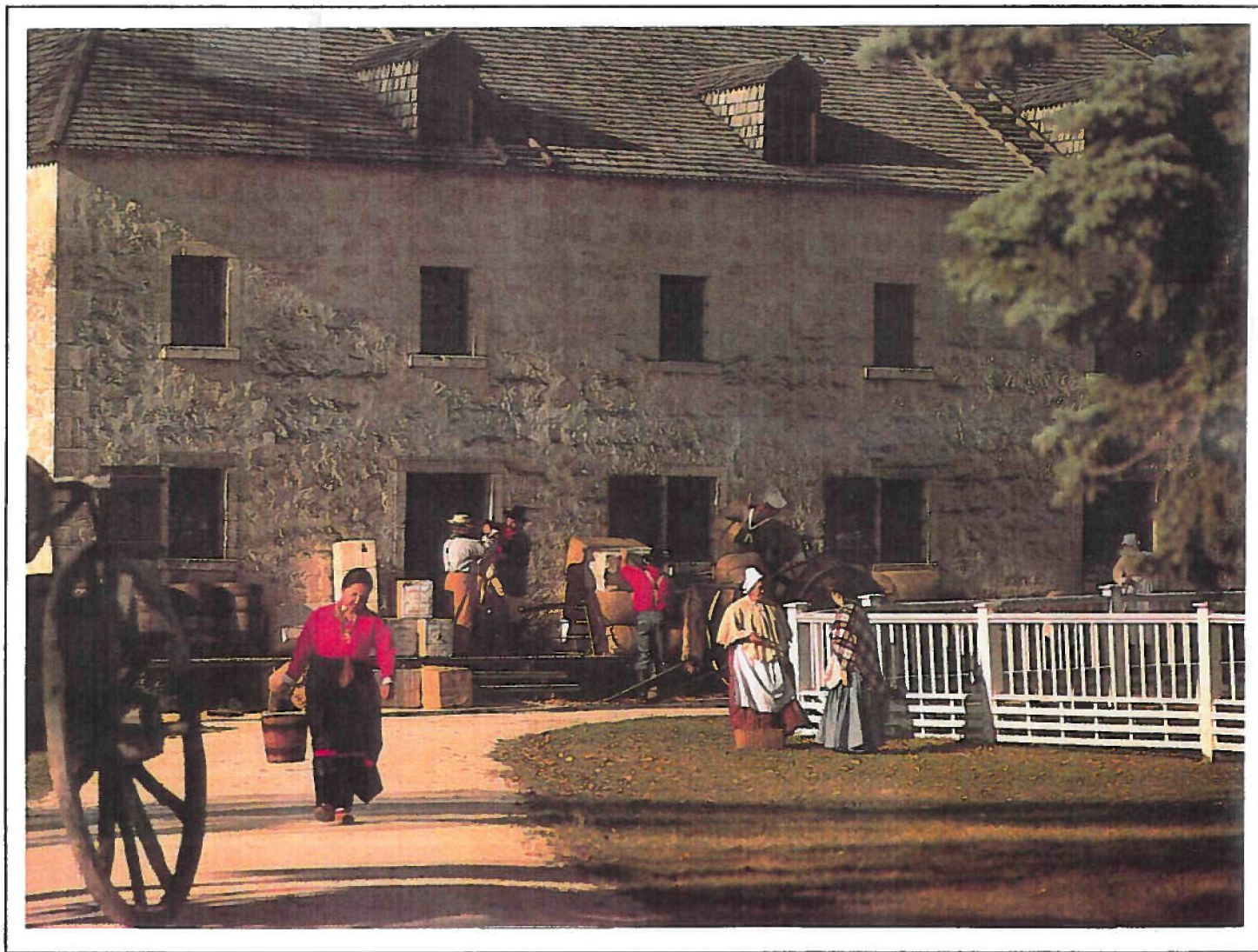


LOWER FORT GARRY: AN OPERATIONAL HISTORY, 1911 - 1992



***Robert Coutts
1993***

***Historical Services
Canadian Parks Service
Prairie and Northern Region
Winnipeg, Manitoba***

***LOWER FORT GARRY: AN OPERATIONAL
HISTORY, 1911 - 1992***

Robert Coutts
Canadian Parks Service
Prairie and Northern Region

1993

*Historical Services
Canadian Parks Service
Prairie and Northern Region
Winnipeg, Manitoba*

LOWER FORT GARRY: AN OPERATIONAL HISTORY, 1911-1992
by Robert Coutts

<i>i</i>	Table of Contents
<i>iii</i>	List of Figures
<i>v</i>	Preface
1	Introduction
5	I. A Brief History of Lower Fort Garry to 1911
15	II. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Commemoration and Acquisition of Lower Fort Garry, 1911-1951
24	III. The Automobile Comes to the Stone Fort: The Motor Country Club at Lower Fort Garry, 1913-1963
34	Repairs and Renovations, 1913-1951
41	IV. Operations and Maintenance, 1951-1965
61	V. Land Acquisition, 1951-1988
67	VI. Restoration and Reconstruction, 1965-1992
68	Museum/Retail Store
70	The Big House
76	Saleshop/Furloft
78	South West Bastion
80	North East Bastion/Powder Magazine
81	South East Bastion
81	Ross Cottage
82	Farm Manager's Cottage
83	Blacksmith Shop
84	Warehouse
86	Doctor's Office
87	Men's House
89	North West Bastion Bakehouse
90	The Walls
92	Agricultural and Industrial Complexes
95	Landscape

96	VII. Research
96	Introduction
96	Historical Research
100	Archaeological Research
106	Building Restoration Reports and Research
106	Curatorial Research
108	Conclusions
110	VIII. Planning, Interpretation and Site Operations, 1965-1992
110	Planning
115	Interpretation
122	Operations
125	IX. The Hudson's Bay Company Collection at Lower Fort Garry
125	Introduction
125	The Origins of the Collection and the HBC Museum
127	The Provincial and Federal Governments and the Transfer of the Collection
129	The Transfer of the Collection to Lower Fort Garry
130	Custodial Care
133	X. The Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association
137	XI. The Regional Restoration Workshop at Lower Fort Garry
139	XII. Conclusions

Appendices

144	<i>Appendix A: Copies of Letters Between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Government of Manitoba Regarding the Transfer of the HBC Collection, 05 August 1960 and 10 August 1960.</i>
147	<i>Appendix B: Copy of Agreement Outlining the Transfer of the HBC Collection from the Provincial Government of Manitoba to the Federal Government, 27 April 1962.</i>
150	<i>Appendix C: Description of Object Types Contained in the HBC Collection, Source: Hudson's Bay Company Collection Task Group, "Collection Analysis", unpublished Canadian Parks Service Report, on file in PNRO, 8406-1, 20 June 1991.</i>
152	<i>Appendix D: By-laws of the Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association Inc.</i>

160 **Bibliography**

170 **Index**

Figures

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| 6 | 1 | Lower Fort Garry, 1830-1875. |
| 8 | 2 | George and Frances Simpson, n.d. |
| 9 | 3 | Lower Fort Garry, by George Finlay, 1847. |
| 10 | 4 | Fort Interior, 1830-1875. |
| 12 | 5 | Upper Fort Garry, by A. Mortimer, c.1870. |
| 12 | 6 | York Factory, 1853. |
| 16 | 7 | The Big House from the southwest, 1895. |
| 18 | 8 | HBC garden party at Lower Fort Garry, 1890s. |
| 20 | 9 | Signing of Treaty Number One at Lower Fort Garry, 1871. |
| 21 | 10 | Lower Fort Garry from near the west gate, 1890s. |
| 22 | 11 | Dog sleds preparing to leave Lower Fort Garry, <i>ca.</i> 1900. |
| 26 | 12 | Map of Lower Fort Garry, 1926. |
| 28 | 13 | Big House (MCC Clubhouse), Lower Fort Garry, 1916. |
| 32 | 14 | View from the east side of the Red River of Hudson's Bay Company Pageant at Lower Fort Garry, 1920. |
| 33 | 15 | Hudson's Bay Company Pageant at Lower Fort Garry, 1920. |
| 36 | 16 | Lower Fort Garry showing Retail Store prior to demolition in 1924. |
| 38 | 17 | Automobiles parked alongside east wall, lower Fort Garry, <i>ca.</i> 1930. |
| 43 | 18 | Lounge in the basement of the Big House, <i>ca.</i> 1957. |
| 44 | 19 | Interior of the Big House, 1936. |
| 45 | 20 | Big House, Lower Fort Garry, as MCC Clubhouse, 1955. |
| 47 | 21 | Saleshop/Furloft, Lower Fort Garry, 1955. |
| 48 | 22 | Men's House, Lower Fort Garry, 1955. |
| 50 | 23 | Doctor's Office, Lower Fort Garry, 1955. |
| 53 | 24 | Interior of the Big House parlour, 1936. |
| 65 | 25 | Map depicting various parcels of land acquired by the federal government at Lower Fort Garry, 1965. |

73	26	Restoration of the Big House, Lower Fort Garry, 1967.
75	27	Opening of the restored Big House, Lower Fort Garry, 1969.
83	28	Farm Manager's Cottage, Lower Fort Garry, 1990.
84	29	Reconstructed Blacksmith's Shop at Lower Fort Garry, 1992.
93	30	A portion of the Industrial Complex at Lower Fort Garry, 1879.
101	31	Archaeological excavations at the Industrial Complex, 1966.
102	32	Archaeological investigations at the Agricultural Complex, 1966.
104	33	Map depicting archaeological investigations outside the walls of Lower Fort Garry.
105	34	Map depicting archaeological investigations inside the walls of Lower Fort Garry.
115	35	Interior of the furnished Salesshop/Furloft building, 1988.
116	36	Animators loading a York Boat at Lower Fort Garry, <i>ca.</i> 1978.
118	37	Animators loading a Red River cart, Lower Fort Garry, 1988.
120	38	Blacksmith in the restored Blacksmith Shop, 1978.
121	39	Period animation at Lower Fort Garry, 1990.
123	40	Period animation in the dining room of the Big House, 1988.
133	41	Participants in the annual August Rendezvous, Lower Fort Garry, 1988.

Preface

This report was written in response to a request from the management planning team for Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site. At the commencement of the planning process the team required more contextual information on the history of the fort after its closing by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1911, especially during the period of intensive development that occurred at the site between 1965 and 1980. This study represents an expanded version of a report prepared for the team which was included as part of the document "Lower Fort Garry Management Plan: Issue Analysis and Background Information." It was printed by the Prairie and Northern Regional Office of the Canadian Parks Service and circulated in 1992.

Since the mid-1960s a considerable amount of research has been carried out by the Canadian Parks Service (and its predecessors) on various aspects of the 19th century history of Lower Fort Garry. We now possess a fairly large body of information on such themes as transshipment, agriculture and daily life at the fort in the historic fur trade period. Far less, however, is known about the site's role as the home of the Manitoba Motor Country Club between 1913 and 1963, its commemoration as a national historic site in 1925 and acquisition by the federal government in 1951, and perhaps most importantly, the long history of development and restoration which has made Lower Fort Garry one of the premier historic sites in Canada.

In many ways the story of Lower Fort Garry reveals much about the history of heritage preservation and tourism in Canada in the post-War period, and in particular about the important role of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the National Historic Sites Division. Emphasis by the federal government, especially in the 1960s, upon the perception of the fur trade as a major contributor to a "nation-building" tradition, along with the selection and development of sites like Lower Fort Garry to represent this tradition, have had an undeniable impact upon the way many Canadians view their own past. Visitor statistics alone might suggest that the way historic sites such as Lower Fort Garry interpret -- one hesitates to say manipulate -- the past, influences historical consciousness more than most other forms of communication. How and why this interpretation developed as it did and why Lower Fort Garry (arguably a minor post in the fur trade) was chosen by the federal government to be a major heritage development in Western Canada reveals much,

not only about what historian Eric Hobsbawm calls the "invention of tradition", but what Michael Payne and Jim Taylor have recently referred to as the "traditions of invention" at commemorated fur trade sites.¹

I wish to thank a number of people who helped in both the research and preparation of this manuscript. These include Candace Loewen, formerly with the Government Records Division of the National Archives of Canada, Canadian Parks Service staff at Lower Fort Garry, especially Edwina Hoogenberg, Sharon Thomson of Historical Services who spent many hours editing and formatting the manuscript, Richard Stuart who read and commented on an earlier draft, and Jeannette Morin who typed much of the report. It goes almost without saying that all errors of fact and omission are my own.

¹ C.J. Taylor and M.B. Payne "The Invention of Tradition and Traditions of Invention at Fur Trade Sites: Animated Adventures in the Skin Trade, Paper presented at the Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, Winnipeg, February 1992, p. 1.

Introduction

In *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites*, historian C.J Taylor argues that the selection and interpretation of historic sites in this country has largely been determined by competing local, ethnic and political perspectives.¹ Initially, notions of heritage and commemoration were inextricably linked to the perceived "triumph" of Anglo-British culture and institutions in Canada. As is the case with most triumphs, the desire to look back, to celebrate the past and the people who were considered to be instrumental in "building" the country, was strong. Military sites, pioneer life, and the lives of famous male politicians and leaders formed the cornerstones of this commemoration and led to the selection by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada of a number of early European settlement and battle sites in Central Canada. The Board's commemoration of these sites provided official recognition for a "nation-building" tradition, a tradition which might, it was hoped, help a "young" country (as Canada viewed itself) not only to understand its past, but celebrate the hegemony of its dominant British culture and heritage.

In Western Canada, however, it was the fur trade that best represented a nation-building mythology and provided the necessary link between savage wilderness and civilization. The notion of the fur trade as having paved the way for later agricultural settlement remained a persistent theme in Canadian historiography as expressed in the staples theory of Harold Innis. The colony to nation model, and the creation of serviceable historical traditions, presented the fur trade as the forerunner of Canadian hegemony in Western Canada, a kind of Canadian version of the "winning of the West". The bonus, of course, was that the story of the fur trade was perceived to be a colourful one, especially when it was enlivened by intrepid voyageurs, taciturn (and occasionally menacing) Indians, and dour (but indomitable) Scots and Orcadians.

Government initiatives to develop the lower fort as a major heritage attraction in Western Canada were in large part a response to the growth of tourism in the country, itself the product of increasing time for leisure and recreation and the role of the automobile in providing mobility for an increasingly affluent middle class. Lower Fort Garry had much

¹ C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites*, Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 1990, pp. 3-31.

to offer as a heritage site and tourism destination, even if its actual role in the fur trade was largely peripheral. Relatively close to a major urban centre (Winnipeg), the fort boasted original and largely intact stone structures from the fur trade period in a setting that was both bucolic and easily accessible. At a time when heritage commemoration focussed on the intrinsic value of extant historic structures as Whiggishly indicative of a dominant settlement theme in Canadian historiography (a kind of "no building, no history" model of commemoration), Lower Fort Garry represented the ideal historic site.

Developed initially as the location for a fur trade museum, containing the "relics" of the past, Lower Fort Garry soon evolved into the fur trade equivalent of the pioneer village. Costumed interpreters in restored and reconstructed buildings animated daily life as it was in the 19th century, or at least as it was imagined to be by modern interpretive specialists. "Living history", itself a form of reconstruction, was much in vogue by the early 1970s following the success of such sites as Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, Louisbourg in Nova Scotia and Sturbridge Village. Interestingly, the development of a living history program at Lower Fort Garry paralleled the rise to prominence in heritage circles of the Interpretation "professional" - one supposedly skilled in making "dull" history exciting for the average visitor.

The perception of the colonizing role of the fur trade is evident in the selection of historic sites by the HSMB in Western Canada during the 1920s. Three of the earliest sites commemorated by the Board in the West were Fort Langley in British Columbia, Prince of Wales's Fort at Churchill and Lower Fort Garry. As mentioned above, Lower Fort Garry was selected in 1925, not for its role in the fur trade, but as the location for the signing of Treaty Number One in 1871. The wording of the original plaque, which was affixed to the west wall of the fort in 1929, made clear that the settlement and "civilization" of the 19th century Canadian West were the dominant commemorative themes at Lower Fort Garry. In this respect, the fort's historic role was largely symbolic, being simply the location at which these events transpired.

Following the Second World War, and the emergence of a growing interest in heritage and historic sites, Lower Fort Garry and its collection of historic buildings attracted attention as a potential historic site, or more accurately, as an historic museum. But while occasional efforts were made by local interests to secure federal or provincial funding for

development at the site, the fort's occupation by the Manitoba Motor Country Club (MCC) after 1913 dampened any government enthusiasm to pursue these initiatives.

The Manitoba Motor Country Club, founded in 1904 in the wake of the growing popularity of automobile "touring" in the West, established its club headquarters at the fort in 1913. The club remained there until 1963. During its long occupancy at Lower Fort Garry the MCC refitted a number of the original site buildings, including the Big House (originally constructed in 1831) which became the main clubhouse, and the Warehouse (constructed in 1838) which was converted to locker rooms. The MCC also established a nine-hole golf course immediately south of the fort and carried out extensive changes to the fort landscape. Trees and flower beds were planted as the fort took on less the look of a fur trade post and more that of an exclusive private club for the business elite of Winnipeg.

Growing pressure to make the historic lower fort (still owned by the Hudson's Bay Company) accessible to an increasingly heritage conscious and affluent population following Word War II led to its acquisition by the federal government in 1951. The MCC, however, continued to occupy the site on a lease arrangement with the government but was now forced to allow limited visitor access to the site. With the expiration of the MCC lease in 1963, the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources undertook an extensive restoration program at the fort beginning with the construction of a fur trade museum to house the Hudson's Bay Company Collection and the restoration of the Big House. Over the next two decades the rest of the extant buildings at the fort were restored to their 19th century appearance. In the early 1970s the fort blacksmith shop was reconstructed, while the historic Fraser Cottage was relocated to the site from North Kildonan. Accompanying these restorations was an extensive archaeological, historical and curatorial research program carried out by the National Historic Sites Division in Ottawa. The limited interpretation program of the 1960s was expanded in the 1970s to a full scale animation program which saw costumed seasonal interpreters role-playing a variety of historical personalities who lived and worked at the fort in the 1850s and 1860s. During this period of development of national historic sites across the country, Lower Fort Garry became the major showpiece site in Western Canada, rivaling the restoration program carried out at the Halifax Citadel and at Louisbourg. As heritage tourism grew in the 1970s, visitation

at Lower Fort Garry expanded, making the fort one of the most heavily visited sites in the West.

With expanded development came the growth of the fort's administrative infrastructure, the building of a major visitor centre and later, the creation of the Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association. While declining visitation and budget cuts since the mid-1980s have had their impact at Lower Fort Garry, the fort remains to this day one of the major heritage developments in Western Canada.

The following chapters trace the growth of this development at the fort over eight decades and provide an analysis of Lower Fort Garry's evolution from abandoned fur trade post, through its years as a private country club, to its development as a national historic site and major tourist destination in Western Canada. In many ways the story of Lower Fort Garry is the story of the post-1960 heritage movement in Canada during what Taylor identified in *Negotiating the Past* as the "era of the big project".²

² Ibid., pp. 169-190.

I. A Brief History of Lower Fort Garry to 1911

During the expansion of the North American fur trade in the late 19th century the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers became the natural axis for developing north-south and east-west trade and transportation systems. Important as a location for pemmican processing, storage and transshipment, the Forks also provided traders with access to the prime fur regions of the Swan River, Saskatchewan, English River and Athabaska districts.

In 1811 the Hudson's Bay Company, locked in bitter rivalry with the opposition Nor'Westers, supported the establishment of the Selkirk colony at the Forks. For the London-based company a colony at the Forks was useful to help disrupt the critical east-west supply lines of the NWC, as well as serving as a potential labour pool and a source of provisions for the boat brigades that traveled the lakes and rivers of the West.

After the union of the two companies in 1821 the HBC occupied Fort Gibraltar, the old North West Company post at the Forks, renaming it Fort Garry. In 1826, a severe flood destroyed much of Fort Garry, prompting George Simpson, the recently appointed overseas governor, to establish a new fort to the north beyond the rapids at St. Andrew's, at a height of land out of danger from the fluctuating waters of the Red River.

Construction began on Simpson's "solid comfortable establishment" in 1831 under the direction of stonemason Pierre LeBlanc. LeBlanc first erected a substantial two and one-half storey stone residence facing the river. Later this "Big House" was flanked by a stone saleshop and warehouse, each three storeys high, seventy-five feet long and thirty-five feet wide. The Saleshop/Furloft was completed by the end of 1832 and the Warehouse sometime around 1838.

Simpson and his new bride Frances remained at Lower Fort Garry, the name given to the new establishment, for only a brief period. Throughout its history Lower Fort Garry was also called "the lower fort" and "the stone fort". Among the french-speaking inhabitants of the Red River it was often referred to as "fort de Pierre" after its early builder Pierre LeBlanc, or as a translation of "the stone fort". While the new fort possessed certain geographical advantages over old Fort Garry at the Forks, it was removed from the more densely populated lower Assiniboine and upper Red River communities. The 20 mile journey from the Forks to LFG was a nuisance for the farmers and plains hunters who customarily sold their provisions at the Forks. In 1834, upon the recommendation of

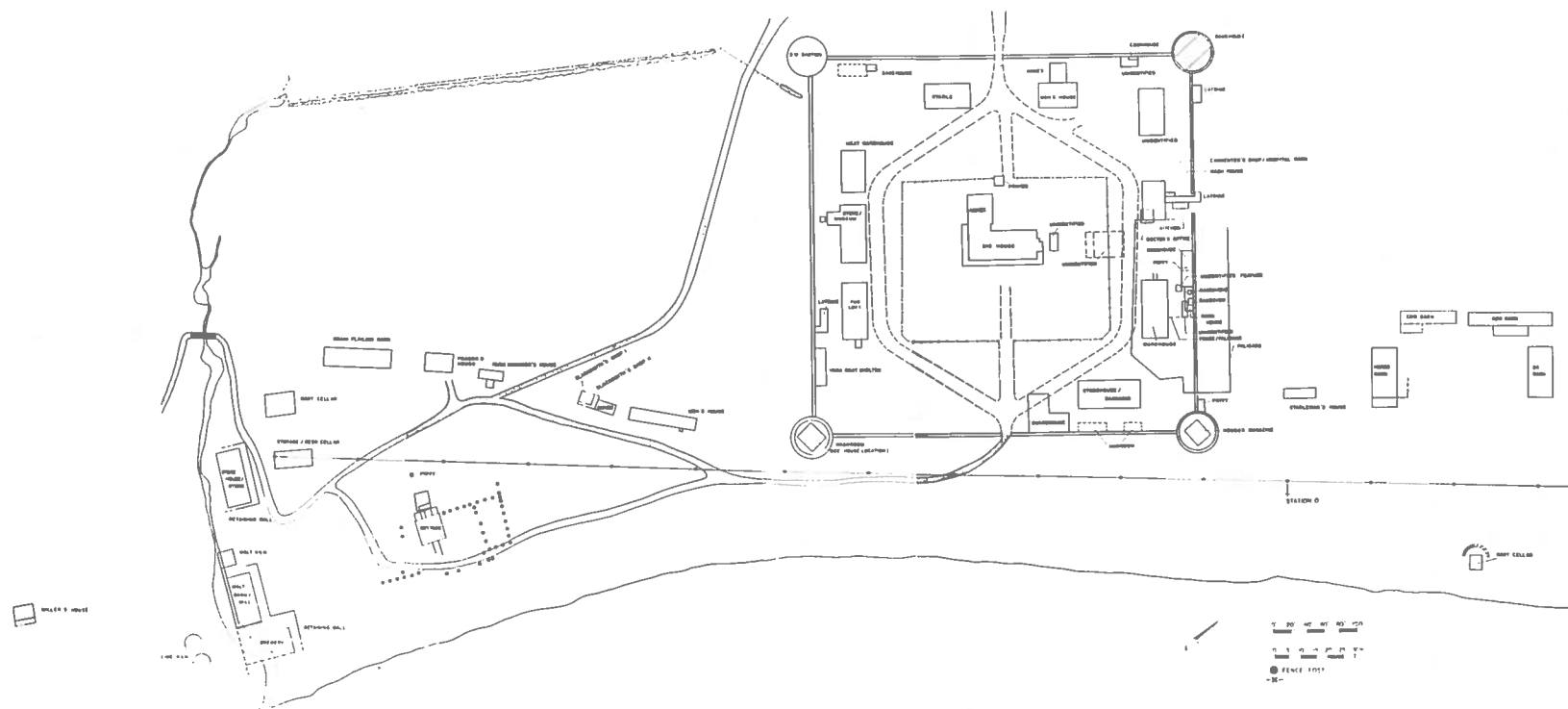


Figure 1: Lower Fort Garry, 1830-1875.

Alexander Christie, the Governor of Assiniboia, Simpson agreed that the old post at the Forks be rebuilt. The new stone fort at the river junction, called "Upper Fort Garry" was completed in 1838. Thus, after six short years, LFG lost its status as the southern headquarters of the fur trade as the Company's administrative, supply and retail apparatus returned to the Forks.

After a short period of decline Lower Fort Garry once again became a centre of activity in the Red River District. Having lost its brief status as the colony's commercial and administrative nerve centre, it proved well-suited to a new role: that of a transshipment and provisioning centre and an assembly point for the brigades which traveled the Red River-Portage La Loche-York Factory route. The warehouse facilities at the fort were used for the storage of the local supply of fur, pemmican and agricultural produce that the Company hoped would help provision both their bayside and interior posts. The annual York Boat brigades which transported these goods left Red River in June for Norway House, where their packs were re-distributed for shipment either to the northern interior or to York Factory.

By the 1850s this fur trade transportation system had begun to undergo a revolution. In 1852 the first American railway had reached the Mississippi, making it feasible for the Hudson's Bay Company to ship goods via New York, by rail to the Mississippi, steamboat to St. Paul and on to Red River by cart train. It was not until 1858, though, that a portion of the Red River outfit was first brought in via St. Paul, and while this route was used more and more each year after this date, it did not fully displace the traditional York Factory route until 1875.

Throughout the late 1860s and early 70s, as an ever-increasing volume of goods and furs was transported over the southern route, Lower Fort Garry became a depot and supply point for the northern destinations. Yearly outfits bound for the interior were now made up at the lower fort, rather than at Norway House or York Factory. By 1872, steamboats operating on the river transportation routes like the Red, Assiniboine and Saskatchewan soon superseded the cart trains from the south. Eventually, even these were replaced by the coming of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s.

Aside from its expanded role in the Company's transportation network, Lower Fort Garry was also home to several annual councils of the HBC Northern Department during

the 1840s. Various Company or settlement officials resided in the Big House or the cottage during this period, including Adam Thom, the Chief Recorder, or judge, in Rupert's Land. While being used as a retreat or overflow facility for officials at the upper fort, Lower Fort Garry had a role of its own to play in the "lower settlement", or the parishes of St. Andrew's, St. Clement's and St. Peter's. These communities all relied on the saleshop at Lower Fort Garry for their supplies of imported goods and as a market for their excess farm produce. Cree and Ojibwa people from the settlement at St. Peter's purchased goods at the fort and also worked seasonally at the LFG farm and at the adjacent fishery. Native women manufactured biscuit bags and other "country" items that were used by the fort to supply other inland posts.

Lower Fort Garry also played an important role in the Hudson's Bay Company's attempts in the 1840s to restrict the growing number of free traders in Red River. The Sixth



Figure 2: George and Frances Simpson, n.d. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba/N6459.

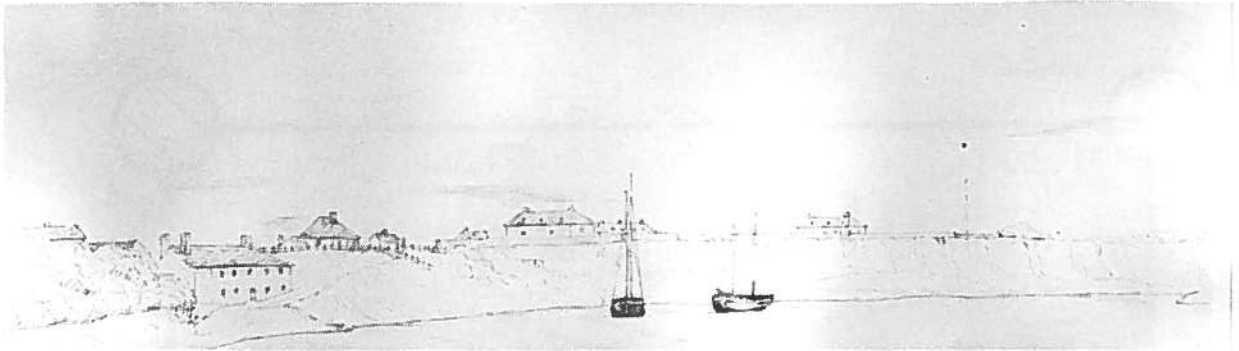


Figure 3: Lower Fort Garry, by George Finlay, 1847 (Glenbow-Alberta Archives/George Finlay Collection/58.24.73).

Regiment of Foot, the Royal Warwickshires, arrived in the settlement in 1846 and approximately half, or about 150 men, were quartered at the lower fort. The enlisted men of the regiment occupied the Saleshop and Warehouse buildings, while the officers were quartered in the Big House. During the regiment's two year stay at the lower fort, the Company removed its operation from inside the walls to the buildings south of the fort near the creek.

With the growth of an independent Métis economy in the West by the late 1840s came the challenge by native peoples to the Company's claims to a trade monopoly in the region. In the wake of the Sayer trial of 1849, which effectively ended attempts by the HBC to enforce its long outdated charter, George Simpson endeavoured to restore some of the Company's crumbling power base in Red River by means of influence and diplomacy. To this end Eden Colvile, the son of the Deputy Governor in London, Andrew Colvile, was appointed Associate Governor of Rupert's Land on 3 January 1849. With Colvile taking up residence in the colony in 1850, as Simpson was now living in Lachine, it was hoped that the influence of his position would help restore some of the Company's lost prestige. Shortly after his arrival at the Big House at Lower Fort Garry, Colvile began to make a number of changes. He demoted Adam Thom (renowned in the the community for his anti-Métis sympathies) to clerk of the court, admitted Métis to the Council of Assiniboia, and appointed a bilingual Recorder, F.G. Johnson.

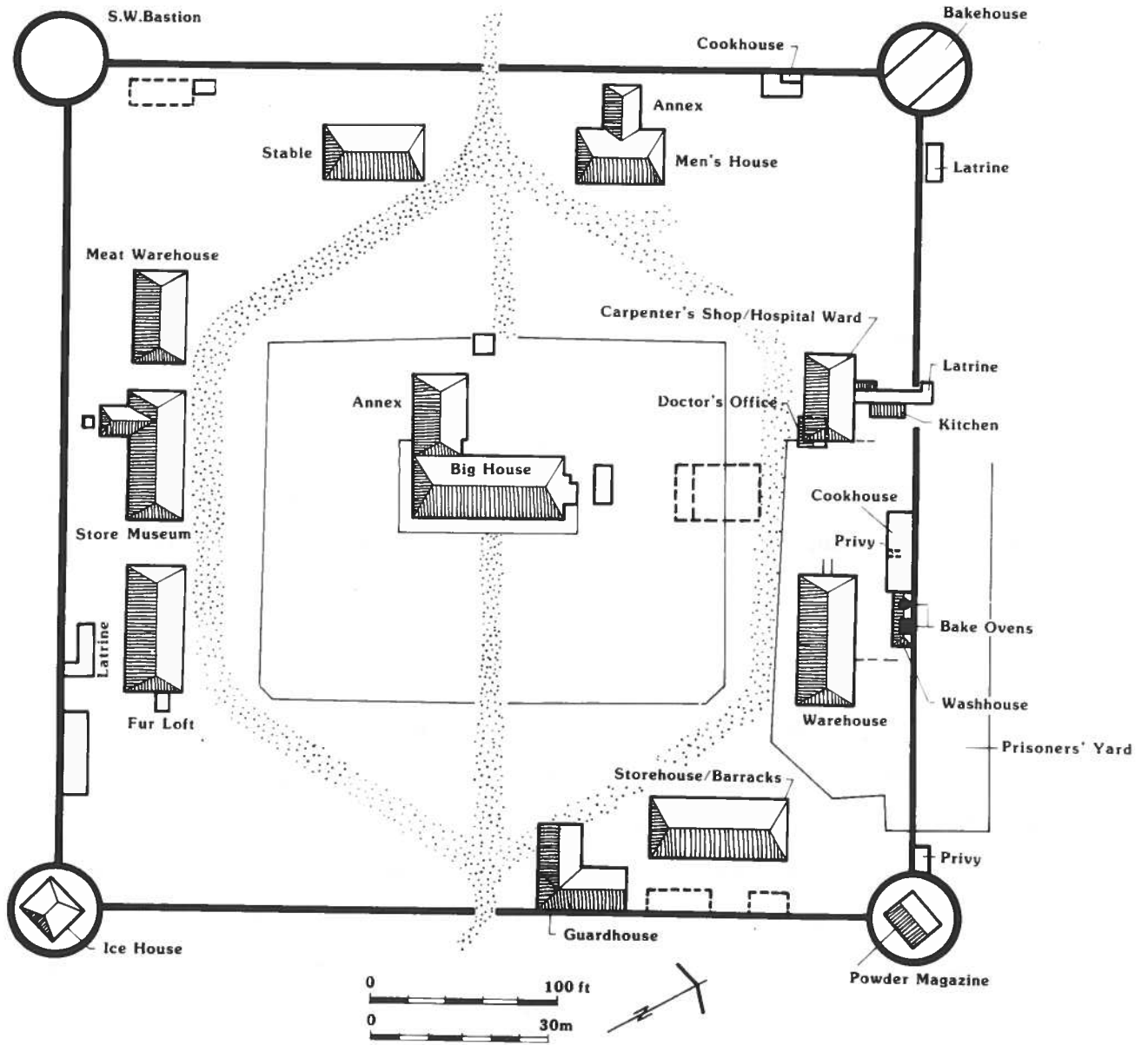


Figure 4: Fort interior, 1830-1875.

During the Colvilles' brief stay at Lower Fort Garry, the appearance of the fort also changed. The walls and bastions had been completed by 1848 and the Big House began to take on an increasing air of dignified respectability. A flower garden and "smooth, green lawn" were introduced into the fenced area immediately around the Big House. Horticulture became the pastime of a number of the residents of the fort during this period. Despite these alterations the general landscape of the fort, (as partially depicted in the 1858 Hime photographs of the Big House and Warehouse buildings), still reflected the realities of the fort's role as a transshipment and provisioning post in the fur trade.

In 1857 the Hudson's Bay Company decided to start a farm at Lower Fort Garry. In order to fuel the boat and cart brigades and supply interior posts, it was necessary to grow wheat and vegetables and to raise livestock. Because of the presumed inability of the farmers at Red River to satisfy the needs of the Company, Simpson appointed Alexander Lillie to manage the new farm at the lower fort. Lillie broke ground on the west side of the fort in 1858 and developed a farming operation which soon extended over more than a hundred acres, excluding pasturage. During the 1860s, the project grew to include extensive fields of wheat, barley, peas, turnips, potatoes and a variety of garden crops, as well as a large herd of beef cattle and other livestock. Several tons of meat were prepared annually for shipment north, amounting in 1868 to five thousand pounds of pork and ten thousand of beef, slaughtered and dressed from the lower fort's stock alone. Various farm buildings, including cow, oxen and horse barns, were located immediately north of the fort, as were the stableman's house and hay yard. The farm manager's cottage, grain barn and grist mill were situated south of the fort, near the creek. While successful for a period of time, by 1870 and the development of larger scale commercial farming in Manitoba, the farm had been largely abandoned.

With the increasing reliance upon the Red River cart brigades which traveled the southern St. Paul route and later the overland routes into Saskatchewan, the Company was forced to maintain a large herd of several hundred oxen at Lower Fort Garry. The fort, along with satellite stations at Oak Point on Lake Manitoba and Netley Creek near Lake Winnipeg, was able to provide suitable grazing land and a reliable work force for the operation. Surplus animals also provided some of the much-needed beef for the Red River settlement.

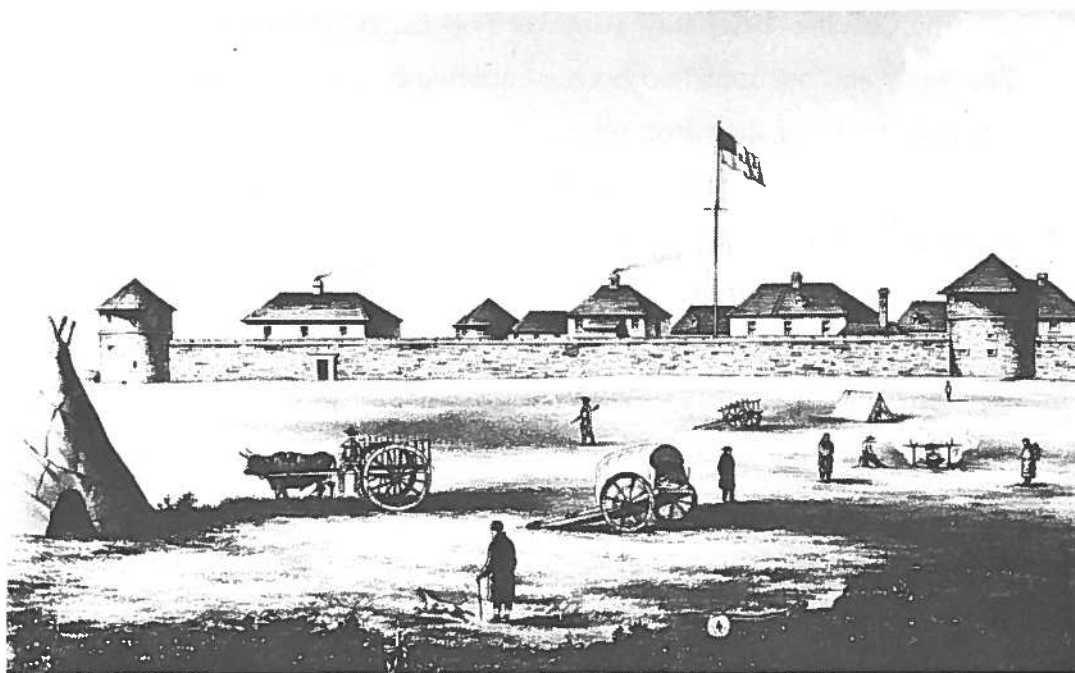


Figure 5: Upper Fort Garry, by A. Mortimer, ca. 1870 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/ N5854).

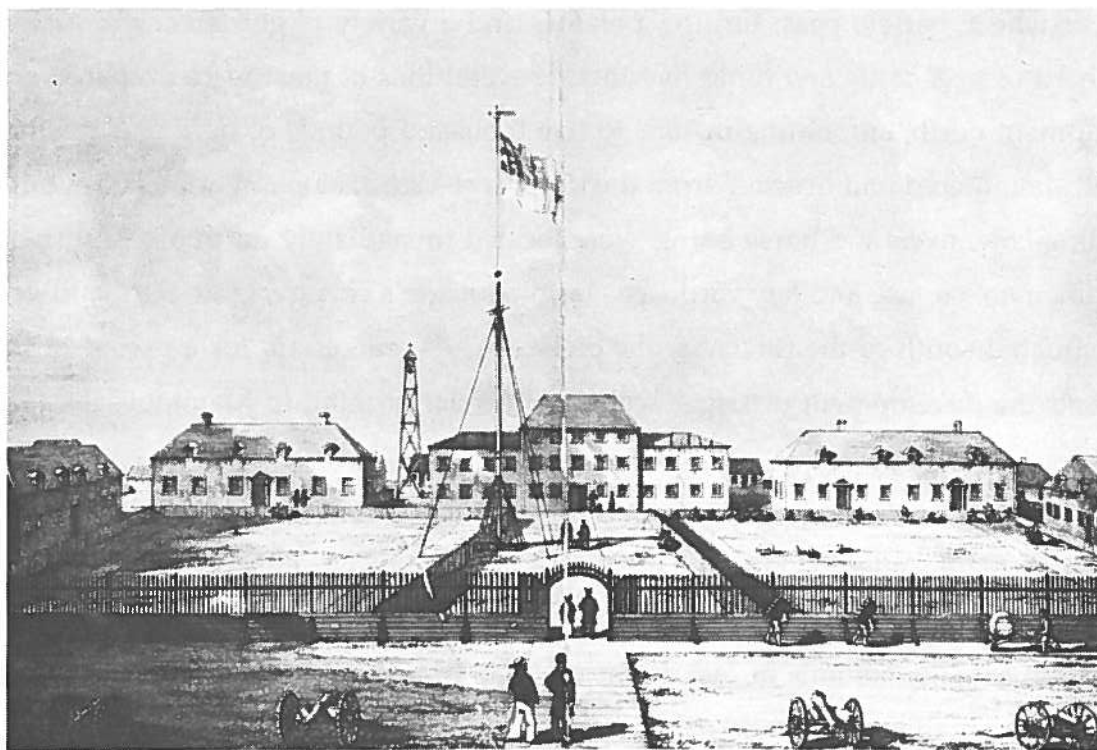


Figure 6: York Factory, 1853 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/York Factory Collection/N3937).

This growing reliance upon the southern route meant that Lower Fort Garry became increasingly involved in the maintenance work associated with water transport. Since the 1840s, York boats had regularly been fabricated at the stone fort, and in 1865 a Lake Winnipeg schooner, the *Polly*, was constructed there. About 1863, Engineer E.R. Abell took up permanent residence in the cottage at Lower Fort Garry, and thereafter it was customary for the steamboats -- the *Pioneer* and the *International* -- to be outfitted and repaired at the fort. The fort's active involvement in the Company's transportation network reached a peak in 1872, when the screw steamer *Chief Commissioner* was built and launched from an impromptu shipyard below the fort.

Beginning in the late 1840s a small scale industrial and artisanal complex was established at Lower Fort Garry. A steam engine located at the creek south of the fort walls powered both a grist mill and saw mill. A blacksmith shop, in operation at the site since the 1830s, grew in importance as an adjunct to the farm and industrial complex. A brewery-distillery was built, and two lime kilns provided mortar for local construction. Indians from the area operated a fishery which helped supplement fur trade diets. As well, the fort's northwest bastion served as a bakehouse, producing hardtack biscuit for the brigades and interior provisioning posts. By the late 1850s, Lower Fort Garry had very little to do with the actual trading of furs. It had become, by that time, almost exclusively a provisioning and transshipment post for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest.

