U.S. DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
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Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Pacific Northwest Region

From: Manager, Historic Preservation Team, DSC

Subject: Part II, Historic Structures Report
Fort Vancouver (History Section)

From Dr. John Hussey, Contractor, we have received the full manuscript for subject report comprising the historical data relating to nineteen (19) major structures, plus miscellaneous structures, at Fort Vancouver. (Part I, covering twelve (12) other major structures, was completed, reviewed and distributed in final form about two years ago.) This completes a monumental job of scholarship in which the National Park Service, as well as Dr. Hussey, can take great pride.

This project, which necessarily took several years to consummate, would be monumental on grounds of size alone, with some 800 pages for Part II alone. But of course we refer primarily to thematic scope and quality of the product. We intend to produce 200 copies of the final edited Part II, and will run another 100 copies of Part I. Eventually we hope that the whole study will appear in a Government Printing office history monograph series we are exploring with WASO.

We will not reproduce Part II in final form, of course, until we have your review and comments, likewise those of others indicated below.

(Sgd) Merrill Mattes

Merrill J. Mattes

Enclosure
cc:
Assistant Director, PP, WASO, w/encl.
Superintendent, Fort Vancouver NHS, w/encl.
Archeologist, Fort Vancouver NHS, w/encl.

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historic structure report

HISTORICAL DATA
VOLUME II
april 1976

FORT VANCOUVER

NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE / WASHINGTON

HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

HISTORICAL DATA

VOLUME II

FORT VANCOUVER NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

WASHINGTON

By

John A. Hussey

DENVER SERVICE CENTER
HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO

April 1976

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE iii

LIST OF PLATES xvii

CHAPTER I. FUR STORE 1

History and location 1
Fur Store operations 8
Construction details 24
a. Dimensions and footings 24
b. General construction 26
Walls 27
Roof 28
Doors 28
Windows 29
Exterior finish 30
c. Interior finish and arrangement 31
d. Connections with the stockade 32
Furnishings 32
Fur press 38
Scales 39
Miscellaneous furniture 40
Recommendations 40

CHAPTER II. INDIAN TRADE SHOP AND DISPENSARY 43

History and location 43
Indian shop operations 49
Credit 53
Tariff or price 53
Unit of value, or "made-beaver" 59
"Counters" or tokens 60
Account books 61
Tricks of the trade 64
Storage of furs 65
Volume of furs traded 66
Dispensary or apothecary shop 67
Doctor's quarters 71
Dr. Forbes Barclay 72
Construction details 74
a. Dimensions and footings 74
b. General construction 75
Walls 76
Roof 78

Doors 79
Windows 80
Exterior finish 82
c. Interior finish and arrangement 83
Indian shop 85
Stockroom 86
Fur loft 86
Dispensary 86
Doctor's living quarters 88
d. Connections with the stockade 88
Furnishings 89
Indian Trade Shop proper 89
Fur loft 98
Apothecary shop or Dispensary 98
Doctor's quarters 114
Recommendations 116

CHAPTER III. POWDER MAGAZINE 119

History and location 119
Construction details 121
General description 121
Dimensions 122
Foundations 122
Wall material 123
Walls and vaulted roof 124
Outer roof 125
Door and door frame 127
Floors 128
Furnishings 128
Recommendations 129

CHAPTER IV. BACHELORS' QUARTERS 131

History and location 131
Role of the Bachelors' Quarters at Fort Vancouver 133
1. Housing for subordinate officers and clerks 133
2. Social hall for subordinate officers, clerks, and visitors 136
3. Accommodations for visitors 139
4. Sitting room for visitors, the "strangers' room" . . . 144
5. Place of confinement for officers and clerks 145
6. Library 146
Employees living in Bachelors' Quarters, 1845-46 150
Dr. Forbes Barclay 151
Charles Forrest 151
James Allan Grahame 152
Daniel Harvey 152

John Lambert 152
Richard Lane 153
Kenneth Logan 154
Robert Logan 154
Thomas Lowe 154
William McBean 155
Angus McDonald 155
David McLoughlin 156
Dugald Mactavish 156
Henry N. Peers 157
George B. Roberts 158
John Simpson 158
William Sinclair, Jr. 159
Summary of possible employee residents 159
Transient visitors housed in Bachelors' Quarters, 1845-46 . 161
Construction details 163
a. Dimensions and footings 163
b. General construction 164
Walls 165
Roof 165
Chimneys 167
Doors 168
Windows 169
Exterior finish 170
c. Interior finish and arrangement 171
Furnishings 173
a. General remarks--bedrooms 173
Personal effects 181
b. The "Bachelors' Hall" proper 187
c. Library 187
Recommendations 190

CHAPTER V. BLACKSMITH'S SHOP 193

History and location 193
Blacksmith Shop operations 196
The Fort Vancouver blacksmiths, 1845-46 200
Construction details 201
a. Dimensions and footings 201
b. General construction 203
Walls 204
Roof 204
Doors 205
Windows 205
Chimney or chimneys 205
Exterior finish 206
c. Interior finish and arrangement 206
Floor 206
Forges, anvil bases, etc. 207

Furnishings 207
Workbenches 208
Coal box 208
Bases for bellows 208
Inventories 208
Recommendations 211

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V. PARTIAL LIST OF FORT VANCOUVER BLACKSMITHS 213

Outfits 1828-29 213
Outfits 1830-35 214
Outfits 1836-39 215
Outfits 1840-42 216
Outfits 1843-45 217
Outfits 1846-54 218

CHAPTER VI. IRON STORE 219

History and location 219
Construction details 220
a. Dimensions and footings 220
b. General construction 221
Furnishings 223
Recommendations 228

CHAPTER VII. OLD OFFICE 231

History and location 231
Office operations 233
a. Journals 233
b. Correspondence books 234
c. Inventories 235
d. Indents 237
e. Returns 238
f. Invoices, packing accounts, and bills of lading . . 239
g. Post and district accounts 240
Servants' accounts 240
Transfer books 241
Miscellaneous 242
h. Summary 243
A clerk's life 244
The Old Office as residence 247
Thomas Lowe 249
Construction details 249
a. Dimensions and footings 249
b. General construction 250
Walls 251
Roof 251

Chimney 251
Doors 251
Windows 252
Exterior finish 252
c. Interior finish and arrangement 253
Heating arrangements 256
Furnishings 256
a. General remarks--bedrooms 256
b. Office proper--furniture and equipment 257
Bookcase 260
Book press 261
Cash box 261
Desks 262
Maps 262
Scales 262
Stools 263
Summary 263
c. Office proper--account books, stationery, and supplies 264
Journals 265
Letter books 265
Inventory books 266
Indents 266
(1) Columbia scheme books 266
(2) Columbia indent books 266
Fur invoice books 266
Store invoice books 266
Servants' account books 266
Abstract of accounts or abstract books 266
District statements "A" 267
District statements "B" 267
Accounts current, Columbia District 267
Transfers "A" and Transfers "B" 267
Memoranda books 267
Shop accounts 267
Engagement register 267
Ledgers 267
Recommendations 269

CHAPTER VIII. NEW OFFICE 271

History and location 271
Construction details 273
a. Dimensions and footings 273
b. General construction 274
Walls 276
Roof 276
Chimney 277
Doors 277

Windows 278
Exterior finish 279
c. Interior finish and arrangement 279
Furnishings 280
Recommendations 280

CHAPTER IX. JAIL 281

History and location 281
Construction details 285
Furnishings 287
Recommendations 288

CHAPTER X. OWYHEE CHURCH 289

History and location 289
The Fort Vancouver school 291
Owyhee Church 304
Construction details 308
a. Dimensions and footings 308
b. General construction 308
Walls 309
Roof 309
Chimney 309
Doors 309
Windows 310
Exterior finish 310
c. Interior finish and arrangement 310
Furnishings 311
a. Schoolroom 311
b. Dormitory 316
c. Kitchen and bedroom or bedrooms 316
Recommendations 316

CHAPTER XI. PRIESTS' HOUSE 319

History and location 319
Priests in residence, Outfit 1845 325
Construction details 327
a. Dimensions and footings 327
b. General construction 328
Walls 329
Roof 329
Chimneys 330
Doors 330
Windows 331
Exterior finish 331
c. Interior finish and arrangement 331

Furnishings 332
Recommendations 333

CHAPTER XII. WHEAT STORE 335

History and location 335
Construction details 343
a. Dimensions and footings 343
b. General construction 344
Walls 345
Roof 345
Doors 346
Windows 347
Exterior finish 348
c. Interior finish and arrangement 348
Furnishings 349
Recommendations 350

CHAPTER XIII. ROOT HOUSE 353

History and location 353
Construction details 357
Recommendations 357

CHAPTER XIV. BEEF STORE 359

History and location 359
Construction details 371
Furnishings 373
Recommendations 374

CHAPTER XV. HARNESS SHOP 377

History and location 377
Construction details 382
a. Dimensions and footings 382
b. General construction 385
Chimney 385
Door 386
Windows 386
Exterior finish 386
c. Interior finish and arrangement 387
Furnishings 387
Recommendations 388

CHAPTER XVI. OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH 391

History and location 391

Construction details 396
Furnishings 397
Recommendations 398

CHAPTER XVII. CARPENTER SHOP 401

History and location 401
Carpenters at Fort Vancouver, Outfit 1845 404
Construction Details 406
Furnishings 407
Recommendations 412

CHAPTER XVIII. MISCELLANEOUS MINOR STRUCTURES 413

WATCHMAN'S HOUSE 413

History and location 413
Construction details 416
Recommendations 416

LATRINES 416

History and location 416
Construction details 418
Furnishings 421
Recommendations 422

CHAPTER XIX. COOPER'S SHOP 423

History and location 423
Construction details 428
Furnishings 429
Recommendations 434

CHAPTER XX. SECOND BASTION 435

Recommendations 438

APPENDIX. ADDITIONAL DATA FOR VOLUME I 439

Chapter I. Stockade 439
a. Bark on pickets 439
b. Shapes of picket tops 439
Chapter II. Gates 440
Chapter III. Bastion 440
Chapter IV. Bakery 441
Chapter IX. Big House 441
a. Roof 441

b. Sundial 442
c. Guns 442
Chapter X. Kitchen 442
Chapter XI. Sale Shop 443
a. Names of stores 443
b. Platform between Sale Shop and New Store 443
Chapter XII. New Store and Receiving Store 444
a. Structure of New Store 444
b. Name and function of Building No. 7 444
c. Packaging of imported dry goods 445
Furnishings of Big House: Quarters of James Douglas . 446

BIBLIOGRAPHY 447

PLATES 473

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE

I. Lever-Type Fur Press at Fort Resolution 474

II. Reconstructed Fur Store and Fur Press at Rocky Mountain House, Heritage Park, Calgary 476

III. A Wedge Press of the Type Employed in Both the American and Canadian Fur Trades 478

IV. An Old Screw-Type Press in the Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP, Manitoba 480

V. The Large Baling Press at Moose Factory, Hudson Bay 482

VI. A Modern Screw-Type Press in Operation at Caribou Post, ca. 1947 484

VII. An additional Step in the Operation of a Present-Day Screw Press 486

VIII. A Partially Compressed Bale of Furs in a Screw Press, ca. 1943 488

IX. A Compressed Bale of Furs Being Sewn Up in the Press, ca. 1943 490

X. Fox Skins Hanging Out to Dry at a Hudson's Bay Company Post, ca. 1950 492

XI. Sorting Furs at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta 494

XII. Sorting Furs in the Warehouse at York Factory, ca. 1938 496

XIII. Method of Storing Furs at Norway House, ca. 1943 498

XIV. Enlarged Portion of 1860 Photograph of the Fort Vancouver Courtyard, View toward Northwest Corner, Showing the New Store (left) and the Sale Shop (right) 500

XV. Another View of the Old Screw Fur Press in the Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP 502

XVI. A Large Weighing Beam with Wooden Scales in the Restored H.B.C. Trade Store at Lower Fort Garry NHP 504

XVII. A Nineteenth-Century Steelyard of the Type Used in the Fur Trade 506

XVIII. Corner of the Fur Loft in Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP 508

XIX. Measured Drawing of the Riel House at St. Vital, Manitoba 510

XX. Gable-Roofed Buildings at Fort Carlton, 1871 512

XXI. Door on West End of Warehouse at Fort St. James, B. C. . 514

XXII. A Hudson's Bay Company Indian Trade Shop During the 1840s 516

XXIII. Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP 518

XXIV. Storeroom in Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP 520

XXV. Another View of the Storeroom in the Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP 522

XXVI. Furs in Storage in Garret of Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP 524

XXVII. One End of Garret in Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP 526

XXVIII. Plan of Powder Magazine Foundations at Fort Vancouver, as Excavated in 1947 528

XXIX. Old Powder Magazine at Metabetchouan Post, Lake St. John, Quebec 530

XXX. Powder Magazine at Moose Factory 532

XXXI. Old Powder Magazine and Sundial at Fort Chipewyan, 1927 534

XXXII. Powder Magazine at Cumberland House, Saskatchewan 536

XXXIII. Section of Powder Magazine Foundation at Fort Vancouver, as Excavated in 1947, Showing Type of Construction 538

XXXIV. Piece of Mortar from Powder Magazine Foundation at Fort Vancouver, 1947 538

XXXV. Metal Roof on Powder Magazine at Lower Fort Garry NHP 540

XXXVI. Metal-Covered Eaves and Ridge Boards, Powder Magazine at Cumberland House 542

XXXVII. Roof and Eaves Details, Powder Magazine at Cumberland House 544

XXXVIII. Measured Drawings, Powder Magazine, Cumberland House, Sheet 8 546

XXXIX. Metal-Covered Door to Powder Magazine at Cumberland House 548

XL. Hinge on Door to Powder Magazine at Cumberland House 550

XLI. The Bachelors' Quarters Building at Fort Vancouver, as It Appeared During the Spring of 1860 552

XLII. Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. Original Pencil Sketch by Henry J. Warre, 1845-46 554

XLIII. Interior of a Dwelling at the Hudson's Bay Company's Post at Pembina. Sketch by "H. M.," 1848 556

XLIV. Interior of the Home of a Red River Colonist. A Pen and Ink Sketch by Peter Rindisbacher 558

XLV. Remains of Glass Objects Bearing the Initial or Name of Clerk A. L. Lewes, Recovered During Salvage Excavations Along the East Palisade Wall, Fort Vancouver, 1966 560

XLVI. Bottom of a Glass Tumbler Bearing the Etched Name "A. L. Lewes" 560

XLVII. The Library at York Factory as It Appeared in 1910 562

XLVIII. Floor Plan, Work Bench, and Anvil Support. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 2 564

XLIX. Window and Door Details. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 3 566

L. Sections. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 4 568

LI. Elevations. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 5 570

LII. Masonry Forge. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. [6] 572

LIII. Coal Box, Log Ramp, and Structure Details. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 7 574

LIV. The Hudson's Bay Company Blacksmith's Shop at Moose Factory 576

LV. York Boat under Construction at Norway House, 1923 578

LVI. Typical Hudson's Bay Company Axe, Excavated at Fort Vancouver 580

LVII. Steps in the Manufacture of a Trade Axe, as Revealed by Specimens Excavated at the Fort Vancouver Blacksmith's Shop 582

LVIII. Sketch of a Building at Fort Kamloops, B. C. 584

LIX. Buildings Behind the Big Depot at York Factory, 1880 . . . 586

LX. Small Structure, Perhaps an Office, at Fort Edmonton, 1884 (1887?) 588

LXI. Restored and Refurnished Interior of the Office at Lower Fort Garry NHP 590

LXII. Old Records in the Office at Fort Chipewyan, 1927 . . . 592

LXIII. Enlarged Portion of 1860 Photograph of the Fort Vancouver Courtyard, View toward Northwest Corner, Showing the Granary (left) and the New Office (right) 594

LXIV. Roman Catholic Mission School at Fort Resolution, 1913 596

LXV. The One-Room Schoolhouse at Fort Fitzgerald 598

LXVI. Photograph of the Priests' House at Fort Vancouver, 1860 600

LXVII. Buildings at York Factory, 1870s 602

LXVIII. Remains of Three-Sheaved Wooden Block Uncovered on Site of Beef Store at Fort Vancouver, 1952 604

LXIX. The Bible That, Together with a Communion Set and Registers, Was Sent to Fort Vancouver by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1836 606

LXX. The Communion Service Supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company for Use at Fort Vancouver by the Church of England Chaplain 608

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

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1. This site is the same as, or is reasonably close to, that designated as Building No. 7 on the present "Site Plan, Historic Fort Area, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site" (see Plate II, vol. I).

2. Thomas Lowe, "Private Journal Kept at Fort Vancouver, Columbia River [1843-1850]," typescript, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, p. 11.

3. J. J. Hoffman and Lester A. Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--V: Flagstaff and Belfry (Vancouver, Washington: National Park Service [Fort Vancouver National Historic Site], October 1973), p. 4.

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

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4. In addition to the evidence provided by the Lowe diary entry of December 21, 1844 (which is not necessarily conclusive as regards 1845 and subsequent years), the identification of Building No. 8 as the 1845-period Fur Store rests on a process of elimination, because the remaining three of the four major fort warehouses apparently can be definitely identified as to name and function. See pp. 185-87, 237-39, in vol. I of this report.

5. For a discussion of the evidence on these points, see pp. 185-87 in vol. I of this report.

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

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6. The so-called "Line of Fire Map" of September 1844 (Plate V, vol. I) shows the two warehouses along the western portion of the south palisade wall essentially as they appear on the Vavasour plan of 1845, but due to the small scale of the map and the lack of structure identification, it is not possible to state that the buildings are identical. Very probably, however, the "Line of Fire Map" indicates that the 1845-period Fur Store was standing by the early fall of 1844.

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

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7. H.B.C., Fort Vancouver, Miscellaneous Items, in Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as H.B.C.A.), B.223/z/4, MS, in Beaver House, London. Materials in the Company's archives are used with, and quoted with, the kind permission of the Hudson's Bay Company; E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Second Series, 1839-44, Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, vol. 6 (Toronto, 1943), pp. 141-42 (hereafter cited as H.B.S., 6).

8. See pp. 240-41 in vol. I of this report.

9. E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Third Series, 1844-46, Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, vol. 7 (Toronto, 1944), p. 87, fn. 3 (hereafter cited as H.B.S., 7).

10. H.B.S., 7:89.

11. Ibid., pp. 85, 143, 145-46, 152; The shipment on board the Cowlitz included furs from Outfits 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845, with an estimated value of £46,881.9.3. H.B.C., Fort Vancouver, Account Book, 1838-1860, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/212, MS, fol. 94.

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 Boisé, Fort Hall, and Fort Umpqua were among the posts south of the boundary that had been

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12. John A. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure ([Tacoma:] Washington State Historical Society, [1957]), p. 92. The use of a land route in 1848 was due to the Cayuse War, which posed a threat to the regular Columbia River transport. The brigade of that year brought the furs out to Fort Langley.

abandoned by the Company. The annual flood of furs that 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.

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13. The history of the Columbia District fur trade after the 1845-46 period is outside the scope of this report. See Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 97-98; It might be remarked, however, that the flow of furs did not completely cease. In February 1860, Chief Trader James A. Grahame announced that he was preparing to ship to Victoria "what furs we have on hand here" at Fort Vancouver. The returns belonged to Outfits 1858 and 1859 and were worth about £1,600 "at the country valuation." J. A. Grahame to G. Simpson, Vancouver, February 1, 1860, in H.B.C.A., B.223/b/42, MS, fols. 163d-164.

14. Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 101-2.

15. H.B.C., Fort Vancouver, Miscellaneous Items, 1845-1866, in H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 72; U.S., Congress, House, 31st Cong., 2d sess., Exec. Doc. No. 1, pt. 2 (Serial 595), p. 289.

16. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 74.

17. Ibid., fol. 77.

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

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18. "Proceedings of a board of officers, which convened at Fort Vancouver, W. T., June 15th, 1860," MS, in U.S., War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Oregon Department, Document File 212-S-1860, in War Records Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as A.G.O., Ore. Dept., Doc. File).

19. See sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 185-86. The map referred to is Plate XVII in that work.

20. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 77.

21. "Proceedings of a board of officers, Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860," A.G.O., Ore. Dept., Doc. File 212-S-1860, in National Archives.

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 buildings 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]

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22. The destruction of the fort structures has been treated in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 157-60.

23. "Occurrences at Nisqually House," in Told by the Pioneers, a Washington Pioneer Project, 3 vols. ([Olympia,] 1937-38), 1:56-57.

24. Burt Brown Barker, ed., Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, Written at Fort Vancouver, 1829-1832 (Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1948), p. 338; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 1A, 1, 18.

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

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25. Ninety pounds was for decades the standard weight of fur packs, though for certain occasions and at certain times a weight of eighty pounds was specified, and occasionally packs weighed as much as one hundred pounds. See E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Series, 1825-38, Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, vol. 4 (Toronto, 1941), p. 49 (hereafter cited as H.B.S., 4). See also Martin Hunter, Canadian Wilds: Tells About the Hudson's Bay Company, Northern Indians and Their Modes of Hunting, Trapping, Etc. (Columbus, Ohio: A. R. Harding, Publisher, 1935), p.77, and H. M. Robinson, The Great Fur Land or Sketches of Life in the Hudson's Bay Territory, 5th ed. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1879), p. 339.

26. Hunter, Canadian Wilds, pp. 77-78.

27. Archibald McDonald, Peace River: A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific, by the Late Sir George Simpson . . . in 1828: Journal of the Late Chief Factor Archibald McDonald, ed. Malcolm McLeod, Facsimile ed. (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 57-58; Hunter, Canadian Wilds, p. 81.

28. Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867-1874 on the Great Buffalo Plains, with Historical and Biographical Notes and Comments (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), p. 277.

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-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

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29. For the use of a wedge press at Fort Simpson in 1835 see Henry Drummond Dee, ed., The Journal of John Work, January to October, 1835, Archives of British Columbia, Memoir no. 10 (Victoria, 1945), pp. 52, 67; The use of a lever press during the early 1860s at Fort Colvile is mentioned in [John Keast Lord], At Home in the Wilderness, Being Full Instructions How to Get Along, and to Surmount All Difficulties by the Way, by "the Wanderer" (London, 1867), p. 62; The presence of a screw press at Fort Vancouver will be documented later in this chapter.

For more information on fur presses, see Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Robe and Fur Presses," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly 3, no. 2 (Summer, 1967), and Carl P. Russell, Firearms, Traps, & Tools of the Mountain Men (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), pp. 156-60.

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

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30. H.B.S., 4:59-60. McLoughlin said at that time that buffalo "is the only Animal on this side of the Mountains from whose hide we can make any [cords]."

31. Dee, Journal of John Work, pp. 62, 66. The pack cords used in the New Caledonia District were imported annually from east of the Rocky Mountains and may have been of moose hide.

32. J. Douglas and P. S. Ogden to W. F. Tolmie, Fort Vancouver, April 20, 1848, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, 1845-1849, Letters Signed by Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas, MSS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

33. Hunter, Canadian Wilds, p. 80.

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-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

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34. Lord, At Home in the Wilderness, p. 62. See also Robinson, Great Fur Land, p. 339, where it is stated that at certain posts during the 1870s the outer covering was "buffalo-hide or rawhide."

35. "The Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830 to 1843," in Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, vol. 4 (1910-1912), pp. 789-90; Hunter, Canadian Wilds, p. 78; Pictures of this type of pack, but with the more modern burlap top and bottom covers, may be seen in Plate XI.

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 $\frac{44}{HB}$ 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]

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36. Hunter, Canadian Wilds, p. 81.

37. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, pp. 277-78.

38. Fort Nisqually, Invoice Book, Feb. 1853-Sept. 1856, FN1263, MS, vol. 1, in Fort Nisqually Collection, in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, p. [48]. This and all subsequent quotations from manuscripts in the Huntington Library are reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery; How these marks were applied to the packs in the Columbia Department in 1845-46 is not known for certain. By the 1860s, at many Company posts, all or part of the marks were branded with a hot iron on a wooden slat affixed to each pack. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 278. What appears to be this branding process is shown in a remarkable photograph found in Freeman Tilden, Following the Frontier with F. Jay Haynes, Pioneer Photographer of the Old West (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), opp. p. 318.

39. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 278.

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

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40. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1838-1860, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/212, MS, fol. 168.

41. For pictures and descriptions of seals recovered at Fort Vancouver and other Columbia District sites, see Louis R. Caywood, Final Report, Fort Vancouver Excavations, mimeographed (San Francisco: National Park Service, July 1, 1955), frontispiece and p. 50; G. F. Grabert, The Astor Fort Okanogan: A Final Report on Salvage Archaeology in the Wells Reservoir--Part II, University of Washington Department of Anthropology, Reports on Archaeology no. 2 (Seattle, August 1968), fig. 1 and p. 38 (reported specimen 3.8 cent. in dia.); J. J. Hoffman and Lester A. Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--I (Vancouver, Washington: National Park Service [Fort Vancouver National Historic Site], May 1972), figs. 14f, 16a, and p. 56; Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--III: 1845 Harness Shop (Vancouver, Washington: National Park Service [Fort Vancouver National Historic Site], February 1973), fig. 7m-n and p. 45; Susan Kardas, "The People Bought This and the Clatsop Became Rich": A View of Nineteenth Century Fur Trade Relationships on the Lower Columbia between Chinookan Speakers, Whites, and Kanakas (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1971), p. 308.

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.

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42. Also, when furs had to be taken down the Columbia River in boats for one reason or another to be loaded aboard the homeward-bound vessel near the mouth of the river, they were put up in eighty-pound packs. See John McLoughlin to Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, April 11, 1827, in H.B.S., 4:49.

43. George Simpson McTavish, Behind the Palisades: An Autobiography (Victoria: Colonist Printers Limited, 1963), p. 101; In a directive that perhaps applied only to the depot at York Factory, the Council of the Northern Department in 1840 resolved that to prevent "a recurrence of the inaccuracies found of late years in the Depot Fur Packing Accts.," a commissioned gentleman or clerk placed in charge "of that branch of the Depot duties" should in the future "check the accounts of his subordinate by passing every skin through his own hands." "Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department," p. 791.

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]

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44. Edward Taylor to George Simpson, Hudson's Bay House, London, May 20, 1840, in H.B.C.A., D.5/5, MS, fols. 275-276.

45. H.B.C.A., D.5/5, MS, fols. 312-312d. See also the instructions of the Council of the Northern Department for 1840, in "Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department," pp. 789-90.

46. H.B.C., Correspondence Book, Fort Vancouver, 1834-1835, H.B.C.A., B.223/b/10, MS, fols. 25-25d.

47. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 277; For a picture of furs airing in a fort yard see Plate X. During the airing and cleaning operations a close watch had to be kept on the furs, because the small and more valuable pelts like marten and mink were a great temptation to Indians and whites alike. Terry Pettus, "Frolic at Fort Nisqually," The Beaver Outfit 292 (Summer, 1961): 12; The poles used for beating, at least at certain posts and at certain times, were about 1-1/2 inches in diameter.

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-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

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48. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 1, 41.

49. H.B.S., 4:106.

50. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/154, MS, fols. 2d-11.

51. Emil Teichmann, A Journey to Alaska in the Year 1868: Being A Diary of the Late Emil Teichmann, ed. Oskar Teichmann (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian Ltd., 1963), p. 108.

52. Alaska Herald (San Francisco), July 1, 1869, p. 2.

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]

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53. John Dunn, The Oregon Territory, and the British North American Fur Trade. With An Account of the Habits and Customs of the Principal Native Tribes on the Northern Continent (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1845), pp. 103-4; In 1825 McLoughlin said that the furs were "repeatedly" beaten during the summer, "particularly before Baling." H.B.S., 4:15; John Kirk Townsend, who reached Fort Vancouver in 1834, recorded that the furs were taken from the warehouses once a week for beating. Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains, to the Columbia River, and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands, Chili, &c with a Scientific Appendix, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, vol. 21 (Cleveland, 1905), pp. 297-98.

54. H.B.S., 6:171.

55. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 4.

56. Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, 1850-1858, Letters Signed by Dugald Mactavish, MSS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

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 bearskins 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 beaver 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]

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57. J. A. Grahame to Thomas Fraser, Vancouver, April 6, 1859, in H.B.C.A., B.223/b/42, MS, fols. 121-122A. It will be noted later in this chapter that jack screws were regularly on inventory in the Fort Vancouver warehouses during 1844 and subsequent years.

58. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/154, MS, fols. 2d-10.

59. H.B.S., 4:30. This weight may have been less than usual because McLoughlin was not able to obtain deerskins for wrappers.

60. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/154, MS, fols. 2d-3; Because eight large and four small bearskins together weighed about eighty pounds, a single large skin weighed perhaps seven or eight pounds. Hunter, Canadian Wilds, p. 78.

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]

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61. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 22; H.B.S., 4:31, 59-60, 74.

62. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, p. 101; H.B.C.A., D.5/5, MS, fols. 275-276.

63. H.B.S., 4:59 fn.

64. H.B.C.A., D.5/5, MS, fols. 275-276.

65. Ibid. Beaver pelts were not to be used as wrappers, however. Ibid., fols. 312-312d.

66. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/172, fol. 10d.

67. J. Douglas and P. S. Ogden to W. F. Tolmie, Fort Vancouver, April 20, 1848, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, 1845-1849, Letters Signed by Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

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]

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68. For example, see H.B.S., 4:80; Robinson, Great Fur Land, p. 340.

69. Robinson, Great Fur Land, p. 340; See also George W. Ebbert, "A Trapper's Life in the Rocky Mountains & Oregon, from 1829 to 1839," MS, in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, p. 40.

70. H.B.S., 4:70, 80. Tobacco was put in the casks in 1829.

71. H.B.C.A., D.5/5, MS, fols. 275-276.

72. For example, see Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 41.

73. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/154, MS, fols. 2d-6.

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 available about the marks themselves. For instance, package number one

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74. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/154, MS, fols. 2d-11.

75. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 8. Incidentally, the fact that it was raining "very hard" that day serves to strengthen the hypothesis that the press was located indoors, unless, of course, the otters were being put up in puncheons; The furs sent to Sitka were by no means inconsiderable in number. Each year 2,000 seasoned land otters traded on the west side of the Rockies had to be paid as rent. In addition, up to an additional 2,000 "west side" otters, if available, had to be sold at fixed prices to the Russians, and 3,000 prime "east side" otters were sent across the mountains each fall by the express to be sold at Sitka. "Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department," pp. 772, 788, 820, 853-57.

(a bale) of the returns for Outfit 1843 shipped on the Columbia in 1844 bore the mark $\frac{43}{HB}$ #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 $\frac{'44}{HBC}$ #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

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76. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/154, MS, fols. 2d-10.

77. J. McLoughlin to Captain [Robert] Royal, Fort Vancouver, August 2, 1833, in H.B.C.A., B.223/b/9, fols. 10d-11. Captain Royal on this occasion was taking on the cargo at Fort George instead of at Fort Vancouver, but the procedure undoubtedly was the same.

78. Ibid.; H.B.S., 4:106.

79. See H.B.C., Fort Vancouver, Miscellaneous Items, H.B.C.A., B.223/z/4, MS, passim.

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]

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. The Fur Store (Building No. 8 on the present site plan) scales out on the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 to measure about thirty-eight feet by ninety-eight feet or about thirty-nine feet by one hundred feet, depending on which version is employed (see Plates VI and VII, vol. I). The 1846-47 inventory lists two warehouses, "Stores Nos. 3 & 4" (of which Building No. 8 certainly was one), as measuring forty by one hundred feet.[82]

Archeological excavations under the direction of Louis R. Caywood in 1952 located three of the corners of the Fur Store and most of the footings under the exterior walls. These findings supported the inventory measurements of forty by one hundred feet almost exactly.[83] These

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80. For example, see H.B.S., 6:162; H.B.C.A., B.223/b/32, MS, fols. 86d-87.

81. For the performance of such service by Thomas Lowe, J. A. Grahame, and William McBean, as well as by Roberts, see Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 4, 8, 41.

82. British and American Joint Commission for the Final Settlement of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, [Papers,] 14 vols. (Washington, D.C., and Montreal, 1865-69), [2:]118-19 (hereafter cited as Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers). For the reasoning leading to the identification of Building No. 8 as one of these "Stores," see pp. 238-39, 251-52, in vol. I of this report.

83. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 10-11, and Map of Archeological Excavations, sheets 2 and 5.

dimensions were confirmed when National Park Service archeologists made more extensive excavations at the same site during the summer of 1972.[84]

Apparently all of the footings found by Mr. Caywood were placed with their longest sides at right angles to the axes of the walls. They were, as usual, spaced about ten feet apart between centers.

The 1972 excavations revealed a third line of footings midway between the north and south walls of the Fur Store. These footings were "offset from those of the exterior walls" and undoubtedly served as a base for a beam supporting the joists. The archeologists interpret their findings to indicate that all main footings were installed at the same time, though "supernumerary" or "occasional repair footings" were of a later date. Also, the original footings were set below the 1840s ground surface, leading the archeologists to speculate that the framing sills were on or very close to the ground. Evidence of "mortice cuts and/or tenon depressions" in the footings suggested to the archeologists that the upright framing timbers were tenoned through the sills and "partially rested either in or on the footings."[85]

Such may have been the case, but to tenon the upright framing timbers into the footings does not appear to have been a common Hudson's Bay Company construction technique, at least as far as this writer has been able to determine. A much more usual practice was to place a block or section of a tree trunk under the sill beneath each upright and to rest this block on a footing. Such blocks might account for the depressions found in the sills. Probably when the

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84. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandums to Regional Archeologist, Pacific Northwest Region, National Park Service, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, July 3 and September 1, 1972, MSS, in files of Pacific Northwest Regional Office, Seattle; The exact lengths of the walls, as measured on footing centers in 1972, were: north wall, 99.55 ft.; east wall, 39.35 ft.; south wall, 98.70 ft.; and west wall, 37.85 ft. Because of the size of the corner footings, about 1.0 to 1.5 ft. wide and 4.0 to 4.5 ft. long, Mr. Hoffman is confident that the actual structure was "no less than 40 by 100 ft." J. J. Hoffman to J. A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, January 29, 1973.

85. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandums, July 3 and September 1, 1972; J. J. Hoffman to J. A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, December 5, 1973, in possession of the writer.

final report of the 1972 excavations becomes available the situation will be clearer. Architects preparing drawings for the reconstruction of the Fur Store should study the archeological findings very closely and analyze them in the light of measured drawings made by the Canadian National and Historic Sites Branch of actual surviving Hudson's Bay Company structures.

The 1972 excavations also revealed a "large and unusually shaped wooden foundation" within the southeast corner of the fur store. If this structure was actually a part of the warehouse, it appears to have been a supporting base for some type of heavy equipment that rested on or pierced through the floor of the lower story. As matters stand at present, neither the date nor the function of this assemblage of timbers is known.[86]

b. General construction. The Fur Store was a large warehouse of the same basic design and construction as the Sale Shop, the New Store, and the Receiving Store already described in detail in Chapters XI and XII of volume I of this report. There is no need to repeat those descriptions here. Thus the present discussion will be confined to those known features that distinguish the fur store from its companions.

The earliest known view of Fort Vancouver to show the 1845-period Fur Store is a pencil sketch drawn by Lt. Henry J. Warre in late 1845 or early 1846. In that picture the hipped roof of the Fur Store appears above the south palisade. The eave line of the building is visible as are very short portions of the south and east walls. On the other hand, no parts of the walls of the neighboring Receiving Store to the west are visible, and the ridge line appears slightly lower. The impression left by this sketch is that the Fur Store was a bit higher than the Receiving Store.[87]

The Coode watercolor view of 1846-47 seems to show the Fur Store and the Receiving Store as being about the same height (see Plate XI, vol. I). On the contrary, the oil painting by an unknown artist, probably about 1847-48, appears to represent the Fur Store as being slightly lower in outline than its neighboring warehouses

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86. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum, July 3, 1972.

87. Henry J. Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, By Captain H. Warre, with introd. by Archibald Hanna, Jr. (Barre, Massachusetts: Imprint Society, 1970), Plate 40. The same condition shows, but not as clearly, in the Warre watercolor sketch reproduced as Plate X in vol. I of this report.

(see Plate XVI, vol. I). This same impression very definitely is conveyed by an 1851 pencil drawing by George Gibbs (see Plate XVIII, vol. I). The other known views of Fort Vancouver either do not show the Fur Store at all or are so lacking in precision when it comes to detail as to shed no valid light on the question at hand.

In view of the conflicting evidence, it seems impossible to make a positive determination as to the relative heights of the Fur Store (Building No. 8) and the Receiving Store (Building No. 7). But because of Gibbs's almost photographic accuracy, the present writer would favor making the reconstructed Fur Store two or three feet lower than its mate to the west. Bearing in mind the Warre pencil sketch, however, this result should be achieved not by reducing the wall height but by lowering the pitch of the roof.

Walls. Although no written or pictorial evidence appears to exist to indicate whether or not the exterior of the Fur Store was weatherboarded, almost certainly it was not. Like the other main warehouses, the Fur Store undoubtedly was a full two stories in height. A very clear and only recently utilized version of the British Boundary Commission's 1860 photograph of the northwest angle of the Fort Vancouver courtyard plainly shows that the walls of the New Store rose about twenty feet above the ground and that the second story had quite as much headroom as did the ground floor (see Plate XIV).[88]

Archeological excavations in 1972 demonstrated that there were ten original footings each (counting the corner footings) in the north and south walls and five original footings each (counting the same corner footings) in the east and west walls.[89] Thus the north and south walls each had ten upright posts, forming nine bays. These posts, if all were spaced equally, must have been centered about 11-1/9 feet apart. The east and west walls had four bays each, with posts centered about ten feet apart.

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88. During the late 1860s, while testimony was being gathered for the adjudication of the Company's claims against the United States, the firm's lawyers attempted to persuade one witness, W. H. Gray, to admit that the upright timbers in the storehouse walls were twenty-two feet long, but he refused to concede that they rose beyond sixteen feet. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]184.

89. J. J. Hoffman to J. A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, January 29, 1973.

Roof. Thomas Lowe's journal does not mention the shingling of the Fur Store, but as there are long gaps in his record, this omission by no means indicates that this work was not performed after June 15, 1843, the date of his arrival at the post. Also, it could have been performed earlier. The several versions of the view by Lieutenant Warre, 1845-46, appear to show the building with a shingle roof, and no extant pictures indicate a board roof, so it may be assumed that a shingle roof was in place during the period to which the post is to be reconstructed. As with the other warehouses, there were no chimneys.

Doors. The only known reliable picture that gives a clear view of any of the walls of the Fur Store is the Coode sketch of 1846-47 (Plates XI and XII, vol. I). This view shows three large doors, surely double, with arched tops, evenly spaced at ground-floor level across the front (north) face of the structure. The only other wall visible is the east wall, and it is shown with no doors or windows whatever. Unless archeological excavations produce irrefutable evidence of the existence of one or more doors in the south or west walls, this writer suggests that these walls be left without doors when reconstruction plans are drawn. Probably the Company would have desired that all doors giving access to the precious fur returns should be in full view from the courtyard.

After the completion of volume I of this report, this writer encountered a very clear version of the 1860 photograph of the northwest corner of the fort in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. This photo provided a much better view of the New Store (Building No. 5) than had hitherto been available (see Plate XIV). At the extreme left of this print about one-half of the arched double door in that structure is visible.

Upon close examination, it is evident that the arch was carved into a single huge timber which served as the top frame or header over the door opening. Or, possibly, the arch is formed by two large timbers carved in the shape of knee braces and joined together at the apex of the arch. At any rate, the curved top frame around the exterior of the arch over the entry to the Fort Nisqually granary seems to be absent (compare Plate XIV, vol. II, with Plate CXI, vol. I. See also measured drawings by Historic American Buildings Survey, Fort Nisqually Granary, Point Defiance Park, Tacoma, Washington, 2 sheets, in Library of Congress).

Probably the framing of the Fur Store entries was similar to that on the door to the New Store. The doors themselves were undoubtedly of very heavy construction and formed like the doors in the other warehouses.

The Coode watercolor is not sufficiently detailed to permit a judgment as to whether there were ramps or steps in front of the doors. An examination of the "original" sketch and the colored version of it reproduced in The Beaver Outfit 301 (autumn, 1970), p. 52, however, leads this writer to suspect that access to the building was by ramps.

Windows. The warehouses at Fort Vancouver impressed some visitors as being dark and gloomy inside.[90] Certainly the Fur Store must have been among the least cheerful, for the Coode watercolor shows it to have possessed few windows. Of the two sides of the building visible in that sketch, the east side is represented as having had no windows at all (see Plates XI and XII, vol. I).[91] On the entire 100-foot length of the front or north wall only three windows are depicted, all on the second floor. Seemingly they were centered over the three doors. The ground floor appears to have had no windows, at least in front.[92]

No pictures showing the south wall of the Fur Store have yet been found, and the only one depicting the west wall (Plate XX, vol. I) is so filled with errors as to be without value for the purpose at hand. Thus it seems most reasonable to assume that the general pattern of window placement shown in the Coode sketch was repeated on the south and west walls. Such reasoning would result in there being no windows in the west wall and six--three on each floor--in the south wall. It must be remembered that the walls were primarily places on which to hang furs. Light appears to have been a secondary consideration.

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90. See sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, p. 185.

91. A portion of the east face of what seems to be the Fur Store is shown in the Paul Kane pencil sketch of 1846-47 (Plate XIV, vol. I). What appears to be a single window is visible in the center of the second floor wall. Because this evidence contradicts that by Coode and is not supported by the oil painting of ca. 1847-48 (Plate XVI, vol. I) that shows no window, it must be discounted.

92. The 1854 view by an unknown artist (Plate XX, vol. I) shows at least five windows on each floor across the front of the Fur Store and at least two on the second story of the west wall. This drawing is so unreliable, however, that it cannot be accepted as valid evidence.

There seems to be no way of judging the sizes of the windows with any certainty. Probably, however, they were small, like those shown in Plate XIV depicting the New Store. Those windows had nine panes set in a single sash, which undoubtedly opened inward from one side. Window glass at Fort Vancouver ordinarily was received from England in three standard sizes: 7 by 9 inches, 7-1/2 by 8-1/2 inches, and 8 by 9 inches.[93] Careful analysis of the windows shown in Plate XIV by techniques known to architects probably would reveal the size used in the New Store.

At Fort Vancouver the windows in the warehouses for which adequate pictorial representation exists seem universally to have been centered between the wall uprights. At a number of posts the storehouse windows adjoined these uprights (see Plate LXXVIII, vol. I, for an example). In view of the abundant evidence as to the prevailing practice at the Columbia depot, the windows in the Fur Store almost surely were of the former type.

The Fur Store windows undoubtedly were protected by solid wood exterior shutters. Plate XIV so well shows the construction of the typical warehouse shutters at Fort Vancouver that no comment is necessary, except to note that a careful examination of the original print seemed to show that the hinges, though external, were not of the strap type. Hinges at Fort Vancouver, incidentally, seem at that time to have been attached largely by nails and not by screws.[94] All windows on the ground floor probably were guarded by interior iron bars.

Exterior finish. The Coode watercolor shows the Fur Store as being unpainted except probably for the doors and windows, which are reddish brown and darker than the walls. In the picture the windows appear to be covered by the shutters, which thus must have been painted also. It is impossible to determine if the door and window frames are shown as being painted, but probably they were not. Undoubtedly

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93. See sources cited on p. 118 in vol. I of this report.

94. In the requisition of goods for the Columbia District for Outfit 1845, signed on March 19, 1842, Chief Factor Douglas requested from England "4 doz. prs. wrot. iron Hinges & Hold fasts, 24 ins. long, Eye 3/4 ins. in Diam. w[it]h hold fasts whose Dia. will of course suit the Hinge eye, with a sufficient number of nails to fasten the hinges." H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, fol. 88. Hinges of other sizes, with nails, were also ordered. However, Fort Vancouver inventories reveal that "wood screw Nails" and "wood Screws" were regularly stocked at the depot.

the paint was the ubiquitous "Spanish brown," which was kept in stock at Fort Vancouver.[95]

Since the completion of volume I of this report more information has been obtained concerning the nature of this "Spanish brown" color that was widely used at fur trade posts across the breadth of the continent. National Heritage Limited, a Toronto-headquartered organization that is conducting the reconstruction of Fort William on Lake Superior, has sent staff members to Britain to determine exactly what shades were meant by the paint colors listed in early nineteenth century fur-trade inventories and other documents. One of the colors investigated was "Spanish brown," and British museum experts found that the paint of that name known to the fur traders was much more red than brown.[96] This finding perhaps is confirmed by the fact that a man who spent some time at Fort Vancouver as a youth later recollected that the gates were "red."[97]

c. Interior finish and arrangement. The historical record provides no information whatsoever concerning the interior of the Fur Store. The structure is not described in the 1846-47 inventory as being lined and ceiled. Ordinarily the inference to be drawn from this fact would be that the Fur Store was not lined with deal siding on the inside. However, every picture of the interior of a Company fur store seen by this writer has shown the walls lined with either vertical or horizontal siding, and the surviving Company stores at Fort St. James and Lower Fort Garry are finished in the same manner. In view of the great lengths gone to by the Company to preserve its returns in good condition, it would seem logical to expect that the Fur Store at Fort Vancouver would have been lined. Vertical deal siding appears to have been the most usual form of interior lining.

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95. For example, see inventory of 1848 in H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1848, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fol. 37.

96. J. A. Hussey, interview with staff of National Heritage Limited, 322 King Street West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, May 14, 1973. A color sample was not available at that time, but it is suggested that architects working on the restoration of Fort Vancouver get in touch with National Heritage Limited on this subject.

97. James Robert Anderson, "Fort Vancouver, Oregon: Description of Interior of Fort by J. R. Anderson, Victoria, B. C., Presented to Mrs. A. H. Cree," typescript, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, p. 1.

As with the New Store, one end of the ground floor may have been partitioned off to make a baling room, but otherwise the Fur Store probably was without interior walls. The plank floors, exposed beams, ceilings, and open-tread stairs without handrails undoubtedly were as described in Chapter XI on the Sale Shop (see pp. 204-8, vol. I). Probably penciled lists of furs were placed on the walls by the clerks from time to time as described on page 256 of volume I of this report. In view of the interior line of footings uncovered by archeologists, there could have been a line of center posts on the first floor supporting the ceiling beams. It is most likely that a trapdoor in the first floor ceiling facilitated the hoisting of furs to the second floor.

d. Connections with the stockade. Two versions of the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 (Plates VII and VIII, vol. I) show the Fur Store as being linked at both its west and east ends to the south palisade wall by barriers of some type. These barriers are extensions of the lines of the west and east walls of the building. A third, and contemporary, version of the Vavasour plan shows only the west end of the Fur Store thus linked to the stockade wall (Plate VI, vol. I). The "Line of Fire Map" of September 1844, however, also depicts the links at both ends of the building (Plate V, vol. I). There remains little doubt, therefore, that both of these connections, which almost surely were lines of pickets, existed during the 1845-46 period. They surely were intended to safeguard the furs from the gaze of the merely curious as well as from the depredations of thieves.

Furnishings

As was the case with the other warehouses, the principal "furnishings" of the Fur Store were the items housed there. The number of furs in store varied widely, of course, according to the season of the year. There were also fluctuations in total returns from outfit to outfit and, as has been seen, noticeable declines beginning in the summer of 1845 with the shift of the main depot to Victoria.

Given more time for research in the Company's archives and in other repositories, it probably would be possible to determine exactly how many furs passed through Fort Vancouver on their way to Victoria during each of the years 1845 and 1846. All that would be necessary would be to ascertain the returns of all the posts and vessels that shipped their furs directly to Victoria and then subtract the numbers of each type from the known total departmental returns. Or, better yet, it might be possible to find the invoices of furs from Vancouver to Victoria for those years. Thus far this writer has not located this type of information.

In point of fact such a determination, while of much interest, would be of little practical value for the proposed restoration project.

Given the prices of furs, the present feelings for the preservation of wildlife, and the huge cost of protecting about 60,000 pelts from insects and other dangers, there seems little possibility that anyone will seriously propose "refurnishing" the Fur Store with the maximum number of skins on hand at any time during the period to which the post is to be restored. The most practical solution would be a display in a limited section of the warehouse of a representative, and generous, sampling of the types of furs handled at Fort Vancouver.

Fortunately there is an abundance of information upon which to base such a sampling. The invoices and/or bills of lading for the shipments of the entire departmental returns from Vancouver to London are available for a number of years prior to 1845. They present a fine picture of the numbers and types of skins and other returns that passed through the depot Fur Store. As examples, two of these lists are reproduced below:

[Shipped from Vancouver, November 20, 1843]

I, John McLoughlin of Fort Vancouver, Columbia River, in British North America, Shipper of the following Goods on board the Ship Vancouver, William Brotchie Master, now about to sail from Columbia River, aforesaid, for the Port of London, vizt.--

Number	
523	Badger
14820	Beaver
1828	Bear
2161	Deer
4	Elk
668	Fisher
756	Fox
72	Goat
551	Lynx
9449	Marten
7671	Mink
17438	Musquash [muskrat]
1028	[Land] Otter
214	Sea Otter
1663	Raccoon
169	Seal
4	Panthers
1904	Wolf
195	Wolverine
[61,118	whole skins total]

236-1/2 lbs. Castorum [sic]
177 " beaver Coating
341 " Feathers--Goose & Partridge
325 " Islinglass [sic]

35 pieces Fisher, Marten, Otter, & fox Skins
46 otter Tails [damaged]
1 Sea Otter ["]
10 land do ["]
2 Martens [damaged]
19 Foxes ["]
3 Lynx ["][98]

. . . . . .

[Shipped from Vancouver, November 13, 1844][99]

Recapitulation of Furs &c Shipped on board the Bque Columbia 1844

. . . . . .

	[Returns of Out. 1843]	[Returns of Out. 1844]
Badgers	202	37
Bears		
Black	555	375
Brown	193	89
Grizzly	176	72
Beaver		
large	9448	3982
small	2707	1143
lbs. cut[tings]	35-1/2	100
Castoreum lbs.	259	5
Feathers lbs.	---	168
Fishers	332	243
Foxes		
Blue	---	11
Cross	97	66
Red	158	127
Silver	37	11
Deer Hides	306	---

98. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/4, MS. The items in this shipment represent partial returns from Outfits 1842 and 1843 that had a valuation of £36,348.16.2. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1838-1860, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/212, MS, fol. 69.

99. H.B.S., 7:52.

lbs. Isinglass	136	388-1/2
Lynxes	178	239
Martens		
p. skin	5020	2506
In Robes	238	137
. . . . .		
	[Returns of Out. 1843]	[Returns of Out. 1844]
Minks	1544	2451
Muskrats	14982	6254
Gns Whale Oil	---	---
Otters		
Land	272	683
Sea Small	35	54
" Pup	7	9
" Tails	4	17
Raccoons	326	1102
lbs Whalebone	---	690
Wolverines	99	66
Wolves	637	373[100]

In addition to the types of furs contained in these two lists, the pelts of a few other species of animals or of other grades appeared in the returns from time to time. Thus the returns shipped from Victoria in 1845 also included calf hides, ox hides, large sea otter pelts, common hair seal pelts, and fur seal skins.[101]

The methods used for storing skins have already been treated in sufficient detail. But in addition to the piles of furs on the floors and the clusters of pelts hanging from the walls and beams, the Fur Store was "furnished" with a number of other highly necessary items.

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100. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/154, MS, fols. 10d-11. The valuation of the furs in this shipment was £35,896.17.1. Ibid., fol. 13.

101. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/212, MS, fol. 94; The term "ox" as used in invoices of returns evidently was synonymous with "cattle" or "cow," because 5,729 of them were included in the returns of Fort Vancouver for 1843, and most of them were from California. Fort Vancouver, Fur Trade Returns, Columbia District and New Caledonia, 1825-1857, MS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, n.p. However, such large shipments of hides were not counted as furs on the usual invoices. Whether or not they were stored in the Fur Store is not known.

Most conspicuous, perhaps, were rows of empty puncheons, pipes, kegs, and casks waiting until needed for packing the small furs, isinglass, castoreum, and certain other products. Evidently such containers were sometimes in short supply, and they, particularly the used rum puncheons, were carefully husbanded.[102]

Then, as with the other warehouses, there was an assortment of articles required for the operation of the Fur Store. Such items would include a baling press, one or more large weighing scales, pack cords or line, equipment for marking bales, writing paper and various types of account books for the numerous records that had to be kept, a supply of staves upon which the bale marks were placed (if staves were used at Fort Vancouver in 1845-46), perhaps a desk and stool for the clerk, blocks and tackle, barrows for moving bales, and sticks for beating furs.

Unfortunately, no separate accounting of "articles in use" in the Fur Store was made at Fort Vancouver. The annual depot inventories of "articles in use" contained a subheading, "In Stores," and evidently all the equipment employed in all the depot warehouses was lumped together in that single category. Thus the annual inventories are practically useless as guides to the refurnishing of the Fur Store. But for what they are worth the lists for 1844 and 1845 have been reproduced on pages 258-59 of volume I of this report. Even the fact that "1 wood packing press" is listed does not help much, since there must also have been such a press in the warehouse where trade goods were packed for shipment. The presence of "2 Jack Screws," however, might indicate the existence of a large baling press for furs.

For some unknown reason the inventory made in the spring of 1848 at Fort Vancouver seems to have been much more detailed than the others available. Thus, though it reflects conditions somewhat later than the 1845-46 period, there seems merit in reproducing below the section relating to the warehouses:

--Articles in Use--

--In Stores--

2 large square headed Axes
650 Osnaburgh wheat Bags
1 travelling Basket complete

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102. See requests from depot personnel to London and subsidiary posts to return or send empty puncheons and casks. H.B.S., 4:80; H.B.C., Correspondence Book, Fort Victoria, 1844-1845, H.B.C.A., B.226/b/1, MS, fol. 31d.

3 large iron [weighing] Beams w[ith] wooden scales
2 small " Do w copper "
1 pr blacksmiths Bellows
1 single purchase Block p heaving down
6 double " Do. "
2 large leading Do.
1 " snatch Do.
6 " treble Do.
4 sets Blocks & tackle
7 doz empty Wine bottles
3 hand Brushes
34 fire Buckets
1 spring Cart
1 travelling Case complete
1-1/6 doz Cherries pr ball moulds
10 brass Cocks assd. sizes
3 steering Compasses
1 large fire Engine
1 small " Do old
1 fort Flag
1 sheeting Frock
7 tin Funnels assd. sizes
1 wheat Gage [sic]
6 small Gimlets
5 spike Do
2 claw Hammers
2 bronzed Lamp stands
1 Parsonn's new planing Machine
1 Payne's patent salting Do
1 Marryat's weighing Do
6 half bushel wooden Measures
3 setts [sic] tin Do
1 copper bullet Mould
46 Muskets, old
5 Wyeth's seine Nets
2 boarding Pikes
1 Pillow Case
1 Chinese flower Pot
1 large fur Press
1 small baling Do
1 copper spirit Pump
1 Warp Rope
2 cross cut Saws
3 hand Do
2 prs double jack Screws
6 cotton bed Sheets

4 Shovels
2 Spades
3 prs beam Steelyards
2 copper Stills with worms
1 Tellescope [sic]
1 sheeting Tent
3 sets brass Weights f[ro]m 1 lb to 1/2 oz
24 iron Do fm 56 lbs. to 2 lbs.
1 rope Winch[103]

Among the items in this list, the following could very well have been in the Fur Store:

1 large fur Press
1 large iron [weighing] beam with wooden scales
1 or more sets of blocks and tackle
several fire buckets
1 pair beam steelyards
1 set of brass weights [for scales]
assorted iron weights [for scales]

It is not known, of course, whether some of these articles, those that do not appear on the 1844 and 1845 inventories, were present at Fort Vancouver as early as 1845-46. Even assuming that all were present, it will be seen that a number of items mentioned above as being necessary to the operation of the Fur Store were not included in the inventory. This same situation has been found with regard to the inventories of other structures, and it can only be assumed that "country-made" items such as desks, chairs, stools, etc., were sometimes not inventoried. The reason for omitting certain imported items, though, is not clear.

It cannot be a function of this report to describe in detail the various furnishings that may have been in the Fur Store. As an assistance to the curators who may be faced with the task of re-creating the interior of the structure, however, a few notes concerning sources of further information are appended below.

Fur press. As far as this writer is aware, only two of the larger, original, screw-type presses operated at Hudson's Bay Company depots are still in existence: one at Moose Factory on Hudson

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103. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1848, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fol. 81-81d.

Bay (Plate V), and the other in the restored trade shop at Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba (Plates IV and XV). Whether the "large fur Press" at Fort Vancouver was similar to either of these is not known. It would be a relatively simple matter to make measured drawings of the Fort Garry press and reproduce it.

Little concerning the specifications for fur presses has thus far been found in the records of the Company. The following paragraph from a letter written by Gov. George Simpson from York Factory to the Governor and Committee in London on September 11, 1822, is enlightening, but it would be more so were there a McGillivray on the scene today to explain it:

> The packing presses at this place are extremely inconvenient and out of repair, the machinery complex and the operation tedious, eight men being required to pack twenty Bales in one day; we have therefore taken the liberty of Indenting for two new Presses on an improved or more simple principle. The dimensions of the one 5 ft. inside by 30 Inches with two screws to work from the top with double levers; the other 2-1/2 feet by 1-1/2 ft. with one Screw for packing inland Bales--each press to have a spare Screw. There was a press on the principle of the former in the Warehouse at Montreal which was found very convenient, we cannot describe it accurately but if Mr. Willm. McGillivray happens to be in Town it is probable he would point out to the Tradesman the article required.[104]

Scales. Because weight was such an important factor in processing furs for shipment, and because the items to be weighed ranged from half pounds of castoreum to 175-pound bales, more or less, it is quite probable that there were at least two scales in the Fur Store. One may have been a simple weighing beam or balance of the type long used in the fur trade. Given a proper set of weights, this type of scale could weigh items from very light ones to those as heavy as the weights would balance. Plate XVI illustrates such a weighing beam with wooden scales. It must be much like the "large iron Beam with wooden scales" listed in the 1844 and 1848 inventories.

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104. R. Harvey Fleming, ed., Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31, Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, vol. 3 (Toronto, 1940), p. 380.

For the heavier bales it is more likely that a steelyard was employed. This device utilized the principle of unequal arm balance, or the lever, and could weigh very heavy items. In the early nineteenth century, steelyards (pronounced "stilyards" in Britain) were hand-forged and generally stamped with the capacity of the scale.[105] A pair of the type used by the Hudson's Bay Company is shown in Plate XVII.

It will also be noted that the inventories of stores from 1844 to 1848 list "1 Marryat's weighing Machine." This writer has not yet found a description of this device, but if it was a type of platform scale it could well have done service in the Fur Store, because it would have been much simpler and much easier on the cords to weigh bales by this means.

Miscellaneous furniture. Plate XVIII shows a corner of the fur loft in the recently restored trade shop at Lower Fort Garry. The table is of a type frequently depicted in nineteenth-century views of the interiors of fur trade and French-Canadian dwellings. Such a table could well have been used as a desk or work surface in the Fort Vancouver Fur Store. Although it is not known that staves were used to carry the marks on outgoing fur bales at the Columbia depot, incoming packs may well have been marked by that means, and the staves may have been kept on hand, possibly for reuse on "pieces" of trade goods. As with the other warehouses, there were no stoves or other means of heating in the fur store.

Recommendations

a. It is suggested that the architects preparing plans and working drawings for the reconstructed fur store give careful attention not only to the structural data provided in this chapter and in Chapters XI and XII, volume I, dealing with other warehouses, but also to the report on the archeological excavations of the Fur Store site.

b. Even with the information provided by the archeological report and by the historic structure report, there will remain several unanswered questions. One of these probably will relate to whether the sills rested directly on the footings at or near ground level or whether the sills were raised somewhat above the footings by wooden blocks. Available pictorial evidence and preliminary archeological findings appear to favor the former alternative. It is suggested, therefore, that the advice of the Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, Canada, be obtained should the final archeological report not resolve the matter. That organization has made measured drawings of a number of Hudson's Bay Company structures and is in a position to provide accurate technical information concerning typical Company construction practices.

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105. For general descriptions of weighing beams and steelyards, with references to additional sources of information, see John A. Hussey, Historic Furnishings Report, Bakery, Fort Vancouver (Denver: National Park Service [Denver Service Center], December 1973), pp. 103-5.

c. Much of the feeling of authenticity required of good restorations results from attention to small details--hardware, stair tread design, door and window trim, etc. A careful, personal study by the architect of H.B.C. artifacts recovered on the building site will help to determine the types of hardware, window glass, nails, etc., employed. But an understanding of how such items were used, of the finish of doors and window sash, of the look of an original hewn timber, etc., can only come through an on-the-spot examination by the architect of surviving Hudson's Bay Company structures. A number of these buildings may be seen today at Fort Nisqually, Fort Langley, Fort St. James, Lower Fort Garry, York Factory, and Norway House. It is suggested that the architect who prepares the plans for the Fur Store--and for all other structures at Fort Vancouver for that matter--be required to study on the ground a reasonably broad sampling of these surviving examples.

d. It is suggested that the architects get in touch with National Heritage Limited, Toronto, Canada, to determine the correct shade during the early 1800s of the paint color known as "Spanish brown." This color should be used for shutters, doors, and window sash. The remainder of the structure, including door and window frames, should be unpainted.

e. The practical considerations that would make it virtually impossible to refurnish the Fur Store as an historical exhibit have been previously discussed. It might be within reason, however, to partition off one end of Building No. 8 as a baling room and furnish it with a large press and the other items needed to prepare skins for overseas shipment. In this case it would be necessary to have only a moderate number of furs actually visible. Such an exhibit would be of great interest. But in view of the high cost of furs and their maintenance, it may be impossible to provide more than one fur storage exhibit at Fort Vancouver, and this probably would be best located in the Indian Trade Shop, where furs were also kept. In this case, the entire interior of the Fur Store would be available for other administrative and interpretive uses.

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 re-organized 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"

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1. H.B.C., Correspondence Book, Fort Vancouver, 1825, H.B.C.A., B.223/b/1, MS, fols. 13d-15d, 21d-22d.

2. E. E. Rich, ed., Part of Dispatch from George Simpson, Esqr., Governor of Ruperts Land, to the Governor & Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, March 1, 1829, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. 10 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1947), pp. 67-68 (hereafter cited as H.B.S., 10).

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.

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3. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1830-1832, H.B.C.A., B.239/1/4, MS, pp. 12, 68.

4. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/7, MS, pp. 79, 85.

5. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/15, MS, p. 69; H.B.C.A., B.239/1/16, MS, p. 66; H.B.C.A., B.239/1/17, MS, p. 51; The Southern Party was discontinued after 1843. In 1844, at least, furs collected by the Company at Willamette Falls and by the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company at Cowlitz Farm were transferred to the "Fort Vancouver Indian Trade." H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, pp. 128-29. Perhaps furs collected at the Champoeg post were handled in the same manner.

6. For examples, see H.B.C.A., B.239/1/5, MS, pp. 104, 141; H.B.C.A., B.239/1/7, MS, pp. 79, 85. It should be realized, however, that the clerk in the Indian shop was usually also the depot surgeon and received a higher salary for that reason.

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

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7. For a statement concerning the practice of engaging the firm's "medical gentlemen" in the double capacity of surgeon and clerk, see Margaret Arnett MacLeod, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. 28 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1947), p. 244 fn.

8. Unfortunately, the fascinating story of the physicians as fur traders at Fort Vancouver cannot be dealt with in this report. For summary treatments, see A. G. Harvey, "Meredith Gairdner: Doctor of Medicine," British Columbia Historical Quarterly 9 (April, 1945): 89-111; and O. Larsell, The Doctor in Oregon: A Medical History (Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1947).

9. H.B.C., Correspondence Book, Fort Vancouver, 1829-1830, H.B.C.A., B.223/b/5, MS, fols. 30-31d.

10. George B. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," Oregon Historical Quarterly 63 (June-September, 1962): 197.

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-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

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11. For a discussion of the problems with the Emmons plan, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, p. 125. For reasons there explained, the fact that Emmons showed Building No. 21 abutting the palisade, while Vavasour did not, seems of little significance in determining the relative positions of the 1841 warehouse and the 1845 Indian shop. The "Line-of-Fire" map of 1844 seems to support Vavasour as far as the location of Building No. 21 is concerned.

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-XVI, XVIII, XX-XXI, and 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

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12. See pp. 2-3 in vol. I of this report for a discussion of this enlargement.

13. The only picture that seems not to be in agreement on this point is the Warre drawing of 1845-46 (Plates IX and X, vol. I of this report, and Plate 40 in Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory). This writer has found it impossible to relate the structures shown in the southeastern quadrant of the fort in Warre's picture with all of those shown on Vavasour's ground plan of the same time period. If the building shown by Warre as being in the extreme southeastern corner of the fort is intended to be the Indian shop, that structure is shown as a low building but with a hipped roof. If one of the two gable-roofed buildings to the west of that in the corner is intended to be the Indian shop, it is too short and too high to be the structure shown in the other post-1845 views.

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

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14. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon (New York: J. Collord, Printer, 1844), p. 147.

15. Ibid., p. 231.

16. W. H. Gray, who arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1836, testified years later that he thought the fort enclosure was doubled in size "about" 1836, and he listed the "Indian trading shop" among the structures built in the new section. These words apparently tend to support the hypothesis that the Indian shop had existed since shortly after the enlargement and was not a new structure built on the site of an earlier warehouse. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8]:184.

17. "Proceedings of a board of officers, Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860," A.G.O., Ore. Dept., Doc. File 212-S-1860, in National Archives.

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

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18. I. I. Stevens to W. L. Marcy, Washington, June 21, 1854, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [11:]220-21.

19. For information on general practices concerning admitting Indians to forts and trading shops see, for example, Hunter, Canadian Wilds, pp. 48-49; Lord, At Home in the Wilderness, pp. 56-57; "Occurrences at Nisqually House," p. 24; Robinson, Great Fur Land, pp. 85-86, 199-202; and Charles William Wilson, Mapping the Frontier: Charles Wilson's Diary of the Survey of the 49th Parallel, 1858-1862, While Secretary of the British Boundary Commission, ed. George F. G. Stanley (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970), p. 37.

20. Townsend, Narrative, pp. 297-98. See also Dunn, Oregon Territory, p. 103.

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.

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21. George M. Douglas, "Royal Navy Ships on the Columbia River in 1839," The Beaver Outfit 285 (Autumn, 1954): 40, quoting Sir Edward Belcher's Voyage of the Sulphur.

22. W. S. Wallace, ed., John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory, Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. 19 (Toronto, 1932), p. 137.

> 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

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23. Robert Michael Ballantyne, Hudson Bay; or, Everyday Life in the Wilds of North America, During Six Years' Residence in the Territories of the Hon. Hudson Bay Company (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1908), pp. 185-86.

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:

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24. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

25. Robinson, Great Fur Land, pp. 97-98; see also ibid., pp. 331-36, for a longer account but one that adds few details to those given in the excerpts from Ballantyne's writings. One of those details, however, is of particular interest: the use of "steelyard and weighing-balance" to measure out stated values in tea, sugar, and other items sold by weight. This was a process completely incomprehensible to the Indians. Also mentioned is the habit of many Indians of trading only one skin at a time, a very slow process. This same habit predominated at Fort Colvile in the early 1860s. See Lord, At Home in the Wilderness, p. 55.

> 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

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26. Silas Holmes, "Journal Kept by Assistant Surgeon Silas Holmes During a Cruise in the U. S. Ship Peacock and Brigs Porpoise and Oregon, 1838-1839-1840-1841-1842 Exploring Expedition," 3 vols., MS, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 2:228. For still another general description of Indian shop operations, see The Fur-Trade and the Hudson's Bay Company (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1854), p. 24.

27. George T. Allan, "Copies of Letters and Journals of George T. Allan, Written at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, 1841," typescript, copy in files of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Vancouver, Washington, p. 7. See also Robinson, Great Fur Land, pp. 331-36.

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

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28. James D. Miller, "Early Oregon Scenes: A Pioneer Narrative," Oregon Historical Quarterly 31 (March, 1930): 64.

29. E. E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vols. 21 and 22 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1958-1959), 21:75.

30. Hudson's Bay Company Trade Tokens and Promissory Notes--A Special Exhibit, mimeographed leaflet ([Boise, Idaho:] Idaho Historical Museum, 1959), pp. 2-3. The text of this leaflet is said to have been provided by the Hudson's Bay Company and thus may be considered authoritative, though no sources are cited.

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 do 2-1/2 pts B B	1
1 " do 3 " "	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 " "	"	"	1	"	"	
2 Small Beaver	"	to	1	Large	Do[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,

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31. H.B.S., 3:lxxi.

32. Teichmann, A Journey to Alaska, p. 109.

33. Fur Trade Papers, FN1245, MS, in Fort Nisqually Collection, Huntington Library. To simplify tabulation, certain items have been rearranged in the list reproduced above.

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	"
Do	plain	2-1/2 "			1	"
Do	"	2 "			7/8	"
Do	"	1-1/2 "			3/4	"
Do	"	1 "			1/2	
Buttons	metal	Coat		6 doz	1/2	1
Do	Ball	Vest		6 "	1/2	1
Capots	com	cloth	4 & 3-1/2 Ells	ea	2	"
"	"	"	2-1/2 & 1-1/2 Ells	"	1	1
Caps	Milld			"	1/4	1/3
Combs	Large	Storn		doz	[0]	1
Cotton	com	Stripes		3 yds	3/5	1
Do		printed		3-1/2 "	7/16	1
Dags	Stand	7 ins		ea	1/2	1/2
Duffle	Blue			yd	3/4	"
Do	Red	com		2 yds	3/4	"
Files	flat	Bastd	7 & 8 ins	ea	1/4	1/4
Glasses	Looking	metal frame			1/3	1/2
Do	"	paper cased			1/4	1/4
Guns	Com	Indian			4	"
"	flints			2 doz	1	1
"	Worms			2 "	1	1
Hats	com	Wool			1/2	"
Hooks	Large	Cod		2 doz	1	1
Do	Small	"		2-1/2 "	1	1
Do	"	Trout		5 "	1	1
Powder & Shot		30 Loads			30/40	2
Horns, Powder				ea	1/2	"
Kettles	Covd	tin	#1		1	1-1/2
Knives	Scalping			ea	1/4	1/4
Needles	Darning			5 doz	1	1
Pipes	clay			2 "	1	1

34. Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward to 1845, Despatches from McLoughlin to Simpson, 1844, MSS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

				Plus Furs	Plus Provns.
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	"
Thimbles	"	brass	doz	1/4	1/4
Tobacco	Twist		lb	1/3	1
Do	Leaf		"	1/3	1
Trowsers	com	cloth	pair	1	
Do	Corduroy		"	1	
Vests of all kinds			ea	3/4	
Vermilion			lb	4	4
Wire	Brass	collar	"	1/2	1
Bears, generally in ammunition, Cotton or Tobo.			ea	1/3	"
Beaver	Large		"	1	
Do	Small		"	1/2	
Do	pup		"	1/8	
Fishers			"	1/5	
Foxes	cross		"	1/2	
Do	Red		"	1/4	
Isinglass			lb	1/4	
Lynx	Grey		ea	1/2	
"	Red		"	1/3	
Martens			"	1/5	
Minks			"	1/15	
Muskrats			"	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 Do paid Baize, Tobo, ammunition			1/4
Venison	180 lbs		1
Sturgeon	200 lbs		1
Salmon fresh	Large	20	1-1/4
" "	small	60	1-15/60
" Dried		120	1
Ducks		30	1
Geese		15	1
Swans		5	1
Cod Fish		30	1
Trout	Small	80	1

					Provns.
Grease	hard	10	lbs		1
Oil		3	Gns		1
Baskets	Corn	10			1
Do	[illeg.]	5			1
Mats	Large	3			1
Do	Small	8			1
Bark	Cedar	50	pieces	7 feet by 1-1/2 ft	1
Sticks for Hoops		250			1
Canoes	Large				4
Do	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.

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35. Fur Trade Papers, FN1245, MS, in Fort Nisqually Collection, Huntington Library. The term plus at the head of the price columns was a commonly used name in the fur trade for a prime beaver pelt, particularly when considered as a unit of value. Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1935), 1:40.

36. John McLoughlin to John Dease, Fort Vancouver, July 23, 1825, in H.B.C.A., B.223/b/1, MS, fols. 13d-15d.

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]

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37. Allan, "Copies of Letters and Journals," p. 1.

38. Rich, History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1:76.

39. Ibid.

40. Hudson's Bay Company Trade Tokens and Promissory Notes, pp. 2-3. Perhaps the best statement of the reasons for the selection is to be found in a manuscript account of the fur trade that seems to be dated 1770: "Beaver being ye chief Article Traded for is made ye Standert [sic] Whereby all other furrs and Comodities are Rated." "Thoughts on the Furr Trade with the Indians in North America . . . Extracted from Some Papers of the Late Mr. John Gray of Quebec," MS, in William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, [p. 26].

41. Rich, History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1:76; The Mountain Light, The Newsletter of the Idaho Historical Society 4, no. 11 (December 9, 1959): 2.

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]

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42. K. G. Davies, ed., Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence, 1819-35, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. 24 (London, 1963), p. 163.

43. About fifty N.W. Co. tokens, "issued about 1820," have been found in the Columbia Basin. Kardas, "The People Bought This," p. 86.

44. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, p. 212. A photograph of such a wooden counter is in Larry Gingras, "Medals and Tokens of the HBC," The Beaver Outfit 299 (Summer, 1968): [40].

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:

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45. Gingras, "Medals and Tokens of the HBC," [p. 40]. For further information on counters and tokens, in addition to the sources already cited, see Chris Harding, "The Monetary System of the Far Fur Country," The Beaver 1, no. 9 (June, 1921): 2; and Hudson's Bay Company Trade Tokens and Promissory Notes, pp. 2-3.

9th [February, 1844]

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

. . . . . .

Feby. 16th 1844

	12 ducks	12	ch. amm.
	5 Flounders	6	" Do
	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		
	2 Baskets Cockles	5	Brass Rings
	1 Bag Salmon Roe	15	ch. Amm.
	Codroe	1	" Do
	12 Cod	5	" Do

. . . . . .

[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
1 Do " " beaver
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]

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46. Fort Nisqually, Blotter, February-December, 1844, FN1247, MS, vol. 3, in Fort Nisqually Collection, Huntington Library, pp. 5-[37]. Examples of other types of Indian shop records are in the same collection.

47. Lord, At Home in the Wilderness, p. 55; Robinson, Great Fur Land, pp. 332-33. In the description of single-skin trading given by Robinson, counters seem to have been employed.

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

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48. Rich, History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1:75.

> 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

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49. [John Stuart], "Journal of Daily Occurrences, Fort Simpson, September 6, 1832-March 22, 1835," MS, n.p., in [John Stuart], Five Letter Books and Journals Relating to the Operations of the Hudson Bay Company, 1822-1835, in The Bank of Scotland, The Mound, Edinburgh. For permission to consult and to quote from these manuscripts the writer is indebted to The Bank of Scotland, owner of the papers.

50. W. M. Conn, "New Fur Commissioner Famed as Trader and Organizer," The Beaver 1, no. 2 (November, 1920): 2-3.

51. Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, under the Direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in the Years 1835, '36, and '37, 2d ed. (Ithaca, 1840), p. 174.

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
	brown		12	21	14
	grizzly		1	2	2
Beaver	lar.		1360	1191	1067
	small		409	436	380
	coating	lbs	22-1/2	13	19
Castorum	[sic]	lbs	12	8	2
Fishers			15	15	4
Foxes	cross		16	25	8
	red and blue		58	46	39
	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
	sea lar.		29	27	30
	pup		5	8	7
	tails				0

52. Fort Vancouver, Fur Trade Returns, Columbia District and New Caledonia, 1825-1857, [pp. 1, 3].

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

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53. Ibid. It is not clear whether these figures were strictly for the business of the Indian Trade Shop at Fort Vancouver or for the entire "Fort Vancouver Fur Trade," which would have included also returns from Fort George and Fort Umpqua.

54. William Fraser Tolmie, The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader (Vancouver, B. C.: Mitchell Press Limited, 1963), p. 170.

55. Ibid., pp. 172-73.

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]

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56. Ibid., p. 170.

