Brittania " #4
15 " " " #3
1/2 " Mirrors with drawers
1/2 Box Window Glass 7x9
1/2 doz. Frying pans
92 " Warr'd Scalping Knives
3 1/2 " Com'n " "
51 " Butcher "
3 " 10 in. Tillotsons "
2 doz. 10 in. Hyslop knives
7 1/4 " 9 in. Russels "
3 7/4 " Green handle Spear points
4 1/2 " Knives & forks
64 1/3 prs. Kettle Ears
9 1/2 lb. Rivets 2 ea.
21 Pole Spikes & Rings
93 lb. Cart Wheel Boxes
82 Squaw Axes 3 lb. ea.
35 " " 2 1/2" "
1 Pat. Spring balance
1 pr. Steelyards 520 lb.
6 " "
1 Large Beam & Wooden Scales
1 pr. Copper Scales & Weights
1 " New Brass Ball mould 24
2 " Good " " " 24
1 " Tolerable " " 24

1 " Good Iron " " 6
1 " Brass Buck Shot "
1 " Case Moulds Broken
5 prs. Maple for Ox Yokes
4 lb. Solder
26 lb. Large Brass Wire
7 " Small " "
75 1/4 " Large iron "
30 " Small " "
2 " Zinc
1 " [Brazing?]
1 Set Tinners machines
1 " Pipe Rollers
1 " Shears
1 " Wire Nippers
1 " Steel Compasses
222 lb. Wrought Spikes
400 " 12 d Cut Nails
145 " 6 " " "
54 " Manilla Rope 1/2 in.
50 " " " 3/4 "
3 3/4 doz. 10 in. hlf. rd. Bastard files
3 " 9 " " " " "
2 " 8 " " " " "
1/2 " 6 " " " " "
2 1/4 " 14 " flat " "
1/6 doz. 12 in. flat Bastard files
1/6 " 9 " " " "
1 " 8 " " " "
1 " 6 " " " "
10/12 " 4 1/2" " " "
5 1/3 " 6 " Pitsaw "
5 " 4 1/2" Handsaw "
2 1/6 " Armorers"
1 1/12 " Wood Rasps
5/12 " Horse "
516 lb. Nail Rod Iron
88 " 4 1/2 in. Band"
190 " Bar "
72 " Hoop "
53 " Square "
93 " " " In a bar
46 " Blister Steel
14 1/2 " Cast "
15 " Crowley "
2064 lb. Bullets
579 " Bar Lead
280 " Pig do.
23 Cannister balls 3 ea. 69 lb.
6 " " 4 " 24 "
33 Cannon " 3 " 99 "
20 lb. Grape Shot
1 Brass Swivel Mounted
1 3 Pounder Iron Cannon
1 4 " " " on Carriage
1 Repeating Rifle
1 Hawkins do.

11 Used do.
37 U.S. Muskets
2 Dble. barrel percuss'n Guns
4 Barnets N.W. " used
92 Belgian "
10 " used "
1 Used pistol
14 Powder horns
4 Maple Gun Stocks
944 lb. Gun Powder
Sundry fire works
2 Sets cannon wipers & Sponges
26 Hickory Bows
417 2 Gal. tin Kettles & Covers
50 1 " " " " "
100 1 " " " no "
278 1 " " " & "
329 1/2" " "
365 2 " " " Complete cov'd
102 1 " " " "
2 4 " " " "
10 3 " " " "
7 1/2 doz." Lanterns
1 " " Wash basins
11 1/2 " Small Coffee pots
11/12 " Large " "
1/12 " Strainers
1/2 " Candlemoulds
40 " Medium pans
5 3/4 " Large "
17 " Small "
8 1/4 " Patty pans
3 1/2 " Dippers
1/2 " Shaving Kettles
2/3 " Powder Measures
1/3 " Large plates
1/4 " Medium "
37 10/12 doz. Pint Cups
13 " 1/2 " "
1/3 " Tin Scoops
5 1/3 " " Spoons
2 Tin Shields
1 Large painted Indian drum
2 Pr. Tin Arm Bands
1 Glass Lantern
3 lb. Sheet iron Kettles
1 Military drum
47 Gourds
1 Brittania pitcher
1 Brass moun'd Telescope
1 Hydrometer
1 Magic Lantern & paintings
1 Electrical Machine
2 Cut Glass Decanters
5/12 doz. Dinner plates
1/6 " Butter "
1 1/2 " Tea cups

1 1/4 doz. Saucers
1/12 " Creams
1/12 " Glass mustards
1/6 " Sugars
1/6 " Tumblers
1 Medicine Cupboard & Contents
1 Mortar & Pestle
1 Pr. Apothecaries Scales & Weights
1 Case Pocket Instruments
1 " Scalpels
1 Tourniquet
1 Spring Lancet
2 Pr. Pullicans
1 Bolus Iron
1 1/2 lb. Pearl Sago
3 1/2 " Peru Back
1/4 " Flake manna
1 1/4 Carb Soda
3/4 lb. B[urgundy] pitch
1/2 " Aloes
2 " G. Fustic
4 " R. Columbo
4 " Carro'y seed
1/2 " Spunk
1 1/2 " Cayenne
1 " Inf. Indigo
1/2 " [Quill?] bark
1/2 " Lozenges
2 1/2 " [Grd.?] Emery
1/4 doz. P.P. Syringes
1 1/4 lb. Span. Indigo
1/2 doz. lampwick
1 lb. Copperas
1/2 lb. Nutmegs
2 Thumb lancets

22 1/4 " Epsom Salts
1/4 " Wafers
1 " Litharge
1 3/4 " K. Ginger
5 1/2 " Flow[ers] Sulpher
3/4 P. Elm Bark
3/4 Ipecac
1/4 doz. Oil Spruce
1 lb. Assafoetida
3 Bougies
1 Bot. Copal Varnish
1 lb. British Oil
1 Oil Stone
1 [S--?] Camphor
1/3 doz. Castor oil
3/4 " Chapmans Mixture
30 lb. Saltpetre
10 " Camwood
12 " Brimstone
2 oz. Senna
1 1/2 Box Water Colors

1 Spatula

1 lb. Glue
9 1/2" Ref'd Borax
1 lb. Beeswax
1 " Logwood
10 " Chipped [?]
2 1/4" Lampblack
2 " Prus. Blue
1 " Cr. Tartar
3 " Chalk
1 " Red do.
1 " Sugar Lead
8 1/2" Turmeric
11 " Red Lead
1/2 Gro. Vial Corks
1 lb. Cochineal
1/2 doz. Paint Brushes
2 3/12 " Opodeldoc
1 3/4 " Capsules
4 1/3 " Turlington
4 7/12 " Cooks pills
1 10/12 doz. Ess.[ence]pepper[mint] 1 1/2 lb. Blue mass
8 lb. Liquid Blue
3/4 lb. Cinnamon
1/2 lb. Sealing wax
5 " Gum Lac
1 " Cammomile
20 Com'n Emery
1/2 lb. Gum Arabic
1/2" Nutmegs
1 2/3 doz. Small do.
1 " Syringe
2 1/2 bots. olive oil
1 " do.
1 " Oil spike
1 " Nitric acid
1 " Oil cinnamon

1 Bot. mustard

1/2 doz. Camels hair pencils
1 C Blank Engagements
2 C " Bills Lading
1 3 qr. Blank Book
3/4 doz. Ink powder
1 C Clarified Quills
2 1/2 " Common do.
1 1/2 " Blue Ink
1 Ream Letter paper
3/4" Faint line "
1/4" Invoice "
10/12 Gro. 18 1/2 oz. Vials
1 lb. Prussian Blue in oil
10 " Dry Wht. Lead
10 " Yellow Ochre
5 1/2 Kegs Span. Brown in oil
8 lb. Putty
5 Gals. Linseed Oil & can
59 lb. Chrome Yellow
245 lb. Red do.
103 " Chinese Vermillion
1/2 bbl. Rosin
175 lb. Oakum
9 " Span. Tobacco
1227 lb. plug do.
301 doz. cut "
4 1/4 lb. pepper
178 " Rosin Soap
046 lb. Bro. Hav'a [Havana] Sugar
Gals. Molasses

Sundries
1 Arrow Quiver & 47 arrows
6 Gun Cases
10 Bale Cloths
2 Light Barrels
13 Cotton Rugs
1 Wooden Trunk & Lock
30 lb. Red Earth
5 1/2 Bunches Smoking weed
18 Leather Sacks
1 Am'n Portmanteau
400 Sinews

The following Used Articles at Estimated Value

1 Iron anvil 97 lb.
1 Tin Can
1 Store desk
1 New Shingle hatchet
1 Sma. Tin pan
1 Lge. Gouge
8 Paint Kettles
1 Pr. Blacksmiths Bellows
4 Old Jack planes
1 Ink Stand
Pewter plate
5 Old Gun barrels
8 Funnels
1 Hammer
3 Tin Cups
4 Sets Keg moulds
1 Tin Lantern
3 Cast pots
3 Old Pitsaws
2 Prs. Brass Knobs
3 " Single ball moulds
1 Lg. do
1 Chisel
1 Scoop
3 Hand bells

1 1-in. Chisel
2 Copper Measures
1 Sand Box
1 2 Ft. rule iron
2 Powder measures
1 Stock Lock
2 Lanterns
1 Old Cupboard
2 pr. Cart wheel hubs
6 " Andirons
2 fire Shovels
1 2-Gal. kettle
1 Mattrass
2 Tolerable Pitsaws
1 Sheet Iron Stove & pipe
18 Bead Mould & Sash planes
3 Tap Borers
1 Iron Hoop driver
1 Joiner plane
1 Jack do.
1 Smooth do.
4 Augers 16/4
1 Guage
4 Crooked Drawing Knives
1 Coopers Dog
1 Large Tool Chest
1 Spike Gimlet
4 Picks
6 Scythes
1 Gun barrel
3 Spades
2 Round Adzes
1 Drawing Knife
6 Used pans
2 Camp Kettles
2 Large boat hooks
7 Good Axes
1 Frying pan
1 Coffee pot
8 Tin Cups
3 " [Spokes?]
4 Handsaw files
1 Small Kettle
2 Good Pitsaws
6 Sets Double Cart Harness
4 " Am'n Leather Wagon "
1 " " " Carriage "
4 " Breeching & Chains
6 " Collars & Harness
2 Sets Bull Harness
18 Pack Saddles complete & Apichemos
7 Spanish Saddles "
1 Am'n Riding do. Bridle
1 Bear Skin Saddle Cover
2 Iron Rakes 3 Ox Yokes
20 Ox bows 13 Axe handles

1 Tob'o cutter
1 Ink Stand
1 Powder funnel
28 Junk Bottles
2 Tin pans
9 Old Scythes
3 prs. Tongs
3 Brass Candlesticks
3 Old Liquor Cases
20 " Pack Saddles
1 Spike Gimlet
2 Saw Sets
2 Hollow planes
2 Fore do.
1 Coopers hammer
5 Mortice Chisels
1 Iron hoop [T.H.?]
1 pr. Iron handcuffs
1 Chisel
8 Sneaths
24 Cut Saws
1 Shovel
1 Lantern
1 1/3 doz. Candlemoulds
1 Candlestick
2 Cast Ovens
2 Press Irons
1 1/2 doz. Pit saw files
4 Camp Kettles
3 Tin pans
1 Marking pot & line
8 Caulking Irons
9 Leather bags
2 Tin plates
1 Iron drag

1 Medecine chest
1 Slate
1 Nail Wrench
1 Iron Square
50 lb. Iron nuts & rings
5 Hoes
2 Glass do.
6 Knives & forks
1 Old axe

4 Log Chains
1 pr. Hames
1 Old Adze
1 Tin funnel
2 Cast Ovens
1 Coopers Joiner
3 Ploughs Complete
1 4 Wheel Wagon Complete F.U.
1 " " " " F.P.
3 Ox Carts Iron tires"
8 Single " " "
1 Tombreau
2 prs. New Wheels & Axles ironed complete
1 " Wheel Barrow
1 Old Buggy repaired Complete
8 Single & Double trains
12 pr. Iron Tires
5 Hay Cart Bodies
2 Shaving horses
1 Lge. Camp Kettle
1 qt. Mug
2 Powder Cannisters
1 Grind Stone
11 prs. Iron Hobbles

8 Dog Collars
9 Old axes
3 Frows
1 Hoe
1 Jack Screw
1 Glass Lantern
1 Harrow

1 Cast Iron pot
1 Old Spade
1 Bench vice
1 Good Spade

1 2 gal. Kettle

Carpenter's tools

1 Broad Axe
1 Shingle hatchet
1 Saw Set
1 Iron Crow Bar
2 Smooth planes
2 Fore do.
2 Augurs
1 Wheel Tool
1 Pat. Plough & bits
9 Bead & Sash planes
1 pr. Calipers
48 Chisels & Gouges
2 Try Squares
1 Tenon Saw
3 Lge Chisels & Gouges
1 Round adze
1 Small Broadaxe
1 Frame Saw
2 Spike Gimlets

1 Iron Square
1 pr. Compasses
1 Brace & Bitts
1 Small do.
1 Hammer
2 Jack planes
3 Handsaws
1 Foot Adze
4 Iron Wedges
1 pr. plough & Groove
1 Oil Stone
4 1/2 Augurs
6 Guages
2 Compass Saws
1 Bevil Square
1 Slick
1 Frow
4 Draw'g Knives
1 pr. Pincers
1 Bench Tool

1 pt. [paint] stone & muller

3 Files

Live stock

1 Am'n buff'o Runner horse
1 Indian " "
10 " Pack "
6 Mules
9 Work oxen
1 " " diseased
3 Bulls
1 " Cut

13 Milch Cows
4 Yearling Bull Calves
6 Small "
3 Hogs
6 Pigs
1 Train dog

2 Forts Union & Benton valued at _____

Additional price of tombreau _____
Reduction 27% on Articles in Use Livestock & C.

