

Fort Vancouver

Historic Structures Report



historic structure report
volumes I and II
June 1972 / April 1976

Historic Structures Report Historical Data Volume I

by
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June 1972 (Vol. I)

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

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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, in cases where the existence of objects actually associated with the fur- trading post is known, every effort is made to describe those articles, to illustrate them, or to give their locations so that curators may personally examine them. Similarly, where items of hardware such as hinges, shutter latches, and door pulls have been excavated on the sites of specific structures, these facts are mentioned so that architects may employ the actual original articles as models upon which to base reproductions. And in many cases, where inventories or actual association items are not available, information has been supplied as to the types of objects used under similar circumstances and during the same period at other Company posts.

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

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

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

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

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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

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

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

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

After the records of the Honorable Company, the most important source used in the preparation of the present report was the diary of Thomas Lowe, who was a clerk at Fort Vancouver during the period to which the post is to be restored. For a copy of this valuable document the National Park Service is indebted to Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Provincial Archives of

British Columbia, who over many years has unfailingly assisted the National Park Service with a number of projects. For calling his attention to the Lowe journal, the writer is particularly indebted to Dr. Dorothy Blakey Smith of the Archives staff. Readers of this report will note that a number of the finest illustrations are from photographs in the British Columbia Archives, one more evidence of our debt to Mr. Ireland and his able staff.

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

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

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

Most of the institutions named in the two preceding paragraphs, together with the Department of Public Records and Archives, Province of Ontario, Toronto,

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

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

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

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

Also deeply appreciated has been the never-failing help and encouragement of the entire staff of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. Superintendent Eliot Davis, a long-time student of the fur trade has provided every possible aid to research and has pointed out a number of fugitive sources. Mr. Robert E. S. Clark, Chief Park Interpreter, has assisted in innumerable ways and is responsible for a large number of the photographs used both for study purposes and for

illustrations. Mr. John J. Hoffman, Project Archeologist, and Mr. Lester A. Ross, Museum Specialist, have been particularly helpful by keeping the writer fully informed of the progress of current archeological excavations at the fort site and by providing advance copies of the project staff's valuable maps and reports. And always the park staff has demonstrated the traditional hospitality that made a visit to Fort Vancouver a much- anticipated experience during the days of the Honorable Company on the Columbia.

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

John A. Hussey

CHAPTER I: STOCKADE

History and dimensions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Although the 1841 Emmons map is inaccurate in some particulars - - Emmons evidently did not feel free to make actual measurements - - a comparison of his drawing with the results of archeological excavations indicates that his plan

represents the palisade as it stood in the "doubled- in- size" period before any additions were made at the west and east ends.

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

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

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

It would seem logical to conclude that this center west wall came between the inner and outer walls in time as it did in space. Yet if inner wall AD existed as late as 1841, as seems almost certain, and if outer wall IJ was built early in 1845, as is demonstrated, then the fort managers must have gone to the expense of constructing the new wall HG and then removing it within the short span of about 3- 1/2 years.

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

Unfortunately, the small scale of this map does not permit one to tell by measurement whether the west wall shown thereon was wall AD or wall HG (it was not wall IJ, since the bastion had not been built by September, 1844). The key is a building shown near the northwest corner of the stockade. If this structure was the Root House which is known to have stood on the same site at a later date, then one can safely say that the west stockade in 1844 was wall HG (see [plate I](#)). The Root House, as archeological evidence shows, was built after wall AD had been demolished. But if this structure was the small building (No. 17) identified as a warehouse on the Emmons plan of 1841, then the 1844 west palisade was wall

AD. [12] The Vavasour map of 1845 shows no building inside the northwest corner, while the Covington map of 1846 (see [plate XIII](#)) shows a small square structure which cannot be positively identified. Since these maps thus give no clear support to the theory that the Root House may have existed as early as September, 1844, it seems impossible to say positively whether the 1844 west wall was AD or HG.

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

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

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

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

The bakery was not completed until after October 15, 1844, but work on it had been under way for some months evidently. On September 18 the fort received a shipment of 5,000 bricks which undoubtedly were for the bake ovens in this structure. [13] It seems most probable that the new east wall was built at about the time the bakery was started, since they apparently were intended to form a unit. [14] Lacking positive evidence, a reasonable guess for the date of the outer east wall's construction would be the spring of 1844. [15] In any event, it can be stated with assurance that the new east wall was built between July 25, 1841, the date of the Emmons map, and September 24, 1844, the approximate date of the developments illustrated by the Line of Fire Map.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

November 21, 1845. "Some men set to dress pickets for the front of the Fort."

January 20, 1846. "Putting up new Pickets in front of the Fort."

January 23, 1846. "People busy erecting the Pickets in front of the Fort."

February 2, 1848. "Men began putting up new pickets in front of the fort."

January 9, 1850. "Blowing very hard. . . . Last night the wind blew down about 40 feet of the pickets in front of the Fort."

February 18, 1850. "Men employed. . . putting up a row of pickets in front of the Fort, which had fallen down about a month ago." [19]

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

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

a. January, 1846. As is demonstrated in the following section of this chapter dealing with stockade construction details, sometime between the end of 1845 and May 3, 1847, there apparently was a change in the building method used on at least a part of the south wall. Instead of the pickets being fastened to two horizontal girths as had been the case from at least 1841 to the end of 1845, the posts were pegged to only a single girth. Although the evidence of this change is

only known to apply to a very short segment of the wall (see [plate XII](#)), it, together with Lowe's journal entries, seems to indicate that the January, 1846, reconstruction was a major effort.

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

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

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

In any event, even if the three timbers should be shown to be part of the bastion, they do not shed much light on the problem of whether the south wall was moved outward about six feet when the new blockhouse was constructed. Apparently a foundation in the inner wall location would not have been incompatible with a palisade at either the inner or outer wall sites. If precedent at the first bastion was followed at the second, however, it seems more probable that the inner bastion wall would have been inside the stockade line. It is quite possible, then, that the stockade construction in February, 1848, was designed to advance the south wall to position JL.

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

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

palisade. Almost certainly the Bonneville map represents the fort as it stood at the time of its greatest extent. [23]

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

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

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

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

- a. The inner wall (line GF as extended to the outer palisades at each end) was the outer south stockade wall when the outermost west wall was completed on February 7, 1845.
- b. The rebuilding of the south wall during January 1846, could have involved moving that palisade six feet southward but probably did not. The latter surmise is based on the fact that the Covington map of late 1846 continues to show the southeast gate in the same position as does the Vavasour map of 1845. Also, the south wall, as far as can be determined from general appearance, seems in 1846 to be as close to the buildings inside the wall as it was on the 1845 map.
- c. The stockade construction in February, 1848, appears to have been linked with the erection of a bastion somewhere along the south extremity of the fort. It seems quite probable that the south wall was moved to position JL in connection with the construction of the new blockhouse. Whether the southeast gate was moved westward at the same time is not apparent from available evidence.

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

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

Construction details

The stockade which enclosed and protected the major structures at Fort Vancouver was formed of logs which were ranged vertically as pickets or pales. Archeological excavations have confirmed conclusions that can be drawn from the natural distribution of forest trees and from historical evidence to the effect that the palisade logs were all or nearly all Douglas fir. [26]

According to an employee who resided at Fort Vancouver for a number of years only "very choice" logs were used for pickets. When the palisade was first constructed in 1829 there probably was a sufficiency of suitable timber within a reasonable distance of the building site; but in later years, when rotted timbers were replaced or when new walls were built during the periodic fort enlargements, it was necessary to go "a great distance from the fort" to obtain satisfactory timber. The logs were cut, dragged by oxen to the Columbia, rafted downstream, and then hauled again by oxen to the post. [27]

Three visitors who were at Fort Vancouver in 1836, 1841, and respectively, described the pickets as being about eight or ten inches in diameter. [28] Ends of posts found in the ground during the 1947 excavations measured between five and thirteen inches, with the larger posts being situated at the stockade corners. [29] In 1966 careful archeological salvage work was conducted along the outermost north palisade wall, which probably was constructed during January and February, 1845. The pickets in this line ranged from five to ten inches in diameter, the average being 7.2 inches. There were about 120 posts in every 100 feet of wall. No evidence of bark was found but gaps between palisade butts averaged 2.8 inches, a fact which led archeologists to speculate that the posts may have been installed "unskinned" and that the bark may have decayed quite rapidly and completely. [30]

On the other hand, there seems to be no historical evidence concerning whether the pickets at Fort Vancouver were installed with the bark on or with it peeled

off. Existing photographs and drawings of the establishment are not sufficiently clear to throw light upon this matter, nor do pictures of the original stockades at other Pacific Coast forts of the Hudson's Bay Company permit a positive conclusion as to the general practice in this regard (see plates [XXXI](#), [XXXII](#), [XXXIII](#), [XXXIV](#)). On the whole, however, the pictorial evidence seems to show peeled pickets more often than unpeeled.