57. For an account of the hospital outside the pickets, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 220-21.

58. Allan, "Copies of Letters and Journals," pp. 7-8.

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]

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59. Forbes Barclay to George Simpson, Fort Vancouver, March 28, 1844, in H.B.C.A., D.5/10, MS, fols. 541-542.

60. [Lewis] Love, "Manuscript of Captain Love," typescript, in files of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, p. 6.

61. John Sebastian Helmcken, "Reminiscences of John Sebastian Helmcken," MSS, 6 vols., in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 3:43.

62. John McLoughlin to Sir George Simpson, Vancouver, March 20, 1844, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward to 1845, Despatches from McLoughlin to Simpson, 1844, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

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 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.

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63. Barclay to Simpson, Fort Vancouver, March 28, 1844, in H.B.C.A., D.5/10, MS, fols. 541-542.

64. P. W. Crawford, "Description of Fort Vancouver As it Was in 1847," typescript, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, p. 1.

65. Fred Lockley, History of the Columbia River Valley from The Dalles to the Sea (Chicago, 1928), pp. 352-54. Certain elements in Lockley's description, the sources for which are not evident, are inaccurate, casting a shadow on the whole. But certain other elements, which can be checked from information not generally available when Lockley wrote, are accurate.

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

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66. Anderson, "Fort Vancouver, Oregon," p. 1. The time referred to in these recollections is not clear.

67. United States, 7th Census, Population Schedules . . . 1850, Oregon, MS, from Roll 742, Microcopy 432, National Archives, Microfilm Publications, p. 73.

68. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1850-1851, H.B.C.A., B.239/1/21, MS, pp. 41, 46.

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.

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69. J. J. Hoffman to J. A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, February 12, 1974.

70. Larsell, Doctor in Oregon, p. 88.

71. H.B.S., 6:386-87; John Sebastian Helmcken, "Reminiscences, 1824-1920," MS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, pp. 2-3; Glendwr Williams, ed., London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, 1841-42, Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. 29 (London : Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973), p. 84.

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.

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72. G. P. de T. Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843, Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. 24 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), p. 371. Pambrun left nine children ranging in ages from about twenty years to less than one month. It is almost certain, however, that the eldest, André, was at Red River in 1841, and the second, Pierre C., may also have been absent.

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]

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. On the different versions of the Vavasour map of 1845 the site presently known as Building No. 21 is labeled "Indian Trading Store" and "Indian Shop" (see Plates VI-VIII, vol. I). On the two original drawings, the scale indicates that this structure measured eighty by thirty feet. The traced version printed in the Oregon Historical Quarterly gives the dimensions as eighty by thirty-two feet. The inventory of Fort Vancouver structures taken in 1846-47 listed the building as "Indian trade shop," eighty by thirty feet.[75]

Exploratory excavations in 1952 revealed that the area of the Indian shop apparently had been considerably disturbed by post-1860 plowing, grading, and other activities. None of the east and west wall footings could be found, but eight (all but one) of the north wall footings were in place as were six south wall footings, though they were somewhat out of line. The long axes of most of the footings appear to parallel the lines of the walls. Mr. Louis R. Caywood, who supervised the 1952 excavations, interpreted his findings to indicate that the Indian shop measured eighty by thirty-two feet.[76]

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73. The schedules of the 7th Census, 1850, indicate that there were no Pambruns living at or near Fort Vancouver when Meek made his enumeration on October 30.

74. In addition to the sources already cited, this sketch of Dr. Barclay and his family is based on Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Oregon, 2 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886-1888), 1:39-40; Clifford Merrill Drury, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the Opening of Old Oregon, 2 vols. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1973), 1:411-12; H.B.S., 7:43 fn.; and Mikell de Lores Wormell Warner, trans., and Harriet Duncan Munnick, ann., Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, Volumes I and II, and Stellamaris Mission (St. Paul, Oregon: French Prairie Press, 1972), Vancouver, 1:18; and Vancouver, 2:67, 81, 106, A-4, A-37, A-61-63, A-65.

75. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]118-19.

76. Caywood, Final Report, p. 17, and Map of Archeological Excavations, sheet 6.

The site of Building No. 21 was completely excavated in 1973, but at the time of this writing the final results are not available. Project Archeologist J. J. Hoffman has reported the preliminary findings as follows:

> Despite modern destruction of evidence, we have defined lines of wooden footings at the north and west walls; evidence at the south and east walls is ephemeral. Foundation plan of the building appears to [be] 79 ft. long and either 30 or 35 ft. wide. Artifacts found within the building position clearly indicate its function as the Indian Trade Store.

In a later memorandum, Mr. Hoffman stated his belief that the building measured eighty by thirty-five feet.[77]

In view of the almost invariable accuracy of the Vavasour ground plan, architects will wish to study the final excavation drawings, when available, with great care. Meanwhile, Mr. Caywood's estimate of eighty by thirty-two feet, made before the footings were disturbed by his excavations, seems reasonable.

b. General construction. It has been seen that Building No. 21 began to serve as the Indian shop at an undetermined date between mid-1841 and late 1844. Available pictures showing the structure during its Indian shop period range in date from 1845-46 to about 1860 (Plates IX-X, XIV-XVI, XVIII, XX-XXII, and XXVI, vol. I). Unfortunately these views are not in complete agreement when it comes to such details as the number and placement of doors and windows. But there is unanimity concerning the main profile of the building.

All picture the Indian trading store as a long, low structure with a gable roof. In fact it seems to have been approximately the same height as, or only slightly lower than, the nearby Bachelors' Quarters, and markedly lower in profile than the other principal warehouses. The eave line apparently was lower than the tops of the pickets, although the evidence on this point is conflicting.

If it is assumed that the Indian shop of 1844-60 was the same structure as the so-called "Missionary Store" of the 1841 Emmons plan, a certain amount of additional information becomes available,

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77. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandums to Regional Archeologist, Pacific Northwest Region, National Park Service, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, August 31 and October 1, 1973, MSS, in files of Pacific Northwest Regional Office, Seattle.

because the Eld drawing (Plate IV, vol. I) and that attributed to Agate (Plate LIII, vol. I), both depicting Fort Vancouver in 1841, show the roof and west gable very clearly. In those pictures the eave line definitely is below the top of the nearby stockade.

The import of this pictorial evidence is clear. The Indian shop could only have been a one-story structure, almost certainly with a low garret or loft above.

Walls. The lack of satisfactory pictorial evidence is no bar at all to a flat declaration that the Indian trade store was constructed in the usual post-on-sill or Canadian style. The footing pattern alone would prove the point even if there had not been witnesses who testified that the Granary, the Powder Magazine, and the later Kitchen were the only structures not built of squared logs or slabs.[78]

As shown by the footings, there were nine upright posts framing the north and south walls and four in the east and west walls, counting the corner posts in each case. Because the walls were low, these grooved uprights probably were not more than about twelve feet high. Whether the sills they rested upon were raised off the ground evidently has not been revealed by the archeological findings.

The spaces between the uprights were undoubtedly filled with horizontal squared filler logs to a height of about six to seven or even eight feet, at which point particularly large horizontal timbers were fixed in place by being notched or pegged into the uprights. These timbers served as lintels for the doors and windows and sometimes also as supports for the ground floor ceiling beams (which were also the garret floor joists). The height of the lintels above the floor depended on the method of setting the ceiling beams. Sometimes these rested on top of the lintels, often being morticed entirely through the next timber above so that the ends of the tenons were visible from the outside. At other times the ceiling beams were morticed into or through the tops of the lintels or into the tops of the next timbers above the lintels.[79]

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78. See sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 163, 184, 187-88.

79. For examples of these construction techniques see Plate LXXXI in vol. I and Plate XIX in this vol. An example of notching the lintel into the uprights will be found illustrated in HABS, Fort Nisqually Granary, Tacoma, Washington, 2 sheets of measured drawings. See also Plate XXI in this vol. At Fort Vancouver the 1860 photograph of the Bachelors' Quarters (the low building on the right in Plate XXVII, vol. I) seems to reveal that at least two methods of setting the ceiling beams were employed in this single structure.

Above the lintels the horizontal filler logs continued to the tops of the uprights and to the heavy plates into which the uprights were morticed. This type of construction resulted in a very solid building in which diagonal bracing was seldom required. Occasionally tie beams were run between the intersecting plates at the corners of the walls (see Plate LXXX, vol. I), but diagonal knee braces between plates and uprights or between girts and uprights were almost never employed. Their use in reconstructions to meet present-day building code requirements defeats the entire purpose of historic preservation--to re-create a past scene with absolute fidelity, at least to the extent available knowledge permits.

There is no information available as to whether the timbers for sills, walls, and plates were sawed or axe-hewn. However, an examination of a clear print of the 1860 photograph of the Bachelors' Quarters, which must have been built at about the same time as the Indian shop (assuming the 1841 "Missionary Store" was identical with the later Indian Trade Shop), reveals a remarkable uniformity in the size of most of the infill timbers, leading to the conclusion that they were sawed. Probably the Indian shop had timbers of the same type.

One of the 1841 drawings of Fort Vancouver (Plate LIII, vol. I) distinctly shows that the walls of the gable ends of the "Missionary Store" above the plates were closed in with vertical board siding. This type of gable closure was very widely employed in Hudson's Bay Company construction. Sometimes battens were used to cover the cracks between the boards.[80] Frequently, however, battens were absent (see Plates XIX and XX). Perhaps in such cases tongue and groove siding was occasionally used. In at least one extant Canadian-style, gable-roofed structure, the vertical siding under the gables was nailed directly to the outside of the cross-tie beam and end rafters.[81]

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80. For an example, see the granary at Fort Nisqually. HABS measured drawings are available in the Library of Congress. See also the center structure in Plate LVII in vol. I of this report.

81. Canada, National Historic Sites Service, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National and Historic Parks Branch, Engineering and Architectural Division, As-Found Measured Drawings, Riel House, St. Vital, Manitoba, Drawing No. 12 (Exterior Elevations), February 1970 (hereafter this agency is cited as Canadian National and Historic Parks Branch).

Roof. The 1841 drawings of Fort Vancouver depict the "Mission Store" with a gabled roof of vertical boards capped by ridge boards. Post-1844 views do not permit a determination of the type of roof covering subsequently employed. One frequent visitor to Fort Vancouver later testified that he believed the roofs of all the buildings within the stockade were shingled by 1846.[82] In view of this uncertainty concerning the type of roofing used on the Indian shop during the 1845-46 period, there would seem to be little danger in adding interest to the entire reconstruction project by employing boards to cover this reconstructed building. The method of applying such boards has been described on pages 114-15 in volume I of this report.

This seems to be an opportune place to make a few general remarks about roof construction at Hudson's Bay Company establishments and, in fact, at most fur trading posts manned largely by French Canadians. In 1832 a Yankee missionary wrote a detailed description of the construction technique employed by the American Fur Company at its posts in the present State of Wisconsin. His remarks concerning the roof were as follows:

> A post is placed at the center of each end of the building which is continued above the beam [plate] as high as the top of the roof is intended to be. A stick of timber is then laid on the top of these posts reaching from one end of the building to the other, and forms the ridge pole. The roof is then formed by laying one end of timbers on this ridge pole and the other on the plate till the whole is covered. These timbers answer the purpose of boards on the roof of English buildings.[83]

This type of construction, employing a ridgepole and with or without the extension of the center end-wall upright timbers to the ridge line, was used quite often at Hudson's Bay Company posts west of the Rockies. A fine example at Fort St. James during the 1860s is illustrated in Plate XXXV in volume I of this report. A ridgepole would have been a necessity when vertical boards were employed for covering the roof, unless horizontal boards were applied under the vertical ones.

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82. Testimony of J. W. Nesmith, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9]:37.

83. Erwin N. Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall, Historic Structures Report, History Data Section, multilithed (Washington, D. C.: National Park Service [Office of History and Historic Architecture], May 1970), p. 60, quoting Sherman Hall to Aaron Hall, Jr., Lac du Flambeau, September 30, 1832, MS, in Sherman Hall Papers, 1831-1875, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

Apparently, however, the more usual construction technique for both gabled and hipped roofs at Company establishments did not require a ridgepole. Each pair of principal rafters formed a truss. The rafters were tenoned to the plate at the foot, and at the peak they were half-lapped and fixed by a wooden peg. Collars, or crossties, further strengthened the trusses. Trusses seem to have been spaced at about five-foot centers. At least such was the case at Fort Langley. On the surviving warehouse at Fort St. James, however, the rafters are somewhat less than three feet apart on centers, while those on the old granary at Fort Nisqually are spaced at about four-foot centers. Horizontal board sheathing was then spiked to the rafters, seemingly providing the principal longitudinal bracing.[84]

Doors. The Emmons ground plan of 1841 shows only two doors in the "Missionary Store" that then occupied the site now known as Building No. 21 (Plate III, vol. I). They both were in the north wall. If this structure did in fact become the 1845-46-period Indian Trade Shop, the information about the doors is extremely useful, because no other reliable information is known to exist that would indicate the number and locations of the Indian shop doors. Lacking additional data, it would seem safest to follow the Emmons plan in the placement of the doors in the front or north wall of the reconstructed Indian shop.

In addition, there may have been one or two doors in the south wall. As has been seen, during the 1973 archeological excavations the remains of a privy were found behind the Indian shop. A map of the excavations was not available when this report was written, and therefore the exact location of this facility was not known to the writer. Convenient access to the privy from at least the dispensary and living quarters, if there were such, might be expected, though this reasoning does not by any means assure that rear doors actually existed. The locations of the two barriers that, as shall be seen in a later section of this chapter, linked the rear wall of the Indian shop with the south stockade wall might have been related to the positions of both the privy and any possible rear doors, because if these barriers enclosed the privy the only access to it would have been from inside the shop building.

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84. The use of this type of roof construction at Fort Langley is well described in J. Calder Peeps, "A Preliminary Survey of the Physical Structure of Fort Langley, B. C., 19th November 1858," typescript ([Vancouver:] University of British Columbia, June 30, 1953), pp. 17-18 and Plates 2 and 3. For roof construction at Fort St. James, see Plate LXXX in vol. I of this report. For that at Fort Nisqually, see the two sheets of HABS measured drawings, Fort Nisqually Granary, Tacoma, Washington.

Purely on the basis of reasoning, because it would seem logical to have the door to the Indian trading store proper close to the southeast fort gate, the more westerly of the two north-wall doors probably entered into the Indian shop portion of the building. The other north-wall door perhaps gave entry to the dispensary/ doctor's quarters section.

Undoubtedly the door or doors leading to the Indian shop proper were of heavy plank construction, much like the doors in the other warehouses. They probably were wide, single doors much like that shown in Plate XXI. Security was always a matter of much concern at Company trading shops and warehouses, and the Indian trade store at Fort Vancouver is known to have been broken into at least once.[85]

It is possible, however, that the front door giving access to the Dispensary and doctor's quarters was somewhat more elaborate. It may have been a six-panel door with a light or window over it similar to those in the Bachelors' Quarters (see Plate XXVII, vol. I).

Windows. There is no reliable information available as to the number of windows in the Indian shop building. Three 1850-60 drawings show the north and west walls of this structure, but they are not entirely clear and seem not to be in total agreement. Only that by Sohon in 1854 (Plate XXI, vol. I) and that by Lieutenant Hopkins, ca. 1860 (Plate XXVI, vol. I) are sufficiently distinct to provide useful data.

The Sohon drawing seems to show seven openings (doors and windows) across the front or north face of the Indian store, while the Hopkins sketch appears to show only four. In the west wall Sohon indicates that there were two windows in the gable and two on the ground floor; Hopkins shows one window in the gable and two on the ground floor. It should also be noted that the Eld and Agate sketches of 1841, in both of which the upper portion of the west wall of the "Missionary Store" is visible, show no windows whatever in the gable.

In view of these discrepancies one can only make a logical estimate as to the number and placement of the windows, based on the Sohon drawing, which seems to be the most reliable of those available, and

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85. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 30.

modified on the basis of the probable interior lighting requirements.[86] Purely upon such slender authority, the writer suggests that the window and door openings in the north and end walls be as shown in Figure 1. In the south or rear wall there might be seven windows placed to correspond with the seven openings in the north wall, with one or more doors being substituted for windows if the privy location appears to indicate rear-door access.

The windows across the front of the building and those on the east wall, where the living quarters may have been located, probably were double-hung like those on the front of the Bachelors' Quarters (see Plate XXVII, vol. I).

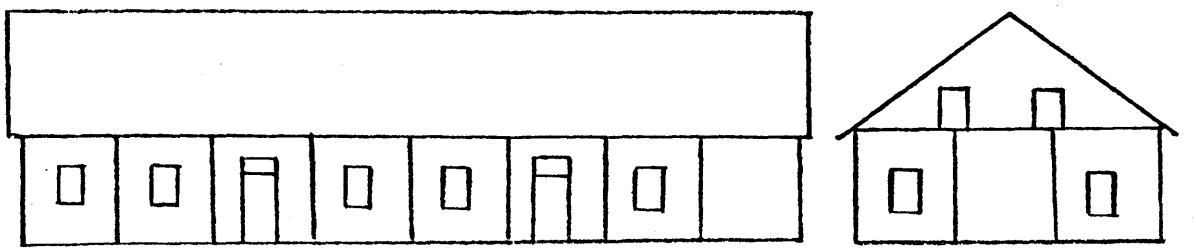

Figure 1

Suggested Placement of Door and Window Openings in North and End Walls of Indian Trade Shop.

Probably those on the south wall (except possibly those lighting the Dispensary and living quarters) and on the west wall were smaller and side-hung like those in the warehouses generally. These smaller windows most likely would have been protected by solid wooden shutters on the outside and horizontal iron bars on the inside.

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86. A careful examination of the clearest available prints of the Sohon drawing seems to show that one of the two lower-story "windows" in the west wall may have been a door; also, the westernmost bay in the front or north wall may have contained a window, while the most easterly seems not to have had any opening. Because none of the available pictures seem entirely reliable, a somewhat different arrangement, based partly on the 1841 Emmons plan, has been suggested in Fig. 1.

It might be opportune at this point to call attention to the fact that the design of Canadian (and perhaps English) double-hung windows in the early nineteenth century differed somewhat from that employed in the United States today, particularly as regards the meeting rail. The construction of a typical Hudson's Bay Company window of the 1840s is a much too technical subject to be treated in this historical data report. (It is suggested that architects concerned with the reconstruction project at Fort Vancouver consult the following two drawings prepared by the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Technical Services Branch: (1) Restoration Fraser House, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, Drawing No. 8, Main Floor Window Details; and (2) Restoration for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, Drawing No. 3, Window and Door Details).

Despite the great length of the garret, there should be no windows on that floor other than the two at each end.

Exterior finish. Apparently there is no direct evidence concerning the exterior appearance of the Indian Trade Shop. Based upon what is known of the other warehouses, however, it is fairly safe to assume that the outside surface was unpainted and without weatherboarding. But on the assumption that the Indian shop and the Dispensary would merit somewhat more attention than, say, the New Store, it probably would not be too much in error to follow the pattern shown in the Coode watercolor sketch for the Priests' House and paint the doors, door and window trim, and shutters the prevailing Spanish brown. The window sash, however, including the lights or transoms over the doors, should be white.[87]

It might also be well to repeat here the observation that there evidently was no visible chinking between the horizontal infill timbers at Fort Vancouver, except possibly where large gaps developed due to shrinking. A close examination of an enlarged photograph of the New Store (Plate XIV) and of the photograph of the Bachelors' Quarters (Plate XXVII and the original, untrimmed print of Plate XXIX, vol. I) reveal no, or few, signs of chinking, at least to the eyes of this writer.

And should there be a temptation to make the exterior trim too finished and neat, the description of a typical Hudson's Bay Company Indian Trade Shop during the 1840s given by Robert Ballantyne might

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87. See colored version of the Coode sketch as printed in The Beaver Outfit 301 (Autumn, 1970): 52.

be kept in mind. "The trading-store," he wrote,

> is always recognisable, if natives are in the neighbourhood, by the bevy of red men that cluster round it, awaiting the coming of the store-keeper. . . . It may be further recognised, by a close observer, by the soiled condition of its walls occasioned by loungers rubbing their backs perpetually against it, and the peculiar dinginess round the keyhole, caused by frequent applications of the key, which renders it conspicuous beyond all its comrades.[88]

c. Interior finish and arrangement. As with most Fort Vancouver structures, there is no known record of the number of rooms in the Indian shop or of their arrangement. The reasoning behind a speculation that the western portion of the building might have been devoted to the Indian shop proper while the eastern might have been occupied by the dispensary/hospital and doctor's quarters has already been discussed.

Half of the building, with the entire garret, would seem to be an ample allocation of space for the Indian shop, for a stockroom, and for a fur loft. The Indian shop at Fort William in 1816, when that post was an important station of the North West Company, does not appear to have measured more than about twenty-eight by thirty-five feet.[89] Visitors during the 1830s sometimes spoke of the "Indian Hall" at Fort Vancouver. Such a room, for the accommodation of natives while they were waiting to trade or visit, was a customary feature at Company posts. After the Indian shop was moved to the site now known as Building No. 21, however, there seems to be no further mention of such a hall, at least within the pickets, and perhaps it was no longer needed. If so, the space requirements of the Indian trade would have been reduced.

On the other hand, the eastern half of the building, an area of about forty by thirty-two feet, would seem rather small by present-day standards for the apothecary shop, or Dispensary, part of which seems also to have been used as a hospital and for the doctor's living quarters. But at fur trading posts during the nineteenth century expectations were not so high. When Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken reported for duty

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88. Robert Michael Ballantyne, The Young Fur-Traders: Snowflakes and Sunbeams (London, Melbourne, and Toronto: Ward, Lock & Co., Limited, n.d.), p. 72.

89. "Plan of Fort William, 1803-1820, as Reproduced from Lord Selkirk's Original Sketch of 1816, Drawn by R. L. Moffat" (n.p.: McIntosh & Associates, February 1962), MS, copy at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

at Fort Victoria in 1850 he was shown to the "surgery," a room in the dwelling known as "Bachelor's Hall." The apartment, he later recalled, was unique: "It contained a gun case and a few shelves, with drugs in bottles or in a paper in every direction. The tin lining of a 'packing case' served for a counter; there was a cot slung to the ceiling; to this room I was consigned."[90]

Until the report on the archeological excavations of the Indian shop site is available there is little point in speculating on the arrangement of rooms. Evidence of chimney and fireplace foundations will go far toward indicating the locations of apartments used as living quarters, because it would appear from traces of bricks already uncovered that the Indian shop was one warehouse in which the ban against stoves and other means of heating did not apply.

Nevertheless, a very tentative suggested plan for the ground floor is presented in Figure 2. Doors could be substituted for one or two of the windows in the south wall if no other access to the privy is available due to barriers.

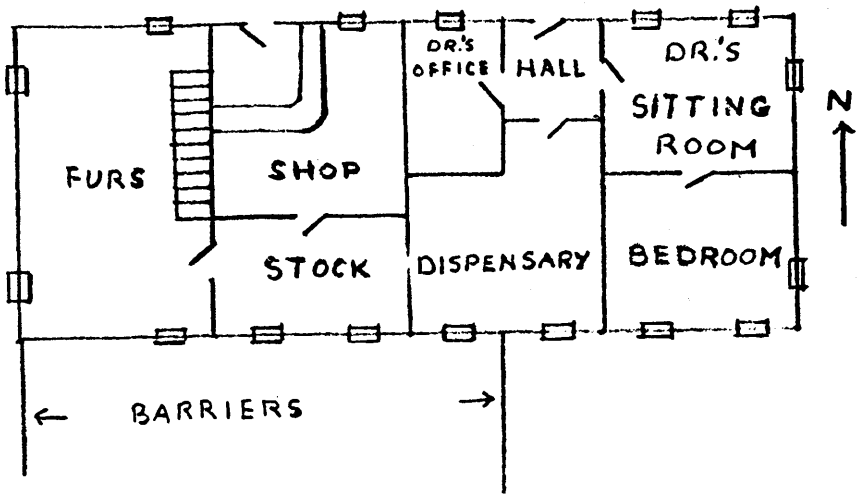

Figure 2

Hypothetical Plan, Ground Floor, Indian Trade Shop.
Scale: 1/2" = 10'

90. John Sebastian Helmcken, "A Reminiscence of 1850," typescript, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, pp. 1-2.

Before going into detail concerning the several rooms in the Indian shop building, a few general remarks concerning interior finish seem to be in order. As with the other warehouses, the ground-level floors probably were of tongued and grooved planks, from two to three inches thick. Most likely even those in the doctor's quarters were not planed. The inventory of 1846-47 does not mention this building as being lined and ceiled, but trade shops, fur stores, and living quarters were generally at least lined. Very probably, then, the walls throughout were lined with vertical boards. The ceilings almost certainly were not lined, except perhaps in the Dispensary and living quarters. On much of the ground floor, therefore, the ceiling beams would have been exposed, with the floorboards of the attic forming the ceiling. The garret floor probably was formed of two-inch tongued and grooved boards. There was no ceiling in the garret except the roof.

Interior doors in the trade shop area probably were of solid planks, beaded at the vertical joints. In the Dispensary half of the building the doors may have been paneled. The stairs to the garret must have been much like those shown in Plate XCIII, volume I.

It is almost certain that the interior of this building was not painted, even in the living quarters.

Indian shop. No specific description of the Fort Vancouver Indian shop proper is known to exist. From accounts of the trade stores at other posts, however, a general picture can be assembled that must fairly well reflect the situation at the Columbia depot.

At Fort Garry during the 1840s the counter enclosed a space just wide enough to admit a dozen men.[91] In most Indian shops drawers under the counter contained the smaller articles of trade goods, while larger items were piled on shelves around the walls. These shelves often contained small or medium-sized compartments or divisions for articles of small or in-between sizes.[92] Pots and other difficult-to-store items frequently hung from nails in the walls and ceiling beams.

In short, the Indian shops at posts where the natives presented no threat were much like the regular trade shops that have been described in detail in Chapter XI in volume I of this report. A typical Company Indian store of the 1840s is illustrated in Plate

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91. Ballantyne, Young Fur-Traders, p. 73.

92. Robinson, Great Fur Land, p. 85.

XXII. The restored general trade store at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, shown in Plate XXIII, has many features that might have been found in an Indian shop of the 1840s. Plates XCVI and XCVII in volume I illustrate well the types of shelving in Company shops.

Stockroom. Possibly there was a separate room behind the shop proper for the storage of that part of the annual Fort Vancouver Fur Trade outfit that could not be displayed in the shop or shipped out to the shop's subsidiary posts. Perhaps this room looked something like the one pictured in Plates XXIV and XXV, although the goods shown in those photographs are not all of the types used for trade with the natives.

Fur loft. No record has been found to indicate how long the Indian shop retained the furs it traded before turning them in to the depot Fur Store. But, as has been seen, it is probable that the returns were allowed to collect for some time where they were first received from the natives. Storage methods and treatment undoubtedly were the same as in the main Fur Store, and the furs could have been kept both on the ground floor and in the garret. Plates XXVI and XXVII provide further illustrations of the methods used by the Company for storing furs, and incidentally, they furnish excellent views of the type of garret and roof construction that may have been employed in the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade Shop.

Dispensary. As with every other portion of the Indian shop building, the historical record provides no information at all concerning the size, location, or appearance of the Dispensary (apothecary) shop that very probably was situated in that structure. Even the use of a portion of the 1845-46 Dispensary as a hospital for the Company's "gentlemen" and important outsiders is hypothetical. But because it is known that the doctor occasionally treated and examined the wives of Company employees, missionaries, and settlers, it would seem logical to assume that he had a separate room or office where such consultations could be conducted with some degree of privacy. Also, such a separate room would permit medicines to be dispensed without the necessity of disturbing any patients who might happen to be in the main Dispensary. From the inventories of articles in use in the Dispensary, it would appear that surgery--a not infrequent necessity--was performed in that apartment.

At any rate, all that is known about the size, appearance, and interior finish of any Dispensary at Fort Vancouver is in the description of "Apothecary's Hall" entered by Dr. William F. Tolmie in his journal soon after his arrival at the depot in 1833. As has been seen, this room was not then located in the Indian shop.

Nevertheless Tolmie's words provide much useful information concerning the arrangement of a dispensary at one of the Company's posts:

> Our apartment is 13 paces long by 7 broad and extends in E. and W. direction, the roof about 20 feet from floor supported by two rafters and 2 transverse beams. In front is the door and a pretty large window--posteriorly--a window and back door one on each side and in the middle a large fire place, without any grate, built of stone and lime. The walls are formed of rough, strong horizontal deals attached at their extremities to perpendicular ones.
>
> Against the northern wall are placed our bedsteads, between them a large chest and in front a small medicine shelf. Strong shelves of unplaned deal occupy two posterior thirds of south wall and contain the greater part of medicines. Anteriorly there is a small heater and a painted shelf on which have today placed small quantities of medicines most frequently in use.[93]
>
> The deals composing floor are in some places two and three inches distant from each other, thus leaving wide apertures. This is also true of the deals in the walls and the chinks are numerous; by those to N. can look into school room. The house to S. is unoccupied at present. Shall close all apertures with brown paper pasted, or leather. The partition is to extend from the foot of my bed to extremity of large shelves on left and the abutment [apartment] in front to be the surgery. The posterior [is] our bed room and I expect we shall have it busy soon [very snug].
>
> Our attendant is a Sandwich Island boy named Namahama. He is slow in his motion as a sloth, but quiet and docile and will improve. Keep up

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93. In the version of the journal printed in Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, p. 172, this last sentence reads: "Anterially there is a small & neater, painted shelf. . . ." This rendition seems more logical.

> a blazing pine fire usually; our only fire iron is a pole about 5 feet long with six inches of iron rod fitted to its extremity and is a good apology for a poker. Filled some 8 or 10 quart [corked] vials [phials] with few tinctures on hand and arranged them on front shelf. There is an excellent supply of surgical instruments for amputation, 2 trephinning, 2 eye instruments, a lithotomy, a capping [cupping] case, beside[s] 2 midwifery forceps and a multitude of catheters, sounds, bandages [flexible & silver bougies], probangs, 2 [tooth] forceps, etc., not [yet] put in order.[94]

Doctor's living quarters. There is no certainty that the depot surgeon and his family lived in the Indian shop building, but such has here been tentatively assumed for planning purposes. As the quotation from Dr. Tolmie's journal makes abundantly clear, the surgeon at Fort Vancouver was accorded no special privileges as far as living accommodations were concerned. He could expect no more and no less than his fellow clerks.

The rooms of the subordinate officers and clerks are described in as much detail as the historical record affords in Chapter IV of this report, and this information is not duplicated here. Suffice it to say that the floors were probably rough boards, and the walls almost surely were lined with unpainted vertical or horizontal fir boards. The ceiling probably was covered with the same material. When analysis of the archeological findings has been completed it may be possible to say whether the quarters were heated by a fireplace, by stoves, or by both.

d. Connections with the stockade. One version of the Vavasour ground plan of 1845 (Plate VII, vol. I) depicts a line connecting the southwest corner of the Indian shop with the south palisade wall. This same line shows on the "Line of Fire" map of 1844 together with a similar linkage located to the east about two-thirds of the distance along the south side of the Indian shop (Plate V, vol. I). These lines probably indicate barriers, palisades, or fences of some type intended to protect the Indian shop from

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94. William Fraser Tolmie, "Journal of William Fraser Tolmie--1833," Washington Historical Quarterly 3 (July, 1912): 236; supplemented by extracts given in Larsell, Doctor in Oregon, p. 74. The alternative words in brackets are from the version in Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, pp. 172-73. They seem preferable. Paragraphing has been supplied in the above quotation.

thieves. Thus far archeological excavations have not produced any trace of these barriers.

Furnishings

Indian Trade Shop proper. As was the case with the general depot trade shop, the "furnishings" of the Indian store consisted largely of the trade goods stocked there and of the returns taken in barter. Fortunately, available inventories provide a reasonably adequate picture of the goods offered, the products received, and the equipment required for the operation of the shop.

Before presenting the detailed lists, however, a few general remarks may be useful. The goods offered were, on the whole, of the same quality and types as those sold to employees and settlers, except that the range or variety of items was more limited. There were many articles of European civilization for which the natives had little use. On the other hand, the Indians were excellent judges of quality, and once they accepted a certain brand or pattern they demanded it year after year.

Robert Ballantyne has left an excellent description of a Company Indian shop during the 1840s:

> It contained every imaginable commodity likely to be needed by Indians. On various shelves were piled bales of cloth of all colours, capotes, blankets, caps, &c.; and in smaller divisions were placed files, scalping-knives, gun-screws, flints, balls of twine, fire-steels, canoe-awls, and glass beads of all colours, sizes, and descriptions. Drawers in the counter contained needles, pins, scissors, thimbles, fish-hooks, and vermilion for painting canoes and faces. The floor was strewn with a variety of copper and tin kettles, from half-a-pint to a gallon; and on a stand in the furthest corner of the room stood about a dozen trading guns, and beside them a keg of powder and a box of shot.[95]

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95. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, p. 185. An almost word-for-word repetition of this description, without credit, is found in Robinson, Great Fur Land, p. 85. Robinson's only important addition was to note that articles of trade also hung from the ceiling.

In another description of a Company trade shop, Ballantyne mentioned tobacco as being sold from "a coil of most appalling size and thickness, which looked like a snake of endless length."[96] Undoubtedly the Fort Vancouver Indian shop contained a similar roll. A visitor to the "shop" at Fort Simpson in 1868 noted that this place where the skins were bartered and goods delivered in exchange "presented a curious jumble of all kinds of articles; there were even Indian weapons, knives, muskets, hunting and fishing gear which served . . . as pledges in respect of deals not yet completed."[97]

The inventories of goods on hand and "articles in use" in the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade have one major drawback when considered as guides for refurnishing the Indian shop: they include items at the Umpqua post and Fort George as well as the "Fort Vancouver Indian Trading Shop." This fact is not of great significance when it comes to the trade goods, because what is needed is a good account of the types of items carried in stock. The inventories are not satisfactory indicators of quantities of items in any case, because they only show the amounts remaining on hand when the count was made. Apparently there are no available records that show the full stock at the beginning of each outfit.

When it comes to the equipment employed to operate the Indian shop, the inventories of "articles in use" are of little utility. Both the Umpqua post and Fort George, as operating establishments, required tools, eating utensils, agricultural implements, and many other items for which the Fort Vancouver Indian shop had no need. To identify those articles that might have been used in the Indian shop at the depot is virtually impossible. Therefore, no attempt is made here to reproduce the annual lists of "articles in use" in the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade. Suffice it to say that of the many items listed, an axe or two, a common trading gun, a hammer, one "hand Steelyard," and a few beaver traps perhaps would have been "in use" in the Fort Vancouver Indian shop.[98] The account books that would have been employed in this same shop have been described earlier in this chapter.

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96. Ballantyne, Young Fur-Traders, p. 74.

97. Teichmann, A Journey to Alaska, pp. 109-10.

98. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 241-42.

As for the trade goods, the following inventories will provide an excellent view:

> Inventory of Sundry Goods, property of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Company, remaining on hand at the Umpaqua [sic], F. George & F. Vancouver Indian trading Shop
>
> Spring 1844

188	yards blue Baize
81-1/2	" green do
112	" red do
249	" scarlet do
25	bunches barley corn Beads
82	" brown garnet do
79-1/2	lbs. white enamel do
8	bunches dark blue Cut glass Beads
31	" opaque " " " do
16	" crystal " " do
9-2/3	" green " " do
19-1/2	" yellow " " do
32	" lapis no 4 do
15	" " 6 do
14	lbs. round necklace Beads #1
5	" " " do 2
20-2/3	" " " do 3 & 4
97	" com. round assd. do
5	broad scarlet worsted Belts
63	green Blankets 3 pts [points]
25	Inferior do 3 " R. B. [red bars]
1	" do 2-1/2 " "
2	plain do 3 " B. B. [blue bars]
83	" do 2-1/2 "
19	striped G & B Blankets 3 pts
1	doz japd. tobacco Boxes w[it]h b[urning] G[las]s
2	single rein Bridles
5-1/2	gro. W[hite] & Y[ellow] metal coat Buttons
2	" gilt vest ball do
13-5/6	" plated " " do
2-1/2	M percussion Caps
16	com. Cloth Capots 4 Ells
11	" " do 3-1/2 "
1	" " do 2-1/2 "
2	yards 2nd Scarlet Cloth
1	Regimental Coat No 2
3-7/12	dozen large horn Combs

7-1/2	pieces printed Cotton
15	" " Navy blue do
2/3	" striped regatta do
1	" white salampore do
4-1/2	" blue Duffle
1/4	" red do
1/4	doz cold. cock Feathers
6	" flat bastard Files 7 in
4	" " " do 8 "
21-3/4	" Paper case lookg. Glasses
5-1/2	" metal frame " do
1/4	" large mahogy. frame looking Glasses
15	common Indian Guns
1-1/5	M best Gunflints
77-2/3	lbs TPF Gunpowder
4-11/12	gro. wire Gunworms
11/12	dozen com Cotton Handkf's
2-1/10	Ct. large Cod Hooks 3019
7-2/3	" Kirby trout do
12	powder Horns
1/12	doz. mens long worsted Hose
66	lbs open Copper Kettles
11	nests covd. tin do 1@13
15-1/6	doz. scalping Knives
3	E. Ware Jugs 3 qts
150/1000	M darning Needles
1/10	" tailors do
92	yards com Osnaburghs
8	short h'dled frying Pans
5-1/2	nests oval tin Pans 1@8
5/8	" round " do
11	assd. iron tind. sauce Pans
1	tin Coffee Pot
5	" japd. quart Pot
8	" pint do
1	Rifle
3/4	gro. plain brass finger Rings
1	" ornad. " " do
2-11/12	doz. resist cotton Shawls
80	com striped Cotton Shirts
99	fine " " do
47	regatta " do
1	fine white " do
13	com. " flannel do
4-50/112	Cwt ball Shot
8	" beaver AAA Shot
30	lbs yellow Soap
5/6	doz oval polished fire Steels
1/7	piece com. blue Strouds
2	" H B. do
40	yards Tartan
1-3/4	gro. brass Thimbles

1	lb Cold. Thread #10#
172	lbs Canada roll Tobacco
43	beaver Traps Complete wh. chains
9	p'rs Canvass Trousers
1	" com Cloth do
18	" Corduroy do
1/2	bun. holland Twine
1/2	" sturgeon do
4	fine scarlet Cassimere Vests
10	com drab cloth do
3	Quilting do
3	fine swansdown do
5	lbs mixed Vermilian
70	" brass collar Wire

Fixed Prices

104	yards transparent Beads

New Stores

1/2	doz. E. ware Cups & Saucers
1/3	" cross cut saw Files
1/3	" hand do
4-1/4	bundles hoop Iron[99]

. . . . . .

Outfit 1845 Dr

To Columbia District Outfit 1844, for Country made Articles, Country produce &c remaining on hand at the Close of Outfit 1844 at the following places intended for the Service of O. 1845 viz.

. . . . . .

F. Vancouver Indian Trade

Country Made

4	midg round head Axes
12	small " " do
11	midg square " do

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99. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 237-41. Prices and total value figures have been omitted as not germane to this study. No attempt has been made to correct spelling, but certain explanatory material has been added in brackets.

21 beaver Traps
6 " " Springs

Country Produce

300 lbs California Grease
1122 fms Hayquois [hiaqua (shells)]
38 dressed chev[reui]l Skins
1 " lar. red deer do
8 " sm. " " do

Woahoo [Oahu] Produce

20 gns Molasses[100]

. . . . . .

Inventory of Sundry Goods, property of the Honble Hudsons Bay Company, remaining on hand at the Umpqua, Fort George and F. Vancouver Indian Trading Shop, forming the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade, Spring 1845

3/144	Gross Indian Awls	
63-1/2	Yds blue Baize	
56	" Green Ditto	
22	" red Ditto	
180	" Scarlet Ditto	
2	E. Ware cold. wash hand Basins	
16	buns barleycorn Beads	
48	lbs wh[ite] E[namel] do	
7	bns Amber cut Glass do	N 4
13-1/2	" lapis blue " " do	4
4	" light " " " do	5
33	" light " " " do	4
1	" Green " " " do	4
18	" purple " " " do	6
1	" wh. " " " do	4
8	" round Necklace do	#1
5	" " " do	2
4	" com rd. black do	
22	" " " blue do	
16	" sample Z do	
11	" do N do	
2	gro hawk Bells	
2/3	doz house do	

100. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844-1845, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, p. 104. Prices are omitted. The goods listed here were on hand about June 1, 1845.

8	Nar. Cold. worsted [Belts]
1	broad scar. " do
10	Midg. " " do
1	Narrow " " do
15	blue Blankets
44	Green do 3 pt BB
36	inferior do 2-1/2 "
131	plain do 2-1/2 "
4	striped do 3 " BG & YB
7/12	doz Scotch Bonnets wh peaks
1/2	" Japd tin tobacco Boxes plain
1/2	" " " " do w Glass
3	single rein Bridles twisted
5/6	gro. wh. & yel. Metal Coat Buttons
4-1/2	" " " jacket do
2	" maltese do
3	" Gilt Ball vest do
3	blue cloth Caps #10 & 11
1/2	M percussion do
2/3	doz Grey Mild. worsted Caps
9	com. Cloth Capots 4 Ells wh hoods
7	" " do 3-1/2 " " "
5	blue Ind " do 4 " " capes
6	white " " do 4 " " "
4	yd 2 [?] = Scarlet Cloth
2	s. fine blue frock Coats
5/12	doz large Camber horn Combs
2-10/28	pcs com printed Cotton
5	" navy blue do
6-15/18	" wh salampere do
4-30/80	" blue Duffle
1/4	" red do
8-5/6	doz flat bastard Files 7 ins
1-7/12	" " " do 8 "
8	patent powder Flasks
5/12	doz lar. Mahy. frame lookg. Glasses
1-3/4	" metal " " do
3-5/12	" paper cased " " do
23	comn. Indn. Guns 3-1/2 feet
3/4	M best black Gunflints
2-40/100	bbls TPF Gunpowder
50/144	gro. wire Gunworms
1-3/4	doz Common Cotton Hdkfs
1/12	" iron butt Hinges 1-3/4 in
225/1000	M Cod Hooks #3019/20
112/1000	" trout do Kirby bent
10	powder Horns
3	E. ware Jugs 3 qts
4	" do 1 " fancy lustre
6	" do 1/2" " "

40-1/2	lb covd. Copper Kettles
2-10/13	nests " tn do #1 @ 13
14-5/6	doz scalping Knives
1-1/2	single cod Line
1/12	doz dble link chest Locks
5	M brass chair Nails
1/4	" darning Needles
38	yds stout Osnaburghs
4	C. I. short handle fryg. Pans
8	assd. iron tind. sauce do
3/8	nest oval tin do #1 @ 8
1/3	packet blanket Pins
1	block tin Coffee Pot 2-1/2 quart
4	Japd. tn quart do
2	" " pint do
4	pieces assd. cold. 4 Ribbon
8	doz 5/4 resist cotton Shawls
2	fine wool do
98	Common Cotton Shirts
2	fine " do
1	raw [?] " do
1	white " do
7	Cwt ball shot #28
5-1/2	" beaver do AAA
40/112	" yellow Soap
1-1/3	doz oval polished fire steels
50/144	gro. woms. common brass Thimbles
133	lb Canada roll Tobacco
8-1/2	doz asst. Toys
4	pr fancy printed beaverteen Trousers
9	" canvas do
1	" common cloth do
13	" corduroy do
1	bun sturgeon Twine
3-1/4	lb best mixed Vermilion
3	com. Cloth Vests
1	s[?] scarlet do
3	com. quilting do
2	dark Valencia do
39	lbs brass collar wire

Provisions

1	Cwt crash Sugar

Fixed Prices

7-1/2	lbs aqua Marina Beads
103	yds Green transparent do

New Stores

1/6 doz X cut saw Files[101]

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[Inventory of country made articles and country produce remaining on hand, spring 1846]

. . . . . .

Ft. Vancouver Indian Trade Cr.

14	mid square head Axes
4	lar round " do
10	small " " do
20	beaver Traps
2	Garden Hoes
754	fms Hayquois
66	prs Mocassins
72	Chevl. Skins
9	red deer do
40	bus Corn Salt--13-1/2 Bbls[102]

An earlier inventory of country-made articles and country produce perhaps gives a better picture of the diverse items that from time to time might have been received in barter or traded to natives in the several shops of the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade. The following list is from the "Columbia District, Country Produce & Country Made Articles Inventories Outfit 1840/41":

Fort Vancouver Indian Trade

Country Produce

3	Chenook [Chinook] Baskets
9	Bark "
315	fms. Hayquois
3	Chenook Hats
589	" Mats
54	Paddles
14	Large red deer Skins
49	Chevl. [do.]

101. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, pp. 180-84. Prices are omitted.

102. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845-1846, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, fols. 65d-66.

Country Made

4	hlf Sqe head Axes
33	" round " "
22	sm. " " "
1-1/2	doz Baize Caps
4	Canoe Chisels
7	prs. Baize Leggins
11	" Stroud "
1	Salampore Shirt
4	Spanish Saddles
2	" " Inf[erio]r
1	pr. Baize Trousers
24	Beaver Traps
2	" " Springs[103]

Fur loft. A list of the types and numbers of skins taken in at the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade Shop for Outfits 1844 to 1846 has been given earlier in this chapter. That information, together with Plates XXVI and XXVII, should provide sufficient guidance for the organization of a fur exhibit in the restored structure.

Apothecary shop or Dispensary. Fortunately, detailed inventories are available not only for the equipment of the Dispensary but for the medicines and "surgical apparatus" carried in stock at the depot for sale or for use at other posts in the Columbia District. Although it is obvious from Dr. Tolmie's journal of 1833, already quoted, that a sizeable quantity of medicine was kept on hand in the Dispensary, it is not certain that the entire depot stock was stored there. Also, the inventories show that a certain number of medicines were carried on the accounts of the depot Sale Shop, but whether they were physically stocked there is not apparent.

Because the depot surgeon was responsible for making up the packets of medicines that were sent out annually to the various posts, and because presumably sales of medicines by the Sale Shop were made under his general supervision, it is not impossible that the combined stocks of medical supplies were actually kept in the Dispensary where the doctor could get at them with minimum distraction from his duties as Indian trader. Such an assumption is purely hypothetical, however, and in furnishing the reconstructed Indian shop it perhaps would be best to display merely a generous representative

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103. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1840-1841 [Country Produce Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/137, MS, p. 17.

sampling of the inventoried medicines and apparatus, distributed between the Dispensary proper and the doctor's office.

Inventories are also available for the "Hospital" at the depot. Almost certainly these lists refer to the hospital that was outside the fort stockade near the bank of the Columbia River. Because the Dispensary inventories do not include such items as beds, blankets, bedpans, dishes, glasses, and other articles that might be expected where patients are hospitalized, two conclusions are possible. Either no bed patients were housed in the Dispensary, or the hospital inventories included certain items that were physically located in the Dispensary.

As has been seen, the assumption that persons of a certain rank or class were hospitalized in the Dispensary is quite speculative, yet it is logical. And there is some historical evidence that points in that direction. In 1844, when the captain of the Belgian bark L'Indefatigable was forced to remain at Vancouver for nearly seven weeks because of "dysentery and other diseases," it is recorded that he remained "in the Fort during his illness."[104] Such would not have been said if he had been confined in the hospital. Also, there may be some evidence to support the view that the hospital inventory included some articles physically situated in the Dispensary. The inventory made in the spring of 1848 placed items in both "Dispensary & Hospital" in a single list.[105] At any rate, for what it is worth, one of the hospital inventories is included below.

The following are representative inventories and requisitions (orders to London) pertaining to the "Medical Department." They are not always exact copies of the originals in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, because prices have been omitted and occasional ditto marks have been replaced by complete words. But amounts and items are complete as far as the records were legible, and no corrections have been made in spelling except as indicated by a few notations in brackets.

The lists are arranged in the following order: inventories of articles in use in the Dispensary, requisitions of medical supplies, inventories of medicines and medical apparatus remaining on hand at the end of outfit, and a hospital inventory. From an examination of several lists in each category, it seems that the following provide an adequate sampling:

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104. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 5.

105. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1848, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fols. 85-85d.

Inventory of Sundry Goods . . . remaining
on hand at Fort Vancouver depot.
Spring 1844

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Articles in Use

. . . . . .

Dispensary

6	Catgut Bougies
8	gum elastic do
2	Bistories [bistouries]
6	dozen small glass Bottles w[it]h stoppers
5	" black " do "
1/2	" " " do
1	sucking do
5/6	doz gum elastic Catheters
1	Case cont[ainin]g 9 silver do
1	galvanic Battery incomplete
1	glass funnel
2	tin do
1	portable furnace
2	doz white E[arthen]ware Pots wh covers
3/4	" narrow mouthed Jars
7-1/4	" wide " do
1	case amput[at]ing Instruments
1	" Cupping do
2	" Eye do
1	" Lithotomy do
1	" Midwifery do
1	" Trephining do
1	Tooth Key
1/3	doz. abcess Lancets
1/6	" Lancets & cases
1	iron mortar & pestle
1	bell metal do
2	wedgewood do
1	pulley apparatus for dislocation
1	Table
1	Stool
1	large Medicine Chest
1	Covered Copper Kettle pr Ointment
2	Tin Kettle pr Ointment
1	tin Pan

1	bleeding Cup
1	Water Cask wh brass cock
1	Comn. water Cask
1	gradd. glass Measure 2 oz
1	Bucket
3	p'cs Sponge
1	pill Board
9	Ointment Pots
12	Ointment tin
1	Nipple Syringe
1	stomach pump
2	large Clyster Syringes
3	E. Ware plates Spatula
1	asophagus probe
1	grain scales & weights
1	cup do wh beam
1	plaster Spatula
3	Ointment do
3	Powder do
1	Ear Syringe
2	Male Urithra [urethra] Syringe
2	Female " do
2	bottles Rensers
1	Phial do
1	pair large Scissors
1	table spoon
1	tea do
1	Glass Tumbler[106]

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Inventory of Sundry Goods . . . remaining on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot
Spring 1845

. . . . . .

Articles in Use

. . . . . .

--Dispensary--

4	cat gut Bougies
6	gum plaster do
2	probe pointed Bistouries

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106. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 146-47.

1/12	doz sucking Bottles
3/4	doz silver Catheters in case
1	Galvanic Battery
1	glass ribbed Funnel
2	tin do
1	portable Furnace
1	set amputating Instruments
1	surgical pocket Book, New
1	Cupping case complete with Glasses &c
2	Cases eye Instruments
1	Lithotomy Case, old
1	Midwifery do "
1	Triphining do
1	Tooth Key, old
2	venesection Lancets & Case
6	abscess do
1	Iron Mortar and pestle
1	bell metal do do
2	hand wedge do do
1	Pully apparatus for dislocations
1	Artificial Nipple
1	painted Desk and Stand
2	" wooden Tables
1	" " Medicine Chest
1	Chair
1	covd Copper Kettle
3	" tin do
1	Tin Pan
2	Japd. Jugs 1 pint
1	bleeding cup
1	water cask w brass cock
1	" do common, old
2	glass drachm Measures, graduated
1	glass 4 oz Measure
1	wooden Bucket, old
4	pcs Sponge
1	pill Board, 1 dozen in size
6	Ointment pots w covers
3	" Tins
1	Syringe Nipple
1	Enema Syringe and Stomach pump
2	large Clyster Syringes
6	male Urethra do
4	female " do
2	ointment plates
2	Aesophagus Bougies

2	Stethoscopes
1	pr Scales and weights, grain
2	" " " Beams and 2 lb weights in box
3	Ointment Spatulas
1	plaster do
1	Powder do
1	brass ear Syringe
2	Bottles Rinses
1	phial do
1	pr Scissors
1	sml. Spoon
1	glass Tumbler
1	small hand bellows[107]

. . . . . .

Requisition Columbia District Outfit 1838

. . . . . .

--Medicines--

4	lbs.	Nitrous acid
4	"	distilled acetic acid
1	"	Citric Do
1	"	Oxalic Do
16	"	Alcohol
1	"	White oxide of Arsenic
10	"	Balsam of Copaiva
15	doz	Balsam Turlington's
12	lbs.	Chamomile Flowers
2	"	Camphor
4	"	Converve of Roses
2	"	Sulphate of Copper
3	"	Chloride of Sodium Labarraques Liquor
3	"	Sulphuric Ether
8	"	Guaiac Wood rasped
10	"	prepd. hog's lard
4	oz.	Iodine
2	lbs.	Magnesia
2	"	Mercurial Pill
1	"	Myrrh
6	gallons	Olive oil
8	lbs.	Mercurial Ointment
4	"	Mercurial Do camphorated

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107. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, pp. 137-39.

15	"	Resinous Do
1	"	Turkey Opium
1	"	Sedative solution of Opium
5	"	Cantharides plaster
4	"	Burgundy pitch Do
112	"	Sulphate of Magnesia
6	"	Super tartarate of Potash
10	yds	spread adhesive plaster
6	papers	Court Do
2	oz.	Chlorate of potash
12	doz.	Ess. Peppermint
2	lbs.	Russian Rhubarb (powdered)
32	"	Cut Sarsaparilla
8	"	Sassafras Root rasped
112	"	Sulphate of Soda
20	"	Phosphate of Do
4	"	Spermaceti
4	"	Roll Sulpher
4	"	Sublimed Sulpher
6	"	Spanish Soap
4	"	Spirits of Turpentine
4	"	Comp. Tinc. of Benzoin
2	"	Comp. Tinc. of Chincona
1	"	Tinc. of muriate of Iron
6	"	White wax
12	"	Yellow Do

--Surgical Apparatus--

20	lbs.	Lint
1		Glass Mortar 1 Pint
2		Gross assd. Vials
6		Gross assd. vials corks
24		Lancets
6		Cupping Glass[es]
24		Small penis syringes
12		elastic Gum Catheters
2		Glass funnels small ribbed
2		Aneurism Needles
1		Pewter Glyster syringe
1		Case amputating Instruments
1		Case Trephining Instruments
1		Specific gravity bottle, capacity 1,000 grains
6		Straight Bistourils
3		probe pointed do[108]

. . . . . .

108. H.B.C., York Factory Indent Books, 1823-1838, H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fols. 163-164.

Inventory of Sundry Goods . . . remaining
on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot
Spring 1844

. . . . . .

Medicines

1/2	lb	distilled acetic Acid
1-1/4	"	Camphorated do
1/4	"	Citric do
1/2	"	hydrocyanic do
3/4	"	Oxatic do
4	"	Aromatic Sulphuric do
2	"	tartaric do
1/2	"	Alcohol
1/2	"	Alkanet Root
1/2	"	Aloes
3-1/2	"	Carbonate Ammonia
1/16	"	liquor do.
2	"	muriate do.
5/8	"	spirits ammonia
2-3/4	"	Ammoniacum
3	"	tartrate of antimony
1-1/2	"	Antimonial powder
1/2	"	white oxide Arsenic
1-1/2	"	Arsenical Solution
1/2	"	Assafoetida
1	"	solution muriate of Barytes
12	"	Belladonna leaves
1/2	"	" extract
1	"	Gum Benzoin
1-1/16	"	Compound tincture Benzoin
1/2	"	subnitrate Bismuth
1/2	"	Borax
5/8	"	Gum Camphor
1/4	"	Compound tincture Cantharides
3/4	"	Cardamon seeds
2	"	Catechu
1/2	"	Compound electuary of Catechu
4-1/4	"	Chamomile Flowers
1	"	" powder
3-3/4	"	prepared Chalk
3-3/4	"	powder Charcoal
1/2	"	Compound tincture Cinchoria
1-1/4	"	Colchicum root dried
1/2	"	Colchicum Seeds
1/2	"	Colchicum Wine

1-1/8	lb	powdered Colocynth
1	"	Conserve of roses
5-11/16	"	balsam Copiaba
1-5/16	"	sulphate Copper
1/2	"	powder Cubebs
6	"	Digitalis leaves
1	"	do. Powder
1/4	"	do. tincture
5/8	"	Dovers Powder
4	oz.	Extract Elateriam
2-3/4	doz.	Essence Peppermint
2-3/4	lbs.	rectified Ether
9-1/8	"	nitrous spirits Ether
1-1/2	"	powdered Galls
3-1/4	"	Gentian root
12-3/4	"	Ginger Powder
2	"	Guaiac resin
1/2	"	do. tincture
12	lbs.	Guaiacum Shavings
5-1/2	"	Gum tragacanth
1/2	"	extract Hellebore
4	"	Honey
1/16	"	extract Hyoscyamus
3/4	"	tincture do
1-1/2	"	Ipecacuanha
1	"	Carbonate Iron
1	"	red oxide do.
1/4	"	sulphate do.
1/2	"	muriated tincture Iron
3/4	"	resin Kino
5/16	"	Compound spirits of Lavender
5	"	Acetate of Lead
5	"	Carbonate of do
3/4	"	Lemon peel
30	"	Chloride of Lime
2-3/4	"	Extract of Liquorice
1-1/4	"	root Liquorice
1/2	"	Calcined Magnesia
1/4	"	Carbonate do
56/112	Cwt.	Sulphate do
5	lbs.	Manganese powder
4-1/2	"	Manna
1-1/2	"	Mazereon root
1/2	"	Mercury
9/32	"	red oxide Mercury
7	"	pill do
1/16	"	submuriate do

3/4	lbs.	Acetate Morphia
1-3/4	"	muriate do
1-1/2	"	gum Myrrh
1	"	Almond Oil
5/16	"	Aniseed exotic Oil
3	"	Castor do
1/4	"	Cloves do
1/4	oz.	Creosote do
5/32	lb.	Croton do
3/32	"	Lavender do
1-1/2	"	Olive do
3/32	"	rosemary do
5/64	"	volatile Oil of Bergamot
1/8	"	" do Cassia
1/32	"	" do Origanum
1/2	"	" do peppermint
1/2	"	turpentine do
4-3/8	"	Calamine Ointment
2	"	Citrine do
13	"	Mercurial do
1-1/2	"	Camphorated mercurial Ointment
4	"	resinous Ointment
1	"	Savine do
2	"	Sulphur do
1	"	purified Opium
3/4	"	sedative solution Opium
1/2	"	Sirup of do
3/16	"	tincture of do
2-1/2	"	Ammoniated tincture of Opium
3/4	"	Camphorated " do
3/4	"	Orange peel
1/4	"	Cayenne Pepper
18	yds.	spread adhesive Plaster
1-1/2	lbs.	Burgundy Pitch do
4-1/2	sheets	Court Plaster
1-1/2	lbs.	Lead do
2	"	Mercurial do
1	"	" do wh ammoniacum
1/4	"	red oxide of Iron Plaster
1/4	"	Acetate Potash
1	"	Carbonate do
3/4	"	Castic do
1/4	"	Chloride do
1/2	"	hydriodate do
3/4	"	nitrate do
1	"	prepared do
3/4	"	supertartrate Potash
2-1/4	"	tartrate of Potash & Soda

1-1/4	lbs.	liquor of Potassae
15	oz.	sulphate Quinine
2	lbs.	yellow Resin
1/16	"	powdered Rhubarb
1/2	"	ergot of Rye
1	"	red Saunders Shavings
1	"	Compd. electuary of Senna
7	"	Senna leaves
1/32	"	nitrate of Silver
28	"	Spanish Soap
1	"	Carbonate Soda
6	"	Chloride solution of Soda
14	"	phosphate of Soda
4	"	Spermaceti
1-1/4	"	burnt Sponge
1/2	"	powder Squills
1/2	"	root dried Squills
1/4	oz.	Strychnine
19	lbs.	Nux Vomica Strychnos
7-1/2	"	roll Sulphur
1	"	sublimed do
3-1/4	"	spirits of Turpentine
1/2	"	Venice do
1-3/4	"	Uva Ursi folia
2-3/4	"	Valerian
1/2	"	white Wax
10-1/2	"	Yellow do
1-5/8	"	impure Carbonate Zinc
11-1/4	"	" Sulphate do
1-1/4	"	prepared " do
1/4	"	Sirup of Squills

Medical Apparatus

6		scrotum suspensory Bandages
7-1/2	doz.	clear glass Bottles
1		specific gravity Bottle
1		sucking do
4		Catgut Bougies
6		gum elastic Bougies
20-1/6	gro.	paper pill boxes
2		wire Brushes pr bottles
1		" do " vials
1-1/2	doz.	Cases pr Lancets
6		gum elastic Catheters
1/4	gro.	vial Corks
3-3/4	doz.	Sheets wadding cotton

1	set	cupping Glasses
2		Nipple do
1-1/2	doz.	earthenware Jars
1	"	Lancets
5-3/4	lbs.	Lint
3		Aneeurism [sic] needles
1		artificial Nipple
1		Anels Syringe & probe
2		ointment Spatulas
1	set	Listons fracture Splints
1/4	lb.	prepared Sponge
1/3	doz.	female Syringes
5/12	"	pewter small Syringes
28		right & left rupture Trusses
38/144	gro.	assorted glass Vials[109]

. . . . . .

Inventory of Sundry Goods . . . remaining on hand in Fort Vancouver Sale Shop
Spring 1844

. . . . . .

Medicines

12	lbs.	Lemon peel
1-1/2	"	Yellow wax[110]

. . . . . .

Inventory of Sundry Goods . . . Remaining on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot
Spring 1845

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109. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 135-41. The inventories for 1845 and 1846 are very similar, but after the list of medicines for 1846 appears the following (H.B.C.A., B.223/d/165, MS, p. 46): "pr. Sheep, 9 lbs Muriate of Mercury, 135 lbs Mercurial Ointment, 40 lbs powdered Sulphur, 50 lbs Venice Turpentine."

110. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, p. 48.

. . . . . .

Articles in Use

. . . . . .

Hospital

11 black bottles
8 green do
24 glass stoppered Phials
16 com. glass do
1 surgical pocket Book, old
2 cupping Glasses
2 Enema Syringes
6 Assd. tin Kettles
3 bed pans
2 round dishes
1 4 oz. graduated glass measure
1 graduated glass minim Measure
7 japd. pint pots
8 sml tin dishes
3 Ointment Spatulas
1 Tea spoon
3 Forks
8 Ointment Boxes
2 wine Glasses
2 Tumblers
1 Ointment Slab
2 bleeding Cups
11 Beds and Pillows
20 old Blankets
15 new do[111]

In addition to its quite ample stocks of medicines and medical apparatus, the Company also kept on hand at Fort Vancouver a small reference collection of medical books. Although these were generally inventoried as part of the fort library, it seems reasonable to believe that they may have been physically housed in the Dispensary where they would have been available for ready reference.

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111. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, pp. 139-40.

An inventory of property at the North West Company's western depot at Fort George in the spring of 1821 listed the following medical books:

1 Edinburgh Dispensatory
2 Murray's Elements of Chemistry
1 Harper's Medical Dictionary
2 Cullen's Practical Physic
1 Cooper Dictionary of Surgery
1 Hamilton's Midwifery
1 Hamilton on Female Complaints
2 Murray's Pharmacy
1 Ruberand's Physiology
1 Reid on the Mind
1 Saunders on the Liver
1 Arbuthnot on Air
1 Cullen's Nosology
1 Hooper's Vade Mecum Physician
2 Pharm. Chirurgica
1 Translation Titus Lucretius Corns (Cornelius)
1 Botany
1 Huxham on Fevers
1 Modern Practice of Physic (Thomas)
1 Hunter on Venereal
1 Sharp's Surgery do[112]

A second inventory, taken in the fall of that year, included the works listed above and also the following titles that represent either additions or more complete descriptions of works already noted:

Murray's System Materia Medica and Pharmacy
Hamilton's Botany
Buchan's Medicine
Hooper's Medical Dictionary
Smith's Botany[113]

The inventoried items were transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company after the North West Company merged with the former firm in 1821. Presumably the medical books were moved with the other Fort George property to Fort Vancouver during the first half of 1825.

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112. Larsell, Doctor in Oregon, pp. 61-62.

113. Ibid., p. 62.

What apparently are some of the same books appear in the inventory of the Fort Vancouver library made in the spring of 1844. The medical titles on that list are the following:

1 Thomas on Physic
1 Medical Dictionary
1 Huxtram on fevers
1 Sharps Surgery
1 Materia Medica
1 Thomas practice on Physic
1 Dispensatory
2 Vols. Cattle Doctors[114]

In addition to these works belonging to the Company, it is probable that the depot surgeon had a small collection of medical books of his own that would have been housed in his office or living quarters. Nothing is known about Dr. Barclay's personal library, but there is a fairly good record of the books owned by his immediate predecessor at Fort Vancouver--Dr. William F. Tolmie. The latter's collection perhaps reflects the reference material a physician would have been likely to have had at hand on such a distant frontier.

Among Dr. Tolmie's books now preserved at McLoughlin House National Historic Site in Oregon City are the following medical works published prior to 1845:

Elements of Pathology and Practice of Physic, by John Mackintosh, M. D. 2nd ed. 2 vols. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green; Edinburgh: John Carfrae & Son, 1831.

Principles and Practice of Midwifery, by James Blundell, M. D., carefully revised and corrected by Alexander Cooper Lee and Nathaniel Rogers, M. D. London: Joseph Butler, 1840.

Human Physiology, by John Elliotson, M. D. 5th ed. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1840.

A System of Operative Surgery--etc., by William Hargrave, A. M. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1831.

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114. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 144-45.

The Retrospect of Medicine and Surgery. Edited by W. Braithwaite; a half-yearly journal. No. 4 (July to December, 1841); No. 5 (January to June, 1842). 2 vols. London: Simpkins, Marshall and Co.; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Leeds: G. Cullingworth.

A Manual of Chemistry; containing the Principal Facts of the Science, arranged in the order in which they are discussed, etc., by William Thomas Brande. 2nd ed. 3 vols. London: John Murray, 1821.

Lexicon Medicum, or Medical Dictionary, by Robert Hooper. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1831.

A Dispensatory, or Commentary on the Pharmacopoeias of Great Britain, comprising The Natural History, Description, Chemistry, Pharmacy, Actions, Uses, and Doses of the Articles of Materia Medica, by Robert Christison, M. D. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black; London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842.

Digestion and Diet, by Andrew Combe, M. D. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: MacLachlan, Stewart & Co.; London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1841.

Ruling Passions of the Mind: Translated from the original work of J. C. Layater, by T. LeMessmeier. 20th ed. London: Thomas Tegg; Glasgow: R. Griffin and Co., 1844.

Lectures on Anatomy, Surgery, and Pathology; including Observations on the Nature and Treatment of Local Diseases, by John Abernethy. 2nd ed. London: F. C. Westley, 1831.

The Anatomist's Vade-Mecum: A system of Human Anatomy, by W. J. Erastmus Wilson. London: John Churchill, 1840.

Neurhypnology; or the Rationale of Nervous Sleep, considered in relation with Animal Magnetism, by James Braid. London: John Churchill; Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1843.

A Dictionary of Practical Surgery, etc., by Samuel Cooper. 7th ed. London: Longman, Orme & Co., 1838.[115]

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115. Adapted from Larsell, Doctor in Oregon, pp. 82-83.

In addition, Tolmie is known to have ordered the following medical books from London prior to 1845:

> The Cyclopedia of Practical Medicine, edited by John Forbes, M. D., Alexander Tweedie, M. D., and John Conolly, M. D. Tolmie ordered this book in 1836 and requested that it be "In the most compact form & to be full bound."
>
> Johnson's Medico Chir. Review. From the first number published in 1836 up to the latest one issued before the departure of the Company's ship for the Columbia in 1837.
>
> Martinet's Therapeutics.
>
> The Principles of Physiology Applied to the Preservation of Health and to the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education, by A. Combe, M. D. The latest edition, half-bound. Ordered December 1838.[116]

Doctor's quarters. The rooms in which Dr. Barclay and his family resided were probably, at least in 1845-46, furnished in about the same manner as those of the other clerks at Fort Vancouver. Having been brought up in a cultivated and reasonably well-to-do household, he undoubtedly desired better furnishings than the battered deal tables, wooden "sofas," and bunk beds provided at the depot, but it seems doubtful that he would have imported more comfortable and fashionable furniture until he had decided upon the direction of his career. If he remained with the Company he would always be subject to sudden transfer, and as a clerk he could not have expected to take any considerable amount of household goods with him. Probably only after he had decided to retire, which he did in 1850, did he begin to accumulate imported furniture for a more permanent home.

Nevertheless, because of his background, his quarters might have displayed a few more of the amenities of civilization than the rooms of the young bachelor clerks. There may, for instance, have been a tea service, a lamp, brass candlesticks, and perhaps a family portrait or two. Dr. Barclay did have an appreciation of art, because in 1847 and 1848 he commissioned several paintings from John Mix Stanley.[117]

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116. Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, pp. 323, 325, 333.

117. "News and Comment," Oregon Historical Quarterly 38 (June, 1937): 239; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, pp. A-4, I-2. The Stanley portrait of Barclay shows that the doctor wore glasses. The oil painting of Mount Hood, which Stanley painted for Dr. Barclay, is now in McLoughlin House National Historic Site, Oregon City.

The furnishings customarily allotted to the clerks at Fort Vancouver will be treated in detail in Chapter IV of this volume. Thus it is not necessary to go into the matter here other than to note that for the 1845-46 period proposed for the reconstruction, the furnishings should be appropriate for a family consisting of one mature, educated male; a frontier-raised wife scarcely more than 19 years of age; and an infant son (born December 13, 1845).

Closets and wardrobes were probably absent from the surgeon's quarters. Yet, if Dr. Barclay was like his predecessor, he possessed a fairly elaborate outfit of clothing; and Mrs. Barclay is known to have had at least several fashionable gowns. Probably most of these clothes were kept packed away in cassettes and trunks--Chinese chests are known to have been imported to Vancouver from the Hawaiian Islands as early as 1830.[118] But, as shall be seen in the discussion of the Bachelors' Quarters, very commonly at Company posts the larger articles of clothing simply hung from pegs on the walls of the bedrooms.

It is of interest, therefore, to know what articles of clothing might thus have been kept in "visible storage." As with the books, nothing is known of Dr. Barclay's sartorial tastes, but some information is available concerning Dr. Tolmie's wardrobe. On November 3, 1838, Tolmie ordered the following articles from London on his own account, because he had found it "more economical to get supplies from home than here":

1 Surtout dark claret col: plain col: with spare velvet one--stout silk facings
1 Blk Cloth Vest rolling Collar
1 pr dark grey trousers
2 light Vests rolling collars
6 pr Cotton Drawers--elastic
6 fine woollen Shirts--elastic
6 cotton Shirts 3 Pattern 3 Blue Stripe
2 pr Hickson tanned Gloves
1 pr Dundee Kid Do
1 black silk Stock
1 black silk Neck Cloth large
6 prs stout worsted stockings knit expressly
6 prs Socks Do
1 Silk Umbrella
1 tailors measuring Tape
3 pr stout winter shoes iron heeled double soled
1 pr Summer [Do]
1 pr Adelaide Boots
1 Blk oiled silk Cap[119]

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118. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 159. These chests were called "China trunks."

119. Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, p. 331.

As for Maria Barclay's wardrobe, several dresses described as being from her trousseau of 1842 are preserved at the McLoughlin House National Historic Site in Oregon City.[120]

Recommendations

a. It is suggested that architects preparing the plans for the reconstructed Indian shop carefully examine the final report of the 1973 archeological excavations at the site of this structure when it becomes available. Such an examination could be expected to shed light upon such matters as the following:

(1) Whether the Indian shop of 1845-46 was the same structure as the "Missionary Store" of 1841.

(2) The exact dimensions of the Indian shop, a subject presently clouded by conflicting evidence.

(3) Whether concentrations of beads or other trade goods permit identification of the exact location of the trading shop proper; whether broken medicine bottles or other artifacts might indicate the site of the Dispensary; whether evidences of chimneys or hearths might point to the location of possible living quarters.

(4) Whether the sites of the privy and of any barriers connecting the Indian shop with the south palisade might throw any light on the possible existence and locations of doors in the south wall of the Indian shop building.

b. It is recommended that the Indian shop be reconstructed in accordance with the construction data supplied in the body of this chapter. For additional guidance, the 1860 photograph of the Bachelors' Quarters should be consulted, because the building techniques employed in the two structures must have been quite similar. Special attention is called to the following suggestions:

(1) The walls should be constructed of sawed timbers with no visible chinking.

(2) No visible diagonal bracing should be employed in this building. If no means of concealing such bracing (considered to be

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120. "News and Comment," Oregon Historical Quarterly 36 (September, 1935): 301.

desirable because of earthquake and wind stresses) can be devised, other means of strengthening the structure should be found. The Hudson's Bay Company sometimes bored holes through three or four successive infill timbers and drove in very heavy wooden pins. This procedure, if the corners of the structure were firmly tied together, resulted in a very rigid building.

(3) The ends of the gables above the plates should be closed with vertical board siding, without battens. There should be no framing under these boards except for the end cross-tie beams and that required for the windows (which should run from cross-tie beam to plate).

(4) Because there seems to be no positive evidence as to the roof covering in 1845-46, it might add interest to the reconstruction project to use vertical board roofing such as was on the building in 1841.

c. The exterior of the Indian shop should be unpainted except for the door and window trim, doors, and shutters, which should be Spanish brown in color. The window sash should be white. The interior should not be painted.

d. It is suggested that the entire Indian shop structure, except possibly the garret, be refurnished and employed as a house exhibit. Because of the many furs and artifacts that would necessarily be lying and hanging about, visitors would have to be conducted through in small groups. At times when sufficient personnel were not available, perhaps the hall and trading shop only could be opened, with visitors being permitted to look into other rooms through doorways closed off by barriers. For use on such occasions, it might be desirable to provide a door between the shop and the fur room.

e. The temptation to refurnish the doctor's quarters with such amenities as upholstered sofas, mahogany tables and chairs, spool beds, etc., should be firmly resisted. The surgeon's status as a clerk allowed few luxuries.

f. In planning the outfitting of the doctor's office and Dispensary, it might be well to bear in mind that a number of medicine bottles, ointment jars, etc., have been recovered during archeological excavations at the post. Also, public-spirited local citizens have already gathered a splendid collection of nineteenth-century surgical apparatus, medicines, etc., which is available for use in the refurnishing project.

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]

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1. F. G. Young, ed., The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-6, Sources of the History of Oregon, vol. 1, pts. 3-6 (Eugene, Oregon, 1899), p. 176.

2. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1832-1835, H.B.C.A., B.239/1/5, MS, p. 141. Arquoitte may have been a free trapper, because he was not credited with any wages during the year.

3. Dunn, Oregon Territory, p. 102.

4. Nellie Bowden Pipes, ed. and trans., "Translation of Extract from Exploration of Oregon Territory . . . Undertaken During the Years 1840, 1841 and 1842 by Eugene Duflot de Mofras," Oregon Historical Quarterly 26 (June, 1925): 153.

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-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

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5. Joseph Schafer, ed., "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845-6," Oregon Historical Quarterly 10 (March, 1909): 85.

6. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9]:90.

7. Ibid., [2]:176-77.

8. For further examples, see ibid., [11]:74; Thomas Jefferson Farnham, Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory (Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1841), p. 194.

9. Louis R. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 1947, mimeographed ([San Francisco:] United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, [1947]), Plate 3 (Plate XXVIII in this vol).

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

Construction details

General description. No pictures of the Fort Vancouver Powder Magazine are known. After the abandonment of the post by the Company, witnesses testified that the magazine was of "fire-proof" construction, built of brick and stone, with an "arched roof" of the same material, and "copper doors."[12]

These meager facts, together with what is revealed by the actual foundation remains and by the Emmons ground plan, which shows that the single entrance was on the north side, constitute the sum total of what is known specifically about the Fort Vancouver Powder Magazine. Additional information that will be required before reconstruction drawings can be prepared must be obtained from what is known of similar structures at other Company posts of the same period.

Fortunately, several magazines, which are available for study, still exist at former Hudson's Bay Company establishments. Historic Architect A. Lewis Koue and this writer visited the excellent example at Cumberland House, Saskatchewan, and the large magazine at Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba. Photographs were obtained of the surviving structures at Metabetchouan Post on Lake St. John, Quebec, and at Moose Factory on Hudson Bay (Plates XXIX and XXX). An historic photograph of the wooden powder magazine at Fort Chipewyan is also useful (see Plate XXXI). From all of these specific and comparative sources certain hypotheses may be hazarded concerning details of the Fort Vancouver Powder Magazine.

