Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report



Historic Structures Report
Historical Data
Volumes I and II

by
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Historic Preservation Team

June 1972 (Vol. I)
April 1976 (Vol. II)

Denver Service Center
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

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Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

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Historic Structures Report

Volume I

PREFACE

This history data section of the historic structures report is one of the basic studies required before working drawings can be prepared for the reconstruction of the Hudson's Bay Company post and depot of Fort Vancouver as provided for in the current master plan for Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Washington. It was produced in accordance with Historical Resources Study Proposals FOVA-H-4 and FOVA-H-4a.

The purpose of the report is to present in convenient, usable form for National Park Service architects, curators, and interpreters what the historical and pictorial record reveals about the physical form and the furnishings of the fort stockade and the structures within it as they stood at about the end of 1845, by which time the post was practically at the height of its development. To this end the available historical data concerning each structure are presented in a separate chapter and are there analyzed in the light of archeological findings and of construction techniques employed at other Hudson's Bay Company posts.

When it appears that some useful purpose would be served thereby, the findings are summarized in a list of recommendations at the end of the chapter. In some instances, however, the findings are so obvious or so multitudinous that no summary would be beneficial.

It will be noted that this study does not provide a general, overall history of Fort Vancouver. That information is summarized in a previous publication, The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure. In that work will also be found such data as were available up to 1957 concerning the construction of the many Fort Vancouver buildings which lay outside the stockaded fort proper. Except for the cooper's shop, which stood in the shadow of the palisade, all the structures treated in the present report were either part of the stockade or fell within the fort walls. At the present time, except for some fences and other minor features, only the fort proper is proposed for reconstruction in the near future.

It should also be pointed out that the present report does not pretend to intrude into the realms of the curator and the architect by describing in detail items of furniture, equipment, and hardware which might have been present in any one of the fort structures. When the records contain the information, inventories of furnishings are given. It might be stated, for instance, that among the items in a certain building were two "common blankets, 3 points," but no attempt is made to describe a Hudson's Bay Company three-point blanket of the 1840's. With literally hundreds of articles appearing in certain inventories, such descriptions are quite out of the question in a limited study.

On the other hand, in cases where the existence of objects actually associated with the fur-trading post is known, every effort is made to describe those articles, to illustrate them, or to give their locations so that curators may personally examine them. Similarly, where items of hardware such as hinges, shutter latches, and door pulls have been excavated on the sites of specific structures, these facts are mentioned so that architects may employ the actual original

articles as models upon which to base reproductions. And in many cases, where inventories or actual association items are not available, information has been supplied as to the types of objects used under similar circumstances and during the same period at other Company posts.

Moreover, because the subject of British fur-trade artifacts is so highly specialized, even esoteric, it has not seemed kind to leave the curators entirely on their own in attempting to acquire or reproduce the thousands of items which will be needed to refurnish and re-equip the western headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company. Thus scattered throughout the text will be found a number of bibliographical citations which should be helpful in their task. Also, an attempt has been made to mention museum collections which contain Hudson's Bay Company artifacts. And when the historical record thus far examined provides information concerning the appearance, quality, shape, and size of an object, the pertinent passages are generally quoted.

One other matter seems to require mention in this preface. When The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure was written it was then common practice to describe the type of construction generally used at nineteenth century Hudson's Bay Company posts -- walls formed of horizontally laid timbers, the tenoned ends of which fitted into heavy grooved upright posts set at intervals along wooden sills — as "post on sill." Since that time, however, architectural historians have shown that this term properly belongs to a different type of construction, and they have suggested the names "piece sur piece," "Red River frame," or "Canadian" for the style so widely used throughout early Canada and in the fur trade.

As has also been pointed out, however, none of these substitutes is entirely satisfactory. In the present report, since the term is convenient and since there is no opportunity for confusion, it has thus seemed desirable to retain the designation "post on sill" or "post in the sill," using it as a synonym for the alternate names, which are also employed.

It is planned to issue this study in two volumes. The second will contain the bibliography for the entire work.

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Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume I

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A comparison of the present study with the writer's earlier The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure will reveal that during the intervening decade and a half a very considerable amount of new information has been acquired by National Park Service historians concerning the structures at the Hudson's Bay Company's western headquarters. To a large extent this gain was made possible by the opportunity to perform research in Canadian and British archives, but even more important was the generous and informed assistance received from many individuals, government agencies, private institutions, and business firms scattered over the United States, Canada, England, and Scotland. To name every one is not possible in this brief summary, but to each the writer expresses his deep appreciation.

Special mention must be made, however, of the Hudson's Bay Company, which granted the National Park Service access to the vast riches of its London Archives and the microfilmed copies of its records in the Public Archives of Canada. The Company also gave permission to reproduce a number of maps and pictures in its several collections and to quote from archival materials. The writer is particularly grateful to Mr. R. A. Reynolds, Secretary of the Company, for his kindness in arranging these matters and for the warm hospitality that awaits the researcher at Beaver House in London, until recently the firm's headquarters.

Another great debt of gratitude is owed to Mrs. Joan Craig, Archivist of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to the other members of the friendly and efficient Archives staff. From her vast knowledge of the Company's records, Mrs. Craig has made a number of significant contributions to the present study; and through her kindness the process of obtaining the necessary permissions to quote has been made as easy as possible.

Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith, Librarian of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg, also was of major assistance, generously providing copies of many photographs in the Company's collections. Miss Malvina Bolus, editor of The Beaver, the firm's famed periodical, aided with wise counsel and encouragement. In short, without the whole-hearted cooperation of the Hudson's Bay Company, this study would have contributed very little indeed to knowledge of Fort Vancouver.

After the records of the Honorable Company, the most important source used in the preparation of the present report was the diary of Thomas Lowe, who was a clerk at Fort Vancouver during the period to which the post is to be restored. For a copy of this valuable document the National Park Service is indebted to Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, who over many years has unfailingly assisted the National Park Service with a number of projects. For calling his attention to the Lowe journal, the writer is particularly indebted to Dr. Dorothy Blakey Smith of the Archives staff. Readers of this report will note that a number of the finest illustrations are from photographs in the British Columbia Archives, one more evidence of our debt to Mr. Ireland and his able staff.

In British Columbia several persons who participated in the restoration of the Hudson's Bay Company post of Fort Langley were most generous in giving advice and in lending copies of reports prepared in connection with that undertaking. Particular thanks are given to Dr. Douglas Leechman of Victoria, to Mr. Alex C. Hope of Deep Creek, and Professor John Calder Peeps, now of Minneapolis, Minnesota. For first-hand information on the old bastion at Nanaimo the writer is indebted to Mr. John G. Parker of Nanaimo and Mr. William A. Grant of Ladysmith. Dr. Herbert P. Plasterer, of the Fort Victoria Museum, Victoria, kindly permitted the writer to examine the timbers of the Fort Victoria kitchen and provided information on his reconstruction of the bastion of that post.

It is not possible to mention by name all the staff members at libraries and archives throughout Canada and the United States who so generously assisted in research. But among those to whom particular thanks are extended for help far beyond whet might have been expected are Mr. T. R. McCloy, Librarian, and Mr. Hugh Dempsey, Archivist, of the Glenbow Foundation (now the Glenbow-Alberta Institute), Calgary; Mr. Archibald Hanna, Curator, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; Mr. Thomas Vaughan, Director, Oregon Historical Society, Portland; Mrs. Katherine Wood and Dr. Edward S. Rogers, Ethnology Department, and Mrs. N. Ignateff, Canadiana Department, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; and Mr. William S. Ewing, Curator of Manuscripts, William L. Clements Library, Chicago.

Throughout the entire study the Bancroft library at the University of California, Berkeley, has served, along with the University's main library, as a "home base" for research. The courtesies of the staffs of those institutions extending over many years are deeply appreciated. The writer is also grateful for the opportunity to use the resources of the Henry E. Hungtington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California, where the Fort Nisqually Collection contributed much toward an understanding of the history of Fort Vancouver. And any scholar who has been priviledged to work at the Public Archives of Canada cannot fail to be indebted to the cooperative staff members who assist one in the use of its magnificient collections and unparalleled facilities for research.

Most of the institutions named in the two preceding paragraphs, together with the Department of Public Records and Archives, Province of Ontario, Toronto, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and the Alberta Department of Industry and Development, Edmonton, have kindly granted permission to quote from source materials or to reproduce pictures in their collections. For these kindnesses the National Park Service gives its thanks. We also acknowledge our debt to Mr. Howard J. Burnham of Vancouver, Washington, and to the Royal Engineers Archives. Brampton Barracks, Kent, England, for supplying copies of important pictorial materials, and to Mr. Michael Warre, of London, England, for permission to quote from the manuscript, Travel and Sport in North America, by Lieutenant Henry J. Warre.

Very special and valuable assistance has been received from officials of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, which is responsible for the restoration, preservation, and interpretation of several former Hudson's Bay Company posts. The vast amount of detailed knowledge of fur-trade structures accumulated by the staff of the Technical Services Branch was made available and copies of splendid measured drawings were provided for this study, principally through the kindness of Mr. G. J. Bowen, P. Eng., Director, and Mr. Jacques Dalibard, Chief Restoration Architect. Mr. Peter H. Bennett, Assistant Director (Historic Sites), also generously put at our disposal the resources of the National and Historic Parks Branch. To Mr. John H. Rick, Chief, Research Division; Mr. Terence B. Smythe, Assistant Head, Historical Research; Mr. George Ingram, Historian; and Mr. Wayne Colwell, Historic Sites Curator, go thanks for many favors, both professional and

personal.

Among the individuals who have helped in this study are Mr. William R. Sampson, of the University of Alberta; Mr. Robin Prentice, Deputy Secretary, The National Trust for Scotland, who paved the way for access to fur-trade documents in the Bank of Scotland; and Dr. Kenneth Holmes, who gave valuable advice concerning source collections in Canada and Great Britain.

Many persons in the National Park Service have contributed toward this report. Above all, thanks are extended to Mr. A Lewis Koue F.A.I.A., Historic Architect in the San Francisco Field Office, Denver Service Center. He accompanied the writer on an extended visit to surviving nineteenth century Hudson's Bay Company buildings in the United States and Canada. His field notes, photographs, and measured drawings form a vital part of this study, and his wise counsel has saved the writer from many errors in architectural matters.

Also deeply appreciated has been the never-failing help and encouragement of the entire staff of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. Superintendent Eliot Davis, a long-time student of the fur trade has provided every possible aid to research and has pointed out a number of fugitive sources. Mr. Robert E. S. Clark, Chief Park Interpreter, has assisted in innumerable ways and is responsible for a large number of the photographs used both for study purposes and for illustrations. Mr. John J. Hoffman, Project Archeologist, and Mr. Lester A. Ross, Museum Specialist, have been particularly helpful by keeping the writer fully informed of the progress of current archeological excavations at the fort site and by providing advance copies of the project staff's valuable maps and reports. And always the park staff has demonstrated the traditional hospitality that made a visit to Fort Vancouver a much-anticipated experience during the days of the Honorable Company on the Columbia.

It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of my colleagues Mr. Merrill J. Mattes, Mr. Erwin N. Thompson, and Mr. E. Ross Holland, Jr., in the Denver Service Center; and Dr. Murray H. Nelligan of the Northeastern Regional Office. Help with manuscript preparation was received from several able secretaries, but primary credit for the final product is due to Mrs. Elaine A. Poole of the San Francisco Field Office and Mrs. Aki Kawakami of the Denver Service Center.

John A. Hussey

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http://www.nps.gov/fova/hsr/hsr1-0b.htm
Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume I

CHAPTER I:
STOCKADE

History and dimensions

As determined by excavations conducted during the fall of 1947 by Mr. Louis R. Caywood, a National Park Service archeologist, the Fort Vancouver stockade at the time of its greatest extent formed a quadrangle approximately 732 feet long and 325 feet wide. The exact lengths of the walls, as revealed by actual measurements of their remains, were as follows:

North wall	731 feet
South wall	733 feet
West wall	326 feet
East wall	323 feet. [1]

Subsequent excavations during the years 1948, 1950, and 1952 revealed that these were not the only palisade walls to surround Fort Vancouver. Inside these exterior limits the remains of other stockade walls were uncovered, indisputably proving that at various periods during the fort's history the size of the area enclosed within the pickets had changed. [2]

The dating and sequence of the several walls have been considered in detail, with a presentation of the related historical and archeological evidence, in an earlier study. [3] There seems to be no need to repeat this material here, but the discovery of additional data during the intervening years makes it possible to be more positive concerning several points.

In the following discussion, therefore, it should be understood that statements unsupported by footnote citations are based on material in Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 118-127, where documentation will be found. Passages in the present text based upon other sources can be identified by the fact that they are footnoted.

In order to follow the discussion presented below it will be necessary for the reader to refer frequently to the plan, "Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations, Fort Vancouver National Monument," dated September 1, 1954, which is plate I in the present report. Stockade walls designated by letters such as HD and CF will be found delineated on that map.

As nearly as can be determined from available data, the sequence of stockade wall construction at the 1829-1860 site of Fort Vancouver was as follows:

1. Original fort enclosure, 1829. When the post was moved from the bluff down onto the riverside plain during the winter of 1828-1829, the stockade erected at that time enclosed a parallelogram measuring 318 feet north and south and about 320 feet east and west. This is the nearly square enclosure outlined by the letters ABED on the "Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations, Fort Vancouver National Monument."

Hitherto there has been some question as to whether this square or one of nearly the same size lying directly to the east (BCFE) was constructed first. [4] However, positive proof that the manager's residence of 1841, located in the eastern square, was an entirely different structure from the manager's residence of 1836, though practically identical in appearance, makes it possible to assume that the 1836 structure could have been in the western square and thus removes the chief stumbling block in the way of assigning construction priority to the enclosure ABED. [5]

2. "Doubled-in-size" fort, 1834-1836. Descriptions of Fort Vancouver by at least three visitors between September, 1834, and the fall of 1836 seem to indicate that by the latter date, and possibly by the former, the stockade had been enlarged to about twice its original size. Historical evidence shows that several buildings described as being in the "new" part of the fort were constructed shortly after 1836. These included the new manager's house, or Big House, completed during the winter of 1837-1838, and the Bachelors' Quarters, completed in the fall of 1838. [6]

These structures are indicated on the ground plan of Fort Vancouver made by Lieutenant George Foster Emmons when he visited the post as a member of the United States Exploring Expedition in 1841 (see plate III). [7] They are situated to the east of the original stockade, ABED, and they are within a 318-foot square of palisade walls revealed by archeological excavations and identified as BCFE on the archeological summary sheet. Furthermore, visitors to Fort Vancouver during the summer and fall of 1839 describe the post as being comprised of about 36 buildings grouped to form two courts within the stockade walls. In other words, the interior of the fort was divided by buildings and not by a transverse wall.

It is clear, then, that sometime between 1834 and mid-1839, and almost certainly by 1836, the original 318-foot-square fort was enlarged by adding another square of the same size to it on the east and removing the old wall (BE) between them. The resulting "doubled-in-size" fort (ACFD) measured about 638 feet by 318 feet.

Although the 1841 Emmons map is inaccurate in some particulars -- Emmons evidently did not feel free to make actual measurements -- a comparison of his drawing with the results of archeological excavations indicates that his plan represents the palisade as it stood in the "doubled-in-size" period before any additions were made at the west and east ends.

3. First expansion to the west, 1841-1844. As seems quite evident from the wall locations as given on the Emmons map of 1841 and, particularly, from the relationship of the fort's west wall at that time to the powder magazine and storehouses shown on that drawing, the west wall in 1841 was that designated as AD by the archeologists who found its remains.

The next west wall that can definitely be dated was the outermost west stockade uncovered by the archeologists. This wall, designated as IJ on the archeological summary sheet, was constructed during January and February, 1845. [8] It shows on the "Plan of Fort Vancouver" drawn by Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour of the Royal Engineers during the fall of 1845 (see plate VII) and can be positively identified because it was tied into the blockhouse, the construction date of which was likewise in February, 1845. [9]

However, archeologists in 1952 discovered the remains of a third west wall, designated as HG, lying between inner wall AD of 1829 and outer wall IJ of 1845. Wall HG ran parallel to and about 16 to 18 feet inside of the outer west wall and about 21 feet west of the innermost west wall (AD). [10]

It would seem logical to conclude that this center west wall came between the inner and outer walls in time as it did in space. Yet if inner wall AD existed as late as 1841, as seems almost

certain, and if outer wall IJ was built early in 1845, as is demonstrated, then the fort managers must have gone to the expense of constructing the new wall HG and then removing it within the short span of about 3-1/2 years.

A most valuable map in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company perhaps holds the clue to a more precise dating of wall HG. Entitled "Sketch of Fort Vancouver and Plain, Representing the Line of Fire in September 1844," it shows the fort structures as they existed a year before the Vavasour plan was drawn (see plate V). [11]

Unfortunately, the small scale of this map does not permit one to tell by measurement whether the west wall shown thereon was wall AD or wall HG (it was not wall IJ, since the bastion had not been built by September, 1844). The key is a building shown near the northwest corner of the stockade. If this structure was the Root House which is known to have stood on the same site at a later date, then one can safely say that the west stockade in 1844 was wall HG (see plate I). The Root House, as archeological evidence shows, was built after wall AD had been demolished. But if this structure was the small building (No. 17) identified as a warehouse on the Emmons plan of 1841, then the 1844 west palisade was wall AD. [12] The Vavasour map of 1845 shows no building inside the northwest corner, while the Covington map of 1846 (see plate XIII) shows a small square structure which cannot be positively identified. Since these maps thus give no clear support to the theory that the Root House may have existed as early as September, 1844, it seems impossible to say positively whether the 1844 west wall was AD or HG.

Since it seems extremely unlikely, however, that a new west wall would have been built after September, 1844, and then replaced by a still more westerly wall in January and February, 1845, it seems reasonable to assume that wall HG had already been built when the Line of Fire Map was drawn. If this theory is correct, wall HG was erected between 1841 and September, 1844.

When wall HG was built, the northern and southern palisades were extended about 21 feet westward, creating walls HA and GD and enclosing the space added to the fort by wall HG.

4. Expansion to the east, c. 1844. On the Emmons map of 1841 the east stockade wall is shown as being only a short distance -- about 20 feet-- east of the Bachelors' Quarters. The line of Fire Map, showing conditions as they existed at the very end of September, 1844, places the east wall about 75 or 80 feet east of the same building. This new location corresponds almost exactly with that of the outer eastern wall as revealed by archeological excavations (wall KL less a short addition made when the southern fort wall was later pushed outward about five feet). This shortened version of line KL was found to be, on the average, 56 feet east of wall CF.

It is clear from the Line of Fire Map, then, that the outer east wall was erected prior to September 24, 1844 (the date of the breaking out of the fire). But the construction date can be assigned to a still earlier time. It will be noted that the Line of Fire Map shows a building incorporated in the northern end of the east wall. This structure, as proved by the Vavasour map of 1845 (see plate VII) and other evidence, was the bakery.

The bakery was not completed until after October 15, 1844, but work on it had been under way for some months evidently. On September 18 the fort received a shipment of 5,000 bricks which undoubtedly were for the bake ovens in this structure. [13] It seems most probable that the new east wall was built at about the time the bakery was started, since they apparently were intended to form a unit. [14] Lacking positive evidence, a reasonable guess for the date of the outer east wall's construction would be the spring of 1844. [15] In any event, it can be stated with assurance that the new east wall was built between July 25, 1841,

the date of the Emmons map, and September 24, 1844, the approximate date of the developments illustrated by the Line of Fire Map.

Of course when wall CF was moved an average distance of 56 feet to the east, the additional fort area thus created was enclosed on the south by an eastward extension of line EF. The northern end of this space was closed by extending the north stockade by the line CK. This latter wall was a single row of pickets which formed part of the north palisade as it stood at the time of the fort's greatest extent.

5. Second expansion to the west, January-February, 1845. When the Vavasour map of late 1845 is examined closely, it is seen that the north, east, and south walls remained in the same positions as shown on the 1844 Line of Fire Map but that the west wall had been moved outward during the intervening year. As shown by the scale on his map, Vavasour placed this new west wall about 45 to 50 feet west of the Company's trading shop and store. This location corresponds almost exactly with the position of the outer west wall as uncovered by National Park Service archeologists (wall IJ except for the southern four feet).

Confirmation of the hypothesis that Vavasour's west wall was also the extreme west wall of the fort at the time of its greatest extent is found in the fact that Vavasour shows a bastion at the northwest corner of the stockade, exactly where the foundations of a bastion were uncovered in 1947. As far as is known, there was only one bastion in the northwest angle of Fort Vancouver between 1845 and 1860, and no evidence has yet come to light to demonstrate that it was ever moved from the spot upon which it was originally constructed.

Since, as we have seen, the previous west wall, HG, was a relatively new structure, certainly built after July, 1841, it would seem that a new palisade only about 18 feet to the west would not have been erected except in connection with the building of an important structure whose location was determined by factors other than economy. Such a structure was the blockhouse. Evidently it was felt necessary to keep this bastion and a new palisade to be built in connection with it a greater distance from the Company's principal western warehouses and shops. [16]

At any rate, the historical record shows that the construction of the new west wall and the building of the bastion were related in time. Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his journal on February 7, 1845:

> Finished erecting the new Pickets on the West side and part of the North side of the Fort, at which the men have been employed for some time past. A bastion is to be built in the N. W. Corner of the Fort.... [17]

These words seem to fix the date of construction of the outermost west wall, the shortened IJ, with precision. At about the same time the north and south walls must have been extended westward to meet the new palisade. [18]

6. Expansion to the south, 1846-1854. The last change in the dimensions of the stockade occurred when the south wall was moved outward about four to six feet (the distance being a little greater on the east end than on the west) to the position JL. That this move occurred after the completion of the outermost west wall on February 7, 1845, is demonstrated by construction details uncovered during the archeological explorations. For instance the extension of wall DG to the westward would not have been undertaken if there had been in existence an outer south wall which could have been lengthened to close the southern end of the additional fort area created when the outer west wall was built.

There are several known periods of south palisade repair or reconstruction during which this move could have been made. The journal of Thomas Lowe contains the following references

to the south, or front, wall:

> November 21, 1845. "Some men set to dress pickets for the front of the Fort."
>
> January 20, 1846. "Putting up new Pickets in front of the Fort."
>
> January 23, 1846. "People busy erecting the Pickets in front of the Fort."
>
> February 2, 1848. "Men began putting up new pickets in front of the fort."
>
> January 9, 1850. "Blowing very hard. . . . Last night the wind blew down about 40 feet of the pickets in front of the Fort."
>
> February 18, 1850. "Men employed. . . putting up a row of pickets in front of the Fort, which had fallen down about a month ago." [19]

About a decade and a half after this last entry was written an early settler in the Vancouver region, Lewis Love, testified that between 1850 and 1854 the stockade as a whole was "about rotted down," and that repairs were made. [20]

From these data it seems that after 1845 there apparently were substantial reconstructions of the south wall in January, 1846; February, 1848; and at least once between February, 1850, and 1854. A certain amount of additional information is available which throws light on the possible extent of each of these reconstructions.

a. January, 1846. As is demonstrated in the following section of this chapter dealing with stockade construction details, sometime between the end of 1845 and May 3, 1847, there apparently was a change in the building method used on at least a part of the south wall. Instead of the pickets being fastened to two horizontal girths as had been the case from at least 1841 to the end of 1845, the posts were pegged to only a single girth. Although the evidence of this change is only known to apply to a very short segment of the wall (see plate XII), it, together with Lowe's journal entries, seems to indicate that the January, 1846, reconstruction was a major effort.

b. February, 1848. As is shown by Lowe's journal, the erection of "new pickets" was commenced "in front of the fort" on February 2, 1848. But only about a week earlier, on January 24, 1848, the same industrious clerk had recorded, "A Bastion has been put up to day in front of the Fort." [21]

Thus far no conclusive evidence has been found to indicate the exact location of this blockhouse of 1848, the second such structure to be erected at Fort Vancouver. During the 1952 archeological excavations the remains of "three parallel timbers roughly 6 to 8 inches square" were found where the easternmost 17 feet of the inner south wall may have once stood (see plate I). Mr. Caywood believed that these timbers marked the foundation of the second blockhouse and fixed its location as the southeast corner. [22]

As shall be seen in a later chapter, there is historical evidence tending to confirm this hypothesis, but in the opinion of the present writer the location of the bastion erected in 1848 is still uncertain. Further archeological excavations might settle this question.

In any event, even if the three timbers should be shown to be part of the bastion, they do not shed much light on the problem of whether the south wall was moved outward about six feet when the new blockhouse was constructed. Apparently a foundation in the inner wall location would not have been incompatible with a palisade at either the inner or outer wall sites. If precedent at the first bastion was followed at the second, however, it seems more probable

that the inner bastion wall would have been inside the stockade line. It is quite possible, then, that the stockade construction in February, 1848, was designed to advance the south wall to position JL.

c. 1850-1854. It seems quite evident from Lowe's journal that the work performed on the south wall in February, 1850, was more in the nature of repair than complete reconstruction. However, there seem to be grounds for believing that by 1854 the outward movement of the front palisade had been accomplished.

Unfortunately, the small scales of the available maps and the differences between the several copies of them make it impossible to detect a change in stockade dimensions as small as six feet, at least with any certainty. All one can say is that when the Vavasour plan of 1845 (see plate VII) is compared with the careful survey made by Lt. Col. B. L. E. Bonneville in 1854 (plate XIX) the south wall seems in the latter to be farther away from the storehouses inside the south palisade. Almost certainly the Bonneville map represents the fort as it stood at the time of its greatest extent. [23]

One circumstance which seems to support, though by no means prove, the hypothesis that the movement of the south wall had been completed by 1854 is the fact that the location of one of the gates in that palisade was shifted sometime between 1846 and 1854. Of course such a shift need not necessarily have been associated with a movement of the entire stockade wall, but if a change in a gate had been contemplated, it probably would have been easier to make the shift at a time when the entire wall was being reconstructed.

An examination of the Warre plan of 1845 (plate VII) and the Covington map of 1846 (plate XIII) will show that the east gate in the south wall at these dates was directly or almost directly south of the north wall gate. On the Bonneville map of 1854, however, the east gate in the south wall has shifted to the west a substantial distance. [24] This same shift is shown on maps of 1859 and 1860. [25]

The only thing this chain of events proves is that between late 1846, when the Covington map seems to have been drawn, and 1854 there was a change in the location of the southeast gate. But if there is any validity to the theory that the shift in gate location was associated with the outward movement of the south wall, then the latter event can be placed between late 1846 (the Covington map does not show the old Catholic Church which was demolished during June of that year) and 1854.

A review of what is known about the moving of the front wall six feet to the south leads to the following conclusives:

a. The inner wall (line GF as extended to the outer palisades at each end) was the outer south stockade wall when the outermost west wall was completed on February 7, 1845.

b. The rebuilding of the south wall during January 1846, could have involved moving that palisade six feet southward but probably did not. The latter surmise is based on the fact that the Covington map of late 1846 continues to show the southeast gate in the same position as does the Vavasour map of 1845. Also, the south wall, as far as can be determined from general appearance. seems in 1846 to be as close to the buildings inside the wall as it was on the 1845 map.

c. The stockade construction in February, 1848, appears to have been linked with the erection of a bastion somewhere along the south extremity of the fort. It seems quite probable that the south wall was moved to position JL in connection with the construction of the new blockhouse. Whether the southeast gate was moved westward at the same time is not apparent from available evidence.

d. Between early 1850 and 1854 the south wall underwent, at the very least, extensive repair. This activity could have involved the moving of both the stockade and the southeast gate. A reason for assigning the outward movement of the wall to this period might be the fact (which shall be brought out in a later chapter) that the second bastion was a very short-lived structure. Built in 1848, it seems to have disappeared at least by 1854. The removal could have occurred as the result of a rebuilding of the south wall over its site.

On the basis of these conclusions, it appears to the present writer that the inner south palisade most likely formed the south stockade wall in late 1845 and early 1846, the period to which it is intended to restore Fort Vancouver.

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http://www.nps.gov/fova/hsr/hsr1-1.htm
Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume I

CHAPTER II:
GATES

History and location

W. H. Gray later said that when he arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1836 the "main gate" was directly in line with the cannons mounted in front of the manager's residence. [1] Assuming that the Big house of 1836 was not that completed in the eastern section of the stockade enclosure during the winter of 1837-1838 but one located in the old or western portion of the fort, one can be reasonably certain that from 1829 until the post was doubled in size about 1834-1839, the principal and perhaps only gate was situated at about the center of the south or front 320-foot wall. [2]

This gate remained in this same location when the enlargement of 1834-1839 took place, as is demonstrated by the fact that the southwest gate shown on the Emmons ground plan of 1841 is situated east of the southwest stockade corner at a distance of approximately one-quarter of the length of the doubled south wall (see plate III).

By the time Captain Edward Belcher of the Royal Navy visited Fort Vancouver during August, 1839, the original fort had been doubled in size, and Belcher noted that there were three gates in the stockade walls. [3] Two years later Captain Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition was more specific. "There are two large entrance gates to the 'fort' for wagons and carts," he recorded, "and one in the rear leading to the granaries and garden." [4] The Emmons plan (plate III) and the Henry Eld pencil sketch (plate IV), both dating from 1841, throw light upon the location of these entrances. Two were in the south or front wall; one was in the north or rear wall.

From the ground plan drawn by Lieutenant Vavasour in 1845 (plate VII) and from the view sketched by Lieutenant Henry J. Warre at about the same time (plate IX) it is apparent that the number and relative positions of the gates remained unchanged between at least 1841 and late 1845, though by the latter date the fort enclosure had been expanded on the west and on the east to its ultimate width of about 732 feet. The Covington map of Fort Vancouver, dating apparently from late 1846, continues to show what seem to be the same three gates (see plate XIII). [5]

Neither the Emmons map nor the Vavasour plan is sufficiently accurate to permit a precise location of the gates by scaling off distances. But these drawings constitute nearly the sum total of the historical evidence available for locating the gates as they existed in late 1845, the approximate date to which the fort is to be restored. When these maps are analyzed in the light of archeological findings, however, the results are more useful. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Southwest gate (west gate in front wall). On the Emmons plan of 1841 this gate is shown

as being a quarter of the total wall length, or about 159.5 feet, east of the southwest stockade corner (point D on plate I). The Vavasour map locates this gate about 190 feet east of the 1845 southwest corner (about four feet north of point J). Since excavations have shown that point J was about 36 feet west of point D, the two maps are very nearly in agreement. The Vavasour map indicates that this gate was 12 to 15 feet wide, but these figures seem high in view of what is known about the widths of other gates at Fort Vancouver (see plates VI and VII).

Excavations in 1952 revealed no positive evidence of the west gate in the inner of the two south palisade walls. This inner wall, as has been seen, evidently marked the stockade line at the time Vavasour drew his map in 1845.

In the outer wall, about six feet farther south, however, the search was more successful. A gate opening definitely was located. It was about 205 to 214 feet east of the southwest corner (point J) as nearly as can be measured from available maps of the excavation. It is evident, then, that when the outer south wall was built sometime after 1845, the gate was shifted a few feet to the east. [6]

This outer wall opening was marked by the remains of two large posts, each about 13 inches in diameter and sunk 4-1/2 feet in the ground. The centers of the posts were 10 feet apart, making the gate opening 8.9 feet wide. [7]

The southwest gate seemingly was known as the "business gate" during the 1840's at least. [8] It appears that this gate, as built sometime after 1845 in the outer wall, remained in the position revealed by the 1952 excavations until at least 1859. An exit from the post at that point seems to be shown on a map of the military reservation at Fort Vancouver drawn in that year (see plate XXIV). However, a ground plan of the Hudson's Bay Company fort made by a board of Army officers on June 15, 1860, clearly shows the southwest gate in a new position about 110 feet west of the former one and near the powder magazine (see plate XXX).

2. Southeast gate (east gate in front wall). According to Vavasour's ground plan, the eastern gate in the south palisade was about 205 to 208 feet west of the 1845 southeast stockade corner (which was about six feet north of point L). [9] The same map shows the gate as being ten or twelve feet wide but this measurement probably is only a rough approximation. No archeological excavations have been conducted in the vicinity of the southeast gate, so it has not yet been possible to check Vavasour's location with actual remains. [10]

A rather interesting fact develops when the location of this gate is plotted on the Summary Sheet Archeological Excavations (plate I) from the Vavasour measurements. This action places the eastern post of the gate directly south of the west wall of the Indian Trade Shop as located by archeological evidence. Such a position agrees exactly with the position of this gate as shown on the Covington map of 1846 (plate XIII). It does not agree, however, with the Vavasour plan, which shows the Indian Shop west wall as being about 25 feet east of the gate. This fact may have some hearing upon when the new Indian Trade Shop was constructed; then again it may simply be one more indication that Vavasour was not as careful a surveyor as he might have been.

It has already been pointed out that the location of the southeast gate as shown on the Vavasour and Covington plans apparently changed between late 1846 and 1854. The Bonneville map of the latter year, supported by the survey of the military reservation made at the direction of General W. S. Haney in 1859 and the ground plan made by a board of Army officers in 1860, indicates that the gate was shifted to the westward (see plates XIX, XXIV, XXX). As closely as can be determined from these maps, the new location was about 335

feet west of the extreme southeast stockade corner (point L). This information may be of interest in interpreting the results of future archeological excavations, but it need not concern those planning the restoration of Fort Vancouver to its appearance in 1845-1846.

3. North gate. Vavasour's ground plan of late 1845 places the gate in the north wall at a point about 205 to 208 feet west of the northeast stockade corner at that time (point K). One version of the same map shows the opening to be about 15 or 16 feet wide; another shows it as about 12 feet wide (see plates VI and VII). Archeologist John D. Combes, after an examination of "all of the available maps, sketches, pictures, etc.," preparatory to renewed excavations in 1966 concluded that the gate was about 210 feet west of the northeast corner. [11]

These calculations were put to the test in 1966 when archeologists had an opportunity to dig along the entire length of the north wall. At a point 212 feet west of the northeast corner the archeologist uncovered a pile of large river-rounded stones starting at two feet and continuing down to four feet below the present ground surface. Twelve feet farther west along the line of the stockade a second and similar pile was found. There was no evidence of stockade posts between the two heaps of stones. The area near the stone piles showed a much higher concentration of large nails than was usual elsewhere along the wall.

In the opinion of Mr. Combes, "The evidence looks very good for this being the actual location of the north gate. The rock piles appear to be reinforcements for the vertical posts that supported the heavy gates." [12]

Even though no remains of the gate posts themselves were found, it seems inescapable that the rock piles were associated with the gate structure. If the centers of the boulder heaps marked the centers of the gate posts and if the posts were about 13 inches in diameter as were those of the southwest gate, the width of the north gate would have been about 11 feet. [13]

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CHAPTER III:
BASTION

History

It has been stated, upon what authority is unknown, that when Fort Vancouver was moved from the bluff down onto the plain in 1829, bastions or blockhouses were placed at the corners of the new stockade but that they were dismantled before 1841. [1] If such was the case the removal must have been early, since John Kirk Townsend, who arrived at the post in 1834, later reported that the establishment had no bastions. [2] At the time of his visit in 1841, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes noted that Vancouver differed "from all the other forts [of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest] in having no bastions, galleries, or loop-holes. [3]

Experience had taught the authorities at Fort Vancouver that they had little to fear from the neighboring Indians. Even before 1830, when the surrounding natives were numerous, there had been no serious threats to the post. Beginning in 1830 and 1831 a series of epidemics so drastically reduced the Indian population along the lower Columbia that the possibility of an armed assault became practically non-existent. The necessary privacy for the fort's inhabitants and protection from pilfering could be assured by a stockade alone.

But by the early 1840's, as American settlers began to drift into the Oregon Country in significant numbers and as the boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain waxed warmer, the Company's officers began to see the newcomers as a threat to Fort Vancouver. Governor George Simpson expressed a fear that the undisciplined and ungoverned Americans would plunder the post if they grew desperate for supplies. Chief Factor McLoughlin and his companions at Vancouver shared this view, and their worries were fanned by occasional rumors that disgruntled or super-patriotic settlers might attempt to burn the fort. [4] Yet year after year passed with no steps being taken to strengthen Fort Vancouver.

Then, on the afternoon of July 15, 1844, Her Majesty's Sloop of War Modeste appeared off the post and dropped anchor. From her cannon roared a seven-gun salute to Fort Vancouver. Much to the chagrin of the Company's employees, the honor could not be returned because, as one clerk noted in his diary, "the Fort had not the means" of returning it. [5] In other words, there were no cannon mounted for action.

In human affairs major events are often triggered by minor incidents. That the fort was unable to return salutes from the firm's own vessels was one thing; inability to give a proper greeting to the warship sent to protect British interests in Oregon was quite another. In due time orders were given to construct a blockhouse. Thomas Lowe, a clerk, noted in his diary on February 7, 1845, that "A Bastion is to be built in the N. W. Corner of the Fort, in order to be able to salute vessels as well as to protect the place in case of attack." [6]

Very little is known concerning the progress of construction. On February 27 Lowe recorded that a carpenter and several men were at work erecting "the octagonal Bastion in the N. W. corner of the Fort." [7] A month later, on March 27, the Company's vessel, Vancouver, anchored off the post and fired a salute of seven guns which was returned from the fort. [8] It seems reasonable to assume that the bastion was at least sufficiently completed by that date for guns to be mounted in it.

The spring of 1845 was a time of tension between the Company's officers and certain settlers, some of whom were attempting to establish claims on lands near the fort which the firm had long considered part of its establishment. The construction of the blockhouse was interpreted by such persons as evidence that the Hudson's Bay Company was preparing to block further settlement by force. "In the Month of January [sic] last," McLoughlin wrote to Governor Simpson on March 20, 1845, "some Americans seeing us repair our pickets erect a bastion, our Blacksmiths making small Axes for the Indian Trade spread a report among their Countrymen that we were fortifying the Fort and making Axes to set the Indians against the Americans." [9]

This flurry of excitement passed away, however, and the new blockhouse quickly was accepted as a routine feature of the establishment. The three-pound cannons mounted in the octagonal cap were fired to salute arriving Company vessels, warships, and prominent persons; and they cheered departing fur brigades on their way. Queen Victoria's birthday on May 24 was celebrated, in 1846 at least, by a royal salute of 21 guns fired from the bastion at noon. [10]

The blockhouse continued to stand at least until June, 1860, when a board of United States Army officers examined it and found it to be "in a ruinous condition." [11] It is presumed that the structure was destroyed by fire shortly thereafter, since archeological excavations in 1947 revealed charred foundation timbers and other evidence of an intensely hot conflagration. [12]

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CHAPTER IV:
BAKERY

History and location

After Fort Vancouver was moved down onto the plain in the spring of 1829, a new bakery was constructed as soon as the erection of the more essential buildings -- such as warehouses to protect the trade goods and fur returns -- would permit. Clerk John Warren Lease noted in his journal on November 26 of the same year: "Men building a Tempo[rary] Baker House." [1]

How long this "temporary" bakery served is not evident, but there is no doubt that Chief Factor John McLoughlin soon desired to replace it. As visiting Samuel Parker observed late in 1835, the fort bakery not only had to supply the bread for daily use at the post but also sea biscuit for the Company's vessels in the Pacific and for the forts on the Northwest Coast. In this task, he reported, two or three men were in "constant employment." [2]

Evidently the first bakery was not equal to meeting the demands placed upon it, for about the end of 1833 McLoughlin included in the indent or requisition for Outfit 1837 of the Colombia Department an item for "1~~M~~ Bricks for Bakers Oven." His anxiety can be judged from the fact that on added requisition, dated at York Factory on Hudson Bay on July 16, 1834, contained the following request: "If this gets to hand before the departure [from London] of the vessel to be dispatched to the Columbia with the Outfit 1836 it is requested that the following articles taken from the accompanying requisition [Outfit 1837] be shipped in her viz. -- 1~~M~~ Bricks for Bakers Oven. [3]

No record has yet been found as to when these thousand bricks were received or, indeed, whether they were received at all. Seemingly, they did arrive, however, and were used to construct the bakery which is shown as building No. 7 on the Emmons ground plan of 1841 (plate III). Since this structure is situated in the extreme northeast corner of the "doubled-in-size" fort, it must have been erected after the stockade was expanded to the east in 1834-1839.

Excavations conducted by National Park Service archeologists at the site of this second bakery during the spring of 1971 revealed masonry remains of "a large oven complex," bricks from a "collapsed chimney," and "large masses of ex-situ brick and wood" believed to have originated in the bake shop and been distributed when the Army cleared the site following the departure of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1860. [4]

This second bakery, probably built during the period of 1837-1839, evidently also failed to meet the growing needs of the Columbia Department for sea biscuit and other breadstuffs. By September, 1844, the construction of a third bake house was well under way.

On September 17, Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his journal the arrival of a barge from "the

Falls," the site of the present Oregon City. The next day he made clear the import of this seemingly routine event. "The Barge," he wrote, "had 5000 Bricks on board which have been made in the Willamette, and are the first which have come here yet." [5]

There can be no doubt that these bricks were intended for the third bakery, which was then already under construction. The Line of Fire Map, showing conditions about September 24, 1844, depicts a building extending through the northern portion of the east stockade wall (see plate V). This clearly was the structure labeled "Bake House" on the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 (see plate VI). Thus the main outlines of the building were evident by the time the bricks for the ovens arrived.

Once the bricks were on hand, the work proceeded rapidly. By October 15, 1844, Lowe could record: "The New Bake House is also nearly completed." [6] The move into the new structure must have followed shortly thereafter, and the old bakery probably was then converted into a "harness shop" or "saddler's shop" as it was also called. [7]

Practically nothing is known about the work carried on in the third bakery. Presumably former clerk George B. Roberts was thinking of this building when years later he recalled that four bakers were employed at Fort Vancouver. [8] Dr. H. A. Tuzo, who arrived at the post in November, 1853, to take up his duties as physician, recalled that the bakery contained two "superior fire-brick ovens" and could bake for from 200 to 300 men. [9] He did not, however, actually say that the bakery was operating in 1853.

When the third bakery was completed late in 1844, it was under the immediate supervision of the fort's baker, Joseph Petrain. He was a French Canadian from Sorel Parish who had appeared on the Fort Vancouver rolls as a middleman (ordinary voyageur) during Outfit 1837 (mid-1837 to mid-1838). By Outfit 1842 he was still a middleman at the same rate of £17 per year, but the next year he was listed as "Middle & Baker" at £20 per annum. From this fact it is evident that he was acting as an assistant to Bazil Poirer, who had long been the depot baker. Poirer died on or about June 30, 1844, and Petrain succeeded him as baker. His salary was raised to £25 during Outfit 1846, but this remuneration was not sufficient to assure his loyalty after news of the gold discovery at Sutter's mill reached Oregon. Following his name on the roll for Outfit 1848 appear the words, "Gone to California, wages to 1 March '49." [10]

Petrain was succeeded as baker by Joseph Raymond, a native of Canada. He evidently was a man of less venturesome spirit, since a salary of £25 held him until Outfit 1852, when he was listed as a laborer at Chinook Point. No one seems to have been formally engaged as baker at Fort Vancouver during that year, and the records from that time until the post was abandoned in 1860 do not indicate that any person classified specifically as a baker was employed. [11] It is quite possible that the bakery was shut down or that its operations were severely curtailed about 1852, by which time Fort Vancouver was functioning as the depot for a much reduced district.

The bakery continued to stand until at least 1860 although its outlines may have changed somewhat over the years. [12] On June 15, 1860, a board of Army officers examined the abandoned structures of the Hudson's Bay Company's former depot and reported the "Bake house" to be "in a ruinous condition." Even the materials, said the board, were of no monetary value. [13]

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CHAPTER V:
FLAGPOLE

History and location

A flagstaff had been a feature of Fort Vancouver since before the date of its dedication on the original site in 1825. Governor George Simpson recorded in his journal on March 19 of that year that he "Baptised" the post "by breaking a Bottle of Rum on the Flag Staff and repeating the following words in a loud voice, 'In behalf of the Honble Hudsons Bay Co. I hereby name this Establishment Fort Vancouver God Save King George the 4th.'" [1]

Undoubtedly a flagstaff was one of the first features to be erected at the new site when the fort was moved down onto the plain in 1829, but little is known about its appearance or location until 1841, when it was depicted in two sketches preserved among the records of the United States Exploring Expedition. [2] The two views agree in showing the pole as a simple, one-piece mast, but they leave some doubt as to its exact location.

One sketch, in Wilkes's Narrative, clearly shows the staff as being near the south palisade and close to the east end of the structure then serving as the Indian Trade Store (see plate LIII). In the other, found in a sketch book of Lieutenant Henry Eld, the pole occupies the same general position in the picture, but it seems to be shown farther to the east, perhaps even behind the Bachelors' Quarters (see plate IV). From what is known of the later location of the flagstaff, it would appear that the Wilkes sketch more accurately depicts the location.

What probably was this pole pictured in 1841 was blown down by a gale on the evening of September 14, 1844. [3] The sequel was recorded by Clerk Thomas Lowe in his journal entry for December 21 of that year. "This forenoon," he wrote, "all the men were mustered and with the assistance of the Cadboro's Crew succeeded in erecting a new Flag-staff 103 ft. in length, and in the same place as [the] last, within a few feet of the East end of the Fur Store." [4] Fortunately these informative words are supplemented by other evidence which permits the flagpole to be located with some precision.

Late in August, 1845, Lieutenant Warre and Vavasour of the British army reached Fort Vancouver on a secret reconnaissance mission. Before the end of that year Vavasour, a trained engineer, drew a plan of the post which present-day archeological excavations have demonstrated to be reasonably accurate. [5] This map shows a small circle, labelled "Flagstaff," situated near the south stockade wall about midway between the west and east ends.

As nearly as can be determined from the somewhat small scale of Vavasour's plan, the flagpole was situated about 22 or 23 feet north of the south stockade wall and about the same distance east of the southeast corner of the large warehouse labelled no. 8, "Stores," on the plan, "Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations, Fort Vancouver National Monument" (see

plate I). When one examines this same "Summary Sheet," however, it is noted that excavations revealed two lines of pickets, about nine feet apart, along the south wall. The wall shown on the Vavasour plan was clearly the inner wall, as is shown by the fact that the distance between the wall and building no. 8 as shown by Vavasour coincides almost exactly with the distance between the Summary Sheet's inner wall and building no. 8 as revealed by archeological excavations. This conclusion is supported by historical evidence and by stockade construction details. [6]

An interesting sidelight to this study of the flagpole's location is a hint as to why the staff may have been placed in that particular spot. If one measures the breadth of the fort as shown on the Vavasour plan, one observes that the flagpole was not quite midway between the west and east walls as the stockade was constituted late in 1845. But if one goes to the map, "Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations," one finds that the site of the flagpole, if plotted at the spot described in the preceding paragraph, was almost exactly half way between the east and west walls (CF and HG) as they stood before the extensions of 1844 and 1845 were made. It seems possible, therefore, that the pole which fell down on September 14, 1844, had originally been positioned with a view to symmetry. The replacement flag-staff erected in its place was, as has been seen, merely put in the same location as its predecessor.

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CHAPTER VI:
BELFRY

A bell was an indispensable article at most Hudson's Bay Company posts. Its sound regulated the prescribed daily work routine in a period when most workmen did not carry watches. A large post like Fort Vancouver could scarcely have operated without one. [1]

When Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition reached the fort during 1841 he and several of his officers were put up as guests. Always one to put first things first, Dr. McLoughlin quickly advised the visitors that meals were signaled by the bell. Later Wilkes observed that the bell was also rung "at early dawn" to call the men to work. It sounded again at eight for breakfast, at one for dinner, and at six when labor ceased for the day. On Saturdays the peal which marked the end of work came at five in the afternoon to allow the servants time to collect their weekly rations. [2] Sundays the bell called the fort's inhabitants to worship. [3] If conditions typical at other posts also prevailed at Fort Vancouver, the bell likewise tolled for deaths weddings, fires, and various types of emergencies. [4]

In 1837 the Reverend Mr. Herbert Beaver, who served briefly as Fort Vancouver's chaplain, complained bitterly about "a large Bell, distant twenty-five yards from my quarters," which was rung to call people to the reading of Roman Catholic prayers. He found the noise of this bell, "jingled most indecorously by a parcel of Boys," to be an "intolerable nuisance." [5]

These words do not help much in determining the location of the belfry at that time, since it is not certain where Mr. Beaver was living in 1837. By 1841, however, the Emmons ground plan shows that the "bell stand or belfry" was situated a short distance west of the "Chaplain's or Governor's temporary residence." [6]

The next useful information about the bell comes from the journal of Thomas Lowe. On December 31, 1844, he wrote as follows: "The people engaged erecting a new Belfry, the Bell being placed at the top of a spar 45 feet above the ground the butt end of which was placed in a large cask of salt in order to preserve it from decay. It is placed behind the small Granary, near the North pickets." [7]

Exactly what Lowe meant by the "small Granary" is not clear. It is difficult to ascertain whether the granary shown on the Emmons plan of 1841 is the same structure as that shown on the Vavasour map of 1845. [8] If they were different, the smaller and older granary of the 1841 map had disappeared by the time the Line of Fire Map of September, 1844, was drawn. Therefore it seems probable that the "small" granary was the only granary known to have been within the pickets on the last day of 1844, the granary of the Vavasour map.

A much more useful hint as to the location of the belfry is found in Lowe's diary entry for August 8, 1845: "Commenced building a new Office, in front of the bellfry [sic]." [9] The

location of the New Office, as the structure was named, is known with precision from Vavasour's map and from archeological evidence. A belfry located behind the office would scarcely be described as being "behind" the granary of 1845, but this apparent discrepancy must remain one of the several unexplained minor mysteries of the fort's layout until further excavations produce the remains of the barrel of salt.

A location behind the New Office seems confirmed by the Coode water color sketch which can quite confidently be dated between June 18, 1846, and May 3, 1847. This picture shows what appears to be a bell mounted on the top of a high pole situated north of the office and westerly of the Priest's House. The bell evidently was rung by a rope attached to a projection on the bell mount. What appear to be spikes or foot supports seem to be shown projecting at regular intervals up the length of the pole. [10]

Despite the precautions taken to prevent rotting of the base, the 1844 belfry seems to have been a short-lived structure. The picture, "Fort Vancouver, Washington Ty. in 1855," drawn and engraved by R. Covington shows what perhaps is a belfry composed of three mutually supporting timbers, arranged tepee style, located in the fort yard. [11] This belfry probably is the same one as that shown in the two 1860 photographs of the interior courtyard. [12]

Recommendations

The proper belfry for a restoration of Fort Vancouver to its appearance in 1845 is that erected on December 31, 1844. The single spar comprising this structure should rise 45 feet above ground level. The size, shape, and mount of the bell can be ascertained from the Coode drawing (Plates XI and XII).

Archeological excavations can probably reveal the exact location of the belfry. A search should be made in the area north of the New Office for the remains of a large cask sunk in the earth. Since the butt of the spar undoubtedly did not depend upon the salt for support, it is quite likely that remains of a bracing system for the pole will also be found.

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CHAPTER VII:
WELLS

History and location

In 1841 Lieutenant Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition noted that the water in "the well" at Fort Vancouver rose and fell with the level of the Columbia River. [1] By implication these words would seem to indicate that there was only one well within the pickets at that time. This impression is confirmed by the ground plan of the fort drawn by Lieutenant Emmons of the same party. According to this drawing the only well indicated was situated in the northwest section of the fort, west of the granary and south of the large storehouse (No. 18) which stood along the north wall. [2]

This well was of considerable interest to the American explorers. The expedition's geologist, James Dwight Dana, noted that in digging a well at Fort Vancouver, the excavators first encountered two or three feet of soil, then 30 feet of gravel, and then "light quicksand" too "mobile" for further digging. He assumed that water from the river percolated laterally through the sand to supply the well. [3] Wilkes observed that the inhabitants of the post used river water in preference to well water, though they did not "consider the latter as unwholesome." [4]

When this well of 1841 is next shown on a map -- that drawn by Lieutenant Vavasour late in 1845 -- it appears to have shifted position, being much closer to the north stockade wall than indicated by Emmons (see plates VI and VII). The location given by Vavasour was confirmed by archeological excavations in 1952. [5]

This discrepancy brings up a question. Did Emmons, who freely admitted that he could not vouch for his ground plan being correct in every particular, make an error in showing the position of the 1841 well, or was the 1841 well abandoned and another dug farther to the north when the Beef Store was apparently built over the old site between 1841 and September, 1844? [6] Future archeological surveys should provide a definite answer.

An entry in Clerk Thomas Lowe's journal for February 27, 1845, probably would also throw light on the matter if we could be sure of its exact meaning. "The men," wrote Lowe, "are busily employed in sinking the old well near the granary, and in digging another one in the opposite end of the Fort, near the new Bake House." [7] Unfortunately, the words "near the granary" could apply with equal appropriateness to the well shown by Emmons and to that on Vavasour s plan.

At any rate, it is apparent that a well in the northwest quarter of the stockade enclosure underwent some type of renovation during February, 1845. This was seemingly the well shown by Vavasour since one reconstructed in February probably would not have been replaced by the end of the year. This well, indicated on the Vavasour plan as being just north

of the Beef Store and about 45 feet west of the granary, is termed "Well No. 1" in the balance of this report.

Lowe's words also pinpoint the date of the second well shown on Vavasour's plan. This feature appears as a small circle about midway between the northeast corner of the Bachelors' Quarters and the southwest angle of the bakery, near the northeast stockade corner (see plates VI and VII). This well is termed "Well No. 2" in this report. Its remains were found during archeological excavations in 1952 only slightly removed from the location as given by Vavasour (see plate I). [8]

This round, boulder-lined well has been left uncovered and now is a primary interpretive feature at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. [9] It is the only visible surviving original structure of the old fur-trading post. The water level in this well fluctuates with that of the Columbia River exactly as it did during the Hudson's Bay Company period. [10]

Although it seems quite clear that there were only two wells in the fort enclosure at the end of 1845, there is some evidence that a third may have been constructed at a later date. During 1854 a board of Army officers examined the improvements on the Fort Vancouver Military Reservation and made a fairly complete list of the Company's buildings. [11] This document noted that the firm's structures included three wells. There is no proof that the third well was within the palisade -- there seems to have been at least one in the nearby village [12] -- but photographs of 1860 show what appears to be a fire-fighting apparatus in the courtyard near the bell tower, and this device may have been placed over a well (see plates XXVII and XXVIII).

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CHAPTER VIII:
WASH HOUSE

History and location

Wash houses are among those minor structures about which little is known, at Fort Vancouver or at any other Columbia Department post. It is not even certain whether these buildings were used for washing clothes, persons, or both. No hint has been found as to their internal arrangements.

The first definite knowledge of a wash house at Fort Vancouver is obtained from the Emmons ground plan of 1841 (see plate III). This map shows a "Wash House &c." abutting the east stockade wall directly northeast of the Bachelors' Quarters and south of the bakery (the later harness shop). What is clearly this same building appears on the "Line of Fire" map of about September, 1844, though by that time the east stockade wall had been moved farther to the east (see plate V).

The most detailed version of the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 shows this same structure as the "Wash House" (see plate VII), although another version of the map shows no building at that location (see plate VI). The appearance of the "Wash House" on the original Vavasour plan in the British Foreign Office records eliminates the doubts about this structure which had formerly existed due to the building being labelled "warehouse" on a copy of the map published by the Oregon Historical Society in 1909 (see plate VIII). Therefore it is now possible to state positively that there was a wash house directly northeast of the Bachelors' Quarters during the period which will be depicted by the proposed reconstruction project.

The later history of the wash house, however, is not so clear. This structure does not appear on the Covington map of 1846, although as has been seen this fact is no proof that the building did not exist at that time (see plate XIII). More serious is the failure of a wash house to be listed in the inventory of Company structures made in late 1846 or very early 1847. [1] Since the firm was building a case for compensation very few standing buildings were omitted from that list.

Nevertheless, it probably was this wash house of the Emmons and Vavasour plans that was destroyed by fire very early on the morning of November 23, 1852. Chief Factor John Ballenden, then in charge of the post, was having difficulty sleeping, and about three o'clock he got up and took a short turn on the gallery of the Big House. He noticed nothing unusual during his stroll and after about ten minutes went back to bed. He was scarcely settled when he was roused by a cry of alarm from the watchman.

"I sprang immediately to the window," he wrote to the Company's secretary that same day, "and saw an old house, a portion of which has for many years been used as a wash house by the females in the fort, and the remainder lately as a cookhouse, enveloped in flames." [2]

The post fire engine was in "excellent order," and through the use of it by Company employees, the assistance of soldiers from the nearby barracks, and "the intervention of a new building, the wood of which was yet green," the conflagration was kept from spreading to the Big House. [3] In fact, except for minor damage to other structures, the loss was confined to the "old wash-house," which Ballenden had in any case been planning to tear down for firewood. [4] The destroyed building, he said, was not more than 15 yards from the Big House. According to Vavasour's map the distance from the manager's residence to the wash house of 1845 was about 20 yards. The difference in estimates is not so great as to rule out the probability that the wash house of 1852 was also that of 1845.

The existence of a wash house at Fort Vancouver is not mentioned again in the available records until January 23, 1854, when a board of Army officers reported on the number, condition, and value of the improvements on the local military reservation. Among the buildings within the pickets of the fur-trading post was listed a "washing house," with an estimated value of $500. [5] No location for this structure was indicated.

It may be significant that beginning with this same year some plans of the military reservation began to show what seems to be a new structure in the northeast corner of the stockade enclosure between the harness shop and the bakery (see plate XIX). This building was situated north of and slightly to the east of the site of the wash house shown on the Emmons plan, the "Line of Fire" map, and the Vavasour diagram. It possibly was the "washing house."

What probably was this same building appears on the map of the Fort Vancouver military reservation surveyed under the direction of Captain George Thom in 1859 (see plate XXIV). But it seems to have disappeared by June, 1860, when another board of army officers made the final inventory of the Company's improvements and drew the last known ground plan of the old fur-trading post (see plate XXX). [6]

Archeological excavations have thrown little light upon the history or structure of the wash house. The northeast section of the stockade was later the site of rather extensive military construction, and the physical evidences of Hudson's Bay Company activities were partially destroyed, disturbed, and obscured. Evidently the excavations of 1947 to 1952 turned up no traces whatsoever of the wash house. [7]

The archeologists who excavated in this area during the spring of 1971 had somewhat better luck. The section near the north palisade, between the harness shop and the bakery, where the 1854 and 1859 maps showed a structure which might have been a wash house, produced no traces of such a building. Parts of the site had been extensively disturbed, and other parts seem not to have been tested.

But the site of the wash house as shown on the 1841, 1844, and 1845 maps was discovered to have escaped "massive disturbance." This area was completely excavated, and two pieces of wood were found which might have been footings for the west wall of the building. Mr. J. J. Hoffman, the Project Archeologist, found it difficult to interpret these remains and summarized the results of the explorations as "inconclusive." Nevertheless, he believed that "artifact frequency distributions indicate that the area was a focus of fort activity" and that "artifactual evidence and historic documentation strongly suggest that a wash house did exist in the area." [8]

Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume I

CHAPTER IX:
BIG HOUSE

History and location

The residence of the chief factor in charge of Fort Vancouver was known by a variety of names. Company employees most often called it the "Big House." [1] Although the manager was never properly authorized to employ the title of "governor," he was frequently referred to as such. Thus his home was quite commonly referred to as the "governor's house" or "governor's mansion," even as late as 1860. [2] Others called the structure the "principal house" or the "great house." [3] The "common hall," the "commander's residence," the "manager's residence," and "Ty-ee house" (after an Indian word for "chief") were additional names applied to the building. [4] Sometimes the residence was referred to by the name of the man who lived in it, as "McLoughlin's house," the" Doctor's house," "Mr. Ogden's residence," and so forth.

Regardless of its name, the manager's house throughout the entire existence of the post was, for its time and place, an imposing structure. Anna Maria Pittman, who first saw it in May, 1837, described it as "very handsome." [5] In 1853, Dr. H. A. Tuzo found it to be "commodious and elegant." [6]

Hitherto the history of this structure has been obscure. The large house with its "half semicircle double stairway" described by a visitor of 1836 would appear to match the manager's house shown in an 1860 photograph (see plate XXIX), leading to the possibility that they were one and the same building. However, the location of the Big House in 1836, opposite "the main gate entrance" according to W. H. Gray, does not agree very well with the location as shown on the Emmons ground plan of 1841 and all subsequent maps of the fort. And that later location certainly does not fit the position of the "governor's mansion" described by John Kirk Townsend in 1834 as "in the middle" of a quadrangle lined by the fort structures. [7]

Fortunately recent research has clarified this matter. It can now be stated with assurance that there were two successive manager's residences at Fort Vancouver between 1829 and 1860 and that they stood at different locations.

When Fort Vancouver was moved from atop the bluff down onto the river plain during the winter of 1828-1829, the Company's officers as usual paid more attention to providing shelter for the trade goods, provisions, and furs than to housing the employees, including themselves. By the middle of March, 1829, construction of the new post was well under way. [8] Work had then progressed far enough for the American trapper, Jedediah Smith, to observe that the stockade was about 300 feet square. [9] Yet a visitor arriving as late as September 6 of that year could find no roof under which to sleep. All the "gentlemen" -- the chief factors, chief traders, and clerks -- he recorded, were still housed in lodges or tents. [10]

Not until October 9 was Chief Trader John Warren Dease able to note in his diary: "began to put up the Posts of the Big House." [11] But this residence for Chief Factor McLoughlin was not, as might be supposed, a new structure. It had been a part of the old fort on the hill and had been disassembled for reconstruction at the new site. [12]

This so-called "Doctor's new house" was pronounced "ready to enter" on November 2, 1829. [13] In point of fact, however, it was still incomplete. During the year all available men were occupied in the Indian trade on the lower Columbia to prevent the business falling into the hands of American traders who visited the river in two vessels. "In consequence of being so much employed with opposition we have not got on so fast with our buildings as was expected," McLoughlin complained in the spring of 1830. [14] A series of epidemics in succeeding years continued to keep the labor force low, so that in 1836 the Doctor told the Company's directors that it "will appear perhaps extraordinary but nevertheless a fact that we have not been able to finish the house I dwell in along with the other officers of the Establishment." [15]

Indeed, this first Big House was never completed. It was described as "still unfinished" when the construction of its replacement was ordered during the winter of 1837-1838. [16] The new manager's residence was occupied by March 19, 1838, and by that time the old structure moved from "Fort Hill" had been demolished. [17]

Thus far no maps or ground plans have been found which show the location of this first Big House of 1829-1838, but undoubtedly it was within the confines of the 318 feet by 320 feet original fort enclosure (ABED on the "Summary Sheet Archeological Excavations, Fort Vancouver National Monument"). When John Kirk Townsend reached Fort Vancouver in September, 1834, he noted that there were ten or twelve buildings "arranged together in quadrilateral form" within the stockade, "the house occupied by the doctor [McLoughlin] being in the middle." [18] Another visitor of the same year mentioned the "mansion-house, opening from the court." [19]

W. H. Gray, who reached Vancouver with the Whitman party of missionaries in the fall of 1836, found three cannons centered in front of the chief factor's residence, "all pointing to the main gate entrance." [20] Although the stockaded area perhaps had been doubled in size by 1836, the main gate at that time almost certainly was the entrance to the original fort about midway along the south wall (line DE) of the 318 feet by 320 feet enclosure.

These clues, meager as they are, point to the probability that the first Big House stood in the north portion of the original fort enclosure (ABED) and was centered opposite the gate which was midway along the south wall. The structure was near Well No. 1 and probably its site was later occupied by parts of the beef store and wheat store. Archeological explorations may, in the end, reveal the exact location.

From the few surviving descriptions, the first manager's residence must have been very similar in appearance to its successor. Anna Maria Pittman noted after her arrival at the fort in May, 1837, that McLoughlin's dwelling was "a very handsome one story house, with a piazza clear across, with a winding stairs on each side." The structure, she noted, stood "high from the ground." [21] Perhaps a more accurate picture of the entrance was given by W. H. Gray, who first saw the building in the fall of 1836. In front of the governor's house, he later recalled, was "a half semicircle double stairway, leading to the main hall up a flight of some ten steps." He remembered that the mansion was built in the usual Canadian style. From this fact it can be assumed that its heavy timbers probably were left exposed. The roof was covered with boards. [22]

Almost nothing is known of the interior arrangement of the first Big House. Evidently the

front door gave entry to a central hall. "On the right" of this hall, which may also have been the dining room or "common hall," was a room used by Dr. McLoughlin as his private office and sitting room. [23] Divine service was held on Sundays and at other times in the "messroon" in McLoughlin's house, and in 1836 the chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Herbert Beaver, complained of interruptions arising "from the occupancy of part of the same building by several families who do not attend me." From this fact it can be deduced that, as at many other Company posts, the living quarters were entered from the central dining hall. [24]

These "living quarters" were the rooms occupied by the officers -- the chief factors and the chief traders -- and their families. The "junior class" gentlemen, the clerks, were housed elsewhere within the pickets. [25] McLoughlin often made rooms in the Big House available to visitors, both officers of the Company and properly accredited foreign travelers. [26]

As little is known about the interior finish and furnishings as about the room arrangement. Speaking of all the residences and "houses" in 1836, W. H. Gray later remembered that the "partitions were all upright boards planed, and the cracks battened," while the floors were "mostly" of rough boards except in the officers and governor's house, where they were planed. [27]

Perhaps at that time there were not even carpets in McLoughlin's quarters, since Gray said that there were none on the floors of the parsonage" "and none in the country to put upon them, except the common flag mats the Indians manufacture." [28] As early as 1836, however, the chief factor's sitting room contained that greatest of frontier rarities, a sofa. [29]

According to W. H. Gray, the stockade was being enlarged at the time of his arrival during September, 1836. [30] It evidently was Dr. McLoughlin's intention to erect a second Big House in the new, eastern section of the enclosure, but the project seems to have kept being postponed. In the opinion of Clerk Francis Ermatinger, at least, the Doctor might have delayed indefinitely "had not the men who were called to prop up the old House, still unfinished, caused an alarm by telling the family that it would soon be down upon them." This report spurred McLoughlin to action, and, in the words of Ermatinger, the chief factor "had the resolution" during the winter of 1837-1838 "to finish a good and commodious house." [31] This new Big House was in use by March 19, 1838. [32]

Years later W. H. Gray testified that the second manager's residence was among the structures erected in the new part of the fort after 1836. [33] The first known map which shows the Big House in that location is the Emmons ground plan of 1841 (see plate III). All known subsequent maps of the fort to June 15, 1860, continue to show the building in that location (for examples, see plates VII and XXX).

This position for the 1838-1860 chief factor's residence is amply confirmed by archeological excavations in 1948, 1950, 1952, and 1971. [34] Footings uncovered during these operations definitely fixed the locations of the four corners of this structure. [35]

As the residence and personal office of the fort's chief factor for many years, as well as the location of the gentlemen's dining room, the Big House was long the center of business, social, and political activity for much of the Oregon Country. Even after the establishment of the Provisional Government and the opening of American mercantile establishments in the Willamette Valley during the early 1840's had substantially reduced Hudson's Bay Company influence south of the Columbia, the Big House continued to play a role in public affairs. On June 1, 1846, for instance, the election for Vancouver County officers under the Provisional Government was held "in the Hall in the Big House." [36]

But merely to summarize the events which took place in the manager's residence from 1838 to the 1850's would practically amount to the writing of a history of Fort Vancouver, a

project quite beyond the scope of this report. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to mentioning a random series of occurrences which illustrate the uses of the structure, convey some idea of the quality of life within its walls, or throw light upon the physical structure itself.

The use of the dining hall in the Big House for religious services has been treated in detail elsewhere. [37] It is worth noting, however, that the Rev. Mr. Herbert Beaver found the new mess room "more commodious" for his congregation than the old one, since it admitted "of more decent arrangements for conducting public worship, at which the unseemly dinner table is dispensed with." He reported that the "noises and interruptions," with which his services had been plagued in the first Big House were no longer a problem. "But still," he complained, "is the above-mentioned nuisance liable to occur in the place." [38] From these words one can conclude that at least some of the family quarters were still entered through the dining hall.

With the arrival of Catholic priests at Fort Vancouver during November, 1838, the Catholic services were quickly transferred to another building. In general, Protestant religious observances continued to be held in the Big House, with one of the chief factors or clerks presiding after the departure of Chaplain Beaver toward the end of 1838. As late as 1849 the mess room, then often called "Vancouver Hall," was still being used for this purpose. Sermons were occasionally preached by visiting ministers and missionaries. [39]

The dining hall was frequently the scene of hospitality extended to prominent visitors and to many who were not so prominent. Lieutenant Charles Wilkes and other officers of the United States Exploring Expedition spent a considerable amount of time at Fort Vancouver during the summer of 1841. On the day of their arrival, towards sunset, wrote Wilkes, "tea-time arrived, and we obeyed the summons of the bell, when we were introduced to several of the gentlemen of the establishment: we met in a large hall, with a long table spread with [an] abundance of good fare. Dr. M'Laughlin took the head of the table, with myself on his right, Messrs. Douglass [H.B.C] and Drayton [U.S.N] on his left, and the others apparently according to their rank. I mention this, as every one appears to have a relative rank, privilege, and station assigned him, and military etiquette prevails." [40]

On December 1, 1845, a large dinner party was given at the fort for the officers of H. M. S. Modeste. "Sat down to dinner at half past 5, and in the evening had a dance in the second Hall which was kept up till one o'clock in the morning," recorded Clerk Thomas Lowe. [41]

On March 25 of the next year there was another gala occasion connected with important visitors. Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour of the British Army were about to set off overland for Canada with the Company's express. "We took our last dinner in the Hall and drank the stirrup Cup after which we were accompanied to the beach by all the Gentlemen of the Establishment," wrote Warre in his diary. [42] He threw further light on the festivities in another document. "The gentlemen in charge of the Fort," he said, "also gave a grand dinner in the large dining hall at which many civil speeches were made." [43]

This picture of the Big House as the center of hospitality and good cheer is strengthened by the testimony of Dr. H. A. Tuzo. He later said that when he arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1853 to take up his duties as post surgeon, he found the dwelling of the officer in charge equipped "with extensive cellars beneath for storage of wines and spirits." [44]

Celebration of holidays, not only for the post's "gentlemen" but for all the servants and their families, centered about the manager's residence. The following quotations from the diary of Thomas Lowe illustrate this point:

> [December 25, 1844]. Christmas. . . . Holyday to all hands. . . . Divine Service in the Church, forenoon and afternoon. Had a card party in Dr. McLoughlin's room in the evening, and a Supper afterwards.
>
> [December 26, 1844]. A holyday also. Another card party, and a dance in Bachelor's Hall.
>
> [January 1, 1845]. We had a ball in the evening up stairs, which was kept up till 2 o'clock next morning. Men comparatively quiet. [45]
>
> [December 31, 1845]. Singing, dancing, and all kinds of fun carried on to a late or rather early hour in Bachelor's Hall, ushering in the New Year. Several of the Junior Officers from the "Modeste" and a number of the other visitors were with us.
>
> [January 1, 1846]. Visited all the ladies in the Fort to wish them a Happy New Year and many returns. A dance in the evening in the large Mess Hall, at which all the ladies were present.
>
> [January 2, 1846]. A holyday still. . . . Another ball this evening at which all the ladies of the Establishment and all the officers of the "Modeste" who could be spared were present. . . . Broke up dancing at midnight and sat down to supper. Adjourned afterwards to Bachelor's Hall where we continued singing and enjoying ourselves until 4 in the morning. [46]
>
> [January 1, 1847]. Had a very excellent dinner at Fort, but none of the Officers of the "Modeste" were present. . . . In the evening we had a splendid ball up in the Hall, which went off remarkably well, and was kept up until 3 o'clock in the morning, after which we sat down to supper. Most of the Officers of the "Modeste" were at the Ball, and all the Ladies of the Fort. [47]

Other types of social functions at the Big House are illustrated by the following excerpts from Lowe's journals:

> [March 29, 1845]. Mr. [Chief Trader] [Richard] Grant was married this afternoon to Mrs. [Eleanor] Kittson in the Hall, at which we all were present. [48]
>
> [October 24, 1845]. A card party and supper up stairs in celebration of Cecilia Douglas' eleventh birthday. [49]
>
> [January 7, 1849]. A band of the sailors came up this afternoon from the Modeste and forming into line before the Big House struck up God save the Queen and Rule Brittannia accompanied in the music by the Sergeant of marines playing on the fife. They were taken up stairs by Mr. Douglas and got something to drink. [50]
>
> [January 12 1850]. Another dance to night, in the Second Hall. . . [51]

From these quotations certain hypotheses may be hazarded. The main dining room seems to have been meant when the "large Mess Hall," "the large dining hall," or simply "the Hall" were referred to. Lowe sometimes referred to events in this room as being "up in the Hall," and he said Douglas took the sailors "up stairs" to what must have been this same hall for a drink.

On the other hand, he twice referred to dances in the "Second Hall," which seems to have

been a different room from the mess hall. He also mentioned a ball and a card party given "up stairs." It is obvious that one would have had to go up the front stairs to get from the yard to the mess hall, and probably a person living in the separate building that was the clerks' quarters would have said a ball was given "up in the Hall"; but a dance or a card party given "up stairs" was probably given on the second floor of the Big House. One might even venture a guess that this possible room on the second floor was the "Second Hall," but such an assumption is far beyond what can be demonstrated by solid evidence.

It will also be noted that Lowe mentioned the Bachelors' Hall in connection with a dance and with singing after a ball. Seemingly, but not certainly, this was a different room from the Second Hall; Lowe provides no solid clues as to whether it was or was not in the manager's residence.

Lowe's mention of Chief Factor James Douglas and his daughter Cecilia calls attention once again to the fact that more than one family resided in the Big House. Lieutenant George Foster Emmons found during the summer of 1841 that "Dr. McLaughlin & Mr. Douglass" inhabited the "commander's residence." [52] Evidently this arrangement was continuous from the time the mansion was first inhabited in 1838 until January 17, 1846, when Mrs. McLoughlin "and all her household" left Fort Vancouver to take up residence in the house Dr. McLoughlin had prepared for them in Oregon City. [53] Even while the Doctor had been in Europe on furlough during 1838 and 1839 Mrs. McLoughlin and her family had continued to occupy their usual quarters in the Big House. [54]

Even with only the McLoughlin and Douglas families in residence, the Big House must have been crowded. The Doctor and his wife, Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin, had only one child living at Fort Vancouver in late 1845, and this residence by then was only spasmodic. This child was twenty-four-year-old David McLoughlin, who was then serving as a Company clerk at Willamette Falls. [55] Whether he actually lived with his parents in their quarters during his rather frequent visits is not known, but it is probable that he did so. "I am now alone with my father and mother," he had written to a relative from Fort Vancouver in 1843 after the death of his older brother. [56]

But there were other family members who kept the Doctor's bedrooms occupied. Mrs. McLoughlin's granddaughter, Catherine Ermatinger, and presumably, her infant daughter, Frances Maria, paid frequent and sometimes lengthy visits from their home at Willamette Falls. [57] In addition Dr. McLoughlin's grown son, Joseph, and step-son, Thomas McKay, occasionally visited the fort, sometimes with still other relatives, but whether any of these latter guests lodged at the Big House is not revealed by available sources. [58]

Chief Factor James Douglas and his wife, Amelia Connolly Douglas, on the other hand, had a houseful of children of their own by the end of 1845. Apple of her father's eye was eleven year-old Cecilia, born on October 23, 1834. [59] Then came six-year-old Jane, born in 1839. She was followed by four-year-old Agnes, born in 1841. Last came little Alice, born in 1844. A fifth girl, Margaret, made her appearance during 1846. [60]

It is possible, though not probable, that others of the fort's "gentlemen" lived in the manager's house with the august chief factors for varying periods. Clerk George B. Roberts, for instance, told a historian decades later that he "roomed in the same building" and messed at the same table with Douglas and McLoughlin "for years." [61] Be this as it may, it is known that he lived in the Bachelors Quarters with the other clerks for at least part of his long sojourn at Fort Vancouver, and when in May, 1844, he returned from furlough in England with a British bride he was given a house of his own. [62]

Regardless of whether there were other permanent residents, there certainly were occasions

when visitors were housed in the mansion. It seems to have been the usual practice to put up female guests there, particularly those with some status or evidence of gentility. [63] This custom caused the intolerant and intemperate Reverend Mr. Beaver a good deal of anguish, since he persisted in maintaining that fur-trade marriages were no marriages at all. "I see the principal house in your establishment made a common receptacle for every mistress of an officer in the service who may take a fancy to visit the Fort," he complained to the Governor and Committee on October 2, 1838. [64]

The historical record throws some light upon changes in the physical structure of the second Big House over the years. On May 26, 1845, Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his journal: "Baron [Charles Diamare dit Baron, carpenter] with a number of men employed taking down the old gallery in front of the Big House, in order to erect a new one." [65] Evidently it was some time before the repairs were completed. Not until September 2, 1846, did Lowe report further progress. "Several men employed making a verandah in front of the Big House," he wrote. [66]

Meanwhile, on August 27, 1846, he had noted that "Baron and a party of men began shingling the Big House." [67] This entry points to the probability that prior to mid-1846 the manager's residence was roofed with planks. [68]

Rather strangely, a witness during the 1860's reported that by 1849 the portico was once more in need of repair. He also remembered that the foundations of the residence had sagged sufficiently to create openings in the outer walls and to cause the doors and windows to drag. [69] If such was the case, rehabilitation must have been undertaken, since a United States army officer who inspected the building during the fall of 1849 reported it to be a "very comfortable dwelling house." [70]

After the departure of Dr. John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver early in January, 1846 -- he was on furlough pending retirement from the Company's service -- the management of the Columbia Department and Fort Vancouver was taken over by Chief Factors Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas. The latter officer continued to live in the Big House until he moved to Vancouver Island during May, 1849. Ogden was much in the field during this period, but he probably moved his family into the Big House soon after McLoughlin's departure. At any rate, he and his family seem to have been the principal, or even sole, occupants by October 1, 1849. [71]

All of the succeeding Fort Vancouver managers, with their families, seem to have lived in the governor's house except, perhaps, Chief Trader James Allan Grahame, who was in charge of the post from about June, 1858, until the Company left in 1860. Grahame, who had served as a clerk at the fort for many years, was living in the old "priests' house" in January, 1854, and he probably continued to occupy that structure even after he succeeded to the manager's position. [72]

Perhaps by 1858 the Big House was already showing signs of the decay which by 1860 made it uninhabitable. When the Company left, the building was so dilapidated that the ground could be seen through a "large decayed spot in the floor." [73] Archeologists in recent years have found the west footings of the manager's residence to be in a burned condition, indicating that the structure probably was at least partly destroyed by fire after the army assumed control. [74]

Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

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CHAPTER X:
KITCHEN

History and location

Obviously, there must have been a kitchen associated with the first Big House located in the 1829-c. 1836 square fort, but no definite record of this structure has come to light. [1] The first kitchen at Fort Vancouver of which there is any detailed knowledge was that connected with the second Big House which, as has been seen, was built during the winter of 1837-1838 in the new section enclosed when the fort was expanded to the eastward.

The new kitchen must have been completed about the same time as the second Big House, that is by about March 19, 1838. But no known records prior to July, 1841, provide an adequate indication of its size and location. The Emmons ground plan of that date shows a large structure identified as "No. 2," the "Commander's Kitchen and servants quarters," situated directly north cf the Big House and connected with the latter by a passage of some type. According to the Emmons map the kitchen was the same length as the Big House, that is 70 feet, although it was not quite as deep, and it butted against the north palisade wall (see plate III). [2]

As has been seen, the Emmons diagram is not to be relied upon for the exact dimensions of particular structures. Also, the representation of so many buildings as immediately adjoining the stockade walls is not confirmed by archeological findings or by later maps. Nevertheless, Emmons's ground plan provides a highly valuable view of the general locations and the number of the fort structures.

Even if there were no confirming evidence, Emmons's representation of the kitchen as a separate structure from the manager's residence, placed in the rear of the latter but joined to it by a passageway, could be accepted without question. Such a location was in accordance with the prevailing practice at Company posts across the entire continent. The dread of fire seems to have been the chief reason for this isolation of the cooking facilities. [3]

Emmons was observing another widespread Company practice when he noted that the servants' living quarters were in the kitchen building. In 1840, for example, the wife of the chief factor at York Factory described her home in a letter. Among the features she mentioned were the "men servants rooms off the kitchen." [4] Writing of Fort Qu'Appelle in 1867, Isaac Cowie stated: "Behind and connected by a short passage with the 'big house' was another building, divided by log partitions into a kitchen and cook's bedroom, and into a nursery for Mr. McDonald's children and their nurse." [5] Similar testimony is available concerning other posts. Incidentally the cooking -- and much of the house work -- was largely performed by men at Hudson's Bay Company posts. [6]

The information provided by Emmons concerning the kitchen is confirmed and refined by the

very accurate ground plan of Fort Vancouver drawn by Lieutenant Vavasour late in 1845 (plate VII). This map places the kitchen about eight feet north of the Big House and about 13 feet south of the north stockade wall. Since, as shall be seen, the kitchen was 24 feet wide from north to south, the distance between the north wall of the Big House and the north palisade should have been 45 feet according to Vavasour. Remarkably enough, this figure coincides almost exactly with the findings of the archeologists.