Lower Fort Garry played only a peripheral role in the events of the Riel Resistance of 1869/70. In December of 1869 Colonel John Dennis, a government surveyor, took charge of the fort with a group of local settlers. He left soon after, however, when he realized his recruitment efforts in the lower settlement were fruitless. Later, in August of 1870, when regular British troops and Canadian militia under the command of Colonel Garnet Wolseley were sent to Red River to quash the resistance, the Quebec Rifles were quartered at Lower Fort Garry. They stayed for less than a year.

With the decline of the fur trade in the region after 1870, the role of Lower Fort Garry began to change. From 1871 until the construction of Stony Mountain Penitentiary in 1877, the warehouse building served as the new province's first penitentiary. Also in 1871, the first of a series of treaties between the Canadian government and the Indians of the North-West was signed at the lower fort. Treaty Number One ceded to Canada all of what was then the

province of Manitoba, while the government inaugurated the system of annuity payments and reserves upon which all subsequent treaties were based. In 1873 the newly created North West Mounted Police were received at Lower Fort Garry. They trained at the fort and the enlisted men were quartered at a wooden warehouse no longer extant near the northeast bastion. The men's house served as a canteen and hospital for the recruits. Later, in 1885, the building became the provincial lunatic asylum.

In 1887 the Hudson's Bay Company created the post of Chief Commissioner in place of the former title of Governor of Rupert's Land. From the time of Donald Smith, the first to hold this new position, to Clarence Chipman, who left in 1911, the Big House served as a part time residence for the Company Commissioner.

It was the arrival of the railway in the West in the 1880s that ended the role of Lower Fort Garry as a trading post, retail sales outlet and supply centre. As steamboats and later railways pushed further west after 1885 the lower fort's role as a transshipment depot became obsolete. The growth of urban settlement at the Forks displaced much of the fort's retail function, as new and larger retail outlets were opened in Winnipeg and in the new towns and communities of the Northwest. In 1911 HBC clerk John Stanger closed and locked Lower Fort Garry as the Company's offer to turn over the fort to the governments of both Canada and Manitoba as an historic landmark was turned down by the two levels of government.

II. The Historic Sites And Monuments Board of Canada and the Commemoration and Acquisition of Lower Fort Garry, 1911-1950

According to a 1931 article in the *Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, it was in the winter of 1911 that a "northern dog team driver cracked his whip and with a loud 'marche', swung his huskies for the last time round the crescent inside the [lower] fort to the saleshop. There, meeting a company trader, he re-enacted a scene which had taken place inside the fort for 80 years and so trading ended at Lower Fort Garry".¹ Shortly after, the old fort was closed and the Company's Land Commissioner, James Thompson, approached both the federal and provincial governments regarding the sale of the site. The transfer of the property to the crown was first broached in 1911 with Robert Rogers, the federal Minister of the Interior.² No action was taken at that time, and the following year, 1912, Thompson wrote to Rogers' successor at the Department of the Interior, W.J. Roche, to propose that the site be transferred to the federal government. The Company's proposal involved the transfer of not only the property and buildings inside the fort walls (an area of almost 6 acres) but a larger plot, approximately 25 acres in size, which would include a significant parcel of land on each side of the fort.³ In return for the fort being "held [by the government] in perpetuity as a national reserve", the Company asked for \$2,000 an acre and a lump sum of \$10,000 for the buildings -- a total of some \$60,000.⁴ According to Commissioner Thompson, the Company's Governor and Committee arrived at this figure with "due regard to their position as Trustees of the Shareholders, having given full consideration to the importance of Lower Fort Garry passing the people of Canada as a national reserve."⁵ Negotiations between

¹ *Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, 16 May 1931 as quoted in Dale Miquelon, "A Brief History of Lower Fort Garry", *Canadian Historic Sites, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* no. 4, 1970, p. 33.

² National Archives of Canada, Federal Archives, Parks Canada Records (hereafter referred to as NAC, Parks Canada Records), RG84, vol. 1070, FG2, J. Thompson, HBC Land Commissioner to W.J. Roche, Minister of the Interior, 24 December, 1912, p. 1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

⁵ Ibid.

department officials and Company representatives carried on for a short while, but no agreement was reached between the parties. Evidently, the government found the asking price too steep, as they did the costs projected for the fort's custodial upkeep. On a larger scale, the commemoration of historic sites in the country had yet to be formalized by 1912. And while the movement to commemorate these sites was still in an embryonic stage, the attention of various heritage groups and individuals tended to focus on central Canadian battle sites that re-inforced an entrenched British-Canadian nationalism.⁶

After failing to interest the federal (and provincial) governments in taking over the fort, the Company decided to lease the property to the recently formed Manitoba Motor Country Club (MCC) for an annual rent of \$1. The MCC was to occupy LFG for the next half-century, until 1963.



Figure 7: Big House, Lower Fort Garry, 1895 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Lower Fort Garry Collection/82).

⁶ C.J. Taylor, "National Historic Parks and Sites, 1880-1951: The Biography of a Federal Cultural Program", Ph.D. dissertation, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1986, pp. 15-72.

While the Company had chosen to lease the fort to the MCC, the issue of Lower Fort Garry's historic associations, and its significance as an heritage site, remained under consideration by the federal government for a number of years afterwards, albeit on the "back burner". In 1919 R.H. McDonald, Secretary to the Minister of Public Works, wrote to Thompson regarding the "desirability of [Lower Fort Garry] being preserved as a monument of early Manitoba history and of the pioneer services to civilization of [the Hudson's Bay Company]."⁷ McDonald suggested that the Company come to an arrangement with the government of Manitoba regarding the preservation of the fort as a "provincial museum", however, McDonald's recommendation was not acted upon by provincial officials.

That same year (1919) a major event in the preservation of heritage sites in Canada occurred with the formation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC). In 1921 the Board was asked to consider whether Lower Fort Garry should be purchased by the federal government. After some discussion it was decided that the Company's selling price, now \$50,000, was prohibitive. Once again federal officials suggested that the fort be acquired by the provincial government, as it was felt that the site was essentially one of local interest only.

In 1925, however, the HSMBC reversed its earlier decision and declared Lower Fort Garry to be of "national importance". Interestingly, the fort's selection by the Board as a national historic site was due not to its long and prominent role in the fur trade, nor its role as Manitoba's first penitentiary and asylum, but as the location for the signing of Indian Treaty Number One in 1871. In fact, the 1925 recommendation only cited the lower fort among a number of other sites in Western Canada, including Fort Qu'Appelle in Saskatchewan and the Blackfoot Crossing on the Bit Bow River in Alberta, "as being the places where treaties were made whereby the Indians renounced their possessory rights in these provinces".⁸ Treaty Number One, the first of the eleven numbered treaties in Western and Northern Canada, was signed by the Dominion Government and representatives of the

⁷ NAC, Parks Canada Records, RG84, vol. 1070, FG2, R.H. McDonald to James Thompson, 23 September 1919.

⁸Minutes of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, May 19, 1925.

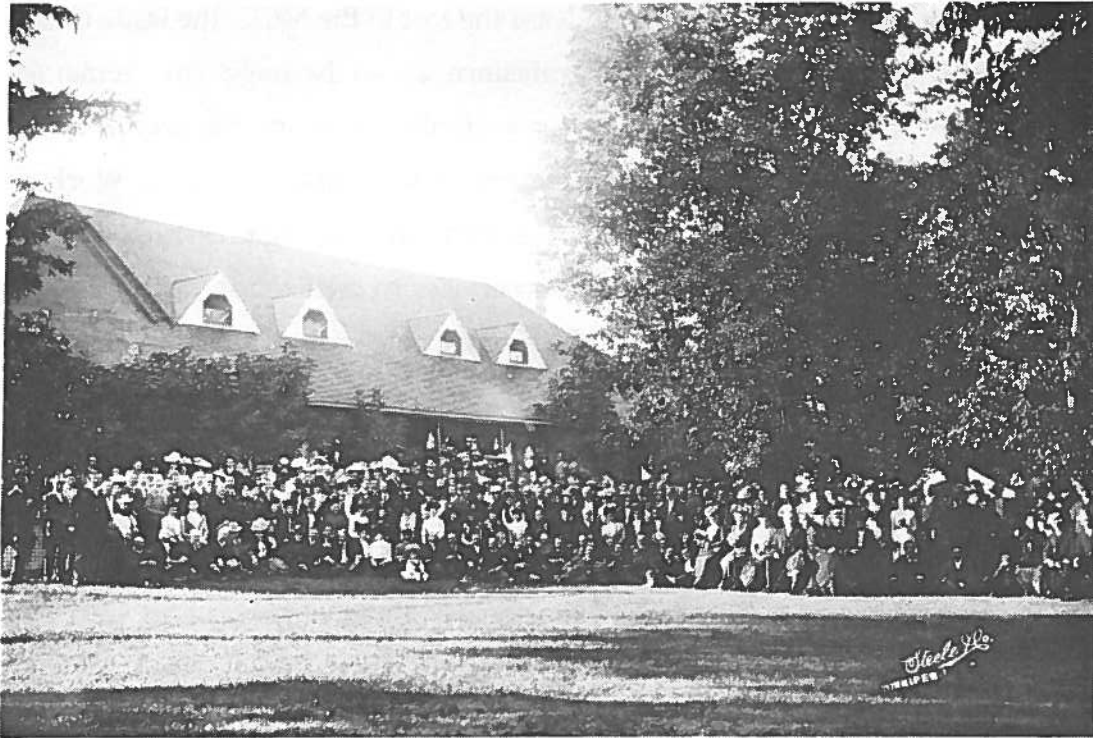


Figure 8: Garden Party at Lower Fort Garry, ca. 1900 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

Ojibwa (Saulteaux) and Cree nations of southern Manitoba in August of 1871 just beyond the fort's west gate.

On June 13, 1929, a crowd of around 200 people, including federal, provincial and HBC officials, gathered at the fort to watch the unveiling of a plaque commemorating the treaty. Presided over by Professor Chester Martin of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba (later the Manitoba Historical Society), the ceremony included speeches by Judge F.W. Howay, the Board's member for Western Canada; Chester Martin, who spoke on the significance of the treaty and "its effects on the peace of the land", C.H. French of the HBC, who described "the Indian and his habits of life" and Robert Watson, the editor of *The Beaver*, who recounted "incidents in the story of the Stone Fort".⁹ From existing accounts of the ceremony it appears that no Native leaders were asked to speak. The plaque was unveiled by Frank Simpson, the son of Wemyss Simpson, the man who had originally

⁹ NAC, Parks Canada Records GR84, vol. 1070, FG2, F.W. Howay to J.B. Harkin, Canadian Parks Commissioner, 17 June, 1929.

negotiated the 1871 treaty on behalf of the Dominion Government. The text of the plaque read:

Indian Treaty No. 1
Dominion of Canada

Here on 3rd August, 1871 this treaty was made between Wemyss M. Simpson, representing the Crown and the Chippewa [traditionally the American designation for the Ojibwa] and Swampy Cree Indians whereby those tribes surrendered all their rights to the lands comprised within the boundaries of Manitoba as then existing. This agreement ended the restlessness of the Natives and left the way clear for peaceful settlement.¹⁰

The original text of the plaque, especially with its reference to the treaty as "ending the restlessness of the Natives" and leaving "the way clear for peaceful settlement" reveals much about the attitudes of the time toward Canadian expansionism in the West and the fate of Native people within its boundaries. Later, the text was revised. The new wording is as follows:

Treaty Number One

To promote peaceful settlement of the newly acquired western territories after 1870, Canada negotiated a series of treaties with the native peoples. Here on 3 August, 1871 the first of these treaties was signed by Mis-kee-ke-new, Ka-ke-ka-penais, Na-sha-ka-penais, Na-na-wa-nanan, Ke-we-tay-ask, Wa-ko-wush, Oo-za-we-kwun representing the Ojibwa and Swampy Cree people of Manitoba, and Wemyss Simpson on behalf of the Crown. In return for services and the promise of annuity payments, livestock and farming implements, the Indians ceded the land comprising the original portion of Manitoba.¹¹

Over the next two decades little attention was paid to the lower fort by the federal government. Even with the establishment of the HSMBC the heritage movement in Canada had yet to come of age and early attempts to preserve historic sites centred, for the most part, upon historic battlefields, especially those associated with the War of 1812. Most of the sites designated by the Board during this period were located in southern Ontario and Quebec.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ HSMBC, Plaque text, "Indian Treaty Number One", Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site.

In 1927 the Hudson's Bay Company once again expressed its interest to the federal government in terminating the MCC lease at the fort and having the site managed by the



Figure 9: Signing of Treaty Number One at Lower Fort Garry, 1871 (from *Canadian Illustrated News* no. 11, September 1871, Provincial Archives of Manitoba/N13290).

government as an "historical museum". Again, however, little enthusiasm was shown by Ottawa and the MCC continued its lease arrangement with the Company.

If the years before 1940 were marked by little in the way of historic site commemoration, the period following World War II saw an increase in heritage consciousness in Canada and some preliminary moves by the HSMBC to commemorate historic sites located in the West. The growth of the tourism industry in the country in this period was linked as well to heritage development and in January of 1949 the Manitoba Associated Chambers of Commerce passed a resolution recommending that LFG be taken over by either the

provincial or federal government as a museum of early Manitoba pioneer life.¹² For many local business people and politicians, the MCC's exclusive occupation of the fort prohibited access by visitors to the area. Opening the fort to the general public, they argued, could provide the impetus for a thriving local tourism industry.

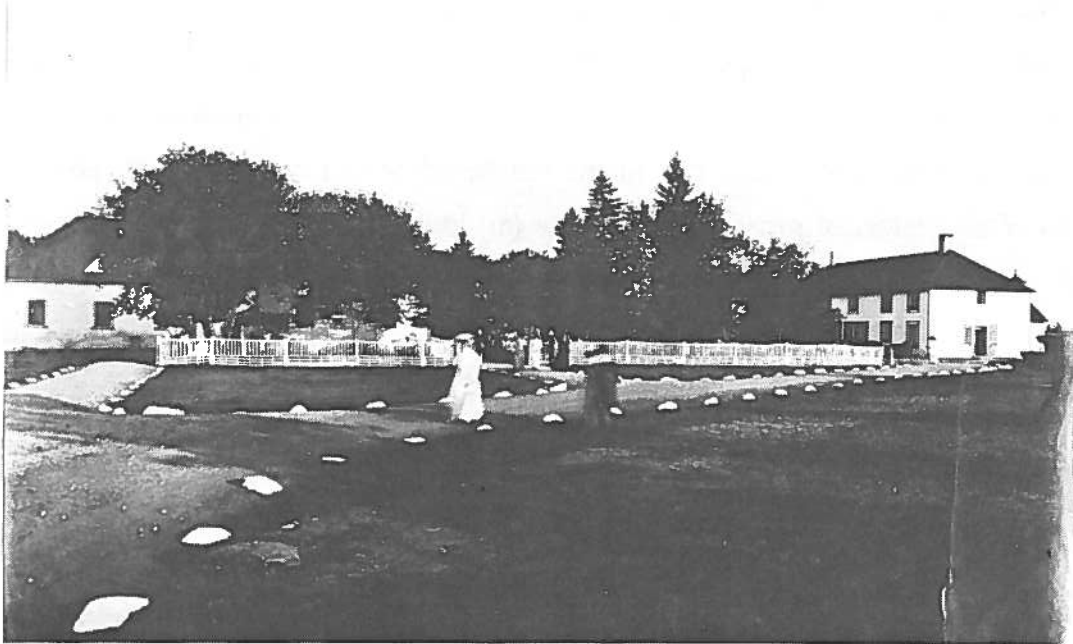


Figure 10: Lower Fort Garry from near the west gate, 1890s (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

In the spring of 1950 the matter came before the HSMBC at its annual meeting in Ottawa. It was decided at the time that "in the opinion of the Board the site of Lower Fort Garry is of national historic importance, and that this property should be acquired by the Department from the Hudson's Bay Company".¹³ It was also agreed that the HBC be asked if they were willing to transfer the fort to the federal government and if so, under what conditions such a transfer could take place. Shortly before, P.A. Chester, the Managing Director of the HBC, had written to the Historic Sites Branch to outline in general terms the

¹² NAC, Parks Canada Records, RG84, vol. 1070, FG28, C.G. Childe, Acting Superintendent of Historic Sites to J. Smart, Minister Department of Resources and Development, 26 July 1950.

¹³ Minutes of the HSMBC, 1 June 1950.

Company's position on the matter. Firstly, the HBC recognized that there were "substantial reasons for preserving Lower Fort Garry on account of its historical significance".¹⁴ Between 1930 and 1950, according to Chester, the Company's expenses for the upkeep of buildings and grounds at the fort (aside from the funds put toward these purposes by the MCC; see Chapter V) averaged about \$2,500 a year. Given the age of the buildings and walls and the fact that the opening of the fort to the general public would accelerate the deterioration of the resources, Chester estimated that the government's cost for adequate maintenance at the site would run in the neighborhood of about \$30,000 annually. The creation of an historical museum at the site (an idea that many local officials supported) would be an additional expense, according to Chester.



Figure 11: Dog sleds preparing to leave Lower Fort Garry, *ca.* 1900 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

¹⁴ P.A. Chester to Director, National Historic Sites Division (NHSD), Ottawa as quoted in *ibid.*, 26 July 1950.

In 1950, the Company's Canadian Committee agreed to make a gift of the fort to the nation, including in the exchange two strips of land 200 feet in width located north and south of the fort. The last lease between the HBC and the MCC expired at the end of 1950. Though the federal government agreed to take over the site, it was decided that due to financial constraints the MCC would be allowed to remain at the fort for the time being. A new lease agreement, this time between Ottawa and the MCC, was negotiated for an annual rent of \$1 and a five year occupancy agreement went into effect in January of 1951 (see Chapter V and Appendix I for the text of this lease). While the government took over as site landlords at LFG, and thus became responsible for associated maintenance costs, the fort remained effectively closed to the general public, other than those visitors who arrived as guests of MCC members.

On the 17th of January, 1951, by an Order in Council, Lower Fort Garry was declared a "National Historic Park".

III. The Automobile Comes to the Stone Fort: the Motor Country Club at Lower Fort Garry, 1913- 1963

In 1913 the Motor Country Club (MCC), an *avant-garde* group of motoring enthusiasts, leased Lower Fort Garry from the Hudson's Bay Company for an annual rent of \$1. Formed from the Winnipeg Automobile Association, which was founded in 1904 and was the first such club of its kind in Canada, the creation of the MCC represented the increasing popularity in the West of the automobile as a form of recreation. The club's original act of incorporation succinctly spelled out its purpose. The MCC intended "to hold, organize and establish from time to time, automobile tours or endurance contests, and also to promote motor races and speed contests between automobiles which may be considered expedient for the purposes of promoting the perfection of the automobile".¹ As well, the club lobbied for the construction and maintenance of good roads and the upholding of the "rights and privileges of all persons who own or are interested in motor vehicles".²

Originally quartered at the Goldsborough Farm on Balmoral Road near Stonewall, which they quickly outgrew, the Winnipeg Automobile Club (later the MCC) began looking for new club facilities in 1911, redoubling their efforts after a January 1913 fire destroyed much of their Stonewall facility. In April of that year the club signed its first lease with the HBC to rent Lower Fort Garry. On 7 June 1913 the Motor Country Club opened its new quarters at the fort. In preparation for the opening, the Big House was "refurbished" as the clubhouse while the lawns surrounding the house were "cleaned up and leveled". According to the *Winnipeg Free Press*, these lawns "will be used for tennis, lawn golf, croquet, bowls [and] quoits ... so that there will be no lack of amusement for members and their friends".³ Ironically, no cars were present for the June opening. Heavy rains had created impassable rural roads and members were forced to board the train in order to get to the lower fort.

¹ The Motor Country Club, Act of Incorporation, as quoted in G. MacDonald, *A Good Solid Comfortable Establishment: An Illustrated History of Lower Fort Garry*, Winnipeg, Watson and Dwyer, 1992, p. 71.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Not long after its move to the lower fort, the MCC established a nine-hole golf course on lands that it had purchased immediately south of the fort. In fact, the course's first tee was located only a short distance beyond the south wall.

The focus for club activities at the fort was the Big House and the lawn that surrounded it. A ballroom, members' lounge, modern kitchen, staff quarters and after 1957 a bar, were located in the house. Elaborate flower gardens -- for years the club's pride and joy -- graced the lawn around the house, while trees were planted around the inside perimeter of the stone walls. Painted stones were used to demarcate the roadways situated between the east and west gates. The Warehouse building was re-fitted with locker rooms and showers, while the Men's House became a stable and garage. Although operating as an exclusive private club with a membership drawn, for the most part, from the old Winnipeg gentry, the MCC was aware of general public interest in the fort's historical role in the fur trade and allowed a restricted number of registered guests to tour the site. Though the general public was not allowed access to the fort grounds, the fort did host a number of gatherings and annual meetings of HBC officials. In 1920 the fort was the site of the Company's pageant commemorating the 250th anniversary of the establishment in 1670 of the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson Bay". Other notable events at the fort included "If Day", a mock invasion of Manitoba by "German troops" in February of 1942 which was designed to help increase the sale of war bonds. After "capturing" Winnipeg, Brandon, Selkirk and various other communities, the troops rounded up a number of officials including the mayor of Winnipeg, Manitoba premier, John Bracken and many of his cabinet, the Lieutenant-Governor, several aldermen and the city clerk, and "imprisoned" them at Lower Fort Garry.⁴ The event succeeded in producing the desired results. Within twelve days of "If Day" \$45 million worth of bonds had been purchased in Manitoba for the war effort.⁵

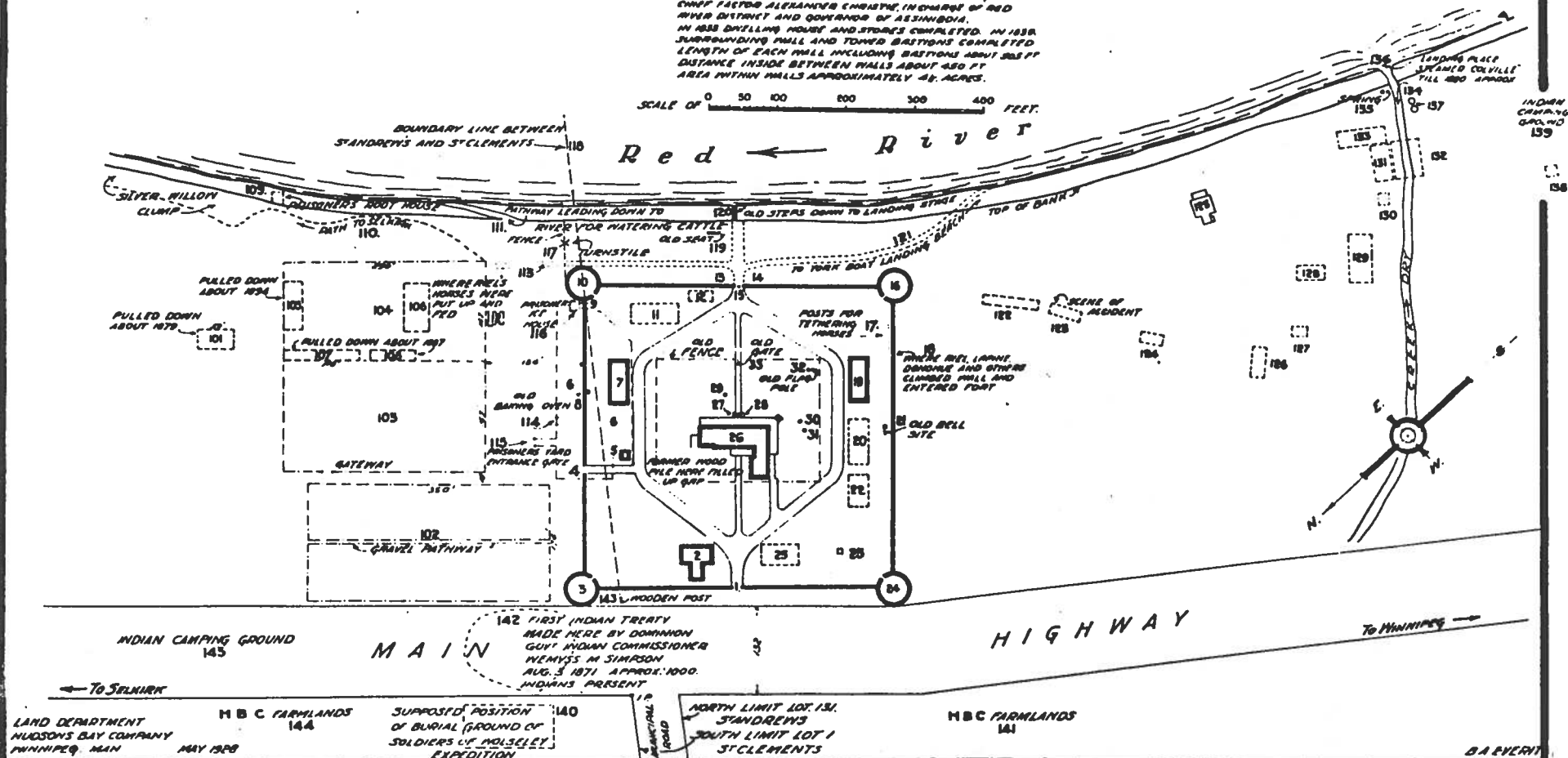
⁴ Michael Newman, "February 19, 1942: If Day". *Manitoba History* 13(Spring 1987):27-30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

LOWER FORT CARRY

PLAN MADE IN AUGUST 1946 TO SHOW PRESENT AND FORMER BUILDINGS, BUILDINGS, ETC. ARE SHOWN IN DOTTED LINES IN LOCATIONS INDICATED BY MEALPOOD FORMER. BUILDING COMMENCED IN OCTOBER 1851 FROM DESIGNS OF CHIEF FACTOR ALEXANDER CHEASTIE, IN CHARGE OF RED RIVER DISTRICT AND GOVERNOR OF ASSINIBOIA. IN 1858 DWELLING HOUSE AND STORES COMPLETED. IN 1859 SURROUNDING WALL AND TOWER BASTIONS COMPLETED. LENGTH OF EACH WALL INCLUDING BASTIONS ABOUT 305 FT. DISTANCE INSIDE BETWEEN WALLS ABOUT 450 FT. AREA WITHIN WALLS APPROXIMATELY 48 ACRES.

SCALE OF 0 50 100 200 300 400 FEET.



INSIDE THE FORT

- 1 Present entrance to Lower Fort Garry.
- 2 Originally men's house, soldiers' canteen in 1870. Later women's asylum.
- 3 Northwest bastion — Company's bakehouse.
- 4 North gateway.
- 5 Wooden house, used by Dr. Young, the prison doctor.
- 6 Prisoners' yard.
- 7 Penitentiary and asylum.
- 8 Remains of the oven built by prisoners.
- 9 Small gateway between bastion and stockade.
- 10 Northeast bastion. This has always been used as a powder magazine.
- 11 Old storehouse (frame building). This building lodged soldiers of the Wolseley Expedition of 1870.
- 12 Guard room and sergeants' mess, built 1870 for soldiers of Wolseley's Expedition.
- 13 and 14 East gate pillars.
- 15 The store deep in the ground in the centre of this gateway was placed there in 1883.
- 16 Southeast bastion — ice house.
- 17 Position of old tethering posts.
- 18 Part of south wall where Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue, with their followers, clambered over at midnight in 1870.
- 19 Hudson's Bay Company's second retail store and fur loft.
- 20 Foundations of another store.
- 21 Old site of the Lower Fort Garry bell.

- 22 Foundations of meat warehouse. Removed 1882.
- 23 Flagstaff.
- 24 Southwest bastion, washhouse and cookhouse.
- 25 Foundations of an old stable.
- 26 The residence. For a time the home of Sir George Simpson, Governor of Rupert's Land.
- 27 and 28 Old cannon.
- 29 The bell.
- 30 and 31 Sundial.
- 32 Former position of the Company's flagpole.
- 33 Old gateway of inner enclosure.

OUTSIDE THE FORT

- 101 Lime house (frame).
- 102 Vegetable garden of penitentiary.
- 103 Hay yard for cattle.
- 104 Cattle yard.
- 105 Ox stable (stone).
- 106 Horse stable (stone).
- 107 Cattle stable.
- 108 Cow stable.
- 109 Prisoners' root house.
- 110 Old pathway to Selkirk.
- 111 Pathway to the river.
- 112 Stableman's house.
- 113 Path to cattle yard.
- 114 Penitentiary stockade.
- 115 Entrance gate to prisoners' yard.
- 116 Prisoners' ice house.
- 117 Old fashioned turnstile.
- 118 Stone marking the boundary line between the parishes of St. Andrew's (south) and St. Clement's (north).
- 119 Seat by the Red river.

- 120 Steps leading down to the river landing.
 - 121 Pathway to York boats' landing beach.
 - 122 Men's house and canteen.
 - 123 Blacksmith's shop (log).
 - 124 Farm Manager's house (log).
 - 125 Engineer Abell's cottage (stone).
 - 126 Grain flailing building (log).
 - 127 Root house (log).
 - 128 Bear cellar (log).
 - 129 Store (log).
 - 130 Malt kiln (stone).
 - 131 Grist mill.
 - 132 Saw mill (log).
 - 133 Dwelling and brewery (log).
 - 134 The creek.
 - 135 The spring well.
 - 136 Landing place for the Company's steamers, *Polly*, *Colville*, *Chief Commissioner*, etc.
 - 137 Lime kilns (stone).
 - 138 Miller's dwelling house (log).
 - 139 Indian camping ground.
 - 140 Supposed position of burial ground of soldiers of Wolseley Expedition, 1870.
 - 141 Hudson's Bay Company farm lands.
 - 142 Scene of First Indian Treaty, 1870.
 - 143 Western post marking dividing line between the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Clement's.
 - 144 Hudson's Bay Company farm lands.
 - 145 Indian camping ground.
- Burial grounds: The burial grounds for men at Lower Fort Garry were at St. Andrew's church (Church of England) four miles south, and at Little Britain (Presbyterian) about a mile south, also at St. Clement's (Church of England) about two miles north (Watson 1928).

Figure 12: Map of Lower Fort Garry, 1926 (from *Lower Fort Garry*, by Robert Watson, 1928).

Over the years the MCC brought about a number of changes to both the historic buildings and landscape of the lower fort. For the most part conscious of their role as stewards of this historic site the MCC succeeded in "modernizing" the interior of some of the old buildings, causing a minimum amount of damage to the original building fabric. The HBC remained responsible for alterations and heavier maintenance work at the fort, while furniture for the Big House was purchased locally and many 19th century pieces were replicated by the club for use in the house.



Figure 13: Big House (MCC Clubhouse), Lower Fort Garry, 1916 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Foote Collection/N2271).

The lease between the Motor Country Club and the Hudson's Bay Company was periodically renewed over the years with little change to the original terms, including the provision for a \$1 annual fee. When the HBC deeded the lower fort to the federal government in 1951, it was decided by Ottawa to continue -- for a short time at least -- a similar lease arrangement with the MCC. This new agreement was similar to previous arrangements between the Company and the MCC. The period of the new lease was to run for five years at a rental of \$1 a year. Taxes became the responsibility of the club, as was insurance on the various buildings (a policy valued at approximately \$15,000) which was

payable upon loss or theft to the federal government.⁶ Other conditions included terms regarding expenses for any structural repairs, allowing both parties either to share these particular costs or bear the expense themselves. This clause allowed the Department of Resources and Development to carry out the work at the site that they deemed necessary. Any alterations by the MCC to the fort buildings or grounds could only be carried out with approval from the Minister after the submission of detailed plans and specifications.⁷ The lease also obliged the MCC to "maintain and preserve in good order and condition the lawn and garden belonging to the said premises", as well as keeping on staff "a suitable and competent caretaker" to carry out maintenance chores at the site.⁸ Clause 24 of the agreement also stipulated that "out-of-town tourists visiting Winnipeg" would be allowed access to the fort upon presentation of an "introduction card issued and signed by or on behalf of the Minister or by some person ... authorized by him".⁹ In all, some 27 clauses in the lease outlined each signatory's obligations under the agreement, with most the responsibility of the "lessee", or the MCC.

In late 1954 the recently established Historic Sites Advisory Board of Manitoba passed a resolution that urged the federal government to expand access for visitors to the fort, subject to agreement from the MCC.¹⁰ While the provincial government believed the arrangement between the MCC and the federal government was on the whole satisfactory and should continue, they felt that public access was overly restrictive in terms of hours, as well as admittance to the various fort buildings. In particular, they felt access should be allowed into the Big House or "the most interesting part of the fort" according to the provincial advisory board. As well, the federal government was urged not to build a

⁶ According to handwritten marginalia, RG84, vol. 1071, p. 3, FG2, Lease between His Majesty the King and the Motor Country Club, 1 January 1951.

⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁰ RG84, Parks Canada Records, vol. 1070, FG2, vol. 2, R.G. Robertson memorandum to Minister, Department of Resources and Development, 27 December 1954, pp. 1-2.

museum at the fort (an idea that had arisen in some circles around that time), as it would simply duplicate what was offered at the St. Boniface museum and the HBC Museum at the Company's downtown store.¹¹

After meeting with provincial officials, federal government representatives held discussions with the MCC executive and a number of recommendations were made to the Minister of Resources and Development. First, it was suggested that the lease arrangement with the MCC be continued, including the provision that the government maintain responsibility for any structural maintenance work at the site. Second, it was recommended that a "fur trade museum" not be built at the fort; and third that two Commissionaires be hired for the summer season. Finally, it was suggested that visitors be allowed access to the site from 15 May to 15 September between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, and from 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. on Wednesdays (the federal government agreed to the Club's request that the site be closed on weekends). Public access would also include entry to all buildings, including all areas of the Big House except the kitchen.¹²

The new arrangement with the MCC did not go into effect until the expiration of the original lease at the beginning of 1956. For Ottawa the primary reason for the continuation of the lease arrangement with the MCC continued to be the financial implications that would be involved should the government decided to take over the fort in its entirety. According to R.G. Robertson of the Department of Resources and Development, maintenance costs at the fort were averaging about \$6,000 a year and would escalate considerably should the MCC lease be terminated. Writing to the minister, Robertson argued that "if we can avoid those costs and still have the fabric properly preserved, the grounds kept up in their present attractive way, and the public given access to the Fort, I think this is much the most satisfactory plan".¹³ Essentially, this was the arrangement that went into effect in 1956 for the fort's first real summer as a national historic park open to the general public.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹² Ibid., p. 4.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

During this first summer of enhanced access approximately 15,000 visitors toured LFG.¹⁴ In 1957 this total had increased to almost 20,000 visitors.¹⁵ While no guide staff existed at the site, two commissionaires were stationed near the north entrance gate and helped to direct visitors and provide security.

Increased access to the fort was not without problems. With the large number of visitors now touring the fort and its buildings, a few incidents of friction between MCC staff and site visitors were recorded. On one or two occasions in the summers of 1956 and 1957 some visitors who had endeavoured to rest on lawn chairs outside the Big House were asked to leave by MCC staff, occasioning letters of complaint in Winnipeg newspapers. Despite these problems a new three year lease was signed with the MCC which extended from 1 January 1956 to 1 January 1960. The decision to extend the Club's rental of the fort drew criticism from various quarters. In the summer of 1956 an editorial in the *Winnipeg Tribune* commented that "the Lower Fort Garry walls have shuddered under a barrage of public criticism since last year when the MCC's lease on the fort was extended to 1960".¹⁶ In 1957 Barbara Johnstone, the curator in charge of the HBC Museum in Winnipeg and a consultant hired by Ottawa to conduct historical research on the lower fort, remarked in a letter to the Minister that "high are the feelings with regard to the extension of the Motor Country Club lease".¹⁷

Despite these problems, a third agreement between Ottawa and the MCC was signed prior to the expiration of the previous lease at the end of 1959. This time, however, the two year pact contained a sunset clause which stipulated that the MCC would vacate the fort by 1 January 1963.¹⁸

When this last lease expired the question of the disposition of MCC land north and south of the fort (including the golf course) was raised. In 1961 the provincial government

¹⁴ RG84, Parks Canada Records, FG2, vol. 7, pt. 1, 1956.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, pt. 1, 1957.

¹⁶ *Winnipeg Tribune*, 14 July 1956, as quoted in *ibid.*, vol. 7, pt. 2.

¹⁷ Barbara Johnstone to N. Harkness, RG84, FG2, vol. 8, pt. 1, 24 July 1957.

¹⁸ RG84, FG2, vol. 10, 1959.

expressed interest in these properties, a total of roughly 45 acres which extended from 200' beyond the north wall to the riverlot owned by W.B. Baine, and south from 200' beyond the south wall past the creek to a lot owned by Frank Mathers. At the time, Barbara Johnstone, who had been recently appointed as Lower Fort Garry's first superintendent,

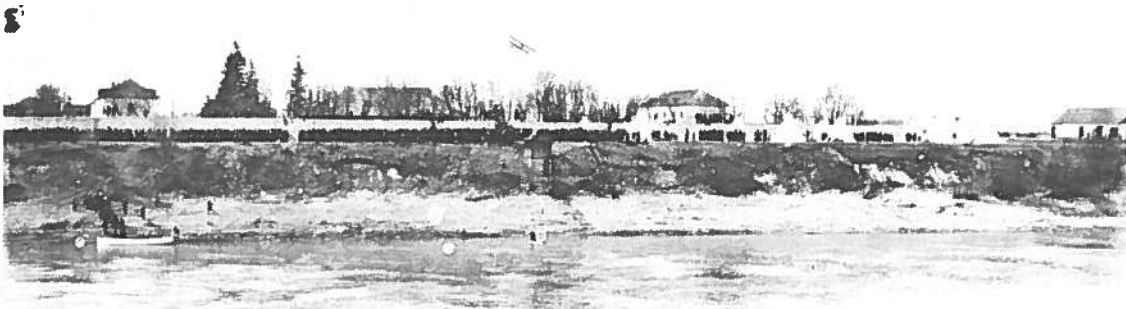


Figure 14: View from the east side of the Red River of Hudson's Bay Company Pageant at Lower Fort Garry, 1920 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Foote Collection/N2459).

argued that the federal government should purchase this land in order to enlarge the existing parking lot which had been constructed adjacent to the north wall, and to provide a "buffer zone ... about the park" which would preclude the erection nearby of "unseemly buildings ... which would spoil the approach".¹⁹ As well, she argued, should the fort at some point want to acquire animals for use in Red River cart rides, they could be stabled in the area north of the fort in the area of the original stables and barns associated with the

¹⁹ Ibid., 1076, FG172, vol. 1, Barbara Johnstone to J.D. Herbert, Chief, National Historic Sites Division, 31 July 1961.

historic farm.²⁰ Interestingly, the provincial government put together a rough scheme to construct a "sympathetic" heritage development on the properties adjacent to the fort, although at the time these plans were largely general in nature. While the MCC was sympathetic to the acquisition of its property around the fort by either level of government, it also held open the option to sell to private bidders as prices for riverlots in the area were at a premium. Eventually, however, the MCC sold the land to the provincial government for \$97,000, apparently with the blessing of the National Historic Sites Division (NHSD).²¹

In November of 1962, one month before the termination of their lease at the fort, the MCC held an auction sale of its furnishings and antiques. As a number of these items related to the fort's historic role in the fur trade, the NHSD requested that they be given first



Figure 15: Hudson's Bay Company Pageant at Lower Fort Garry, 1920 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Foote Collection/858).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ RG84, 1077, FG56, vol. 3, pt. 3, 1962.

option on acquiring the available pieces for future display at the fort. As well, the government agreed to purchase for use in a site museum a number of items including pictures, furniture and dishes which related to the history of the MCC at Lower Fort Garry. A total of \$1,375 was spent by the NHSD to acquire these items, a few of which are now on display in the Visitor Centre south of the fort.²² Other items owned by the Club were sold to individuals and institutions in Selkirk and Winnipeg.

After almost a half-century, the Motor Country Club closed its doors at Lower Fort Garry on 31 December, 1962. While the popularity of clubs devoted to automobile touring had declined by the early 1960s (the MCC was by this time more of a country club than an automobile club), at its closing the Club still boasted a membership of almost 500.²³

Repairs and Renovations, 1913-1951

Between the time that the Motor Country Club first leased Lower Fort Garry from the Hudson's Bay Company and the designation of the fort as a national historic park in 1951, a number of repairs and renovations were carried out on the various fort structures, including the four corner bastions. As the focal point of Club activities at the fort, the Big House received the greatest attention. A new kitchen was constructed at the north end of the building, as was a new and wider verandah at the east (front) and south sides of the house.²⁴ Water pipes were installed to service new bathrooms, both on the main floor and on the second floor where the staff quarters were located. The house's roof was resingled in 1942, new floors were installed throughout much of the first and second floor and the walls were replastered in certain locations. In 1914 the Big House was wired for electricity and in 1923 wall partitions were removed.²⁵

²² Ibid., FG318, vol. 2, November 1962.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Barbara Johnstone, "List of Buildings on which there are Notes in Chronological Order taken from HBC Land Department Files", 1961-62, copy of manuscript on file, Lower Fort Garry N.H.S., p. 1.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

A constant structural problem with the house was the southwest corner of the foundation. Beginning in the 1930s and continuing into the 1940s, concrete footings were installed at various locations under the house and the floor was leveled. Also in the 1940s, the Club installed new washroom facilities for the staff on the second floor and a men's washroom on the first which included a "golfers' dressing room". A host of other smaller repairs and renovations including painting, cellar work and the installation of eavestroughing, were made over the fifty year period of the Club's occupancy. While the MCC paid for most of the interior changes, the Hudson's Bay Company contributed financially toward some of the larger repairs such as the replacement of the verandah and the stabilization of the floor.

Aside from the Big House, the Warehouse (variously referred to as the "Guard House", "Penitentiary" and "Prison Building") was the most heavily used building as well, beginning for the most part in the 1930s. Perhaps the most significant structural interventions were the repairs carried out to the stone foundation in 1938. An opening in the foundation was made at that time near the northwest corner of the structure, the corner was jacked up, and the opening refilled with concrete. As well, loose stone and mortar from the north and west walls were replaced and a "tie rod and turnbuckle" was installed.²⁶ The roof was resingled in 1940, roof rafters were reinforced, eavestroughs were added in 1946 and in 1948 new showers, toilets and lockers were installed for the use of Club members.²⁷ The MCC paid the cost of these interior renovations.