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10. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]75-77.

11. During archeological excavations in 1952 a number of tin shingles were found at the Root House site. It was believed that these may have been from the roof of the Powder Magazine and that they may have been dumped as trash when the army demolished that structure. Alan Cherney, "Cataloguing Artifacts, Vancouver Vault, January 2, 1966-April 19, 1968," typescript (Vancouver, Washington: National Park Service (Fort Vancouver National Historic Site), 1968, p. 19.

12. Testimony of H. A. Tuzo, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]176-77; Testimony of D. Mactavish, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [11:]74.

Dimensions. The Vavasour ground plan of 1845 depicts the Powder Magazine as measuring about twenty feet square. The 1846-47 inventory gives its dimensions as 18 feet square. The stone foundations of the magazine, still partially intact, were uncovered during the archeological explorations at the fort site in 1947. The foundation walls were two feet thick and formed a square, each side of which measured about 19-1/4 feet, exterior measurement, and about 15-1/4 feet, interior measurement.[13]

In 1973 National Park Service archeologists again uncovered the magazine foundations. The foundation thickness of two feet was confirmed, but this time the outside dimensions were reported to be twenty by twenty feet.[14] It would appear, then, that the historical record and the physical evidence are in reasonable agreement.

No information is available concerning the height of the Powder Magazine. It must have been a rather low structure, however, because it cannot be seen rising behind the pickets in any known view of Fort Vancouver.

Foundations. Archeologists in 1947 reported the Powder Magazine foundations to be composed of stones set in mortar made from coral. Unfortunately, beyond stating that the stones were not rounded boulders, the excavation reports contain no description of the rocks. They did not indicate whether they were shaped, partly shaped, or simply used as they were gathered. The 1947 photographs of the exposed foundations are of little help in this regard (see Plate XXXIII).

The final reports on the 1973 excavation are not yet available as this study is being written. However, preliminary descriptions by Project Archeologist J. J. Hoffman are illuminating. He states that the foundation was a "20 ft. square trench filled with rock rubble that was mortared with coral-derived lime." The masonry, he elaborated, was "local stone and British brick mortared with lime derived from Hawaiian coral."[15]

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13. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations, p. 9 and Plate 3.

14. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandums to Regional Archeologist, Pacific Northwest Region, National Park Service, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, July 2 and August 1, 1973, MSS, in files of Pacific Northwest Regional Office, Seattle.

15. Ibid.

It was many years after the establishment of Fort Vancouver before a convenient local source of lime was discovered.[16] At least as early as 1832 the Company was importing coral from the Hawaiian Islands for building purposes. In that year Duncan Finlayson shipped McLoughlin enough coral from Oahu to make 300 barrels of lime, and with the shipment he sent instructions for burning the coral in a kiln.[17]

What may have been a piece of coral from that very shipment was found in the Powder Magazine foundation that presumably was rebuilt with the rest of the structure in 1834-35 (see Plate XXXIV).

Coral was still being imported for building purposes at Fort Vancouver in 1845.[18] And even in 1850 much coral and brick was brought to Oregon as ballast.[19]

Wall material. Archeologists in 1947 found pieces of broken brick on the Powder Magazine foundations. Their reports did not state whether this brick was loose or whether it was imbedded in the mortar.[20] This question seems to have been clarified by the findings of the 1973 excavations, already noted, that the foundation was composed of local stone and British brick mortared in lime.

This evidence would appear to support the eyewitnesses who said the magazine was built of brick or of brick and stone. Because stone was difficult to come by in the immediate vicinity of Fort

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16. A specimen of limestone from the Willamette Valley was brought to Fort Vancouver in 1839, but evidently the source was not deemed satisfactory, because the post continued to import coral from the Hawaiian Islands. William Fraser Tolmie, "Diary," Washington Historical Quarterly 23 (July, 1932): 214.

17. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/8, MS, fol. 42d.

18. Henry J. Warre, "Travel and Sport in North America, 1839-1846, by General Sir Henry J. Warre, K.C.B," ed. Felix W. Warre, MS, in Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, p. 109.

19. D. H. Vinton to Maj. Gen. T. S. Jesup, Washington, March 29, 1850, in U.S., Congress, House, 31st Cong., 2d sess., Exec. Doc. No. 1, pt. 2 (Serial 595), p. 251.

20. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations, Plate 3; Caywood, Final Report, p. 11.

Vancouver, it is probable that the walls (and vaulted roof) above the foundation were largely, if not entirely, of brick.

The archeological reports are undoubtedly correct when they describe the brick found at the magazine site as "British brick." It is known that bricks were imported from England to Fort Vancouver as early as 1825, during the first burst of building activity.[21] Subsequent importation is adequately recorded.[22] On the other hand, no bricks are known to have been made in the Oregon Country until about 1841. Furthermore, British statutes established the dimensions for bricks as 8-1/2 inches by 4 inches by 2-1/2 inches.[23] Presumably the fragments found in the magazine foundations had the same composition as other bricks having exactly those dimensions and recovered during excavations at Fort Vancouver. Examples of these bricks are in the artifact collections at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

Walls and vaulted roof. The surviving magazine at Cumberland House, the exterior measurements of which are about fourteen by fourteen feet, is not much smaller than was that at Vancouver. The stone walls at Cumberland House are two feet thick and rise without offset, at least on the outside, from the foundation. There may be an offset on the inside to support the floor joists, in which case the foundation would be an inch or two thicker than the walls.

The Cumberland House magazine has only a wooden roof, and the powder house at Lower Fort Garry, while it has a vaulted brick ceiling, is oblong in shape. Therefore, neither seems to provide a model for designing the "arched roof" of the square magazine at Vancouver.

It will be noted from photographs of fur trade magazines (Plates XXIX-XXXII) that oblong structures seem generally to have had gabled roofs, while square structures appear ordinarily to have had pyramid-shaped roofs. At Lower Fort Garry, even though the oblong magazine has a vaulted brick ceiling, it is covered on the outside with a gabled, wood-frame roof.

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21. H.B.S., 4:1.

22. For example, see H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fols. 155-155d.

23. Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--I, pp. 58-65, 75.

If this same condition held true at Fort Vancouver, the vaulted ceiling must have arched inwards from the four walls to a central peak. Only such a construction would permit the installation of an outer pyramid-shaped roof. Of course, it would have been perfectly possible to have placed a gable roof on a square building, in which case the vaulted stone inner ceiling could have been a simple arch closed by brick or stone gables at each end.

Outer roof. Undoubtedly the magazine, despite having an arched brick or stone "roof," or ceiling, was further covered by an outer wood-frame roof. This practice, illustrated by the surviving magazine at Lower Fort Garry, would have assured the exclusion of moisture.

Such an outer roof probably would have had the same general appearance as that on the Cumberland House magazine (Plate XXXII). However, the existing roof on the latter structure is of recent origin and is framed according to present-day building practices. The Fort Vancouver roof undoubtedly was framed in the Canadian manner (see Plate LXXXI, vol. I) and sheathed solidly with planks as described in Chapter XI on the Sale Shop.

The distinctive feature of the roof, however, undoubtedly was the outermost layer of roofing. Because the building was described as "fireproof," it can be safely assumed that the roof was covered with interlocking sheets, or shingles, of tin as was common practice on the magazines at other Company posts (see Plates XXX and XXXI).

It is known that metal roofing was used at Fort Vancouver. During October 1831 Chief Factor McLoughlin made an "additional" requisition by the vessel Ganymede for 100 boxes of "Tin for covering Roofs."[24] During archeological excavations in 1950 and 1952 many tin sheets, twelve inches square with interlocking edges, were found at the sites of Well No. 1, the Wheat Store, and the Root House. Those at the well and Root House seemed to have been piled in as trash, and one later curator, working from the 1952 excavation field notes, gained the impression that at least some of these tin shingles may have come from the Powder Magazine.[25] The sheets at the Wheat Store, on the other hand, were ranged as if in place. Many were interlocked, with the hand-wrought, one-inch nails that held them to the roof still in place.[26] Archeologists

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24. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 233.

25. Cherney, "Cataloguing Artifacts," p. 19.

26. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 41-42.

in 1973 found a "large amount" of "shingling nails" within the magazine foundations. Presumably they were of the same type as those recovered at the Granary.[27]

The roofing excavated during 1950 and 1952 has since disappeared from the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site collections. It is hoped that future digging will uncover additional samples.

At Cumberland House and Lower Fort Garry the exposed wood surfaces at and under the eaves are likewise covered with metal. At Fort Garry this was accomplished simply by wrapping the tin roofing under the edges of the roof. At Cumberland House 20-gauge metal sheathing (probably lead) was placed over all unshingled wood surfaces in the manner shown in Plates XXXVI and XXXVII. See also Plate XXXVIII.

One other problem concerning the outer roof remains to be considered. It will be noted that the plan of the magazine foundation as excavated in 1947 shows the remains of round Douglas fir posts abutting the outsides of each of the four foundation corners. There were two of these posts at each of the southern corners, but only one each at the northern corners (see Plate XXVIII).

The archeologists who redug this site in 1973 reported that "large, rectangular wooden posts were set outside and flush to the foundation."[28] Obviously these were, in whole or in part, the same posts Mr. Caywood had uncovered in 1947, but the shape was interpreted differently. Project Archeologist J. J. Hoffman, who supervised the 1973 excavations, speculated that these timbers were "remains of a wooden safety roof that rested on the posts rather than the brick walls."[29]

Such may well have been the case, though the use of exterior wooden posts to support the roof would not seem to have been a usual Company practice. Also, a wooden safety roof would not be compatible with the historical evidence concerning an arched roof; and unless the posts were clad in metal, they would have been contrary to the description of the building as "fire-proof."

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27. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandums to Regional Archeologist, July 2 and August 1, 1973.

28. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Regional Archeologist, August 1, 1973.

29. Ibid.

This writer cannot offer any other logical explanation for the presence of the posts, which of course may not have extended above ground level. It is suggested that architects, when the final report on the 1973 excavations is available, explore all possible alternate uses before deciding to design a roof with exterior wooden supports.

Door and door frame. It has been seen that the door of the magazine was in the north wall. If it was like the one at Cumberland House, its threshold was of stone and practically at ground level. The opening in the wall at Cumberland House is two feet nine inches wide, and around it, except on the bottom, flush with the exterior wall surface, is fitted a frame of 3-1/2-inch by 8-inch timbers, completely clad in metal sheathing. On the exterior surface of the frame this sheathing is tacked down at the outer edges by hand-forged spikes, spaced unevenly between three and four inches apart. The heads of the spikes vary in shape, some being roundish and some almost square. The shape of the frame and the means by which it is fastened to the walls are shown in Plate XXXVIII.

The door proper is composed of heavy wooden planks and is covered on all four sides and top and bottom by 20-gauge metal, seemingly iron. The metal is applied in overlapping sheets. Two joints where three sheets lap are visible on the front of the door. These joints are fastened by rows of spikes with larger heads than those on the door frame. The heads are about one-half inch in diameter and are spaced about three inches apart. There is a row of similar spikes down each side edge of the door (see drawing of door in Plate XXXVIII and photographs in Plates XXXIX and XL).

Most of the inner surface of the door is covered by a single sheet of the metal sheathing. Lapped over this sheet at the sides and top for perhaps eight to ten inches are the edges of sheets that have been wrapped around the top and sides from the front.[30]

The iron hinges and other iron hardware are well illustrated by Plates XXXVIII-XL, and by Plate XCII in volume I. The pintles for the powder magazine door hinges at Lower Fort Garry are of brass.[31] The door very probably was originally locked by a padlock of the type shown in Plate CIV, volume I.

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30. Cumberland House magazine details are based on a field visit, September 16, 1967.

31. Visit to Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, September 20, 1967. The door itself is missing.

In all likelihood the powder house door at Fort Vancouver was not unlike that at Cumberland House, except that the metal covering was of copper rather than iron. Brass pintles would have aided in eliminating sparks.

Floors. The floor of the Cumberland House magazine is made of two-inch by eight-inch wood plank flooring on wood sleepers (see Plate XXXVIII). It is possible that the powder house at Vancouver had a similar arrangement.

Furnishings

Probably the only "furnishings" in the magazine were the barrels and kegs of gunpowder stored there. Various indents and inventories from Company posts scattered across present-day Canada show that at different times the firm imported a fairly wide range of types of gunpowder. If we confine our attention to the Columbia District, however, the matter is somewhat simplified.

For Outfit 1838, for instance, the indent, or requisition, for the district called for only:

15 lbs. [barrels?]	battle Powder	
50 Bls.	TPF	Do. ea 100 lbs.
44 half Bar.	Cannon	Do. ea 50 lbs.[32]

The inventory of goods on hand at the Fort Vancouver depot in the spring of 1844 listed the following types and amounts of gunpowder:

20/100	bbls.	Canister Gunpowder	
13-1/2	"	Cannon	Do.
97-15/100	bbls.	TPF	Do.
27	Kegs	"	Do. each 66-2/3 lbs.[33]

Thus, it will be seen that powder was received and stored in 100-pound barrels, 50-pound half barrels, and 66-2/3-pound kegs. During November 1840 John Lee Lewes, in charge of Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River, complained of certain defective powder kegs that had been shipped to him from Norway House. Other kegs, he said,

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32. H.B.C., York Factory Indent Book, 1823-1838, H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fol. 158.

33. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, p. 102.

those "bearing the Tower mark on them and copper fastened," were satisfactory, and he asked for only those in the future.[34] Probably the "TPF" powder kegs at Fort Vancouver were of this latter type.

Because, on the average, 62.4 pounds of gunpowder occupy only one cubic foot of space, it will be seen that none of the kegs and barrels stored in the Vancouver magazine were very large. Powder barrels made for the British Army around the 1840s had the following dimensions:

	100-lb. whole barrels	50-lb. half-barrels
Depth	20-1/2 in.	16-3/4 in.
Dia. at top	15-1/2 in.	12-1/4 in.
Dia. at bulge	16-1/2 in.	13-1/4 in.
Dia. at bottom	15-1/2 in.	12-1/4 in.[35]

Undoubtedly the structure, small as it was, could accommodate the stock of powder kept on hand for use in the Columbia District, although it seems to have been Company practice to keep some powder in the sale shops and warehouses.[36]

Recommendations

a. When issued, the report of the 1973 excavations at the site of the magazine should be carefully studied for additional information on the dimensions of the structure and the types and shapes of stones used. The wooden posts outside the foundations also require careful examination to determine their possible function.

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34. Glazebrook, Hargrave Correspondence, p. 325.

35. F. A. Griffiths, The Artillerist's Manual, and British Soldier's Compendium, 2d ed. (Woolwich, England: Printed by E. Jones for the author, 1840), p. 85.

36. According to a report of 1874, powder was stored in the old stone store at Fort William. [National Heritage Limited,] Fort William, Hinge of a Nation ([Toronto, 1970]), p. 39; Gunpowder was stored in the warehouse of Fort Simpson on the Northwest Coast in 1868. Teichmann, A Journey to Alaska, p. 108.

b. Unless new evidence to the contrary should be uncovered, the walls and arched ceiling of the reconstructed magazine should be of brick. The bricks should be reproductions of the original British bricks now in the collections at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

c. The outer roof should be covered with interlocking tin roofing of the same pattern as that used at Lower Fort Garry, unless further archeological excavations should produce samples of the actual tin roofing used at Fort Vancouver, in which case the samples should be copied.

d. The outer roof should have the form and appearance of that on the surviving magazine at Cumberland House, but the framing should be of the old Canadian type, not the recent form now on the Cumberland structure. The underside of the eaves should be covered with metal.

e. The door should be patterned on that at Cumberland House, except that it should be covered with copper instead of iron. Hardware should be of brass where practicable and fastened with spikes or rivets and not screws. The padlock should be a copy of an actual specimen recovered at the fort site or of an original one of similar type.

f. It is suggested that archeologists remain alert for samples of the tin roofing used at Fort Vancouver and that further efforts be made to determine the fate of those reported by Mr. Caywood.

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-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,"

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1. H.B.S., 4:260.

2. Herbert Beaver, Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, 1836-1838, Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company and Missionary to the Indians at Fort Vancouver, ed. Thomas E. Jessett (Portland: The Champoeg Press, 1959), p. 140.

3. Ibid.

"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

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4. During Outfit 1852 the Vancouver Depot was charged $131.62-1/2 "for building Chimney's [sic] in Fort" and another $3.00 was paid for "work on Chimneys," but whether or not any of the chimneys were in the Bachelors' Quarters is not indicated. H.B.C., Fort Vancouver, Account Book, 1852 [Invoices, Outfit 1852], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/205, MS, fols. 119, 120.

5. Affidavit of W. E. Place, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1873, in U. S., Department of the Interior, General Land Office Records, Old Townsites Series, Docket I (165) [Vancouver], Box No. 31, MS, in Divison of Interior Department Records, National Archives (hereafter cited as G.L.O., Old Townsites).

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.

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6. "Proceedings of a board of officers, Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860," A.G.O., Ore. Dept., Doc. File 212-S-1860, in National Archives.

7. Affidavit of W. E. Place, Washington, D.C., February 27, 1873, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives.

8. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 76. Beaver was speaking of the Bachelors' Quarters that immediately preceded the structure completed in 1838.

9. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 1A.

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]

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10. Josiah L. Parrish, "Anecdotes of Intercourse with the Indians," MS, in the Bancroft Library, University of California, pp. 102-3.

11. Beaver, Reports and Letters, pp. 81-82.

12. Dunn, Oregon Territory, p. 144; Helmcken, "A Reminiscence of 1850," p. 6. Married chaplains were often exceptions to this rule.

13. Douglas, "Royal Navy Ships on the Columbia River," p. 40.

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

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14. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, p. 42.

15. "Fort Vancouver," extract from A. Begg, History of British Columbia (Toronto, 1894), typescript, in Vertical File, Provincial Archives of British Columbia; Helmcken, "Reminiscences of John Sebastian Helmcken," 3:51.

16. H.B.C.A., D.5/10, MS, fol. 247.

17. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 4.

18. Ibid., p. 17.

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

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19. Allan, "Copies of Letters and Journals," p. 10.

20. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 22-23.

21. See pp. 128-30 in vol. I of this report.

22. Parrish, "Anecdotes," pp. 102-3.

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. Sometimes 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.

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23. William Henry Gray, A History of Oregon, 1792-1849, Drawn from Personal Observation and Authentic Information (Portland and New York, 1870), pp. 150-51.

24. Pipes, "Extract from Exploration," p. 155.

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]

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25. Dunn, Oregon Territory, p. 102.

26. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, p. 58.

27. Helmcken, "A Reminiscence of 1850," p. 1.

28. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 11.

29. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[January 2, 1846]. A holiday still. . . . Another ball this evening . . . Broke up dancing at midnight and sat down to supper. Adjourned afterwards 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 headquarters 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 inhospitable 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.
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> 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

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30. Ibid., p. 32. For generalized descriptions of dances in the Bachelors' Halls at other posts, see Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, pp. 196-99; and Robinson, Great Fur Land, p. 103.

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

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31. Robinson, Great Fur Land, pp. 91-94; See also ibid., pp. 66-67.

32. Several examples of such treatment might be cited, but probably the experiences of W. H. Gray, told in his History of Oregon, pp. 149, 153, were representative of all.

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

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33. H.B.S., 4:203.

34. Erwin G. Gudde, Sutter's Own Story: The Life of General John Augustus Sutter and the History of New Helvetia in the Sacramento Valley (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936), p. 16.

35. George Thornton Emmons, "Extracts from the Emmons Journal," Oregon Historical Quarterly 26 (September, 1925): 267.

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,

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36. Cornelius J. Brosnan, Jason Lee: Prophet of the New Oregon (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), p. 163.

37. Henry E. Reed, ed., "Lovejoy's Pioneer Narrative," Oregon Historical Quarterly 31 (September, 1930): 258-59.

38. Parrish, "Anecdotes," pp. 102-3.

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]

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39. E. Ruth Rockwood, ed., "Diary of Rev. George H. Atkinson, D. D., 1847-1858," Oregon Historical Quarterly 40 (June, 1939): 180-81.

40. Warre, "Travel and Sport in North America, 1839-1846," p. 137, quoted by the kind permission of Mr. Michael Warre of London, England.

41. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 27.

42. Allan, "Copies of Letters and Journals," p. 5.

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,

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43. John Minto, "What I Know of Dr. McLoughlin and How I Know It," Oregon Historical Quarterly 11 (June, 1910): 189-90. Minto actually did spend the night at Fort Vancouver, but in a house outside the pickets.

continued Minto, "we entered bachelors' hall." He also remembered that 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 reconstruction 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

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44. John Minto, "Reminiscences of Experiences on the Oregon Trail in 1844--II," Oregon Historical Quarterly 2 (September, 1901): 235-36.

45. Parrish, "Anecdotes," p. 102.

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]

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46. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 76.

47. Wallace, John McLean's Notes, p. 348.

48. Glazebrook, Hargrave Correspondence, p. 451; Grace Lee Nute, "A Botanist at Fort Colvile," The Beaver Outfit 277 (September, 1946): 30.

49. James Douglas to "Captain Sutter," Barque Columbia, March 9, 1841, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, July 13, 1840-May 24, 1841, Letters Signed by James Douglas, MSS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

50. Robinson, Great Fur Land, p. 102.

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

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51. Robert C. Clark, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 29 (January, 1938): 5.

52. H.B.C., Correspondence Book, Fort Vancouver, 1836-1837, H.B.C.A., B.223/b/15, MS, fols. 53d-54.

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]

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53. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of British Columbia, 1792-1887 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1887), p. 63; Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, pp. 258-60.

54. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, pp. 60-62.

55. William Fraser Tolmie, "Letter from Dr. Tolmie," in Transactions of the . . . Oregon Pioneer Association for 1884, p. 31.

56. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1836-1837, H.B.C.A., B.239/1/7, MS, p. 89.

57. Bancroft, History of British Columbia, p. 63.

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 somewhat 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 £5.1.4 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.

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58. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 36-37. It is interesting to note that Lowe called the library the "Vancouver Library"; H.B.C.A., A.11/70, MS, fols. 39, 95.

59. H.B.C., Merchandise Exported, 1842-1854, H.B.C.A., A.25/7, MS, fols. 6-8, 8d-9, 45d-46, 66d-69.

60. H.B.C.A., A.11/70, MS, fols. 39, 95.

61. Bancroft, History of British Columbia, p. 63.

62. H.B.C.A., A.25/7, MS, fols. 66d-69.

63. H.B.C.A., B.223/187, MS, fol. 14; B.223/g/10, MS, p. 21; B.223/g/11, MS, p. 19.

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.

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64. Bancroft, History of British Columbia, p. 63.

65. Robert Watson, "The Story of Norway House," Canadian Geographical Journal 1 (August, 1930): 298.

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

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66. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/32, MS, fols. 85-85d, 86d-87; B.223/b/34, MS, fols. 15-29d; B.223/d/162, MS, pp. 22-32; B.239/1/16, MS, pp. 36-68.

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 18 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.

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67. H.B.S., 6:389-90; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 31, 32, 34, 43; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, p. A-27.

68. Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, B. C., Parish Register, Marriages, 1837-1872, MSS, photostat in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, p. 4; Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 23.

69. H.B.S., 6:390-91; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 1A, 4, 6, 11, 45.

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 recherché 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 fiancée, Miss Mary McDermott, and then bring her back to Fort Vancouver, where he was to serve as accountant. He traveled westward 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]

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70. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/17, MS, p. 66; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 13, 27, 28, 29.

71. H.B.S., 7:314; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 22-23, 24, 26, 27, 31. 32, 33, 36; MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. 75 fn.. 86.

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]

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72. H.B.S., 7:38 fn.; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 2, 7, 10, 11, 15, 33.

73. H.B.S., 6:150, 356, 357; H.B.S., 7:38 fn. and index; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 36, 37, 38, 43.

74. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 17, 23, 30.

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

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75. Drury, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, 2:159-60; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 22, 33; Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," p. 206; Augustus J. Thibodo, "Diary of Dr. Augustus J. Thibodo of the Northwest Exploring Expedition, 1859," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 31 (July, 1940): 342; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, pp. 40, 41, 56, 81.

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.

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76. H.B.S., 6:393-94; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 20, 25, 31, 34, 35.

77. H.B.S., 6:395-96; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 21, 22, 30-31, 44.

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

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78. Clifford Merrill Drury, ed., First White Women over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission Who Made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838, 3 vols. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963-1966), 2:266-67; H.B.S., 6:397-98; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 8, 11, 14, 23, 29, 30-31, 43; Sylvia Van Kirk, "Women and the Fur Trade," The Beaver Outfit 303, no. 3 (Winter, 1972): 14-18, 21; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, p. 9.

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, à la façon 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]

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79. James Robert Anderson, "Notes and Comments on Early Days and Events in British Columbia, Washington and Oregon, Including an Account of Sundry Happenings in San Francisco; Being the Memoirs of James Robert Anderson," typescript, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, pp. 144-45; H.B.C.A., B.223/b/32, MS, fols. 86d-87; B.223/b/34, MS, fols. 15-29d; B.239/1/16, MS, p. 66; H.B.S., 7:318-20; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 8, 19, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35-36, 38, 40, 41, 45.

80. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 4, 10, 21.

81. H.B.C.A., D.5/10, MS, fol. 393d; MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p. 205 fn.

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.

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82. H.B.S., 7:320-21; Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 18, 21, 26, 37, 42.

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]

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83. Lowe's journal entry for June 12, 1845, records the arrival of the interior brigade with the "family of the deceased Mr. McIntosh" who were "brought down to be left here." Thereby hangs a tale. John McIntosh, a part-Indian clerk who was described as "boastful and tactless," had long served in New Caledonia. On July 8, 1844, he was shot to death by a Sekanis Indian while tending his fish nets at McLeod's Lake during a time of famine. His wife, Charlotte Robertson, made secure both the fort and the Company's property, including the furs, before abandoning the place with her family and the only other male employee. The reason for her being taken to Fort Vancouver is not stated in records thus far examined, but evidently the Company felt an obligation to provide for her. Her children in June 1845 were: Archibald, age unknown; Catherine (Kitty), ca. 14 years; Donald, ca. 10 years; Elizabeth, age unknown; John, Jr., ca. 5 years; James, aged 1 year, 7 months; and Julia, age unknown. In addition, there was Marie, ca. 2-1/2 years, the natural daughter of John McIntosh by Nancy, a woman of the Carrier tribe. Mrs. McIntosh was still at Fort Vancouver with several children in 1850. At that time she seems to have been living inside the fort, and perhaps had done so since 1845. At least two of the sons later entered the Company's service. H.B.C.A., D.5/12, MS, fols. 202-203d; Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 18; U.S., 7th Census, Population Schedules . . . 1850, Oregon, pp. 73, 74; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, p. A-54, and Vancouver II, pp. 60, 96, 107, 121, 127, 151.

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 pretended 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]

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84. For an account of the "superfine beaver hats," frock coats, figured vests, tweed trousers, buckskin trousers, shirts, shoes, and other articles of clothing, to say nothing of the tobacco, pipes, wines, whiskies, and "extract of roses," with which these gentlemen actually outfitted themselves at Vancouver, see, among other places, Archie Binns, Peter Skene Ogden: Fur Trader (Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1967), p. 305.

85. Charles Henry Carey, ed., "Diary of Reverend George Gary--III," Oregon Historical Quarterly 24 (September, 1923): 306-7.

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 already 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." Undoubtedly 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]

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. At the time the Bachelors' Quarters building was constructed, James Douglas gave its dimensions as 153 by 33 feet. The two original versions of the 1845 Vavasour ground plan seem to show the structure as measuring 150 by 32 feet and 153 by 33 feet respectively (Plates VI and VII, vol. I). The 1846-47 inventory of structures at Fort Vancouver listed it as "1 dwelling house" for subordinate officers, 170 by 30 feet.[87] And in 1849, when making an appraisal of the Company property at the fort, Major D. H. Vinton estimated the dimensions to be 150 by 30 feet.[88]

In 1950 National Park Service archeologists partially excavated the site of the Bachelors' Quarters with a view to determining its exact location and dimensions. Four footings, counting those at the corners, were found in both the north wall and the south wall. Measuring from the centers of the corner footings, the north wall was about thirty-two feet long, while the south wall was thirty-three feet. Only part of the footings in the west and east walls were discovered in place, but measuring from the corners, the west wall was about

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86. This section on transient visitors is based largely on Lowe, "Private Journal," passim.

87. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]118-19.

88. D. H. Vinton to P. F. Smith, Fort Vancouver, October 1, 1849, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]133.

152 feet long and the east wall about the same.[89] In short, the dimensions of 153 by 33 feet given by Douglas were approximately correct, and because it is not certain that the outsides of the walls were centered over the footings, they may have been exactly correct.

The footings were not described by Mr. Caywood in 1950, but probably they were the same as those on several other structures--slabs of wood about three inches thick. They were laid with their long dimensions at right angles to the length of the walls. Those in the north and south walls were, when excavated, not quite evenly spaced, but they were about eleven feet apart on centers. Those in the west and east walls seem to have been about ten feet apart on centers, but the spacing varied from about eight to twelve feet, perhaps showing post-1860 disturbance.[90] Complete excavation of the site of Building No. 20, scheduled for the near future as this chapter is being written, should produce additional information on the footings.

b. General construction. The known historical drawings and paintings of Fort Vancouver either show no more of the Bachelors' Quarters than the roof or are so small in scale as to be of little value as far as structural details are concerned. Fortunately, however, one of the photographs taken of the post by the Royal Engineers during the spring of 1860 shows the entire front or west face of the building. One particularly good print of this photograph even shows a small section of the south wall (see Plate XLI).

The availability of this photograph makes unnecessary an elaborate discussion of the general structure of the Bachelors' Quarters. It obviously was built in the usual post-on-sill fashion, was one story high with a garret, and had a hipped, shingled roof.

Actually the "Bachelors' Range" was a row of small cottages joined under a single roof. Joseph L. Meek later described the structure as a series of "separate tenements," while Assistant Surgeon Silas Holmes of the Wilkes Expedition mentioned the "houses of the clerks" in the journal of his visit during 1841.[91] Vavasour's plan of 1845 identifies the Bachelors' Quarters building as "Dwelling Houses" (see Plate VII, vol. I). At Fort Qu'Appelle, east of the Rockies, the "dwelling houses" of the servants, similarly connected under a single roof, were separated by log walls carried up to the

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89. Caywood, Final Report, p. 17, and Excavation Drawings, sheets 6 and 9.

90. Ibid.

91. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]86; Holmes, "Journal," 2:306.

ridge of the roof, but whether this same method of construction was employed at Fort Vancouver is unrecorded.[92]

One other point relating to the general construction might well be mentioned here. The ground under the Bachelors' Quarters sloped slightly toward the south. The floors of the separate apartments were not stepped to adjust for the slope. Rather, the floors of all the rooms, as can be seen by the photograph, were kept at the same level. Thus the sills at the north end of the building were at, or very close to, ground level, while those toward the south rested on successively higher footings, or supports. The space between the sills and the ground was not left open but was closed in solidly with either planks or squared timbers.

Walls. Judging from the height of the doors, it appears that the walls of the Bachelors' Quarters were about twelve feet high above the sills. There were sixteen upright grooved posts (counting those at the corners) in the east and west walls and four (again counting the corner posts) in the north and south walls. The ceiling joists of the ground floor were morticed through the lintels, or in some places through the horizontal timbers above the lintels, at a height of about eight feet above the floor.

The horizontal infill timbers in the walls were fairly uniform in size and appear to have been sawed. Those toward the south end of the structure seem to have been somewhat smaller than those at the north end.

The 1860 photograph (Plate XLI) clearly shows that the south wall of the Bachelors' Quarters was covered by narrow, ship-lapped weatherboards. Because the prevailing rain direction is from the south, such protection might have been required. The front of the building was left with the timbers exposed, and such probably was the case with the north and east walls.

Roof. Drawings made by members of the Wilkes expedition in 1841 show that the Bachelors' Quarters apparently had a hipped roof as early as that date (see Plates IV and LIII, vol. I). Therefore it probably had one from the time of its construction only three years earlier. On the other hand, the original pencil sketch made by Lieutenant Warre in 1845-46 (Plate XLII) and the painting and lithograph made from it (Plates IX and X, vol. I) perhaps show the building with a gabled roof, although it is difficult to tell which structures are depicted by Warre in the southeast corner of the fort. And, in any case, the painting of 1847-48 (Plate XVI, vol. I) and the 1860 photograph both

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92. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 211.

clearly show a hipped roof. It seems safe to assume that the Bachelors' Quarters had a hipped roof during the 1845-46 period.

Although there appears to be no direct evidence on the point, it is also highly probable that the roof was shingled by that date. The shingles used and sold by the Hudson's Bay Company during 1845-46 were largely made by American settlers and by French-Canadian freemen and were obtained by bartering clothing and supplies for them.[93] They were made of cedar, fir, and pine, and were purchased in large quantities, nearly 10,000 having been brought to the Vancouver depot from the Company's station at Willamette Falls during Outfit 1844.[94] Records for the early 1840s demonstrate conclusively that the usual shingle employed by the firm, at least on the cruder buildings such as salmon houses and sheep sheds, was a hand-split shake, thirty-six inches long.[95]

Lawyers for the Company attempted in 1866 to lead William H. Gray to testify that the shingles at Fort Vancouver were laid with four inches exposed to the weather ca. 1846, but he failed to give a direct reply of confirmation.[96] It hardly seems probable that thirty-six-inch shingles would have been laid with less than about twelve inches exposed. Thus, if the lawyers were correct, the shingles employed on major buildings were shorter. If the Coode watercolor sketch was accurate, the older structures seem to have had long shingles with a foot or more exposed, while the newer buildings, like the Big House, may have had shorter shingles with much less surface to the weather (see Plate XII, vol. I). The neatly shingled roofs in the 1860 photographs, on which the shingles do seem to have been laid with four inches to the weather, probably did not still carry the covering of 1845-46.

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93. Testimony of W. H. Gray, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]181-82.

94. H.B.C., Account Books, Fort Vancouver, 1844-1845 [Abstract, Cost and Charges of Goods Received], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, p. 120.

95. John McLoughlin to Angus McDonald, Vancouver, April 18, 1842, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, Letters Signed by John McLoughlin, MSS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia; Roderick Finlayson to John McLoughlin, Fort Victoria, June 25, 1845, in H.B.C.A., B.226/b/1, MS.

96. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]181-82.

Incidentally, in case there should be a desire to exhibit bundles of shingles somewhere in the reconstructed fort, it might be noted that in 1846 the Company specified that those purchased should be "neatly packed in bundles of 250, and received by measurement--being, 20 inches in width, 2 shingles in length, and 25 rows of shingles at each end."[97] These bundles evidently were tied with "spunyarn Rope."[98]

The 1860 photograph shows that the Bachelors' Hall then could boast of a gutter, probably of metal, below the eaves across the entire front of the building. Five downspouts in that distance each emptied into a large barrel. There definitely was no gutter over the south end of the building, however, and the situation with regard to gutters over the remaining two walls is unknown.

Chimneys. The ca. 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist appears to show five tall, narrow chimneys rising from the eave line along the rear or east wall of the Bachelors' Quarters (see Plates XV and XVI, vol. I). On the other hand the 1860 photograph definitely reveals that by then there were four brick chimneys that emerged from the structure at the ridge of the roof. Whether the five earlier chimneys were still standing is not revealed.

Clearly a change of some sort was made in the heating arrangements between 1847-48 and May 1860, but no certain record of the time or nature of the alteration has yet been discovered. It is known that during Outfit 1852 the sum of $131.62-1/2 was paid for "building Chimneys in Fort," but whether this construction related to the Bachelors' Quarters or to other structures is not stated.[99]

Perhaps future archeological excavations on the site of Building No. 20 will produce additional information about chimney locations. If remains of brick hearths or chimney bases can be found, the types of bricks should indicate the relative ages.

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97. Peter S. Ogden and James Douglas to [W. F.] Tolmie, Fort Vancouver, July 12, 1846, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, 1845-1849, Letters Signed by Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

98. H.B.C., Fort Vancouver, Account Book, 1848-1849 [Columbia District Transfers, Outfit 1844], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/183a, MS, fol. 10.

99. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1852 [Invoices], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/205, MS, fol. 11d.

Unless the archeological evidence is overwhelmingly to the contrary, however, it would seem that the testimony of the 1847-48 painting should be followed in locating and designing the chimneys for the 1845-46 period of reconstruction.

Doors. The Emmons ground plan of 1841 (Plate III, vol. I) pictures the Bachelors' Quarters with four symmetrically placed front entrances in the west wall. They opened onto the central courtyard of the fort. Although not indicated, there presumably were four rear doors giving access to a corresponding number of outhouses placed along the east palisade. By 1860, however, there were five doors spread along the front of the building. As will be seen by a study of the photograph, they were not spaced evenly. Two were adjacent to upright posts while three were well within bays but not centered.

Once more it is evident that changes had been made over the years, but no information as to the date or dates of the alterations has yet been uncovered. But there is certain evidence that might possibly throw light upon the matter. Richard Covington, who reached Fort Vancouver during the summer of 1846, draw a map of the post before the end of the year (Plate XIII, vol. I). On it he carefully placed six outhouses behind the Bachelors' Quarters. Thus, if both he and Emmons were accurate in this respect it is possible that the number of separate dwelling units in the Bachelors' Range had been increased between 1841 and 1846, probably by placing additional partitions in the interior. In this case, the number of front doors might well have been increased to five at the same time. There might be a relationship between the five chimneys shown in the 1847-48 painting and the five doors of 1860.

Although it is impossible to be certain on this point, it would seem to be safer for purposes of the reconstruction to assume that the five front doors as shown in the 1860 photograph were in place by 1845-46. An assumption of five doors for the rear wall would also seem reasonable.

The Provincial Archives of British Columbia contains a particularly clear and sharp print of the 1860 photograph. On two different occasions this writer has ordered copies of this print, but no matter how careful the expert photographers at the archives have been, the copies have lost detail in the reproduction. The following data on the doors, therefore, are based upon details noted during personal observation of the original print but that cannot be seen clearly in the photographs submitted with this report.

The doors are six-panel in design. The two middle panels are the tallest, the bottom two are the next tallest, while the top two are short, being slightly wider than they are high. The round doorknob on each seems to be on the left-hand side about opposite the center of the board between the two lower sets of panels.

The lights, or transoms, over the doors contain ten panes of glass arranged in two tiers of five each. Over the frame that surrounds each door-transom unit is a projecting drip board or flashing of some type.

In front of each door is a step or series of steps that project to form a shallow porch. There is one step in front of the northernmost door, two steps each in front of the next two doors toward the south, and three steps each in front of the two most southerly doors. As nearly as can be determined from the photograph, the steps seem to be formed of squared logs with board treads on top. The steps in front of the two southernmost doors are considerably wider than the doors, and all the steps seem to be the same length. In front of the third and fourth doors from the southern end, the bottom steps seem to be wider (north and south) than the top ones.

Large foot scrapers can be seen on the top steps at each side of the first and fourth doors from the southern end. The third door from the south may have a scraper at each side of the bottom step.

Windows. Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition, described the windows of his lodgings at Fort Vancouver in 1841 as "French" in style.[100] It is not certain that this reference to casement windows applied specifically to the clerks' quarters, but such very probably was the case. Yet the photograph of 1860 very clearly shows that the windows on the front of the Bachelors' Range, at least, were double-hung.

Ordinarily one would be inclined to give preference to the photographic evidence, but in this instance an interesting bit of testimony has recently come to light that would seem to support Wilkes. In 1879 former clerk George B. Roberts told Frances Fuller Victor that the only relics of Astoria in Washington Territory were "the old French windows in my old house [at] Cowlitz Farm." When windows were required for that residence, he continued, "they made new ones at Vancouver & sent the old ones there."[101] Roberts moved to Cowlitz Farm from Fort Vancouver during December 1846, but the date of the transfer of the windows has not yet been determined.

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100. Charles Wilkes, Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest, ed. Edmond S. Meany (Seattle, 1926), p. 40.

101. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," p. 224.

It seems quite reasonable to suppose that the windows from Astoria (renamed Fort George when taken over by the North West Company) were moved to Fort Vancouver after the former post was temporarily abandoned in 1825. Because window sash and glass panes were not easily procured on the frontier, those that had been acquired undoubtedly were used for a lengthy period of time at the depot. They could quite possibly have been installed in the Bachelors' Quarters building when it was constructed in 1838 and then sent to Cowlitz Farm when replacements became more readily available during the late 1840s or the 1850s. It is suggested, therefore, that the windows in the reconstructed Bachelors' Hall be of the French type.

Fortunately, the 1860 photographs provide clear views of the casement windows on the Big House and the Priests' House (Plates XXVIII and XXIX, vol. I). Several windows of this type survive at Fort Langley, but they cannot serve as models, at least without the exercise of great caution, because the central mullion seems to be a later addition.[102]

The 1860 photograph reveals that there were thirteen windows on the front of the Bachelors' Quarters. The southern three of these were sheltered by double louvered shutters in 1860, but whether or not there were shutters in 1845-46 is not known. It is possible to speculate that there were two or three windows in each of the north and south walls and perhaps as many as fifteen in the east wall.

Exterior finish. The 1860 photograph (Plate XLI) shows that the south wall of the Bachelors' Quarters was weatherboarded; it almost certainly was unpainted. The front wall clearly had no outer covering and was not painted. Probably the same conditions pertained with the north and east walls.

In 1860, at least, the trim around the doors and windows, and the window sash, including that over the doors, were painted white. The color of the doors and shutters is not known; probably they were Spanish brown. The gutters and at least some of the downspouts seem to have been painted a light color, perhaps white.

A careful study of the 1860 photograph seems to reveal no signs of chinking or caulking between the wall timbers at the north end of the Bachelors' Hall. Toward the south end light, narrow lines at

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102. Peeps, "A Preliminary Survey of the Physical Structure of Fort Langley," p. 20.

joints and between timbers are visible at certain points. They may be evidence of caulking or simply projections hit by light. It is extremely difficult to be certain. At any rate, heavy chinking of the type so commonly employed on the Company's structures across much of Canada definitely is absent.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. The inventory of 1846-47 noted that the Bachelors' Quarters structure was lined and ceiled.[103] This description is confirmed by the few visitors who recorded their observations of the interior finish. W. H. Gray, though speaking of 1836, two years before the 1845-46-period Bachelors' Hall was built, said that the partitions in the houses "were all upright boards planed, and the cracks battened; floors were mostly rough boards."[104]

The French traveler, Duflot de Mofras, in 1841 found the dwellings of the clerks to be "a kind of barracks, where nothing recalls the comforts of the English."[105] This opinion was seconded by Assistant Surgeon Holmes of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, who during the same year described the houses of the clerks as being "of the plainest possible construction, unpainted."[106] The leader of the expedition was a bit more charitable. Though admitting that the interiors of the houses were "unpretending" and "simply finished with pine board panels, without any paint," he maintained that they were, on the whole, though plain, "as comfortable as could be desired."[107]

"I believe that the whole row was ceiled inside," swore Lloyd Brooke in 1866 when testifying as to the condition of Bachelors' Hall as he knew it in 1849. The floors, he added, were "rough."[108]

The import of this evidence seems clear. The rooms in the Bachelors' Quarters were lined, walls and ceilings, with unpainted, planed, fir boards. Probably the boards on the walls were placed vertically, and by 1838 battens may no longer have been used. The most common Company practice was to employ tongued and grooved boards, with beaded edges, for room lining. In all likelihood, the rooms much resembled the one in the York Factory Bachelors' Hall illustrated in Plate LXX in volume I of this report.

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103. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]118-19.

104. Gray, A History of Oregon, p. 150.

105. Pipes, "Extract from Exploration," p. 155.

106. Holmes, "Journal," 2:306.

107. Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1845), 4:331.

108. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]129.

It is known that in 1849 the Bachelor's Range contained seventeen rooms.[109] Beyond that fact and the indication that the strangers' room was at, or near, its north end, nothing certain is recorded concerning the internal room arrangement.

Lieutenant Warre wrote that when he and Lieutenant Vavasour were at the fort, "We had a private sitting room and a bedroom each."[110] It is not known for sure that these officers were lodged in the Bachelors' Quarters, but probably such was the case. Thus Warre's words might indicate that one of the separate "houses" in the row contained three rooms.

The number of dwellings in the range also is not clear. The five front doors, and the five chimneys shown in the 1847-48 painting, might indicate that there were five such units, each about thirty by thirty-two feet. But the uneven spacing of the doors probably eliminates the possibility of any such symmetrical arrangement, although not necessarily so, because one or more apartments could have been entered through interior doors, and at least one might have had two doors.

The inventories of "articles in use" might throw some light upon this question if one knew how to interpret them. One list under this general category in the 1844 inventory is headed "Bachelors Hall & No 1, 2, 3, 4, 5." The same list for 1845 is titled "Bachelors Hall &c Nos 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5."[111] The difficulty is that one does not know whether the name "Bachelors Hall" was used in its restrictive sense, that is to indicate a single room, or in the broader sense, meaning the entire building. In the former case, the heading might be interpreted to indicate that the entire structure contained the Bachelors' Hall proper and five separate dwelling units. In the latter case, the list would have covered the Bachelors' Quarters building and five other structures containing living quarters.

This writer is inclined to favor the former alternative, based upon the fact that the 1844 inventory mentioned above lists only fourteen beds, while that for 1845 lists only seventeen beds and five stoves. On the other hand, the 1848 inventory, which no longer contained the same "Bachelors Hall & No 1, 2, 3, 4, 5" heading but had a new one titled

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109. D. H. Vinton to P. F. Smith, Fort Vancouver, October 1, 1849, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]133.

110. Warre, "Travel and Sport in North America, 1839-1846," p. 137.

111. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, fol. 86; H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, p. 145.

"Dwelling Houses and Mess Room," listed twenty-four beds and eleven stoves.[112] In other words, all the dwelling houses in the fort seem to have contained significantly more beds and stoves than the units designated "Bachelors Hall & No 1, 2, 3, 4, 5." Therefore, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 probably were not dwellings outside the Bachelors' Quarters building. But, because many more "articles in use" in all categories are listed for 1848 than for earlier years, there may be no validity whatever to this reasoning.

Given the existing information, one can only surmise that the Bachelors' Quarters may have contained the following rooms or dwelling units:

1	Bachelors' Hall proper
1	Library room
1	Strangers' room & visitors' "parlor"
ca. 3	Visitors' bedrooms
ca. 3	Clerks' or visitors' sitting/bedrooms
ca. 8	Clerks' and subordinate officers' bedrooms
17	Rooms

Furnishings

a. General remarks--bedrooms. In Chapter IX of this report, when discussing the furnishings of the Big House (pp. 136-38, vol. I), the simplicity--even austerity--that prevailed in the quarters of the junior officers and clerks throughout the Company's territories was made clear. For such employees to transport any considerable amount of household goods from one assigned post to another was almost entirely out of the question. Therefore the Company provided the basic essentials in the quarters set aside for its officers and clerks. From all available evidence, these furnishings were indeed minimal.

Robert M. Ballantyne has left a description of "Bachelors' Hall" at York Factory as he encountered it in 1843. That structure was one story in height and contained a "large hall"--by which he meant room--from which a number of doors led into the sleeping apartments of the clerks. The rest of the scene is best depicted in Ballantyne's own words:

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112. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fol. 84d.

> The whole was built of wood; and few houses could be found wherein so little attention was paid to ornament or luxury. The walls were originally painted white, but this, from long exposure to the influence of a large stove, had changed to a dirty yellow. No carpet covered the floor. . . . A large oblong iron box, on four crooked legs, with a funnel running from it through the roof, stood exactly in the middle of the room; this was a stove. . . . The only furniture that graced the room consisted of two small unpainted deal tables without table-cloths, five whole wooden chairs, and a broken one. . . . Several guns and fishing-rods stood in the corners of the hall. . . . The tables were covered with a miscellaneous collection of articles; and from a number of pipes reposing on little odoriferous heaps of cut tobacco, I inferred that my future companions were great smokers. Two or three books, a pair of broken foils, a battered mask, and several surgical instruments, over which a huge mortar and pestle presided, completed the catalogue.
>
> The different sleeping apartments around were . . . extremely characteristic of the pursuits of their different tenants. The first I entered was very small--just large enough to contain a bed, a table and a chest, leaving little room for the occupant to move about in. . . . None of these bedrooms were carpeted; none of them boasted of a chair--the trunks and boxes of the person to whom they belonged answering instead; and none of the beds were graced with curtains. Notwithstanding this emptiness, however, they had a somewhat furnished appearance, from the number of great-coats, leather capots, fur caps, worsted sashes, guns, rifles, shot-belts, snow-shoes, and powder-horns with which the walls were profusely decorated.[113]

Twenty-four years later another young apprentice clerk, Isaac Cowie, landed at York Factory from England and was assigned to quarters. His later recollection of what greeted his eyes was as follows:

> We were met . . . at the landing by Mr. James S. Ramsay, apprentice clerk of three years' service, who . . . convoyed us to the "Summer House," the quarters

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113. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, pp. 175-77.

> provided for visitors of our grade. There were bedsteads but no bedding in the rooms given us, so Mr. Ramsay sent the steward for a bale of new blankets, which served as mattresses and covering till we got our own bedding.
>
> The rooms were bare and the furniture plain and scanty, for the quarters were only temporary "camping ground" for wayfarers. They may have seemed still more uninviting than they really were from the contrast afforded by the blaze of barbaric decorations on the walls of the rooms of the clerks in "Bachelors' Hall." These consisted of Indian silk and bead and wool work of every hue, which adorned the attire of these "veterans" from head to foot, also their gun-coats, shot pouches, firebags and snowshoes, all of which were hung up round the room, alongside of coloured prints of prize fighters, race horses, hunting scenes, ships and yachts. . . . Each of the bachelors seemed to be a performer on a different musical instrument--one had a violin, another a flute, a third an accordion, and a fourth a concertina, and I think they could all play the Jews' harp.[114]

H. M. Robinson, who during the 1870s wrote a number of accounts of life at the Company's posts, made a graphic statement concerning the general lack of comfortable furnishings in the quarters of the officers and clerks. A part of this description has already been quoted on pages 137-38 in volume I of this report. He then continued with the following passage:

> While it must be confessed that the main body of officers confine themselves in this regard to the practical and useful, yet it not infrequently happens that a gentleman of independent taste turns up who, animated by the desire of giving an artistic air to his chamber, graces the useful with more or less of the ornamental. These peculiarities of individual taste betray themselves most strikingly in the selection and disposal of bedroom furniture. Brightly burnished arms, powder-flasks, and shot-pouches, are arranged in fantastic figures upon the walls. Objects of aboriginal handiwork in birch-bark, porcupine-quills, and beadwork, impart a certain barbaric

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114. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, pp. 102-3.

splendor to the apartment; while in vivid contrast appear rude frames enclosing highly-colored lithographs of deeds of daring on the British turf, highways, and waters. . . .

Games, too, are in great demand, and every apartment possesses its well-thumbed pack of cards, its rude cribbage-board, and sets of wooden dominoes. . . . Parties not studiously inclined aften pass the spare hours in exercising their skill upon one of the musical instruments.[115]

Several times throughout this report it has been shown that the families of officers and clerks were sometimes housed in the Bachelors' Range and that occasionally these families were large. Present-day readers may find it incredible that a couple and as many as nine or more children might live in a single room, particularly when the inventories demonstrate that there could not have been more than one or two beds in each apartment. The following quotation from a description of a typical French-Canadian voyageur's dwelling reveals how this miracle was accomplished:

Internally the house is one single apartment; occasionally, in the better class, though rarely, two apartments. The floor is of planks sawed or hewed by hand; the ceiling, if there is any, of the same material. In one corner is the only bed, a narrow couch, painted, generally, an ultra-marine blue, or a vivid sea-green. . . . A table, one or two chairs, a few wooden trunks or boxes--doing duty with this people everywhere as table, chair, clothes-press, and cupboard--and a dresser, constitute the furniture. About the walls somewhere, more especially over the bed, hang colored prints of the Virgin, the sacred heart, etc., together with a rosary. It may be that the daughter of the house--and there always is a daughter--has come under the influence of a convent for a season, and can read; perhaps write. In that event, there is a copy of the "Lives of the Saints" on a bracket; and, it may be, a few periodicals. For the rest, the apartment is cheerless and uninviting. It may be clean, but the chances are that it is not. . . .

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115. Robinson, Great Fur Land, pp. 96-97, 102-3.

> In this apartment the family herd--a squaw mother often, and children so numerous and dirty as to be a wonder to behold. . . . on the approach of night, when the dusky brood are all housed, the question of where they are to sleep becomes startlingly prominent.
>
> We remember well our first experience in the solution of this difficulty. Caught one stormy winter's evening, [we] . . . halted before the door of a small cabin, and asked permission to remain over-night. . . . the request was readily granted. After a meagre supper . . . we began to look about for a couch for the night. Nothing was visible save one narrow bed, in which our host and his swarthy consort soon retired. Now, in addition to ourselves and guide, there were thirteen of the family, composed of children, male and female, from infancy to mature age. . . . Finally . . . from trunks and boxes were produced blankets and robes, and a shake-down made on the floor, into which we were directed to crawl. Scarcely had we done so, when our bed began to widen, and in a few minutes extended from wall to wall. Soon we found ourselves the central figure in a closely-packed bed of thirteen, filled promiscuously with males and females.[116]

That these general conditions were reflected in the living quarters at Fort Vancouver is amply demonstrated by the testimony of persons who were given shelter within the palisade. Charles Wilkes in 1841 recorded that inside the "unpretending" houses "bunks are built for bedsteads."[117] Another member of the U. S. Exploring Expedition stated that the "houses of the clerks" contained "no other furniture than a few stools or wooden bottomed chairs and a coarse pine table."[118] A French visitor during the same year wrote that the furniture in the clerks' dwellings consisted "of a little table, a chair or bench and a camp bed of boards, infested with insects, with two woolen covers."[119]

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116. Ibid., pp. 45-47.

117. Wilkes, Narrative, 4:331.

118. Holmes, "Journal," 2:306.

119. Pipes, "Extract from Exploration," p. 155.

The construction of one of the oft-mentioned bunk beds at Fort Vancouver, and the bedding, were well described by Narcissa Whitman in 1836. Her words have already been reproduced on page 159, volume I of this report. Another missionary visitor in 1837 confirmed her testimony concerning the almost universal use of bunk beds at the post when he later recalled that while there he had slept in a "berth-like fixture, then the only beds of the country."[120]

This general picture of austerity given by visitors is supported by the inventories of Company-owned "articles in use" found in the dwelling houses. Two of these are reproduced below, but, as has already been explained, it is not known if they applied to the Bachelors' Hall proper and five other units in the Bachelors' Quarters building or to the entire Bachelors' Range plus five additional dwelling units elsewhere in the fort:

Inventory of Sundry Goods . . . remaining
on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot.
Spring 1844

. . . . . .

Articles in Use

. . . . . .

Bachelors Hall & No 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

11 Washhand Basins
14 Beds
37 Chairs
10 E. Ware Jugs
4 Wooden Sofas
18 " Tables
7 do cloths[121]

. . . . . .

Inventory of Sundry Goods . . . remaining on hand
at Fort Vancouver Depot
Spring 1845

120. A. J. Allen, Ten Years in Oregon: Travels . . . of Dr. E. White and Lady, West of the Rocky Mountains (Ithaca, 1850), p. 65.

121. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, p. 165.

. . . . . .

Articles in Use

. . . . . .

Bachelors Hall &c Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5

15 E'Ware washhd. Basins
17 Bedsteads
41 cane bottd. Chairs
2 prs. bunting bed Curtains
13 baize table Cloths
15 E. W. Jugs
5 Stoves wh. funnels [stovepipes]
6 wooden Sofas
19 " Tables[122]

The fact that the inventory taken in the spring of 1848 contained revised subheadings under the category "Articles in Use" has already been mentioned. The subheading that included the Bachelors' Quarters, titled "Dwelling Houses and Mess Room," was so broad that it seems of little help in throwing light upon what furnishings were in the clerks' lodgings.

Yet the list under that subheading is of much interest. It includes items such as bedroom candlesticks, snuffers, mirrors, and tumblers that do not appear in the earlier inventories but that almost certainly were present in the Bachelors' Quarters. As has been mentioned in previous chapters, it is not known why the 1848 inventory included so many more articles than those of 1844 and 1845. For what light it may shed upon the furnishings of the Bachelors' Range, the pertinent section of the 1848 inventory is reproduced below. It will also be recognized that this list, which was not seen by this writer until after the completion of volume I of this report, provides important additional information concerning the furnishings of the mess hall in the Big House:

[1848]
--Dwelling Houses and--
--Mess Room--

14 e ware wash hand Baisins [sic]
24 wooden Bedsteads
17 tin bedroom Candlesticks

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122. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, p. 145.

40 wooden Chairs w[ith] stuffed seats
60 " Do plain
2 - day Clocks
23 Baize table Cloths
1 HB green strouds Do pr Hall table
1 flowered cotton Do "
14 e'ware water Jugs
1 Lamp with glass
2 large Mirrors
2 small Do
10 wooden Sofas
2 " Do cloth covered
10 prs Snuffers
11 Stoves with funnels
28 wooden Tables
16 Tumblers[123]

It will be noted that the 1848 inventory appears to reflect an increased sophistication--almost luxury when compared with the bare-bones earlier lists--in living arrangements at the fort. As has been pointed out previously, the reason for the larger number of items recorded in 1848 is not entirely evident, but probably such articles as the lamp, the clocks, the mirrors, etc., reflect the increased importation of general merchandise as the Company's business in Oregon shifted in emphasis from fur trading to the retail trade after about 1846.

The inventories reproduced above provoke several comments. First, it seems clear that lighting in the bedrooms was by candles. Probably each apartment had at least one tin candlestick well before 1848. Second, it appears that each room also contained an earthenware wash basin and water jug. Third, each main dwelling unit seems to have had a stove. These stoves would have been of the Canadian type, probably with protective metal shields on the floors beneath and on any nearby walls (see pp. 143-45, vol. I, for a discussion of stoves at Fort

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123. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fol. 84d. It is quite obvious that the forty "wooden Chairs w stuffed seats" were in the mess hall along with the two tablecloths described as for the "Hall." Because dwellings such as the Priests' House and any quarters that might have been in the Indian shop were probably covered by the inventory, it seems impossible to say which of the remaining items were in the Bachelors' Range, though probably most were.

Vancouver). The stoves in the Bachelors' Quarters were installed each fall and removed each spring.[124]

Fourth, each bedroom seems to have contained a wooden bed (bunk), a couple of plain wooden chairs (evidently with cane seats by 1845), a table, and, generally, a baize tablecloth. Fifth, those dwelling units that had sitting rooms seem also to have had a wooden sofa and perhaps an extra table and several chairs.

No pictures of the interior of any dwelling unit at Fort Vancouver are known to exist. However, a sketch dated 1848 and titled "Interior of H.B.C. Post at Pembina" probably depicts the room of a clerk or even a commissioned officer and conveys an impression of the accommodations provided throughout the Company's territories. While not applicable to Fort Vancouver in all details, its representation of a general crudity of furnishings undoubtedly would have been equally true of the Columbia depot's Bachelors' Quarters. It is reproduced as Plate XLIII.

Another sketch (Plate XLIV), this one of the interior of a Red River settler's home during the early nineteenth century, also depicts items of furniture that might well have had their counterparts at Fort Vancouver.

Personal effects. In the comparative descriptions of clerks' quarters noted earlier in this section, a good deal is made of the fact that the plainness of the furnishings was somewhat relieved by the displayed possessions of the occupants and by such decorative features as the individual clerks and officers might fancy. It may not be amiss, therefore, to examine the question of what personal effects the typical clerk or junior officer might have owned and carried with him from post to post.

The most conspicuous object, perhaps, was the ubiquitous cassette or small wooden trunk used by clerks and officers for carrying personal effects on journeys by boat or horse. An apprentice clerk ordinarily would not have had more than one of these useful articles, but senior

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124. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 50. For further information on Canadian stoves, see Hussey, Historic Furnishings Report, Bakery, Fort Vancouver, pp. 109-10. The same work also contains illustrations of typical tin candlesticks and chairs used in Canada during the early to mid-nineteenth century.

clerks and officers might have had two or three.[125] One long-time Company employee expressed the importance attached to these devices when he wrote that this "dovetailed constructed trunk, made honestly," served as the container of the clerk's "personal wealth in clothes, relics or souvenirs of civilization, and when the lid was closed, as an extra seat."[126]

The best available description of a cassette appears to be that written by Malcolm McLeod, the son of a fur trader. Cassettes, he said, were:

> Trunks made of best and well seasoned pine, and made as strong and light as dovetailing, grooving, iron binding, and good workmanship can make them. The stuff throughout, is three quarters of an inch thick. The dimensions are two feet four inches in length, and one foot four inches in width and depth, and beveled on top to the extent of nearly an inch, leaving the sides about fifteen inches and a quarter deep, of this depth, the cover [made to fit closely to a lap in the body of the box] takes from four to three and a quarter inches. Of the "Cassettes" used in the country, this is the largest size, and the smallest does not vary more than an inch, in any way. They are well painted, and are proof against any accident but fire.[127]

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125. For a discussion of the baggage allowances of the various grades of "gentlemen," see p. 138 in vol. I of this report. For a list of the number of cassettes actually transported for several clerks and officers on a transcontinental journey, see Edward Ermatinger, "Edward Ermatinger's York Factory Express Journal . . . 1827-1828," in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3d ser., vol. 6, sect. 2 (1912), pp. 103-5.

126. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, p. 156.

127. Archibald McDonald, Peace River: A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific by the Late Sir George Simpson . . . in 1828: Journal of the Late Chief Factor, Archibald McDonald, (Hon. Hudson's Bay Company), Who Accompanied him, ed. Malcolm McLeod (Ottawa: J. Drurie & Son, 1872), p. 43. Cassettes evidently were manufactured at Fort Vancouver, because cassette hinges were among the items imported annually from England. These were iron butterfly hinges, each leaf of the larger size measuring 3.8" by 3.6". H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, pp. 86-87.

A traveling case was another item possessed by nearly every "gentleman." Unfortunately an exact description of these compartmented boxes does not seem to be available. They were designed to carry everything a man might need on a long journey except the main stores and bedding. The compartments were lined with soft cloth, "good baize generally," the space for the liquor bottle being especially well padded.[128]

Another necessity was a traveling basket. These were made of "strong willow," also "with compartments, and suitable tin cases, for meats, sugar, and other groceries; those for meats being invariably finely perforated on the top." Placed on top of all the other contents was a frying pan possessing "a good strong hinge."[129]

Among the other items that might be found hanging on the walls, resting on tables, or standing in corners were guns of various types, powderhorns, shot bags, fishing gear, books, musical instruments, and articles of Indian manufacture or natural curiosities such as rock specimens. The custom of indulging in small private suppers in the Bachelors' Quarters has been mentioned, and for this purpose a certain number of cooking and eating utensils, dishes, and glasses were kept on hand. Pieces of a delicate wine glass and other glasses etched on the bottoms with the initial "L" or the name "A L Lewes"--obviously once the property of Adolphus Lee Lewes, a clerk who temporarily left the Company's service shortly before the start of Outfit 1845--were uncovered during excavations of trash pits or privies along the east stockade wall in 1966, demonstrating that touches of elegance were not lacking in these domestic arrangements (see Plates XLV and XLVI).

A reasonably good idea of the personal possessions of a typical clerk can be gained from a memorandum of "Sundries left in Trunk at Fort Vancouver" by Edward Ermatinger while he was away on a trip to York Factory during the late 1820s. Omitting the articles of clothing, the list was as follows:

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128. McDonald, Peace River (1872), p. 43.

129. Ibid. Evidently these baskets also contained, besides the food and seasonings, a teapot, a small tin kettle in which to boil tea water, a tin cup, two tin plates, two knives and forks, and two iron spoons. Thomas Gummersall Anderson, "Personal Narrative of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson," in Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, vol. 9 (1880-1882), p. 139.

1 parcel Music viz
1 Duett [sic] for two Flutes--Tauberplatz [?]
6 do -- -- Violin Viotte
1 do Overture to Lodviska [?]
1 Instruction for Violin--I. Loder
2 Old Books Scotch Reels
Sundry Sheets Psalms &c
My ain Kind Dearie
1 Small Bugle no mouth piece
Goughs Arithmetic & Key--2 vols
Tates do 1 do
Keith on the use of the Globes
French Exercis[es] "Perrin"
1 dressing case--less nail Brush
1 pr Boat Hooks
1 Violin Bow
1 Bridle dble reined[130]

Articles of clothing were also much in evidence. One fur trade clerk, though not in the Company's service, listed his "personal outfit" in 1800 as "a corderoy [sic] round-about, pants and vest, four striped cotton shirts, four pair of socks, and four 'two and a half point blankets' sewed up in canvas--with two pair of blankets to cover me."[131] A Company clerk of more than half a century later said that the "approved uniform" for clerks on a journey was "a greyish blue cloth 'Illinois' capote with silverplate buttons, and a broad scarlet worsted sash, the regulation headgear being a fine navy blue cloth cap with leather peak."[132] This mention of "uniform" and "regulation" clothing seems to have been merely an indication of the prevailing custom, because this writer has been unable to find that the Company's formerly prescribed "sky-blue" uniform was still required as late as the 1840s.

Perhaps an even better idea of the clothing that would have been found in a typical clerk's room can be gained from the list of articles that Clerk Francis Ermatinger ordered from London in 1828:

1 Second cloth Blue Military Frock Coat with a large cape, square collar & dust [?]
1 Black Coat
1 " Waiscoat [sic]

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130. Edward Ermatinger, "Old Memo. Book & Journal of E. Ermatinger, 1823-1830," MS, item 1, vol. 4 of Edward Ermatinger Papers, MS Group 19, ser. A2(2), in Public Archives of Canada, n.p.

131. Anderson, "Personal Narrative," p. 139.

132. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 116.

1 pr. Black Trousers
1 " Blue do
3 " Russia Drill do
2 Black Silk Hankfs / not your fine stocks
1 Blue cloth Cap with Gold Band & 2 extra Leather peaks for do
1 Second hand Silk Sash . . .
1 Stout Oakframe Looking Glass 4 or 6 inches square
1 pr Shoes[133]

A still more detailed list was provided by Francis Ermatinger's brother, Edward, in a "Memorandum of Articles belonging to me, 21st Sept 1826," evidently written at Fort Vancouver:

2 India Silk Handkfs nearly new
1 " Do half worn
2 China Do quite new
1 Imit. [?] Do half worn
1 p striped Jean Trousers
2 p Sheeting do
2 p B. Coating Drawers new
2 " Flanl. Do nearly new
3 " N [?] worsted half hose
1 " " cotton Do
1 Black Stock
5 la. white Muslin Cravats
3 small " " Do
1 Old la " " Do
4 Spotted " Do
4 Towels
4 plain Linen Shirts
2 ruffled " Do
1 Striped cott Do 1 year
2 " " Do old
6 Linen Collars
1 Jean Jacket
6 cold cott Handkfs
1 " " Do
1 drab Cass. Waistcoat

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133. Edward Ermatinger to John Clowes, York Factory, July 27, 1828, in Edward Ermatinger, Business Papers, 1818-1833, MSS, vol. 5 of Edward Ermatinger Papers, in Public Archives of Canada, pp. 6-9.

1 black " Do
2 Valencia Do
1 Buff Cass. Do
1 Black Coat
1 pr " Trousers
1 drab Ind. Stockings[134]

For exhibit purposes, various items of British naval uniforms of the period might be hung on the walls of one or two of the rooms to indicate occupation by visiting officers.

According to John Dunn, who was a postmaster in the Columbia District for many years, the native or part-native wives of clerks and officers generally dressed "after the English fashion," but they retained one feature from their Indian backgrounds--"the leggin or gaiter, which is made (now that the tanned deer-skin has been superseded) of the finest, and most gaily-coloured cloth, beautifully ornamented with beads." Evidently these leggins were worn mainly when riding, because in speaking of the wives of the ordinary servants, Dunn said that in dress they imitated the officers' wives but retained the moccasin "in place of adopting the low-quartered shoe."[135]

The American naval officer, Charles Wilkes, in 1841 confirmed Dunn's observations, noting that the ladies of the country were dressed "after our own bygone fashions, with the exception of leggins, made of red and blue cloth, richly ornamented." He noted that the officers' wives exercised great taste in making tobacco and fire pouches, shaped "like a lady's reticule," which were "as essential a part of dress in a voyageur's wardrobe as in a lady's." The pouches were usually made of red or blue cloth, "prettily worked" with beads and usually further ornamented with several long tails that were "worked with silk of gaudy colours."[136]

The inventories reproduced in Chapters XI and XII in volume I of this report contain much information on the articles of clothing, both men's and women's, available at Fort Vancouver.

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134. Edward Ermatinger, "Old Memo. Book," n.p.

135. Dunn, Oregon Territory, pp. 104-5.

136. Wilkes, Narrative, 4:370.

b. The "Bachelors' Hall" proper. Robert M. Ballantyne's general description of the Bachelors' Quarters at York Factory in 1843, already quoted, provides a reasonably good picture of the smoking room or "public sitting room" for officers and clerks known as "Bachelors' Hall." At another place in his narrative, however, he added the information that this room was illuminated "by means of a number of tallow candles, stuck in tin sconces round the walls."[137]

Another comparative description of the "common" room in the clerks' quarters at York Factory, this one dating from 1879, confirms Ballantyne's picture. "The furnishings were simple in the extreme," later wrote the employee-author, "a long table, a country-made settee, and half a dozen easy chairs, whose backs could be gauged to different angles, or let down altogether . . . [and] two large Caron stoves. . . . The only adornment on the walls was a large framed engraving of the Relief of Lucknow."[138]

Fortunately, there is a modest amount of specific information available concerning the furnishings of the Bachelors' Hall at Fort Vancouver. Thomas Jefferson Farnham recorded on November 15, 1839, that he enjoyed a comfortable seat "by the stove in 'Bachelor's Hall.'"[139] Evidently there was no fireplace in the smoking room.

John Dunn, who left the Columbia for England in 1838, later wrote:

> The smoking room or "Bachelor's Hall," presents the appearance of an armoury and a museum. All sorts of weapons, and dresses, and curiosities of civilized and savage life, and of the various implements for the prosecution of the trade, may be seen there.[140]

c. Library. It has been stated that there were two formal libraries at Fort Vancouver, one belonging to the Company and the other a subscription affair known as the "Columbia Library." It is not known that either one was housed in the Bachelors' Quarters building, but for planning purposes it is being assumed that they were both kept in a single, separate room in that structure.

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137. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, p. 196.

138. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, p. 28.

139. Farnham, Travels, p. 28.

140. Dunn, Oregon Territory, p. 103.

Probably most of the books were kept on open wooden shelves ranged around the walls. A typical example of such shelving in the library at a Company post is shown in Plate XLVII.

There is also a chance, however, that the Company-owned books were kept in a separate, and perhaps locked, bookcase. In 1879 former clerk George B. Roberts stated: "There is a relic at Victoria of Astoria--a large Book Case."[141] The furnishings from the former Astoria were moved to Fort Vancouver in 1825, from whence they were transferred to Victoria when the Company abandoned its old Columbia depot in 1860. It is quite possible that this bookcase held the books also sent from Fort George to Vancouver and that it continued to be used for that purpose as long as the latter post remained active. Perhaps this historic piece of furniture can still be located in British Columbia!

The contents of the Company-owned library are known quite precisely. As listed in the depot inventory made during the spring of 1844, the books were as follows:

--Library--

1 vol Mears Voyage
1 Philosophical Dictionary
1 Baileys do
1 Boyers do
1 Hunters Logarithms
1 Martings Narrative 2 Vol.
1 Universal Geography
1 pocket Gunner
1 Thomas on Physic
1 McKenzies Voyage
1 Medical Dictionary
1 Huxtram on fevers
1 Sharps Surgery
1 Materia Medica
1 Thomas practice on Physic
1 Dispensatory
1 Law of Customs
1 shipmasters Assistant
1 Richardsons Amn. Zoology
1 Beechey's Voyages 1 Vol.
1 Popes comm[ercial] Guide
2 Vols. Cattle Doctors

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141. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," p. 224.

1 Loudon's Encyclopa. Agriculture
1 pair Globes
1 Burns Justice 5 vol.
1 Robinsons Magistrate[142]

It also appears that the Company annually imported bound volumes of several newspapers for circulation in the Columbia District. Included in the requisition for Outfit 1843 (to be shipped in 1841) was an order for complete files of the following newspapers for one year up to the ship's departure date: Old Times, Sunday Times, and Morning Chronicle.[143]

No lists of the books in the subscription-supported Columbia Library have yet come to light; but it probably would not be too difficult to produce the names of two or three hundred volumes that might well have been in such a collection during the period 1845-46. The libraries at York Factory and at Fort Simpson, or what remained of them in recent years, have been preserved in Hudson's Bay House in Winnipeg. A study of the titles would reveal what books available between about 1830 and 1845 had been considered suitable and desirable by a wide range of officers and clerks.[144] Also, the journals and correspondence of several Company employees contain numerous references to books and periodicals read during this period.[145]

From such sources one gathers that bound volumes of periodicals such as the Edinburgh Evening Post, Chambers's Journal, The Penny Magazine, and The Day, as well as the Quarterly Review and the Universal Magazine (for 1786!), might have been found in the Columbia Library. Among the books might have been titles such as Lockhart's

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142. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, fol. 75d. This list is reproduced as written, with no attempt to correct spelling or punctuation or to identify titles or editions, except as indicated in brackets. The inventory for 1848 lists even fewer titles but provides additional information on one item: "1 pr Globes, celestial & terrestral." H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fol. 82.

143. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, p. 110.

144. See "Books of the North: Old Books," The Beaver Outfit 288 (Winter, 1957): 60-61; C. E. L'Ami, "Priceless Books from Old Fur Trade Libraries," The Beaver Outfit 266 (December, 1935): 26-29, 66; "The Old Library of Fort Simpson," The Beaver 5, no. 1 (December, 1924): 20-21.

145. For examples, see McLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. xxxii, xxxiii, lxiii; Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, pp. 248, 251, 276.

Life of Scott, Rose's translation of Orlanda Furiosa, Percy's Relics of Ancient English Poetry, Washington Irving's Astoria, translations of The Odyssey, The Subaltern, Bracebridge Hall, Life of Garrick, translations of Euripides, Herodotus, and Livy, Alison's History of Europe during the French Revolutionary War (20 vols.), sets of Shakespeare, Voltaire, and Corneille, Philosophy of Living, The Way to Enjoy Life and Its Comforts, Death-Bed Triumphs of Eminent Christians, History of Miranda's Attempt to Effect a Revolution in South America, Timothy Dwight's Theology Explained and Defended, and many more.[146]

Recommendations

a. It is suggested that when archeological excavations are conducted on the site of the Bachelors' Quarters, particular attention be given to seeking evidence of fireplace or chimney locations. Archeology might also be able to throw light upon certain questions, such as whether the sills at the north end of the building rested on the ground or were raised, and whether the infill material between the ground and the sills was composed of solid timbers or merely boards.

b. It is recommended that the Bachelors' Quarters be reconstructed in accordance with the construction data supplied in the body of this chapter. The 1860 photograph, preferably an enlarged print directly from the original glass negative in the Royal Engineers Library, should be followed religiously in all details except the roof shingles, the windows, and possibly the chimneys. Special attention is called to the following suggestions:

(1) The walls should be constructed of sawed timbers, except possibly for the long sills and plates that may have been hewn. Caulking at joints should be kept to a minimum, with the edges of the infill timbers not beveled.

(2) The south wall should be covered with horizontal, lapped weatherboards similar to those used on the Big House. On the remaining sides of the building the wall timbers were left exposed.

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146. The names of authors and titles are given as they appear in correspondence, articles, etc. No attempt has been made to correct spelling or to check for exact titles or dates of publication.

(3) The roof should be covered with hand-split shakes, with about six inches exposed to the weather.

(4) The number and locations of the chimneys will depend upon the results of archeological excavations. If any supporting evidence is found, five chimneys ranged along the east wall are recommended. Evidently there were no fireplaces in the Bachelors' Quarters, but archeological excavations may provide evidence to the contrary. The chimneys should be made of reproductions of British bricks.