Supplement to Fort Union Inventory

1 Keel Mainsail
1 Brass Swivel mtd.
1 Cast Caboose & Kettles
3 Used Kettles
1 Flesh fork — 1 Leather bag
2 Old axes — 50 Lb. Red Earth — 1 [Hair?] Cord
51 Cabresses
24 Parfleches — 3 Raw hides
26 Parfleches F.U. — 20 Hlf. Cow Skins
Sundry boat pole Sockets & Rings
Cordage F.B. valued at _____
9 Pack Saddles Complete
1 Mattock — 1 Gridiron
3 Tin Cups — 2 Tin plates
3 Shovels — 1 Old axe
1 Boat Cordelle used
1 Fry pan — 1 Candlestick
1 Sugar bowl — Sundry Cordage F.A.
1 Mackinaw boat F.A.
1 " " F.U.
1 " " Cov'd F.B. "Wind"
1 Pine yawl
4 Tarpaulins
3 Leather Bags — 1 Used Gun
2 Muskets — 3 Horns
1 Powder flask
1 Iron Anchor
1 Chain Cable
69 Lodge Skins
34 Dressed Elk Skins
65 Hlf. Cow Skins F.A.
400 lb. Grease

Reduction of 27%
Fort Union 15, June 1850

FORT UNION INVENTORY (1851)

58 1/2 pr. 3 pt. Scarlet Blankets
6 1/2 " 3 " Green "
2 " 3 " Sky Blue "
8 1/2 pr. 2 1/2 " " "
1 " 4 " " "
31 1/2 " 2 1/2 " Indigo blue"
11 " 2 1/2 " Scarlet "
5 " Wrapper "
2 Cotton Rugs
3/4 Yd. Venetian Carpeting
207 " Blue S.L. Cloth
78 " Green " "
12 " Scarlet " "
28 1/4 " Mixed Satinette
10 2/3 " Blue "
56 " Jeans
71 3/4 " Fancy Jeans
405 " Plaid Woolens
457 1/4" Linsey
92 " White Flannel
93 1/2 " Red "
40 3/4 " Green "
275 " Salempore
204 " Cot'n Check
1167 1/4 " Fancy Calico average
866 1/4" Blue & white "
300 " " "
484 1/2" " "
776 " " & Orange
107 " Victoria Plaid
1 Large Fort Flag
1 Fort Streamer
7 Sup. Cloth Surtouts $ 5/8 & 2
1 Blue Chiefs Coat
1 Ermantine Coat
8 Blue Chiefs" not made
7 Scarlet " " " "
1 Ea. Kersey 200 c & Cassinette Coats 200
1 Used Summer "
6 Summer Vests
13 Fine Cass'e "
1 pr. " Cloth Pants
1 " Satinette "
1 pr. Jeans Pants
1 " Gar'd Leather "
3 doz. Calico shirts
1/6 " Hickory "
1 1/3 " Flannel "
7/12 " Plush Caps
7/12 " Fine cloth "
3/4 " Glazed " "
1/4 " Woolen "
10/12 " P.L. Hats

1/12 " White wool "
10/12 " Cotton Socks
1/3 " Woolen "
1/6 " " Mitts
1 " " Gloves Com'n
3/4 " Satin Stocks
1/2 " Silk " F.P.
1 Old shawl
1 Damaged Table Cover
4 pr. Red Epaulettes
12 Yds." Cord
1 1/3 doz. Mens Brogans
7 prs. " Boots 1849
8 " " " 1850
11 " Garn'd Mockasins
80 lbs. Blue pound Beads
58 " Com'n Purple "
36 1/2 " Blue Pigeon Egg"
137 " White " " "
27 " Red " " "
17 1/4 " Seed "
10 1/2 " Red pound "
4 " Loose " "
6 " Seed " " Loose
21 1/4 [Bunch?] Blue Agate no. 10
29 " " " no. 9
41 " White " no. 4
9 " Sm'a Blue Barleycorn
120 " " Red "
20 doz. " White "
31 " Large " "
2 " Blue Necklace
7 1/2 M Grains Wht. Wampum
7 lb. Purple MK [Mock] "
236 In. Wampum Hair Pipes
3 Sea Shells
18 C St. Lawrence Shells
95 California "
1 5/8 lb. Sewing Silk
4 1/2 " Holland Twine
5 " All Col'd Thread
10 3/4 doz. Spool Cotton
1/4 lb. Ball "
6 " Sturgeon Twine
5 " Candlewick
1/4 " Twist
50 Turkey Wings
2 Rolls Scarlet Gartering
1/4 " Saddle Web
1/3 doz. Clothes Brushes
1/4 " Painters "
18 3/4 Gro. Gun Worms
1 Scythe Stone
1 Gro. Bone Coat Buttons
35 " Suspender "
4 1/2 " Orange Coat "
3 1/2 " Over " "

4 1/2 " Pearl Shirt "
4 " Coat Moulds
Sundry loose Buttons Equal to 1 Gro.
1/6 Gro. Bullet Buttons
1/4 " Vest "
1/3 doz. Brass Hooks & Eyes
5 1/4 Gro. Ind. Awls
7 1/4 doz. Crambo Combs
1 2/3 " Ivory "
1/6 " Boxwood "
1/4 " Tuck "
1/2 " Perfumery
1/3 " Paste Blacking
21 Gro. Brass Finger Rings
5 1/2 Papers Hawk Bells
5 doz. Brass Cap Plates
1/4 " Thumb Wrenches
10 8/10 M Percussion Caps
1 1/2 " Brass Tacks
5 1/12 doz. Hickory Brooms
8 M Ass'd Sewing Needles
3 doz. baling "
11/12 " Tap Borers
9 Assiniboine Lances
1 Medicine Pipe Stem
2 lbs. Pins
2 C Gun Flints
2 Red Stone Pipes
1 1/6 doz. Shaving Brushes
2/3 " " Boxes
1 7/12 " Snuff "
1/6 " Tobacco "
4 Cases Razors 2 ea.
7 " " 1 "
1 1/2 doz. com'n"
3/4 " Cloak Clasps
1 1/2 C Large Fish Hooks
1/2 " Good " "
1/2 doz. Grattes
1/6 " Pocket Compasses
2/3 " Nail Gimblets
10/12 " Bead Reticules
1/2 " Silver Tray Bells
2 " Zinc
1/6 " Pocket Ink Stands
6 pr. Single Ball Moulds
20 " Silver Ear Bobs
1 doz. Buckles
1 1/12 " Scissors
1 pr. Shears
1/3 Gro. Wood Screws
2 C Fly Hooks
1 3/4 doz. Thimbles
3 1/2 " Comp'n Medals
5/12 " Copper Powd. Flasks
1/3 " Cow Bells
1/3 " Axe Handles

20 Gourds
6 Hickory Bows
4 Maple Gun Stocks
4 Ps. " for ox yokes
1 Sett Turning Chisels
1 " " Gouges
1/2 doz. Socket Chisels
21 Boat pole Spikes & Rings
3 pr. Hooks & Hinges
3 9 in. Wards Stock Locks
2 8 " " " "
2 6 in. Stock Locks
1 doz. Cupboard "
1 5/12 " Trunk "
5/12 " Pad "
2/3 " N.W. guns
66 Qtrs. Augur 12 Augur
1 Ea. Shovel and Tongs
1 pr. Andirons
1 Foot Adze
1/4 doz. Chopping Axes
1 5/12 " Plane Irons
1 Dble. Ironed Smoothing Plane
1 Coopers Joiner
3 Saws 1/100, 1/125, 1/75
1/6 doz. Spades
3 1/2 pr. Butt Hinges
1 10/12 doz. brass "
1 Ea. 20/Chisel 6 1/4/Gimblet & 12 1/2 /Tapborer
5 doz. Green Hdl. Spear pt. Knives
3 2/3 " 9 in. Cooks Knives
106 " 5 " Butcher "
15 1/4 " Warr'd Scalping "
2 7/12 " Knives & Forks
5 1/12 " Single Pen Knives
1 2/3 " Pocket "
1 3/4 " Cartouche "
2 Dragoon Swords
3 Pockamogans
1 2/3 doz. 14 in. Flat Files
2 3/4 " 10 " Hlf. Round "
1 " 12 " " " "
1 1/2 " 9 " " " "
1/6 " 8 " " " "
4 2/3 " Pitsaw "
1 " Rat Tail "
5/12 " House Rasps
1 1/6 " Wood "
2 " Armourers Files
7 Earthen dishes no.2 1/80 no.3 4/40 no.4 2/60 Dishes
10/12 doz. Coffees
1/3 " Sugars
2 " Soups
1/6 " Dinner Plates
12 2/3 " Kettle Ears Average
23 1/3 " Tin Cups
1/3 doz. Wash Basins

4 " Large pans
27 1/3 " Medium "
5/12 " Scoops
1/2 " Candlemoulds
1/12 " Strainers
1 5/12 " Dippers
1/6 " Powder Canisters
2 5/12 " Small Pans
7/12 " Powder Measures
1/6 " Small Coffee Pots
7/12 " Lanterns
1/12 " Gratters
2 1/2 " Spoons
1 1/3 " Iron Tea Spoons
2 Tin kettles 3 Galls ea.
191 " " 2 " & cover
436 " " 2 " No handle
120 " " 1 " & cover
349 " " 1 " No "
162 " " 1/2 "
1/2 doz. Mirrors with Drawers
7 1/12 " Pocket Mirrors f1
10 " " " f2
1 3/4 " Small Gilt "
17 1/2 " Pap. Covered " average
14 1/12" Brittania " No. 3
14 " " " No. 4
8 " Large gilt " " 1
10 3/4 " " " " " 2
396 1/2lbs. 12 d Cut Nails
600 lbs. Wro't Spikes
54 " Old " Nails
22 1/4 " Rough House Bells
1 doz. Sheep Shears
24 Beaver Trap Springs
1 " " Chains
12 Squaw axes 2 1/2 lb.
74 lbs. Iron Wire
77 " " " Very large
25 " Brass " " "
6 1/2 " Small "
40 " Cast Wheel Boxes
2 Gro. Clay Pipes
78 Powder Horns
1 Iron Beam & Wooden Scales
1 pr. Copper Scales & 2 Setts Weights
2 Patent Balances
1 pr. steelyards 520 lb.
1 " Do. 200 lb.
4 " Do.
90 lbs. Steel
21 " Square Iron
76 " Hoop "
530 " Nailrod "
902 " Bar Iron
3 doz. Window Glass
1 Painters Stone & Muller

27 Belgian Guns
13 " " used
2 N.W. " "
1 Dble. B'r'l Percussion Gun
1 Old fine Gun
6 Good Rifles
2 Used "
8 Old "
29 U.S. Muskets
1 Brass Swivel Mtd.
1 Repeating Rifle
1 1/2 pr. Brass Brl. Pistols
1 " Iron " "
4 " Old "
1 3 Pounder Iron Cannon
1 4 " " "
2 Setts Rammers & Wipers
8 Powder Horns
5021 lbs. Bullets
280 " Pig Lead
429 1/2 lbs. Small Bar Lead
40 lbs. Grape Shot
6 Canisters Balls 4lb. ea = 24 lb.
24 " " 3lb. " = 72 lb.
33 Cannon " 3lb. " = 99 "
3/4 Bag Shot
12 Canisters Rifle Powder
Sundry Fire Works valued at _____
2273 lbs. Gun Powder
37 lbs. Chrome Yellow
83 lbs. Am'n Vermillion
63 lbs. Chinese "
20 lbs. verdigris
2 1/2 Kegs Spa. Bro. in Oil
26 lbs. Yellow Paint " "
1 1/2 Box Water Colours
2 doz. Camel Hair Pencils
3 1/6 " Playing cards 3/150 & 46/100
1 Copying Press
1 Cap " Book
1 Letter " "
1 Copying Brush
2 Bot. " Ink
1 Hydrometer
4 1/2 Sheets Oil Paper
1 1/2 Rhm. Cap "
1/2 " Wrapping "
2 Qrs. Envelope "
1 " Blank Engagements
4 " Bills of Lading
1 Qt. Black Ink
3 1 Qr. Blank Books
2/3 doz. Ink Powders
3 " Steel Pens
3 Ink Stands 1/75 1/50 1/100
2 Wafer Boxes
1 Patent Ruler