The Vavasour plan further shows that the east wall of the kitchen was in line with the east wall of the Big House. The west kitchen wall, on the other hand, was inset about 10 feet from an extension of the west wall of the Big House.

The kitchen shown on the Emmons and Vavasour plans continued to stand at least until the spring of 1847. It is listed in the inventory of 1846-1847 and can be surely identified by comparing the size there given with that indicated on the Vavasour map. [7]

By 1854, however, this kitchen had disappeared. The Plan of Survey of the Fort Vancouver Military Reservation made under the direction of Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville in that year shows the buildings within the Hudson's Bay Company's stockade with evident care (plate XIX). Where the kitchen of Emmons and Vavasour had stood there was only empty space on the 1854 map.

The fate of the kitchen is still uncertain. Dugald Mactavish, who was at Vancouver as chief factor from Outfit 1853 through Outfit 1857, later testified that the 60 x 24-foot kitchen was "pulled down" sometime between 1846 and 1858. [8] Another witness confused the issue by remembering that a building, which he thought was the kitchen, burned down in the fall or winter of 1852. This structure, he said, was rebuilt. [9]

It has already been seen in Chapter VIII, however, that it was not the kitchen which burned on November 23, 1852, but a wash house, part of which had been used "lately" as a cookhouse or kitchen. [10] The fact that a portion of the wash house was being used for the preparation of meals may indicate that Mactavish was correct and that the old kitchen had already been demolished by November, 1852.

At any rate, by the time Colonel Bonneville completed his survey of the Fort Vancouver Military Reservation in 1854 a new kitchen had been erected. It stood adjacent to the northeast corner of the Big House and thus lay immediately northeast of that structure. Although not labeled on the Bonneville map or on at least two later military reservation surveys on which it appears, the identity of this new structure as a kitchen is clearly established by the ground plan (see plate XXX) and inventory of Hudson's Bay Company structures drawn up by a board of army officers on June 15, 1860. Building no. 4 on that plan is named "Kitchen (Governor's house)" in the accompanying report by the board. [11]

By the time the new cookhouse was built, Fort Vancouver was well into the period of its economic decline. Expenses of the common mess had been severely curtailed, a condition which seems to be reflected in the small size of the new kitchen as compared with the old. By June, 1860, the building was "entirely out of repair," but it seems to have served its function as long as the Company remained at the post. Then it undoubtedly soon shared the destruction which was the fate of the other buildings after their occupation by the army.

The Fort Vancouver kitchen was presided over by a series of cooks and stewards, few of whom served for any considerable length of time. At intervals, sometimes of several years, the rolls of fort employees list no persons designated as "cook," leading to the assumption that there were periods when laborers or even voyageurs were pressed into service in the kitchen.

That something of the sort took place is shown by the sudden listing of a veteran Hawaiian employee named Jack Ropeyarn as cook at an annual salary of £22 on the roll for Outfit 1846 (the period June 1, 1846, to May 31, 1847). The previous year, and for a number of outfits before that, he had been carried as a laborer at £17 a year. After Outfit 1847 Ropeyarn disappears from the lists of servants at the post, and no cook can be found on the rolls from that time until the post was abandoned in 1860. But one can safely assume that the manager and his family did not personally prepare the meals for the gentlemen's mess. [12]

Perhaps one reason it was so difficult to keep cooks at Fort Vancouver was the fact that, at least during the early years, the cook was also supposed to be the manservant to the "gentlemen" of the establishment. In 1829, for instance, he was required to bring them water for washing and shaving, to brush their shoes, to make the beds and sweep the rooms of the bachelors, and to perform other assorted tasks. [13]

Most visitors to Fort Vancouver spoke in glowing terms of the plentiful and varied food served from the post kitchen. Narcissa Whitman, Thomas Jefferson Farnham, and Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, among others, described the "abundance of good fare" they enjoyed at the fort. The roast duck, boiled pork, fresh salmon, numerous vegetables, melons, puddings, pies, and many other dishes served in "course after course" made a distinct and favorable impression. [14]

Miss Anna Maria Pittman, in 1837, was quite overwhelmed in fact. She wrote in her diary: "Our first course was soup, next boiled salmon, then roasted ducks, then such a roast turkey as I never saw or ate. It was a monster, it was like cutting slices of pork, then wheat pancakes, after that bread and butter and cheese all of their own make, and excellent too." [15] Evidently Clerk George B. Roberts was correct when he remembered years later that "We often had a bountiful table in those days." [16]

But given the frequent changes of cooks, many of whom must have been quite unskilled, there undoubtedly were periods when the food left something to be desired. The Reverend Mr. Herbert Beaver was hypercritical of conditions at Fort Vancouver, and most of his complaints can be discounted. He may have had a valid point at the time, however, when he wrote on March 19, 1838: "We have seldom anything good to eat, and when we have, it is generally so badly cooked, as to be uneatable." [17]

Sharing the commissary department with the cook was the steward. Occasionally there was a second steward, listed simply as "Steward" or sometimes as "Mess Steward." There is no direct evidence that the steward lived or even conducted his major business in the kitchen, but such almost certainly was the case. At York Factory a corresponding functionary seems to have been termed the butler, and the "butler's table" evidently was in the kitchen. [18]

It should be noted, however, that there was a storeroom or larder called the "dépense," for the holding, sorting, and dispensing of rations and other foodstuffs, evidently those for fairly immediate consumption. There is no indication as to where the dépense was located. It is not described as a separate building in any known source, yet it was sometimes spoken of almost as if it were. The dépense may have been under the supervision of the steward, though for Outfits 1846 through 1848 there was a "Depense Keeper" in addition to one or two stewards. [19] In 1829 Dr. McLoughlin placed the fort surgeon in charge of issuing the provisions for the mess hall, but how long this arrangement lasted is not known. [20]

One of the best-known stewards at Fort Vancouver was William Burris, a Londoner who appeared on the post rolls as cook for Outfit 1839 at £27 per annum. The next year he was listed as a steward, but he went home to England on the Company's vessel Vancouver during the fall of 1840. He returned on the same ship during Outfit 1842 and took up his former

position as steward at £30 a year. He continued to serve until the last day of 1844 when he retired to a claim he had purchased in the Willamette Valley. [21] According to George B. Roberts, Burris had a European wife, an extremely rare circumstance at Fort Vancouver at the time. Unfortunately, once free from the Company's discipline he lost control of himself and eventually killed his wife and children. [22]

During Outfit 1845 (June 1, 1845, to May 31, 1846), the period to which Fort Vancouver is to be restored, the steward was Edward Spencer. He was carried on the Vancouver rolls in 1843 as an apprentice with six years of service. His salary was £17 a year, close to the minimum for the Columbia Department. He undoubtedly was of part Indian blood, since his birthplace was listed as "native" or "Rupert's Land." He must have been a man of ability, because by 1845 he had been promoted to steward at a salary of £25. For the three succeeding outfits his title was "Dépense Keeper," and by 1849 he was an interpreter and was placed in charge of Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia River. Two years later he bore the rank of postmaster and ran the Company's establishment at Coweeman. [23]

In addition to Edward Spencer, the only person known to have been connected with the culinary department during Outfit 1845 was Joseph Thibeault. About 23 years old at that time, Thibeault was a French-Canadian from Montreal who was serving as a "middle man," the lowest rank of boatman or voyageur. The records show that for the year he received, in addition to his salary £17, a gratuity of three shillings for acting as "Mess Steward." [24] No cook is listed on the rolls for 1845, but the post gardener, William Bruce, may have assisted in the kitchen since it seems to have been his habit to frequent that strategic location and, as we have seen, to be on hand when Chief Factor McLoughlin called for his snuff. [25]

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Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

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CHAPTER XI:
SALE SHOP

History and location

In late 1845, the approximate period to which it is planned to restore Fort Vancouver, the post contained four large general warehouses or "stores" as they were commonly called. Two of these buildings were ranged along the west stockade wall and two along the western portion of the south wall.

These warehouses were as follows (building numbers from "Site Plan, Historic Fort Area, Historic Structures Report, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site," July 1965, see plate II; building names, first as given by Vavasour (plate VI), second as given by contemporary H.B.C. sources):

Bldg. no. 4. "Shop & Store"; "Sale Shop." [1]
Bldg. no. 5. "Store"; "New Store." [2]
Bldg. no. 7. "Stores"; "Receiving Store." [3]
Bldg. no. 8. "Stores"; "Fur Store." [4]

It will be noted that all of these structures were within the area of the original square stockade of 1829. Furthermore, the sites of these buildings were, in 1841, occupied by structures of similar size and general function as is shown by the Emmons ground plan (plate III) and the drawing by Henry Eld (plate IV). [5] The Emmons map shows the two warehouses along the west wall as a single structure, but the Eld view clearly shows that there were two separate buildings linked by a partial roof.

Because of the similarities in size and location, one might be tempted to assume that the warehouses of 1845 were also those of 1841. But the pictorial and documentary evidence proves otherwise, at least as far as most of the structures are concerned.

The Eld drawing of 1841 demonstrates that all four warehouses at that time had gable roofs. The Warre view of 1845, on the other hand, shows that by then three of the four, all that are visible in the picture, had hipped roofs (see plate IX). The Coode water color sketch and the Paul Kane pencil drawing, both dating from about a year later, show hipped roofs on all four structures with great clarity, as does the Yale University painting which probably represents the fort as it appeared in 1847-1848 (see plates XI, XIV, and XV). Also, the warehouses shown in the Eld drawing, except possibly for that on the site of Building no. 7, seem to be appreciably lower than those shown in the views of 1845 and later (see especially the George Gibbs drawings of 1851, plates XVII and XVIII). On the basis of the pictorial evidence, therefore, one must conclude that between 1841 and 1845 the four warehouses were either rebuilt or rather extensively altered.

The written record supports such a conclusion, at least in part. According to the later testimony of one old Company employee, the principal storehouses were replaced by better-built structures in 1843 and 1844, although another witness placed the construction of at least two of the new storehouses at a somewhat later date, about 1845 to 1846. [6] Still another witness, however, denied that there was any extensive rebuilding during 1845 and 1846. [7]

Be this as it may, the construction of one of these new stores, that now termed Building no. 5, is known by an entry in Clerk Thomas Lowe's diary to have begun in the spring of 1844. [8] Also Building no. 4 and Building no. 7 were shingled during the summer of 1845, which means that construction work on them had been completed, and perhaps long completed, prior to that time. [9] It is also most probable that Building no. 8 had been finished by the end of 1844, because on December 21 of that year Lowe noted the erection of a new flagpole "within a few feet of the East end of the Fur Store." [10] From Vavasour's plan it is known that this flagstaff was located directly east of the building presently designated as no. 8. In 1841 the structure on the site of Building no. 8 was the rather low, gable-roofed Indian trade store. By 1844, therefore, this old Indian shop had been replaced at least in function by the fur store, and it seems most reasonable to suppose that the replacement in the actual physical sense, which is known positively to have taken place by late 1845, had also occurred by the end of 1844.

It seems clear, then, that the sale shop of late 1845 was quite a new building, constructed sometime between 1841 and mid-1845. Probably when completed, perhaps about 1843, it was topped by a temporary plank roof. On May 24, 1845, Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his journal: "A gang of men put to shingle the roof of the Sale Shop." On June 5 he recorded: "Finished shingling the Sale Shop." [11]

Nothing has been found in the documentary record concerning further structural alterations to the sale shop, but it is certain that some were made. The Coode water color dating from 1846-1847, for instance, shows the sale shop door to have been rather simple, unflanked by lights or windows and unsheltered (see plates XI and XII). By 1860, as is demonstrated by the photograph taken in May of that year, there were lights, similar to French doors, adjacent to each side of the door, and a covered entryway projected from the front of the building (see plate XXVIII).

During the late 1850's when the staff at Fort Vancouver was reduced to a mere skeleton crew, it became impossible to keep up with the needed repair work. "The buildings are becoming very old and some of them crazy," lamented Chief Trader James Allan Grahame on September 19, 1859. "The Warehouses in which the goods are kept, being newer than any of the other buildings," he continue "are in a much better state of preservation, but even they are beginning to show the effects of wind and weather, and are so ponderously put together that when any part gives way it is very expensive and laborious to patch it up." [12]

The sale shop was still standing when the United States Army took possession of Fort Vancouver on June 14, 1860. The next day a board of officers examined the buildings in the old post and found the Hudson's Bay Company's "store" to be entirely unsuitable for military purposes. [13]

Under the direction of Captain Rufus Ingalls, assistant quartermaster of the army's Fort Vancouver, soldiers were soon set to work tearing down the Company's buildings. The destruction was halted about the end of June as the result of a protest by the British government, but by that time the old sale shop had been partly demolished. Nothing further concerning the fate of this individual structure has been found in the record, but it undoubtedly gradually melted away from vandalism and decay as did most of the other structures from the fur-trade period. [14]

Evidently from the date of its establishment Fort Vancouver possessed a sale shop which was distinct from the "Indian Shop" where the natives traded furs, salmon, mats, and various types of game for guns, axes, ammunition, blankets, and a host of other manufactured items. During the early years, when there were few visitors who were not Company employees and when there were no settlers except a few "freemen," the sale shop was largely for the convenience of the firm's own gentlemen and servants. The officers and clerks frequently ordered clothing, books, special foodstuffs, and similar luxuries directly from England, but for the men in the lower ranks the Fort Vancouver sale shop was ordinarily the only available source for the shirts and trousers, tobacco, pipes, eating utensils, and other items they and their families needed to augment the rather spare rations dispensed by the Company.

The sale shop or trading store at Vancouver served not only the employees at the headquarters depot but also those at many outlying posts, since the goods kept on hand at those places were largely reserved for trading with the Indians. Generally the servants at the subsidiary establishments were allowed to buy only once a year, through written orders sent to the Fort Vancouver sale shop. Perhaps this same rule held also for the lower ranks at the headquarters itself, since the common laborers and trades men certainly had little time for shopping. [15] But clerks and commissioned officers seem to have been permitted to drop into the shop whenever convenient. Dr. W. F. Tolmie, for instance, visited the store soon after his arrival at the post in 1833 and "looked out" cloth for two calico jackets and a tartan vest. He also purchased a rifle. [16]

Pricing at Company sale shops was in accordance with tariffs or rates established by the Councils of Rupert's Land. These rates varied from time to time and were fairly complicated. [17]

Thus Clerk George B. Roberts was only partially correct when he remembered in later years that commissioned officers (chief traders and chief factors) bought goods at an advance of 33-1/3 per cent over invoice or London cost, while clerks and servants paid an advance of 50 per cent, and "outsiders" paid 100 per cent.1 [8] That the rate to "outsiders" was of long standing and was applied in the Columbia District is demonstrated by the words of Narcissa Whitman, who wrote at Vancouver on November 1, 1836, that the Company "only charge us a hundred per cent more than the prime cost, or England prices" for the articles needed to establish the American Board missions in the Oregon Country "All their goods," she added, "are of the best quality & will be durable." [19]

Transaction at the sale shop were conducted almost entirely upon a credit and debit arrangement. As far as employees were concerned, this was virtually the only method used, since wages and other types of remuneration were not paid in cash but were credited to the accounts of each individual. Items purchased at the sale shop were charged to these accounts.

Travelers and settlers transacted business at the store on much the same basis. Missionaries, government expeditions, and well-recommended travelers like William Drummond Stuart established accounts with various types of notes or bills of exchange. Free trappers brought in furs, deerskins, and other product of the chase for which they were given credits on the Company's books. Even as late as the mid-1840's the sale shop continued to take in furs, although by that time the amount of credit established in this manner was small. [20]

The first permanent agricultural settlers in the Oregon County were retired Company servants, largely French-Canadians. Since Dr. McLoughlin would not permit them to establish farms unless they had a credit of £50 on the Company's books, these settlers all had substantial balances against which they could charge their purchases at the sale shop. But when Americans began drifting into the Willamette Valley during the early 1830's they were, for the most part, destitute. McLoughlin was practically forced to grant them credit, though it

was against Company policy to do so.

As soon as the Willamette farms came into production, however, there was a new form of "currency" -- wheat -- which could be applied against the debit balances and used to create credit accounts. Until 1840 the settlers had to bring their grain to Fort Vancouver, but in 1840 the Company began accepting it at Champoeg. For many years the Company purchased all the wheat that was offered, and the receipts given by the receiving clerk passed as currency. [21]

The sale shop account books for Fort Vancouver have disappeared, but those for the trading store at Fort Nisqually have survived. They illustrate vividly the types of transactions that were conducted in the sale shop, though undoubtedly provisions played a larger role in the trade at Nisqually than they did at Vancouver. James Flett was a settler, one of a group brought from Red River by the Company to strengthen the British position in Oregon. His account from November, 1841, to January, 1842, includes the following transactions:

Novr.	9	5-1/2	lbs. fresh beef
	9	1	Bushel Potatoes
	10	6-1/2	lbs. salt salmon
	10	2	Gall Pease [peas]
	13	10	lbs. salt salmon
	13	3	Ducks
	. . . .		
Novr.	15	3-1/2	yd. Green Baize
Novr.	20	2	lb. California Grease
Jany.	5	1	Ox Yoke Ring Complete [22]

These items were charged to Flett's account, and it is not clear how he made payment. Another settler, however, paid for a "Boar Chinese breed 35 days old" by turning in two "Chevreuil [mule deer] Skins" and by "27 days Labor Cradling and mowing." [23]

Until well into the 1840's there was very little coin circulating in the Oregon Country, and seemingly not much of that found its way to the Fort Vancouver sale shop. In fact, one old settler said that gold and silver money was not accepted by the Company during the "early days." [24] Be this as it may, the firm certainly had no hesitation in receiving gold dust and coin after the California gold rush made those articles common in Oregon. The transportation of gold between Fort Vancouver and Fort Victoria became almost routine after 1849.

All of these matters are not merely of academic interest as far as a restoration project at Fort Vancouver is concerned. It will be recognized that the system of business only briefly and partially outlined above must have required the keeping of voluminous accounts. These started with the "pencilled blotter" that the clerk carried around with him in the shop for recording sales and also receipts of items such as furs. The blotter entries were copied in ink into a day book, a fur receipt book, and one for receipts and expenditures of provisions. [25] From these records, evidently, the clerks in the office posted entries in the accounts of the individual employees, settlers, and other customers. All of this activity should be reflected in the furnishings of both the sale shop and the office.

Evidently during the earliest years the stock carried in the Fort Vancouver sale shop was somewhat limited. In 1829 William Connolly wrote from Stuart Lake in British Columbia to his friend James Hargrave in the East asking him to send a half dozen "neat cotton handkerchiefs" as "nothing of the kind can be got at Fort Vancouver." [26] When ordering fresh stock, Chief Factor McLoughlin frequently kept in mind the tastes and the incomes of

the Company's servants. [27]

The effects of this policy were evident as late as 1836. Mrs. Whitman complained that she could buy no sheets at Fort Vancouver, nor was any bedding except blankets offered. No cloth was available for making shirts, she found, "except striped or calico." She could find only one piece of linen cloth in the shop. [28] Her conclusion was that the shop contained "every article for comfort & durability we need, but many articles for convenience & all Fancy articles are not here." [29]

As more and more settlers moved into Oregon, the Company responded to demand by increasing the variety of goods stocked. The inventories reproduced later in this chapter and in chapter XII show that by the mid-1840's there was no lack of white muslin handkerchiefs, "bed ticking linen," and even white cotton shirts with linen "collars & bosoms" in the Fort Vancouver sale shop.

But the wants of most customers continued to be simple. Undoubtedly the purchases made by John Minto, a pioneer of 1844, at the Fort Vancouver sale shop during January of the next year were quite typical. He came away with 20 pounds of flour, 6 pounds of salt pork ("the company made no bacon" he later recalled), a gallon bucket of block tin, with a lid, a pint cup, and 6 "highly colored coarse cotton handkerchiefs." [30]

In order to round out this picture of the trading store, it may be well to notice that during the boom period of the fur trade in the Oregon Country, largely the 1830's, the sale shop was not rated highly as an income producer. "The business of Fort Vancouver may be said to consist of three distinct branches," wrote James Douglas in 1838: "These are the Indian Trade, the Farm & Saw Mill, each of importance." There was no mention of the sale shop although for Outfit 1836 its profit was about £1665, about half that produced by the "important" Indian shop, while for Outfit 1837 the sale shop profit of £1613 was almost equal to the £1985 produced by the Indian shop. [31]

As the 1840's progressed, the sale shop assumed an ever-larger share of the business conducted at Fort Vancouver. The fur trade, on the lower Columbia at least, declined greatly during this same period. Figures for the years 1840 to 1850 reveal that, for the posts south of the forty-ninth parallel as a whole, business shrank about two thirds during that time, from about £13,000 to approximately £4,500.

As the fur returns grew less, the Company turned more and more to a general merchandising business, which continued to expand with the population. During the California gold rush, particularly, the Hudson's Bay wholesale and retail stores enjoyed a booming trade. One employee of the firm later estimated that for Outfit 1849/50 the profits "at and around" Fort Vancouver were about £22,000. Sir George Simpson was somewhat more conservative in 1852 when he stated that the profit at Fort Vancouver exceeded £17,000 in 1849. [32]

By 1852, however, the competition of American merchants began to make itself felt. [33] Three years later Chief Factor Grahame could only describe business at Fort Vancouver's "extremely dull." [34] The Indian wars of 1855 to 1858 brought large sales to the Oregon Volunteers and others engaged in the campaigns, but the prosperity did not last. [35] By 1859 Grahame was again complaining, "Business here is very dull indeed." [36] The course of the Fort Vancouver sale shop had nearly been run.

During 1845 and early 1846, the period in which we are particularly interested, the clerk in charge of the Fort Vancouver sale shop was James Allen Grahame. He was a young Scotsman from Edinburgh who had signed with the Company as an apprentice clerk in 1843. After wintering at Red River he had come overland to the Columbia Department with the express in the fall of 1844. He reached Fort Vancouver on October 31, 1844.

At that time David McLoughlin, clerk and son of Chief Factor John McLoughlin, presided over the sale shop, but since he was away on another assignment the freshman apprentice, Grahame, was put in his place. On November 29, 1844, Grahame began the responsible task of taking the sale shop inventory. By the twenty-third of the next month it had been "settled" that Grahame would remain in charge of the trading store, since David McLoughlin was being transferred to the post at Willamette Falls.

Although perhaps not immediately germane to the present study, it is interesting to note that Grahame's career, both before and after he served in the Vancouver sale shop, illustrates certain aspects of the Company's employment policies. First, he was the nephew of Chief Trader George Trail Allan, and thus family influence no doubt played a part in his winning an appointment. Second, he demonstrated that a man of ability could go far in the firm's service. As a chief trader in 1860 it fell to him to turn the keys of Fort Vancouver over to the army quartermaster when the Company decided to retire from the post. A year later he was promoted to chief factor, and in 1874 he was appointed chief commissioner, the Company's principal officer in North America, at a salary of £1500. [37]

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI:
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON SALE SHOP GOODS

Mere lists of items carried in stock at Company sale shops convey to present-day readers only a vague impression of the shape, feel, and general appearance of many of the articles. While a few items, such as needles, thimbles, and earthenware, have changed very little over the years, probably most have been considerably altered or are no longer being manufactured at all. A number were produced according to Hudson's Bay Company specifications to meet the needs of the Indian trade.

The determination of the exact descriptions of goods to be placed on display in a reconstructed and refurnished Fort Vancouver sale shop is a matter for curatorial experts and cannot be treated in this report. However, during the course of research certain scraps of information which might be useful in preparing such descriptions have been encountered, and they are given here for what they may be worth.

The best source of information, of course, is found in the actual surviving artifacts of the northern fur trade. Perhaps the best collections of such items are in the museum and the restored trading store at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, Manitoba Another fine assemblage of trade goods, though of a slightly later era than our 1845-1846 period, is in the refurnished sale shop at Fort Langley, near Vancouver, British Columbia. Other items are held in the study collections, and sometimes in the public exhibits, at a number of provincial museums in Canada, particularly those of British Columbia and Alberta.

The Hudson's Bay Company no longer maintains its former fine historical museum, but the Company's library and photographic collections will prove helpful. Guidance can be obtained from Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith, Librarian, Hudson's Bay Company, Hudson's Bay House, 79-93 Main Street, Winnipeg 1, Manitoba, Canada. The National Historic Sites Service, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, Canada, has also done considerable research concerning Hudson's Bay trade goods in connection with the development and interpretation of several former Company posts now under its jurisdiction.

Another source of information consists of the fairly considerable body of pictorial material available. A close study of a complete file of The Beaver, the periodical issued by the Hudson's Bay Company, should prove rewarding. Goods listed in the Fort Vancouver sale shop inventory are illustrated by the following plates in the present report, several of which are from The Beaver: CIV, CV, CVI, CVII, and CVIII).

The documentary sources, particularly the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, yet remain to be completely explored for information relating to trade goods. If the stray items incidentally encountered are any indication, a systematic search should be rewarding. Some of these items are as follows:

a. In a list of goods imported to the Columbia Department from England in the barque Vancouver in March, 1845, were the following patterns of tartan cloth:

328	yds	Argyle	Tartan	
1119-1/2	yds	Clanranald	Do	
1438-1/2	yds	McDuff	Do	
298-1/2	yds	Rob Roy	Do	
339-1/2	yds	Royal Stuart	Do	[1]

b. After complaining to the London office about some shawls received in March, 1845, James Douglas, at Fort Vancouver, said that for Outfit 1847 he had ordered:

> "6 doz. 8/4 fancy check and striped woolen Shawls at about 8/ ea.
> 12 doz. 8/4 Tartan Shawls as pr. pattern in England."

By the former, said Douglas, he meant ladies fine wool shawls, "to be half scarlet and half assorted grounds, 8/4 square, with fringes on the four sides."

The second lot, he continued should be after a pattern sent to England several years earlier and should be fine wool shawls, 8/4 square, with fringes on four sides. [2]

c. Hudson's Bay strouds was a "strong cloth" much favored by the Indians. One native, for instance, bought dark blue strouds for gowns and red for leggings. [3] A sample of this type of cloth, made to Company specifications, may be seen at Lower Fort Garry.

d. Russian sheeting was a "singularly light but strong flaxen material" often used for tarpaulens on boats. [4]

e. During March, 1847, the chief factors in charge of the Columbia Department complained about the gentlemen's trousers supplied by the firm of Favel & Bousfields: "They fit no one, being too wide and too long in the body, while the legs are disproportionately short and wide. There being no corpulent people in this country, a few inches of cloth can therefore be spared from the body, to add to the legs." [5]

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CHAPTER XII:
NEW STORE AND RECEIVING STORE

History and location

South and southeast of the sale shop there stood in 1845-1846 two large warehouses which were so much alike in function and appearance that it seems desirable to treat them together. They were the building presently designated as no. 5 on the Site Plan, Historic Structures Report, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site (plate II of this report), which was known in Company days as the "Store," or "New Store;" and the structure now called Building no. 7, known to the employees of the Honorable Company as "Stores," or "Receiving Store."

As was seen in the last chapter, these structures were erected during the period from about 1843 to 1845 to replace, or at least reconstruct, earlier buildings of approximately the same sizes which stood on or near the same sites. In 1841 the building which stood where the "New Store" was located in 1845 was described by Lieutenant George Foster Emmons as a "General Store House -- provisions, Dry goods, Hardware, &c." The site of the 1845 "Receiving Store" was occupied in 1841 by the "Building for Furs &c." [1]

Evidently not long after Emmons drew his ground plan in 1841 it was decided that more warehouse space was required for the large stocks of trade goods, provisions, maritime stores, and other items kept on hand at the Fort Vancouver Depot, the supply point for the far-flung posts of the Columbia Department. By the end of 1844 the Fur Store no longer occupied the site of Building no. 7; it had been moved to the eastward a few feet into the structure now designated as Building no. 8. [2] The area thus left free was utilized for a new warehouse, known as the "Receiving Store," the present Building no. 7.

Seemingly it was somewhat later, in the spring of 1844, that the former "General Store House," the more southerly of the two warehouses along the west palisade, was demolished, entirely or in part, and work started on its replacement, the present Building no. 5, the "New Store."

The little that is known about the histories of these two new warehouses may be summarized as follows:

Building no. 5, the "New Store." In his journal for September 10, 1844, Clerk Thomas Lowe made the following notation: "Baron and a party of men employed at the New Store adjoining the Sale Shop which was commenced last Spring." [3] On October 15 he again mentioned this building: "Baron with a few men began to shingle the new Store next [to] the Sale Shop." [4]

Though these words are few, they tell a great deal. First, they indicate that the "New Store" was begun in the spring of 1844 and completed about the end of October that same year. Second, by describing the new structure as adjoining the sale shop they fix its location

precisely, for the only building standing in such a position was the one presently called Building no. 5, which stood directly to the south of the trading store. In fact, on two versions of the Vavasour ground plan of 1845 and in the Coode water color of 1846-1847, the "New Store" is shown linked to the sale shop by structural elements of undeterminable nature (see plates VI, VII and XI).

The "New Store" seems to have been one of the two warehouses which were not torn down by the army during the two or three weeks of destruction which followed the military takeover of the Company's establishment on June 14, 1860. It probably fell prey to firewood scavengers, to decay, and perhaps to fire during the next several years. [5]

Building no. 7, the "Receiving Store." On July 23, 1844, Thomas Lowe noted in his diary: "Mr. Roberts putting up some articles for the N. W. Coast in the Store." [6] When one begins to speculate as to which building this particular "Store" was, one reaches an interesting conclusion. This "Store" undoubtedly was not the present Building no. 4, which Lowe consistently called the "Sale Shop." It certainly was not Building no. 5, because as we have just seen, this "New Store" had not been completed by July, 1844. And it probably was not Building no 8, which Lowe called the "Fur Store." Therefore, since "the Store" of July 23, 1844, must have been one of the four large warehouses then in the fort, it almost certainly was the present Building no. 7.

A year later, on June 5, 1845, Lowe entered the words, "began to shingle the Receiving Store," in his journal. [7] This "Receiving Store" clearly was not Building no. 5, the "New Store," because that building had been shingled the preceding fall. Neither was it, in all probability, Building no. 4, the "Sale Shop," or Building no. 8, the "Fur Store" since, as we have seen, Lowe seems always to have referred to those structures by name. Also, the sale shop is known to have been shingled just prior to June 5, 1845. Therefore, the "Receiving Store" very probably was the one presently called Building no. 7.

If this reasoning is correct, the "Receiving Store" had been completed and was in use by mid-1844. At that time it probably had a plank roof which was replaced by a shingled one during the summer of the next year.

Building no. 7 was situated parallel with the south palisade, east of and at right angle to the south end of Building no. 5. It was among the structures turned over to the army in mid-1860, and its fate seems to have been the same as that of the "New Store.

It will he noted that this building was near the west gate in the south palisade. This entrance provided the closest access into the fort from the wharf, and a warehouse almost adjacent to it would have been advantageously located for receiving cargo imported from London.

Warehouse operations In a sense, the warehouses or "stores" at Fort Vancouver were the very heart of the Company's business in the entire area west of the Rocky Mountains, from Mexican California on the south to Russian Alaska on the north. To a degree, Fort Vancouver operated as any other headquarters post for a fur-trading district. Through its own Indian sale shop and the subsidiary posts of Fort George and Fort Umpqua as well other trading activities, it collected peltries in return for goods of various types. This activity was segregated in the Company's account books under the heading "Fort Vancouver Fur Trade."

By far the more important aspect of the post's affairs, however, was that conducted under the heading "Fort Vancouver Depot." Into this category fell all the activities having to do with Vancouver's position as administrative headquarters, supply point, and shipping port for the vast Columbia Department. The office, the principal warehouses, the mills, the farm, the bakery, the boat sheds and shipyard, and the several shops for artisans were primarily depot facilities.

To the depot the annual supply ships from England brought the trade goods and other necessities for the Company's operations west of the Rockies, and from there, in turn, the goods were distributed by coastal vessel, river boat, and pack train to the far-flung posts of the department. And to Fort Vancouver each year were brought the fur returns from the entire region. Here they were packed and shipped off to the auctions in London.

By late 1845, the period in which we are primarily interested for purposes of this study, the importance of Fort Vancouver as a depot had begun to decline. The Company for years had desired to find a more central location on the Northwest Coast for its depot, one which would eliminate the need to risk each year the entire departmental supplies and returns in crossing the dangerous bar at the mouth of the Columbia River. The unsettled boundary question and the growing agressiveness of American settlers in the Oregon Country also caused apprehension. Dr. McLoughlin was long able to delay such a move by pointing out that the Columbia River offered the only practicable route for getting supplies into the vast interior area.

But Governor George Simpson ordered the construction of a new depot on Vancouver Island in 1842, and the post, known as Fort Victoria, was built during the next year. The arrival of the "great immigration" of American settlers in 1843 and the formation of the Oregon Provisonal Government made it clear that Great Britain might not be able to maintain its position in Oregon, at least south of the 49th parallel.

The uncertainty surrounding the future of Fort Vancouver was recognized by the Governor and Committee in London. Late in 1844 they instructed the captain of the annual supply ship Vancouver to proceed directly to Fort Victoria rather than to the Columbia. The vessel reached Victoria in February, 1845, and there landed the portion of her cargo destined for the Northwest Coast. Late in March she visited Fort Vancouver to discharge the supplies for the Columbia and the inland posts. [8]

In January, 1845, Simpson warned McLoughlin of the large immigration expected to reach Oregon from the United States during the year. In order to "guard against lawless aggression," the Governor recommended that no more goods be kept at Fort Vancouver than absolutely necessary to meet immediate demands. The "reserved outfit" for the Columbia River posts -- that maintained for a year in advance as a protection in case of a disaster to the supply ships -- should be kept at Fort Victoria along with all the supplies for the Northwest Coast. Furthermore, said Simpson, the furs for the entire Columbia Department should be collected at Victoria instead of Fort Vancouver, and the vessels sailing for England with the annual returns should take their departure from the new post. In other words, the departmental depot was to remain at Fort Vancouver no longer. [9]

During the spring of 1845, McLoughlin took the first step to effect the change by ordering the furs from the coast to be left at Fort Victoria. On July 19 of that year he promised the Governor and Committee that the returns from the interior would he sent there as soon as a vessel was available. [10]

Thus the warehouses as reconstructed at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site should reflect in their furnishings a certain diminution in activity. However, the effects of the new policy on the stocks of warehoused goods probably were slight before the departure of the inland brigade in the summer of 1846. Evidently the first complete departmental reserve stock of goods to be placed in storage at Fort Victoria was that for Outfit 1847, which did not arrive there until the spring of 1846. [11] It should be remembered that the great bulk of the trade goods for the Columbia Department, including New Caledonia (the present inland British Columbia), still had to be transported laboriously up the Columbia River by modified York

boats, known as Columbia boats, to such posts as Fort Walla Walla, Fort Okanogan, and Fort Colvile, from whence they were sent by pack animal to the still-more-distant outposts. Thus the amount of goods kept on hand at Fort Vancouver, at least until the departure of all the inland boats, would have been impressive even without the reserve outfit.

It was the function of the New Store and the Receiving Store, the two buildings we are concerned with in this chapter, to house the precious cargoes of imported goods which were the lifeblood of the Company's western fur trade. Although information on the subject is slight, it seems to have been the practice to house in one store the "goods opened for the current year's business, that is, to sell to their men and to send off to the various stations" and in the other the advance supplies for the following year. [12] From its name, one would suppose that the Receiving Store was the latter.

The business conducted in the two warehouses was essentially a wholesale operation. The goods received from London were charged by the Northern Department to the account of the Columbia District. [13] It was the duty of the clerk in charge of the stores -- who from July, 1844, to December, 1846, was George B. Roberts -- to check the supplies against the bills of lading. He also opened the goods for the current year's operations, sorted them according to the orders from the different posts, and packed them for shipment. The items going to the outlying establishments and to Vancouver's own sale shop were charged against the accounts of the posts "as if they belonged to outsiders." [14]

The process by which goods reached the warehouses started several years before their actual arrival. First the individual post commander or the district chief trader, sometimes nearly four years in advance, made out orders for the supplies he would need for a particular year or outfit. These were then consolidated by Dr. McLoughlin three years in advance to make up a requisition or "indent" for the entire Columbia Department.

The ordering of these goods was perhaps the most important responsibility of the Company's field officers. There was little room for error, because once one of the more distant posts received its outfit it had to be "as self-sufficient as a ship at sea" for an entire year. [15] The whole prosperity of the trade depended upon the receipt of the right types of goods in the right quantities.

The indent which Dr. McLoughlin prepared for Outfit 1838, for example, was signed by him at Fort Vancouver on March 2, 1835. This requisition was carried by the Company's express across the continent to the great depot at York Factory on Hudson Bay, from whence it was sent by ship to England. A duplicate order was dispatched later in the year directly to London in the vessel conveying the annual fur returns. Sometimes patterns or samples of certain desired goods were sent along in an attempt to assure the receipt of items of desired size and quality.

The order was filled by the firm's London office after review, and evidently sometimes after minor changes, by the officers of the Northern Department at York Factory and by the home office staff. [16] Purchases usually were made directly from the manufacturers, sometimes based upon the Company's own specifications.

But such measures did not always assure the receipt of high quality products. In March, 1846, for instance, Chief Factors Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas complained "in the strongest terms" of the cotton goods purchased from Laurie, Hamilton & Co. "They are of the worst quality, and the colors invariably fade, in washing, or exposure to the light," the factors told the Governor and Committee. "Some cases of the Navy blues, have been utterly destroyed, we presume in the dying. Any such found in future we will return." [17]

It was McLoughlin's intention, when he made out his order on March 2, 1835, that the

requested goods should be shipped from London in the fall of 1836, since that season was the usual one for the departure of the annual supply vessel to the Columbia. There was some delay in chartering a ship, however, and it was about the end of January, 1837, before the Sumatra sailed with the supplies for Outfit 1838. She did not reach Fort Vancouver until the fall of 1837, several months later than was customary. But McLoughlin did not complain. The cargo was in "excellent order," and it was transferred to the warehouses for use during the trading year which would begin on June 1, 1838. [18]

The bulging warehouses of Fort Vancouver were always objects of interest to visitors. Mrs. Whitman, in 1836, was among those who, as she wrote in her diary, "went to the stores & found them filled with the cargos of the two ships both above & below, all in unbroken bails." [19] Lieutenant Emmons of the Wilkes party found "quite a large variety & quantity of stores and Furs on hand -- much order and system in the general arrang[e]ment. . . ." [20]

The great bulk of the incoming cargo arrived from London in "huge bales" and large boxes and barrels of various types. Most of the bales consisted of blankets, drygoods, and clothing. In 1847 the Columbia Department factors asked that the bales of moleskin be "wrapped in blankets and each piece to be put up in stout paper, to prevent injury or stain from the effects of the voyage." [21] By the 1860's "tarred inside wrappers" were being used to protect the bales. [22] It is assumed that the bales of the early 1840's had some type of protective wrapping, but its nature has not yet been learned by the present writer. These bales and large containers were routinely unpacked in the stores and made up into smaller bundles for shipment to the individual posts.

Another part of the cargo consisted of what were known as "whole pieces" -- smaller bales, cases, boxes, and kegs of suitable weight and size for inland transport and, particularly, for portaging on the backs of voyageurs. These smaller units were made up in London with a view to saving repacking. They generally weighed a hundredweight or less.

Typical "whole pieces" were small bales of blankets and cloth; "tin-lined cases of small hardware; kegs of gunpowder (sixty-six and two-thirds pounds net) and sugar, chests of tea (of one hundred weight and half a hundredweight net); rolls and 'serons' of tobacco, done up in red-painted canvas, and weighing one hundredweight; double canvas bags of ball and shot, each one hundredweight; cases of yellow soap and long cases of Indian flintlock guns." [23]

Each bundle, bale, and box in the cargo bore a shipping mark, indicating the outfit and the destination for which it was intended. For instance, most of the goods received at Vancouver by the barque Brothers in June, 1844, were marked $45/_{C}$, meaning they were for use during Outfit 1845 in the Columbia District. Some, however, were marked $45/_{NS}$ indicating that they contained naval stores for use during that trading year. Still others, bearing the symbol $45/_{B}$ were destined for use on the Company's steamer, Beaver, which operated on the Northwest Coast. [24]

During March of 1845 the barque Vancouver landed the goods marked intended for use on the Northwest Coast during Outfit 1846, at Fort Victoria. Then she proceeded to the Columbia River and Fort Vancouver to land the cargo marked $46/_{C}$. [25]

It will be noted that in this section of the report no attempt is made to give a detailed list of the types and quantities of goods received in the shipments from England and housed in the stores. Such exact inventories will be found in the later section of this chapter headed "Furnishings." The purpose of the present section is to outline the functions of the warehouses and to give a general idea of the sizes, shapes, and appearance of the goods housed there so that architects and curators can plan interior layouts and perhaps

arrangements of goods and equipment which might illustrate key activities.

It should be made clear at this point that not only imported goods were stored in the warehouses. The Company also gathered in for its own use at the posts and for the conduct of its operations, as well as for sale to Indians, employees, and settlers, a considerable quantity of what was termed "country produce." Such items included the products of its own farms, such as wheat, dried peas, salt beef and pork, and even vegetable seeds. Also coming under this heading were such fruits of hunting and fishing as pickled salmon, deer skins, elk skins, and "Cape Flattery Oil." These goods, if of suitable type, were stored in bags and barrels manufactured at Fort Vancouver or at the post which produced the goods.

Another class of locally produced goods was called "country made articles." Under this heading came items fabricated in the Columbia Department's own tradesmen's shops, generally from imported raw materials. So classified were axe heads, canvas shot bags, tin boxes, tin candlesticks, garden hoes, beaver traps, and many other articles.

It is apparent from such sources as Clerk Thomas Lowe's journal that trade goods and supplies flowed out from the depot warehouses to the subordinate posts at intervals throughout the business year, often as special needs had to be met or as transportation was available. On July 23, 1844, for instance, Clerk George B. Roberts was busy "putting up some articles for the N. W. Coast in the Store." During the first half of 1846, two boats left Vancouver on February 1 with part of the Colvile outfit. On March 5 goods for the interior to be left at Walla Walla, were sent forward in four boats. Early in April two more boats left for The Dalles laden with flour, "part of the Snake Country Outfit." On June 5 the vessel Columbia sailed with supplies for Stikine and the steamer Beaver. Then, on June 30, the big depletion of the stores came when the interior Brigade of nine boats started its usual mid-summer journey up stream for the upper Columbia and New Caledonia. [26]

It was the responsibility of the clerk in charge of the stores to assemble the articles called for by the requisition from each post and to pack them into bundles or "pieces" of about 90 pounds each which could be stowed in small boats, carried by pack animals, and portaged by voyageurs. This process consisted of more than simply opening bales and bundling up, say, so many blankets and so many pieces of cloth, and then augmenting the smaller packages with an assortment of "whole pieces" from London. Care had to be taken to distribute goods and articles of the same type throughout a number of bundles which would be shipped in different boats so that in case of upset in the river or other accident a post's entire yearly supply of, say, capotes would not be lost.

Also, breakable articles, glassware, had to be protected or other drygoods. No packing such as bottles of medicine and by being wrapped in sashes, blankets, in paper, straw, or other waste material that would add weight or bulk was permitted. Since space in the boats was at a premium, articles were "nested" wherever possible. [27]

The Company's clerks had many "tricks of the trade" by which they made sure that fragile items survived the rigors of the long and difficult journeys to the outposts. Window glass suffered a high casualty rate until someone thought of dipping the panes into heated molasses before packing them in boxes. When the "black strap" cooled it firmly glued the panes together into a shock-resistant mass. After the cargo reached its destination, hot water was applied to dissolve the molasses, which was salvaged by the employees to sweeten their tea. It is small wonder that the clerks considered making up the outfits for the subordinate districts and posts to be "an art of calculation and accuracy." [28]

Not everyone was as charmed with these "perfect packages" as were the clerks who assembled them, however. When J. W. Dease complained in 1827 that some articles in his

post's requisition had not been received, McLoughlin admitted: "It may be that some other place has these things and got mixed with theirs in the Baling Room." [29] And protests against the practices that permitted goods such as crockery and pipes to arrive broken at their destinations were not infrequent. [30]

Evidently the final wrapping and tieing of each piece, at least those which were not made up of rigid boxes and which could stand some degree of compression, were performed in a press. The type of protective covering used at Fort Vancouver during the 1840's is not known.

The invariable final touch on each piece was the mark to indicate the outfit, the destination, and the number of the bale or box in the shipment. At certain times and places this mark was placed on a board or slat which was lashed to the bundle with the wrapping cord (see plate CIX). [31] At other times and places it was placed directly on the wrapper or cover with marking pencil or perhaps some type of ink or paint (plate CX). The method used at Fort Vancouver during the 1840's is not known.

But something is known of the marks themselves. Seemingly in the 1840's it was the custom to place the year of the outfit over the symbol for the post. Thus $43/_{FN}$ #1 stood for Outfit 1843, destination Fort Nisqually, bale number 1 of the shipment. [32] By the mid-1850's, on the other hand, all the elements of the mark seem to have been placed on a single level, thus: 54 C #2 meaning Outfit 1854, destination Fort Colvile, bale number 2. [33]

From the two sources cited in the paragraph immediately above and from a scattering of other primary materials, a partial list of post symbols used in packing marks has been assembled. Unfortunately these symbols varied from time to time, so it does not seem possible to be sure which ones were in use at Fort Vancouver in 1845-1846. At any rate, some of those which are known to have been used during the 1840's and 1850's are as follows:

Fort Colvile	C
Fort Nez Perces	NP
Fort Nisqually	N or FN
Fort Nisqually, Puget's Sound Agric. Co.	NPSA
Fort Vancouver	V, FV, or Van
Snake Country	SC

The departure of a supply brigade involved a vast amount of paper work. Not only were detailed inventories kept of the outfits going to each post, but exact lists were kept of what was in each piece or bundle of each outfit. One copy of this list, called a packing account, went to the receiving post. If the same practice was followed as in shipping furs, a piece of paper was tucked into each bundle bearing a list of its contents and a copy of the mark, thus providing a means of identification should the outside marking be lost or damaged in transit. [34]

Due to the feeling for history possessed by a long-time Company employee, some of the highly ephemeral packing accounts associated with the Fort Vancouver stores have been preserved. One, for a shipment of "sundries" sent from Fort Vancouver to Fort Nisqually on September 26, 1843, seems worth reproducing at least in part:

'43 #1 FN	Bale	25 plain Blankets 2-1/2 pts BB
		2 pieces Navy blue Cotton
		1 parcel common round Beads

#2	do	ditto
#3	do	2 balls Cotton Wicks
		3 parcels Beads
		6 plain Blankets 2-1/2 pts BB
		3 Scotch Bonnets
		3 prs Cordy. Trousers
		15 com. Cotton Shirts
		1 piece Navy blue Cotton
		50-1/2 yds green Baize
		5 Ct. Kirby trout hooks
#4	do	ditto except 52 yds red in lieu of green Baize
#5	do	11 plain Blankets 2-1/2 pts BB
		3 prs Cordy. Trousers
		3 Scotch Bonnets
		3 balls Cotton wick
		2 parcels Beads
		5 Ct. Gunflints
		7 lbs. necklace Beads
		1 doz. butchers CS Knives
		10 Com Cott. Shirts
		1 piece Navy blue Cotton
		1 Tent 10 ells
#6	do	27 plain Blankets 2-1/2 pts BB
		1 piece Navy blue Cotton
		3 [illegible] Beads
		3 balls Cotton wick
		3 Scotch Bonnets
		3 prs olive Cord Trousers
		10 Com. Cott Shirts
		5 Ct. Kirby Hooks
		5 Ct. Gunflints
		1 gro. Wire Gunworms
		1 cupboard Lock
Bundle		10 beaver Traps complete w. chains
roll		92 lbs Canada twist Tobacco
[MS torn]		[24] lbs brass collar wire
		[10] beaver trap springs [35]

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http://www.nps.gov/fova/hsr/hsr1-12.htm
Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

PREFACE

Since the completion of volume I of this study, the research and writing required for the present volume have been conducted under the terms of Professional Services Contract No. CX-2000-3-0092 with the Denver Service Center, National Park Service. Both volumes were produced in accordance with Historical Resources Study Proposals FOVA-H-4 and FOVA-H-4a.

To a large extent the following chapters were based upon the same source materials as were those in the first volume, and the debt of the author for assistance and for permission to use and quote manuscripts and to reproduce pictures is thus largely to the same institutions and persons whose help was gratefully acknowledged in volume I. Those acknowledgments will not be repeated here, but to each the writer once more expresses his gratitude.

In the two years that have passed since the issuance of volume I, however, additional archival and field study in both the United States and Canada have increased the writer's indebtedness to old friends and placed him under obligation to many new ones. While each librarian, curator, park guide, and photographer who contributed to this project cannot be named individually, all are remembered, and to all the writer extends his thanks.

Once again, special mention is made of the generous assistance and cooperation received from the Hudson's Bay Company. Without that help this study would have amounted to very little. Continued access was afforded to the Company's archives through the microfilm copies in the Public Archives of Canada, and in the present work all references to, and quotations from, the firm's records are published by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company. Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith, Archivist, Hudson's Bay Company, very kindly read the draft of this entire volume and made a number of valuable suggestions for its improvement. Her assistance is particularly appreciated.

Dr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, and his efficient staff once more provided every facility for research among the rich collections of fur trade source materials in that repository. Particular thanks are due to all the members of the photographic section who worked so hard to produce the sharpest possible prints of several early views of Fort Vancouver.

As always, the staff of the Public Archives of Canada, and especially Mrs. J. Haynes and Mr. Garry Maunder of the Manuscript Division, offered a warm welcome and provided indispensable guidance. Mrs. Jean E Soper, Librarian, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, gave free access to the splendid collection of books on military arms and equipment in her care.

Particular thanks are given to Mr. William M. Pigott, President, National Heritage Limited, Toronto, who has been most generous in providing information from that firm's comprehensive research files and from his extensive knowledge of fur trade building techniques. Miss Joan Halloran, Research; Mr. Murray McCance, Senior Vice President; and

Mr. Ross M. A. Wilson, all of National Heritage Limited, have made valuable contributions that have added much to this study.

A special debt is acknowledged to Mr. Wayne Colwell, Curator, Canadian National Historic Sites Service, who continued to provide technical advice concerning furnishings and who assisted in many other ways. Thanks are extended to the National Historic Sites Service, Canada, for making available a number of fine photographs. Mr. J. C. Finlay, Head of Historical and Sciences Services, Edmonton Parks and Recreation, also gave valuable help with illustrative materials. Mr. J. A. McGinnis, Managing Director, Toronto Historical Board, generously provided photographs of barracks and bakery equipment at Fort York.

In Washington, D. C., Dr. A. R. Mortensen, Chief Historian, and Mr. Harry W. Pfanz, of the Office of History and Archeology, National Park Service, facilitated use of the Library of Congress. Mr. Edwin C. Bearss and Mr. James Sheire, National Park Service historians in Washington, contributed to the general field of the Fort Vancouver study.

Very particular thanks are expressed to Mr. Erwin N. Thompson, Historian, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, who assisted not only with sound counsel but by lending copies of source materials collected during his own studies of Grand Portage. Mr. Harold L. Peterson, Chief Curator, National Park Service, and Dr. E. Raymond Lewis of Washington, D. C. gave expert advice concerning the armaments of the mid-nineteenth century.

At Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Mr. John J. Hoffman, Project Archeologist, and Mr. Lester A. Ross, Museum Specialist, have continued to keep the writer informed of the important finds being made by the current archeological program and have generously provided advice and copies of their outstanding reports. Mr. Donald F. Gillespie, Superintendent, and Mr. Robert Amdor, Park Ranger, have also given valuable assistance.

In addition to the Hudson's Bay Company, the following institutions have graciously granted permission to quote from manuscripts and to reproduce pictures in their collections: Alberta Department of Industry and Development, Edmonton; American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; Archives of Ontario, Toronto; The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library; Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta; Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California; Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria; Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg. Mr. Michael Warre, of London, England, very kindly permitted quotations to be made from the manuscript "Travel and Sport in North America," by General Sir Henry J. Warre.

John A. Hussey

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http://www.nps.gov/fova/hsr/hsr2-0a.htm
Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

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CHAPTER I:
FUR STORE

History and location

The earliest known information concerning the location of the storehouse for furs at Fort Vancouver is found on the ground plan drawn by George Foster Emmons on July 25, 1841 (see Plate III, vol. I). Emmons placed the "Building for Furs &c." along the south stockade wall near its western end, only a few feet east of the brick powder magazine that stood in the southwest corner of the fort. [1] As shown by the Henry Eld sketch of approximately the same date, this 1841 fur store was a substantial two-story or one-and-a-half-story, gable roofed structure (see Plates IV and LIII, vol. I).

By December 21, 1844, however, the location of the fur warehouse had been changed. On that date Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his diary the erection of a new flagpole "within a few feet of the East end of the Fur Store." [2] From the ground plan drawn by Lieutenant Vavasour late in 1845 (see Plate VI, vol. I) and from the actual remains of the flagstaff recovered during archeological excavations in 1972, it is known with certainty that this new flagpole was situated about nine feet east of the structure designated on the present site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site as Building No. 8. [3] It follows, therefore, that the structure whose site is now termed Building No. 8 probably was the 1845-period Fur Store. [4] Unfortunately, Vavasour's detailed plan merely identified this warehouse as one of two "Stores" ranged parallel to the south stockade wall in the southwestern quadrant of the fort.

In 1841, when Emmons drew his plan, the site now designated as Building No. 8 was occupied by the "Indian Trade Store--Hospital Dispensary &c." The Eld drawing shows this structure to have been rather low in height, perhaps only one story, and covered by a gabled roof. It was a long building and stood along the south palisade wall some 15 feet east of the 1841 fur store and directly east of the southwest gate.

On the other hand, the structure that occupied the site of Building No. 8 from at least late 1845 until the end of the fort's existence is known to have been a story and a half or a full two stories in height, and it was topped by a tall hipped roof. [5] Although its length and breadth appear to have been the same, or about the same, as those of the 1841 Indian Trade Shop, the 1845-period Fur Store was clearly not the same structure, at least in its entirety. It must be concluded that at some date between July 1841 and late 1845, when Lieutenant Vavasour drew a sketch of Fort Vancouver (see Plates IX and X, vol. I), the 1841 Indian trade shop was either rebuilt or extensively remodeled, and the new structure became the principal depot repository for furs. As has been seen, this change in function had occurred at least as early as December 21, 1844, and it is reasonable to suppose that replacement in the actual physical sense had also taken place by that time. [6]

Because Fort Vancouver, from its beginnings during the winter of 1824-25, was intended as

a departmental depot, if only a temporary one, it can be assumed that a fur warehouse was among the first structures to be erected. The safekeeping of the peltries upon which profits depended was a major concern of every commissioned officer. Yet nothing regarding the physical appearance or location of the Fur Store is known prior to the plan and drawings made by Eld, Emmons, Agate, and possibly other members of the Wilkes Expedition in 1841. The fur warehouse of that year, as has been seen, was shifted prior to December 1844 to another structure standing directly east of it. It is this latter structure, here termed the 1845-period Fur Store, which is of immediate interest in connection with the reconstruction program. At the very minimum it had at least two predecessors--that still standing in 1841 and one at the first fort site on the hill, 1825-29.

Little more is known about the history of the 1845-period Fur Store than about the stories of its forerunners. One thing is certain, however: the Fur Store was a busy place during the first several years of its existence. There were gathered the annual fur returns of the entire Columbia District, and there they were stored and cared for until they were packed and shipped off in the Company vessel that sailed for England each fall. The numbers and types of furs are covered more precisely in the section of this chapter dealing with the Fur Store furnishings, but an idea of the quantities involved may be gathered from the fact that the ship Vancouver, which departed from Fort Vancouver on October 31, 1843, carried among her assorted cargo "the collection of furs of the season," consisting of 61,118 whole peltries, large and small, in addition to a number of tails, pieces, and damaged skins. [7]

But activity in the Fort Vancouver Fur Store slacked off beginning in 1845. The determination of the Company to shift its main Columbia District depot from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island has already been adequately discussed. [8] As one of several moves in that direction, Gov. George Simpson in January 1845, ordered Chief Factor McLoughlin henceforth to collect the furs from the entire Columbia District at Fort Victoria, from whence the annual ships would take them to London. [9] McLoughlin responded during the spring by instructing that the returns from the Northwest Coast were to be left at Victoria instead of being brought, as usual, to Fort Vancouver. [10] That September, after the furs from New Caledonia and the upper Columbia posts, as well as those gathered at Fort Vancouver and its immediate dependencies, had been assembled in the Columbia depot, they were placed on board the schooner Cadboro and sent to Fort Victoria. There the combined returns of the Columbia District were picked up by the barque Cowlitz for transport to England. [11] The Fort Vancouver Fur Store had ceased to be the principal repository for the Company's returns west of the Rockies.

Exactly what this change meant in the number of furs handled at Fort Vancouver is difficult to determine. Statistics on the returns of all the individual posts for Outfit 1845 (mid-1845 to mid-1846) have not yet been encountered by this writer, so it has not been possible to compute the number of furs that passed through the old Columbia depot during the summer of 1846. Because the returns from New Caledonia and most of the interior districts still reached the sea by way of the Columbia River, the volume continued to be substantial.

But further curtailments were to come. The Treaty of 1846 brought all of the Oregon Country south of the 49th parallel within the boundaries of the United States. Although the pact guaranteed the trading rights and the property of established British subjects and the Hudson's Bay Company south of the border, the political change brought increased difficulties for the firm. For several reasons it became desirable to supply the interior posts north of 49° by an all-British route from Fraser River. In 1847 a pack-horse trail was pioneered across the mountains from Kamloops to the lower Fraser, and the next year the fur returns of the northern posts, including Colvile, which was south of the border, were brought out by a land route. Although it required several years to perfect the new system, it is safe to state that in general the rich fur harvests of New Caledonia and Kamloops ceased to flow

through Fort Vancouver after 1847. [12]

Concurrently the fur trade, which along the lower Columbia in particular had been declining for several years, showed a marked decrease as American settlements grew. Indian wars and the policy of concentrating the natives on reservations further disrupted the trade. By 1856 Fort Walla Walla, Fort Boise, Fort Hall, and Fort Umpqua were among the posts south of the boundary that had been abandoned by the Company. The annual flood of furs th at once poured into Fort Vancouver had been reduced to a trickle. [13]

By the fall of 1849 the reduction in fur returns had seemingly reached such a degree that the Company was willing to accommodate the need of the United States Army for additional storage space in the fort buildings. It will be recalled that on May 14, 1849, two companies of the First Artillery had established a military post on the land surrounding the stockade, and on June 1 the army's quartermaster had executed an agreement to rent certain Hudson's Bay structures. [14] As military operations expanded, additional buildings were rented from time to time.

Evidently it was on October 6, 1849, that the Company's officers in charge of Fort Vancouver began to rent "Half lower floor of Fur Store" to the army for $20 per month for use as a "commissary's store-house." [15] This arrangement continued without substantial change for several years, except that the rental appears to have fluctuated somewhat as time went by. Then, beginning in August. 1852, the available rent records cease to list "Half lower floor of Fur Store" and merely indicate that the "Fur Store" was one of the structures leased to the military. [16] The accounts are somewhat difficult to interpret, but they seem to indicate that about the same time, and surely by 1853, the rent for the "Fur Store inside Fort" increased from approximately $200 per year to $900. [17] Thus it would appear that by 1853 the army was renting all of the Fur Store instead of merely half of the lower floor.

Seemingly such fur storage and handling activities as continued at Fort Vancouver were transferred at that time to the 1845-period Indian Trade Shop (Building No. 21 on the present site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site). At least such might be inferred from the fact that in 1860, when a board of army officers inventoried the surviving fort structures, they described the 1845-period Indian shop as the "Fur house, long since abandoned by the Company." [18]

The army used the rented Fur Store as a quartermaster and commissary warehouse. That the structure thus employed was indeed the 1845-period Fur Store (Building No. 8) is amply demonstrated by the map that accompanied Insp. Gen. Joseph K. Mansfield's report of March 1, 1855, to Gen. Winfield Scott, commanding the Army of the United States. On that drawing the structure presently termed Building No. 8 was identified as a military "Store," and it was the only building within the stockade for which army use was indicated. [19]

Rental records appear to show that the structure continued to serve as a military warehouse until about the end of 1857. [20] No rents were received for the Fur Store during 1858 and 1859, indicating that the building probably had reverted to the control of the Company. It is not known if the firm made any use of the former fur depository during those years. The building is next mentioned in the available records on June 15, 1860, the day after the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned Fort Vancouver. A board of army officers inventoried it as one of "three large storehouses, useless for any purpose connected with the public service." [21]

Within three weeks after the departure of the Company's employees from Fort Vancouver, the army had pulled down one of the large storehouses. It is not known that this building was the Fur Store, but such could have been the case. At any rate, if the structure survived the

first vigorous effort by the army to "police the grounds" where the old fort stood, it did not long remain standing. Vandalism and the ravages of time reduced nearly all the fort building to heaps of rubble by the end of 1865. [22]

Fur Store operations. The primary functions of the staff of the depot Fur Store were to receive the pelts sent in by ship, by boat, and by pack train from the far-flung posts and trapping parties of the Columbia District, to clean and store them, and finally to prepare them for export to England or, beginning in 1845, to Victoria. The returns ordinarily were dispatched from each subsidiary post only once a year, most often with the brigades that visited the depot for the annual supply of trade goods.

The times of these shipments varied considerably. Usually they were made in the spring, at the end of the prime winter trapping season. Posts in distant places, such as New Caledonia, generally closed their year's accounts and packed off their furs somewhat earlier than the forts closer to Vancouver, but such was not always the case. Fort Nisqually, at a relatively short distance from the depot, sent both its accounts and its fur returns for Outfit 1834 to Fort Vancouver in late January 1835. [23] And the returns from the Snake Country and Southern brigades, while they operated, sometimes arrived at unexpected times. But the great bulk of the furs regularly reached the depot early in June with the boats from the interior. Starting at Fort Colvile this "brigade," as it was called, picked up the New Caledonia and Thompson River furs at Okanogan and then paused at Fort Walla Walla for the returns of that post before sweeping on, sometimes nine boats strong, to the Columbia headquarters. For various reasons, often because the returns from distant outposts or expeditions did not reach one of the larger district headquarters posts in time to be shipped with the brigade, furs from one outfit (the trading year from June 1 of the calendar year of the outfit to May 31 of the next calendar year) had to be held over for dispatch the following year. Thus a brigade might bring in returns belonging to two or more outfits. [24]

The furs arrived in tightly bound packs, each weighing about ninety pounds. [25] Each pack ordinarily contained two or more types of skins. That is to say, in the terminology of the trade, they consisted of "mixed skins" as contrasted with the packs of "pure skins" in which all the pelts were from the same species of animal. [26] The dimensions of the packs varied somewhat depending upon the types of furs they contained. Available descriptions are somewhat vague. One writer stated that a standard ninety-pound pack was twenty-four inches long, twenty-one inches wide, and about fifteen inches deep; another gave the dimensions of an eighty-pound pack as twenty-four inches by seventeen inches by ten inches. [27]

The formation of these packs at the individual posts was no casual affair. After being aired, dried, and cleaned, the entire fur returns to be shipped were counted so that the gross weight could be estimated and thus the number of packs determined. Then the different kinds of furs were divided as evenly as possible among the several packs. As one veteran trader stated, the object was to have "as many packs as possible made up of a uniform number of assorted skins." [28] The purpose of mixing the pelts, of course, was to reduce the risk of loss in case of accident during transit. If all the most valuable furs, such as martens, were concentrated in one or two packs and if these were swept away in a boat upset, the result would have been a financial disaster. Next, the larger skins were carefully folded to the proper pack size, and all the pelts were placed in piles and weighted down for about a week.

After these preliminaries were out of the way, the fur press was prepared for action. Three types of presses were employed at the various posts of the Columbia District--lever presses, wedge presses, and screw presses. To describe each of these in detail is not a function of this report, because not all were represented at Fort Vancouver. [29] They are, however, pictured in Plates I, II, III, V. The purpose of all three was the same: to compact the furs into tight bundles that could be transported easily and that were so firm as to be practically impervious

to vermin and moisture. First, pack cords long enough to encircle the compacted furs were placed in open channels cut across the breadth of the press base block and were allowed to dangle free at each end. There were generally three of these cords, but the materials of which they were made varied according to time and place. During the earliest days of Company rule west of the Rockies, they were made from buffalo hides, which were obtained in the Flathead country. But by 1828 these animals were becoming so scarce that McLoughlin was sending the cords binding the packs that had arrived with the brigade back to the interior posts for reuse. [30] It is known that by 1835 deerskins were being cut up for pack cords at Fort Simpson and Fort McLoughlin on the Northwest Coast. [31] Undoubtedly the same practice was followed at other posts.

By at least 1848, and probably considerably earlier, it had been found that heavy cod line or a similar type of line made a satisfactory binding material for fur packs. In fact, it evidently was preferred to the old hide cord. When sending Dr. W. F. Tolmie at Nisqually fifty-six pounds of "Baling line" to tie up beaver pelts, the managers at Fort Vancouver warned that if that quantity did not suffice, he "must have recourse to pack Cord which will answer the purpose equally well; though it is always more supple and tougher when dried by exposure to the air in cold frosty weather." [32] By the 1860s, inland posts east of the Rockies were employing either "raw cowhide" or twenty-four-thread cod line for the three cross lashings on the packs, and eighteen-thread cod line for two lashings that ran the length of the packs and that seemingly were applied after the bundled furs left the press. [33] By the end of the century it appears that ordinary hemp rope was being used for binding (see Plate XI).

After the cords were placed, the next step was to provide some type of protective wrapper for the bottom of the pack. In modern times a piece of burlap is put in the fur press to serve as the bottom section of the covering that completely envelops the pack (see Plate VI]). One observer at Fort Colvile during the early 1860s reported that each pack was protected "by a wrapper of buffalo-hide." [34] How many buffalo hides got to Fort Colvile at that late period is a question, but the quotation serves to illustrate the fact that skins of various types, including bearskins but especially deerskins, were at times used as wrappers, particularly when transportation by pack animals was contemplated.

Unfortunately, the practice of the Columbia District in this regard during the 1840s is not known with certainty. In 1840 the Council of the Northern Department, which included the Columbia District, directed that no beaver or prime bearskins were to be used as wrappers or covers for packs in the future; but a common Company procedure in the 1860s and later was to employ one large beaver pelt for the bottom cover and another for the top but to leave the sides of the pack unprotected. [35] A picture of this type of pack is shown in Plate CIX in volume I of this report. It is possible that this technique was employed for packaging the furs that reached Fort Vancouver in 1845-46.

The pelts that were to make up the bulk of the packs were then laid in the press, care being taken to make the edges as even as possible and to see that skin, not fur, was exposed. The top covering was at last put in place, and one end of each pack cord was drawn up over the top of the pack and spaced so that it would run freely through one of three grooves cut in the top plate, which was then lowered firmly over the furs. Next, pressure was applied and the furs compacted to the desired degree (see Plates VI, VII, VIII).

In recent decades the following step has been to sew up the covering or wrapper while the pack is still in the press, the pack line or rope evidently being applied later (see Plate IX). In former times however, the ends of the three transverse pack cords were cinched tight and securely knotted. The pressure was then released and the pack taken from the press, "almost perfectly square," though after several days it expanded and took on a "rounded shape." [36]

Each pack was then marked in much the same manner as were the "pieces" of trade goods sent from the depot to the outlying posts. Because this process has already been described at some length on pages 248-49 of volume I, it will suffice to say here that the markings on these two types of packages differed in only one major respect: the initials of the post or district name indicated the place of origin on a fur pack, whereas they indicated the place of destination on a piece of goods. Also it was the usual, though not the universal, practice to include the initial of the firm, written HB or occasionally HB C, on the markings of fur packs. [37] Thus the fourth pack in a shipment of Outfit 1844 furs from Nisqually to Fort Vancouver bore the mark 44/HB N #4. [38] Before each pack was closed, a slip of paper was placed in it bearing a copy of the mark and an unpriced list of the contents. "This slip," wrote a longtime Company employee,

> served to identify the pack or bale if the branded stave became detached, and also it enabled the person in charge of a shipment, which had got wet on the voyage and required to be opened and dried, to replace the furs belonging to different packs in rebaling them after being dried. The priced packing account of the furs, at the valuation allowed the post in general accounts, was not for the eyes of the men on the voyage with them. [39]

The text of one of these slips might be of interest. The following is extracted from the longer packing account of furs, returns of the Oregon Department for Outfit 1854, forwarded from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria via Nisqually on September 16, 1854:

54	#7	25 large beaver
O.D.		12 small beaver
		2 large beaver damaged
		1 small beaver damaged
		9 large land otters
		3 small land otters [40]

The final step in preparing the pack for shipment may have been to affix a lead seal to discourage tampering. This writer has not yet encountered any documentary evidence concerning the use of such seals in the Columbia District, but a number of the actual items have been found during archeological excavations at the sites of Company posts and related establishments. They are distinctive in appearance, and their function seems unmistakable. They are roughly circular disks of lead, from about one inch to 1-1/8 inches or more in diameter. On the face they bear an impression of the sitting fox crest from the Company's coat of arms, surmounted by the motto "Pro pelle cutem." The reverse is plain, but from the specimens recovered it appears that the person who affixed each seal scratched numbers or letters on it with a knife or other sharp instrument. Some of these notations appear to be dates or outfit numbers, but others cannot be deciphered. [41]

When archeologists first encountered these seals at Fort Vancouver it was supposed that they were for bales of furs shipped to England, but after several were found at inland sites it was speculated that they were employed on packs of goods or furs. In the opinion of this writer it has not yet been established if they were for imports or exports or both.

It may appear that this lengthy discussion of fur-baling techniques at outlying posts is extraneous to a treatment of the depot fur store, but it will be recalled that Fort Vancouver itself became to a certain extent a subsidiary post after 1845. While ordinarily those furs that continued to reach it were sent on to Fort Victoria by ship, there were occasions when, as has been seen above in the case of Outfit 1854, the returns went by a river and land route. At such times the furs necessarily were formed into the smaller packs suitable for inland transport rather than into the heavy bales used for sea carriage. [42]

At any rate, once the packs from the outlying posts and districts reached the depot at Vancouver, they were soon opened and given a close inspection. One reason was to check the classification, because there was an occasional tendency of the districts to appraise their returns at a higher rate than their condition or size warranted. [43] Another was to detect damage. Insect infestation was the most dangerous condition, but dirt and dampness could also do much harm.

Another cardinal sin that reduced the value of furs, because it damaged them "in the middle," was the folding of pelts for packing with the fur outside instead of the hide. [44] Also, failure to remove the genitals of male martens before packing could have unpleasant effects. [45]

For an officer or clerk in charge of a post to be found negligent in packing his furs was no light matter. At the very least he could expect to become an object of the departmental manager's sarcasm. In 1834 McLoughlin wrote to Samuel Black, then in command at Thompsons River:

> I am sorry to inform you that we found several of the Thompsons River Beaver much damaged by being moth eaten and swarming with the living animals-- It is strange that these animals formerly abounded at Walla Walla [where Black had previously been stationed] and now there are none--and Thompsons River which then had none at present abounds in them. This is certainly most curious. It is therefore necessary that the Thompsons River Furs be frequently beat and that they not be put in packs till they are ready to be brought here. [46]

As the furs were unpacked they were "hung up on lines like a wash" in the fort yard for dusting and drying. The more fragile furs, such as the martens and land otters, were merely left to air in the breeze, but the larger and sturdier pelts, like the beavers, were beaten with sticks exactly as if they had been carpets. [47]

At Fort Vancouver this work of unpacking and cleaning was ordinarily performed by the men of the brigade that brought them. [48] Presumably the operation was carried on under the watchful eye of a depot officer or clerk, but thus far no record has been found to indicate who this might have been for the 1845-46 period.

During all of these operations, and during the subsequent storage in the fur warehouse, the returns from each post or district were kept separated. This procedure not only made it possible to determine who was at fault for any defects, but it enabled the "Returns of the different places" to be "shipped separate" to England as McLoughlin told the Governor and Committee in 1832. [49] The practice of identifying the sources of the furs in the different bales sent to London was in effect at least as late as 1844. [50] Evidently it was an aid to the Governor and Committee in judging the condition of the trade in the various districts.

After cleaning and airing, the pelts were placed in the Fur Store. One visitor to a Company station on the Northwest Coast in 1868 noted that the "skins of each kind were sorted out into numerous grades and most carefully arranged." [51] And, as has been seen, at the depot they were also grouped by place of origin. The more valuable and fragile furs, such as fox and marten skins, were hung from the beams and from pegs or nails in the walls. The cheaper or tougher pelts, such as those of the beaver, were piled on the floor in "huge heaps." [52] Pictures of the methods of storing furs at various Company posts and depots will be found in Plates XI, XII, XIII.

Because dampness was much feared, the Fur Store was well ventilated. If the pelts were held at the depot for a long period they were regularly checked for evidence of insects and, if necessary, taken into the yard for airing and cleaning. This latter process, accomplished by

beating the hardier pelts, was invariably undertaken at least once shortly prior to the final baling and shipping. [53] During the fall of 1843 it took one officer and fifteen men six weeks to beat and pack the returns being sent from Fort Vancouver to London. [54]

Preparations for the final packing got under way during late summer. Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his diary on August 26, 1844: "Began to get the Fur Store cleaned out preparatory to packing"; and the next day he wrote: "Got the Fur Store washed." The beating of a shipment of beaver skins from Sitka began on the twenty-ninth, and all 4,000 of them were packed by September 3. Packing of "the other furs" continued under the direction of Clerk George B. Roberts. Lowe recorded on September 9 that "Mr. Roberts is busily engaged packing the Furs while this fine weather continues." [55]

From these words it might be inferred that the baling press at Fort Vancouver was outdoors in the depot yard. Such may well have been the case. Outdoor presses were not uncommon at Hudson's Bay Company depots. Yet in view of the frequently damp weather in the valley of the lower Columbia, the press probably was inside the Fur Store. Unfortunately the information required to be positive on this point has not yet come to light.

It is possible to state with reasonable certainty, however, that the press was of the screw type. At the direction of Chief Factor James Douglas, second in command at Fort Vancouver, Clerk Dugald Mactavish wrote on July 10, 1843, to Dr. W. F. Tolmie, in charge of Fort Nisqually, requesting him to send a jack screw to the depot because "We cannot very well do without one to pack our (Furs) with." [56]

Whether the depot had earlier possessed a screw press, and why a jack screw was needed at that particular date, is not evident. It is not known whether Tolmie was able to provide the desired article in time for the fall packing, but it would appear that one did eventually arrive. Early in April 1859, Chief Trader James A. Grahame, then in charge of Fort Vancouver, was called upon to send to Victoria "a Fur Press which has been for many years in use here" but which then found "little employment." [57] Only a screw press would have been the subject of such a request, because the people at Victoria could easily have made either a lever press or a wedge press from materials available locally.

Evidently the bales of furs produced at the depot for overseas shipment differed from the packs put up at the inland posts in only two major respects. First, they were fairly often composed of "pure skins," though bales of mixed pelts predominated. For example, the cargo of the barque Columbia, which sailed for England from Vancouver in 1844, included nineteen bales containing 175 beaver pelts and four bear skins each, the latter possibly serving as wrappers. There was also a bale of 100 "deer Hides." The majority of the bales, however, resembled bale #20, which contained the skins of ten brown bears, twenty-one grizzly bears, twenty-nine lynx, sixty-nine land otters, twenty-one raccoons, plus three pieces of land otter pelt. Bale #24 contained twenty-four brown bears, forty-five fishers, and forty wolves. [58]

Second and most important, however, the depot bales were much heavier than those designed for inland transport. In 1826 McLoughlin put up his beaver and otter skins for overseas shipment in bales weighing 130 pounds each. [59] But in 1844 a number of the bales sent on the Columbia were considerably heavier than that. In the packs of 175 beaver skins and four bearskins mentioned above, the heaver pelts alone weighed around 237 to 245 pounds, and the bearskins must have added about thirty pounds more or less, so that the total bale probably weighed in the neighborhood of 270 to 275 pounds. [60]

When available, deerskins were used as wrappers. On occasion, when sufficient hide or "parchment" covers could not be obtained, various expedients, such as wooden cases and hat

boxes, were devised. [61] At other times the bales, compressed to "almost waterproof resistence," were shipped "without any covering or wrapper." [62] Sometimes such bales reached London in excellent condition, with only a little worm damage at the outer edges, the insects not having been able to penetrate the tight packs. [63] But on other occasions, despite the admonition of the Governor and Committee to tie up the bales with several turns of cord to press together the edges of the skins, the results were unfortunate. "Many" bales of the Columbia returns for Outfits 1838 and 1839 were "much motheaten all around the edges," and many skins in the middle of the packs were much damaged by worms. [64]

For such reasons the London officials on May 20, 1840, directed that furs of little value, such as bearskins and deerskins, should "be used as wrappers to all the Bales if possible, but at all events those containing Beaver and Otter Skins." [65] Records of Fort Vancouver show that this admonition was followed. "Dressed, staged, & damaged" furs used as wrappers included bears, foxes, and lynx, as well as the pelts of such smaller animals as rabbits, raccoons, and otters. [66]

Cords for tieing the bales seem to have gone through the same evolution as those for the inland packs. By 1848 "Baling line" seems to have been preferred to the former cords of buffalo hide or deerskin. [67]

In making up the bales over the years, a number of measures were tried in order to discourage insect attacks during the long sea voyage. One of the most common was to place tobacco between the layers of skins. Although this practice is mentioned in a number of contemporary documents and later accounts by Company employees, there seems to be no detailed explanation of the type of tobacco used and how it was positioned. [68] There are also mentions of rum "being placed between the layers of skins," though how this was accomplished is not made clear. [69]

But the fur returns were not only packed in bales at Fort Vancouver. The smaller, more delicate, and more valuable pelts were packed in puncheons and pipes to provide maximum protection against insects and dampness. In 1827 McLoughlin shipped some moth infested muskrat skins in empty rum puncheons, and they reached London in "very good condition." Two years later he urged the Governor and Committee to send back the fur casks containing the current returns "with a few Gallons of Spirits in each as furs are never injured by insects when packed in casks whose Staves are well saturated with Spirits." [70] The use of such containers was so successful that in 1840 the London office directed that henceforth foxes, martens, and small furs should be packed in puncheons, "which should be perfectly dry at the time of Packing." [71]

That such was the regular practice at Fort Vancouver during the 1840s is amply demonstrated by available evidence. [72] A few random examples selected from the invoice of returns of the Columbia District for Outfit 1843 shipped by the Columbia from Fort Vancouver in 1844 demonstrate how these containers were packed. Item 72 in the shipment was a puncheon containing 1,800 martens from New Caledonia. Item 87 was also a puncheon packed with 288 martens and 2,570 muskrats from five posts and districts. Still another puncheon held 103 martens, 960 minks, and 239 muskrats. A smaller pipe contained 305 martens belonging to Outfit 1844. [73]

It might also be noted that the returns of the Columbia District regularly contained a few items in addition to furs. The returns of Outfit 1843, for instance, included a cask containing 136 pounds of "Isinglass" (dried swimming bladder or sound of certain fish [sturgeon in the Columbia District] used, among other things, to clarify wines, beers, and other liquids), and six kegs of castoreum (a secretion of the beaver, used in medicine and by perfumers, as well as to bait beaver traps) totaling 259 pounds. Other products shipped on occasion included

feathers (goose and "partridge" largely), whalebone, and whale oil. All of these items, evidently, were packed and shipped right along with the furs. [74]

Mention should also be made of the fact that organizing the annual shipments to London did not constitute the total of the packing activities conducted in the Fort Vancouver Fur Store. There were also the furs to be sent to the Russian American Company in Sitka under the terms of the 1839 agreement by which the Hudson's Bay Company leased the southern coastal strip of Alaska. The details of this arrangement cannot be treated at length in this report, but knowledge that it existed will serve to explain such fleeting references as Clerk Thomas Lowe's journal entry for November 4, 1844, in which he noted that two fellow clerks, J. A. Grahame and George Roberts, were "busy packing the West Side Otters for Sitka." [75]

The final step in preparing the bales, puncheons, casks, pipes, kegs, and other assorted packages for London was to mark them. As with the inland packs and "pieces," little is known about how the identifying symbols were applied, but there is some information avail able about the marks themselves. For instance, package number one (a bale) of the returns for Outfit 1843 shipped on the Columbia in 1844 bore the mark 43/HB #1. Evidently the same mark also contained the initials of the post, expedition, or district where the furs originated, but the invoice does not definitely show such initials in connection with the mark; they are only written after the list of the contents of the bale. Some of the initials thus noted are RAC (Russian American Company), C (Colvile), SC (Snake Country), NC (New Caledonia), FV (Fort Vancouver), etc. The first bale of the 1844 returns shipped on the same vessel was marked 44/HB #1. [76]

After all the packages were marked and when the ship was ready to receive cargo, the returns were placed on board. There was even a fixed procedure for this process. Writing to the captain of the annual vessel for 1833, Chief Factor McLoughlin cautioned: "particular care must be taken in handling Bales that they are not hoisted or carried about by the cords, but that a hand barrow and cradle to hoist them into the Vessel be used for this purpose." [77] Once on board, the returns were sealed in a "tight and well joined" room or "Fur Box" that was constructed each year by the ship's carpenter. [78]

The ship carried with it a bill of lading signed by the departmental manager, listing the numbers of each type of fur and the weights of the other products in the returns, and certifying that "said Goods" were the "growth and produce of the Hudson's Bay Company's Settlements in British North America" and that they were shipped for the account of "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay." Copies of several of the bills, which were printed forms filled in with ink, are available in the Company's archives. [79]

The Fur Store at Fort Vancouver was not the sole responsibility of any depot officer or clerk. Rather, it was lumped in with the other warehouses and placed under the supervision of the clerk in charge of "Store." [80] As has been seen, this man, from July 1844 to December 1846, was George B. Roberts. And Thomas Lowe's journal proves that Roberts actually did supervise a good deal of the fur packing during that period. But it also shows that other clerks, primarily assigned to other duties, were called in from time to time--perhaps when Roberts was busy receiving or baling trade goods--to take over affairs in the Fur Store or to assist there. [81]

Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

CHAPTER II:
INDIAN TRADE SHOP AND DISPENSARY

History and location

There was an Indian trade shop at Fort Vancouver from the date of the establishment of the post at its first site during the winter of 1824-25. Business was slow for a time because the local Indians attempted to prevent more distant native groups from visiting the fort. Firm measures were taken by Chief Factor McLoughlin to end this extortion, and by August 1825 he was able to report that Chinooks from the mouth of the Columbia had arrived with "a good Lot of Skins." [1]

Nevertheless, the number of furs collected was considerably less than it had been at Fort George and continued to drop off annually until it reached only about 3,000 in 1827. Governor George Simpson reported in 1829 that the situation resulted from an exhaustion of the fur-bearing animals along the lower Columbia and that it was only by sending small trapping parties out for some distance that even the level then existing could be maintained. [2]

It probably was no coincidence that shortly after Simpson's visit in 1828-29, signs begin to appear that the Indian trade at Fort Vancouver, as distinct from the depot operations at the same post, had been reorganized and revitalized. For Outfit 1830 (mid-1830 to mid-1831) the District Statements of personnel, wages, etc., for the first time carried the subheading "Fort Vancouver Indian Trade" under the main "Columbia" heading. The next year the personnel of the "Southern Expedition" to the Umpqua and California were included under the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade subheading. [3] By 1836 this subheading included the Fort Vancouver "Indian Shop," Fort George, and the post on the Umpqua River, though the Southern Party was once more listed separately. [4] Although there were variations, this arrangement in general continued through the 1845-46 period that is the chief concern of this study. [5]

While it is not yet possible to be positive about the matter, it appears that the Fort Vancouver Indian Hall, as it was sometimes termed, had been transformed from merely the fur trading shop for an individual post to the administrative and supply point for the fairly extensive pelt-gathering operations that centered on the lower Columbia. Such at least is the inference that might be drawn from the fact that for several years the clerk in the Fort Vancouver Indian shop was the only clerk listed for the Fort Vancouver fur trade, and even when he was not the only clerk he was generally the highest in rank (that is, the highest paid). [6] Not too much should be read into this situation, however, because Chief Factor McLoughlin, manager of the entire vast Columbia District, ordinarily made the major decisions and most of the small ones relating to the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade.