(5) It is suggested that the 1860 photograph be followed with regard to the number and positions of the west-wall doors. Five or six doors might be placed in the east wall. The doors should have six panels and ten-pane transoms above.

(6) It is recommended that French or casement windows be installed instead of the double-hung ones shown in the 1860 photograph.

c. The exterior of the Bachelors' Quarters should be unpainted, except for white trim around the doors and windows, white window sash (including that of the transoms), and Spanish brown doors and shutters (if shutters are used on the three southernmost windows on the west wall). The roof gutters and downspouts appear to have been white, though this is not certain. The interior should not be painted.

d. The interior walls should be lined with vertical fir boards, planed, random width, tongued and grooved, with beaded edges. Interior partitions probably were constructed of single thicknesses of similar boards. The same type of boards also formed the ceilings. Floors probably were of unplaned, heavy, tongued and grooved planks.

e. The interior room arrangement will depend largely upon the locations of the chimneys as determined by archeological excavations. When laying out the plan, it should be remembered that the usual living quarters for clerks and subordinate officers consisted of a series of small cubicles opening off a central sitting room. Stoves were sometimes at considerable distances from the chimneys, with which they were connected by long stovepipes that might extend through more than one room. In at least one case (Lower Fort Garry) a stove was placed in a wall opening between two bedrooms. In addition to fourteen bedrooms and bedroom/sitting rooms, the structure should contain a large room for the Bachelors' Hall, a smaller "strangers' room," and a rather small library room. There should be no closets.

f. It is suggested that at least the northern end of the Bachelors' Quarters building, including the Bachelors' Hall, "strangers' room," library, and several bedrooms and bedroom/sitting rooms, be refurnished and employed as a house museum.

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]

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1. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1824-1826, H.B.C.A., B.239/1/1b, MS, pp. 38, 77; Clinton A. Snowden, A History of Washington; the Rise and Progress of an American State, 4 vols. (New York, 1904), 1:477.

2. In 1866 W. H. Gray, who was well acquainted with Fort Vancouver from the time of his first visit in 1836, testified that a new Blacksmith Shop had been erected in the eastern section of the fort after the enclosure was doubled in size about 1836. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]184.

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-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 Iron 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]

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3. "Proceedings of a board of officers, Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860," A.G.O., Ore. Dept., Doc. File 212-S-1860, in National Archives.

4. Warre, "Travel and Sport in North America, 1839-1846," p. 104.

5. The map of Fort Vancouver and vicinity drawn by Richard Covington in 1846 (Plate XIII, vol. I) shows a structure labeled "Smith's h[ouse]" close to the bank of the Columbia River near the boat sheds. Perhaps this was the dwelling of Malcolm Smith, a dairyman, and not of a blacksmith.

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.

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6. H. H. Spalding to David Green[e], Fort Vancouver, September 20, 1836, in American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Papers, Cherokee Mission, MS, vol. 9, item 203, in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

7. H.B.S., 4:260.

8. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1838-1839, H.B.C.A., B.239/1/9, MS, pp. 44, 49.

9. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," p. 197.

10. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1845-1846, H.B.C.A., B.239/1/16, MS, pp. 57, 58, 61.

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.

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11. Wilkes, Narrative, 4:336.

12. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 34-35 and figs. 6 and 8. These drawings are reproduced as Plates LVI and LVII in this report.

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," explaining, "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]

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13. Archer Butler Hulbert and Dorothy Printup Hulbert, eds., Marcus Whitman, Crusader, Part One, 1802-1839, Overland to the Pacific, vol. 6 ([Denver,] 1936), pp. 248-51.

14. George Wilkes, The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political . . . to Which is Added a Journal of the Celebrated Emigrating Party of 1843 (New York, 1845), p. 98.

15. See pp. 230-31, 290-92, in vol. I of this report; also Caywood, Final Report, pp. 34-45.

16. H.B.C., Fort Vancouver, Account Book, 1838-1852 [Requisitions], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, fol. 116.

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

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17. H.B.S., 6:22-23.

18. Ibid., p. 22 fn.

19. Ibid., pp. 302-3; ibid., 29:132-33.

20. Ibid., 6:94-95.

21. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/23, MS, p. 30.

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 blacksmiths 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) Déchéstés (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]

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22. Dugald Mactavish to W. F. Tolmie, Vancouver, July 27, 1857, MS, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, 1850-1858, Letters Signed by Dugald Mactavish, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

23. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1845-1846, H.B.C.A., B.239/1/16, MS, pp. 57, 58, 61.

24. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/162, MS, p. 7.

25. Ibid.

26. Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, pp. 58, 86; An H.B.C. axe, marked "JB," is in the collections of the Oregon Historical Society, and a pair of blacksmith's tongs bearing the same initials was recently excavated at Fort Vancouver. Could these have been made by Joseph Beauchamp? Lester A. Ross, telephone conversation with J. A. Hussey, April 18, 1974; Caywood, Final Report, p. 34.

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 Hélène, "aged about 24 years, having lived with George Folster." On March 20, 1847, Alexandre Dundass Folster, "natural son of George Folster and of Waskópam 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.

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. All three versions of the remarkably accurate Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 agree in depicting the long (north-south) dimension of the Blacksmith's Shop as measuring about fifty feet. On the two original versions the width (east-west dimension)

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27. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/4, MS, pp. 13, 66; B.239/1/5, MS, p. 37.

28. Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, pp. 266, 279.

29. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/6, MS, p. 45; B.239/1/9, MS, p. 44; B.239/1/13, MS, p. 59; B.239/1/16, MS, p. 59.

30. Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, pp. 45, 80, 107.

31. H.B.C.A., B.223/g/10, MS, p. 14.

scales out at approximately twenty-six to twenty-seven feet, each differing slightly from the other; but the copy published in the Oregon Historical Quarterly in 1909 gives the width as thirty feet (see Plates VI-VIII, vol. I). According to the 1846-47 inventory, the "Forge" measured forty-five by thirty feet.[32]

Unfortunately, it appears that archeological surveys may not have yet resulted in a complete resolution of the problem caused by the discrepancies in the historical evidence. After preliminary testing in 1947, Mr. Louis R. Caywood excavated the apparent perimeter of the Blacksmith's Shop site in 1952. Published descriptions of his results are not as detailed as could be wished, but evidently he found a short piece of plank at each of the northwest and northeast corners. These perhaps were fragments of "soles," or they may have been footings. At any rate, it is not completely certain that they actually marked the northern corners of the building. Two long intersecting "planks" at what was evidently the southwest corner of the smithy were interpreted as being "soles" and apparently defined the positions of the west and south walls of the structure. If Mr. Caywood was correct in interpreting his findings as marking the smithy outlines, the building measured approximately forty-five by twenty-seven feet.[33]

During the fall of 1973 a more detailed excavation of the site of Building No. 22 was begun under the supervision of Mr. J. J. Hoffman, but the work had not been completed by the time this chapter was written. As of April 11, 1974, the data available was not sufficient to enable a determination of the exact smithy dimensions.[34]

In preparing the plans for the reconstructed Blacksmith's Shop, therefore, architects will wish to give careful attention to the final reports on the archeological excavations at this site. Meanwhile, the dimensions of forty-five by twenty-seven feet may be considered as reasonably correct and the best estimate currently available.

The 1973-74 archeological explorations have already been of much value in another respect, however. They have uncovered subsurface wooden footings spaced "at regular intervals" as at most other building sites in the fort. Framing sills at "ground level, or slightly below," rested on these footings.[35]

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32. H.B.C., Fort Vancouver, Miscellaneous Items, 1845-1866, H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265.

33. Caywood, Final Report, p. 18, and Map of Archeological Excavations, sheet 6.

34. J. J. Hoffman to J. A. Hussey, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, April 11, 1974.

35. Ibid.

These findings prove at least two points: first, that Mr. Caywood's excavations, which after all were only intended to locate the fort buildings, were not deep enough to reveal the true foundation structure and that his plank "soles" were not the actual foundations; and, second, that the Blacksmith's Shop was constructed in the Canadian or post-on-sill style of most of the buildings at Fort Vancouver.

b. General construction. No clear pictures and no plans of the Blacksmith's Shop are known to exist, although several sketches and paintings of the 1840s provide glimpses of the roof (see Plates IV, XIV, XV, XVI, and LIII, vol. I). Frustratingly, the views that might be expected to be most useful, those by Henry J. Warre (Plates IX and X, vol. I, and XLII, this vol.), are of no value whatever in the present case, because the representation of the structures in the southeast corner of the fort appears to be incomprehensible when compared with the facts as presented by Vavasour's accurate ground plan of approximately the same date.

However, there are enough data available to provide a reasonably complete general description of the building. As shown by the sketches, particularly that by Paul Kane (Plate XIV, vol. I), the shop was an unusually low structure for Fort Vancouver, with the eave line well below the tops of the pickets and, in fact, with the ridge of the roof not much higher than the palisade. The roof was gabled, with the ridge running north and south. This evidence agrees with the testimony of one well-qualified witness who swore that the "blacksmith's forge" was only one story high.[36]

The archeological evidence already cited proves that the walls were of the usual post-on-sill construction. The Emmons journal (Plate III, vol. I) indicates that there were four "furnaces," or forges, but rather strangely no chimney can be positively identified in any known view. Furthermore, the findings of the archeologists, to be cited in detail later in this section, reveal that the Blacksmith's Shop had a dirt floor.

All in all, the general construction of the "forge" at Fort Vancouver appears not to have been very different from that of the smithy at the subordinate post of Fort Colvile. A committee of appraisers reported in 1866 that Fort Colvile contained "a smith shop 20 by 15 feet, and eight feet high, walls grooved-posts set in the ground and filled between with flatted timber, no floor, bark roof, much decayed."[37]

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36. Testimony of H. A. Tuzo, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]176-77, 183.

37. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]275.

Walls. The footing pattern uncovered by archeologists during 1973-74 demonstrates conclusively that the walls were of the usual post-on-sill construction. Because they appear to be so low in available pictures and because of the comparative data from Fort Colvile, it is probable that the walls rose only about eight feet above the sills, or possibly slightly more due to the relatively large size of the building when compared with the smithy at Fort Colvile. The walls of the restored blacksmith's shop at Lower Fort Garry are planned to be only eight feet three inches high including sills and plates. That structure was only twenty-six by eighteen feet in size (see Plate LI).

Because the smithy was one of the earlier structures standing in 1845-46, having been erected between about 1836 and 1841, and because the Company ordinarily paid scant attention to fine finish in its workshops, it probably would not be amiss to employ hewn timbers in the reconstruction. As has been discussed elsewhere, witnesses were about equally divided as to whether the wall timbers at Fort Vancouver were sawed or hewn, and it is possible that both positions were correct in part.[38]

In such a structure, the ceiling or tie beams would have been morticed into the plate and not into the wall timbers. In other words, there would have been no garret of the usual type (i.e., with low walls that were upward extensions of the building walls above the ground-floor ceiling).

Undoubtedly the walls of the gable ends of the smithy above the plates were closed in with vertical board siding. Probably this siding was similar to that shown in Plate LI. It will be noted that in the Lower Fort Garry blacksmith shop there was no framing behind this siding other than the cross-tie beam and end rafters (see Plate L).

In the framing of this building during the reconstruction absolutely no diagonal bracing should be used--except possibly for horizontal tie beams morticed into the plates across the four corners--unless it can be completely concealed within the infill timbers.

Roof. As has been seen, the Blacksmith Shop had a gable roof with the ridge line running north and south. No drawing provides sufficient detail to permit a firm decision as to whether the roof was covered with vertical boards or with shingles. Because it was a workshop and because of its early date, the smithy could still very well have had a board roof during Outfit 1845. The construction

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38. For a discussion of this point, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, p. 161.

of such roofs is described on pages 114-15 in volume I of this report and under the heading "Roof" in Chapter II of this volume.

Doors. The Emmons ground plan of 1841 shows only one entrance to the Blacksmith's Shop, and that was in its west wall somewhat north of the center (see Plate III, vol. I). Archeologists excavating during 1973-74 have found evidence of what probably was this same door.[39] Their final report undoubtedly will provide information as to its exact location and width.

It seems reasonable to assume that there was at least one other door in the Blacksmith's Shop, particularly by the latter half of 1845 when it is known that the Iron Store was standing directly to the east of the smithy. Almost certainly there must have been a more direct route for bringing the heavy iron and steel stock into the smithy than a circuitous path around to a door on the west side.

There is no information whatever as to the size and appearance of the smithy door or doors. Hopefully the archeologists will at least be able to determine the width of the openings. If, as seems likely, one of the doors should prove to be double, the architectural drawings of the Lower Fort Garry blacksmith shop might prove useful for design purposes (see Plate XLIX).

If one of the doors was a double door, there is a strong possibility that it was approached from the exterior by a wide wooden ramp. Because the sill undoubtedly was low, the ramp would not have been absolutely required in order to permit horses and vehicles to enter the shop, but it would have served to protect the interior from the mud that plagued the fort's inhabitants during the winter. A plan for such a ramp at another H.B.C. post is shown in Plate LIII.

Windows. Nothing concerning the number, location, or type of windows is revealed by the historical record. One can only speculate that there may have been two windows each in the north and south walls and about four each in the east and west walls.

It seems impossible to state a stronger case for double-hung windows than for casement windows. Either type could have been employed. If it is decided to use the double-hung variety in the reconstruction, the framing and sash details for an H.B.C. window at Lower Fort Garry, shown in Plate XLIX, may be useful.

Chimney or chimneys. No chimney can be seen for sure in any available picture showing the smithy roof. On the 1846-47 pencil sketch by Paul Kane (Plate XIV, vol. I) a low mass depicted rising

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39. J. J. Hoffman to J. A. Hussey, April 11, 1974.

slightly above the ridge line from the west side of the smithy might represent a chimney, but there seems no way to be certain.

Yet it is virtually certain that there were one or more chimneys. The plans for the reconstructed H.B.C. smithy at Lower Fort Garry call for a massive chimney for a single forge (see Plate LII), whereas there were four forges in the shop at Vancouver. For another example of a massive chimney on a Company blacksmith shop, see Plate LIV. It is possible that a single chimney could have served several forges. At Fort Vancouver it is probable that the chimneys would have been of brick, though local stone could have been used for a structure erected as early as the late 1830s.

Exterior finish. The painting of Fort Vancouver by an unknown artist in 1847-48 shows the upper section of the north wall within the gable as dark brown in color. Undoubtedly that portion of the wall and the entire rest of the Blacksmith Shop were unpainted, except for the doors and windows. The doors and the door and window frames were probably Spanish brown, while the window sash was probably white. Almost surely there was no weatherboarding on the Blacksmith's Shop. Also, there probably was no visible chinking.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. The interior of the Blacksmith's Shop probably was entirely open, without interior partitions and without posts supporting the ceiling or tie beams. In other words, those beams were of a clear span.

The inventory of 1846-47 does not list the "Forge" as being lined or ceiled, and undoubtedly it was not. Company workshops of this type were seldom carefully finished on the inside. Almost surely the walls and open beams of the smithy looked very much like those of the boat shed shown in Plate LV. In fact, that picture might well serve as a guide in designing the reconstructed Blacksmith's Shop (except for the diagonal metal braces that undoubtedly were later additions made when several of the tie beams were removed). It will be noted that the boat shed was open to the roof above the tie beams and that stored materials were laid across the beams.

It may safely be assumed that the Blacksmith Shop was not painted on the inside.

Floor. Archeological evidence uncovered both in 1947-52 and in 1973-74 clearly indicates that the Blacksmith Shop floor was of hard-packed earth. Particularly in the forge areas, layers of cinders, coal dust, burned earth, and "smithing detritus," all well packed, indicated prepared working surfaces. Archeologists have determined that the blacksmiths customarily dug temporary soaking or annealing

pits in the shop floor. When no longer needed, the holes were filled, and the locations once more became part of the floor.[40]

Forges, anvil bases, etc. There is impressive historical evidence to the effect that there were four forges in the Blacksmith Shop known today as Building No. 22. Lieutenant Emmons, on his plan of 1841, definitely said that the shop he portrayed contained "4 furnaces" (Plate III, vol. I). Dr. H. A. Tuzo, who lived at Fort Vancouver during the 1850s, later testified that the "blacksmith's forge" contained, in addition to "other apparatus," two "ordinary" forges and two "very large" ones for ship work and similar tasks.[41]

Archeologists have not yet located the remains of more than one or possibly two forges. When their work is completed, evidence of four forges may have been found. If not, studies of nineteenth-century blacksmith's shops may reveal that one foundation could have served for at least two forges.

The inventories reproduced later in this chapter seem to support the presence of four forges, at least to the extent that they included four anvils, four fire shovels, four pairs of bellows, four rakes, and four sets of hammers. To date, archeologists have located only two anvil bases, but probably further excavation will reveal two more.

Anvil bases were simply the butts of substantial logs set deeply into the dirt floor. This fact is known both from actual remains uncovered in the Fort Vancouver smithy and from comparative data (see Plates XLVIII and L).

The design and construction of nineteenth-century forges is a subject too technical to be treated in this historical report. They should be the topic of a special study. For the purposes of preliminary planning, however, the information concerning the forge at Lower Fort Garry presented in Plate LII should be useful.

Furnishings

The Blacksmith's Shop is one structure at Fort Vancouver whose furnishings are known almost down to the last detail. The evidence--archeological, historical, and comparative--is virtually complete, or will be when the archeological excavations have been finished and described.

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40. Caywood, Final Report, p. 18; J. J. Hoffman to J. A. Hussey, April 11, 1974.

41. Testimony of H. A. Tuzo, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]183.

Workbenches. During 1973-74 National Park Service archeologists discovered a series of rectangular postholes parallel with the interior face of the west wall. These depressions apparently indicate the locations of "work benches, vise frames, post drills, and sundry items expected in a shop of the period."[42] With the holes to provide the dimensions and with comparative data to furnish the designs, there should be little difficulty in reconstructing these features. The plans for the workbench in the Lower Fort Garry smithy given in Plate XLVIII should be of assistance in this regard, and there are numerous technical works that have information on the equipping of nineteenth-century blacksmith's shops.

Coal box. Another item not mentioned in the historical record but known from comparative data is the coal box. Almost certainly there was one in the Fort Vancouver smithy. The plan of that at Lower Fort Garry given in Plate LIII will provide the general design, although the box at Fort Vancouver undoubtedly was larger.

Bases for bellows. Four pairs of bellows are listed in the inventories. The larger sizes, at least, undoubtedly had bases of some sort. Archeologists have discovered a "large wooden foundation" that may have been for such a purpose. A combination of the archeological evidence and technical data gained from handbooks should provide suitable designs.

Inventories. Archeological excavations in 1947-52 and 1973-74 have produced a vast amount of iron, steel, and other types of metal scrap at the site of the Blacksmith's Shop and in its vicinity. Most of these thousands of pieces were merely waste metal, ends and pieces cut off of stock during the manufacturing process and too small to reclaim. But many others represented products of the forges in various stages of production or broken objects. From them the archeologists have been able to determine not only a wide range of products made at Fort Vancouver but also a very good inventory of the tools and equipment used in the smithy itself.[43] When this information becomes available it should provide superb guidance for refurnishing the building.

Meanwhile, the inventories in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company are excellent records of the smithy furnishings. Under the subheading "Articles in Use," the Fort Vancouver depot inventory taken during the spring of 1844 contains the following list:

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42. J. J. Hoffman to J. A. Hussey, April 11, 1974.

43. Telephone conversation, Lester A. Ross with J. A. Hussey, April 18, 1974.

Blacksmiths Shop

4 large Anvils
1 " Do old
3 pair Bellows
1 " Do old
1 Iron Brace
1 Bow w[it]h 6 drills & breastplate
1 Water Bucket
1 Pres[s]ure Drill
1/2 doz assd. Files
1 Grindstone
4 bench Hammers
8 hand Do
3 sledge Do
15 Axe Mandrills
20 " ass Do Punches
20 nail Moulds
1 truss hoop Mandrill
1 wheel of measurement
1 small screw Plate
1 Pan
2 fire Pokers
4 Rakes
1 Slate
4 fire Shovels
1 Coal Do
40 pairs assd. Tongs
1 set Tools for shoeing Horses
3 bench Vices
2 hand do bad[44]

For some reason not apparent the list made during the inventory taken in the spring of 1845 was much shorter. Several of the items noted in 1844 were included, but a number, several of which would appear to have been of prime importance, were omitted. The 1845 list is as follows:

--Blacksmith's Shop--

4 sets Hammers
54 p Tongs
70 Punches
6 cold Chisels
6 Screw plates w 5 Tops
6 Stock and dyes w 3 do
20 Nail Borers

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44. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 160-61.

4 p Bellows
4 Anvils
3 bench Vices
3 sledge Hammers
2 hand do
4 fire Shovels[45]

By the spring of 1847 the smithy inventory had undergone a considerable change. For one thing, the fact that only three each of certain key items such as anvils, fire shovels, and pokers were listed may indicate that only three forges were operating at that time. At any rate, the inventory of 1847 was as follows:

Blacksmiths Shop

3 Anvils
3 prs Bellows
12 Nail Borers
15 Cold Chisels
2 Clinch Hammers
4 Setts Do
8 hand Do
3 sledge Do
13 Punches
3 fire Shovels
3 Pokers
2 Screw Plates complete
1 Stock & dyes complete
30 prs Tongs
3 Bench Vices
2 Stock Sheers [sic]
1 hand Saw
2 Rules Iron
1 Grindstone[46]

As usual, the inventory made in the spring of 1848 was the most detailed of all those thus far examined by the writer. It presents

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45. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, p. 141.

46. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1847, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/174, MS, fols. 98d-99.

an excellent view of the articles in use in the Blacksmith Shop during that year:

--Blacksmiths Shop--

4 Anvils
1 lge weighing Beam w wooden scales & weights
3 prs large Bellows
20 nail Borers
1 Brace and Bitts
2 prs Callipers
9 cold Chisels
3 blacksmiths rubber Files
6 assorted Files
2 clench Hammers
9 hand Do
3 sets Do
3 sledge Do
1 large Grindstone
1 " Mandrill pr truss hoops
24 small Do
2 setts brass ball Moulds
2 screw Plates complete
3 Pokers
30 Punches
1 iron Rule
3 fire Shovels
2 iron Do
1 hand Saw
1 Saw Blade
2 prs stock Shears
1 Stock and Dyes complete
30 prs Tongs
3 bench Vices
1 hand Do
1 plated Steel square[47]

Recommendations

a. It is proposed that architects and curators planning both the building structure and the furnishings of the reconstructed Blacksmith's Shop carefully study the reports of the 1973-74 archeological excavations at the site when they are completed. The only hope of answering

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47. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1848, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fols. 82-82d.

a number of questions about the structure, such as those concerning the locations and sizes of doors; locations of windows; and the number, sizes, and locations of the forges, anvils, workbenches, and bellows, lies in the findings of the archeologists.

b. It is suggested that the Blacksmith's Shop be reconstructed in accordance with the structural data provided in the body of this chapter. Special attention is called to the following recommendations:

(1) The walls, of the usual post-on-sill type, should be formed of hewn timbers and should be little more than eight feet high. The sills should be at ground level, and the tie beams, or ceiling beams, should be morticed into the plates. The roof rafters should rest on the plates. There should be no visible diagonal bracing.

(2) The ends of the gables above the plates should be closed with vertical board siding, preferably without battens. There should be no framing under these boards except the end cross-tie beams. Evidently there were no windows in the gables.

(3) The roof should be covered with vertical boards, grooved at the edges.

c. The exterior was not weatherboarded, and it should be unpainted, except for the doors and the door and window trim, which should be painted Spanish brown. The window sash should be white. The interior should not be painted.

d. The interior should be unlined; there should be no ceiling. There should be no interior posts or partitions.

e. Before the final design is made there should be a special technical study, based upon the archeological findings, upon the historical evidence, and upon nineteenth-century smithy design and practice, to determine the locations and design of such features as forges, chimneys, workbenches, anvil bases, and other shop equipment.

f. It is suggested that the Blacksmith's Shop be re-equipped, refurnished, and exhibited as a house museum.

APPENDIX 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

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

Outfit 1841

James Dickson. £30

George Folster. £40

Andrew 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

Andrew 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

Andrew Louttit. £30

Joseph Plouffe. £22. Listed as a "boute" in H.B.C.A., B.239/1/14, MS, p. 63.

Outfit 1844

George Aitken. £35

Joseph Beauchamp. £30

Kenneth Campbell. £30

George Folster. £25

Andrew 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.)

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 mentioned 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, Eugène 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]

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1. George Foster Emmons, "Journal Kept While Attached to the South Sea Surveying & Exploring Expedition on Board of the U.S. Sloop of War Peacock, W. L. Hudson Esqr. Commander," 3 vols., MS, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, 3: entry for July 25, 1841.

2. Pipes, "Extract from Exploration," p. 153; De Mofras also listed blacksmith shops, so his "iron mongery" was not a reference to the smithy.

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 storehouse 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-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 storehouse" 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.

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. On the three versions of the Vavasour ground plan of 1845 the Iron Store scales out to be thirty feet wide and between about thirty-eight and forty-two feet long, with forty feet

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3. Caywood, Final Report, p. 18.

4. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]118-19, 176-77; [9:]75-77.

probably being the intended length; the long dimension runs north and south (see Plates VI-VIII, vol. I). These measurements correspond with the forty by thirty feet given in the Company's inventory of 1846-47.[5] The later maps mentioned in the preceding paragraph cannot be relied upon for dimensions, but they all seem to show the structure as longer from north to south than from east to west.

In the words of Mr. Caywood, archeological excavations in 1952 were "not too successful" in determining the size of the Iron Store. A hard-packed floor area of native soil was found of "approximately" the dimensions given by Vavasour. Only the position of the southeast corner was definitely fixed. The most significant structural feature discovered was the "sole" of the south wall. It was formed of planks nine inches wide and two inches thick.[6]

The site of the Iron Store has not yet been excavated during the series of explorations begun by the National Park Service during the early 1970s. It is anticipated by the writer that when this location is opened to a greater depth it will be found, as in the case of the Blacksmith's Shop, that Mr. Caywood's "soles" are actually the remains of massive sills resting on sub-surface footings.

b. General construction. The view of Fort Vancouver drawn by Lt. Henry J. Warre in 1845-46 clearly shows the structure in the extreme southeast corner of the fort as having a hipped roof with the ridge running east and west (see Plates IX and X, vol. I, and Plate XLII, this vol.). As has been mentioned several times in this report, however, Warre's representation of the structures in that locality appears to have no correlation whatever with the very accurate positioning of those buildings on the Vavasour map of about the same date. One can only conclude that Warre was exercising artistic license when he made his sketch and must discard the thought that his drawing might have any validity as an accurate depiction of the Iron Store.

Beginning with the Paul Kane pencil sketch of 1846-47 (Plate XIV, vol. I) the representations of the structures in the extreme southeastern angle of the fort, when they can be made out, correspond very well

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5. Ibid., [2:]118-19.

6. Caywood, Final Report, p. 18, and Map of Archeological Excavations, sheet 6. Mr. Caywood did not excavate the entire Iron Store site.

with what might be expected from the ground plans of approximately the same dates. Both the Kane drawing and the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist (Plates XV and XVI, vol. I) show the Iron Store as a gable-roofed structure with the ridge line running north and south with the long axis of the building. These pictures, particularly the former, also show that the Iron Store was higher than its neighbor, the Blacksmith's Shop. Unfortunately, these views portray no more than the roof and the gable portion of the north wall.

Drawings of the 1850s by Gustavus Sohon and R. Covington do not distinctly delineate the Iron Store, but as nearly as can be determined they appear to support the information about the structure in the southeast corner of the fort provided by the Kane and 1847-48 views (see Plates XXI and XXII, vol. I).

From the scanty archeological and pictorial evidence thus far available a few conclusions, some firm and some tentative, can be drawn:

(1) The Iron Store measured about forty by thirty feet, with the long axis running north and south.

(2) Construction was probably in the usual post-on-sill style, with the sills about at ground level.

(3) In an 1845 building the timbers probably would have been sawed.

(4) The walls could have been as high as twelve feet, a height that would have permitted the inclusion of a garret.

(5) The ground floor was of packed earth.

(6) The roof was gabled; the ridge ran north and south. Having been erected about early 1845, the building probably was covered with shingles over horizontal boards.

(7) The main door was probably double and in the north wall. There probably was a door in the west wall providing easy access to the Blacksmith Shop. There probably was a ramp before each door.

(8) Windows undoubtedly were few and small.

(9) There were no chimneys.

(10) The Iron Store was unpainted inside and out, except that doors and windows, with their exterior trim, were probably painted to match the Blacksmith's Shop.

(11) Almost surely the building was unlined on the inside, and the ceiling beams were exposed.

(12) If it is decided to construct the Iron Store with a garret, the floor on this second level probably was formed of two-inch rough planks laid on top of the ground floor ceiling beams. In such case there would have been steep, open-tread stairs and one or more trapdoors.

(13) Racks for holding the iron and steel stock undoubtedly lined the walls of the Iron Store and may have extended down the center of the ground floor. Perhaps archeologists will uncover postholes that will indicate the locations and widths of these features.

(14) The possibility that there were living quarters in the Iron Store has been mentioned in the previous chapter. If such was the case, the quarters probably would have been in the garret. In view of the uncertainty concerning this matter, however, it would be best not to fit out the garret as living space.

Furnishings

Nothing is known about the interior arrangement or the equipment of the Iron Store, but a good deal of information is available from both documentary and archeological sources concerning the types of materials that were housed there.

The annual indents, or requisitions, from the Columbia District to the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters in London contain long lists of the various types and sizes of iron and steel stock needed to meet the needs of operations on the West Coast. The inventories of "Sundry Goods, property of the Honble. Hudson's Bay Company, remaining on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot," prepared each spring, throw supplementary light upon the materials housed in the Iron Store. These lists, it should be noted, do not specifically state that the enumerated items of iron and steel were to be found in the Iron Store. It will be remembered that there were two blacksmith shops attached to the fort, and it is probable that some of the inventoried stock was kept at the smithy near the sawmill. But the lists are highly useful in indicating the types and general quantities of iron and steel stock maintained in the Iron Store.

The "Requisition Columbia District, Outfit 1838" was typical of those for other years. In noting the quantities of iron and steel called for, it should be remembered that the requisition reflected the requirements not only of the Fort Vancouver blacksmith shops but also of the smithies throughout the entire district, including New Caledonia and the Northwest Coast. After being prepared at Fort

Vancouver in March 1835, this requisition was sent by "express" across the continent to York Factory on Hudson Bay, from whence it was forwarded by sailing vessel to England. The requested items were to be shipped from London during 1836 for use starting about the middle of 1838. The amounts and kinds of iron requested were as follows:

56	Cwt.	best scrap	Iron	flat	3 x 7/8
40	"	"	Do	"	3 x 5/8
40	"	"	Do	"	2-1/2 x 7/8
30	"	"	Do	"	2-1/2 x 1/2
4	"	"	Do	"	2-1/4 x 1/2
30	"	"	Do	"	1-1/4 x 3/8
24	"	"	Do	"	1 x 3/8
28	"	"	Do	"	1 x 1/4
12	"	"	Do	"	7/8 x 1/4
12	"	"	Do	"	3/4 x 3/8

14	cwt.	No. 3	Charcoal	Scrap Iron	1 x 1/8
10	"	" 2	"	" Do	5/8 x 1/8

4	Cwt.	Square	Iron	4 ins.
3	"	"	Do	3 "
16	"	"	Do	2-1/2 "
20	"	"	Do	2 "
20	"	"	Do	1-1/2 "
6	"	"	Do	1-1/4 "
6	"	"	Do	1 "
4	"	"	Do	7/8 "
20	"	"	Do	3/4 "
20	"	"	Do	5/8 "
40	"	"	Do	1/2 "
14	"	"	Do	3/8 "
4	"	"	Do	1/4 "

16	Cwt.	Bolt round	Iron	1-1/2	ins.
4	"	"	Do	1-1/4	"
16	"	"	Do	1-1/8	"
26	"	"	Do	1	"
22	"	"	Do	7/8	"
24	"	"	Do	3/4	"
20	"	"	Do	5/8	"
20	"	"	Do	1/2	"
20	"	"	Do	3/8	"
20	"	"	Do	1/4	"
18	"	Hoop	Iron No. 10	1-1/2	"
10	"	"	Do " 11	1-1/2	"
2	"	"	Do " "	3/4	"

The indent called for the following items of steel:

4 Cwt. Crowley steel 1-5/8 x 1/2
4 " " Do 1-1/2 x 3/8[7]

A somewhat different picture is given by the annual inventories of goods remaining on hand at the Fort Vancouver depot toward the end of the active trading season of each Outfit. The inventory made in the spring of 1844 may be considered typical. The items that might have been found in the iron store were as follows:

47-16/112	Cwt.	flat	bar	Iron	3 x 7/8
1-8/112	"	"	"	Do	3 x 5/8
45-17/112	"	"	"	Do	2-1/2 x 7/8
16	"	"	"	Do	2-1/2 x 1/2
9-72/112	"	"	"	Do	2-1/2 x 3/8
25-80/112	"	"	"	Do	1-3/4 x 3/8
21-56/112	"	"	"	Do	1-3/8 x 3/8
13	"	"	"	Do	1 x 1/4
77-6/112	"	"	"	Do	7/8 x 1/4
29	"	"	"	Do	1/2 x 1/4
3-102/112	"	"	"	Do	1 x 3/8

8-24/112	Cwt.	Charcoal scrape [sic]	Iron	1 x 1/8
3	"	"	Do	3/4 x 1/8

101/112	Cwt.	best hoop	Iron	1-3/10 x 1/2	
58-14/112	"	"	"	Do	1-1/4 x 1/8
5	"	"	"	Do	3/5 x 1/20
3-24/112	"	"	"	Do	1-1/8 x 1/4
58-4/112	"	"	"	Do	1 x 1/16
29	"	"	"	Do	3/4 x 1/10
5-40/112	"	round	bolt	Iron	1-1/2 in.
3-84/112	"	"	"	Do	1-1/4 "
12	"	"	"	Do	1-1/8 "
21-7/112	"	"	"	Do	1 "
33	"	"	"	Do	7/8 "
45-16/112	"	"	"	Do	3/4 "
29	"	"	"	Do	5/8 "
34-32/112	"	"	"	Do	1/2 "
24-72/112	"	"	"	Do	3/8 "
24-67/112	"	"	"	Do	1/4 "

4-72/112 Cwt. single & double sheet Iron

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7. H.B.C., York Factory Indent Books, 1823-1838, H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fols. 158d-159, 161.

16	Cwt.	square	Iron	4-1/2	in.
32	"	"	Do	2-1/2	"
30	"	"	Do	2	"
16	"	"	Do	1-3/8	"
18-84/112	"	"	Do	1-1/4	"
8-64/112	"	"	Do	1	"
13-44/112	"	"	Do	7/8	"
39-72/112	"	"	Do	3/4	"
22-96/112	"	"	Do	5/8	"
58-110/112	"	"	Do	1/2	"
19-32/112	"	"	Do	3/8	"
2-16/112	"	"	Do	1/4	"

The stock of steel was as follows:

2-42/112	Cwt.	Cast	Steel		
8-64/112	Cwt.	best	German	Steel	3-1/2 x 1/4
5-40/112	"	"	"	Do	2-1/4 x 1/2
27/112	"	"	"	Do	2 x 1/2
4-32/112	"	"	"	Do	1-5/8 x 1/2
10-80/112	"	"	"	Do	1-1/2 x 3/8
30/112	"	"	"	Do	1-1/2 x 1/2
21-48/112	"	"	"	Do	1-1/8 x 3/16
19-32/112	"	"	"	Do	1-3/8 x 1/4
21-48/112	"	"	"	Do	1-1/8 x 3/8[8]

The archival evidence is supplemented by the results of archeological excavations. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the items recovered on the site are supplemented by the inventories and requisitions, because the pieces of scrap actually found seem to represent a greater range of sizes and shapes than is found on any one Company list, at least any one examined during this study.

In the words of Mr. Caywood, "the amount of iron which was unearthed during the excavations from 1947 to 1952 is almost inconceivable," and additional large amounts remain undiscovered or have been hauled away as scrap or with the earth during various ground-leveling operations. Much of the recovered iron was found in Well No. 1 and in the Root

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8. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 104-5, 114. In all of the lists given above, weight totals and monetary values have been omitted as not pertinent to the problem at hand.

House cellar where it must have been dumped about the time the post was abandoned by the Company. "But," wrote Mr. Caywood, "several thousand pieces were found in the southeast section of the fort," scattered near and on the sites of the Blacksmith's Shop and the Iron Store.[9]

Among the recovered items of scrap were many end pieces of standard-sized strap, bar, and rod iron that obviously had been cut off as waste. An analysis of these revealed that there were at least forty-nine different sizes of strap iron and seven sizes of bar iron. "There were also," said Mr. Caywood, "7 thicknesses of sheet iron or plate iron ranging from 1/32 inch to 1/2 inch in thickness. Rods were found to have come in ten different diameters ranging from 1/4 inch to 1-1/2 inches."[10]

The sizes of strap iron recovered were as follows:

3 x 1	inches
3 x 5/8	"
3 x 1/2	"
2-1/2 x 7/8	"
2-1/2 x 3/4	"
2-1/2 x 1/2	"
2-1/2 x 3/8	"
2-1/2 x 1/8	"
2-1/2 x 3/32	"
2 x 3/8	"
1-3/4 x 1/2	"
1-3/4 x 3/8	"
1-3/4 x 1/4	"
1-5/8 x 1/2	"
1-5/8 x 1/16	"
1-1/2 x 1/2	"
1-1/2 x 3/8	"
1-1/2 x 1/4	"
1-1/2 x 3/32	"
1-1/2 x 1/16	"
1-3/8 x 3/8	"
1-3/8 x 1/4	"
1-3/8 x 3/16	"
1-3/8 x 1/16	"
1-1/4 x 3/8	"

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9. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 32-33.

10. Ibid., p. 33. See also Caywood, Exploratory Excavations, p. 15.

1-1/4 x 1/4	"
1-1/4 x 1/8	"
1-1/4 x 1/16	"
1-1/8 x 3/8	"
1-1/8 x 1/4	"
1-1/8 x 1/8	"
1-1/8 x 1/16	"
1 x 3/8	"
1 x 1/4	"
1 x 1/8	"
1 x 3/32	"
1 x 1/16	"
7/8 x 3/8	"
7/8 x 1/4	"
7/8 x 1/8	"
3/4 x 3/8	"
5/8 x 1/16	"
1/2 x 3/8	"
1/2 x 1/4	"
1/2 x 1/16	"
3/8 x 1/16	"
1/4 x 1/8	"
1/4 x 1/16	"

The seven sizes of bar iron were:

1 x 1	inch
7/8 x 7/8	"
3/4 x 3/4	"
5/8 x 5/8	"
1/2 x 1/2	"
3/8 x 3/8	"
1/4 x 1/4	"11

Recommendations

a. Only part of the Iron Store site was excavated in 1952. The entire area occupied by this building should be carefully excavated to uncover additional evidence concerning structural details.

b. When completed, the reports of the excavations at this site should be analyzed by architects and designers before reconstruction of the Iron Store is planned.

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11. Caywood, Final Report, fig. 7.

c. Except as they might be modified by the results of the archeological excavations, the structural data provided in the body of this chapter should be used as guidelines in designing the reconstructed Iron Store.

d. It is suggested that the ground floor of the Iron Store be fitted out with racks and "furnished" with iron and steel stock as an exhibit. If a garret is provided, it should not be open to the public.

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

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1. For examples of uses of these names, see Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 11; Emmons, "Journal," 3: entry for July 25, 1841 (Plate III, vol. I); and Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 16, 17.

2. Holmes, "Journal," 2:305.

3. Caywood, Final Report, p. 13.

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]

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4. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 21.

5. Ibid., p. 31.

6. Ibid., pp. 30, 31, 42. Certain other sources give the date of the Modeste's arrival as November 30, 1845. Perhaps the discrepancy is due to the difference between land and sea time. See, for example, Barry M. Gough, The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1971), p. 74.

7. For the date, see H.B.S., 7: map opp. p. 48.

8. Gough, Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast, p. 82. Unfortunately, Lowe was absent from the depot for a number of weeks prior to Baillie's departure, and thus there is no available day-by-day record of events at the post during what was a critical period as far as the fort's physical structure is concerned.

Office operations. From information in earlier chapters of this report concerning the conduct of business in the Sale Shop, the warehouses, 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

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9. "Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department," pp. 849-50.

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 outside 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]

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10. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 348. There are several documents classified as Fort Vancouver "journals" in the Company's archives, but they are largely journals of expeditions; not one is a "journal of occurrences."

11. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," p. 185.

12. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 348.

13. "Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department," pp. 849-50.

14. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 348.

15. Ibid., p. ii.

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

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16. Ibid., pp. i-ii.

17. H.B.S., 4:157 fn., 177-78.

18. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 339.

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, for 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]

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19. "Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department," p. 850.

20. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 280.

21. Fort Nisqually, Annual Accounts, MSS, vols. I and II, passim, in Fort Nisqually Collection, Huntington Library. At Fort Colvile, which was directly on the express route and where an accountant from Fort Vancouver generally made the final closing of the Columbia accounts, the outfit seems to have ended in April, at least during certain years. David H. Chance, Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colvile District, Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, Memoir no. 2 (Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho, 1973), p. 52.

22. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 9-10, 49-50.

23. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, pp. 280-81.

Further, the inventories from all the subordinate posts had to be checked and then copied to make up the district inventory. Copies were made for 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 for the previous outfit. To the amounts in that list were added all goods and provisions 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 for 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:

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24. Ibid., pp. 104-5.

25. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 337; H.B.S., 3:388.

"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 for 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 for 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]

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26. Ermatinger, "Old Memo. Book," n.p. Presumably the order, or requisition, that Ermatinger copied for England was that for Outfit 1831, prepared from the "Scheme '31" mentioned by him. However, this writer has not examined the original requisition for 1831 to see when it was signed. It is known that the requisition for Outfit 1833 was prepared during March 1830, about three and a half years in advance, but the writer is not sure that goods were ordered that far ahead in 1828. Such could have been the case, because even by then McLoughlin was planning to have always on hand a year's stock in advance. H.B.S., 4:56.

27. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 337.

28. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 225.

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 for all shipments of goods and supplies dispatched from the depot to the subordinate posts for the annual outfits or for 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

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29. Fort Nisqually, Annual Accounts, 1834-1836, MSS, 2 vols., in Fort Nisqually Collection, Huntington Library; James Douglas to John Kennedy, "Fort Tako," July 22, 1840, typescript, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, July 13, 1840-May 24, 1841, Letters Signed by James Douglas, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

30. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, p. 37.

31. For an example, see H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845-1846, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, pp. 6-54.

32. For examples see H.B.C.A., B.223/z/4, MS, n.p.

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 or 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, or, 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]

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33. For an example, see H.B.C.A., B.223/d/154, MS, fols. 2d-6.

34. For an example, see H.B.C.A., B.223/d/212, MS, fol. 94.

35. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, pp. 226-27.

36. Ibid., p. 104; Evidently interest was only paid on balances exceeding £10. H.B.S., 3:387.

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 headquarters 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 for 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 was a fair amount of trade between posts and between districts. At times, for instance, pack cords were imported into New Caledonia from across

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37. James Douglas to John Kennedy, "Fort Tako," July 22, 1840, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, July 13, 1840-May 24, 1841, Letters Signed by James Douglas, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

38. Actually, the final closing of the Columbia District accounts was done at Fort Colvile, where a clerk from Fort Vancouver spent several days incorporating data from New Caledonia, the Snake Country, and other outposts that could not reach Fort Vancouver prior to the departure of the express. George T. Allan, "Journal of a Voyage from Fort Vancouver . . . to York Factory, March 22-July 14, 1841," typescript, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, p. 2; Wallace John McLean's Notes, pp. 190-91.

39. Ermatinger, "Old Memo. Book," n.p.

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 provisions to the Company's shipping and a number of other business dealings. Charges were made for items such as milling flour for other establishments and for 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 understand 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]

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40. James Douglas to John Kennedy, "Fort Tako," July 22, 1840, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, July 13, 1840-May 24, 1841, Letters Signed by James Douglas, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

41. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 225.

42. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 9.

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 for arranging the general accounts 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 [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

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43. H.B.S., 3:387-88.

44. James Douglas to John Kennedy, "Fort Tako," July 22, 1840, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, July 13, 1840-May 24, 1841, Letters Signed by James Douglas, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

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.

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45. James A. Grahame to George Simpson, Vancouver, July 20, 1859, in H.B.C.A., A.11/71, MS, fols. 979-981. By 1859 the old Columbia District had long been discontinued, and the posts south of the 49th parallel constituted the new Oregon Department.

46. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," p. 197.

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 £40 per annum and were raised with increased responsibilities to a maximum of £150. After a service of about thirteen or fourteen years a clerk could begin to anticipate promotion 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.

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47. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 344; Cowie, Company of Adventurers, pp. 75-76.

48. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, pp. 227-28.

49. Fort Nisqually Settlers' Accounts, Feb. 1842-Jan. 1843, MSS, in Fort Nisqually Collection, Huntington Library, pp. 18, 20, 21, 25. There is some indication that these exercises were written in 1847 by Charles Ross. If so, the writer may not have been a clerk but a son of Chief Trader Charles Ross who died in Victoria in 1844.

50. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 344.

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

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51. H.B.S., 6:163 and 163 fn.

52. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, p. 136.

53. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, p. 164.

54. Burt Brown Barker, The McLoughlin Empire and Its Rulers, Doctor John McLoughlin, Doctor David McLoughlin, Marie Louise (Sister St. Henry): An Account of Their Personal Lives, and of Their Parents, Relatives and Children; in Canada's Quebec Province, in Paris, France, and in the West of the Hudson's Bay Company (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959), p. 245.

55. McLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p. 123; Duflot de Mofras, who visited Fort Vancouver in 1841, said that the clerks assembled at their desks at 7:00 A.M. and worked until 9:00 P.M., "save for the time necessary for meals." Pipes, "Extract from Exploration," p. 155.

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 for 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 infrequent, 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

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56. Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, p. 177.

57. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 16.

58. Ibid., p. 69.

59. Ibid., p. 16.

60. Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, p. 173.

61. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 17.

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]

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62. Ibid., pp. 22-24.

63. Ibid., p. 42.

64. Robert Clouston to Donald Ross, York Factory, September 28, 1849, in Robert Clouston, Correspondence to 1849, MSS, in Ross Papers, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

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]

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. The Old Office scales out on the three versions of the Vavasour map of late 1845 as measuring thirty

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65. Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, B.C., Parish Register, Marriages, 1837-1872, p. 6.

66. Except where otherwise indicated, this sketch of Lowe's life is based on J. R. Anderson, "Notes and Comments," p. 103; H.B.S., 6:393; H.B.S., 29:187-88; John T. Walbran, British Columbia Coast Names, 1592-1906, . . . Their Origin and History (reprint ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), pp. 306-7.

feet square. The 1846-47 inventory also gives the dimensions as thirty by thirty feet.[67]

These measurements cannot yet be confirmed by archeological findings, because during 1947-52 no traces were found of the footings of this structure despite "considerable testing" in its immediate vicinity.[68] The site has not yet been explored during the series of excavations being conducted during the early 1970s. Because of the rather remarkable unanimity of the historical sources, however, it is not likely that the footings, if eventually found, will reveal a structure which was other than about thirty feet square.

Although no footings have yet been found, it is possible to anticipate with some certainty that if they should be uncovered, there will be four on each wall, counting those at the ends in each case. Such a prediction is possible because the general design of the Old Office, as the structure is pictured in the Coode watercolor of 1846-47, clearly shows it to have been built in the Canadian style (Plates XI and XII, vol. I). Thus there almost surely was a footing at each ten-foot interval around the perimeter of the structure.

b. General construction. There are no known verbal descriptions of the Old Office, but fortunately it has a prominent place in the Coode watercolor. With the east and south sides of the building clearly pictured, it is possible to reach certain conclusions concerning its overall design.

First, the height of the eaves above the tops of the windows reveals the basic post-on-sill construction. Probably, however, this height was not actually as great as it appears to be in the Coode drawing. In that picture the walls of the Priests' House (second building from the right) are shown as rising the full height of a framed window above the tops of the windows. In actuality, however, the walls rose only about half a window height above the windows, as is proved by the 1860 photograph (building at extreme left in Plate XXVII, vol. I). If Coode's proportions were equally in error in his depiction of the Old Office, the walls were somewhat lower than he apparently shows them to have been. Very probably the proportions of the Old Office were much closer to those of the Fort Kamloops building sketched in Plate LVIII or of the office-like structure at York Factory shown at the extreme left in Plate LIX.

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67. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265.

68. Caywood, Final Report, p. 13.

But the walls were sufficiently high to permit the usual garret above the ground floor. The Old Office was topped by a gable roof, the ridge of which ran north and south. If the Coode watercolor was reasonably accurate, the sills were at, or close to, the ground surface; or, if they were raised on blocks, the space between the sills and the ground was closed in with planks or timbers.

Walls. If the proportions of the Old Office were as surmised in the preceding section, the walls probably rose about ten or eleven feet above the sills to the tops of the plates. Of Canadian-type construction, each wall undoubtedly contained three evenly-spaced bays. In such an old structure, the timbers probably were hand hewn. At the gable ends, the walls above the plates probably were formed of horizontal infill timbers.

There is no evidence that proves that the exterior of the Old Office was covered by weatherboards, but this probably was the case. It is known that the New Office, which succeeded the structure under discussion, was weatherboarded, and evidently that type of finish was traditional for important buildings such as chief factors' houses countinghouses, and sales shops. In all likelihood, the Old Office was finished on the outside much as was the small building at Fort Edmonton shown in Plate LX.

Roof. As the Coode watercolor clearly demonstrates, the Old Office had a gable roof, the ridge of which ran north and south. If the roof had been covered with boards, Coode's drawing probably would have shown some evidence of that fact. Therefore, it is likely, but not certain, that the roof was shingled. Incidentally, the shingles in the lower courses at Fort Vancouver do not seem to have been pointed as were those at many other posts.

Chimney. The Coode drawing shows a chimney rising above the ridge line of the Old Office, about midway between the north and south ends of the building. Whether this chimney was centered on the ridge line or situated a short distance west of it is not clear from the picture. The chimney is shown with a cap around its top, a fact that would appear to indicate brick rather than stone construction, although there can be no certainty on this point.

Doors. According to the Emmons ground plan of 1841, the Old Office had only one exterior door, and that was situated at the center of the west wall (Plate III, vol. I). Such an orientation could be expected of a structure built in that location during the period when the fort enclosure was about one hundred yards square. Although no picture of this door is known to exist, it is possible to speculate that it was of six-panel construction like those in the Bachelors' Quarters. It is also reasonable to assume, upon the basis of traditional Company construction, that there was a light or transom over the door.

Windows. The Coode watercolor shows three ground-floor windows in both the east and south walls of the Old Office. It is logical to assume that the pattern was repeated on the other two walls, resulting in three windows in the north wall and two windows and the central door in the west wall. In other words, each wall bay probably contained a centered opening.

The watercolor also depicts the windows in the south wall as being smaller than those in the east wall. It will be noted, however, that this same difference is shown in the windows of the New Office (the structure immediately to the right of the Old Office in Plate XII, vol. I), but in this latter instance, at least, it is highly probable that all the windows were the same size.

It is impossible to tell from the Coode watercolor whether the windows in the Old Office were of the casement type or double-hung. Very probably, however, the ground-floor windows were of the casement variety. They may even have been relics of Astoria. There were no shutters.

The Coode sketch also reveals that there were two garret windows on the south side of the Old Office. Very probably this same pattern was repeated on the north side. The frames of these windows rested on the plates. They quite likely were twelve-pane or nine-pane, side-hinged windows much like the garret window shown in Plate LIX.

Exterior finish. As has been mentioned, it is quite likely that the exterior of the Old Office was weatherboarded. In the Coode watercolor the building is pictured as being brown in color, a much darker brown than the warehouses. The window trim is also dark brown. In the colored reproduction of the picture that appeared in the autumn, 1970, issue of The Beaver, the trim seems to be darker than the walls, but in the original copy painting in the Company's archives the trim is scarcely distinguishable from the walls.

The question thus arises, was the Old Office so dark in color because it was painted or merely because it had been exposed to the elements for such a long time? Apparently there is no way to answer this question from the historical data available.[69]

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69. J. W. Nesmith, an emigrant of 1843, later testified that he thought the office was painted, but it is not clear whether he was referring to the Old or New Office. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]23, 34.

If this writer were to make a guess, it would be that the weatherboards were stained with a thin coat of Spanish brown paint, while the door and the door and window trim were painted the same color but more heavily. The window sash would have been painted white. The total appearance would have been much like that of the office-like structure at Fort Edmonton shown in Plate LX.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. Aside from the fact that the Old Office contained one or more bedrooms in addition to the office proper and that there was a garret, nothing certain is known concerning the interior room arrangement. It has been seen throughout this study, however, that there were often general architectural patterns that were common to Hudson's Bay Company posts across the entire continent. That is not to say that exact designs were repeated, but there seems to have been a consensus as to what constituted a proper warehouse or a proper manager's residence. Thus an office at one depot might be expected to bear some resemblance to a countinghouse at another. Fortunately, comparative data are available concerning offices.

At Fort William on Thunder Bay, off Lake Superior, for instance, the "Counting House," which measured about forty by fifty feet, was divided in front into one large room, twenty-five by fifty feet, across the rear of which opened four equal-sized cubicles. One front corner of the large room had been partitioned off to form a sixth room.[70] The basic pattern revealed in this case appears to have been one large room for the office proper with a number of smaller offices or bedrooms immediately adjoining.

Confirmation of this assumption is found in the layout of the countinghouse at Upper Fort Garry during the 1840s or thereabouts. And as usual it is former Clerk Robert M. Ballantyne who provides the classic description of this typical Company office:

> Everyone knows the general appearance of a counting-room. There are one or two peculiar features about such apartments that are quite unmistakable and very characteristic; and the counting-room at Fort Garry, although many hundred miles distant from other specimens of its race, and, from the peculiar circumstances of its position, not therefore likely to bear them much resemblance, possessed one or two features of similarity, in the shape of two large desks and several very tall stools, besides sundry ink-bottles, rulers, books, and sheets of blotting-paper. But there were other implements there, savouring strongly of the backwoods and savage life, which merit more particular notice.

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70. R. L. Moffat, del., Plan of Fort William, 1803-1820, As Reproduced from Lord Selkirk's Original Sketch of 1816, processed map (n.p.: McIntosh & Associates, February 1962). Until 1821 Fort William was a North West Company post, but the architectural style was that adopted by the Hudson's Bay Company.

> The room itself was small, and lighted by two little windows, which opened into the courtyard. The entire apartment was made of wood. The floor was of unpainted fir boards. The walls were of the same material, painted blue from the floor upwards to about three feet, where the blue was unceremoniously stopped short by a stripe of bright red, above which the somewhat fanciful decorator had laid on a coat of pale yellow; and the ceiling, by way of variety, was of a deep ochre. As the occupants of Red River office were, however, addicted to the use of tobacco and tallow candles, the original colour of the ceiling had vanished entirely, and that of the walls had considerably changed.
>
> There were three doors in the room (besides the door of entrance), each opening into another apartment, where the three clerks were wont to court the favour of Morpheus after the labours of the day. No carpets graced the floors of any of these rooms, and with the exception of the paint aforementioned, no ornament whatever broke the pleasing uniformity of the scene. This was compensated, however, to some extent by several scarlet sashes, bright-coloured shot-belts, and gay portions of winter costume peculiar to the country, which depended from sundry nails in the bedroom walls; and as the three doors always stood open, these objects, together with one or two fowling-pieces and canoe-paddles, formed quite a brilliant and highly suggestive back-ground to the otherwise sombre picture. A large open fireplace stood in one corner of the room, devoid of a grate, and so constructed that large logs of wood might be piled up on end to any extent. And really the fires made in this manner, and in this individual fireplace were exquisite beyond description. . . . The billets are usually piled up on end, so that the flames rise and twine round them with a fierce intensity that causes them to crack and sputter cheerfully, sending innumerable sparks of fire into the room, and throwing out a rich glow of brilliant light that warms a man even to look at it, and renders candles quite unnecessary.[71]

Upon the basis of these precedents, one may venture a hypothesis that the Old Office at Fort Vancouver was laid out as follows: The

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71. Ballantyne, Young Fur-Traders, pp. 31-32.

one outside door, in the west wall, gave entrance to the office proper, a room about fifteen by thirty feet that occupied the entire west half of the ground floor. Three doors in the east wall of this room opened into three cubicles, each about ten by fifteen feet, ranged side by side. Also on this east wall, perhaps somewhat north of center, was a fireplace. Somewhere in the office proper a stairway led to the garret, which probably could be closed off by a trapdoor. Very likely the garret was used for the storage of the voluminous old post and district records.

Although the room arrangement must remain a matter of speculation, there does exist a certain amount of firm historical information concerning the interior finish. The Company's inventory of 1846-47 does not list the Old Office among the structures that were "lined & ceiled," but W. H. Gray, describing the fort buildings as he first saw them in 1836, said that the floors were mostly rough boards, except for those in "the office and the governor's house, which were planed."[72] It is highly improbable that a structure graced by the rare planed floors would not have been lined and ceiled. Another witness, J. W. Nesmith, who arrived in 1843, later testified that he thought the office was ceiled.[73] Thus there is every reason for believing that the Old Office was included among the "dwelling houses and some other buildings" that Thomas Lowe later swore were "ceiled with tongued and grooved dressed boards."[74]

In fact, it is quite likely that the office proper, at least, was finished in the same style as was the Big House, with vertical fir siding, chair rail, and perhaps very small, square moldings at floor and ceiling. The bedrooms may have lacked the trim.

There is no firm evidence that the interior was painted. It has been seen, however, that office interiors so treated were not unknown at the Company's posts. J. W. Nesmith said of McLoughlin's house and the office: "They, I think, were ceiled and painted."[75] Unfortunately he did not indicate whether the paint was on the inside or outside, and it is possible that he had the New Office in mind when making this statement.

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72. Gray, A History of Oregon, p. 150.

73. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers [9:]23, 34.

74. Ibid., [2:]33.

75. Ibid., [9:]34.

Heating arrangements. On October 30, 1845, Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his journal: "Had a fire in the Office to day, for the first time this year."[76] This entry confirms what the chimney, already described, makes evident--that the Old Office was heated either by a stove or a fireplace--but it does not say which.

As will be observed from the data presented in the next main division of this chapter, the office inventories for 1844 and 1845 (the furnishings of the office seem not to have been listed separately in 1846 and 1847) make no mention of stoves, though they do include "1 pair fire Tongs." No stove appears in the inventories of articles in use in the office until 1848, and that list, of course, pertained to the New Office, an entirely different structure.

It seems fairly clear, therefore, that the Old Office was heated by a fireplace. Because of the structure's early date, the fireplace could very well have been built of rough local stones of random size. In such case the exterior probably would have been plastered. Such a fireplace undoubtedly would have looked much more like those depicted in Plates XLIII and XLIV than the more elaborate one illustrated in Plate LXI. Of course, if the chimney was of brick the fireplace could have been also, in which case there may have been a simple mantel.

Furnishings

a. General remarks--bedrooms. Rather detailed annual inventories of "articles in use," plus supplementary information available in a variety of sources, provide a quite satisfactory basis for refurnishing the office proper. Strangely, however, the inventories include no beds, "washhand Basins," "E. Ware Jugs," or other items associated with living quarters.

One is left to assume that the bedrooms in the Old Office were among the apartments inventoried under the heading "Bachelors Hall & No 1, 2, 3, 4, 5" already noted in Chapter IV on the Bachelors' Quarters. Or, because the number of articles listed under that heading appear to have been little more than sufficient to furnish the Bachelors' Quarters adequately, the sleeping apartments in the office may have been overlooked. The Fort Vancouver inventories appear at times to have some unaccountable lapses.

At any rate, it is hardly necessary to discuss here the furnishings in the rooms of the clerks at Fort Vancouver. This topic

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76. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 28-29.

has already been adequately treated in Chapter IV, while the quotation from Ballantyne in this chapter links the general description to the particular circumstances associated with quarters attached to an office. When reading Ballantyne, however, one should bear in mind that canoe paddles would not normally have been among the sporting paraphernalia of an employee at the Columbia depot, because by 1845-46 canoes were seldom used west of the Rockies except by natives.[77]

b. Office proper--furniture and equipment. The logical place to begin a discussion of the office furnishings appears to be the annual inventories, although as will be realized, these lists apparently were not complete. The Fort Vancouver Depot inventory taken in the spring of 1844 contained the following list under the general heading "Articles in Use":

Office

3 letter Boxes
1 Ivory pounce Box
1 Barometer
1 8 day Clock
1 glass flacon for Ink
1 Ivory folder
1 Hone
8 Assd. glass Inkstands
7 " Rulers
1 wafer Stamp HBC
4 Stools
1 Form
1 pair fire Tongs
1 Chair cane bottomed
2 tables
1 " Cover
1 Book case[78]

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77. In 1844 the Fort Vancouver farm inventory included one "North West" canoe and two "Cheenook" canoes, but by 1845 there were no canoes listed as belonging to the depot. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, p. 168; B.223/d/160, MS, p. 147. The Company ordinarily used boats and bateaux in its business in the Far West, but when canoes were required, as occasionally was the case, they and the men to handle them were generally hired from the natives. Evidently the canoe continued in more common use in New Caledonia.

78. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, p. 148.

In a different section of the same 1844 inventory of "Articles in Use" appears the following list:

Mathematical Instruments &c

1 set Mathematical Instruments with 4 ivory chain Scales in a mahogany Box
1-6 in. semi Circular protractor with vernier divided & reading 1' in a mahogany Case
2 best 4 pole land Chains
2 sets arrows pr do.
1-3 ft patent pentagraph in a Mahogany Case
1-9 in patent parallel Rule
1-18 " " " do
1-6 " best Circumferentor with folding sights & rackwork motion the Circle divided & reading 1' in a Mahogany Case[79]

There is no indication in the inventory that these mathematical and surveying instruments were physically situated in the office, but such a location seems logical. Thus the list is included here for what it may be worth.

The list of "Articles in Use" in the office made during the spring of 1845 is much like that of 1844, but there are enough differences to make its reproduction worthwhile:

--Office--

3 Letter Boxes
2 ivory pounce Boxes
1 Barometer
1 8 day clock
1 Flacon p. Ink
1 Ivory Folder
1 Hone
5 glass cone Inkstands
4 screw top do
7 assd. Rulers
1 Seal HBC
4 Stools
1 Chair
1 Form
1 pr Fire Tongs
3 Desks
2 Tables
2 Table Covers
1 book Case[80]

79. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, p. 157.

80. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, p. 140.

The major contribution of the 1845 list, of course, is the inclusion of three desks. The omission of these important items from the 1844 inventory is difficult to explain. The 1845 inventory also contains a list of "Mathematical Instruments," but except for spelling and punctuation it is identical with that of 1844, and there thus seems to be no reason to reproduce it here. But a section headed "Nautical Instruments" may be of interest, although, as with the "Mathematical Instruments," there is no indication that these valuable articles were housed in the Old Office:

--Nautical Instruments--

1 large brass Sextant
2 Azimuth Compasses
3 pocket do
1 boat Compass
1 spirit Level
1 measuring Tape
1 Artificial Horizon[81]

The inventories of 1846 and 1847 do not appear to contain lists of articles in use in the office, but as usual the inventory made during the spring of 1848 is quite detailed in this respect. Of course the office inventoried in 1848 was the New Office and not the Old Office, but a number of the items appear to have been the same ones that were listed in 1844 and 1845. Clearly, they had merely been shifted over to the new building.

This 1848 list is highly instructive. Several items appearing thereon, such as the stove and the additional tables, were almost certainly new acquisitions required for the larger structure. But it is difficult to see how the Old Office functioned without such articles as candlesticks, penknives, and snuffers, which were not mentioned in 1844 and 1845 but which appear in the 1848 inventory. Other items, such as the iron cash box and the case of scales and weights, may or may not have been present in the Old Office. For these reasons the New Office inventory of 1848 is presented as a part of this discussion of the Old Office:

--Office--

1 Barometer
1 cast iron cash Box
1 tin deed Do
2 " letter Do
2 ivory pounce Do

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81. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, p. 133.

10 tin Candlesticks
1 book Case
2 wooden Chairs
1-8 day Clock
3 baize table Cloths
3 Desks
4 ivory Folders
1 Hone
10 glass cone Inkstands
6 pen Knives
9 ebony Rulers
1 Seal HBC
6 prs japanned Snuffers
3 Stools
4 Tables
1 pr fire Tongs
1 case brass Scales and Weights 1 oz to 1/2 grain[82]

Before attempting to make a summary of the information provided by these inventories, it seems desirable to discuss certain items in the lists as well as certain others not included in the inventories but that are known from other sources to have been either surely or probably present in the Old Office. In roughly alphabetical order, they are as follows:

Bookcase. As has been seen in Chapter IV on the Bachelors' Quarters, a "large Book Case" from Astoria probably was utilized at Fort Vancouver from 1825 to 1860. As was also discussed in that chapter, this bookcase very probably housed the "Library" of the Company-owned books at the depot. The titles of those books are known.

It was suggested in Chapter IV that this bookcase and the depot library may have been located with the employee-owned subscription library, possibly in the Bachelors' Quarters. It is quite as likely, however, that the Company's books may have been placed in the office in the bookcase listed in the inventories. In fact, this listed bookcase may have been the very one that was a relic of the early American post at the mouth of the Columbia. And if so, it may someday be identified and returned to the reconstructed Old Office.

It should also be recognized, however, that it evidently was not unusual for offices at the Company's establishments to contain bookcases, sometimes rather crudely made, for the storage of journals,

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82. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, pp. 162-63.

letter books, and account books of various types. For a photograph of such a case at Fort Chipewyan, see Plate LXII. That the bookcase in the Old Office may have been for this latter use possibly is indicated by the words of Clerk Thomas Lowe, who wrote in his journal on August 20, 1845, that he was "busy arranging the old Books and papers in the office."[83] In actuality, given the meagerness of the evidence, any decision as to the type and contents of the bookcase in the Old Office will be purely guesswork.

Book press. In his diary for August 20, 1845, Lowe mentioned that he had spent time "getting the Book Press repaired."[84] It will have been noted that the office inventories reproduced earlier mention no such article, yet there clearly was one in the depot and almost surely in the office, because that apparently was where Lowe was making things tidy on that day.

Exactly what sort of a device Lowe's "Book Press" was is not clear, but perhaps it resembled the small book or letter press illustrated in Plate LXI.

Cash box. Although it is sometimes believed that a safe now on display in the visitor center at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site was employed at the Columbia depot during the period of Dr. McLoughlin's service as manager, there apparently is no valid evidence to support such a notion. This writer has examined a number of inventories for 1846 and prior years, and no mention of a safe can be found. In fact, not even a strongbox is listed until the inventory of 1848, when "1 cast iron cash Box" is reported as being in the New Office (as has been mentioned, there seem to be no office inventories for 1846 and 1847).

Yet it seems likely that there was a strongbox of some type at the fort by 1845-46. Although coin and gold dust figured little in Columbia District trade until the California gold rush, there probably was often a certain amount on hand that required safekeeping. A strongbox may have been kept in the Chief Factor's residence and may even have been his personal property, because none appears on the inventories of Company-owned articles prior to 1848.

At McLoughlin House National Historic Site in Oregon City there is a small strongbox, or safe, that is said to have belonged to Dr. McLoughlin at the fort. This writer is not aware of the basis for this identification, but the box is here mentioned as a possible subject for further study. What may be this same item, labeled "Dr. John McLoughlin's safe and strong box," is pictured on the first page of a pamphlet entitled Souvenir Book, Historical Story of the Hudson's

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83. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 22.

84. Ibid.

Bay Company and Old Fort Vancouver (published in Vancouver, Washington, 1925). A copy of this booklet may be found in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia in Victoria.

Another possible model for a strongbox to be exhibited at Fort Vancouver is a small iron chest on display in the British Columbia Maritime Museum in Victoria. Identified as a Hudson's Bay Company "Strong Box," it is 20-1/8 inches long, 14-3/8 inches wide, and 14-1/8 inches high. It is black in color and has handles at each end and a lock on the hinged top.[85]

Desks. The inventories give no hint as to the design of the desks in the office, but based upon the custom of the time it seems reasonably safe to assume that they were the high, long-legged, slant-top desks of the type almost universally employed in British countinghouses. A desk of this sort is in the restored and refurnished office at Lower Fort Garry.[86]

Maps. In March 1844, when making out his indent for Outfit 1847 to be shipped in 1845, McLoughlin ordered six Arrowsmith maps of North America and two of South America.[87] Although the intended use of these maps is, of course, not mentioned in the requisition, it is not beyond reason to imagine that at least one of each type was designed for use at the depot. And in what more logical place could they have been hung than in the office, where officers and clerks kept track of the district's far-flung operations? Additional copies perhaps were in the manager's personal office in his residence. It is possible that the maps ordered in 1844 were available at Fort Vancouver during the spring of 1846, because it was not unusual to break into the reserve outfit for special items.

Scales. Early in 1841 the Governor and Committee in London became worried by reports that a large number of counterfeit Spanish and Mexican coins had been sent to the Pacific region to be passed off at the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company. "In taking dollars in payment for goods," they warned Governor Simpson on March 1, "it will be necessary to examine the coins with great attention" and to weigh them. For this purpose they forwarded three "sets of scales and weights (troy)," one of which was directed to Fort Vancouver.[88]

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85. Visit to British Columbia Maritime Museum, May 6, 1973.

86. Visit to Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, October 4, 1970.

87. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, fol. 142.

88. H.B.C.A., D.5/6, MS, fols. 71-71d.

The writer has not been able to examine all the invoices or lists of Columbia imports to see when, or if, these scales were received, but perhaps they constituted the "1 case brass Scales and Weights 1 oz to 1/2 grain" listed in the 1848 office inventory.

Stools. Robert Ballantyne described the stools in the office at Upper Fort Garry as "very tall."[89] Undoubtedly the stools in the office at Fort Vancouver were also of this traditional type. In fact, the listing of stools in the inventories is an additional argument for believing that the desks were also tall.

Summary. An examination of the available evidence leads to the conclusion that the Old Office could well have contained the following items of furniture and equipment during Outfit 1845:

1 barometer
1 bookcase
1 book press
2 ivory pounce boxes
1 tin deed box
2 tin letter boxes
10 tin candlesticks
2 wooden chairs (1 with cane seat)
1 eight-day clock
3 desks
1 pair fire tongs
1 flacon for ink
1 ivory folder
1 form
1 hone
5 glass cone inkstands
4 screw-top inkstands
2 maps (Arrowsmith, 1 of North America and 1 of South America, framed)
5 penknives
7 assorted rulers
1 Hudson's Bay Company seal (wafer stamp?)
6 pairs of candle snuffers
4 stools
2 tables
2 baize table covers
1 case brass scales and weights, 1 oz. to 1/2 grain
Mathematical instruments as described earlier
Nautical instruments as described earlier

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89. Ballantyne, Young Fur-Traders, p. 31.

c. Office proper--account books, stationery, and supplies. In order to restore the interior of the Old Office to an approximation of its appearance in 1845-46, more will be needed than merely furniture and equipment. Account books of various types should be open on the desks and filed on shelves much as shown in Plate LXII. Sheets of blotting paper and letter paper should be scattered about on desks and tables as if the clerks had just dropped their work at the sound of the dinner bell. A few printed forms in French and English for employee "engagements" or contracts and printed bill of lading forms might well be in evidence. And of course such supplies as pencils, pens, "pink office tape," colored wafers, red sealing wax, India rubber, and ink powder should be conveniently at hand.

Long lists of stationery and supplies might be reproduced here from various indents and lists of imports, but they would add little, if anything, to the inventory of "Stationary" on hand at the Fort Vancouver Depot in the spring of 1844 that is reproduced on pages 279-80 of volume I of this study. That list contains many more items than could possibly be obtained and exhibited in the restored Old Office.

While the inventories give reasonably good information concerning the types and sizes of stationery employed in the Columbia District, determining the actual appearance of these papers and obtaining specimens for display will be difficult. In 1844 the stationery for the Columbia District was purchased from the firm of Burrup & Blight in London, and penknives were obtained from George Lowcock.[90] It is possible that these firms or their successors are still in business and may be able to provide information. And, of course, examples of correspondence in the Company's archives may be examined with a view to determining if the papers can be duplicated.

The account books are a still more difficult matter. As has been seen in the earlier sections of this chapter, there were many different types of blotters, cash accounts, journals, letter books, and other record books kept at Fort Vancouver. If surviving examples from both the Columbia depot and other posts are representative, these books differed considerably in size and ranged from mere assemblages of paper sheets roughly stitched together to form a volume, sometimes with heavier paper covers and sometimes not, to large leather-bound ledgers elaborately stamped with the Company's arms.

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90. H.B.C., Merchandise Exported, 1842-1854, H.B.C.A., A.25/7, MS, fols. 22d-26.

In an attempt to provide curators with something more helpful than this generalized characterization, there follows descriptive information concerning several types of Company ledgers and account books drawn from personal observation and a variety of documentary sources:

Journals. No original Fort Vancouver "Journal of Occurrences" is known to survive, but many from other posts are still in existence. The best place to observe them, of course, is the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, although a number exist in repositories closer at hand. For example, sixteen volumes of the Fort Nisqually journal, 1833-70, are in the Huntington Library. Taking several at random, volume 9 (1852-54) is a bound ledger, measuring 8 inches by 12-1/2 inches by 1/2 inch. It has a stiff, marbled-paper cover, with a binding of red leather at the spine; the outer corners are guarded by triangles of red leather. A label on the inside of the front cover reads:

> Burrup, Son & Blight
> Stationers and Account Book Manufacturers
> 12 East Front, Royal Exchange, London

Volume 2 (1835-36) is the same type and size, but it is only about 1/4 inch thick, and there is no leather at the corners. Volume 3 (1836-37) is about 3/8 inch thick and has black leather at the spine and no leather at the corners. Volume 5 (1846-47) has red leather at the binding edge and no corner protection. Most of the Nisqually ledgers and account books have white paper labels pasted on the outsides of the front covers, and the titles of the volumes are hand-written on these labels in ink.

The original "Fort Kamloops Journal, August 3, 1841-December 19, 1843," kept by John Tod, is preserved in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. It measures 12-1/2 inches by 7-3/4 inches and has stiff, marbled-paper covers with a calf back strip and corner angles. A label reveals that it was obtained from "Blight & Burrup, Stationers, 56. Lombard St., London."

Letter books. The only original letter book actually kept at Fort Vancouver that is known to have survived is now preserved in the Oregon Historical Society, Portland. It covers the period 1829-32. It is said to be "leather-bound" and of foolscap size.[91] Copies of the Fort Vancouver letter books are to be found in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

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91. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, pp. i, 348.

Inventory books. Sometimes listed in indents as 1 quire (24-25 sheets), but more usually 3-1/2 or 4 quires.[92]

Indents. As has been seen, the preparation of the annual district indent or requisition evidently required at least two different books:

(1) Columbia scheme books. On at least one occasion invoiced as being "38 Sheets s[uper] fine imperial sewed stiff M. C. [marble-covered] hot pressed"; also listed at times simply as "1-1/2 quires [38 sheets]."[93] But two "Scheme Books" requisitioned for Outfit 1838 were described as "10 sheets impt. [impl.?] ft [faint] x [ruled?]."[94]

(2) Columbia indent books. Generally described in inventories and invoices as "3/4 quire demy. ruled."[95]

Fur invoice books. Ordered as 3/4 quire, sometimes 3/8 quire.

Store invoice books. Ordered as 3 quires.

Servants' account books. Several of these books kept at Fort Nisqually can be seen at the Huntington Library. They are bound ledgers, 8 inches by 11-1/2 inches by 3/8 inch, with stiff marbled-paper covers and red leather at the spine. These apparently were different from the Servants' fur trade bill books that appear in certain inventories.[96]

Abstract of accounts or abstract books. Evidently these books ordinarily came in a 2-quire size, but books of 1-1/2 and 4 quires were also used. At times sheets of paper for these accounts were ordered separately (unbound), as "1 quire Imperial quarto Paper ruled & printed pr abstract of accounts."[97]

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92. H.B.C.A., B.239/m/13, MS.

93. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, fol. 142.

94. H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fol. 162. For further data see p. 279 in vol. I of this report.

95. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, p. 80; B.223/d/207, MS, fol. 142.

96. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, p. 80.

97. Ibid.; B.223/d/161, MS, p. 32; B.223/d/207, MS, fol. 142d.

District statements "A". Ordered in both 1-quire and 2-quire sizes, occasionally described as "one quire, S[uper] fine demy." Sometimes books were ordered of only twelve sheets, "demy, ft [faint] x [ruled?]."[98]

District statements "B". Ordered in both 1/2-quire and 1-quire sizes, as, for example, "1/2 quire, S. fine demy."[99]

Accounts current, Columbia District. Usually 1-1/2 quires, but sometimes 1-1/4 quires.

Transfers "A" and Transfers "B". Not much information about these books appears in the Fort Vancouver indents and inventories, but evidently books of three quires were employed at York Factory, at least on occasion.[100] Perhaps stock blank ledgers were used for this purpose at Fort Vancouver.

Memoranda books. Listed as "Basil Memorandum Books," or sometimes as "Bound Basil Octavo, 1/3 quire," or "Octo. Mema. Books."[101]

Shop accounts. What evidently are examples of this type of book are to be found in the Fort Nisqually Collection in the Huntington Library, under the heading "Indian Accounts." They measure 8 inches by 11-1/2 inches by 3/8 inch, and have stiff marbled-paper covers with red leather at the spine. Other account books in the same collection, also evidently kept in the shop, have the same dimensions, but there is no leather on the marbled covers; some merely have covers of plain heavy paper.

Engagement register. In 1838 an order was sent to London from Fort Vancouver for the following: "1 Engagement Register 9 quires Sr fine medium bound in rough calf Russia banded and shod printed & ruled according to Pattern sheet in Packet Box--Alphabet letters on vellum outside the edge of sheet, Lettered on the Back 'Columbia Engagement Register' Company's Arms on the side."[102]

Ledgers. There were several other specific types of account books that apparently were ordered from London by the several districts, but it is not certain that they were used in the Columbia District. And at any rate, very little is known about them by this writer.

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98. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, p. 80; B.239/m/13, MS; B.239/n/71, MS, fol. 162.

99. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, fol. 142.

100. H.B.C.A., B.239/m/13, MS.

101. H.B.C.A., B.239/m/13, MS; B.239/n/71, MS, fol. 162.

102. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, p. 63.

Evidently such volumes were sometimes printed and ruled for the types of accounts to be recorded.

On the other hand, the Columbia indents frequently called for general ledgers identified merely as "Books." These came in a variety of types and sizes, and evidently the clerks had to rule the columns according to the needs of the business at hand.[103]

The multiplicity of these "books" is illustrated by the following selection of entries from several requisitions. Prices and quantities have been omitted, and there may be some duplication:

Books	Bound	Basil		Octavo	1/3	quire
	"	"		"	1/4	"
	"	Russia		"	1/2	"
	"	Calf		Folio	6	"
	"	"		"	4	"
	"	"		"	3	"
	"	"		"	2	"
	"	"		"	1	"
	"	"		Quarto	2	"
	"	"		"	1	"
	"	Half		Royal	1-1/2	"
	"	"		Folio	4	"
	"	"		Foolscap	6	"
	"	"		"	4	"
	"	"		"	3	"
	"	"		"	2	"
	"	"		"	1-1/2	"
	"	R. R.			4	"
	"	"			3	"
	"	"			2	"
	"	"			1-1/2	"
	"	Mar[ble]	Covd.	Folio	1	"
	"	"	"	"	3/4	"
	"	"	"	"	1/2	"
	"	"	"	"	1/4	"
	"	"	"	Foolscap	1	"
	"	"	"	"	3/4	"
	"	"	"	"	1/2	"
	"	"	"	"	1/4	"
	"	"	"	Quarto	1/2	"
	"	"	"	"	1/4	"[104]

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103. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 225. Cowie said that the ledgers came ruled horizontally only, so that the clerks had to rule the columns.

104. H.B.C.A., B.239/m/13, MS.

Demy	6	Quire	Books	calf	bound		
"	1	"	Do	half	"	calf	back
"	3/4	"	Do	"	"	"	"
"	1/2	"	Do	"	"	"	"[105]
"	1/2	"	"	M. C.	[marble-covered]		[106]

Recommendations

a. It is suggested that the entire site of the Old Office be excavated, and with great care, because even the footings may have been removed when the building was demolished in or about 1847. In that case the imprints of the footings might still be evident. The location of the chimney is an important question that may be answered through archeology.

b. It is recommended that the Old Office be rebuilt in accordance with the construction data supplied in the body of this chapter. The following detailed suggestions are made:

(1) It will make little difference whether the wall timbers are hewn or sawed, because they will be covered inside and out by boards (except for the interior of the garret, which probably will not be open to visitors).

(2) It is suggested that the exteriors of the walls be covered by weatherboards.

(3) It is recommended that the roof be shingled with hand-split, drawknife-finished shakes, with about six inches exposed to the weather.

(4) The chimney probably was of brick, but its base could have been either brick or stone. Archeology may throw light on this question. If the base is of brick, the fireplace should have a simple mantel similar to that shown in Plate LXI. If the base is of stone, the fireplace should be designed as suggested in the main text.

(5) In the Coode watercolor the windows on the south side of the Old Office appear to be evenly spaced but smaller than those on the east wall. However, if the main interior partition touched the

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105. H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fol. 162.

106. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, p. 80.

north and south walls at or about their midpoints, the windows on those walls could not have been evenly spaced as Canadian-style buildings ordinarily were constructed. Archeology may be of assistance on this point by revealing the location of the chimney, which evidently was at this partition. If the chimney base is not found, it is recommended that the partition be placed at the midpoints and that the locations and sizes of the windows be adjusted accordingly. There were no shutters.

(6) It is recommended that the windows be of the casement type, similar to those on the Priests' House as shown in the 1860 photograph.

c. The weatherboards on the exterior should either be left unpainted or given a thinned coat of Spanish brown paint. The door and the door and window trim should be painted Spanish brown and the window sash white.

d. The interior walls should be lined with vertical fir boards, random width, tongued and grooved, with beaded edges. The ceiling should be lined with similar boards, perhaps without beaded edges. In the office proper a chair rail and a small square finish strip at floor and ceiling would be in order. The floor was of planed boards.

e. It is suggested that the ground floor of the Old Office be completely refurnished and exhibited. It is suggested that only two of the small rooms at the rear be furnished as bedrooms; the third might contain a table, chair, and other items of the inventoried furnishings to form a separate office that might have been used by one of the chief factors. There is evidence that McLoughlin and Douglas occasionally transacted business in the office.

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 bellfry [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

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1. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 21, 22.

2. Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--V, p. 8.

3. Caywood, Final Report, Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

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

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4. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 31. For a discussion on whether the Modeste arrived on November 29 or 30, see the previous chapter.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 32 (entry for January 5, 1846).

7. Ibid. (entry for January 9, 1846).

8. Ibid., p. 34.

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]

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. As has been seen, Thomas Lowe, at the time the foundations were set in place, said the New Office measured

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9. Ibid., p. 42.

10. Gough, Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast, p. 74.

11. Testimony of Lloyd Brooke in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]128.

12. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]75-77.

13. For a discussion of the fate of the Company's buildings at Fort Vancouver, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 157-60.

thirty-eight by thirty-two feet. The three versions of the Vavasour map of 1845 agree in showing the length as being about thirty-eight feet, but one of the original drawings (Plate VI, vol. I) gives the width as about twenty-eight feet, while the other two versions (Plates VII and VIII, vol. I) show it as about thirty feet. The Company's inventory of 1846-47 gives the dimensions as thirty-six by thirty feet.[14]

In view of these conflicts in the historical evidence, it is indeed fortunate that archeological excavations in 1950 succeeded in locating all four corner footings of the New Office as well as all of those spaced along the lines of the walls. According to Mr. Louis R. Caywood, who supervised the dig, "from center to center of the corner footings the building measured 31 by 37.5 feet."[15] Because the sills probably extended somewhat beyond the centers of the footings, however, Lowe's figures of thirty-eight by thirty-two feet for the dimensions of the New Office were probably quite accurate.

There were five footings, including those at the corners, for each of the long walls (north wall and south wall) and four for each of the short walls. Thus they were centered somewhat less than ten feet apart on the long walls and somewhat more than ten feet apart on the short ones. This spacing is what might be expected for Canadian-type construction. Mr. Caywood found the footings to be "large slabs and well preserved"; they were set with their long dimensions perpendicular to the lines of the walls except perhaps on the south side where the evidence is not clear. Unfortunately, Mr. Caywood does not indicate whether the footings rested on the surface of the 1845 ground level, partly beneath it, or entirely beneath it.[16]

b. General construction. The written record provides very little information about the physical structure of the New Office, but this lack is partially remedied by the existence of two pictures that contain partial views of the building. Most useful, perhaps, is the Coode watercolor of 1846-47 (Plates XI and XII, vol. I), which shows the entire front and part of the east wall of the countinghouse. At the extreme right of the 1860 photograph of the northwest portion of the fort (Plate XXVIII, vol. I), a small section of the New Office is visible.

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14. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265.

15. Caywood, Final Report, p. 14.

16. Ibid., pp. 13-14, and Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

A print of this latter picture in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia shows more of the New Office than the copies previously seen by this writer. The very helpful staff of that repository enlarged the portion of the print showing the New Office and the Granary, and the enlargement is reproduced in this report as Plate LXIII.

The footing pattern and the words of Lowe mentioning "preparing the wood for the New Office" prior to the laying of the foundation would seem to point toward a Canadian-type construction for this building. The general practice for such post-on-sill construction was to cut and shape to size all the timbers required before the actual erection commenced. In essence, the erection of a Canadian-frame building was merely an assembly operation.[17]

However, at least one later witness stated that he thought all of the buildings at Fort Vancouver were "of the Canadian pattern" except the office and the Big House.[18] The implication is that these two structures were of ordinary frame construction, though because he was mistaken in the case of the manager's residence, he may also have been with respect to the office. Because both of these structures were weatherboarded on the outside and lined on the inside, an untrained observer may not have been able to discern the underlying squared-log construction.

The opinion of the witness appears to receive some support from the fact that, according to the Coode drawing, the front or south wall of the New Office contained one door and four windows, with the door centered on the wall. Ordinarily in Canadian-style construction such a spacing of the openings would indicate five "bays" of infill logs in the wall. But the footing pattern in this instance would seem to show that there were only four bays, because usually there was an upright framing timber over each footing. If such a condition had held true for the New Office, the center upright would have been in the middle of the centered door. Obviously, such was not actually the case.

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17. For a clear statement demonstrating this point, see the entry in John Work's journal at Fort Colvile for October 1, 1825, in T. C. Elliott, ed., "Journal of John Work, Sept. 7th-Dec. 14th, 1825," Washington Historical Quarterly 5 (July, 1914): 169.

18. Testimony of J. W. Nesmith, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]34.

Of course the upright posts did not necessarily have to be centered directly over the footings. There could have been an upright on each side of the door, and the locations of the windows could have been adjusted to give even spacing across the front of the building. The Canadian style permitted considerable freedom in the placing of wall openings.

It seems impossible to make a firm decision on this matter from the information at hand. In the opinion of the writer, however, the evidence--including the height and general configuration of the building--balances out in favor of the Canadian style.

From the pictures, the New Office appears to have been a one-story structure with a windowless garret. The roof was hipped, with the ridge running east and west. The sills were close to the ground, and the weatherboarding that covered the walls on the outside seems to have extended to, or very nearly to, the ground surface.

Walls. Estimating the height of the door as six feet, the height of the New Office walls appears to have been thirteen feet or a bit more. The exterior weatherboarding makes it impossible to determine the interior structure of the walls or the height at which the ground-floor ceiling joists were placed. The 1860 photograph clearly shows the character of the weatherboards and their trim.

Roof. As shown by the Coode watercolor, the 1860 photograph, and the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist (Plates XV and XVI, vol. I), the New Office unmistakably possessed a hipped roof.[19] The short ridge line lay in an east-west direction. The overhang was minimal, and there were no gutters. Close under the eaves above the front door a drip board, supported by solid-board, scalloped brackets at each end, projected for possibly a foot to shelter the stoop. There may have been a narrow metal gutter at the outer edge of this board. The design of the brackets is not readily discernable in the enlargement reproduced in Plate LXIII, but the original print in the British Columbia archives shows them to have been about as illustrated in Figure 3.

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19. The Gibbs drawing of 1851 (Plate XVIII, vol. I) shows what apparently is the New Office with a pyramidal roof, but the other pictorial evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of a hipped roof.

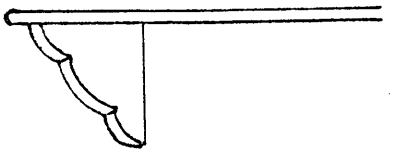

Figure 3

Design of bracket supporting drip board above front door, New Office

Beyond any reasonable doubt the roof was covered with shingles. They would have been the best available, probably finished shakes with about six inches exposed to the weather. The 1860 photograph shows a row of cleats ascending along the angle of the hip at the southwest corner of the building. It is not possible to determine from the pictures whether there were hip boards and ridge boards.

Chimney. No chimney is shown on any known picture of the New Office, but there must have been one of some type because the building possessed a stove.[20] Perhaps future archeological explorations will throw light upon the structure and location of this chimney.

Doors. The only door about which anything is known is that in the center of the south wall shown in the Coode drawing and the 1860 photograph. Apparently this door was paneled, although its exact design cannot be made out in the photograph.

The semicircular, sunburst-type transom, or light, over the door that is shown in the 1860 photograph seems uncharacteristic of Hudson's Bay Company architecture. Unfortunately the Coode watercolor, which appears to show a different sort of emblem or transom over the door, is so indistinct in this respect that it throws no useful light on the subject. In a reconstruction, therefore, one apparently is left with no alternative but to follow the photograph. But it would not be too surprising if someday evidence should be produced demonstrating that this semicircular transom was an installation of the 1850s.

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20. Inventory of articles in use in office, 1848, in H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, pp. 162-63.

Both the watercolor and the photograph appear to show two steps in front of the south wall door. Evidently the bottom one was wider than that on top.

There is no known evidence that there was a second door to the New Office. It is possible that there was a rear entrance for the convenience of any resident clerks, but on the other hand the Company's officers, for several reasons, might have preferred a single entry placed where it could have been kept under surveillance.

Windows. Only two windows can be seen in the section of the east wall visible in the Coode sketch, but it can safely be assumed that there were three windows on the entire wall as well as on the west wall. The same picture demonstrates that there were four windows on the south or front wall. If the structure was built in the Canadian style there probably were only four windows on the rear wall, one in the center of each bay. This assumption may be confirmed by the four windows shown in the north wall in the rather unreliable 1854 drawing by an unknown artist (Plate XX, vol. I). As is shown in the 1860 photograph, the windows in this building were double hung, with twelve panes in each section.

This might be a good point at which to mention a few facts about window construction at Hudson's Bay Company posts in general and at Fort Vancouver in particular. Inventories and indents show that the most generally used size of window pane imported from England for use in the Columbia District measured 7-1/2 by 8-1/2 inches. Panes measuring 9 by 7 inches were also commonly employed, as were those of 9 by 8 inches.[21]

Double-hung windows in the Big House at Lower Fort Garry, which was built in the same general time period as was the New Office at Fort Vancouver, contained twelve panes in each section, and the exposed portion of each pane measured 7-1/4 by 8-1/4 inches. The glass, of course, was somewhat larger. The exposed sash inside the window frames was about 33 inches wide and 56-1/2 inches high.[22] The construction of this type of window in Canada about the middle of the nineteenth century is detailed in Plate XLIX.

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21. H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fols. 139d-140; see also p. 266 in vol. I of this report.

22. Visit to Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, September 20, 1967.

The general similarity between the Fort Garry windows and those depicted in the 1860 photograph of the New Office is obvious. As very roughly scaled off, the height of the sash on the latter structure appears to be somewhat more than 4-1/2 feet, very close to that of the Fort Garry sash.

The Coode watercolor appears to show the windows on the east wall as being taller than those on the south wall. It seems impossible to determine if such was actually the case or if the young naval officer was having difficulty with perspective, yet it is difficult to see why the windows would differ in height.

Exterior finish. The fact that the exterior of the New Office was weatherboarded has already been mentioned. There is a remarkable unanimity of evidence on another point: the exterior was painted white, not only on the front but on all sides. The Coode sketch, the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist, and the 1860 photograph are all clear on that point. And the latter view depicts walls, door, trim, and sash as white--everything but the roof.

The Coode watercolor does portray the front steps, the doorway, and the ornament, or whatever feature is over the door, as being brown or brownish gray; but perhaps this color, except on the stairs, is intended to indicate shadow. On the version of this painting reproduced in the autumn 1970 issue of The Beaver, page 52, there appears to be brown trim around the window openings, but on the original copy in the Company's archives no distinct trim color could be detected. All in all, it would seem safest to follow the evidence given in the 1860 photograph to the effect that only white paint was used on the exterior of the New Office.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. No documentary or pictorial evidence that would throw light upon the number or location of rooms in the New Office is known to exist. One can only assume that the arrangement was approximately the same as that hypothesized for the Old Office--a large office proper in the front half with three or four small rooms at the rear.

Lloyd Brooke, a civilian employee of the United States Army, testified in 1866 that the "counting-room" was "weatherboarded on the outside and ceiled on the inside" when he first saw it in 1849.[23] If the interior was ceiled it undoubtedly was also lined. It seems safe to assume that the New Office was finished in the same manner as was its predecessor, with planed floors, chair rail, and simple trim.

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23. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]128.

Furnishings

An inventory of the furnishings in the New Office during Outfit 1848 was reproduced in the previous chapter. But of course none of these items, except the stove, was in the new countinghouse during Outfit 1845 (mid-1845 to mid-1846), the period of primary interest for this study. As has been mentioned, from about early December 1845 until about May 1847 the New Office was occupied as living quarters by Captain Baillie of H.M.S. Modeste.

The record is completely silent concerning the furnishings of the new countinghouse during the naval officer's residence. It may be assumed that the Company's representatives at the Columbia depot moved in beds, tables, chairs, and perhaps a wooden sofa or two from the Bachelors' Quarters and other dwellings, but any attempt to list such items in detail would be pure speculation. It is not even known whether Captain Baillie occupied the building alone or whether several members of his staff shared the building.

Recommendations

a. It is suggested that the entire site of the New Office be explored by archeologists, primarily to see if the base of a chimney can be located. It is also necessary to obtain more information concerning the position of the footings in relation to the 1845 ground surface.

b. The reconstruction of the New Office would be essential for a re-creation of the scene of 1845-46. It is proposed that the structure be rebuilt and refinished, at least on the exterior, in accordance with the data supplied in the body of this chapter.

c. Because there would seem to be little point in exhibiting an additional residence in the reconstructed fort, it is recommended that no attempt be made to refurnish the New Office to an approximation of its appearance in 1845-46. Rather, the building might usefully serve for some administrative purpose.

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

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1. J. McLoughlin to Capt. James Davison [Davidson], Fort Vancouver, August 19, 1826, in H.B.C., Correspondence Book, Fort Vancouver, 1826, H.B.C.A., B.223/b/2, MS, fol. 18.

2. For example, see the case of William Brown, discussed at length in Beaver, Reports and Letters, pp. 36-37; and H.B.S., 6:1-3.

3. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 86.

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.

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4. H.B.C., Correspondence Book, Fort Vancouver, 1838, H.B.C.A., B.223/b/21, MS, pp. 92-94; Correspondence Book, Fort Vancouver, 1838-1839, H.B.C.A., B.223/b/22, MS, fols. 4-4d, 5d-6.

5. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 76.

6. H.B.S., 8:41.

7. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 7.

8. Several Canadians who deserted at the time of the fire but later returned were, however, put in irons. H.B.S., 7:44.

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,

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9. The best account of the Stikine affair and its aftermath is in ibid., 6:xxx-xlviii, 139, 340-82; 8:6-7, 19-21.

10. McLoughlin to Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, November 20, 1844, in ibid., 7:48-49.

11. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 22-23.

12. Ibid., p. 38.

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.

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13. Ibid., p. 46.

14. Ibid., p. 53.

15. Ibid., p. 64.

16. For citations of these inventories, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 149-56.

17. "Proceedings of a board of officers, Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860," A.G.O., Ore. Dept., Doc. File 212-S-1860, in National Archives; also printed in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]74-77.

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-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.

Construction details

According to the traced copy of the Vavasour plan (Plate VIII, vol. I), the jail measured about twenty feet square. One of the original versions (Plate VI, vol. I), however, shows the jail as scaling out to about twenty by twenty-five feet, with the longer walls running east and west. The second original version (Plate VII, vol. I) indicates that the dimensions were about twenty feet north and south by about twenty-two feet east and west. The inventory of Fort Vancouver buildings made by the Company in 1846-47 lists "1 Prison," twenty-one feet square.[19] The actual dimensions, as determined by archeological excavations in 1950, were about twenty by twenty-two feet, with the east-west walls being the longer.[20]

Footings found for the north and south walls (the east and west walls were not excavated) were spaced about ten feet apart, thus indicating the usual Canadian-type construction. Few other structural details are positively known. In several drawings of Fort Vancouver made between 1846 and 1854, what apparently is the roof of the prison can be seen rising behind the palisade. Although positive identification is difficult, it seems reasonably safe to rely upon the evidence of these pictures as demonstrating that the Jail was a rather low,

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18. Caywood, Final Report, p. 14; Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, Plate XXXVII.

19. T. C. Elliott, "British Values in Oregon, 1847," Oregon Historical Quarterly 32 (March, 1931): 34; Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]118-19.

20. Caywood, Final Report, p. 14, and Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

gable-roofed building, with the ridge of the roof running east and west (see Plates XIV-XVI, XVIII, and XX, vol. I).[21]

Unfortunately, there are no comparative data available. No wooden jail of Hudson's Bay Company construction is known to survive, and no pictures of other jails built in the post-on-sill style seem to be available.

One can only surmise that the Jail was of very heavy and rather crude squared-log construction, probably without any window except a small, unglazed, barred one in the sturdy plank door. This door probably was in the center of the south wall where it could have been most easily kept under surveillance. An entry in that location, however, would have been at nearly the maximum distance from the small pit privy that archeologists found to be near the north palisade wall a few feet northwest of the Jail.[22]

Perhaps the walls were not more than nine feet high above the sills. It is quite likely that the timbers for this utilitarian structure were hand-hewn instead of sawed. Probably the center upright grooved posts in the east and west walls extended up to the ridge line to facilitate the use of heavy infill timbers to close the ends of the gables. Thick planks may have been laid horizontally over the rafters in order to make a more escape-proof roof.

It is difficult to hazard an opinion as to what type of outer covering may have been placed on the roof, assuming that horizontal planks were actually employed as the undercovering. Two layers of vertical boards would be a logical guess. The Gibbs drawing (Plate XVIII, vol. I) appears to indicate a vertical covering of some type, but it also seems to show a horizontal line partway down the visible roof surface. It will be noted that in his sketch of the village (Plate XVII, vol. I) Gibbs shows roofs covered with what evidently were overlapping rows of short boards or long shakes. Because the ordinary shake used at Fort Vancouver during the 1840s, particularly for rough buildings, was thirty-six inches long, it is entirely possible that

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21. The building that appears to be the Jail is most clearly seen in the Gibbs drawing of 1851 (Plate XVIII, vol. I), just inside the north palisade wall and to the left of the pyramidally-roofed structure that evidently is the New Office.

22. Caywood, Final Report, p. 14. Caywood states in his text that this privy was northeast of the Jail, but his map shows it to the northwest.

such shakes, extensively exposed to the weather, were employed on the Jail.[23]

Undoubtedly the floor planking was of the same heavy type (about three inches thick) as that used in the warehouses. Of course similar planks could have been placed over the ceiling beams, obviating the need for a heavy covering on top of the rafters.

Furnishings

No direct evidence concerning the furniture or fittings in the Jail has yet been found, except that, as has been seen, it is known that there was no stove or fireplace.

Because rough wooden bunks, without springs or mattresses, were standard at Fort Vancouver, it is probable that twelve or fourteen, in double tiers, were ranged against the walls. Undoubtedly a single blanket would have been considered sufficient bedding.

In theory neither Chief Factor McLoughlin nor Chief Factor Douglas believed in treating prisoners harshly--in fact they had orders from the Governor and Committee in London not to do so--but what was then considered normal would now be branded as cruel and unusual. In 1838, for instance, when Douglas sent two mutineers to Fort Nisqually for detainment, he reminded the man in charge that the prisoners were "entitled by law to bread and water daily."[24] It may be imagined that the facilities provided by McLoughlin for the supposed murderers of his son were not elaborate.

A few benches, a couple of water buckets, several tin plates and cups, two or three slop buckets, and perhaps one or two washbasins might have constituted the remaining furnishings. Because McLoughlin feared that prisoners would set fire to the building, there most likely was not a candlestick or other means of lighting.

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23. Such shakes, as well as strips of bark that were also extensively used for roofing, were sometimes held in place by transverse strips of wood or slats. See Plates XXXI, XXXVIII, and LVII, in vol. I. Such could well have been the case with the Jail.

24. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/22, MS, fols. 4-4d. In justice to Douglas, he evidently did offer the prisoners the option of bread and water "or the common rations allowed to the other servants of the place," and he gave orders that the men were not to be treated harshly and were to be allowed to go at large. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/21, MS, fols. 92-94.

Recommendations

a. Because the Jail would have important interpretive value in illustrating social conditions at Fort Vancouver, it is suggested that this building be reconstructed, furnished, and exhibited.

b. It is suggested that the design and construction be in keeping with the facts and hypotheses advanced earlier under the heading "Construction details." For details of doors, hardware, window bars, etc., additional research into military and fur trade prisons of the early nineteenth century is suggested.

c. It is recommended that the furnishings in the reconstructed Jail be in accordance with the suggestions made earlier under the heading "Furnishings."

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-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 constructed 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

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1. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 7, 14, and Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

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]

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2. Farnham, Travels, p. 194.

3. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265.

4. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]202-3. Lloyd Brooke also testified that a "house" between the office and the manager's residence was "vacated" two or three years after 1849 because it was considered unsafe. Brooke's description most closely fits the Priests' House, but it is known that that building continued to stand and was occupied until 1860. Therefore it is almost certain that Brooke meant to say that it was the old schoolhouse that was vacated about 1851 or 1852. Ibid., [8:]128.

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 schoolroom. 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 chis 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

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5. S. H. Smith to Elwood Evans, Clatsop Plains, November 1, 1865, MS, in Elwood Evans, Correspondence and Papers of Ellwood Evans, 1843-1894, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

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.

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6. John McLoughlin to Francis Heron [at Fort Colvile], Fort Vancouver, September 1, 1834, in H.B.C.A., B.223/b/10, MS, fol. 23.

7. Dunn, Oregon Territory, p. 103.

8. Cyrus Shepard, "The Journal of Cyrus Shepard's Trip Across the Plains with the Wyeth Expedition in 1834 and His Life and Labors Among the Indians of Oregon Territory, March 3, 1834 to December 20, 1835," original and typewritten transcript, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, pp. xii-xiii, 176.

9. H.B.S., 6:81; H.B.C.A., B.239/1/6, MS, p. 47.

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 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 adjoining 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 "in different stages of progress."[15]

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10. Parker, Journal, p. 168.

11. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 10.

12. Henry Spalding, of the Whitman party, recorded about the same time that Dr. McLoughlin had been "for several years collecting Indian & half breed children into a school, feeds & clothes them from his own stores, & with two or three other gentlemen defrays [?] the expense of their schooling." H. H. Spalding to David Green[e], Fort Vancouver, September 20, 1836, in American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Papers, in Houghton Library, Harvard University.

13. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 56.

14. Drury, First White Women, 1:102.

15. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 3.

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, "our 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 troublesome 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."

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16. H.B.C.A., B.223/c/1, MS, fols. 94d-95; H.B.S., 4:161 fn., 161-62.

17. H.B.S., 4:161-62.

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

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18. For the sources forming the basis of this discussion on the clash between McLoughlin and Beaver over control of the school, see Beaver, Reports and Letters, pp. xix-xxi, 3-4, 7-12, 22.

19. J. Work to Edward Ermatinger, "N. W. Coast of America," February 10, 1838, typewritten transcript, in John Work, Correspondence Outward, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

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

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20. John McLoughlin to W. H. Grey [sic], Vancouver, August 17, 1840, in H.B.C.A., B.223/b/27, MS, fols. 30d-31.

21. Beaver, Reports and Letters, pp. 3-4.

22. Ibid., p. 83.

23. Ibid., p. 123.

24. As late as October 18, 1838, Douglas also believed the school to have been exerting "a powerful and salutory" influence. H.B.S., 4:239.

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

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25. Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Vancouver, February 26, 1839, in Francis Ermatinger,"Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 1823-1853," typescript, in Huntington Library, [pp. 131-37].

26. Rather strangely, Robinson appears to have drawn his full salary of £24 as schoolmaster for Outfit 1838. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/9, MS, p. 49. Thus he may have continued to serve until May 31, 1839.

27. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 122. Beaver devoted much space in his correspondence to decrying the moral atmosphere at Fort Vancouver, and he was free in blaming the native and mixed-blood wives of the employees for much of the difficulty. He regarded these women as immoral because he refused to recognize the validity of "fur trade" marriages. James Douglas wrote an effective refutation of these prejudiced charges. Ibid., pp. 139-48.

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" 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

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28. Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Flathead, June 1, 1837, in Francis Ermatinger, "Letters," 1823-1853, in Huntington Library, [pp. 113-19].

29. W. F. Tolmie to George Simpson, Nisqually, March 6, 1844, in H.B.C.A., D.5/10, MS, fols. 390-394. It is interesting to note that about this time at least some of the Methodist missionaries in the Willamette Valley came to fear for the "safety and chastity" of their children in their own integrated school. R. J. Loewenberg, "Elijah White vs. Jason Lee: A Tale of Hard Times," Journal of the West 11 (October, 1972): 645.

30. Beaver, Reports and Letters, pp. 85, 122.

31. H.B.S., 6:261; John Work to George Simpson, Fort Simpson, October 8, 1844, in H.B.C.A., D.5/12, MS, fol. 399.

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" 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

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32. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/10, MS, p. 63; B.239/1/11, MS, p. 63; B.239/1/12, MS, p. 67; B.239/1/13, MS, p. 64; B.239/1/14, MS, p. 45.

33. Farnham, Travels, pp. 194-95.

34. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, pp. 30-32.

35. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 126.

36. Charles Wilkes, "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," ed. Edmond S. Meany, Washington Historical Quarterly 16 (October, 1925): 291, 298-99; Wilkes, Narrative, 4:332. The use of the term "manual labor school" by Wilkes is but one of several indications that the directive of the Governor and Committee regarding the Fort Vancouver school may have been at least partially put into effect.

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' 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]

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37. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 56.

38. For data on the construction of the new Big House, see p. 93 in vol. I of this study. Emmons's "Governor" evidently was not Governor George Simpson, who was also at Fort Vancouver in 1841 but not until several months after Emmons drew his plan.

39. If the school was indeed transferred to the later Owyhee Church fairly early in 1838 it might be well to note here its possible uses for religious as well as educational purposes. After the departure of McLoughlin on furlough in March of that year, the Reverend Mr. Beaver resumed evening religious "lectures" in the schoolroom, and in May he conducted a Sunday school seemingly in the same place, though the classes did not continue long. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 114. On November 24, 1838, two Catholic priests, Fathers F. M. Blanchet and Modeste Demers, arrived at Fort Vancouver, and the next day they celebrated the first mass in the lower Columbia Basin in the schoolhouse. Catholic services continued to be held in this building for a time, though it was too small for the purpose. Francis Norbert Blanchet, Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon during the Past Forty Years (1838-1878), 2d ed. [Ferndale, Washington, 1910?], p. 23.

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 subscriptions 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" 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]

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40. H.B.C.A., D.5/12, MS, fol. 399. Possibly Work was referring to James Douglas's boarding school project for "gentlemen's" children, which is described in the following paragraph.

41. James Douglas to James M. Yale, Fort Vancouver, November 4, 1844, typewritten transcript, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, 1830-1849, Letters Signed by James Douglas, MSS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

42. For the history of these buildings, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 214-16. That Douglas and not McLoughlin sponsored the construction of these schoolhouses is demonstrated by the testimony of Dr. Forbes Barclay, although of course McLoughlin must have given his approval. See sources cited in ibid., p. 214, fn. 88.

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.

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43. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 4. The location of the house in which the Robertses lived is not known; conceivably it could have been the schoolhouse near the gate, though if it were Lowe probably would have mentioned the fact.

44. Ibid., pp. 43, 49. Whether these were the same children Mrs. Roberts had been teaching is not stated.

45. James Douglas to Donald Ross, Fort Vancouver, March 8, 1849, MS, in James Douglas, Correspondence Outward, MSS, in Ross Papers, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

In any case, the available evidence shows that while the school may never have completely "sunk into disuse" 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.

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46. George Gibbs to J. M. Edmunds, Washington, June 22, 1862, MS, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives.

47. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, pp. 134-37.

48. Carl Landerholm, "The Covingtons and Covington House," in Clark County History, vol. 1 (1960), p. 5. For information on the plans for the school and on the appropriations made in 1847 and 1848, see H.B.C.A., B.223/b/37, MS, fols. 3-19; B.223/b/38, MS, fols. 53-59; and the sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, p. 215. The school conducted by the Covingtons in 1847 was at Fort Vancouver, but in 1848 they moved to Fourth Plain, where Mrs. Covington soon established a boarding school.

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]

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49. The story of the Hawaiians in the fur trade has received considerable attention from scholars, but the definitive account remains to be written. For examples of treatments of the subject, see Milton Bona, "Hawaiians Made Life 'More Bearable' at Fort Vancouver," in Clark County History, vol. 13 (1972), pp. 159-75; Robert C. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," Oregon Historical Quarterly 35 (March, 1934): 22-31; Janice K. Duncan, Minority without a Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850 (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1972).

50. H.B.S., 6:271.

51. Ibid., 6:182.

52. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/16, MS, pp. 57-61, 64. The exact number is difficult to ascertain because it is sometimes hard to distinguish the Hawaiians by name alone on the employee rolls and because men listed under "general charges" were sometimes situated elsewhere than at Fort Vancouver.

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.[56]

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53. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 131.

54. Ibid., p. 132.

55. Beaver's report in which the suggestion was made was written while McLoughlin was in Europe; James Douglas saw the report and may have relayed its contents to McLoughlin later.

56. Rockwood, "Diary of Rev. George H. Atkinson, D.D., 1847-1858," Oregon Historical Quarterly 40 (June, 1939): 181, fn. 43, based on information obtained by Dr. R. C. Clark from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

The person selected to fill this position was William R. Kaulehelehe, well known in Fort Vancouver history as "William" 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, because 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.

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57. Ibid., p. 181; H.B.C.A., B.239/1/16, MS, p. 64.

58. Rockwood, "Diary of Rev. George H. Atkinson," Oregon Historical Quarterly 40 (June 1939): 181, fn. 43.

59. Ibid., p. 181. The Covington map of 1846 or somewhat later shows a house labeled "Billy's" in the village west of the fort, but Billy was a laborer and an entirely different person from William. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/16, MS, pp. 57, 64.

60. See sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 107-9, 183.

Very little is known about the religious services William conducted in the Owyhee Church. The Reverend George H. Atkinson noted during June 1848 that the Hawaiian teacher had "no church and few members. Has from twenty to forty hearers, every Sabbath." William experienced much difficulty in keeping his charges from drinking, and evidently one of his duties was giving Chief Factor Ogden a weekly report on those who had indulged.[61]

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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61. Rockwood, "Diary of Rev. George H. Atkinson," Oregon Historical Quarterly 40 (June 1939), p. 181.

62. Testimony of Rufus Ingalls in the Federal court case, Corporation of the Catholic Bishop of Nesqually vs. Gibbons et al., p. 82, as cited in Bona, "Hawaiians Made Life 'More Bearable'," pp. 172-73; Affidavit of Joseph Petrain, MS, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives.

63. H.B.C.A., B.223/g/15, MS, p. 4.

64. See sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 107-9, 183, 220.

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. All versions of the Vavasour ground plan drawn during the fall of 1845 indicate that the Owyhee Church measured about fifty by twenty-five feet (Plates VI-VIII, vol. I). The same dimensions are given for the "Schoolhouse" in the 1846-47 inventory of Company property.[65]

Archeological excavations conducted on the site of the Owyhee Church in 1948, 1950, and 1952 uncovered only four footings of the south wall of this structure and a few "very fragmentary remains" of those along the east wall. The findings appear to confirm the historical data insofar as the fifty-foot length of the building is concerned. In the text of his report Archeologist Caywood stated that the "actual measurement" of the east side was about twenty-four feet, but his excavation drawing shows the width as being about twenty-seven feet.[66] Probably the fifty by twenty-five-foot dimensions given by the historical sources were approximately correct.

The few footings found appear to have been spaced at about ten-foot intervals along the lines of the exterior walls. Their "powdery condition" made it impossible to be sure of their size and shape.

b. General construction. The historical record contains very few facts about the physical structure of the Owyhee Church. Having evidently been built as a kitchen, it probably was of rather rough and massive construction, and it must have contained a large fireplace and heavy chimney. The footing pattern would indicate that it was built in the Canadian style.

Such surmises are partly confirmed by what little of the schoolhouse can be discerned in several drawings and paintings made between 1846 and 1854. The Paul Kane pencil sketch of 1846-47 (Plate XIV, vol. I), the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist (Plates XV and XVI, vol. I), the Gibbs drawing of 1851 (Plate XVIII, vol. I), and the 1854 view by an unknown artist (Plate XX, vol. I) all show the Owyhee Church as a rather low, gable-roofed structure, with the eaves below the top of the palisade and the ridge line running east and west.

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65. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265.

66. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 7, 14, and Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

Rather strangely, none of these pictures portrays this schoolhouse as having a chimney, except possibly the Paul Kane sketch. In that drawing, the third building from the east along the inside of the stockade wall is shown with what appears to be a large chimney rising from the center of the ridge line. By count on the Vavasour map, this structure with the chimney should be the Owyhee Church. However, it definitely appears to be east of the gate instead of west, thus throwing doubt upon the identification. To confuse matters still more, the Big House kitchen must have had a similar chimney, making identification of the structure as the Owyhee Church even more hazardous. Still, it is difficult to explain away the fact of the count, and the writer is inclined to believe that the building shown with the chimney was intended to represent the Owyhee Church.

Walls. It is safe to assume that the walls were of Canadian-type construction. The wall timbers probably were hand-hewn. Almost surely there was no weatherboarding.

Because there was a garret, the walls must have risen eleven or twelve feet above the sills. At the gable ends the walls above the plates could have been formed of vertical boards or horizontal infill timbers. Because the window in the east gable, at least, was centered in the wall, it is known that there was not a center upright timber extending to the ridge.

Roof. There is no good evidence as to how the gabled roof was covered. The Gibbs drawing of 1851 (Plate XVIII, vol. I) is not as precise as could be desired on this point. Evidently he intended to show the roof as covered with vertical planks or with very long shakes as described in Chapter IX on the Jail.

Chimney. If the building with the chimney in the Kane pencil sketch was actually the Owyhee Church, the chimney was a massive structure with a cap around its top. Such a design would probably indicate that the chimney was of brick, although perhaps not necessarily so. The drawing seems to show the chimney as being centered on the ridge line (Plate XIV, vol. I).

In any case, having been built as a kitchen, the Owyhee Church or schoolhouse undoubtedly contained a large fireplace and chimney. Perhaps future archeological excavations will reveal the location and dimensions of the base.

Doors. The Emmons ground plan of 1841 (Plate III, vol. I) shows the Owyhee Church with only a single door, centered in the south wall. Because the structure was erected as a kitchen, the entrance could very well have been closed with a simple plank door as was customary for shops and warehouses. It is also possible, however, that due to

the higher status of the building as a school, a panel door was in place by 1845. There seems no way of telling if there was a transom over the door.

Windows. The 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist (Plate XV, vol. I) clearly shows a window centered along the plate in the east gable of the Owyhee Church. Nothing is known about the other windows in the structure, but it may be safely assumed that the east and west walls each contained at least two and that there were several in the north and south walls. In view of the early date of the building, these could well have been casement windows.

Exterior finish. Undoubtedly the Owyhee Church was not painted on the outside except for the doors, the door and window trim, and the window sash. The sash probably was white, while all the other painted elements were Spanish brown. The building almost surely was not weatherboarded.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. The inventory of 1846-47 is not clear as to whether the Owyhee Church or schoolhouse was lined and ceiled. But because the building was listed as a "dwelling" and because, according to the later testimony of Thomas Lowe, most of the dwellings in the fort were ceiled with "tongued and grooved dressed boards," it is perhaps safe to assume that the Owyhee Church was lined and ceiled, particularly after it came to be used as a school.[67] The floors were probably rough planks.

In general the building, inside as well as out, must have presented a crude appearance. The mere fact that it was dilapidated by 1851 or 1852 would indicate rather hasty construction. Undoubtedly the situation at Fort Vancouver mirrored that at Fort Victoria, where the squared logs of the walls were so poorly fitted that they did not exclude the winter cold nor even the "rats which overran the school."[68]

Apparently there is no evidence concerning the arrangement of the rooms in the Owyhee Church. One can only surmise that an entire end of the structure was left open to form a large room about twenty-five feet square in size. Even in such a room the fifty or sixty scholars the school contained at its most flourishing point would have been highly crowded. Perhaps the girls, who constituted about one third of the enrollment, were taught in a separate room.

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67. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]33.

68. Anderson, "Notes and Comments," p. 165.

The remainder of the ground floor may have been divided into two or even three rooms. Among them would have been one of the "kitchens" mentioned by Lieutenant Wilkes.

Another may have been the "small apartment attached to the school" where, on October 2, 1838, the Reverend Mr. Beaver said that the master and some of the younger boys slept. At one time as many as fourteen boys shared the dormitory with the teacher, though it is not certain that the room at that time (March 19, 1838) was either the same one mentioned in October 1838 or the "apartments" mentioned by Wilkes in 1841.[69] It is also possible, though not too likely from Beaver's use of the word "attached" with reference to the dormitory, that the boys and master slept upstairs in the garret.

The fact that the Owyhee Church also served as a "dwelling" has already been made evident. The use of this word to describe the schoolhouse evidently implies that persons other than the students and master lived in the building. Who, if anyone, resided there during Outfit 1845 is not certain. William R. Kaulehelehe was, as we have seen, a probable tenant. The possibility that Clerk George B. Roberts and his wife lived in the schoolhouse has also been mentioned. Lacking any definite information, it would seem best to design at least one room as a sleeping apartment of the type assigned to clerks.

Furnishings

a. Schoolroom. The inventories of "articles in use" in the schoolroom are in many respects highly informative, because they list in great detail items such as books, tables, and lamps; but they make no mention of desks, inkstands, chairs, slate pencils, and many other articles that certainly were essential for the operation of a school. Thus either the school was closed at the time and the items listed were simply stored, perhaps in the Owyhee Church or perhaps elsewhere, or much "country made" furniture was not inventoried and many classroom supplies were not Company-owned but provided by the parents or sponsors of the pupils.

Certainly the inventories do not provide enough information to permit one to visualize the appearance of the furnished classroom of an active school. Two available photographs of schoolrooms at other Hudson's Bay Company posts are not of much assistance, because they are of rather recent date (Plates LXIV and LXV); but they do serve to illustrate how fairly large classes could be accommodated in rather small rooms. They also show that styles of desks apparently did not change greatly over a long span of years.

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69. Beaver, Reports and Letters, pp. 82, 122.

The inventory of "articles in use" taken at Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1845 included the following items:

--School Room--

5 Tables
4 Forms [long seats; benches--JAH]
1 Ruler
1 Slate
2 large tin hanging Lamps
4 small " " do
1 Stove and Funnel [stovepipe--JAH]
1 Music Board
5 c [?]. w. deep Plates ["E(arthen) Ware deep Plates" in 1844 inventory--JAH]
6 " flat do
2 Tea Spoons ["tin Spoons" in 1844 inventory--JAH]
6 table do
2 c [?]. w. Cups and Saucers ["E. Ware cups & saucers" in 1844 inventory--JAH]
5 table Knives and Forks
1 Tin soup Toureen
2 Tin Tea Pots[70]

Under a separate heading from the schoolroom, the 1845 inventory of "articles in use" contained a long list of schoolbooks. It appears to have been rather carelessly copied from the list of books in the 1844 inventory, with which it is identical except for spelling and punctuation. The 1845 list is reproduced below exactly as written, except that doubtful words have been given as they appear in the 1844 list, which is extremely legible. Additional information added in brackets is reproduced from the Columbia requisition for Outfit 1841 (signed by John McLoughlin at Fort Colvile, April 18, 1838), by which a number of the books were ordered:

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70. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, p. 137. The 1844 inventory of items in the "School Room" was identical except for the differences noted in brackets above and except for the fact that the schoolbooks were listed as being in the schoolroom in 1844, whereas in 1845 they were listed separately. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, p. 152.

School Books

1 Analytical Alphabet
20 Testaments
8 Introduction to English Reader
16 English Reader
54 Spelling Books
3 bible class Instructions
5 Clarke's English mother Catechisms [The English Mother's first Catechism for her children, illustrated by one hundred engravings bound 12 copies]
11 Sabbath School Teacher 1st Class
5 " " do 2nd "
1 " " do 3rd "
1 old Testament Biography
2 new " do
2 works of Creation Catechism
7 Geography do
13 sacred History do
4 Church of England Catechisms
1 French Catholic do
4 Methodist do
4 short scripture do
1 Reynold's Book Keeping
2 Kelly's do
1 Twiner's do
2 Souter's primers [Souter's first school reader by G. Heaven (?) 12 copies bd]
6 Worcester do 2nd book
1 " do 3rd book
4 Union Questions
1 Key to David
5 English Dictionaries
1 Evidences of Christianity
3 Stewarts Geography [A compendium of modern Geography by the Revd. Alexr. Stewart 18 mo. bd. 6 copies]
1 Olney's Geography
1 Woodbridges do
1 Bible class text Book
2 Beauties of the Bible
2 sabbath school class Books
7 English Grammers [sic]
2 Millars scripture History
84 spelling cards and Leaves
1 Rudiments of reading
1 Lesson in do
2 Selections of do Lessons
2 Sequel to do do
1 promiscuous do do

1 New York Reader
1 pocket Encyclopaedia
1 Ware on the formation of the Christian Character
1 American Preceptor
1 " Selection
1 " Reader
1 Pleasing Companion
2 Introduction to Analytical Reader
1 Life of Baxter
1 family Monitor
1 Memoirs of H. Martin [spelled "Martyn" in 1844 inventory--JAH]
1 Thompson's Seasons
1 common place Book
1 juvenile Biography
42 religious Tracts
1 Defense of the use of the Bible
1 Child's Guide
3 Baldwin's Catechisms
1 vol: Cooper's Sermons
1 British Nepos
1 Stenography
1 Institute of Arithmetic
1 sheet school Rules
3 multiplication Tables
1 Life of Benjamin Franklin
1 Bible Stories
1 Pious Sisters of Roseneath
1 History of Scotland [Simpson's History of Scotland 18th Edition bound 1 copy]
1 History of British Empire [Chambers' History of the British Empire & its resources 2 copies]
2 Walkers first four Rules
3 Tutors assistants
1 Key to do
6 Bibles
6 prayer Books
5 Parables of J. C.
1 Bible History
1 Clark's Atlas
1 Olney's do
1 Woodbridges do
1 Cummings do
5 Analytical Readers
1 first class Book
1 Key to Knowledge [Key to Knowledge or things in common use familiarly & shortly explained by a Mother 8th Edition 2 copies]

2 Child's Arithmetic
1 Emerson's do
1 Scripture Lessons
1 Questions in the Bible
1 Compendium to do
3 Sunday Magazines
2 Lincoln's Scripture Lessons
1 Dialogues
5 Hymn Books
1 Colburns Arithmetic
43 Slips [8 Doz single copy slips on Pasteboard text, round & small hands]
1 Watt's Poems
1 Mavors Natural History [Mavors elements of Natural History new Edition bound 1 copy]
1 Mavors Plutarch [Mavors selection of the lives of Plutarch]
1 Abbot's Young Christian ["Abbotts" in 1844 list--JAH]
1 " Scripture N. History
1 Life of Remarkable youths
1 Blairs class Book [Blair's class Book bound 2 copies]
1 History of Scotland
1 Introduction to the Sciences [Chamber's introduction to the sciences 6 copies]
1 Infant Education
1 Goldsmith's History of Greece [Simpson's improved edition of Goldsmith's History of Greece 1 copy]
1 Goldsmith's History of Rome [Simpson's improved edition of Goldsmith's History of Rome 1 copy]
1 Goldsmith's History of England [Simpson's improved edition of Goldsmith's History of England 11th Edition 1 copy]
1 Introduction to the Ch. Religion
1 per: on Early Piety
1 Amerson's Arithmetic
1 Abridgt. of the Ro. Cath. Doctrine
1 Letters to the Conscience
1 Dr Bell's System of Education
1 Carpenter's Natural History[71]

If the school was in active operation in 1845-46, the schoolroom undoubtedly contained, in addition to the Company-owned items listed above, a number of accessories and supplies belonging to the individual

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71. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, pp. 134-37. The material in brackets is from H.B.C.A., B.223/d/207, MS, pp. 30-32.

students. Among such articles offered for sale in the Sale Shop during the 1840s were black lead pencils, slate pencils, and small slates, in addition to an assortment of schoolbooks, copy slips, and "slips on boards."[72]

b. Dormitory. The historical record seems to contain no information on the furnishings of the room in which the master and some of the boys slept. From what Chaplain Beaver wrote, however, one can judge that the accommodations were crowded and extremely plain. They undoubtedly were similar to those in the unlined garret at Fort Victoria where the bunks of the schoolboys were "bare boards, covered with an Indian mat and a blanket, and a second blanket as a covering." One bowl and jug sufficed as washing facilities for the entire dormitory.[73]

c. Kitchen and bedroom or bedrooms. No information whatever appears to be available concerning the furnishings of any additional rooms that may have been in the Owyhee Church. Probably one of these rooms was a kitchen, which would have been furnished in the same manner as the kitchen to the Big House but on a much reduced scale. Not knowing for certain who lived in the building, it is virtually impossible to make an assumption concerning the furnishings of the bedroom or bedrooms other than that they must have been equally as sparse as or even more sparse than those in the Bachelors' Quarters.

Recommendations

a. Archeological exploration of the entire Owyhee Church site is urgently suggested. The primary objective would be to locate the base of the fireplace, a key factor in determining the interior room arrangement. Concentrations of artifacts such as pieces of slates and slate pencils might also provide clues to room locations.

b. It is recommended that the Owyhee Church be reconstructed in accordance with the few available facts as presented in the body of this chapter. Because of the paucity of firm data, a considerable amount of judgment will be required on the part of the architects in settling on the details of room arrangement and finish. Guiding all planning should be the knowledge that this building was roughly constructed and that it was built as a kitchen for the later Priests' House, being thus similar to, but cruder than, the latter.

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72. See pp. 225, 226, 229, in vol. I of this study.

73. Mary Elizabeth Colman, "Schoolboy at Fort Victoria," The Beaver Outfit 282 (December, 1951): 19.

c. Because the story of the school is so important for revealing social conditions of the period, it is recommended that the schoolroom and the dormitory be refurnished and exhibited. Too little is known at present about the remaining rooms, in the opinion of the writer, to justify refurnishing them.

d. It is proposed that a separate study be conducted to determine the types of classroom furniture and equipment employed in British schools of the 1840s and to identify and collect the books listed in the schoolroom inventories at Fort Vancouver.

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 McLoughlin 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.

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1. Caywood, Final Report, Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

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 for 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.

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2. For information about the Beavers and their housing, see the sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 180-81; and Beaver, Reports and Letters, passim.

3. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 140.

4. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 24.

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 sometimes 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

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5. Lieutenant Emmons in 1841, it will be recalled, identified the later Priests' House as the "Chaplains' . . . residence." The only official, Company-employed chaplain ever to reside at Fort Vancouver was Herbert Beaver, a fact that might be interpreted as indicating that the Beavers had lived in the Priests' House. But the term "chaplain" could have been employed by visitors to indicate one of the Catholic priests, even though the latter were never officially chaplains to the Company's establishments.

6. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 22.

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 £100 to the "Catholic Mission" on the Columbia, and this appropriation was made annually for a number of years thereafter. 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 fit.[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

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7. See sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 176-78. For a use of the term "chaplains" for the priests, see Deposition of Forbes Barclay, MS, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives.

8. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 32.

9. Ibid., pp. 27-37.

10. Notices & Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest, Being the Correspondence, Notices, etc. of Fathers Blanchet and Demers, together with those of Fathers Bolduc and Langlois . . . 1838 to 1847, trans. Carl Landerholm (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1956), p. 25.

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

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11. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 37.

12. Notices & Voyages, p. 144; Wilfred P. Schoenberg, A Chronicle of the Catholic History of the Pacific Northwest, 1743-1960 ([Portland ?,] 1962), pp. 20, 23.

13. Notices & Voyages, p. 168.

14. Deposition of Forbes Barclay, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives; Affidavit of Joseph Petrain, October 25, 1873, MS, in ibid.; Wilkes, "Diary," Washington Historical Quarterly 16 (July, 1925): 219.

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

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15. Emmons, "Journal," 3: entry for July 27, 1841.

16. Wilkes, "Diary," Washington Historical Quarterly 16 (July, 1925): 220.

17. Warre, "Travel and Sport in North America, 1839-1846," p. 137.

18. Rockwood, "Diary of Rev. George H. Atkinson," Oregon Historical Quarterly 40 (June, 1939): 181.

19. It is known that Ogden was living in the Big House by October 1, 1849, but he may not have moved in until James Douglas transferred to Fort Victoria earlier that same year. D. H. Vinton to P. F. Smith, Fort Vancouver, October 1, 1849, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm. Papers, [9:]133.

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.

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20. Affidavit of Joseph Petrain, October 25, 1873, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives. Except where otherwise indicated, this account of where the priests lived between 1846 and about 1851 is based on the sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, p. 182.

21. Vinton to Smith, Fort Vancouver, October 1, 1849, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]133.

22. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]75-77.

23. Except where otherwise indicated, this sketch of the Priests' House, 1849-60, is based on sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, p. 182.

24. Affidavit of the Most Reverend Francis Norbert Blanchet, [Vancouver], 1855, MS, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives.

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]

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25. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 17; Pierre Jean de Smet, Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains, in 1845-46 (New York, 1847), p. 96.

26. Schoenberg, A Chronicle of Catholic History, p. 16; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, p. A-59; A biography of Father Nobili appeared in the San Francisco Herald (San Francisco, California), March 20, 1856.

27. Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, p. 60.

28. Schoenberg, A Chronicle of Catholic History, p. 18.

29. Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, p. A-21.

30. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 40; Schoenberg, A Chronicle of Catholic History, pp. 17, 20, 21; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, pp. 60-73; Lieutenant Warre noted that Father DeVos "constantly" resided at the fort during the winter of 1845-46. Warre, "Travel and Sport in North America, 1839-1846," p. 138.

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 performed 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.

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. When scaled out on all versions of the 1845 ground plan by Lieutenant Vavasour, the Priests' House is represented as measuring approximately fifty by thirty feet (Plates VI-VIII, vol. I). The 1846-47 inventory of Company property includes "1 Dwelling house, 50 x 30 ft., lined & ceiled," which could only have been the Priests' House because it is the only structure listed with dimensions matching those of the Priests' House as shown by Vavasour and as revealed by archeological excavations.[33]

In 1948 archeologists working under the direction of Mr. Louis R. Caywood uncovered the footings at all four corners of Building No. 16. As reported by Mr. Caywood, "the overall measurements from the outsides of the footings" were 51 by 30-1/2 feet. The map of his excavations, however, shows the dimensions from about the centers of the footings as about 50 by 30-1/2 feet.[34] All things considered, the inventory figures of 50 by 30 feet would seem to be about correct for the outside dimensions of the Priests' House.

The archeologists were not so successful in finding the wall footings in 1948. Eight wooden blocks of "various" shapes, counting the corner footings, were uncovered along the south wall, but only about three or four of them were spaced at the ten-foot intervals usual in Canadian-style construction. The remaining footings may have been

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31. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 24; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, pp. 61-62.

32. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 38; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, p. 73.

33. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265.

34. Caywood, Final Report, p. 14, and Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

disturbed; certainly some of the blocks found were repair footings. On the west wall, in addition to the corner footings, two definite wooden blocks were found, one on each side of a central fireplace foundation; other pieces of wood discovered in this wall may represent fragments of sills or parts of footings. The north and east walls produced few blocks that can definitely be identified as footings in place, but long sections of what apparently were sills were revealed.

All footings were of Douglas fir and badly rotted. They were from two to three inches thick and varied in width from six to eighteen inches. Perhaps the most interesting feature is that they were placed about six inches below the 1830s ground level. Thus if the sills rested directly on the footings, they were partially buried. It seems probable from the 1860 photograph of the Priests' House, however, that the sills were slightly above ground level, in which case they must have rested on blocks of wood that, in turn, rested on the footings (see Plate LXVI). Additional archeological excavations might throw more light upon this matter.

Two areas of stone, brick, and plaster foundation were also found, one each at the centers of the west and east walls. The foundation on the west was four feet from north to south and about the same distance from west to east, but it was not completely excavated in the latter direction. The foundation in the east wall measured four by five feet, the east-west dimension being the longer. In addition, some scattered loose stones were found along the west wall of the building.[35]

The foundation on the west is known to have been for a fireplace (see Plate LXVI). Mr. Caywood believed that the one on the east was a platform for a stove.[36] This assumption may be correct, because nothing that can be identified as a chimney can be seen on the east side of the building in the Coode sketch.

b. General construction. Although the written record contains very little information about the physical structure of the Priests' House, the gap, at least as regards the exterior of the building, is quite adequately filled by the excellent views contained in the Coode sketch and the 1860 photograph (Plate XII, vol. I; Plate LXVI).

These pictures show the Priests' House to have been of basic Canadian-style construction, weatherboarded in the front only. The

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35. Description of footings and foundations based on Caywood, Final Report, pp. 14-15, and Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

36. Ibid., p. 41.

building was one story high, and if there was a garret it seems to have been low, with no windows. The roof was hipped and covered with shingles.

In the 1860 photograph the sills appear to rest on the ground toward the south end of the structure but seem to be raised on low blocks toward the rear. Possibly by that date the supporting blocks in front had rotted sufficiently to permit the sills to sag to ground level.

Walls. A Canadian-style building measuring fifty by thirty feet could be expected to have five bays of horizontal infill logs on the long walls and three on the short ones. The spacing of the door and window openings across the front of the Priests' House proves that, beneath the weatherboarding, the wall was of this traditional design. As the 1860 photograph clearly reveals, the west wall also had the expected three bays, but with modifications due to the chimney. The two end bays apparently were slightly smaller than normal--perhaps only 9-1/2 feet or a bit more between the centers of the uprights--while the middle bay was slightly larger.

This middle bay was divided into three approximately equal parts. In the center was the chimney, evidently about three feet wide, flanked on each side by an upright grooved timber. Short, horizontal timbers filled the spaces between these uprights and the regular uprights flanking the center bay.

Apparently the walls rose about 13-1/2 feet from the tops of the sills to the tops of the plates, but architects will be better able to scale the dimensions from the photograph than the writer. The tops of the tall windows seem to have been from nine to ten feet above the sills. The ground-floor ceiling beams must have rested on, or been morticed into, the lintels above the windows, leaving little wall above the beams to form the sides of a garret.

From the photograph, the wall timbers could have been either sawed or hewn. No chinking is visible.

Roof. The design of the hipped roof is perfectly evident from the pictures. The Coode watercolor shows that in 1846-47 the roof was covered with shingles, but larger shingles than those on the Big House. Probably they were hand-split, drawknife-finished shakes of the usual thirty-six-inch length, with perhaps sixteen to twenty-four inches exposed to the weather.

There appear to have been ridge and hip boards in 1860, but the situation in 1845-46 in this regard is unknown. Probably the boards were present. There evidently were no gutters or even drip boards over the doors.

Chimneys. The 1860 photograph reveals the shape and size of the chimney in the west wall quite clearly. What is not so evident, however, is the material of which the chimney is made. As has been seen, the foundation of this chimney was a combination of "stone, brick and plaster."[37] From the photograph, the remainder of the flue may have been constructed of the same materials. What apparently are random-sized stones seem to be visible in the lower portion, while the narrower section above the roof was made of either smaller stones or bricks.

By 1860 the chimney evidently had at one time been painted white or whitewashed. But in 1846-47, as proved by the Coode watercolor, the Priests' House was unpainted, and almost certainly the chimney, though not visible, was likewise without paint.

As is evident from the foundation, there must have been a chimney of some sort on the east wall as well. Because nothing that can be identified positively as a chimney on that side of the building can be observed in the available pictures, it seems impossible to make a valid assumption. If Mr. Caywood was correct in identifying the foundation as the base for a stove, the only chimney may have been a metal stove-pipe. Mr. Caywood did not explain his reasons for coming to this conclusion, but perhaps additional archeological studies will provide a more detailed description of this feature.

Doors. The Emmons ground plan of 1841 (Plate III, vol. I) shows two entrances to the "Chaplains' or Governors temporary residence," one centered in each of the north and south walls. From the 1860 photograph it seems most likely that this continued to be the case as long as the building stood.

Unfortunately, the front or south door seems to have been either open or recessed when the camera was trained on it, and thus no construction details are known. If the writer is correct in his estimates, however, the visible door opening was about nine feet high or even slightly higher. Should such prove to be the case when architects work out the scale for measuring the building, there must have been a transom or light over the door, but it must have been recessed sufficiently to escape the camera's eye. The Coode watercolor (in which the Priests' House is shown as the second building from the right, Plate XII, vol. I) seems to show a three-pane transom over the front door, but the picture is not sufficiently distinct to permit any certain identification of this feature.

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37. Ibid., p. 14.

Lacking definite data, it perhaps would be safe to assume that the front door was of the six-panel variety. It is also likely that the rear door was of similar design, with a transom above. There seem to have been two low steps before the front door, the bottom one being somewhat wider than that on top.

Windows. As can be observed in the 1860 photograph, there were four windows on the front wall of the Priests' House and two on the west wall. Almost surely the same pattern was repeated on the opposite walls.

The design and positioning of the tall casement windows are also evident from the photograph. There were no shutters.

Exterior finish. It is not known if the Priests' House was weatherboarded in front as early as 1845-46. The Coode watercolor is not sufficiently detailed to shed light on this subject.

It is possible that such was the case, both from the standpoint of providing more protection from the prevailing southerly rains and for the sake of appearance, because the Big House, the Priests' House, and the New Office formed the "dress front" on the north side of the fort courtyard. On the other hand, it is almost certain that the front of the Priests' House was not painted at that time, and perhaps it remained unpainted until weatherboards were added at a later date. However, it was not unusual for weatherboarded structures to be left without paint at Hudson's Bay Company posts (see Plate LXVII). Thus the writer is inclined to suggest that the front of the reconstructed Priests' House be covered with weatherboards as shown in the 1860 photograph. The remaining three walls undoubtedly were not weatherboarded.

The original copy of the Coode watercolor in the Hudson's Bay Company archives shows the Priests' House as being dark brown in color, but not as reddish a dark brown as the Old Office. This fact leads to the assumption that as late as 1846-47 the exterior walls of the building remained unpainted. The door and the door and window trim were Spanish brown in color, while the window sash, including that in the transom, was white.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. All that is known for certain about the interior of the Priests' House is that the structure was "lined & ceiled" and that there was a fireplace at the center of the west wall and either a stove or a fireplace (probably the former) at the center of the east wall. Because the structure seems to have been built as the chief factor's temporary residence and as a dwelling for officers and important guests, it is probable that the interior

finish was about the same as that of the Big House--unpainted vertical board paneling, chair rails, and planed floors.

The fireplaces, if indeed there were more than one, were most likely of the French-Canadian type illustrated in Plates XLIII and XLIV. The stove, if there was one, undoubtedly was a "Canadian stove," either single or double, and was probably made by Carron.

It is probable that access to the garret was through a trapdoor accessible by a ladder brought in when the occasion demanded. Garrets of the type found in the Priests' House were used by the Company for the seasoning of lumber and similar purposes.

As far as is known at present, there is no information whatever available concerning the interior room arrangement. It is scarcely likely, however, that a dwelling of fifty by thirty feet would have been designed as quarters for a single family. It seems most likely, then, that the interior was divided into at least two suites, each consisting of a sitting/dining room and two bedrooms.

One of many possible room arrangements to provide such accommodations might consist of a narrow hall extending through the building from front to rear doors. On each side of this hall there might be, in front, a sitting room of about twenty-two by sixteen feet, off of which, in the rear, open two small bedrooms. In this case the fireplaces or fireplace and stove would be in corners. Evidently the "house of the gentleman in charge" at York Factory during the 1830s was arranged on a somewhat similar pattern.[38]

Furnishings

Apparently no information is available concerning the furnishings of the Priests' House unless the Company-owned articles therein were included in the inventories of the "Bachelors Hall & No 1, 2, 3, 4, 5" already reproduced in Chapter IV. About all that could be done in refurnishing under these circumstances would be to employ a selection of the same types of chairs, beds, tables, sofas, and other furnishings as described for the Bachelors' Quarters.

There would, of course, be a few distinctive touches to indicate the status of the inhabitants. For instance, the "2 prs. bunting bed

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38. "Room Layouts in 'Big Houses' at Hudson's Bay Company Posts," typescript, (n.p., n.d.), p. 5.

Curtains" listed in the 1845 Bachelors' Hall inventory might well have been actually in the Priests' House, because probably only special guests like the clergy would have been accorded such a luxury by the Company. Religious habits, pictures, and objects might further serve to reveal the occupation of the inhabitants of at least one half of the house. There would also be a table and utensils for dining in the priests' quarters.

Recommendations

a. It is important that the entire site of the Priests' House be excavated, primarily to learn more about the extent and nature of the chimney foundations.

b. Because the Priests' House was a key feature in the historic scene surrounding the courtyard, it is recommended that it be reconstructed. It is suggested that the construction data provided in this chapter be followed as closely as possible. In certain aspects, such as the chimney on the east side of the building, however, an educated guess will have to be made by the architects on the basis of any additional information that might result from further archeological explorations.

c. It probably would not be necessary or desirable to refurnish this structure completely. It is suggested that only the sitting room and one bedroom in the priests' quarters be refurnished and exhibited. The doors to the remaining rooms could be kept closed.

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

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1. Frederick Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire; George Simpson's Journal; Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and back to York Factory, 1824-1825; together with Accompanying Documents, Harvard Historical Studies, vol. 31 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), pp. 50, 78.

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]

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2. This account of the beginnings of grain culture at Fort Vancouver is based on sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 34, 37-38, 43-52.

3. H.B.S., 4:143.

4. Washington Historical Quarterly, 2:165-66.

5. H.B.S., 4:241.

6. Oregon Historical Quarterly, 13:197.

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]

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7. H.B.S., 4:241.

8. Oregon Historical Quarterly, 13:198.

9. H.B.S., 4:276.

10. Ibid., p. 284.

11. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 79.

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.

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12. Ibid., p. 82.

13. James Douglas to George Simpson, Fort Vancouver, March 5, 1839, in H.B.C.A., D.5/5, MS, fol. 110.

14. James Douglas to Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, October 14, 1839, in H.B.S., 6:224.

15. H.B.S., 6:124-25.

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	" "	from Catholic Mission
2500	" "	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]

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16. Wilkes, Narrative, 4:333-34. In 1845, however, the Fort Vancouver farms produced about 5,000 bushels of oats, about 1,000 bushels more than the wheat crop of that year. H.B.S., 7:148.

17. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1840-41 [Country Produce Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/137, MS, p. 13.

18. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844-1845, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, pp. 102-3.

19. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845-1846 [Abstracts, Cost and Charges of Goods Received], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, p. 121. In the fall of 1845 the Company had about 30,000 bushels of wheat in store at Vancouver, Willamette Falls, and Champoeg, with about 10,000 more at Cowlitz. The wheat crop at Vancouver that year was about 4,000 bushels. H.B.S., 7:148.

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

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20. H.B.S., 7:33.

21. Margaret J. Bailey, "French Prairie Farm, 1839-1850," in Marion County History, vol. 5 (1959), p. 45.

22. James Douglas to W. F. Tolmie, Cowlitz Farm, June 23, 1845, in Fort Vancouver, Correspondence Outward, 1830-1849, Letters Signed by James Douglas, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

23. H.B.S., 7:139-40.

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]

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24. Ibid., pp. 124, 148.

25. Neil M. Howison, "Report of Lieutenant Neil M. Howison on Oregon, 1846," Oregon Historical Quarterly 14 (March, 1913): 40; H.B.C.A, B.223/b/34, MS, fols. 1-13.

26. Arthur L. Throckmorton, Oregon Argonauts: Merchant Adventurers on the Western Frontier (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1961), pp. 61-63, 85-106.

27. Oregon Spectator (Oregon City), March 4 [5], 1846.

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 warehouses 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

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28. Throckmorton, Oregon Argonauts, pp. 59-60, 63.

29. Testimony of Lloyd Brooke, August 8, 1866, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers [8:]128.

30. Testimony of H. A. Tuzo, in ibid., [2:]176-77, 184.

31. H.B.C., Fort Vancouver Miscellaneous Items, 1845-1866, H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 75d.

32. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers [9:]75-77.

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.

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. As has been seen, James Douglas told Governor Simpson on March 5, 1839, that a two-story Granary, fifty by forty feet, was under construction at that time. On one of the original copies of Vavasour's plan of 1845, the Wheat Store appears to scale out to about fifty-two by forty feet (Plate VI, vol. I); on the other it seems to measure about fifty-two by forty-three feet (Plate VII, vol. I). The 1846-47 inventory made by the Company lists the structure as "1 Granary, 50 x 40 [feet]."[34] In 1849 Major D. H. Vinton, U.S.A., judged it to be fifty by fifty feet.[35]

Archeologists in 1950 and 1952 found all four corner footings of the Wheat Store as well as most of those along the north, east, and west walls. The south wall was not completely excavated. According to Mr. Louis R. Caywood, who supervised the work, "east and west the corner footings were 52 feet from center to center," while "north and south the measurement was 40.5 feet." But on the detailed excavation plans the dimensions of the building appear to be shown as about fifty by forty-one feet.[36]

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33. During archeological excavation of the Wheat Store site in 1950 and 1952, remains of metal shingles were found "on top of burned wood," suggesting that fire may have been involved in the final destruction of this building. Caywood, Final Report, p. 12.

34. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265d.

35. D. H. Vinton to P. F. Smith, Fort Vancouver, October 1, 1849, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]133.

36. Caywood, Final Report, p. 12, and Excavation Drawings, sheet 8.

In view of this apparent, though not necessarily actual, conflict, a careful examination of the original field drawings might be in order. Probably the exteriors of the walls extended somewhat beyond the centers of the footings, so that an outside measurement of about fifty-two by forty-one feet for the Wheat Store would not have been unlikely.

As revealed by the archeological excavations the footings under the sills were spaced approximately ten feet apart on centers--the typical pattern for Canadian-type construction. Although the footings were not described in detail in the archeological report, they appear from the drawings to have been wooden slabs identical in size and spacing to those found on the sites of most other structures at Fort Vancouver.

b. General construction. The underlying structure of the Wheat Store is not visible in available pictures due to the board sheathing that completely covered the exteriors of the walls. On the basis of the footings and of precedent--the original Hudson's Bay Company granary at Fort Nisqually still survives (see Plate CXI, vol. I)--one might be inclined to assume that the building was constructed in the usual Canadian or post-on-sill fashion. However, in 1841 Lieutenant Wilkes was taken into the Wheat Store by James Douglas and seemingly examined it quite carefully. The Granary, he wrote, was "a frame building of two stories, and the only one, the rest being of logs."[37]

At several places throughout this study, notice has been taken of testimony by one or two other witnesses who also stated, generally erroneously it would appear, that certain structures were not built of squared timbers. But Wilkes is the only person known to have said that the Wheat Store was not constructed in the usual Canadian style. His words cannot be taken lightly, because he was a trained observer and made a particular point of explaining that the Granary was not built of logs. It must be admitted, however, that the general configuration appears to be that of a post-on-sill structure, but seemingly there is no way to be certain (see Plate LXIII).

Under these circumstances, a compromise may prove to be the best course for reconstruction, and actually it may turn out to be not far from the fact if the real structure is ever determined. A frame might be erected in the usual fashion with heavy sills, massive upright timbers, and plates, but the uprights would not be grooved. Additional bracing timbers, both horizontal and diagonal, would be required to provide the rigidity ordinarily supplied by the infill timbers. Knee

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37. Wilkes, Narrative, 4:332.

braces, such as those found on wooden ships, were sometimes employed at eastern posts in place of diagonal bracing, which was little used in Hudson's Bay Company construction. Oak knee braces employed in this manner may be observed in the blockhouse at Fort Nisqually in Tacoma, but because this building is a reconstruction it is not absolutely certain that this technique was used in the original bastion. The roof would be framed in the same manner as those of the other warehouses.

The outside of the frame would be covered by vertical planks, possibly double thickness. There do not appear to be battens over the joints as the Wheat Store is pictured in the 1860 photograph, but it seems impossible to be entirely certain on this point. Evidently the walls were not lined on the inside, because otherwise Wilkes probably would not have been impressed by the type of framing.

Parts of the Wheat Store are visible in several drawings of Fort Vancouver in addition to the 1860 photograph (for examples see Plates XIV-XVI, XVIII, XX-XXI, and XXVI, vol. I). All show the structure as a rather tall, box-like building with a hipped roof, the ridge of which ran east and west. It obviously was a full two stories in height.

Walls. The type of wall construction most likely used in building the Wheat Store has been described in the preceding section. If this style was actually employed, there undoubtedly was a major upright timber over each of the six footings (counting the corners) in the east-west walls. The pattern would have been different in the north-south walls, however. There the centered doors and windows on the east and west sides of the Wheat Store would have precluded the use of center posts, although archeology has shown that there was a center footing under at least the east wall.

The walls evidently were about twenty feet high from the tops of the sills to the tops of the plates, but once architects have determined the heights of the door and window openings it will be possible to estimate the wall height more precisely. As shown by the ramp leading to the east entry, the sills probably were raised on wooden blocks slightly above ground level, but the outer board sheathing extended to the ground (except perhaps on the east and west; see Plate LXIII). Probably the main wall timbers were hand hewn.

Roof. The design of the hipped roof is perfectly evident from the 1860 photograph. The basic framing and construction undoubtedly were the same as those employed for the other large warehouses in the fort. Almost certainly there was solid horizontal plank sheathing immediately over the rafters.

Both the 1860 photograph (Plate LXIII) and archeological evidence prove conclusively that the Wheat Store roof was covered with interlocking metal shingles. During excavations in 1950 and 1952 archeologists found "a mass of iron sheets" on the site of this structure. "These," reported Mr. Caywood, "had been fastened to wood by the use of small, well-made, square nails about an inch in length. Many of these metal sheets were still interlocked."[38] Unfortunately, the salvaged shingles have since been lost, and thus additional excavation to recover enough examples to provide guidance for reproductions is virtually essential. Meanwhile, however, the data on metal shingles provided in Chapter III on the Powder Magazine should suffice for planning purposes.

No gutters are visible in the 1860 photograph, except for a short one placed close under the eaves over the east window and door. Although it is impossible to be positive, the photograph seems to indicate that this gutter was of metal. It dipped slightly toward the south, and some of the water running from it hit the siding as it fell and stained the boards. Probably there was a similar gutter at the west end of the building. There were no chimneys in the Wheat Store.