1 Brass Mtd. Telescope
1 Military Drum
1 Electrical Machine
1 Magic Lantern & Paintings
1 Gro. Vials
1 Clyster Syringe
2 Cut Glass Decanters
1 Spy Glass wanting Repairs
1 Case Scalpels
1 " Pocket Instruments
1 Tourniquet
2 prs. Pullicans
1 Spring Lancet
2 Thumb "
1 pr. Shears
1 Mortar & Pestle
1 Apothecaries Scales & Weights
4 oz. Sulph. Quinine
1/4 doz. Bain's Pile Lotion
7/12 " Rogers Liverwort & Tar
1 1/2 lb. Asafoetida
7 2/3 lb. Turmeric
1/14 lb. Beeswax
1 1/4 lb. Glue
1 10/12 lb. Arrowroot
2 1/2 lb. Cinnamon
1 Vial Oil Cinnamon
1 lb. lampblack
10 lb. Borax
1/4 " Wafers
2 lb. Pearl Sago
6 2/3 lb. Sulpher
2 oz. opium
3/4 lb. Carb. Soda
4 3/4 lb. Columba
10/12 doz. Lees Pills
1/6 doz. Ess. Peppermint
1/4 lb. Vitriol
1 lb.[Brazing?]
2 lb. Red Chalk
3/4 lb. Ipecac
2 P. Syringes
1/2 lb. Sealing Wax
2/3 doz. Dally
1/2 lb. Ginger Root
1 lb. Bal: Copaiba
3 1/3 lb. P. Bark
1 1/4 lb. Copperas
1/2 lb. Quill Bark
2 lb. Pruss. Blue
1 1/6 doz. Oil Spruce
1 lb. Mercl. Oint't
1/6 doz. Chapman
2 lb. Spts. Camphor
1 Bot. Oilstone
1 " British Oil
25 lb. Saltpetre

7/12 doz. Capsules
1/2 Gro. Vial Corks
1 1/4 lb. Indigo
1 lb. Logwood
10 1/3 lb. eps. salts
1/4 lb. Jalap
3 1/2 doz. C. Pills
1 1/2 lb. Blue Mass
1 2/3 Doz. Ess. Lemon
3/4 lb. B. Pitch
3 oz. Gentian
5/12 doz. Oil Spruce
1 lb. Cloves
1/4 lb. Manna
2 oz. Senna
3 1/6 doz. Turlington
7/12 oz. Opodeldoc
1/2 lb. Lozenges
1/2 lb. Gum Arabic
2/3 doz. Lampwick
1/2 lb. Aloes
2 lb. Chalk
1 doz. Cayenne
3/4 lb. Elm Bark
5 lb. Gum Lac
1 lb. camomile
20 lb. Com. Emery
2 lb. fustic
2 1/2 lb. Gr'd Emery
1 " Spa. Indigo
1/3 doz. Lg. Oil Spruce
1 lb. Basilicon
11/2 doz. Seidlitz
1 Bot. Nitric Acid
1 " Oil Spike
1/4 doz. Castor Oil
14 lb. Brimstone

7 lb. Logwood
1/2 lb. Spunk
73 Junk Bottles & Jars
3 lb. Rappee Snuff
8 1/2 lb. Spa. Tobacco
7640 lb. Plug "
301 dz. Cut "
5/8 Box Shaving Soap
442 lb. Rosin Soap
1 Box Raisins
1 1/2 Bbl. Beans
1 1/2 Bu. Dried Apples
1 3/4 " " Peaches
1 Bbl. Flour
7/8 " Rosin
7/8 " Tar
1 1/3 doz. mustard
1/4 lb. Nutmegs
1 1/4 lb. Cloves
9 lb. Pepper
31 lb. Cheese
24 lb. Saleratus
23 Gls. Molasses
82 lb. Rice
26 1/2lb. Tea
203 lb. Coffee
1473 lb. N.O. Sugar [New Orleans]
4 3/4 Gls. Vinegar
6 2/3 Sacks G.A. Salt
69 lb. Rock Salt
80 (?) Corn no freight

9 lb. Camwood
1 Demijohn

Sundry Medicines omitted in place for_____

Advance on Sterling 90%

Do. on New York 17 1/2%

The following Sundries & Articles in use at Estimated Value
51 Painted Parflesches
40 1/2 Dressed Cow Skins
48 Apishimos 26/100 & 22/500
2 Porcupine Skins
3 Dressed Cabrie "
793 lb. Rendered Grease
4 pr. Snow Shoes
4 Setts Am'n Leather Harness (waggon) for ____
4 Double Cart Harness Complete
1 Sett Buggy Harness
2 Bull "
Sundry pieces of Harness equal to 2 Setts
3 Sett Dog Harness
1 Halter
1 Old Am'n Saddle
23 Pack Saddles Complete
4 Spa. Riding Saddles "
43 Old Pack "
8 Spa. Saddle Trees

2 Bear Skin Saddle Covers
1 Small Cast Stove & Pipe
1 Cooking " " "
1 Lg. Sheet Iron " " "
1 Sma. " " " " "
4 Cast Ovens & 500 lb. Old Iron
3 Sma. Grindstones & 1 Old Joiner
2 Padlocks 2 Iron Rakes 4 Log Chains
3 Caulking Irons & 1 Broken Handsaw
1 Old Watering Pot 2 Oil Cans 1 Lantern
2 Used Kettles 3 Trowels 3 Tackle Hooks
12 lb. Wheel Boxes & 2 Foot Adzes
7 Old Broad Axes 2 Spades 3 Picks
1 Branding Iron 3 Hoes & 4 Frowes
1 Good Broad Axe & 1 Chisel
1 Stone Drill & primer 1 doz. Candlemoulds
2 pr. Iron Hobbles 1 pr. Handcuffs
1 Cramping Chain & 1 Lg. Boat Ring
1 pr. Good Brass Ball Moulds 24 B
4 " Tolerably good " " 24 "
2 " Broken " " 24 "
1 " Iron " " 6 "
1 " Brass Buckshot "
5 Padlocks no Keys 1 [J.N.?] Hook 1 Slate
1 Potash Kettle 1 Iron Hay Fork
2 Shaving Benches 1 Speaking Trumpet
1 Lg. funnel 1 Tobacco Cutter
1 Leather Port Manteau & 1 Old Trunk
4 Setts Hoop Moulds & 1 Old Axe
1 Funnel Dipper Pan & Knife for Molasses
1 Indian Bow & 20 Arrows
2 Large Double Tackle Blocks
1 " Single " "
200 lb. Cordage various Sizes
Sundry Paint Kettles, Brushes, Oil Cans
Caps & Paints Estimated at _____
1 Coopers Hammer & 2 [S.J.?] Kettles
1 Jack Plane 1 Pr. Match Planes
1 Ea. Ladle Scoop Inkstand
1 Gimlet 1 Cast Pot 1 Nail wrench
1 Old Smiths Bellows & 1 Small do.
1 Trap Spring and Chain 1 Round Adze
14 Moulding & Beading Planes nearly new
1 Lg. Gouge & 3 Crooked Drawing Knives
2 Single Mattrasses & 2 Trying Squares
4 Augurs 24 Qtrs. & 1 Hoop Driver
4 Drawing Knives & 3 Tap Borers
5 Chisels 1 Saw Sett & 2 Old files
1 Water fountain & fossit & 1 Tool Chest
2 Old Pitsaws 6 Gr. Stone Saw
5 Used Scythes & 5 Sneaths
3 Rakes 2 Lanterns 3 Funnels
1 Canteen 3 Tin Cups 2 Candlesticks
8 Very Old Axes 3 Used Spades
14 Used Axes 1 Round Adze
2 Old Liquor Cases 1 Cast Pot
1 Tin Pan 2 Candlemoulds

1 Qt. Measure
1 Small Iron Vice Broken
4 Sheet Iron Camp Kettles
3 Ploughs
58 lb. Red Earth
32 pr. Horse Shoes
1 Old shovel
5 Single Carts Iron Tire
1 Truck " " "
1 Hay " " "
3 Ox " " "
4 pr. Cart Wheels
4 Hay Cart Bodies
2 Single " "
1 Old Dearbourne Repaired
1 Buggy Complete with 2 bodies val. at _____
1 4-Horse Waggon F.P. [Ft. Pierre]
1 4 " " F.U. [Fort Union]
4 Ox Yokes
1 Wheel Barrow
2 Ox Sleds
4 Dog Trains
1 Scow
1 Cov'd Mackinaw Boat

36 lb. Cast Wheel Boxes
1 Milk Pot

1 Harrow
4 Used Kettles
19 pr. Ox Shoes
1 Old axe

& 4 Horse Sleds

& 1 Skiff

Furniture

1 Book Case
1 Cloth Cov'd Desk
1 Round Table
1 Mess Table
1 Com'n Table
1 Cloth Cov'd & Padded Sofa New
1 Maple Bureau
1 Pine & Maple Sideboard New
1 " Cupboard
1 Walnut "
1 Sma. Desk
2 Turned Bedsteads & Hangings
1 U.S. Chart
1 Looking Glass
4 Large Landscape Oil Paintings
1 Arm Chair
3 prs. And Irons
1 Tob'o Receiver
2 Tin Shovels
1 Turned Washstand
1 Sma. Cupboard

1 Writing Table
& 2 Dining Tables
2 Half Round do.
& 2 Kitchen do.
& 1 Sofa

1 Pier Glass

1 Towel
1 Tin Post Office

17 Chairs
1 Brittania Pitcher
1/2 doz. sconces
2 pr. Brass Candlesticks
1 Com'n do.
1 Com'n Bedstead

Tinners tools
Sundry Tinners Tools val: at _____

Tailors
1 pr. Tailors Shears

1 Goose

Lapboard

Blacksmiths
1 Large Screwplate
1 Bench Drill

& 5 pr. Tongs
& 1 Drill Bow & Plate

1 Scraper
1 2-In. Augur
1 Wrench
1 Large Ice [trench?]
2 Tire Wrenches
1 Compass Wheel
26 Mandrills & punches
1 Bellows
1 Sledge
1 Iron Saw
3 Punches
1 Buttress
1 pr. Iron Shears
& 4 Gun Lock Tools
12 Heading Tools
1 Anvil
1 Bench Vice
1 Float
1 Brace
26 Files
1 Slick
2 Draw bores
1 Ramrod Bitt

Carpenters

1 Bench Vice
3 Fore Planes
5 Smoothing Planes
1 Pat. Plough & Groover
12 Moulding Beading & Sash Planes
6 Caulking Irons
1 2-ft. Rule
2 Drawing Knives
9 Gages
1 Gimlet
1 Comp: Saw broken
2 Spike Gimblets
1 pr. Compasses
3 Mallets & 2 Nail Wrenches
1 Bench Tool
1 Tenon Saw
2 Round Adzes
2 Bevel Squares
1 Foot Adze
2 Large & good Broad Axes
2 Chopping Axes
3 Good Pitsaws 1/400 1/350 1/200
54 Qtrs Augur
1 Old Screw plate
2 Wrenches
1 Old Grindstone
1 Level 2 Work Benches
1 Turning Machine Complete Improved
2 Joiner Planes
3 Jack Planes
1 Pat. Plough & Bitts
1 pr. Match planes
1 Iron Square
2 Trying squares
1 Small Broad axe
10 Punches
1 Scribe
46 Chisels & Gouges
& 1 pr. Nippers
& 1 Trying Compass
& 2 Handsaws
1 Brace & Bitts
1 Morticing Adze
1 Wheel Gouge
1 Wheel Sett
1 Wheel Hub
2 Claw Hammers
1 Boat Hook & Chain
2 Small do. & Dies
9 Files
1 Crow Bar
& 1 Screw Driver
1 Oil Stone
& 2 x Cut Saws [cross cut]
1 Grindstone

Kitchen

1 Corn Mill & Fly Wheel
2 Funnels
1 Large Earthen Dish
38 Candlemoulds
1 Dipper
2 Creams
1 Bowl
22 Tablespoons
2 Graters
2 doz. Saucers
4 4-Gl. Tin Kettles
3 3-Gl. " "
1 1 " " "
2 Cast Ovens
7 Large pans
7 " Tin Plates
1 Ice Cream Churn
1 Medium do.
2 Flour Sieves
23 Plates
2 Salts
1 Sett Castors
34 Knives & forks
1 Soup Tureen
3 1/4 doz. Cups
1 8-Gl. Tin do.
2 2-Gl. " "
1 1/2" " "
18 Medium pans
1 Flour pan
1 Tin Waiter
2 Sugars
1 Pepper Box
8 Teaspoons
1 Table Cloths

1 Cullinder [colander]
2 Long Hdl. Fry Pans
2 pr. Pot Hooks
2 Skimmers
2 Small Coffee Pots
1 Lantern
2 Camp Kettles
9 Tin Cups
2 Hand Bells
2 Sausage Stuffers
1 Spade
1 Iron Bound Bucket
1 Cleaver

& 1 Sauce pan
1 Flesh Fork
1 Grid Iron
1 Lg. Coffee Pot
2 pr. And Irons
& 2 Potash Kettles
& 1 Butcher Knife
2 Butter Plates
2 Tumblers
1 Glass Mustard
1 Wood Saw
1 Coffee Mill
1 Tin Roaster

1 Chop Axe

1 Basin

Dairy
28 Milk Pans
2 Cream Kettles
2 4-Gl. Kettles
2 Strainers

5 Very large Pans
1 Churn
3 Cheese Moulds
& 1 Skimmer

Live stock
4 Mules
4 Indian horses
3 Train Dogs
7 Working Oxen
1 Black Bull
1 Red Stag "
2 Large Young Cut Bulls
11 Milch cows
4 Heifers
3 2-Yr. Old Bull Calves
6 1-Yr. Old Calves
7 Small "
4 Hogs
2 Pigs
3 Forts viz: Union Benton & Alexander for _____

Add Error in extension of 1-4 pounder Cannon on page 86 and 5 Pr. Ct. Commission

Reduction 23% on Articles in Use Live Stock &c Less 148.50 on Skins & New Furniture say on this amount $3,785.17.