At the Men's House – often referred to as the "community kitchen" – it seems that little in the way of repairs was carried out over the years. Since the time that it served as the living quarters of post servants in the 19th century, the wood framed, rubble infilled and stuccoed building served a number of functions, including that of the women's ward for the provincial asylum and later as a storehouse, stable and garage. HBC Land Department files

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

for the period after 1913 list reshingling work, painting, the reinforcement of roof beams and the repair of the dormer windows as the only work carried out before 1951.²⁸

The Fur Loft/Saleshop building, a structure for the most part left unused by the Club, saw only minor repairs during the years before 1951. In September of 1940, according to Land Branch files, roof rafters were reinforced or replaced, rotted roof sheeting was replaced and the roof was resingled and painted. The cost of these repairs came to just under \$600.²⁹ A notation for 14 July 1944 mentions that a "severe storm" caused damage to the building, although the extent of this damage was not specified.³⁰ Presumably, repairs were carried out at some time to the damaged building.



Figure 16: Lower Fort Garry showing Retail Store prior to demolition in 1924 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

²⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

³⁰ Ibid.

At the South West Bastion the Winnipeg firm of John Miller and Sons was hired to carry out extensive foundation repairs in September of 1944. Concrete footings, each measuring 30" x 30" x 10", were installed "under each of the 6 [rotting] posts". As well, 8" concrete blocks were put under each footing.³¹ In 1944 the bastion roof was resingled and in 1946 work was carried out by the firm of Moody and Moore on the window sashes and glazing. That same year it appears that some work was also carried out to reinforce the roof beams, although the extent of the work was not specified. The next year a 22' flag pole extending 7' into the building's centre post and rising 15' above the roof peak, was installed. Roof cleats and a ladder on the south wall were added to the building for use by the caretaker. In 1950 new windows were installed in the bastion.³²

At the North East Bastion, which contains the old powder magazine, Land Branch files only record work on the structure in June of 1931. At that time the loop holes of the magazine were "filled in all around inside with concrete lentels".³³ "[R]otted wood" was also replaced, but the extent of this replacement is unknown.

At the North West Bastion, which once housed the old fort's bake oven where biscuit was made for distribution to inland posts, the MCC suggested in 1947 that the original ovens be rebuilt. The work, however, was not carried out at that time.³⁴

For the last of the bastions, the South East Bastion (which once served as an ice-house), the only Branch notation is from June of 1931 when it was noted that the roof had collapsed, but was deemed too expensive to rebuild.³⁵

The MCC used what is now called the "Ross Cottage" (formerly the "Engineer's Cottage") as a residence for the Club gardener. In 1945 minor repairs and decorating were carried out to make the old cottage livable and a 1946 report by the firm of Moody and Moore noted a number of structural problems with the cottage, including rotting floor joists

³¹ Ibid., p. 12.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁵ Ibid.

and sills and rotting foundation logs under the later addition (which was eventually removed by the National Historic Parks and Sites Division during restoration). At the time Moody and Moore recommended that a low concrete wall be installed below grade to replace the annex's original log foundation. This wall was installed at a cost of \$100.³⁶

As for the old wood frame Retail Store, built by the HBC in 1874 and located adjacent to the stone Salesshop/Furloft there was some confusion regarding structural repairs. The building was actually torn down in 1924, although one or two comments on the state of the structure show up in the records for a number of years afterward. Evidently, these latter notations for the "Store Building" refer in fact to the Salesshop/Furloft.³⁷ Whether this confusion originated in the Land Branch files or in Barbara Johnstone's notes from those files is unclear.

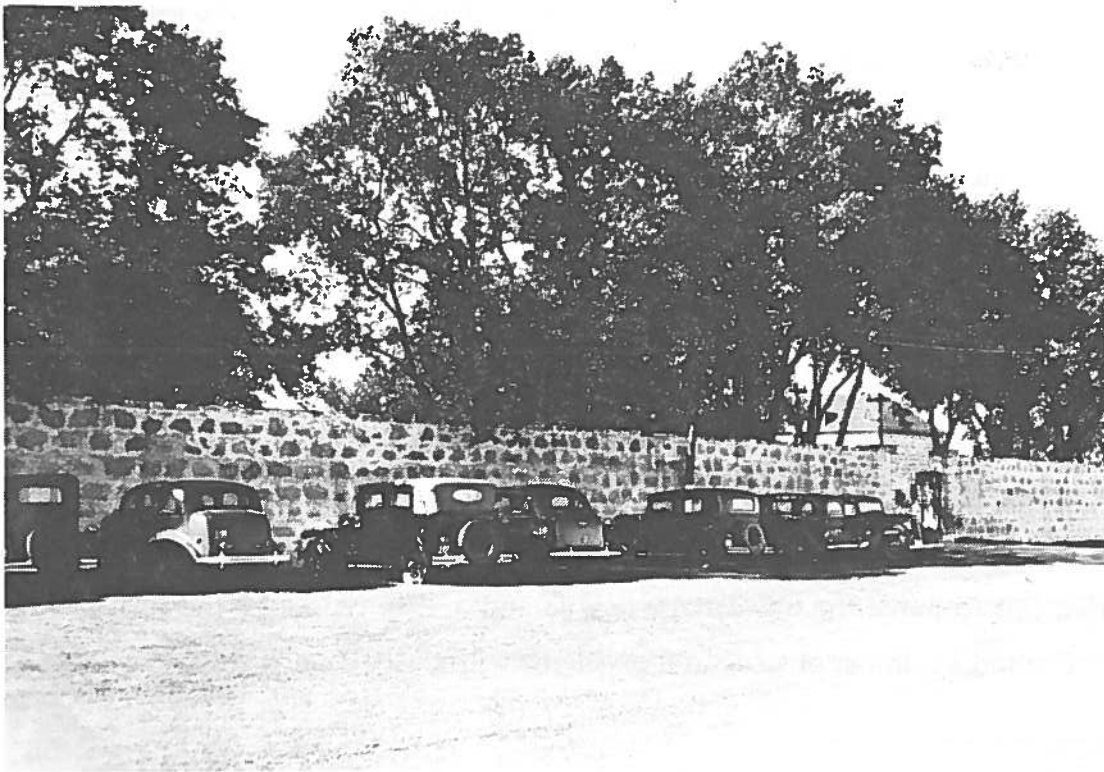


Figure 17: Automobiles parked alongside east wall, Lower Fort Garry, *ca.* 1930 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Another building located within the fort walls – and no longer standing – was the stable situated near the west wall between the Southwest Bastion and the west gate. In 1920 it was described as an oak frame structure with stone and mortar infill (a style known as *columbage pierroté*) measuring 60' x 30' and 10' in height. The interior of the Stable was divided by three partitions.³⁸ At that time the building was described as being in a "tumble down condition", the shingled roof "leak[ing] like a sieve". That same year (1920) the Stable, valued at \$200, was dismantled and sold to a G.M. Newton of Winnipeg who "wanted [the] posts for a bee cellar".³⁹

Between 1918 and 1950, according to Land Branch files, a number of repairs were also carried out to the walls, gates and fences at the fort. In 1918 the west and north gates were replaced at a cost of \$270 and in 1929 the gates for the wood fencing around the Big House were replaced with "exact facsimiles".⁴⁰ At some point between 1938 and 1946 "wall topping" was added to the perimeter stone walls.⁴¹ In 1949 a new "gate post" was installed at the north wall and a section of that wall was rebuilt using concrete footings.⁴² The tops of the stone walls at the fort required attention again in 1950, and in October of that year the Alsip Brick and Tile Company applied a "Ferrocote" waterproofing and an asphalt topping to the walls at a cost of just under \$1000.⁴³ Presumably, these repairs to the walls and gates were paid for by the Company.

It appears that the only new structures added to the fort by the MCC during their occupancy were two greenhouses built in 1931 adjacent to the north wall, near the Northwest Bastion and a "shed" adjacent to the north wall of the Big House. Interestingly, the HBC agreed to pay for repairs to these structures, although not for their original

³⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

construction.⁴⁴ They were eventually torn down by the Club at the expiration of their lease.

Land Branch files for the years before 1951 also contain a host of references to miscellaneous repairs, including work on the flag pole and its base (built in 1917 near the South West Bastion), repairs to the York Boat shed along the south wall, and the digging of a well inside the fort. Work at the fort before 1951 also included the installation and repair of overhead power lines, maintenance of the fort grounds and minor repairs to the interiors of various buildings. Between 1930 and 1949 Company expenses for maintaining the fort averaged about \$2,500 annually, excluding taxes and insurance.⁴⁵ With the designation of LFG as a national historic park in 1951 much of the maintenance of the buildings at the fort was taken over by the federal government.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

IV. Operations and Maintenance, 1951-1965

When the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources acquired Lower Fort Garry from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1951 the federal government assumed much of the cost associated with repair and maintenance work at the new national historic park. The department's Engineering Branch in Ottawa was assigned a budget to carry out this particular work under the direction of chief engineer Gordon Scott.

Between 1951 and 1956 the number of projects undertaken at the fort was minimal in comparison to later work, especially the ambitious program of restoration that occurred after 1965. Much of the repair work during this early period was carried out in 1952 when the perimeter walls were re-pointed and a mastic capping was applied.¹ As well that year, a new drainage system was installed east of the Big House, minor repairs were carried out on the bastions, a 50 foot flag pole was erected near the east gate, and a number of "rotten timbers", windows, doors, flashing and shingles were replaced in various buildings.² The following year repairs continued on the bastions while eavestroughing was replaced on a few of the fort buildings. In 1954 a parking lot was constructed outside the north gate; prior to this date club members and visitors had parked their cars alongside Highway 9 adjacent to the west gate. Identifying signs were also erected outside most of the fort buildings. In 1955 the parking area was landscaped and the approach to the parking lot from the highway was paved.³

In the fall of 1956 engineer J.E. Wilkins visited the site and prepared a lengthy report for Gordon Scott outlining in detail the condition of various buildings and other features and the scope of maintenance work required on each building in order to "bring them up to a good state of repair".⁴ Wilkins also made a number of recommendations "for the

¹ NAC, Parks Canada Records, RG84, vol. 1072, FG28, vol. pt. 2, "Work performed by Engineering Division at LFG", handwritten memo, 1960.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ NAC, Parks Canada Records, RG84, vol. 1076, FG 2, vol. 8, pt. 4, memorandum from J.E. Wilkins to G.L. Scott, 19 December 1956, p. 2.

restoration of the Fort and its buildings to some specific date in its history".⁵ Wilkins' comments are probably the first to appear in the Lower Fort Garry records in regard to the restoration of the fort. In preparing his memorandum he visited a number of libraries and archives in Winnipeg searching for "plans, photographs, sketches or written descriptions of the interior or exterior appearance of the buildings" in the historic period.⁶ Wilkins' research, however, was largely unsuccessful as he came up with only a few early photographs and drawings of the fort, primarily from Clifford Wilson, HBC archivist at Hudson's Bay House in Winnipeg. Wilkins also spoke to a number of local people whom he believed might have information about the early days of the fort. These included Margaret Arnett McLeod, a local historian who claimed "to have more information about the Fort than any other living person", Colonel Hunter Young, the son of Dr. David Young, the Asylum doctor at the fort in the 1880s, Rev. d'Eschambault, the Manitoba representative on the HSMBC, and Professor W.L. Morton, the noted Manitoba historian. While these individuals possessed considerable information regarding the early history of the fort (Margaret Arnett McLeod, for instance, told Wilkins that she was writing a book on Lower Fort Garry), they could not provide Wilkins with any details on the early appearance of the various historic buildings.

Wilkins' recommendations regarding the site were extensive; his report ran to thirty single-spaced, legal-sized pages. Generally, these recommendations involved both routine maintenance work (including landscaping) and requirements for restoration.

Wilkins found the Big House to be in reasonably good structural shape, however, he indicated a number of problem areas, primarily in the basement, which needed attention. His major recommendation, that of pouring a concrete floor throughout much of the cellar, was carried out that year (1956). It was an unfortunate decision, as almost all of the original flooring was destroyed in the process, much to the disappointment of the later restoration crew. Wilkins also recommended that the floor joists and ceiling beams be scraped of rot

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

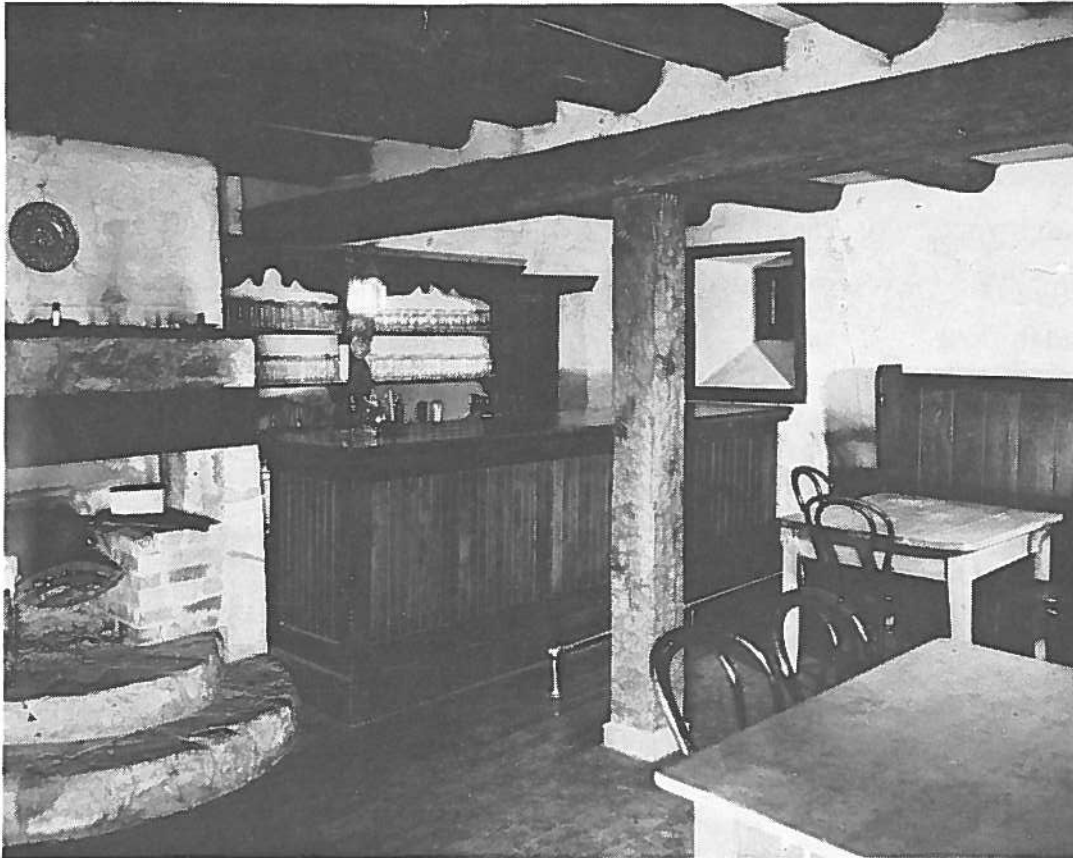


Figure 18: Lounge in the basement of the Big House, *ca.* 1957 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

and treated with preservative and that a number of support posts be replaced.⁷ Wilkins believed the ground floor of the house to be in fairly good condition but commented that the fireplaces (especially the one located in the room adjacent to the front entranceway now referred to as the "Colville parlour") needed rebuilding. On the second floor, which contained a bathroom and nine bedrooms for female staff of the MCC, Wilkins suggested that the walls be re-plastered, the staircase be rebuilt and the electrical wiring be replaced. Much the same was recommended for the north wing, which served as the quarters for the club's male staff. Externally, it was recommended only that a portion of the building on the north side be re-stuccoed⁸ (during the MCC occupancy of the house the original limestone

⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

walls were covered with stucco and painted). As well, some minor repairs were needed on the wood-framed kitchen addition on the north side of the house. While the verandah that had been constructed by the Club was thought to be in generally good repair, Wilkins did suggest that a few roof rafters be replaced and that a purloin and support be added to the verandah roof. For the smaller verandah that once existed along the west side of the building, Wilkins recommended that the supporting beams and posts be repaired under the verandah floor.⁹



Figure 19: Interior of the Big House, 1936 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Lower Fort Garry Collection/38).

⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

While Wilkins' report suggested a number of areas, both inside and outside the house, which needed repair or replacement, he did not believe that the building required restoration to an earlier historic period. "I do not find", he wrote to Scott, "anything incongruous about the building as it is to-day and cannot see that any attempt to restore it to its original appearance would in any way improve it".¹⁰ For instance, even though the dormer windows located on the second floor were not original (a fact admitted by Wilkins as he probably had a copy of the 1858 Hime photograph of the house), he did not recommend their removal.

At the Warehouse, Wilkins found that the foundation problems at the northwest corner of the building had continued, and he suggested that the foundation at that corner be underpinned. As well, sections of the first and second floor joists had failed and needed

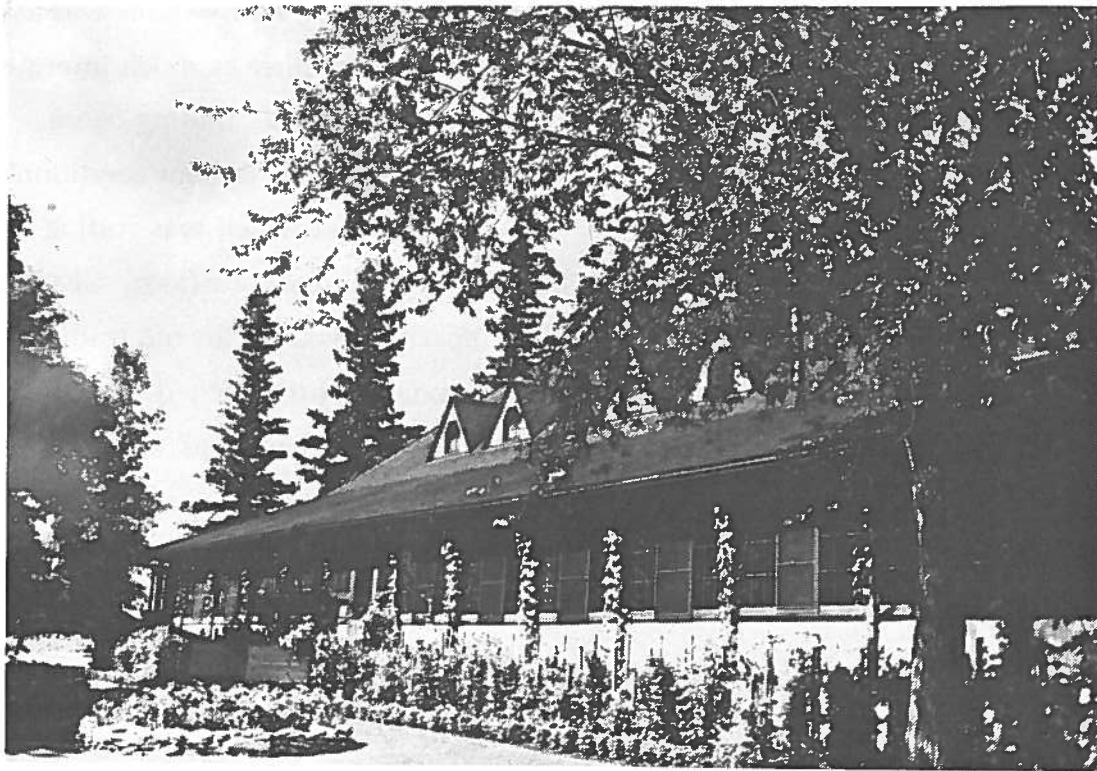


Figure 20: Big House, Lower Fort Garry, as MCC Clubhouse, 1955 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Lower Fort Garry Collection/24.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 28.

replacement, as did the roof rafters over the second floor stairway.¹¹ At the time the building contained a laundry and maids' quarters at the west end of the first floor and a golfers' locker room at the east end. The second floor was left empty, divided into three rooms by partitions. When alterations were made by the MCC the basement was "sealed in with a concrete floor slab ... so that there is no way at the moment of getting into the basement".¹² The floor of the old Warehouse were tiled and the walls panelled with plywood. As for restoration, Wilkins believed that it would be "difficult to try and restore [the Warehouse] to its old [ie. penitentiary period] appearance" as the ground floor had been completely re-modelled and all the original fixtures and partitions taken out. "Even if we knew what it was like", Wilkins wrote, "I doubt if there would be sufficient interest to justify taking out all the work the Country Club has done" in the building.¹³

In 1956 it was hoped by the Department that a "fur trade museum" might be installed on the first and second floors of the Salesshop/Furloft building, and Wilkins was asked not only to evaluate the building's structural soundness but to gather as much information as possible on how the first floor originally looked as an HBC trading store. As for maintenance, the building was described as being "generally in excellent condition".¹⁴ The largest problem was the leakage of water into the basement which was rotting the large floor timbers. It was solved with the installation of a poured concrete floor. Given the lack of historical and structural information about the specific layout of the old trading store on the first floor of the Salesshop/Furloft, Wilkins recommended that they design the space as a "typical" HBC trading post of the period, about which there was more information. Although local people had only "vague recollections of what the place looked like", Wilkins wrote, "no doubt we shall get a lot of information from the locals on how it should have been done after the job is finished".¹⁵

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p. 10.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 3-8.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

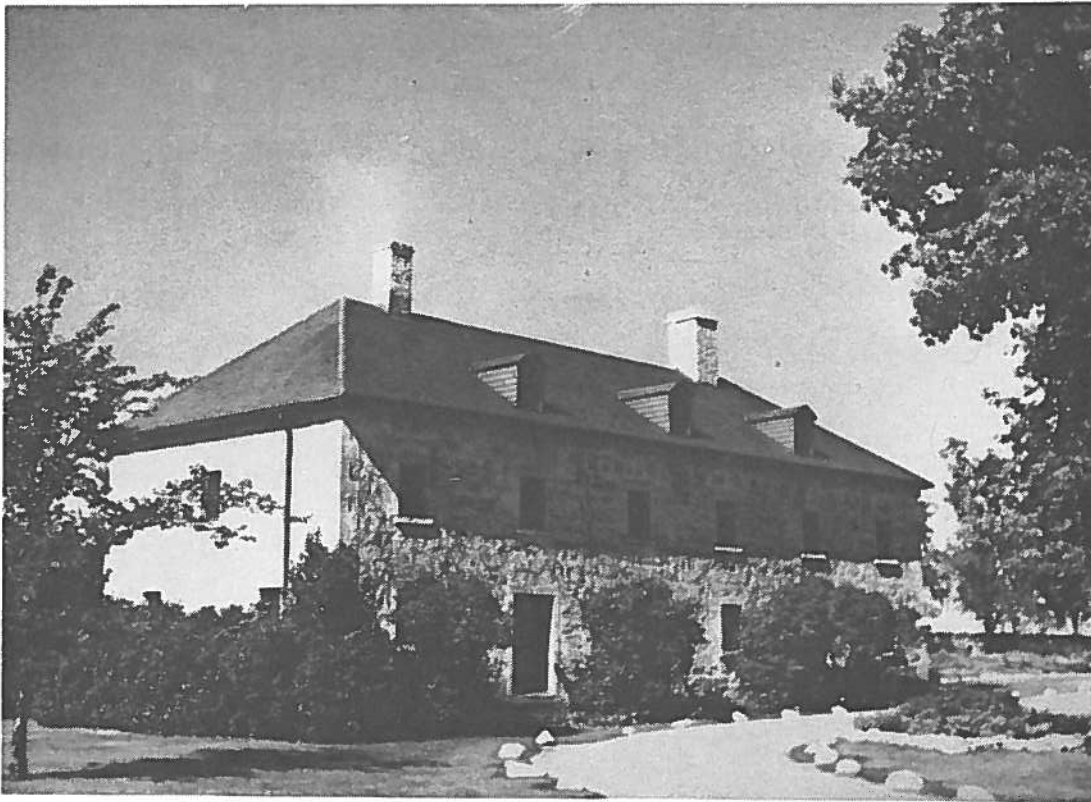


Figure 21: Salesshop/Furloft, Lower Fort Garry, 1955 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Lower Fort Garry Collection/21).

Nonetheless, the report recommended the restoration of the store's first floor salesshop. The presence of some markings on the floor showed the general location of original shelving, a stove, grain bins and the counter. Interestingly, Wilkins remarked that floor markings indicated that a "semicircular" counter was once located near the east door (presumably where the reconstructed counter is located today) but that these markings must have come from a later period as that particular store configuration did not conform to the "traditional" HBC style of a counter running the length of a room, three and a half feet from wall shelves stocked with trade goods. Wilkins therefore recommended that the trading counter be located much nearer the wall. However, this particular layout style was more common to a later period and would in fact have proved unsuitable for the shape and

dimensions of the saleshop itself. In the end, the location of the counter near the door of the restored saleshop was guided by the floor markings originally noted by Wilkins.¹⁶

The second and third floors of the Saleshop/Furloft were considered to be structurally sound, the only changes required were those related to their conversion to a museum. This involved the construction of display areas, display cases and the installation

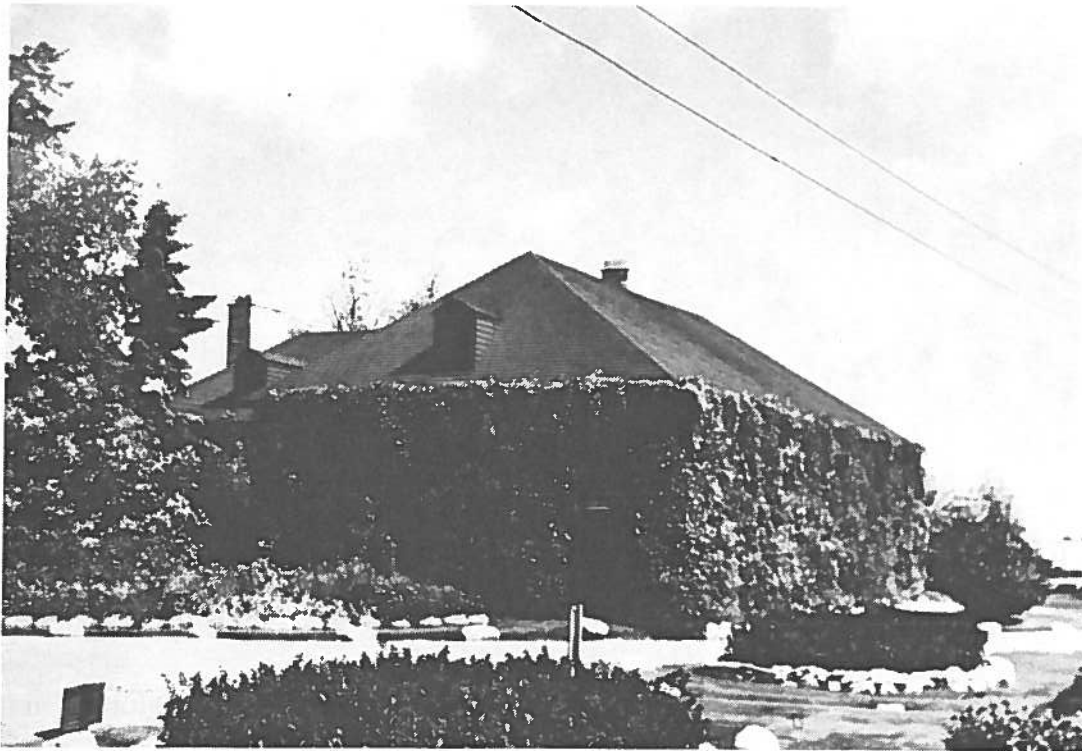


Figure 22: Men's House, Lower Fort Garry, 1955 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Lower Fort Garry Collection/22).

of electrical lighting. While for a time plans carried forward for a museum at the Saleshop/Furloft (including discussions with Clifford Wilson of the HBC), ultimately it was decided to restore the whole building and install the museum next door at the reconstructed Retail Store (see Chapter VII for further details on this decision). It was also decided to

¹⁶ Ibid.

"restore" the clerk's office located at the West end of the building in order that it might be opened to the public.¹⁷

In the summer of 1956 the original bake ovens located in the west wing of the Men's House were rebuilt. Referred to at the time as the "Community Kitchen", the "R.N.W.M.P. Building", or the "Bakehouse", the former living quarters of HBC post servants now housed a small garage in the bakeoven room, a stable and gardener's workshop in the north portion of the main building and a storeroom in the south section. The first floor of the building which contained the stable was, according to Wilkins, divided into a number of horse stalls. A great many alterations had been carried out to the interior of the building which made it "impossible [Wilkins wrote] to decide on what is original and what should be restored".¹⁸ At the time of his inspection of the fort in the fall of 1956 the second floor of the house was unused although it had once served as a hay loft.¹⁹

Wilkins made a number of recommendations for basic repair work on the structure, as well as suggestions regarding the restoration of certain features. This included the laying of a stone floor in the bake oven room (which at the time had only a dirt floor), the construction of new wood floors at various other locations on the main floor, the replacement of rotted sills over the stone footings, the cutting away of much of the extensive ivy vines on the exterior walls, and the removal of the distinct grating stucco.²⁰ One "interesting" restoration option proposed by Wilkins was to remove all the original stucco, repair the stone infill and re-stucco these particular sections, while painting black the exposed *colombage*-style timbers. This, he believed, would re-create the "typical appearance of the half-timber construction of English Tudor Architecture".²¹

The report suggested that the general public only be allowed admittance to the room containing the original bake ovens as there was, according to Wilkins, "very little of interest

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 29.

²¹ Ibid., p. 21.

for the public to see in the rest of the [Men's House]".²² While the MCC would be required to find new shelter for their tractors and other mechanical implements, they could continue to use the stables and gardener's workshop in the north part of the main building and the storage area in the south part of this section.

The Doctor's Office (often mistakenly referred to at the time as the "Doctor's House") is a small frame building built in the 1880s adjacent to the Warehouse building during the period that it served as the Provincial Asylum. During his inspection Wilkins found the

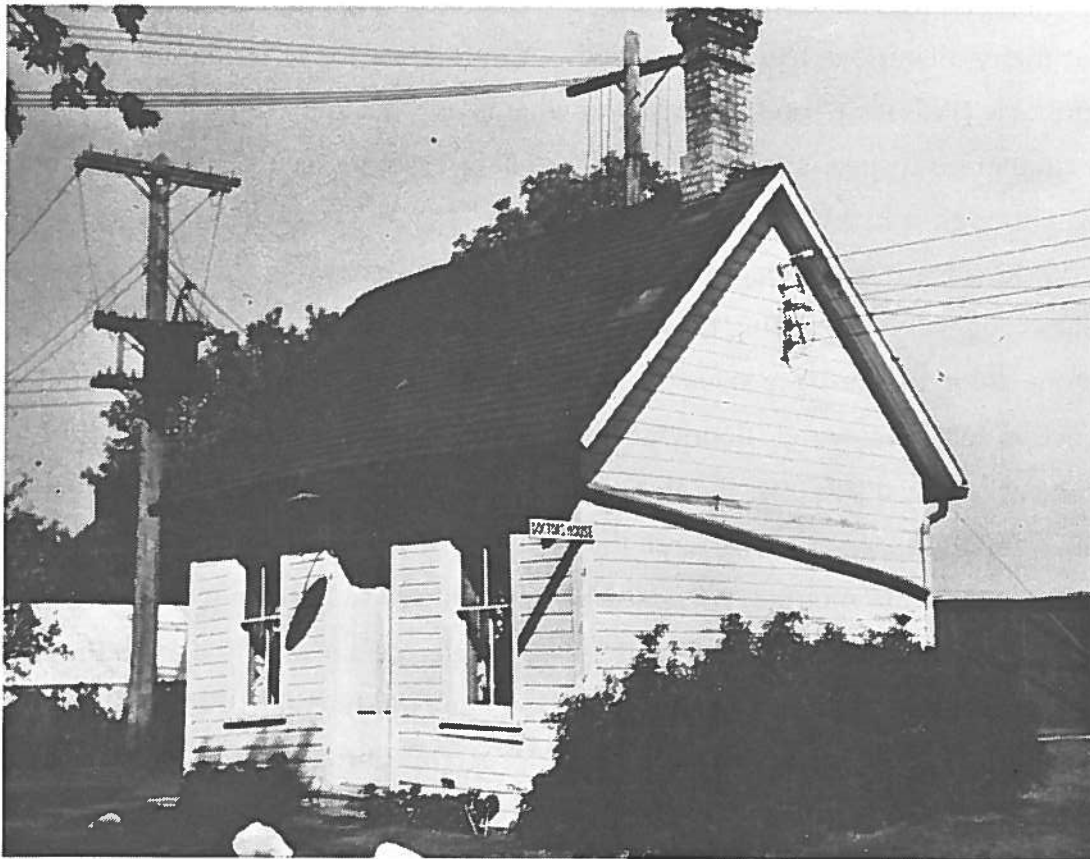


Figure 23: Doctor's Office, Lower Fort Garry, 1955 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Lower Fort Garry Collection/25).

building, which was being used as the commissioners' office, to be in poor structural condition, especially the timber sills and floor joists that had rotted and collapsed in various places. Wilkins recommended that the sills and footings be replaced, along with the joists,

²² Ibid., p. 19.

that rotted portions of the wall studs be replaced and that new exterior siding be installed.²³ Wilkins considered the building to have almost no historical importance and "were it not for the fact that it is situated at the most strategic position for use as a commissionaires' office, that is, it has sight of all three gates into the fort", he believed it should be demolished.²⁴

Wilkins also made a careful inspection of the bastions. The walls of the Northeast Bastion, which contained the powder magazine, were in good condition, while the stone walls of the magazine itself were "generally good inside and out".²⁵ The vaulted roof, however was "starting to fail" and the wood floor needed replacing. At the Southwest Bastion, the only bastion completely closed in by a conical shaped roof, Wilkins recommended that the floor be replaced and that a number of the rotted roof beams be cut away and repaired.²⁶ He also suggested that the exterior staircase that once led to the second floor doorway be reconstructed. The stonework at this bastion was also considered to be in "good shape".²⁷ At the time of Wilkin's report the Northwest Bastion, which contained the old fort bakehouse, was being used by the MCC as an ice-house. Although the original bake ovens had been sealed up and were partially collapsed, Wilkins believed that the building should be restored and opened to the public. He recommended that the ceiling installed by the MCC that was insulated with wood shavings be removed. At that point the roof beams would have to be inspected and treated with preservative. The partially collapsed ovens could be rebuilt, including the oven roofs and flues.²⁸ Meanwhile, at the time of Wilkins' visit, work had already commenced on the installation of a public

²³ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

washroom (or "comfort station") inside the Southeast Bastion. This bastion had been used in the 19th century as the fort's ice-house.

Aside from the above changes to the buildings of the fort, Wilkins also made a number of recommendations regarding various other features at the fort. These included: the necessity for improved landscaping around the north side parking lot; the erection of directional and informational signs; the re-surfacing with gravel of the asphalt-covered driveways inside the walls; improving the drainage inside the walls, especially in the northwest corner of the fort; providing benches at various locations so that visitors could sit and rest; relocating the flagpole to the east gate; re-building the original bell tower that was once located behind the Retail Store; reconstructing the prisoners' bake oven situated behind the Warehouse, and designing a plan to bury the "unsightly" overhead electrical wiring that connected (via hydro poles) the fort buildings.²⁹ Wilkins also recommended that no more buildings be erected inside the walls, and that while the two greenhouses built by the MCC in the northwest corner of the fort were out of period, they should not be moved outside the walls. Commenting on the structural condition of the walls, the report notes that the stonework "had been kept in a remarkably good state of preservation", due largely to the quality of the original work, and should be left alone.³⁰

Wilkins' comprehensive report on the structural condition of Lower Fort Garry was submitted to Ottawa in December of 1956. While some of the maintenance and construction work recommended by the report was actually underway during Wilkins' inspection, the bulk of the repairs and renovations at the site were carried out over the next four or five years.

Under the direction of site engineer H.L. Johnston, a variety of projects were undertaken at the fort beginning in the summer of 1956. While the bulk of the work carried out during this period can only be characterized as repair work, involving much new construction, there was some sympathy with the notion of actually restoring the fort's

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 3-8.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

historic buildings to their "most interesting state of development, regardless of date".³¹ In 1956 a public washroom was constructed within the walls of the Southeast Bastion along with plumbing, septic tank and water connections to an existing line at the Big House.³² The brick used to construct this facility was chosen to match, as much as possible, the colour of the stonework of the surrounding bastion. This washroom remains in use to this day.

That same year a furnace and sump pump were installed in the Salesshop/Fur Loft and a concrete basement floor was laid. The bricked up fireplace was opened, temporary partitions were removed and the walls of the salesshop office were scraped of whitewash and then re-plastered and painted "in the original colours".³³ In the former Men's House the

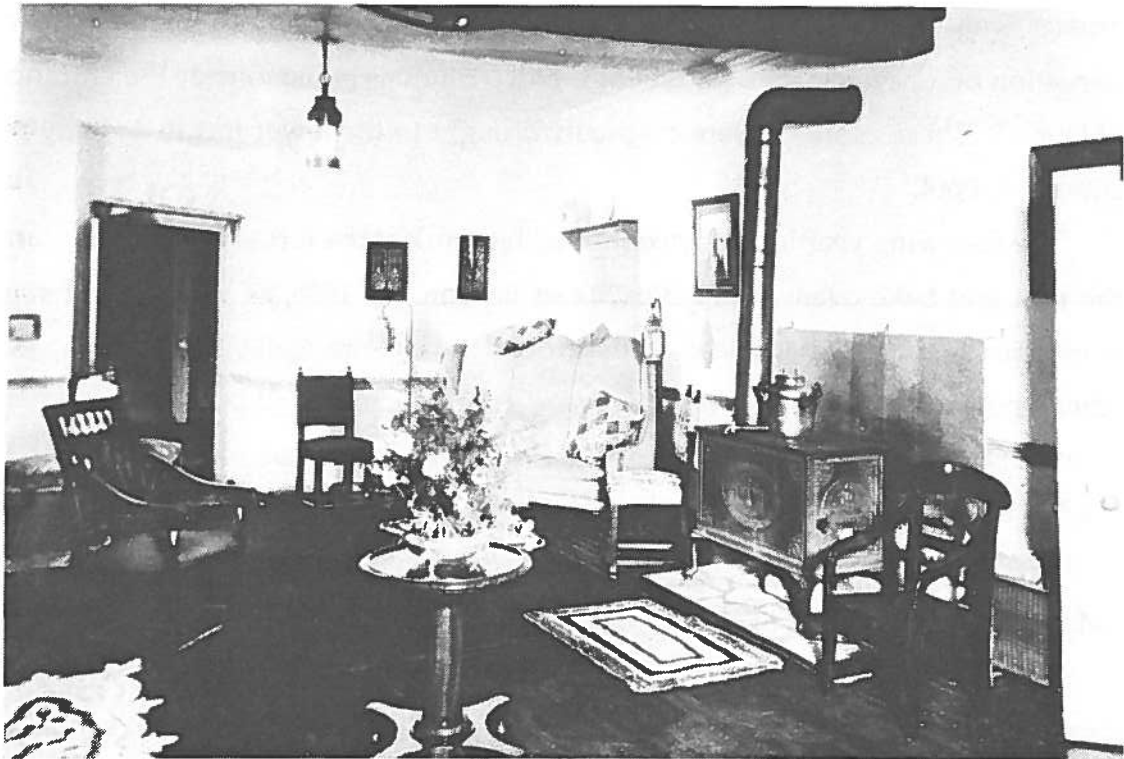


Figure 24: Interior of the Big House parlour, 1936 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Lower Fort Garry Collection/41).

³¹ Ibid., p. 2.

³² NAC, Parks Canada Records, RG84, vol. 1072, FG 28, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1960.

³³ Ibid., vol. 1071, FG 2, vol. 7, pt. 1, 1957, p. 1.

original bake ovens were rebuilt and the walls repaired.³⁴ At the Big House a portion of the "caved-in" west wall and foundation was rebuilt, the sagging verandah was raised and a concrete floor was poured in the basement. As well, a new wood flooring was installed in the Southwest Bastion, over top of concrete perimeter sills. At the Northeast Bastion new roof supports and flooring were installed in 1956. The Doctor's Office, the small frame building adjacent to the warehouse, underwent extensive repairs. The whole building was raised and new sills, joists, flooring and siding were installed. Much of the building's inside paneling was also replaced.³⁵ Other repairs and minor construction projects were carried out at the fort during 1956 as well, including the construction of new mortised gates at the west and north entrances, the replacement of 140 oak gun rests in the loopholes of the perimeter walls, the building of curbs at the parking lot outside the north gate, and the construction of a new carriage for one of the two cannons situated near the entrance to the Big House.³⁶ These cannons were originally brought to the lower fort in 1846 by the Sixth Regiment of Foot.

The following year Johnston continued his work at the fort. Repairs were carried out to the roof and bake ovens of the Northwest Bastion. In 1958, as Wilkins had suggested, new electrical cables were placed underground inside the walls, replacing some of the overhead power lines that had for many years connected serviced buildings inside the fort. Also in 1958, work continued at the fort in burying overhead electrical and telephone cables.³⁷ The main floor in the west half of the Big House was replaced, new support posts were installed in the basement of the Fur Loft/Saleshop, and a new floor was installed in the Men's House.³⁸

Between 1960 and the end of 1962 the records show that only minor repairs, renovations or "restorations" were carried out. In May 1962 the Department contracted with

³⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., vol. 1072, FG 28, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1960.

³⁸ Ibid.

F.W. Hooker Ltd. of Selkirk to repair various buildings and fences at the fort. This included the construction of a new east gate reusing the existing hardware, repairs to the west gate, the construction of a stairway to the second floor doorway at the Southwest Bastion, the replacement of floorboards in this same bastion, and the construction of a fence along the perimeter of the Big House lawn. It is not known whether historical photographs were used in the reconstruction of this fence. Other work included the replacement of some windows and sashes in the Big House, minor repairs to the Doctor's Office, the replacement of some floorboards in the Warehouse, repairs to windows in the Salesshop/Fur Loft, and the replacement of windows and doors at the Men's House. The total cost for this work came to \$6,360.³⁹

While some attempts were made between 1951 and 1965 to gather historical documentation relevant to the original condition of the various fort buildings, it is important to note that most of the work undertaken at LFG prior to 1965 was done with little thought given to accurate restoration techniques. No archaeology was carried out before 1962 and the largest part of building modifications was undertaken to rectify such problems as ground-water seepage, electrical servicing, and the disintegration of original building fabric.

