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CHURCHILL: A LAND-USE HISTORY 1782-1930

by Martha McCarthy

1985

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Churchill: A Land-Use History 1782-1930
by Martha McCarthy

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Abstract

The west peninsula of the Churchill River attracted a wide variety of interests over the years 1782 to 1930 but, because of its lack of resources, the land was used primarily for the construction of buildings, from which the resources of a wider area could be exploited. For most of that time the only buildings on the site were those of the Hudson's Bay Company fur trading post of Fort Churchill. In summer the tents of Cree, Chipewyan and Eskimo dotted the area for varying periods of time; all of these native peoples were drawn there by the opportunities in trade or employment offered by Fort Churchill. In 1886 an Anglican resident mission was established and a church and mission house became features of the local landscape. The missionaries and their families added a new human element to the area, one which altered the long domination of the fur trade interests and affected all the native peoples of the area. In 1906 the Canadian government began to take an interest in the area, setting it aside as a government reserve. The RNWMP, as agents of the government, constructed a large police post on the west peninsula from which they patrolled the west coast of Hudson Bay and maintained Canadian sovereignty as well as law and order. The completion of the Hudson Bay Railway to the east peninsula in 1930 effectively ended institutional interest in the west peninsula; the buildings which had stood as the expression of those interests soon disappeared.

Preface

This land-use history of the west peninsula of the Churchill River for the years 1782-1930 was commissioned by Parks Canada in 1984 to aid in site interpretation, archaeological investigation, and planning. Helpful background information was provided by works previously prepared for Parks Canada - "The Churchill Archaeological Investigations, August 1978" by David Meyer (MRS 368), "Prince of Wales' Fort in the 18th Century; An Analysis of Trade, Construction, and Sloop Voyages Northward" by Orysia J. Luchak (MRS 243) and "Prince of Wales' Fort: A Social History 1717-1782" by Michael Payne (MRS 371).

A land-use history of the area for the years 1717-1782 would have been helpful, because much of the material found refers back to sites commonly known before 1782 and perhaps more explicitly defined in the earlier stages of their use. A native Homeguard, both Cree and Chipewyan, were already well-known at Churchill by 1782; information is probably available in the earlier years as to the nature and formation of this Homeguard, who were an important element in the land-use of the area.

Very little secondary material directly relevant to the topic could be found; those who lived at Fort Churchill were for the most part not inclined to write about it. Most of the relevant material was found in archival sources, notably the journals of the Hudson's Bay Company post of Fort Churchill; these provided the everyday factual details on which a perception of the past human use of the area could be based. Added to these were the later writings of missionaries and Mounted Police stationed at Churchill. These materials were all written for specific purposes and for different audiences. Conse-

quently descriptions and details which would have been useful to this study were often not included. Some of these details can be deduced by comparison to earlier or later descriptions but as with all historical writing the result is an incomplete picture.

Fort Churchill was the principal occupant of the west peninsula for most of this period; its use of the land was determined not only by the needs of the local post but also by the larger requirements of the Hudson's Bay Company and the trading Indians and Eskimos who visited it. A land-use history of an area subject to these influences required an understanding of the changing status of Fort Churchill within the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade system and an ethnohistorical understanding of the changing role of both Indians and Eskimos attached to Fort Churchill as it altered over time. It was these larger considerations, often decided upon by people very remote from the actual area, which determined much of the land-use of the study area. Their decisions established the size of the post and the number and occupations of the men stationed there; these in turn affected the numbers of Indians and Eskimos who came to trade.

An Anglican mission was established at Churchill in 1886 and a Royal Northwest Mounted Police post in 1906. Both of these agencies altered the landscape with their buildings and use of the local resources. Like Fort Churchill, their presence in the area was also determined by decisions made at their respective headquarters in London and Ottawa, far from the actual site.

The land-use history at Churchill therefore was determined largely by institutional needs, that is, by the requirements of the fur trade, mission and police, and by the natives who were drawn there by those institutions. There was no pressure of settlement or immigration, which the local environment could not have supported in any case. Thus the land-use of the area consisted primarily of the buildings erected by the various

institutions and by the extraction of the (minimal) resources of the area - wood, water, fish, whales, geese and ptarmigan - to support the personnel in those buildings. The study of these elements provided the bulk of the raw material for the land-use history of the area.

Of course, the purposes decided upon at headquarters were subject to some variations in the field; local possibilities and personalities sometimes altered the landscape in ways unforeseen. For example, the development of a mixed population, the result of intermarriage of European servants with native women and a product of the local society with roots in the local landscape, made effective changes in both the population structure and in the environment.

With all the different facets which interacted to produce the unique regional land-use at Churchill, no single methodology or model was found appropriate, although the emphasis is on the historical method. The study of documents had to be balanced by the study of maps, both early and late, by consideration of the resources which could be found there, by an understanding of the social and economic life within the fur trade society at Churchill and by some insights into the life of the Indians and Eskimos of the area and their interaction with the men of the Hudson's Bay Company. The study of documents provided the basic understanding of what happened and when it happened in the area. A wider social history and ethnohistory were necessary to provide an interpretation of why these things happened and what were the results on the local landscape and population.

I would like to express my appreciation for the assistance provided to me in the course of my research by the staff of the various archives consulted; they were uniformly helpful. Much of my time was spent in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and special thanks are due to Mrs. Shirlee Smith, Archivist, and her staff.

My thanks also to Mr. Frank Tough for his help with determining some of the early geography of the area and to Victor Lytwyn for preparing the maps for this work.

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Introduction

Land-use of the west peninsula of the Churchill River dates far back in history and prehistory, well beyond the parameters of this study. A brief survey of these uses is necessary, however, in order to understand the land-use in the years 1782-1930.

The Churchill area is part of the West Hudson Bay Coastal Lowlands. As such it is a maritime environment, subject to the cooling effects of Hudson Bay, with winds and wind-chill of devastating proportions. It was the maritime resources which drew native people to this area, long before the arrival of any Europeans. The sea produced the "salmon" (Arctic char), the white whales (beluga) and the seals which were a rich source of food and oil to Indians, Eskimos and later to Europeans. But Hudson Bay at Churchill froze over in winter and the land offered little protection or resources to sustain human life through the winter. Thus native occupation of the area was restricted to summer and primarily devoted to the exploitation of the resources of the sea.

At the time of the pre-Dorset use of the area, the west peninsula was probably a group of islands rather than a peninsula. Churchill still feels the effect of the isostatic rebound from the weight of the glaciers; the land continues to rise from the sea at the rate of about a metre each century. The proportions of land to water thus have changed over the centuries, affecting the land-use of the area; even in the 18th century the water level was much higher than it is now, as indicated by the position of the mooring rings and signatures at Sloop's Cove, where, even by the mid-19th century, it was impossible to moor vessels.

The peninsula,[1] although part of the coastal tundra of Hudson Bay, lies near the edge of the boreal forest; it offers access to a unique combination of resources from the forest, tundra and sea. None of these existed in great abundance throughout the year, however, and all had to be exploited for the survival of those who lived on the west peninsula. The trees were small and provided little in the way of shelter, building material or fuel. The food animals of the forest, the bear, beaver and woodland caribou, lived beyond the west peninsula itself; any animals used had to be carried a long distance. Many berries of various kinds could be picked in the fall from the tundra and provided a much needed source of vitamins in a European diet heavily dependent on imported salted meat. From the tundra also came the Barren Grounds caribou (more often referred to as "deer" in the sources) - a resource which was so important for many years to all the occupants of the Churchill area.

The west peninsula is made up of two ridges of quartzite which rise above a multitude of smaller rocks, with a few small trees growing on the sides of the ridges; it is a land which provides good material for stone buildings but is unsuitable for agriculture. The soil is shallow on top of the rocks, the permafrost is deep, with the result that the area is full of small ponds and muskeg in the summer. The Churchill River is a tidal river, which often swamps these ponds with salt water in the summer and makes it difficult to find a ready supply of suitable drinking water. The area of the peninsula itself thus had little in the way of land resources to maintain people through the winter.

The harbour which lay behind the narrow entrance between the west and east peninsulas of the river, however, became an attraction for Europeans, for it provided one of the few spots on the Bay where a ship could find secure shelter. Jens Munk, sent by King Christian of Denmark to search for the Northwest Passage, was the first European to discover this harbour,

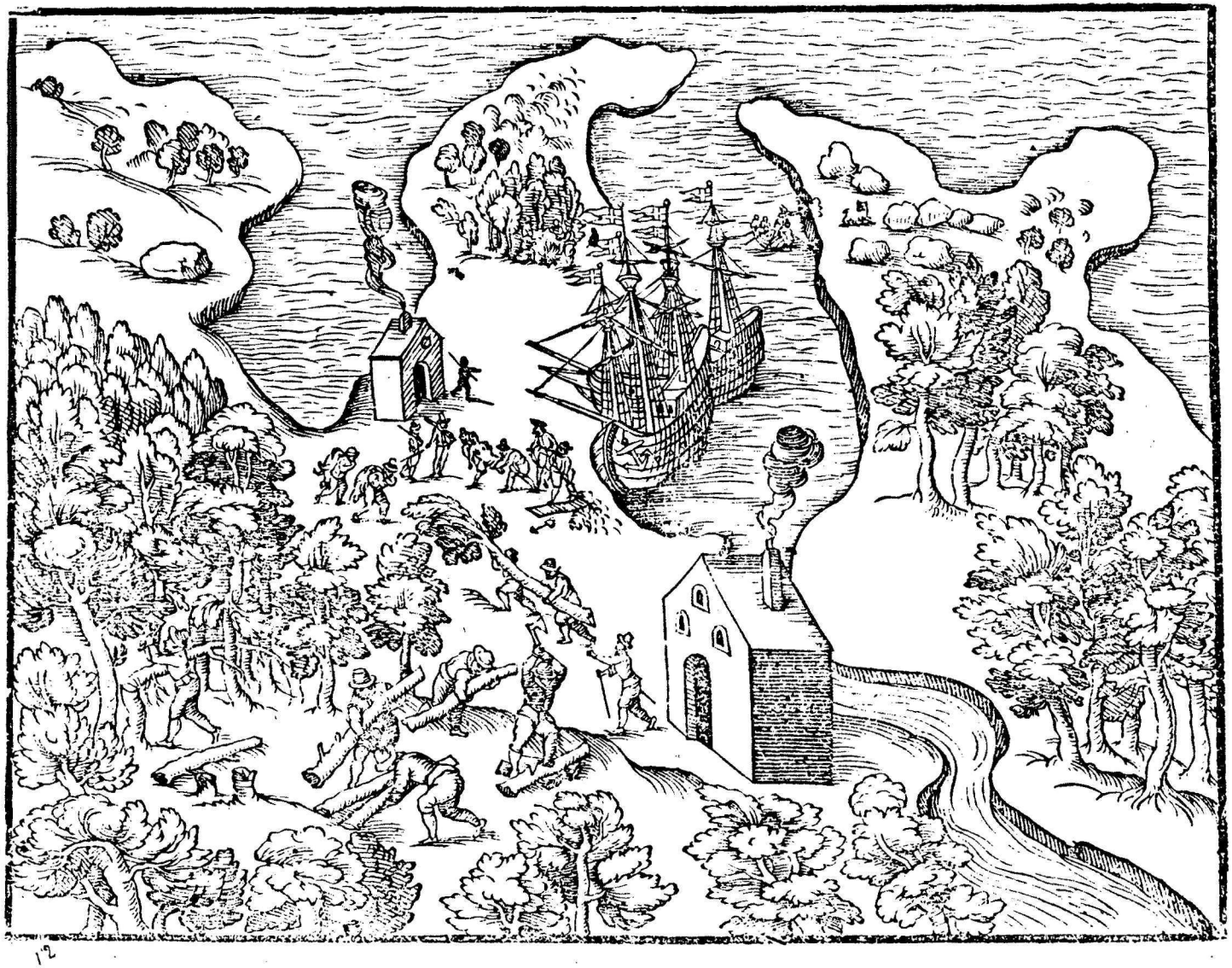
probably by accident, in September 1619.[2] He managed to get his frigate Unicorn and his sloop Lamprey into the sheltered harbour, safe from the storm then raging in Hudson Bay.

With ice already forming in the Bay, Munk had little choice but to spend the winter in this harbour. He chose the only suitable site on the west peninsula about one Danish mile, that is about four and a half English miles (7.2 km.), in from the entrance of the harbour. There he and his men built a dock for the Unicorn and managed to get the Lamprey high enough on shore to protect it from the winter ice. He called the spot "Jens Munk's Winterhaven" but it was actually a graveyard for over 60 of his crew. By June when the ice broke up only Munk and two of his men were left alive; the rest had died of scurvy, exposure and perhaps trichinosis[3] and lay buried on shore or in the water of the river. Munk and the two surviving members of his crew sank the Unicorn at its dock, with its two heavy brass cannons in the hold, in hopes that he could return to reclaim it; with great seamanship they managed to sail the Lamprey back to Denmark.

Munk saw no natives of the area in the period of his stay, from September 1619 to July 1620. He did see signs of summer camp sites, however, and of wood having been cut either for canoes or for fuel, indicating that either the Eskimos or the Indians, or perhaps both, were accustomed to camping in the area for the summer.

Munk was never able to return to his Winterhaven and no more Europeans visited it until 1686. In that year an expedition from York Factory led by John Abraham rediscovered it; he found relics of Munk's visit still there as well as evidence of Indian occupation. The London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, stimulated by Abraham's report, decided to send a ship loaded with trade goods and equipped for the white whale fishery to the river they named Churchill. This ship was not sent but in 1689 York was ordered to set up a fur trading and whaling post on the Churchill River.[4] A site was selected for

Fig. 1 "Map of Churchill Harbour" by Captain Jens Munck
From the original in Navigatio Septrentionalis,
The John Carter Brown Library,
Brown University



this post farther inland on the west peninsula than Jens Munk's wintering spot; the post was burnt, however, before it was finished and the men returned to York. It was claimed that the men were so appalled at the prospects of wintering on the Churchill that they deliberately set fire to the buildings, using the light of the flames to show their way to run away.

No natives had come to trade during this abortive attempt to build a post but the men apparently did catch some whales, one of the major resources there. In addition, Henry Kelsey, in the company of a Northern (Chipewyan) Indian lad was sent on a brief exploratory trip to the north - a trip in which he saw no other people. These two activities, whaling and exploration, were to be important in the Churchill of later years but for the time being the Hudson's Bay Company could not pursue these interests.

Hudson Bay in these years became one of the theatres of operation of the incessant wars between Britain and France and the Bay posts became pawns in this power struggle, captured and recaptured by English and French. The French from Quebec, led by Iberville, captured York Fort in 1694 and again in 1697, renaming it Fort Bourbon and holding it until 1714, when the Treaty of Utrecht restored the Bay posts to the Hudson's Bay Company.[5] No attempts could be made to establish new posts in these wartime conditions but it was not long after the restoration of York Fort before the new post at Churchill was definitively established.

It was the harbour of Churchill, its white whales, its nearness to both the Chipewyan and the Eskimo peoples, as well as its access to northern exploration which had drawn the attention of the Hudson's Bay Company to it in the late 17th century. It was these same factors which encouraged Governor James Knight to attempt again to establish a post there in 1717.[6] Knight was also drawn by the lure of stories of gold or copper to the north and he hoped to use the new post at

Churchill as a springboard to the discovery of these precious metals.

In June 1717 Knight sent a party of men from York with instructions to find a proper site for a post on the Churchill River. By the time he arrived a month later, his men had searched both sides of the river and had decided that the only spot at all suitable for a post was the same one on which the Danes had wintered nearly 100 years before. The site of the 1689 attempt was discarded as a hopeless one, as was the outer point of the peninsula where, according to Knight, only the Eskimos could live.

Knight, although he complained at great length about the inadequacies of the site, agreed that it was the only spot of fairly level ground at all suitable for his small wooden post. Even when he found a brass cannon belonging to Munk's ship in the flats in front of the site and discovered the graves of some of the Danes on the post site, he was not deterred from building. Nevertheless, he was most aware of the difficulties of the site and of life in the area; he was almost prophetic in his remarks:

> We have a miserable poor place of it. I believe it will be good for Co's interest in time but never good for their servants as lives here - for now there is plenty of geese and fowl at other Factorys but none here. No fish. Where we are forced to build there is not the 6th part of a compass of shelter anywhere from weather or defend us nor could I find a better place. The graves and bones of the people as lie buried here shows what we must trust to if we don't provide before winter sets in. Although they were Danes and a hardy sort of people here lies near 130 of them buried and a great many of their graves be under some part of our building.[7]

With all its faults the post was built on this site; in 1719 the new post was officially named Fort Prince of Wales. It

Fig. 2 "A Draught of Churchill River" by Joseph Robson from his Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay from 1733 to 1736 and 1744 - 1747 London. J. Payne and J. Bouquet, 1752.
HBC Archives, P.A.M., RB FC3211 R6

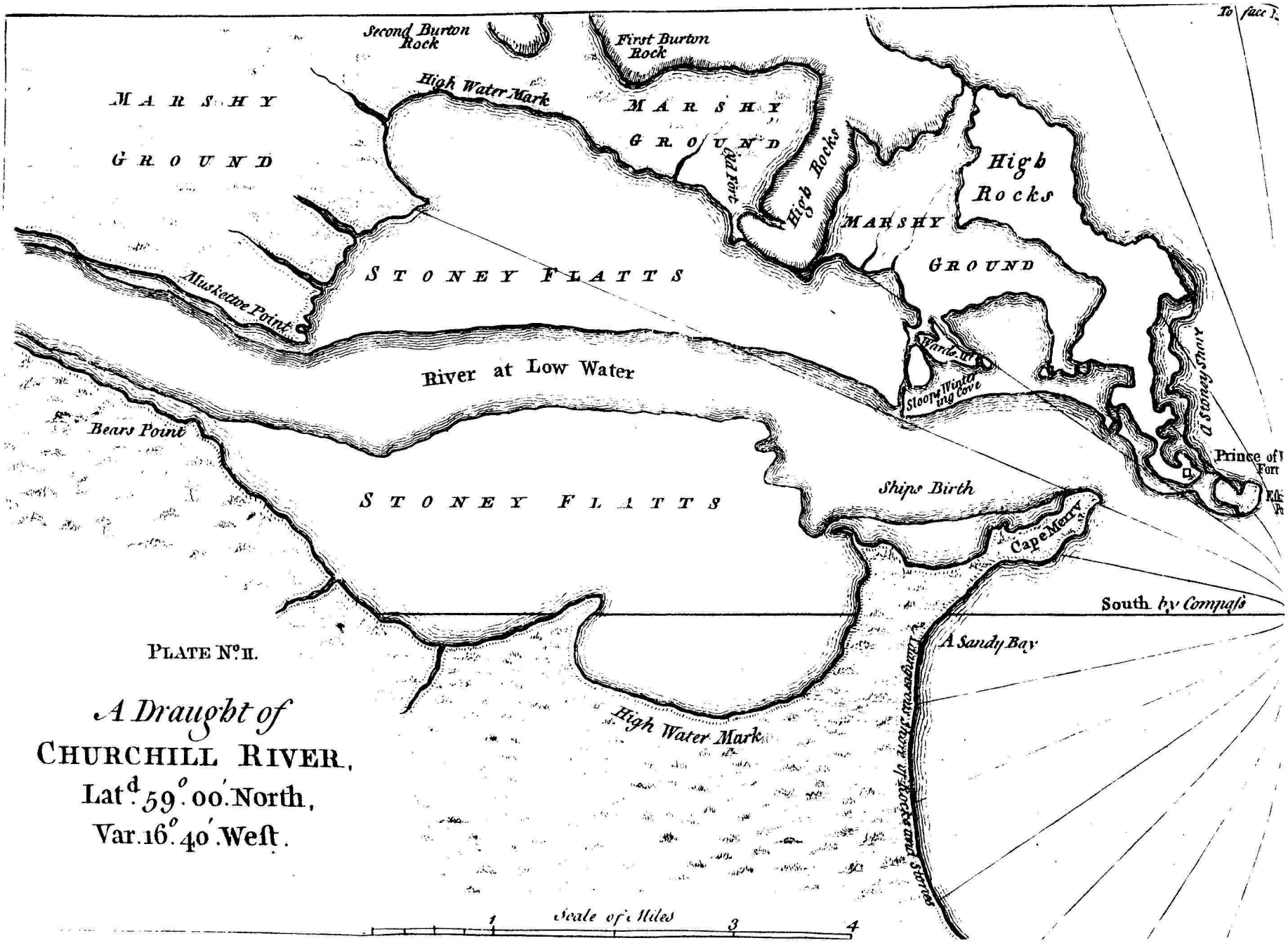


PLATE Nº II.

A Draught of CHURCHILL RIVER,

Lat.d 59°. 00'. North,

Var. 16°. 40'. West.

represented the first permanent European occupation of the west peninsula, with all the attendant land-use of area and resources. The Hudson's Bay Company maintained this small wooden Factory until it was replaced by the large stone Prince of Wales's Fort.

In 1740 after many years of quarrying the local stone, this huge new fortress, Prince of Wales, situated on the point of the west peninsula, where Knight had said only the Eskimos could live, replaced the old wooden Fort Prince of Wales. The old wooden post sheltered the crews of the Furnace and Discovery in 1741-42 but it was already falling into ruins; whatever was useful in it was cannibalized for the buildings within the Stone Fort. It served as stabling for the horses while Andrew Graham was at Churchill 1749-53 but by 1783 or probably many years before all the buildings had disappeared from this site of Knight's post of 1717.

The Stone Fort which replaced it was built to be not only a furtrade Factory but also a defence post; in case of attack by the French it was to shelter the Hudson's Bay Company men from York and other Bay posts. As generals are said to be always prepared to fight the last war, perhaps the Hudson's Bay Company was now prepared to fend off attacks such as those of the late 17th century. But with its massive stone walls and 40 cannon the Stone Fort guarded Hudson Bay and was expected to be almost impregnable.

For 42 years this stone fortress, constructed from one of the most abundant of local resources, dominated the west peninsula. The rest of the local resources, the wood, water, fish and fowl, continued to be exploited as much as possible, supplemented by resources from the wider area beyond the peninsula and by provisions imported on the Hudson's Bay ships, to support the combination Factory and defence post which the Stone Fort was meant to be.

As a furtrade post the Stone Fort drew Indians from as far as Lake Athabasca to trade and a Sloop was sent north annually

to trade with the Eskimos. Whales were caught in the Churchill River and oil extracted. In 1771-72 Samuel Hearne went on his exploration of the interior in hopes of discovering copper or other precious metals. These peaceful activities of the trade were carried on by Prince of Wales' Fort with little thought given to its defensive character. Only in 1782 were those defences put to the test - and found wanting.

From Factory to Outpost 1782-1820

The massive Stone Fort, sited on the point overlooking Hudson Bay and the Churchill River, dominated the west peninsula in the 18th century, as indeed its ruins still do. As a fur trade Factory of the Hudson's Bay Company it drew both Cree and Chipewyan Indians, who brought to it their furs or those of others to whom they acted as middlemen. They travelled from the vast western interior claimed by the HBC in virtue of its charter, yet a land which was virtually unknown to the Bay-side Europeans. The interior was occupied by the Indians who lived there, hunted there and provided the transportation system which linked the interior to the Bay posts, which in turn were linked to Britain by the annual ships sent out by the HBC; the Bay posts served as a point of contact between the two transportation systems, the European and the native, where the trade goods brought by the one network could be exchanged for the furs from the other. Those who lived at Fort Prince of Wales had no incentive or opportunity to acquire a knowledge of the country beyond the Bay; Samuel Hearne's trip to the Coppermine River in 1771-72 was a rare exception to this. A Sloop was sent north annually to trade with the Eskimos, trips which led to some knowledge of the coast but contributed little to knowledge of the interior.

By 1782, however, the Hudson's Bay Company was forced to abandon its policy of siting its posts only on the Bay and waiting there for the Indians to appear with their furs to trade. French fur traders in the 1740s and 1750s had expanded rapidly through the western interior, attracting some of the Indian trade which had previously gone down to the Bay. This competition became much more intense after the transfer of

New France to the British in 1763 when the "pedlars from Montreal", English-speaking entrepreneurs, took over the French fur trade network, using the expertise of the French-Canadian voyageurs combined with their own access to British goods and the London market to pose a much more formidable threat to the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company than the French had been able to do. The agents of the Montreal fur traders spread rapidly throughout the interior of British North America, establishing posts which brought trade goods to the natives in their own territories. Siting their posts on the inland water routes to the Bay, the pedlars effectively put a stranglehold on the flow of furs to the Bay. This forced the HBC to abandon its "long sleep by the frozen sea" and to move inland, a process which began with the establishment of Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan by Samuel Hearne in 1774. By 1782, when Samuel Hearne was in charge of Fort Prince of Wales at Churchill, Hudson Bay House wrote that he would have to consider setting up inland posts from Churchill to counter the decline in its trade caused by the Montreal fur traders.[1]

In the summer of 1782, however, Samuel Hearne faced a more immediate threat to Fort Prince of Wales than any presented by the Montreal fur traders - one which demanded, for the first time, that Fort Prince of Wales act as the military defence post it had been designed to be. At the time Britain was engaged in war against her American colonies, a war in which France had joined on the side of the Americans. As part of her support France sent a fleet to engage the British ships in the West Indies; this French fleet was dispersed by the British in battle there. Three of the French ships, the 74-gun Sceptre and two 36-gun frigates, the Astrée and the Engageante, commanded by the Comte de Lapérouse, then sailed north to renew their attack on Britain by capturing, if possible, the Hudson's Bay Company posts on the Bay. In doing so they hoped also to gain some commercial advantage for France and perhaps regain a share in the North American fur trade. In August 1782 these ships

with about 300 men on board appeared off the Churchill River, sailing in disguised as British ships with English colours. The troops had landed before Samuel Hearne realized the deception; with only 39 men at the fort, untrained in warfare, Hearne decided not to attempt resistance and surrendered unconditionally.

Lapérouse took all the HBC men and all the furs collected on board his ships. His men spiked the cannons of the fort, shelled the walls and set fire to the buildings; then they sailed away to capture York Fort.[2] With this departure the west peninsula was abandoned by European occupants and trade. It was left to whatever use could be made of its resources, now including the ruins of Fort Prince of Wales, by any Indians or Eskimos who came to it.

Although many accused Samuel Hearne of cowardice because of his immediate surrender to Lapérouse, the HBC took no steps against him. Throughout the winter of 1782-83 he was consulted on the best means to re-establish a post on the Churchill River, what kind of building would be needed and where to situate a new post. In the end he was reassigned to the command on the Churchill River and was sent out in the summer of 1783 to rebuild for the HBC there.

Site

On 14 September 1783, Samuel Hearne sailed into Churchill River on the ship Prince Rupert to resume the command of the Factory there - a command which had been so quickly taken away from him by Lapérouse the year before. The massive Stone Fort which had been his headquarters the previous year was so damaged by the French that there was no hope of reusing it that year. In fact the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company had already decided to abandon the site of Fort Prince of Wales and to erect a new wooden Factory, to be called Fort Churchill, about five miles (eight kms.) up the river on the west peninsula; Hearne was directed to choose the most convenient spot

for this above Cuckold's Point, near or at the place where the old wooden Factory had stood.[3]

This choice of site indicated a changed concept of the Factory at Churchill. It was no longer to serve as the central defence post of the Hudson's Bay Company against a sea attack by the international enemies of Britain. Such a purpose was abandoned for any of the Bay posts of the Company. There was no longer much fear of attack on Hudson Bay and the inability of fur traders to act as military defenders of a post had been proved.

The new Fort Churchill was to be concerned only with trade, supplied directly from London and trading primarily with the Chipewyan Indians, as Fort Prince of Wales had done; from Fort Churchill sloops were to be sent north each summer, as they had been by Fort Prince of Wales, to trade with the Eskimos; the white whale fishery at Churchill was also to be vigorously pursued, in order "that no point may be neglected which promises advantage to the Company".[4] These intentions for Churchill were not new. London had simply decided to emphasize the peaceful activities of trade which had been carried on for years by Fort Prince of Wales. The change in policy for the new post of Fort Churchill lay in the decision to abandon any plans to prepare it for participation in a European war; implicit in that decision was the consequent change of site for the post at Churchill, since the site of Fort Prince of Wales had been chosen primarily for defensive purposes, had proved inadequate for this and now lay in ruins.

Despite the devastation to the Stone Fort, there would have been some advantages to reusing it. Much of the material for the new post came from the ruins; using it on the spot would have saved a great deal of hauling. For years, well into the 19th century, the ruins provided lead for roofs, bricks for bricknogging houses, stones for foundations, nails, etc., all of which had to be boated down to the new Fort Churchill.

The primary site advantage of the Stone Fort had been its

position overlooking both Hudson Bay and the Churchill River, where any attacking force could be readily seen and countered. These were not advantages for a simple trading post; in fact a change of site up the river offered many better prospects. Not the least of these was the matter of protection from the biting winds of the Bay; this was an important consideration, given the difficulties of getting enough fuel to maintain the post. The new site was somewhat closer to wooding and hunting grounds, would be much less grandiose than Prince of Wales and much less expensive to build and maintain.

The new site (actually a reuse of the 1717 site) did, however, have many disadvantages of its own. As Knight had discovered in 1717, it was the only fairly level spot on the west peninsula, other than the exposed point on which the Stone Fort had been erected. But the amount of level ground was very small, backed as it was by a ridge of large rocks and fronting on the river. There were difficulties in building on such a small piece of ground and no possibility of developing a very extensive post.

There were many difficulties in erecting buildings on a site which offered so little level ground; sand and earth had to be hauled in to level off the foundations of buildings and to provide some garden area. The permafrost made it impossible for the soil to absorb the melt-water in spring and drains had to be dug for all the buildings to carry off the water; these frequently became blocked and had to be cleaned out each spring. The rocks in front of the post hampered the landing of goods; ships could not anchor in front of the post but had to anchor farther out in the river. Goods were unloaded there into boats, which then had to unload onto the launch in front of the post. This launch had to be 80 yds. (73.8 m.) long because of the variations in the beach, where the river at high water was three miles (2.4 km.) wide but at low water only three-quarters of a mile (.6 km.)[5] It was by no stretch of the imagination an ideal spot on which to build or to which to

carry goods from ships.

Despite Hearne's assurances to London that the new site would be closer to wood and water, neither of these were readily available in the vicinity. The inadequate resources of the site, added to the considerable disadvantages of the terrain itself, caused a great deal of difficulty and extra labour for the men of Fort Churchill throughout the existence of the post.

Over the years a great many complaints were made to London over the choice of such a site. In 1805 Wm. Auld claimed that the Factory "could not have been more disadvantageously placed had the highest premium been given for the most diligent search"; it was "too high for convenience and too low for safety".[6] Auld blamed the choice of this site on Hearne's desire to build on a spot out of sight of his surrender to the French; he was perhaps unaware that the site selection had been made in London, although with advice from Hearne.

Despite such complaints, the site chosen by Hearne continued to be occupied until the 1930s, remaining the centre of Hudson's Bay Company activity at Churchill and of its reach from there into the interior and to the north. Building activity on the site persisted after the first efforts by Hearne until late in the 1920s, giving a history of nearly 150 years of continuous occupation of the site. In fact the use of this site could be dated back to the fort built by James Knight in 1717 and even to the Winterhaven of Jens Munk in 1619-20, indicating a long history of acceptance of this site as the most suitable on the west peninsula for occupation.

Stockades

The terrain at Fort Churchill made any kind of defence almost impossible. Fort Churchill was not expected to withstand a European military attack but like all Company posts it was expected to be palisaded and defensible against attacks by Indians or competitors. Orders were routinely sent from London

to clear the ground for a mile around its posts in order to prevent surprise attacks. Defences of this kind were impossible at the new Fort Churchill. The area of the post itself was stockaded but, surrounded by rocks and open to the water, there was no possibility of clearing ground for a mile around it.

The first stockades, built under Samuel Hearne's direction in 1784, enclosed an area only 170 ft. (52.3 m.) by 164 ft. (50.5 m.); the stockades for this were topped with small spikes made by the armourer.[7] But this was inadequate defence since in winter anyone could walk over the stockades when they became drifted with snow; in summer the post could be set on fire easily from the rocks above and there was no way to get water to put out a fire.[8] In 1790 the defences of Fort Churchill were to be increased when platforms were built at each end of the yard to hold five guns each.[9] No further reference was made to these guns; perhaps they were never installed. So far as defence was concerned, then, the new Fort Churchill was at the opposite extreme from the Stone Fort; unlike the Stone Fort, however, its defences were never put to the test.

Graves

Any site occupied for a post required some space close to the post to be allocated as a graveyard for those who died at the post, although the number of deaths in the first years at Fort Churchill was remarkably few. Churchill did not seem to suffer the dreadful effects of scurvy as many other posts at the time, especially York, did.[10] The first death at Fort Churchill occurred in March 1786; although the location of the grave was not cited it appears that an old site was reused, perhaps one that had been in use since 1717. The possible sites for a cemetery on the west peninsula were few and it is likely that the same area continued to be used over the years. The site known in later years was on the rocks overlooking the post; any

Indians who died near the post were buried by the men of the post in another section on these rocks.

Water

Fort Churchill was poorly situated for the provision of water suitable for drinking and cooking, a problem which had caused vociferous complaints from Knight in 1717; the years since had not altered the situation. The Churchill River was a tidal river, the seawater making it undrinkable. In the 1780 water was taken from a pond in back of the fort but it had to be hauled to the fort across a swamp; in 1786 a causeway was built across this swamp to make the hauling easier.[11] By 1805 the water supply for the post came from a cask sunk in a swamp about 300 yds. (277 m.) from the post; unfortunately this swamp was level with high tide in the fall and was often swamped with sea-water then.[12] In winter the only supply of water came from melting snow on the stoves, a requirement which used up much of the scarce fuel supply of the post. The difficulties in obtaining water persisted throughout the life of the post; no ready supply of water was ever found near the site of the 1783 post. This distinguished Churchill from most other posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, where fresh water was usually available from the rivers or lakes on which posts were sited.

Gardens

Fresh vegetables grown in gardens at the HBC posts were an important contribution both to the economy of the post and to the nutrition of the servants stationed there. Vegetables gave some variety to the monotonous food, so heavily dependent on salt meat, but more importantly helped to prevent scurvy. Any local food resource which lessened the need for imported provisions also helped the economy of the post. The only type of produce which occurred naturally around the post was the wild berries which grew in profusion in the summer; the native women did most of the harvesting of these.

In 1784 Hearne began a garden behind the new offices built that year; in this he planned to cultivate European vegetables, alien to the Churchill area. This garden was to run the length of the stockades, 170 ft.(52.3m), and to be 60 ft.(18.5m.) wide, out of a total width of 164 ft.(50.5m.).[13] The garden would occupy one-third of the total space of the fort grounds, an indication of its importance to the post. In 1786 Hearne began a second, smaller garden higher up on the hill behind the fort;[14] this garden was used only intermittently over the next 30 years.

Churchill, with its shallow layer of spongy muskeg, offered little in the way of natural resources for gardening. To produce a vegetable garden required much human effort, effort to which the men of the post were unable to devote much time. The earth to make the garden was hauled in and spread by the men for several years after 1783. Each May the men had to shovel off the snow from the garden area before they could dig it and prepare it for planting; when cattle were at the post manure was spread as fertilizer. It called for great perseverance to continue the attempts to grow vegetables when the men were occupied in the numerous summer duties of whaling, rafting wood, preparing the furs for loading on the ship and loading and unloading the ship. The amount of land under cultivation fluctuated according to the interest taken by the officer in charge, amounting usually to about three-quarters of an acre[15] (.3 hectares).

The first crops from the garden in 1784 were only a few salad greens but by 1787 it produced eight bushels of turnips, one and a half gallons of green peas and a few coleworts.[16] There were many attempts to grow potatoes but with no success; the frost free season at Churchill was much too short to bring them to maturity and turnips and cabbages continued to be the staple product of the garden. In most years the vegetables were grown from seeds in boxes indoors while it was too cold for planting outside; these were later transplanted to the

gardens. Hotbeds were tried in 1809 but with no success.[17]

In addition to the lack of soil for gardens and the hazards of climate there were other natural difficulties in gardening at Churchill. For the first 20 years of the 19th century the garden crops were destroyed nearly every year by a plague of worms, thus depriving the men of the fresh food usually served out to them along with the salt geese.[18]

Gardening at Fort Churchill was never sufficiently successful to contribute much to the provisioning of the post. The type of soil and the climate of the area made it impossible to produce a viable garden. The human impact on the area insofar as gardening was concerned was therefore minimal.

All-Purpose House

When Hearne arrived in 1783 to build the new Fort Churchill on the site of Knight's old wooden fort, rapid erection of a building was essential. A September arrival meant little time to prepare shelter against the winter and there was no useable housing at the Stone Fort. The Prince Rupert carried a house pre-framed in England (by Chester) which was intended to serve all purposes for the winter - to act as the officers' house, men's house, shops, store and warehouse. Hudson Bay House had consulted Samuel Hearne about this house, emphasizing the necessity to keep it as small as possible because of the difficulties of transport.[19] The timber, board and other materials were sent on board the Prince Rupert; 22 sheets of lead were included to cover the house, 3000 plasterers' laths, 155 panes of glass and a patent stove, as well as 6 leather-bottom chairs and 12 hogsheads of strong beer.[20] With these Hearne and his 32 men and the goods sent were expected to be secure, if not comfortable, for the first winter back in Churchill.

On 17 September 1783 the house carpenter began laying the foundation for this all-purpose house "exactly where the old dweling house formaly Stood";[21] perhaps there were some founda-

tion marks of this old building remaining or perhaps Samuel Hearne simply remembered the exact spot. The wood frame and lead roof protected the men and goods from the weather but Hearne complained that such essentials as boards for walls, floors and partitions were missing. He managed to find some of these in the ruins of the Stone Fort but not enough for his needs; the part of the house used as a warehouse remained without a floor for the winter.

The house was a two-storey one, probably 40 ft. (12.2m.) by 24 ft. (7.3m.), as was the house sent to York at the same time.[22] Samuel Hearne occupied the upper part of one section, with Mr. Jefferson below him; the men's bed-places were over the warehouse section.[23] There were shutters on the upper windows[24] and probably also on the lower ones. No mention was made of painting the house the first years[25] although it was painted in 1789.[26]Most of the frame buildings at the post were painted over the years while some of the log buildings were plastered and whitewashed. White paint dominated the Factory lists and was most likely the colour of the painted buildings, with the trim in other colours.

The house was a frame building, with only half an inch (1.3 cm.) of weatherboarding to serve as protection against the winter weather.[27] Some of the inside rooms were lined to increase the warmth; Hearne's own room was plastered at first because there were not enough boards to line it.[28] Whether lined or plastered, the rooms of the all-purpose house provided minimal protection and warmth for winter on the Bay and the first winter in the house sent from London must have been a miserable one. The men had no fur or leather clothing for outdoor duty and no Indian trade to supply these, a circumstance which no one appeared to have foreseen. The clothing they had made by the tailor was quite inadequate to winter on the Bay. The men were kept busy trying to provide food for themselves and wood enough to keep from freezing; warmth was an impossibility. On 21 November 1783 Hearne noted that the cold

had already been so severe that the wines and other under proof spirits inside the house had frozen solid, the bottles and casks had split and the liquors were all lost and spoiled.[29] The loss of liquor was an unexpected hardship caused to the men by the cold weather of Churchill - and one which may have been the most difficult to bear. They had secured the old brewing copper from the ruins of the Stone Fort but were unable to brew any beer; it was 1785 before the first beer was brewed at the post.[30]

Resumption of Trade

No Chipewyan Indians came to trade the first winter or spring; some of the Homeguard Cree were in contact with the post throughout the fall and winter but they were largely dependent on the post for support. Although the new post was expected to resume trade with the Indians who had traded at Fort Prince of Wales Samuel Hearne, when he returned to Churchill, learned of the terrible fate of these trading Indians. The smallpox epidemic which had spread destruction through the tribes of the western interior of North America had reached the Chipewyan in 1782 and resulted in enormous population losses. When a hunter died of such a disease his relatives often died of starvation as a result, multiplying the disastrous effects of the disease.

The loss of the Stone Fort and its trade goods in the same year as the epidemic had intensified the havoc since it had removed the source of much needed trade goods and of help in time of need. Matonnabee, Hearne's guide on his trip to the Coppermine in 1771-72, had been so disturbed on hearing of the French capture of Hearne and the destruction of the Stone Fort that he had hanged himself. This was a very unusual step for a Chipewyan to take but his suicide reflected the importance of the trade to such leaders as Matonnabee, his dependence on it for his prestige and perhaps also the extent of his acculturation to European <u>mores</u>.

With such losses of population and of trade captains there was concern whether the trade at Churchill would ever resume. Perhaps if London had known of the losses it would have decided against rebuilding at Churchill. As it was Samuel Hearne only learned of the deaths among the Indians after his return in 1783 with orders to build the new Factory. The first winter and spring back at Churchill thus passed with a minimum of activity outside of the actual building and maintenance of the post. Trade would not resume until the survivors among the Chipewyan learned of the re-establishment of the post.

Hearne had also been ordered to pursue the whale fishery with vigour but in the circumstances this was impossible. So much effort was directed to building and maintaining the post the first year that no men were available for whaling in 1784.

The shortage of buildings at the fort in 1784 also meant that Hearne could not send the Sloop north to trade with the Eskimos as intended; he had 50 tons of dry goods stored on it and nowhere else to put them. This may have been used as an excuse by Hearne, who was opposed to the Sloop trips; he thought they detracted from the trade at Churchill by allowing some of the Chipewyan Indians attached to Churchill to trade with the Sloop Captain and avoid their debts at Churchill.[31] London was insistent that the Sloop trips be continued to help make up for the heavy losses caused by the enemy and that there should be no interference with the Indians who wanted to trade with the Sloop. A threatening note was added to these instructions: "We are much interested in this branch of Commerce, and We shall ascribe its success to your prudent Conduct, as on the contrary its failure must be imputed to you."[32]

In 1783-84, however, it seemed that none of the purposes ordered by London for Churchill could be achieved in the face of the circumstances confronting Hearne. Yet if any were to be accomplished, more and larger buildings would be essential. The activities of the post, if they were to be carried on properly, required more than the cramped quarters of the small

house sent in 1783.

Trade Buildings

As a result Hearne began an ambitious building project in the spring of 1784, one which seemed to owe more to his own initiative and vision of the future of Fort Churchill than to the directions and policy set in London. Hudson Bay House refused to send out timber, reminding Hearne that the all-purpose house had been made according to his directions and he had never hinted then that it was too small.[33] London chose to ignore the fact that the houses built for Churchill and York in 1782-83 had been kept to a minimum size, adequate only for the first year of re-establishment. Neither York nor Churchill considered the house suitable for the operation of a large Factory. Hearne complained a great deal of the lack of material sent from London for his plans but persisted in building, finding local materials at times and scavenging material from the Stone Fort.

Offices

The importance of tradesmen at the new Factory was shown in the first large building project undertaken by Hearne - the erection of offices for the tradesmen, these offices to be 112 ft. (34.1 m.) long by 15 ft. (4.6 m.) wide by 10 ft. (3 m.) high, built with timber sawn during the winter of 1783-84. A preliminary step to building these was to clear away the growth of willows which had sprung up in the years since Knight's factory had occupied the site. The next step was to bring stones to underpin and level the foundation of this building; according to Hearne this required upwards of 600 ft. (182.9 m.) of stonework 2 ft. (.6 m.) thick. The worst part of the work was cutting the necessary drain for the cellar through 50 ft. (15.2 m.) of solid rock.[34] The difficulties of building on the site were certainly apparent to Hearne by this time, if they had not been before.

Despite this seemingly vast amount of labour, however, the

new offices were closed in on 27 August 1784, well-covered with lead from the Stone Fort. They contained two cookrooms, a smith's shop, a carpenter's shop and three storehouses to hold provisions and other goods. The blacksmith (or armourer) held a very important position at Churchill. He repaired all metal work, including the guns of the servants and of the Indians, made nails and spikes, iron points for the top of the stockades, etc. This work required a forge and must have imposed a severe strain on the little all-purpose house. The carpenter's work was equally important to the functioning of the post. It was he who made the bed-places where the men slept and stored their meagre belongings; he also was in charge of the construction, framing houses, making boats, etc. This work too required space and the new accommodation for the tradesmen, kitchens and stores eased some of the strain on the house sent from London.

More room than this was required, however, and in 1785 Hearne's men laid the foundation for a Cooper's shop and for more new offices. These were completed in 1786, with lead roofs and plastered exterior walls; the doors and window frames were painted.[35] No mention was made of where these offices were built nor for what purposes they were used. Probably these were the buildings made from old stockades of the Stone Fort, buildings which were described as in ruins by 1804.[36]

In 1788 a number of sheds were erected behind the house to hold paint, casks and tools which could be lost or damaged by being left outside. These sheds were weatherboarded and plastered.[37] This completed the buildings necessary for the maintenance of the post.

Warehouse and Trading Store

Additional buildings were required in which to carry on the fur trade, the basis of the economic life of Fort Churchill. For this Fort Churchill needed a warehouse or depot in which to store trade goods and a trading store where furs from the

Indians could be exchanged for trade goods. Churchill, with its unique winter trading activities and environment, required special facilities for this function. It was essential to provide space for the trade to be conducted inside, in the relative warmth of the store, yet it was also necessary to prevent too easy an access to the warehouse goods.

The original house sent from London served as a combination warehouse and store for several years; the upstairs section previously used by the men was taken over as additional warehouse space after the men moved into the addition built for them in 1789. In 1793 a partition was put up to separate the trading store from the downstairs warehouse part in order to keep the Indians out of the warehouse, where they were said to pilfer goods on their way into the trading store.[38] The trading store continued within the all-purpose house until it was destroyed in the fire of 1813.

In 1800 a new separate warehouse was built,[39] although the warehouse in the all-purpose house continued to be used as well. Construction methods for Churchill had not been perfected for the roof of the new warehouse had to be rebuilt in 1803 so it would carry off rainwater.[40] Both the warehouses were lined and weatherboarded in 1805[41] and both continued in use at the fort. The separate warehouse survived the fire of 1813, while the part of the original house which served as a warehouse and store was destroyed.

Magazine

Although Fort Churchill was not a military post its fur trade activities demanded that a large supply of gunpowder be kept for the trade, in addition to that used for the upkeep of the post. A magazine was needed in which to store the gunpowder safely. Hearne built the first of these in 1784; since he had no bricks, stones or lime with which to build it he seems to have used wood, caulked with moss and surrounded by a thick earth wall for protection against accidents.[42] This makeshift

arrangement lasted for 10 years, for it was 1794 before a stone magazine was built with stones taken from the quarry and from the Stone Fort.[43] In 1797 there were references to breaking up the walls of Cape Merry to use for the magazine,[44] perhaps to reinforce it or to repair it.

The magazine was a small building, only 13 ft. (4 m.) square, roofed with lead; its heavy copper door with treble bolts weighed close to 200 lbs. (90.9 kgs.).[45] Andrew Graham had ordered a door like this for Fort Prince of Wales in 1774;[46] very likely this was the same door, recovered from the ruins of the old Stone Fort. This magazine provided shelter for the men after the fire of 1813; it reverted thereafter to its original purpose throughout the rest of the 19th century.

Still House

In 1796 London sent a 100 gallon still to Churchill, together with the necessary ingredients and instructions for its use.[47] This addition to the local landscape was necessitated by the intense trade competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, a competition where success depended very much on the provision of liquor to entice the trading Indians. With a still the Hudson's Bay posts could produce their own double proof liquor; British laws forbade the export of this, yet it was essential to the fur trade expansion inland to put the Hudson's Bay Company on an equal footing with the North West Company.

In 1797 a Still House was built at Churchill.[48] This was a frame building, 30 ft. (9.1 m.) by 20 ft. (6.1 m.),[49] roofed with lead. With the still Churchill could produce liquor which could be taken to its inland posts and watered down there; this helped save on the cost and difficulty of transportation and offset the lure of the competition. The distillery lost its purpose when Churchill lost its inland posts after 1810; this ended the period of competition for Churchill, about 10 years earlier than for the rest of the HBC. The Still House was then

put to a variety of other uses for the rest of the 19th century.

Limehouse

With its abundance of stone, both in quarries and from the Stone Fort, Churchill was a convenient source of lime for building for itself and for York Factory; the lime was also used in making whitewash and plaster for the post buildings. In 1789 a limehouse was built for the post; it was constructed out of stone quarried locally.[50] The exact location of this quarry cannot be ascertained but it was very near to the post; a young son of Mr. Griffin, the post manager, was drowned in the Lime Stone Quarry Pond in 1867.[51] The production of lime, however, required a great deal of fuel, which was difficult to obtain at Churchill, so that the limehouse was often unused.

Launch

One further requirement for building which took a great deal of care was the necessity to have a launch on which goods landed from the ship's boat could be carried up to the post, over the mud and boulders which characterized the river frontage of Fort Churchill. There was some sort of stone wharf already at the site, one which must have dated from the days of the old wooden fort.[52]

In 1787 this old stone pier was pulled down and the ground cleared in order to lay a new wooden launch, which was filled with stones and shingle to prevent it being injured by wind, sea, or ice.[53] Wooden launches continued to be used for the duration of the post but because of the effects of the tides and wind these launches needed frequent repairs. In 1807 a new floating launch was made, 28 ft. (8.5 m.) by 14 ft. (4.3 m.) by 3 1/2 ft. (1.1 m.) deep.[54] In most years the greater part of the launch was taken up in the fall and set up again in the spring.

Launch House

Because the ship's boat had to unload goods at the launch as quickly as possible in good weather, it was necessary to build a launch house near the launch, in which these goods could be stored for a time before the men could get them all up to the fort. Samuel Hearne built the first of these launch houses in 1786; it was to be a two-storey building, 26 ft. (7.9 m.) by 15ft. (4.6 m.) by 14 ft. (4.3 m.) high, which could store goods upstairs while the main floor could be used for repairing boats under cover.[55] In 1803, however, it was said to be only 7 ft. (2.2 m.) high;[56] perhaps the second storey had never been built or, once built, had been taken off later.

In 1803 a new launch and launch house was begun, the new launch house to be 72 ft. (21.9 m.) by 21 ft. (6.4 m.) by 9 1/2 ft. (2.9 m.) high; it was covered with lead from some of the sheds at the post,[57] lead which had originally come from the ruins of the Stone Fort. For some reason a new launch house was built again in 1810. [58] It is impossible to say whether the post had only one launch house at a time; if so these must have deteriorated very quickly. In the District Report for 1820-21 Wm. Ross listed both a boat house and a launch house at the post; perhaps these were the 1803 and 1810 buildings, both in use.[59]

Oil House

The white whale hunt, one of the major purposes of Fort Churchill, required an oil house in which to boil the oil from the seals and whales. This was an activity best carried on near the water, both for convenience in transporting the blubber and for the sake of distancing the smells from the post itself. Samuel Hearne built the first of these oil houses in 1786, a building 50 ft. (15.2 m.) long.[60] The oil house was essential at Churchill and was replaced whenever necessary; its characteristic aroma dominated the air at Fort Churchill throughout its history.

Ice House

In 1801 an ice house was built,[61] in an attempt to preserve the fresh caribou meat which the Indians could supply in the summer. This meat had traditionally been preserved with salt but the post was short of salt; the only hope of preserving the meat was to keep it on ice.

Byre

Cows, pigs and goats were kept at Fort Churchill for short periods of time. When they were at the post, accommodation was built for them. It was difficult to maintain livestock at Churchill, where the animals had to stay inside for eight months of the year. For many years the post had no livestock and the buildings used for them disappeared as quickly as they had appeared.

Other Features

Other amenities at Churchill were provided on an ad hoc basis. The London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company sent out a bell for the post in 1789 and a belfry was built for this. A flagstaff was erected in 1786. "Necessaries" or privies were built. Small sheds were put up to hold tools and nails and paint. A flour shed was built in 1804.[62]

Dwellings

In addition to the buildings required by the trade, Fort Churchill needed accommodation for its officers and men. The number of men stationed at the fort fluctuated greatly over the years. Samuel Hearne arrived in 1783 with 32 men, the number considered necessary to build the post and to maintain the whaling and the Sloop voyages which were essential to the business of the post. The Sloop trips were ended in 1790, however, and the number of men at Churchill declined to about 20 in the 1790s. After 1800 this number was still further reduced; only 14 were on the list at Churchill for 1804.[63]

When Churchill lost its inland posts after the HBC reorganization of 1810 it lost more men, and when it ceased to be a Factory in 1814 its usual complement of men remained at about eight from then on through most of the 19th century.

In the early years at Fort Churchill most of these servants were Orkneymen; the Orkney Islands had provided the bulk of the manpower for the HBC in the 18th century. They were considered the best servants for the Company, in general quiet and orderly.[64] They could be fractious at times, however; one of them, on being reprimanded, threatened to put on all the church doors in Orkney a description of what to expect at Churchill - a serious threat at a time when the HBC found it difficult to hire enough labourers for any of its posts, but especially for Churchill.[65]

The Orkneymen were also said to be deeply involved in smuggling furs back to England, a situation which Samuel Hearne, as an Englishman and therefore an outsider, found very difficult to control; with "their universal propensity to smuggling and clandestine dealings of every kind, added to their clannish attachment to each other," no Englishman could hope to detect them.[66]

The men were not considered suitable associates for promising young lads such as David Thompson at Churchill. London directed the Chief to protect him from association with the common men; he was to be used in writing and in making observations, apart from the men, while at the same time the Chief should look after his morals and behaviour.[67] Such concern for those youngsters entrusted to their care fitted into the pattern of pre-industrial society in England, where the members of a household were all under the paternal direction and control of the head of the household.[68] In the case of isolated fur trading posts such as Churchill this patriarchalism was even more pronounced. The Chief was the head of the post household, expected to exert a firm hierarchical control over all the servants, training younger members not only to take their share

in the business but also to be morally upright members of society.

There were many difficulties in providing housing for this mixture of men of different ages and backgrounds. These difficulties were compounded by the lack of suitable timber for building to be found in the area near Fort Churchill and by the severe climate which required sound, thick walls for warmth.

Men's House

The original all-purpose house held both trade goods and the men required to staff a large Factory through the first winter at Fort Churchill. But Hearne had informed London in September 1783, right after his arrival, that an addition just for the servants was necessary - one that would have no communication with the warehouse.[69] Experience had taught Hearne that easy access to the warehouse by the men was too much of a temptation for them.

Hearne indented for wood for this men's house from London but did not receive it; he built the men's house anyway, out of local materials. The cellar was dug in August 1784, the wood for it was squared and planed during the winter of 1785[70] and the house was erected in May 1785, probably in the squared log style of construction.

The new Men's House was an addition to the existing building (the all-purpose house sent from London), the addition measuring 30 ft. (9.1 m.) by 24 ft. (7.3 m.) by 17 ft. (5.2 m.) high.[71] Like the original building it was two storeys with a lead roof; it was bricknogged with bricks brought from the Stone Fort and was then plastered. It was boarded inside and hinged windows[72]were inserted; later the addition was whitewashed inside and out.[73] The Men's House was ready for occupancy when the carpenter made bed-places for the men, with sliding doors to each; these small spaces gave the men the only privacy possible. To make the entrance dryer paving was put in front of the door.[74]

Fig. 3 Sketch of Fort Churchill c. 1800

This is a reconstruction of what the post was like based on the available information and on Jas. McDougall's sketch of 1889. The Still House and Magazine were situated then in the same place as in 1797 and are shown as such on this sketch. The original all-purpose house and the Men's houses are sketched on the site of the later Men's House of 1814. It seems likely that with the shortage of available space the same site for building would be reused after the fire of 1813 as had been in use before for the dwellings. The offices of 1784 were said to be in front of the dwellings and are so sited. The other buildings and gardens are sited according to the position of later similar buildings.

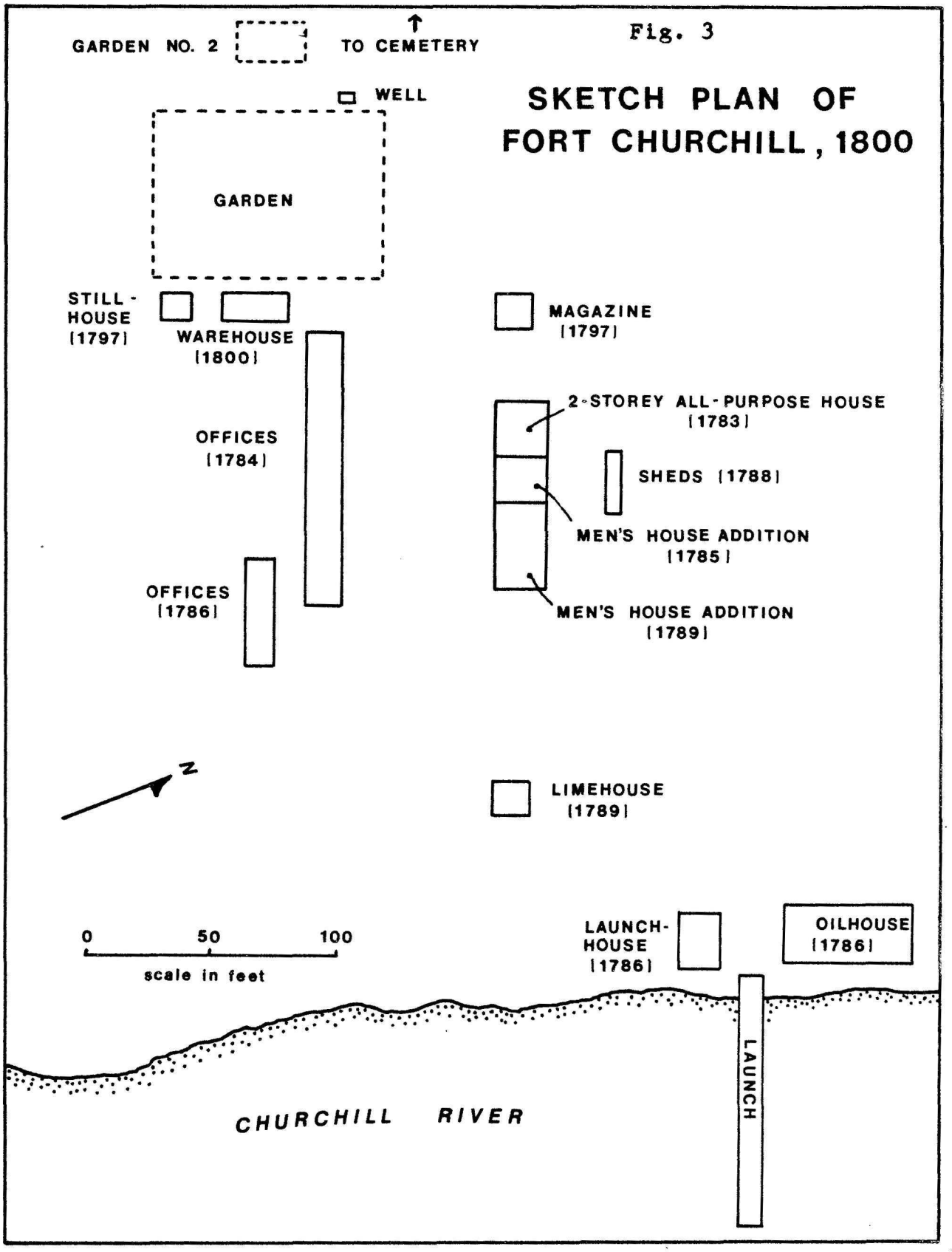


Fig. 3

SKETCH PLAN OF FORT CHURCHILL, 1800

Drawn by Victor Lytwyn

This addition provided accommodation for all the men, labourers, tradesmen and officers, except for the Chief who remained in his old quarters in the all-purpose house. The Men's House was designed for an all-male community, similar to an army garrison; there was no room in it for women and children. No white women were allowed into the fur trade country and the men were not supposed to undertake marriages or any other form of liaison with the native women. Although this rule was honoured more in the breach than the observance the house built for the men reflected the adherence to the ideal of "military monasticism" which was still the policy of the HBC.

Despite the efforts to make it warm and weatherproof for the large staff of men this Men's House was never very comfortable. It is not clear whether it was the method of construction or the type of heating which made these early houses so cold in winter. Efforts were made to correct both of these; in 1787 some of the bed-places were lined with thin boards in an effort to keep the frost from forming on the men's bedding during the winter[75]- a significant indicator of how cold the house really was! A new stove was put in the upper floor in 1788.[76]

As early as 1789 this Men's House required a further addition,[77] since it was inadequate for the number of men then at Churchill. This addition was also two storeys, boarded and bricknogged (with bricks from Cape Merry) and then plastered; when this plaster came off because of rain the addition was weatherboarded.[78] Buildings and additions were usually erected quickly, in the brief period available in summer or fall from other labour. Such luxuries as insulation were left out. In 1793 the men's house was said to be so uncomfortable because of the amount of frost inside the walls in the winter, due to the thinness and openness of the walls that it was decided then to line the walls.[79] The old chimney and fireplace were taken down to be replaced with the new stove sent from London in 1792.[80] This seemed to be sufficient comfort for no further efforts

were made to change this house. In 1813, however, the whole of the Men's House was destroyed by the fire which swept through Churchill post.

Officer's House

The all-purpose house sent from London in 1783 continued to serve as the chief's house, while the rest of the officers lived in the Men's House attached to it. The house had not been snug when newly built and the years of occupation did not improve it; in 1793 Thos. Stayner, the chief at Churchill, complained that his room, at the northwest end of the house, was so open that the wind could rush in and blow out candles.[81] Perhaps to remedy this his room was wainscoted in 1793.[82]

While Churchill had inland posts connected to it more accommodation was needed for the inland officers who came down to Churchill in summer; in 1806 two rooms were built either within this old house or added on to it for this purpose.[83] This Officer's House, along with the rest of the all-purpose house of 1783 and its additions, was destroyed in the fire of 1813.

Indian House

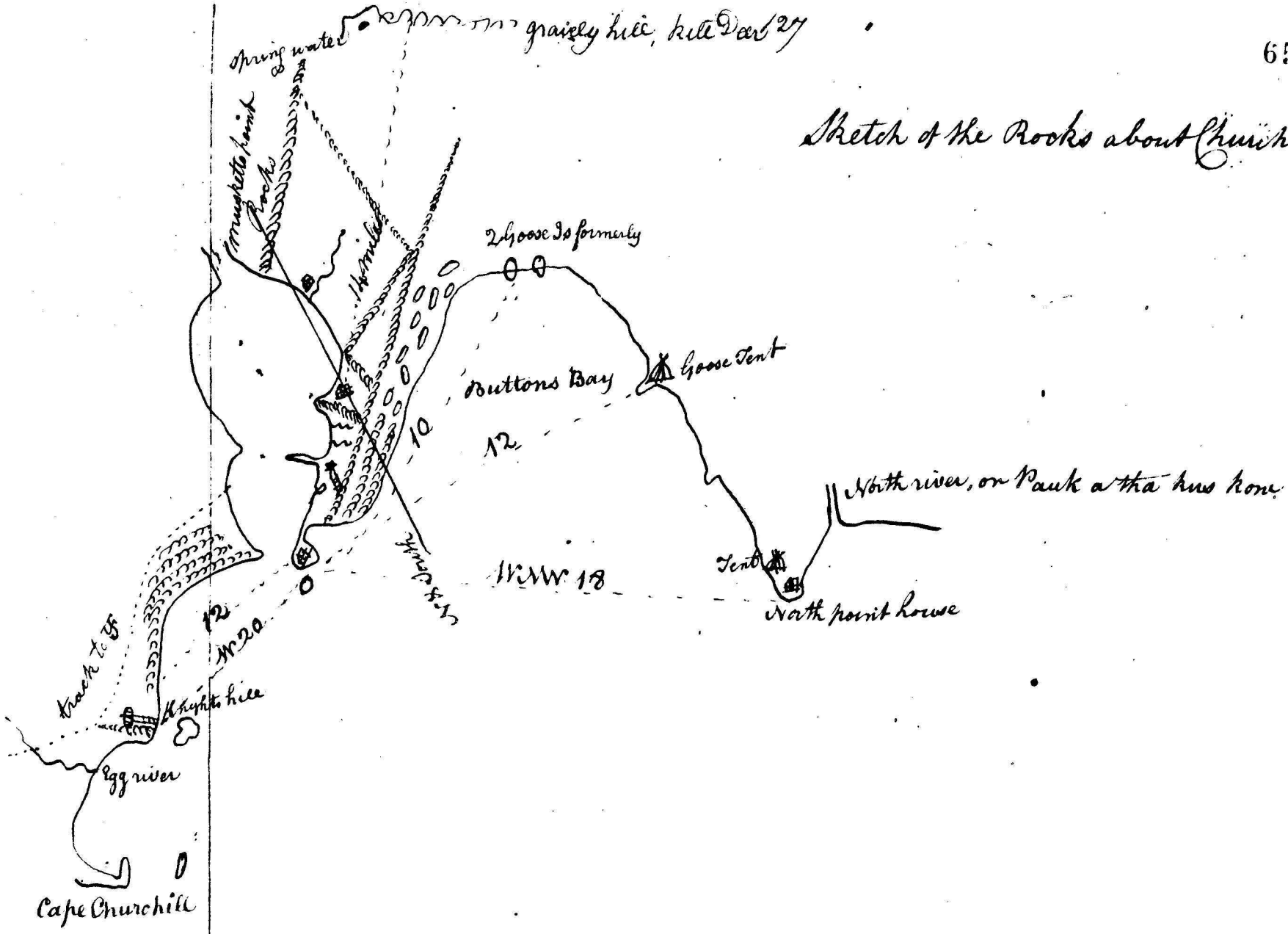
Housing for the officers and men at any post of the Hudson's Bay Company was essential; at Churchill, however, there was also urgent need for an Indian house to accommodate Indians coming to the post in the winter. This was a necessity peculiar to Churchill, where most of the Indian trade came in in winter, unlike the summer trade at other posts, and where there were no sheltered camp sites near the post. It was contrary to Company rules to allow Indians to stay inside its forts but this was a practice which could not be followed at Churchill; the Council at Churchill insisted to London that with conditions at Churchill as they were, they had to let Indians inside the fort in the winter because it was too cold and there were no woods to protect them.[84]

A separate Indian house was not built but a section of the

Fig. 4 "Sketch of the Rocks about Churchill etc."
by Peter Fidler, c. 1808
HBC Archives, P.A.M., E3/3, fo. 65

In this sketch Fidler indicates the locations of resources about Fort Churchill.

Sketch of the Rocks about Churchill &c



ground floor of the men's house was referred to as the Indian house. The disastrous fire of November, 1813, originated in the fireplace of this Indian house where some of the Red River colonists were staying overnight.[85]

By 1800 Fort Churchill, in spite of all the difficulties of construction, had the buildings needed to pursue the objectives of trade and whaling set by London in 1783; the Sloop voyages, its other original purpose, had been cancelled by London in 1790. It had accommodation for a large complement of men and officers, there were tradesmen's shops, stores for trading activities, warehouses and buildings for the maintenance of the boats and the production of oil. Almost all of the buildings were covered with lead roofs, some of it recovered from the ruins of the Stone Fort. Many of the buildings were two-storey, bricknogged, lined and weatherboarded - yet still uncomfortable in winter. The trade buildings were for the most part plastered and whitewashed. These buildings were surrounded by a stockade, which also enclosed a garden area. But Fort Churchill could not support itself from its own small area and needed some housing outside the post where its local resources could be exploited more effectively.

Whalers' House

Occasionally buildings were erected on the west peninsula outside of the immediate area of the post, though forming part of the post activities. In 1788 a house was put up for the whalers at Mosquito Point, where they launched their boats; they had been sleeping on the shore there during the whaling season but the flies and mosquitoes were so bad they couldn't sleep at night. This house was framed by the carpenter at the post and hauled to the spot on Mosquito Point; it had a brief existence, for it was torn down in 1796 when the whalers began to sleep on board their boats. The house was then reused at the fort to form part of the new distillery of 1797; as such it

remained at the post until the end of the 19th century.

Fort Prince of Wales House

Another house was said to exist about three miles (4.8 km.) from Fort Churchill in the direction of Prince of Wales's Fort and dating from its time. This house was unused after the return to Churchill in 1783; its chimney was torn down in 1794 and the bricks brought to the post for use there.

Haymarsh House

A house at the Haymarsh Creek also predated the 1783 post. Called the Haymarsh House, it was used by the fort wooders and hunters, as well as by those who cut hay for the cattle in the Haymarsh.

In 1813 this house became an isolation hospital for some of the Red River colonists, who had been landed from their ship at Churchill because of an outbreak of typhoid and were forced to spend the winter of 1813-14 at Churchill. When it was no longer needed for this it continued to be used by the colonists as a stopover point on their frequent trips to Fort Churchill for supplies throughout the winter. One of these groups in the spring of 1814 almost burned down the Haymarsh house;[86] it was damaged so much that it was torn down when the colonists left and its boards and spike nails were used in the rebuilding of Fort Churchill.[87] The material of the Haymarsh House, built in the days of the old Stone Fort, lasted in this altered existence for many more years at Fort Churchill.

Red River Colonists

The unexpected arrival of these Selkirk colonists placed a great strain on the post. The colonists had been on their way to York on the ship Prince of Wales when typhus broke out; their surgeon as well as two others died before they reached Churchill and when they arrived on 18 August 1813, 30 on board were sick. The captain could not keep them on board nor take

them on to York. Fort Churchill had to react quickly to this crisis situation.

With such an epidemic among the colonists it was imperative to keep them in isolation from the rest of the population of Churchill. No one from the post was allowed to go near them; it was feared that the presence of white women, never before seen at Churchill, would draw the Indians out of curiosity but they were warned not to go near the colonists. A tent was put up for the sick on shore at Sloop's Cove; fresh vegetables and pine beer and what other help could be provided were given. After coming ashore four of the colonists died and more became sick; another died on August 30.[88] The men of the post made coffins for the dead, who were probably buried in the usual graveyard.

As the weather became colder some other living arrangements had to be made for the colonists. An attempt was made in September to send 48 healthy colonists on to York by the ship; the ship went aground in the river, however, and the colonists were put ashore to lighten the load. There they slept in the sick tents at Sloop's Cove, making it impossible for the captain of the ship to take them back on board for fear of infection.[89] This meant that all of the colonists would be forced to winter at Churchill, an intimidating prospect for all concerned. It required providing room for about 70 extra people, with separate accommodation for the sick and healthy.

The old Haymarsh House, used occasionally by the wooders and hunters of the post, was fixed up to serve as a hospital for the sick while the rest of the colonists were to spend the winter at Churchill Creek, the only place where they would be able to find enough wood for building, fuel, etc. The lumber they had brought with them on the ship was boated up for their use at Churchill Creek. As soon as the sick recovered they were to leave the Haymarsh House and join the rest at Churchill Creek.

Helped by the men of the post to obtain food and wood for the winter, the colonists survived their unexpected winter in

Churchill. Churchill Creek was close enough to the fort for them to visit to pick up any necessary supplies. On one of these visits in November 1813, when four of them were staying overnight in the Indian House at the post, a disastrous fire originated there. The men of the post, sleeping in the kitchen adjoining the Indian House, woke up to see fire in the roof of the Indian House, a fire which had originated in the funnels used to carry the smoke from its fireplace. The fire had already burnt much of the roof and the warehouse on the upper floor. Within three hours the fire had destroyed the dwelling houses, ice house, coal shed, the contents of the upper warehouse (which included most of the trading goods and stores, most of the books, and all the furs traded only a few days before) and the provisions stored in the cellar - salt meat, butter and molasses. It was impossible to stop the fire, with no water available except melted snow water. Even the firewood of the post was burned, a very dangerous position to be in in November.[90]

This was a calamity on top of the calamity of the colonists' arrival. The men had to sleep in the magazine while the powder was put in the distillery. What goods were saved were stored in the Launch House. The keys to the out offices were found in the rubbish, as was a stove which could be repaired for use in the Packing Shed, which was to be converted into a dwelling house for the officers. This Packing Shed had not been designed for a dwelling and was only weatherboarding nailed onto squared logs; it was so cold that snow was piled around it in an attempt to increase its warmth. The old summer cook room was converted into a combination kitchen and dwelling for the cook, steward and Eskimo boy (Augustine); later these men had to move to a log tent on the rocks about three miles (4.8 km.) from the Factory to save on fuel use at the post.[91] Not all was lost, though. When two Chipewyan came in a few days after the fire, they were happy to find some trading goods left. They were probably not so happy to hear that the Beaver

Book (the Indian Debt Book) had been saved, as well as the Men's Debt Book.[92]

The stronger settlers left overland for York in April, while the weaker ones had to wait for a boat. They were moved to tents at the Stone Fort in mid-June 1814 because they had developed fears of strange Indians at Churchill Creek; this was an unfounded fear, perhaps a result of the strain of the long winter, perhaps caused by the fairly weak condition of those remaining at Churchill Creek. Oddly enough, such fears were common among the Chipewyan, who were often said to have refused to stay in a place because they heard strange Indians around their tents. On July 10th the last of the colonists sailed away on the boat for York Factory,[93]to the relief of the men of Fort Churchill. Their departure relieved the Factory of Churchill of a heavy drain on its supplies and manpower, as well as a constant concern for ensuring the survival of these strangers to fur trade conditions.

Selkirk was billed for the expenses of their time at Churchill, for leather tents for the sick at Sloop's Cove, two hogsheads of spruce beer, four coffins, and 49 pairs of snowshoes[94] but this was only a fraction of the actual cost to Fort Churchill of the winter spent there by the colonists. The reconstruction of the post, incurred because of the fire, was necessarily a large expense and the Haymarsh House had to be torn down because of damage done to it by the colonists. Many of the men had had to spend the winter in log tents when their house was destroyed. It was a tribute to their resourcefulness that they and the colonists survived through all the extra hazards of that winter.

In order to trade in the spring the uses of the buildings at Fort Churchill had to be changed. The inland men's chests were moved from the Chest House (probably one of the sheds at the post) to the Distillery house; the flour was then put in the Chest House and the flour shed made into a trading room. The Brandy shed (used to store the brandy produced by the

Still) was used as a provision store.[95] Even the lead from the ruins was converted into balls for guns.[96] The carpenter's shop was made into a temporary men's house, while the officers moved into the Distillery House.[97] These were temporary measures taken until the rebuilding of the post could be completed. Fortunately most of the trading buildings had survived the fire; the provision of housing for the men and officers was the most pressing need.

Rebuilding the Post

Men's House 1814

Rebuilding of the post took place very quickly, with the help of logs and boards sent from York.[98] The new Men's House was built in the summer of 1814, its wooden roof covered with tar in 1815;[99] it was, however, little used for the first few years of its existence. It was a very large one-storey house, 83 ft. (25.3 m.) long by 22 ft.(6.7 m.) wide;[100] such a large building required a great deal of firewood in the winter. It had been intended to house the number of men required by a Factory within the Hudson's Bay Company system. In 1814, however, Churchill was reduced in status to become an outpost of York; as far back as 1795 London had threatened to do this if the trade at Churchill did not improve.[101] No longer a Factory, Fort Churchill would never again be entitled to the number of men who could be housed in the Men's House of 1814.

To save on firewood the officer in charge housed the small number of men stationed at the post in the officers' cook room instead of in the men's house for several years. But the men did move into the Men's House in 1822, occupying it throughout the 19th century, eventually cramming far more people into it than it was originally intended to hold.

Officer's House

A new officer's house was begun in 1815 but still required work in 1821;[102] the officer in charge lived there, however, while the men lived in the cookroom section. This house was not so large as originally planned; as a simple outpost Fort Churchill would require a lower level of management, with fewer officers and of lower rank than it had had previously. Nor would it conduct any inland business. Due to these changed circumstances, the new officers' dwelling was only 37 ft. (11.3 m.) by 20 ft. (6.1 m.), consisting of three rooms, one of which was to be used as a guard or mess room and the other two as officer's cabins.[103]

This was a two-storey building; part of it was used for a cookroom (also two-storey).[104] No more lead was available for roofs; instead this house had a wooden roof of weatherboarding over a coat of plaster one and a half inches (3.8 cm.) thick, which was intended to preserve the wood underneath.[105] In 1818 the house was covered with boards to prevent the clay being washed out of the seams by the rain. The windows were covered with parchment at first[106] but within a few years with double windows. In 1821 it still required boards for sealing it.[107]

None of the local officers requested enlargement of this accommodation, nor did any directions to do so come from headquarters; it was considered adequate for Churchill, which had only one or two officers, with no inland posts to require officers' hospitality and very few visitors of any kind. This officers' house was not replaced until 1857.

Stockades

A symbol of the reduced importance of Fort Churchill could be seen in the fact that in 1816 the stockades were replaced to make the yard of the post smaller, in order to prevent so much space where the Indians and Eskimos could walk about without supervision by the staff.[108] In 1818, however, the stockades were extended to enclose the trading room in order to prevent

the Indians stealing the lead from its roof [109] - one of the perennial problems faced by the post.

By 1820 Fort Churchill had taken on its 19th century role of a minor post, with plenty of buildings for its purposes. No longer a Factory, it no longer had tradesmen stationed there; the tradesmen's offices built by Samuel Hearne were no longer needed for their original purpose[110] nor were the distillery and liquor shed. The dwellings built after the fire were in good repair and more than sufficient for the needs of the post. There was also a provision shed, a store next to the launch house, a boathouse and magazine and a trading house, all in good shape. The oil house by then was in need of repairs.[111] With these buildings Fort Churchill was well-equipped to look after its own few servants and the requirements of the trading Indians and Eskimos who came to it.

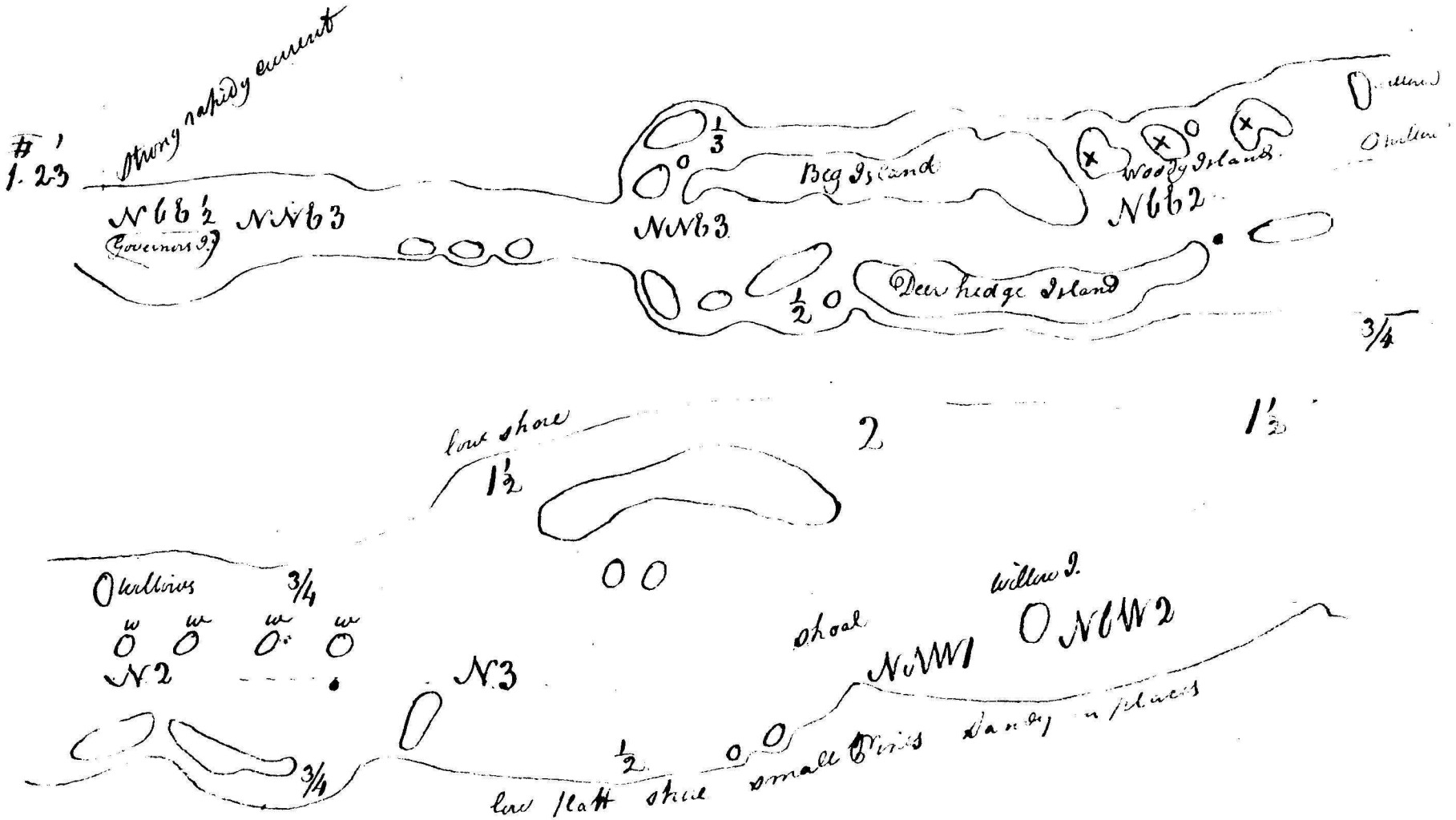
Outposts

The post at Churchill had been re-established for the purposes of trade alone, rather than defence, yet the new Fort Churchill faced a threat to its economic survival which was perhaps more serious than any military threat. This was the fierce competition of the North West Company for the furs of the Indians of the interior, who had been the former traders at Fort Prince of Wales. This competition had forced the Hudson's Bay Company to begin its move inland with the establishment of Fort Cumberland by Samuel Hearne in 1774. In May 1782 London had suggested to Samuel Hearne that Fort Prince of Wales might have to set up inland posts to offset the decline in its trade.[112] Any plans for this had been interrupted by the French attack of 1782 and the subsequent rebuilding at Churchill. In 1785 London decided to pursue the idea of inland posts from Churchill and ordered that Robert Longmore be stationed at Fort Churchill and go inland to look for suitable sites for inland posts.[113] This attempt was a failure, largely because Samuel Hearne sent

Fig. 5 Two sketch maps in series illustrating "Journal of a Journey by Water in a Canoe from Cumberland House to the East End of the Athapescow Lake by Deers Lake & Lake Wollaston and from the Entrance of Deers River down the Missin Nip pee or Churchill River down to Churchill Factory & from thence in a boat to York Factory along the Coast by Peter Fidler", 1807.
HBC Archives, P.A.M., E3/3, fo. 40d

This sketch shows the Churchill River as it began to widen near Hudson Bay and marks the Woody Islands where much of the wood for Fort Churchill was cut.

North side — much Ice along shore. Then went as under.



Longmore to Cumberland House rather than equipping him to make discoveries along the Churchill River.

Churchill was not able to begin expansion inland until after 1790. By then, the competition from the Canadian posts inland was interfering seriously with the attempts to restore the trade at Churchill. York was beginning to set up posts in the region of the watershed of the Churchill River, attracting the trade of some of the Churchill Indians, and London had ended the Sloop trips north for the Eskimo trade. Churchill was thus faced with a much depleted source for furs, one which was steadily declining. Without a solid economic basis, the very existence of the post was in jeopardy.

Very little knowledge of the interior had been acquired in the years since the first post had been founded at Churchill River in 1717. Samuel Hearne had made his epic voyage in 1771-73 but his explorations were to the north of the Churchill River. None of the other men attached to Churchill had any experience or first-hand knowledge of the inland country. The Indians carried their trade to the Factory, through country they knew; the men at the post had only their descriptions to go on and sketches of water routes which they would draw for the interested HBC men. But extension inland demanded a factual knowledge of good water routes for canoes or boats by which the HBC could set up its own posts and transportation system to carry trade goods inland and furs back to Fort Churchill.

The Churchill River itself was the obvious first choice for a transport route between Churchill and the interior. On 23 August 1793, Thomas Stayner, Chief at Churchill, sent Mr. Donald with two Homeguard Indians to survey the river from Fort Churchill inland as far as he could go. This trip took place so late in the season that by September 26 Donald's Homeguard guide refused to go any further, fearing he would be stranded far from his wintering grounds. Donald returned to the fort, having travelled only about 150 miles (241.4 km.).

He reported that large boats could be used on the Churchill as far as he went and probably much further.[114] This was the basic requirement for a river route which could be used by European boats and European labour. It seemed to open the way for a successful penetration of the interior from Fort Churchill. Yet it was contrary to all previous reports from the Indians on the possibilities of the Churchill River. Joseph Colen at York wrote ironically that he was glad to hear the Churchill River had at last become navigable, although he had always heard the reverse from the natives who had used it frequently.[115]

Thomas Stayner,however, adopted Donald's report with enthusiasm. He hoped it would convince London that the Churchill River was better for settling to the northward than the York Factory route,[116] and for this reason he repeatedly emphasized the advantages of the Churchill route and its superiority over that of York. The competition between York and Churchill was especially keen at this time of expansion inland, when each wanted to become the depot for the inland furs and thus the central post for the Hudson's Bay Company. Stayner claimed that batteaux could easily be used on the Churchill River, that provisions were readily available within 40 miles (64.4 km.) of the Factory, that the harbour at Churchill was the best in the Bay and that the Stone Fort could easily be repaired for use.[117] These were claims based more on Stayner's hopes than on reality; experience tended to deny their validity.

Several unsuccessful attempts to go up either the Churchill or the Seal River were frustrated by shoal water or the lateness of the season. These attempts were further complicated by the unwillingness of either the servants of the Company or the Indians to undertake these expeditions. Churchill did establish some outposts along the Churchill River but with great difficulty for all involved. The water connections were poor; there was competition inland from the Canadians and, perhaps more effectively, from outposts of York Factory. The corres-

Fig. 6 A continuation of sketch in Fig. 8. This section shows the harbour of the Churchill River and marks the location of the Haymarsh House, Fort Churchill and the Stone Fort.