Supplement to Fort Union Inventory
2 prs. 2 pt. White Blankets
1 doz. Fancy Bridles dbl. rein
2 Used Rifles
1 " " Sup'r
1 Good Percussion Gun
1 Medicine Cupboard & Complete Ass't Medicines Omitted in F.U. Inv.
1 C.S. Pitsaw new 6 ft.
1 90-ft. Mackinaw Boat Cov'd & partly rigged
1 Mounted Brass Swivel
1 Sett Tinners Machines & Pipe Rollers & Comp'n
176 lb. Blackfoot Vermillion
5 Used Guns
1 U.S. Musket & Powder Horn
34 California Shells

2 Indian Shirts
1 Raw Hide Boat Covering Sewed 14 Skins
1 New 100-Bu: Corn Bin
1 " Pine Cupboard
1 Tin Cannister for Powder

The following Articles which bear reduction viz:
7 Indian horses
1 " " in safe hands with Blackft. Indians
1 Mule
1 Spa. Saddle no Stirrups
1 pr. Skin
2 Canteens
1 Tin plate
2 Tin Cups
1 Kettle
1 Cast pot
1 Packsaddle
5 Sacks
1 Axe
1 lb. Tobacco
1 Pine Yawl
1 Shingling Hatchet
& 2 Tarpaulins
1 Keel Camboose & Kettles
2 " Boat Sails
4 Chopping Axes
3 Camp Kettles
1 Spike Gimblet
1 Augur
1 Handsaw
1 Drawing Knife
1 Jack Plane
1 Tool Chest
2 Caulking Irons
1 Iron Anchor
& Chain Cables
2 Double Blocks
& 3 Single do.
1 Marking Pot & line
1 Chisel
17 Pole Sockets
1 Pr. Lodge Skins
1 1/2 pr. Cart Tire
1 Chop. Axe
1 Handsaw
1 New [I?] chisel
1 Drawing Knife
1 3/4 Augur
1 Caulking Iron
Sundry Boat Ironing

Less Kettles Tools &c Shipped per Mackinaws viz:
2 Drawing Knives, 6 Camp Kettles, 3 Tin do., 1 Hatchet,
Oak & Nails
2 C. irons, 3 Spoons, 3 Cups, 3 Pans, 1 file, 9 lb. Sugar, 7 lb. Coffee
6 lb. flour, 1 Bbl. Pork, 1 Mallet, 9 Bu. Corn, 2 Qt. Salt
3 lb. Powder, 6 lb. Balls, 1 Sack

Add 2 mules, 2 Saddles, 1 Ind'n Horse, Packsaddle F.B.
Deduct 8 horses Stolen at Fort Alexander by Indians.

The Chopping Axes, Guns, Grindstone sent down by Mackinaws are to be returned to F.U. per Steamer, therefore are not deducted here.

Appendix B

Definitions of Textiles Mentioned in Fort Inventories or the "Indian Ledger."

Definitions are taken largely from:

Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984).

Dr. Isabel B. Wingate, *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles*, sixth edition, (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1979).

Barège: "A lightweight dress fabric or veiling with a fine silk warp and worsted filling, woven with an open or gauze weave. The warp may also be cotton or other fibers." (Fairchild) "A dress material of gauze weave with a worsted warp and a silk weft." (Montgomery)

Binding: "A tape or braid." (Montgomery) Probably worsted wool.

Calico: "An inexpensive, brightly printed cotton cloth woven with carded yarns in a plain weave. Originally a plain weave, lightweight, printed cotton cloth of Indian origin and later was applied to various cotton goods... Later calicoes were coarse fabric, machine printed with small allover patterns." (Fairchild)

Casinet (Cassinet, Cassinette): "A light mixed cloth, a modification of Cassimere" (a medium-weight twilled woolen cloth of soft texture), "with the warp of cotton, and the weft of very fine wool, or wool and silk, in twill weave. In American manufacture, Cassinet was a coarse variety of Satinet and did not aim at fineness of texture; cassinets were frequently called Negro Cloths." (Montgomery) "A heavy, twilled, British suiting fabric made with a fine cotton warp and a yarn dyed wool filling, slightly fulled and calendered. Also made with a wool and silk filling. (A diminutive form of Cassimere)." (Fairchild)

Check: "A fabric made in plain weave with colored warp and weft stripes intersecting at right angles to form squares." Furniture Checks (in 1750) are "bolder patterns, woven in a variety of colors with large white fields,...made and sold...for curtains and chair coverings." (Montgomery)

(Woolen) **Comforts (Comforter)**: 1) "A bedcovering made of various fabrics...heavily wadded and quilted. Synonyms: comfort, comfortable; 2) A long, narrow, wool scarf, knitted or crocheted." (Fairchild)

Crankie (Cranky): "A linen and cotton bed ticking made in irregular patterns." (Fairchild) "In northern British dialect, Cranky meant checkered. As a textile, it may have referred to a checked cloth woven in the Manchester area. References

to Cranky in hair and flock mattresses are in Thomas Chippendale's accounts. Crankies are mentioned in Virginia merchants' records. In 1786, T.T. Byrd was billed £1.16.0 for 'a wool cranky matrass', perhaps a woolen check or a cotton check filled with wool flock." (Montgomery)

Domestics: "Cotton goods, shirting, and sheeting made in the United States." (Montgomery) "1) A general trade term for household goods such as sheets, pillowcases, towels, blankets. Used in the plural form. The term originated about 1815 when New England mills began to specialize in heavy drills and sheetings, calling them Domestics. 2) A general term for staple cotton fabrics, e.g., shirtings, sheetings." (Fairchild)

Ermineteen: No definition, although Fairchild's defines Ermine as "A brown woolen dress fabric produced in England in the late 19th century." Ermineteen may denote a variation of Ermine in cotton, since the "een" suffix usually indicates a cotton variant of a material originally made of another fiber.

Ferreting (Ferret): "A narrow binding tape of cotton, wool, silk..." (Fairchild) "A tape, ribbon, or binding... A 1754 reference lists 'waistcoats...edged and trimmed with black ribbands and ferreting'." (Montgomery)

Flannel: "A light or medium weight woolen fabric of plain or twill weave with a slightly napped surface." (Fairchild)

Gartering: "Tape or braid tied around the calf of the leg to support stockings. Similar to coach lace and furniture braids and tapes." (Montgomery)

Hickory Cloth: "A strong, durable, twilled cotton striped shirting and trousering. Colored and white yarns in the warp and white yarns in the filling produce the warp stripes, usually blue and white, or brown and white. Uses: work clothes. Hickory Stripes: Sturdy, strong, striped cotton twill fabric similar in construction to denim, generally made with a warp pattern of eight blue and four white ends; the filling may be white or blue." (Fairchild)

Jeans: "A warp faced, three-harness cotton twill generally woven of carded yarns in weights lighter than drills; it has more threads per inch and a finer twill line than drills." (Fairchild)
"A linen/cotton, twilled cloth of the fustian group...," Perkins wrote in 1833. "Jeans are made of cotton, and are twilled; are made in white and many colors, also striped...." (Montgomery)

Kersey: "A diagonal ribbed or twill fabric, coarse and heavily fulled, either woven of all wool or with a cotton warp and woolen weft." (Fairchild) "A cheap, coarse woolen cloth of twill weave classed among Old Draperies. They were made of short-stapled native wool, fulled less heavily than the traditional broadcloth, lighter in weight, narrower, and cheaper." (Montgomery)

Linsey (Linsey-Woolsey): "A coarse cloth made of linen warp and woolen weft." (Montgomery) "A coarse, loosely woven fabric made of linen warp and wool filling; cotton was sometimes substituted for linen. The fabric was often highly colored; first made in England and popular in the American Colonies at one time." (Fairchild)

Madras (Maddrass Handkerchiefs): "In the 1830s and 40s, 'large, bright-colored handkerchiefs, of silk warp and cotton woof, which were formerly exported from Madras, and much used by the Negroes in the West Indies as head-dresses' were known by the name of Madras." (Montgomery) "A fabric made of fine cotton, handloomed and imported from Madras, India." (Fairchild)

Russia Sheeting: The Oxford English Dictionary defines Russia (def. 2) as "In the specific names of various articles, chiefly made in, or imported from Russia, as Russia... braid, crash, drab, duck, etc." Russia sheeting is a light but strong plain weave sheeting of linen, made from Russian flax.

Salempore: "A staple cotton cloth woven on the coast of South India. It varied widely in quality and price." (Montgomery) "A cotton fabric with small checks made by setting fancy colors between blocks of filling yarn of the same color as the warp. Red or blue is generally used in the warp. Made in Great Britain in several qualities for export." (Fairchild)

Satinet (Satinette): A diminutive form of Satin; "In Massachusetts by about 1810, satinet 'was made of cotton-mill warps and of a woolen filling so overlying the former as to produce a cloth that could be finished like an all-wool fabric. These goods originally were substantial, and they speedily displaced serges and cheap cassimeres for outer garments of medium grade....The fabric has also been described as an inferior kind of satin, sometimes a stout cotton satin with napped and shorn face and napped back." (Montgomery) "A fabric made with cotton warp which forms the back and woolen filling which is thrown to the face, generally in a five-harness satin weave. It is fulled and finished like an all-wool cloth. Used for outer garments." (Fairchild)

Saved-list cloth: "A coarse woolen fabric which was made in Great Britain for export to India. The selvage is covered with a strip of fabric before dyeing, and the finished product is identified by the resulting white selvage." (Fairchild) List= selvage, border.

Shawls: "An oblong, triangular or square piece of fabric made of a great variety of fibers in a wide range of sizes. Worn as a loose covering for the head and /or shoulders. Originated in Kashmir, made of Pashmina yarns, fine shawls are still made on hand looms in India, Pakistan, and Kashmir. Paisley shawls were made on power looms, in imitation of the oriental shawls. The first machine-made shawls in the U.S. were made about 1847 in Massachusetts. They may also be crocheted or knitted by hand or machine." (Fairchild) "Shawls were commonly worn by men in the mid-19th century and several of plaid are in the stock."

(Wayne Colwell, "Restocking Fur Trade Post Fort Langley," in *Canadian Antiques Collector*, November/December 1972, p. 10) Merino shawls: merino is "Cloth woven from the wool of the merino sheep," which made shawls which were "the closest imitation of the real India (cashmere) shawl fabrique ever produced in this country..." (Montgomery) "A French shawl made with 2-ply merino wool warp and wool or silk filling." (Fairchild)

Stroud: "A coarse blanketing formerly used in trading with North American Indians." (Fairchild) "A woolen cloth woven and dyed, especially red, on the River Stroud in Gloustershire." As early as 1714 in a description of these fabrics in the Indian trade they are described as blue or red, with a selvage or list about which the Indians are exacting: approximately three fingers width with a stripe or two of white, sometimes black, in the blue pieces and always black in the red. (Montgomery)

Ticking: Originally, linen twill, used for aprons, linings, clothing, and bedding, and often striped. "A general term for a strong, durable, closely woven fabric in plain, twill or satin weave, which is used for covering box springs, mattresses, and pillows. It is preferably woven with strong warp yarns and soft-spun filling yarns, which will spread to prevent the filling materials from penetrating the ticking, and is made with more warp yarns than filling per inch, to give the fabric strength where it is needed." (Fairchild)

Twist: "...a strong, firmly-twisted thread, especially 'buttonhole twist'." (Fairchild) Sewing thread.

Victoria Plaid: No definition, although Fairchild's defines "Victoria" as, among other things, "A printed British cotton twill."

Wrappers, Wrapper Blankets: "Blankets were usually baled and wrapped in canvas or another blanket called a wrapper....Gregg in *Commerce of the Prairies* states that blankets were used as wrappers to foil part of the tax levy at Mexican custom houses, the wrapper not being taxed." (Tom Crane, "Wool Blankets of the Fur Trade," in *The Blackpowder Report*, Feb. 1985, p. 52.)