Between 1951 and 1960 the largest expenditures at the fort by the Department were capital costs associated with various construction projects and averaged around \$8,300 annually.⁴⁰ The largest expenditure came in fiscal year 1956/57 in which \$16,856 was spent on a variety of projects. Operational costs were much lower during this period, in the neighborhood of about \$2,000 per year.⁴¹ Where costs associated with managing resources at the fort before 1956 averaged less than \$150 per year, after the opening of the fort to the public that year, expenditures jumped to around \$4,000 annually for the rest of the decade. This was due in large part to the hiring of two commissionaires at the fort in the spring of 1956.

³⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, 1961-62.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pt. 1958-61.

⁴¹ Ibid.

In 1960 the National Historic Sites Division (NHSD) hired Barbara Johnstone as the first superintendent of Lower Fort Garry N.H.P. Ms. Johnstone had since 1953 worked as the custodian, or assistant curator, of the Hudson's Bay Company Museum in Winnipeg and since 1958 had served as its curator. In 1958 the NHSD had contracted with Johnstone to carry out research on the history of the fort and its various buildings. Interestingly, when compared with the Canadian Parks Service infrastructure today and the division of responsibilities, Johnstone was expected to carry on with her research responsibilities even after her appointment as superintendent. Ms. Johnstone was an interesting choice for the position. A student of early Manitoba and Red River history she was a staunch supporter of the protection and interpretation of the province's early built heritage, albeit from a largely Whiggish perspective that privileged the "triumph" of the early fur traders and settlers over the wilderness. In late 1959, in a letter to Jack Herbert, the Director of the NHSD, Johnstone commented on what she considered to be the poor state of heritage commemoration in Manitoba and suggested "dire" consequences if this heritage -- specifically Lower Fort Garry -- was not only protected but used to instruct young people on societal values and principles.

There is one good selling point [she wrote] to politicians and the public alike, I feel. That is missiles come and go, and aircraft, and Dew Lines, treaties and the like are made and broken daily ... the strength of democratic life lies in the end with individuals of these countries that hold democratic opinions. Now if the young are not receiving lessons in our principles, just how long will it take Communist fifth column to overcome us without the use of missiles.⁴²

We do not know whether Ms. Johnstone's warning had any effect on Ottawa's decisions regarding development at the fort but it is clear that the lower fort was destined to become a major visitor attraction in southern Manitoba. With the opening of the site to the general public in 1956, the negotiation of a "sunset clause" in the MCC 1960-1963 lease of the fort and the appointment of Superintendent Johnstone, Lower Fort Garry's role as an important heritage site and tourist destination was initiated.

As the MCC continued its occupation of the fort until 1963, Superintendent Johnstone worked during that period from an office located in the Federal Building in St. Boniface.

⁴² Ibid., FG 28, vol. pt. 2, 1958-61, Barbara Johnstone to Jack Herbert, 15 October 1959.

In 1960 she hired two guides to work at the fort for the summer season which ran from the middle of June to the middle of September.⁴³ Two students, Margaret Baldock and Lawrence Porhownik, were selected and paid a salary of \$1.55 an hour. Each wore a uniform consisting of a "naval-style cap, necktie, khaki shirt and slacks, or skirt", and were expected to contribute fifty percent of the cost of the uniform.⁴⁴ In the summer of 1961 a similar arrangement existed, although the guides also worked weekends from mid-September to the end of October. In 1962 three guides were hired and their basic wage of \$245 a month was supplemented by \$10 for each year of university completed. "Political" considerations played a part in the selection of candidates for these positions, as that year a list of four candidates (from which three were chosen) was submitted to Johnstone by Dr. Joseph Slogan, the federal member of parliament from Selkirk.⁴⁵ Johnstone expressed her disapproval of such a system of patronage, claiming that it allowed her little control over the hiring process or of the conduct of the individual guides.⁴⁶ In 1963 Johnstone asked the University of Manitoba History Department to recommend suitable candidates for the guide positions at LFG. Each candidate was expected to have at least two years of University training with preference given to those with a specialiation in Canadian history. As well, each was expected to be "mature" and possess the "capacity to promote good public relations". Eventually, three candidates were chosen to be seasonal guides at the fort.

In 1962 the visitor season at the fort was extended from 7 May to 15 September and on weekends until the end of October. The duties of small seasonal staff consisted of guiding groups of visitors around the fort, providing historical background from information that had been supplied for the most part by Superintendent Johnstone.⁴⁷ The guides were kept quite busy during the summer season. In 1960 almost 43,000 people visited Lower Fort

⁴³ Ibid., FG 170-17, vol. 1, 1960.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 1962.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Garry. The next year this figure jumped to over 50,000 and to over 60,000 in 1962.⁴⁸ By the summer of 1964 attendance had reached almost 72,000.⁴⁹

Along with the increase in attendance came increasing operational costs. From a modest expenditure of \$4,500 in 1959, operating costs jumped to approximately \$11,000 in 1961/62 and to \$35,000 by 1963/64.⁵⁰ These increased expenditures went largely toward the salary of the new superintendent, as well as the wages paid to the seasonal guide staff, to the fort and grounds custodian Henry Sprong and his wife Marjorie (both of whom had been previously employed by the MCC for a number of years) as well as for two seasonal labourers who worked on building and grounds maintenance at the fort.

At about the same time that the federal government began to demonstrate increasing interest in the lower fort as a tourist draw, the provincial government expressed interest in building, along with private capital, a "sympathetic historical development" on provincial land south of the fort (for a discussion of land acquisition and ownership see Chapter VI). Spearheaded by Robert Malone, vice-president of the Winnipeg Free Press, the initiative was supported by the Manitoba Minister of Public Utilities, Maitland Steinkopf, and Sterling Lyon, then the Provincial Minister of Mines and Natural Resources. In the early 1960s the Manitoba Government submitted a proposal, developed principally by Malone, to build a "Red River Colony restoration" on the land that had once been part of the MCC golf course.⁵¹ While no formal plan for such a restoration appears to have been drawn up beyond the original (and loosely defined) concept, it was to be an ambitious undertaking that would see the construction of various features associated with the historic Red River Colony, the relocation of a few heritage buildings, and the hiring of costumed animators. As suggested by Malone these plans could include the development of an "Indian Village, Hudson's Bay [Company] Trading Post, Red River Ox Cart Rides, Red River Steamer, Early

⁴⁸ Ibid., FG 111, vol. 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ "Actual and Estimated Costs for the Operation of Lower Fort Garry, 1961-1980", Treasury Board Report, 28 June 1965, Lower Fort Garry NHS, Administrative Files.

⁵¹ Lower Fort Garry NHS, Administrative Files, R.S. Malone to Maitland Steinkopf, 23 October 1963 (Malone's letter makes reference to an earlier proposal, exact date unknown).

Brewery, [and] York Boat Rides".⁵² Further, it was recommended that historic Riel House in St. Vital, along with other historic buildings in the region, be moved to the area.⁵³ The province proposed to build a restaurant at the site, as well. Various groups and organizations were to be approached by the province as participants in the "restoration" including the local Roman Catholic Diocese, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Junior League of Manitoba.

In 1961 the federal and provincial governments entered into a tentative and informal agreement for a joint development of the fort and the surrounding properties. While the federal government agreed to restore the historic buildings within the walls of the fort (see below), as well as reconstruct the old farm buildings that had once been situated beyond the north wall (if they could secure title to this property from Manitoba) the province was to develop the area south of the fort. It was further agreed that the two levels of government would share the cost of common services, including the parking lot, while charging a common admission fee which would be split according to respective investment in the project.⁵⁴

By early 1964 the Manitoba Government appeared to back off from at least part of its original development proposal, suggesting to the federal government that it assume the costs for many of the reconstruction projects mentioned above.⁵⁵ As the expenditures for these projects were deemed by Ottawa to be overly high, the federal department of Northern Affairs and National Resources decided to "go it alone" at the site and move ahead with the restoration of the historic buildings inside the fort walls. In fact, by that date the NHSD had already begun the construction of a museum at the fort to house the Hudson's Bay Company Collection within the reconstructed walls of the old Retail Store that stood on the site between 1873 and 1924.

⁵² Ibid., p. 2.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Arthur Laing, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources to Sterling Lyon, 23 July 1964, p. 1.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

By late 1964 the provincial government had shelved its plans for the reconstruction of an historic village adjacent to the site.⁵⁶ The next year the two governments negotiated a land transfer which saw the province turn over to the federal government title to two large parcels of land north and south of the fort. This land transfer, coupled with Ottawa's decision to begin an ambitious program of research and restoration at the site, was to set the direction for the development of Lower Fort Garry over the next two decades.

⁵⁶ In a 1972 note appended to some of her private papers contained in the HBCA, Barbara Johnstone described the provincial proposal as a "tourist trap". The plan, she argued, "would have ruined the whole Fort re-development ... and would have netted bucks for private business from what should have been the peoples'". Johnstone also noted that the "hair-brained" plan was put to rest through the intervention of federal officials, including herself, with Premier Duff Roblin and senior provincial bureaucrats Derek Bedson and Stuart Anderson. PAM, HBCA, B.97/54, Barbara Johnstone Papers, "Lower Fort Garry", pp. 1 and 2.

V. Land Acquisition, 1951-1988

The development of an historic park at Lower Fort Garry after 1951 necessitated the assembly of a number of parcels of land which surrounded the fort. In the 19th century the HBC owned a considerable amount of property in the vicinity of Lower Fort Garry referred to as the "Hudson's Bay Company Reserve" which included the fort and a large section of land to the west, in all about 500 acres. Situated on lots 130 and 131, in St. Andrew's Parish, and on lot 1 of St. Clement's Parish, this reserve had provided the land base for much of the company's 19th century farming operation at the lower fort. While the large section of property located west of the highway was eventually sold to the provincial government, much of the rest, or the land situated on lot 130 south of the fort, was purchased from the company by the MCC for use as a golf course. Prior to 1951 the company maintained its ownership of the fort proper, as well as small strips of property that bordered the north, south, east and west walls.

Since 1951, and the deeding of the fort by the company to the federal government, there have been, essentially, three phases of land assembly at Lower Fort Garry. The first encompassed the immediate area of the fort itself, plus 200 feet beyond each of the north and south walls, as well as strips of property running from the east wall to the river and from the west wall to the old highway. This land was ceded by the company to the federal government as part of the 1951 transfer and formed the nucleus of the national historic park until 1965 (see Parcel 1 on accompanying map). The old parking lot, built by the federal government in 1956, was located within the northern limit of this parcel, just beyond the fort's north wall.

The second phase of land assembly at the site occurred after 1965 with the decision by the NHSD to expand development at the fort in order to make LFG a major tourist destination in Manitoba. During this period of development land around the fort was leased by the federal government from the province and included parcels north, south and west of the site. The third phase of land acquisition took place in the 1970s and 80s and was primarily associated with the transfer of leased land to the federal government, the securing of quit claims for subsurface rights from the Hudson's Bay Company, and the relocation of the old highway – Highway #9 or the "Selkirk Highway" – further to the west.

As early as 1961 the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources considered acquiring land at Lower Fort Garry to serve as a "buffer zone" around the site.¹ This included a proposal to purchase land owned by the Motor Country Club on the east side of the Red River, directly across from the fort. At the same time, the Province of Manitoba decided to purchase lands north and south of the fort from the MCC in order to begin planning what it called a "sympathetic historical development" adjacent to the site. The "Red River Colony Restoration", as it was called by its principal backer – Robert Malone of the *Winnipeg Free Press* – is discussed in the previous chapter. While initial plans for the development were ambitious, opposition from within the federal government, coupled with the scheme's projected costs, persuaded the province to back away from the undertaking. In lieu of pursuing its own development at the lower fort, Manitoba negotiated easement rights for federal use of two parcels of provincial land north and south of the fort where it had planned its heritage development. By two Orders-in-Council dated 24 March and 16 June, 1965 the provincial Department of Tourism and Recreation allowed the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to "use and occupy lands [adjacent to LFG] ... for a ten (10) year period calculated from the first day of April, 1965 pending completion of a general agreement between Canada and Manitoba respecting the development of Lower Fort Garry."² A number of parcels of land were covered under the agreement, including land north and south of the fort, as well as properties between the old highway and the CPR line west of the fort. Initially four parcels were involved: "Parcel C" covering the northerly part of St. Andrew's lot 130, all of lot 131 and a portion of lot 1 in St. Clement's Parish between the highway and the CPR line; "Parcel D" located south of the creek between the highway and the river and covering three chains of lot 130; "Parcel B1" located north of the fort on riverlot number one between the highway and the river and; "Parcel B2", on lot 131 between the highway and the river extending from a line 200 feet

¹ RG84, National Archives of Canada, Parks Canada Records, FG 2, vol. 9, 1961.

² 8616, Lower Fort Garry Realty files, Canadian Parks Service, PNRO, 1965.

south of the fort to the creek.³ As for the general agreement for development at the fort (in return for use of the above properties), Arthur Laing the Minister for Northern Affairs, promised that his department would "undertake reconstruction by 1980 of two complexes of industrial and agricultural buildings which formerly stood on the parcels in question." In return, Laing proposed, "Manitoba must eventually give Canada clear title."⁴ Needless to say the federal government failed to fulfill its 1965 pledge. Interestingly, in 1982 when the final transfer of land at Lower Fort Garry was negotiated by the two levels of government Parks Canada was deemed to have "carried out the conditions requested by the province in order to achieve full development of the site." Presumably, the completion of various restoration and reconstruction projects by the department in the 1960s and 70s - see Chapter VII - and the opening of the Visitor Reception Centre in 1979 fulfilled at least the "spirit" of the 1965 agreement. Parcels B1, B2, C and D had been initially subdivided onto smaller parcels (see map). Later, small tracts of land north of the fort, as well as "Parcel A", the road allowance for the old highway, were added to the fort's land base.

Another parcel of land acquired by the site was the Simkin property located north of the fort and forming a portion of lot number one in St. Clement's Parish. The property (which as late as 1965 included the stables associated with the NWMP occupation of the fort in 1873) extended from the river as far west as the old highway. Approximately four chains in width, the lot's southern border lay just beyond the east-west access road. As early as 1965 the previous owner of the site, W.B. Bain, had entered into negotiations with officials from the NHSD regarding the sale of the property.⁵ Not long afterward, however, Bain sold the property, which included a single storey frame house with attached garage and porch, to Saul Simkin, the president of B.A.C.M. Construction of Winnipeg, who used the house as a summer residence. In April of 1974 Simkin sold the property, including the house, to the federal government for \$80,000.00. The house was later renovated by Parks

³ 8616/L3, LFG Realty files, R.P. Malis, Director, Parks Canada, Prairie Region to Allan Murray, Associate Deputy Minister, Renewable Resources and Transportation Services, Province of Manitoba, 1 March 1976, CPS, PNRO.

⁴ NAC, RG 84, FG 28, vol. 2, part 1, 1965.

⁵ 8616/L3, LFG Realty files, Canadian Parks Service, PNRO.

Canada for use as the site's administrative office, a function which it continues to serve to the present day.⁶ One year prior to the sale of the Simkin property a group of local landowners, who had formed the "River Road Residents Association" (an organization which continues to operate) petitioned the provincial government to halt further land acquisition by the park. At about the same time a local entrepreneur named Stern put forward a proposal to develop a tourist complex on land that he owned west of the fort. Stern's proposal included the building of a "watch and clock museum", antique shop, motel, ice cream parlour, souvenir shop and a dining room which would contain furnishings that he had purchased from the old Selkirk Dining Room in the recently demolished Royal Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg.⁷ Stern petitioned for commercial re-zoning of his land but his request was denied by the municipality.

Negotiations between the two levels of government regarding the proposed relocation of the highway began in 1968. At that time it was hoped that provincial highway 9, located less than 50 feet from the west wall of the fort, might be moved further to the west (and screened off by tree plantings) and that the visitor parking lot would be moved from its location just outside the north wall to a new spot either further north, south, or west of the fort proper. Eventually an agreement was reached between NHSD and the provincial Department of Highways, with the province picking up 75% of the costs of relocating the highway while the federal government paid the remaining 25%. Although a variety of locations were studied for a new, and larger, parking lot (including a location actually west of the proposed new highway) it was decided to locate both the lot and the new Visitor Centre south of the fort, just beyond the creek.

In 1975, the ten year occupancy agreement between the federal and provincial governments for lands surrounding the fort expired. A further four year agreement was reached between the two levels of government, extending occupancy at the site until 1979, or "until conditions are such that a transfer can be arranged, whichever is sooner."⁸ This

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., copy of Province of Manitoba Order-in-Council, no. 159, 22 February 1978.

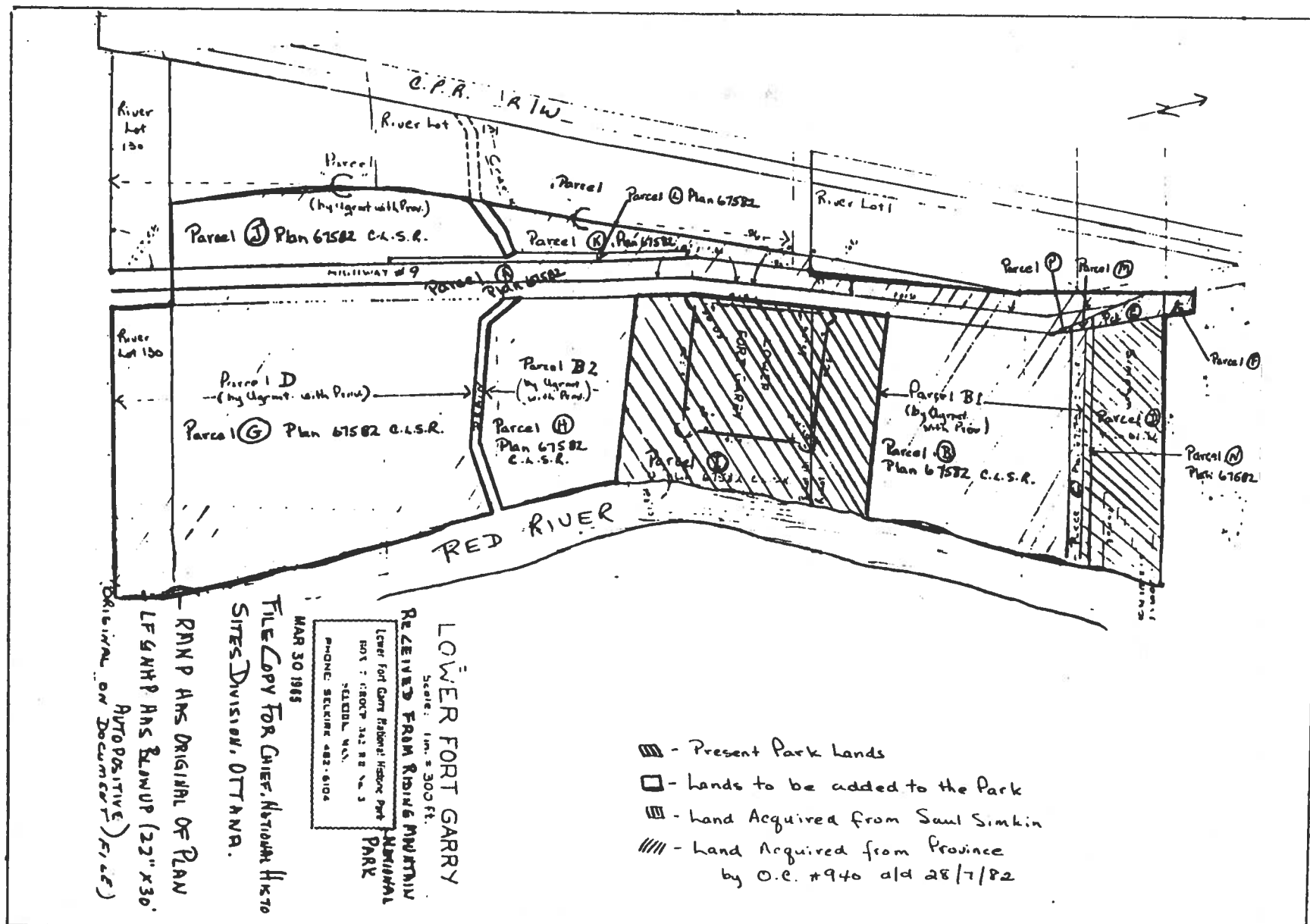


Figure 25: Map depicting various parcels of land acquired by the federal government at Lower Fort Garry, 1965 (RG 84, Parks Canada Records, National Historic Sites Division, March 1965).

agreement was extended until 1982 when a provincial Order-in-Council, dated the 28th of July of that year authorized the transfer of "administration and control of certain Crown (Manitoba) lands to Her Majesty, The Queen in Right of Canada for the purposes of Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park."⁹ In 1986, at the request of the federal government, the 1982 Order-in-Council was amended to include "control and administration of the interest of the Crown in all Crown lands, mines, minerals (precious and base) in the ... described lands ...".¹⁰ Two years later, in 1988, the Canadian Parks Service negotiated a "Quit Claim" from the Hudson's Bay Company for subsurface rights to the properties surrounding the fort.

Since first acquiring Lower Fort Garry from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1951 it was another 37 years before the federal government received clear title to the lands surrounding the fort. From the original transfer of the fort, which included small strips of property extending beyond each of the four walls, the federal government slowly amassed the land base at Lower Fort Garry that it considered necessary for the development of the site as a major heritage and tourist centre in Manitoba. With the closing of the Motor Country Club in early 1963 and the decision by the NHSD to develop the fort and its surroundings, the federal government began the long process of negotiating occupancy agreements, culminating in the 1980s with the final transfer of the surrounding land base to the federal Crown.

⁹ Ibid., LFG Realty files, Canadian Parks Service, PNRO, "Transfer of Land", 15 October 1982.

¹⁰ LFG, Realty files, Order-in-Council, 12 November 1986.

VI. Restoration and Reconstruction, 1965-1992

With the impending termination of its lease with the Motor Country Club at the beginning of 1963, along with increasing public pressure, especially in the Selkirk area, to develop Lower Fort Garry as a national historic site and tourist destination, the office of the ADM of Northern Affairs and National Resources authored a report in late 1962 that called for the "gradual" restoration and reconstruction of the historic buildings at the lower fort.¹ This original 1962 plan proved to be ambitious in its scope and recommendations. It called for the restoration of the Big House, Salesshop/Furloft, Warehouse, South West Bastion, Men's House, Bakehouse, Powder Magazine, Doctor's Office and Engineer's Cottage. The report also recommended the reconstruction of the buildings associated with the agricultural complex located north of the fort, five buildings that were once part of the industrial complex near the creek, and the 1870s men's house and canteen, the "old wood store", blacksmith shop and farm manager's cottage that were once situated immediately south of the fort.² Later, it was decided that only those buildings which were associated with the 1850s period would be restored and reconstructed, a decision that was criticized by the superintendent at the time, Barbara Johnstone.

In September, 1965 Treasury Board approved in principle a submission from the National Historic Sites Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to "restore, reconstruct and refurnish a number of buildings and works at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park ... and to enter into an agreement with the Government of the Province of Manitoba (for the cooperative development of the site)."³ As part of this general initiative, it was decided that the development program at the fort would be implemented over a fifteen-year period; that the provincial government would turn over to the federal government two parcels of land north and south of the fort in return for the reconstruction of the various buildings that once stood on these properties; and lastly that

¹ NAC, RG 84, vol. 1072, FG 2, vol. 10.

² Ibid.

³ NAC, RG84, vol. 1073, FG 56, vol. 5, June 28 1965, p. 1.

the province turn over the land on the basis of a ten-year right of occupancy.⁴ Capital costs totalling almost \$1.7 million were identified for the project.⁵ This included not only those expenses associated with the restoration and reconstruction of the buildings identified above, but also the construction of a parking lot, the installation of sewer, water and electrical services and the erection of a visitor reception centre, park workshop and "suitable" fencing and landscaping. One hundred and seventy thousand dollars were also identified for the furnishing of the various buildings, along with \$75,000 for the provision of documentary, archaeological and architectural research that would be required to carry out the program.⁶ Capital costs were to be spread over the fifteen year life of the development, beginning with an expenditure of \$22,000 in fiscal year 1965-66 and \$379,300 in 1966-67. Yearly operational costs were forecasted to fluctuate between \$42,000 in the first year of the development to a high of \$75,000 in 1979-80⁷. These fiscal forecasts were calculated using 1965 dollars.

The planned restoration work, beginning with the Big House, was not, however, the Department's first major project at the site. As part of the negotiations regarding the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company Collection work had begun in 1962 on the construction of a museum at the fort to house and display this rare collection of ethnographic and fur trade artifacts that had been collected from Company posts all over the Northwest.

Museum/Retail Store

The notion of a museum at Lower Fort Garry was not a new one. In 1953 the federal government first broached the idea of refitting the 1830s Salesshop/Furloft with a poured concrete basement, new flooring, paneling, electrical services and washrooms.⁸ The idea was shelved two years later when it was decided that such a facility would not only conflict

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

⁸ NAC, RG84, Fg 56, vol. 2, 1962.

with the provincial museum in Winnipeg, as well as the HBC museum located in the Company's downtown store, but would seriously compromise the historic fabric of the Salesshop/Furloft building.⁹

With the closing of the HBC Museum at the Portage Avenue store in 1960, National Resources Minister Walter Dinsdale announced that work would commence in 1962 on a new museum at LFG to house the HBC Collection. The museum, he claimed, would be "one of the finest historical museums in Western Canada, not only in design but also in the quality of its exhibits".¹⁰ The modern museum was to be contained within an exterior reconstruction of the fort's old Retail Store, a wooden frame structure built by the Company in 1873 and dismantled in 1924. The building, like the original, would stand two and one-half stories high and be sheathed with wood siding. Approximately 20,000 cubic feet of space would provide storage space in the basement, including a small fumigation room, and two floors of display and office area. The architectural firm of Green, Blankstein, Russell and Associates designed the structure, which was built by Rodgers Construction of Winnipeg.

Begun in August of 1963 and completed two years later in Septemeber, 1965, the museum's initial cost was almost \$136,000.¹¹ Behind the period wood-sided facade of the reconstructed Retail Store were walls made of concrete. Aside from the display and storage area, the building also contained the superintendent's office and fort library on the second floor. On 3 June 1966 the new museum was opened, the HBC Collection having been moved into the building the previous year.¹² At the opening ceremonies Sterling Lyon, the minister of the Provincial Department of Mines and Natural Resources, represented Premier Duff Roblin, while Arthur Laing, the new minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, spoke on behalf of the federal government.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ NAC, RG34, FG 56, vol. 2, 1962.

¹¹ Ibid., vol. 3, part 1, 1965.

¹² NAC, RG84, FG 109-1, June 1966.

The HBC museum and collection have remained virtually static since their move to the fort – see Chapter IX for further details on the history of the Collection. Today the museum building includes artifact display and storage areas, office space, a conservation/curatorial laboratory and work space for the fort's costume designer.

The Big House

As part of its decision to restore the various historic buildings inside the fort walls, beginning with the Factor's Residence or "Big House", the National Historic Sites Division in 1963 commissioned a "Condition Report" on the Big House from Peter Stokes, a restoration architect from Toronto. In providing the department with a structural assessment of the building, Stokes also detailed many of the alterations that had occurred at the House since the 19th century.¹³

In his report Stokes noted that the nature of the soils in the area, along with the excessive humidity found in the basement, had caused a considerable amount of deterioration to the foundations of the house. Cracked walls, uneven floors and door frames, along with inadequate ventilation of the basement area which had allowed rot to spread, had seriously undermined the structural stability of the building.¹⁴ Stokes' report then went on to detail, based on as-found evidence, many of the interior alterations that had been made to the building over roughly a seventy-five year period and speculated as to room configurations as they might have existed in the mid-19th century.

The largest problem with the Big House, according to Stokes, was that the building was "generally much out of line" due to the settling of the foundation.¹⁵ Rather than attempt to rectify this problem, which he argued would be prohibitively expensive, Stokes recommended that all of the internal structural work and finishes be carried out to suit the distorted condition of the house. "Throw away the lines and use the eye to compensate for the discrepancies in the building". Only "workmen and supervisors sympathetic with

¹³ Peter John Stokes, "The Factor's Residence (The Big House)", Condition Report, November 1963, report on file at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site, pp. 2-7.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

restoration and the understanding that an old building is frequently neither to line nor to shape" would allow for a practical restoration of the house, according to the report.¹⁶ Rough sketches that accompanied the report illustrate the interior configuration of the house in 1963 as well as the location of what were thought to be the interior partitions of the original structure.

In October of 1964 the NHSD funded a brief study by structural engineer J.J. Hamilton concerning the foundations of the Big House. Hamilton reviewed soil conditions at the site as well as the performance of the building's foundations, especially the load-bearing masonry walls, which he found to be "considerably distorted" due to excessive humidity and frost action.¹⁷ In considering which improvements were necessary, Hamilton recommended that the most unstable portions of the foundations be reconstructed, that the basement be heated to reduce winter frost action, and that the exterior mortar be repainted and waterproofed. He also suggested that drain tiles be installed at the base of the exterior wall, that the property around the house be regraded to avoid water ponding at the foundations, and that humidity controls (including better ventilation and insulation) be installed in the basement.¹⁸

Moving ahead with its plans for the Big House, the department asked Stokes in the spring of 1965 to put together a feasibility study for the restoration of the building.¹⁹ After reviewing some of the relevant historical sources on the house, primarily the photographic record and specifically the Hime photographic of 1858, Stokes outlined the preservation and restoration problem, what work was required, and how the restoration process should proceed. He believed that a skilled team of craftsmen, including masons, carpenters and plasterers, should be assembled for the project under the daily supervision of a "job

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁷ J.J. Hamilton, "Restoration of Lower Fort Garry: Foundations of the Factor's Residence", October 1964, report on file at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site, p. 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 5-7.

¹⁹ Peter John Stokes, "Feasibility Study of the Big House", report on file at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site, May 1965. 38 pp.

superintendent" possessing "practical experience", "ingenuity" and "inspiration".²⁰ The whole project, according to Stokes, should be managed by a consulting architect with restoration experience, presumably himself. This individual would make periodic inspections of the site, and he and his superintendent should "speak the same language".²¹ Stokes concluded his report with a detailed breakdown of the required work along with estimated costs. Almost one hundred tasks were itemized, from the removal of vines and shrubs and the demolition and reconstruction of the west wall and chimneys, to the reconstruction of the verandah and the installation of modern electrical and heating systems. Material costs were calculated by Stokes to be over \$50,000²² and coupled with the price of labour, supervision and design, brought the total estimated cost to over \$100,000.²³

Stokes, however, was unable to produce working drawings for the restoration of the Big House and shortly after resigned from the project. Winnipeg architect John Chivers was subsequently hired in February of 1966 to develop the drawings and specifications and to carry out the day-to-day supervision of the restoration work.²⁴ Three months later, in May 1966, University of Manitoba archaeologist James Chism was contracted to carry out archaeological investigations around the perimeter walls of the house. Excavations were planned for the area immediately adjacent to the west and north walls, at the filled in "areaway" at the rear, and along the east and south walls of the building to try and determine the size and extent of the original 1850s verandah.²⁵

Restoration work on the house began in April of 1966 with a crew consisting of a carpenter and four labourers, although this soon grew to three carpenters, a timberman, four

²⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

²¹ Ibid., p. 23.

²² Ibid., p. 33.

²³ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁴ NAC, RG84, vol. 1073, FG 56-3, vol. 2.

²⁵ Ibid.

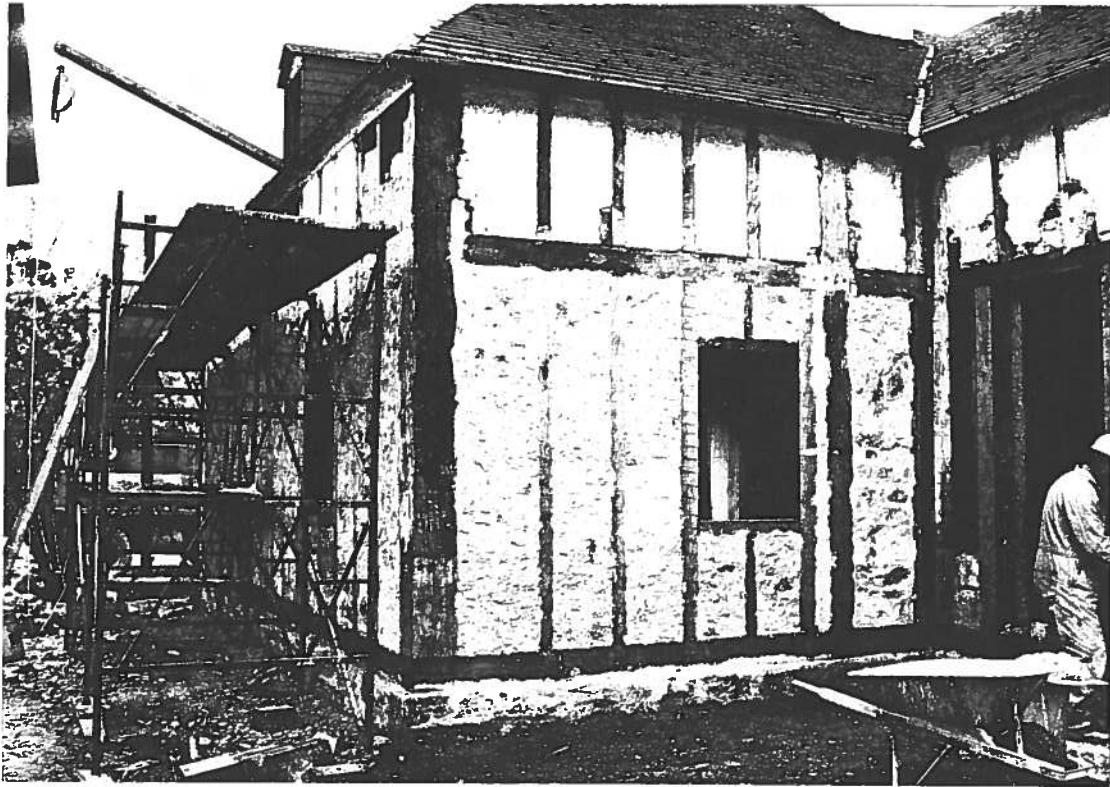


Figure 26: Restoration of the Big House, Lower Fort Garry, 1967 (Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

stonemasons, eight labourers and four helpers. A project foreman, Frank Downes, was hired by Chivers at the commencement of the project. Chivers submitted weekly reports to B.I. Strong, the Western Regional Director of Northern Affairs and National Resources in Calgary, as well as to the NHSD in Ottawa, on the progress of the work which began with the removal of the 20th century front and rear verandahs, along with the interior partitions on the second floor. In May the exterior stone walls below grade were exposed by a three foot wide trench. Shortly after, the structurally unsound north and west walls were demolished while the upper floor and roof were temporarily supported with wood shoring. Poured concrete footings were then installed along these two walls. The northeast corner foundation of the annex was also demolished and eventually rebuilt upon a concrete foundation, as was the north foundation wall of the passageway between the house and

annex.²⁶ During this work on the foundations of the house a crew of archaeologists recorded artifact findings.

The chimneys and fireplaces of the Big House and annex were also rebuilt and loose mortar was replaced between the stones of the exterior east and south walls of the main house. A number of other masonry projects were carried out as well over the course of the restoration, including the rebuilding of the basement bake oven, the replacement of stone sills and frames, the installation of a concrete beam with stone facing in the attic, and the placing a new stones between the wooden studs at various sections of the annex.²⁷ The Big House annex was originally constructed in a style known as *colombage pierroté*, which is a building technique that employed timber framing with rubble fill. The restored annex was then restuccoed.

The restoration of the Big House also included the removal of dormer windows on the roof, first installed as skylights in 1870 during the building's occupation by the Quebec Rifles, in order to make the exterior of the house conform to the architectural style as depicted in the Hime photograph of the house in 1858. The roof was repaired and reshingled. A new verandah was installed, again to replicate the original shown in early illustrations. Archaeological data helped to establish the extent and width of this 1850s verandah.

As for the interior of the house, a great number of changes were made during the restoration. In the basement, the more recent concrete floors were removed, exposing the pattern of the original floor joists. A drainage system was installed below the new floor. As numerous alterations had been made to the layout of the house since it was first built in the 1830s, it was with considerable difficulty that Chivers and Stokes came up with a design for the interior as it might have appeared in the early 1850s during the Colville residency. While structural and historical evidence was limited, the restoration crew did manage to work from a combination of physical "as found" evidence (i.e., markings on the floor which indicated original walls) some historical documentation and a large amount of

²⁶ 8441/L3, Canadian Parks Service, PNRO, summary of restoration work at the Big House, n.p., n.d.

²⁷ Ibid., n.p.

common sense. Knowing who lived in the house at the time, for instance, helped the crew to determine such things as the number of bedrooms, location of servants' quarters, and other useful details about the interior layout. Sections of the original flooring, found beneath two later floors, were replicated throughout the house.²⁸ The plastering and painting of the interior walls, including information on the colours and textures of the various paints and surfaces, was aided by comparative documentary research and the analysis of various paint and plaster samples. Paint for the walls and woodwork was mixed at Upper Canada Village with Chivers reporting the colours to be "strong and masculine".²⁹

In 1968 the Department began the furnishing of the house under the supervision of Ottawa curators Nancy Ingram and Hillary McFarlane. All kinds of period furnishings, including some that were original to the Big House, were repaired, restored and installed in the house. Some of the refinishing work was done locally. George Taylor of Selkirk

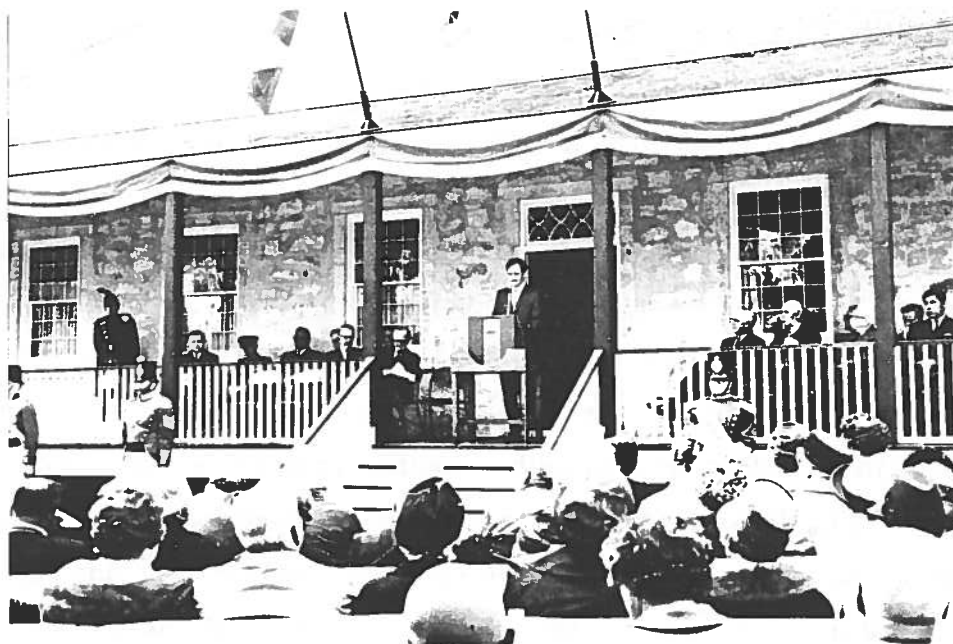


Figure 27: Opening of the restored Big House, Lower Fort Garry, 1969. Hon. Jean Chrétien at the podium (Provincial Archives of Manitoba/Lower Fort Garry Collection).

²⁸ Ibid., n.p.

²⁹ Ibid., n.p.

repaired and refinished thirty-five pieces for the house including a cupboard, spinning wheel and sleigh, as well as various tables and chairs.³⁰ Other work was done in Ottawa, where furniture restorer Charles Mackenzie repaired and refinished forty pieces for the house including furniture for the Colvile dining room.

On 12 May, 1969 the restored Big House at Lower Fort Garry was officially opened by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chretien.

Saleshop/Furloft

The next structure to be restored at Lower Fort Garry was the Saleshop/Furloft, originally built by stonemason Pierre Leblanc in 1831-32. As mentioned above, a plan dating from the early 1950s to refit the building as a modern museum was eventually rejected because of potential destruction of the building's historic fabric and integrity.

As restoration work on various buildings at the fort continued under the "Lower Fort Garry Project," the Department decided in 1967 to formally set out specific duties and lines of reporting for the consulting restoration architect, John Chivers. Chivers was to receive direction from the Regional Engineer from NHSD, who in turn received functional guidance from the project captain in Ottawa. Under the terms of reference the restoration architect was to be responsible for certain aspects of on-site architectural research, supervision of the preparation and production of as-found drawings, preliminary restoration proposals, final design proposals, restoration working drawings, site supervision and quality control, general supervision of workers, and the preparation of as-built drawings for restored facilities.

In 1965 the NHSD contracted with consulting engineer A. Baracos of Winnipeg to carry out an investigation of the foundation of the Saleshop/Furloft. Baracos excavated four test pits inside the building, as well as two along the exterior walls, in order to test soil conditions in the area and the structural condition of the foundations. His report noted the poor condition of the stone foundations, which he claimed showed "extensive damage" because of disintegrating mortar and the spalling of stones below grade. The basement walls were also determined to be off-plumb with a noticeable inward bulge caused by the freeze-

³⁰ NAC, RG84, FG 56-3, vol. 3, 1968.

thaw cycle of the surrounding soil.³¹ Baracos also pointed out the poor condition of the ground floor, noting the considerable rot that was present in both the floor joists and many of the floorboards.

Baracos recommended a series of remedial measures for the stabilization of the Salesshop/Furloft foundation. The exterior of the walls, he believed, should be excavated, cleaned and repointed, and a steel-reinforced concrete wall and footing should be constructed around the base of the building below grade.³² He also suggested that the interior of the foundations be repointed, while the timber joists and flooring should be replaced.³³

In 1967 the NHSD asked John Chivers to produce preliminary design drawings for the restoration of the Salesshop/Furloft.³⁴ At the same time, the department asked historian George Ingram to prepare a structural and use history of the building to guide the restoration efforts. In the summer of 1968 work commenced on the foundations of the building with the installation of a reinforced retaining wall below grade at a cost of almost \$12,000.³⁵ A new concrete floor was laid in the basement, while concrete footings and buttresses were installed at all four corners of the building. Loose mortar from the interior of the walls was removed and the walls repointed with cement mortar. New wood joists were installed in the basement ceiling and most window sills and frames were also replaced. Many other repairs -- to the chimney, fireplace and interior walls -- were also made throughout the two and one-half years of the restoration project.

