

FORT WALSH TOWNSITE (1875-1883):
EARLY SETTLEMENT IN THE CYPRESS HILLS

A Thesis

Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

In the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon

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Abstract

The town of Fort Walsh was established in 1875 next to the North-West Mounted Police post of the same name in the Cypress Hills of southwestern Saskatchewan. Although it may appear to have been an isolated town built during the burgeoning years of the Canadian west, it became a thriving centre of activity with many businesses and people of various backgrounds attracted to this locale. Both the town and the post were abandoned in 1883.

Fort Walsh became a National Historic Site in 1968 and in the decades following, many areas were archaeologically recorded and excavated within the town. This thesis analyzed the artifacts of ten of these operations to identify the possible contributors of the material culture. This was accomplished by identifying the types of social (households) and economic (businesses) units that were present in the town from the historical records. A representational artifact assemblage was constructed for each unit and compared to the locales that had been excavated in the town. Analysis of the data led me to conclude that the operations best represented four family households, two Métis family households, three male-only households and one possible male-only household or restaurant.

The archaeological and historical information from the town was also combined to reconstruct the layout and settlement pattern of the town. Overall, the town of Fort Walsh was found to lack organization and did not follow any type of pattern which was in contrast to the typical structured pioneer settlements of that time as was seen at the contemporaneous town of Fort Macleod. Many factors may have contributed to the settlement pattern seen at Fort Walsh including topography and access to resources. I argue within this thesis that perhaps it was the large Métis population at Fort Walsh that influenced the layout of the town since there were similarities between the settlement pattern of Fort Walsh and Métis *hivernant* villages in the Cypress Hills.

Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been completed without the help of a number of individuals and organizations. First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Margaret Kennedy, for suggesting the research of the Fort Walsh townsite and for all of her knowledge and advice regarding the subject and her guidance throughout my entire undergraduate and graduate experience at the University of Saskatchewan. I would also like to thank the members of my advisory committee, Dr. Ernest Walker and Dr. David Meyer for all of their additional support and insights.

I owe a great deal of thanks to Jennifer Hamilton and the rest of the staff at the Parks Canada office in Winnipeg for granting me permission to move the artifacts from the Fort Walsh townsite collection to the University of Saskatchewan for further study. They also allowed me access to their reference collections and all written materials they had pertaining to Fort Walsh for which I am grateful. I would also like to thank the staff at the Fort Walsh National Historic Site for allowing me to walk around the site and the Visitor Reception Centre before it was officially open for the summer season.

Financial support was provided from a number of different sources. Thanks to the Department of Archaeology, the Saskatchewan Archaeological Association (SAS), the Department of History's Messer Award for Research in Canadian History and the Saskatchewan Heritage Foundation (SHF) for their generous funding.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all of my fellow graduate students for making it a very memorable graduate school experience! A big thank you goes out to my fellow historic archaeology grad students Denise, Kris, Karmen and Tam for their support, knowledge and their willingness to be sounding boards. Thank you to Cara for all of the hours she dedicated in helping me with faunal identification and for making me learn about the bones instead of merely telling me what each bone was. Thank you to Denise for the loan of her digital camera to take artifact pictures which proved to be extremely useful when I no longer had the actual artifacts to look at. I also would like to thank Debbie Croteau for all of her help and support throughout the last couple of years.

Finally I would like to thank all the members of my family. Thank you to my parents for their never-ending support and for allowing me to pursue my own convoluted path knowing that I had their love and encouragement for anything I chose to do.

Thanks also to my sisters, brother and niece for all the good times and for letting me escape school life when I came back home. And lastly, a very special thank you to Riel. This thesis would not have been completed without your encouragement, your complete understanding of the thesis writing process having gone through it yourself, your super map and chart making abilities and your willingness to give up evenings and weekends during the last couple of months in order for me to write. I will always be thankful for your love and support.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--------------------------------|
| CPR | Canadian Pacific Railway |
| GA | Glenbow Archives |
| HBC | Hudson's Bay Company |
| NWMP | North-West Mounted Police |
| RCMP | Royal Canadian Mounted Police |
| US | United States |
| U of S | University of Saskatchewan |
| WHSI | Western Heritage Services Inc. |

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The town of Fort Walsh was the first permanent settlement established within the Cypress Hills region of southwestern Saskatchewan in the late nineteenth century (Figure 1). Prior to this, native groups travelled through the region for millennia in search of game, to take advantage of the shelter the hills provided and to take part in ceremonial activities. By the mid-1800s, fur traders and Métis buffalo hunters or *hivernants* were building semi-permanent shelters to spend the winter in the hills. Métis wintering villages were widely scattered throughout Cypress Hills and a few of them have been investigated archaeologically (Burley et al. 1992; Elliott 1971). The movement of whiskey traders in the late 1860s into western Canada and ultimately the Cypress Hills changed the dynamic amongst native peoples, Métis peoples and the traders. The newly formed Dominion of Canada began receiving reports about native exploitation, instability, American infiltration and simple “lawlessness” prevalent throughout the whole area. The North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) was formed to combat these problems and bring “law and order” to the Canadian west. They marched west in 1874 and quickly began building posts in key locations. One of these was in the Cypress Hills with the establishment of the NWMP post of Fort Walsh in 1875. A small settlement quickly formed within the vicinity of the NWMP post (Figure 2), also to be named Fort Walsh. For the remainder of this thesis, all mentions of Fort Walsh will be in reference to the town. The post built by the NWMP will always be referred to as either the NWMP post or simply the post.

Fort Walsh was the centre of activity in the Cypress Hills from 1875-1883. The

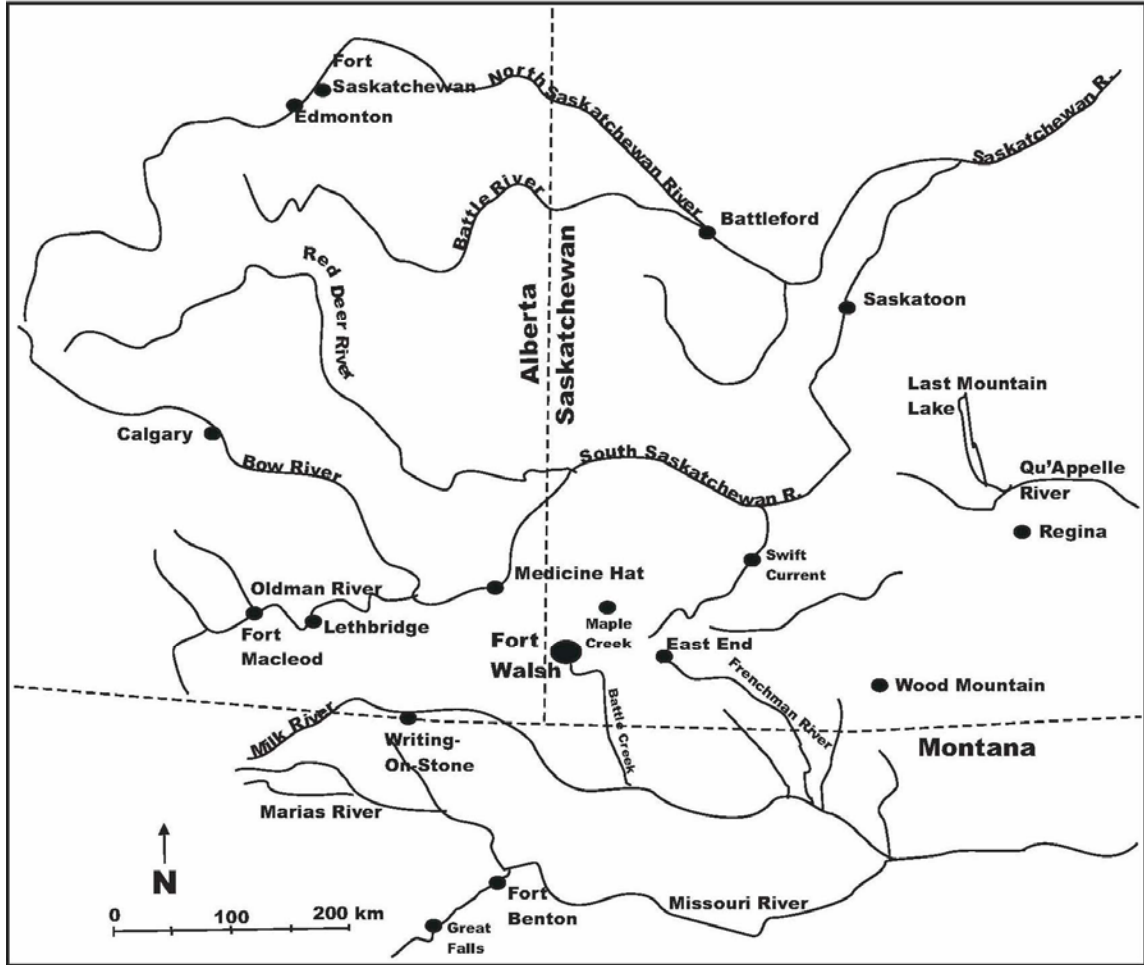


Figure 1: Location of Fort Walsh in its regional perspective (adapted from Murray 1985:10).

town has been referred to as “the busiest centre on the farthest plains” and an “important hive of Western traffic” (Turner 1950:215, 323), not the isolated outpost one might suspect from its location. Numerous traders, Métis, settlers, officers, government officials and native peoples travelled through and resided in the town. The residents who formed the core of the town were a generous mix of ethnicities and personalities. Although the population of the town has been estimated to be approximately 100-150 people, that of the surrounding hills would often swell into the thousands with native and Métis encampments at various times of the year. The town grew steadily attracting many businesses typical for a frontier town such as hotels, restaurants, billiard halls, a barber shop and trading stores. Two American trading stores competed in town; I. G. Baker & Company and T. C. Power & Brother, from Fort Benton, Montana. They



Figure 2: Satellite image of the Fort Walsh townsite and NWMP post (Google Earth).

dominated trade in southern Alberta and Saskatchewan because of their geographic location, accessibility and established transportation networks. The town flourished next to the NWMP post which provided a setting for safety, stability and economic possibilities but the economy of the town quickly became dependent on providing services to the NWMP. When the NWMP closed down the post and relocated to Maple Creek, SK, many residents and businesses left Fort Walsh, unable to sustain themselves in the absence of the NWMP. The town existed for only a short period of eight years before it was abandoned in 1883.

Archaeological investigations at Fort Walsh began in 1973 when Parks Canada initiated a multi-year excavation program within Fort Walsh National Historic Park. The 1973 field season involved locating, mapping and recording all depressions within the town along with a random stratified sampling of 30% of the depressions. This culminated in the excavation of 28 depressions and one rock cluster. Tentative conclusions were made about the artifacts and layout of the town with proposals made about future investigations for the town in the forthcoming years (Brown 1973; Sciscenti

1973). Unfortunately, further excavation of the town did not occur during this program. The results of the 1973 investigations were also never published.

The town was re-visited in 1978 during a survey of the entire National Historic Park. Portions of the town were divided into a grid where random units were chosen for surface collection. The yields from this survey were low resulting in the scrapping of the project before it was completed (Wylie 1978).

The final type of archaeological investigation in the town was conducted in 1992 by Western Heritage Services Inc. They were contracted to mitigate a building foundation eroding out of the cutbank of Battle Creek. Two trenches were excavated out from the building to assess whether the building was connected to any nearby features. A magnetometer assessment was also performed along the edge of the bank to determine if any other buried features were in immediate danger from erosion (Klimko et al. 1993).

1.2 Research Objectives

One of the objectives of this study was to compile and synthesize all of the archaeological and historical material available on Fort Walsh. I collected and combined all of the artifacts from the various archaeological investigations and re-catalogued them, creating one comprehensive artifact database with over 15,000 artifacts. The majority of the artifacts had not been previously catalogued. I also traveled to Parks Canada in Winnipeg to view the artifacts within the reference collection and to Fort Walsh National Historic Site to view the artifacts kept at the Fort Walsh Visitor Reception Centre. Archives, newspapers, history books, census records and many other sources were perused to find references to the town and its residents. I do not claim that the historical information presented in this thesis is all-inclusive, but instead I hope that it is an adequate representation of the material available.

The second research objective is to illustrate life in a small frontier town situated in the Canadian west before the arrival of the railroad and to obtain a sense of the types of people and businesses that were attracted to Fort Walsh. Fort Walsh was occupied for only eight years from 1875-1883 and was never reoccupied, creating a concise timeframe to study. This time period is crucial to Canadian history but past researchers have tended to focus explicitly on the history of the NWMP and their activities with less focus on the towns or people who settled next to these posts. These towns are unique

because they were established during a time which saw a transition from the nomadic and semi-permanent lifestyles of native groups and fur traders to the settled lifestyle of people who began flooding into the west by way of the newly built railroad. Fort Walsh was also the largest permanent settlement in the Cypress Hills. The town was constantly surrounded and occupied by native people and Métis who would have influenced life at Fort Walsh in many ways. It is hoped that the research presented in this thesis will shed some light on frontier life in Fort Walsh and the Canadian west.

Another research objective is the recreation of the layout for Fort Walsh using both the archaeological and historical record. The archaeological record consists of artifacts from a number of scattered excavations (or operations) throughout the town, most with unknown connections to buildings. The methodology for artifact analysis presented in this thesis is intended to aid in the pursuit of reconstructing the town layout by attempting to identify households and businesses on the basis of diagnostic artifacts. Historic photographs and maps are also utilized to determine the approximate placement of buildings within Fort Walsh.

The final objective for this thesis is the comparison of Fort Walsh to other NWMP towns. A number of small towns were established in the vicinity of NWMP posts during the first decade of police presence in the Canadian west. All of the towns would have contributed to the sense of regional stability and economic opportunity created by the presence of the NWMP. The comparison of Fort Walsh to other similar towns will focus on the overall settlements patterns of the towns as observed through their spatial layouts.

1.3 Chapter Overview

An overview of the natural and human history of the Cypress Hills is presented in Chapter 2. This involves a brief discussion of the regional environment and a summary of human activity in the area before the arrival of the NWMP. The impetus for the creation of the NWMP will also be examined along with the establishment of the NWMP post of Fort Walsh. The chapter concludes with a look at land-use activities at Fort Walsh up to present day after both the post and the town were abandoned.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed history of the town of Fort Walsh. Information is gathered from a variety of sources to obtain details on the people, their daily life and the

economy of the town. Reasons for town abandonment and the dispersal of the residents will also be proposed.

Chapter 4 outlines the archaeological background of the Fort Walsh townsite. All previous archaeological investigations are discussed. This includes a summary of their methodologies, results and conclusions about the town.

Chapter 5 describes the development of the methodology used for the analysis of artifacts in Chapter 6. This involves a discussion of the classification of all the artifacts collected from the town into functional categories and the construction of social and economic artifact assemblages representing specific households and businesses identified within Fort Walsh. Specific artifact characteristics are distinguished for each social and economic assemblage based on historical and archaeological information gathered from similar types of sites.

Chapter 6 compares each of the chosen operations within the town to the constructed social and economic assemblages. All artifacts are first described for each operation, followed by a synthesis of that operation's characteristics. These characteristics are then compared against the assemblages developed in the previous chapter to identify the social or economic assemblage that best fits. A discussion combining the results from all the operations is also included in this chapter.

Chapter 7 works towards the goal of reconstructing the town of Fort Walsh in terms of layout and settlement pattern. Both archaeological evidence and historical information are combined in the hopes of elucidating the placement of people and businesses within the town. The hypothesized locations of buildings is discussed and illustrated upon a map of the town. The settlement pattern of Fort Walsh is also examined based on the observations gleaned from the recreated town layout. This type of settlement pattern is then used to compare Fort Walsh to other NWMP towns of the same time period. Chapter 8 will present the final summary and conclusions for this thesis.

Chapter 2

The Natural and Human History of the Cypress Hills

2.1 Cypress Hills Regional Environment

The Cypress Hills is an erosional remnant plateau situated between the Saskatchewan and Missouri drainage systems. The plateau lies in an east/west direction and is approximately 165 km long and 40 km wide. Covering an area roughly 2,500 square kilometres, it straddles the Alberta-Saskatchewan border with one-third lying on the Alberta side and the remaining two-thirds on the Saskatchewan side (Figure 3). The Cypress Hills are also within close proximity to the Canadian-American border, approximately 70 km to the south (Bonnichsen and Baldwin 1978:2). Starting at their eastern end near Eastend, Saskatchewan, the Cypress Hills rise 400 m to their highest point of 1,466 m asl at their northwestern summit near “Head of the Mountain”, located by Elkwater, Alberta (Sauchyn 2005:230).

The Cypress Hills plateau is comprised of three physiographic sections: two large meltwater channels extending in a north/south direction created the divisions now known as the East Block, Centre Block and West Block of the Cypress Hills (Bonnichsen and Baldwin 1978:2). The Cypress Hills were once the floor of a broad river valley protected by highly permeable gravel that was subsequently exposed to periods of erosion of its surface, creating an exposed isolated upland in the form of the flat-topped plateaus seen today. Further erosion by meandering but well entrenched streams have cut deep valleys into the plateaus and created long slopes and benches, especially along the south margins of the hills. Coulees of tributary streams have further cut into these benches with the valley slopes of the coulees prone to slumping. The meltwater channels, streams, coulees and slopes have led to a range of

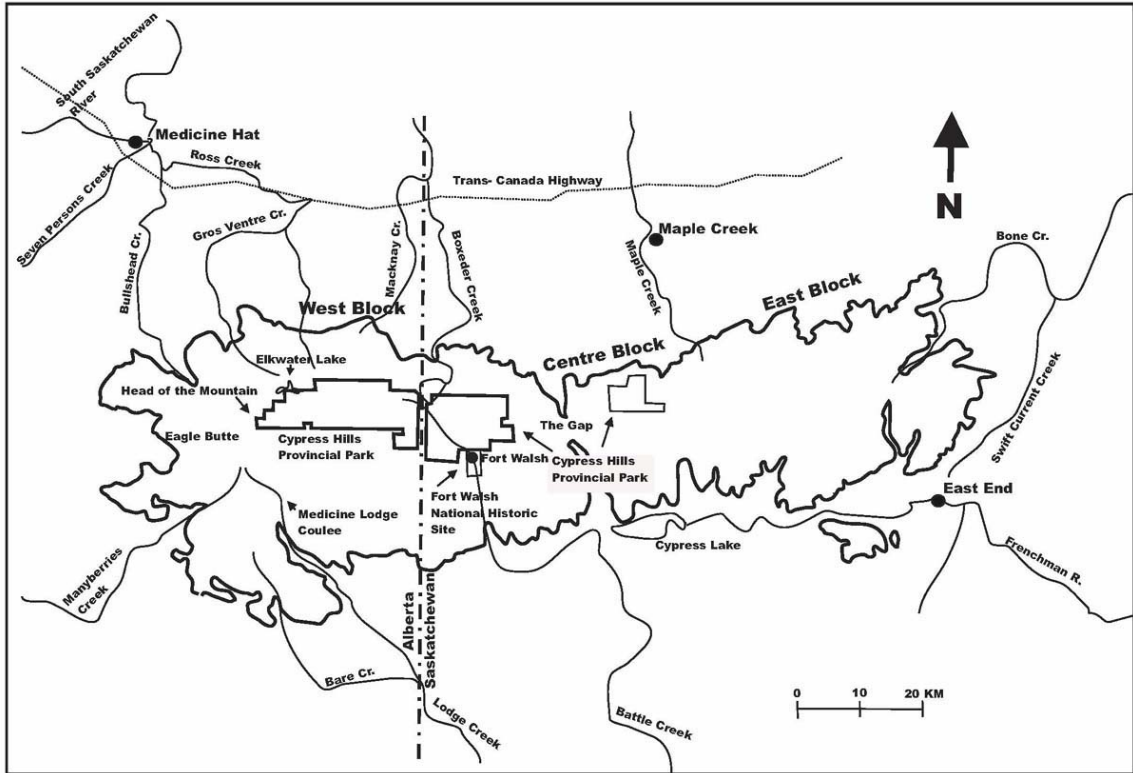


Figure 3: The Cypress Hills region (adapted from Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:151).

complexities in the landforms of the Cypress Hills (Wylie 1978:8).

Fort Walsh National Historic Site is located within the West Block of the Cypress Hills. The characteristic landforms inside the boundaries of the park consist of a series of sharp ridges and terraces caused by the erosion of the plateau. The ridges and terraces occur between the exposed bench tops located along the eastern perimeter and in three small sections along the northern edge of the park and the Battle Creek floodplain that cuts diagonally across the park. The southern boundary of the park is marked by Spring Creek which is the terminal point for a series of north/south and northeast/southwest running ridges and hills which rise from the townsite terrace (Wylie 1978:11). The Battle Creek valley bottom lies at the base of these ridges, terraces and hills. Battle Creek itself is a well entrenched and stable stream channel enclosed within a low discontinuous valley containing many false creek and swamp developments that widen into broad slope terraces on which the trading posts, the Fort Walsh NWMP post and townsite were located (Wylie 1978:12).

The weather of the Cypress Hills fluctuates greatly throughout the seasons. Winter temperatures can plummet as low as -45°Celsius and rise as high as 38° during the summer months (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:15). Precipitation in the area is generally high with an average rainfall of 430 to 520 mm, most of it occurring in June (Thorpe 1999:137). However, heavy rains can descend upon the region and cause rain-washing of the slopes. The prevailing winds are from the west and include the dry Chinook wind from the west and southwest and cold winter winds from the northwest (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:15).

The Cypress Hills environment is characterized by a mosaic of grassland and forest areas creating a multitude of vegetation communities, many of which are atypical of the surrounding short-grass prairies. The drier bench tops and slopes are associated with mixed prairie grasses while the moister north-facing slopes contain fescue grasses (Synergy West Ltd. 1976:17-19). The parkland area exhibits mainly a grassland type environment whereas the valley bottoms contain riparian grass and sedge communities. In addition, valley bottoms and coulees often have a riparian shrubland consisting of thickly overgrown willows and a variety of other shrubs along with occasional spruce stands (Wylie 1978:13). The spruce stands tend to occupy the lowest, wettest areas of the tributary coulees (Synergy West Ltd. 1976:24). Aspen groves appear on the moist areas, especially the north facing slopes, and are joined in the higher elevations by white spruce and lodgepole pine. Lodgepole pine grows mainly in the upper plateaus of the central and western regions of the Cypress Hills and this is the only location within Saskatchewan where it occurs (Thorpe 1999:137). (For a detailed list of the grasses, shrubs, and trees occurring within the various vegetation communities, see Synergy West Ltd. [1976].)

These diverse vegetation communities support an assorted range of wildlife within the Cypress Hills. Bonnicksen and Baldwin (1978:Appendix 1) have constructed a table from a variety of sources which lists the mammals, birds and fish that are known to have been utilized by natives within the Cypress Hills. As their main purpose was to list only those species used as food, clothing, shelter, etc., it can be assumed that not all wildlife species within the Cypress Hills are mentioned. However, the list is adequate in that the types of animals used by native people most likely compares to the types of

animals that would have been used also by Métis and Europeans during the occupation of Fort Walsh. The listed mammal species are grizzly bear, beaver, chipmunk, ground squirrel, rabbit, skunk, porcupine, coyote, wolf, fox, kit fox, mink, lynx, elk, deer, pronghorn antelope and bison (Bonnichsen and Baldwin 1978:60-61). Bird species are represented by pelican, swan, common mallard, pintail, geese, eagles, eastern sparrow hawk, crane, curlew, owl, magpie, raven and crow (Bonnichsen and Baldwin 1978:61-62). The types of fish species used consist of northern pike, jackfish and yellow head (Bonnichsen and Baldwin 1978:62). This wide variety of animal species would have made the Cypress Hills a desirable location to the native populations of the precontact and protohistoric periods along with the hunters and trappers of the historic period depending on such factors as seasonal availability and overhunting of some species in this unique circumscribed environment.

2.2 People in the Cypress Hills before 1875

People have been utilizing the resources of the Cypress Hills for thousands of years. Native groups searched the hills for food and shelter, leaving evidence of their occupation scattered throughout. During the historic period, the Cypress Hills contained Métis *hivernant* villages and trading posts within its valleys and coulees. A brief sketch of occupation within the Cypress Hills before the establishment of Fort Walsh in 1875 will be presented extending from precontact period into the historic period.

2.2.1 Native Groups

Humans began occupying the plains region approximately 11,000 years ago as the ice sheets receded further north towards the end of the Pleistocene period. These early peoples were nomadic, following large game animals such as mammoths and bison and their culture is termed Clovis, based upon the name applied to their distinctive fluted points. Although evidence of Clovis people has not been uncovered in an excavated context within Saskatchewan, evidence of the large prehistoric animals they hunted has been uncovered in the Cypress Hills, predominantly in the eastern region near present day Eastend, Saskatchewan (Epp 1991:52).

Archaeological excavations detailing early human occupation in the Cypress Hills have been conducted at the Stampede Site (DjOn-26). First discovered in 1971 by

Eugene Gryba (1976:92), it is located along the northern edge of the West Block in a small tributary valley incised into the slope of the Elkwater Lake ice-marginal channel, now 800 m from the shoreline of present day Elkwater Lake (Klassen 2004:742). Gryba excavated the site through two seasons, extending his main excavation unit down to a total depth of 3.65 m below surface. Cultural material was found in all of his test units and his main excavation unit revealed a series of buried cultural layers. He identified 12 cultural layers in total and collected charred bone from the deepest layer that yielded a radiocarbon date of 7245 +/- 255 BP (S-731) (Klassen 2004:743). In 2000, Gerald Oetelaar of the University of Calgary returned to the Stampede Site and reopened archaeological excavations for another six seasons. Gryba's original 6 m x 4 m excavation unit was widened to 9 m x 8 m and taken down to 3.5 m where excavation ceased due to the high water table (Klassen 2004:743). The cultural material provides evidence of Besant (2000 – 1150 BP) and Oxbow (3000 +/- 70 BP, TO-10926) occupations in the upper layers and Bitterroot (6100 +/- 70 BP, TO-10925) occupations in the lower layers (Klassen 2004:748). Klassen (2004:751) concluded through her paleoenvironmental research on the site that the persistence of favourable climatic conditions on these north-facing slopes of the Cypress Hills during times of aridity in other locations, created a type of oases for plants and animals alike, leading to repeated usage through the millennia.

Another precontact excavation was undertaken within the Fort Walsh National Park during the 1978 survey of the entire park. This investigation focused primarily around a hearth feature that was discovered when a foundation footing trench was being dug for the reconstruction of the north palisade wall of the NWMP post. While no diagnostic material was uncovered, the hearth was thought to be of some antiquity owing to its depth of 1.5 m below surface (Murray 1978:151). Two 2 m x 4 m test units were placed along the interior side of the reconstructed north palisade wall (Murray 1978:155). Both units were excavated to a depth of 1.5 m, exposing a total of 21 stratigraphic layers, five of which were cultural-bearing levels. A further 1 m x 1 m area in each unit was excavated further to a depth of 2.6 m, revealing 11 more stratigraphic layers but none contained cultural material (Murray 1978:156). The five cultural levels all had varying amounts of charcoal, heat-fractured quartzite cobbles, faunal remains and

lithic debitage, with three of the levels associated with hearth features (Murray 1978:159-163). No diagnostic lithic artifacts were recovered in any of the units but three carbon dates were obtained. A radiocarbon date associated with the second occupation level is 3180 +/-80 BP (S-1626) and dates associated with the fifth and lowest occupation level are 3775+/-50 BP (S-1625) and 4110+/-60 BP (S-1624) (Murray 1978:158). Murray (1978:159) concluded that each of these occupation levels appeared to contain camping or residential remains and that occupation of this locale within the park dated back to at least 4,000 radiocarbon years ago.

Surveys of the West Block of the Cypress Hills have also recorded numerous other precontact and historic native sites (Kennedy 1997; Wylie 1978). Concentrations of tipi rings have been found that line the valleys and ridges throughout the Cypress Hills. The cultural remains consisted of stone tools, lithic debitage, fire broken rock and faunal remains. Kennedy (1997:29) noted that although many types of lithic raw materials were found during the test excavation of DjOI-99, quartzite dominated the assemblage. The majority of the quartzite is likely “Rocky Mountain Quartzite”, originating from a local source within the Cypress Hills (Johnson 1998:31). The “Cypress Hills Formation” consists of conglomerate gravels composed of buff and grey quartz pebbles and cobbles with occurrences of a dark chert and limestone. This Formation is present throughout the Cypress Hills and is easily accessible on many surfaces providing a ready source of raw materials for stone tool production (Wylie 1978:8-11).

The identity of these precontact native groups is largely unknown. It is not until at least the 1700s that native groups and their accompanying territory ranges were recorded in the northern plains by fur traders and explorers. By the 1870s the prairies were occupied by a number of native groups (Figure 4). On the northern plains, the Plains Cree occupied the eastern and central areas, the Dakota and Nakoda (Assiniboine or Stoney) were to the south of the Plains Cree with the Crow to the south of the Nakoda, the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre on the western extremity, and the Plains Ojibwa or Saulteaux (Anishnawbe) along the eastern extremity (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:20). Many of their territories overlapped as native groups moved across the land

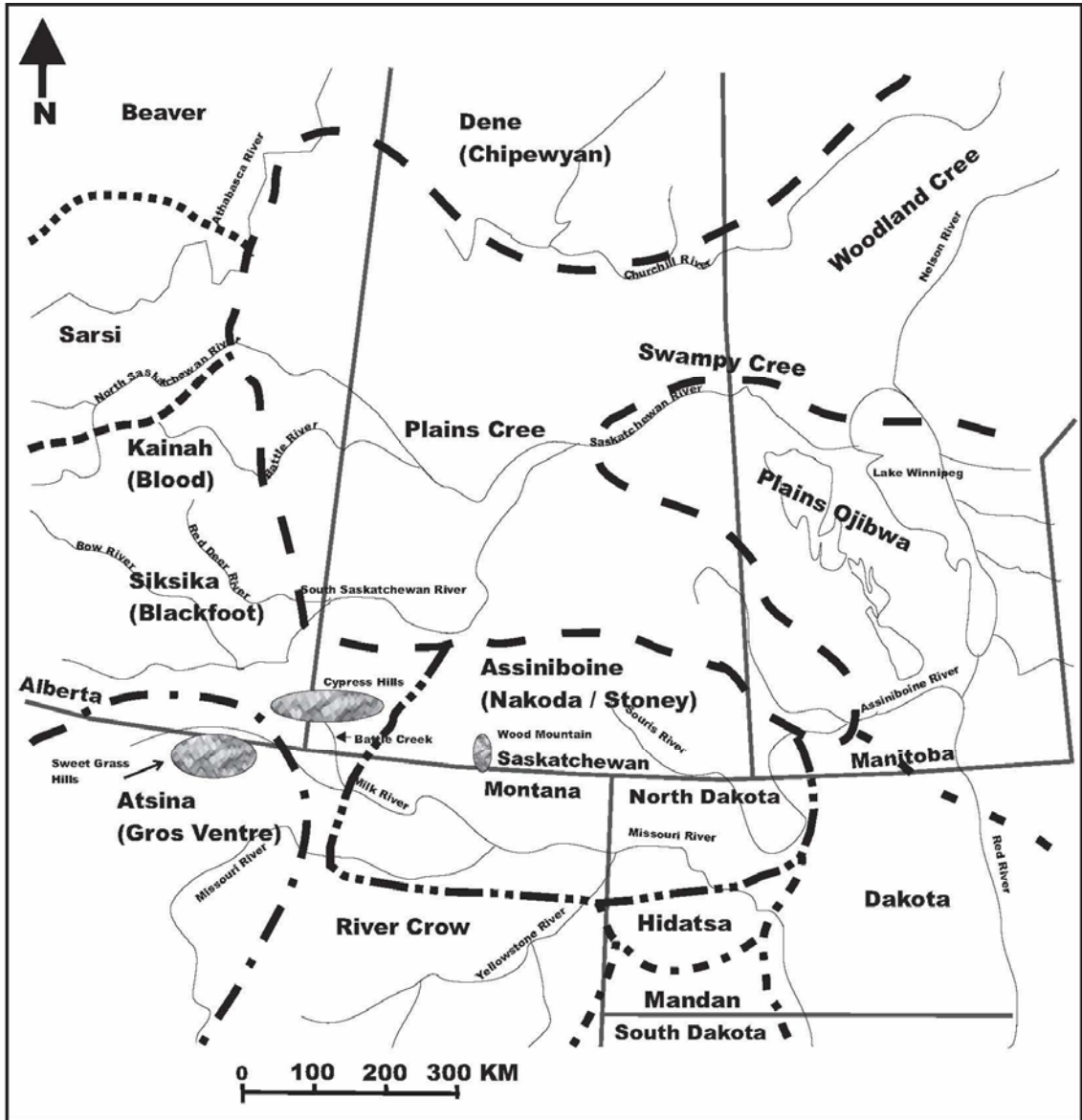


Figure 4: Approximate territorial ranges of native groups on the northern plains in the 1870s (adapted from Hildebrandt 1994:22).

following the seasonal cycles of plants and animals.

The Cypress Hills were utilized by a number of these native groups. The Plains Cree referred to the Cypress Hills as the “Thunder Breeding Hills”, the Blackfoot called them the “Divided Hills” and the Nakoda as *Wazi-ka*, “the place where the land gets rough or broken”, and also “a warm place in the north that is an island by itself” (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:120-121). Historical information recorded about various native groups in the Cypress Hills describes warfare as one of the major motives for

movement through this region. With the persistent push of fur trading activities further into the interior of the northern plains, the relationship dynamics of many native groups began to change. An example would be the loss of the middleman position of the Plains Cree and Nakoda in the fur trade between the traders and more westerly tribes such as the Blackfoot. Peaceful relations began to break down in the 1800s and the Cypress Hills became an area shared by the Plains Cree/Nakoda and the Blackfoot (Kennedy 2000:15). John Palliser commented that the Cypress Hills were a “buffer zone” into which the three native groups never travelled “except in war parties” (Nelson 1973:102). For example, deteriorating relations amongst Plains Cree/Nakoda and Blackfoot groups, particularly as the former attempted to prevent the latter’s access to the western portion of the Cypress Hills, culminated in a large battle between the groups in 1870 at the present-day location of Lethbridge; the last great inter-tribal war in the northern plains. Other native groups also fought battles within the Cypress Hills; for example the Crow and Gros Ventre attack on the Peigan in 1866. Warfare was not the only motivator for native groups travelling through the Cypress Hills: native groups also gathered in the Cypress Hills for peace talks, negotiations and alliances (Kennedy 2000:15-16).

Ethnographic data gathered from the Nakoda people also describe the Cypress Hills as a spiritual place, where they sought refuge and could acquire plentiful game. The lodgepole pines that grew on the higher ridges provided the poles for their tipis and their travois. Bison, berries and wild vegetables all provided nourishment, while herbs provided medicinal remedies. Within the hills were sacred burial grounds and many ceremonies such as the Medicine Lodge Dance were held there (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:121). Connections such as these were likely made by all the native groups who utilized and traveled throughout the Cypress Hills.

2.2.2 Fur Traders

The first known historical reference to the Cypress Hills comes from the journal of Peter Fidler, chief factor of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Chesterfield House. Chesterfield House, built at the junction of the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan Rivers in 1800, was the first post built in the grasslands and the furthest south extent of the Hudson’s Bay Company up to that time. Peter Fidler mentions the Cypress Hills twice in his journal as a hill called “I-ah-Kim-me-coo Hill” located 130 km south of

Chesterfield House. Peter's first entry mentioned that members of his own party had traveled to the Hill to collect pine resin to caulk his canoes (Johnson 1967:302). His second entry noted that a party of 12 Iroquois and two Canadian free traders were killed by Fall (Gros Ventre) Indians while on their way to the Hill to trap beaver (Johnson 1967:316). Chesterfield House was abandoned in 1805 and almost 20 years went by before fur traders came back to the area (Nelson 1973:47).

After the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company in 1821, Daniel Mackenzie led the Bow River Expedition comprised of 100 men onto the plains of the South Saskatchewan river to explore the region for the purposes of reopening trade, building a post near the former site of Chesterfield House (Nelson 1973:68). John Harriott led a contingent of these men in the winter of 1822-23 through the Cypress Hills and into the Sweet Grass Hills in search of beaver; however, the results were not favourable. After a thorough search, Harriott wrote that "no signs of beaver in any of the waters falling out of the hills" could be found (Harriott as cited by Nelson 1973:71). These discouraging reports led to the cancellation of the expedition in the spring of 1823 (Nelson 1973:76). It would be another 50 years before the Hudson's Bay Company would establish another post in this region. In 1871 Isaac Cowie, representing the Hudson's Bay Company, spent a winter trading in the Cypress Hills near Eastend. Cowie (1993:432, 437) described the region as "a neutral ground, which the hostile tribes of the surrounding country feared to enter for hunting purposes", indicating that it had become a natural game reserve for the deer and grizzly bears inhabiting it and that he and his men had broken this neutrality by trading there. Bonnicksen and Baldwin (1978:36-38) have refuted this statement, concluding that instead the Cypress Hills were an "any-man's land" and the concept of a neutral ground is an enforced European concept of implying fixed boundaries. Native groups' concepts of boundaries were not fixed ones. Rather, they believed that as long as one could defend themselves, one could hunt game within their enemy's territory. Isaac Cowie left after that winter and never did return to trade in the Cypress Hills despite a successful trading season, collecting approximately 750 grizzly bear skins and 1,500 red deer skins (Cowie 1993:436). His reluctance to return perhaps stemmed from the strife he noted

between the Blackfoot and Assiniboine and increased competition with Métis traders (Cowie 1993:433).

During this same time period, American fur traders were approaching the Cypress Hills from the south. The Lewis and Clarke expedition in 1804-1805 opened up the Missouri River and particularly the Upper Missouri region to American traders who followed their route (Nelson 1973:53). The Missouri Fur Company of St. Louis came to dominate the Missouri region until 1820 when its owner, Manual Lisa, died, paving the way for the American Fur Company headed by John Jacob Astor (Nelson 1973:77). The American Fur Company maintained its dominance in the fur trade until the mid-1860s when Astor sold his interest in the company, losing its pre-eminent position on the Missouri (Nelson 1973:107). These companies and numerous other traders based their posts on the Upper Missouri River, roughly 160 km south of the Cypress Hills. There are no records of American trappers constructing posts in the Cypress Hills before the 1860s but they are known to have utilized the area. A number of these posts on the Upper Missouri River, including Fort Union and Fort McKenzie, sent men out to contact and compete for the furs of the native peoples who frequented the Cypress Hills area (Nelson 1973:78). Perhaps one of the closest American posts to the Cypress Hills was established at Wood Mountain. The American Fur Company sent Charles Larpenteur there in the winter of 1844 to maintain trading relations with the Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwa and to remain competitive with the Hudson's Bay Company on the northern plains (Kennedy 2002:27).

2.2.3 Exploration Expeditions

A wave of scientific explorations took place during the 1850s, two of which, the Palliser Expedition and the American Exploring Expedition, entered the Cypress Hills. The American Exploring Expedition, led by Isaac Stevens, was sent out in 1853 to find a suitable railroad route to the Pacific and to establish friendly relations with native groups along the way. While stopped in Fort Benton, Montana, an artist with the group, J. M. Stanley, was sent to meet with a group of Piegans camped in the Cypress Hills, and he managed to convince them to travel back to Fort Benton with him. During the following winter and fall, the men in the expedition explored the entire region, reporting American fur traders at wintering posts on the Milk and Marias rivers (Nelson 1973:92-94).

The Palliser Expedition traveled throughout the Canadian prairies from 1857 to 1859. Leaving Fort Edmonton in June 1859, the Palliser Expedition sought to travel straight through Blackfoot territory south of the forks of the Red Deer and South Saskatchewan rivers to the Cypress Hills and then along the boundary line once more heading back to the Rocky Mountains (Spry 1995:218). They arrived at the Cypress Hills in July. Although Palliser described the hills as “a veritable oasis in the tract of arid country they had come through” (Spry 1995:240), and even though the party came across abundant sources of timber, water and game, the party members did not stay long because of tensions between native groups and themselves. From this point, they split up with some travelling to Fort Benton, some back towards the Kootenay Pass and others to Old Bow Fort, finishing their last leg of the expedition (Spry 1995:242).

2.2.4 Métis Settlements

Although people had been traveling about and through the Cypress Hills for millennia, actual settlement within the hills did not occur until at least the 1860s with the appearance of Métis villages scattered throughout the hills. Prior to this, the main settlement of the Métis people was the Red River Settlement in Manitoba. A main source of livelihood for many Métis was the bison hunt. As the bison herds retreated further away from the Red River settlement and shortages in pemmican supply began occurring, large hunts were organized yearly to search for the bison and return home with the meat. Due to increased hunting pressure, the bison were extirpated in the region west of Red River and by the 1860s the hunters were traveling far into Saskatchewan to find bison herds. Instead of making the long trek home, these Red River Métis hunters began building cabins in sheltered valleys to wait out the winter, first at Portage la Prairie and Turtle Mountain, then at Qu’Appelle and Wood Mountain, and then continuously further westward into the Cypress Hills and Alberta (Figure 5). The Métis were not always hunters as some became engaged in trading, while others kept small herds of cattle or sheep, vegetable gardens, or grew some grain (McCullough 1977:5-6).

A few *hivernant* settlements within the Cypress Hills are known. When Isaac Cowie established his post near Eastend at Chimney Coulee in 1871, he mentioned several Métis traders wintering alongside him along with other Métis traders at Wood



Figure 5: Métis hunter's cabin near the Cypress Hills. Photograph taken by George Anderton ca. 1870s (photograph courtesy of Glenbow Archives NA-652-1).

Mountain, Pinto Horse Butte and Eagle Quills (Cowie 1993:433-434). Stegner (1966:65) wrote that some of the first families located themselves along the Whitemud River at Chimney Coulee near Eastend as early as 1868. The settlement at Four-Mile Coulee was established a little later in 1873 or 1874. Norbert Welsh, a Métis buffalo hunter, recalled settling in this location where he wrote “I selected a place in a big coulee, which we called the Four-Mile Coulee, for our wintering place. There were about sixty families in this brigade” (Weekes 1994:85). Archaeological excavations at both Chimney Coulee and Four Mile Coulee have shown evidence of Métis settlement at these locations (Burley et al. 1992).

Another major Métis settlement in the Cypress Hills was at Head of the Mountain. Numerous historical documents describe this settlement. For example, Surgeon John George Kittson of the NWMP recorded that “twenty odd families gather there in the fall to winter in a secluded spot” (Kittson 1880:29). The *Fort Benton Record* in 1876 stated that “halfbreeds are not camped in great numbers in this vicinity this winter. Their camping places being at the Head of the Mountain where quite a settlement is already established” (Elliott 1971:47). Archaeological excavations at Head of the Mountain in the 1960s revealed a cluster of 19 Métis cabins which Elliott (1971) believed represented the Métis *hivernant* village referred to in the historical documents.

Based on analysis of the artifacts from two cabins at the Kajewski site, Elliott dated the site to at least 1866 and possibly as early as 1860, and felt the site had been abandoned in 1882 in connection with the disappearance of the bison (Elliott 1971:43).

Not all Métis *hivernants* were congregated into larger settlements. A number of smaller groups or individuals were also scattered throughout the hills. For example, the family of Edward McKay resided beside Battle Creek, near the spot where Fort Walsh was later built. Moving to this location in 1872 from a wintering camp on the South Saskatchewan, McKay built permanent dwellings for his family and employees. They soon erected log barns for his cattle and horses and the land was broken for a garden, a barley patch and a hay field. The whole outfit was involved in trading and following the bison hunt, often selling their products in Fort Benton. They remained here as traders and hunters even after Fort Walsh was established (McKay 1947:76-77).

Surveys within the Western Block of the Cypress Hills have located numerous historic sites that may be attributable to many of these Métis settlements (Kennedy 1997; Wylie 1978). Kennedy (1997:52) concluded that some of the sites identified north of the National Park near the banks of Battle Creek were likely occupied during the late 19th century by Métis or Euro-Canadians drawn to the vicinity of Fort Walsh during its existence. In the 1978 survey of Fort Walsh National Park, Wylie (1978:134-135) identified a peripheral settlement on the west bank above the town along with possible Métis settlements along historic trails 1 to 3 km from the fort and town.

2.2.5 Whiskey Traders

By the last quarter of the 19th century another type of settlement in the Cypress Hills was the whiskey trading shanty or fort. Whiskey traders were given that moniker based on their heavy dealings in alcohol, or at least a watered-down version of alcohol, usually mixed with such ingredients as tea leaves, tobacco, red peppers, Tabasco, molasses and Jamaica Ginger (Sharp 1955:44). Alcohol of some nature had always been a staple of fur trading outfits, usually used to entice native groups away from the competition and encourage trade. However, in Canada after the amalgamation of the HBC and the North-West Company in 1821, an act passed in the British Parliament put some restraint on this practice within the HBC and decreased the excessive consumption of alcohol. The Canadian government followed this up in 1867 with an Act of

Parliament where by the sale of liquor to Indians was made illegal. In 1834 the Americans also passed the Intercourse Act prohibiting the sale and importation of spirits into Indian territory without a licence from Indian Affairs (Kennedy 1991:24-25). Of course this didn't stop it entirely and the smuggling of alcohol became a common practice since there was little enforcement of these laws.

There are a number of explanations for the increase in whiskey trader activity during this time. The Hudson's Bay Company during the 1850s and 60s was steadily losing control in the plains. Although the HBC maintained a presence in the region, its trade for furs here was quite small and instead was primarily for obtaining bison meat or pemmican (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:39). New, independent traders were heading into these regions and freely trading liquor to the native people for furs with little competition (McCullough 1977:8). Around this same time, the territory of Montana was experiencing a boom related to the gold and silver mines being opened in the area. Many of these adventurous men were seasoned fur traders and experienced soldiers who recently fought in the American Civil War. They came to the area hoping to capitalize on these resources and when the gold rush subsided, many remained in the area as free traders (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:38). Also, the trade in buffalo robes was intensifying heading into the 1870s. A new industrial use for buffalo hides had been discovered when it was found that the hides made suitable leather and were an excellent source of belts for power machinery. That, combined with their continual use for coats and robes, increased their demand and value tremendously (Sharp 1955:38).

The northern Montana territory and the southern Canadian plains proved to be an abundant source of buffalo. Therefore, the opportunity to make a fortune as buffalo robe prices increased was tempting for many traders. In 1846 a buffalo robe fetched \$3.00, in the 1850s it rose to \$3.50 and by the early 1870s \$5.50-6.00, with a fine robe from Saskatchewan fetching a price of \$12.00 (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:39). When Montana became an official territory of the United States in 1864, U. S. Marshalls entered the territory in order to uphold federal law, which included the illegal sale of liquor to Indians. To escape this law enforcement, many American traders headed up to Canada with their smuggled alcohol, where buffalo was plentiful and law enforcement was absent (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:38). Trading with alcohol was highly

profitable. Costing a trader only \$3-6 for a gallon of proof alcohol, it was diluted and spiced up, and could bring a trader almost \$50 in hides (Kennedy and Reeves 1984:27-28).

Word of whiskey traders in the Saskatchewan district was passed as early as the mid-1860s to HBC traders at locations such as Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House. One of the most notorious whiskey posts built stemming from this surge northward, was Fort Whoop-Up. Built at the junction of the St. Mary and the Oldman rivers in 1869, it was under the charge of John Healy and A. B. Hamilton and was originally named Fort Hamilton. It burned shortly after completion and new buildings were constructed within a stronger defensive stockade and was renamed Fort Whoop-Up (Sharp 1955:48). This post became the centre point of the whiskey trading days where the region surrounding it was named the Whoop-Up country and the trail leading to Fort Benton called the Whoop-Up Trail. Whiskey traders settled throughout this region, many with the financial backing of prominent Fort Benton mercantile businesses such as I. G. Baker & Company and T. C. Power & Brother, who collected the buffalo robes and shipped them east along the Missouri River on steamboats to St. Louis where they sold the robes for a handsome price (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:39). However, Fort Benton was not the only place of origin for alcohol and traders; many whiskey traders (particularly the Métis whiskey traders) acquired their supply from Red River (Kennedy 1991:28).

Whiskey traders arrived in the Cypress Hills shortly after posts were established in the Alberta foothills of Whoop-Up country. During the winter of 1871, Isaac Cowie mentioned one Métis whiskey trader by the name of Antoine Oulette who operated near his trading post in Eastend. Cowie disparaged trade with liquor and stated that Oulette would open his trade with liquor, often resulting in rows with his Métis guests (Cowie 1993:433-434). Cowie did not reoccupy his post the next winter stating that “The American traders were not long in taking advantage of these circumstances, and in 1872 they established whiskey trading-posts at Cypre Hills and to the west, the steamboating facilities on the Missouri giving them great advantages over us [the HBC]” (Cowie 1993:437). The appearance of whiskey traders in the Cypress Hills at that time is also supported in the letters of Father Lestanc, who in February 1873, wrote about the presence of five or six American forts (likely whiskey traders) within the hills

(McCullough 1977:9). Two of the American forts mentioned were likely those of Abel Farwell and Moses Solomon on Battle Creek, established in 1872. These were burned in the summer of 1873 during the event known as the Cypress Hills Massacre. Many of the other whiskey traders may have had the same fate as Father Lestanc commented in November 1873 that no American posts were present in the hills at that time (McCullough 1977:10). Upon the arrival of the NWMP in the Cypress Hills in 1875, Inspector James Walsh commented that the whiskey trade had been conducted in the hills. He mentioned the presence of at least three posts on the south side of the “mountains” [Cypress Hills] and one on the north side (Walsh 1875 as cited by Kennedy 2000:17).

2.2.6 Cypress Hills Massacre

One of the greatest tragedies in the Cypress Hills - the Cypress Hills Massacre - occurred in 1873 and involved whiskey traders, native people, wolfers and Métis. Numerous detailed accounts of this story have been written (Goldring 1973 and 1979a; Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007; Sharp 1954 and 1955; Shepherd 1967; Turner 1950). The following is a brief outline of the events and outcome of the massacre. It began with a group of wolfers returning from a winter spent in the Whoop-Up country. Wolfers were a notoriously unpopular group of hunters who obtained wolf pelts by lacing bison carcasses with strychnine, often causing harm to other animals such as Native dogs that unknowingly would eat the tainted meat (Sharp 1955:51). Only 8 km from Fort Benton, the party made camp near the Teton River for the night. When they awoke in the morning, they found all their horses gone, spirited away in the middle of the night by a band of natives (Sharp 1954:81). The party set out on the trail north to Canada to track down their stolen property. Two weeks later, after losing the trail of their horses and finding themselves deep into the Cypress Hills they decided to camp near the trading posts of Abel Farwell and Moses Solomon and to scout out the nearby Nakoda camp (Goldring 1979a:48).

What happened the following day on June 1, 1873 is of great debate, depending on whose portrayal of events is believed to be most accurate - the Benton (wolver) party, the Nakoda, the whiskey traders, the Métis traders, or the Métis who lived nearby. On that particular morning the traders visited, told stories and began drinking. Around noon

George Hammond ran out of the fort yelling that his horse had been stolen. In actuality, it had merely wandered out of the gate and was grazing with other horses in the brush a few hundred metres away. Hammond and the majority of Benton men began to make their way over to the Nakoda camp to reclaim the horse (Goldring 1979a:51). It is not completely clear who fired the first shot as there have been arguments for both sides, but a battle did quickly ensue (Goldring 1979a:52). In the end approximately 20 Nakoda people and one trader, Ed Legrace, were killed.

The story of the Cypress Hills Massacre began to slowly spread across Canada and the United States, with news reaching the governments of both countries in late August (Goldring 1979a:54). An inquiry was launched with the intent of arresting and extraditing the men involved. Five men were arrested at Fort Benton in 1875 with another three men arrested a year later in Winnipeg. Contradictory and inconclusive evidence was presented at both hearings resulting in the acquittal of all men involved (Sharp 1954:92, 94, 98). Regardless of the truth of the massacre, its aftermath created anger and indignation throughout Canada towards the lawlessness and crime in the west and recognition of the threat to Canadian sovereignty posed by the American traders. Therefore, the Canadian government realized it had to introduce order to the west. A plan of respectable diplomacy was to be adopted by the newly formed North-West Mounted Police, in contrast to the battles and vigilante raids that were criticized but firmly established in dealing with Indian affairs by the Americans (Goldring 1979a:61). The following section expands on the impetus for the creation of the North-West Mounted Police.

2.3 Creation of the North-West Mounted Police

When reading about the creation of the North-West Mounted Police and the subsequent journey of the force to western Canada, many writers have focused on the Cypress Hills Massacre as the motivation for its creation. Although the massacre did have its small role to play in the history of the NWMP, the proposal for a mounted police force was initiated years before that event. Territorial expansion, railroads, settlers, native/government relations, financial resources and American presence in the west were all factors influencing the creation of the NWMP. The following will outline the events that led to the first police presence in the Canadian west.

For over two centuries the Hudson's Bay Company controlled Rupert's Land, a vast area covering 777,000 square kilometres, which consisted of all the lands whose waterways drained into Hudson Bay. The acquisition of Rupert's Land by the newly formed Canadian government in 1869 represented the vision and growth of a new nation, one that would span from sea to sea (Morgan 1970:1). Talks quickly moved to settlement and railroad building across this vast domain, but before this could become a reality, law and order would have to be established.

Sir John A. Macdonald began plans for a police force shortly after the acquisition of Rupert's Land in 1869. Anxious to avoid a repetition of the conflict witnessed between the Indians and settlers in the American west, Macdonald aimed to set up a mounted police force that could carry out both a civil and military role. Macdonald's recommendations were approved on April 6, 1870 by Order-in-Council (Horrall 1972:180-183).

The organization of the mounted police force was barely underway when the constitutional crises in the Red River settlement put the initiative on hold. Macdonald did not think the country could afford the police force and maintain the large militia force currently stationed at Fort Garry to keep peace between the Métis and English-speaking settlers (Horrall 1972:186). On May 3, 1873 Macdonald introduced a bill to provide for the organization of the police force. The bill called for a force of 300 men who were between the ages of 18 and 40 years, were good horsemen and would serve for a period of three years. It contained provisions for the establishment of disciplinary actions, criminal courts and jails, and the appointment of magistrates. The bill was passed and received royal assent on May 23, 1873 and was entitled "An Act respecting the Administration of Justice, and for the establishment of a Police Force in the North-West Territories" (Morgan 1970:17; Horrall 1972:190). The force was officially constituted by order-in-council on August 30, 1873. Within days of the approval to establish the force, the government received reports of the Cypress Hills Massacre and the preparation of the force got underway immediately (Horrall 1972:192, 194).

Approximately 150 men were recruited in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes and dispatched to Lower Fort Garry (Horrall 1972:195). The men were divided into three companies of 30 men each, lettered A to C respectively (Goldring 1979b:20).

After two months at Lower Fort Garry, Lt-Col. George Arthur French returned to the east to recruit and train the second contingent of 150 men, companies D to F, at New Fort, Toronto (Goldring 1979b:25). The two contingents came together months later at Fort Dufferin, and from there they departed, as one unit, on their march west.

The march west officially commenced on July 8, 1874 (Morgan 1970:50). The force reached Roche Percee on the Souris River by July 24th. At this point a portion of “A” division split from the group under Inspector W. D. Jarvis to proceed to Edmonton via Fort Ellice. The force ascended the Missouri coteau on August 4th, where it left the Boundary Commission road and was now required to chart its passage and rely on guides (Morgan 1970:54). By August 25th, the force was marching past the north slopes of the Cypress Hills and by the following week it came across the first herd of buffalo. On September 10th they arrived at the junction of the Bow and Belly River where the NWMP mistakenly believed Fort Whoop-Up was located. Instead they found abandoned whiskey trader’s shanties (Morgan 1970:56).

After exploring the area and finding no whiskey posts, they traveled south to the Sweet Grass Hills near the Boundary Commission road with the intention of building a post there for the winter under the command of Assistant Commissioner Macleod. On September 24th, French and Macleod arrived at Fort Benton in order to get supplies and while there they learned that the Whoop-Up post was further west along the Belly River, at its junction with the St. Mary River (Morgan 1970:58). French received new orders from Ottawa to establish the post instead near Fort Whoop-Up and to gather all needed supplies at Fort Benton for the upcoming winter. French also received word that the new headquarters of the force were on the Swan River near Fort Pelly. French left Macleod in charge of taking the force to Fort Whoop-Up, while he took “D” and “E” divisions to the Swan River post (Morgan 1970:59). Fort Whoop-Up was reached on October 10th but the force found the post almost deserted and after searching the area for liquor, found none (Morgan 1970:60). Macleod established a post (Fort Macleod) about 50 km northwest of Fort Whoop-Up, on the Oldman River just below the Porcupine Hills. In the following weeks a barracks was constructed, friendly relations were struck with the Blackfoot tribe and whiskey traders were arrested (Morgan 1970:61). By the end of 1874, law enforcement was present in the North-West with portions of the force

stationed at Fort Macleod, Fort Edmonton, Swan River and Fort Ellice (Morgan 1970:66).

2.4 Establishment of Fort Walsh

In April 1875, the Minister of Justice indicated to Assistant Commissioner Macleod that a police post should be erected in the Cypress Hills region. The reasoning behind this was that since Fort Macleod had so far been successful in clearing the area of whiskey traders, the same should be attempted in the Cypress Hills where many traders were thought to still be operating. The Cypress Hills was also an important gathering place for the Blackfoot, Cree and Nakoda, who followed the buffalo that still roamed through this region (Morgan 1970:87). The Cypress Hills was also closer to the American border where enhanced border control patrols could be conducted. Also, the post was to be placed near the site of the Cypress Hills Massacre, the investigation of which was one of the North-West Mounted Police's top priorities in these early years.

Superintendent James Morrow Walsh was put in charge of the 30 men of "B" division and on May 15, 1875, they left Fort Macleod and headed towards the Cypress Hills to erect a new North-West Mounted Police post. With the aid of their Métis guide, Jerry Potts, they arrived at the hills in early June. After locating the site of the Cypress Hills Massacre and scouting the area for a suitable post location, they found one in Battle Creek coulee near its junction with Spring Creek. This location was surrounded by an abundance of wood and water (McLeod 1969:17). The post would be situated on the low slopes of the Battle Creek coulee, bounded by high ridges and hills on all sides which provided a full view of the interior buildings of the post, not an easily defensible position. If not an advantageous military position, the post was somewhat strategically placed. For example, Walsh reported that "The location has proven to be a good one in every respect, it is in about the centre of the mountain and in the heart of where the whiskey trade has been carried on, within a few miles of the Fort there are the remains of 6 or 7 of these posts" (Murray 1985:43). Murray (1985:45) stated that it allowed the NWMP and the Dominion of Canada to establish an immediate visual presence in the Cypress Hills with an audience that may have been skeptical of their motives.

The new post was to be called Fort Walsh, after Superintendent Walsh who led the troops to this location and was put in charge of the post (Figure 6). The building of



Figure 6: Fort Walsh NWMP post. Photograph taken in 1878 looking west (photograph courtesy of Glenbow Archives NA-1060-1).

the post soon got underway with local Métis men hired to help the troops cut and saw the logs obtained from the surrounding hillsides (McLeod 1969:17). The post was built in the style of that time with all buildings facing a central courtyard, surrounded by a stockade. The men got to work first constructing the quarters, with the stockade to be built last (McLeod 1969:18). That summer only those structures that were necessary for the immediate needs of the force were built. These included: “an officers’ quarters and orderly room, barracks for non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, the men’s mess and kitchen, a store room, two stables with attached storage facilities, a blacksmith shop, and an enlisted men’s latrine” (Murray 1985:51). Over the course of the following eight years, the layout of the post continually changed. For a detailed structural history of the Fort Walsh NWMP post see Murray (1985) and McCullough (1976).

A number of outlying subsidiary posts were established, each garrisoned with only a few men. These posts were placed in key locations, usually within a day’s ride of each other. Some were located along the American-Canadian border to patrol the

border, enforce custom laws and apprehend smugglers trying to cross the boundary. Other posts were located in areas with concentrated Métis and Native settlement and activity. These posts were placed at Wood Mountain, Eastend, Pinto Horse Butte, Milk River or Kennedy's Crossing (Morgan 1970:92), Four Mile Coulee, Six Mile Coulee and Ten Mile Coulee (McLeod 1969:26).

By the following summer the motive behind the establishment of Fort Walsh - the exploitation of Indians by the whiskey trade - had been almost eradicated. As was hoped, the mere presence of the NWMP acted as a deterrent to the traders as word spread that if caught, they would be severely punished and fined. Except for the rare efforts of a few small traders, the whiskey trade in the Cypress Hills died with the birth of Fort Walsh. Walsh reported that "I can safely say...although there has been large camps of Indians all about the Mountain, that there has not been a whiskey trader in this section of the country since our arrival" (McLeod 1969:28). Attention now turned to the supervision of the ever increasing groups of natives now occupying the hills.

One of the best known interactions between the NWMP and native people involved the American Sioux under the leadership of Sitting Bull. In June of 1876, Sitting Bull and his Sioux and Cheyenne followers defeated the American Army under Colonel Custer and his 7th Cavalry at the Battle of Little Bighorn (McLeod 1969:30-31). In the months following, these refugee Indians traveled north into Canada to obtain sanctuary and settled that winter near Wood Mountain (McLeod 1969:34). Over the next few years, the NWMP were involved in maintaining peace between the Sioux and neighbouring Canadian native groups and in reminding the Sioux that Canadian law must be followed. The NWMP aided in negotiations between the American government and the Sioux for their return back to the United States by hosting the "Sitting Bull Commission" at Fort Walsh in 1877 (McLeod 1969:39). The Sioux continued their stalemate in Canada until April 1880, when Sitting Bull gave his permission for his members to return to the United States. By the end of that year thousands traveled to the reservations provided for them with only a few refugee bands remaining in Canada (McLeod 1969:49). However, the few remaining were starving, asking for rations at the police posts and encountering increasing tensions with Canadian Indians. Sitting Bull finally agreed to go south on July 19, 1881, and many of the remaining Sioux left

Canada (McLeod 1969:51).

To effectively deal with the increase in native activity surrounding Fort Walsh, the headquarters of the NWMP was transferred there in May 1878. The number of force personnel was adjusted to keep up with the increased work load with the addition of “E” and “F” divisions (McLeod 1969:45). Depending on the time of year, there were thousands of native people camped in the hills surrounding the post. This number was depleted during the buffalo hunt and increased when treaty payments were issued. As the buffalo herds declined on the northern plains, native encampments in the Cypress Hills persisted for longer periods. When the last buffalo finally disappeared from the Cypress Hills in 1882 (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:42), many native groups became dependent on Fort Walsh. During the winter of 1882-83, a starvation allowance was doled out to hundreds of lodges camped around Fort Walsh where over 20,332 kg of beef, 160,118 kg of flour, 77 kg of tea, 31 kg of sugar and 56 kg of tobacco were consumed (McLeod 1969:52). One of the many roles of the NWMP during this time was to persuade the native groups to settle on the reserves created for them when they signed their treaty with the government. Many of them, faced with few options for survival, had no choice but to finally settle for this new, foreign lifestyle. Other groups persevered however, and continued to live within the hills surrounding the post.

Recommendations were made as early as June 1881 to close Fort Walsh. The Minister of the Interior stated that “The causes which rendered the establishment and maintenance of a fort in the Cypress Hills necessary have now ceased to exist; the abandonment of Fort Walsh is therefore contemplated. On this being effected, it is hoped that the Indians who have hitherto made that place a rendezvous will move northward and settle upon their reserves” (McLeod 1969:53). In other words, it was felt that as long as Fort Walsh remained in existence, it was a hindrance to the placement of native people on reserves. The government’s plans for settlement of the west, including a transcontinental railroad, were coming into effect and they did not want native bands roaming the land when settlers arrived. Commissioner Irvine approved of the recommendations but insisted that Fort Walsh should remain operational until after the railroad was built past Maple Creek and on its way to Medicine Hat, for the safety of the CPR workers. The decision was made in July 1882 to move the NWMP headquarters at

Fort Walsh to Pile-of-Bones (later renamed Regina) and this became official on December 6, 1882. The last of the native groups occupying the Cypress Hills were moved to their reserves in the spring of 1883. Abandonment of Fort Walsh occurred soon afterwards in May and June of 1883 (McLeod 1969:53). The majority of the force remaining was transferred to the new NWMP detachment created at Maple Creek, just 65 km north of Fort Walsh. Many of the buildings were demolished with the usable lumber carted to Maple Creek for construction use there (McLeod 1969:54).