Doors. The Emmons ground plan of 1841 (Plate III, vol. I) depicts the "Grainery" as having two doors, one centered in both the east and west walls.[39] In the 1860 photograph only the eastern door is visible, but undoubtedly that on the west was its exact duplicate. Very probably the Wheat Store was planned to permit carts to drive in one end, load or unload, and then drive out the other end.

As pictured in the photograph (Plate LXIII) the east door was a large, double-leaved affair with an arched top. It undoubtedly was constructed of heavy planks. The design of this type of door has already been adequately discussed in the chapters on the warehouses and Blacksmith's Shop. It should be noted, however, that very faint indications of what may be paneling on the doors seem to be evident in the 1860 photograph, perhaps pointing to a different type of door than the usual one made of vertical planks. If at all possible, an enlargement should be obtained directly from the original glass negative in England with a view to bringing out the maximum amount of detail in regard to this special point.

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38. Caywood, Final Report, p. 12.

39. It should be noted here that the sizes and locations of the "Grainery" shown by Emmons and of the "Wheat Store" on Vavasour's map of 1845 do not coincide. In fact, the differences are considerable. Yet the same building undoubtedly was intended in each case. Emmons, as a guest of the Company, evidently did not feel free to make measurements, and thus his plan is only an approximate diagram in several respects.

The photograph further shows that the east door, at least, was fronted by a heavy plank and timber ramp that permitted vehicles to surmount the heavy sill. Probably the west door was approached on a similar structure.

Windows. Only one window is visible in the 1860 photograph, and it was on the second floor, centered over the door in the east wall. The south wall clearly had no windows whatever. An assumption that the west wall had a single window identical to that on the east end of the building is supported by several drawings of the 1840s and 1850s in which such an opening is visible (see Plates XIV, XVIII, XX-XXI, and XXVI, vol. I).[40]

The north wall presents more of a problem. At least two later drawings (Plates XXI and XXVI, vol. I) appear to show two windows on the north side of the Wheat Store. Neither of these views is notable for accuracy in small details, however, and the writer is inclined to follow the highly reliable Gibbs drawing of 1851 (Plate XVIII, vol. I) in which no windows are visible on the north side of the Granary. In other words, the north wall probably was a duplicate of the south wall.

The design of the east-wall window is not easily determined from the 1860 photograph. To a degree it appears to be a double-hung window with twelve panes in the upper section and eight in the lower, but it also could have been a side-hung window of twenty panes. Windows of the former type were not unusual at Hudson's Bay Company posts (see Plate LX), but the latter type was also used (see Plate LIX).

It is difficult to understand the apparent paucity of windows in the Wheat Store. One of the basic principles of good granary management in the nineteenth century was that adequate ventilation should be provided. In British granaries, wrote a leading authority of the period, "every apartment is also furnished with windows, which are opened in dry weather, for the benefit of ventilation."[41] If any other means of ventilation than the two doors and the two known windows was provided at Fort Vancouver, its nature is not yet evident.

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40. The Sohon drawing of 1854 (Plate XXI, vol. I) shows two windows in the upper story of the west wall, but this picture contains certain known inaccuracies.

41. A. Edlin, A Treatise on the Art of Bread-Making: Wherein, the Mealing Trade, Assize Laws, and Every Circumstance Connected with the Art, Is Particularly Examined (London: Printed by J. Wright for Vernor and Hood, Poultry, 1805), p. 20.

Exterior finish. The exterior siding on the Wheat Store has already been discussed. The 1847-48 painting of Fort Vancouver by an unknown artist clearly shows that by that date the Wheat Store was painted white (Plate XV, vol. I). By 1860 most of this decorative coat apparently had worn off, but enough remained to demonstrate that the door frames, at least, were white. Apparently the window frames and sash were also white. The doors themselves were a very dark color, probably Spanish brown.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. Nothing in the available historical record provides any specific information about the interior of the Wheat Store beyond the fact that there were two stories and that there were bins. And as has been pointed out, the evidence tends to indicate that the interior was unlined. All else must be designed on the basis of comparative data, and thus far little has surfaced.

The placement of the doors would appear to indicate the presence of a wide center aisle running the entire length of the building on the ground floor. If standard British granary construction was employed at Fort Vancouver, a departure from ordinary fur trade building practice was involved, in that there were upright posts supporting the ceiling beams. While describing a typical English grain store, A. Edlin in his 1805 Treatise on the Art of Bread-Making stated that "to support the great extent of the floor, and such a weight of grain, there are several very large and solid wooden pillars placed in every room, which pass from top to bottom."[42] If such "pillars" existed at Fort Vancouver, they probably were positioned on each side of the center aisle. The bins perhaps were also ranged on each side of center aisles, both downstairs and up.

According to Edlin, fresh grain was only stored in layers about six inches deep for the first two months, being turned about twice a week during that period. Thereafter the depth was gradually increased, while the turning became less frequent. After a year it could be "laid" 2-1/2 or 3 feet deep and turned over only about once a month. Evidently this depth was about the maximum employed, but the turning could be reduced to once in two months after two years.[43] These facts would appear to indicate that the bins were relatively shallow.

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42. Ibid., p. 20.

43. Ibid., p. 21. No attempt is made here to describe the cleaning process the grain kernels underwent upon their arrival at the Granary or the screening that accompanied the periodic turning of the grain.

What little is known about grain bins at Hudson's Bay Company posts would appear to support such a conclusion. The granary at Fort Nisqually still survives, though it was moved from its original location and partly reconstructed. Whether the bins now in the building are originals or reconstructions the writer has not ascertained. At any rate, the original bins could not have been much over three feet deep because the windows, which are in the exterior bin walls, were only about that height from the floor.[44]

Unfortunately the Historic American Buildings Survey measured drawings of the Fort Nisqually granary provide no useful information on the construction of the bins. A reexamination of this building by an architect knowledgeable in Hudson's Bay Company construction techniques would be desirable.

The floors at both levels were undoubtedly the same heavy, three-inch planks used in the other warehouses. In this instance, however, they may have been tongued and grooved and possibly more smoothly finished than those employed elsewhere. Otherwise considerable quantities of grain would have been lost through the open cracks that sooner or later developed in the usual warehouse floors. Also, the process of cleaning the grain as it was received in the Wheat Store evidently involved tossing the kernels with shovels back and forth across considerable distances of open floor, the dust and other impurities falling out in the process.[45] It would seem that a floor capable of being swept clean would be a requirement for such an operation.

Because no provisions for hauling sacks of grain up to the second story are visible on the outside of the building, it probably should be assumed that this process was conducted inside. The usual open-tread stairs, trapdoors, and bracing for block and tackle assemblies were most likely present.

Furnishings

No inventories of articles in use have been found specifically for the Wheat Store. And the lists headed "In Stores" do not appear

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44. Historic American Buildings Survey, Fort Nisqually Granary, Point Defiance Park, Tacoma, Washington, Measured Drawings, 2 sheets, in Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

45. Edlin, A Treatise on the Art of Bread-Making, pp. 20-21.

to contain many items suitable for employment in a granary, except blocks and tackle. But under the major heading of "Farm Utensils &c" are found a few articles that appear to pertain to the Wheat Store. For example, in the long list in the spring, 1844, inventory are the following items:

2 small 4 wheeled hand Carts pr Granary
3 Imperial 1/2 Bush[el] Measures
1 " 1 " do
4 Shovels[46]

It is assumed that shovels were kept in the Granary, because they were employed in the usual British process for cleaning and turning the grain. Edlin also mentions the use of screens in connection with these operations, but he does not describe them.[47]

From material cited earlier in this chapter, it would appear that flour as well as grain was stored in the Granary. Flour was ordinarily packed in barrels at Fort Vancouver.

Recommendations

a. It is suggested that the entire site of the Wheat Store be excavated, particularly with a view to checking the exact dimensions of the building and to determining if there were supports under the uprights that are assumed to have supported the ceiling beams. It is also possible that enough traces can be found of the ramps in front of the doors to permit a determination of the dimensions. Also urgently needed are samples of the metal shingles that covered the roof.

b. Because the Wheat Store was a key element in the historic scene at Fort Vancouver and because it played such an important role in the economic history of both the Columbia District and of Oregon, it is recommended that this building be reconstructed. Insofar as the documentary and pictorial data presented in the body of this chapter provide firm guidance, they should be heeded in planning the reconstruction.

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46. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 166-68. The 1845 inventory adds nothing of significance to the 1844 items listed here.

47. Edlin, A Treatise on the Art of Bread-Making, pp. 20-21.

c. It is recommended that a special study of the construction and equipping of nineteenth-century British and Canadian granaries be conducted in an attempt to fill in the many gaps in the specific data available relating to the Wheat Store. In particular, more information is required on the design of the bins commonly employed during the 1830s. This study should include a fresh architectural examination of the surviving Hudson's Bay Company granary from Fort Nisqually, now located in Point Defiance Park, Tacoma.

d. It is suggested that the interior of the Granary, at least on the ground floor, be refitted with bins and refurnished with implements, flour barrels, and perhaps even a certain quantity of grain in order to re-create as nearly as possible the appearance and smell of a wheat store. Properly interpreted, this exhibit could do much to explain the part played by the Hudson's Bay Company in the development of Oregon.

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.

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1. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]176-77. The 1846-47 inventory of Company improvements at Fort Vancouver included "3 Root Houses, 60 x 20," but they were listed under the heading "Out Buildings" and thus were not within the stockade. Ibid., pp. 118-19.

2. Ibid., pp. 202-3.

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

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3. Ibid., [9:]75-77.

4. Caywood, Final Report, p. 20. The evidence as to whether the building was burned is inconclusive. The wooden floor was "badly charred," as if the structure had suffered a fire, but the sills showed no signs of burning.

5. Ibid. In actuality, the discovery of the Root House sills, revealing the dimensions of the structure, seems to have been the first step in the identification of this building. Only about half of the Root House site was excavated in 1952.

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-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).

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6. Ibid.

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 northwest 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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7. For example, the Vavasour plan does not show the privies, which were a conspicuous part of the fort scene; the Covington map omits the magazine and one or more structures in the Beef Store-Wheat Store vicinity.

8. See Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, Plate XVI.

9. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fols. 265d-266.

Construction details

Between the remains of the building discovered during archeological excavations and the glimpse of the structure given in the 1860 photograph, the dimensions, materials, and construction of the Root House are known in considerable detail. Undoubtedly a reexcavation of the site in the presence of an historical architect would provide additional facts.

Rotted wooden sills, situated forty inches below the present ground surface (the depth of the historic ground level at this point was not mentioned by Mr. Caywood), outlined a structure with a north-south length of fifty-five feet and a width of twenty-one feet. Charred remains of a wooden floor were found. No evidence of wood or stone walls seems to have been uncovered at the portions excavated, although the existence of wooden walls is not necessarily eliminated by this fact. Along the earthen east wall there was evidence of two posts projecting at an upward angle. Mr. Caywood believed they "may have been part of the low gable roof which came to the ground line."[10]

The 1860 photograph shows that the roof was formed of vertically laid planks, probably lapped "board and batten" fashion. The ridge boards were also heavy planks (see Plate XXVIII, vol. I).

The location and style of the entrance are not known, but further careful archeological excavations at the site might reveal traces of a stairway or other evidence that would throw light on this matter. Comparative studies of European and American root houses of the same or an earlier time undoubtedly would provide other clues as to typical construction details for this type of structure.

Recommendations

a. Careful archeological excavations should be conducted in the northwest stockade angle in an attempt to determine the sequence of structures in that area. Establishment of such a sequence might throw light on the construction date of the Root House.

b. The site of the Root House should be completely excavated and all architectural details should be carefully examined and mapped.

c. If the refuse that archeologists discovered in the Root House cellar in 1952 is still there, it should be carefully screened for materials, such as the "interlocking sheets of iron," that would throw light on the architecture of other fort structures.

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10. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 19-20, and Excavation Drawings, sheets 4 and 7.

d. Upon the basis of the archeological findings and the 1860 photograph, architectural drawings of the Root House should be prepared by historical architects versed in Hudson's Bay Company construction methods and in the design of root cellars in general. A special study of nineteenth-century British and Canadian root cellar design would be desirable.

e. In view of the uncertainty concerning the date of erection of the Root House, it is recommended that a decision concerning the reconstruction of this building be delayed until it is seen if renewed archeological excavations produce information as to the time of building. If it can be shown that the Root House was not erected until after 1846, the building should not be included in the reconstruction project, interesting though it is. If no further information concerning the date of erection can be found, it is recommended that reconstruction be authorized but with a very low priority.

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]

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1. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 78.
2. Ibid., p. 87.
3. H.B.S., 10:69.
4. Ibid., 4:207.

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 £300 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

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5. Ibid., 10:69.

6. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 310.

7. Ibid.; H.B.S., 4:207.

8. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 332; H.B.S., 7:xviii.

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. G. 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]

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9. H.B.S., 4:137-38 fn.; John S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company As an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), pp. 193-95.

10. H.B.S., 4:138-39.

11. Ibid., pp. 215-16.

12. Ibid., 7:xx. This was the party supported by Purser William A. Slacum of the United States Navy.

13. Ibid., 4:249-51; ibid., 7:xvi.

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 agreement 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 15 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.

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14. Ibid., 4:258, 264, 284-85.

15. [Otto Klotz, comp.,] Certain Correspondence of the Foreign Office and of the Hudson's Bay Company, Copied from Original Documents, London 1898 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1899), pt. 2, pp. 36-37. In 1840 the Hudson's Bay Company was obligated to deliver only as much of these quantities as it could.

16. George Simpson, An Overland Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842, 2 vols. in 1 (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1847), 1:108.

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

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17. James R. Gibson, "Food for the Fur Traders: The First Farmers in the Pacific Northwest, 1805-1846," Journal of the West 7 (January, 1968): 27.

18. H.B.S., 6:233-34.

19. Simpson, An Overland Journey, 1:108.

20. Ibid., p. 143.

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 pemitted, McLoughlin bought the livestock on behalf of the Hudson's

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21. Wilkes, Narrative, 4:334.

22. H.B.S., 6:41. Even with this allowance, however, there still seems to be considerable disparity between the estimates.

23. Ibid., p. 237.

24. Ibid., p. 256.

25. Ibid., p. 268.

Bay Company.[26] Captain Joseph Gale and a small group of Oregon settlers went to California by boat during the fall of 1842 and returned 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, because 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 livestock 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,

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26. John McLoughlin to George Simpson, Vancouver, March 20, 1843, in H.B.C.A., D.5/8, MS, fol. 160; George Simpson to John McLoughlin, Red River Settlement, June 21, 1843, in H.B.C.A., B.223/c/1, MS, fols. 197-197d; H.B.S., 6:81-82, 123, 314-15. Ermatinger received notice of his promotion to chief trader shortly after his return from this trip.

27. Alfred L. Lomax, "History of Pioneer Sheep Husbandry in Oregon," Oregon Historical Quarterly 29 (June, 1928): 120; John Minto, "Sheep Husbandry in Oregon," ibid. 3 (September, 1902): 220.

28. Minto, "Sheep Husbandry in Oregon," pp. 220-21; H.B.S., 6:108, 136.

29. H.B.S., 7:129-30.

30. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company, p. 217.

31. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 168-69. Probably there were sheep also, but if they belonged to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company they would not have been included in the inventory.

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 remained 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

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32. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers [2:]52.

33. Minto, "Sheep Husbandry in Oregon," p. 220; Wilkes, Narrative, 4:335.

34. Wilkes, Narrative, 4:334.

35. H.B.S., 6:223.

36. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company, p. 217.

37. For a description of such a hunt at Fort Nisqually see Edward Huggins, "In the Early Days," in Tacoma (Wash.) Ledger, December 15, 1892.

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

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38. Edward Belcher, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, Performed in Her Majesty's Ship Sulphur, during the Years 1836-1842, 2 vols. (London, 1843), 1:296.

39. H.B.S., 6:238.

40. Ibid., pp. 319, 327.

41. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, pp. 148-49.

42. H.B.S., 7:92.

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 preserved 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-VIII, vol. I). It lay somewhat more than forty feet directly west of the Wheat Store.

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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.

44. H.B.S., 6:124.

45. [Archibald Barclay] to John McLoughlin, London, September 3, 1844, in H.B.C.A., B.223/c/1, MS, fols. 225-226.

46. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, pp. 148-49; H.B.S., 7:31.

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 replaced 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]

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47. H.B.S., 7:186.

48. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]82.

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 remaining flock 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 somewhat 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.

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49. Rockwood, "Diary of Rev. George H. Atkinson," Oregon Historical Quarterly 40 (June, 1939): 184.

50. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]45-46.

51. Victor J. Farrar, ed., "The Nisqually Journal," Washington Historical Quarterly 15 (July, 1924): 224.

52. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265d.

53. Testimony of A. H. Tuzo, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]176-77.

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.

Construction details

On one of the original versions of the Vavasour plan of 1845 (Plate VI, vol. I), the Beef Store scales out to about thirty by eighty-five feet. The second original version (Plate VII, vol. I) indicates that the dimensions were about thirty by eighty feet, while the traced copy (Plate VIII, vol. I) shows the structure as measuring about thirty-two by eighty feet. The 1846-47 inventory made by the Company lists the Beef Store as being thirty by seventy-five feet. The site of the Beef Store was partially excavated in 1952, but no footings or even molds in the earth where footings might have rested were found.[54] Lacking physical remains, therefore, it is necessary to rely on the somewhat contradictory historical evidence and estimate that the building measured about thirty by eighty feet. The long dimension lay east-west.

Until the entire northwestern portion of the fort enclosure has been thoroughly excavated it is unsafe to speculate on the possible nature of the Beef Store footings. It might be noted, however, that footings of other early structures that stood in this vicinity, such as the first Big House, apparently have not yet been found either. This fact points to the possibility that it may have been the practice to remove the footings when old structures were demolished by Company employees, disturbing the ground to such an extent that not even the molds remained.

If such was the case, however, it is difficult to explain the "well defined section of wooden flooring preserved by pitch and asphalt" found by the archeologists within the site of the Beef Store. Also uncovered, in the southeast corner of the Beef Store site, were the remains of an oak barrel and a large, three-sheaved wooden block.[55] Such items would hardly have remained had the area been thoroughly "policed" after the demolition of the building, but there still exists the possibility that they were evidence of

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54. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 9-10.

55. Ibid., p. 9. The area of flooring measured about nine by seventeen feet and lay about thirty feet south of the north stockade wall, barely within the probable confines of the Beef Store as located by Vavasour.

a later activity on the site. A thorough archeological exploration of this area possibly could clarify this confusing situation.

Lacking any information, physical or historical, concerning the type of construction, one can only assume--on the assurance of witnesses that nearly all fort structures were built of squared logs--that the usual Canadian style was employed. Fortunately, the roof of the Beef Store can be clearly identified immediately to the right of the Granary in two contemporary pictures: the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist (Plate XVI, vol. I) and the Gibbs pencil sketch of 1851 (Plate XVIII, vol. I). Both views show it to have been a long, low, gable-roofed structure, with the ridge of the roof running east and west. The eave line was below the top of the palisade. No windows are visible in the gable ends, the building was unpainted, and the roof apparently was covered with vertical boards, though it is impossible to be certain on this last point.

The Emmons plan of 1841 (Plate III, vol. I) shows three doors evenly spaced along the south (front) wall of the general warehouse that then stood on the approximate site of the Beef Store. Because it is by no means certain that Emmons's general store was the same structure as the 1845 Beef Store, the 1841 plan cannot give positive guidance as to the number and location of the doors. Yet the placement appears reasonable and, lacking better data, it is suggested that Emmons be followed in this respect. Probably the doors were double and arched as on most of the other storehouses. Almost surely the doors were approached by wooden ramps so that carts could enter the building.

No information whatever is available concerning windows in the Beef Store. It must be assumed that there were a number of small, shuttered windows on the ground floor, spaced as in the other warehouses. Probably there was a garret, but with much lower walls than those found on the second floors of the larger stores. If so, there almost surely would have been at least one window in each gable end and perhaps several very small ones close under the eaves along the front and rear walls. The painting of doors, windows, shutters, and trim would have been the same as for the other warehouses.

The interior was probably unlined, with very heavy ground-floor ceiling beams unsupported by center posts. The floor would have been of thick, unfinished planks. Probably there were several trapdoors in the ceiling, with heavy wooden blocks for lifting the barrels of salted meat. The remains of a three-sheaved wooden block found on the site of the Beef Store by archeologists in 1952 are shown in Plate LXVIII.

It should be noted that the "Line of Fire" map of 1844 shows what appear to be two lines of fencing or pickets connecting the north wall of the Beef Store with the north stockade. Such links are not pictured on the Vavasour plan, but one version of the latter (Plate VI, vol. I) depicts a similar barrier connecting the southwest corner of the Beef Store with the northeast corner of the Sale Shop.

Furnishings

As with the other warehouses, the "furnishings" of the Beef Store were largely the items stored therein. No separate inventory of "articles in use" in the Beef Store has been found. Therefore it must be assumed that a certain number of the items listed as being "In Stores" in the 1844 and 1845 inventories already reproduced (see pp. 258-59, vol. I) were assigned to the warehouse for meat, but which ones is not evident.

The Fort Vancouver account books reveal that preserved meats were packed in barrels and casks of several different sizes. For example, when the inventory for Outfit 1840 was taken (during the spring of 1841) there were on hand in the Fort Vancouver Depot the following pertinent items listed among the "Country Produce":

41 Tierces Beef ea 300 lbs
2 Casks " " 200 "
20 Tierces Salt Pork ea 300 lbs FV [processed at Fort Vancouver]
1 Cask " " " 400 "
1 Tierce " " " 300 " FL [processed at Fort Langley][56]

During Outfit 1844 the Company shipped the Russians salt beef from Fort Nisqually in 215-pound casks, while from Fort Vancouver the preserved meat was charged by the hundredweight (112 lbs.), though evidently it was packed in tierces.[57]

Some idea of the quantities of preserved meats on hand in the Fort Vancouver Depot can be gathered from inventories, but of course they reflect conditions only on particular dates. Total production figures have not yet been encountered by the writer. For what they are worth, the following statistics are presented:

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56. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/137, MS, p. 11.

57. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, pp. 148-49.

1. At the opening of Outfit 1845 on June 1, 1845, the following quantities of preserved meats were on hand at the Fort Vancouver Depot:

43 tierces salt Beef
35 barrels " do
30 barrels FL [Fort Langley] Pork
66 tierces do

In addition, the following items may have been kept in the Beef Store, although there is no information to that effect:

2564 lbs California Grease [tallow]
1449 lbs tanned Leather
732 lbs hogs Lard[58]

2. In the spring of 1846 the annual inventory listed the following items of "country produce" that almost certainly were kept in the Beef Store:

176 Barrels salt Beef
400 lbs. pork Hams
16 bbls Pork
20 Tierces do

The following products may also have been stored in the building:

9598 lbs California Grease
30 ox Hides
233 tanned ox Hides
1014 lbs hogs Lard
650 lbs Tallow[59]

Recommendations

a. A thorough archeological examination of the northwest quadrant of the fort enclosure is required in order to determine the sequence of structures there and to attempt to establish the dimensions, exact location, and type of foundation of the Beef Store.

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58. Ibid., p. 102.

59. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, pp. 120-21.

b. In view of the many uncertainties concerning its physical structure, it is suggested that the Beef Store be given a low priority as far as rebuilding is concerned. It is possible, though not too probable, that archeology can provide the answers to questions concerning the type of foundations, the style of construction, location of doors, etc. If so, reconstruction might be undertaken with more assurance. There still would remain, however, the problem of what to do with such a large structure that would be difficult to exhibit in any meaningful manner, even though the Beef Store would illustrate an important facet of Columbia depot activity.

c. If the building is reconstructed it is recommended that one end of the ground floor, about thirty or forty feet, be partitioned off and stocked with barrels, casks, and tierces to represent processed meats in storage. Various items of equipment and audio messages could be employed to tell quite a fascinating story of cattle drives, cattle hunts, the salting process, and shipments to Sitka. It might give a false impression to attempt to demonstrate the salting process in the building, however, because no evidence has yet been found to indicate where at the depot the actual curing was undertaken.

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).

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1. H.B.S., 6:302.

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.

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2. The physical and historical evidence for the assumption that the ovens of the 1836-44 Bakery were demolished, except for the foundations, is well presented in the excellent report by Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--III, pp. 49, 53-57.

3. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265d.

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]

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4. For the history of this structure, see pp. 167-68 in vol. I of this report.

5. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]104-6.

6. Philip Henry Overmeyer, "George B. McClellan and the Pacific Northwest," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 32 (January, 1941): 17-18.

7. "Proceedings of a board of officers, Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860, A.G.O., Ore. Dept., Doc. File 212-S-1860, in National Archives; also printed in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]74-77.

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,

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8. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]202-3. In listing the buildings that he remembered as standing within the stockade in 1858, Mactavish very obviously referred to the 1846-47 inventory and merely checked off such structures as he believed were still in existence twelve years later. For an evaluation of his testimony, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 154-55.

9. Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--III, pp. 57, 72.

10. Ibid., p. 69.

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

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11. Ibid., p. 6.

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.

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. As has already been seen, both the Vavasour plan of 1845 and the Company's building inventory of 1846-47 agree in giving the dimensions of the Harness Shop as twenty-five by forty feet. There seems to be no reason why these measurements should not be accepted, particularly because archeological excavations in 1952 and 1971 uncovered no corner footings that would have proved the dimensions without a doubt.

In 1952 Archeologist Louis R. Caywood unearthed two blocks of wood, each measuring about one by two feet and oriented east-west, a few feet south of a stone foundation. Because they were situated on the same east-west line and spaced about 12-1/2 feet apart, it was assumed that they represented footings of the Harness Shop.[13] When the site was reexcavated in 1971 these blocks had disappeared. Messrs. Hoffman and Ross were aware of Mr. Caywood's find and believed the two blocks were "near the southern edge of the Harness Shop position."[14]

This writer accepts the assumption that these pieces of wood represented footings, but he wishes to advance the hypothesis that

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12. In their report on the archeological excavation of the Harness Shop site, Messrs. Hoffman and Ross have provided a very thoughtful discussion of the succession of structures in the northeastern corner of the fort. While this writer would hesitate to state some of the conclusions in such a positive manner, the discussion is of much value in clarifying a confusing situation. See Ibid., pp. 67-71.

13. Caywood, Final Report, p. 16, and Excavation Drawings, sheet 9.

14. Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--III, p. 17.

they were near the northern wall of the Harness Shop and represented either interior footings of that structure or footings of one of the smaller buildings that may have been erected later on the Harness Shop site. The reasons for this theory are twofold:

(1) If one examines the original versions of the very accurate Vavasour plan of 1845 (Plates VI and VII, vol. I) he notes that the north wall of the Harness Shop was approximately fifteen feet south of the north stockade line, while the south wall of the shop was about forty feet south of the pickets and about on a line with the north end of the Big House. This measurement is as would be expected for a structure twenty-five feet wide.

Now, if one turns to Mr. Caywood's excavation drawings, sheet 9, one quickly observes that the two footings were between twenty-two and twenty-five feet south of the stockade, depending upon which line of pickets is used as a base. In other words, the footings were from seven to ten feet south of where they might have been expected to have been found had they been footings of the north wall of the Harness Shop.

(2) If one extends the north end of the Big House, as shown on Mr. Caywood's drawings, eastward across the Harness Shop site, one finds that this line is about forty-two to forty-four feet south of the stockade, again depending on which line of pickets is used as a base. This distance corresponds reasonably well with the distance of forty feet given by Vavasour for the south wall of the Harness Shop.

Now, if one measures northward twenty-five feet from this assumed south wall site, one establishes a hypothetical north Harness Shop wall that is roughly sixteen to eighteen feet south of the stockade. Switching now to Figure 1 in Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--III, one sees that a line 16-1/2 feet south of the center of the reconstructed stockade marks the southern limit of the oven foundations as excavated in 1971. In other words, it would appear that the northern wall of the Harness Shop and the southern end of the oven complex were both, after allowing for a small percentage of error, equidistant from the stockade wall and that that distance was very close to that pictured by Vavasour.

This condition is exactly what one would expect. It will be remembered that from about 1836 to 1844 the Harness Shop structure served as a bakery. Company practice, as proved by archeological evidence on the site of the 1844-60 Bakery and by H.B.C. bakeries at other posts, was to build bake ovens outside of, but abutting, the bakehouse structures proper. The ovens were not shown jutting from the north wall of the Harness Shop on the Vavasour map of 1845 or on the "Line of Fire" map of September 1844, because by those dates, as will be recalled, the bricks had been removed for use in the new bakery.

Having thus suggested the locations of the north and south walls of the 1845 Harness Shop, it seems reasonable to speculate on the positions of the other two walls. It has been seen that the Vavasour plan placed the west wall about twenty-five feet east of the 1845 Big House Kitchen and the east wall about thirty-five to forty feet west of the 1845 "Bake House." Unfortunately, these measurements could not have been correct, because the distance between the 1845 Kitchen and the Bakery was closer to 125 feet than to 105 feet.

Nevertheless, the east-west position can be established within fairly close limits. On the east, archeologists have uncovered two privy pits situated along the west side of the northern end of the east stockade as it stood in 1841 (line CF on Plate I, vol. I). These privy pits appear to have been about sixteen to seventeen feet east of the ca. 1836-44 oven complex unearthed in 1971. Because the east wall of the ca. 1836 Bakery (later Harness Shop) must have stood at least five feet west of these privies, the north wall of the structure could not have extended more than about eleven or twelve feet east of the oven complex. Allowing eleven feet for the width of the oven complex as reported by Messrs. Hoffman and Ross, the north wall of the Harness Shop must have extended about seventeen or eighteen feet west of the ovens (in order to make a total length of forty feet).[15]

A west wall standing seventeen or eighteen feet west of the oven complex would have meant that the hearth area found both in 1952 and 1971 lay outside the confines of the Harness Shop. Such a conclusion coincides with the findings of Messrs. Hoffman and Ross, who have shown, on the basis of the type of bricks found about the hearth and its adjacent fallen chimney, that these features were associated with the post-1852 Kitchen that closely neighbored the Harness Shop on the west.[16]

It would appear, then, that the oven complex was not centered on the north wall of the ca. 1836 Bakery. Perhaps supporting such a conclusion is the fact that Emmons in 1841 depicted the only door to this structure as not centered on the south wall but placed about one-third of the wall length from the west end (see Plate III, vol. I).

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15. Ibid., p. 15.

16. Ibid., pp. 52-53.

b. General construction. Because no footings that can positively be related to exterior walls were found, there are no physical clues as to the type of construction. Undoubtedly, however, the usual Canadian-style, squared-log technique was employed. In fact the Harness Shop probably was built in much the same manner as the 1845 Bakery (which has already been described in considerable detail in this report) except that it may have been better finished, because it was described in the 1846-47 inventory as being "lined and sided."[17]

The roof and the gable ends of the Harness Shop are visible in several paintings and drawings of Fort Vancouver made between 1846 and 1854 (see Plates XIV-XV, XVIII, and XX, vol. I). These views show the Harness Shop as an unusually low structure for Fort Vancouver, with the ridge of the gabled roof running parallel to the north stockade wall. Perhaps the clearest picture is that drawn by the talented and versatile George Gibbs on July 2, 1851 (Plate XX, vol. I). He depicts the roof of the Harness Shop as barely rising above the pickets between the Kitchen and the Bakery. The eave line was well below the top of the stockade, and the roof evidently was covered by vertical boards. From the height of the building it must have been a one-story affair; or, if there was a garret, it must have been very low.

Chimney. In none of the pictures showing the roof of the Harness Shop can a chimney be discerned. The archeologists who excavated the oven foundations of the ca. 1836-44 Bakery in 1971 found fragments of locally made bricks, apparently dating from about 1844 and later, associated with the oven foundations, leading them to conclude that there may have been "possible reuse of the oven foundation during the period of the Harness Shop; that is after 1844."[18]

In view of the absence of all pictorial evidence of a chimney in connection with the Harness Shop, however, this writer is inclined toward the view that no metalworking or other operation requiring fire was conducted in that structure after the bakery was transferred to a new building. This hypothesis seems strengthened by the fact that

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17. Elliott, "British Values in Oregon, 1847," p. 34; and Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]118-19. It should be noted, however, that the version in the Company's archives says "lined & ceiled." H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265.

18. Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--III, p. 53.

the inventory of articles in use in the "Saddlers Shop," reproduced later in this chapter, lists no items associated with forges, stoves, or fires of any sort. In the opinion of the writer, therefore, the ovens were dismantled in 1844, and thereafter there was no provision for heating or smithing in the Harness Shop.

Door. It has already been mentioned that the Emmons plan of 1841 shows only one door in the ca. 1836-44 Bakery, and there is no good reason to assume that the situation changed when the building was converted to a saddler's shop. This door was situated in the south wall, about one-third of the entire wall distance from the west end (see Plate III, vol. I).

Probably this door was made of tongued and grooved beaded planks in the same manner as the warehouse and shop doors already described in this report. It should be noted, however, that archeologists in 1971 recovered hinges, hasps, keyhole plates, padlock parts, and other hardware from the Harness Shop site. These should be carefully studied by the architects making the construction drawings.

While on the subject of hardware, it might be well to note that, while there were tapered wood screws at Fort Vancouver during the 1840s, it appears to have been general Company practice to affix hardware, particularly exterior hinges, hasps, etc., with nails. For hardware such as hinge butts, these nails were hand forged, with tapered heads to match the countersunk holes in butt hinges. In fact, one such nail was found on or near the Harness Shop site still in its hinge.[19] For large hinges, such as on gates or powder magazine doors, however, heavy, hand-forged, rosette-headed nails were generally used.

Windows. Nothing is known about the windows in the Harness Shop. No windows are discernable in the gable ends in any of the available views, and there are no known pictures that show the lower part of this structure. It can be assumed that there were several rather small windows in each wall, probably centered in the bays.

Exterior finish. Because the building was described as having been "sided," it is probable that it was weatherboarded on the outside. The same type of siding probably was used in the gables, although

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19. Ibid., pp. 39-43. Figure 9 in this excellent archeological report contains a drawing of such a nail.

vertical boards were quite as likely to have been used above the plates.

Probably this building was finished in much the same manner as was the Old Office, with unpainted or very thinly painted siding; Spanish brown door, door trim, and window trim; and white sash.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. Aside from the fact that the Harness Shop was "lined," the historical evidence throws no light upon the interior. It can only be guessed that the building was a single large room without interior supports. The walls almost certainly were lined with vertical tongued and grooved dressed boards. The joints probably were beaded. In view of the information in one version of the 1846-47 inventory, the room probably was also ceiled with boards. Because no evidence of a hard-packed earth floor was found by archeologists, it can safely be assumed that this structure had a wooden floor.[20] In fact, in view of the evident attention given to detail in this building, the floor planks may even have been planed. The interior undoubtedly was unpainted.

Furnishings

No inventory of "articles in use" in the Harness Shop prior to 1848 has yet been found by this writer. As has been noted previously in this study, the 1848 lists of Company-owned items employed in depot operations were unusually detailed that year. Nevertheless, the following list of "articles in use" in the "Saddlers Shop" at the time of the spring, 1848, inventory seems remarkably short for a shop that even at that late date must have turned out a considerable quantity of saddlery and harness:

--Saddlers Shop--

5 Awls
1 pr Compasses
2 small Gimlets
1 " claw Hammer
1 palm Iron
1 butchers C. S. Knife
1 half round Do
1 pr Pincers
1-2 ft Rule
1 butchers round Steel[21]

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20. Interview, J. A. Hussey with J. J. Hoffman and Lester Ross, February 23, 1972.

21. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1848, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fols. 83-83d.

Elsewhere in the depot inventories there are indications of the type of equipment that was manufactured and repaired in the Harness Shop. Probably at any given time there would have been a number of such items in the shop waiting to be repaired, in the process of fabrication or repair, or completed and waiting to be taken to the warehouses, sale shop, or farm.

For example, among the "Country Made" (locally manufactured) products found in the Fort Vancouver inventory for Outfit 1840 were:

> 4 Spanish Saddles
> 2 Spanish Saddles Infr. [inferior][22]

In the inventory of 1844 the following items were among the articles in use listed under the heading "Farm Utensils &c":

> 12 sets Harness pr 2 horse Carts, consisting of 2 Collars, 2 p'rs Hames, 2 Bridles, Breeching, cart saddles w[it]h chains, pins, traces, bands, &c. [In the 1845 inventory the last two items read as follows: "2 bridles, 1 breaching cart saddle with chain pins, traces, bands &c."]
>
> 16 sets plough Harness consisting of 2 Collars, 2 p'rs Hames, 2 Bridles & reins & 2 pr Traces
>
> 1 Thrashing Machine Harness 4 Collars, 4 prs Hames, 4 Bridles 4 p'rs iron traces
> 39 Collars
> 5 Bridles
> 6 pack Saddles[23]

Recommendations

a. It is recommended that the Harness Shop be rebuilt in accordance with the construction data furnished in the body of this chapter. Where specific facts are not available, general Hudson's Bay Company building practices, as presented throughout this report, should be followed.

b. In view of the important interpretive possibilities offered by the Harness Shop, it is suggested that this structure be furnished as an active saddler's and harness maker's shop of the period. Items

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22. H.B.C., Account Books, Fort Vancouver, 1840-41 [Country Produce Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/137, MS, p. 17.

23. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 166-67; H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, p. 146.

of pack horse equipment, for instance, could be used to illustrate the entire story of interior land communication and transport--from the obtaining of horses from the Nez Perces and California to the brigade routes and the organization and gear of a Hudson's Bay Company pack train.

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. 12 on the site plan of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

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1. For an example of the use of the term "old Church" see Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 42. For a statement that the Catholic chapel originally was an "old store," see deposition of F. N. Blanchet, in Claim of the Mission of St. James, Vancouver, Washington Territory, to 640 Acres of Land ([Washington, D.C.?:] W. H. Moore, Printer, [1863]), p. 24.

2. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 7, 13.

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 perhaps 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]

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3. See Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 173-80, 208-13.

4. George Simpson to [Bishop of Quebec], London, February 17, 1838, MS, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives.

5. A detailed description of the types of instruction given and the types of services held is to be found in Blanchet, Historical Sketches, pp. 24-26; See also Notices & Voyages, pp. 14, 27, 87.

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]

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6. For a colorful description of this service, see Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 23.

7. Affidavit of Joseph Petrain, October 25, 1873, G.L.O., Old Townsites, Docket I (165), Box No. 31, in National Archives; Deposition of F. N. Blanchet, in Claim of the Mission of St. James, p. 24.

8. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 27; In 1841 Assistant Surgeon Silas Holmes said that the "little chapel was always full upon the Sabbath." Holmes, "Journal," 3:4.

9. Claim of the Mission of St. James, p. 24.

10. Emmons, "Journal," 3: entry for July 25, 1841.

11. Simpson, An Overland Journey, 1:142-43.

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 hall 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 leadership 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

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12. Wilkes, Narrative, 4:331.

13. Lowe, "Private Journal," pp. 1A, 18, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, and 31.

14. Pipes, "Extract from Exploration," p. 153.

15. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 55.

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.

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16. Emmons, "Journal," 3: entry for August 1, 1841.

17. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 10. It is of interest that Dr. John McLoughlin's profession of faith was made in the Old Catholic Church at Fort Vancouver on November 18, 1842. He made his first communion at midnight High Mass on that date, at the head of thirty-eight communicants. "The office had never been so solemn as to chant, music and decoration, as on that night," later wrote Father Blanchet. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 51.

18. Notices & Voyages, p. 234; Warre, "Travel and Sport in North America, 1839-1846"; For an early expression of the desire of the priests for a new chapel, see Notices & Voyages, p. 27.

19. This date is sometimes given as May 30, 1846, but original documentary evidence proves that the ceremony took place on the thirty-first. See, for only one example, Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 40.

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.

Construction details

Virtually nothing specific is known of the physical structure of the Old Catholic Church beyond what can be determined from the Emmons and Vavasour ground plans. No remains have yet been uncovered during archeological explorations, and the building cannot be discerned in any known view of Fort Vancouver.

All versions of the Vavasour plan seem to agree that the Chapel was about thirty feet wide. On the two original versions (Plates VI and VII, vol. I) the length appears to be between sixty and sixty-two feet. On the traced copy (Plate VIII, vol. I), however, the length scales out to approximately sixty-five to sixty-eight feet. Probably sixty feet was the approximate length.

Because the building was originally a storehouse, it can safely be assumed that it was of heavy Canadian-style construction. Because of its early erection date, the timbers undoubtedly were hand hewn. The roof almost certainly was gabled, with the ridge running north and south. The roof very likely was covered with vertical boards. In short, inside and out, it almost surely was similar to the other warehouses already described, except that it may have consisted of only one story and a garret.

According to the Emmons ground plan of 1841 the chapel had only one door, located in the west wall about one-third of the wall length from the north end of the building. As with the other stores, there probably were several small, shuttered windows on each wall.

The floors were undoubtedly heavy, rough planks. The inside walls, however, may have been lined with vertical deals either originally or when the structure was converted to a chapel.

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20. Ibid., p. 42.

Furnishings

No specific information seems to be available concerning the furnishings and decorations in the Old Catholic Church. It is known, however, that a fairly large assortment of religious objects was available for the chapel at Fort Vancouver and for the other missions in the Columbia District. Evidently it was in the spring of 1839 that "boxes" arrived at the depot from Canada by way of London containing "ornaments, images, crucifixes, rosaries, and lastly books."[21] The next year there were received from Paris two boxes, one containing books and the other church ornaments.[22] It is virtually certain that additional shipments came during subsequent years.

Although it is reasonably certain that Anglican services were never held in the Roman Catholic Chapel during Outfit 1845, there was, as has been seen, a chance that the two denominations shared the Old Catholic Church at least for a time during earlier years. Perhaps unfortunately for the purposes of this chapter, much more is known about the religious objects associated with the Anglican services at Fort Vancouver than about those employed by the Catholic priests. For these reasons, together with the fact that there seems to be no other logical place to record them, the articles belonging to the Anglican "Church Establishment" at Fort Vancouver are listed in this chapter.

It will be recalled that the Anglican minister, the Reverend Mr. Herbert Beaver, was sent out by the Company to serve as chaplain at Fort Vancouver. He arrived on September 6, 1836. Four months earlier the firm's barque Columbia had delivered a pulpit, surplice, altar cloth, silver communion service, Bible, prayer books, register books, and a bell, all forwarded by the Governor and Committee for Beaver's use. After a stormy two years at the depot, the chaplain departed for home, but he left behind the religious books and equipment. These items remained at Fort Vancouver until Chief Factor James Douglas moved the headquarters of the Columbia District to Fort Victoria in 1849. The Bible, the registers, and the communion service may be seen today in Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, British Columbia (see Plates LXIX and LXX).

The list below is from the Columbia Depot inventory of "articles in use" taken in the spring of 1844, but, except for a few variations in spelling, there were no changes in the inventories examined through

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21. Notices & Voyages, p. 54.

22. Ibid., p. 58.

that taken in the spring of 1848. With the reminder that these objects probably were stored in the Big House where the Church of England services were normally held, the list follows:

--Church Establishment--

1 folio Bible
1 Common prayer Book
1 Homilies do.
1 Alter service do.
1 register Burials Book
1 " Marriages do.
1 " Baptisms do.
1 Marriages licence do. ["Book Marriage Licenses" in
1 Office black Calf do. 1845 inventory]
15 New testament do.
1 best plated Service & Church Communion plate
Comprising
1 3 pint Flacon
1 Chalice
1 Pater
1 plate silver edge
1 case for the above
1 Irish Linen Surplice[23]

Recommendations

a. A thorough archeological exploration of the Old Catholic Church site is suggested. Even if no structural remains are found, such a reconnaissance would be valuable in proving that when structures were demolished prior to 1860 at Fort Vancouver even the footings were ordinarily removed. Proof of such a practice should be of utility in interpreting archeological findings elsewhere in the fort area.

b. Although a reconstructed chapel would be of value for the interpretation of an important and interesting facet of life at Fort Vancouver, the almost total lack of specific structural and furnishings data plus the fact that the building was demolished very shortly after the end of Outfit 1845--the period to which the post

23. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844, H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, fol. 75d. The 1845 inventory referred to in the bracketed material above is in H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, p. 132.

is to be reconstructed--seem to require a recommendation that its rebuilding be given a low priority.

c. If the Old Catholic Church is reconstructed, a special study should be conducted to determine the types of furnishings and decorations employed in other Pacific Northwest Catholic missions of the period. The original records of the first Catholic missionaries in the region are in the archives of the Archbishop in Portland, Oregon, and undoubtedly would provide valuable information. Other early missions, such as that at Cataldo, Idaho, still preserve early religious objects and decorations.

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

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1. George B. Roberts, "Recollections of George B. Roberts," MS, in the Bancroft Library, University of California, p. 81. Window sash was also made at other posts, however. For a mention of this activity at Fort Nisqually in 1852, see Farrar, "The Nisqually Journal," Washington Historical Quarterly 13 (January, 1922): 63.

2. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 24.

3. William A. Slacum, "Slacum's Report on Oregon, 1836-7," Oregon Historical Quarterly 13 (June, 1912): 185.

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, therefore, 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 conducted 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

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4. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]74-77.

5. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/8, MS, pp. 76-80.

6. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]118-19.

7. U. S., Congress, Senate, 21st Cong., 2d sess., Exec. Doc. No. 39, pp. 21-23.

8. Parker, Journal, pp. 146, 168, 184.

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,"

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9. Caywood, Final Report, p. 12.

10. The Carpenter Shop can be identified on a number of later maps of the fort, but they are either not to scale or are so small in scale that precise measurements cannot be obtained.

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 £30 per annum; John Finlay, another carpenter who also received £30; Alexander Lattie, an apprentice carpenter who was paid only £8 a year; George McKenzie, a carpenter at £30 yearly; and Norman Martin (a), the fourth carpenter, who received £30 per annum. James Scarth, who was paid the relatively high wage of £50.8.0, 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]

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11. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/19, MS, pp. 40, 42, 65.

12. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/20, MS, pp. 42, 43.

13. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/21, MS, pp. 41, 42, 67.

14. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/22, MS, p. 40.

15. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1852 [Invoices], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/205, MS, fols. 119-120d.

16. H.B.C., District Statements, York Factory, 1845-1846 [Statement of Servants], H.B.C.A., B.239/1/16, MS, pp. 58, 59, 60, 61; H.B.C.A., B.239/1/17, MS, p. 45.

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 Thérèse Tmiway, and the couple were the parents of a daughter born on April 26, 1846.[19]

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17. "Alexander Lattie's Fort George Journal, 1846," Oregon Historical Quarterly 64 (September, 1963): 197-245; H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1846-1847 [Statement of Servants, Columbia Department, Outfit 1846], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/169, MS, p. 8; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, pp. 66, 71.

18. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/162, MS, p. 29; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, pp. 1, 2, 3; and Stellamaris, p. 1.

19. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/162, MS, p. 29; Warner and Munnick, Catholic Church Records, Vancouver II, p. 73. Baron's proper family name, "Diamare," was sometimes spelled "Diamere" in the Company's records. His nickname, Baron, spelled various ways, became his primary name.

Construction details

Very little is known of the physical structure of the Carpenter Shop. Archeology has produced no traces of the foundations of this building, and for once the Vavasour ground plan fails to be a reliable guide to the dimensions. One of the original versions of this map (Plate VI, vol. I) appears to show the Carpenter Shop as measuring about fifteen or sixteen feet by forty feet. On the second original version the structure scales out to be approximately nineteen or twenty feet by thirty-five feet (Plate VII, vol. I). And the traced version seems to give the dimensions as about twenty by thirty-five feet (Plate VIII, vol. I). In these circumstances the figures of twenty by forty feet given in the 1846-47 inventory of Company buildings probably should be accepted as the most reliable evidence available concerning the size of the Carpenter Shop.[20]

Although this structure is known to have stood at least through the middle of 1860, the writer cannot with confidence identify it on any known picture of Fort Vancouver. The 1854 drawing by Gustavus Sohon shows a low, gable-roofed building just inside the north stockade wall between the Wheat Store and the New Office. This location is about correct for the Carpenter Shop, but the failure of this lithograph to depict the Jail and the Priests' House leads one to question its accuracy (Plate XXI, vol. I).

At any rate, the Carpenter Shop must have been an unusually low building for Fort Vancouver, because not even the top of its roof can be discerned with certainty above the stockade in the generally accurate 1851 drawing by George Gibbs (Plate XVIII, vol. I). Neither can this writer see it in the 1854 view by an unknown artist, although it is possible that a very clear print of this picture might reveal a low roof to the right of the New Office (Plate XX, vol. I).

Under the circumstances, one can only guess that the Carpenter Shop was a one-story structure with a gable roof, the ridge line running east and west. Probably there was no garret, although there may have been a window in each gable end to light the space under the roof, which could have been used for seasoning wood.

Despite the failure of the archeologists to find any indication of footings, it is highly probable that this structure was built in the usual Canadian style. There probably was only one door and that most likely was near the center of the south wall. It is

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20. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265d.

probable that there were two windows in each of the end walls and several in the front and rear walls.

There is no indication in the 1846-47 inventory that the Carpenter Shop was lined or ceiled. Thus it probably was not, although it is not possible to be certain on this point. Undoubtedly the floors, doors, entrance steps, and the exterior paint were as already detailed for the other shops. On a structure erected or reassembled during the early 1840s the roof probably was covered with shakes, with sixteen to twenty-four inches exposed to the weather.

Furnishings

Available inventories provide a reasonably complete picture of the tools and equipment found in the Carpenter Shop. One item, "1 Screw pr bench," indicates that there was at least one workbench and that it had a wood vice. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that a shop for four carpenters would have had more than one workbench. There may also have been several stools or benches. Evidently there was no stove or other means of heating.

If the Carpenter Shop is to be refurnished and exhibited, evidence of work in progress should also be visible. Partly finished window sash, shutters, a simple chair or two, wheel spokes, benches, and handles for farm and garden tools would illustrate the range of tasks assigned to the depot carpenters.

Because paintbrushes and paint kettles are listed in the inventories, it is possible that a small part of the depot's stock of paint and linseed oil was kept in the Carpenter Shop, ready for mixing and use as needed. A supply of window glass also was probably kept on hand. For descriptions of the types of paint and oil and of the sizes of windowpanes kept in stock at Fort Vancouver, see pages 266 and 271, volume I of this study.

The loft over the Carpenter Shop was probably reached by a ladder and trapdoor, although it is possible that there was no loft flooring over the ground-floor ceiling beams. This space under the roof almost certainly contained a stock of seasoned and seasoning planks and timbers.

One of the best available lists of items in the Carpenter Shop is the following found under the heading "Articles in Use" in the Fort Vancouver Depot inventory taken in the spring of 1844:

Carpenters Shop

4 Carpenters Adzes
3 large square head Axes
6 grooving Do
1 broad Do
2 half round head Do
5 Shingling Do
4 screw Augers of sizes
9 shell Do " "
2 large spoon Augers
1 Brace & 36 bits
3 paint Brushes
1 Crow Bar
7 socket Chisels
9 firmers Do
2 Mortice Do
3 Cold Do
1 pair Compasses
2 screw Drivers
4 iron Dogs
2 flat rasp Files 10 ins
1 hlf. ro[un]d " Do 10 "
2 " " bastard Do 14 "
4 flat " Do old
3 hlf round " Do ass[orted]
1 three square Do
1 rattail Do
3 hand saw Do
2 cross cut " Do
2 Grindstones
4 assd. Gouges
4 spike Gimlets
3 small Do
4 large Kent Hammers
1 small " Do useless
2 paint Kettles
1 Chalk Line
1 long jointer Plane
4 trying Do
4 Jack Do
3 hand Do
4 p'rs grooving Do ass.
2 " plough Do
2 bead Do
6 mould Do
1 long rabbit Do
1 " Do

1 foot Rule 4 fold
5 hand Saws
3 tenon Do
3 cross cut Do
1 Saw Set
2 Key hole Saw[s]
2 oil Stones
1 square 12 ins
1 spokeshave
1 Screw pr bench
1 p'r Pincers
5 Wrenches[21]

The list in the inventory taken in the spring of 1845 was somewhat shorter but contained a few interesting additional items:

--Carpenter's Shop--

6 Adzes
4 large sqre head Axes
12 grooving do
8 Screw Augers
6 Shell do
1 Brace 36 Bitts
1 hand saw File
1 pr. Compasses
1 Screw Drivers [sic]
4 Gouges
1 sml square 6 in
3 assd Gimlets
4 spike do
1 jointer Plane
3 trying Planes
4 jack do
1 hand do
2 pr grooving do 11-1/8
3 Bead do
2 mould do
1 hand Saw
3 tenon saw[s]
2 window Planes
1 case do

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21. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 162-64.

1 rubber do
1 hf round File 12 ins
3 bastard do
1 pit saw do
1 X cut do
2 rattail do
3 flat bastard do
3 Plough Keys
1 Oil Stone
6 Shingling Axes
2 Key hole saws
1 pr pincers
10 assd. Chisels
9 sockets do
3 Kent Hammers
3 foot rules[22]

The list in the 1847 inventory is not much different from that of 1848, which is reproduced below, but there are a few distinctive items that might be noted:

2 Crow Bars
3 paring Chisels
2 pr. Casements
1 Drill 8 ins
54 Gauges
1 Glue Kettle
1 Moulding Plane
1 Wainscot Do
3 Smoothing Do
2 Carpenters Rules
1 Rasp
3 Iron Squares
1 plated Do[23]

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22. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, pp. 142-43.

23. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/174, MS, fol. 99.

The Fort Vancouver Depot inventory of "Articles in Use" taken in the spring of 1848 contains the following detailed list:

--Carpenters Shop--

2 foot Adzes
3 hollowing Do
11 screw Augers
17 shell Do
4 large square headed Axes
1 small " " Do
1 broad Do
10 grooving Do
8 shingling Do
1 bung Borer
1 Brace and Bitts
1 pr Callipers
8 firmers Chisels
11 socket Do
3 Mortice Do
2 prs compasses
1 iron Cramp
1 glaziers Diamond
1 screw Driver
3 Files assorted
2 Gages [sic]
3 spike Gimlets
4 firmers Gouges
4 socket Do
1 large Grindstone
1 small Do
5 claw Hammers
2 screeving Irons
1 drawing Knife
3 chalk Lines
1 pr pincers
2 bead Planes
6 prs grooving Do
3 hand Do
5 jack Do
1 jointer Do
1 moving philister Do
1 post [port?] Do
1 rabbit Do
2 sash Do
1 " gothic Do
1 round sole Do
4 trying Do

1 Rule
2 cross cut Saws
4 hand Do
3 tenon Do
1 Saw set
1 iron Square, 2 plated steel Do
1 Spokeshave
1 oil Stone
3 iron Wrenches[24]

Recommendations

a. Although the text of Mr. Caywood's archeological report states that the area of the Carpenter Shop was "completely uncovered" in 1948 and 1950, sheet 8 of his excavation drawings appears to show that certain portions of the site may have escaped exploration. The determination of the succession of structures in that section of the fort is so important that a fresh excavation of the entire area between the Wheat Store and the Jail is recommended. If evidence of even one or two footings could be found, it would be possible to speak with much more assurance concerning the physical structure of the Carpenter Shop.

b. Despite the paucity of information concerning its fabric and design, the reconstruction of the Carpenter Shop is recommended for the following reasons: the importance of this building for interpretive purposes indicates such a course; the approximate dimensions are known; and the physical structure could not have differed greatly from that of similar shops about which more is known.

c. It is suggested that the Carpenter Shop be refurnished and exhibited in accordance with the data provided in the body of this chapter.

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24. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fols. 82d-83.

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]

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1. One visitor in 1851 noted that the gates closed "at sunset, when all business ceases," but other sources show that the usual hour of ending work was 6:00 P.M. Oliver Jennings, "The Journal of Oliver Jennings, Detailing An Overland Trip from Oregon City to Vancouver & via the Columbia River & Blue Mountains to Fort Boise, Fort Hall & Great Salt Lake City, March 5-May 22, 1851," original MS and typed transcript, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, p. 7 of transcript. For the time of opening in the morning, see Minto, "Reminiscences," pp. 234-35, 245. Because the work of the laborers and tradesmen started at 6:00 A.M., however, the gates probably were frequently opened before 9:00 A.M. to let the carts and other vehicles pass.

2. Notices & Voyages, p. 26.

3. Anderson, "Fort Vancouver, Oregon," p. 1; Jennings, "Journal," pp. 6-7; For a mention of the watchman and his call at Fort Colvile in 1848, see Drury, First White Women, 2:340.

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]

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4. Gray, A History of Oregon, p. 150.

5. Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, p. 170.

6. Emmons, "Journal," 3: entry for August 25, 1841.

7. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [8:]128.

8. Ibid., [2:]176-77.

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 blacksmith'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.

LATRINES

History and location

Official Company correspondence, accounts by visitors, and reminiscences of employees generally maintain a polite silence concerning one of the most conspicuous elements of Fort Vancouver's physical structure--the facilities for the disposal of human waste.

Only rarely, as when the querulous and fastidious Chaplain Beaver gave vent to his sense of outrage, was mention made of one of the less pleasant aspects of life at the Columbia depot. On March 19, 1838, the Reverend Mr. Beaver complained to the Deputy-Governor of the Company: "Above a dozen p_____s [are] in open view, and very close to, our windows."[9]

Most ground plans of the post simply ignore the existence of such conveniences, but at least three (Plates III, XIII, and XXIV, vol. I) depict a sufficient number to demonstrate that Chaplain Beaver did not exaggerate. Archeological excavations in recent decades have uncovered evidence of numerous outhouses.

Beaver's protest proves that the term "privies" was at least one name for these facilities used in common parlance about the fort. In written records such as post journals, however, the old term "necessaries" appears to have been more frequently employed throughout the district.[10]

During the existence of Fort Vancouver, the usual, but not universal, location for the outhouses was directly against the inside faces of the stockade walls. Archeological evidence indicates that as these walls were moved from time to time, the associated privies were shifted also.[11]

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9. Beaver, Reports and Letters, p. 73.

10. For an example, see Farrar, "The Nisqually Journal," Washington Historical Quarterly 13 (January, 1922): 61.

11. See Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations, Fort Vancouver National Monument [1947-1952], in Caywood, Final Report, map no. 11 (reproduced as Plate I, vol. I of this report). Mr. Caywood believed that certain of the "trash pits" were along the outside (west side) of the west wall of the 1829-ca. 1836 stockade (line BE), but it subsequently has been shown that the 1828-ca. 1836 fort was actually the western portion of the post-1836 fort. Thus these pits were on the inside of the east wall of the earlier fort. Caywood, ibid., p. 23.

During the 1947-52 series of excavations, about eighteen trash pits (excluding two wells and one or two other "depressions") were uncovered. While Mr. Caywood found that some of these pits had been used almost exclusively as outdoor toilets, he noted that "in the main" they had served also as places for the disposal of garbage, trash, and the "dregs from chamer [sic] pots." A few seemed to be entirely for trash. Mr. Caywood found that, on the whole, the "combination" toilet and trash pits and the pits exclusively for trash were marked by plank covers "showing that the intended use was for the disposal of garbage and trash." The privy pits, on the other hand, sometimes showed evidence of flooring, indicating that they had underlain small structures.[12]

During the more than two decades since 1952 several additional archeological projects have been conducted at Fort Vancouver, and one, the most comprehensive of all, is still in progress as this report is being written. Until all of the results are in, it would be futile to attempt to give the total number and the locations of the privy and trash pits within the stockade or to try to determine which outhouses might have been standing during Outfit 1845.

Construction details

As might be expected, archeological excavations have produced quite a bit of information about the pit portions of the necessaries. Mr. Caywood found that the trash pits and the "combination" pits had been originally dug with rounded corners. At least one, directly north of the Bakery, was described as "board-lined." This last hole was three feet wide, seven feet ten inches long, and six feet seven inches deep. Another toilet excavation near the north stockade behind the Jail was two feet five inches wide, nine feet long, and two feet eight inches deep. Building "footings" at this last pit indicated that the surmounting outhouse measured seven by ten feet.[13]

During 1970 and 1971 the pit directly north of the Bakery was reexcavated and a second one about eight feet still farther north was dug for the first time. Because these privies were set against the outermost position of the eastern palisade wall there can be little doubt that they were constructed between about 1841 and 1844, or possibly a

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12. Ibid., pp. 20, 22-25.

13. Ibid., p. 23 and fig. 4.

bit later, and therefore must have been a part of the fort scene during Outfit 1845, the period to which the post is to be reconstructed.

The more southerly of the two pits north of the Bakery had been considerably disturbed subsequent to its examination by Mr. Caywood. The bottom of the pit was found to be 2.5 feet wide and from 5.5 to 6.5 feet long, while the depth was only 4.05 feet. It will be recognized that these measurements were smaller than those reported by Mr. Caywood. Only remnants of the wooden lining, in the form of "erect wooden slabs, each about 0.3 by 0.5 feet," were found at the base of the pit's north wall.

The northerly pit had also been much disturbed, so the width of 3.0 feet and the length of 7.3 feet were considered to be only approximate. On the other hand, the depth of 4.95 feet was believed to represent the original dimension. No evidence of a wooden lining was found. No remains of foundations or superstructures were discovered at either pit.[14]

Except for what can be deduced from the dimensions of the pits and of the few bits of foundations found--pits about seven feet long obviously were for "two-holers"--archeological excavations unfortunately can tell little about the design of the superstructures. As far as can be determined from the few available pictures bearing upon the subject, privies at Hudson's Bay Company posts were of two principal types--gable-roofed and shed-roofed.[15] Had it not been for the detachment of Royal Engineers that visited Fort Vancouver during the spring of 1860, the type employed at the Columbia depot might be unknown today. Thanks to the picture of the Big House taken by these pioneer Pacific Northwest photographers, it is possible to state positively that the two privies north of the Bakery, at least, had shed roofs.

In fact, the photograph tells a good deal more about the outhouses than the slant of the roofs. Unfortunately when the picture was reproduced as Plate XXIX in volume I of this report, evidently the right side was trimmed off to such an extent that only

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14. Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--I, pp. 12-13 and fig. 4.

15. For pictures showing the gable-roofed type see the view, "Fort Qu'Appelle in 1867," in Cowie, Company of Adventurers, opp. p. 202; and the primitive drawing of Rocky Mountain House in 1873 published in The Beaver Outfit 279 (December, 1949): 55.

a small portion of the northern privy can be discerned. In the full original print the north end of the southern privy and most of the northern one can be seen through the gap between the Big House and the Bachelors' Quarters. Both backed against the east stockade wall. In Figure 7 in their impressive report Fort Vancouver Excavations--I, Messrs. J. J. Hoffman and Lester A. Ross have presented an enlarged portion of the photograph to bring out the construction details of the two privies, and reconstruction architects are referred to that figure or to the original print submitted with volume I of this report.

As the picture is interpreted by Messrs. Hoffman and Ross, each latrine was a "two-holer," about six feet high, eight feet long, and six feet wide. The front or west ends were still higher, so that the roofs slanted rather sharply toward the stockade. The two archeologists believe the north and south walls were made of vertical "puncheons," while the west wall was of "horizontally laid poles about half the diameters of the puncheons" and apparently set into the corner puncheons. They thought it possible that there was no rear wall other than the palisade.

Each privy had two doors in front. Messrs. Hoffman and Ross estimate that these doors were about five feet high. What appears to be a square vent or air hole is centered above each door. The archeologists find that "between the door tops and the airhole bottoms are . . . short board rain deflectors angled slightly downwards." Messrs. Hoffman and Ross speculate that the outhouses, as "two-holers," may have had internal compartments.[16]

With these very sound conclusions this writer cannot take issue. However, from an examination of an extremely sharp print of the 1860 photograph he is willing to venture several suggested refinements:

a. The north and south sides of the privies appear to be made of wide, vertical, partly rounded slabs representing the portions of logs discarded at the Company's sawmill during the lumber-sawing process. Such slabs were much used for construction of employees' homes in the nearby village. (It must also be confessed, however, that if one looks at the picture long enough one can almost see board and batten siding!) There was no trim board under the roof on the sides.

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16. Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--I, pp. 12-13, 84.

b. To the eye of this writer, the front walls of the privies definitely appear to be covered with horizontal, lapped weatherboards.

c. In the very clear print, the angled rain deflectors noted by Messrs. Hoffman and Ross do not appear distinctly. Rather, it would seem that rain drip from the ventilating holes stained the weatherboard beneath them, making the board on each side of the stain appear lighter and, hence, slanted outward. In the opinion of the writer there were no drip boards over the doors.

d. The shed roof projected a few inches (perhaps five or six inches) in front and on the sides to provide protection from drip.

e. This writer would estimate the doors as well as the rear of the privies to have been about six feet high. The front walls were four weatherboards, or perhaps twenty inches, higher.

f. The ventilating holes on the northern privy appear not to have been exactly the same size. The one to the north seems to have been wider than that to the south. They were about a weatherboard-and-a-half high and apparently about the same distance wide.

Furnishings

Probably the National Park Service would not wish to conduct research into such an indelicate subject, and almost certainly it would not desire to present the matter in any interpretive media, yet the findings of archeologists raise a most interesting question concerning a topic that is a mystery to most present-day members of Western civilization.

When excavating the privy pit directly north of the Bakery, Mr. Caywood found with the human waste "many smooth oval stones measuring about three inches in length by one inch in width and a half inch in thickness."[17] Mr. Hoffman speculated upon the possible use of these stones and came up with an interesting "working hypothesis."[18] If his theory should prove to be correct, a pile of these stones in a reconstructed outhouse might start some visitors to pondering upon the benefits of living in an age in which paper is plentiful and cheap.

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17. Caywood, Final Report, p. 23.

18. Hoffman and Ross, Fort Vancouver Excavations--I, p. 82.

Recommendations

a. It is suggested that the final report upon the present series of archeological excavations contain a list giving descriptions and locations of all privy pits discovered since 1947. If possible, those which probably were standing in 1845-46 should be identified.

b. It is recommended that a reasonable number, about ten or twelve, of the 1845-46 outhouses be reconstructed as a part of the actual historic scene. The 1860 photograph would be the best guide as to the design and type of construction.[19]

c. It is suggested that one or two of the reconstructed necessaries be left open for exhibit purposes. If this were done, it probably would be best to lock the doors open during visiting hours.

d. It might be instructive, somewhere in the interpretive program, to point out the close proximity of the wells to the outhouses and to relate how the water in the wells rose and fell with the river, the water coming at times to within a few feet of the ground surface. The possible relationship of this situation to the frequent epidemics that laid low much of the fort's population might then be mentioned as a subject for thought.

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19. As will be seen by reference to the illustrations cited in fn. 15 earlier, however, a post and horizontal fill type of construction was also used for latrines at H.B.C. establishments. In such cases, the posts probably rested on a light sill or may even have been sunk in the ground. The upright posts were grooved, and the infill slabs or perhaps puncheons were inserted as in the heavier timber construction.

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

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1. See 1818 plan of Fort George reproduced in Oregon Historical Quarterly 19 (December, 1918): opp. p. 271.

2. See sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 20-21.

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

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3. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, pp. 101-10; H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, pp. 119-22.

4. U.S., Congress, Senate, 21st Cong., 2d sess., Exec. Doc. No. 39, pp. 21-23.

5. Slacum, "Slacum's Report on Oregon," p. 185.

[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 - 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.[7] 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

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6. Emmons, "Journal," 3: entry for July 25, 1841 (See Plate III, vol. I). On the other hand, another visitor of 1841, Eugene Duflot de Mofras, definitely listed a shop for cooperage among the structures enclosed by the fort wall. Pipes, "Extract from Exploration," p. 153. However, there seems to be a more than accidental similarity between de Mofras's description of Fort Vancouver and that by Purser Slacum, which was published prior to de Mofras's visit.

7. This "Cooper's Shop" near the river actually was little more than a shed. In 1845 Joel Palmer and a party of Americans lodged there, attempting to sleep on a pile of staves. They found that the structure offered very little shelter from the wind and rain. Joel Palmer, Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains, to the Mouth of the Columbia River; Made During the Years 1845 and 1846, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, vol. 30 (Cleveland, 1906), pp. 207-9.

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

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8. H.B.S., 7:opp. p. 48.

9. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265d.

10. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [2:]176-77.

11. In the Eld drawing the westernmost structure is smaller than the one in the center, but almost all other representations agree in depicting the westernmost building as the largest of the three.

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 £17 per annum; Marie Haguet, a native of France and a relative newcomer with only five years of service but who received £25; Robert Johnstone, who had twelve years of service, a wage of £25, and a gratuity of five shillings; and Spunyarn, a Hawaiian who had served sixteen years and who received £20.[12]

By Outfit 1851 Spunyarn was the only full-rated cooper remaining at Fort Vancouver. By that date he was being paid £30 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

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12. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/16, MS, pp. 57-61, 65; B.223/d/162, MS, pp. 29, 33.

13. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/22, MS, pp. 40-41.

14. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/23, MS, p. 36; B.223/g/10, MS, pp. 4-8, 20.

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.

Construction details

The "Cooper's Shed" of the 1846 Covington map was far from being a shed, as is demonstrated by a number of drawings, whereas, as has been discussed earlier, Covington's "Cooper's Shop" down by the river was indeed a shed. The reasons for Covington's labels are not known, but in this study the term "Cooper's Shop" will refer to the seventy by thirty-foot Cooper's Shop of the 1846-47 inventory that stood just east of the southeast stockade corner.

In point of fact, very little is known about this structure. Because its site has not yet been explored by archeologists and because existing maps are too small in scale to be accurately read, the inventory dimensions of seventy by thirty feet constitute the only reliable information available about the size of the building, and even that, it will be seen, is not entirely correct.

The Warre pencil sketch of 1845-46 (Plate XLII) and the Paul Kane pencil sketch of 1846-47 (Plate XIV, vol. I) show clearly that the Cooper Shop actually consisted of two gable-roofed buildings joined together. The one to the east was somewhat smaller in width and height than that on the west. The ridges of the roofs ran east and west. According to the Kane sketch and the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist, a low, gable-roofed appendage projected at right angles from the rear (north side) of the eastern section of the Cooper's Shop.[16] As a guess, then, the true dimensions probably were closer to forty by thirty feet for the western half of the structure and thirty by twenty-eight feet for the eastern half.

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15. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [9:]75-77.

16. As reproduced in Plate XV in volume I of this report, the Cooper's Shop, at the extreme left of the picture, was nearly completely trimmed from the 1847-48 painting. The entire building can be seen in the frontispiece to Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver.

The Warre sketch and the lithograph made from it (Plate IX, vol. I) seem quite clearly to show that both sections of the Cooper's Shop were built of heavy squared logs that were half-lapped or dovetailed at the corners in log cabin fashion. This type of construction was not unknown at Company posts, but it would have been unusual in the Columbia District at such an early date. If other evidence were not available, Warre's eyewitness testimony would have to be accepted no matter how unlikely it might seem. Fortunately, the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist provides a good view of the east end of the Cooper's Shop, and in it the two upright posts that could be expected in a post-on-sill wall approximately thirty feet long are abundantly evident. It would appear, therefore, that the Cooper's Shop was, after all, built in the Canadian style.

The Warre sketch also appears to show that the roofs of the Cooper's Shop were covered with lapped, vertically laid planks. Again, this would have been an unusual technique at Fort Vancouver, although it was not unknown at many Company posts. This writer believes it more likely that the roof was covered with long shakes, with two or more feet exposed to the weather, as apparently is shown in the 1841 Agate sketch (Plate LIII, vol. I).

Two windows and a centered door are shown on the front wall of each section of the Cooper's Shop on the Warre sketch; the east wall is represented as being without doors or windows. No other available views provide meaningful information concerning the front (south) walls, but the 1847-48 painting by an unknown artist and the Kane sketch appear to agree with Warre as to the east wall. No openings in the north wall can be discerned in the available pictures. No view of the west wall has yet been found.

The pictures produced by Warre definitely indicate that the Cooper's Shop windows contained diamond-shaped panes. No proof to the contrary is known, but such a design would have been highly unusual for a Hudson's Bay Company establishment. Seemingly there was a fairly wide step, or possibly two, before each door.

Nothing whatever is known about the interior arrangement or finish. Presumably each section of the shop was a single large room.

Furnishings

Available inventories provide a reasonably good account of the tools that were in the Cooper's Shop, but as usual certain items that could be expected do not seem to be listed. For instance, no workbenches are included, and neither--unless "Cooper's stools" is another name for them--are the characteristic cooper's benches, with their many-sized wooden partitions.

Fortunately, curators who may be assigned the task of refurnishing the Cooper's Shop will find excellent guidance available. A recent book by Kenneth Kilby, The Cooper and his Trade (London: John Baker Ltd., 1971), is a very detailed and lavishly illustrated history and description of the cooper's art. It contains numerous photographs and drawings of the tools and equipment employed in the craft at different periods.[17]

The Fort Vancouver Depot inventory of "articles in use" made during the spring of 1844 contains the following list of interest at this point:

Coopers Shop

6 Coopers adzes
5 " broad Axes
2 rod. head large Do
5 top Screws or Borers
2 Coopers Braces & 8 bits
2 Cold Chisels
5 ass Chives pr Kegs
6 Coopers Crows
4 pair Compasses
1 Coopers Dog
8 " Driver
2 " Do old
1 flat smooth File 10 in
1 hlf round rasp Do 12 "
2 hand Saw Do
1 Grindstone
1 spike Gimlet
1 small Do
8 Coopers Hammers
99 ass truss Hoops
7 " " Do broken
4 Coopers Horses
3 beak Irons
1 marking Do
4 flagging Do
2 Inshaves
7 drawing Knives
2 splitting Do
5 creming Do
5 belging Do

17. The United States distributor for this work is Fernhill House, Ltd., 303 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. The price is $17.00.

2 tool [dowel?] Moulds
4 Coopers long Jointer Planes
1 hand Do
5 Punches
1 pair Pincers
5 head Saws
2 frame Do
1 tenon Do
1 oil Stone
3 Coopers Vices
4 cast steel Knives
2 Scalping Do
1 butchers Steel
1 Butter Sound[18]

The Cooper's Shop inventory taken in the spring of 1845 is shorter, but it contains a few variations worth noting:

--Cooper's Shop--

5 Coopers Adzes
3 Tap [top?] Borers
2 Cold Chisels
2 Chives p 8 Gn Kegs
1 do " 2 " do
1 do " 1 " do
1 do " Barrels
5 Coopers Crows
1 Rasp File
1 common Grindstone
7 Coopers Hammers
100 assd Truss Hoops
2 Beak Irons
1 marking do
2 Flagging do
2 Inshaves
4 Spokeshaves
7 drawing Knives
3 splitting do
4 creming do
4 Jointer Planes
1 Rabbit do
4 Punches
4 head saw[s]
2 frame do
5 Coopers stools
1 " Vices

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18. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, pp. 161-62.

1 Oil Stone
6 crooked Knives
4 Compasses
2 Braces
5 centre bitts
8 Drivers
1 pr Pincers[19]

The inventory of 1848 does not contribute much to knowledge of the Cooper's Shop furnishings, but it is reproduced below because it appears to reflect the trend of activity at the depot by that date:

--Coopers Shop--

4 Adzes
1 large round headed Axe
3 broad Do
4 tap Borers
3 Braces and bitts
3 cold Chisels
2 Chives pr barrels
3 Do pr 8 gn kegs
1 Do pr 2 " "
2 Do pr 1 " "
4 prs Compasses
4 Crows
3 Dogs
3 long Drivers
2 set Do
3 Files assd.
1 common Grindstone
7 Hammers
100 assd. truss Hoops
2 Inshaves
4 beak Irons
4 flagging Do
5 belging Knives
2 butchers C. S. Do
5 creming Do
2 dowling Do
5 drawing Do
1 splitting Do
2 dowling Moulds
1 pr Pincers
1 hand Plane
1 jack Do
6 jointer Do

19. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, pp. 141-42.