As-found recording was used to help provide the restoration crew with information as to the original interior layout of the Salesshop/Furloft. As well, Ingram provided Chivers with research data on a wide variety of interior features associated with the building

³¹ NAC, RG84, FG 56, vol. 5, "Interim Report, Foundation Investigation, Salesshop Building, Lower Fort Garry Restoration," 1965, p. 2.

³² Ibid., p. 3.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ NAC, RG84, Fg 56, vol. 5, 1967.

³⁵ Ibid., FG 56-2.

including information on original windows and doors, cellar functions, the west-end office on the main floor, original partitions, staircases, storage areas and shelving.³⁶ Evidence for the location of the horseshoe-shaped sales counter at the east side of the building came from extant floor markings. The locations for the building's various stoves came from structural evidence of stovepipe vents located in the ceiling.

In 1970 furnishing of the Salesshop/Furloft began. A report prepared by Edward Boulerice provided various recommendations concerning the furnishing of the different rooms and suggested a traffic flow pattern for the building.³⁷ The third floor, or loft, was furnished as a mid-19th century fur storage room, the second floor as a storage area for bulkier merchandise such as tea, tools and rope. The west end of the main floor was furnished as an office and small bedroom, while the east end salesshop was stocked with reproductions of a wide variety of goods and sales item that would have been available to the people of the lower Red River settlement in the mid-19th century, including dishes, blankets, cloth, spices, tobacco and imported foodstuffs.

The restored and furnished Salesshop/Furloft was opened by the Hon. James Richardson, the federal Minister of Supply and Services, at an official ceremony at the fort on 21 June, 1971.

South West Bastion

As part of the overall strategy for the restoration and development of the fort, the National Historic Sites Service next planned the restoration of the South West Bastion at Lower Fort Garry. Built by the Sixth Regiment of Foot between 1846 and 1848, the covered bastion was used for a brief time as a cook and wash house by the troops, later as a storage area by the Company, and around the turn of the century as a children's play room for the family of Clarence Chipman, the Company's Chief Commissioner in Western Canada. As

³⁶ See George C. Ingram, "The Salesshop: Structure and Function", Manuscript Report Series no. 148 (Ottawa, National Historic Parks and Sites, 1967), pp. 1-25.

³⁷ Edward Boulerice, "The Furloft Building, Lower Fort Garry: Recommendations concerning the restoration and furnishing of this site, with enclosed illustrations, floor plans, and traffic patterns." Report on file, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site, February 1970.

noted in Chapter IV, extensive repairs were carried out on the building in the summer of 1944.

In 1967 historian George Ingram produced a short research report for the department entitled "South West Bastion: Structure and Function". After tracing the structural evolution of the building, despite the fact that very little historical documentation actually existed, Ingram recommended that the exterior of the bastion be restored to its appearance during the occupancy of the Sixth Regiment. The George Finley sketch of 1847 depicted the recently completed bastion and could, Ingram argued, provide the NHSS with visual data for the location of original dormer windows, chimneys and a stairway.³⁸ As for the interior, Ingram suggested that it be structurally restored but not furnished, as almost no historical documentation on the interior existed from the mid-19th century. Instead, he noted, the interior could be used as "auxiliary museum space, perhaps displaying material relating to the background events and the occupancy of the Sixth Regiment."³⁹

In June of 1968 engineer Andrew Baracos submitted a soils analysis and condition report on the South West Bastion. He found that much of the stone foundation below grade was considerably deteriorated and recommended the installation of a concrete reinforcing wall, the insertion of steel rods in the stonework below grade, and the replacement of cracked lintels above the bastion's doors and windows.⁴⁰ He also considered the large, central interior wall to be in poor shape and recommended to Chivers that it be underpinned or perhaps even rebuilt.

In the summer of 1968 G.J. Foley was appointed as restoration project coordinator at Lower Fort Garry and was to provide "continuous liaison between the site [Chivers] and the project captain [Jacques Dalibard of the Engineering and Architecture Division of the NHSS] to whom he reports".⁴¹ This move by the NHSS was partly the result of complaints from

³⁸ NAC, RG84, FG 56, vol. 5, George Ingram, "South West Bastion: Structure and Function", report on file, 1967, p. 9.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ RG84, FG 56-3, vol. 4, A. Baracos, "South West Bastion, Lower Fort Garry", 28 June 1968.

⁴¹ RG84, FG 28, vol. 4.

Ottawa staff that Western Regional Office in Calgary was moving ahead with work on LFG buildings (including repairs on the South West Bastion) prior to consultation with the Engineering and Architecture Branch in Headquarters.⁴²

Restoration work on the bastion by Chivers and his crew began in June of 1968. A concrete reinforcing wall was constructed along the base of the bastion foundation at the footings. The exterior and interior walls were re-pointed, the old roof was replaced, while new joists and spruce floorboards were installed throughout the interior. Total cost of the work was just over \$29,000 and was completed in 1969.

North East Bastion/Powder Magazine

At the same time that work was progressing on the restoration of the South West Bastion, Chivers' crew also turned its attention to the North East Bastion and specifically the 1840s powder magazine contained within its walls. Constructed by the Sixth Regiment between 1846 and 1848, the magazine had had little repair work done on it since the arrival of the Motor Country Club in 1913. A new floor, however, was installed by NHSD in the 1950s.

In July of 1968 Andrew Baracos provided a short "condition report" on the magazine. According to Baracos, the stone arch roof of the magazine was cracked and many of the stones had worked loose from the sand-lime mortar.⁴³ He advocated the dismantling of the roof and the rebuilding of the arch using reinforced concrete "architecturally treated to give the underside [the] appearance of rough plaster or stone work".⁴⁴ One alternative to rebuilding, it was suggested, might be the installation of prefabricated steel sections as an interior "tunnel liner" if, of course, it was "accepted that the repairs [would] show".⁴⁵ As with the South West Bastion, the below-ground condition of the masonry was found to be

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ RG84, FG 56-4, A. Baracos, "Powder Magazine, Lower Fort Garry", 9 July 1968, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

deteriorated with spalled stone and crumbling mortar.⁴⁶ Again, a concrete reinforcing wall placed below grade was suggested for the stabilization of the powder magazine.

Restoration work began on the North East Bastion Magazine in July. Under the supervision of project coordinator G.J. Foley, a new concrete reinforcing wall was installed at the footings, the 1950s floor was replaced and a new roof was installed. The original stone arch was also rebuilt. Restoration work on the magazine was completed in 1969 at a cost of approximately \$13,000.⁴⁷ Plans to furnish the building as a mid-19th century magazine, however, were never carried out. In 1990 the original bastion walls were completely dismantled and rebuilt by the Regional Restoration Workshop as part of the fort's wall reconstruction project.

South East Bastion

No major restoration work, other than some repointing of the wall, was carried out at the South East Bastion. This bastion had originally housed the fort's ice house, but since 1956 has contained site washrooms. As part of the restoration of the fort it was decided to leave these washrooms intact. The surrounding unroofed bastion was dismantled and rebuilt by the Restoration Workshop in 1989.

Ross Cottage

The Ross Cottage, located south of the fort near the creek, was constructed sometime before 1847 when it first appears in a sketch by George Finley. Built of irregular limestone on a stone foundation, the house is a single storey building with four rooms and a later annex that was removed during restoration. The cottage was inhabited by a variety of people over the decades including Chief Trader John Black, Chief Factor Alexander Christie and later E.R. Abell, the fort "engineer". Initially the cottage was interpreted to the period of its occupation by Abel, around 1865. Today it is interpreted to the 1851-52 period when

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁷ RG84, FG 56, 3 July 1968.

Donald Ross, the long-time Chief Factor at Norway House, lived with his family at the lower fort.

In 1968, historian George Ingram produced a short report detailing the structural and use history of the cottage. A 1969 report commissioned from Underwood, McLellan judged the cottage to be in poor structural condition.⁴⁸ As-found drawings were also completed that year.⁴⁹ In 1970, stabilization of the structure began with the grouting of the stone walls and stabilizing and reconstruction of the roof.⁵⁰ Part of one wall was rebuilt at the time and the interior floor was replaced as well. The annex was removed during restoration and later the foundation of the cottage was repointed. Archaeological excavations were carried out at the cottage in the late 1960s and early 1970s by Marcel Moussette, James Chism and Karlis Karklins.⁵¹

Farm Manager's Cottage

The one and one-half storey, gable roofed, Red River frame Farm Manager's Cottage was moved to the lower fort by the NHSS in 1970. Excavations south of the fort by James Chism in 1967 revealed evidence of a structure which was thought to be the original farm manager's house.⁵² The building that is today portrayed as the Farm Manager's House was originally built in 1835 south of the fort in Kildonan Parish by James Fraser, a Scottish settler. Until the early 1980s the cottage was portrayed as the Fraser House, and its

⁴⁸ 8441/3-4, CPS Records, PNRO, 1969.

⁴⁹ HWFG 69/P1/0-57, CPS Records on file with Architecture and Engineering Services, PNRO.

⁵⁰ 8415/L3, CPS Records, PNRO, 1970.

⁵¹ See Marcel Moussette, "Fouillés à Lower Fort Garry, Juillet 1969", Manuscript Report no. 148, Canadian Parks Service, 1969, and James Chism and Karlis Karklins, "The Documentary and Archaeological Evidence of Fences Associated with the Engineer's Cottage, Lower Fort Garry", Manuscript Report no. 148, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1970.

⁵² James V. Chism, "A Preliminary Report on 1967 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry", Manuscript on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1968.

furnishings date to the 1830s. At present Parks interprets the role of the LFG farm and farm manager, Alexander Lillie, as well as the domestic life of the Lillie family, at the cottage.

It is estimated that since the cottage was moved to the site approximately 90% of the exterior timbers, and much of the interior woodwork, have been replaced by General Works staff at LFG as part of routine maintenance.⁵³



Figure 28: Farm Manager's Cottage, Lower Fort Garry, 1990 (Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

Blacksmith Shop

It is supposed that a blacksmith shop at LFG might date from the earliest period of construction (1830s); however, the first known forge was located south of the fort and was likely built in the 1840s. This shop was replaced by a second, larger, facility sometime between 1857 and 1865, to which an annex was later added. It was destroyed by an explosion and fire in 1877. Archaeologist James Chism investigated the two blacksmith

⁵³ Personal communication with Howard Fontaine, General Works Manager, Lower Fort Garry, 1991.

shops at the site in the mid-1960s and his reports were published by Parks in 1972. In 1971 the post on sill, Red River frame Blacksmith Shop was reconstructed near its original location and is today used to interpret blacksmithing and the role of tradesmen in the Hudson's Bay Company workforce.

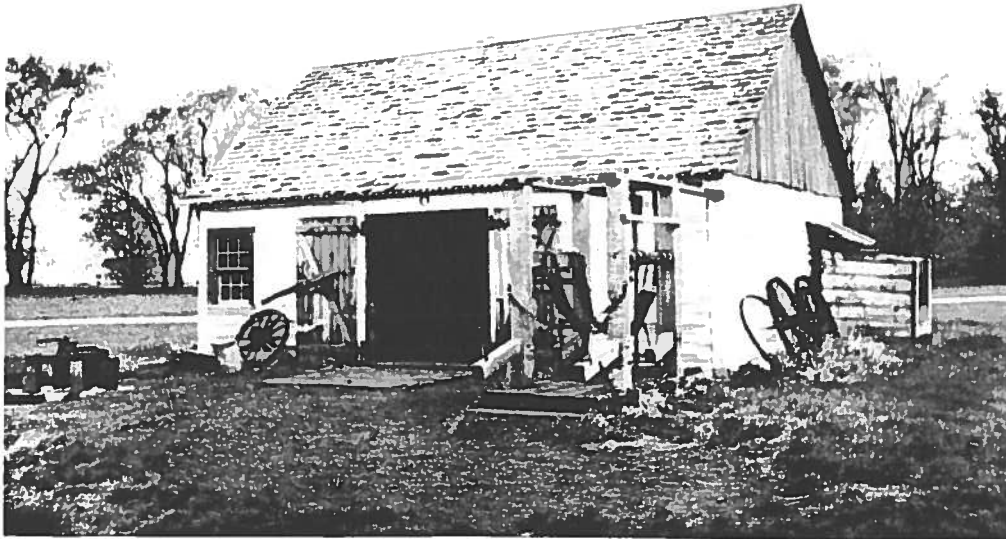


Figure 29: Reconstructed Blacksmith's Shop at Lower Fort Garry, 1992 (Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

Warehouse

The stone Warehouse dates to the earliest period of construction at Lower Fort Garry, having been built in the late 1830s by stonemason Pierre Leblanc. The building served a number of purposes throughout the historic period. Constructed primarily as a warehouse to house plains provisions such as dried meat and agricultural produce, it was also used as a temporary barracks for troops sent to Red River in 1846 and again in 1870. Shortly after, the building became Manitoba's first penitentiary, and in 1885 served as an asylum for the insane. During the Motor Country Club period the building housed the club's locker rooms and showers.

It was initially hoped that the Warehouse could be restored and interpreted as Manitoba's first penitentiary, a decision that was given tentative approval in 1968.⁵⁴ A 1970 report on the history of the building by Phil Goldring focused on its role as a penitentiary and later an asylum,⁵⁵ while archaeological research carried out in the mid 1960s by James Chism and the early 1970s by Peter Priess, William Folan and William Dendy concentrated on such features as the penitentiary palisade and the immediate area surrounding the structure as well as the interior itself, in particular the cells located beneath the first floor.⁵⁶ These cells, along with other interior features of the penitentiary, were to be restored according to initial plans produced by the NHSS.⁵⁷ In 1970 grouting and repainting were carried out on the walls of the Warehouse.⁵⁸

In 1972 and 1973, architectural and structural stabilization feasibility studies were carried out by the Technical Services Branch in Ottawa, and in 1973 work on stabilizing the foundations was initiated. When it became apparent that information on furnishings for the penitentiary period was lacking, and that the quality of artifacts associated with the building was inadequate for display purposes, it was decided that the Warehouse would instead house exhibits pertaining to the theme "Building Technology at Lower Fort Garry".⁵⁹ Exhibits planned for the first and second floors were to deal with the building history of the fort, concentrating on such themes as architectural style, technology, tools and building materials. Partitions installed during the Motor Country club period were removed. Later, with the shift in interpretive focus at the fort to the 1850-1865 period, these plans were

⁵⁴ NAC, RG84, FG 28, vol. 4, 1968, memo from Steve Sheridan, NHSS, Ottawa, to John Rick, NHSS, Ottawa, 7 June 1968, p. 2.

⁵⁵ Philip Goldring, "The Manitoba Penitentiary and Asylum, 1871-1886", Manuscript Report no. 28, Canadian Parks Service, 1970.

⁵⁶ James V. Chism, "A Preliminary Report on 1965 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry", Manuscript on file, CPS, Ottawa, 1966.

⁵⁷ NAC, RG84, FG 28, vol. 4, 7 June 1968, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Steve Sheridan, NHSS, Ottawa to Harry Tatro, Director, Western Region, Calgary, 2 December 1970, memo on file at Lower Fort Garry N.H.S.

⁵⁹ 8441/L3-6, CPS, PNRO, 11 April 1975.

abandoned and it was decided to interpret the building's role as a warehouse during the fur trade period at the lower fort.⁶⁰ In 1977 historian Greg Thomas produced an historical report on the Warehouse entitled "Lower Fort Garry Warehouse Building: Structural and Use History" which helped to serve as a guideline for the restoration of the building. The historical theme of "agricultural transshipment" and its associated activities was chosen for the interpretation of the restored Warehouse.

In 1977 and 1978 the entire building was renovated by the Regional Restoration Workshop under the direction of Jack Fyfe. The exterior walls were further grouted and repainted and part of the northeast corner was rebuilt. A new floor and sleepers were installed on the main level, a new floor was installed on the second, and the building's staircase, doors and hardware were replaced. Work was also done on the interior support beams and the structure was re-roofed. Restoration was completed in early 1979 but it was decided to put off any official opening ceremony for the building because of the impending opening of the new Visitor Reception Centre in August of that year.⁶¹

Plans to use the Warehouse to interpret the storage of agricultural produce and other provisions at LFG in the late 1850s were only partially realized. In 1986 a period restaurant, run by the Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association, was installed on the main floor of the building. Earlier, the second floor of the Warehouse had been used for special presentations such as the re-enactment of the Foss-Pelly trial of 1850.

Doctor's Office

The Doctor's Office, the small wood frame building adjacent to the Warehouse was constructed in 1885 as a dispensary for Doctor David Young, the medical officer in charge of the asylum at Lower Fort Garry. Later, the building was used for storage, and eventually as the office for the site commissioners. As noted in Chapter V, extensive repairs were carried out on the building in 1956, including the installation of new sills, joists, flooring, siding and interior paneling.

⁶⁰ Ibid., A.T. Davidson to R. Malis, 31 August 1976.

⁶¹ Ibid., Maurice Tarr, Superintendent, LFG to Peter Pratt, Acting Director, PNRO, 16 March 1979.

Despite these alterations the building was considered to be in poor condition by the early 1970s. In an attempt to learn more about the structure, the NHSS asked Philip Goldring to prepare a short report on the office and its most notable tenant, Dr. David Young. Goldring's report was published in June 1971.⁶² In 1973, Restoration Services in Ottawa carried out a restoration feasibility study of the facility and suggested two options for development: complete interior and exterior restoration to the 1885-86 period; or simple stabilization of the exterior structure with no restoration of the interior.⁶³ By 1975 it was decided not to restore or interpret the Doctor's Office because of the larger decision to focus interpretation at the fort to the fur trade period, along with NHSS' specific intention not to interpret the penitentiary and asylum at the Warehouse.⁶⁴

Work began on the stabilization of the building in late 1974. At that time the whole structure was raised to allow for the installation of a new foundation. As well, much of the exterior siding was replaced, a new roof was installed and the chimney rebuilt. Since completion of the stabilization, the Doctor's Office served for a time as the commisionaires' office and later as the fort library.

Men's House

The Men's House, the living quarters for post servants at LFG, was constructed about 1852. A kitchen wing was added to the building probably a few years afterward. Its construction style is similar to the annex of the Big House -- *colombage pierroté*, or rubble filled timber frame on a masonry foundation with stucco siding. Substantial fireplaces and bakeovens were located in the dwelling. The lower storey of the Men's House was probably used as a kitchen eating area and general recreation space, while the upstairs was partitioned into bedrooms. There is some speculation that the north side of the house was

⁶² Philip Goldring, "The Doctor's Office, Walls and North-West Bastion at Lower Fort Garry", Manuscript Report Series no. 51, NHSS, Ottawa, June 1971, pp. 1-22.

⁶³ 8410/L3, CPS, PNRO, "Doctor's Office, Lower Fort Garry: Restoration Feasibility Study", Restoration Services, Technical Services Branch, National Historic Sites Service, 1973.

⁶⁴ 8410/L3, CPS, PNRO, 1975.

reserved as quarters for the married men, but available documentation suggests that many of the post servants who were married actually lived with their families away from the fort.

The building has had many uses over the years, including that of a women's ward associated with the asylum, and during the Motor Country Club period, as a stable, ice-house, storehouse and garage.

Structural investigation of the Men's House was carried out in the early 1970s. In April of 1972 the Technical Services Branch of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs produced as-found drawings of the Men's House as it existed prior to restoration. Further detailed drawings of the main and attic floors were added to the inventory in July of that year. At about the same time Phil Goldring produced an historical report on the building entitled "The Men's House, Lower Fort Garry, Historical and Structural Notes" which was to serve as a guide for the restoration of the house. Goldring's short report reviewed the historical documentation pertaining to the building, and detailed its various uses since it was first constructed in the early 1850s, focusing on the building's role as the living quarters for HBC servants at Lower Fort Garry in the mid-19th century.⁶⁵ Useful data for restoration also came from the archaeological investigations of the crawl space below the Men's House floor carried out by William Dendy in the summer of 1972.

A detailed "Restoration Feasibility Report" was produced by Restoration Services Division in March of 1974. This report provided an in-depth architectural analysis of both the exterior and interior of the Men's House and reviewed a number of development options for the structure. A total of eight options (which suggested the possibility of restoration to one of eight time periods ranging from 1852 to 1971) were rejected either because of the absence of historical documentation or because a particular time period was outside of the chosen interpretive themes which focused on the activities of the HBC at Lower Fort Garry during the "heyday of the fur trade".⁶⁶ Instead, four options were developed that, with the exception of one (option 3) which suggested that the building be simply consolidated and

⁶⁵ See Philip Goldring, "The Men's House, Historical and Structural Notes" in "Men's House, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, Restoration and Feasibility Study Report", Restoration Services Division, Engineering and Architecture Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa, March 1974, Report on file, Lower Fort Garry N.H.S.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

displayed in its present (1974) state, focused on the year 1858. Option 1 recommended the full restoration of both sides of the house to 1858; option 2 suggested that only one side (or "cottage" as the report calls it) be restored, leaving the northern half for modern, adaptive use; while option 4 recommended only an exterior restoration to the 1858 period with a minimal interior modification as would be necessary for its use by visitors.⁶⁷

Eventually option 2 was adopted as the best way to proceed, and in 1976 restoration work began on the Men's House. A new foundation was constructed, the main floor and sleepers were replaced, new doors and windows were installed and the ovens rebuilt. The north wing and upper floor (left intact during restoration) are currently closed off to the public.

Furnishing of the Men's House to reflect the lifestyle of the Company's permanent servants in the 1850s was undertaken by Parks in the late 1970s. A 1978 furnishing study by historian Greg Thomas provided details on the furnishing and use of the house during the 1850-65 period.⁶⁸

The North West Bastion Bakehouse

Historical evidence suggests that the North West Bastion was the last of the four bastions to be built at the fort during its occupation by the Sixth Regiment of Foot between 1846 and 1848. While no post journals have survived for this period, it is presumed that the bakehouse facility was an original feature of the bastion and was used in the production of hard-tack biscuit for the Northern Department of the HBC. The bakehouse was dismantled in 1911 and the bastion later served as an ice-house for the Motor Country Club, and in the late 1960s, as a workshop for the construction crew who worked on the restoration of the Big House.

As was mentioned earlier, the North West Bastion bakehouse was identified as early as 1962 for eventual restoration by the NHSD. In 1967, as part of its master plan for the

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 138-145.

⁶⁸ Greg Thomas, "The Men's House, Lower Fort Garry: Its Furnishings and Place Within the Hudson's Bay Company Post Environment", Manuscript Report Series no. 246, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1978.

restoration of the fort, the Division called for the restoration of the bastion wall and bakehouse exterior, as well as the restoration of the bakehouse interior, including the ovens.⁶⁹ In 1971 Philip Goldring completed a short five page report on the bakehouse, while archaeological investigation of the structure was carried out in 1972 by John Dewhirst and in 1977 by Peter Priess.⁷⁰ A restoration feasibility study was also undertaken around the same time.

In 1977 restoration work began on the Bakehouse by the Regional Restoration Workshop. The foundation, walls and roof of the original structure were dismantled and rebuilt that year by the restoration crew.⁷¹ In 1978, however, work was halted prior to the restoration of the original bake ovens.⁷² The bakehouse project lay dormant until 1984 when the Restoration Workshop completed its restoration of the interior bake ovens.

The Walls

While initial construction at Lower Fort Garry commenced in 1830, the construction of the perimeter limestone walls did not begin under the direction of Scottish stonemasons Duncan McRae and John Clouston until 1841. When the Sixth Regiment arrived at the fort in 1846, however, the walls were only partially complete. Over the next two years the Royal Engineers attached to the regiment completed the project, although the height of the walls (which varied at different locations) never reached the fourteen feet that George Simpson had originally envisioned. Enclosing an area 450 feet square (or 4.5 acres) the original walls are three feet thick and extend approximately six feet underground. Originally, the top of the wall was comprised of about two feet of loosely mortared stones.

⁶⁹ NAC, RG84, FG 28, vol. 3, appendix E, 28 December 1967.

⁷⁰ Philip Goldring, "The Doctor's Office, Walls and North-West Bastion at Lower Fort Garry", Manuscript Report Series no. 51, National and Historic Parks Branch, 1971; John Dewhirst, "Archaeological Investigations in the Northwest Bastion and Bakehouse, Lower Fort Garry, 1973", and Peter Priess, "Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry, 1977", Manuscript Report Series no. 336, Ottawa, 1978.

⁷¹ 8441/L3, CPS, PNRO, 1977.

⁷² Greg Thomas, "The Northwest Bastion Bakehouse, Lower Fort Garry: A Structural and Furnishing Study", Manuscript Report Series no. 297, 1979.

The first record of any significant repair work on the walls appears in 1921, when the loose stone upper coursing was removed and a layer of "bitumen" was applied as a sealant along the crown of the wall.⁷³ Some minor repointing of the wall itself was carried out at this time as well. In the late 1930s or early 1940s, further "wall topping" was added, and in 1950 the Alsip Brick and Tile Company was contracted to lay a new layer of asphalt capping on the walls. Except for some minor repointing later in the decade little seems to have been done until the early 1970s. In 1972 grouting of the below-grade foundation was completed. Also in 1972 Restoration Services, using rectified photography from which photographic true-scale elevations of the walls could be prepared, repointed the western section of the north wall and reinstated the deteriorating facade. The next year, in an attempt to identify appropriate stone and mortar for use in the walls, restoration architect Ken Elder and restoration engineer Ed Clow prepared a report entitled "Limestone, Lime and Sand for the Perimeter Wall Restoration of Lower Fort Garry".⁷⁴

A comprehensive report entitled "Survey Report and Maintenance Program, Perimeter Walls, Lower Fort Garry" was prepared by Restoration Services in 1974. As to the general structural condition of the walls above grade the report noted that the walls were "in good condition".⁷⁵ Neither bulging nor vertical displacement, nor separation of the wall face from the internal core, nor any major cracking, was noted in the investigation, although the condition of the internal core itself was unknown. Restoration Services estimated, however, that 30% to 40% of the stones in the walls showed serious deterioration.⁷⁶ The report concluded that while the walls were still structurally stable, their stability would be threatened should the walls be left to deteriorate at their present rate.⁷⁷ The 1974 report then went on to recommend suitable stone and mortar for use in a restoration program, as

⁷³ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Land Department Files, May 1925.

⁷⁴ Ken Elder, "Survey Report and Maintenance Program, Perimeter Walls, Lower Fort Garry", Report on file, Headquarters, 1974.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

well as a three year maintenance schedule which provided recommendations for various interim measures to slow deterioration. These included the installation of a grade-level damp proof barrier, provisions for the repair of spalled stones, the adoption of various landscape measures to improve drainage, and the creation of a routine annual schedule of wall maintenance.⁷⁸

Unfortunately, the report's recommendations were not followed and little maintenance was carried out on the walls over the next thirteen years. In 1987 CPS began a major replication program for the perimeter walls. This entailed the dismantling of each wall section by section and their reconstruction using only a portion of original materials. In 1992 the Lower Fort Garry Management Planning Team recommended a scaled-down restoration and preservation approach which could allow for the future replication of seriously deteriorated portions of the remaining west and south walls of the fort.⁷⁹

Agricultural and Industrial Complexes

The agricultural and industrial operations established by the Company north and south of the fort in the 1840s, 50s, and 60s were a critical component of Lower Fort Garry's role as a supply and transshipment post in the fur trade.⁸⁰

Between 1845 and the late 1860s the Company constructed a number of buildings south of the fort including a grain flailing barn, storehouse, brewery, distillery, grist mill, sawmill, lathe room and malt barn and kiln, cow barn, lime kiln and miller's house. A good deal of archaeological research was carried out at these building sites between 1965 and the early 1970s by archaeologists Chism, Moussette, Priess and Folan.⁸¹ Historian George

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 27-31.

⁷⁹ Greg Thomas, Head, Historic Resources Planning to Management Planning Team, 6 October 1992.

⁸⁰ For an overview of the history of the Industrial and Agricultural complexes at Lower Fort Garry see George Ingram, "Industrial and Agricultural Activities at Lower Fort Garry", in *Canadian Historic Sites, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* no. 4, National Historic Sites Service, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1910, pp. 44-92.

⁸¹ For a listing of these archaeological reports see Chapter VIII, "Research", in this report.

Ingram published a major report on the operations of both the industrial area and the farm in 1971. North of the fort, the Company established its large agricultural operations in the 1850s which included cow, cattle, ox and horse stables, gardens, a stablemen's house, lime house and hay yard. Later buildings associated with the penitentiary were also erected near the north wall. Extensive archaeological excavations were carried out at these sites by James Chism between 1965 and 1967 and the resulting reports were published in 1972.⁸²

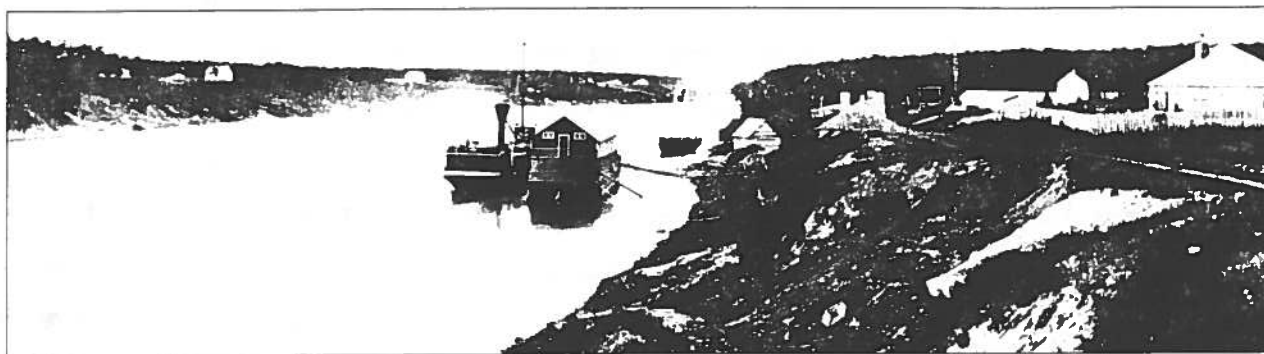


Figure 30: A portion of the Industrial Complex at Lower Fort Garry, 1879 (National Archives of Canada/C-80056).

The agricultural/industrial complex at Lower Fort Garry has long been considered for potential restoration, primarily because these facilities so clearly represented the lower fort's supply and transshipment role in the fur trade. As early as 1963 the provincial government, which owned the land surrounding the fort, contracted with John Chivers to produce "preliminary sketch drawings of exterior facades of buildings in the agricultural complex".⁸³ Potential reconstruction of these buildings was part of a strategy by the Manitoba government to develop a heritage tourism facility which would complement the adjacent national historic park. As well, it was hoped that such a plan would quash the scheme of Winnipeg Free Press publisher Robert Malone to fund a tourism facility on private land south of the creek, a facility that Superintendent Johnstone labeled a "tourist

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ NAC, RG84, FG 56-3, vol. 3, part 2.

trap".⁸⁴ Chivers' design drawings were quite rudimentary and were based largely on comparative architectural information from the local area. Ultimately, the provincial government decided not to go ahead with the project, and the land was leased to the federal government with the provision that it would eventually construct such a facility at the site.⁸⁵

In 1985 Lower Fort Garry superintendent, Onno Kremmers, produced a terms of reference for a feasibility study for a comprehensive development plan to reconstruct the agricultural complex at Lower Fort Garry.⁸⁶ The initiative for the development of a "Living History Farm" came from various business and government interests in the Selkirk area who hoped to develop a comprehensive tourism strategy for the region. Sponsored by the Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association (LFGVA), the study was intended partly as a vehicle to help access funds from a recent federal-provincial tourism agreement. Funds for the feasibility study (approximately \$32,000), awarded on contract to Lord Cultural Resources Planning and Management Inc., came from the Province of Manitoba and were approved in June of 1988. The completed feasibility report was received by the LFGVA in the later summer of 1989. Comprehensive in scope, the report, entitled "Lower Fort Garry Living Historical Farm Feasibility Study", considered a number of topics including development options, facility requirements, management and staffing, financial projections and implementation. The consultants also provided advice to the LFGVA regarding potential sources of funding for the proposed development. To date no development has taken place at the farm site although funds are currently being sought from the Provincial Department of Tourism, and the initiative has formed part of the management planning exercise for the site.

⁸⁴ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, E. 97/54, Barbara Johnstone Papers.

⁸⁵ See Chapter VI, "Land Acquisition, 1951-1988" in this report for a discussion of this particular project and the eventual transfer of adjacent properties at Lower Fort Garry from the provincial government to the federal government.

⁸⁶ 8425-3/L3, "Outdoor Exhibits", CPS, PNRO.

Landscape

The historic landscape at Lower Fort Garry has played an important role in the interpretation/animation program at the site. Since the days of the Motor Country Club, when the grounds of the fort reflected a more stylized, park-like atmosphere, the landscape has evolved in such a way that better represents the historic "look" of the fort in the 1850s. Historical research by Greg Thomas and archaeological data from James Chism and Peter Priess has provided extensive information on how the landscape looked during the historical period.⁸⁷ In 1986 it was decided to allow the grass to grow outside the Big House fence, especially in the area south of the fort to the creek. Inside the fence the Big House grounds were restored to their more formal appearance during the residency of the Colvilles in the early 1850s.⁸⁸ A formal Victorian style flower bed was established adjacent to the Big House. As part of landscape restoration the flower beds west of the Big House outside the fence were removed from the historic zone. Today, dead or diseased trees that are removed from inside the walls are not replaced.

⁸⁷ Greg Thomas, "Lower Fort Garry, Period Landscape Study", Manuscript Report Series no. 407, 1979.

⁸⁸ 1165-187, CPS, Lower Fort Garry Management Committee Minutes, 3 November 1986.

VII. Research

Introduction

Over the years Lower Fort Garry has remained one of the most heavily researched historic sites in Western Canada. Even before its acquisition by the federal government in 1951, the fort played an important role as a focus for the commemoration of the early history of Manitoba and, indeed, as a symbol of the increasingly celebrated fur trade tradition in Western Canada. Fur trade commemoration, with its emphasis upon the pioneer ethic and the extension of first British, and later a central Canadian hegemony, became a dominant theme of much of the early writing (both "amateur" and "professional") in Western Canadian historiography. The surviving structural remains at the fort provided a pivotal focus for the commemoration of the fur trade tradition in the province and became, for a society only recently dominated by a transplanted anglo elite, a tangible reminder of a largely romanticized past.

Historical Research

Published accounts of the early history of Lower Fort Garry probably commenced with *The Father of St. Kilda* written in 1901 by Roderick Campbell, a company servant who had once clerked at the lower fort.¹ In 1928 Robert Watson wrote a more comprehensive treatment entitled *Lower Fort Garry: A History of the Stone Fort*, which included a detailed 1926 site map of the fort and its environs. Watson's map depicted the location of virtually all the historic buildings that had once stood within the fort, at the farm, and within the industrial complex.² A similar but shorter treatment entitled simply *The Stone Fort* by Elsie McKay, was published in the 1960s.³ McKay's book is largely a narrative overview of the fort's history from its establishment in the 1830s to its early development as a national historic site.

There were, as well, a variety of early journal and magazine articles published on the history of the fort, many by the historian Margaret Arnett McLeod, who throughout the

¹ Roderick Campbell, *The Father of St. Kilda*, London, W.R. Russell and Co., 1901.

² Robert Watson, *Lower Fort Garry, A History of the Stone Fort*, Winnipeg, Hudson's Bay Company, 1928.

³ Elsie McKay, *The Stone Fort*, Selkirk, Enterprise Publishers, n.d.

1940s and 50s conducted research into the early history of Red River and its fur trade posts.⁴ McLeod's papers, now in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, contain much of her early research notes dealing with the early history of the fort.

Since the 1960s a great deal of historical research on Lower Fort Garry has been sponsored by the Canadian Parks Service. Until recently much of this research was carried out in support of various restoration and reconstruction projects at the site. Since 1987, however, shorter research studies have been undertaken which provide direct historical data to the interpretive program at the fort and have largely focused on such themes as work and domestic life during the 1850s.

Historian Barbara Johnstone conducted research on the fort's history in the early 1960s, first as a private contractor and later as site superintendent. Her findings are now in the Parks files in the National Archives of Canada and in her private papers located in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg.

With Treasury Board approval in 1965 to begin an ambitious program of restoration and reconstruction at the fort, the NHSD embarked upon a more comprehensive program of research. Ottawa historian George Ingram was intimately involved in the early restorations at LFG, and provided considerable historical information to John Chivers, Peter Stokes and the archaeologist James Chism. During the restoration of the Big House, Salesshop/Furloft and South West Bastion Ingram frequently travelled to the site from Ottawa and provided data on original construction techniques, room configurations, interior design details and furnishings (Ingram's research files and notes remain on file with CPS in Ottawa). He produced a number of reports for the Department, including studies printed in the manuscript Report Series (MRS) dealing with the Salesshop/Furloft and the South West Bastion, as well as an internal report on the Engineer's (Ross) Cottage.⁵ More

⁴ See, for example, A.T. Cowley, "Lower Fort Garry in 1868", *The Beaver* (September 1934):39-41.

⁵ See: George Ingram, "The Salesshop: Structure and Function, Lower Fort Garry", Manuscript Report Series no. 148, Canadian Parks Service, 1967; "The Southwest Bastion, Lower Fort Garry -Structure and Function", Manuscript Report Series no. 148, Canadian Parks Service, 1967; and "The Cottage at Lower Fort Garry", Report on file, Archaeological Services, National Historic Sites Branch, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1968.

comprehensive studies by Ingram were published in 1971 in the book *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers* No. 4 and dealt with the Big House and the history of the industrial and agricultural activities at the fort between 1845 and 1870.⁶ Ingram also wrote a comprehensive paper entitled "Building the Stone Fort, A Study in Fur Trade Architecture" which was delivered at the 1970 North American Fur Trade Conference in Winnipeg.⁷ Other reports in the volume of *Occasional Papers* included Dale Miquelon's, "A Brief History of Lower Fort Garry", and William Morrison's "The Sixth Regiment of Foot at Lower Fort Garry" and "The Second Battalion, Quebec Rifles at Lower Fort Garry."

In the early 1970s Ottawa historian Philip Goldring produced a number of studies in support of the restoration program, including short reports on the Penitentiary and Asylum, the Doctor's Office, the Walls, Men's House and North West Bastion, and on Indian Treaty No. 1.⁸ As well, his major three volume study of labour in the fur trade, published in 1979, 1980 and 1982, was important to the development of the site's interpretive program.⁹ Carol Livermore's comprehensive work "Lower Fort Garry, the Fur Trade and the Settlement at Red River", printed in the Manuscript Report Series in 1976, was also useful for historical

⁶ George Ingram, "Industrial and Agricultural Activities at Lower Fort Garry" and "The Big House, Lower Fort Garry", *Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers* no. 4, Ottawa, National Historic Sites Branch, 1971.

⁷ George Ingram, "Building the Stone Fort, A Study in Fur Trade Architecture", Manuscript on file, National Historic Sites Branch, Ottawa, 1970. An earlier paper, by Peter Cameron, also looked at the lower fort's architectural tradition and was entitled "The Architecture of Lower Fort Garry at the Time of the Northern Department Council, 1846", manuscript on file, National Historic Sites Branch, Ottawa, 1964.

⁸ Philip Goldring, "The Men's House, Lower Fort Garry, Historical and Structural Notes", manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites, CPS, Ottawa, 1972; "The Manitoba Penitentiary and Asylum, 1871-86", MRS no. 28, 1970; "Doctor's Office, Walls and North-West Bastion at Lower Fort Garry", 1971, MRS no. 51, 1971.

⁹ Philip Goldring, "Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900", volume 1, MRS no. 362, 1979, volume 2, MRS no. 412, 1980 and volume 3, Microfiche Report Series no. 299, 1982.

interpretation at the site.¹⁰ This lengthy study looked at the early history of the fur trade prior to 1821, the role of the HBC in Red River and the history of the lower fort before 1900.

Structural and use histories in support of the restoration program at the fort were carried on in the late 1970s by Greg Thomas, who produced major reports on the Warehouse, Men's House, North West Bastion Bakehouse and the historic landscape.¹¹ These were all printed in the Manuscript Report Series and were consulted during the restoration of these particular resources.

Since the conclusion of these restoration projects, historical research has concentrated on smaller studies dealing with the interpretive/animation program at the site. These include separate reports on the Ross Family, manners and social customs, news of the day, the seasonal round of activities at the fort, and money and exchange by Frieda Esau; the farm manager by Rosemary Kuzina; and the role of women and labourers at LFG in the 1840s and 50s by Michael Payne.¹² Non-published research has also been conducted by the site historian on many of the historical personalities that are animated by seasonal staff, as well as on the walls and bastions in support of the current reconstruction program.¹³

¹⁰ Carol Livermore, "Lower Fort Garry, the Fur Trade, and the Settlement at Red River", Manuscript Report Series no. 202, CPS Ottawa, 1976.

¹¹ Greg Thomas, "The Men's House, Lower Fort Garry: Its Furnishings and Place Within the Hudson's Bay Company Post Environment", MRS no. 246, CPS, 1978; "The Warehouse Building, Structural and Use History, MRS no. 204, 1977; "The Northwest Bastion Beakehouse: A Structural Furnishing Study", MRS no. 297, 1979; and "Lower Fort Garry: Period Landscape Study", MRS 407, 1979.

¹² Rosemary Kuzina, "Agriculture and the Role of the Farm Manager at Lower Fort Garry", 1986; Frieda Esau, "Hudson's Bay Company C.F. Donald Ross: An Interpretive Profile", 1987; "The Piano-Forte at Lower Fort Garry", August 1987; "Seasonal Calendar of Activities: Lower Fort Garry, 1850s", March, 1989; "News-of-the-Day at Lower Fort Garry in 1851", September, 1987; The System of Trade at Lower Fort Garry in the Early 1850s", July 1987; and "Manners and Social Customs," October, 1987, unpublished reports, CPS, PNRO, Winnipeg, 1987, 1989. Michael Payne, "The Role of Women at Lower Fort Garry, 1840 to 1860" and "Labour at Lower Fort Garry in the mid-19th Century", Microfiche Report Series no. 470, CPS, Ottawa, 1990.