In keeping with general Company practice, the Indian shop at Fort Vancouver was usually

under the immediate charge of the depot surgeon when there was one in residence. [7] At least one, and possibly two, of the "medical gentlemen" appointed to the Columbia objected to this double duty, but most accepted the burden with good grace. Some, in fact, such as Dr. John Kennedy, Dr. William F. Tolmie, and Dr. Forbes Barclay, demonstrated exceptional skill at fur trading, and a few went on to higher administrative positions with the firm. [8]

Exactly what was expected of the post surgeon was spelled out by Chief Factor McLoughlin. On October 18, 1829, he informed Dr. R. J. Hamlyn that "Besides your professional Duties you will attend to the Indian Shop and Issue the Provisions for our Dinner and give directions that those provisions be boiled or Roasted &c &c as may best suit them and see that these Provisions are not Wasted. . . ." [9] By the 1840s the physician also served the rations to the laborers and other "servants" below the rank of clerk on Saturday afternoons. [10]

Despite the prominent role played by the Indian Trade Shop in the affairs of the district and post, no information concerning its exact location within the fort seems to be available prior to the time George Foster Emmons drew his ground plan on July 25, 1841 (Plate III, vol. I). This diagram shows a large structure (No. 13) described as the "Indian Trade store--Hospital Dispensary &c" situated along the south stockade wall about in the position of Building No. 8 on the present site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. It stood about fifteen feet east of the 1841 Fur Store and directly east of the southwest palisade gate. The Eld drawing shows this Indian Trade Shop to have been rather low in height, perhaps only one story, and covered by a gabled roof (see Plates IV and LIII, vol. I).

As has been seen in the previous chapter, by late 1844 this Indian shop of 1841 had been transformed into, or replaced by, the Fur Store. In other words, the site designated today as Building No. 8 was no longer the Indian Trade Shop, but the Fur Store.

When it can next be definitely located, on the Vavasour plan drawn in late 1845 (Plates VI, VII, VIII,, vol. I), the Indian Trade Shop had been moved almost 200 feet east, though still close to the south palisade wall, to the location presently designated as Building No. 21 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. This spot was in the southeast quadrant of the fort and about twenty to twenty-five feet east of the southeastern fort gate.

A glance at the Emmons plan of 1841 shows that at that date the site, or the approximate site, of Building No. 21 was occupied by a warehouse called the "Missionary Store" because American missionaries had been allowed to keep property there (Plate III,, vol. I). Because the Emmons plan was not drawn exactly to scale, it is not possible to state definitely that the missionary store of 1841 had the same dimensions as the Indian shop of 1845, but certainly the two structures were very similar, if not identical, in size. A comparison of the Emmons plan with the Vavasour diagram also reveals minor differences in the locations of the 1841 store and the 1845 Indian shop, particularly with reference to the nearby Bachelors' Quarters building. Again, however, these differences could have been due to the deficiencies of the Emmons drawing. [11]

Such discrepancies make it impossible to state positively that the 1845 Indian shop was simply the 1841 warehouse adapted to a new use, yet it is quite possible that such was the case. In the first place, the missionary store was still quite a new structure in 1841 because it must have been built after the fort enclosure was expanded toward the east about 1836. [12] Therefore it is not very likely that it would have been completely rebuilt prior to the fall of 1845 or, if it can be considered that the small-scale "Line-of-Fire" map shows Vavasour's Indian shop, before September 1844 (see Plate V, vol. I). In the second place, portions of the missionary store visible in drawings made by members of the Wilkes Expedition in 1841 (see Plates IV and LIII, vol. I) correspond very well with the fragmentary or very small-scale views of the Indian shop presented in post-1845 pictures (see Plates XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII,

XX, XXI, XXVI, vol. 1). All show Building No. 21 to have been a long, low structure with a gabled roof. [13]

Perhaps when the final reports on 1973 archeological excavations in the area of Building No. 21 have been completed they will reveal additional information about the structural history of the 1845-period Indian Trade Shop. Meanwhile, this writer is inclined to favor a hypothesis that the 1841 missionary store and the 1845-period Indian shop were one and the same structure.

If such should prove to be the case, the history of the 1845-period Indian shop could be traced back to a date between 1836 and mid-1841. It is not known when American missionaries stored goods in the warehouse on the site known as Building No. 21, but there were at least two occasions when storage facilities at Fort Vancouver were made available. In late May 1837, when the first reinforcement for the Methodist mission arrived on the Hamilton, Jason Lee hurried from the Willamette to Fort Vancouver in order, among other things, to obtain temporary housing for a part of the "liberal supplies" sent out from Boston. [14] The "Great Reinforcement," which reached Fort Vancouver on the Lausanne during early June 1840, also found it necessary to leave certain supplies, furniture, and baggage in storage until transportation to the scattered Methodist establishments could be obtained. [15] But because this same privilege may have been extended at other times and to other groups, the fact that missionaries used the building for storage throws little light upon exactly when the structure was built.

At any rate, it must have been erected after the stockade was enlarged about 1836 and before Emmons drew his plan on July 25, 1841. [16] After serving as a warehouse or "store," it probably was transformed into the Indian shop when the former Indian hall (Building No. 8) was rebuilt as the Fur Store, sometime between July 1841 and December 1844.

No historical evidence has been found concerning possible alterations or repairs to the Indian shop from the time of its identification on the Vavasour plan of 1845 until the Company abandoned Fort Vancouver in 1860. As was brought out in the previous chapter, however, there seems to have been a change in function. When the army rented the entire Fur Store as a quartermaster and commissary warehouse in 1852 or 1853, the fur storage operations appear to have been shifted to the Indian shop. Such, at least, is the conclusion that might be drawn from the fact that the board of army officers that inventoried the fort buildings on the day after the firm's departure described Building No. 21 on the present site plan as the "fur house, long since abandoned by the Company--in a ruinous condition." [17] Undoubtedly, little trade was being carried on with the natives by 1852-53. In 1854 an observer reported that the "Indian trade here is the ordinary trade of country stores, and for cash." [18]

Nothing specific is known of the fate of the Fur Store after the Company left in 1860, but the building must have disappeared with the rest of the fort structures prior to the end of 1865. Some of the footings uncovered by archeological excavations in 1952 were charred, indicating that fire may have been the final agent of destruction.

Indian shop operations. At many, perhaps most, Hudson's Bay Company posts during the first half of the nineteenth century, Indians were admitted within the gates only in limited numbers and under careful supervision. Sometimes they were confined by fences or palisades to a specified space in the courtyard; and at certain stations, where the natives were considered particularly dangerous, the approach to the trading room from outside the fort was through a long, narrow passage that was only wide enough to admit one visitor at a time and that bent at a sharp angle before the trading window. Under the latter circumstances, the Indians were not allowed to enter the trade shop at all; but generally the natives were permitted inside the building, even if only one or two at a time. [19]

At Fort Vancouver, however, there were few such restrictions, particularly after the fever epidemics of the early 1830s had decimated the native groups in the lower Columbia region. As early as 1834 John K. Townsend found Indians "assembled" in the courtyard "with their multifarious articles of trade, beaver, otter, venison, and various other game." [20] Five years later a British naval captain observed with some misgiving that no guard was observed and that the trading store was "open during working hours, and any increase in the number amongst the Indians would not excite uneasiness on the part of the officers." [21]

Although there exist several very brief mentions of the trade conducted in the Fort Vancouver Indian shop, there apparently is none sufficiently detailed to permit a clear visualization of the actual bartering process carried on there. It is necessary, therefore, to rely largely upon descriptions of such traffic at other Company posts. While the particulars differ according to time and place, there are common elements that undoubtedly were reflected in the operation of the Indian shop at the Columbia depot.

Speaking of conditions at Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca in 1833, John McLean wrote, "trade is carried on in this quarter solely by barter," the old system of extending credit to the natives having been abolished. "Beaver," he continued,

> is the standard according to which all other furs are rated; so many martens, so many foxes, &c., equal to one beaver. The trader, on receiving the Indian's hunt, proceeds to reckon it up according to this rule, giving the Indian a quill for each beaver; these quills are again exchanged at the counter for whatever article he wants. [22]

Robert M. Ballantyne, a young apprentice clerk, later described a trading episode at York Factory during the early 1840s:

> On the following morning a small party of Indians arrived with furs, and Mr. Wilson [the postmaster] went with them to the trading-room, whither I accompanied him. . . .
>
> Upon our entrance into this room trade began. First of all, an old Indian laid a pack of furs upon the counter, which Mr. Wilson counted and valued. Having done this, he marked the amount opposite the old man's name in his "Indian book," and then handed him a number of small pieces of wood. . . . The Indian then began to look about him, opening his eyes gradually, as he endeavoured to find out which of the many things before him he would like to have. Sympathizing with his eyes, his mouth slowly opened also; and having remained in this state for some time, the former looked at Mr. Wilson, and the latter pronounced ahcoup (blanket). Having received the blanket, he paid the requisite number of bits of wood for it, and became abstracted again. In this way he bought a gun, several yards of cloth, a few beads, &c., till all his sticks were gone, and he made way for another. The Indians were uncommonly slow. . . . [23]

In a broader treatment of the Company's Indian trade in general, Ballantyne made a more complete exposition of certain aspects of such transactions:

> Trade is carried on with the natives by means of a standard valuation, called in some parts of the country a castor. This is to obviate the necessity of circulating money, of which there is little or none, excepting in the colony of Red River. Thus, an Indian arrives at a fort with a bundle of furs, with which he proceeds to the Indian trading-room. There the trader separates the furs into different lots,

> and, valuing each at the standard valuation, adds the amount together, and tells the Indian (who has looked on the while with great interest and anxiety) that he has got fifty or sixty castors; at the same time he hands the Indian fifty or sixty little bits of wood in lieu of cash, so that the latter may know, by returning these in payment of the goods for which he really exchanges the skins, how fast his funds decrease. The Indian then looks round upon the bales of cloth, powder-horns, guns, blankets, knives, &c., with which the shop is filled, and after a good while makes up his mind to have a small blanket. This being given him, the trader tells him that the price is six castors; the purchaser hands back six of his little bits of wood, and selects something else. In this way he goes on till all his wooden cash is expended; and then, packing up his goods, departs to show his treasures to his wife, and another Indian takes his place. [24]

Another generalized account describes operations at a typical post two or three decades later than those depicted by Ballantyne:

> The business of the post, with the exception of the necessary employments of the lower servants, is transacted between the hours of nine in the morning and six in the evening, with an interval of an hour between two and three o'clock for dinner, when the offices and stores are closed. . . . When the bell announces the opening of the fort-gates, the inclosure soon fills with Indians and traders, who besiege the counter of the trading-store, or lounge idly about the yard--picturesque vagabonds in motley attire. The few clerks in charge are busily engaged in measuring tea, sugar, ammunition, etc., into colored-cotton handkerchiefs unwrapped from greasy aborginal heads for their reception; in examining furs and paying for them in instalments; in measuring off the scanty yards of blue-cotton prints that are to clothe the forms of dusky belles, or causing howls of delight by the exhibition of gilt jewelry to be sold at ten times its original cost. [25]

A description of the barter at Fort Nisqually, as observed during May 1841 by a member of the Wilkes Expedition, does not provide many details, but it undoubtedly illustrates conditions that must have prevailed at the not-too-distant Fort Vancouver:

> I found Mr [Alexander Caulfield] Anderson busily employed in trading for a few skins just brought in by the natives; though the value of the whole could have been only 10 or 15 dollars, much time was occupied and many pipes smoked before the bargain was concluded. I was informed that furs of all kinds were every year becoming more scarce and that the prices were also slightly increasing. [26]

Additional accounts of Indian shop operations could be produced, but these will suffice to indicate the general nature of the activities that must have been conducted in the native trading store at Fort Vancouver. But before the descriptions quoted above can be completely understood, certain matters mentioned therein perhaps require elaboration, and certain additional facts should be stated. The following paragraphs attempt to provide such information as briefly as possible.

Credit. At many posts east of the Rocky Mountains the Indians were allowed each fall to purchase their "outfits" of supplies and equipment for the winter hunt on credit, the debt being repaid when the returns were brought in the next spring. Such advances were made to natives less frequently on the Pacific Slope, and trade was generally on a barter basis. [27]

Tariff or price. American settlers in the Oregon Country sometimes had distorted views of

the pricing policies followed by the Hudson's Bay Company in its dealings with the natives. As late as 1848 one newly arrived emigrant was told, evidently by fellow countrymen, that "when an Indian wanted a gun, the trader [at Fort Vancouver] would stand the gun straight up (common-height gun) and the Indian would pile up furs as high as the gun, and then it was the Indian's gun and the Hudson's Bay Company's furs, an even swap, both parties well satisfied." [28] An examination of the Company's records shows the actual situation to have been quite different.

As early as the seventeenth century, almost from the start of its operations on Hudson Bay, the Company had found it necessary to establish a "Standard of Trade," later known as a "Tariff," which was a "formalised price-list for furs in terms of European goods." Or, to put it another way, it was a list "in which the value in trade of each item of goods was rigidly stated." [29]

With the passage of time, a tariff came to be "laid down" for each fur trading district, taking into account such factors as the original cost of the trade item, transportation from Britain to America, carriage inland from the depot, and profit. Tariffs are said to have been adjusted annually. [30] Some, however, are known to have remained unchanged for considerable periods. Also, local adjustments were occasionally permitted to meet conditions, such as the appearance of opposition traders.

In the Columbia District, particularly, Chief Factor McLoughlin was given considerable latitude in this respect. During 1829 he was forced to lower prices of goods considerably to prevent furs being traded to two American vessels in the lower Columbia. Governor Simpson wrote the next year that "we are concerned to find that the Indian Tariff has been reduced so low, but are aware that it could not have been avoided." McLoughlin informed the London directors in 1830 that "we can never bring the Indians to the old prices, of five Beaver for one Blanket, and I do not know if ever we will be able to increase the present price of one Large Beaver for a Blanket." [31]

The existence of a fixed tariff eliminated the necessity of haggling or bargaining with the hunters, native or European. It also prevented competition between the Company's own posts. At certain establishments where the clientele was not exclusively Indian, the list of prices for the available goods and the number of skins taken as equivalent to the price in each case was posted at the shop entrance. [32]

A complete tariff for the lower Columbia region during the 1845-46 period has not yet been encountered by the writer, but an abbreviated version of the "F. Vancr. Indian Shop Beaver Tariff 1842," copied for use at Cowlitz Farm, serves to illustrate the general range of prices:

	Large Beav[er]
1 Green Blanket 3 pts	2
1 plain Blanket 2-1/2 pts B B	1
1 plain Blanket 3 pts B B	1-1/2
1 pr Corduroy Trowsers [sic]	1
1 Second Cloth vest	1
1 broad Scarlet Belt	1
1 yd blue Duffle	1
1 com cloth Capot w hoods 4 Ells	1-1/2
1 Trading Gun 3-1/2 feet	4
1 Inf[erior?] Blanket 2-1/2 pts B.B.	1/2
1 Blk Silk Handkerchief	1

1 f[atho]m Baize	1/2
1 com cotton shirt	1/2 or 1/3

2 Large Land otters equal to 1 Large Beaver
4 Small Land otters equal to 1 Large Beaver
2 Small Beaver equal to 1 Large Beaver [33]

A much better concept of the prices and of the trade in general can be obtained from what appears to be the complete "Tariff for furs & Provisions at Fort Albert, O[utfi]t '43 & '44." A notation on this list states that it was "copied from that of Fort Langley." On March 20, 1844, Chief Factor McLoughlin wrote to Governor Simpson from Fort Vancouver that the Indian trade tariff at the depot was the same as those at Nisqually, Fort George, and Fort Langley, "but it is impossible to keep a regular standard at this place or Fort George with all these Americans around us." [34] Thus the prices at Fort Vancouver must have been very similar to, if not exactly the same as, those on the following list [prices are given in terms of large beaver skins]:

		Plus Furs	Plus Provns.
Baize per fm 6 feet furs [?], 5-1/2 feet Salmon		1/2	1
Blankets Green 3 points		2	1
Blankets plain 2-1/2 points		1	1
Blankets plain 2 points		7/8	1
Blankets plain 1-1/2 points		3/4	1
Blankets plain 1 points		1/2	
Buttons metal Coat	6 doz	1/2	1
Buttons Ball Vest	6 doz	1/2	1
Capots com cloth 4 & 3-1/2 Ells	ea	2	1
Capots com cloth 2-1/2 & 1-1/2 Ells	ea	1	1
Caps Milld	ea	1/4	1/3
Combs Large Storn	doz	[0]	1
Cotton com Stripes	3 yds	3/5	1
Cotton printed	3-1/2 yds	7/16	1
Dags Stand 7 ins	ea	1/2	1/2
Duffle Blue	yd	3/4	1/2
Duffle Red com	2 yds	3/4	1/2
Files flat Bastd 7 & 8 ins	ea	1/4	1/4
Glasses Looking metal fram		1/3	1/2
Glasses Looking paper cased		1/4	1/4
Guns Com Indian		4	1/4
Guns flints	2 doz	1	1
Guns Worms	2 doz	1	1
Hats com Wool		1/2	1
Hooks Large Cod	2 doz	1	1
Hooks Small Cod	2-1/2 doz	1	1
Hooks Small Trout	5 doz	1	1

Powder & Shot 30 Loads		30/40	2
Horns, Powder	ea	1/2	2
Kettles Covd tin #1		1	1-1/2
Knives Scalping	ea	1/4	1/4
Needles Darning	5 doz	1	1
Pipes clay	2 doz	1	1
Rings Brass finger	5 doz	1/2	1
Shirts Striped cotton	ea	1/2	1
Soap Yellow	3 lbs	1/2	1
Stroud com	yd	3/4	1
Thimbles com brass	doz	1/4	1/4
Tobacco Twist	lb	1/3	1
Tobacco Leaf	lb	1/3	1
Trowsers com cloth	pair	1	
Trowsers Corduroy	pair	1	
Vests of all kinds	ea	3/4	
Vermilion	lb	4	4
Wire Brass collar	lb	1/2	1
Bears, generally in ammunition, Cotton or Tobo.	ea	1/3	1
Beaver Large	ea	1	
Beaver Small	ea	1	
Beaver pup	ea	1/2	
Fishers	ea	1/8	
Foxes	ea	1/5	
Foxes cross	ea	1/2	
Foxes red	ea	1/4	
Isinglass	lb	1/4	
Lynx Grey	ea	1/2	
Lynx Red	ea	1/3	
Martens	ea	1/5	
Minks	ea	1/15	
Muskrats	ea	1/15	
Otter Land		1/2	
Raccoons		1/10	
Wolves		1/4	
Wolvereins [sic]		1/4	

	Provns.
Red Deer Skins paid principally in ammunition, Baize, Shirts	1
Chevreiul Skins paid Baize, Tobo, ammunition	1/4
Venison 180 lbs	1
Sturgeon 20C lbs	1-1/4
Salmon fresh Large 20	1-15/60
Salmon fresh small 60	1

Salmon Dried 120	1	
Ducks 30	1	
Geese 15	1	
Swans 5	1	
Cod Fish 30	1	
Trout Small 80	1	
Grease hard 10 lbs	1	
Oil 3 Gns	1	
Baskets Corn 10	1	
Baskets [illeg.] 5	1	
Mats Large 3	1	
Mats Small 8	1	
Bark Cedar 50 pieces 7 feet by 1-1/2 ft	1	
Sticks for Hoops	1	
Canoes Large	4	
Canoes Small	2	[35]

The importance of the price list reproduced above is obvious. It not only gives the prices of goods sold, but it also shows the amounts received by the natives for the furs and other products they brought to the trade shop. Further, it provides a reasonably complete list of the types of furs, provisions, and other local products for which the Company expected to trade in the lower Columbia region. In any project to refurnish a reconstructed Indian Trade Shop, this list would be an excellent guide to the incoming portion of the items in stock.

The list also points to the fact that in some cases trade goods cost the natives more when paid for in provisions than in furs. It also indicates that certain types of furs and skins were traded "principally" or "generally" for specified goods, such as ammunition, tobacco, and cotton yardage. The meaning of such notations becomes clearer when one considers that in 1825 McLoughlin issued orders that blankets must not be traded for provisions, because they were "one of the few articles held in estimation by the natives about this place and for which we will only take furs." [36] In other words, though 180 pounds of venison equalled a large beaver skin in value, they would not buy a 2-1/2 point blanket that was priced at that amount. And evidently three bearskins would buy three twists of tobacco but not always a covered tin kettle, even though the prices were the same.

The list does not, however, indicate certain other restrictions placed on the barter as a matter of broad Company or district policy. For example, it does not show, except by omission of the item from the tariff, that liquor was not at that time traded to the natives at the Fort Vancouver Indian shop. Nor does it reveal that the amount of ammunition a native could obtain was restricted, at least during the early 1830s. [37]

Unit of value, or "made-beaver." It will have been noted that in both of the tariffs reproduced above the prices are given in terms of beaver, plus, or "large beaver." To describe the situation more succinctly, the "Standard" stated the value in beaver of each item of goods and then the value in beaver of all other kinds of furs. [38]

As Professor E. E. Rich has stated, this standard shows that from the very beginning of its operations, "beaver was the only fur to which the Company paid serious attention." [39] Factors other than market demand that may have been taken into consideration in fixing upon this unit were the wide distribution of beaver, the general abundance of the animal, and the relative stability of beaver pelt prices in Europe. [40]

This unit of value was sometimes termed a "beaver," a "large beaver," a plus, or a "castor," but the name most frequently and most widely used throughout the Company's territories and in its accounting system was "made-beaver." A made-beaver, by definition, was a prime large winter beaver skin taken in good condition and properly prepared for shipment. [41]

But to say that a made-beaver was a fine beaver skin does not convey the entire picture. The term as it was used in the fur trade was also a standard of value by which the relative worths of other furs and trade goods were expressed. This point is best made clear by an illustration. In 1832 the trader at Fort Chimo to the east of Hudson Bay recorded: "an Esquimau arrived with nine made beaver in coloured foxes." [42]

"Counters" or tokens. It will also have been noted in the descriptions of the trading process quoted above that the natives were often given quills or wooden sticks to indicate the value of the furs they had turned in and that these "counters" were then handed back in "payment" for trade goods purchased. Each counter normally had the value of one made-beaver.

Such a system had been found desirable in an economy in which there was no lawful coinage in circulation and in which money, even if present, would not have been understood. The Indians wished to have some tangible evidence of what they had sold so that they could keep track of what they had left to spend as they made purchases. Many of them were acquainted with the use of such items as shell beads as mediums of exchange, and thus the "counter" system proved a highly acceptable solution to the problem.

The North West Company, the predecessor of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific Slope, employed metal tokens as counters during at least part of its tenure on the Columbia. [43] The Honourable Company, however, did not start to use such minted tokens until about the 1850s. Before that time--and in many places for long afterwards--district and post managers devised their own counters. Ivory or bone disks, porcupine quills, musket balls, and wooden sticks were among the items so employed. At Churchill during the 1880s, for instance, the "only coinage" in use was a wooden stick about five inches long, five eighths of an inch wide, and one fourth of an inch thick, made out of oak staves and branded with the figure "1." Each represented one made-beaver. [44]

What type of counter, if any, was employed at Fort Vancouver during 1845-46 is not known. Several crudely fashioned pieces of flat copper, roughly octagonal in shape and stamped with the figure "1" and the initials "HBC," have been found in British Columbia. They appear to have been cut from powder keg hoops and may represent an early form of token in the Columbia District, but nothing is known of their origin. [45] Perhaps archeological excavations at Fort Vancouver eventually will produce something of a similar nature.

Account books. In Ballantyne's account of trading at York Factory, quoted earlier, mention is made of entering an Indian's name, together with a notation of the furs he bartered, in the clerk's "Indian book." What appear to be two such books, though titled "blotters," are to be found in the Fort Nisqually Collection in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Together they cover the period from February 1844 to December 1845. Undoubtedly, similar accounts were kept at Fort Vancouver.

These books are each eight inches by eleven and one half inches by three eighths of an inch in size, bound merely with heavy buff paper covers or wrappers. Hand-lettered on the cover of the first is the title:

Nisqually Blotter
commencing 7th February 1844
ending 31st December 1844

The blotters contain a daily running account of transactions in the Fur Shop. Also included are notations of the rations given out to the "servants" from time to time and also charges to the "gentlemen's" mess. Perhaps the entries were transferred later to more formal account books or summarized in the post accounts.

A few random entries illustrate how the accounts were kept and, more important, provide a remarkable insight into the operations of an Indian Trade Shop. In the following examples, the names of the natives bringing in the furs are on the left:

9th [February, 1844]

Soquamish	1 black bear skin prime	1 com. Cotton Shirt
	1 black bear skin nearly prime	1 String Necklace Beads
	5 Musquash	5 ch. Amm.
	10 Musquash	20 ch. Powder
	1 Musquash	1-1/2 ins Tobo.
	1 Raccoon	3 ins. Tobo.
	4 chevl. Skins all large	1 fm Green Baize
	1 chevl. Skins all large	8 ch. Amm.
	10 dried salmon	10 ch. Amm.
	10 dried salmon	20 ch. Powder
	6 Cod	6 ch. Amm.

Feby. 16th 1844

12 ducks	12 ch. amm.
5 Flounders	6 ch. amm.
3 Sinews	3 ins Tobo.
1 large Beaver fm Sahaletch [?] in payt. of a Blkt lent Novr. 1843	

[February 23]

Lent Kemalla	10 ch. Amm.	
	1 Beaver Trap Spring	5 Brass Rings
	2 Baskets Cockles	15 ch. Amm.
	1 Bag Salmon Roe Codroe	1 ch. Amm.
	12 Cod	5 ch. Amm.

[February 25]

Seekeetuwha	2 lar. Beaver	1 Capot 4 Ells wh. cape
	Gratis 5 ch. amm. 1 flint	1 worm 6 inches Tobo.

[February 26]

Sehewamish	1 lar. Beaver	1 Blkt 2-1/2 pts.
	1 prime blk Bear	1 rod. head hlf axe
	Gratis 3 ch. Amm. 4 ins Tobo	1 flint

Ap. 25

Farm Dr

8 ch. amm. To an Indn. for finding and bringing home a still-born calf

---

Advanced Snanasal & Lehlewtin an indn. awl each

May 15

Recd. from Chinitiah 1 large beaver in payt. of debt of 9th April--Gave him 10 ch. amm. 1 flint 1 worm 6 ins Tobo

---

June 5

Lent Sahalet for a trading excursion to Skeywhamish and Snokwalimieh

4 Blkts 2-1/2
4 Yds. Green Baize
1 Green Blanket 3 Pts.
1 Secd. hd. Gun--value 3 plues
20 ch. Amm.
2 ft Tobo.
3 flints
2 shirts Com. Cotton to be paid in 1 large beaver
1 shirts Com. Cotton
Gratis 10 ch. Amm
1 worm [46]

This "blotter" is a document of great interest. Among other things, it seems to indicate that the Indians at Fort Nisqually may have traded their furs either one at a time or a few at a time directly for trade goods of equivalent value. In such case there may have been no need for the use of quills or other types of counters. This time-consuming method of direct barter was not uncommon at Company posts across the entire continent. [47]

The "Indian book" also reveals that, despite the general policy on the Pacific Slope against outfitting Indians or advancing credit, the trader at Fort Nisqually quite frequently "lent" or "advanced" trade goods to natives. He also often made small presents to the Indians to promote their goodwill, one of the practices that the fixed tariff was intended to halt.

Tricks of the trade. Having gone thus far into Indian shop operations, it may be useful to carry the discussion a bit beyond those topics that bear directly upon the physical layout or the furnishings and equipment. It has already been seen that Dr. Forbes Barclay, who presided over the Indian trade store at Fort Vancouver from 1840 to 1850, was recognized by

his peers as an excellent fur trader. Yet, it would appear from the fixed tariffs and the policies against extending credit and making gifts that the individual trader had relatively little latitude for individual initiative. In fact, the Company intended that such should be the case. [48]

How, then, did certain traders manage to outshine their fellows? How was one clerk able to increase the returns of a post soon after he was assigned to it when his predecessors had failed to do so? Such success was not won easily.

First, the trader had to possess the knack of getting along with Indians. He had to be able to learn their languages quickly. He had to know when to humor them and when to be firm. And the successful ones soon discovered how to "adjust" the tariff and how to use credit and gifts to encourage the maximum effort on the part of the natives and still not incur censure from their superiors.

The Fort Nisqually blotter quoted above illustrates how one skillful trader handled such matters. Perhaps even more revealing is the entry in the Fort Simpson (Mackenzie River District) journal by veteran John Stuart on December 7, 1834. After noting the arrival of some Indians with furs to trade, he added:

> another of them had 4 Beaver skins and 6 martens for which he wanted a gun, the remaining part [of the price] to be on debt, but from what I experienced from the others I knew well that if [he] had got the gun, their [sic] would be an end to his industry for the winter, that not one skin more would be got from him; whereas by retaining the Gun until he brings the full payment I am persuaded he will exert himself to hunt some kind of furs and ere the snow is disolved [sic] bring the remaining 14 skins that is still deficient to pay for the gun, which is probably more than ever he killed in his life before. [49]

Toward the end of the century one hardworking trader in the Athabasca region attributed his success to knowing the habits of each Indian and being able to inspire the natives with a new zeal for trapping. One means of imparting this inspiration is revealed by the following story. When he first arrived at his new post, he found that the Indians swarmed around the stove in the shop and neglected their trading. He removed the stove and had to measure out cloth and dispense tobacco with fingers stiff from the 40-below-zero cold, but when natives entered the shop all was "strictly business" with no temptation to laziness. [50]

Storage of furs. Samuel Parker, who visited Fort Vancouver in 1835, recorded that there were then four large buildings "for the trading department" at the depot. "One," he continued, "for the Indian trade, in which are deposited their peltries." [51] Although possibly Parker was referring to the principal fur store, it seems more likely that he was describing the "Indian trade store" of the Emmons ground plan and indicating that the skins traded there were also stored there.

Unfortunately there appears to be no direct evidence concerning the place where the furs brought in by the native hunters were kept after trading operations were shifted to the new Indian Trade Shop (Building No. 21) between 1841 and 1844. It would seem reasonable to assume, however, that the pelts collected at the shop would be retained there at least until sufficient numbers had accumulated to warrant formal transfer to the Fur Store. The fact that the returns of the Fort Vancouver Indian shop, like those of every other post, were kept separated for accounting and baling purposes would perhaps imply some such procedure. [52] It is also possible that the furs collected by the subsidiary posts and expeditions of the "Fort Vancouver Indian Trade" and the returns from certain other establishments, such as the Willamette Falls post and Cowlitz Farm, which were occasionally transferred to that trade,

were passed through the Fort Vancouver Indian shop before going to the depot Fur Store, but definite information on that subject has not yet been uncovered.

Volume of furs traded. Thanks to the diligence of Chief Factor James Douglas there exists a detailed statement of the returns of the "Fort Vancouver Indian Shop" for Outfits 1844, 1845, and 1846, the period of most interest for the purposes of the restoration project. Reproduced below, it provides a superb view of the numbers and types of pelts that crossed the counter in Building No. 21:

Fort Vancouver Indian Shop

	1844	1845	1846
Badgers	5	1	2
Bears blk	58	54	27
Bears brown	12	21	14
Bears grizzly	1	2	2
Beaver lar.	1360	1191	1067
Beaver small	409	436	380
Beaver coating lbs.	22-1/2	13	19
Castorum [sic] lbs.	12	8	2
Fishers	15	15	4
Foxes cross	16	25	8
Foxes red and blue	58	46	39
Foxes silver	3	2	0
Isinglass lbs.	55		
Lynxes	37	46	27
Martins [sic]	25	57	4
Minks	51	41	40
Muskrats	553	214	133
Otters land	672	734	527
Otters sea lar.	29	27	30
Otters pup	5	8	7
Otters tails			0
Racoons	74	129	124
Seals Fur			0
Wolverines			0
Wolves	14	28	19 [53]

Dispensary or apothecary shop. It is probable that a special room was set aside at Fort Vancouver for the practice of medicine and the dispensing of medicines from the early days of the establishment. But not until 1833 do available records provide any view of its location and appearance.

Early on the morning of May 4, 1833, two new "medical gentlemen"--Dr. William Fraser Tolmie and Dr. Meredith Gairdner--sent out by the London directors arrived at the Columbia depot. Even before sitting down to breakfast they were taken by Chief Factor McLoughlin, himself a doctor, to visit the "pretty numerous" sick employees and natives, most of whom were afflicted with the prevailing malarial fever. Part of the remainder of the forenoon was

spent in bringing "some degree of order" to "Apothecaries Hall," which apparently by that time was already a named room or apartment reserved for use of the depot physician. This "Apoth: Hall," Tolmie noted in his diary that same day, "is to be our temporary domicile." [54]

From a more detailed description of the room entered in his journal two days later, Tolmie seems to indicate that the apothecary shop in 1833 was not situated in the Indian trading store, because he said that the schoolroom could be seen through cracks in the north wall of the apartment, while the "house" on the south side was "unoccupied at present." [55] Unfortunately, because the location of the school at that time is not known with certainty, this information is not particularly helpful in placing "Apothecary Hall" in a specific structure. However, that building does appear to have been a residence and schoolhouse and not the Indian shop.

Another statement made by Tolmie seems of particular significance. He and Gairdner soon decided that they would make the apothecary shop their permanent living quarters, "as we should not then in all likelihood have intruders, when arrivals of brigades occur." [56] These words clearly indicate that it had been intended to house the physicians with the other clerks, who habitually were "bumped" out of their rooms when visitors of higher rank arrived. Tolmie and Gairdner thus appear to have originated a pattern of residence that seems to have been followed by at least some of their successors.

The records provide no further information about the location of the apothecary shop until July 1841, when Emmons drew his ground plan of the fort. His Building No. 13 (the site at present called Building No. 8) was described as the "Indian Trade store--Hospital Dispensary &c." (see Plate III, vol. I).

Clearly by 1841 the apothecary shop and the Indian trade store were in the same structure. This arrangement is not at all surprising in view of the heavy burden that rested on the shoulders of the man who was in charge of both of them--the post surgeon. The triple role of the doctor as physician, Indian trader, and supervisor of rations has already been explained. But there were certain other aspects of his duties that require mention before the full extent of his responsibilities can be understood.

The first call upon the doctor's professional services was had by the Company's sick or injured employees and by such Indians as Dr McLoughlin chose to assist. Seriously ill patients were housed in two hospitals: one, as seen by the notation with the Emmons plan, was connected with the apothecary shop, or dispensary, and evidently was reserved for the Company's "gentlemen" and other persons of standing; the other, outside the stockade toward the river, was where the firm's "servants," their families, Indians, and persons considered of low rank were treated. [57] Sometimes the surgeon's nonmedical duties were so demanding that untrained clerks and boys had to be pressed into service as dispensers of pills and medicines to hospital patients, occasionally with remarkable results. [58]

The doctor's services were provided without charge to employees, Indians, and to occasional patients who were treated gratis as a matter of policy. But by the 1840s the "Medical Department" at Fort Vancouver was expected to cover its expenses through the treatment for fee of settlers and travelers able to pay. Although general Company policy frowned upon post surgeons leaving their stations to attend "outsiders," Dr. Barclay in 1844 said that his practice "extended over all the settlements in behalf of the Company." [59] There are many mentions in early Oregon records and reminiscences of assistance to missionaries and settlers by doctors from Fort Vancouver. One pioneer remembered that the charge was $50 per "home call" plus $2 for ferriage. [60]

Another duty that fell to the doctor was making up the packets of medicines that went out to the posts throughout the district with the annual outfits. This chore involved not only ordering the needed items from London but also the actual packaging of them in the small lots required at the subsidiary establishments. Thus one Company physician remembered putting up "dozens of bottles of Turlingtons Balsalm and Essence of Pepperment [sic], grosses of 'purges' of jalop and Calomel, dozens of Emetics of Ipecacuanha and Tartar Emetic and other simples." The task was not made easier by the fact that bottles and corks were generally scarce. [61]

The surgeon clearly dispensed the medicines that were given out to patients in the hospitals and in the apothecary shop. But the Fort Vancouver depot also stocked a large quantity of medicines for general sale. No evidence has yet been found that would indicate beyond question whether such remedies were stored and dispensed at the regular depot sale shop or at the apothecary shop. The fact that one indent for medicines had included six ounces of strychnine, of which all except about one fourth of an ounce were for sale, makes one hope that the latter was the case. [62]

It also usually fell to the doctor to comply with the not infrequent requests received from Governor Simpson and the London directors for stuffed bird skins, mineral samples, and other scientific specimens. The doctor seems also to have been in charge of the depot library; at least he had the responsibility for ordering new books and periodicals for it from London. All in all, Dr. Forbes Barclay seems to have been justified when he informed Governor Simpson in 1844 that his multitudinous duties, in which he was assisted only by "a boy of 13 years, for the Indian Shop & Medical Department," left him very little spare time to devote to educating any young men who might be assigned to him for training. [63]

Because of the demands made upon the doctor by both the Indian shop and the Dispensary, it would appear logical for both facilities to have been housed close together in the structure whose site is presently known as Building No. 21 when the Indian trading store was moved there between 1841 and 1844. However, direct evidence that the 1845-46-period Indian shop also contained the Dispensary is slight and by no means conclusive.

P. W. Crawford, an American settler who visited Fort Vancouver in 1847 and examined it "critically," later recalled that "on the East side of this Interior [courtyard] is the Apothacury [sic] hall or doctors shop where Medicine is served out to whites and natives." [64] A much more recent description of Fort Vancouver as it existed about 1849 states that the "drug store" under the charge e of Dr. Barclay was situated at the east end of the stockade. [65] Because the Indian shop was almost the only structure in the eastern portion of the fort in which the Dispensary could have been located, (the uses of the others being reasonably well accounted for), these descriptions tend to reinforce the supposition that the two facilities were located in a single building after 1841-44 as they had been previously.

Doctor's quarters. It has been seen that in 1833 the two depot surgeons decided to live in the apothecary shop. There seems to be no positive proof that their successors did the same. In fact, there is at least one statement, based upon recollections of youthful visits and not reliable in all respects, that the post doctor resided with the other clerks in the Bachelors' Quarters. [66]

On the other hand, there is certain evidence that indicates that one or more of the physicians who followed Drs. Tolmie and Gairdner may have made their homes in the Indian shop building. When Joseph L. Meek enumerated the population of Clark County, Oregon Territory, for the Seventh Census on October 30, 1850, the eighth house he visited, clearly within the Fort Vancouver stockade was inhabited by "A. Lee Lewis [sic]," clerk, and "Alferd [sic] Benson," surgeon. [67] The import of this entry becomes clear when it is realized that

Adolphus Lee Lewes was the clerk in charge of the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade for Outfit 1850 and that Alfred R. Benson was the surgeon who replaced Dr. Barclay at the depot. (After Barclay's departure, the physician ceased to be in charge of the Indian trade, at least until 1853 when a departmental reorganization and a change in the system of accounts make it difficult to tell who, if anyone in particular, conducted the small volume of fur trade that remained at the post). [68] Perhaps Benson and Lewes found it convenient to room together in the structure where their respective activities centered. It is also possible, of course, that their joint dwelling was simply one of the separate living units in the series of apartments known as the bachelors' quarters. In such case, it is conceivable that the Dispensary was also in that building, which lay only a few yards north of the Indian shop.

There are also physical remains that point toward possible residential use of a part of the Indian shop. In 1973 National Park Service archeologists completely excavated the site of this structure. Although they found the area much disturbed by post-1860 activities, they believe that a concentration of brick and faunal remains in the southeastern portion of the shop building may have resulted from the use of this area as living quarters. Also, a large privy pit behind the structure contained much floral and faunal material, further evidence of domestic occupation. [69] Such remains from the table would have accumulated even though the doctor himself probably took most of his meals in the mess hall in the manager's residence, because his family would have been brought their food from the Big House kitchen. Also, patients in the Dispensary would have produced table scraps.

As the situation stands now, there seems to be no more reason for believing that the doctor lived in the Indian shop building than that he did not. But in the opinion of this writer, it is quite possible that he did so.

Dr. Forbes Barclay. During the 1845-46 period that is of primary concern for the reconstruction project, the surgeon at the Fort Vancouver depot was Dr. Forbes Barclay, who has been described as "a Scotsman of excellent training and unique experience." [70] Born in the Shetland Islands on Christmas Day, 1812, he was afflicted with a cleft palate. His father was a prominent physician who lectured on anatomy at Edinburgh and had authored a book on the movements of muscles. Young Barclay studied medicine in Edinburgh and, beginning in 1834, spent several summers as a surgeon with exploring expeditions to the Arctic. One of these voyages ended in shipwreck, but Barclay was one of the survivors who were rescued by Eskimos and eventually returned to Britain in Sir John Franklin's ship. He was granted his medical diploma by the Royal College of Surgeons, London, on July 5, 1838.

The Barclay family had connections with the Hudson's Bay Company. Archibald Barclay, said to have been an uncle of Dr. Forbes Barclay, was appointed the firm's secretary in London in 1843; but either he or another uncle, the Reverend Thomas Barclay, had been known by Governor George Simpson for at least several years prior to that time. [71] Perhaps this association was related to the fact that on June 4, 1839, Forbes Barclay entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the dual capacity of clerk and surgeon and was placed on the list of those awaiting assignment. That fall he sailed in the Columbia for Fort Vancouver, where he arrived in the spring of 1840.

Relieving Dr. W. F. Tolmie, Barclay at once went to work in the Indian Trade Shop and in the medical department. He served with distinction both as fur trader and physician until he retired from the Company's employ during 1850. He then moved to Oregon City, became an American citizen, and was prominent in professional and political affairs until his death in 1873.

In 1842 Dr. Barclay married Maria Pambrun, eldest daughter of Chief Trader Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun and Catherine Humpherville, herself the daughter of an Englishman in

the service of the Company. Born at Fraser Lake, New Caledonia, on October 5, 1826, Marie, as she was known to her largely French-speaking family, was a girl of character and beauty. Early in 1841, while living with her parents at Fort Walla Walla, she became engaged to Cornelius Rogers, an associate of the American Board's Oregon Mission. This event stirred up a storm among the Whitmans and Spaldings chiefly, it seems, because Marie was a Catholic, though the facts that she had Indian blood, could speak little English, and could boast of only a scant formal education evidently were also taken into consideration. Chief Trader Pambrun died as the result of a fall from a horse during May of that year, and soon thereafter Catherine Pambrun moved with her children to Fort Vancouver, where she did "fine needlework" to support and educate her brood. Although described as "distressed," the family was not in desperate circumstances, because Pambrun left an estate then estimated at not "much short of 4000£" [72]

The elder Pambrun had much favored his daughter's planned marriage to Rogers, but shortly after his death Maria terminated the engagement. Her acquaintanceship with Dr. Barclay evidently began with the family's arrival at the depot and resulted in union during the next year. The couple's first child, Jean Jacques, was born on December 13, 1845. He died of diptheria on December 31, 1847. A second son, Peter Thomas, was born on April 6, 1847, and a third son, Alexander Forbes, on September 23, 1849. Four other children were born to the pair after they moved to Oregon City in 1850.

It is known that prior to October 1850 Catherine Pambrun and her children moved from Fort Vancouver to live with her daughter and her son-in-law, Dr. Forbes, in Oregon City. [73] Whether the Pambrun family had also dwelt with the Barclays at Fort Vancouver between 1842 and 1850 has not yet been discovered. [74]

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Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

CHAPTER III:
POWDER MAGAZINE

History and location

Little is known about the history of the Powder Magazine at Fort Vancouver. The earliest mentions thus far encountered of the structure date from 1832, when the existence of a "stone" building for the storage of gunpowder was noted by members of the Wyeth party. [1]

During Outfit 1834 (mid-1834 to mid-1835) Amable Arquoitte, one of the trappers attached to the Indian trade conducted from Fort Vancouver, received a "gratuity" of £8 for "rebuilding Powder Magazine." [2] Whether this work involved changing the location of the building is not known. John Dunn, a Company employee during most of the 1830s, could have been describing the magazine before or after reconstruction when he said it was "built of brick and stone." [3]

The first definite knowledge of the location of the Powder Magazine is provided by the Emmons ground plan drawn on July 25, 1841 (Plate III, vol. I). It shows the "Magazine--the only brick building " situated in the extreme southwest corner of the fort enclosure as it was at that time. According to the plan, entry to the magazine was through a door in its north wall. Another visitor of 1841 also stated that the Powder Magazine was made of brick. [4]

To add to the confusion, when Lt. Mervin Vavasour of the Royal Engineers visited Fort Vancouver during late 1845 and early 1846, he reported to his superiors that the post contained one "small stone Powder Magazine." [5] His ground plan indicates beyond a doubt, however, that he was describing the same structure as Emmons's "only brick building" (see Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I).

This lack of agreement on the part of witnesses as to the material of which the building was constructed lasted long after the magazine had disappeared. Testifying in connection with the Company's claims for compensation for loss of its Oregon properties as a result of the boundary settlement of 1846, Thomas Nelson said that in 1851-52 the fort contained only one small brick building. [6] Former Company physician H. A. Tuzo, on the other hand, claimed that in 1853 he found the "fire-proof powder magazine" built of brick and stone. [7]

The list of observers who noted that the Powder Magazine was built of brick, stone, or brick and stone could be considerably expanded without shedding reliable light upon the situation. [8] Archeological excavations in 1947 proved that the witnesses who reported both brick and stone were correct. [9] They also demonstrated that the location in the southwest corner of the stockade enclosure as plotted by Vavasour was almost exact. This site is now designated Building No. 6 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

The Powder Magazine was still standing when the army assumed control of the Company's buildings at Fort Vancouver on June 14, 1860. The next day a board of officers pronounced

the structure "useless to the public service." [10] Its subsequent fate is unknown. [11]

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Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

CHAPTER IV:
BACHELORS' QUARTERS

History and location

On October 18, 1838, Chief Trader James Douglas, in command of Fort Vancouver during Chief Factor McLoughlin's temporary absence on furlough, informed the London directors: "We have had our hands full of employment this summer, every person having been kept in constant activity. Besides the ordinary labours of the place, already enumerated, a large building of 153 x 33 feet, intended for a dwelling House, will be completed in the course of six weeks." [1] A fortnight earlier Douglas had told the Governor and Committee that it was his intention, when this structure was finished, to terminate Chief Trader John McLeod, Jr.'s, intermittent occupancy of one end of the house assigned to the Reverend and Mrs. Herbert Beaver. [2] In other words, McLeod was to be quartered in the new "large Building."

The dimensions--no other structure inside the pickets was as long--and the fact that an officer was to reside there make it certain that this dwelling, toward the completion of which Douglas had assigned "every disposable man," was the "Quarters for subordinate officers & their families" that appears as Building No. 9 on the Emmons ground plan of 1841 (Plate III, vol. I) and the "Dwelling Houses" structure shown on the Vavasour plan of late 1845 (Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I). [3] In actuality a series of small, one-story cottages joined under a single roof, this structure, known variously over the years as the "Bachelors' Quarters," "Bachelors' Hall," "the clerks' quarters," "Bachelor's Row," "the Bachelors' Range," etc., was located on the site called Building No. 20 on the present site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

The building lay parallel to, and about fifty-five feet west of, the eastern palisade wall as it was located in 1845. In this position it marked the eastern boundary of the fort's courtyard. Its northwest corner was only a few yards from the southeast corner of the Big House. Thus its occupants had easy access to the mess hall. By the same token, of course, they were also subject to close surveillance by the sometimes stern eyes of Chief Factor McLoughlin.

Almost certainly the Bachelors' Quarters underwent a number of physical changes between their erection during the fall of 1838 and their final disappearance from the historical record in the early 1860s. For instance, if Emmons delineated the structure correctly in 1841 it then had only four doors along its lengthy western front, but the photograph of 1860 (Plate XXVII, vol. I) shows five. Also, the ca. 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist (Plate XVI, vol. I) seems to indicate that at that time there were five tall, narrow chimneys rising from the eave line at the rear of the Bachelors' Quarters, while the 1860 photograph depicts only four brick chimneys, all emerging at the ridge of the roof. When these changes occurred, if indeed they actually took place, is not apparent. [4]

At least one witness later stated that the Bachelors' Quarters building was still in good

condition in 1860. [5] But the United States Army officers who appraised the fort structures on June 15 of that year described the old dwelling as a "long building, used as quarters for employees, so much out of repair as to be uninhabitable and useless for any military purpose." [6] It was still standing during the fall of 1860, but after that date all specific knowledge of it has been lost. [7] It had disappeared with the rest of the fort buildings by 1865 or 1866.

Role of the Bachelors' Quarters at Fort Vancouver. Of all the buildings at the Columbia depot, perhaps none except the Big House is mentioned more frequently in reminiscences of employees and accounts by visitors than the Bachelors' Quarters. As the principal residence of the subordinate officers and clerks and as the place where guests were most often housed, this long, low structure figured prominently in life at the post. Its importance can perhaps best be made clear by examining its several functions separately.

1. Housing for subordinate officers and clerks. Chief Factor John McLoughlin and his principal assistant, Chief Trader (promoted to Chief Factor in 1840) James Douglas, lived in the Big House. Other officers, as has been seen in the case of Chief Trader John McLeod, were occasionally lodged in the Priests' House or other buildings in the fort that sometimes served as dwellings; and rarely even clerks were granted such separate quarters. But most of the clerks and, when necessary, the subordinate officers were housed in the "common receptacle of the single officers, called 'Bachelor's Hall." [8]

Young Apprentice Clerk Thomas Lowe arrived from the Northwest Coast to take up his duties in the office at Fort Vancouver on June 14, 1843. "I have," he noted in his journal the next day, "been given for my exclusive use one of the rooms in the 'Bachelors Hall' building. There I am to sleep, taking my meals at the general Mess table in the Big House." [9] He was recording what undoubtedly was a typical experience for most of the clerks assigned to the depot.

As the name of the building implied, most of the inhabitants of the Bachelors' Quarters were unmarried, but not all. Emmons in 1841, it will be remembered, described it as a residence for "subordinate officers & their families." Clerks often remained clerks for many years in the Company's service, and it was to be expected that they would in time acquire wives and children. Josiah L. Parrish, long a member of the Methodist mission in Oregon and a frequent visitor to the depot, remembered that when missionary families were quartered in the Bachelors' Hall "the wives of the gentlemen, though they were native women and some half breeds they used to come out and occupy the parlor with our ladies." [10]

How conditions in the family quarters must have been on occasion was graphically described by the Reverend Herbert Beaver, the post chaplain, on March 19, 1838. His words seem to refer to the Bachelors' Hall that immediately preceded the one completed during the fall of 1838 and may even refer to another type of building entirely:

> I have mentioned in my reports the indecent lodging for all classes. I will here give you an instance. . . . Mr. Ross, one of your clerks, came in with the Express, bringing a woman and four children. She has since been confined with the fifth, and the whole family have, ever since their arrival, been dwelling with Mrs. McKenzie, the wife of another of your clerks, (who is at Oahu for the recovery of his health . . .) and her three children, making eleven persons in the same room, which is undivided and thirty feet by fifteen in size and in which, with the exception of the man, who takes his meals at the mess, they all eat, sleep, wash and dry their clothes, none ever being hung out. [11]

As a further domestic note, it might be mentioned that, generally speaking, all the officers

and clerks at the Company's establishments, married and unmarried, ate in the mess hall. [12] But a visitor to Fort Vancouver in 1839 observed that the married clerks and chief traders only came "to the general table when it suits." [13]

At certain posts there was a "guardroom" servant who tended the fires and kept the rooms of the unmarried "gentlemen" clean. Indian women came in at intervals to wash the floors, and each bachelor made an annual contract with a native woman to do his laundry. [14] Because the clerks at Fort Vancouver often worked long hours, it is probable that they made similar arrangements, although the available records seem to be silent on this subject.

A rather rigid caste system was observed throughout the Company's service. Tradesmen, voyageurs, and laborers were not permitted to enter the quarters of the "gentlemen" (officers, clerks, and sometimes at any rate, postmasters) for social purposes, even upon invitation. [15] The chaplain at Moose Factory on Hudson Bay had this point driven home to him during 1843 when he requested permission for one of his parishioners, a "servant," and his wife to spend an hour or two in the chaplain's apartments before they embarked for England. "The only reply I can give to your favor," Chief Trader Robert Miles answered stiffly, "is that the Officer's residence cannot be made a place of rendezvous for the Company's servants and their families." [16]

At several places in earlier chapters of this report mention has been made of clerks and subordinate officers who lived elsewhere within the stockade than in the Bachelors' Quarters. In 1833, for example, Doctors Tolmie and Gairdner decided to move into the Dispensary to avoid being periodically "bumped" out of their rooms by visitors of higher rank. When Clerk George B. Roberts returned to the depot in 1844 with an English bride, the young couple were given a house of their own. [17] And on May 16, 1845, Clerk Thomas Lowe, for reasons unstated, moved out of Bachelors' Hall and took up lodgings in one of the rooms in the office. [18]

One of the disadvantages of living in the Bachelors' Quarters was the ever-present possibility of being evicted to make room for officers of higher rank or for visitors to whom the depot manager extended hospitality. Such "bumping" was more or less expected when the boat brigades arrived during the summer, but when Dr. McLoughlin turned the clerks out of their rooms in order to accommodate "strangers," such as missionaries and their families, there was a good deal of grumbling. [19] And, as Thomas Lowe discovered, even moving to the office was no proof against displacement. On August 26, 1845, Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden reached the post after a journey from Canada. The next night he took over Lowe s room in the office, and the clerk had to double up with one of his fellows in the Bachelors' Quarters. [20]

2. Social hall for subordinate officers, clerks, and visitors. In Chapter IX, volume I, on the Big House, evidence was marshaled pointing to the probability that the common social hall for "gentlemen," known as the "Bachelors' Hall," was situated in the Bachelors' Hall building, or Bachelors' Quarters. [21] There is no need to repeat that discussion here, but a bit of additional testimony might be added with profit.

In 1878 Josiah L. Parrish commented upon the remarks of another American pioneer in Oregon, John Minto, who said of the Hudson's Bay men at Fort Vancouver: "They always had that bachelor's hall as they called it. The single men Clerks and others made use of it as a common room for gossip and talk. When any stranger was there he was sent in there. I do not know but there were more rooms in that part of the building but it was occupied by the employees."

Parrish attempted to clarify these words by saying: "There was a general room like a bar-

room, and then there must have been 8 or 10 Rooms besides. I know at one time we had as many as half a dozen [missionary] families there and each family had a room by themselves. They came out into the parlor and the wives of the gentlemen . . . used to come out and occupy the parlor with our ladies "[22]

It is difficult to read any meaning into these words other than that the common social or smoking room known as "Bachelors' Hall" was in the Bachelors' Quarters structure. Such will be considered the case here for planning purposes, though it should be realized that the matter is not entirely closed. A single bit of new evidence could conceivably weight the scales in favor of placing Bachelors' Hall proper in the Big House.

The important role played by the Bachelors' Hall in the social life at Fort Vancouver has been amply documented. William H. Gray, who reached the depot in 1836 with the Whitman party, recalled in later years that the Company's gentlemen, at the end of the midday "dinner" in the Big House, usually "passed a compliment in a glass of wine, or brandy, if preferred; all then retired to the social hall, a room in the clerk's quarters, where they indulged in a stiff pipe of tobacco, sometimes filling the room as full as it could hold with smoke. At 1 P. M. the bell rang again, when all went to business." [23]

It was not until after the evening "tea," or supper, however, that Bachelors' Hall really came to life. Eugene Duflot de Mofras, who arrived at Fort Vancouver in October 1841, has left a lively picture of the depot's gentlemen at their ease. "In the evening," he wrote, "the young clerks come together to smoke in a room called Bachelor's Hall; each tells of his travels, his adventures, his fights with the Indians; one has been forced to eat his moccasins, another is so sure of his rifle that he takes aim at bears only in the mouth, so as not to damage the skin; and then sometimes as the Scotch melodies mingle with the Canadian songs, one sees the hardy Highlanders enlivened by the gaiety of the French." [24]

John Dunn, who as a postmaster--the lowest rank of "gentleman"--may have enjoyed the hospitality of the Bachelors' Quarters before sailing home to England in 1838 but who probably obtained his information from Clerk George B. Roberts, wrote that after "dinner"--meaning supper in this instance--

> most of the party retire to the public sitting-room, called 'Bachelor's Hall,' or the smoking-room to amuse themselves as they please, either in smoking, reading, or telling and listening to stories of their own, and others' curious adventures. Some times there is a great influx of company, consisting of the chief traders from the outposts, who arrive at the fort on business, and the commanders of vessels.
>
> These are gala times after dinner, and there is a great deal of amusement, but always under strict discipline, and regulated by the strictest propriety. [25]

Available accounts of social life in the Bachelors' Halls at other establishments--describing "musical soirees" distinguished more for noise than melody, tossings of tipsy companions in blankets, mock military drills, and boastings of l'amour--prove that the restraint was not too repressive. But the quotations already given undoubtedly portray the general tone of evenings in Bachelors' Hall at Fort Vancouver .

One other phase of Bachelors' Hall life is not recorded specifically at the Columbia depot, though almost surely the clerks there must have enjoyed it also. This was the custom of the Bachelors Quarters inmates having "little private suppers" of their own from time to time. When the fare at the mess table palled, the clerks would pool the products of their guns and fishing rods, "eked out with importations of canned luxuries." [26] Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, surgeon at Fort Victoria in 1850, later fondly recalled the succulent native oysters roasted on the "mean and delapidated" old square stove in the "Bachelor's Hall" at that post.

[27]

The Bachelor's Hall was also the scene of a share of the dances and parties given at Fort Vancouver. A few extracts from Clerk Thomas Lowe's journal will suffice to illustrate the diversity of these gatherings:

> [December 26, 1844]. A Holyday also. Another card party, and a dance in Bachelor's Hall. [28]
>
> [December 31, 1845]. Singing, dancing, and all kinds of fun carried on to a late or rather early hour in Bachelor's Hall, ushering in the New Year. Several of the Junior Officers from the "Modeste" and a number of the other visitors were with us. [29]
>
> [January 2, 1846]. A holiday still. . . . Another ball this evening . . . Broke up dancing at midnight and sat down to supper. Adjourned after wards to Bachelors Hall where we continued singing and enjoying ourselves until 4 in the morning. [30]

3. Accommodations for visitors. Life at a Hudson's Bay Company post tended to become monotonous for its inhabitants, even at such head quarters and depots as York Factory and Fort Vancouver. All were more or less isolated from the outside world, and news arrived at infrequent intervals. Thus the arrival of a traveler, be he Company employee or "outsider," was an event of note.

What such breaks in the routine meant to the officers and clerks is well expressed by the words of H. M. Robinson:

> The comparative monotony of the mess-room, which obtains from the meagreness of the conditions of its isolated life, and from the long and perfect intimacy of those composing its social circle, is, nevertheless, often broken by the advent of a stranger at the board. This stranger may be a passing official from another post in the service, or some wanderer who braves the discomforts of travel through those in hospitable regions from a traveler's curiosity. In either case he is equally a stranger to the mess-room, from the fact of the unusual budget of news he brings to add to the somewhat worn and threadbare stock of discourse already in hand. The arrival of such a person is a matter of much bustle and congratulation; and he receives a welcome which, while it has many of the elements of selfishness on the part of his entertainers, leaves nothing to be desired in its heartiness and cordiality. Indeed, he is likely to be wined and dined in good earnest so long as his budget of news holds out.
>
> If he be a passing officer from another fort, the mess-table is made the occasion of a detailed and succinct account of the latest news at the date of his departure from his own establishment, together with that accumulated at the various mess-rooms at which he has halted on the way. . . . The long evenings of social intercourse are protracted far beyond their usual wont, and old memories are ruthlessly dragged forth to feed the fires of conversation should they show symptoms of abatement. . . .
>
> The arrival of a traveler from the outer world is, however, the great episode in the every-day life of the post. The community find in him an inexhaustible fount of enjoyment; and, if he be of a communicative disposition, his store of news and narrative will do service in payment of his weekly board-bill for an indefinite period. To such a one the hospitalities of the fort are extended in the

> most liberal manner. An apartment is assigned him for his sole occupancy during the period of his sojourn. He is free to come and go when and where he listeth, means of locomotion being furnished upon demand. . . . Nothing is left undone to render his stay pleasant, and to prolong it to the utmost. [31]

This same type of hospitality was freely offered at Fort Vancouver, particularly during the first decade or so of its existence. All who came with letters of introduction or with some claim to official position or gentility were made welcome. Of course distinctions were made. Persons obviously of the laboring class, ordinary free trappers, and run-of-the-mill emigrants never saw the inside of the mess hall, though they might be offered housing outside the stockade. [32]

As missionaries, Government exploring parties, and settlers began to enter the Columbia region in ever-increasing numbers during the period 1834 to 1846, however, these visitors became somewhat of a nuisance at Fort Vancouver, to say nothing of a threat to the fur trade. Governor Simpson and the directors in London began to have reservations about Dr. McLoughlin's open-handedness toward outsiders.

During January 1837 the Governor and Committee informed the Columbia District manager that "although it is our wish, that the rites of Hospitality should be shown at our Establishments to Strangers, when properly introduced, or to such as through necessity, or distress be compelled to solicit it, we are averse to keeping open house, for the Entertainment and accomodation of people who have no such claim upon us, but who make a convenience of our Hospitality to acquire a knowledge of our affairs. . . ." [33]

McLoughlin pointed out in reply that to refuse assistance to missionaries and to persons in distress would "expose us to reflections," in other words, would be bad public relations, and he assured the directors that his hospitality involved "no extravagance." Thus the warm-hearted district manager continued to welcome qualified "strangers" at the depot as long as he remained in charge, and his successors did likewise until the development of nearby settlements with accommodations for travelers made it unnecessary to provide visitors with food and lodging.

Unfortunately not many of the persons who enjoyed the hospitality of Fort Vancouver have left records indicating the exact locations of their lodgings. But enough information is available to indicate that the Bachelors' Quarters building was undoubtedly the principal site of such accommodations.

Perhaps the first guest to be housed in the new Bachelors' Quarters, which were completed during the fall of 1838, was John Augustus Sutter, the Swiss adventurer who during the next year established a settlement which was to develop into the present city of Sacramento, California. According to his recollections, Sutter arrived at Fort Vancouver after an overland journey in early October 1838 and was invited by "the Governor"--James Douglas at the time--to spend the winter. His residence in the Bachelors' Quarters may perhaps be inferred from his remark about his companions during that period.: "If they just hadn't smoked so much tobacco I could hardly get my breath in their smoking room." [34]

During 1841 several parties from the United States Exploring Expedition spent time at Fort Vancouver. The officers found comfortable lodgings within the stockade, but as far as this writer has determined, only one named the structures in which he roomed. On July 27, 1841, Lt. George Foster Emmons, U.S.N., remarked in his diary:

"Dr McL--thinking to make me more comfortable insisted upon my vacating a small room in No. 9 ["Quarters for subordinate officers and their families"] & taking No. 3 ["Chaplain or Governor's temporary residence"] where he frequently called to see if his servants had

attended to all my wants agreeable to his instructions." [35] In other words, Emmons had first been lodged in the Bachelors' Quarters but was later shifted to the Priests' House.

Beginning with the arrival of Jason Lee in 1834 and the Whitman party in 1836, Dr. McLoughlin went far beyond the requirements of ordinary hospitality to assist missionaries in the Oregon Country, both Protestant and Catholic. For example, when the ship Lausanne anchored opposite Fort Vancouver on June 1, 1840, bearing the "Great Reinforcement" for the Methodist Mission, the kindly manager provided "comfortable accommodations" for each of the fifty-two persons in the party. A private sitting room was set aside for their use, and they ate at a separate table. [36] Surely the larger number of these guests must have been lodged in the Bachelors' Quarters, the only structure within the stockade having a number of rooms suitable for the purpose.

Asa L. Lovejoy, an American overland emigrant of 1842, visited Fort Vancouver many times, but in later years, when he dictated his reminiscences, he could not be sure where the missionaries had been lodged at the depot. Certain apartments, he said, were called the "missionary rooms."

"A good many persons would take their families in those rooms," he added. "Some persons would come to the table there--I was employed by him [Dr. McLoughlin]--but not everybody. They [the H.B.C. officers] were very stringent and aristocratic. It may be that these rooms were the same as the Bachelors' Hall, but I think the missionary rooms were another place. I think there were three or four rooms besides Bachelors' Hall, and one called the missionary room. They were very generous and very kind." [37]

The words of Josiah L. Parrish, already quoted, to the effect that as many as half a dozen missionary families at a time were housed in the same building as that in which the "bachelor's hall" was located, would appear to demonstrate that Lovejoy's "missionary rooms" were in fact in the Bachelors' Quarters building. [38] This view is reinforced, if not actually proved, by the testimony of the Reverend George H. Atkinson, an American missionary who arrived with his wife from Honolulu on June 19, 1848.

"I went on shore and presented a letter of introduction to Mr. Ogden," he wrote in his diary. "He rec'd me very politely and cordially invited us to take up our lodgings at the Fort until we wished to go on. He showed me to rooms in Bachelor's Range. . . . Our table was set separately near our room, and well provided with food." [39]

The question of where certain other visitors were housed is not so easily solved. For example, the two British army officers, Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and M. Vavasour, reached Fort Vancouver toward the end of August 1845 and remained through the winter. Warre kept a journal, but frustratingly he says of his lodgings only that "We had a private sitting room and a bedroom each within the palisade." [40] These quarters could well have been in "Bachelor's Range," but they also might have been in the Priests' House or another structure.

Similarly uninformative is a notation in Clerk Thomas Lowe's diary on October 11, 1845, that the prominent American settler, M. M. McCarver, and his family, accompanied by "several more Americans," arrived at the fort "and got quarters here for the night." [41] One can only speculate that they were housed in the most usual accommodation for guests--the Bachelors' Quarters.

It has been seen that a number of the visitors who enjoyed the hospitality at Fort Vancouver later acknowledged the kindness with which they had been treated. But there is little evidence that many of them made any tangible expression of their appreciation for the food and

lodging so freely afforded. One notable exception was Nathaniel Wyeth, who, recorded Clerk George T. Allan, upon his return home to New England sent out a keg of choice smoking tobacco with "a handsome letter to the gentlemen of Bachelors Hall, as we called our smoking room." [42]

4. Sitting room for visitors, the "strangers' room." In several of the quotations from pioneer reminiscences and diaries already reproduced in this chapter, mentions were made of the "parlor, or "private sitting room," or the place where a separate table was set "near our room." All of these terms undoubtedly refer to what was known as the "strangers' room," an apartment set aside, apparently as early as 1840, as a social hall and dining room for visitors. It very probably was identical with Lovejoy's "missionary room."

This apartment was not exclusively for overnight guests, because many settlers and travelers who visited the fort for a few hours to purchase goods at the trade shop or attend to other business also were afforded hospitality. It was customary to feed customers who happened to be inside the stockade when the dinner bell rang.

How this room served its purpose for day visitors was well pictured by John Minto, an American emigrant who, with two companions, came to Fort Vancouver late in 1844 seeking a boat in order to assist other members of their company who had been left at The Dalles. McLoughlin agreed to help, and then he said,

> "Young men, perhaps you would like to communicate with your friends in the East. If so, you have an opportunity; a messenger will leave the fort today at two o'clock. . . ." We thanked him and said we were not prepared to take advantage of his kindness, as we had neither pencils nor paper. The Doctor wheeled about toward his office and another servant came running, to whom he said: "Go to Mr. Graham and ask him to send pens, ink and paper to the strangers' room." Then the good man turned to us again and pointing to the open door of the strangers' room said: "Young men, go in there and write your letters, and . . . be sure to be in that room when the bell rings." This we understood to be an invitation to a good English dinner, which was the common usage to all business visitors. [43]

In another version of this same account Minto said that after ordering the writing materials sent to "the strangers' room," McLoughlin pointed "to an open door across the northeast angle of the area from his residence," and said, "Go in there, young men." Thanking him, continued Minto, "we entered bachelors' hall." He also remembered that t McLoughlin said, "But be in that room soon after the bell rings" and that they were served "an excellent English dinner of roast beef and vegetables." [44]

These words quite definitely place the strangers room in the Bachelors' Quarters building at, or near, its north end. While it is not stated beyond question that the dinner was served in that same room, such certainly is the implication.

Another question concerning the strangers room is not so easily answered. It will be recalled that at still another time Minto said, "They [the H.B.C.] always had that bachelor's hall as they called it. . . . When any stranger was there [at the fort] he was sent in there." [45] Here Minto seems to be implying that the Bachelors' Hall room and the strangers room were one and the same, but the situation is confused because the term "Bachelors' Hall" was applied both to a specific room and to the entire Bachelors' Quarters building.

It seems probable that the private "smoking room" of the clerks and subordinate officers would not have been used as a common parlor and dining hall for the missionaries and their families. Evidently visitors entered the club room or "guard room" known as Bachelors' Hall

only by invitation, and it seems to have been a male domain. Unless further proof is brought forward, the Bachelors' Hall and the strangers' room will be considered as separate and distinct for the purposes of re construction planning.

5. Place of confinement for officers and clerks. It was not often that one of the Company's "gentlemen" had to be arrested or forcibly detained. But Chief Factor McLoughlin on occasion could display a violent temper. As Governor Simpson recognized, to disagree with him sometimes was tantamount to a declaration of war. On such occasions even the post chaplain was liable to physical attack.

Ordinary servants who violated regulations or otherwise incurred the displeasure of the district manager might be whipped, or manacled, or confined in the fort jail. But such punishments were scarcely suitable for "gentlemen." On one occasion of record, during January 1838, McLoughlin seized the captain of a Company vessel at the tea table and "dragged him into a dark room, whence he was transferred after tea, to the common receptacle of the single officers, called 'Bachelor's Hall,' where he was kept a week in confinement," all because the mariner refused to give up his plans to marry a part-Indian girl. [46] Whether the Bachelors' Quarters were ever again used for such a purpose has not been determined.

6. Library. Both official and personal records provide abundant evidence of the important role played by books in the lives of the Company's "gentlemen." At the more isolated posts, particularly, reading material was a virtual necessity. "Having fortunately a supply of books with me and other means of amusement, I found the winter glide away without suffering much from ennui," wrote John McLean at Great Slave Lake during the winter of 1844-45. [47] Of course there were some officers and clerks who "only Looked at the pictures," but the German botanist Karl Geyer, who had traveled extensively in the West, found the constantly circulating books among the Hudson's Bay posts in the Columbia District to be evidence of "another type of life here from that in the American Fur fort!" [48]

Although not as far separated from society as their fellows in the interior and on the Northwest Coast, the officers and clerks at Fort Vancouver shared the general interest in reading. Several of the "gentlemen" who were stationed there at various times are known to have possessed fairly extensive personal libraries. That of Dr. McLoughlin has already been mentioned. Dr. W. F. Tolmie's journals contain numerous notations of books read and volumes ordered from London. And in 1841 James Douglas sent John A. Sutter "a few German Books" that, he hoped, "may amuse you, more than they have contributed to my entertainment." [49] But as H. M. Robinson pointed out, books, "as the property of private individuals," were less numerous among the Company's employees than might have been expected, due to the difficulty of transporting them when transferred. [50]

This deficiency in private literary resources was compensated for at Fort Vancouver by the existence of two libraries--one owned by the Company and the other belonging to subscribing employees. Whether these libraries were kept separate in location as well as in ownership is not known.

The Company library appears to have had its origin in the collection of books owned by the North West Company at Fort George, which in turn may have been derived from the books brought to the Columbia by the Astorians. When inventoried in the spring of 1821 the Fort George library contained forty-five titles in fifty-four volumes. Upon the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies in 1821, these books were taken over by the latter firm along with all other Nor'Wester property, and they were moved to Fort Vancouver in 1825. By 1837 this collection had been reduced to twenty-one titles. [51]

As will be seen by the inventories presented later in this chapter, the depot library never did grow much larger than about twenty-six titles. The books were entirely in the practical vein--dictionaries; handbooks on mathematics, medicine, gunnery, agriculture, and law; a geography; several accounts of voyages; and not much else. They were all necessary aids to district administration and operation.

There certainly was no chance of light reading matter getting into this official Fort Vancouver library. In 1836 the Company's secretary questioned McLoughlin about requests for magazines and papers that appeared in the annual indent or requisition from the Columbia Department. "I am sorry to see that you have fallen into a mistake in regard to the mag[az]ines and reviews sent," replied McLoughlin "it is true they were included in the outfit, but they were on account of individuals the subscribers of the Columbia Library and consequently the Department has none." [52]

As these words clearly indicate, the second library at Fort Vancouver was a distinct entity. Dr. William F. Tolmie later declared that the idea of establishing a circulating library for the gentlemen of the Columbia District originated upon his arrival to take up his duties as surgeon and clerk at Fort McLoughlin on Millbank Sound on December 23, 1833. During the next few days he had ample time for discussion with Clerk Donald Manson and Clerk Alexander Caulfield Anderson. All three had a taste for literature, and the plan to organize a library was a natural result.

Anderson had received orders to report to Fort Vancouver and departed on January 2, 1834. On reaching the Columbia depot he "ventilated" the matter of the library, and it was "readily taken up" by Chief Factor McLoughlin and the other gentlemen at the headquarters. It probably took six months or a year to canvas the officers and clerks throughout the district, but in due time a subscription library was formed. [53]

Exactly how the Columbia Library, as it was termed, was organized is not known. But subscription libraries were not uncommon throughout the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and presumably the officers at Fort Vancouver followed a precedent in another district. At York Factory during the 1870s, for instance, commissioned officers subscribed one pound each per year, clerks ten shillings, and such mechanics and laborers as wished to join, five shillings. An apprentice clerk served as librarian, escaping the fee as a reward for his service. The books were selected from catalogues at an annual meeting and ordered from London. High priority was given to bound volumes of standard periodicals and reviews, and "no trash was allowed." The library at York Factory was open only on Saturday evenings. The sole illumination in winter was a single candle, and no stove was provided. Thus, making a week's selection was a speedy affair. [54]

When the Columbia Library actually began to function is unknown. Dr. Tolmie recalled in later years that "a circulating library of papers, magazines, and some books" was in "full blast" by 1836. [55] This date would seem to be about correct, because a credit for the "Fort Vancouver Library" apparently was first shown on the Company's books for Outfit 1836. [56] It has been claimed that this Columbia Library was "the first circulating library on the Pacific Slope," but in view of the earlier libraries of the Astorians and the Nor'Westers this assertion requires more careful examination. [57]

According to Tolmie, "everybody"--presumably all the "gentlemen--in the district subscribed to the library, which was kept at Fort Vancouver. The annual meetings of the subscribers were held there also, one being recorded by Thomas Lowe on March 30, 1846, a week before the departure of the "after express" for York Factory. Perhaps the order for books selected by the subscribers was forwarded on its way to London with these native couriers, although evidently the annual "indent" for books and periodicals to be charged to the account of the

"Columbia Library" was ordinarily sent in the vessel that sailed for England each fall. [58] The orders were directed to the Company's secretary, who executed them with London firms such as Burrup & Blight and Smith Elder & Co. and then shipped the books on the annual supply vessels. [59]

At Fort Vancouver the depot surgeon seems to have served as librarian. At least such definitely was the case in 1843 and 1844 when Dr. Barclay, "Librarian," made out the purchase requests. [60] W. F. Tolmie said that the subscribers from the outlying posts the length and breadth of the district sent to Fort Vancouver for such books as they wanted, returning them when read. [61]

It was Tolmie's belief that the Columbia Library remained in existence only until about 1843, but records prove that it had a some what longer life, Accounts of merchandise exported from England show that shipments were made to the "Columbia Library" at least as late as December 1848, but none seems to be recorded thereafter. [62] On the other hand, a debit balance of £5.l.4 for the "Library Vancouver" on the Company's books in 1849 had grown to £27.12.1 in 1854, indicating some activity for a time between those years. Then, during Outfit 1855, the library was credited with £27.12.1 "to clear up deficit." [63] Evidently the library had ceased to exist and probably had been delinquent for several years.

Tolmie said that the books were finally "divided among such of the subscribers as cared about having them." [64] One of these volumes, marked "Columbia Library," is now in the collections of McLoughlin House National Historic Site in Oregon City.

No information seems to be available concerning the physical locations of either of the Fort Vancouver libraries. It is known, however, that at certain Company posts, such as Norway House, the subscription library was housed in the "Clerk's House." [65] Perhaps this was the case at Fort Vancouver. The depot library may have been kept there also for convenience, or it may have been lodged in the office. For purposes of planning the reconstruction, a library will be included in the Bachelors' Quarters.

Employees living in Bachelors' Quarters, 1845-46. Because of the scant information available and because both employees and guests moved into and out of the Bachelors' Quarters with bewildering frequency, it is impossible to state exactly who was living in the building at any given time. To make matters worse, conditions were particularly confusing during Outfit 1845 (June 1, 1845, to May 31, 1846), the very period of most interest for the reconstruction project. During much of that time Fort Vancouver provided lodging for visiting officers of Her Majesty's Navy and for the two British army officers, Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour. Clerk Thomas Lowe's journal shows a great coming and going of Company personnel in connection with the official and personal excursions of these and other visitors as well as in connection with the firm's own business. Thus any attempt to be specific about who lived in the Bachelors' Range during the year is largely fruitless. But probably a few facts, at least, can be pinned down.

When one looks at the personnel lists for the Columbia District for Outfit 1845 in order to find out which subordinate officers and clerks were stationed at Fort Vancouver and therefore to ascertain who might have been living in the Bachelors' Quarters, one meets with more confusion. There are at least five extant lists giving either actual or proposed assignments for the period and not one of them agrees exactly with any of the others as far as those men stationed at the depot or carried under the heading "general charges" are concerned. Most of those persons carried under the latter heading were stationed at Fort Vancouver, but not all.