2.5 Post-Abandonment Land-Use

After the abandonment of Fort Walsh, the Cypress Hills region saw the emergence of a new type of business venture, that of ranching. Cattle were first introduced into the Cypress Hills by the NWMP as a means of feeding the starving native groups following the disappearance of the buffalo. Beef contracts were routinely assigned to I. G. Baker & Company and other local independent entrepreneurs from 1875 through to 1883 (Canada Sessional Papers 1880:No. 67). Most of the cattle were herded up from the south and kept on farms or ranches in the hills surrounding Fort Walsh. Two ranchers, Wellington Anderson and David Wood, soon settled near the abandoned Fort Walsh post. They had come from Manitoba in the early 1890s on a cattle drive that took two months to reach Fort Walsh. Here they and their families established a ranching partnership that lasted for over 25 years (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:148). Their homestead site was directly northeast of the post on a ridge overlooking both the post and the town. Physical remains of the Wood and Anderson ranching operation are still visible in the stone foundation of the ranch house, scattered pits related to several out-buildings, the remains of a dam built on Spring Creek, irrigation ditches crossing the townsite and a large kitchen garden south of the house (Wylie 1978:39). After David Wood's death in 1923, the ranch was managed by a holding company with several people occupying the ranch until its sale to Frank Nuttall in 1934, who continued to ranch on the site (Nuttall 1993:131).

In the decades following the abandonment of Fort Walsh, the site deteriorated but was never forgotten. The memory of Fort Walsh was held strong by NWMP veterans, former townsite residents and local settlers. In 1927, a cairn was erected in the 1870s-era NWMP cemetery next to Fort Walsh by the Historic Sites and Monuments

Board of Canada. Upon the cairn is a commemorative plaque extolling the actions of the NWMP in bringing law and order to the region. However, further site development was not in the mandate for the Monuments Board due to the isolated location and limited resources. Instead, the impetus for further heritage preservation came from local people and organizations in the 1930s. The Canadian Club of Govenlock and the Old-Timers' Association of Maple Creek held fundraisers and gave talks to increase public awareness of Fort Walsh, raising enough money to place concrete markers at the corners of the former post stockade in 1931 (De Jonge 1997:23). The activities of Horace Greeley (an Old-Timer) and George Shepherd (rancher near Maple Creek who later became the first curator of the Western Development Museum) and their messages of the importance of provincial heritage preservation reached out to many groups who in turn urged the government to preserve Fort Walsh as a National Historic Site. However, the National Parks Branch declined to get involved, citing financial constraints and the lack of physical remains at the site (De Jonge 1997:24).

The quest for heritage preservation at Fort Walsh soon came to the attention of Stuart Taylor Wood, Assistant Commissioner of the RCMP. Moved by the history and landscape of Fort Walsh, he became involved and spent the next few years trying to find a way for the force to acquire the site. Soon after his appointment to Commissioner, an agreement was forged with the National Parks Branch to transfer the care of the Mounted Police cemetery over to the RCMP. Wood also became involved in negotiations with Frank Nuttall to purchase the site of Fort Walsh in 1939 (De Jonge 1997:24). However, he couldn't buy the land based on historical significance alone, so instead he proposed that Fort Walsh be turned into a horse-breeding station. The Privy Council authorized the purchase of the land in August 1942 which entailed over 280 hectares of deeded land and approximately 690 hectares of leased grazing land (De Jonge 1997:25).

Although the site was to be an operational police detachment, construction of the remount station revolved around replicating the log buildings of Fort Walsh. In order to guide the reconstruction work, information gleaned from veterans at Fort Walsh, old photographs and all the historical documentation they could find was relied upon (De Jonge 1997:25). A total of eight buildings were constructed for the remount station

during the period from 1943 to 1948, conveying the outline of the post in a generalized manner. Sketches were drawn for several of the buildings but specific construction details were not always a priority with the example of the utilization of concrete foundations and cement or plaster chinking. An attempt was made to use the remount station buildings in a manner comparable to the functions of the original post buildings they represented. The reconstruction was not completely historically accurate and was done in the rustic manner popular of many national parks of that time (De Jonge 1997:28).

One of the largest problems that emerged from the building of the remount station was the tourists. Over the next decade, the numbers of tourists driving up to the station to view the “reconstructed” Fort Walsh continually increased. Many complained about the poor reception and lack of facilities available to them at the site, to which the RCMP replied that they were a police detachment, not a tourist destination (De Jonge 1997:29). By the mid-1960s, the police could no longer continue to accommodate both the horses and the tourists at Fort Walsh. In 1965, plans were initiated to develop Fort Walsh as a tourist destination to celebrate Canada’s centennial. A year later all horse-breeding operations were relocated to Pakenham, Ontario, close to the stable and riding school in Ottawa. New buildings were erected for the enrichment of the historical character of the area by the reconstruction of Farwell’s and Solomon’s posts and by creating a museum/interpretation building for the visitors. All of this work by the RCMP was performed with the partial collaboration of the National and Historic Parks Branch which officially took over the administration of Fort Walsh in 1968 when it was designated a National Historic Site (De Jonge 1997:30).

Fort Walsh was not an isolated outpost in the middle of the wilderness but a thriving centre of activity during its existence. The presence of the North-West Mounted Police brought not only native groups to Fort Walsh but Métis and Euro-Canadian settlers to this vicinity where a small town soon developed next to the post. The following chapter will bring to life the character of this frontier town of Fort Walsh.

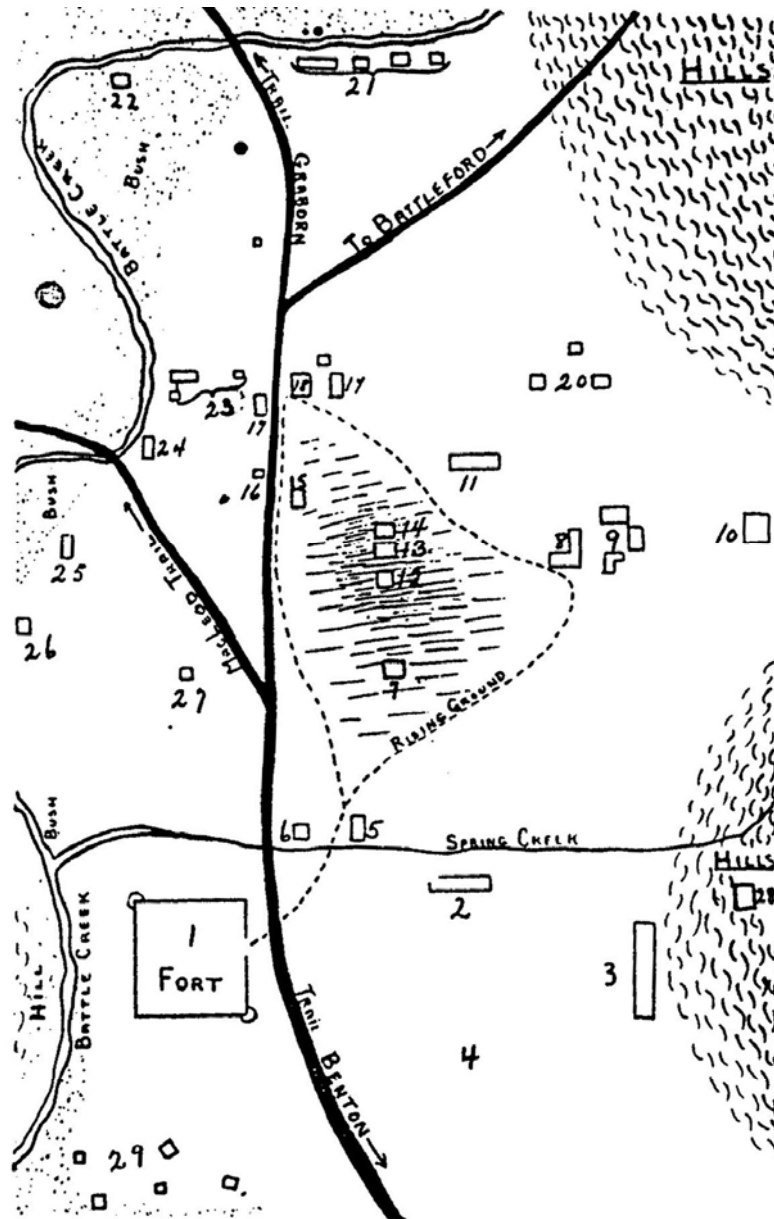
Chapter 3

The Town of Fort Walsh

Information about the residents of Fort Walsh has been compiled from a multitude of sources. Local history books have been useful for those residents who remained in the Cypress Hills area as portions of their family history have been recorded dating back to their time at Fort Walsh. For others, information has been gathered from history books, magazine articles, biographies, and newspapers. One of the most useful sources of information has been the Dominion government of Canada's 1881 Census which contains data on the demographics of the town at that time. I have used all of these historical records, along with archaeological information, to reconstruct the town at Fort Walsh and the lives of its occupants.

The construction of a NWMP post in the Cypress Hills in 1875 created an atmosphere of stability, safety and economic possibilities that the region had never experienced before and soon a small settlement began to grow near the post. The new settlers were concentrated in an area to the north of the NWMP post which became the town proper, with a few scattered buildings to the south and west of the post. The town of Fort Walsh was the centre of activity in the Cypress Hills during its eight-year existence from 1875 to 1883, but when the police abandoned their post in 1883, the town was also disbanded.

The only known map of the town was drawn by a former resident of Fort Walsh, Horace Greeley (Figure 7). Horace was a clerk for the T. C. Power & Brother trading store from 1879 to 1883 in Fort Walsh and subsequently took over as manager when the store relocated to Maple Creek in 1883 (Pollock 1968:46). The map was created in 1934 and published a year later in an article for *Scarlet and Gold*, commemorating the 60th anniversary of the NWMP (Shepherd 1935:3). Since the map was drawn more than 50



FORT WALSH

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1. Fort. | 11. Warehouse (I. G. Baker & Co.). | 19. Residence, etc. (T. C. Power & Bro.). |
| 2. Hospital. | 12. Residence (N.W.M.P.) | 20. Residence. |
| 3. Hay Corral. | 13. Residence (R. McCutcheon). | 21. Residence. |
| 4. Parade Ground. | 14. Residence. | 22. Residence (Mollie). |
| 5. Billiard Hall (J. Claustra). | 15. Billiard Hall. | 23. Residence. |
| 6. Barber Shop (Adams). | 16. Residence (W. Sinclair). | 24. Hotel. |
| 7. Billiard Hall (W. Casey). | 17. Residence (T. C. Power & Bro.). | 25. Residence (Old Hotel). |
| 8. Store (I. G. Baker & Co.). | 18. Store (T. C. Power & Bro.). | 26. Residence (L. Haggyl). |
| 9. Warehouses (I. G. Baker & Co.). | | 27. Stable. |
| 10. Stable and Corral (I. G. Baker & Co.). | | 28. Graveyard. |
| | | 29. Residences, etc. |

Figure 7: Map of the town of Fort Walsh. Drawn from memory by Horace Greeley in 1934 (Shepherd 1935:3).

years after he left Fort Walsh, Greeley commented that because it was drawn from memory it was unlikely that all of the buildings were represented and should not be interpreted literally. On the map, the town is situated on the eastern side of Battle Creek and is physically separated from the police post by Spring Creek at its southern end. Numerous trails appear to enter the town, connecting it to other major settlements of the time: Fort Benton, Fort Macleod, Battleford and Wood Mountain. The map shows 19 residences and 11 businesses scattered about the town, with two stables situated apart from the rest of the buildings. Greeley also included the names of the townspeople who occupied or owned many of the residences and businesses. With the police established on the south side of Spring Creek, they concentrated their activities in this locale with the hospital, parade ground and hay corral to the east of the post. The cluster of buildings to the south of the post represents the farm of Edward McKay. Even though the map may not be accurate, it is useful in a general sense as an indication of the people present and the businesses in operation during the town's existence.

3.1 The People of Fort Walsh

Population estimates of the town of Fort Walsh have never been clearly defined, largely due to the transient nature of many of its inhabitants. The most stable component of the population consisted of the residents associated with the commercial core of the town; the business men, their families and employees. A second component of the town's population was the Métis *hivernants*. While inhabiting the town during the winter months, many left during the summer to engage in hunting, trading and freighting activities. However, the majority of the Métis chose to live in settlements outside Fort Walsh and so the Métis population in the town was quite small in comparison to those at Eastend, Four Mile Coulee and Head of the Mountain. A third component of the town's population was the native groups. While it is unlikely that any native people took up permanent residence in Fort Walsh, native groups were continually camped in the hills surrounding the town and would have had a presence. Their numbers often swelled into the thousands during such occasions as treaty payments (McCullough 1977:18-19).

Contemporary sources did not necessarily agree on the number of buildings in the town of Fort Walsh. The *Fort Benton Record* in November 1875 stated that there were approximately 50 buildings present (McCullough 1977:18). In 1878, Staff Sergeant

Isaac Forbes wrote that upon his journey into Fort Walsh, he saw a “village of about two dozen low, log shacks 500 yards from the fort, mostly halfbreed buildings, with I. G. Baker and Company and T. C. Power and Bro. trading stores...About 5,000 Indians were scattered around outside the fort” (Turner 1950:392). In an 1878 photograph (Figure 8) of the town, approximately 30 buildings can be counted, give or take a few.



Figure 8: Overview of the town of Fort Walsh, ca. 1878, looking west/northwest (photograph courtesy of RCMP Heritage Centre).

Therefore, based on the average number of buildings thought to be present within the town and the main composition of the population, the town's population could reasonably be estimated to be about 100 to 150 people.

3.1.1 1881 Census Data

In 1881 the Dominion government of Canada conducted its first nation-wide census. Prior to this, census data had been collected exclusively in the east throughout Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. This census was regarded as the first regularly scheduled collection of national statistics encompassing all of Canada. A total of eight schedules were used to gather information about the population. Schedule 1 was devised to enumerate the population by name. Schedules 2 to 8 focused on recent deaths, real estate, public institutions, the productivity of owned land, livestock and animal products, the extraction of raw materials from forests and mines and shipping and fishing production. Schedule 1 is the only information that is still obtainable today as the pages were scanned and placed onto microfilm reels. All of the original papers of the 1881 census, including Schedule 1, have been destroyed. The type of information available from Schedule 1 includes each individual's name, age and gender, along with the type of household they lived in, their relationship to the head of their household, their birthplace, religion, ethnicity or origin, occupation and marital status. All households were recorded as they were on April 4, 1881, regardless of the date on which they were enumerated. The households were defined as a group of people living under the same roof and eating the same food. Examples of this ranges from a single person living alone, a married couple with children, a family with domestic servants and all the occupants and employees of a boarding house (How the Census was Collected, Census of Canada, 1881, Library and Archives Canada).

Census enumerators likely passed through Fort Walsh in the late spring/early summer of 1881. On September 18, 1881, the *Saskatchewan Herald* reported that the census enumerators appointed by the Census Commissioner, Thomas Spence, had commenced their work in the Wood Mountain, Qu'Appelle, Touchwood Hills, Prince Albert and Cumberland districts and were now heading into the Battleford, Bow River and Edmonton districts. The census information for Fort Walsh can be found in District 192 – Territories, Sub-district I – Wood Mountain. The Wood Mountain sub-district

encompasses both Wood Mountain and Fort Walsh residents, along with many Métis households located between the two settlements. The census information for the Wood Mountain sub-district is contained in Appendix A.

To isolate only the residents of Fort Walsh, further investigation of the names and families of the 80 households listed on the census was undertaken to determine their location. It is assumed that the enumerators recorded an entire settlement before travelling to another location. The residents of two NWMP posts are recorded in the census and after checking the numbers and the names of the men listed, it has been concluded that the first post was that of Fort Walsh (Household 9) and the second was the Wood Mountain post (Households 61, 62 and 64). The households listed before or after each post should presumably be located near that post. The family names of the households listed after the Wood Mountain police post in the 1881 census were searched for in the 1901 Census of Canada, with over a dozen people found to be recorded in the Willow Bunch District. Cemetery records for a few of the residents further solidified that they lived in the Willow Bunch area. One notable name in this group is J. Louis Legare, a trader in the Wood Mountain area who was heavily involved in supplying the Sioux during their encampment near Wood Mountain (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:105). Therefore I have concluded that households 63 to 82 were not located within the town of Fort Walsh.

The households that are listed before the Fort Walsh post (Households 1 to 8) are Métis families with the occupations of most of the men listed as hunters. Only the location of Household 8 is known, belonging to the families of Edward McKay and his son Samuel who resided to the south of the NWMP post. It is postulated that the other Métis households were situated outside of the town also, in some of the many Métis settlements scattered throughout the Cypress Hills. Other familiar Métis family names such as LaFramboise, Trottier and Morin are also listed in the census with many of the heads of household reporting hunting as their occupation. Since these families are listed immediately before the Wood Mountain police post, it can be argued that the enumerator encountered these households on his travels between Fort Walsh and Wood Mountain in many of the Métis settlements between the two sites such as Four Mile Coulee and

Eastend. Therefore, Households 42 to 60 are also eliminated as not belonging to the town of Fort Walsh.

In eliminating the unlikely residents of Fort Walsh, the town has been narrowed down to Households 10 to 41. Confirmation that these households are from the town comes from the presence of known town residents. Horace Greeley, creator of the town map (Figure 7), is present within Household 10. Many of the names he mentions on his map are also listed in the census. Louis Haggeyt is present in Household 11, Jean Claustre in Household 22 and Robert McCutcheon in Household 29. Further evidence that Households 10 to 41 are town residents is indicated in the diversity of their birthplaces, religions and ethnicity, typical of a frontier settlement.

Households 17 to 20 represent the families of married Non-Commissioned Officers of the NWMP. Married officers were often given permission to live outside the barracks of the police post. On the town map, Greeley lists one of the residences as belonging to the NWMP indicating that officers did live in the town. However, Scace and Associates Ltd. (1978:51-52) indicated that while some of the married officers did live in the town, others obtained permission to live south of the NWMP post near Edward McKay, citing the examples of Sergeant-Major Abbott and Regan, the NWMP carpenter. These two men are listed as belonging to Households 19 and 17 respectively. While this information may be true, Scace and Associates Ltd. do not list their source meaning their information cannot be corroborated. Since these households are listed among other known residents of the town, they will be kept on the list of town residents until otherwise refuted.

Household 41 is the cut-off point for town residents in the census. The head of this household is John J. English, an Indian Instructor on the reserve farms for the Nakoda bands of Man Who Took the Coat and Long Lodge. These reserve farms were set up near Head of the Mountain and then at Maple Creek, which were designed to teach native people about agriculture. These Nakoda reserves were established in the Cypress Hills in 1879, and encompassed an area of approximately 880 square kilometres (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:124-125). Although his work sent English out of town for intermittent periods of time, his family may have permanently remained in the town. In a letter he wrote to the *Saskatchewan Herald* on July 5, 1880, he commented that

within days of his arrival at Fort Walsh in 1879, he was able to secure rooms for his family to set up house-keeping before he headed to the Nakoda reserve. While at the Nakoda reserve, he took possession of one of the houses, indicating that he traveled back and forth between the town and the Nakoda reserve throughout the winter while his assistant stayed at the reserve full time. He further mentioned that he was receiving a new house soon but was not clear on its location. However, since he intended to invite his friends from the fort and planned games and prizes for the native people at his house-warming party, it may be reasonable to assume it was at the Nakoda reserve. Regardless of the location of this new house, he doesn't mention his family at the Nakoda reserve and could have maintained permanent residence in the town with new accommodations built for him at the Nakoda reserve (Pollock 1968:39-40). Even though there is question about the location of the John J. English family, this family did live in the town for a period of time and may have continued to do so during the time of the census and thus it is included in the town resident census data.

A total of 32 households are present in the town of Fort Walsh with a population of 102 people. Of the 32 households, 22 are family households, nine are male-only households and one is a single female household. The family households contained 85 people and are mainly comprised of a married couple and their children with the exception of Micheal and Mary Regan who were listed as childless. Their first son William was not born until 1882 (Pollock 1968:84). The number of children in the town totalled 41, with 35 of the children under the age of 10. One family household contained Anny Deschamp and her two-year old son Edward. Anny is listed as married but her husband is not listed in the census. She was not the only woman living alone; Marguerite Leberge was a 30 year old woman from Manitoba who lived by herself. Both women may have lived in proximity to each other as they are listed next to each other in the census (Households 34 and 35). Another interesting family household was that of Edwin Allen, an Indian Agent for the Department of Indian Affairs who lived in a household with his wife Clara, his two month old daughter Daisy and a married African-American woman named Mary Smith who was 30 years old. No occupation is listed for Mary and there is no mention of her husband in the census. One could speculate that she was present as a servant or nanny for the family.

Male-only residences were comprised of 16 men in nine households. Five of the men lived singly, with the other men in households of two, three or four men. Horace Greeley lived in a household containing his uncle Dan Marsh and two other men who likely also worked for T. C. Power & Brother. All of these men were bachelors, most employed within the town.

Over half of the town population was born in either Manitoba (23 individuals) or the North-West Territories (33 individuals). Many of the townspeople born in the North-West Territories were children whose parents had moved into the Territories within the last few years. The birthplaces of the rest of the townspeople were disparate, with 12 born in the United States, 11 in Ontario, 11 in Ireland, four in England, three in Quebec, three in Scotland and one each from France and New Brunswick (Figure 9).

Although the birthplaces of many of the town residents were scattered throughout Canada, the United States and Europe, many indicated a similar origin or ethnicity. The largest group were the 35 people who identified themselves as French, with another 26 identifying themselves as Scottish, 23 as Irish, 13 as English, six as American and one whom I have interpreted as African-American (Figure 9). A similarity amongst the townspeople also existed with religion. More than half of the population reported that they followed the Church of England with 57 people of that faith. Other denominations were represented by 35 Catholics, six Presbyterians, one Baptist and one Wesleyan. Two others were of unknown faith (Figure 9). It is interesting to note that when a married couple's nationality and religion differed, the majority of the children maintained their father's nationality and their mother's religion. Only two couples did not exhibit this pattern: Henry and Philomene Jordan whose daughter Emilia Sarah was listed of English origin like her mother whereas her father was American, and Billy and Mary Allen whose son Alexie was listed of French origin like his mother whereas his father was Scottish.

Only the adult men were listed as having occupations. Of the 36 adult men who were listed as employed, eight were farmers, five were agents, five were Mounted Policemen, four were each clerks and negociants, two were each cooks and labourers and there was one each of a guide, photographer, miner, hotel keeper, Indian Agent and Indian Instructor (Figure 9). Although women were not listed as having an occupation,

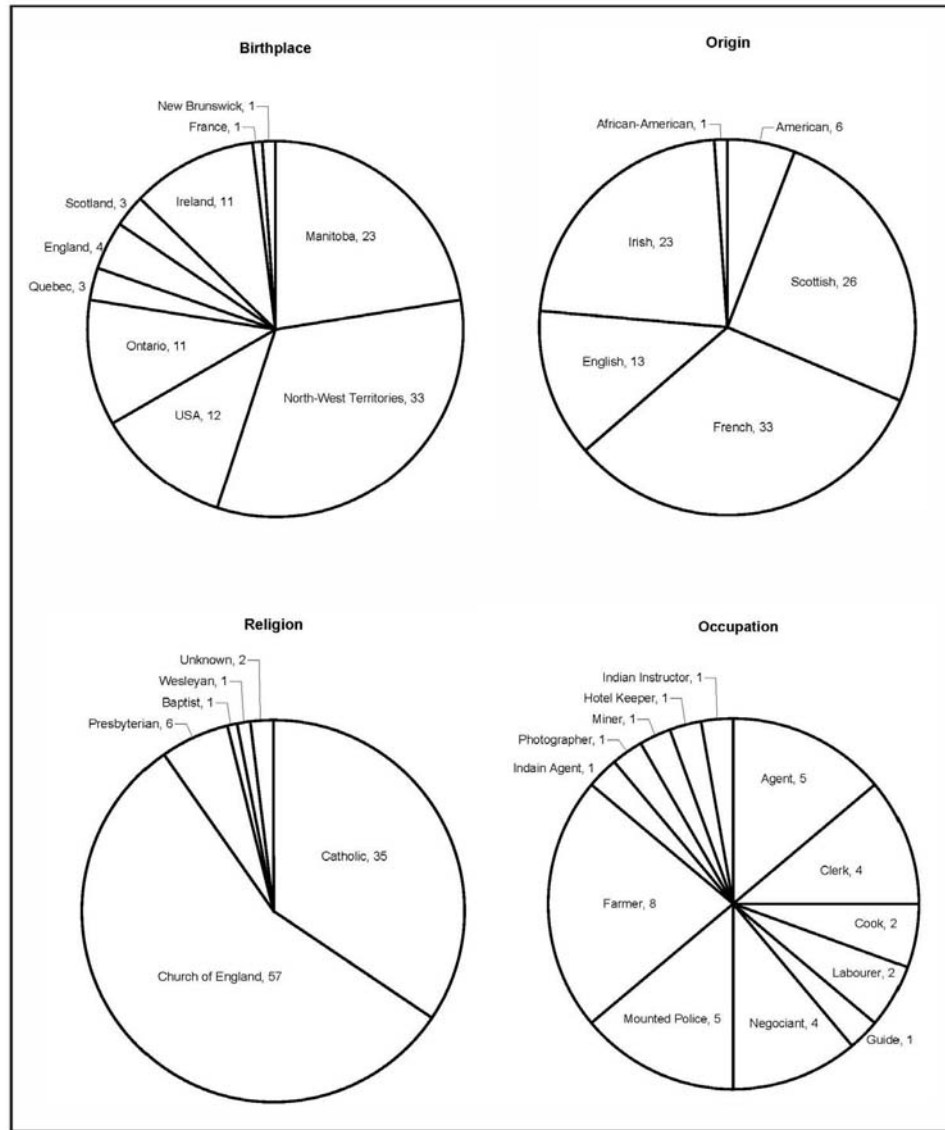


Figure 9: Charts representing the demographic information recorded in the 1881 Census of Canada from the residents of Fort Walsh.

that did not preclude them from being employed in the town. Two of the residences in the town had female heads of households indicating that they must have had some means of supporting themselves. The only women mentioned who were employed at any of the businesses in town were Mollie and Annie, African-American women who worked at the laundry and may have dabbled in bootlegging (McCullough 1977:16).

Demographics were also compiled from the census for the Métis households that may have been present around Fort Walsh (Households 1 to 8, 42 to 60). These Métis households totalled 28 with a population of 160 people, 93 of them children. All

households were family-based with the majority containing a married couple and their children. The exception was one married couple with no children and two widowed women with children. Equal numbers of people were born in Manitoba and the North-West Territories with 75 and 76 respectively. Of the nine remaining individuals, eight were born in the United States and one in New Brunswick. Almost all of the Métis identified themselves of French origin, 155 in total, with another four identifying themselves as Scottish and one as English. The predominant denominational affiliation of 155 of the people was Catholic with five others of the Church of England faith. Of the 40 adult men who listed an occupation, 27 reported it as hunters. The rest covered a range of occupations with three farmers, two traders, two servants, three unknown and one each of clerk, merchant and interpreter (Figure 10).

The census data, therefore, revealed much information about the town of Fort Walsh during this single snapshot in time. The majority of its residents were married, many with young children, verifying the supposition that women and children were unquestionably present within the town. The townspeople came from all over Canada, the United States and Europe denoting a varied background. The occupations of the men indicated that the majority were either employed with government agencies or in service-related fields most likely connected to these government agencies. In comparing the demographics of the town to that of the Métis settlements in the Cypress Hills, the town shows much more variability in birthplace, origin and religion. The majority of the Métis people exhibit similar backgrounds, likely stemming from their shared ancestry and common places of origin near the Red River Settlement in Manitoba.

3.1.2 Life at Fort Walsh

The town of Fort Walsh has been described in many ways: as a thriving centre of activity in the middle of an isolated region, a boomtown or single industry town (McCullough 1977:33), and a “lively rendezvous or gathering place for freighters, traders, halfbreeds, buffalo hunters, Indians and all the human flootsam and jetsam of the frontier” (Turner 1950:488). But what was life in Fort Walsh really like? The town was in the shadow of a strong police presence with the NWMP post only a few hundred metres away; did that lessen or deter illegal activity in the town? I will explore these questions and also discuss ethnicity and status differentiations, the health of the town, its

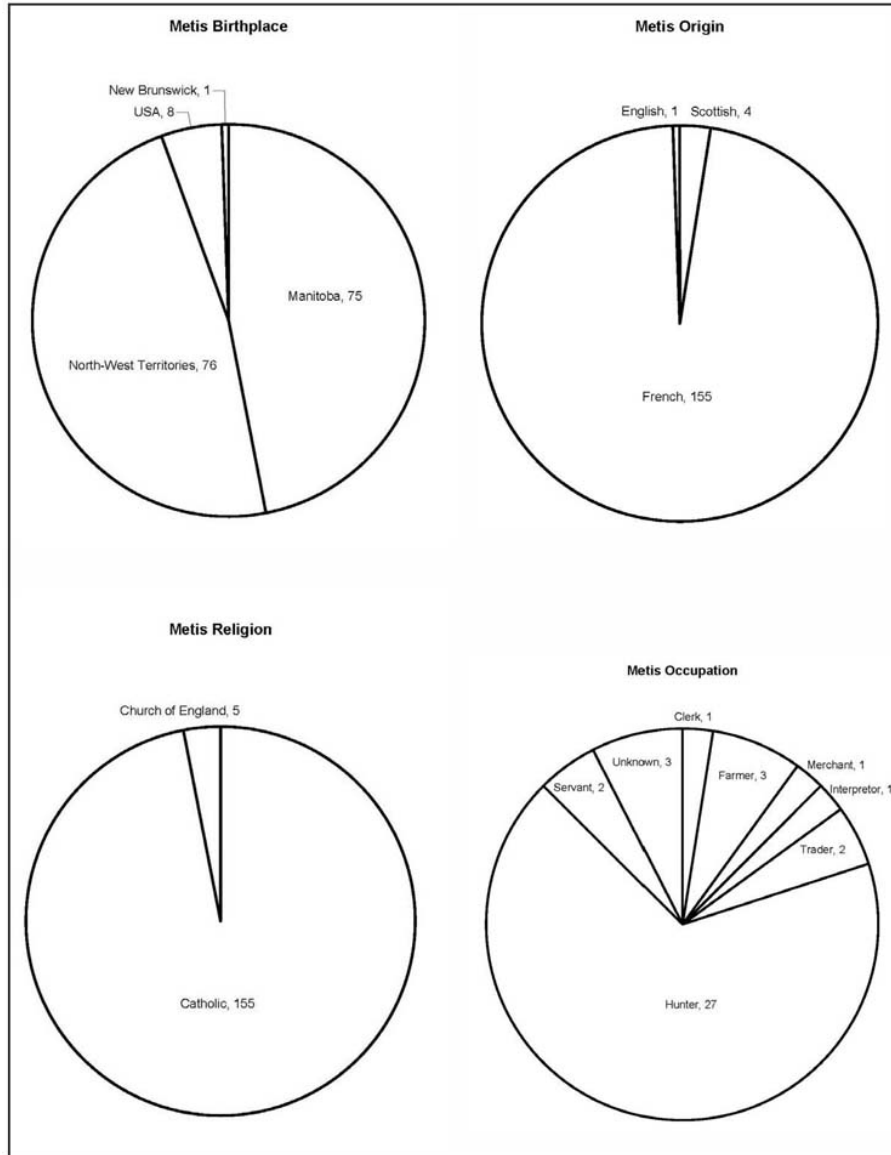


Figure 10: Charts representing the demographic information recorded in the 1881 Census of Canada from Métis households in the vicinity of Fort Walsh.

recreational establishments and social interactions in an attempt to recreate life at Fort Walsh.

As just discussed, the people of the town had quite diverse ethnic origins. Many identified themselves as “French”, “Scottish”, “English”, “American”, “Irish” and “African-American”. The *Fort Macleod Gazette* (1882:October 4) further indicated the presence of a Chinese man when it proclaimed “The town of Walsh is complete now. It sports a Chinaman. He is cooking at the Syndicate Hotel”. Mary Smith was not the

only African-American within the town. As mentioned above, two other women, Mollie and Annie, worked in the laundry along with two men, Tom and Jess who are described as being from “south of the Mason-Dixon Line” (Turner 1950:489) and, presumably, were also African-American. The possible presence of another African-American man in Fort Walsh comes from a letter written to D. W. Marsh of T. C. Power & Brother from J. J. Donnelly, an attorney and counsellor of law on October 25, 1878. In the letter Mr. Donnelly wrote that he would like to get in touch with a James Vanderburg who lives in Fort Walsh concerning cattle he supposedly sold to one man but left in the care of another who refused to give them up until he saw a bill of sale. Mr. Donnelly described James Vanderburg as “a colored man and is keeping a restaurant I believe” (T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers, U of S Special Collections). There is indication that the African-American people of Fort Walsh may have been marginalized. On the town map of Fort Walsh (Figure 7), Horace placed the residence of Mollie in the top left corner, removed from the main core of the town. Residences are indicated nearby to the east, but the residence of Mollie is within a bushy area, sheltered or hidden from the rest of the town. Since Mollie was connected to the laundry, the laundry may also be located in this area. Just as the natives and the majority of the Métis were, so Mollie and the rest of the African-American population may have been marginalized to the outskirts of the town suggesting ethnic differentiation is occurring within the town.

Very little is known about the women of Fort Walsh. Most of the information about women, other than the data obtained from the 1881 Census of Canada, refers to marriage records, their children and their ethnicity. The majority of the women were Métis with a few native women and African-American women in town. In the early years of the NWMP, white women were a rarity in the Canadian west. Most white women who were present had followed their husbands out into the “wilderness” and lived with them at various NWMP posts. From the 1881 census, at least seven white women were present in Fort Walsh: Mary Regan, Fanny French, Mary Anne Abbott, Mamie Dunne, Lizzy Stuttaford, Clara Allen and Maria English. Four of the women were born in Ireland, two in Ontario and one in the United States. All were married to either Mounted Policemen or government agents.

Evidence of the presence of class distinctions amongst these white women may

be indicated in a letter written by Commissioner James Macleod to his wife on July 29, 1878. He wrote that while he was at Fort Walsh, he visited John Stuttaford, a sub-constable and tailor with the NWMP, and his wife Lizzy. In a laughing manner he wrote to his wife that Lizzy mentioned going to Fort Macleod indicating that she would very much like to meet Mrs. Macleod. James Macleod replied to Lizzy that Mrs. Macleod would be glad to receive her and could stay with her awhile as she looked suitable as a housemaid. He inquired if she could cook also. Lizzy's response was one of indignation replying "Ah no, my people are quite above that, they would never hear of me going as a servant". James wrote to his wife that he would never think of letting her meet "a tailor's wife on terms of equality" and that Lizzy "would not find such society very congenial to her tastes". Also in this vein, James replied to Lizzy that he never had the least thought of receiving her into his house except as a servant. The letter also mentioned that John asked for an extra half ration for his wife after which James replied that it was only doled out to those wives who took care of their husband's wash. When asked if Lizzy did his washing John replied "Oh no, her people would blow up, bust up, annihilate him...if this lady ever soiled her hands with soap suds" (Macleod Letter 1878/01A, James Farquharson Macleod Family Fonds, Glenbow Archives (GA)). Although Lizzy Stuttaford considered herself a woman of station, she clearly was not to be included in the same class as the wives of the higher-ranking officers in the NWMP. Alternatively, if class distinctions were present between the white women married to NWMP officers, this may also have extended to the Métis and native wives of NWMP officers. Indications of the attitudes towards Métis and native women by other women may be inferred from the proclamation given by Mollie as "the first white lady in the Cypress Hills" (Turner 1950:418). Although clearly an African-American women, she distinguished herself from the native and Métis women in the town, placing herself on equal terms with white women to indicate a higher ranking above the others with whom she did not choose to identify.

Marriages within the North-West Territories were usually performed by clergymen, but when one was not available, commissioned officers or the officer in charge of the NWMP post could be enacted to be a justice of the peace and perform the ceremony (Morgan 1970:155). In Fort Walsh, many marriages were conducted by

Commissioner Macleod and Major Walsh in the absence of the church. In a letter to his wife, Commissioner Macleod recalled one such marriage he performed in Fort Walsh between Mr. Howell Harris and Miss Ruth Amelia Graham in November 1879. The wedding took place in the residence of Miss Graham's brother where he asked them which ceremony they wished to have him perform. Macleod wrote that he turned to the marked chapter on marriage in the book they gave him, recited a few prayers and "hitched them up quickly". Later in the evening there was a grand ball where Macleod danced with the bride and her sister, a Mrs. Macdonald, and tried to keep up with the pace of the man calling the orders of the dances (Macleod Letter 1879/11, James Farquharson Macleod Family Fonds, GA). Macleod also performed the marriage of Lieutenant Timothy Dunne on December 7, 1879 (Macleod Letter 1879/12, James Farquharson Macleod Family Fonds, GA) to a woman named Mamie Haines who was the niece of John J. English, Indian Instructor at the reserve farms who arrived in Fort Walsh only months before (*Saskatchewan Herald* 1879a:December 29).

Many members of the McKay family married while at Fort Walsh (Figure 11). Jemima McKay married John Henry Gresham Bray, an NWMP officer who came to Fort Walsh when it was established in 1875. They were married in 1876 and remained in Fort Walsh for a couple years as their second of thirteen children, Elizabeth Anne, was born on November 3, 1878 in Fort Walsh. By 1882 John had left the force and was ranching in Pincher Creek (John Henry Gresham Bray Fonds, GA). Rachel McKay married Jules Quesnelle on January 22, 1877 at her father's home with the ceremony officiated by Major Walsh (Pollock 1968:83). Jules first arrived in Fort Walsh in 1875 with his two brothers, Michel and Leon, bringing in a herd of horses from Deer Lodge, Montana (Turner 1950:489). Jules stayed and worked as a hunter, freighter and scout as well as herding cattle for I. G. Baker & Company. He and Rachel remained in Fort Walsh until 1883 when they took up a homestead near Hay Creek (Merry Battlers Ladies 1993:194). Emma McKay married Peter O'Hare at Fort Walsh sometime between the years 1875 and 1882. Peter was enlisted in the NWMP and served as their tailor first in Calgary and Macleod, then at Fort Walsh before finishing in Maple Creek in 1920 (Pollock 1968:72). The birth of one of their children, Nellie, is listed as having taken place on May 27, 1882 in Fort Walsh (Government of Canada Files, RG15,

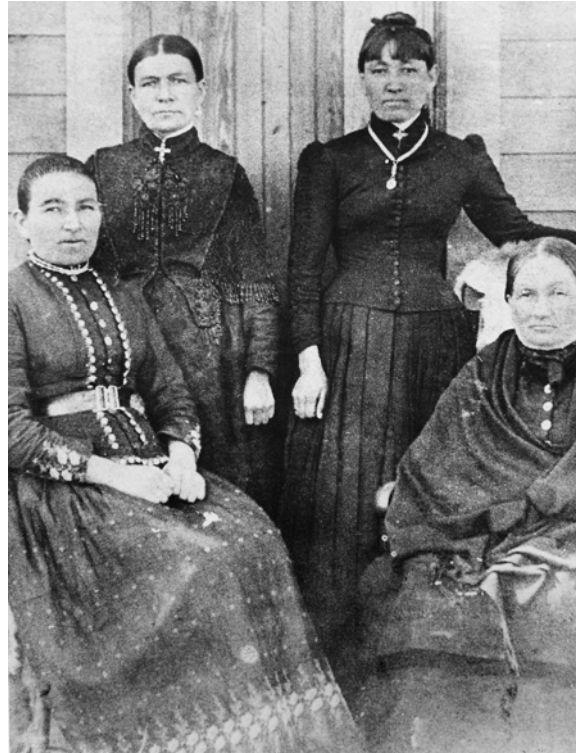


Figure 11: Daughters of Edward McKay. Left to right: Emma O’Hare, Maria Sanderson, Rachel Quesnelle and Jemima Bray. Photograph taken ca. 1875-1899 (photograph courtesy of Glenbow Archives NA-4541-1).

Interior, Series D-II-8-c, Vol. 1362, Reel C-14994, Library and Archives Canada).

Samuel McKay married Catherine Laframboise in 1880 and settled next to his father Edward to the south of the NWMP post (Government of Canada Files, RG15, Interior, Series D-II-8-c, Vol. 1353, Reel C-14080, Library and Archives Canada). One McKay daughter, Maria, married James Sanderson in 1872, shortly before the McKay family moved to Battle Creek and the future location of Fort Walsh. Both James and Maria stayed at Fort Walsh until 1882 when most of the McKay family relocated to Medicine Hat. James was employed by the NWMP as a scout and interpreter, often supplying them with meat and hay, as well as working for I. G. Baker & Company (Wilson 2000).

The exact number of children born at Fort Walsh is unknown. One source of information comes from the Government of Canada Files (RG15, Interior, Series D-II-8-c, Vol. 1330-1371, Library and Archives Canada) regarding Métis script claims. Over 60 children are listed in these files as either being born (58 children) and/or having died (22 children) at Fort Walsh during the years 1875 to 1883. Of those, approximately 30

were the children of town residents. The other half were the children of Métis families who were living near Fort Walsh at the time, claiming Fort Walsh as the closest settlement. The files also give the viewer a glimpse at the health and high mortality rate of the children, as 21 of them died as infants or toddlers at Fort Walsh.

No churches of any denomination were established in the town. When visiting clergymen came into town they often used buildings within the NWMP post or a hall in the town to preach (McCullough 1977:17). The Bishop of Saskatchewan and Reverend McKay from Fort Macleod often traveled in a circuit through such locations as Fort Walsh, Prince Albert, Battleford and Fort Macleod (North-West Mounted Police 1881:June 6-10, July 2-4). The *Saskatchewan Herald* reported on March 15, 1880 that Reverend McKay had left for the Cypress Hills to open a school. If his intended location was Fort Walsh, his efforts were not successful as no indications of a school have been found. However, a small school was set up in Eastend in 1877 (McCullough 1977:17).

Health care within the town was acquired through the NWMP police surgeon as no doctor had established a private practice at Fort Walsh. The police surgeon cared for not only the police and town residents, but the native people as well. The first police surgeon at Fort Walsh was Robert Miller who was transferred to Battleford a year later to be replaced by John Kittson, then George A. Kennedy and finally by Augustus Jukes (McCullough 1977:16). During this era of frontier settlement, the residents of Fort Walsh were fortunate to have access to a doctor, let alone a hospital facility. During the first few years, the police surgeon set up treatment rooms in a number of different buildings within the post. Construction of a new hospital began outside of the post on October 25, 1881 under the direction of Micheal Regan, NWMP carpenter, and was ready for use by December 9, 1881 (North-West Mounted Police 1881:October 25, December 9). By positioning the hospital between the post and the town, serious cases could be isolated from both communities. Residents of the town could also see the doctor without having to enter the post and interact with members of the force (Murray 1989:114).

During Fort Walsh's existence, many people of both the town and the post were afflicted with "Mountain Fever". Known today to be caused and spread by wood ticks,

its origins were a mystery at that time. In response, the post was subjected to regular cleanings during the summer months involving whitewashing of walls and fumigation of rooms as it was thought that the fever spread through “bad air” (Murray 1989:111). Dr. Kennedy was also known to have visited the town one spring to compel the residents to “remove and burn all refuse matter and offal which had collected around their premises” (Murray 1989:114). “Mountain Fever” if caught in the early stages was seldom fatal and caused the death of only one NWMP officer. The townspeople, however, were not so fortunate as numerous deaths occurred among those who had less access to medical aid. During one outbreak in 1879, Frank Clark, manager of the I. G. Baker & Company store, and William Walsh, an ex-NWMP officer and nephew of Major Walsh, both died from it. The death toll was even higher for the Métis and native people who lived in the Cypress Hills, especially amongst their old and young (Murray 1989:111). Dr. Kittson mentions that out of the five Métis settlements in the Cypress Hills, Head of the Mountain was the only one to escape the epidemic in 1879 (Kittson 1880:29).

Entertainment was available in many forms in which the townspeople could participate. Theatrical productions were a regular occurrence in Fort Walsh. Staff Sergeant Timothy Dunne was often instrumental in the operation of these shows, as he was an experienced theatre man. He was part of a Dramatic Club in Calgary and performed in plays and prepared sets in Regina and Lethbridge (Baker 1998:251). Dunne directed both theatrical plays and “Nigger” [sic] minstrel shows of which Mollie was a frequent participant (Turner 1950:418). Entries in the 1881 Fort Walsh post journal indicate that the Dramatic Club gave two back-to-back performances on February 1st and 2nd of that year (North-West Mounted Police 1881). Townspeople were also often regaled with the sounds of a professional band. When Fort Walsh became headquarters of the NWMP in 1878, “F” division which contained the members of the police band, was transferred to Fort Walsh (Turner 1950:418). Other town residents may also have been musically inclined as dances took place within the town on a regular basis. In November of 1881, for three consecutive Wednesdays, dances were held at Fitzpatrick’s establishment (North-West Mounted Police 1881:November 2, 9, 16). The NWMP also held Grand Balls in their Long Room to which town and Métis residents were often invited (North-West Mounted Police 1881:January 18).

One recreational indulgence that was semi-prohibited in Fort Walsh was the consumption of alcohol. By order of Section 75 of the North-West Territories Act of 1875, the manufacture of intoxicating liquor was prohibited in the Territories unless special permission was obtained from the Governor General in Council by way of permit. This meant that liquor could not be imported, sold, exchanged or bartered without this permit. The issuing of permits was left up to the discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor after reviewing the submitted application outlining the type and quantity of liquor requested. The average amount granted was two gallons, and increased to as much as five gallons if the person was known to him. The permit was intended to cover only a single shipment, not to be used repeatedly (McLeod 1963:82). The Act was initiated to protect the native people in the Territories by prohibiting their access to alcohol but at the same time allowing the white settlers to import alcohol for their own personal use (McLeod 1963:81). Some town residents were known to have taken advantage of the permit system. Mrs. Mary Regan ordered liquor by permit and purchased it from T. C. Power & Brother in Fort Benton as did Robert McCutcheon (Letter from T. C. Power & Brother to D. W. Marsh, July 2, 1881 and Dec. 6, 1881, T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers, U of S Special Collections).

While many complied with the permit system, other town residents obtained some of their liquor illegally. Out of the 135 cases tried and reported within the Fort Walsh post, 39 of them related to possession, sale and importation of liquor. If convicted, fines ranged from \$50 to \$200 with a six month jail sentence if fines were not paid. Amongst the names of those appearing in court on liquor-related charges are William Casey and Jean Claustre, both ex-policemen and owners of billiard halls. William Walsh, mentioned earlier as dying from "Mountain Fever", was convicted of selling liquor in 1879. Annie (whose name may have been Annie Harris), identified as a notorious bootlegger by a member of the police force, was never tried on a liquor charge (McCullough 1977:43). In place of liquor, many establishments sold pharmaceutical medicines which were, in themselves, laced with alcohol. Perry Davis Painkiller and Jamaica Ginger were easily procurable at the trading stores and recreational halls within the town (Turner 1950:488). Six ounces of Jamaica Ginger cost \$1.00 whereas a

concocted mixture of “Montana Redeye” would go for \$4.00 or more per gallon (Turner 1950:418).

Gambling was another prohibited activity that often took place in the town. After liquor charges, gambling was the second most common charge tried at the Fort Walsh post with 32 charges in total (McCullough 1977: 41). One town resident, Martin Fitzpatrick, frequently appeared in court in relation to keeping a gambling house. Martin, or “Red” as he was called by his patrons on account of his freckles, ran the “New” hotel in town which likely operated more as a gambling and drinking establishment than as a hotel. The native people also gave him the name “Par-ka-gan O’Chisk” which translated to “leather seat” on account of his time spent playing cards (Shepherd 1935:4). Martin appears to have been a fairly tough character in the town as he appeared before the court on various charges related not only to gambling but to assault, assault and abusive language, receiving stolen goods and for being drunk and disorderly (McCullough 1977:16). One common story relating to gambling in the town revolves around Robert E. Everson, or Four Jack Bob. A gambler since his youth, Bob traveled the trails through Montana and Dakota randomly stopping at small towns and performing odd jobs. One day he found himself traveling north to Fort Walsh as a freighter with a new team of horses pulling three wagons. After arriving in town he was rapidly immersed in a poker game where he quickly lost all his money. On his final hand, he put up his freighting outfit believing he had it made with four jacks in his hand. Alas, his opponent’s hand contained four kings. With the loss of his horses, Four Jack Bob had to remain in Fort Walsh and soon started up his own dance hall (Turner 1950:488).

Other than liquor and gambling charges, crime amongst the residents of Fort Walsh was low. Many assault charges were minor, stemming from fist fights and brawls with no serious injuries acquired (McCullough 1977:45). The majority of larceny charges heard at court revolved around horse stealing which usually did not involve town residents. One interesting case involved Edwin Allen, an Indian Agent and former NWMP inspector who was charged with fraud. According to the *Saskatchewan Herald* (1881b:June 20), Allen was looking for some lost or stolen property when he inappropriately took a box in which he hoped to find the missing article. This resulted in

the charges laid against him. He was subsequently dismissed from his position as Indian Agent in Fort Walsh (McCullough 1977:42).

Unlike many frontier settlements in the west, the presence of prostitution in the town of Fort Walsh is not directly referenced in any of the historical sources. Prostitution in the Canadian west was first reported in 1875 but gained momentum as the railroad made its way across Canada. It was often connected first with railway construction crews, then mining camps and finally with the red light districts of newly developed communities (Horrall 1985:105). The only indications that this activity may have been present in the town are the insinuations that indecent activities may have occurred at the laundry and from reports by the police surgeons of the cases of syphilis present in both the NWMP officers and in some town residents (Murray 1989:114). However, none of these indications are substantial enough to prove prostitution existed in the town and there are no mentions of a brothel. On the other hand, it cannot be completely ruled out.

All in all, the town of Fort Walsh was a lively place. People from all types of backgrounds journeyed to and settled in this small settlement comprised mainly of families and bachelors. While the town residents did not have access to a school, church or their own private doctor, the NWMP post filled many of these needs by providing access to their surgeon and performing marriage ceremonies. Festivities abounded, with town residents participating in theatrical plays, concerts, dances, balls and card games. Although the NWMP had a strong presence at Fort Walsh, this did not deter all illegal activities. Town residents appeared in court on charges relating to liquor offences, gambling, assault and fraud but for the most part the charges were not of a serious nature. The following section will discuss the economy of Fort Walsh and how the town and its residents supported themselves.

3.2 The Economy of Fort Walsh

The North-West Mounted Police establishment of Fort Walsh created a stable environment for the growth of a small community adjacent to the post. The mere presence of the post guaranteed a market for goods and services for many businesses. For many of the inhabitants of Cypress Hills before Fort Walsh, hunting buffalo and trading robes provided the predominant industry. This trade continued in full force after

the establishment of Fort Walsh as well. Many of the Cypress Hills Métis and native people sold their meat to the NWMP and traded furs at the Baker and Power stores. As buffalo robe prices increased, so too did the hunting of these animals causing their near extinction and the eventual crash in the market. Over 50,000 robes were collected at Fort Walsh and Fort Macleod in 1877, before falling to 30,000 in 1878, 14,000 in 1879 and finally bottoming out to only a few hundred in 1880 (Corbin 2006:66). With the disappearance of the buffalo in the Cypress Hills region, the robe trade ceased causing the economy to shift primarily to the goods and services market in Fort Walsh. Most incomes were derived from supplying the needs of the various government agencies in town along with the government survey parties and later the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) crews that traveled through town.

3.2.1 Town Businesses

A barber shop operated by George Adams was located on the north bank of Spring Creek. Next to the barber shop was a billiard hall run by Jean Claustre. Together these two businesses were the first buildings encountered when crossing the creek and were the closest to the NWMP post (Figure 12). Jean Claustre was an ex-NWMP officer who may have taken over the billiard hall from the late William Walsh in 1879 and likely used part of the building as a residence for his family (Turner 1950:489). William J. Casey, another ex-NWMP officer, ran the second billiard hall in town. However, an advertisement frequently appeared in the *Fort Macleod Gazette* from September 4, 1882 until June 23, 1883 for the Syndicate Hotel, under the proprietorship of W. J. Casey. The ad announced that a person could “Board by the Day, Week or Meal. Good stable Accommodations and every attention paid to the comfort of the travelling public. A World Class Billiard Table and Bar. The finest brands of Cigars, Beer and Cider always on hand”. Although, William Casey is always mentioned in the history of Fort Walsh as owning a billiard hall, it appears that he also operated a hotel. Whether he took over proprietorship of an existing hotel, built his own or simply rented out rooms within or added on to his billiard hall is unknown. Regardless, it was a large enough venture to require the hiring of a Chinese man to cook in the hotel (*Fort Macleod Gazette* 1882:October 4).

The two hotels that were known to have operated in Fort Walsh were called the



Figure 12: Jean Claustre's billiard hall and George Adams's barber shop. The billiard hall is on the left and the barber shop is on the right with the NWMP post in the background. Photograph taken ca. 1880s looking south (photograph courtesy of RCMP Heritage Centre).

“Old” Hotel and the “New” Hotel. Very little is known about the “Old” Hotel other than it did function as a hotel and took in travellers. The “New” Hotel was run by Martin “Red” Fitzpatrick and had the reputation of operating more as a gambling establishment, offering mainly poker games (Shepherd 1935:4). His establishment also hosted many of the dances that were held in the town (North-West Mounted Police 1881:November 2, 9, 16). Near the “New” Hotel, Robert “Four Jack Bob” Everson set up his dance hall (Turner 1950:488). In opposition to Red Fitzpatrick and Four Jack Bob, Pete McDonald opened up a restaurant (Turner 1950:489). His was not the only restaurant in town. As mentioned earlier, there was a restaurant in connection with a James Vanderburg, described as “a coloured man” who operated in Fort Walsh (T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers, U of S Special Collections). A third restaurant in town was called the “Red Lion”, run by two men known as Oldham and Greene (McCullough 1977:16). Oldham may refer to Dolly Oldham, a cook who traveled to the Cypress Hills in 1875 with Superintendent Walsh and “B” division. When searching for a suitable location to build Fort Walsh, Dolly was the one who sighted the McKay family farmstead and informed the officers of its location in the

Battle Creek Coulee where Fort Walsh was subsequently established (McKay 1947:101).

To meet the clothing needs of the town, two tailors and a laundry were in operation. John Stuttaford was a tailor with the NWMP and after his discharge he remained in the town with his family. It is presumed that he ran his tailoring business out of his home for when Commissioner Macleod once paid him a visit he commented that John was “cross legged on the table plying his needle and thread on a pair of breeches with all his might” (Macleod Letter 1878/01A, James Farquharson Macleod Family Fonds, GA). The other tailor was Peter O’Hare, also with the NWMP, and he remained in their service until 1920 (Pollock 1968:72). The town laundry was operated by a group of African-Americans from the United States. All that is known about the laundry is that it was run by Mollie, Annie, Tom and Jess and may have been located near Mollie’s residence along the northwestern outskirt of the town (Turner 1950:489).

After George Anderton was discharged from the NWMP in 1879, he remained in Fort Walsh and opened up a photography studio. Although only a small number of his photos exist today, those extant offer a glimpse of Fort Walsh over a hundred years ago. His photographs contain images of NWMP officers and town residents that are often used today to illustrate Fort Walsh. He captured not only the images of native people in their traditional outfits but also took photos of everyday life in the Cypress Hills. He traveled throughout the Canadian west and his photos can be found in many archival collections. A second photographer who is known to have taken photographs of Fort Walsh was W. E. Hook from Fort Benton, another important photographer of western life (McCullough 1977:17).

The Department of Indian Affairs kept a small staff at Fort Walsh, renting available office space in buildings from town residents such as D. W. Marsh, W. Casey and others. It was not until 1879 that the Indian Department had permanent staff in the Cypress Hills and this was due to the establishment of the Nakoda reserves, decreasing numbers of buffalo and resulting starvation of native people. At most, the staff consisted of an agent, a storeman and a clerk in the town, and an Indian Instructor on its farm reserves along with farm labourers (McCullough 1977: 22). James Colvin took over as Indian Agent from Edwin Allen in 1881 after obtaining an early dismissal from

the NWMP in Fort Walsh. He remained in this position until 1882 when he became the acting supply officer for the survey parties of the CPR (Letter from C. E. Perry to D. W. Marsh, July 12, 1882, T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers, U of S Special Collections). The Indian or farm Instructor was John J. English who worked at the Nakoda reserve farm at Head of the Mountain before moving to the farm near Maple Creek (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:126). The reserve farms only operated for a few years until 1882 when the Nakoda bands were forced to leave their reserve in the Cypress Hills by the government, for a new one near Indian Head, SK (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:129-132).

To maintain consistent communication outside of Fort Walsh, the NWMP contracted mail carriers for routes between Fort Walsh, Fort Benton, Fort Macleod, Wood Mountain and Battleford. One of the first mail carriers contracted when the force arrived in 1875 was Edward McKay who took over the Fort Benton route (Turner 1950:215). On June 30, 1879 the *Saskatchewan Herald* announced that Pierre Leveille was awarded the mail contract for Fort Benton and Battleford. He carried mail once a week between Fort Walsh and Fort Benton and once every three weeks between Fort Walsh and Battleford. When Leveille's contract expired in September 1880, the contract was awarded to Joseph Tanner (*Saskatchewan Herald* 1880c:September 27) who transported the mail using a four-horse team on a light wagon (Pollock 1968:101).

In addition to the businesses in the town, many residents were involved in contracting their services to the NWMP, the Indian Department, the CPR survey crews and other private firms. Many men operated freighting outfits and hauled goods between Fort Walsh and Fort Benton or Fort Macleod. Such men included Robert McCutcheon, "Four Jack Bob" Everson, Jules Quesnelle, Samuel McKay (McCullough 1977:21), Joseph Tanner (Pollock 1968:101), James Sanderson, Louis Cobell, Louis Haggeyt and Buck Rainey who would operate from eight to ten bull-teams regularly between Fort Walsh and Fort Benton (Turner 1950:489). Those who could speak English, French and various native languages were employed as scouts and interpreters by the NWMP (Figure 13). Louis Leveille accompanied many NWMP officers on trips across the west and was mentioned repeatedly in the Fort Walsh post journal as their main guide and interpreter (North-West Mounted Police 1881). James Sanderson was



Figure 13: Métis scouts at Fort Walsh. Unknown photographer and date (photograph courtesy of RCMP Heritage Centre).

also contracted as guide for the NWMP as well as for the procurement of meat and hay for the NWMP (Wilson 2000). His brother-in-law Jules Quesnelle also herded cattle for I. G. Baker & Company who had contracts with the NWMP to supply the post with beef (Pollock 1968:83).

In the spring of 1875, I. G. Baker & Company of Fort Benton was contracted by the NWMP to supply all the provisions needed for the new post that was to be built in the Cypress Hills. I. G. Baker & Company built a store and established a retail business in the town shortly after the post was constructed. It was not long before T. C. Power & Brother, a rival company from Fort Benton, opened a store in the town as well. Both stores grew and expanded over the following years to include warehouses, corrals, stables and residences for their employees. Even though I. G. Baker & Company consistently won the NWMP contracts to supply the posts, both stores were heavily involved in the retail and fur trade, especially during the peak buffalo robe trading years. The I. G. Baker & Company store was built by Charles Price and managed by Frank Clark until his death in 1879, after which it was managed by Charles Boissonault. Clerks in the Baker store included Don Fisher, George Powell, Tom Homer and Howard Jordan. The I. G. Baker & Company store closed down in 1881 as per a non-

competition agreement signed between the Baker and Power companies. The T. C. Power & Brother store was built by H. Kennerly and managed by George Wood who was quickly replaced by Daniel Webster Marsh after a falling out with the company in Fort Benton. Marsh managed the store until 1883 when it was closed and relocated to Maple Creek. The clerks in this store included Johnathon Athey, Horace Greeley, Tom Raisin and Colin McKay (Klassen 1991:61; McCullough 1977:14-15; T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers, U of S Special Collections).

In addition to the Baker and Power stores, other independent trading ventures were attempted. One of the first ones was run by Edward McKay who quickly closed down and followed other business opportunities because of the inability to compete with the larger stores. Before Charles Boissonault became manager of the Baker store, he ran his own trading store in the town but was also overcome by competition. H. Kennerly opened a store in 1876 after leaving the Power store but nothing more is known about the fate of his enterprise. McCullough (1977:15) stated that there were likely more traders who came to Fort Walsh to do business from time to time during the town's existence, especially during treaty payments, but there is no information available about them.

3.2.2 Fort Benton Merchants

The I. G. Baker & Company and T. C. Power & Brother stores embodied the commercial core of Fort Walsh as they did in other frontier settlements such as Fort Macleod and Fort Calgary (Fryer 1992; Klassen 1985). With the exception of locally grown hay and vegetables for personal use, the majority of goods imported into the town filtered through these two stores. But how did these American merchants become entrenched in the history of the early settlement of the Canadian west?

The presence of these Fort Benton merchants in Fort Walsh was not a coincidence. Many have written that the relationship between the NWMP and I. G. Baker & Company was forged during the march west. When the force appeared to be running out of supplies Commissioner French and Assistant Commissioner Macleod traveled to Fort Benton to acquire much needed provisions. At that time they met with William and Charles Conrad of I. G. Baker & Company. A deal was struck that the Baker men would travel with them to the Whoop-Up Country where they would supply

the material needed to construct a post and also establish a store next to it in order to supply all needed provisions to the NWMP. Thus began the contracts between the NWMP and the Baker store which would be repeated at Fort Calgary and Fort Walsh the following year. In actuality, the relationship between these two entities started much earlier. In 1873, when faced with the task of setting up a system for provisioning the NWMP posts in the North-West Territories, the Canadian government decided to search for an American firm to solve this supply problem as no wholesalers were present in that part of the country. The government was directed to Robert W. Donnell in New York who a few years earlier operated a wholesale business in Helena, Montana. Donnell recommended I. G. Baker & Company in Fort Benton as being a reputable business and the government in turn wrote the company requesting quotations on freight rates. When the NWMP marched west, the Baker store was ready to supply the NWMP (Corbin 2006:44-45).

The closest Canadian trading establishment that would have been able to handle this type of provisioning request was the Hudson's Bay Company store in Winnipeg. It was equipped with experienced men and the capital needed to carry out the contract had it not been for two drawbacks; transportation costs and geography. Winnipeg was over 800 km from Fort Walsh and even farther from Fort Macleod in comparison to Fort Benton at only 200 km (McCullough 1977:26). While wholesale prices for items in Winnipeg and Fort Benton would have been comparable, the cost of transporting these same items was disproportional between the two locations. The freight costs from the Bills of Lading between Fort Walsh and Fort Benton averaged approximately \$1.50 to \$2.00 per pound (T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers, U of S Special Collections). The freight costs between Fort Walsh and Winnipeg would have averaged around \$9.00 per pound (McCullough 1977:26). In addition to these advantages over their competition, I. G. Baker & Company also secured friendships with prominent men within the NWMP and Canadian government who could influence which company was awarded these police contracts. As a reward for using his influence to secure Canadian contracts for the Baker Company, Lieutenant-Governor Edgar Dewdney often received shares in various I. G. Baker & Company business ventures (Corbin 2006:46). The monopoly of the Baker Company continued until 1883 when the railroad was built

through the Territories, placing the Hudson's Bay Company in a position to compete with the American merchants (McCullough 1977:27).

After obtaining the contract to supply the NWMP with provisions in 1874, I. G. Baker & Company began expanding its Canadian involvement. In 1876 the Baker Company became the paymaster for the NWMP after the HBC failed to fulfill its contract to issue the payroll at the posts (Corbin 2006:51). By 1878, the buffalo that the NWMP posts were relying on for subsistence were diminishing, causing shortages in the meat supply. I. G. Baker & Company was awarded the contract to furnish the force with domestic beef herded up from Montana. In the years 1878 and 1879, the beef contracts from the Canadian government alone were worth more than \$500,000 per year to the Baker Company (Corbin 2006:66). Within years I. G. Baker & Company took on the roles of supplier, paymaster, builder, banker and postmaster to the NWMP.

To reduce the costs of transporting goods into Canada, T. C. Power & Brother established a bonded line in 1875. The Power Company secured this as a way to avoid paying international tariffs on goods and to push out its competitors for the Canadian market. The bonded line enabled the Power Company to ship goods from eastern Canada and England through the United States and back into western Canada by way of a \$100,000 bond deposited in Washington, D. C. Unfortunately Power did not maintain exclusivity on this type of trade for very long as other American companies established bonded lines as well, including I. G. Baker & Company in 1876 (Corbin 2006:53). As a result, many Canadian and English goods made their way to Fort Walsh. Through this bonded line, goods were shipped from eastern Canada through the Great Lakes to Duluth. They then traveled by rail to Bismarck where they were loaded onto Missouri steamboats and shipped to Fort Benton, the terminus point for navigation on the Missouri River (McCullough 1977:28).