Appendix C

Receptions

George Catlin's account of a feast at a Sioux village for the "great white chiefs" (Pierre Chouteau, Indian Agent Sanford, Kenneth McKenzie, and Catlin) in 1832:

> In the centre of the semi-circle was erected a flag-staff, on which was waving a white flag, and to which also was tied the calumet, both expressive of their friendly feelings towards us. Near the foot of the flag-staff were placed in a row on the ground, six or eight kettles, with iron covers on them, shutting them tight, in which were prepared the viands for our *voluptuous* feast. Near the kettles, and on the ground also, bottomside upwards, were a number of wooden bowls, in which the meat was to be served out. And in front, two or three men, who were there placed as waiters, to light the pipes for smoking, and also to deal out the food.
>
> ...at length, Ha-wan-je-tah (the one horn), head chief of the nation, rose in front of the Indian agent, in a very handsome costume, and addressed him....After these words he took off his beautiful war-eagle head-dress--his shirt and leggings--his necklace of grizzly bears' claws and his moccasins; and tying them together, laid them gracefully down at the feet of the agent as a present; and laying a handsome pipe on top of them, he walked around into an adjoining lodge, where he got a buffalo robe to cover his shoulders, and returned to the feast, taking his seat which he had before occupied.
>
> Major Sanford then rose and made a short speech in reply, thanking him for the valuable present which he had made him, and for the very polite and impressive manner in which it had been done; and sent to the steamer for a quantity of tobacco and other presents, which were given to him in return. After this, and after several others of the chiefs had addressed him in a similar manner; and, like the first, disrobed themselves, and thrown their beautiful costumes at his feet, one of the three men in front deliberately lit a handsome pipe, and brought it to Ha-wan-je-tah to smoke. He took it, and after presenting the stem to the North--to the South--to the East, and the West--and then to the Sun that was over his head, and pronounced the words "How--how--how!" drew a whiff or two of smoke through it, and holding the bowl of it in one hand, and its stem in the other, he then held it to each of our mouths, as we successively smoked it....[232]

Thaddeus Culbertson's account of an Indian reception at Yankton Trading House in 1850:

> The Indians had bought all our horses that were for sale and they came to the houses with us. There Alex had a feast prepared for them and they all appeared well satisfied. A feast for the Indians is a very simple affair--a little coffee and some gammon, or mush served in the simplest style serve them. There were 60 or 70 gathered at this one; before it was ready they came in and out and sat talking, joking and passing around the pipe just as whites spend their time when gathered for a dinner. When the things were prepared the two kettles were placed in the

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[232] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians,* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1965), pp. 228-29.

middle of the floor and each one was furnished with a pan of some kind to eat in, but they got no spoons or anything to answer the same purpose. Alex then made quite a long speech, not however standing up but sitting on a bench with his hat on his head and pipe in his mouth. One of the old men then arose, shook hands with him, resumed his seat on the floor and made quite a long and animated speech....One of their number then volunteered to help out and he first served the coffee giving to each his portion which was received with a "how!" thank you. Then the gammon was served in the same way and supped from the dishes to the great risk of the tongue and throat as I thought....Afterwards the Indians gradually dispersed and we sat down to a supper of coffee, bangs and honey, for the whites don't usually eat when they give a feast to the Indians....We had no forks and had to use the knives we carried in our belts, taking our victuals in our fingers as when in camp. We drank out of tin mugs and I despatched two of these full of coffee and a whole host of bangs.[233]

Culbertson's description of a reception for Blackfeet Sioux at Fort Pierre:

They had just arrived with about fifty lodges, and, while squaws were putting up these, the "Braves" came to announce themselves. They dismounted and entered the reception room with a friendly shake of the hand to most of the whites present. A feast was ordered for them. In the middle of the room were placed four (five gallon) kettles, filled with most tempting mush, and beside these, to keep them in countenance, were two others, equally large, filled with equally tempting coffee, already sweetened, while on the floor were fifty large hard crackers (pilot bread), and about one-hundred plugs of very common tobacco. The Indians were all around the room on chairs, if they could get them, while those in the middle sat on the floor, enjoying the most happy anticipations. They had no meat in their camps and had been almost starving for some time. I entered and placed myself full length on a bed beside Gilpin, who was master of the feast....I took observations; and first, I noticed that they had all the gravity of countenance. usually exhibited by hungry men of all countries, while waiting for their dinners; there was no laughing or jesting unbecoming the serious business before them, but the various pipes were passed round in profund silence. They were all in full dress, presenting an amusing mixture of savage and civilized costumes; many of them had fur caps, decorated with handsome plumes of the ostrich feathers, dyed red; others had on the much coveted soldier coat, and all wore highly ornamented Indian dress....After all were in, and each had his pan (they provide their own utensils for eating here), this one arose, shook hands with Gilpin, myself and the Little Bear, a chief of another tribe, and made a short speech, returning thanks for the feast, &c. When he closed, an old palefaced warrior came forward, shook hands with us, and remaining on his feet began a speech....He stood erect, with his left hand holding his blanket, and with his right making gestures continually. Never did I listen to a more ready flow of language, or to a more self composed, dignified speaker, whether he addressed us or turned to the Indians on either side of him. His speech was also a complimentary one, and was short, as the dinner was getting cold. He concluded, and two young men took the office of waiter; they had no light task, and before they got through had burnt their fingers, and made the sweat roll from their faces. It was pleasing to observe the quiet and decorum throughout the whole scene; each one waited patiently until his turn came, and then modestly received his cracker, meat or coffee. The little Bear, the old man and an invited guest, had no dish, and when the coffee was being served out, a large tin mug was got for him; the young man who was serving, instead of passing

[233] Culbertson, *Journal of an Expedition to the Mauvaises Terres and the Upper Missouri in 1850*, p. 53.

on, waited until the mug was brought, and then gave the old man a treble portion, being a very pleasing instance of politeness and respect. As they drank their coffee nearly every one, especially the old man, made their compliments to us, as we do in drinking wine. The feast went on cheerfully, and towards the conclusion, our old man started a song, or rather a howl of thanks, which was caught up and echoed by several....The tobacco was then distributed, two plugs being given to each; but the young men, being able to kill buffalo and buy tobacco, gave their portion to some of their friends too old for the hunt. I noticed quite a number passing their pans, well filled with mush, to their squaws who were standing about the door, which indicated generous and kind feeling. This was not an act of impoliteness, but just the reverse according to Indian etiquette, for with them it is very impolite not to eat all that is given at a feast--you must eat or *carry away*.[234]

Frank B. Mayer's description of a group of Sioux meeting with Governor Ramsey (of Minnesota territory), at St. Paul in 1851:

I found Governor Ramsey giving audience to a deputation of Sioux Indians who had come from "Six's" village on the St. Peter's river to ask supplies of food for their children and families whom they represented to be in a starving condition. Placed by his side with the Indians seated around with their pipes sending forth dignified volumes of smoke, I had a fine opportunity to observe their manners & mode of speech. An old man arose having given his pipe to his neighbor & shaking hands with the Governor & interpreter, began with much energy and expressive gesture to detail the object of their visit & its causes, pausing at every sentence to shake hands with the governor & to give the interpreter time to translate his speech. At the conclusion of every sentence the other Indians all exclaimed Hoo, i.e. "yes, it is so." Having concluded, another old man arose with his war-spear in his hand & corroborated his friend's account. The Governor replied by rating them for their want of thrift & for certain violations of treaty which had occcurred in their territory & told them that the power of their "great-father" extended from the rising to the setting sun & that no matter where they were they would be punished for their crimes. He concluded by giving them the required supplies & "tickets" for bread at the bakers in St. Paul....Some of these were fine specimens of Indians, I met them a few hours after in the street & was struck by the peculiar ease & grace of walk & attitudes having all the litheness & "nonchalance" of childhood with the dignity of man, they are remarkably erect, tall, with small hands and feet, & the graceful & varied manner in which their large blankets are worn, depending their majestic folds from their broad shoulders, & calling to mind the dignified occupants, of the senate house or Forum.[235]

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[234] Ibid., pp. 81-83.

[235] Mayer, *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: the Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*, pp. 96-98.

Henry A. Boller's account of a reception for a group of Sioux at or near Fort Atkinson:

> Late in the afternoon we called the Sioux to a feast, and as it was politic to keep them in good-humor in order to obtain as much of their trade as possible, McBride determined that the repast should be a substantial one. When they were all seated around the room the cook set before the chief a large kettle of coffee, hard bread, and pans of corn and meat. A present was also added, consisting of blue and scarlet cloth and a mirror and knife for each one. These liberal gifts caused the liveliest satisfaction , which they expressed by emphatically grunting "How!" The pipe was lit and passed around and a brisk conversation followed.[236]

[236] Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858-1866*, Milo Milton Quaife, ed. (Chicago: the Lakeside Press, R.R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1959), pp. 156-59.

Appendix D

Contemporary Accounts Which Describe Trade Goods (especially in Indian dress)

George Catlin's description of Wi-jun-jon (The Light), returning from a trip to Washington in 1832:

> He had in Washington exchanged his beautifully garnished and classic costume for a full dress *en militaire*. It was, perhaps, presented to him by the President. It was broadcloth of the finest blue, trimmed with lace of gold. On his shoulders were mounted two immense epaulettes; his neck was strangled with a shining black stock; and his feet were pinioned in a pair of water-proof boots with high heels, which made him step like a yoked hog. On his head was a high-crowned beaver hat, with a broad silver lace band, surmounted by a huge red feather, some two feet high; his coat collar, stiff with lace, came higher up than his ears, and over it flowed downwards to his haunches, his long Indian locks, stuck up in rolls and plaits, with red paint. A large silver medal was suspended from his neck by a blue ribbon, and across his right shoulder passed a wide belt, supporting by his side a broadsword. On his hands had had drawn a pair of kid gloves, and in them held a blue umbrella in one and a large fan in the other.[237]

He also carried a keg of whiskey under his arm and two bottles of it in his pockets. His regal outfit did not last long, however:

> His beautiful military dress...had been so shockingly tattered and metamorphosed, that his appearance was truly laughable. His keg of whiskey had dealt out to his friends all its charms--his frock-coat, which his wife had thought was of no earthly use below the waist, had been cut off at that place, and the nether half of it supplied her with a beautiful pair of leggings; and his silver-laced hat-band had been converted into a splendid pair of garters for the same. His umbrella the poor fellow still affectionately held on to, and kept spread at all times.[238]

According to Prince Maximilian, some of the Sioux at Fort Pierre "had strings of wampum in their ears, but the greater part of them strings of white or blue glass beads, and round their necks an elegant, and frequently broad necklace, embroidered with white beads."[239]

The chief of the Yanktonai Sioux "was dressed in a uniform of red cloth, with blue facings and collar, and ornamented with silver trimmings, such as the traders used to give, or to sell to such chiefs as they desire to distinguish."[240]

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[237] Harold McCracken, *George Catlin and the Old Frontier,* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1959), p. 43.

[238] Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians,* p. 67.

[239] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* vol. 22, p. 325.

[240] Ibid., p. 343.

> Kiasax [an Assiniboine warrior] had adopted the costume of the Manitaries, but at the same time wrapped himself in a Spanish blanket, striped blue, white and black, which, as well as a metal cross, which he wore suspended round his neck, was a proof of the intercourse between the Blackfoot Indians and the Spaniards near the Rocky Mountains.[241] [See *People of the First Man*, p. 65, for Bodmer's portrait of Kiasax as described here.]

The Assiniboines, said Prince Maximilian,

> very frequently wear the collar of the bears' claws, but not the long strings of beads and dentalium shells, which are uses by the Manitaries. Most of the Assiniboines have guns*, the stocks of which they ornament with bright yellow nails, and with small pieces of red cloth on the ferrels for the ramrod. Like all the Indians, they carry, besides, a separate ramrod in their hand, a large powder-horn, which they obtain from the Fur Company, and a leather pouch for the balls, which is made by themselves, and often neatly ornamented, or hung with rattling pieces of lead, and trimmed with coloured cloth. All have bows and arrows; many have these only, and no gun.
>
> *The common Mackinaw guns, which the Fur Company obtain from England at the rate of eight dollars a-piece, and which are sold to the Indians for the value of thirty dollars--Maximilian.[242]

At Fort McKenzie, Prince Maximilian saw

> three or four chiefs in red and blue uniforms, trimmed with lace, and wearing round hats with plumes of feathers. The most distinguished among them was Mexkehme-Sukahs [the iron shirt], dressed in a scarlet uniform, with blue facings and lace, with a drawn sabre in his hand....[243]
>
> Some distinguished Blackfeet warriors had a tuft of the feather of owls, or birds of prey, hanging at the back of the head; sometimes ermine skin, with little stripes of red cloth, adorned with bright buttons....[244]

Piegans "wear rings, mostly of brass, which they purchase, by dozens, of the Company--often six or eight on each finger, often only one or two on the whole hand."[245]

The Blackfeet,

> like the other tribes, carry in their hands the wing of an eagle or a swan, the tail of an owl or bird of prey, as a fan, the handle of which is covered with leather, or

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[241] Ibid., p. 367.

[242] Ibid., p. 389.

[243] Ibid., vol. 23, p. 88.

[244] Ibid., p. 100.