Consolidating these lists, one comes up with the following employees who conceivably were eligible to live in the Bachelors' Quarters during the year 1845-46:

Barclay, Forbes	Surgeon & Clerk
Forrest, Charles	Postmaster
Grahame, James A.	Apprentice Clerk
Harvey, Daniel	Farmer
Lambert, John	Engineer
Lane, Richard	Clerk
Logan, Kenneth	Postmaster
Logan, Robert	Postmaster
Lowe, Thomas	Apprentice Clerk
McBean, William	Clerk
McDonald, Angus (a)	Clerk
McLoughlin, David	Clerk
Mactavish, Dugald	Clerk
Peers, Henry N.	Apprentice Clerk
Roberts, George B.	Clerk
Simpson, John	Apprentice Postmaster
Sinclair, William	Apprentice Postmaster [66]

The following is a brief summary of what this writer has been able to uncover concerning the places of residence of each of the above-listed persons during Outfit 1845, with a statement about the family status of each one who is known to have lived in the Bachelors' Quarters for any significant period during the year:

Dr. Forbes Barclay. As has been seen, Dr. Barclay's place of residence at Fort Vancouver is not known with certainty. For planning purposes it has been assumed that he lived in the Indian Trade Shop building throughout the year, but it is entirely possible that he had quarters in Bachelors' Hall. He was married and had an infant son who lived from December 13, 1845, to December 31, 1847. For further details see Chapter II.

Charles Forrest. An "active, bustling" native of Montreal, Forrest had been in the Company's service from 1825 to 1835. He then retired to Red River and married Nancy Sutherland, by whom he had a child, Julia, in 1837. He rejoined the Company in 1836 as a postmaster and was sent to the Columbia District in 1838. It is not reported that his wife and child accompanied him, but it is known that he formed an alliance with a Lower Chinook woman and had a daughter, Ann, by her. He also fathered a son by a Cowlitz woman. The dates of these attachments seem not to be recorded.

Forrest, a postmaster, was in charge of the Cowlitz Farm during the first half of Outfit 1845, but on January 6, 1846, he arrived at Fort Vancouver in poor health. He remained in Dr. Barclay's care until February l8 when he left to resume charge at Cowlitz. On July 2, 1846, however, he was once more back at Vancouver, "unwell." There is no evidence that he was accompanied by any family he may have had at the time of his brief sojourn at the depot. [67]

James Allan Grahame. The career of this young Scottish apprentice clerk has already been outlined in Chapter XI, volume I. He was in charge of the Sale Shop and was at the fort almost continuously throughout the year. He is known to have had a room to himself, except when crowded conditions forced him to share it with fellow clerks. Very probably this room was in the Bachelors' Quarters. Grahame did not marry until September 5, 1847. [68]

Daniel Harvey. As farmer and miller, Daniel Harvey did not live within the pickets. He had a house a few miles up the Columbia River near the Company's sawmill. [69]

John Lambert. The Company employed Lambert in England to replace the engineer of the

steamer Beaver, who had announced his intention of returning home. Sailing from Gravesend in the barque Vancouver on September 8, 1844, he reached Fort Victoria in that vessel after a passage of five months and ten days. Probably because he was in ill health, Lambert did not wait in the Puget Sound area to join the Beaver but traveled overland via Nisqually to Fort Vancouver, where he arrived on March 8, 1845. He was a welcome guest because he brought the annual "packet" of dispatches and letters from Britain.

His physical difficulty, which was described by Thomas Lowe as "Rheumatism," seems not to have improved under Dr. Barclay's care, and by October he was "much debilitated." Nevertheless, it was decided that he would take passage on the Company's schooner Cadboro for Victoria and report for duty on the Beaver. As luck would have it, the Cadboro came and went while Lambert was off on a short excursion to the Willamette Falls, so he was forced to start off on November 5, 1845, by way of the Cowlitz Farm and Nisqually. Thomas Lowe speculated that Lambert probably would not be able to endure the journey, but he did, because he was listed as engineer on the Beaver during Outfit 1846.

It is not known positively that Lambert lodged in the Bachelors' Quarters during his eight-month stay at Fort Vancouver, but such was most likely the case. As an engineer he ranked as a clerk, and his salary, £150 per year, far exceeded that of most of his companions in Bachelors' Hall. [70]

Richard Lane. This "very recherche and good natured" Englishman was born about 1816 and had served the Company as a clerk for about eight years, mostly at Red River, when on June 11, 1845, he was informed by Governor George Simpson that he was being transferred to the Columbia District and was to start two days later. Lane agreed to go, but he obtained Sir George's promise that he could return in the spring to marry his fiancee, Miss Mary McDermott, and then bring her back to Fort Vancouver, where he was to serve as accountant. He traveled west ward with Peter Skene Ogden and Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, reaching Vancouver on August 26, 1845.

Thomas Lowe's diary reveals that, except for a short excursion or two, Lane remained at the Columbia depot for the next seven months. During January 1846 he had a spell of illness that confined him to bed for a period, but otherwise he seems to have been actively engaged in the office. He evidently was something of a surveyor, because he marked out the land claims of Company employees near the fort. He also frequently assisted in Church of England services in the dining hall. On March 25, 1846, he departed with the York Factory express to claim his bride at Red River. There is no record of exactly where he lodged in the fort, but the Bachelors' Quarters is the most probable place. [71]

Kenneth Logan. Another "son of the country," Logan was born in Red River Settlement and baptized in 1826. He was employed by the Company as an apprentice postmaster in 1841, and his entire service was passed in the Columbia District. By the beginning of Outfit 1845 he was a postmaster stationed at Fort Vancouver. Seemingly he remained at the depot throughout the year, working at a variety of assignments, including assisting in the office, helping in the Sale Shop, and supervising the laborers when the clerk regularly assigned to that duty was ill or absent. On January 30, 1846, he was placed in charge of the men upon the transfer of Clerk William McBean to Walla Walla.

Evidently unmarried at that time, he seems to have been a personable companion in Bachelors' Hall. It was reported that he was several times a guest with some of the clerks at dinners given by the officers of H.M.S. Modeste. Probably he lived in the Bachelors' Quarters. [72]

Robert Logan. Presumably the elder brother of Kenneth Logan, Robert Logan was still

considered a "Raw Lad who never had any experience commanding men" when Governor Simpson proposed sending him to Stikine as assistant to John McLoughlin, Jr., in 1841. Chief Factor McLoughlin failed to provide transportation, and thus young Logan escaped being witness to a brutal murder. During Outfit 1845 he was a postmaster, stationed at Cowlitz Farm, although he spent some time at Fort Vancouver during the spring of 1846 boating supplies and wheat between the depot and Willamette Falls Returning from one of these trips on April 20 he brought to Fort Vancouver the first issue of the Oregon Spectator. He can scarcely be considered a permanent resident during Outfit 1845, though he may have lodged in the Bachelors' Quarters for a number of weeks. His family status at that time is not known. [73]

Thomas Lowe. The life of this industrious young apprentice clerk will be treated in more detail in the chapter on the Old Office. Suffice it to say here that although he resided in the fort all during Outfit 1845, he definitely was not housed in the Bachelors' Quarters. He moved out of that structure on May 16, 1845, and took up lodgings in one of the rooms in the office. And there he remained, except when he had to give up his apartment to visiting officers, through the end of the outfit. [74]

William McBean. Partly Indian in blood, William McBean-- pronounced "McBane"--was a different type of person than most of his fellow clerks at Fort Vancouver. For one thing, he was considerably older, being about thirty-eight in 1845. For another, he was married and had several children. His union with his wife, Jane Boucher, who was approximately twenty-four years old in 1845, had been formalized by a Catholic priest at Fort Vancouver in 1844 but had existed in fur trade fashion for many years. Their children during Outfit 1845 were John, born in 1837; Nancy, born in 1839; and Mary, born early in 1844. A child, Sophie "McBain," baptized "under condition" at Fort Vancouver on January 26, 1845, may have been an offspring of McBean, but the record provides no further information.

Described as a man of "very common education," McBean was neither liked nor respected by his peers at the depot. Lowe's journal does not mention him dining with the officers of the Modeste or otherwise partaking in social activities. Seemingly, fellow clerk George B. Roberts was reflecting a general view when he said that the fort's "gentlemen" considered McBean "altogether below the salts."

Yet McBean seems to have functioned well enough as a Company employee. In 1841 he had been placed in charge of the post at Fraser Lake, New Caledonia. By 1844 he was at Fort Vancouver, working in the office, assisting in the Fur Store, supervising the farm for short periods, and visiting subordinate posts to help with the accounts. On April 17, 1845, he was placed in charge of the laborers about the fort and on the farm, a post he continued to fill until January 30, 1846, when he was appointed manager of Fort Walla Walla. He and his family left for their new station on February 2, 1846.

There is no record of where the McBeans lived at Fort Vancouver during the first half of Outfit 1845. They could well have occupied an apartment in the Bachelors' Quarters. [75]

Angus McDonald. Known as Angus McDonald (a) because there were at least two Angus McDonalds in the Company's service--both for a number of years in the Columbia District--this young Scot entered the Company's employ in 1837 and was soon transferred west of the Rockies. He was stationed at a number of posts, and the opening of Outfit 1845 found him in charge of the firm's granary and trading shop at Champoeg in the Willamette Valley Because that establishment was a subordinate post of Fort Vancouver, McDonald's name appears on some lists of depot employees, but Lowe's journal shows he actually resided at the district headquarters for only relatively short periods during the year. His family status in 1845-46 is not known. It is extremely unlikely that he maintained permanent lodgings in the Fort

Vancouver Bachelors' Range. [76]

David McLoughlin. The question of whether twenty-four-year-old Clerk David McLoughlin, son of the formidable Chief Factor McLoughlin, lived in the Big House or the Bachelors' Quarters during his occasional sojourns at Fort Vancouver during Outfit 1845 has been discussed on pages 99-100 in volume I of this report. He had removed all his "things" from the depot about December 1844 to January 1845 when he had been transferred to Willamette Falls, but Lowe's journal shows that during the summer and fall of 1845 he spent a considerable amount of time at the fort and performed official duties there. At any rate, he departed on December 15, 1845, to bring his widowed sister and her children back from California, and he did not return until July 13, 1846.

Thus, at best, David McLoughlin's residence at Fort Vancouver during Outfit 1845 did not extend more than from June 14, 1845, when his arrival from Willamette Falls is recorded, to December 15 of the same year. This residence perhaps was not continuous. Where he lodged when at the depot is not known. He was unmarried at that time. [77]

Dugald Mactavish. This able and well-connected Scot, a nephew of Chief Trader John George McTavish, was almost twenty-eight years old when Outfit 1845 opened, and he had been on the staff at Fort Vancouver as a clerk and accountant since 1839. Although still carried on the district books under the heading "General Charges," he was in residence at the depot for only a few weeks during the year. When the outfit opened on June 1, 1845, he was east of the mountains with the York Factory express. He returned to Fort Vancouver on November 9, 1845, but left on December 15 for California and did not see the depot again until July 11, 1846. Thus he scarcely qualifies as a resident of Bachelors' Hall during the period of our interest.

However, Mactavish may have had a family, and if so they very probably were lodged in the fort during his long absences. In their diaries for April 14, 1844, Elkanah and Mary Walker, American missionaries at Tshimakain (not too far from the present Spokane), noted the arrival of "Mr. Mactavish & family" bringing news from the Willamette Valley. This traveler could only have been Dugald Mactavish, who was in charge of the York Factory express in that year also. It is further recorded that in 1842 "Demoiselle" Grace McTavish, domiciled at Fort Vancouver and minor daughter of Chief Factor John George McTavish and "Dame Nancy McKensie," was married at the depot to Clerk Charles Dodd, with Dugald Mactavish as one of the witnesses. But Chief Factor McTavish had discarded his half-breed fur trade wife, Nancy McKenzie, in 1829 and early the next year had married a Scottish woman. It is likely, therefore, that his country daughter, "Demoiselle" Grace, had been sent to the Columbia to be reared by nephew Dugald Mactavish, and this probably would not have been the case had not Dugald had a wife. Undoubtedly additional research could solve this problem, but it was not possible to undertake it within the limits of this study. [78]

Henry N. Peers. The district statement of general charges for Outfit 1845 listed Peers as an apprentice clerk engaged in the "Fort Vancouver Indian Trade" and stationed at the "Umpaqua" post. However, on March 20, 1845, Chief Factor McLoughlin had announced his intention of placing Peers in charge of the men at the depot for Outfit 1845. A year later he told Governor Simpson that Peers was at Fort Vancouver assigned to the "Office & River Communication." Lowe's journal demonstrates that there was some basis of fact for all of these assertions, but the plain truth seems to be that Peers was a sort of trouble-shooter, sent to fill in wherever a qualified "gentleman" was required.

Apparently he had been transferred from the management of Fort Umpqua by the end of the first month of Outfit 1845, for in July he was sent to Fort George to take charge when the manager there should retire. He was back at Fort Vancouver in November but was soon sent

off on various errands that kept him away a good deal of the time until December 15. He then took charge of Cowlitz Farm during the illness of Charles Forrest, not returning until February 16, 1846. From then until July 1 he seems to have been at the depot most of the time, although several river journeys and other trips interrupted his residence. One spell of illness during March kept him in bed for at least ten days.

Born in Hampshire in 1821, Henry Newsham Peers was the son of a British Army officer. A rather brief term at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich had given him some knowledge of surveying and mapping- skills he put to good use during 1845 and 1846 when he marked out land claims in the names of Company employees. He entered the firm's service in 1841 and was sent to the Columbia District two years later. One of his fellow employees remembered him as being "of quite a gay temperament, handsome and debonair." He must have added considerably to the festivities in Bachelors' Hall during his intervals of duty at Fort Vancouver. He did not marry until 1849. [79]

George B. Roberts. Clerk George Barber Roberts was in charge of the stores or warehouses at the depot throughout Outfit 1845, but he, his British wife, and infant son born during the last couple of days of July or the first week of August 1845, lived in a separate house within the pickets. Thus he cannot be counted among the residents of the Bachelors' Quarters. [80]

John Simpson. Although still carried on the books of the Columbia District for Outfit 1845 under the heading "General Charges," Sir George Simpson's son by his part-Indian wife, Margaret Taylor, a la facon du pays, had returned east of the mountains in 1844. Thomas Lowe's journal contains no indication that Simpson was at Fort Vancouver during 1845-46. [81]

William Sinclair, Jr. This interesting young man, not quite eighteen years old at the start of Outfit 1845, has the distinction of being the only employee definitely recorded as living in the Bachelors' Range during 1845-46. On June 15 of the latter year Thomas Lowe noted in his journal that this apprentice postmaster "removed his quarters from Batchelor's Hall to the Office in order to make room for Dr. Jenkins and Mr. Grant of the Fisgard." In short, he was "bumped" in favor of two visiting British naval officers.

How he had managed to keep his room that long in view of the constant comings and goings of travelers during the year is somewhat of a mystery. Perhaps he had doubled up with one of the clerks on occasions not recorded by Lowe. But it is worth noting that he was the son of a chief factor, the grandson of Chief Factor McLoughlin's wife, and the brother of Catherine Ermatinger, wife of Chief Trader Francis Ermatinger, then in charge of the Company's store at Willamette Falls and a frequent visitor to the depot.

William reached Fort Vancouver sometime prior to May 1843, when he was sent to San Francisco as an apprentice to William Glen Rae, manager of the Company's California establishment. After Rae's death by suicide, William returned to Fort Vancouver, where he arrived on June 18, 1845. During the next few months he made several long trips to the Willamette Valley, probably spending the time with his sister, but on September 18, 1845, he returned to Fort Vancouver and seems to have remained there quite constantly during the balance of the outfit. [82]

Summary of possible employee residents. From the information given above it can be determined that those "gentlemen" who probably, or almost certainly, lived in the Bachelors' Quarters for a significant portion of Outfit 1845 were:

Charles Forrest, January 6-February 18, 1846, probably no family with him.
James Allan Grahame, entire year, no family.
John Lambert, June 1-November 5, 1845, no family.

Richard Lane, August 26, 1845-March 25, 1846, no family.
Kenneth Logan, entire year, probably no family.
Robert Logan, March 18 to unknown date between late April and July 2, 1846, family status unknown.
William McBean, June 1, 1845-February 2, 1846, wife and three children.
Angus McDonald (a), February 16-24, 1846, and perhaps other periods during spring of 1846, family status unknown .
David McLoughlin, perhaps from June 14-December 15, 1845, no family.
Dugald Mactavish, November 9-December 15, 1845 (his family are listed below as possible residents)
Henry N. Peers, very intermittent, June 1, 1845-February 16, 1846; quite constant, February 16—May 31, 1846, no family.
William Sinclair, Jr., September 18, 1845-May 31, 1846, no family.

Those who possibly resided in the Bachelors' Quarters were:

Family of Dugald Mactavish, possibly entire year, number not determined.
Family of John McIntosh, deceased, possibly June 12, 1845-May 31, 1846; wife (part Indian, aged ca. thirty-five) and eight children. [83]

Transient visitors housed in Bachelors' Quarters, 1845-46. Thomas Lowe's journal reveals that during Outfit 1845 there was a constant stream of "comers and goers" who were accommodated at Fort Vancouver for periods varying from one night to several months. A good many of these visitors were Company officers, clerks, and other employees stationed at other posts or on the firm's vessels who came to the depot on various business errands. The "gentlemen" among them undoubtedly found lodging within the pickets, and in the Bachelors' Quarters when room was available.

There seems little point to mentioning all of these individuals, but a few might be listed to give an idea of the variety:

June 10, 1845: Chief Traders John Tod and Donald Manson arrived with the inland brigade; left on June 28.

June 15, 1845: Chief Trader Francis Ermatinger arrived; a frequent visitor from his post at Willamette Falls until he started east on furlough, March 25, 1846.

July 20, 1845: James Sangster, first officer of ship Cowlitz, arrived; remained intermittently until May 11, 1846.

August 26, 1845: Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden arrived from Canada and a furlough in Europe; intermittent resident for much of the balance of the year; resided in office during at least part of the time he was at the fort.

November 2, 1845: Chief Trader John Work arrived from Fort Simpson; left on November 24.

December 1, 1845: Patrick McKenzie, postmaster at Thompson's River, arrived, not having been able to get along with his superior, Chief Trader Tod; discharged from the service December 31 and left Fort Vancouver January 9, 1846.

February 27, 1846: Clerk Archibald McKinlay and his wife arrived from Fort Walla Walla; McKinlay was having eye trouble and was soon transferred to Willamette Falls; he returned to Fort Vancouver March 20, 1846, "to see Dr.

Barclay about his eyes."

May 3, 1846: Clerk James Birnie and family arrived to attend a play on board H.M.S. Modeste; left on May 19.

Another class of visitors consisted of British army and navy officers who were in the Oregon Country on duties related to the disputed boundary question with the United States. The visit of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour from August 26, 1845, to March 25, 1846, has already been mentioned. They may have been quartered in the Bachelors' Quarters. Because their mission was secret, they pre tended to be on furlough, and thus there almost certainly would have been no articles of military dress or equipment in their rooms. [84]

H.M.S. Modeste anchored off Fort Vancouver on November 30, 1845, and was there during the balance of Outfit 1845 and considerably longer. Her captain was given quarters in the New Office within the pickets during his long stay, but if any of the other officers were lodged in the fort the evidence has not yet come to light. The case was different with officers from others of Her Majesty's vessels, however. On September 8, 1845, Lieutenant William Peel, son of Sir Robert Peel, and Captain John Parke, both from H.M.S. America, arrived overland via Nisqually. They left two days later to inspect the settlements in the Willamette Valley but were back at Fort Vancouver briefly for a gala dinner on the sixteenth, after which they departed to return to their ship. On May 31, 1846, five officers of H.M.S. Fisgard arrived at the depot and all were quartered "in the fort." They left on an excursion to the Willamette Valley on June 9, but on their return on the seventeenth at least two of them, Assistant Surgeon Jenkins and Passed Midshipman Grant, were lodged in the "Batchelor's Hall."

Still another class of transient lodgers in the fort during Outfit 1845 was made up of missionaries and settlers who visited the post on a variety of social and business errands. The Catholic missionaries will not be discussed here, because they had their separate residence within the palisade. Thomas Lowe's journal scarcely mentions the American Protestant missionaries during this period, but it is not likely that an entire year passed without overnight visits from some of them. It is known that the Reverend George Gary of the Methodist mission and his wife stopped at the fort for about three hours to buy trade goods on April 10, 1846, but Lowe did not record their presence. [85]

Settlers and emigrants likewise received little notice from Lowe during Outfit 1845, with one notable exception. Adophus Lee Lewis, a clerk who had retired from the Company's service during the spring of 1845 to take up a land claim farther down the Columbia, was recorded as a frequent visitor throughout the year. It has al ready been remarked that on October 11, 1845, "General" I. I. McCarver, his family, and several more Americans, mostly newly arrived emigrants reached the fort and "got quarters for the night." Un doubtedly there were others who were afforded the same hospitality, but the fact that Lowe did not mention more of them may be an indication that by Outfit 1845 the officers at Fort Vancouver had at least begun to heed the admonitions of the London directors to not be so generous in their treatment of strangers. Also, by that time the growth of American settlements elsewhere in the Oregon Country had made travelers much less dependent upon the Company for shelter. [86]

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http://www.nps.gov/fova/hsr/hsr2-4.htm
Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

CHAPTER V:
BLACKSMITH'S SHOP

History and location

The Blacksmith's Shop presents one of the most difficult historical problems relating to the physical structure of Fort Vancouver. There had, of course, been a smithy at the Columbia depot ever since the old Astorian William Cannon, or William Canning as his name appears in the Company's records, set up his bellows and anvil under a tree in late 1824 or early 1825 and pounded out nails and other hardware used during the construction of the new post. [1]

When the fort was moved down onto the river plain early in 1829, the smithy went with it and was situated within the pickets. Its exact location is not known, but recent archeological excavations have uncovered metal scrap and other evidence that hopefully will enable the establishment of the site within quite narrow limits.

The Blacksmith's Shop that concerns us for reconstruction purposes, however, was an entirely different building from the smithy of 1829. It first appears as a located structure in the records of the Wilkes expedition of 1841. The Emmons ground plan, drawn on July 25 of that year, shows the "Blacksmiths shop--4 furnaces" situated in the extreme southeastern corner of the fort enclosure as it existed at that time (see Plate III, vol. I). Obviously, this smithy had been built between the time the stockade was enlarged to the east about 1836 and the date of Emmons's visit. [2]

According to Emmons, this smithy was directly east of the Missionary Store and southeast of the Bachelors' Quarters. He showed the smithy as being close against the east and south stockade walls, with room for no other buildings in the southeastern corner of the fort. Yet the two drawings of Fort Vancouver sketched by members of the Wilkes party, one by Eld (Plate IV, vol. I) and the other attributed to Agate (Plate LIII, vol. I), very clearly show two structures in the southeastern angle and east of the Missionary Store. Because the drawings could have been made, at most, only a little more than a month later than the map, this writer is unable to account for this major discrepancy.

The next available ground plan of Fort Vancouver, the so-called "Line of Fire" map drawn by Henry N. Peers shortly after the great conflagration during September 1844, shows the Blacksmith's Shop though it is unidentified, in approximately the same position as depicted by Emmons (Plate V, vol. I). By that time the east stockade wall had been moved to the east about fifty-six feet from its position in 1841. Yet the "Line of Fire" map shows no other building than the Blacksmith's Shop between the old Missionary Store and the southeast stockade corner. In other words, the two structures appearing in the Eld and Agate sketches were not both depicted by Peers on his quite detailed and accurate, if extremely small-scale, diagram.

Not until the ground plan drawn by Lieutenant Vavasour late in 1845 are two structures shown in the extreme southeast corner on any known map of the fort. That plan places the "Smith's Shop" on about the same spot as did Emmons, and directly east of it is a second building identified as the "Iron Store" (see Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I). In shape-- their longer walls ran north and south--they correspond well with the two buildings shown in the southeast corner by the Eld and Agate sketches, but both the Emmons and the "Line of Fire" maps seem to indicate that only one of these structures, the Blacksmith's Shop, existed prior to 1845.

Thus the question of why the two 1841 sketches depicted two structures in the southeast corner is brought no nearer to solution by later data. And there remains still another problem. It is probable, but not absolutely certain, that the Blacksmith's Shop of 1845 was the same structure as that (No. 10) shown on the Emmons map. The sizes appear to be similar, but the locations in relation to the Bachelors' Quarters and the south palisade are slightly different. After a study of the available data it is the opinion of this writer that the discrepancies were due to the conditions under which Emmons was forced to prepare his plan and that the Blacksmith's Shop of 1841 was the same building as that plotted by Vavasour. The location of this Blacksmith's Shop, which was that of the 1845-46 period chosen for reconstruction, is today identified as Building No. 22 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

After 1845 the continued existence of the smithy in its same location is demonstrated by a number of maps and pictures. The board of army officers that appraised the fort buildings on June 15, 1860, the day after the Company abandoned the post, found the "Blacksmith shop" to be still standing in its old position but "long since abandoned" and in a ruinous condition (see Plate XXX, vol. I). [3] Evidently it disappeared soon thereafter with the rest of the fort buildings.

One other question connected with the history of the Blacksmith's Shop also remains unanswered. Lieutenant Vavasour's fellow officer, Henry J. Warre, kept a journal while he was at Fort Vancouver during the winter of 1845-46, and from it he later wrote a narrative in which he said: "Within the stockade were several dwelling houses, a kitchen, oven, blacksmith's house and shop, and cooperage." [4] Here is a clear statement that at least one of the depot blacksmiths lived inside the palisades, either in a separate dwelling or in quarters that were a part of the smithy.

Such could have been the fact, but this writer has not yet found any supporting evidence for Warre's assertion. The uses of all the structures inside the fort are reasonably well recorded, and no quarters for blacksmiths are mentioned. Also, a blacksmith shop containing four forges would have been a crowded, noisy, dirty place, scarcely a suitable location for lodgings, even if they were in a garret. The Blacksmith's Shop inventories list no articles associated with domestic use.

There does remain the possibility, however, that one or more of the smiths could have lived in a loft over the adjoining lion Store. This location would have been more suitable, but no evidence supporting such a possibility has been found. For the present, the question of whether one or more blacksmiths lived within the pickets must remain unanswered. [5]

Blacksmith Shop operations. Though the Blacksmith's Shop was an essential feature in the depot operation--so necessary in fact that there were two blacksmith's shops at Fort Vancouver--there evidently was nothing so unusual about its functions or design as to stimulate lengthy comment from visitors. Seemingly a blacksmith's shop was a blacksmith's shop the world over. Thus the written record concerning the work of the smithy is rather scanty.

H. H. Spalding, who first visited Fort Vancouver during the fall of 1836 with the Whitman party, noted that there were then "8 or 10 blacksmiths constantly at work" at the depot. [6] In October 1838 James Douglas told the London directors that there were nine "tradesmen and others" engaged at the "Forge." [7] Because the employee rolls for Outfit 1838 listed only four blacksmiths under the headings "Fort Vancouver Depot" and "General Charges," it can be assumed that the remaining five men at the smithy were largely ordinary laborers or voyageurs assigned to assist at the forges. [8] In fact, as will be seen by the list of smiths appended to this chapter, the identities of two of these men are known.

This condition undoubtedly still prevailed during 1845-46, the period of immediate consideration for purposes of this report. Clerk George B. Roberts, though he did not specify any date, seems to have been speaking of the mid-1840s when he later said that there were eight men in the Blacksmith Shop. [9] Yet the district statements for Outfit 1845 listed only four blacksmiths. [10] Obviously these four skilled tradesmen, whose annual salaries ranged between £30 and £35, were being assisted by about four "middlemen," or laborers. How these eight or more workmen were distributed between the two depot blacksmith shops is not recorded.

Strangely enough, there exists a better description of the second smithy, which was situated several miles upstream at the sawmill, than there does of the main Blacksmith's Shop within the fort. In 1841 Lt. Charles Wilkes visited the sawmill, which he later described in his Narrative. Then he continued:

They have a large smith's shop here, which, besides doing the work of the mill, makes all the axes and hatchets used by the trappers. The iron and steel are imported: the tools are manufactured at a much less price than those imported, and are more to be depended on. A trapper's success, in fact, depends upon his axe; and on this being lost or broken, he necessarily relinquishes his labours, and returns unsuccessful. Fifty of them, it is said, can be manufactured in a day, and twenty-five are accounted an ordinary day's work. They are eagerly sought after by the Indians, who are very particular that the axe should have a certain shape, somewhat like a tomahawk. [11]

Wilkes was in error when he stated that "all" the axes and hatchets used by the trappers were made at the sawmill forge, at least if he meant to imply that all the hatchets used in the Indian trade were manufactured there. Fourteen parts of trade axes in various stages of manufacture were found by archeologists who excavated the site of the blacksmith shop within the pickets during 1947 and 1952. From these parts it was possible to reconstruct the process by which the axes were made and to determine that these tools came in at least four sizes: 2 inches, 1-3/4 inches, 1-1/2 inches, and 1-1/4 inches in width. [12]

Both archeological findings and the historical record prove quite conclusively that the Blacksmith's Shop on the site of Building No. 22 was indeed the principal depot smithy. Here were made not only axes, but a vast variety of iron and steel objects needed for the conduct of the trade throughout the Columbia District. These articles ranged from large bolts, eyes, straps, and other ironwork required for the repair and building of ships and barges down to the most delicate parts for beaver traps and for gun repair. Nails in a great variety of sizes and types were made at the fort, as were hinges, door pulls, hasps, and other hardware needed for building construction.

Narcissa Whitman in 1836 reported that the fort's blacksmiths were "all" employed in making the farming utensils needed for the missions to be established in Oregon by the American Board. [13] A visitor during the early 1840s found that the farming implements available at Fort Vancouver were "very reasonable" and that the "best Cary ploughs can be had to order from an excellent blacksmith at the place at 31-1/4 cents per pound." [14] Among the

"country made" articles found in the depot Sale Shop and warehouse inventories during the mid-1840s were such items as axes of a variety of shapes and sizes, garden hoes, "hunters knives," beaver traps, canoe adzes, swingletree irons, crooked knives, drawing knives, horseshoes, and fish spears. [15]

It should be borne in mind, however, that by no means all of the nails, beaver traps, hardware, plows, and other iron and steel objects employed by the Company in its own Columbia operations or sold in its shops were made at Fort Vancouver. Requisitions and inventories, some of which have been quoted earlier in this report, clearly demonstrate that large quantities of finished ironware and steelware were imported from England along with the sheet and bar metal from which to manufacture many of the same items locally. Also, there were blacksmith shops at other principal posts throughout the district that manufactured many iron and steel articles used in the interior and on the Northwest Coast.

Whether such items were ordered from London or fabricated "in the country" seems to have depended in large part upon comparative costs. For instance, when making out the Columbia District requisition for Outfit 1846, Chief Factor McLoughlin on March 20, 1843, included a request for "50 beaver Traps with springs," ex plaining, "We have ordered 50 of these traps with springs on trial, and if the springs answer our purpose and are cheaper than we can make them here, we shall order all we require from England." [16]

Only occasionally did the operations of the Vancouver blacksmith shops become a matter of general concern on the part of the Company's upper management. Shipping coal from England for the Columbia District forges was expensive because it was bulky and occupied space that might better have been devoted to more profitable goods. In 1839 the London directors informed McLoughlin that they intended to.send "no Coals" in 1841 and evidently urged the Columbia superintendent to find another source of fuel for his forges. In desperation McLoughlin answered on November 20, 1840, pointing out that coal found on Vancouver Island and on the Cowlitz River had already been tried and found wanting and that in 1826-27 he had made charcoal from the available local woods but that it would not answer the purpose. "You will see the absolute necessity there is that you send us coals by the Vessel to sail from London in 1841," he urged, "as I need not state the ruinous consequences which will result if we are deprived of Coals to manufacture &c. the Iron Works for the Trade." [17]

The Governor and Committee relented and agreed to continue the coal shipments in 1841 and 1842, but they told McLoughlin that they were inclined to think he had not made his charcoal correctly, "as the best iron of Sweden and Norway is produced and worked by charcoal made from fir." [18] Governor George Simpson must have shared this opinion, because while he was at Sitka late in 1841 he arranged for the Russian American Company to send two charcoal burners to Fort Vancouver for a year to instruct "our people" in the proper method of preparing charcoal. [19] One Russian actually reached the Columbia depot during the next spring, but Dr. McLoughlin reported, seemingly with some scorn, that the visitor's efforts had been unsuccessful because he had found "the wood of this place, does not answer to make Coals so well as that at Sitika [sic]" and that it would cost as much to manufacture unsatisfactory charcoal at Fort Vancouver as to import good coal. [20] As far as this writer has examined the records, at least, this exchange marked the end of the charcoal experiment, and the importation of "seacoal" continued.

The last blacksmith to be listed as such on the Fort Vancouver rolls was David Smith, who served during Outfit 1852. [21] By the summer of 1857 Chief Factor Dugald Mactavish, then in charge of Fort Vancouver, had to advise W. F. Tolmie at Nisqually to obtain his beaver traps from Victoria. "I have had some springs made but they are not the thing," he added. "There are in fact few black smiths in the Country who understand how to temper them." [22]

Evidently the representatives of the Company south of the 49th parallel had been reduced to shopping around among nearby American blacksmiths for beaver traps!

The Fort Vancouver blacksmiths, 1845-46. The Columbia District personnel rolls for Outfit 1845 list only four blacksmiths at the Fort Vancouver depot. They were George Aitken, Joseph Ovide Beauchamp, George Folster (b), and Thomas Scott. [23]

George Aitken seems to have been the chief blacksmith, if salaries were any indication. He received £35 per annum, whereas the other three smiths were paid only £30. He had served the Company about ten years by 1845. [24] His family status at that time is unknown to this writer.

Joseph Ovide Beauchamp had only been in the service three years in 1845. [25] He could write, or at least sign his name. On May 12, 1845, he married Margherita (Marguerite) Dechestes (of the Shastas) at Fort Vancouver in a ceremony conducted by Father Jean Nobili, S. J. She died on December 17, 1847, "aged about 20 years." [26]

George Folster, the second of his name in the Company's service, was a veteran by 1845, having then been employed about sixteen years. He first appeared on the Fort Vancouver rolls for Outfit 1830 at a salary of £30 per annum, and he remained at the depot evidently through Outfit 1832. [27] Apparently he was then transferred to Fort McLoughlin on the Northwest Coast, for W. F. Tolmie found "Folster" to be blacksmith there early in 1834. Tolmie described him as "an ingenious Orkneyman." [28] Back at Fort Vancouver during Outfit 1835, Folster evidently served well for in 1838 his annual salary was raised to £40--quite high for a tradesman. But somehow or other he must have fallen from grace, for in Outfit 1842 his salary was reduced to a low £20. By 1845 he had worked back up only to the £30 level. [29]

Something is known of Folster's domestic arrangements. On August 15, 1844, Father Modeste Demers buried in the Fort Vancouver cemetery a woman named Helene, "aged about 24 years, having lived with George Folster." On March 20, 1847, Alexandre Dundass Folster, "natural son of George Folster and of Waskopam woman, aged 1 month," was baptized at Fort Vancouver; and on October 30, 1849, William, aged about two weeks, "son of Georges Folster and of Marguerite of the Dalles [evidently the same Wascompam woman]," was baptized. [30] Folster died at Vancouver during 1850. [31]

Thomas Scott had been in the Company's service about four years by Outfit 1845. His family status has not yet been ascertained.

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APPPENDIX TO CHAPTER V:
PARTIAL LIST OF FORT VANCOUVER BLACKSMITHS

At the request of National Park Service archeologists who desire the information in order to help date remnants of "country made" blacksmith tools marked with initials, there follows a list of all employees identified as blacksmiths on the Fort Vancouver rolls from 1828 to 1852 examined by the writer. Prior to Outfit 1837 the district statements (or rolls) seen by the writer did not note the occupations of tradesmen except under special circumstances, such as the granting of a "gratuity" or extra pay when, say, an ordinary laborer served as a blacksmith, baker, etc. Before Outfit 1837, therefore, the annual lists given below are largely fragmentary and constructed from scattered miscellaneous sources. But lists of employees are to be found in more than one place in the Company's records, and probably rolls exist that will permit the naming of the blacksmiths for all the years from 1825 to 1852. After the latter date there does not seem to have been a blacksmith at Fort Vancouver.

Outfit 1828 (men not identified by trade)

> Francois Bouvet. Ten pounds extra wages for blacksmith's service.
>
> William Canning (William Cannon). Not identified as a blacksmith, but had been on Fort Vancouver roll since at least 1825; known from other sources to have been a millwright and blacksmith; remained on Fort Vancouver roll through Outfit 1835, at which time he was earning £45 per annum; during Outfit 1833, at least, he was at the Fort Vancouver sawmill.
>
> André Lachapelle. His wages at this time were £22 per annum, more than those of an ordinary laborer. He may not have been a blacksmith at this time, as he was not identified as such until Outfit 1837.

Outfit 1829 (men not identified by trade)

> André Lachapple [sic]. £22

Outfit 1830 (men not identified by trade)

> George Folster. Listed under "General Charges." André Lachapelle. £25

Outfit 1831 (men not identified by trade)

> George Folster. £30
>
> André Lachapelle. £25

Outfit 1832 (men not identified by trade)

George Folster. £30

André Lachapelle. £25

Outfit 1833 (the following men listed as blacksmiths)

Jean Racine dit Noyer.

John Alexander Saunders (assisting)

Greely Sargent

Isaac Thibault [or Thibeault]

Outfit 1834 (men not identified by trade)

André Lachapelle. £30

Jean Racine de Noyer. £30

John Alexander Saunders. £17

Greely Sargent. Served only 6 months; sent to Oahu 12/1/34.

Isaac Thebault [sic]. £40

Outfit 1835 (men not identified by trade)

William Canning. £45. Possibly still at mill.

George Folster (b). £30

André Lachapelle. £30

John Alexander Saunders. £17

Outfit 1836 (men not identified by trade)

William Canning. Drew only £8.0.3 in wages, so probably retired during the year.

George Folster (b). £30

André LaChapelle. £30

John Alexander Saunders. £17

Outfit 1837

James Dickson. £30

George Folster (b). £30

André LaChapelle. £30

John Alexander Saunders. £17. Listed as "middleman."

Outfit 1838

James Dickson. £30

George Folster. £40

André LaChapelle. £30. Listed as a middleman, but this description probably was an error.

Jean Baptiste Roi. £30

John Alexander Saunders. £22. Listed as middleman.

Allan Morrison. £25. Listed under "general charges. "

Outfit 1839

James Baker. £22

James Dickson. £30

George Folster (b). £40

André Lachapelle. £30

Allan Morrison. £25

John Alexander Saunders. £22. Listed as a middleman.

John Flett. £25. Listed under "general charges," perhaps not at Fort Vancouver.

Outfit 1840

James Dickson. £30

John Flett. £25. Transferred to steamer Beaver after seven months.

George Folster. £40

André Lachapelle. £30

Allan Morrison. £25

André Louttit. £30. Listed under "Columbia Charges," perhaps not at Fort Vancouver.

Outfit 1841

James Dickson. £30

George Folster. £40

André Louttit. £30

Allan Morrison. £25

George Aitkin. £35. Listed under "Columbia Charges."

Kenneth Campbell. £28. Listed under "Columbia Charges. "

Outfit 1842

James Dickson. £30

George Folster B. (sic). £20

André Louttit. £30

Joseph Plouffe. £22

Kenneth Campbell. £28. Listed under "Columbia Charges."

Outfit 1843

Joseph Ovide Beauchamp. £30. Listed under "Columbia Charges."

Kenneth Campbell. £30.

James Dickson. £12.10.0. Returned to England, 10/31/43.

John Flett (c). £30.

George Folster (b). £20

André Louttit. £30

Joseph Plouffe. £22. Listed as a "boute" in H.B.C.A., 8.239/l/14, MS, p. 63.

Outfit 1844

George Aitken. £35

Joseph Beauchamp. £30

Kenneth Campbell. £30

George Folster. £25

André Louttit. £8.15.0. Went "home" from York Factory on the Prince Rupert, fall 1844.

Thomas Scott. £30. Listed under "Columbia Charges."

Outfit 1845

George Aitken. £35

Joseph Ovide Beauchamp. £30

George Folster (b). £30

Thomas Scott. £30

Outfit 1846

George Aitken. £35

Joseph Ovide Beauchamp. £30

George Folster (b). £30

Thomas Scott. £30

Outfit 1847

George Aitken. £35

George Folster (b). £30. Does not appear on rolls after 1847.

Joseph O. Beauchamp. £30 Outfit 1848

George Aitken. £30. Went to California; wages to March 1, 1849.

Outfit 1849

Kaihé. £25

Outfit 1850

Kaihé. £8.6.8. Wages to March 1, 1851.

Jonathan Moar, Jr. £25. Listed under "General Charges."

Outfit 1851

(No blacksmiths listed.)

Outfit 1852

David Smith. £48

Outfit 1853

(No blacksmiths listed at Fort Vancouver, but one page of the departmental personnel list for that year does not give the posts at which the men were stationed; thus there is a slight chance that there actually was a smith at the old Columbia depot.)

Outfit 1854

(No blacksmiths listed at Fort Vancouver.)

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CHAPTER VI:
IRON STORE

History and location

Columbia District inventories and requisitions reveal that large quantities of scrap iron, flat bar iron, "square" iron, round bolt iron, sheet iron, and hoop iron, as well as smaller amounts of steel, were imported annually in standard sizes to meet the needs of the trade and the establishments west of the Rockies. A good deal of this material was turned into axes, traps, hardware, ship fittings, and a host of other articles at Fort Vancouver's two blacksmith shops--one within the pickets and the other up the Columbia at the sawmill.

No separate building for the storage of this iron stock was men tioned in the list of fort structures prepared by Lt. George Foster Emmons in his journal entry for July 25, 1841. [1] Indeed, the location of the Blacksmith Shop, hemmed in as it was at the very southeastern corner of the stockade, did not permit the existence of an iron store nearby (see Plate III, vol. I). Yet, as has been fully discussed in the previous chapter, sketches of Fort Vancouver by two of Emmons's companions seem to show that there were two gable-roofed structures east of the Missionary Store in the southeast angle of the palisade. No explanation of this conflicting testimony can be offered, but the "Line of Fire" map of 1844 seems to support Emmons by showing that prior to 1845 the Blacksmith's Shop was the only building standing in the extreme southeastern stockade corner.

Nevertheless, there undoubtedly was a special area set aside for the metal stockpile. The French traveler, Eugene Duflot de Mofras, who arrived at Fort Vancouver in October 1841 for a six-week visit, noted the existence of an "iron mongery" within the palisade. [2]

Probably somewhere in the process of translation from English to French and then back to English the Company's usual word "store" for warehouse emerged as "mongery." But the location of this store house is not known. Perhaps it formed a special section in one of the four "Store Houses" shown within the pickets on the Emmons ground plan.

At any rate, the authorities at Fort Vancouver must have come to the conclusion that a more convenient storage area was necessary. In fact, Mr. Louis R. Caywood has suggested that the need to have the Iron Store close to the Blacksmith's Shop may have been one of the reasons for extending the fort to the eastward during the early 1840s. [3] Certainly one result of moving the stockade outward was to make room within the pickets for an iron store directly east of the Blacksmith's Shop in the extreme southeastern corner of the fort.

The new Iron Store evidently had not been built when the "Line of Fire" map was drawn about the end of September 1844 (see Plate V, vol. I), but it appears and is named on the Vavasour map made late in the next year (see Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I). The building is listed in the Company's inventory of 1846-47; Dr. H. A. Tuzo recalled that it was standing in

1853; and a board of army officers found it still in existence on June 15, 1860, and described it as a "small store-house" long since abandoned by the Company and in a " ruinous condition." [4] That the building continued to stand from 1845 until the United States Army took over the old fur trading post is also demonstrated by a series of maps beginning with the Covington plan of 1846 (Plate XIII, vol. I) and ending with the sketch drawn by the army officers on June 15, 1860 (Plate XXX, vol. I). Though these maps do not name the structure, identification is almost certain through its size, shape, and location (for examples of such maps see Plates XIX and XXIV, vol. I).

The location of this 1845-60 Iron Store has now been designated as Building No. 23 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

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CHAPTER VII:
OLD OFFICE

History and location

Known as the "countinghouse," the "clerks' office," or, more generally, simply as the "office" until a second or "new" office was built in the late summer of 1845, the Old Office was one of the oldest structures within the stockade by the 1845-46 period. [1] In fact, a visitor of 1841 had described it as "old" at that time. [2]

Situated within the stockade lines of the fort as it was constructed in 1829, the office as an essential feature of district administration probably was erected at that time. Indeed, it may have been brought down piece by piece from the first fort site on the hill and reconstructed.

It stood a few yards from the east palisade wall of the 1829 fort and about seventy-five feet from the north wall. When the fort was doubled in size ca. 1836 by an expansion toward the east, the old east palisade of the 1829 post was demolished, leaving the office, the chapel, and a carpenter shop as an isolated row of buildings that divided the expanded enclosure into two courtyards (see Plate III, vol. I).

Archeologists have not yet excavated the site of the Old Office. "Considerable" testing was conducted in the vicinity during 1947-52, but no traces of footings were encountered. [3] Thus the exact outlines of the structure cannot be plotted at present, though the maps by Emmons and Vavasour permit the location to be fixed within close limits. The position of the Old Office is today known as Building No. 11 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

As is well documented by the Emmons, the "Line of Fire," and the Vavasour ground plans (Plates III, V, VI, vol. I) and by much other evidence, the countinghouse continued to stand well into 1846 and probably until 1847. But on August 8, 1845, an event occurred that marked the beginning of the end for the Old Office. Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his diary that day: "Commenced building a new Office, in front of the bellfry [sic]." [4] There seems to be no record of when this New Office, as it was called, was completed, but it is known that it was habitable by late December 1845. [5]

Evidently it had been intended to move the accounting functions into the new structure as soon as it was finished and then to demolish the Old Office. But on November 29 the old structure got a reprieve. On that day Her Majesty's Sloop Modeste anchored off the fort for her second visit, and her captain, Commander the Honourable Thomas Baillie, was given quarters ashore in the New Office before the end of the next month. Thus, noted Lowe on June 18, 1846, "we cannot as yet move into it from the old one." [6]

The Old Office was listed in the inventory of 1846-47, but strangely enough it does not appear on the map by Richard Covington that is said to have been drawn in 1846 (Plate XIII,

vol. I). [7] In fact, the old countinghouse cannot be found on any known map drawn later than 1845. It would appear, then, that the Old Office was torn down about the time of Captain Baillie's final departure from Fort Vancouver on May 3, 1847. [8]

Office operations. From information in earlier chapters of this report concerning the conduct of business in the Sale Shop, the ware houses, the Fur Store, and the Indian shop, it has been made evident that the management and operation of the Columbia District involved a vast amount of bookkeeping. Only by examining the work of the depot office, however, can the nature, importance, and sheer bulk of the records be truly comprehended.

The limits of this project have not permitted a detailed study of the Company's accounting system, but an examination of a fairly wide range of records in the search for data on the physical structure of Fort Vancouver has resulted in an impression that the bookkeeping was somewhat more complicated than described in available secondary sources. Having had absolutely no training or experience in accounting, the writer freely admits that he has not always been able to understand the nature or import of certain account entries. Thus the following description of the work of the depot clerks must be regarded merely as a preliminary sketch, and it is presented with considerable trepidation.

The various types of records maintained and processed by the clerks at Fort Vancouver can be roughly classed under the following headings:

a. Journals. The Standing Rules and Regulations of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land required that each district and each post maintain a "Journal of Occurrences," in which were recorded the principal happenings of each day, particularly such matters as how the men were occupied, the weather, arrivals of Indian trading parties or of employees from other posts, and construction of new buildings. This record was to be transmitted annually to the superintendent of the district along with a report "conveying every requisite information" concerning the state of the trade, with comparative statements of the closing and immediately preceding outfits, suggestions for the improvement of the business , and an "abstract" of the local Indian population. After the district manager had reviewed these documents, he forwarded them to the accountant at York Factory. [9]

Because no journals from Fort Vancouver are known to be extant, the notion has been advanced that Chief Factor McLoughlin was lax in this respect. [10] Clerk George B. Roberts, however, said that a journal was kept at Fort Vancouver and that for many years he personally was responsible for making the daily entries. Such work, he said, was the duty of the gentleman in charge of the out side work. [11] It may be assumed that a clean copy was made by the clerks in the office for transmittal to York Factory. Evidently four or even five copies were made of the annual reports or "despatches"--one to be retained at the post, one for the district headquarters, two to be sent overland to York Factory (one of which was forwarded to London), and one copy to be sent by the annual ship from Vancouver to London. [12]

b. Correspondence books. The Standing Rules and Regulations also required the clerks and officers in charge of each post and district to keep "correct copies" of all official correspondence. Letter books containing these copies were transmitted annually to the district headquarters and to York Factory. [13]

At small posts the clerk in charge generally wrote his own letters, often drafting each directly into a letter book that was kept at the post. The letter to be sent was then copied from the draft, and later a clean copy was made in a second letter book to be transmitted to headquarters.

Dr. Burt Brown Barker, who in 1940 acquired one of Dr. McLoughlin's letter books, believed

that the usual procedure at a large post was for the writer to "communicate his ideas to a clerk who wrote them in the letter book and then transcribed them in letter form to go to the person addressed. The writer of the letter signed it." [14] At Fort Vancouver Dr. McLoughlin evidently operated in this manner, though he often wrote out the drafts in the letter book himself. [15]

Of course clean copies of the letters were later entered by the clerks into a second letter book that was forwarded to York Factory and eventually to London. A comparison of the only known extant original letter book made during Dr. McLoughlin's tenure as Columbia District manager with the clean copy in the Company's archives reveals that a fairly substantial number of letters, mostly of minor significance, were not reproduced in the book sent to York Factory. Also, there occasionally were material differences between the original letter book copies and those that reached London. The handwriting demonstrates that more than one clerk was involved in transcribing both the drafts and the clean copies. [16]

This use of clerks to copy Columbia District letters, particularly the annual reports, or "despatches," caused the Governor and Committee in London some concern, because they felt that such correspondence should "be open only to persons holding an interest in the business." Dr. McLoughlin did not promise any change in procedure when informed of this opinion, but he did reveal that he maintained a private letter book for sensitive correspondence. [17]

c. Inventories. When considering the various accounts kept in the depot office, perhaps the most logical place to start is with the inventories. When received from all the posts of the district, they permitted the superintendent to judge which goods traded well and which were in little demand, they helped him to estimate the types and quantities of goods that should be ordered from London for future operations, and they told him what trade articles and supplies were excess to the needs of each post and which were in short supply so that he could transfer the surpluses at one post to meet the shortages at another. [18]

The Northern Department's Standing Rules and Regulations provided that at the close of each business year, or outfit, every gentleman in charge of a post or district was required to furnish a priced inventory showing in detail all trade goods, country-made articles, and country produce remaining on hand, together with a list of the articles in use at each post, "distinguishing them according to their condition as Good, Half worn, much worn, also a list of Cattle or other live stock and the number of Acres in cultivation, and quantity of seed sown for the next crop with quantity reaped the preceding Summer." [19]

Although the inventories were generally labeled as having been taken in the spring of each year, and although in later years and at eastern posts the inventories seem actually to have been taken on May 31, the day each outfit closed, the realities of geography required that in places as distant from York Factory as the Columbia District the accounting be made much earlier, in time for the results to be carried eastward by the express that usually left Fort Vancouver each March. [20] At Fort Nisqually, four instance, the inventory was usually taken in January or February of each year, and a copy was sent off to the Columbia depot shortly thereafter. [21] At Fort Vancouver the inventory was begun still earlier. November or December was the usual time, but occasionally, as in 1846, the clerks started to take the depot inventory in September. [22]

Taking the inventory was an arduous task for the clerks. Isaac Cowie, at another post and at a later date, remembered working "from dawn to dark" until everything belonging to the Company was "weighed, messured and counted, both inside and outside the establishment." Once all the thousands of items were recorded in pencil, the list was taken to the office, where it fell to one of the clerks, "day and night," to recapitulate them in alphabetical order

under the various headings, such as "Depot," "Sale Shop," "Fort Vancouver Indian Trade," etc. Then the items had to be priced, the total values calculated, and the whole entered in the post account book for the outfit. [23]

Further, the inventories from all the subordinate posts had to be checked and then copied to make up the district inventory. Copies were made four York Factory and evidently for London.

d. Indents. The gentleman in charge of each post submitted annually to the district superintendent a list of the goods, provisions, stationary, medicines, and other supplies that would be needed to operate his establishment for a year, exclusive of what the post itself could provide. These orders, requisitions, or indents, as they were variously called, were made out several years in advance.

The basis of the indent was the inventory four the previous outfit. To the amounts in that list were added all goods and pro visions received during the current outfit by invoices from the district depot, transfers from other posts, or local production. These amounts were the receipts. From them were deducted the items transferred to other posts or districts and the inventory for the current outfit. The remainder was the expenditure, which served as the general guide for making the requisitions for future outfits. Allowances were made for such contingencies as changes in taste on the part of the natives, unusual fluctuations in the numbers of furs available, and the need to meet increased competition. [24]

When these local indents from the posts and subdistricts (such as Colvile and New Caledonia) reached Fort Vancouver, the district manager examined and adjusted them in accordance with certain overall requirements and limitations. These requisitions were employed to form the "scheme indents" or "scheme books four outfits," which showed the goods necessary for district operations during the outfit under consideration. The "scheme," in turn, was the basis upon which the manager prepared the Columbia order, or requisition, for transmission to York Factory by the spring express. As has been explained previously, this requisition during the 1840s was sent about three and a half years in advance of the time the ordered goods would finally be employed in the trade. [25]

Some idea of how this process actually was conducted in the Fort Vancouver office may be gathered from the brief notes kept by Clerk Edward Ermatinger in a personal memoranda book. On January 12, 1828, he wrote, "Assisted the Doctor [Chief Factor John McLoughlin] 2 Days with Schemes for Outfits 28 & 29." Eleven days later he noted: "1st took Inv[entor]y of the Stationary provs. &c then worked out the Expenditure thereof--afterwards with the Doctor carried them thro' 3 Schemes four O's 28, 29, 30. . . . settled the order for Sales [Shop?], Fort Vancr. & New Cal[edonia]--a [?] Requisitions--in Scheme '31. . . ." On February 3 his entry included: "last week--2 days Classing the order according to the Tradesmens Bills--then copied one Scheme for Ot 31 ready to enter the figures when completed--."

On March 2 Ermatinger reviewed his work for the preceding week: "Sunday employed copying the Order into Order Book . . . filled up the Order Scheme--valued the Order." Finally, seven days later, he noted: "last week . . . made a copy of the Order & finished it for Eng[lan]d." [26]

Needless to say, the lengthy annual requisitions were made out in several copies. Two went east with the spring express, one four the Northern Department accountant at York Factory and the other to be forwarded to London. Then, in the fall, an additional copy was sent to England in the vessel bearing the returns. [27]

e. Returns. As has been seen in Chapter II of this volume on the Indian Trade Shop, all furs and other returns received were first entered in a "blotter," a rough book that could be carried

around by the clerk. At some posts, at any rate, these notations were later copied into a more permanent "day book." These records, in turn, formed the basis of the "fur receipt book," in which the pelts received were noted on double pages ruled into columns. Each column was headed by the name of a kind of skin, ranged alphabetically from badger to wolverine, with subcolumns for the size and condition. At the close of the outfit the furs in each column were totaled and checked against the number of pelts counted and packed for shipment. If the figures in the fur book did not agree with the actual returns, "there was a strict investigation." [28]

A copy of a consolidated version of this fur book, called a " statement of furs traded," or "returns--furs by kind," was forwarded by each post, including the Fort Vancouver Indian shop, to the Columbia headquarters, where all were again checked with the actual returns. [29] From these copies, consolidated statements of returns, invoices, and bills of lading were prepared for the home office.

f. Invoices, packing accounts, and bills of lading. When the annual ship from England landed its cargo, generally in March, a busy time began for the clerks. The incoming goods had to be checked against both the requisition and the invoices that accompanied the order. Then came the arduous task of "working out the cost landed of every article." [30] This labor seemingly resulted in a document called "Abstract, Cost & Charges of Goods Received," which, together with a detailed, priced list of the goods landed, was in due time sent off to London. [31]

Then, of course, there were invoices to prepare four all shipments of goods and supplies dispatched from the depot to the subordinate posts for the annual outfits or four other purposes. As has already been detailed in Chapter XII volume I, every shipment was accompanied by a packing account listing the contents of each bale, bundle, box, or other container. There may even have been a smaller list tucked into each bundle enumerating its contents.

Every cargo going by sea to London or to a foreign port was accompanied by a bill of lading that listed the contents. Those made out for the annual returns, for instance, listed the number of each kind of fur, the weight of such items as feathers and isinglass, and the number and type of damaged skins. Bills of lading were generally printed forms on which the particulars of each shipment were noted in ink. [32] Also accompanying the returns was an "Invoice of Furs and Peltries, Returns of the Columbia District, Outfit --- , which listed in detail the mark and contents of each bale, cask, keg, puncheon, and case. [33] In addition, a "Valuation of Furs, Returns of Columbia, Outfits --- ," which listed the numbers and types of skins, with their estimated values, was also prepared. [34]

g. Post and district accounts. Each post, subdistrict (such as New Caledonia and Colvile), and district maintained a complicated series of accounts to determine its annual profit our loss. [35] Of course the actual results could not be determined until the returns were auctioned in London--a process that could take several years-- but estimated or assigned values for the several types of skins were used for drawing tentative balances. Fort Vancouver, as an individual trading post, as a subdistrict headquarters (the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade), and as Columbia District depot and headquarters, was involved at all three accounting levels.

The types of accounts kept were so numerous that it would be impractical to list them all here. In fact, the writer would be unable to do so. Suffice it to say that in addition to the inventories, indents, statements of returns, invoices, and other records described above, the determination of the account between Fort Vancouver and the Company involved the keeping of records that included the following:

Servants' accounts. It has been seen that the officers, clerks, and "servants"of the Company were not paid in cash. At the end of each outfit the wages, gratuities, our, in the case of chief traders and chief factors, specified shares of the profits were credited to the accounts of every employee. Deducted from the income were items such as charges for clothing, blankets, extra provisions, and other articles purchased at the posts or depot; penalties for the careless loss of Company equipment, unauthorized granting of gratuities, etc ; drafts or bills authorizing payments to relatives in Canada or Britain, payments to London merchants, or for investments; and such miscellaneous charges as those for freight. Credit balances, when there were such, were retained in London, where they accumulated interest. Each year every employee received an individual statement of his account. [36]

As may be imagined, the preparation of these accounts involved a vast amount of bookkeeping, beginning at the trade shops of the individual posts and depots. These detailed accounts, called "Sales to Servants," were sent annually, in duplicate, to the district head quarters at Fort Vancouver along with other information needed to determine the balances. [37] It was the task of the clerks in the district office to reconcile all this data and to prepare summaries, or "abstracts," for shipment to York Factory with the spring express. [38]

This chore was not easy, as Edward Ermatinger's notebook reveals. On December 30, 1827, he recorded: "Began 1st abstract--Names, Parishes &c then the Balances with various other perplexing matters such as Snake Balances & Sailors Accts. --laid this job by four the present-- to be re-considered bye & bye--." [39]

The end products of this labor, evidently, were three account books known as "Abstract of Servants' Accounts," "District Statements 'A,'" and "District Statements 'B.'" These records, which between them detailed the name, place of origin, wages, occupation, years of service, balances, and other information about each employee in the district, provided important checks on expenditures for labor. As usual, copies were prepared for York Factory and London.

Transfer books. For one reason or another there amount of trade between posts and between districts. instance, pack cords were imported into New Caledonia was a fair At times, for from across the Rockies. Certain establishments produced agricultural surpluses of items, such as pickled salmon, which were sent to other posts, exported, or shipped to the depot for redistribution. Articles, produce, or services supplied or received in this manner were charged for or credited exactly as if the dealings had been with outsiders. Records of all such transactions were kept in local "Transfer Accounts, " copies of which were forwarded to Fort Vancouver for use in determining the profit and loss of both the individual posts and the district depot. [40]

At Fort Vancouver the transfer accounts were extensive, because not only supplies going to other posts were recorded, but also pro visions to the Company's shipping and a number of other business dealings. Charges were made four items such as milling flour for other establishments and four barrels produced in the depot cooper's shop and used for shipping flour or salmon, etc.

All of these transactions were summarized, or sometimes listed in detail, in two sets of books--"District Transfer 'A,'" and "District Transfer 'B.'" Again, copies went to both York Factory and London.

Miscellaneous. Other accounts mentioned in various sources include one for the receipt and expenditure of provisions at each post and at the depot. The outlays noted in these books were listed under headings such as "Officers' Mess," "Servants," "Voyaging," "Visitors," "Charity," etc, [41]

An annual "Expenditure Scheme" was prepared, as was a "Recapitulation of Book Debts." Then, of course, there were expected records such as the "Cash Account," "Bills Receivable," "Abstract of Accounts Current," "Accounts Current, " and several more.

Plainly, the Northern Department accountants at York Factory and the Governor and Committee in London, with these books before them, could analyze the operations of the fur trade in minute detail. And, when contemplating the number of these records, one can readily under stand why each fall a cart was used to haul the accounts going to London from the Old Office down to the wharf on the riverbank. [42]

h. Summary. Perhaps information was issued periodically by the Company specifying the types of accounts that were to be kept at the several levels of fur trade operations. But if any such explanations of the accounting system exist in the firm's archives, the writer has not yet encountered them. Governor George Simpson came close to providing such an overview in 1822 when he sent to the London directors a list of documents that he considered "of the most consequence four arranging the general accouncs of the Northern Department." [43] This very useful enumeration has been employed in preparing the material presented in this chapter, but it was not applicable in its entirety to the Columbia District, and it appears to have been obsolete in certain respects by the period of our chief interest.

Perhaps of more utility in understanding the work conducted in the Fort Vancouver office are two later lists. The first was prepared by James Douglas when he left John Kennedy in charge of Fort Taku on the Northwest Coast in 1840. "The following," he advised, "are the Accounts you have annually to furnish L to Fort Vancouver], vizt.

1st Sales to Servants in Duplicate
2d Statement of furs traded
3d Transfer Account
4th Inventories to include provisions
5th Scheme of annual Expenditure
6th Provision Expenditure."[44]

The second is a packet list itemizing the contents of "a box containing a copy of the Oregon Department accounts for Outfit 1858" forwarded "by Express to the Hudson's Bay House, London." The list was as follows:

No. 1. Abstract of Servants Accounts
2. Importation from England
Invoices Outwards
Recapitulation of Book Debts
3. General Inventories
Country Produce Inventories
4. District Transfer "A"
5. District Transfer "B"
6. Vancouver Cash Account
Bills Payable
Servants Bills on London
Bills Receivable
Invoice Furs
Returns
Disposal of Returns
Abstract of Accounts Current

Results of Trade
7. District Statements "A"
8. District Statements "B"
9. Accounts Current
10. Cash Account, Vancouver for Outfit 1859 from 1st January to 30th June 1859
11. Packet List [45]

A clerk's life. George B. Roberts, who had firsthand knowledge, later recalled that three clerks were generally employed in the Fort Vancouver office. [46] But as has been seen in Chapter IV on the Bachelors' Quarters, the clerks were so frequently transferred to other duties or to other posts that there was an almost constant fluctuation in the number of persons working in the office. Actually, during the mid-1840s there were only two men classified as bookkeepers or accountants at the depot, and one of them was absent for much of the year accompanying the accounts to York Factory and then returning with the fall express. Other clerks evidently were called in from their duties elsewhere about the depot to help with the "writing" when the occasion demanded.

Ordinarily, clerks entered the Company's service through the route of apprenticeship, engaging for a term of five years at an annual salary that started at £20 and could be increased gradually to a maximum of £50. Nearly all apprentice clerks came from Britain, where there was an excess of applicants for the few openings to be filled each year. Those accepted nearly always had some family connection with the firm or were sponsored by a director or other influential officer. [47]

According to Isaac Cowie, who started with the Company as an apprentice clerk in 1867, most of the recruits were well educated and knew something of accounting prior to their employment. But there were a few, "foisted into the service by family influence, " whose penmanship and spelling, to say nothing of bookkeeping, did not meet the firm's standards. Such persons were given old journals and records to copy until they learned the arts they should have acquired in school. [48]

That some such training took place in the Columbia District may be indicated by the fact that an account book in the Fort Nisqually Collection at the Huntington Library shows evidence of having been employed to practice handwriting. Blank pages are covered with phrases such as "Keep your crop clear of weeds and reap it in season, " "Honesty is the best policy," and "Oh Caledonia, stern and wild," repeated over and over. [49]

If an apprentice proved himself competent by the end of his five year engagement, he was eligible for promotion to the rank of clerk. Salaries of clerks could begin as low as L40 per annum and were raised with increased responsibilities to a maximum of L150. After a service of about thirteen or fourteen years a clerk could begin to anticipate pro motion to chief trader and a share of the Company's profits, but this entrance into the commissioned officer ranks was sometimes long in arriving, and for some it never came. [50]

Every attempt was made to see that only reliable and loyal clerks were permitted to work in the office. The Company desired that its affairs remain a closed book to the outside world, and it kept as much information from its employees as was reasonably possible. Thus in 1843 Governor Simpson reprimanded Dr. McLoughlin, saying, "Considering the circumstances under which Mr. [J.] O'Brien was removed to Vancouver, he ought not to have been employed in the countinghouse, where he must necessarily have acquired more information connected with the details of our business than it is desirable a retiring clerk should possess." But as McLoughlin pointed out in reply, the chronic shortage of help made it necessary to employ whoever was available. [51]

This same paucity of personnel meant that the office clerks frequently were required to work long hours at the Columbia depot. At York Factory during the 1840s it was customary during the winter for the gentlemen to have breakfast at nine o'clock, after which the clerks applied themselves in the office until one, when dinner was served. After that meal, work at the desks continued until tea at six o clock, following which there was more writing until eight. The remainder of the evening was free. [52]

But in 1830 Chief Factor McLoughlin wrote that both officers and clerks at Fort Vancouver "Kept Constantly Employed from day light to Eleven at night." [53] A decade later conditions were not much better. "I do not believe that there is an office in Montreal that has so much to do as ours," wrote Clerk John McLoughlin, Jr. from Fort Vancouver to a friend: "We are in it from 1/2 past 6 in the morning till nine at night." [54] Two years later one of Clerk Dugald Mactavish's acquaintances reported that at the Columbia depot Dugald "begins work at 4 AM, & leaves off at 11 at night the whole year round." [55] What was more, even on supposedly free evenings McLoughlin would occasionally call the clerks back to copy letters or perform other chores. [56] Similarly, the imminent departure of a vessel or express would often mean that the clerks in the office would have to work all day on Saturdays and on holidays. [57]

There naturally was grumbling at these long hours. On December 13, 1849, Thomas Lowe noted in his journal, "I am suffering much from sore eyes brought on by working too much in the office by candlelight." [58] And perhaps the clerks suspected that sometimes there were other reasons for their confinement than the press of business, for Dr. McLoughlin once wrote that "most young men are ruined by not being kept busy."

In actuality, all was not work four the clerks, even for those in the office. On April 23, 1845, Thomas Lowe recorded that he had "left off going to the office after supper." [59] Lowe's journal reveals that during the summers the gentlemen were usually able to get away each day long enough for a "bath" in the river; and Friday and Saturday afternoons and Sundays were usually free for rides through the woods, for sailing, picnics, and hunting. One of the favorite sports was lassoing the beef cattle, long-horned brutes brought from California and as wild and dangerous as buffalo. Holidays in a country where most of the servants were Roman Catholics were not in frequent, and they were often marked by card parties, balls, and various types of excursions.

The Old Office as residence. It is known that the office included living quarters as early as 1833. In May of that year Dr. W. F. Tolmie noted in his journal: "Sat chatting with Mr. [Robert] Cowie [Chief Trader] last night in his apartments adjoining the office till nearly 11."[60]

On May 16, 1845, Apprentice Clerk Thomas Lowe, one of the depot "accountants," recorded in his diary: "I slept to night in the Office, having removed my quarters from Bachelors Hall to one of the rooms in the office." [61] But Lowe was temporarily evicted on August 27 after the arrival a day earlier of Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden from Canada. "I slept in Mr. Grahame ' s room, Mr. Ogden occupying mine in the office, as all the others were full," Lowe noted in his journal. Two days later he recorded, "Sleep in the office to night, though Mr. Ogden is still there." Ogden left the next day for Fort George, but when he returned to the depot on September 9 Lowe wrote, "He slept in my room in the Office." [62] As has already been seen , Apprentice Postmaster William Sinclair "removed his quarters " from Bachelor's Hall to the Old Office on June 15, 1846, to make room for two visiting British naval officers. [63]

These entries do not make clear how many bedrooms were located in the Old Office structure. That there was one is certain, and the evidence seems to indicate that there was at

least one more room that served as living quarters during emergencies. It is entirely possible, of course, that another clerk in addition to Lowe lived in the office on a permanent basis and that Lowe merely failed to mention him in his journal.

As far as is known, no married clerk was ever quartered in the Old Office at Fort Vancouver, but it is quite possible that visiting Company officers and their wives and children may have been housed there for short periods. For such family groups accommodations in the countinghouse were far from ideal.

Clerk Robert Clouston discovered this fact when he brought his bride to York Factory in 1849. As quarters he was assigned a room next to the office. In fact, his chamber and the office were heated by the same stove, which was placed in a hole cut in the wall between the two rooms. "During office hours," Clouston wrote his father-in-law, "there is nothing like privacy for in one room with the door shut, you can hear a pin drop in the other." The clerk asked to have the space around the stove "shut up" with sheet iron, but the request only produced from his superiors a "tirade about what people had to put up with formerly--and that 'the Company did not recognize families'--they were merely tolerated." [64]

Thomas Lowe. The only person who can be identified as a "permanent" resident in the office during Outfit 1845 was Thomas Lowe. Born on November 30, 1824, Lowe was the son of Dr. John Lowe of Coupar Angus, Perthshire, Scotland. He entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as an apprentice clerk during January 1841, and in August of that year he sailed in the firm's ship Vancouver for the Columbia River.

Upon reaching Honolulu, Lowe was upset at being abruptly ordered to transfer to the Cowlitz by Sir George Simpson, who was bound for Sitka in the latter vessel. The reason for the change became clear during the northward voyage, when Lowe found himself kept constantly busy reading to the Governor and acting as his amanuensis. His private journal kept during this period reveals Lowe to have been a well-educated and literate young man.

At Fort Durham (Taku), far up the present Alaska "panhandle," Lowe was left ashore as assistant to Dr. John Kennedy, the clerk in charge. But about a year later that post was closed and its staff moved to Vancouver Island. There, in 1843, nineteen-year-old Thomas Lowe witnessed the beginnings of Fort Victoria. Within a few days he set out with Chief Factor James Douglas for Fort Vancouver, where he arrived on June 15. The very next day Dr. McLoughlin put him to work in the office.

During Outfit 1845 young Lowe was still a bachelor. He did not marry Rose Birnie, daughter of retired Clerk James Birnie, until May 26, 1849.[65]

Lowe himself retired from the Company's service in 1850. He became a well-known merchant in Oregon City, San Francisco, and Victoria. In 1872 he returned to Scotland and lived there until his death in 1912.[66]

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CHAPTER VIII:
NEW OFFICE

History and location

On August 8, 1845, Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his journal: "Commenced building a new Office, in front of the belifry [sic]." By August 22 he was able to record: "Baron [Charles Diamare dit Baron, carpenter] and his men having finished preparing the wood for the New Office, he laid the foundation of it to day--38 ft. long x 32 broad, not far from the old one, and in a line with the Priests House." [1]

The belfry mentioned by Lowe was the new one erected on December 31, 1844. During the spring of 1973 the site of this belfry was excavated by a Volunteers-in-Parks team, and the base of the pole was found to be 32.5 feet south of the northern stockade wall, about 18 feet north of the New Office and about 15 feet west of the jail. [2] However, it is not necessary to know the precise location of the belfry in order to fix the site of the New Office; it is known through the Vavasour ground plan of 1845 (Plates VI and VII, vol. I) and through the results of archeological explorations conducted in 1950.

The New Office was built in the north central portion of the fort enclosure. In fact it straddled the site of the east stockade wall of the square 1829 fort. The north wall of the New Office was about fifty-one feet south of the northern palisade line. [3] The site of the New Office is now identified as Building No. 13 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

Lowe's diary does not mention the date upon which the New Office was completed, but it is known to have been habitable by late December 1845. Seemingly it had been planned to move the accounting functions into the new building as soon as it was completed and then to tear down the Old Office, but that proposal had to be deferred when H. M. S. Modeste arrived off the post on November 29, 1845. Her captain, Commander the Honourable Thomas Baillie, was soon granted the New Office for a residence during his stay, as is shown by Lowe's journal entry for December 27. "Capt. Baillie," noted the clerk, "gave a dance in the New Office where he has lately taken up his shore quarters in the Fort." [4]

The British officer evidently made every effort to fit into the social life at the depot. Lowe's journal mentions a number of gatherings given by Baillie in the New Office. Of the dance given on December 27, Lowe said: "Most of the officers of the 'Modeste' were present, and we kept it up until midnight. It was rather a noisy affair. I sprained my ankle in dancing." [5]

Only about a week later Lowe recorded, "In the evening Capt. Baillie gave a Ball in his own House ashore at which we had most of the ladies of the Establishment and several of the Officers of the 'Modeste.' We kept it up until a late hour, after which there was a nice Supper, Songs, and a little more dancing." [6]

Four days later the clerk noted, "Capt. Baillie had a sort of play in his room to night got up

by some of the sailors." [7] On February 4, 1846, the gallant captain was once again a host. "In the evening Capt. Baillie gave a Ball in his room, at which we all attended, and enjoyed ourselves much dancing having been kept up until two in the morning," Lowe reported. [8]

Such entries, of which only a few are reproduced here, serve to illustrate the uses to which the New Office was put during Captain Baillie's long sojourn at Fort Vancouver. His presence in the New Office may have been something of an inconvenience to the Company's officers at the depot. At least such an inference might be drawn from the remarks of Thomas Lowe in his journal entry for June 18, 1846. After noting the demolition of the Old Catholic Church that had adjoined the Old Office in the center of the fort enclosure, he wrote, "There now only remain [sic] the Office to break the full sweep of the Fort Yard. . . . As Capt. Baillie is residing in the building intended for the New Office, we cannot as yet move into it from the old one." [9]

As far as is known, the commander of the Modeste continued to occupy the New Office until close to the time the vessel took its departure on May 3, 1847. [10] Presumably the Company then moved all of the furniture, records, and equipment from the Old Office into the new one; and thereafter it was the New Office that was meant when "the office" was mentioned. The old structure soon disappeared from the scene.

The New Office continued to function as the countinghouse as long as the Company occupied Fort Vancouver. A witness who saw it in 1849 later testified that it was then in good condition, except for the foundation. [11] On June 15, 1860, the day after the Company vacated the post, a board of army officers found the office still in "tolerable repair" and thought it might be temporarily usable for military purposes. [12] The building was standing near the end of that month when a War Department order directing the local commander to halt all destruction of Hudson's Bay Company property was received, but how much longer it survived is not known. Surely the New Office had disappeared with the rest of the fort structures by 1865 or 1866. [13]

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CHAPTER IX:
JAIL

History and location

Few solid facts have come to light concerning the Jail, also known as the prison or the guardhouse. Evidently, however, there was no building at Fort Vancouver specifically designated for the confinement of prisoners until the early 1840s.

During 1826, when the post was still located at its first site, the master of one of the Company's ships sent a seaman who had stolen rum and become insubordinate to Chief Factor John McLoughlin for disciplining. McLoughlin put the man in irons and proposed to keep him shackled until the captain saw fit to take him back on board. "Indeed," he explained, "we could not (as we have no prison) keep him in confinement unless we put him in Irons." [1]

There are several other reports of men being "prisoned" at Fort Vancouver prior to the 1840s, but apparently such persons were placed in irons rather than lodged in a jail specifically constructed for the confinement of transgressors against law or the rules of the Company. [2] Even in the case of the unfortunate Hawaiian employee who was detained for more than five months at the departmental headquarters from August 1837 to January 1838, the means of detention was irons that "were never by order, though sometimes by the humanity of the cook, at the risk of exchanging situations with him, taken off." [3]

The situation is made clear by the manner in which James Douglas, acting in the place of the absent Dr. McLoughlin, disposed of four mutineers from the Company's steamer Beaver who were sent to Fort Vancouver for punishment early in 1838. The men were at first placed in irons. Then, after a hearing at which they refused to return to duty, Douglas dismissed them from the service and ordered them returned in irons on the fall ship to England to face charges. After holding the mutineers a few days, Douglas sent two of them to Fort Nisqually and two to Fort George to be detained as prisoners until the sailing of the vessel, because there was no "convenient place" at the depot to confine them for such a long period. [4] It might be mentioned, incidentally, that Company officers and clerks who at that time broke the rules or otherwise incurred the displeasure of Dr. McLoughlin were not manacled but were confined to quarters in the Bachelors' Hall. [5]

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that no jail or prison is shown on the ground plan of Fort Vancouver drawn by George Foster Emmons on July 25, 1841 (Plate III, vol. I). But by the fall of 1844 there is positive evidence that such a structure was located within the pickets. Between September 24 and September 30 the depot and its nearby mills and farm buildings were threatened by a dangerous forest fire, and by the latter date Clerk Henry N. Peers had sketched a map of the fort and its surroundings showing the line reached by the conflagration. [6] This map distinctly depicts a small building in the same location as the

structure that a year later Lieutenant Vavasour's plan identified as the "jail" (see Plates V and VI, vol. I; for a clearer copy of Peers's map see Plate XXV in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver).

On October 1 two Hawaiians who had broken into the "depense" during the fire were given lashings at one of the guns in front of the Big House and then "put in confinement." [7] Although a jail was not specifically mentioned in connection with this sentence, it appears significant that nothing was said of irons. [8] It can be safely assumed that a jail was erected at Fort Vancouver between mid-1841 and September 1844.

No records have yet been found that explain why McLoughlin considered it necessary to have a prison after Fort Vancouver had gotten along for sixteen or more years without one. It is possible to speculate that he desired to have a secure place to hold the prime suspects and the witnesses to the murder of his son at Fort Stikine during April 1842. After it became evident that the Russians at Sitka would not prosecute even the men most deeply implicated, all men involved in the case were brought to Fort Vancouver, evidently in the late fall of 1843. McLoughlin sent fourteen of them and an interpreter overland to Canada, where they had arrived by mid-June 1844. [9]

After September 1844 references to the Jail become fairly frequent. Late in October of that year two men were brought to Fort Vancouver from Stikine, where they were accused of conspiring against the lives of the officers of that establishment. Dr. McLoughlin sent the men to Nisqually until they could be dispatched to York Factory in the spring, because, as he said, "we have no place here to keep them safely, as it would not do to keep them in a building without fire, and all our buildings being of wood, they might be malicious enough to set them on fire." [10] It seems clear, therefore, that the Jail contained no fireplace or stove.

On August 19, 1845, a Canadian who had attempted to desert for the second time was given thirteen lashes at the gun and "put in prison." Clerk Thomas Lowe recorded on August 30 that this man was "liberated this evening from jail," having found two friends to pledge £10 each that he would not desert again during the next year. [11]

On the evening of April 30, 1846, a party of Americans brought some "country made" whisky to the fort and sold it to "a great many " of the Company's employees. As a result several were unable to work the next day and were placed in irons. [12] Some months later, on August 19, an American who was attempting to jump the claim of a Company employee was arrested and brought before Chief Factor James Douglas, who was also a judge under the Oregon Provisional Government. The man refused to put up bail, so he was imprisoned in the fort until the next day, when security for his appearance at trial was provided. [13] On November 8 Isaac Labelle, a deserter from the firm's ranks, was returned from the Willamette Valley and "put in prison" until the next day, when he obtained bail. [14] Another employee was " imprisoned" on February 1, 1848, for "drunkeness and rioting." [15]

These examples will show that the Jail continued in active use well into the period of United States jurisdiction over the lower Columbia River region. When it ceased to be employed as a place of confinement is not evident, but one fact is abundantly clear: the structure itself continued to stand in its original location as long as the Hudson's Bay Company occupied Fort Vancouver. In the years between 1846 and 1860 the prison is shown on several maps and listed in several inventories and appraisals of the Company's property, but none of this evidence contributes to a knowledge of the structure's history except to indicate that it was still standing. [16]

The only reference of real significance is that contained in the report of a board of army officers who examined the buildings of Fort Vancouver on June 15, 1860, the day after the

Company abandoned the post. This group prepared a ground plan (Plate XXX, vol. I) that shows a small structure, identified as number 20, occupying the same site as the Jail on Vavasour's map of 1845. An accompanying inventory contains the entry, "No. 20. Guard house, long since abandoned by the Company, in a ruinous condition--Material of no value." [17] The subsequent fate of the Jail is not known in detail, but it surely was torn down or was burned prior to 1866.

According to Vavasour's ground plan of 1845, the Jail stood about nineteen feet south of the north palisade wall and about nine to fifteen feet west of the Owyhee Church (the three versions of the Vavasour plan differ as to this measurement; see Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I). Or, to put it another way, it was close to the north stockade and only a few yards east of midway between the west and east ends of the fort.

The site of the Jail was partially excavated by National Park Service archeologists in 1950. The north wall of the Jail, as determined by the footings uncovered, was found actually to be about twenty-two feet south of the outermost line of north stockade posts, and the east Jail wall was about twenty-five to twenty-six feet west of the Owyhee Church. [18] The site of the Jail is now identified as Building No. 14 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

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CHAPTER X:
OWYHEE CHURCH

History and location

From the standpoint of its history and function, the structure that by 1845 was generally known as the "Owyhee Church," or the "Owhyhee Church," was one of the most interesting buildings at Fort Vancouver. It was also among those that have left almost no evidence concerning their physical appearance.