If events at Fort Chimo, in Ungava on the eastern side of Hudson Bay, are true indicators, the Company's employees on the East Coast ordinarily peeled the pickets before installing them. During the spring of 1832 the men at that recently established post spent several weeks "peeling the bark off piquets" prior to setting them in place. After the skinning was well under way, entries in the fort manager's journal indicate that the carpenter was set to work "pointing piquets." [\[31\]](#)

Thus, on the basis of the pictorial evidence and of the practice elsewhere, it would not have been uncharacteristic for the pickets at Fort Vancouver to have been peeled.

The length of the posts appears to have varied according to the date at which they were cut. Visitors to the depot prior to the winter of 1844- 1845 generally give the height of the stockade as between 20 and 25 feet, although Captain Edward Belcher of the Royal Navy, who visited the fort in August, 1839, stated that the pickets were 18 feet high, "composed of roughly split pine logs." [\[32\]](#)

Those describing the palisade in 1845 and later give figures which range from 12 to 20 feet, with 15 feet as the most frequent estimate. Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour of the Royal Engineers, who made a rather careful plan of Fort Vancouver late in that year, specifically stated that the pickets were 15 feet high. [\[33\]](#) Since Vavasour was a trained observer carefully assessing defensive features, his figures must be accepted unless more convincing evidence to the contrary is revealed at some future date. It seems evident that when much of the stockade was renewed during the winter of 1844- 1845, the posts were not cut as long as they had been previously.

Seemingly this decrease in the height of the walls continued progressively during the years between 1845 and 1860. A photograph taken during the latter year apparently shows that the stockade was only eight or nine feet high in places, although at least part of the west wall seems to have been ten or twelve feet in height (see [plate XXXIV](#)).

Much of this decrease was due to the method of repair employed, particularly during the years of declining economic activity between 1850 and 1860. A stockade post ordinarily lasted for about four or five years. By the end of that

period it would be so rotted at the surface of the ground that it would have to be replaced. As a consequence, new pickets were inserted in the walls nearly every year. [34] But occasionally such repairs were neglected for considerable lengths of time. It was said, for instance, that between 1850 and 1854 the palisade was "about rotted down." Repairs were made during that period simply by cutting off the existing posts and resetting them in the ground. [35]

In addition to the length of the logs exposed above ground, several feet were buried in the earth. It was the usual custom at Hudson's Bay posts west of the Rockies to plant pickets about four feet in the ground, and several visitors to Fort Vancouver say this same procedure was followed at that establishment. [36] But Lieutenant Emmons in 1841 noted that the posts were buried only two or three feet in the ground. [37] Evidently Emmons was a more accurate observer than the other witnesses, for archeological excavations confirm his report. Mr. Caywood in 1947 found the posts planted to a depth of between two and three feet, exactly as reported by Emmons. [38] Mr. John D. Combes, who dug along the north wall in 1966, reported that the posts extended from 2- 1/2 to 3 feet below the historic ground surface. [39]

According to at least one witness and in accordance with what one long- time employee considered the usual Company practice on the West Coast, the logs, after being cut to size, were prepared for use as pickets by being sharpened to a point at one end. [40] And, indeed, pickets with pointed tops were used at forts on the Pacific Slope. They clearly show in an 1860's drawing of Fort St. James (see [plate XXXV](#)) and in an early photograph showing the outer stockade of Fort Rupert (see [plate XXXVI](#)). Further, one of the best- known and seemingly most accurate views of Fort Vancouver, the lithograph by Henry J. Warre showing the establishment as it appeared in 1845, depicts the palisade posts as being conspicuously and fiercely pointed (see [plate IX](#)). [41] Ordinarily such a drawing by an eyewitness would be considered conclusive.

Yet, it must be admitted that an impressive case can be made for the thesis that the palisade posts at Fort Vancouver in 1845 were not pointed but were cut off flat or with a slight tilt toward one side, most probably toward the inner edge. In the first place, the use of pointed pickets was by no means a standard practice at Company posts on the West Coast or, for that matter, across North America. Photographs of the stockades at Fort Langley and at Fort Victoria clearly show that the posts were flat on top, at least during the 1860's (see [plates XXXI and XXXII](#)). [42] The main stockade at Fort Rupert was not only level on top but was protected by a cap of horizontal timber or logs (see [plate XXXVI](#)). [43] According to widely held but undocumented theory, pointed posts fell into disfavor because pilferers or hostile natives could easily loop ropes over them and thus scale the walls.

In the second place, there is specific evidence that the pickets at Fort Vancouver were not pointed at least at certain periods. Lieutenant George Foster Emmons of the United States Exploring Expedition made a careful examination of the fort walls during July, 1841. The following sketch which he made on the spot clearly shows that the pickets were cut off slightly on the bias, with the flat tops sloping slightly towards the inside of the fort.

Figure 1.

(From Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841. Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.)

The next clear view of flat-topped palisade posts at Fort Vancouver is provided by a photograph taken by the British Boundary Commission party in 1860 (see [plate XXXIV](#)). No known view of the establishment between 1841 and 1860, except the Warre lithograph already mentioned, is sufficiently detailed to throw light upon the subject. But in view of the periodic rebuildings of the stockade, one would be rash to assert that because the posts of 1841 and those of 1860 were both flat-topped, there were no periods in between when the pickets were pointed, particularly in view of the Warre drawings. [44] On the other hand, it would seem reasonable that a practice once started would be continued, particularly since cutting the posts across with a saw undoubtedly was easier and less time-consuming than pointing the ends.

The crucial evidence as to the situation in 1845, then, would appear to be the Warre lithograph with its clearly defined pointed pickets. The original pencil sketch upon which the lithograph clearly was based seems also to show pointed posts, although the representation is not as precise as one would wish.

However, the water color which evidently was prepared by Warre as a guide for the lithographer is preserved in the Public Archives of Canada; it shows not the slightest sign of pointed palisade posts. Rather, the top of the pickets is shown as a perfectly level line (see [plate X](#)). Therefore, there is the possibility that the pointed pickets were among a number of changes and "improvements" made during the engraving process. These alterations may have been guided by Warre personally or they may simply have represented the engraver's idea of how a proper fur-trading post should look.

On the basis of present knowledge it is impossible to say positively whether the Fort Vancouver palisades were pointed or unpointed in 1845.

If general Hudson's Bay Company practice was followed at Fort Vancouver, the tops of the posts alternately came on the thin and thick ends, so that when placed side by side in the palisade with the pointed or slanted ends up, the pickets would fit together without large gaps, as would have been the case if all the thin ends had been placed up or down. At many Company posts it was ordinary procedure to square two sides of each log so that the pickets would butt together tightly. [45]

There were other methods of assuring that there would not be gaps between the posts. In 1834, shortly after the palisade at Fort Nisqually was completed, it was recorded in the post journal that "Betwixt each Picket of the Fort small poles were put in order to stop the Indians from looking inside." [46]

It is not known whether any of these practices were followed at Fort Vancouver. On November 21, 1845, Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his diary: "Some men set to dress pickets for the front of the fort." [47] These words clearly indicate that the logs were given some sort of processing before being set in place, but it would be rash to draw from them any conclusions as to the type of treatment given the pickets.