4 Punches
1-2 ft Rule
2 frame Saws
1 hand Do
4 heading Do
1 tenon Do
1 iron Shovel
1 butter Sound
4 Spokeshaves
1 oil Stone
4 wooden Stools
2 Vices[20]

Among the unbound papers in the Fort Nisqually Collection in the Huntington Library is a requisition for "Coopers Tools &c required for Nisqually Out: 1843." It is reproduced below because it appears to throw additional light upon the equipment of a cooper's shop of the period:

2 drawing knives Coopers
1 " Do " hollow
1 Coopers Jointer Plane
1 " crooked Jack Do
1 " crow Do
1 " frame saw
1 " hammer
1 " Brace & Irons
1 " Screw
1 " broad axe
1 " Adze
1 " knife pr smoothing rim of Barrel proper name unknown
1 Spoke [?] Shape [?]
1 hand saw
2 Socket Chisels 1/2 in
1 Firmers Do 1/2
1/2 doz tenon saw Files
1 hand Plane
2 Iron Wedges
1 Punch
1 Garden Spade[21]

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20. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, fol. 83.

21. Fort Nisqually, Requisitions for Goods, 1843-1868 (FN 1249), MS, in Fort Nisqually Collection, Huntington Library.

Recommendations

a. It is suggested that the site of the 1846 Cooper's Shop be excavated in an effort to uncover remains that might indicate the dimensions, exact location, and form of the building.

b. Because it lay outside the stockade and because so little is known about its physical structure, it is recommended that the Cooper's Shop be given a very low priority for reconstruction. However, coopering was such an important facet of depot economy that reconstruction, if economically feasible, remains a desirable eventual objective.

c. Should reconstruction be accomplished, it is proposed that the interior be refurnished and exhibited. It would be an excellent place for an interpretive demonstration.

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

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1. For examples, see John Dunn, History of the Oregon Territory and British North-American Fur Trade; with an Account of the Habits and Customs of the Principal Native Tribes on the Northern Continent (London, 1844), p. 143; and John Minto, "What I Know of Dr. McLoughlin," pp. 177-200.

2. Loren B. Hastings, "Diary of Loren B. Hastings," in Transactions of the . . . Oregon Pioneer Association for 1923, pp. 25-26.

3. M. Vavasour to Col. N. W. Holloway, Fort Vancouver, March 1, 1846, in Papers Relative to the Expedition of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory, Enclosed in Letter from Colonial Office of 3d. November 1846, fol. 41d, microfilm in Public Archives of Canada of original bound volume in Great Britain, Foreign Office, General Correspondence, No. 457, America, United States, in Public Record Office, London.

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.

Tnen, 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

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4. Ibid., fol. 42.

5. Peter Skeen [sic] Ogden and James Douglas to Sir George Simpson, Fort Vancouver, March 16, 1848, copy in Oregon Historical Society, from Strathcona Papers, MS, M.G. 19, A33, vol. 3, in Public Archives of Canada.

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]

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6. Oregon Historical Quarterly 24 (June, 1923): 193-94.

7. Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, Fort Vancouver, March 16, 1848; Ogden did not return to Fort Vancouver until January 8, 1848. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 63.

8. Lowe, "Private Journal," p. 64.

9. Ibid.

10. For examples of such references during the period 1850-60, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, pp. 136-37. One of the most detailed of these citations is found in the journal of Oliver Jennings, who lived at the military post at Fort Vancouver for about three weeks early in 1851. "The Hudson's Bay Company's fort," he wrote on March 5, 1851, "is built of palisades, or upright posts, about twenty feet high with two bastions at opposite corners, mounted with Cannon, and also block houses by the gates and a large cannon in each, so as to rake the whole length of the Fort, outside." Jennings, "Journal," p. 5 of typescript copy.

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 southeast 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 southeast 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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11. I. I. Stevens to W. L. Marcy, Washington, June 21, 1854, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [11]: 219; See also report of George Gibbs, Olympia, March 4, 1854, in U. S., War Department, Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean: Made under the Direction of the Secretary of War, in 1853-56, 12 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1855-1860), 1:419.

12. Caywood, Final Report, pp. 8-9.

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

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1. Crawford, "Description of Fort Vancouver," p. 1.

2. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Regional Archeologist, Pacific Northwest Region, National Park Service, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, March 1, 1973, in files of Pacific Northwest Regional Office, Seattle.

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]

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3. Ibid.

4. Anderson, "Fort Vancouver, Oregon," p. 1.

5. John A. Hussey, Historic Furnishings Study, Armament and Furnishings of the Fort Vancouver Bastion, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Washington (Denver: National Park Service [Denver Service Center], 1973).

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

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6. John A. Hussey, Historic Furnishing Study, Bakery, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Washington (Denver: National Park Service [Denver Service Center], 1973).

7. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1852 [Invoices, Out. 1852], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/205, MS, fols. 119, 120d.

8. H.B.C., Correspondence Book, Fort Vancouver, 1837-1838, H.B.C.A., B.223/b/16, MS, fol. 22.

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]

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9. Chance, Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colvile District, p. 69.

10. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/205, MS, fol. 119.

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.

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11. H.B.C.A., B.223/z/5, MS, fol. 265d.

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]

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12. Parker, Journal, p. 174.

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 provisions.

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.

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13. Crawford, "Description of Fort Vancouver," pp. 1-2.

14. Lockley, History of the Columbia River Valley, pp. 352-54.

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 in 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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15. William R. Sampson, ed., John McLoughlin's Business Correspondence, 1847-48 (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press in cooperation with the Washington State Historical Society, 1973), p. 109.

16. Erwin N. Thompson, Shallow Grave at Waiilatpu: The Sagers' West (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1969), p. 166, fn. 205. The writer is indebted to Mr. Erwin N. Thompson for calling attention to this item.

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PLATES

Plate I.

Lever-Type Fur Press at Fort Resolution.

The Glenbow Foundation dates this view from the 1880s; the Hudson's Bay Company gives the date as ca. 1908.

Courtesy of Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary. File No. NA-664-1.

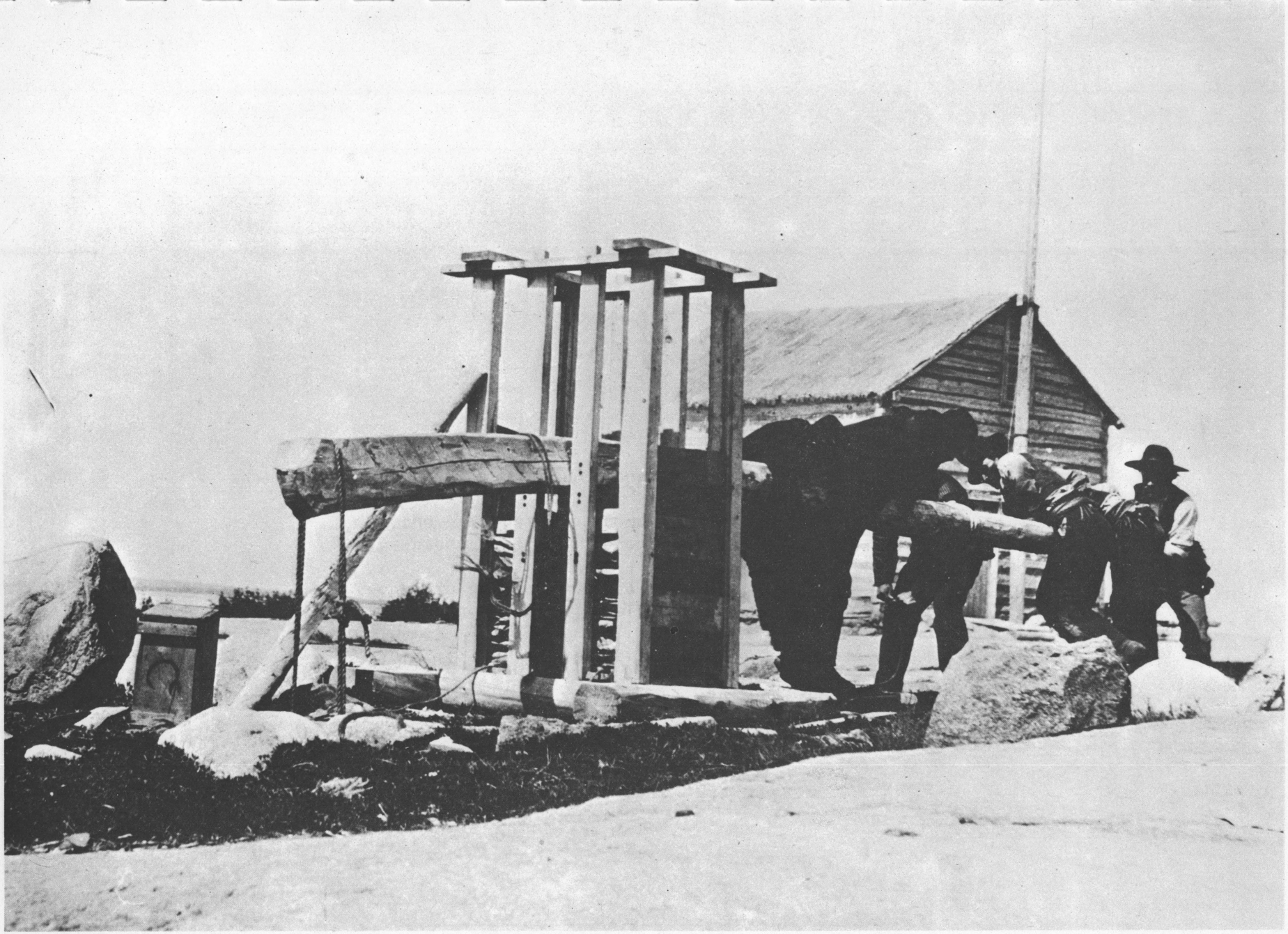


Plate II.

Reconstructed Fur Store and Fur Press at Rocky Mountain House, Heritage Park, Calgary.

The press is of the lever type and very similar to the original one shown in Plate XCIII, volume I.

National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September 1967.

Plate III.

A Wedge Press of the Type Employed in Both the American and Canadian Fur Trades.

Driving wooden wedges between the movable blocks above the furs provided the pressure necessary to make a compact pack.

From a National Park Service drawing by William Macy, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis.

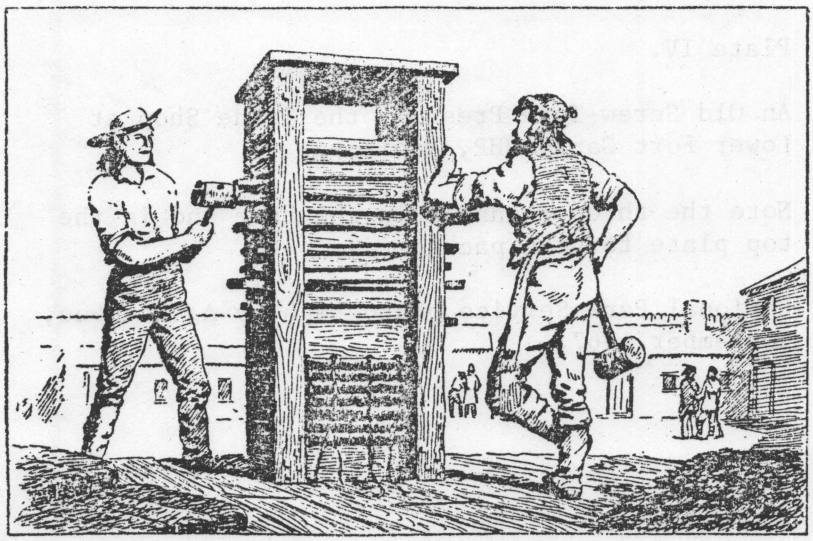


Plate IV.

An Old Screw-Type Press in the Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP, Manitoba.

Note the three channels in the base and in the top plate for the pack cords.

National Park Service photograph by A. L. Koue, September 1967.

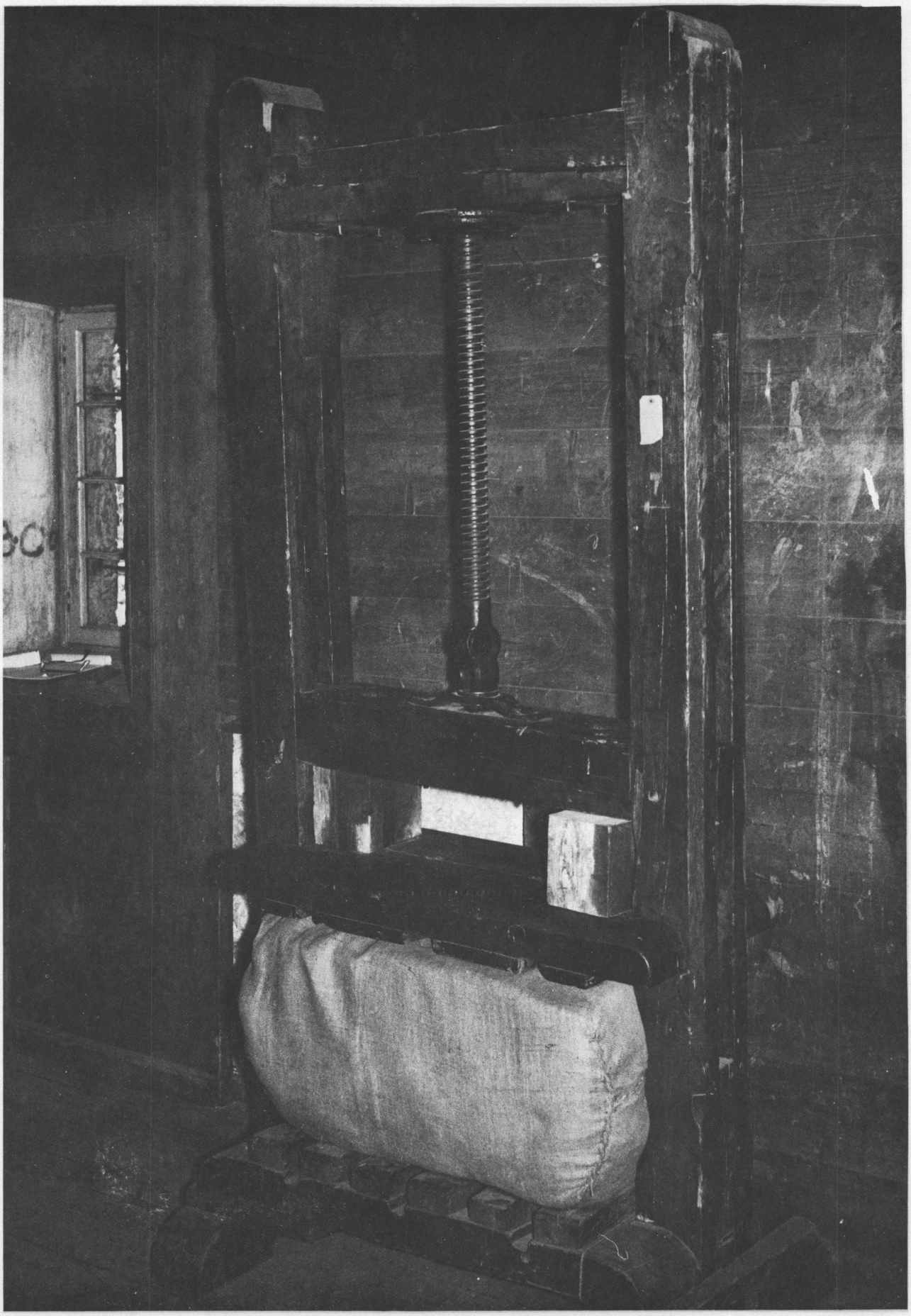


Plate V.

The Large Baling Press at Moose Factory, Hudson Bay.

Such huge presses were employed at main depots for compressing buffalo hides and for forming the large bales of returns for shipment by sea.

Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.

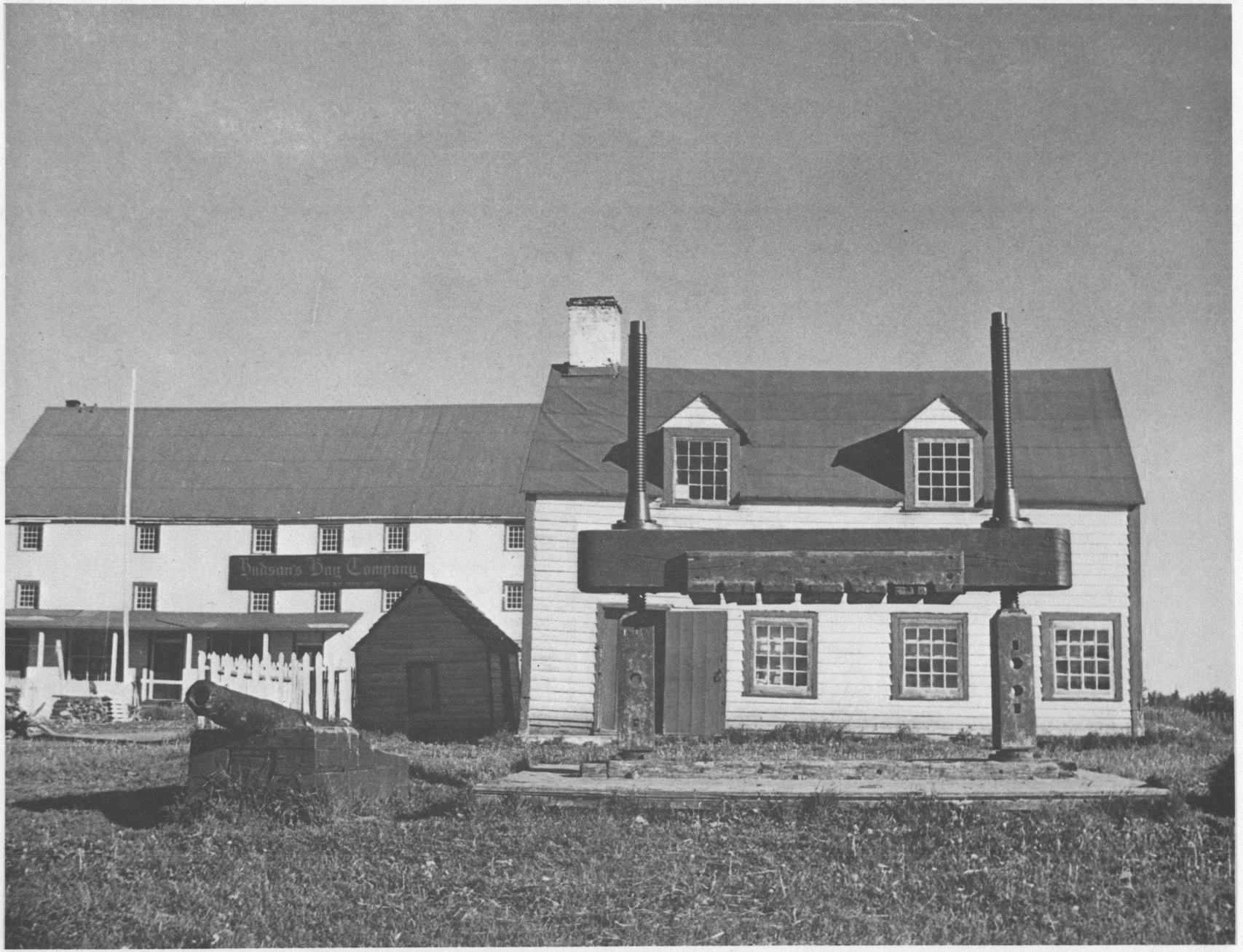

Hudson's Bay Company

Plate VI.

A Modern Screw-Type Press in Operation at Caribou Post, ca. 1947.

After placing a piece of burlap on the bottom of the press, the post manager packs in the pelts.

Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.

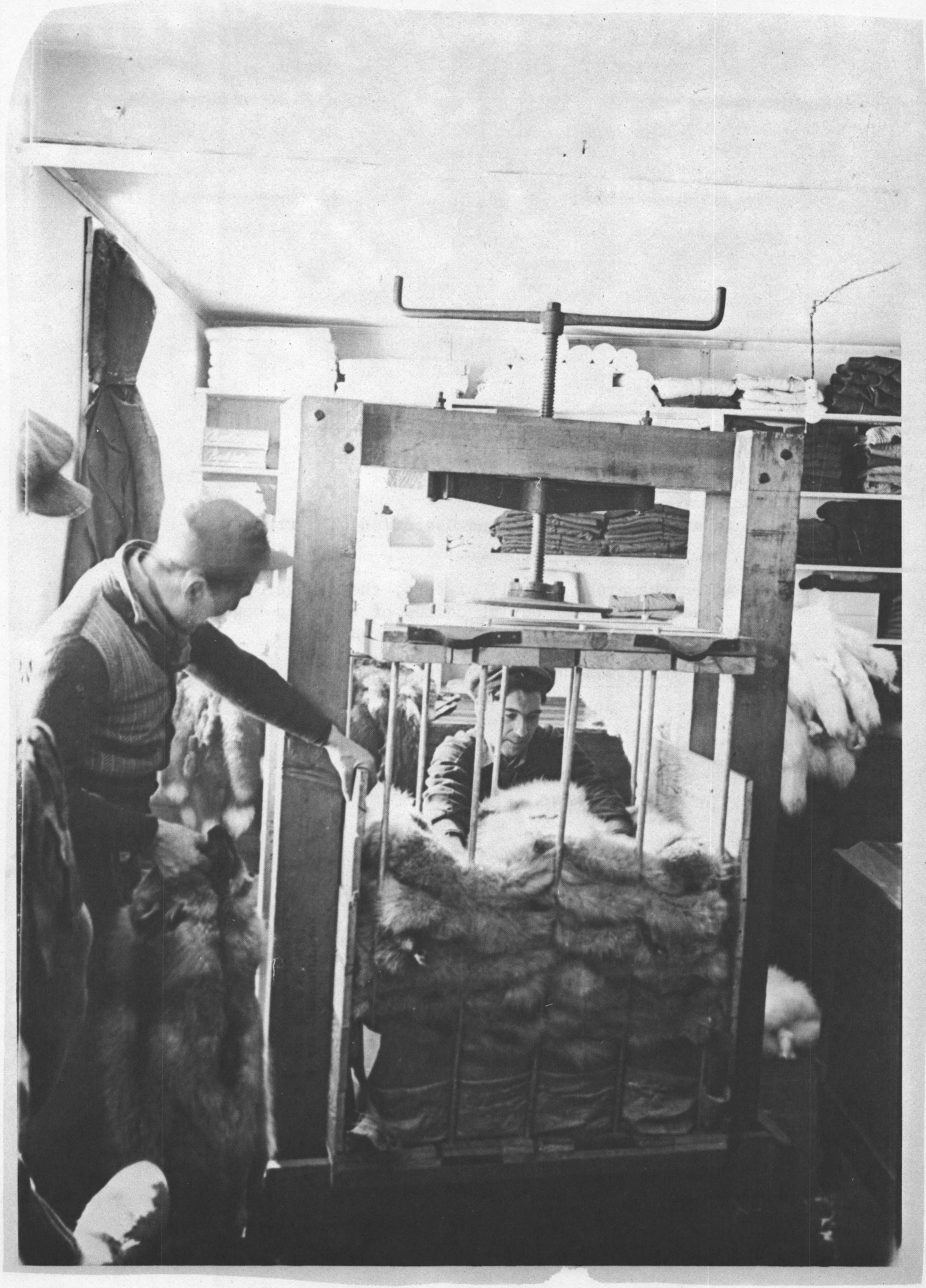


Plate VII.

An Additional Step in the Operation of a Present-Day Screw Press.

After the press is full of furs, the manager places a second piece of burlap on top of them and begins to turn the screw to compress the bale.

From The Beaver Outfit 279 (December, 1948): 29.

Plate VIII.

A Partially Compressed Bale of Furs in a Screw Press, ca. 1943.

This press is not the same one shown in the two previous plates, but it is of similar construction. It will be noted that pack cords are not employed with modern presses.

From The Beaver Outfit 274 (December, 1943): [27].

Plate IX.

A Compressed Bale of Furs Being Sewn Up in the Press, ca. 1943.

The next stage in the process of packaging the furs is to mark the bale for shipment. This operation is illustrated by Plate CX in volume I.

From The Beaver Outfit 274 (December, 1943): [26].

Plate X.

Fox Skins Hanging Out to Dry at a Hudson's Bay Company Post, ca. 1950.

Pelts were periodically hung out for cleaning and airing at Fort Vancouver in much this same manner.

From The Beaver Outfit 281 (December, 1950): [39].

Plate XI.

Sorting Furs at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta.

The furs visible are largely muskrats and foxes.

From The Beaver Outfit 275 (June, 1944): [9].

Plate XII.

Sorting Furs in the Warehouse at York Factory, ca. 1938.

From The Beaver Outfit 269, no. 3 (December, 1938): [46].

Plate XIII.

Method of Storing Furs at Norway House, ca. 1943.

The post clerk hangs the pelts in the warehouse; they will be stored in this manner until baled for shipment.

From The Beaver Outfit 274 (December, 1943): [26].

Plate XIV.

Enlarged Portion of 1860 Photograph of the Fort Vancouver Courtyard, View toward Northwest Corner, Showing the New Store (left) and the Sale Shop (right).

This clear version of the British Boundary Commission photograph shows details of warehouse construction not hitherto fully revealed. Note the shutter construction, the evident lack of strap hinges, and the full height of the second stories. The second-story windows in the Sale Shop were side-hung and contained twelve panes. The visible windows in the New Store were also side-hung, even on the first floor, and contained nine panes. Most important, note the framing of the large double door to the New Store (extreme left). The top frame or lintel appears to be a single huge timber into which an arch has been carved.

Courtesy of Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. Photograph 11074.

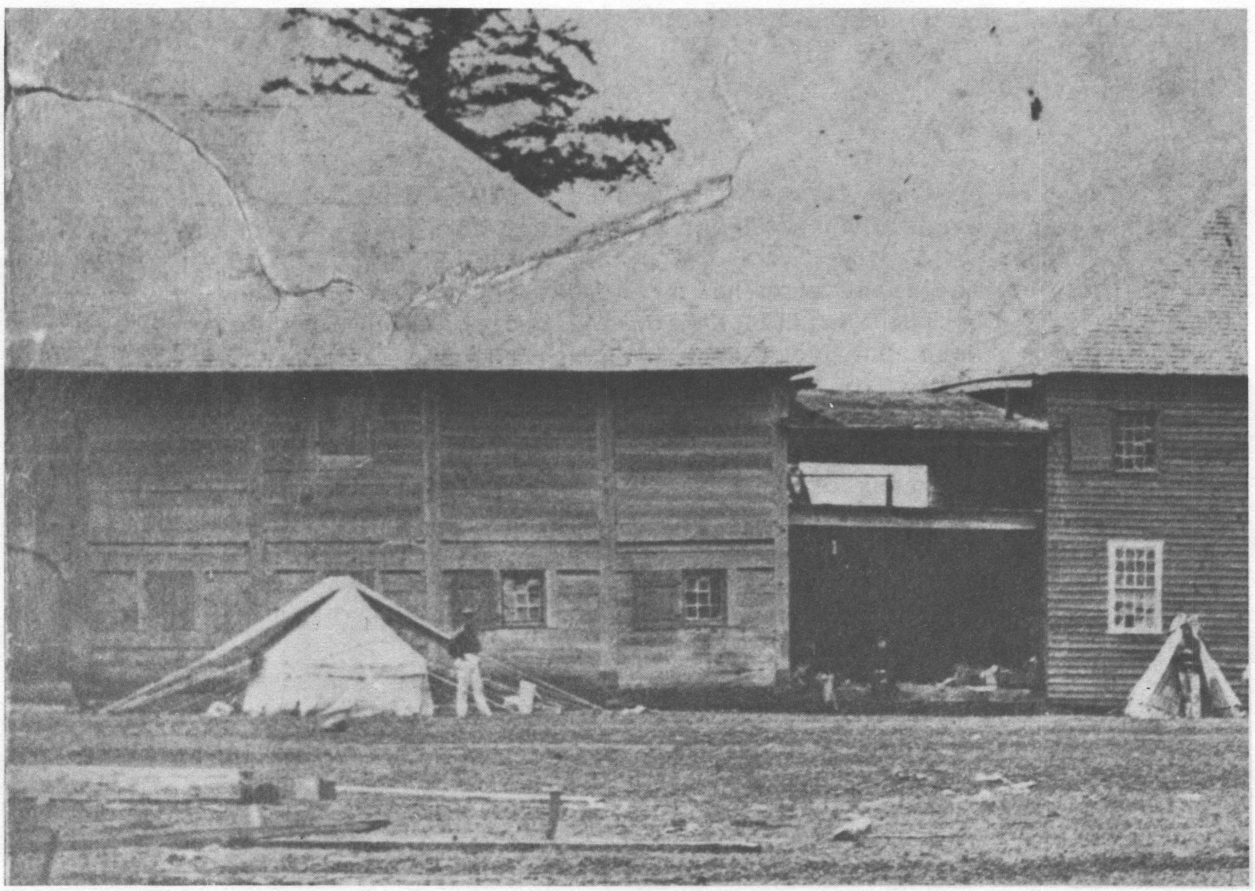


Plate XV.

Another View of the Old Screw Fur Press in the Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

The trade shop has been restored and refurnished by the Canadian National Historic Sites Service. Note the pack cords hanging from the rafters ready for use and those already in place on the press base plate.

Courtesy of Mr. Wayne Colwell and National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

Plate XVI.

A Large Weighing Beam with Wooden Scales in the Restored H.B.C. Trade Store at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

This scale must be almost identical with the "2 large iron Beams & wood Scales" listed in the 1844-48 inventories of articles in use "in stores" at Fort Vancouver.

Courtesy of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Historical Branch, Edmonton.

Plate XVII.

A Nineteenth-Century Steelyard of the Type Used in the Fur Trade.

Courtesy of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Historical Branch, Edmonton.

64.277
1a

Plate XVIII.

Corner of the Fur Loft in Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

Note the table being used as a desk and the staves for identifying fur packs.

Courtesy of Mr. Wayne Colwell and National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

Plate XIX.

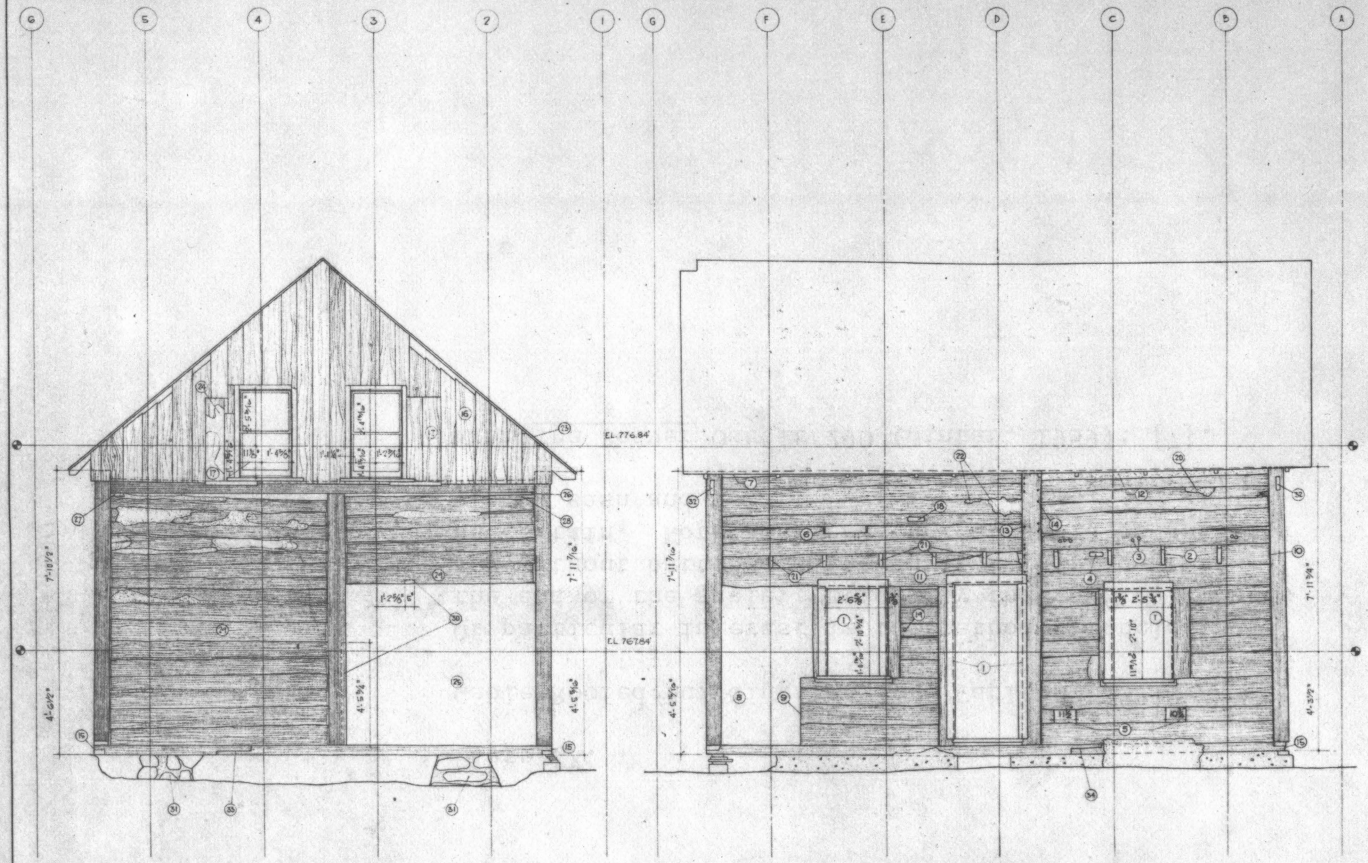
Measured Drawing of the Riel House at St. Vital, Manitoba.

In this typical Canadian-style dwelling, note how ends of the second-floor joists in the left half of the structure (feature 21) rest on a wall log that acts as a lintel for a door and a window. In the right half of the building, the ends of the second-floor joists (feature 2) extend through a wall log that rests on a lintel.

Riel House, As-Found Measured Drawings, Drawing No. 12 (Exterior Elevations), February 1970. Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National and Historic Parks Branch, Engineering and Architectural Division, Ottawa.

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



ELEVATION (1/2"=1'-0")

18-SLOT 2 1/8" X 7" X 3 1/2" DEEP, FILLED WITH CLAY & STRAW.

19-1" Φ HOLE WITH WOOD PLUG IS 6 7/8" THICK.

20-LIMEWASH ON CLAY AND STRAW PLASTER. PLASTER IS FINISHED TO A MAX. 1" THICKNESS.

21-ENDS OF SECOND FLOOR JOISTS REST ON WALL LOG WHICH ALSO ACTS AS A LINTEL LOG FOR AN ORIGINAL DOOR AND WINDOW OPENING. 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 1/4" 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 1" TO 1 1/2".

27-GAP VARIES FROM 7/8" TO 3 3/4".

28-ROUNDED FILLER LOG.

29-AXE-HEWN LOGS WITH CLAY AND STRAW PLASTER.

30-SLOT 2"X 5"X 2" DEEP AT UNDERSIDE OF LOG AND MORTISE IN CENTRE POST, SHOWN BY DOTTED LINE, WOULD INDICATE LOCATION OF WINDOW ORIGINALLY.

ELEVATION (2/12/12)

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 ORIGIONAL FIELDSTONE FOUNDATION.

34-SPLICED BASE PLATE LOG RESTING ON CONCRETE FOUNDATION AND WOOD BLOCKING.

35-ASPHALT SHINGLES ON WOOD SHINGLES.

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 1 1/2" AND DEPTHS KNOWN ARE FROM 1 1/2" TO 2". OUT OF FOUR DOWELS REMOVED, THREE HOLES CONTAINED SEEDS.

4-SLOT FILLED WITH CLAY & STRAW. THE SLOT IS 3 1/2" DEEP AND IS 2 1/8" X 7".

5-TWO CUTOUTS IN LOG WHICH ARE CURVED, RECESSED ABOUT 2" AT MAXIMUM POINT. THE CUTOUTS ARE AXE-HEWN.

6-CUTOUT IN LOG IS 6 1/2" DEEP AND THE SIDES OF THE CUTOUT ARE BEVELLED. THE CUTOUT, IF SHOWN IN A PLAN VIEW, WOULD SHOW A 1 1/2" Φ HOLE.

7-2 1/4" 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 3/4", AND FROM THIS LOG UP TO THE 4TH OF THE ROOF IT VARIES UP TO A MAX. OF 3/8".

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 1/8" 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.

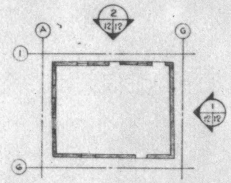
13-NINE NAILS THIS SIDE OF POST FROM TOP OF DOOR UP.

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

NORTH

LEGEND

0 5 10 FEET
0 1 2 3 METERS

GRAPHIC SCALES

ALL DETAILS DRAWN ACCURATELY TO SCALE

NO./Nº	DESCRIPTION / REVISIONS	DATE

DESIGNED BY / ÉTABLI PAR
CHECKED BY / VÉRIFIÉ PAR: J.A.C.
DRAWN BY / TRACÉ PAR: D. PANTO
SCALE / ÉCHELLE: 1/2" = 1'-0"
APP. REC. BY / APP. REC. PAR — DATE
APP. BY / APP. PAR — DATE

DRAWING TITLE / TITRE DU DESSIN: EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS (LOGS)

PROJECT TITLE / TITRE DU PROJET:
AS-FOUND
RIEL HOUSE
ST. VITAL MANITOBA

DATE: FEB 1970
REF. NO. / RÉF. Nº
DWG. NO. / DESSIN Nº: 12

Plate XX.

Gable-Roofed Buildings at Fort Carlton, 1871.

Of particular interest is the method of enclosing the end of the gable. Evidently the vertical boards are without battens, although it is difficult to be certain. Note also the typical style of painting window sash and trim.

From The Beaver Outfit 290 (Winter, 1959): [7].

Plate XXI.

Door on West End of Warehouse at Fort St. James, B. C.

National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September 1967.

Plate XXII.

A Hudson's Bay Company Indian Trade Shop During the 1840s.

From R. M. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay.

THE TRADING-STORE.

Plate XXIII.

Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

Although not specifically an Indian shop, this general store resembled in many ways the typical place of barter with the natives. Note the angled counter to reduce the space available for customers, the rough plank floors, the exposed ceiling beams, and the counter scale. The range of goods offered for sale, however, is somewhat different than that to be found in an Indian shop.

Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

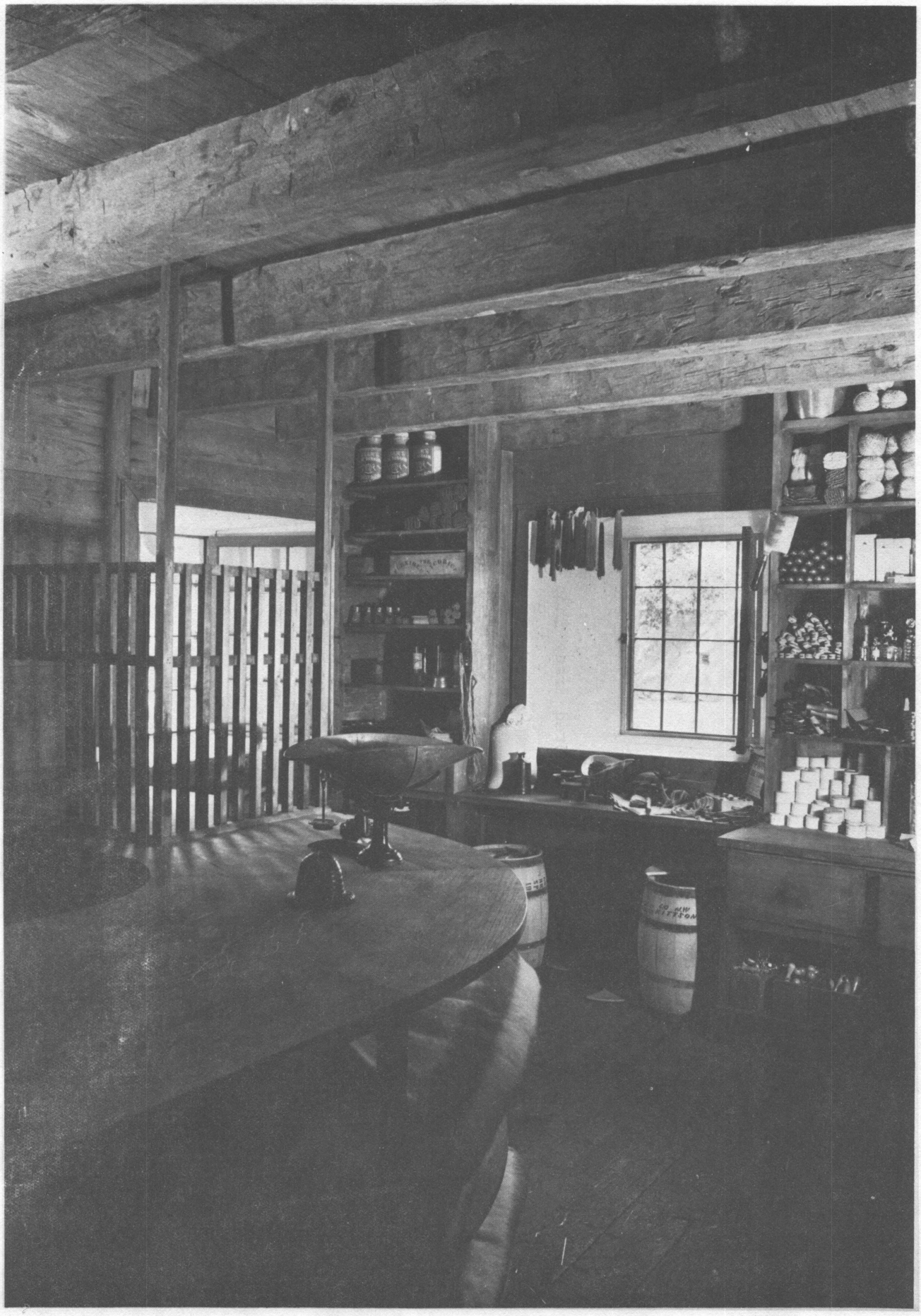


Plate XXIV.

Storeroom in Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

Although most of the items shown were not used in trading with the native fur-gatherers, the general appearance of this room probably reflects conditions in the storerooms of Indian trade shops.

Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

65 LB RR SP 805
65 LB RR SP 900

Plate XXV.

Another View of the Storeroom in the Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

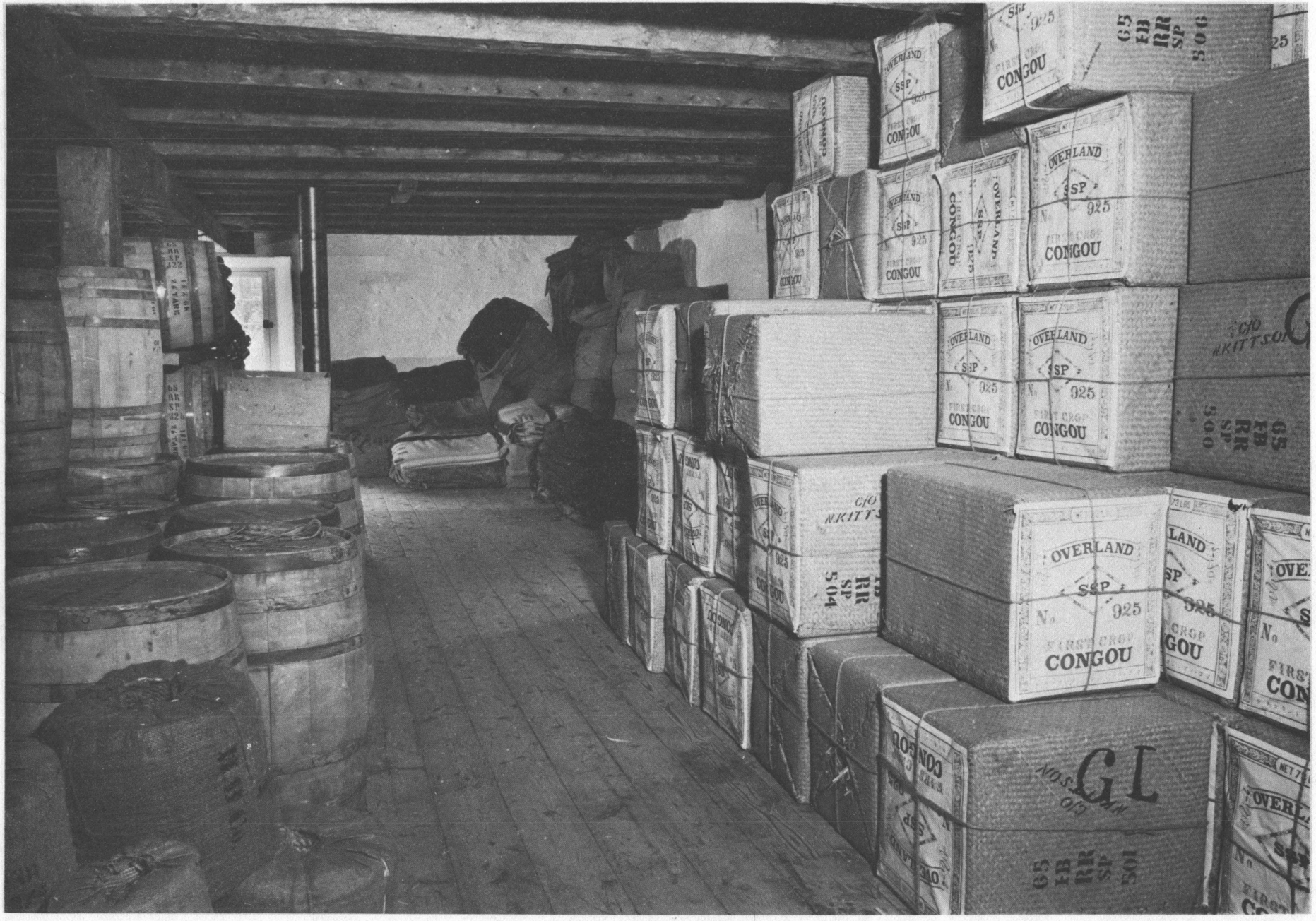

OVERLAND
SSP
925
FIRST CROP
CONGOU
C/O
N.KITTSON
65
FB
RR
SP
504
506
500
501
GL

Plate XXVI.

Furs in Storage in Garret of Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

Plate XXVII.

One End of Garret in Restored Trade Shop at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service, Ottawa.

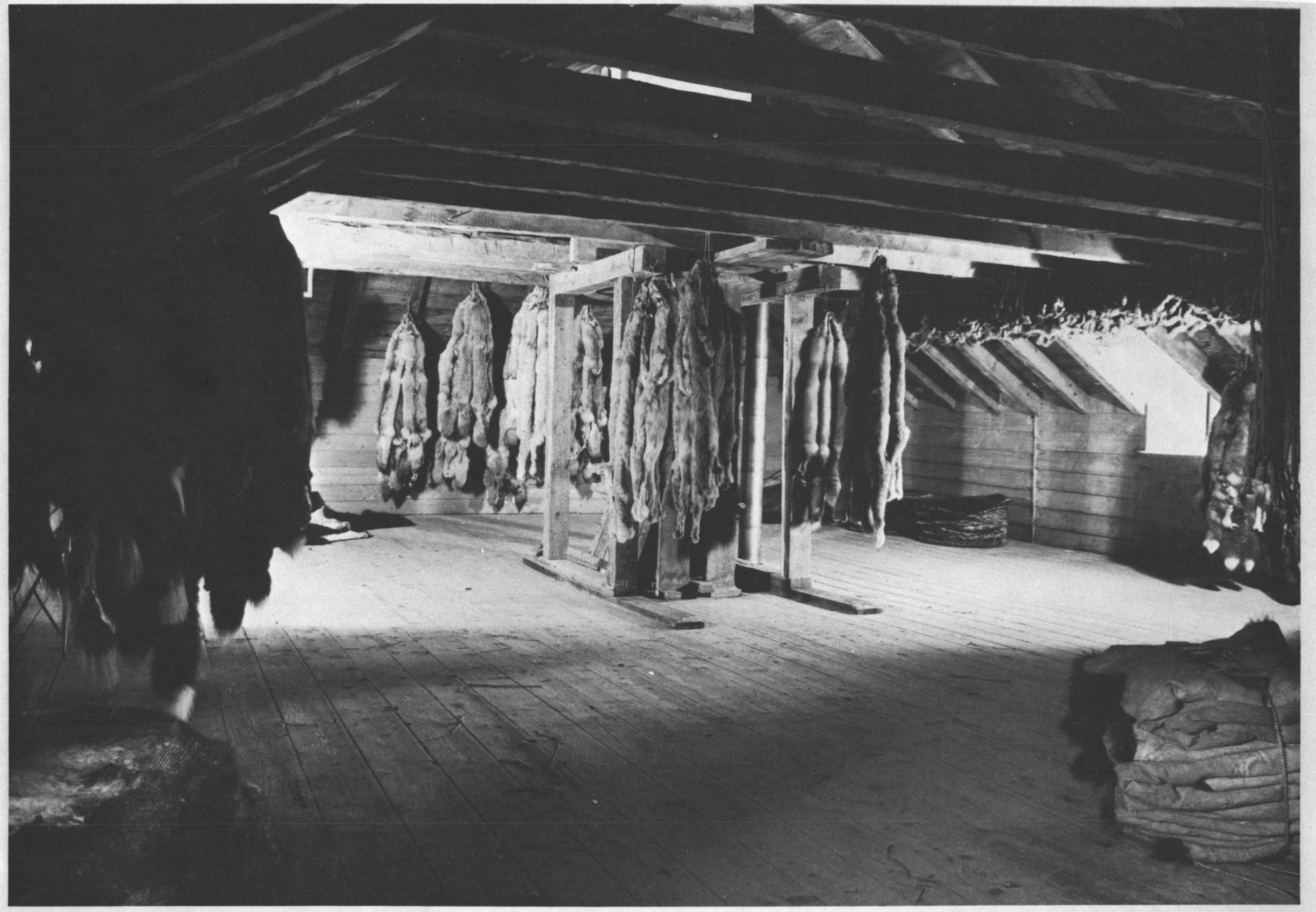
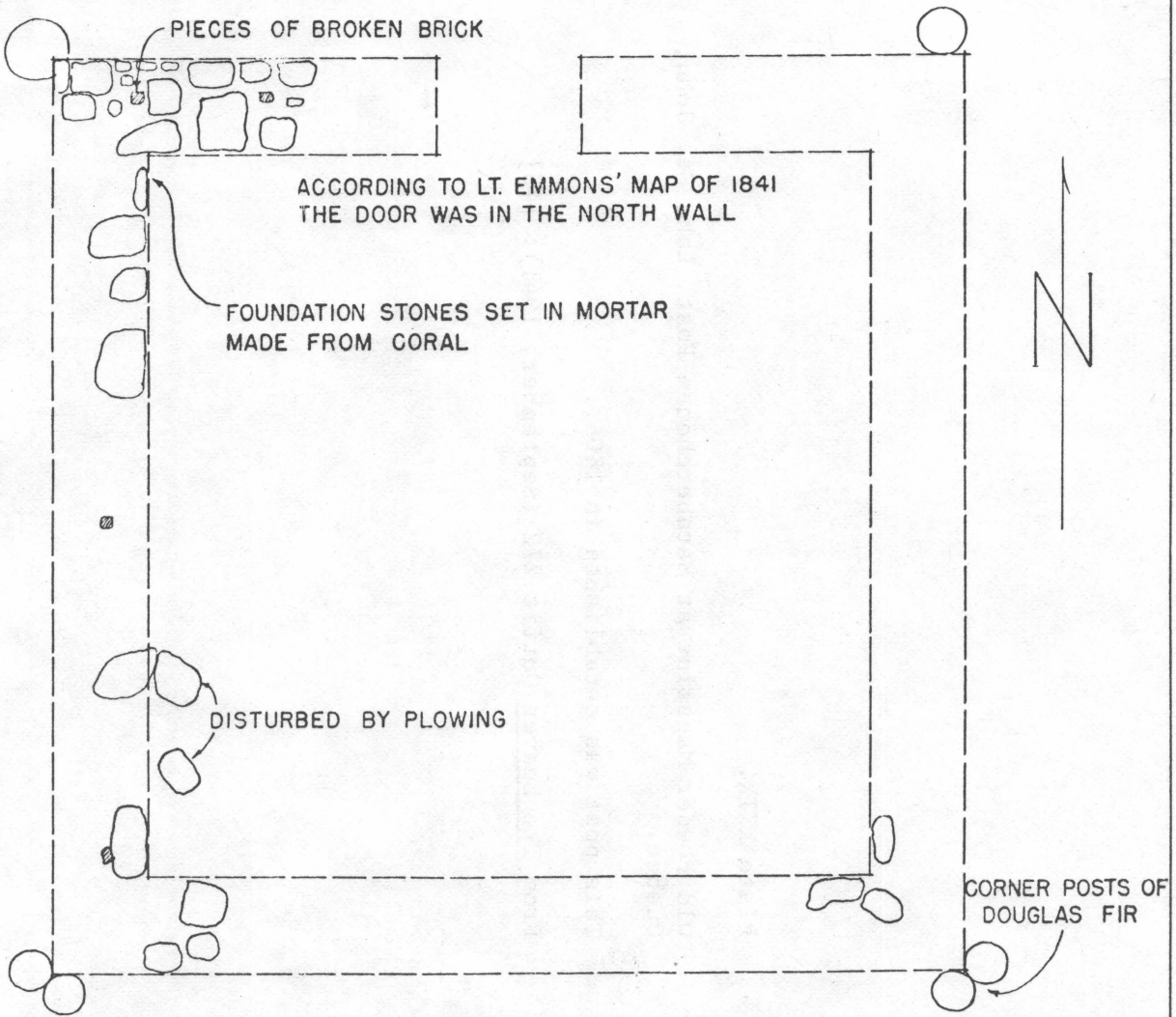


Plate XXVIII.

Plan of Powder Magazine Foundations at Fort Vancouver, as Excavated in 1947.

From L. R. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations, Plate 3.



POWDER MAGAZINE
FORT VANCOUVER

SCALE IN FEET

2 0 2 4 6 8 10

Plate XXIX.

Old Powder Magazine at Metabetchouan Post, Lake St. John, Quebec.

This post was established in 1806.

From The Beaver Outfit 272 (September, 1941): [43].

Plate XXX.

Powder Magazine at Moose Factory.

This gable-roofed structure is shingled with metal.

Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg;
reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Plate XXXI.

Old Powder Magazine and Sundial at Fort Chipewyan, 1927.

Although a wooden structure, this magazine in size, shape, and roof detail reflected the style of the small, but more substantial, stone powder houses at a number of Company posts. Note the typical ball ornament at the peak of the roof.

Courtesy of Photographs Section, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Negative No. PA-45047.

Plate XXXII.

Powder Magazine at Cumberland House, Saskatchewan.

National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey,
September 1967.

Plate XXXIII.

Section of Powder Magazine Foundation at Fort Vancouver, as Excavated in 1947, Showing Type of Construction.

National Park Service photograph by L. R. Caywood, 1947; courtesy of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

Plate XXXIV.

Piece of Mortar from Powder Magazine Foundation at Fort Vancouver, 1947.

A fragment of coral appears as the light area in the lower right-hand corner.

National Park Service photograph by L. R. Caywood, 1947; courtesy of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

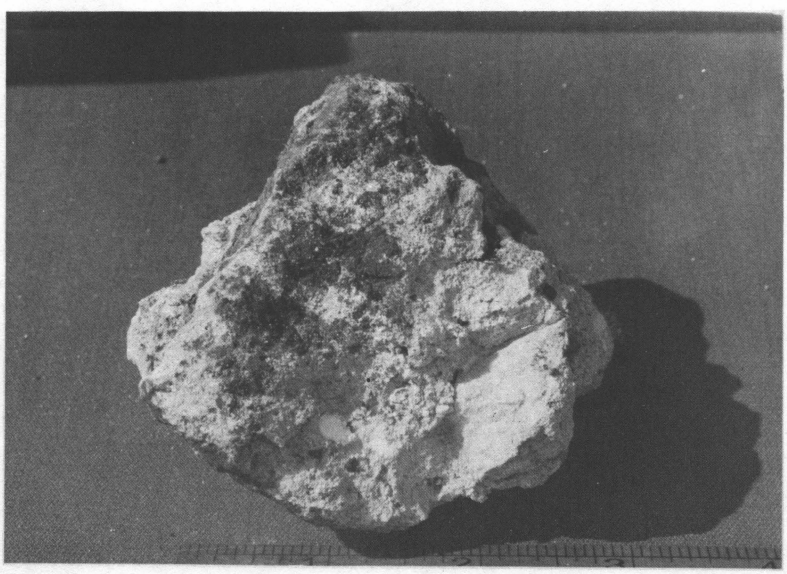


Plate XXXV.

Metal Roof on Powder Magazine at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey,
September 1967.

Plate XXXVI.

Metal-Covered Eaves and Ridge Boards, Powder Magazine at Cumberland House.

National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September 1967.

Plate XXXVII.

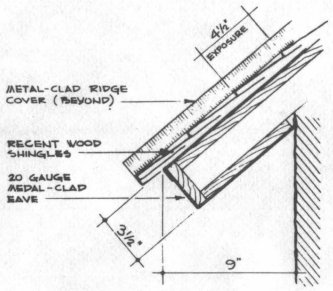
Roof and Eaves Details, Powder Magazine at Cumberland House.

National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September 1967.

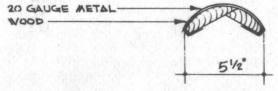
Plate XXXVIII.

Measured Drawings, Powder Magazine, Cumberland House,
Sheet 8.

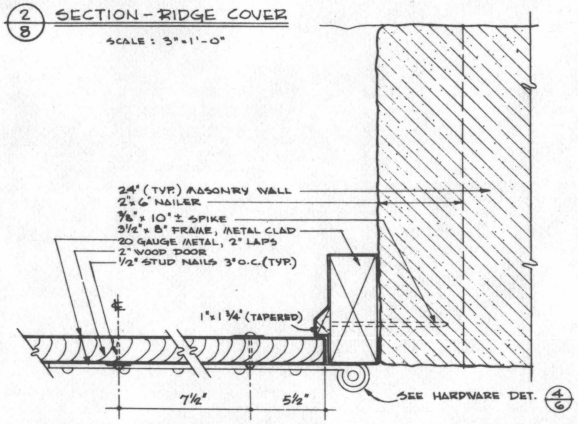
National Park Service drawing by R. Mehring,
based on field measurements by A. L. Koue,
September 1967.



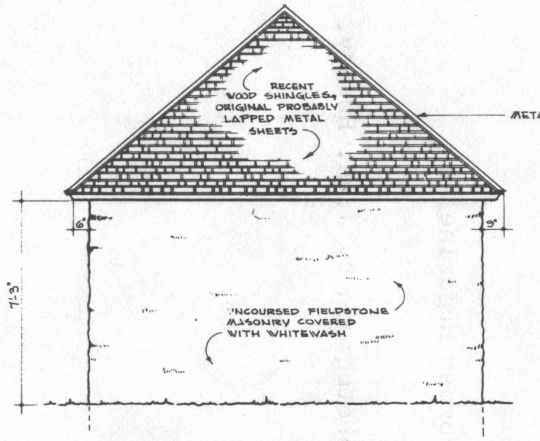
1/8 EAVE DETAIL
SCALE: 3"=1'-0"



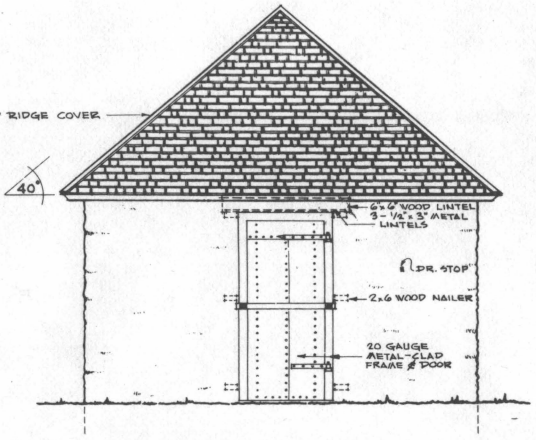
2/8 SECTION-RIDGE COVER
SCALE: 3"=1'-0"



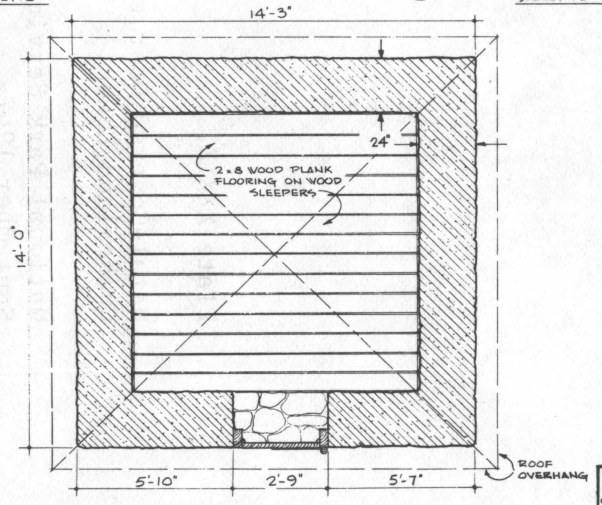
3/8 DOOR JAMB
SCALE: 3"=1'-0"



4/8 TYPICAL ELEVATION
SCALE: ½"=1'-0"



5/8 FRONT ELEVATION
SCALE: ½"=1'-0"



6/8 PLAN
SCALE: ½"=1'-0"

BASIC DATA

0 6 12 18 24
SCALE IN INCHES (DRAWN AT 3"-1'-0")

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
SCALE IN FEET (DRAWN AT ½"=1'-0")

ORIENTATION

PREPARED	
DESIGNED	
DRAWN	MEHRING
CHECKED	
ARCH	
ELEC	
MECH	
STRUC	
REVISED	
DATE	INITIAL
REGION	
PCP NO.	
SHEET 3 OF 9	
DRAWING NO.	
DATE 4/69	

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY & HISTORIC PRESERVATION
BRANCH OF RESTORATION, S.S.C.

POWDER MAGAZINE
CUMBERLAND HOUSE
SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA

Plate XXXIX.

Metal-Covered Door to Powder Magazine at Cumberland House.

National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September 1967.

Plate XL.

Hinge on Door to Powder Magazine at Cumberland House.

National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey,
September 1967.

Plate XLI.

The Bachelors' Quarters Building at Fort Vancouver, as It Appeared During the Spring of 1860.

This enlarged portion of the British Boundary Commission photograph of the northeast section of the courtyard shows a portion of the south wall of the Bachelors' Quarters, a feature not visible in most prints of this photograph. Note weatherboard siding on the south wall at the extreme right. Also note the foot scrapers in front of at least two of the doors.

From an unidentified print in the files of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

Plate XLII.

Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. Original Pencil Sketch by Henry J. Warre, 1845-46.

Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

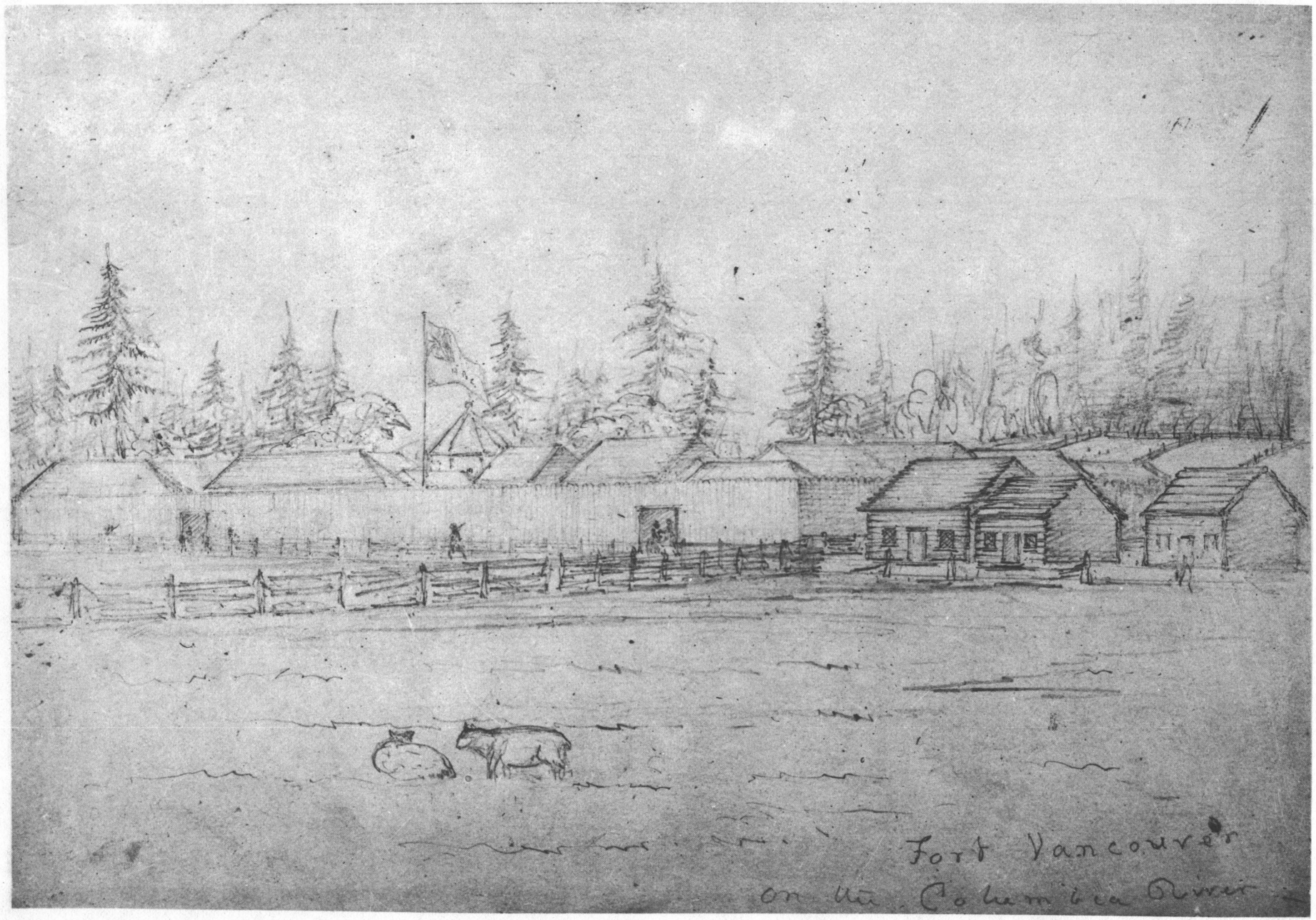

Fort Vancouver
on the Columbia River

Plate XLIII.

Interior of a Dwelling at the Hudson's Bay Company's Post at Pembina. Sketch by "H. M.," 1848.

From The Beaver Outfit 292 (Autumn, 1961): 50; the original sketch is in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

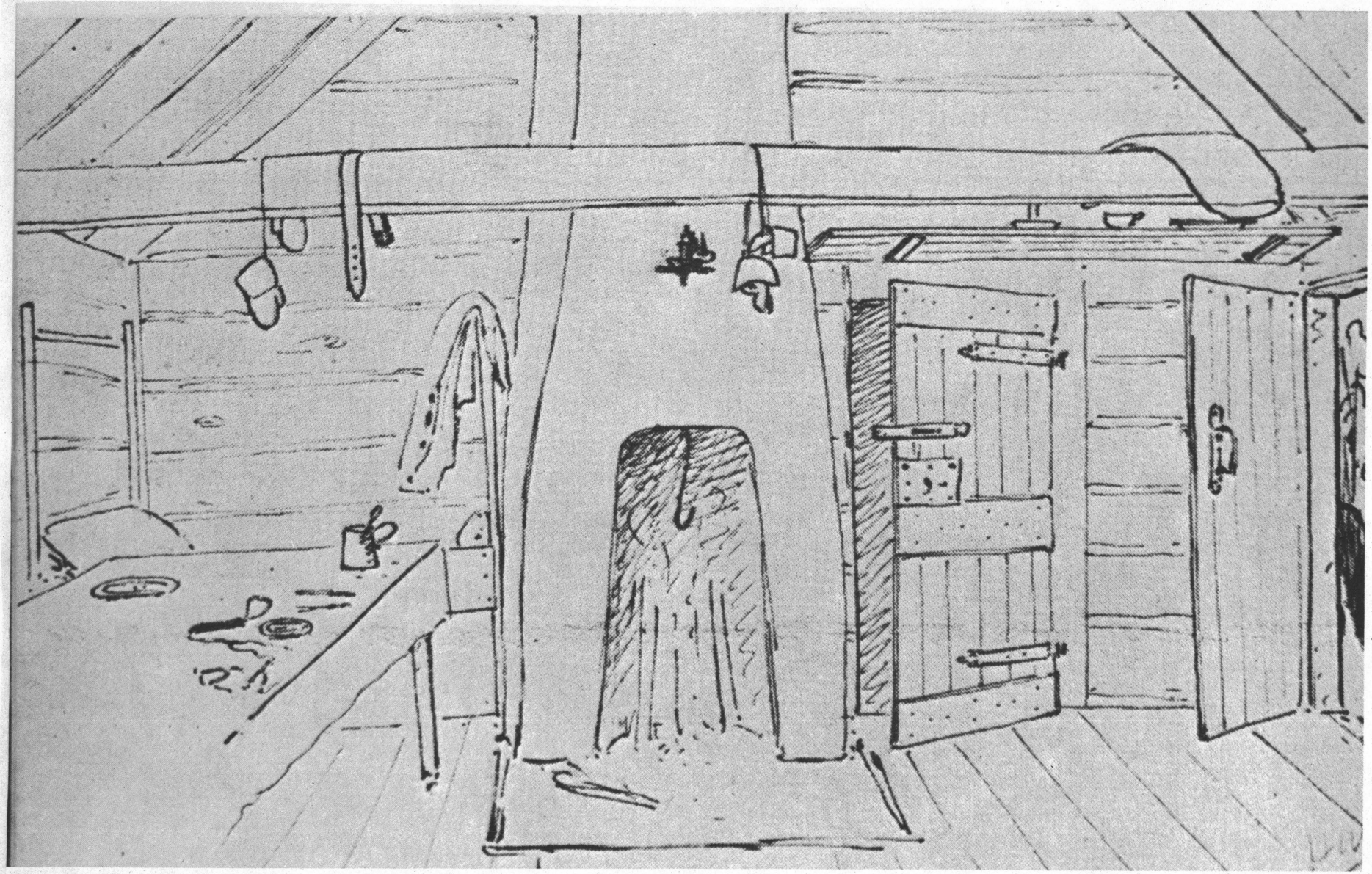


Plate XLIV.

Interior of the Home of a Red River Colonist. A Pen and Ink Sketch by Peter Rindisbacher.

Courtesy of Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
No. C 1937.

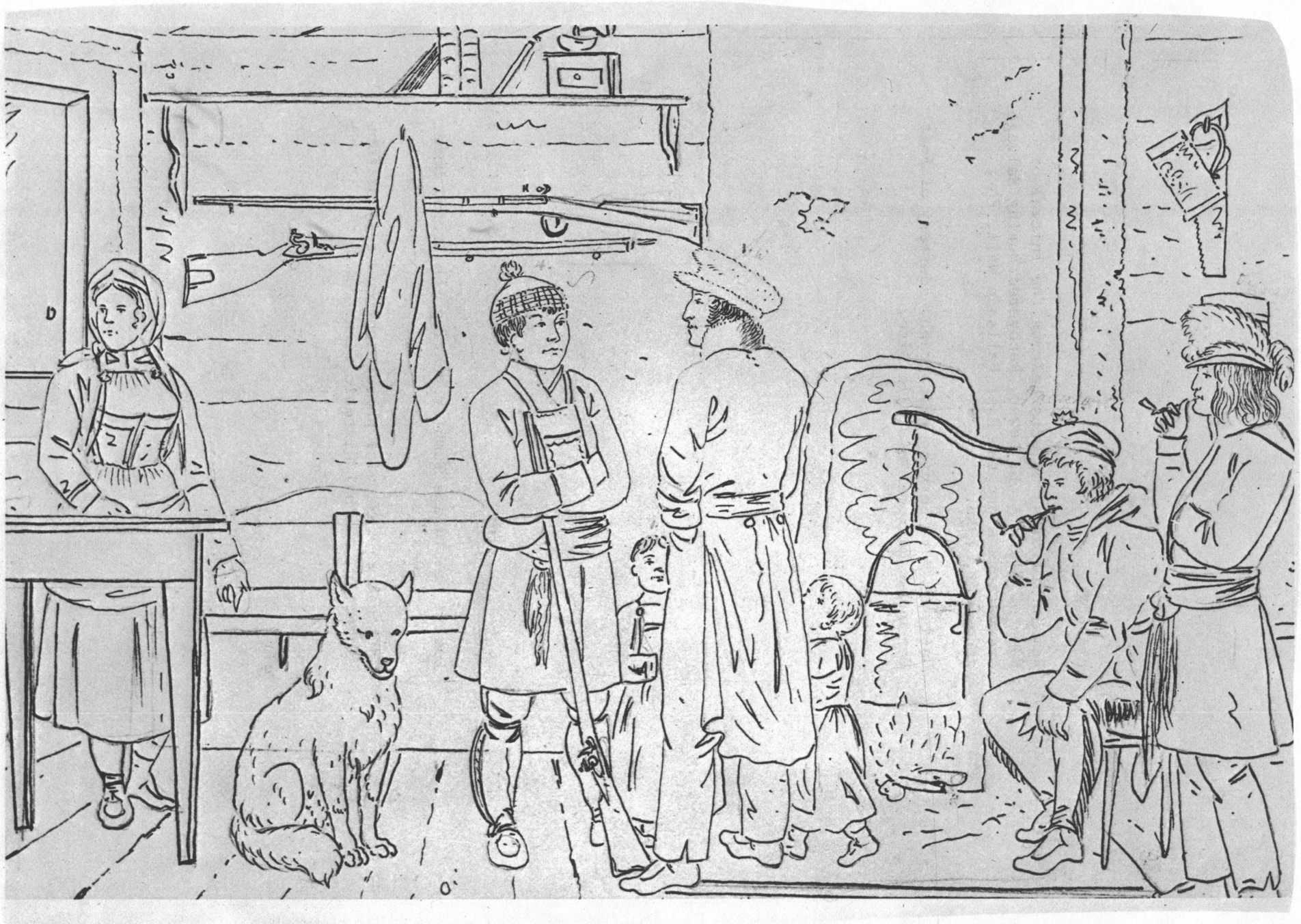


Plate XLV.

Remains of Glass Objects Bearing the Initial or Name of Clerk A. L. Lewes, Recovered During Salvage Excavations Along the East Palisade Wall, Fort Vancouver, 1966.

National Park Service photograph, courtesy of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

Plate XLVI.

Bottom of a Glass Tumbler Bearing the Etched Name "A. L. Lewes."

National Park Service photograph, courtesy of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

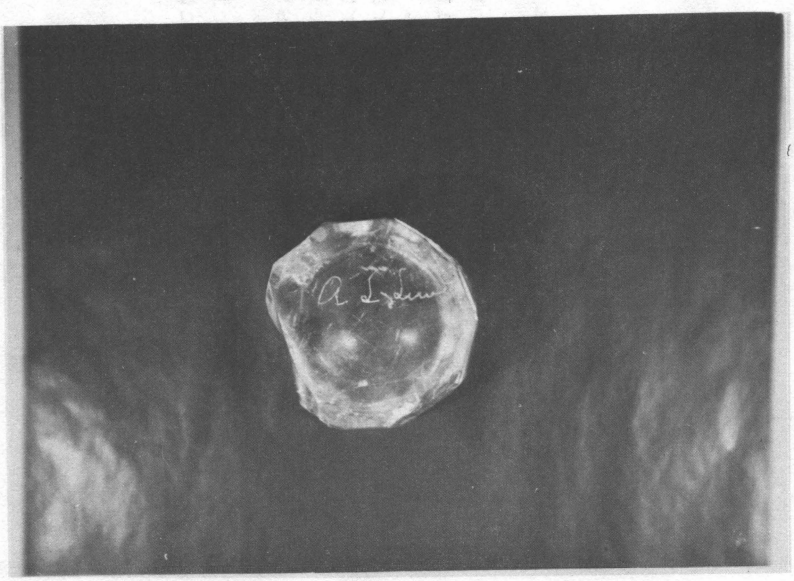


Plate XLVII.

The Library at York Factory as It Appeared in 1910.