As delineated on the Vavasour ground plan of 1845, the Owyhee Church was situated in the northeastern quadrant of the fort enclosure as it existed at that time. According to the scale on that map, the building lay approximately eighteen feet south of the north stockade wall and about fifty feet west of the Big House kitchen. It was only some twenty-five feet southwest of the gate in the north palisade, and it lay directly behind (to the north of) the Priests' House (see Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I).

Archeological excavations in 1948, 1950, and 1952 were only partially successful in finding the footings of this building. But according to Archeologist Louis R. Caywood's estimated location of the north wall of this structure, the Owyhee Church was actually somewhat less than fifteen feet inside the outer stockade line. [1] The location of the Owyhee Church is now designated as Building No. 15 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. Because this structure was in the eastern half of the fort, which was not enclosed until about 1836, it almost certainly was not con structed before that date. But it is known to have been standing by July 25, 1841, when Lieutenant Emmons showed it on his map identified as the "Chaplains' Kitchen & used as a school room" (Plate III, vol. I). It seems safe to assume that the building had been erected by 1839, however, because during that year the American traveler Thomas Jefferson Farnham noted that a building near the rear gate was occupied as a schoolhouse; it could scarcely have been any other than that later known as the Owyhee Church. [2]

The 1846-47 inventory of Company property at Fort Vancouver listed this structure as "1 Dwelling house, 50 x 25 feet, Schoolhouse." It was the only building within the stockade having these dimensions. [3] This old Owyhee Church can be clearly identified on the carefully drawn survey of the Fort Vancouver Military Reservation made under the direction of Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville in 1854 (Plate XIX, vol. I), and it is visible on the sketch made by an unknown artist probably during that same year (Plate XX, vol. I). What apparently was the same building seems to be shown on the unsigned "Topographical Sketch of Fort Vancouver and Environs, 1855," which is reproduced as Plate XXIII in volume I of this study.

After 1855, however, the former Owyhee Church can no longer be found on the available maps of the fort. The 1859 survey of the military reservation drawn under the direction of

Captain George Thom, for instance, seems to have been made with much care; it shows only open space where the schoolhouse once stood (Plate XXIV, vol. I). The appraisal of Company property made by a board of army officers on June 15, 1860, makes no mention of this building (Plate XXX, vol. I). It can be assumed, therefore, that Dugald Mactavish, who had served the Company for many years at Fort Vancouver as a clerk and commissioned officer, was correct when he testified in 1866 that the dwelling house measuring fifty by twenty-five feet, which could only have been the former Owyhee Church, was pulled down before 1858. [4]

The Fort Vancouver school. As has been seen, the first known uses for the building later known as the Owyhee Church were as a kitchen for the chaplains' residence (Priests' House) and as a school room. But there had been a school at Fort Vancouver long before the Owyhee Church structure was erected.

This institution originated in November 1832, when Chief Factor McLoughlin agreed to let John Ball, an American who had arrived with the first Wyeth expedition, teach his son and the other boys about the fort to read. Although Ball remained at the depot only until early March of the next year, the experiment had been so promising that McLoughlin continued the school under a succession of teachers.

The difficulties encountered in attempting to educate the children of the establishment, most of whom spoke only the languages of their Indian mothers or, probably, French, were graphically explained by Solomon H. Smith, another member of the Wyeth party who immediately followed Ball as the fort pedagogue. Many years later he told the historian Elwood Evans that,

> When I engaged in the school I supposed we had a school, but upon entering it I was sadly disappointed, it was more like a bedlam the scholars came in talking in their respective languages Cree, Nes perces, Chinook, &c &c I could not understand them, and when I called them to order they could not understand me save one, having come from a land of discipline, I could not persuade myself that I could accomplish much without order therefore issued my orders when to my surprise the one who did understand me joined issue with me in my government in the school, and while trying to press this fact upon him and through him to his associates Dr. McLaughlin Chf Factor came in, to whom I explained our difficulty, he upon investigation found my statements correct, when he made such an example of the boy, that I never afterward had any trouble in my governing. [5]

Another impediment was the scarcity of textbooks. Smith found that there was only one printed copy of the arithmetic text, so he had it copied by hand for use in the future. English was taught through the use of "Murrays grammar." Some of his approximately twenty-five pupils learned to repeat it verbatim.

McLoughlin was so pleased with the results, meager though they must have been, that at least by the fall of 1834 he began to urge officers and clerks throughout the Columbia District to send their children and the orphaned offspring of deceased employees to the depot for instruction. [6] Thus the school at Fort Vancouver, if it had not already been a boarding school, soon became one for a substantial proportion of the pupils. Indian children, particularly the orphans of natives who had served the Company, were also admitted. [7]

Perhaps these changes had not been instituted by December 1834, because Cyrus Shepard, the teacher at that time, told a friend that he was then employed "with about thirty half-breed youth, instructing them in the sciences and giving them . . . religious instruction." Besides the

"day school," he added, "I have two young men and eight boys in the evening." Shepard's daily routine, he recorded in his journal, was to "go into school at six o'clock when the children assemble for prayers and remain till the bell rings for breakfast, and thus continue through the day, having only an hour for breakfast and another for dinner--Feel somewhat depressed in mind." [8]

By the fall of 1835, however, apparently when future clerk George B. Roberts was teacher, there definitely were Indians in the Fort Vancouver school. [9] The missionary scout Samuel Parker recorded that the pupils were not only the children of the traders and common laborers but also Indian children who were "provided for by the generosity of the resident gentlemen." The curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, religion, and morality. The daily exercises were closed by the singing of a hymn, after which the scholars were taken by their master out to a "garden assigned to them," where they labored for the remainder of the day. The children formed the choir for the Sunday religious services, of which they attended three. [10]

The existence of the boarding feature seems to be first recorded definitely during the fall of 1836, when the Reverend Herbert Beaver, the newly appointed Church of England chaplain for the Columbia District, informed McLoughlin that it was not "proper or agreeable, that a place of tuition should be used as a sleeping room for numerous individuals." [11] Although it is not entirely clear that the "individuals" sleeping in the schoolroom were pupils, such was probably the case, because undoubtedly children had been boarded at the depot for a considerable period prior to Beaver's s arrival. [12] In any case the situation in this regard is perfectly evident by October 1837. The Reverend Mr. Beaver at that time complained to the London directors that the master and ten boys occupied "in far too close contact" a room of 20 by 9-1/2 feet ad joining the schoolroom. [13]

The number of students apparently reached its peak at about that same time. In 1836 Narcissa Whitman reported that there were about fifty scholars enrolled in the school. [14] The Reverend Mr. Beaver, only two months later, stated that there were "about sixty scholars, one third being Girls, of various ages, from five to fourteen years." Beaver found that the "first and second classes, amounting to fourteen," read well, wrote tolerably, and had begun to cypher, but had received little religious education, "the singing of hymns, as I understand, forming nearly the whole." The other classes were reported to be "sin different stages of progress." [15]

Despite this flourishing appearance, signs of disintegration began to become visible during this same period, and conditions worsened as time passed. In the first place, the Company was not enthusiastic about the project as it was being conducted. Although in 1835 the Governor and Committee had been willing to have the British wife of the depot farmer superintend "an infant school," they evidently had changed their minds two years later. In response to McLoughlin's report of difficulties with the Reverend Mr. Beaver over the control of the institution, the directors wrote to James Douglas on November 15, 1837, that regarding the Fort Vancouver school, "sour intention is that the number of scholars shall not exceed 20 boys in all, at present, to be admitted between ages of 8 and 12, that no other branches of education shall be taught them than reading writing & arithmetic and that it shall become a nursery for our Country Naval Service, by which means we shall in due time be less dependent on the Services of British seamen who are trouble some and expensive." [16] There is no evidence that this directive was carried out, at least in its entirety, and the Company became more sympathetic to the idea of a general school at a later time, but nevertheless the immediate effect must have been chilling.

Secondly, the school became a pawn in the religious controversy between Catholics and Protestants that disturbed the Fort Vancouver community during the late 1830s and continued

through much of the 1840s. For several years prior to the arrival of the Reverend Herbert Beaver, Chief Factor McLoughlin had been inclining more and more toward Roman Catholicism, though he was not yet an openly avowed professor of that faith. Thus in the "promotion of moral and religious knowledge" among the pupils in the school he had, as he told the Governor and Committee, avoided "reference to sectarian tenets," even though the teachers were Protestants. [17]

The Reverend Mr. Beaver considered conducting the local school to be among his duties as chaplain, and soon after his arrival in September 1836, Chief Factor McLoughlin was glad enough to place him in charge, but with a "strict injunction . . . not to interfere with the religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children." Beaver was a man of unbending principles, and he believed that the Governor and Committee had sent him to the Columbia to form a "Church of England Congregation" and that the school was a means toward that end. He therefore quickly convinced himself that few of the pupils were actually Catholics and began to pattern his religious teaching according to the tenets of his own church.

When Dr. McLoughlin learned what was going on, he ordered the children who had any blood relationship to the French-speaking populace--and perhaps some who did not--to report to his quarters each evening for instruction in the Catholic faith. Beaver objected, claiming to have exclusive charge of the school and what was taught to the pupils. The issue of who was in control having thus been raised, McLoughlin summarily relieved the chaplain of all responsibility for the school. [18]

Beaver next pressed for a school of his own, but as may be imagined, he never received it during the two years of his stay on the Columbia. The clash over religious teaching in the classroom appears to have made Dr. McLoughlin more determined than ever to see that the French Canadians were not wooed away from their ancestral church, and an atmosphere of religious tension seems for some years to have surrounded the education of the youth of the district, a situation that disturbed some of the predominantly Protestant officers and clerks.

John Work, who two years earlier had been an enthusiastic supporter of the school, wrote in 1838: "There are ample means of getting my girls educated pretty well here were it not for the damned bickering, and what makes the matter worse it is taking a religious turn, mixed with no small portion of bigotry, which one would have scarcely expected to find in such a quarter." [19] By mid-1840 Work and his friend Donald Manson had taken their children out of the Fort Vancouver school and placed them under the tutelage of the Methodist missionaries in the Willamette Valley. [20]

The third condition tending toward the disruption of the school was the difficulty experienced in finding and keeping suitable teachers. At the time of Beaver's arrival the instructor was John Fisher Robinson, formerly a seaman in the Company's service. The chaplain initially was much taken with this man and recommended him to the Governor and Committee as being, as far as he had been able to learn, a person of "irreproachable" character. [21]

As time went by, however, Beaver became somewhat disenchanted with Robinson. The teacher was detected in "repeated acts of drunkenness," which some of the scholars witnessed. But as late as March 1838 the chaplain still believed him to be a useful man in the school and hoped he could be appointed second officer on one of the Company's vessels. [22] In October of that year Robinson was still in charge of the school, and Beaver believed that, while "not exactly such as could be wished," he had "done great things for the children" and, should he carry out his intention of leaving, would be impossible to replace "out of the number of persons at present to be obtained here." [23]

Beaver departed for England about a month later, and the record becomes a bit obscure as to

the subsequent fate of the schoolmaster. Evidently James Douglas, then in charge of Fort Vancouver during Dr. McLoughlin's absence on furlough, began to look into rumors and accusations of misconduct on Robinson's part, and by January or early February 1839 had uncovered a most unpleasant situation. [24] It appears that the teacher was molesting some of the young girls entrusted to his care.

Douglas's reaction was swift and violent. Robinson was tied to one of the guns in front of the Big House and twice flogged "in the most public manner." There were some among the district's officers and clerks who believed the "villain" should have been shot. [25] Needless to say, Douglas was soon casting about for a new schoolmaster. [26]

A fourth problem besetting the school was the moral atmosphere in which the pupils almost necessarily found themselves. The Indian children and many of the half-breed offspring taken in by Dr. McLoughlin in the name of charity had been exposed to a way of native life that scarcely reflected in any manner the precepts of Victorian morality. When these children of nature were mixed with the more strictly raised pupils from the families of the officers and clerks, the results were sometimes shocking, at least from the standpoint of the parents. The wide range in the ages of the pupils, brought in close contact in the crowded schoolroom and sleeping quarters, was a related problem. As the Reverend Mr. Beaver pointed out, there was always the fear that the older boys, particularly, would "corrupt the little ones and the Girls." [27]

Even though conditions may not have been as bad as described by the disgruntled chaplain, they were sufficiently suspect to cause grave misgivings on the part of parents throughout the district. As early as 1837 Clerk Francis Ermatinger expressed his belief that his young son had "remained too long" at Fort Vancouver, where the morals of the children were "not too good nor their habits of cleanliness charming." [28] A few years later Dr. William Fraser Tolmie declared that even though Governor George Simpson's two young sons had been "bred in the vitiated moral atmosphere of Vancouver's" he hoped that the "seeds of good" still predominated in one of them. [29]

As a result of these troubles, and perhaps others not considered here, the Fort Vancouver school began to falter. By October 1838 the Reverend Mr. Beaver reported, "All the older Boys have left the School. Some have departed from the country. Others are put to various employments in it, and one is apprenticed [to the depot cooper]." [30] As has been observed, several children were withdrawn and sent to the Protestant mission in the Willamette Valley.

To make matters worse, the school may have lost the enthusiastic support of its founder and principal patron, Chief Factor McLoughlin. After his return from Europe in the fall of 1839, the Doctor, while not abandoning the school, seems to have turned his chief interest toward the Willamette Valley and the establishment of Catholic educational institutions there. [31] Henceforth James Douglas appears to have assumed the role of champion of schools at Fort Vancouver.

Despite all the difficulties, the institution continued to survive. A new schoolmaster was found for Outfit 1839 in the person of George Holland, a "middleman" or ordinary voyageur in the Company's service. Nothing is known of his qualifications for teaching, but he must have been satisfactory because he continued in charge of the school until about the middle of 1843, when he was promoted to the position of postmaster at Fort Langley. [32]

A visitor of 1839 reported hearing the voices of the children coming from the schoolhouse near the rear gate. [33] The recitations must have become more varied after the spring of 1840 when it appears that a large shipment of schoolbooks, alphabet sets, and spelling cards arrived from England. [34] The accession was most welcome, because in 1838 it had been

stated that there were scarcely any textbooks available at the depot. [35]

When Lieutenant Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition visited Fort Vancouver in 1841, he found a "small manual labor school" in existence. It consisted of twenty-three boys under the supervision of a teacher and of fifteen girls who were taught by "a female, with whom they live and work." He reported that the kitchens and apartments in which the pupils lived were "extensive." Despite the "particular attention's" of Dr. McLoughlin and James Douglas Wilkes found the students not very expert at reading and writing. He felt that this lack of proficiency was due partly to the fact that the boys had been for some weeks constantly employed in field and garden under their master. Chief Factor McLoughlin seemed rather proud to state that by such labor the children fully maintained themselves. [36]

In October 1837 the Reverend Mr. Beaver described the schoolroom as being 20 feet square with an adjoining chamber measuring 20 by 9-1/2 feet used as a bedroom by the master and ten boys. [37] These cramped quarters could scarcely have been the "extensive" kitchens and apartments mentioned by Wilkes. Nor could they have been in the later Owyhee Church building, which was fifty by twenty-five feet in size and thus almost certainly would not have contained rooms of the dimensions given by Beaver. It seems obvious, therefore, that sometime between October 1837 and the fall of 1839 when the genial Farnham heard children's voices coming from a building near the rear gate, the school was moved from its earlier small rooms, the exact location of which is not known, into the future Owyhee Church.

There are a few facts available that appear to justify an attempt to date this move within even narrower limits. The Emmons ground plan of 1841 identifies the building later known as the Priests' House as the "Chaplains' or Governors temporary residence," while the later Owyhee Church directly behind it is called the "Chaplains's Kitchen & used as a school room" (Plate III, vol. I). Now perhaps the only time the "Governor" (as the district superintendent was often called) may have occupied the Priests' House was during the winter of 1837-38, when the Big House was being reconstructed on its new site. This latter structure was in use by March 19, presumably leaving the temporary residence and its kitchen free for other uses. [38] Although only a guess, it seems reasonable to assume that the school was moved into what might be termed the "governor's temporary kitchen" shortly after McLoughlin moved out. [39]

After the departure of schoolmaster George Holland about the middle of 1843, the status of the Fort Vancouver school becomes uncertain for several years. No employee described as a teacher was listed on the Columbia District employee rolls for Outfits 1843 and 1844. On October 8, 1844, John Work, isolated far up the Northwest Coast at Fort Simpson, wrote to Governor George Simpson: "I hear nothing about the school at Vancouver Now, What can be the cause of it being given up. I am sure numbers [?] of the Gentlemen as well as myself would have most cheerfully defrayed all the Expenses." [40]

Such clues would appear to indicate that the school had been discontinued. This impression is perhaps reinforced by evidence that efforts were being made to organize a different type of educational institution for the depot. Seemingly in late 1843 or early 1844 James Douglas sounded out Governor Simpson to see if he would be willing to find a clergyman and his wife to conduct a "respectable English school at this place, for the education of children of officers in the Company's service." Simpson replied, evidently during the summer of 1844, that he would be reluctant to take any action because no sub- scriptions had actually been received. "But," he added, "if sufficient children can be collected to make up a respectable salary for a Teacher and a Governess I will move." In response to this offer, Douglas solicited the "gentlemen's' of the entire district during November 1844 for written pledges of support for the school at the rate of £10 for each child to be enrolled. [41]

Evidently anticipating that this institution would come into being, Douglas started the construction of two large new schoolhouses on the sloping ground north of the fort. These buildings were far enough along by September 1844 to be shown on the "Line of Fire" map of that date (Plate V, vol. I), but they stood unfinished for years and were finally rented to the United States Army to be used as barracks and storehouses. [42]

While Chief Factor Douglas was making these somewhat grandiose plans, there remained children at Fort Vancouver who needed education. On September 10, 1844, Thomas Lowe noted in his journal that Mrs. Roberts, the British wife of Clerk George B. Roberts, had "consented" to open a school for the children of the post. She was to receive "about £5" per year for each pupil. Only ten scholars were enrolled at that time, and until more could be mustered the school was to be kept in Mrs. Roberts's "own house." [43]

In view of all this evidence to the contrary, it is difficult to make a case for the possibility that the general school for the mixed bloods and Indians continued to operate in the former "Chaplains' kitchen." Yet such, on a very reduced scale, may have been the case. The fact that a separate school for the offspring of the Company's "gentlemen" was established does not necessarily mean that all education ceased for the orphans, Indians, and the children of ordinary servants who could not have afforded £5 per pupil. As has been seen, the desire of the officers was to remove their own children from the school, not necessarily to end training for others.

It may be significant that the inventories of "articles in use" for 1844 and 1845 continued to carry the subheading "School Room" and that in addition to books and other learning aids, items of domestic occupation such as eating utensils were listed. On September 19, 1846, Thomas Lowe noted that Richard Covington, a civil engineer who had come out from England as a passenger on one of the Company's vessels "to see what he can do for himself," was then "engaged in giving lessons to the children of the Fort." [44] And, as has been seen, the Owyhee Church was carried on the inventory of 1846-47 as a "Schoolhouse."

The question of whether the school continued in existence without a break after 1843 might have been settled by James Douglas had he not omitted a crucial word from a letter he wrote from Fort Vancouver during 1849. "Our own school," he observed, "has dragged its slow length along for the last six and is not likely ever to come to any thing." [45] Did he mean to say six months or six years? Unfortunately, the answer may never be known.

In any case, the available evidence shows that while the school may never have completely "sunk into disuse's' after the final departure of Dr. McLoughlin from the fort, as the knowledgeable George Gibbs later stated, it certainly was at a low ebb for a number of years. Gibbs may have been at least partially correct when he said that the gentlemen at the post were chiefly concerned about the schooling of their own children and that McLoughlin "was the only one ever really interested in general education." [46]

Under the circumstances, it seems safe to assume that a certain amount of schooling for the children of the artisans and laborers continued in the Owyhee Church during Outfit 1845, the period of principal interest for this study. At least the old schoolroom seems to have still contained the books, the music board, tables, slate, and other appurtenances of instruction. [47]

Beginning in 1847, the prospects for education at Fort Vancouver appeared to be improving. By June of that year the "Vancouver School" was being conducted by both Mr. and Mrs. Covington, and after the "half yearly" examination held on June 1 it was stated that "rapid progress" had been made not only in scholastic subjects but also in deportment. That year the Company allocated funds to support a school, and plans were made to bring a teaching

couple from England. [48] But the history of the school beyond 1846, interesting though it is, falls outside the scope of this report.

Owyhee Church. Natives of the Hawaiian Islands had visited the western coast of North America in the vessels of European and American explorers and fur traders during the late eighteenth century. But not until the arrival of the Astorians in 1811 were Hawaiians brought into the Columbia Basin as employees in the fur trade on a long-term basis. The Sandwich Islanders, generally termed "kanakas" or "Owyhees," quickly proved to be willing and useful workers, and the practice of importing them under contract was continued by the North West Company and, after 1821, by the Hudson's Bay Company. [49]

As Fort Vancouver developed into a major agricultural and manufacturing center, the need for laborers increased faster than could by met by the number of French Canadians transported across the mountains. Thus the number of workers brought in from Hawaii kept growing, and the largest concentration of them was at the Columbia depot. By 1842 Governor George Simpson had come to believe that "of Sandwich Islanders we have already too many in the Service," and he requested that no more be employed for the time being. [50] But McLoughlin, faced by a constant depletion of his labor force through retirements and deaths, did not feel that he could obey. In December 1843 he informed the London directors that he had "ordered" fifty more natives from the Islands. [51] During Outfit 1845 there were approximately 112 Hawaiians on the Fort Vancouver rolls. [52]

A substantial proportion of the Owyhees did not live in the immediate vicinity of the fort. They were scattered about on the several farms and dairies, and there was a respectable force quartered at the mills five or six miles up the river. But perhaps fifty or sixty of them--there seems to be no way to determine the exact number--resided in the village a short distance west and southwest of the stockade.

The life of the Owyhees, as indeed of all the laborers and voyageurs in the Columbia District, was hard. Their wages were low, and much of their income went to acquire clothing needed in a climate much colder than that to which they had been accustomed. Under the circumstances--few of them were able to bring wives with them from the Islands--it is not too surprising that, in the words of the Reverend Herbert Beaver, their "principles" were "quickly undermined by the inroads of surrounding corruption." [53] Nevertheless, the Kanakas were on the whole loyal and efficient employees. Only occasional desertions, a few incidents of stealing, and sporadic excesses, chiefly drinking sprees, revealed the underlying stresses.

As early as 1838 Chaplain Beaver suggested to the London directors that the "good behaviour" of the Sandwich Islanders might be promoted "by the introduction among them, with his wife, of one of their more than ordinarily respectable countrymen, who might act as a kind of overseer over them, and preside over their religious exercises, for which a small building, should be set apart." [54]

Because Beaver and Dr. McLoughlin were bitter enemies, the manager of the Columbia District perhaps would not have adopted this suggestion had he known its origin. [55] Yet in some manner still not entirely clear the idea was transmitted to McLoughlin--or perhaps he thought of it himself. At any rate, on July 1, 1844, he wrote to the Company's agents in Honolulu, requesting them "to search out a trusty educated Hawaiian of good character to read the scriptures and assemble his people for public worship." The man was to be sent to Fort Vancouver to serve as a teacher religious instructor, and interpreter, at a salary of £10 a year.

The person selected to fill this position was William R. Kaulehelehe, well known in Fort

Vancouver history as "William's" or "Kanaka William." He was not an ordained minister--no Hawaiians had been ordained by that date though some had already been formally licensed to preach by the Protestant missionaries--but he was a man of good reputation. And, it should be noted, McLoughlin did not get him for £10 per annum--well below the prevailing scale for Hawaiian laborers--but placed him on the rolls as "teacher" at an annual salary of £40, a rate about equalling that for the top European craftsmen on the Columbia. [57]

Evidently William reached the depot before the end of 1844, be cause on January 9, 1845, James Douglas informed the Honolulu agents that the native teacher was satisfied with his situation and, except for his ignorance of English, was well qualified and seemed to exercise a "salutory influence" on the minds of his countrymen. [58] As shown by the name of the building on Vavasour' s map, the schoolhouse had been assigned to William's use by the fall of 1845.

Perhaps the Hawaiian teacher lived in the schoolhouse during the first several years after his arrival. At least such is a conclusion that possibly can be drawn from the words of a visitor of 1848. "The Catholic minister has a part of Mr. Ogden's house," wrote the Reverend George H. Atkinson. "The Kanaka or Hawaiian missionary has one in the rear." [59] If such was the case, however, he must have soon moved from it to a dwelling of his own in the nearby village, because when United States Army officers proposed to clear away company improvements west of the fort early in 1860, Clerk John M. Work protested that such action would force Kanaka William, "one of the Company's oldest and most faithful servants," out of the house he had occupied for more than ten years. [60] In view of the unsatisfactory evidence, it would seem best to leave undecided the question of where William Kaulehelehe lived during Outfit 1845.

If the use of the schoolhouse by the Hawaiians was confined to the holding of religious instruction on Sundays, the general school for the fort's children--if, indeed, it had not been discontinued--could have been conducted in the building during the remaining days of the week. In any case, it would seem that whether the school was discontinued or not, the physical layout and furnishings were not much disturbed by William's activities.

The utilization of the old schoolhouse as a Hawaiian church was relatively brief. Rufus Ingalls, U. S. Army quartermaster who arrived at Fort Vancouver during 1849, recalled that at about that time Kanaka William "preached in his own house, the house assigned to him belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company and about 75 yards east of the quartermaster's office [which was almost exactly 1/4 mile west of the fort]." Joseph Petrain, the depot baker, later testified that William preached inside the fort for two or three years. [62]

About 1851 or 1852 the old Owyhee Church building seems to have been vacated, being so dilapidated as to be considered unsafe. As has been seen, it was finally pulled down between 1855 and 1858.

William R. Kaulehelehe continued to be carried on the Company's rolls as a teacher at Fort Vancouver through Outfit 1859.63 After his home in the village was burned by the military authorities on March 20, 1860, William evidently moved into a house near the new Catholic Church. But no record of his fate after the Company abandoned Fort Vancouver on June 14, 1860, has yet been found. [64]

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Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

CHAPTER XI:
PRIESTS' HOUSE

History and location

The building known by 1845 as the "Priests' House" was situated immediately south of the Owyhee Church in the northeastern quadrant of the fort enclosure as it existed after the enlargement of about 1836. In this position it lay about forty feet directly west of the Big House and about forty-eight feet east of the New Office. These three structures--the New Office, the Priests' House, and the Big House--were all approximately on the same line, and together they formed the north boundary of the eastern segment of the fort courtyard.

The footings of the Priests' House were uncovered during archeological excavations in 1948. It was then determined that the north end of the structure lay about fifty-three feet south of the northernmost line of the north stockade wall. [1] The location of the Priests' House is now designated Building No. 16 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

The historical record appears to be silent concerning the origin of this structure. Because it was in the eastern half of the fort, which was not enclosed until about 1836, it undoubtedly was not erected prior to that date. But construction must have followed soon thereafter. The Emmons ground plan of mid-1841 identifies the later Priests' House as the "Chaplains' or Governors temporary residence" (Plate III, vol. I). As far as is known the only time the "Governor," as McLaughlin was frequently termed, could have occupied the Priests' House was during the winter of 1837-38, when the Big House was being reconstructed on its new site. This new "Commander's residence," as Emmons termed it, was completed and occupied by March 19, 1838.

It seems probable, then, that the Priests' House was erected not very long before the winter of 1837-38. Its first use, seemingly, was as a temporary residence for Chief Factor John McLoughlin and his family. Perhaps other officers were housed there also, because quarters seem to have been at a premium during this period of rather extensive building activity.

The next occupants of the "Governors temporary residence" are not known for certain. They may have been the unhappy Reverend Herbert Beaver and his snobbish wife, Jane. Ever since their arrival at Fort Vancouver during September 1836 this Anglican chaplain and his consort had complained bitterly about their lodgings. Almost surely, however, the small house they shared during most of their stay with one or more of the Company's gentlemen was not the later Priests' House. The description of the parsonage does not match that of the latter structure. [2] Furthermore, as has been discussed, the Priests' House seems to have been occupied by others.

But after the new Big House had been completed and after Chief Factor McLoughlin had left the depot in March 1838 to go on furlough, there is a slight possibility that James Douglas

may have attempted to alleviate the Beavers' discomfort by moving them into the at least partially vacated "Governors temporary residence." If such was the case, the chaplain and his wife did not achieve their wish of having a house to themselves, because on October 8, 1838, by which time the Beavers had decided to return to England on the vessel sailing early in November, Douglas stated that if the clergyman had been patient six weeks longer he would have been able to "withdraw Mr. McLeod, the only person who has this summer occasionally occupied one end of Mr. Beavers dwelling, and the whole house would then have been in his possession." [3] The general tone of Douglas's remarks, however, would tend to indicate that until the Beavers left Fort Vancouver they continued to inhabit the same parsonage that had caused them so much despair in the past.

The only reason for believing that the Beavers may have inhabited the later Priests' House before their departure is a highly uncertain one. On November 24, 1838, Fathers Francois Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, the first Catholic priests to be stationed permanently in the Oregon Country, arrived at Fort Vancouver after a harrowing overland journey from Canada. As Father Blanchet later recorded, the priests were warmly welcomed by James Douglas and "were lodged in the room which Mr. Beaver and lady had left three weeks before far England." [4] These words by no means can be considered as evidence that the Beavers had lived in the later Priests' House, because it is not known which building was assigned to Fathers Blanchet and Demers upon their arrival. Yet the possibility that the name "Priests' House" originated with this first assignment of quarters cannot be entirely overlooked. [5]

As a matter of fact, it is not known when the Roman Catholic priests were assigned the former "Governors temporary residence" as their lodgings when at the fort. It may not have been until after Dr. McLoughlin returned from Europe in the fall of 1839. The use of the name "Chaplains' or Governors temporary residence" for the structure by Emmons in 1841 may or may not indicate that the Catholic clergymen were then residing there when at Vancouver. The only certainty seems to be that by August 22, 1845, the name "Priests house" was in common usage about the post, a fact demonstrating that the Catholic fathers had been domiciled in the building for some time. [6]

The story of the origins of the Catholic missions in the Oregon Country and of the work conducted by Fathers Blanchet and Demers and by the reinforcements that arrived periodically during the next decade is much too complicated a subject to be covered in this study. Suffice it to state that the first priests were transported across the mountains by the Company with the understanding that their principal mission was to be at Cowlitz Farm north of the Columbia and that they would not establish themselves south of the river in the Willamette Valley.

Although the Catholic missionaries were given a church and a residence within the pickets at Fort Vancouver, though they ministered to the Catholic servants of the Company, and although they were some times referred to as "chaplains," they were not employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. They were not regularly appointed chaplains in the sense that the Reverend Mr. Beaver had been. They were fed and housed by the Company while at the firm's posts, but their chief financial support came from the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in Canada and in Europe and from contributions from abroad and from the settlers of Oregon. At the recommendation of Governor Simpson, the Council for the Northern Department in 1842 voted to make an allowance of L100 to the "Catholic Mission" on the Columbia, and this appropriation was made annually for a number of years there after. But the priests were not required to render any specific service in return, and they were free to preach to the Indians or to the Company's employees as they saw f it. [7]

Almost immediately after their arrival at Fort Vancouver Fathers Blanchet and Demers began

to minister to the Catholic employees at the depot and to their families. But before the end of December Blanchet left to begin a mission in the Willamette Valley, confident that Dr. McLoughlin would succeed in getting the Company's restrictions in that respect eased. During the spring of 1839 he went off again to open the mission at the Cowlitz. While there he learned that a Protestant missionary was on his way to Fort Nisqually to work among the Indians, so he quickly dispatched a native to call Father Demers from Vancouver in order to "plant the true seed in the hearts of the Indians" at Nisqually. [8]

Thus was established a pattern of operations that was followed by priests in subsequent years--periodic residences at Fort Vancouver interrupted by long journeys to carry their religious message to Company employees at the distant outposts and to the Indians. During the next several years there were long intervals, particularly during the summers, when there were no priests at the depot. [9]

For a year Fathers Blanchet and Demers considered Fort Vancouver their "chief residence," because there were no structures suitable for permanent occupancy at Cowlitz. [10] But on October 9, 1839, James Douglas informed the priests that the Company no longer objected to the establishment of a Catholic mission on the Willamette. The very next day the two men left for their "winter quarters," Demers to the Cowlitz and Blanchet to the Willamette). [11] Soon thereafter Father Blanchet came to regard the Catholic Mission at St. Paul in the Willamette Valley as his "ordinary residence," and because he was the leader of the delegation, that place was regarded as headquarters for the priests possibly until 1846 when a church was opened at Oregon City or possibly until 1847 when Blanchet, by then an archbishop, fixed upon the latter structure as his procathedral. [12]

Meanwhile, the Company's French-Canadian servants at Fort Vancouver and their families had been complaining that the long absences of the priests from the depot resulted in their "not being served at all." [13] The arrival of two young secular priests, Antoine Langlois and Jean Baptiste Bolduc, by sea from Canada during September 1842 enabled Father Blanchet to remedy this situation somewhat. Thereafter a missionary was frequently in residence at Fort Vancouver, though still not continuously.

Probably the missionaries were living in the Priests' House by that date. Ordinarily they took their meals in their own residence, the food being brought from the Big House kitchen. Only occasionally did they eat with the Company's gentlemen in the mess hall. They were attended by a servant assigned especially to serve them. [14]

During the absences of the priests, and evidently sometimes while they were present, visitors and possibly even employees were housed in their residence. It is known, for instance, that during the summer of 1841 visiting Lt. George Foster Emmons of the United States Exploring Expedition was transferred by Dr. McLoughlin from the Bachelors' Quarters to the "Chaplains' or Governors temporary residence" in order to make him more comfortable. [15] Perhaps, as has been discussed in the chapter on the Bachelors' Quarters, the structure with the French windows and the bunks in which Lt. Charles Wilkes was lodged earlier during that same year was the Priests' House. [16] It is also possible that the private sitting room and the two bedrooms in which the British officers Warre and Vavasour spent the winter of 1845-46 were in this same structure. [17] And it may well be imagined that the Roman Catholic clergymen, including the well-known Father Peter DeSmet, S. J., who paused occasionally at Fort Vancouver as they went about their labors in the Pacific Northwest, found welcome shelter in the Priests' House.

On May 31, 1846, a new, Company-built Roman Catholic church situated outside the pickets of Fort Vancouver was dedicated. During that same year a small vestry for the priest was completed near this place of worship, but for one reason or another the clergymen occupied it

only rarely, if at all, down to about 1850 or 1851.

Information concerning the living quarters of the Catholic missionaries between 1846 and about 1851 is vague and contradictory. Seemingly the Priests' House was still employed for this purpose, particularly through 1848, but less frequently than before. The missionaries sometimes lived in a small house they had purchased in the nearby village; occasionally they accepted hospitality in the homes of their parishioners, or, often, they occupied rooms in the Big House. In June 1848 the Protestant minister, the Reverend George H. Atkinson, found that the Catholic priest had "a part of Mr. Ogden's House," while Kanaka William had "one in the rear." [18] Unfortunately, it is not known where Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden was living at that time. Either he was sharing the Big House with Chief Factor Douglas or, as seems possible from Atkinson's remark that William lived "in the rear," he was occupying the Priests' House. [19] According to at least one witness, the Catholic priests lived largely outside the stockade after 1848 and only visited in the fort for a few days at a time when invited to do so by the Company's officers. [20]

By 1849 the Priests' House was described by an army officer as "Quarters for sub-agents," indicating that it was being used at least mainly as a residence for subordinate officers of the Company. [21] James Allan Grahame, a clerk who was appointed a chief trader in 1854, was living in the building in January 1854 and probably continued to occupy that structure even after he was placed in charge of the post during 1858. The day after the Company abandoned Fort Vancouver on June 14, 1860, a board of army officers described the former Priests' House as a "Dwelling-house, formerly occupied by Mr. Graham, in a ruinous condition." [22] The subsequent fate of the structure is unknown, but within five years it had disappeared with the rest of the fort buildings. [23]

Priests in residence, Outfit 1845. In 1855 Archbishop Blanchet testified that Father Jean Nobili, S. J., was placed in charge of the mission at Fort Vancouver on September 19, 1844, and continued in charge until June 1845. He was then replaced by Father Peter DeVos, S. J., who remained in charge until May 1847. [24] Independent sources confirm this statement, although there were a few short gaps in Father DeVos's residence, and other priests occasionally officiated in the Catholic chapel within the stockade.

When Father Pierre Jean DeSmet returned to Fort Vancouver on May 17, 1845, after a visit to the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles, he found Father Nobili there and reported that the priest had been at the mission for eight months studying the native languages as well as ministering to both the Company's employees and the Indians. [25] Jean Nobili was an Italian and a member of the Society of Jesus. He had been recruited for Oregon by Father DeSmet during the latter's trip to Europe in 1843 and had arrived at Vancouver in the brig Infatigable on August 6, 1844. [26]

Father Nobili remained at Fort Vancouver until about June 25, 1845, because he officiated at a baptism on that date. [27] Prior to his departure he conducted the "first Laymen's Retreat given in the Pacific Northwest" for about fifty Canadians and Catholic Indians belonging to the interior brigade. [28]

Father Peter DeVos, S. J., was a Belgian whom DeSmet had found in the midwest and persuaded to join the mission beyond the Rockies. [29] Church records show that he reached Fort Vancouver from the Willamette Valley as early as June 13 to relieve Father Nobili and that, except for a short trip to Fort George and at least two others to the Willamette Valley, he remained at the depot quite steadily through the end of Outfit 1845 on May 31, 1846, after which date his activities are not of immediate interest for the purposes of this study. [30]

During the outfit other priests occasionally officiated in the Catholic chapel at Fort

Vancouver. Father Antoine Langlois, a secular priest from Canada who, as has been seen, reached Oregon by sea in 1842, arrived at the depot from Cowlitz on September 6, 1845. The next day he officiated in the church and on September 14 and 15 he per formed two baptisms and a marriage. [31] On May 5, 1846, Father Michael Accolti, S. J., baptized an infant girl, the daughter of Charles Baron, the depot carpenter. Two days later he left for Oregon City. [32] Several other priests were "comers and goers" during the year, but only Fathers Nobili and DeVos can be considered residents.

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Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

CHAPTER XII:
WHEAT STORE

History and location

One of the principal reasons for moving the Columbia District depot inland from Fort George to the site of the new Fort Vancouver during the winter of 1824-25 was to be in a location suitable for raising Indian corn and grain. Governor George Simpson was determined to reduce operating expenses west of the Rockies by, among other measures, eliminating practically all importation of food from Europe and greatly increasing the amount of grain, vegetables, and fruit grown in the country. In fact, he even envisioned producing enough "Beef Pork Fish Corn Butter &c &c" to develop an export trade in those items. "It has been said that Farming is no branch of the Fur Trade," he noted in his journal, "but I consider every pursuit tending to leighten [sic] the Expence of the Trade is a branch thereof." [1]

Coincident with the first blows of the axe that marked the start of construction at Fort Vancouver, sod was broken on the upper prairie adjoining the building site, and a field was laid out for potatoes and other vegetables. But evidently it was not until early in 1826 that McLoughlin planted two bushels of spring wheat, an act generally held to mark the beginning of wheat-growing in the present State of Washington. At the same time he planted two bushels of barley, one bushel of oats, some Indian corn, and a quart of timothy. These grains yielded well. After the harvest McLoughlin could tell the London directors that it would no longer be necessary to import Indian corn into the Columbia District, and he predicted that after 1828 the wheat grown at Fort Vancouver would supply all the flour needed in the Company's establishments west of the Rockies.

By saving and replanting the greater part of the grain yields, McLoughlin was able to make his forecast come true. The wheat crop of 1828 amounted to between 800 and 1,000 bushels, the kernels "full and plump, and making good flour." In November of that year, Governor Simpson was able to boast that "we have now a two years stock of Grain on hand, so that we shall not require either Flour or Grain from England in future." [2]

During the next decade the farm at Fort Vancouver was greatly expanded. By April 1836 McLoughlin could predict that the crop that year would include 4,000 bushels of wheat, 1,200 bushels of barley, and 1,000 bushels of oats despite a severe drought. [3] By that time, also, the production of grains at other posts, such as Nisqually and Colvile, had reduced the percentage of Vancouver's yield required for internal use, and it became possible to think of surpluses for reserve stocks and exports.

Another factor contributed to the supply of grain accumulating at Vancouver. About 1829 Chief Factor McLoughlin agreed to assist a few freemen and furloughed Company servants who wished to establish farms in the Willamette Valley, and soon his helping hand, in the form of seed, implements, and credit, was also extended to the American settlers who began

drifting into the region during the next decade. This largesse virtually obligated the Hudson's Bay Company to purchase the wheat raised by these farmers, because only through the sale of their crops could they liquidate their debts, and there was no other market in Oregon.

By 1835 the amount of wheat raised by the Willamette settlers was reaching substantial proportions. Early in the next year McLoughlin told a friend that these farmers had "amongst them" about 3,000 bushels of wheat. [4] During 1836 the settlers produced 1,000 bushels beyond the amount needed for their own sustenance, and all of this surplus was bought by the Company. [5] The next year the Willamette farms were reported to be capable of exporting 5,500 bushels. [6]

In 1838 Chief Factor James Douglas, in charge at Fort Vancouver during McLoughlin's absence in Europe, told the London directors, "I am now buying up the crop of this season, to clear the market and leave nothing in store for casual visitors, a policy that ought not to be neglected." [7] In other words, the Company was buying up the surplus crops as one additional means of making Oregon unattractive and unprofitable for fur trade rivals.

As early as 1836 McLoughlin had anticipated that the resale of Willamette Valley wheat in foreign markets could be made a profitable branch of the Company's business. The grain could be bought at Fort Vancouver for fifty or sixty cents a bushel; in 1837 it was reported that the Russians at Sitka were paying $1.50 a bushel for California wheat. [8] There also appeared to be a promising market in the Hawaiian Islands where by 1838 the Company was already shipping farm produce. [9]

All of these factors combined to make the storage of grain at the depot a matter of major consideration. In March 1838 James Douglas informed Governor Simpson: "The prosperity of the general business, is so intimately connected with the agricultural operations, and depends, so much upon the possession of an ample and regular supply of Provisions, that it long since became a desederatum with us to secure independently of the rising crop, a full years provisions in advance, and it is now attained, as our barns contain a sufficient quantity of the more useful kinds of grains to meet the home and outward demand, at a reasonable calculation, for the next eighteen months." [10]

Evidently the storage conditions at that time, however, were something less than ideal. At least the Company's chaplain, the Reverend Mr. Herbert Beaver, wondered during the same month what advantage there was to "having so many thousand bushels in store (unthrashed)" when the grain, "after lying for several years in stack, not to reckon the quantity destroyed by vermin, becomes from dirt almost unfit for use." He recommended that the grain be thrashed and "kept in granaries." [11]

Chief Factor Douglas was well aware of these deficiencies, but there was not much he could do about them at the moment. It will be recalled from previous chapters that late 1837 and all of 1838 was a period of much construction at the depot, with such high priority buildings as the new Big House and the Bachelors' Quarters commanding the services of the available carpenters.

Seemingly it was not until very late in 1838 or very early in 1839 that Douglas was able to start construction of a proper granary within the pickets. The site selected was near the north stockade wall in the old, or western, half of the fort. Very probably this location had not been available until shortly before March 1838 when the old "great house" was demolished. [12]

On March 5, 1839, Douglas informed Governor Simpson: "We have also put up the shell of a two story building 50 x 40 feet, intended as a store house for grain." [13] Progress seems not to have been continuous, however, because not until October could Douglas announce that "we have since harvest completed the new Granary, which may contain about 18 thousand

Bushels of Grain." [14]

This Wheat Store, as the building was also known, was not finished any too soon, for the demands upon Fort Vancouver's wheat supplies had already been much increased. On February 6, 1839, the Company leased the coastal strip of southeastern Alaska from the Russian American Company. As part of the payment for this important concession, it agreed to furnish the Russian settlements in Alaska with wheat, barley, peas, butter, beef, ham, and other supplies.

The amounts of wheat involved were substantial. In 1843, for instance, the Company expected to require 15,300 bushels for its own use in the Columbia District and for export to Alaska, and it intended to sell an additional 10,000 bushels in the Hawaiian Islands. To meet this total demand of 25,300 bushels it had in storage 7,300 bushels, and the production of its own farms would bring in 8,000 more. The balance of 10,000 bushels was to be obtained from the Willamette settlers. [15] Clearly the Granary was an important cog in what could be described as (considering the time and place) a large-scale agricultural and exporting enterprise.

Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition was taken through the Granary by James Douglas in 1841. Unfortunately he had little to say about it other than that it contained wheat, flour, barley, and buckwheat. Oats, he reported, did not thrive at Fort Vancouver. [16]

About the time of Wilkes's visit, the following amounts of wheat, listed under the heading "Purchased from Settlers," were stored at the Fort Vancouver depot in addition to the grain produced on the Company's farms:

4529	Bushels Wheat
349-1/2	Bushels Wheat from Catholic Mission
2500	Bushels Wheat P. S. Co. [Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, grown at Cowlitz Farm] [17]

Around June 1, 1845, the following items of "country produce," which may have been stored in the Granary, were on hand at the Fort Vancouver Depot: 460 barrels of fine flour, 121-100/112 hundredweight of fine flour, and 24,300 bushels of wheat. [18] A year later, in the spring of 1846, there were 18,429 bushels of wheat in store at Fort Vancouver, but counting the grain stored at the post's subestablishments, such as the Willamette Falls and Champoeg stations, the Company had 26,969 bushels of wheat on hand in the Columbia District depot. [19]

It can be seen from these figures that by mid-1845 the wheat in storage exceeded the capacity of the Granary as estimated by James Douglas. This embarrassing situation evidently first developed during 1844. As late as November 20 of that year Dr. McLoughlin optimistically informed the Governor and Committee that the Willamette settlers "will sell us this year 20,000 bushels of Wheat at least, and as they are extending their farms, they will have a great deal more next year." [20] But the crop must have been better than expected, and something of a glut developed. Seemingly the Company, its granaries full, had to refuse to accept more wheat before the end of November 1844. [21

By the middle of 1845 James Douglas foresaw the end of the time when the Company could buy all the settlers' wheat. "What are the poor farmers to do then?" he asked his friend Dr. W. F. Tolmie. [22]

As a matter of fact, that time had already arrived, although Douglas could not yet have known it. The curtailment in purchases finally came not so much as the result of abundant supplies as from a change in Company policy. On June 16, 1845, Governor Simpson informed McLoughlin, Douglas, and Peter Skene Ogden, who together were to form a Board of Management to direct Columbia District affairs during Outfit 1845, of the Company's belief that the produce of its own farms, together with the yield from the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company and the grain received from settlers in payment of past debts, would suffice to meet the service's own needs and the Russian contract and still leave a reserve to provision passing ships of the Royal Navy. Beyond that, said Simpson, a trade in wheat is not "an object deserving our attention." In other words, purchases from settlers were to be ended. [23]

McLoughlin replied to the London directors on November 20, 1845, that the district would "unavoidably" have 6,000 barrels of flour to send to market in the Hawaiian Islands during the next year, but that purchases of wheat had already been curtailed. "At present," he stated, "we purchase Wheat . . . only from a few good customers whom out of policy we cannot cast off." [24]

Lieutenant Neil M. Howison of the United States Navy noted by personal observation in 1846 that the granaries of Oregon were "surcharged with wheat" and that, despite an "abundant" harvest at Fort Vancouver, the managers of the Columbia District by November of that year had purchased about 12,000 bushels from settlers, "chiefly in payment of debts." [25] But fortunately for both the Company and the settlers, the hostilities between Americans and Mexicans in California somewhat increased the market for grain, and the arrival of the large emigration of 1847 quickly produced a scarcity of wheat. Close on the heels of these incidents came the California gold rush, which provided a ready market for all Oregon produce for several years. [26]

But the same bonanza lured away most of the depot servants, and by 1849 squatters had invaded the Company's fields. Thus after that date production on the Fort Vancouver farms dwindled rapidly. Statistics for the years following 1846 have not been analyzed because they lie outside the scope of this study, but it is safe to say that, allowing for fluctuations, the bins in the Fort Vancouver Granary became emptier and emptier as the Company's business on the lower Columbia gradually faded away during the 1850s.

But before those sad days arrived, the Wheat Store seemingly had a brief fling of official glory. Early in 1846 the House of Representatives of the Provisional Government of Oregon Territory passed an act providing for the collection of revenues. Among other and more usual forms of legal tender acceptable for the payment of taxes was "good merchantable wheat." Residents of Vancouver County--the region north of the Columbia River--who paid their taxes in wheat were required to deliver it to the Hudson's Bay Company warehouses at Cowlitz or Fort Vancouver. Very probably the building to which the wheat was to be brought at Vancouver was the Granary, although there seems to be no precise evidence upon this point. [27]

It might also be mentioned that the Oregon Provisional Government in 1845 made wheat orders on solvent merchants and treasury notes legal tender along with gold and silver for the payments of debts. Orders on merchants were merely certificates for stipulated amounts, which represented the value of wheat deposited in designated ware houses belonging to merchants. The orders issued by the Hudson's Bay Company were considered the most reliable and usually were redeemed at par. This use of wheat certificates as legal tender was ended on March 4, 1848, due to an increased supply of cash in Oregon, but for more than two years the Fort Vancouver Wheat Store served an important role in easing a severe economic crisis. [28]

A longtime resident of Fort Vancouver testified that in 1849 the Granary was still in fairly sound condition. The roof and the bins inside were "good," he said, but the exterior of the building had "opened in places by the settling of the foundation." [29] An arrival at the post in 1853 found the Wheat Store to be "large and well fitted up" and still two stories high. [30]

Beginning on April 15, 1856, the United States Army rented, among other structures, a "Granary & Sugar Store" from the Company at Fort Vancouver. [31] There is no certainty that this building was the Wheat Store within the pickets, but such probably was the case. How long this use continued is unknown.

As is attested by the 1860 photograph, the Granary was in reasonably good condition at that time, though evidences of sagging are plain (see Plate LXIII). The board of army officers that inspected the fort buildings on June 15 of that year, however, pronounced the structure "entirely unsuitable for public service." [32] Its subsequent fate is unknown, but it surely was either torn down or burned within several years after the post was turned over to the military authorities. [33]

The exact site of the Granary was determined in 1950 and 1952 when archeological excavations uncovered many of the footings. The building stood about twenty feet south of the northernmost palisade wall and about eighty-seven feet west of the New Office. Its location is today identified as Building No. 9 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

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Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

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Historic Structures Report

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CHAPTER XIII:
ROOT HOUSE

History and location

No clear statement that a root house existed within the pickets of Fort Vancouver prior to 1853 has yet been found. Testifying under oath in 1865, Dr. H. A. Tuzo described the post buildings as they stood at the time of his arrival there in 1853. Among the other structures on the north side of the enclosure, he said, was "an excellent root house." [1]

Evidence of the continued existence of the root house after 1853 and until the spring of 1860 is conclusive. In 1866 Dugald Mactavish, who had served the Company for many years at Fort Vancouver as a clerk and commissioned officer, listed the buildings that he remembered standing within the stockade in 1858. Among them was a "Large Root House." [2]

During the spring of 1860 members of the British Boundary Commission party took several photographs of Fort Vancouver. One of these (Plate XXVIII, vol. I) shows a low structure, with a gabled roof rising from the ground level, situated in the northwest angle of the stockade, north of the sale shop building and extending almost to the north palisade line. This structure from its form clearly was the root house, though no map has yet been found that labels it as such.

The Root House is not listed in the inventory of Company buildings prepared by a board of army officers on June 15, 1860, the day after Chief Trader James A. Grahame turned the fort over to the military authorities, nor is it shown on the ground plan sketched by the same board (Plate XXX, vol. I). [3] Because this list included even "hovels," it is possible that the Company's officers ordered the building destroyed during the last few weeks of the firm's occupancy so that the cellar could be used as a dumping place for trash. Archeological findings tend to support such a hypothesis. [4] On the other hand, the board of officers simply may have considered the root house so far decayed as to be unworthy of notice.

Archeological excavations conducted in 1952 confirmed the location and structure of the root house as shown in the 1860 photograph. In the words of the supervising archeologist, Mr. Louis R. Caywood, the construction of the building, as revealed by the remains, left "no doubt" as to its function as a storage pit for root vegetables. [5]

There seems to be no serious difficulty, therefore, in identifying the building that the archeologists found in the northwest stockade angle and termed No. 26 on the "Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations" (Plate I, vol. I) as the Root House and in being reasonably certain of its existence during the period 1853 to 1860. The trouble comes when one attempts to establish the existence of this structure prior to 1853.

A glance at the Emmons ground plan of 1841 (Plate III, vol. I) reveals that a "General Store House" (No. 17) stood in the same general vicinity as the later Root House. A closer

examination quickly reveals that this earlier warehouse probably was not the Root House of the 1850s. Not only were the shapes and locations somewhat different, but the 1841 building abutted the west stockade wall, which, as has been seen, was probably at that time at line AD on the "Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations" (Plate I, vol. I). The Root House, archeologists determined in 1952, did not abut wall AD but straddled it. "The construction of the root house," wrote Mr. Caywood in reporting these findings, "apparently obliterated all traces of a former stockade wall [AD] [under the new Structure]." [6]

It is plain, then, that the Root House was constructed after the west stockade wall at AD was moved westward at least to position HG sometime between 1841 and January-February 1845. The construction could also have occurred, of course, subsequent to the second moving of the west wall, in January-February 1845, to position IJ.

What may be a clue as to the construction date of the Root House seems to be the "Line of Fire" map of September 1844 (Plate V, vol. I). It shows a building in the northwest corner of the fort that in size, shape, and location seems almost identical with the Root House as outlined by the archeological remains. However, it is shown abutting a west stockade wall, which apparently the Root House never did. Therefore, the question is, was the building shown on the "Line of Fire" map the warehouse (No. 17) on the Emmons plan of 1841 abutting wall AD, or was it a new structure improperly shown as abutting wall HG instead of merely very near to HG as would have been the case if it were the Root House?

With the evidence at hand, it appears impossible to answer this question. As has already been developed, it seems to the writer that the west stockade in September 1844 probably was in the position HG, but it would be foolhardy to make a positive assertion to this effect.

This uncertainty is heightened by the failure of succeeding ground plans to support a case for the continued existence of the structure shown in the northwest corner on the "Line of Fire" map. The detailed Vavasour plan of 1845 does not show any structure whatsoever in the stockade angle where the Root House is known to have stood later (see Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I). The Covington map of 1846 places a small structure near the southeast corner of the bastion, but it seems to be square in outline and bears no resemblance to the shape of either the building on the "Line of Fire" map or the Root House as revealed by archeological evidence (see Plate XIII, vol. I).

However, this lack of delineation on maps cannot be taken as absolute proof that the Root House was not in existence in 1845 and 1846. Both of these ground plans either omitted or incorrectly represented several minor structures. [7] And maps drawn after 1853, when the Root House almost surely was in existence, also do not show a structure that can be clearly identified as the Root House. The carefully executed Bonneville survey of 1854 (Plate XIX, vol. I) pictures no building at all on the Root House site. A map drawn by Brvt. Capt. T. R. McConnell in 1854 from the Bonneville survey shows a very small structure in the northwest corner of the fort. [8] And even the very detailed survey prepared under the direction of Capt. George Thom in 1859 depicts a very small building directly north of the trade shop that in no way resembles the large Root House (see Plate XXIV, vol. I).

But perhaps the most telling evidence in favor of a hypothesis that the Root House was not constructed until after 1846 is found in the Company's 1846-47 inventory of its buildings at Fort Vancouver. Three "Root Houses 60 x 20" are listed in that census, but all are carried under the heading "Out Buildings." Seemingly, then, there were no root houses inside the fort when that inventory was taken. [9]

Yet the possibility remains that the structure shown in the north west stockade angle on the "Line of Fire" map of September 1844 was indeed the Root House. In that case the west fort

wall shown on that map would have been line HG, and the Root House would have been erected across the line of the older wall AD when that wall was demolished between 1841 and 1844. But to assign a date as early as 1844--indeed any date before 1853--to the Root House must be on a highly tentative and speculative basis only. Proof is lacking.

The location of the Root House is now designated as Building No. 26 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

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http://www.nps.gov/fova/hsr/hsr2-13.htm
Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

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CHAPTER XIV:
BEEF STORE

History and location

Very soon after reaching Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia River on his first inspection trip west of the Rocky Mountains, Governor George Simpson determined to make the Columbia District independent of imported foodstuffs by establishing farms and raising not only grains, vegetables, and fruits, but also cattle, sheep, and hogs. As early as November or December 1824., he could foresee the time when beef, pork, and butter would be among the products in sufficient supply to be exported to Alaska, Hawaii, and other Pacific lands. [1]

The site selected at about that same time for the new Fort Vancouver struck the Governor as being almost ideal for livestock raising. "A Farm to any extent may be made there," he noted in his journal before March of the next year; "the pasture is good and innumerable herds of Swine can fatten so as to be fit for the Knife merely on nutricious [sic] Roots that are found here in any quantity." [2]

The herds at the new depot were started. with livestock moved from Fort George when the latter post was abandoned in the spring of 1825. According to Governor Simpson, these animals consisted of thirty-one head of cattle and seventeen hogs, the heritage of the small herds built up by the Astorians and Nor'Westers, chiefly through imports from California and the Hawaiian Islands. [3] These numbers may not have been entirely accurate, however, because Dr. McLoughlin in later years gave varying figures. In 1837, for instance, he wrote that when he took charge of Fort Vancouver in 1825 there were three bulls, twenty-three cows, five heifers, and nine steers. [4]

Despite occasional flooding of the meadows along the river and despite poisonous roots that for several years decimated the hogs, Fort Vancouver quite fulfilled Governor Simpson's expectations as an excellent location for livestock raising. By the time of his next visit to the Columbia during the winter of 1828-29 he found that there were 153 head of cattle, "independent of calves," about 200 hogs, and 50 goats. In addition, 6,000 pounds of salt pork had been produced for local consumption. [5] But Simpson declared he would not be satisfied until the cattle numbered 600 head and until "our Piggery enables us to cure 10,000 lb of Pork pr Annum." [6]

Chief Factor McLoughlin diligently applied himself to meeting this goal. From the beginning he had determined that no cattle should be killed, except an occasional bull to supply rennet for cheese making. This policy received hearty support from Governor Simpson and was rigidly adhered to, despite occasional grumblings from the employees and the sometimes vehement protests of visiting seamen and ships' captains, until 1836, when forty head were slaughtered. During the spring of 1837 the cattle at Fort Vancouver consisted of 229 cows, 58

bulls, 178 oxen and steers, 61 heifers, and 159 calves. [7]

As early as 1830 McLoughlin had explored the idea of having cattle brought back from California by the trapping parties ranging into that Mexican province. [8] The more he thought about the prospects of the cattle industry in the Oregon Country the better he liked them, but he believed the project would prosper only if independent of the fur trade. Thus in 1832 he proposed that the officers in the Columbia District organize "The Oregon Beef & Tallow Company" to conduct cattle raising on a large scale.

The London directors vetoed this idea, but they accepted the premise, endorsed by Governor Simpson, that the livestock industry could be profitable. They believed the operation should be a Company directed branch of the fur trade, and toward the close of 1834 they sent McLoughlin dollars to the value of L300 to be used for the purchase of cattle but to be spent only as Governor Simpson should direct. They also instructed him to examine lands near Puget Sound and elsewhere north of the Columbia for places suitable for large-scale cattle raising, because they did not wish the new enterprise to be conducted in the Willamette Valley, which, it was feared, would fall to the Americans. Simpson heartily approved the idea, pointing out that cattle were cheap in California and directing McLoughlin to buy 5,000 head and have them driven to the Columbia as soon as an opportunity offered. [9]

But Chief Factor McLoughlin, denied the chance to make a personal profit, lost his enthusiasm for cattle raising. He did not follow the instructions to examine Whidby Island, though he did admit to having explored the area about Fort Nisqually and the head of Puget Sound, where he had found "pasturage for an immense number of cattle." [10] Both he and the directors were diverted from the project by a dispute with the Russian American Company over transit across the coastal strip of southeastern Alaska, but undoubtedly he could have pressed forward had he so desired. In 1837 he half-heartedly instructed Michel Laframboise, the leader of the Southern Party of trappers to California, to bring back 600 head of cattle should he not find a good place to hunt beaver. [11] Seemingly Laframboise found trapping more congenial than driving cows, because if there is a record of his returning with cattle the writer has not yet seen it. McLoughlin did, however, subscribe to a "substantial interest" on behalf of the Company in an expedition by a party of Willamette Valley settlers who went to California and brought back cattle during that same year. [12]

During the next year the captain of the Company's vessel Nereide, in San Francisco Bay to purchase sheep for delivery to Fort Nisqually, negotiated with General M. O. Vallejo with a view to buying cattle to be sent overland to Fort Vancouver. Apparently this action laid the foundation for the purchases that followed in later years. This move seemingly was made after direct orders, dated January 1837, were received from the Governor and Committee instructing McLoughlin to obtain a herd of from 500 to 1,000 young cattle from California "as early as possible" and to establish a new "grazing farm." [13]

While McLoughlin was away on furlough during the greater part of 1838 and 1839, Chief Trader James Douglas, in charge of Fort Vancouver during his absence, seems to have attacked the problem of the livestock with more vigor. Finding that the pastures around the depot were too limited in extent to support the numbers of cattle, sheep, and hogs on hand', he dispersed the cattle into three herds: one at the fort, one on the present Sauvie Island in the Columbia River, and one on the Tualatin Plains in the Willamette Valley. In addition, ninety-five head were sent to the Cowlitz River, where a farm was being started. He urged the London directors to send out blooded rams from England to improve the quality of the flocks. [14]

These preparations came none too soon. On February 6, 1839, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company signed the agree ment by which the former -firm leased

the mainland portion of the Alaska "panhandle." Under this arrangement the Hudson's Bay Company promised, among other things, to deliver annually to Sitka for ten years l5 tons of salted beef, 1-1/2 tons of ham, and 8 tons of butter, along with large quantities of grain and flour. [15]

This obligation evidently was the spur that led the Company to strengthen and reorganize the large-scale cattle raising venture. When legal advisers warned that the firm's charter might be jeopardized by major investments in commercial ventures outside the fur trade, the directors formed what was in effect, if not in law, a subsidiary corporation, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. It was organized in 1839, as Governor Simpson later wrote, "with the view of producing wheat, -wool, hides, and tallow for exportation." [16] He forgot to mention the beef and ham, but those items certainly must have been in the minds of the proprietors.

Chief Factor McLoughlin was in London while the new association was being formed. He was placed in charge of its affairs in the Columbia District and as compensation for these added duties was granted an annual salary of £500 in addition to his chief factor's share in the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company. This recognition smoothed McLoughlin's ruffled feelings, and apparently he returned to Fort Vancouver that fall somewhat more reconciled to the cattle trade.

During 1839 the London agents of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company instructed McLoughlin to establish two farms for the firm, ' one at Cowlitz and the other at Nisqually. As a result, the Hudson s Bay Company farm at Cowlitz was transferred to the new association, while Fort Nisqually became jointly owned by the two companies. Livestock operations were to be concentrated at the latter post, which became the chief station of the agricultural firm. Flocks and herds were likewise to be shifted from the Hudson's Bay Company farms, including that at Fort Vancouver, but McLoughlin was also "to import from California as early as possible, sheep and black cattle, the former to be conveyed by sea, and the latter by the Bona Ventura trapping expedition on their return in 1841, say about 1,000 young cows." [17]

McLoughlin was slow to obey the injunction to transfer Fort Vancouver's flocks and herds to Cowlitz and Nisqually. On March 20, 1840, he informed Governor Simpson that to have moved the calves and lambs during the spring would have been "injurious to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget's Sound Association," but he promised to get a drive under way as soon as the annual inventory was taken. [18] Evidently this promise was kept, because by September 1841 there were 1,200 cattle and 6,000 sheep at Nisqually. [19]

The number remaining at Fort Vancouver was still substantial, however. Sir George Simpson visited the depot during the late summer of that year and reported finding between 400 and 500 cattle and 1,500 sheep there. [20] Somewhat remarkably, Lieutenant Wilkes, who was visiting Fort Vancouver at the same time, found the stock on the "Vancouver farm" to number about 3,000 cattle, 2,500 sheep, and about 300 brood mares. [21] One can only assume that he did not differentiate the livestock belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company from a large band of cattle and sheep that was owned by the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company and that had lately arrived overland from California and was then on the south bank of the Columbia waiting to be driven to Nisqually. [22]

As these figures demonstrate, the plan to import livestock from California was successful. Because the topic lies somewhat outside the main theme of this report, only a few highlights of this operation will be mentioned here. Alexander Simpson purchased about 700 sheep and shipped them in the Company's barque Columbia from San Francisco Bay during the fall of 1840. [23] Very early the next year Chief Factor James Douglas visited California and bought

661 cows and 3,670 "choice Ewes" and escorted them into the Sacramento Valley to get them started on their long overland drive to Fort Vancouver. [24]

Governor Simpson was so pleased with the results that on March 1, 1842, he told McLoughlin that no more livestock were needed. "We had it at one time in contemplation to get some more cattle and sheep conveyed from California to the Columbia River," he wrote, "but I think that now we have a sufficient number of these animals, if they be properly attended to, and . . . no further step should be taken towards procuring any more sheep or cattle from California." [25]

McLoughlin did not entirely obey this injunction. For example, Clerk Francis Ermatinger returned from the 1841-42 trapping expedition to California with eighty-three cattle he had purchased on his own account. Because such private enterprise on the part of employees was not permitted, McLoughlin bought the livestock on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company. Captain Joseph Gale and a small group of Oregon settlers went to California by boat during the fall of 1842 and re turned to the Willamette Valley the next year with 1,250 cattle, 600 horses, and 3,000 sheep. J. W. Nesmith, who lived with Gale during the winter of 1843, apparently later indicated that 2,000 of the sheep may have been for the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. [27]

During 1843 Jacob P. Leese of Sonoma, California, arrived in Oregon with a herd of 400 to 500 cattle and a band of perhaps as many as 900 sheep. [28] McLoughlin, not wishing to see the Willamette settlers form a cattle company in opposition to the firm he represented, invested £500 of his own funds in purchasing a substantial number of the cows. The Governor and Committee disapproved this transaction, be cause they believed the Company already had enough cattle, but they reluctantly agreed to reimburse McLoughlin for any expenses involved. [29]

Due to such purchases and to natural increases the number of live stock required for domestic use and for export was soon reached. By 1845 there were 2,280 cattle and 5,872 sheep at Nisqually alone. [30] During the spring of 1844 the Fort Vancouver farm, including the establishment on Sauvie Island, possessed 718 horses; 14 mules; 1 donkey; 172 oxen; 65 bulls; 1,034 cows, steers, heifers, and calves; and 832 pigs. [31] If the later testimony of James Douglas was correct, there were 517 horses, 1,915 cattle, 800 pigs, and about 3,000 sheep at the post in 1846. [32]

While the problem of quantity was solved, the matter of quality continued to plague both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company as long as they remained in the beef producing business. The sheep, though about "as low in quality as they could well be" when imported from California, were gradually improved through crossing with blooded rams shipped from Europe. [33] The dairy herd was brought up in quality by breeding the California cattle with stock driven across the plains by American settlers or imported from England. [34]

With the beef cattle, however, little could be done. As the herds increased in size, the animals could no longer be confined on islands or in fenced fields but had to be allowed to roam under the care of employees who were not always attentive enough. Inevitably, many escaped and wandered at will. As early as 1839 James Douglas noted that the cattle were "becoming unapproachably wild." [35]

Deprived of the benefits of crossbreeding, the beef cattle re mained about as they had been when in California--thin, tough, wiry, long-horned brutes, wild as "the buffalo on the Saskatchewan." [36] When required for slaughter they had to be hunted down and shot like deer. [37]

Quite as difficult as building up the herds was the problem of producing fresh and preserved meat in sufficient quantity and of suitable quality to meet the needs of both the Company and the export trade. As late as 1839 Fort Vancouver was processing little more than enough meat to satisfy the requirements of domestic consumption and those of the Company's vessels. At least such a conclusion might be drawn from the fact that when Capt. Edward Belcher of the Royal Navy visited the depot during the summer of that year he was told by James Douglas that the Columbia District was "not in a condition to supply" bullocks and other provisions to such of Her Majesty's vessels as might enter the river. [38]

The terms of the Russian contract, which became known on the Columbia during the fall of 1839, proved embarrassing to McLoughlin. The next year he sent Alexander Simpson to Honolulu and to California in what was evidently a desperate search for enough casks to put up 600 hundredweight of beef. Simpson was also to salt the beef if procurable at either of those places, but because no casks could be obtained, the venture came to nothing. [39]

McLoughlin informed the Russians that he might not be able to meet the contract requirements for 1841, but the officials in Sitka were willing to wait until the next year. They indicated, however, that they expected the contract to be met with respect to meat in 1842 and succeeding years. [40] Evidently McLoughlin was able to comply with this demand. During Outfit 1844, for example, the Company shipped to Sitka 115 casks of salt beef, each weighing 215 pounds, from Fort Nisqually and 80-40/112 hundredweight of salt beef and 53-64/112 hundredweight of salt pork from Fort Vancouver. The beef in these shipments came to within 80 pounds of meeting the requirements of the contract, while the pork greatly exceeded the amount called for. [41] By the summer of 1845 McLoughlin believed he could provide 100 barrels of beef and 50 barrels of pork for export to Tahiti if a suitable price could be obtained. [42]

The quality of the meat sent to Sitka may not have been all that was desired, however, As early as 1842 complaints had reached the Governor and Committee in London concerning the "unsound state of the Salted Meat" provided at Fort Vancouver for use in the Company's vessels. From the samples they had seen, the directors told McLoughlin, the complaints were well founded. On December 21, 1842, they said they would try to send out from England "a person, qualified to make up preserved Meats for exportation," but evidently they were never able to find a man willing to bury himself in the far-off Columbia District for the offered "moderate wages" of about £75 a year. [43]

McLoughlin promised to give particular attention to the matter. [44] But perhaps he was not very successful in bringing up the quality, because in the fall of 1844 the Governor and Committee shipped out a patented "salting machine, for salting meat, fish, hides, &c." more effectively. Where the machine was set up has not yet been determined, but seemingly it was not a great success. [45]

It is obvious that by at least 1843 or 1844 there was need at the depot for a sizable storage area for the substantial quantities of salt meat prepared for domestic consumption, for the Company's shipping, and for export to the Russian colonies and elsewhere. This condition held true despite the facts that the larger part of the pre served meat supply seems to have been produced and processed at Nisqually and that by 1844 a substantial portion of the beef for Sitka was being shipped from Victoria. [46]

The first time a structure specifically named a "Beef Store" can be identified at Fort Vancouver is on the plan drawn by Lieutenant M. Vavasour during the fall of 1845. It was situated in the northwest corner of the fort enclosure, roughly eighty-five feet east of the west stockade wall and about thirty feet south of the north palisade (see Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I). It lay somewhat more than forty feet directly west of the Wheat Store.

43. Ibid., 6:299; What may have been an early recipe for salting beef at Fort Vancouver was jotted down by Clerk Edward Ermatinger in a notebook, evidently about 1828 or 1829. The formula was: "To Salt Beef Boil 8 pounds of Salt, 2 pounds of Sugar and 2 ounces of Salt petre, in six gallons of water, skim it; when cold pour it on the Beef." Ermatinger, "Old Memo. Book," n.p.

A glance at the "Line of Fire" map of September 1844 reveals that this same structure was standing at least a year before Vavasour's visit (see Plate V, vol. I). A large building, labeled No. 18, is shown on the Emmons plan of 1841 in the same general area of the courtyard (Plate III, Vol. I). Described by Emmons as a "General store House--provisions, Dry goods, Hardware, &c," its shape and dimensions seem to be similar to those of the later Beef Store. But the specific location seems quite different. The warehouse shown by Emmons is north of the well and the Granary. Vavasour's Beef Store is 'south of the well and west of the Granary.

In view of the inaccuracies of the Emmons drawing, already discussed several times in this report, it would not be safe to state positively that the Beef Store of 1845 was a new structure that re placed Emmons's warehouse. In fact, because of its early demise there is some reason for thinking that the 1845 Beef Store was then already an old building that had been utilized exclusively, or at least largely, for meat storage when the need arose. At the same time, however, it must be admitted that the important differences in location do indicate a new structure. For the time being, then, the question of when the Beef Store was erected must remain unanswered.

Whatever its origin, the Beef Store was destined to play a major role in Columbia District operations for only a short period. By March 1845 Chief Factor James Douglas was already talking about expanding the farm at Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island. "And then," he said, " we may kill our Beef and Pork there, more readily than in this River." [47] This move was to be a facet of the transfer of the main district depot from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria, which has been discussed earlier in this report.

Records thus far examined have not revealed to what extent this shift was actually made. Archibald McKinlay, who was clerk at the Oregon City post from early 1846 to 1849 and a frequent visitor to Fort Vancouver, testified years later that he believed the Company shipped no beef from the Columbia River depot after 1846 nor any longer slaughtered cattle there "by the wholesale." At Vancouver, he said, the Company thereafter killed only for its own use, and by 1849 the herds were so depleted that beef had to be bought from the settlers. [48]

As late as mid-summer, 1848, there were still large flocks of sheep, at least, at Fort Vancouver. [49] But by 1849 the general exodus of employees for the gold fields and the incursions of squatters who stole or wantonly shot the Company's stock made it impossible for the firm to maintain sizable herds, particularly of cattle. Some were driven to "positions of greater security"; others were permitted to run wild. [50] During October 1852 Chief Factor John Ballenden, then in charge of Fort Vancouver, decided to end all sheep breeding at that place and directed that the re maining f lock be driven overland to Fort Nisqually. [51]

The physical history of the Beef Store appears to reflect this picture of decline. One "Beef Store," seventy-five by thirty feet, was included in the 1846-47 inventory of Company property at Fort Vancouver. [52] What may be this structure appears on the Covington map of 1846 or some what later, though if so it is not shown in the correct location (see Plate XIII, vol. I). However, the Beef Store is clearly visible as the long, low, gable-roofed building to the right of the Granary in the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist (Plate XV, vol. I) and in the 1851 drawing by George Gibbs (Plate XVIII, vol. I).

But the building appears to have been pulled down within a year or two after 1851. It was not listed by Dr. H. A. Tuzo among the buildings he found within the stockade upon his arrival in 1853.53 It was not shown on the careful survey made under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Bonneville in 1854 (see Plate XIX, vol. I), nor can it be detected in the view of the post made by an unknown artist that same year (Plate XX, vol. I). In fact, no written or pictorial record of the Beef Store has been found later than 1851. It must be assumed that because the Company no longer had need for a beef store at Vancouver, the structure formerly used for that purpose was removed.

Archeological excavations in 1952 were unsuccessful in determining the exact location or outline of the Beef Store. Its site is now designated as Building No. 3 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

The Columbia District employee rolls for Outfit 1845 provide no clue as to which employees might have been assigned to the Beef Store.

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Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

CHAPTER XV:
HARNESS SHOP

History and location

The business of the Columbia District required the use of large quantities of saddlery, harness, and pack gear of all sorts The annual brigades to the Snake Country and California perhaps were the best-known consumers of such equipment, but the long horse trains that carried in the annual outfits at least part of the way to Nisqually, New Caledonia, and other posts and brought out the fur returns probably employed even more gear. The oxen that dragged logs for new construction and for the sawmills required harness, and the animals used for ploughing, harvesting, and hauling about the farms and depot created another heavy demand.

From the start of the Company's operations on the Pacific Slope much of the requirement was met by local manufacture, both at the depot and at the individual posts. But sizable quantities of harness were imported from Europe. In 1842 the Governor and Committee in London felt it necessary to call Chief Factor McLoughlin's attention to the disadvantages of the latter practice. "We cannot help noticing," they wrote, "the heavy outlay, incurred of late years in the purchase of Agricultural implements threshing machines, horse tackle &c &c, which it is desirable to reduce as much as possible: the wood work of Ploughs, we think ought to be prepared in the country, likewise horse collars, hames and harness." [1]

Obviously, there must have been a harness shop at Fort Vancouver practically from its beginning in 1825, but no indication of its exact location during the earlier years has yet been found. Perhaps it was situated outside the stockade as late as 1841, because the list of buildings inside the fort prepared by Lt. George Foster Emmons on July 25 of that year makes no mention of a harness shop or saddler's shop (see Plate III, vol. I).

The first evidence of the existence within the pickets of a structure devoted to the making of horse and draft animal equipment is found in the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845, which shows a "Harness Shop" located between the Big House Kitchen and the Bakery in the northeast corner of the stockade enclosure (Plate VI, vol. I). To be more precise, the Harness Shop was, according to Vavasour, about fifteen feet south of the north stockade wall, about twenty-five feet east of the Kitchen, and about thirty-five feet west of the "Bake House." The site of this 1845 Harness Shop is today identified as Building No. 19 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

It will be recalled from Chapter IV on the Bakery, in volume I of this study, that the site of the 1845 Harness Shop had been occupied in 1841 by a building of approximately the same size and shape, which Emmons identified as the "Bakery" (see Plate III, vol. I). Dating from about 1835-37, the structure functioned as a bakehouse until the late summer of 1844, when evidently the oven or ovens were demolished and the usable brick employed in the

construction of the ovens in the new bakery that stood some few yards to the southeast. [2]

Very probably when the ca. 1836-44 Bakery was vacated, the structure was transformed into a harness shop. The other possibility--that the old bakery may have been torn down and replaced by a harness shop of about the same size built on its site--does not seem quite as likely.

The Covington map of 1846 or somewhat later does not identify individual structures within the stockade, but it shows what clearly was Vavasour's "Harness Shop" as still standing (Plate XIII, vol. I). The Hudson's Bay Company's inventory of fort structures made in late 1846 and early 1847 lists a "Saddlers Shop" of forty by twenty-five feet. [3] These dimensions agree exactly with those given on the Vavasour plan. The George Gibbs pencil sketch of July 2, 1851, pictures what can only have been the same structure (second building from the left behind the palisade in Plate XIII, vol. I).

By 1854, however, the situation in the northeastern corner of the fort had altered considerably. The Harness Shop, oriented east and west as it had been from its beginning, can still be identified on the carefully made Bonneville survey of that year (Plate XIX, vol. I), but it was closely hemmed in on both sides by new structures. Almost immediately to the west was a small building that can be identified as the post-1852 Kitchen for the Big House. [4] A north-south-oriented structure directly east of the Harness Shop has not yet been identified (the Wash House had burned in 1852).

About this same time there appears to have been another change of function for the Harness Shop building. On January 23, 1854, a board of United States Army officers made an appraisal of Company buildings at Fort Vancouver. No structure designated as a Harness Shop was mentioned in their report, although because the list was not complete this fact is no proof that the Harness Shop had disappeared or ceased to operate. But for the first time in the sources examined for this study, a structure described as the "butcher's shop" is mentioned. [5]

In this connection it may or may not be significant that in June 1853 the United States Army purchased, among other items required for an exploring expedition, about fifty saddles from the Hudson's Bay Company store at Fort Vancouver. This fact does not necessarily imply that the Harness Shop was operating at that time, because the saddles, which proved to be "perfectly worthless," may have represented old stock. [6]

In an attempt to clarify this situation, one must jump ahead several years to June 15, 1860, when another board of army officers appraised the buildings within the old fort. Their map, which seems to have been reasonably accurate though somewhat diagrammatic in certain respects, does not show a harness shop. It depicts only one building--a small, square structure--between the Kitchen and the Bakery. This building was identified as a "Butcher shop &c, in a ruinous condition" (see Plate XXX, vol. I). [7]

It is not by any means certain that this small butcher shop of 1860, which measured about twenty-five feet square if the board's diagram was accurate, was the former Harness Shop or even part of it, though the butcher shop certainly occupied the same site. But the 1860 appraisal does demonstrate that the Harness Shop had long ceased to function in that location and that a butcher shop, probably since about 1853 or 1854, had operated in the same general area.

In 1866 Dugald Mactavish, a longtime Company employee, testified that a saddler's shop existed at Fort Vancouver as late as 1858. Such could have been the case, but he did not indicate that it was then in the same building as it had been in 1845 or 1846. At any rate, Mactavish's testimony is not as disinterested as could be desired, and his memory was faulty

in several instances. [8]

Artifacts recovered on the site of the building during excavations conducted during the spring of 1971 convinced the archeologists that the Harness Shop of 1845 was converted to a butcher shop about 1853 and continued to serve that function until mid-1860. "Items suggestive of harness and light wagon repairs" were recovered on the Harness Shop site, but, Messrs. John J. Hoffman and Lester A. Ross concluded, "much of this evidence was overshadowed by culinary items strewn about the area." In other words, bones of cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, and fowl seemed to point to butchering as the last Company use of the site. [9] The archeologists did state, however, that the excavated evidence for this conversion was "equivocal." [10]

That harness making was discontinued or moved to another location about 1853 or 1854 seems probable from both the historical and the archeological evidence. Equally apparent is the fact that a butcher shop was established in the same section of the fort at about the same time. But what is not so clear, to this writer at least, is whether the butcher shop actually occupied the old Harness Shop structure.