According to evidence uncovered during the 1947 excavations, the ends of the stockade posts which were buried in the ground were saw-cut and were not sharpened. [48] If the Company's lawyers were correct in statements made in the 1860's, however, the buried ends were not put into the ground without any preparation. The usual practice, as intimated by their cross-questioning, was to strip the bark from the ends to be planted and to char them thoroughly on the outside. This procedure evidently helped to preserve the posts from rotting. [49]

After the posts were fully prepared, the next step in stockade construction is not entirely clear. According to the reminiscences of one old employee, the usual Company practice was to attach the pickets to cross pieces or girths which ran horizontally around the inside of the wall about four feet from the top. The posts were fastened to this girth by wooden pegs or by means of an "oblique notch", as illustrated below:

Figure 2.

(After Compton, Forts and Fort Life in New Caledonia, MS, 6.)

The ends of the cross pieces, which were about 15 feet long, were mortised into larger pickets called "king posts." [50]

According to entries in the Fort Nisqually Journal of Occurrences, as nearly as they can be interpreted, the sequence of events by which this assemblage was obtained was about as follows: after dressing and sawing the pickets, the laborers were engaged in "mortising and laying" them; then they apparently were busy "arranging the pickets on the ground," in "arranging the pickets," and in "arranging & boring the pickets." When the "arranging and boring of the pickets" was completed, the next entries record the digging of the "trench in which the pickets are to be placed" and then the "erecting of the pickets." [51]

These entries unfortunately do not answer all the questions that could be raised. For instance, were the mortised, arranged, and bored pickets erected individually or were they first fastened to the girths and raised in sections? Because of the great weight of the green logs, the former procedure probably was employed. Present-day architects believe the construction sequence was about as follows: posts notched for girths and bored for pegs; king posts erected and connected by girths; posts raised to position in the fort wall and notches fitted to girths; posts trenailed to the girths.

Evidently it was common practice to insert wedges in the ends of the wooden pins by which the pickets were fastened to the girths. At Fort Nisqually in 1849, for instance, the post journal noted that on May 14 two laborers named Keva and Kalama were busy "wedging and sawing off ends of picket pins." [52]

That this general type of wall construction - - one line of girths about two to four feet below the top of the pickets - - was widespread at Hudson's Bay Company forts west of the Rocky Mountains is amply demonstrated by drawings and photographs of the stockades at a number of establishments. Pictures of Fort Victoria, Fort Langle, and Fort Rupert clearly illustrate this point (see plates [XXXIII](#), [XXXVI](#), and [XXXVII](#)) [53]

This same general type of construction was followed at Fort Vancouver, but with certain important variations. When Lieutenant Emmons examined the stockade there in 1841, he noted that there were two sets of horizontal girths running around the inside of the palisade, one three to four feet above the ground and the other a foot or two below the tops of the pickets. For additional support, necessary because the posts quickly rotted at ground level, diagonal bracing timbers ran at intervals from the upper girth to the ground. [54]

Joel Palmer, an emigrant from the United States who reached Oregon very late in 1845 and left the next year to return east, found conditions much the same during his brief visit. Describing the stockade at Fort Vancouver he said: "A notch is cut out of each log near the top and bottom, into which a girth is fitted, and mortised into a large log at each end, the whole being trenailed to this girth." [55]

In view of this evidence, it seems clear that at least as late as November or December, 1845, or early 1846, the stockade at Fort Vancouver, or a significant part of it, was characterized by a double set of girths as shown in Emmons's 1841 diagram. But very shortly thereafter the construction of at least part of the stockade had changed to the more usual Hudson's Bay type. A water color sketch of the interior of the Vancouver stockade found in the London archives of the Hudson's Bay Company distinctly shows a small portion of the south palisade. There is only one girth, and that is located near the top of the wall, evidently about two feet or less below the tops of the posts (see [plate XII](#)).

It has generally been thought that this picture might have been drawn in the early 1850's. [56] It seems very probable to the present writer, however, that this picture can be dated between June 18, 1846, and May 3, 1847. [57] If this surmise is true, it seems evident that when the new south or front wall was constructed early in 1846 only one girth was used. [58]

The use of the one- girth construction is confirmed by one of the 1860 photographs of Fort Vancouver (see [plate XXXIV](#)). This picture clearly shows that on at least part of the stockade there was but one set of girths and that this line of horizontal cross pieces was four or five feet below the tops of the pickets.

Archeological excavations have thus far not provided clear evidence of the use of king posts or indicated how such posts were spaced. [59] Yet the photograph of 1860 shows that king posts, into which the girths were mortised, were at that time employed at Fort Vancouver. There is some question as to how the king posts were placed since the use of larger posts at regular intervals is not evident on drawings and photographs of the exterior faces of stockade walls at Company posts. This fact brings up the possibility that the king posts may have been set back of the line of palisades (see plates [XXXIII](#), [XXXVI](#), and [XXXVIII](#)), though in view of the absence of confirming evidence, such a possibility seems remote.

As far as is known to the present writer, no list of materials used in the construction of a Hudson's Bay Company post stockade on the Pacific Slope is extant. In the fall of 1800 Alexander Henry, of the North West Company, built a fort on the Park River, a tributary of the Red River. Although we know nothing of the appearance of this post, his list of "Wood used in our Establishment at Park River" may be some use to architects working on the proposed restoration of Fort Vancouver. The materials used in constructing Henry's fort walls and bastions were as follows:

Stockades, 15 ft. long, oak	564
do 8 ft. oak, for rembrits [?]	564
do 6 ft. for 3d lining to bastion	100

do	5 ft. over the two gates	34
do	7 to 15 ft., oak, for laths	34
do	8 ft. for plank for gates	14
do	7 ft. for plank for bastions	20
Pegs,	1- 1/2 ft. for stockades, etc	<u>770</u>
Total		2,100 [60]

Recommendations

a. The south stockade wall of a Fort Vancouver restored to the conditions of late 1845 or early 1846 should be the inner south palisade as uncovered by archeological excavations. At least planning should be done on this basis, leaving the possibility of switching to the outer wall (line JL on the Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations) should further historical or archeological research reveal that the south wall was moved southward about six feet during the 1846 rebuilding.

b. All other reconstructed walls should be in the outermost locations revealed by archeological excavations in 1947- 1952.

c. In an attempt to throw additional light upon the date at which the south wall was moved outward, future archeological excavations should include the following steps:

(1). Excavate the easternmost 17 feet of the inner south wall to see if there is evidence of stockade posts beneath the three parallel timbers found by Mr. Caywood in 1952.

(2). Search for gate locations along the entire length of both south walls.

(3). Search outside the southeast stockade corner for evidence of a blockhouse.

d. An archeological search should be made for the evidence of the king posts, with particular attention to the position of these posts in relation to the smaller pickets.

e. Upon a reassessment of the historical and archeological evidence available in 1966 and on the basis of new information garnered since that time, a stockade restored to the conditions of late 1845 or early 1846 should possess the following characteristics:

- (1). Height of posts above ground level: 15 feet.
- (2). Logs peeled, with diameters ranging from 5 to 10 inches for ordinary palisade posts and from 10 to 13 inches for king posts.
- (3). The tops of the posts in at least one or two walls should be saw- cut, with the flat tops slanting slightly toward the inside of the palisade.
- (4). If the date to which the fort is to be reconstructed is prior to January, 1846, the entire stockade should have two lines of girths as shown in the Emmons sketch. If the date is after January, 1846, the south wall should have only one line of girths. This line should be about two feet below the tops of the posts.

CHAPTER I: ENDNOTES

1. Louis R. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 1947 (mimeographed, San Francisco: U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, [1947]), 2.
2. Louis R. Caywood, Final Report, Fort Vancouver Excavations (mimeographed, San Francisco: U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, July 1, 1955), 27- 30.
3. John A. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure ([Tacoma]: Washington State Historical Society, [1957]), 118- 127.
4. Caywood, Final Report, 28; Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, 144- 146.
5. For a presentation of the evidence concerning the new manager's residence see below, Chapter IX, "The Big House."
6. Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Colvile, March 19, 1838, in Francis Ermatinger, Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 1823- 1853, MS, p. [121], in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery; James Douglas to Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, October 18, 1838, in E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Series, 1825- 38 (Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Series, IV, Toronto, 1941) (hereafter cited as H. B. S., IV), 260.