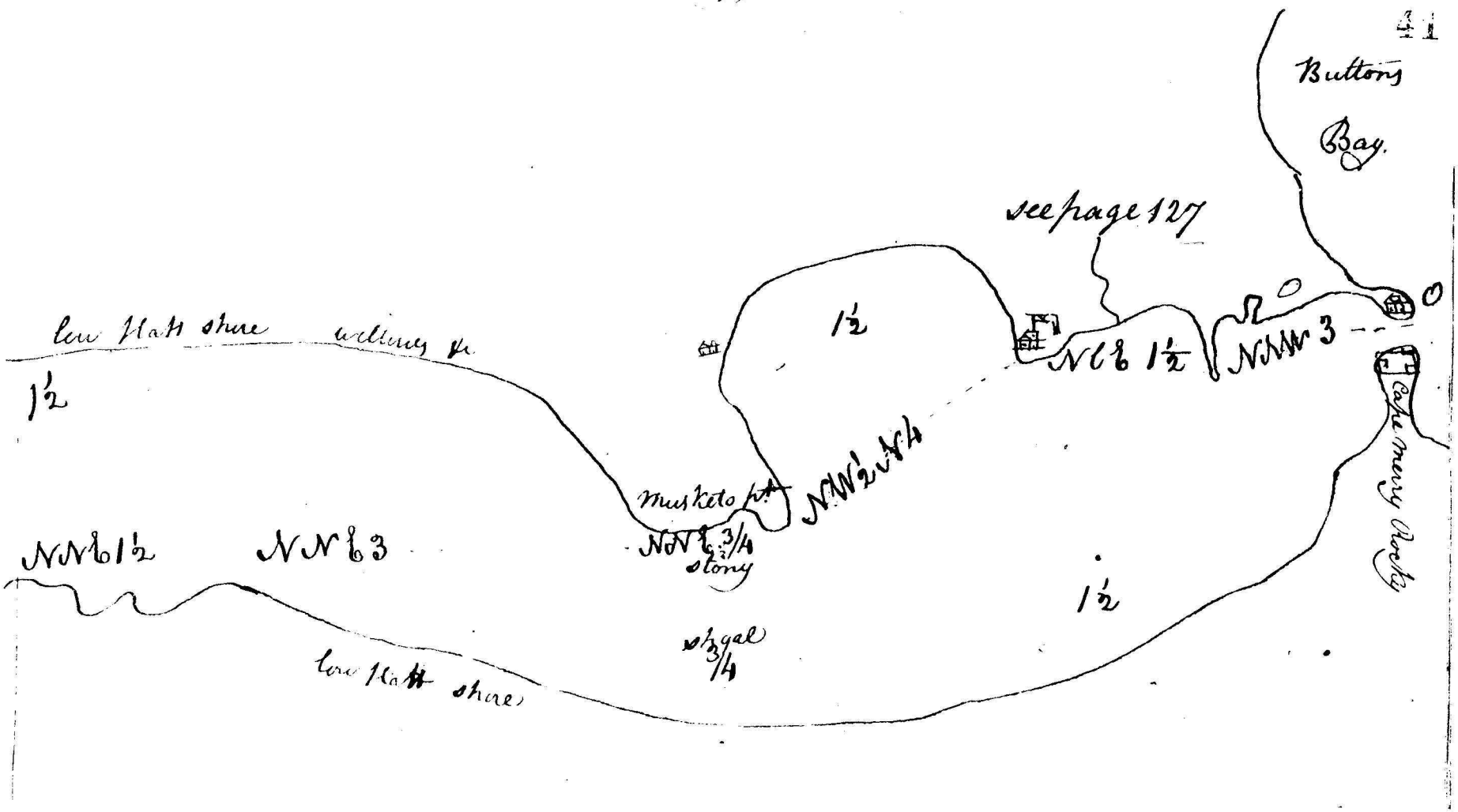
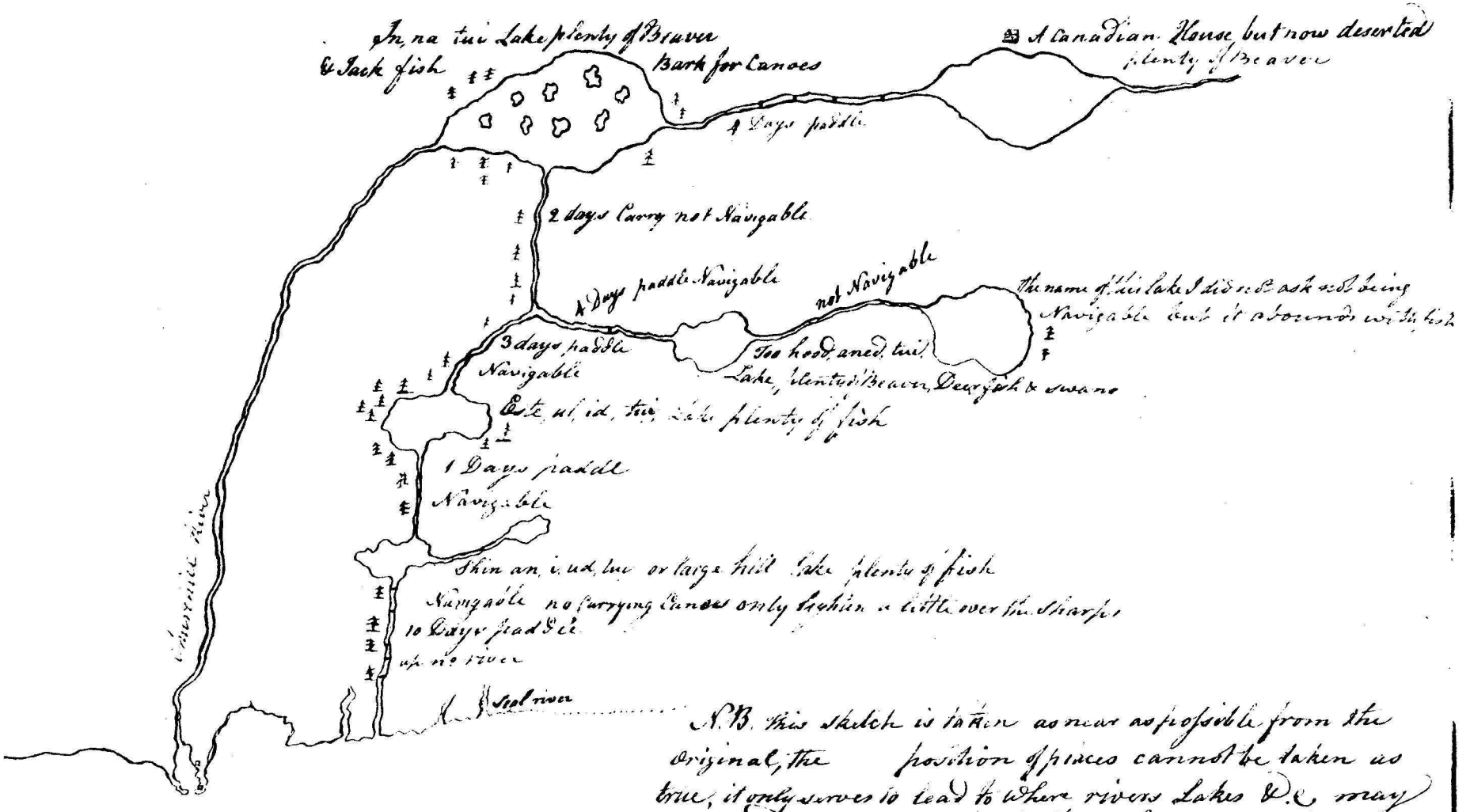

Buttons
Bay.
see page 127
low Water shore
1½
1½
NNW 1½
NNW 3
Castle Percy Rocks
Musketo Pt.
NNW 2 1/4
NNW 3/4
stony
NNW 1½
NNW 3
1½
1/2 gal
3/4
low Water shore

Fig. 7 "Sketch map of rivers and lakes in the Churchill River area", by William Sinclair, 1795-96. HBC Archives, P.A.M., B228/a/1, fo. 1



N.B. this sketch is taken as near as possible from the original, the position of places cannot be taken as true, it only serves to lead to where rivers Lakes &c. may be expected to be met with, by those who may go that way

Fig. 8 Untitled map of Churchill River "By Mr. [Thomas] Stayner 1801" from Churchill Factory to Frog Portage.
HBC Archives, P.A.M., B42/b/46, fo. 39d

This map indicates the distances and the water routes between Churchill and its outposts.

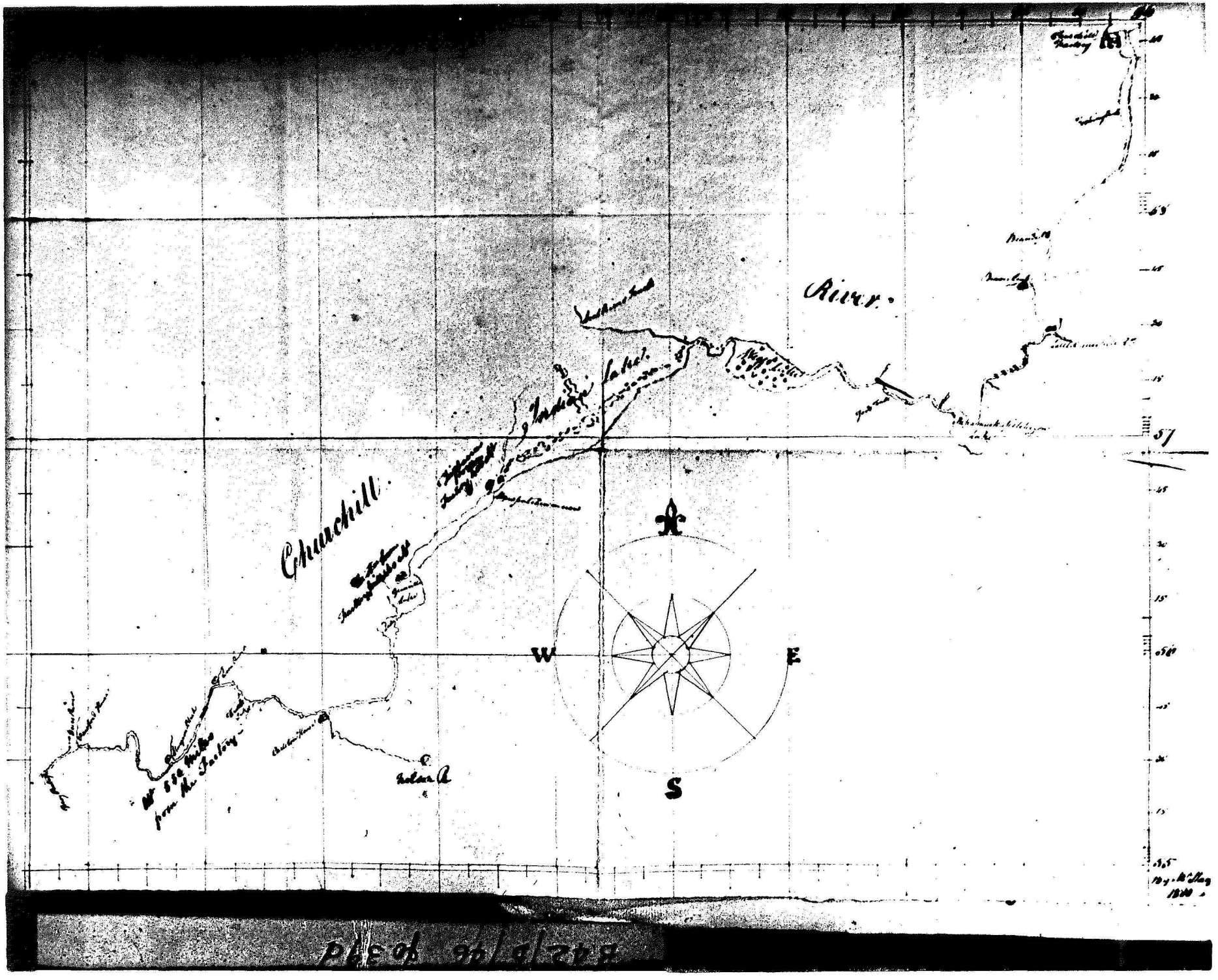
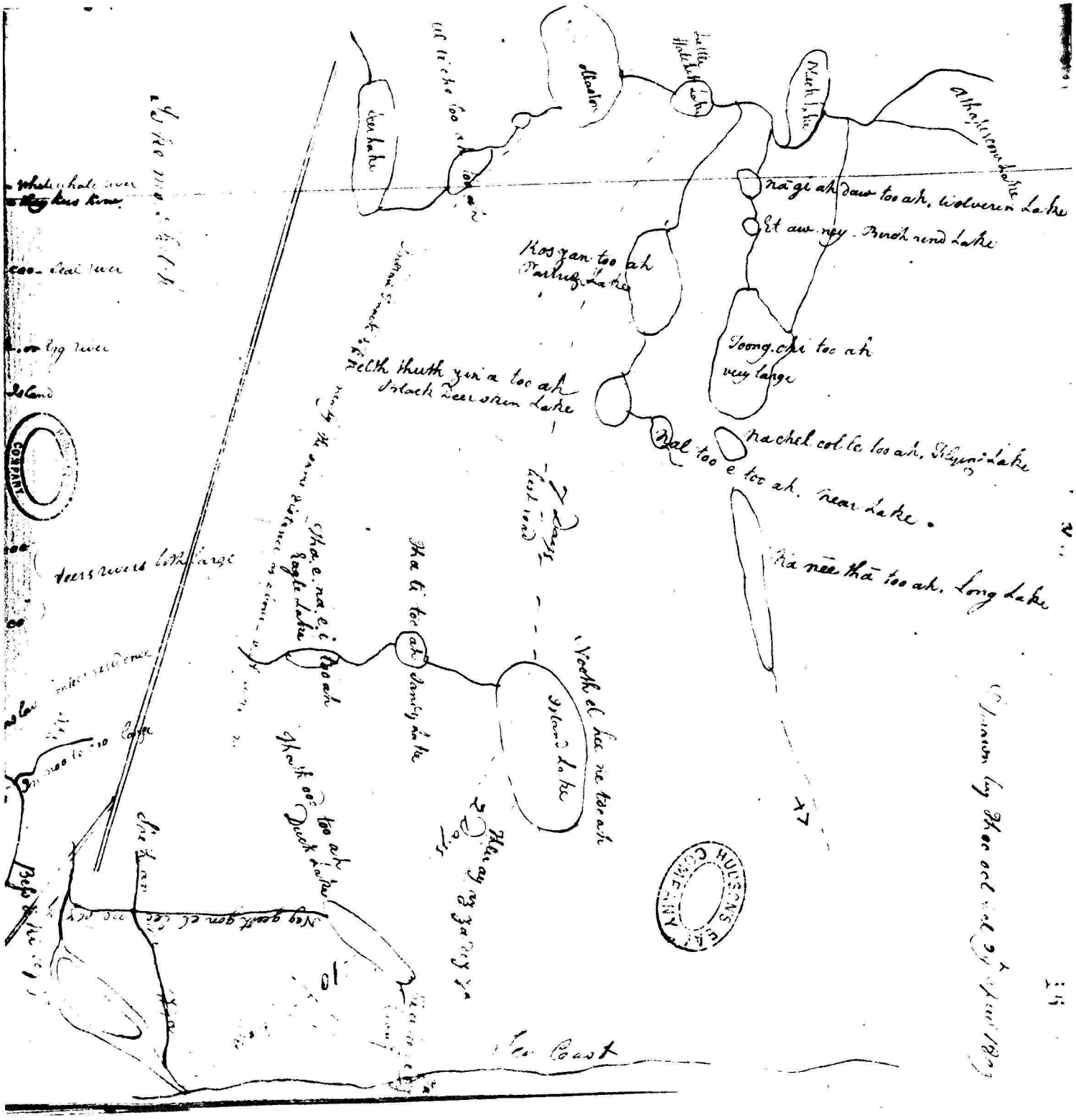

Churchill
River.
W
E
S

Fig. 9 Sketch maps "Drawn by Thoo ool del, 29th April 1809" of routes from "Athapescow Lake" to "Sea Coast". Redrawn by Peter Fidler 1809
HBC Archives, P.A.M., E3/4, fo.16 top

One of the dotted lines on this sketch indicates the "best road" which leads to York Factory. The other is marked "Indian track to C R nearly the same distance as above but worse road". This indicates the recognition by the natives (and eventually by the HBC) that the York route to the interior was much better than the Churchill connection.


Whale bone river
Deer River
Big River
Island
COMPANY
Deer rivers both large
Coppe
Sea Coast
Kos zan too ah
Parting Lake
Toong. chi too ah
very large
Rachel cobe too ah. Hagan Lake
Dal too e too ah. Bear Lake.
Ha nee tha too ah. Long Lake
Ha ti too ah
Hawk too ah
Duck Lake
Hudsons Bay Company

pondence between York and Churchill was marked by continued complaints that York stole away Churchill Indians, either to York itself, or to York's outposts on the Churchill track and was thus ruining the trade of Churchill. Eventually York gave up its posts in the Churchill River area, leaving the field clear to Churchill. But Churchill's inland posts were never very successful and, where possible, the Indians were encouraged to come down to Churchill themselves.

If its own inland posts proved unsuccessful in drawing much trade to Churchill, there was still hope that the route to Churchill might prove the best for transporting the furs of other inland posts. For this reason great efforts were made to find a convenient route between Churchill and the Athabasca region, the area of fierce conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in the early years of the 19th century. This was the rich fur country into which the North West Company had extended by the Methye Portage, drawing the trade of the Indians from the Athabasca who had traded at Churchill in the past. The Athabasca was much closer to Churchill than to any of the other posts of the Hudson's Bay Company; if a good route to it could be found, Churchill's position in the Company would be assured. Attempts were made to find a good water connection by Reindeer Lake but, like the efforts to use Seal River, none of these succeeded. Eventually the Hudson's Bay Company was forced itself to adopt the route to the Athabasca by the Methye Portage, a route which was most easily integrated into the York Factory transport system.

The route to Churchill from inland was always a marginal one. As a result Churchill was unable to tap a large hinterland by means of its water routes. York, due to the superiority of its water connections to the Saskatchewan, won an easy victory over Churchill in the struggle to become the central depot of the Hudson's Bay Company. Transport from the Saskatchewan to the Athabasca via the Methye Portage was always difficult; if Churchill had been able to find an easier route

by Reindeer Lake, it might have been able to keep a larger position in the 19th century Hudson's Bay Company trade.

Because of the inadequacies of its water connections to the interior, however, Churchill remained dependent on native transportation of furs to the site chosen by Hearne. This meant reliance on overland transportation, which in turn restricted the amount of furs which could be brought in. With the end of the sloop voyages to the north in 1790 the Eskimo trade of Churchill also depended on the Eskimos bringing in their own furs to the fort. Churchill's harbour facilities were much better than those at York but, without inland water connections to funnel furs to it from a great hinterland, it was bound to remain a small post. Dependent on native land transportation, it lost to York in the battle for primacy in the HBC trade from Hudson Bay.

When Fort Churchill lost its status as an independent Factory in 1814, becoming itself an outpost of York, it was a recognition of these facts by the Hudson's Bay Company. The west peninsula of the Churchill River would never become a large depot or port for the Hudson's Bay Company; its land-use would remain unaffected by the changes such a development would have required. As a small post within the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Churchill would depend on local trade and would require a small number of servants. It was these men and the trading Indians and Eskimos, a small population at any time of the year, who would determine the land-use of the west peninsula of the Churchill River in the 19th century.

Resources of Fort Churchill

As was customary with other posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, Churchill was expected to use local resources to supply itself with fuel, fish and game. To import provisions or coal was very expensive and detracted from the profits of the fur trade. It was essential to keep these imports to a minimum if posts

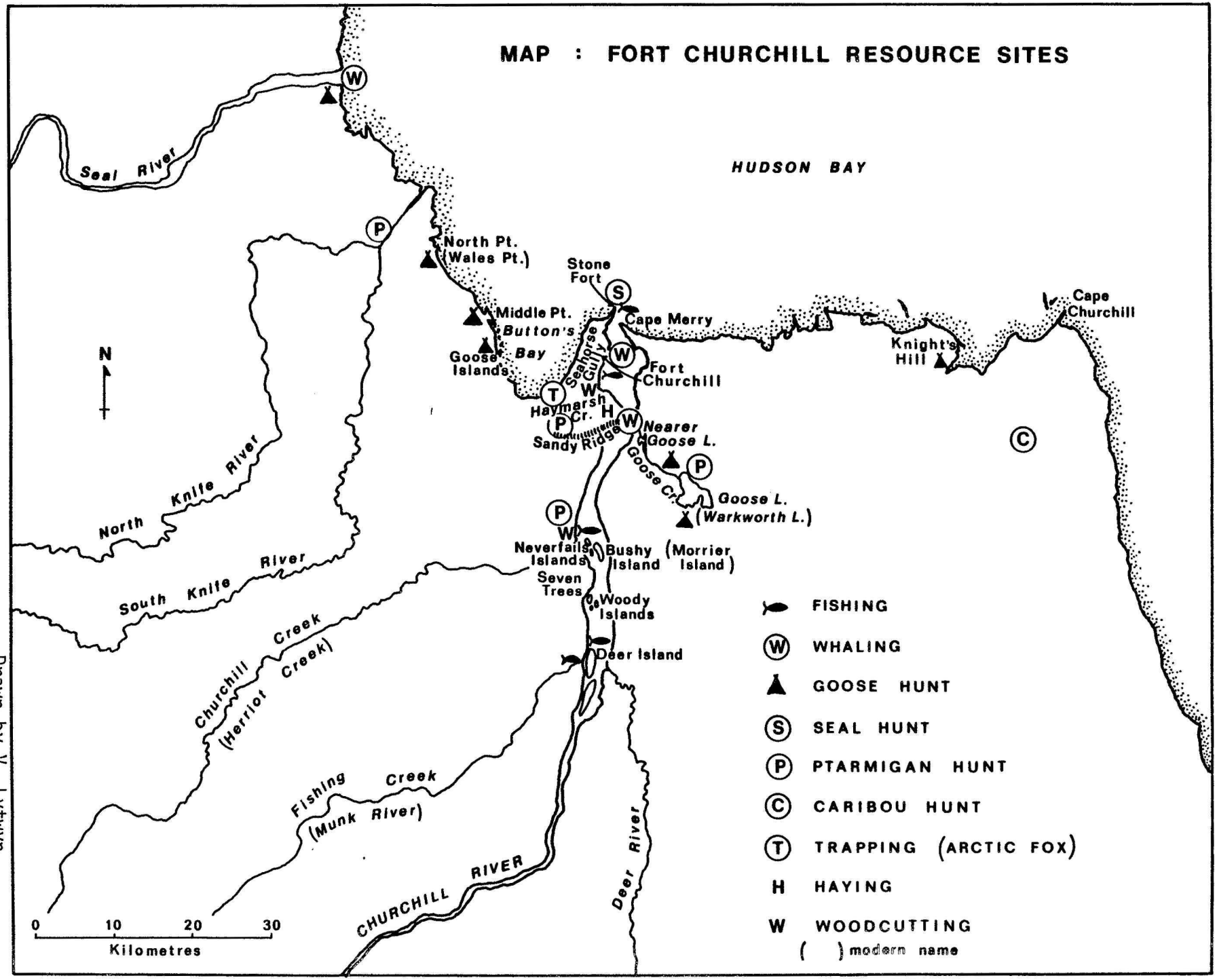
were to prove viable within the Company system. Yet at Churchill local resources were never plentiful and it was a constant struggle to obtain a barely adequate supply. The west peninsula alone could not produce even this minimum; many of the resources for the support of the post had to be derived from sites miles away and hauled to Fort Churchill.

Wooding

The first winter back at Churchill one of Hearne's most pressing concerns was to provide wood for fires. He sent men up the river soon after his arrival to cut firewood. On October 4, a very late date for rafting on the river, the men brought in ten large rafts of firewood; Hearne estimated these would last, if used carefully, nearly three months. The amount of wood consumed each year was staggering; in 1788 the wooders had cut and hauled to the side of the river ready for rafting a pile of wood 61 yards around, which it was thought "with economy" would do the fort for the following winter.[118]

The need for this large amount of fuel meant that several of the men spent the winter in the woods cutting firewood and wood suitable for pickets and building material under the supervision of the "patroon". The Haymarsh House was sometimes used as quarters for the wooding parties or if they went further away they built log tents for themselves. The time spent in the woods appeared to be healthy for the men, probably more so than would have been the case at the fort in cramped and smokey quarters. It probably also provided a relief from the celibacy imposed at the post.

The trees available near Churchill were very small; it required a great many of them to provide sufficient fuel for the fort. The south side of the Churchill River provided most of the wood for the first winter; in the spring of 1784 the men were sent to the north side to try to find more wood for the purposes of the post. Great supplies of firewood continued to be necessary to maintain the post; as a result the area around



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Ftg. 10

the post was soon denuded of any tree large enough to be used as firewood and the wooding parties had to move farther away. Churchill Creek was used extensively for wooding in the 1790s, and by 1794 the men were sent 27 miles (43.4 km.) up the river to the Woody Islands to cut timber for rafting to the Factory. In 1807 when Peter Fidler visited Fort Churchill and sketched the area, he noted that the Woody Islands had been almost cleared of wood for firewood, despite the difficulty of rafting the wood such a distance, with a shoal river and a strong current.[119] Fidler's idea of firewood was perhaps not the same as it was for the men of Churchill, for wood continued for many years to be cut from the Woody Islands and vicinity.

Wood suitable for building was even more difficult to find in the Churchill area, where the trees were so small and where the HBC had utilized what was available since the founding of Churchill. Samuel Hearne had expected London to supply him with building material but London refused to do so. Hearne objected to this and noted that London had sent timber for building the Stone Fort 54 years previous to this; he said that it was much more difficult in 1783 to find wood than it had been then and that the woods had changed a great deal for the worse.[120] Timber for building purposes was often felled as far away as the North Knife River. Some logs for building were also sent from as far away as Severn; after the fire of 1813 York sent some timber to help in rebuilding the post at Churchill. The wood of any buildings torn down was quickly reused if at all possible; only as a last resort was it burned as firewood.

The wood had to be hauled to the fort by sleds in winter or piled by the side of the river to be rafted down in summer. Both of these methods involved a great deal of difficulty and heavy labour for the men. Fort Churchill had no horses to haul the sleds and it was several years after 1783 before dogs were used at the fort. The men seem to have hauled the big sleds themselves. Rafting was only possible in open water and not

always then. Sometimes the water was too shoal to carry the rafts; sometimes the wind was too strong, carrying the rafts beyond the post or causing them to break apart.

The amount of time and labour required to supply firewood detracted from the other duties of the post. Attempts were made to ease this problem by bringing in coal from England but not enough was sent to last the winter, because of the expense of shipping it. Wood or coal was also necessary to keep the forge and the distillery going and this usage increased the consumption of the scarce fuel supply.

The technology of the time was also a drain on fuel supplies. In 1792 London sent out a new type of stove which was supposed to carry warmth to the furthest part of a room, while at the same time using less wood.[121] This stove was put in the Men's House. The range used for cooking and for melting snow water was especially wasteful on fuel; in 1794 Thomas Stayner requested that a stove with a fixed copper and oven be sent out; he estimated this type of stove would use only half as much fuel for melting snow as the range did.[122] American and then Canadian stoves replaced these in the early 19th century; the Carron stove dominated the field in the later 19th century and pieces of this manufacture are still evident around the site of the post.

Wood was also required for boat-building, which was an important activity at Churchill, especially when there were outposts to supply. This activity demanded a specialized type of carpentry as well as specific kinds of timber, often tree roots, which were difficult to find.

After Churchill ceased to be a Factory in 1814 and became simply a small post it was expected that the need for fuel would be reduced, since the number of men at the post was cut. But with very few servants assigned to Churchill the proportionate amount of time required to supply the fuel was still large. Churchill requested London to supply coal in order to ease this problem; this was not done and wood continued to be

the main fuel source throughout the 19th century. In the summer some of the Eskimos and Indians were hired on a temporary basis to assist the post men in rafting and hauling wood which had been cut in the winter. Because building activity at the fort virtually halted after 1820 there was a reduction in the amount of building timber needed, which saved the men some of the labour involved in wooding; the need to supply fuel, however, remained constant.

Haying

A minor activity at Churchill was the cutting of hay for cattle. Hay was havested primarily at the Haymarsh Creek and in other salt marshes along the shore of the Churchill River. It was spread to dry on the green behind the Oil House. Churchill often went for years without any cattle; when cattle were kept they were said to be of poor quality because of the lack of proper food for them. In some years moss was tried as food, based on the example of the caribou, but this did not appear to produce healthy cattle.

Hunting

Hunting was an essential activity in the maintenance of the post, one to which both the European servants and the natives contributed. The servants hunted ptarmigan (or "partridges") through the winter from tents in the woods and hunted geese in the spring and fall migrations. The natives hunted geese for the post in the spring and fall and brought in deer meat in the fall.

The goose hunt was extremely important for the provisioning of the post - so important that a gratuity of a bottle of rum was given for the first goose brought in.[123] It gave the men the first fresh meat, other than ptarmigan, after a long winter. The sites used for the goose hunt were those which had been in use since the early days of Knight's old wooden post. These were the Goose Islands (in Button's Bay), Twelve Mile

Point (later Middle Point), North Point and the Goose Lakes.

The geese were hunted with guns. When the Indians came in for the hunt they were issued with special goose guns belonging to the fort, as well as with measures of shot and powder; these goose guns were kept in repair by the fort blacksmith. The only responsibility for the Indians was to shoot as many geese as possible and bring them in to the fort. The balance of dependence at this time was largely on the side of the fort, which needed the Indian goose hunters to keep it supplied with a major item of country provisions.

In his Memorandum book for 1810-11 William Auld calculated the cost of the 3,303 geese received that year at Churchill at one and a half pence each. This amount included not only the purchase price of the geese and the feathers but also the expense of supporting the native hunters and their families for four to five weeks and paying them for bringing the geese to the factory a distance of from 8 miles (12.9 km.) to 30 (48.3 km.). Despite the use of Indian hunters with the associated costs, the goose hunt provided one of the cheapest and most abundant sources of country provisions at Churchill.

Three-quarters of a goose with one pound of bread was the allowance for a man each day; this provided a much cheaper meal than imported English provisions.[124] When geese were not available ptarmigan were served to the men, each man being given three ptarmigan per day, weighing about three-quarters of a pound each, cleaned. The men, however, much preferred imported provisions of salt beef, with some flour for bread, and raisins and suet added for a pudding.[125] These expensive supplies were kept for emergencies or for feasts, with country provisions as the mainstay of the diet.

Most of the geese were salted in casks on the spot when turned in by the hunters. Salted food was tiresome to the men and efforts were made to freshen the salted geese by immersing them in water for a time before using them, as was the custom with salt beef. In winter this required cutting a hole in the

ice, hanging the meat in the water. Occasionally the geese were frozen when caught in the fall and a few attempts were made to keep some alive until needed but the staple form of use continued to be the salted geese.

Ptarmigan were hunted along the river, at the Haymarsh, and sometimes as far as North (Knife) River, as well as at Churchill Creek where the wooders were. The ptarmigan hunters were intended to supply the wooding parties with ptarmigan and for this reason were stationed nearby.

The hunting of ptarmigan was an activity carried on by the men of the post, independently of the Indians. Ptarmigan were occasionally shot but netting them was preferable. Gravel was strewn on the snow to attract the birds and a net was then dropped on them, catching 100 or so at a time. The men killed the trapped birds by crushing their heads in their teeth - a procedure which saved on shot and prevented frightening off other birds by noise or blood.[126]

These local geese and ptarmigan provided the bulk of the diet at Churchill, supplemented by English provisions when necessary. Wm. Ross estimated that the number of ptarmigan killed by the Company servants during the winter formed from one-quarter to one-third of the whole year's provisions[127]. Thousands of birds were killed in some years, although ptarmigan alone were regarded as a poor diet, which required some additional fat to support life.

Caribou (or "deer") were occasionally shot by the servants of the post but these did not form a large item in their provisions. For a few years they had a deer hedge at the Woody Islands but this was not kept up.[128] Some caribou meat was brought in by the Cree Homeguard in the summer but this was never as reliable as at York; with a few good hunters at Cape Churchill and some at Seal River, however, Colin Robertson thought that enough caribou could be obtained to supply the post for the summer.[129] Most of the caribou meat at the post was brought in by the Chipewyan Indians in November; it was

frozen and could be kept to supplement the staples of geese and ptarmigan. This was a variable source of supply, however; it meant complete dependence on the Chipewyan and on the success of their hunt, with no knowledge of these results until November.

Fishing

Fish provided another resource for the post. It was a source that was only available in the summer and fall, though many attempts were made to find a good winter fishery. In July Arctic char ("salmon") were caught in the Churchill River as they came into the river to feed on shoals of capelin. Nets were set for them at the launch, at the old Stone Fort, and at Cuckold's Point.

Fish were also caught at the Fishing Creek, a spot well-known to the men of Churchill from the days of the Stone Fort. In 1803 there were high hopes of a new fishing spot, about six miles (9.7 km.) from the Factory in a creek which emptied into the river on the south side. These hopes were dashed, however, for like other fishing spots at Churchill it was too shallow in winter for setting nets. The same was true of the Fishing Creek and of the Goose Lakes, where the deepest part of the lake was said to be only about one yard (.9 m.) deep. In 1819 Adam Snodie emphasized in his report that no fishery at Churchill could be depended on; in some years there was plenty of fish, in others none.[130] This made Churchill quite different from most other posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, which relied very heavily on local supplies of fish to form a large part of post rations. Churchill was forced to rely almost exclusively on caribou meat, geese and ptarmigan for local food supplies.

Whaling

Another feature of Churchill which differentiated it from other posts was the summer white whale fishery. This had been a major reason for establishing the post and the oil from the whales continued to form a large part of Churchill's contri-

bution to the HBC. At first the white whale fishery was carried on from Mosquito Point, which had been the usual place before the Stone Fort was destroyed. It was much easier to launch the whaleboats from there, away from the flats in front of the post.[131] By 1793 the men slept on board the whaling boats, saving the time and effort needed to launch them each day. Mosquito Point was no longer used and the whalers' house there was torn down and taken to Fort Churchill to be used in building the new Still House.

Whaling took up a good deal of time; the whalers also flinched the whales they caught and cut them into pieces to be put in the oil cauldron. Wm. Auld said that an expert harpooner and one boat would average 80 to 90 white whales (or porpoises, as they were often called) in a season. It took about nine and a half of these whales to make one ton of oil.[132]

The whalers had to work long hours whenever the wind and the tides were favourable in order to catch as many as possible. Auld in his Memorandum Book[133] described the technique of catching whales. The harpooner served as the steersman as well, assisted by two of the worst labourers at the post (presumably the better labourers were more useful at the other tasks of the post). If the breeze was gentle he stood with the tiller between his legs and the harpoon in his hands, watching under the white-painted bottom of his boat for a whale which mistook the boat for another whale. If the wind was fresh, driving the boat at six or seven miles per hour, the harpooner changed to the bow and directed the helmsman by signs (no noise was allowed in whaling) to go among the broken and agitated waves, where the best whales could be got. When caught the whale was towed to the mooring buoys where it was left and the boat and crew resumed their fishing. One boat was better than two, because if the whales noticed a boat they left the neighbourhood. Expert harpooners were highly valued for their contribution to the returns of the post, achieved at the cost of

so much effort.

The whalers were responsible for boiling out the oil from the blubber of the whales in a huge cauldron near the water in front of the fort. The oil was then stored in the oil house, where it proved an attraction to polar bears and white foxes.

In July 1813 there was much excitement when a black whale was sighted in the river. The whalers went after him, struck him and were towed out into the Bay, where after three hours they killed the whale; it yielded 900 gallons of oil, about equal to the amount from 30 white ones.[134] The appearance of black whales in the Churchill River was then, as now, a very rare occasion, so that oil from them could not be considered as part of the post business.

Seal River was another rich source of white whales. There the Eskimo technique of whale-fishing was of more use than the European. Seal River was shallower than the Churchill River, with more rocks on which the European boats could be wrecked, while the Eskimos could manoeuvre their light kayaks over them. The Eskimo method of harpooning was also quite different from the Europeans; their line was fixed to a harpoon and also held a bladder which showed where the whale was and served to slow it down. When caught, the whale was towed to the nearest stone above the surface, flinched in a few minutes, the flinches tied to a line and towed ashore then or later.[135]

With the contraction in size of Fort Churchill and of the number of men attached to it the difficulties of the whale fishery increased. There were no longer enough men to carry on the fishery properly on the Churchill River. The efficiency and expertise of the Eskimos, plus the decline in numbers of men at the post, led to the Eskimo whale fishing at Seal River becoming more important to Fort Churchill. Although the Eskimos did the whaling there the servants of the Company had to fetch the blubber - a distance of about 40 English miles (64.4 km.).[136] The delay in time involved in this, between the killing of the whales and the arrival of the blubber to be

boiled, meant that a great deal of its value was lost en route. Sometimes the Eskimos refused to stay and hunt whales at Seal River; sometimes when they did the post had no men or boats available to send for the blubber. By 1815 the Eskimos were asked to hunt the whales, cut them up, and bring back the blubber on a boat lent them by the post - a practice which continued throughout the 19th century.

The small number of men stationed at Fort Churchill resulted in an inability to exploit one of the most abundant of the local resources, the whales. Much of their time was spent in trying to obtain one of the scarcest of local resources, firewood, and in hunting ptarmigan and geese. The land-use of the area resources, as well as of the land itself, was in these ways greatly affected by the declining number of men attached to the post.

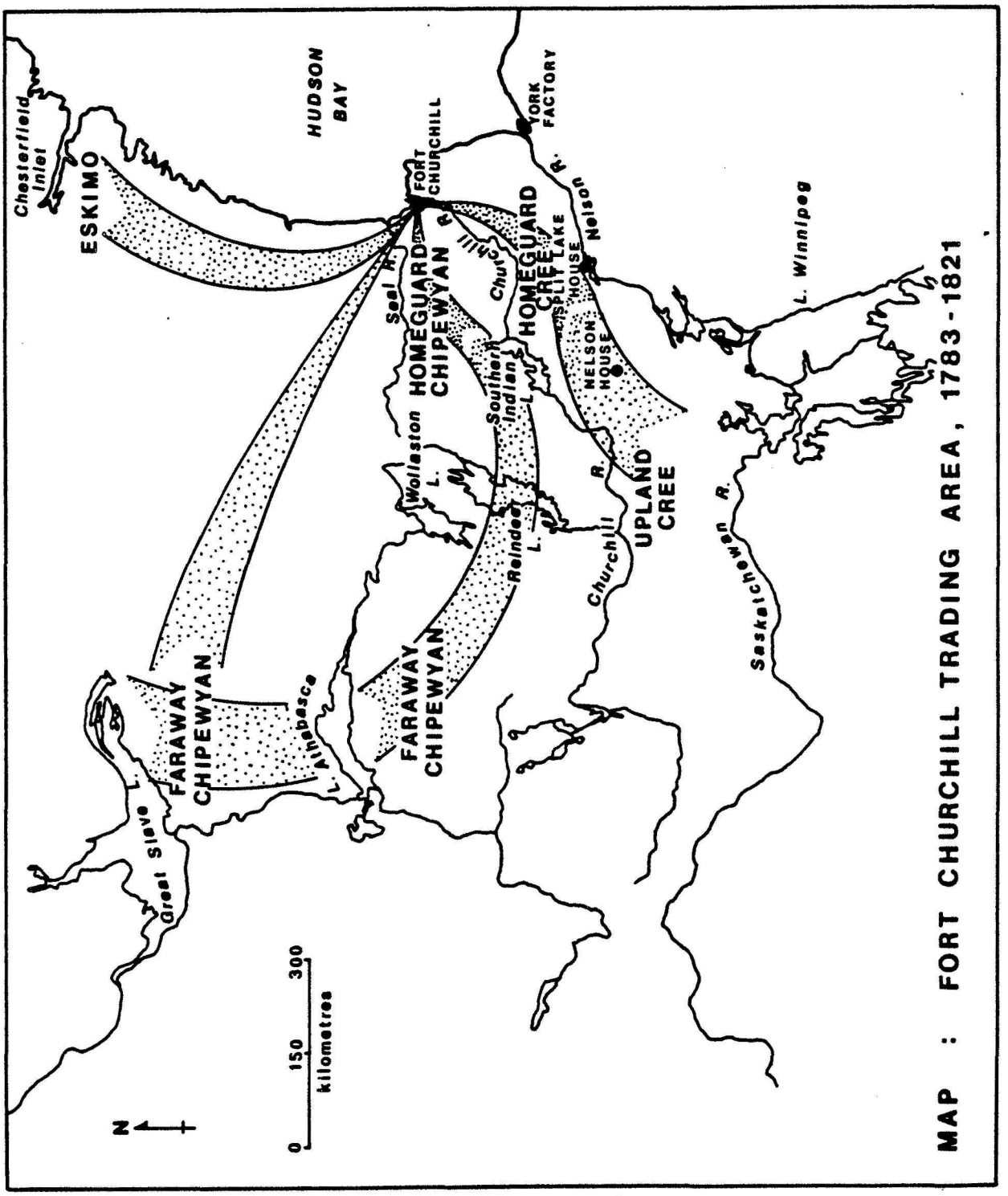
Natives Trading to Fort Churchill

The Chipewyan

James Knight had founded the post at Churchill in 1717 to draw the trade of the Northern (Chipewyan) Indians to a spot where they would be secure from the Southern (Cree) Indians, at least until they acquired skill with guns to equal the Cree. This attempt to draw the Chipewyan to Churchill had been successful, although Knight was unable to prevent some of the Cree from trading there also. Both Northern and Southern Indians traded at the Stone Fort too when it was built and, if not on very friendly terms, at least were not at war with one another for much of the time.

In part this peaceful situation was due to the balance of power given by equal access to guns but it perhaps owed more to lack of contact with each other. The Chipewyan Indians were primarily land travellers, usually bringing in their winter hunt by sledges while there was still snow on the ground. The

Fig. 11



Drawn by V. Lytwyn

Cree, on the other hand, came in to trade by canoes, travelling when the water was open. Because they used different routes and methods of travel, which required journeying at different times of year, there was not much likelihood of trouble between the Cree and Chipewyan at Fort Churchill.

In the years between 1717 and 1782 the Chipewyan had traded at Churchill in some numbers, a trade which had altered their life to some extent. Trade goods, guns and ammunition had become customary items for them. Some had made a radical change in their life by becoming Trading Captains with their own people or middlemen to other tribes. Such a position was a source of prestige, but a source which was closely linked to the well-being of the Hudson's Bay Company; consequently the destruction of the Stone Fort in 1782 deprived these trading Indians not only of trade goods and ammunition but of their source of prestige as well. At the same time many of the leading Indians died from the smallpox and some of the survivors began to trade with the Pedlars in the interior. It was essential for the new Fort Churchill to resume contact with as many as possible of these Chipewyan, both hunters and middlemen, if it were to survive as a trading post.

At Churchill after 1783, as before, the Chipewyan who came in to trade were discerned as belonging to two groups. Some were Home Indians, who wintered relatively near the post and came in each year to trade; these Homeguard were hunters, bringing in their own furs, often led by a Captain. At Churchill their Homeguard function was the spring goose hunt; it was their arrival for this which distinguished them from the Faraway Chipewyan who only came to Churchill to trade.

The other group of Chipewyan who traded at Churchill were these Faraway Indians, who came in to Churchill more irregularly, sometimes only every two or three years. Some of these Faraway Indians had been middlemen before 1782; at Fort Churchill, however, they were all hunters for themselves. Occasionally some of the Faraway Chipewyan wintered with some of the

Homeguard, reflecting a closer association between the groups than was commonly expected at the post. In general, however, the Homeguard Chipewyan lived closer to the fort, came in twice each year and spent a couple of months near the fort in the spring for the goose hunt, while the Faraway Chipewyan only came in to trade and stayed a very brief time.

Andrew Graham had described the round followed by the Homeguard Chipewyan when he was at Fort Prince of Wales[137] - a round still followed by those who came in to Fort Churchill.[138] In late April or early May the Homeguard Chipewyan came in, walking while the rivers were still frozen and bringing their winter hunt with them. They camped near the post until the goose hunt began; during this period they required some provisions from the post to maintain them until the geese began to fly. The goose hunt was so essential to the post that this extra expense was considered to be well-justified, except in years such as 1785 when about 100 former goose hunters came in at the end of April; normally they would have been welcomed but they had so many dependents (as a result of the smallpox which had killed so many hunters) that it was impossible to keep them all.[139]

After the goose hunt was over the Homeguard went north to hunt for caribou, along with the Eskimos. This indicates a more friendly relationship between at least these Chipewyan and these Eskimo than is commonly thought to be the case between the two groups.[140] They traded any summer furs with the Sloop Captain on his annual trip to trade with the Eskimos.

Then the Chipewyan separated from the Eskimos; the Eskimos left for their winter grounds while the Chipewyan continued as far north as Naval's Bay, then turned back to about 150 miles (241.4 km.) from Churchill to wait for the fall migration of the caribou at a crossing. After this fall hunt they dragged in large quantities of caribou meat on their sledges to Churchill. This meat was traded for ammunition and other necessities for the winter; the Homeguard then left for their winter

quarters, returning again in late April for the goose hunt.

This was a round which was followed still in the first years of Fort Churchill by the surviving Chipewyan. Part of this round was affected when the Sloop voyages north were cancelled in 1790, thus ending the practice of bartering summer furs with the Sloop captain, but this was a minor change for the Chipewyan who could bring their summer hunt in to Churchill when they came with the deer meat in November. The end of the Sloop trading did, however, affect the Chipewyan indirectly because it left the Eskimos with no source of trade goods in their own territory, making them more likely to take what they needed from Chipewyan in their country rather than make the long trip to Churchill.[141] The threat from the Eskimos does not appear to have been serious enough to prevent the Chipewyan from hunting in their usual summer sites nor force them to make any great adjustment in their life. The Eskimos soon began to come in to Fort Churchill where they acquired trade goods for themselves rather than robbing the Chipewyan. By 1816 some of the Chipewyan stayed near Fort Churchill in the summer to hunt deer rather than going north; this was done at the instigation of the post rather than from fear of the Eskimos, however.[142]

The Homeguard Chipewyan wintered in small groups separated from each other but usually within a few hundred miles of the post. They often hunted between Indian Lake and Deer's Lake, some of them going as far as Hatchet Lake.[143] These wintering quarters bordered on the Nelson River and Muskrat country, areas which brought the Churchill Homeguard into contact (and trade) with the outposts of York. This drew vociferous complaints from Churchill and attempts to counter the attraction of York outposts by new Churchill outposts. Even when Churchill set up its own inland posts, however, there were difficulties with the Chipewyan Homeguard, who sometimes took debt at the inland posts and then brought their furs to the Factory to trade without mentioning their debt.

No mention was made of where the Homeguard Chipewyan stayed

in the spring in these early years while they waited for the goose hunt but it was probably on the rocks near the post on the west peninsula as it was in later years. The Chipewyan, with their families, had to get to Fort Churchill before the rivers and lakes melted; they usually arrived there about the end of April. Once there, with little available in country provisions around Fort Churchill, especially in late April, they had to be helped with food from the post until the geese began to fly. Usually they were given oatmeal and ammunition with which to hunt partridges to feed their families. This was an expense accepted at Churchill as necessary in order to keep the goose hunters available for the hunt but headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company thought it wasteful and extravagant. It was impossible to end it, however, without losing the benefits of the goose hunt, on which Churchill depended so heavily.

The other section of the Chipewyan trading at Churchill, the Faraway Chipewyan, lived farther from the post than the Homeguard and came in less frequently. At Fort Churchill these Faraway Chipewyan were hunting Indians, who brought in their own furs to trade when they needed European trade goods, although in the days of the Stone Fort some of them had acted as middlemen to hunters as far away as Lake Athabasca.

The Athapuscow Indians (Cree) had traded their furs through these Chipewyan middlemen; this had made up about seven-eighths of the trade at Churchill for the ten years before the destruction of the Stone Fort.[144] Unfortunately for the new Fort Churchill these Athapuscow Indians had been destroyed by the smallpox epidemic. This was a severe blow to the prospects of trade for Fort Churchill, as well as to the livelihood of those Northern Indians who had traded furs from the Athapuscow Indians. Those middlemen who survived the epidemic were forced to resume hunting for themselves. There was no more opportunity for the Chipewyan to act as middlemen in the fur trade.

Much of the former trade of Churchill was irrevocably lost, with the lives of many of its traders; the loss of the Athapus-

cow Indians was an especially heavy blow. The remaining Chipewyan hunters were left with the responsibility of many women and children, a very heavy burden on them and one which made them more dependent on the caribou hunt for food and clothing, with less time to hunt furs for trade.

It appears that some of the Northern Indians moved into the Lake Athabasca area themselves, some of them then coming to trade their own furs at Churchill by 1807.[145] Their trade was very welcome there, for they brought in about 700 MB in various furs, all of prime quality. These Indians were probably those who were tired of the trading customs of the Canadians near them and preferred to make the long journey to Churchill for trade goods. Their trade never provided the bulk of the trade at Churchill, however, as that of the Athapuscow Indians had for the Stone Fort nor could it be counted on from year to year.

Though altered, the trade at Churchill did resume. In 1788 and 1789 some old leaders were coming in to the Fort for the first time since the destruction of the Stone Fort; some of these used to come in with Matonabbee.[146] The new Fort Churchill was beginning to draw some, at least, of the old traders at Fort Prince of Wales. As late as 1808 one Northern Indian family came in who had not been at Churchill since the destruction of the Stone Fort.[147] These Indians had been trading with the Canadians in the years since the destruction of the fort but had decided to return to Churchill, at least for that year.

Despite the very long trips made by the Faraway Chipewyan to bring their furs to Fort Churchill their stay there and use of the local environment was very brief. They were often men who had left their families inland and had to return to them as quickly as possible. If they had families with them they had to leave to secure subsistence for them. Usually they only stayed a day or so to trade, sometimes leaving the same day they arrived.

Their trading pattern displayed none of the ceremony which

marked descriptions of early trade at York - perhaps because ceremony was a time-consuming occupation, perhaps because of the taciturnity of the Chipewyan. Gifts of tobacco and alcohol, oatmeal, biscuits and flags for the trading captains were given but with little ceremony attached; there were no mentions of reciprocal gift-giving by the Chipewyan.

Even the characteristic fur trade Captain had a different role at Churchill than at York. Thos. Stayner described these Chipewyan Leaders as they appeared to him in 1794.[148] According to Stayner at Churchill a Leader seldom came in with the same followers two years running. He would come to within a few days' travel of the post and wait for some of his countrymen to come by. Then he would come in with them and take the credit for bringing them in, getting presents and treatment as a Captain. This was quite different from the Captains at York, who represented the same Indians year after year and vied with each other to gain more adherents.

At Churchill, according to Stayner, the authority of the leading Indians or Captains over the rest of the Chipewyan was minimal; any promises they made to bring in more furs or other Indians were not considered to be worth much. The characteristic individualism and egalitarianism of the Chipewyan had, to this extent, resisted the limited authoritarianism of the fur trade system of captaincy. Leading Indians among the Northern Indians were not really leaders similar to those in other tribes but were more like Factory Captains; in fact, at Churchill, Hearne and Jefferson both took away the rank of captain from several men because they had no influence over their countrymen (the prerequisite for entitlement to the benefits of captaincy). To remove the title of captain was a considerable insult, yet these former captains continued to come in to trade; if they had had any authority over their followers the whole gang would have left the Factory because of the insult. By 1820 the whole system of trading captains had disappeared at Churchill.

As a group the Chipewyan were able to maintain a large degree of independence of the fur trade because of their reliance on the caribou. The country which was good for caribou - the Barrens - was poor in furs while the boreal forest where furs could be found was poor in caribou. The Company men encouraged the Chipewyan to hunt furs and not"waste" their time on the deer hunt, yet both the Hudson's Bay men and the Chipewyan depended on the caribou for food, the Chipewyan much more so than the traders. Without deer meat their subsistence level in fur territory was often low; as well the caribou provided the clothing and tent covers they needed. As a result the caribou hunt maintained a priority for many of the Chipewyan over the Company demands for furs. In 1819 Adam Snodie, then in charge at Churchill, complained to Governor Williams of the lack of exertion by the Chipewyans who spent most of their time killing deer which supplied them with food and clothing; they remained in that state of "inactivity" until all their European goods were used up, and only then went into the woody country to hunt furs.[149]

Although the Company men at Churchill tried to make the Chipewyan become greater producers of furs, which would have forced the Chipewyan to change their location and way of life and made them more dependent on the fur trade, their efforts were not very successful. The Chipewyan, especially the Faraway Chipewyan, remained independent for many years; while they derived most of their clothing, shelter and food from the caribou, the fur trade could not enforce a real dependency. This was especially so since the Chipewyan could trade their caribou meat for ammunition, for which they did depend on the post.

The Chipewyan were primarily land travellers with a difficult route to Churchill, sometimes taking 30 days to make the trip. Land travel in the north was best over frozen ground, which meant that the Chipewyan arrived before the rivers melted in the spring and after they froze in the fall. They walked,

dragging their sledges themselves; no mention was made of dogs used by the Chipewyan in the early years of this study. Occasionally, if spring came unusually early, the rivers and lakes were open while the Chipewyan were en route to the Factory, pulling their sleds of furs. Then they had to make rafts of wood to cross the rivers or walk along the ice on the coast, where they had to carry their children as well as their furs on their backs.[150] They often arrived at the post in the last stages of exhaustion and hunger, requiring help from the post in order to survive and return to their hunting grounds.

Because of the difficulty of obtaining provisions in the country near Churchill, the custom was to give the Chipewyans leaving the post some oatmeal and biscuits to help tide them over for food on their way home. The Chipewyan trade thus depended somewhat on the imported provisions of Fort Churchill; those outside of Churchill could not see the necessity of this and thought the Indians should be able to bring their own provisions with them. Economy measures to this effect were introduced after the structural revisions of the Company in 1810.

Snodie, then at Churchill, attempted to explain the unique circumstances at Churchill which made such help essential to the Chipewyan. He said that the Chipewyan often had to walk 17 to 30 days after the rivers and lakes were frozen to get to Churchill. If they had to carry enough provisions to do them while at Churchill they would not have room on their sleds for any furs. They usually stored some provisions for their return route; the biscuits and oatmeal given them were only to help them reach these provisions. Swain at York had suggested that giving them ammunition would be more useful than biscuits but Snodie claimed that these Indians preferred to take a few biscuits or a handful of raisins back to their families, rather than taking ten times its value in ammunition or anything else. More telling an argument was the fact that when Topping had stopped giving oatmeal to the Northern Indians three or four

years previously, the trade fell off,[151] so there was no gain to the Company in that way of economizing.

Swain had also suggested that the Northern Indians could earn some provisions by helping to raft wood for Churchill. Snodie protested that the Northern Indians would not do any labour unless paid in cloth or blankets; they were "elated with pride and superstition at being as they say an extensive and independent nation" and regarded any kind of labour except hunting as equivalent to slavery.[152] He found this attitude quite different from that of the Cree. It was an attitude which did not persist, however, for the Chipewyan soon supplied much of the temporary labour for Fort Churchill.

The difficulties of access to Churchill and of finding provisions near the post, plus the HBC attempts to economize on gifts of food to the Chipewyan and the establishment of inland posts, resulted in a decreasing number of Chipewyan trading at Fort Churchill by 1820. Many of them traded instead at Deer's (Reindeer) Lake or at Indian Lake,[153] thus saving themselves the arduous and unrewarding trip into Churchill. Several had died in recent years (an epidemic of VD) [154] and others had gone to the Athabasca. By 1821 there were only about 20 of the Homeguard hunters left and about 30 of the Faraway Indians.[155] This was a far cry from the 200 or so who had visited Churchill in the 1740s.[156]

The 19th century alternatives in trade for the Chipewyan meant that Fort Churchill had much less attraction for the Chipewyan than Fort Prince of Wales had had. Nor was there any realistic prospect of increasing its trade; its share of the market was much smaller than had been that of the old Stone Fort on the Churchill River.

The Cree

Although the post at Churchill had originally been established to gain the trade of the Chipewyan Indians, Cree Indians had also been there from the early years; some of these probably

came with James Knight.[157] These Cree were all Home Indians, living fairly near the post and hunting geese for it, acting as packeters, providing some wage labour. As a Homeguard they were much more closely attached to the post than were the Chipewyan Homeguard, with many more contacts over the year. In spring while waiting for the goose hunt they tented on the Plantation whereas the Chipewyan do not seem to have tented there.

The Cree Homeguard lived to the south of the Churchill River near the post in the summer and fall, hunting deer in the summer and fishing in the fall. They wintered inland within about 150 miles (241.4 km.) of the post.[158]

The Cree never traded at Churchill in large numbers and the smallpox epidemic and the destruction of the Stone Fort with all its consequences affected their numbers considerably. Hearne said in 1783 that smallpox and famine had reduced the Home Indians in number from 69 to 32,[159] a loss of more than half their population within a year.

Hearne provided ammunition etc. to the few Homeguard he saw on his return in 1783 and instructed them to make snowshoes for the fort. They returned in November with these, saying that provisions were very scarce and some of their families very sickly. For that winter there was no hope of getting fur or leather from them, since they were half-naked themselves and would have died if the HBC had not returned that fall.[160] This illustrates the close dependence of the Cree on the Hudson's Bay Company; it appeared to be much closer than that of the Chipewyan, even the Homeguard Chipewyan, who did not even know of the reopening of the post until the following spring and only found out then by accident.

Hearne was not fond of the Homeguard Cree. He referred to them as "degenerate", their only service to the Company being to make a few snowshoes and go with a packet. He claimed that regarding provisions, they had never contributed as much to the Factory as they had taken away from it and had never brought more than 300 MB in a season in furs.[161] The Homeguard Cree

were a heavy expense at Churchill. They received guns, ammunition and iron work of all kinds free from the fort; they were also paid a higher price for their furs than the Northern Indians received.[162] This special treatment might have begun with the earliest Cree at Churchill with James Knight. It certainly antedated the founding of Fort Churchill in 1783 and was a source of unrest among the other trading Indians, especially the Chipewyan.[163]

In 1793 those at Churchill decided to end this special treatment of the Cree. They first received assurances from Colen at York that no Churchill Indians would be allowed to trade at York, despite their close ties to the Homeguard at York; this relationship had led some of the Churchill Homeguard to move to York in 1787.[164] It would seem that despite the complaints about the Cree Homeguard, Fort Churchill was still anxious to keep them attached to it.

With this assurance from Colen and confident that the Cree would not go to the Canadians, Fort Churchill cut back on the special treatment of the Cree in the fall of 1793. The Cree appeared to accept this; they had little alternative at the time. During the winter, however, they met with Mr. Cook at Split Lake (an outpost of York); he persuaded them to go down to York with their hunts. There, contrary to Colen's assurances, they were allowed to trade and take debt while none of their debt at Churchill was stopped.[165]

This caused endless controversy between York and Churchill, each side quite convinced of its righteousness. Stayner complained that the Cree had been "seduced" to York in the spring of 1794 and would probably not return to Churchill.[166] The "seduction" appears to have been the prospect of better terms for the Cree, not an unusual reason for such a move. The Cree appeared to be happy at York but Colen agreed to send them back to Churchill in 1797, more or less forcing them to return, fitting them out with canoes and other necessities for the move.[167]

These three Homeguard families, accompanied by a young Indian from York, making a total of 21 people, returned to Churchill in 1797 and were given salt geese, grain and ammunition to enable them to reach their wintering ground. They were reluctant to leave the Factory, however, and by Christmas had all returned to the post, hungry and thin from living on ptarmigan.[168] Their readjustment to Churchill conditions was a difficult one and they pined for the English provisions, salt meat and bawn, flour, bread, oatmeal, plum pudding and brandy which they had received at York.[169]

The few Upland Cree who visited Churchill often traded their best furs inland to the Canadians and so did not contribute much to the returns at Churchill. Relations between these Upland Cree and the Homeguard Cree at Fort Churchill did not appear friendly; in July 1785 the Home Cree went a long distance from the Factory to get out of the way of the Uplanders.[170]The Upland Cree never came to Fort Churchill in very large numbers in the years of this study because the inland posts of both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company were more convenient to them; even these small numbers had disappeared by 1820, leaving only the Homeguard Cree attached to Churchill.

By 1820 there were very few Cree attached to Churchill, only two elderly men, eight young men and youths and two or three boys. They did not bring in a large amount of furs, but what they did was usually good. Only five of the young men had been able to pay their debt that year and the old men were failing.[171] By 1820 Fort Churchill faced a declining trading population among the Cree as well as among the Chipewyan; there seemed no way to resume a trade equal to that of the old Stone Fort.

The Eskimos

The Eskimos were the third group of native peoples connected to Churchill. Their use of the Churchill area much predated the arrival of the HBC in the Churchill area. Knight on his arrival in 1717 saw on the outer point of the river (called Eskimo Point) a great many "Iskemays" tents, so many that it looked to him like a town.[172] These may have fallen into disuse before Knight arrived for the Eskimos seem to have stopped coming to the area while Fort Prince of Wales was in existence.

The first appearance of the Eskimos at the new Fort Churchill came in 1787, when a few of the Eskimos came to the Stone Fort to look for iron. They came overland and tented there for a time, killing seals and building kayaks for their return trip to their own country. They had not come for the purpose of trade and had only a few "hairy deerskins" to offer in trade - an indication that these Eskimos were already dependent on the caribou to some extent, although they also utilized the maritime resources of seals and whales. They were given a few presents to take back to their friends, to try to encourage a better effort in future.[173] Frequent complaints were made in the following years about the quality of the Eskimo furs and attempts were made to have them learn from the Chipewyan or Cree how to prepare them properly for the trade. A few of the Eskimos even spent a winter with the Chipewyans but they were thought to be unable to endure the cold or walking as the Indians, both Northern and Southern, could.[174]

After the Sloop trips ended in 1790 Fort Churchill was the only source where the Eskimos could get trade goods; to acquire these they began to visit the west peninsula, where they camped around the Stone Fort.

The Chipewyan feared these Eskimos; in fact, all three native groups at Churchill, the Chipewyan, Cree and Eskimo, were said to be jealous of each other and of any favours shown to the others.[175] This enmity was mitigated to some extent by the fairly small amount of inter-tribal contact at Churchill.

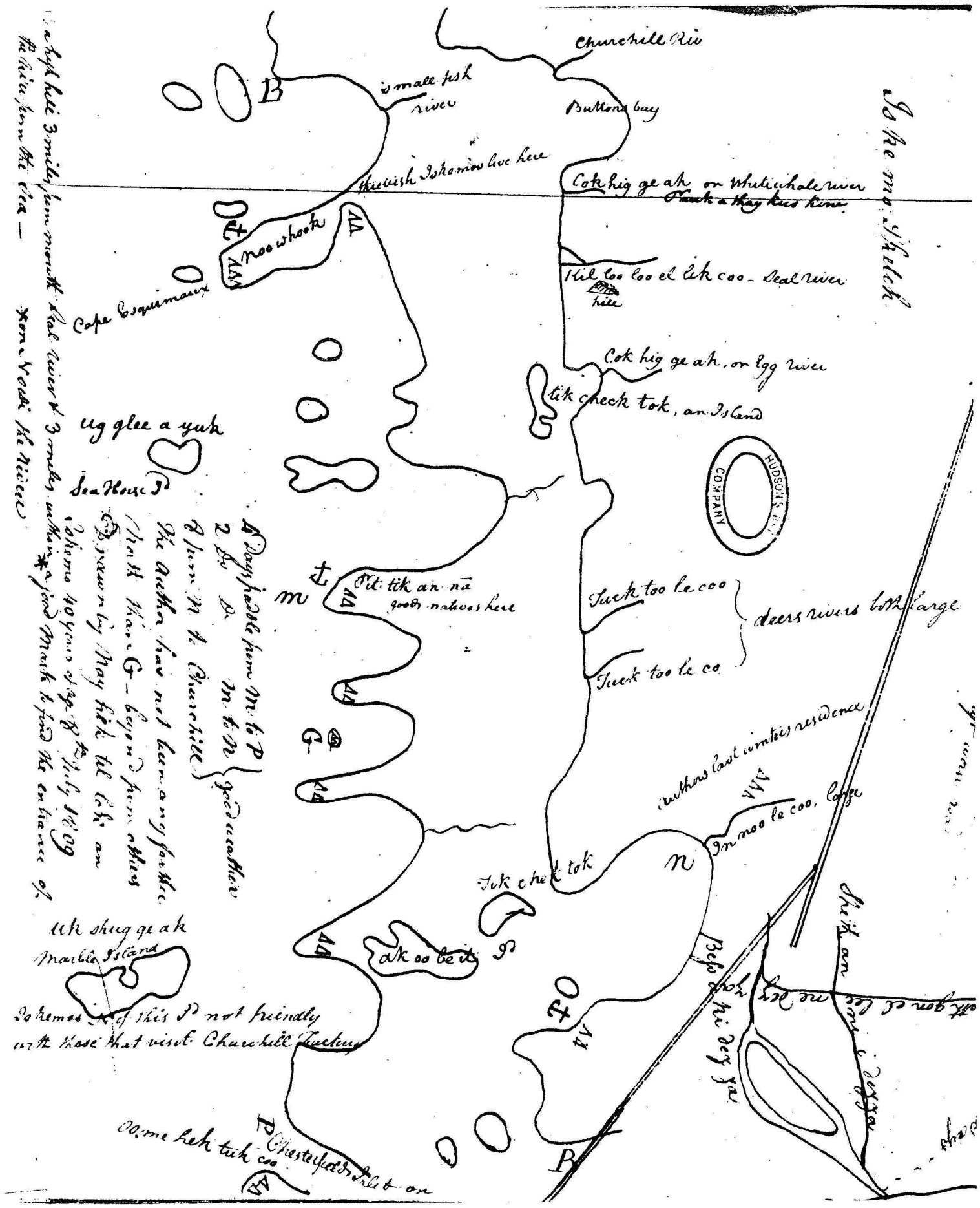
The Eskimos also roused suspicion on the part of the HBC men because of their ability to thieve; Wm. Auld would only allow the Eskimos inside the stockades one by one, saying that "fixtures or no fixtures, all vanish with them".[176] The favourite object to steal was some of the lead from the roofs of the post; with this the Eskimos could make their own balls for their guns. Their efforts to make off with some of this lead persisted throughout the whole of the 19th century.

The Eskimos brought some skins in with them, mostly white foxes. Their major contribution to the post, however, lay in hunting seals and whales on the spot for the fort. At this they were experts and their skills were much in demand at the post. They often would not stay as long as needed for the whale hunt, however, since they wanted to go north in time to hunt caribou.[177] Like the Chipewyan, these Eskimos depended on the caribou and were unwilling to subordinate their own subsistence needs to the demands of the fur trade. To remain at Churchill for the summer to hunt whales would mean missing a great deal of the caribou hunt in their own country, jeopardizing their own and their family's welfare.

By 1801 the Eskimos were asked to spend a few days at Seal River on their way north to kill whales for the HBC; the fort would then send a large boat to collect the blubber of these whales.[178] Fort Churchill came to depend more and more on these Eskimo whale-hunters, especially at Seal River. Occasionally the fort had no men to spare to go and collect the blubber and gave the Eskimos a boat to use to bring back the blubber themselves.[179] This whaling was so important to the post that in some years the manager refused to trade with the Eskimos until they had hunted whales for the post.[180]

At Churchill, trade with the Eskimos was conducted on a different standard from that of the Indians. They were not given goods on credit nor were they given alcohol; both of these restrictions, as well as the different standard of trade, were made possible by the lack of an alternative market for the

Fig. 12 Iskemo Sketch [coastline from Churchill to Chesterfield Inlet], redrawn by Peter Fidler, 1809. HBC Archives, P.A.M., E3/4, fo. 16, bottom.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Eskimos.

Despite the different standard of treatment, some of the Eskimos appear to have preferred the life around the post to their traditional way of life. In 1804 there was some difficulty in getting the Eskimos to leave, since they then wanted to winter over at the Factory.[181] In 1810 some of the Eskimos wanted to go to York but Wm. Auld refused to give them permission to do so and persuaded their head men not to go there.[182]These seem to have been exceptional instances, however; there were more difficulties getting Eskimos to stay when wanted for whaling than persuading them to leave.

Through the early years of the 19th century, more unknown Eskimos came to the post to trade, their trade consisting mostly of white foxes and wolves. In 1810 they were coming from Wager Inlet.[183] Like the Chipewyan, the Eskimos were beginning to be divided by the men of the post into groups of near and faraway, with at least a vague awareness of their different home territories.

In 1812 a young man from these farther Eskimos asked to stay the winter at the Factory; he was allowed to do so, in hopes that this would encourage more of these farther Eskimos to come in to trade.[184] The lad was given the name Augustine (or Augustus). As a servant he was found to be a very industrious, good-tempered man, very useful and liked by all the people of the Factory; he stayed another year at his own request. [185] In 1814 he left the Factory[186] but returned in 1815.[187] Augustine was dismissed in 1816, probably as part of the economy measures of the time, though Snodie said his services were of little importance.[188] When Governor Simpson was looking for an Eskimo interpreter for the first Franklin expedition, however, Augustine was the best available; his experience as a servant at Churchill gave him unique qualifications for this. This training of future Eskimo interpreters continued to be a function of Fort Churchill through the years of northern expeditions.

By 1820 there were about 40 Eskimos trading regularly at Churchill.[189] Fort Churchill was the only post available to them; in their territory there was no competition from either the Canadians or from York. Their trade was not considered very profitable but their seal and whale hunting was irreplaceable for the post.

The first 38 years of Fort Churchill had witnessed great changes. The post itself had declined from the status of an independent Factory to that of a small post, dependent on York. Several outposts of Churchill had been established in the 1790s and early 1800s but had disappeared, having proven to be uneconomical. As the post had declined, so too had the number of men committed to it and the new wave of economy after 1821 would ensure that no unnecessary expense would be incurred.

The number of Indians bringing in furs to the post had also declined, due to the attractions of inland posts and of York. Only the Eskimos seemed to be increasing in numbers coming to Fort Churchill - yet their main contribution to the post was not in furs but in whales and seals and in acting as interpreters for British government Arctic expeditions unconnected with the post. Fort Churchill in 1821 focused only on its own local trade, which was much smaller than that of the old Stone Fort; it had a much narrower outlook than it had had in 1783. Churchill was not to regain for a century the breadth of vision which Samuel Hearne and his immediate successors had had for it.

Subsidiary of York 1821-1859

Site

With the amalgamation of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company to form the new Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 the small post of Fort Churchill faced a further decline in its importance. There was no more competition inland to be feared, no need to develop new connections to the Athabasca and Mackenzie regions, which were now securely locked into the monopoly system, and the primacy of the York transportation route over that of Churchill was assured. The ship from London no longer landed at Churchill but went to York; Churchill's supplies were sent from there by schooner. Churchill's focus became that of any small trading post in the Hudson's Bay Company network trying to make a profit from its local trade.

Its distinction from other small trading posts lay in its place on one of the best harbours in the Bay, where it also provided a launching site for exploration to the north and for contact with the Eskimos. It was these advantages of its position which assured Fort Churchill of a greater importance to the 19th century Hudson's Bay Company than its small local trade would justify. This role, however, did not require major structural changes to Fort Churchill nor alter its use of the local resources. The site of 1783 continued to be used as it had been since the rebuilding of the post in 1814 and the pattern of life there went on almost unaltered by the passage of time.

The years of construction and rebuilding at Fort Churchill since 1783 had ensured that there were more than enough buildings at Churchill to serve the needs of the small post. Se-

veral of these buildings had survived from the 18th century construction. The range of tradesman's offices built by Samuel Hearne in 1784 still stood facing the dwelling houses. Fort Churchill no longer had the number of tradesmen it had had in the 18th century and no longer required so many separate quarters for trades; the offices in 1821 were used for a goose shed, a cook room, a blacksmith's shop, cooper shop, brandy shed, and another where all the old iron was collected. These were all still in good shape except for the one holding old iron; its lead roof had been taken off some time previously and it had deteriorated since. The old powder magazine, built of stone with a copper door, was still in good condition. No distilling of liquor was done at Churchill now but the Still House of 1797 and its apparatus for distilling still stood, although the roof of this building was in urgent need of repair. A good large Men's House built in 1814 and a small Officer's House built in 1815 provided accommodation for all the men stationed at Churchill. On the grounds of the post were a small store with a provision shed on the end of it (which had formerly been used as a packing shed) and a trading room, while at the water's edge were a good boat house, a launch house and an oil house. The old launch was in very bad need of repair in 1821.[1]

With this array of buildings Fort Churchill needed only to make some repairs; there was no necessity to do any major construction on the site and building activity virtually ceased after 1821. Throughout the rest of the 19th century the role of Fort Churchill in the Hudson's Bay Company did not change; there was no need to erect additional buildings for any new purposes and alterations at the post were kept to a minimum.

In 1822 the flagstaff was brought from where it had stood at the top of the rocks and was erected in the yard of the post.[2] No reason was given for this move but it was probably easier to keep it within the grounds of the post; by 1852 the

flag flew from a post at the front gate.[3]

The site of the fort continued to present difficulties in ensuring adequate drainage. Drains were made for the buildings to carry off the water but the ground between the buildings also became wet and muddy. A "water race" was built in 1854 in the front yard in an attempt to carry off some of the water.[4] Wooden platforms were built to connect the various buildings; on these the men could walk without being mired in mud.

Stockades

The stockades were kept in repair to prevent access by Indians and Eskimos to the inner yard. This was still a very important consideration at Fort Churchill, not so much from fear of attack as from concern about property damage or theft. When an old house was torn down in 1822 the stockades were extended to cover the gap left by it, in order to secure the grounds of the post.[5] Gates, which could be easily watched, provided access to the post. There were at least two gates, one at the front of the post (facing the river) and one at the back (facing the rocks). These gates appeared very susceptible to weather; they were replaced in 1824[6] and again in 1836 when the stockades were rebuilt at the northwest corner.[7] The stockades too were renewed periodically as they rotted or were blown down. It took a great deal of labour to find enough suitable wood for these; in the winter of 1855-56 1040 pickets were cut at Churchill Creek and these were only about one-quarter of what it would take to go around the fort.[8]

Pickets were also put up to fence in a fowl yard in back of the officer's house and another behind the powder magazine to keep the dogs in during the day.[9] This was a very necessary precaution; in 1829 a little Chipewyan girl, tenting with her family on the Rocks during the goose hunt, was killed by the Churchill dogs as she wandered away. The men of the post had to use force to separate the grieving mother from her child; they put the body in a box and buried it on the rocks.[10]

Graves

Those who died at the post continued to be buried "at the usual place on the rocks" and the Indian graveyard, also on the rocks, was still in use for those Indians who died near the post.[11] The men of the post continued to be responsible for burying any of the native people who died in the area of the post, as had been the custom since the founding of Fort Churchill. Perhaps the native burial customs had been found inadequate in the days of Fort Prince of Wales; in any case it was accepted without comment that the post servants would bury the Indians. The officer in charge did take care to ask the Eskimos if they wanted the servants to bury a dead woman.[12] The Eskimos had not had the long years of close contact with the post which the Indians had had since 1717 and had had no burials at the post until this time. In this case they were happy to let the post servants bury the woman. The number of native deaths and burials mentioned in the journals increased somewhat, although there were never large numbers of deaths at any one time and the site on the rocks appeared to provide adequate space for them.

Water

The attempts to find a convenient source of fresh water for the post continued. By 1821 the water was drawn from a well during the summer. This well was used also by the Eskimos, Indians and dogs and was impossible to keep clean; to remedy this situation a small log house was built around it.[13] This well was not used each year; when it was used it had to be cleaned out first.[14] In 1846 the men began digging a well in the upper yard of the post (the west end just beyond the garden area). This well water was stagnant when it was first used [15] and the well had to be cleaned out regularly because of this; its source appeared to be standing water rather than running water. The earlier well was also still used; it appeared to

be farther away from the post, since it was referred to as the "further well" in 1854.[16] In 1855 a stone wall was built around the later well; a small wooden shelter was built over this and later painted.[17] The wells were only useful in the summer and were not in use every year; they gave an alternative source of water for the post but not a completely reliable one.

In winter snow was melted to provide water for Fort Churchill. By 1845 blocks of ice were cut from the Goose Ponds on the rocks west of the post to provide water.[18] This was more convenient than the snow water but still involved a great deal of labour to provide something taken for granted in most other posts of the HBC.

Gardens

Gardening continued to be a frustrating experience. Turnips were the only reliable crop from the garden, though efforts were still made to grow potatoes. During the 1820s, 30s and 40s both gardens begun by Hearne were used, the one at the west end of the post and the smaller upper one on the rocks further west. This smaller one on the rocks was rarely even as successful as the larger one and was abandoned in 1852 when the earth, which had been so laboriously hauled in to make that garden in 1786, was wheeled down by the men to the main garden.[19] By 1855 the garden area in use was 156 ft. (47.5 m.) by 96 ft. (29.3 m.),[20] about the same area as Hearne's garden in 1784. Those in charge of the post in these years appeared to take little interest in gardening and the years of little or no crops would not have stimulated any enthusiasm for the prospects of gardening at Fort Churchill. Country provisions were still the staple food for the officers and men and their families, supplemented by rations of flour and tea, etc.

Trade Buildings

Launch House

In 1825 there was a brief flurry of activity when Colin Robertson had the charge of the post, as there seemed to be wherever Robertson was stationed. He thought the buildings at Fort Churchill were well-constructed but placed very inconveniently;[21] to improve the situation he had the old launch house (probably the one built in 1803) pulled down and re-erected inside the stockades. One part of it was used as a kitchen attached to the officer's dwelling and the rest of it was added to the Still House.[22]

The launch house built in 1810 still stood in good repair at the water's edge. Since no ships called any longer at Churchill the launch house was no longer needed to provide storage for the cargo unloaded from the boats of the ship. The cargo which came to Churchill from York was carried directly up to the warehouse on the grounds of the post. In 1831 this launch house was transformed to become the provision store.

Provision Store

Much of the Chipewyan trade at Churchill consisted of bringing in caribou meat (provisions) for the post rather than in trading furs. The provisioning aspect of the trade was conducted under different rules from the fur trade proper, although both were essential to Fort Churchill. Only ammunition and a few necessaries were traded for provisions; the general line of trade goods was only to be traded for furs. Both the provision trade and the fur trade had been carried on in a single room, the trading room, from 1825; this made it difficult to enforce the distinction between the two trades.

In 1828 the two aspects were separated; the old trading room was kept for the fur trade and the old provision store on the grounds of the post again became reserved for the provision trade.[23] In 1831 the provision trade was moved to the Launch

House[24] at the water's edge, a move which further separated it from the fur trade goods. The goods for the provision trade were moved there at the appropriate times and traded on the spot. The provision trade continued to be carried on at this site during the years in which the Chipewyan brought in large supplies of caribou meat for Fort Churchill.

Still House

The Still House was no longer used to produce liquor and instead became a warehouse; when the section of the launch house was attached to it it was large enough to hold the whole cargo of the Prince of Wales - plenty of warehouse space for the needs of Fort Churchill. The lead roof for this new addition came from the range of sheds built by Samuel Hearne in 1784.[25] The reuse of wood and lead from old buildings as in this instance was characteristic of Churchill. With the local scarcity of building material nothing became obsolescent; some of the material, such as this lead roof reused in the 1820s, had itself been taken from the ruins of Fort Prince of Wales.

The roof of the Still House itself was wooden and was tarred[26] for waterproofing, but was also covered with this lead. In 1832 the Still House was remodelled with new windows and benches.[27] Very little else was done to it in upkeep over the many years of its useful life at Fort Churchill.

The Still House served other functions than simply a warehouse during its existence. For brief periods of time the Still House cellar was used as a byre for cows, as in 1825[28] and 1853.[29] In 1850 the old Still House or warehouse was changed again after repairs to become a saw pit[30] but reverted to being a warehouse again afterwards.

Offices

The range of sheds (Samuel Hearne's "offices" of 1784), after losing its lead roof to the addition to the Still House, was torn down in 1827 and its stone foundation removed. This marked the disappearance of the last evidence of Samuel Hearne's construction at Fort Churchill. The wood from these sheds was used to construct a forge[31] but this forge only lasted a few years before it had to be replaced and built on a better site.[32] The wood from the old forge was then used as firewood, completing the lengthy, useful life of the offices built by Hearne in 1784.

Oil House

In 1827 the old Oil House was torn down and the Boat House became the Oil House.[33] In this case, as often happened at Churchill, when buildings were torn down their function was transferred to another building which had lost its original purpose but was in good enough shape to be used for something else. In this way, the actual building activity at the site of Fort Churchill was kept to a minimum, yet adaptations were made to the needs of the post.

In 1859 a new oil house, 56 ft. (17.1 m.) by 26 ft. (7.9 m.), was built on a stone foundation.[34] This large oil house reflected the importance of the oil trade to the economy of Churchill. The roof of this building was made of tin, which was then tarred for waterproofing; tin roofs became the norm for the Churchill of the late 19th century, as lead roofs had been in the 18th. The oil house walls were weatherboarded, then tarred.[35] Situated near the water the oil house was especially in need of waterproofing; it also had to be sturdy to resist the attempts of foxes or bears to raid the oil.

Provision Shed

Fort Churchill depended greatly on country provisions of geese and caribou, both of which were acquired in large quantities in the fall and had to be stored for the winter. Sheds for this had been built at the post over the years but in 1857 another provision shed was built.[36] This was 23 ft. (7 m.) by 17 ft. (5.2 m.) and was attached to a much older building (perhaps the original Provision Store); this older section, 19 ft. (5.8 m.) by 14 ft. (4.3 m.), frame and clapboarded with a lead roof, rested on a stone foundation. The roof of the 1857 section was part tin and part clapboard.[37]

Provision House

The pressure of the men's large families on the post supplies forced the building of a place where they could store the provisions they acquired for their own family use. It was important to keep these separate from the provisions traded for the support of the post for the new era of nuclear families dependent on the labour of the father was replacing the old dependence of all on the supplies of the post. A house was built to hold the men's own provisions in 1854.[38]

Trading Store

The trading room was enlarged in 1831; the addition was built with squared logs, weatherboarded and roofed with lead taken from the roof of the Ice House.[39] Taking lead from the roof was usually the first signal of coming destruction of buildings at Churchill but the lead itself was virtually indestructible. No new lead was imported to Churchill but lead roofs on many of its buildings remained a feature of the post and an attraction to those Indians and Eskimos who could make off with a few pieces of it undetected by the servants of the post.

Ice House

The Ice House was essential, especially when salt was in short supply to preserve the caribou meat brought in by the Indians from the summer hunt. When its lead roof was removed to cover the addition to the trading store it was roofed with weatherboards,[40] which was considered enough protection for it. Ice was cut in the spring to store in it; at times snow was packed in it instead but this caused damage when the snow melted. The Ice House was taken down in 1856[41] and does not appear to have been replaced. At this time the few Cree, who usually provided the bulk of the summer meat, were about to leave Churchill; this may have made the Ice House unnecessary for a time.

Limehouse

The rocks of Churchill and of the old Stone Fort made it a valuable site for the provision of lime for other posts, especially for York in its extensive construction. For this reason a new lime kiln was built in 1832 near the Oil House.[42] The making of lime meant a further demand on the fuel resources of Churchill, to provide the heat necessary for the kiln. The manufacture of lime was also important to Churchill itself since lime was used in the plaster which protected many of the buildings of Fort Churchill from the weather.

Forge

The blacksmith at Fort Churchill was the only tradesman still usually appointed there; the tailors, coopers, carpenters, etc. who had accompanied Samuel Hearne were not required at the small post. There was no need any longer for a large array of tradesmen's offices; only the forge used by the blacksmith was still required. The wood from Samuel Hearne's offices of 1784 had been used to construct a forge in 1827[43] but this forge soon had to be replaced and built on a better site.[44] The old forge was then burnt as firewood. A new forge on a stone

foundation was built in 1837[45] and continued in use at the fort.

Byre

The byre was torn down in 1821.[46] Cattle never seemed to do well at Fort Churchill and the labour of cutting enough hay for them from the Haymarsh appeared too great for the amount of value returned. Like the garden, the willingness to care for cattle depended greatly on the personal interests of the officer in charge of the post. There were many years when there were no cattle at Fort Churchill; in the few years when cattle were present, the Still House cellar was used as a byre.[47]

Bakehouse

The provision of convenient cooking facilities was always a problem at Churchill and kitchens were frequently moved or replaced. The danger of fire was always present, though no notable fires occurred after 1813. The bakehouse was a separate building, although kitchens were attached to the dwellings. The notion of communal cooking for the men, rather than each family cooking for itself, appeared to predominate still, despite the number of families among the personnel. In 1845 the men pulled down the old oven which had been built right in the middle of the dwelling house, where it was considered to be in an awkward place and dangerous for fire. A new oven was built outside the gates[48] where the danger from fire would not be so great. Another oven was built in 1856[49] but the location was not specified. This may have been the bakehouse of later years which was situated at the east end of the post.

Dwellings

Men's House

Fort Churchill was no longer an independent Factory; as a small subordinate post it was only allotted six servants. The officers in charge tried to convince the Hudson's Bay Company of the need to station more men at Churchill but their arguments proved fruitless. Much of the labour required at Churchill was only needed for the summer whaling and did not justify the expense of year-round contracts. Yet Churchill's viability within the HBC depended to a great extent on the production of whale oil; without men to pursue this, Churchill would suffer a further decline. For a few years in the 1830s the Schooner Frances and her crew were assigned to Churchill to work there during the winter and to catch whales and boil the oil at Seal River in the summer.[50] This experiment ended in 1837, however, and Churchill was left to prosecute the whale fishery as best it could with its own six men and the help of the Eskimos and Indians. With only six servants the Men's House of 1814 appeared to be ample in size.

Mixed-Blood Servants

Although Fort Churchill was only allowed six servants there were frequent complaints that too many people depended on the post for rations. This resulted from the demographic changes in process at the post, where the men hired on contract were often local mixed-blood men with wives and families who had to be supported by the post.

The first of these mixed-blood servants, James Dunning, had been hired in 1811; he was the son of the former Shallop Master at the post (also named James Dunning) and of a Chipewyan woman.[51] Dunning was only 15 years old at the time he was hired.[52] He acted as harpooner, goose hunter and partridge hunter; he also repaired the hunting guns, made sledges and snowshoes and acted as the Chipewyan interpreter.[53] This com-

bination of skills made Dunning extremely valuable to the post; no European servant, even if available, could hope to match the variety of talents possessed by Dunning, talents which were unique to those of local birth and education.

In 1848, after working for Fort Churchill for 37 years, Dunning retired and he and his family left Churchill.[54] They spent three years at Red River, where three of his children died; after this tragedy the Dunning family returned to Churchill. Although motivated by this sorrow, the return to Churchill also displayed the strong attachment to the place which dominated the servants of the post in the 19th century. For the remaining few years of his life Dunning, despite his failing eyesight, did some hunting for the post until his death on 30 August 1857.[55]

A second local mixed-blood servant, William Oman, then 18 years old, was hired in 1820 (although not under contract for a few years).[56] Oman's mother was a Cree while his father was a former servant of the HBC.[57] Oman remained in the employ of the HBC until his death in 1868[58] and many of his descendants served Fort Churchill into the 20th century.

With these two men Fort Churchill established connections with both the Cree and Chipewyan who traded there. Their hiring was a recognition too of the complex web of interrelationships between the Indians and the servants of the HBC which had developed over the many years since the founding of the post. Linked by their fathers to the HBC and by their mothers to the Indians who traded there, these men became the prototype (and the progenitors) of the labour force at Fort Churchill in the 19th century.