The reasons for this doubt can be understood when one examines several of the maps of the fort area for the period 1854 to 1860. These plans are nearly all small in scale and perhaps do not accurately depict the minor buildings. But beginning with the original Bonneville "Plan of Survey" (Plate XIX, vol. I) and extending through the "Map of the Military Reservation at Fort Vancouver" surveyed under the direction of Capt. George Thom in 1859 (Plate XXIV, vol. I), plans of the fort generally, though not always, show two small buildings between the Kitchen and the Bakery in the place of Vavasour's rather large one. For example, the unsigned 1855 "Topographical Sketch of Fort Vancouver and Environs" (Plate, XXIII, vol. I) shows two small structures in the Harness Shop location, but both are oriented north and south. The Thom survey of 1859 places two small, square buildings on the general Harness Shop site. In neither of these surveys is an east-west oriented structure like the 1845 Harness Shop depicted. And, as has been seen, by mid-1860 one of the smaller structures had disappeared, and the survivor was identified as a butcher shop.

Of the many possible explanations for this confusing picture, two seem most likely in the opinion of the writer. Either the old Harness Shop was replaced around 1854 by two smaller structures, or the saddler's shop may have been reduced in size about that time and only one additional building constructed on or near its original site. In either case, one of the structures was employed as a butcher's shop; it is quite possible that harness-making activities continued in the other.

Unfortunately, the northeastern sector of the fort enclosure was so much disturbed by military and other activities after the Company abandoned the post that only a "bewildering maze of remains" remained to be uncovered by twentieth-century archeologists. [11] Thus archeology, while it was able to establish the location and size of the oven foundation of the ca. 1836-44 Bakery, the chimney location and approximate size of the post-1852 Kitchen, and a few remnants of the Wash House, could throw very little light upon the exact size and structure of the 1845 Harness Shop or upon the succession of buildings that occupied the northeast corner after 1854. [12] Therefore, unless additional documentary or pictorial sources come to light in the future, all that can be known about the physical history of the Harness Shop appears to be summarized in this account.

Rather strangely, the personnel rosters for the Fort Vancouver Depot and Columbia District "General Charges" for Outfit 1845 list no person identified as a saddler or harness maker.

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http://www.nps.gov/fova/hsr/hsr2-15.htm
Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report

Volume II

CHAPTER XVI:
OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH

History and location

The structure at Fort Vancouver that by late 1845 was known as the "Old" Catholic Church had its beginnings as a warehouse. [1] As shown by the Emmons ground plan of 1841 and the Vavasour map of 1845, the "Chapel" or "Old Roman Catholic Church" was situated directly south of the Old Office and formed part of a row of buildings that divided the fort courtyard into two sections.

As did the Old Office, the Old Catholic Church stood only a few yards west of the line of the palisade that enclosed the small 1829-ca. 1836 fort on the east (see line BE on Plate I, vol. I). When the fort was enlarged to the east about 1836 this old line of pickets was removed, leaving three buildings standing isolated across the center of the yard.

Archeological excavations in 1952 were unsuccessful in finding any traces of the Old Catholic Church. [2] Therefore, the only reasonably precise evidence as to the exact location of this structure is the Vavasour map. According to that source, the chapel lay about twenty feet directly south of the Old Office and about 200 feet east of the Sale Shop. Its location is now designated as Building No. 1. [2] on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

Nothing has yet come to light concerning the precise function of this structure prior to its dedication to religious purposes in 1838 or 1839. That it was a warehouse is known, but whether for provisions, merchandise, or furs remains a mystery. But from its location in the western section of the fort and from the fact that it was considered "old" in 1838 or 1839, it can be assumed that the building probably dated from 1829, when the post was moved down from the hill to the river plain.

The history of religious activities at Fort Vancouver has already been recorded in some detail, and that story will not be repeated here. [3] Suffice it to say that the first Catholic priests to take up permanent residence in the Columbia District, Fathers Francois Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, arrived at the depot on November 24, 1838. They had crossed the continent with the Company's express and came with the knowledge that the Governor and Committee in London had instructed the chief factor at Vancouver to "facilitate the establishing of the Mission." [4]

Such orders were entirely superfluous. Dr. McLoughlin had per haps been the primary mover in the drive to obtain Catholic priests for Oregon. Although he was away on furlough when the fathers arrived, his temporary replacement, James Douglas, was only too willing to carry forward the wishes of his chief and of the London directors.

On the day after they reached the depot, Fathers Blanchet and Demers improvised an altar in

the schoolhouse and conducted the first Catholic mass ever said at Fort Vancouver and in "lower Oregon." From this beginning, their labors among the fort's Catholic employees rapidly expanded. Preaching, religious instruction, and the performance of baptisms, burials, and marriages went ahead diligently. Missionary work was also done among the Indians near the post. [5]

Even for the first mass the schoolhouse proved far too small to accommodate all who wished to attend services. [6] Undoubtedly the Catholic observances, like those of the Protestants, could have been held in the larger mess hall in the Big House had the priests so desired, but perhaps the fathers had much the same aversion to worshiping in such a secular and busy place as had been expressed by Chaplain Beaver. At any rate, they soon obtained what the Anglican minister had been unable to procure--a separate chapel.

In late 1838 or in 1839--witnesses fail to agree--the priests were permitted to take over for use as a chapel the "old store" within the pickets. [7] This was the structure near the center of the fort enclosure identified as the "chapel" by Emmons and the "Old R. C. Church" by Vavasour. Father Blanchet later described it as a "large building" but said that even it was "generally full" during mass and vespers. [8]

According to Father Blanchet, this chapel was never used for any purpose other than the holding of Catholic religious services and missionary labors after it was assigned to the priests. [9] But Lieutenant Emmons, who spent some time at the fort during 1841, noted in his journal that the structure was used both for Catholic and "Episcopal" services. [10] This latter observation was confirmed by Governor Simpson, who in the same year noted that divine service was performed regularly every Sunday at the post, in English for the Protestants and in French for the Catholics. "The same chapel, a building by the by, unworthy of the establishment, served both purposes at the time of our visit," he wrote; "but separate places of worship were about to be erected for the two denominations." [11]

Perhaps Protestant services were held occasionally in the "old store," but the evidence that the usual place for these observances continued to be the dining room in McLoughlin's house is overwhelming. This condition held true even in 1841, the same year in which the observations noted above were made. Lieutenant Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition recorded in May of that year: "The dining-hall is given up on Sunday to the use of the ritual of the Anglican Church, and Mr. Douglass or a [Protestant] missionary reads the service." [12] Two years later, on August 13, 1843, Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his journal: "Divine Service in the Hall of the Big House as on every Sabbath. Chief Factor Douglas acting as Chaplain and I reading the Lessons." The same journal for the latter half of 1845 contains a number of references to Protestant services in the mess hail but there is no mention of them being conducted in the chapel. [13]

It should also be mentioned that the French visitor, Duflot de Mofras, noted in 1841 the existence of "a Catholic chapel used as a school." [14] If the instruction was other than religious (of which there was a good deal), this writer has not yet encountered another mention of the fact.

As was brought out in considerable detail in Chapter XI on the Priests' House, the Catholic clergymen were by no means in continuous residence at Fort Vancouver until about 1844. During the frequent and often lengthy absences of the priests on other missionary errands, Catholic services continued to be held in the chapel under the leader ship of a lay person. Often this person was Chief Factor McLoughlin. Before the arrival of the priests he had long been in the habit of reading Roman Catholic prayers for the French Canadians and their families. [15] He continued to do so afterwards. On August 1, 1841, Lieutenant Emmons noted in his journal that it "being Sunday, Episcopal and Catholic service was performed

within the Fort, Mr. Douglas officiating in the former at his residence & Dr. McLaughlin in the latter at the Chapel." [16]

By 1841 McLoughlin was quite generally regarded as a "professed" Catholic, although he did not formally return to the Catholic Church until near the end of the following year. After 1842 he was even more active in religious affairs. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that on December 1, 1844, Thomas Lowe wrote in his journal: "No priest being now here, Dr. McLoughlin read prayers in the Catholic Chapel." [17]

The Catholics at Vancouver, as did Governor Simpson, soon came to the conclusion that the building assigned to them was "unworthy of the establishment," and they began to plan the construction of a church of their own. They attempted to buy land for this purpose, but the Company refused to sell. About 1844, however, the officers at Fort Vancouver gave Father Blanchet the use of a sizable tract of land about 250 yards north and west of the stockade. Actual construction of the new church upon this parcel evidently had not begun by February 21, 1845; but it was reported as being under way during August of that year. [18]

Erected by the Company with timber and lumber from the firm's mills, the new church outside the fort was dedicated on May 31, 1846.19 With that action religious activities in the "old store" within the pickets ceased.

On June 18, 1846, Clerk Thomas Lowe made the following important notation in his diary: "A gang of men employed with [Charles Diamare dit] Baron [a depot carpenter] pulling down the old Church in the Middle of the Fort. There now only remains the Office to break the full sweep of the Fort Yard, the Church and Office having run right across the centre of the Fort." [20] The Old Roman Catholic Church was no more.

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CHAPTER XVII:
CARPENTER SHOP

History and location

Enough has been said in previous chapters of this study to make clear the substantial amount of building activity that was carried on almost continuously at Fort Vancouver and at its outlying mills and farms. Until 1850 there generally were three or four men listed as carpenters or apprentice carpenters each year on the rolls of depot employees, and these tradesmen were assisted by laborers whose numbers increased and decreased according to the type and amount of work to be done, the requirements for labor at other depot tasks, and the length of the sick list.

The carpenters were skilled artisans, who not only could put up the heavy frames of the rough, Canadian-style buildings but also could do the finish work and joining. They made most of the furniture used at the depot. Window frames and sash fabricated in the Fort Vancouver Carpenter Shop were employed locally and occasionally shipped to other posts in the district. [1] When the French-Canadian settlers in the Willamette Valley built a chapel at Chief Factor McLoughlin's urging during the 1830s, the windows for the structure were made at Fort Vancouver. [2]

William A. Slacum, a purser in the United States Navy, visited Fort Vancouver in 1837. Among the depot structures listed in his report were "workshops for carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, coopers, tinners, &c." [3] These words would appear to indicate that the carpenters and the wheelwrights were then in separate shops. Such may well have been the case, but in 1860, when a board of United States Army officers appraised the structures in the fort, they listed one designated as the "Carpenters & wheelwright shop, long since abandoned by the Company." [4] By at least the 1850s, there fore, the two trades seem to have been conducted in the same building.

It may also be worth noting that even for Outfit 1837 no wheelwrights were listed among the employees at the depot. [5] And the inventory of the Company's buildings at Fort Vancouver in 1846-47 listed a carpenter's shop but no wheelwright's shop. [6] For these reasons it appears probable that the wheelwright activities were con ducted by the carpenters in the Carpenter Shop from the time of establishment in 1824-25. It has been seen in Chapter XV on the Harness Shop that the wooden parts of ploughs and other farm implements were manufactured at Fort Vancouver, and it can be assumed that such work, together with the manufacture and repair of farm carts and wagons, was performed in the Carpenter Shop.

The American trapper, Jedediah Smith, spent the winter of 1828-29 in the first Fort Vancouver on the hill overlooking the river plain. He reported that carpenters were among the "mechanics" housed within the walls. [7] After the post was moved closer to the river in 1829, a carpenter shop must have been among the first structures erected. Samuel Parker

found a shop for carpenters among the fort buildings in 1835-36. [8] This structure probably was the "Carpenters Shop" shown as Building No. 12 on the ground plan drawn by Lieutenant Emmons on July 25, 1841. It stood south and a bit to the west of the old Catholic chapel in the western half of the fort enclosure as it existed at that time.

By the date of the next available ground plan, the "Line of Fire" map of September 1844, this early carpenter shop had disappeared (see Plate V, vol. I). The next time a building definitely identified as the Carpenter Shop can be located is on the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845. That map shows a "Carpenters Shop" situated near the north stockade wall, just west of its center. It lay directly north of the Old Office (Plate VI, vol. I). This same structure appears on the "Line of Fire" map of 1844, though it is not identified.

Mr. Louis R. Caywood, who conducted archeological explorations on the depot site from 1948 to 1952, has pointed out that this Carpenter Shop of 1845 appears to have been of about the same size and shape as the one shown by Emmons in 1841. He believed it possible that the 1841 shop was simply moved about 170 feet or so almost due north and set up in a new location. [9] Certainly such could have been the case, although it should be recognized that the Emmons plan had no scale and was only diagrammatic in several important respects. Therefore, in the opinion of this writer at least, it is not possible to state positively that the two buildings were identical in dimensions.

At any rate, by 1844 the Carpenter Shop had either been relocated to, or built anew upon, a site near the north palisade, and there it continued to stand as long as the Company occupied Fort Vancouver. Because no traces of the Carpenter Shop foundations were found despite extensive excavation of the site and its surrounding area, the only reasonably precise record of the location of this building is the Vavasour map. [10] According to that drawing the Carpenter Shop stood about fifteen or sixteen feet south of the north palisade, about twenty-five feet east of the Wheat Store, about forty-two feet north of the Old Office, and about fifty feet west of the Jail. Its location is now designated as Building No. 10 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

The Carpenter Shop continued to be a busy and very necessary unit in the depot operation even after 1845 when many of the warehousing functions were transferred to Fort Victoria and even for a time after the Treaty of 1846, which brought troubles of many types down on the Company's Columbia activities. But the shop could not survive the impact of the California gold rush coupled with the inroads of squatters who took over most of the firm's farms. As late as Outfit 1848 there were four employees in the shop--a carpenter, a "House Carpenter,"

a "carpenter and laborer," and an apprentice carpenter. [11] Outfit 1849 started out with three carpenters, but two of them went off to California during September. [12] The next business year there were once more three carpenters on the rolls, but one served only for part of the year, and another was James Scarth, the veteran ship carpenter who was then blind or nearly blind. [13]

By the beginning of Outfit 1851 there was only one carpenter at Fort Vancouver, and he retired on November 1 of that year. [14] Thereafter the rolls, as far as they have been searched by this writer, list no carpenters at Fort Vancouver. Accounts for Outfit 1852 show that by then the Company was hiring outside help for such chores as squaring timber and "carpenters work on Mess Room," while articles such as wagons and tables were purchased. [15] It would appear that the army officers who described the "Carpenters & wheelwright shop" on June 15, 1860, as "long since abandoned by the Company--in a ruinous condition" were indeed correct. The firm's employees had moved out of the fort on the previous day, and the subsequent fate of the Carpenter Shop is not known in detail. It disappeared with the

rest of the old depot structures within a few years.

Carpenters at Fort Vancouver, Outfit 1845. During the period of primary interest for this study--June 1, 1845, to May 31, 1846--the depot rolls list five men who appear to have been associated with the Carpenter Shop. They were Charles Diamare dit Baron, a carpenter who was paid L30 per annum; John Finlay, another carpenter who also received L30; Alexander Lattie, an apprentice carpenter who was paid only L8 a year; George McKenzie, a carpenter at L30 yearly; and Norman Martin (a), the fourth carpenter, who received L30 per annum. James Scarth, who was paid the relatively high wage of L50.8.0, was also listed as a carpenter for Outfit 1845, but, as rolls for other years show, he was actually a "ship carpenter" and probably worked at the boatyard near the river and not ordinarily in the Carpenter Shop. [16]

All of these men undoubtedly lived outside the pickets, and therefore their personal histories are scarcely relevant to a discussion of the physical structure and furnishings of the Carpenter Shop. Yet several of them were persons of interest whose lives throw considerable light upon social and economic conditions at the depot.

Perhaps the one whose presence may have been most reflected in the appearance and arrangement of the shop was, strangely enough, the apprentice carpenter, Alexander Lattie. He was a mere boy during Outfit 1845. On November 3, 1845, and again on March 29, 1846, his age was given as thirteen years. He was the son of Alexander Lattie, a Scotsman who had long served in the Company's marine department but who by early 1846 was stationed at Fort George, at the mouth of the Columbia River. Young Alexander's mother was Marie Catherine Sikkas, an Indian of Tillamook and Chinook descent. The father's and mother's marriage by a Catholic priest during 1845 legitimized their five children. By Outfit 1846 the boy had already served two years with the Company, and his apprenticeship was not due to terminate until 1852. [17]

John Finlay was a mature man by Outfit 1845, and at that time he had already been in the Honourable Company's employ for thirteen years. He was forty-two years old when on November 2, 1842, he abjured the "heresy of Luther" and was baptized a Roman Catholic. He was described at that time as the "son of Jean Fenlay now dead, and of a woman now dead of the nation of Sauteux." His godfather was Charles Baron. On the same day Finlay married Catherine, a Chinook Indian. She was described as "aged about 35 years" when she died at Chinook in 1849. [18]

The name of Charles Diamare dit [called] Baron was spelled in a variety of ways. Ordinarily he was called "Baron" or "Charles Baron" even in church records. He had been in the Company's service six years by Outfit 1845. He was married to Therese Tmiway, and the couple were the parents of a daughter born on April 26, 1846. [19]

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http://www.nps.gov/fova/hsr/hsr2-17.htm
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CHAPTER XVIII:
MISCELLANEOUS MINOR STRUCTURES

WATCHMAN'S HOUSE

History and location

Shortly after the ringing of the 6:00 P.M. bell, which marked the close of business on workdays, the stockade gates at Fort Vancouver were drawn shut, and, except under unusual conditions, remained locked until 9:00 A.M., at which time the shops opened. [1] This measure was taken primarily to safeguard the furs and goods on deposit, but there were many reasons for restricting free access to the fort during the night hours. [2]

Further security for the depot--fire was also a dreaded danger--was provided by a watchman or "sentinel" who called out "All's well" every half hour through the night. At one period, evidently the late 1840s or early 1850s, the watchman was a Hawaiian who patroled the fort but had some difficulty pronouncing the words of his call. [3]

But while the gates remained shut from about 6:00 P.M. until about 9:00 A.M., there was a certain amount of traffic that had to enter and leave the fort enclosure during those hours. The flow must have been particularly heavy shortly before 6:00 A.M., when the laborers and tradesmen, along with the schoolchildren, entered to take up their daily occupations. Also, many of the servants and even some Indians were admitted in the evenings to attend church services and to receive religious instruction as well as to attend occasional social events.

Such ingress and egress ordinarily must have been accomplished by means of the postern or small door cut into one leaf of the large gates. W. H. Gray, when he visited Fort Vancouver for the first time in 1836, noted that there was a "guard stationed over the gate," which locked from the inside. [4] Evidently the guard screened the visitors who entered through the postern.

Gaining entrance to the fort at night was not always easy. About three o'clock on the morning of May 4, 1833, Dr. W. F. Tolmie and Dr. M. Gairdner, two physicians arriving from England to take up their duties in the Columbia District, reached Fort Vancouver by canoe and knocked on the gate. Only "after some delay" was the entrance opened by "a gardner," who turned out to be "a Celt." [5] Lieutenant George Foster Emmons of the United States Navy was not so fortunate. Arriving before the depot at night during 1841, he found it "too late to gain admittance" and was forced to sleep in his canoe. [6] One wonders if watchmen were on duty at those times.

It may be significant that the earliest indication encountered by this writer of a watchman's house at Fort Vancouver dates from 1849. Lloyd Brooke, an employee of the United States Army, later testified that in that year there was a "little hut at the gate, which had been a

blacksmith shop." [7] This structure was identified by Dr. H. A. Tuzo as a "watchman's house." He said it was standing when he arrived at the post in 1853. [8]

Although not labeled, this "watchman's house" can be observed on the careful survey of the Fort Vancouver Military Reservation made under the direction of Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville in 1854 (Plate XIX vol. I). The structure is shown as a small oblong situated a few yards northeast of the southeast stockade gate. It lay directly west of the southwest corner of the Indian Trade Shop. As far as is known, the Bonneville survey is the first map to delineate this "porter's lodge," as the building was also called.

It should be noted that not one of the very detailed plans of Fort Vancouver drawn prior to 1849--those by Emmons (1841), Vavasour (1845), and Covington (1846), and the "Line of Fire" map of 1844--shows any structure near a gate that could possibly be identified as a gatekeeper's or watchman's house. One is left to speculate, therefore, on the possibility that there may not have been such a structure inside the fort prior to about 1847-49.

Regardless of when the porter's lodge was constructed near, or moved near, the southeast gate, there is ample evidence of its continued existence during the period from 1854 to mid-1860. The view of Fort Vancouver drawn by Gustavus Sohon in 1854 shows a small, low, gable-roofed building between that gate and the Indian shop that could be nothing else than the gatehouse (Plate XXI, vol. I). The view drawn by Richard Covington and dated 1855 shows what is obviously the same structure, except that it seems to be situated west of the gate and quite close to the flagpole. Seemingly Covington was in error in this particular.

The building continued to be shown on maps of the fort area, especially on the survey made under the direction of Capt. George Thom in 1859 (Plate XXIV, vol. I). That plan clearly shows a small structure east of the gate and very close to it. The identity of the building is clinched by the diagram made by the board of army officers that appraised the structures within the fort on June 15, 1860. That map depicts a small, almost square building nearly adjoining the gate on the northeast and names it the "Porter's lodge" (Plate XXX, vol. I).

This appraisal contains the last known mention of the Watchman's House. Apparently it disappeared shortly thereafter with the rest of the fort buildings.

No physical evidence of this building has yet been found during archeological explorations. Its site is not numbered or indicated on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

Construction details

It appears impossible to make an accurate estimate of the dimensions of the Watchman's House. Not only are the maps on which it is shown of small scale, but the shape and size of the building vary from plan to plan. About all that seems certain is that the east-west dimension was longer than the north-south one. If the writer were to make a guess, however, based on comparisons with other structures of known dimensions, he would say that the porter's lodge measured about fifteen by twenty-two feet.

All that is known of the structure and appearance of the building comes from the Sohon view of 1854 (Plate XXI, vol. I). That drawing shows the Watchman's House as a small, low, one-story building with a gable roof, the ridge of which runs east and west. One window or door is visible in the west wall and there was another opening of some type on the north side.

If, as one witness stated, the gatehouse had once been a black smith's shop, it undoubtedly was built in the Canadian fashion, with rough floors and no lining on the inside.

Recommendations

a. Apparently the site of the Watchman's House has not yet been excavated, although recent and still unreported work along the south stockade line may have covered the area. If not, exploration on the site may produce additional information concerning the building's physical structure.

b. Because of its uncertain erection date and the dearth of structural data, it is recommended that the Watchman's House not be rebuilt unless administrative requirements, such as the need for an entrance station to collect fees, make the construction of a building in its location imperative.

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CHAPTER XIX:
COOPER'S SHOP

History and location

The cooper's Shop was not within the stockade at Fort Vancouver during Outfit 1845 and hence, strictly speaking, should not be included in this study. However, it was situated so close to the palisade and it played such an important role in the economy of the Columbia District that it appears to require at least a brief treatment.

Even before the exportation of salmon and agricultural products from the Columbia region was envisioned, the fur trade on the Pacific Slope had need for coopers. The North West Company maintained a cooper's shop at Fort George at least as early as 1818. [1] Salmon, a principal food at the establishments west of the Rockies, was a seasonal resource, and in order to preserve it for use when the fresh fish was not available, it had to be dried, smoked, or salted. Salting required barrels and many of them.

As early as 1822 the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company began to explore the possibilities of exporting other products besides furs from the Columbia. During the next several years barrels of cured salmon were sent from Fort George to London on an experimental basis, but these pioneering efforts were not a success. [2] As has been seen, however, Governor Simpson's visit of 1824-25 revived interest in developing an export trade in fish, beef, pork, and other "country produce." By 1827 Chief Factor McLoughlin was suggesting that a trade in salmon and timber might be developed with the Hawaiian Islands, California, and other areas. Implementation of this program soon followed, and centers for producing salted salmon were organized on the Columbia River and at Fort Langley on the Fraser River. Nearly 300 barrels were prepared for export at Fort Langley alone in 1830. The Russian contract in 1839 greatly increased the demand for barrels, because large quantities of flour, salt beef, salt pork, and other products had to be prepared for shipment to Sitka.

By Outfit 1845, then, Fort Vancouver and several other posts in the Columbia District were producing barrels in large numbers and in a variety of sizes and shapes. Some of these containers have been described in previous chapters, but it is revealing to observe a sampling of the types of cooper's products and their uses listed in the Fort Vancouver inventories of "Country Made" articles and "Country Produce" for 1845 and 1846. There were, for instance, oak kegs in one-gallon, two-gallon, and eight-gallon sizes; barrels of apples; tierces of salt beef weighing 300 pounds each; barrels of salt beef; hundredweights of biscuit (packed in barrels); barrels of flour; barrels and tierces of salt pork; barrels of salt salmon; barrels of salt; and kegs of salt butter. [3] It can be assumed that the coopers also fabricated a variety of pails, buckets, and other wooden containers for use at the western establishments.

If the words of American trapper Jedediah Smith are interpreted literally, it appears that the Cooper's Shop was located inside the stockade of the first Fort Vancouver, the one that stood

on the brow of the hill overlooking the river plain from 1825 to 1829. [4] But after the depot was moved closer to the Columbia in 1828-29 the location of the Cooper's Shop becomes clouded in uncertainty. Purser William A. Slacum, who visited Fort Vancouver in 1837, stated very distinctly that "within the pickets, there are thirty-four buildings . including . . . workshops for carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, coopers, tinners, &c." [5] Although the detailed ground plan and building inventory prepared by Lt. George Foster Emmons on July 25, 1841, failed to indicate a workshop for coopering inside the fort, Emmons specifically said in his journal that "independent of this [the stockade]" and near the river were several buildings, among which was listed a "coopers shop." [6]

It would appear, then, that by 1841 the Cooper's Shop had been moved down near the Hospital and Salmon Store close to the north bank of the Columbia River. The ground plan of Fort Vancouver drawn by Lieutenant M. Vavasour late in 1845 identifies all the structures shown within the stockade, and it likewise fails to list a Cooper's Shop (Plates VI, VII, VIII, vol. I). In fact, starting in 1841 (except for the words of Duflot de Mofras mentioned in fn. 6), no available evidence gives any indication that the coopers worked inside the fort.

There is, however, a solid basis for believing that the Cooper's Shop continued to remain outside the stockade. The original version of the map drawn by Richard Covington in 1846 or perhaps a short time later, as reproduced in Plate XIII, volume I of this study, shows a "Cooper's Shop" a short distance north of the Hospital and east of the pond down near the riverbank. If the map was accurate, this building seems to have had a square floor plan. No other legend indicating a workshop for coopers appears on this version of the map.

When preparing the third volume of Dr. John McLoughlin's official correspondence for publication shortly before 1944, the Hudson's Bay Record Society seems to have decided that the original Covington plan would not reproduce well, and thus the map was redrawn. Several details not visible on the reproduction of the original are clearly indicated on this redrawn version. The "Cooper's Shop" near the river remains, but an additional "Cooper's Shed" is plainly marked. This latter structure was shown as being oblong in shape, and it was located directly east of the southeast corner of the stockade. [8] Seemingly, then, by 1846 there were two buildings at the depot given over to the work of the coopers, and they both were outside the pickets.

But this situation may have ended by late 1846. The 1846-47 inventory of Company improvements at Fort Vancouver listed only one shop for coopers. Under the heading "Workshops" is found "1 Coopers Shop, 70 x 30 feet." [9] From the dimensions it seems reasonable to assume that this "Coopers Shop" was the "Cooper's Shed" of the Covington map and not Covington's square "Cooper's Shop" down by the river. If this hypothesis is correct, the Cooper's Shop by late 1846 or early 1847 was situated just outside the southeast corner of the stockade. Support for such an assumption appears to be found in the sworn testimony of Dr. H. A. Tuzo, who said that when he arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1853 there was "a large cooper's shop" outside the stockade on the east. [10]

Thus the Cooper's Shop seems quite definitely to have been situated close to the southeast palisade corner from about 1846 until at least 1853. Actually it probably was moved to this location at an unknown date between 1841 and 1846.

This workshop evidently was not a new building. Beginning with the Eld and Agate views of Fort Vancouver in 1841 (Plates IV and LIII, vol. I), a number of drawings and maps show three buildings extending eastward in a line from the southeast stockade corner. [11] In most of the pictures and plans the structure nearest the stockade is shown as a rather large, oblong building that could easily be the "Cooper's Shop, 70 x 30 feet" mentioned in the 1846-47 inventory (see, for example, Plates V, IX, XIII-XIV, and XIX, vol. I). The other two

buildings apparently were small dwellings. By 1860 at least one additional small structure stood near them (see Plate XXX, vol. I).

During Outfit 1845 there were four coopers at the Fort Vancouver depot who served for the full year, while a fifth, James Rendall, a man with twenty-three years of service with the Company, went "home" in the Cowlitz during the fall of 1845. The four who remained through the outfit were Henry Collie, who had served thirteen years but whose pay was only L17 per annum; Marie Haguet, a native of France and a relative newcomer with only five years of service but who received L25; Robert Johnstone, who had twelve years of service, a wage of L25, and a gratuity of five shillings; and Spunyarn, a Hawaiian who had served sixteen years and who received L20. [12]

By Outfit 1851 Spunyarn was the only full-rated cooper remaining at Fort Vancouver. By that date he was being paid L30 a year. Two apprentice coopers, Thomas Como and Alexander Oroheeay, assisted him, but the latter was discharged on February 24, 1852. [13]

During the next business year, Outfit 1852, Spunyarn was the sole cooper carried on the Fort Vancouver rolls. But this faithful servant died, evidently during 1853, and then there were none. If the Abstract of Servants' Accounts of the Oregon Department accurately reflected the situation, coopering had been discontinued at Fort Vancouver by Outfit 1854. [14]

It is quite probable that the end of coopering at the former depot resulted before too long in the demise of the Cooper Shop also. The careful survey of the Fort Vancouver Military Reservation made under the direction of Capt. George Thom shows only open ground where the old Cooper's Shop had stood, though three smaller structures are depicted in the same general area (Plate XXIV, vol. I). The ground plan prepared by a board of army officers on June 15, 1860, does show a structure on the site of the Cooper Shop, but apparently it was a much smaller building (Plate XXX, vol. I). At any rate, there could not have been much left of the Cooper's Shop if it was still in existence, because the same board in its appraisal of the Fort Vancouver buildings mentioned with ill-concealed disdain four "hovels, outside of and near the southeast corner of the pickets, in a dilapidated condition." [15] With this curt notation the history of the Cooper's Shop comes to an end.

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CHAPTER XX:
SECOND BASTION

Reminiscences by visitors to Fort Vancouver prior to 1848 sometimes state that the post contained one or more bastions in addition to that at the northwest corner of the stockade. [1] Several of these records are quite convincing. On November 27, 1847, for instance, an emigrant named Loren B. Hastings arrived at Vancouver, and he remained there overnight. In his diary he mentioned seeing "bastions built at the corners containing cannon." [2]

It seems almost certain, however, that such statements were made in error, probably as the result of confusing conditions at other posts with those at Fort Vancouver. Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour, an officer in the Royal Engineers, visited the post during the latter half of 1845 and the opening months of 1846. His trained eye surveyed the fort from a military point of view, and he noted only one block house--that at the northwest angle. [3]

Vavasour and his companion, Lt. Henry J. Warre, were on the West Coast to plan British defensive works for use in the event the boundary dispute over the Oregon Country should lead to war with the United States. The officers believed Fort Vancouver was poorly located for military purposes, because it was commanded by the high ground to the north. But if the post had to be used in an emergency, the simplest way to strengthen it, recommended Vavasour, would be to dig a ditch around it, throwing the earth against the pickets. The stockade should be provided with loopholes and an interior "banquette"; small traverses should be placed behind the gates. Also "another small Block house" should be erected at the southeast corner of the palisade to flank the south and east sides. [4]

As far as is known, no action was taken to implement these suggestions. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 ended the immediate crisis, and Fort Vancouver found itself situated within the boundaries of the United States. But it is quite likely that the Company's officers knew of Vavasour's recommendation concerning a second bastion and recalled it to their minds when the next emergency arose.

That crisis was not long in arriving. Late in November 1847 the Cayuse Indians massacred Dr. Marcus Whitman and a number of other persons at the Whitman mission on the Walla Walla River. Almost immediately the Oregon Provisional Government raised a force to proceed against the murderers. The Americans experienced some difficulty in equipping their troops for the Cayuse War, as the ensuing contest with the Indians came to be called; and despite the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to sell the volunteers supplies to the amount of $1800 on the personal security of prominent citizens, there were rumors that the Provisional Government intended to "levy contributions" on the firm, whose warehouses at Vancouver were believed to be bulging with food, arms, ammunition, clothing, and other necessities for a campaign.

Then, under the date of December 29, 1847, the officers at Fort Vancouver received alarming

intelligence from the Company's agent at Oregon City. It was "commonly reported," he said, that the volunteers would help themselves to what they needed when passing Fort Vancouver whether they had the means to pay or not. [5]

Chief Factor James Douglas, then in charge of Fort Vancouver, informed Governor George Abernethy of the Provisional Government that "instant measures" were being taken for the protection of the Company's property. "I trust," he wrote on December 31 "this explanation will satisfactorily account for any unusual precautions observed in the present arrangements of this establishment." [6]

Despite assurances by the Governor that there was no intention of demanding contributions from the Hudson's Bay Company, Douglas continued to feel vulnerable. A number of the fort's most reliable employees were absent with Peter Skene Ogden on a mission of mercy to rescue the survivors of the Whitman massacre, who were being held by the Indians. The remaining force was composed mostly of Hawaiians, and two-thirds of them were laid up with the measles. [7]

Among other defensive measures, Douglas set men to preparing timbers for a new blockhouse. Nothing is known of this structure beyond what one of the clerks, Thomas Lowe, wrote in his journal on January 24, 1848. "A Bastion has been put up to day in front of the Fort," he said, "which the men have been working at for some time past, and they have put the two long eighteen pounders in the lower part, but there will be little or no room to work them properly." [8]

The next day "all the spare hands" were "employed about the Bastion," Lowe noted. [9] Thereafter mention of this structure ceases in the records thus far available, except for occasional references by later visitors to bastions or blockhouses at diagonal corners of the stockade or, more specifically, at the northwest and southeast angles. [10] Unfortunately, no known map or picture of Fort Vancouver depicts this second bastion. Because it does not appear on the rather detailed maps of the military reservation prepared by army authorities at Vancouver Barracks between 1850 and 1860, the second bastion probably was not a long-lived structure.

Lowe's casual statement that a bastion was erected "in front of the Fort" is of little help in precisely locating the new defensive work. The "front" of the establishment was the south side, facing the river. In 1854 Gov. Isaac I. Stevens of Washington Territory said that the post was defended by bastions at the northwest and south east corners. [11] It will be recalled that Lieutenant Vavasour in 1846 had recommended the erection of a blockhouse at the southeast angle. Therefore, it seems logical to expect that James Douglas built his new defensive work at that location, but such a conclusion must be tentative until additional evidence, documentary or archeological, is discovered.

During the 1952 archeological excavations at Fort Vancouver the remains of three parallel timbers, roughly six to eight inches square, were found paralleling the inside of the south palisade wall at the south east stockade corner. Mr. Caywood speculated that they might have been the remains of a small blockhouse, but it was not possible at that time to extend the trenches to determine if the timbers actually formed the foundations of such a structure. [12]

Recommendations

Obviously, the second bastion should not be part of a project to restore Fort Vancouver to its appearance in 1845-46. However, knowledge that such a structure existed--a fact long in doubt--should be of assistance in interpreting the results of the additional archeological studies conducted as part of the restoration project.

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Last Updated: 10-Apr-2003

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APPENDIX:
ADDITIONAL DATA FOR VOLUME I

Continued research since the completion of volume I of this study has resulted in the accumulation of several bits of information that throw additional light upon structures and furnishings discussed in that volume. These supplementary data may be summarized as follows:

CHAPTER I. STOCKADE

a. Bark on pickets. P. W. Crawford, an overland emigrant who visited Fort Vancouver during 1847, recounted his memory of the post thirty-one years later. Speaking of the palisade, he said it was made of "Round timbers from The natural fir Trees with the Bark all on in diameter from Twelve to fourteen even some Eighteen Inches--firmly placed in The ground whether pointed and driven or a trench dug and set in I do not know." [1]

Crawford's recollection of the Columbia depot was not accurate in all respects, but he might well have remembered such a detail as whether or not the posts retained their bark. His words merit careful consideration, particularly because archeologists excavating along the south stockade wall in 1973 found occasional picket butts with bark still adhering to them. [2]

b. Shapes of picket tops. When digging along the south palisade line in 1973, archeologists noted that when one section of the stockade was moved farther to the south, probably between early 1846 and February 1848, the pickets were completely removed from the original trench (not merely cut off at ground level or knocked over as was often the case). The tops evidently were then cut off square and the poles inserted, former top ends down, in the new trench. The discarded tops were thrown into the old trench when it was refilled.

When these tops were unearthed by the archeologists more than a century later, it was discovered that the pickets in the original trench had been finished at their summits in two different styles. Some were simply cut off at an angle of about 45 degrees. The others showed "double, steep cuts" forming "an edge of about 85° at the top. " In other words, they were wedge-shaped. [3]

CHAPTER II. GATES

James Robert Anderson, born in 1841 and the son of a longtime and well-known Company officer, visited Fort Vancouver occasionally as a boy and youth. Many years later he wrote a

description of the depot as he remembered it during the late 1840s and 1850s. One sentence contains what appears to be an important piece of information about the fort gates. "On the side facing the Columbia River and on the opposite side," he said, "were large red gates which were closed and locked at night. . . . " [4]

The fact that the gates were red--probably painted Spanish brown--is something that a boy might notice and remember.

CHAPTER III. BASTION

Subsequent to the completion of volume I of this study, the writer prepared a special report on the armament and furnishings of the Bastion. Thanks largely to the courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company and, particularly, to its former Archivist, Mrs. Joan Craig, a considerable amount of additional information was obtained concerning the procurement, shipment, and physical characteristics of the guns that were mounted in the Bastion. Persons interested in these subjects are referred to that study. [5]

CHAPTER IV. BAKERY

Also subsequent to the completion of volume I, a historic furnishings study on the Bakery was prepared. That work contains a considerable amount of additional data on the history of the bakehouse and on the bakers who worked in it. It also includes a more detailed analysis of the physical structure of both the Bakery proper and the ovens, and of the baking process and related equipment, than it was possible to present in volume I. Those interested in such matters should consult that study. [6]

Since the issuance of the furnishings study, however, a few additional items have come to hand that appear to merit notice. First, it should be mentioned that the words Lieutenant Emmons wrote in his journal on July 25, 1841, "Bakery--where soft bread & sea biscuit are baked," make it abundantly clear that loaf bread as well as hard bread was prepared in the bakehouse at Fort Vancouver (see Plate [III, vol. I).

Secondly, on page 51 in volume I it was noted that no Company employee was listed as a baker during Outfit 1852 or thereafter. It was there speculated that the Bakery may have been closed down or its operations curtailed by 1852. Fort Vancouver accounts for that year throw a little more light on this matter. During that outfit two payments for outside baking help were made, one of $18.75 to a "Baker," and another for $39.28 to an "American Baker." [7]

CHAPTER IX. BIG HOUSE

a. Roof. In late August 1837 Chief Factor McLoughlin gave the Reverend Mr. Beaver's servant "some slaps" for stealing "shakes" from the "cellar of the new house." [8] Because the only building at Fort Vancouver known to have had a cellar at about that time was the Big House, and because the new manager's residence was completed shortly thereafter, it is most probable that the "new house" from which the shingles were stolen was the post-1837 Big House. Evidently the building was then in the process of construction.

If there were shakes in the cellar of the Big House, it is quite likely that they were for use on that building. Therefore it seems more probable that the roof was covered with shakes than

with boards.

b. Sundial. Mr. A. Lewis Koue has suggested that the urn-shaped object projecting above the Big House porch railing at its center might have been the base for a sundial. This object can be seen in Plate XXIX, volume I. Examination of a very clear print of this 1860 photograph with a reading glass proves that such, indeed, was the case. The style is distinctly visible.

c. Guns. An unusually clear print of the 1860 photograph in the British Columbia Archives makes it possible to state with confidence that the wheels on the two gun carriages in front of the Big House were iron garrison carriage wheels (see Plate IX in Hussey, Armament and Furnishings of the Fort Vancouver Bastion, for an illustration of a garrison carriage and wheels). The muzzles of the guns were plugged with tampions.

CHAPTER X. KITCHEN

On page 169 of volume I it was noted that after Outfit 1847 no employee specifically classified as a cook can be found on the Fort Vancouver employee rolls. It was inferred that after that year laborers were called upon to act as cooks. Such may have been the case for several years, but during 1851 Indians were used in that capacity. [9] Evidently this expedient was not a success, for in Outfit 1852 the firm paid £78.8.2 to a "Kanaka for acting as Cook for Mess" and £19.2 to a "Negro for acting as Cook." [10]

CHAPTER XI. SALE SHOP

a. Names of stores. Since the completion of volume I, the writer has come to doubt that the structure presently designated as Building No. 7, the storehouse along the south stockade wall directly east of the Powder Magazine, was ever called the Receiving Store. According to the 1846-47 inventory of Company improvements at Fort Vancouver, the "Receiving Store" measured only thirty-two by twenty-four feet, whereas Building No. 7 measured about forty by one hundred feet. [11] Because no unidentified structure thirty-two by twenty-four feet in size seems to be shown within the stockade on any available plan, it is assumed that the Receiving Store was situated outside the fort, perhaps down near the river.

b. Platform between Sale Shop and New Store. On page 202 of volume I the covered and partially enclosed platform that linked Buildings Nos. 4 and 5 was briefly discussed. Few construction details were given, because at that time the only available prints of the 1860 photograph of the northwest corner of the courtyard (Plate XXVIII, vol. I) were so dark that this feature was not clearly shown.

However, as mentioned in several other places in volume II, a remarkably sharp print of this picture is available in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, although it, too, loses considerable detail when reproduced (see Plate XIV). Architects working on plans for the reconstruction of this platform should consult the original print or, better still, obtain an enlarged print from the original glass negative in England.

The Provincial Archives print appears to show that the platform base was formed of, or faced by, at least two massive squared timbers on its east side. On top of these, evidently, rested a plank floor. The front of the lower story of the platform was open, but the rear was closed in (or perhaps the stockade in the rear gives that appearance). At the second-floor level of the warehouses there was another platform connecting the upper stories of the Sale Shop and the New Store. This platform was open front and rear, but there was a guardrail at least across

the front.

Over the second story of the platform stretched a roof, the apex of which reached almost to the eaves of the two adjoining warehouses. From this apex the roof slanted at a rather low angle toward the front and rear, extending to and perhaps even a bit beyond the front and rear walls of the flanking stores.

Immediately under the eaves of the warehouses, on the sides facing the platform, there were rain gutters that carried the runoff beyond the platform roof. The gutters seem to have been of metal or of hollowed log halves. No gutters can be seen over the other walls of these warehouses.

CHAPTER XII. NEW STORE AND RECEIVING STORE

a. Structure of New Store. The Provincial Archives print of the 1860 photograph mentioned in the paragraphs above also provides additional information concerning the physical structure of Building No. 5, the New Store. The enlarged portion of a copy of this print, reproduced as Plate XIV, gives some notion of the value of this picture, but architects should see the original in order to gain the utmost detail.

All of the new information thus revealed cannot be stated at length here. Particularly revealing, however, is the view of the massive arched-top door that is generally trimmed from prints of this picture. The lintel over the door appears to be one great timber into which the arch was cut. Noteworthy is the fact that there seems to have been no arched frame over the door (as there was on the Fort Nisqually granary). The nine-paned windows and their shutters are quite clearly shown. If there was a second-story window centered over the door it cannot be seen, but the picture is not too clear in that area; a closed and shuttered window could be present.

b. Name and function of Building No. 7. As mentioned in the remarks in the preceding paragraphs on Chapter XI of volume I, it is not clear that the structure presently identified as Building No. 7 was actually the Receiving Store. Very likely it was not, and the structure probably should be called merely a "Store." That it was a warehouse of some type seems indisputable.

When Samuel Parker visited Fort Vancouver during the fall of 1835, he found that there were four warehouses for the "trading department": one "for the Indian trade, in which are deposited their peltries; one for provisions; one for goods opened for the current year's business, that is, to sell to their men and to send off to various fur stations; and another for storing goods in a year's advance." [12]

By 1845-46, as has been seen, the warehouses of 1835 had been either rebuilt or replaced by new structures, and some had changed in function. But Parker's statement is of value as indicating the classes of goods kept in the several stores. This general scheme, although with some variations as is shown by the Emmons map of 1841 (Plate III, vol. I), seems to have continued in later years.

In view of this probability, the words of P. W. Crawford describing the fort as he saw it in 1847 take on added significance. On the west side of the depot he found the "wholesale & Retail store with numerous clerks in attendance," while on "the South Side of the Square" was "a Store house where Casks of Sugar Molases [sic] and larger Groceries" were kept and "dealt out by a Red River Scotch half Breed." [13]

At that time, if the Iron Store and Powder Magazine are excluded, there were only three warehouses along the south wall of the fort--the present Buildings Nos. 7, 8, and 21. Number 8 is known to have been the Fur Store, and Number 21 was the Indian Trade Shop. Therefore, if there was a store devoted largely to provisions, it must have been Number 7.

Rather early in the present century, Fred Lockley, a well-known historian and writer in the Pacific Northwest, described Fort Vancouver as it appeared ca. 1849. The sources he employed are unknown.

His account contains certain errors, but it also shows signs of having been based upon independent, original, and often remarkably accurate information. He said that the storehouse for heavy goods, barrels of molasses, and such items was in the southwest corner of the fort, and he was not discussing the New Store, because he had assigned it another function. [14] Therefore, his storehouse for molasses, etc., must have been Building No. 7.

None of the evidence presented above is by any means conclusive, but it does suggest that Building No. 7 was not the Receiving Store and that it may have been primarily for the storage of bulk pro visions.

c. Packaging of imported dry goods. On page 245 of volume I a small amount of information is given on the methods of packing the goods sent out annually from England to the Columbia. The recent publication of Dr. John McLoughlin's business correspondence for 1847-48, after he had retired from active participation in the Company's affairs, permits ready access to a bit more data on this subject.

When ordering goods from his London agents on his own account on May 27, 1848, McLoughlin wrote: "The Cotton Shirts Melbourn, rail road and drab Cord Trousers ought to be packed in Bales wrapped three point Blankets covered with paper in the Same manner as the Hudson Bay Company's are Shipped--the Moleskin ought to be in cases tinned and well soldered." [15]

FURNISHINGS OF BIG HOUSE: QUARTERS OF JAMES DOUGLAS

During January 1848 the survivors of the Whitman massacre spent several days recuperating at Fort Vancouver. One of the rescued children, Elizabeth Sager, recalled many years later that she had wanted to remain with the family of Chief Factor James Douglas because "they had such good bread and cake, and the cutest beds for the children, that could be shoved right into the wall during the day." [16]

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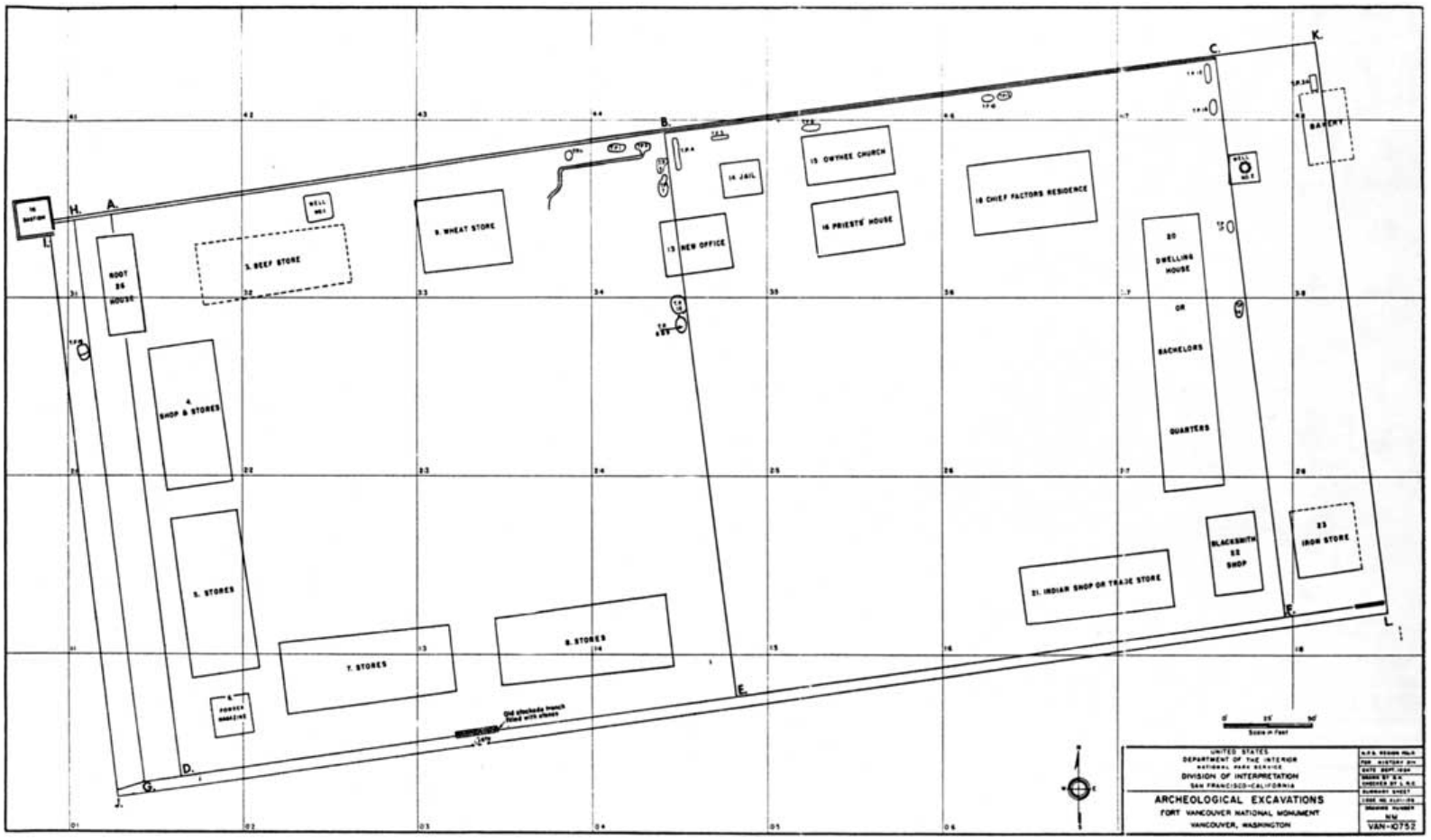
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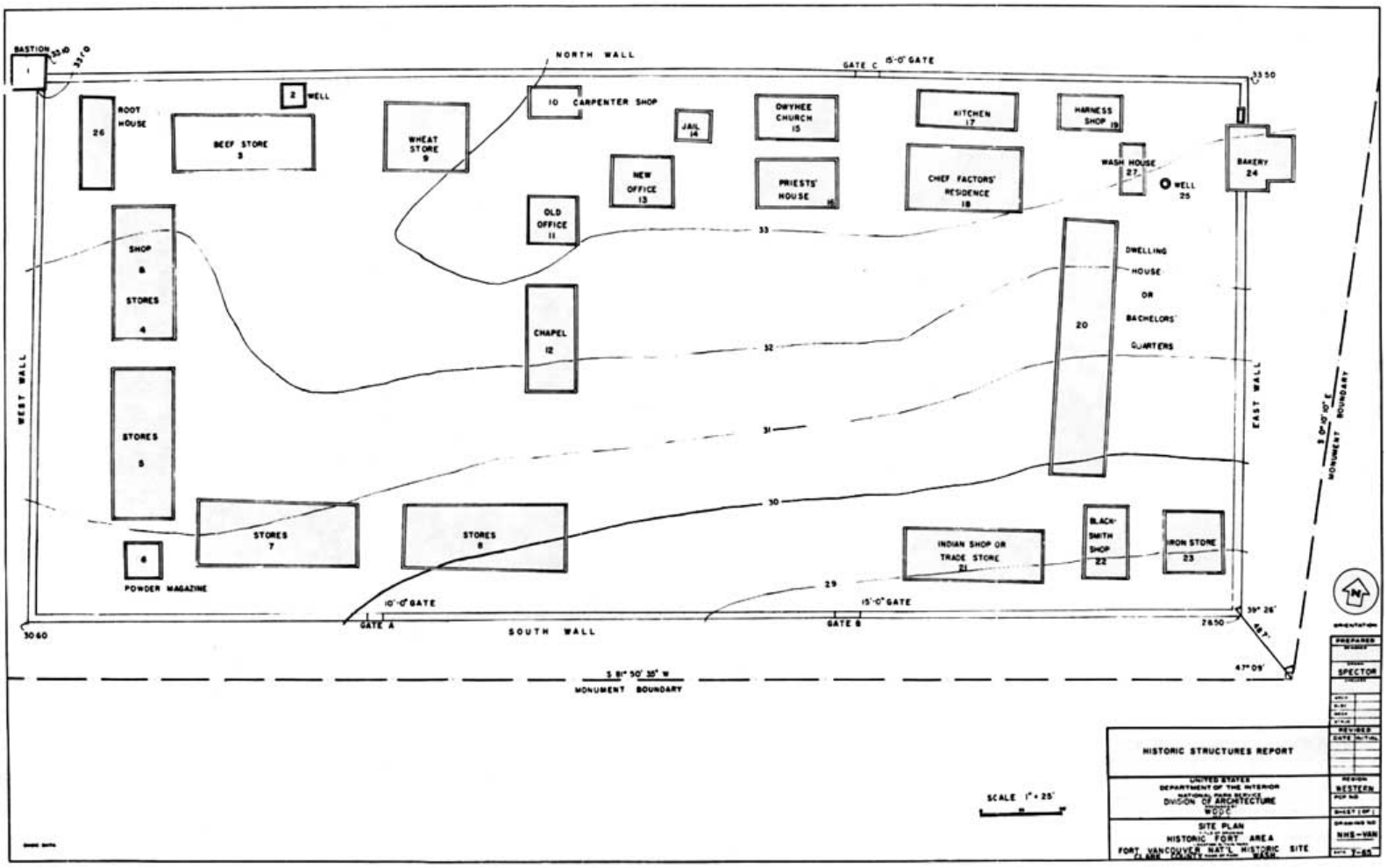
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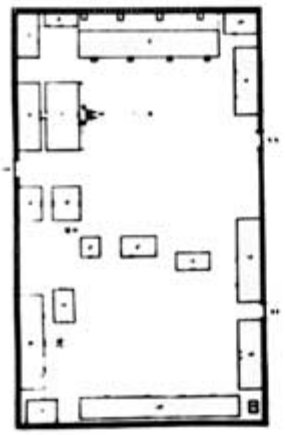
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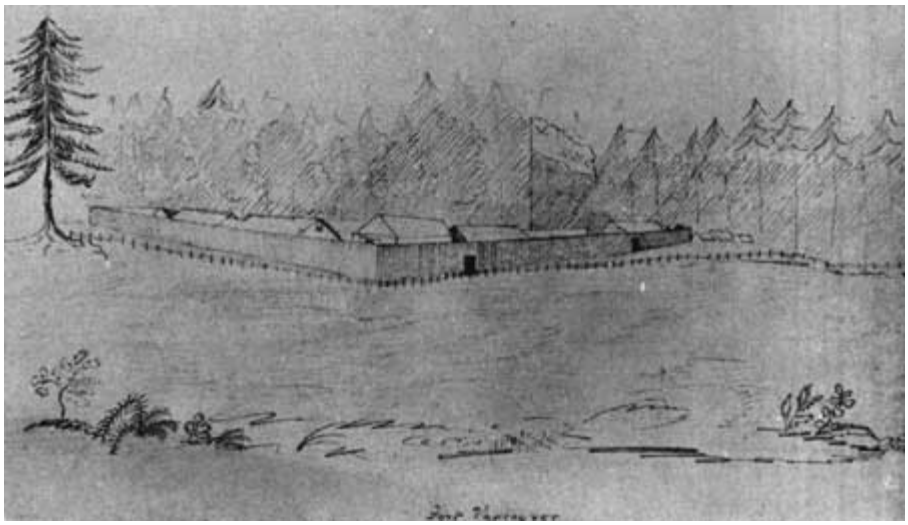
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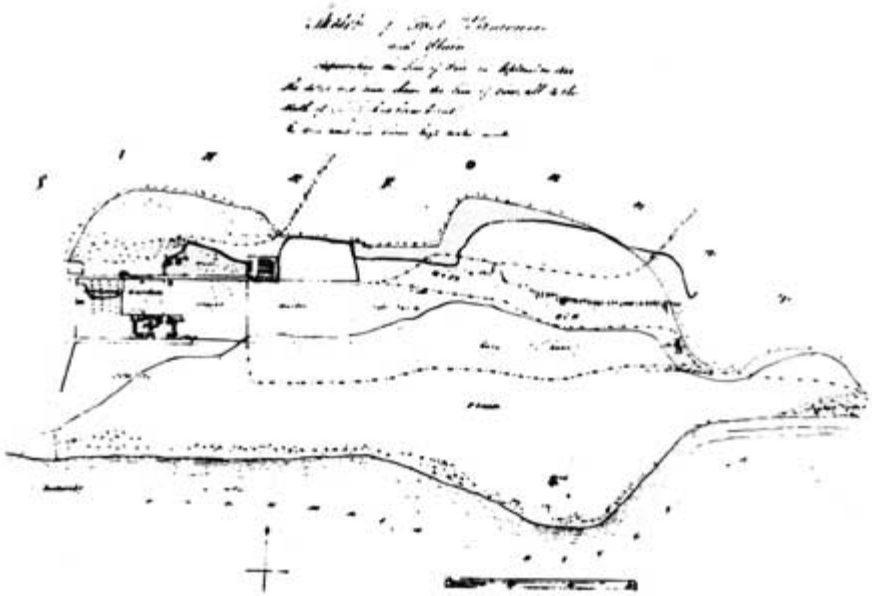


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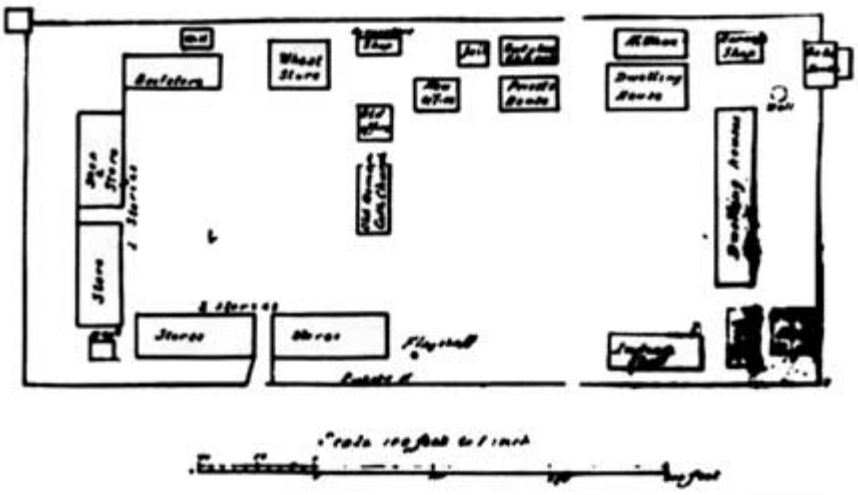






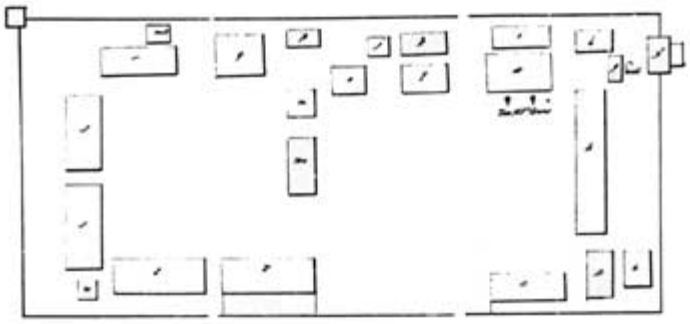


Plan of Fort Vancouver



http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/fova/hsr/images/fig1-6.jpg[6/14/2013 11:25:48 AM]

Plan of Fort Vancouver Columbia River



a. Chief Factor's House
b. Dwelling Houses
c. Indian Trading Store
d. Smith's Shop
e. Store House
f. Bakery
g. Men's Rooms
h. Cooper's Shop
i. Kitchens
j. Jail
k. Catholic Church
l. Priest's House
m. Old R.C. Church
n. P.H. Office
o. Officers
p. Carpenter's Shop
q. Wheel House
r. Boat Do
s. Sawyer's Shop
t. Stores
u. Trade Shop

Buildings 80 feet square on the ground are each 4 stories high
Do of 50 square & under 2 stories high

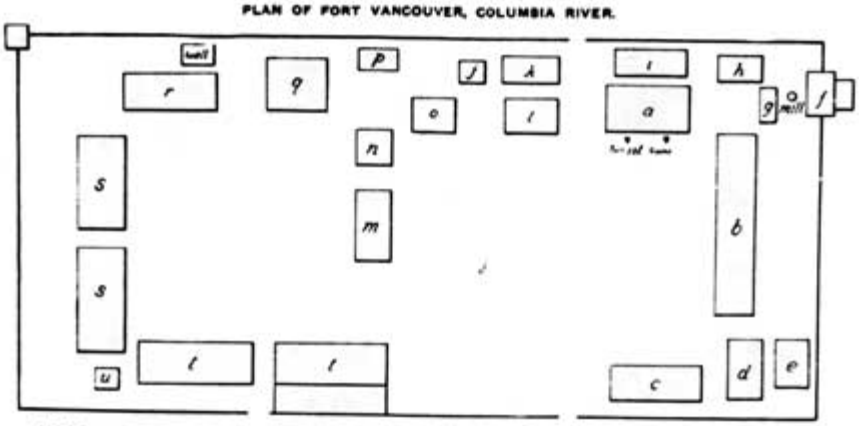
Scale 100 feet to an inch

0 100 200 Feet

Surveyed by
Lt. Peter Hag
1846

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/fova/hsr/images/fig1-7.jpg[6/14/2013 11:25:49 AM]

PLAN OF FORT VANCOUVER, COLUMBIA RIVER.



a—Chief Factor's House.
b—Dwelling Houses.
c—Indian Trading Store.
d—Smith's Shop.
e—Iron Store.
f—Bakery.
g—Warehouse.
h—Harness Shop.
i—Kitchen.
j—Jail.
k—Owyhee Church.
l—Priest's House.
m—Old R. C. Church.
n—O. Office.
o—Office.
p—Carpenter's Shop.
q—Wheat Store.
r—Beef do.
ss—Stores and Shops.
tt—Stores.
u—Powder Mag'n.

Bastion 20 feet square with octagonal top containing 8 3-pd. iron guns. Built of squared timbers. Pickets 15 feet high.

Scale 100 feet to an inch



M Vavasour
Lt. Royal Engs
1845

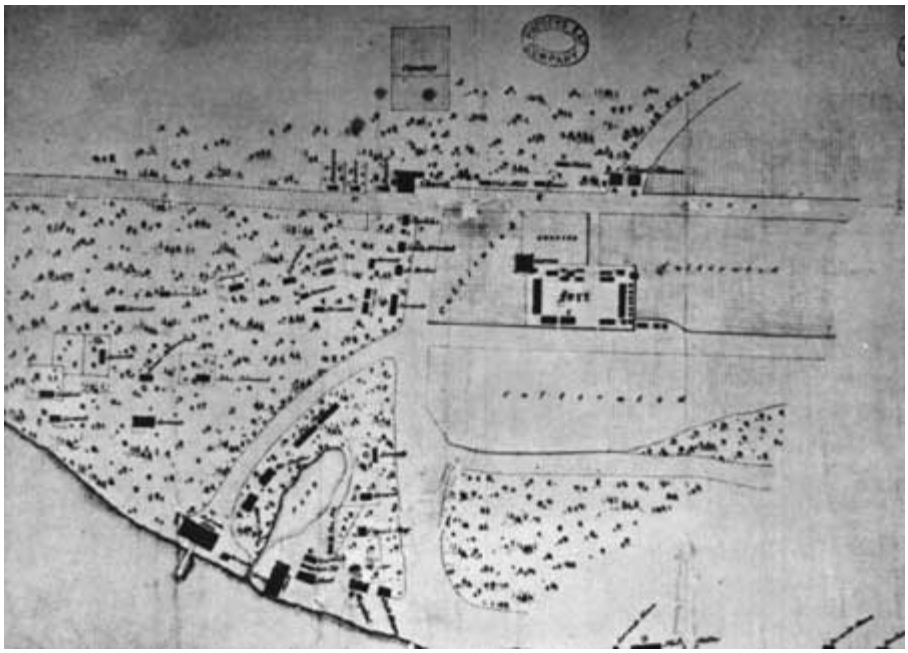
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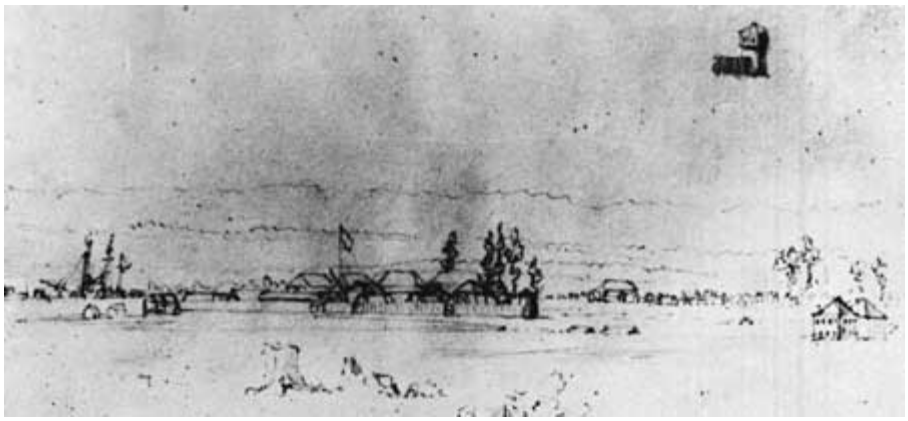


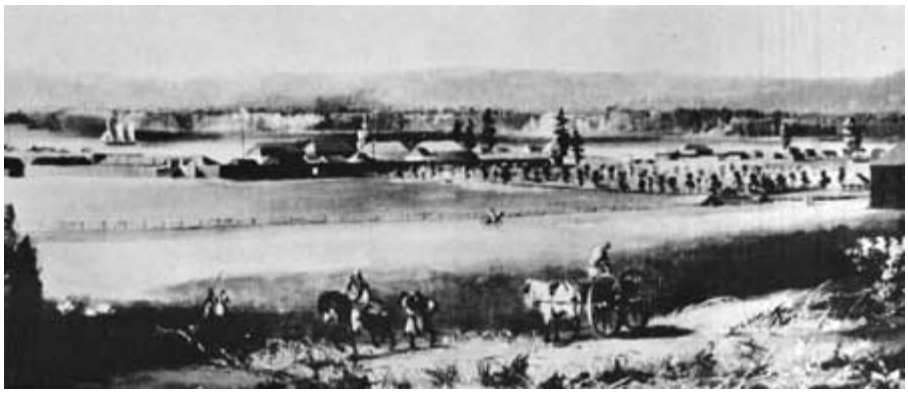


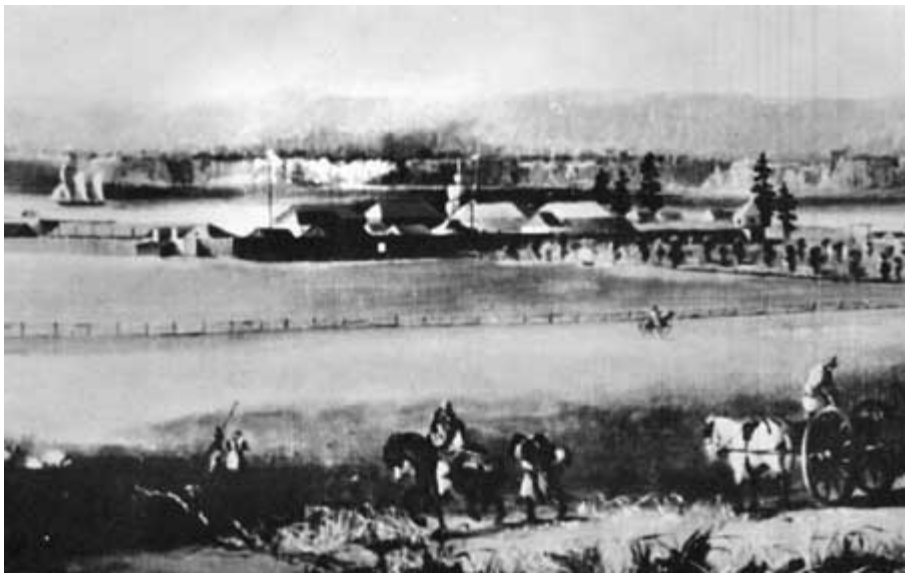


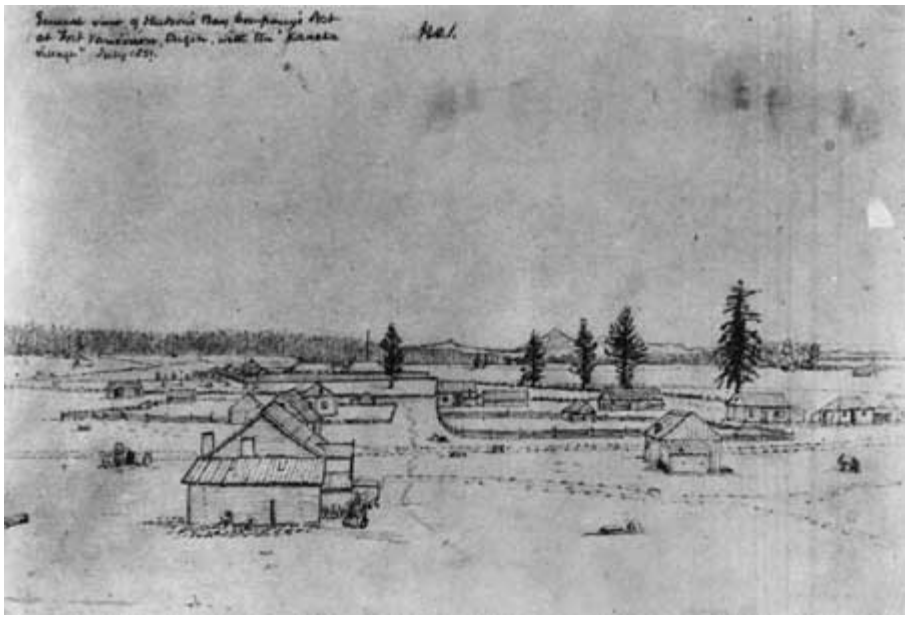


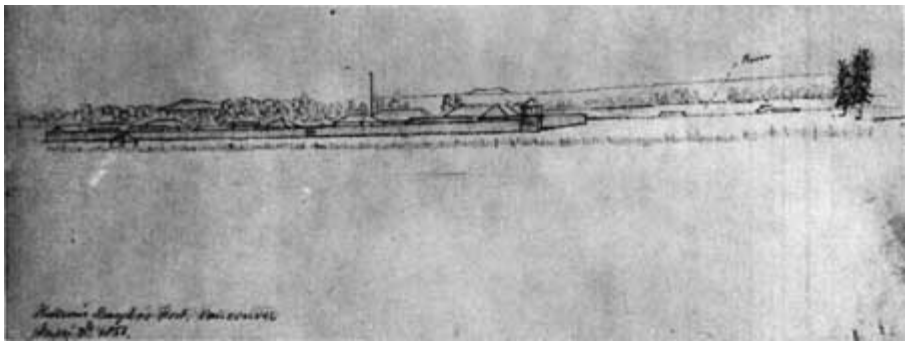


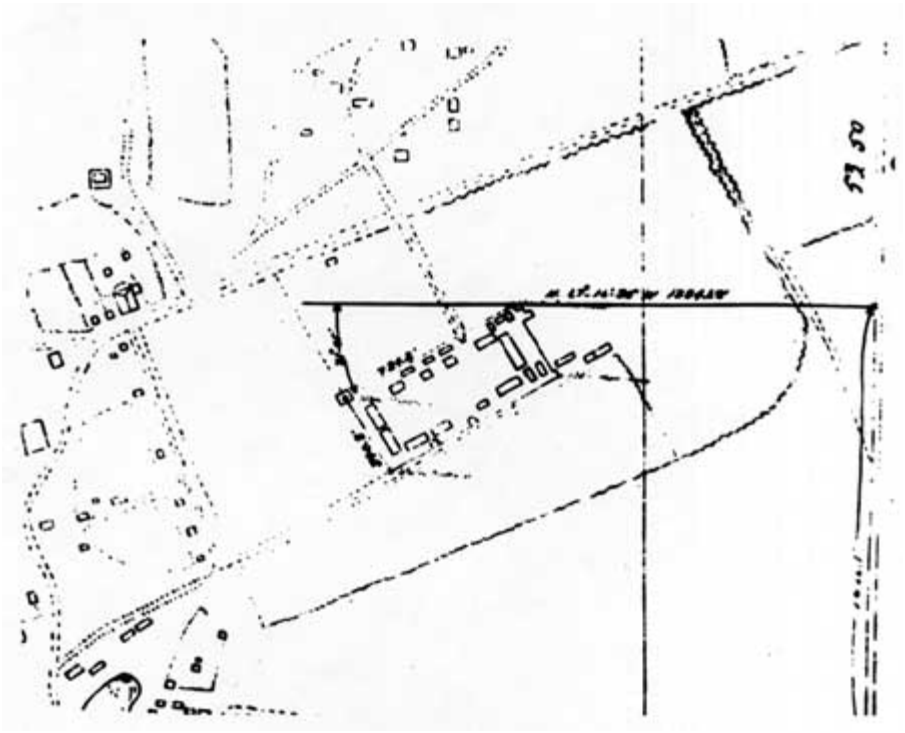








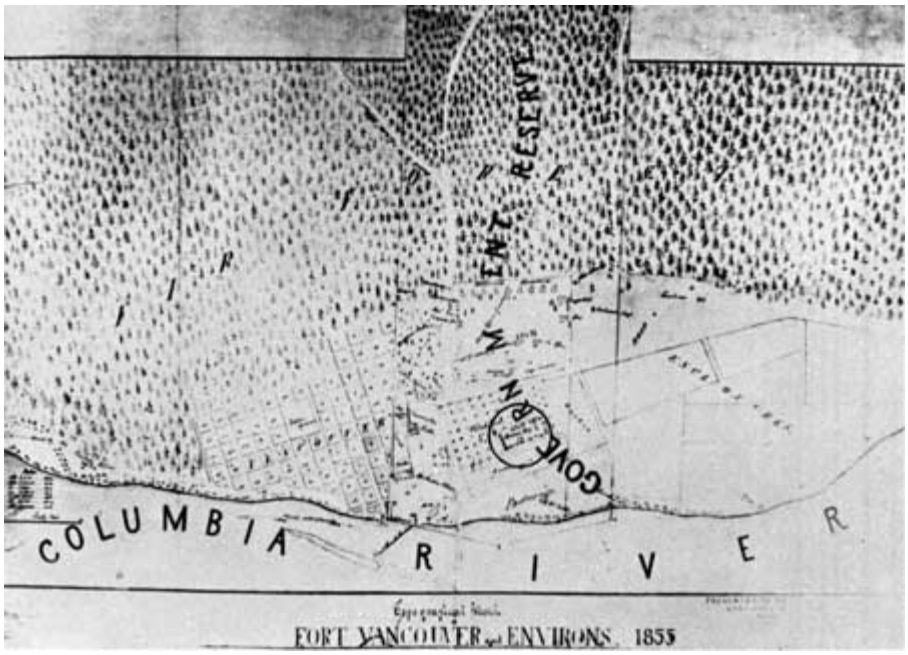




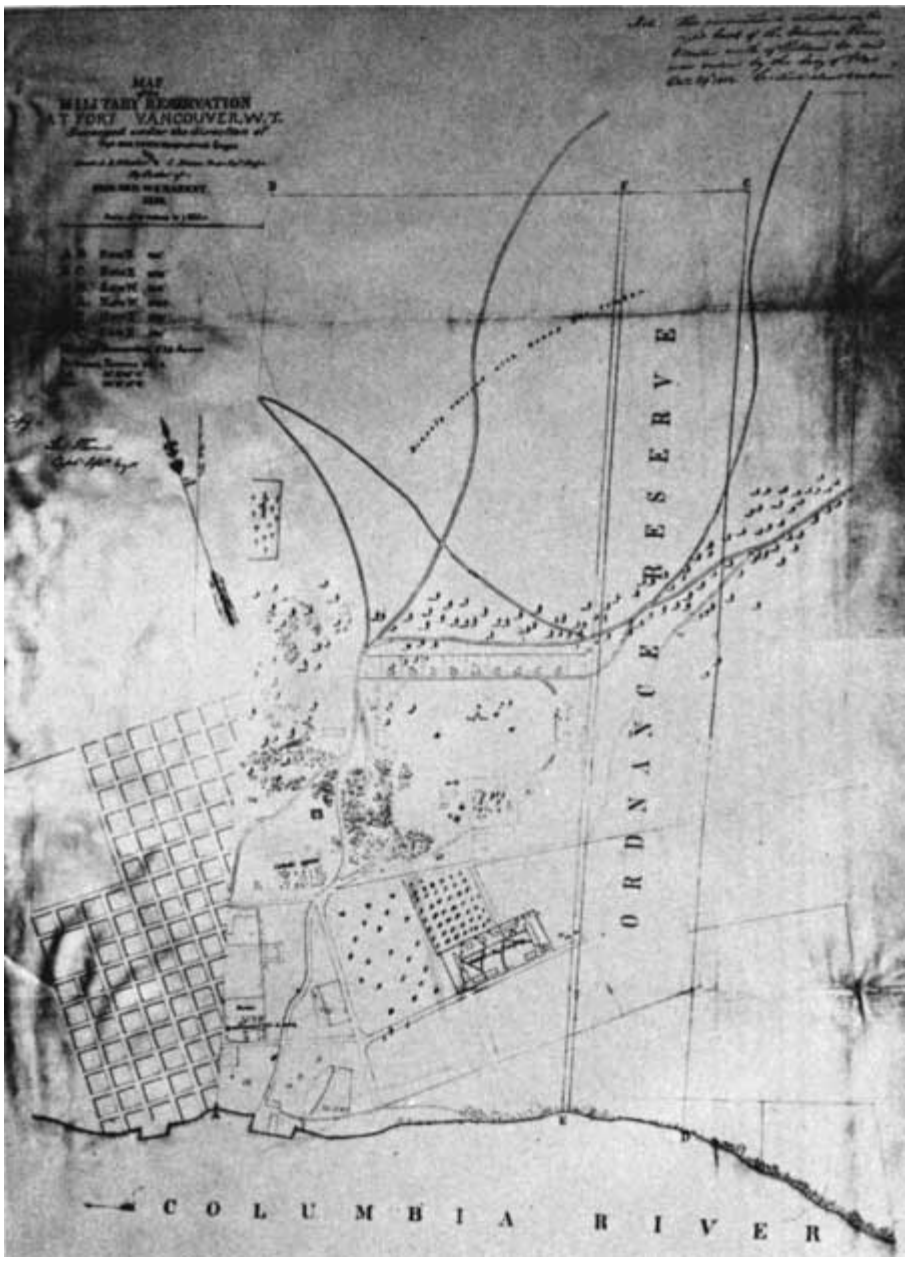





FORT VANCOUVER - 1855



FORT VANCOUVER and ENVIRONS 1855


MAP
OF
MILITARY RESERVATION
AT FORT VANCOUVER, W.T.
ORDNANCE RESERVE
COLUMBIA RIVER



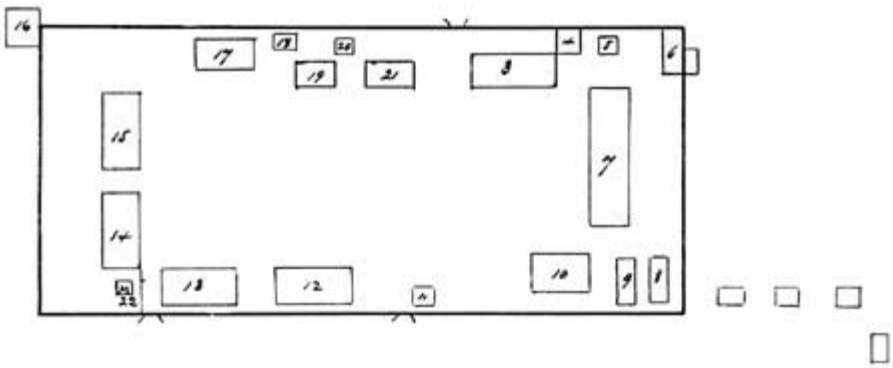








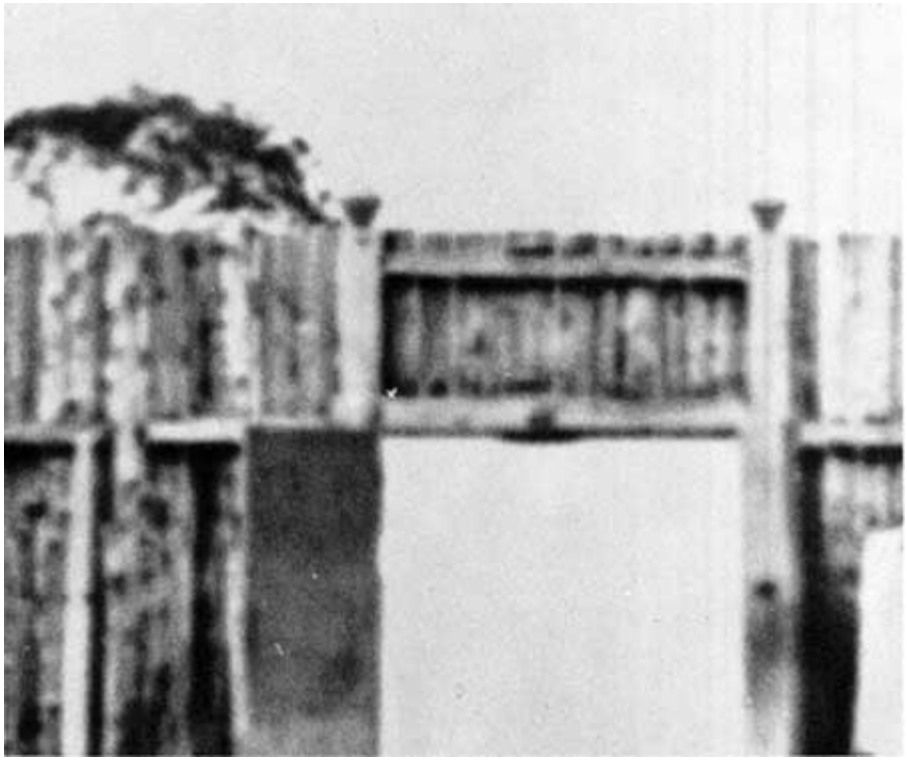
This sketch shows the relative position of the buildings within the pickets—