To further create an advantage over other American trading companies, both I.G. Baker & Company and T. C. Power and & Brother owned their own steamboats. The Power company ran the "Block P" steamboat line and the Baker company ran the steamers *Red Cloud*, *Colonel Macleod* and the *Nellie Peck* (Corbin 2006:71). When the steamers reached Fort Benton, the goods headed for Fort Walsh were loaded onto either bull-or mule-drawn wagons (Figure 14). The wagons were connected in groups of three

where the first wagon was called the “lead” wagon, the middle wagon called the “swing” and the last called the “trail” wagon (Murphy 1983:21). The goods would be divided unequally among the three with the heaviest load in the lead wagon and the lightest load in the trail wagon with a combined weight range of 6 to 10 tons depending on the shipment. The wagon trains were assembled with up to 10 teams where each team consisted of 8 to 10 yokes of oxen pulling the three connected wagons (McCullough 1977:29).

Traveling at an average speed of 10-15 miles per day, a round trip from Fort Benton to Fort Walsh and back with the bull train took approximately three weeks with the horses and mules taking less time. Very little manpower was needed to control the bull trains. One man, called the driver or bull whacker, walked alongside the wagons and using only his whip and voice, was able to control the entire train (McCullough 1977:29). This transportation network was highly affected by seasonal conditions. The Missouri River was only navigable from May to October, so for up to six months a year no goods were received at Fort Benton. The peak period for transporting by bull trains was the summer from June to September after the wet spring conditions disappeared and



Figure 14: Bull train at Fort Walsh. Photograph taken ca. 1878, identification of the building and photographer is unknown (photograph courtesy of Glenbow Archives NA-790-5).

before winter storms set in (McCullough 1977:31). However, bull and mule trains are reported to have arrived in Fort Walsh at all times of the year. In 1881, bull trains laden with goods began arriving in Fort Walsh at the end of April and continued well into the winter months as a mule train arrived and departed just days before Christmas (North-West Mounted Police 1881:April 23, December 24).

This intricate transportation system using railroads, steamboats and bull trains to carry goods into Fort Walsh had an effect on the cost of living in the town. Freight rates during each leg of the journey added up, hiking the prices of items to double or triple their original wholesale price. One example of the increase in prices at Fort Walsh is seen in the price of flour, a staple in the frontier diet. Good quality flour sold for \$4.00 to \$5.00 per hundred pound wholesale but in Fort Walsh the price rose to \$12.00 per hundred pound (McCullough 1977:32). Other staple food items such as sugar sold for 25 to 30¢ per pound, potatoes at \$5.00 or \$6.00 a bushel (Shepherd 1935:3), tea at \$1.00 per pound, beef at 10¢ per pound, bacon at 40¢ per pound and butter upwards to 75¢ or even \$1.00 per pound (*Saskatchewan Herald* 1882:June 10). (For a further look at the types of goods requisitioned at Fort Walsh and their associated costs, see *Canada Sessional Paper* No. 188, 1879, “Return to Order: Expenditure for North-West Mounted Police, 1876-78; and of all amount paid to I. G. Baker & Co.”)

By the 1880s, I. G. Baker & Company was heavily invested in receiving government contracts, not just from the NWMP but also from the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada and the United States Military. To maintain and guarantee their control on these government contracts they entered into an agreement with T. C. Power & Brother to support the other’s business ventures. The agreement stated that I. G. Baker & Company would bid to secure all Canadian government contracts with no competition from T. C. Power & Brother. Conversely, T. C. Power & Brother would bid to secure all United States Indian contracts for Montana agencies with no competition from I. G. Baker & Company. In reward for compliance with these terms, each company would receive 25% of the other company’s profit obtained from the awarded contracts. If assistance was required to fulfill the obligations of any contract, then the other company was to do all it could to provide support without detriment to their own business. Also, if a third party was to receive the government contract, neither company

was to support or assist them in freighting (Copy of Agreement between I. G. Baker & Co. and T. C. Power & Bro. June 1881, T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers, U of S Special Collections).

This agreement between the two Fort Benton merchants solidified the monopoly they had had on government contracts for a few more years until the railroad arrived, bringing competition from the east. The agreement also had an effect on the commercial core of the town of Fort Walsh. Part of this deal dealt with competition between both companies' trading stores. In 1881, the Baker Company closed down its store in Fort Walsh and sold its stock to the Power Company. The opposite occurred in Fort Macleod with the closing and selling of the Power store to the Baker Company (Corbin 2006:91). T. C. Power & Brother now held controlling interests in the trade at Fort Walsh until the store was closed in 1883.

For over a decade these Fort Benton merchants were able to secure Canadian government contracts and control trade – spanning back to their involvement in the whiskey trade. Freighting outfits that transported their goods were constantly on the move all over the Canadian west as they supplied goods to the NWMP posts and the settlements that grew around them. Facilitating this dominance was the close proximity of Fort Benton to the NWMP posts which resulted in reduced freighting costs. By this time both merchants had developed successful transportation networks that could transport goods from all over Canada and the United States. By supporting each other's business interests, they created an empire that was almost unbeatable until changes in the transportation of goods to the Territories occurred with the building of the railroad.

3.3 Abandonment of the Town

As the North-West Mounted Police prepared to abandon Fort Walsh in 1883, so too did its townspeople. Many realized that the town was heavily dependent upon servicing the police and other various government agencies, and with the police gone, the sustainability of the town was thought unlikely. Some long-term area residents had already begun to leave Fort Walsh in the months preceding the planned abandonment. In 1882 many members of the McKay family closed down their enterprises and headed for Medicine Hat, ahead of the railroad which reached there the next year (McKay 1947:105). By May and June of 1883, people were packing up their belongings and

dispersing in different directions. Some followed the McKays and traveled to the new town of Medicine Hat to settle. One such resident was William Casey, proprietor of the Syndicate Hotel in Fort Walsh. An advertisement for the Syndicate Hotel appeared in the *Fort Macleod Gazette* up until June 23, 1883 when it disappeared for a short period only to reappear in similar form three weeks later on July 14, 1883 (Figure 15) advertising the International Hotel in Medicine Hat, with W. J. Casey as the proprietor (*Fort Macleod Gazette* 1883:June 23, July 14).

Others stayed within the Cypress Hills, establishing farms or ranches in the area. Many of these were Métis such as Jules and Rachel Quesnelle who settled near Hay Creek and John LaFramboise and his family near Piapot Creek (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:149). Joseph Tanner, a mail carrier for the NWMP, established a farm near Fish Creek west of Maple Creek before moving east in 1890 (Pollock 1968:102). Others moved into the Wood Mountain area, such as the family of Louis and Mary Haggeyt (1901 Census of Canada).

However, the destination for most townspeople was Maple Creek. The Canadian Pacific Railway had successfully built its rail line through Maple Creek by the

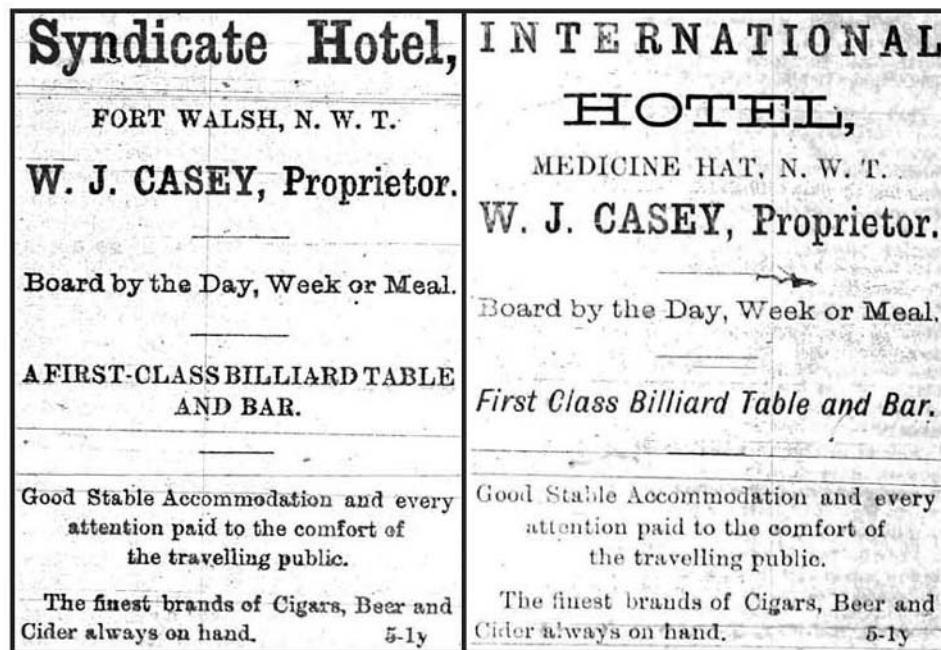


Figure 15: Hotel advertisements placed by W. Casey in the *Fort Macleod Gazette* (*Fort Macleod Gazette* 1883: June 23, July 14).

spring/early summer of 1883 and to take advantage of this new line, a new post was established by the NWMP. Following the police, the T. C. Power & Brother store closed down its operations in Fort Walsh and relocated to Maple Creek to continue its amicable working relationship with the police in supplying the post there with provisions. D. W. Marsh helped to establish the new Maple Creek store before moving to Calgary, leaving his nephew Horace Greeley as the new manager of the T. C. Power & Brother store (Pollock 1968:46). In the years after the move, Horace Greeley also established a large ranch in the vicinity of Maple Creek (Hildebrandt and Hubner 2007:149). Other townspeople who moved to the Maple Creek area include the families of William Abbott (mayor of Maple Creek from 1904-1906), Jean and Rosalie Claustre, John and Maria English and Micheal and Mary (Anne) Regan (1901 Census of Canada).

Just as the NWMP demolished many of their buildings at the post for usable lumber, the townspeople followed suit and tore down many of the buildings for reconstruction in Maple Creek. A few years later in the spring of 1889, a prairie fire moved through the Fort Walsh area burning many of the remaining buildings in the town (McLeod 1969:54). However, in a 1902 photograph (Figure 16), some buildings within the town proper were still standing. The townsite of Fort Walsh was never inhabited



Figure 16: The town of Fort Walsh after abandonment in 1902. Photograph taken looking west/northwest (photograph courtesy of Glenbow Archives NA-17-6).

again but the creation of the Fort Walsh National Historic Site in 1968 kept its memory alive for future generations.

Chapter 4

Previous Archaeological Investigations

The 1970s brought change and renewed focus to Fort Walsh and the surrounding area. In 1968, the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs obtained approximately 650 hectares of land in the Cypress Hills region in which were situated the historic sites of the North-West Mounted Police Post, the surrounding contemporaneous town of Fort Walsh, and the two reconstructed 1873 trading posts of Farwell and Solomon connected with the Cypress Hills Massacre (Sciscenti et al. 1976:xvi). Following this acquisition, the Research Division of the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch initiated a multi-year archaeological investigation beginning with testing in the fall of 1972 around the reconstructed Farwell's and Solomon's posts to assess the correctness of the reconstructed buildings and outline the massacre grounds (Elliot 1973), before moving on to focus the investigation on Fort Walsh (Sciscenti et al. 1976:xvi-xvii).

A four-year archaeological program was initiated in 1973, concentrating on the remains of Fort Walsh, both the NWMP post and the town, for the period from 1875 to 1883 (Sciscenti et al. 1976:xvii). However, despite the projected research plans, excavations were only implemented at the town during the 1973 season, for reasons unknown. In the decades following, sporadic archaeological investigations were conducted throughout the town. These included a survey and surface collection of artifacts in 1978 and a 1992 salvage excavation of eroding features and a magnetometer assessment by Western Heritage Services Inc. The following sections will delve into each of these archaeological investigations in greater detail.

4.1 1973 Excavations

The archaeological research program for the 1973 season was directed by James Sciscenti who was assisted by Don Brown. The program was designed not only to gain information through excavation, mapping and recording of the site, but also to serve as a combined research/archaeological training endeavour for historic sites studies. Students, field assistants and laboratory staff were drawn from a variety of universities and colleges (Sciscenti et al. 1976:xvii). Excavations during this season ran concurrently at both the NWMP post and the Fort Walsh townsite.

During the week of June 13-20, 1973, Don Brown conducted a survey and mapping project throughout the townsite (Brown 1973). The archaeologists noted that the former Fort Walsh townsite was located on a series of flood plains northwest of the NWMP post. It was bounded by Battle Creek to the south, Spring Creek to the east and rolling hills to the north and west. This area was about 20 hectares with 6 hectares north of the road to Elkwater on the high terrace and the remaining 14 hectares on two terraces south of the road (Figure 17). No distinct building foundations were visible on the ground in the townsite and the only recognizable features were depressions that were scattered over the entire area with the largest concentration centered on the western end of the middle terrace.

The archaeologists concluded that surveying was much easier on the high

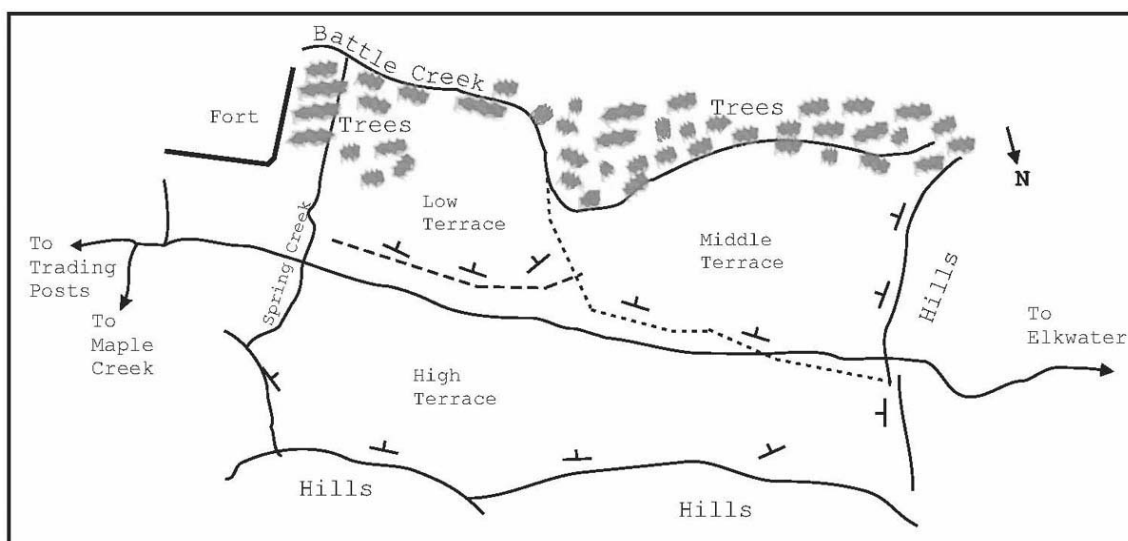


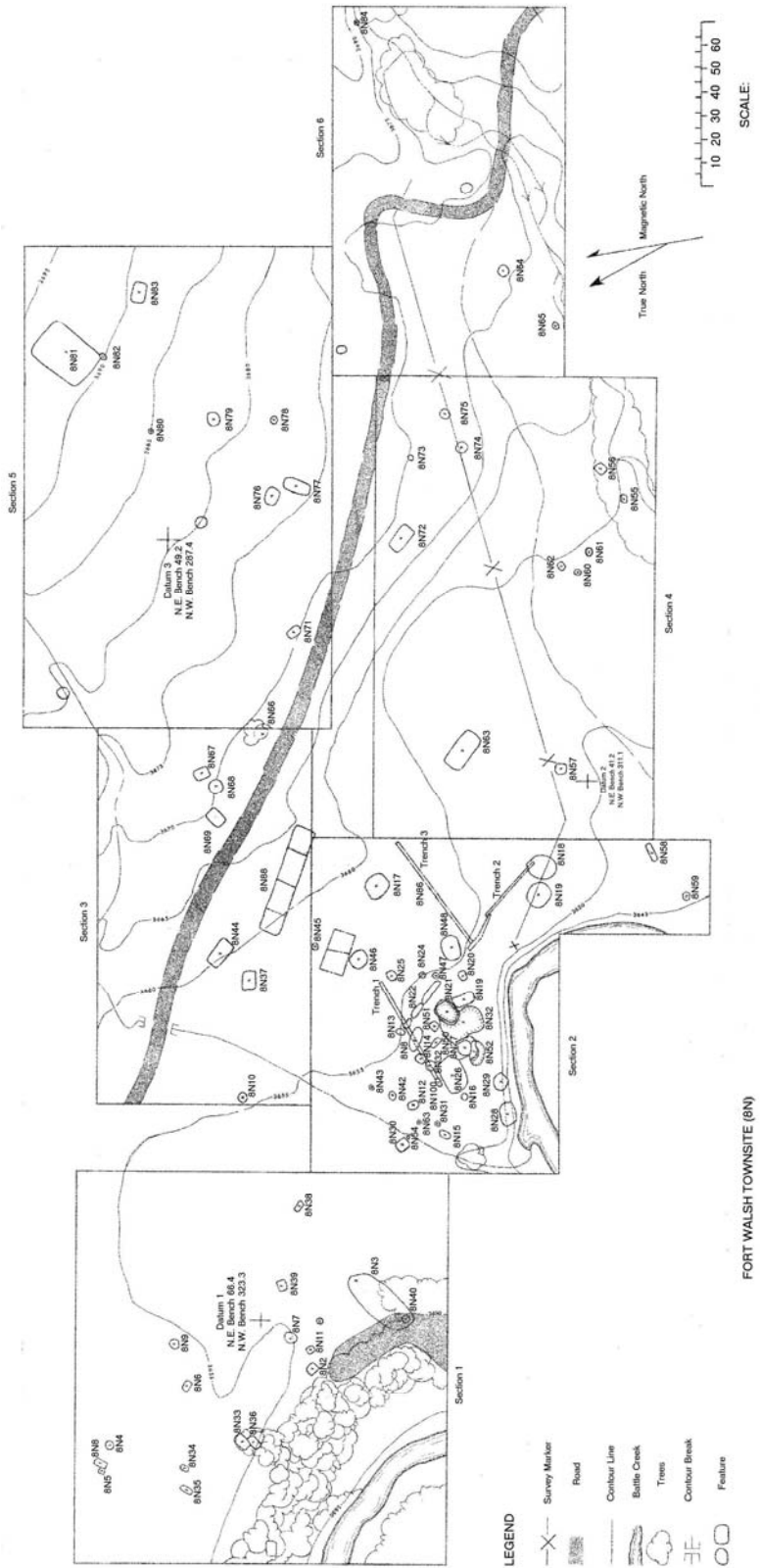
Figure 17: Sketch of the Fort Walsh townsite. Drawn by Don Brown (Brown 1973:1).

terrace with its shorter grasses. Large concentrations of aboriginal artifacts such as fire broken rock, flakes, hammerstones and cores were found throughout with very few depression features present. Run-off appeared to flow from the higher terrace through to the middle terrace, causing many erosional areas and resulting in several arroyos scattered throughout the middle and high terrace. In the middle terrace, vegetation growth consisting of high bushes and tall grass caused visibility problems for surface survey. The majority of the depressions were concentrated on the middle terrace with many located near Battle Creek. Vegetation on the low terrace consisted of long grasses also causing difficulty in locating features. Few depressions were found on the lower terrace and the drainage appeared to be minimal with fairly damp areas in the southern and western portions. Historic material was found scattered throughout the terraces with evidence of modern use provided by the presence of plastic pieces and a license plate (Brown 1973:1).

During the survey, all depressions were marked and their locations recorded in relation to three datum points scattered around the outskirts of the proposed town area. The approximate dimensions and depth of each depression were also documented along with the surface area in square feet. In total, 83 depressions and one rock cluster (Figure 18) were recorded (Brown 1973:2).

A sampling scheme was developed in order to test a portion of the depressions during this 1973 season. The basis of this scheme was the hypothesis that a gross correlation was present between building size and function (Lunn 1985:1). Utilizing the square footage calculated for each depression and plotting the data on a graph, 9 size modes were indicated to represent discrete functional activity types. The 9 size classes were labelled as follows: Outhouse, Trash Pit, Root Cellar, Shop, Cabin, House, Warehouse, Saloon and Corral. These size classes were further grouped into six categories based on the distribution of their size range in square feet (Brown 1973:July 16). Approximately 25% of the depressions in each of the six categories were randomly picked and partially excavated. This resulted in the excavation of 28 depressions and one rock cluster (See Table 1 for a list of the depressions excavated in each category).

The methods of excavation varied depending on the size of the depressions. Generally, smaller depressions would only be partially excavated with the excavation



FORT WALSH TOWNSITE (8N)
FEATURE MAP

Figure 18: Fort Walsh Townsite (8N) Feature Map. Map created in 1973 (map courtesy of Parks Canada).

Table 1: Category Ranges of the Excavated Depressions (based on Brown 1973:July 16)

| Category Range | Depression Number | Depression Size (square footage) |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| 1) Trash Pit/Outhouse | 25 | 43.52 |
| (0-50 sq. feet) | 31 | 36.96 |
| | 54 | 16.00 |
| | 84 | 16.00 |
| 2) Root Cellar | 4 | 79.05 |
| (50-110 sq. feet) | 15 | 97.50 |
| | 20 | 98.31 |
| | 40 | 63.00 |
| | 60 | 56.16 |
| | 78 | 56.00 |
| 3) Shop | 30 | 188.12 |
| (110-200 sq. feet) | 36 | 169.32 |
| | 71 | 144.00 |
| 4) Cabin | 7 | 260.55 |
| (200-450 sq. feet) | 29 | 250.32 |
| | 46 | 360.00 |
| | 68 | 240.25 |
| | 76 | 300.00 |
| | 77 | 308.00 |
| | 83 | 374.00 |
| 5) House | 21 | 523.32 |
| (450-650 sq. feet) | 48 | 588.00 |
| | 52 | 625.00 |
| | 66 | 441.00 |
| 6) Warehouse/Saloon/Corral | 3 | 2566.20 |
| (>650 sq. feet) | 63 | 1017.00 |
| | 81 | 2940.00 |

unit(s) oriented in a north-south direction. The larger depressions would typically have one excavation unit placed on a wall cut (estimating where a wall would be), another placed inside the depression and one unit placed outside the wall in the location of a probable door (perhaps on a longitudinal wall facing away from the creek, towards the east or the NWMP post) (Brown 1973:July 18). The primary purpose of the excavation of the depressions was outlined as follows: “a) to test the specific nature of the operation via a test pit intersecting the side of a depression (whether pit, structure, etc.); b) to derive structural information on floors and walls where such exists, and c) to provide a stratified quantitative sample of artifact material so that the degree of social or cultural

variability between operations of the same kind could be charted” (Lunn 1985:1-2).

To keep the excavation of the depressions organized at an archaeological site, a number and letter system was devised by Parks Canada in the early 1960s, adapted from an archaeological provenience system developed by the University of Pennsylvania Museum for excavations at Tikal, Guatemala (Parks Canada 2005). The Fort Walsh townsite was given the site number of 8N (the NWMP post is 7N) in accordance with Parks Canada Historic Sites regulations. The site number, 8N, indicated that the Fort Walsh townsite was the eighth site recorded in Saskatchewan (N) by Parks Canada. Each depression was called an operation and the depression number, therefore, was also the operation number. Each excavation unit (1 x 1 metre) placed within or around the depression was a suboperation and was assigned a sequential letter. The number of suboperations is dependent on the depression size and the excavation unit sizes (i.e. 1 x 1 m, 1 x 2 m, or 2 x 2 m). All suboperations were excavated in natural levels called lots (Brown 1973:July 18). Therefore, designation 8N30C3 would be read as Fort Walsh townsite, Operation (Depression) 30, Suboperation C, Lot (Level) 3. For more information on the Parks Canada provenience system see Parks Canada (2005).

To obtain a clearer understanding of the stratigraphy of the town, a backhoe was brought in to cut three long trenches of approximately 40 m in length near some of the depressions. Trench 1 was cut in an east-west direction and cut across three trash pits and 2 possible buildings. Trench 2 was cut on a north-south angle and cut across one trash pit. Trench 3 was cut next to and perpendicular to Trench 2 in an east-west direction where 2 more possible buildings were located (Brown 1973:July 24). The archaeologists concluded from the backhoe testing that the historic materials were located in the sod or immediately below within centimetres of the surface. From the three trash pits uncovered, it was determined that the pits extended to approximately 50 cm in depth. Also, within the historic layers and the buried horizons extending 50 cm in depth, aboriginal artifacts (fire broken rock) were found and indicated a native presence on this site. No aboriginal tools were found and it was postulated that if the depth of the trenches were extended, more information would be established on the continuous native occupation of the site (Brown 1973:July 25).

The results of the excavation of the depressions are outlined in Appendix B. Only the size of the depression, its proposed size class, the resultant interpretation of the depression, features and brief artifact descriptions will be noted. A more complete and detailed examination of the artifacts will be discussed in Chapter 6. The information in the appendix was compiled from Brown (1973), Lunn (1985), and Karklins (1987).

A total of 28 depressions and one rock pile were excavated during the 1973 season. Of these 28, only four depressions (Operations 8N66, 8N68, 76 and 8N77) were identified as cellars with another depression (Operation 8N21) serving as either a cellar or a borrow and/or trash pit. One feature (Operation 8N4) was found within a building and was not thought to be a cellar. It may instead be a shallow walking surface. Another three (Operations 8N30, 8N46 and 8N71) were thought to have served exclusively as borrow pits, providing clay and sod for chinking, whitewashing and insulation. It was speculated that the majority of pits were initially created by this intentional removal of clay and sod for structural purposes and most became handy receptacles for household and commercial trash. The most numerous type of feature was the trash pit, with a total of 12 (Operations 8N3, 8N15, 8N20, 8N25, 8N31, 8N32, 8N36, 8N48, 8N52, 8N54, 8N60 and 8N100). One corral feature (Operation 8N81) was identified by a large shallow depression enclosed by a fence. Another six depressions were found to be either of indeterminate nature (Operations 8N7 and 8N63), natural features (Operations 8N29 and 8N83), or of modern origin (Operations 8N40 and 8N84). Only one above surface feature was investigated; a rock pile next to a squarish flat area (Operation 8N78), which was thought to be associated with a building (Karklins 1987:15)

Several further interpretations were made by both Brown (1973:July 20, 25) and Sciscenti (1973:July 23-25) regarding depressions, building features and town layout. On further survey of the townsite, it was postulated that several of the flat rises could be areas of former structures that were missed during the original survey because of the focus on mapping depressions. They estimated that up to 50% of the town's buildings had no basement or cellar. Only a few of the depressions excavated were actual cellars or basements of buildings and what they were actually excavating that season were trash pits, occasional shallow depressions under buildings, and borrow pits. They found no

distinct mounds of uniform shape, unlike the remains of building foundations they had been finding at the NWMP post, and they suggested that much of the building material was moved from the townsite shortly after abandonment. They concluded that the townsite appeared to be concentrated near Battle Creek, both because of access to water and also because it was an area of adequate drainage. Their observations of the depressions and trenches indicated that there were no formal arrangements of houses. They faced both north and east. Trash pits were scattered throughout the site and most buildings were thought to have followed the higher points of the middle terrace. The lower terrace would have been susceptible to flooding and would often have been damp. It was speculated that this area would not have held many structures except for corrals and was also the location of a wagon turning area. The higher terrace was not extensively used. However, this area was the best drained, covered in only short dry grass. Temporary shelters may have occupied this area, along with possible corrals and storage areas.

No final published report was written for the 1973 season. Both Brown (1973:July 20, August 1) and Sciscenti (1973:July 20) alluded to future seasons of archaeological work at the townsite with further investigations into the flatter areas for possible building structures, the possible houses and warehouse on the upper terrace, and the use of aerial and infrared photography. However, no further archaeological investigations were carried out at the townsite during this four-year research program (1973-1976) as much of their attention turned to investigating the NWMP post.

4.2 1978 Survey

A large, comprehensive survey of the entire Fort Walsh National Historic Park area was undertaken in the summer of 1978. The impetus for the survey project was to build an inventory of the cultural resources contained within the National Historic Park to aid in the development of future management and protection plans. More specifically, the project was to “provide information concerning historic and prehistoric occupation of the area relevant to the park interpretive program and suitable as a basis for further research if this should be considered feasible” (Wylie 1987:5). A pedestrian survey covering 100% of the park was undertaken in 60 m to 100 m wide transects oriented in an east/west direction, first in the area east of Battle Creek and then west of the creek.

Notes were compiled on the nature, extent and location of the surface sites found. No artifacts were collected. After the completion of the survey, site features were mapped and photographed (Wylie 1978:14). A total of 21 sites, approximately 19 trails and 20 other features were identified during the park survey (Wylie 1978:45).

The methodology adopted for the survey of the townsite was narrower and more focused than that for the rest of the park. From August 29 – September 2, 1978, crews surveyed the townsite in an attempt to identify and locate archaeological features not represented by depressions. The town was divided into 3 m x 3 m or 9 m² units. Each 1 m x 1 m within the 9 m² unit was numbered from 1 to 9 sequentially. Each 9 m² unit was also numbered sequentially and placed within a quadrant (Figure 19) (Anonymous 1978:September 5). At least three quadrants (A, B, and C) were used to cover the area of the townsite; however, quadrant A is not referenced in the field notes but some artifacts were catalogued as quadrant A recoveries. Every 9 m² unit within the quadrants

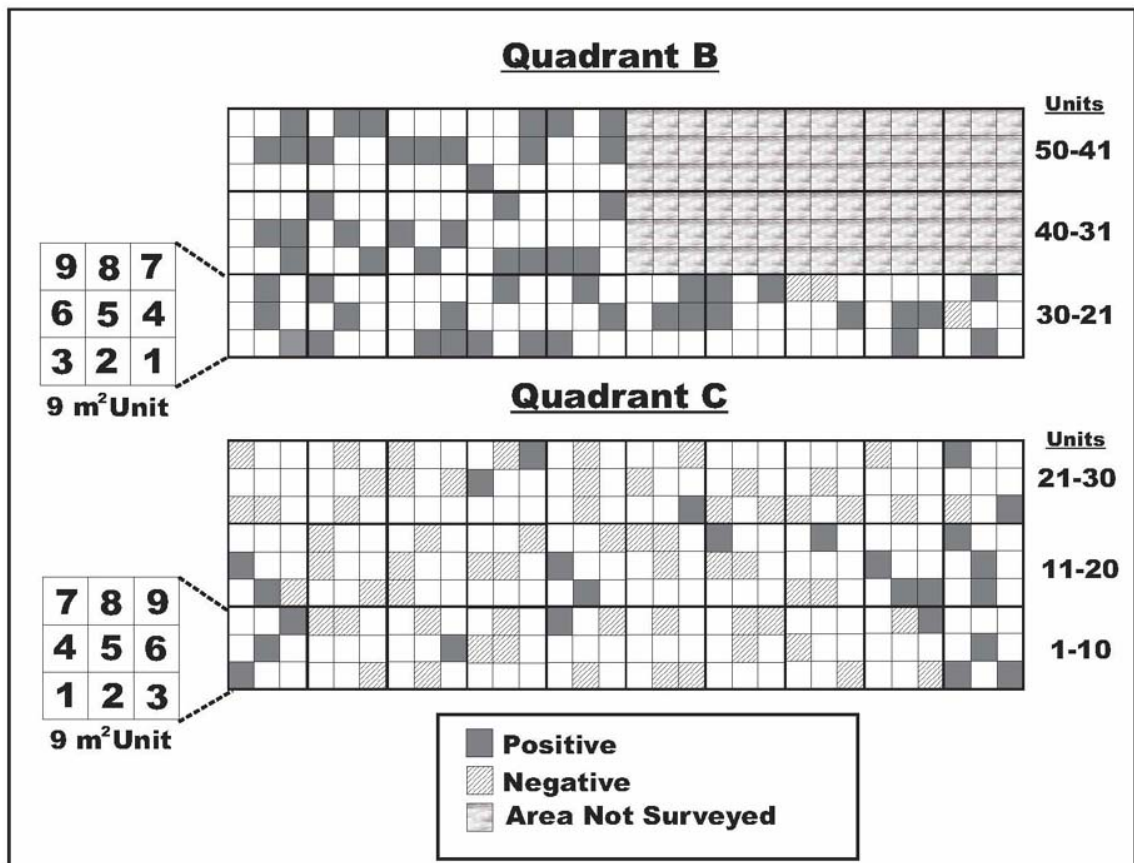


Figure 19: Surface survey results of Quadrants B and C.

was sampled; however, only 30% or three 1 m x 1 m areas were randomly chosen within each 9 m² unit to be sampled. Quadrant B contained 20-9 m² units of which 60-1 m x 1 m units were surveyed. Fifty-seven or 95% of these produced artifacts. Quadrant B was originally mapped out for 30-9 m² units but only 20 (21-30, 36-40 and 46-50) were surveyed. Quadrant C contained 30-9 m² units of which 90-1 m x 1 m units were surveyed and 28 or 31% of these produced artifacts. The sampling areas containing positive artifact hits appear to be evenly distributed throughout Quadrant B whereas only two 9 m² units did not contain artifacts in all three sampling areas. Positive artifact hits in Quadrant C, however, appear concentrated in certain areas. A larger concentration appeared along one side of the quadrant with a smaller concentration located along the opposite side (Anonymous 1978:September 6). Unfortunately, the 1978 field notes for the survey do not mention where the datum was located within the town. Karlis Karklins (1987) in his report synthesized the data available on the features and artifacts of the townsite and commented that the location of the quadrant grids were never tied into the 1973 data and cannot be plotted on the 1973 feature map with any degree of certainty. He stated that it was “impossible to assign any of the 1978 specimens to features recorded in 1973, or to plot the probable locations of featureless structures” (Karklins 1987:16) based on the presence of structural materials or concentrations of artifacts. Thus, much potential for interpretation was lost.

Using the artifact catalogue, I attempted to reconstruct Quadrant A. The critical information necessary to recreate the quadrant grid were the artifact lot numbers. The lot number indicates the provenience of the 1 m x 1 m unit being sampled within the quadrant. The first two numbers designate the row of the quadrant and the last two numbers designate the column of the quadrant. For example, 8N901A0411 reads Fort Walsh townsite (8N), Operation 901 (1978 Survey), Quadrant A, Row 04, Column 11. Instead of just one, two possible recreations of Quadrant A were drawn (Figure 20), based on the information known from Quadrants B and C where they alternated the sequential numbering of the units from either left to right or right to left. Quadrant A appears to follow a consistent pattern seen in Quadrants B and C. Each row contains 10-9 m² units and it follows the pattern of sampling 30% of each 9 m² unit. Only 15-9 m² were surveyed in Quadrant A, with 45-1 m x 1 m sampling areas. Of the 45 sample

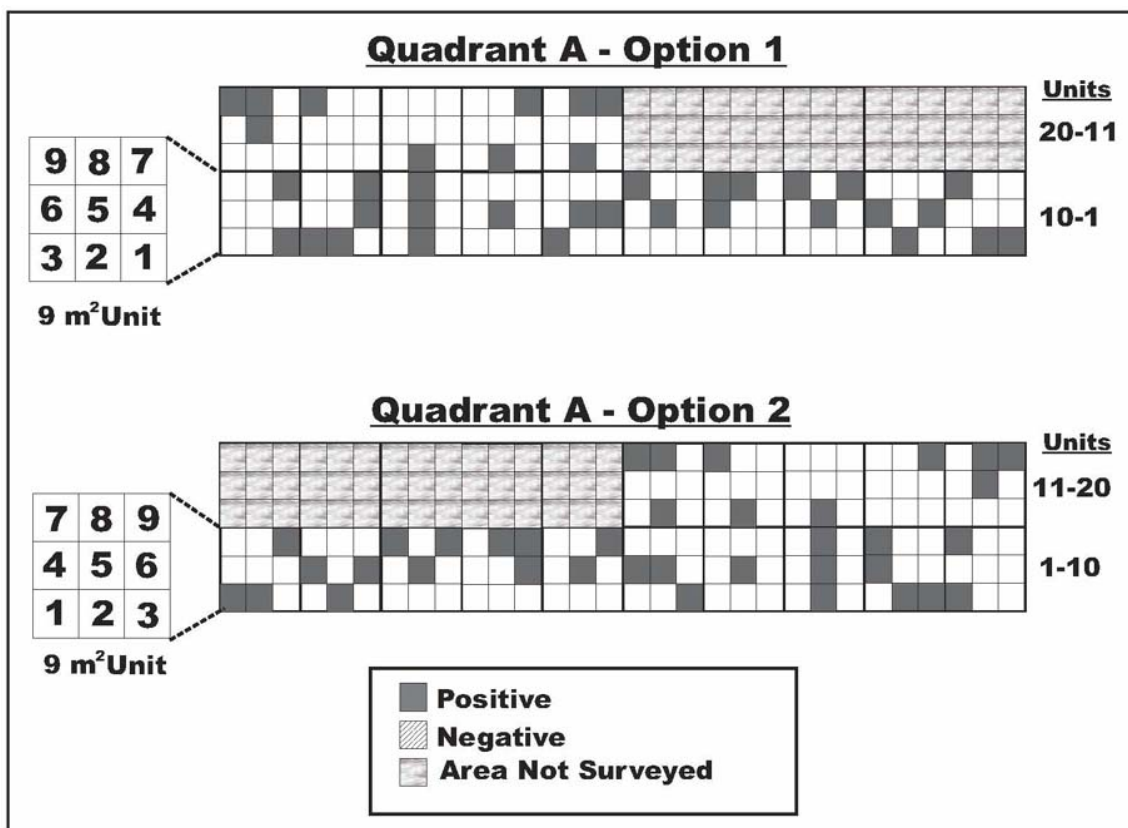


Figure 20: Surface survey results of Quadrant A.

areas, 37 or 82% were positive for artifact finds and appear fairly dispersed throughout the quadrant with no distinct area of concentration. It is interesting to note that Quadrant B was initially drawn in the field notes (Anonymous 1978:September 6) with two rows of 9 m² units underneath row 21-30, but were not numbered and no explanation given as to why this was. Simply by conjecture, Quadrant A could fit into this space left blank where Quadrant A would flow continuously into Quadrant B but more information about the survey methodology would need to be uncovered to make this connection.

Due to personnel and time constraints, the survey of the townsite was never completed (Lunn 1987:1). A large portion of the survey area was found to contain thick layers of sod and grass, impeding the visual aspect of the ground survey and the resulting collection of artifacts. In fact, one member of the survey crew was constantly employed at cutting down the grass with a weed-whacker. Within Quadrant B, it was noted that 44 of the 60 sampling areas were covered in light grass cover, in comparison to only 6 of the 90 sampling areas within Quadrant C (Anonymous 1978:September 6).

The light grass cover over a large area of Quadrant B was most likely one of a number of contributing factors for the high percentage of artifact finds as compared to Quadrant C. The artifacts that were collected during the survey contained a high proportion of fragmentary and unidentified pieces. Very few diagnostic artifacts were collected. Although Quadrants B and C did show areas of artifact distribution, the non-distinctive nature of the artifacts collected inhibited an assessment of activity areas and contributed to the scrapping of the survey project (Karklins 1987:4).

During the 1978 park survey, Wylie (1978:43) also mentioned another factor likely contributing to the low collection of artifacts within the townsite - pot-hunting activities. During the period of time when the land of the townsite was owned by ranchers and the RCMP, collectors, mainly from the local area, potted and collected throughout the town and the whole park area. After 1968, when Parks Canada acquired the land and posted signs about illegal collection of cultural material, the amount of pot-hunting at the town was lessened but not deterred entirely. Evidence of recent pot-hunting was found in 1978 in the town, only months before the survey took place. Wylie speculated that the town had already been picked clean of surface material based on the limited returns during the systematic surface survey and by the failure of the crew to find more than a few diagnostic artifacts. Wylie concluded that only the permanent structural features remained as surface evidence of past occupations and the subsurface features and materials likely encapsulated the most significant resources within the town.

4.3 1992 Excavation and Magnetometer Assessment

In 1992, Canadian Parks Service contracted Western Heritage Services Inc. (WHSI) to conduct a salvage excavation program with a public-oriented component in connection to building remains that were eroding out along the bank of Battle Creek (Klimko et al. 1993:1). Prior to this, concerns over the erosion of the bank had been intensifying over the previous decade. In 1985, markers were placed along the edge of the cutbank to measure its erosion over subsequent years as it seemed that most of the noticeable damage was occurring from the undercutting of the bank by the creek, exposing artifacts and burnt wood (Lunn 1986:3). In 1986, the extent of the burnt wood or structural material was profiled along the cutbank, and measured approximately 5 m

in length (Lunn 1986:4). Small, shallow test holes were dug near the cutbank to determine the structure's orientation and scope and Lunn uncovered well-preserved structural planks, whitewash and artifacts representing a 5 m by 5 m area. This building feature was assigned an Operation number of 8N120A, with the suboperation representing the test holes and recovered artifacts (Lunn 1986:5-7). In following resource management plans, both Lunn (1987) and Karklins (1987) recommended continued monitoring of the erosion of the bank with collection of eroded artifacts. Karklins (1987:17) noted that if structural features, cellar depressions or pits became apparent, salvage excavation should be done at the earliest opportunity.

From September 11 to 26, 1992, WHSI carried out their archaeological investigations under the co-supervision of Olga Klimko and Maureen Rollans (Klimko et al. 1993:1). Their salvage program contained two main goals: "1) the retrieval of structural and feature data and artifacts threatened by continued erosion of the site; and 2) the interpretation of the data to identify features and activities, functionally and spatially associated with the excavated building remains" (Klimko et al. 1993:6). The field objectives included:

A) the excavation and recording of the building remains (8N120) affected by bank erosion – a stretch of 7 m; B) the digging of test trenches to establish the relationship between the building remains (8N120) and the large depressions (8N18 and 8N19); C) the use of remote sensing (magnetometer survey) followed with test excavations to assess a 39 m length of the creek bank for future impacts on cultural resources – historic and precontact; and D) the interpretation and explanation of the excavations to the visiting public, special interest groups and the park staff (Klimko et al. 1993:6).

Field objectives A through C will be discussed further, detailing the results of the excavations with brief mentions of artifacts found. A detailed analysis of a portion of the artifacts will be examined in Chapter 6.

The structural remains of 8N120 were exposed through a large block excavation. Since Lunn (1986:7) had previously assigned Suboperation A to the artifacts and structural remains previously collected in 1986, suboperations for this excavation were sequentially assigned from 8N120B. A total of 23.5 square metres were needed to expose the remains of this building (Figures 21 and 22). Structural remains and artifacts appeared from 2 cm to 10 cm below the surface and extended for 6 m along the cutbank.

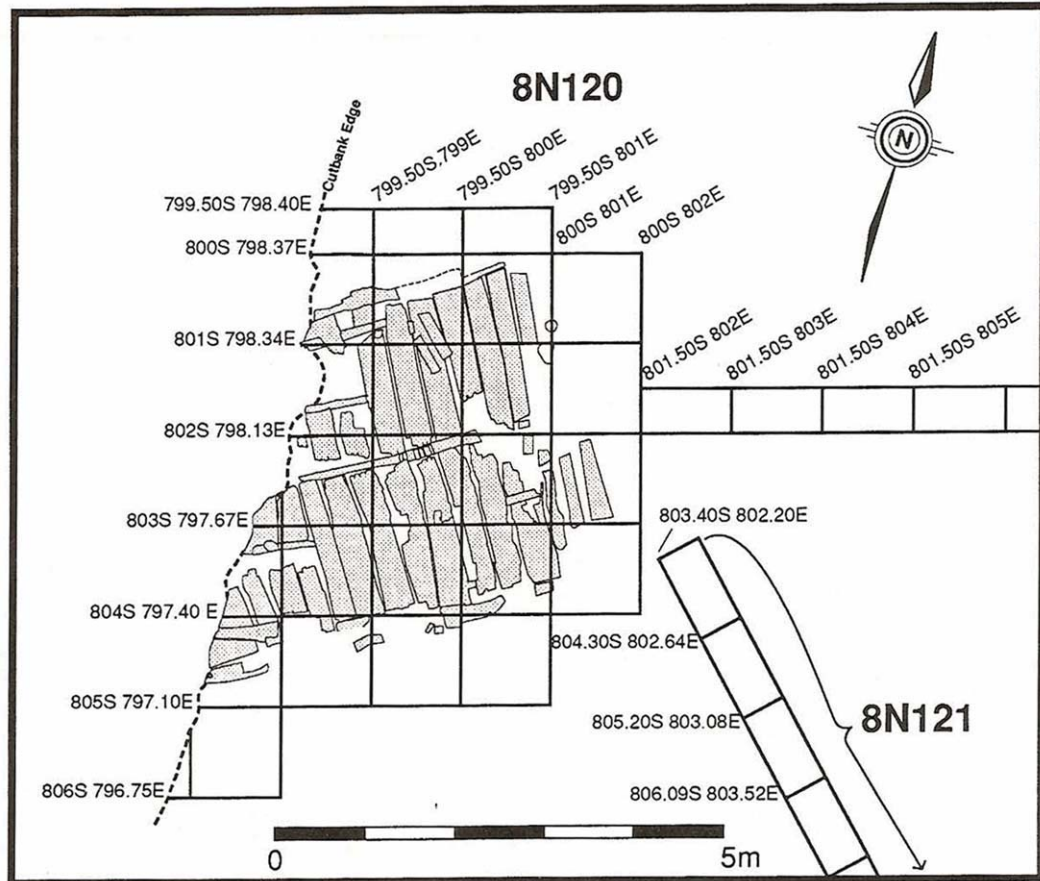


Figure 21: 8N120 excavation block with two trenches extending (Klimko et al. 1993:13).

Size estimation proved difficult as part of the building had already eroded away. The building measured 3.6 m in width, and more than 4 m in length, proving to be rectangular and extending northeastward from the bank. (Klimko et al. 1993:12).

A landing or platform exposed on the east end indicated at least one entrance to the building. This was further confirmed by the presence of door hardware (i.e. hinges, a doorknob and a key escutcheon) in this location. The landing consisted of two planks (12 cm to 20 cm wide and 85 cm long) forming a gradual incline that reached a height of 6 cm at the doorway. The landing was located about 70 cm from the southeast corner of the building, with a possible window nearby along the south wall indicated by a concentration of window glass (Klimko et al. 1993:13).

The building contained large concentrations of charred and collapsed remains including foundation sills and floor boards and joists with chinking along the perimeter



Figure 22: Overview of Operation 8N120. Photograph taken in 1992 looking west (photograph courtesy of Parks Canada).

of the building (Figure 23). Foundation sills were present on all three sides of the building and were composed of squared planks 20 cm wide and 7 cm thick. While the north and south sill were placed on the ground surface, the east sill was laid in a trench 50 cm wide and 5 to 10 cm deep. Thick layers of chinking covered these foundation sills in many spots throughout the building. From the bank, five floor joists ran in a northeast-southwest direction. These were squared or flattened on the top and bottom and approximately 5.5 cm thick. The two joists near the north and south walls were placed 30 cm and 25 cm respectively from the sill foundations. The interior joists were spaced at larger, 70 cm to 80 cm, intervals (Klimko et al. 1993:16). The floor boards were laid at right angles to the joists. The floor boards measured 30 cm wide, 1.5 cm thick and were attached to the joists with machine cut nails along the edges of both sides of the plank (Klimko et al. 1993:17).

Very little evidence was recovered suggesting a complete collapse of the building. A few miscellaneous plank remains were found within the building but not in the quantity to suggest a collapse. The largest concentrations of chinking were found

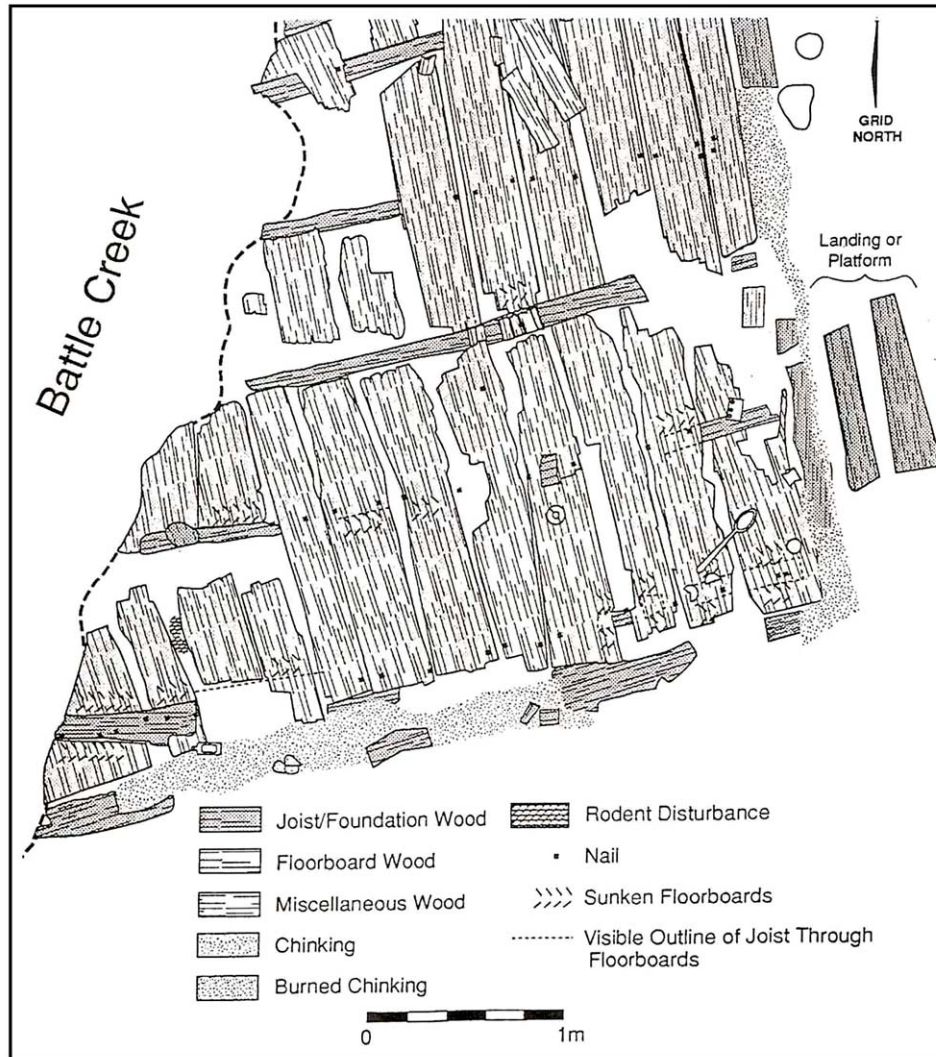


Figure 23: Planview of Operation 8N120 (Klimko et al. 1993:14).

along the margins of the building, with the pieces found in the interior being burnt indicating that some wall sections may have fallen inward. Pieces of door hardware found in the interior of the building also indicate that the door may have fallen inward. No information, such as would be provided by the recovery of sod or roofing nails, was obtained regarding the roof structure of the building. The nails were densely concentrated near the landing and doorway which again does not suggest a collapse of the building as the nails would have been evenly distributed around the building. Therefore, it was concluded that parts of the building were dismantled after abandonment, with the roof and walls most likely removed. The remains that were left

were then burnt in a fire with the door and remaining portions of the wall collapsing inward (Klimko et al. 1993:17-18).

In their concluding remarks, Klimko et al. (1993:26) determined that the function of this building remained unclear. The building was small but contained a variety of artifacts suggesting a possible storeroom that had been subsequently abandoned and dismantled. The building appears to have been carefully constructed with a wooden floor, a glass window and a doorway with porcelain doorknobs and a key lock. It was suggested that this was too elaborate to be a storeroom for the nearby hotel and may have first served as a residence before being utilized as a storeroom.

Further archaeological investigations involved the excavation of two trenches radiating out of 8N120 to determine if there was a relationship between the excavated building and other external features, specifically 8N19 (Figure 24). The first trench extended eastward from the landing of the building structure and was included in Operation 8N120. The trench measured 0.5 m by 10 m and ranged in depth from 12 cm to 20 cm below the surface. The stratigraphic profile consisted of a sod layer between 4 to 6 cm thick, followed by a dark 6 to 10 cm thick loam layer overlaying a grey silt layer. As found with the trenches dug in 1973, most of the artifacts were recovered in the sod and dark loam layers. Below the historic component were a range of precontact artifacts such as flakes, fire broken rock, and a hammerstone, as found in the western half of 8N120M when it was excavated to a depth of 72 cm. These data indicate the continuous occupation of this area prior to the town settlement (Klimko et al. 1993:26).

The second trench did not directly extend from 8N120 and was designated Operation 8N121. This trench was oriented in an approximate east-west direction and was placed between 8N120 and 8N19, a depression thought to be associated with the Old Hotel. Measuring 0.5 m by 10 m, 8N121 ranged in depth from 14 to 20 cm below the surface. Structural remains were found adjacent to the depression 8N19 in the southeast end of the trench. To further examine these uncovered structural remains, the excavators opened the trench up to 1 m in width in this locality (Figure 25). Chinking was found overtop a burned layer, below which was found a squared foundation sill (2 cm thick and 20 cm wide), running in a northeast-southwest direction. The sill rested on top of a plank at a right angle. The plank was over 1 m long, 20 cm wide and 2 cm thick.

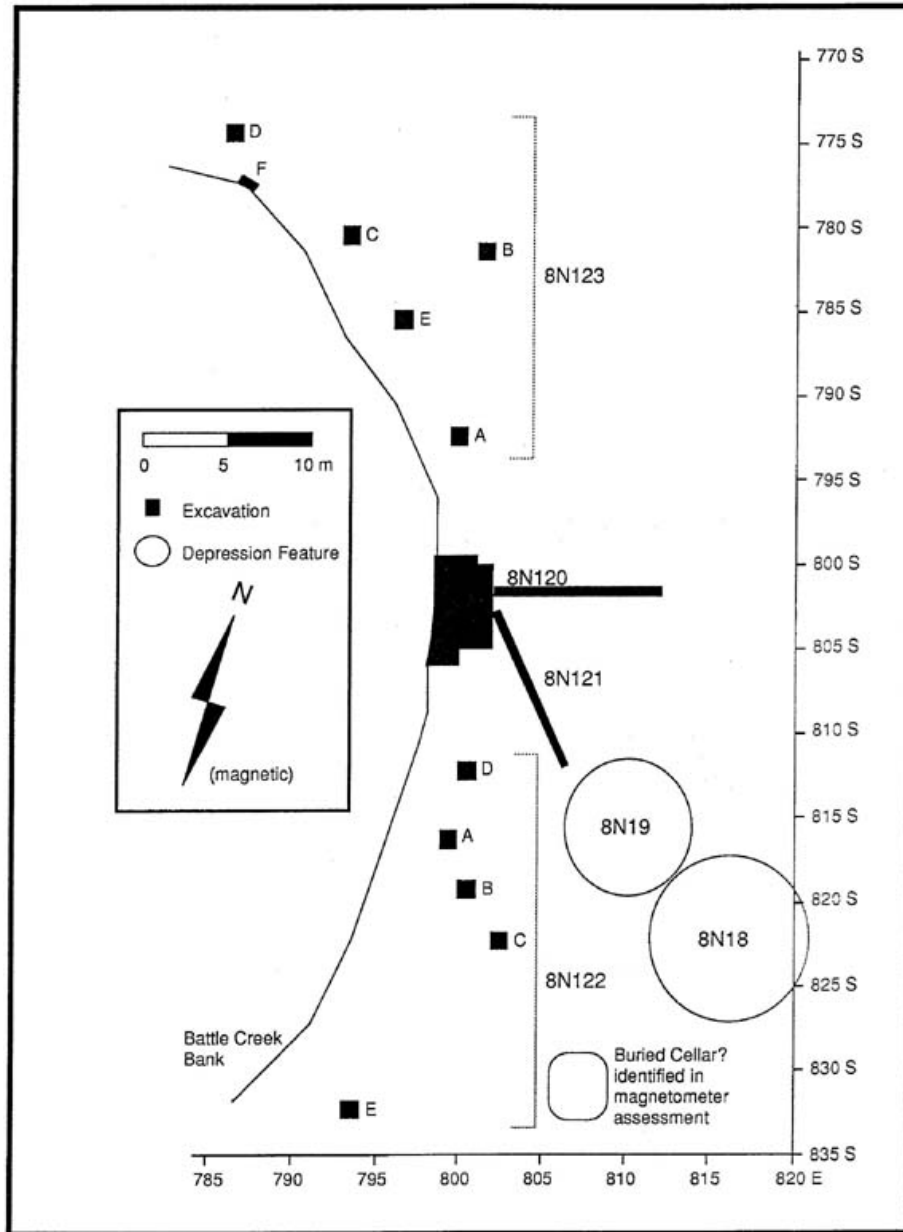


Figure 24: WHSI site grid and location of excavation and magnetometer assessment units (Klimko et al. 1993:7).

No floor boards were present, suggesting a dirt floor. Artifacts such as a door knob plate and key escutcheon also indicated a door nearby (Klimko et al. 1993:28). The stratigraphic profile was similar to the 8N120 trench. The sod layer was 4 cm to 7 cm thick with either a dark loam or a grey silty loam, 6 cm to 7 cm thick underneath. Historic artifacts were found throughout the upper layers, with precontact artifacts below (Klimko et al. 1993:29).

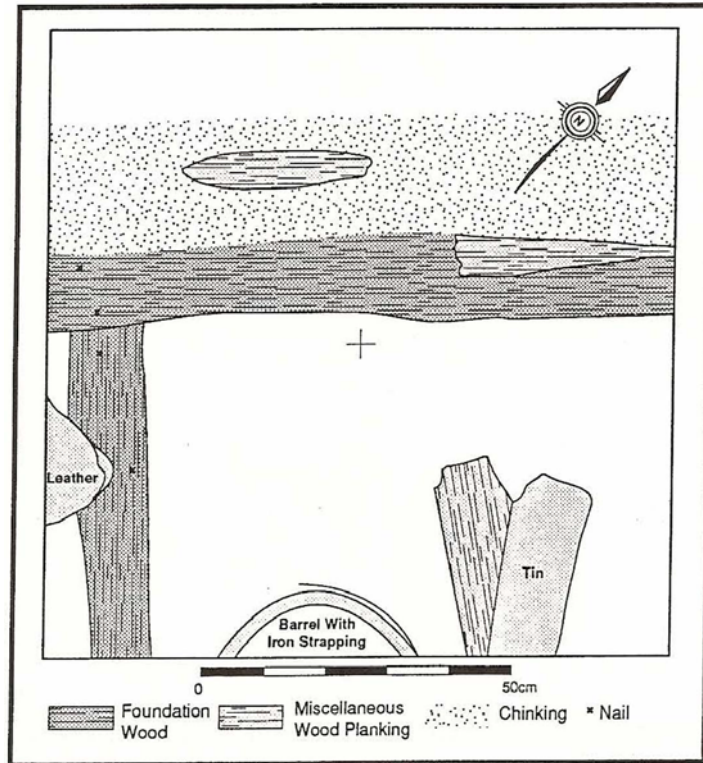


Figure 25: Planview of Trench 8N121 at its southern end (Klimko et al. 1993:29).

Trench 8N121 contained a foundation sill and dirt floor and artifacts such as a barrel, metal container and machinery part. The structural remains found in trench 8N121, adjacent to depression 8N19, were interpreted as those of an insubstantial structure such as a shed or lean-to. Orientation of the foundation appears roughly parallel to the south wall of the building in 8N120 and this shed suggests an association with 8N19, the Old Hotel, on its west side. No other features were located in the trench between 8N19 and 8N120 and no features were encountered in the 8N120 trench, suggesting no connection to the Old Hotel depressions (8N18 and 8N19) or any other building in the town (Klimko et al. 1993:33).

Magnetometer assessments were performed along the bank of Battle Creek, both to the north and south of 8N120, to determine the impact of further erosion of this cutbank on other buried cultural resources. A 50 m long grid was set up along the bank of Battle Creek and divided into a north magnetic grid (30 m) and a south magnetic grid (20 m). Two proton precession magnetometers were used, one remaining stationary while the other was moved around the grid. Multiple magnetic readings were obtained

at locations (or stations) spaced every 1 m around the grid. Information was gathered regarding magnetic intensity through probes inserted into the ground by the magnetometers. The data collected were downloaded to a computer where the information was used to produce a map of gradient magnetic relief (Klimko et al. 1993:8-9). The magnetic maps were then inspected for anomalies indicating possible buried features and ferrous artifacts. Metal detector sweeps and soil probes were used to investigate these anomalies further. Soil cores, using a 2.5 cm soil sampler pushed down to a depth of 50 to 60 cm, were collected near many of the anomalies to more conclusively ascertain the character of the anomaly in order to determine the necessity of further investigation through excavation. In some localities, random test excavations were placed where no magnetic anomalies were detected but where there was a high chance of being affected by erosion of the cutbank (Klimko et al. 1993:10).

A total of five anomalies were chosen in the south magnetic grid for further testing. These scattered assessment units were designated Operation 8N122 and all were excavated in 1 m x 1 m units (Figure 24). Suboperation 8N122A was placed over an anomaly that indicated some form of depression when probed to a depth of at least 60 cm. Excavation revealed it to be a trash pit with extensive rodent disturbance. Suboperation 8N122B revealed the edge of a hearth approximately 20 cm below surface. When initially probed, ash and charcoal were found at approximately 15 cm depth until the probe could not be pushed down any further. The archaeologists later concluded that the obstruction may have been FBR from the hearth (Klimko et al. 1993:34). Suboperation 8N122C was swept with a metal detector which uncovered shallowly buried ferrous metal. Although an archaeological survey pin complete with flagging tape turned out to be the source of the anomaly, the probe did indicate an extremely soft matrix at approximately 30 cm below surface. An excavation unit was placed overtop to investigate further. After excavation, the soft matrix was concluded to be a natural depositional phenomenon (Klimko et al. 1993:35). However, remains of a historic fence line were uncovered in the northeastern corner, complete with three posts aligned in a NW-SE direction within a trench at least 35 cm wide and measuring at least 7 cm by 12 cm. Klimko et al. (1993:39) speculated that the fence may have been associated with the Old Hotel as it was roughly parallel to the long axis orientation of depressions 8N18 and

8N19. Suboperation 8N122D was located near the edge of the creek on the northern edge of the grid. This large anomaly was characterized by a layer of ash and mortar just underneath the sod, when probed, along with evidence of whitewash in the cutbank 3 m away. Excavation revealed a dense clustering of historic trash indicating a frequently used trash pit. Suboperation 8N122E was a random test located near the cutbank of Battle Creek but not in an area containing any significant magnetic anomalies. Historic artifacts were uncovered but no feature was observed in this test excavation (Klimko et al. 1993:35).

Three large areas exhibiting magnetic relief were identified along the east edge of grid 8N122, but since this area was not directly endangered by cutbank erosion, no archaeological excavations were carried out. Two of these large anomalies appeared to be associated with the visible depressions of 8N18 and 8N19. However, the third large anomaly in the southeast corner of the grid did not appear to have been associated with any visible features (Figure 24). Probing of this area uncovered charcoal, mortar and whitewash down to a depth of at least 50 cm and spanning an area of several metres. It was proposed that this area contained a cellar or large pit buried under the surface (Klimko et al. 1993:35).

In the north magnetic grid, six areas were chosen for further testing. These scattered assessment units were designated Operation 8N123 and were also excavated in 1 m x 1 m units (Figure 24). Suboperation 8N123A was placed between two anomalies in a shallow area where probing indicated the presence of whitewash, mortar and glass fragments. Excavation revealed more historic artifacts but no features or structural remains (Klimko et al. 1993:35-36). Suboperation 8N123B was situated a little further back from the cutbank than the other suboperations, but the size of the anomaly and the positive results of the soil probe prompted further testing. Excavation uncovered whitewash, ash and mortar associated with a possible structure in this locality. The anomaly extends further to the east of this suboperation and it was speculated that more buried remains were present in that direction. Suboperation 8N123C was swept with a metal detector and numerous metal concentrations were detected. Excavation revealed a debris scatter of historic artifacts extending to the north of the unit, but it did not appear to be a location of long term disposal. Suboperations 8N123D and 8N123E were placed

as random tests along the cutbank in areas of magnetic activity but not directly associated with an anomaly. Suboperations 8N123D and 8N123E contained historic artifacts but no structural remains. Probes in the area north of 8N123D revealed the presence of burned soil, and metal detector sweeps indicated that buried structural remains may have been present. As this area was also not in danger of erosion, no further testing was performed. Suboperation 8N123F was purposefully placed on top of a known chaining pin uncovered by the metal detector sweep since it was lying overtop artifacts and whitewash exposed in the cutbank. Salvage excavation with a 50 cm x 50 cm unit was done (Klimko et al. 1993:36).

A total of eleven excavation units were excavated along the bank of Battle Creek. Historic artifacts were found in all suboperations but no building remains were uncovered; however, the presence of whitewash in several units indicated the potential for possible building remains (8N122D, 8N123A, 8N123B and 8N123F) (Klimko et al. 1993:37). The results of the magnetometer assessments along the bank revealed that no significant cultural resources were in immediate danger from cutbank erosion. However, due to the presence of historic artifacts scattered throughout and the indication of nearby structural remains, Klimko et al. recommended continual monitoring of the area (Klimko et al. 1993:44).