7. George Foster Emmons, *Journal Kept While Attached to the South Sea Surveying & Exploring Expedition*. . . , MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
8. Thomas Lowe, *Private Journal Kept at Fort Vancouver, Columbia River [1843-1850]*, MS, 12, typescript in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.
9. See Chapter III below on Bastion.
10. Caywood, Final Report, 28- 30.
11. This 1844 map is henceforth referred to in this report as the "Line of Fire Map."
12. The problem of the succession of structures in the northwest corner of the fort is discussed in greater detail below in Chapter XXV on the Root House.
13. Lowe, *Private Journal*, MS, 5, 7.
14. Of course, it is entirely possible that the new east wall existed before the bakery was commenced, the latter structure merely being fitted into a gap made in the stockade. No archeological evidence of such a wall was found.
15. It is probable that this construction was prior to June 8, 1844, since the journal of Thomas Lowe, which resumes on that date after a gap from October 1, 1843, does not mention any work on the east palisade. Lowe ordinarily noted such labors.
16. On March 20, 1845, Chief Factor John McLoughlin, in charge of Port Vancouver, wrote to Governor George Simpson: "In the month of January last, some Americans seeing us repair our pickets erect a bastion. . .spread a report. . .we were fortifying the Fort." Robert Carlton Clark, History of the Willamette Valley, Oregon (3 vols., Chicago, 1927), I, 809. The word "repair" may indicate that the existing west wall had already suffered from rot and that McLoughlin may thus not have been hesitant to move it outward to connect with a suitably sited bastion.
17. Lowe, *Private Journal*, MS, 12.
18. Since Lowe seems to indicate that the bastion had not been started at the time the new northwest corner was enclosed, it must be assumed that some sort of temporary palisade was erected between points H and I. Perhaps further archeological excavations will throw light on this matter.

19. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 29, 33, 64, 72, 73- 74.
20. British and American Joint Commission for the Final Settlement of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, [Papers] (14 vols., Washington; Montreal, 1865- 1869) (hereafter cited as Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers), [VIII], 237.
21. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 64.
22. Caywood, Final Report, 8- 9.
23. Ordinarily one would expect a survey as carefully executed as that by Col. Bonneville to provide the exact dimensions of a structure as prominent as the Fort Vancouver stockade. But such is not the case. C. A. Homan, a civil engineer, later calculated the lengths of the north and west walls as shown by Bonneville to be 724.2 feet and 340.8 feet, respectively. The two measurements as shown by archeological excavations were 731 feet and 326 feet. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations. . .1947, 9.
24. Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, plate XV (plate XIX of the present report). However, another copy of the same map continues to show the southwest gate as being directly south of the north wall gate. Ibid., plate XVI.
25. Ibid., plates XXI and XXIV (plates XXIV and XXX of the present report).
26. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 12. For a more detailed discussion of the evidence on this point, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, 127- 128.
27. Testimony of D. Mactavish, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [XI], 71.
28. William Henry Gray, A History of Oregon, 1792- 1849, Drawn from Personal Observation and Authentic Information (Portland Oregon; and New York, 1870), 150; Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841; testimony of J. W. Nesmith, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 35.
29. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 12.
30. John D. Combes, A Report of the Fort Vancouver Archeological Excavations of the North Wall (Processed, Vancouver, Washington, 1966), pp. 3- 4 and fig. 1.
31. K. G. Davies, ed., Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence, 1819- 35 (Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. XXIX, London, 1963), 165- 166.

32. Edward Belcher, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World. . . 1836- 1842 (2 vols., London, 1843), I, 294. For testimony on this topic by a list of visitors, see sources cited in Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, p. 129, note 20.
33. Joseph Schafer, ed., "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnoissance in Oregon, 1845- 6," in Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society (hereafter cited as OHQ), X (March, 1909), 46, 85, and plan ff. p. 100.
34. Testimony of J. Nesmith, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 35; testimony of L. Brooke, in ibid., [VIII], 128.
35. Testimony of L. Love, in ibid., [VIII], 237.
36. P. N. Compton Forts and Fort Life in New Caledonia under Hudson's Bay Company Regime, MS, 6, in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Gray, op. cit. 150; Joel Palmer, Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains. . . Made During the Years 1845 and 1846. . . (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, vol. XXX, Cleveland, Ohio, 1906), 209.
37. Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841.
38. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 13.
39. Combes, A Report of. . . Excavations of the North Wall, 4.
40. Testimony of Thomas Nelson, Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 88; Compton, Forts and Fort Life, MS, 6.
41. What appears to be Warre's original on- the- spot pencil sketch which was the basis of the lithograph is now preserved in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. It is reproduced as plate 40 in Henry J. Warre, Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, By Captain H. Warre, with introduction by Archibald Henna, Jr. (Barre, Massachusetts: Imprint Society, 1970) The pickets seem to be shown as pointed in this drawing, although details in this regard are not as clear as could be desired. It is possible to interpret this picture as showing an uneven row of flat- topped pickets, although more probably pointed pickets are intended.
42. For another Pacific Slope example see the 1860- 1861 photograph of Fort Colville in Erwin N. Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall Historic Structures Report, History Data Section (Multilithed, Washington, D. C.: National Park Service, May, 1970), illustration 22.

43. For an example of this type of construction at a post east of the Rockies see the restored Rocky Mountain House, Heritage Park, Calgary.
44. Thomas Nelson, who visited Fort Vancouver in 1851- 1852, later definitely stated that at that time the upper ends of the pickets were "sharpened." Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 88.
45. Compton, Forts and Fort Life, MS, 6.
46. Clarence B. Bagley, ed., "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House," in Washington Historical Quarterly, VII (April, 1916), 147. Possibly the use of a similar technique by the North West Company at the post built by Alexander Henry on Park River in 1800 is indicated by the fact that the list of materials used included 564 "stockades" 15 feet long and 564 "stockades. . .for rembrits" 8 feet long. Elliott Coues, ed., New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry. . . and of David Thompson. . . 1799- 11 . . . Reprint ed., 2 vols., Minneapolis, 1965), I, 123.
47. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 29.
48. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 12.
49. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 35.
50. Compton, Forts and Fort Life, MS, 6.
51. Bagley, "Journal of Occurrences," in Washington Historical Quarterly, VI (July, 1915), 192, 193, 194; (October, 1915), 267, 268.
52. Victor J. Farrar, ed., "The Nisqually Journal," in Washington Historical Quarterly, X (July, 1919), 216, 217- 218. The purpose of the wedging, evidently, was to keep the pegs tight as they dried out and shrank. It is sometimes said, upon what authority is not known, that square pegs were driven into round holes to make a tight fit and/or to prevent splitting if the pegs swelled upon absorbing moisture.
53. A Committee of assessors noted in 1866 that the pickets at Fort Colville on the upper Columbia River were "ten feet high and pinned near the top to horizontal timbers." Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII] 276.
54. Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841. Emmons stated that the girths were placed on either side of the palisade, but in this assertion he was clearly in error. A drawing of Fort Vancouver made by one of his fellow officers, Lieutenant Henry Eld, shows that there were no girths on the exterior face of the

stockade (see plate IV), nor are such girths shown on any other known pictures of Fort Vancouver.

55. Palmer, Journal, 209.

56. Glyndwr Williams, "Highlights of the First 200 Years of the Hudson's Bay Company," in The Beaver, Outfit 301 (Autumn, 1970), 52.

57. A note in Hudson's Bay Company, Catalogue of Pictures in Beaver House, London (typescript), in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives states, on the basis of family tradition, that this picture was drawn by Lieutenant Coode, of H. M. S. Modeste. Since this ship sailed from Fort Vancouver for the last time on May 3, 1847, the picture could not have been made after that date if Coode was the artist. Barry M. Gough The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810—1914. . . (Vancouver, B. C.: University of British Columbia Press, 1971), 82. The sketch does not show the Old Catholic Church, which was torn down on June 18, 1846. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 42. Therefore the picture must have been made after that date.

58. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 33.