¹³ A variety of short research reports, carried out between 1984 and 1990 by site historian Robert Coutts provide information on a number of historical personalities associated with the fort including William Lane, John Black, Nancy Fidler, George Davis and

Archaeological Research¹⁴

Like historical research, archaeological investigation at Lower Fort Garry has been extensive over the last three decades. The purpose of these investigations has been varied, from research carried out in support of early reconstruction at the fort, providing data on many of the site's early, but no longer extant, historic buildings, to mitigation work associated with the construction of modern utilities. All have contributed to what is now a considerable body of information on the history of Lower Fort Garry and its role in the 19th century fur trade and the early history of the lower Red River community.

Government-sponsored archaeological investigation at Lower Fort Garry began in 1962, with the period of most concentrated research, involving up to 20 field crew occurring in the years between 1965 and 1967.¹⁵ Under the direction of Ian Rodger, the initial work at the site, which lasted about a week in the summer of 1962, was centred in the area of the former retail store as part of the plan to reconstruct the original store as a museum. The goal of this investigation was to locate the original northwest and northeast corners of the building. When this was quickly accomplished the work was terminated. Other areas of the building were not investigated and were subsequently lost when the basement was dug for the museum the following year.¹⁶ No archaeology was carried out at the fort during the next two seasons.

Margaret Anderson. Other work provides data on the construction of the fort walls and on the Southeast Bastion.

¹⁴ Much of the information provided in this section has been taken from descriptions of the archaeological research program at the fort by archaeologist Peter Priess; specifically his manuscripts "Summary of Archaeological Activities at Lower Fort Garry," Microfiche Report Series no. 229, 1985 and "Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry, 1977" and with Linda Sears, "Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry, 1978" MRS no. 336, 1978 and 1979. As well, information on the fort archaeological program has also come from a variety of other Parks' manuscripts which deal with the investigations carried out over the years on a number of site resources.

¹⁵ Peter Priess, "Summary of Archaeological Activities at LFG", p. 2.

¹⁶ See Ian C.F. Rodger, "An Excavation at Lower Fort Garry N.H.S., September 24-28", Manuscript on File, CPS, Winnipeg.

Between 1965 and 1967 the NHSD undertook a major archaeological program at the fort as part of its ambitious plan for the development of LFG as a major national historic site and tourist centre in Western Canada. Beginning in 1965 under the direction of University of Manitoba archaeologist James Chism, archaeological crews undertook investigations of virtually all the known building locations and activity areas in and around the fort. Within the fort walls excavations were carried out around the Big House (as part of the restoration of that building), at the Southwest Bastion, the Furloft/Saleshop, and at the location of the original barracks, penitentiary palisade and bakehouse facility. Outside the walls, at the agricultural complex immediately north of the fort, work focussed on the remains of four barns, a root cellar, the stableman's house and lime storage shed. At the industrial complex, excavations were carried out at the men's house, two blacksmith shops, the farm manager's house, grain flailing barn, beer cellar, storehouse, malt kiln, malt barn, brewery, miller's house and a lime kiln.¹⁷ Crews searched unsuccessfully for physical evidence of the fort boat-building operation at the mouth of the creek, but did uncover features associated with

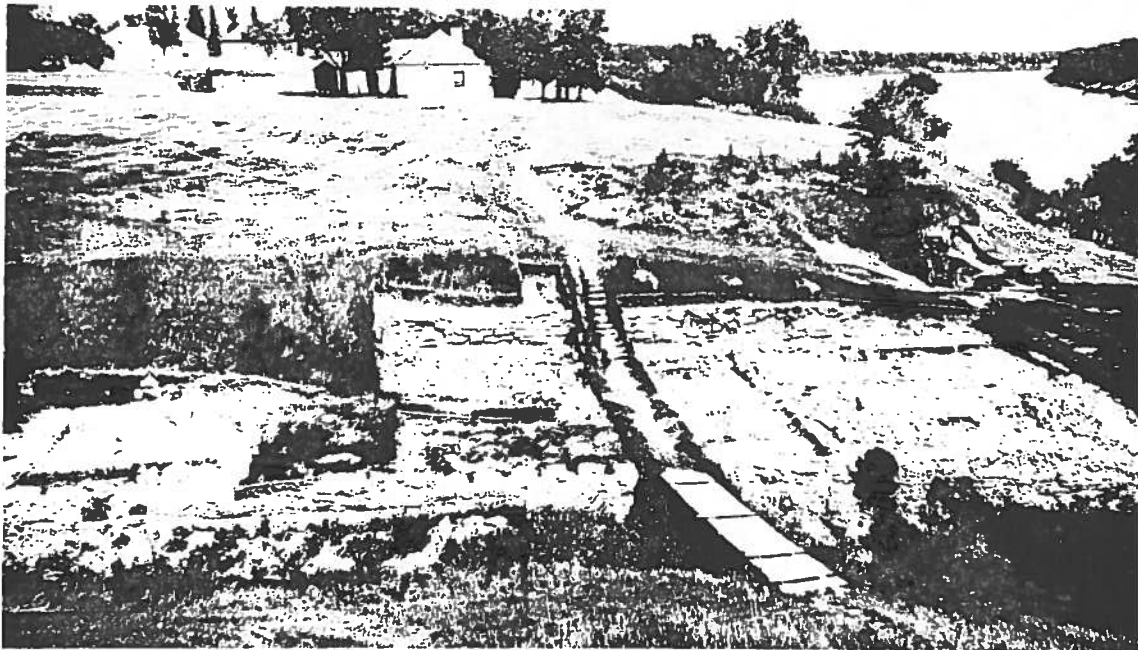


Figure 31: Archaeological investigations at the Industrial Complex, 1966 (Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

¹⁷ Peter Priess, "Summary of Archaeological Activities at LFG", p. 2.

the original paths and roadways in the area. Chism's investigations between 1965 and 1967 (and in 1970 with Karlis Karklins) were summarized in two reports published in the Manuscript Report Series, four unpublished manuscripts on file in Ottawa, and in volume number five of the *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*.¹⁸

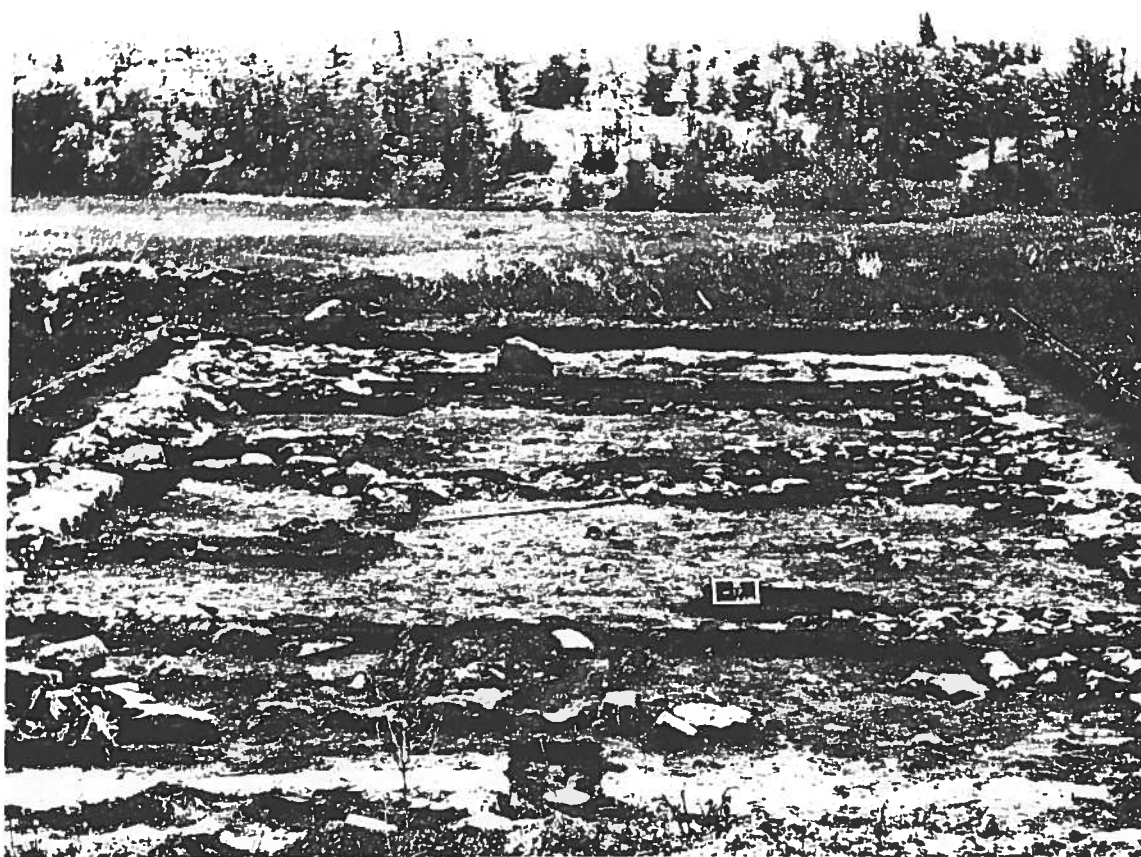


Figure 32: Archaeological excavations at the Agricultural Complex, 1966 (Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

¹⁸ See James V. Chism, "Lower Fort Garry (1K) Interim Report on Fur Loft and Southwest Bastion", Report on file, CPS, Ottawa, n.d.; "A Preliminary Report on 1965 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry (1K)", Manuscript on file, CPS, Ottawa, 1966; "A Preliminary Report on 1967 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry (1K)", Manuscript on file, CPS, Ottawa, 1968; Chism *et al.*, "A Preliminary Report on 1966 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry (1K)", manuscript on file, CPS, Ottawa, 1967; James Chism, "Interim Report Relative to Reconstruction of the Blacksmith Shop", MRS no. 11, CPS, Ottawa; Chism and Karlis Karklins, "The Documentary and Archaeological Evidence of Fences Associated with the Engineer's Cottage, Lower Fort Garry", MRS no. 148, CPS, 1970; and "Excavations at Lower Fort Garry, 1965-67: A Preliminary Description of Excavations and Preliminary Discussions", *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in History and Archaeology* no. 5, CPS, Ottawa, 1972.

While archaeological investigations at the fort continued after 1967, they never again reached the level of activity of the earlier period. The 1968 field season focussed on some of the major resources inside the fort walls, including the Big House, Warehouse and South West and North East Bastions, as well as the porch remains associated with the Ross Cottage.¹⁹ In 1969 archaeologists under the direction of Peter Priess and Marcel Moussette excavated the area of the Ross Cottage annex, the boat landing and the roadway to the front of the Big House. These investigations were summarized in manuscript report number 148 entitled *Fouilles au Lower Fort Garry: les opérations 1K44 et 1K45 - juillet 1969* by Marcel Moussette. The 1970 season proved much shorter, with excavation work carried out in the vicinity of the Ross Cottage and designed to locate the historic fence line.²⁰

One of the larger projects in the history of archaeological activity at the site took place in 1971 under the direction of William Folan with the removal of the modern concrete floor inside the warehouse and excavation of four underground penitentiary cells associated with that period in the building's history. Work was also carried out at the location where the penitentiary palisade had once stood, on historic pathways in the area, on the fence line associated with the Ross Cottage and on the malt barn and brewery outside the fort wall near the creek.²¹

In 1972 excavation work by William Dendy concentrated on the areas around the Doctor's Office, Warehouse and Men's House, as well as within the Men's House itself. A further section of the palisade was revealed that season, leaving all but a small part of the original fence line exposed.²² Also in 1972 the department printed a two-volume report by Lynne Sussman on the ceramics excavated from the fort. It was later published by Parks

¹⁹ Peter Priess, "Summary of Archaeological Activities at LFG", p. 6.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ This work was summarized in the manuscript "Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry, 1971", MRS no. 82, CPS, Ottawa, 1972.

²² Peter Priess, "Summary of Archaeological Activities at LFG", p. 7.

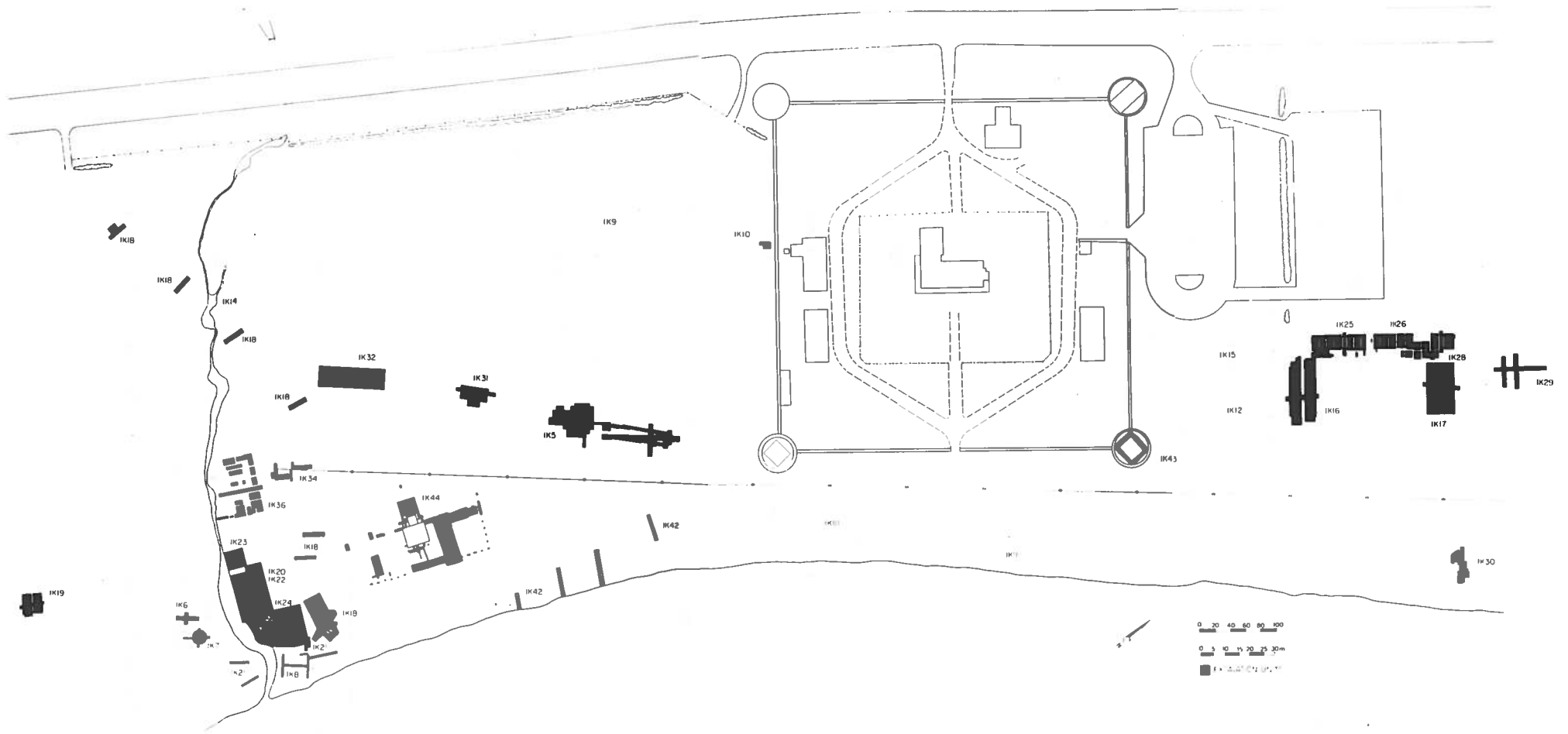


Figure 33: Map depicting archaeological investigations outside the walls of Lower Fort Garry (drawing by D. Elrick, Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

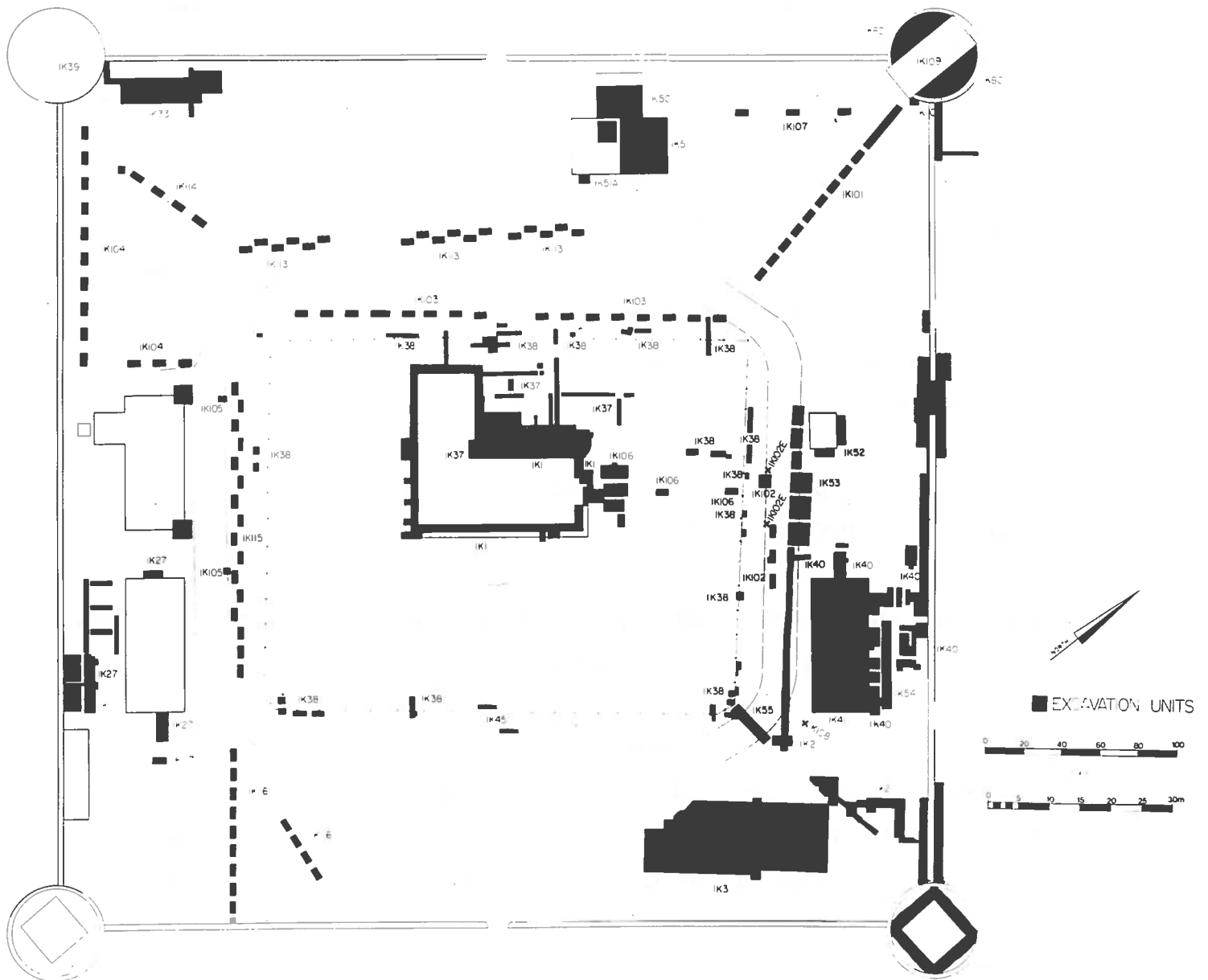


Figure 34: Map depicting archaeological investigations inside the walls of Lower Fort Garry (drawing by D. Elrick, Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

Canada in 1979 under the title *The Ceramics of Lower Fort Garry: Operations 1 to 31* in volume 24 of the History and Archaeology Series.

The following year, 1973, archaeological investigation was undertaken by John Dewhirst at the original Northwest Bastion bakehouse, as well as further work at the Doctor's Office and Men's House.²³

No archaeology was carried out at the fort over the next three years, but commenced again in the fall of 1977 with excavations in the area of the proposed installation of underground utility lines.²⁴ This type of work was also the focus of the 1978 season and revealed the existence of three previously unknown buildings in the area.²⁵ The 1977 and 1978 seasons were summarized in volume number 336 of the Manuscript Report Series.

Since 1978 no major archaeological investigation has occurred at Lower Fort Garry except for excavations along the east and north walls of the fort associated with the wall reconstruction project which commenced at the site in 1987.

Building Restoration Reports and Research

Beginning in 1963 the NHSD undertook various architectural reports and feasibility studies associated with the restoration of a number of historic buildings at Lower Fort Garry. These studies, which remain as reports on file with the Canadian Parks Service in Ottawa and Winnipeg, are discussed in greater detail above in Chapter VI of this report.

Curatorial Research

The furnishing of a number of the historic buildings at Lower Fort Garry, including the Big House, Salesshop/Furloft, Ross Cottage, Men's House, Farm Manager's Cottage and Blacksmith Shop were carried out by Curatorial Services during restoration between 1966

²³ John Dewhirst, "Archaeological Investigations in the Northwest Bastion and Bake House, Lower Fort Garry, 1973", MRS no. 114, CPS, Ottawa, 1974.

²⁴ Peter Priess, "Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry, 1977", MRS no. 336, CPS, Ottawa, 1978.

²⁵ Peter Priess and Linda Sears, "Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry, 1978, MRS no. 336, CPS, Ottawa, 1979.

and 1978 (see Chapter VII). No formal furnishing plans or curatorial handbook were prepared for these particular buildings, which were interpreted to periods ranging between 1830 and 1875.²⁶ With the decision at the site in the early 1980s to re-focus the interpretation period to the 1850s (see Chapter VIII), a large number of furnishings were changed to reflect this new period of animation. These changes were carried out under the Artifact Recapitalization Program begun in 1988/89 and designed to replace deteriorated original artifacts, substitute reproductions for original pieces that were being used for animation purposes, and to replace specific artifacts which were obviously from the wrong period of commemoration.²⁷ In 1991 Curatorial Services in PNRO recommended that, upon approval of the Lower Fort Garry Management and Service Plans, furnishing plans and Curatorial Handbooks be prepared for each of the furnished historic buildings.²⁸ This approach has also been recommended for the period Native Encampment established by site staff in 1990 outside the east gate of the fort.

While no formal furnishing plans were prepared for the restored buildings, a good deal of research has been conducted on period furnishings at the fort. In the 1960s and 1970s Curatorial Services at headquarters in Ottawa carried out research on furnishings associated with the early restorations at Lower Fort Garry, and these materials remain on file at headquarters and at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa.²⁹

Since that time research on period furnishings at Lower Fort Garry has been carried out by Curatorial Services in regional office and by curatorial staff at the fort. Fort personnel include a Curator of Collections, a Collections Cataloguer and a Conservation Technician. At the site, management of the collection has involved the establishment of a master museum records system and a computerized site inventory program known as the "Heritage Object Inventory System", or "H.O.I.S.T." Curatorial work at the site has also

²⁶ See Barbara Holliday, "Status Report on the Curatorial Programme, Lower Fort Garry N.H.S.", report on file, Curatorial Services, CPS, PNRO, 4 January 1991.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁹ See research cards on furnishings information by George Ingram under Restoration - Big House and Salesshop.

focussed on the establishment of a loans records system, the maintenance of site collections on display and in storage, the gathering of historical data relevant to site furnishings and material culture, and the provision of historical information on aspects of the collection to outside researchers and institutions. Site staff are also responsible for custodial care of the Hudson's Bay Company Collection at the fort which is described in detail below in Chapter IX of this report.

Research on furnishings and costumes in use at Lower Fort Garry has also been an ongoing activity of Curatorial Services in regional office. This has included the gathering of documentation on the background and use of specific artifacts in the collection, the acquisition of new items, research related to the fabrication of artifact reproductions, and the development of a costume plan for the site. A variety of reports have been prepared by this section and are on file with Curatorial Services in Regional office. These include a report on the historic uniforms of the North West Mounted Police and a compilation of primary source materials entitled "Articles and Papers Relating to Military and Fur Trade Affairs at Lower Fort Garry" by David Ross, two reports by Virginia Lockett entitled "The Serving of Afternoon Tea at the Big House, ca. 1850" and "Dinner in the Colvile Dining Room, ca. 1850", as well as reports by Betty Tyrchniewicz on appropriate furs for display in the furloft, communications materials in use at the fort in the 1850s, and a paper entitled "Documents Relating to Garden Tools and Supplies." General research on packaging has also been useful during the recapitalization of site artifacts and furnishings at the fort. In 1987 Judy Pilgrim Stewart authored a comprehensive costume plan for the site.³⁰ Using extensive archival and comparative documentation, Ms. Stewart produced new costume designs for site animation that were appropriate for the 1850s period of commemoration at the fort. These costumes were fabricated and are currently in use at the fort.

Conclusions

With the decision in the early 1960s to develop Lower Fort Garry as a major historic park in Western Canada, the NHSD embarked upon an ambitious program of multi-

³⁰ Judy Pilgrim Stewart, "Costume Plan, Lower Fort Garry", Manuscript on file, Curatorial Services, CPS, PNRO.

disciplinary research at the site. While the extent of this research, as it stands today, was probably never envisioned by the Department in 1965, a detailed and voluminous body of historical, archaeological and curatorial research was essential to the process of returning Lower Fort Garry to its mid-19th century appearance.

VIII. Planning, Interpretation and Site Operations, 1965-1992

The early planning and development of Lower Fort Garry as a national historic site focused in large part on the various restoration and reconstruction projects that characterized much of the activity at the fort throughout the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s. As Chapter VII of this study provides considerable detail on the planning and execution of these construction projects, this chapter will attempt instead to provide an overview of the conceptual planning process as it has evolved over the last thirty years, along with a description of changing site operations and interpretation throughout the same period.

Planning

Since 1962, when the federal government first stated its intention to restore and reconstruct the historic buildings at Lower Fort Garry, some form of conceptual planning has existed in regard to the ongoing development of the site as a heritage site and tourist destination. With the 1965 approval by Treasury Board for development at the fort, attempts were made by the department in Ottawa to initiate a coordinated planning process for Lower Fort Garry. This undertaking, however, remained quite loosely defined over the next two and one-half years. In a January 1968 letter to the Western Regional Director, Peter Bennett, the Assistant Director of Historic Sites in Ottawa described how site development [at Lower Fort Garry] is complicated by the number of different organizational units involved in the planning and execution of the work. In the past a number of development schemes have bogged down through poor communication and conflicting instructions.¹

In an attempt to better focus planning activities for the site, Bennett in 1968 formed the "Lower Fort Garry Committee" which was to coordinate all aspects of development planning and work at the fort.² Chaired by Steve Sheridan of the NHSD in Ottawa, the committee also included Norman McQueen, the fort superintendent, O.T. Fuller from the NHSD, Jacques Dalibard from Restoration Architecture, George Ingram from Historical

¹ 8415/L3, CPS, PNRO, Peter Bennett to Director, Western Region, 2 January 1968.

² Ibid.

Research and Nancy Ingram from Curatorial Services.³ Ron Malis, as a representative of Western Region, was to serve as an *ex-officio* member of the committee. All historical, interpretive, archaeological and operational information and requirements were channeled through the committee chairman.

The committee was also responsible for arranging for exhibits, displays and other interpretation material, provision of furnishings, arrangement for land acquisition and the approval of materials, colours, etc. used in the restoration or reconstruction of historic facilities at the fort. Sheridan was to arrange for the production and approval by appropriate Historic Sites officers of park interpretation plans, park operational plans, and detailed statements of requirements for the various developments at the site, including restored and reconstructed facilities as well as new facilities.⁴ Copies of the minutes of the Lower Fort Garry Committee meetings were provided to the Western Regional office representative, Ron Malis. Jacques Dalibard served as team captain for all staff involved in the engineering and architectural aspects of the park development. All information and direction pertaining to those aspects of the work were channeled through his office. This included liaison with the Regional Engineering group and with consultants employed for any of the engineering or architectural aspects of the various projects.⁵

Because of self-imposed time restrictions it was decided that the research and development programs for the site would be carried out simultaneously: that is, buildings at the fort would be researched at the same time that staff planned and carried out the restoration or reconstruction of these particular structures.⁶ Moreover, as the regional office in Calgary had no capacity to carry out historical, archaeological or "museological" (curatorial) research, these functions would be undertaken by headquarters staff. Similarly, Engineering and Architecture personnel charged with site investigation and design work

³ Ibid.

⁴ 8415/L3, CPS, PNRO, "The Lower Fort Garry Project: Lines of Communication and Authority [and] Division of Responsibility" by Peter Bennett, Assistant Director National and Historic Parks Branch, report on file, 26 April 1968, p. 1.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

were to remain in "almost day-to-day" consultation with the research and operational authorities at headquarters.⁷

An April 1968 memo from Peter Bennett, Assistant Director of the National and Historic Sites Branch, spelled out the reporting lines for the Lower Fort Garry project. The consulting restoration architect, John Chivers, was to receive direction from the regional engineer who in turn was supervised by the project captain, Steve Sheridan in Ottawa. The restoration architect was to be responsible for certain aspects of on-site architectural research, supervision of the preparation and production of as-found drawings (including the recording of information obtained during stripping), preliminary restoration proposals, final design proposals, restoration working drawings and specifications, site supervision and quality control, general organization and supervision of workers on restoration aspects of the work, preparation of as-built drawings on restored facilities, and other specific assignments that were approved by the project captain. A construction supervisor, Frank Downes, was hired by Chivers to help direct day-to-day operations at the site.⁸

In 1971 the NHSD formed the Lower Fort Garry Task Force which pulled together expertise from various disciplines in Parks headquarters. The task force reviewed progress to date on a variety of site restoration projects and made recommendations regarding future undertakings at Lower Fort Garry as well as the level of resources needed to service a developed and operating site. Various priorities for site development were advanced by Ottawa at that time. These included the acquisition of land for the relocation of highway nine; completion of the restoration of the penitentiary (Warehouse), North West Bastion Bakehouse, Men's House and Walls; the installation of site services such as sewer and water; the building of a Visitor Reception Centre and maintenance compound; the development of a picnic area, and the installation of ground interpretation at the agricultural and industrial complexes.⁹

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ 8415/L3, vol. 4, CPS, PNRO, Henry Turik to file, 17 August 1971.

The highway relocation issue first surfaced in 1968 when it was considered necessary to move the existing highway further to the west, away from the fort proper.¹⁰ Negotiations between Steve Sheridan, Ron Malis and Jacques Dalibard of the NHSD and the Provincial Department of Highways began in February of 1968. The relocation of the highway was eventually completed in the late 1970s with the province covering 75% of the cost and the federal government the remaining 25%.¹¹

The location for a new Visitor Reception Centre at the site, an initiative that dated back to the early 1960s, proved to be a more contentious issue, at least within the department. Whereas headquarters felt that the ideal location for such a facility was immediately north of the fort, the Prairie Regional Office, created in the early 1970s, argued for a location south of the fort just beyond the industrial complex and the creek.¹² Eventually, the southern location was chosen for the new VRC.

While the Lower Fort Garry Committee and Task Force provided detailed plans for managing the restoration of the historic buildings at the fort, no overall concept for the restoration, interpretation and operation of the site had been developed to that point. In short, Parks had not undertaken a management plan for Lower Fort Garry which could tie the various initiatives together into an overall blueprint for future development. In a February 1974 memo to Paul Lange, the Director of Operations in Prairie Region, the Chief of Interpretation, Dick Sutton, proposed that such a plan be undertaken with input from regional, site and headquarters functions. The result of such an initiative, Sutton argued, would be a "Park Master Plan whereby all facets -- docking, parking, picnicking and VRC relationship to the fort can be effectively coordinated".¹³ While many in Winnipeg, Ottawa and at the fort agreed that such an initiative was long overdue, the development of a master plan for Lower Fort Garry was placed on hold, due in large part to the increased demands placed on regional functions and budgets by the development of a number of historic sites

¹⁰ See Chapter VI, "Land Acquisition, 1951-1988".

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² 8415/L3, CPS, PNRO.

¹³ 8415/L3, vol. 5, CPS, PNRO, Dick Sutton to Paul Lange, 13 February 1974.

in Prairie Region such as Motherwell Homestead, Batoche, Riel House and Dawson City. As well, the fact that Lower Fort Garry had been in operation as an historic site for quite some time, with a large visitation and a sizable administrative and visitor activities infrastructure, allowed management to move on to other priorities in the region.

Although a master plan for Lower Fort Garry was not forthcoming at that time, the recommendations of the earlier task force were elaborated upon at a May 1976 meeting in Winnipeg of management personnel from headquarters and the region. A number of important decisions were made at this meeting concerning the future restoration and interpretation of the lower fort.¹⁴ Among these was the decision to complete development inside the walls in a manner reflective of the historic fur trade period, i.e., the restoration and interpretation of the Warehouse building in accordance with the agricultural and transshipment theme, the restoration and furnishing of the North West, South West and North East bastions to the fur trade period, the interpretation of the agricultural and industrial zones through ground signage, and the development of a landscape restoration plan for the whole of the site.

In 1978 a Themes and Objectives statement was prepared, but did not receive formal approval. Two major themes were identified: "The organization of the Hudson's Bay Company with particular emphasis upon the occupation, material culture and leisure pursuits of the officers and servants at Lower Fort Garry", and "The evolution of Lower Fort Garry as a transshipment centre and industrial-agricultural complex". Five minor themes were also identified at that time. These included: "Lower Fort Garry as an administrative headquarters and Company retreat; the evolution of a fur trade architecture and landscape; Lower Fort Garry and the Lower Red River settlement; the trading relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and the native people, and Lower Fort Garry and its use by other agencies such as the North West Mounted Police, Manitoba Penitentiary and Asylum and Motor Country Club.

In 1989 a new, more simplified, set of themes was given approval by Ottawa. They are: The Role of Lower Fort Garry as a Transshipment Depot and Industrial-Agricultural

¹⁴ Greg Thomas, "Interpretative Plan Draft, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park", draft report on file with CPS Historical Services, PNRO, September 1982, pp. 1-2.

Supply Centre in the Rupert's Land Fur Trade; Lower Fort Garry as an Administrative Headquarters and Focal Point for the Lower Red River Settlement, and Lower Fort Garry and the Evolution of a Fur Trade Architecture and Landscape.

In 1990 the Canadian Parks Service initiated a management planning process for Lower Fort Garry involving representatives from various disciplines in regional office and from the site. This process is scheduled for completion by February of 1993.

Interpretation

Since 1963 the scope of historical interpretation at the site has been substantially enlarged. At that time only a handful of uniformed guides interpreted the fort for visitors. Following the restoration of a number of the historic buildings in the late 1960s and early 1970s, an animation program was initiated that used costumed animators stationed in restored buildings to role-play characters from the historic fur trade period at the lower fort.



Figure 35: Interior of the furnished saleshop/furloft building, 1988 (Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association, 1988).

While uniformed guides were still available to take visitors around the site, they were then "handed off" to animators inside the various historic facilities. Guides and animators fulfilled the dual role of providing protection and security for the buildings and their furnishings while helping visitors to understand and appreciate the fort's past.

"Living history", as it is called, has been employed to interpret the various buildings and resources at Lower Fort Garry. Traditionally the interpretive focal point at the site, the Big House is staffed by animators role-playing such characters as Eden Colvile, the clerk John Black, servants Mr. and Mrs. Danes, Johnny Garton and Nancy Fidler, along with short term "visitors" such as Margaret Anderson, the sister of the first Anglican bishop in Red River. Such themes as the administrative role of the lower fort in the fur trade, the fort's role in the settlement and the lives of Company officers and their families and domestic



Figure 36: Animators loading a York Boat at Lower Fort Garry, *ca.* 1978 (Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

servants is the focus for the animation program at the Big House. At the restored Men's House, male animators role-play historical personalities such as John Cox, the sloopmaster at the fort between 1834 and the late 1860s, and provide visitors with a glimpse into the daily lives of the fort's permanent and seasonal servants in the 1850s. The Salesshop/Furloft is staffed by costumed animators interpreting such themes as the fort's role as a retail outlet and transshipment post and the daily work lives of HBC employees. Outside the walls, the lives of former Company Chief Factor Donald Ross and his family are interpreted at the Ross Cottage, while Alexander Lillie and his family are role-played at the Farm Manager's Cottage, helping to communicate the historic role of the farm in the late 1850s. A recently established Native encampment, located outside the fort's east gate, is staffed by appropriately costumed animators interpreting the part played at the fort by the local Cree and Ojibwa (Saulteaux) of the lower settlement. Other historic buildings at the fort, including the Warehouse and North West Bastion Bakehouse, are staffed by costumed volunteers from the Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association. Bread baked at the bakehouse forms part of the menu offered to visitors at the period canteen in the Warehouse, also managed by the Volunteer Association.

Non-personal interpretation is employed at the industrial complex adjacent to the creek and at the reproduction york boats near the Ross Cottage as well as at the authentic york boat near the South East Bastion. Indian Treaty Number One is interpreted by an Historic Sites and Monuments Board plaque on the outside of the west wall and through interpretive panels in the Visitor Reception Centre. The partially re-created historic landscape, both inside and outside the fort walls, is used to help visitors understand the physical setting of a mid-19th century transshipment post in the fur trade. The physical remnants of the agricultural complex -- located just beyond the north wall -- remain uninterpreted, a problem which is currently being addressed in the Management and Service Plans for the site. Artifacts from the HBC Collection are on display on the first floor of the museum building.

The Visitor Reception Centre, opened at the site in 1979, remains a major focus of the fort's interpretive program. An early concept for the centre promoted the idea of a "Hudson's Bay Company Boutique" at the site, to be operated by the Company and containing various handicrafts and projects related to the fur trade that could be sold to

visitors. The Company, however, declined to participate in the proposed plan.¹⁵ In 1974 a "VRC Operations Committee", which had been formed the previous year, recommended a number of options for the centre, including the development of a Native craft sales outlet and work area in conjunction with the Indian Economic Development Branch.¹⁶ Negotiations with the Branch fell through, however, as did plans to construct an "Indian village" at the site.

Designed by Winnipeg architect Etienne Gaboury, the Visitor Reception Centre was completed and opened in the summer of 1979. The building contains a theatre and exhibit area, as well as a restaurant, storage area and office space. The Lower Fort Garry Audio-visual show entitled "A Window on the Fur Trade", produced by Patrick McCloskey, was installed soon after the opening of the centre and continues to be the major interpretive show at the lower fort. The exhibit area, designed by the Interpretation Section of the Prairie and Northern Regional Office, contains exhibit panels and artifacts which provide the visitor with a general overview of the fur trade in Rupert's Land, the

history of the Red River Settlement, and the historic role of Lower Fort Garry as not only a fur trade post but as a penitentiary, asylum and Motor Country Club.



Figure 37: Loading a Red River Cart at Lower Fort Garry, *ca.* 1988.

¹⁵ Ibid., 8415/L3, vol. 5.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Over the years a number of publications have been produced to help provide visitors with an understanding of the fort's history. These have included the Parks West brochure, Area Guide, History Guide, Summer 1990 brochure, the "York Boats and Buffalo Robes" brochure, and recently an illustrated book on the history of the fort produced by the Volunteer Association entitled, *A Good Solid Comfortable Establishment: An Illustrated History of Lower Fort Garry*, written by Graham MacDonald.

As noted above, the current interpretation/animation program at Lower Fort Garry was largely developed at the site in the early 1970s. At that time interpretation focused, to a large extent, upon the historic role of the officer "class" at the lower fort in the mid-19th century, and paid less attention to the fort's role as a transshipment post and agricultural centre and the role of the post's permanent and seasonal servants, including women and Métis and Native peoples. In the mid-1980s the interpretation program was re-focussed to some extent upon these latter themes, in keeping with the changing historiography of the fur trade and the Red River Settlement. Research carried out by the Prairie and Northern Regional office was used as the basis for this new interpretation, providing the site with information on work and daily life, retail trade in the lower settlement, and the historic activities of the surrounding Native and Métis communities.

Part of this evolving interpretation included a change in the particular historical time period covered at the fort. Prior to the mid-1980s, the focus of the interpretation program spanned a thirty year period that saw the Fraser Cottage (originally built by Selkirk settler James Fraser near the Forks and moved to LFG in 1970) furnished and interpreted to the mid-1830s, and the Engineer's Cottage (which was inhabited by the "engineer" in charge of the industrial complex, E.R. Abell) interpreted to the late 1860s. This mixture of themes and periods proved confusing to many visitors and it was decided in the early 1980s to shift the focus to the 1850s, a critical decade in the fort's history.¹⁷ Appropriate adjustments were made to the animation program with the introduction of new characters and themes. For instance, the Fraser Cottage became the Farm Manager's Cottage during its occupancy by Alexander Lillie, who headed up farming operations at the fort between 1857 and 1862. Similarly, the Engineer's Cottage became the Ross Cottage and was interpreted to the brief

¹⁷ Ibid.

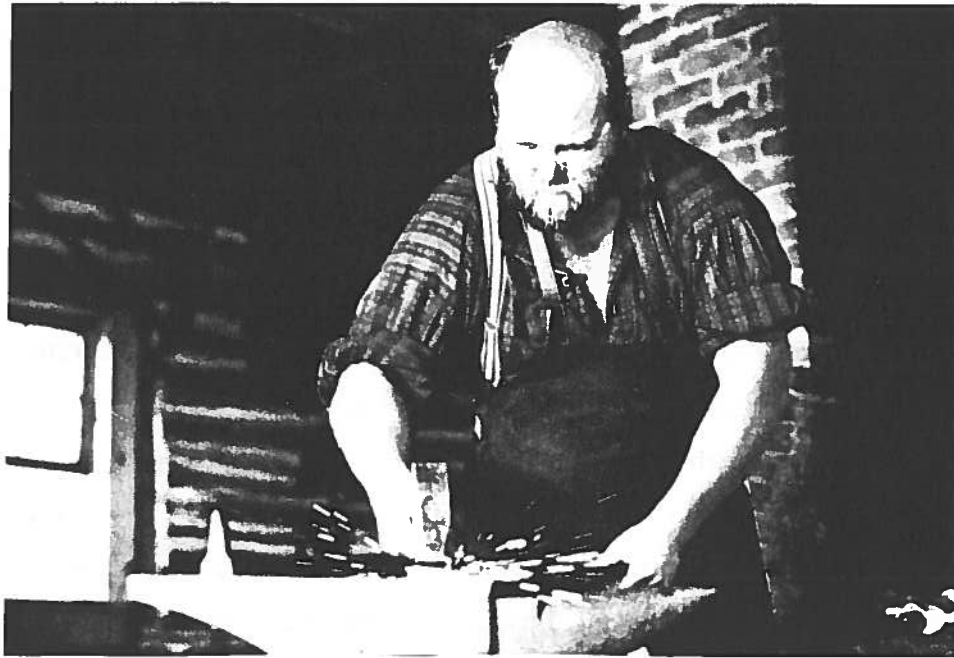


Figure 38: Blacksmith in the restored Blacksmith's Shop, 1978 (Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

period in the early 1850s when it was inhabited by former Chief Factor Donald Ross and his family. Some progress has also been made since the change in time periods in re-adjusting the furnishings in various buildings and the completion of these endeavours has formed one of the goals of the site Service Plan currently being developed.