In 1853 Samuel Grey and his family arrived to winter at Churchill.[59] They had been in England for some years but were to spend the rest of his long life at Churchill and become parents or grandparents of a large part of the population there. Mrs. Grey was of Cree background from York Factory and thus continued the long connection between Churchill and the

York Cree.

The European servants who came to Churchill often married into these families, with their wives adding more children to the population. By 1856 the post was giving out 70 rations to the wives and children of its six servants.[60] The personnel of the post became dominated by the Omans, Dunnings and Greys, all intermarried, and those outsiders whom they married. Nearly all of the community had some native ancestry, either Cree or Chipewyan; there appears to have been no intermarriage with the Eskimo servants of the post. It was an inward-looking community, where life revolved around the small post and occasional trips to York or the rare unexpected visitors who arrived.

This change in the demography of the fort led to alterations in the use of buildings, alterations which were especially striking in the case of the Men's House of 1814. Although it continued under the same name to serve ostensibly the same functions, in fact its use was radically altered. It had been built in 1814 to suit the requirements of a large staff of male servants, living in a garrison type of community but by 1859 the Men's House had long been a home for the various families of the post, housing women and children as well as men.

A mixed community had been in formation during the early years of the post, with the men linked by ties of marriage and blood to the Indians who came into the post. Because of this social relationship Robert Harding in 1827 felt obliged to end some of the visiting between the Indians and the men at the post. He had the partition in the Men's House taken down; this had divided it from the two back rooms where the Indians could enter without any permission from the man in charge "on the frivolous excuse of relationship".[61] These two back rooms may have been used as an Indian House for those Indians related to the men of the post; it was a usage which Harding was determined to stop and he chose to change the structure of the Men's House to achieve his purpose. He was not able, however, to end

the social situation of family relationships connecting the servants of the post to the trading Indians.

By the 1840s the system had evolved further, largely because of the changes in the personnel of the post. More native servants were employed and they naturally expected to live with their wives and children. The European servants too became integrated into the community, with families of their own who were accepted as dependents at the post. The demographic transition was in full swing, with many families now having eight to ten children. This change to family occupancy of the Men's House, with families which varied in size, required changes in the internal structure of the house. As a result the Men's House was partitioned in many different ways over the years to suit the needs of its families.[62]

The post was only responsible for the families of its contracted servants but that was a heavy responsibility and one which the traders were anxious to minimize. Any children of servants who married were no longer eligible for dependent support, unless they married another servant, which was often the case. To marry an Indian meant, however, that that person would be treated as an Indian, with no privileges at the post and the offspring of such a marriage would be regarded as Indians. It became rare for one of the mixed-blood children of the post to marry an Indian; they were more likely to marry another mixed-blood or a servant of the post.

Dunning's daughter Jane did marry a Chipewyan Indian but soon returned to live at the post with her parents. She was, however, forced to let her husband take their son; Robert Harding, in charge of Fort Churchill, insisted that the Company was not obligated to keep any Indian child.[63] Her experience as an Indian wife indicated that it was unusual and almost impossible by the mid-19th century for a daughter of the post to become integrated into native society. It also reflected the very strong control which could be enforced on the private lives of individuals connected to the post, in large measure

through the control of rations and accommodation.

With families living together for much of the year in the close confines of Fort Churchill a new type of friction developed, unlike the old quarrels limited to the males of the post; because of these disagreements Mr. Christie had to separate the families in 1849. Perhaps this required a new building or perhaps the old men's house was simply divided in two; in any case by 1850 there were two men's houses listed at the post. By 1853 there appeared to be a distinction made between the men's house and the married men's house.[64] Very few servants remained unmarried throughout their stay at the post; married men formed the largest element of the work force by the 1840s and required the larger quarters at the post. This was especially true since most of the married men had very large families.

There were few recorded occasions for social life, most of which was carried on outside the sphere of the journals of the post. Christmas was celebrated with liquor supplied to the men and with prayers read. Other than that, St. George's Day in April was a day when the men had a half day off to shoot at a target for a prize of two MB. The week-long celebrations of Christmas and New Year's of the late 18th and early 19th centuries diminished to a day's celebration for each, with occasional mentions of drunkenness among one or two of the men (regarded as unusual by this time). The big dances and late nights of the late 19th and early 20th century were not yet in evidence. It was a relatively puritanical era at Fort Churchill insofar as public social behaviour was concerned. Whatever the life in the Men's House was like for the families remained largely unrecorded.

Sailors in the Men's House

Besides the usual complement of men and families at Churchill, accommodation sometimes had to be provided in the Men's House for extra people. In 1833 the Council at York decided that

the Schooner should winter over at Churchill, with her master and crew forming part of the Churchill establishment for the winter.[65] A first priority was to find a spot where the Schooner could anchor for the winter, secure from the effects of the ice. Sloop's Cove could no longer be used because it was too shallow; instead, the Schooner was moored in the river near the launch in front of the post.

The presence of the schooner and its crew meant some readjustments for Churchill but these were immensely complicated by the unexpected arrival of the Prince Rupert on 17 October 1833.[66] The ship had been unable to get through to London because of ice in the Straits and had to turn back to winter in Churchill. With a crew of 29 and 18 passengers the logistics of accommodation and food were overwhelming.

The first decision to be made was where to anchor the ship for the winter; the best site found was near Cuckold's Point. Unfortunately the ship soon received considerable damage from hitting on submerged rocks. Some of the men from the ship were to go by boat to York Factory but at first they refused to go, not unnaturally, given the hazards of the trip at any time of the year, and so much more so in late October. Finally four sailors and six passengers agreed to go in the boat and made a safe trip to York.

This left a large number still to be housed at Fort Churchill and forced most of the men of the fort to tent out for the winter to allow the ship people, including two women passengers, to use their house. For a time some of the men tented on the Button Rocks near the post, where they could come in to perform the necessary labour.[67] Their living conditions were probably better than those at the fort, where all the men, both sick and well, were crammed into one house; it was impossible to set up separate houses because of the lack of firewood.

The ship's cargo had been soaked when the ship was damaged at Cuckold's Point and could not be left to rot. The furs had

to be unloaded, carried to the fort and dried there; this was heavy labour which occupied the men and sailors for the rest of the winter. Drying the furs was a huge task since they had to be dried by fires indoors; when spring arrived they were hung on lines outdoors.

The presence of the sailors was a constant source of aggravation to Robert Harding, who was in charge of the post until April; Chief Factor John Lee Lewes was sent then to take the charge, since Harding was considered too junior for the task of looking after the repairs and reloading of the ship. Harding described the sailors in their time at Churchill as "the most unreasonable refractory set of Men that ever I saw".[68] Their captain was sick and unable to command the sailors; it took all of Harding's authority to get a minimum amount of work from them. In December thirteen of the sailors agreed to go to York overland; perhaps it seemed preferable to risk this arduous journey rather than to spend the rest of the winter at Churchill!

The passengers were more amenable; five of the men went to the Fishing Creek to fish and hunt ptarmigan along with some of the post servants while the female passengers helped with the cooking and tending the cattle.[69] Fearful of the consequences of liquor on the volatile situation of unrest at the post between the sailors and the servants, Harding did not issue any liquor for the Christmas celebrations;[70] this probably made the men of the post even more resentful of the presence of the strangers.

A log tent was built near Sea Horse Gully for the sailors but they refused to live in it because of the smoke. They preferred to live on board the ship but later found that too uncomfortable and were given permission to live at the fort if they agreed to bring in four bales a day from the ship rather than the two they had been carrying.[71]

By the spring some of the sailors were sick with the scurvy,[72] a rare occurrence at Churchill; more cases of scurvy

followed among the sailors and passengers. It was thought that lack of outdoor exercise contributed to this, although the diet of salt meat must also have been a factor. Those with scurvy were treated with lime juice, the only remedy available, and all recovered.

In April the Company servants had to return to the post from their log tents in order to perform the necessary spring duties there and to help with the emergency labour caused by the presence of the ship and its passengers and cargo. The Men's House was fully occupied, however, so 12 of the Company servants were sent to live on board the Schooner; three of the "decentest and cleanest" were put in the cabin and the other nine in the hold. To speed up the heavy work of hauling the wet bales to the fort, Lewes ordered that two or three drams of liquor should be given to each man; this led to the men working cheerfully and without argument, according to Lewes[73] - something which Robert Harding had been unable to achieve through the long winter.

Finally, on 18 August 1834, the Prince Rupert, her hull repaired, her cargo dried and replaced, sailed out of the Churchill River, heading for York Factory, taking with her all the extra people who had spent the winter at Churchill so unexpectedly; among them was John Lee Lewes, who happily handed back the charge to Robert Harding.

In 1837 the Schooner Frances wintered over at Churchill, as it had done since 1834. It was moored at Cuckold's Point and was somewhat damaged there.[74] The Schooner was no longer assigned to Churchill after that year but was unexpectedly laid up at Churchill in 1843, while her master and men returned to York by land.[75] That same year the Schooner Jane was wrecked on her way to Churchill from York. The Eskimos found the men from it far to the north of Churchill; though they pillaged the wreck, they did set the men across Seal River, which enabled them to make their way to Churchill.[76] From there all but one of the men were able to go on to York. Such hazards of Bay

travel enlivened proceedings at Churchill and produced some unexpected calls on Fort Churchill's resources and accommodations, especially the Men's House but these were short-lived requirements and did not involve changes at the post.

Men's House as Prison

Churchill's Men's House served as a prison on occasions too. An Indian prisoner, the Bungee, was sent to Churchill from York in the fall of 1854.[77] Since he was an Ojibwa, it was probably expected that he would have no friends or relations at Churchill and no possibility of leaving. He did escape from Churchill, however, in October 1855 and was only recaptured in May 1856. He seemed to have spent the winter with some of the Cree, with whom he would have more familiarity than with the Chipewyan. The Bungee left Churchill in 1860 when his term was up, saying he would not stay at Churchill as a free man.[78]

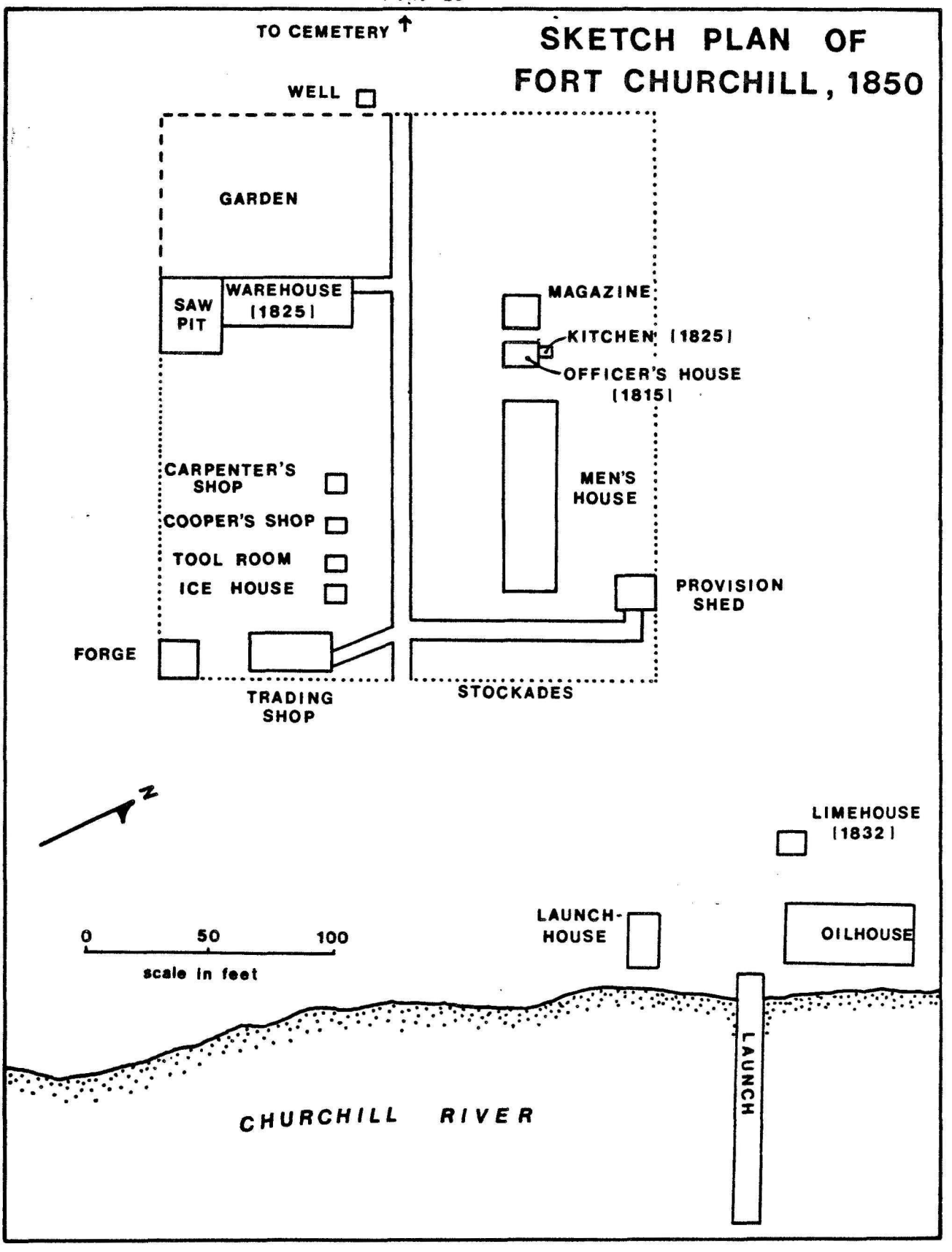
Another prisoner, young Adam, was sent to Churchill in 1856. This was Adam Colen,[79] who remained at Churchill for many years as a labourer after he had served his sentence and married Nancy Dunning.[80] Churchill served as a punishment for these men but they also provided some extra labour for the post. The prison experiment, however, ended with these two men.

Officer's House

The officer's house begun in 1815 still required boards to seal it in 1821 and the parts not protected by boards were covered with plaster.[81] These alterations and the use of a Canadian stove helped to make the house much warmer than it had been;[82] further comfort was added with the use of double windows by 1824.[83] The efforts that had gone into improving the structure of the house had not, however, been equalled by attention to its interior; in 1826 Colin Robertson complained that there was not a single chair at the post.[84] He also had part of the launch house added to make a kitchen for the house (see p. 97).

Fig. 13 Sketch of Fort Churchill, c. 1850
This is a reconstruction of what the fort probably looked like in 1850. It is not guaranteed to be accurate but is thought to be close to the actual appearance.

Fig. 13



Drawn by V. Lytwyn

A porch was added to the front door in 1828;[85] porches were very helpful additions to dwellings in Churchill winters, since they sheltered the entrance of the house somewhat from the wind and snow. In later years these porches were often taken down in spring and put up again in the fall.

This house continued to be occupied by the officer in charge of the post, with very little done to it until 1842 when it was given extensive repairs. New weatherboarding was put on the roof and walls; then both the roof and walls were mudded.[86] The house was painted in 1849[87] and probably in other years also. Although a new officer's house was built, this officer's house of 1815 continued to stand; in 1860 it was repaired,[88] perhaps for the use of the men.

A new officer's dwelling house was built in the early 1850s in the northwest corner of the post. This house was framed in York[89]; Churchill had no carpenter able to do this work and as well lacked the necessary building material. A cellar and drain were dug for this and the frame was then filled in with logs. Although the men of the post were not skilled tradesmen, they made the windows for the house and the spike nails for the beams.[90] This officer's house was a one-storey building with a garret, which could be entered from a hatch door;[91] the house measured 45 ft. (13.7 m.) long by 20 ft. (6.1 m.) wide by 17 ft. 11 in. (5.5 m.) high.[92] The house was roofed with tin and tarred; the outside of the house was caulked and plastered with lime and then weatherboarded and painted.[93] Even at this late date the old Stone Fort could still be raided for building material for Fort Churchill; the chimney of the new officer's house in the 1850s was made with bricks and stones from the old fort.[94] Attached to the house was a summer kitchen 14 ft. (4.3 m.) by 12 ft. (3.7 m.), connected by a short passage.[95]

The house was not finished until 1856. On its completion a platform was built in front of the house. Because the new house faced the south, a different direction from the previous

one, the gate of the upper yard was taken down and put up again to correspond with the front of the new house. The house was painted and a porch was added to it; James Dunning made the furniture for it and it was ready for occupancy.[96]

Indian House

A new log Indian house was built in October 1821, about half a furlong (100.6 m.) outside the gate. It was placed there partly because of the danger of fire and partly to distance the post manager from the noise of the Indians to whom he gave rum after trading. It took only one day to build this small house, 10 ft. (3 m.) by 12 ft. (3.7 m.) in the "Inland Fashion"[97] - that is, in the Red River frame style or post and sill construction, adapted from the French and the North West Company usage. This was the first reference to this type of construction at Churchill, although it may have been used previously and was widely adopted by the HBC after 1821. It was the most practical way to build with logs in the boreal forest where the timber was so small. Upright notched posts could be set at the appropriate distances to hold the logs, usually squared, which were piled on top of each other;[98] if the logs varied in size, the posts could be set to take the different sizes.

This small house was well-mudded for warmth, with a window and door and fireplace, which made it a comfortable place in which the Indians could stay while at the post.[99] It was intended to build a larger Indian house when timber was available but this small house was not replaced until the mid-19th century. Larger quarters were not needed as the number of Indians attached to Churchill continued to decline.

Buildings Outside of Post Area

In 1859 three houses were built at Churchill Creek for the post families so that they could get provisions for themselves and relieve the post of the expense of feeding and housing them.[100] These were not permanent dwellings; the Men's houses continued

to house the men and families while at the post. The fact that they were built, however, indicated the increasing detachment of the employer from the responsibility for dependents which had been the norm in the 18th century and the acceptance of the view that individual men were to provide at least part of their family subsistence on their own initiative.

In 1859 the list of buildings at Fort Churchill[101] was much the same as in 1821 - the two officer's dwelling houses, the Indian house, two men's houses, the launch house, the carpenter and cooper's shops, the forge, the provision shed, the trading room, tool room, oil shed and blubber house. Yet Churchill in 1860 was a much different place from what it had been in 1820. Its buildings had changed very little over the years but the alterations which were made reflected the social and economic changes at the post, changes which had occurred as a result of local conditions and not from direction from the HBC headquarters, which had more or less ignored Fort Churchill since 1821. The economy of Fort Churchill had altered very little in nature but its personnel had changed and in changing had affected the use and interior structure of buildings like the Men's House. The increased presence of mixed-blood servants of local birth, with long records of service and very large families and the increased localization of the Indian trade were the factors which shaped the use of the land area of the post and the extraction of the resources from the surrounding area in the years 1821-1859.

Resources of Fort Churchill

Wooding

Canadian stoves were the usual method of heating the dwelling houses in the 19th century, although the Indian house had only a fireplace. These stoves were probably more efficient than their predecessors had been but the need for a large supply of

firewood continued. Most of the wooding sites of the 18th century were still used; the Woody Islands seemed an inexhaustible source, with the wood cut there in the winter rafted down to the fort in the summer. Timber for boat-building was found around the Goose Lakes. Driftwood was picked up each year; in 1823 the men made five rafts of driftwood at Mosquito Point alone.[102] In 1823 turf was cut on the Rocks for burning in the winter along with the wood in the stoves,[103] an experiment which does not seem to have been repeated.

Increasingly, however, more use was made in the 19th century of firewood sources closer to the fort. The Rocks, about one and a half miles (2.4 km.) from the fort, were used extensively, with well-defined trails for hauling the wood to the fort. The Button Rocks were used a great deal from the 1830s as was Sea Horse Gully. Two or three loads could be hauled each day from these spots by the dogs. Wood hauling became a daily occupation of the men while at the post; there was no need for the men to spend as much time away from the post as they had previously when they spent months cutting wood.

The sources of wood a greater distance from the post were still used most years; the sites near the post on the Rocks could not supply enough for the fort for the whole year. By 1828 wood was scarce again near the fort and was being cut and rafted from about 15 miles (24 km.) away on the south side of the Churchill River.[104] Wood was also cut at the Seven Trees, though it was difficult to raft it from there.[105] This pattern of expansion and contraction of wooding operations for Fort Churchill continued but with a tendency to depend on the closer sources for the firewood of the fort.

Because of the frequent necessity for cutting wood a greater distance from the fort a wooding house was built in 1839 up the river for the men, probably at Churchill Creek. This was designed for the men to live in through some months of the year, thus also saving on the use of firewood at the post; the men were told to make any trips back and forth to the fort in

one day,[106] a distance of about 14 miles (22.5 km.) each way,[107] rather than staying overnight at the fort. The 18th century position of "patroon" of the wooding parties had disappeared; the wooding parties were no longer so large nor did they spend so many months in the woods away from the post. They now included family men with their families; in 1842 this wooding house had to be enlarged to hold Dunning's and Johnston's families.[108] The presence of large families was a burden on accommodation even away from the fort and it was not improved by the fact that the families sometimes were unable to get along with each other when forced to share the same accommodation.

Most years the men, and sometimes their families, were sent off to remain at a hunting tent or wooding tent or sawing tent, thus relieving the post of their upkeep, while their work provided needed resources for the post. They were usually sent off a little before Christmas and came back in April. There was nothing for them to do at the post in the dead of winter; sending them off was a great saving in firewood at the post[109] as well as a way to provide the local resources needed.

In the 1850s most of the wood was cut nearer the post and did not require moving the men and their families for extended periods of time. This contraction of resource area meant the development of year-round presence of families at the post, with more constant interaction, both pleasant and abrasive. The old life of the fur trade post, with its entirely male personnel spending much of the winter in log cabins was in the process of replacement by a more settled family and village type of life. This meant a more intensive occupation of the site on the west peninsula and an increased exploitation of nearby resources, scarce as they were.

Hunting

Hunting continued to provide a major source of food for the post. The goose hunters were stationed in the same spots which

had been used for a century and some new sites were added, such as Knight's Hill and Seal River in 1827.[110] Seal River continued to be used by the Chipewyan from then on as a kind of outpost of North Point. Knight's Hill was more frequently used for the fall goose hunt, as was the Back Bay, the Haymarsh, the Eastward creeks, and Churchill Creek.[111] The fall goose hunt was conducted mostly by the Cree for it was too late in the season for most of the Chipewyan; the sites used in fall, nearer the post, conformed to the Cree areas of hunting.

The numbers of goose hunters fluctuated greatly. In 1825 there were only 12 Indian hunters and five boys for the goose hunt but they killed 1454 geese.[112] In 1827 the post had 54 men and youths hunting geese,[113] a great increase over 1825. The ticket system was introduced to keep track of the goose hunters; in 1852, 50 tickets were given out, which was by then regarded as being a large number of hunters, many more than in the previous years.[114]

The first goose brought in to the post earned its hunter a bottle of rum, the customary gratuity for this.[115] There was much rivalry over this and great disappointment when someone else got there first. When the Hudson's Bay Company restricted the use of liquor at its posts, the rum was replaced by a yard of tobacco; the rivalry for this was not nearly so strong as for the rum. A gratuity was also given to every Indian who killed 100 geese; in 1855 this was two pounds of flour, one pound of biscuit, five pounds of dry meat and one pound of crash sugar.[116] This gratuity indicated the importance which the goose hunt still held for the post, although the number of goose hunters appeared to be declining.

From early in the 18th century the post at Churchill had supplied the Homeguard goose hunters with guns for the goose hunt but in 1844 this practice ended. The justification given for this change was that the Chipewyan were more careless of these guns than of their own and also pilfered parts of the locks, trying to convince the post that these were lost.[117]

This marked a further decline in the special treatment given the goose hunters. Whether this change was made possible by a decreased dependence of Churchill on the goose hunt or by an increased dependence of the Chipewyans on the fort, with consequent inability to protest, is unclear. It may have had elements of both. The change could also reflect the growth of ownership of good guns by the Chipewyan and the diminished capacity of the Hudson's Bay Company at Churchill to provide and repair old guns specifically for the goose hunt. It indicates a trend to a more business-like relationship between the fort and the goose hunters, with an end to the special personal interdependence which had previously tied together the Homeguard and the post personnel. In this respect it paralleled the more impersonal relationship of the HBC to its own servants which developed in the 19th century.

Ptarmigan were hunted in the usual sites, though the eastern area, near Cape Churchill, began to be used more often.[118] The Sandy Ridge and the Bushy Islands were frequently used for netting ptarmigan. The hunting of ptarmigan was a winter occupation for the servants of the fort and was still necessary for the provisioning of the men and their families; the men spent part of the winter in the hunting tents, often with their families. This practice of wintering out decreased by the mid-19th century and the men began to hunt from the vicinity of the post, remaining at the post for the winter, intensifying their use of the resources of the west peninsula itself.

Fishing

Fishing in these years never provided a really reliable source of food in quantity for Churchill. Again the same pattern of fishing continued, with the char in the river in summer providing the major nearby source of fish; they were caught still in nets at the launch or at Cuckold's Point or across the river from the post. The Back Bay (behind Sea Horse Gully) also began to be used for catching char. The task of fishing for

char was sometimes assigned to the Cree Indians rather than to a man from the post. Deer River, close to Churchill, provided some jackfish, even in November.[119] The Cree Indians also supplied some of these, with the men from the fort also fishing there occasionally.

More attempts were made to find a winter fishery for the post at various spots recommended by the Indians. Most of these were from three to five days' travel from Fort Churchill, both to the north and to the south of the Churchill River but no dependable and convenient winter fishery was found in these years. This was one resource which the Churchill area could not provide for itself and had to acquire from some distance inland, if at all. But the personnel of the post lacked the necessary knowledge of the interior and were dependent on their Indian guides to show them good fishing sites. Most of those found did not supply the post with enough fish to make a real contribution to its local provisions.

Whaling

The men of Fort Churchill continued to hunt the white whales in the months of July and August, when they could be spared from other work; sometimes this was impossible and no oil was obtained for the returns. Because the ship from London no longer stopped at Churchill but delivered all supplies to York, a boat sometimes had to be sent to York with the trade and to pick up supplies. This meant that no men were left to do the whaling because these trips took place during the whaling season. Eskimos were sometimes pressed into service in the Churchill River whaling, although most of their whaling was done at Seal River. The whale meat derived from the hunt was used to supply the dogs with winter food, while the whale oil formed part of the returns for Fort Churchill.

By the 1830s the Eskimos came more often to Churchill in the spring early enough to hunt the seals in Button Bay and Hudson Bay, trading the oil from these to the post; by 1862 the

oil returns for Churchill were listed as derived from both white whales and seals. In this way the oil returns were kept up despite the lack of men to do the whaling.

Native Peoples Trading to Fort Churchill

The Chipewyan

In the 1820s the Chipewyan round continued much the same as in previous years. The nearer Homeguard Chipewyan still came in for the goose hunt, bringing their winter hunt with them; after the goose hunt they spent the summer on the northern plains, returning to the fort with caribou meat and grease in late October or early November to take their winter debt.

Some changes, however, were in process. The Indians at the goose hunt in 1825 included both Chipewyan and Cree hunters, as usual, but after the goose hunt both Cree and Chipewyan left to spend the summer hunting caribou on Cape Churchill.[120] This was a change in hunting area for the Chipewyan and it also represented a change in their seemingly closer relationship to the Cree. By hunting closer to the fort for the summer they not only supplied some meat but also were often used for temporary labour at the post, another change in their way of life. Only some of the Chipewyan made this change but it did mark a closer attachment to the post for them, with more incentive to make their living by taking on some of the labouring jobs available in the summer at the post rather than making the traditional independent caribou hunt on the Barrens.

Not all the changes made by the Chipewyan were voluntary. In 1828 and 1829 several of the Chipewyan stayed at Cape Churchill hunting caribou for the summer or at Churchill Creek where they fished - a change which was evidently one forced on the Chipewyan. At Fishing Creek the fish were not plentiful and the Chipewyan were eager to go off to the caribou hunt but because of the shortage of full-time servants at the post and

the very small number of Cree men at Churchill they were needed to help unload the boat from York. They were expected to stay near the post until the boat arrived from York; only then would they be given leave to go to their winter hunting grounds.[121]

These changes in the summer routine of some of the Homeguard Chipewyan, whether voluntary or forced, marked the beginnings of a significant culture change, where the yearly round of some of the Chipewyan was altered to enable them to take on short-term wage labour opportunities at Fort Churchill; this meant that these families spent much more of the summer near the post, utilizing the local land and its resources. It also meant that these Chipewyan were increasingly dependent on the wage labour opportunities offered by the HBC, with a consequent loss of the independence which had marked their previous reliance on the caribou for almost the whole of their subsistence.

Attempts were sometimes made also to change the winter hunting grounds of the Chipewyan for the benefit of the post. The Chipewyan commonly hunted in winter around Knife Lake and Coal Lake, sometimes going as far as Indian Lake or Reindeer Lake. In 1822, however, some of them were kept near the post to hunt caribou and then were persuaded to hunt on the borders of the Churchill River in the winter, where they would get more furs than they usually did.[122] This was traditionally a Cree hunting area but the Cree were so few in number that they made no objection to the Chipewyan using it. But it was also an area where the larger food animals were scarce; it took a great deal of persuasion and perhaps some coercion to get the Chipewyan to hunt there.[123] For a few years they did hunt on the borders of the Churchill but were then forced for their own survival to winter in their own traditional areas where there were large animals for their support.

Because the Homeguard Chipewyan spent more time near the post more references were made to their use of the local land area, with their tents on the Rocks and their sleds left at

the Back Bay. In 1841 some tented at Mosquito Point, very close to the post.[124] The families tended to stay in the tents near the post while the men were off at the goose hunt and remained longer in the summer in these tents while the men were required for the labour of the post.

The Faraway Chipewyan were less expensive to the Company than the Homeguard who were around for a large part of the summer. But it was thought they would contribute more to Fort Churchill if they could be persuaded to hunt furs in summer rather than the Barren-ground caribou.[125] This was a vain hope on the part of the Company, however. The dependence of the Chipewyan on the caribou was still very strong and the Company was unable to provide any viable alternative; the fur hunt remained subsidiary to the caribou hunt for the Faraway Chipewyan.

Rather than switch to the fur hunt, the Chipewyan of Churchill would travel enormous distances in search of caribou or moose if there were none in their usual sites. This search brought them into contact with the inland posts of the Company, to the detriment of Churchill. Some went after moose into the Strong Woods and paid their debt at nearby Indian Lake or Deer's Lake, while the Caribou Eaters went to the Barren Grounds, where they were not dependent on trade goods. In either case they did not come into Fort Churchill. There were 50 or 60 of the Caribou Eaters known at Churchill in 1825 but only 20 or 30 visited in November and April, with hunts of only about 15 MB each. There were continued complaints of the Chipewyan being too "indolent" to hunt furs, and spending all their time in ease on the barren grounds.[126] The Caribou Eaters continued to be one of the most independent of Chipewyan groups involved in the trade, an independence which could only be maintained by the caribou and would have disappeared if they had switched to the fur hunt. They were not the whole of the Faraway Chipewyan who traded at Churchill but they were the least attached to the trade and therefore to the area, only

coming in every third year or so for some iron work.[127]

Although the Company urged the Chipewyan to hunt furs instead of caribou, they were put on the spot when the Chipewyan did so. In 1846 nine of the Chipewyan came in in April, saying they would not go to the barren grounds to hunt caribou that fall but would go for furs. The time spent hunting caribou and bringing in meat and grease to the post was the best time of year for hunting furs and delayed them from reaching their hunting grounds until December. That year they planned to go directly to their hunting grounds in the fall and not come in to the post.[128] This caused problems for the post in getting enough provisions to make up for this deficit in the usual fall meat trade.

The Chipewyan made some changes in their methods of transport Fort Churchill in these years. For the most part they still came overland, crossing the Seal River and the North River but there was some use of canoe travel by those who came from the Indian Lake area.[129] In 1847 reference was made for the first time to the Chipewyan using dogs for hauling;[130] prior to this, the Chipewyan hauled their sleds themselves.

The Chipewyan, especially the Homeguard, had become more familiar to the men of the post, who began to refer to them by name in the journals. In the 1823 District Report the hunters were listed by name and the places where they hunted were also noted. Four of them had hunted on the south side of the Churchill River above the five carrying places. Seven had hunted on the north border of the Churchill River, with poorer hunts than those on the south side. Six others had failed in their hunt to the farther north and had had to go to Deer's Lake to look for moose, taking them out of the good beaver country.[131] Another three paid their furs at Indian Lake and did not come in to Churchill.

This brief survey of one year at Churchill gives a picture of the life of the Chipewyan and illuminates the factors which made it so difficult for the Company to depend on a steady flow

of furs from them. The Chipewyan dependence on large animals for food and clothing was one of these, the attraction of inland posts was another. The vicinity of Churchill could provide no guarantee of subsistence or of furs to its inhabitants. The fort of Churchill could not always attract those with furs to make the long trip from inland to the Bay. It required good prices for furs and a good selection of trade goods to make the trip worthwhile for the Faraway Chipewyan; these were things Churchill could not always supply. The inland posts traded at a better standard than did Churchill and this helped draw the Chipewyan away. By the 1850s competition from free traders inland was an added factor. For all these reasons it was difficult for Fort Churchill to maintain its customary trade, let alone to increase it.

The Chipewyan attached to Churchill and those living around Reindeer Lake mingled a great deal; when a post was built at Reindeer Lake some of the Chipewyan trading at Churchill went there instead, an experience which was repeated throughout the 19th century. In 1857 they were attracted there by the presence of both a priest and free traders.[132] This defection of its Chipewyan hunters meant a loss to the fur trade of Fort Churchill but perhaps more seriously to its fall provision trade. [133]

Fort Churchill could not depend on any of the Chipewyan consistently to come into Churchill with their trade. Some would trade one year at Churchill and then go the next to Athabasca, English River, or Lac la Ronge. Others moved from other posts to trade at Churchill, such as those who came from Indian Lake after that post was closed in 1824.[134] The fluctuation of traders each year was something the post managers complained bitterly about and did all in their power to stop but with little success.

A further difficulty which arose with the Chipewyan was that they traded furs from the Eskimos, though forbidden to do so. They then traded these at the post at the Indian standard

of trade, which was higher than the Eskimo. Both native parties were satisfied with this arrangement but not so the Hudson's Bay Company. When the Company men detected this, they forced the Chipewyan to trade the furs on the Eskimo standard.[135] This ruse by the Chipewyan displayed a more friendly relationship between the Chipewyan and the Eskimo than was commonly expected, although it may have been only a temporary cooperation to get the best of the HBC.

In the trade with the Chipewyan, the Hudson's Bay Company in these years was never able to enforce its desires absolutely. It could persuade, cajole, coerce and offer better prospects to the Chipewyan but the final decision was made by the Chipewyan, based on their own interests, rather than on those of the Company.

The census figures available for Fort Churchill in the years 1821-1859 reflect the changing attachment of the Chipewyan to the fort. In 1823 about 20 of the Faraway Chipewyan hunters were attached to Churchill, plus about 25 to 30 who occasionally came in.[136] In the 1827-28 Report Robert Harding estimated the number of Faraway Chipewyan trading at Churchill to be 78 men and youths;[137] some of this number were Chipewyan who had traded at Indian Lake but transferred to Churchill after the Indian Lake post was closed. In 1828-29 their number was estimated at 97 men and boys[138] but by 1832-33 the number of Faraway Chipewyan visiting Churchill was said to be only 15 men and youths.[139] This decrease in numbers was largely due to the presence of inland posts closer to the hunting grounds of the Faraway Chipewyan.

The Homeguard Chipewyan attached to Churchill increased in numbers in these years; it is possible that some of the Chipewyan previously included as Faraway became integrated into the Homeguard in these years. In 1823 there were 20 Homeguard hunters listed[140] while in 1835-36 Robert Harding estimated the number of Homeguard Chipewyan as about 70 men and youths.[141] In the 1838 census of the Hudson's Bay Company posts, which in-

cluded wives and children of the hunters, there were 296 of the Near Chipewyans and 133 of the Faraway Chipewyans listed for Churchill.[142] The number of Faraway Chipewyans began to decline after that while the number of the Near or Homeguard stayed fairly constant for the next 20 years.

Cree

In 1822-23 there were only ten Cree hunters left at Churchill, with about 20 dependents.[143] By 1828 there were 12 Cree men and youths trading at Churchill;[144] this was about the maximum size of the Cree Homeguard of Churchill in these years and their numbers continued to decline until the 1850s.

These few Cree of Churchill were said to be on good terms with the Chipewyan. They tented together for the goose hunt[145] and even shared their winter hunting ground; the Chipewyan for a time, with the strong encouragement of the post, hunted on the south side of the Churchill River, which was too large a country for the use of the Cree alone.[146]

The Cree hunted in summer to the south of the Churchill River towards York.[147] It is not surprising that those Cree who hunted near York sometimes brought their furs in to York to trade rather than to Churchill.[148] There was considerable interplay still between York and Churchill by the Cree; in 1825 only one Cree family was left at Churchill, an old man and his three sons, supporting five women and 17 children. Those Cree without this number of dependents, "the active and unencumbered" had stayed at York from August of 1824;[149] they returned to Churchill the spring of 1825.[150] The Cree, like the Chipewyan, were also attracted to the inland posts and some moved to Split Lake in 1829.[151]

Most of the Homeguard Cree lived at the Fishing Creek, Churchill Creek or the Woody Islands and some at Deer River or occasionally at the First Rapid of the Churchill River.[152] From there the hunter of the family would go out to set traps for marten and other animals at North River or other places.[153]

The Cree did not seem to feel restricted to the south side of the Churchill River for their hunting but for the most part they lived there.

A few Inland Cree turned up at Fort Churchill but by the 1820s their appearances were rare. Those who did come came from Indian Lake or Split Lake.[154] These were areas where Cree and Chipewyan interacted, peacefully in the 19th century, and these Cree sometimes came in with some of the Chipewyan.

The Homeguard Cree were quite constant in their trade but sometimes suffered from illnesses or starvation which prevented them from hunting. In 1837, Jack the Cree lost nine of his family and his father; only he, one of his two wives, and one daughter survived.[155] With losses like these, it is not surprising that the number of Cree at Churchill declined rapidly.

The Cree were accused of being improvident, unlike the Chipewyan, never foreseeing the need to stockpile provisions in the fall.[156] They were said to be making too many "hungry visits" to the fort, asking for oatmeal, etc. Yet William Sinclair recognized that the Cree territory was miserably poor for subsistence;[157] it was fur country but did not have the big animals necessary to provide food. There did not appear to be much alternative to the Cree Homeguard but to depend on the post for some provisions, since the post required them to live nearby in such poor circumstances.

In the 1838 census the total Cree population was only 34, made up of 13 hunters, six wives, four sons, eight daughters, and three followers and strangers.[158] By 1842 there were 14 Cree men and youths for the goose hunt, 10 of whom were kept on to help with the summer labour at the post.[159] But in 1848 there were only four Cree men, who refused to stay to hunt geese in the fall despite threats that their disobedience would be reported; they insisted on going to their wintering grounds.[160] In 1851 some of the Cree planned to move to Norway House to attach themselves to the missionary there;[161] they did so the summer of 1852, leaving only two families of Cree at

Churchill.[162]

These few Cree remained at Churchill until 1857, when they all left for York, arriving there on 24 September 1857.[163] With their departure ended the long history of the Cree Homeguard at Churchill. Their ancestors had given essential help to the founding and maintenance of the fort at Churchill since 1717 but the new conditions of the later 19th century at Churchill offered little opportunities to these few descendants of the original Homeguard Cree and they preferred to make the move to York.

Eskimos

In these years the British government began to undertake explorations of the northern part of British North America, areas for which an Eskimo interpreter was urgently needed. It was their experience at Fort Churchill which enabled these Eskimos to understand enough English to act as interpreters for these expeditions.

Augustine, the former Eskimo servant of the post, acted as interpreter for the first Franklin Expedition. He returned to Churchill in 1823 but did not stay at the post; he returned to his own country.[164] He was rehired for the second Franklin expedition at a salary of 60 MB per year, exclusive of equipment,[165] a large amount of money when compared to the salaries of labourers at the post. In 1827 Augustine returned to Churchill and worked there for the winter but he was regarded as spoiled by his experience with the Land Arctic Expedition and was said to have developed a very high opinion of himself. He had also become too fond of liquor, a habit picked up on the Expedition, since Eskimos never received liquor at Churchill.[166] He stayed on another year in the employ of the HBC, spending part of the year at Churchill and part at York; he returned again to his people in 1829.

Augustine, with his wife and three sons, visited the fort in March, 1830, asking for tobacco and ammunition for a party

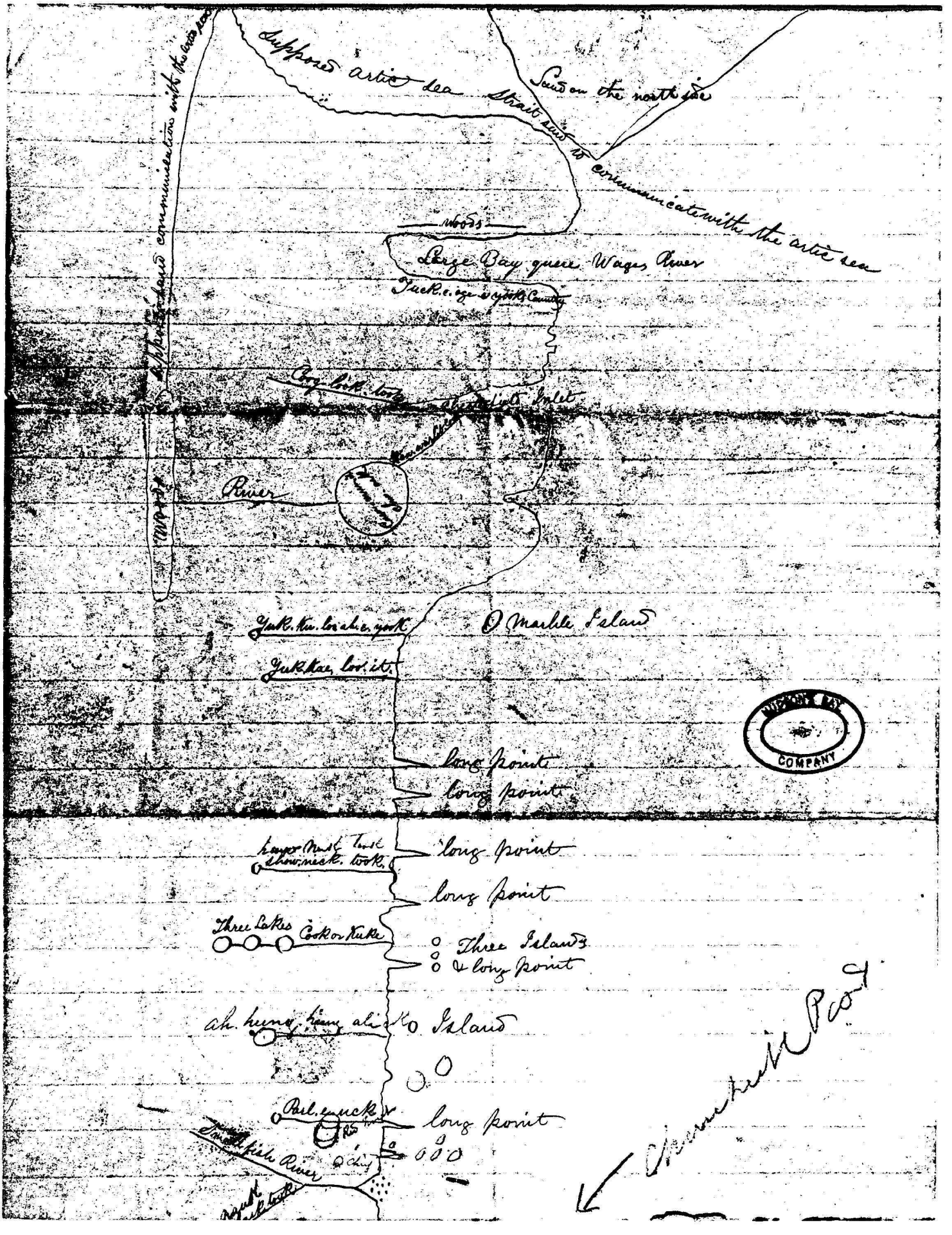
of 40 Eskimos who would be in to hunt seals the end of May. Augustine by then had no more of the "necessaries" with which he had left the fort the previous summer, but had given away all he had.[167] He had used the goods acquired through his labour for the Expedition and the HBC within the familiar Eskimo tradition of sharing rather than in amassing property for himself; such sharing was also a source of prestige within the Eskimo society.

Augustine was then hired for the Ungava Expedition as an interpreter; there he acquired another wife and child but then died.[168] Augustine left about 70 pounds to be divided among his heirs, a sum which was doled out to his sons when they came in to Churchill.[169] His was an example of the financial success which could be obtained by Eskimos willing to leave their families for a period of years to enter the service of the various expeditions arranged for discovery or trade in the north. These were areas where only the Eskimos could provide the services needed; no European or Métis could provide comparable expertise to that of the Eskimos.

Ullebuck (or Ouligbuck), another Eskimo who had been a servant at Fort Churchill, also went on the Franklin Expedition and to Ungava. After these trips he was rehired as a servant at Churchill, where he was noted as a smart, active and obedient man,[170] his son succeeded him as servant at the post. Between the two Ullebucks, the post of Churchill was well-served for much of the 19th century. Ullebuck died in 1852, after many years spent at the post before he rejoined his Eskimo relatives, where he resumed the life of a trading Eskimo.[171]

Besides these few Eskimos so directly connected to the post of Churchill and to the northern expeditions, a much closer relationship developed to those Eskimos who only came to Churchill to trade and to hunt whales or seals for the post. The whale hunt was so important to the post and the Eskimo cooperation in it so vital that coercion was used at times to

Fig. 14 "East Coast [sic] of Hudson's Bay from Repulse Bay to Fort Churchill" by Robert Harding(?), 1844.
HBC Archives, P.A.M., D5/12, fo. 130d


supposed artic sea
Sand on the north side
communicate with the artic sea
woods
Large Bay quere Wages River
Yuck. e. ige of yuk. Country
Coy kok. tow
Kowak Inlet
River
Yuk. kuk. kow. ik. e. yuk.
Marble Island
Yuk. kuk. kow. ik.
long point
long point
kaya. mut. tuck
show. nesk. took.
long point
long point
Three Lakes
Cook or Kuke
Three Islands
long point
ah. kuna. kuna. ali
Island
Pul. guck
long point
Fish River
Chamisso Pt

force the Eskimos to hunt whales for the fort. The usual weapon was a refusal to trade with the Eskimos until they hunted whales for the post.[172]

The Eskimos were also hired sometimes for the temporary labour of the post. In 1834 they were hired to remove the ice from the hold of the ship which had wintered over at Churchill, a job for which they were considered well-adapted. They did this very necessary task, agreeably enough, but had to be allowed time off to hunt seals for themselves, since they were unable to live on the post food of oatmeal and biscuit.[173] Their lifestyle was not as readily adapted to post life as was that of the Indians and for the most part they never became as dependent for provisions.

The Eskimos who came to Churchill came from different areas to the north. Four of them in 1822 came from beyond Chesterfield Inlet; one of them had never seen a white man before. They came in with Eskimos who had been traders at the post and had been brought in by them.[174] There was then some contact between the different groups of Eskimos, though for the most part those who could act as middlemen to the farther Eskimos tried to safeguard that role and would have been unwilling to encourage direct contact such as this.

The men at the post were somewhat unsure of the interrelationships among the Eskimos or even which areas they came from. They were said in 1825 to come from two different tribes, one from Chesterfield Inlet and the other from Knapps Bay.[175] When the price for white fox declined the Chesterfield Inlet Eskimos seldom came in; those from Knapps Bay continued to come to Churchill, arriving on the last ice by sled and hunting seals for the fort.[176] In 1848 one party of three Eskimos put a sail on their sled and, with the help of a strong wind, made the trip from Seal River to Churchill in one day.[177] These Eskimos usually left their loaded sleds on the west side of the rocks and received help from the post to haul them over the rocks. If they came later by open water they left their kayaks at the

back of the Rocks and used them to go to Seal River to hunt whales. It was these Eskimos who provided the nucleus of a developing Homeguard of Eskimos, who were used by the post for various tasks suited to their talents.

Eskimo trade was poor; their furs were mostly caribou skins and foxes, since their country had no other fur animals; their trade was said to average only about 10 MB per man.[178] They were shrewd traders with what they had; their fox skins when traded were frozen together, which prevented inspection and when inspected later often turned out to be torn. They were encouraged to diversify by bringing in sea horses' teeth and the tusks of walrus as these assumed a value on the European market. Eskimo dogs were always a valuable trade item, as were the Eskimo boots, which were frequently requested by Governor Simpson.

In 1822 two of the Eskimos wintered with the Chipewyan, apparently at their own initiative. The men of the post hoped that the Eskimos could learn to dress the caribou skins in the way that the Indians did. It was thought that these Eskimos might even take up the Indian life, because of the advantages in trade which went to the Indians.[179] But the experience of living with the Chipewyan ended with the Eskimos and the Chipewyans tired of each other and with no incentive for the Eskimos to take up the Indian lifestyle.

One of the Eskimos living with the Chipewyan was abandoned by his Indian companions in November 1822, when they grew tired of his inabilities in the woods. He managed to make his way back to the post, where he was kept on as a labourer, and given the name Moses.[180] He must have been a man willing to make substantial changes in his life, whether from lack of family ties to bind him to the Eskimo life or from the desire to try something new. He adjusted well to the life of a servant of the post and was able to serve as an interpreter for the post and for expeditions.

The main value the Eskimos had to the post was not in

their fur trade but in their abilities to kill whales and seals. They could not always be depended on to stay for this; they were sometimes prevented by weather or subsistence requirements from coming in at the right time or from staying once they were there. If one of the Eskimos died during the whaling, all would stop whaling, just as a death caused the Indians to stop hunting.[181] Epidemic illnesses sometimes prevented the Eskimos from coming in to the post.[182] Although Fort Churchill came to depend on the Eskimos to do much of the whaling in these years the post managers could not avert such factors as these which disrupted the production of oil in some years.

By 1827 the Eskimos tented at Sea Horse Gully when they hunted seals whereas before that they were usually at the Stone Fort.[183] Both areas continued to be used by them when at Churchill in the 19th century.

The Eskimos were always anxious to get iron, in trade or by other means. The goose casks left at Seal River were destroyed by them to take the iron hoops from them.[184] They also took lead off the roofs of the sheds at the post.[185] The post men were very suspicious of the Eskimos and would only allow them to trade two at a time in an attempt to prevent them making off with trade goods when unobserved.

The men at Fort Churchill gradually began to designate the Eskimos who came in as belonging to the Homeguard or the Distant tribes. The Homeguard did most of the whaling at Seal River, probably because they could still get to their winter grounds after it, whereas the Distant Eskimos could not spare any time. According to Robert Harding the whale-hunting or less distant Eskimos of Churchill lived between Arg-nul-lark-took and Parl-e-uck (see Fig. 14); the more distant tribe extended from there to Yuk-ku-loo-ah-e-yook.[186] They lived primarily on caribou, musk-ox and fish rather than on the sea mammals.

The nearer Eskimos referred to in the Churchill journals

appear to have been the present Caribou Eskimos. These Eskimos had expanded their hunting territory inland since the 1820s, into the traditional summer hunting range of the Chipewyan; the Chipewyan used this area less in these years and the relations between the Eskimos and Chipewyan remained amicable during this move. In the 1840s and 1850s these Eskimos began to live permanently in the interior, expanding from their base on the Kazan River, and by the 1860s the interior Barrens were Eskimo country, although the Chipewyan still shared it.[187] This interpretation is supported by the Churchill post journals which noted by 1858 that the Inland Eskimos never visited the coast in the summer.[188]

The changes in the life of the Eskimo had an effect on the trade of Fort Churchill. By the time of the 1838 census, the number of Eskimos trading at Churchill was much larger than either the Chipewyan or the Cree. The total population of Eskimos was 663, for the Chipewyan was 296, and for the Cree was only 34.[189] This demographic change among the native populations was suited to the evolving position of Churchill, with more importance attached to the oil trade and to discovery to the north, rather than to the earlier emphasis on the fur trade as the basis of the economic life of Churchill.

In these years 1821-1859 the position of Fort Churchill within the HBC remained static; no plans or decisions were made for it which would have required changes in its use of the local land or resources. As a result the buildings of the post changed very little. Yet Fort Churchill in 1859 was not the same as in 1821. The changes which had occurred resulted in part from the growth of mixed-blood families attached to the post, with consequent alterations in buildings and in hunting and wooding activities. Further changes were caused by the increasing dependence on Eskimo trade and whaling to offset the decline in Chipewyan provisions and trade. In this period change was brought about by local conditions rather than by decisions made in London or York.

The Backwater Post 1860-1905

Site

In the years 1860 to 1905 the west peninsula continued to be occupied by Fort Churchill and its dependents. No policy changes were made in these years in regard to Fort Churchill which would have justified radical restructuring on the site. As a result the 1783 site, despite its difficulties, continued in use with almost no further alterations to it.

A major reason for selecting the site of Fort Churchill had been its harbour where ships coming into Hudson Bay with goods from England could exchange them for the furs and oil collected at Churchill. Although the Churchill River provided an excellent harbour for these ships, Fort Churchill itself fronted on a shallow and rocky part of the river where the ships could not anchor. The ships which came to Churchill in these years unloaded at the whale fishery on the east side of the Churchill River and the goods were then boated from there up to the post.[1] This involved a great deal of extra labour and often some difficulties in crossing the Churchill River with the goods. Other problems which had persisted on the site of Fort Churchill were the lack of a plentiful nearby source of wood for fuel or for building purposes and the scarcity of drinking water.

Local resources provided most of the food on the site of Fort Churchill; these local resources consisted almost entirely of meat - caribou, geese and ptarmigan. Added to these meat sources were the summer char fishery in the Churchill River and the fall fishing at Churchill Creek. Some gardening was attempted on the post grounds but the results were a minimal contribution to the diet. Imported goods,

especially canned goods and salt meat, supplemented these local provisions.

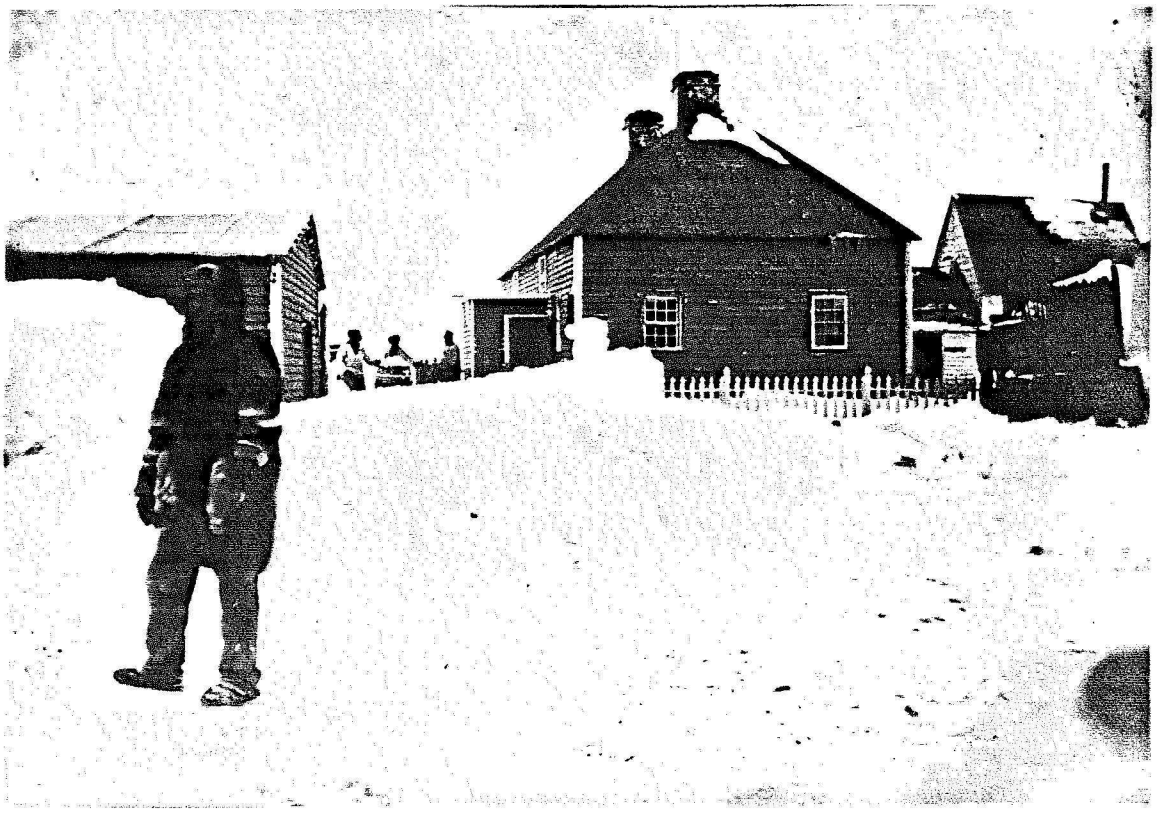
With no docking for a ship on the west peninsula, no abundant nor easily obtainable source of water, no good winter fishery and no ready supply of fuel, the site of Fort Churchill made life difficult for its inhabitants. Nevertheless, the post continued in existence on the same site, with the men pursuing much the same routine as they had since the early 19th century. Despite the lack of abundant local resources to maintain its personnel and its relatively small trade, the HBC kept Fort Churchill in operation. Its trade was sufficient to justify the small number of men employed there. More importantly the site of Fort Churchill offered prospects for future economic benefits to the HBC if the Hudson Bay Railway, touted for so many years from the 1880s, ever came into existence and terminated at Churchill.

The total area occupied by the post was a little over three acres (1.2 hectares),[2] situated on a gentle grassy slope at the foot of a ridge of almost bare green quartzite.[3] Under the deed of surrender of the HBC lands to the Canadian government in 1870 the HBC was allowed to hold 10 acres (4 hectares) of land around the post at Churchill. No steps were taken to identify these lands at Churchill until 1901 when Geo. Bayne's survey was registered (see Fig. 21). In his survey he included an area of 12.63 acres (5.1 hectares) for Fort Churchill itself, as well as 7.62 acres (3.1 hectares) on the east peninsula for the Whale Fishery and 15.78 acres (6.4 hectares) surrounding Fort Prince of Wales.[4]

Negotiations between the HBC and the Dominion government dragged on for years over these lands. In 1908 when it seemed that the Hudson Bay Railway would go through to Churchill the government was unwilling to concede the HBC right to the whale fishery and Fort Prince of Wales, on the basis that these had not been actually possessed and occupied by the HBC at the date of surrender.[5] By 1913 the HBC had at last agreed to concede

Fig. 15 Churchill 1873 by W.W. Kirkby
Hudson's Bay Company, Neg:58A26, Y-100

In CMS A100 Kirkby encloses a photograph almost identical to this one. His notation says that it is his arrival at Churchill, 15 April 1873 and shows Mr. Griffin's house and to the right of it the little house to be used by Kirkby while at Churchill.



Fort Prince of Wales to the Canadian government as a national historic site. It would negotiate for different quarters for its whale fishery on the east peninsula, since the one occupied conflicted with the government plans for the railroad and townsite on the east peninsula. Finally in 1913 the land around Fort Churchill which had been surveyed by Geo. Bayne was patented.[6]

From 1879 Churchill began to receive visits from various government expeditions as the Canadian government began to explore its interests in the north in an effort to maintain its claims to sovereignty. Britain ceded her claims to the Arctic islands to Canada in 1880 but these could not have withstood forceful intervention from the United States, and the presence of American whalers in the area raised fears that the U.S. might lay claims there. Canada was in no position to exert these rights in the high Arctic very forcefully but did devote time and energy to the acquisition of a scientific knowledge of Hudson Bay and Straits through expeditions commissioned by the Department of Marine and Fisheries. At the same time the Geological Survey of Canada sent its men to explore and map the northern interior of western Canada, including the District of Keewatin in which Churchill was situated. Churchill was of interest to both the marine and land expeditions and this interest increased when the first charter for a railroad to Hudson Bay was made in 1880.

One of the first of these visitors was Dr. Robert Bell who arrived at Churchill on 6 August 1879 and left on August 16 for York Factory.[6a] His trip was made on behalf of the Geological Survey of Canada, mapping the hitherto unknown interior. Bell was to become a familiar figure at Churchill; he returned in 1884 with Lt. Gordon of the Department of Marine and Fisheries Expedition, which was concerned with charting conditions in Hudson Bay.

J.B. Tyrrell and his brother and the rest of his party were very happy to see the fort at Churchill in October of 1893,

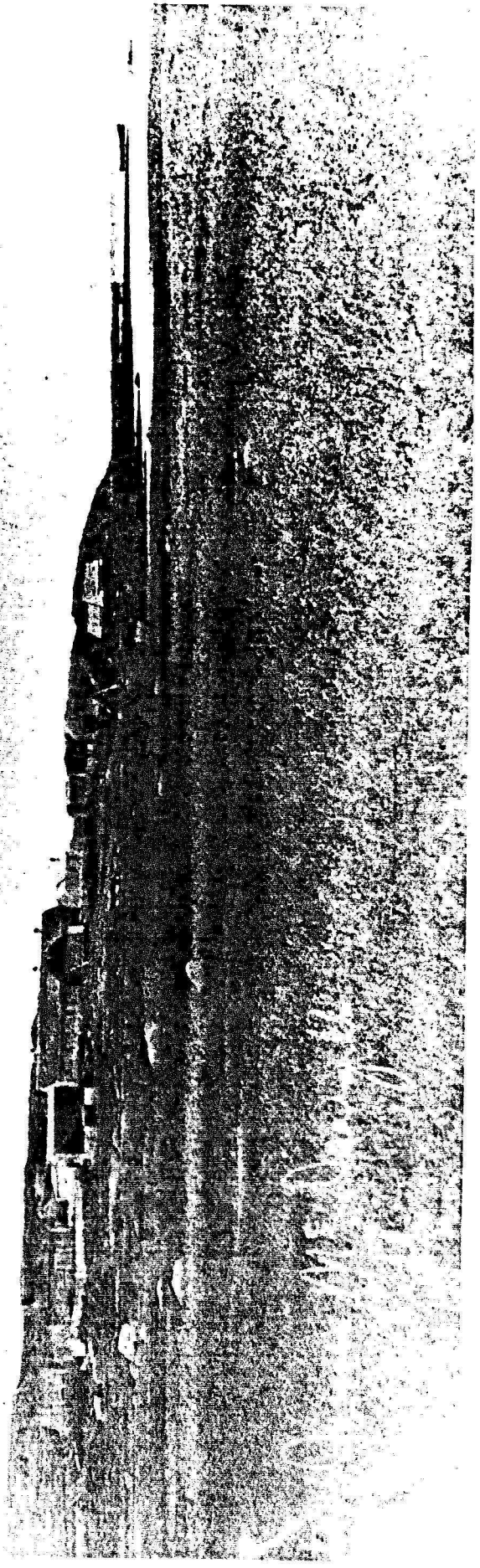
after their exploration of the Barrens for the Geological Survey.[7] They had almost lost their lives by reaching the coast so late in the season, with no way to travel along it except on foot. But the joy they felt on arrival was soon tempered by the reality of conditions at Churchill. Mr. Matheson, in charge at the time, set up a bed for the Tyrrell brothers in his own bedroom, a small room 14 ft. 10 in. (4.5 m.) by 11 ft. 3 in. (3.4 m.) by 8 ft.5 in.(2.9 m.) The six men with Tyrrell were put into a room about the same size in the men's house. They were given a meal of bread and tea with a little cold ham, then had a good wash, a smoke and talk with Captain Hawes (who had been sent to take the charge at Churchill) and retired to sleep with clean sheets. All of these were luxuries for the Tyrrells after their time on the Barrens.

Despite the best efforts of the Company men, however, the Tyrrells were unhappy with the food and accommodation at Churchill. The pork was said to be four years old, they all suffered from inflammation of the stomach and bowels but had to eat the usual breakfast of porridge and toast, with dinner of ptarmigan and water and a little very bad cheese for dessert. On the other hand, Matheson complained that they were eating him out of house and home.[8] The local resources on which the fur traders had depended for so many years were quite inadequate to the taste of strangers such as the Tyrrell brothers, not conditioned to the monotony of salt meat and ptarmigan. In 1894 when Tyrrell returned to Churchill he stayed with the Lofthouses at the mission house, while his men stayed at the fort. This time Tyrrell was able to arrange a better, warmer room for his four men and for them to get clothing from the store.[9]

The marine expeditions which visited Churchill were especially interested in its harbour since both Churchill and Port Nelson were prospective terminals for the Hudson Bay Railway. Lt. Gordon, the Royal Navy officer who visited Churchill in 1884-1886 for the Ministry of Marine, reported that Churchill

Fig. 16 Fort Churchill n.d. [1889] by James McDougall
HBC Collection Neg:85-20

This is a view taken from the south. To the left of the picture is the Officer's House of 1856 with the garden in front of it. Next to the garden the Fur Packing Store and Warehouse (the old Still House and Launch House) can be seen.



harbour would be excellent as a railway terminus, much better than the harbour of the Nelson River. The basin at Churchill could be enlarged without much difficulty and the docks and piers necessary for the port could be built of the abundant local stone.[10] Gordon's recommendations of 1886 were not decisive, however, and the choice of a terminus became a political football for the next 30 years. It was not until similar studies were done in 1927 that Gordon's conclusions on the superiority of Churchill harbour were accepted.

In the intervening years it was believed that the land conditions to the Nelson River mouth were superior for laying track and that it might even be impossible to build track overland to Churchill. The advantages of the overland route to the Nelson River outweighed the disadvantages of trying to build a port at the mouth of the Nelson; this resulted in many years of effort to push the railway through to Port Nelson, before the final choice of Churchill as terminus in 1927. Only then did the advantages of Churchill's harbour outweigh the disadvantages of its land route. This paralleled the earlier Churchill experience of losing out to York Factory in the HBC transportation system because of the inadequacies of its water connections to the interior; now its more difficult terrain harmed its prospects of becoming a government railway terminal.

Tourist interest in Churchill was also beginning; in 1905 the first of these travellers, Col. Turnbull and his party, arrived on July 28.[11] Others came who were interested in remaining at Churchill as trappers or as speculators in land if the proposed railroad ever came through. In 1905 Wm. Beech arrived and built a small cabin on the east peninsula, on the opposite side of the Churchill River from the fort. He then left to bring up his wife and son from Winnipeg the following year.[12] In 1906 Mr. Evans arrived by canoe on a prospecting trip and also built a small cabin on the east peninsula.[13]

The late 19th century and early years of the 20th century brought Churchill more exposure to outsiders than it had had

since its founding. As outside interest in the area increased Fort Churchill had to provide for the needs of these visitors, needs which were not the same as those of the natives for whom the trading store had provided for so many years. The trading store now had to become somewhat of a small general store, able to provide for people unconnected with the fur trade. The Churchill area could no longer remain the sole domain of the HBC; the Canadian government presence began to intrude increasingly with the beginning of the 20th century and Fort Churchill adapted to these changes.

Stockades

Pickets surrounded the post for most of the 19th century; the boundary marked by these in the late 19th century was 240 ft.(73.2 m.) by 320 ft. (97.5 m.) by 250 ft.(76.2 m.) by 300 ft.(91.4 m.)[14] The pickets had originally been required as a defensive stockade against possible attack but no attacks had been made on Fort Churchill; the stockade served primarily as a barrier between the natives and the post buildings. The wind in winter piled the snow against these pickets forming drifts so deep at times that the houses and entrances were covered, making it impossible to get out of the houses until tunnels were dug.[15]

By the 1890s the pickets were no longer regarded as necessary or useful at Fort Churchill and were taken down. With their removal, Churchill lost the last vestige of any defensive posture and assumed the aspect of a small wilderness village of the 20th century, in which Fort Churchill functioned as a small general store as well as trading post. The only purpose served by the pickets now was to be burnt as firewood, although a few continued to be used to protect the graveyard and the garden from the animals of the fort.[16]

Graves

The graveyard on the rocks west of the post continued to be

used; there appeared to be no need to enlarge it, despite the passage of so many years with the resultant deaths. The life at Churchill was a healthy one but illness, old age and accidents did take their toll on the population. The nearest doctor was at York and he rarely made visits to Churchill; post managers and missionaries gave out simple remedies and this was the extent of the medical care available.

Tuttle, a journalist who visited Fort Churchill in 1884 with the government expedition of that year, and who viewed Churchill with a somewhat jaundiced eye, was shocked by the neglect of the fort graves. At that time only two of the graves had tombstones; the rest were scattered and unkempt, with little or nothing to mark them.[17] The graveyard looks the same today, with a couple of tombstones still there; one of these marks the grave of young Charles Spencer, who died 25 July 1890.[18] Some moldering wooden pickets surround a few of the graves and a few wooden crosses still stand.

The Indian graveyard, situated nearby on the rocks, held a great many graves when Mr. Kirkby, the Anglican missionary, visited in 1871.[19] This site also continued in use and can still be found, with its wooden pickets and crosses much the same as in the fort graveyard.

Water

Snow water was still a major source of water for Churchill in the winter but water in summer was more difficult to find. The two wells continued to be used (one of them said to be situated in the quarry) but were not always reliable. When they ran dry water was obtained from the two small Goose Ponds on the rocks west of the fort.[20] By the 1870s ice was collected from the Goose Ponds in winter to provide drinking water in summer.[21] No matter what method was tried, however, drinking water remained a scarce commodity at Churchill.

Gardens

The garden in 1855 occupied only one-third of an acre (.1 hectares); it ran 52 yds. (47.5 m.) by 32 yds. (29.3 m.)[22] The interest in gardening still fluctuated with the interests of the man in charge of the post (or those of his wife). Robert Bell enthused about the possibilities of gardening at Churchill. He reported that Mrs. Spencer, "being an Irish lady," began to raise potatoes with success every year. She also kept cattle which produced as fine a butter as could be found in the world.[23] Other visitors did not share Bell's enthusiasm; no more such reports of successful potato crops were given and cattle were no longer kept at Churchill when the Spencers left in 1893.

Trade Buildings

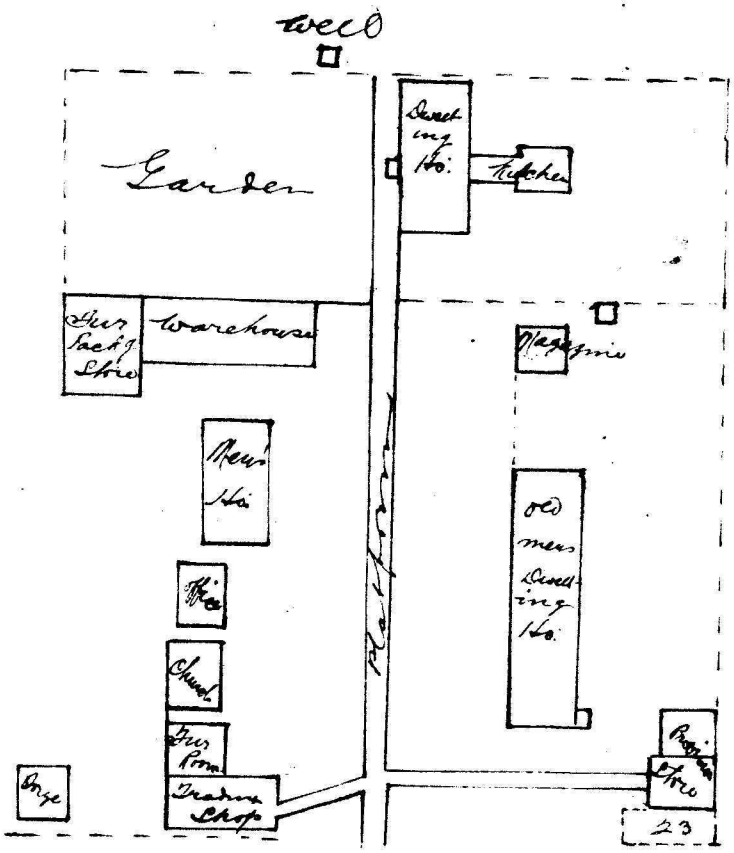
The old buildings on the site continued to be occupied, much as they had been for most of the 19th century. Because Fort Churchill did not expand in trade or personnel the only new buildings were replacements for old and worn-out buildings and these were only constructed when absolutely necessary. In 1866 Mr. Griffin complained that except for the officer's dwelling and the new oil house every building at the fort was crumbling to pieces - "a most woeful ruin the whole place is in".[24]

In the early 1880s the site was occupied by the Master's house, two little one-room cabins, the Men's House for married people divided into three or four sections, a carpenter's shed, packing room, powder magazine made of stone with a lead-covered roof, a trading store (also lead-roofed), a provision shed, a small blacksmith shop or forge about 8 ft. by 10 ft., a small galvanized church belonging to the CMS, and an oil or blubber house 200 -300 yds. (182.9 -274.3 m.) from the fort, with a small wooden jetty extending into the river.[25] Only the two little cabins and the church had been added since 1860.

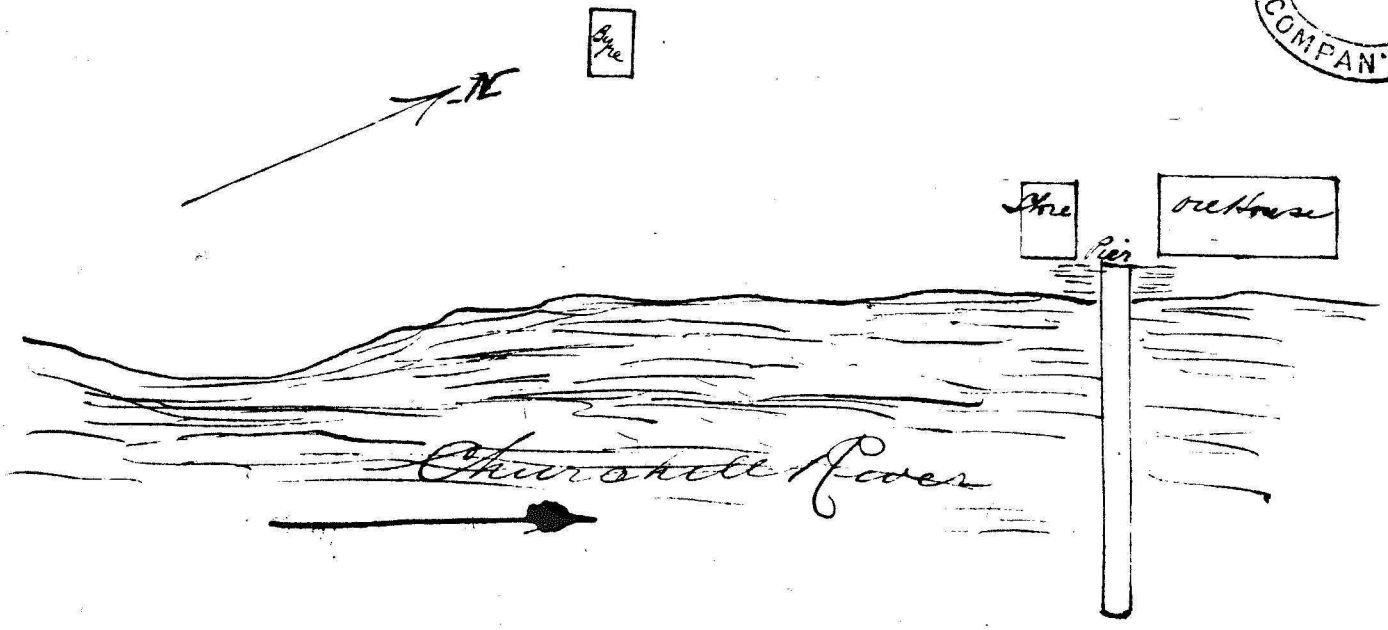
The fort changed very little over the rest of the 19th century. By 1901 the old magazine remained, as did the old

Fig. 17 Sketch plan of Churchill Post, [by James McDougall, 1889].
HBC Archives, P.A.M., B42/e/11, fo. 2

Sketch Plan of Churchill



HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY



Trading Store and the forge. As well as these the officer's dwelling, the Men's houses, a new Trading Store and the byre occupied the grounds. The fur packing store and warehouse (the former still and launch houses) had disappeared. At the water stood the oil house and the York Store (see Fig. 21). These buildings, many of them very old, were sufficient to serve the purposes of the trade at Fort Churchill and there was no incentive to undertake expensive additions.

Launch Store

The old launch store was in such bad shape by 1877 that Mr. Spencer claimed it was not safe to store goods in it; it was replaced with a new one.[26] This was a frame building, weatherboarded and with a clapboard roof, measuring 24 ft. (7.3 m.) by 15 ft. (4.6 m.). By 1889 it was noted to be in need of repair.[27] The launch store by this time was no longer needed for the provision trade and instead was used to store freight as the original launch houses had.

York Store

In 1898 the York Store, a building sent from York, replaced this 1877 store.[28] This had almost the same dimensions as the one it replaced, measuring 24 ft. (7.3 m.) by 15.5 ft.(4.7 m.) and was also a frame building, clapboarded and lined.

Trading Shop

In 1868 a fur room was built attached to the old Trading Shop; this was a frame building with clapboards and a clapboarded roof, measuring 15 ft.(4.6 m.) by 15 ft.(4.6 m.).[29]

In 1894 the men began making the foundation and laying the lower frame for a new Trading Store on the east side of the Magazine and in front of Men's House[30] (see Fig. 21). While this was still being built in 1895 the wind blew it down.[31] It was not included in the plan of the post for 1898 but was listed as recently built.[32] The new Trading Store was a frame

building, one and a half storeys high, clapboarded and lined, measuring 37 ft. (11.3 m.) by 24 ft. (7.3 m.).[33] For some reason this store was not included in the inventories of buildings at the post in the early years of the 20th century, although it was on the plan of 1901 and no reference was made to taking it down. It is therefore assumed that it continued to be used, replacing the very old Trading Shop which, however, still remained at the post.

Forge

In 1903 the old forge was pulled down.[34] No attempt was made to replace this. The days when Fort Churchill required a blacksmith to make tools and ironwork for the post and repair Indian guns were long gone. It was more efficient in the 20th century to import these tools or send out for repairs.

Byre

In 1861 a new cow house was built at the fort.[35] It was plastered in 1866.[36] The byre listed by Jas. McDougall in his 1889 inspection report was built in 1867 (possibly an incorrect dating); it was a log building 20 ft. (6 m.) by 13 ft. (4 m.)[37] The Spencer family was large and while they were at Churchill, 1873 -1893, cattle were kept there to provide milk for the children. Jas. McDougall thought this a useless expense, however, and after the Spencers left no cattle were kept at Churchill.

The byre was converted into a dwelling house for George Oman in 1893 when the old Men's House was torn down. The rotten flooring of the byre was removed and replaced with flooring from the Men's House; the byre was cleaned out, the door was changed and a second window put in, and the logs on the inside were mudded.[38] These alterations, however, did not make the byre a comfortable dwelling, especially when snow drifted in between the logs, and Oman was forced to move back into the piece of the old Men's House of 1814 which was still standing.

Fig. 18 Plan of Churchill, n.d.
HBC Archives, P.A.M., G7/9 [Outfit 261]
This plan was enclosed with the papers of a much later outfit. The location of the church indicates it must have been drawn before this church was removed from the site, 1894-95. The officer's house is shown as "Mr. Spencer's house"; John Spencer was in charge of Fort Churchill 1873-93. It is probable that the sketch was made by him, perhaps when he took the charge of York 1888-89, since it shows the newly-built Men's House as well as the old Men's House.