4.4 Summary of Archaeological Investigations

Over the past four decades, archaeological investigations at the Fort Walsh townsite have utilized numerous field methodologies such as mapping, probing, testing, excavating, surface surveying, surface collecting and magnetometry. As a result of these approaches, various features representing buildings, cellars, trash pits, corrals, borrow pits, natural pits and a rock pile have been uncovered. Artifacts were found to be scattered throughout the site with many associated with the excavated features. Although some artifacts were intrusive and dated to modern times, the majority were contemporaneous with the occupation of the town from 1875 to 1883. This thesis represents the first time the data from all of these individual archaeological investigations on the townsite have been combined and synthesized into one report. The artifacts and features of the Fort Walsh townsite will be discussed throughout the following chapters.

Chapter 5

Artifact Assemblages and Classification System

5.1 Methodology

Previously, only the 1992 collection had been catalogued along with select artifacts pulled from the 1973 and 1978 collections which were placed into the reference collection at the Winnipeg office of Parks Canada. I combined all of the artifacts from the 1973, 1978 and 1992 archaeological investigations as well as surface finds collected by Parks staff and tourists. I then re-catalogued and re-identified all of the artifacts, starting with the 1992 collection before moving on to catalogue the 1973 collection, then the 1978 collection and finally the random surface finds and the artifacts contained in the Parks Canada reference collection. The 1973 and 1978 collections were never properly catalogued but an inventory had been compiled listing artifact types and quantities under each operation number (Karklins 1987). Discrepancies were noted between the inventory listings of the 1973 and 1978 collection and some artifact labels pertaining to quantity numbers, artifact descriptions and provenience data. In these situations the information from the artifact label was used. According to the inventory, artifacts from many of the operations were missing. This was likely a consequence of inconsistent quantity and provenience recording and the removal of artifacts for conservation, display and research purposes. An attempt was made to relocate some of the missing artifacts from the reference collection at the Parks Canada office in Winnipeg and at the Fort Walsh National Historic Site Visitor Reception Centre with much success but a few were still unaccounted for. The number of missing artifacts was unknown based on the problems with the inventory but an estimate was thought to be around 100. I made the decision not to include the missing artifacts in the catalogue as the descriptions were limited and there was doubt as to their exact quantity.

5.2 Functional Category Classification System

One common method used by historic archaeologists to organize their artifacts is to place them into categories based on function. Roderick Sprague (1981) suggested a classification system that was developed not as a theoretical classification but as a means of standardizing categories and formats for archaeologists working on similar types of sites, especially those pertaining to the 19th and 20th century in the American west. In order to conduct his classification, each artifact was placed into a particular category expressing the function of the artifact and described in the context [or sub-category] of that functional category (Sprague 1981:252). His classification system was designed to start with categories representing the individual. The individual becomes more and more removed as one moves down the list of categories. In the case where one artifact may represent more than one function, the context of the artifact was considered and the object was placed into the function that best fits. Over the years since the publication of this classification system, archaeologists have continually adapted the categories, focusing on or highlighting certain aspects of the categories that best typify their site in order to differentiate specific activities. The classification system presented here (Table 2) for the Fort Walsh townsite is a combination of the functional category classification system proposed by Sprague (1981) and the classification system used for historical collections by the Canadian Parks Service (1992).

Table 2: Functional Category Classification with Examples

Personal

Adornment: beads, brooch, earring

Clothing Fasteners: buttons, eye fasteners, suspender strap

Footwear: shoes

Health and Hygiene

Grooming: mirror, comb

Medical: medicine bottle

Toiletries: perfume bottle stopper

Recreation

Music: harmonica, mouth harp, trumpet

Sport: skate

Toys: doll parts

Indulgences

Alcohol Consumption: liquor bottles

Tobacco Consumption: smoking pipe, tobacco seal

Food Preparation and Consumption

Food Processing: meat hook, coffee mill

Food Storage Containers: crockery, foil, tin cans, preserves jars

Kitchenware: pot handle

Subsistence Related Organic Material: hazelnut, egg shells, coffee beans

Tableware: dishes, cutlery, serving spoon, stemware

Communication

Documentary: book binding

Writing Materials: inkwells, paper fastener

Police/Military

Adornment: uniform decoration

Clothing Fasteners: button

Furnishings

Accessories: key, screw eye

Decoration: figurines, caneware vessel

Draperies: window pulley

Furniture: upholstery spring, corner box guard, furniture tack

Heating: stove parts

Lighting: chimney glass, lamp

Architectural

Architectural Hardware: nails, screws

Building Component: pipe connector, hasp

Building Materials: wood joists, chinking

Door Hardware: door knob, hinges, lock plate

Window Materials: window glass

Transportation

Animal Powered: horseshoe, horseshoe nails, wagon part, harness parts

Railway: railway spike

Agricultural

Agricultural: pitchfork tine, safety pin

Fencing: fence staples, barbed wire

Hunting/Defence

Ammunition: bullet, cartridge cases, shotgun shells

Hunting Tools: metal projectile point

Trapping: leg hold, traps

Commerce and Industry

Energy Production: insulator
Forestry: saw blade, axe head
Machinery: machinery part
Metalworking: casting sprues
Shop Tools: file
Textile working: straight pin
Woodworking: gimlet handle

Unclassifiable

The Unclassifiable category is based on a similar category created by Parks Canada for the classification of artifacts used in historical collections. This category is described as “artifacts originally created to serve purposes that cannot be identified at the time the objects are catalogued”. The Artifact Remnant sub-category is listed as a sub-class of the Unclassifiable category and is described as including “a segment or incomplete part of an artifact originally created to fulfill a purpose that cannot be determined or inferred from the fragment” (Canadian Parks Service 1992:45).

Artifact Remnant: curved glass, panel glass, strapping, ceramic, textiles
Multiple Use Artifact: rope, wire, string, pail, grommet, washer, cork, nut, bolt
Unclassified Package/Container: strapping, tin cans, bottles

Faunal

Identified
Unidentified

Floral

Unidentified

Precontact

Core
FBR
Flakes/Debitage
Projectile Point
Tools

The classification of artifacts into categories organizes and groups artifacts based on functional similarities which can be used as the basis for discussion and comparison of artifacts collected at archaeological sites. The aim of this chapter is to develop representational artifact assemblages based on the identified social and economic units present in Fort Walsh. Distinguishing artifacts and material culture patterns will be

examined and compared for each of these assemblages in terms of functional categories and sub-categories.

5.3 Defining Social and Economic Units

The town of Fort Walsh was a small culturally-mixed frontier settlement comprised of a number of businesses that catered to a retail or service market. However, the exact location or placement of residences and businesses within the town is largely unknown, except for people and businesses thought to be located within general areas of the town. What is missing at Fort Walsh are the advantages seen in other frontier or urban settlement studies where buildings and their connected trash deposits along with historic records of building occupants can be used to establish the social or economic identity of the depositors. Traditionally studies in historical archaeology tend to be grounded upon models developed to reflect patterns of human behaviour. Historical documents have been used extensively to gain insight into these patterns of human behaviour where information is extracted about people's income, occupation, class and ethnicity just to name a few. This has allowed researchers to link certain groups of people with expected ranges of material culture as seen, for example, in the works of South (1977) and in studies about consumer choice (Spencer-Wood 1987). In recognition of the fact that the functions and occupants of the buildings at Fort Walsh are largely unknown, an alternate method needs to be employed. Thus, an attempt will be made in this section to link the people and businesses with the operations excavated at the townsite based only on the material culture recovered. This material will then be compared to existing patterns recognized by historical archaeologists for similar social and ethnic groups from other archaeological sites. Patterns of material culture have been utilized by historical archaeologists to identify comparable groups of people such as the research done by Blee (1991) and Burley et al. (1992).

My method of utilizing material culture to identify the social and economic identity of its depositors is adapted from archaeological research conducted by Catherine Blee (1991) in Skagway, Alaska. Her dissertation revolved around the statistical sorting of a functionally-mixed assemblage of a local town dump and the identification of potential contributors to the dump assemblage based on historical information. It is the method of using historical information to identify potential contributors to the material

culture recovered at an archaeological site that is utilized and adapted for Fort Walsh. Fort Walsh is its own unique town in the Canadian west, much different from the mining town of Skagway, Alaska and so the social and economic units constructed for Fort Walsh are completely exclusive according to the composition of the town. The social and economic units proposed for Fort Walsh are derived directly from the historical information gathered and presented in Chapter 3, based on the residents and businesses known to be in Fort Walsh.

The social units of Fort Walsh are comprised of residential households. Two principle types of households were identified in the demographic analysis of Fort Walsh based on the 1881 Census of Canada. The first is a family household comprised of married men and women, with or without children. Of the 22 family households present at Fort Walsh, 15 may also be considered Métis family households with either one parent or both parents of Métis heritage. The second type of household is a male-only household containing either men living alone or with other men.

The economic units of Fort Walsh are comprised of the businesses of the town. Fort Walsh was characterized by the selling of a limited range of products and services as there was very little manufacturing of goods. The economic means used to support its citizens came mainly from the service and retail industry. Historical information identified the presence of hotels, restaurants, trading stores, billiard halls, tailor shops, a laundry, a barber shop, a photography studio and an office for the Indian Affairs department.

5.3.1 Distinguishing Characteristics of Each Unit

In order to differentiate between the social and economic units present in Fort Walsh as outlined in the previous section, artifact assemblages characteristic of each unit will be constructed. It is in the comparison of these constructed artifact assemblages with the artifacts excavated in the town that analysis will be carried out. It should be noted that the term ‘assemblage’ is used in a narrower sense where it is viewed as the “collections of artifacts related to a discrete type of social or economic unit” (Blee 1991:19) instead of referring to the collection of artifacts relating to the entire town as a whole. Ten types of artifact assemblages have been constructed based on their identification as likely contributors to the material culture at Fort Walsh. These

assemblages are as follows: Family Household Assemblage, Male-Only Household Assemblage, Trading Store Assemblage, Hotel/Restaurant Assemblage, Billiard Hall Assemblage, Barber Shop Assemblage, Laundry Assemblage, Tailor Shop Assemblage, Photography Studio Assemblage and Office Building Assemblage. The assemblages to be constructed in this chapter are predominantly based upon artifact patterns occurring in archaeological sites of the American and Canadian west during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, compatible with the time period and geographical location of Fort Walsh.

Discussions pertaining to archaeological formation processes must first be considered before each of the assemblages are constructed. Formation processes focus on the factors that create the archaeological record. The archaeological record at Fort Walsh was likely affected by both cultural and environmental processes (Schiffer 1987:7). Cultural deposition of artifacts results from such human actions as discard, loss and abandonment. Discard occurs when artifacts can no longer perform the function they were intended for. This may be a result of wear, deterioration and breakage (Schiffer 1987:48). Loss occurs when an object becomes disassociated with its user. Many variables have been identified that affect loss rates such as artifact size, the mobility of artifacts during use and where the artifacts were used. Locations labelled as “artifact traps” are areas with low retrieval probabilities, such as wells, privies and the spaces under the floors of buildings (Schiffer 1987:76-78). The majority of the artifacts at Fort Walsh may have been discarded or lost but the planned abandonment of the town is a major factor which would have greatly affected the archaeological record. Many issues determine whether or not artifacts are curated or deposited as refuse during abandonment such as “distance to the next site, means of available transportation and season of movement” (Stevenson 1982:238). Site abandonment behaviour was studied by Marc Stevenson (1982) on mining camps in the Yukon to gain an understanding of how abandonment activities affect the archaeological record. He found that camps abandoned in a gradual, planned manner with no intention of return (such was the case at Fort Walsh) contained artifacts in the archaeological record which were characteristic of discard activities and lacked artifacts in the process of manufacture or use and valuable or highly curated artifacts (Stevenson 1982:241-242). He also speculated that sites abandoned with no intention of return will “tend to produce significantly more

refuse, in more clustered arrangements, in spaces normally kept free of such debris” since clearing is not cost-efficient during abandonment (Stevenson 1982:246, 252).

The artifacts left during the planned abandonment of Fort Walsh would probably consist of high numbers of those which would have little use to their owners at their new settlement, that were broken or deteriorating and that were clustered into secondary refuse areas. The resulting archaeological record would reflect this and must be taken into consideration when comparing the excavated operations at Fort Walsh to the constructed assemblages created in the following sections of this chapter. The constructed assemblages tend to consist of expected material culture patterns that would be observed if the artifacts were preserved in ideal conditions at these types of households or businesses. This was done to create a standard for comparison. The artifacts excavated at Fort Walsh are not expected to conform exactly to these constructed assemblages but instead are compared to the constructed assemblages to determine the best fit in the hopes of identifying the potential contributors of the material culture. Similarities or differences between the operations and constructed assemblages will only enhance our knowledge of the residents of Fort Walsh. There is also the possibility that there could be mixing of contributors since many of the operations could represent secondary refuse areas which are not directly associated with primary activity areas or buildings. Another possibility also exists that many of the businesses and households may have functioned in the same building, again mixing artifacts that would represent either social or economic types of activities.

Environmental processes would have also affected the archaeological record at Fort Walsh. Artifacts are affected by their immediate surroundings and the environment contains a number of agents which act to deteriorate or alter artifacts. The most common environmental agents of deterioration are chemical (soil conditions, atmospheric pollutants), physical (water, wind, sunlight) and biological (living organisms) (Schiffer 1987:148-149). The understanding of both cultural and environmental processes and their resulting effects on artifacts is critical for understanding the archaeological record of a site.

5.3.1.1 Family Household Assemblage

Family Households can be loosely defined as those households containing women, but more specifically in Fort Walsh as a household containing a married couple, with or without children. From the 1881 Census of Canada, 22 households contained a married couple, all with children except for one childless couple. Family households represented over two-thirds of the households at Fort Walsh at that time, and were the single largest contributors of all the social and economic units to the material culture uncovered in the town. A significant sub-group of the Family Household Assemblage is Métis family households. Of the 22 family households present in Fort Walsh in 1881, 15 of them contained either one or both adults of the married couple who were identified as being of Métis heritage. Representative assemblages for both family households and Métis family households will be assembled to identify characteristics that may be utilized to distinguish archaeologically between the two types of family households.

Family households at Fort Walsh are defined as being dependent on the presence of women and/or children. The presence of female- and/or child-related artifacts would therefore be a distinguishable characteristic of this type of assemblage. The identification of female-specific artifacts could be related to personal items such as types of adornment like beads and jewellery, clothing and clothing fasteners from garters and corsets, grooming items such as hairpins, and toiletry items such as perfume bottles and cosmetic jars (Blee 1991:84). Many of these types of artifacts are present in the Fort Walsh town assemblage as some of these items have the potential of being readily discarded or easily lost; for example, hairpins, beads and clothing fasteners. Children within family households should also be distinguishable by characteristic artifacts. The types of artifacts specific to children may be related to personal items such as small-sized clothing and footwear, but perhaps the most diagnostic types of artifacts relating to the presence of children are toys and games. Toys recovered within the archaeological record “provide a way to identify the remains of children’s behaviour with a higher degree of certainty than other types of material culture” (Baxter 2005:41). The presence of artifacts relating to women and children are not the only types of distinguishable artifacts that would help to identify family households within Fort Walsh. The characteristic artifacts of archaeological sites containing family households will be

discussed below in an attempt to create a representational artifact assemblage that may help to further designate family households within Fort Walsh.

Archaeological investigations at the Gold Bar Camp (1905-1909) in Nevada resulted in the recognition of artifact assemblages associated with family households. Gold Bar Camp was a small mining camp of approximately 100 people, characterized by 30 house sites with associated trash pits and privies (Hardesty 1988:70-71). The classification of a house site as belonging to a family household was based upon decorated ceramics and the presence of toys. With these criteria, three house sites were identified as definite family households. Two of those house sites were noted as distinctive, based upon their size and the diversity of artifacts within their assemblage, especially in comparison to other households such as those dominated by men (Hardesty 1988:75, 77).

Excavations in Simpson Springs, Utah revealed the presence of a family household dump (structure 4) associated with the Mulliner family and dating to ca. 1890-1900 (Berge 1980:312). In 1890 the Mulliners built a large log station in Simpson Springs and developed a local stage line traveling from Fairfield to Ibapah, Utah (Berge 1980:309). Structure 4 was deemed to be either a root cellar or dugout with little indication of structural remains and with a later use for trash disposal (ca. 1900) (Berge 1980:312). The evidence that this dump is from a family household comes from the presence of female and child-related artifacts such as 5 bracelets and a child's shoe. Characteristics of this assemblage include the high numbers of food storage containers, with canning jars and lids outnumbering the other types of containers. Also, the assemblage was dominated by alcohol bottles, other alcohol-related artifacts and soda bottles. Pharmaceutical bottles were also high in number but still far below the frequency of alcohol bottles. The amount of undecorated ceramics was five times higher than that of decorated ceramics. Overall, the amount of personal artifacts was quite low, with only a few watch parts attributable to men together with the bracelets and shoe mentioned above, along with a few other generic personal items.

In Blee's (1991) analysis of family households, fourteen artifact collections were combined from known family residences into one representational artifact assemblage. Of these fourteen collections, four came from a gold mining camp (1912-1918) in

Rochester Heights, Nevada, two from Bingham's Logging Camp (1896) in Oregon, one from a ranch (1905-1907) and one from an orchard boss family dump (1916-1920) in Alpowa, Washington, one from a family stage station (1900) in Simpson Springs, Utah, one from a house (1871-1915) in Georgetown, Colorado, two from family privies (1890-1920) in Texas City, Washington and one house (1888-1914) and one mission (1898-1910) in Skagway, Alaska (Blee 1991:157). On average she concluded that there appeared to be some consistency between all the collections even though the socioeconomic status amongst the family households ranged from the poor farmers in Alpowa to the wealthy silver investor in Georgetown. The artifacts included in the categories of food storage, preparation and serving dominated the assemblage. Decorated ceramics were present in every collection she analyzed but the proportion of decorated to undecorated fluctuated within each household (Blee 1991:158). Both Blee (1991:84) and Hardesty (1988:77) observed and commented on the correlation between adult women in a household and the corresponding increase in decorated ceramics. The next highest category after food storage and serving were liquor-related artifacts (Blee 1991:158). Blee (1991:159) found that on average, pharmaceutical artifacts consisted of only a third of the percentage of liquor-related artifacts, indicating that pharmaceuticals were only supplementing the alcohol, not substituting it. Artifacts relating to males, females and children were all represented in the family household assemblages (Blee 1991:158).

From the above descriptions of artifacts found in a family household, conclusions can be made about the distinguishing characteristics of a Family Household Assemblage. The most significant characteristic used by almost all archaeologists to determine if their assemblage belongs to a family is the presence of either female or child-related artifacts or both. Family households also tend to have a high frequency of artifacts related to food storage, preparation and serving, especially with the presence of canning jars and the varying proportions of decorated and undecorated ceramics. However, according to historical documents, the residents of Fort Walsh grew very little of their own food and likely did not participate in canning activities. The family households in Fort Walsh should therefore contain very few or a complete absence of canning artifacts. Artifacts related to alcohol consumption and pharmaceuticals appear

to be present within family households. The amount of alcohol consumption artifacts within family households in Fort Walsh is likely low, based on the restrictions placed on alcohol acquisition in the North-West Territories at that time. As a whole, the family households from the archaeological sites discussed tend to be more diverse in terms of varieties of furnishings or household items and also larger in size, especially when compared to other households such as those dominated by males.

Métis family households comprised over two-thirds or 68% of the family households present in Fort Walsh according to the 1881 Census of Canada. The presence of a large number of Métis families living within the town is a distinctive demographic feature of Fort Walsh and one that has not been investigated in other towns in the west. The Métis family households were separated into their own sub-category within the family household assemblage because they represent a distinct ethnic group that appears to be dominant within the town. Historical documents indicate that Métis groups had been settling in a number of *hivernant* villages within the Cypress Hills in the decades prior to the establishment of Fort Walsh (Burley et al. 1992 and Elliott 1971). While many remained in these villages, a number of Métis families settled in the hills surrounding the town and within the town itself. Archaeological excavations have been undertaken at a number of Métis *hivernant* villages in and about the Cypress Hills such as the Kajewski site (1866-1882) near Head of the Mountain (Elliott 1971), Four Mile Coulee (1874-1877 or 1880) and Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp (late 1860s to early 1870s) (Burley et al. 1992). Métis *hivernant* villages have also been excavated along the South Saskatchewan River at Petite Ville (1870-1874) (Weinbender 2003) and in central Alberta at Buffalo Lake (1872-1878) (Doll et al. 1988). John Brandon analyzed artifacts from the Letendre complex at Batoche, Saskatchewan, a Métis house and store (1872-ca.1895) (Brandon 1989:1, 28-38). Information from his thesis will also be utilized in developing a Métis Household Assemblage. The characteristic artifacts of these Métis wintering sites and from Batoche will be compared and discussed in an attempt to construct a representational artifact assemblage that may help to distinguish Métis family households within Fort Walsh.

Weinbender (2003:145) comments that caution should be taken when comparing the five Métis wintering sites as the excavation methodology varied between the sites

especially in regards to screening, which is reflected in the artifacts collected. All excavation units at Petite Ville, along with a few chosen units at Buffalo Lake, were fine-screened which enabled the recovery of small artifacts such as seed beads, straight pins and lead shot that would otherwise be lost through a larger mesh screen. Through the utilization of this recovery technique, an abundance of these artifacts were collected and became the numerically dominant artifacts within their assemblages. However, regardless of each sites' excavation methodology, similarities in the artifacts are discernable at the wintering sites. Weinbender (2003:146) observed that not only were the artifacts similar but some artifacts were identical in terms of manufacturers' marks. This was especially the case with some earthenware ceramics and ammunition.

Ceramics comprised of a variety of ware types, vessel forms and decorations were found in all five of the wintering sites. These ceramics included "transfer-printed and plain white earthenwares, polychrome sponged stamped earthenwares, hand-painted earthenwares, salt-glazed stoneware and semi-porcelain or hardpaste earthenwares" (Burley et al. 1992:114). But by far the most ubiquitous type of ceramic was the transfer-printed earthenware dominated by Spode/Copeland patterns. In western Canada, Spode/Copeland ceramics from Staffordshire, England tended to dominate as they were a principle supplier to the Hudson's Bay Company between 1835 and the 20th century. Their popularity stems from their relatively inexpensive cost and range of patterns leading one to feel a little bit of "civility" in the frontier (Burley et al. 1992:115). At least 20 distinctive Spode/Copeland patterns have been identified from the five wintering sites (Burley et al. 1992:117). The tableware ceramics from the Letendre complex are most commonly represented by underglaze transfer prints with the majority blue in colour. Spode-Copeland patterns dominated the identified manufacturer patterns on the ceramics which is comparable to the five Métis wintering sites. Other types of decoration seen on the tableware ceramics included moulded relief and painted patterns (Brandon 1989:296-300).

A range of ceramic vessel forms have been uncovered archaeologically but the most common vessel forms are cups, saucers and bowls at the five wintering sites (Weinbender 2003:147). The high frequency of these types of vessels has been associated with tea drinking, an important aspect of Métis culture, especially among the

women. Ceramic wares used in tea drinking not only had a functional task but a social one as well. Burley et al. (1992:117-118) explained that tea drinking within the Métis began in the early years of the Red River Settlement. Métis daughters of the HBC elite were schooled in “civilized behaviours” and “English manners” in order to become suitable marriage partners for men within the upper class. The acquisition and use of material goods was one way to project social position and the tea service with its matching place setting and proper etiquette was a critical tool in presenting this. Although Métis women found themselves turned out of this social sphere in the 1830s with the arrival of white women in Red River, the upper class skills and practices remained along with using material goods as a display of social status (Burley 1989:103-104). These Métis women set a standard that was soon emulated by other women within Red River, but Burley et al. (1992:118) commented that these social processes seen in Red River do not fully explain why these fragile ceramics are found in abundance amongst these highly mobile hunting groups. Burley et al. (1992:118) stated that tea drinking had become a type of social action where “tea drinking fosters sociability and constitutes one mechanism through which ethnic integration can be maintained in the wintering village”. Historical observations of Métis *hivernants* describe tea drinking as part of Métis hospitality and an integral part of female interaction, just as smoking pipes was integral to male social interaction (Alexander Ross as cited by Burley et al. 1992:39).

Food storage artifacts were recovered at the majority of the Métis sites. Food cans are present at most of the wintering sites, with the highest number occurring at the Kajewski site in the Cypress Hills (Doll et al. 1988:215; Weinbender 2003:148). Another common food storage artifact was lead foil identified as either the remains of food containers or lead-lined tea boxes. Identical lead food seals were found at both Buffalo Lake and Petite Ville (Weinbender 2003:149-150). A variety of food storage containers were recovered from the Letendre complex which included: flavouring extract bottles, baking powder cans and condiment bottles - with the majority of lead foils from tea packages or boxes (Brandon 1989:201-218).

Personal artifacts constitute the most numerous type of artifact found at some of the sites. Adornment artifacts such as beads were collected in the thousands at Petite

Ville and Buffalo Lake, with the beads at Petite Ville numbering 9,513 which encompassed 67.8% of the entire artifact assemblage (Weinbender 2003:87). Other personal artifacts such as buttons were also quite common (Brandon 1989:128; Burley et al. 1992:68, 81; Doll et al. 1988:215; Weinbender 2003:77). Religious accoutrements are not as common but some artifacts of this nature were recovered from two of the sites: a rosary at Petite Ville (Weinbender 2003:79-86) and rosary parts and medallions at the Letendre complex (Brandon 1989:151-153).

One interesting case of artifact reuse is seen at Petite Ville with the modification of straight pins. The majority of these straight pins were deliberately cut and bent to create new items such as clothing fasteners and jewellery items (Weinbender 2003:117). Only a handful of straight pins were found at the other wintering sites but over 400 were collected at Petite Ville.

Indulgence artifacts such as alcohol-related items and smoking paraphernalia were not common at the five wintering sites. A few alcohol bottles along with patent medicines such as Perry Davis Pain Killer bottles were collected but were not numerous (Weinbender 2003:149). Although smoking was also viewed as integral to male social interaction as mentioned above, only a small number of pipes were collected at any of the wintering sites (Weinbender 2003:151). On the other hand, alcohol bottles, patent medicine bottles and smoking-related artifacts are more prominent at the Letendre complex (Brandon 1989:170, 231-247). The majority of the smoking-related artifacts recovered were fragments of kaolin clay pipes, tobacco containers and tobacco seals (Brandon 1989:241-247).

Hunting was the livelihood of the Métis *hivernants* and artifacts connected with this have been recovered from the majority of the sites. The types of ammunition found were rim- and centre-fire cartridge cases, shotgun shells, gunflints and lead balls. Based on this the Métis were evidently using both muzzle- and breech-loading weapons. This would include shotguns, rifles, flintlocks and percussion locks. The two most common types of ammunition were the Eley Brothers shotgun shells and the .44 Henry rim-fire cartridge case (Weinbender 2003:150).

Only artifacts from the Métis *hivernant* villages and Letendre complex thought to best characterize and distinguish Métis family households have been mentioned here.

Métis family households are assumed to embody most of the characteristics mentioned within the Family Household Assemblage such as the presence of female and child-related artifacts, high proportions of food preparation and consumption artifacts and a more diverse and larger assemblage than seen in other social and economic units. However, some differences occur in their use of certain types of items. Ceramics are one example where there is a high propensity for decorated wares, particularly transfer-printed ones, with a high proportion of cups, saucers and bowls such as those used in tea drinking activities. One of the most common types of artifacts was beads which occurred in the thousands at some Métis sites. Beads were a commonly used decorative item on many types of clothing and personal gear. Personal artifacts, which include adornment items and clothing fasteners, tend to be high in frequency as seen at Petite Ville, Buffalo Lake and the Letendre complex. Indulgence items were present but what was surprising in many of the *hivernant* sites was the low frequency of smoking-related artifacts given the connection of smoking with social activities. Artifacts related to hunting were diverse and present at all sites, representing the economic means for the majority in the wintering villages. These distinctive material culture patterns found at both the *hivernant* sites and the Letendre complex along with the characteristics defined for a Family Household Assemblage are combined to constitute the Métis Family Household Assemblage. For the purposes of this thesis I am assuming that these patterns may also apply to residential situations within the Fort Walsh townsite.

5.3.1.2 Male-Only Household Assemblage

From the 1881 Census of Canada it is known that 16 men lived in a total of nine male-only households. Five of them lived singly while the rest lived in households consisting of two, three or four men. This type of household comprised almost one-third of the residences recorded in Fort Walsh in 1881. One of the primary characteristics used to identify male-only households in archaeological assemblages has been by the absence of female and child-related artifacts. This is coupled with the decrease in artifacts related to female activities within a household such as those associated with food preparation and consumption and the drop in frequency of decorated ceramics. In the absence of women, it is hypothesized that the men would rely heavily on prepared foods in tin cans and preserve jars. The presence of only men in a household should also

be indicated in artifacts representing male activities such as tobacco/alcohol consumption, hunting, and male-oriented industrial ventures along with an increase in artifacts related to male personal items. The archaeological sites to be discussed in this section will be used to construct a representational assemblage for male households based on consistent artifact patterns which will hopefully be useful for the identification of male-only households in Fort Walsh.

Investigations at Gold Bar Camp (1905-1909), a small mining camp in Nevada, indicated that this camp contained around 30 house sites along with associated trash pits and privies (Hardesty 1988:70-71). Of these 30 house sites, 12 were identified as all-male domestic households based on their artifact assemblages. The pattern indicative of this type of household is described as containing male personal items such as pocket tobacco cans and snuff cans, an absence of female or child-related artifacts, high proportions of bottle glass and a small amount of undecorated ironstone pottery (Hardesty 1988:78). Explanations given for the small numbers of ceramics are that the household occupants either consumed their food elsewhere instead of cooking for themselves or they were eating directly from tin cans or other food storage containers (Hardesty 1988:76).

Excavations at a small hunter's cabin near Durango, Colorado (ca. 1878-1900) recovered artifacts that suggested a continual transient occupation of the cabin dominated by males. No artifacts relating to women or children were present. Although the artifacts represent only a limited number of functional categories, there is diversity and variation within those categories suggesting its occupation by a number of individuals. This can be seen in the range of sizes and manufacturers of buttons, ammunition and tin cans. Artifacts absent from the assemblage include ceramics, glass food containers, cookware, utensils and lighting artifacts (Horn et al. 1986:29). Personal items were dominated by buttons and footwear suggesting durable work clothing and personal gear such as pocket knives (Horn et al. 1986:11). The men took part in indulgence activities represented by tobacco and alcohol consumption. However, only a few liquor bottles and pharmaceutical bottles were found indicating that alcohol consumption was not extensive (Horn et al. 1986:14). Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts are dominated by tin cans. Only one artifact related to tableware,

the handle of a tin cup, was found (Horn et al. 1986:12, 16). Hunting, particularly big game, was well represented in the assemblage with large numbers and a wide variety of cartridge cases and a few bullets. All in all, the assemblage was represented by durable goods and a lack of luxury and breakable items within this small isolated cabin (Horn et al. 1986:29).

Blee combined ten artifact collections from known male residences into one representational artifact assemblage in her 1991 analysis of transient male households. Of these ten collections, five came from a gold mining camp (1912-1918) in Rochester Heights, Nevada, two from Bingham's Logging Camp (1896) in Oregon, two from the Marion railroad camp (1889) in Colorado and one from a hunter's cabin (1878-1900) in Colorado (Blee 1991:176). As mentioned previously, a common characteristic in all ten collections and likely the determining factor in assigning gender to these households was the absence of female and child-related items. Also common to most of these collections were the low artifact numbers and lack of artifact diversity (Blee 1991:160, 168). When this assemblage was compared to her representational artifact assemblage for family households, large changes are noted in artifact frequencies. The frequency of male-related items such as personal grooming and clothing items along with tobacco consumption, was five times higher. Increases were also seen in the presence of armaments and ammunition. Large decreases in frequency were noted in the presence of ceramics, especially those that were decorated, and in household items such as food storage containers with perhaps the exception of tin cans (Blee 1991:176). Blee (1991:179) provided a similar explanation as that proposed by Hardesty (1988:76) where the low frequency of ceramics and artifacts involved in food preparation and consumption was due to the lack of a female presence in the kitchen, or the men preferred to eat elsewhere or ate their meals directly from tin cans or on tin plates.

One unexpected pattern noted by Blee (1991:178) was the low frequency of liquor and soda bottles in all of the collections except for one in Rochester Heights. Blee explained these low frequencies as due possibly to corporate restrictions on alcohol consumption in the logging and railroad camps and increasing prohibitionist influences in Rochester Heights before local prohibition took effect in 1918. However, Blee commented that no such restrictions were in place at the hunter's cabin, suggesting

instead that men in these types of households tended not to drink at home. Low frequencies of pharmaceutical bottles also suggest that these did not act as a substitute for alcohol even in places of alcohol restriction. She further commented that social drinking amongst men was encouraged and that men who drank alone were considered anti-social and drunkards (Blee 1991:179).

From the above material culture patterns described, conclusions can be made about the distinguishing characteristics expected in a Male-Only Household Assemblage. Artifacts of a personal nature, especially those related to clothing and grooming, along with indulgences such as tobacco consumption would likely dominate the assemblage. Artifacts pertaining to food preparation and consumption are expected to be low in frequency especially amongst kitchenware and tableware artifacts where undecorated ceramics should be greater in proportion to decorated ceramics. However, the frequency of food storage containers such as tin cans and preserve jars should be high as the men in these households appear to have preferred to eat prepared foods rather than to cook. These types of artifacts were also easily discardable after use and may be present in larger concentrations. The presence of alcohol-related artifacts is expected to be low as seen from the patterns exhibited above, perhaps because of the emphasis placed on sociable drinking in the west. The number of alcohol-related artifacts is expected to be low in Fort Walsh based on the restrictions of the liquor permit system in the North-West Territories. Artifacts related to male activities such as hunting and male-oriented industrial ventures are also seen in higher frequency especially in contrast to family households. On a whole, the artifact assemblage itself for male-only households tends to be smaller and less diverse than that of family households and may represent fewer activities occurring within the household. Furthermore, the most significant characteristic used in classifying a household as male-only is the absence of female and child-related artifacts.

5.3.1.3 Trading Store Assemblage

Two large international trading stores were present in Fort Walsh, I. G. Baker & Company and T. C. Power & Brother, both based in Fort Benton, Montana. These stores, along with various independent itinerant trading outfits, were the suppliers of all goods in Fort Walsh. As mentioned previously, Fort Walsh was centered upon a goods

and services market with few primary resources or manufacturing industries outside of the growing of hay and some vegetables and the trade in buffalo meat, robes and furs. All foodstuffs, furnishings, household goods, tools and equipment, transportation materials, ammunition and architectural hardware had to be imported. Thus the stores in Fort Walsh would have been required to carry a wide variety of goods to meet the various needs of the townspeople along with catering to their preferences and purchasing power. An account of the diversity of goods arriving in Fort Benton comes from May G. Flanagan (n.d.) who described one steamboat arrival:

Summer boats often meant new furniture, new striped socks, or perhaps a new style hat, oranges and maybe grapes...there were stoves, barrels of flour, barrels of whiskey, buggies, chickens, and hairy footed Clyde horses.

The majority of the records of the types of goods brought into Fort Walsh by the I. G. Baker & Company have been lost except for the results of an investigation undertaken by the House of Commons into the finances of the NWMP. This report outlined all expenditures paid by the NWMP to the Baker company for the years 1876-1878 and includes a list of the goods ordered (Canada Sessional Papers 1879:No. 188). The types of goods listed would likely also be available to the residents at Fort Walsh since the Baker company also operated a retail store in addition to supplying the NWMP through various contracts. The types of goods listed in the report include: various foodstuffs, clothing items such as socks, shirts, gloves and hats, shoes, boots, ammunition, architectural hardware such as cut nails and screws, textile working items such as needles, buttons, thread and scissors, tin plates and cups, sad-irons, wash basins, cutlery, tobacco and pipes, lamps, soap, communication items such as ink bottles, pens and pencils, books and paper, furnishings such as stoves, and woodworking items such as axes, saws and adzes. This list just barely scratches the surface of the types of goods that were brought into Fort Walsh and possibly available to the town residents.

Inventory and requisition lists available from the T. C. Power & Brother store indicate that the range of goods needed at Fort Walsh relate to everyday life in a frontier town, with emphasis on foodstuffs and personal-related items (T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers, U of S Special Collections). The Power company catered solely to the residents of Fort Walsh and the types of goods listed on their inventory

sheets likely reflect the needs of the town more effectively than the types of goods provided by the Baker company as they ultimately served a different clientele. This difference is especially noticeable in the listing of specific items to be potentially used by women and children. These items include: ladies boots, shoes, cloth, shawls, corsets, pomade jars, perfume, gloves, hose, skirts and jewellery. Child specific items include: shoes, coats, hats, tin toys, wood toy dishes, china dolls, china toy sets and toy wagons. The general types of items listed include all of the goods listed above from the Baker store and also a range of goods including: various styles of clothing, guns and cartridges, hair and tooth brushes, ribbons, elastics, pictures, combs, violin strings, harmonica, trumpets, table linens, bed spreads, mirrors, counter scales, mower and rakes, chairs, brooms and many more items. The T. C. Power & Brother Correspondence Papers also included Certificates of Landing and invoices from various companies within Canada and the United States that supplied the Power store in Fort Walsh. Table 3 is a listing of these companies along with where they were based, the types of goods they specialized in and examples of the goods sent to Fort Walsh. This table is by no means an all-inclusive listing of the companies or goods that the Power store utilized or acquired but merely an example of the types of suppliers they dealt with and the types of goods that were available to the residents of Fort Walsh.

From the above trading store descriptions, conclusions about the distinguishing characteristics of the Trading Store Assemblage can be made. Instead of one type of artifact dominating another or the presence/absence of certain artifacts, a distinguishing characteristic noted within trading stores is the diversity of products they carried which may translate into a diversity of artifacts uncovered. Trading stores stocked items that fulfilled the basic needs of townspeople, especially those related to hardware, household items, foodstuffs and personal items along with extravagances in indulgent and recreational items. Artifacts related to industry or economic specializations such as agriculture, forestry or woodworking would also be stocked in the trading store but perhaps to a lesser degree as they represented specialized activities that only a few individuals would participate in. However, archaeological formation processes discussed earlier in this chapter would affect the types of artifacts recovered. Only in an ideal situation would the variety of artifacts discussed above be found and the potential

Table 3: Suppliers of the T. C. Power & Brother Store in Fort Walsh

| Supplier | Location | Specialization | Examples of Goods |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|---|---|
| Ames, Holden & Co. | Montreal | Boots and Shoes | boots and shoes |
| J. Rattray & Co. | Montreal | Tobacconists | cigars, pipes, bowls, cherry stems |
| T. James Claxton & Co. | Montreal | Textiles | textiles |
| Hodgson, Murphy & Summer | Montreal | Dry Goods, Small Wares & Cutlery | soap, mirror, dress combs, perfume, wallets, pomade |
| Crathern & Caverhill | Montreal | Metals & Hardware | saw files, butcher knives, wire, rivets, augers, screws |
| James Johnston & Co. | Montreal | Importers | silk handkerchiefs, clothing items |
| Cochrane, Cassils & Co. | Montreal | Boots and Shoes | boots and shoes |
| Thos. Davidson & Co. | Montreal | Japanners, Tin and Metalware, Lanterns | tin ware |
| James O'Brien & Co. | Montreal | Clothing | clothing items |
| H. Haswell & Co. | Montreal | Druggists, Perfumery, Patent Medicine, Essential Oils | liquid bluing, window glass, essence bottles, hair brushes, hair oil |
| Tees, Costigan & Wilson | Montreal | Groceries | various foodstuffs |
| Adam Darling | Montreal | China, Glass & Earthenware | unknown |
| Winchester Repeating Arms Co. | New Haven | Guns and Ammunition | guns and ammunition |
| Blake, Shaw & Co. | Chicago | Crackers, Bread, Cakes and Pie | soda crackers, cocoa, butter |
| Lyman, Sons & Co. | Montreal | Druggists | perfume, gargling oil, silver soap |
| Herman C. Geisse | Philadelphia | Beads | beads |
| H. J. Wackerlin | Fort Benton | Hardware, Stoves, Tinware, Glass and Crockery ware | sprinkler, fry pan, stove polish, milk pan, scissors, pie plate, hatchets |
| Arthur Simmons | Unknown | Original Sultana Cigars | cigars |
| Kerry, Watson & Co. | Montreal | Druggists, Dye Stuffs, Sundries | lime juice, lemon syrup, turpentine |

types of artifacts likely to be recovered would be those lost or discarded by the store; for example items that were in poor condition, were easily breakable such as glass items or small items that were easily lost such as pins, needles or beads. The majority of items would be curated and moved with the occupants when abandonment occurred since they represented potential income.

5.3.1.4 Hotel/Restaurant Assemblage

From the historical records, at least three hotels and three restaurants are mentioned within the town. The two establishments are combined in this assemblage because hotels typically offer food service to their guests, which would contribute a large proportion of food-related items to its projected archaeological assemblage similar to that seen in restaurants. It is known that the Syndicate Hotel in Fort Walsh provided both lodging and meals, highlighting the proposed connection outlined here between these two businesses. However, both assemblages will be discussed separately first and then combined.

The main function of a hotel is to provide temporary shelter to those passing through or staying in town for short periods. Descriptions of hotels in the Canadian west in the late nineteenth century are amusingly provided by John Higinbotham in his book *When the West Was Young*. Upon arriving in Fort Calgary on his way to Fort Macleod in 1884, he described the hotel as a one and a half storey frame structure, the upper portion of which was divided into separate male and female quarters by factory-cotton partitions (Higinbotham 1978:73). His descriptions of the Macleod Hotel in Fort Macleod are also similar. His room was small and partitioned also with factory-cotton. A general washroom was located near the main entrance of the hotel containing a row of graniteware basins and a less than sanitary roller towel. In the front lobby was a notice board which contained a list of the “Macleod Hotel Rules and Regulations”, some of which give insight into the services provided by the hotel. Guests were provided with breakfast and dinner but had to procure their own lunch. Toiletry items such as soap and towels could be purchased, along with candles and hot water. The bar was open day and night with a variety of fluids available for sale. Gambling was available and games such as Crap, Chuck Luck, Stud Horse Poker and Black Jack were all run by management. Of all the rooms in the hotel, John commented that the bar was the focus of the

establishment (Higinbotham 1978:78-81). John also visited and stayed at the Lethbridge Hotel. As was the custom of that time, the rooms were again divided by cotton partitions just over 2 m in height. He mentioned that by standing on a chair, one could see directly across the room. The walls and ceilings were also draped in cotton. The bed posts were made of iron with the feet resting in tomato tins half-filled with kerosene in order to discourage pests. Oil lamps were used to illuminate the hallways, bar and dining room at night but tallow candles were used to find one's way to one's room (Higinbotham 1978:112).

The descriptions provided by John Higinbotham are valuable clues to the items and activities present in the hotels of the Canadian west contemporaneous with Fort Walsh. The rooms lacked privacy. Instead of individual rooms with wooden walls, a large room was divided into small cubicles by cotton partitions. The furnishings appear to be sparse with beds and chairs provided. Other furnishings would include devices used for heating and lighting with perhaps some wall decorations or mirrors. Grooming and toiletry-related actions took place in general washroom areas which included wash basins and possibly chamber pots. Personal items such as pieces of adornment and worn clothing may also be discarded in the hotel. The main focus of the hotels described by Higinbotham appears to be centred on the bar. This information is applicable to Fort Walsh as bars were present in both the New Hotel and Syndicate Hotel. Alcohol consumption, tobacco consumption and recreational activities would all be connected with this type of operation.

Higinbotham also described the presence of dining rooms or restaurants in the hotels he visited. This gives further evidence for the likelihood of meals being served at the hotels in Fort Walsh. The main function of a restaurant is the consumption of food so artifacts relating to the preparation, serving, consumption and storage of food are expected to be the distinguishing characteristics of this assemblage. Artifacts assumed to be high in frequency would be tableware, comprising dishes, cutlery and stemware in order to serve many customers at once. The dishes would likely be of a utilitarian nature, durable and undecorated, as their usage rate and discard would be much higher in a restaurant. Since very little food was locally grown at Fort Walsh, most food ingredients would likely be stored in tin cans, glass bottles, ceramic jugs, sacks and

boxes. Other typical artifacts would include kitchenwares used to prepare the food such as pots, pans and bowls, food flavouring bottles and food remains themselves. Furnishings of the restaurant such as portions of the tables and chairs along with lighting and heating devices would also be expected as well as a few personal artifacts originating from both the customers and employees.

Archaeological excavations at the Gilt Edge Restaurant (1898-1903) in Skagway, Alaska indicated similarities with the proposed restaurant assemblage. A privy associated with the Gilt Edge Restaurant was excavated in 1986 by the National Park Service. This feature contained a primary deposit and a trash fill. The largest number of artifacts related to furnishings within the restaurant, mainly parts of the stove(s) used to heat the food and likely the restaurant. This, combined with more than 20% of the artifacts composed of undecorated ceramics, dominated the collection. High proportions of personal items were also apparent with small proportions of liquor related items indicating less reliance on these items as compared to the food service (Blee 1991:189-190).

Another excavation conducted in the American west provides further insights into the types of artifacts found in hotel restaurants. The Rustic Hotel at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming was built in 1876 as a station hotel and headquarters for the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage Company. Stage companies often provided these types of hotels along their routes where meals were often served as well as offering stables and livestock (Ehrenhard 1973:12). Details of the kitchen assemblage in the hotel indicate that over 71 vessels were reconstructed including tableware such as plates, bowls, platters, pitchers, cups and crockery with almost twice as many undecorated as decorated dishes. Of the decorated dishes, approximately a third contained the same blue transfer printed pattern (Ehrenhard 1973:17). The presence of plates, platters and bowls suggests a communal aspect to the food service as there are few specialized types of dishes such as separate plates for bread or salad. The domination of undecorated dishes may also indicate the necessity of utilitarian type ware in terms of practicality for the continual use and reuse of dishes.

From the descriptions of the above artifact collections, conclusions can be constructed about the distinguishing characteristics of a Hotel/Restaurant Assemblage in

Fort Walsh. This economic unit should contain artifacts in the furnishings category including those pertaining to decoration, furniture, lighting and heating. Personal artifacts and hygiene artifacts such as grooming and toiletry items should be present. Also, large proportions of the artifacts should be related to food preparation and consumption in relation to food processing, food storage, subsistence items and tableware with communal style (plates, platters, bowls) service and undecorated ceramics dominating the tableware category. The potential types of artifacts that may be recovered at Fort Walsh are those that were easily susceptible to breakage and wear, were heavily utilized or were in high concentration such as liquor bottles, food storage containers and food serving artifacts as they are more likely to be discarded or broken. Artifacts relating to alcohol consumption and tobacco consumption should be present in high quantities.

5.3.1.5 Billiard Hall Assemblage

At least two billiard halls are mentioned in the historical documents pertaining to the town of Fort Walsh. These were run by Jean Claustre and William Casey. These establishments were a place for recreation and indulgence. Although the main type of game played in these halls would have been billiards, other games such as chess or poker were also likely, especially since both proprietors faced gambling charges in Fort Walsh (Report of the Commissioner North-West Mounted Police 1881:35, 36; Report of the Commissioner North-West Mounted Police 1882:35). Another form of recreation may have involved music as dances were known to have taken place in various dance halls and could have occurred in the billiard halls as well. Although the sale of liquor was deemed illegal in the North-West Territories, both of these proprietors were charged with liquor possession indicating that liquor was likely sold and consumed in these premises (Report of the Commissioner North-West Mounted Police 1879:37; Report of the Commissioner North-West Mounted Police 1881:36). Pharmaceutical medicine may also be used as a legal substitute for liquor since it was easily procurable at the trading stores and its contents were often laced with alcohol. This type of environment would have fostered indulgences for recreational activities and alcohol and tobacco consumption.

Descriptions of a poolroom operating in Fort Macleod ca. 1884 were provided by John Higinbotham. He described the establishment of Tony La Chappelle as containing a bar, two billiard tables and two round tables covered in green baize. Men could be found at the round tables day and night playing stud poker, shading their eyes with the front brim of their hats pulled down low and smoking black cigars. Blue, red and white chips would be stacked in front of the poker players with a limit that was often quoted as being from “floor to ceiling” (Higinbotham 1978:83). John commented that stakes would frequently rise in the range of a thousand dollars, a large sum of money at that time. He also described the building as being constructed of logs with a sod roof and the interior lined with cotton. On days with heavy rain, he remarked that the cotton “hung in festoons from which great blurbs of liquid black mud descended” (Higinbotham 1978:84). This contemporaneous poolroom or billiard hall operating in the Canadian west was likely very similar to one that would have operated in Fort Walsh.

Although the billiard halls of Fort Walsh are not considered to be typical saloons, the consumption of alcohol clearly occurred in both types of businesses. Excavations at four saloons in Virginia City, Nevada revealed a number of similar artifact patterns in all four establishments (Dixon 2005:100). The saloons excavated were Piper’s Old Corner Bar (1860s to 1880s), Boston Saloon (1864 to 1875), O’Brien and Costello’s Saloon (1870s) and Hibernia Brewery (1880) (Dixon 2005:27-31). Artifacts common to all of the saloons were glass tumblers and glass mugs suggesting they were standard saloon equipment, representing the mass distribution and production of these vessels (Dixon 2005:100). Other similar types of vessels included green glass wine, champagne and ale bottles while plain ceramic dinnerware dominated (Dixon 2005:100, 109). Excavations also uncovered poker chips, dice and tobacco-related artifacts alongside these beverage containers and tablewares (Dixon 2005:113), evidence that saloons provided a haven where people were able to relax and socialize while drinking, smoking and gambling (Dixon 2005:148).

Excavations at the Mascot Saloon (1897-1916) in Skagway, Alaska uncovered similar concentrations of liquor and recreational-related artifacts. The Mascot Saloon opened during the peak years of the gold rush in Alaska and remained in operation until prohibition began in 1916, providing a popular place of recreation and relaxation for the

miners and labourers in the area (Blee 1991:180). Over a third of the artifacts recovered were liquor-related consisting of liquor and soda bottles, drinking vessels, bottle openers, lead seals, bungs, trade tokens and entertainment items such as dice and poker chips. Another 25% of the artifacts were comprised of bottle stoppers and caps (Blee 1991:181). Non-alcohol related items included tobacco consumption artifacts (tobacco pipes and tobacco seals), generic personal items such as coins, keys and buttons, lighting artifacts and small numbers of decorated and undecorated dishes since the Mascot Saloon provided food service to their patrons (Blee 1991:182).

The artifact assemblages described for saloons can be utilized to outline the types of artifacts that may be present in the Billiard Hall Assemblage as archaeological reports for the excavation of billiard halls could not be obtained. Recreational artifacts pertaining to music and games such as billiards and poker may be present as well as indulgences associated with alcohol and tobacco consumption, as these were the main activities within this type of establishment. The quantity of liquor-related artifacts will likely be variable depending on the degree to which they broke the law in Fort Walsh by selling liquor to their patrons - whether it was hidden, low key or out in the open. Associated with the sale of liquor would be the bottle closures and drinking vessels used in serving, culminating in the presence of tableware glasses and stemware which all have a high potential of being discarded and broken in this kind of establishment.

5.3.1.6 Barber Shop Assemblage

The one barber shop in town was operated by George Adams. Common types of services provided by a barber shop consisted of the cutting or trimming of hair and the shaving or trimming of men's beards, and generally catering to the grooming and hygiene needs of people. A list of the barber's tools of trade would include: combs and hairbrushes, hair clippers or barber's scissors, a barber's duster, hair receiver, straight razor, razor blade sharpener, shaving brush, shaving mug, mirror, soap, nail file, nail sharpener, tweezers, a barber's bowl and toiletry items such as cologne bottles. These types of items would likely only be discarded by a barber when they were worn out or broken. Archaeological reports on excavated barber shops could not be procured so, therefore, the distinguishing characteristics of a Barber Shop Assemblage will be garnered from the function and tools of a barber shop as outlined. The Barber Shop

Assemblage would likely contain a high proportion of artifacts within the Health and Hygiene category, specifically those of a grooming and/or toiletry-related function.

5.3.1.7 Laundry Assemblage

There was one laundry in Fort Walsh, run by a group of African-Americans. The distinctive types of artifacts present in a laundry assemblage should be related to its services, specifically the washing, drying and ironing of clothing and textiles. The washing of clothes would have required the use of wash tubs, washboards, soap and dyeing agents. While the actual soap may not be present in the archaeological record, the soap's packaging may indicate washing activities. Drying may have been done by pinning clothes to lines or with drying racks. Sometimes a source of heat was coupled with drying racks in the form of boilers, stoves or an open fire (Praetzellis 2004:250). Evidence of this would be seen with the remains of charcoal, clinker or stove parts near the laundry as this activity was usually outdoors before the 20th century. Ironing required the use of an ironing board, sad irons and a stove to heat the iron. Not only would these tools of the trade be present in a laundry but also the remains of the clothing and textiles themselves. Clothing fasteners such as buttons, hook and eye fasteners and clasps would also be evident.

Chinese laundries excavated in California and Nevada have revealed an abundance of information detailing their workers, the lifestyle and the industry. Praetzellis (2004:245) noted that although these ventures were inexpensive, they were often extremely labour intensive. All that was needed was access to a water source (running water and electricity were a luxury), a stove to heat the irons, a broiler to heat the water, drying racks, sinks, shelves and ironing boards (Praetzellis 2004:252). Excavations in the backyard of Sing Lee Laundry (1886-1936) in Stockton, California revealed the presence of dye bottles, blueing balls, scissors, buttons, collar studs, clothespins, hundreds of safety pins and straight pins, soapstone to mark clothing, a pleat roller and a sad iron. Other excavations at Hop Lee's Loft (1904-1930s) in Lovelock, Nevada uncovered a starch box and a laundry stamp while excavations at a laundry in West Oakland, California revealed hundreds of blueing balls (Praetzellis 2004:249, 252). The San Fong Laundry (1895-1950s) in Sacramento, California yielded many similar artifacts related to laundry activities such as buttons, studs, safety pins and fasteners.

These represented approximately 40% of the entire assemblage (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1990:17, 18, 26). All laundries contained buttons and collar studs with most fasteners from shirts, blouses and dresses. Turn of the century clothing was often represented by “flat sew-through buttons common on women’s dresses and coats and children’s blouses and coats, by children’s pantywaist buttons, and by white porcelain, bone and metal collar studs from the popular high collar shirts and blouses” (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1990:26-27).

Conclusions about the distinguishing artifacts of a Laundry Assemblage can be made. The Laundry Assemblage should contain a high proportion of household maintenance type artifacts in regards to cleaning and laundry activities. This includes items such as washbasins, washboards, soap and starch packaging, blueing bottles and balls, clothespins and sad irons. Artifacts such as the starch packaging and blueing bottles would have been discarded by the laundry after their contents were used. The use of stoves to heat the irons would be indicated by the presence of heating-related artifacts. There may also be a high number of personal items associated with clothing such as the textiles themselves and especially clothing fasteners such as buttons as they have a high potential of being dislodged from the clothing and lost. It also appears from the Sing Lee Laundry that some textile working related artifacts such as safety pins and straight pins may also be present.

5.3.1.8 Tailor Shop Assemblage

Two tailors were in operation at Fort Walsh. While there is some question whether Peter O’Hare was involved in private work outside the NWMP, John Stuttaford most likely went into private business after his discharge. The occupation of a tailor was to create and maintain clothing products from various textiles. To begin, a tailor would measure the fabric to be used and cut out the needed shapes with the use of scissors, safety pins and straight pins to hold the fabric together if needed. Using a needle and thread with the aid of a thimble, the tailor would then sew the garment together, adding on various fasteners and decorations if needed. The tools of his trade would then involve a measuring device, scissors, safety pins, straight pins, pincushions, needles, thread and spools, thimbles, clothing fasteners, textiles and any decorative type of items sewn onto items.

Detailed research on the material culture of sewing and needlework has been compiled by Mary Beaudry where she focused mainly on the tools or implements used in these activities that are most likely to survive in archaeological contexts (Beaudry 2006:8). She found through her own archaeological experience and research that these artifacts included varieties of straight pins, needles and thimbles with their associated cases and packaging, as these artifacts have a high potential of being lost based on their small size. Sewing artifacts also included different types of shears and scissors and sewing accessories such as spools, clamps, hem weights and darning balls. Therefore, based on the hypothesized artifact assemblage created above and the archaeological evidence of sewing-related artifacts as described by Beaudry, distinguishing artifacts for the Tailor Shop Assemblage will be constructed. A high proportion of artifacts would be present in the textile working subcategory which includes most of the tools of the trade. Personal items such as clothing fasteners and the remnants of textiles would also be characteristic of this assemblage.

5.3.1.9 Photography Studio Assemblage

A photography studio was opened in Fort Walsh by George Anderton, an ex-NWMP officer. The type of equipment he would have used for his business would have included his camera and all accompanying gear associated with the use of a camera. This would have included its case, a variety of lenses, film canisters, and a possible stand and light apparatus. To develop the film, processing trays containing various bottled chemicals and drying racks or lines may have been utilized. Although most of his existing photos are composed of outdoor shots, some are posed professional indoor shots. Many of these photos contain no props except for a chair, but some type of prop usage should not be excluded. For many of these items to become archaeological artifacts, they likely would have been discarded as they became broken or worn out and many would have been highly curated during the abandonment of Fort Walsh as they are essential to the business. No comparative archaeological reports detailing the excavation of a photography studio could be found. The distinguishing characteristics for a Photography Studio Assemblage are therefore related to the presence of photographic equipment within the communication functional category.

5.3.1.10 Office Building Assemblage

The Indian Affairs department rented buildings within the town to use as office space as their involvement with the native groups in the Cypress Hills became more intense in terms of treaty payments, the implementation of reserve farms and as the negotiations with various native groups for movement onto their reserve lands increased. The main functions of their office would be to keep records of all transactions or activities, initiate and maintain all needed forms of communication and effectively interact with the native groups and all other agencies (i.e. NWMP and trading stores) used in fulfilling the mandate of the Indian Department. The interior would presumably be furnished with office type furniture such as desks and chairs with adequate lighting. Office-related equipment would encompass materials used to write with and on such as inkwells, pens, pencil leads, books, ledgers, notepads and stationery. Other office equipment could include organizational items such as file folders or stands and paper clips or fasteners to keep papers together. Many of these items may have been easily lost, such as the paper fasteners and pencil leads, or discarded, such as inkwells when the contents were used up. However, items such as books and ledgers would have been highly curated and it is likely that they left with the occupants of the office building upon abandonment of the town. The office described here will be used to identify the distinguishing characteristics of the Office Building Assemblage as no archaeological reports detailing office building excavations could be obtained. The types of artifacts that should be present in an office would consist of furnishings, especially those artifacts related to furniture and lighting. The main type of activity in an office is communication; therefore artifacts related to communication type activities such as documentary and writing materials would be a distinguishing feature of this type of economic unit.

5.3.2 Summary of Characteristics

Table 4 presents a summary of the distinguishing characteristics of the ten social and economic units that are likely contributors to the material culture excavated at Fort Walsh. Many of the units are composed of similar artifact criteria such as the presence of textile working artifacts as seen in the Laundry and Tailor Shop Assemblages. It is

Table 4: Distinguishing Characteristics of the Social and Economic Units

| Contributing Unit | Distinguishing Characteristics |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1) Family Household | Diverse assemblage |
| | Female-related artifacts |
| | Child-related artifacts |
| | Decorated ceramics |
| | Furnishings |
| | High frequency of food preparation and consumption artifacts |
| | Presence of food storage containers but low frequency or absence of canning artifacts |
| | Presence of alcohol consumption and pharmaceutical artifacts |
| Métis Family Household | Similar to Family Household Assemblage |
| | High frequency of transfer-printed earthenwares |
| | Artifacts associated with tea drinking |
| | Food storage containers |
| | Adornment artifacts (beads) |
| | High frequency of ammunition |
| | Tobacco consumption |
| | |
| 2) Male-Only Household | Absence of female and child-related artifacts |
| | Less diverse assemblage |
| | Male-related artifacts |
| | Less frequency in food preparation and consumption artifacts |
| | Food storage containers (tin cans) |
| | Low frequency of alcohol consumption |
| | Low frequency of decorated ceramics |
| | Armaments and ammunition |
| | Male-oriented industrial activity artifacts |
| | |
| 3) Trading Store | Diverse assemblage |
| | Range of artifacts from all functional categories |
| 4) Hotel/Restaurant | Personal artifacts |
| | Grooming and toiletry artifacts |
| | Furnishings |
| | High frequency of undecorated ceramics |
| | Food storage containers |
| | Kitchenware and food processing artifacts |
| | High frequency of alcohol/tobacco consumption artifacts |
| 5) Billiard Hall | Recreation artifacts |
| | Alcohol consumption |
| | Tobacco consumption |
| | Drinking glassware |
| 6) Barber Shop | Grooming artifacts |

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| | Toiletry artifacts |
| 7) Laundry | Household maintenance artifacts |
| | Clothing textiles and clothing fasteners |
| | Textile working artifacts |
| | Furnishings (heating) |
| 8) Tailor Shop | Textile working artifacts |
| | Clothing textiles and clothing fasteners |
| 9) Photography Studio | Communication artifacts (photographic) |
| 10) Office Building | Furnishings |
| | Writing Materials |
| | Documentary artifacts |

not intended that the presence of one artifact such as a straight pin will distinguish a social or economic unit, but rather the entire combination of artifacts will be analyzed in context and compared against the distinguishing characteristics for each unit to determine its likely contributor.

5.3.3 Comments on the Constructed Assemblages

The distinguishing characteristics constructed here for the social and economic units identified in Fort Walsh may well be open for interpretation. These assemblages were constructed by outlining the functions of each unit and detailing the types of artifacts likely to be present and then complementing those proposed artifact characteristics with actual artifact information from archaeological excavation reports when obtainable. There is a possibility that some characteristics may have been overlooked in some assemblages, especially considering the unavailability or lack of research regarding artifact assemblages in businesses such as photography studios and barber shops. Archaeological knowledge is continually evolving where new information is constantly being obtained from ongoing excavations which could lead to a re-evaluation of many of these distinguishing characteristics.

Some characteristics within the assemblages are described as being higher or lower in frequency. This could refer to an abnormally large or small amount of artifacts occurring within an assemblage. For the purpose of this thesis, higher or lower frequencies are used mainly in comparative relative terms.

Architectural artifacts were not indicated or included in any of the constructed artifact assemblages. Artifacts associated with buildings tend to be deposited as a function of their construction, maintenance and demolition, not as a result of the activities occurring within (Blee 1991:108). Based on the historic photographs of the town, the majority of the buildings appear to have been constructed in the notched-log style with sod roofs. There appear to be no frame buildings. Therefore, because of the similarity in building styles, architectural artifacts are not considered diagnostic to any of the social and economic units. These artifacts, however, will still be included and discussed in Chapter 6 with the artifact analysis of the selected operations excavated at Fort Walsh.

The ten social and economic units identified in this chapter represent the most likely or principle contributors of the excavated material culture in the town. A third type of residence, a single adult female, was indicated in the 1881 Census of Canada. A Female-Only Household Assemblage was not constructed since it only represents one single residence whereas the other types of households identified represented larger proportions of the town residents. Also, the types of artifact deemed characteristic for a female dominated household would likely be similar to those of the Family Household Assemblage since they heavily rely upon the presence of a woman.

The next chapter will discuss and analyze some of the artifacts excavated at the Fort Walsh townsite. From this, a number of operation areas will be selected for comparison against the assemblages constructed in this chapter. This comparison will attempt to determine if the contributors of the artifacts can be socially or economically identified.

Chapter 6

Artifact Analysis and Interpretation

Artifacts from a combined total of 52 operations were collected in the townsite. This included artifacts from depression excavations, surface surveys, a building mitigation, trench excavations, magnetometer assessment units along the creekbank and surface finds. Each separate investigation had been assigned its own operation number. The total number of artifacts catalogued from all of these operations in the Fort Walsh townsite was 15,112.

Following the cataloguing of the artifacts, a number of problems and challenges arose when I began to plan which operations would be useful for analysis in this thesis. One challenge was the complexity and size of the town assemblage. Artifacts from every operation could not be used as each would have to be described, analyzed and interpreted separately, creating an extremely time consuming venture. Another challenge was the fragmentary nature of the entire Fort Walsh townsite collection. Out of the 15,112 artifacts, approximately a third of them have been placed within the Unclassifiable functional category (n=5027 or 33.3%). This category consists mainly of fragmentary and unidentified artifacts which could not be associated with a particular function. This category tends to dominate the assemblage of a number of operations, leaving only a few diagnostic artifacts for analysis. The entire collection in general is also quite fragmentary with many of the identifiable and diagnostic artifacts represented as fragment counts. In some cases this causes an over-representation of artifacts, skewing the numbers within functional categories which directly affects the analysis and interpretation of the operation. In an effort to combat this problem, I have attempted to identify the minimum number of vessels present when describing some of the artifacts within this chapter. Another reason for not analyzing all operations was the lack of interpretive value to be gained from some of them. An example would be artifacts

collected from the three surface survey quadrants and the artifacts collected as surface finds by Parks staff and tourists as they contain no provenience data. In effect, these artifacts are “floating in space” within the townsite as none of these artifacts can be connected to a specific area or feature and subsequently to a specific group of town residents. The last and final reason was the method of analysis and interpretation that was outlined in Chapter 5. I plan on comparing the operation assemblages to the constructed social and economic assemblages in order to identify the contributors of the artifacts. To carry out this task, a standard must be set for comparison. Utilizing operations high in unidentified artifacts or low in artifact numbers would be disadvantageous to the interpretation as the comparison depends upon the presence/absence/frequency of identifiable artifacts. It is for these reasons that I will only be analyzing and interpreting a small number of operations for this thesis. The following section outlines the criteria used in choosing operations suitable for comparison, analysis and interpretation.