59. Combes, A Report of . . . Excavations of the North Wall, figure 4.

60. Coues, New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, I, 123.

CHAPTER II: GATES

History and location

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

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

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

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

Neither the Emmons map nor the Vavasour plan is sufficiently accurate to permit a precise location of the gates by scaling off distances. But these drawings constitute nearly the sum total of the historical evidence available for locating the

gates as they existed in late 1845, the approximate date to which the fort is to be restored. When these maps are analyzed in the light of archeological findings, however, the results are more useful. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Southwest gate (west gate in front wall). On the Emmons plan of 1841 this gate is shown as being a quarter of the total wall length, or about 159.5 feet, east of the southwest stockade corner (point D on [plate I](#)). The Vavasour map locates this gate about 190 feet east of the 1845 southwest corner (about four feet north of point J). Since excavations have shown that point J was about 36 feet west of point D, the two maps are very nearly in agreement. The Vavasour map indicates that this gate was 12 to 15 feet wide, but these figures seem high in view of what is known about the widths of other gates at Fort Vancouver (see [plates VI and VII](#)).

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

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

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

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

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

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

It has already been pointed out that the location of the southeast gate as shown on the Vavasour and Covington plans apparently changed between late 1846 and 1854. The Bonneville map of the latter year, supported by the survey of the military reservation made at the direction of General W. S. Haney in 1859 and the ground plan made by a board of Army officers in 1860, indicates that the gate was shifted to the westward (see plates [XIX](#), [XXIV](#), [XXX](#)). As closely as can be determined from these maps, the new location was about 335 feet west of the extreme southeast stockade corner (point L). This information may be of interest in interpreting the results of future archeological excavations, but it need not concern those planning the restoration of Fort Vancouver to its appearance in 1845- 1846.

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

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

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

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

Construction details

Very little is known about the construction of the gates at Fort Vancouver or at any other western Hudson's Bay Company post for that matter. In one of the few general descriptions available, a long-time Company employee, speaking principally of the posts in the present British Columbia, said that the gates were "massive structures" about six or seven inches thick and heavily studded with large nails. There was usually a small door cut in one side of each gate so that a single person or a small party could enter without the necessity of opening the entire gate. [14]

If this description was applicable to the gates at Fort Vancouver, they must have been constructed much like the gates at the restored military post of Fort York in Canada. The latter gates were made of heavy vertical planks, about three inches thick, on the outer face, backed by similar planks placed horizontally on the inner face. Both faces of the gate were studded with very heavy, broad-headed nails or spikes. [Plate XL](#) provides a good view of both sides of the Fort York gate. An interesting feature is the fact that the gate had heavy iron straps across the width of the outer face as well as the inner.

This use of straps on the outer face has not been followed at any of the restorations of Hudson's Bay Company posts observed by the writer. Yet it is known that the firm employed this type of gate construction at one western fort at least. A traveler in 1868 drew a sketch of Fort Simpson on the Northwest Coast. Small and crude though it is, this picture clearly shows iron bands extending nearly across the width of each gate leaf near the top and near the bottom, though on the leaf containing the postern the lower band only extended as far as that doorway. [15]

On the other hand, a photograph of a gate at Fort Victoria seems to show no exterior bands. The outer face, the only one visible, seems to be composed of vertical planks without studding nails (see [plate XXXIII](#)).

There is no exact information as to the height of the gates, but based on available drawings and photographs of gates at Fort Vancouver and elsewhere, eight feet seems the most reasonable figure. It will be remembered that in the list of materials for the stockade at Henry's post on Park River in 1800 were eight-foot planks for the gates.

Such a conclusion seems to be supported by a description of the gates installed at the rebuilt Fort Walla Walla during the fall of 1843. "I think there were two wooden gates," testified W. H. Gray in 1866, "one in the front and one in the rear; my impression is that those gates were from eight to ten feet wide - - double gates; they may have been eight feet high." [16]

The gates at Hudson's Bay Company forts were generally described as "folding" or "double" gates, indicating that there were two leaves which swung inward when opened, one hinged to each gatepost. No gate hardware from Fort Vancouver has yet been found. Since Vancouver was a main depot, there was no shortage of iron, and therefore it may be assumed that the hardware was heavy, after the style of that at Fort York (see [plate XL](#)). [17]

No direct testimony has been found as to the type of locks employed on the Fort Vancouver gates. It is known, however, that padlocks were used at Fort Nisqually. [18]

The Eld and Warre drawings of Fort Vancouver clearly show that the openings for the gates were, in effect, cut out of the palisade wall. The pickets continued in an uninterrupted row across the top of each gateway opening (see plates [IV](#) and [IX](#)). The construction technique employed to achieve this result is clearly illustrated by an early photograph showing the interior of a gate at Fort Victoria (see [plate XXXIII](#)).

Recommendations

- a. The southwest gate, situated in the stockade wall of late 1845 (the inner south wall as revealed by archeological excavations) should be located about 190 to 195 feet east of the 1845 southwest stockade corner. If further archeological excavations do not produce remains of this gate to show the exact site, the gate should be located so that it can be joined to the storehouses (buildings nos. 7 and 8 on "Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations") as shown on the Vavasour "Plan of Fort Vancouver" ([plate VI](#)).
- b. Lacking archeological data, the southwest gate should be made the same width as that found in the north wall, i.e., 12 feet between gate post centers. The gate posts should be about 13 inches in diameter as were those found in the outer south wall.
- c. An archeological search should be made along the entire length of the inner and outer south walls in an effort to find the remains of the several successive southeast gates. Interpretation of these findings should permit a precise location of this gate as it stood in 1845- 1846. If no traces of the gate are found, the restored

southeast entrance should be about 205 to 208 feet west of the 1845 southeast stockade corner.

- d. The north gate should be located as revealed by the 1966 archeological excavations. The distance between gate post centers should be 12 feet.
- e. The gates should be eight feet high, with widths as given in the preceding section.
- f. Each gate should have two leaves, opening inward.
- g. Each gate leaf should be constructed of two thickness of three- inch planking, the planks to run vertically on the outer face and horizontally on the inner.
- h. Hardware and heavy studding nails should follow the pattern used at Fort York, Canada.
- i. One leaf in each gate should contain a postern door patterned after that at Fort York.
- j. The palisade sections over one gate should be removable to permit entry of trucks during reconstruction of buildings within the stockade.

CHAPTER II: ENDNOTES

1. Gray, History of Oregon, 150; testimony of W. H. Gray, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 184.
2. For a detailed discussion of the locations of the manager's residence see Chapter IX on the Big House.
3. Belcher, Narrative, I, 294.
4. Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 (5 vols., Philadelphia, 15 , IV, 331.
5. On the Covington map the southeast gate appears to have shifted to the east a few feet, but this map, which has no scale, is so far out of proportion that attempts at measurement can give no precise results.

6. This shift is confirmed by comparing the position of the gate in relation to the two large storehouses north of it as shown on the Vavasour plan with that depicted on the Summary Sheet Archeological Excavations. The Covington map of 1846 is too small in scale to throw any certain light upon the question of when this shift might have been made.

7. Caywood, Final Report, 25.

8. John Minto, "Reminiscences of Experiences on the Oregon Trail in 1844- II," in OHQ, II (September, 1901), 245.

9. The Emmons plan, having no scale, is of little assistance in precisely locating this gate. However, there is no major incompatibility in this regard between the Emmons and the Vavasour maps.

10. Caywood, Final Report, 25.

11. Combes, A Report, 4.

12. Combes, op. cit., 5. See plate XXXIX for a diagram of this gate as excavated in 1966.

13. A drawing of Fort Vancouver from the north made by George Gibbs in 1851 distinctly shows the north gate situated farther to the west, seemingly near the granary or wheat store (see plate XVIII). No other certain representation of a gate in this location has been found.

14. Compton, Forts and Fort Life in New Caledonia, MS, 7.

15. Emil Teichmann, A Journey to Alaska in the Year 1868: Being a Diary of the Late Emil Teichmann (New York; Argosy- Antiquarian Ltd., 1963), 105- 106.

16. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 180- 181. Gray also said that "the greater portion of each gate was of only a single thickness of planks, but with battens. Apparently this atypical construction resulted from a scarcity of timber and from the fact that these particular gates were made by American emigrants stopping at Fort Walla Walla. Ibid., 181, 268.