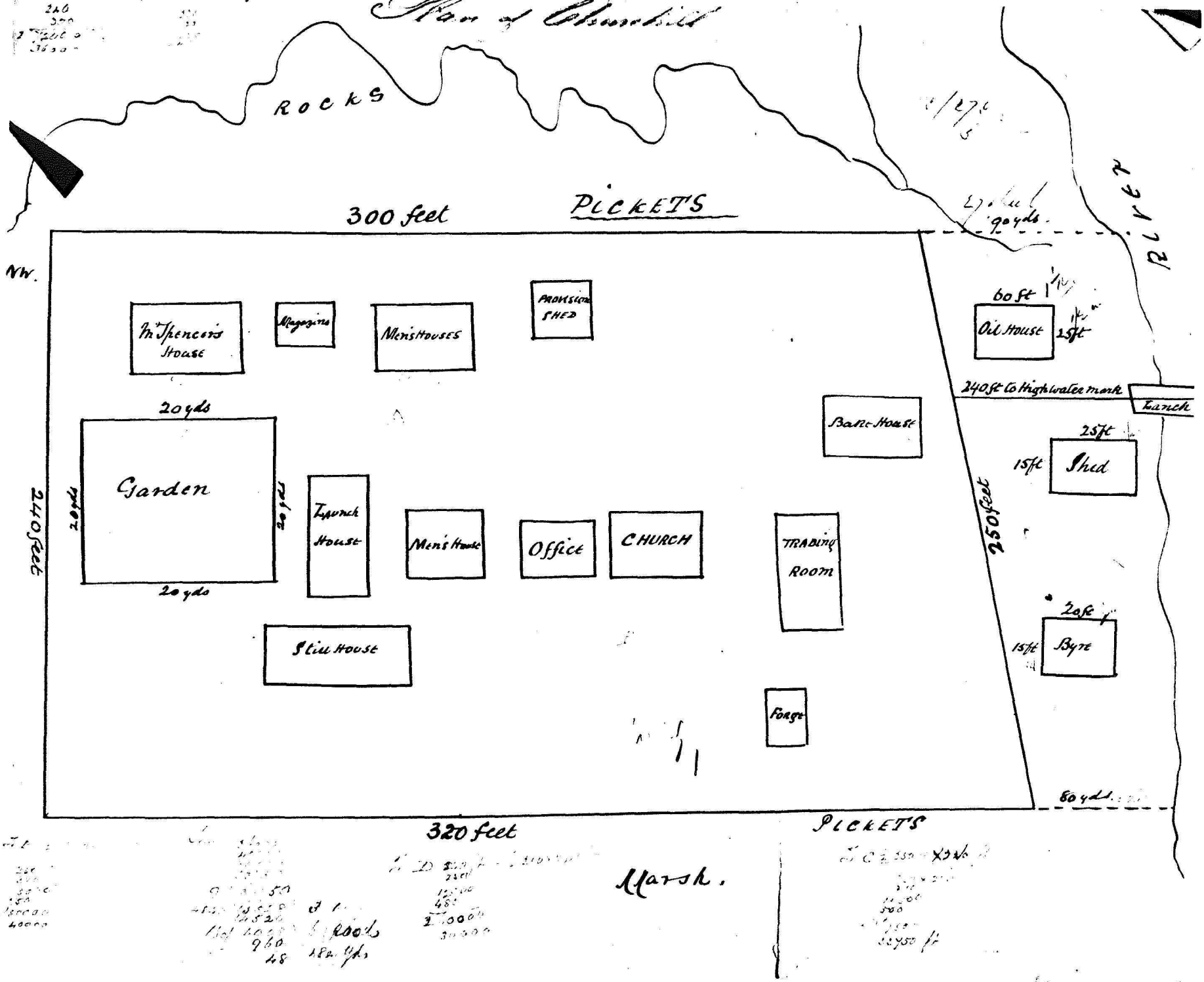

Plan of Ground
ROCKS
300 feet
PICKETS
NW.
Mr Spencers House
Magazine
Mens Houses
Provision Shed
60 ft
Oil House
25ft
240 ft to High water mark
Launch
Bake House
20 yds
Garden
20 yds
20 yds
20 yds
240 feet
Launch House
Mens House
Office
CHURCH
TRADING ROOM
25ft
15ft
Shed
250 feet
20ft
15ft
Byre
Still House
Forge
80 yds
320 feet
PICKETS
Marsh.
RIVER

Fig. 19 Plan of Churchill Post, 1895 and Plan of Churchill Whale Fishery, by F. Matheson, 1895. HBC Archives, P.A.M., B42/e/12, fos. 2d-3

1. Master's Dwelling
1a. Kitchen attached
2. Fur Store and Workshop
2a. Shed attached
3. Powder Magazine
4. Men's House 1888
5. Office and Clerk's House
6. Part of Old Men's House 1814
7. Provision Shed
8. Trading Store
8a. Shed attached
9. Forge
10. Byre
11. Shed
12. Oil House

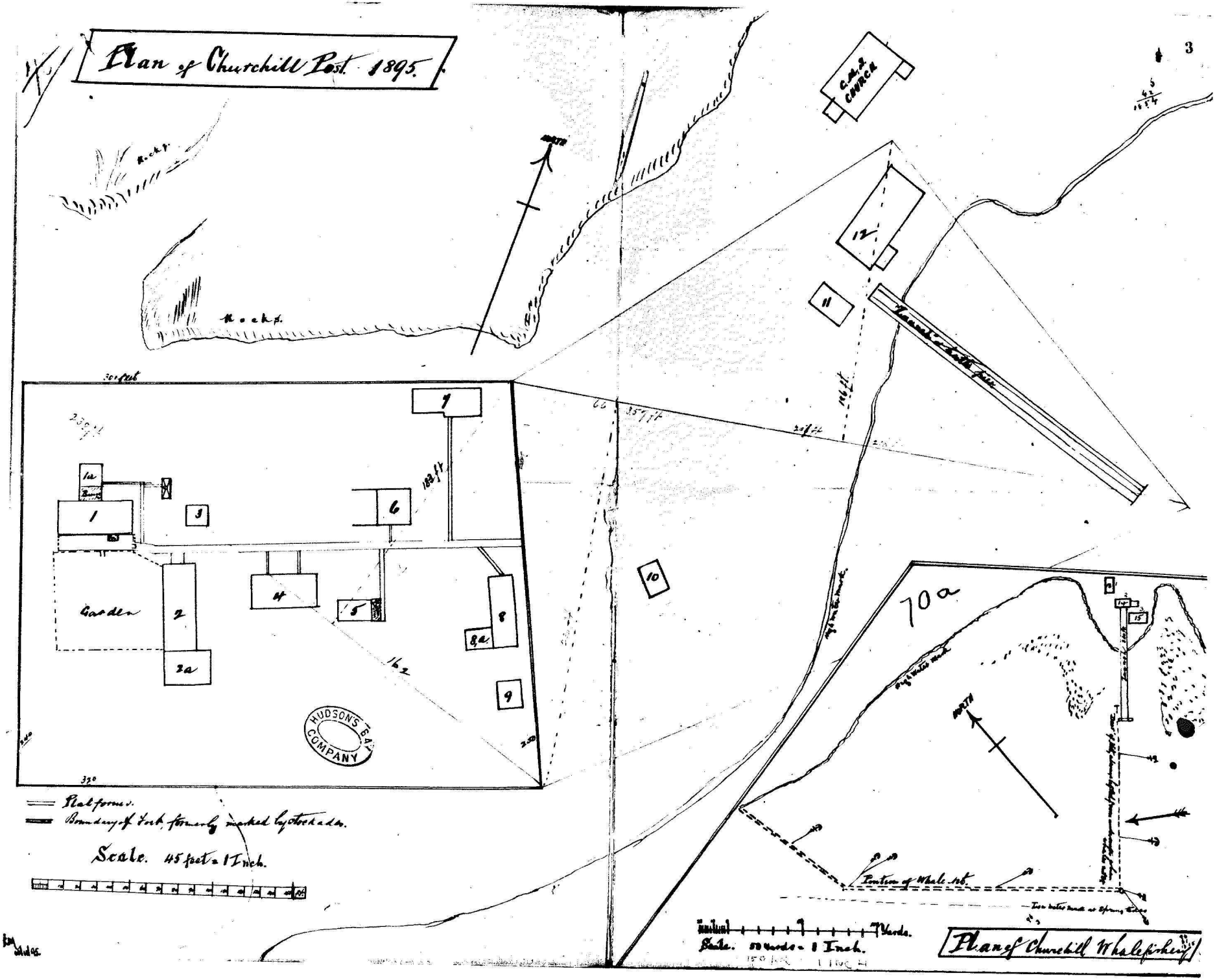

Plan of Churchill Post. 1895.
Rocks
Rocks
North
C. of E. CHURCH
12
11
Tunnel or Cattle pass
10
Garden
1
1a
2
2a
3
4
5
6
7
8
8a
9
HUDSONS BAY COMPANY
Flat forms.
Boundary of York, formerly marked by Stockades.
Scale. 45 feet = 1 Inch.
70a
North
Position of Whale sch.
Plan of Churchill Whalefishery

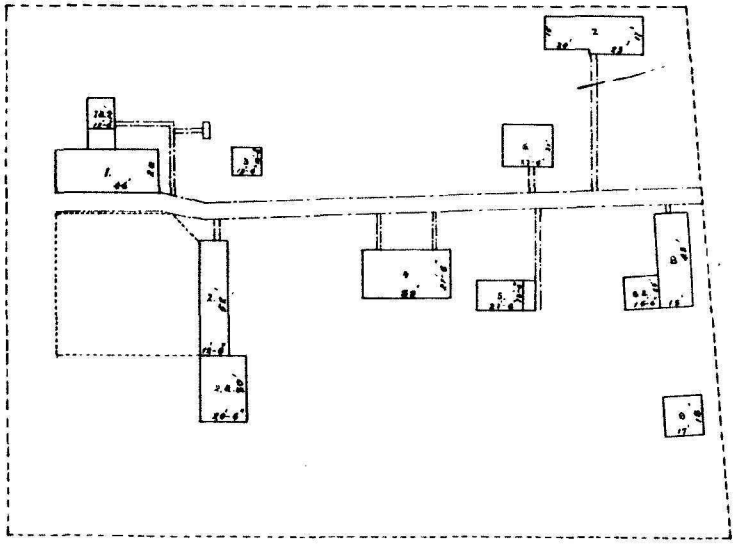
Fig. 20 Plan of Churchill Post, from Hudson's Bay Co. Fur Trade Districts Plans of Posts Book, Winnipeg, 1898.
HBC Archives, P.A.M., G7/1, fo. 57

1. Master's House (1856)
1a. Kitchen
2. Fur Store and Workshop
2a. Shed
3. Powder Magazine
4. Men's House of 1888
5. Office and Clerk's House
6. Part of Men's House of 1814
7. Provision Shed
8. Trading Store
8a. Shed
9. Forge
10. Byre
11. Shed
12. Oil House

"YORK FACTORY DISTRICT"

CHURCHILL POST

"For Churchill Whale Fisheries see No "



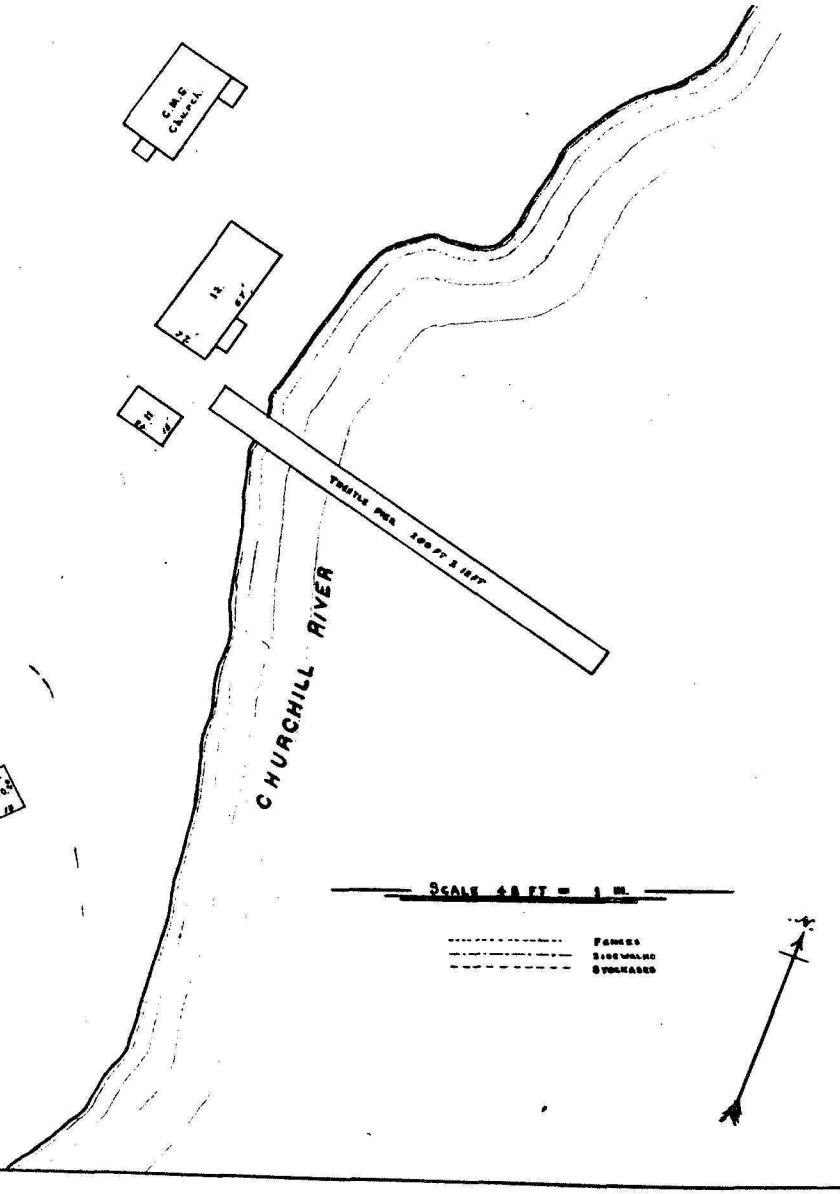
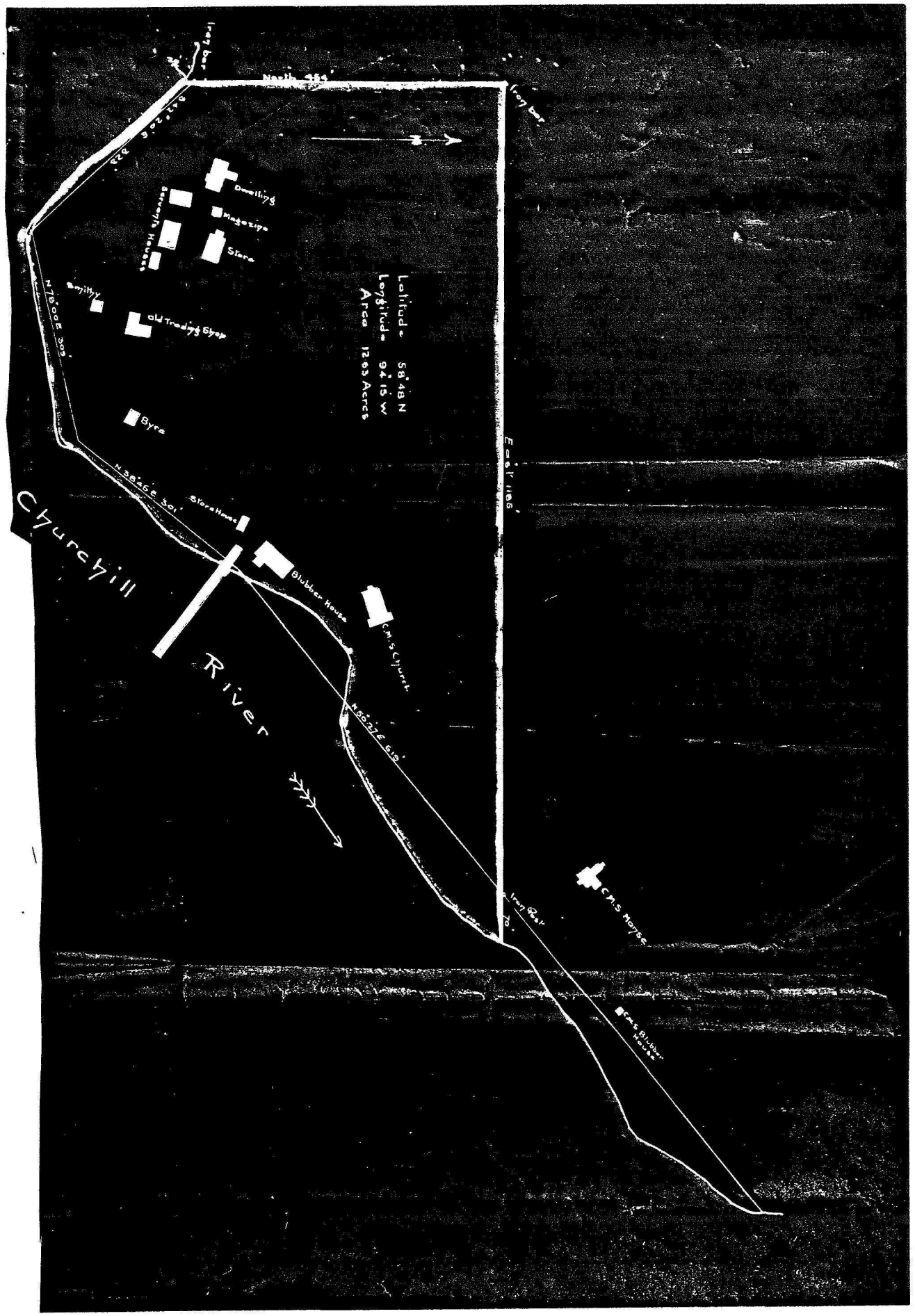


Fig. 21 "Hudson's Bay Company Plan of Fort Churchill, Churchill River Keewatin." Winnipeg, Jan. 22, 1901, Geo. A. Bayne (Blueprint) HBC Archives, P.A.M.


Dwelling
Magazine
Store
Smithy
old Trading Shop
Byre
Store House
Blubber House
C.M.S Church
C.M.S Manse
C.M.S Blubber House
Latitude - 58° 48 N
Longitude - 94° 15 W
Area 1203 Acres
Churchill
River
Iron Bar
Iron Post
N 78° 00 E 309'
N 38° 46 E 301'
N 60° 27 E 619'
E 60° 1185'

The byre was still present in 1901 but it was not listed in the inventory of 1903;[39] presumably it was torn down in the interval.

The very small amount of building activity for trade purposes at the site in this period of 46 years was a consequence of the unchanging character of Fort Churchill at the time, with no new sources of trade or expansion to demand new construction. These same conditions resulted too in very few alterations to the dwellings of Fort Churchill.

Dwellings

The number of servants at the post remained about eight in number for most of this period, as it had since the 1820s. But because these servants were all married, usually with large families, the post required a great deal of provisions for them. In 1889 there were eight servants hired at Churchill but these eight had 39 children living at the post and drawing ten rations.[40] This number of dependents was a heavy drain both on the local resources of food and fuel and on the expenses of the post. At Churchill the threat of hunger was always present; any unnecessary dependents were dangerous for the physical as well as the economic survival of the post.

James McDougall in 1889 recommended cutting down on the number of servants; four would be enough for most of the year and temporary labour could be used in summer for the whale fishery and the boats to Marble Island.[41] This recommendation was accepted by the Commissioner, who instructed in 1890 that the staff at Churchill should not in future be larger than one officer or clerk in charge and one clerk and four men, supplemented by temporary labour in the summer.[42] It is difficult to ascertain to what extent this order was effective. Some permanent employees of Fort Churchill, such as George Oman, lived and worked at the post for many years without a contract; Oman worked for Fort Churchill from 1875 but had no contract until 1914.[43]

The order did mean that less housing would be required at Churchill in the future since a smaller number of men would be hired; this would also result in a reduction in the number of dependents attached to the post and fewer job opportunities at Churchill for the children of servants. Those children would have to look outside the HBC and outside the Churchill area for their employment; they could perhaps turn to trapping in the winter and taking summer employment at the post. Whatever choice they made, the radical decline in the number of people living at Fort Churchill would affect both the physical and the human geography of the area. Fort Churchill had entered the 19th century as a large independent Factory; it entered the 20th century as a very small, declining post, fading into obscurity and perhaps eventual disappearance.

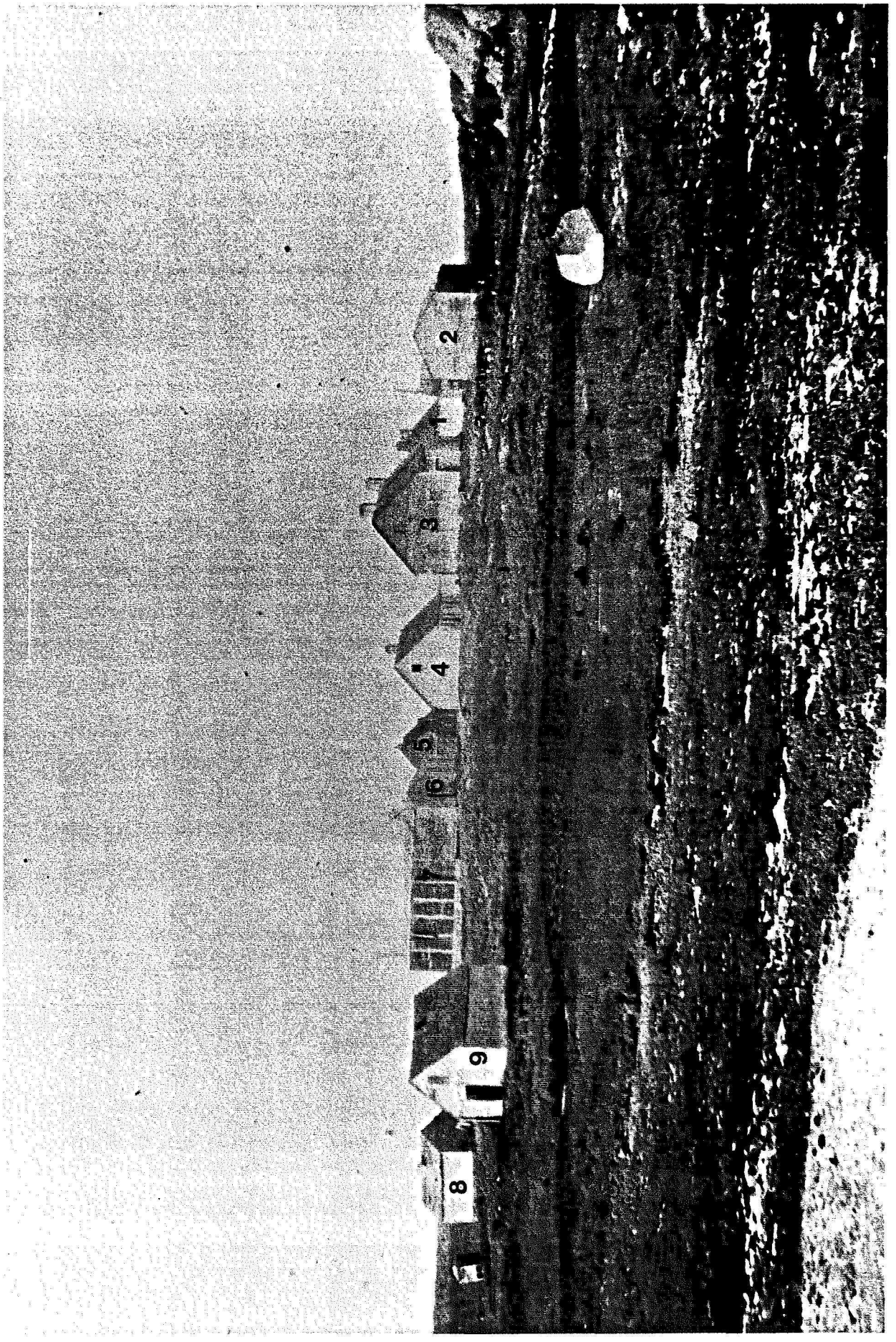
The Christmas celebrations were still the highlight of the year at Churchill. By 1888 Santa Claus began to make his appearance.[44] The Victorian age Santa had to make some adaptations to conditions at Churchill, however. Sam Grey, the old servant at the post, and the father or grandfather of many of the children, played Santa and was accompanied by his wife. They came over the rocks into the post, dressed in furs, with the dogs jingling their harness bells and pulling a sled on which was a tree loaded with toys. Santa had a tea kettle of candies at his belt and drew the children by banging on a frying pan. All of this occurred in a temperature of 52 degrees below zero, with the Aurora Borealis to light the scene. By 1899 the Eskimos had joined in the fun and Santa was accompanied by a Husky "dwarf".[45]

For the adults the feast began to be marked by dinners and dances, both at Christmas and New Year's. At some of these the man in charge of the post was the host, while at others the men got together and gave a dance.[46] The Indians and mixed-blood people of the fort were very fond of the dances which continued into the late hours.

After 1886 an Anglican missionary was stationed at Chur-

Fig. 22 H.B. Post at Churchill from end of wharf, Oct. 6, 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

1. Officer's House of 1856
2. Provision Shed
3. Part of Old Men's House of 1814
4. Men's House 1888
5. Clerk's House
6. Iron Church #1
7. Trading Store (1800) with shed attached
8. Byre. This could possibly be the forge but appears to be in the site of the byre.
9. Shed?


2
3
4
5
6
8

chill and added a new dimension to the Christmas entertainments. In 1889 the Lofthouses had all the children in for tea, meat and plum pudding; then they all went to the little iron church, where there was a Christmas tree, with presents for everyone, adults and children, sent by the mission supporters in England.[47] The Lofthouses developed the custom of having the men and boys to their house on New Year's Eve, beginning the New Year with prayers and Scripture reading which went on past midnight[48]- a new alternative to the traditional New Year's celebrations at Churchill.

As in previous years, there were occasional unexpected arrivals at Churchill. While sailing ships were used, there was still the chance of a ship wintering over in the Bay. In 1883 the Ocean Nymph arrived at Churchill on October 8, unable to return to England; it was laid up above Cockles' Point for the winter.[49] The old Men's House was called on again, with bunks put up in it for the sailors and passengers. All the fur and feather packs on the ship had to be put on shore at Cockles' Point so that they would not be destroyed by the rats on board ship.[50] Some of the passengers and sailors walked to York, thus saving Churchill the cost of maintaining them. This winter there were very few references to these arrivals in the journals of the post; their presence did not appear as disruptive to the pattern of life at Churchill as earlier such occasions had.

The presence of American whalers in the Bay also brought some visitors to Churchill. In 1902 three American sailors arrived; they had deserted from the new Bedford whaling schooner Francis Allen because of harsh treatment by its Portuguese captain and mate.[51] They preferred to risk the journey overland rather than stay on board the ship. They did not stay at Churchill but went on to York to try to get back to the United States.

These unexpected visits were few and far between, however; for the most part life at Churchill continued its accustomed

routine, with little or no demand or opportunity for change.

Adam's House

In spite of the lack of change in personnel and purpose for Fort Churchill the provision of adequate housing for the men and families of the post continued to pose problems. In 1871 a new log house was built for Adam, the former prisoner at the fort, who had stayed on as a labourer; this house was clapboarded and plastered on the outside.[52] Adam and Peter occupied this house and the Men's House was left empty.[53] But the house was too cold for Adam to live in its first winter; it had been built with green logs which shrank and warped so that the house could not be kept warm and Adam had to move back into the old Men's House.[54] No explanation was given as to why the house was built with green logs, when the effects of such use must have been known.

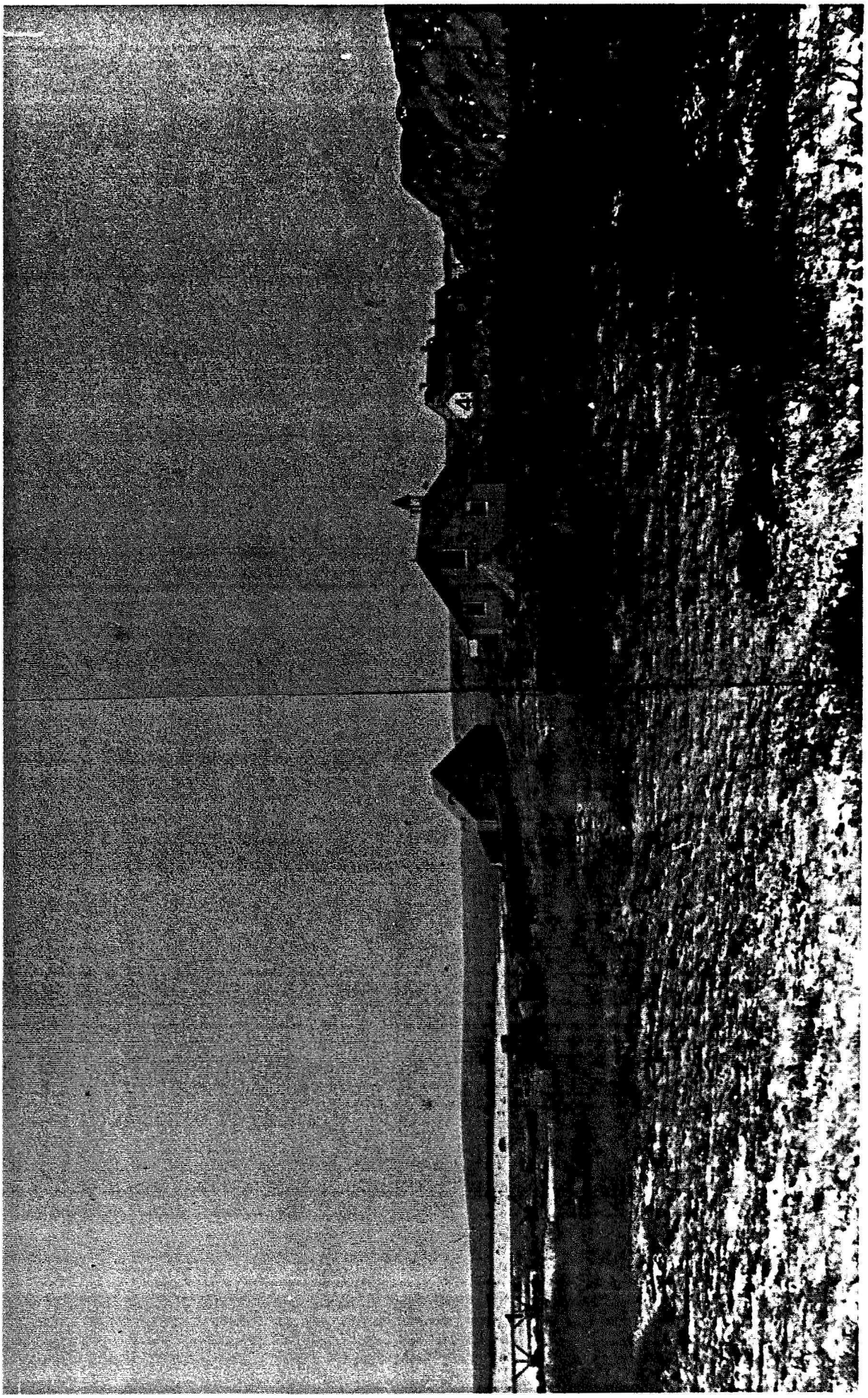
In the spring the men mudded the walls of Adam's new house, bringing the mud from the other side of the "Grave rocks".[55] This was the usual method at Churchill to provide warmth for houses and appeared to work for this house. Adam's house was pulled down in 1887; some of the wood from it was used then to replace the roof of the forge.[56] Adam's small house had lasted only 17 years, a much shorter period of time than the old Men's House had continued its useful existence.

Men's House of 1814

The old Men's House had been built in 1814 and showed the effects of its age and long occupancy. Plans were made to replace it in 1874; logs were rafted down for this but no new building was made and the men were forced to continue to live in the old Men's House during the winter, though it was repaired for them.[57] It was repaired again in 1877 so that the men could winter in it;[58] in the summer they were able to move into their smaller houses. This pattern of using separate winter and summer houses continued at Fort Churchill. The

Fig. 23 Fort Churchill as seen from Mission House,
Oct. 11, 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

1. Launch
2. Oil House
3. Church of 1892
4. Provision Shed
5. Part of Old Men's House of 1814
6. Officer's House of 1856



winter quarters were occupied for the sake of saving on fuel rather than for their desirable living conditions; there were only two stoves in the old Men's House, compared to the eight required by the separate houses.[59] The old Men's House was still standing when James McDougall inspected the post in 1889; he considered it unsafe, though some of the material in it was still good and could be used for other buildings.[60]

George Simpson McTavish described this Men's House[61] in his memoirs, Behind the Palisades. It was a real maze because it had been partitioned so many times over its long life to suit the varying needs of the different families and their children. The windows were small, making it dark inside; the walls were impregnated with the wood smoke of its many years of existence. Fires were taboo in the Men's House at night; the officer made the rounds at 10 p.m. to make sure the fires were out.

Because of the whale fishery at Churchill the men had a plentiful supply of oil to provide light in their house. Each had a tin container with a spout and a cotton wick in it to hold the oil; when this was lit, however, it gave as much smoke as light. With this drawback and the lack of fire after 10 p.m. there was considerable incentive to go to bed early. The beds were also the only place in the Men's House with any privacy because they were built in, with curtains around them. The rest of the furniture, like the beds, was country-made. Despite the primitive and overcrowded living conditions there was, according to McTavish, much happiness in that crowded dark place, where the men's large families were raised "with pure air and simple living".

When a new Men's House was built in 1888 the old Men's House of 1814 was no longer needed; the partitions inside it were taken down in 1888[62] but it was not until 1893 that most of the house was pulled down; even then one end of it was boarded up and left standing.[63]

In its last stages of existence the old Men's House served a variety of functions. In 1892 it was used as a boathouse in

which to build a new boat for Marble Island.[64] When it was finally torn down, parts of it were cannibalized for the restructuring of other buildings at Churchill. The old floor provided the floor for the byre, which was converted into a house for George Oman. The ceiling boards were taken down, the mud cleaned off them, the old nails taken out; the ceiling boards then were used to line the provision shed, although they were found to be very wet,[65] an indication that the roof of the Men's House must have leaked over at least the last years of its existence.

In the process of taking down the old Men's House, the men were aided by the fact that part of it fell down on its own. The building techniques of 1814 were revealed when a large number of very large spike nails were found embedded in the loft of the old house, holding the logs together.[66] These nails might have come from the Haymarsh House which was torn down at the time of building the Men's House in 1814 and its nails used at the fort.[67] If so, the nails found in the 1890s would have been made at the old Stone Fort before 1782.

The fragment of the old Men's House which was still standing, measuring 21 ft. (6.4 m.) by 22 1/2 ft.(6.9 m.),[68] was tightened up and was put to use again as a dwelling house for George Oman when the byre proved too uncomfortable.[69] The old Men's House must have been very snug by Churchill standards since to the end of its existence it served as a refuge from the newer, colder buildings erected long after it. This function continued until 1899, when this last part of the old building of 1814 was finally torn down.

Men's House 1888

In 1882 the decision was made at last to build a new Men's House and the men were sent to get logs from the Small Hill for it.[70] The actual building did not begin until 1886, with logs from the North River;[71] it was a slow process and the house was not finished until November 1888.[72] This new Men's House was

Fig. 24 HBC post at Churchill from the Northeast, 11 October 1894, by J.B. Tyrrell. Hudson's Bay Company, Neg: 53A137

1. Byre
2. Trading Store of 1800
3. First Iron Church
4. Clerk's House
5. Part of Old Men's House of 1814
6. Provision Shed
7. Officer's House of 1856 with kitchen attached

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Fig. 25 HBC Post at Churchill - from the top of the rocks to the west, October 1894.
Hudson's Bay Company, Neg: 53A145

1. Officer's House 1856 and kitchen. Kitchen had just been moved closer to house.
2. Fur Store and Workshop (former Launch and Still House)
3. Magazine
4. Men's House 1888
5. Clerk's House
6. Part of Old Men's House 1814
7. First Iron Church
8. Provision Shed

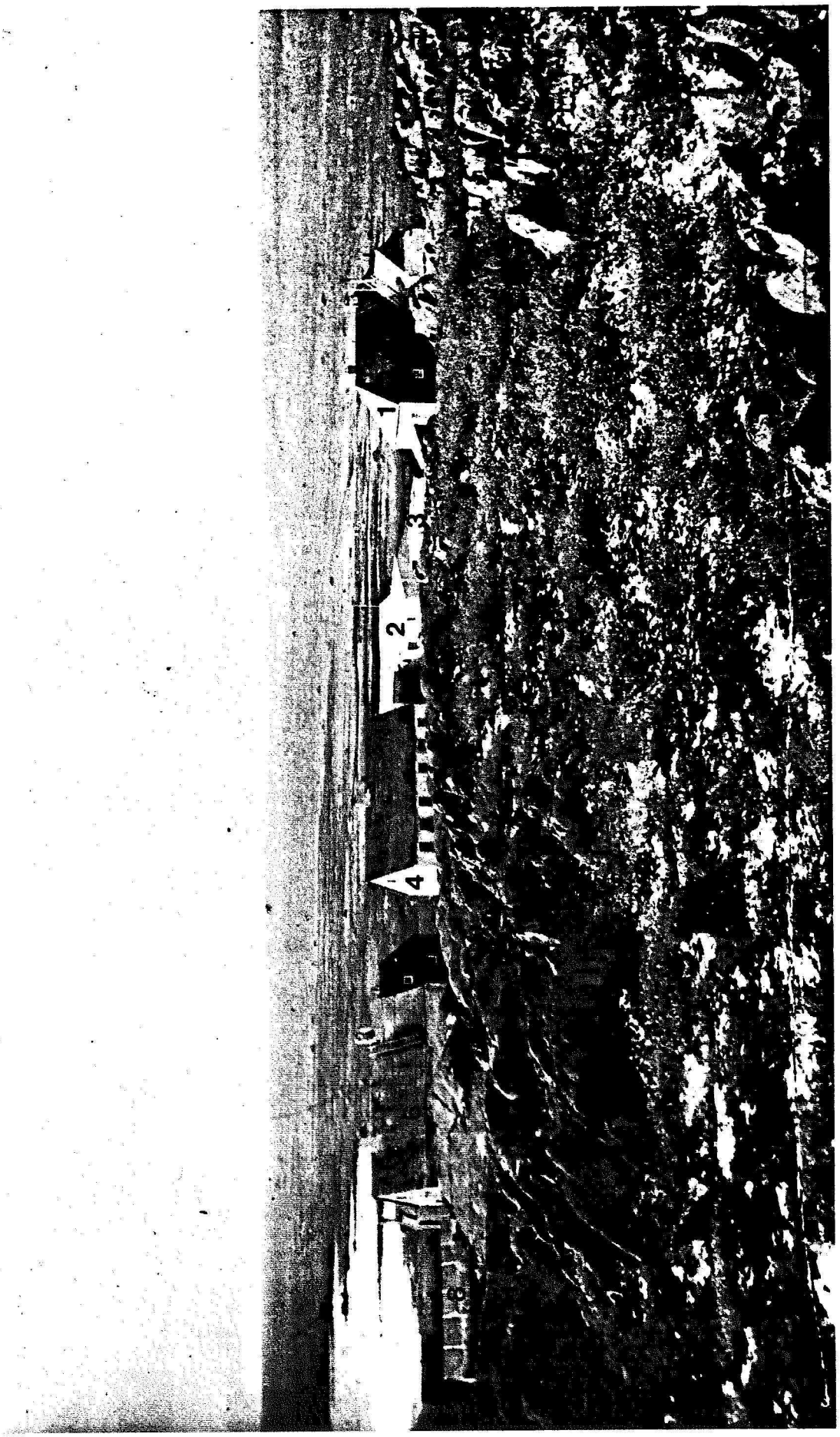
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Fig. 26 Winter View of Churchill from summit of hill to north, 20 November 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

1. Oil House
2. Church of 1892
3. Mission House
4. Byre
5. Iron Church #1
6. Provision Shed
7. Part of Old Men's House of 1814
8. Forge
9. Trading Shop

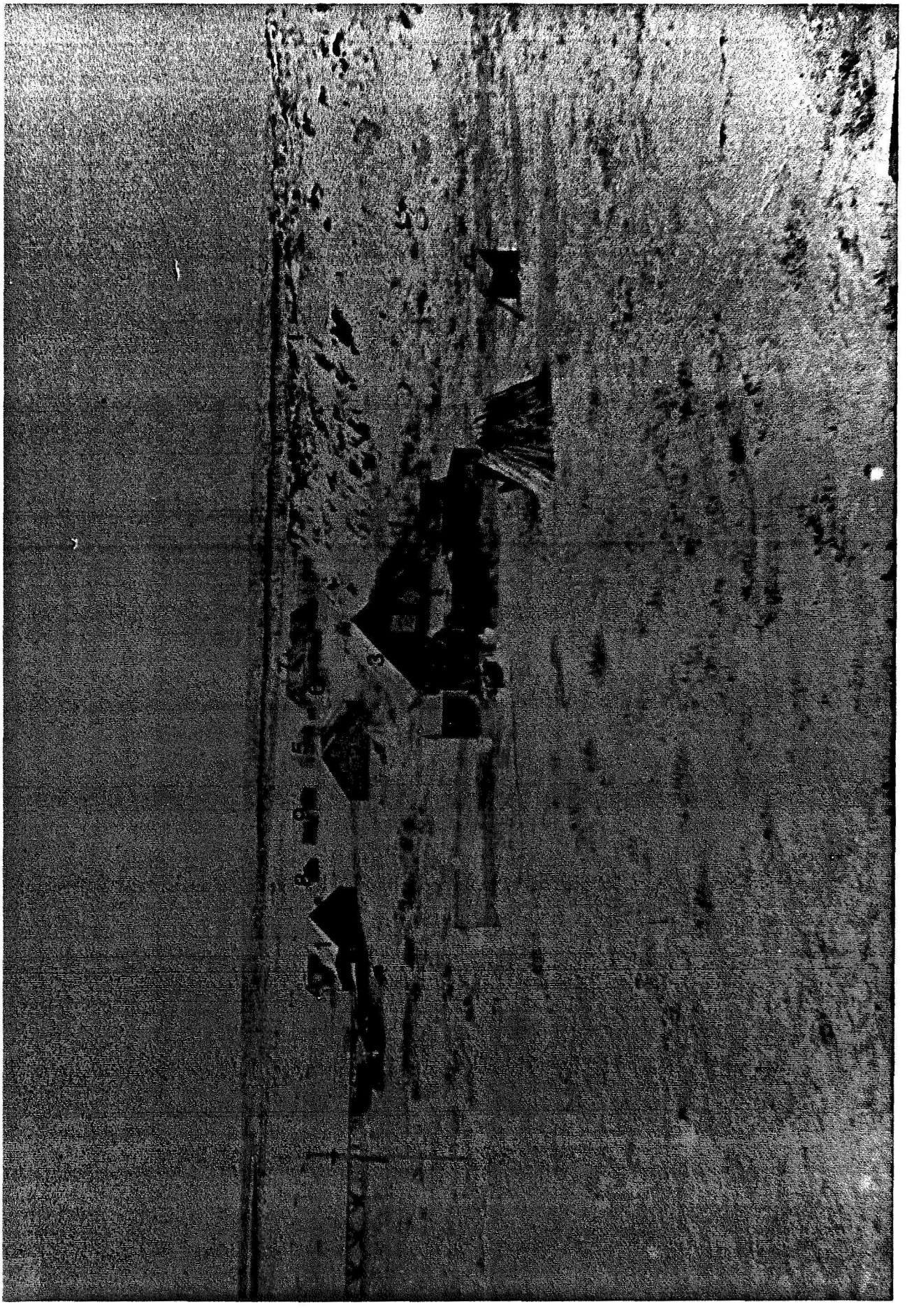
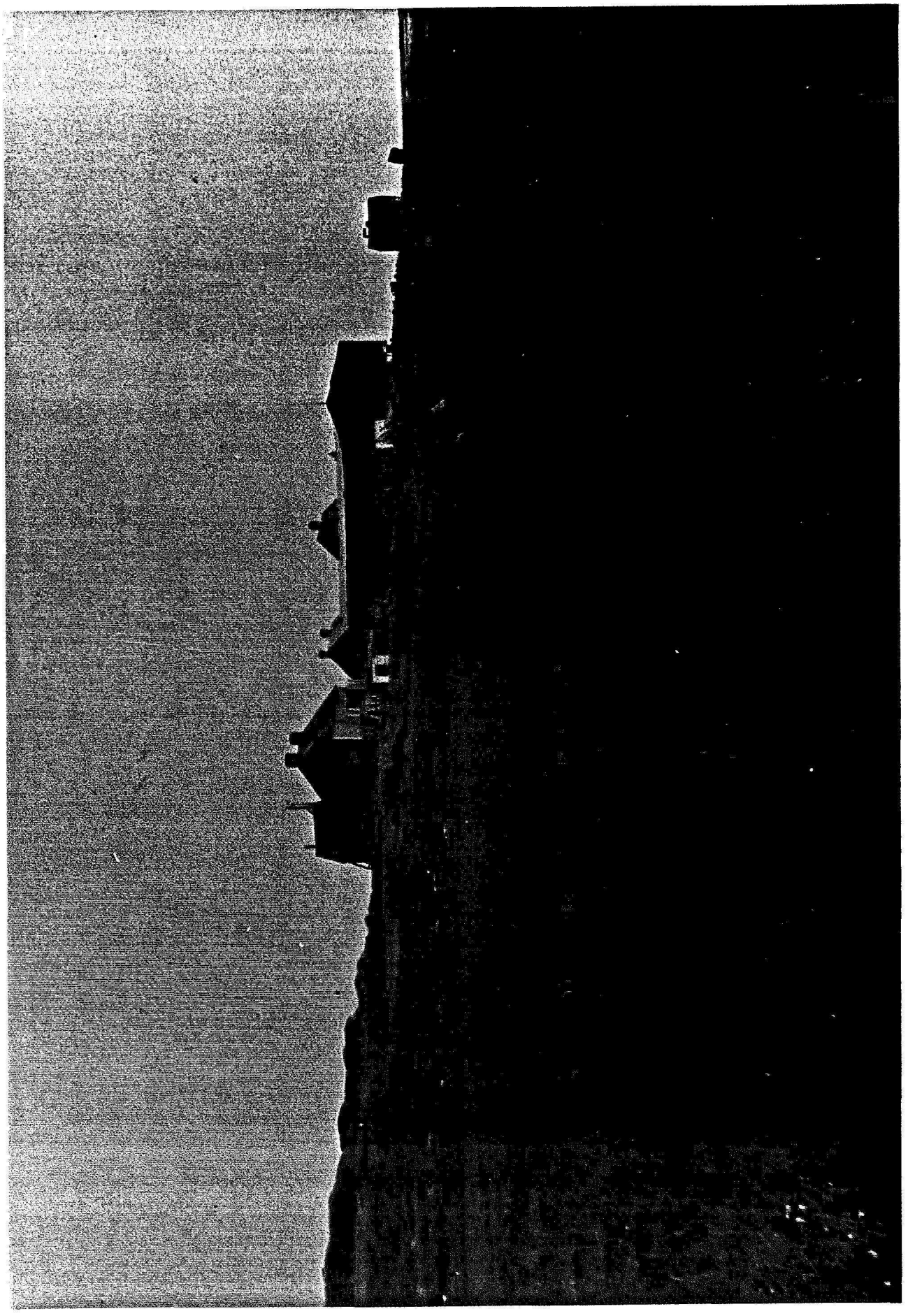


Fig. 27 H.B. Post at Churchill from south, 13 October 1894. J.B. Tyrrell Collection, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

1. Officer's House 1856 and kitchen
2. Part of Old Men's House 1814
3 & 4. Fur Packing Store and Warehouse (former Launch and Still House)
5. Forge or Byre



one and a half storeys, 39 ft.(11.9 m.) by 21 1/2 ft.(6.6 m.), log, six rooms, clapboarded and lined.[73] Although it was so much smaller than the old Men's House, it had taken much longer to build, yet had a much shorter life span, disappearing at some time in the early 20th century. Its size was much more suitable for the small number of men allotted to Fort Churchill in the late 19th century but it was soon replaced by individual houses for the few servants of the post.

Byre

With the end of the old Men's House, there was need for some more accommodation for the men at Churchill; the new Men's House was not large enough for all the families. An unsuccessful attempt was made to convert the old unused byre into a house for George Oman. (See above p. 153.)

Servant's Cabins

Smaller separate houses on the post site were also used and repaired for each successive occupant. They were referred to by the names of these men, such as "Simpson's house" or "George Oman's house", indicating a more individualized approach to housing than the old term "the Men's House". The communal living of the early days of the HBC had come to an end, replaced by the nuclear family units of the 20th century, a change which was reflected in the buildings at the post.

Bishop Newnham, who visited Churchill in October, 1899, thought the men's houses very squalid, reeking with blubber and overcrowded. Although there were only four servants they had a total of 29 children, which put a considerable strain on the housing. There was barely enough work for these four men and rations were short, which led to a great deal of hunger and cold.[74] Churchill offered little hope of improvement in these circumstances; the families had to eke out their living as best they could within the framework of a declining post, with no chance of employment for their children at the post.

Officer's Dwelling

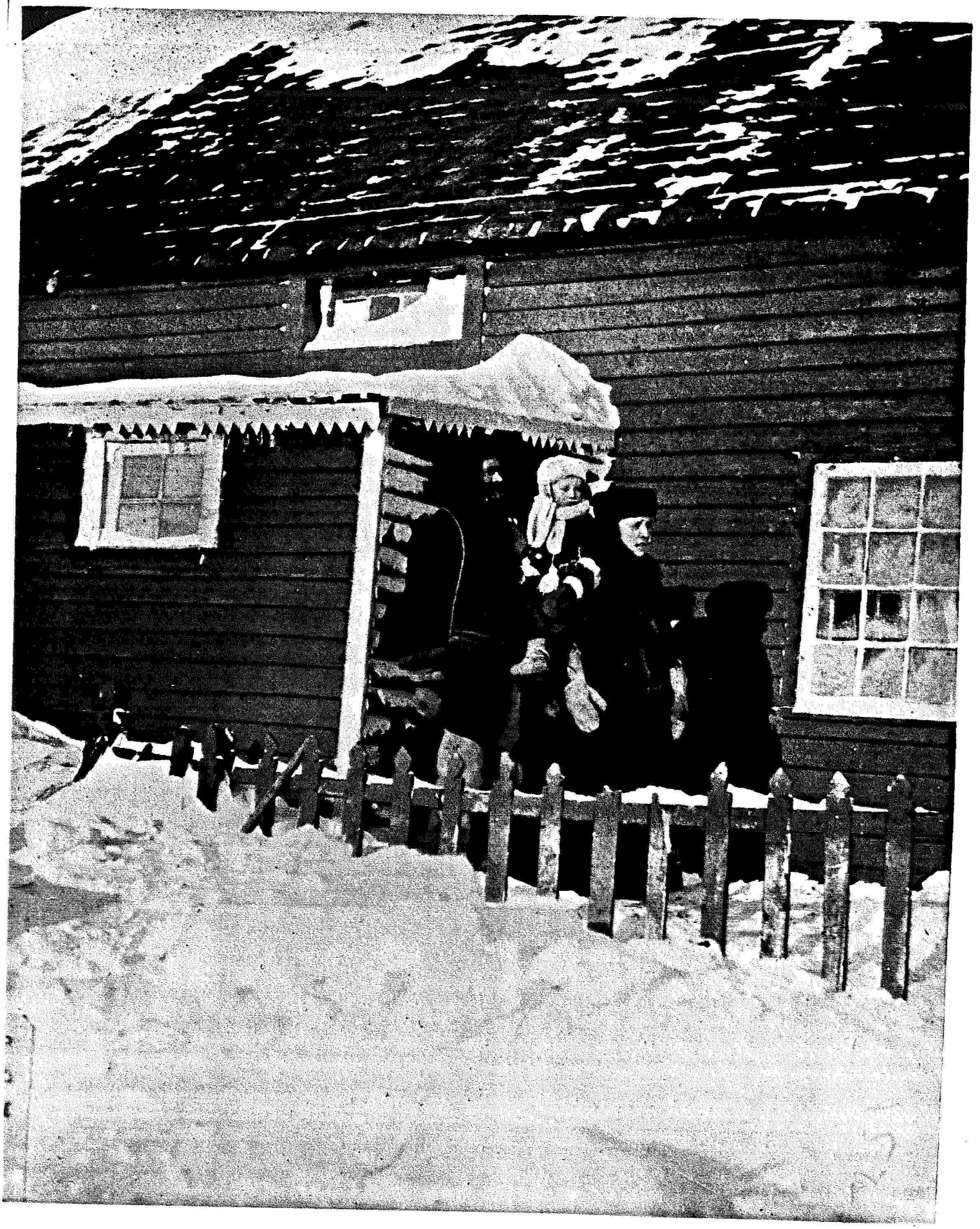
The officer's dwelling house built in the 1850s continued in use. Those who inspected the post reported it to be a good house but those who actually lived in it found it uncomfortable in winter, not surprisingly when it was reported that the temperature inside reached 12 below zero by morning in a room which had a good fire going in it at 11 p.m.[75] In 1894 repairs were made to the house, the back part of it was torn down and the kitchen moved about 12 ft. nearer the house. A drain was then made at the back of the house.[76] In spite of these repairs the house was reported in 1895 to be rather open between the logs; this was impossible to remedy, however, since it would destroy the clapboarding.[77] With all its drawbacks this house continued in use during the existence of the post.

Clerk's Office

Living quarters had to be provided also for the clerk stationed at Churchill in these years. There was no room in the officer's house for him nor could he live with the men. The old office, a small building 13 ft.(4 m.) by 21 ft. (6.4 m.) which had been erected in 1872 was repaired for him in 1880;[78] it was a one-room, one-storey building which had been built with logs half the ordinary breadth, said to be old material reused,[79] as were much of the buildings at Churchill.

George McTavish described his exile in this cabin,[80] with a roof so low he could touch it with his fingertips. There were two small windows of nine small panes of glass six in. by six in. in the front (north) end of the cabin but he had to stoop down if he wanted to look out through these. A smaller window at the back gave a little more light from the south, with a view, when the tide was out, of the flats of mud and boulders next to the marshy ground in front of the post. All of this was of course turned into an expanse of snow in the winter. It was a view which held no attraction for McTavish; the small size of the windows was not too much of a drawback

Fig. 28 Churchill, Manitoba, 1894. Mr. Hawes and Family.
Photo: J.B. Tyrrell
HBC Collection, Neg: 53A138



for him.

Later, McTavish put up a partition in this cabin where he could store a few things like tobacco, matches, clay pipes, etc., to save going over to the trading room in the cold weather. It also gave him an extra porch where he could shed the snow from his boots and which could have an insulating effect for his room. Even with this extra protection, however, the little Carron stove in his room, burning the small wood of the Churchill area, gave very little heat. The little house became so cold that the men banked it with blocks of snow in an effort to keep the wind out.[81]

Besides the lack of warmth, the small house held very little in the way of other comforts. The furniture was country-made, consisting of a bed, table, washstand and chair; a desk made of a couple of pieces of plank covered with green baize provided the clerk's office. A travelling case, especially made to take the rough handling of portages, held his personal belongings and served as a chair.[82] With all its drawbacks, the little house continued to serve for the clerks of Churchill until a new house was begun in 1904.[83]

Indian House

There appeared to be no provision for an Indian house in this period at Fort Churchill. A new house was built in 1860 although its use was not specified.[84] This was probably intended to be an Indian House but was used instead for the missionary who visited that year. In 1862 this house was said to be suitable for Mr. Gardiner but if the mission claimed it then another house would have to be built for the Indians.[85] Although the mission was not established at Churchill, this house did not revert back to an Indian House. In 1866 the men were sent up the river to look for wood for the foundations logs and wall plates, etc. for a new Indian house[86] but none was built. Again in 1867 they were looking for wood for the new Indian House.[87] In 1871 the old Men's House was cleaned up and inten-

ded to be used by the Indians visiting the Fort but was instead reclaimed by the men of the post, although the Indians were also sometimes housed there.[88]

No Indian house was listed throughout this period in the various plans of the post which were produced. With a much smaller number of Chipewyan coming in to trade, there was not as much need for a separate house; it is unclear where the Chipewyan did stay when they came in to Fort Churchill in winter, although they may have stayed with the men.

Buildings Outside Post Area

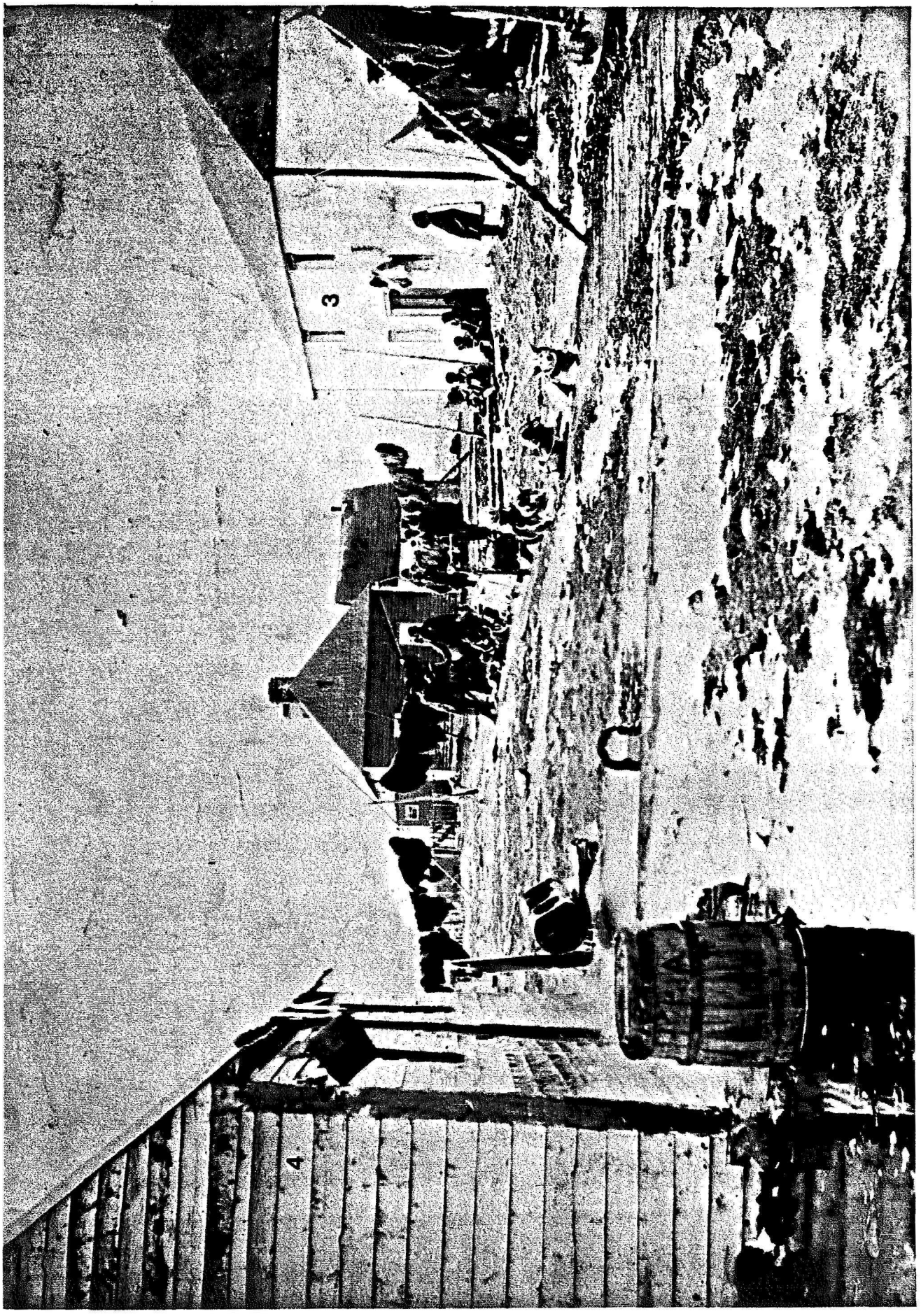
The men continued to have considerable variety over the year in their living accommodations, made necessary by their occupation of different sites for the exploitation of the resources needed to support Fort Churchill. Since the immediate area of the post did not provide enough of these resources the houses at the post were not close enough to the resource areas to exploit them adequately. For this reason in 1899 log houses were built for the men outside of the post at the fishing and whaling sites.[89]

This was the extent of the changes made in the dwelling facilities at Fort Churchill in the last half of the 19th century. Even some of the newer buildings, such as the office and dwelling which had been put up for the clerk in 1873, were made from old material. Churchill did not have the luxury of discarding the old and starting fresh with new wood; the difficulties of obtaining suitable building logs made it imperative that any suitable material be used and reused until in its very last stages it was consumed as firewood.

By the 1880s Fort Churchill made increasing use of the east peninsula of the Churchill River. When nets replaced harpoons and boats for catching whales the whaling station was placed there and much of the oil for the fort was boiled and stored there; it also provided anchorage where the ship could

Fig. 29 HBC Post at Churchill, c. 1900
Hudson's Bay Company, Neg: 66-78

1. Officer's House of 1856
2. Kitchen
3. Trading Store of 1895
4. Servant's House?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unload. The building activity at Churchill therefore shifted to the east peninsula. In 1881 a launch for the ship and a store house to hold the goods unloaded from the ship were built. A new oil house was built there in 1882 because of the increased use of the east side of the Churchill River for the whale fishery. Gradually a small settlement, occupied only in summer, was built there. A small men's house was erected there in 1885.[90]

Because of this move of much of the summer work of the post to the east side of the river, the amount of activity at the site of Fort Churchill decreased. Almost all of the whaling and all of the ship unloading were carried on from the opposite shore. The result was that the Fort Churchill area was used primarily for local support and for trading furs; these required almost nothing in the way of new buildings.

Mission House

In 1886 the first resident missionary arrived at Churchill, adding another occupant and his house to the local land-use. Churchill had been of interest to the Anglican Church since the Rev. John West first visited it in 1823,[91] baptizing most of the post inhabitants and some of the mixed-blood offspring of the Hudson's Bay Company men.[92] Like the Rev. Mr. West, many of the missionaries who followed him were primarily interested in contacting the Eskimos through a mission at Churchill, although their major mission work in fact was with the post inhabitants and the Indians who traded at the post.

Interest in missionary work at Churchill was renewed in 1856 when Mr. Mason visited from York Factory. He baptized almost all the population,[93] whose exposure to Christianity in the previous 30 years had been limited to the reading of prayers on Sunday. In 1860 and again in 1862 Mr. Gardiner came from York by the Schooner to visit Churchill; he returned overland in 1862 to spend the winter.[94] With the support of a benefactor in England who pledged 100 pounds per year Gardiner

intended to begin a mission to the Eskimos.[95]

Because of this commitment and because of the interest of Wm. Simpson,the post manager, Mr. Gardiner was given the use of a house on the grounds of the post. This appears to have been the new Indian house; with a winter porch and double windows[96] Mr. Gardiner could hope to pass a comfortable winter.

The house was fairly large, consisting of a kitchen, dining room, sitting room and bedroom. Gardiner, like most early missionaries, had to turn carpenter to look after his living quarters; he enlarged the bedroom to hold the bedstead he had made himself and made some other furniture for the house. In May 1863 he had the large stone chimney in the kitchen pulled down in order to build another kitchen at the back of his house and use the present kitchen for talking to the Indians.[97]

During the summer of 1863 the men of the post made improvements to this house in anticipation of Mr. Gardiner becoming a permanent resident but Gardiner did not return and the CMS was unable to send anyone else. The house used by him reverted to the post. This was a great loss to the CMS[98] for when it was prepared in 1884 to establish a mission at Churchill, the HBC was no longer willing to help in any way; the CMS had to provide housing and support for its missionary.

Missionaries continued to visit Churchill intermittently, when it was possible for them to get away from York Factory. Many of these visits were made at times of year when very few Indians or Eskimos visited the post; the missionaries travelled either on the Schooner in late summer or overland with the winter packet. As a result most of the missionary work was concentrated on the people of the post itself; instructions were given and baptisms and marriages performed.

In 1871 Mr. Kirkby, then missionary at York, arrived to spend some time at Churchill and was given one of the post houses to use. This was a small two-room house; Kirkby used one room as a school, and the other as living quarters.[99] This appears to have been the summer kitchen of the officer's dwel-

Fig. 30 W.W. Kirkby, arrival at Churchill, 1873
P.A.M.

ling; it was much smaller than the house set aside for Mr. Gardiner but it was all that could be made available then to the CMS missionaries who visited Churchill. Fort Churchill had added very little in the way of new housing since the rebuilding of 1814; there was no chance of keeping an unused house at the post for the occasional use of a missionary.

In 1880 Bishop Horden of Moose Factory spent two months at Churchill.[100] While there, the bishop decided to renew the old plan to establish a mission at Churchill to begin the conversion of the Eskimos. The Hudson's Bay Company refused to support the idea; it considered Churchill too marginal a place for food to take on the responsibility of a mission there as well as a post. The bishop was determined, however, and on his visit to England secured a missionary willing to undertake this mission, Mr. Joseph (Joe) Lofthouse, and agreement from the CMS to support him.

In order to equip himself for the mission at Churchill, Lofthouse spent 1882-83 at Little Whale River to learn the Eskimo language, intending to go from there to Churchill in the summer of 1883. But the establishment of the mission at Churchill was delayed, in part because of the opposition of the HBC and in part by the internal arrangements of the CMS. Bishop Horden had bought a mission house for Churchill while he was in England[101] but the HBC refused to bring it out on the ship[102] and there was no alternative method of transport. Lofthouse came from Little Whale River to York in the summer of 1883, intending to go on to Churchill, assuming that his house would be there. Mr. Fortescue stopped him at York, refusing to allow him to go on to Churchill where there was no accommodation for him. Lofthouse was forced to stay on at York, assisting Mr. Winter, who was in charge of the mission there.

Lofthouse was a young unmarried man but his fiancee was to come out by the Hudson's Bay ship in 1884 to be married to him; accordingly Lofthouse made the long walk overland from York to Churchill in the summer of 1884 in order to meet the ship

bringing his fiancee. He was cruelly disappointed to find that she had been unable to come, for lack of a proper chaperone. This meant that Lofthouse had to return alone to York to fill in there for another year.[103] This disappointing trip did give Mr. Lofthouse one important advantage for his mission because he met the Canadian government Marine expedition men, especially Dr. Robert Bell and Lt. Gordon, who became very supportive of his mission. Their help was to prove decisive for the beginning of his mission at Churchill.

In 1885 he again made the trip to Churchill and this time was delighted to see his fiancee on board the ship. Unfortunately, no minister was on board with her and there seemed no way for them to be married. Just then the Canadian government ship Alert steamed into Churchill and the difficulties were resolved. Mr. Lofthouse and his fiancee were married on board the Alert by Lt. Gordon, who was able to perform marriages as commander of the ship and was also a licensed magistrate for Keewatin.[104]

The Alert brought further essential help to the Lofthouses in the form of lumber and materials for a mission house; this material had been collected in the Ottawa area by Robert Bell and Lt. Gordon as a donation to the mission.[105] The additional benefit of bringing the material on board the Alert meant that the usual method of HBC transport could be avoided. Without this help in providing the mission house on the site at Churchill, overcoming both the local lack of material and the HBC refusal to bring in housing, the mission at Churchill might never have been established.

Lt. Gordon was unable to do more than land the materials at Churchill in 1885. The lumber measured 11,000 ft., plus the doors and window frames; these were put on shore by his ship's launch at Cockles' Point and across the river at the HBC whale fishery, the only spots where the water was deep enough for the launch.[106] The materials were left lying there all winter but fortunately were unharmed by the weather.

Fig. 31 Mission House at Churchill 26 October 1893
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

The three persons in this photograph are
Mr. and Mrs. Lofthouse and their
daughter Marjorie.

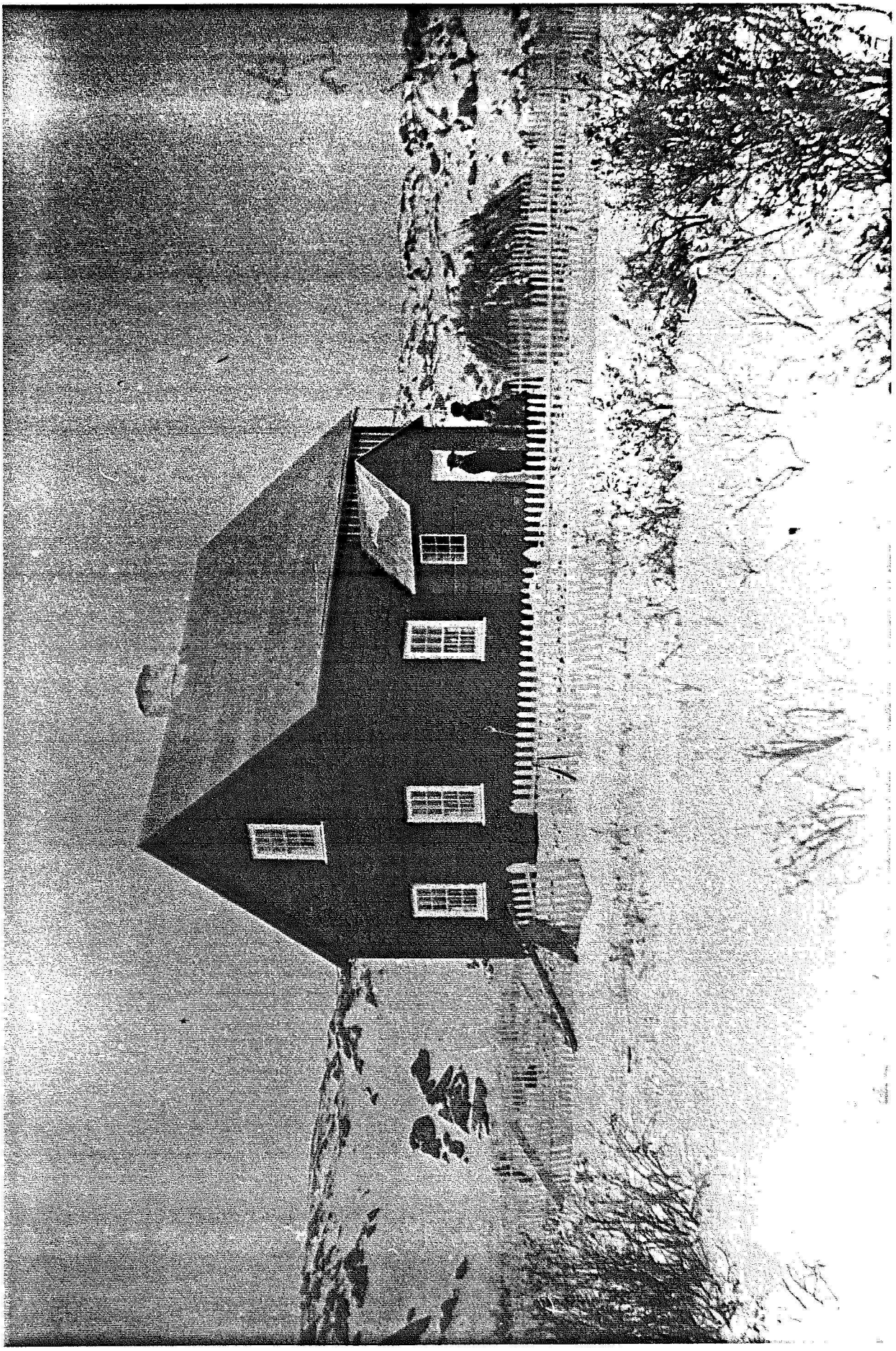
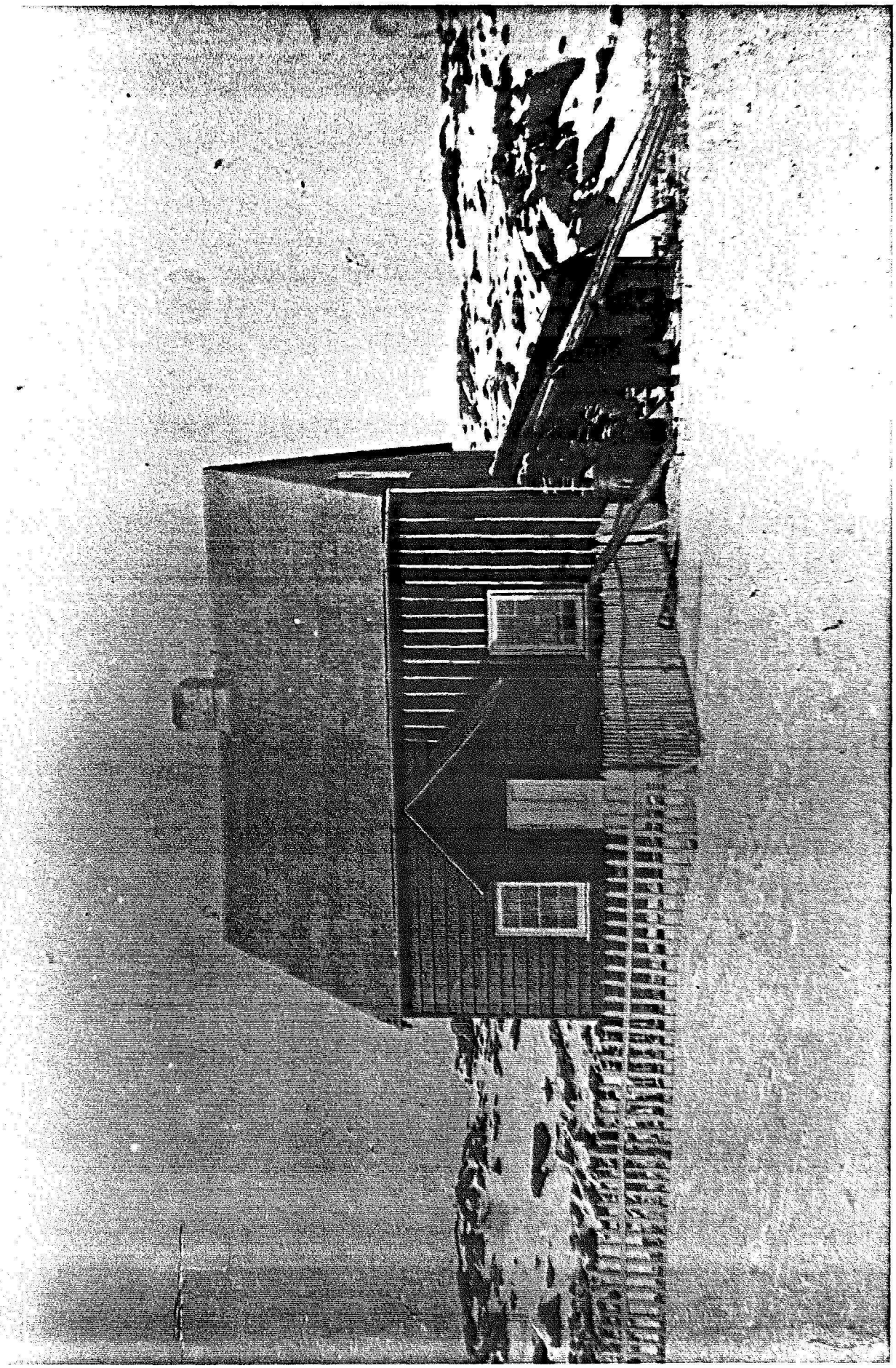


Fig. 32 Mission House at Churchill, 26 October 1893
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto



When Mr. Lofthouse and his wife were finally ready to settle in the mission at Churchill in 1886 their house was still lying on the beaches of Churchill. For a time they stayed with Mr. Junior Chief Trader Spencer and his family but the Spencers had a large family and could not continue this hospitality. Then the Lofthouses moved into the little iron church at Churchill, which now was used as living quarters as well as its usual functions of church and school. It provided very uncomfortable living quarters for the three months which the Lofthouses spent in it. The roof leaked in the rain and every pot had to be used to catch the water; on Sundays the Lofthouses had to pack away all their personal belongings to make room for the Sunday services.

Fortunately Lt. Gordon arrived just at the right time again in 1886 to help Mr. Lofthouse get the material for his house up to the site chosen for it, a little outside and to the north of the post[107] (see Fig. 21). Mr. Lofthouse had tried to get the house material rafted up with the aid of some Eskimos who were visiting the post but these men were unskilled with rafting and nearly lost the load, which was only saved with the help of some of the post men. Gordon's men helped get the rest of the material to the site of the mission house and then helped erect the frame of the house.[108]

Mr. Lofthouse then had to do most of the rest of the work himself, spurred on by the urgent necessity of having a warmer house for the winter than the very cold and draughty iron church. On 29 October 1886 Mr. Lofthouse and his wife were at last able to move into their new house; it was not yet completed but even in its unfinished condition it was much more comfortable than the little iron church. For the winter the house also served as the church, because the church stove was used to heat the house.[109]

The house provided very limited space, with only a sitting room, a bedroom and a kitchen in a space of 23 ft. (7 m.) by 19 ft. (5.8 m.); despite the large amount of wood brought out by

Lt. Gordon, Mr. Lofthouse had been unable to finish the house. He put three courses of boarding on the house, laid the upper floor and lined the lower walls with the lumber sent but needed more in order to finish the upper storey. It was impossible to get the lumber for this at Churchill and Mr. Lofthouse asked the London headquarters of the CMS to send it out.[110] If the timber were sent, Mr. Lofthouse said he could build three bedrooms in the upper storey and also build a kitchen on to the house.[111] This would make a very roomy house, with space for families and servants and the occasional visitor. The CMS sent the necessary wood for this and the HBC agreed to ship the timbers, though insisting that this did not mean they would take any responsibility for the mission at Churchill, again reminding the CMS that the HBC had opposed this mission from the beginning because of the lack of food at Churchill.[112]

Mr. Lofthouse then built a kitchen on the mission house,[113] with some help from Mr. Spencer. The mission house required continued work, however, and in 1890 Lofthouse was again indebted to Mr. Spencer for letting him have two men to help repair the house. The whole of the interior had to be taken out and replaced (no reason was given for this, so soon after the house was built) and Lofthouse had to do much of it himself, since Mr. Spencer could not spare the men for too long.[114] By the spring of 1891 Mr. Lofthouse was still busy on the house, only then being able to line the walls of the upper storey with the timber sent the previous year by the CMS. This timber was so poor and so damaged that Lofthouse was afraid he would not have enough to finish the job;[115]somehow he did manage to do so and then had to hang wallpaper, paint, etc.[116]

J.B. Tyrrell found this little house a sanctuary from the fort on his unexpected visit in 1893. In his opinion the food and the company of Mr. and Mrs. Lofthouse were much better than the post offered and everything in their house was "chosen with exquisite taste, and beautifully arranged".[117] On his return visit in 1894 Tyrrell stayed at the mission house, where

Fig. 33 Rev. Joseph Lofthouse, Mrs. Lofthouse and Marjorie, 1893
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

Fig. 34 Mission House at Churchill, from the top of the rocks to the Southwest, 13 October 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

Fig. 35 Lofthouse parlour, November 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

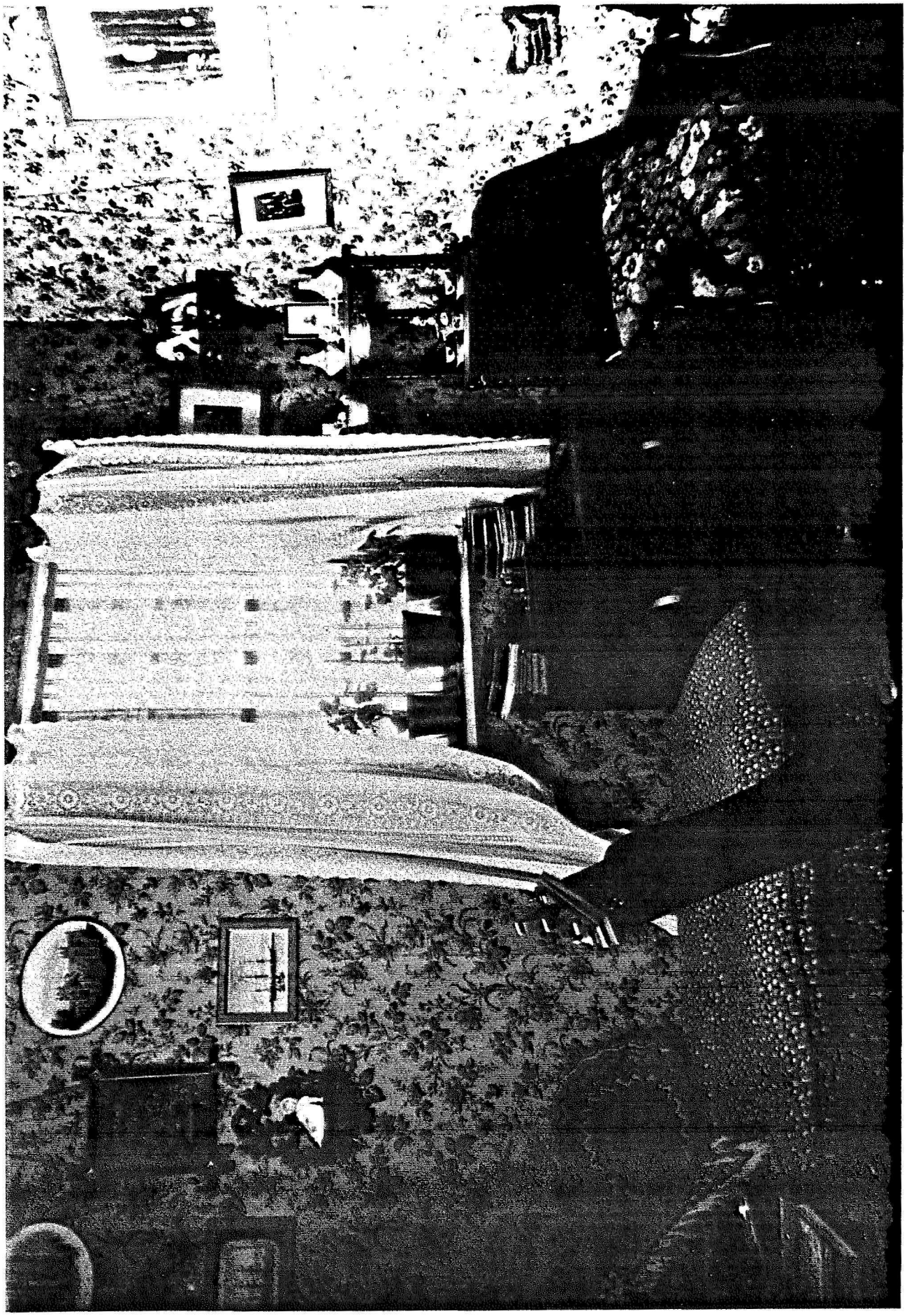


Fig. 36 Lofthouse parlour, November 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

Fig. 37 Dining Room in Mission House at Churchill, 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

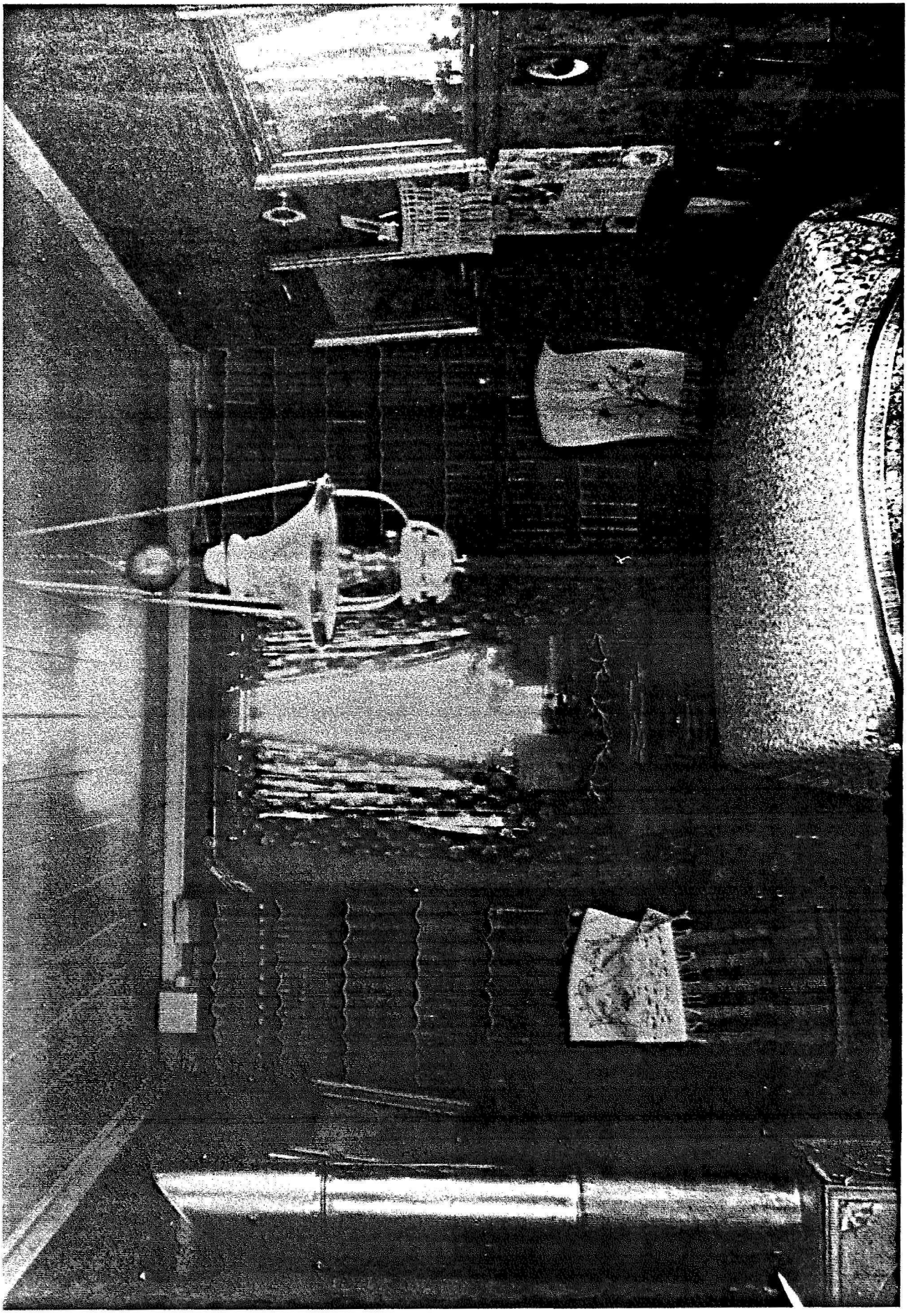
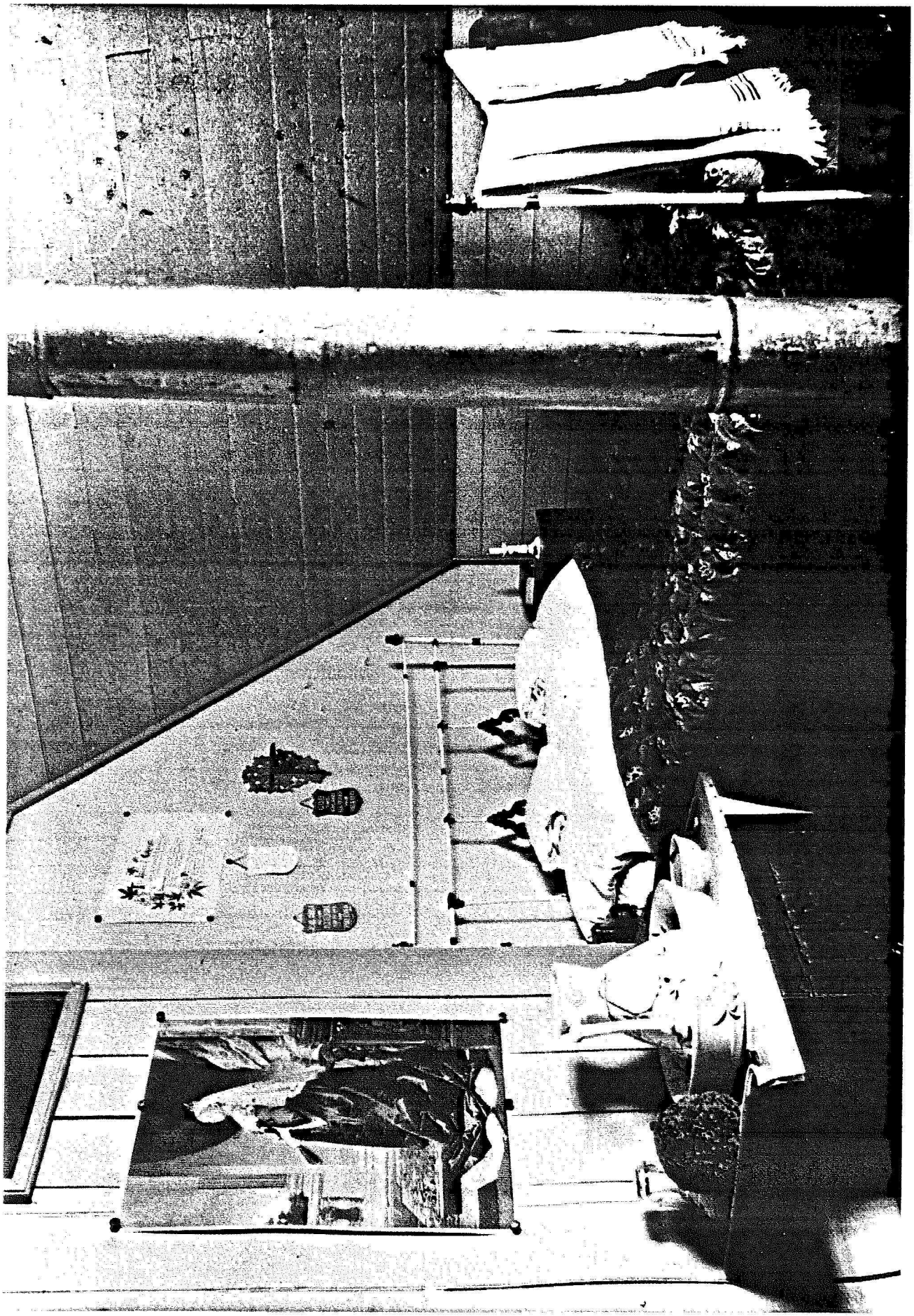


Fig. 38 J.B. Tyrrell's bedroom in Mission House, 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto



he occupied a pleasant room which formed half the upper storey of the house, with a window looking south over the church and fort [118] (see Fig. 38). With this upper storey completed, the major work on the mission house was accomplished, leaving only the task of upkeep for Mr. Lofthouse's successors.

A missionary was not always available to serve at Churchill, however. From 1902-1904 the mission house on which Lofthouse had expended so much energy and care lay empty; the men of the post kept an eye on it to prevent any damage to it from the Eskimos.[119]

Church

In 1873 the Schooner from York carried to Churchill a small iron church, 20 ft.(6.1m.) by 15 ft. (4.6 m.).[120] This building had been used at York but was replaced there with a larger church originally intended for Churchill.[121] The church was not put up until 1875 when the servants of Fort Churchill helped to erect it on the grounds of the post (see Fig. 17) under the direction of Mr. Kirkby, the missionary from York. It was put on a good stone foundation and raised off the ground so that the walls were two feet (.6 m.) higher than they had been at York. Three new smaller windows were inserted on each side, replacing the three larger ones which had only been on one side at York. According to Kirkby this was a great improvement and the church looked much better at Churchill than it had at York.[122] The roof of the small iron church was not as strong as the old lead roofs of Churchill and blew off in a storm on New Year's Eve, 1878.[123]

Tuttle described this church in detail as it was when he visited in 1884.[124] It was galvanized iron outside, sealed with matched boards inside and could hold 50 to 60 people on its ten benches. A good-sized bell hung in the steeple to summon the people to service. On the wall at the front were four tablets made of sheet iron; on these the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's prayer were printed in the

Chipewyan language. These four iron tablets dated back to the first days of this church at Churchill, when Mr. Kirkby claimed that they were very appealing to the Chipewyan;[125] they still hang in the church of St. Paul in Churchill.