6.1 Criteria for Comparison to Constructed Assemblages

The criteria used in choosing operations suitable for comparison to the constructed assemblages were developed through a number of steps. The first step was to identify the functional categories within each operation which would be essential for comparison to the distinguishing artifacts of each constructed assemblages as outlined in Table 4. The functional categories that I deemed essential were: Personal, Health and Hygiene, Recreation, Indulgences, Food Preparation and Consumption, Communication, Police/Military, Furnishings, Transportation, Hunting/Defence and Commerce and Industry. The non-essential functional categories were Architectural, Unclassifiable, Faunal, Floral and Precontact. Little emphasis is placed on these five categories in determining the social and economic identities of assemblages. They will still be included in the overall description of artifacts within each operation assemblage but they will merely play a supplementary role in the analysis and interpretation of the assemblage. However, the Precontact category will not be included in the artifact count or description of any of the operations chosen since this category has no connection to the activities of the town residents.

The next step was to set a rigid minimum for the number of artifacts needed within the essential categories in order to be an appropriate measure for comparison. This minimum was set at 50 artifacts. Any operations that contained fewer than 50 artifacts within the eleven essential functional categories listed above were considered unsuitable for comparison. The reasoning behind setting 50 as the minimum was that this number was both low enough so that a number of operations would meet this criterion and high enough to hopefully represent some artifact diversity. Only 12 out of 52 operations contained enough artifacts to meet this criterion.

The last step was to assess the suitability of the operations which met the minimum artifact number standard. This involved examining each of the 12 operations in terms of excavation methodology, artifact diversity and the archaeologist's conclusions regarding the proposed function of the operation. Operations were more desirable for comparison if they involved the excavation of a discrete feature rather than a random test unit within the town, if they contained a variety of artifacts within a number of functional categories and if Parks Canada or WHSI archaeologists determined a function for the operation relating to activities of town residents (i.e. trash pit vs. natural depression). All of the operations exhibited adequate artifact diversity where a number of functional categories were represented within the operation assemblage. However, while ten operations were conducted on features, two of the operations were exploratory trenches and were not focused on recognizable features. These trenches were 10 m in length and contained a scattering of artifacts throughout but there were no artifact concentrations or features found in either. Both trenches were determined to be unsuitable for comparison as they represented too large of an area to attempt to associate with a specific group of town residents. Therefore, using the minimum artifact number and suitability criteria, ten operations were chosen from the Fort Walsh townsite to be used in comparison with the constructed social and economic assemblages described in Chapter 5.

These ten operations represent three different features: trash pits (n=7), cellar features (n=2) and buildings (n=1). For the sake of organization, the rest of this chapter is structured according to these three feature types. The operations within each section will be introduced individually along with a description of its artifacts, followed by

interpretation of the operation in regards to its comparison to the constructed assemblages.

6.2 Trash Pit Features

Seven of the chosen operations are trash pit features. They range in size, location and artifact density from only a few hundred to over a thousand artifacts. The majority of these operations occur within the concentrated area of depressions near Battle Creek on the middle terrace. Only one operation (8N60) is separated from this group and is located further east on the lower terrace. Table 5 describes the artifacts of each of the seven operations in terms of their functional categories.

6.2.1 Operation 8N15

Operation 8N15 was mapped and excavated in the 1973 field season. This large trash pit also contained a secondary intrusive pit. The Parks Canada archaeologists suggested a connection to a residence (Karklins 1987:6). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 1,546.

The Personal category (n=920) contains the highest number of artifacts from this trash pit, consisting of adornment items and clothing fasteners. Adornment artifacts are comprised of seed beads and wire wound beads. Seed beads are, by far, the most common type of bead (n=888). The majority are of the variety IIa (non-tubular beads with monochrome bodies) according to the Glass Beads guide developed for the use of Parks Canada staff by Karlis Karklins (1982) which is used for the identification of all the beads within the Fort Walsh artifact collection. This variety consists of the following colours and diaphaneity: two opaque green seed beads, nine opaque white seed beads, nine opaque robin's egg blue seed beads, 12 transparent scarlet seed beads, 124 opaque blue seed beads, 153 opaque yellow seed beads and 572 opaque turquoise seed beads. The remaining seed beads (n=7) are of the variety IVa (non-tubular beads with polychrome bodies) with a translucent scarlet outer layer and an opaque white inner core (Karklins 1982:16). The wire wound beads are of two varieties. One variety is WIb (round beads with monochrome bodies) which includes one translucent grass green bead and three translucent blue bead fragments which mend together to form one bead (Karklins 1982:92). The second variety is WIIIb (monochrome beads with inlaid

Table 5: Functional Category Classifications for the Trash Pit Features

| Functional Category | Functional Sub-Category | 8N 15 | 8N 20 | 8N 48 | 8N 54 | 8N 60 | 8N 122D | 8N 123B |
|---|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| Personal | | 920 | 33 | 4 | 148 | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| | Adornment | 917 | 30 | 1 | 148 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | Clothing Fasteners | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| | Footwear | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Health and Hygiene | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | Grooming | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | Medical | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Toiletries | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Recreation | | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Sport | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Toys | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Indulgences | | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 16 | 0 |
| | Alcohol Consumption | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 16 | 0 |
| Food Preparation and Consumption | | 38 | 35 | 91 | 1 | 84 | 127 | 98 |
| | Food Processing | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Food Storage Containers | 18 | 1 | 16 | 0 | 54 | 1 | 2 |
| | Kitchenware | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Subsistence-Related Organic Materials | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 0 |
| | Tableware | 17 | 34 | 74 | 1 | 30 | 93 | 96 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Communication | | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Documentary | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Police/Military | | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Adornment | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Clothing Fasteners | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Furnishings | | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Lighting | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Architectural | | 35 | 36 | 73 | 12 | 246 | 142 | 89 |
| | Architectural Hardware | 34 | 28 | 31 | 7 | 173 | 111 | 68 |
| | Building Component | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Building Materials | 0 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| | Door Hardware | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Window Materials | 0 | 3 | 39 | 0 | 66 | 31 | 21 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Transportation | | 2 | 5 | 0 | 11 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| | Animal Powered | 2 | 5 | 0 | 11 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| Hunting/Defence | | 32 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| | Ammunition | 31 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| | Trapping | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Commerce and Industry | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Forestry | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Metalworking | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Shop Tools | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | Textile Working | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Woodworking | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Unclassifiable | | 59 | 36 | 187 | 22 | 127 | 163 | 93 |
| | Artifact Remnant | 20 | 10 | 147 | 16 | 38 | 62 | 68 |
| | Multiple Use | | | | | | | |
| | Artifact | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| | Unclassified | | | | | | | |
| | Package/Container | 39 | 26 | 39 | 6 | 81 | 99 | 24 |
| Faunal | | 455 | 7 | 134 | 190 | 239 | 194 | 63 |
| | Identified | 285 | 2 | 13 | 68 | 42 | 111 | 13 |
| | Unidentified | 170 | 5 | 121 | 122 | 197 | 83 | 50 |
| Totals | | 1546 | 159 | 493 | 394 | 718 | 648 | 350 |

decoration) which consists of 25 fragments of one or possibly two beads (Karklins 1982:95). The bead has a light grey body decorated with compound “eyes” or dots of ruby on white, blue on white and amber on white. The Clothing Fasteners sub-category contains three buttons. One button is 4-holed and made of ferrous metal. The two remaining buttons are 2-holed with the body painted a light gold colour and the rim painted a pinkish-red colour with the back not decorated. Both are prosser buttons and made of porcelain (Figure 26a).

The Health and Hygiene category is comprised of only one artifact. The artifact is placed within the Grooming sub-category and is a black vulcanized rubber comb. The comb is incomplete and consists of only a portion of the spine and teeth, with many of the teeth missing. The teeth are rectangular and taper to a point. Tiny words are present along the spine of the comb reading “...SP[T] MAY 6 51 ...”. Since very few letters were decipherable, it is unknown to what this mark or date refers.

The Recreation category contains only one artifact relating to toys. This artifact represents the shoulder fragment of a doll. The shoulder fragment is made out of parian porcelain, is unglazed and painted pink. A portion of this fragment also contains the edge of a white moulded lace collar. A mould seam runs through both the collar and the shoulder.

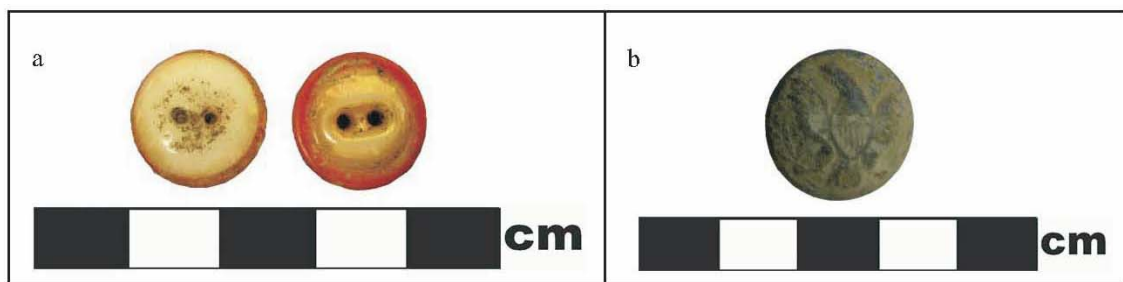


Figure 26: Some buttons found in Operation 8N15: (a) two painted prosser buttons; (b) US Military button.

Food Preparation and Consumption (n=38) includes artifacts relating to food processing, food storage containers, kitchenware and tableware. The Food Processing sub-category consists of two components of a coffee mill. One component is comprised of a handle which turns a grinding implement which is connected to a bowl with a hole in its base (Figure 27a). The second component could possibly be a lid which is domed with an attachment at the top. The Food Storage Container sub-category is comprised of 18 fragments which represent the remains of one metal container. The container is rectangular with a key lid opener, although the key is not present. Portions of the container contain decorations or symbols such as a man's profile and a star within a circle. Letters can be deciphered reading "...POLYTE SARDINES AI...", identifying the container as a sardine can. The one artifact in the Kitchenware sub-category is the handle of a frying pan. The handle is heavy and made out of ferrous metal. The Tableware sub-category (n=17) includes decorated and undecorated ceramics, cutlery and drinking glassware. One rim fragment of a white earthenware teacup is decorated on both the interior and exterior with a black underglaze transfer print. The interior consists of a decorative band just below the rim with a zig zag edging along the bottom of the band. The exterior contains an unidentified floral motif (Figure 27b). The rest of the ceramics are all undecorated. Three artifacts were mended to reconstruct half a white granite plate. The base of the plate contained a black underglaze transfer print maker's mark reading "J. W. PANKHURST & CO" underneath the British Royal Arms (Figure 27c). J. W. Pankhurst & Co. was based in Hanley, England and used this mark from 1852-1882 (Godden 1964:481). Other types of undecorated ceramics include the rim of a white granite plate, two rim fragments of a vitrified white earthenware saucer,

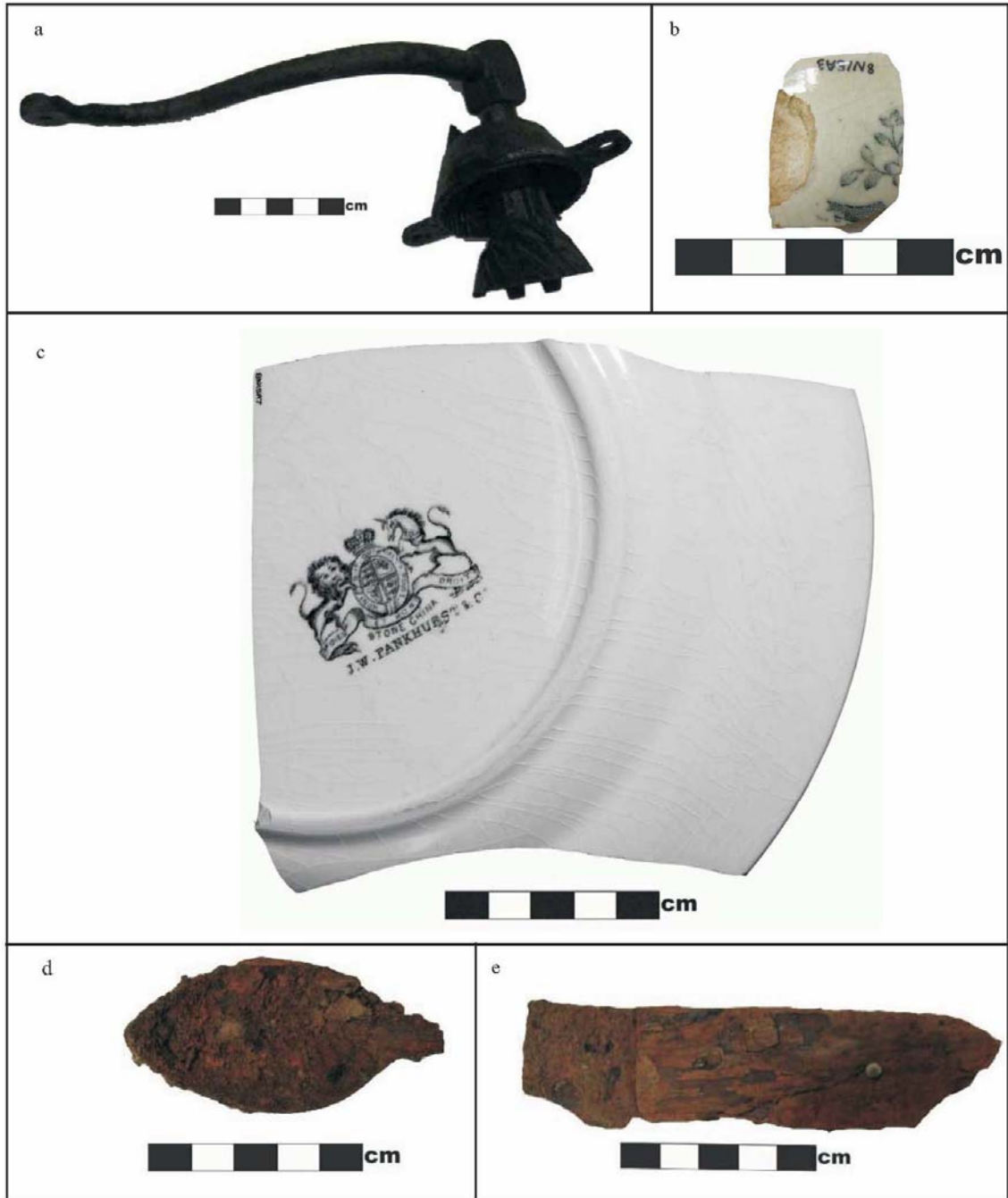


Figure 27: Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts found in Operation 8N15: (a) coffee mill; (b) transfer print teacup; (c) undecorated plate with maker's mark; (d) teaspoon; (e) knife.

four base and body sherds of a white earthenware cup and one fragment of a white granite flatware vessel. Cutlery is represented by both a spoon and a knife. The spoon is a teaspoon with the handle broken just below the bowl (Figure 27d). The bowl is

shallow and oval-shaped with a pointed end. The knife is broken through the blade just before the handle (Figure 27e). The handle consists of a wooden overlay overtop the metal handle of the knife and is held together with two circular rivets. Drinking glassware is comprised of the base of a thick, heavy colourless mug. Circular facets line the body of the mug just above the base where a small portion of the handle also projects.

The Police/Military category contains two artifacts within the Clothing Fasteners sub-category. Both clothing fasteners are buttons. One button is a brass 2-piece button with an inserted wire shank as its attachment. The front is domed with a stamped design depicting an eagle motif (Figure 26b). The button has been identified as belonging to the uniforms of the US Military. It is a regular coat or blouse button, of a pre-1885 style (Scott and Fox 1987:90). The second button is made of brass and consists of only the face of the button; the shank is missing. The face is very thin with a domed middle portion. A stamped decoration encircles the domed middle section and this button was likely part of a uniform as well.

The Architectural category (n=35) includes architectural hardware and door hardware artifacts. Architectural hardware contains the majority of artifacts within this category. These artifacts consist of 32 common machine cut nails of varying sizes and two wire drawn nails. Door hardware is represented by a hinge. The hinge is identified as a type of mortise hinge where two rectangular plates pivot around a central pin.

Transportation is represented by two artifacts relating to animal powered transportation. These two artifacts are horseshoe nails. Both nails are approximately 2.25 inches long.

Hunting/Defence artifacts (n=32) are comprised of those within the Ammunition and Trapping sub-categories. The Ammunition sub-category (n=31) contains the majority of artifacts. Of those, 29 are cartridge cases and two are bullets. Four of the cartridge cases are .44 Henry rim-fires, all with a stamped "H" on the head. This cartridge was likely fired through either a Henry repeating rifle or the Model 1866 Winchester repeating rifle. Both were popular on the frontier during the 1870s (Scott and Fox 1987:69-73). Twenty artifacts consist of three .50 Remington Navy Pistol rim-fires with rimmed straight bodies. Another three ammunition artifacts comprise two .50

Government internal primer centre-fire cartridge cases. The remaining cartridge cases are one .45-75 centre-fire case and one .44 centre-fire case. Both bullets were fired and flattened with one identified as a .44 calibre bullet. The Trapping sub-category contains one artifact, a bear leg hold trap. The trap consists of a double spring with a circular release pad in the middle. A chain is attached to one end of the trap (Figure 28).

The Commerce and Industry category is represented by one artifact relating to textile working. This artifact is a straight pin. The straight pin is complete and is 2.9 cm long.

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=59) include artifact remnants and unclassified package/containers. Artifact remnants consist of fragments of curved glass, non-structural wood pieces, unidentified metals and textiles. One textile fragment could not be identified as to type but the remaining two fragments are identified as wool. The wool is possibly homespun and exhibits a single ply “s” twist warp and weft. Unclassified package/containers (n=39) are comprised of metal containers, strapping, and bottle fragments. Six metal container artifacts represent four different containers based upon their closures. Three containers contain a hole-in-top closure and the fourth is a circular plug in lid container. The remaining 16 metal container artifacts are body and base fragments. Six of the artifacts are broken fragments of strapping with rivets and/or holes. The fragments of bottle glass represent colourless, light turquoise, turquoise, amber and olive green bottles. Two of the fragments are bottle finishes. One contains a patent lip with a flat top and a narrow mouth commonly seen on medicine and food extract bottles. The other contains a Davis-type finish frequently associated with Perry Davis Vegetable Painkiller bottles but also common on other patent and proprietary medicine bottles, toiletry bottles and food extract bottles (Jones and Sullivan



Figure 28: Bear leg hold trap.

1989:79).

Operation 8N15 also contains a large amount of faunal remains (n=455). Just over half of the remains are identifiable (n=285) to varying degrees. The types of animals identified are as follows: artiodactyl, bird, bison, canid, chicken, cow, cow or bison, deer, large-sized herbivore, porcupine, pronghorn, wolf and wolf or dog. The rest were attributable to large-, medium- or small-sized mammals along with unidentified mammal remains. Evidence of cutmarks are present on at least 24 of the faunal remains, consisting of knife, saw and axe marks, with over half of the marks appearing on rib or vertebral elements. Remains exhibiting cutmarks range from large-sized animals such as cow and bison to smaller animals such as chicken and canid species.

6.2.1.1 Interpretations

In order to compare this assemblage with the social and economic constructed assemblages, the characteristics of the 8N15 assemblage will be briefly summarized first. One of the characteristics of this assemblage is that it contained high amounts of seed beads, more than all the other assemblages combined. Female-related artifacts may be represented by two porcelain buttons painted pink and gold. Evidence for child-related artifacts comes from a fragment of a doll. Food preparation and consumption artifacts are represented by a variety of objects such as the coffee mill, sardine can, cutlery and frying pan handle. Food storage containers in general are low and besides the sardine can, only a few metal containers were collected which may have contained food items. The tableware ceramics are low in number also, with only one decorated item, a black transfer printed teacup, whereas the rest of the artifacts are sherds of undecorated plates, saucers and cups. This assemblage also contained large amounts of hunting/defence artifacts such as cartridge cases, bullets and a bear trap. The identified faunal remains are a diverse mixture of wild game and domestic animals. The presence of a variety of ammunition types, the trap, wild game remains and butchering evidence indicate that hunting was likely a large source of meat procurement. The only commerce and industry artifact present was a straight pin representing textile working. Two of the more interesting artifacts are the two buttons identified as belonging to police uniforms with one button from a US Military uniform. Categories that are

notably absent from this assemblage are Indulgences, Furnishings, Communication and Agricultural.

After comparing the assemblage of Operation 8N15 to that of the social and economic constructed assemblages, I determined that this assemblage may best represent a Métis Family Household. One of the distinguishing characteristics of a family assemblage, in general, is the presence of female and/or child-related artifacts. This assemblage contains both, indicating that its contributors were likely from a family household. Other general Family Household characteristics present in this assemblage are the diversity in food preparation and consumption artifacts and decorated ceramics, although both are lower in frequency than what was predicted. The lack of furnishings and indulgence artifacts is contradictory to the expected Family Household Assemblage pattern which may be a product of many factors such as the abandonment process, lack of drinking activity in this residence, excavation methodologies or simply the lack of deposition of these artifacts in this particular trash pit by this household. What defines this assemblage as Métis, however, is the presence of a few key artifacts. These artifacts include the high frequency of seed beads, the presence of decorated tea drinking ceramics and the high frequency of ammunition or hunting related artifacts. Craftwork using beads and straight pins is noted within many excavated Métis sites. This assemblage contained the largest concentration of seed beads indicating heavy utilization of this material. The social activity of tea drinking was a common practice amongst Métis women and this may be evidenced by the presence of the transfer print teacup. Hunting was not only a means of acquiring food, but also a source of livelihood for many Métis in the Cypress Hills and on the prairies. It appears that this traditional way of life continued for some town residents from the high frequency and diversity of hunting artifacts and faunal remains in this assemblage. The only type of artifact absent that was also identified as characteristic for Métis Family Households are artifacts relating to tobacco consumption. Regardless, it is the combination of these key artifacts which indicate that the likely contributors of the trash pit, Operation 8N15, are from a Métis Family Household.

6.2.2 Operation 8N20

Operation 8N20 was mapped and excavated in the 1973 field season. This depression was a large trash pit containing a smaller secondary pit. Parks Canada archaeologists suggested that utilization of this trash pit was not as intense as other pits (Lunn 1985:3). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 159.

The Personal category (n=33) is composed of items of adornment and clothing fasteners. Adornment artifacts consist mainly of seed beads with one mould pressed bead. The majority of seed beads are of the variety IIa (Karklins 1982:90) exhibiting the following colours and diaphaneity: 1 opaque dark palm green bead, 1 opaque copen blue bead, 1 translucent turquoise bead, 2 opaque cherry rose beads and 20 opaque robin's egg blue beads. The remaining seed beads (n=4) are of the IVa variety (Karklins 1982:16), consisting of a transparent scarlet outer layer with an opaque white inner core. The mould pressed bead is of the variety MPIIa (monochrome round faceted bead) (Karklins 1982:98). This bead is black with multiple facets in the shape of a pentagon. The Clothing Fasteners sub-category is represented by three complete buttons. One button is made out of black glass with a wire shank inserted into the back. The front has a pressed decorative motif with diamond shapes lining the rim of the button and a possible stylized flower motif in the centre. Another button is a 4-holed milk glass button. The rim and a portion of the interior were painted a reddish-brown colour. The third and last type of button is a fabric covered ferrous metal button.

The Recreation category is comprised of only one artifact, this belonging to the Sport sub-category. This artifact is a child-sized skate blade (Figure 29a). The skate blade is made out of ferrous metal and is approximately 17 cm long from end to end.

Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts (n=35) include those relating to food storage containers and tableware. The Food Storage Container sub-category contains only one artifact, a fragment of lead foil. The lead foil is identified as a possible tea chest lining. The Tableware sub-category (n=34) contains a number of different decorations and vessel forms. Two rim fragments of a white earthenware plate exhibit a blue underglaze transfer print pattern identified as "Syria" (Figure 29b), made by Robert Cochran & Co. of Glasgow, Scotland (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:88, 355). Four different stamped decorations are present. The rim of a white earthenware hollowware vessel contains a black painted band below the rim with an unidentified



Figure 29: Artifacts found in Operation 8N20: (a) skate blade; (b) plate with “Syria” pattern; (c) book binding; (d) NWMP button; (e) bale seal.

black stamped pattern on the exterior containing triangular projections and wavy lines. The rim of another white earthenware hollowware vessel contains blue stamped squares arranged in a checkerboard pattern. The rim of a white earthenware flatware vessel contains a red band below the rim with purple leaves stamped underneath the band. The last type of stamped decoration is on a rim from a white earthenware flatware vessel with a purple band below the rim and an unidentified purple stamped decoration below. Eleven body and base sherds from an unidentified white earthenware flatware vessel contain an underglaze painted pattern consisting of green leaves and blue and rose-coloured objects. This combination of colours and shapes is similar to that of a plate found in Operation 8N122D and at the Fort Walsh NWMP post, described as a painted motif of roughly brushed floral patterns (Hamilton 1979:29, 30 and Figure 5). A gold gilt line, approximately 1.4 cm below the lip, is the only decoration on the rim of a white

earthenware hollowware vessel. The last type of decoration is a moulded relief on the rim of a white granite plate exhibiting an unidentified “wheat” pattern. The remaining artifacts (n=15) are undecorated tableware vessels. These include the rim and handle of a white granite cup, the rim of a white earthenware saucer, the rim of a white earthenware plate and 12 base and body sherds of unidentified flatware vessels.

The Communication category is comprised of one artifact within the Documentary sub-category. This artifact is a copper book clasp or book binding (Figure 29c). The copper plate is rectangular with a hinge on one end and a hole at the other. It is decorated with incised lines surrounding a second copper plate attached to the middle in the shape of leaves. In the centre is a white glass bead attached to the plates below with a metal pin.

The Police/Military category is represented by one clothing fastener artifact. It is a circular 2-piece metal button with a domed face. The face is stamped with Queen Victoria’s crown in the middle and letters reading “N. W. M. P” above the crown and “CANADA” below the crown (Figure 29d). A wire omega shank is inserted into the back with the words “COMPTON/LONDON” around the wire. This button was worn on the original Norfolk jacket, used from 1873 until new uniforms were issued for the NWMP in 1876 (Ross 1987:20).

The Furnishings category contains only one artifact relating to lighting. This artifact is the rim portion of a chimney glass. The rim has grinding on its edge and is colourless.

Architectural artifacts (n=36) include architectural hardware, building materials and window materials. The majority of architectural hardware artifacts (n=26) are common machine cut nails of varying sizes with the addition of a wood screw and a wire nail. Building materials are composed of pieces of chinking. The Window Materials sub-category is comprised entirely of window glass.

Transportation artifacts (n=5) are represented by artifacts relating to animal powered transportation. One artifact is a shaft chime, a brass bell-like object which is part of the harness. Another harness-related artifact is a buckle prong from a harness buckle. Two large, heavy metal eye pins are likely associated with hitch gear. The last artifact related to animal powered transportation is a horseshoe nail.

Hunting/Defence artifacts (n=2) are comprised of ammunition. Both ammunition artifacts are cartridge cases. One cartridge case is a .45-75 centre-fire with a rimmed bottleneck body and the other is a .44 Henry rim-fire with a rimmed straight body.

The Commerce and Industry category contains only one artifact. This artifact is related to woodworking and is the handle of a gimlet. The handle is made of ferrous metal, is oval with blunt ends and is approximately 5 cm long.

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=36) include artifact remnants and unclassified package/container artifacts. Artifact remnants consist of fragments of curved glass, strapping, non-structural wood pieces and unidentified metal pieces. One interesting artifact is a flat oval lead disk. Lines are scratched upon the surface of the disk in an unorganized manner. A Parks Canada archaeologist indicated on the inventory list that this may be a possible gaming piece. Unclassified package/containers include metal containers, portions of bottles and panelled bottles and a bale seal. The majority of artifacts in this sub-category are metal containers (n=17). Fourteen of these artifacts represent seven lids or closures. Five of these are hole-in-top closures (one from a square container), with one slip on lid and another lid which is threaded. The remaining metal container artifacts are body and base fragments. The five bottle glass fragments represent four different bottles. One is a hand applied down-tooled lip of a light green bottle. Another is a finish/neck portion of a colourless bottle with a hand applied bead lip and a cylindrical neck. The third type of bottle is a finish/neck/shoulder portion of a colourless bottle with a hand applied patent lip, cylindrical neck and sloped down shoulders leading into a rectangular panelled body. Another bottle is the cylindrical neck of an aqua bottle. The last type of bottle is the body/base of an aqua panelled bottle. The base is rectangular with recessed panels on all sides. There are no markings on the base.

The remaining artifact in the Unclassified Package/Container sub-category is a lead bale seal. The seal is thick and roughly circular with imprints pressed into both sides (Figure 29e). One side reads “CUSTO[M]/_A” and the other side reads “_OND/_S.A.”. Two horizontal bore holes run through the middle of the seal. It appears that the seal may have originated in London, England and passed through the

United States before reaching Fort Walsh. Three other similar bale seals were also recovered from the townsite, two from operations not discussed in this thesis. Two of them contain imprints pressed into the seal. One reads “U.S./CUST_” on one side and “BON_/US_” on the opposite side. The second one reads “U._/CUS_” with no identifiable markings on the opposite side. The third bale seal is from Operation 8N21 and contains no imprinted letters but has two horizontal bore holes through the middle of the seal. Both the Baker and Power companies had secured bonded lines to transport goods from eastern Canada and England through the United States and back into western Canada (Corbin 2006:53).

Operation 8N20 contained a small number of faunal remains (n=7). Only two of the bones were identifiable, representing a large-sized herbivore and large-sized mammal. The rest were unidentified mammal remains.

6.2.2.1 Interpretations

A brief summary of the artifact characteristics in the Operation 8N20 assemblage will be presented before comparing this assemblage to the constructed social and economic assemblages. Personal artifacts consist of a low number of beads and buttons. One of the buttons is decorated with a painted rim which may denote a fastener from a woman’s garment. A child-sized skate blade is evidence for child-related artifacts. Household artifacts are seen with furnishings such as lighting items, communication artifacts such as a book binding, food storage container items and tableware artifacts, although all of these are very low in number. The tableware artifacts show diversity in decorated ceramics with at least six patterns displayed ranging from painted to stamped and transfer printed techniques. All transportation artifacts are related to the use of a horse and wagon. Hunting/Defence artifacts are quite low with only two cartridge cases, indicating that hunting was perhaps not a priority especially with the low number of faunal remains collected. The only commerce and industry artifact was a gimlet handle used for woodworking. One interesting artifact from this assemblage is a NWMP button from a uniform. This assemblage lacks artifacts pertaining to the Health and Hygiene, Indulgences and Agricultural categories.

I determined that this assemblage may best represent a Family Household after comparing it to the constructed social and economic assemblages. The main indication

that this was a Family Household Assemblage was the presence of both female- and child-related artifacts such as the button and the child's skate blade. Further evidence of female presence came from the variety of decorated ceramics which was based upon the association of females with decorated ceramics. Household domestic artifacts are present, however, they are quite low as compared to that suggested for the Family Household Assemblage by other archaeologists. Food storage containers are represented only by one foil fragment from a tea chest lining, but there were a small number of unidentified metal containers and glass bottles in the Unclassifiable category. It is likely that some may have contained foodstuffs. Hunting does not appear to be a frequent activity in this household and was not likely a common method of meat procurement based on the few faunal remains collected and the lack of wild game. The family may have relied more on preserved or canned foods but there is also little evidence of this based upon the low numbers of metal containers and storage bottles. Since the Parks Canada archaeologists suggested that this trash pit was utilized only for a short period of time, food-related items may not have had the time to accumulate or they were deposited elsewhere.

This assemblage also contained a button from a NWMP uniform. NWMP officers, both during service and after discharge, are known to have resided within the town. All of the officers living within the town during the time of the 1881 Census of Canada were married with children. The presence of this button suggests that this Family Household is representative of a former or serving member of the NWMP. Of course it may be derived from a lost or discarded item of a NWMP officer that was procured by a town resident.

The possibility that this assemblage represented a Métis Family Household was rejected based on a number of reasons. First of all, this assemblage did contain a number of seed beads. However, this number is quite low as compared to the numbers of seed beads collected in other suspected or known Métis assemblages both at Fort Walsh and at other Métis sites. The evidence for tea drinking and tobacco consumption is low or non-existent in this assemblage. Therefore, the combination of artifacts in this assemblage indicates that the likely contributors to the trash pit, Operation 8N20, are from a Family Household.

6.2.3 Operation 8N48

Operation 8N48 was mapped and excavated in the 1973 field season. Parks Canada archaeologists suggested this was a large natural depression converted into a trash repository. The presence of whitewash near one edge of the depression also indicated to the Parks Canada archaeologists that a building was in close proximity although no structural remains were found (Karklins 1987:9). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 493.

Personal artifacts (n=4) include items of adornment and clothing fasteners. The adornment artifact is a wire wound bead of the variety WIIIb (Karklins 1982:95). The bead has a white body with six diagonal alternating rows of the following two designs: three transparent ruby dots and an opaque light gold squiggle on a transparent apple green background. The clothing fasteners are comprised of three buttons. One is a white 4-holed prosser button. Another button is made of ferrous metal with a domed fabric-covered face. The third type is a 4-holed button made of bone which may have been dyed black based on the remnants of black staining in the recessed areas (Figure 30a).

The Indulgence category (n=3) is represented by artifacts relating to alcohol consumption. These three artifacts likely represent different portions of one amber-coloured beer bottle. One artifact is a finish with a hand-applied down-tooled lip. The neck is broken just below the finish and may be either cylindrical or tapered. The other two artifacts represent the base and body of the bottle. The body is circular with mould seams running up two opposite sides. The base has a rounded heel with a shallow concave basal profile. Embossed letters and numbers appear on the base reading “C” along the top edge, “2” in the middle and “MILW” along the bottom edge (Figure 30b). The manufacturer is identified as the Chase Valley Glass Company No. 2 of Milwaukee. The “2” in the middle of the base is the mould number. This company operated for only one season from September 1880 – July 1881 before closing and being reorganized into the Wisconsin Glass Company (Maas 2009; Toulouse 1971:151-152).

Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts (n=91) include those relating to food storage containers, kitchenware and tableware. The Food Storage Container sub-category (n=16) is composed of fragments of foil and a preserve jar. The eight lead foil

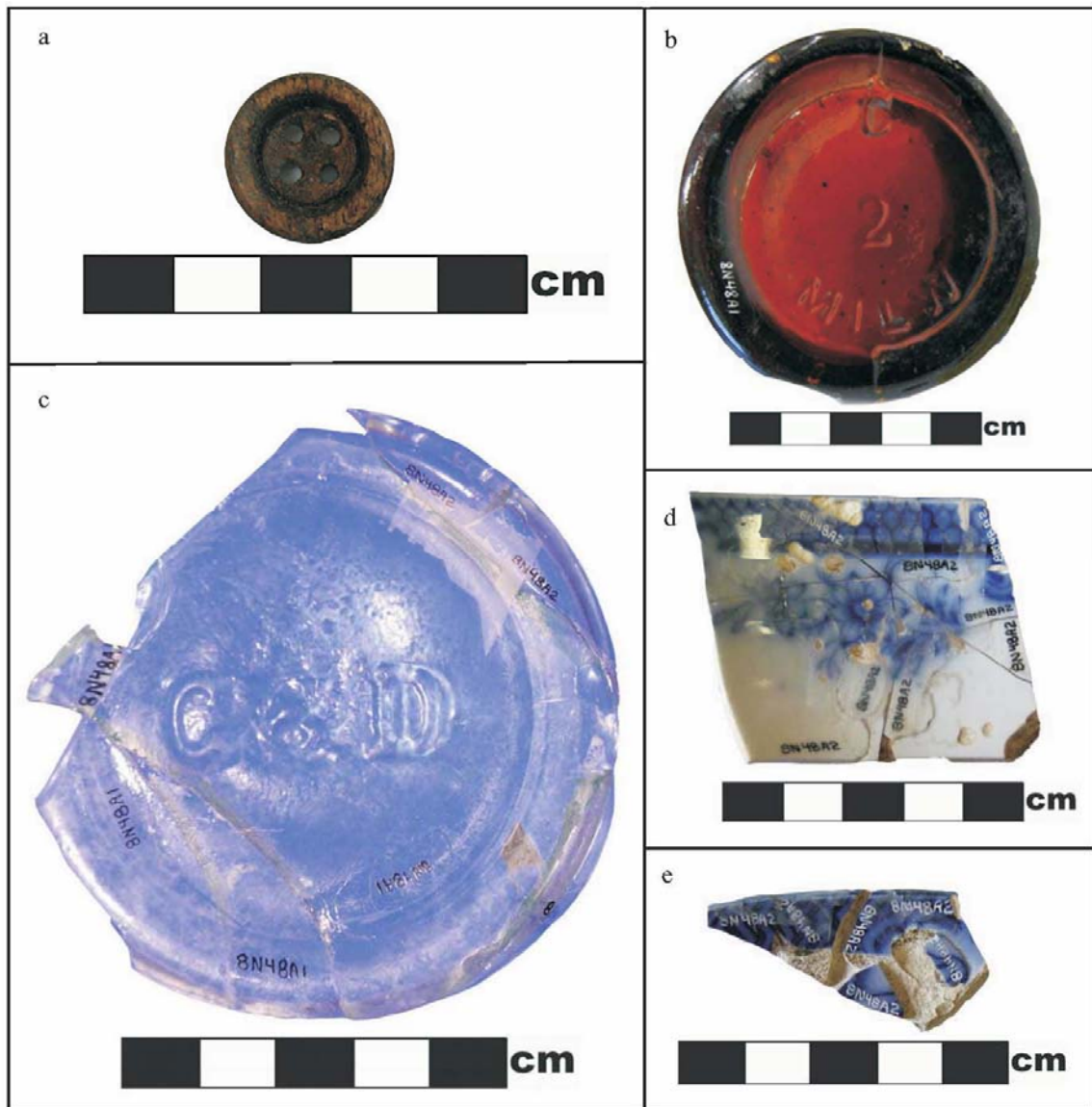


Figure 30: Artifacts found in Operation 8N48: (a) bone button; (b) beer bottle base; (c) G&D bottle base; (d) teacup with “B770” pattern; (e) saucer with “B772” pattern. The G & D bottle base (c) is turquoise in colour but was photographed on top of blue fabric causing the colour to be distorted.

fragments are thin and flexible and are identified as possible tea chest linings. The remaining eight artifacts represent the base of one turquoise-coloured bottle. The base is circular with a rounded heel and a slightly shallow concave base. Embossed letters in the middle of the base read “G & D” (Figure 30c). This mark is of the company Gordon & Dilworth from New York, reorganized in 1868 from the previous company R. Gordon & Co. (*The New York Times* 1887:February 11). This company manufactured jellies,

sauces, syrups, preserves and canned fruit and general alimentary products. This base is similar if not identical to food bottles found with this mark at the Fort Walsh NWMP post (Lunn 1979:35 and Figure 8). The Kitchenware category contains only one artifact. This artifact is a piece of stoneware with a yellow glaze from an unidentified vessel. Tableware artifacts (n=74) are the most numerous in this category, representing decorated and undecorated ceramics. A few different designs appear on the decorated ceramics. Fifteen rim and body sherds were combined to form a portion of a white earthenware cup containing an underglaze flow blue transfer print (Figure 30d). The transfer print pattern was identified as B770, manufactured by W. T. Copeland and dated from 1838 to post 1847 (Sussman 1979:64). Another underglaze flow blue transfer print was identified on a white earthenware saucer, combined from nine sherds (Figure 30e). This pattern was identified as B772 and was manufactured by W. T. Copeland from 1839 to post 1882 (Sussman 1979:65-66). Three sherds from an unidentified white earthenware tableware vessel exhibited an underglaze blue transfer print but the pattern was unidentifiable. Seven sherds from an unidentified white earthenware tableware vessel display an underglaze purple stamped decoration. On five of those sherds the decoration appears to be a purple leaf. The remaining five decorated sherds exhibit either a green or rose-coloured underglaze painted spot on the sherd. All of these sherds are from white earthenware hollowware or tableware vessels. Undecorated ceramics (n=36) include six base and side sherds of a white earthenware plate and 30 base and side sherds from unidentified tableware vessels.

Architectural artifacts (n=73) include those pertaining to architectural hardware, building materials and window materials. Architectural hardware consists mainly of common machine cut nails of varying sizes along with three wire drawn nails, two unidentified nails, one tack and one screw. Building materials are comprised of three small pieces of chinking. Window materials consist entirely of window glass.

The Commerce and Industry sub-category contains only one artifact. The artifact is placed within the metalworking sub-category. It has been identified as a small piece of lead slag.

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=187) include artifact remnants, multiple use artifacts and unclassified package/containers. Artifact remnants consist of fragments of curved

glass of varying colours, melted glass, unidentified metal and a worked stone. The worked stone artifact is made of shale with one end sawed off. The one multiple use artifact is a small spring made of out ferrous metal. Unclassified package/container artifacts (n=39) are represented by metal containers, pieces of strapping and fragments of container glass, bottle glass and panelled bottle glass. Only a few metal containers were recovered in this operation. Six artifacts representing a minimum of three containers (two hole-in-top closures and one complete hole-in-top container) are present. Strapping consists of three broken fragments with holes punched through. The remaining 30 artifacts are all portions of glass bottles, mainly body shards. Only four of these artifacts contain portions of a base and finish. One base is rectangular in shape, derived from a colourless panelled bottle and has no identifiable markings. One of the finishes contains a patent lip and cylindrical neck of an aqua-coloured bottle. The second finish is from a light manganese-coloured bottle and contains a patent lip with a rounded string rim midway down the length of the cylindrical neck. This finish/neck is similar to the ball neck panel bottles found at the Fort Walsh NWMP post, identified as E. R. Durkee and Company from New York and makers of spices, flavouring extracts and sauces. However, all three of these bottles at the Fort Walsh NWMP post were identified based on the embossed company labelling on the flat front panel (Lunn 1979:33 and Figure 6). Therefore, the finish/neck portion can not be accurately identified based on those features alone.

Operation 8N48 contained a large number of faunal remains (n=134). Very few of these remains were identifiable. The identifiable remains were only narrowed down to large-sized herbivores and an unidentified species of fish. The rest were classified as either small-, medium- or large-sized mammals with the majority unidentified mammals. Only one faunal specimen exhibited a cutmark. This was a knife mark on the thoracic vertebrae of a large-sized herbivore.

6.2.3.1 Interpretations

A brief summary of the artifact characteristics in Operation 8N48 will be presented before comparing this assemblage to the constructed social and economic assemblages. Personal artifacts are low, represented by a bead and buttons. Fragments of a beer bottle indicate alcohol consumption in this assemblage. Food storage

containers are not numerous with foil fragments and a portion of a Gordon & Dilworth preserve jar. The Unclassifiable category contains a possible extract bottle and a few unidentified metal containers which may have also contained foodstuffs. The only other household domestic items present are a kitchenware artifact and tableware artifacts. Tableware artifacts include decorative ceramics displaying at least five different patterns. Three are blue transfer print patterns with two identified on breakfast cups. The other two are unidentified stamped and painted patterns. The number of decorated ceramics to undecorated ceramics is approximately equal. Commerce and Industry is represented by a piece of lead slag from an unknown metalworking activity. This assemblage lacks artifacts in the Health and Hygiene, Recreation, Communication, Police/Military, Furnishings, Transportation, Agricultural and Hunting/Defence categories.

I could not with any certainty determine a specific social and economic assemblage for Operation 8N48. This may be due to lack of identifiable and characteristic artifacts or the contributors were a mixture of social and economic assemblages. I narrowed down the choices to two possibilities, each of which will be discussed.

One possibility is that this assemblage represents a Male-Only Household. There is an absence of child-related artifacts. The presence or absence of female-related artifacts on the other hand is questionable. Only one adornment artifact was collected, a wire wound bead with inlaid decorations. It is unknown what item this bead was a part of and if it can be directly related to a woman. Women and decorated ceramics are normally strongly connected, but taken in context of this assemblage with the possible lack of any other female-related item, this connection is weak. Also, decorated ceramics were not exclusive to just family households, as they also appear in male-only households. No artifacts were collected relating to furnishings and personal health and hygiene. The only household type items are food storage containers, kitchenware and tableware. Although male-only households are characterized by less household diversity, the overall lack of artifacts may also indicate that this is not a domestic assemblage. There is also a lack of artifacts relating to hunting/defence and other male-oriented ventures which could be represented by transportation or commerce and

industry artifacts. Therefore, some of the characteristics distinguishing a male-only household are present in this assemblage but many other characteristics are not.

Another possibility is that this assemblage represents a Restaurant. The problem of whether or not female-related artifacts are present is not significant in this context as restaurants were frequented by both men and women. The lack of furnishings and health and hygiene artifacts facilitates in affirming, for this case, that this may not represent a domestic assemblage. Also, most of the other economic assemblages have been ruled out. The artifacts characteristic for economic ventures such as the barber shop, laundry, tailor shop, photography studio and office building are not present. This assemblage does not appear to represent a billiard hall either, even though there is evidence of alcohol consumption. This evidence is comprised of only one beer bottle and other distinguishing artifacts of a Billiard Hall Assemblage, such as tobacco- and recreation-related artifacts, are not in this assemblage. The lack of diversity and concentrations of artifacts within a few functional categories also indicates that this assemblage is not a trading store which is characterized by the opposite. Thus, the economic assemblages have been narrowed down to the Hotel/Restaurant Assemblage as a possible contributor to this trash pit. Hotels, however, are distinguished by personal and household artifacts which are low or entirely lacking, leaving only the restaurant as a possibility.

This operation contains artifacts relating to food preparation, food storage and food serving, all used within a restaurant. The only problem is the lack of diversity of these artifacts. This assemblage contains only a handful of food storage containers, a fragment of a kitchenware vessel, a few decorated ceramic vessels and not many utilitarian vessels as represented by the undecorated ceramics. The main function of a restaurant is to prepare and serve food to people but the artifact evidence does not indicate the feeding of people on a larger scale. In spite of this, further evidence that this assemblage may be from a restaurant comes from the faunal remains. Over 90% of the faunal remains are unidentified mammal bones. The few bones that were identifiable could only be described as large-sized herbivores and unidentified species of fish. The majority of the bones are small fragmentary pieces meaning that these remains have been broken down, perhaps indicating the processing of meat. Therefore, this assemblage does contain some of the characteristics of a restaurant, but at the same time

these same characteristics are not entirely representative of the constructed Restaurant Assemblage.

The contributors to this trash pit, Operation 8N48 have been narrowed down to possibly either a male-only household or a restaurant. Neither of these constructed assemblages is a perfect fit as both contain distinguishing artifacts that are present and absent. It is unlikely that this assemblage is a mixture of assemblages considering the absence of distinguishing characteristics for many of the constructed assemblages.

6.2.4 Operation 8N54

Operation 8N54 was mapped and excavated in the 1973 field season. Parks Canada archaeologists concluded that this small feature was a trash pit which may have been in close proximity to a building due to a concentration of structural remains along the east side of the excavation unit (Karklins 1987:9). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 394.

The Personal category (n=148) is composed entirely of adornment artifacts. The adornment artifacts consist of two types of beads, seed beads and a wire wound bead. The majority of seed beads are of variety IIa (Karklins 1982:90) and include the following colours and diaphaneity: 1 bright turquoise/translucent, 3 white/opaque and 113 light cherry rose/opaque. The fourth type of seed bead (n=30) is of variety IVa (Karklins 1982:16), consisting of a transparent scarlet outer layer with an opaque white inner core. The wire wound bead is of variety WIb (round monochrome bead) and is a transparent, bright turquoise coloured bead (Karklins 1982:92).

Health and Hygiene artifacts (n=4) are represented by artifacts within the Medical sub-category. All of these artifacts belong to one bottle which has been identified as a patent/proprietary medicine bottle. The shape of the body and base fragments indicate that the bottle is rectangular with recessed panels. Embossed lettering is present on a front and side panel reading “DAVIS” and “[VEG]ETA[BLE]” (Figure 31a). The bottle is likely a Perry Davis Vegetable Pain Killer bottle, identical to one found at the Fort Walsh NWMP post (Lunn 1979:51-52).

The Recreation category is comprised of one artifact relating to toys. This artifact is a glass eye from a stuffed toy or doll (Figure 31b). The eye is circular with a

transparent red body exhibiting a white dot for the iris with a black dot overtop for the pupil.

Food Preparation and Consumption is represented by only one artifact within the Tableware sub-category. This artifact is made of white earthenware and is the body sherd of a possible teacup. A red underglaze transfer print is present on both sides of the sherd and has been identified as a portion of the border of either the “Macaw” or “Pagoda” pattern (Figure 31c). Both patterns were used by Copeland and Garrett and W. T. Copeland and introduced ca. 1838 and continued in use post-1872 (Sussman 1979:156, 165).

Architectural artifacts (n=12) include artifacts relating to architectural hardware and building materials. Architectural hardware is comprised entirely of common machine cut nails of varying sizes. Building materials consist of pieces of chinking.

The Transportation category (n=11) contains animal powered-related artifacts. The majority of artifacts (n=10) are horseshoe nails. The remaining artifact in this category is a hitch-gear ring.

Hunting/Defence artifacts (n=4) are all within the Ammunition sub-category. Three of the artifacts are cartridge cases and the other is a bullet. Two of the cartridge

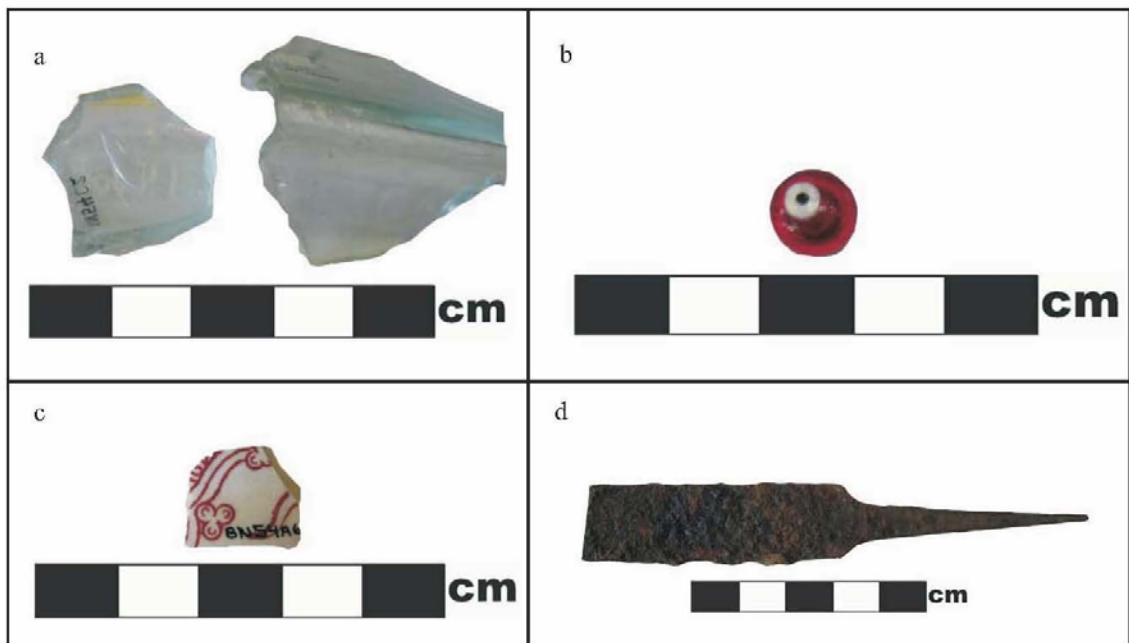


Figure 31: Artifacts found in Operation 8N54: (a) Perry Davis Pain Killer bottle fragments; (b) toy eye; (c) teacup with either “Macaw” or “Pagoda” pattern; (d) file.

cases are .44 Henry rim-fires with an “H” embossed on the head of the case. The third cartridge case is a .50 Remington pistol rim-fire. The lead bullet is from a .45-75 cartridge case and has been fired.

The Commerce and Industry category is comprised of one artifact within the Shop Tools sub-category. The artifact is a fine single-cut warding file (Figure 31d). The file is incomplete as the proximal end has been broken off.

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=22) include artifact remnants and unclassified package/containers. The majority of artifact remnants (n=14) are non-structural wood pieces. The remaining artifacts are an unidentified piece of sheet metal and a cloth fragment. The cloth has been identified as a possible home spun wool fragment with a 2/2 twill. Unclassified package/containers are represented by metal containers and a panelled bottle. The metal container fragments (n=4) represent at least two containers. This is based on the presence of a circular slip on lid and a hole-in-top closure. The remaining two fragments are portions of a base. The panelled bottle is comprised of two turquoise body fragments exhibiting recessed panels and embossed lettering but the letters are not discernible.

Operation 8N54 contained a large number (n=190) of faunal remains. Approximately 68 were identifiable to varying degrees, with the rest of the faunal remains classified as various sizes of unidentified mammals. The types of animal identified are as follows: bird, canid, cow, cow or bison, jack rabbit, sharp-tailed grouse, wolf or dog and large-sized artiodactyls and herbivores. Evidence of cutmarks is present on at least seven elements. All marks are from a knife with the majority occurring on ribs of large-sized mammals and herbivore. The other two knife marks are on the midshaft of a canid tibia and the proximal end of a cow or bison humerus.

6.2.4.1 Interpretations

A brief summary of the artifact characteristics in Operation 8N54 will be presented before comparing this assemblage to the constructed social and economic assemblages. Personal artifacts are characterized by a large number of seed beads and a wire wound bead. A doll’s eye is evidence for child-related artifacts. Only one tableware artifact is present, a fragment of a red transfer print cup. Artifacts relating to food preparation and storage are absent. The presence of a Perry Davis Painkiller bottle

indicates self-medication in this assemblage. A small quantity of ammunition is present, likely used for hunting. The identifiable faunal remains include a range of both domestic and wild game species. Transportation artifacts imply the use of a horse and wagon. Commerce and industry type artifacts are low, with only the presence of a file. Unclassifiable artifacts consist of a few metal containers and bottles which may have enclosed foodstuffs or other substances. This assemblage lacks artifacts in the Indulgences, Communication, Police/Military, Furnishings and Agricultural categories.

I determined that this assemblage may best represent a Métis Family Household after comparing it to the constructed assemblages. The declaration that this assemblage represents a family is predominantly based upon the presence of the doll's eye or child-related artifact. No artifacts were specified as concretely female-related but a female presence could be associated with the high number of seed beads perhaps indicating craftwork activity. Family households in general tend to have higher frequencies of food preparation and consumption artifacts but this assemblage contains only one such artifact. This artifact is a transfer printed hollowware fragment, most likely from a teacup. Tea drinking was an important social activity for women in Métis society. The combination of ammunition artifacts and a variety of wild game species signifies that hunting was likely a predominant method for meat procurement. The combination of evidence for craftwork, tea drinking and hunting characterizes this assemblage as possibly Métis. Although there is a lack of household domestic artifacts such as furnishings, food preparation and food storage items, there is a greater lack of artifacts which would connect the assemblage to any of the economic assemblages. The artifacts that are present in this assemblage indicate a closer relationship to a domestic assemblage rather than an economic one. Therefore, the contributors of the trash pit, Operation 8N54, were likely from a Métis Family Household.

6.2.5 Operation 8N60

Operation 8N60 was mapped and excavated in the 1973 field season. Parks Canada archaeologists determined that a residence was nearby, given the type of artifacts collected and the high amounts of structural materials (Karklins 1987:10). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 718.

Personal artifacts (n=5) are represented by items of adornment and clothing fasteners. The only adornment artifact is a mould-pressed bead. The bead is of variety MPIIa (Karklins 1982:98) and is light aqua in colour. The Clothing Fasteners sub-category contains four buttons. Two of the buttons are flat 2-pieced buttons made of ferrous metal with possible fabric shanks. The other two buttons are also 2-pieced with a domed face and are fabric-covered on their exterior surfaces.

The Health and Hygiene category contains only one artifact relating to grooming. This artifact is the tooth of a comb (Figure 32a). The comb tooth is rectangular in shape, tapers to a point, and is made of black vulcanized rubber.

The Indulgence category also contains just one artifact. This artifact is related to alcohol consumption and is the partial base of an amber-coloured beer bottle. The base is circular with a rounded heel and a shallow basal profile. Embossed letters along one edge of the base read "...ADA", probably part of the word: CANADA.

Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts (n=84) are represented by food storage containers and tableware. The Food Storage Container sub-category (n=54) contains foil fragments and a jar rim. More than half of the foil artifacts (n=30) are thin, flexible and fragile fragments which are likely part of a tea chest lining. The remaining foil artifacts (n=23) are from a fruit jar label. The fragments are much finer and more fragile and contain words stamped into the foil. The foil is extremely fragmented so all that remains are pieces with only one or two letters such as "JE", "EW", "&", "E", "F" and "O" (Figure 32b). These fragments are identical to the lead foil label found in Operation 8N68. They are identified as belonging to the company Gordon & Dilworth from New York, manufacturers of fruit jellies and preserves. The remaining food storage container artifact is a portion of a turquoise-coloured rim from a wide-mouthed jar.

Tableware artifacts (n=30) include decorated and undecorated ceramics and stemware. Five different decorations are exhibited on the ceramics. Two sherds represent a portion of the body and base of a white earthenware breakfast cup. This vessel contains an underglaze flow blue transfer print which is unidentified (Figure 32c). The rim/body/base of a porcelain saucer was reconstructed from two sherds. The saucer is decorated with a gilt line (worn off) that runs horizontally around the body. The rim

of a white earthenware saucer contains a red underglaze painted band just below the rim with a second thinner red painted band underneath. Another rim of a white earthenware hollowware vessel contains underglaze painted decorations on both the interior and exterior. The interior contains a narrow blue painted band just below the rim. The exterior contains two horizontal bands with a thick orange band just below the rim and a narrow blue band below the orange band. Underneath these two bands is a black painted design which appears to be either a heart or part of a flower. The last decorated ceramic

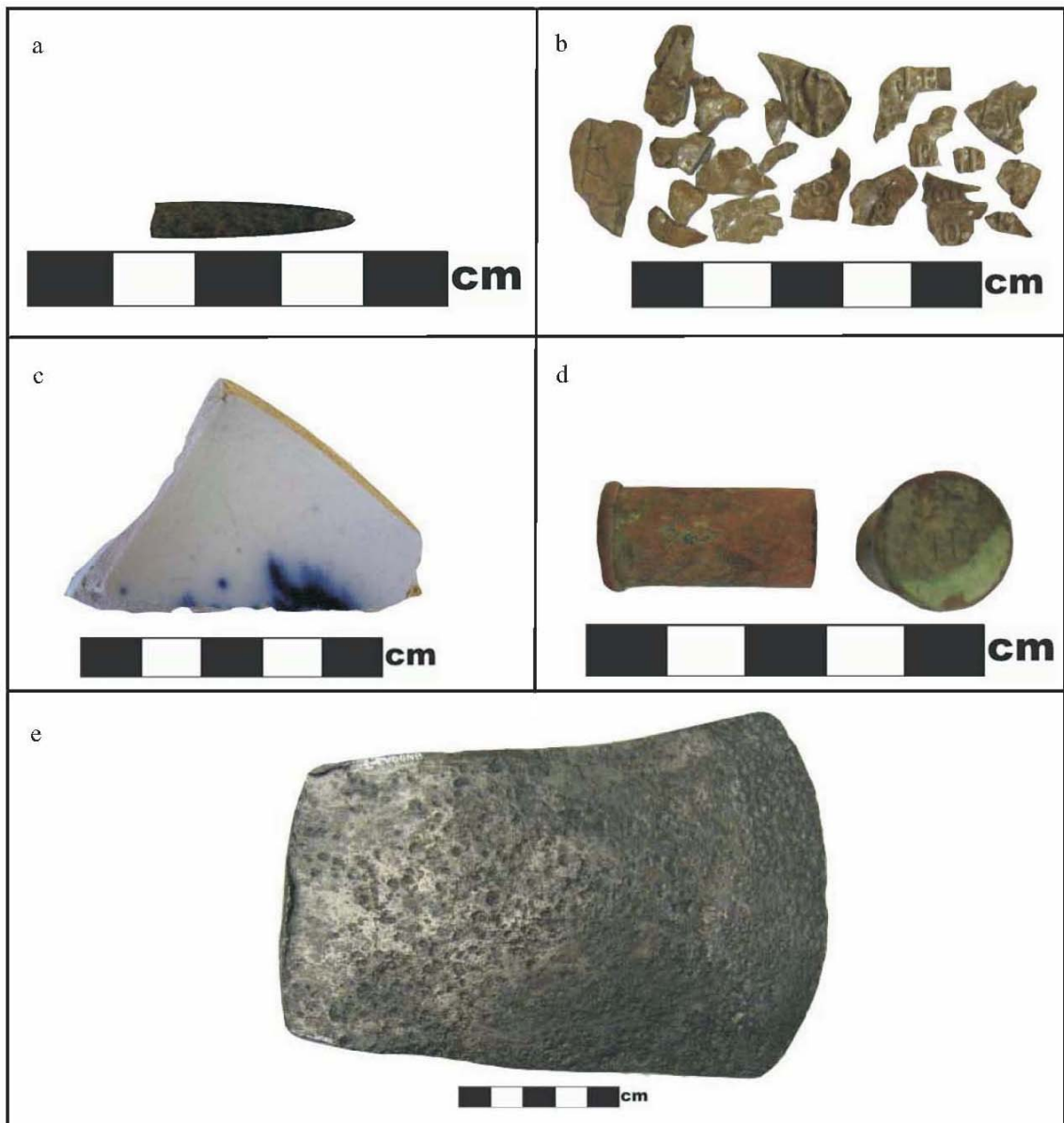


Figure 32: Artifacts found in Operation 8N60: (a) comb tooth; (b) foil fragments; (c) breakfast cup; (d) .44 Henry rim-fire cases; (e) axe head.

is the rim of a white granite saucer exhibiting an unidentified moulded relief “wheat” pattern. The remaining ceramics are all undecorated and include 11 sherds of a vitrified white earthenware plate and nine sherds of unidentified vitrified white earthenware tableware vessels. Stemware consists of three artifacts. One artifact has been identified as the lip of a colourless decanter. Another is a foot rim of a circular base for a colourless stemware vessel. The last artifact is a colourless fragment that contains ribs radiating out from a protuberance which may possibly be a lid or a stem for an unidentified stemware vessel.

Architectural artifacts (n=246) consist of architectural hardware, building materials, building components and window materials. Architectural hardware is mainly comprised of common machine cut nails of varying sizes along with four wire drawn nails, four wood screws, three tacks, one unidentified screw and one unidentified nail. The Building Components sub-category contains only one artifact, a hasp. Building materials consist of six pieces of chinking. Window materials are comprised entirely of pieces of window glass.

The Transportation category (n=9) contains artifacts relating to animal powered transportation. The majority of these artifacts (n=8) are horseshoe nails. The remaining artifact is a wagon skein, which is a part of the axle on a wagon.

Hunting/Defence artifacts (n=5) are all related to ammunition. Ammunition artifacts are comprised of cartridge cases, a bullet and a buckshot. The three cartridge cases are all .44 Henry rim-fires where two of the cases contain a stamped “H” on the head (Figure 32d). The bullet is made of lead and has been fired. The buckshot is a lead circular ball that has been identified as a No. 4 buckshot with a diameter of 0.8 cm.

The Commerce and Industry category contains only one artifact relating to forestry. This artifact is the head of an axe (Figure 32e). The axe head is made of ferrous metal.

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=127) include artifact remnants, multiple use artifacts and unclassified package/containers. Artifact remnants consist of fragments of curved glass of varying colours, melted glass and unidentified metal. Multiple use artifacts are comprised of four fragments of wire, three bolts and a nut. Unclassified package/containers (n=81) include metal containers, strapping and bottle fragments.

The majority of artifacts in this sub-category are metal containers (n=54). Fifteen of the metal container artifacts represent at least 10 hole-in-top closures. Another 15 artifacts also represent fragments of slip on lids. The rest of the metal container artifacts are body fragments. Strapping consists of five broken fragments with holes punched through. Bottle fragments represent a minimum of at least seven bottles and are as follows: one artifact is a fragment of an olive green bottle, two artifacts are turquoise body shards, four artifacts are green body shards, seven artifacts are amber neck and body shards, four artifacts are colourless body and base shards of a circular bottle, three are colourless body shards of a panelled bottle and one artifact is an aqua body shard from a panelled bottle.