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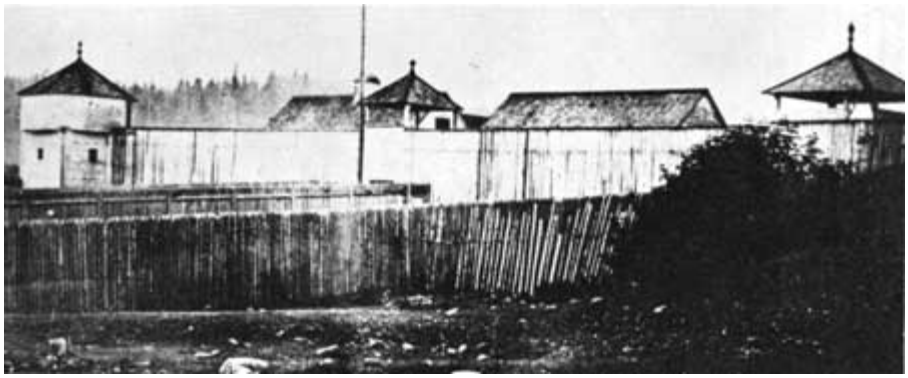






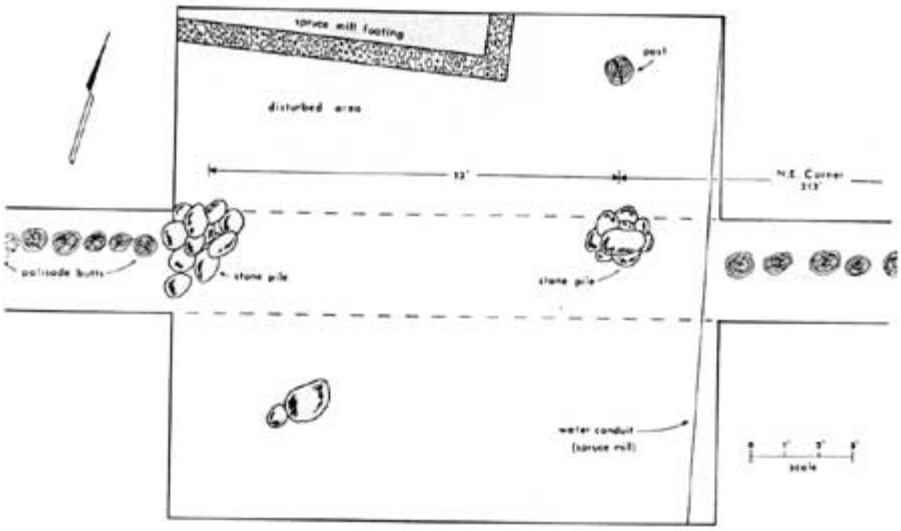




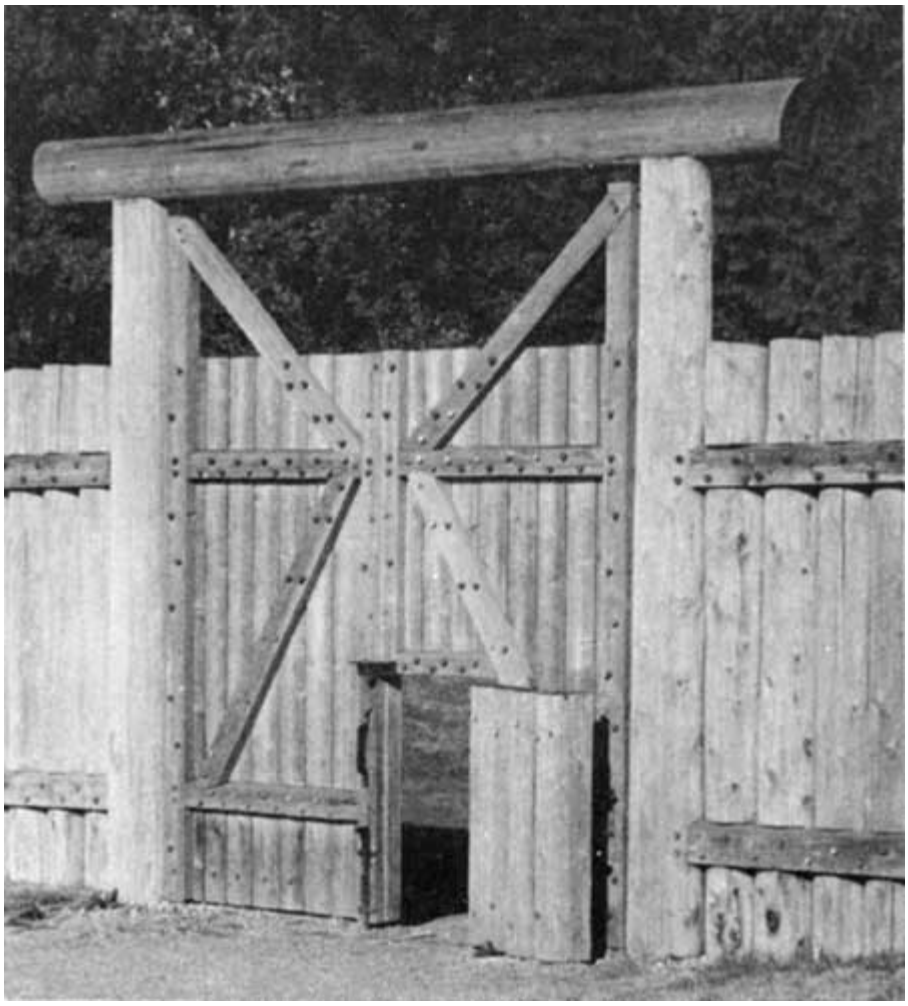


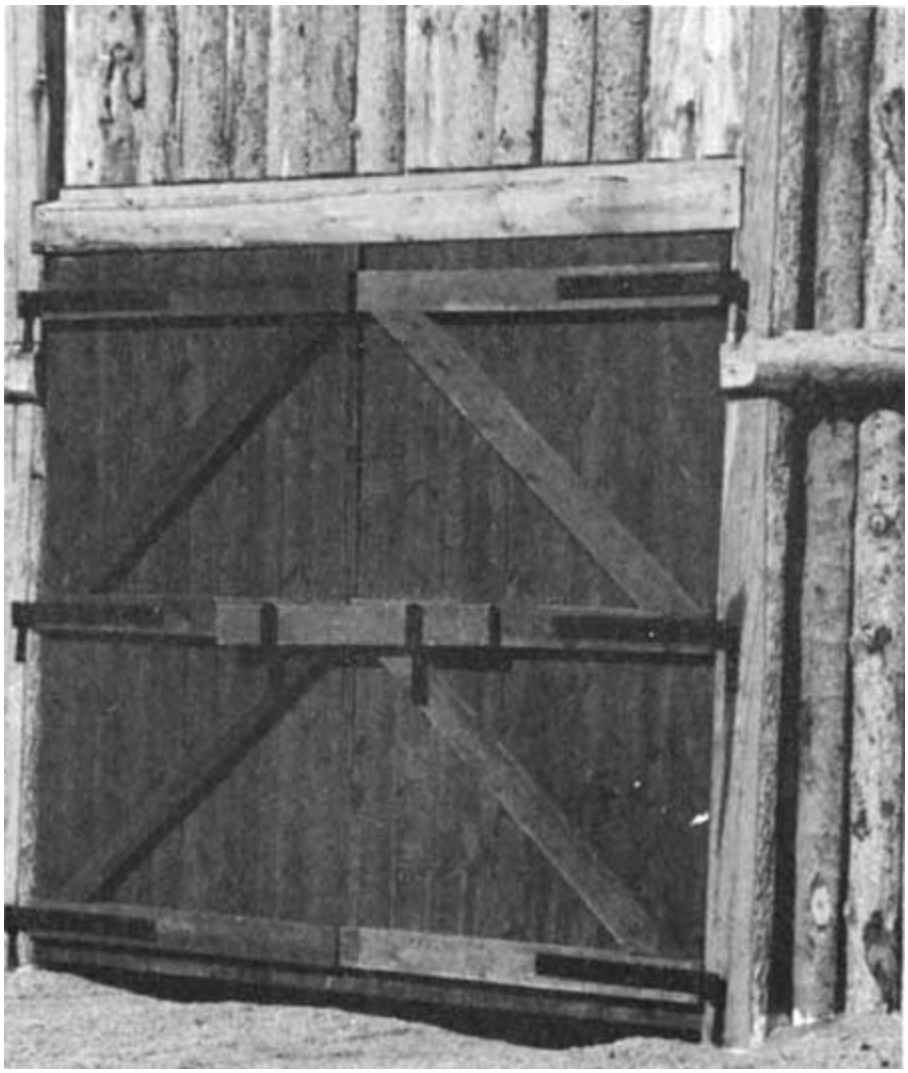


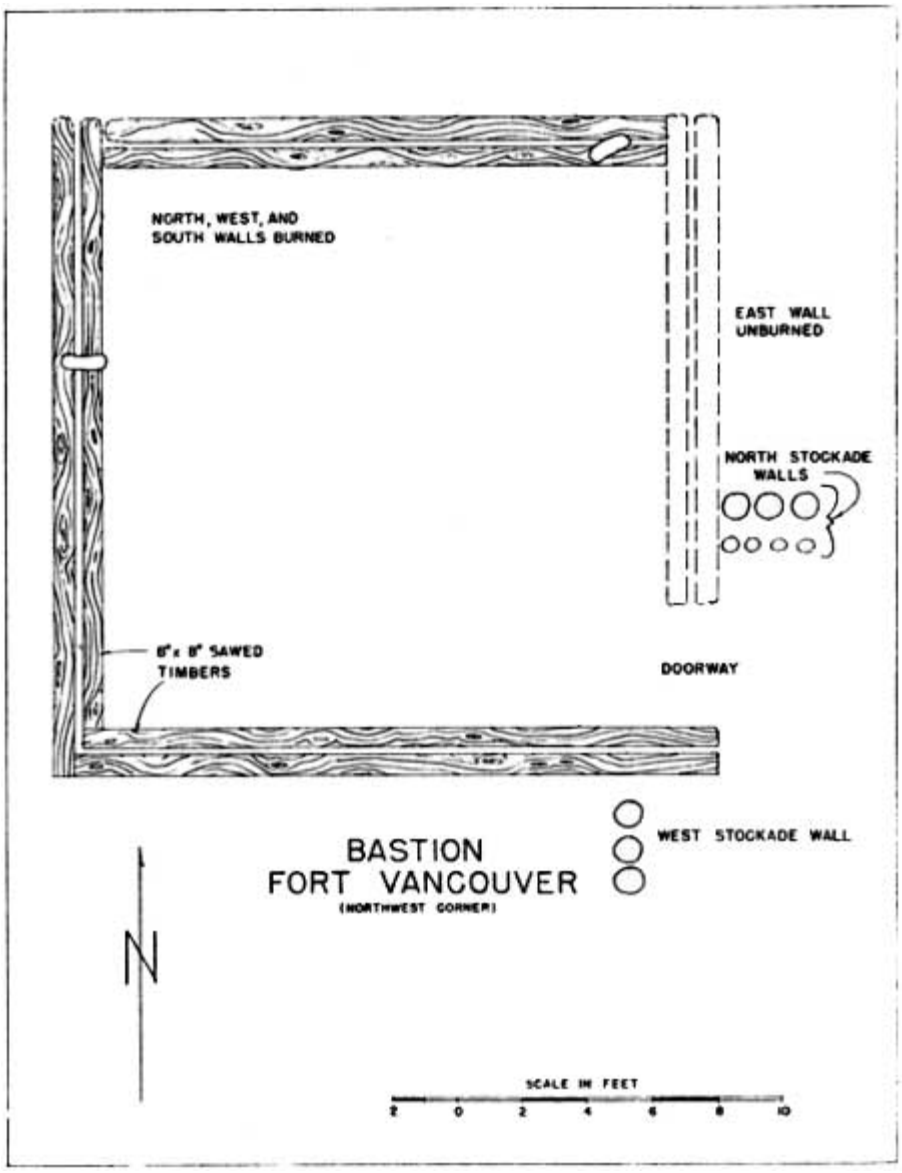



spruce mill footing
post
disturbed area
N.E. Corner
palisade butts
stone pile
stone pile
water conduit
(spruce mill)
scale





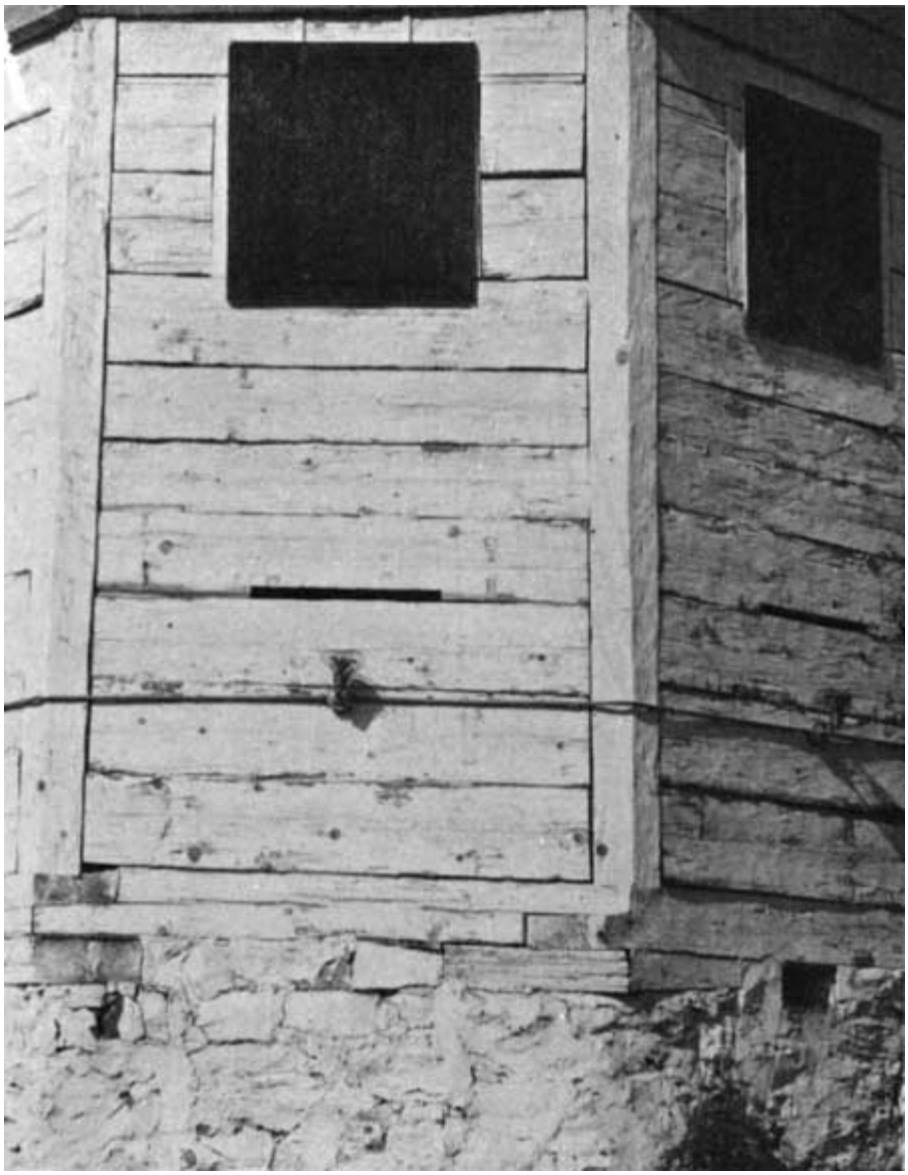


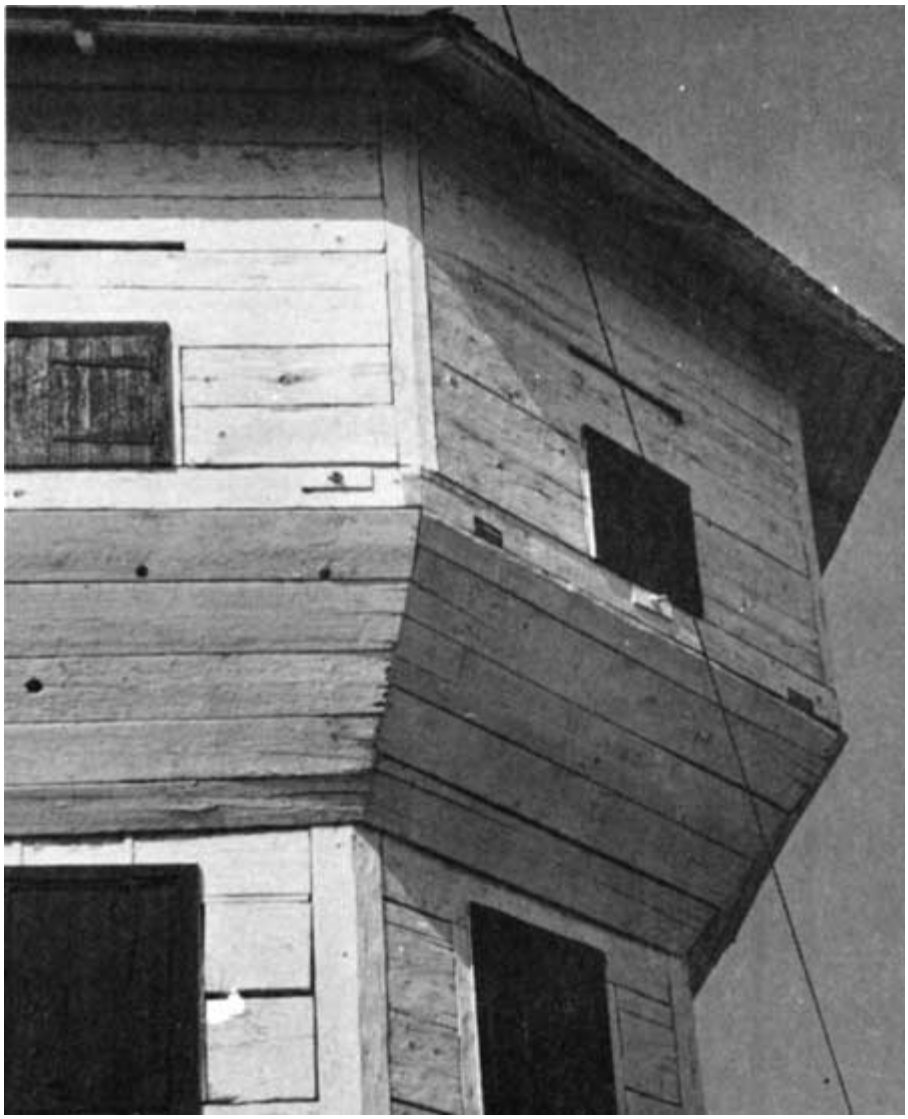

NORTH, WEST, AND
SOUTH WALLS BURNED
EAST WALL
UNBURNED
NORTH STOCKADE
WALLS
8" x 8" SAWED
TIMBERS
DOORWAY
WEST STOCKADE WALL
BASTION
FORT VANCOUVER
(NORTHWEST CORNER)
N
SCALE IN FEET
2 0 2 4 6 8 10






NANAIMO B.C.
HBC FORT

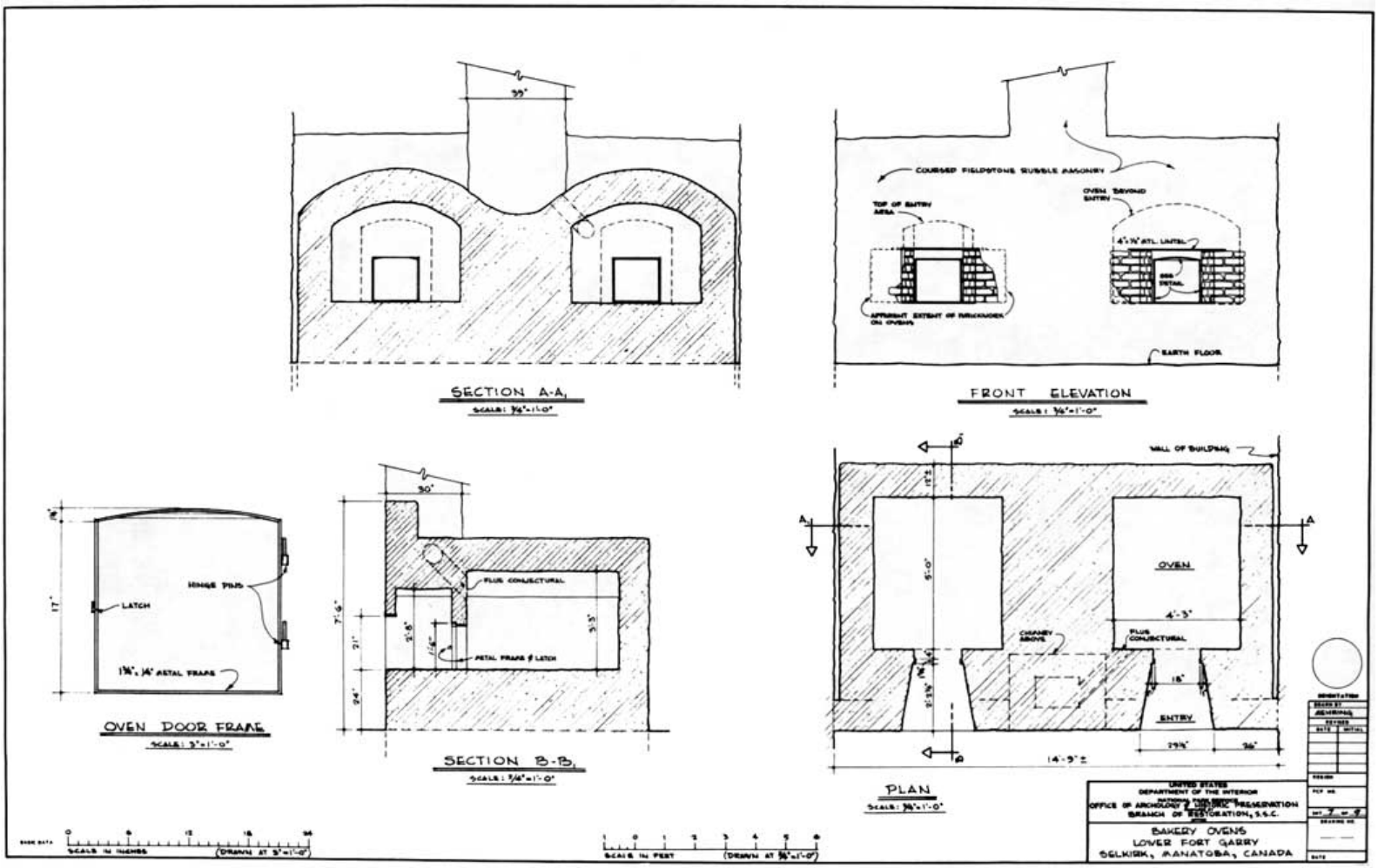





Fort St. James - Ready To leave for Fort McLeod. May 15/14







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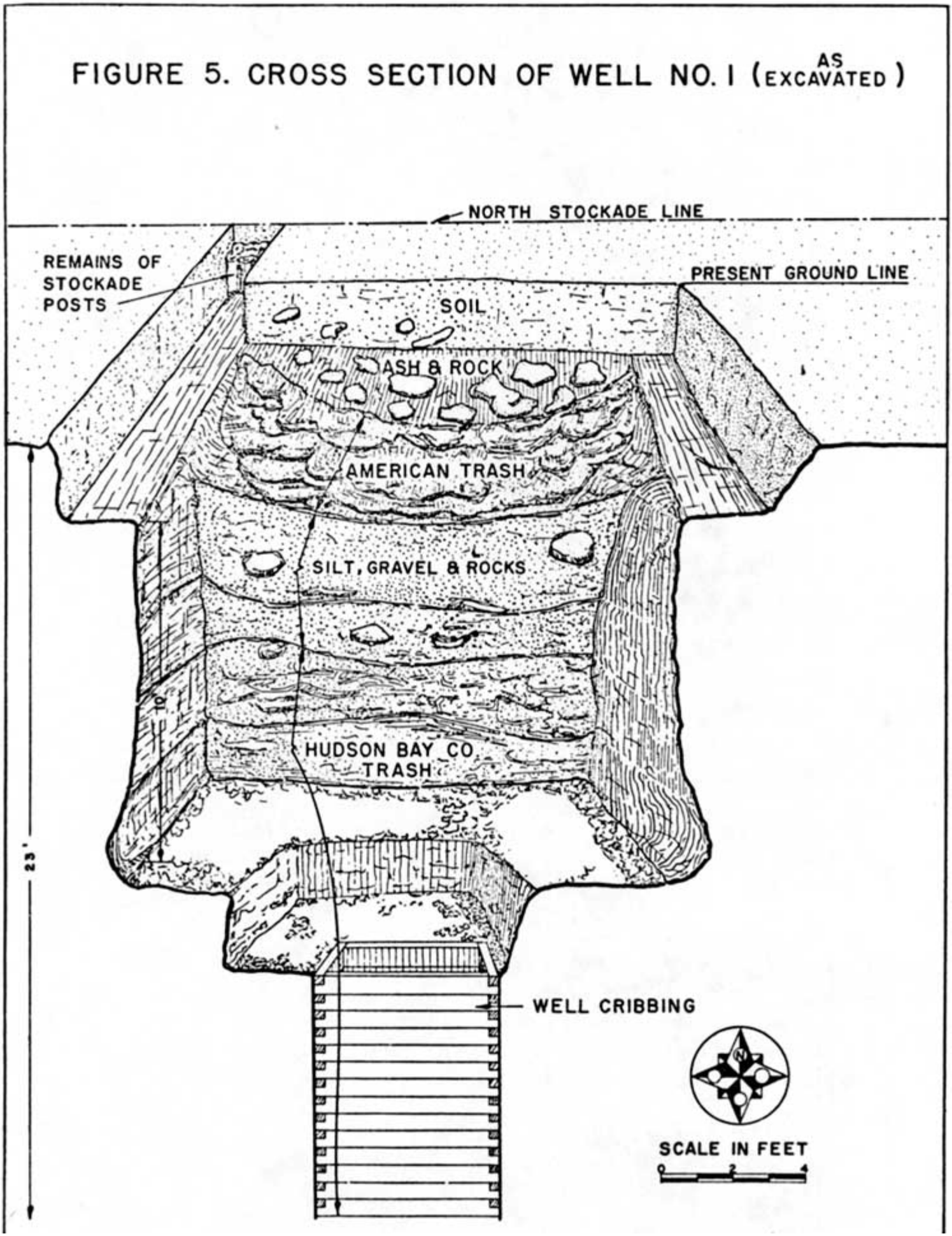


FORT VANCOUVER.


PRO PELLE
CUTEM



FIGURE 5. CROSS SECTION OF WELL NO. 1 (AS EXCAVATED)



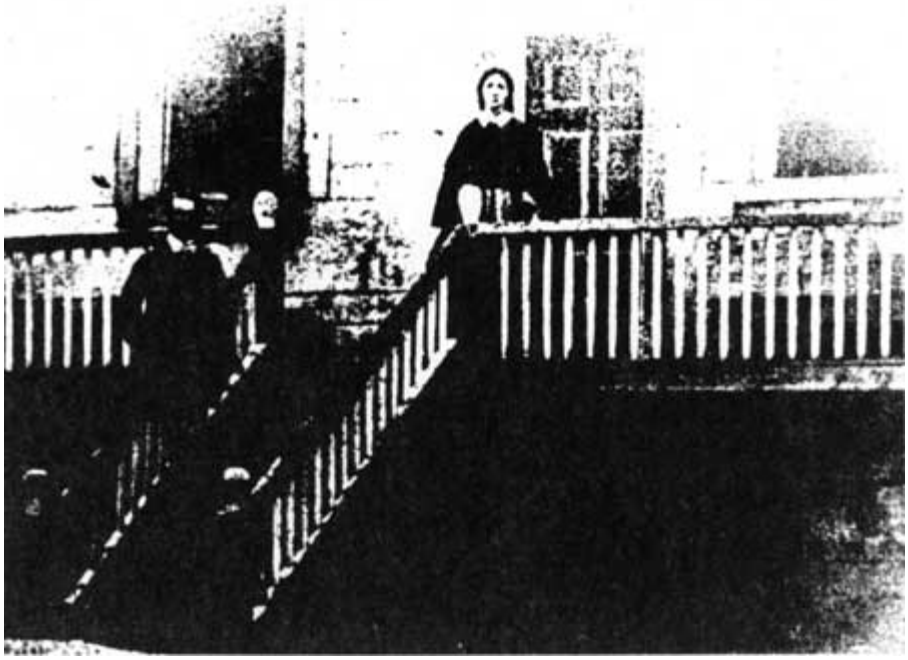




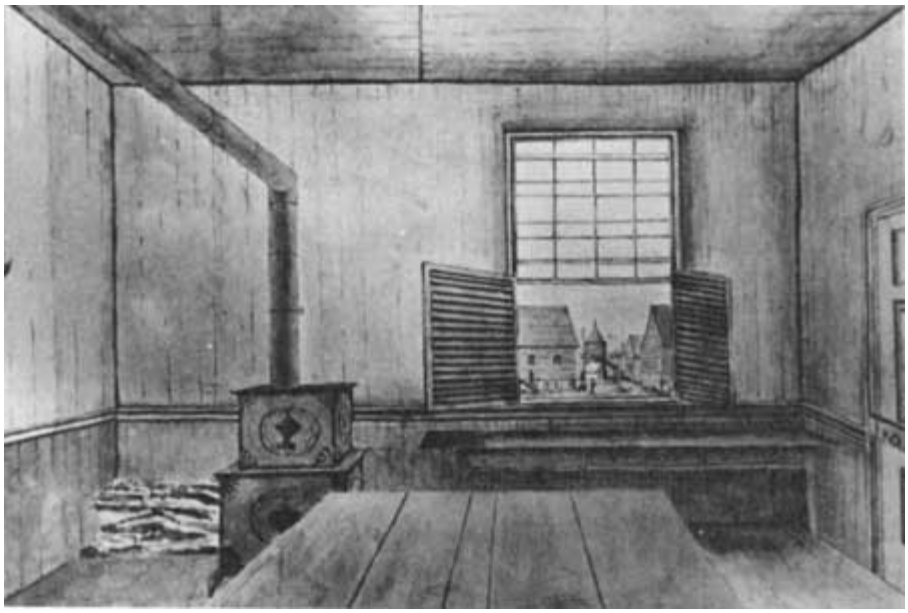




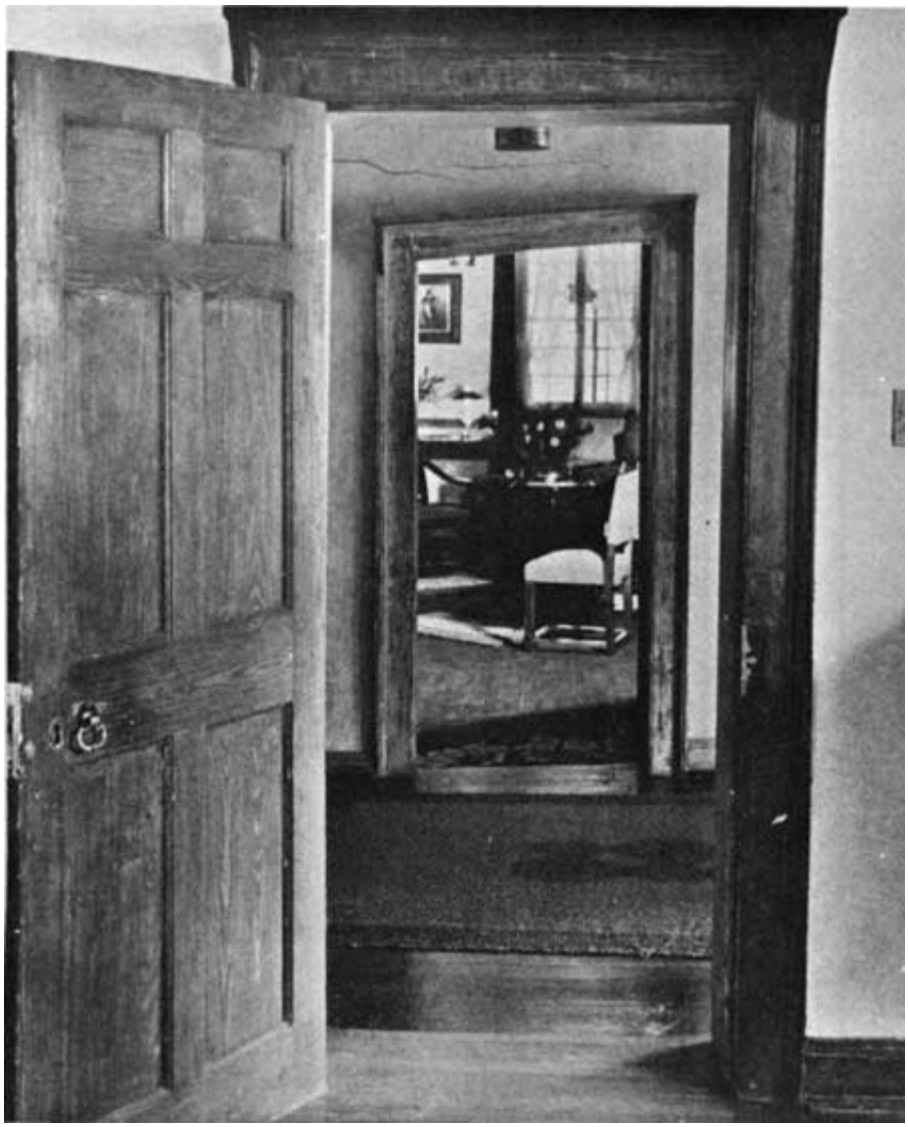




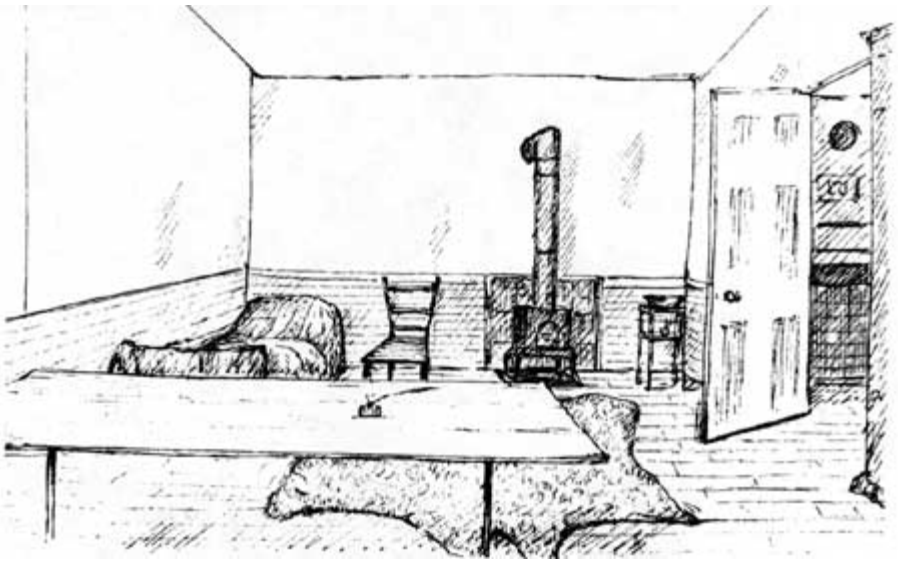
















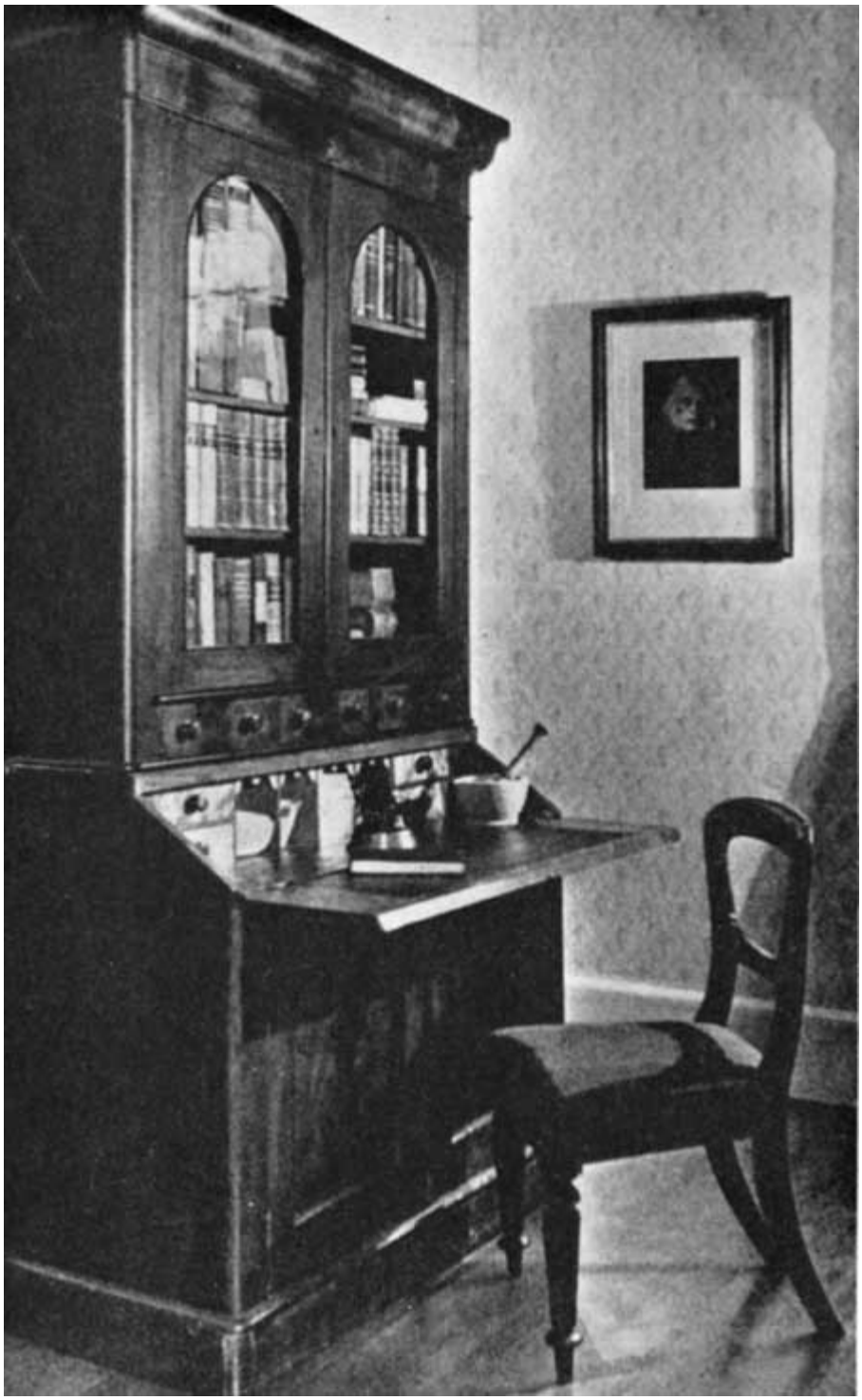








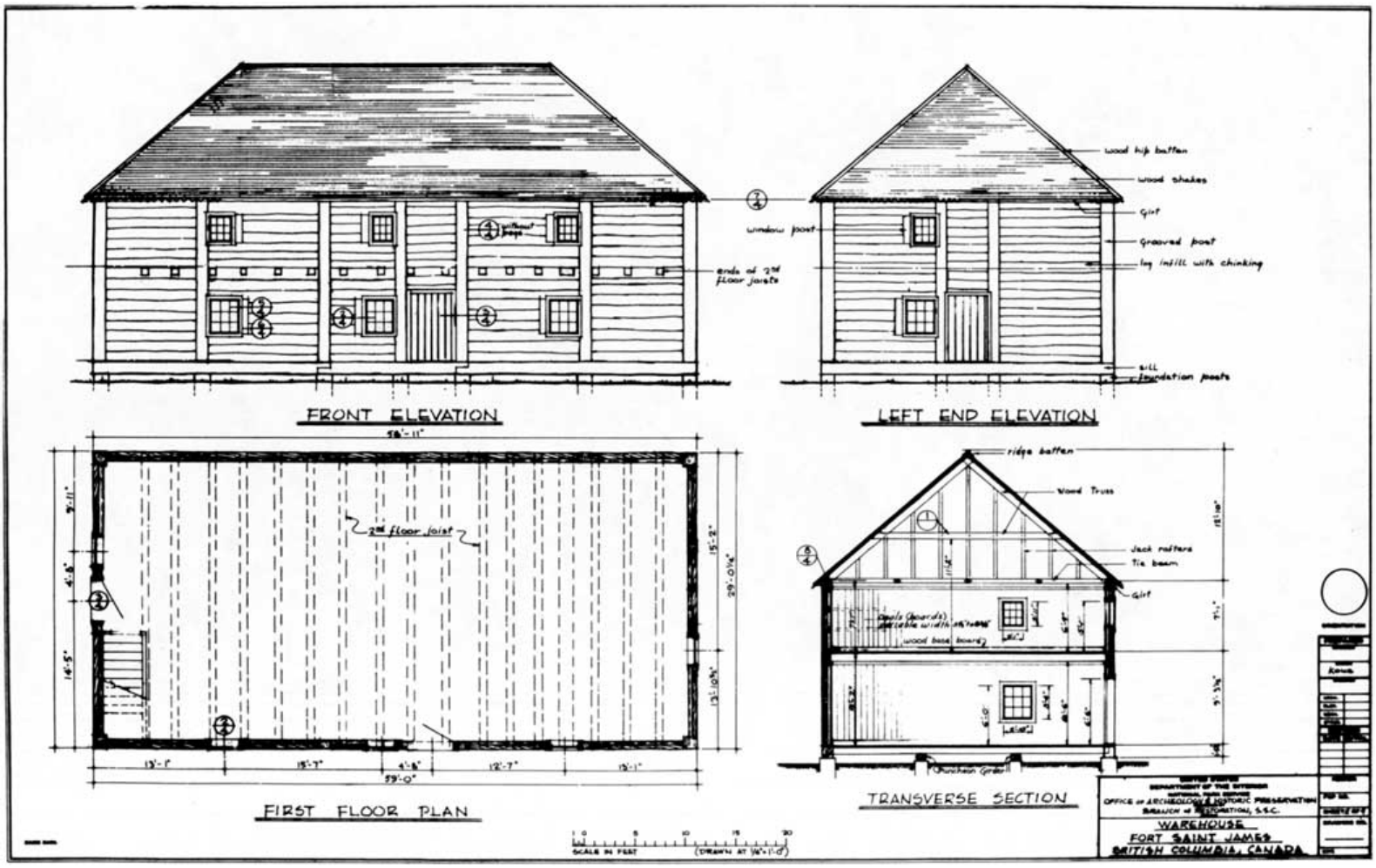




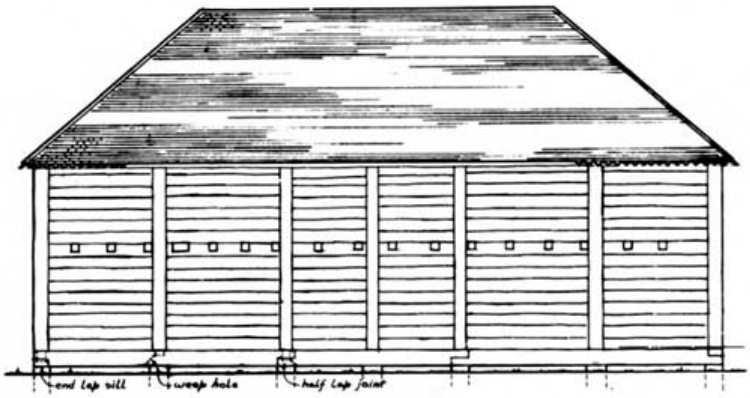




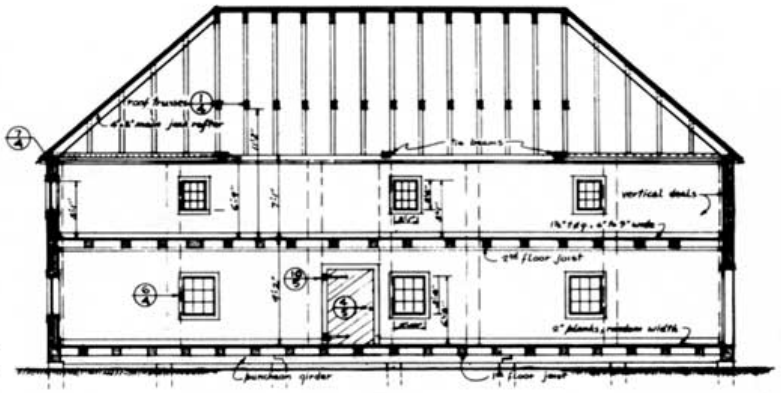




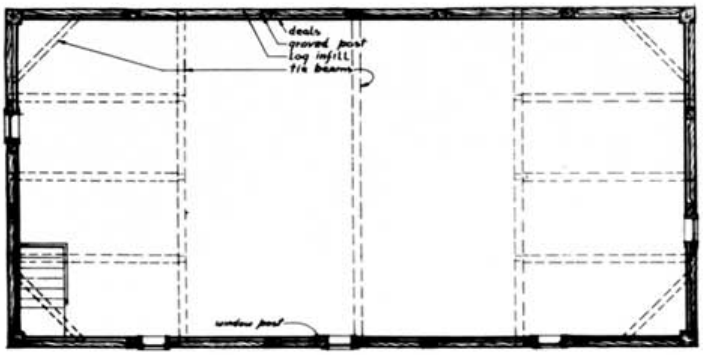
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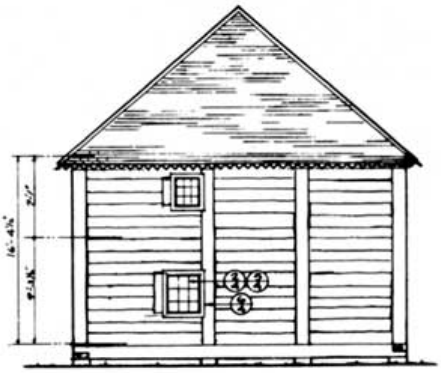
REAR ELEVATION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION



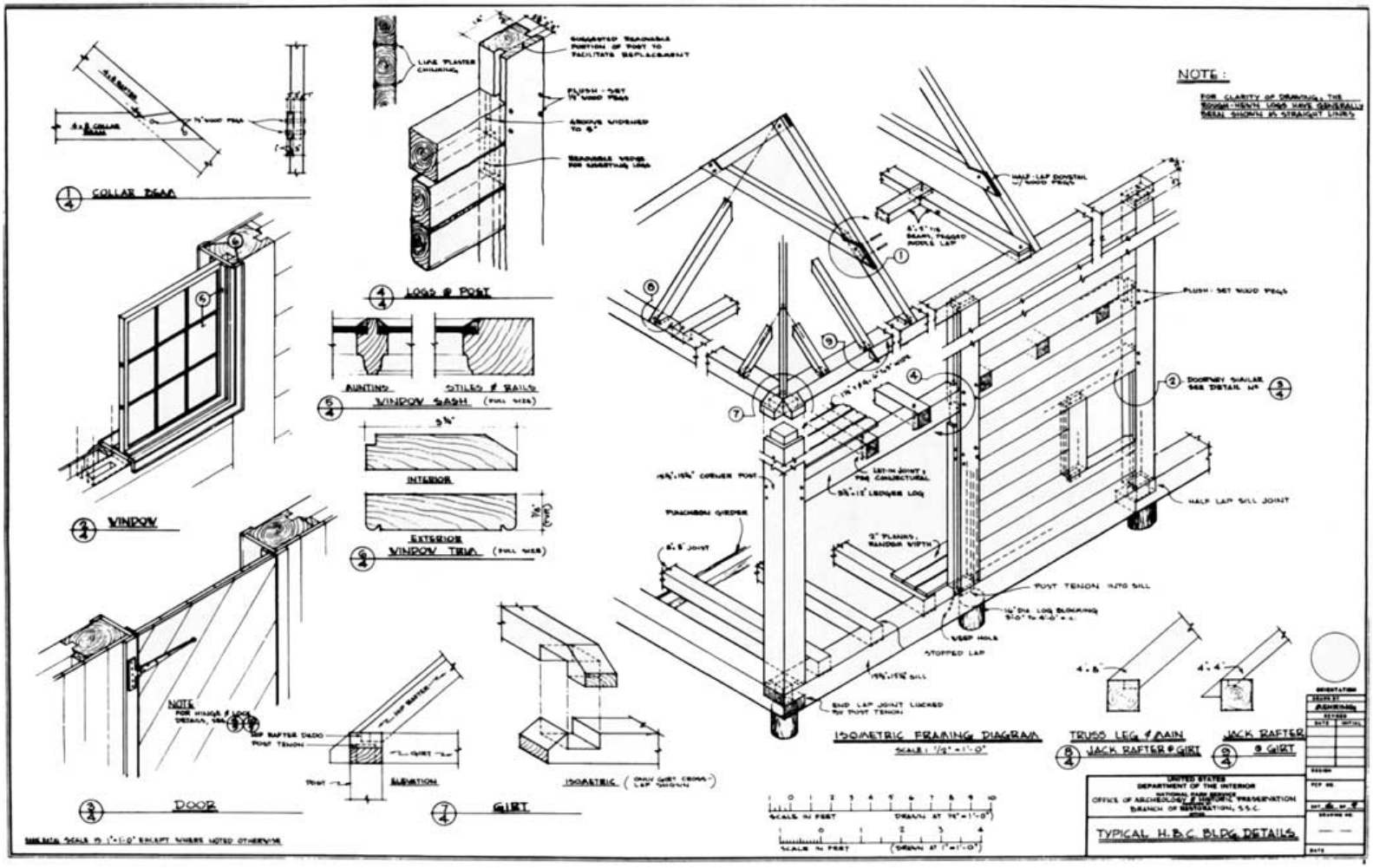
SECOND FLOOR PLAN



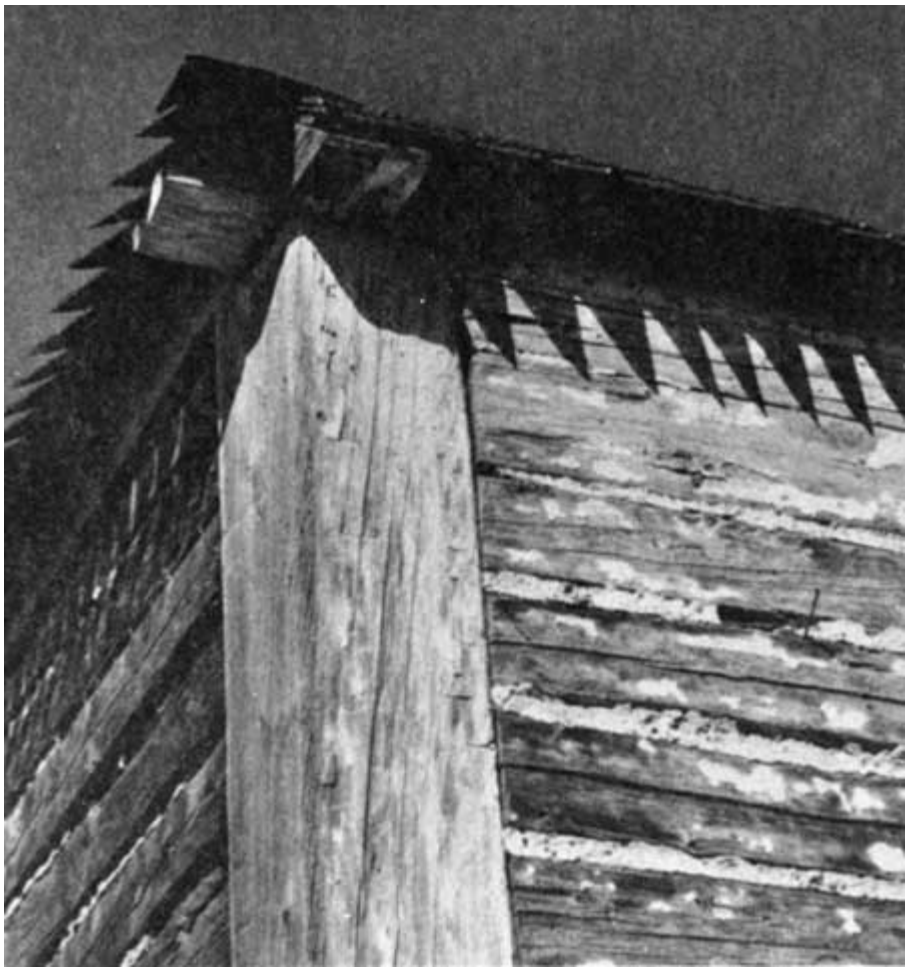
RIGHT END ELEVATION

NOTE:
For general framing, see Isometric Framing Diagram, sheet no.

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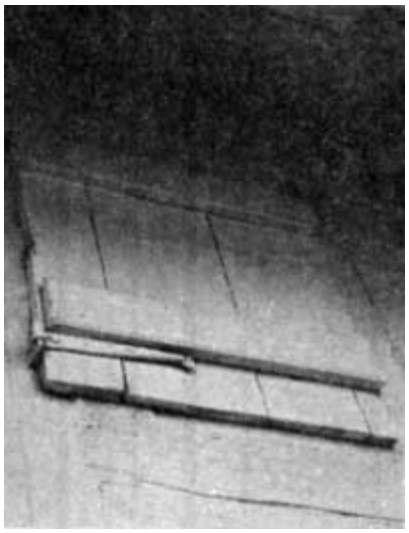
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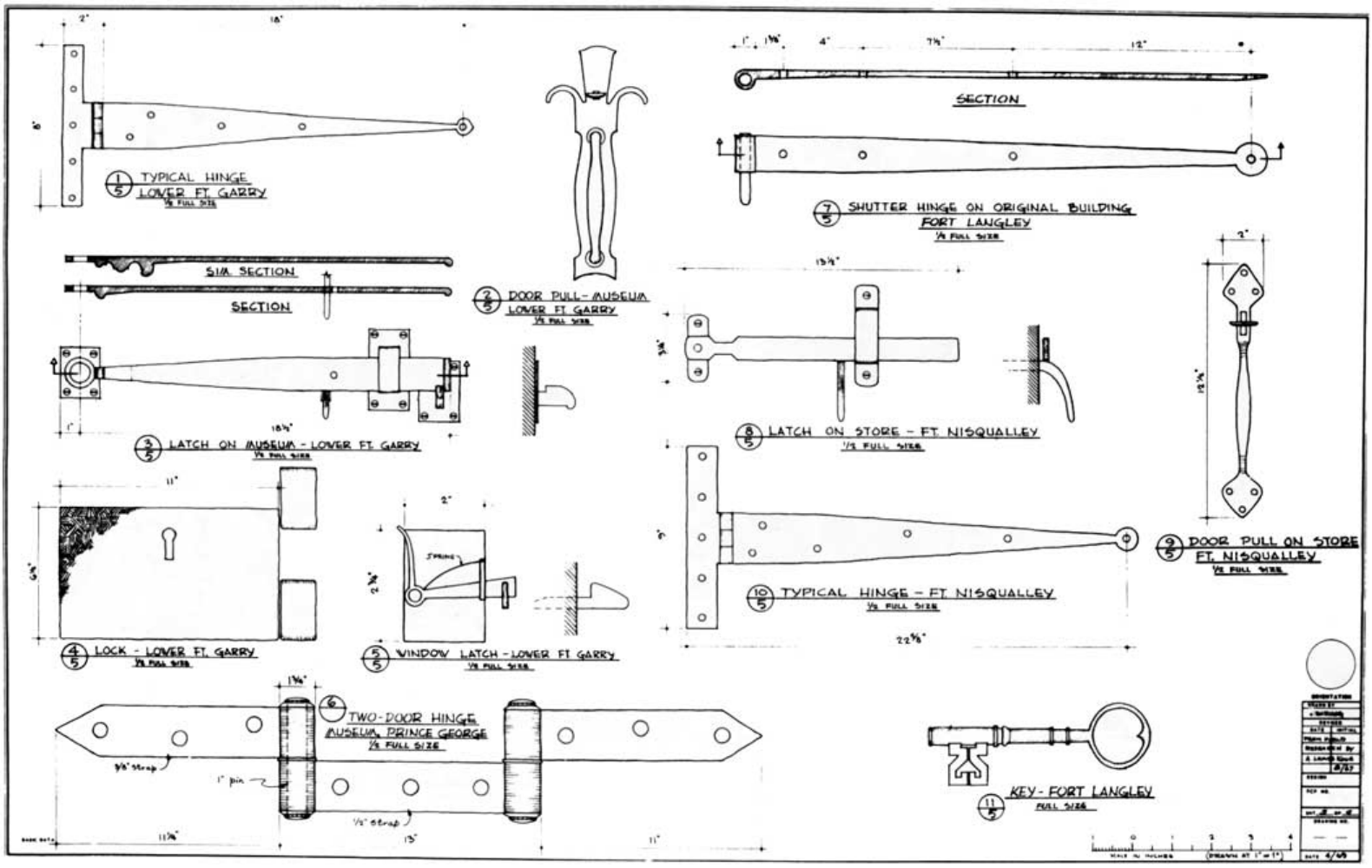




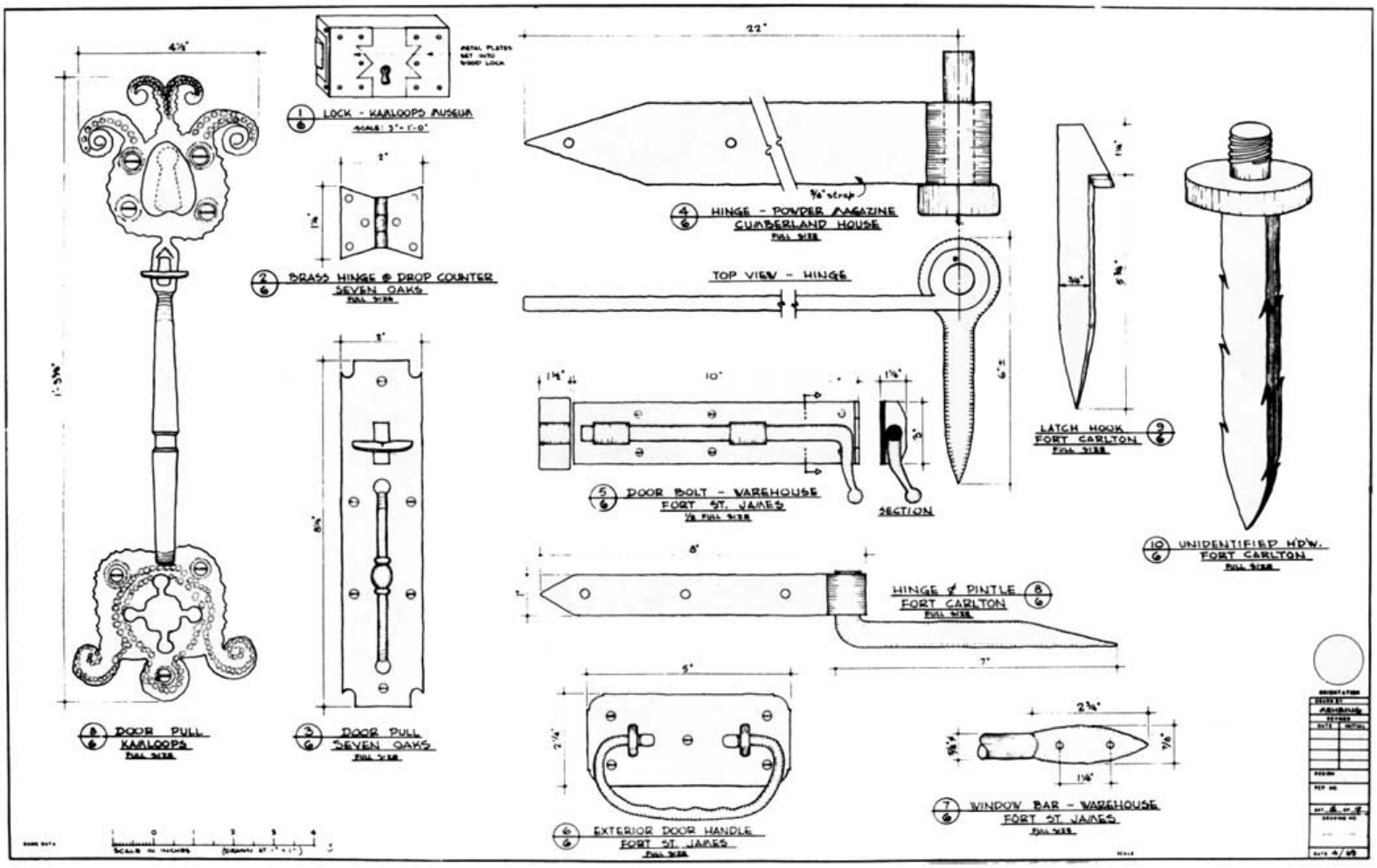








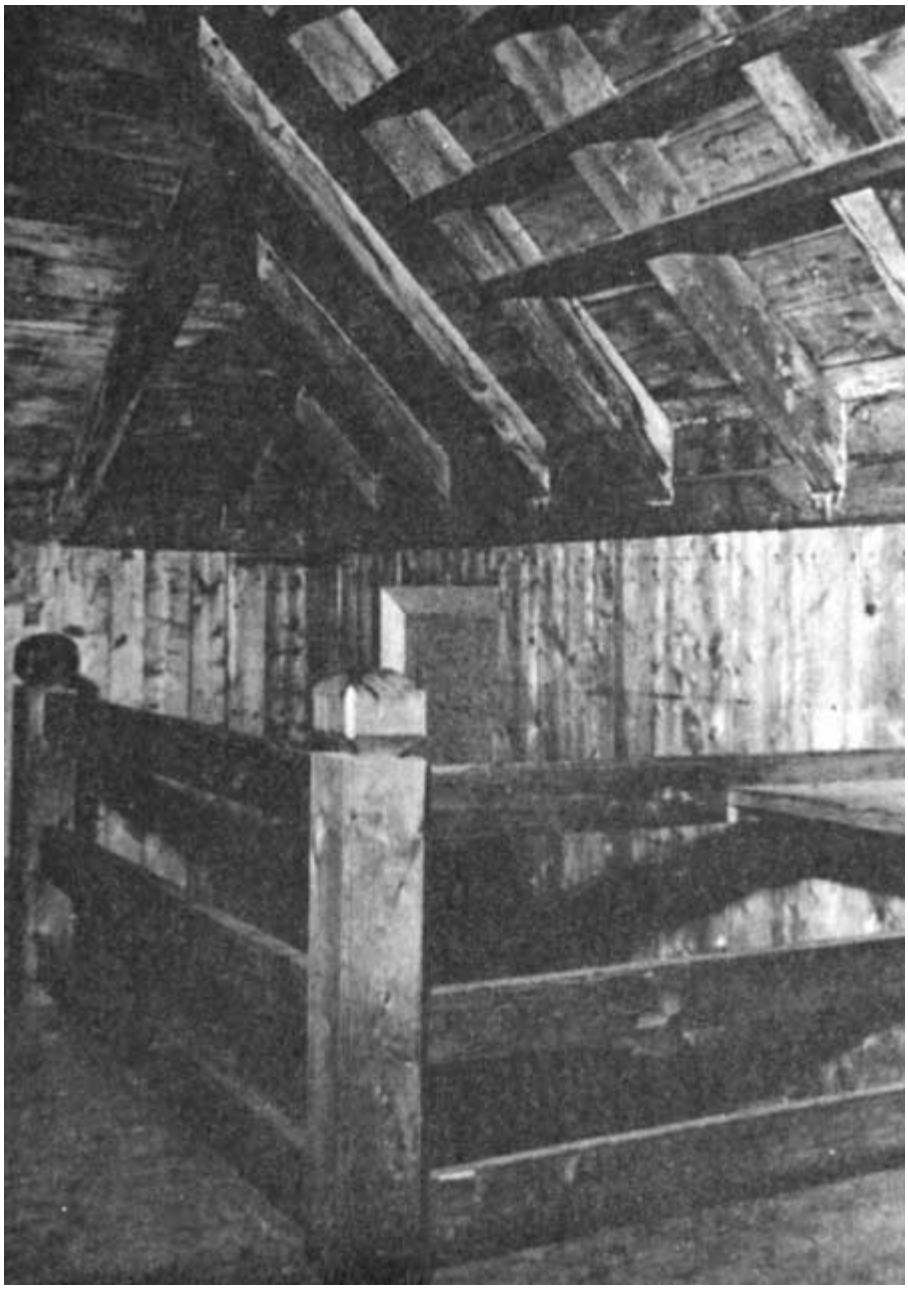
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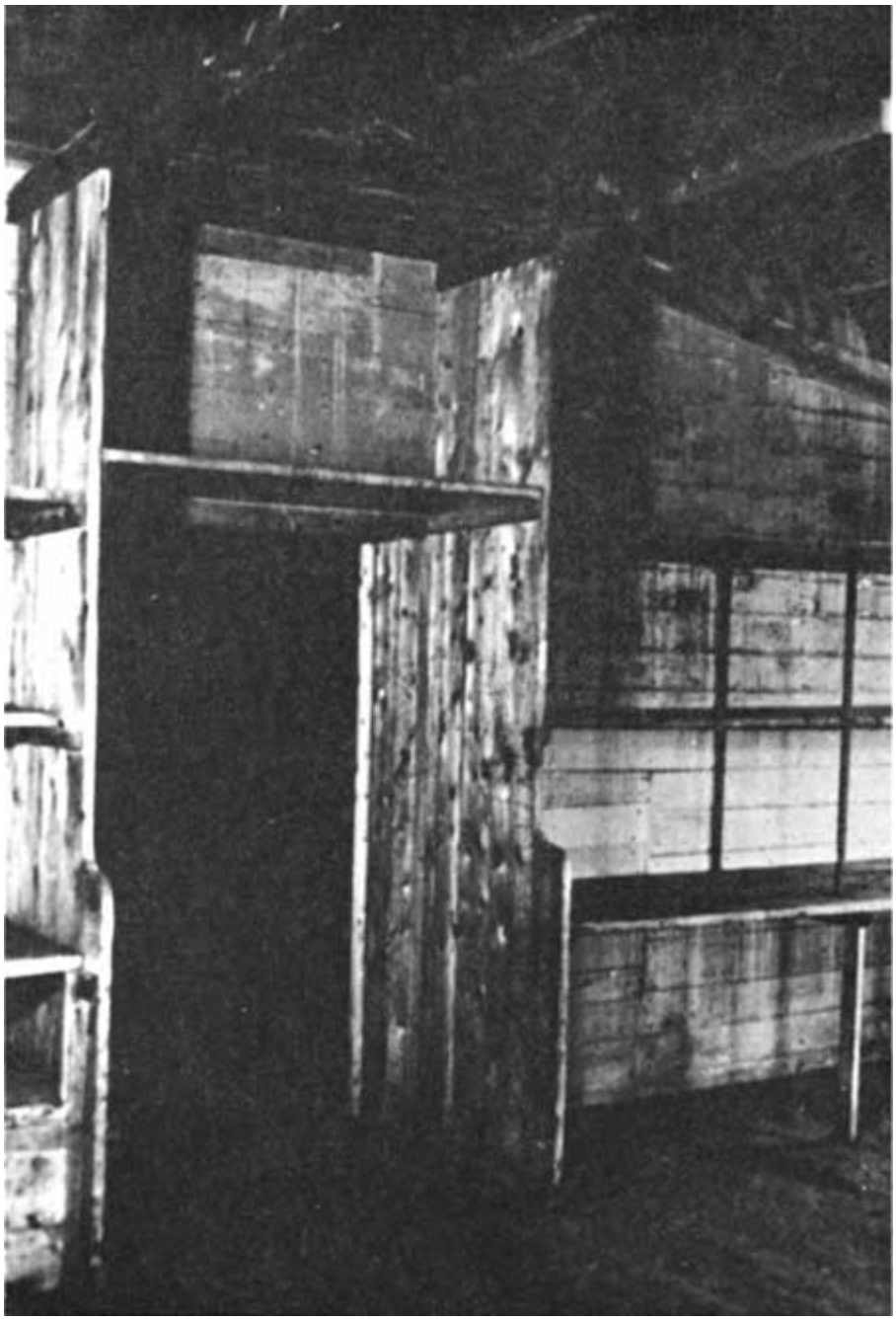


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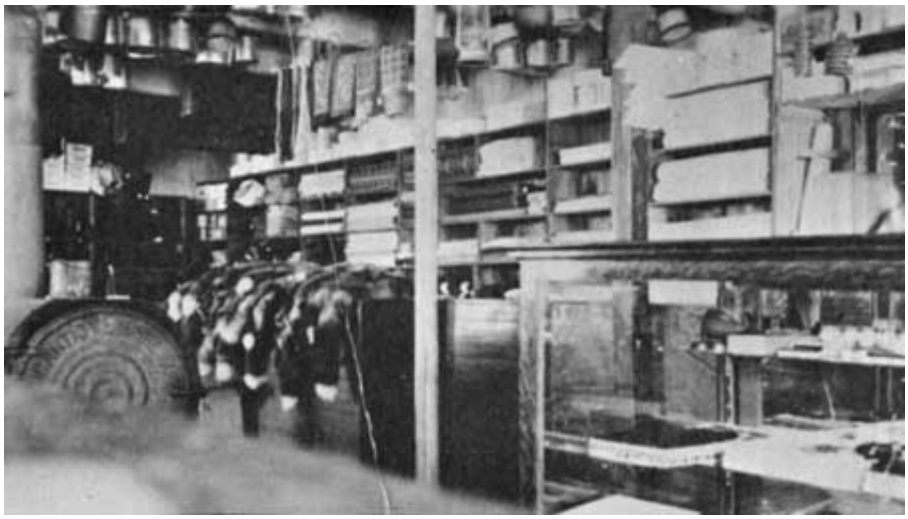







TEA







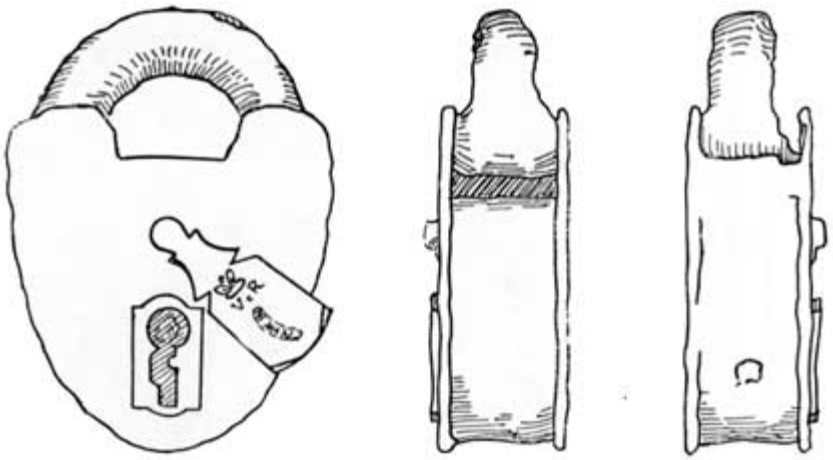


FIGURE 9—IRON PADLOCK WITH BRASS KEYHOLE ESCUTCHEON AND COVER
(Natural size)

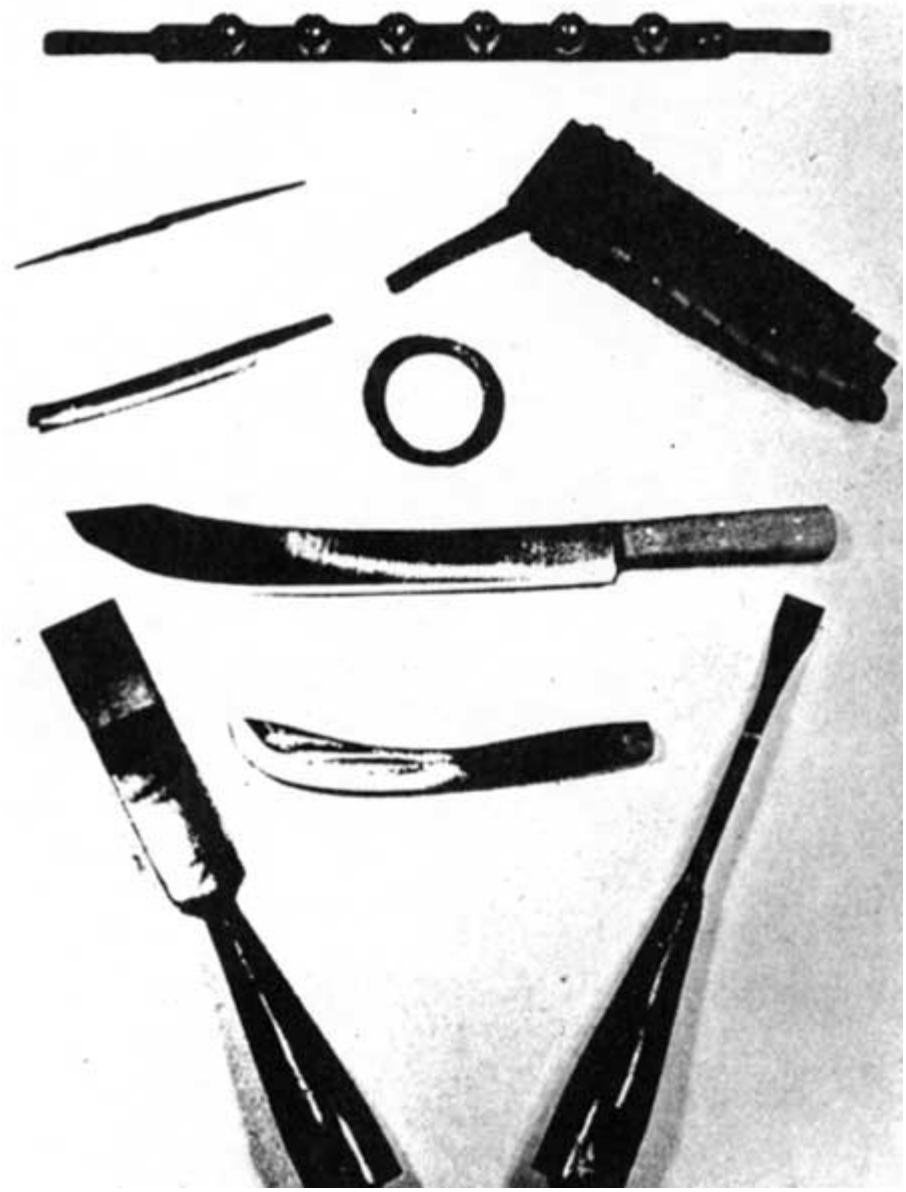
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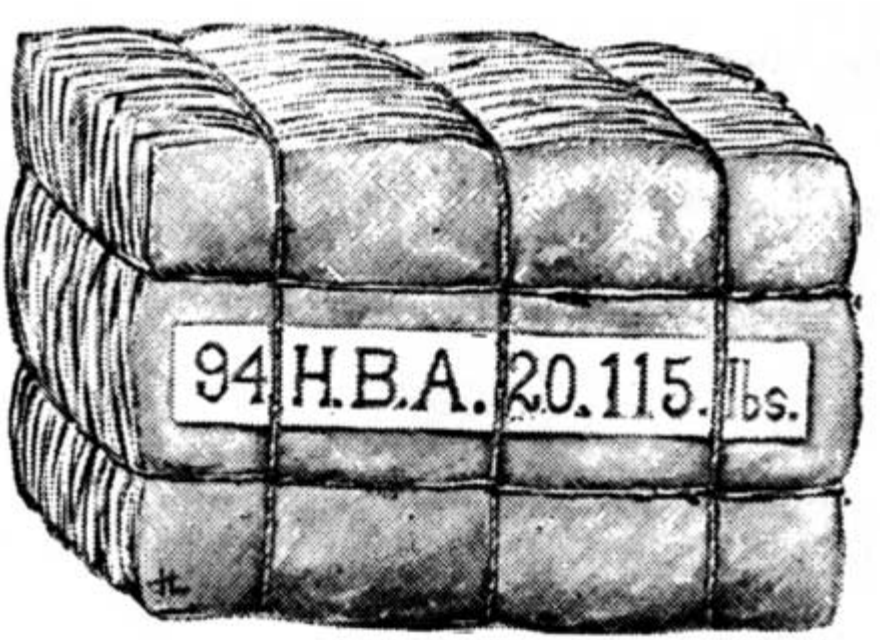






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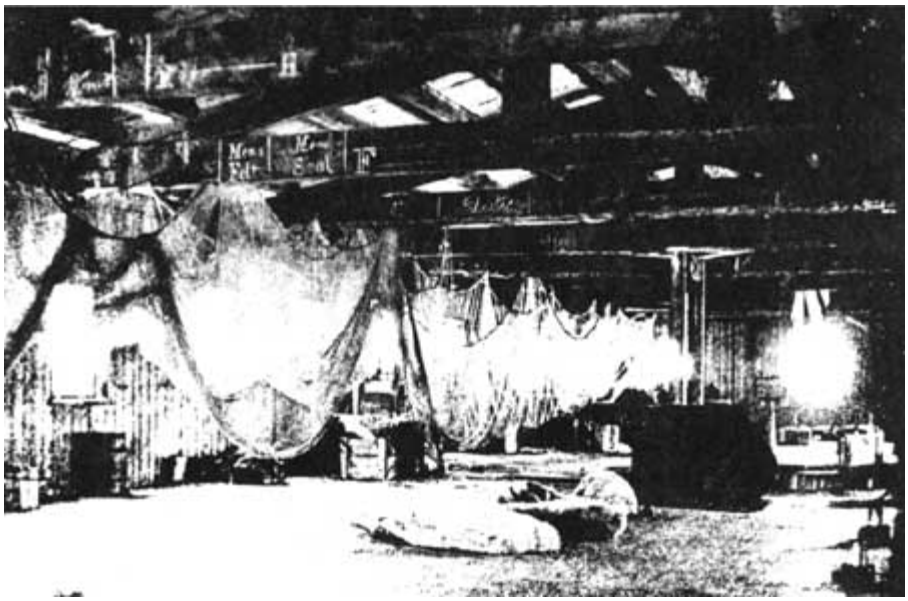