During the months of May and June the bulk of visitation to the fort is comprised of school groups. From July to October, local and out of town visitors and tour groups form the largest part of site visitation. Special events programming has been undertaken, focusing on Canada Day and the "Rendezvous" weekend in August. In 1974 the fort also developed a winter interpretive program for students in grades four to six. Between 1974 and 1985, approximately 30,000 students were instructed in such historic activities as open hearth cooking, wool processing, snowshoeing and candle making. Due to budget and personnel restrictions this program was discontinued in 1989. It has since been replaced by a winter extension program that has site staff visiting area schools, using fur trade related artifacts

to provide students with information on the fur trade, historic clothing styles, period food and associated material culture topics from the mid-19th century.

Visitation at the site has fluctuated over the last thirty years. Between 1962 and 1970 the number of visitors increased from approximately 60,000 a year¹⁸ to 172,000 a year,¹⁹ but has declined steadily since the early 1980s after the opening of the Visitor Reception Centre. This phenomenon is due to a number of factors such as the increasing availability of other recreational pastimes and tourist destinations in the region (including a number of new heritage sites) and the fact that there has been little or no expansion or significant change in the interpretive program at the fort over the last 12 years. Economic fluctuations

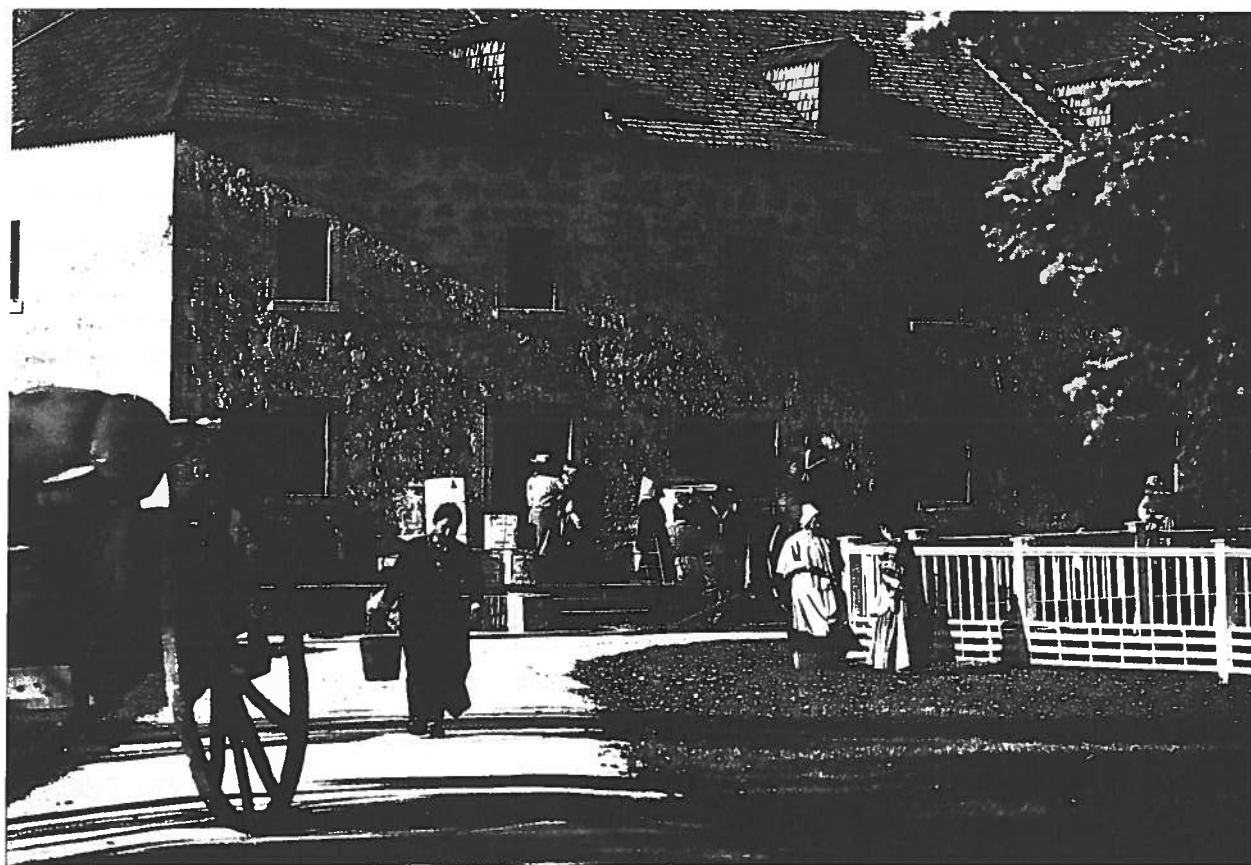


Figure 39: Period animation at Lower Fort Garry, 1990 (photo taken by A. Cornellier; property of Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region).

¹⁸ NAC, RG84, FG 111, vol. 3, 1962.

¹⁹ 8415/L3, CPS, PNRO.

and the changing tastes of visitors who come to Manitoba have also had, no doubt, some effect upon visitor statistics at Lower Fort Garry. The introduction of admission fees to the site in the late 1970s also affected visitation rates.

A Service Plan for Lower Fort Garry is currently being developed as part of the site management plan. It will look at all aspects of interpretation and the visitor experience as they have developed at the site, and will propose new, and hopefully better, ways to tell the story of this historic fur trade post.

Operations

The years after 1965 witnessed the greatest expansion of administrative and interpretive operations at the lower fort. The development of the park as a major heritage and tourist attraction in Manitoba in this period, coupled with the coordination of an intensive (and costly) restoration program, necessitated the growth of an administrative infrastructure at the park. Like site visitation, the administrative infrastructure reached its peak in the late 1970s and early 1980s but has seen staff and operational cutbacks since the mid-1980s.

In 1963, the first year of operations at the fort since the departure of the Motor Country Club, site staff included superintendent Barbara Johnstone, custodians Henry and Marjorie Sprong (who had both been previously employed by the Motor Country Club), a groundskeeper, general labourer and (between May and September), three interpreters or guides.²⁰ Johnstone's office staff was small, consisting of only one administrative secretary, as the superintendent was expected to oversee all aspects of financial administration and site interpretation. The fact that only three seasonals were employed at that time no doubt made the visitor activity "program" fairly easy to administer. As noted in Chapter V, Johnstone's background enabled her effectively to combine the duties of manager, interpretive specialist and site historian. During this particular period in the fort's administrative history, the frequency of correspondence between Johnstone and the Director of the NHSD, J.R.B. Coleman, demonstrated the high degree of control exercised by Ottawa over virtually all aspects of site administration and development.

²⁰ NAC, RG84, FG 170-17, Lower Fort Garry Personnel file.

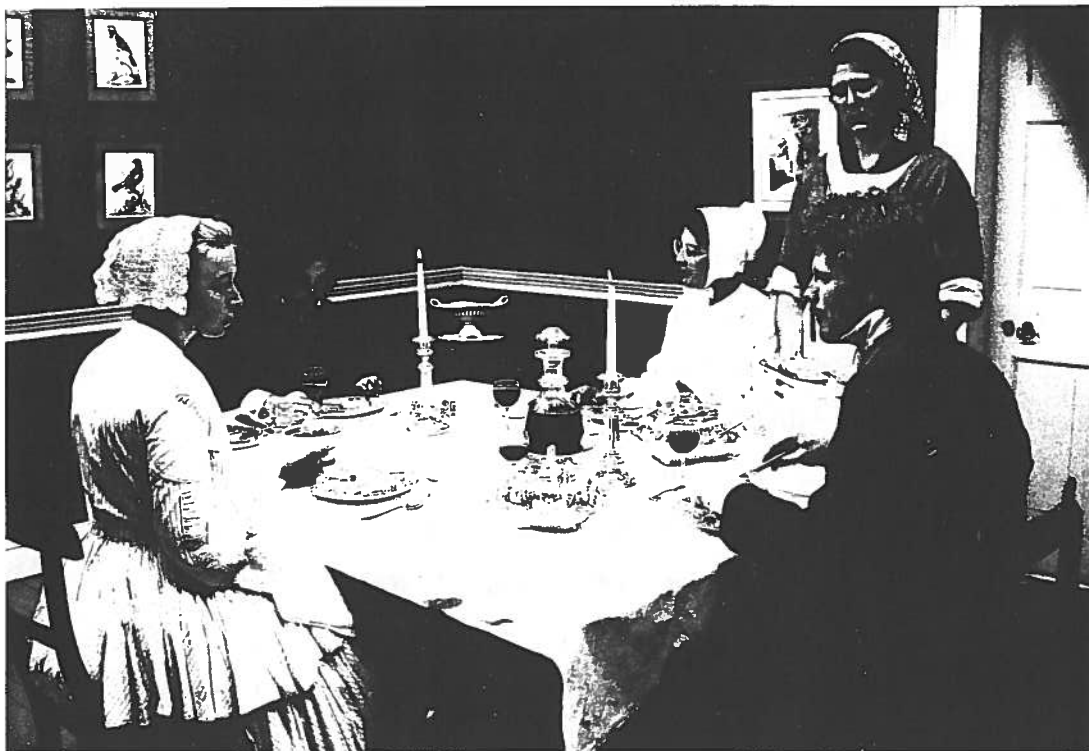


Figure 40: Period animation in the dining room of the Big House, 1988 (Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association).

In June of 1966 Barbara Johnstone went on sick leave and eventually resigned as superintendent in August of 1967. She was replaced at that time by Norman McQueen. A list of subsequent superintendents includes Jack Fife, who as project manager at the fort served briefly as acting superintendent (as did custodian Henry Sprong), Roy Orr, James Hamilton, Maurice Tarr, Peter Lamb, Charlie Zinken, Art Goldsmith, Onno Kremmers and, since 1987, Louis Guyot.

During the 1970s the fort expanded its operations in the areas of finance and administration, visitor activities and general works. This expansion coincided with the increased scale of restoration at the fort and the subsequent growth of visitation. The introduction of a fairly large-scale animation or living history, program necessitated the creation of a number of new seasonal interpreter, as well as supervisory, positions.

Increased demands for site and building maintenance, along with the growth of financial obligations at the fort brought about an expansion of staff in these particular areas, as well.

The opening of national historic sites at Riel House in 1980, St. Andrew's Rectory in 1984, and the Forks in 1989, necessitated the creation of a Manitoba South District in 1985 under the administrative control of the superintendent (now called the "area superintendent") at Lower Fort Garry. The Manitoba South District also includes fifty-one plaqued national historic sites in the southern part of the province.

As of 1991, Lower Fort Garry has an allocation of approximately forty-nine person-years comprised of Program Management (2 p.ys including the superintendent and secretary), Finance and Administration (3 p.ys including the Chief and two clerks), General Works (11 p.ys including the General Works Manager, Maintenance Supervisor, seven craftspeople, two part-time groundskeepers and a full-time clerk), Resource Conservation (3 p.ys including the Curator of Collections, a curatorial technician and collections cataloguer), and Visitor Activities (20 p.ys, including the Chief of Visitor Activities, 3 supervisors, a wardrobe fabricator, and 43 seasonal interpretive positions).²¹

²¹ "Site Operations", Lower Fort Garry Management Plan: Issue Analysis and Background Information, CPS, PNRO, 1992, after p. 141.

IX. The Hudson's Bay Company Collection at Lower Fort Garry

Introduction

The Hudson's Bay Company Collection, stored and displayed at Lower Fort Garry N.H.S., is a rare and internationally significant assemblage of artifacts that relate to ethnographic, military, fine art, archaeological, trade, transportation and numismatic themes. The roughly 6,000 pieces in the collection were assembled by the Hudson's Bay Company early in this century. The collection was displayed between 1922 and 1926 at the Company's Main Street store and after 1926 at its Portage Avenue department store.

With the closing of the Company's museum in 1960 the collection was placed on "permanent loan" to the Province of Manitoba and in 1962 was transferred to the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources with the intention of having it displayed at Lower Fort Garry. The collection was not moved to the fort until 1964, and since 1966 has been stored and partially displayed in the Museum building, a 1966 exterior reconstruction of the late 19th century Retail Store at the fort.

About two thirds of the HBC Collection is made up of Indian, Inuit and Métis material culture pieces such as clothing, tools, domestic artifacts, weapons and artwork. The balance of the collection relates to the history of the Hudson's Bay Company and the fur trade and includes paintings and sketches, maps, coins, medals and paper currency, guns, relics from arctic expeditions and items relating to transportation (see Appendix III). The bulk of the collection is in storage in the Museum building at the lower fort, while a small percentage of the artifacts make up "The First People" display on the building's first floor. Other materials from the collection are displayed at the Visitor Reception Centre and a number are used to help furnish the restored period buildings at the site.

The Origins of the Collection and the HBC Museum

The origins of the Hudson's Bay Company Collection can be traced to 1920, the year of the Company's 250th anniversary. Two years earlier, in 1918, a former employee of the Company, Edmund Taylor, suggested the gathering of materials and donations from various

Company posts and former employees in order to mount a permanent exhibit.¹ The Company agreed with Taylor's plan and shortly after retired employee F.D. Wilson began the collection of ethnographic materials from posts in the area of Hudson Bay. At the same time, materials were solicited from employees working in the north and from the Company's head office in London, which over the years had accumulated a substantial number of items relating to Native peoples and the fur trade.

In 1922 the Hudson's Bay Company Museum located in the HBC's Main Street retail store was opened to the public. Its goal was "to depict by means of relics, pictures, documents, models, etc., the history of the Hudson's Bay Company".² Later, this mandate was expanded to include the depiction of fur trade and "pioneer" life and the "dress and industries of the aboriginal tribes." The exhibit proved to be quite popular with Winnipeggers and in 1926 it was moved to the fourth floor of the Company's new retail premises at the corner of Portage and Memorial. The exhibit was organized around seven themes: early history, furs, Native artifacts, life in the Company service, posts and stores, fights and wars and, lastly, land and settlement. At various times material from the collection was loaned to other museums. In the early 1930s similar exhibits were installed in the Company's Victoria and Vancouver stores, however these were closed in 1936 and the artifacts were integrated into the Winnipeg museum collection. In 1934 Clifford Wilson was hired to catalogue the Winnipeg collection, as well as the collections in B.C. He also re-designed the exhibit in the Winnipeg store and between 1939 and 1957 served as editor of *The Beaver*.

In 1955 Mr. Wilson, the museum curator, again re-organized the collection. A new theme -- "Men in the Wilderness" -- was chosen, and the exhibit was re-designed to illustrate how Native people in the Northwest lived in pre-contact times, as well as how they used and adapted the material goods of Euro-Canadian traders.³ The revamped exhibit, still located at the Company's Portage Avenue store in the mid-1950s, employed up-to-date

¹ David Ross, "The Hudson's Bay Company Collection", unpublished report on file at Lower Fort Garry NHS, November 1986.

² Clifford Wilson, "Reorganization of the Historical Exhibit", article on file at LFG NHS, n.d.

³ J.W. Anderson, "HBC Museum", *Moccasin Telegraph*, vol. 15, no. 2, Spring, 1956.

lighting and exhibition techniques and was compared favourably to some of the top museums in Canada at that time.

When in 1958 Clifford Wilson left the HBC Museum for a position at the Glenbow Museum, Barbara Johnstone, a custodian of the collection since 1953, was hired as the new curator. In late 1959 the HBC inaugurated a number of changes in the management of its Winnipeg operation and it was decided that the museum in the Portage Avenue store would be closed. The next year the displays were packed up and stored in a sub-basement of the building while curator Barbara Johnstone was moved to a small office behind one of the store departments. As curator Ms. Johnstone continued to receive items for the collection from various individuals and groups.⁴

The Provincial and Federal Governments and the Transfer of the Collection

In 1960 representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company entered into negotiations with officials of the Provincial Department of Industry and Commerce regarding the future of the HBC Collection. According to J.R. Murray, the Company's Managing Director at the time, these discussions arose because of the need to close the museum at the store and "our deep concern with the proper disposal of the collection."⁵ The Company stated its wish to see the collection remain intact, preferably under the control of the provincial government. Gurney Evans, the Manitoba Minister of Industry and Commerce, proposed to the Company that the collection might be used at LFG as part of the planned joint federal and provincial development of the lower fort as a tourist attraction. The HBC expressed its approval of such an arrangement subject to four conditions. As stated by Murray in a letter to the then Premier of Manitoba, Duff Roblin, in August of 1960 these conditions were: that the bulk of the collection be used at LFG; that a few important items in the collection linked to the Company's history be retained; that the HBC had the right to borrow pieces from the collection for special events and; that the HBC and the province issue a joint press release

⁴ B.A. Johnstone, "State of Museum Collections at Lower Fort Garry", report on file at LFG NHS, May 1967.

⁵ J.R. Murray to Duff Roblin, 5 August 1960, photocopy of letter on file, Lower Fort Garry NHS, Winnipeg.

regarding the acquisition of the collection.⁶ Murray also suggested that Barbara Johnstone be hired as the museum curator at the fort (Ms. Johnstone eventually served as the collection curator and the lower fort's first superintendent). On 10 August 1960, Roblin wrote to Murray saying that the Manitoba government was "pleased to accept the historical collection now in your Winnipeg store museum on a permanent loan basis subject to the conditions mentioned in your letter of the 5th".⁷

At the time, the Company felt that the use of its collection at the lower fort as part of "the plans envisaged by the Provincial and Federal Governments for the development of Lower Fort Garry" were, in Murray's words, "ideal." The subject of housing the collection at the fort had first arisen in 1960 in a letter from provincial Industry and Commerce minister Gurney Evans to Walter Dinsdale, the federal minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources.⁸ Dinsdale agreed with Evans' suggestion and stated his desire to establish a "conventional type museum" as well as a "study" collection at the fort to house and display the HBC material. Dinsdale asked, however, that the transfer of the collection to the federal government be a standing loan agreement subject to five years notice for withdrawal, and that the province carry its own insurance on the collection. Later the five year cancellation provision was dropped from the agreement.

Negotiations for the transfer of the collection continued until April of 1962 when a loan agreement was signed between the two levels of government. Seven months earlier, in September of 1961, the HBC had sent a letter to the provincial government which gave Manitoba permission to re-loan the collection to the federal government. The 1962 legal agreement specified that a number of conditions be met by each of the signatories. For its part the Province of Manitoba (as represented by the Department of Industry and Commerce) was to "insure and keep insured the collection to the satisfaction of the Company" and to "permit Canada (as represented by the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources) on 30 days written notice to remove for display in places

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., Duff Roblin to J.R. Murray, 10 August 1960, photocopy of letter on file.

⁸ M. Salmon, "Hudson's Bay Company Collection", memorandum on file, 28 August 1979, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa.

other than Lower Fort Garry such items from the collection and for such periods as shall be mutually agreed upon from time to time."⁹ For the federal government the conditions of the agreement were more numerous, The agreement stated that:

Canada will take delivery of the collection and will provide adequate storage for the collection at Lower Fort Garry ...; take reasonable precautions to protect the collection from damage or loss ...; provide a qualified curator and suitable attendants to care for and make available items of the collection for display; as soon as possible open a museum at Lower Fort Garry ...; permit the Company or the Province at its expense on 30 days written notice to borrow such items from the collection and for such periods as shall be mutually agreed upon from time to time; ... permit duly authorized representatives of Manitoba and the Company to enter the said Museum for purposes of inspecting the collection and; publicly acknowledge in an appropriate fashion its indebtedness to the Company and Manitoba for the use of the collection.¹⁰

The agreement further stipulated that either party could terminate the contract with twenty-four months written notice. The agreement was signed by Walter Dinsdale on behalf of Canada and Gurney Evans as the representative of Manitoba. The Hudson's Bay Company reviewed the agreement and gave its assent, stipulating that it would maintain its insurance on the collection until such time as the collection was delivered to Lower Fort Garry.¹¹

The Transfer of the Collection to Lower Fort Garry

Initially the federal government had proposed that the collection be housed in the Warehouse building at the lower fort. It was soon determined, however, that the refitting of this structure for display and storage purposes would be too costly. In early 1961 it was recommended that the collection be permanently stored on the second floor of the Salesshop/Furloft building, but in November of 1961 Jack Herbert, the Director of the

⁹ Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Manitoba regarding the loan of the HGC Collection, 27 April 1962, contained in RG84, vol. 1077, RF 318, vol. 1, 1962, National Archives of Canada.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ A.R. Huband to R.E. Grose, Provincial Department of Industry and Commerce, 23 February 1962, copy of letter on file, Lower Fort Garry NHS, Winnipeg.

National Historic Sites Division, overturned this decision and proposed that a proper museum building be constructed for the collection.¹² This provision eventually became part of the 1962 agreement between the two governments as noted above.

In 1963 work began on the construction of the Museum at the lower fort. A modern steel and concrete structure was given a period facade that replicated the old retail store built by the Company in 1875 and torn down in 1923. The collection was moved to the fort in November of 1964, prior to the completion of the Museum. It was transported to the fort from the basement of the Company's downtown store, as well as from its service building on Berry Street. Once at the fort it was stored in the Salesshop/Furloft until the opening of the museum in June of 1966.

While insurance for the collection remained the responsibility of the Company until its transfer to the fort in 1964, this responsibility – as stipulated in the 1962 agreement – was thereafter to rest with the province. Before this could be carried out, however, a full inventory and catalogue of the artifacts for purposes of evaluation had to be undertaken. In March of 1965 Maurice Mann was hired to complete a catalogue of the collection, but for a variety of reasons this task remained unfinished upon the expiration of Mann's contract. In June of 1967 Chris Grant was retained on contract to complete the work. The catalogue was eventually completed and a copy was sent to the province in March of 1969. However, it appears that no formal appraisal of the collection was carried out subsequent to that date and consequently no insurance arrangements for the collection appear to have been made by the province.¹³ Therefore, the insurance status of the collection remains unclear, there being the implication that Parks' custodial care of the collection provides it with implicit insurance under the federal ownership of crown assets.

Custodial Care of the Collection at Lower Fort Garry

The Hudson's Bay Company Collection remains a static collection and has not increased in size since its transfer to Lower Fort Garry in 1964. Acquisitions at the fort since

¹² M. Salmon, "Hudson's Bay Company Collection".

¹³ Ibid.

that date have remained the property of the federal government. In 1984, A.R. Huband of the Hudson's Bay Company, in a letter to LFG curator Davis Ross, reaffirmed his Company's view that Parks were the "Managers of the Collection." He also stated the Company's desire to see the collection "made as widely available for public viewing as possible" which would allow "loans to other suitable qualified museums as a welcome method of displaying artifacts to the public which otherwise might remain in storage."¹⁴ Five conditions or regulations guiding such loans were outlined by Huband. These included the stipulations that: loans be made only to established and professionally administered museums; a loan agreement be drawn up for each transaction between Parks and the borrower; loans be preferably for a period of up to six months with longer borrowing periods negotiated subject to a recall clause; borrowing institutions provide a standard of care for the artifacts that would meet Parks' curatorial standards and; that borrowing institutions be responsible for all shipping costs and insurance liabilities.¹⁵ The Company also asked for an annual report from LFG regarding loans from the collection. All loans of materials from the collection since that time have been subject to form loan agreements between Parks and the receiving institutions.

Requests for loans from the collection, as well as information on particular artifacts, are received by the staff at Lower Fort Garry on a regular basis. As of late 1991 there were a total of sixteen active, long term loans to major museum institutions such as the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the Glenbow Museum, the California Academy of Sciences and the Arts Council of Great Britain. Short term loans of up to six months are also made to other Canadian Parks Service historic sites, or to institutions such as the National Film Board or the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁶ Artifacts from the collection are frequently used by heritage

¹⁴ A.R. Huband to D. Ross, 15 June 1984, letter on file 8406-12, LFG NHS.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ "Current Use of Collection by Outside Individuals and Organizations", in *Hudson's Bay Company Collection Analysis*, report on file, file no. 8406-1, CPS, PNRO, 20 June 1991, n.p.

organizations as reproduction prototypes, including the Lower Fort Garry Cooperating Association which has reproduced original artifacts for retail sale at the fort gift shop.¹⁷

The collection has also been used by a number of researchers over the years; on average about six to ten qualified scholars are given access to the collection each year.¹⁸ Their work, along with the many requests for information made by phone or mail, have resulted in the collection being featured in a wide variety of North American publications including *The Beaver* and *National Geographic*, as well as the book *The Spirit Sings*.¹⁹

Since the transfer of the HBC collection to Lower Fort Garry in the early 1960s, the curatorial staff at the fort have inventoried, catalogued and photographed much of the collection. They have also set up environmentally-controlled storage facilities, donor and research files, and have established a collections maintenance program. Curatorial staff monitor the condition of the collection, including those artifacts in storage or on display in the museum building and in the historic buildings at the site.²⁰ The collection's inventory system has been computerized and reorganized, while many of the artifacts and groups of artifacts have been researched, photographed and documented by type.²¹ Donor files have been set up for approximately 90% of the original acquisitions. Today, a number of the artifacts from the collection, including the last York boat to be used in Company service, as well as a beam scale, fur press and a number of Carron stoves, form part of the period furnishings and interpretive displays at the fort. The bulk of the collection (approximately 96%), however, remains in storage in the museum building, or on loan to various institutions.²²

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., "Publications".

²⁰ Ibid., "Current Administration of Collection".

²¹ Ibid., "Research and Documentation to Date".

²² Ibid., "Current Use of the Collection by CPS".

X. The Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association

The use of volunteer labour to supplement the interpretive program at Lower Fort Garry has had a relatively long history. For a number of years local volunteers, usually students, have helped out with the fort's summer program. In 1979 four high school students from the town of Selkirk signed on with the Canadian Parks Service to help out with the winter interpretive program at the lower fort.¹ Over the years the number of volunteers working at the site has increased, assisting staff at such events as the Rendezvous weekend in August or participating in the historic re-enactment associated with the arrival and departure of the York boat brigades. In 1984 a total of 661 hours were logged at the site by local volunteers.

In 1985 the Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association (LFGVA) was formed and incorporated as a non-profit organization. Made up largely of interested individuals from the Lockport and Selkirk areas, as well as from Winnipeg, the LFGVA has organized and operated various facilities and activities at the fort. At the time of its incorporation a formal agreement was negotiated between the LFGVA and the Canadian Parks Service which outlined the objectives of the association, as well as the responsibilities of the Canadian Parks Service. Association responsibilities include, among others, to support and supplement the CPS

mandate at the fort; develop educational and park specific products for sale and distribution; promote compatible special events and initiatives; and to accept donations on behalf of Parks. In return CPS was to provide limited financial assistance to the association, help to



Figure 41: A participant in the annual August Rendezvous braids a child's hair, 1988.

¹ *Selkirk Enterprise and Lake Centre News*, Dec. 12, 1979, in file 4010-2/L3, CPS, PNRO, Winnipeg.

implement its activities, aid the LFGVA in acquiring and designing sales items, and provide administration space, as well as allow the association to review and comment on CPS plans regarding facilities and services and the fort. Parks was also to designate a liaison officer to work with the Association on a regular basis.² The executive of the Lower Fort Garry Volunteer Association is made up of a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, as well as a board of directors. A salaried executive director oversees the association's day-to-day activities and works in conjunction with park staff in planning events at the site. A number of committees staffed by association members plan and organize a variety of functions and operations sponsored by the LFGVA. There are four classes of membership in the association, including regular, associate (i.e, children of regular members), honorary and corporate memberships (see Appendix IV for the by-laws of the LFGVA).

The LFGVA's first project at the site was the operation of the period bakehouse in the North West Bastion. Designed to augment the provisioning theme at the fort, bread baked by the LFGVA was sold to visitors at the period canteen contained in the Warehouse building.³ This canteen serves visitors an 1850s style light snack of Red River style bread, jam, beverages and desserts. It has operated seven days a week during July and August with two staff members assisted by twenty volunteers who helped out one or two days a week. Staff and volunteers wear appropriate period costumes and the first floor of the Warehouse has been furnished with bare wooden tables and benches for use by visitors.⁴

The LFGVA also operates a gift shop at the Visitor Reception Centre during the four months of the visitor season. It is managed by one full-time and one part-time staff member, as well as three volunteers. The shop offers visitors a variety of souvenir and craft items related to the history of the fort, the fur trade and the history of Red River, and includes a number of books on historic themes. Between 1989 and 1991 the Association also

² File 4010-2/L3, CPS, PNRO, Winnipeg.

³ "Co-operating Association", *Lower Fort Garry Management Plan, Background Information Report*, p. 124, report on file, CPS, PNRO, 1992.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

operated a gift shop called "Reflection in Time" at The Forks Market, which was staffed by both volunteers and LFGVA staff.⁵

One of the more significant operations of the LFGVA is its management and operation of the restaurant in the Visitor Reception Centre at the fort. Taken over from a private contractor in 1990, the restaurant offers a variety of meals (some of which are period style) which are served to visitors by staff in period costume. It has operated seven days a week from the middle of May to the end of August and on weekends in September.⁶ The LFGVA also hosts a number of catered events at the restaurant. The restaurant has proven to be a viable financial undertaking for the Association and has enabled it to defray some of the costs associated with its other services at the fort.⁷

One of these services is the horse and wagon concession that offers transportation for visitors, including the elderly and handicapped, from the Visitor Centre to the historic grounds. This service was contracted by the Association to a local operator and has been operated on weekends in June, and five days a week during July and August.

A "Youth Day Camp" has also been operated at Lower Fort Garry by the Association (with the help of LFG staff) in order to provide a heritage awareness program for youth between the ages of nine and thirteen. Operated in eight sessions between July and August, instruction is offered by staff and volunteers of the LFGVA on period lifestyles and outdoor skills and education. The camp has proven to be quite popular since it was initiated, with 63 children participating in 1990, and now has a waiting list.⁸

The LFGVA has also been involved in a large number of non-revenue generating events. These have included the sponsorship of various Canada Day activities, the organization of a Voyageur Ball as part of Red River Rendezvous, annual involvement in the "Christmas at the Forks" celebration, and participation in a variety of heritage events in the Winnipeg-Selkirk area such as the Manitoba Highland Gathering, heritage day

⁵ Ibid., pp. 123-124.

⁶ Ibid., p. 126.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 127.

celebrations at the St. James Historical Museum, Red River Days celebrations at the Forks N.H.S., and the Selkirk Parade.⁹ In 1989 the LFGVA hosted a national conference of volunteer associations at the fort. It has also funded the writing of a popular, pictorial history of the fort entitled *A Good Solid Comfortable Establishment: An Illustrated History of Lower Fort Garry*, which was published by Watson and Dwyer of Winnipeg in August of 1992.

Elaine Elliott is the current president of the LFGVA while Lillian Tankard serves as the Association's executive director. The Chief of Visitor Activities at Lower Fort Garry serves as the Park's liaison with the Association. As of 1992 the LFGVA had a total of 300 members. According to its annual report, the association sponsored ten free events in 1990, serving approximately 1500 visitors, while logging 4,500 volunteer hours.¹⁰ The LFGVA has formulated a number of long term goals for the organization. These goals include: 1. to work together as board members, volunteers, staff and CPS colleagues to foster positive, committed service to each other and to the public and to be involved in the planning processes of the park; 2. to make the association financially self-sufficient; 3. to maintain and strengthen community ties while making LFGVA programs and activities better known; 4. to encourage and foster involvement of association members; 5. to complete publication of the popular history of LFG; 6. to set aside funds for education purposes; 7. to establish and maintain educational programs; and 8. to continue the training of LFGVA board members.¹¹

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 122.

¹¹ Ibid.

XI. The Regional Restoration Workshop at Lower Fort Garry

The origin of the Regional Restoration Workshop (RRW) at Lower Fort Garry can be traced to the restoration of the Big House between 1966 and 1969. With the lack of local masons and other tradesmen skilled in restoration techniques, project supervisor John Chivers, assembled a day-labour work force that over time developed solid restoration skills. As restoration continued at the park on other historic buildings into the 1970s, new restoration skills and techniques were developed. The small crew became proficient in a variety of restoration functions including masonry, plastering, carpentry and millwork. In 1976 restoration craftsmen positions were defined and standardized by Parks, with job descriptions made specific to positions that required these particular skills.¹

In 1978 the capital project workshop that had been for over ten years associated with the restoration program at LFG became the Regional Restoration Workshop (RRW). At the time its mandate was broadened to include restoration work at other historic sites in Prairie and Northern Region. This work has involved a number of restoration projects, both large and small. Some of the bigger projects have included restoration work at St. Anne de Padue Church and Rectory, as well as the Caron house at Batoche NHS, the 19th century barn at Motherwell NHS, Stanley Mission in northern Saskatchewan, and at Dalnavert, the historic home of Hugh John MacDonald in Winnipeg. Other projects undertaken by the RRW over the years have included the construction of York boats and Red River carts for Canadian Parks Service sites and historic sites administered by Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, the construction of period furniture for use at Fort Langely in British Columbia, and the building of wagons and sleighs for use at Fort Battleford and Lower Fort Garry. Today the Workshop has twelve positions providing the region with expertise in a wide variety of restoration and construction skills. In 1992 the RRW undertook major restoration at York Factory NHS, including replacement of the floor in the Depot building, and at Fort Battleford.²

¹ "The Regional Restoration Workshop", report on file with the RRW, CPS, PNRO, Winnipeg, n.d., n.p.

² Personal communication with Sandy Siepman, Head, Regional Restoration Workshop, CPS, PNRO, April 1992.

Between 1968 and 1975 the restoration program at LFG was administered from a trailer office located west of the fort and the old highway. From 1975 to 1976 it was located in Simpkin House and since that date has been housed in an adjacent trailer. Other facilities include a workshop building (1977) which is used for carpentry and millwork. In 1983 a five-bay shed was built to allow for the storage and drying of the special lumber needed for restoration projects.³

³ "The Regional Restoration Workshop", n.p.

XII. Conclusions

The history of Lower Fort Garry between 1911 and 1992 reveals much about the development of the historic sites program in Canada. If the fort saw many changes in its role as a fur trade post in the 19th century -- from the transformation of the Company's transport system to the decline of the fur trade itself -- it also witnessed the 20th century transition from abandoned post to private country club and finally to national historic site. Since the early 1960s, when the federal government began an ambitious program of restoration at the site, Lower Fort Garry has remained one of the major heritage and tourist developments in Western Canada.

While initial attempts by the HBC to sell the fort to the federal and provincial governments as an "historic monument" after its closing in 1911 were unsuccessful, the formation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1919 helped to create a more favourable climate for the designation of historic sites throughout the country. In 1925 the HSMBC declared Lower Fort Garry to be of "national historic significance" as part of a larger initiative to commemorate historic properties in Western Canada. Where previously the Board had restricted much of its commemorative work to the military sites of central Canada (or "drum and bugle" history, as some have called it), by the mid-1920s it had begun to focus attention on candidate sites in the West, particularly those sites that embodied some aspect of the extension of central Canadian hegemony in the post-confederation territories. Although the fur trade and the role of the Hudson's Bay Company was considered by the Board to be an important part of Canadian "manifest destiny," it was the signing of Treaty Number One at the lower fort in 1871, and its role in the "peaceful settlement" of the Canadian West, which prompted the Board's initial interest in Lower Fort Garry as a national historic site.

The federal government declined to purchase the site from the HBC, however, and in 1913 the Company leased its Lower Fort Garry property to the Manitoba Motor Country Club. The MCC, whose membership comprised a sizeable number of the wealthier business elite of Winnipeg, occupied the fort until 1963. During its five-decade tenure at the site the MCC built a nine-hole golf course south of the fort, planted trees and flower gardens within the fort walls and carried out extensive renovations to many of the original buildings. The Big House, once the headquarters of Associate Governor Eden Colville in the 1850s and later

the home to various Chief Commissioners of the Company, became the club's headquarters, while the stone Warehouse became the club locker rooms. Other buildings at the fort served at various times as garages, an ice-house and as storage facilities. Throughout its long occupancy of Lower Fort Garry the MCC acknowledged its stewardship of historic resources at the fort and many of its renovations were carried out with some sympathy for the heritage character of the buildings and grounds.

Not long after World War II and the rise of heritage tourism in the country, the federal government came under increasing pressure to take over Lower Fort Garry and develop the site as a heritage attraction in Western Canada. In 1951 the Hudson's Bay Company donated Lower Fort Garry to the federal government, although the MCC remained tenants at the fort for another eleven years. Reluctant to assume the costs associated with the development of an historic site, the federal government did not open the lower fort to public visitation until the summer of 1956 and only then under pressure from local tourism and business concerns in the Winnipeg and Selkirk areas. The last MCC lease expired at the beginning of 1963 and shortly thereafter the National Historic Sites Division began an ambitious and costly program of conservation and development at the fort.

Negotiations for the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company Collection to first the provincial, and later the federal, government provided the catalyst for the first of many restoration and reconstruction projects at the site: the building of the Lower Fort Garry Museum. However, the restoration of the Big House, which began in 1966, was the single largest project undertaken at the site and in fact the most ambitious restoration project ever undertaken by the department in Western Canada at that time. As the development of heritage and tourism facilities became an increasingly important activity for government (in part because of increased leisure and tourism and a growing realization that heritage sites could generate significant tourism revenue), Lower Fort Garry became the focus for heritage development in Western Canada that approached the scale of such projects as Louisbourg National Historic Site in Cape Breton. Following completion of the Big House in 1968, a variety of other buildings were restored, reconstructed or moved to the site. The scope of development at the fort required a battery of skilled artisans and researchers who carried out extensive archaeological, historical and curatorial research on the structure and function of the various site buildings. If the NHSD initially intended to restore the buildings to a

number of historic periods -- and the lack of an overall site management plan made it difficult for the department to settle on one particular period of significance -- the decision was eventually made to focus the period of commemoration to the era of the fur trade, specifically the 1850s and 60s. Thus, for instance, the interpretation of the Warehouse shifted from its time as a penitentiary and asylum, to its role as a storage and transshipment facility for the Hudson's Bay Company at the lower fort, while the role of Treaty Number One, the original reason for the fort's commemoration by the Board, was afforded minimal attention in the interpretive program.

By the early 1970s the fur trade had taken on increased importance in Western Canadian historiography, and an historic site such as Lower Fort Garry was viewed as an ideal location for the commemoration and interpretation of this particular nation-building theme. The choice of the "stone fort" was in large part due to the relative inaccessibility and/or lack of commemorative protection for many of those historic sites in Western Canada that were integral to the fur trade, or were at least more significant from a thematic point of view than was Lower Fort Garry. Upper Fort Garry was almost completely destroyed, the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers was largely inaccessible, and York Factory was (and is) isolated and expensive to get to. As a result the lower fort became a kind of generic historic fur trade site in the West with a fairly wide political and geographical thematic emphasis that left little room in the interpretive program to explore the fort's role within the local community (arguably, this approach was also the result of the nature of Board designations stipulating that sites like Lower Fort Garry were of "national" significance, which, it seemed, effectively downplayed any emphasis in the interpretive program on a more local or community context for the fort and its historic inhabitants). As "living history" grew in popularity in the 1960s and 1970s, a kind of typicality or conformity came to characterize the way the past as foreign territory was portrayed to visitors. Oddly, the types of animation activities common to most historic pioneer sites in North America -- bread baking, candle making and wool spinning -- also became the primary animation activities at fur trade sites. This was certainly evident at Lower Fort Garry by the 1970s as white, middle-class, university students, costumed in a kind of standard issue Upper Canada pioneer garb and engaged in weaving and crocheting, tended to interpret the past as romantic and almost Arcadian in its simplicity. As such, this type of interpretation did little

to challenge visitor perceptions, but instead tended to confirm what many already believed about the past.

If historic sites, especially historic fur trade sites, often reinforce cultural stereotypes (for in this sense these sites are very much, as Payne and Taylor argue, "icons of cultural expression"), they have done so because of an almost implicit view of heritage as positive, progressivist, and a contribution to the nation's capacity to feel good about itself and its past. An imaginary past, as is evident in the humorous tale of the English family who visit a weekend "medieval festival" expecting the usual carnival atmosphere of jousting and feasting but are dismayed to find instead participants engaged in witch-burning and torture, in effect protects and promotes cultural myths and pioneer notions of "triumph over adversity."

In the 1980s the focus of the interpretive program at Lower Fort Garry moved away from the animation of pioneer life to an increased emphasis on the kinds of tasks that would have been carried out at a fur trade site in Red River in the middle of the 19th century. This change was in part due to a deliberate effort to bring the interpretive program in line with current historiography, and in part because Parks began to undertake research on period activities and the various historical personalities who once lived and worked at the fort. As much of the historical and archaeological research between 1965 and 1980 concentrated on the structural evolution of the fort in support of the restoration program, later research tended to be directed toward the fort's interpretive program and the accuracy of its animation activities. As well, greater emphasis was placed on the fort's historic role in the Red River community, especially the interrelationship between the Company and the local Metis, Cree and Ojibwa settlers of the lower parishes. The creation of the Native encampment outside the fort's east gate in 1990 has helped in this respect, but without further research, appropriate furnishings and costumes and, most importantly, the involvement of the local Aboriginal community, this development runs the risk of appearing to be out of context, or in effect, a "graft-on" meant only to fulfill program-wide goals for Native commemoration. Further development of the Native encampment will also provide a vehicle for the interpretation of Treaty Number One at the fort.

For over 160 years Lower Fort Garry has been, in the words of George Simpson, "a good, solid, comfortable establishment". Built during the early days of the Northwest fur

trade, it survives today (though somewhat altered) as a physical and cultural reminder, not only of the distant past, but of a more recent history: the history of the heritage movement in Canada. If in an earlier time the fort was "a window on the fur trade," as the title of the park's audio-visual show suggests, then in the 20th century, particularly since 1965, Lower Fort Garry also represents a "window" on the development of historic sites in Canada.