Operation 8N60 contains a large number of faunal remains (n=239). Only a small percentage was identifiable to varying degrees. The identifiable faunal remains are as follows: *Anas* species, beaver, bird, cow or bison, large-sized artiodactyl and large-sized herbivore. The rest were classified as large- or medium-sized mammals along with unidentified mammals. Cutmarks are evident on at least six specimens. The majority are knife cutmarks with one saw and knife combination. All of the cutmarks were on large-sized animals (mammal, herbivore and cow or bison) with ribs, vertebrae, and a femur being the elements they were found on.

6.2.5.1 Interpretations

A brief summary of the characteristics of Operation 8N60 will be presented before comparing this assemblage to the constructed social and economic assemblages. Personal artifacts include buttons, a bead and a comb fragment. Only food storage and tableware artifacts are present in regards to food preparation and consumption. The food storage artifacts are all foil fragments from a tea chest lining and fruit label but many of the unidentified metal containers and possibly some of the glass bottle remains may have enclosed foodstuffs also. Decorated ceramics consist of at least five patterns but undecorated sherds are more numerous. Transportation artifacts give evidence of the use of a horse and wagon. Other artifacts indicating outside activities involve ammunition for hunting activities and an axe head for chopping wood. The faunal remains are comprised of a mixture of domestic and wild game species further demonstrating hunting activities and one method of meat procurement. This assemblage

lacks artifacts in the Recreation, Communication, Police/Military, Furnishings and Agricultural categories.

I determined that this assemblage may best represent a Male-Only Household after comparing it to the constructed assemblages. There are no child-related artifacts and little evidence for female-related artifacts. Artifacts that may be associated with women are very few and create a weak connection at best. These types of artifacts are one bead and a few decorated ceramics. Although women are generally associated with decorated ceramics, it does not preclude men from also owning decorated ceramics. The decorated ceramics are only a third of the number of undecorated ceramics, implying that the latter may have been the dominant tableware type. This would be consistent with the distinguishing characteristic of a lower frequency of decorated ceramics in a male-only household. The rest of the food preparation and consumption artifacts consist of food storage items. The lack of kitchenware or food processing artifacts indicates that cooking activities were limited with a heavy reliance on canned or preserved foods. Other than a few personal and grooming items, there is a lack of other domestic artifacts in this assemblage. Hunting/Defence artifacts are typically connected with male activities. The presence of a variety of identified faunal species further solidifies hunting as a frequent activity. The presence of the axe head does signify forestry work with the function of chopping wood. However, every building within town needed chopped wood for heating, which required an axe to carry out this task. The axe may represent outside economic activities as men were contracted to cut wood for the NWMP or as a mandatory item needed within all buildings for heating purposes. Therefore, based on the artifacts, the contributors of the trash pit, Operation 8N60, may be from a Male-Only Household.

6.2.6 Suboperation 8N122D

Suboperation 8N122D was an anomaly detected by the magnetometer survey on the creekbank in 1992 and subsequently excavated. Excavation revealed a dense clustering of historic trash indicating to WHSI archaeologists that this anomaly's function was likely a frequently used trash pit (Klimko et al. 1993:35). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 648.

Personal artifacts (n=4) are represented by clothing fasteners and footwear.

Clothing fasteners consist of three buttons. One button is a grey 4-holed prosser button (Figure 33a). The second button is a ferrous metal 4-holed button with an edged rim and possible writing along the edge. However, the button is quite rusted and if words are present on the button, they are no longer decipherable. The third type of button is made of a non-ferrous metal containing a bar shank as its attachment. Small traces of cloth still adhere to the exterior surface indicating that the button was cloth-covered (Figure 33b). The Footwear category contains only one artifact. This artifact is the heel portion of a leather inner sole and is adult-sized (Figure 33c).

The Health and Hygiene category consists of only one artifact relating to toiletries. This toiletry artifact is a perfume bottle stopper (Figure 33d). The stopper is colourless and the finial is conical shaped with a rounded bottom.

Indulgence artifacts (n=16) are represented by those relating to alcohol consumption. All 16 artifacts are glass body fragments, olive green in colour. Together they represent a minimum of at least one liquor bottle.

Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts (n=127) include artifacts relating to food storage containers, subsistence related organic materials and tableware. The Food Storage Container sub-category contains only the finish of a bottle. The finish is identified as a club sauce finish from a turquoise sauce bottle (Figure 33e). This bottle is similar to the Lea and Perrins' Worcestershire Sauce bottles found at the Fort Walsh NWMP post (Lunn 1979:31-33). The Subsistence Related Organic Materials sub-category (n=33) is composed of 23 fragments of egg shells and 10 complete and fragmented coffee beans.

Tableware artifacts (n=93) include decorated and undecorated ceramics and cutlery items. A minimum of at least seven decorative patterns were identified on the ceramics. One pattern is seen on many of the decorated ceramics and is comprised of an underglaze painted floral motif with a rose-coloured band around the rim and brim. Blue and rose-coloured flowers along with green leaves are repeated along the side and base of the vessel (Figure 33f). This pattern is seen on 24 white earthenware plate fragments along with 15 white earthenware flatware fragments and four white earthenware tableware fragments. This painted pattern is identical to one found at the Fort Walsh NWMP post and identified as a roughly brushed floral pattern (Hamilton



Figure 33: Artifacts found in Suboperation 8N122D: (a) prosser button; (b) metal button; (c) heel portion of footwear; (d) perfume bottle stopper; (e) club sauce bottle finish; (f) plate fragments with painted pattern; (g) saucer with painted bands.

1979:Figure 5). A second pattern contains an underglaze painted blue band along the rim of two sherds of an unidentified vitrified white earthenware vessel. The third pattern contains two red bands along the rim of a vitrified white earthenware saucer (Figure 33g). The first band is 4 mm wide and the second band (2 mm below the thick band) is 1 mm wide. A fourth decoration consists of a blue underglaze transfer print on three sherds of a white earthenware plate. The transfer print pattern is identified as “Syria”,

made by Robert Cochran & Co. of Glasgow, Scotland. The fifth decoration contains an underglaze purple band just below the rim with a purple stamped floral design on the body. This pattern appears on 2 rim sherds of a white earthenware flatware vessel. The sixth decorative pattern is an unidentified moulded relief “wheat” pattern present on a white granite plate fragment. The seventh and last decorative pattern contains an unidentified moulded relief with underglaze rose-coloured paint along the top part of the relief. This appears on a white granite plate fragment. The rest of the ceramic artifacts are undecorated and include: two white granite plate base sherds, three vitrified white earthenware plate rim and base sherds, one vitrified white earthenware cup rim sherd, one white granite cup base sherd, one white earthenware flatware base sherd, one white granite hollowware base/body sherd, one vitrified white earthenware hollowware body sherd, four white earthenware tableware sherds and 19 vitrified white earthenware tableware sherds. Cutlery is represented by the bowl of a tablespoon and one complete teaspoon.

The Architectural category (n=142) is comprised of architectural hardware and window materials. Architectural hardware comprises mainly common machine cut nails along with six wood screws, five wire drawn nails and four tacks. The Window Materials sub-category is represented entirely by window glass fragments.

The Commerce and Industry category contains only one artifact relating to shop tools. This artifact is a file. The file is rectangular in shape with a long narrow tail.

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=163) include artifact remnants, multiple use artifacts and unclassified package/containers. Artifact remnants are comprised of fragments of curved glass of varying colours, unidentified metal, and flat glass with some exhibiting unidentified pressed designs. Multiple use artifacts include one washer and one wire fragment. The Unclassified Package/Container sub-category (n=99) consists of metal containers, strapping, bottle glass and panelled glass. The majority of artifacts are metal containers (n=75) represented by a minimum of at least four containers based on the three hole-in-top closures and one nearly complete container (missing the top end). The majority of metal container artifacts are body and base fragments. Strapping consists of two broken fragments with holes punched through. Bottle fragments represent a minimum of at least four bottles based on colour and are as follows: one is a fragment of

an olive green bottle, seven are neck and body fragments of an aqua panelled bottle, one is a fragment of an unidentified finish for a turquoise bottle and 13 are body shards of a colourless panelled bottle.

Suboperation 8N122D contains a large number of faunal remains (n=194). A little over half of the remains were identifiable to varying degrees. The types of fauna identified include the following: antelope or deer, bison, cow or bison, cow, canid, chicken, fish, partridge, large-sized herbivore, small-sized waterfowl, snowshoe hare and waterfowl. Along with these identified specimens were the possibilities of a bivalve, duck, game bird, owl, *Passiformes* species and rodent. The rest were classified as unidentified fauna. Cutmarks were evident on six elements, produced by knife, saw and axe. The majority of cutmarks were found on large-sized fauna.

6.2.6.1 Interpretations

A brief summary of the characteristics of Suboperation 8N122D will be presented before comparing its materials to the constructed social and economic assemblages. A female-related artifact is represented by the perfume-bottle stopper. No artifacts are child-related. Personal artifacts are fairly generic and consist of buttons and an adult-sized shoe. Indulgence is seen in the presence of a liquor bottle. There is a high frequency of food preparation and consumption artifacts, mainly due to the high number of tableware artifacts. Decorated ceramics, of which there were seven patterns, are almost twice as numerous as the undecorated ceramics. There is only one identified food storage container (a sauce bottle), but there are a number of unidentified metal containers and glass bottles which may have held foodstuffs. Commerce and Industry activities are minimal with only the presence of a shop tool. Faunal remains indicate the utilization of a large number of domestic and wild game species. This assemblage lacks artifacts in the Recreation, Communication, Police/Military, Furnishings, Transportation, Agricultural and Hunting/Defence categories.

I determined that Suboperation 8N122D may best represent a Family Household after comparing it to the constructed social and economic assemblages. The presence of the female-related artifact is one of the characteristics of a family household and ruled out a male-only household. The personal, health and hygiene, food preparation and consumption and faunal remains artifacts denoted more of a domestic function to the

assemblage rather than an economic one. The food preparation and consumption artifacts are high in frequency, especially the decorated ceramics with at least seven different patterns found in this assemblage. However, food storage artifacts are low but with the possibility of additional food storage containers present in the Unclassified Package/Container sub-category, this number may be larger than what is represented. There are no furnishings artifacts which is one of the distinguishing characteristics of a family household. There are, however, a number of alcohol consumption artifacts which likely represent just one bottle. These combinations of artifacts imply the assemblage is a Family Household.

The only economic assemblage the 8N122D assemblage may represent is a Hotel/Restaurant. However, it was the food preparation and consumption artifacts that dismissed the hotel/restaurant assemblage in favour of a family household. The assemblage contained only food storage and tableware artifacts. A restaurant was predicted to have more diversity within this category, with the addition of kitchenware and food processing artifacts which aided in the preparation of food. The tableware artifacts in a restaurant were also predicted to be more utilitarian in nature. This assemblage contains a variety of decorated ceramics, with a large number of transfer print, stamped, painted and moulded relief patterns. Very few similarities exist between the decorated ceramics as there are no matching patterns. All these factors lead to the dismissal of a hotel/restaurant being the contributors of the assemblage.

The possibility that this assemblage represents a Métis Family Household was also dismissed based on a number of reasons. Identification of this type of household is based upon the combination or presence of artifacts such as beads, transfer printed earthenwares, tea drinking artifacts, tobacco consumption artifacts and ammunition artifacts. Beads, tobacco consumption artifacts and ammunition artifacts are all absent in this assemblage. A transfer print plate and undecorated cup fragments are present but this combination, given the absence of the other artifacts, does not signify a Métis Family Household based on the pattern outlined in Chapter 5. This pattern, however, does not account for behavioural variations in Métis family households exhibited by town residents. However, on the basis of the pattern seen in this assemblage, the contributors of the trash pit, Suboperation 8N122D, are likely from a Family Household.

6.2.7 Suboperation 8N123B

Suboperation 8N123B was an anomaly detected by the magnetometer survey of the creek bank in 1992 and subsequently excavated. Excavations revealed concentrations of whitewash, ash, mortar and artifacts. WHSI archaeologists suggested close proximity to a building (Klimko et al. 1993:36). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 350.

Personal artifacts (n=2) are represented by one adornment item and one clothing fastener. The adornment artifact is a translucent amber wire wound bead of variety WB (Karklins 1987:92) (Figure 34a). The clothing fastener is a ferrous metal 4-holed button (Figure 34b).

The Health and Hygiene category is comprised of only one artifact. This artifact is related to grooming and is the tooth of a comb. The comb tooth is made of black vulcanized rubber.

The Food Preparation and Consumption category (n=98) includes artifacts relating to food storage containers and tableware. The Food Storage Container sub-category contains two fragments of lead foil, likely part of a tea chest lining. Tableware artifacts (n=96) consist of decorated and undecorated ceramics and a glass hollowware vessel. Two types of decorated patterns were recovered in this excavation. The first type appears on four ceramic pieces of a vitrified white earthenware flatware vessel. It is an underglaze stamped design containing a teal-coloured band just below the rim with a stamped pink circular motif under the band which is repeated (Figure 34c). The second type appears on two unidentified vitrified white earthenware tableware sherds. The decoration is a red band just below the rim. Three sherds from the base of an unidentified vitrified white earthenware tableware vessel contain the remnants of a maker's mark. The maker's mark is printed from an underglaze black transfer print. One sherd reads “..& G”. The second sherd contains an “H...” overtop of “EN...” (Figure 34d). The last sherd contains the right bottom portion of the British Royal Arms with the words “MEAKIN”, “...LEY” and “...LAND” (Figure 34e). These three sherds fit together and are identified as J & G Meakin of Hanley, England, founded in 1851 (Godden 1964:427). The presence of the word “England” in a manufacturer's mark generally post-dates 1891. Hamilton (1979:25) cited personal communication with

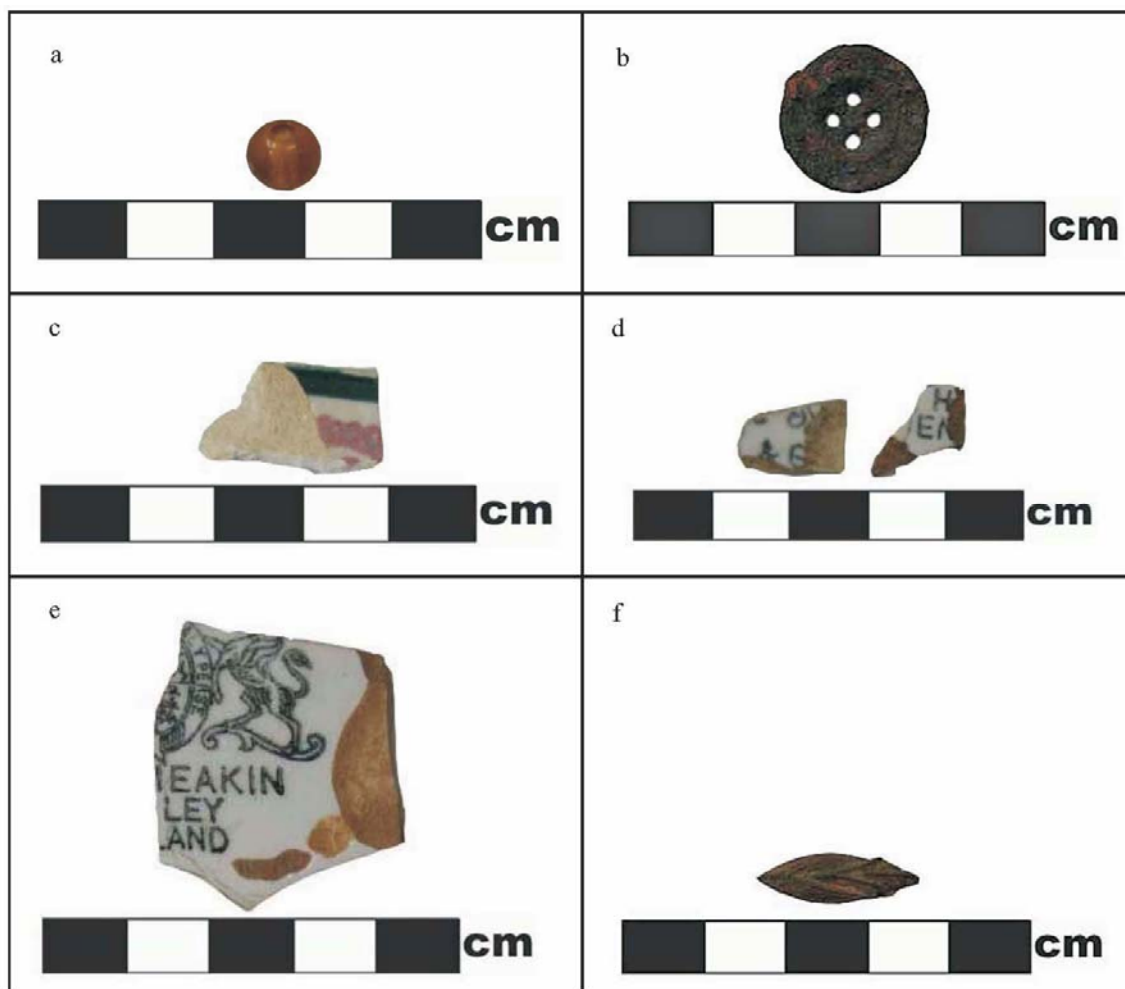


Figure 34: Artifacts found in Suboperation 8N123B: (a) amber wire wound bead; (b) metal button; (c) flatware vessel with stamped decoration; (d) and (e) J & G Meakin maker's mark; (f) pointed leaf ornament.

Geoffrey Godden in which he confirmed that companies such as Meakin could have marked their wares with “England” prior to 1891 which would correspond with the timeframe and archaeological context of the town. The remaining ceramic sherds are all undecorated (n=86) which include: ten base sherds of a vitrified white earthenware saucer, one base sherd of a white granite plate, two base sherds (one white granite and the other vitrified white earthenware) of an unidentified tableware vessel, one rim sherd of an unidentified vitrified white earthenware vessel and 72 unidentified sherds of vitrified white earthenware tableware vessels. The glass hollowware vessel is represented by a colourless rim sherd.

The Police/Military category contains only one artifact relating to adornment. This artifact is a small metal ornament in the shape of a pointed leaf, likely used for uniform decoration. The ornament is hollow cast metal with the outside gilded with gold (Figure 34f).

Furnishings are comprised of two artifacts relating to lighting. These two artifacts represent chimney glass. Both pieces of chimney glass are small fragments and colourless.

Architectural artifacts (n=89) are represented by architectural hardware and window materials. Architectural hardware artifacts (n=68) consist mainly of common machine cut nails along with three tacks, two wire drawn nails and one wood screw. The Window Materials sub-category is comprised entirely of window glass.

The Hunting/Defence category contains only one artifact relating to ammunition. This ammunition artifact is a cartridge case. The cartridge is a .44 Henry rim-fire.

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=93) include artifact remnants, multiple use artifacts and unclassified package/containers. Artifact remnants consist of fragments of curved glass of varying colours, melted glass, unidentifiable inorganic material and an unidentified cloth scrap. The Multiple Use Artifact sub-category contains only one artifact, a wire fragment. Unclassified package/containers (n=24) consist of metal containers and bottle fragments. The metal container artifacts are all body fragments with the exception of one artifact which is a portion of a cap base. The bottle fragments (n=15) represent a minimum of at least three bottles based on colour (turquoise, colourless and olive green). The majority of shards are body fragments with a colourless base from a panelled bottle and a turquoise base from a circular bottle.

Suboperation 8N123B contained a small amount of faunal remains (n=63) in comparison to the other trash pits. Very few remains were identifiable at any level. The types of identified remains are as follows: bison, possible grouse, large- and medium-sized herbivore, waterfowl and wolf. The majority were catalogued as unidentified fauna. Cutmarks are evident on at least four remains. The marks were made by a knife and axe and appear on the bones of larger sized animals (bison and large-sized herbivore).

6.2.7.1 Interpretations

A brief summary of the characteristics of Suboperation 8N123B will be presented before comparing this assemblage to the constructed social and economic assemblages. No child-related artifacts are present. The personal and grooming artifacts are few and fairly generic. There is a high frequency of food preparation and consumption artifacts, mainly due to the high number of tableware artifacts. Within the tableware sub-category, undecorated ceramics dominate over the decorated ceramics. Only two types of patterns appear on the decorated ceramics. Identified food storage containers are very low in number. The unidentified metal containers and glass bottles are also few in number implying that if any of the containers held foodstuffs, their combination with the identified food containers would still generate a low number of artifacts. Other household artifacts merely consist of a small number of furnishings such as lighting artifacts. There is little evidence of outside activities and only one ammunition artifact signifying hunting/defence activities. Faunal remains are low in number compared to other assemblages but do contain a mixture of domestic and wild game species. One interesting artifact in this assemblage is a small ornament, possibly from a police uniform. This assemblage lacks artifacts in the Recreation, Indulgence, Communication, Transportation, Agricultural and Commerce and Industry categories.

I determined that this assemblage may best represent a Male-Only Household after comparing it to the constructed social and economic assemblages. No child-related artifacts and little evidence for female-related artifacts are present, which ruled out a family household. The presence of personal, health and hygiene, furnishings and food preparation and consumption artifacts indicate a household assemblage rather than an economic one. The food preparation and consumption category contains the highest number of artifacts, relating to food storage containers and tableware. The food storage containers, however, are low in number. A male-only household was predicted to contain a high frequency of these artifacts based on the assumption that little cooking occurred within this type of household. On the other hand, there is no evidence of cooking activities (i.e. food processing and kitchenware artifacts), which supports the previous assumption. Another distinguishing characteristic expected of a male-only household is the low number of decorated ceramics. In this assemblage, the undecorated

ceramics dominate the decorated ceramics. There is also evidence of male-related activities in the presence of a hunting/defence artifact. Faunal remains identified as wild game species also indicate hunting activities. This activity may have been sporadic as there is a lower number of both ammunition and faunal remains than in many of the other assemblages. The artifact identified as a decorative ornament from a police uniform may imply that an inhabitant of this household had connections to the NWMP. Many NWMP officers chose to live in the town after their discharge. Evidence of this comes from the 1881 Census of Canada where some former NWMP officers lived in male-only households, either singly or with roommates.

No economic units were considered to best represent this assemblage. Again, the closest economic unit was the hotel/restaurant. However, based on the food preparation and consumption artifacts, there was little evidence of cooking activity which is essential to classify the assemblage as a hotel/restaurant. Therefore, the contributors of the trash pit, Suboperation 8N123B, are likely from a Male-Only Household.

6.3 Cellar Features

Two of the operations chosen are cellar features. Both of the operations are comparable in terms of artifact density but they are located within different areas of the town. Operation 8N21 is located in the cluster of depressions near Battle Creek on the middle terrace. Operation 8N68 is located on the north side of Elkwater road on the high terrace. Table 6 describes the artifacts present in these two operations in terms of their functional categories.

6.3.1 Operation 8N21

Operation 8N21 was mapped and excavated in the 1973 field season. Parks Canada archaeologists concluded that this feature was a shallow cellar underneath a building, although no structural remains were found (Karklins 1987:6). The total number of artifacts to be analyzed is 822.

Personal artifacts (n=40) are represented by items of adornment, clothing fasteners and footwear. Adornment artifacts consist primarily of two varieties of seed beads. All seed beads have a 1 mm diameter. One of the varieties is identified as IIa (Karklins 1982:90) and exhibits the following colours and diaphaneity: one

Table 6: Functional Category Classifications for the Cellar Features

| Functional Category | Functional Sub-Category | 8N 21 | 8N 68 |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Personal | | 40 | 4 |
| | Adornment | 29 | 2 |
| | Clothing Fasteners | 9 | 2 |
| | Footwear | 2 | 0 |
| Recreation | | 3 | 1 |
| | Music | 0 | 1 |
| | Toys | 3 | 0 |
| Indulgences | | 26 | 1 |
| | Alcohol Consumption | 25 | 1 |
| | Tobacco Consumption | 1 | 0 |
| Food Preparation and Consumption | | 154 | 45 |
| | Food Storage Containers | 1 | 26 |
| | Kitchenware | 3 | 0 |
| | Tableware | 150 | 19 |
| Communication | | 1 | 0 |
| | Writing Materials | 1 | 0 |
| Furnishings | | 25 | 18 |
| | Draperies | 0 | 1 |
| | Furniture | 0 | 2 |
| | Lighting | 25 | 15 |
| Architectural | | 33 | 265 |
| | Architectural Hardware | 16 | 206 |
| | Building Materials | 1 | 23 |
| | Window Materials | 16 | 36 |
| Transportation | | 0 | 1 |
| | Animal Powered | 0 | 1 |
| Hunting/Defence | | 3 | 23 |
| | Ammunition | 2 | 23 |
| | Trapping | 1 | 0 |
| Commerce and Industry | | 109 | 3 |
| | Metalworking | 109 | 3 |
| Unclassifiable | | 136 | 233 |
| | Artifact Remnant | 52 | 155 |
| | Multiple Use Artifact | 1 | 2 |
| | Unclassified Package/Container | 83 | 76 |
| Faunal | | 283 | 90 |
| | Identified | 111 | 43 |
| | Unidentified | 172 | 47 |
| Floral | | 9 | 0 |
| | Unidentified | 9 | 0 |
| Totals | | 822 | 684 |

ruby/transparent, two bright turquoise/translucent, 24 robin's egg blue/opaque and one cerulean blue/translucent. The second type of seed bead (n=1) belongs to variety IVa and is described as exhibiting a transparent scarlet outer layer with an opaque white core (Karklins 1982:16). The Clothing Fasteners sub-category is represented by eight pieces of one button and the spring end of a safety pin. The button is metal with its exterior face fabric covered. The Footwear sub-category contains two pieces of a leather heel bottom. The heel is adult-sized and is possibly from a man's boot.

The Recreation category (n=3) consists only of artifacts related to toys. These artifacts are represented by fragments of a doll, made of white, unglazed parian porcelain with pitting on its exterior surface (Figure 35a). All three fragments fit together to form what is likely an appendage of the doll, such as an arm or a leg. One end is grooved which would have served as the attachment point of the appendage to the body of the doll.

Indulgence artifacts (n=26) contains artifacts related to both alcohol and tobacco consumption. Alcohol consumption is represented by at least two liquor bottles. The first bottle is olive green in colour with a circular base approximately 8 cm in diameter. The second bottle is green in colour and contains a cylindrical body with a rounded heel and circular base. Evidence for tobacco consumption comes from the recovery of one tobacco seal. The seal is a flat metal circular disk with two small triangular projections placed in opposition to each other on the disk (Figure 35b).

Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts (n=154) include artifacts related to kitchenware, food storage containers and tableware. Kitchenware is represented by two types of ceramic vessels. The first is likely a bowl made of a thick yellowware with a yellow glaze on both sides. The second is an unidentified hollowware vessel made of coarse red earthenware. The exterior exhibits a brown lead glaze with the interior exhibiting a rough reddish-brown glaze. The Food Storage Containers sub-category contains only one piece of stoneware. The artifact is a large body piece of crockery with a grey salt glaze on the exterior and a dark brown glaze on the interior with ripples along the inside. Tableware artifacts (n=150) represent the majority of artifacts within this category. However, these pieces only represent a minimum of five vessels. The majority of sherds (n=140) are from one plate made of white earthenware with a



Figure 35: Artifacts found in Operation 8N21: (a) doll parts; (b) tobacco seal; (c) plate with “Venetia” pattern; (d) stoneware ink bottle; (e) leg hold trap; (f) bottle finish.

diameter of 20 cm. The plate exhibits a blue transfer print pattern called “Venetia” and was manufactured by W. T. Copeland & Sons as indicated by the maker’s mark on the base (Figure 35c). This pattern was in use from ca. 1870-post 1882 (Sussman 1979:237). The only other decorated vessel is the rim of a saucer made of white granite exhibiting the moulded relief of an unidentified “wheat” pattern. Undecorated ceramics are represented by the rim of a white earthenware plate and another white earthenware

fragment of an unknown tableware vessel. The last type of tableware vessel is the body/base of a tumbler with alternating rounded and v-shaped ribs on the body.

The Communication category contains just one artifact related to writing materials. This is represented by the rim/shoulder of a stoneware ink bottle (Figure 35d). The exterior bears a brown salt glaze with a light grey unglazed interior.

Furnishings (n=25) consist of lighting-related artifacts. The majority of artifacts represent the base and stem of a manganese coloured glass lamp. The base of the lamp is circular with a diameter of 13.4 cm. The rest of the artifacts are small fragments of colourless chimney glass.

Architectural artifacts (n=33) consist of those related to architectural hardware, building materials and window materials. The majority of architectural hardware artifacts are common machine cut nails of varying sizes with one wire drawn nail. Building materials consist of one small crumbly fragment of chinking. All window materials are fragments of window glass.

The Hunting/Defence category (n=3) is represented by artifacts within the Ammunition and Trapping sub-categories. Both ammunition artifacts are .45-75 centre-fire cartridge cases with one containing a rimmed straight body and the other a rimmed bottleneck body. The trapping artifact is a small leg hold trap composed of a single u-shaped spring and may be a possible muskrat trap based upon a note written upon the artifact label (Figure 35e).

The Commerce and Industry category (n=109) contains artifacts relating to metalworking. These artifacts consist of casting sprues or small fragments of lead slag.

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=136) are composed of artifact remnants, multiple use artifacts and unclassified package/containers. The majority of artifact remnants consist of curved glass with a range of colours such as aqua, light green, dark green and colourless. Other artifact remnants include fragments of unidentified metal, unidentified rubber, unidentified organic matter, leather and a flat circular copper disk. The only multiple use artifact is a small fragment of cork. Unclassified package/containers (n=83) include a bale seal, pieces of strapping with rivets and/or holes, portions of bottles and panelled bottles and metal containers. One artifact contains the finish/neck/shoulder of a bottle and exhibits a hand applied two-part finish with a patent lip and a ball neck

(Figure 35f). This bottle portion is very similar to one found in Operation 8N48 and also at the Fort Walsh NWMP post and is identified as a flavouring extract bottle made by E. R. Durkee of New York (Lunn 1979:33). Approximately half of the unclassified package/containers are metal containers. The metal containers exhibit similar characteristics. All of the closures present are hole-in-top. The body portions tend to have lapped side seams when present, along with a cap base. Some of the metal containers show the method of opening with an “x” cut into the base of the container and the edges folded back.

Operation 8N21 contained a large number of faunal remains (n=283). Approximately 111 specimens were identifiable to varying degrees. The identifiable remains are: artiodactyl, cow or bison, pig, rodent, swift fox, wolf or dog, large-sized artiodactyls, herbivores and mammals and medium-sized mammals. The rest of the remains are unidentified mammals. Evidence of butchering is present on at least three bones of large-sized herbivores on three different elements: a saw mark through the midshaft of a femur, a saw mark along the edge of a scapula and a knife mark on the shaft of a tibia. A few unidentified floral remains (n=9) were also recovered in Operation 8N21, represented by complete and incomplete seeds.

6.3.1.1 Interpretations

A brief summary of artifact characteristics for Operation 8N21 will be presented before comparing the assemblage to the constructed social and economic assemblages. The presence of a child is indicated by the toy doll fragments. Male-related personal artifacts are indicated by the heel of a possible boot. Evidence for female-related items is not readily apparent except in the possibility of a connection with the different types of beads. Indulgence artifacts are more frequent in this assemblage than in any of the other trash pits but they still only represent one tobacco item and a minimum of two alcohol items. Food preparation and consumption artifacts are quite high in frequency, due in large part to the high number of tableware artifacts. However, the majority of tableware artifacts belong to one transfer print plate, with only one other decorated vessel and two undecorated vessels. There is more diversity in this category, though, with the presence of kitchenware and food storage containers, but both are comprised of a low number of artifacts. A few of the unidentified glass bottles and/or metal

containers may also represent food storage containers such as the possible extract bottle. Other household artifacts consist of lighting artifacts and a writing materials artifact. Evidence for outside activities is high with artifacts relating to hunting/defence, trapping and metalworking. However, this may be over-represented by the metalworking artifacts which consist of over a hundred fragments of lead slag. Faunal remains consist of both domestic and wild game species, indicating that hunting was a frequent activity. This assemblage lacks artifacts in the Health and Hygiene, Police/Military, Transportation and Agricultural categories.

I determined that this assemblage may best represent a Family Household after comparing it to the constructed assemblages. The presence of child-related and possible female-related artifacts is one of the main indications that this assemblage represents a family household. There is variety in the types of household artifacts present pertaining to personal, furnishings and food preparation and consumption artifacts. None of these are overly high in artifact number except for the food preparation and consumption category but that stems from the over-representation of a fragmented plate. Decorated ceramics do dominate the undecorated ones through the combination of kitchenware and tableware vessels although the minimum vessel numbers for both are low. One of the distinguishing characteristics of a family household is food storage containers. No evidence of canning was found but other containers such as crockery, metal containers and possible extract bottles indicate food storage. High numbers of faunal remains further indicate the consumption of food in this assemblage. The presence of wild game species and ammunition indicates that hunting was used as a means of meat procurement, either as a main source of meat or to supplement meat from domestic animals.

Other indications that this assemblage likely represents a family household are the lack of distinguishing artifacts which identify the economic assemblages. A tailor shop and laundry would contain safety pins, beads and buttons but these assemblages are based on high artifact frequencies of these and other items. This assemblage only contains a few of these, a number which is more characteristic of a household than a business. Artifacts relevant to a billiard hall are the alcohol and tobacco consumption artifacts. But these represent only one tobacco seal and two liquor bottles, frequencies

lower than expected in such an assemblage. With the addition of child-related items in this assemblage, it is not a Billiard Hall. Trading stores would contain all of these artifacts but the presence of faunal remains such as wild game species does not correspond to the Trading Store Assemblage. The assemblage constructed for office buildings denotes the use of communication artifacts of which this assemblage contains an ink bottle fragment. However, as this is the only artifact corresponding to an office type setting, the connection is weak as people also wrote letters from their homes. There is no evidence for a photography studio. Hotel/Restaurant assemblages would be the closest possible match for this assemblage. However, there is a lack of diversity in furnishings, health and hygiene, or food preparation and consumption artifacts.

The distinctions between a Family Household and a Métis Family Household are not clear cut in this assemblage. Seed beads are present but they are low in number as compared to the amount of seed beads found in assemblages identified as those produced by Métis families (8N15 and 8N54). No artifacts related to tea drinking have been identified. There is however, evidence of tobacco consumption but the use of tobacco was likely ubiquitous among men in the town. Only a few hunting/defence artifacts are present, but the variety of identified faunal species indicates that hunting was a frequent activity. Overall, this assemblage may be representative of a Métis family but this distinction can not be made based on the numbers and combination of artifacts. This assemblage closely resembles Operation 8N20, which was also classified as a Family Household. Therefore, the contributors to the artifact assemblage collected from the cellar depression, Operation 8N21, are likely from a Family Household.

6.3.2 Operation 8N68

Operation 8N68 was also mapped and excavated during the 1973 field season. Parks Canada archaeologists determined that this depression was placed underneath the longer room of a two-room structure. Collapsed structural remains and evidence for a sod roof further indicated to the archaeologists that the depression was contained within a building (Karklins 1987:11; Lunn 1985:6). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 684.

Personal artifacts (n=4) consist of items of adornment and clothing fasteners. Adornment artifacts are represented by two beads. One is a seed bead of variety IVa

exhibiting a transparent scarlet outer layer with an opaque white inner core (Karklins 1982:16). The other bead is a larger wire wound bead (Figure 36a). The bead has been classified as variety WIIIb 383, a round “eye” bead exhibiting an opaque black body decorated with 15 dots in total with three alternating rows of bright blue on opaque white dots and transparent ruby on opaque white dots (Karklins 1982:55). Clothing fasteners are represented by two buttons. Both buttons are 4-holed prosser buttons, one black and the other white.

The Recreation category contains only one artifact related to music. This artifact consists of a curved circular metal disk with a slide and screw attachment and has been identified as a portion of a trumpet tube (Figure 36b). Identification occurred through comparison of this artifact to a trumpet tube located within the reference collection at the Parks Canada office in Winnipeg.

The Indulgence category contains only one artifact associated with alcohol consumption. Alcohol consumption is evidenced by the circular base of an amber-coloured bottle. Embossed lettering on the base reads “C & Co” (Figure 36c). This mark has been identified as likely belonging to Cunninghams & Co. of Pittsburgh. The use of this mark dates roughly from 1878-1891 and is connected to the manufacturing of export-style beer bottles (Lockhart et al. 2005:6).

Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts (n=45) included artifacts relating to food storage containers and tableware. The Food Storage Container sub-category is represented by pieces of lead foil and a ceramic jar. The foil pieces (n=25) are all thin, flexible and grey in colour. Eighteen of the pieces have been identified as foil labels used on jars containing fruit preserves or jellies. One of these contains stamped letters reading “...RTH”, “...RS”, “FRUI[T]”, “[JE]LLIES”, “&c. &c.” and “[N]EW YORK” on various lines where the left half of the label is missing (Figure 36d). All of these words are arranged within a circle marked by hatch marks as the border. The other 17 foil pieces are tiny fragments containing hatch marks, single letters or portions of words with some reading “GOR...”, “&DILWO...”, and “...ED”. The manufacturer listed on the fruit and jellies label has been identified as Gordon & Dilworth of New York. The remaining foil pieces are very similar to the Gordon & Dilworth label and may be unidentified pieces of the same label. The Food Storage Container sub-category also

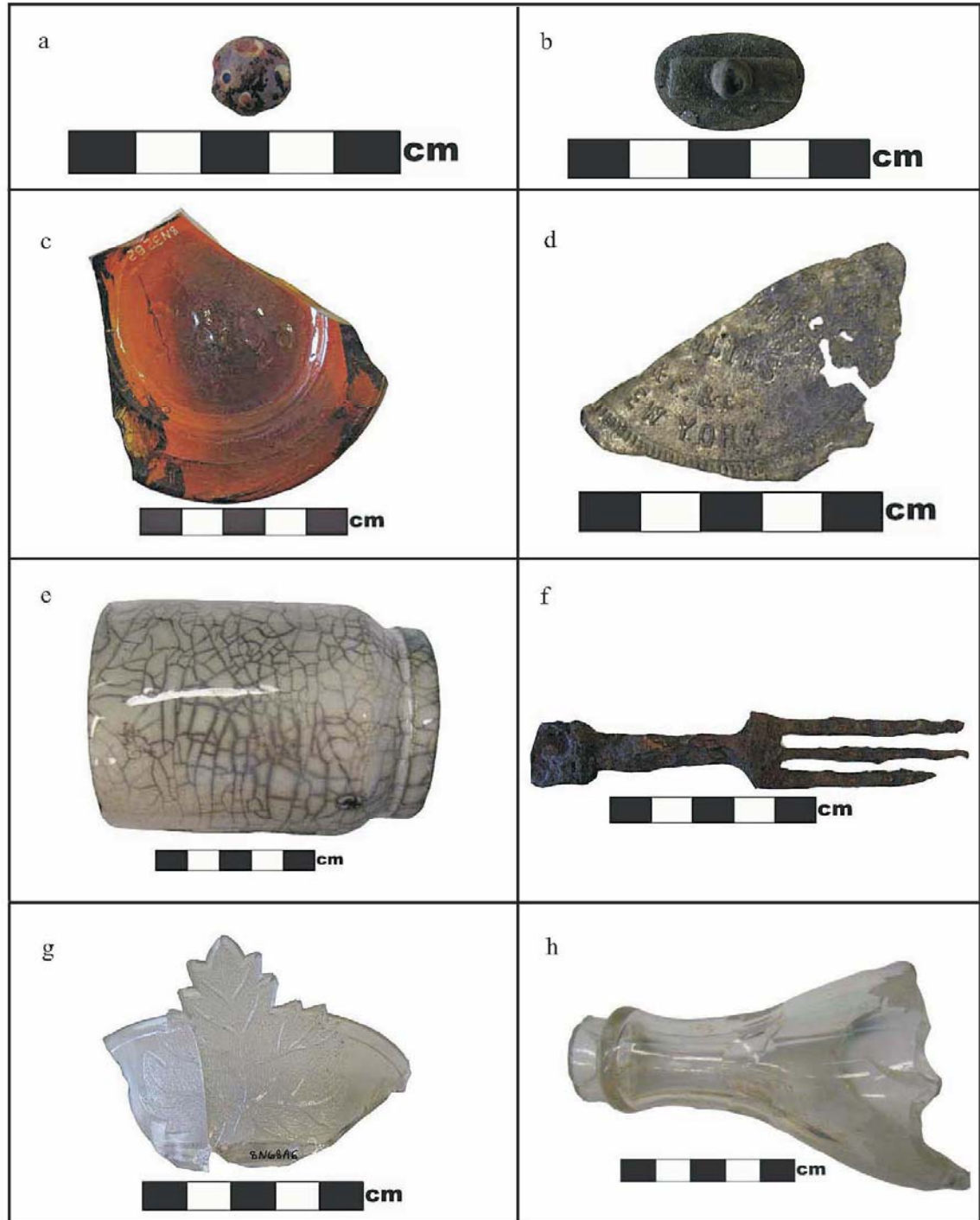


Figure 36: Personal, Recreation, Indulgence and Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts found in Operation 8N68: (a) wire wound bead; (b) trumpet part; (c) beer bottle base; (d) G&D foil label; (e) fish paste jar; (f) fork; (g) possible bowl; (h) carafe.

contains one complete ceramic jar. This jar is 8 cm in length and made of vitrified white earthenware with a clear glaze on the exterior and interior (Figure 36e). No

manufacturer mark is present but it has been identified as a fish paste jar as it is identical to another jar excavated from the Fort Walsh NWMP post and located in the reference collection at the Parks Canada office in Winnipeg.

Tableware artifacts (n=19) include ceramic dishes, cutlery and various glass vessels. Six artifacts represent fragments of white granite plates. All four of the rim pieces exhibit a moulded relief on an unknown “wheat” pattern. One piece contains wheat grains and a grass stalk and the others pieces only portions of a grass stalk. One of the rim sherds and a body sherd exhibit a scalloped line at the brink. The six fragments may represent one plate but since only two fragments fit together, the possibility of more than one plate exists. A small stem-like artifact, oval in cross-section, has been identified as a possible cup handle made of white earthenware. An unidentified underglaze brown transfer print is present on one side with a scattering of overglaze green paint over half the stem. There appears to be no decorative association between the green paint and the brown transfer print. The Tableware sub-category also contains one piece of cutlery, a fork. The fork has three long slender prongs and is missing most of its handle (Figure 36f). Three glass vessels are also present in this sub-category. One is the rim and body of a colourless hollowware vessel, possibly a bowl. The vessel contains a pressed decoration along one side of the vessel in the shape of a maple leaf. Part of the leaf rises above the rim of the vessel (Figure 36g). Another artifact is the top portion (finish/neck/shoulder/body) of a carafe. Decorative motifs on the carafe include circular facets around the neck at the neck/shoulder junction and etched floral designs on the body (Figure 36h). The remaining eight artifacts represent the base rim of a stemware vessel, approximately 8 cm in diameter.

Furnishings (n=18) represent artifacts relating to draperies, furniture and lighting. The Draperies sub-category consists of only one artifact, a window shade. The window shade is made out of non-ferrous metal and is comprised of a rack pulley system. The rack is narrow and rectangular with a slit through one side of the body enabling two circular knobs (or pulleys) to slide along this split (Figure 37a). The length of the window shade cannot be determined as the rack is broken on both ends. Furniture artifacts are represented by a drawer pull and a furniture escutcheon. The drawer pull consists of a porcelain knob resting on a metal plate with a bolt running through both

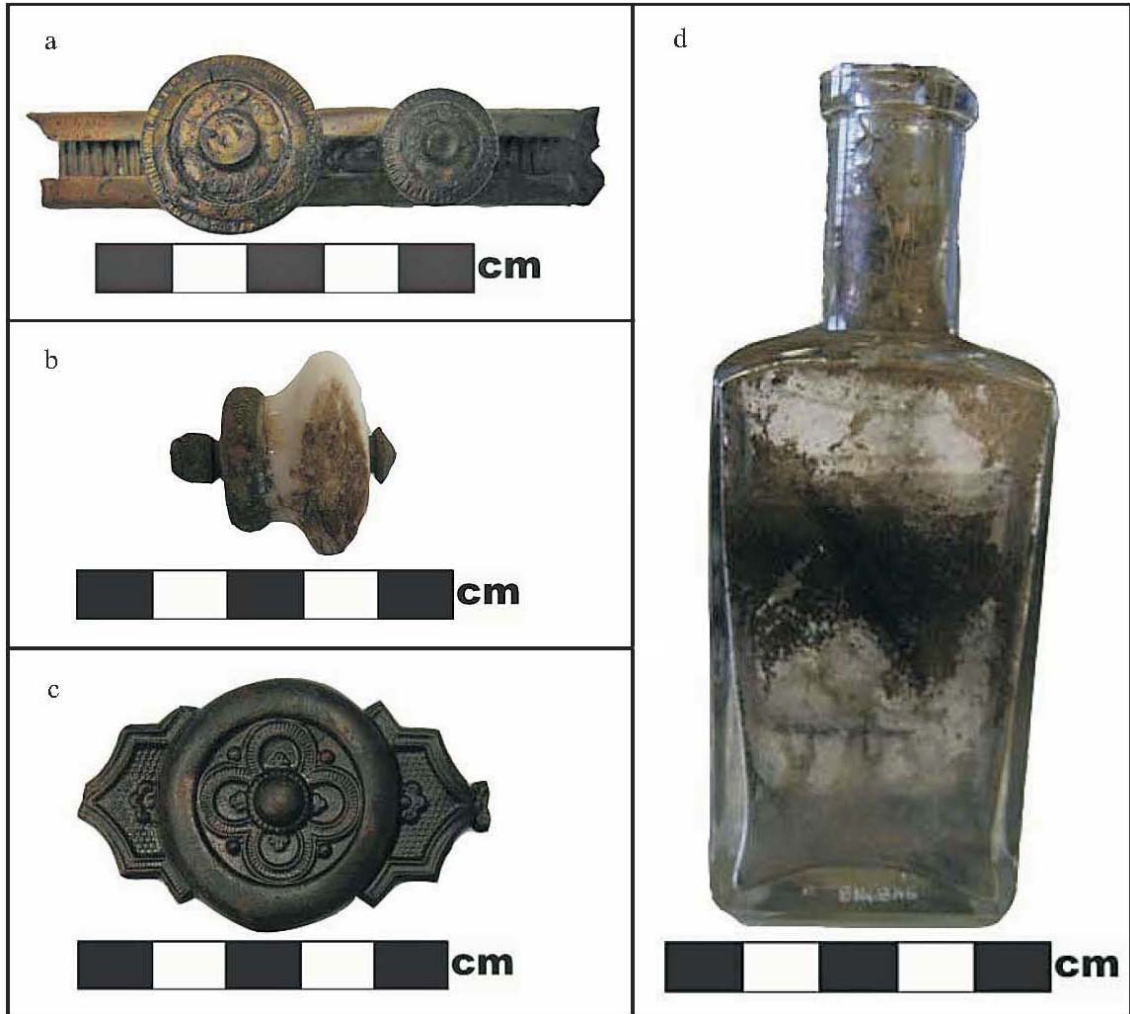


Figure 37: Furnishings and Unclassifiable artifacts found in Operation 8N68: (a) window shade; (b) drawer pull; (c) furniture escutcheon; (d) unclassified bottle.

and capped off with a nut (Figure 37b). The furniture escutcheon is a thin decorative copper plate with a central circular motif and two identical geometric projections on either side (Figure 37c). All fifteen artifacts within the Lighting sub-category are fragments of colourless chimney glass.

Architectural artifacts (n=265) include artifacts relating to architectural hardware, building materials and window materials. The majority of the architectural hardware artifacts (n=199) are common machine cut nails. The rest of the artifacts in this sub-category are comprised of four wood screws, two tacks and one wire nail. All 23 artifacts within the Building Materials sub-category are burnt pieces of structural wood. Window materials are all small fragments of window glass.

The Transportation category contains only one artifact, and this is related to animal powered transportation. This artifact is a harness ring. The ring is made of copper and has a diameter of 2.66 cm.

The Hunting/Defence category (n=23) consists of only artifacts related to ammunition. All ammunition artifacts are cartridge cases. Two are .45-75 centre-fire cartridge cases, one is a .50 Remington pistol rim-fire cartridge case, one is a .450 Adams Revolver centre-fire cartridge case and another is a .50 Government centre-fire cartridge case with an external primer. The remaining 18 pieces are fragments of an unidentified type of cartridge case.

Commerce and Industry artifacts (n=3) are represented by three artifacts relating to metalworking. Two are identified as forge waste made out of ferrous metal. The third artifact is a lead casting sprue.

The Unclassifiable category (n=233) represents the largest category of artifacts within the assemblage. The Artifact Remnant sub-category includes fragments of leather, wood, strapping, sheet metal, metal tubes, metal caps, curved glass, unidentified glass, unidentified metal and unidentified organic matter. Twenty-eight artifacts represent cloth fragments; however, this is much lower than the actual number. Some of the artifact bags contained cloth fragments numbering in the hundreds, making it impossible to individually catalogue each piece. Instead I designated one catalogue number for either the entire bag or each bundle of cloth fragments wrapped in tissue within the bag. The cloth fragments are all burnt with most identified as exhibiting a twill weave, only ten artifacts were identified as possibly being homespun linen. The Multiple Use Artifact category contains two artifacts, both fragments of a u-shaped pail handle. Unclassified Package/Containers include metal containers, bottles, strapping and a glass stopper. Metal containers (n=48) represent the majority of artifacts within this sub-category. A minimum of nine containers are present as there are six hole-in-top closures, two slip on lids and one rectangular or square container. The remaining metal container artifacts are comprised of body and base fragments. One complete colourless bottle is present in this category. The contents of the bottle are unknown and the only markings on the bottle are the embossed numbers on the recessed base reading either “809” or “608”. The bottle contains a patent lip with a cylindrical neck, a rectangular

body with flat front and back panels and recessed side panels (Figure 37d). This bottle is identical to one found at the Fort Walsh NWMP post and classified by Lunn (1982:67-69) as a Type 1 bottle (an arbitrary name given to a collection of bottles exhibiting similar characteristics). Lunn proposed that type 1 bottles may have been used for flavouring extracts, based upon similarities to the attributes of flavouring extract bottles.

The number of faunal remains within Operation 8N68 totalled 90. Approximately 43 were identifiable to varying degrees. The identifiable remains are: *Anas* species, bird, chicken, cow or bison, duck, fish and large-sized bird, herbivores and mammals. The rest of the remains are unidentified mammals. Evidence of butchering is present on at least six bones. Saw marks were present on the rib of a large-sized herbivore, on the femur of a cow or bison, on the costal cartilage of a large-sized herbivore and on the costal cartilage of a large-sized mammal, while there were knife marks on the rib of a large-sized mammal and on the shaft of a bird long bone.

6.3.2.1 Interpretations

The artifact characteristics of Operation 8N68 will be briefly summarized before being compared to the constructed social and economic assemblages. No child-related artifacts are present in this assemblage. Personal artifacts are very low with only two beads and two generic buttons. There is little evidence of specific female-related artifacts. There is evidence of alcohol consumption but it is low, as represented by one beer bottle. Recreational activity is indicated by a musical instrument. There is also a low frequency of food preparation and consumption artifacts, consisting mainly of food storage containers with a number of different types of tableware artifacts. Tableware artifacts consist of a few decorated ceramics (no undecorated ceramics), pieces of cutlery and drinking glassware. Domestic household artifacts are exhibited by a variety of furnishings within the assemblage. Evidence of outside activities is from artifacts relating to hunting/defence, animal powered transportation and metalworking. The amount of faunal remains is low as compared to some of the other assemblages in the town. Both domestic and wild game species are represented, with the identified remains consisting mainly of various types of birds and large-sized mammals. This assemblage lacks artifacts in the Health and Hygiene, Police/Military, Communication and Agricultural categories.

I consider that this assemblage may best represent a Male-Only Household after comparing it to the constructed social and economic assemblages. The absence of child-related artifacts and lack of concrete evidence for female-related artifacts dismissed the possibility of a Family Assemblage and narrowed down the assemblages to either a Male-Only Household or an economic assemblage. The presence of furnishings such as a window shade and a drawer pull, along with food preparation and consumption artifacts, indicated more of a domestic household function than an economic function. This narrowed down the possibilities even further to either a Male-Only Household or a Hotel/Restaurant Assemblage. The decision to identify this assemblage as produced by a male-only household came down to the low frequencies of artifacts in the personal, health and hygiene, furnishings and food preparation and consumption categories. Male-Only Households are characterized by less diversity within the household whereas a Hotel/Restaurant is characterized by higher frequencies in those categories. Also, the high number of hunting/defence artifacts is more characteristic of a male-only household. Only food storage containers and tableware artifacts are present within the food preparation and consumption category which is consistent with this type of household. Although the few ceramics that this assemblage contains are decorated, the majority exhibit moulded relief patterns which have a more utilitarian nature than the other types of decorated ceramics. The expectation that alcohol consumption would be low in a male-only household was upheld with the identification of only one beer bottle. Therefore, the contributor(s) to the artifact assemblage collected from the cellar depression, Operation 8N68, is likely from a Male-Only Household.

6.4 Building Feature

Only one operation chosen is a building feature. Since the entire remaining building was excavated, this operation contains, by far, the largest number of artifacts. This operation is located on the bank of Battle Creek near the cluster of depressions located on the middle terrace. Table 7 describes the artifacts of this operation in terms of their functional categories.

6.4.1 Operation 8N120

Operation 8N120 was mitigated as a result of structural remains eroding into the

Table 7: Functional Category Classification for the Building Feature

| Functional Category | Functional Sub-category | 8N 120 |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Personal | Adornment | 102 |
| | Clothing Fasteners | 8 |
| | Footwear | 4 |
| | | 114 |
| Health and Hygiene | Medical | 1 |
| | | 1 |
| Recreation | Music | 1 |
| | | 1 |
| Indulgences | Alcohol Consumption | 49 |
| | Tobacco Consumption | 5 |
| | | 54 |
| Food Preparation and Consumption | Food Processing | 1 |
| | Food Storage Containers | 79 |
| | Kitchenware | 2 |
| | Subsistence Related Organic Material | 3 |
| | Tableware | 65 |
| | | 150 |
| Police/Military | Clothing Fasteners | 1 |
| | | 1 |
| Furnishings | Accessories | 1 |
| | Furniture | 2 |
| | Heating | 1 |
| | Lighting | 43 |
| | | 47 |
| Architectural | Architectural Hardware | 704 |
| | Building Materials | 2 |
| | Door Hardware | 11 |
| | Window Materials | 287 |
| | | 1004 |
| Transportation | Animal Powered | 7 |
| | Railway | 1 |
| | | 8 |
| Agricultural | Fencing | 2 |
| | | 2 |
| Hunting/Defence | Ammunition | 7 |
| | | 7 |
| Commerce and Industry | Textile working | 1 |
| | | 1 |
| Unclassifiable | Artifact Remnant | 444 |
| | Multiple Use Artifact | 6 |
| | Unclassified Package/Container | 695 |
| | | 1145 |
| Faunal | | 224 |

| | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Identified | 85 |
| | Unidentified | 139 |
| Totals | | 2759 |

bank along Battle Creek in 1992. The entire building measured 3.6 m wide and over 4 m in length. WHSI archaeologists concluded that the function of this building was unclear but suggested that it may have been used as a residence or as a storeroom for the nearby hotel (Klimko et al. 1993:26). The total number of artifacts to be used for analysis is 2,759.

Personal artifacts (n=114) are represented by adornment, clothing fasteners and footwear items. Adornment artifacts (n=102) consist of seed beads and wire wound beads. The seed beads are all of variety IIa (Karklins 1982:90) with the following colours and diaphaneity: two translucent ruby seed beads, three opaque white seed beads, three opaque pink seed beads, 10 translucent cobalt blue seed beads and 15 opaque blue seed beads. Wire wound beads are all of the variety WIb (Karklins 1982:92) with the following colours and diaphaneity: one translucent green bead, one translucent blue bead, two translucent amber beads and 65 translucent beads with a blue body and light gold colouring around the bore holes on both sides. The blue and gold coloured beads were found together arranged in a circular shape. WHSI archaeologists suggested that these beads were part of a necklace (Figure 38a). The Clothing Fasteners sub-category (n=8) is comprised of buttons and a suspender strap adjuster. Five of the buttons are made of milk glass, with two undecorated and the other three exhibiting hatch marks along the rim on the exterior face. Another glass button is black, octagonal in shape with an octagonal inset in the middle of the exterior face. The button is split in half with the clothing attachment removed from the interior face. The remaining button is a 4-holed ferrous metal button. The brass suspender strap adjuster fragment is rectangular with both ends broken. It contains a stamped design consisting of a rod passing through three circles (Figure 38b). The Footwear sub-category (n=4) consists of two shoe leather fragments from an unidentified portion of a shoe or boot and two snap fasteners. The snap fasteners are the stud portions of the fasteners imbedded within leather fragments. Both have double/parallel stitching around the stud.

The Health and Hygiene category contains only one artifact. The artifact is

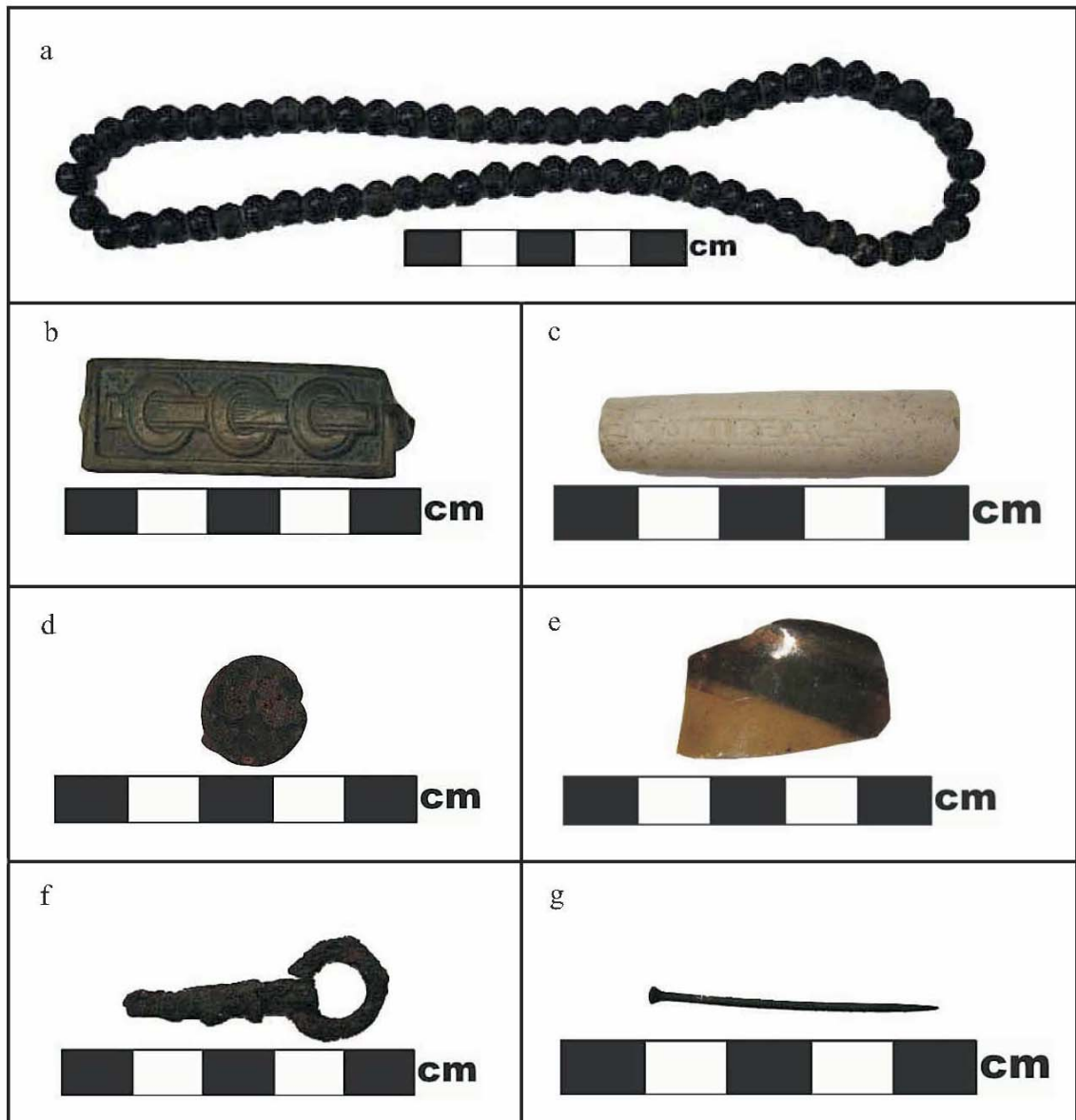


Figure 38: Artifacts found in Operation 8N120: (a) bead necklace; (b) suspender strap adjuster; (c) pipestem; (d) tobacco seal; (e) possible teapot; (f) key; (g) straight pin.

within the Medical sub-category and is the finish/neck of a medicine bottle. The medicine bottle is colourless with a prescription lip and a cylindrical neck.

The Recreation category also contains just one artifact. It is within the Music sub-category. The artifact is a complete mouth harp made of ferrous metal.

The Indulgences category (n=54) is comprised of alcohol and tobacco consumption artifacts. Alcohol consumption artifacts (n=49) are composed entirely of amber beer bottle fragments. Three shards fit together to form the finish/neck of a beer

bottle exhibiting a crown finish with a cylindrical neck and a mould seam that runs along the neck and finish. Eight shards fit together to form the base of a beer bottle. The base contains embossed letters reading “MADE IN” along the top rim and “CANADA” along the bottom rim with the numbers “2” and “7” in the middle left and “1” and “8” in the middle right. The remaining 38 beer bottle shards are all body fragments with some exhibiting a mould seam. These artifacts represent at least one beer bottle. The attributes of the finish and base fragments indicate that it post dates the townsite. Tobacco consumption artifacts (n=5) consist of three pipe stem fragments and two tobacco seals. The three pipe stem fragments are all made of white ball clay. Two are undecorated but the third contains stamped letters reading “MONTREAL” along the length of the stem (Figure 38c). The two tobacco seals are both made of ferrous metal and are disk-shaped. One of the tobacco seals also contains two triangular projections on either side with letters engraved into the body of the seal reading “WC McDONALD NO. 1” (Figure 38d). W. C. McDonald was a tobacco company from Montreal, operating under that name from 1866 to 1898 (Frost and Michel 2000).

Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts (n=150) include those relating to food processing, food storage containers, kitchenware, subsistence related organic material and tableware. The Food Processing sub-category contains only one artifact, a meat hook. The meat hook is u-shaped and missing the handle portion. The Food Storage Containers sub-category (n=79) is comprised of foil fragments, a marmalade jar and a baking powder container. The majority of artifacts in this sub-category are foil fragments (n=65). All of the foil fragments are similar in size, shape and colour and are comparable to the foil fragments found in other operations and identified as tea chest linings. A marmalade jar is identified from two white earthenware base sherds containing stamped letters reading “...ALI...”. These letters are a portion of the maker’s mark representing S. Maling of Newcastle, England, manufacturers of the Dundee Marmalade Jar (Hamilton 1979:43). The remaining 12 artifacts represent body fragments of a ferrous metal baking powder container. Embossed letters are present on the body reading “BA...”, “POWDER” and “UNE”. The Kitchenware sub-category contains two artifacts. The first artifact is a body sherd of a stoneware hollowware vessel with a yellow glaze on both the interior and exterior. The second artifact is a

broad u-shaped pot handle. The Subsistence Related Organic Material sub-category is entirely comprised of three hazelnut fragments.

The Tableware sub-category (n=65) is represented by decorated and undecorated ceramics, cutlery, drinking glassware and a glass serving bowl. A minimum of five types of decorative patterns are present on the ceramics. The first decorative pattern occurs on four rim sherds of a vitrified white earthenware saucer. The pattern is an underglaze blue transfer print identified as “Syria” and made by Robert Cochran & Co. of Glasgow, Scotland. The second pattern is an underglaze stamped pattern of pointed purple leaves. This pattern appears on only one body sherd of a vitrified white earthenware hollowware vessel. The third decorative pattern is an unidentified underglaze painted design with a reddish-blue band along the rim and the edge of a red wavy line under the band. This pattern appears on a rim fragment of a white earthenware hollowware vessel. A fourth pattern type occurs on a body fragment of a white earthenware flatware vessel. The decoration is an underglaze painted design containing a possible green leaf and the edge of a red line or band. The fifth and last decorative pattern is on a body fragment of a possible red earthenware teapot. The interior contains a light grey glaze. Half of the exterior is painted with a yellow glaze and the other half a brown glaze with a transparent gold finish overtop the brown glaze (Figure 38e). The remaining ceramic sherds are all undecorated and include: two sherds of a white granite plate, 12 sherds of a vitrified white earthenware plate, one rim sherd of a white granite bowl, two sherds of a vitrified white earthenware hollowware vessel, two sherds of a vitrified white earthenware flatware vessel, three sherds of a white granite tableware vessel, one sherd of a white earthenware tableware vessel and nine sherds of a vitrified white earthenware tableware vessel. Cutlery is represented by 15 metal fragments which mend together to form one complete serving spoon. Drinking glassware is comprised of three rim artifacts from a tumbler. A dessert or serving bowl is represented by seven rim and body sherds. The bowl contains a repeating panel of pressed glass designs around its body. The designs contain a mixture of diamond shapes, curved lines and cross-hatching marks.