17. In general, the gate hardware at Hudson's Bay posts which have been reconstructed in recent years is rather light. For examples see plates XLI and XLII.

18. The Fort Nisqually journal for March 19, 1849, contains the following sentence: "Wren fixing padlocks on Fort gates." Victor J. Farrar, ed., "The Nisqually Journal," in Washington Historical Quarterly, X (July, 1919), 207.

CHAPTER III: BASTION

History

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Construction details

As far as is known, there exists only one general description of the bastion. Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour of the Royal Engineers, presumably a trained

observer, reported to his superiors in Canada on March 1, 1846, that the defensive structure at the northwest angle of the stockade was a three- storied blockhouse, 20 feet square. The two lower stories, he continued, were loopholed; the "upper" was an octagonal cap containing eight 3- pound iron guns. [13]

A photograph of Fort Vancouver in 1860 confirms the general accuracy of Vavasour's description. With this picture (see [plate XXXIV](#)) and two drawings made by George Gibbs in 1851 (see plates [XVII](#) and [XVIII](#)) it can be ascertained that each of the eight faces of the cap contained one rectangular gun port.

During the excavations of 1947 the foundation timbers of the bastion were discovered still in place. Each of the four blockhouse lower story walls rested on two 8" x 8" Douglas fir timbers placed side by side, the distance between them being from one to five inches. The overall outside dimensions of the foundations proved to be about 20 feet 6 inches on each side. Although six of the timbers were severely charred and the remaining two were so badly rotted that little was left of them, the archeologists apparently were able to determine that the timbers had been squared by sawing and not with broadaxes or adzes. [14]

The 1860 photograph clearly reveals that the bastion was constructed in the usual "French- Canadian" style so generally employed at Hudson's Bay Company posts. The lower two- story portion, 20 feet square, evidently was formed by laying sills of heavy timbers, joined at the four corners by interlocking joints, upon the foundation timbers. Into these sills at each corner and midway on each side were mortised heavy upright timbers, each seemingly about 20 feet high. These uprights were grooved on the appropriate edges to receive the tenons of the timbers forming the walls. They were joined together at the top by plates, which were also heavy timbers interlocked at the corners.

No picture has been found which shows the door to the bastion, but it must have been located at or very near to the south end of the east wall. This was the only substantial portion of the blockhouse protected by the stockade pickets (see [plate XLIII](#)). Archeological evidence throws little light upon this point, but Mr. Caywood reported that a door in that locality was probable since "no great amount of rotted timber showed in that section." [15] This door undoubtedly would have been of heavy construction - - probably of two thickness of plank - - and framed in the usual French- Canadian manner.

Once the framework for the two- story base had been completed, the walls were closed in by heavy, horizontally lying timbers, the tenoned ends of which fitted into the grooves in the upright frame members. As nearly as can be determined from the one available photograph, these "filler" timbers were about one foot in exposed height. They probably were of the same thickness. Since Fort Vancouver

had an operating sawmill in 1845, it is quite possible that all the blockhouse timbers were sawed.

There is no known description of the construction methods employed in erecting the Fort Vancouver bastion. In 1933 and 1934, when Fort Nisqually was being reconstructed at Tacoma, Washington, however, a study was made of the Hudson's Bay Company's building techniques. "Gray haired pioneers" who as children had played around Fort Nisqually were interviewed, and from one of them was received a description of the original bastions at that post. His words, while referring specifically to Fort Nisqually, contain certain information which probably would apply equally as well to the blockhouse at Fort Vancouver. He wrote:

Heavy fir logs were adzed to timbers 10 by 14 inches square with tenons on the ends. These tenons were mortised into grooves in heavy upright corner posts and pinned with oak dowels. Oak pegs three feet long were driven down through holes bored in the horizontal timbers, making a very strong construction. [16]

The one available photograph of the Fort Vancouver Bastion does not permit a determination as to whether there was visible chinking between the horizontal timbers. It seems most probable, however, that these timbers were sawed and that their squared edges, at least when originally installed, fitted together quite tightly. Such certainly seems to have been the case with the Fort Langley blockhouse (see [plate XLIV](#)).

It seems to have been Company practice in such cases, at least in regions of relatively mild climate, not to bevel the edges of the timbers to provide holding space for visible chinking. Rather, the small cracks between the timbers were caulked, principally to keep out moisture. [17]

As has been seen, Lieutenant Vavasour wrote in 1845 that the two lower stories of the bastion "were loopholed." No available picture of the structure clearly shows the nature of these loop holes. Those at Hudson's Bay Company posts on the Pacific Slope were of two types: small, separate ports such as those at Fort Rupert (see [plate XXXVI](#)); or long, thin horizontal slits such as those at Fort Victoria (see [plate XLV](#)) and Fort Nanaimo (see [plate XLVI](#)).

Since no small loopholes are discernable in the 1860 photograph and since what may be horizontal slits seem to be visible in that picture, it is probable that the loopholes at Fort Vancouver were of the latter type. The construction of such loopholes is well illustrated by [plate XLVII](#). The slits probably were located at the lower edge of the timber which was about 4- 1/2 to 5 feet above the floor level of each story.

Beyond what can be determined from the extant photographs of the bastions at Fort Vancouver, Fort Victoria, and Fort Nanaimo, little is known of the construction details of the octagonal cap. The only surviving octagonal Hudson's Bay Company bastion - - that at Nanaimo, British Columbia - - appears to have had several unique architectural features. [18] Also, to the date of this writing, no architect or historian of the National Park Service has been able to gain admission to the building in order to examine its structural details.

The exact arrangement of the supporting beams for the cap is among the unknown items. The upright, grooved corner posts were shaped to conform to the angle formed by the intersecting walls of the octagon. The exact configuration of these posts is not known, but that used in the reconstruction of the Fort Victoria bastion by Dr. Herbert P. Plasterer, of Victoria, B. C., in the 1960's probably is not far wrong. The following sketch (not to scale) shows the general cross- section of an upright (shaded member) with the horizontal timbers (not shaded) tenoned into it. [19]

Figure 3.

The gun ports, one on each face of the octagon, appear to have been slightly higher than they were wide, perhaps 2- 1/2 feet by 3 feet. Each port opened directly above the first horizontal timber over the heavy sill. Each was framed by side uprights which may or may not have risen from the sill (the photograph appears to show that they did, but it seems impossible to be sure).

Shutters covered each gun port. As is clearly shown by the 1860 photograph, these shutters were hinged at the top and opened outward from the bottom. Undoubtedly they operated in the same manner as those at Fort Nanaimo, where the "heavy wooden shutters" are said to have been "raised from within by ropes." [20] It must be admitted, however, that no ropes or chains are visible in the 1860 photograph. Probably the shutters swung on long strap hinges similar to those over the lower tier of ports at Fort Nanaimo (see [plate XLVIII](#)). And each must have had an iron ring centered two or three inches above the bottom edge as was the case at Nanaimo.

From the 1860 photograph it appears that the guns may have protruded through round holes or ports in the shutters, somewhat as did the armament in the Fort Victoria bastion (see [plate XLV](#)). Unfortunately the picture is not sufficiently clear to permit certainly on this point.

It also appears from the photograph that there was a long rifle slit or loophole above each gun port as was the case at Fort Victoria and Fort Nanaimo. These

openings seemingly came at the bottom edge of the second timber above each gun port.

The roof was shingled, with boards at the eight hips. There was no outward flair at the eaves such as was found at some posts, Fort Victoria and Nanaimo for example.

An ornament graced the peak of the roof. Such decorations were almost universal on bastions, fish stores, and other small peaked- roofed structures at Hudson's Bay Company posts in the West (for examples see plates [XXXVI](#), [XLIV](#), and [XLIX](#)). The Coode water color of 1846- 1847 (see [plate XII](#)) indicates that at that time the ornament on the Fort Vancouver bastion was simply a round ball. Similar features are shown in later photographs of Fort Rupert and Fort St. James (see plates [XXXVI](#), [XLIX](#)).