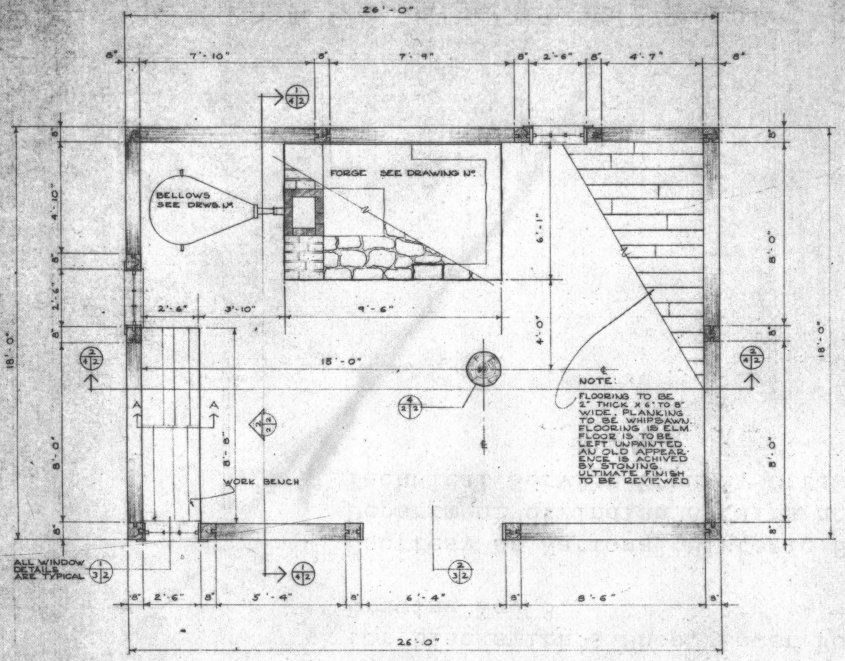
This photograph contains a good deal of architectural information in addition to showing details of book-shelf construction. The six-panel door, for instance, is similar in general design to the exterior doors on the Bachelors' Quarters at Fort Vancouver. The vertical board paneling, chair rail, and window frame are also of interest.

Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg. A. V. Thomas Collection. No. 103.

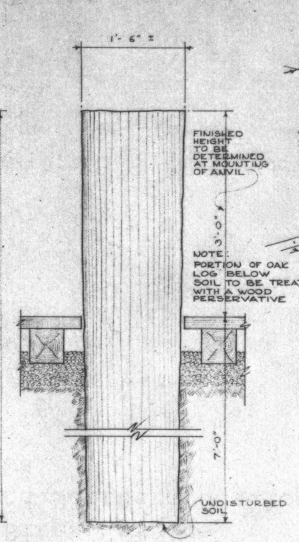
Plate XLVIII.

Floor Plan, Work Bench, and Anvil Support.
Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop,
Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 2.

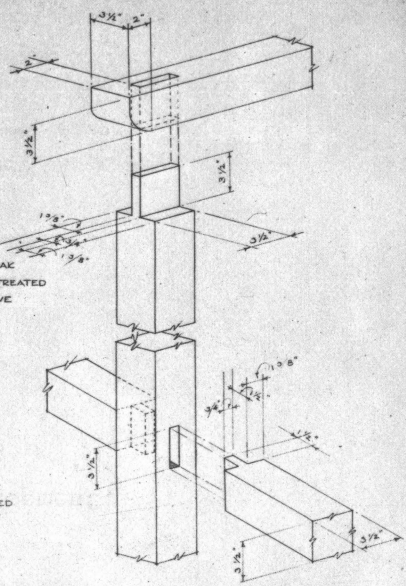
Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern
Development, Technical Service Branch, Ottawa.



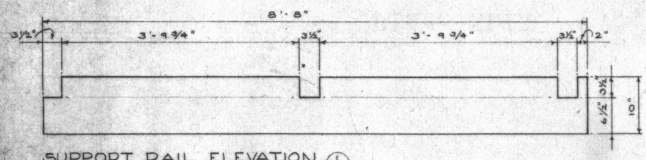
FLOOR PLAN
SCALE: 1/2" = 1'-0"



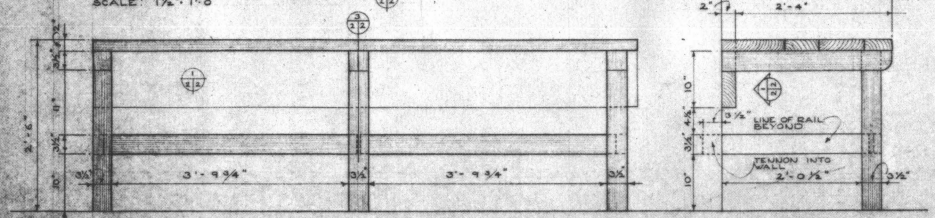
ANVIL SUPPORT 4/2
SCALE: 1½" = 1'-0"



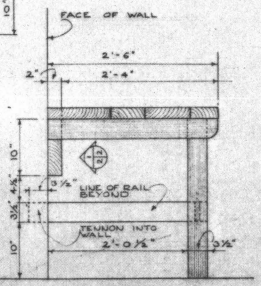
ASSEMBLY DETAILS 3/2
SCALE: 1/4 F.S.



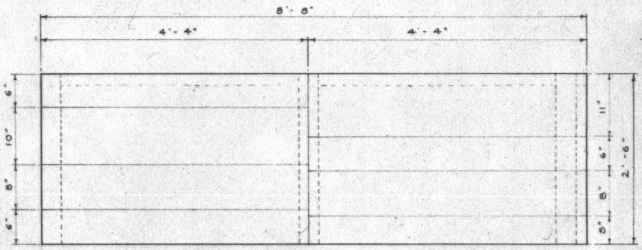
SUPPORT RAIL ELEVATION 1/2
SCALE: 1½" = 1'-0"



WORK BENCH FRONT ELEV. 4/2
SCALE: 1½" = 1'-0"



SECT A-A
SCALE: 1½" = 1'-0"



PLAN OF WORK BENCH
SCALE: 1½" = 1'-0"

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MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES INDIENNES ET DU NORD CANADIEN

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A detail no. / détail no
B location drwg. no. / no dessin où
C drawing no. / dessin no

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scale / échelle: AS NOTED
designed by / dessiné par: LA FRANCE
checked by / vérifié par
job captain / chef du projet / date
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project title / titre du projet
RESTORATION FOR BLACKSMITH'S SHOP
LOWER FORT GARRY
NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

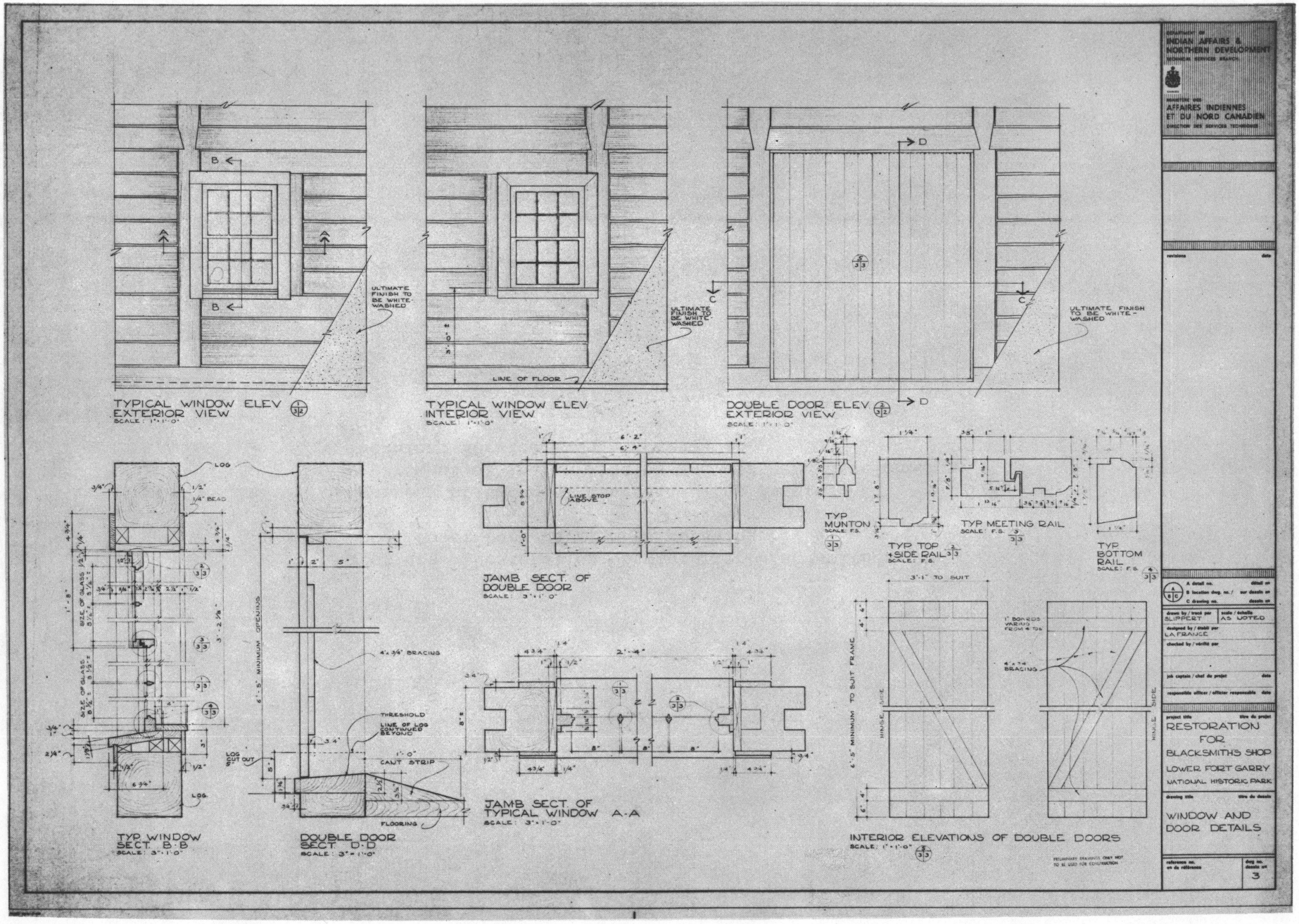
drawing title / titre du dessin
FLOOR PLAN WORK BENCH AND ANVIL SUPPORT

references no. / no de références
dwg no. / dessin no
2

Plate XLIX.

Window and Door Details. Restoration Drawings
for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP.
Drawing No. 3.

Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Technical Service Branch, Ottawa.


TYPICAL WINDOW ELEV EXTERIOR VIEW
SCALE: 1"=1'-0"
ULTIMATE FINISH TO BE WHITE-WASHED
TYPICAL WINDOW ELEV INTERIOR VIEW
SCALE: 1"=1'-0"
LINE OF FLOOR
DOUBLE DOOR ELEV EXTERIOR VIEW
SCALE: 1"=1'-0"
TYP WINDOW SECT B-B
SCALE: 3"=1'-0"
DOUBLE DOOR SECT D-D
SCALE: 3"=1'-0"
JAMB SECT OF DOUBLE DOOR
SCALE: 3"=1'-0"
TYP MUNTON
SCALE: F.S.
TYP TOP + SIDE RAIL
SCALE: F.S.
TYP MEETING RAIL
SCALE: F.S.
TYP BOTTOM RAIL
SCALE: F.S.
JAMB SECT OF TYPICAL WINDOW A-A
SCALE: 3"=1'-0"
INTERIOR ELEVATIONS OF DOUBLE DOORS
SCALE: 1"=1'-0"
PRELIMINARY DRAWINGS ONLY NOT TO BE USED FOR CONSTRUCTION
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AFFAIRES INDIENNES ET DU NORD CANADIEN
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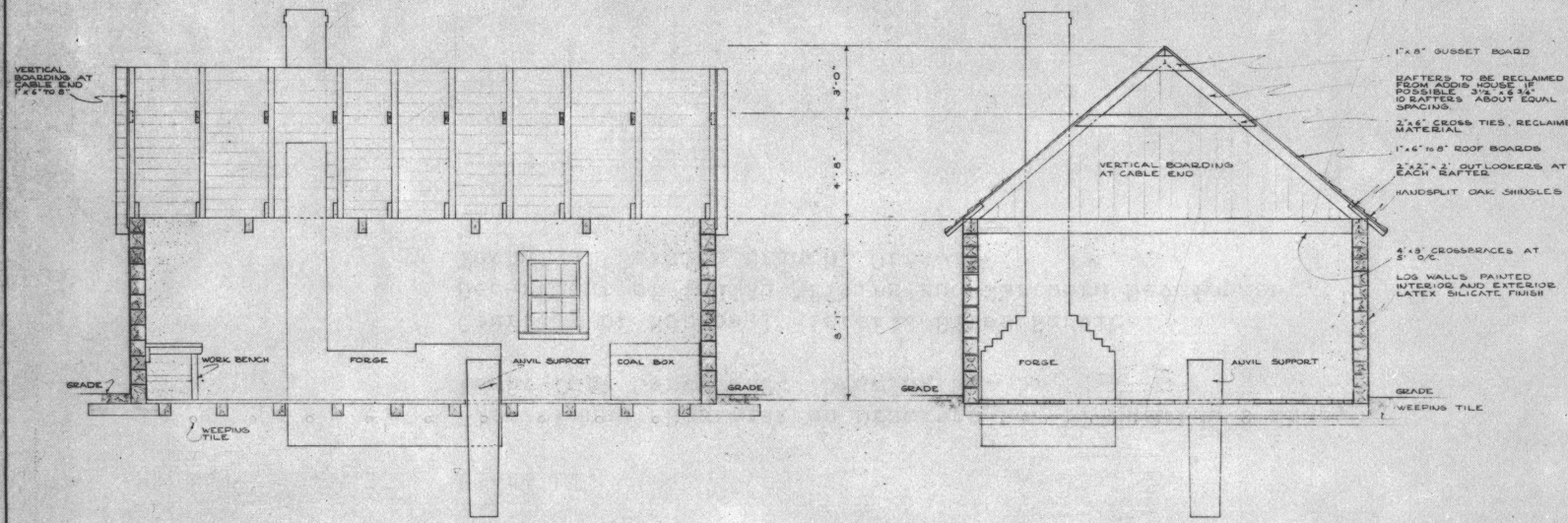
project title / titre du projet
RESTORATION FOR BLACKSMITHS SHOP LOWER FORT GARRY NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK
drawing title / titre du dessin
WINDOW AND DOOR DETAILS
dwg no. / dessin no 3

Plate L.

Sections. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 4.

Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Technical Service Branch, Ottawa.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION 1/4/12
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"

CROSS SECTION 1/4/12
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"

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DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS & NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
INDIAN AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA
MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES INDIENNES ET DU NORD CANADIEN

revisions / date

A detail no. / détail no.
B location dwg. no. / sur dessin no.
C drawing no. / dessin no.

drawn by / tracé par: PLOMLEY
scale / échelle: 1/2"=1'-0"
designed by / étudié par: LA FRANCE
checked by / vérifié par
job captain / chef de projet / date
responsible officer / officier responsable / date

project title / titre du projet:
RESTORATION FOR BLACKSMITHS SHOP
LOWER FORT GARRY
NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

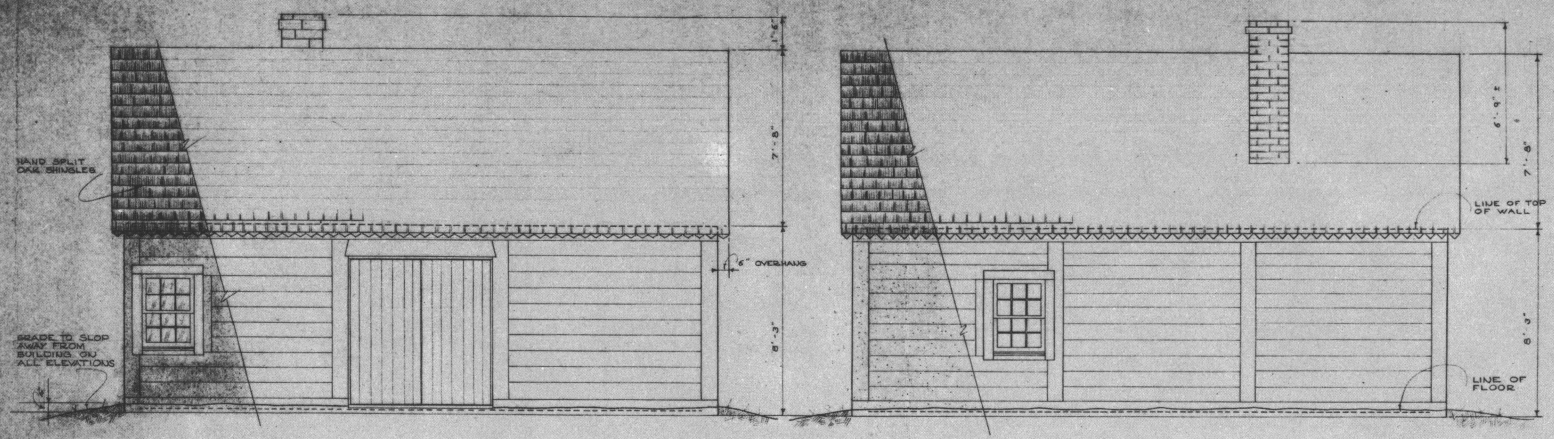
drawing title / titre du dessin:
SECTIONS

reference no. / no de référence
dwg. no. / dessin no. 4

Plate LI.

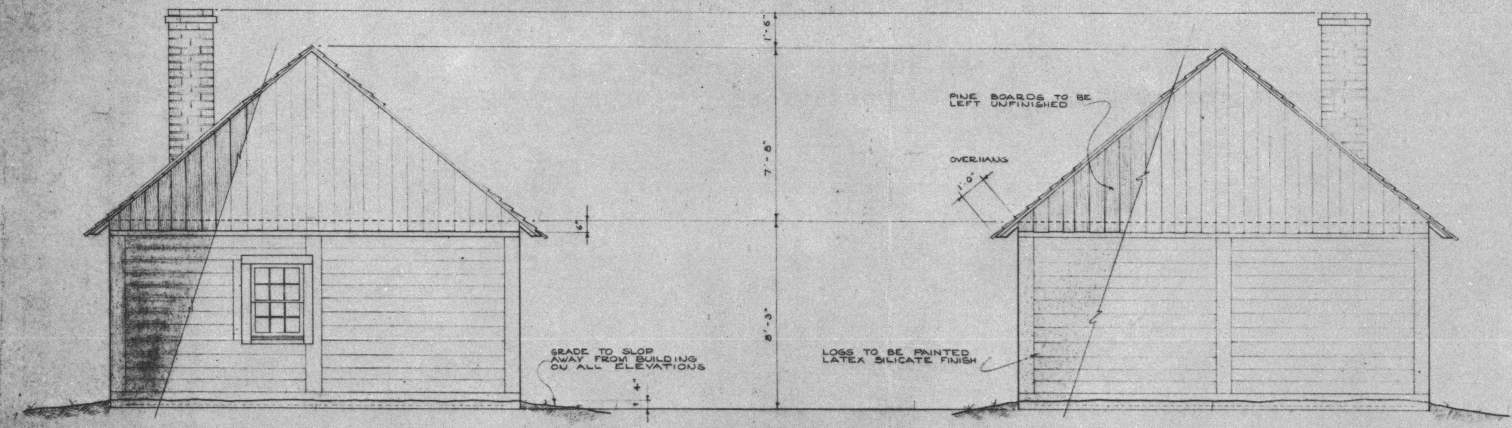
Elevations. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 5.

Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Technical Service Branch, Ottawa.



EAST ELEVATION
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"

WEST ELEVATION
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"



SOUTH ELEVATION
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"

NORTH ELEVATION
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"

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INDIAN AFFAIRS & NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
AFFAIRES INDIENNES ET DU NORD CANADIEN

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A detail no. / détail no
B location dwg. no. / sur dessin no
C drawing no. / dessin no

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scale / échelle: 1/2"=1'-0"
designed by / établi par: LA FRANCE
checked by / vérifié par
job captain / chef du projet / date
responsible officer / officier responsable / date

project title / titre du projet
RESTORATION FOR BLACKSMITH'S SHOP
LOWER FORT GARRY NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

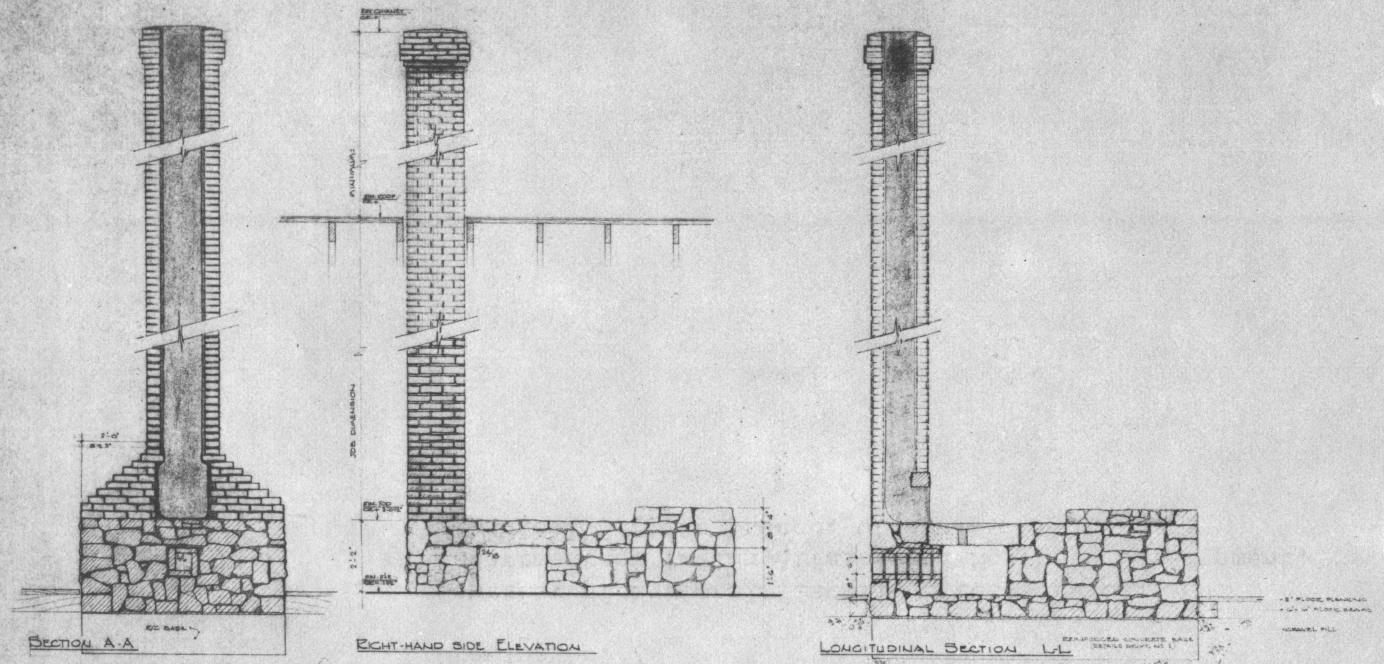
drawing title / titre du dessin
ELEVATIONS

reference no. / no de référence
dwg no. / dessin no
5

Plate LII.

Masonry Forge. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. [6].

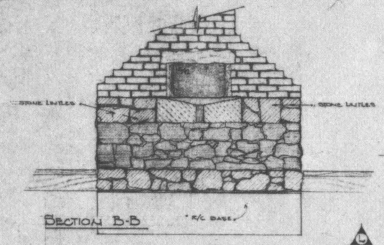
Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Technical Service Branch, Ottawa.



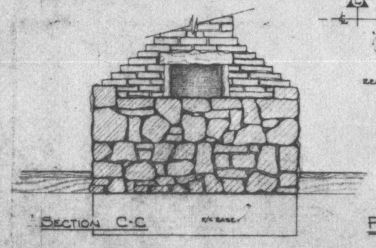
SECTION A-A

RIGHT-HAND SIDE ELEVATION

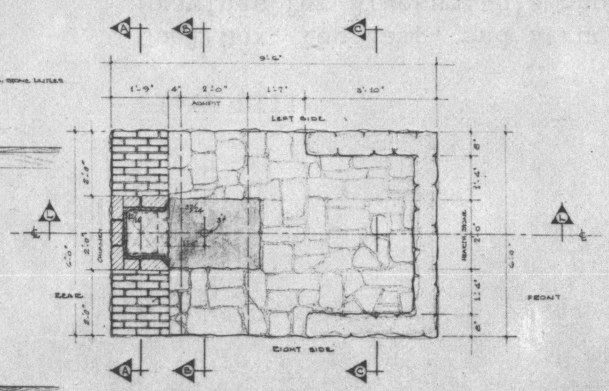
LONGITUDINAL SECTION L-L



SECTION B-B



SECTION C-C



PLAN 3/4" = 1'-0"

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DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS & NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES INDIENNES ET DU NORD CANADIEN

revisions / date

A detail no. / détail no
B location dwg. no. / no dessin no
C drawing no. / dessin no

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designed by / dessiné par J. LAFRANCE

checked by / vérifié par

job captain / chef de projet J. LAFRANCE — date

responsible officer / officier responsable — date

project title / titre du projet

RECONSTRUCTION
BLACKSMITH'S SHOP
LOWER FORT GARRY
MANITOBA

drawing title / titre du dessin

MASONRY FORGE

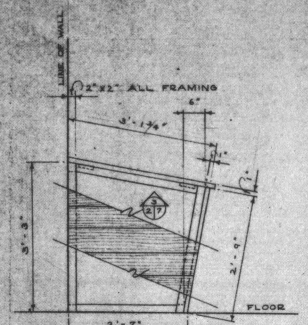
reference no. / no de référence

dwg no. / dessin no

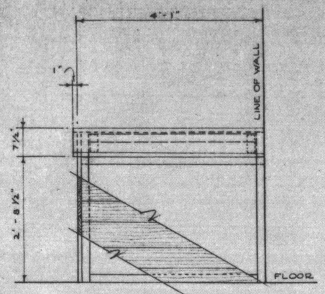
Plate LIII.

Coal Box, Log Ramp, and Structure Details. Restoration Drawings for Blacksmith's Shop, Lower Fort Garry NHP. Drawing No. 7.

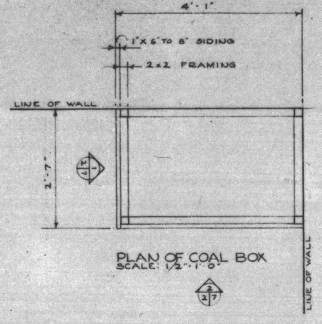
Courtesy of National Historic Sites Service,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Technical Service Branch, Ottawa.



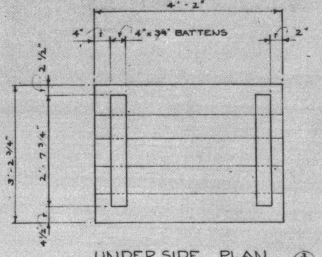
EXPOSED END ELEV. OF COAL BOX
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"



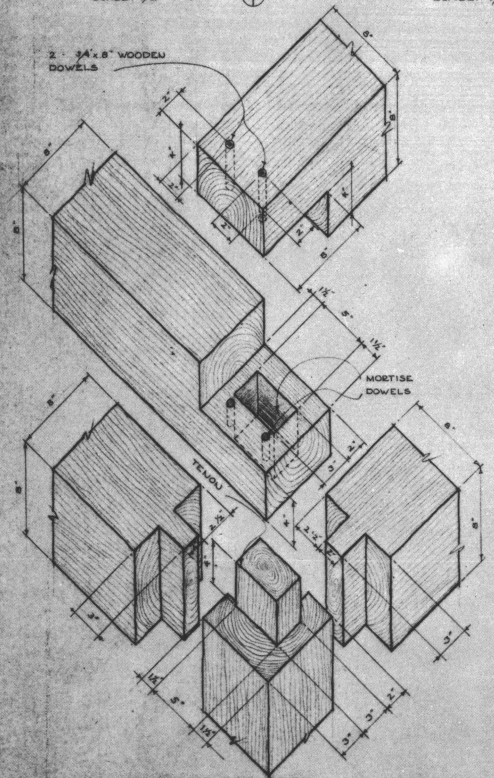
EXPOSED FRONT ELEV. OF COAL BOX
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"



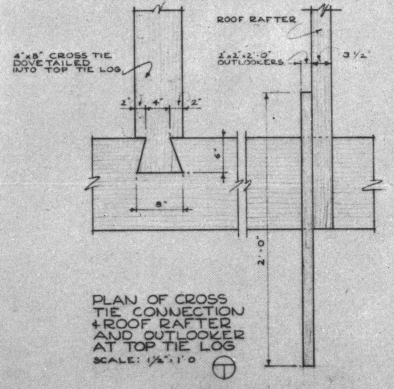
PLAN OF COAL BOX
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"



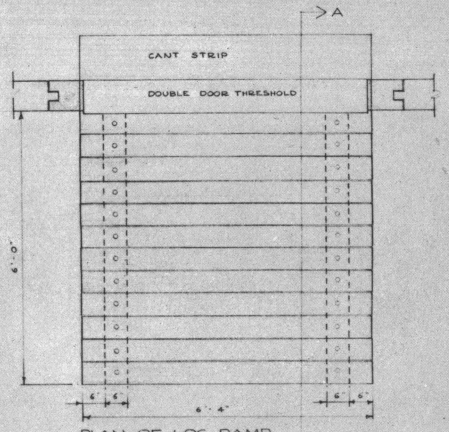
UNDERSIDE PLAN OF COAL BOX COVER
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"



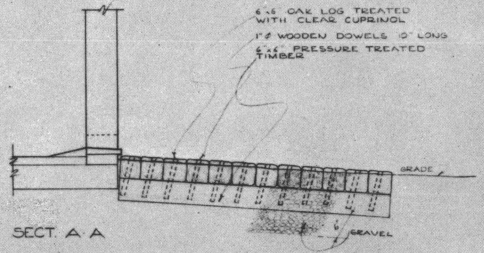
TYPICAL CORNER ASSEMBLY DETAIL AT TOP TIE LOG
SCALE: 3"=1'-0"



PLAN OF CROSS TIE CONNECTION & ROOF RAFTER AND OUTLOOKER AT TOP TIE LOG
SCALE: 1/2"=1'-0"



PLAN OF LOG RAMP
SCALE: 1"=1'-0"



SECT. A-A

INDIAN AFFAIRS & NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
AFFAIRES INDIENNES ET DU NORD CANADIEN

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SLIPPERT	AS NOTED
designed by / dessiné par	
LA FRANCE	
checked by / vérifié par	
job captain / chef du projet	date
responsible officer / officier responsable	date

project title / titre du projet
RESTORATION FOR BLACKSMITH'S SHOP
LOWER FORT GARRY
NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK

drawing title / titre du dessin
COAL BOX
LOG RAMP
AND STRUCTURE
DETAILS

reference no. / no de référence

dwg no. / dessin no
7

Plate LIV.

The Hudson's Bay Company Blacksmith's Shop at Moose Factory.

Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg;
reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.

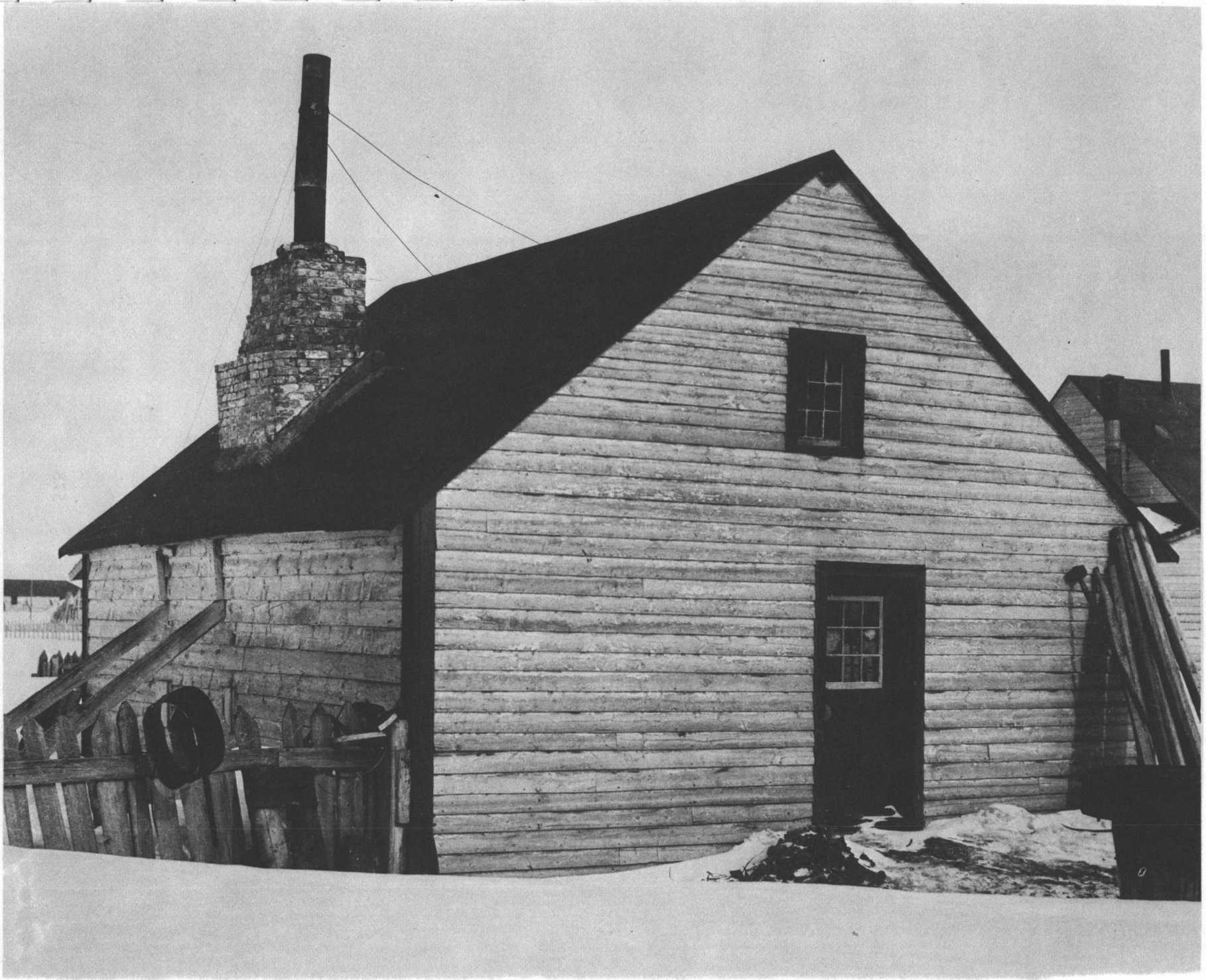


Plate LV.

York Boat under Construction at Norway House, 1923.

This picture clearly shows the interior of a typical unlined Company workshop.

From The Beaver 4, no. 1 (October, 1923): 19.

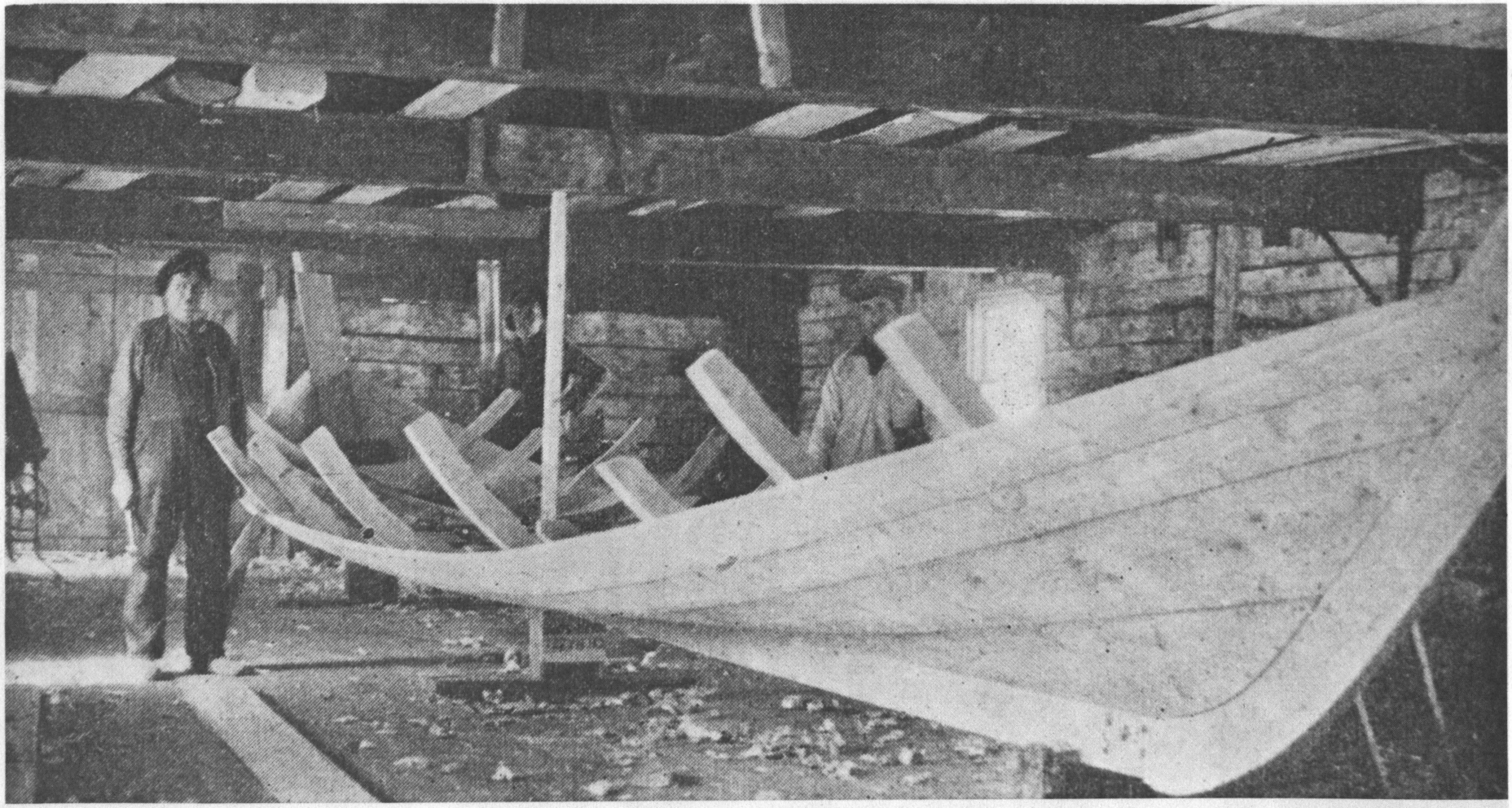


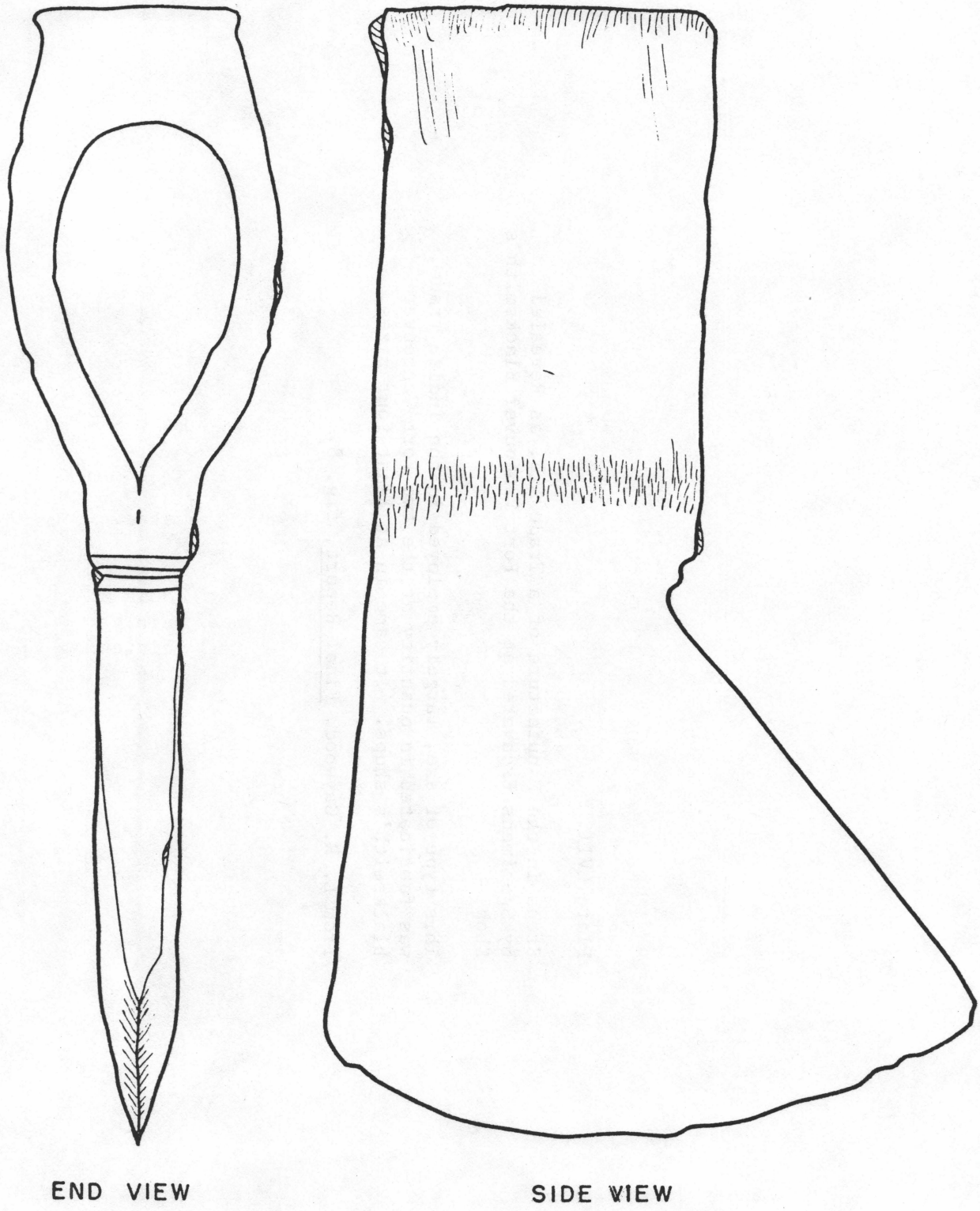
Plate LVI.

Typical Hudson's Bay Company Axe, Excavated at Fort Vancouver.

This was the larger size axe that Mr. Louis R. Caywood believes "must have been used mainly around the forts for construction and maintenance and the supplying of firewood." The shape of the Company's axes was distinctive.

From L. R. Caywood, Final Report, fig. 6.

FIGURE 6 – TYPICAL HUDSON'S BAY AXE



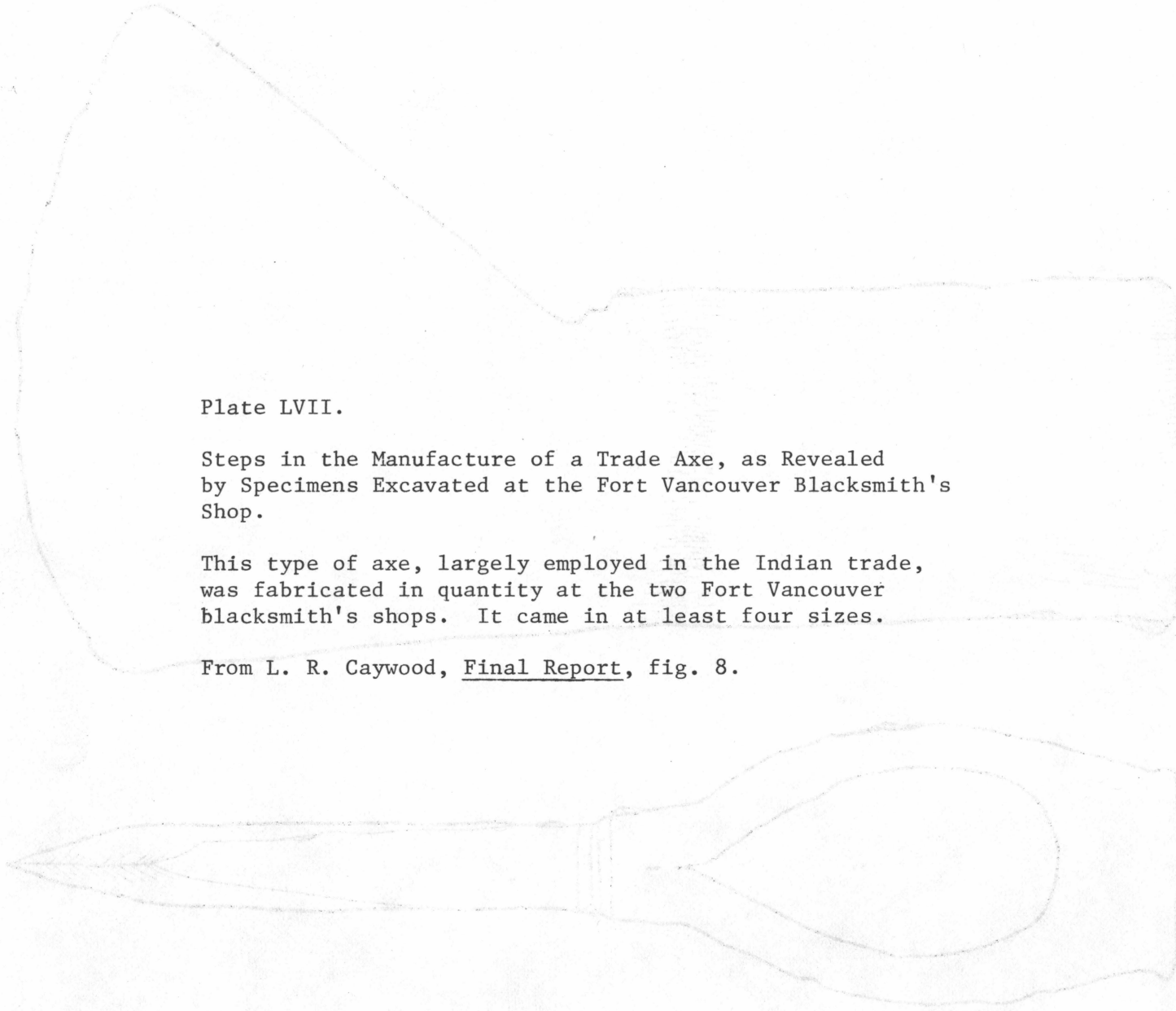
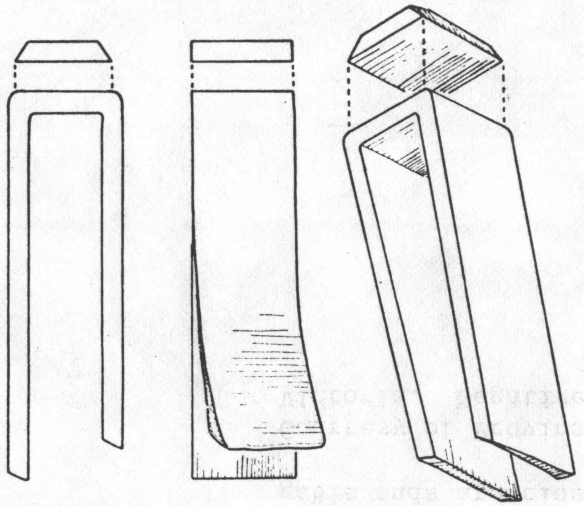


Plate LVII.

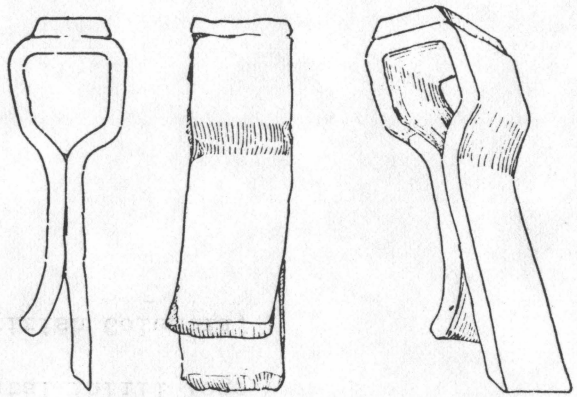
Steps in the Manufacture of a Trade Axe, as Revealed by Specimens Excavated at the Fort Vancouver Blacksmith's Shop.

This type of axe, largely employed in the Indian trade, was fabricated in quantity at the two Fort Vancouver blacksmith's shops. It came in at least four sizes.

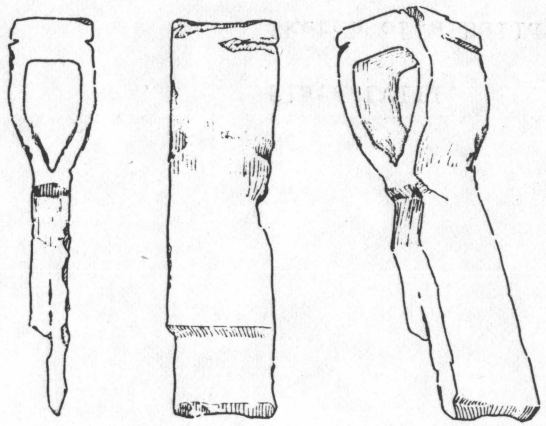
From L. R. Caywood, Final Report, fig. 8.



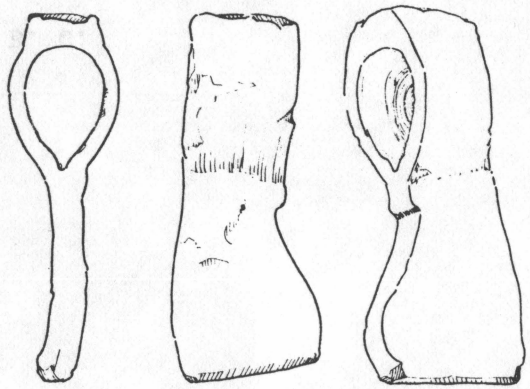
A. About 15 inches of 1¾" strap iron is bent and square head made.



B. Head tapered and welded on. Body shaped and hole formed.



C. Blade welded and notch formed.



D. Blade shaped ready for sharpening.

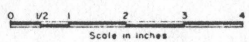


Figure 8. The Making of a Trade Axe (from actual specimens)

Plate LVIII.

Sketch of a Building at Fort Kamloops, B. C.

This sketch, found on the inside cover of the original Fort Kamloops Journal manuscript, August 3, 1841-December 19, 1843, kept by John Tod, may be a plan for a new building. At any rate, it provides an excellent diagram of a typical H.B.C. post-and-fill, one-story-and-garret structure. Note that the gable ends are closed in with horizontal infill logs.

Courtesy of Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. Negative No. 77027.

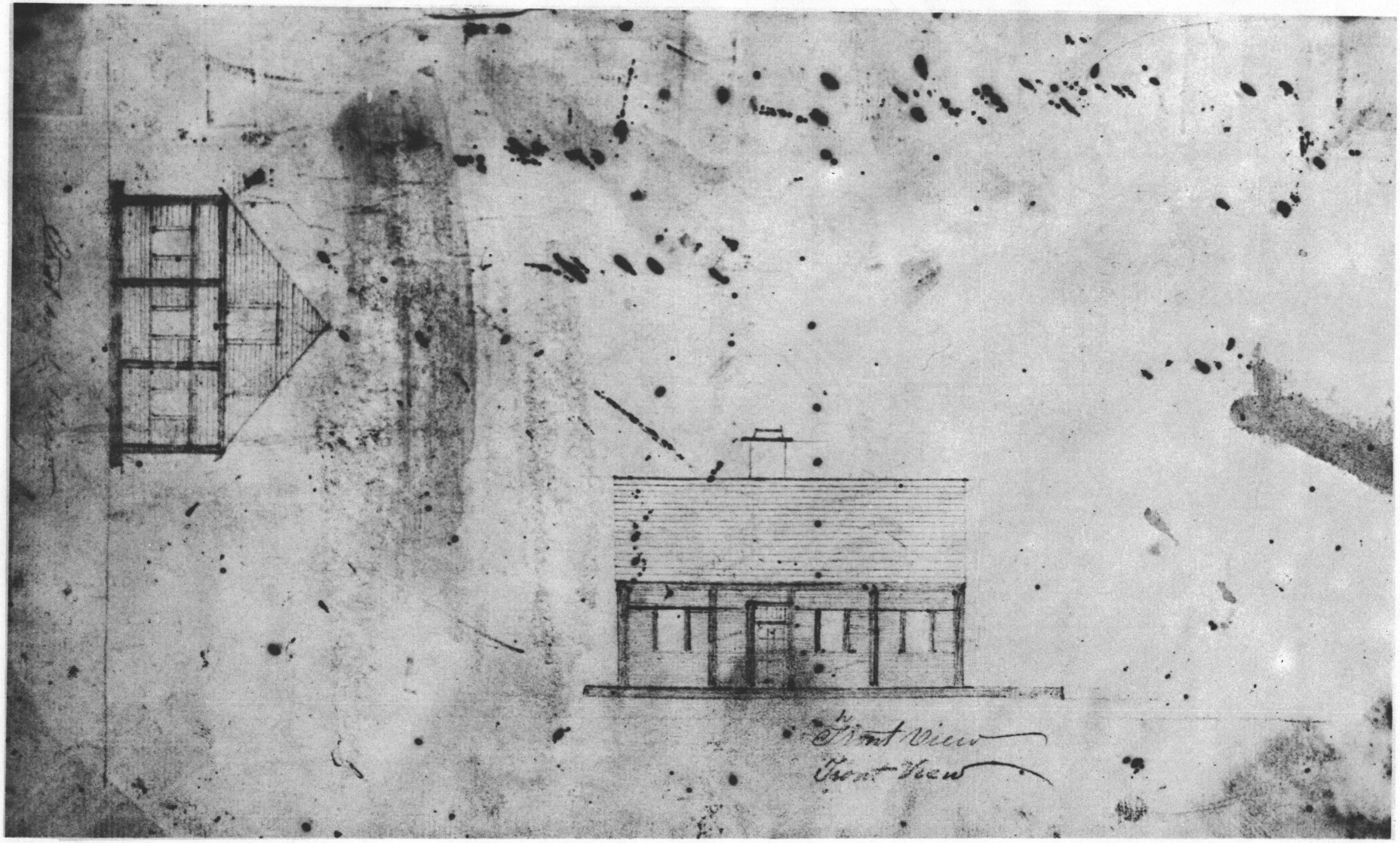

Front View
Front View

Plate LIX.

Buildings Behind the Big Depot at York Factory, 1880.

The Old Office at Fort Vancouver must have been similar in general proportions to the gable-roofed structure on the left. The walls of the Fort Vancouver building probably were slightly higher above the windows, however, and the windows in the gables were set lower, resting on the plates.

From The Beaver Outfit 297 (Spring, 1967): 53.

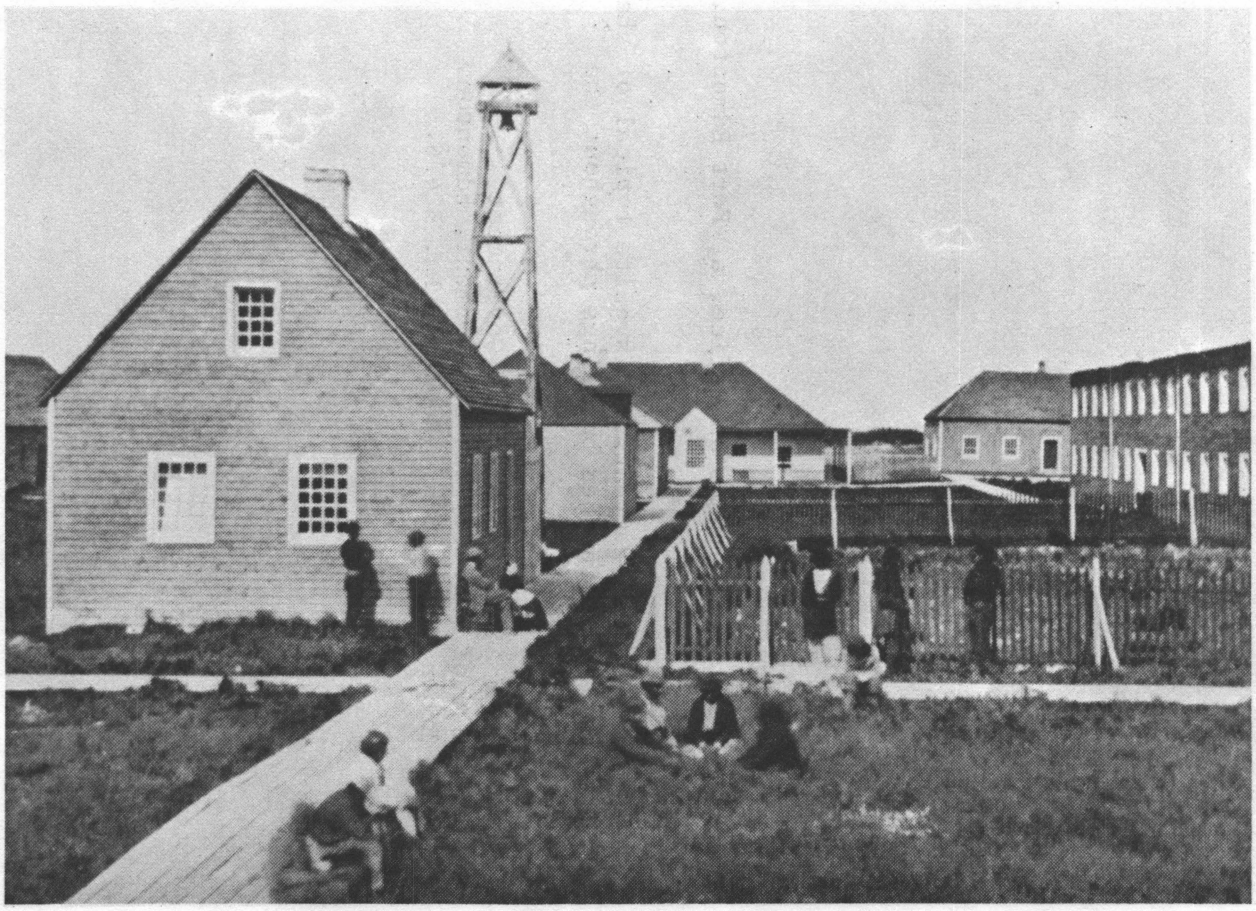


Plate LX.

Small Structure, Perhaps an Office, at Fort Edmonton, 1884 (1887?).

The door and window treatment is quite typical of that found on better-finished buildings throughout the H.B.C. territories.

Courtesy of Alberta Provincial Government, Department of Industry and Development, Edmonton. Ernest Brown Collection. Negative No. B2476.

GROUP INSIDE FORT EDMONTON 1884
SHOWING CANNON USED IN DEFENCE.

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Plate LXI.

Restored and Refurnished Interior of the Office at Lower Fort Garry NHP.

The letter press on top of the double chest or safe may be similar to the "Book Press" mentioned by Thomas Lowe as being in the Old Office at Fort Vancouver. Note the Canadian-style chair and the Carron stove at the right. The fireplace was made of cut stone, a material not readily available at Fort Vancouver.

Courtesy of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Historical Branch, Edmonton.

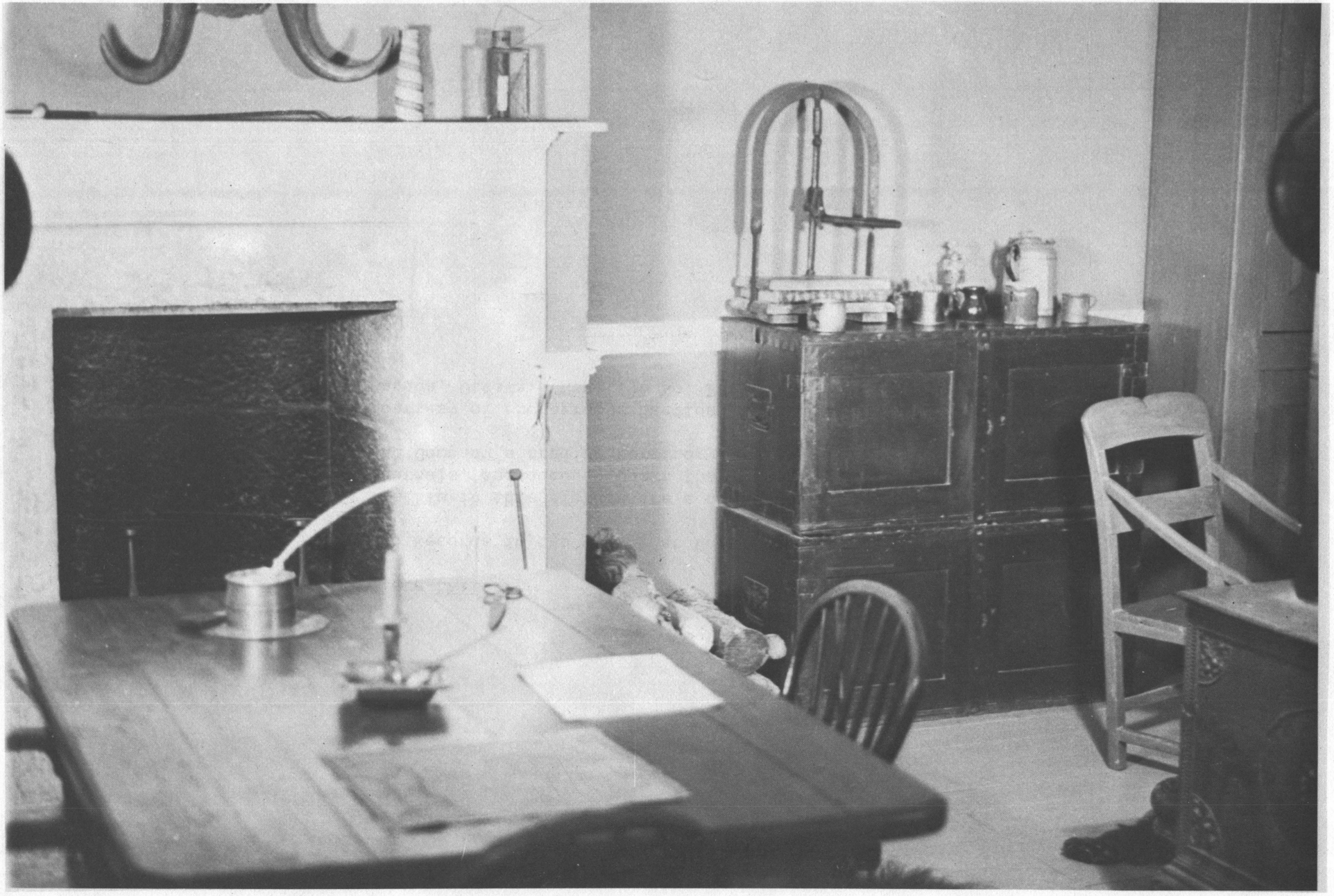

Plate LXII.

Old Records in the Office at Fort Chipewyan, 1927.

Visible in this picture are a number of the ledgers, journals, and account books that were used throughout the Company's trading territory.

Courtesy of Photographs Section, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Negative No. PA-20219.

Plate LXIII.

Enlarged Portion of 1860 Photograph of the Fort Vancouver Courtyard, View toward Northwest Corner, Showing the Granary (left) and the New Office (right).

This clear version of the British Boundary Commission photograph shows more of the New Office than do most prints of this picture. Features of particular interest are the cleats on the roof of the New Office, the scalloped bracket supporting the drip board, and the unusual transom over the door. On the Granary roof the metal shingles can be clearly observed.

Courtesy of Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. Photograph 11074.

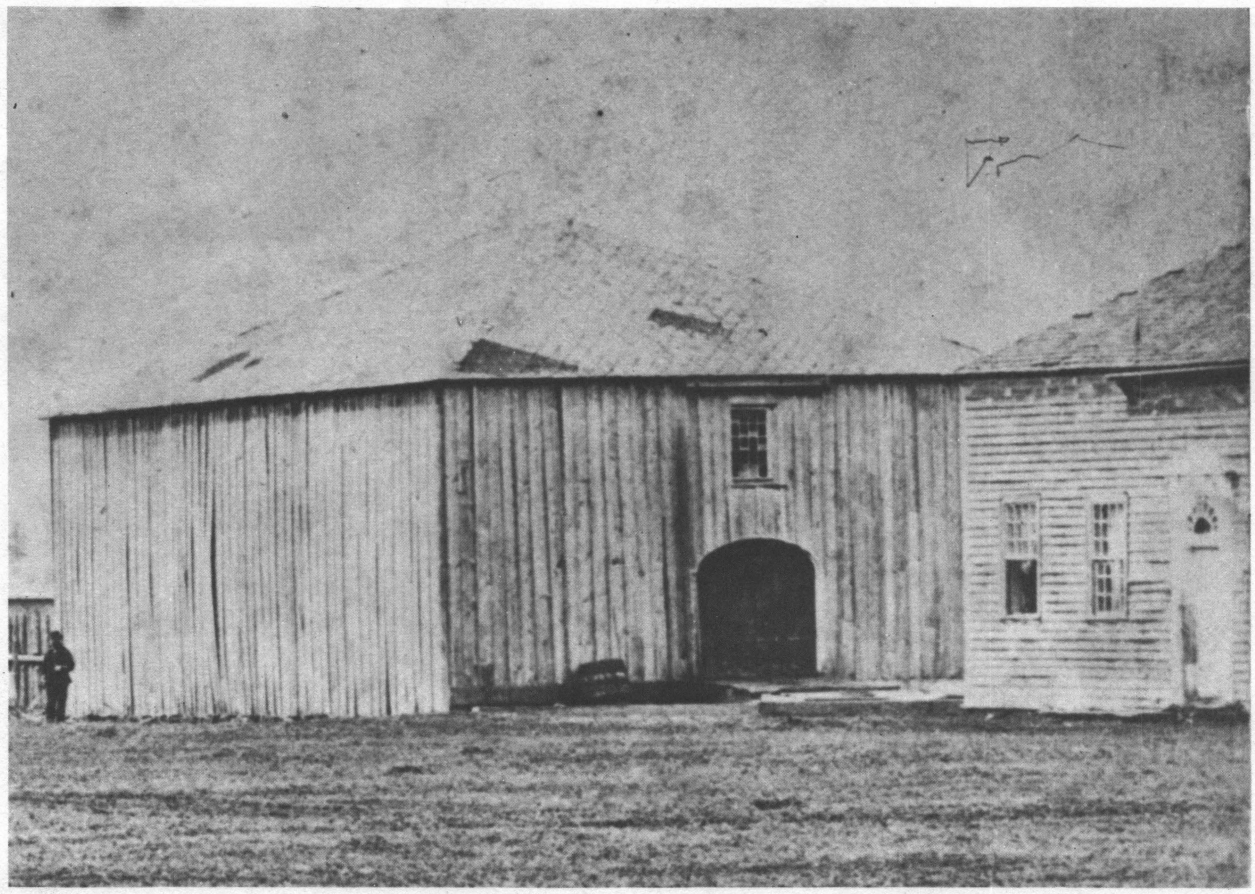

Plate LXIV.

Roman Catholic Mission School at Fort Resolution, 1913.

From The Beaver Outfit 276 (March, 1946): [24].

Duty before pleasure

Plate LXV.

The One-Room Schoolhouse at Fort Fitzgerald.

From The Beaver Outfit 279 (December, 1949): 21.

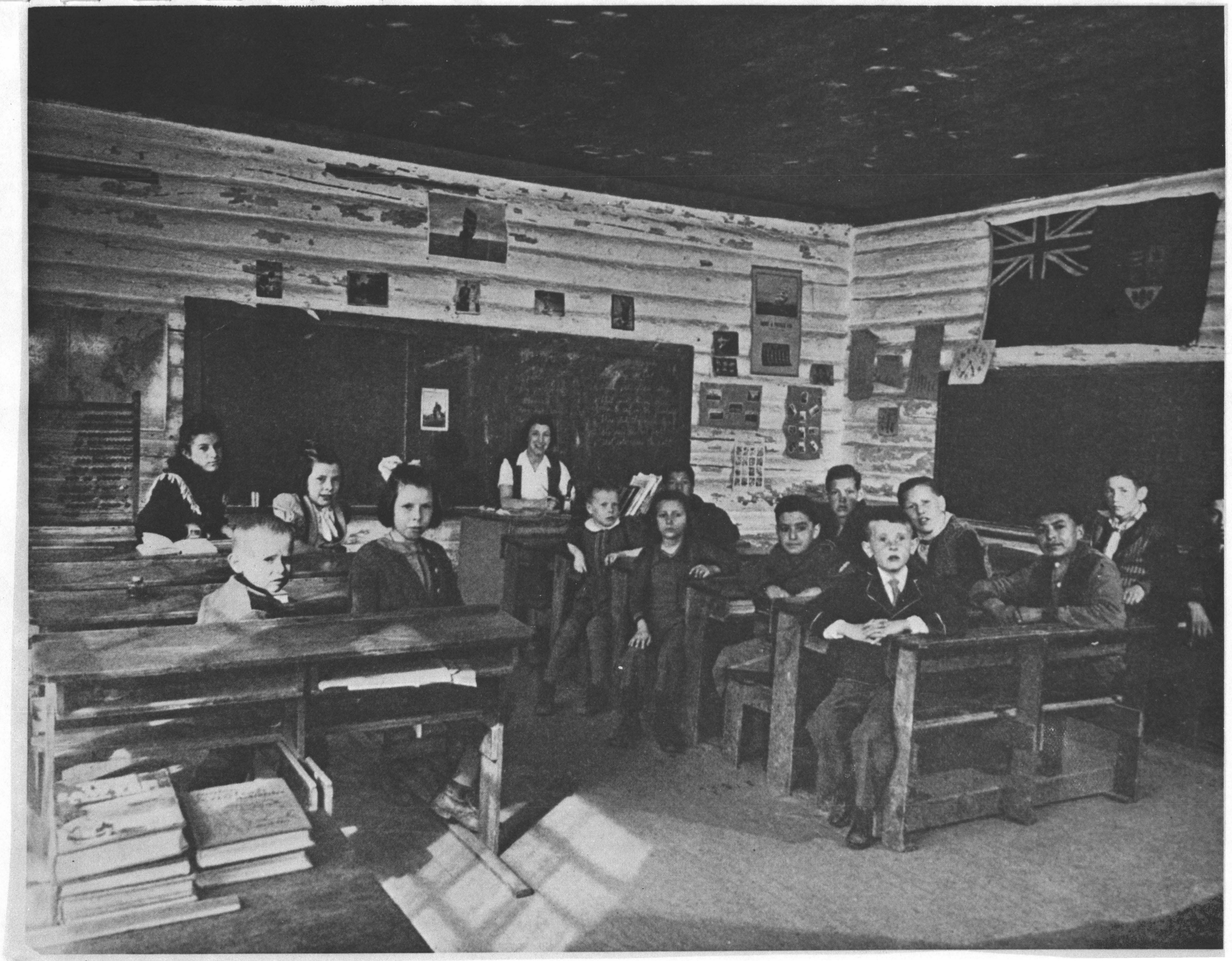

Plate LXVI.

Photograph of the Priests' House at Fort Vancouver, 1860.

This enlarged portion of the British Boundary Commission photograph of the northeast angle of the Fort Vancouver courtyard reveals more of the Priests' House than do most prints of this picture. By the spring of 1860, when this photograph was taken, the front of the building clearly had sagged due to rotting foundations. The casement windows may have been relics of Astoria.

Courtesy of Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. Photograph 11073.

Plate LXVII.

Buildings at York Factory, 1870s.

Although Fort Vancouver and York Factory were a continent apart, the same general design marked a number of their structures. Note that the weatherboards on these buildings appear to be unpainted.

Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Plate LXVIII.

Remains of Three-Sheaved Wooden Block Uncovered on Site of Beef Store at Fort Vancouver, 1952.

National Park Service photograph by L. R. Caywood. Courtesy of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. Negative No. 069.5 A-14.28.

Plate LXIX.

The Bible That, Together with a Communion Set and Registers, Was Sent to Fort Vancouver by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1836.

These items are now in Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, B. C.

Courtesy of Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. Negative No. 14305.

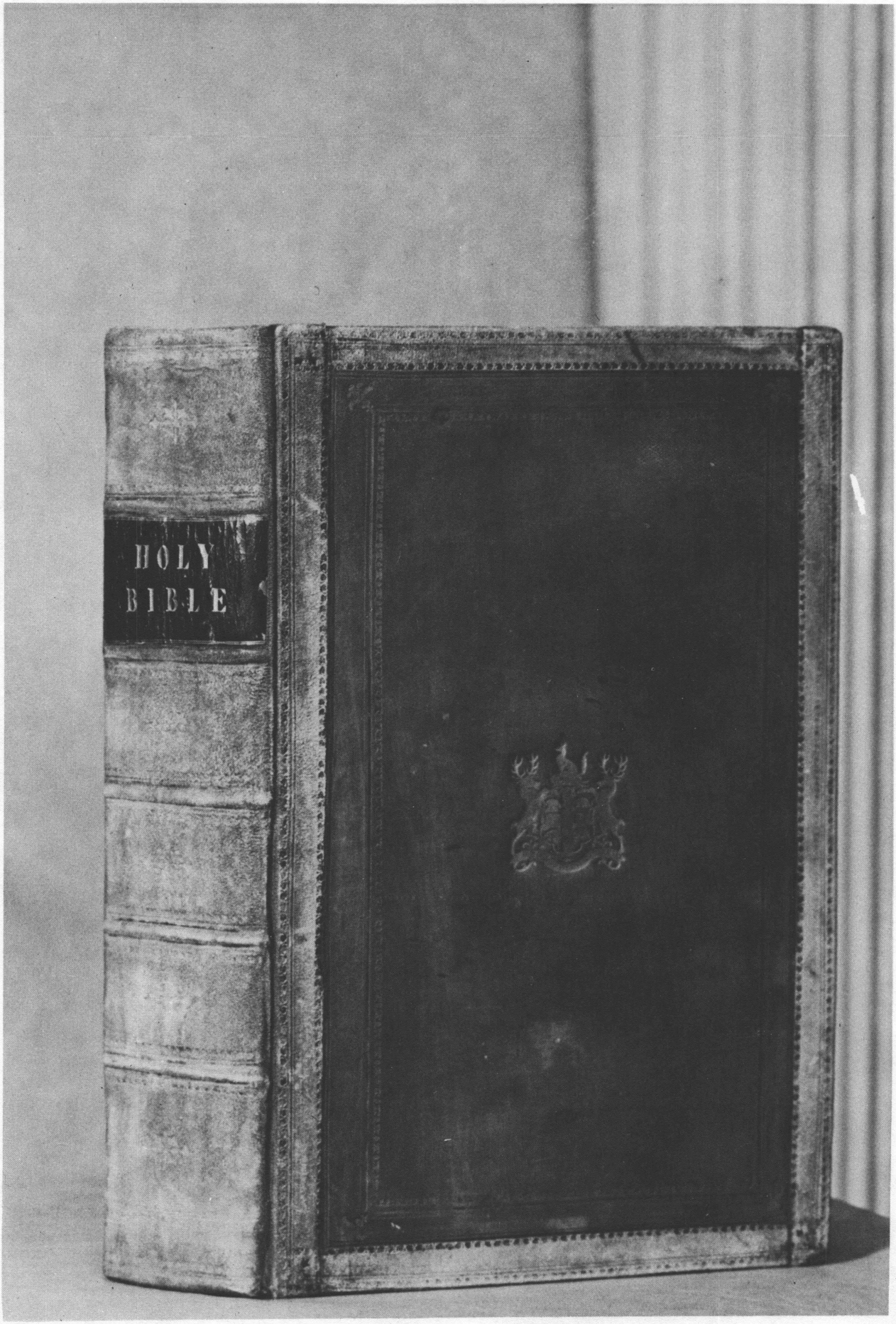
HOLY
BIBLE

Plate LXX.

The Communion Service Supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company
for Use at Fort Vancouver by the Church of England Chaplain.

The pieces are engraved with the Company's coat of arms.

From The Beaver Outfit 271 (December, 1940): 11;
photograph by Scott Camera Craft.

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