Religious pictures illustrating Scripture hung around the walls. At one side, near the railing dividing the body of the church from the sanctuary, was an old melodeon which had been at Churchill for about 25 years. By this time (1884) it was badly out of tune and very rickety. In 1893 a new organ was sent out to replace this old melodeon.[126]

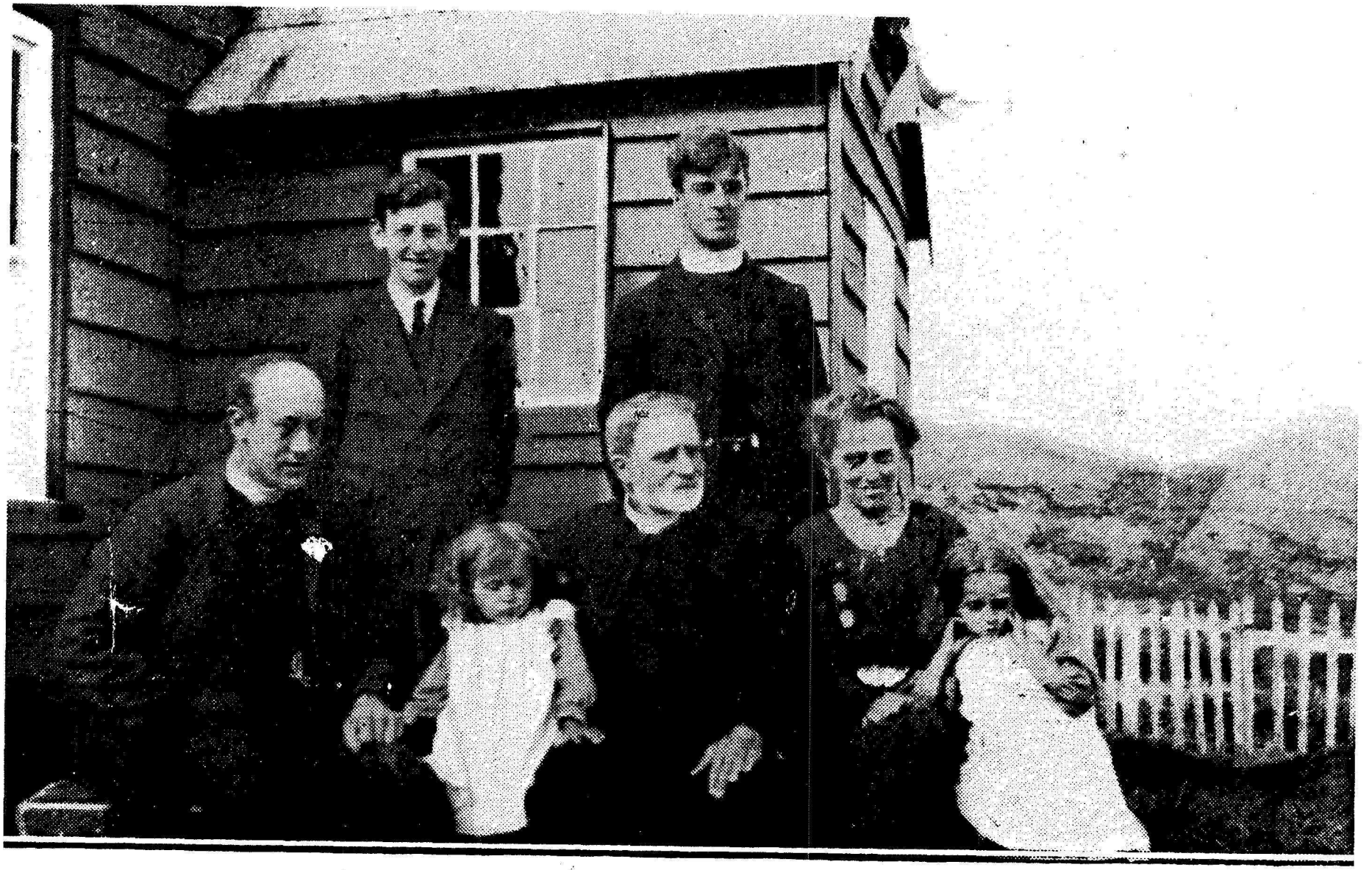
The decorations of the church, the style of architecture and the use of organ music, all indicate a transplanted English Christianity; the only attempts at indigenization in the church itself appeared to be in the Chipewyan tablets.

The little iron church continued to serve the missionary purposes at Churchill, within the grounds of the post, until 1892 when it was replaced by a larger iron church on a different site. It was still standing when Tyrrell visited the post in 1893 and 1894 (see Fig. 24) but was not included in the plan of the post made in 1895. No mention was made of what happened to it.

When Mr. Lofthouse had to return to England for a year in 1888-89 because of his wife's poor health after the birth of their daughter he managed to raise enough money there to buy a new iron church, which was sent out to Churchill on board the Prince Rupert in 1890. This church was larger than the original one, 50 ft.(15.2 m.) by 25 ft.(7.6 m.)[127] vs. 20 ft. (6.1 m.) by 15 ft.(4.6 m.) A signal of changing times, which brought more assertion of Canadian sovereignty in the north, was that, unlike earlier imports, this iron church had to be cleared by Canadian customs; it was allowed entry free of duty by the Canadian government.[128]

The new church was put up on a new site, still within the grounds of the post but north of the post buildings, near the mission house.[129] The men of the post gave some help to this

Fig. 39 Bishop Lofthouse, Rev. F. Sevier and Family, Mr. Walter and Mr. Mitchell
Archives, Diocese of Keewatin



BISHOP LOFTHOUSE, REV. F. SEVIER AND FAMILY, MR. WALTER AND MR. MITCHELL.

Fig. 40 [Hudson's Bay Co. Post] from the south, Fort Churchill, 1879. Photo by Robert Bell(?) PAC

1. First Iron Church
2. Fur Room
3. Trading Shop

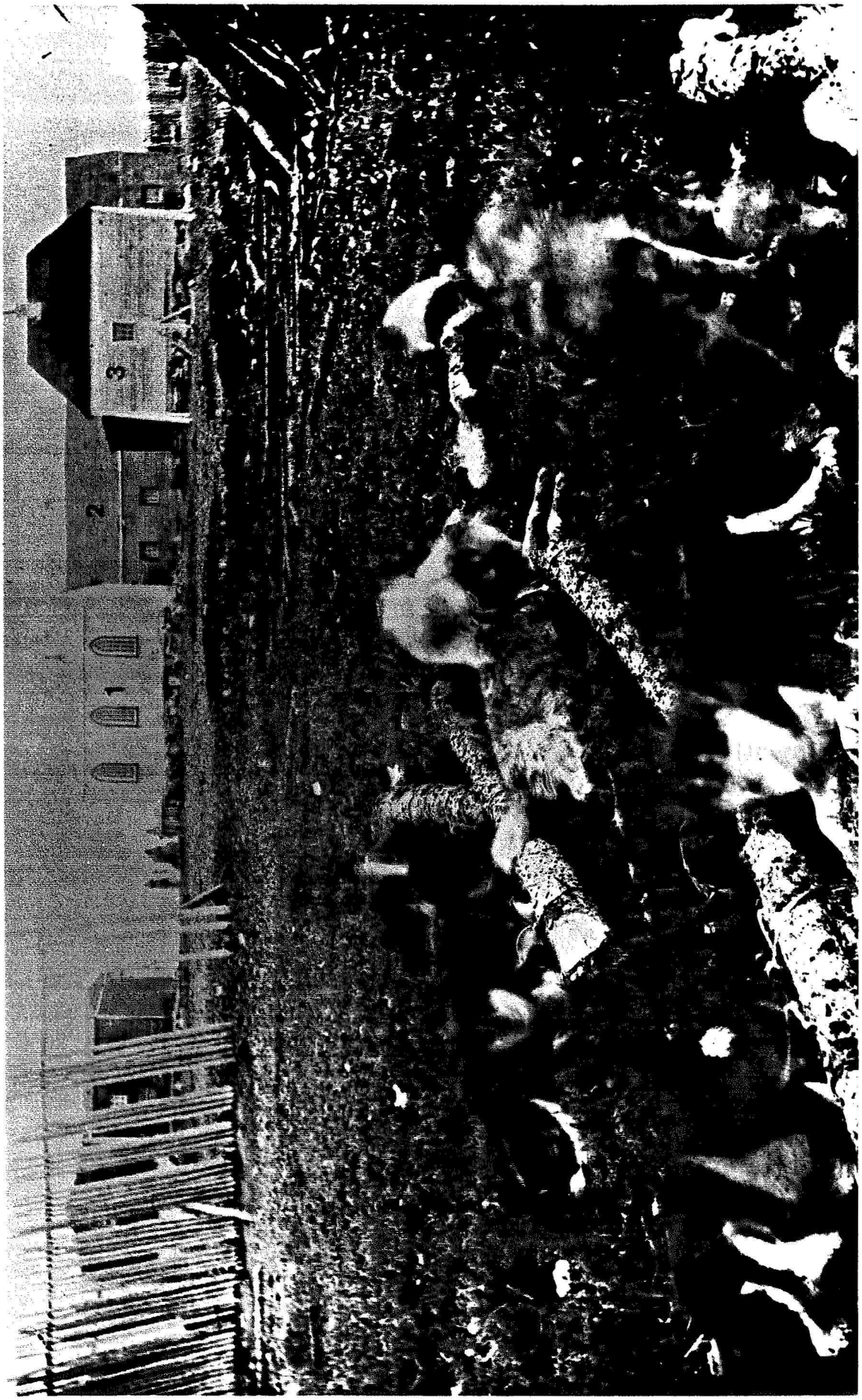

1
2
3

Fig. 41 Marble Island boats and Mission Church as seen from wharf 12 October 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

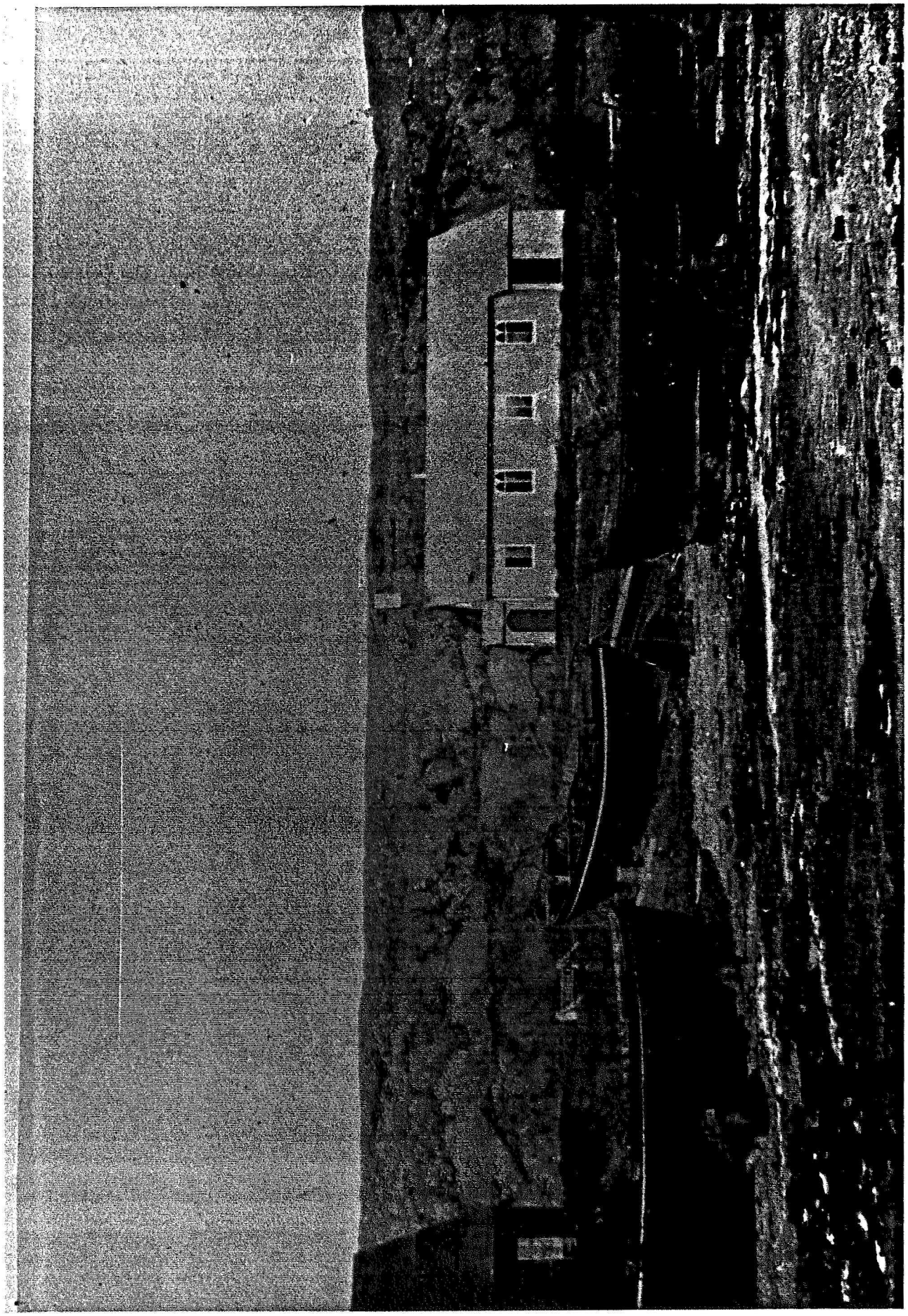
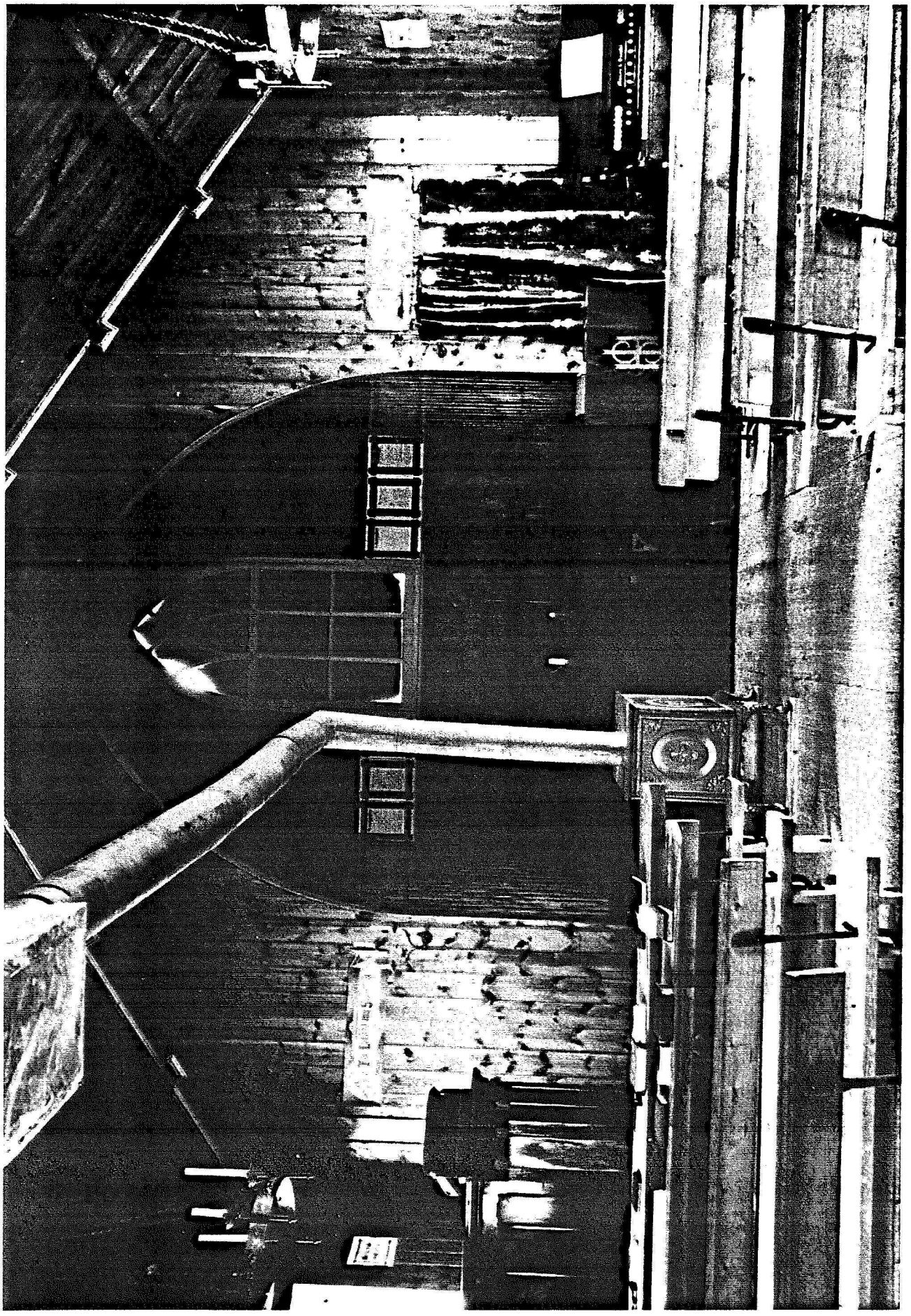


Fig. 42 Interior of Mission Church at Churchill, 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto



but Mr. Lofthouse did most of the construction himself and cracked his ribs in the process.[130] Like Mr. Kirkby's earlier iron church, this church too lost half its roof to a gale wind,[131] which was so strong that it also blew off the lead roofs of the trading room, launch and still houses. Perhaps any faults in construction would be discovered by the very strong winds at Churchill - and amateur carpenters such as missionaries would be more likely to make such faults. On this occasion the Company men helped Lofthouse repair the roof for the winter but he was unable to use the new church until the summer of 1892.

The first services were held 21 August 1892, for the polyglot population then at Churchill, made up of English, Scotch, Irish, Cree, Chipewyan and Eskimo[132]- a population which would have presented a challenge to any missionary. In June 1893 the church was painted outside, with one coat of oil on the inside; a new mission flagstaff was also erected[133] and the church was completed. This church built by Mr. Lofthouse served the people of Fort Churchill, the Chipewyan, Cree and Eskimos on the west peninsula until it was moved to the east peninsula in 1936, where it still serves the people of Churchill.

Tyrrell attended the Sunday service in this church in 1893. Though plain, he found it very beautiful as well as serviceable. The end of the church towards the door was partitioned off for a school;[134] this church, like its predecessor, served the double purpose of church and school.

On his trip to England Mr. Lofthouse acquired not only this church but also a small boat for the mission, given to him by the Rev. Mr. Trotter and friends of Gloucester for the use of the mission; in honour of the donor he called this boat the Mowbray Trotter.[135]The boat was an essential piece of equipment for a mission such as Churchill; it enabled Mr. Lofthouse to do some of the necessary travelling to keep in touch with his flock and to keep his mission supplied with some necessary

goods without total dependence on the HBC.

After Mr. Lofthouse left Churchill in 1897 (later becoming Bishop of Keewatin) the Churchill mission was sometimes left vacant and was sometimes in the charge of a lay missionary. Mr. Chapman, a lay missionary, replaced Mr. Lofthouse from 1897 to 1902, followed by Mr. Sevier, an ordained priest, from 1904-1916. By this time the men of the post were very supportive of the mission, keeping watch on it when it was empty and ready to help if there was need.

In the years of missionary absence, the Chipewyan kept up their religious duties at the post and in the church under the leadership of one of their own men.[136] Their acceptance of Christianity was more than a surface one and to some extent the process of indigenization was going on.

Education

Although no schools were built at Churchill, some schooling was provided to the children by the missionaries and their wives, either in the church or the mission house. But this schooling was an often-interrupted process, which could only be carried on in the spare time of the missionary. In 1871 when Mr. Kirkby arrived for a prolonged visit there were about 14 school-age children at the post, all of whom spoke English. In common with most missionaries of the 19th century Kirkby thought that a school where Christianity and civilization could be taught would be useful both to his mission and to Fort Churchill.[137] He used a part of his small house as a school during his stay at Churchill.

The intermittent character of the missionary visits was reflected in the schooling received by the children of the post. In 1884 when Joseph Lofthouse arrived for a few months, he found the 14 children then at the post nearly unable to read a single word.[138] He complained in 1887 that the parents of the children knew how to read but had never bothered teaching their children.[139]

Fig. 43 Mr. Lofthouse and school children 1893
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

In common with most missionary wives, Mrs. Lofthouse was involved in the education process at the fort. She helped in the day school for the children and several of the men's wives came to her twice a week to learn to read, while Mr. Lofthouse took the men and the elder boys.[140] This teaching was interrupted when the men had to go to the woods to hunt or cut wood. A school for the Indian children was also begun by 1885; this could only be held for a brief time in the summer, with about 40 children attending.[141]

Education in the summer was a difficult task. The school was held in the little iron church, which had no ventilation unless the door was left open - which then let in clouds of mosquitoes. If the door was kept shut, the iron of the church made it unbearably hot when the sun was out.[142] In winter the church was too cold to spend much time in, especially in windy weather, but the Lofthouses continued their efforts at education in Churchill, encouraging the children with prize-giving ceremonies, etc.[143] With the years of absence of the missionaries, the many times when the students were away and the many days when the school could not be held because of the weather, it is a wonder that the missionaries were able to teach at all but the efforts continued throughout the mission period at the post.

Resources

Wooding

The perennial problem of finding enough wood for building and fuel continued to plague Churchill. In 1860-61 the logs for building the new house were cut and hauled from halfway across Button Bay.[144] Again in 1871 this site was used; it was described as a bluff up a small creek which emptied into Button Bay at the Goosey Islands.[145] In 1862 200 logs were cut and hauled from 12 miles (19.3 km.) away (in an unspecified direction).[146] In 1864 and 1866 Goose Lake was used for logs.[147]

The North River was also still used; this required hauling the logs about 25 miles (40.2 km.).[148] Any logs for building at the post could only be found at a considerable distance from the fort and required a great deal of labour to haul them in. This was a contributing factor to the minimal amount of building which occurred at Fort Churchill.

Most of the firewood, however, was cut closer to the post; a tent was pitched for the woodcutters beyond the "mile stone" track about three miles (4.8 km.) south from the post; this was not nearly so far as the Woody Islands which had been used so extensively in the early days of Fort Churchill. Much of the wood was cut at the back of the rocks and hauled over the rocks with the help of Eskimo sleds, with their mudded runners.[149] Wood was also cut at the Old Fort, at Mosquito Point, and at every possible spot along the shores of the Churchill River and Button Bay. The scarcity of vast supplies of fuel meant that the amount of separate housing at Churchill was severely limited; what housing there was was preferably small and relatively easy to heat.

Obtaining timber and fuel formed a large segment of the post activities. In 1869 the two kilns of lime produced at Churchill (part of which was for York use) consumed nearly 100 loads of firewood. Fort Churchill burned over 700 loads in winter alone, plus what was used in summer and fall. The men had hauled nearly 1000 loads that year, some of it from only 4 miles (6.4 km.) away but most of it from 15-20 miles (24 - 32 km.)[150] This does not take into account the time spent finding building timber when any construction was in process at the fort. The need to cut and haul wood was the major winter activity of the servants of the post and the main reason why Fort Churchill was still allowed six to eight servants throughout the year.

Fig.44 Mr. Lofthouse's dog team hauling wood,
20 November 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

Hunting

The usual resources of ptarmigan, geese and caribou continued to be exploited at the sites used since the founding of Fort Churchill or probably from the founding of Fort Prince of Wales, while a few more were added. Some of the Chipewyan began to hunt geese at Seal River; in order to take these geese from the Chipewyan a man was stationed across the North River, beyond the North Point which was the traditional spot.[151] Knight's Hill, to the south of the post, was used more often for the goose hunt in these years.

Ptarmigan were hunted at the marsh and around the Farthest Point of Rocks and Sandy Ridge,[152] at Bears Point, the Bushey Islands, the Goose Lake and Neverfails, that is, at all the well-known spots near the post, most of them used for nearly two centuries by the inhabitants of the west peninsula.

The men began to use their traps more around the shore of the Churchill River and Button Bay, catching mostly foxes, plus the occasional wolf.[153]

Fishing

Many different lakes were tried for fall and winter fishing. Knife Lake was used for fishing in 1861, with some success.[154] North Lake was used in 1874.[155] The lakes south of the Churchill River were also used but the problems of shallow water preventing the setting of nets recurred and no single fishing spot proved reliable year after year.

Fishing in summer in the Churchill River continued at the usual spots. Char were netted at Sloop's Cove and Cockles' Point (previously called Cuckold's Point) though with some interference from the Eskimos, who netted fish near the old Stone Fort before the fish could get to the post sites. The Eskimo method of netting char was different from that used by the post; they used a floating net, a method which the men of the post tried to adopt to compete with the Eskimos, although normally a sunken net was used.[156] In these years char were

also caught at the back of the Rocks, in the Sea Horse Gully area.[157] The Chipewyan women began to net enough char at Sloop's Cove and Sea Horse Gully[158] to try to sell some to the post. This marketing of char was one of the results of the longer time spent by the Chipewyan in summer in the immediate area of the post, with the increased use of the summer resources of the west peninsula.

Whaling

In 1862 the men of the post were sent to Seal River to try for whales, something new for them,[159] since this was an area traditionally exploited for the post by the Eskimos. Nothing appeared to come of this, however, for in 1873 Mr. Spencer went to Seal River to investigate the whaling prospects there. He thought they could be caught with barrier nets there[160] - a practice which was soon adopted at Churchill itself, though not for Seal River. It was the use of this barrier net which led to the increasing use of the east peninsula for whaling, since it provided a better place for hauling up the whales. This resulted in the construction of whaling shanties on the east side of the Churchill River and a gradual move of much of the summer activity of Fort Churchill to the east peninsula.

Oil was still boiled in front of the fort itself, however, as well as at the whaling station on the east peninsula. This imparted a characteristic aroma to Churchill, one which set it off from other fur trade posts. Bishop Newnham reported the impact this had on him in 1899: "We soon topped the rocky hill at the back of the place, and Churchill burst on our eyes and noses at the same time, for there was the all-pervading smell of blubber."[161]

Netting whales continued to be the usual method of catching them during the remaining time that whaling was carried on at Churchill. In 1904, however, the net was too rotten to hold

the whales, and Eskimos were sent out to try and harpoon some;[162] thus Churchill reverted temporarily in the 20th century to the earliest method of catching whales at Churchill.

Native People of Fort Churchill

Chipewyan

At the beginning of this period the terms Distant and Homeguard were still used to distinguish the Chipewyan but much of their original significance was lost. The number of Distant Chipewyan trading at Churchill was very small in the 1860s. None came in to Churchill in the spring of 1861.[163] In the next years they suffered from diseases and from lack of caribou; without caribou meat, there was no reason for them to go to Churchill. By 1865 there were complaints that the Chipewyan no longer brought in large supplies of meat and that very few of them came in at all; as a result the cost of feeding the families at the post had become very high.[164] In the following years the Distant Chipewyan preferred to trade at the inland posts and for the most part ceased to trade at Churchill; the distinction between Distant and Homeguard eventually disappeared.

The Chipewyan use of the Barrens continued to contract in these years - a contraction which was counterbalanced by the Eskimo expansion into the area. By the 1890s the Eskimos occupied almost all of the tundra of southern Keewatin and were beginning to move into the edges of the boreal forest zone. The number of Chipewyan who travelled far into the Barren grounds declined a great deal;[166] this resulted in a loss of the traditional Chipewyan role as provisioners of caribou meat to Churchill, a role which was to some extent assumed by the Eskimos. Only a few of the Chipewyan maintained their ancestral round of hunting caribou on the Barrens in summer along with the Eskimos and coming in to Churchill in November, before leaving for their winter grounds.[167]

The Homeguard were a permanent feature of the post, although the term "Homeguard" was gradually replaced by the names of the leaders of the bands. These were the Chipewyan who still carried on the goose hunt in the spring for the post, though they were not always willing to stay for this. Complaints were still made about their lack of furs and their ability to survive from the caribou hunt. Ammunition was their major dependence and they could get this in exchange for their caribou skins and meat[168] rather than being dependent on trapping furs.

Yet at the same time there were comments about the almost complete destitution of the Chipewyan[169] and these comments became more common as the century ended. Mr. Lofthouse compared the Chipewyans to the Eskimos at Fort Churchill, saying that the Chipewyan clothing was much inferior to that of the Eskimos, who were always well clad in deerskins.[170] This would seem to show that the local Chipewyan of Churchill were often unable to find enough caribou to clothe themselves, possibly because of a decline in numbers of caribou in their hunting grounds or possibly because they were becoming trappers rather than caribou hunters, with a consequent decline in their standard of living and in their ability to feed and clothe themselves independently of the fur trade. If so, their previous independence of the post for necessities would be replaced by a much greater dependence. This was all the more so since the Chipewyan traded first for tea and sugar;[171] these had ceased to be luxuries and had become necessities for the Chipewyan, necessities which could only be obtained in exchange for furs rather than meat.

Chipewyan health declined severely in these years, with a resultant loss of population. Many references were made to their suffering from chronic and hereditary diseases of the pulmonary type. Numbers of them died of this each year and no family was left unaffected. This contributed to the decrease in the Chipewyan trade at Churchill, since the healthy were

Fig. 45 Indians and natives, mostly employed by HBC at Churchill, 20 November 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto

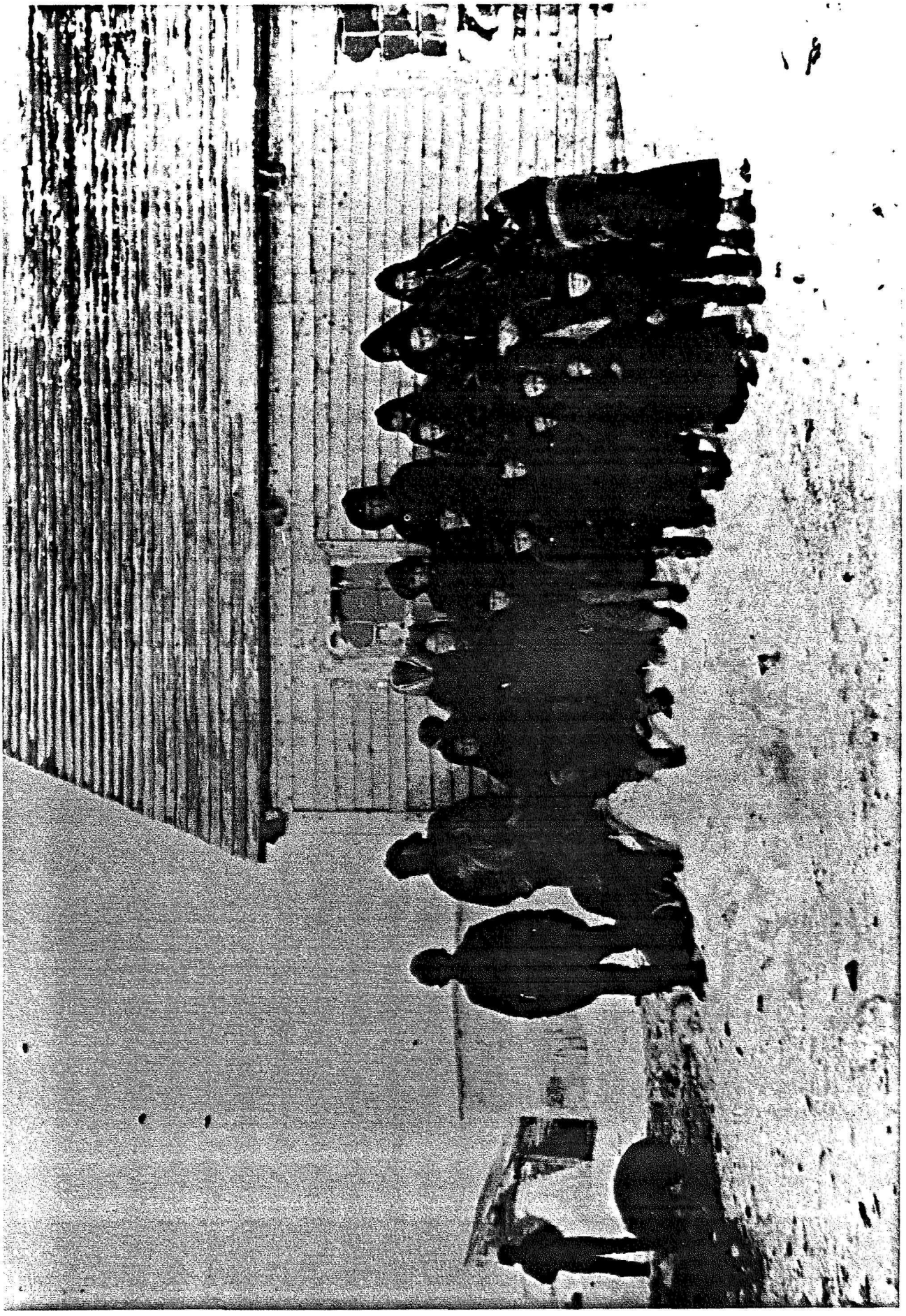
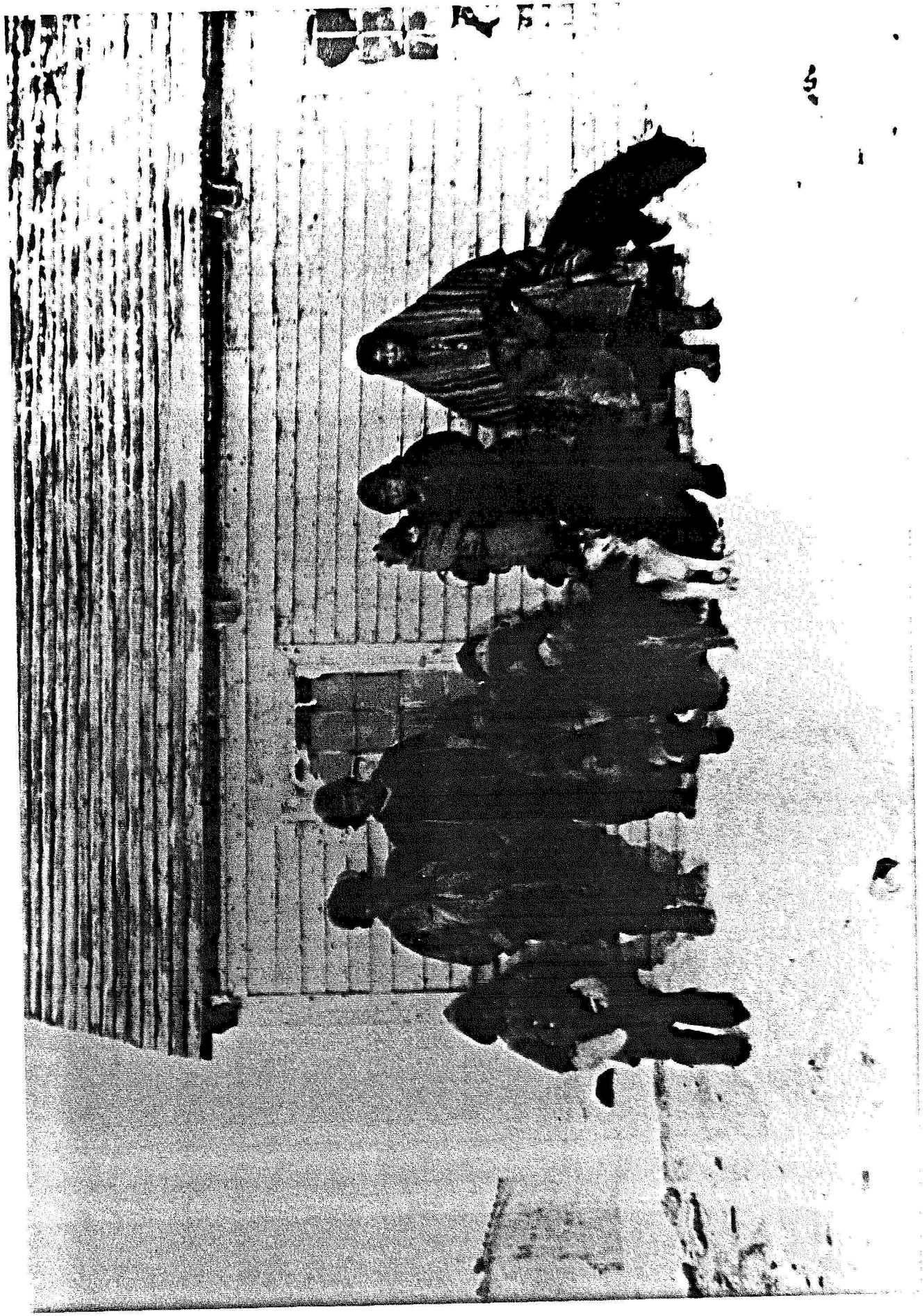


Fig. 46 Chipewyan Indians at Churchill, 20 November 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto



unable to haul the sick there.[172] In 1868 an epidemic of consumption killed many of both the Distant and Homeguard Chipewyan; only 18 out of the former 130-140 hunters came in that year.[173] Again in 1873 the Chipewyan hunters of Churchill suffered from an epidemic from which many died; only 12 came in that year.[174] This appeared to be a low point from which the Chipewyan gradually began to recover. In 1887 Mr. Lofthouse had over 60 people at service, which he said was only half the number which usually came in in summer in those years.[175]

Those who did come in for the goose hunt left their families at the post, tenting on the Rocks, until the goose hunt was finished.[176] In 1862 Mr. Gardiner said the tents were about one mile (1.609 km.) from the Fort; to walk this short distance over the Churchill terrain meant he had to walk up to his knees in water.[177] Some of the Chipewyan tented near the mission when it was built,[178] probably also on the Rocks, and at the point (perhaps Mosquito Point, but more likely Cockles' Point).[179] In 1902 they camped near Sandy Ridge while waiting for the goose hunt.[180]

The Chipewyan Homeguard appeared to utilize many parts of the west peninsula within easy reach of Fort Churchill. They even stayed at the old Stone Fort along with the Eskimos on occasion;[181] no mention was made of this as being unusual and since the Chipewyan also used the Sea Horse Gully area for fishing, there may have been more contact between them and the Eskimos than there had previously been.

The period of occupation of these sites near the post increased, until by the 1870s many of the Chipewyan stayed there for most of the summer, arriving in early May and leaving in early August for the caribou hunt on the Barrens.[182] By the 1890s some remained until mid-August, employed by the post for the whale fishery or to man the Marble Island boats; this made them so late reaching their hunting grounds that they had no time to stock up on provisions of caribou and therefore were close to starving and always made very poor hunts.[183] Employ-

ment opportunities at the post became minimal by 1900 but the Chipewyan continued to spend most of the summer on the rocks near the post, where they supported themselves from the local resources.

The Chipewyan also began to alter the time of their winter arrival at the post, coming in near to Christmas[184] as the few Cree had frequently done. For Christmas in 1894 the post was filled when 16 Chipewyan, 22 Cree and 4 Eskimos came in, accompanied by 70 dogs![185] These Christmas visits by the Chipewyan appear to show that they were now more firmly entrenched in areas closer to Fort Churchill than they had previously occupied; it also seems to reflect a closer attachment to the post, not only for trade and necessities but also for some of their social life.

Part of the attraction for them at Churchill was now the mission; most of them belonged to the church and came to the services when they were in Churchill. Mr. Lofthouse showed them Magic Lantern slides, which they enjoyed.[186] When the missionary was not present, the Chipewyan held services conducted by one of their own men. Lofthouse said almost all the men could act as Christian leaders and did so with their own families but when they were all together they chose as leader the one who "knows the book best".[187] The Christian religion served as another link to bind the Chipewyan closer to the post at Churchill, a link which bound even without the presence of a missionary there, and a link which had to some extent been indigenized by the Chipewyan themselves.

Some of the Chipewyan of Churchill still moved around to other posts and occasionally a few strangers came in to Fort Churchill. Reindeer Lake (Brochet) continued to be an attractive alternative to Churchill for the Chipewyan.[188] Food was much more plentiful in the Reindeer Lake area than it was around Churchill, where the Chipewyan frequently starved in winter.[189] Reindeer Lake also offered better prices for furs than did Churchill until adjustments were made to the tariff

in 1900 to make Churchill more competitive and prevent the Chipewyan from "wandering" to other posts.[190] Free traders established themselves at Reindeer Lake too, which led to some loss of trade at Churchill.[191] When a Catholic mission was established there, it was said to be drawing away the Churchill Chipewyan; this caused much concern both to Fort Churchill and to the Anglican mission there.[192] There were then many motives in these years 1860-1905 to induce the Chipewyan to leave Churchill; the traders at Churchill tried very hard to prevent this from happening, even setting up an unproductive outpost at Shethnanei to try to keep the Chipewyan trade. But their success was limited; the Chipewyan maintained the option of going to Reindeer Lake if it suited them.

In the 1881 census the Chipewyan numbered 180, consisting of 37 men, 48 women, 40 boys, and 55 girls.[193] A few years later, in 1885, the Chipewyan were said to number about 202.[194] The number of Chipewyan attached to Churchill remained fairly constant at about 200 until at least 1930. Like the condition of the post itself, there was little to induce a radical change in the Chipewyan numbers or attachment to the post.

Cree

The Cree Homeguard of Churchill had left in 1857, ending the close connection of these Cree to Churchill. In the next years, a few Cree arrived unexpectedly at Churchill, coming from Nelson River or Norway House, far out of their usual way.[195] The Cree of York, when they hunted near Churchill, came in for some ammunition and a little trade[196] but no Cree were attached to Churchill. None were listed in the census of 1881 at Churchill but by 1882 some of the Cree from York had come to live near Churchill and became attached to the post, men such as Peter Beardy, Lame Arm and his sons.[197] In 1885 there were about 20 Cree attached to Churchill.[198]

These few Cree, only about three families, followed

roughly the same round that their predecessors, the Homeguard Cree of the early 19th century, had followed. They lived near Churchill Creek in the summer and fall, hunted geese in the spring and fall and caribou in the summer for Fort Churchill, and hunted in winter in various sites such as North River, at not too great a distance from the post. They usually all came in at Christmas for service at the mission and celebrations at the post, staying a week or more. The mission joined in the celebrations, providing cakes and tea on New Year's,[199] and services in Cree.

By 1893 the Cree were in difficulty because of lack of food.[200] Mr. Matheson, newly in charge of Fort Churchill, ended the custom of giving the old and sick half rations at the post.[201] No explanation was given for this move but it was probably motivated by economy. Within a few years the HBC gave out rations to destitute Indians on behalf of the government and were recompensed for this but during the interval the Cree left Churchill once again. In 1895 some of these Cree planned to move to Split Lake Post.[202] They seem to have done this, since they disappeared from the Churchill records after that.

During their brief reappearance at Fort Churchill the Cree remained quite separate from the Chipewyan; they understood a little English but hardly spoke any Chipewyan.[203] Despite their small numbers they were not absorbed by the much larger group of local Chipewyan, who appeared to have closer connections with the Eskimo than with the Cree.

Eskimos

In these years the Eskimos were usually referred to as "Huckies" or "Huskies". They continued to camp at Sea Horse Gully or at Eskimo Point, around the old Stone Fort and hunted seals and fished for char while there.

In January 1860 the men of Churchill were surprised by a visit from three of the distant Eskimos, who had never been known to come at that time of year before. They had spent two

Fig. 47 Group of Eskimos at Hudson's Bay Co. Post, Fort Churchill. Photo by Dr. Robert Bell [1879]. From GSC Collection, PAC, PA 39927.

months on the trip and brought some fox skins to trade (which were badly torn, a fact not discovered until later).[204]

By the 1870s, however, competition from the American whalers to the north of Churchill drew away these distant Eskimos. One result of this was that Fort Churchill could no longer acquire Eskimo boots, since the Distant Eskimos were the source for these.[205] The "Middle Eskimos", who were very few in number, only came in at irregular intervals and their trade was not worth much at the best of times.

The Homeguard or Coast Eskimos were the main support of the post but suffered great population losses; a sort of dysentery in 1871 killed nearly two-thirds of the Homeguard Eskimo hunters, as well as a great many women and children. Mr. Kirkby, the CMS missionary who visited Churchill in 1871, went to see these Eskimos at the old Fort where they were camped in about 16 tents. Kirkby attributed their dysentery to their eating fresh seal's meat, a common conclusion of non-Eskimos appalled at the diet. Mr. Griffin, in charge of the Hudson's Bay post, had advised Kirkby not to give them any medicine because of the danger that unsuccessful treatment would rouse their suspicions. But the Eskimos asked Kirkby for medicine and he gave them each a dose of opium, peppermint and chalk and left a little bottle of essence of peppermint with them. Kirkby's medicine did not appear to help, since the Eskimos moved their camp a couple of miles the next month because of their deaths.[206] Kirkby was lucky that he was not blamed by them for their deaths.

As a result of these population losses among the Homeguard and the trade alternatives offered to the Distant Eskimos, the Inland (Caribou) Eskimos, whose subsistence was almost wholly derived from the caribou rather than from coastal mammals, became the largest group to come in to Churchill; they came usually early in March, with a trade almost exclusively in parchment caribou skins.[207] In later years the Caribou Eskimo brought caribou meat with them when they came in March; this

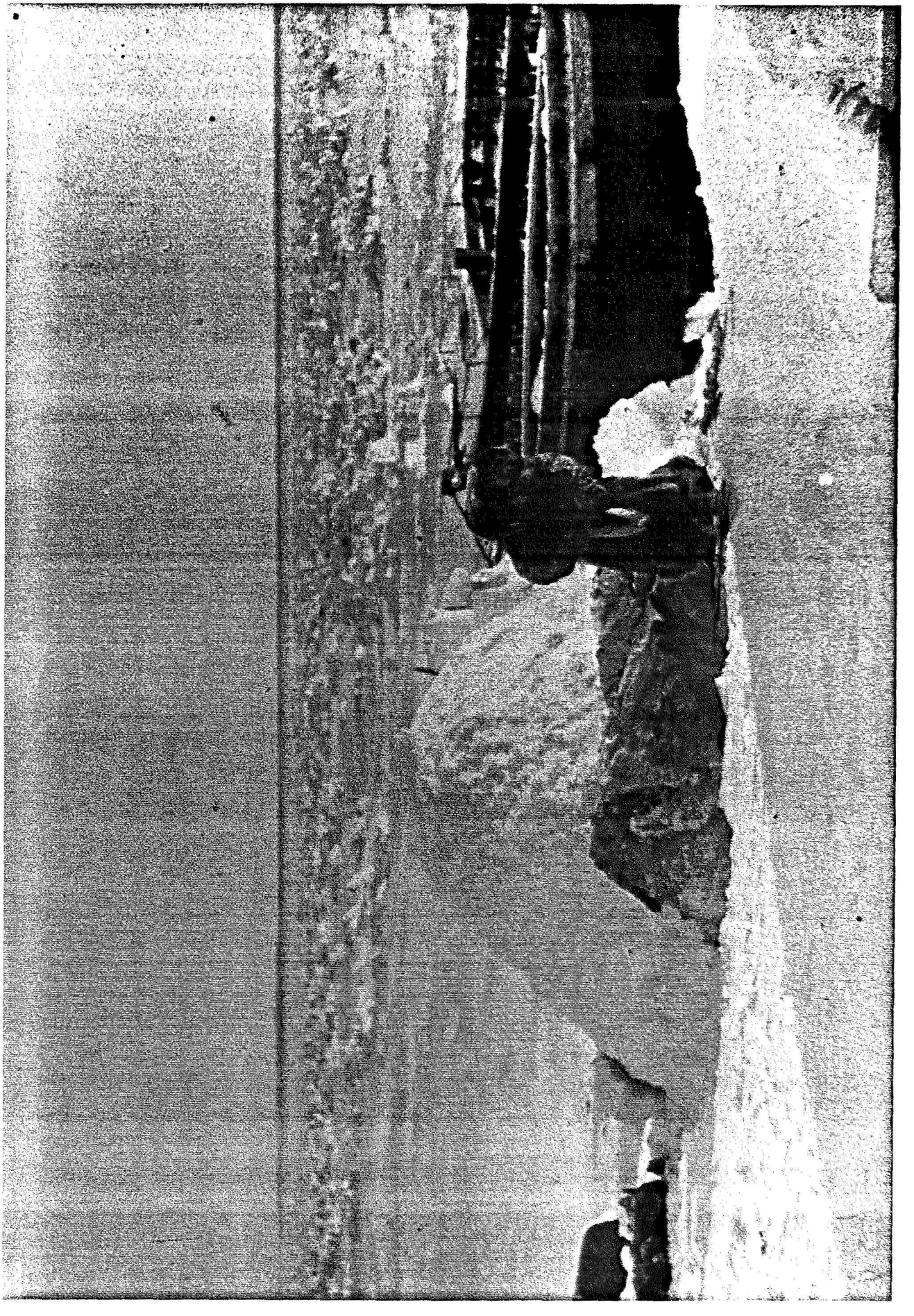
was a real help in the provisioning of the post and mission.[208] In this way they made up for the loss of the large Indian contingent which had previously supplied Churchill with much of its provisions.

But these Caribou Eskimos, who led a life so similar to that of the Chipewyan, were, like the Chipewyan, drawn to the post at Brochet. They had moved into territory formerly occupied by the Chipewyan, territory which brought them into contact with the post of Brochet and by the 1870s many of them traded at Brochet in preference to Churchill.[209] They too were attracted to the Roman Catholic mission there, whose priest visited them in their camps, making contact which enabled him to draw them to the post and mission.[210]

Mr. Gardiner, the Anglican missionary who stayed at Fort Churchill in 1862-63, was much intrigued with the Eskimos, who were the main object of his mission.[211] At this time the Faraway Eskimos still came in, some of them travelling four months to get there. Some of their sledges were more than 30 ft. (9.1 m.) long, hauled by three men and two dogs, or by two men and two women. With this size, their need for help to get their sleds over the Rocks is understandable. They would not eat flour, oatmeal, pemmican or bread, which prevented Mr. Gardiner from making the usual missionary contact through gifts of food. In the spring Gardiner took his tent and stayed a few days with the Eskimo at Sea Horse Gully, where he caught a very bad cold.[212] It was difficult for either Indians or Europeans to adjust to the Eskimo style of life and especially to their diet. Gardiner's mission was intended primarily for the Eskimos but since he could not live with them his contact with them was necessarily very limited.

In dealing with the Eskimos, Churchill began for the first time to face some competition, in this case from the American whaling ships which were killing whales in the north of Hudson Bay and from the Scotch whalers stationed on Southampton Island. These whaling ships carried on a profitable trade with

Fig. 48 Igloo on beach near Churchill, 20 November 1894
J.B. Tyrrell Collection,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto



the Eskimos as a sideline to their purpose of whaling. For the first time these more distant Eskimos had access to trade goods within their own country and no longer had to make the long trip to Churchill. Soon the Eskimo trade of Churchill was confined to those Eskimos living south of Chesterfield Inlet.[213]

Because of this competition, the Hudson's Bay Company in 1866 decided to send the Ocean Nymph to the north to trade with the Eskimos and carry on the oil trade. Churchill was to provide a trader and an interpreter to go with her on the voyage.[214] These trips proved unsuccessful but in the 1890s Churchill sent a boat every summer to Marble Island to trade with the Eskimos from that area. Those Eskimos reached by the boats did not have to come in to Churchill to trade; consequently some of the Eskimo use of the Churchill area declined, although the Marble Island trade still formed part of the Churchill returns.

Most of the Eskimos who came to trade at Churchill in the 1890s came from Eskimo Point or to the south of it. They spent the summer on the coast and then went inland in the fall. In the spring they returned to the coast and came to the Stone Fort to hunt seals, remaining there until mid-July when they returned north with the Marble Island boats. Very few of the Marble Island Eskimos came south any more, preferring to trade with the boats; the former post servant and interpreter, Ouligbuck, was commissioned to bring them to the boats.[215] These Marble Island trips were no longer made after the early 1900s; instead the HBC began to set up posts in places such as Chesterfield Inlet, making it unnecessary for the Eskimos to come to Churchill at all.

The Eskimos still carried on some of the whaling for the post at Seal River. When they brought the blubber in 1893, it was supposed to tally with the number of tails, but on closer inspection, was found to have eight more tails than blubber.[216] It was only the suspicions of the post manager that brought

this to light; it was apparently a trick that had been used before with success. The Eskimos appear to have used much of their ingenuity seeking ways to outwit the men of the post; only their unsuccessful attempts were likely to be noted!

As late as 1893 Churchill derived furs from Eskimos who had never traded at any post. These were obtained by one of the Eskimo traders at Churchill, Cheese Cloth, from Eskimos far inland who still hunted with bows and arrows, since they had no guns.[217] Like all native tribes in contact with the HBC, the Eskimos too had their middlemen, who brought in new sources of furs for the Company and found the middleman role a rewarding one. By the 1890s many of the Eskimos did not come in to either Churchill or Brochet but traded through these Eskimo middlemen.[218]

In the census of 1881 the Eskimos trading at Churchill were said to number 515, consisting of 97 men, 149 women, 158 boys and 111 girls.[219] But in 1885 Mr. Spencer reported that they were decreasing in numbers because of starvation in the previous several years.[220] Nevertheless the Eskimo trade had become an important element of the Churchill returns and the Eskimos the largest native group attached to it. The Inland or Caribou Eskimos provided caribou skins and meat, while the nearer Coastal Eskimos hunted whales and seals for the post.

The last half of the 19th century, which had brought so little apparent alteration to the post of Fort Churchill, had radically changed the native people who traded there. Many had died from the diseases, both epidemic and chronic, which devastated them. Others had changed their locales in order to be near inland posts and no longer came to the coast. The Cree were no longer a part of the Fort Churchill mosaic, while the Eskimos assumed a greater role and the Chipewyan began to form small local trading post bands. Fort Churchill entered the 20th century with a much smaller trading base than it had had on entering the 19th century. Its days as an isolated fur

trading post were already fading into obscurity, taking with them the degree of economic self-sufficiency which had accrued to the native people during that era. The 20th century on the west peninsula belonged to the Canadian government; both the HBC and the native peoples were forced to adapt their lives to that fact.

The End of an Era 1906-1930

The years 1906-30 were a period of great change for Fort Churchill, at the end of which the dominant feature in the local landscape was the railway and port facilities on the east peninsula of the Churchill River. Various Canadian governments had vacillated for years over whether Port Nelson or Churchill should be the terminus for the Hudson Bay Railway. In 1912 Port Nelson was selected and a bridge and port facilities constructed there but the demands of the first World War put an end to work on the railroad in 1917. In 1927 the government commissioned Sir Frederick Palmer, a British authority on port construction, to evaluate once again the respective merits of Churchill and Port Nelson; he recommended Churchill as the overwhelmingly superior port.[1]

By that time the technology of laying railroad track was adequate to the special conditions of the Churchill area and the link between Churchill's harbour and the interior could at last be made. This link was made to the east peninsula, however, for it offered better facilities for the port and railroad than the west peninsula could. The west peninusula which had been the hub of human activity in the area for over 200 years was now divided from most of that activity by the width of the Churchill River, which prevented easy access by those at Fort Churchill to the improved transport and the larger population centred on the east peninsula.

Churchill became the district headquarters for the HBC in 1929 but this office was situated in the townsite on the east peninsula rather than in the old post. Fort Churchill continued to be used as a trading post and store until 1933, when a new store was built on the townsite.[2] The HBC occupation of the

west peninsula ended with this move in 1933; from then on its activities were centred on the east peninsula.

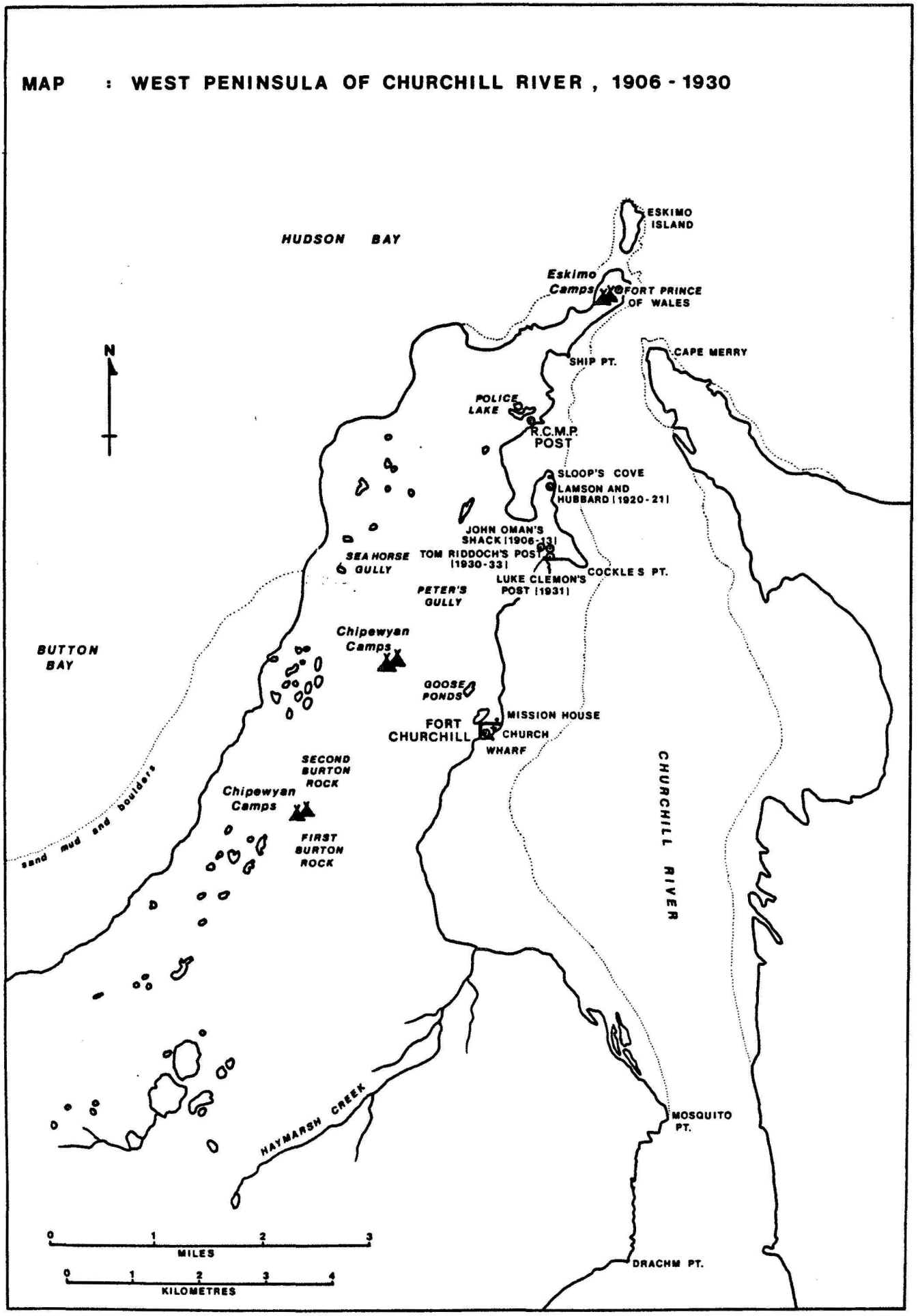
In this move the HBC joined the exodus from the west peninsula of almost all of its former occupants, the Anglican mission of St. Paul's, the RCMP, and Tom Riddoch, a free trader in competition with the HBC; the west peninsula was now the home only for a few independent trappers. Soon the abandoned graveyard, with its few stone markers and some of its wooden crosses and fences, and the crumbling stone foundation of a post building would be the sole remnants to mark the long HBC occupation of the area.

A perceptive observer might have been able to foresee these results as early as 1906 when the Canadian government first took possession of the Churchill area, setting aside both the east and west peninsulas (exclusive of the HBC land) as a government reserve. The land surveyed for the reserve included space for the proposed railway on the east peninsula and also for a police post on the west peninsula. Churchill was not only to be a government port but also the headquarters for a series of Mounted Police posts along the west coast of Hudson Bay, which were designed to demonstrate and assert Canadian sovereignty in the region. In this move the Canadian government assumed some of the early HBC dreams of Churchill as the outlet for the western interior and as a focus for new connections to the north.

Fort Churchill Site

In 1906 the men at Fort Churchill pursued their accustomed round much the same as they had for the previous 50 years, with probably little notion of the changes that would occur in their lives and site in the next 25 years. The presence of the police provided another element in the social life of Churchill and offered some wage labour opportunities to the local inhabitants, as well as some friction with the post managers, but had little effect on the activities of Fort Churchill itself. Some

Fig. 49



Drawn by V. Lytwyn

replacements of buildings on the site continued but with no intentions to expand the post activities or influence to fit it for any future changes which would be caused by the coming of a railway.

The Oman family continued to dominate the personnel at Churchill and provided much of the help required by the police and surveyors. They also continued to give trouble to those who hired them. There were not enough jobs available for all the Omans, however; some became trappers rather than employees, and eked out a living in the area. The large families of the 19th century meant also that all of the Omans, even if they did not have a large family themselves, had enormous numbers of relatives close by. This affected employment opportunities for them; in 1910 when Ashton Alston thought he would have to choose one of the two servants then employed, John Gray or John Oman, he preferred to keep Gray because, although Oman was a good worker, he had too many relations.[3]

George Oman, the last of the old-timers of the post, died in 1927. In the 1890s he made the annual trip with the Marble Island boats and had served the post as labourer and interpreter throughout his long career. He retired on pension a few years before his death and lived in one of the Pensioner's cabins at the post; he died after catching a chill while hauling wood,[4] still active in one of the basic activities of post life at Churchill. Sam Gray died in 1922 at the age of about 80, after serving the HBC for 45 years.[5]

With the death of these two pensioners of the Company the long linked history of the HBC and the mixed-blood people of Churchill was virtually at an end. The proliferation and employment of such families was no longer possible as the dependence of Fort Churchill on the fur trade and Indian people was replaced in the 20th century by its function as a store for a variety of peoples drawn to Churchill by the railroad.

The differences in trade goods ordered reflected the different tastes and people of the area in the 20th century. As a

result Fort Churchill became a store catering to a wider variety of people than a fur trade post could. In 1910 the manager asked for 12 Scotch Tweed suits of good quality, which could be sold to the RNWMP, to take advantage of this new market.[6] By 1912 cigarettes were being ordered, a change from the old tobacco twists.[7]

The first World War affected Churchill's imports, preventing the shipping of tea, provisions, dried fruits and evaporated vegetables, biscuits and all cereals, ammunition, telescopes and beads.[8] In the aftermath of the war the people of Churchill suffered from the influenza outbreak of 1919, which affected all the Indians of the Nelson River District and led to their doing little or no hunting.[9]

For most of the time at Fort Churchill, however, life continued in the usual round, with a few social gatherings to highlight the year. On Dominion Day the usual games and shooting at targets were held; the RNWMP organized a "Gymkana" for this in 1910, in which the Chipewyan and the Eskimos participated (see Fig. 91). These celebrations were attended by the minister, Mr. Sevier, and by the post manager, Mr. Alston.[10] They appeared to be an occasion when all the people of the area could meet (and compete) with fun and food for all (with the aid of mosquito nets to protect the RNWMP!).

Christmas continued to be a highlight of the year at Fort Churchill, although there were no more mentions of trees or visits from Santa. The Chipewyan men came in with some trade to join in the celebrations at the post and at the RNWMP post when it was established. About 35 Indians came to visit the police on Dec. 26, 1906, the first year the RNWMP were there. The police gave out meat, biscuit, tea and some tobacco and the Indians sold most of their dogs to the police and to Mr. Thibodeau, the government surveyor. The police at this time also tried to allay the Indian fears about their purpose at Churchill; these fears were expressed in the Indian nickname for the police - "the Imprisoners".[11] During the short time

that the police were at Churchill their relationship with the Chipewyan was a very friendly one and they did little to earn the nickname.

Football became a popular activity at Churchill in the 1920s; it was played on the ice and, "although rather snappy" it was "quite invigorating".[12] The post also had a library[13] and gramophones and billiards were played in the big house. There were many more recreational facilities than there had been in the early days at Fort Churchill. Magic lantern shows continued to provide some amusement for the people of the post, and in 1924 the first radiophone was tried at Churchill, thus increasing contact with the outside world. Another apparent influence from the outside world was the beauty contest held in 1920, in which A.H. Snow, manager, was chosen best-looking man, while Soda Eyes won the women's division title.[14]

There were also many more and closer links to the outside world through changes in the transportation system. The first airplane landed in 1927 at Goose Lake, bringing in surveyors for the railroad;[15] from then on Churchill would have the influence of the surveyors and the builders of the railroad and its facilities. It would no longer be an isolated backwater post with only an annual contact by ship with the rest of the world. Its population and land-use changed almost daily over the summer periods of the building process, concentrated, of course, on the east peninsula but with some contacts made with Fort Churchill for clothing, supplies, etc.

In the 1920s Fort Churchill also had many more visits from independent white trappers, many of them Scandinavians, who became attached to the post. One of these, Slim Carlson, built a cabin on the west peninsula where he lived alongside some of the local inhabitants. These trappers traded their furs at Fort Churchill, which no longer depended only on the Chipewyan and Eskimos even for its fur trade.

These changes in the human occupation of the Churchill area had little lasting effect on the west peninsula, however; even

the site of Fort Churchill itself underwent very little alteration in these years.

Graves

By the late 1920s a new graveyard appeared to be in use at Fort Churchill. No mention was made of why this change was made but a site within the post area was marked as "cemetery" in the plan of the post for Outfit 258 (see Fig. 53). It occupied a very small area; perhaps it had only been used a few times. The site on the rocks may have been filled by this time or found too inconvenient.

Water

Water was taken from a small lake about 500 yds. (457 m.) from the Big House or from ice cut in the Goose Ponds in winter and stored in the Ice House.[16] After 200 years at the site no more convenient source had ever been found. By the late 1920s the Ice House was no longer listed in the plans of the post. Perhaps the small number of men at the post reverted to using snow water in the winter.

Garden

Gardening had been neglected at the fort for years but in 1923 a new garden was started; its location is unknown but it probably occupied the same space as the previous garden. Instead of pickets around it, the men cut up sugar boxes for fencing.[17] No mention was made of the success of this garden nor whether it was pursued in the following years.

Trade Buildings

Most of the building activities at Fort Churchill continued to consist of the replacement of old buildings with new ones serving the same purpose. Despite the changes underway for the area, no need was felt either to vary the requirements at the post or to enlarge it.

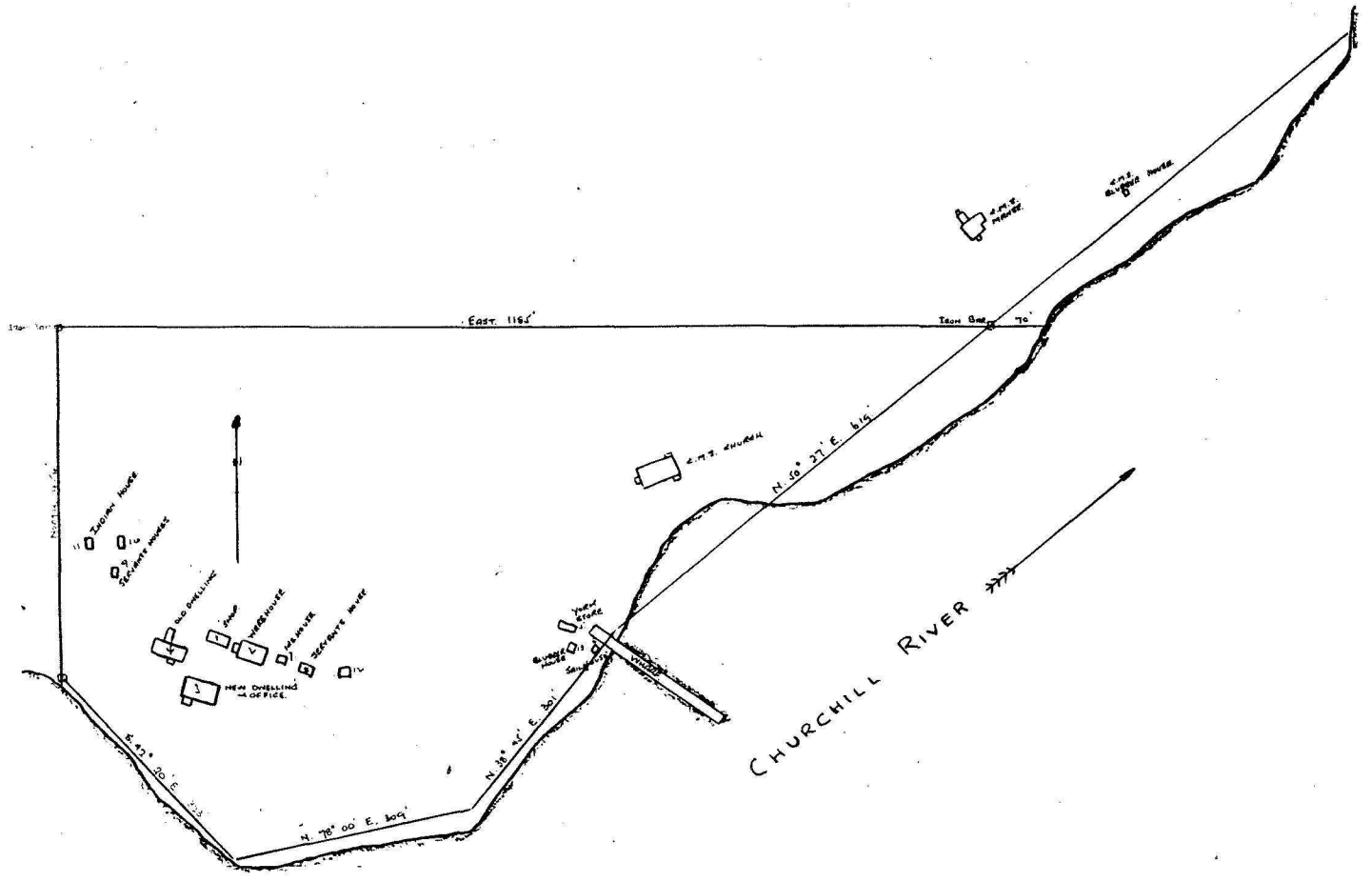
Fig. 50 Plan of buildings and lands at Churchill Post, Nelson River District [Outfit 253]
HBC Archives, P.A.M., G7/9, Churchill Post Plans.

1. Old Trading Store
2. Depot
3. Big House
4. Officer's Dwelling 1856
5. York Store
6. Sail House
7. Ice House
8. Servant's House
9. Servant's House
10. Servant's House
11. Servant's House
12. Coal Shed
13. Blubber House

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

PLAN OF BUILDINGS AND LANDS AT CHURCHILL POST NELSON RIVER DISTRICT OUTFIT

Total Area of the Company's Property Date of Government Survey Name of Surveyor Geographical Position Lat 58° 46' N Lon 94° 10' W



NOTE—Please follow the instructions printed on the back.

The above plan is drawn to scale of one square representing 100 feet.

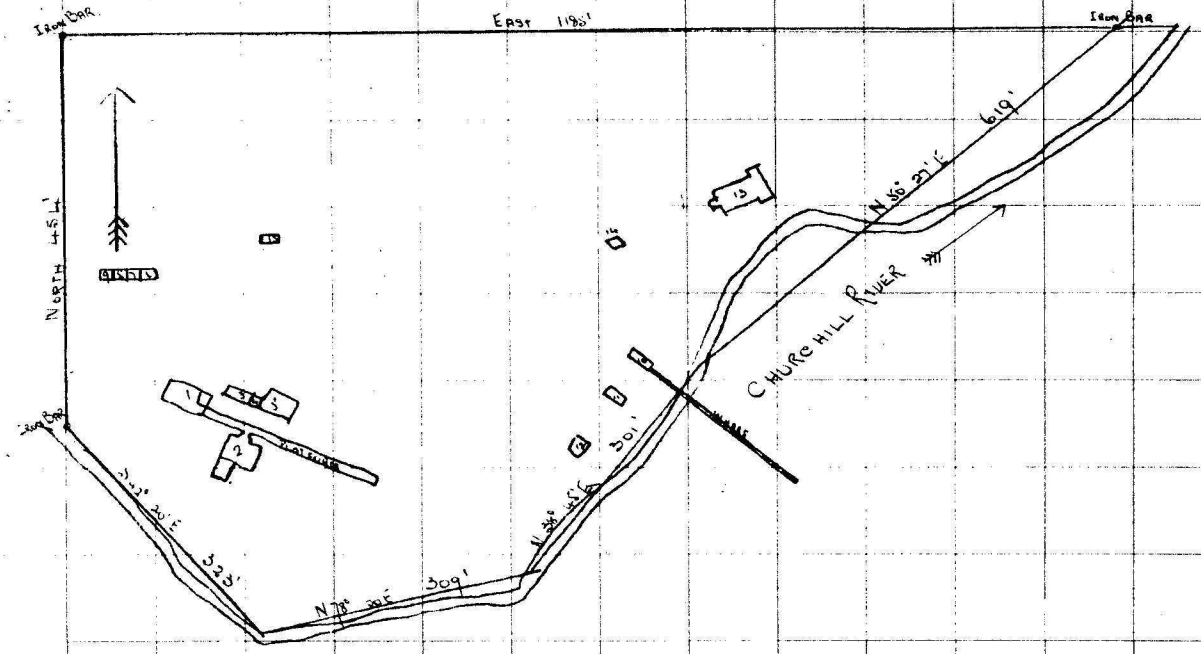
Fig. 51 Plan of buildings and lands at Churchill Post, Nelson River District, Outfit 258
HBC Archives, P.A.M., G7/9, Churchill Post Plans

1. Officer's Dwelling 1856
2. Big House
3. and 4. Trading Store - in two parts, one for general merchandise, other for flour and pork.
5. Depot
6,7, 8, 9. Servants' houses and native quarters
10. York Shed
11. Oil Shed
12. Blubber House
13. Church
14. Indian Shack
15. Cemetery

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

PLAN OF BUILDINGS AND LANDS AT Churchill POST Nelson River DISTRICT OUTFIT 25.8

Total Area of the Company's Property 1262 Date of Government Survey Name of Surveyor Geographical Position 58° 48' N 94° 15' W



NOTE—Please follow the instructions printed on the back.

The above plan is drawn to scale of one square representing 1 inch feet.

Trading Store

In 1906 the very old trading shop still stood on the grounds of the post. This shop, part of which dated back to the early 19th century and the other to the mid-19th century, was finally taken down in 1913; its side walls and foundation were rotten but its old logs were sawn up to be used for firewood,[18] the usual last step for the buildings of Churchill.

A new trading store was built in 1912[19] - a one-storey log building with a loft, measuring 25 ft. (7.6 m.) by 16 ft. (4.9 m.).[20] This was much smaller than the store it replaced but adequate for the volume of business at the time. Its saddle roof was covered with tar paper; it was sealed inside and weatherboarded outside. With one wood stove and lit by oil lamps[21] it was comfortable enough for use for the rest of the existence of the post.

In 1925 when white trappers began coming into the Churchill area, providing a new market for the post, a new store for flour and pork was attached to the trading store. With this addition the Trading Store measured 35 ft. 4 in.(10.8 m.) by 17 ft. 2 in.(5.2 m.), with a height to the eaves of 9 ft. 6 in.(2.9 m.), and to the peak of the roof of 16 ft. 9 in.(5.1 m.) [22] This amount of space appeared to be enough for Fort Churchill, even during the years of construction of the port facilities, when it was the only store in the area.

Flour Store

The provision of storage space for perishable goods such as flour was a growing concern in these years; much more of this was used by both the post men and the Indians than had formerly been the case. The men put up a new building to keep flour in in 1910, since the shop was too small.[23]

This was replaced by the addition to the trading store built in 1925 (above).

Trading Store of 1895 (Depot)

In addition to the trading store for the sale of goods Fort Churchill needed a depot or warehouse in which to store goods; in the early 1920s this was reported as a one-storey building 30 ft. (9.1 m.) by 20 ft. (6.1 m.) with a loft.[24] It occupied the space formerly taken by the Trading Shop of 1895 and looks much the same in the plans of 1901 and 1923 (see Figs. 21 and 50), except that it was listed as smaller in size and only one storey in height in 1923. It would be expected that a building of 1895 would still be in use and the 1895 shop was large enough to be used as a warehouse. No mention was made in these years of tearing down the 1895 store and rebuilding on the site and it is therefore assumed that, in spite of the discrepancies in size, this warehouse was the trading store of 1895.

The plans and description for 1928 show a depot on the same site, now attached to the east end of the trading store (the addition for flour and pork). This depot measured 36 ft. (11 m.) long, 25 ft. 3 in.(7.7 m.) wide, with a height to the eaves of 13 ft., (4 m.) and to the peak of the roof of 25 ft. 7 in.(7.8 m.), measurements almost identical to those given for the 1895 Trading Store. It was a substantial building, listed in 1928 as a two-storey log structure with a Red River roof covered with tin, sealed inside and weatherboarded outside. Although no certain judgment can be made it is assumed that this was the trading store of 1895. By 1928 it was only in fair condition, with a decided lean to its face, though still useable.[25]

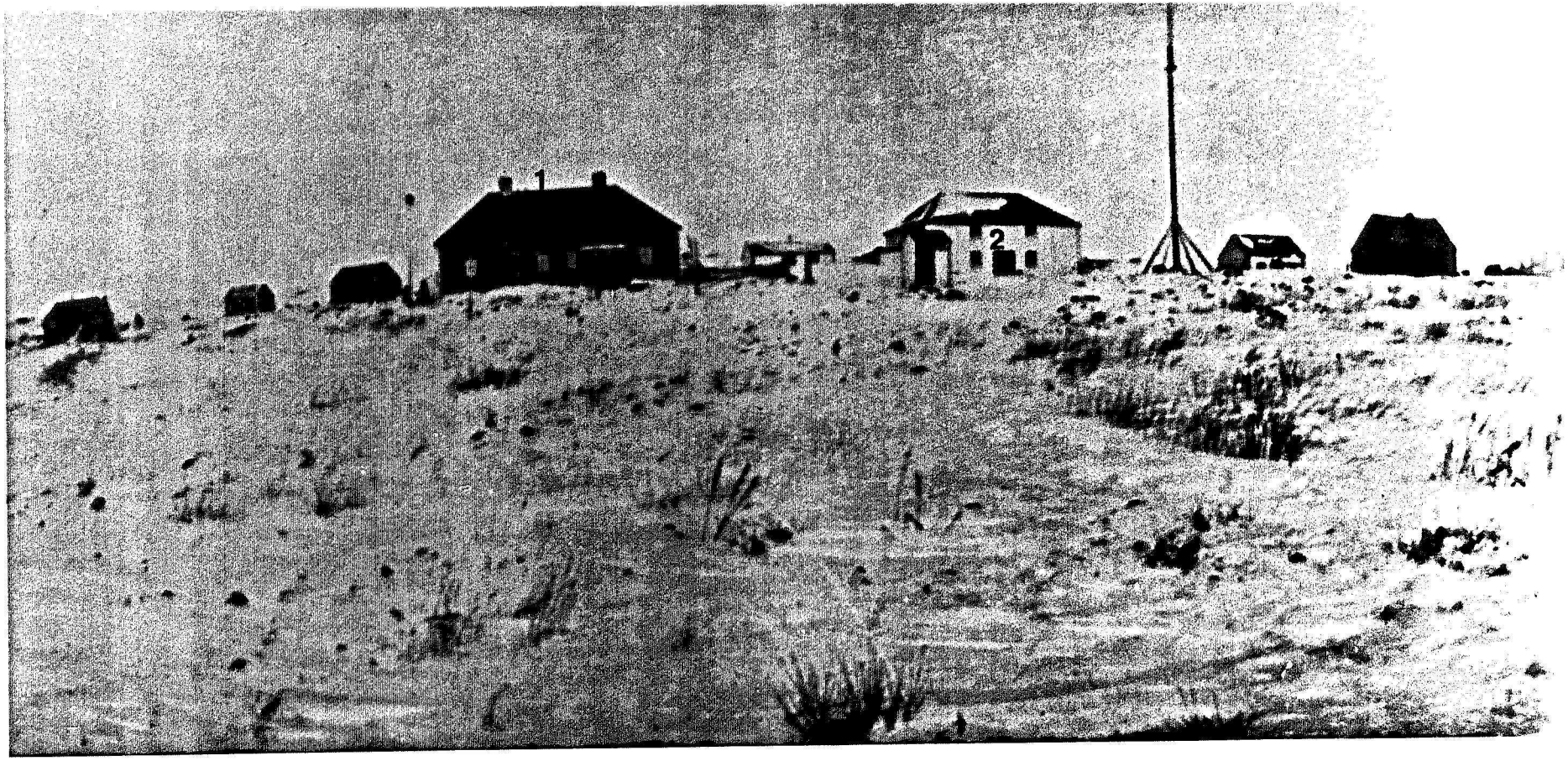
Fur Room

The fur press building (which was probably part of the very old trading shop) was burned for firewood in 1913, as was the rest of the trading shop.[26] The fur press activities then had to be carried on outside for the next year; one of the other buildings, perhaps a part of the warehouse, must have been used after that.

Fig. 52 Churchill, n.d. [c. 1906]
P.A.M., Stovel Collection, no. 342

1. Officer's House of 1856
2. Trading Store of 1895

The rest of the buildings appear to be servant's houses and sheds.

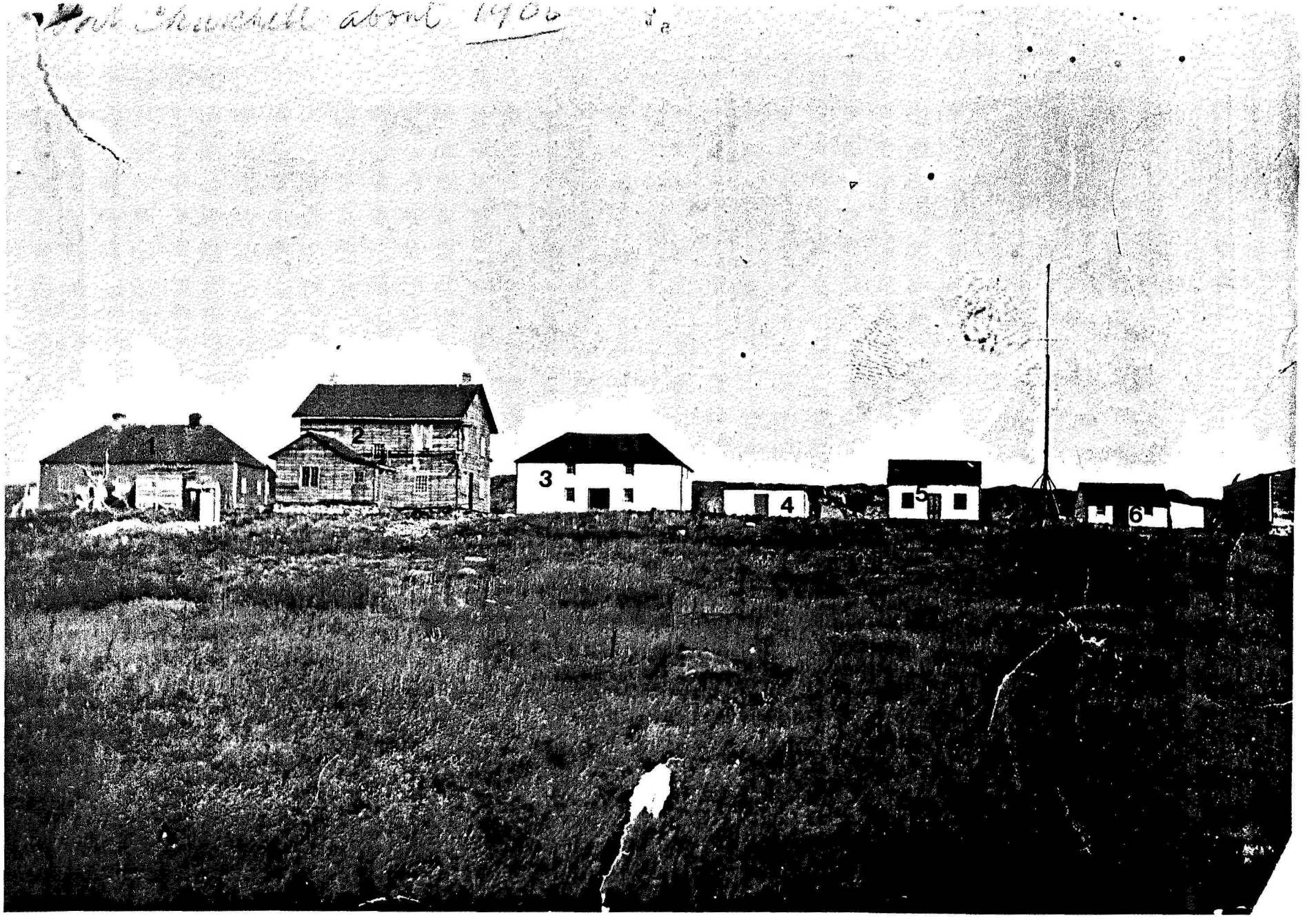


CHURCHILL

Fig. 53 Fort Churchill circa 1906
Hudson's Bay Company Neg: 85 - 21

Although 1906 is written on this picture it must date to about 1910 since it shows the Big House under construction.

1. Officer's House 1856
2. Big House
3. Trading Store of 1895
4. Ice house?
5. Servant's House - perhaps the Clerk's House built in 1904
6. Servant's House


Fort Churchill about 1906
1
2
3
4
5
6

Ice House

An Ice House, 12 ft. (3.7 m.) by 12 ft. (3.7 m.), was situated east of the warehouse on the post grounds[27] and used to hold ice for drinking water and to store meat in summer. The ice house was removed by 1928,[28] presumably because it was no longer needed for these purposes.

Coal Shed

The coal shed, 12 ft.(3.7 m.) by 12 ft.(3.7 m.), on the outskirts of the post area, held the small amount of coal provided for the post, though the ice house was also used for this at times. Both the ice house and the coal shed had been removed by 1928.[29] Perhaps their function was filled by sheds attached to the houses; it would seem that ice and coal were still needed for water and heat, at least for the manager's house.

Boat House

A new boat house was built in 1910 to provide shelter for the canoes, boats, etc.[30] This was probably the Sail House listed in 1923 as 12 ft.(3.7 m.) by 12 ft.(3.7 m.) and in good condition[31] but which had disappeared by 1928.

Oil House

Whaling was still carried on at Churchill, although coal oil had largely replaced whale oil for lamps and the whaling was not so important to the trade. The whale meat was used for dog food and stored in the oil house with the oil.

For some reason the oil houses of the 20th century seemed to have a short life. The old Blubber House was pulled down in 1910[32] and a new one built but this was taken down in 1922 and replaced by another new one.[33] In the 1923 plans this blubber shed was measured at 16 ft.(4.9 m.) by 12 ft.(3.7 m.) and in good condition. A very destructive storm in 1924 destroyed the blubber house, however,[34] and a new one had to be built[35].

This was a one-room log building with a saddle roof and measured 19 ft. 6 in.(5.9 m.)long and 13 ft. 7 in. (4.1 m.) wide, with a height to the eaves of 7 ft. 9 in.(2.4 m.) and to the peak of the roof of 10 ft. 6 in. (3.2 m.).[36] This oil house managed to survive until the end of the post existence.

Oil Shed

By 1926 an oil shed was built near the wharf to hold oil and gasoline; this indicates the new importance of these supplies as the number of motors for boats increased. It was a one-storey, one-room log building with a saddle roof, 20 ft. 2 in. (6.1 m.) by 11 ft. 4 in. (3.4 m.), with a height to the eaves of 7 ft. 11 in. (2.4 m.), and to the peak of the roof of 10 ft.(3 m.). [37] Keeping these supplies separate and near the water was a method of fire protection for the post as well as a convenience for the boats.

York Store

The York shed continued in use at the post for storing freight at the end of the wharf, as it had since 1894. By 1928 it was listed as in fair condition.[38]

The years 1906-1930 had very little effect on the trade buildings of Fort Churchill. The trading store was built within this period but was simply a replacement, on a smaller scale, for a previous building. The York shed for freight and the Oil House at the water's edge performed the same functions, on a reduced level, which the old launch houses and oil houses had in the first days of Fort Churchill. The only entirely new building for a new purpose was the oil shed to contain gas and oil, commodities unknown to the early days of Fort Churchill. Even with the new opportunities of the coming railroad, the HBC decided in the 1920s not to do any major work on Fort Churchill, since it could foresee the move to the east peninsula which made any construction at Fort Churchill redundant.

Dwellings

Servants' Houses

Ashton Alston, in charge at Churchill in 1910, thought that if he had coal supplied he would only need one engaged servant plus a clerk, hiring temporary labour when required.[39] Not enough coal was supplied, however, and the need for a continued supply of wood meant that two or three servants were usually on staff, although the wooding was sometimes done by temporary labour.