[245] Ibid., p. 101.

coloured cloth. The Company now sends to its trading posts the tails of wild turkeys, which are much in request.[246]

The dress of Blackfeet women

is the same as among the other Missouri Indians: it is a long leather shirt, coming down to their feet, bound round the waist with a girdle, and is often ornamented with many rows of elks' teeth, bright buttons, and glass beads....The women ornament their best dresses, both on the hem and sleeves, with dyed porcupine quills and thin leather strips, with broad diversified stripes of sky-blue and white glass beads. The Indians do not like beads of other colours, for instance, red, next the skin; and their taste in the contrast of colours is very correct, for in their black hair they generally wear red, and on their brown skins, sky-blue, white, or yellow.[247]

The Mandans

are very fond of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colours, with footstps of bears or buffaloes carved on it. Nay, sometimes these frames are of a considerable size, divided at one end like a boot-jack, and ornamented with brass nails, ribbons, pieces of skin and feathers. Some had very ingeniously fastened this important appendage to their fan made of an eagle's wing. The Indian dandy is constantly consulting his mirror, and, if he has been travelling, especially in the high winds so prevalent here, he immediately has recourse to his looking-glass, and his disordered dress is most carefully arranged.[248]

Mandans wear a hair ornament

which consists of two strips of leather or cloth closely embroidered with white or azure glass beads, and intertwined with brass wire....If the ground of this ornament is red or blue, it is studded with white beads, and if the ground is white the beads are blue.[249]

Among the Mandans and Manitaries (Minitaries or more properly Hidatsas),

One or two horses are frequently given for...a handful of dentalium shells.*

*The dentalium shells were by intertribal exchange brought from the Pacific Ocean; the Mandan prized them so highly that white traders began to import them, and

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246 Ibid., pp. 102-103.

247 Ibid.

248 Ibid., pp. 258-59.

249 Ibid.

Matthews reports (*Hidatsa*, p. 28) that ten of these shells would buy a superior buffalo robe.--Ed.[250]

Minitaries wear a breechcloth that "generally consists of a piece of white woollen cloth with dark blue stripes....They often wear narrow bright steel bracelets at the wrists, which they purchase from the Company."[251]

A chief known as "the Monkey-Face...who wore a new red felt hat...now takes the lead among the Manitaries."[252]

A group of Indians at Fort Clark, presenting the "dance of the half-shorn head," were

> painted and ornamented in the most gaudy manner....Their long plaits of hair were covered with reddish clay. One eagle's feather, or several other feathers, were fixed transversely in the hair; others had a long plait hanging down, with five or six brass rosettes, in the manner of the Sioux; several had a bunch of owl's feathers hanging down, necklaces of bears' claws and otters' tails, wolves' tails at their heels, red cloth or leather leggins, often painted, or with bells fixed to them; they had a looking-glass suspended from the wrist, or the waist....[253]

Prince Maximilian states that Mato-Topé, warrior-chief of the Mandans, "had on a different dress almost every time he came to see us. Sometimes he wore a blue uniform, with red facings, which he had obtained from the merchants."[254]

According to Josiah Gregg, a group of traders with whom he crossed the plains encountered a group of Sioux carrying a United States flag: "This welcome sight allayed at once all uneasiness; as it is well known that most savages, when friendly, approach the whites with a hoisted flag, provided they have one." The traders next met another band of Indians, whose chief was "dressed in a long red coat of strouding, or coarse cloth...."[255]

Many western Indians, Gregg noted,

> are also provided with the Northwestern fusil, and some have rifles....But no Indian deems his equipage complete without a "scalping-knife"; yet among the western prairie Indians the tomahawk is but little known. These employ, in its stead, the

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[250] Ibid., p. 289.

[251] Ibid., p. 369.

[252] Ibid., vol. 24, p. 69.

[253] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[254] Ibid., p. 72.

[255] Ibid., vol. 19, pp. 221-23.

war-club or "war-hawk," which are bludgeons with an encased stone for a head in the former, and with a transverse blade or spike in its place in the latter.[256]

Gregg states that

there is some variety in the dress in vogue among the different tribes; though they all use moccasins, leggins, flap or breech-clout, and, when not in active pursuits, they generally wrap theyr bodies in buffalo rugs, blankets or mantles of strouding, according to their wealth or opportunities. Some of the northern tribes display considerable ingenuity and taste in the manufacture of moccasins. But this is the work of the women, who often embroider them with beads and colored porcupine quills, in a most beautiful manner. The *leggin* is a buckskin or cloth covering for the leg and thigh, as of the pantaloon. A superfluous list is usually left outside the seam, which, if of skin, is slitted into long tassels, or if of cloth, the wide border remains entire, to dangle and flap upon the exterior of the legs. A strip of strouding (that is, coarse broad-cloth) about a foot in width and a yard or more long, constitutes the most usual flap....[257]

Gregg also states that "Vermillion seems almost indispensable to the Indian's toilet...,"[258] and that

a mirror is his idol: no warrior is equipped without this indispensable toilet companion, which he very frequently consults. He usually takes it from its original case, and sets it in a large fancifully carved frame of wood, which is always carried about him. He is also rarely without his tweezers, whether of a fold of tin, of hardened wood, or of spirally twisted wire....The men often cut up the rim of the ears in a frightful manner to admit their pendants of beads, plate, shells, etc.; and even strips of lead are sometimes twined around the separated rim, by the weight of which the detached portion of the ear is frequently swagged down some inches. It is not unusual to see near half a pound even of beads and "jewelry" swung to each ear; and among some tribes, also a large quantity to the nose. The hair is likewise garnished with the same, and the neck with strings of beads, bear's claws, and the like; while the arms are profusely ornamented with bracelets of wire or plated metal.[259]

Among the tribes on the Red River, the chief ornaments of the women are tattoos; "their only gown consists of about a yard and a half of strouding, or else a small dressed skin, suspended from the waist, and constituting a sort of primitive petticoat.[260]

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[256] Ibid., vol. 20, p. 324.

[257] Ibid., pp. 327-28.

[258] Ibid., p. 329.

[259] Ibid., p. 330.

[260] Ibid., p. 341.

Comanche dress consists of

> the usual leggins, moccasins, flap and blanket or robe....When he can procure it, the young warrior is wont to wear a mantle and leggins of strouding. Both of these articles, according to the "latest fashions," should be one-half red, the other blue. The bi-colored mantle, as well as the blanket or buffalo rug, is carelessly thrown over the shoulders, and must be long enough to drag the ground....[261]

> A style of dress similar to that of the Comanche females, is worn by those of most of the erratic tribes. The squaws of the north usually embroider their leathern frocks in a fanciful manner with colored porcupine quills and beads, and bedeck the borders with rattling shells, tags, hawk-bells, and the like.[262]

Rudolph Kurz states that Crow men "make a great show of their apparel and decorations. In their hair they hang hollow tubes of white and violet-colored porcelain (wampum), and about their necks they wear long ropes of the same ornaments" (mock-wampum hair pipes).[263]

Kurz speculates on the impact that white contact and trade have had on the Indians:

> Nowadays they are more cleanly, bedeck themselves with beads and blankets, own horses, and, according to their own fancy or their needs, they make saddles that are beautiful as well as practical. In short, along with much that might be spared, Indians have received from the fur traders a very great deal that is beneficial to them....Now that he is acquainted with articles made of steel, such as knives, axes, rifles, etc., with tinder boxes, the hewing of logs, with horses, blankets, all sorts of materials for clothing and ornamentation, and with the taste of coffee, sugar, etc., he regards these things as indispensable to his needs.[264]

The Cree, says Kurz,

> are said to be most valiant warriors, excellent marksmen with the rifle, but very cautious and pertinacious in trade. Assiniboine excel in shooting with bow and arrow (but it must be taken into consideration that they get fewer good rifles from Americans than the former receive from the English).[265]

Kurz described a Crow "buck,"

> most richly appareled: Coat, leggings, and hood fashioned from a new Mackinaw blanket; another Mackinaw blanket he trailed negligently after him in such a

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[261] Ibid., p. 345.

[262] Ibid., p. 346.

[263] Hewitt, *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz*, p. 251.

[264] Ibid., p. 149.

[265] Ibid., p. 154.

manner as to display its wealth of ornamentation. He went doubly armed, as when he arrived: He swung his rifle over his shoulder in a sheath, bow and quiver in two broad bandoliers, the straps of both entirely covered with coral beads in various designs. The sheath was decorated with fringe and scarlet cloth. He carried with him three pouches, all richly ornamented, absolutely covered with beads arranged in different patterns. The largest of these pouches opened at the side; the shot bag, with cover, was attached to his belt in front; a third pouch, closed with long, tapering cover, was fastened to his belt in the back. His knife sheath was just as elaborately embroidered. It was also trimmed with fringe and, like his knee bands, with falcon bells (from Leipzig). The tinkling of those rows of bells behind and before gave him an especial pleasure.[266]

Edwin Denig was badgered for a variety of trade goods by two Indians named Le Gras and Garçon du Fraissée; the latter wanted something to eat:

Mr. Denig answered, "Yes; when you bring hides for my trade."

"But you will, at least, let me have some smoking mixture?"

"The upland willow grows quite near your tent."

"Then give me a flint and steel."

"I haven't one; neither have I any coal, that I might have such a thing made."

"Well, can I get a file? I need something of the sort."

"Good! Then bring in some robes."

Mr. Denig fled to my room, hoping to escape such insistent begging, but Le Gras soon hunted him out.

"Now say at once what it is you want," Mr. Denig interposed before the former could speak. "First?"

"A calico case for my pipestem," Le Gras began, "long enough to hang over at both ends."

"Second?" Mr. Denig went on, counting off on his fingers.

"Eyewater."

"Third?"

"Tobacco."

"Fourth?"

Le Gras could not help laughing and thereupon gave up any further petitioning.[267]

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[266] Ibid., pp. 259-60.

[267] Ibid., pp. 267-68.

Kurz found an Indian medicine doll on the trail, "adorned with the usual ornaments children wear, i.e., bracelets and necklace of 'dove's eggs', made of blue and white porcelain."[268]

During a visit by a group of Ojibwa to Fort Clark, Kurz noted that three of the women were dressed in one of the regional costumes, "A skirt of blue cloth that extends to the shoulder and is held in place by 2 broad bands or supporters over the shoulders and a girdle about the hips, both girdle and bands elaborately decorated." Two of the chiefs "looked particularly self-satisfied in their black dress coats; they wore black suits, European in style, without the traditional shirt or smock, but with breechcloth...." Clothing was presented to the chiefs, which he says were "for the most part so-called habits de Cheffre, i.e., a sort of gay-colored military coats of red, blue, or green cloth and shirts of soft white deerskin, either laced or richly decorated with colors."[269] Plate 15 of the Bison Books edition of Kurz's *Journal* (University of Nebraska Press, 1970), shows a mounted Indian in "Habits de Cheffre with Indian ornamentation," dated August, 1851.

Edwin Denig described Wah Na Ton, a Yanktonai chief whom he called the "greatest Indian chief of modern times"; "Dressed in officer's clothing, top boots, green spectacles, sword and pistols, his strange appearance contrasted greatly with that of his half clad followers."[270]

Speaking of the Assiniboines, Denig says that "what was once filthy skin clothing has given way before good and handsome apparel of American manufacture, which enables both sexes of all ages to appear tolerably neat and clean."[271]

Denig said that the Assiniboines held on the longest to their old customs and implements, and had only lately [the 1850s] begun to adopt the trappings of white culture. The Blackfeet and Crows, however, had long appreciated

> the convenience and utility of European articles, especially portions of clothing, horse gear and other things. They readily throw aside the cord and use a bridle for a horse's mouth, will pay well for a saddle. They pride themselves on the cut of their coat, in a fur cap or com boots, if they can get them.[272]

Speaking of the Crees, Denig says that

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[268] Ibid., p. 315.

[269] Ibid., p. 85.

[270] Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, p. 32.

[271] Ibid., p. 89.

[272] Ibid., p. 95.

after their return to the trading posts and the proceeds of their winter's work are exchanged for blankets and cloth of various colors the camp looks gay and lively. Both young and old of both sexes lay aside their filthy habiliments and adorn themselves in those of European manufacture. A profusion of ornaments is worn. Most parts of dress are garnished in some of the forms before referred to and a general neatness is exhibited leading one to suppose that they were an entirely different people. This cleanly appearance, however, only lasts a short time. Their employments are of such a nature as soon to soil dress. As different suits are never thought of nor any washing done the brilliant colors of English goods become gradually obscured by dirt so that in the fall a new supply of winter clothing is as desirable as the spring exchange.[273]

In his discussion of the division of property among the Crows, Denig says that "guns, bows, ammunition, and all implements of war and the chase belong to the man; while kettles, pans, hides, and other baggage of the like nature fall to the woman's share."[274]

Henry Boller, in 1858, writes of the approach of a group of Indians:

> The gleam of their polished lances and the glitter of the small mirrors, which in true Indian fashion they carried suspended from their necks, proclaimed them the party of Sioux....Each one wore a white blanket, and was completely armed with bow and arrows, fusee, tomahawk, and scalping-knife. Many also had lances in addition. The war-eagle feathers on their heads danced and fluttered in the wind and the hawk-bells and dried antelope-hoofs, with which their shirts and leggings were lavishly hung, tinkled and rattled with every motion as they stalked proudly about....[275] This group was invited to a reception and each was presented with blue and scarlet cloth, a mirror, and a knife.

Boller described a trading session that took place in an Indian lodge, where

> powder, balls, knives, looking-glasses, hawk-bells, brass tacks, vermilion, awls, and other trifles were in demand, and when we stopped trading, having obtained as much meat as the wagon could transport, the pressure became very great, the squaws fearing that our stock of goods would become exhausted before all were supplied....The customary present to the chief for the use of his lodge was made, to which were added a few trifles for his squaw, which pleased her immensely.[276]

He was later involved in trade with a group of Rees (Arikaras):

> Trade went on very briskly. The squaws were dressing and bartering their robes as fast as possible and the men were supplying themselves with everything necessary to fit them for war. White blankets (to make capotes) were in the greatest demand

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[273] Ibid., pp. 131-32.