The Police/Military category contains just one artifact and this relates to clothing fasteners. This artifact is a button made of brass with a domed exterior face containing

Queen Victoria's crown in the middle and reading "N.W.M.P." above the crown and "CANADA" below the crown. The interior face contains a wire shank. This button was used on the NWMP Norfolk jackets and is identical to the button found in Operation 8N20.

Furnishings (n=47) contain artifacts relating to accessories, furniture, heating and lighting. The Accessories sub-category contains just one artifact, a key. The key is a simple skeleton key made of ferrous metal and missing its teeth (Figure 38f). Furniture artifacts are comprised of a furniture tack and a decorative corner box plate. The Heating sub-category consists of a stove lid lifter. Lighting artifacts (n=43) comprise the majority of artifacts in this category and are comprised entirely of colourless fragments of chimney glass.

Architectural artifacts (n=1,004) include architectural hardware, building materials, door hardware and window materials. Architectural hardware (n=704) consists mainly of common machine cut nails along with 84 tacks, six wood screws, four wire nails, three unidentified nails and three unidentified screws. The Building Materials sub-category consists of two burnt wood joists, rectangular in cross-section. Door hardware artifacts (n=11) consist of a lock plate, a keyhole escutcheon, two door hinges (both with wood screws still attached) and seven fragments of two complete porcelain doorknobs.

Transportation artifacts (n=8) represent both animal powered and railway transportation. The Animal Powered sub-category (n=7) consists mainly of horseshoe nails, along with one horseshoe and a harness hook. The railway transportation artifact is a large metal railway spike.

The Agricultural category contains two artifacts relating to fencing. Both artifacts are fence staples. They are made of ferrous metal and may post date the town.

Hunting/Defence artifacts (n=7) consist of those relating to ammunition. Ammunition is comprised of five cartridge cases, one shotgun shell and one percussion cap. Three of the cartridge cases were incomplete and could only be identified as .44 centre-fire cartridges. One cartridge case is a .50-70, martin-primed, Government Issue centre-fire cartridge made by Springfield Arsenal and used primarily from 1866-1873 (Scott and Fox 1987:64). The fifth cartridge case is a .56/56 rim-fire with "C.D.L."

stamped on the head. This cartridge was made by C. D. Leets from 1862-1867 and was used in a Spencer carbine (Robinson 1993:90-91). The shotgun shell is an unfired 20 gauge, centre-fire with a maker's mark etched into the head reading "EB", "N^o", "20" and "London". This was made by the Eley Brothers from 1860-1925 and was used primarily for hunting upland game birds and small mammals (Robinson 1993:92). The Eley Brothers were a principal supplier for the British Military who, starting in 1873, began selling large quantities of ammunition directly to the NWMP (Phillips and Klancher 1982:83). The percussion cap has been fired and dates from 1837-1925 (Robinson 1993:93).

The Commerce and Industry category contains just one artifact. This artifact is within the Textile Working sub-category and is a straight pin. The straight pin is made of brass and is 3.4 cm in length (Figure 38g).

Unclassifiable artifacts (n=1,145) consist of artifact remnants, multiple use artifacts and unclassified package/containers. Artifact remnants (n=444) consist of fragments of curved glass of varying colours, melted glass, unidentified metal, strapping and textile scraps. Multiple use artifacts (n=6) are represented by three washers, one grommet, one wire ring and a pail lug. Unclassified package/container artifacts (n=695) are comprised of metal containers, strapping and bottle glass. Metal containers consist of the majority of artifacts (n=471) in this sub-category. Three artifacts represent an entire hole-in-top container. Another five containers are represented by four hole-in-top closures and one slip on lid. The remaining metal container artifacts are body, base and rim fragments. Strapping consists of three broken fragments with holes punched through them. Bottle fragments (n=67) and panelled bottle fragments (n=154) are scattered through the operation and represent a number of different bottles based upon the different colours present for each bottle type.

Operation 8N120 contains a large number of faunal remains (n=224). Less than half were identifiable to any degree and are as follows: *Anas* species, antelope, beaver, bird, bison, chicken, cow or bison, grey partridge, large-sized herbivore, medium-sized artiodactyl, mollusc, pheasant, ungulate and wolf. The unidentified remains were catalogued as either mammal or unidentified fauna. Cutmarks are evident on at least 10 remains made with a variety of knife, axe and saw tools. The cutmarks are present on

the remains of large-sized herbivores, an ungulate, an antelope and a medium-sized artiodactyl.

6.4.1.1 Interpretations

Artifact characteristics of Operation 8N120 will be summarized before comparing the assemblage to the constructed social and economic assemblages. No child-related artifacts are present. Personal artifacts consist of both male- and female-related artifacts and generic personal items. Household artifacts are diverse, including personal, health and hygiene, furnishings and food preparation and consumption categories. There is a high number of food preparation and consumption artifacts relating to food processing, food storage containers, kitchenware, subsistence related organic material and tableware. Food storage containers represent the majority of artifacts but they mostly consist of foil fragments along with fragments of a marmalade jar and baking powder can. There are hundreds of fragments of unidentified metal containers and glass bottles which could also have contained foodstuffs. Undecorated ceramics outnumber the decorated ceramics, but there are at least five patterns present on those ceramics including transfer printed, stamped and painted decorations. All of the food preparation and consumption artifacts indicate that cooking was a prevalent activity within this building. Tobacco consumption artifacts and music artifacts are evidence of pastime activities. The NWMP button implies a connection to the Fort Walsh NWMP post. Textile work was performed, supported by the presence of a straight pin. Transportation evidence is present with animal powered artifacts and a railway spike implying some type of relationship to the railroad building activities of the CPR. Support for other outside activities includes hunting/defence artifacts and agricultural artifacts. This assemblage lacks artifacts in the Communication category.

I determined that the artifacts in Operation 8N120 may best represent a Family Household. The presence of female-related artifacts is one of the defining characteristics of a Family Household Assemblage. There is diversity within the assemblage and a range of household artifacts, including a number of different types of furnishings which were frequently absent in many of the other analyzed operations. The food preparation and consumption artifacts are high in number, as are the food storage containers, fulfilling another characteristic within a family household assemblage.

Although the decorated ceramics are lower in number as compared to the undecorated ones, the presence of five decorative patterns demonstrates variety in the types of ceramics chosen. Both alcohol consumption and pharmaceutical artifacts are present which is also seen in family households. This assemblage also contains a button from a NWMP uniform. NWMP officers are known to have resided within the town with their families, both during service and after their discharge. The presence of this button suggests that this Family Household could be representative of a former or serving member of the NWMP.

Evidence for textile working is seen with the presence of a straight pin. However, I did not consider this one artifact, along with a small number of buttons, to be characteristic of a tailor shop. These artifacts are too few to be able to assign that type of economic designation to this assemblage. The same argument could also be used for a laundry as these artifacts would also fit into that assemblage.

The distinguishing characteristics of a billiard hall are recreational and indulgence artifacts, which this assemblage contains. However, I decided that this is not a billiard hall assemblage because it did not contain an adequate number of representative artifacts with there being only one musical instrument, a few smoking pipes and tobacco seals and one beer bottle in the collection. There is also a lack of drinking glassware. The diversity in household artifacts relating to food preparation and consumption also does not comply with the characteristics outlined for a billiard hall.

The rest of the economic assemblages also did not match this assemblage based on little or no common characteristics between them and the Operation 8N120 assemblage. The only exception is the Hotel/Restaurant assemblage. This assemblage is also based on the high frequency and diversity within the food preparation and consumption category. The dominance of undecorated ceramics over decorated ceramics works in the favour of the hotel/restaurant assemblage as utilitarian ware is expected to be higher. Personal artifacts along with furnishings are also characteristics of the hotel portion of the assemblage. In any of the other operations analyzed, I may have concluded that a specific social or economic assemblage could not be determined and would have outlined the possibilities of this assemblage being either a family household or a hotel/restaurant. However, the luxury of Operation 8N120 is that it was a

complete mitigation of a building feature, meaning that the dimensions of the building are known. The building is a small one-roomed structure, 3.5 m in width and over 4 m in length. Because of the size of the building, a hotel/restaurant would not have operated here.

The distinctions between a Family Household and a Métis Family Household are not clear cut in this assemblage. In previous operations, the characteristics of a Métis Family Household have been based upon the presence of seed beads, transfer print earthenwares, tea drinking artifacts, tobacco consumption artifacts and hunting/defence artifacts. In this assemblage there is a small concentration of seed beads, tobacco-related items and ammunition artifacts. There is only one transfer print vessel and no identified teacups except for a few unidentified plain or painted hollowware vessels. The seed beads here are lower in number compared to the numbers collected in other identified Métis Family Households, both from the Fort Walsh townsite and other Métis sites. However, the screen size that WHSI used was ¼ inch or 6 mm. This is a size which seed beads can easily fall through, leading to perhaps a false impression of low seed bead numbers. While this assemblage may be a Métis Family Household, it is probably safer to identify it simply as a Family Household.

6.5 Summary and Discussion of Operations

The ten operations chosen from the townsite for comparison to the constructed social and economic assemblages are all concluded to best represent social assemblages. Four of the operations (8N20, 8N21, 8N120 and 8N122D) best represent Family Households, two (8N15 and 8N54) best represent Métis Family Households and three operations (8N60, 8N68 and 8N123B) best represent Male-Only Households. The only exception is Operation 8N48 which could not be narrowed down to a specific assemblage and instead was concluded to either represent a Male-Only Household or a Restaurant Assemblage.

The domination of social assemblages is neither surprising nor unexpected and may be explained through a number of factors. One simple explanation is that the majority of the ten assemblages chosen from the townsite happened to have been households. These assemblages are only a small percentage of the total number of operations mapped and excavated from all the various archaeological investigations

carried out in the town. The lack of identified economic assemblages may be a result of those assemblages not being excavated, the lack of economic activities in those specific operations or their failure to meet the comparison criteria in order to be analyzed in this thesis. An example of unexcavated economic assemblages would be Operations 8N18 and 8N19. Archaeologists have speculated that these two depressions are associated with one of the hotels in the town. However, neither of these two depressions were randomly selected for excavation during the 1973 field season and so their connection to a hotel can not be confirmed archaeologically.

Another explanation for the domination of households is the possible mixture of social and economic assemblages within the town. A number of the town residents are thought to have combined both living and working within the same building which would have been typical of a small frontier settlement in the west. The few artifacts which may distinguish economic activities are overshadowed by the artifacts associated with daily life causing the assemblage as a whole to be classified as a household. If any businesses contributed to the artifact assemblage of the ten operations, their presence is not distinguishable amongst the household artifacts. On the other hand, none of the operations appeared to have close association to any of the economic assemblages, with the exception of a possible Restaurant Assemblage. Businesses such as the trading stores, billiard halls, barber shop, tailor shop, laundry, photography studio and office buildings likely did not contribute any of the artifacts collected in these ten operations and are concluded to not be located within those specific areas of the town.

Over half of the operations were attributed to either Family Households or Métis Family Households. In general, family households were deemed to be the dominant type of unit within the town according to the historical documents. Archaeologically, this was also the case. Children are visible within the archaeological record and, in all cases, the presence of these child-related artifacts were instrumental in the classification of an operation assemblage as a family household. On the other hand, the visibility of women within the archaeological record was not as concrete. Very few distinct female-related artifacts were present and often a female presence was denoted by associations with certain groups of artifacts such as decorated ceramics but even then the connections could be deemed weak within the context of the assemblage. Notable artifacts absent

from most of the family assemblages, and which were regarded as a distinguishing characteristics, are furnishings. Furnishings were much lower in frequency than expected but the lack of furnishings was fairly consistent within all of the operation assemblages. Most artifacts consisted of lighting artifacts, if furnishings were represented and only a few operations actually contained furniture fragments. Canning artifacts appear to be absent from the town assemblage. The lack of archaeological evidence for canning indicates that preserving and storing food was not a prominent activity within the households of the town. This further supports the historical information which stated that very little food was grown within the town and almost all of the food was imported from Fort Benton. However, the presence of a variety of wild game remains indicates that not all of the town residents relied solely on the trading stores for meat but actively hunted and trapped animals within the Cypress Hills to supplement their diet.

The distinction between Family and Métis Family Households was not entirely clear cut in all cases. Only two of the family households could be concretely defined as Métis based on the distinguishing characteristics outlined for that assemblage. Those two operations (8N15 and 8N54) shared similar concentrations of certain artifacts such as seed beads, ammunition and teacups. The other family households also contained similar artifacts but differed in terms of artifact concentrations. I believe that some of the Family Households may actually be Métis Family Households but since they contained artifact concentrations different from to the two Métis assemblages already defined, they remained Family Households. Regardless, Métis ethnicity is discernible within the archaeological record.

Male-Only Households are the second most common type of social unit identified within the historical documents for Fort Walsh. Archaeologically these households are visible with three or possibly four of the operations best representing this type of assemblage. This number is higher than I expected, even though a number of male-only residences are known to have existed within the town. Overall, the artifacts are quite similar in comparison to a family household with one of the only differences being the absence of female and child-related artifacts. The assumption that male residences tend to take on a transient type character based on the lack of stability a

family would provide is perhaps an incorrect impression for the men living in Fort Walsh. Male-Only Households appear to have had a variety of domestic type items with some containing a variety of furnishings and food preparation and consumption artifacts. On average the decorated ceramics were lower in frequency as compared to the undecorated ceramics but that did not preclude men from obtaining and using decorated ceramics as they appear within all of the assemblages.

The Hotel/Restaurant Assemblage was the only economic unit that was seriously considered to be a possible match for some of the operations. This is not surprising considering that the artifact combination of a hotel and restaurant closely mimics that of a household especially since they serve almost identical functions – to provide shelter and nourishment. The reasoning behind the rejection of a hotel/restaurant in favour of a household for many of the operations stems from the concentration of certain artifacts within each assemblage. A hotel/restaurant operates on a larger-scale than a household where it was expected that food preparation and consumption, personal, furnishings and health and hygiene artifacts would exhibit more variety and larger numbers. This was not the case in many operations. Also, many of the operations lacked the utilitarian nature of the artifacts assumed to be characteristic of the Hotel/Restaurant Assemblage.

One interesting observation amongst the artifacts of the Fort Walsh townsite was the paucity of alcohol consumption artifacts. A permit system was in effect for the North-West Territories and although this may have lessened the flow of alcohol into this region, its presence was not excluded. Many historical documents imply that alcohol was readily available at the hotels, billiard halls, barber shop, dance hall and perhaps even the laundry. Criminal cases at Fort Walsh also repeatedly record town residents appearing in court on charges of intoxication, possession and selling of alcohol. However, the archaeological record contains a low frequency of these artifacts. One reason for this likely stems from the fragmentary nature of many of the artifacts within the collection. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of glass bottle and curved glass fragments that may have been parts of liquor bottles but with the absence of identifiable markings to discern their function, they were placed within the Unclassifiable category. Another reason may be that since most of the operations analyzed in this thesis were from households, alcohol use in the home may not have been as prevalent as was

predicted. The acquisition of alcohol may have been easier from various businesses around town rather than by filling out a permit for personal use. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, town residents Mary Regan and Robert McCutcheon both received alcohol shipments obtained through permits. Another reason for the low numbers of alcohol-related artifacts within the collection could be their method of disposal. Town residents may not have disposed of their alcohol items in trash pits or cellars associated with their homes and instead found a more private means of disposal. Unfortunately no recognized privies or town dumps were excavated within the town of Fort Walsh to confirm or refute this suggestion.

The low numbers of alcohol consumption artifacts collected at the townsite are in contrast to the higher numbers of these types of artifacts found at the NWMP post. There, approximately 52 bottles were identified as alcohol-related. Beer bottles were the most numerous with the remaining identified as champagne-style bottles, cognac bottles and unknown alcohol bottles (Lunn 1979:41-49). The majority of the bottles (n=38) were recovered from the Commissioner's privy indicating that disposal of bottles in the privy was likely a direct means of concealing alcohol consumption (Lunn 1979:80). The remaining bottles were recovered from the enlisted men's barracks, the non-commissioned officer's privy and the officer's privy (Lunn 1979:74). The higher numbers of alcohol bottles at the NWMP post prove that alcohol was acquirable in Fort Walsh and their tendency to be deposited in privies demonstrate that alcohol consumption was likely hidden which may have also been the case in town.

The frequency of pharmaceutical artifacts in the town was also quite low. Only a few fragments in the entire collection were identifiable, those artifacts belonging to a Perry Davis Pain Killer bottle and a F. Brown's Essence of Jamaica Ginger bottle. Again there were hundreds of panel bottle fragments which may have been a part of pharmaceutical bottles but the lack of identifiable markings placed them into the Unclassifiable category. The apparent low frequency of these artifacts suggests that town residents were not consuming pharmaceuticals in place of alcohol even though they were readily available at the trading stores. Instead they were being used to either supplement alcohol consumption or for their intended use of self-medication.

Police presence within the town is indicated by artifacts directly related to both the NWMP and the US Military. The NWMP artifacts support information obtained from the historical documents that NWMP officers lived within the town, both during and after their service. However the presence of these artifacts, especially the buttons, may also simply be connected to the collection of these types of items by town residents and their circulation beyond their original use areas.

The material culture reports from excavations at the Fort Walsh NWMP post were invaluable in identifying artifacts within the town, especially in regards to ceramics, glass bottles and metal artifacts. The consistency of many of the same types of artifacts collected from the NWMP post and the town indicates that town residents obtained a portion of their goods from the same suppliers as the NWMP. The I. G. Baker & Company store was continually awarded the police contract to supply the NWMP posts in all eight years the police were stationed at Fort Walsh. In addition to supplying the police, I. G. Baker & Company operated a retail outlet within the town where town residents could purchase surplus goods. Town residents also had the choice to purchase goods from the T. C. Power & Brother store, the main competition of the Baker store. In 1881 the I. G. Baker & Company closed down its retail store within the town, leaving the T. C. Power & Brother store as the main source for goods. The majority of artifacts from the entire town assemblage are likely a combination of goods from both outlets.

Artifacts within the town assemblage also show some consistency between the various operations. Brand name products and manufacturers appear in many different operation assemblages such as Gordon & Dilworth products, various cartridge cases, and ceramics made by W. T. Copeland and Robert Cochran & Company. Two ceramic decorative patterns appear in at least three of the operations analyzed in this thesis as well as many other operation assemblages within the town. These are the painted floral pattern with rose- and blue-coloured flowers and green leaves and the “Syria” blue transfer print pattern. Similar artifacts found within various operations throughout the town may imply high availability of these products and comparable purchasing patterns amongst some town residents.

Town residents also appeared to have had goods available to them from all over Canada, the United States and Europe. These included tobacco products from Montreal, ceramics from England and Scotland, marmalade jars from Newcastle, England, beer bottles from Milwaukee and Pittsburgh, fruit and preserve jars from New York and ammunition from the United States and London. Other identified artifacts from the town assemblage not included in this thesis are: a beer bottle manufactured by the De Steiger Glass Company in Indiana, a pharmaceutical bottle containing products by Charles Ellis & Son of Philadelphia and a metal container from the Royal Baking Powder Company in Brooklyn, New York.

The operations used for analysis in this chapter represented three types of features – trash pits, cellars and a building. I found that there was little variability between the amounts and types of artifacts found in all three features. The building feature (8N120) did contain a significantly higher amount of artifacts than the rest of the features since an entire building was excavated as compared to only portions of the trash pits and cellars, but that was largely due to the high amounts of architectural, unclassifiable and faunal artifacts. When the artifact totals from the eleven essential categories are compared, the numbers are more evenly balanced. Therefore, the choosing of operations representing three different feature types does not seem to affect the analysis and interpretation of the operation assemblages.

The next chapter will use the results of this archaeological analysis in an attempt to reconstruct the layout of the town of Fort Walsh. Information from historical documents, photographs and maps will also be used to aid in this endeavour. The layout of Fort Walsh will also be discussed in comparison to another contemporaneous NWMP town.

Chapter 7

Reconstructing the Town of Fort Walsh

The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct the town of Fort Walsh in terms of layout and settlement pattern. Both of these will be examined using archaeological evidence and historical information. Lastly, the town will be compared with other NWMP towns to determine if the settlement pattern seen in Fort Walsh is common or unique to these types of towns.

7.1 Town Layout

All previous information known about the layout of Fort Walsh revolved around a map drawn by a former resident of the town, 50 years after the town was abandoned (Figure 7). From the few photographs that exist of the town, attempts have been made to match up buildings in the photos with various residences and businesses known to have been in the town (Scace and Associates Ltd. 1978:Plate 27). This same methodology has been undertaken by Parks Canada archaeologists in attempting to match depression features with buildings from photographs (Lunn 1985). I will re-examine these conclusions as well as include the archaeological findings from this thesis in trying to determine areas of social and economic activities within the town and building locales. From the combination of these two sets of evidence, the layout of Fort Walsh will hopefully be elucidated.

7.1.1 Archaeological Evidence

Chapter 6 of this thesis outlined the results of the comparison of ten chosen operations to previously constructed social and economic assemblages. My conclusions indicated that the ten operations were mainly representative of social units within the townsite. Four of the operations were representative of Family Households, two represented Métis Family Households, three represented Male-Only Households and the

last operation was concluded to either be a Male-Only Household or a Restaurant. The feature map (Figure 39) shows the placement of these operations along with the type of social/economic unit they represent. One interesting observation is the placement of the two Métis Family Households. They are in close proximity to each other, along the left edge of the cluster of depressions near Battle Creek on the middle terrace. Their positioning may indicate that there were either two Métis families living in this vicinity, each depositing their trash into separate pits, or these two trash pits represent one family who utilized multiple disposal areas. The Family Households are all situated near Battle Creek within the same depression cluster as the Métis Family Households. Two of the family households are in the middle of the depression cluster while the other two are located near the cutbank, slightly to the west and behind the depressions identified by Parks Canada archaeologists as the Old Hotel (8N18 and 8N19) (Lunn 1985:3). The Male-Only Households are more spread out through the town. One is located close to Battle Creek near the cutbank and in close proximity to a family household. Another is located on the north side of Elkwater road and the third is located on the east end of the town closer to Spring Creek. The Male-Only Household/Restaurant is located on the edge of the depression cluster near Battle Creek on the southeast side.

The majority of the operations in the townsite did not meet the criteria outlined in Chapter 6 to be further discussed and analyzed in this thesis, mainly due to low artifact numbers. However, Parks Canada archaeologists put forth interpretations for a number of the operations which will be examined and then illustrated on the feature map (Figure 39). Operation 8N4 was concluded to be a possible shallow walking surface underneath a building based on the presence of the structural remains of walls and ceiling and/or floor beams. Only a few artifacts were recovered with some tableware and ammunition artifacts. Parks Canada archaeologists concluded that this may be a residence, situated near the northwestern edge of the town (Lunn 1985:2). This conclusion seems plausible, based on the presence of structural remains and the few household artifacts.

Operation 8N46 was found to be a borrow pit containing structural remains on the north side of the depression, which indicated to Parks Canada archaeologists that a large building was in close proximity. Excavations of a portion of the building

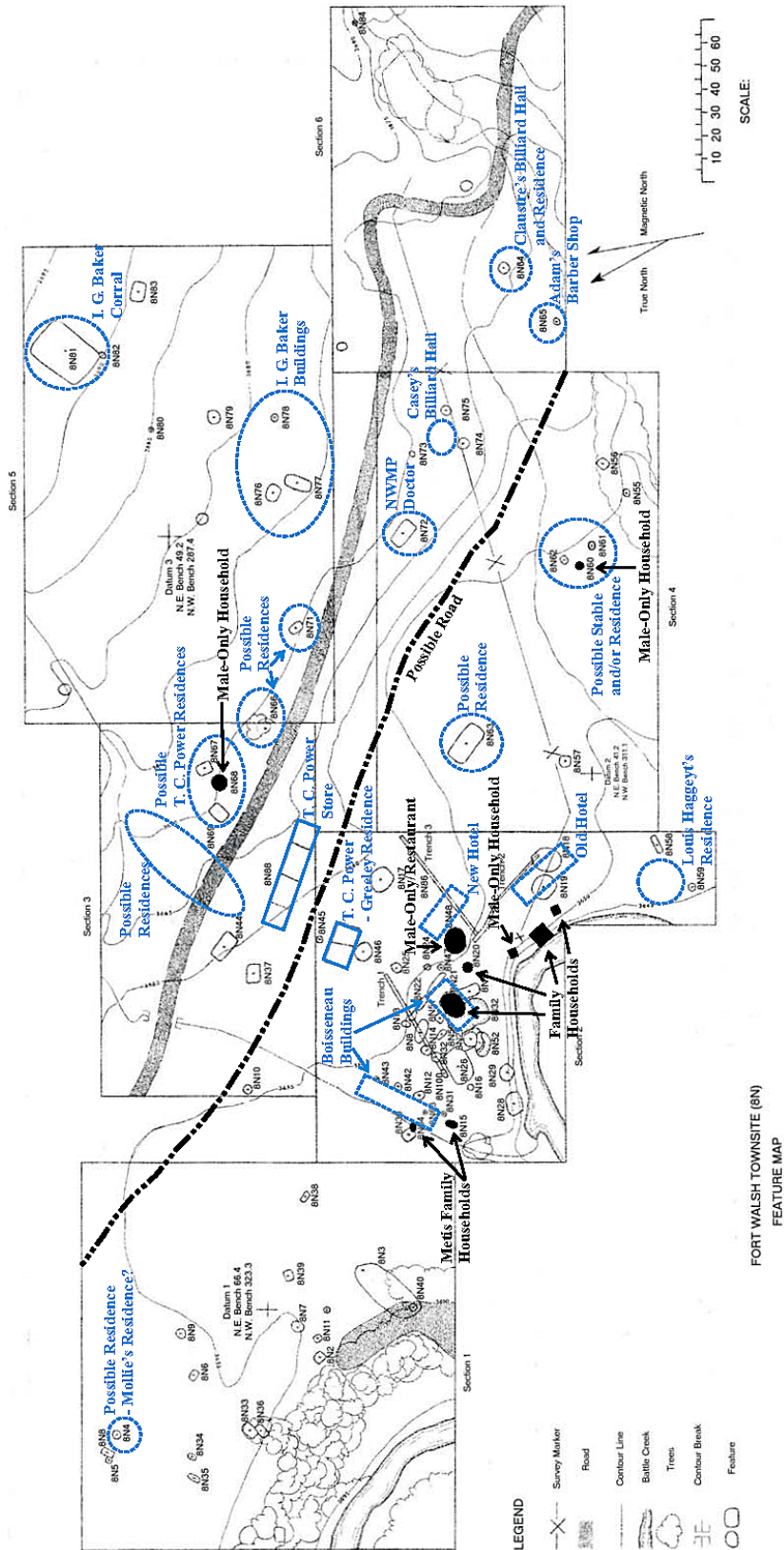


Figure 39: Parks Canada map with proposed feature identifications added (adapted from Figure 18, map courtesy of Parks Canada).

foundations revealed that it was approximately 9 m x 12 m in size, oriented E-W with a cross-cutting wall indicating the building contained two rooms (Lunn 1985:4). The function of the building remains unknown as very few artifacts were collected.

Operation 8N66 was found to be the cellar of a two-roomed building. Parks Canada archaeologists suggested that these were the remains of either the Power or Baker trading stores or residences (Lunn 1985:6). The identifiable artifacts from this depression are sparse and consist of a hookeye fastener, a Gordon & Dilworth fruit preserve jar and two pieces of ceramics. The remaining artifacts are architectural and unclassifiable with a few faunal remains. While the identifiable artifacts do suggest a household nature, the low quantity could easily skew any type of interpretation. The cellar can not be positively identified as that of either a trading store or a residence. The assumption that the building belongs to either the Power or Baker stores stems from observations made from historical photographs and the town map by past Parks Canada archaeologists (Karklins 1987:10). They suggested that Operations 8N66, 8N67, 8N68 and 8N69 may be associated and are in the general locale of one of the trading firms. If this is correct, the trading firm most likely represented by these features would be T. C. Power & Brother. These depressions are located in the north/northwest end of town and are situated close to the Elkwater road. The town map (Figure 7) places the Power buildings in this same approximate locale (#18 and 19). The Baker company buildings are located further away from the road and in the northeast end of town.

Operations 8N76, 8N77 and 8N78 are in close proximity to each other with 8N76 and 8N77 identified as building cellars and 8N78 identified as a rock cluster adjacent to a building (Lunn 1985:6-7). Based on the low quantities of artifacts, Operation 8N76 was further suggested by Parks Canada archaeologists to be a storage cellar. Both 8N76 and 8N77 contain very few identifiable artifacts and the function of the buildings can not be determined. The rock cluster (8N78) was suggested by Parks Canada archaeologists to be the remains of a chimney along the southern edge of a building foundation, approximately 9 m in length. The majority of artifacts are unclassifiable and architectural but the remaining artifacts are domestic in nature with a few personal, health and hygiene, furnishings and tableware artifacts. The low quantity of artifacts overall greatly inhibits the identification of the buildings but I believe this

cluster of features may represent buildings related to the I. G. Baker & Company. This suggestion is based on the location of these three features. They are located on the northeast side of Elkwater road and represent the possibility of at least three buildings in close proximity. These features are also close to Operation 8N81 which is directly east and higher up on the terrace. Operation 8N81 has been identified as a corral, based on its size and the presence of post holes (Lunn 1985:7). According to the town map (Figure 7), the I. G. Baker & Company buildings were also located on the northeast side of Elkwater road and consisted of a number of buildings related to both the store and warehouses (#8 and 9). This complex also contained a stable/corral (#10) directly east and situated higher up on the terrace which further gives credit to the suggestion that these features represent I. G. Baker & Company buildings.

Operation 8N63 is a large shallow depression, thought by Parks Canada archaeologists to be a corral, a building, an area for storing hay or a manure pile (Karklins 1987:10). The depression contained pockets of whitewash with most of the artifacts either unclassifiable or architectural with only a few artifacts pertaining to household type items. There is very little evidence that this depression represents a corral, hay storage area or manure pile. There are no artifacts relating to any type of agriculture, fencing (including fence post features), animal husbandry or animal-powered transportation. The presence of household artifacts also indicates that there are more than just corral-related activities occurring there. This depression may be in close proximity to a building, owing to the presence of whitewash and architectural artifacts. The reason Parks Canada archaeologists suggested that the depression was a corral was the assumption that it was located near the stable (Lunn 1985:5), labelled #27 on the town map. However, the location of the stable, from both the town map and town overview photograph (Figure 40), is farther south than this location. This depression is located directly east of the Old Hotel depressions and, according to the town overview photograph, there is an unidentified building in this general locality. The town map does not show a building in this specific location, however, the building labelled #16 (Sinclair residence) is a distinct possibility. The Sinclair residence is the only building on the town map indicated to be south of the Power buildings and southeast of the New Hotel which is the general location of the building close to 8N63.

Archaeological information gathered from the testing and excavation of various features within the townsite has shed light on the placement and identification of some of the buildings in the town. The use of historical photographs and maps has also been extremely useful (but sometimes confusing!) in clarifying the numbers and types of buildings along with their placement within the town. The following section discusses the map and the photographs that portray the town of Fort Walsh.

7.1.2 Historical Documents

There are six photographs and one map available for the town of Fort Walsh. Four of the photographs were taken while the town was still in existence and two photographs were taken after abandonment. The “town map” is that drawn by Horace Greeley (Figure 7). A second map that will be referred to in this section is the feature map (Figure 39) containing all of the depressions mapped in the 1973 field season. This will be used for reference and to compare the information gathered from the photographs and town map to the depressions excavated and mapped from the townsite.

The first photograph (Figure 40) to be examined is an overview of the entire town taken in 1878. The photograph was taken on a hill to the southeast of the town, on the opposite (or south) side of Spring Creek. This location is probably close to where the Fort Walsh Visitor Reception Centre is located today. I have cropped and enlarged the photograph (the original can be seen in Figure 8) to obtain a close-up of the buildings in the town. This photograph also appears in a Fort Walsh landscape history report compiled for Parks Canada by Scace and Associates Ltd. (1978:Plate 27) where a number of the buildings were identified. These same building identifications are used on a display within the Fort Walsh Visitor Reception Centre. Identifications are included – with caution - on Figure 40. The Scace and Associates Ltd. report and the Reception Centre display contain no reference to the sources from which they acquired these building identifications. Perhaps an archival print of the photograph contained a reference to the buildings or the town map was used a reference; in any case the reference used is unknown. Despite my trepidation, I do agree with some of the identifications. A number of these buildings appear in other photographs, which will be discussed later in this section, where their identifications have been independently confirmed. These buildings include the T. C. Power & Brother buildings, the New

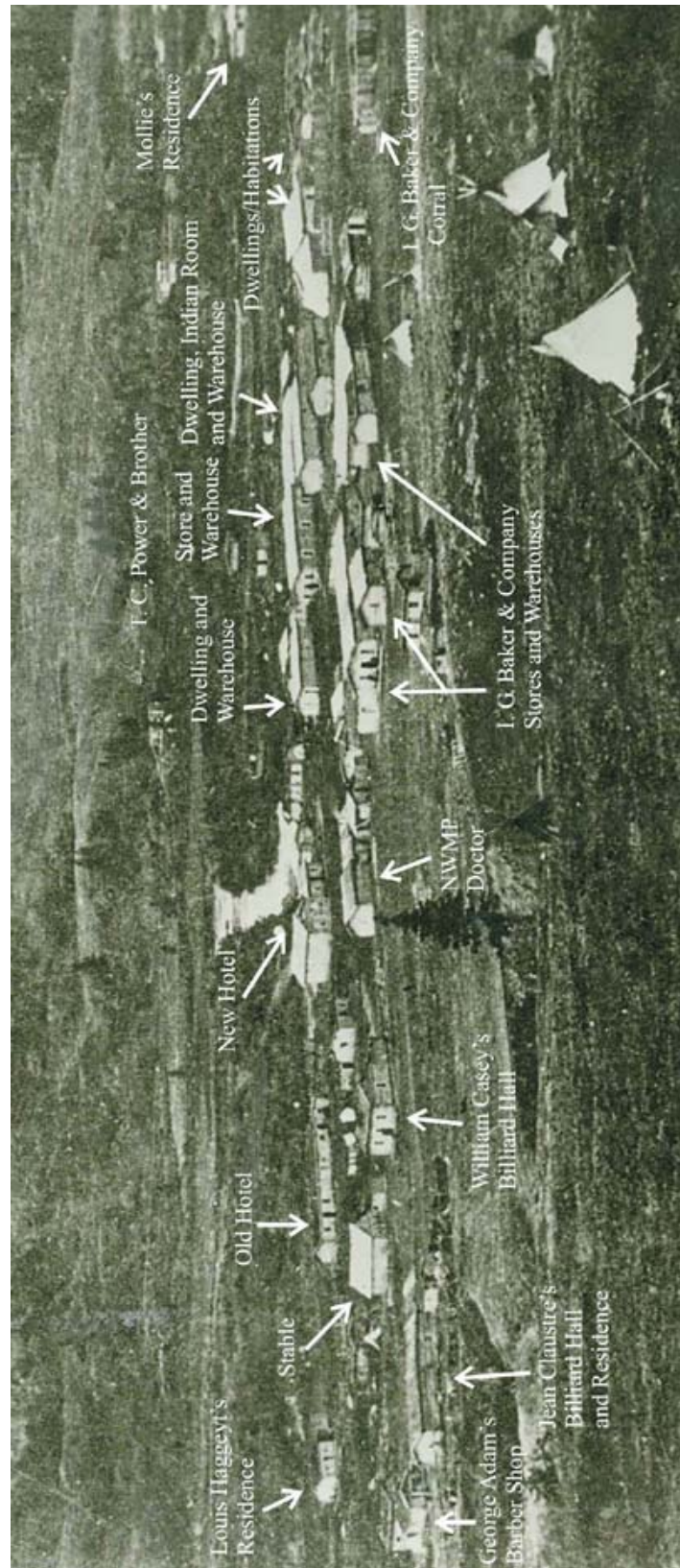


Figure 40: Town overview photograph with building identifications (adapted from Figure 8, photograph courtesy of RCMP Heritage Centre).

Hotel, George Adam's barber shop and Jean Claustre's billiard hall. Based on the location of those buildings, many of the other building identifications on the photograph seem plausible, especially when compared to the town map (Figure 7). A number of buildings on the photograph, however, remain unidentified.

Overall, the buildings within the town appear to be fairly spread out. The buildings range from small one-roomed structures to long multi-roomed structures. There are a few two-story buildings, but the majority contain only one-storey. The entrances to the buildings are not consistent with doors placed within both the long and short walls. Consequently, the buildings are oriented in different directions. Almost all of the buildings contain windows made of glass, the number varying between structures. Tipis are seen scattered around the town, mainly along town margins and on the higher terraces surrounding the town. Although the background of this photograph is a little fuzzy, dwellings can be seen on the hills overlooking the town. The presence of these dwellings in the photographs, in combination with archaeological material having been found in this vicinity, further supports the idea that people lived outside of the main townsite in the surrounding hills. The residence of Mollie, an African-American woman, is indicated on the far right of the photograph. Her dwelling appears at the north end of the town and is slightly separated from the rest of the town proper.

The second photograph (Figure 41) was taken from within the town and depicts a number of buildings and a row of traders in the foreground. There appears to be snow on the ground and a dog sled team can be seen on the far left of the traders. The traders are likely Métis men as indicated by the row of horses attached to Red River carts. There is also a large group of people standing against and in front of the two buildings on the right side of the photograph. All of the buildings face different directions with doors placed along both the long and short walls of the buildings. The buildings themselves are constructed in the notched log style. All buildings appear to be heated by stoves as indicated by the presence of stove pipes emerging through the roofs. In the background of the photograph there is a residence situated upon the hills surrounding the town. Groups of people were known to have lived along the western hills overlooking the town, based on archaeological material found in these locales. This photograph is another confirmation of those findings.



Figure 41: Trading outfit in the town of Fort Walsh. Photograph taken ca. 1870s looking west (photograph courtesy of RCMP Heritage Centre).

This photograph has appeared in many publications, used often to depict the town, but only one publication contained a caption which identified the buildings. The *Scarlet & Gold* magazine (1935, Volume 16:27) stated that the building at the extreme right is the T. C. Power & Brother store, the large building to the left of the store is Horace Greeley's residence, to the left of Greeley are two Boisseneau buildings and at the far left of the photograph is the New Hotel. These buildings can be seen in the town overview photograph mentioned above, identified as the same buildings stated here. From the angle, this photograph is taken looking west with Battle Creek located behind the hotel. Comparing this picture to the town map, these buildings likely match buildings #17, 18, 23 and 24. Those buildings are labelled as the T. C. Power & Brother store and residence, residences and hotel. The buildings labelled #23 are indicated as three residences and in the photograph, there are at least three buildings dispersed between the hotel and Power buildings. Only a portion of the Power store is captured in the photograph. This appears to be a main entrance to the store, suggested by the number of people clustered in front. The building identified as the residence of Horace Greeley consists of two rooms with at least one entrance along the long wall of the building. Horace Greeley was known to have lived in a male-only household with his uncle, Dan Marsh, and at least two other men who worked at the Power store as indicated by the 1881 Census of Canada.

The Boisseneau buildings likely refer to the two buildings between the hotel and Greeley's residence and may or may not include the building seen between Greeley's residence and the Power store. I have not come across the name Boisseneau in any of my research on the town and it is unclear to whom this refers. However, there was one known resident in town named Charles Boissonault. He operated a small trading store in town until he took over the management of the Baker store in 1879 when Frank Clark died. The spelling of the name is similar and may represent the same person but this is not known with certainty. Charles does not appear in the 1881 Census of Canada but this was also the year the Baker store left Fort Walsh and he may have left before the census enumerators came to town. That places him in town until at least 1881. The town was occupied until 1883 and although these buildings may have been referred to by his name, it is likely he did not reside here for the entire time the town existed. Both of these buildings will be examined separately but they will both retain the name Boisseneau, differentiated as left or right. The Boisseneau building to the left has an entrance along the short wall and may contain a second room indicated by the presence of a second higher roof behind it with a stove pipe. The Boisseneau building to the right is composed of two rooms with a door in each section. On the hotel there is a small rectangular sign that reads "HOTEL" above the door of the two-storey portion of the building. The hotel appears to be comprised of three different components, with the middle building divided into two parts.

The location of these buildings from the photograph and the town map appears to be near the cluster of depressions seen on the feature map (Figure 39) near Battle Creek. The Greeley residence is a two-roomed building with the Power store a long multi-roomed structure, oriented in the same direction. Looking at the feature map, there are two building foundations drawn which may match these specifications. The first foundation was partially excavated for Operation 8N46, a borrow pit found to be adjacent to a building foundation. This foundation was comprised of two rooms and oriented N-S along its long axis, similar to the Greeley residence in the photograph. The second foundation is labelled as 8N88, a foundation that was mapped but not excavated. Its location is to the east of the proposed Greeley residence foundation which matches its placement in the photograph. The foundation is also oriented N-S and is drawn as a long

building with four rooms. I am fairly confident that these two foundations on the feature map are connected with the Greeley residence and the Power store, based on the comparisons of their appearances and locations from the photographs and maps.

The Boisseneau building on the right in the photograph is a two-roomed building, oriented E-W. Its placement is west and slightly north of the Greeley residence close to Battle Creek. On the feature map this general location appears to be near the northern edge of the depression cluster. Interestingly, there is a small concentration of depressions in this location, with some oriented along an E-W line, similar to the orientation of the building. Two of the depressions, 8N15 and 8N54, were used for further examination in this thesis and based on the analysis of the artifacts, both were proposed to best represent Métis Family Households. The excavation of 8N54 also suggested to Parks Canada archaeologists that a structure was nearby based on evident structural remains. Therefore, the Boisseneau building appearing on the right in the photograph is likely in close proximity to Operations 8N15 and 8N54 which strongly indicates that the building may be a Métis Family Household.

Determination of the placement of the two remaining buildings in the photograph is not as precise. The Boisseneau building on the left and the New Hotel appear to be located somewhere amongst the cluster of depressions. I am a little surprised with the number of depressions occurring in this location, given that the photographs reveal so few buildings in this area. I had expected this area to be heavily populated based on the feature map. Excavation of the depression 8N21 revealed that it was a cellar feature indicating that there was a building at this location. The location of this depression in relation to the Greeley residence and the proposed Métis family residence on the feature map indicates that it may belong to the second Boisseneau building rather than the New Hotel. The photograph shows this Boisseneau building directly west of the Greeley residence and south of the other Boisseneau building. The artifacts of Operation 8N21 were also used for analysis in this thesis, and I concluded that it best represents a Family Household. Therefore, the Boisseneau building appearing on the left of the photograph is likely the building containing the cellar depression, 8N21, which strongly indicates that the building may be a Family Household. Operation 8N20, which is in close proximity to 8N21, may also be connected to this building. Excavations revealed that it

was a trash pit and its use for analysis in this thesis indicated that it also best represents a Family Household.

The placement of the New Hotel on the feature map is a little problematic. The photograph shows the hotel to be south and east of the Boisseneau buildings and south and west of the Greeley residence. This places the approximate location of the hotel outside of the depression cluster and in a cleared area to the east of Operation 8N48. The excavation of 8N48 did reveal the presence of whitewash along its northern edge but there were no structural remains. The exact location of the hotel can not be pinpointed but it is likely within the vicinity proposed on the feature map. The artifacts for 8N48 were analyzed in this thesis and the results indicated that a specific social or economic unit could not be specified. Instead I suggested that the assemblage represented either a Male-Only Household or a Restaurant. This is an interesting conclusion taken in context with a speculated proximity to the New Hotel. The New Hotel was run by Martin Fitzpatrick, who had a reputation for gambling and serving liquor. Shepherd (1935:4) commented that he ran more of a gambling establishment than a hotel. The hotel would have catered mainly to men if this was the case, an establishment ladies may not have entered on a regular basis. That most hotels served some type of food is indicated in the historical documents for frontier hotels, but it is unclear if the New Hotel contained an actual restaurant or just served food from the bar. Operation 8N48 assemblage contained no female-related artifacts, some generic personal items, food preparation and consumption artifacts and a small amount of alcohol consumption artifacts. This type of assemblage could have been contributed by the hotel, given a possible proximity to the New Hotel, but without further testing and concrete evidence the safe approach would be to continue classifying this assemblage as either a Male-Only Household or a Restaurant.

The third photograph (Figure 42) was taken ca. 1879 from within the town and focuses on a number of dog travois. The travois appear to be clustered on the side of a road which gives evidence for a road winding through town below the high terrace as is indicated on the town map (Figure 7). The raised terrace on the right side of the road indicates that the photograph was taken looking north. The building in the middle left of the photograph with the door and two windows appears to be the Power store. The



Figure 42: Indian dog travois at Fort Walsh settlement. Photograph taken looking north and recorded as ca. 1879 (photograph courtesy of Glenbow Archives NA-354-24).

Greeley residence was not built when this photograph was taken, but the building to the left of the store appears in Figure 41, between the Greeley residence and the Power store. The building in the foreground is unknown but its location may correspond with buildings labelled on the town map as #15 (billiard hall) or #16 (W. Sinclair residence). The buildings lining the edge of the high terrace appear to be arranged in a row and may represent buildings on the town map labelled #12-14, all residences with one belonging to the NWMP and the other to Robert McCutcheon. The building in the photograph to the right of the Power store likely matches a building labelled #19 on the town map, a residence for the Power store employees. This location also corresponds with a cluster of depressions on the feature map (Figure 39) labelled 8N67, 8N68 and 8N69. Operation 8N68 was the only depression excavated and was used for analysis in this thesis. I determined that the artifacts from this depression likely represented a Male-Only Household. The photograph and town map indicated that this building was a residence for Power employees and my conclusions of a Male-Only Household in this vicinity further solidified this identification.

I disagree with the proposed date assigned to this photograph. The Glenbow Archives lists a date of ca. 1879 but the photograph shows that the Greeley residence has

not been built. In the overview photograph of the town (Figure 40) taken in 1878, the residence has clearly been built and is situated next to the Power store. Either this photograph was taken earlier than 1878 or the town overview photograph was taken later than 1879.

The fourth photograph (Figure 12) was taken of George Adam's barber shop and Jean Claustre's billiard hall and dwelling ca. 1880 with the north and east wall of the NWMP palisade in the background. The billiard hall on the left is a one-story building with a smaller building attached on the left side. The smaller building was likely the residence for Jean and his family. There also appears to be a makeshift fence behind the building on the right side. The barber shop on the right is a two-storey building also containing a fence around its left side. Both buildings are constructed in the notched log style with sod-covered roofs. The barber shop and billiard hall are known to be the buildings in the town that were the closest to the NWMP post and from this photograph, the post is in close proximity. These two buildings were also on the north side of Spring Creek near where the road forded the creek. Parks Canada archaeologists have proposed that two depressions mapped within the town are the likely locations for these two buildings (Lunn 1985:6). The billiard hall would represent 8N64 and the barber shop would represent 8N65 (Figure 39). Both of these depressions are close to Spring Creek, near where the road crosses the creek. The town overview photograph (Figure 40) and town map (Figure 7) do show these two buildings at the south end of town in this general vicinity. The suggestion that 8N64 and 8N65 are the locations of the barber shop and billiard hall is plausible.

The fifth photograph (Figure 16) is an overview of the town in 1902, nine years after abandonment. Approximately 20 buildings are still standing in the town. Most of the windows and doors have been taken from the buildings along with some dismantling of roofs. A privy can clearly be seen in the middle left of the photograph which was not discernible in any of the other photos. The angle of this photograph is similar to the town overview photograph (Figure 40), taken on a hill southeast of the town. The same single spruce tree is on the right-hand side of both photographs. The cluster of buildings and collapsing corral fence on the right likely represents some of the Baker buildings with the long building in the centre of the photograph appearing to be the Power store.

The hotel and Greeley's residence seen in Figure 41 have been dismantled, however, this photograph reveals some small buildings near Battle Creek not seen in earlier photos. The photograph also shows two buildings in the far background separated from the rest of the town. The building on the far left of the photograph may be a portion of Jean Claustre's billiard hall and dwelling as seen in Figure 12. The building is one-storey and is adjacent to Spring Creek but its identification can not be completely confirmed.

The sixth and final photograph (Figure 43) is an aerial view looking east at the townsite and former NWMP post taken in 1944. At this time the land had been sold two years previously by Frank Nuttall to the RCMP for use as a remount station (De Jonge 1997:25). In this photograph, construction of the remount station on top of and in the style of the NWMP post can be seen in the background. In the foreground of the photograph is the townsite, separated from the post by the wooded Spring Creek angled from left to right across the picture. A loop of Battle Creek can be seen at the bottom of the picture in the centre. The buildings of the town have been completely dismantled



Figure 43: Aerial photograph of the former Fort Walsh town and NWMP post. Photograph taken in 1944 looking southeast (photograph courtesy of RCMP Heritage Centre).

and removed from the land. A number of trails criss-cross through the site, likely a jumble of historic and modern tracks. There appear to be at least two crossing points across Spring Creek with at least three trails leading to the crossings. The aerial view also shows the high number of depressions scattered throughout the area on the bottom left side of the photo. Concentrations of depressions occur near Battle Creek on the left side of the photograph along with a line of depressions following the edge of the higher terrace all the way towards Spring Creek. Many of the depression can be matched up with those mapped on the feature map (Figure 39). In this photograph approximately 60 years after abandonment, all that was left of the once thriving town of Fort Walsh were depressions and trails scattered over the landscape.

The town map (Figure 7) has been extremely useful in the endeavour to approximate the locations of buildings and for building identifications. As mentioned before, the map was drawn 50 years after abandonment by Horace Greeley who admitted on his original copy that some buildings may be missing. In comparing the town map to the town overview photograph (Figure 40), there are a few more buildings in the photograph that are not drawn on the map and some of the building locations are not completely accurate on the map. Overall though, the map has been fairly consistent in building identifications. This consistency will be used to match buildings found on the map with possible depressions or locations on the feature map (Figure 39).

First of all, the road outlined on the feature map does not match with the road which bisects the middle of the town as outlined on the town map. The road on the feature map is likely a modern road, winding along the high terrace. The road on the town map (Figure 7) crosses Spring Creek, passes between the barber shop and billiard hall and travels along the edge of the high terrace as indicated by its placement next to the boundary of the “rising ground”. Further evidence of the road following this path is seen in Figure 42 where the high terrace is to the right of the road. The likely path of the road is illustrated on the feature map (Figure 39). The paths of the other roads (Macleod Trail and Battleford Trail) are not as clear. The Macleod trail splits off and heads towards Battle Creek whereas the Battleford trail splits off after the Power stores. I will not attempt to draw the paths of these roads on the feature map as the entire area of the town is not represented on the map.

The building labelled #7 on the town map was the billiard hall run by William Casey, who was also the proprietor of the Syndicate Hotel. William Casey's billiard hall was north of the barber shop and billiard hall near Spring Creek, on top on the high terrace. In the town overview photograph (Figure 40), Casey's billiard hall was identified in the same approximate location as on the town map. On the feature map there is a grouping of depressions north of the proposed barber shop and billiard hall locations which may be the location of Casey's billiard hall. These depressions are labelled 8N73, 8N74 and 8N75. They occur near the start of the rise of the high terrace. None of these depressions were excavated to either confirm or refute the presence of a billiard hall in this location, but the billiard hall was likely in close proximity. This same building appears in the 1902 photograph (Figure 16). It is situated in the middle left of the photograph and consists of two rooms with a portion of the roof dismantled. This building, as it appears in the 1878 town overview photograph, consisted of only one room with a doorway facing south. The second room must have been added onto the building sometime between 1878 and the 1883 abandonment of the town. This second room contained a doorway along the short wall facing east. While researching the history of the town, I could not pinpoint if the billiard hall and the Syndicate Hotel were two separate establishments or if William Casey transformed his billiard hall into a hotel. The addition of a second room to his billiard hall suggests that he required more space for the larger enterprise of a hotel which also necessitated his hiring of a Chinese man to cook meals (*Fort Macleod Gazette* 1882:October 4). He also kept his billiard hall (and bar) in service as he advertised both lodging, liquor and billiards in the *Fort Macleod Gazette* (Figure 15).

The building labelled #12 on the town map was a residence inhabited by the NWMP. This residence was located north of Casey's billiard hall and west of the Baker store along the edge of the high terrace. The town overview photograph (Figure 40) identified a building in this general vicinity as the residence of the NWMP doctor. On the feature map there is a depression both north of Casey's billiard hall and directly west of the Baker buildings which may be connected to the NWMP doctor's residence. This depression was mapped as 8N72 and was not excavated. Regardless, according to its

location seen in the town overview photograph, the doctor's residence was likely in this vicinity.

The buildings labelled #13 and #14 are residences with #13 inhabited by Robert McCutcheon and the other inhabitant unknown. These residences were drawn on the map as part of a straight row of residences including that of the NWMP doctor. They are all located along the top of the high terrace with the Power buildings to the north and the Baker buildings to the east. The town overview photograph shows one or possibly two buildings north of the doctor's residence but the view is partially obstructed by the Baker buildings. These buildings were not identified in the photograph. On the feature map there are two depressions situated in this vicinity between the proposed doctor's residence and the Power buildings to the north. These depressions are 8N66 and 8N71 and both were excavated. Operation 8N66 was concluded to be the cellar of a two-roomed building. Operation 8N71 did not contain structural remains but concentrations of whitewash and clay suggested to Parks Canada archaeologists that a building was in close proximity (Lunn 1985:6). Neither of these operations contained enough identifiable artifacts for further analysis and their function as a possible residence can not be asserted. Even though it was concluded that both depressions were near buildings, they are fairly spread out along the edge of the terrace. The town map indicated that these residences were grouped quite closely. Also, Operation 8N66 was discussed in the previous section concerning its possible association with depressions 8N67, 8N68 and 8N69 which are thought to be connected to the T. C. Power & Brother buildings. Operation 8N66 appears to be too far north to relate to one of the residences drawn on the town map. Therefore, Operation 8N71 may be in close proximity to one of the residences with the location of the other residence unknown.

The building labelled as #25 on the town map is identified as the Old Hotel. It was located south and west of the New Hotel near Battle Creek. The town overview photograph shows a long multi-roomed building in this general locale. The building is oriented N-S and contained at least two entrances along the long wall facing east. Parks Canada archaeologists have suggested that depressions 8N18 and 8N19 represent the location of the Old Hotel (Lunn 1985:3). Both of these depressions are large cellar depressions but neither has been excavated. The location of 8N18 and 8N19 seem

plausible as the location for the Old Hotel in comparison to the proposed locations of other buildings such as the New Hotel. Mitigation excavation in 1992 exposed the foundations of a small one-roomed building near the Old Hotel along the cutbank of Battle Creek. On the feature map this building foundation (Operation 8N120) is located northwest of the 8N18 and 8N19 depressions. However, a small building can not be seen in the town overview photograph and is likely hidden from view behind the Old Hotel based on the angle of the photograph. In the 1902 photograph it appears that all that remains of the Old Hotel is one room of the previously multi-roomed building. But, behind the Old Hotel and slightly northwest of it is a small building, no longer obstructed from view. This building may be the building foundation excavated in Operation 8N120 which was revealed to be a small one-roomed structure. The artifacts from 8N120 were used for further analysis in this thesis where I concluded that the assemblage may represent a Family Household. I still support this interpretation given the information at hand.

The building labelled #27 on the town map is identified as the residence of Louis Haggeyt. It is located near the Old Hotel and is situated south and slightly to the west of it. On the town overview photograph (Figure 40), a building fitting this general location is identified also as Louis Haggeyt's dwelling. On the feature map there are two depressions that were mapped to the south and west of the Old Hotel, 8N58 and 8N59. Neither of these depressions were excavated and their connection to a residence can not be confirmed. Lunn (1985:5) suggested that the Louis Haggeyt dwelling may be associated with the group of depressions 8N60, 8N61 and 8N62 according to his observations of the town overview photograph. However, his assumption is incorrect as this cluster of depressions is to the south and east of the Old Hotel. The building identified as the Haggeyt dwelling is clearly to the west of the hotel in the photograph. A walking tour of the townsite implemented by Fort Walsh National Historic Site staff has also incorrectly labelled the Louis Haggeyt dwelling within the townsite. The walking tour pamphlet and a marker on the site indicate that depressions 8N60, 8N61 and 8N62 are the location of this dwelling. One of the depressions, 8N60, was excavated with the artifacts used for analysis in this thesis. I concluded that the artifacts from this assemblage likely represented a Male-Only Household. According to the

feature map, 8N60 is directly east of the proposed location of Casey's billiard hall and north and east of the proposed location of the barber shop. Looking at the town overview photograph, one building, identified as a stable, appears to match this general location. Whether this building is actually a stable or not is unknown. There may be a second smaller building to the right of this building, perhaps containing a residence if this larger building functioned as a stable.

The building labelled as #22 on the town map was identified as Mollie's residence. Her residence is situated at the north end of town on the outer margins. The town overview photograph (Figure 40) labels one of the buildings on the far right side as Mollie's residence. Only a small portion of a building can be seen and it is separated by some distance from the rest of the town buildings. In the 1902 photograph (Figure 16) of the town there is a long building containing at least two rooms and oriented E-W at some distance behind the Power buildings. This may be the building that was captured in the town overview photograph. The feature map does show a scattering of depressions mapped north of the Power buildings. One depression, 8N4, was discussed in the previous section where excavations revealed that the depression was situated underneath a building. The building located at 8N4 may be the building seen in both the 1902 and town overview photographs but its connection to Mollie's residence is still merely speculative.

The buildings labelled #20 on the town map were identified as residences. They are east of the Power buildings. The town overview photograph (Figure 40) identified a clustering of buildings to the east of the Power store as dwellings/habitations with no further identification as to the people who lived in this area. The feature map shows two depressions north of the Power store but the only depressions to the east of the store are those that have been identified as connected to one of the Power residences and warehouses. The residences in this locale may not have any depressions associated with their location. This has been noted with other buildings at the site (Operation 8N120) and the magnetometer assessment units excavated along the bank of Battle Creek uncovered buried structural remains not indicated on the surface.

Throughout these last two sections I have attempted to locate and identify buildings within the town with the aid of archaeological evidence, historical photographs

and maps. All conclusions and interpretations regarding the town buildings were illustrated on the feature map (Figure 39) creating a large scattered jumble of known and proposed building locales. A summary of those interpretations are found in Table 8. I do not claim that the town layout that I have outlined on the feature map is completely accurate as it only represents my best possible assessment of the archaeological and historical information available for the town. The town layout may change if future archaeological excavations shed new light on building locations and identifications or if other historical photographs or documents are found. The layout of Fort Walsh appears to be quite spread out with little organized structure. This type of settlement pattern will be explored in the following section.

7.2 Settlement Pattern

Overall, the layout of Fort Walsh lacks organization, boundaries, symmetry and consistent patterning. There is no set structure to the town of Fort Walsh, giving an organic impression. Buildings appear to be spread throughout the entire town with a few pockets of building concentration and a few open areas. The buildings show little consistency in their orientation and entrance locations. A few roads criss-cross through town but only a few buildings take advantage of being near a road, with most located away from the roads. The majority of buildings are located on the high and middle terrace but a few buildings are situated on the lower terrace and on the outside margins of the town. The only buildings in the town that show some type of organization are those belonging to the Fort Benton stores. The Power buildings are arranged in a row, all oriented in an N-S direction. The Baker buildings are not as organized as the Power buildings but they are all clustered in one general area and separated from other buildings in the town.

Why is there little overall structure in this town? Is it because of the topography, access to resources, the composition of the people of the town or conflicting views on town settlement? The town of Fort Walsh stands in marked contrast to other pioneer settlements created during this time period and in the forthcoming years which were largely based on principles of order. The idea of symmetry and boundaries is a European way of thinking, common in eastern Canada and stemming from the development of town planning centuries before. Many common forms of organization

Table 8: Summary of the Interpretations of Various Operations in the Townsite

| Operation # | My Interpretations | Parks Canada Interpretations | WHSI Interpretations | Sources Used |
|--------------------|---|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 8N4 | Possibly Mollie's residence | Part of building, possible residence | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 16, 40 |
| 8N15 | Métis Family Household, Boisseneau building | Trash pit next to residence | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 41 |
| 8N18 and 8N19 | Old Hotel | Old Hotel | | Figures 7, 16 |
| 8N20 | Family Household | Trash pit | | 1973 excavations |
| 8N21 | Family Household, Boisseneau building | Cellar | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 41 |
| 8N46 | Borrow pit next to Greeley residence | Borrow pit next to building | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 41 |
| 8N48 | Male-Only household or Restaurant – possibly near New Hotel | Trash pit, close to building | | 1973 excavations, Figure 41 |
| 8N54 | Métis Family Household, Boisseneau building | Trash pit near building | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 41 |
| 8N58 and 8N59 | Louis Haggeyt's residence | | | Figures 7, 40 |
| 8N60 | Male-Only Household | Trash pit connected to residence | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 40 |
| 8N61 and 8N62 | Possible residence and/or stable | Louis Haggeyt's residence | | Figures 7, 40 |
| 8N63 | Possible residence | Corral or hay storage or manure pile or building | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 40 |
| 8N64 | Claustre's billiard hall | Claustre's billiard hall | | Figures 7, 12, 40 |
| 8N65 | Adam's barber shop | Adam's barber shop | | Figures 7, 12, 40 |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|--|---|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 8N66 | Possible residence, maybe connected to Power buildings | Cellar, Power or Baker trading store | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 40, 42 |
| 8N67 and 8N69 | Possible Power residences | | | Figures 7, 42 |
| 8N68 | Male-Only Household – Power residence | Cellar of house | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 40, 42 |
| 8N71 | Possible residence | Trash pit close to building | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 40, 42 |
| 8N72 | NWMP doctor residence | | | Figures 7, 40, 42 |
| 8N73, 8N74 and 8N75 | In vicinity of Casey’s billiard hall | | | Figures 7, 16, 40 and 42 |
| 8N76, 8N77 and 8N78 | Baker buildings | Cellars and rock cluster next to building | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 40 |
| 8N81 | Baker corral | Baker corral | | 1973 excavations, Figures 7, 40 |
| 8N88 | Power store | | | Figures 7, 40, 41, 42 |
| 8N120 | Family Household | | Residence or storeroom | 1992 excavations, Figure 16 |
| 8N122D | Family Household | | Trash pit | 1992 excavations |
| 8N123B | Male-Only Household | | Trash pit | 1992 excavations |

utilized in new settlements revolved around the design of a grid pattern. Early forms of this pattern involved the use of a central square containing a marketplace or a church. This type of town planning subsequently began appearing in larger seventeenth-century settlements in North America (Lewis 1984:186). However, Fort Walsh was not a large colonial outpost or settlement. The population of the town would not have necessitated or sustained a grid system design. It is not surprising that Fort Walsh does not exhibit this level of town planning as it was still a burgeoning community with a small population and an overall lack of diversity in specialized activities in comparison to communities in the east. Then again, smaller settlements in Europe and North America also exhibited patterns of organization. Common patterns utilized were “row settlements” where buildings were placed along both sides of the road. This allowed

equal access for everyone in the settlement to the road. These settlements were often elongated in shape with some containing an additional intersecting road creating a crossroad junction in the settlement (Lewis 1984:205-206). Fort Walsh does not exhibit this type of settlement patterning either but it was not because the town was not exposed to the idea of imposing boundaries or order on the landscape as this was clearly projected from the NWMP.

The Fort Walsh NWMP post was a bounded community, separating itself from outside groups. Murray (1985:74) stated that this type of construction was an indirect means for the NWMP to implant “Canadian concepts of social order on the frontier”. Based on the archaeological findings, the post buildings were determined to be spatially organized. The buildings were symmetrically arranged around an open square inside the enclosure. The post could be divided into two halves where each side was almost equal in size, shape and structure placement; an organization that was consciously maintained through subsequent renovations of the post (Murray 1985:116-118). Further segmentation of the post focused on the segregation of buildings based on rank association and the placement of buildings based on their functional utilization (Murray 1985:136). The NWMP created this built environment as a visual representation of the distinctions between not only themselves and the outside community but also amongst themselves. The residents of the town of Fort Walsh had a visual reminder of the concept of spatial organization everyday. In contrast, the town residents chose to forgo the prevailing eastern Canadian or European mentality of imposing structured settlement patterns on the landscape, perhaps a reaction against the formal order of the post.