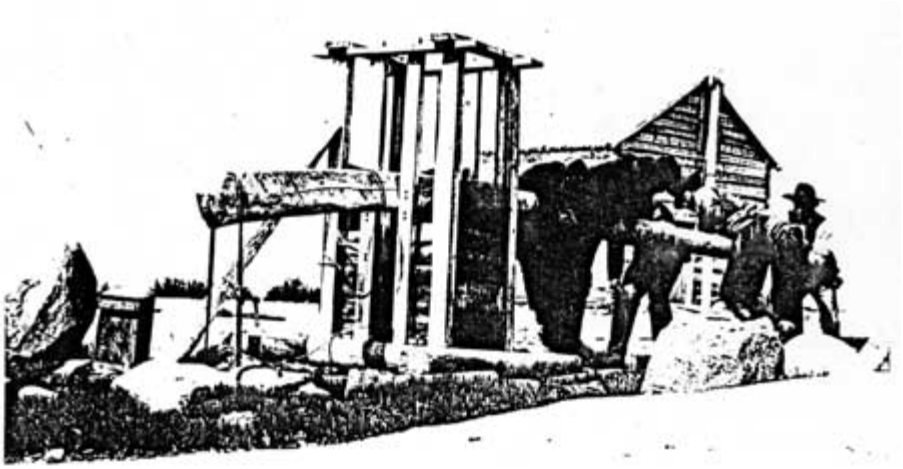


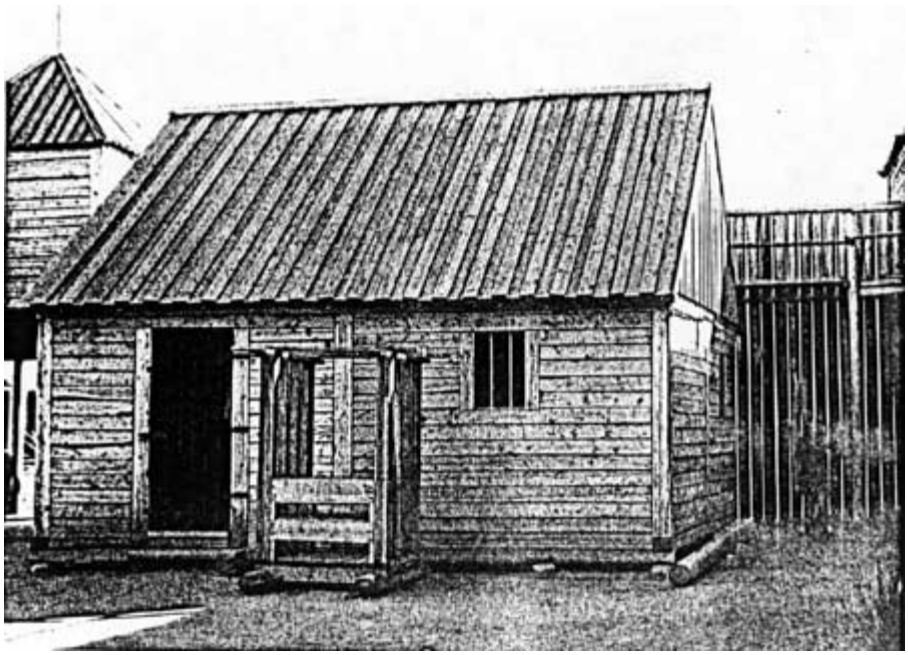
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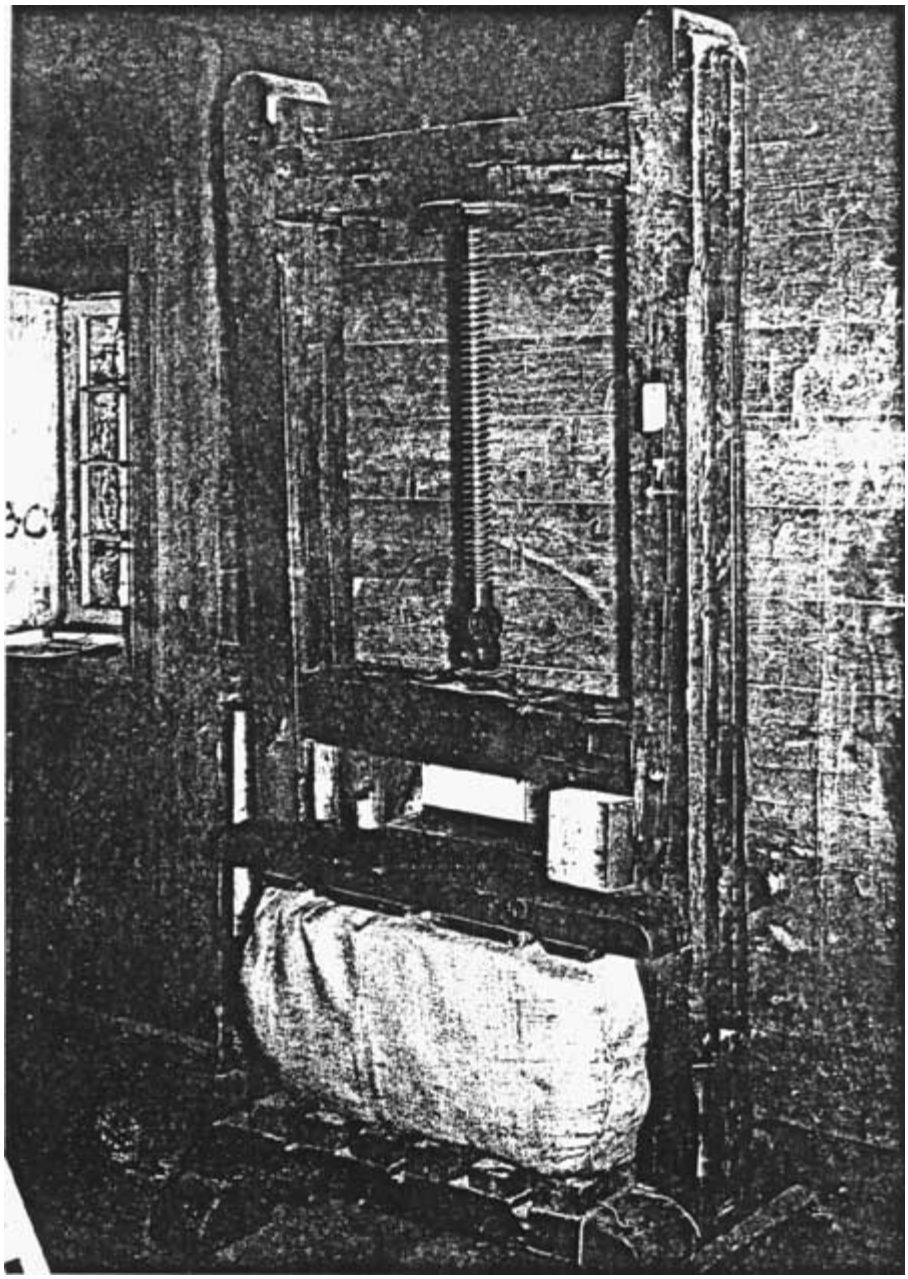


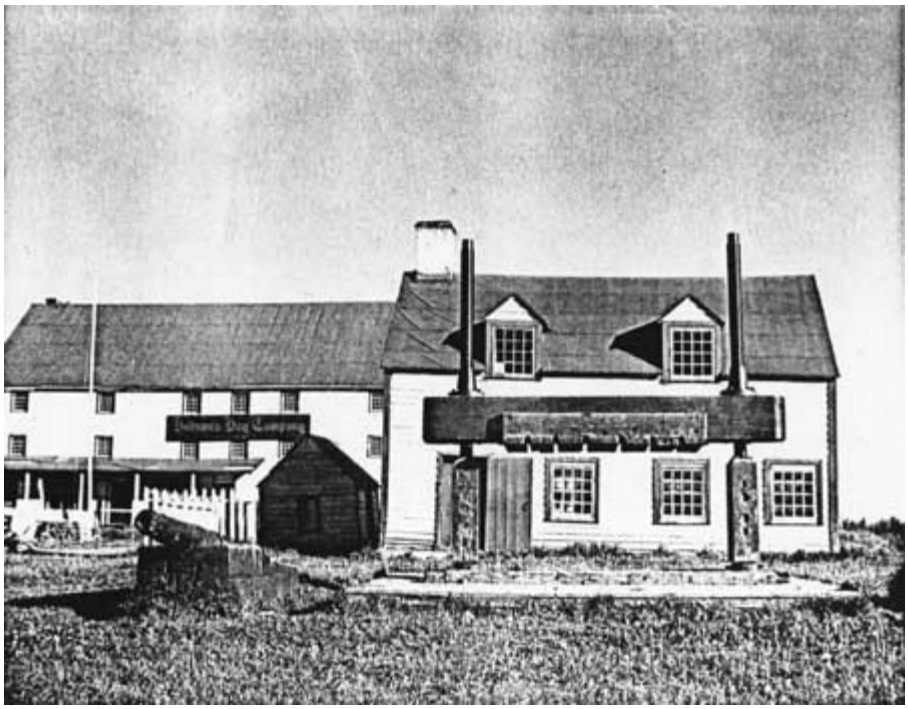






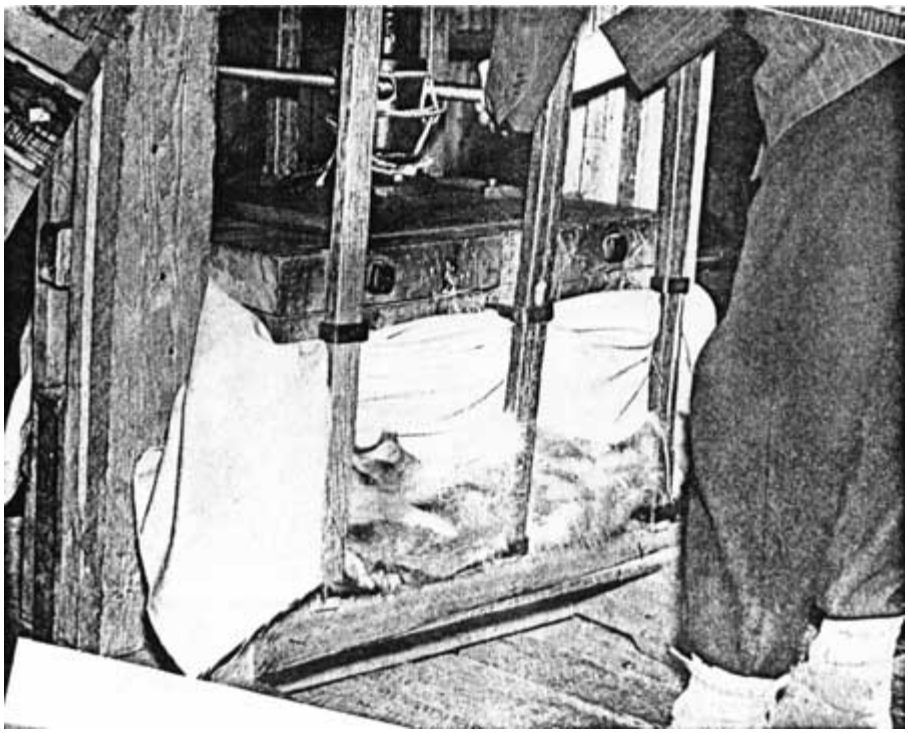












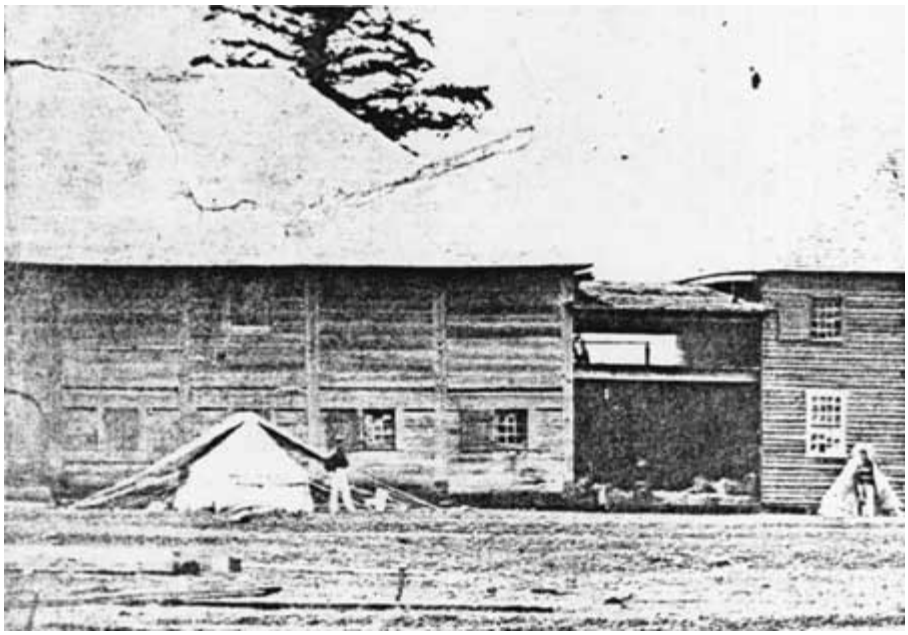






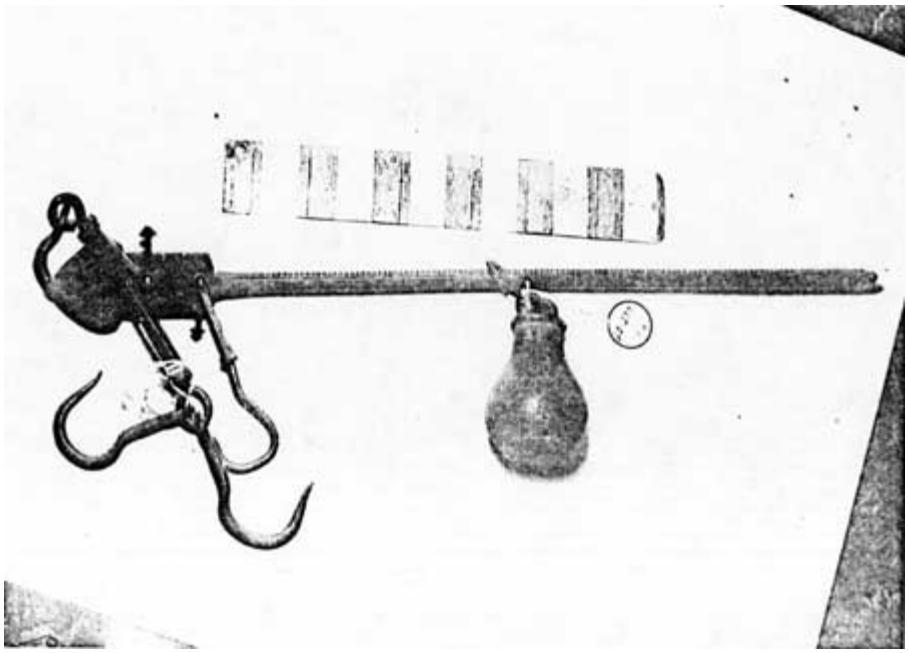








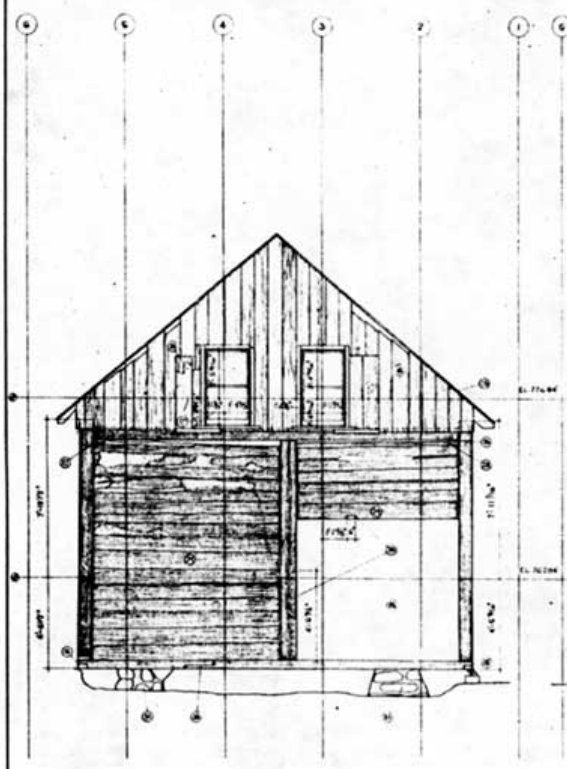


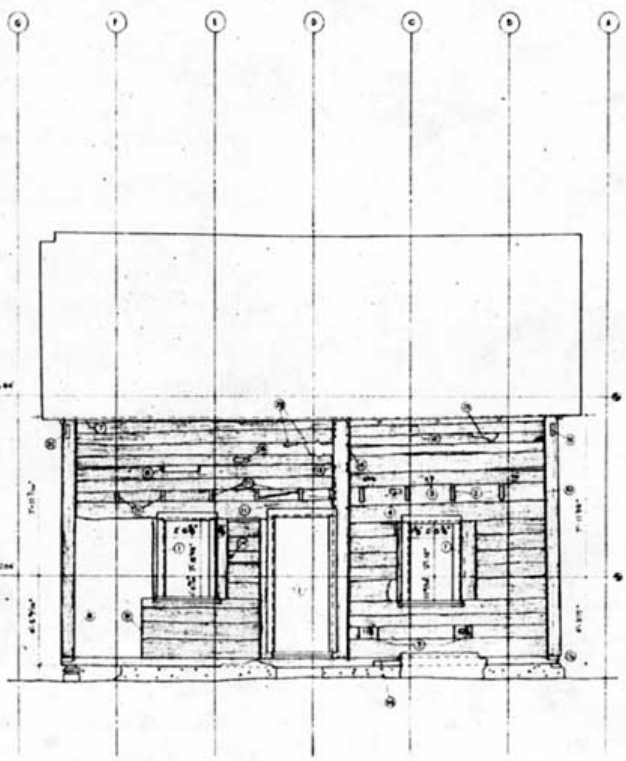




DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS & NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
NATIONAL & HISTORIC PARKS BRANCH — ENGINEERING & ARCHITECTURAL DIVISION

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES INDIENNES ET DU NORD CANADIEN
DIRECTION DES PARCS NATIONAUX ET DES LIEUX HISTORIQUES — DIVISION DU GÉNIE ET DE L'ARCHITECTURE





NOTES

1-BROKEN LINES REPRESENT ROUGH OPENING IN LOGS.

2-ENDS OF SECOND FLOOR JOISTS EXTEND THROUGH THIS WALL LOG. SLOTS WERE CUT OUT IN THIS LOG AND IN SOME CASES THE JOISTS WERE CUT TO FIT THE SLOTS. THE ENDS OF THE JOISTS ARE SET BACK IN THE LOG DUE TO THE MOVEMENT OF THE WALL. THE GAPS WHICH WERE FORMED BY THIS MOVEMENT WERE FILLED WITH CLAY AND STRAW PLASTER.

3-DOWELS VARY IN DIA. FROM 1" TO 1½" AND DEPTHS KNOWN ARE FROM ½" TO 2". OUT OF FOUR DOWELS REMOVED, THREE HOLES CONTAINED SEEDS.

4-SLOT FILLED WITH CLAY & STRAW. THE SLOT IS 3½" DEEP AND IS 4¾" x 1".

5-TWO CUTOUTS IN LOG WHICH ARE CURVED, RECESSED ABOUT 2" AT MAXIMUM POINT. THE CUTOUTS ARE AXE-HEWN.

6-CUTOUT IN LOG IS 6½" DEEP AND THE SIDES OF THE CUTOUT ARE BEVELLED. THE CUTOUT, IF SHOWN IN A PLAN VIEW, WOULD SHOW A 4½" Ø HOLE.

7-2½" GAP BETWEEN TOP LOG COURSE AND TOP PLATE LOG. THIS GAP HAS BEEN FILLED WITH VARIOUS SMALL FILLER PIECES AS WELL AS WITH THE USUAL CLAY AND STRAW.

8-LOGS REMOVED IN THIS AREA WHEN RECENT DOORWAY WAS ADDED.

9-THESE ENDS OF THE LOGS WERE SAWN OFF TO ALLOW FOR RECENT DOORWAY.

10-GAP FROM THIS LOG DOWN TO THE BASE LOG VARIES FROM AN ALMOST TIGHT FIT TO A MAX. OF ¾", AND FROM THIS LOG UP TO THE ⅝ OF THE ROOF IT VARIES UP TO A MAX. OF ¾".

11-LOGS USED FOR THIS WALL ARE VERY IRREGULAR IN SHAPE AND SIZE IN THE AREA ABOVE THE WINDOW AND DOOR HEADS. THE FINISHED FACE OF THE LOGS (WHICH ARE AXE-HEWN) VARY ½" TO 1" FROM ONE TO ANOTHER.

12-SPACES BETWEEN RAFTERS WHERE THEY REST ON THE TOP PLATE LOG ARE FILLED WITH LOGS AND CLAY & STRAW. FINISH ON EXTERIOR IS LIMEWASH OVER CLAY AND STRAW PLASTER.

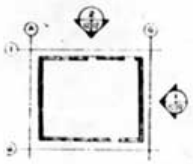
13-NINE NAILS THIS SIDE OF POST FROM TOP OF DOOR UP.

14-FIVE NAILS THIS SIDE OF POST FROM TOP OF DOOR UP.

15-LAPPED CORNER OF BASE PLATE LOG. IT IS A SINGLE LAP WITH NO BEVEL OR ANGLED PARTS.

16-VERTICAL BOARDS NAILED DIRECTLY ON TO OUTSIDE OF THE CROSS-TIE BEAM AND END RAFTER.

17-ORIGINAL LOCATION OF SECOND FLOOR WINDOWS.



KEY PLAN

DETAIL NUMBER
REFERENCE SHEET NUMBER
DETAIL SHEET NUMBER

LEGEND

GRAPHIC SCALES

ALL DETAILS DRAWN ACCURATELY TO SCALE

ELEVATION

18-SLOT 2¾" x 1" x 3½" DEEP, FILLED WITH CLAY & STRAW.

19-Ø HOLE WITH WOOD PLUG IS 6¾" THICK.

20-LIMEWASH ON CLAY AND STRAW PLASTER. PLASTER IS FINISHED TO A MAX. ¼" THICKNESS.

21-ENDS OF SECOND FLOOR JOISTS REST ON WALL LOG WHICH ALSO ACTS AS A LINTEL LOG FOR ANY ORIGINAL DOOR AND WINDOW OPENINGS. SPACE BETWEEN JOISTS IS FILLED WITH VARIOUS SIZED ROUND FILLER LOGS AND CLAY AND STRAW PLASTER.

22-LIMEWASH ON CLAY AND STRAW PLASTER. PLASTER IS FINISHED TO A MAX. OF ¾" THICK.

23-ROOF BOARDS, SHINGLES NOT SHOWN.

24-REMAINS OF NEWSPAPER (L'ECHO DE MANITOBA) DATE UNAVAILABLE AND HEAVY CLOTH PASTED ON VERTICAL BOARDS WERE FOUND IN THIS AREA OF THE VERTICAL BOARDS WHEN EARLY SIDING WAS REMOVED.

25-LOGS REMOVED WHEN RECENT ADDITION WAS ADDED.

26-GAP BETWEEN CROSS-TIE BEAM AND LOG WALL VARIES FROM ¼" TO 1".

27-GAP VARIES FROM ¾" TO 3½".

28-ROUNDED FILLER LOG.

29-AXE-HEWN LOGS WITH CLAY AND STRAW PLASTER.

30-SLOT 2"x1½"x2" DEEP AT UNDERSIDE OF LOG AND MORTISE IN CENTRE POST, SHOWN BY DOTTED LINE, WOULD INDICATE LOCATION OF WINDOW ORIGINALLY.

ELEVATION

31-REMAINS OF ORIGINAL FIELDSTONE FOUNDATION.

32-MORTISE AND TENON CONNECTION OF CROSS-TIE BEAM AND CORNER POST.

33-BASE PLATE LOG SPLICED AND CONNECTED WITH SPIKES, RESTING ON CONCRETE FOUNDATION AND ORIGINAL FIELDSTONE FOUNDATION.

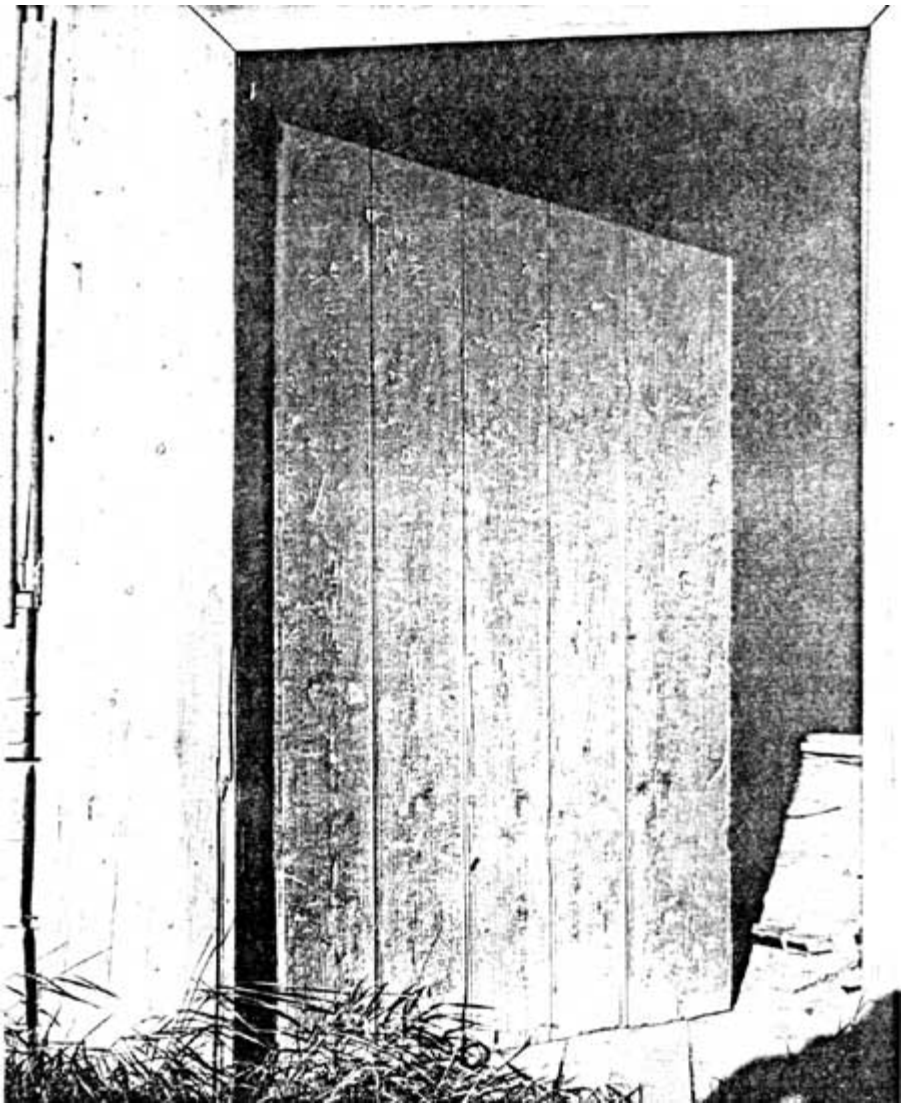
34-SPLICED BASE PLATE LOG RESTING ON CONCRETE FOUNDATION AND WOOD BLOCKING.

35-ASPHALT SHINGLES ON WOOD SHINGLES.

NO.	REVISIONS	DATE					
					EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS (LOGS)	AS-FOUND RIEL HOUSE ST VITAL MANITOBA	FEB 1970 12

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THE TRADING-STORE.

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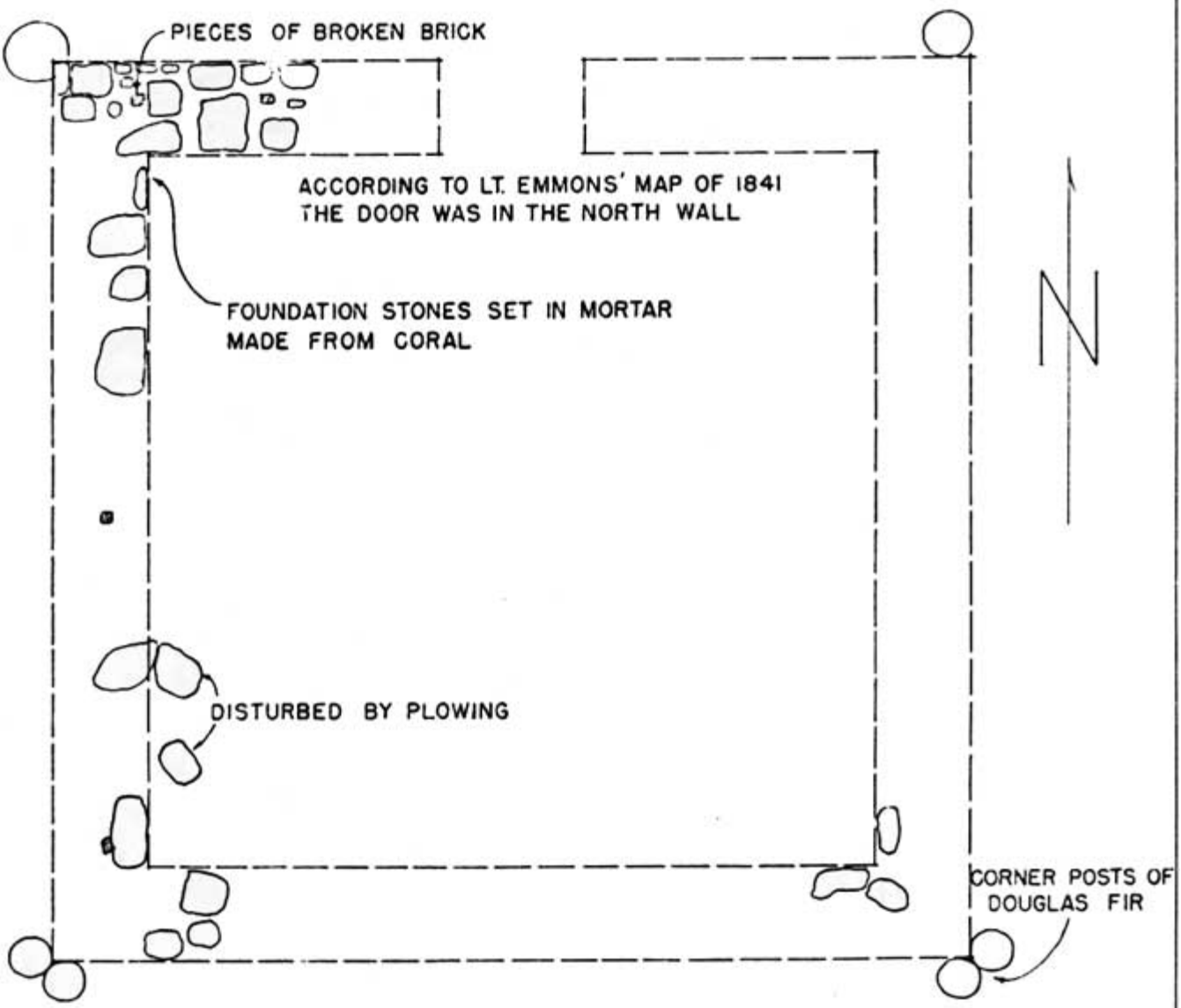





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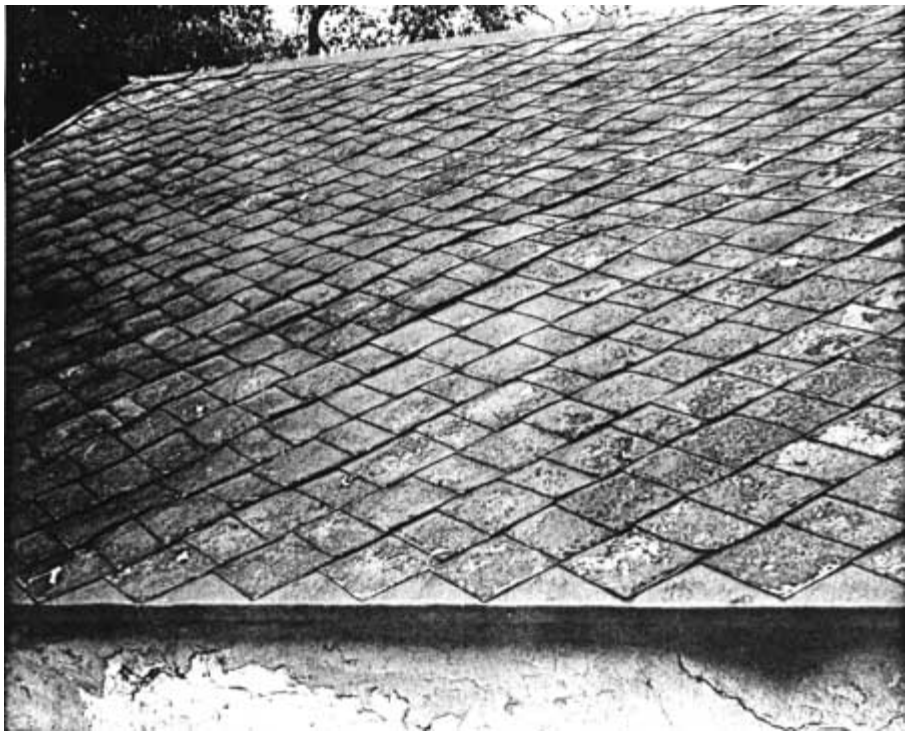


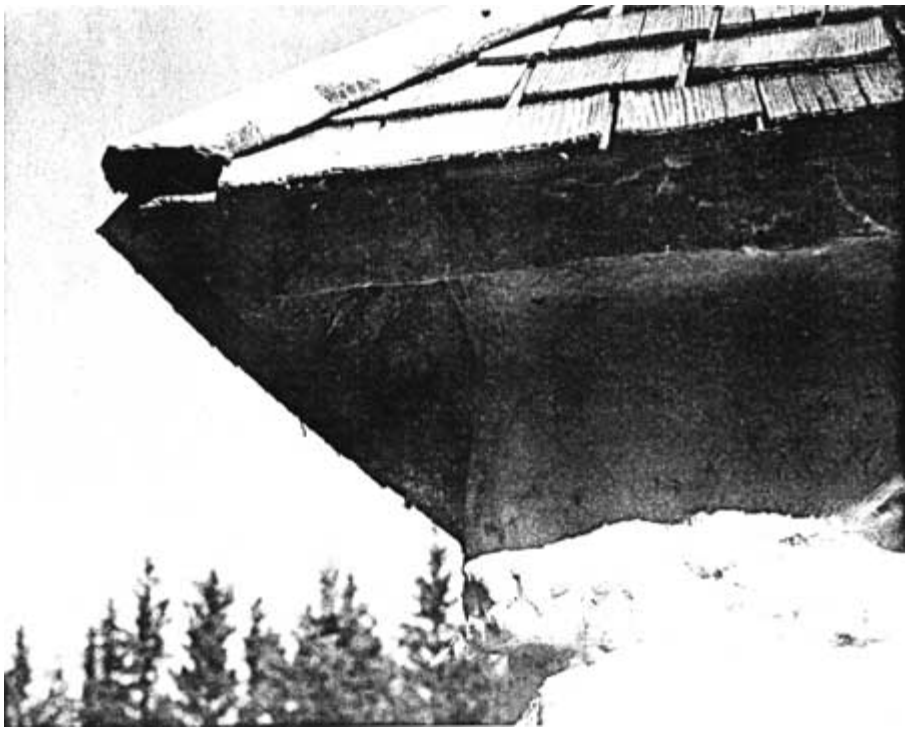




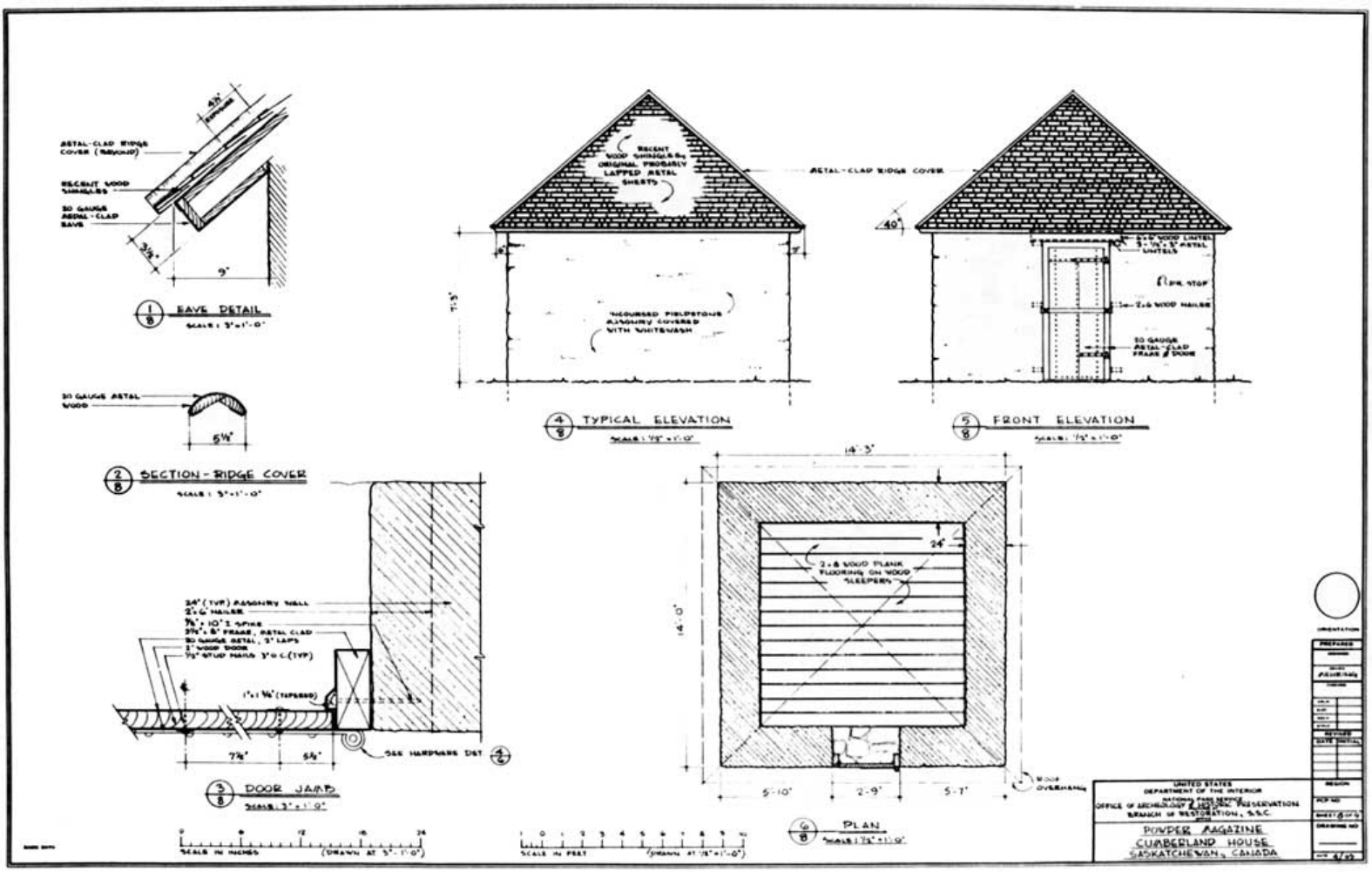






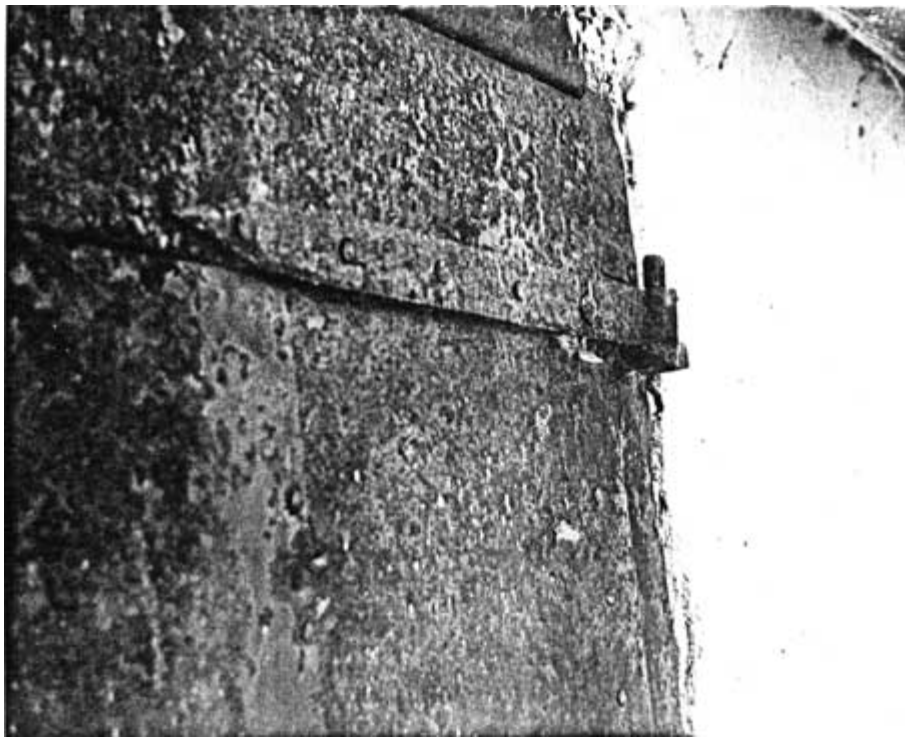


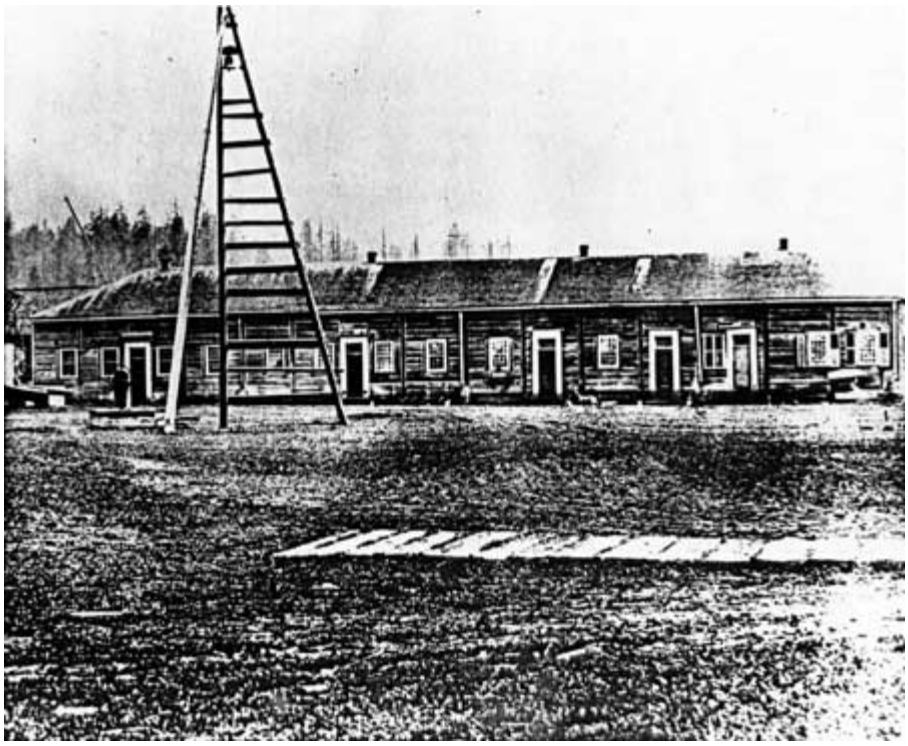




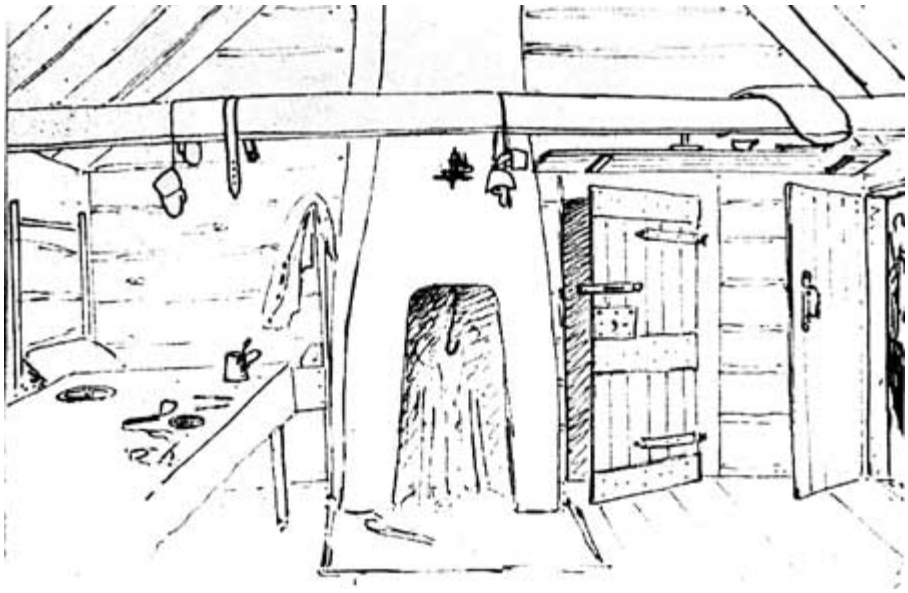
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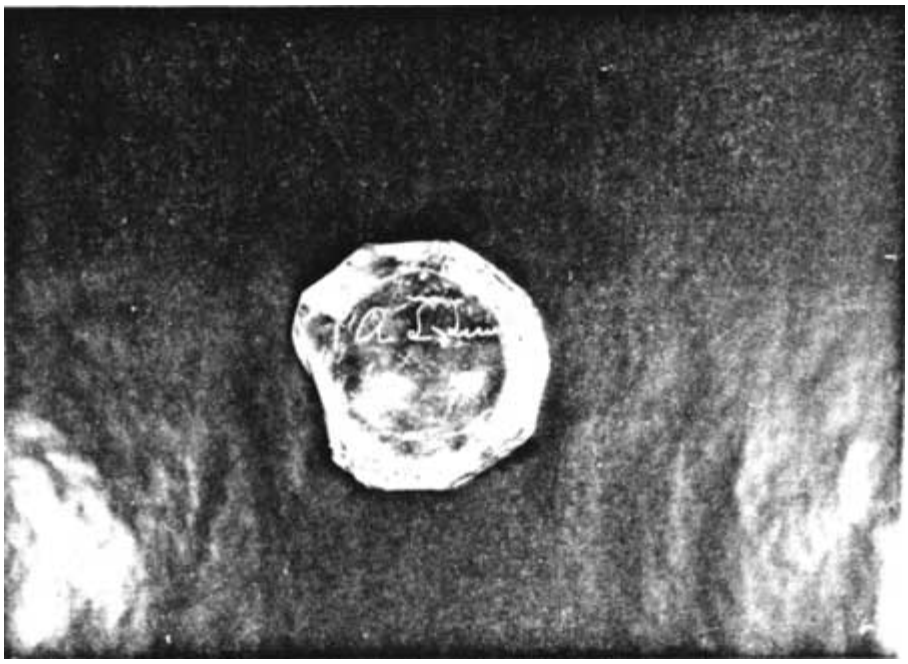



Fort Vancouver

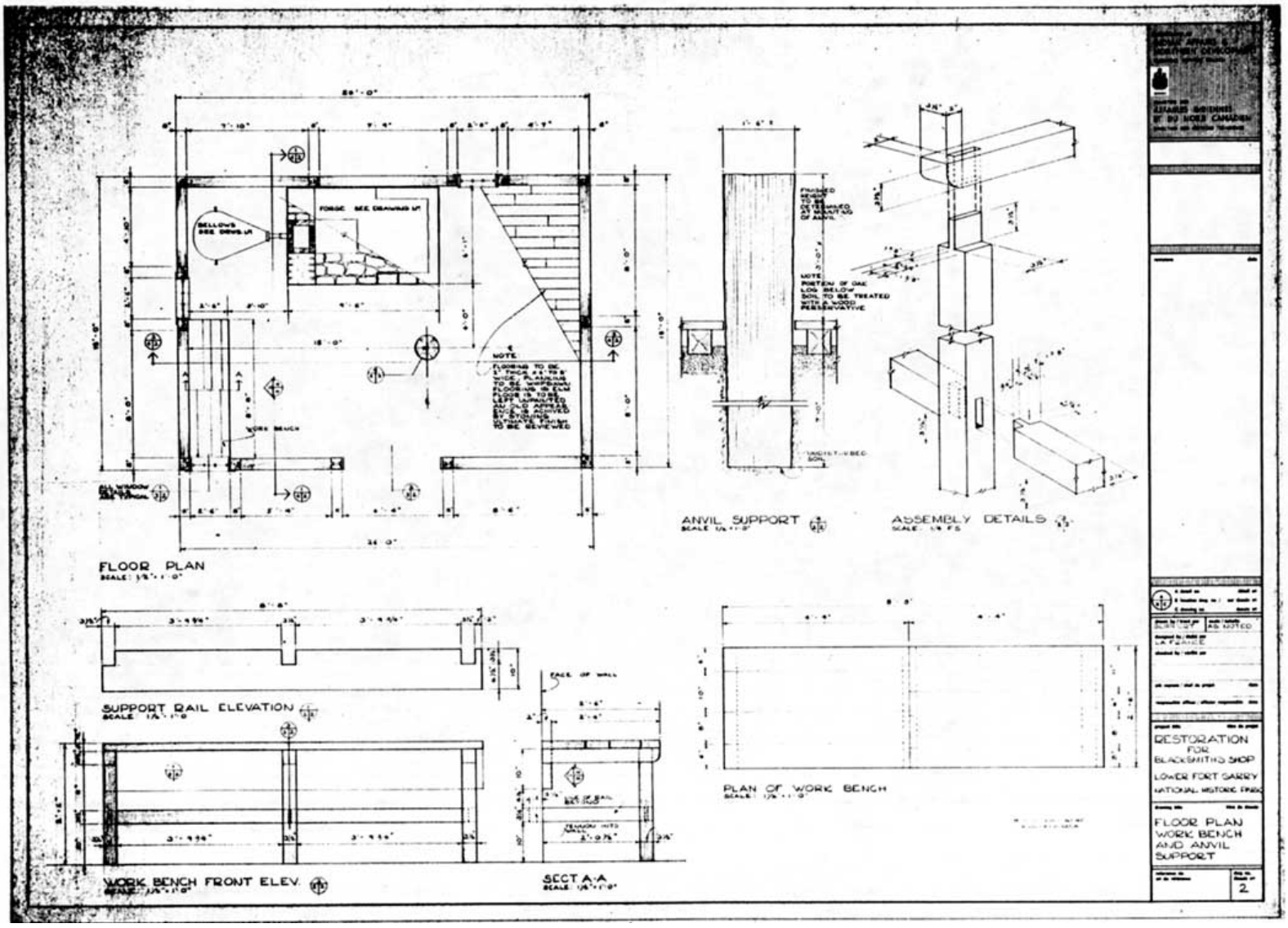




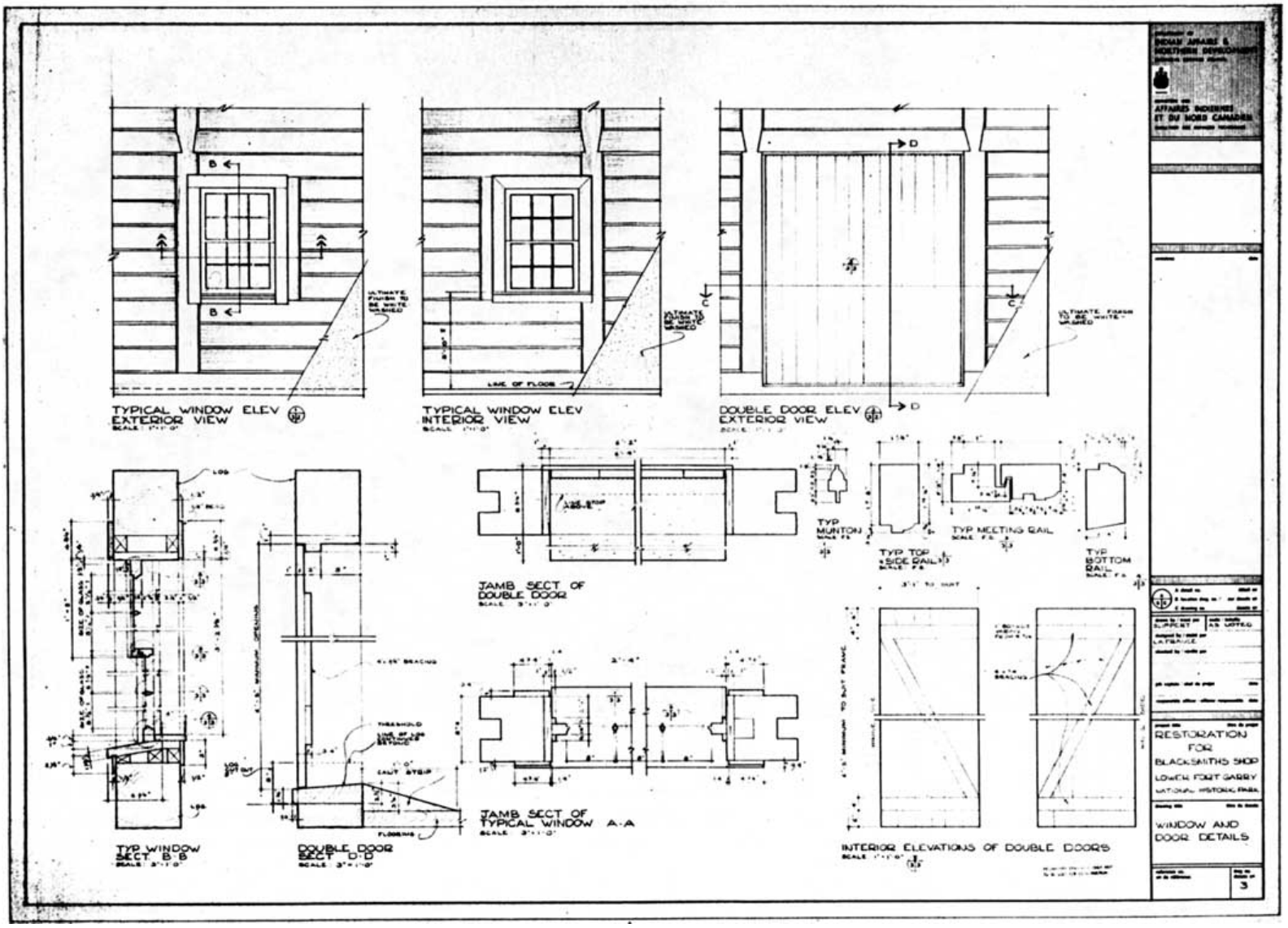




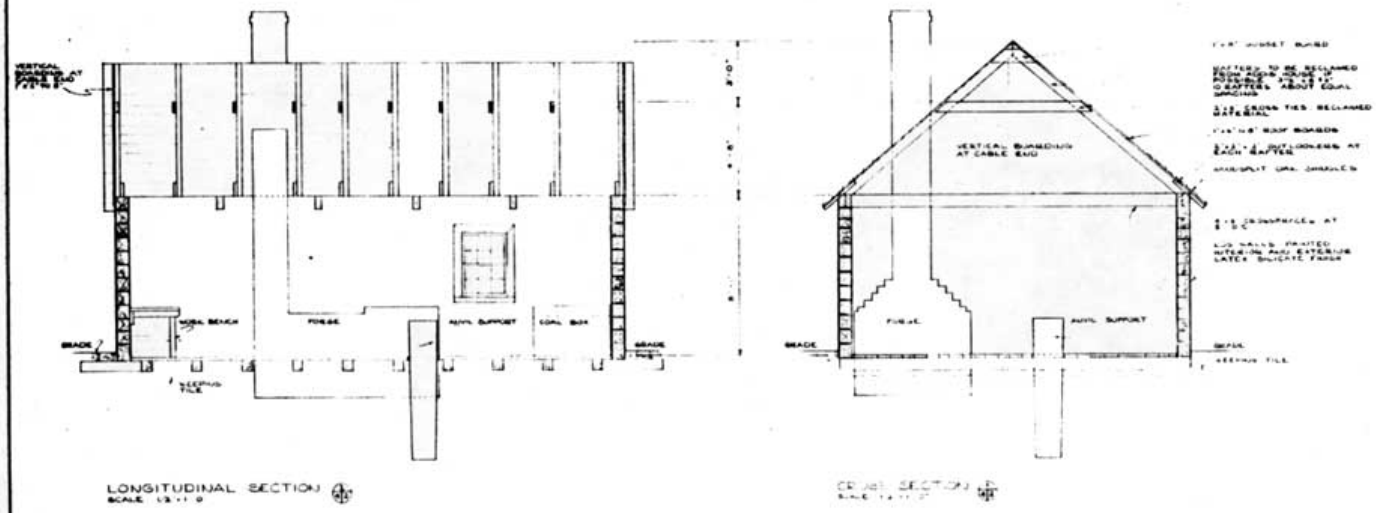




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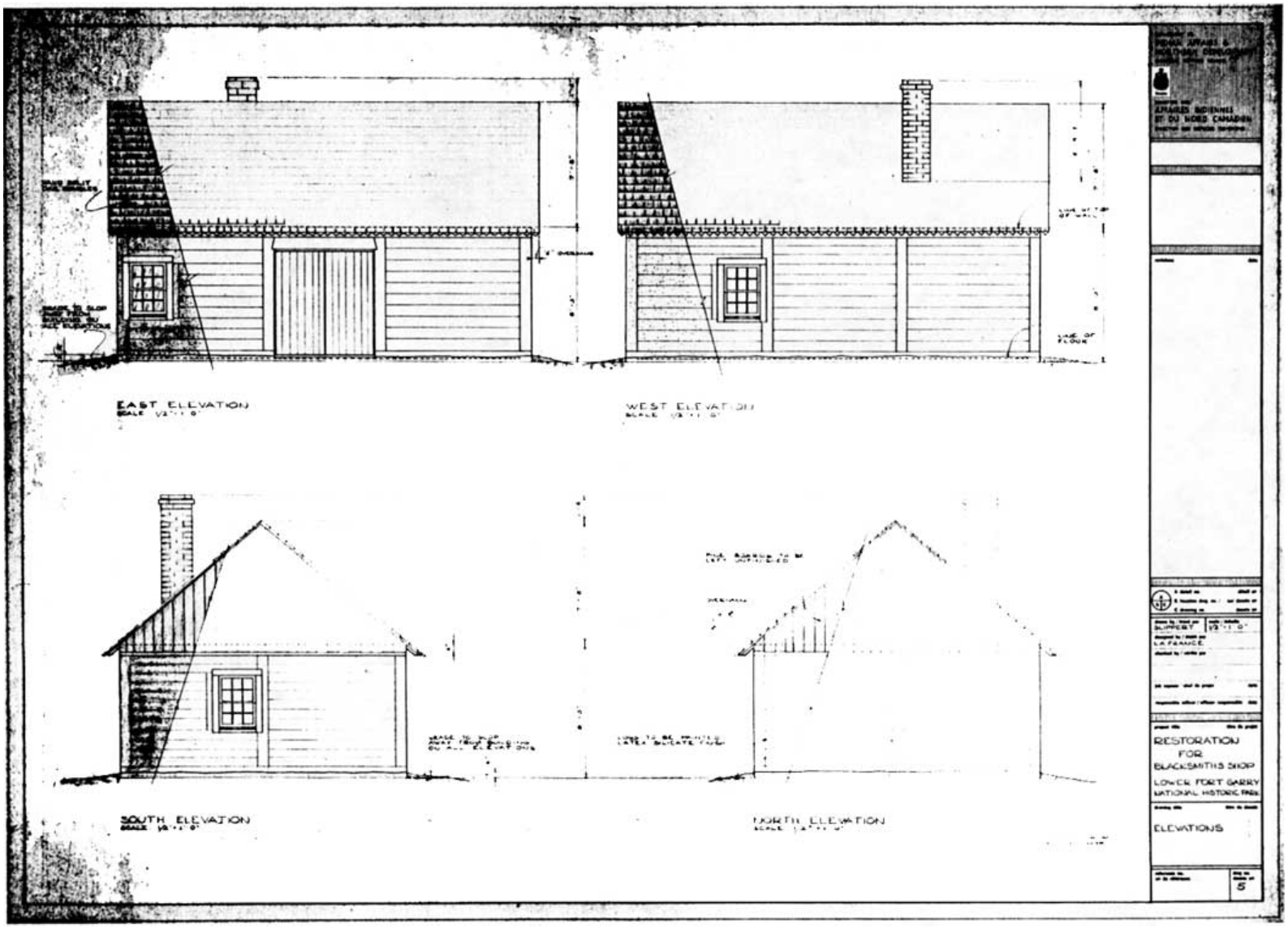


INDIAN AFFAIRS & NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
AFFAIRES INDIENNES ET DU NORD CANADIEN

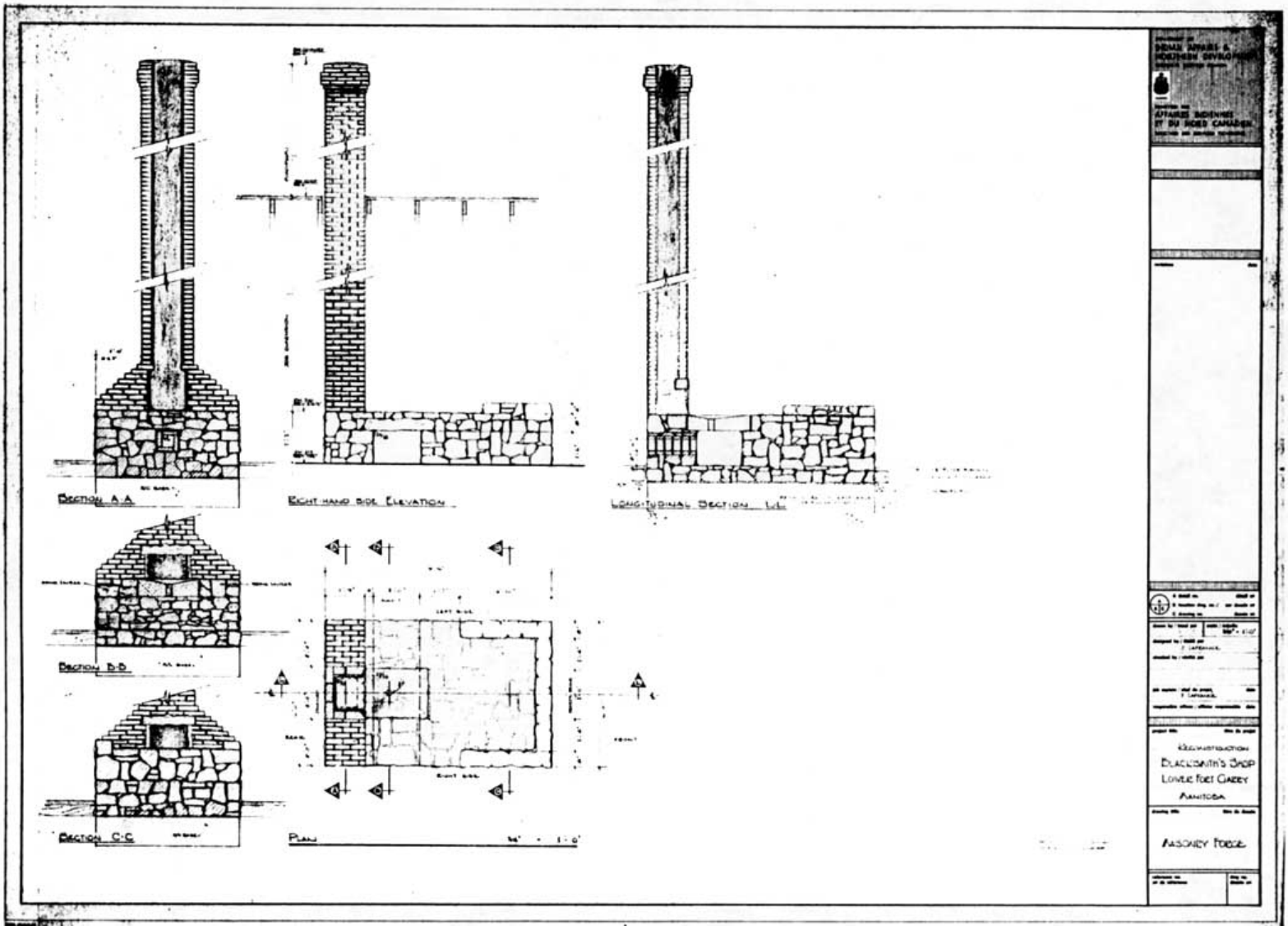
RESTORATION
FOR
BLACKSMITHS SHOP
LOWER FORT GARRY
NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

SECTIONS

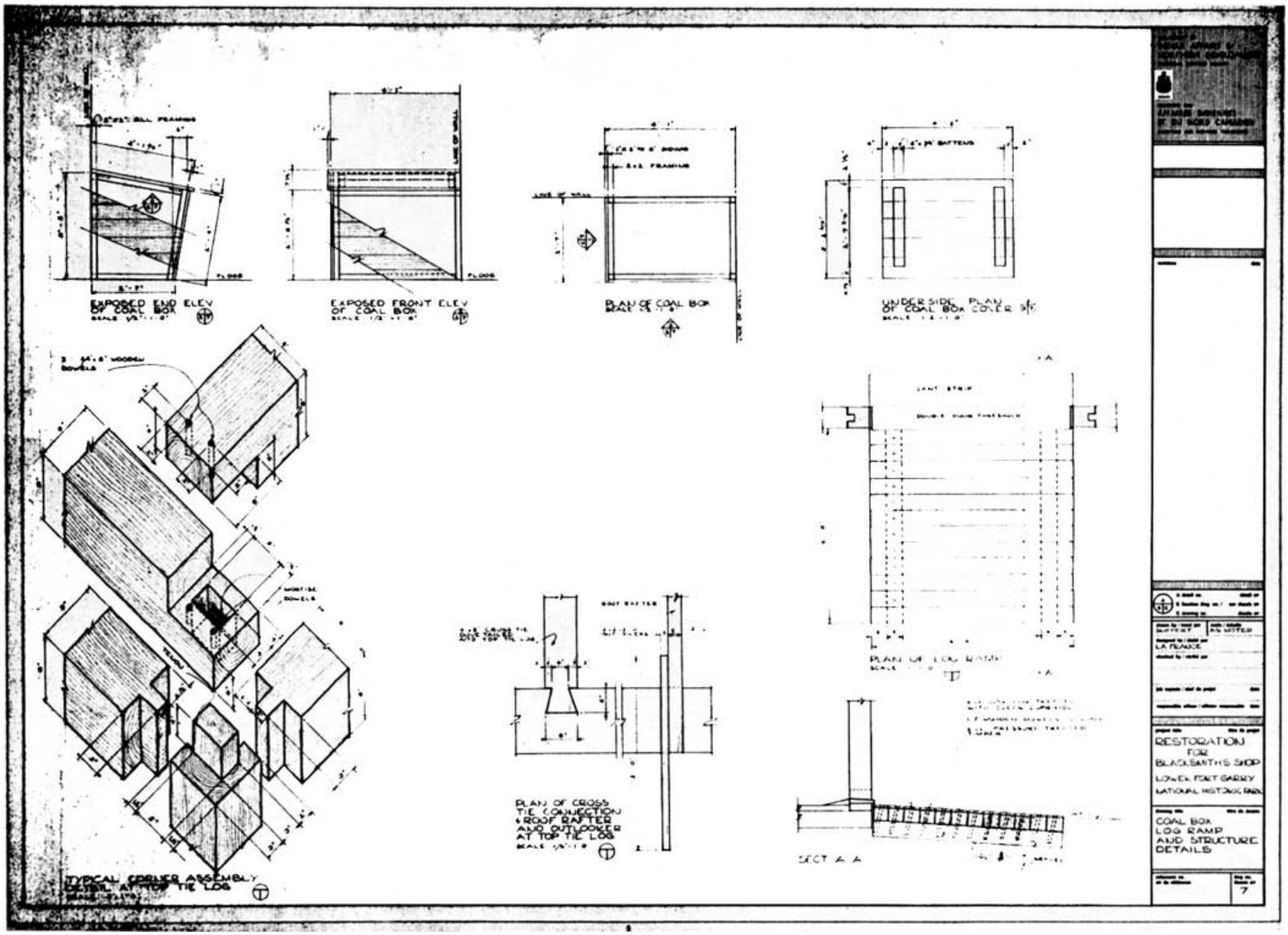
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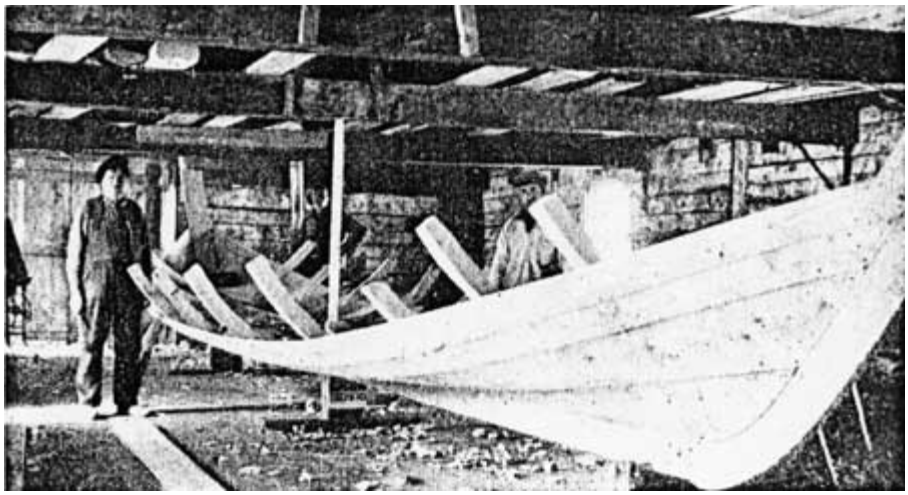
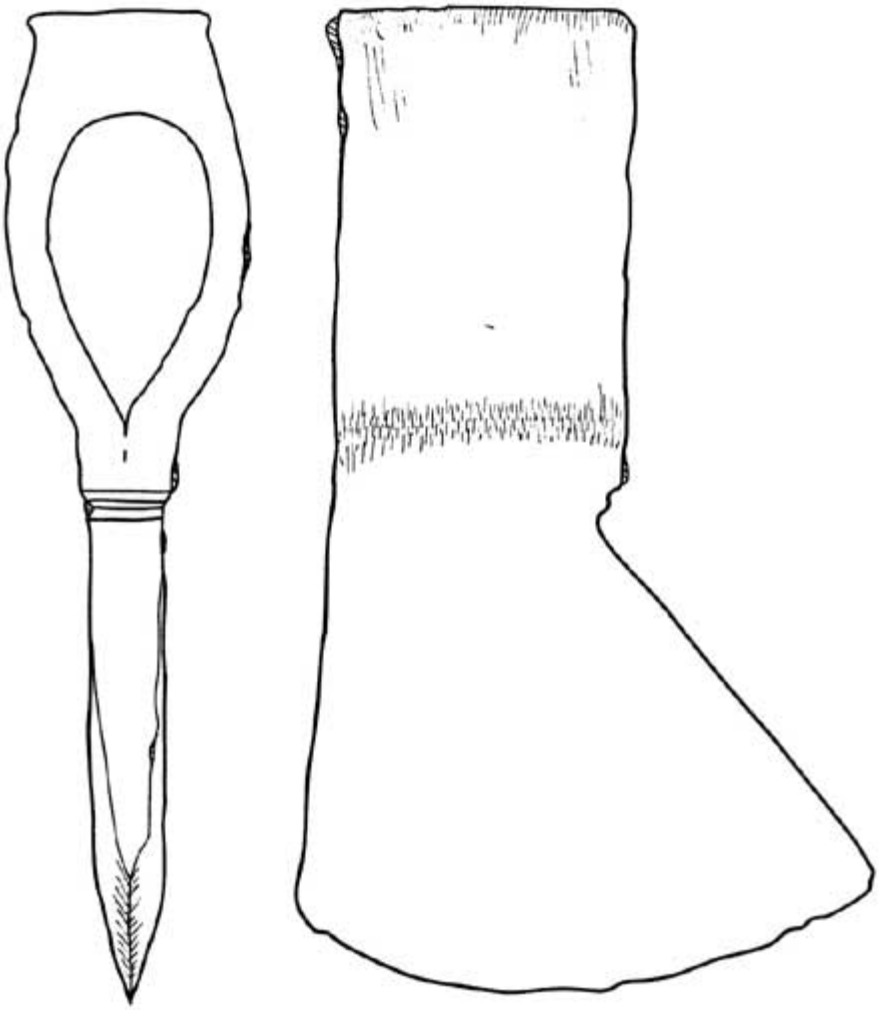


FIGURE 6 - TYPICAL HUDSON'S BAY AXE



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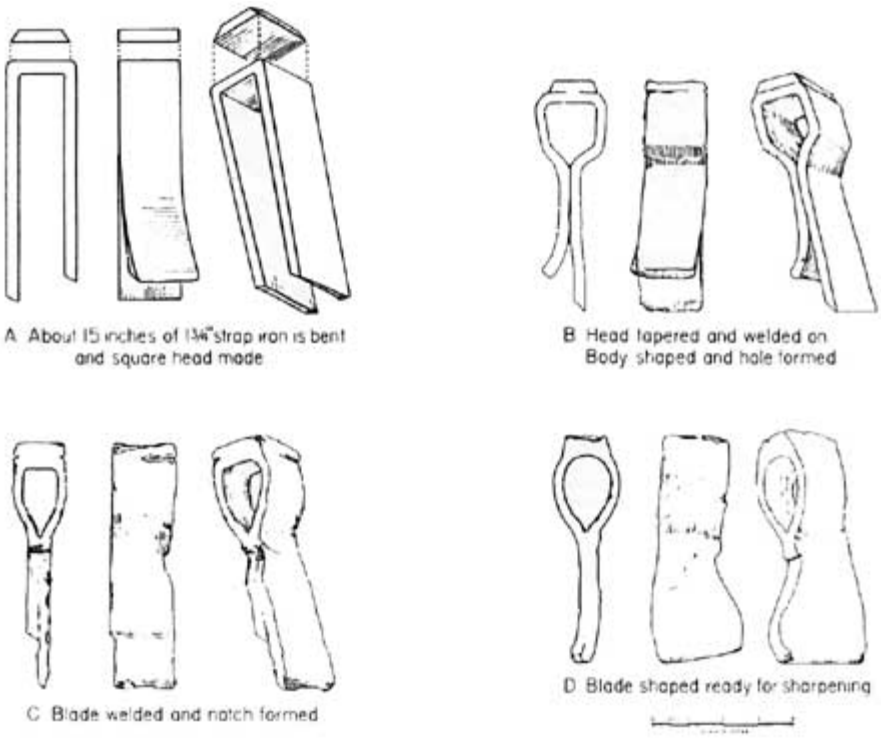
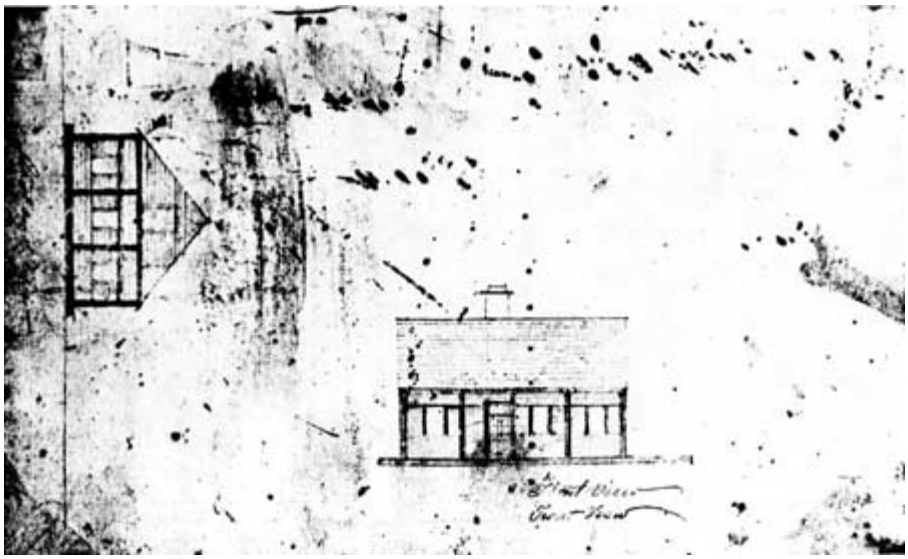


Figure 8 The Making of a Trade Axe (from actual specimens)

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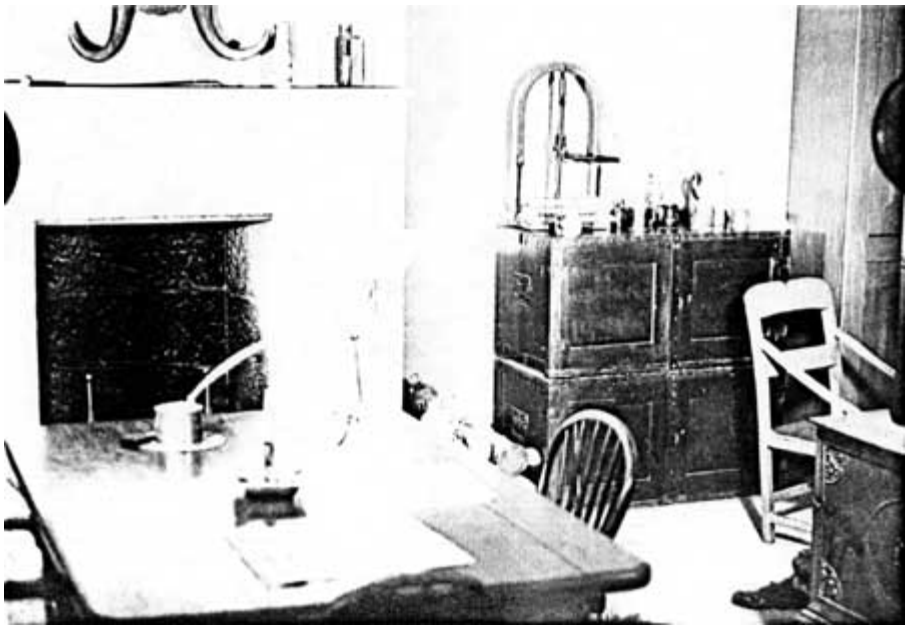




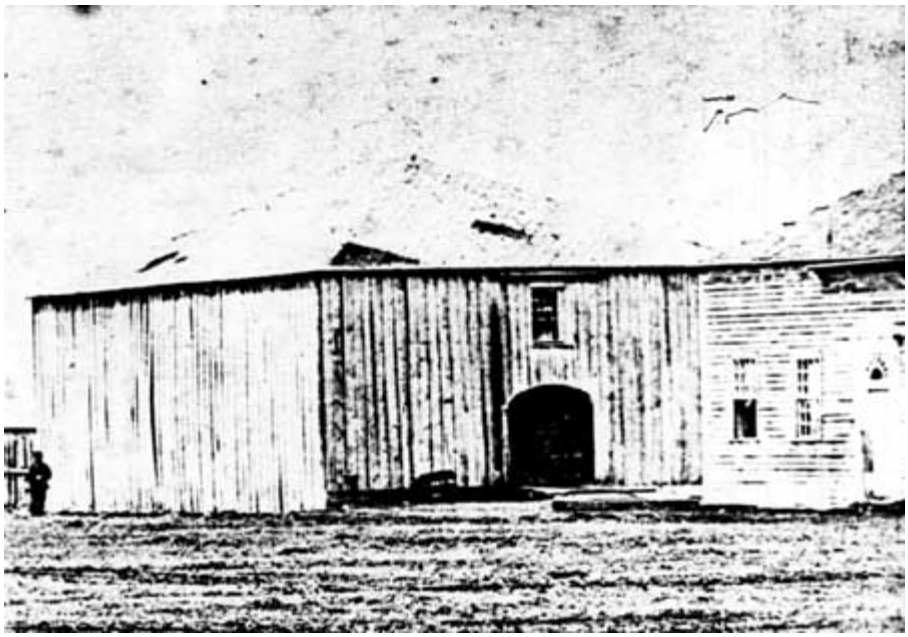


GROUP INSIDE FORT EDMONTON 1884
SHOWING CANNON USED IN DEFENCE.

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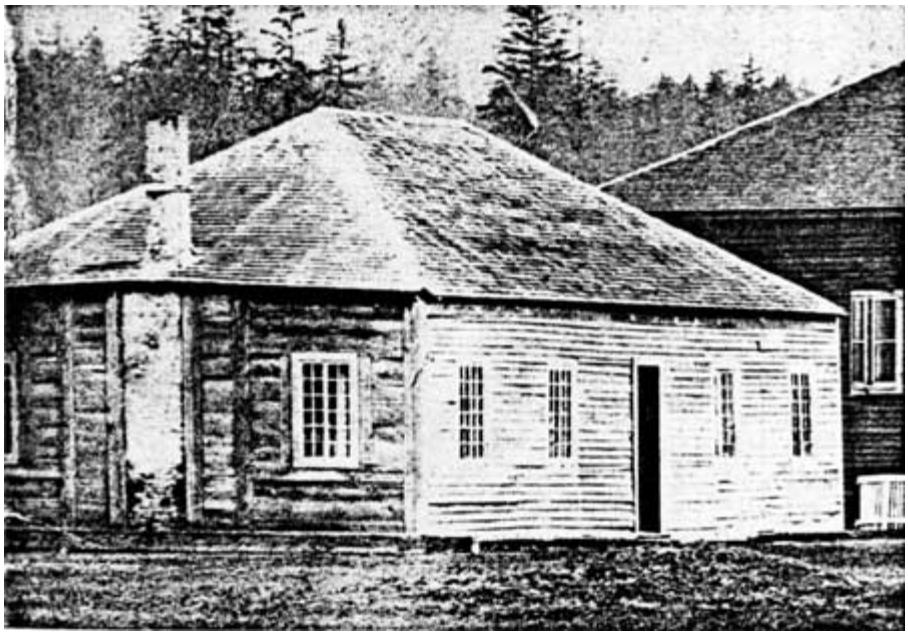

















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