***Appendix A: COPIES OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND
THE GOVERNMENT OF MANITOBA REGARDING THE TRANSFER OF THE HBC
COLLECTION, 05 August 1960 and 10 August 1960.***

TYPED COPY...photocopy on file not too legible

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE

Winnipeg 1, Manitoba

5th August, 1960

The Honourable Duff Roblin
Premier of the Province of Manitoba
Legislative Building,
Winnipeg 1, Manitoba

Dear Sir:

Recently, officials of our Company have held discussion with the Honourable Gurney Evans and Mr. Rex Grose concerning the historical collection in the Museum of our Winnipeg Store.

These discussions arose from our decision to close the Museum because of the Store's need for additional space and also because of our deep concern with the proper disposal of the collection.

Mr. Evans and Mr. Grose were informed that we wished to see the collection remain intact and that we would prefer to place it in the keeping of the Manitoba Government if a suitable arrangement could be made.

Both Mr. Evans and Mr. Grose outlined to us the plans envisaged by the Provincial and Federal Governments for the development of Lower Fort Garry as a tourist attraction. The use of our collection at the Lower Fort for such a purpose appears ideal and therefore, subject to the following conditions, we should like to offer the collection to the Province of Manitoba, on a permanent loan basis.

1. The bulk of the collection is to be used at Lower Fort Garry, which we understand is to be jointly developed as a major tourist attraction by the Provincial and Federal Governments.
2. A few important items in the collection, linked with Hudson's Bay Company history, are to be retained by the Company.
3. The Hudson's Bay Company is to have the right to borrow parts of the collection for use in connection with important Company occasions. We have in mind, particular the 300th Anniversary on 2nd May, 1970, and assure the Government these occasions would be infrequent.
4. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Provincial Government are to agree on a suitable press release.

The collection has had a dedicated servant and defender in the person of Miss Barbara Johnstone, the Museum Curator. I would like to suggest that the Government might wish to consider the employment of Miss Johnstone as Museum Curator at Lower Fort Garry. If the Government were interested in doing this, Hudson's Bay Company would be prepared to use her services until such time as she was required by the Government.

Note: This letter was from J.R. Murray, Managing Director HBC, Hudson's Bay Company.

TYPED COPY... photocopy on file not too legible

August 10, 1960

Dear Mr. Murray:

Thank you for your letter of the 5th in regard to the disposition
----- of the historical collection in the Museum of your Winnipeg store

I understand that the Honourable Gurney Evans and Mr. Rex Grose have discussed the possibility of placing the collection in the keeping of the Manitoba Government and that the points in your letter are those which have been agreed upon, particularly in regard to the future development of Lower Fort Garry and its immediate environs.

On behalf of the province therefore, I am pleased to accept the historical collection now in your Winnipeg store museum on a permanent loan basis subject to the conditions mentioned in your letter of the 5th.

I am suggesting that the Honourable Gurney Evans and Mr. Rex Grose arrange with Mr. W.H. Brown and yourself the manner in which the collection may be transferred.

So far as the future of Miss Barbara Johnstone, now the museum Curator is concerned I understand that she has already had some discussion with a representative of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in Ottawa in connection with the proposal for the redevelopment of Lower Fort Garry. I am sure that with your own co-operative attitude in using Miss Johnstone's services in the immediate future there need be anticipated no difficulty regarding her future employment.

With many thanks for the co-operative attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Duff Roblin

J.R. Murray, Esq.,
Managing Director,
Hudson's Bay Company,
Hudson's Bay House,
Winnipeg, Manitoba

c.c. Hon. Gurney Evans, Minister of Industry & Commerce
Mr. Rex Grose, Deputy Minister of Industry & Commerce
Mr. W.H. Brown, Manager, Hudson Bay Co. Retail Store

***Appendix B: COPY OF AGREEMENT OUTLINING THE TRANSFER OF THE HBC
COLLECTION FROM THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF MANITOBA TO THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, 27 April 1962.***

THIS AGREEMENT made this 27th day of April, 1962

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA,
hereinafter called "Canada"

OF THE FIRST PART

AND

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
PROVINCE OF MANITOBA,
hereinafter called "Manitoba"

OF THE SECOND PART

WITNESSETH that in consideration of the premises, the covenants and agreements herein contained the parties covenant and agree as follows:

1. Manitoba will lend to Canada such items of the historical collection of the Hudson's Bay Company, hereinafter referred to as "the Company", in the Company's possession at Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba, as the Company shall release to Manitoba, hereinafter referred to as "the collection".

2. Manitoba will, while this agreement is in force

- (a) insure and keep insured the collection to the satisfaction of the Company; and
- (b) permit Canada on 30 days written notice to remove for display in other places than Lower Fort Garry such items from the collection and for such periods as shall be mutually agreed upon from time to time.

3. Canada will

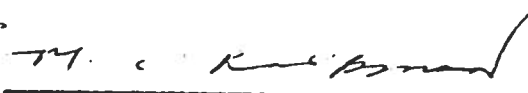
- (a) at her expense, take delivery of the collection and will provide adequate storage for the collection at Lower Fort Garry in the Province of Manitoba;
- (b) take reasonable precautions to protect the collection from damage or loss by accident, theft, fire, pests and the elements;
- (c) provide a qualified curator and suitable attendants to care for and make available items of the collection for display;
- (d) as soon as possible open a museum at Lower Fort Garry to exhibit the items from the collection and will maintain such museum open to the public at reasonable hours in the day time;

- (e) permit the Company or the Province at its expense on 30 days written notice to borrow such items of the collection and for such periods as shall mutually be agreed upon from time to time;
- (f) at reasonable hours permit duly authorized representatives of Manitoba and the Company to enter the said museum for the purpose of inspecting the collection; and
- (g) publicly acknowledge in an appropriate fashion its indebtedness to the Company and Manitoba for the use of the collection.

4. This agreement may be terminated at any time by either party giving to the other twenty-four months notice in writing of its desire so to terminate.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources on behalf of the Government of Canada and the Minister of Industry and Commerce on behalf of the Government of the Province of Manitoba have hereunto set their hands and seals.

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED
on behalf of the Government of Canada
by the Minister of
Northern Affairs and National Resources
in the presence of:

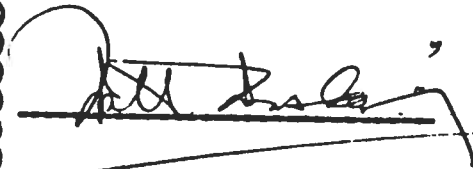


Witness

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED
on behalf of the Government of the
Province of Manitoba by the
Minister of Industry and Commerce
in the presence of:



Witness



Minister of Industry and Commerce



Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources

*Appendix C: DESCRIPTION OF OBJECT TYPES CONTAINED IN THE HBC
COLLECTION, Source: Hudson's Bay Company Collection Task Group, "Collection
Analysis", unpublished Canadian Parks Service Report, on file in PNRO,
8406-1, 20 June 1991.*

RESOURCE DESCRIPTION

Breakdown of collection by type and quantity:

The collection may be divided into six general object types, namely ethnographic (4000 objects), fine art (500 objects), military (250 objects), archaeological (200 objects), numismatic (200 objects) and other (850 objects) as follows:

1. Ethnographic: 4000 artifacts

clothing and accessories		
including Kutchin man's suit,	-Plains	50%
Lagimodiere's sash, beaded	-Woodland	10%
artifacts presented to Sir Geo.	-Inuit	25%
Simpson; moosehide, deer & caribou	-West coast	10%
skin clothing, skin kayaks, drums,	-Other	5%
saddlery, birchbark canoes, baskets		

2. Archaeological: 200 artifacts

lithic, bone, and glass artifacts including archaic and woodland projectile points, pre-historic Inuit material culture (Dorset and Thule), and Franklin expedition relics

3. Fine Art: 500 artifacts

carvings of soapstone, argillite and ivory; HBC calendars 1913-67; Inuit prints, maps, paintings and watercolors, including several by Halket and Rindisbacher.

4. Military: 250 artifacts

flintlock muskets and percussion long guns; rifles, pistols, cannons, flags etc.

5. Numismatic: 200 artifacts

coins, 3 treaty metals, HBC "made Beaver" tokens, promissory notes, (including 1st promissory note issued at York Factory).

6. Other: 850 artifacts

model boats, toys, a full size York boat, a Red River cart, a dugout canoe, sun dial, spinning wheel, brass stencils, furniture.

***Appendix D: BY-LAWS OF THE LOWER FORT GARRY VOLUNTEER
ASSOCIATION INC.***

LOWER FORT GARRY VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATION INC.

BY-LAW NO. 1

Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted as a by-law of LOWER FORT GARRY VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATION INC. (hereinafter called the "Organization"), as follows:

1. REGISTERED OFFICE

The Registered Office of the Organization shall be at such places in the Province of Manitoba as the Directors of the Organization may decide.

2. SEAL

The Seal, an impression whereof is stamped in the margin hereof, shall be the seal of the Organization.

3. MEMBERSHIP

(a) the Organization shall have the following four classes of membership:

Regular: Members shall be entitled to attend and cast one vote at all meetings of members.

Associate: Members shall be entitled to the same rights as a regular member but shall not be entitled to vote at meetings, nor be elected as a Director. Children of Regular members under 18 are automatically Associate members without charge.

Honorary: Members shall be entitled to the same rights as a regular member but shall be exempt from the payment of membership fees.

Corporate: Each corporation that is a member is entitled to the same rights as a regular member and is allowed one vote per corporation.

(b) any person or corporation interested in the Organization may apply for membership.

(c) the Board of Directors shall have discretion to accept or reject any application for membership, subject to the review by the members at any general meeting of the Organization.

(d) a member may withdraw by giving notice in writing to the Board of Directors.

(e) a member may be expelled from the Organization by a majority vote of the members at any general meeting.

4. FISCAL YEAR

The fiscal period of the Organization shall terminate on the 31st day of March, in each year or on such other date as the Directors may by resolution determine.

5. MEETINGS

- (a) the originating meeting shall be the first annual meeting.
- (b) the annual meeting shall be held during the month of March or such other time as the Board of Directors decides on a day named by Board of Directors and 21 days notice of such meeting shall be given to every member of the Organization.
- (c) The Board of Directors or 5% of the members of the Organization may requisition the Directors to call a general meeting of the Organization for any of the purposes stated in the requisition. It shall be the responsibility of the Board of Directors to ensure that 21 days notice of such meetings shall be given to every member of the Organization.
- (d) every notice of the general meeting shall state the nature and business of the meeting.
- (e) questions arising at any meeting of the Organization shall be decided by a majority of votes. In case of an equality of votes, the chairman shall call a second vote. In the event the second vote results in an equality of votes the resolution shall be lost.
- (f) the quorum for transaction of business at any general meeting of the Organization shall be fifteen voting members.
- (g) every regular and corporate member shall be entitled to one vote at general meetings; no voting by proxy will be permitted.
- (h) the rules of procedure at general meetings of the Organization shall be determined at the first general meeting and may be amended by ordinary resolution

6. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

- (a) the affairs of the Organization shall be managed by a Board of Directors, each having one vote, and of whom a majority shall constitute a quorum.
- (b) the Board of Directors shall be appointed by the majority of the membership at the annual meeting of the Organization.
- (c) the qualification of the Director shall be that he or she be a member in good standing of the Organization.
- (d) Directors shall be eligible for re-election at the annual meeting of the members.
- (e) the office of Directors shall be automatically vacated;
 - (i) if by notice in writing to the Organization he resigns his office.
 - (ii) if at any special meeting of the Organization a majority of the members present so decide that he be removed from office; provided that if any vacancy shall occur for any reason in this paragraph contained prior to an annual meeting, the Directors may by resolution fill the vacancy with any person who could qualify as a director at any annual meeting. The person so chosen shall hold office (subject to the provisions aforesaid), for the balance

unexpired term of the vacating Director.

- (f) all Directors of the corporation shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected or appointed in their stead.
- (g) the Directors of the Organization shall serve without remuneration and no Director shall directly or indirectly receive any profit from his position as such; provided that a Director may be paid reasonable expenses incurred by him in the performance of his duties, and any Director who is a bona fide employee of the Organization (whether full time or part time), may be paid remuneration with respect to services performed by him as an employee.

7. DUTIES OF DIRECTORS

- (a) The Directors of the Organization shall be responsible for co-ordination of the work of the Organization and for carrying out the policies and directives of the Organization as determined by the Organization's general meeting.
- (b) The Board of Directors shall be responsible for ensuring that one member chairs meetings of the Organization, for ensuring that funds of the Organization are accounted for, and for ensuring that minutes of meetings of the Organization are maintained.
- (c) The Board of Directors cannot authorize non-routine expenditures over \$500.00 without authority from a general meeting of the membership.
- (d) The Directors may exercise all such powers of the Organization as are not by the Manitoba Corporations Act or by the by-laws required to be exercised by the members at general meetings. The Directors shall furthermore have power to authorize expenditures on behalf of the Organization and may delegate by resolution to an officer or officers of the Organization the right to employ and pay salaries to the employees. The Directors shall have the power to make expenditures for the purpose of furthering the objects of the Organization.
- (e) The Directors may authorize the payment of all expenses incurred in setting up and registering the Organization and all other expenses incidental to the formation of the Organization, of which it considers preliminary.
- (f) The Board of Directors may prescribe such rules and regulations not inconsistent with these by-laws relating to the management and operation of the Organization as they deem expedient, provided that such rules and regulations shall have force and effect only until the next general meeting of the members of the Organization when they shall be confirmed, and in default of confirmation at such general meeting of members shall at all times, and from that time, cease to have force and effect.
- (g) The Board of Directors may require such employees or officers of the Organization as the Directors may so designate to give security to the Organization and to maintain same in such form, amount and consideration as they deemed satisfactory for keeping, accounting for and delivering and paying over monies and securities for money or other assets of the Organization which may come into its hands.
- (h) The Board of Directors shall take such steps as they deem requisite to enable the Organization to receive donations and benefits for the purpose of furthering the objects of the Organization.

8. OFFICERS

- (a) The officers of the Organization shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and such other officers as the Board of Directors may determine.
- (b) The officers of the Organization shall be appointed at the first meeting of the Board of Directors following such annual meeting of members and, subject to the provisions of any written employment agreement, the Board may remove at its pleasure any such officer.
- (c) The Board may appoint such agents and engage such employees as it shall deem necessary and such person shall have such authority and shall perform such duties as shall be prescribed by the Board at the time of such appointment.
- (d) The officers of the Organization shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected or appointed in their stead.

- 9. (a) The President shall be the chief executive officer of the Organization. He shall preside at all meetings of the Organization and the Board of Directors. He shall have the general and active management of the business of the Organization. He shall see that all orders and resolutions of the Board are carried into effect. He shall be a non-voting member of all committees. He will prepare and submit to the members at the annual meeting a statement and report of the preceding year for its approval.
- (b) The Vice-President shall act in the absence or disability of the President and shall exercise the powers of the president and shall perform such other duties as shall from time to time be imposed upon him by the Board. Should both the President and the Vice-President be absent or disabled, the performance of their powers and duties shall be delegated to a chairman appointed by the Board.
- (c) The Secretary shall attend all sessions of the Board and all meetings of the members and act as clerk thereof and record all votes and minutes of all proceedings in the books to be kept for that purpose. He shall give or cause to be given notice of all meetings of the members and of the Board of Directors, and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors or President under whose supervision he shall be. He shall be custodian of the seal of the Organization.
- (d) The Treasurer shall have the custody of the corporate funds and securities and shall keep full and accurate accounts of receipts and disbursements in books belonging to the Organization and shall deposit all monies and other valuables in the name and to the credit of the Organization and at such depositories as may be designated by the Board of Directors. The accounts maintained in such depository shall be in the name of LOWER FORT GARRY VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATION INC.. He shall disburse the funds of the Organization as may be ordered by the Board taking proper vouchers for such disbursements, and shall render to the President and Directors at the regular meetings of the Board, or whenever they may require it, an account of all transactions as Treasurer and of the financial position of the Organization. He shall be designated as one of the signing officers of the Organization in any financial transaction. He shall also perform such other duties as may be determined by the Board.
- (e) In all cases of death, resignation, retirement or removal from

office of an officer, all books, papers, vouchers, money and other property of whatever kind in his possession or under his control belonging to the Organization shall be delivered to the Board of Directors.

- (f) The chairman may with the consent of any meeting adjourn the same and no notice of such adjournment need be given to all of the Directors. Any business may be brought before or dealt with at any meeting which might have been brought before or dealt with at the original meeting in accordance with the notice calling for same.

10. SIGNATURE AND CERTIFICATION OF DOCUMENTS

- (a) Contracts, documents, or other instruments in writing requiring a signature of the Organization shall be signed by any two of the President, Vice-President, Secretary or Treasurer, and all contracts, documents, and instruments in writing so signed shall be binding upon the Organization without any further authorization or formality. The Directors shall have power to appoint an officer or officers on behalf of the Organization to sign contracts, documents, instruments in writing. The seal of the Organization when required may be affixed to contracts, documents, instruments in writing signed as aforesaid or by any officer or officers appointed by a resolution of the Board of Directors. The terms "contract, documents, or any instruments in writing" as used herein shall include deeds, mortgages, hypothecs, charges, conveyances, transfers and assignments of property real or personal, immovable or movable, agreements, releases, receipts and discharges for the payment of money or other obligations, conveyances, transfers and assignments of shares, stocks, bonds, debentures, or other securities and all paper writings.

11. RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS

- (a) The by-laws of the Organization may be amended at any general meeting of the Organization by an ordinary resolution adopted by a majority vote of the members of the Organization present and voting at any general meeting.
- (b) Notice to amend any by-laws or introduce a new one shall be given in writing at a meeting of the Organization prior to the meeting or circulated to the members of the organization present at any general meeting.
- (c) Any resolution other than a special resolution shall be deemed passed if a majority of the members present vote in favour of such resolution.
- (d) For all purposes of the Organization, "special resolution" shall mean a resolution passed by no less than two-thirds majority of such members entitled to vote as are present in person at a general meeting of which notice specifying the intention to propose a resolution as a special resolution has been duly given.

12. INDEMNITIES TO DIRECTORS AND OTHERS

Every Director or officer of the Organization or other person who

has undertaken or is about to undertake any liability on behalf of the Organization and their heirs, executors, administrators and estate, respectively, shall at all times, be indemnified and saved harmless, out of the funds of the Organization from and against:

- (a) All costs, charges -and expenses whatsoever which such Director, officer or other person sustains or incurs in or about any action, suit or proceedings which is brought or prosecuted against him for, or in respect of any act, deed, matter or thing whatsoever made, done or permitted by him in or about the execution of the duties of his office except such costs, charges or expenses as are occasioned by his own willful neglect.
- (b) all other costs, charges and expenses, which he sustains or incurs in or about or in relation to the affairs thereof, except such costs, charges or expenses as are occasioned by his own willful neglect.

13. INTERPRETATION

In all by-laws and special resolutions of the Organization the singular shall include the plural, the singular; the word "person": shall include firms and corporations, the masculine shall include the feminine. Whenever references are made in any by-law or any special resolution of the Organization or to any statute or section thereof, such references shall be deemed to extend and apply to any amendment or re-enactment or such by-law, statute or section thereof as the case may be.

14. BOOKS AND RECORDS

The books and records of the Organization shall be open to the inspection by members at all reasonable times, upon reasonable notice at the office of the Organization.

15. WINDING UP

It is the unalterable provision of this by-law that members of this Organization shall have no interest in the property and assets of the Organization; and that upon dissolution or winding up of the Organization, any funds and assets of the Organization remaining after satisfaction of its debts and liabilities, shall be distributed to a recognized Charitable Organization in the area whose objects most closely accord with those of this Organization as determined by its members at dissolution.

Per: _____

Per: _____

Per: _____

BY-LAW NO. 2: BORROWING

1. The Directors may borrow money upon the credit of the Organization.
2. The Directors may authorize any Director or Directors, member or members, employee or employees of the Organization to make arrangements with reference to money to be borrowed as aforesaid. Whereas to the terms and conditions of the loan thereof and as to the security to be given, therefore with power to vary or modify such arrangements, terms and conditions and to give such additional securities for any monies borrowed or remaining due by the Organization as the Directors of the Organization may authorize and generally to manage, transact and settle the borrowing of money by the Organization.
3. The Directors may authorize a Director or Directors, officer or officers, employee or employees of the Organization or other person or persons whether connected with the Organization or not, to sign, execute, and give on behalf of the Organization, all documents, agreements, and promises necessary or desirable for the purpose aforesaid and to draw, make and accept, endorse, execute and issue cheques, promissory notes, bills of exchange, bills of lading and other negotiable or transferrable instruments in the name and all renewals thereof, or substitutions therefore, if so signed shall be binding upon the Organization.
4. The powers hereby conferred shall be deemed to be in supplment of, not substitution for, any power to borrow money for the purposes of the Organization, possessed by its Directors or officers independently of this by-law.

DATED this day of A.D. 19

Per: _____

Per: _____

Per: _____

Bibliography

I. Primary Sources

a. Archival Sources (Non-Government Records)

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba

B.97/54 Barbara Johnstone Papers

RG 1 HBC Land Department Records

b. Government Records

National Archives of Canada, Government Records

Parks Canada Records, RG 84, volumes 1070 - 1079.

i. Canadian Parks Service Records, Prairie and Northern Regional Office, Winnipeg

1165-187	Minutes, Lower Fort Garry Management Committee
2695/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Lands (Fencing)
2720/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Lands (Landscape)
2790/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Lands (Roads)
4010-2/L3	Lower Fort Garry Cooperating Association
4072-5/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Environmental Assessment
8406-23/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Period Costuming
8405/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Archaeology
8406-29/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Period Furnishings
8406/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Historic Resource Conservation
8410/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Buildings
8415/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Development and Planning
8425/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Interpretive Services
8425-3/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Interpretive Exhibits
8440/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Research
8441/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Restoration
8441/L3-6	Lower Fort Garry - Restoration (Fur Loft)
8441/L3-7	Lower Fort Garry - Restoration (Warehouse)
8441/L3-10	Lower Fort Garry - Restoration (Walls)

8445-101/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Special Events
8510/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Realty
8616/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Land Acquisition
8616-100/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Simpkin Property
8620/L3	Lower Fort Garry - Realty (Sales and Disposition)

ii. Canadian Parks Service Records, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site

n.a.

"Actual and Estimated Costs for the Operation of Lower Fort Garry, 1961-1980". Correspondence files, 1963-1990.

Boulerice, Edward

"The Furloft Building, Lower Fort Garry". Unpublished report, February, 1970.

Coutts, Robert

Various historical research reports and notes, 1984-1990. On file at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site.

Esau, Frieda

"Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor Donald Ross: An Interpretive Profile". Unpublished report, 1987.

"The Piano-Forte at Lower Fort Garry". Unpublished report, August 1987.

"News-of-the-Day at Lower Fort Garry in 1851". Unpublished report, September, 1987.

"The System of Trade at Lower Fort Garry in the early 1850s". Unpublished report, July, 1987.

"Manners and Social Customs". Unpublished report, October, 1987.

"Seasonal Calendar of Activities, Lower Fort Garry, 1850s". Unpublished report, March, 1989.

Goldring, Philip

"The Men's House, Historical and Structural Notes. Unpublished report, March, 1974.

Hamilton, J.J.

"Restoration of Lower Fort Garry: Foundations of the Factor's Residence". Unpublished report, October, 1964.

Ingram, George

"The Cottage at Lower Fort Garry". Unpublished report, 1968.

Kuzina, Rosemary

"Agriculture and the Role of the Farm Manager at Lower Fort Garry". Unpublished report, 1986.

Rodger, Ian

"An Excavation at Lower Fort Garry, National Historic Park". Unpublished report, 1962.

Ross, David

"The Hudson's Bay Company Collection". Unpublished report, November, 1986.

Stokes, Peter

"Feasibility Study of the Big House, Lower Fort Garry". Unpublished report, May, 1965.

"The Factor's Residence, Lower Fort Garry, Report on file, 1963.

Wilson, Clifford

"Reorganization of the Historical Exhibit". Article on file at Lower Fort Garry, n.d.

Lockett, Virginia

"The Serving of Afternoon Tea at the Big House, Lower Fort Garry, c. 1850". Report on file, 1988.

"Dinner in the Colville Dining Room, Big House, Lower Fort Garry". Report on file, 1988.

Stewart, Judy Pilgrim

"Costume Plan, Lower Fort Garry", Report on file, 1987.

Tyrchniewicz, Betty

"Appropriate Garden Tools and Supplies for 1850 Lower Fort Garry". Report on file, 1990.

"Letter Presses for 1850, Lower Fort Garry". Report on file, 1990.

iii. Canadian Parks Service Records - Headquarters

Chism, James

"Lower Fort Garry (1K) Interim Report re: Fur Loft and South West Bastion". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, n.d.

"A Preliminary Report on 1965 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry (1K)". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1966.

"A Preliminary Report on 1967 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry (1K)". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1968.

Chism, James, V. Gerelus, P. Priess, B. Morton and W. Chow

"Preliminary Report on 1966 Excavations at Lower Fort Garry (1K)". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1967.

Chivers, John

"Report on Lower Fort Garry". Report on file, Restoration Services, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1963.

"As Built Record and Restoration Case History of the Big House, Lower Fort Garry". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1970.

Elder, Ken

"Men's House, Lower Fort Garry, Restoration Feasibility Study Report". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1974.

"Survey Report and Maintenance Program for the Perimeter Walls, Lower Fort Garry", Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, 1974.

Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada
Minutes, 1919-1992.

Honegger, G.H.

"Doctor's Office, Lower Fort Garry, Restoration Feasibility Study Report". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1973.

Ingram, George

"Lower Fort Garry. Eavestroughs". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1966.

"Buildings in the Stone Fort: A Study in Fur Trade Architecture". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1970.

"The South West Bastion, Lower Fort Garry: Structure and Function", Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, 1967.

Lane, D.

"Penitentiary Building, Lower Fort Garry: Architectural Investigation Report". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1973.

McFarlane, Hillary

"Explanations of Certain Artifacts in the Big House, Lower Fort Garry". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1970.

Parks Canada

"Penitentiary Building, Lower Fort Garry, Parks Feasibility Study Report". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1973.

"Doctor's Office, Lower Fort Garry: Recommendations of the Project Team". Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa, 1973.

Stewart, John and Martin Weil

"Landscaping for the Engineer's Cottage, Fraser House and Blacksmith Shop, Lower Fort Garry", Report on file, 1972.

Underwood, McLellan and Associates

"Report on Engineering Aspects of Restoring the Big House, Lower Fort Garry", Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, 1966.

"Report on the Structural Condition of the Penitentiary Building", Report on file, Canadian Parks Service, 1969.

iv. Canadian Parks Service - Manuscript and Microfiche Report Series

Chism, James

"Interim Report Relative to Reconstruction of the Blacksmith Shops". Manuscript Report Series no. 11, Canadian Parks Service, 1968.

Chism, James and Karlis Karklins

"The Documentary and Archaeological Evidence of Fences Associated with the Engineers Cottage, Lower Fort Garry". Manuscript Report Series no. 148, Canadian Parks Service, 1970.

Coutts, Robert

"St. Andrew's Parish, 1829-1929, and the Church Missionary Society in Red River". Microfiche Report Series no. 361, Canadian Parks Service, 1986.

Dewhirst, John

"Archaeological Investigations in the Northwest Bastion and Bakehouse Lower Fort Garry, 1973". Manuscript Report Series no. 114, Canadian Parks Service, 1974.

Folan, W.J. and Peter Priess

"Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry, 1971". Manuscript Report Series no. 82, Canadian Parks Service, 1972.

Goldring, Philip

"The Manitoba Penitentiary and Asylum, 1871-1886". Manuscript Report Series no. 28, Canadian Parks Service, 1970.

"The Doctor's Office, the Walls and North-West Bastion: Lower Fort Garry". Manuscript Report Series no. 51, Canadian Parks Service.

Ingram, George

"The Salesshop: Structure and Function, Lower Fort Garry". Manuscript Report Series no. 148, Canadian Parks Series, 1967.

"The South West Bastion, Lower Fort Garry -- Structure and Function". Manuscript Report Series no. 148, Canadian Parks Series, 1967.

Livermore, Carol

"Lower Fort Garry, the Fur Trade and the Settlement at Red River". Manuscript Report Series no. 202, Canadian Parks Service, 1976.

Moussette, Marcel

"Fouilles à Lower Fort Garry: les opérations 1K44 et 1K45, 1969". Travail inédit no. 148, Canadian Parks Service, 1969.

Payne, Michael

"Women and Labour at Lower Fort Garry, 1840-1860". Microfiche Report Series no. 470, Canadian Parks Service, 1990.

Priess, Peter

"Excavations at Lower Fort Garry (1K) 1968". Manuscript Report Series no. 114, Canadian Parks Service, 1969.

"Summary of Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry", Microfiche Report Series no. 229, Canadian Parks Service, 1985.

Priess, Peter and Linda Sears

"Archaeological Investigations at Lower Fort Garry, 1977", Manuscript Report Series no. 336, Canadian Parks Service, 1979.

Sussman, Lynne

"The Ceramics of Lower Fort Garry, Operations 1 to 31", Manuscript Report Series no. 87, Canadian Parks Service, 1972.

Thomas, Greg

"Lower Fort Garry Warehouse Building, Structural and Use History". Manuscript Report Series no. 204, Canadian Parks Service, 1977.

"The Men's House, Lower Fort Garry: Its Furnishings and Place Within the Hudson's Bay Company Post Environment". Manuscript Report Series no. 246, Canadian Parks Service, 1978.

"The North West Bastion Bakehouse". Manuscript Report Series no. 247, Canadian Parks Service, 1979.

"Lower Fort Garry: A Period Landscape Study". Manuscript Report Series no. 407, Canadian Parks Service, 1979.

II. Published Sources

Campbell, Roderick

The Father of St. Kilda. London, W.R. Russell and Co., 1901.

Chism, James

"Excavations at Lower Fort Garry, 1965-1967". In *Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* no. 5, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1972.

Ingram, George

"The Big House, Lower Fort Garry". In *Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* no. 4, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1972.

"Industrial and Agricultural Activities at Lower Fort Garry". In *Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* no. 4, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1972.

McDonald, Graham

A Good Solid Comfortable Establishment: An Illustrated History of Lower Fort Garry. Winnipeg, Watson and Dwyer, 1992.

McKay, Elsie

The Stone Fort. Selkirk, Enterprise Publishers, n.d.

Miquelon, Dale

"A Brief History of Lower Fort Garry". In *Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* no. 4, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1972.

Morrison, William R.

"The Sixth Regiment of Foot at Lower Fort Garry". In *Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* no. 4, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1972.

"The Second Battalion, Quebec Rifles, at Lower Fort Garry". In *Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* no. 4, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1972.

Newman, Michael

"February 19, 1942: If Day". *Manitoba History* 13(Spring 1987):27-30.

Taylor, C.J.

Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Sites. McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal, 1990.

Watson, Robert

Lower Fort Garry: A History of the Stone Fort. Winnipeg, Hudson's Bay Company, 1928.

III. Unpublished Sources

Taylor, C.J. and M.B. Payne

"The Invention of Tradition and Traditions of Invention at Fur Trade Sites: Animated Adventures in the Skin Trade". Paper presented at the Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, Winnipeg, February 1992.

Index

A

Abell, E.R. 13, 81, 119

admission fees 122

B

Baine, W.B. 32

bakehouse (*see* North West Bastion bakehouse)

Big House 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 24, 25, 27-31, 34, 35, 39, 41-45, 53-55, 67, 68, 70-76, 87,
89, 95, 97, 98, 101, 103, 107, 108, 116, 117, 123, 137, 139, 140

Black, John 81, 99, 116

Blacksmith Shop 3, 13, 67, 83-84, 102, 106

Boulerice, Edward 78

Bracken, John 25

brewery-distillery 13

C

Campbell, Roderick 96

Canadian Pacific Railway 7

Chester, P.A. 21, 22

Chief Commissioner (office of) 13, 14, 78

Chief Commissioner, the 13

Chipman, Clarence 14, 78

Chism, James 72, 82, 83, 85, 93, 95, 97, 191, 102

Chivers, John 72-77, 79, 80, 93, 94, 97, 112, 137

Chretien, Jean 75, 76

Christie, Alexander 7, 81

Clow, Ed 91

colombage pierroté 74, 87

Colville, Eden 9, 116, 139

Cree 8, 18, 19, 117, 142

D

Dalibard, Jacques 79, 110, 111, 113

Dendy, William 85, 88, 103

Dennis, Colonel John 13

Department of Highways 64, 113

Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources 3, 41, 59, 62, 67, 125, 128

Department of Tourism and Recreation 62

Dewhurst, John 90, 106

Dinsdale, Walter 69, 128, 129

Doctor's Office 50, 54, 55, 67, 86, 87, 90, 98, 103, 106

Downes, Frank 73, 112

E

Elder, Ken 91

Evans, Gurney 127-129

F

Farm Manager's Cottage 11, 67, 82, 82, 106, 117, 119

Finance and Administration 123, 124

Finley, George 79, 81

fishery 8, 13

Folan, William 85, 103

Foley, G.J. 79, 81

Forks, the 5, 7, 14, 119, 124, 135, 136, 141

Fort Garry 5

Fort Gibraltar 5

Fort Langley 2

Fraser Cottage 3, 119

Fraser, James 82, 119

fur trade

 nation-building 1

Furloft 5, 37, 46-49, 67-69, 76-78, 97, 101, 107, 108, 115, 117, 130

Fyfe, Jack 86

G

Gaboury, Etienne 118

General Works 83, 123, 124

Goldring, Philip 85, 87, 88, 90, 98

Goldsborough Farm 24

Goldsmith, Art 123

golf course 3, 25, 31, 58, 61, 139

Guyot, Louis 123

H

HSMBC (*see* Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada)

Halifax Citadel 3

Hamilton, J.J. 71

Hamilton, James 123

Herbert, J.D. 32, 56, 129

Heritage Object Inventory System (H.O.I.S.T.) 107

heritage tourism 3, 94, 140

Highway #9 61

historic sites

 and the era of the "big project" 4

 commemoration 2, 139

 fur trade 139, 141

 interpretation 1, 141, 142

 selection 1

Historic Sites Advisory Board of Manitoba 29

Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) v, 1, 15, 17, 19-21, 42, 117, 139

Hobsbawm, Eric vi

Hooker, F.W. Ltd. 55

Howay 18

Huband, A.R. 129, 131

Hudson's Bay Company v, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 18, 20-22, 24, 28, 32-34, 36, 38, 41, 43, 56, 58, 59, 61, 66, 68, 84, 89, 91, 94, 96-99, 108, 114, 117, 125-131, 139-141

collection 3, 59, 68, 69, 108, 117, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 140

Curator of 108, 124

custodial care 130-132

insurance 130

loans 131-132

origins 125-127

transfer

to Lower Fort Garry 129-130

to Provincial Government 127-129

conditions of loan 127-128

Land Branch (*see* Land Department)

Land Department 34, 35, 37-39

Museum 29, 31, 69, 70, 125-127

Northern Department 7, 89, 98

I

If Day 25

Indian Treaty Number One 2, 13, 17, 19, 20, 117, 139, 142

Ingram, George 77, 79, 82, 92, 93, 97, 98, 107, 110

Ingram, Nancy 75, 111

International, the 13

interpreters 2, 3, 122

J

Johnston, H.L. 52, 54

Johnstone, Barbara 31, 32, 34, 38, 56, 57, 60, 67, 94, 97, 122, 123, 127, 128

K

Ka-ke-ka-penais 19

Karklins, Karlis 82, 102

Ke-we-tay-ask 19

Kremmers, Onno 94, 123

L

Laing, Arthur 59, 63, 69

Lamb, Peter 123

Lange, Paul 113

Leblanc, Pierre 76, 84

Lillie, Alexander 11, 83, 117, 119

Livermore, Carol 99

living history 2, 94, 116, 123, 141

Lockett, Virginia 108

Lockport 133

Lord Cultural Resources Planning and Management Inc. 94

Louisbourg 2, 3, 140

Lower Fort Garry

Committee 110

landscape 95

restoration 95, 114

Living Historical Farm Feasibility Study 94

operations 122-124

repairs and renovations 34-40, 52-54

Task Force 112

Volunteer Association 4, 86, 94, 115, 117, 123, 133, 134

activities 133-136

executive 134, 136

mandate 136

membership 133

M

MacDonald, Graham 119

Mackenzie, Charles 76

McCloskey, Patrick 118

McDonald, R.H. 17

McFarlane, Hillary 75

McKay, Elsie 96

McLeod, Margaret Arnett 42, 97

McQueen, Norman 110, 123

McRae, Duncan 90

Malis, Ron 111, 113

Malone, Robert 58, 62, 94

Manitoba Historical Society 18

Manitoba Motor Country Club (MCC) i, 3, 16, 17, 20-25, 27-35, 37, 39, 43, 45, 46, 50-52, 56, 58, 61, 62, 139, 140

Manitoba South District 124

Martin, Chester 18

Men's House 14, 25, 35, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 67, 87-89, 98, 99, 101, 103, 106, 107, 112, 117

Miquelon, Dale 98

Mis-kee-ke-new 19

Morrison, William 98

Morton, W.L. 42
 Moussette, Marcel 82, 103
 Murray, J.R. 127, 128
 Museum/Retail Store 68-70

N

NHSS (*see also* National Historic Sites Division) 78, 79, 82, 85
 Na-na-wa-nanan 19
 Na-sha-ka-penais 19
 National Historic Sites Division (NHSD) v, 3, 22, 32, 33, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 73, 76, 77, 80, 90, 97, 101, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 122, 130, 140
 Netley Creek 11
 North East Bastion (*see also* Powder Magazine) 37, 80, 81
 North West Bastion 37, 89, 90, 98, 99, 112, 117, 134
 North West Bastion bakehouse 13, 49, 51, 67, 89, 90, 99, 101, 106, 112, 117, 134
 North West Company 5
 North West Mounted Police 14, 108, 114
 Norway House 7, 82
 Northern Department 7, 89, 98

O

Ojibwa (*see also* Saulteaux) 8, 18, 19, 117, 142
 Oo-za-we-kwun 19
 Orr, Roy 123

P

Payne, Michael vi, 99
 Pilgrim Stewart, Judy 108
Pioneer, the 13
 planning 110-122

Polly, the 13

Powder Magazine (*see also* North East Bastion) 37, 51, 67, 80, 81

Priess, Peter 85, 90, 92, 95 100, 101, 103, 104, 106

Prince of Wales's Fort 2

program management 124

Provincial Asylum 35, 50

Q

Quebec Rifles 13, 74, 98

R

Red River 5, 7-9, 11, 13, 32, 56, 58, 62, 78, 82, 84, 97, 99, 100, 114-116, 118, 119, 134,
135, 136, 137, 142

Red River Colony restoration 58, 62

Regional Restoration Workshop 81, 86, 90, 137, 138

administration 138

origins 137

Rendezvous 120, 133

research 96-109

archaeological 100-106

building restoration reports 106

curatorial 106-108

historical 96-99

Resource Conservation 124

Restoration Services Division 88

Riel House 59, 114, 124

Roblin, Duff 60, 69, 127, 128

Roche, W.J. 15

Rogers, Robert 15

Ross Cottage 37, 81, 103, 106, 117, 119

Ross, David 108, 126
Ross, Donald 82, 99, 117, 120, 161
Royal Alexandra Hotel 64

S

St. Andrew's 5, 8, 61, 62, 124
St. Andrew's Rectory 124
St. Clement's 8, 61-63
St. Paul 7, 11
St. Peter's 8
Saleshop 5, 8, 9, 15, 35, 37, 46-49, 53-55, 67-69, 76-78, 97, 101, 107, 108, 115, 117, 130
Saulteaux (*see also* Ojibwa) 18, 117
Scott, Gordon 41, 45
Selkirk 5, 25, 34, 55, 57, 61, 64, 67, 75, 94, 96, 119, 133, 136, 140
Sheridan, Steve 85, 110, 112, 113
Simkin, Saul 63, 64
Simpson, Frances 5, 8
Simpson, Frank 18
Simpson, George 5, 7-9, 11, 90, 142
Simpson, Wemyss 18, 19
Sixth Regiment of Foot 8, 54, 78, 89, 98
Slogan, Dr. Joseph 57
Smith, Donald 14
South East Bastion 37, 81, 117
South West Bastion 37, 39, 67, 78-81, 97
Sprong, Henry 58, 122, 123
Sprong, Marjorie 58, 122
Stanger, John 14
Stokes, Peter 70-72, 74, 97
Stony Mountain Penitentiary 13

Strong, B.I. 1, 73, 75

Sussman, Lynne 103

Sutton, Dick 113

T

Tarr, Maurice 86, 123

Taylor, C.J. vi, 1, 4, 16, 75, 125, 126, 142

The Beaver 18, 97, 126, 132

themes and objectives 114

Thom, Adam 8, 9

Thomas, Greg 86, 89, 90, 92, 95, 99, 114

Thompson, James 15, 17

tourism v, 1-3, 20, 21, 62, 94, 95, 140

transshipment v, 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 86, 92, 93, 114, 117, 119, 141

Treaty Number One (*see* Indian Treaty Number One)

Tyrchniewicz, Betty 108

U

Upper Fort Garry 7, 8, 12, 141

V

visitation 3, 4, 114, 120-123, 140

Visitor Activities 114, 123, 124, 136

Visitor Reception Centre (VRC) 63, 68, 86, 112, 113, 117, 118, 121, 125, 134, 135

W

Wa-ko-wush 19

walls 9, 11, 13, 15, 22, 25, 31, 34, 38, 39, 41, 52, 54, 59, 61, 66, 70, 90-92, 98, 101, 103,
104, 105, 106, 112, 114, 117, 139

warehouse 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 25, 35, 45, 46, 50, 52, 54, 55, 67, 84-87, 99, 103, 112,
114, 117, 129, 134, 140, 141

Watson, Robert 18, 27, 94, 96

Wilkins, J.E. 41-52, 54

Wilson, Clifford 42, 48, 126, 127

Wilson, F.D. 126

Winnipeg Automobile Association 24

Wolseley, Colonel Garnet 13

Y

York Factory 7, 12, 137, 141

Young, Dr. David 42, 86, 87

Z

Zinken, Charlie 123