The town was located within Battle Creek coulee, a small open area ridged by hills and terraces on all sides. The land upon which the town was situated was not entirely flat but contained at least three terraces that gently sloped upwards into the hills. Only the rise to the high terrace was prominent within the town as was evident in Figure 42. Overall, the topography of the town should not have impeded a structured settlement. There was considerable space to plan an organized town where any undesired topographic features could be avoided. However, perhaps it was the availability of space that attracted people to build their residences and businesses anywhere they chose.

Access to resources was also not an important motivator in choosing building location. The town was bounded by two creeks but only a handful of buildings are located near the banks of the creeks. Most of the buildings were located at the opposite end of the town towards or on the high terrace. Close access to water was perhaps not a priority to many people, likely due to its easy accessibility from two different sources. The junction of Battle and Spring creek was also an area of low drainage and likely susceptible to flooding, perhaps inhibiting the placement of buildings in this area. The flooding of the creeks and the quality of the water in general was also thought at that time to be the cause of “Mountain Fever”. NWMP Surgeon, John Kittson, outlined a number of reasons in the 1879 *Report of the Commissioner North-West Mounted Police* why he thought the consumption of this water led to infection. He based this on the quality of the water source, its occurrences after flooding periods and the high number of fever cases amongst people who camped near the creek (Kittson 1880:28-29). The combination of flooding and fear of illness may have caused residents to live elsewhere, away from the lower terrace. However, from the feature map (Figure 39), there are still a few possible buildings located on the lower terrace which means that this area was not completely deserted. The majority of buildings that are located near the creeks are on areas of higher ground where drainage would have been less of an issue. The need for close access to resources is therefore another factor that would not have impeded a structured settlement.

Finally, the disorganization of the town, the lack of symmetry and patterning may have been a result of the composition of town residents themselves. The majority of people in the town were Métis, many of whom had lived in the Cypress Hills or other Métis settlements in the plains prior to the establishment of Fort Walsh. Most originated from families in Manitoba who came further west in search of buffalo and ended up spending the winter in *hivernant* villages. Burley et al. (1992:96-97) made some interesting observations about the patterning of these Métis wintering villages. He acknowledged that every village he studied was different in terms of layout, where some were influenced or constricted by topography and others were dispersed about a trail network. However, it was this variability that was the important characteristic of the villages. The Métis did not “transform or break up the landscape into a preconceived

model of settlement pattern”. Instead they used the characteristics of each site to their advantage and superimposed themselves onto the landscape. Burley et al. attributed this lack of a tightly defined village structure to at least three different factors. The first factor is the mobility of the Métis people. The Métis seasonal round limits the amount of time that can be spent on constructing buildings, reducing the need for organizational patterns. The second factor is that Métis people followed egalitarian and communal principles of social organization which is reflected in the village layout. All people had access to the land within the village with no restrictions based on status or rank. The final factor is the relationship between Métis people and the land. Their conceptualization of landscape is one of unity with the land where they do not set themselves apart from nature through culture. This concept is in contrast to the European mentality discussed above where the land was viewed as property and was altered to fit their preconceived pattern of settlement.

Burley et al. (1992:97) also commented that in examining the feature maps of Métis wintering villages, the feeling of chaos or confusion easily sets in from their Euro-Canadian viewpoints. Depressions of various sizes, shapes and functions are scattered throughout with many superimposed over each other making it difficult to determine structure limits, activity areas or building numbers. They also refer to historical observations of wintering villages such as that of H. M. Robinson who described the village buildings as “crowded irregularly together” and “intermingled in a confusion worthy of an Irish fair” (Robinson 1879 as cited in Burley et al. 1992:98). This “confusion” from a European perspective highlights the lack of boundary definition and organization within villages. Métis people likely did not view the layout of their villages in this manner but likely viewed the organization of the village as organic and in tune with the environment.

The descriptions of the layout characteristics of a Métis wintering village are similar to the town of Fort Walsh in terms of the lack of boundaries, symmetry and organization amongst others. As mentioned above, many of the town residents were Métis who would have possessed a mentality about how space and land was utilized that differed from that of the residents from eastern Canada and Europe. These concepts may have translated into Métis residents selecting a spot in town which would have best

suited their needs and did not interfere with their relationship to nature. Other residents may have followed suit in choosing suitable locations for themselves instead of adopting the rigidity of an organized settlement pattern.

Overall the layout of Fort Walsh lacks a Euro-Canadian structured settlement pattern even though many frontier settlements of this time period are influenced by European principles of order. One reason for this may be the high numbers of Métis residents within the town who possess a contrasting view of landscape utilization. Métis concepts of settlement and their resulting influences on the layout of their villages are similar to the type of layout observed at Fort Walsh. Métis influence in terms of settlement pattern may have been significant within the town of Fort Walsh. All in all, many factors likely converged to influence the layout of the town of Fort Walsh which made it a unique community during the years of early settlement in the Canadian west. But how different was it from other towns in the west? The following section aims to compare Fort Walsh to other towns established near NWMP posts.

7.3 Comparison to Other NWMP Towns

The town of Fort Walsh was just one of many such communities that developed in the vicinity of a NWMP post. During the first couple of years of NWMP presence in the Canadian west, towns were established next to such posts as Fort Macleod, Fort Calgary, Fort Edmonton and Fort Battleford. Fort Macleod and Fort Calgary share many similarities with Fort Walsh. All three towns were part of the same trade network where supplies were brought in by bull- or mule-trains from Fort Benton. The main supplier to all three towns was I. G. Baker & Company with T. C. Power & Brother also in Fort Macleod and the Hudson's Bay Company in Fort Calgary. Fort Edmonton and Fort Battleford received all of their supplies from Winnipeg, mainly through the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company in Fort Calgary would have received its supplies from Winnipeg, also by way of Fort Edmonton (Klassen 1985:45). All of these towns were established before the CPR line was built across Canada and are all in existence today with the exception of Fort Walsh.

I decided to focus on the towns of Fort Calgary and Fort Macleod as possible comparisons to Fort Walsh. Of the four NWMP towns mentioned above, these two share characteristics with Fort Walsh in terms of contemporaneity, trading networks,

communication networks and geographical location. Fort Macleod was established in 1874 with Fort Calgary and Fort Walsh established the following summer in 1875. Fort Macleod was the first post established in Alberta and quickly grew in importance when it became the NWMP headquarters from 1875 to 1878. A small town quickly sprang up next to the post with the presence of the Fort Benton stores of Baker and Power and numerous other traders and businessmen. On the other hand, Fort Calgary functioned as a small outpost of the NWMP. In 1876, the post contained 37 officers and constables (Turner 1950:308), but by 1880 and 1881, the post was reduced to four and eight officers respectively (Turner 1950:562, 625). The Fort Calgary settlement grew slowly from 1875 to 1883 with the majority of buildings present relating to the NWMP post, the trading stores and the churches or missions (Soby and Scollard 1978:8, 11, 18). In 1881, Fred White wrote in his diary that while standing on Calgary's North Hill, he counted "16 log shacks, nine Indian teepees and the Mounted Police fort" (McNeill 1966:13). Fort Calgary was well on its way to being closed down as an outpost for the NWMP. However, the CPR announced in 1882 that the railroad would be built through Fort Calgary, prompting the decision to turn the NWMP post into a divisional post requiring new buildings and an influx of officers (Turner 1950:669, 671). The settlement began to grow exponentially when the railroad reached Fort Calgary in 1883 and by November of 1884 it had a population of over 500 and was incorporated as a town (McNeill 1966:87). Because Fort Calgary experienced very little growth during the years 1875-1883 and could be considered a small settlement instead of a town in comparison to the towns of Fort Macleod and Fort Walsh, I decided to focus solely on Fort Macleod.

7.3.1 Town of Fort Macleod

The town of Fort Macleod has actually been situated in two different locations since its establishment. The first location of the town was on Macleod Island, a small island in the Oldman River (Figure 44). It was established in 1874 and remained there for ten years until 1884/5. Throughout those years the town experienced many periods of flooding often causing crops to be ruined, buildings to be washed away and access to the mainland to be cut off (Turner 1950:444). The town and NWMP post were moved to a new site approximately 3 km east of the island on top of the high banks of the river where the town has remained to present day (Davis 1964:37). I will only be using



Figure 44: Satellite image of the location of Macleod Island and present day Fort Macleod, Alberta (Google Earth).

information gathered about the first town of Fort Macleod as its time period closely coincided with that of Fort Walsh.

The information available for the first town of Fort Macleod comes mainly from historical documents, maps and photographs. Archaeological testing and excavation has been done on the island for both the NWMP post and the town. Two separate permits were issued for these excavations which were carried out in 1979 and 1984. The 1979 excavations involved testing various locations around the island to establish the location and extent of the site. The few hundred artifacts collected roughly dated to the 1874-1884 time period. A distinction could not be made at that time between the NWMP post and the townsite and recommendations were made for further testing and excavation (Forsman 1980:29). Extensive excavations were carried out in 1984; unfortunately, the final report for this excavation has been listed as “missing” by the Historic Resources Management Branch of Alberta Culture and Community Spirit. The artifacts are stored at the Royal Alberta Museum but there are sadly no records pertaining to the submission of an artifact catalogue, field notes or a final report. Therefore, the unavailability of

archaeological material to be used in comparing the two towns leaves only the historical information available for the Fort Macleod townsite for comparative purposes.

The spot where Fort Macleod was to be established was reached on October 13, 1874. The NWMP were led to this area by Jerry Potts, a Métis guide and interpreter, who had been hired in Fort Benton to lead the contingent to Fort Whoop-Up (Turner 1950:156). Upon finding this notorious whiskey fort virtually deserted, attention then turned to the building of a post for the NWMP since winter was fast approaching. Jerry Potts was then given the task of selecting a suitable site for the NWMP to build their first outpost. He chose a small island 50 km northwest of Fort Whoop-Up along the Oldman River. The island was bounded by the river and a small channel running along the bank of the river called “The Slough” (Steele 1915:108). This area was a known camping ground, abundant in game and wood resources useful for building and fuel. The location was also advantageous as a central lookout, close to the trading posts and trails frequented by the whiskey traders (Turner 1950:166-167). Richard Nevitt, Assistant Surgeon of the NWMP, wrote in a letter that upon arriving at this location they “found a camp of many tents on an open area within a broad loop of the Old Man’s River – an island high in water” (Nevitt 1974:11). Louis Watson and his Métis wife had already settled upon this island, their home a favourite stopping-place for many plainsmen travelling through the area (Coulter 1977:17). Building quickly got underway on the island for the post that was to be called Fort Macleod.

By the end of that first winter, a small town had been established outside the NWMP post. Charles Conrad of the I. G. Baker & Company had accompanied the Force from Fort Benton to Fort Macleod, having been contracted by Assistant Commissioner Macleod to haul supplies to the new post. The Baker Company soon built a trading store outside the post to supply both the police and the new town residents. A boarding house for its employees was also built opposite the store, consisting of a large dining room and four bedrooms. Meals were taken together, provided by their cook, Hiram Bates (Long et al. 1977:95). John Glen also arrived from Fort Benton with a wagon load of trade goods, carrying on a thriving business until his stock ran out. In later years he started up a ranching outfit near Fish Creek, providing hay to the NWMP post. Within months there were three trading stores in Fort Macleod:

the Baker store with Charles Conrad in charge, the T. C. Power & Brother store with T. Bogy as storekeeper and a store/billiard hall run by Tony La Chappelle, an ex-whiskey trader, who sold tobacco, candy and cider along with running two billiard tables and a bar (Long et al. 1977:93). In 1876, Samuel Steele (1915:109) described the town as “gradually increasing in size during the past two years, and contained, in addition to two excellent stores, many small log buildings roofed with mud, which were occupied by small traders, gamblers and others who made a living by smuggling whisky for the use of whites and half-breeds”.

Over the next decade, the town saw the addition of many new types of businesses. William Gladstone, a former Hudson’s Bay Company boat builder, ran a carpentry shop. Dick Kennefick, an ex-trader, established a blacksmith’s shop. Daniel Horan, following his discharge from the NWMP, set up a shoemaker’s shop where he advertized the manufacturing and repairing of boots and shoes of all styles (Long et al. 1977:93-94). The first drugstore was opened at Fort Macleod in the summer of 1884, shortly before the town moved off the island to its present location. The store was managed by John D. Higinbotham, a pharmacist from Ontario, who operated the store in partnership with Dr. George Kennedy, a Surgeon for the NWMP (Long et al. 1977:95). A dentist, Dr. Fred Shaw, arrived in Fort Macleod in 1880 to set up practice. However, no doctors established a private practice in town and instead residents had to visit the NWMP Surgeon to receive medical attention (Turner 1950:641).

Henry or “Kamoose” Taylor was perhaps one of the more colourful characters at Fort Macleod. He was more commonly known by his nickname which meant “Squaw Thief” as he was known to have run off with several native women in his day (Turner 1950:531). First employed as a missionary, he soon left that profession to become a whiskey trader and became one of the first men arrested for whiskey trading in 1874 when the NWMP established Fort Macleod. He ended up staying in the town, first opening up an “eating place” and then a hotel. Henry ran the Macleod Hotel for over 19 years with only a brief closure in 1885. The hotel was quite the establishment where one could not only sleep, but also had access to a restaurant, a bar, a billiard room, gambling tables and stables (Fort Macleod History Book Committee 1977:94, 100).

The first public school in town was established in 1878 and was run by Elizabeth Barrett, sent by Rev. John McDougall of the Morleyville Mission (Turner 1950:419). Miss Barrett only taught at the school for a year and may have been replaced by the wife of Rev. John McLean, the town's first Methodist minister. By 1882, the school was shut down and may not have reopened until the forming of the Macleod Public School District in 1885 (Mason 1977:48).

Fort Macleod did not have any organized church work until 1878 when a Methodist Mission was built within the town. This church was established by Rev. Henry Manning. He remained in Fort Macleod for only two years before being replaced by Rev. John McLean (Fort Macleod History Book Committee 1977:57).

The town received its first newspaper in 1882. The *Fort Macleod Gazette* was established by C. D. Wood and E. T. Saunders and sent out its first edition on July 1, 1882. This was the third newspaper to be established in the North-West Territories, the first two being the *Saskatchewan Herald* and the *Edmonton Bulletin* (Burke 1977:80).

All in all, Fort Macleod was a booming little community for the ten years it was located on the island. A. Stavelly Hill, a British Minister of Parliament and a financier of the New Oxley Ranch visited the town in 1884 and described it as a "town represented by a wide muddy lane, with a row of half-finished wooden shanties flanking each side. In these wooden shanties, however, an amount of business was done" (Long et al. 1977:93). John Higinbotham upon his arrival in Fort Macleod to open a drugstore in 1884 described the town as to the "west of the post and consisted of a crooked lane, it could not be dignified by the name of street, lined with log stores and shacks, the former having square-faced frame fronts, and their whole appearance was decidedly ramshackle and distressing" (Higinbotham 1978:77). A photograph of the town of Fort Macleod ca. 1880 (Figure 45) shows the street to which both Hill and Higinbotham are likely referring. Log buildings line the wide muddy street on both sides, with some buildings exhibiting false fronts. Horses can be seen on both sides of the street, some attached to hitching posts. The photograph appears to accurately capture the descriptions of the town.

A map of Fort Macleod (Figure 46) showing both the town and the NWMP post appears in a Fort Macleod local history book, copied from a drawing made by F. G.



Figure 45: Main street of Fort Macleod. Photograph taken by George Anderton ca. 1880 looking away from NWMP post (photograph courtesy of Glenbow Archives NA-1071-1).

Moses (Fort Macleod History Book Committee 1977:27). Although the map is a copy of a drawing, it is quite tidy which may have been the result of “cleaning up” the map for publication thereby altering some aspects of it (which one should be aware of when viewing). Regardless, the map shows the layout of the town and post when both were located on the island, 1874-1884/5. The town appears to be primarily situated on a level lower than the NWMP post. Almost all of the town buildings line one long linear street, with buildings flanking both sides. A second perpendicular street crosses through the middle of the town creating a crossroads junction. The buildings along the linear street are a combination of residences and businesses. It appears from the legend that a few of the town residents kept separate homes and businesses, with some next-door to each other and others down the street from each other. Only a few residences and businesses do not conform to the layout of the town along a main street and these are scattered on the upper level of the island. Three of these are residences of NWMP officers, arranged in a row near the NWMP stockade wall. The rest are residences, a root cellar and a hay corral scattered on both sides of the NWMP post. From the historical documents and the map, the town was composed of trading stores, billiard halls, residences, a hotel,

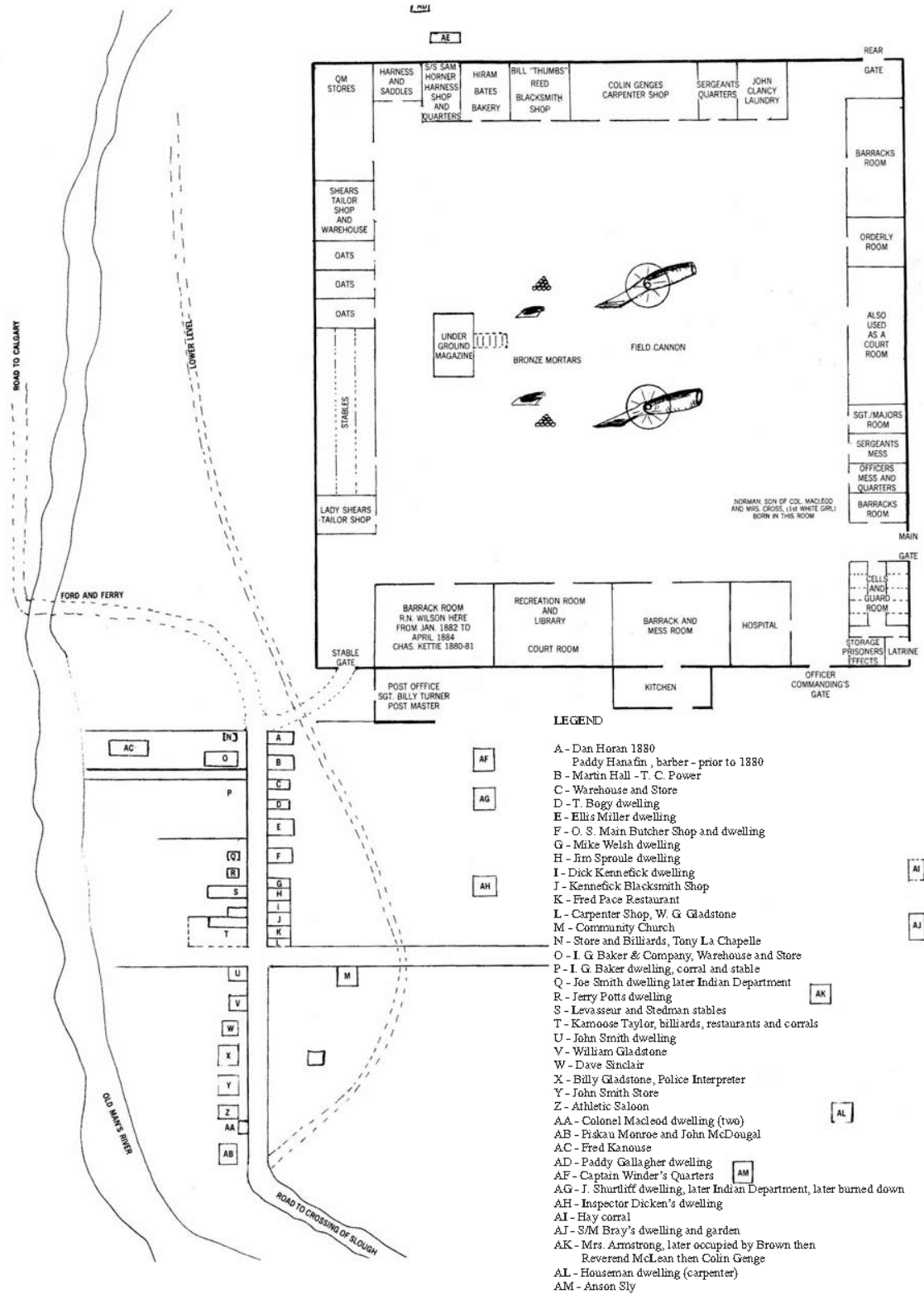


Figure 46: Layout of Fort Macleod NWMP post and town (Fort Macleod History Book Committee 1977:27).

restaurants, stables, a saloon, a school, a church, a drugstore, a barber shop, a butcher shop, a dentist, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a shoemaker, an Indian Affairs Department office and a newspaper shop. There is more variety of businesses at Fort Macleod as compared to Fort Walsh indicating a larger concentration of specialized activities. The only businesses not present at Fort Macleod but seen in Fort Walsh are a tailor shop and laundry.

The layout of Fort Macleod is vastly different from that of Fort Walsh. The town of Fort Macleod appears to have taken on a structured arrangement right from its establishment. The Baker and Power trading stores/warehouses/residences were some of the first buildings to be erected in the town, set close to the Post gate and in opposition to each other. They are situated at the head of the street, likely setting the precedent for the rest of the residents to follow in creating a street or a row of buildings. This is similar to the “row settlement” pattern seen in small settlements of Europe and North America but in contrast to the unstructured layout of the town of Fort Walsh. The Baker and Power stores are not situated close to each other and, of the two, only the Power store is located along a trail running through Fort Walsh. There appear to be no streets, but only trails that criss-cross through the town with buildings scattered between them.

The residents of both towns likely contained different mindsets as to how a town should be structured. The residents of Fort Macleod maintained the typical frontier town layout of establishing a structured pattern. This may be due to the Anglo-Canadian, Anglo-American, European and Métis heritage of many of the town’s inhabitants. Some of them may have lived previously in structured communities centred on principles of order, imposing that type of layout on Fort Macleod. On the other hand, Fort Walsh was located within a region containing numerous Métis settlements with many of its original residents of Métis heritage. As was discussed in the previous section, the Métis approach to community settlement is vastly different from a European view, possibly accounting for the differences seen between the layouts of Fort Walsh and Fort Macleod.

Despite the fact that both towns are contemporaneous and were established beside NWMP posts, the town residents approached settlement in different manners. How a town is organized appears to be dependent upon a number of factors relating to the composition of the town’s residents, the surrounding region, nearby communities

and the topography of the site. It was the combination of these factors that made Fort Walsh unique in comparison to other typical frontier settlements.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The main purpose of this thesis was to enhance our knowledge of Fort Walsh, a small frontier settlement established next to a NWMP post in the Cypress Hills. This was accomplished through two main objectives – to recreate daily life in Fort Walsh and to reconstruct the layout of the town. The archaeological and historical records for Fort Walsh were combined to aid in this endeavour.

Fort Walsh was shown to be a busy and thriving community, despite its isolated geographic location in the Cypress Hills. People from all over eastern Canada, the United States and Europe traveled to and settled in the town, with the majority of residents being Métis people from Manitoba and the North-West Territories. The Cypress Hills contained a large Métis population scattered in villages throughout its hills during this time. Therefore, it was not surprising to see Métis people represented in the town both historically and archaeologically. Two of the operations analysed in this thesis were identified as possible Métis family assemblages based on key artifacts such as beads, transfer print teacups and ammunition. These two operations are situated in close proximity to each other on the site and based on historic photographs, may relate to the same building, making it possible to identify these as relating to a Métis residence.

Data from the 1881 Census of Canada indicated that approximately two-thirds of the households in Fort Walsh consisted of families, many with young children. However, the men still outnumbered the women overall as approximately one-third of the households were also male-only. Women were often a rare sight on the frontier which was dominated by transient men seeking employment and adventure. The high numbers of families in Fort Walsh suggests that the town population was becoming more stable or settled - created by economic opportunities that sustained growing families. The high number of families may also relate to Métis presence in the town as

they were a long established sociocultural group within the Cypress Hills. Families were identified archaeologically in more than half of the operations chosen for analysis in this thesis. In almost all of those assemblages, the presence of children was recognized and considered to be one of the leading characteristics for identifying families.

The residents of Fort Walsh were able to obtain goods and supplies from a variety of sources. The two main suppliers in town were the American trading stores of I. G. Baker & Company and T. C. Power & Brother. Small independent traders would also bring goods to sell to the residents until their stock ran out. People in the town were able to exercise choice in the types of goods they purchased based on the presence of a number of different stores. Although goods reached Fort Walsh through a long transportation network that was often disabled through the winter months, residents were able to acquire goods from all over. These included items from eastern Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom as evidenced by the identifiable markings on some of the artifacts collected from the townsite.

The majority of men in the town were employed in some type of service-related venture. Many contracted their services to the NWMP and trading stores for freighting, cutting hay or wood, mail carrying and cattle hauling. All of the businesses in town were involved in the retail or service industry. However, Fort Walsh was also heavily involved in the fur trading industry when it was first established. Buffalo robes were brought into town by the thousands, but this industry virtually disappeared by the 1880s when the bison were driven to eradication in the region. The town then became heavily dependent on the contracts granted by the NWMP, the Indian Affairs Department and eventually the CPR. When these organizations left the town, the town could no longer sustain itself. This pattern of establishment, growth and abandonment revolving around a single industry is analogous to “boomtowns” seen in other parts of the frontier.

Reconstructing the layout of Fort Walsh was one of the main research objectives for this thesis. This was accomplished by identifying possible building locales utilizing archaeological information from this thesis and historical photographs and maps that were available for the town. The archaeological information allowed the identification of nine social assemblages and one possible social or economic assemblage. This result

was not surprising considering the large number of households recorded in the 1881 Census and the distinct possibility that people combined home and work life. The daily activities of home life were concluded to have overshadowed evidence of a business if one was present. However, few artifacts were recovered from the operations I analyzed that would suggest a connection to many of the businesses identified in the town. This finding is supported by the use of the historic photographs and maps in reconstructing town layout and their placement of businesses such as the trading stores, the hotels, the billiard halls and the barber shop. None of these businesses were in direct association with any of the operations analyzed except for the New Hotel which is thought to be near the operation that was identified as a possible male-only household or restaurant.

The comparison of the Fort Walsh assemblages to the social and economic assemblages I constructed was successful. Many of the resultant interpretations seemed consistent with the historical information discussed in chapter 7. The method was useful in identifying contributors of artifacts when there was no known connection to any buildings within the site. However, without access to adequate historical information to identify potential contributors, this method would not be practical for other sites. The constructed social and economic assemblages were based on artifact patterns seen at the excavations of buildings from the Canadian and American west from roughly the same time period as Fort Walsh. As more archaeological information is obtained relating to western settlements, these constructed assemblages have the potential to be adapted to better fit the time period and geographic location of Fort Walsh.

The final result of the town reconstruction illustrated a layout that was largely unstructured, unorganized and lacking in boundaries and symmetry. Buildings were not consistent in their orientation or point of entry. Some buildings took advantage of water or road accesses but many were removed from these conveniences. This type of settlement pattern was in contrast with typical frontier settlements based on principles of order and structure. The town of Fort Macleod, contemporary to Fort Walsh and also situated next to a NWMP post, was found to maintain this mindset of organized settlement. Explanations for the dissimilar settlement pattern seen at Fort Walsh explored factors relating to topography, resource access and the composition of town residents. A tentative connection was made to the dominant Métis population in the

town. Comparisons of the settlement patterns of Métis wintering villages and Fort Walsh revealed similarities in terms of lack of European organization and structure. Research by Burley et al. (1992) explained that Métis *hivernant* people maintained a view of land utilization based on their relationship with nature which they did not transform the landscape to fit preconceived settlement patterns. The Métis people of Fort Walsh may have heavily influenced the layout of the town.

Fort Walsh existed during the transition period in the Canadian west between the beginning of NWMP presence and the building of the railroad which brought in waves of new settlers. Settlement was changing in the west from the nomadic and semi-permanent dwellings of native peoples and traders to permanent dwellings in planned towns. Fort Walsh is an essential link to our knowledge of this time period in terms of how settlement transitioned in the Canadian west. Fort Walsh contained some elements of structure seen in the construction of the NWMP post and the placement of some of the American trading stores, but overall the settlement contained characteristics of Métis villages, similar to those already established in the Cypress Hills before the NWMP arrived. The town did not automatically conform to preconceived European models of settlement pattern but instead was a mixture of European and Métis settlement ideas.

There is high potential for additional information to be learned about the town of Fort Walsh. The interpretations and conclusions from this thesis merely scratch the surface. Further excavations in locations where I have hypothesized particular buildings may have existed would reveal more about town layout, even if my deductions are proven to be incorrect. Also, many of the feature excavations from the 1973 field season were only partially tested. Extensive excavation of key features would help clarify not only their proposed connections to buildings but also help to support their association to a particular social or economic unit. Some of the main types of studies done in historical archaeology were not possible with the Fort Walsh collection due to its highly fragmentary nature and low numbers of diagnostic artifacts. Further research at the townsite may enable future archaeologists to conduct studies based on class, consumer choice, ethnicity and gender just to name a few. This research also has the potential to be compared with the Fort Walsh NWMP post as well as other contemporaneous sites in the Canadian west. The story of Fort Walsh and its place in western Canadian history

will hopefully not end with this thesis as it is anticipated that future archaeology will expand our knowledge of this early settlement in the Cypress Hills.

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1880a "Description by John J. English of arrival at Fort Walsh" July 5. Fort Battleford, Saskatchewan.

1880b "Announcement regarding Reverend Mackay" March 15. Fort Battleford, Saskatchewan.

1880c "Announcement of mail contract awarded to Joseph Tanner" September 27. Fort Battleford, Saskatchewan.

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Appendix A:

1881 Census of Canada Data District 192 – Territories Sub-district I – Wood Mountain

Abbreviations Used in Table A1 Categories:

Household:

H# Household Number

Sex:

M Male

F Female

Age:

m Month

Birthplace:

MN Manitoba

USA United States

NW North-West Territories

ON Ontario

QB Quebec

ENG England

PEI Prince Edward Island

SC Scotland

IRE Ireland

FRA France

NB New Brunswick

NS Nova Scotia

Religion:

CA Catholic

CoE Church of England

PR Presbyterian

ME Methodist

D Dissenter

BA Baptist

WE Wesleyan

Origin:

FR French/Francais
E English
AM American
N Nigger [sic]
G German

Married or Widowed:

Ma Married
W Widowed

Occupation:

Occup Occupation
Chass Chasseur (Hunter)
Sv Serviteur (Servant)
Me Marchand/Merchant
MPC Mounted Police Captain
MP Mounted Police
MPM Mounted Police Major
MPD Mounted Police Doctor
Lab Labourer
Ne Negotiant
IA Indian Agent
Ph Photographer
HK Hotel Keeper
II Indian Instructor
In Interpretor
Law Lawyer
TO Telegraph Operator
BF Brass Founder
Te Teamster

Table A1: 1881 Census of Canada Data for District 192, Sub-district I

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|--------------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| 1 | Malataire, Jeremie | M | 29 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Malataire, Alphonsine | F | 23 | USA | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Malataire, L. Philip | M | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Malataire, Frederick | M | 1 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Flamand, Bernard | M | 14 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 2 | Langer, J. Bte | M | 28 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Langer, Justine | F | 26 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Langer, Jean Bte | M | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Langer, M. Justine | F | 1m | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Dasi, Moise | M | 19 | MN | CA | FR | | Sv |
| | St. Denis, Moise | M | 29 | NW | CA | FR | | Sv |
| 3 | Wallet, Isidore | M | 53 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Wallet, Tadi | F | 18 | USA | CA | FR | | |
| | Wallet, Joseph | M | 14 | USA | CA | FR | | |
| | Wallet, Marie | F | 23 | USA | CA | FR | | |
| | Wallet, Lysa | F | 20 | USA | CA | FR | | |
| | Wallet, Leonard | M | 13 | USA | CA | FR | | |
| | Wallet, Marie | F | 47 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| 4 | Malataire, Alexie | M | 57 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Malataire, Marguerite | F | 51 | NW | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Malataire, Alexie | M | 17 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Malataire, L. Napoleon | M | 15 | USA | CA | FR | | |
| | Malataire, Celina | F | 12 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Malataire, Adele | F | 9 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Malataire, Marguerite | F | 5 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| 4 | Gladen, Lysa | F | 28 | MN | CA | FR | W | Farmer |
| | Gladen, Jauvier | M | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Gladen, Cleophie | F | 5 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 5 | Malataire, Zacharie | M | 22 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Malataire, Rabecca | F | 20 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Malataire, Zacharie | M | 4m | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 6 | St. Germaine, Charles | M | 31 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Me |
| | St. Germaine, Angelique | F | 28 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | St. Germaine, Joseph | M | 7 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | St. Germaine, Charles | M | 7 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | St. Germaine, Marie | F | 5 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | St. Germaine, Marguerite | F | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | St. Germaine, Pierre | M | 4m | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 7 | Charette, Joseph | M | 41 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Ch |
| | Charette, Rosalie | F | 37 | USA | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Charette, Joseph | M | 14 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Charette, Moise | M | 11 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Charette, Baptiste | M | 14 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Charette, Marie | F | 9 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Charette, Ernestine | F | 8 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Charette, Daniel | M | 6 | NW | CA | FR | | |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|-------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Charette, Armidas | M | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 8 | McKay, Edward | M | 57 | MN | CoE | Scotch | Ma | Farmer |
| | McKay, Caroline | F | 55 | MN | CoE | E | Ma | |
| | McKay, Wm Edward | M | 13 | MN | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | McKay, Arthur | M | 11 | MN | CoE | Scotch | | |
| 8 | McKay, Samuel | M | 29 | MN | CoE | Scotch | Ma | Farmer |
| | McKay, Cathrine | F | 19 | NW | CA | FR | Ma | |
| 9 | Walker, James | M | 45 | ON | PR | Scotch | Ma | MPC |
| | McIllree, J. H | M | 38 | ON | CoE | Irish | | MPC |
| | Frenchette, Ed | M | 40 | QB | CA | FR | | MPC |
| | Kirk, M. John | M | 34 | ON | CA | Irish | | MP |
| | Ward, J. H. | M | 22 | ON | CA | Irish | | MP |
| | Wannacott, George | M | 24 | ON | CoE | Irish | | MP |
| | Shaw, F. D. | M | 24 | USA | ME | E | | MP |
| | Blake, Robert | M | 25 | ON | ME | AM | | MP |
| | Bond, Stanis | M | 23 | ON | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Brown, Henry | M | 29 | ON | ME | E | | MP |
| | Carruthers, John | M | 26 | ON | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Dubruill, O. A. | M | 24 | QB | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Davis, John Thos | M | 24 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Fowler, Frederick | M | 18 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Genever, William | M | 27 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Grammer, William | M | 22 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Globensky, A. W. | M | 21 | ON | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Howell, J. G. | M | 24 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Levingston, James | M | 31 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | McCurdy, G. H. | M | 28 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Potts, James | M | 33 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Percival, Samuel | M | 26 | ON | ME | E | | MP |
| | Shainaghan, Wm | M | 33 | QB | CA | Irish | | MP |
| | Shaw, U. C. | M | 22 | ON | ME | E | | MP |
| | Smith, A. J. | M | 19 | ON | ME | E | | MP |
| | Lake, Thos H | M | 26 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Thompson, C. P. | M | 21 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Armour, Sami | M | 24 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Boswell, George | M | 22 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Dorian, A | M | 22 | ON | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Forbes, Isaac | M | 19 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Genger, Cohon | M | 22 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Heron, J. D. | M | 23 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Jones, W. W | M | 19 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Johnstone, G. H. | M | 20 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Latimer, Wm | M | 21 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | McKenzie, Alex | M | 22 | ON | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Morgan, W. E | M | 33 | ON | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Walker, Henry | M | 34 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Wilson, W. S | M | 25 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Irvin, A. G | M | 45 | ON | CoE | E | | MPM |
| | Kennedy, G. A | M | 27 | ON | CoE | Scotch | | MPD |
| | Norman, Frank | M | 34 | ON | CoE | Irish | | MP |
| | Homer, S. H | M | 35 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Diener, J. H | M | 28 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Oliver, E. C | M | 24 | ON | PR | E | | MP |
| | Moffat, Geo. B | M | 23 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | McKay, A. B | M | 23 | ON | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Winder, W | M | 40 | ON | CoE | Scotch | Ma | MP |
| | Cotton, J | M | 34 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Severan, H. S | M | 24 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Howe, Joseph | M | 23 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Irwin, W. H | M | 38 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Kenny, M | M | 36 | ON | CoE | Irish | | MP |
| | Boubs, C | M | 31 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Bliss, W. H | M | 23 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Carroll, W | M | 21 | ON | CA | Irish | | MP |
| | Collens, J. W | M | 27 | ON | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Campbell, A | M | 19 | ON | CoE | Scotch | | MP |
| | Cameron, S. A | M | 19 | ON | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Cot, W. H | M | 19 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Duffey, A | M | 24 | ON | CoE | Irish | | MP |
| | Diamond, W. E | M | 25 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Demsdall, T. J | M | 29 | ON | CoE | Irish | | MP |
| | Graham, J | M | 24 | ON | D | E | | MP |
| | Grogan, E. G | M | 23 | ENG | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Guernsey, G. F | M | 19 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Gribble, F. J | M | 21 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Gilbert, J. E | M | 21 | ON | ME | E | | MP |
| | Hughes, J | M | 39 | ENG | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Levisque, C | M | 29 | QB | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Leslie, A. R | M | 20 | USA | CA | Scotch | | MP |
| | Leslie, J | M | 21 | PEI | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Lemothe, E. A | M | 18 | ON | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Mctyler, W. H | M | 20 | USA | CoE | Dutch | | MP |
| | Millar, M. T | M | 20 | ENG | CoE | E | | MP |
| | McDonald, J. H | M | 28 | QB | CA | E | | MP |
| | McNeil, J | M | 21 | SC | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Pickard, J. S | M | 26 | SC | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Routledge, W | M | 20 | ENG | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Sencennes, S | M | 30 | QB | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Steuart, J. C | M | 20 | MN | CoE | Scotch | | MP |
| | Woodrough, A. H | M | 25 | ENG | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Walsh, R | M | 27 | IRE | CA | Irish | | MP |
| | Wilson, T. E | M | 21 | ON | PR | E | | MP |
| | Yarwood, S | M | 19 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Breedon, J | M | 25 | IRE | CoE | Irish | | MP |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Bradshaw, T. H | M | 25 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Cheebot, J | M | 23 | ON | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Dandy, J | M | 20 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Leamy, C. K | M | 19 | ON | CA | Irish | | MP |
| | McGibbon, J. A | M | 23 | ON | CoE | Scotch | | MP |
| | Poitevin, U. B | M | 25 | ON | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Fauquier, L. H | M | 22 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Vern, Edwd | M | 25 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Harper, Geo H | M | 31 | IRE | CoE | Irish | | MP |
| | Moneypenny, M | M | 21 | ON | CA | Irish | | MP |
| 10 | Marsh, D. W | M | 40 | USA | | AM | | Agent |
| | Allen, W. C | M | 24 | ON | CoE | Irish | | Clerk |
| | Greeley, H. A | M | 23 | USA | BA | AM | | Clerk |
| | Wright, James | M | 30 | ON | CoE | Scotch | | Cook |
| 11 | Haggeyt, Louis | M | 34 | USA | CA | FR | Ma | Lab |
| | Haggeyt, Mary | F | 26 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Haggeyt, Alex | M | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 12 | Kanouse, W. H | M | 27 | USA | CoE | AM | | Agent |
| | Neven, Dan | M | 41 | QB | CA | FR | | Clerk |
| | Conrad, J | M | 24 | USA | CoE | AM | | Agent |
| 13 | Jordan, Henry | M | 33 | USA | CoE | AM | Ma | Clerk |
| | Jordan, Philomene | F | 22 | MN | CoE | E | Ma | |
| | Jordan, Emilia Sarah | F | 3 | NW | CoE | E | | |
| 14 | Leveillie, Louis | M | 56 | NW | CA | FR | Ma | Guide |
| | Leveillie, Marguerite | F | 42 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Leveillie, Madelaine | F | 17 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Leveillie, Gabriel | M | 14 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Leveillie, Lagloise | M | 12 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Leveillie, Louise | F | 8 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Leveillie, John | M | 6 | USA | CA | FR | | |
| 15 | Parent, Edward | M | 38 | QB | CA | FR | | Lab |
| 16 | Vilbrun, Joseph | M | 38 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Ne |
| | Vilbrun, Marie | F | 35 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Vilbrun, Philomene | F | 13 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Vilbrun, William | M | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Vilbrun, Adeline | F | 1 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 17 | Regan, M | M | 28 | IRE | CA | Irish | Ma | MP |
| | Regan, Mary | F | 22 | IRE | CA | Irish | Ma | |
| 18 | French, John | M | 37 | IRE | CoE | Irish | Ma | MP |
| | French, Fanny | F | 30 | IRE | CoE | Irish | Ma | |
| | French, Fanny | F | 9 | MN | CoE | Irish | | |
| | French, John | M | 7 | MN | CoE | Irish | | |
| | French, George | M | 5 | MN | CoE | Irish | | |
| 19 | Abbott, W. R | M | 40 | IRE | CoE | Irish | Ma | MP |
| | Abbott, Mary Anne | F | 26 | IRE | CoE | Irish | Ma | |
| | Abbott, W. James | M | 6 | IRE | CoE | Irish | | |
| | (Abbott ?), Robt | M | 4 | IRE | CoE | Irish | | |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| 20 | Dunne, Timothy | M | 35 | ENG | CoE | E | Ma | MP |
| | Dunne, Maimie | F | 20 | ON | CoE | E | Ma | |
| | Dunne, Herbert | M | 1 | NW | CoE | E | | |
| 21 | Stuttaford, John | M | 35 | IRE | CoE | Irish | Ma | Farmer |
| | Stuttaford, Lizzy | F | 24 | IRE | CoE | Irish | Ma | |
| | (Stuttaford ?), Lizzy | F | 2 | IRE | CoE | Irish | | |
| 22 | Claustre, Jean | M | 35 | FRA | CA | FR | Ma | Ne |
| | Claustre, Rosalie | F | 19 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Claustre, Marie | F | 1 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 23 | Wattson, Robert | M | 34 | ON | PR | Irish | Ma | Farmer |
| | Wattson, Louise | F | 29 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Wattson, Mary | F | 3 | NW | CA | Irish | | |
| | Wattson, Martha | F | 1 | NW | CA | Irish | | |
| 24 | Quesnell, Jules | M | 27 | USA | CA | FR | Ma | Ne |
| | Quesnell, Rachel | F | 21 | MN | CoE | Scotch | Ma | |
| | Quesnell, Edward | M | 11m | NW | CoE | FR | | |
| 25 | Allen, Edwin | M | 27 | ON | CoE | Irish | Ma | IA |
| | Allen, Clara | F | 21 | ON | CoE | AM | Ma | |
| | Allen, Daisy | F | 2m | NW | CoE | Irish | | |
| | Smith, Mary | F | 30 | USA | CoE | N | Ma | |
| 26 | McKay, Alex | M | 35 | MN | CoE | Scotch | Ma | Farmer |
| | McKay, Virginia | F | 27 | MN | CoE | FR | Ma | |
| | McKay, Alfred | M | 10 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | McKay, Joseph | M | 8 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | McKay, Elizabeth | F | 6 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | McKay, Emma | F | 4 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | McKay, Maria | F | 2 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | McKay, Sara | F | 11m | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| 27 | Colvin, James | M | 32 | SC | PR | Scotch | | Ne |
| 28 | Anderton, Geo | M | 33 | ENG | CoE | E | | Ph |
| | Wilson, James | M | 42 | ENG | WE | E | | Miner |
| 29 | McCochin, Robert | M | 31 | ON | CoE | E | Ma | Farmer |
| | McCochin, Angelique | F | 20 | MN | CoE | E | Ma | |
| | McCochin, Sara Jane | F | 4 | NW | CoE | E | | |
| | McCochin, Maggie | F | 2 | NW | CoE | E | | |
| 30 | Dillon, Johas | M | 23 | QB | CA | FR | Ma | Cook |
| | Dillon, Cecile | F | 19 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Dillon, Madelaine | F | 9m | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 31 | Wellton, Thomas | M | 30 | ENG | CoE | E | | Farmer |
| 32 | Ross, William | M | 35 | SC | CoE | Scotch | Ma | Farmer |
| | Ross, Marie | F | 23 | MN | CoE | Scotch | Ma | |
| | Ross, Billy | M | 4m | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| 33 | Allen, Billy | M | 30 | ON | CoE | Scotch | Ma | Farmer |
| | Allen, Mary | F | 20 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Allen, Alexie | M | 3m | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 34 | Deschamp, Anny | F | 29 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Deschamp, Edward | M | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|------------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| 35 | Leberge, Marguerite | F | 30 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| 36 | Saunderson, James | M | 35 | MN | CoE | Scotch | Ma | Farmer |
| | Saunderson, Maria | F | 28 | MN | CoE | Scotch | Ma | |
| | Saunderson, Clara | F | 8 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | Saunderson, Owen | M | 6 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | Saunderson, Duncan | M | 4 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| | Saunderson, Marie | F | 2 | NW | CoE | Scotch | | |
| 37 | Johnson, Billy | M | 30 | SC | PR | Scotch | Ma | |
| | Johnson, Nancy | F | 25 | NW | PR | Scotch | Ma | |
| | Johnson, William | M | 1 | NW | PR | Scotch | | |
| | Johnson, Annie | F | 3 | NW | PR | Scotch | | |
| 38 | Quisnel, Michel | M | 30 | USA | | Irish | | Farmer |
| 39 | McLeod, R | M | 27 | NB | CoE | Scotch | | Agent |
| | Fitz Patrick, Martin | M | 28 | USA | | Irish | | HK |
| 40 | Boswell, John | M | 29 | ON | CoE | E | | Agent |
| 41 | English, John J | M | 44 | ON | CoE | Irish | Ma | II |
| | English, Maria | F | 32 | USA | CoE | Scotch | Ma | |
| | English, Frederick Jno | M | 10 | ON | CoE | Irish | | |
| 42 | Nolin, Jean | M | 46 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Nolin, Marie | F | 39 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Nolin, Pierre | M | 7 | NB | CA | FR | | |
| 43 | McKenzie, Kenney | M | 40 | MN | CA | Scotch | Ma | Chass |
| | McKenzie, Isalel | F | 40 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | McKenzie, George | M | 12 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | McKenzie, Eliziaard | M | 8 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | McKenzie, Joseph | M | 7 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | McKenzie, Marie Rose | F | 5 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | McKenzie, Emelie | F | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 44 | Racette, J. Bte | M | 44 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Racette, Frisine | F | 43 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Racette, LaRose | F | 14 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Racette, St Pierre | M | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Racette, Julie | F | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 45 | Lafranboise, J. Bte | M | 34 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Lafranboise, Elise | F | 26 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Lafranboise, Cathrine | F | 14 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Madelaine | F | 12 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Alexandre | M | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Marie | F | 9 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, LaRose | F | 7 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Julie | F | 5 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 46 | Trottier, Michel | M | 49 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Trottier, Cecile | F | 24 | NW | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Trottier, Andre | M | 21 | MN | CA | FR | | Chass |
| | Trottier, Alexandre | M | 19 | MN | CA | FR | | Chass |
| | Trottier, Napoleon | M | 17 | MN | CA | FR | | Chass |
| | Trottier, Cathrine | F | 14 | MN | CA | FR | | |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|-------------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Trottier, Francois | M | 12 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Elyiaard | F | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Adelaided | F | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Isidore | M | 1 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 47 | Trottier, Charles | M | 45 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Trottier, Ursule | F | 44 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Trottier, Remi | M | 20 | MN | CA | FR | | Chass |
| | Trottier, Isidore | M | 18 | MN | CA | FR | | Chass |
| | Trottier, J. Baptiste | M | 16 | MN | CA | FR | | Chass |
| | Trottier, Helene | F | 14 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Matilde | F | 12 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Ursule | F | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Andre | M | 8 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 48 | Lafranboise, Jean | M | 28 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Lafranboise, Marie | F | 24 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Lafranboise, Jean | M | 5 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Josehp | M | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 49 | Lafranboise, Philip | M | 25 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Lafranboise, Rosalie | F | 19 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| 50 | Trottier, Antoine | M | 48 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Trottier, Angelique | F | 45 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Trottier, Norbert | M | 20 | MN | CA | FR | | Chass |
| | Trottier, John | M | 18 | MN | CA | FR | | Chass |
| | Trottier, Francois | M | 16 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, William | M | 14 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Marie | F | 12 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Isabel | F | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Trottier, Philomene | F | 8 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 51 | Lafranboise, John | M | 33 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Lafranboise, Marguerite | F | 27 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Lafranboise, Gabriel | M | 11 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, David | M | 7 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, John | M | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 52 | Lafranboise, J. Bte | M | 21 | NW | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Lafranboise, Marie | F | 17 | NW | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Lafranboise, Isidore | M | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 53 | Lafranboise, William | M | 23 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Lafranboise, Josette | F | 19 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Lafranboise, F. Xavier | M | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Joseph | M | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 54 | Lafranboise, Francois | M | 47 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Lafranboise, Helene | F | 35 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Lafranboise, Larose | F | 18 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Melanie | F | 14 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Elisa | F | 11 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lafranboise, Francois | M | 24 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 55 | Morin, Joseph | M | 37 | MN | CA | Fr | Ma | In |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|---------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Morin, Helene | F | 20 | NW | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Morin, Alfred | M | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Frederick | M | 1 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 56 | Gingras, Antoine | M | 32 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Trader |
| | Gingras, Lysa | F | 30 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Gingras, George | M | 7 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Gingras, Therese | F | 5 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| 57 | Peltier, Helene | F | 50 | MN | CA | FR | W | |
| | Peltier, Cutbert | M | 17 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Peltier, Dulphis | M | 14 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 58 | Morin, Louis | M | 41 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Trader |
| | Morin, Marguerite | F | 40 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Morin, J. Alfred | M | 16 | NW | CA | FR | | Clerk |
| | Morin, Marguerite | F | 14 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Virginie | F | 13 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Louis | M | 11 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Joseph | M | 9 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Frederick | M | 7 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Henrie | M | 5 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Pierre A | M | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 59 | Morin, Pierre | M | 33 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Morin, Lysa | F | 32 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Morin, Antoine | M | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Philomene | F | 8 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Josette | F | 5 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 60 | Morin, Alexandre | M | 31 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Morin, J. Alexandre | M | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Therese | F | 9 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Josette | F | 7 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Marie | F | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Morin, Angelique | F | 25 | NW | CA | FR | Ma | |
| 61 | Douglas, W. A | M | 26 | ON | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Aspdin, T. W | M | 25 | ENG | CoE | E | | MP |
| 62 | Evans, O | M | 27 | QB | ME | Scotch | Ma | MP |
| | Jarvis, S | M | 25 | ON | ME | Scotch | | MP |
| | Evans, Celina | F | 16 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Lecain, W. E. A. | M | 20 | NS | CoE | FR | | MP |
| | Morris, F. R | M | 28 | NS | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Thomson, J | M | 24 | ON | PR | Scotch | | MP |
| | Ziwaker, E. J | M | 20 | NS | CoE | Dutch | | MP |
| | Ferland, A | M | 32 | QB | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Casault, G | M | 23 | QB | CA | FR | | MP |
| | Percival, J | M | 32 | ON | CoE | E | | MP |
| | Ward, G. P | M | 18 | ON | CA | Irish | | MP |
| 63 | Cadd, Frederick | M | 30 | ENG | CoE | E | | Trader |
| | Hedderich, G | M | 21 | USA | PR | G | | Clerk |
| | Parke, Frank H | M | 35 | ON | CoE | Irish | | Law |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Carriere, Royer | M | 23 | MN | CA | FR | | Clerk |
| | Byers, D. C | M | 24 | ON | CoE | Irish | | TO |
| | Morrhead, H | M | 23 | IRE | CoE | Irish | | Farmer |
| | Feron, Edwin | M | 22 | ENG | CoE | E | | Farmer |
| | Morton, Ernest | M | 26 | ON | CoE | Irish | | Farmer |
| | Brown, Fred | M | 30 | ON | PR | Irish | | Farmer |
| | Toneson, Charles | M | 26 | ON | CA | Irish | | BF |
| | Mounce, Henry | M | 42 | USA | ME | G | | Te |
| 64 | McDonald, A. K | M | 41 | ON | CA | Scotch | | MPC |
| 65 | Gaudry, Andres | M | 28 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Gaudry, Marie | F | 22 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Gaudry, Justine | F | 6 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Gaudry, Joseph Andre | M | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Gaudry, James | M | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Gaudry, Moise | M | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 66 | Beaupre, Gaspard | M | 25 | QB | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Beaupre, Floristine | F | 18 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Beaupre, Joseph | M | 1 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 67 | Cardinal, Charles | M | 40 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Cardinal, Josette | F | 36 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Cardinal, William | M | 22 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Cardinal, Francois | M | 8 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Cardinal, Octavie | F | 23 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Cardinal, Marie | F | 20 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Cardinal, Emerise | F | 12 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Cardinal, Elise | F | 5 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Cardinal, Julie | F | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Cardinal, Joseph | M | 1 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 68 | Page, Remie | M | 26 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Page, Isabelle | F | 23 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Page, Elise | F | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 69 | Pechie, Louis | M | 43 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Pechie, Cecile | F | 35 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Pechie, Zacharie | M | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Pechie, Philomene | F | 16 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Pechie, Belarose | F | 9 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Pechie, Celina | F | 6 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 70 | Beauchamp, Abraham | M | 40 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Beauchamp, Marie | F | 34 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Beauchamp, Cecile | F | 14 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Beauchamp, Pierre | M | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Beauchamp, Bernard | M | 6 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Beauchamp, Alphonsine | F | 3 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 71 | Hupe, Athanase | M | 33 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Hupe, Josette | F | 16 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| 72 | Bideau, Charles | M | 29 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Bideau, Isabelle | F | 20 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |

| H # | Name | Sex | Age | Birth-Place | Religion | Origin | Ma./W | Occup. |
|------------|---------------------|------------|------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Bideau, Pierre | M | 9 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Bideau, Marie | F | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 73 | Walette, James | M | 23 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Walette, Josephine | F | 20 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| 74 | Pichie, Baptiste | M | 30 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Pichie, Eliza | F | 36 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| 75 | Legare, J. Louis | M | 37 | QB | CA | FR | | Me |
| | Legare, Albert | M | 8 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Lapointe, Joseph | M | 30 | QB | CA | FR | | |
| | Azure, Ignace | M | 25 | MN | CA | FR | | Sv |
| | Delorme, Ambroise | M | 24 | NW | CA | FR | | Sv |
| | Beaugraud, Charles | M | 22 | NW | CA | FR | | Sv |
| | Amlin, Joseph | M | 24 | NW | CA | FR | | Sv |
| | Parent, John | M | 25 | QB | CA | FR | | Sv |
| | Beauchamp, Baptiste | M | 21 | NW | CA | FR | | Sv |
| 76 | Peltier, Paul | M | 49 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Sv |
| | Peltier, Louise | F | 31 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Peltier, La Rose | F | 10 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Peltier, Isidore | M | 8 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Peltier, Francois | M | 6 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Peltier, Pierre | M | 4 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| | Peltier, Joseph | M | 2 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 77 | Gouselin, Antoine | M | 48 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Gouselin, Marie | F | 36 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Gouselin, Pierre | M | 12 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Gouselin, Marie | F | 8 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| | Gouselin, John | M | 3 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| 78 | Amlin, Gabriel | M | 53 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Amlin, Julie | F | 46 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Amlin, Salomon | M | 16 | MN | CA | FR | | |
| 79 | Wallet, Ambroise | M | 31 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Wallet, Josephine | F | 27 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Wallet, Isidore | M | 7 | NW | CA | FR | | |
| 80 | Peltier, Pierre | M | 71 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | Chass |
| | Peltier, Josette | F | 68 | MN | CA | FR | Ma | |
| | Peltier, Melanie | F | 18 | MN | CA | FR | | |

Appendix B:

Descriptions of Excavated Depressions from the 1973 Field Season

8N3

Located on the western end of Fort Walsh close to Battle Creek, this warehouse-sized depression (24 m x 10 m) was originally suggested to be a game trail or a trail leading to a ford in the creek. Three suboperations located in this depression gave no indication of this and the feature was interpreted as a natural erosion channel used as a trash pit during town occupation. No building remains were found and the southern end was found to be sterile.

8N4

This root cellar-sized depression was also located on the western side of the town. Excavations revealed part of a wall running NW-SE approximately 1.8 m from the south edge of the depression along with other structural remains. The shallow depression (0.5 m deep) was situated underneath the building but did not extend to its wall and may not be large enough for a root cellar. It is thought to be one of a few buildings that was located on the western edge of the town and may be a residence.

8N7

A rectangular cabin-sized pit measuring 5.9 m x 4.1 m and 0.3 m deep was located approximately 23 m north of 8N3 and was oriented in an east-west direction. Underneath the sod, lenses of reddish organic matter were exposed possibly indicating decayed wood or vegetation. No structural components were found to indicate the presence of a building.

8N15

This root-cellar size depression was actually a trash pit measuring 3.8 m long (NE-SW), 2.4 m wide (NW-SE) and approximately 0.5 m deep with a second intrusive pit dug into it (3.5 m x 3.0 m and 1.3 m deep). A reddish coloured organic material lines the bottom

of this depression. The Parks Canada archaeologists suggested a connection to a residence.

8N20

This was another root cellar-sized depression determined to be a trash pit, and measured 3.5 m (east-west) by 2.6 m (north-south) to a depth of 0.4 m. Also dug into the depression was a secondary pit (1.0 m deep) with cobbles lining its upper edge suggesting a cache pit. Artifacts and structural materials in the upper pit indicated a nearby building. The main concentration of artifacts appeared 23 cm below the surface and it has been suggested that its utilization was not as intense as other trash pits.

8N21

A rectangular house-sized depression measuring 8 m (NE-SW) by 6 m (NW-SE) and 1.3 m deep, appears to have been a shallow cellar under a building. No structural remains were found but a linear depression about 1 m from the northwest edge of the pit perhaps represents the northwest wall of a building. Parks Canada archaeologists suggested that the lack of structural remains may point to the abandonment of the town and the subsequent dismantling of buildings. Several walking surfaces and possible floor or roofing material were also noted.

8N25

A circular trash-sized depression measuring 2 m in diameter and approximately 0.9 m deep, which overlay another slightly earlier trash pit, was concluded by the researchers to be a trash pit. As with 8N15, a layer of reddish organic material covered the bottom of the upper trash pit. A suggestion is that it functioned as an earlier cache for the storage of meat and was subsequently turned into a trash pit. Structural materials indicated a possible nearby building.

8N29

This cabin-sized depression was determined to have been a natural wash-out with few artifacts present.

8N30

This shop-sized depression measuring 4.75 m by 3.8 m, was found to show no sign of deliberate use during town occupation of the site.

8N31

Another trash-sized depression that was determined to be a trash pit measured 2 m (NE-SW) by 1.7 m (NW-SE) and was 0.75 m deep. The trash pit contained a high proportion of butchered animal bones from a number of different species, as well as a variety of artifacts.

8N32

This trash pit was uncovered during the excavation of Trench 1. It measured 5.7 m (NW-SE) by 3.9 m (NE-SW) and was 0.3 m deep with a secondary pit 2 m in diameter and 0.5 m deep near the northwest end. The secondary pit contained a concentration of structural remains suggesting a building nearby.

8N36

It was concluded that this shop-sized depression, measuring 5 m long and 3 m wide with a depth of 0.7 m, was a natural wash with a small circular trash pit about 0.5 m across near its centre.

8N40

A trash pit measuring 2.7 m by 2.1 m and 0.6 m in depth was located in the southwestern corner of 8N3. This pit contained only one bone piece and was thought to be of modern origin indicated by its steep, uneroded walls.

8N46

This cabin-sized depression is thought to have been dug on the south edge of a building with an east-west orientation and was at least 12 m by 9 m in size. Suboperations were extended into this building structure where it was determined to be a two-roomed structure indicated by crosscut wall remains. No floor remains were found. The depression itself was interpreted as being either a natural pit or cultural borrow pit with the adjacent structure serving as a residence or stable.

8N48

A house-sized depression measuring 4 m (E-W) by 2.5 m (N-S) and 0.2 m in depth appears to have been a natural depression that was turned into a repository for trash where many of the artifact and faunal remains became burnt. No structural remains were found but an area of white clay (possible whitewash) near the northern edge of the depression indicated proximity to a building.

8N52

This house-sized depression was adjoined to the southern edge of 8N27 and was circular with a 7.6 m diameter and 0.5 m depth. The depression was ridged on its northern and western edges which may indicate backdirt piles from pothunters, but archaeologists suggested this depression may be a natural feature. A smaller secondary pit was dug into the northeast portion of the larger depression and archaeologists determined that it was contemporaneous with town occupation.

8N54

Another trash pit-sized depression measuring 1.2 m in diameter and 0.5 m deep was concluded to be a trash pit. The archaeologists indicated that a building may have been near the east side of the pit due to the presence of a number of structural materials.

8N60

A depression feature that was concluded to be a trash pit measured 2.4 m in diameter and extended down to a depth of 0.5 m. The type of artifacts collected suggested that it was derived from a residence. The trash pit also contained large amounts of structural materials, many of which were burnt, suggesting the proximity of a burnt building. This pit was just south of the trail that leads to the Battle Creek ford.

8N63

This large shallow depression was placed into the largest size category of warehouse, saloon or corral with speculation that it may represent a building, corral, an area for storing hay or a burned manure pile. Measuring 13.5 m (NW-SE) by 6.9 m (NE-SW) with a depth of only 0.3 m, this depression revealed a large concentration of white clay (identified as whitewash) that was associated with walls found in other parts of the town but no structural remains were found in this depression.

8N66

Placed within the house-sized depression category, this depression has been speculated as the remains of either the trading store of Power or Baker or their personnel's living quarters. Located just north of the Elkwater Road, it measured 6.4 m in diameter and had a depth of 1.8 m. This depression appeared to be the cellar of a two-room building. The north exterior wall contained a sill log that was insulated and stabilized by rocks and gravel and rested in a foundation trench. Also excavated was a remnant of an interior north-south wall along with burned roof, floor and wall components. The depression or

cellar appeared to contain a floor composed of boards resting on joists. The lack in quantity of artifacts suggested that it may have been a store or warehouse rather than a dwelling.

8N68

This cabin-sized depression was thought to be a cellar of a house. Measuring 4.8 m in diameter and 1.0 m deep, this cellar appeared to have been laid under the longer room of a two-room structure with the east room being the smaller of the two. The depression also contained collapsed structural components of a burned down building along with grass matting indicating a sod roof. This depression was close to 8N66 and may have been associated.

8N71

Parks Canada archaeologists could not determine the function of this long shop-sized depression feature during excavation. It measured 4.9 m long (NW-SE) by 2.7 m wide (NE-SW) and 0.3 m deep. Concentrations of white clay in the north part of the depression suggested close proximity to a building. A secondary pit was uncovered in the depression's southeast end measuring 1.0 m in diameter and 0.46 m deep.

8N76

Indicated as a cabin-sized depression, it measured 6 m long (NW-SE) by 4.5 m wide (NE-SW) and 1.5 m deep. It was filled with white clay and other structural components from roofs or walls and researchers suggested that this was a cellar within a building. A general lack of domestic-type artifacts indicated that it may not belong to a residence and may instead have been a storage cellar.

8N77

Another cabin-sized depression measuring 8.5 m (N-S) by 3.4 m (E-W) and 2 m deep was identified as a cellar of a building based on structural materials recovered inside the depression. However, artifacts were limited and a function was not determined for the structure. In the 1940s, this cellar was used as an opportunistic hole in which three horses were buried from the RCMP remount station.

8N78

This feature was a rock pile measuring 2.4 m in diameter and was located adjacent to the south side of a squarish flat area which was believed to be a structure. Excavations

uncovered sill logs with a sandstone foundation belonging to the northeast and southeast walls which were anchored in an upright corner post. Whether the rock pile represented a chimney or just a pile of stones was undetermined as not enough of it was uncovered. Estimates of building length placed it at approximately 9 m long (NE-SW) but the building's function was undetermined based on the paucity of artifacts recovered.

8N81

A corral-size depression measuring 20 m (NE-SW) by 14 m (NW-SE) and 0.3 m deep was most likely a corral. The depression was surrounded by a footing trench approximately 0.4 m wide and 0.12 m deep in which a line of wooden posts were found approximately 15 cm apart. These posts did not appear to have been uniform in size but they appear to have formed the fence of a corral. There was some speculation that this corral may not have held cattle as the posts appeared to be too close together for that purpose.

8N83

It was speculated that this cabin-sized depression was most likely a natural feature created by run-off from the hills.

8N84

This small deep trash pit-sized depression located on the extreme eastern end of the town, measuring 1.5 m by 2 m and 0.4 m deep, was thought to be a recent trash pit with an unknown function.

8N100

This depression was uncovered in Trench 1 and was thought to be a refuse pit.