As the number of men required to run the post continued to decline the provision of housing for them was made simpler. In May and June 1908, two new servants' houses were put up.[40] The Men's House of 1888 had disappeared sometime after 1905; its site within the post grounds was occupied by the Big House built in 1910. It is unclear what happened to it but the move to independent housing for each servant was by now completed.

In the fall of 1908 the servants helped their parents to put up log cabins for themselves within the post area; these were then referred to as the Pensioners' houses.[41] This provision of housing for the pensioners displayed the attachment of the people to the locality, an attachment which persisted when their connection to the post was finished. It also reflected the close family ties of the people of the post to each other as well as to the area, since the pensioners were former servants and parents of the present servants. These houses were later noted simply as two of the servants' houses, rather than being distinguished as Pensioners' houses; the implication is that they belonged to the HBC, even when occupied by the pensioners.

Although Sam Gray had worked many years for the HBC, as did his son John, he preferred to live with his family across the river for some years after his retirement, engaged in trapping. In 1919, however, the Gray family made arrangements to stay at the post in the flour store,[42] perhaps because John

Gray, Sam's son, returned to the employ of the Company in that year. In 1922, the year when his father died, John built a house for himself,[43] probably near the edge of the rocks overlooking the river (see Fig. 50), since the scow was "piled under the hill below John Grey's house" by a big storm in 1924.[44]

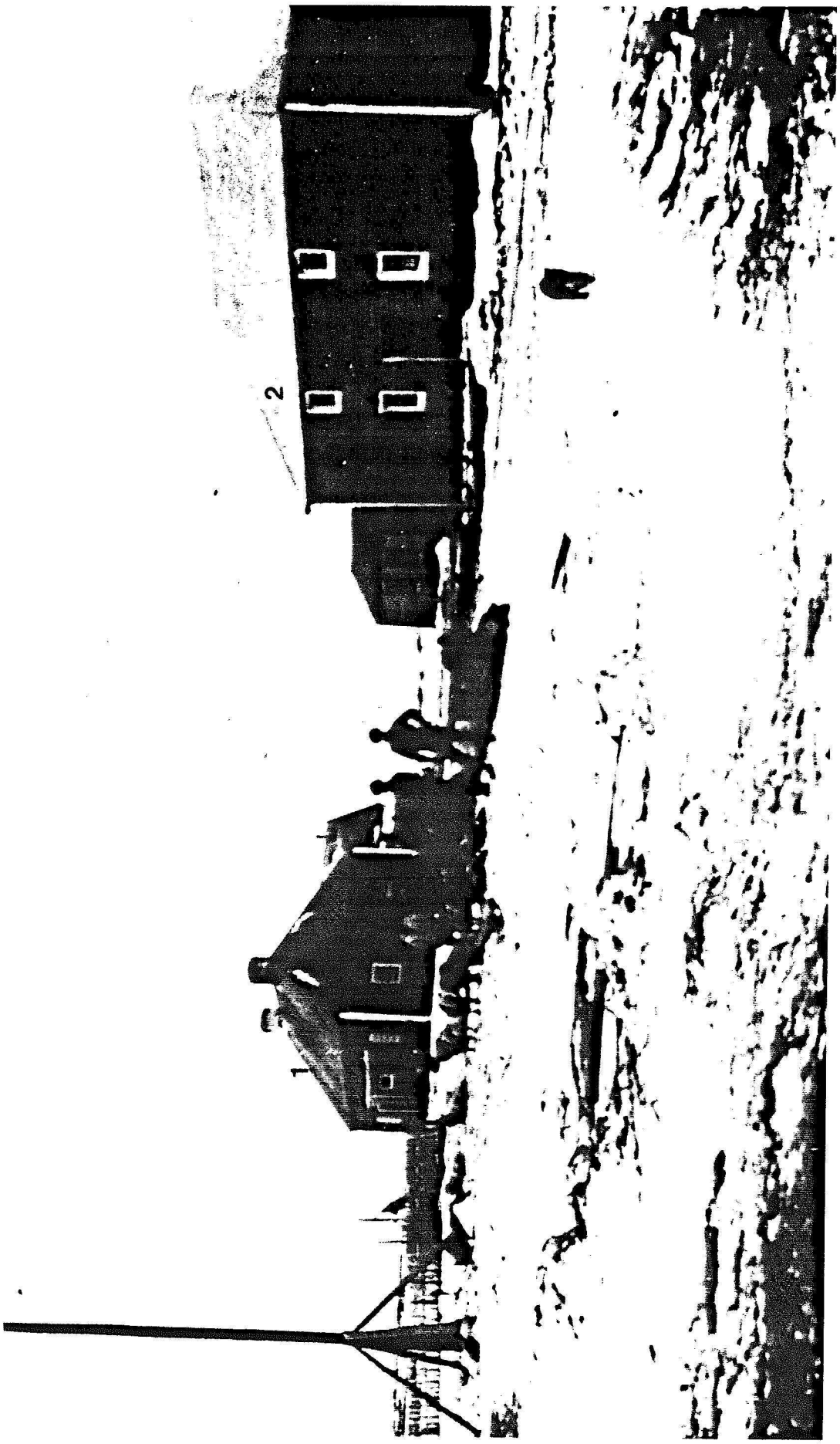
In the plans of Churchill post for the early 1920s four servants' houses were listed, each being 18 ft. (5.5 m.) by 20 ft.(6.1 m.), and each in poor condition. [45] One of these houses was the one built by John Gray, two were the pensioners' houses built in 1908, and one was sometimes listed as the Indian house. The earlier Indian house had been removed to Sentry Island; it appears that one of the servant's houses became known as the Indian house and was only used occasionally for this purpose.

In 1927 there was a last brief flurry of activity to provide new houses for the men. This may have been caused by the decision that year to make Churchill rather than Port Nelson the port for the railway, with all the consequences that involved for Fort Churchill, the only store at Churchill. The government would not allow any businesses to establish on the townsite until the completion of the railroad and port facilities; this gave Fort Churchill a temporary monopoly on any trade derived from the workers on the east peninsula. But no effort was made to change any of the other buildings; the servants' houses may have been in such bad shape that their replacement could not be postponed.

In any case, the old servants' houses were torn down and new ones quickly erected; the old houses were torn down the end of July and the new houses were ready to be occupied in early September. These new houses (see Fig. 51) consisted of four attached dwellings, which were referred to as the servant's houses and native quarters; they measured 62 ft. 3 in. (19 m.) long and 12 ft. 2 in. (3.7 m.) wide and 7 ft. 2 in. (2.2 m.) to the eaves, [10 ft. (3 m.) to the peak of the roof]. Together

Fig. 54 Hudson's Bay Company Post, Churchill, c. 1911
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, no. 19

1. Officer's House 1856
2. Trading Store 1895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they formed a one-storey log building with a loft and a saddle roof covered with tar paper. The houses were lit by coal oil lamps, heated by four wood stoves and had no water system.[46] These were the last new buildings erected at Fort Churchill; with them ended the long process of construction and reconstruction on the site which had begun with Samuel Hearne's all-purpose house in 1783.

John Oman's house

In 1906 John Oman was given time off to build himself a house at Cockles' Point.[47] This appeared to be the first move by one of the men to build a house on the west peninsula outside of the area claimed by the HBC post. Oman built his house before the RNWMP arrived with a surveyor, Mr. Thibodeau, who was to survey the government reserve; his house was on land that was part of the intended government reserve. Because it was built before this survey, his rights to it were not argued by the government, although Oman only occupied this house for a few months during the fishing season. It was marked (as "J. Oman's Shack") on Morrier's survey in 1908 (see Fig. 71).

Oman used his house as justification for a land claim within the government reserve; Major Moodie of the RNWMP supported him in this, saying his right to about five acres (2 hectares) should be accepted by the government.[48] John Oman took scrip in 1910 and left to help establish the new post at Chesterfield. His use of this shack at Cockles' Point, as well as his claim for the land around it, appears to have lapsed. In 1913 the old shack at Cockles' Point was hauled up to the post to be burnt as firewood.[49]

Officer's House

The Officer's dwelling house, built in 1856, continued to be occupied by the man in charge of the post until the Fort Churchill site was abandoned in 1933. Some efforts were made to improve the interior of this house; the sitting room and bed-

room were painted in 1906.[50] In 1912 Ashton Alston ordered some much needed furniture, including Morris chairs and dining room chairs, as well as a Carron stove.[51] The outside was painted in 1915.[52] Even when a new dwelling house was built in 1910 the old dwelling house continued to be used and was occupied in winter in preference to the new dwelling house. It used coal oil lamps and coal stoves and water from the river; it was valued at $1000 in 1923 and listed as in fair condition.[53] As late as 1929 the old house was repaired with new foundation logs[54] to make it useable for the few more years it was needed. Even with these repairs the house was in bad shape; the roof leaked so much when it rained that every pot and pan was pressed into service to catch the downpour.[55]

Big House

In 1910 a new dwelling house for the post manager was begun with the aid of a carpenter brought from York; it was left unfinished that year because there were no windows for it.[56] This house appeared to be on the site where the Men's House of 1888 had been. The new dwelling house was much larger than the old one; it was a two-storey frame building, 40 ft. (12.2 m.) by 30 ft. (9.1 m.) with four bedrooms.[57] This was an impressive size for an officer's house at Churchill; perhaps it was thought it would be needed if Churchill became the terminus for the Hudson Bay Railroad, as then seemed likely.

In 1911 more work was done on the dwelling and it was occupied by Mr. Campbell; unfortunately the roof caught fire 29 December 1911 when the stove pipes came apart and he had to move into the Flour Store.[58] In the summer of 1913 the carpenter worked again on this house. He weatherboarded the outside and worked on the inside of the house, making bannisters for the stairs; the inside of the house was painted.[59] This appeared to make the house habitable - briefly.

This house continued to present problems at the post and never appeared to be suitable for winter habitation. In 1916 a

Fig. 55 HBC Post, Fort Churchill, 1910
PAC

1. Officer's House 1856
2. Trading Store 1895

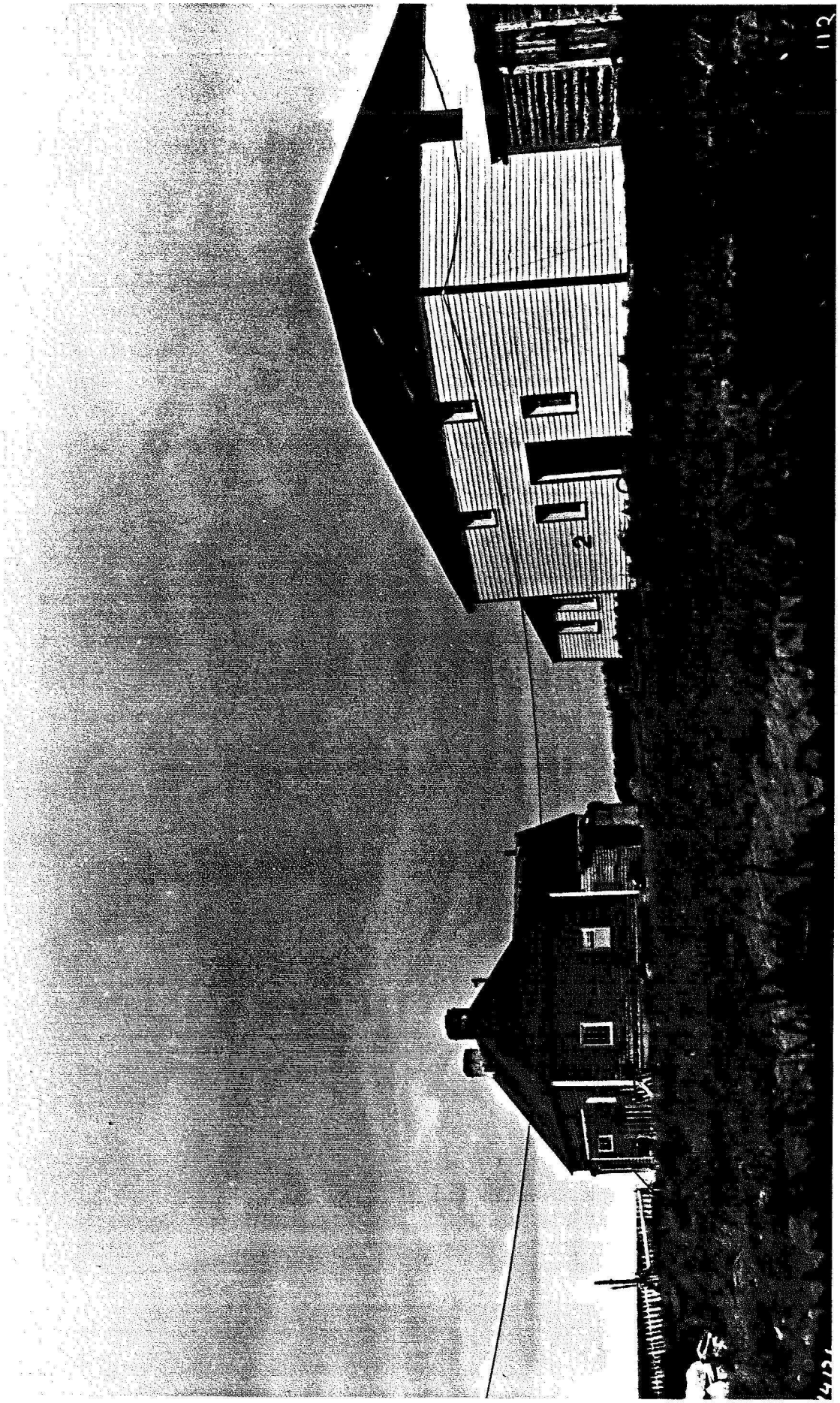
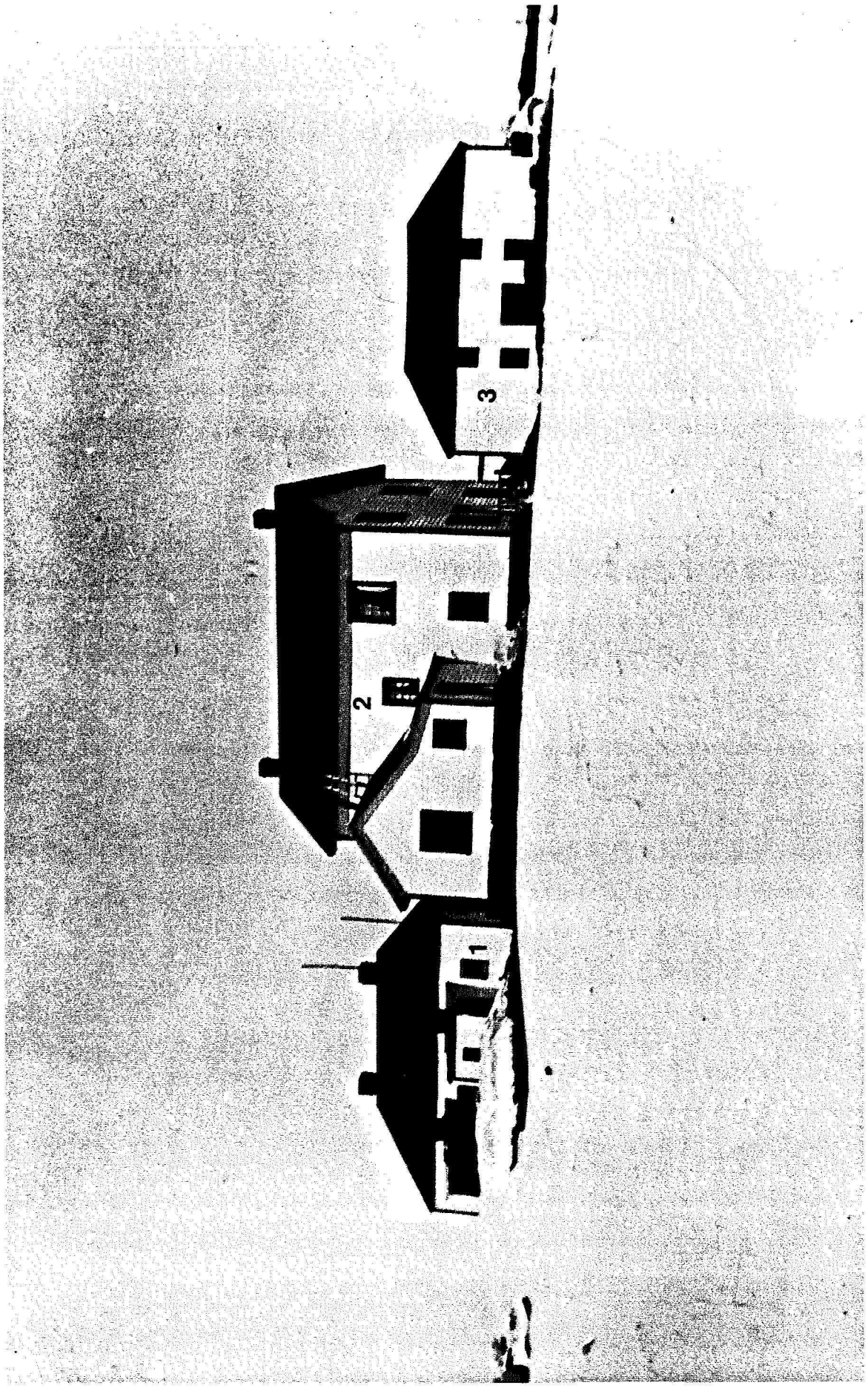


Fig. 56 Hudson Bay Company Post, Fort Churchill, c. 1910
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 18

1. Officer's House 1856
2. Big House
3. Trading Store 1895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kitchen and a snow porch were added to it;[60] despite these amenities the house still needed double flooring, additional weatherboarding and tar papering before it would be habitable.[61]

Throughout the remaining years of the post this house was used as a summer residence, while the old officer's dwelling house was occupied in winter. The Big House was more difficult to heat because of its size; perhaps its frame construction also made it colder than the old log Officer's House. The Big House had a total of seven rooms, four of which were bedrooms, and also had a loft; the kitchen attached to it was also large, 19 ft. 3 in.(5.9 m.) long, 13 ft.(4 m.) wide and 7 ft. 9 1/2 in. (2.4 m.) high.[62] It was heated by three coal stoves, yet these could not make it suitable for winter habitation; the stoves were moved into the old dwelling house for winter use. Water was obtained from a small lake about 500 yds. (457.2 m) from the house.[63]

The newer house was often referred to as the big house; it was sometimes opened for the Christmas celebrations and sometimes used by the servants of the post, as in 1922 when Arthur Oman's family used it.[64] The big house was equipped with a billiard room in 1923,[65]probably in the former living room. Screen doors were added to it;[66] these were an urgent necessity in summer at Churchill. It always seemed to remain a big barn of a place, too large and poorly built to keep a family warm over the Churchill winters and not really suitable for summer either.

Neither the old nor the new dwellings were found suitable for the District Headquarters which was moved to Churchill in 1929; instead of using one of these buildings, the office was moved to the whaling station on the east peninsula.

Indian House

In 1919 the Indian house was taken down to be removed to Sentry Island for use as a dwelling house there.[67] Thereafter one of

the servants houses was referred to as the Indian house.

Buildings Removed from Post

As the HBC began to build posts in the north, Fort Churchill lost some of its buildings as well as some of its trade to these new posts. In 1911 some of the houses were torn down for the new post at Chesterfield.[68] The word "houses" was often used for buildings which were not used as dwellings; it is difficult to say just which were torn down for this. In 1919 its Indian house was removed to Sentry Island. Churchill was no longer the only point of contact for the HBC and Eskimos on the west coast of Hudson Bay; it was overreached by these new posts. Its own character as an isolated fur trading post was receding in the face of the influences of government and transportation in the 20th century.

On rare occasions Fort Churchill acquired a new building from another place. In 1906 a house was brought from Deer River to the post; this was probably the fishing weir house.[69] What use was made of it was not stated.

The number of buildings at the post had declined considerably even in the short space of time covered by this chapter. The old trading shop and fur press building was gone, as were the Men's House of 1888, the magazine, the boat house, ice house and coal house. Fort Churchill was left with the bare necessities in the way of buildings on the site - dwellings, store, depot and storage space for oil, dog feed and merchandise.

Although the post of Fort Churchill had declined in size and although many of its summer activities were carried on across the river, the necessary buildings for the post were maintained, with considerable attention devoted to their upkeep. The buildings of the post, including their roofs, were frequently painted. The platforms were repaired and replaced when necessary. Drainage trenches were dug in the spring.[70]

Fig. 57 Hudson's Bay Co. Str. Pelican,
Churchill, Man., 1910
PAC, GSC photo PA45202

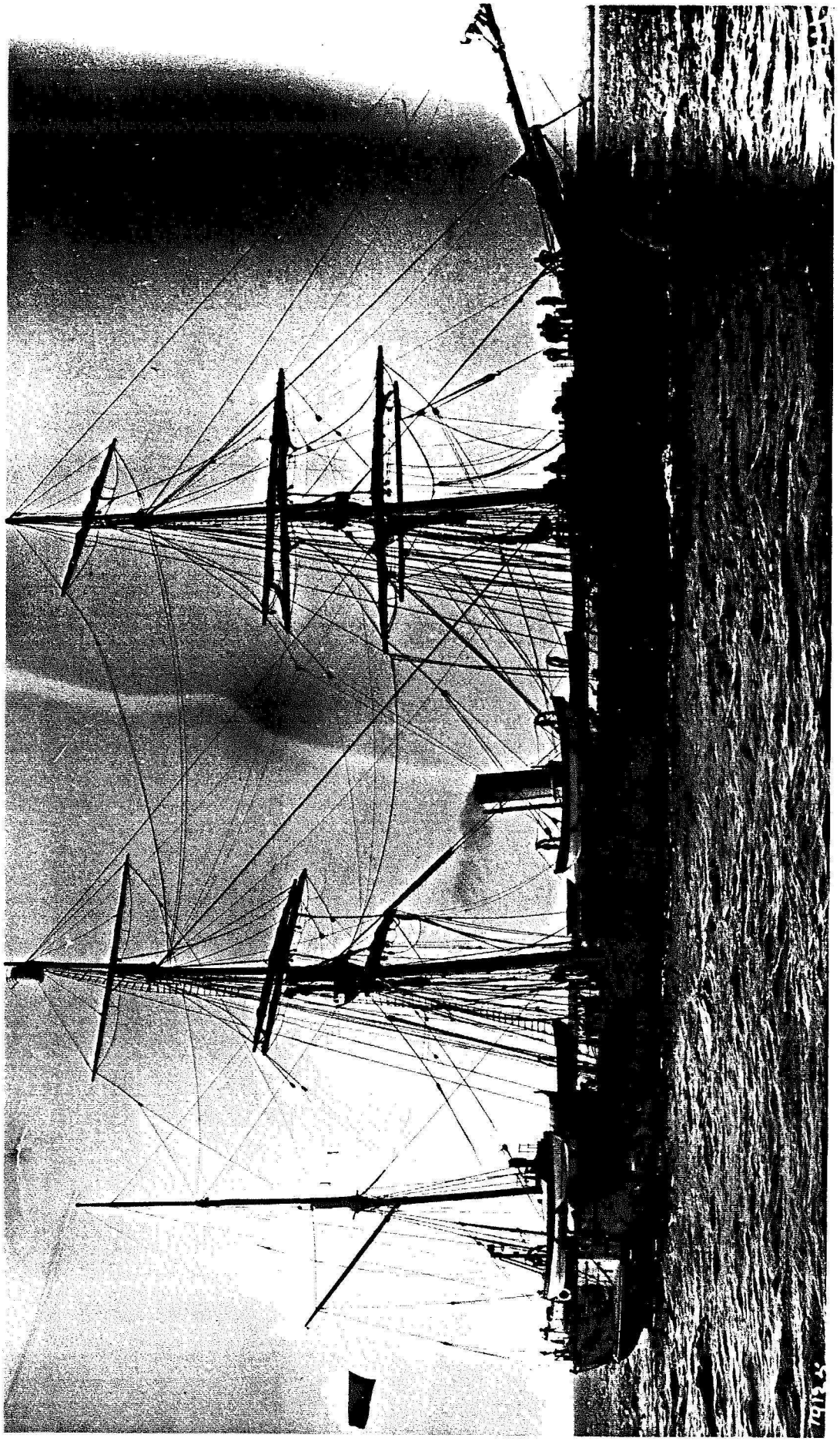

Fig. 58 Fort Churchill, n.d.
P.A.M., R.W. Patterson Collection, No. 444

1. Big House
2. Officer's House 1856
3. Trading Store 1912
4. Flour and Pork Store
5. Depot (Trading Store 1895)

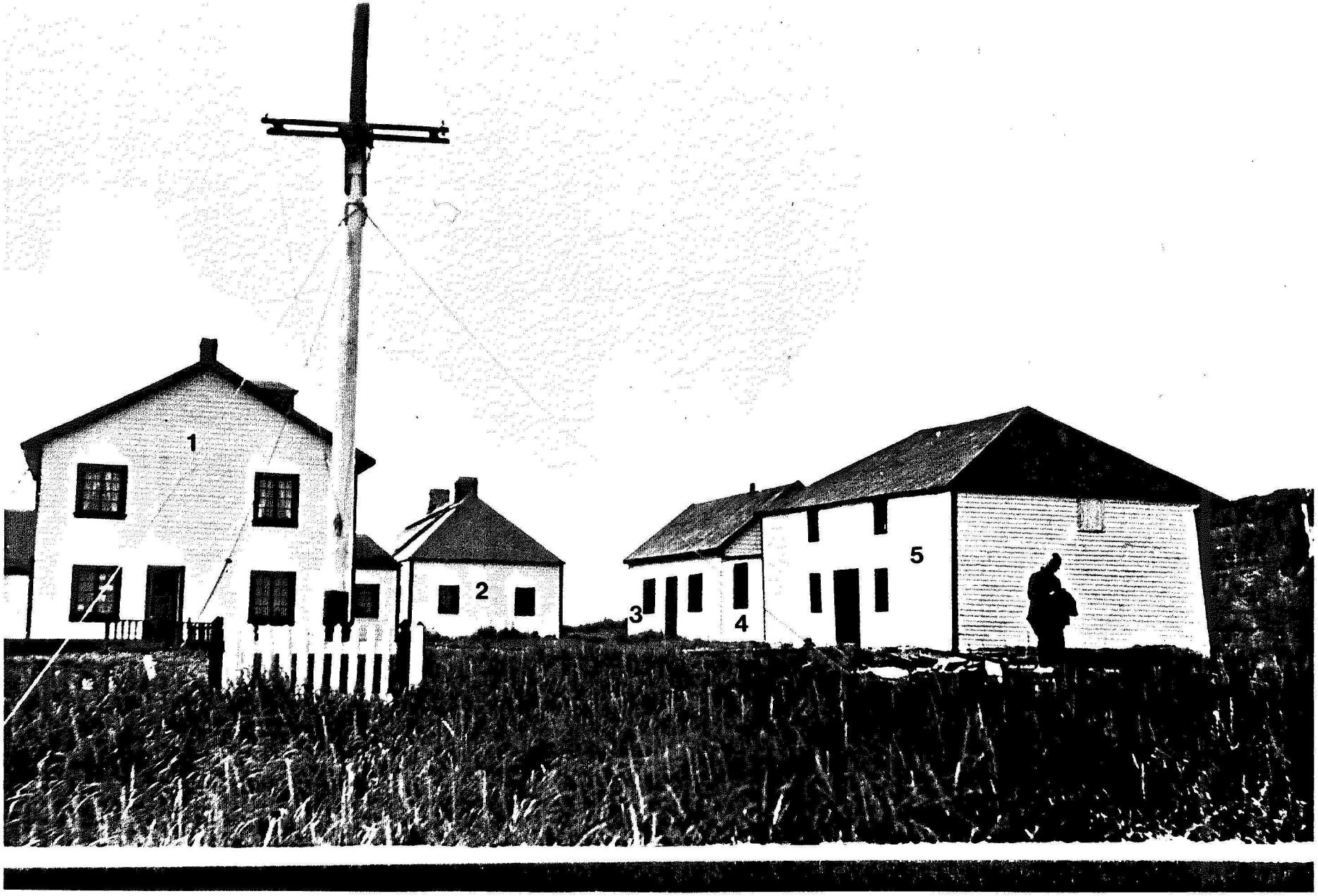
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Fig. 59 Hudson's Bay Post and Church, Churchill, 1927
PAC, RG88, Vol. 332, File 10262

1. Oil House
2. York Store
3. Church of 1892

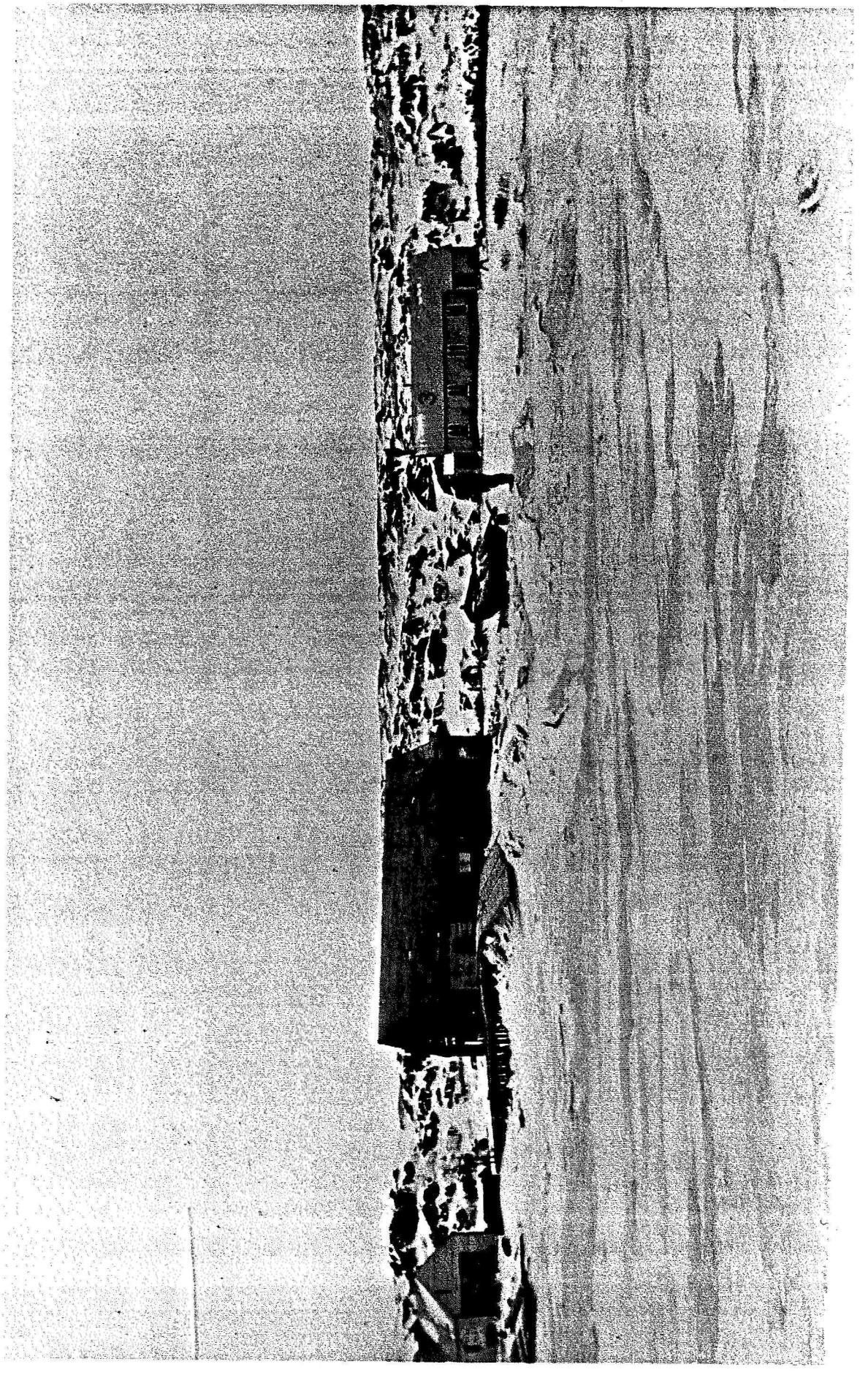


Fig. 60 HBC Post, Fort Churchill [Man.] seen from the river, 17 October 1929
PAC

1. Big House
2. Officer's House of 1856
3. Trading Store 1912
4. Flour and Pork Store
5. Trading Store of 1895 (Depot)

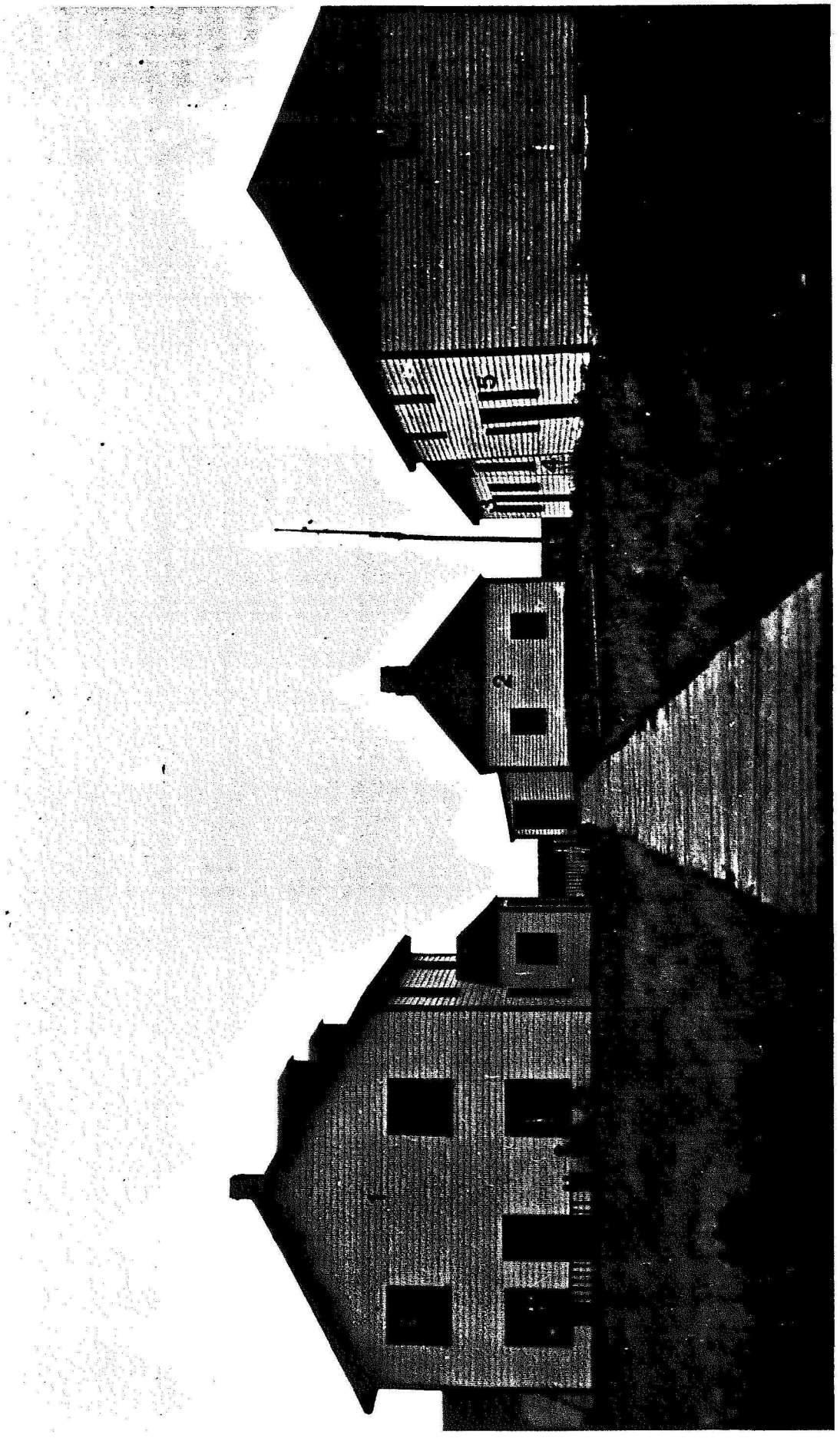
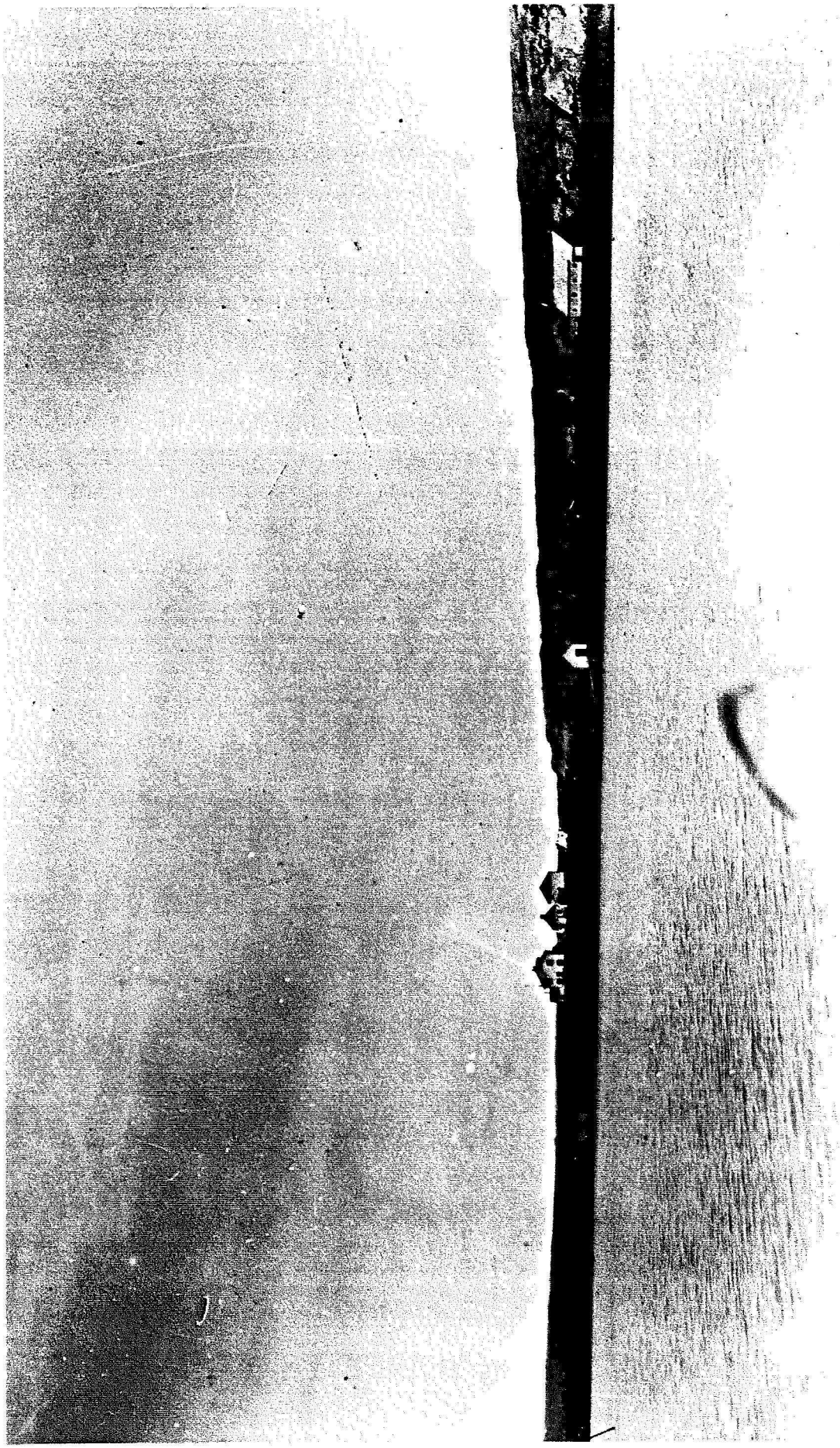


Fig. 61 Photo from Churchill townsite
PAC, RG88, Vol. 332, File 10262



But there was no justification for expansion of the post nor for much in the way of alterations; by 1928 a note was added to the plans of the post, saying that no extensive repairs would be undertaken at Churchill until the decision was made whether or not to transfer the post to the east side of the river.[71]

This decision was soon made, of course, and the HBC abandoned its long and historic land occupation of the west peninsula. Samuel Hearne had established Fort Churchill in 1783 with dreams of building it to become the centre of HBC activity on the Bay, drawing the trade of its vast western interior to it by a water route (as yet unknown) and sending that trade on to England through the excellent harbour at Churchill. In 1930 these dreams still existed but grain had replaced furs as the new staple for export, to be carried by rail overland from the interior to the east peninsula of the Churchill River rather than to the west. The lack of good water transportation to Fort Churchill had determined that it would never equal York Factory in the HBC system; the fact that good land transportation was built to the east peninsula meant that, in order to profit by this opportunity, the HBC of the 20th century had to move from the west peninsula to the east peninsula.

Mission House and Church and School

These buildings were not moved or changed in any way. The house was often unoccupied for a period of years but services were held in the church by the local inhabitants or by the Chipewyan when they came in. By 1930 the Anglican minister had moved to the east peninsula but continued to visit the post and Peter's Gully to hold services. In 1936 tractors hauled the church over the ice to a new site on the east peninsula. This church, built with so much labour by Mr. Lofthouse, the first resident missionary at Churchill, was later moved to another site on the east peninsula, where it still serves the people of Churchill. The vacant mission house, also built by Mr. Lofthouse, was destroyed by a fire sometime in the 1930s.[72]

After leaving Churchill Mr. Lofthouse became the first Bishop of Keewatin, with responsibility for Churchill. In 1910 he asked the Department of Indian Affairs to build a school at Churchill but the Minister refused. The Bishop had mentioned that material for the school would have to sent in by ship, either government or HBC, but the Minister, Hon. D. Laird, hinted that much easier transport might be available in the not too distant future and so preferred not to commit his department at this time.[73] But within a few years the plans for a railroad to terminate at Churchill were changed and Port Nelson was chosen as the terminus. No easier transport was available for Churchill and no moves were made to supply a school building there. The school population was very small in size and teaching was only possible when a minister was in residence; these factors made it unlikely that the Department of Indian Affairs would subsidize a school there.

Although no school building was provided, some education continued to be given by the various missionaries attached to Churchill, who used the church as a school. In 1921 when Rev. E.W. Gardner arrived at Churchill and planned to open a day school in October the Department of Indian Affairs agreed to provide a grant, the amount to be based on the attendance and the success of the school; books and supplies could be sent the next summer.[74] But in 1926 the Department of Indian Affairs refused to pay a salary to the minister and his wife who taught this school, claiming that they never received quarterly reports from it.[75] With little financial support, no full-time teacher and no school building there was little chance of establishing a year-round school at Churchill, where very few children were present except in the summer. The provision of education was a very minimal part of the land-use of the west peninsula; it continued to be a fringe aspect of the missionary activity there, carried on in mission buildings and often interrupted by the absence of either the missionary or the children.

Fig. 62 English Church, Churchill [Man.], 1907
PAC, from Report on the R.N.W.M. Police 1907 (Ottawa), 1908. Part II, after p. 56.

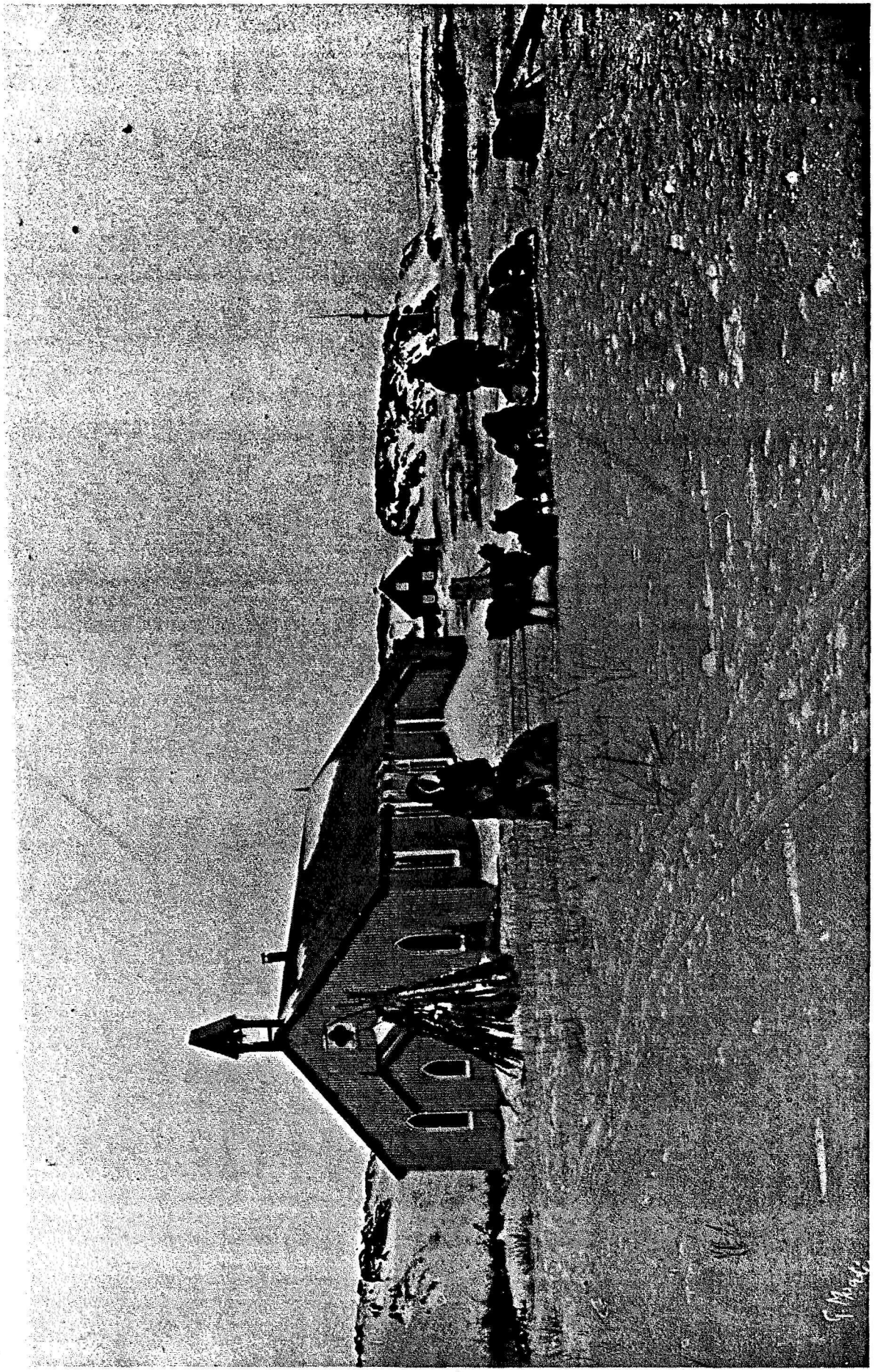


Fig. 63 Mission at mouth of Churchill River [1927]
P.A.M., R.W. Patterson Collection, No. 426

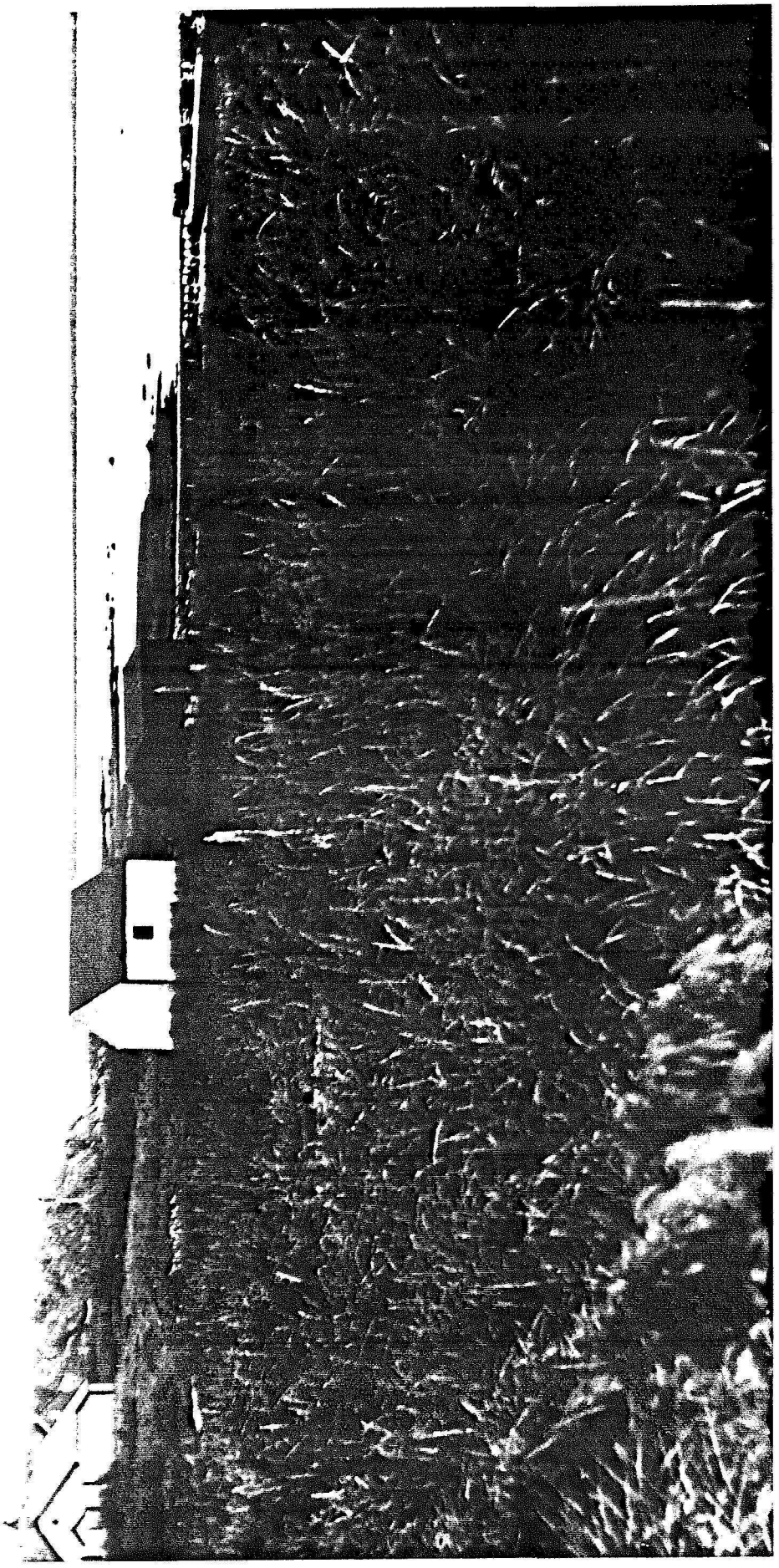


Fig. 64 Mission House at Churchill, n.d.
Archives, Diocese of Keewatin

Fig. 65 Children in Church for School, n.d.
Archives, Diocese of Keewatin

Fig. 66 The interior of Anglican Church at Fort Churchill [Man.] 19 October 1929. Baptizing stool in the middle, placards with Cree {sic} letters on the wall.

PAC

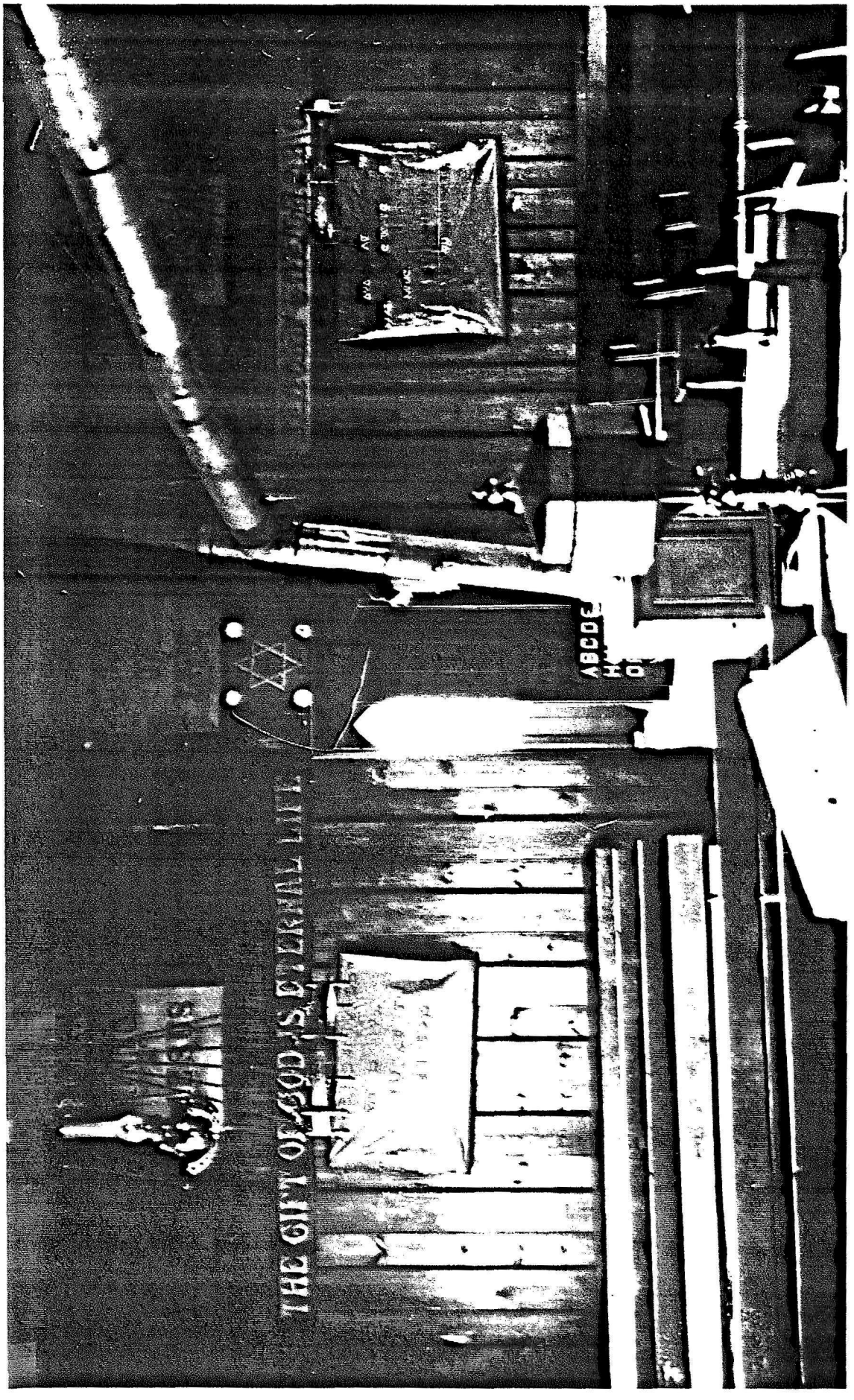

THE GIFT OF GOD IS ETERNAL LIFE

Fig. 67 Anglican Church, Fort Churchill, Man.,
19 October, 1929
PAC

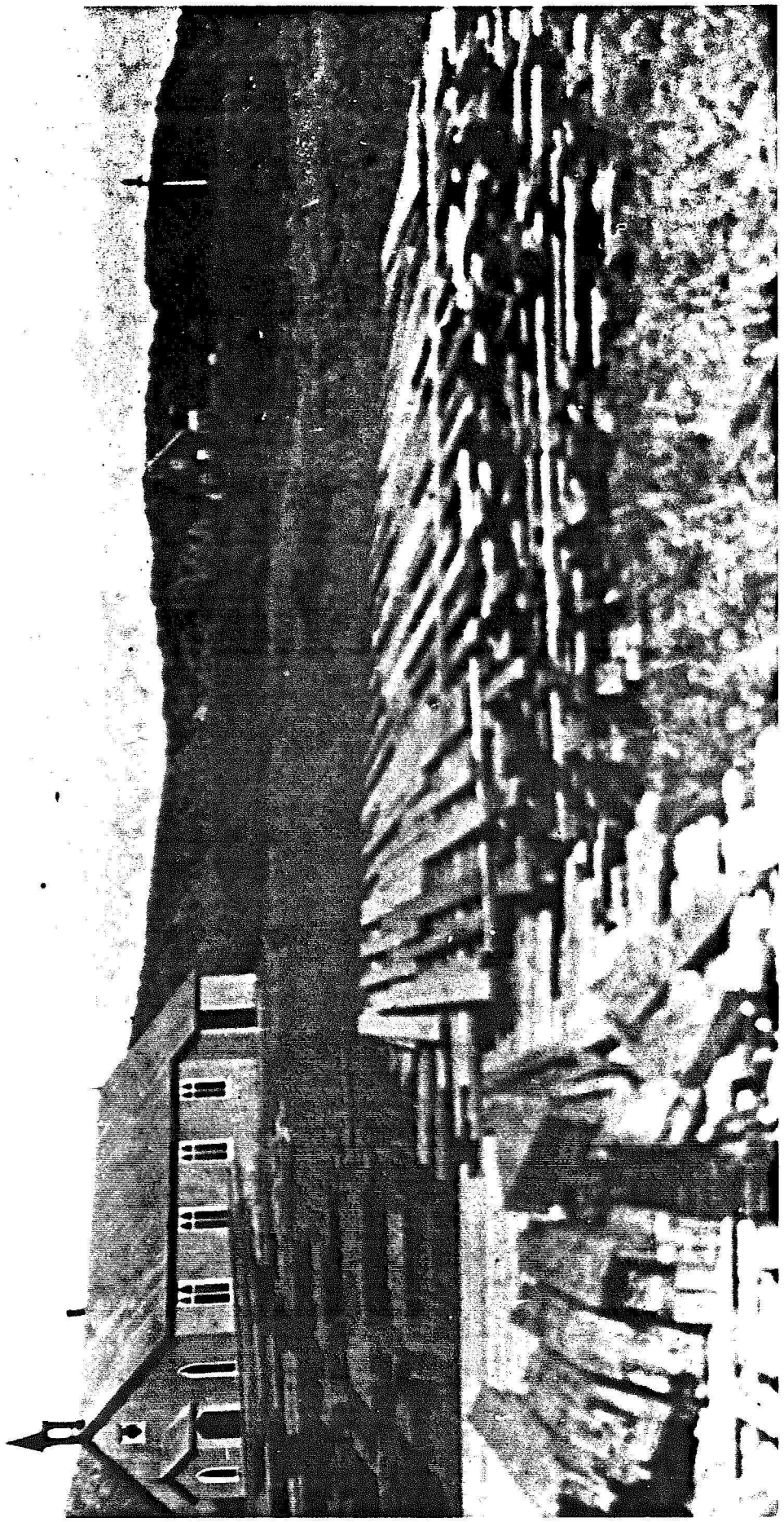


Fig. 68 Indian children going to school, Fort Churchill, 1910
P.A.M., A.V. Thomas Collection, No. 208

Government Reserve

The Laurier government in 1906 planned to build the Hudson Bay Railway to terminate at Churchill; to do this it required control of the land on both the east and west peninsulas as a government reserve, to be used as needed for the railway. The HBC and John Oman had claims to some of the land on the west peninsula but these did not affect the government plans; the east peninsula was much more important for the railroad. But speculation had preceded the government action and a large number of mining claims had been staked out on both sides of the Churchill River in 1905. Most of these claimants had never even visited Churchill and their claims could be considered as lapsed.[76] Only two men, Beech and Evans, had actually been up and built cabins on the east peninsula (see Fig. 70); Beech occupied his but Evans had only a partially completed cabin[77] when he left. In 1908 the Mounted Police took the logs of Evans' abandoned shack and hauled them over to their post for use there.[78]

Beech, who arrived at Churchill in 1905, built a cabin and brought his wife and son up the next year to live there for a year to reinforce his claim (see Fig. 69). Beech's cabin was situated where the railroad yards were expected to go and Major Moodie of the RNWMP gave him notice to move off the reserve in 1908[79]; Beech traded this claim for another on the east peninsula. When the railroad actually did go through in 1930, his family carried on a protracted lawsuit over compensation for this.[80]

Mr. Boucher of the HBC also built a house on the east peninsula in 1907[81] but was transferred away from Churchill and his house destroyed.

Except for Beech's cabin on the east peninsula and the HBC and John Oman's claims on the west peninsula then, the government had a clear field to use the Churchill land for its own purposes. If it built the railway there would be no need to expropriate land.

New Occupied Sites on West Peninsula

In these years the west peninsula began for the first time to be occupied by competitors of the HBC. In the first years of the 20th century Revillon Frères launched a large-scale effort to take over much of the Bay trade of the HBC. In 1908 two of their representatives came to Churchill from Norway House and selected a site on the east peninsula opposite the RNWMP barracks on which to build a post the following year.[82] They had inquired of the federal government about obtaining land in the area on both the east and west peninsulas, where they hoped to build a post near the HBC post of Fort Churchill; they were granted permission for this but decided against it.[83] In 1908-09 George Elson, a representative of Revillon, wintered at Churchill, probably on the east peninsula, to investigate the situation there for Revillon. His experience led to the decision by Revillon to withdraw from the site in September, 1909; they decided not to put a post at Churchill until a railroad was built.[84] The amount of fur trade alone at Churchill was not sufficient to warrant establishing a post there until the railroad workers could supply a larger market for a combined store and trading post.

In 1915-16 Sandy Oman, a former employee of the post, acted as agent for independent trader G.R. Ray, a former district manager for the HBC who set up in competition to it. Oman brought in a small outfit of trading goods to Churchill, but was not considered a very serious threat to the Company;[85] his business was apparently carried on from his own house.

Another company, Lamson and Hubbard, set up in opposition to the HBC in 1920. Their representative, Mr. Walker, built a cabin at Sloop's Cove, where he lived with his wife and child[86] (see Fig. 73). His relationship with the men of the HBC was a cordial one, with a good deal of visiting back and forth; perhaps this was encouraged by the fact that he was not considered a good trader by the HBC and so offered little competition. [87] Lamson and Hubbard sold out to the HBC in 1922;[88] the

Fig. 69 William, Carl, Rosabelle Beech outside cabin at Churchill, 1909 [1907]
P.A.M., Carl E. Beech Collection

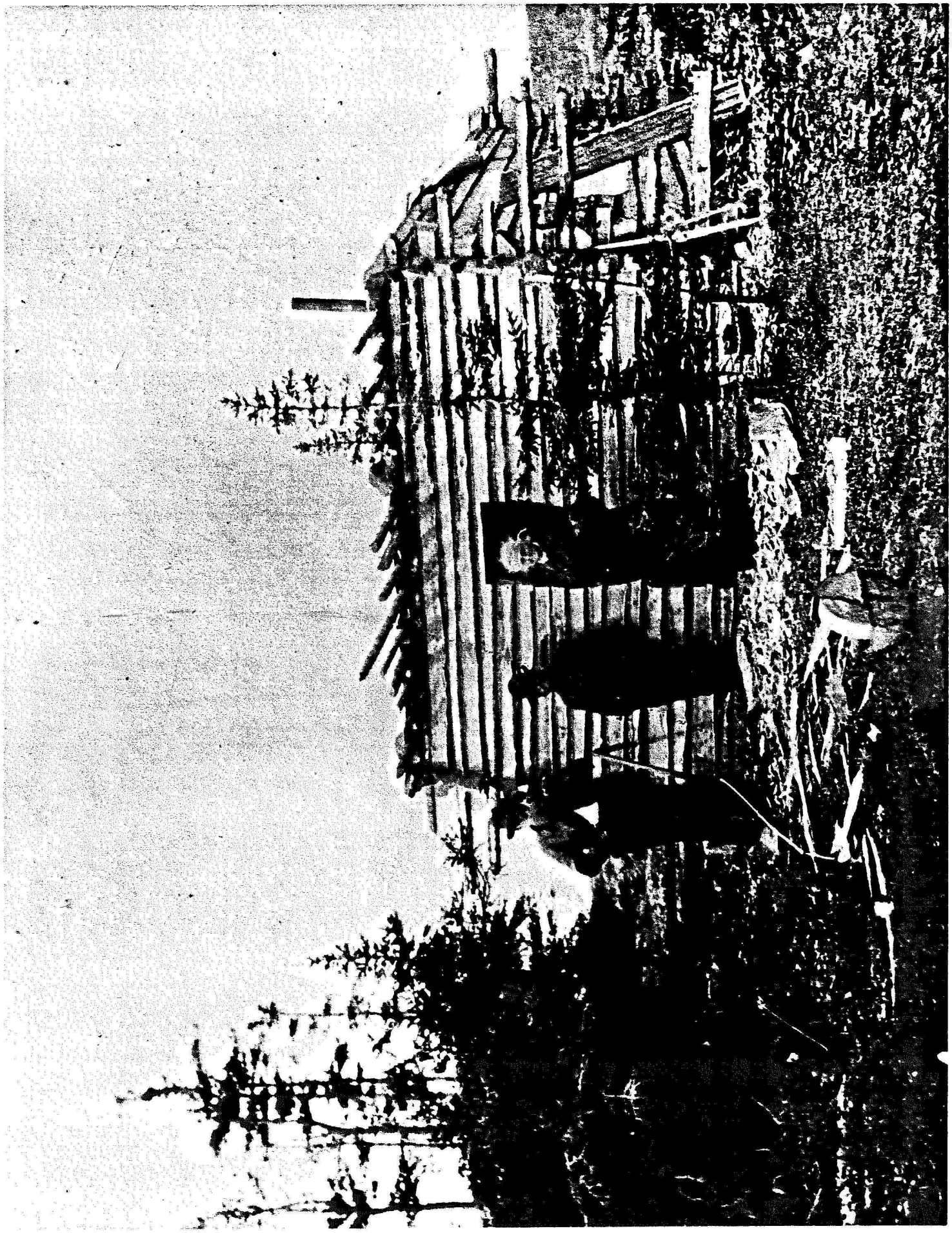


Fig. 70 Map of Churchill Harbour, 1907,
by W. Thibaudeau
[Insert shows R.N.W.M.P. Post]
PAC, National Map Collection
H3/540/ Churchill/1907

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Fig. 71 Plan of Town Site of Fort Churchill, West Peninsula by J.E. Morrier, November 1908.
PAC RG88, Vol. 332, File 10262

Although this plan was never registered it reflects the optimism of some at the time over the future prospects of the west peninsula if the railroad came through to the east peninsula. Sites in use at the time are marked, as well as possible future roads and housing sites.

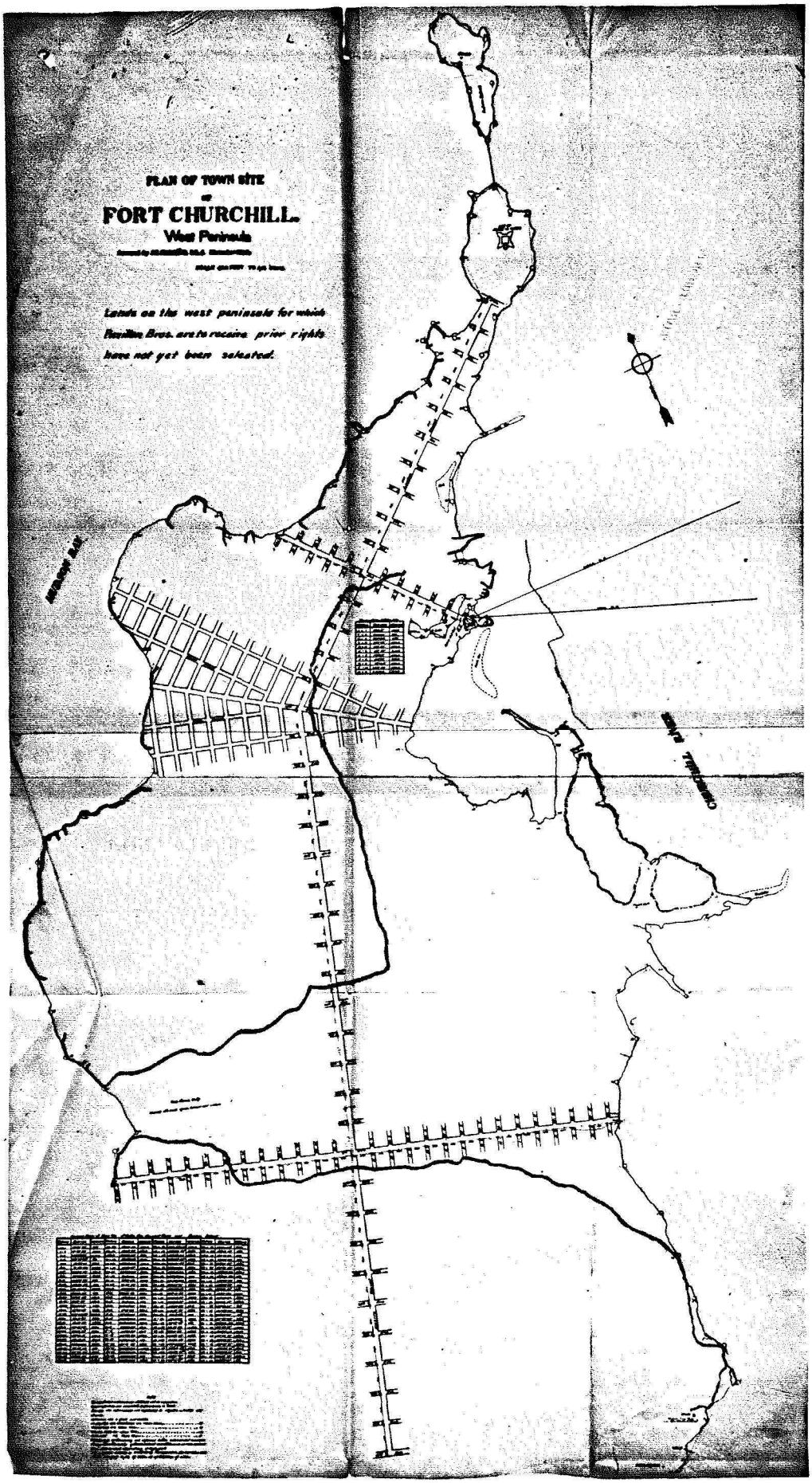
PLAN OF TOWN SITE
OF
FORT CHURCHILL.
West Peninsula
Lands on the west peninsula for which
Hamilton Bros. are to receive prior rights
have not yet been selected.

Fig. 72 Churchill Harbour and Vicinity, 1927
PAC National Map Collection
H2/540/Churchill/1927

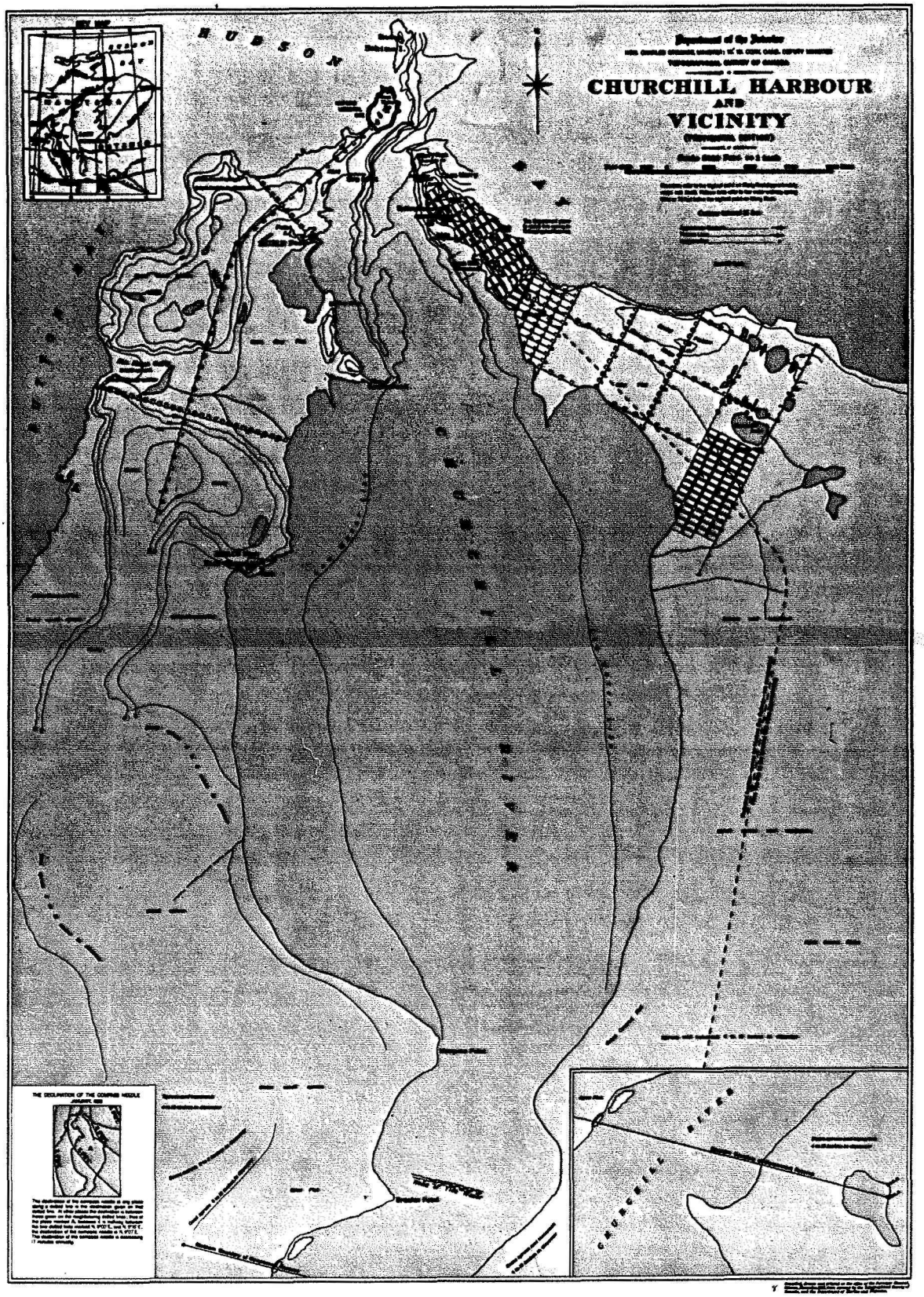

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Fig. 73 Lamson & Hubbard, Churchill: tent and building under construction.
Photographer: G.H. Mead, 1920.
HBC Archives, P.A.M., G.H. Mead Collection, 1962/8, No. 89

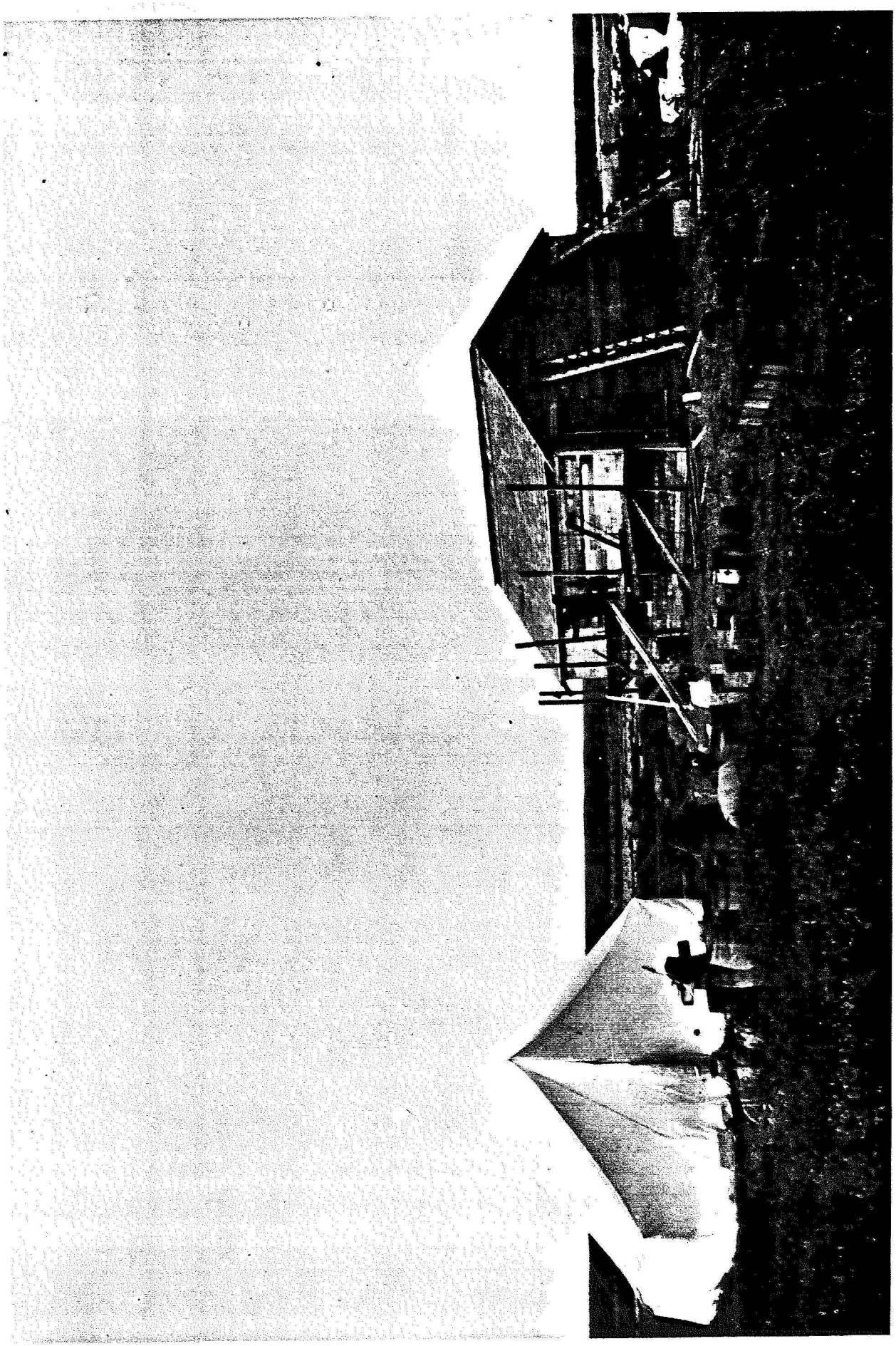


Fig. 74 Camp at Fort Churchill [1927]
P.A.M., R.W. Patterson Collection, No. 401

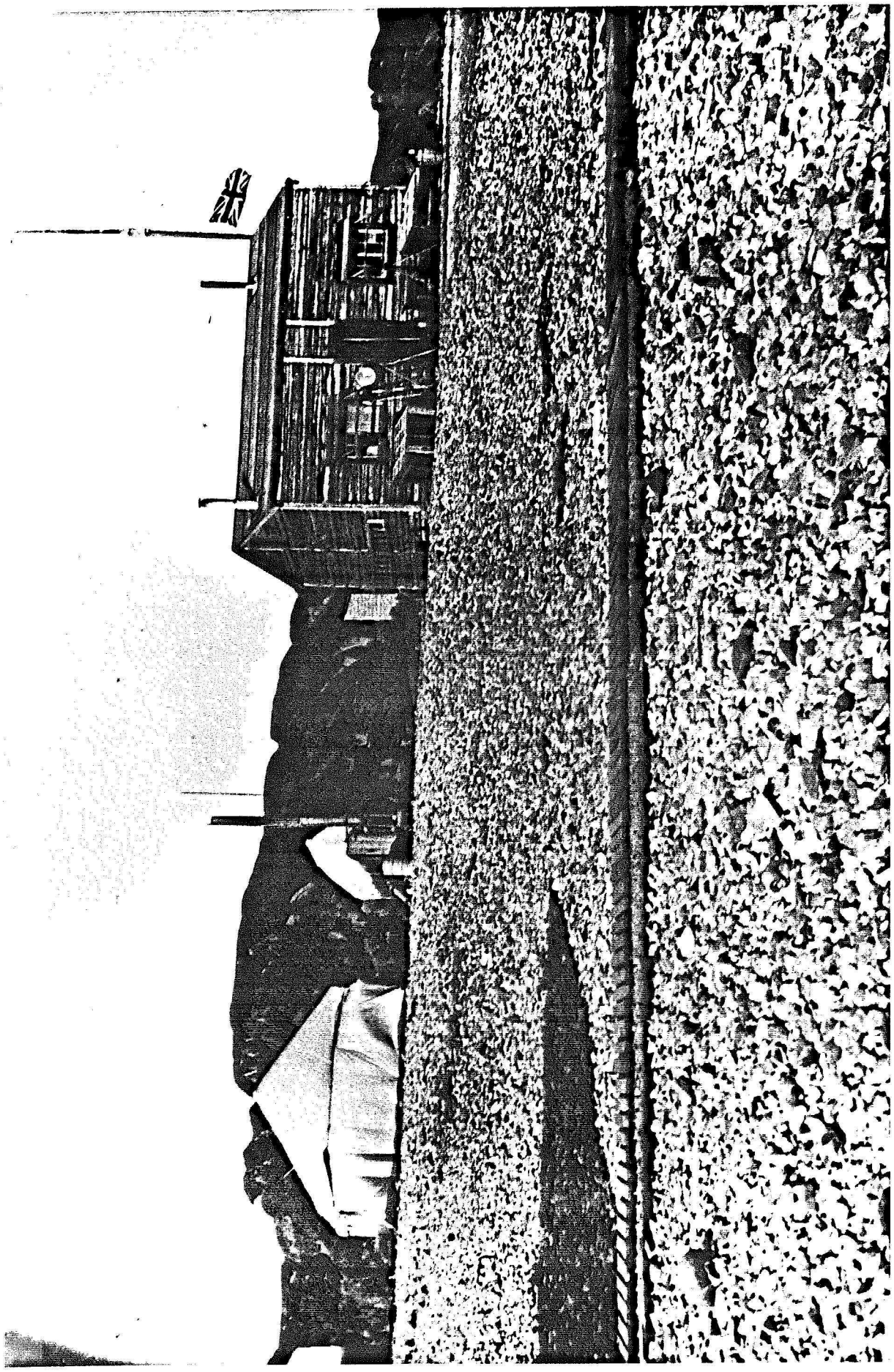


Fig. 75 Chipewyan Indians and three white trappers camping at Cockles' Point [Man], Aug. 18, 1929
PAC

house at Sloop's Cove was taken down by the HBC in 1926 in order to build a wharf with it across the river.[89]

Another rival appeared on the scene in 1930 when Tom Riddoch built a post at Cockles' Point; the HBC protested this, claiming that this land had been leased by them but Riddoch refused to move.[90] Riddoch had had a trading post at Piktonei and had only been granted permission to come to Churchill on condition that he carry on his business on the west peninsula. No one was allowed to establish a business on the east peninsula or even to go into it by train without the permission of the government until after the completion of the port and railway. Riddoch, the most successful of the competitors of the HBC, continued to trade from Cockles' Point until 1933, when he moved over to the townsite on the east peninsula.[91]

In 1931 F.W. Mossington, a representative of Luke Clemons Co., built close to Riddoch at Cockles' Point;[92] his store was closed at the end of that trapping season.[93]

Independent trappers appeared at Churchill in the 1920s; many of them traded with Fort Churchill. Most of the trappers did not stay at Churchill but came in to trade and take supplies; they often used the abandoned RCMP barracks as a camping site. Many of these trappers came from Norway; those who built cabins on the west peninsula occupied a region which came to be known as Norwegian Gully.[94] One of these trappers, Slim Carlson, built a house at the point of Rocks in 1928,[95] where he was soon joined by some of the local inhabitants.

Peter's Gully was occupied by the people of the area, descendants of the servants, in the 1920s. The Anglican missionary held religious services there in 1930, even after he had moved across the river to the town of Churchill.[96] Peter's Gully appears to have been their winter residence only; in 1929 reference was made to their moving to their summer quarters (unnamed).[97]

Surveyors sent for the railroad also camped on the west

peninsula for varying periods of time. The Hydrographic Survey party in 1910, led by G. Bachand, camped at Cockles' Point.[98] Cockles' Point was a favourite camp site; later surveying parties often camped there. Major Charles camped at Mosquito Point in the final survey for the railroad in 1928.[99]

Mounted Police Post

In January 1905 the federal government decided that from then on the Mounted Police should supervise the west shore of Hudson Bay, while the Department of Marine and Fisheries would have complete charge of the rest of the northern service. Major A.D. Moodie was appointed Superintendent; he was ordered to establish the police headquarters at Churchill and from there set up a chain of police patrols along the west coast of Hudson Bay in spots which could be reached from Lake Winnipeg and Fort Churchill.[100] Churchill was to take on new importance as the focus of federal government authority in Hudson Bay; it was also expected to become the terminus of the Hudson Bay Railway when it was built, which made the presence of the police there to maintain law and order during construction even more of a necessity.

Moodie made a preliminary investigation of the site at Churchill while he wintered at Fullerton with the Arctic expedition of 1904-05; he stayed at Churchill from 9-18 March 1905. The old Fort Prince of Wales may have been suggested as a possible site for the police to use, since Moodie made a point in his report of saying that it was exposed to every wind and would not be a good choice. He found the Churchill area timber resources totally inadequate to provide building material for the planned police post. If Fort Churchill was to be the site of a post, the necessary buildings would have to be sent in by ship.[101] Moodie's opinion was accepted by his superiors; frame buildings were sent on the ship which brought the police to Churchill in 1906.

On 2 September 1906 Major Moodie, his wife and five Moun-

ted Police arrived on the S.S. Adventure, along with the government surveyor, Mr. Thibodeau, and Dr. Flood, the Police doctor. With the help of Mr. Thibodeau Major Moodie chose a site for the post about a mile (1.6 km.) upriver from the old Stone Fort (see Fig.70). Thibodeau reported that the ground from the old Fort to here was sand and gravel and from this point to Mosquito Point was clay and rocky till. Within 1/2 mile (.8 km.) south of the police post was a large amount of broken limestone which could be used for building.[102] He considered this the only suitable building site left on the west peninsula. West of the post site was a small lake which became known as Police Lake.

The post fronted on a small cove in the river where boats could only be brought in for about four hours each tide. Since they had to be hauled above high water mark this made very difficult work for the men until Sup't Moodie traded an old capstan from the HBC; he got this repaired and found it very helpful. To hold it he had a crib of logs sunk in the river bank and a platform on top with the capstan bolted to it. With this four men could haul up the large launch, which previously took 20 men to move. Moodie planned to build a log jetty so the boats could unload at it without landing. He also thought dynamite should be sent to get rid of the boulders in the cove and a small tram-wagon with light rails which could be put down in sections and taken up again would be very helpful.[103] Neither the dynamite nor the tram-wagon was sent and Moodie had to make do with the labour of his own men and the natives of the area whom he hired at times.