[274] Ibid., p. 156.

[275] Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858-1866*, pp. 156-59.

[276] Ibid., pp. 143-44.

> and so unusual was the rush for them that we began to fear we would not have enough left for the Sioux trade, their fancy also running on white, which is the favorite color for war-parties. Hitherto scarlet and blue blankets had been the rage, but they were now not even looked at.[277]

German missionaries met with a group of Sioux in 1863, whose chiefs

> were splendidly adorned with varied colored ribbons, kerchiefs, and pearl necklaces. The spokesman wore black civilian clothing with gold lace and gold lapels; on his chest sparkled a silver memorial pendant with the current President Buchanan on one side, and in the center of the other side it showed an Indian plowing the land.[278]

At the end of this meeting, "some Indians received small gifts; two chieftains got binoculars, the boys some balls, mirrors, a compass and also little star-spangled flags of the U.S.A."[279]

The missionaries thought of appealing to people in Germany for

> a box full of various beads, larger or smaller ones, especially for embroidering; a bunch of finger rings, earrings (large ones!)....We wish for bracelets; a good amount of silk ribbons of different kinds; a thousand large and small pictures by Renz in Stuttgart; an amount of combs, narrow and wide ones; and an assortment of brass coat collar buckles....[280]

While en route by steamer to Fort Union, they were hailed by a group of Assiniboines:

> The boat stopped. Some gifts were distributed, such as coffee, sugar, flour, rice, and tobacco. The rest of the gifts, like powder and metal wares, must be picked up at Fort Union according to the treaty.[281]

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[277] Ibid., pp. 301-302.

[278] Gerhard M. Schmutterer, *Tomahawk and Cross: Lutheran Missionaries Among the Northern Plains Tribes, 1858-1866*, (Sioux Falls, South Dakota: The Center for Western Studies, 1989), p. 118.

[279] Ibid., p. 119.

[280] Ibid., p. 131.

[281] Ibid., p. 133.

Appendix E

Analysis of "Indian Ledger"

This volume is Pierre Chouteau Jr. & Company's "Accounts with Individual Indians, 1846-48," in the fur trade ledger collection of the Missouri Historical Society. It lists goods on the accounts of approximately 246 Indians (there are 253 names in the list in the front of the book, but subtracting several that may have been repeated would give a total of 246). The accounts are usually settled by cash, although credits in skins as well as merchandise (apparently returned for credit) are also listed.

A breakdown of all of the purchases by item name, total number of purchases, average number of items per purchase, and total number of items is given below; a few comments should suffice to introduce and clarify the information as it is given. The item purchased most frequently was sugar, at 379 purchases, followed by shirts at 369, blankets at 330, vermilion at 302, powder at 265, knives at 221, flour at 220, lead at 215, flints at 201, cloth at 197, scarlet [cloth] at 179, strouds at 161, coffee at 145, bridles at 116, and stirrups and/or stirrup leathers at 104 purchases. "Cloth" as listed above includes only those purchases identified by that term; "scarlet" and "strouds," which are also cloth, are listed specifically by those names. Also, since "cloth" in this period referred to woolen cloth, cottons and mixed fibers are listed separately, in smaller amounts.

Those items purchased frequently will normally appear as large total quantities purchased over the period of time covered by the ledger, even though quantities bought at any one time are often small. Sugar, for example, was usually bought in amounts that were typically between 2 1/2 to 5 pounds, but the total amount of sugar sold was over 3000 pounds. Shirts were normally bought 1 to 4 at a time. Often, an item will appear several times in one individual's account, so the numbers of purchases are driven up somewhat by the frequent purchases of small quantities.

Total numbers of items bought are somewhat difficult to compare since an item might be bought individually, by the pound, the pair, the yard, keg, sack, or paper. Some items, like vermilion, are bought normally by the paper, or for the occasional large purchase, by the pound. Yet related items like chrome green or chrome yellow are, in most cases, indicated only by name, with no quantities listed. Some examples of large total quantities, however, are as follows: flour, at 12,911 pounds plus 73 barrels and 27 sacks (220 purchases); sugar, at 3328 1/2 pounds (379 purchases); beef, at 3000 pounds (only 25 purchases); lead, at 2169 pounds (215 purchases); pork, at 1357 1/2 pounds and 12 barrels (97 purchases); flints, at 3197 items (201 purchases); ticking, at 1892 yards (49 purchases); earbobs, at 1459 items (only 23 purchases); vermilion, at 1016 papers plus 58 1/2 pounds (302 purchases); and blankets, at 536 items (330 purchases).

Some items are represented neither by large numbers of items nor total purchases, yet the quantities in any given purchase are high. For example, there were only 4 purchases of fine prints (printed cottons), but the average purchase was 64 3/4 yards (actually, purchases of 120, 112, 15, and 12 yards), for a total of 259 yards. There were 27 purchases of domestics, with an average purchase of 26 yards (16 out of the 27 purchases were for 30-yard pieces); total yardage sold was 707 yd.

Finally, there are those items which are bought in both small and large quantities; corn, for example, is represented by 3 purchases, in 6, 33 1/3, and 148-bushel amounts. Calico varies from 1 to 60 yards per purchase, bells vary from 1 to 96 per purchase, and brooches from 10 to 80.

These accounts, while not being very detailed in their descriptions of most of the goods, nevertheless give us some specifics, especially in the categories of textiles and blankets, and, to a lesser extent, tools. For example, since most of the blankets are identified by color and size (points), we can work up a picture of the most popular types. Blankets were bought both singly and in pairs; 125 1/2 pairs of blankets were bought in 54 separate purchases, while 285 blankets were bought singly, in 276 purchases. White 3-point blankets were the overwhelming favorite.

In the following breakdown of all of the items in the ledger, goods are grouped somewhat loosely by type. For example; textiles, foodstuffs, ornaments, weapons, etc., not according to numbers of purchases or total numbers of items.

Blankets, textiles, and related items:

Blankets:
330 purchases, 536 blankets (totals listed as single blankets; pairs counted as two blankets), average items per purchase: 1.6

Numbers of blankets by color: white: 314; green: 79; blue and sky blue: 39; scarlet: 51; unidentified: 46; damaged: 2; s.l.c.(saved-list cloth?): 1; cloth: 2; s.c.(scarlet cloth?): 1; scarlet cloth: 1.

Numbers of blankets by size: half point: 3; 1 pt.: 18; 1 1/2 pt.: 3; 2 pt.: 6; 2 1/2 pt.: 13; 3 pt.: 444; 3 1/2 pt.: 42; unidentified: 7.

125 1/2 pairs of blankets were bought in 54 separate purchases, that were identified as pairs: 36 purchases of 1 pair, 5 purchases of 1 1/2 pr., 5 purchases of 2 pr., 1 purchase of 5 pr., 1 purchase of 6 pr., 1 purchase of 8 pr., 3 purchases of 10 pr., 1 purchase of 11 pr., and 1 purchase of 12 pr.
Also included are 4 payments on blankets, of 50 cents, $1, $5, and $12

Strouds:
161 purchases, 199 strouds, average items per purchase: 1.2
Numbers by type or color: s.l.: 117; g.l.: 68; scarlet: 13; unidentified: 1.

Cloth:
197 purchases, 192 7/8 yards, average yards per purchase: .9
Yards by type (color?): G.L.: 17 7/8; S.L.: 35 5/8; B: 74 5/8; S.B.: 5; S: 3 3/8; G: 2 1/8; unidentified: 42 5/8; miscellaneous: 11 5/8 (includes 2 G.B., 2 jeans, 5 flannel, 1 5/8 F.L. cloth, 1 scarlet B. cloth
Also included is one payment of $1 to bal. on B. cloth

Ferreting:
26 purchases, 99 yards, average yards per purchase: 3.8
Purchases all in 2, 3, 4, 6, or 8-yard pieces.

Scarlet (cloth):
179 purchases, 117 1/2 yards plus 2 purchases of unknown yardage, average yards per purchase: .6
5/8 yard is typical purchase
Also included is one payment of 50 cents to bal. on scarlet.

Ticking:
49 purchases, 1892 yards, average yards per purchase: 38.6
35 of 49 purchases are for 48-yard pieces.

Calico:
30 purchases, 427 yards, average yards per purchase: 14.2
Yardage varies from 1 to 60 yards.

Fine Prints:
4 purchases, 259 yards, average yards per purchase: 64.75
Actual purchases are 4 pieces, 120 yd.; 4 pieces, 112 yd.; 1 piece, 15 yd.; 1 piece, 12 yd.

Crankie (cranky):
2 purchases, 48 yards, actual yards per purchase: 46 and 2.

Domestics:
27 purchases, 707 yards, average yards per purchase: 26
Actual yardage per purchase varies from 6 to 60; 30 yards is typical (16 out of 27 purchases).

Salempores:
3 purchases, 54 yards, actual yards per purchase: 16, 18, and 20.

Woolen Comforts (Comforters):
1 purchase, 8 items.

Ribbon:
65 purchases, 291 yards, average yards per purchase: 4.47
Actual yardage varies from 1 to 15; 26 purchases are for 4-yd. pieces, 15 purchases for 2-yd. pieces.

Yarn:
57 purchases, 310 skeins, average skeins per purchase: 5.4
Actual number of skeins per purchase varies from 1 to 20, 2 to 8 is typical. (A skein is a loose package of yarn measured and wound on a yarn reel; length varies)

Sewing Silk:
3 purchases, 16 skeins, average skeins per purchase, 5.3
Actual skeins per purchase: 4, 4, and 8.

Linen (cloth or thread):
1 purchase, 4 yards.

Thread and Needles:
11 purchases: 1 purchase of 2 hanks of thread, 4 purchases of 1 hank, 8 spools of thread, 1/2 lb. linen thread, 1/2 lb. unidentified thread, 1 paper of needles, 1 unidentified amount of thread, 1 unidentified number of needles.

Apparel:

Shirts:
369 purchases, 739 1/2 shirts, average items per purchase: 2

Numbers vary from 1 to 14 per purchase, 1 to 4 is usual. 1 purchase is of 1 1/2 shirts, 3 of 2 1/2 , 1 of 4 1/2.

Handkerchiefs:
18 purchases, 19 handkerchiefs, average items per purchase: 1
3 identified as silk, 7 as cotton, 9 unidentified.

Shawls:
30 purchases, 32 shawls, average items per purchase, 1
14 identified as "6/4", 2 as "8/4", 1 as cotton, 15 unidentified.

Moccasins:
1 purchase, 1 pair.

Chief's Hats:
11 purchases, 12 items, average items per purchase, 1.

Other Hats:
7 purchases, 7 hats.

2 identified at straw hats, 1 as hat and ribbon, 4 as hats

Epaulettes:
1 purchase, 1 pair.

Belts:
1 purchase, 1 item.

Shoes:
19 purchases, 22 pairs, average pairs per purchase, 1.
1 purchase is of 3 pairs, 1 of 2, the rest of 1 pair.

Scarlet Leggings:
3 purchases, 4 pairs, average pairs per purchase, 1.

Socks:
1 purchase, 1 pair.

Spurs:
17 purchases, 21 items.
4 purchases are of 1 pair, rest listed as 1 spur.

Pigments and Ornaments:

Vermilion:
302 purchases, 285 by the paper, 17 by the pound.
1016 papers total, 58 1/3 pounds total. Typical purchase in papers is 4; 10 out of the 17 purchases in pounds are of 1 lb., 1 is of 2 lb., 2 of 4 lb., 1 of 5 lb., 2 of 10 lb., 1 of 13 1/3 lb.

Chrome Yellow:
21 purchases, mostly iisted only by name with no quantity given
(16 out of 21 purchases), 4 purchases are of 1/4 lb., 1 of 1 lb.

Chrome Green:
22 purchases, as above, mostly listed only by name, no quantity
(14 out of 22), 6 purchases are of 1/4 lb., 1 of 1 lb. Purchases of Chrome Green normally follow those of Chrome Yellow, accounting for the close correlation in numbers of purchases.

Prussian Blue:
1 purchase, 1 lb.

Beads:
10 purchases, 4 bunches and 1 pound.
3 purchases by the bunch (1 of 2 bunches and 2 of 1 each). 2 purchases by the pound (half pound each). Rest of quantities unknown. 8 of the 10 purchases were of white beads, 2 of blue.

Wampum:
15 purchases, 284 strands, average strands per purchase, 19.
Purchases vary from 4 to 32 strands, except for 1 purchase of 104 strands.

Wampum Moons:
14 purchases, 14 items.

Bells:
18 purchases, 431 bells plus 3 pounds.
184 are identified as hawk bells, 100 as "H"(probably also hawk), 6 "L.H.", 1 horse, 130 metal, 10 unidentified. Largest purchases were 96 hawk, 90 metal, 40 metal, 40 hawk; others vary from 4 to 24 bells per purchase.

Looking Glasses:
29 purchases, 40 items, average items per purchase: 1.37.
purchase of 4 items, 8 of 2, the rest of 1 item each.