The 1860 photograph of the bastion at Fort Vancouver shows a somewhat different ornament at the peak. As nearly as can be made out, it then consisted of a ball surmounted by a short rod, on top of which was another object, possibly a weather vane in the shape of a beaver. It seems evident that this feature was added after the period to which the fort is to be restored.

If the situation at Fort Vancouver was the same as at Fort Nanaimo, the base of the ornament formed a center block into which all of the rafters were toed. A hip rafter went to this center block from each angle of the octagonal cap. In addition, there was a rafter at the center of each wall of the cap, and a jack rafter on each side of this center rafter. In other words, the rafters divided the roof over each wall into four segments. [\[21\]](#)

The bastion cap at Nanaimo is now lined and coiled with a single thickness of planks, but there is no reason to assume that this practice was followed at Fort Vancouver. [\[22\]](#) Evidently it was not Company practice to place a layer of logs or dirt in the ceiling of the cap to form a protective barrier from fire.

At Fort Langley the bastions had, according to the post, journal, "a lower and upper flooring." [\[23\]](#) It seems probable that even the ground floor at Fort Vancouver, therefore, had a wooden floor.

At Fort Nanaimo, the stairs to the second floor are "tight up against the wall, very narrow and steep." The stairway to the cap has been described as "more like a ship's stair." It "leads from about a third of the way across the floor space [of the second story] and reaches the top floor away from the wall so as to just leave access room." [\[24\]](#) Both stairs now have hand rails, but it is not certain that the rails were part of the original construction.

It was common practice at Company posts, particularly in present- day British Columbia, to equip the bastions with "arm chests" and stands for "large muskets" or musketoons. [25] Whether there was similar equipment at Fort Vancouver is not known.

Armament

On October 26, 1845, Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour, after having spent two months at Fort Vancouver, made a report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in which they stated that the blockhouse contained six 3- pound iron guns. In March, 1846, Vavasour told the commander of the Royal Engineers in Canada that the same structure contained eight 3- pound iron guns. [26] To complicate matters still further, Lieutenant William Peel of the Royal Navy visited Fort Vancouver during September, 1845, and reported to his superior that there were seven small 3- pounders in the bastion. [27] Doctor Henry A. Tuzo, who reached Vancouver in 1853 to take up his duties as post surgeon, later testified that at the time of his arrival the blockhouse mounted "eight small cannon" in its third story. [28]

In view of this conflicting testimony, the inventory of artillery and military stores on hand at Fort Vancouver during any particular year might not be an infallible indication that the stated number of 3- pound guns were actually mounted in the bastion. Certainly none were mounted there before early 1845. It seems probable, however, that if the fort possessed eight 3- pound cannons after the erection of the bastion, they were all housed there.

In the inventory made during the spring of 1844, the Fort Vancouver Depot account listed, among other items under the heading "Naval Stores at fixed Prices," the following: "8 long 3 pound Guns wg. 40, 0, 26, plus "50 Canister Shot 3 lbs," and "2- 72/112 Cwt round Shot 3 lbs." [29]

Under the heading "Articles in Use, in Stores" in the same 1844 inventory are listed "2 small swivel Guns." [30] These two swivels appear in the 1845 inventory, but no mention seems to be made of the eight 3- pound guns in the accounts for that year. [31]

Since the guns were used in fire salutes, it can be assumed that they were mounted and ready for action. Thus the furnishings of the octagonal cap would include the proper equipment for each gun - - carriage, lines and tackle, swabs, rammers, etc.

CHAPTER III: ENDNOTES

1. George Washington Fuller, A History of the Pacific Northwest (New York, 1931), 118.
2. J. K. T[ownsend] to [?], Washington, January 26, 1843, in OHQ, IV (December, 1903), 399- 402.
3. Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1845), IV, 327.
4. H. B.C., Reports on Districts, Fort Vancouver [c.1845], H.B.C.A., B.223/e/4, MS, fols. 4d, 6- 6d. See also Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Willamette Falls, March 23, 1845, in Edward Ermatinger, Letters Received, 1820- 1874, MS, 165 [175], in Edward Ermatinger, Papers, in Public Archives of Canada.
5. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 2.
6. Ibid., 12.
7. Ibid., 13.
8. Ibid., 15.
9. Robert Carlton Clark, History of the Willamette Valley, Oregon (3 vols. Chicago, 1927), I, 809.
10. For sample mentions of salutes upon various occasions, see Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 16, 35, 36, 40.
11. Proceedings of a Board of Officers, Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860, MS, in A.G. O., Oregon Dept., Doc. File 212- S- 1860, War Records Division, the National Archives; also printed in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 75- 77.
12. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 11- 12.
13. M. Vavasour to Col. N. W. Holloway [?] [William Cuthbert Elphinstone-Holloway], Fort Vancouver, March 1, 1846, in Papers Relative to the Expedition of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory, MS, fol. 41d, microfilm in Public Archives of Canada. A somewhat different version is found on fol. 72 of the same papers, where it is stated that the blockhouse was two stories high. Vavasour's report has been printed in Joseph Schafer, ed.,

"Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnaissance in Oregon, 1845- 6," in OHQ, X (March, 1909), 85.

14. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, pp. 11 12, plate 4. Mr. Caywood believed that the foundation timbers "undoubtedly moved outward a few inches from pressure and perhaps from buckling" during the fire that destroyed the blockhouse. However, there seemingly is no reason why the foundation could not originally have had slightly greater outside dimensions than the structure that rested on it. If Vavasour was correct, the blockhouse was 20 feet square.

15. Caywood, Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 12.

16. Alfred L. Gehri, "Fort Nisqually Lives Again," in The Beaver, Outfit 265, no. 2 (September, 1934), 54.

17. Interview, J. A. Hussey with Dr. Herbert P. Plasterer, Victoria, B. C., October 1, 1967. Dr. Plasterer obtained the original timbers from the "cook house" of Fort Victoria (which had been preserved at Dr. W. F. Tolmie's "Cloverdale Farm"). The exterior edges of the horizontal members were square, with no evidence of rounding to accommodate chinking. However, there actually was chinking or caulking between the timbers. Dr. Plasterer believes this chinking was composed of goat hair and lime. A number of the horizontal timbers from the "cook house" were examined and photographed by the writer.

18. The Nanaimo blockhouse, built under the supervision of Joseph McKay, was started about August, 1852, and was completed the following year. The actual construction is said to have been performed by "expert fort-builders, notably Leon Labine and Jean Baptiste Fortier." Mabel E. Jordon, "The Century Old Bastion at Nanaimo," in Canadian Geographical Journal, XLIX (July, 1954), 18- 19.

19. Based on field visit by J. A. Hussey, October 1, 1967, to the Fort Victoria Museum, 340 Island Highway 1A, Victoria, B. C. This reconstruction was based on photographs of the original Fort Victoria bastion. The original structure was torn down many years earlier, and there were no surviving timbers to serve as models for Dr. Plasterer's project.

20. "Fort Nanaimo, B. C.," in The Beaver, vol. V, no. 4 (September, 1925), 188.

21. William A. Grant to J. A. Hussey, Ladysmith, B. C., December 7, 1971, MS, in possession of recipient.

22. Ibid.

23. Douglas Leechman, Notes and Comments on Hudson's Bay Company Trading Posts in the Mid- nineteenth Century, Extracted from the Literature (typescript, 1958), section on bastion, p. [3]. The Nisqually journal noted on May 4, 1849: "Cowie pining [sic] down flooring of lower stories of Bastions. Victor J. Farrar, ed., "The Nisqually Journal," in Washington Historical Quarterly, X (July, 1919), 215.
24. William A. Grant to J. A. Hussey, Ladysmith, B. C., December 7, 1971, MS.
25. Leechman, Notes and Comments, MS, section on bastion, pp. [2, 4].
26. Schafer, "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnoissance in Oregon, 1845- 6," in OHQ, X (March, 1909), 46, 85.
27. Leslie M. Scott, "Report of Lieutenant Peel on Oregon in 1845- 46," in OHQ, XXIX (March, 1928), 60- 64.
28. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 176.
29. Hudson's Bay Company, Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], in Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as H.B.C.A.), B.223/d/155, MS, 128, in Beaver House, London. This and following quotations from materials in the Company's Archives are used with the kind permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.
30. Ibid., 143.
31. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, 131.