Graves

Only one burial took place at the police post, that of Dr. Flood;his grave remains to mark the site. On 28 November1906 Major Moodie, Mr. Thibodeau, and Dr. Flood left the RNWMP post with a team of dogs to look at wood and hay lands on the west side of Button Bay. The first day they travelled to about five

miles (8 km.) southwest of Fort Churchill where the HBC men were cutting firewood. There they found some good timber large enough for building. The following day they left this place and moved about seven miles (11.3 km.) northwest, where they camped near an old Indian hunting camp. The ration box had fallen off the sled en route and Dr. Flood took the dogs to go back and look for it, while Major Moodie set up camp and Mr. Thibodeau went to look for caribou. Dr. Flood never returned to the camp and a blizzard that night prevented a search for him. The HBC sent out a search party the next day, eventually finding Dr. Flood's body about five or six miles (8-9 km.) north of the camp; he had apparently become lost and disoriented in the blizzard. His funeral was held at the mission church and he was buried near the RNWMP barracks; the Roman Catholic service was read at the grave by Major Moodie, while Mr. Sevier read the Church of England service.[104] This was the only burial made at the police post over its years of occupation.

Water

The police, like the men of the HBC, used melted snow water for washing and ice water for drinking. In 1908 they dug a well beside the post for drinking water.[105]

Original Frame Police Buildings

As soon as the site for the police post was selected they went to work erecting the buildings brought on the ship. By January of 1907 Moodie could report on the progress of these, along with pictures taken during the construction by his wife Grace, a very keen photographer (see Figs. 76-79). Three buildings were constructed. One held the barrack room, mess room, two rooms 12 ft.(3.7 m.) by 14 ft. (4.3 m.), and a kitchen; another was the O.C.'s quarters; next to it was the Quartermaster's store, with the coal shed in the rear (see Fig. 79). The police had arrived with two years' supply of provisions, too large an amount to be stored in the Quartermaster's store; one

Fig. 76 R.N.W.M.P. Barracks, Churchill, 1906
Photographer: Grace Moodie
PAC, RG88, Vol. 332, File 10262

1. O.C's. Quarters
2. Barracks

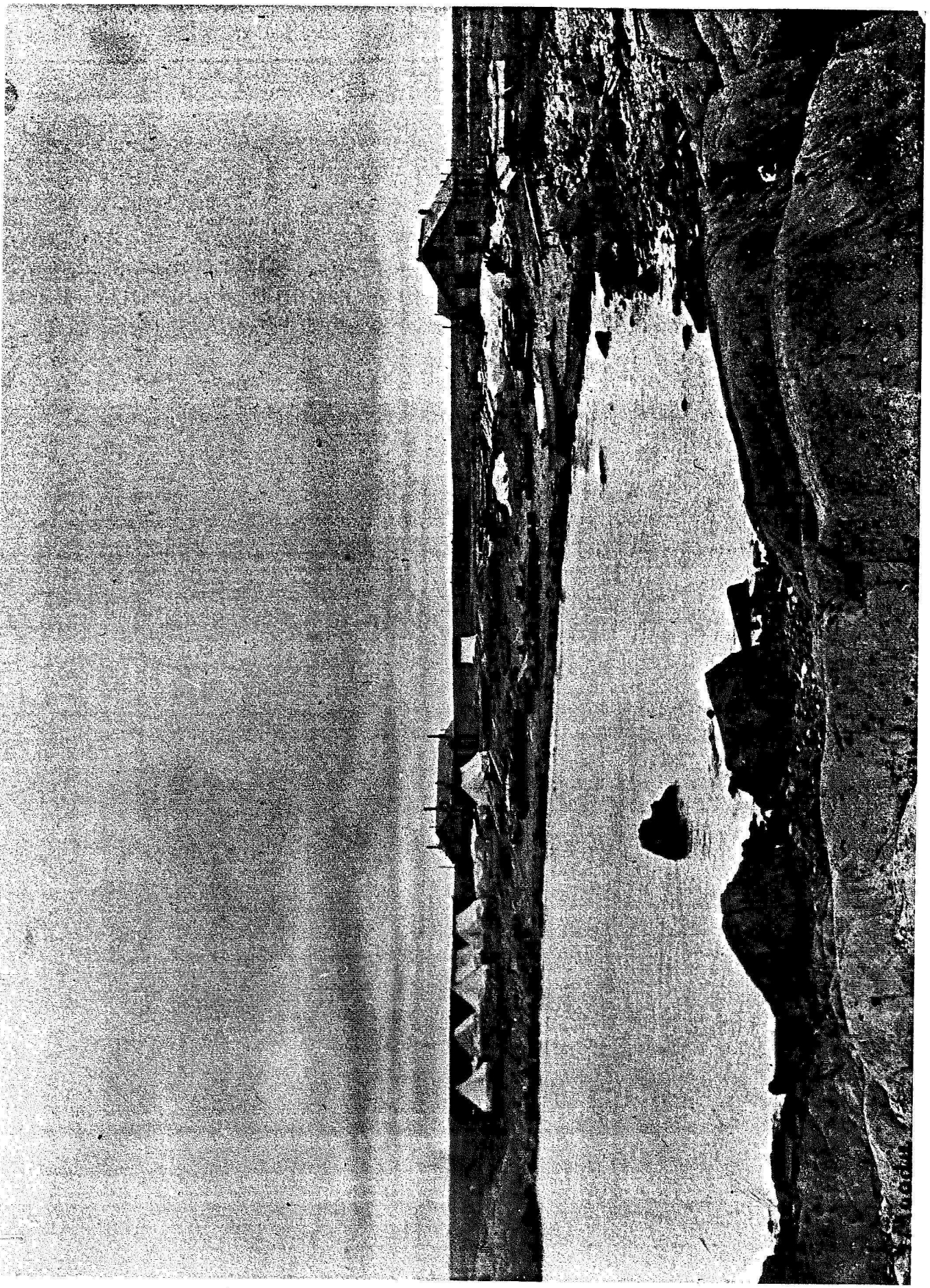


Fig. 77 R.N.W.M.P. Barracks, Churchill, 1906
Photographer: Grace Moodie
PAC RG88, Vol. 332, File 10262

1. O.C's. Quarters
2. Barracks
3. Q.M. store
4. Guardroom
5. Store

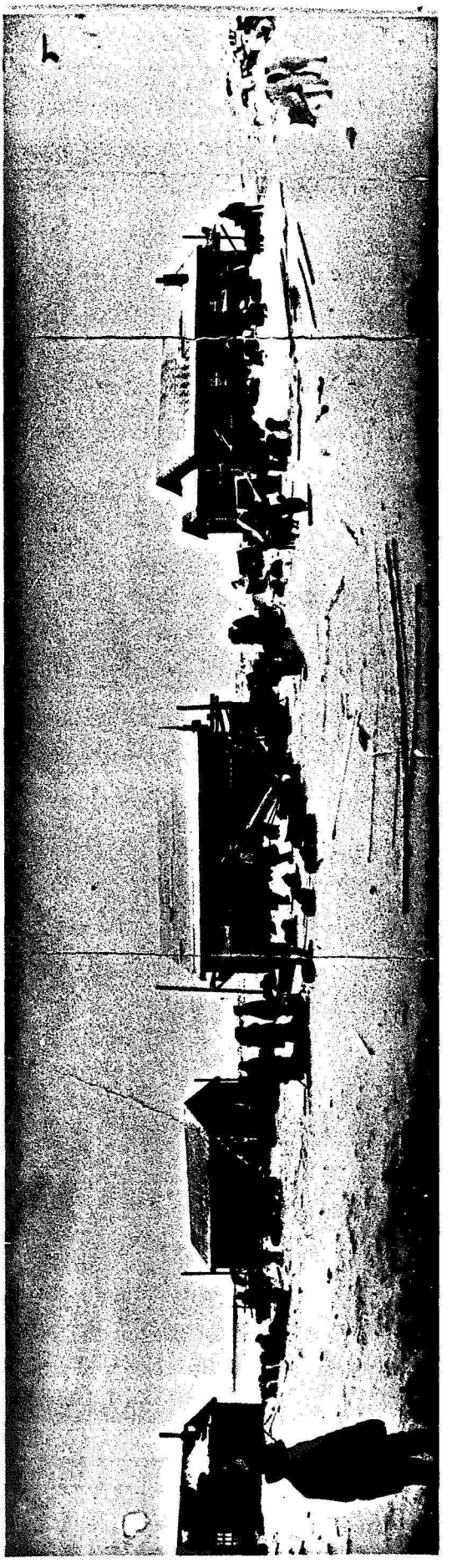
Fig. 78 R.N.W.M.P. Barracks, Churchill, 1906
Photographer: Grace Moodie
PAC RG88, Vol. 332, File 10262

1. Barracks
2. Store
3. Guardroom
4. Q.M. Store
5. O.C.'s Quarters

3
" Moodie

Fig. 79 RNWMP Barracks, Churchill, 1906
PAC, RG88, Vol. 332, File 10262

This picture was taken at Christmas 1906 (viz. print of this in J.A.J. McKenna, The Hudson Bay Route, p.43, entitled "Indian Visitors"
It shows the natives gathering at the new police post for a Christmas celebration. The police bought most of the dogs shown here.



of the small rooms in the barrack building was left unlined and used to hold perishable goods, while the rest of the perishable goods were stored in a partial loft made by flooring over part of the ceiling in the O.C.'s quarters. The coal shed in the rear was also used as a store house. The store next to the barrack room was used for storing flour and other stores, as well as dog harness, sleighs, deer meat, etc.[106]

Guardroom

By not lining the Quartermaster's store and the small store, Moodie was able to save enough lumber to build a guardroom with two cells in the centre of the complex.[107] Such a building, oddly enough for a police post, had not been included in the original buildings sent in frame. Moodie appeared to attach more importance to providing a guardroom than did his superiors, though in fact there was little need for it to hold prisoners over the life of the police post.

The guardroom was completed in 1907. It was made secure by building three cells of two-inch plank inside the ordinary walls. Underneath it, to prevent escapes, the floor between the joists was filled with broken glass and boulders too large to move.[108] In 1910 these plank cells were replaced by steel cages.[109]

The number of criminal cases tried at Churchill was minimal; the cells received very little use and the guardroom served a variety of other functions over its lifetime. In 1909 it was used to store the HB District supplies left at Churchill by the Pelican when it was unable to get to York.

When these were removed in 1910 Sup't Starnes used the guardroom as an office; he set up tables for himself, the Q.M. Sgt. and the Acting Sgt. Major and places for the books and files of the post.[110] It was used for this until the new office was finished in 1910.

In 1911 the guardroom was altered once again to become a library.[111] There was no fire in the guardroom so it was

probably not used as a reading room but simply as a lending library. Starnes found Churchill a cold and dreary place, with no recreation except reading, visiting the HBC post and going to church on Sundays. In these circumstances the provision of fresh reading material each year was very important for the men and the guardroom served a vital function for them - perhaps more important to them than its original purpose to hold prisoners.

The guardroom also served as a billet for a great many government officials studying the Churchill area in connection with the railway; when the cells were in use for prisoners this was impossible and visitors had to be given space in the barracks. Sup't Demers in 1913 asked permission to erect a small house for these visitors, one which would hold three or four men.[112] With the decision in 1914 to move the police headquarters to Port Nelson where the railway was then supposed to go there was no need to add to the accommodations at Churchill nor was there much more use for the guardroom, either for visitors or for prisoners or for readers. Only two constables were stationed at Churchill from 1914-1917 and all the buildings were underutilized in those years.

Surgeon's Quarters

In 1908 a part of the police post was converted into surgeon's quarters for Dr. Lacroix when he arrived that year. His quarters were made from the part of the barrack building which had been used as an extra supply store. Two rooms were prepared, each 12 ft. (3.7 m.) by 14 ft.(4.3 m.), one for living quarters and the other for a surgery.[113] A large frame porch was added to make it more comfortable.[114] Sup't Starnes later had cupboards and shelves built in the surgeon's quarters to hold his medicines and instruments.[115] When no surgeon was stationed at Churchill these rooms were used for the N.C.O.'s.

Moodie found the original buildings inadequate for all the

needs at Churchill; this forced him to change his mind about the complete lack of building materials available. He could now see the possibilities of using the local logs to make buildings in the Red River frame style.

Moodie was an ambitious man with great plans for the police post at Churchill; he requested permission to install a telephone line between the police post and Fort Churchill and also wanted an electric generating plant.[116] Most of all he wanted to get horses for his post and sent men to look for logs so that he could build stables and quarters for the extra men required to look after horses. His superiors never agreed to these plans and stables were never required.

But the post did require native quarters for interpreters and servants; more storage space was also needed and building with the local wood was the only way to accomplish this. Despite the difficulties of building with the small logs of Churchill, which also had to be hauled a considerable distance, Moodie embarked on an ambitious plan to provide several log buildings for the post.

Store and Workshop 1907

In 1907 he used about 320 logs which the dogs had hauled a distance of about 13 miles (20.9 km.) to build a log store in the Red River frame style and a workshop. This Log Store #1 was 30 ft. (9.1 m.) by 16 ft. (4.9 m.) while the workshop was 35 ft. (10.7) by 18 ft.(5.5 m.). Both had shingled roofs. The workshop had large double doors plus a small one at one end, so that the largest boat could be taken inside if necessary for repairs.[117]

Dog Feed Store

Once he had decided that the local logs could be used for construction Moodie kept adding to the post buildings. He even hoped to get a small hospital built but was never able to do this.[118] But he did construct another log store in 1908, this

one to hold dog feed; this building used 331 logs which had been hauled from about eight miles (12.9 km.) away on the east side of the Churchill River. This building was 16 ft. (4.9 m.) square; to help preserve the dog food it was banked up all around with stones covered with earth and sodded and the roof was also covered with earth for coolness.[119]

Native Quarters

Moodie had become acquainted with the Eskimos of Fullerton and vicinity during his winter there and hired some of them to work for the police at Churchill. In 1908 a log building, 32 1/2 ft. (9.9 m.) by 16 ft.(4.9 m.), in Red River frame construction was put up for these men. A latrine for the natives was also built from log posts and the short ends of the boards left over from the barrack buildings.[120] Some of the spare lumber from the old RNWMP post at Fullerton was brought down to finish the native quarters in 1909. The roof of the native quarters, like those of the log stores, was a fire hazard, however, for it was covered partly with roofing felt and partly with tar paper.[121]

It was not until 1912 that the roof of the native quarters was shingled; a ceiling was also put in, helping to make it much warmer than it had been.[122] In 1913 the windows of the native quarters were changed in order to provide a free circulation of air.[123] This marked the end of changes to the native quarters, as it did for the rest of the police post buildings.

Sandy Oman and his wife lived in these native quarters from December 1910 to November 1911 while he worked as interpreter for the police. His wife found the house too far from her relatives at Fort Churchill and too inconvenient for raising children. Oman quit his job and the native quarters, although he worked occasionally again for the police.[124]

Log Quartermaster's Store (Log Store #2)

In 1909 Moodie reported further buildings. A new log Quarter-

Fig. 80 Native Quarters, Churchill [R.N.W.M.P. Post], c. 1910
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 49

master's store, 40 ft. (12.2 m.) by 15 ft. (4.6 m.), was finished; it made a combination of a new Q.M. and Division Form 30 Store.[125] Two small buildings were built to join the Q.M. store with the No. 1 log store, and the No. 1 log store with the No. 2 store.[126] In 1911 adjustments were made to the weather at Churchill by cutting doors through the partition between the warehouses, thus making it possible to go through from one to the other instead of using three separate entrances, all of which required snow clearing.[127]

Dog Kennels

A major purpose of the establishment of a police post at Churchill was to send patrols along the west coast of Hudson Bay and inland to Split Lake and Norway House. Dogs were essential for this in winter travel and good dogs were much prized. Moodie learned that the Churchill dogs required a different method of driving from those farther north near Fullerton.[128] After some altercations, he also learned that his dogs if allowed to run loose would get caught in the fox traps set by the men of the HBC and that he would have no redress for this.[129]

The dogs, although often out on patrol, required kennels to house them while at Churchill. Moodie built a very large kennel for them, 52 ft. (15.8 m.) by 12 ft. (3.7 m.). This could hold 40 dogs and had room to run in loaded sleighs coming in late at night or in bad weather.[130]

In 1913 Demers had this old dog kennel built by Moodie pulled down. It was too near the other buildings and the terrible smell from it was permeating all of them. Demers thought it better to build a smaller kennel farther away from the rest of the post buildings.[131] These new dog kennels held only 18 dogs and were much smaller than the one built by Moodie.[132] The police post at Churchill declined in importance as interest shifted to Port Nelson as the railway terminus and the police headquarters moved there in 1914. Only two con-

stables were stationed at Churchill 1914-1917 and these did not require a large number of dogs.

Office

In 1909 Moodie began another log building to use as an office; at the time all the files and papers were kept in his quarters. The new office was 26 ft. (7.9 m.) by 16 ft. (4.9 m.); Moodie was able to get its walls and caulking done but he had no lumber for the roof and flooring.[133] When Starnes assumed the command at Churchill in January 1910 he too was very anxious to have a separate office building, since he was using the guardroom as an office. He continued the work on Moodie's log structure, completing it in 1910, lined and painted inside.[134]

The stove was put between the two rooms of the office in an opening. Starnes was always very keen to provide proper shelves and cupboards to hold supplies in an organized way; he put in a large cupboard in the office to hold the stationary, books and official forms. A porch was added to it to keep it warm and to connect it to the Q.M. store.[135] In 1914 the office porch was sealed and painted to form another room which could be used either as office or store.[136] It was not needed for either of these purposes as the police headquarters then moved to Port Nelson and the post at Churchill did not need all the space provided by the construction from 1908-14.

Gasoline and Tool Storehouse

When Sup't Starnes succeeded Moodie at Churchill in 1910 he was very conscious of the danger of fire there. His first addition to the buildings of the post was a new log store house 16 ft. (4.9 m.) by 25 ft. (7.6 m.) outside the barrack square near the dog feed shed. In this he put the gasoline, canoes, ropes, over 100 kegs of nails, paints, etc., in an effort to reduce the fire hazards at the post.[137]

Fig. 81 R.C.M.P. Prisoners' Cells, Fort Churchill, 1927
P.A.M., R.W. Patterson Collection, No. 397

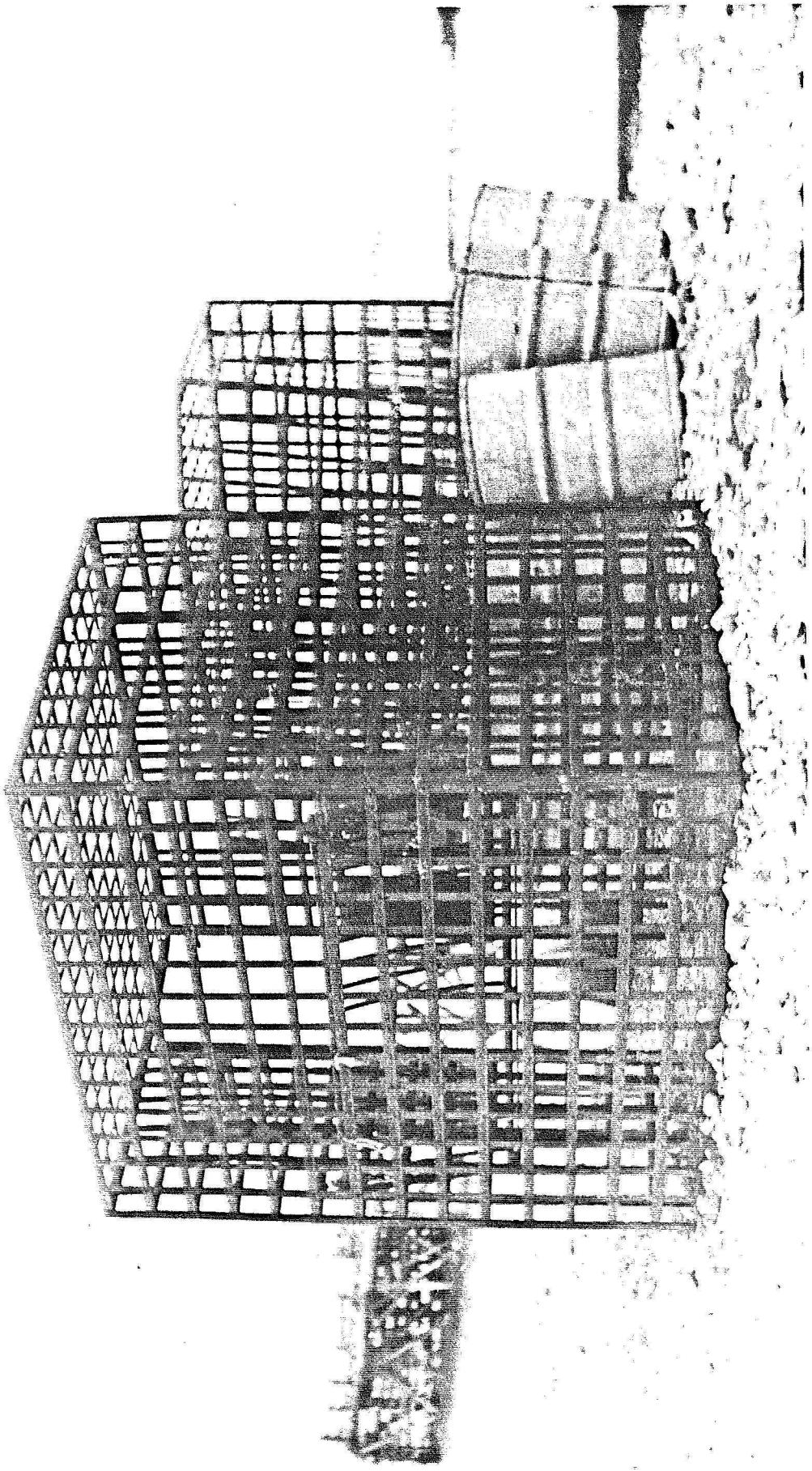
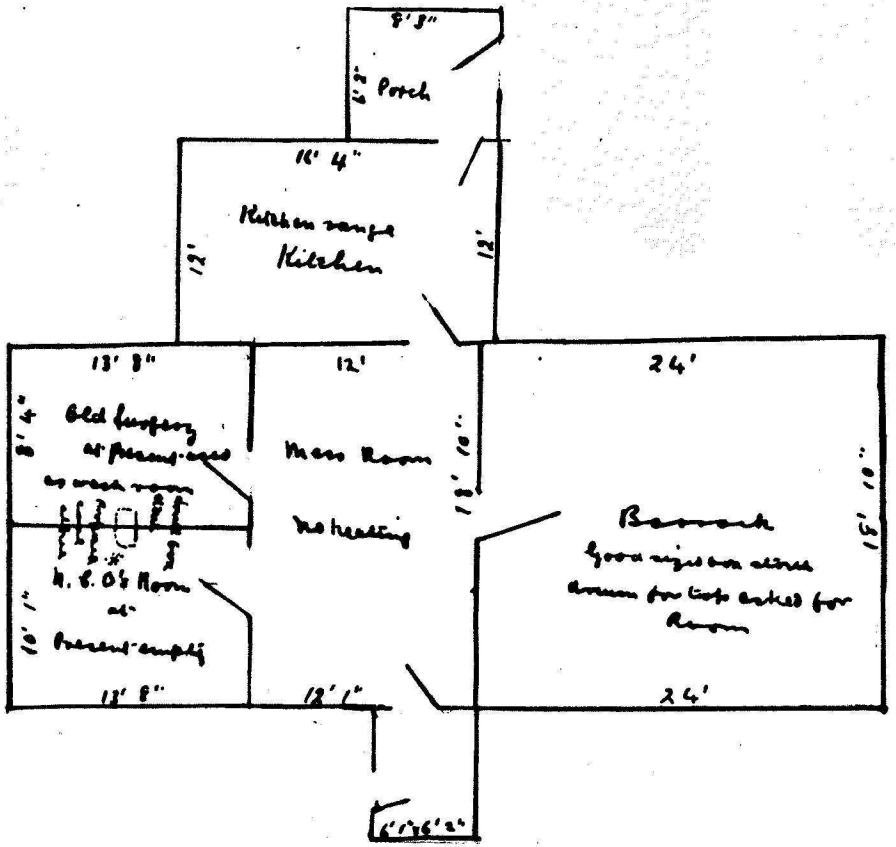


Fig. 82 Barrack Building, Fort Churchill, 1910
Sketch drawn by Sup't Starnes
PAC, RG18, Vol. 385, File No. 125

Barrack Building
Fort Churchill.



* Stock above sent in 23-2-10 to form cover collected weather.

Interpreter's House

The police needed an interpreter for both the Chipewyan and the Eskimos with whom they came in contact. They often used the HBC servants on a temporary basis for this purpose but also tried to hire a permanent employee. In 1911 the police took down an old surveyor's shack at Cockles' Point and took it to the barracks; there it was used to remodel the log store building put up in the fall of 1911 in order to use it as a house for the interpreter, giving it a gable roof instead of a lean-to.[138] Since the post often did not have an interpreter this may have reverted to being a store. If so it was probably the "new log store" which was shingled in 1913.[139]

Forge

The police construction and maintenance of the post buildings and boats required a good many tools. In 1911 a small log building for a forge was put up; in this was stored the dog feed boiler and the old launch engine, which it was hoped could be used to power a circular saw.[140]

Portable Frame House

Sup't F.J.A. Demers replaced Starnes in July 1912 and continued the process of adding on to the police post. In 1912 a portable frame house was put up in the rear of the O.C.'s quarters.[141]

Upkeep

The original 10 chimnies of the post, sent with the buildings in 1906, were made of galvanized iron and soon began to leak; the combination of creosote and rusty water got between the ceilings and ran in every direction. Sup't Starnes could see no solution to this except to build new brick chimnies; bricks could not be obtained in Churchill and would have to be sent, along with the necessary lime.[142] No mention was made of this being done; the necessary materials may not have been provided.

The original frame buildings had no porches but the police soon found out how essential these were in Churchill weather to protect the house entrances from the snow and wind. After one winter's experience good porches were put on the O.C.'s quarters, the barrack room, and the Q.M. store.[143]

In addition to all his new construction, Moodie devoted considerable time to the upkeep of the buildings of the post. All the frame buildings were painted with two coats of white paint and the cornice, corner strips, windows and chimnies in a light grey. The roofs were painted red. This combination of colours and the fresh paint improved the appearance of the post enormously, according to Moodie.[144] It also made the barracks stand out for ships coming near to Churchill harbour where the white-painted Barracks showed up from 15 miles away.[145]

In 1911 the doors, cornices,and window frames of all the log buildings were painted and fly screens for the living quarters and office were made.[146] In 1912 the rest of the buildings were painted again and a coat of whitewash given to the log buildings.[147]In 1914 the last upkeep of the post was provided when the roofs of the barracks were painted, and the log buildings whitewashed.[148]

To reduce the danger of fire at the post Sup't Starnes utilized the small lake behind the post, where he set up a force pump with a suction hose on a platform, with the hose and reel kept near the entrance to the guardroom. Whatever protection this supplied was of course only possible in the summer months. When all the water was frozen in the winter, the post had to depend on fire extinguishers and fire buckets.[149]

Starnes also attempted to improve the living conditions at the barracks for the men. He replaced the long benches in the dining room with chairs and asked for pictures for the walls. He wanted to replace the tin cups and plates with ordinary white crockery or crockery of a cheap standard pattern. He also thought a new gramophone or billiard table would add a great deal to life at Churchill, where the only recreation was

Fig. 83 R.N.W.M.P. Barracks, Churchill, c. 1910
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 24

1. Barracks
2. Native Quarters
3. Surgeon's Quarters
4. Log Store
5. Guardroom
6. Log Warehouse
7. Q.M. Store
8. Office
9. O.C's. Quarters

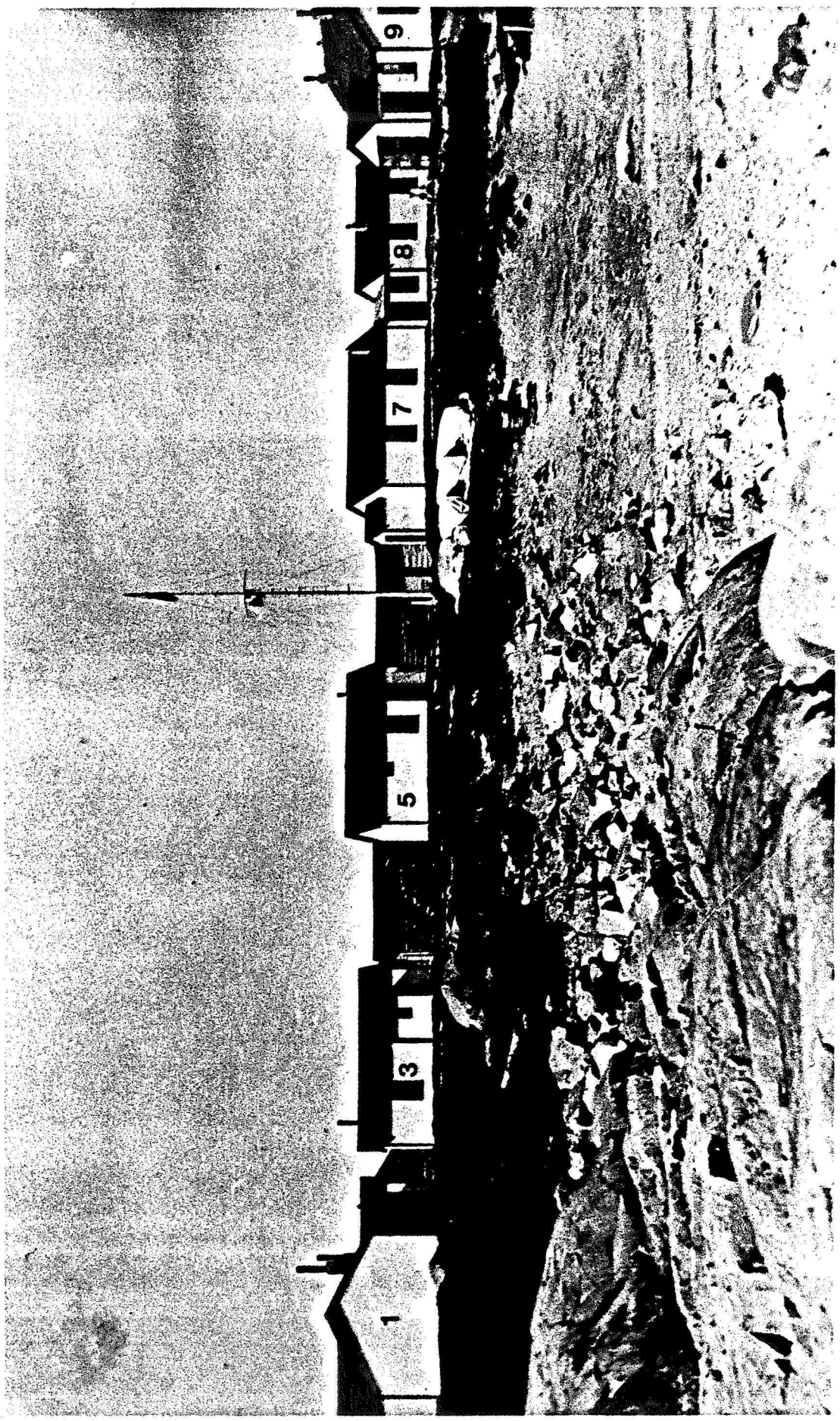

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Fig. 84 R.N.W.M.P. Barracks built 1905 [1906], Churchill, c. 1910
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 25

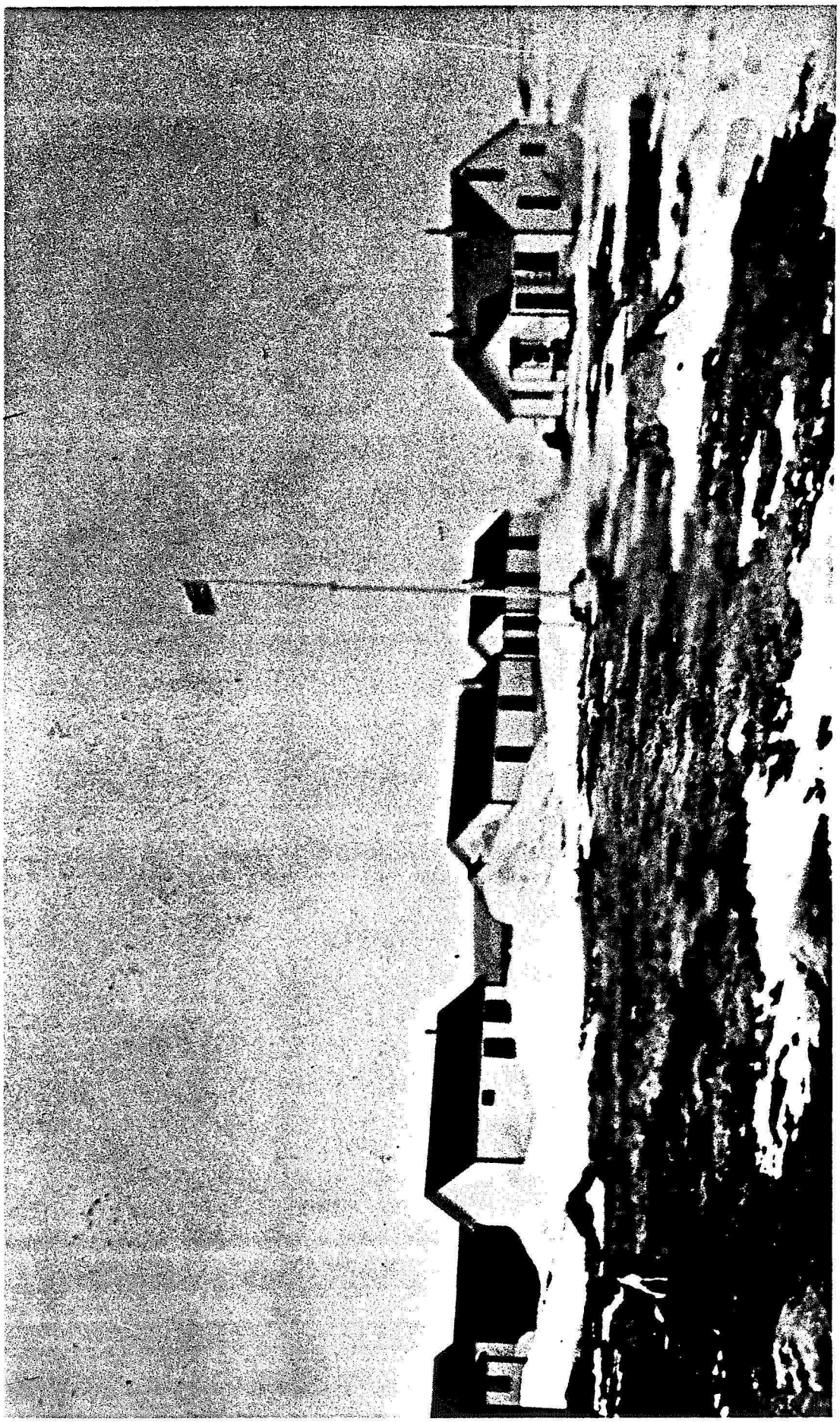
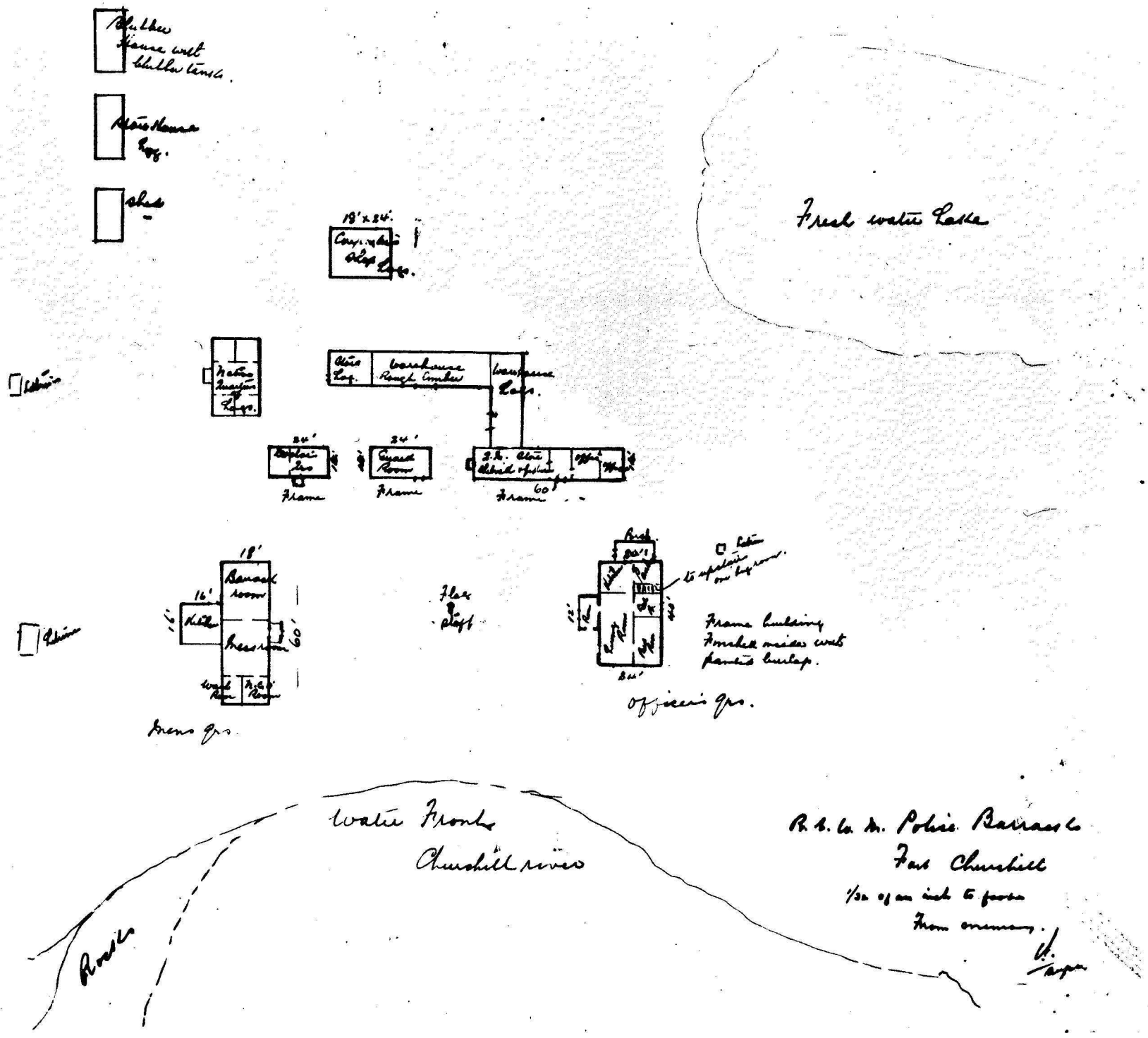


Fig. 85 R.N.W.M. Police Barracks, Fort Churchill
Sketch drawn from memory by Sup't Starnes, 1921
PAC, RG18, Vol. 3158, File G 1315-4-21



R. C. Ch. & N. Police Barracks
Fort Churchill
1/32 of an inch to a foot
From ordinary.

Fig. 86 R.C.M.P. Barracks, Churchill, c. 1925
P.A.M., John A. Campbell Collection, No. 101

1. O.C.'s Quarters
2. Barracks
3. Guardroom
4. Q.M. Store
5. Office

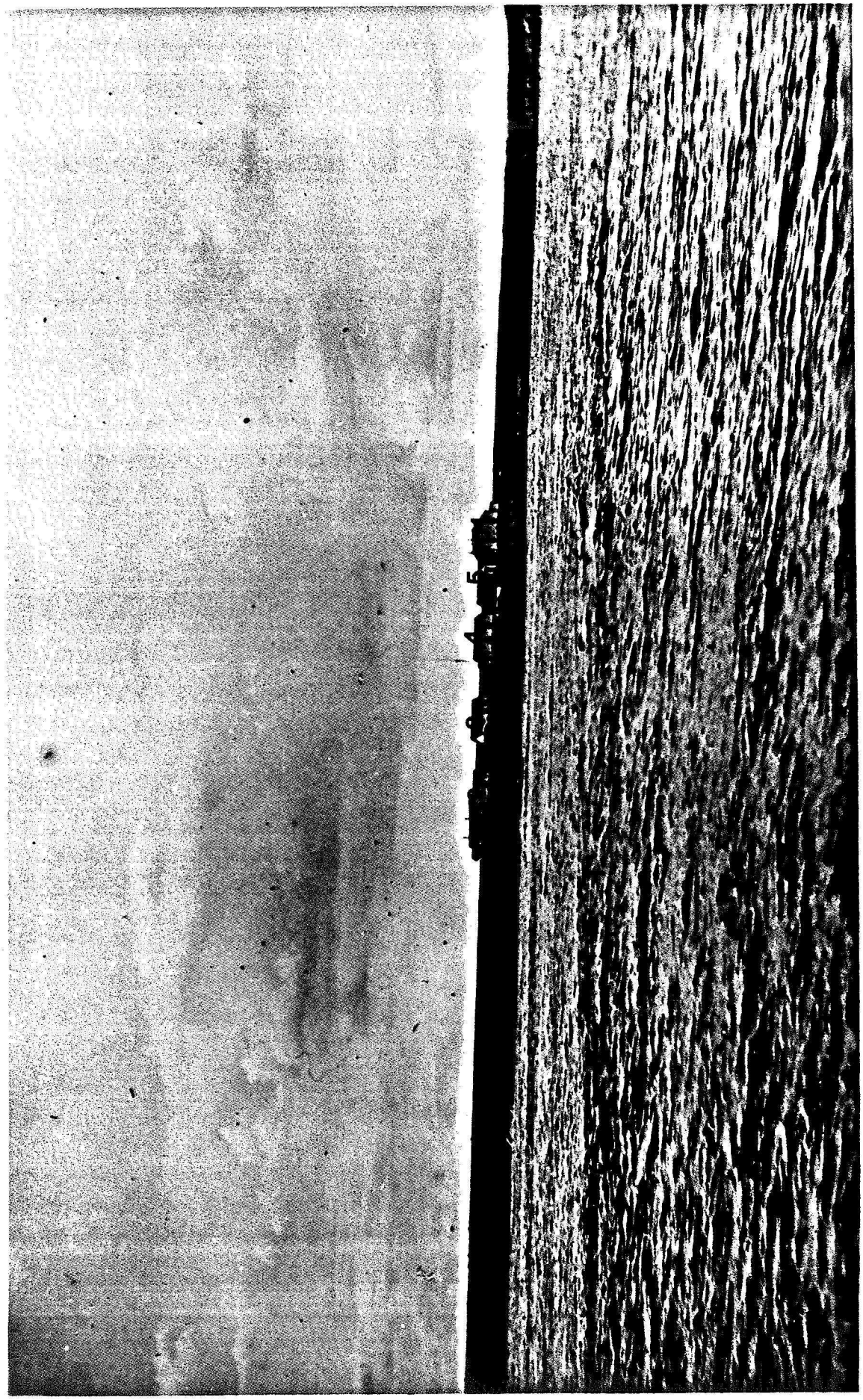
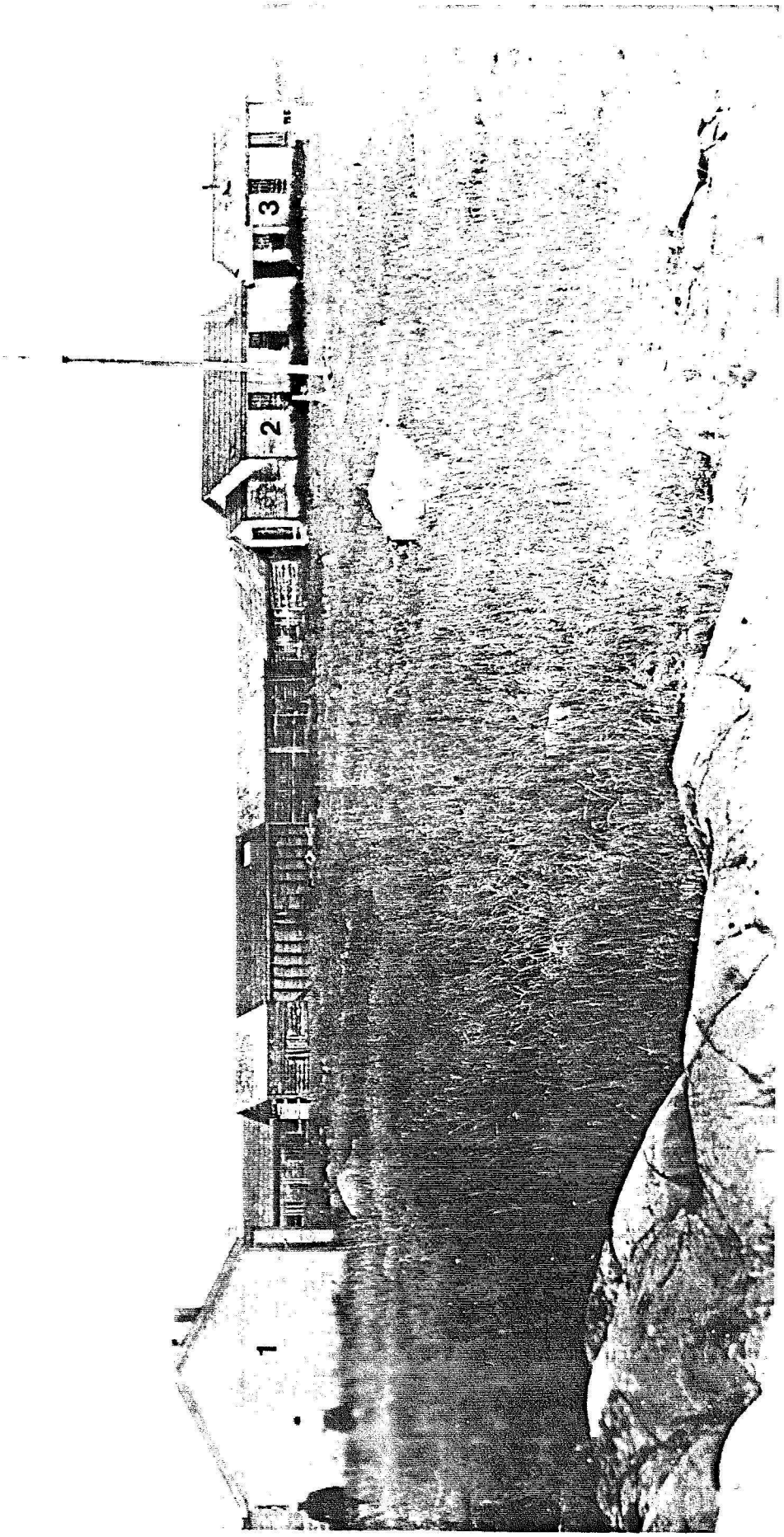


Fig. 87 R.C.M.P. Barracks, Churchill, 1927
P.A.M., R.W. Patterson Collection, No. 43

1. Barracks
2. Q.M. Store
3. Office

The rest of the buildings are the log warehouses. The frame Surgeon's Quarters, Guardroom and O.C's. Quarters have disappeared.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1

reading or visiting the HBC post or going to church on Sundays.[150] For the remainder of the time at the police post, however, these continued to be the major recreation for the RNWMP; they also joined the local population in the festivities on special occasions such as Christmas and Dominion Day.

In the years 1906-1914 the number of buildings at the police post in Churchill had increased greatly, due to the use of local logs for construction. Efforts had been made to improve the appearance of the post and the amenities for the men stationed there. All this work and expense proved of little lasting value, however, because the northern headquarters of the RNWMP was moved from Churchill to Port Nelson in 1914.[151] For a few more years the barracks at Churchill were occupied by two or three constables but in 1917 the RNWMP, pressured by lack of men because of the demands of the first World War, withdrew from Churchill entirely, visiting it only on patrol from Port Nelson.

Most of the provisions on hand at the police post then were sold to the HBC; there were about 10 tons of coal, several dogs, the stores and the boats. The whale boat and canoe were sold to the natives of the post as part payment of their wages due.[152]

The buildings at Churchill were then said to be in good repair, except that they needed painting.[153] Sup't Starnes sent the Commissioner of Police a rough sketch of the post drawn from memory (see Fig. 85). He noted that the frame buildings were all good and solid with drop sidings on the outside and finished inside with boards, which in the Officer's quarters were covered with burlap and several coats of paint; the other frame buildings were covered inside with Sanitos or painted oil cloth. The warehouses and other buildings were log with shingle roofs.[154]

The Dominion Parks Branch asked the RNWMP not to sell these buildings because they might be sending an expedition there

which could use them. At the same time the HBC was interested in buying or leasing these buildings. After some negotiation, and the realization that Parks would not need them at present,[155] the Police Commissioner decided in 1919 to rent the buildings to the HBC for $500 paid on a yearly basis, with one year's notice to be given by either side.[156] The HBC continued to rent these buildings until 1924, when they were reclaimed by the RCMP.[157] They were used by the HBC primarily for storage of supplies; their biggest advantage for Fort Churchill probably lay in keeping them out of the hands of competitors such as Lamson & Hubbard in 1920.

By 1924 when the RCMP reclaimed the buildings, they were rapidly deteriorating (see Fig.87); the RCMP made no attempt to rehabilitate them nor to reoccupy the west peninsula. The Barracks were used occasionally as a camping site by surveyors and trappers visiting the area. No record could be found of what eventually happened to these buildings; they may have been torn down to rebuild on the east peninsula.

Resources

Wooding

Both timber and fuel continued to be derived from the same sites which had been used over the life of Fort Churchill. The North (Knife) River was a site where larger logs could be found, though scattered in groves of four or five trees over a wide area; it was not a source for any extensive logging, although enough timber could be found there for the HBC post itself.[158]

The RNWMP were also anxious to secure timber logs for buildings; it was the search for timber for the RNWMP post which resulted in the death of Dr. Flood in November 1906. In 1906 Mr. Thibodeau, the government surveyor who accompanied the RNWMP to Churchill, found a strip of good timber on the east side of Button Bay, between a ridge and the Bay; it was about

Fig. 88 R.N.W.M.P. Sketch 1910. Drawn by Sup't Starnes.
Shows fuel resources near Police Post.
PAC, RG18, Vol. 385, File 125

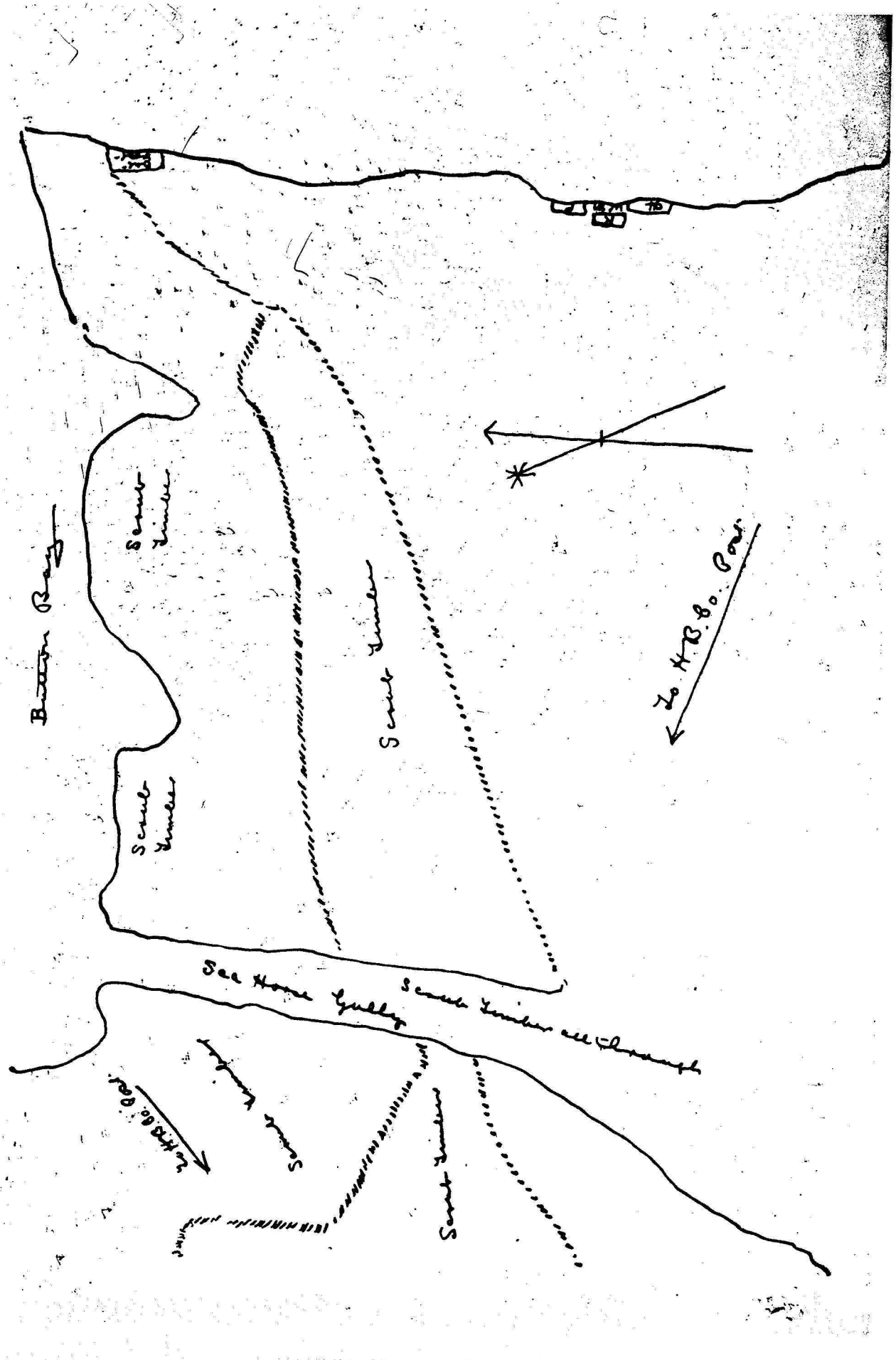

Bison Ranch
Sand Dunes
Sand Dunes
Sand Dunes
To H.B.80. Pow
Sea Horse Gulley
Sand Dunes all Around
To H.B.80. Pow
Sand Dunes
Sand Dunes

Fig. 89 Hauling firewood for barracks at Fort Churchill, 1909
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 44

one-half mile (.8 km.) wide and three to four miles (4.8 - 6.4 km.) long.[159] Any source such as this was quickly cut and used.

The search for firewood was even more intensive than that for building timber. In 1909 the surveyor J.E. Morrier reported that spruce suitable for fuel could be found on the west peninsula about two miles (3.2 km.) southwest of the HBC post.[160] Much of the firewood for the HBC post continued to be taken from Churchill Creek,[161] cut in the late spring and rafted down in the summer. Firewood was also still obtained closer to the post, in the scrub timber around the various gullies of the west peninsula. By 1916, however, there were fears that this supply would soon be exhausted, and that all the firewood might have to be cut and rafted, or else coal be supplied.[162] Some coal was used in the manager's house but wood continued to be the major fuel source. Perhaps the danger of running out of wood had been overexaggerated in hopes of obtaining more coal.

The south side of the river was also used when practicable. The Dramstone Point area, about eight miles (12.9 km.) from Fort Churchill on the opposite side of the river, was used in 1919 and 1920 by the Company.[163] Temporary labourers, rather than permanent employees, were used to supply the post with wood. In 1922 Artie and Albert Oman were hired to camp across the river and haul wood out to the bank.[164]

When the police arrived at Churchill they had to use the same resources for firewood and timber which the HBC used. Starnes listed the possibilities of wood within seven miles of the post and accompanied this with a sketch (see Fig.88). What little timber was available was only scrub timber. A small patch of wood was found about two miles (3.2 km.) in Sea Horse Gully; two men camped there for a week and cut it all, leaving it to be hauled to the Barracks as soon as the snow permitted the dogs to work.[165] The prompt cutting of any such source was usual; no efforts were made to preserve any wood nearby. The

immediate area continued to provide small quantities of wood for the RNWMP; Button Bay was used very often.[166] Wood was also cut for the RNWMP at Sandy Ridge on the north side of the river.[167]

Most of the fuel for the RNWMP, however, came from the east peninsula or farther inland along the south shore of the Churchill River. In 1909 the RNWMP had about 125 cords of wood cut the previous winter and hauled with the dogs a round trip of 16 miles (25.7 km.). They also had eight to ten cords of dry wood collected and piled on the east side of the river and about 20 loads of good poles about seven miles (11.3 km.) south on the west side of the river.[168] By 1910 Starnes reported that the nearest place to get wood green or dry was about eight miles (12.9 km.) from the Police post on the other side of the river. In the short winter days that meant that only one trip could be made in a day; even using a Cometic and nine dogs it meant that only about three-quarters of a cord could be brought in. To improve this system he arranged with five Chipewyan Indians on Churchill Creek to cut and stack wood there at $1.00 a cord (to be paid in trade goods) plus some rations; when the ice had melted Starnes would send men to raft this wood down to the post.[169] The supplying of firewood for the HBC and for the police became one of the major labour opportunities for the people of the Churchill area.

The RNWMP also imported considerable supplies of coal, which required a somewhat different kind of technology in stoves. Major Moodie requested base burners in place of the original tubular stoves with which the post was supplied. He recommended the "New Silver Moon" stoves like the two he had bought in Halifax in 1906, old-fashioned but strong and good heaters which would save on coal.[170]

The use of coal also presented some problems; in 1908 the natives living at the RNWMP post were almost asphyxiated by coal gas from their stoves.[171] After that the native quarters used wood for heat.[172]

The tonnage of coal imported varied over the years and never replaced the need for large amounts of wood. In 1910 Starnes requested 50 tons of coal for the following year, an amount he estimated would heat his and the doctor's quarters and the office and part of the barracks, while the rest of the post would have to use wood.[173] Thus while the police were at Churchill they added to the exploitation of the local wood resources and competed with the HBC for these and for the temporary labour needed to cut the wood.

Hunting

The goose hunt was still carried on in the traditional sites, the Goose Lakes, Seal River and North River, Knight's Hill and the Goose Islands. But the lack of importance of the goose hunt for the survival of the post is especially striking in these years in comparison to the first 100 years at the post. In fact by this time most of the goose hunting was done by the men of the post, with little reliance on the Indian goose hunters and the goose hunt came to be regarded more as sport than as vital necessity. The decline in the number of Chipewyan attached to the post was a contributory factor, of course, leaving fewer men to pursue the goose hunt but the goose hunt was not the major source of food which it had been in the early days of the post. Those Chipewyan who did hunt geese for the post carried on their share of the goose hunt almost independently of the post, using their own guns and ammunition, bringing in their geese themselves and being paid for them. It had been the custom to give the Chipewyan measures of powder and shot for the goose hunt; they were to bring in one goose for each measure and got paid for the goose. In 1912 this practice came to an end and the Indians got paid on a strictly cash basis for each goose they brought in.[174] The transition to an entirely economic rather than a personal relationship between the Chipewyan and the post appeared to be complete.

Ptarmigan were still hunted too, again with less importance

attached to them as subsistence items but more as fresh supplies of meat to save on the use of canned goods. The sites for hunting ptarmigan were the same as those used in the first years of the post, ranging along both sides of the river but with the emphasis on spots near to the post, where men could hunt for a day and return.

Trapping by the men of the post assumed a much more important aspect, with the day for issuing the traps, the end of November, an important one in the year at Fort Churchill. These traps, primarily for foxes, were set all along the shore from Mosquito Point to Eskimo Island and along Sea Horse Gully and Button's Bay as far as Middle Point.[175] Artie (Oman) and his wife set marten traps as far as the Goosey Islands.[176] The opposite side of the river was also used. There was at times some competition for these trapping rights; in 1920 the Lamson & Hubbard representative, Mr. Walker, set his traps on spots usually used by the HBC.[177] Since there were no registered trap lines the men of the HBC had to select other sites.

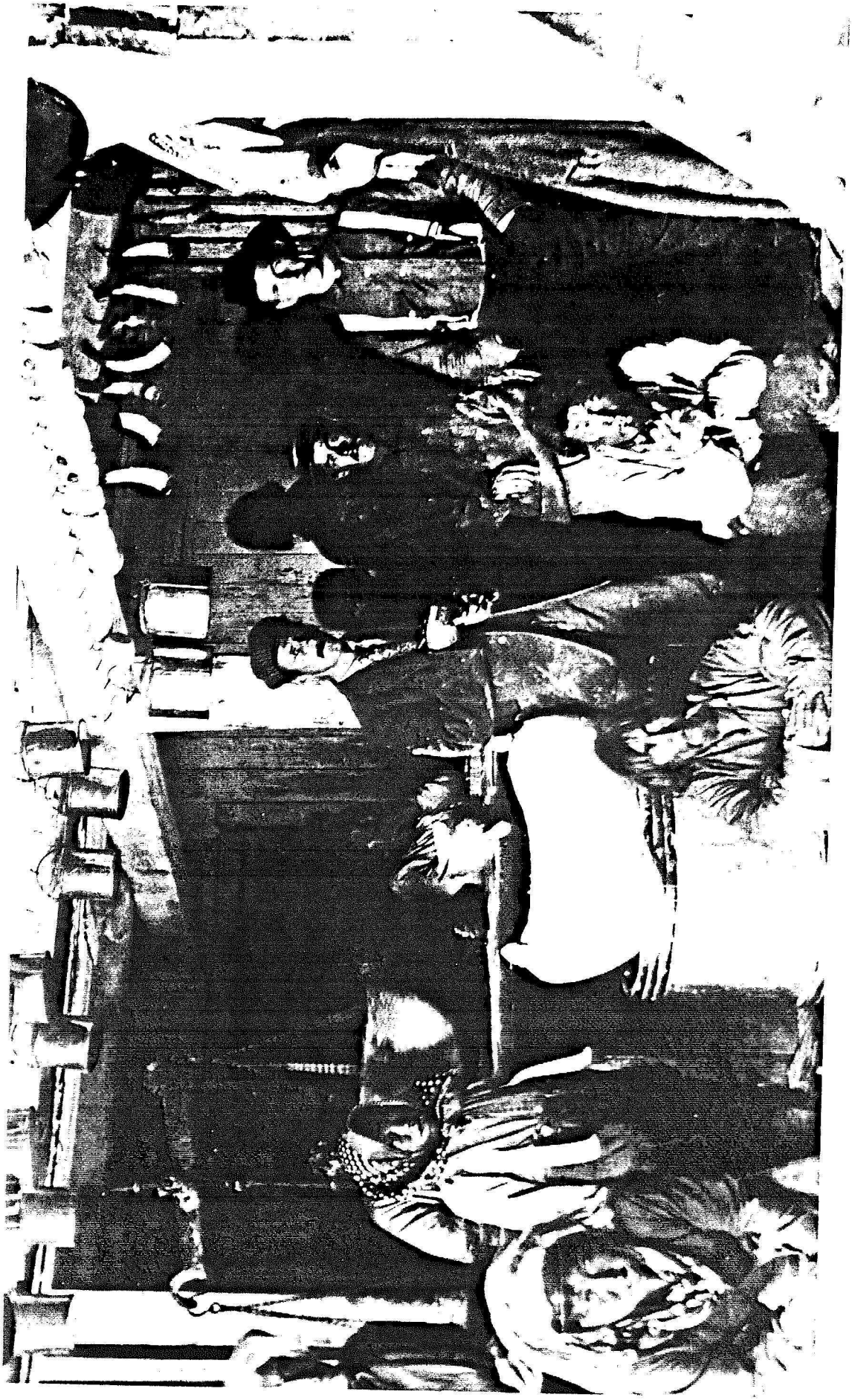
Fishing

Fish for the post were caught at Deer's River;[178] this area seemed to supply some fish now in the late fall or even late winter, whereas in the early years of the post this had been considered impossible. The men of the post still fished for char in the Churchill River in the summer; the Chipewyan who summered around the post also supplied some of these.[179] A sweep net for these was tried at Cockles' Point in 1917 with some success.

Whaling

In these years when whale oil became less valuable whaling became less important to the post. But some whaling was carried on; the whale meat was useful for dog feed and some oil was still used. Whales were caught in nets, set at Sandy Ridge and Cockles' Point in 1918.[180] The east peninsula was the

Fig. 90 Interior of [Hudson's Bay Company] post, Churchill, c. 1910
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 46



major site for whaling, however, and most of the processing of the blubber was carried on there. The Eskimos still supplied some of the whales from their camps at the old Fort.[181]

Local resources in this period 1906-1930 became less vital to Fort Churchill than in the past. This was due in large part to the small number of servants attached to it but it also owed something to the increased use of imports - such as coal, canned goods, coal oil, etc. All of these replaced to a greater or less degree the previous dependence on local wood, meat supplies or whales. These local resources had been so much a part of fur trade history, so essential to the economic base of Fort Churchill, that the lessened dependence on them reflected very closely the transition from the fur trade era to the modern governmental age, when better transport could offer a wider selection of resources from outside the immediate area.

Native Peoples of Fort Churchill

Chipewyan

The changes in the land-use of the east peninsula would bring enormous changes to the Chipewyan who had traded with the HBC on the west peninsula for so many years. Their numbers were declining and their health was bad; tuberculosis was very common among them and observers thought they were bound to die out. Their numbers were so small that there was a great deal of intermarriage; the RNWMP doctor thought this contributed to their poor health and low level of births. He also thought they had no idea of how to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. Due to this combination of factors he thought they were in danger of total extinction.[182]

By 1908 the Chipewyan were aware of the coming intrusion into their country of surveyors, police and other agents of the federal government. As a protection for themselves during this process and as a means to secure some improvement in their poor

health and living conditions, they asked to take treaty.[183] The government too wanted to include these Chipewyan within the treaty system before the railway would be built or extensive white settlement could begin. At first the Department of Indian Affairs recommended that these Indians be taken under Treaty 10 because its provisions were a little more liberal than those of Treaty 5.[184] In fact, however, the Indians of Keewatin signed adhesions to Treaty 5, the treaty which included most of northern Manitoba, into which Keewatin was integrated in the boundary extension of 1912.

In August 1909 Mr. McLean, the Indian Affairs agent, negotiated with the Indians of Fort Churchill for a treaty. He found them very anxious to take treaty;[185] they wrote the Indian Department asking that the treaty be concluded the next year.[186]

McLean estimated there were about 210 Chipewyans at Churchill to be taken into treaty. In addition there were about 100 Eskimos, who would not be offered treaty, plus about 22 adult halfbreeds and nine minor.[187] According to Sup't Starnes of the RNWMP the Chipewyan all lived within about 70 miles (112.6 km.) of the post. The halfbreeds were all connected to the HBC; they were the two old pensioners of the Company, George Oman and Sam Gray and four of their sons and their families.[188] The treaty would apply only to the Chipewyan or to those of mixed-blood who wanted to be counted as Indians; those of mixed-blood who did not want to take treaty would be entitled to scrip, a certificate from the Indian Department of land or money due them in return for the abrogation of their aboriginal rights.

In 1910 the Chipewyan camped near the HBC post in early July, waiting to take treaty (see Fig. 92). Mr. Semmens of Indian Affairs came to Fort Churchill July 31 and conducted the treaty explanations and payment on August 1.[189] This was a brief and unceremonious procedure, with none of the rhetoric which had characterized the early Western Canadian treaties. He

Fig. 91 "Gymkana" on Dominion Day at Churchill, R.N.W.M.P., 1910
P.A.M., A.V. Thomas Collection, No. 206

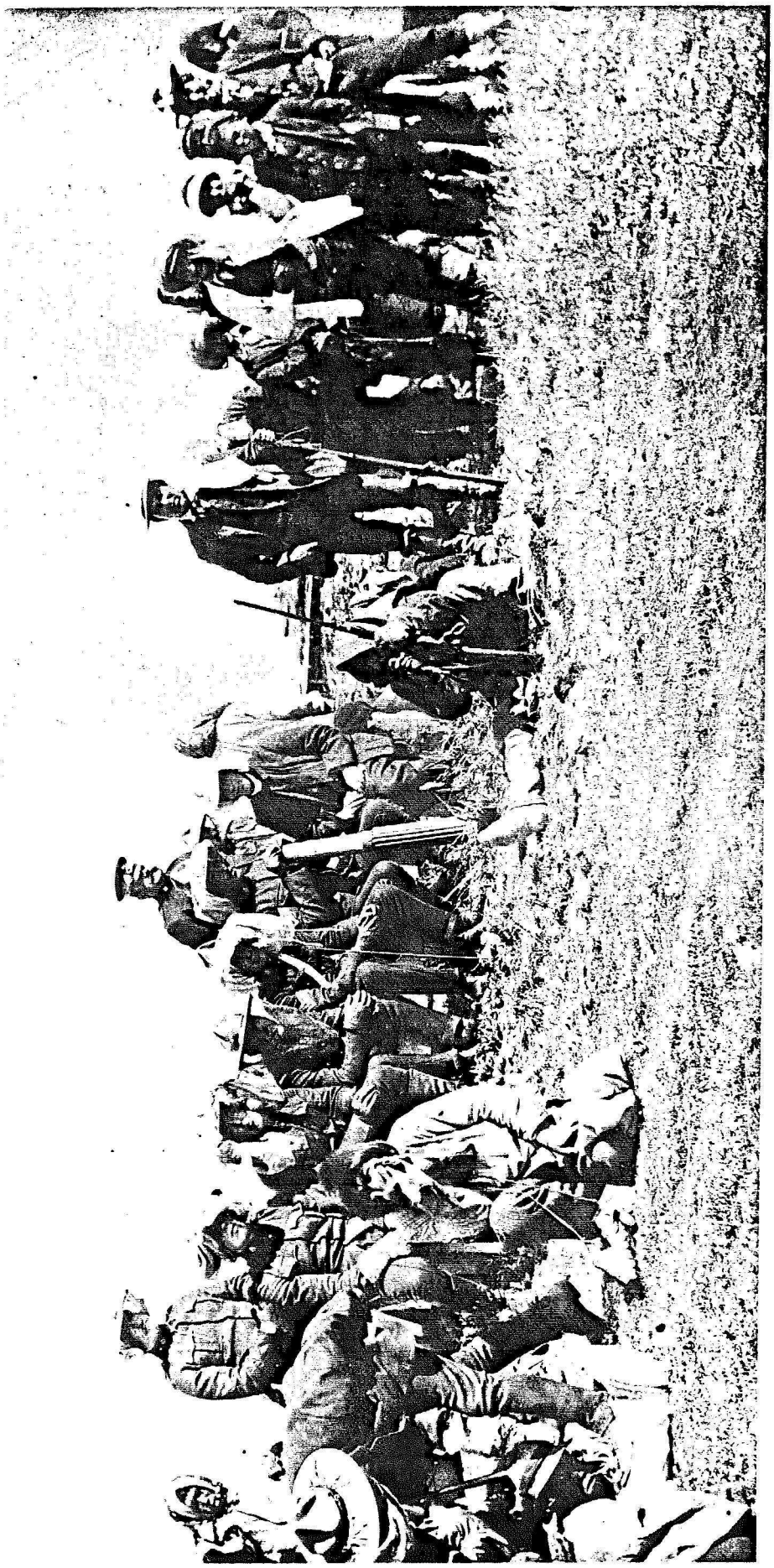


Fig. 92 Chipewyan Camp, Churchill [Man], 1910
PAC, From GSC photograph collection

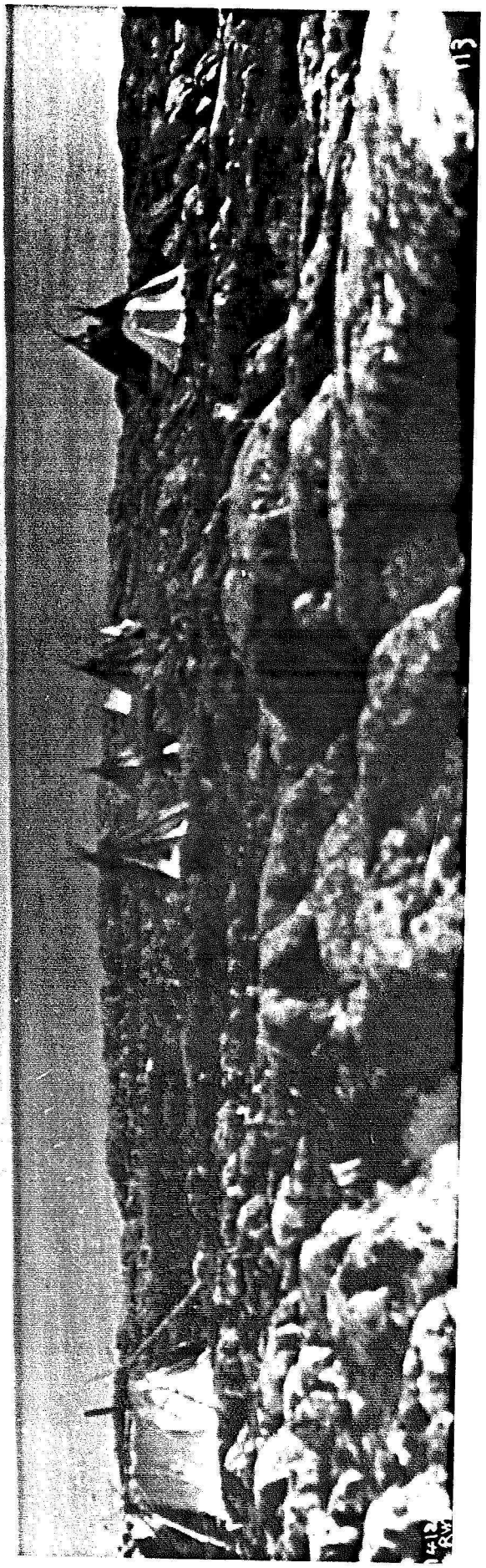


Fig. 93 Chief, Councillors elect, Fort Churchill,
1 August 1910
P.A.M., A.V. Thomas Collection, No. 126

paid the treaty money on 1 August 1910 and took applications for scrip from the mixed-blood on 2 August 1910. The treaty money was quickly spent at Fort Churchill, where the post took in cash of $475 by 2 August 1910.[190]

There was no discussion or argument about the terms of the treaty; it was read over twice and explained to the Chipewyan and all the men then stood up and voted yes to it. The Chief, John French, and his two Councillors, Crazy Solomon and Sam Chinashagun, were then elected and invested.[191] Then the Commissioner put a flag on their heads and told the Chipewyan that these three men were to watch over them and see that they did not do bad things (see Fig. 93).[192]

Albert Anderson, a Chipewyan, son of David Chief Factor who had been employed by the HBC, was present at the treaty-signing and spoke about his recollections of it in a tape made for the Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg. He said all the Indians were given $10.00 each, to include payments for both 1909 and 1910.[193] Rations were borrowed from the HBC by the Indian Department to provide a big celebration at Fort Churchill for this first treaty.[194] These were all piled up on a big piece of canvas outside the HBC post, supplies like the Chipewyan had never seen before, according to Albert Anderson; there were bags of flour, sugar, tea, tobacco, etc. The celebration lasted for two nights and was a great deal of fun for the Chipewyan; they did not realize this amount of food was only to mark the signing of the treaty and thought it would be an annual occurrence.[195]

The Chipewyan gathered for the first treaty were told they could go where they wanted and start building wooden houses for themselves. Then when these were built they would receive land to farm and two cows, two chickens and two pigs. Albert Anderson's father tried to do this; he spent much of the first winter after treaty cutting wood up north but in the fall of 1911 he accidentally shot himself on the North River and the timber was wasted.[196] No one else seemed inclined to undertake

this type of unrealistic life change advocated by Indian Affairs.

The Chipewyan continued with their usual way of life, spending the winter in two separate groups. One group, led by David Chief Factor (Anderson) until his death in 1911, wintered usually to the north of Churchill on the Seal River. The other part, led by Chief French John, wintered around Churchill Creek and farther west.[197] Later the North Knife River was used often by both sections of the Chipewyan.[198]The northern section of the band was said to be the poorest and the most likely to need the indigent help which the Mounted Police were empowered to give on behalf of the Indian Department. [199]

By 1914 the band was estimated to number only about 150 persons,[200] with most of these being women and children and many of the women widows. They usually left Churchill in the fall for their hunting grounds, with the men coming in at Christmas to trade their fall hunt. In the spring the whole tribe returned and spent most of the summer months camped around the HBC post, living on what fish and game they could obtain plus a very small amount of wage labour and waiting for their treaty payments.

The war of 1914-18 brought many difficulties to the Chipewyan, remote though they were from the front. In 1914-15 the whole band required destitute rations from the police. There had been no caribou to provide them with food, clothing and dog feed and ptarmigan were very scarce. Fur prices were low because of the war and the HBC refused all credit that year. Almost all of their dogs died of starvation, while some of the people died of TB.[201] These were not all effects of the war, of course, but the low prices for furs complicated the already poor economic situation of the Chipewyan.

In 1917 the Chipewyan did not wait for their treaty payment, which was much delayed. They had to get to their hunting grounds before freeze-up but also were afraid to stay because of a rumour spread by the halfbreeds that the Indians were to

Fig. 94 Chipewyan Indians, Churchill, 1910
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 2

Fig. 95 Chipewyan woman and child with sled dog loaded with camping material,
Fort Churchill, summer 1912
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 4

Fig. 96 Churchill [Man], June 1927
Indian Encampment
PAC

be recruited for overseas service.[202] This had been a common fear of many Indians at the time of the early western treaties; in 1917 it was probably stimulated by the Conscription Crisis. The Chipewyan did survive the war and benefitted from the peace and the better prices for furs which followed later.

In 1920 the band asked for help in building a council and warehouse at Fort Churchill. The Chief promised they would bring in the logs the following spring and would have the building well-started by the time of treaty payment, if Indian Affairs would supply some of the other items necessary for it.[203] This may be the Indian shack included in the plans of the post.

Reindeer Lake continued to draw some of the Chipewyans away from Fort Churchill, while those who stayed at Churchill declined still further in health and vigour; they were almost starving when treaty was paid in 1923.[204] In 1924 they were a little worse; sickness was endemic and their numbers were decreasing each year. They had overdrawn on their destitute rations the previous year and were expected to do so again.[205]

Indian Affairs hoped that those who had moved to Reindeer Lake would stay there. In fact, there were negotiations to move the whole Fort Churchill band there; the Indians of Brochet were asked if they would be willing to accept those from Churchill and apparently agreed. The Churchill Indians who had moved there had settled to the north of Brochet near Fort Hall, some had intermarried with the Reindeer Lake Indians and the two groups were on friendly terms.[206] They also had a long history of contacts with each other and a move there would not be utterly strange to many of the Churchill Chipewyan.

The Churchill Chipewyan, however, led by the Anglican bishop, rejected this suggestion of Indian Affairs. Bishop Dewdney, the Bishop of Keewatin, reacted angrily to the initiative taken by Indian Affairs without consulting the Anglican Church which had been involved with these Indians for 75 years and said the Indians did not want to move away from them. He

was especially angry that the Department had consulted the Roman Catholic bishop about this proposed move and that Bishop Turquetil had favoured the suggestion. In Dewdney's eyes this was a move by the Roman Catholics to try to gain the adherence of the Anglican Chipewyans of Churchill, since the only mission at Reindeer Lake was Catholic.

The bishop countered the suggestion that the band was in danger of extinction if it remained at Churchill. He said that at the time of treaty in 1910 the band numbered 177 according to missionary records; it was now (1925) 190. It had suffered from deaths in the previous two years but these had been within a few families and were probably some sort of infection. He thought TB was no more prevalent among them than among some other bands. If they were infectious, the Department should think of the effects of putting them among healthy bands, if it followed through on its plan.[207] Perhaps because of this opposition Indian Affairs abandoned this project to move the Chipewyan.

In 1929, however, the HBC established a post at Caribou for these Indians; it attempted to supply this from Fort Churchill by a tractor trail cut through Peter's Gully and from there across Button's Bay, but the snow proved too deep for the tractors.[208]The Caribou post was closed and replaced by one at Duck Lake.

The establishment of these posts replaced Fort Churchill as focal point for the Chipewyan, abruptly ending the two centuries of contact between the Chipewyan and the Hudson's Bay Company on the west peninsula of the Churchill River. There would be no more fall visits with provisions, no more Christmas celebrations, no more spring goose hunts and no more large camps in summer on the Rocks. The new Churchill was an alien place to the Chipewyan, with no need for their special skills.

Métis

The presence of a mixed-blood population at Churchill was officially recognized when the treaty was signed in 1910. In accordance with the practice throughout the west the mixed-blood people were offered scrip in return for their aboriginal rights. The Métis were always dealt with after the Indians had signed their treaty; it gave the mixed-blood the option of signing as Indians or taking scrip as Métis.

As usual speculators preceded the actual giving of scrip and bought the rights of most of the Métis before they actually had any scrip. Mr. Hall, the Fur Trade Commissioner of the HBC, was one of the parties to this, to the consternation of the HBC management when they found out.[209] Halcrow was the representative for this consortium in 1909 and travelled along with the inspectors of the posts, H.A. Tremayne and C.C. Sinclair. On this trip he persuaded the halfbreeds of York and Churchill to take scrip rather than treaty, whereas the Treaty Commissioner and the missionaries hoped to convince them to take treaty. The scrips were not delivered until the summer of 1911, and were then purchased under the earlier agreement.[210] The price was said to be $450 each for the land scrip and $100 for the money scrip.[211]

Of those who did take scrip at Churchill the Omans dominated the list. Other names on the list reflected the long family history of the servants and natives of the country, with the many intermarriages which had occurred over the years. The children of Mr. Spencer, now all grown and mostly living in Winnipeg, took scrip for 240 Acres (97.2 hectares); their great-grandfather was said to have been at Churchill with Samuel Hearne and their grandfather after him.[212]

There was now little opportunity for these mixed-bloods to remain in the employ of the HBC at Churchill. Some moved to other posts for the HBC, while those who stayed around Churchill made their living by trapping or taking temporary jobs with the police or surveyors. With the payment of scrip

and the loss of employment with the HBC they had to do the best they could on their own; neither the government nor the HBC took responsibility to aid them.

Eskimos

The Eskimos were distinguished at Churchill as Inland or Coastal. Most of those in contact with Churchill for any length of time were Inland Eskimos, who led a life very similar to the Chipewyan in their dependence on caribou. Major Moodie learned of the life of the "Pal-i-mute" Eskimos; they traded usually at Brochet or Reindeer Lake, visiting Churchill only rarely. They were Inland Eskimos (Caribou Eskimos) who usually found caribou at "Ah-koo-lah" Lake (Neutlin Lake) in the summer; they killed and cached enough in the summer to last through the winter.[213]

The Eskimos, though fewer in number at Churchill, were much more evident around the post; some of them stayed all winter in the area on the south side of the river, serving as temporary labour (packeters, etc.). The police also preferred to use Eskimo labour at their post. In 1911 six Eskimos and their wives stayed over the winter at Churchill. "Donald", "Willybuck" and "Goose" hunted for the police and did some trapping for the HBC. The other three lived on the south side of the river and trapped and cut wood.[214] By 1919 a few of the Eskimos, probably those labouring for Fort Churchill, camped at Mosquito Point.[215]

One of the first cases tried before the police involved two Eskimos who had broken into the HBC store on the east peninsula and taken some biscuit, char and a little sugar; they were fined eight MB each by Major Moodie.[216] They paid the fine rather than spend time in the jail.

A few of the Eskimos still came in for the spring seal hunt and still depended on the HBC to transport them back north after it. Their numbers were still subject to wide variations. In 1909 only three families of Eskimos came from the north to

Fig. 97 Amer & wife outside skin tent, Churchill, 1909
P.A.M.

Fig. 98 Eskimo girl, Churchill, showing tattooing, c. 1909
P.A.M., Carl E. Beech Collection

Fig. 99 His Excellency Earl Grey visiting Eskimo camp, Churchill, Man. [1910]
Photograph by R.W. Brock
PAC, From GSC Collection

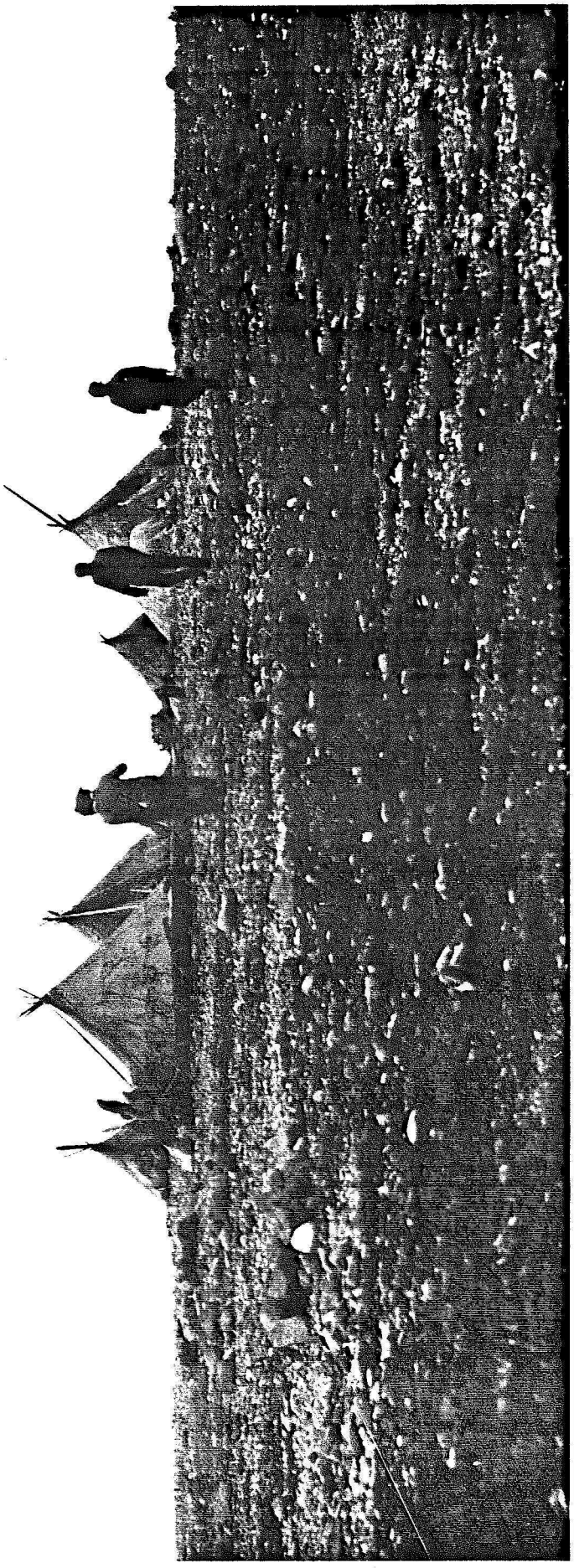


Fig. 100 Eskimo women at Fort Churchill, n.d.
PAC

Fig. 101 Eskimos at Churchill, c. 1910
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 9

Fig. 102 Eskimo Women, Churchill, 1909
P.A.M.