Ear Bobs:
23 purchases, 1459 items, average items per purchase: 63.4
Most purchases are identified as "L.R." (left and right), 3 as "L" only, 4 do not specify. Entries do not specify pairs or single items, so totals may represent either. All purchases are for large amounts, from 30 to 160 items.

Corals:
1 purchase, 3 items.

Brooches:
7 purchases, 170 items, average items per purchase: 24.2
80 identified as C. brooches, 80 as #4, and 10 as embossed.
1 purchase was of 80 brooches, 3 of 20 each, and 3 of 10 each.

Brass Wire:
23 purchases, 54 1/2 yards and 2 unidentified amounts.
Purchases range from 1 to 8 yds.

Combs:
36 purchases, 81 combs, average items per purchase: 2.25.
1 identified as ivory, 1 as fine, the rest unidentified. All purchases were between 1 and 3 items.

Tacks, Nails:
6 purchases, 374 items and 1 unidentified amount.
4 purchases were of brass nails (3 of 100 and 1 of 50 ea.),
1 purchase was of an unidentified amount of brass nails, and 1 purchase was of 2 doz. brass tacks.

Trunks:
1 purchase, 1 item (morocco trunk).

Tools and Weapons:

Knives:
221 purchases, 486 knives, average items per purchase: 2.20
Most purchases are of 1-4 knives, 2 being typical, with 1 purchase of 5 and 1 of 8. 2 are identified as butcher knives and 1 as a buck handle knife. The rest are unidentified.

Pocket Knives:
8 purchases, 10 items, average items per purchase: 1.25
6 purchases were of 1 knife each, 2 of 2 each.

Scissors:
4 purchases, 4 pairs.

Whet Stones:
4 purchases, 4 items.

Awls:
5 purchases, 45 items, average items per purchase: 9
4 purchases were of 10 awls each, 1 of 5 awls.

Razors:
2 purchases, 2 items.

Files:
16 purchases, 20 items, average items per purchase: 1.25
4 purchases were of 2 files, the rest of 1 each.

Saw Files:
4 purchases, 7 items, average items per purchase: 1.75
3 purchases were of 2 files, 1 of 1.

Axes:
41 purchases, 44 axes, average items per purchase: 1.07
15 purchases were of half axes, 1 axe per purchase.
6 purchases were of Collins axes, 1 purchase was of 3 axes, the rest of 1.
1 purchase was of 1 W. Shores axe.
19 purchases were of unidentified axes, 1 purchase of 2, the rest of 1 each.

Otter Traps:
9 purchases, 19 traps, average items per purchase: 2.1
7 purchases were of 2 traps each, 1 of 4, and 1 of 1.

Flints:
201 purchases, 3197 flints, average items per purchase: 16
Typical purchase is 10 or 20 flints.

Lead:
215 purchases, 2169 pounds, average pounds per purchase: 10
Typical purchase is between 8 and 16 lb., highest is 40 lb.

Powder Horns:
9 purchases, 9 items.

Powder:
265 purchases, 521 pounds and 2 kegs of unknown weight.
Typical purchase is between 1 and 4 lb., highest is 6, plus 2 purchases of 1 keg each.

Shot:
81 purchases, 414 1/4 pounds, average pounds per purchase: 5.1
Typical purchase is between 2 1/2 and 5 lb., lowest is 1 1/4, highest is 6.

Percussion Caps:
1 purchase, 1 box.

Shotguns:
27 purchases, 27 items.
Also included are 2 payments on guns advanced by the Company: $1 to bal., $3 cash.

Rifles:
4 purchases, 4 items.
Also included are 9 payments on guns, ranging between $2 and $10 in cash, plus 4 deerskins.

Northwest Guns:
1 purchase, 20 guns.

Horses and Horse Equipment:

Horses:
3 purchases, 4 horses.
Also included are 14 entries for payments on horses: 4 of $30 each, 2 of $25, 2 of $20, 1 of $50, 2 of $40, 2 of $15, and 1 of $5.

Saddles:
1 purchase, 1 saddle, "fine."

Girths:
1 purchase, 1 item.

Surcingles:
27 purchases, 40 items, average items per purchase: 1.48
2 purchases were of 2 surcingles, 2 were of 4, 1 was of 6, the rest were of 1 each.

Bridles:
116 purchases, 163 items, average items per purchase: 1.4
1 purchase was of 1 dozen, 5 were of 3 each, 26 were of 2, the rest were of 1 each. 1 is identified as common, 1 as double-rein.
Also included were 3 payments, 2 of 50 cents and 1 of $1.

Martingales:
3 purchases, 4 pairs.
1 purchase was of 2 pairs, 2 of 1 pair each.

Saddlebags:
7 purchases, 7 pairs.

Cruppers:
2 purchases, 2 items.
Also included is 1 payment of 50 cents.

Halters:
2 purchases, 2 items.

Stirrups and Leathers:
104 purchases, 123 pairs (of either or both).

Purchase totals:
37 purchases of stirrups and leathers;
56 purchases of stirrup leathers;
11 purchases of stirrups or stirrup irons;

Item totals:
38 pairs of stirrups and leathers;
73 pairs of stirrup leathers;
12 pairs of stirrups or stirrup irons. 2 pairs are identified as brass.

Foodstuffs:

Sugar:
379 purchases, 3328 1/2 pounds, average pounds per purchase: 8.78
375 purchases were made by the pound, 4 by the barrel.
1826 1/2 pounds were bought by the pound, in amounts ranging between 1 1/2 and 10 lbs. Typical purchases are 2 1/2 and 5 lb.
1502 lb. were bought by the barrel: 1 bbl. of 265 lb., 1 bbl. of 245 lb., 1 bbl. of 248 lb., and 3 bbl. of 744 lb. total.

Pork:

97 purchases, 1357 1/2 pounds and 12 barrels of unknown weight.
91 purchases were made by the pound, 6 by the barrel.
1357 1/2 pounds were bought in amount ranging from 5 to 80 lbs.
A typical purchase was 10 lbs. 114 lbs. in one purchase are identified as bacon.
The 12 barrels were bought in 6 purchases: 1 purchase of 6 bbls., 1 of 2, and 4 of 1. Weights unknown.

Lard:
65 purchases, 856 pounds, average pounds per purchase: 13.1
Purchases range from 4 to 100 lbs., with 8 lbs. being typical.

Salt:
2 purchases, 15 pounds
1 purchase was of 10 lb., 1 of 5.

Coffee:
146 purchases, 1555 pounds, average pounds per purchase: 10.72
141 purchases were by the pound, 4 by the sack.
560 pounds were purchased by the pound, 995 pounds by the sack.
Purchases ranged from 1 1/2 to 16 lbs.; a typical purchase is 5 lbs.
Of the 4 purchases made by the sack, 3 were of 167 lbs. each, and one was of 3 sacks, 494 lbs. total (or approx. 165 lbs. ea.).

Flour:
220 purchases, 12,911 pounds plus 73 barrels and 27 sacks.

137 purchases were made by the pound, in amounts ranging from 20 to 840 pounds. Most purchases were under 100 lbs.

76 purchases were made by the barrel; there were 68 1/2-bbl. purchases for a total of 34 barrels. There were 8 purchases by whole barrels: 4 of 1 bbl. each, 1 of 2, 1 of 3, 1 of 7, and 1 of 23 bbls. for a total of 39 barrels.

7 purchases made by the sack; there were 4 purchases of 1 sack, 1 of 2, 1 of 7, and 1 of 14, for a total of 27 sacks.

Bread:
64 purchases, 418 loaves, average loaves per purchase: 6.53
Number of loaves per purchase varies from 2 to 12; 4 and 8 are typical.

Beef:
25 purchases, 3000 pounds, average pounds per purchase: 120.
14 purchases were of 25 lbs. each, 3 were of 100 lbs., 2 of 125, 1 of 200, 2 of 300, 2 of 400, and 1 of 500 lbs.

Pepper:
56 purchases, 66 1/2 pounds, average pounds per purchase: 1.19
Typical purchase was 1 lb.; 3 purchases were of half pound, 6 of 2 lbs., and 1 of 7 lbs.

Apples:
28 purchases, 1060 apples plus 1 barrel and half bushel.
25 purchases were for amounts between 1 and 8 dozen, 80 doz. total; 1 purchase was for 100 apples, giving a total of 1060
or 88 1/3 doz.

Corn:
3 purchases, 187 1/3 bushel, average bushels per purchase: 62 1/2
1 purchase was of 6 bushels, 1 of 33 1/3, and 1 of 148 bu.

Rice:
2 purchases, 24 pounds.
1 8-lb. and 1 16-lb. purchase.

Tea:
2 purchases, 3/4 pounds total.
1 half-pound and 1 quarter-pound purchase.

Saleratus:
1 purchase, 1 pound.

Tobacco:
3 purchases, 1 1/2 pounds.
3 quarter-pound purchases.

Snuff:

3 purchases, 3 bottles.

Utensils:

Kettles:
65 purchases, 68 kettles.
Number by type: 27 camp, 16 tin, 8 copper, 6 japanned, 1 tea, 1 brass, 3 identified by volume (2 2-qt. and 1 3-qt.), 6 unidentified.

Frying pans:
5 purchases, 5 items.
1 listed as skillet and lid.

Bowls:
1 purchase, 10 items.

Tin Pans:
5 purchases, 26 items, average items per purchase: 5.2
1 purchase was of 10 pans, 2 of 5, 2 of 3.

Coffee Boilers:
6 purchases, 9 boilers, average items per purchase: 1 1/2
3 purchases of 2 boilers, 3 purchases of 1.

Tin Buckets:
1 purchase, 1 item.

Miscellaneous:

Bed Cord:
2 purchases, 2 items.

Harp:
1 purchase, 1 item.

C[astor] Oil:
1 purchase, 1 bottle.

Soap:
1 purchase, 1 bar.

Skins:
23 purchases, 27 skins.
17 1/2 deer skins, 6 1/2 morocco (5 whole, 3 half), 2 otter, 1 "dressed."

Cash:
12 transactions, $214.50 total.

Amounts: 1 payment of 50 cents, 3 of $1, 4 of $2, 1 of $3, 1 of $30, plus $100 "for chiefs" and $70 "for braves."

Accounts are normally credited by a combination of cash, skins, and returned merchandise. Samples of credits to accounts are as follows:

By raccoon skins	$4	By 20 deer skins	$10
by 4 deer skins	$2	by cash	$31
by cash	$22.50	total	$41
total	$28.50		
By 12 yards ticking	$3	By 6 raccoon skins	$3
by cash	$55	by cash	$43
total	$58	total	$46

The various skins used for payments on accounts, with their total and individual values, are as follows:

20 deer skins	$10 (50 cents ea.)
4 deer skins	2 (50 cents ea.)
10 deer skins	4 (40 cents ea.)
17 deer skins	11 (approx. 65 cents ea.).
30 deer skins	20 (approx. 67 cents ea.)
? deer skins	7
8 raccoon skins	4 (50 cents ea.)
6 raccoon skins	3 (50 cents ea.)
10 raccoon skins	5 (50 cents ea.)
12 raccoon skins	6 (50 cents ea.)
unidentified skins	3
unidentified skins	5
unidentified skins	2.50
unidentified skins	14

Totals: 81 deer skins and an unknown quantity of same, at between 40 and 67 cents each, $54 total. 36 raccoon skins, all at 50 cents each, $18 total. Unknown number of unidentified skins, $24.50 total.

Appendix F

Trade Blanket Sizes

United States Office of Indian Trade Specifications, 1808, summarized in Charles Hanson, Jr., "The Point Blanket," article in *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, spring 1976.

3 point:	6′ x 5′2", 2 1/2" stripe.
2 1/2 point:	5′4" x 4′3", 2 1/2" stripe.
2 point:	4′6" x 4′, 1 1/2" stripe.
1 1/2 point:	4′ x 3′, 1 1/2" stripe.
1 point:	3′8" x 2′10", 1" stripe.

Tom Crane, "Wool Blankets of the Fur Trade," article in *The BlackPowder Report*, February 1985.

4 point:	72" x 90
3 1/2 point:	63" x 78"
3 point:	60" x 72"
2 1/2 point:	50" x 66"
2 point:	42" x 57"
1 1/2 point:	44" x 36"
1 point:	32" x 48"

"The Engagé," "Notes on the Physical Appearance of American Point Blankets for Plains Indians in the 1860s," article in *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, fall 1980 (analysis of blankets found in a Cheyenne grave). Stripes on these blankets are 4" wide, located 5 3/4" from ends.

3 point:	56" x 73"
	56-57" x 71-72"
	58-60" x 77-79"
2 1/2 point:	48-49" x 68"

Hudson's Bay blanket sizes determined by Dodman, 1926, quoted in Fort Vancouver archeological reports, FOVA 21, vol. 1, p. 167.

4 point:	72" x 90"
3 1/2 point:	64" x 83"
3 point:	57" x 76"
2 1/2 point:	50" x 69"
2 point:	43" x 62"
1 1/2 point:	36" x 55"
1 point:	28" x 48"

All of the sizes given above are for single blankets; double the lengths for pairs.

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U.S. Department of the Interior
Mission Statement

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally-owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.