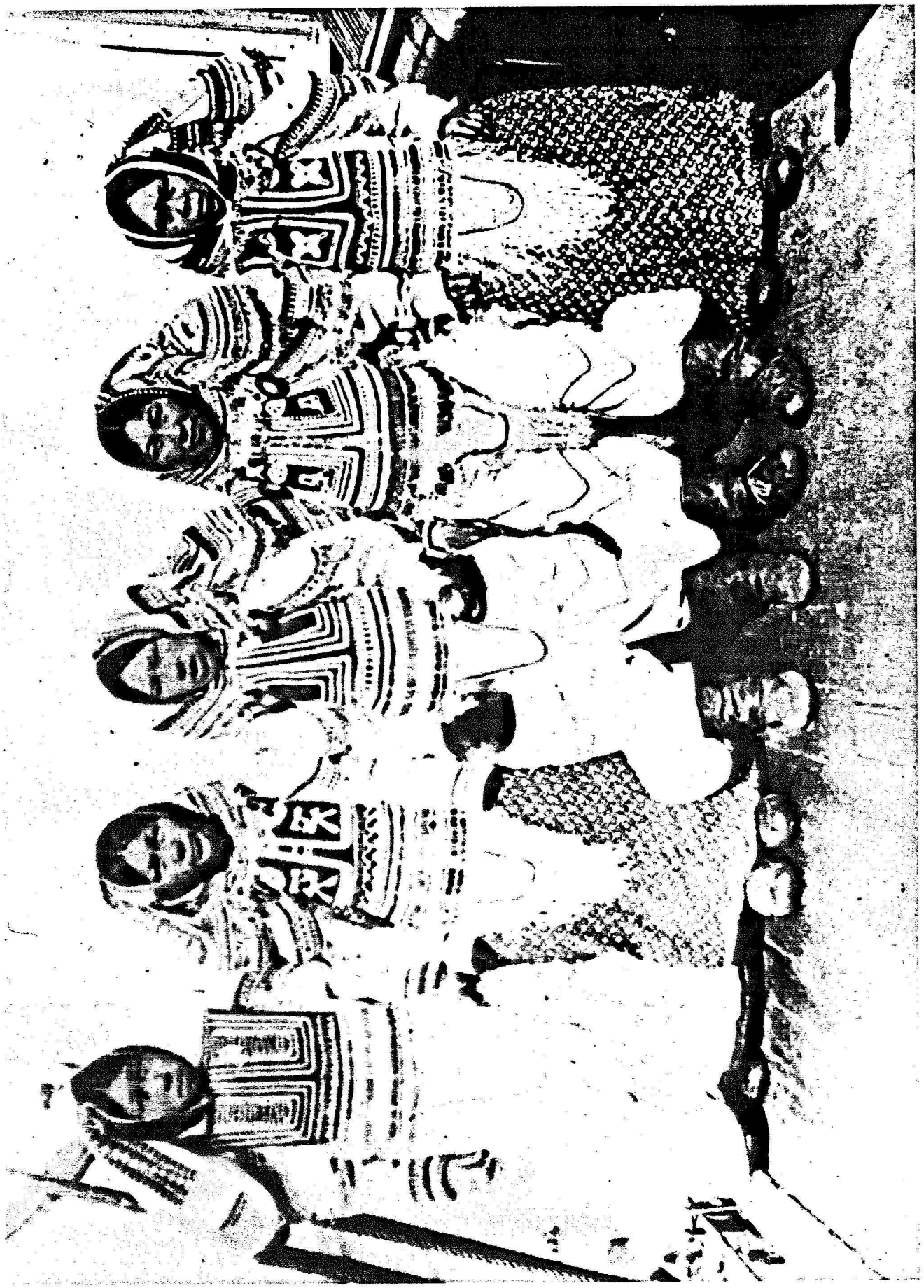


Fig. 103 Rear view of Eskimo women's dress,
Churchill, 1909
P.A.M.

Fig. 104 Group of Eskimos crossing Churchill River on the ice, c. 1912
P.A.M., (Cpl.) J.G. Jones Collection, No. 12

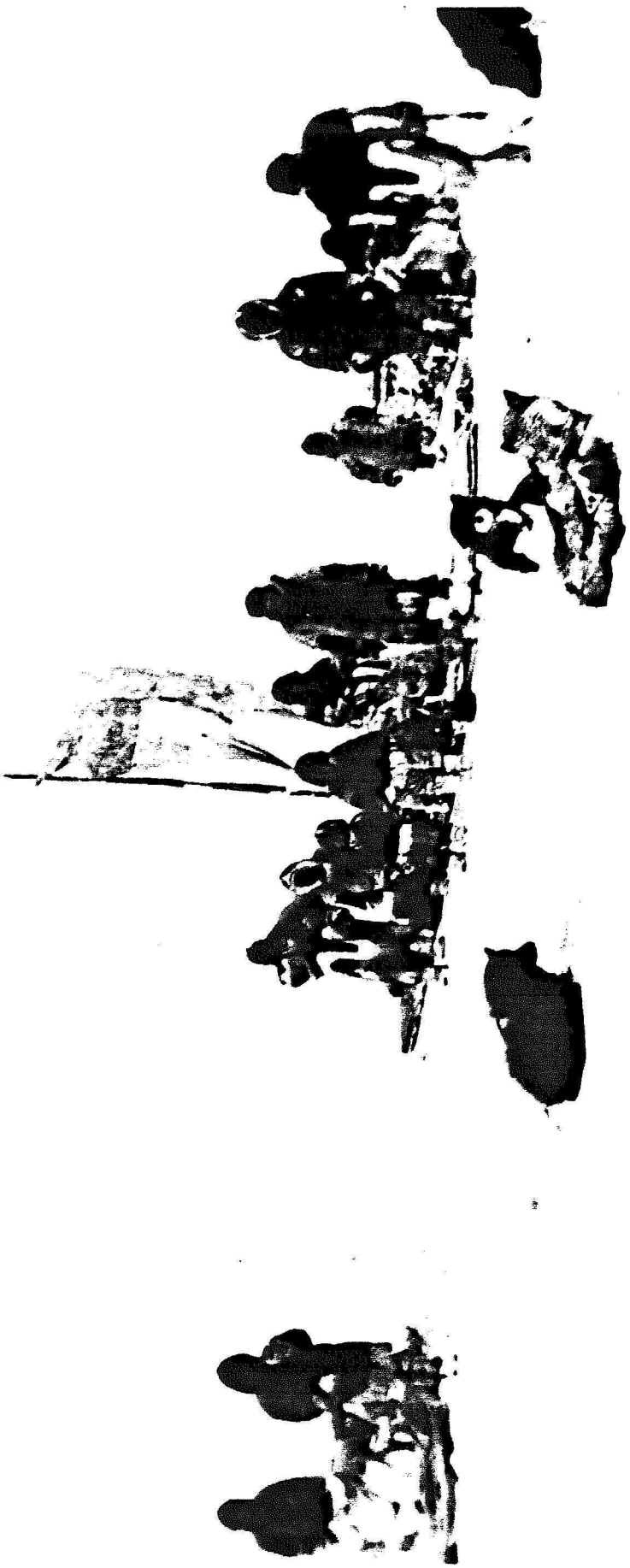
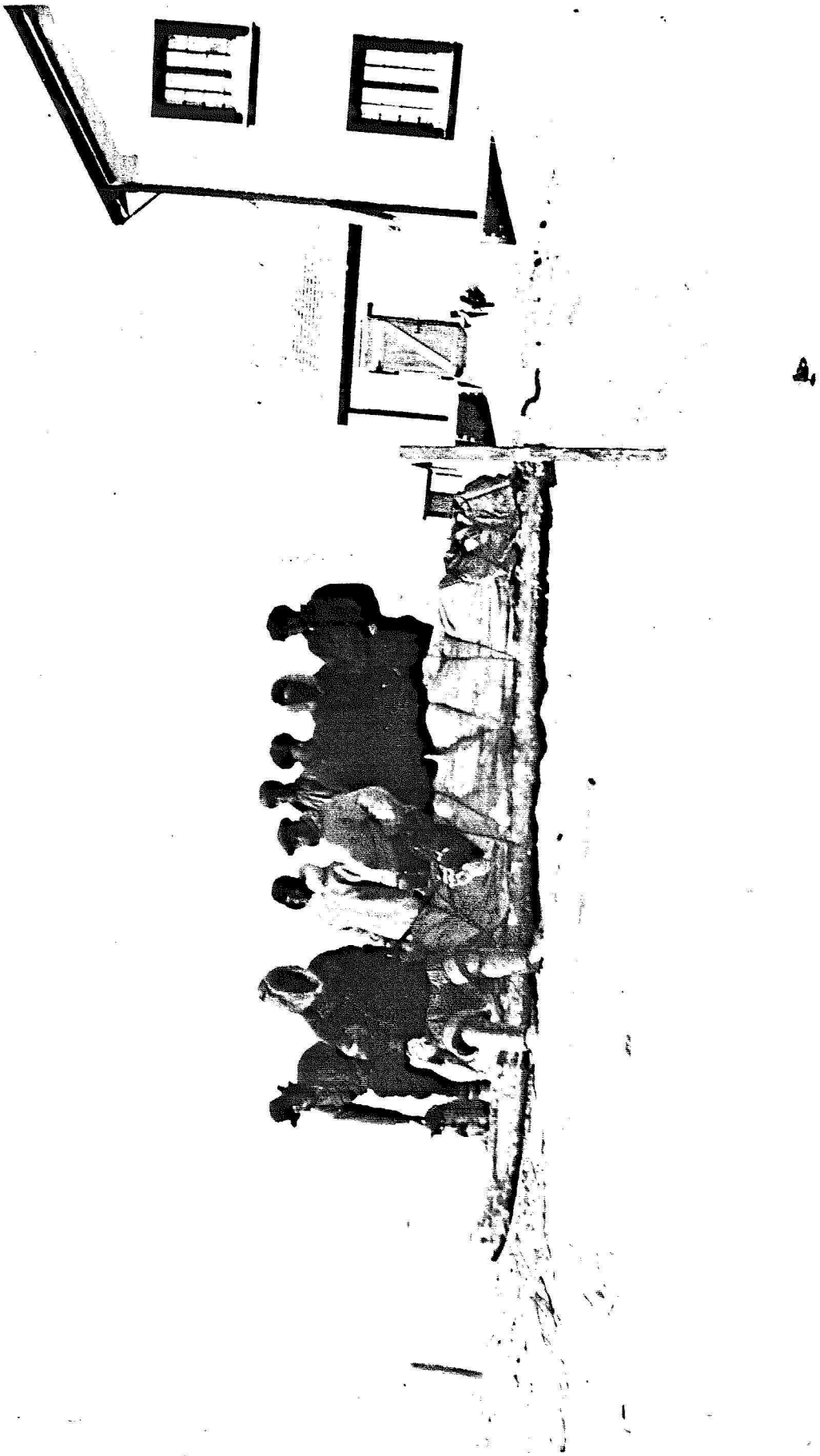


Fig. 105 Eskimo women and children near Fort Churchill, Man., c. 1920s. Ruins of Fort Prince of Wales in background.
Glenbow Archives

Fig. 106 Eskimos with kayak frames, near Fort Churchill, Man., 1920s. Ruins of Fort Prince of Wales in background.
Glenbow Archives

Fig. 107 "Eskimos leaving Churchill for Eskimo Point Post, 1931"
HBC Archives, P.A.M., 1981/38,
G.A. Third, Strasbourg



stay for the summer.[217] In 1910, however, there were about 12 families already camped around the old Fort by May 25. By the end of the sealing season there were so many gathered that one boat could not hold them all and George Oman had to take the rest in another boat.[218] The post depended on the seal and whale meat from the Eskimos for dog feed; in the occasional years when no Eskimos appeared at the post in the spring, extra effort had to be made to get fish to make up the difference in dog feed.[219]The local men never seemed to learn how to hunt seals.

Old Fort Prince of Wales continued to be the favourite camping site for the Eskimos; Seahorse Gully was rarely, if ever, used by them any more.[220] Some of the Eskimos camped at the RNWMP Barracks in 1919; men were sent from Fort Churchill to make sure all the doors were locked to secure the goods inside;[221] the Eskimos had maintained their reputation for making free with whatever they could get their hands on!

The doctor at the RNWMP post examined the Eskimos and found them to be a very healthy and intelligent race; most of their illnesses with which he dealt were of a surgical nature. He thought they were much superior to the Indians of the area in physical and mental abilities[222] - a common assumption on the part of observers over the long years of contact.

The opening of Chesterfield Inlet post in 1911 drew many of the Eskimos who had previously traded at Churchill, while those who remained attached to Churchill appeared to become more closely tied to it. In 1918 the police patrol to Churchill reported that the few Eskimos there would not go away from the post; they were very much afraid after hearing of the starvation deaths the year before of the Dawson Inlet Camp and wanted to stay within two or three days' travel of the post, unless absolutely sure of the presence of caribou farther away.[223] By the 1920s, however, there was little reason for the Eskimo to continue coming in to Fort Churchill; like the Chipewyan, the new Churchill had no place for them.

Conclusion

In the 158 years of this study the west peninsula of the Churchill River underwent many changes in land-use due to the impact on it of the fur trade, mission and government. Yet the land itself and its resources altered very little. The small trees which grew there were quickly cut down and used for fuel. The river provided char in summer and whales for whale oil lights and export. Some ptarmigan and geese were caught and the occasional polar bear. All of these resources were used by the people who lived at Churchill but the resources of the west peninsula alone could not sustain human life. The land resisted attempts at gardening or at finding suitable drinking water. Level sites for buildings were extremely rare and drainage for buildings difficult.

The changes which did occur on the west peninsula came about because of the human will to overcome these odds; Churchill never offered an easy living to its inhabitants but its advantageous position offset this. Based on the west peninsula the Hudson's Bay Company could contact the Chipewyan and Eskimos for trade, extract whale oil for export and explore to the farther north. In pursuit of these objectives the HBC in 1783 built the new post of Fort Churchill on the best site the west peninsula offered, one which had previously been occupied by the old wooden Fort Prince of Wales, and probably long before that by Jens Munk.

Until the 20th century the HBC buildings dominated the west peninsula and fur trade interests monopolized the area and the people who lived and worked there. This trade involved the native people of the area and led to many changes in their

lives; in turn the trade was affected by changes among the native people. The fur trade resumed at Fort Churchill after the destruction of the Stone Fort was not identical to what it had been before. The trading Indians were decimated by the smallpox epidemic of 1782, the effects of which had been intensified by the simultaneous destruction of the Stone Fort. The alternatives in inland trade offered in the late 18th century drew many of the survivors away from Churchill, a process which continued throughout the 19th century. Fort Churchill drew its trade from a hinterland which grew constantly smaller and from an Indian trading population which decreased in size. This shrinking economic base was reflected in its change of status from a Factory to an outpost of York in 1814.

This change of status resulted in a lack of building on the site through most of the 19th century. New buildings were erected only when absolutely necessary as replacements for old buildings. Many of the 18th century buildings survived through all or nearly all of the 19th century. Yet Fort Churchill and the west peninsula did not remain static in this period. Within the HBC system its position changed not at all nor did the number of servants allotted to it. But the personnel of the post became dominated by mixed-blood descendants of the HBC servants and of local native women. By the end of the 19th century Fort Churchill had become a settled village community of primarily mixed-blood people, who were dependent on the HBC for labour opportunities. When these failed they were forced to leave or to become independent trappers.

The hope of contact with the Eskimos drew the Anglican Church to establish a mission on the west peninsula in 1886 despite the opposition of the HBC, which thought the resources of the area were unable to support another occupant.
To serve its purposes at Churchill the Church Missionary Society built a mission house near the post; a new church was erected near the mission house in 1892 to replace the old one which had stood within the grounds of Fort Churchill. The

mission exploited the local resources of fuel and whale oil but not to an extent which would damage Fort Churchill's use of these. In spite of the official opposition of the HBC to the establishment of the mission the missionary and his family were welcomed by the people of Fort Churchill. The mission, though intended as a means of contact with the Eskimos, in fact dealt primarily with the people of the fort and the Chipewyan; through the mission the Anglican religion became integrated into their lives.

In the 20th century, however, the old era of fur trade and mission was replaced by the new age of government interest and control. The Canadian government assigned the Royal North West Mounted Police to patrol the west coast of Hudson Bay in order to protect Canadian sovereignty there and to maintain law and order in a region where the Hudson Bay Railway would be built. Churchill was the best site for this and a large police post was built on the west peninsula, on the only available fairly level spot. The choice of Port Nelson rather than Churchill as the terminus for the railroad, however, resulted in the police headquarters move to Port Nelson in 1914. The remaining two constables left their post on the west peninsula in 1917 and the police never returned to it. Instead they established on the east peninsula in the new town of Churchill.

With the 20th century the Canadian government thus replaced Fort Churchill as the major interested party in the Churchill area; the long domination of the fur trade disappeared as the new interests of railroad and port became paramount. Even Fort Churchill could no longer function only for the fur trade; it now became a small general store, catering to a wider and more varied population. In the end this change forced the HBC to move its store from the west peninsula to the new town of Churchill on the east peninsula.

The changing status of Fort Churchill in the 19th and 20th centuries affected the native people attached to it. The Cree Homeguard disappeared from the scene by 1857; some Cree made a

brief reappearance in the 1880s but they left Churchill by 1893. The Faraway Chipewyan ceased to come into Churchill by the 1870s whereas the Homeguard Chipewyan became more attached to Churchill. They were hired for wage-labour at Fort Churchill in the summer, to supplement the hired servants in the extraction of resources, unloading ships, whaling, etc. They became more dependent on these opportunities and spent much of the summer camped on the rocks about Fort Churchill; thus they lost much of the previous independence given them by their summer caribou hunt.

Although wage labour opportunities declined by the end of the 19th century the Chipewyan continued to spend a great deal of the summer camped around the post. When the government signed a treaty with them in 1910 the treaty payments became another reason for gathering. These summer camps of the Chipewyan continued until the railway was built in 1930, when the northern posts of Caribou and Duck Lake were opened for them. This ended the long history of the fur trade connection between the HBC on the west peninsula and the Chipewyan; both disappeared from the scene.

To some extent the Caribou Eskimos replaced the Chipewyan as provisioners for the post but they too were drawn to inland posts in the late 19th century and became less attached to Churchill. When posts such as Chesterfield Inlet were established in the early 20th century the Eskimos ceased to visit Churchill in large numbers.With them went the sealing and whaling which had characterized their presence in the west peninsula.

Those who lived on the west peninsula up to 1930 lived there because of the demands of the institutional interests of the fur trade, mission or government. Even the native people who camped there in summer were drawn to the area primarily by the fur trade, mission or government. The history of the west peninsula is characterized by the interaction between the people stationed there by these institutions, by the extraction

of resources to sustain them, and the native peoples who camped there. For the fur trade period this was a symbiotic relationship, with native people helping the fort personnel in the extraction of resources and the maintenance of the trade and in turn earning the trade goods on which they came to depend.

This balanced relationship came to an end with the 20th century, however, as the period of fur trade and mission ended. Government interest in the area was focused on the east peninsula where the new town of Churchill drew both the mission and the trading post of the HBC. The native people and the fur traders and missionaries who had concentrated on them from their base on the west peninsula removed from the scene.

Appendix A Buildings at Fort Churchill

Trade Buildings at Fort Churchill

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
All-Purpose House	1783	1813	Frame, 2 storey, 40 ft. by 24 ft. Shuttered windows. Lead roof.	Lined or plastered inside. Painted 1789.	All trade & housing 1783. Warehouse & store to 1813. Also Chief's house.	Sketch 1800	21-23, 27, 33, 37
Offices	1784	1827	Frame, 112 ft. by 15 ft. by 10 ft. high. Stone foundation. Lead roof from Stone Fort.	Lead taken to roof launch house added to Still House 1825. Wood used to build forge 1827. Burned as firewood 1837.	Tradesmen's shops, cook-room, & storage.	Sketch 1800	25-26, 47-61, 93, 99
Cooper's Shop & other Offices	1785	1804?	Made of old stockades from Stone Fort. Lead roof, plastered.	Doors and window frames painted. In ruins by 1804.	Shops to make barrels, etc.	Sketch 1800	26
Sheds	1788	?	Weatherboarded & plastered.		Hold tools, etc.	Sketch 1800	26
Byre	1780s	1821	?	?	Stable for cattle.		31, 102
Limehouse	1789	?	Stone		Production of lime for building & plastering.		29

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Magazine	1784	1794	Wood. Caulked with moss & surrounded by thick earth wall.		Hold gun-powder.		27-28
Magazine	1794	1905?	Stone, from Quarry and Stone Fort. 13 ft. by 13 ft. Lead roof, copper door.	Rocks from Cape Merry used in it 1797.	Hold gun-powder.	1889 1895 1898 1901	28, 43, 47, 93, 149, 152, 281
Still House (and warehouse)	1797	1900	Frame. 30 ft. by 20 ft. Wood roof. Whalers' House used in it.	Roof tarred. New windows & benches 1832. Lead roof blew off 1890.	Distillery to c. 1814. Warehouse. Occasional byre. Sawpit.	1889 1895 1898	28-29. 43, 44, 45, 47, 93, 97, 98, 222
Launch House	1786	1803	26 ft. by 15 ft. by 14 ft. high, 2 storey? or 1 storey, & 7 ft. high?		Store goods unloaded from ship.		30
Launch House (& later warehouse)	1803	1900?	72 ft. by 21 ft. by 9 1/2 ft. high. Lead roof from Offices (1785). Roof blew off in 1890.	Taken down in 1825, part of it added to Still House to make larger warehouse, & part used as kitchen for Officer's House.	Store goods unloaded from ship.	1889 1895 1898	30, 43, 93, 97, 152, 222, 269

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Launch House or Boat House	1810	?	?	?	Repair boats. Store goods & whale oil. Provision store 1831.		30, 97, 98
Oil House	1786	1827	50 ft. long		Store whale oil.	Sketch 1800	30
Trading Shop (Warehouse & Trading Store)	1800	1913	36 ft. by 17 ft. Log. Weather-boarded & roofed with lead.	Roof rebuilt 1803. Lined & weatherboarded 1805. Enlarged 1831 with addition of squared logs weatherboarded & roofed with lead from Ice House. Lead roof blew off in 1890.	Store goods & trade furs.	1889 1895 1898 1901	27,93, 97, 100, 149, 152, 262
Fur Room	1868	1913	Frame. Clapboarded roof and walls. 15 ft. by 15 ft.	Attached to trading shop.	Store and press furs.	1889 1895 1898 1901	152, 263
Ice House	1801	1856	Lead roof.	Lead roof taken 1831 for addition to Trading shop. Replaced with weatherboard roof.	Preserve meat in summer		31, 101

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on plans	Page refs.
Provision Store & Provision shed	pre-1813 & 1857	?	Frame. Clapboarded. Lead roof. Stone foundation. 19 ft. by 14 ft.	Addition in 1857. 23 ft. by 17 ft., frame, clap-boarded. Roofed partly with lead, tin, & clapboard. Leaky in 1889 & in much need of repair. Lined with ceiling boards from Men's House (1814) in 1893	Trade for provisions	1889 1895	97, 100, 171
Forge	1827	1837	Made from wood of Offices of 1784.	None	Smithy. At end as firewood.		99
Limehouse	1832	?	?	None			101
Forge	1837	1903	Stone foundation. 17 ft. by 17 ft. Clapboarded with clapboard roof.		Smithy	1889 1895 1901	101-2, 116, 149, 152, 153, 167
Provision House	1854	?	?	?	Store provisions of men.		100

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Oil House	1859	1910	Stone foundation. 56 ft. by 26 ft. Frame. Tin roof. Weatherboarded.	Tarred roof & walls.	Store whale oil.	1889 1895 1898 1901	99, 149, 268
Byre	1861 or 1867	1901-03	Log. 20 ft. by 13 ft.	Plastered 1866. Repaired for use as house, 1893, proved no good for this.	Barn for cattle. Geo. Oman's house 1893.	1889 1895 1898 1901	153, 171, 180
Launch Store	1877	1898	Frame, weather-boarded, clap-board roof, 24 ft. by 15 ft.	In need of repair by 1889	Store freight	1889 1895	152
Trading Store or Depot	1894-95	1930s?	1 1/2 storeys. Clapboarded & lined. 37 ft. by 24 ft. In 1928 listed as 36 ft. by 25 ft. 3 in. by 25 ft. 7 in. high & as 2 storey, log, with Red River roof covered with tin, sealed inside & weather-boarded outside.	Painted. Decided lean by 1928.	Trading store. Depot.	1901 1923 1928	152-3, 263

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Flour Store	1910	1925	?	?	Storage of flour		262
Oil House	1910	1922	?	None	Storage of whale oil		268
Trading Store	1912	1930s	Log. 1 storey, with loft, 25 ft. by 16 ft. Saddle roof. Sealed inside, weather-boarded outside.	Roof covered with tar paper. Wood stove, coal oil lamps.	Trading	1923 1925	262
Flour Store	1925	1930s	Log, 10 ft. 4 in. by 17 ft. 2 in. Tin roof.	Addition to Trading Store (above).	Storage of flour	1928	262
Oil House	1922	1924	16 ft. by 12 ft.	Destroyed by storm, 1924	Storage of whale oil	1923	268
Oil House	1924	1930s	Log, 1 storey, 1 room. Saddle roof, 19 ft. 6 in. by 13 ft. 7 in.		Storage of whale oil	1928	269
Oil Shed	1926	1930s	Log. 1 storey, saddle roof, 20 ft. 2 in. by 11 ft. 4 in.		Storage of gasoline & machine oil.	1928	269

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Boat House	1910	1920s	12 ft. by 12 ft.		Store boats & equipment	1923	268
Coal Shed	?	1920s	?		Store coal for stoves	1923	268
Ice House	?	1920s	12 ft. by 12 ft.		Store ice for drinking water & keep meat in summer	1923	268

Dwellings of Fort Churchill

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
All-Purpose House	1783	1813	2 storey, frame, 40 ft. by 24 ft. Shuttered windows. Lead roof.	Lined or plastered inside. Painted 1789. Chief's room wainscoted 1793.	All trade & housing 1783. Chief's house, warehouse & store to 1813.	Sketch 1800	21-23, 27, 33, 37
Men's House	1785	1813	2 storey, squared logs. Addition to all-purpose house, 30 ft. by 24 ft. by 17 ft. high. Lead roof. Bricknogged & plastered. Boarded. Hinged windows.	Whitewashed inside & out. Paving in front. Bed-places lined 1787. New stove 1788.	Housing for servants. Part used as Indian House.	Sketch 1800	33-36
Men's House	1789	1813	2 storey, boarded & bricknogged. Plastered.	Weather-boarded. Lined 1793. New stove 1792.	Housing for servants.	Sketch 1800	36-37
Whalers' House	1788	1796	Frame	None	Sleeping Quarters for whalers at Mosquito Point.		40-41
Fort P. of W. House	pre-1783	1794	?	None	Chimney used at Fort Churchill 1794		41

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Haymarsh House	pre-1783	1814	?	Partially burned in spring 1814.	Shelter for wooders and hunters. Isolation hospital fall 1813. Stop-over shelter for colonists 1813-14. Reused in re-building Fort Churchill.		41-42, 44, 62
Men's House	1814	Part in 1893. Rest in 1899.	Log, wooden roof. One storey, 83 ft. by 22 ft. Small windows. Spike nails in roof.	Roof tarred Mudded freq. Partitioned often. Re-paired 1874 & 1877. Partitions removed 1888.	Dwelling for men & families. Housing for sailors. Prison. Winter house in 1880s. Boathouse 1892. Geo. Oman's house 1893.	1889 1895 1898	45, 93, 103-11, 167-71
Officer's House	1815-21	1860s?	2 storey, 37 ft. by 20 ft. 3 rms. & cookroom. Roof of weatherboarding over plaster. Walls weatherbrded. Part of launch house added as kitchen 1825.	Plastered 1821. Canadian stove. Double windows 1824. Porch 1828. Extensive repairs 1842 - new weatherbrd. on roof & walls, mudding. Painted 1849. Repaired 1861.	Dwelling for Officer in Charge & his family.	Sketch 1850	46, 93, 97, 111, 114

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Indian House	1821	pre-1850	Log, post & sill, 10 ft. by 12 ft. 1 window, 1 door.	Mudded walls, fireplace.	Shelter for Indians in winter.		115
Officer's House	early 1850s	1930s	Log, 1 storey, garret, 45 ft. by 20 ft. by 17 ft. 11 in. high. Tin roof, tarred. Plastered with lime & weather-boarded. Painted.	Repairs 1894. Back part torn down & kitchen moved closer to house. Painted 1915. New foundation logs 1929.	Dwelling for Officer & family. Winter House 1915-33.	1889 1895 1898 1901 1923 1928	114-15, 149, 152, 181, 189, 274-5, 280
Kitchen of Officer's House	1856	1930s	14 ft. by 12 ft. Attached to Officer's House by short passage.	Moved about 12 ft. nearer house 1894.	Summer kitchen. Mission house, 1871-76. Winter kitchen.	1889 1895 1898 1901 1923 1928	114, 181, 274-5
Bakehouse	1856	?	?	None	Cooking	1890?	102

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Indian House?	1860	?	Log, 4 rooms, winter porch, double windows.	Large stone chimney in kitchen pulled down 1863. New kitchen added.	Mission House 1862-63. Reverted to post use then but not as Indian House		184-5, 189
Clerk's House & Office	1872	1905?	Log. 1 room, 1 storey. Half-size logs. 13 ft. by 21 ft. 2 small windows at N end & 1 smaller window at S end. Partitioned in 1880s.	Remodelled 1880 as house for clerk as well as office. Snow banked around it for warmth.	Office of post & living quarters for clerk	1889 1895 1898 1901	181, 184-85
Men's House	1886-1888	1905-1910	Log. 1 1/2 storeys. Clapboarded. 39 ft. by 21 1/2 ft. 6 rooms, lined.	None	Housing for Servants	1889 1895 1898 1901	171, 180
Servant's and Pensioner's Cabins (4 bldgs.)	1908	1927	Log, 18 ft. by 20 ft. each.	?	Housing for servants	1923	180

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Big House	1910-11	1930s	Frame. 2 storey. 40 ft. by 30 ft. 4 bedrooms. Weatherboarded.	Painted. Roof repaired after fire, 1911. Kitchen & snow porch added 1916. Kitchen 19 ft. 3 in. by 13 ft. 3 coal stoves.	Officer's summer house. Recreation activities	1923 1928	275, 280
Indian House	?	1919	Perhaps one of servant's houses.	Removed to Sentry Island	Housing for Indians at post.		280
John Gray's House	1922	1927	?	?	Servant's House	1923	271
Servants Houses & Native Quarters	1927	1930s	4 attached dwellings, ft. 3 in. by 12 ft. 2 in. Log. Loft. Saddle roof covered with tar paper.	Wood stoves	Housing for servants & natives.	1928	270-1, 274
Indian Shack	1921?	?	?	?	Council House & warehouse for Chipewyan	1923 1928	388

Appendix B Mission Buildings

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Mission House	1886-91	Fire, 1930s	Frame, 23 ft. by 19 ft., 2 storey. 3 courses of boarding. Lower floor lined, forming 3 rooms.	3 bedrooms added 1889. Kitchen added 1889. Interior taken out & replaced 1890. Upper storey lined 1891. Wall-papered & painted.	House for missionary family & servants	1901 1923 1928	188-212, 292
Iron Church # 1	1875	1895?	Iron, 20 ft. by 15 ft., from York Factory. Stone foundation, 3 windows each side. Sealed with boards inside. Steeple. Bell.	Roof blew off 1878 & replaced	Church & School. Temporary residence 1886	1889	149, 166, 198, 212-3, 226
Iron Church #2	1890-1892	Moved to east peninsula 1936, still there	Iron. 50 ft. by 25 ft.	Painted 1893. Inside boards oiled.	Church & School	1895 1898 1901 1923 1928	

Appendix C Police Buildings

Original Frame Buildings

Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plan	Page refs.
O.C.'s Quarters	1906	1920s?	Frame	Painted. Porch added.	House of Officer in charge.	Sketch 1921	327, 336
Barracks & Surgeon's Quarters	1906	1930s	Frame	Painted. Porch added. 2 rooms altered for Surgeon in 1908. Appear as separate building on sketch 1921. Frame porch added. Cupboards & shelves built.	Rooms for police & doctor's room and surgery. N.C.O.'s rooms.	Sketch 1921	327-337
Q.M.'s Store	1906	1930s	Frame, Coal shed in rear	Painted. Porch added. Joined to Log Store #1 in 1909.	Store police post supplies	Sketch 1921	327, 336
Guard-room	1906-07	1930s	Frame	Painted. 3 wooden cells over floor of broken glass & boulders. Steel cells 1910.	Prison. Storage. Office. Library. Billet.	Sketch 1921	336-7

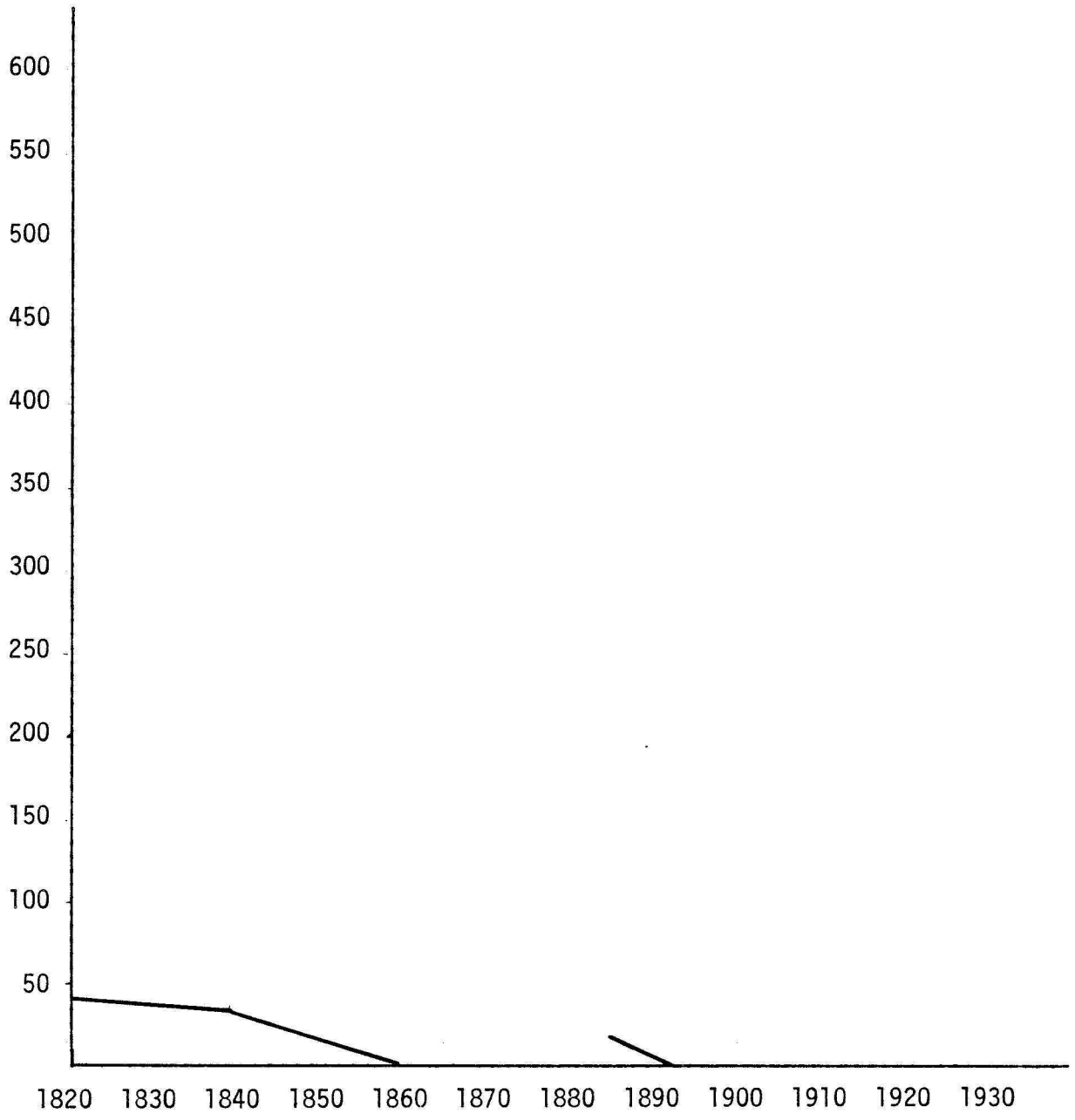
Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included on Plans	Page refs.
Log Store #1	1907	1930s	Log, 30 ft. by 16 ft. Shingled roof.	Whitewashed. Woodwork painted.	Store supplies	Sketch 1921	338
Workshop	1907	1930s	Log. 35 ft. by 18 ft. Large double doors at one end, smaller door at other. Shingle roof.	Whitewashed. Woodwork painted.	Repairs	Sketch 1921	338
Dog Feed Store	1908	1930s	Log. 16 ft. by 16 ft.	Banked with stones, covered with earth, sodded. Roof covered with earth. Whitewashed.	Store dog food.		338-9
Native Quarters	1908-09	1930s	Log. 32 1/2 ft. by 16 ft. Roof covered with roofing felt & tar paper. Red River frame.	Roof shingled in 1912. Ceiling added. Windows changed 1913. Whitewashed. Woodwork painted.	Housing for natives hired by police	Sketch 1921	339
Log Q.M.'s Store #2	1909	1930s	Log. 40 ft. by 15 ft. Joined to Log Store #1. Roof of felt & tar.	Doors cut through to rest of stores, 1911. Whitewashed. Woodwork painted.	Warehouse	Sketch 1921	339, 342

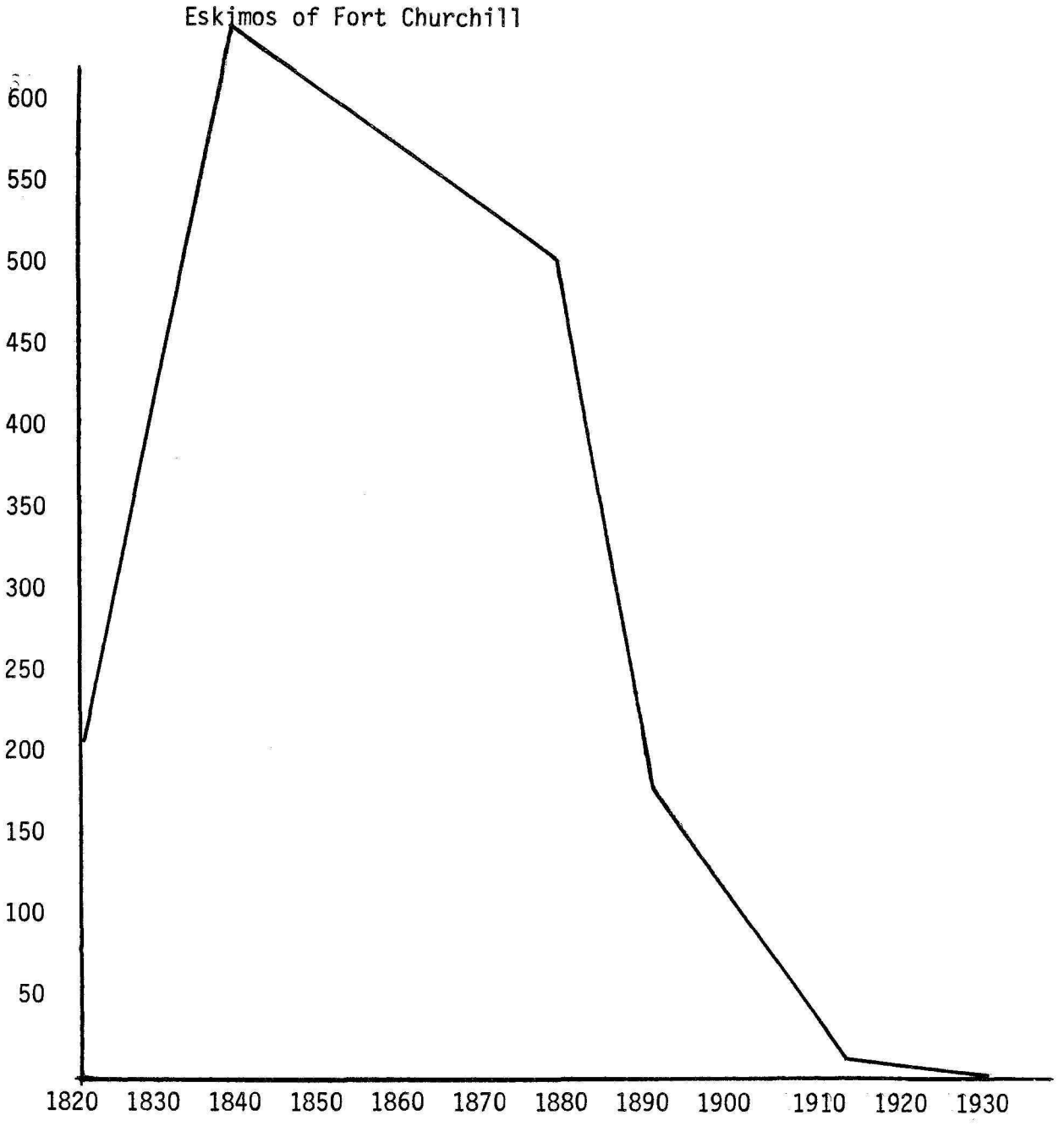
Name of Building	Date of Construction	Date of Demolition	Type of Construction	Upkeep	Use	Included in Plans	Page refs.
Dog Kennels	1909?	1913	Log. 52 ft. by 12 ft.		Room for 40 dogs.		342
Dog Kennels	1913	1930s			Room for 18 dogs.		342-3
Office	1909-10	1930s	Log. 26 ft. by 16 ft. Lined & painted inside. Divided into 2 rooms.	Shelves & cupboards added. Porch sealed & painted 1914. Woodwork painted.	Office for O.C.	Sketch 1921	343
Gas & Tool Store-House	1910	1930s	Log. 16 ft. by 25 ft.		Store flammables.	Sketch 1921	343
Inter-preter's House	1911	1930s	Log. Lean-to roof.	Remodelled with gable roof made with wood from old surveyor's shack at Cockles' Point. Shingled 1913.	House for police interpreter. Warehouse.		348
Forge	1912	1930s	Log.		Store dog feed, boiler, & engine for saw.		348
Portable Frame House	1912	?	Frame		?		348

Appendix D Census of Native Peoples of Churchill 1820 - 1930

Chipewyan of Fort Churchill

Cree of Fort Churchill




Eskimos of Fort Churchill
600
550
500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
1820
1830
1840
1850
1860
1870
1880
1890
1900
1910
1920
1930

Endnotes

Introduction

1. An excellent description of the area can be found in David Meyer, "The Churchill Archaeological Investigations, August 1978", Manuscript Report Series No. 368, Parks Canada, 1979, pp. 1-6.
2. W.A. Kenyon, The Journal of Jens Munk 1619-20 (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1980), presents a recent interpretation of Munk's trip.
3. From the journal it appears that Munk and his men killed a polar bear and ate the meat improperly cooked. It is suspected that they might have suffered from trichinosis as a result. Cf. Delbert A. Young, "Killer on the Unicorn", Beaver, Outfit 303 (Winter 1973), pp. 9-16.
4. A good account of Abraham's discovery and the attempt to establish a post at Churchill are given in E.E. Rich, ed., Copy-Book of Letters Outward (Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1948) (hereafter cited as HBRS), Vol. II, p. 340 and in James F. Kenney, The Founding of Churchill (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1932), p. 18.
5. The details of these battles in the Bay are given in E.E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), Chaps. 2 & 3.
6. cf. James F. Kenney, op. cit. Knight's own account is found in Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as HBCA), B239/a/3, fos. 55-83, York Factory Journal, 1717.
7. HBCA, B239/a/3, fo.79d, 21/8/1717

From Factory to Outpost 1782-1820

1. HBCA, A5/2, fo. 72, 15/5/1782
2. E.E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857, pp. 159-62
3. HBCA, B42/b/44, fo. 1, 21/5/1783
4. HBCA, A5/2, fo.113-14, HB House to Hearne, 19/5/1784. Hearne had been given the same instructions to pursue the whale fishery when he left England, cf.HBCA B42/b/44, fo. 1, 21/5/1783
5. HBCA, B42/a/131, fo. 2, 28/8/1805
6. Ibid., fo. 3
7. HBCA, B42/a/104, fo.4, 11/10/1784
8. HBCA, B42/a/131, fo. 2d, 28/8/1805
9. HBCA, B42/a/114, fo. 27d, 17/7/1790
10. Frequent references to scurvy among the men at York were made in the York journals for the 1780s and 1790s. Joseph Colen was particularly concerned about it.
11. HBCA, B42/a/108, fo. 2d, 5/9/1786
12. HBCA, B42/a/131, fo. 2d, 28/8/1805
13. HBCA, B42/a/104, fo. 3d-4d, 9/10/1784-25/10/1784
14. HBCA, B42/a/108, 22/9/1786
15. HBCA, B42/e/1, District Report, 1818-19
16. HBCA, B42/a/110, fo. 4d, 20/9/1787
17. HBCA, B42/a/140, fo. 31, 14/7/1814
18. HBCA, B42/a/134, fo. 8, 11/5/1809
19. cf. HBCA, A5/2, fo. 80, 28/11/1782
20. HBCA, A24/18, fo. 60-62, 1783
21. HBCA, B42/a/103, fo. 1d, 17/9/1783
22. cf. HBCA, G1/110, Plan of York Factory, 1786. This is a detailed plan which shows how the house was sub-divided at York. A notation on the plan indicates it was intended to be sent to Churchill with Joseph Colen, perhaps as a guide for use there.
23. HBCA, B42/a/106, fo. 5-5d, 28/9/1785 - 1/10/1785

24. Ibid., fo. 11d, 17/11/1785
25. HBCA, B42/d/61, fo. 21d. Samuel Hearne in his first year at Fort Churchill used 114 lbs. of white paint, 34 lbs. of red, 12 lbs. of yellow, 4 lbs. of black and 6 lbs. of green. Some of this was used for the whale-boats but probably some also for the house.
26. HBCA, B42/a/112, fo. 21d, 10/6/1789
27. HBCA, A11/15, fo. 112, 28/8/1785
28. HBCA, B42/a/104, fo. 2d, 27/9/1784
29. HBCA, B42/a/103, fo. 9d, 21/11/1783
30. HBCA, B42/a/103, fo. 6, 21/10/1783 & HBCA, B42/a/104, fo. 27d, 25/6/1785
31. cf. HBCA, A11/15, fo. 118d, 1785
32. HBCA, A5/2, fo. 113-14, 19/5/1784
33. Ibid.
34. HBCA, B42/a/103, fo. 33d, 25/6/1784
35. HBCA, B42/a/106, fo. 2-42, 1785-86
36. HBCA, B42/a/129, fo. 7, May 1804
37. HBCA, B42/a/110, fo. 24, 26/5/1788 & HBCA, B42/a/112, fo. 3, 9/9/1788
38. HBCA, B42/a/118, fo. 3d, 3/10/1792
39. HBCA, B42/a/125, fo. 2, 1/10/1800
40. HBCA, B42/a/128, fo. 4, Jan. 1803
41. HBCA, B42/a/130, fo. 6d, March 1805
42. HBCA, B42/a/103, fo. 31, 1/6/1784
43. HBCA, B42/a/119, fo. 27, 12/7/1794
44. HBCA, B42/a/123, fo. 11, 11/5/1797
45. HBCA, B42/e/11, Report, 1889
46. HBCA, A11/15, fo. 9, 26/8/1774
47. HBCA, B42/b/44, fo. 58
48. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 15d, 7/8/1797
49. HBCA, B42/e/11, Report, 1889
50. HBCA, B42/a/112, fo. 20d, 2/6/1789
51. Diocese of Keewatin Office (hereafter cited as Keewatin), St. Paul's Mission Record Book #1, fo. 49, 9/10/1867

52. HBCA, B42/a/103, fo. 41, 6/8/1784
53. HBCA, B42/a/108, fo. 21d, 11/6/1787
54. HBCA, B42/a/132, fo. 19, July 1807
55. HBCA, B42/a/106, fo. 22, 28/3/1786
56. HBCA, B42/a/127, fo. 1d, 1803
57. HBCA, B42/a/129, fo. 7, May 1804
58. HBCA, B42/a/136, fo. 2, 21/9/1810
59. HBCA, B42/e/2, fo. 3d, Report 1820-21
60. HBCA, B42/a/106, fo. 40d, 10/7/1786
61. HBCA, B42/a/125, fo.10, 17/6/1801
62. HBCA, B42/a/130, fo. 3, October 1804
63. HBCA, B42/f/2, fo. 1d-8, 1804
64. HBCA, A11/15, fo. 126d, 17/8/1786
65. HBCA, A6/15, fo. 141, 30/5/1795
66. HBCA, A11/15, fo. 126d, 17/8/1786
67. HBCA, B42/b/44, fo. 6d, 19/5/1784
68. The structure of English society in the 18th century is masterfully analyzed in Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London: Methuen, 1971).
69. HBCA, B42/b/44, fo. 5d, 25/9/1783
70. HBCA, B42/a/104, fo. 10, 3/1/1785
71. Ibid., fo. 20d, 6/5/1785
72. Ibid., fo. 27d-36, 27/6/1785-30/8/1785
73. HBCA, B42/a/106, fo. 1d, 6/9/1785, fo. 40d, 10/7/1786
74. Ibid., fo. 6, 3/10/1785
75. HBCA, B42/a/110, fo. 7, 12/10/1787
76. HBCA, B42/a/112, fo. 3d, 19/9/1788
77. HBCA, B42/a/114, fo. 1, 26/8/1789
78. Ibid., fo. 1-33d
79. HBCA, B42/a/119, fo. 3d, 23/9/1793
80. HBCA, B42/a/118, fo. 16d, 15/5/1793
81. HBCA, B42/b/34, fo. 5d-6, 18/2/1793
82. HBCA, B42/a/118, fo. 21, 8/7/1793
83. HBCA, B42/a/131, fo. 14, 1/3/1806
84. HBCA, A11/15, fo. 151, 23/8/1789

85. HBCA, B42/a/140, fo. 14, 25/11/1813
86. Ibid., fo. 22d, 8/3/1814
87. Ibid., fo. 31d, 31/8/1814
88. HBCA, B42/a/140, fo. 8, 18/9/1813
89. HBCA, B42/a/140, fo. 8, 18/9/1813
90. Ibid., fo. 14, 25/11/1813
91. Ibid., fo. 19d, 21/1/1814
92. Ibid., fo. 18, 5/1/1814
93. Ibid., fo. 29d, 10/7/1814
94. HBCA, B42/d/100, fo. 52, 1814
95. HBCA, B42/a/140, fo. 23-23d, 15/3/1814-18/3/1814
96. Ibid., fo. 20, 25/1/1814
97. Ibid., fo. 24d-25d, 7/4/1814-15/4/1814
98. Ibid., fo. 30, 14/7/1814
99. HBCA, B42/a/141, fo. 17d, 5/6/1815
100. HBCA, B42/e/11, Report, 1889
101. HBCA, A6/15, fo. 141, 30/5/1795
102. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 5, 5/10/1821
103. HBCA, B42/a/141, fo. 12, 14/2/1815
104. HBCA, B42/a/142, fo. 5-5d, 17/10/1815-8/11/1815
105. HBCA, B42/a/141, fo. 36b, 22/6/1815
106. HBCA, B42/a/144, fo. 3 -3d, 29/9/1818-14/10/1818
107. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 5, 5/10/1821
108. HBCA, B42/a/142, fo. 20, 3/6/1816
109. HBCA, B42/a/148, fo. 63d, 3/6/1818
110. HBCA, B42/e/1, fo. 3, Report 1818-19
111. HBCA, B42/e/2, fo. 3d, Report, 1820-21
112. HBCA, A5/2, fo. 72, 15/5/1782
113. Ibid., fo. 130, 11/5/1785
114. HBCA, B42/a/119, fo. 3d, 26/9/1793
115. HBCA, B42/b/34, fo. 7d, 15/3/1793
116. HBCA, B42/a/119, fo. 1-4, 1793
117. HBCA, B42/z/1, fo. 48-49, 29/11/1797
118. HBCA, B42/a/110, fo. 20, 19/4/1788
119. HBCA, E3/3, fo. 65, 4/8/1807

120. HBCA, A11/15, fo. 105d, 10/9/1784
121. HBCA, B42/b/44, fo. 42, 25/7/1792
122. HBCA, B42/a/119, fo. 10, 6/1/1794
123. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 66, 6/5/1827
124. HBCA, B42/a/136a, fo. 22, Wm. Auld's Memorandum Book, 1810-11
125. HBCA, B42/a/132, fo. 6d, 29/11/1806
126. Ibid., fo. 8, 1/12/1806
127. HBCA, B42/e/2, fo. 2d-3, Report, 1820-21
128. HBCA, B42/a/132, fo. 3, 26/9/1806
129. HBCA, B42/e/4, fo. 4, Report, 1825
130. HBCA, B42/e/1, fo. 4d, Report, 1818-19
131. HBCA, B42/a/104, fo. 27, 22/6/1785
132. HBCA, B42/a/131, fo. 12d, 31/12/1805
133. HBCA, B42/a/136a, fo. 11-12, Wm. Auld's Memorandum Book, 1810-11
134. HBCA, B42/a/138, fo. 7, July 1813
135. HBCA, B42/a/136a, fo. 11d-12, Wm. Auld's Memorandum Book, 1810-11
136. HBCA, B42/a/144, fo. 8, 2/3/1819
137. HBCA, A11/15, fo. 9d, 26/8/1774
138. HBCA, B42/a/110, fo. 8d, 2/11/1787
139. HBCA, B42/a/104, fo. 19, 28/4/1785
140. Jas. G.E. Smith and Ernest S. Burch,Jr., "Chipewyan and Inuit in the Central Canadian Subarctic, 1613-1977," Arctic Anthropology, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (1979), p. 76, maintain that in spite of the tradition that the Chipewyan and Eskimo were always hostile, they often interacted amiably even though they generally felt hostile.
141. In 1808 the Eskimos took guns from the Chipewyan when the Chipewyan were far to the north. HBCA B42/b/51, fo. 2d, 9/3/1808
142. HBCA, B42/a/142, fo. 20d, 13/7/1816. Thirteen families of Chipewyan did this in 1816.

143. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 49, Report, 1822-3
144. HBCA, B42/a/103, fo. 25, 2/5/1784
145. HBCA, B42/a/132, fo. 14, 25/4/1807
146. HBCA, B42/a/112, fo. 25, 18/7/1787
147. HBCA, B42/a/133, fo. 5, 3/4/1808
148. HBCA, B42/a/119, fo. 18d-19, 1/5/1794
149. HBCA, B42/a/144, fo. 8, 2/3/1819
150. HBCA, B42/a/142, fo. 16-18d, April 1816
151. Ibid., fo. 12d-13, 26/2/1816
152. Ibid.
153. HBCA, B42/e/2, fo. 5, Report, 1820-21
154. HBCA, B42/a/145, fo. 140, 23/7/1820
155. HBCA, B42/e/3, fo. 4, Report, 1821-22
156. Arthur Dobbs, An Account of the Countries Adjoining Hudson's Bay (London: J. Robinson, 1744), p. 47
157. cf. HBCA, B42/a/1, fo. 23, 12/9/1718
158. cf. HBCA, B42/a/112, fo. 11d, 6/1/1789
159. HBCA, B42/b/26, fo. 3d, 20/12/1783
160. HBCA, B42/a/103, fo. 8d, 14/11/1783
161. HBCA, B42/b/26, 19/1/1784
162. HBCA, B42/b/47, fo. 4, 10/3/1804
163. HBCA, B42/b/44, fo. 56d, 8/9/1795
164. HBCA, B42/b/29, fo. 1d, 9/1/1787
165. HBCA, B42/b/44, fo. 56d, 8/9/1795
166. HBCA, B42/b/37, fo. 11d
167. HBCA, B42/b/40, fo. 3, Jos. Colen to Wm. Auld, 27/3/1799
168. HBCA, B42/a/124, fo. 8d, 13/12/1797
169. Ibid., fo. 4, 7/10/1797
170. HBCA, B42/a/104, fo. 28d, 28/6/1785-8/7/1785
171. HBCA, B42/e/2, fo. 6, Report, 1820-21
172. HBCA, B239/a/3, fo. 67, 15/7/1717
173. HBCA, B42/a/108, fo. 20, 18/5/1787
174. HBCA, B42/a/114, fo. 9, 18/11/1789
175. HBCA, B42/a/132, fo. 18, 19/6/1807
176. HBCA, B42/a/135, fo. 8, 22/6/1810

177. HBCA, B42/a/121a, fo. 17-18, 2/6/1795
178. HBCA, B42/a/125, fo. 11d, 15/7/1801
179. HBCA B42/a/141, fo. 1d, 1/8/1815
180. cf. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 31, 7/7/1822
181. HBCA, B42/a/130, fo. 1, 3/9/1804
182. HBCA, B42/a/135, fo. 7d, 1/6/1810
183. Ibid., fo. 9, 23/7/1810
184. HBCA, B42/a/138, fo. 2d, 30/8/1812
185. Ibid., fo. 7d, July 1813
186. HBCA, B42/a/140, fo. 30, 12/7/1814
187. HBCA, B42/a/141, fo. 18b, 24/6/1815
188. HBCA, B42/a/142, fo. 20d, 15/7/1816
189. HBCA, B42/a/145, fo. 14, Report, 1819-20

Subsidiary of York 1821-1859

1. HBCA, B42/e/3, fo. 2d, Report, 1821-22
2. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 24, 23/4/1822
3. HBCA, B42/a/186, fo. 42d, 25/6/1852
4. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 57, 30/9/1854
5. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 30, 22/6/1822
6. HBCA, B42/a/151, fo. 23, 9/3/1824
7. HBCA, B42/a/165, fo. 26-26d, 9/5/1836-13/5/1836
8. HBCA, B239/c/8, fo. 235d-236, 7/1/1856
9. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 20d, 8/7/1825
10. HBCA, B42/a/156, fo. 30d, 10/5/1829
11. cf. HBCA, B42/a/166, fo. 28, 26/5/1837 &
    HBCA, B42/a/173, fo. 22d, 19/4/1841
12. HBCA, B42/a/172, fo. 4, 1/7/1839
13. HBCA, B42/a/148, fo. 99d, 10/9/1821
14. HBCA, B42/a/166, fo. 28d, 29/5/1837
15. HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 54, 28/7/1846-3/8/1846
16. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 58, 2/10/1854
17. HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 3d-7d, 21/7/1855-24/8/1855
18. HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 37d, 3/11/1845
19. HBCA, B42/a/186, fo. 52d, 26/8/1852

20. HBCA, B42/d/185, fo. 8, 1855
21. HBCA, B42/e/4, fo. 6, Report, 1825
22. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 20-21d, 15/6/1825-19/7/1825
23. cf. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 30, 13/9/1825 & HBCA, B42/a/156, fo. 13d, 27/10/1828
24. HBCA, B42/a/159, fo. 14, 28/10/1831
25. HBCA, B42/e/4, fo. 6, Report, 1825
26. HBCA, B42/a/157, fo. 11, 1829
27. HBCA, B42/a/160, fo. 14d, 12/10/1832
28. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 17d, 11/6/1825
29. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 10d, 13/7/1853
30. HBCA, B198/a/97, fo. 29d, 24/8/1850
31. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 65-67, 30/4/1827-17/5/1827
32. HBCA, B42/a/167, fo. 10d, 27/9/1837
33. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 64d, 20/4/1827
34. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 54, 18/7/1859
35. HBCA, B42/a/189b, fo. 1, 24/6/1859
36. HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 91, 22/6/1857
37. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 4-5, Report, 1889
38. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 56d, 22/9/1854
39. HBCA, B42/a/159, fo. 11d-28d, 28/9/1831-25/5/1832
40. HBCA, B42/a/159, fo. 28, 21/5/1832
41. HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 57d, 17/9/1856
42. HBCA, B42/a/160, fo. 9d, 24/8/1832
43. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 65-67, 17/5/1827
44. HBCA, B42/a/166, fo. 28d, 29/5/1837
45. Ibid., fo. 28d, 29/5/1837
46. HBCA, B42/a/146, fo. 7, 26/5/1821
47. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 17d, 11/6/1825 & HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 10d, 13/7/1853
48. HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 31d, 14/8/1845
49. HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 58, 22/9/1856
50. HBCA, B239/k/2, fo. 22d, Resolution 73, 1833
51. HBCA, B42/a/137, fo. 2-2d, 7/10/1811
52. HBCA, B42/d/109b, fo. 20d- 21, 1822-23

53. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 15, 17/2/1822
54. HBCA, B42/a/185, fo. 22d, 29/7/1848
55. HBCA, B42/a/189a, fo. 9d, 30/8/1857
56. HBCA, B42/d/109b, fo. 20d-21, 1822-23
57. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 5, 19/9/1822
58. HBCA, B42/b/62, fo. 4, 23/8/1868
59. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 12, 21/7/1853
60. HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 67, 6/12/1856
61. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 62, 22/3/1827
62. cf. HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 59, 24/9/1846 &
    HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 54, 1/9/1854
63. HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 27, 16/6/1845
64. HBCA, B42/a/186, fo. 68d, 3/1/1853
65. HBCA, B239/k/2, fo. 22d, Resolution 73, 1833
66. HBCA, B42/a/161, fo. 6d, 20/8/1833
67. Ibid., fo. 8d-10, 17/10/1833-28/10/1833
68. Ibid., fo. 10, 26/10/1833
69. Ibid., fo. 10-11, 28/10/1833-1/11/1833
70. Ibid., fo. 14d-15, 26/12/1833
71. Ibid., fo. 15d-18, 27/12/1833-1/4/1834
72. HBCA, B42/a/162, fo. 2d, Journal of John Lee Lewes at Churchill, 2/4/1834
73. Ibid., fo. 7, 11/4/1834
74. HBCA, B42/a/166, fo. 7, 7/8/1837
75. HBCA, B42/a/179, fo. 10, 25/9/1843
76. Ibid.
77. cf. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 32, 6/1/1855
78. Ibid., fo. 60, 31/7/1860
79. Ibid., fo. 44d-46.
    Adam travelled on the Schooner which arrived from York 21/7/1856 (HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 50d).
80. HBCA, B42/a/189a, fo. 70, 27/2/1859
81. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 5, 5/10/1821
82. HBCA, B42/a/148, fo. 113d-14, 22/10/1821-26/10/1821
83. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 5d, 23/10/1824

84. HBCA, B42/a/146, fo. 1d, 15/10/1826
85. HBCA, B42/a/156, fo. 12d, 16/10/1828
86. HBCA, B42/a/175, fo. 24-27, 2/5/1842-30/5/1842
87. HBCA, B42/a/185, fo. 68d, 26/9/1849
88. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 61, 4/1/1861
89. Ibid., fo. 14d, 19/6/1851
90. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 18, 30/9/1853
91. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 42, 19/5/1854
92. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 4, Report, 1889
93. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 39-47, 1854
94. Ibid., fo. 47, 28/6/1854
95. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 4, Report, 1889
96. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 58, 4/10/1854 & HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 52-61, 4/8/1856-3/11/1856
97. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 5d, 11/10/1821
98. cf. T. Ritchie, Canada Builds 1867-1967 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 156.
99. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 5d, 11/10/1821
100. HBCA, B42/a/189a, fo. 73, 30/3/1859
101. HBCA, B42/d/175, 1851. Although this inventory is for 1851, it holds true also for 1859, with the addition of the officer's dwelling.
102. HBCA, B42/a/151, fo. 6, 20/9/1823
103. Ibid., fo. 7, 27/7/1823
104. HBCA, B42/e/5, fo. 1, Report, 1827-28
105. HBCA, B42/a/155, fo. 20, 18/12/1827 & HBCA, B42/a/159, fo. 14d, 7/11/1831
106. HBCA, B42/a/172, fo. 16d, 7/12/1839
107. HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 71d, 19/4/1847
108. HBCA, B42/a/177, fo. 15d, 28/11/1842
109. HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 72, 20/4/1847
110. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 67-68, 18/5/1827-26/5/1827
111. HBCA, B42/a/161, fo. 7, 19/9/1833-24/9/1833
112. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 16d-17, 5/6/1825
113. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 66, 9/5/1827

114. HBCA, B42/a/186, fo. 35d-36, 15/5/1852-16/5/1852
115. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 66, 6/5/1827
116. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 88, 7/6/1855
117. HBCA, B42/a/179, fo. 23d, 6/5/1844
118. cf. HBCA, B42/a/151, fo. 16-17, 5/12/1823-9/12/1823
119. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 80, 11/11/1827
120. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 16d-17, 5/6/1825-7/6/1825
121. HBCA, B42/a/156, fo. 1d, 5/6/1828 & HBCA, B42/a/157, fo. 3, 27/6/1829
122. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 29, 8/6/1822
123. HBCA, B42/e/4, fo. 4d, Report, 1825
124. HBCA, B42/a/177, fo. 1d, 10/6/1842
125. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 54, Report, 1822-23
126. HBCA, B42/e/4, fo. 4d, Report, 1825 & HBCA, B42/a/167, fo. 27d, 6/5/1838
127. HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 66, 29/12/1846
128. Ibid., fo. 46, 14/4/1846
129. cf. HBCA, B42/a/161, fo. 2d, 26/6/1833, HBCA, B42/a/169, fo. 6, 23/7/1838 & HBCA, B42/a/185, fo. 13d, 29/4/1848
130. HBCA, B42/a/185, fo. 3d, 21/11/1847
131. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 53, Report, 1822-23
132. HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 79d, 27/3/1857
133. HBCA, B42/a/189a, fo. 19, 1/12/1857
134. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 5d-6, 3/11/1824
135. HBCA, B42/a/175, fo. 13, 9/11/1841
136. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 53-56, Report, 1822-23
137. HBCA, B42/e/5, fo. 2-2d, Report, 1827-28
138. HBCA, B42/e/6, fo. 2d, Report, 1828-29
139. HBCA, B42/e/8, fo. 3, Report, 1832-33
140. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 53-6, Report, 1822-23
141. HBCA, B42/e/9, fo. 3d-4, Report, 1835-36
142. HBCA, B239/z/10, fo. 47-50d, 1838
143. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 56, Report, 1822-23
144. HBCA, B42/e/5, fo. 4, Report, 1827-28
145. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 31, 22/5/1823

146. Ibid., fo. 56, Report, 1822-23
147. HBCA, B42/a/151, fo. 48, 18/7/1824 & HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 4, 30/9/1824
148. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 16, 30/5/1825
149. HBCA, B42/e/4, fo. 4, Report, 1825
150. HBCA, B42/a/152, fo. 23d, 30/7/1825
151. HBCA, B42/a/157, fo. 1b, 10/6/1829
152. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 28, 16/8/1825 & fo. 64, 13/4/1827
153. Ibid., fo. 64, 13/4/1827
154. HBCA, B42/a/159, fo. 3d, 30/6/1831 & HBCA, B42/a/160, fo. 5, 11/7/1832
155. HBCA, B42/a/167, fo. 5d, 20/7/1837
156. Ibid., fo. 20, 19/1/1838
157. HBCA, D5/16, fo. 16a, Wm. Sinclair to Geo. Simpson, 1/1/1846
158. HBCA, B239/z/10, fo. 47-50d, 1838
159. HBCA, B42/a/172, fo. 2, 13/6/1842
160. HBCA, B42/a/155, fo. 23d, 9/8/1848
161. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 12d, 20/12/1850
162. Ibid., fo. 16-18, 26/7/1851-7/1/1852
163. HBCA, B42/a/189a, fo. 12, 4/10/1857. There are no York journals for these years and no reasons for this move are given in the correspondence between York and Churchill.
164. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 46, 6/8/1823
165. HBCA, B42/a/151, fo. 38, 7/7/1824
166. HBCA, B42/e/6, fo. 2, Report, 1828-29
167. HBCA, B42/a/157, fo. 22d, 11/3/1830
168. HBCA, B42/a/162, fo. 5, 25/9/1834
169. HBCA, B42/a/189a, fo. 75, 9/4/1859
170. HBCA, B42/e/5, fo. 1d, Report, 1827-28
171. HBCA, B42/a/186, fo. 67d, 22/12/1852
172. cf. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 31-31d, 7/7/1822 & HBCA, B42/a/155, fo. 2, 10/6/1827
173. HBCA, B42/a/162, fo. 30d, 21/6/1834

174. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 32, 17/7/1822
175. HBCA, B42/e/4, fo. 5, Report, 1825
176. Ibid.
177. HBCA, B42/a/185, fo. 8d, 4/3/1848
178. HBCA, B42/e/4, fo. 3, Report, 1825
179. HBCA, B42/a/147, fo. 18, 26/2/1822
180. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 14, 14/11/1822
181. cf. HBCA, B42/a/172, fo. 6d, 28/7/1839
182. HBCA, B42/a/154, fo. 45, 9/7/1826 &
HBCA, B42/a/183, fo. 70, 13/3/1847
183. HBCA, B42/a/156, fo. 32, 27/5/1829
184. cf. HBCA, B42/a/156, fo. 17, 18/11/1828 &
HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 3d, 31/5/1853
185. HBCA, B42/a/187, fo. 36, 2/4/1854
186. HBCA, D5/12, fo. 130, Rob't Harding to Geo. Simpson, 7/8/1844
187. cf. Jas. G.E. Smith and E.S. Burch, Jr., op. cit., p. 83
188. HBCA, B42/a/189a, fo. 32, 24/3/1858
189. HBCA, B239/z/10, fo. 47-50d, 1838

The Backwater Post 1860-1905

1. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 6, Report, 1889
2. HBCA, B42/e/12, fo. 1d, Report, 1895. HBC also used c. 5 acres (2 hectares) on the east side of the Churchill River for its whale fishery.
3. Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), RG45, Vol. 174, p. 6
4. HBCA, A12/L, 121/1, fo. 20,1/2/1898 & fo. 57, 4/4/1902
5. Ibid., fo. 66, 26/2/1908
6. Ibid., fo. 116, 16/7/1913

6a. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 230, 6/8/1879

7. Tyrrell's description of his arrival at Churchill can be found in PAC, RG45 Vol. 174, File 1937, p. 35.
8. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 56d, 21/10/1893
9. PAC, RG45, Vol. 174, File 1944, pp. 22 & 39

10. Lt. A.R. Gordon, R.N., Report of the Hudson's Bay Expedition of 1886 (Ottawa: Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1886), p. 9.
11. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 44d, 28/7/1905
12. Ibid., fo. 47d-49d, 22/9/1905-9/11/1905
13. HBCA, B42/a/199, 24/6/1906
14. HBCA, B42/e/12, fo. 1d, Report, 1895
15. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 134, 5/10/1874. In this case the stockade was moved a little in hopes of preventing the snow from banking over the officer's dwelling.
16. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 12d, 25/9/1902
17. Charles R. Tuttle, Our North Land (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1885), p. 137.
18. HBCA, B42/a/194, fo. 17d, 25/7/1890
19. Manitoba, Public Archives, MG7 B2, Church Missionary Society (hereafter cited as CMS), A99, Kirkby Journal, 31/5/1871
20. HBCA, B42/a/191, fo. 74, 15/9/1866
21. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 2, 17/1/1871 & fo. 49, 8/2/1872
22. HBCA, B42/d/185, fo. 8, 1855
23. Robert Bell, "Recent Explorations around Hudson's Bay," Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Vol. I, No. 1 (1880), p. 40
24. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 79, 20/6/1866
25. George Simpson McTavish, Behind the Palisades (Victoria: Gray's Publishing Co., 1963), p. 8.
26. HBCA, B42/b/62, fo. 47d, 5/4/1877 & HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 186d, 28/4/1877
27. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 5, Report, 1889
28. HBCA, B42/a/197, fo. 3, 29/8/1898. Cf. Bruce Donaldson, "York Factory: A Land-Use History", Manuscript Report Series No. 444, Parks Canada, 1981, p. 85.
29. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 5, Report, 1889
30. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 83, 8/10/1894
31. HBCA, B42/a/196, fo. 9, 9/6/1895

32. HBCA, G7/1, fo. 57, Fur Trade Districts Plans of Posts, 1898
33. HBCA, B239/aa/56, fo. 13, Inventory, Fort Churchill 1898
34. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 18, 7/9/1903
35. HBCA, B42/a/189b, fo. 80, 20/6/1861
36. HBCA, B42/a/190, fo. 74d, 19/9/1866
37. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 5, Report, 1889
38. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 54, 2/10/1893
39. HBCA, A78/12, fo. 230, 1903
40. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 9, Report, 1889
41. HBCA, D25/6, fo. 279-80, September, 1889
42. HBCA, B239/e/15, fo. 12, 28/1/1890
43. HBCA, FTC Corresp. A92/19/41, 15/11/1922
44. George Simpson McTavish, op. cit., p. 224
45. Anglican Church Archives, MF67-03, Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag, January 1901
46. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 174d, 25/12/1888
47. CMS, A116, 27/12/1889
48. Ibid., 24/12/1890
49. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 44d, 12/10/1883
50. Ibid., fo. 45d, 19/10/1883
51. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 6d, 8/7/1902
52. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 7d, 11/3/1871 & fo. 21b, 12/7/1871 This is probably one of the one-room cabins referred to by McTavish.
53. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 24d, 9/8/1871
54. Ibid., fo. 39d, 27/11/1871
55. Ibid., fo. 59d, 27/5/1872
56. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 137d, 4/10/1887 & fo. 166, 24/9/1888
57. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 132-132d, 31/8/1874-9/9/1874
58. Ibid., fo. 144, 29/4/1875
59. Ibid., fo. 75, 12/10/1872
60. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 4, Report, 1889
61. George Simpson McTavish, op. cit., pp. 114-16

62. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 170, 29/10/1888
63. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 53d - 55, 25/9/1893 - 17/10/1893
64. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 12, 22/2/1892
65. Ibid., fo. 54, 2/10/1893
66. Ibid., fo. 54d, 3/10/1893 - 6/10/1893
67. HBCA, B42/a/140, fo. 31d, 31/8/1814
68. HBCA, B42/e/12, fo. 1, Report, 1895
69. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 59d, 30/11/1893
70. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 21d, 23/10/1882
71. Ibid., fo. 95d-97d, 6/1/1886-21/6/1886
72. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 171, 8/11/1888
73. HBCA, B42/e/12, fo. 1, Report, 1895 &
    HBCA, G7/1, Fur Trade District Plans of Posts, 1898
74. Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag, op. cit.
75. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 60, 10/12/1893
76. Ibid., fo. 81-82d, 17/9/1894-1/10/1894
77. HBCA, B42/e/12, fo. 1, Report, 1895
78. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 251, 20/9/1880
79. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 4, Report, 1889 &
    HBCA, B42/e/12, fo. 1, Report, 1895
80. George Simpson McTavish, op. cit., p. 155
81. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 24d, 4/12/1882
82. George Simpson McTavish, op. cit., p. 155
83. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 27d, 27/4/1904
84. HBCA, B42/a/189b, fo. 52, 25/7/1860
85. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 65, 17/6/1862
86. HBCA, B42/a/191, fo. 74, 15/9/1866
87. Ibid., fo. 88d, 7/1/1867
88. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 39d, 27/11/1871
89. HBCA, B42/a/197, fo. 11, 7/5/1899 & fo. 15, 12/5/1899
90. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 159d, 16/2/1881 &
    HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 7d, 27/2/1882, fo. 15d, 11/7/1882,
    fo. 34, 7/5/1883 & fo. 83d, 7/7/1885
91. HBCA, B42/a/149, fo. 41-46, 21/7/1823-12/8/1823

92. Keewatin, St. Paul's Parish Register, 1823
93. HBCA, B42/a/188, fo. 35, 6/4/1856
94. HBCA, B42/a/190, fo. 28d, 24/9/1862
95. cf. CMS, A87, Gardiner to Chapman, 3/1/1863
96. HBCA, B42/a/190, fo. 29-29d, 6/10/1862-10/10/1862
97. CMS, A87, 25/1/1863-16/5/1863
98. CMS, A99, Kirkby's Journal, 18/4/1871
99. Ibid.
100. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 240-2d, 11/2/1880-13/4/1880
101. CMS, A111, 13/8/1883
102. PAC, RG45, Vol. 174, File 1937, pp. 45-46, 31/10/1880
103. Joseph Lofthouse, <u>One Thousand Miles from a Post Office</u> (London: SPCK, 1922), pp. 41-45.
104. Ibid., p. 52.
105. PAC, RG45, Vol. 174, File 1937, p. 37, 21/10/1893. The donors of this material were mostly Presbyterians from the Ottawa valley; their gift to help establish a mission of another faith represents the ecumenism which too rarely happened in the 19th century missions. Included among the donors was E.B. Eddy, the match king.
106. CMS, A113, 25/9/1885
107. Lofthouse, op. cit., p. 59.
108. CMS, A114, 6/8/1886 & 16/8/1886
109. Ibid., 7/11/1886
110. Ibid., 5/1/1887
111. CMS, A115, 15/2/1888
112. Ibid., Wm. Armit to CMS, 15/1/1889
113. CMS, A116, Lofthouse, Journal, 15/9/1889
114. Ibid., 21/6/1890
115. CMS, A117, 22/3/1891
116. Keewatin, St. Paul's Parish Journal, June 1892.
117. PAC, RG45, Vol. 174, File 1937, p. 37, 21/10/1893
118. Ibid., File 1944, p. 22, 2/10/1894
119. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 4, 16/5/1902
120. HBCA, B42/e/11, fo. 5, Report, 1889

121. cf. HBCA, D20/11, fo. 327, Kirkby to Grahame, 7/12/1878
122. CMS, A101, 11/6/1875
123. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 200, 17/1/1878
124. Charles R. Tuttle, op. cit., pp. 130-4
125. cf. CMS, A101, 13/6/1875
126. Keewatin, St. Paul's Parish Journal, 20/8/1893
127. HBCA, B42/a/194, fo. 19d, 29/8/1890
128. Keewatin, St. Paul's Parish Journal, 21/5/1889
129. HBCA, B42/a/194, fo. 23, 22/10/1890
130. Joseph Lofthouse, op. cit.
131. HBCA, B42/a/194, fo. 25, 22/11/1890
132. Keewatin, St. Paul's Parish Journal, 21/8/1892
133. Ibid., June 1893
134. PAC, RG45, Vol. 174, File 1937, p. 38, 22/10/1893
135. CMS, A116, Lofthouse, Journal, 26/8/1889 & 29/7/1890
136. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 3d, 4/5/1902
137. CMS, A99, Kirkby, Journal, 1871
138. CMS, A112, 25/2/1884
139. CMS, A114, 9/5/1887
140. Ibid., 1/12/1887
141. Ibid., 31/5/1885
142. CMS, A115, 15/7/1887
143. CMS, A113, 2/1/1888 & 6/2/1888
144. HBCA, B42/a/189b, fo. 35, 28/3/1860 & fo. 69d, 23/2/1861
145. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 5, 20/2/1871
146. HBCA, B239/c/14, fo. 34d, 11/3/1863
147. HBCA, B42/a/190, fo. 71d, 27/2/1864
& HBCA, B42/a/191, fo. 53d, 12/3/1866
148. HBCA, B42/a/191, fo. 94d, 25/2/1867
149. Ibid., fo. 79, 24/10/1866
150. HBCA, B42/b/62, fo. 13d, July 1869
151. HBCA, B42/a/190, fo. 80d, 3/5/1864
152. HBCA, B42/a/189a, fo. 45, 5/6/1858 & fo. 58d, 3/11/1858
153. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 237, 8/12/1879
154. HBCA, B42/a/189b, fo. 90-93, 15/10/1861-19/11/1861

155. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 135-7, 28/10/1874-22/11/1874
156. Ibid., fo. 21, 10/7/1871 & fo. 105d, 3/7/1873
157. Ibid., fo. 130b, 3/8/1874
158. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 47, 28/7/1893
159. HBCA, B42/a/190, fo. 24, 28/7/1862
160. HBCA, B239/e/7, York District Report, 1873-74
161. Moosonee and Keewatin Mailbag, July 1900
162. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 29, 1/8/1904
163. HBCA, B42/a/189b, fo. 74, 22/4/1861
164. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 75d-76, 31/12/1865
165. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 13, 26/4/1871
166. Jas. G.E. Smith & Ernest S. Burch, Jr., op. cit., p. 85
167. CMS, A119, 7/2/1896
168. HBCA, B42/a/159, fo. 14, 28/10/1831
169. Ibid., fo. 14, 1/5/1871
170. CMS, A115, 10/5/1888
171. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 5d, 27/10/1891
172. HBCA, B42/b/61, fo. 86, 31/12/1866
173. HBCA, B42/b/62, fo. 4, 2/1/1868
174. HBCA, B239/e/7, York District Report, 1873-74
175. CMS, A114, Lofthouse, Journal, 24/7/1887
176. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 18, 8/6/1871
177. CMS, A87, 3/5/1862
178. CMS, A114, 24/7/1887
179. Keewatin, St. Paul's Parish Journal, August 1893
180. HBCA, B42/a/198, fo. 3, 25/4/1902
181. CMS, A116, 22/7/1890
182. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 23d, 2/8/1871
183. HBCA, B42/b/62, 7/6/1890
184. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 25d, 23/12/1882
185. HBCA, B42/a/196, fo. 1, 24/12/1894
186. Keewatin, St. Paul's Parish Journal, 12/7/1891
187. CMS, A116, Lofthouse to Fenn, 8/1/1891
188. cf. HBCA, A74/4, Report 1894-95 &
HBCA, A74/8, Report,1899

189. HBCA, B42/a/197, fo. 11, 7/5/1899
190. HBCA, A74/9, fo. 23, 31/5/1900
191. HBCA, B42/a/197, fo. 15d, 18/5/1899
192. CMS, A115, 12/5/1888
193. HBCA, B42/z/2, 1881
194. HBCA, B42/e/10, fo. 4d, Report, 1885
195. HBCA, B42/a/189b, fo. 88, 17/9/1861 &
HBCA, B42/a/190, fo. 28, 23/9/1862
196. HBCA, B42/a/192, fo. 92, 13/3/1873 & fo. 259d, 22/2/1881
197. HBCA, B42/a/193, fo. 9d, 12/4/1882
198. HBCA, B42/e/10, fo. 4d, Report, 1885
199. CMS, A115, 2/1/1888
200. Keewatin, St. Paul's Parish Journal, May & October 1893
201. CMS, A114, 27/2/1889
202. HBCA, B42/a/196, fo. 2, 14/1/1895
203. CMS, A118, Lofthouse to Fenn, 7/8/1893
204. HBCA, B42/a/189b, fo. 26-34d, 5/1/1860-23/3/1860
205. HBCA, B42/b/62, fo. 26-26d, 4/11/1871
206. CMS, A99, 28/6/1871
207. HBCA, B42/b/62, fo. 26-26d, 4/11/1871
208. CMS, A115, 28/3/1888
209. Jas. G.E. Smith & Ernest S. Burch, Jr., op. cit., p. 85
210. CMS, A116, Lofthouse to Fenn, 8/1/1891
211. CMS, A87, Gardiner's Journal, 10/1/1860
212. CMS, A87, 1/2/1863 - 25/2/1863 & 9/6/1863
213. HBCA, A74/11, fo. 20, District Report, 31/5/1902
214. HBCA, B42/a/191, fo. 70d, 11/8/1866
215. PAC, RG45, Vol. 174, File 1937, p. 44, 1893
216. HBCA, B42/a/195, fo. 47d, 3/8/1893
217. Ibid., fo. 37, 21/3/1893
218. Jas. G.E. Smith & Ernest S. Burch, Jr., op. cit., p. 85
219. HBCA, B42/z/2, 1881
220. HBCA, B42/e/10, fo. 4d, Report, 1885

The End of an Era 1906-1930

1. Fred Palmer, Report on the Selection of a Terminal Port for the Hudson Bay Railway (London:n.p., 1927), p. 34.
2. Angus MacIver and Bernice MacIver, Churchill on Hudson Bay (Churchill: Churchill Ladies' Club, 1982), pp. 182-3. According to MacIver the buildings of Fort Churchill were sold for a nominal sum on condition they be removed from the site withing six months. In fact they were not removed until 1938.
3. HBCA, B42/b/65, 20/7/1910
4. HBCA, B42/a/206, fo. 120, 19/1/1927
5. HBCA, B42/a/205, 2/4/1922
6. HBCA, A28/26, fo. 50-51, 1910
7. Ibid., fo. 70, 1912
8. Ibid., fo. 114, 25/5/1917
9. HBCA, D.FTR/9, fo. 67, 19/8/1919
10. PAC, RG18A1, Vol. 385, File 125, Report, 5/7/1910
11. Ibid., Vol. 334, File 163, Diary, 26/12/1906
12. HBCA, B42/a/205, fo. 99, 7/2/1922
13. A list of the books in the library at Churchill can be found in HBCA, A92/19/86, fo. 236-43, July 1926. At the time about 400 books were listed, most of which were novels.
14. HBCA, B42/a/205, fo. 37, 14/11/1920
15. HBCA, B42/a/206, fo. 128, 22/3/1927
16. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 258 (1928) and HBCA, B42/a/204, 30/10/1919
17. HBCA, B42/a/205, fo. 155-8, 3/5/1923-9/6/1923
18. HBCA, B42/a/200, fo. 171, 25/6/1913
19. Ibid., fo. 148-9, 16/9/1912-10/10/1912
20. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 253 (1923)
21. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 258 (1928)
22. Ibid.
23. HBCA, B42/a/200, fo. 71, 11/7/1910
24. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 253 (1923)

25. Ibid., Outfit 258 (1928)
26. HBCA, B42/a/201, 9/6/1914
27. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 253 (1923)
28. Ibid., Outfit 258 (1928)
29. HBCA, G7/9, Outfits 253 (1923) and 258 (1928)
30. HBCA, B42/a/200, fo. 69, 18/6/1910
31. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 253 (1923)
32. HBCA, B42/a/200, fo. 69, 11/6/1910
33. HBCA, B42/a/205, fo. 122, 8/7/1922
34. HBCA, B42/a/206, fo. 35, 2/11/1924
35. Ibid., fo. 56, 8/6/1925
36. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 258 (1928)
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. HBCA, B42/b/65, 19/7/1910
40. HBCA, B42/a/199, 18/5/1908
41. HBCA, B42/a/200, fo. 2d, 21/9/1908
42. HBCA, B42/a/204, 25/7/1919
43. HBCA, B42/a/205, fo. 127, 31/8/1922
44. HBCA, B42/a/206, fo. 36, 1/11/1924
45. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 253 (1923)
46. HBCA, G7/9, Outfit 258 (1928)
47. HBCA, B42/a/199, 3/7/1906
48. PAC, RG18A1, Vol. 334, File 163, 23/1/1907
49. HBCA, B42/a/200, fo. 169, 26/5/1913
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51. HBCA, A28/26, fo. 70, 1912
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cf. David Meyer, op. cit., p. 32. Meyer states that his investigation of the Button Bay site (which appears to conform to the Sea Horse Gully area of the historical references) indicates that this site was not used by the Eskimos in the late 19th century.

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