CHAPTER IV: BAKERY

History and location

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

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

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

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

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

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

On September 17, Clerk Thomas Lowe noted in his journal the arrival of a barge from "the Falls," the site of the present Oregon City. The next day he made clear the import of this seemingly routine event. "The Barge," he wrote, "had 5000 Bricks on board which have been made in the Willamette, and are the first which have come here yet." [5]

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

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

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

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

reached Oregon. Following his name on the roll for Outfit 1848 appear the words, "Gone to California, wages to 1 March '49." [10]

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

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

Construction details

More is known of the physical structure of the 1844- 1860 bakery than is the case with many other Fort Vancouver buildings. Unfortunately, even after all the available evidence is examined, there are many details which still must be left to conjecture.

There are two pictures which provide partial views of the bakery. Both are small in scale and were drawn from a considerable distance. Even more discouraging, they seem to present different versions of construction details.

The first of these is a pencil sketch of Fort Vancouver drawn by the Canadian artist, Paul Kane, who visited the post at intervals between December 18, 1846 and July 1, 1847. [14] This view appears to show the main bakery structure to be a gable- roofed building butting up against, but not penetrating the east stockade line. A window is visible in the center of the north wall within the gable, seeming to indicate the presence of an attic or garret. Two chimneys rise from the eave level at the eastern edge of the building. From the east stockade wall a smaller, shed- like structure, an appendage to the main bakery, extends eastward outside the pickets (see [plate XIV](#)).

The second is an oil painting of almost exactly the same scene as is presented in the Kane sketch. This splendid picture is undated, and the artist is listed as "unknown" in the records of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, where it is displayed. It probably represents Fort Vancouver as it

was after the departure of the Modeste in May, 1847, and before the arrival of the United States troops in May, 1849 (see [plate XV](#)). [15]

This painting gives every evidence of having been executed with care. As does the Kane sketch, it depicts the bakery with a gable roof, window in the north wall of the attic, two chimneys rising from the eastern wall at the eaves, and an appended shed to the east. Unlike the Kane drawing, however, it clearly shows the main bakery building extending through the east stockade, with about half the structure inside the palisade and about half outside. The bakery proper, with its chimneys, is shown as being painted white, but the shed annex is brown apparently the color of the natural wood of which it was made. [16]

The second picture is certainly the more accurate. The Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 shows the main "Bake House" as a rectangular structure, which scales out at about 40 feet in north- south length and about 25 feet in east- west width. This building is half within the stockade line and half without. The shed jutting from the east bakery wall is shown by Vavasour as being about 27' x 15' (see [plate VII](#)). Thus there is close correspondence between the bakery as shown in the Yale painting and the Bake House plotted by Vavasour.

Additional historical evidence concerning the bakery structure is meager but, on the whole, compatible with the pictures and with the British engineer's ground plan. After the boundary settlement in 1846 the Hudson's Bay Company took an inventory of all its properties south of the 49th parallel. At Fort Vancouver this task was supervised by Thomas Lowe, a clerk who was serving as the chief accountant at the post. Late in 1846 or early in 1847 he had the principal fort structures measured. One version of his inventory describes the "Bake House" as being 40' x 20'; another version gives the dimensions as 40' x 25'. [17]

Dr. B. A. Tuzo, who first saw the bakery in 1853, described it as a two- story structure measuring between 40 and 50 feet in one direction and 20 to 30 feet in the other. It contained two "superior" fire- brick ovens. [18]

These rather meager historical materials fortunately can be supplemented by information derived from the surviving Hudson's Bay Company bakery at Lower Fort Garry and from archeological excavations at Fort Vancouver. Lower Fort Garry, situated near the present Winnipeg, was built between 1831 and 1847, and the bakery there thus falls in the same general time span as that at Fort Vancouver. Although built of stone instead of wood, the Fort Garry bakery had two stone and brick ovens (though with a single chimney) and must have been like its Fort Vancouver counterpart in a number of respects. [19]

The ovens were vaulted inside and out, being placed side- by- side with a common wall between them. Each oven had only one entrance, a small square

door placed two- feet above the gravel floor. It is obvious, therefore, that the ovens were heated by fires built inside them and that the coals were raked out or to the side before the breadstuffs were placed inside to bake. The floors of the ovens were level with the bottoms of the doors. A flue led in a slanting direction from the top of each oven to a common chimney at the front end of the ovens. Air spaces at the sides and rear of the joined ovens separated the heated elements from the walls of the bakery.

The construction of these twin ovens is illustrated by the photographs in plates [L](#) and [LI](#). Further details are given in [plate LII](#), a drawing based on measurements made during a visit to Fort Garry by Architect A. Lewis Koue and Historian John A. Hussey on September 20, 1967.

There is a second bakery at Fort Garry, located in a building designated as the stable. Although this complex of two separate ovens appears to date from a later period of military occupancy, it has features which may be applicable at Fort Vancouver. In particular, the height of the ovens above the floor, 40 inches, would seem more suitable for large- scale baking operations than the back-breaking 24 inches of the Company ovens. At any rate the dimensions and general design of one of these ovens are shown in the following diagram. See next page, Figure 4.

Figure 4.
Bakery in Stable
Lower Fort Garry
(Measurements by A. L. Koue)

Even more important than the comparative data are the facts about the Fort Vancouver bakery uncovered by archeological excavations during 1948 and the winter of 1970- 1971. Footings discovered still in place or only moderately displaced clearly outlined a structure somewhat in excess of 38.5 feet long and 25.5 feet wide placed half inside the east stockade line and half outside. No evidence was found to indicate that the stockade had ever extended through the site of the bakery.

The footings were wooden blocks between 2.4 and 2.9 feet long and 0.9 to 1.1 feet wide and about 0.25 foot thick. Some of the footings were missing, but enough were present to show that they had been placed about 10 feet apart, center to center. For considerable distances along the east bakery wall foundations and westward along the sections of the north and south walls which were outside the stockade, was found "a line of small, erect wooden slabs or puncheons. . . .

Measuring about 0.25 foot wide and high, each small slab was cut and set to directly abut the next. Where extant, the slab line formed a tight enclosure." [20]

Probably the purpose of this wooden wall was to create a stout barrier against animals. In 1845 Lieutenant Warre found, much to his discomfort, that skunks "infested" the fort. He reported that several of these odoriferous invaders lived under the floor of the rooms in which he was quartered. [21]

Two widely separated portions of bakery oven foundations were uncovered, one section of the north wall and a larger segment at the southeast oven corner. These foundation fragments were from 1.6 to 2 feet wide. They were formed of "rounded cobbles averaging about 0.7 foot in diameter that were set into a single course without sub-footings. Lime mortar, possibly made of Hawaiian coral, was present on top and in between the cobbles but not underneath. No brick was found in situ, but brick fragments were scattered through out the bakery area." [22] The oven foundations were at the same ground level as the wooden footings.

The oven foundations lay immediately to the east of the main wooden bakery building. They represented the base of an oven complex which formed a rectangle measuring about 24.5 feet by 14 feet.

A concentration of window pane glass outside the west bakery wall about five feet from its north end "apparently" marked the location of a window. The highest densities of both glass fragments and nails were found in the western portion of the bakery, leading the archeologists to "infer the presence of several windows, an entrance, and possibly window frames and shutters along the west or interior wall." [23] Other evidence suggested to the archeologists the existence of a doorway in the center of the west bakery wall, "with a pathway leading from the door to two outhouses on the north side of the bakery." [24] No artifacts related to the use of the structure as a bakery were uncovered. Also, no traces were found of the wooden shed which probably covered the ovens.

In summary, the archeological evidence indicates that the bakery measured about 25' x 40'. Attached to the east wall of this main structure were ovens whose foundations formed a rectangle slightly smaller than 15' x 25'. Thus, "in form and dimensions" the bakery as revealed by archeology corresponds almost exactly with the "Bake House" pictured on Vavasour's ground plan of 1845.

Furnishings

Under the heading "Articles in Use," the Fort Vancouver inventory made during the spring of 1844 contains the following list of Company-owned items in the "Bake House":

1 round head Axe
1 water Bucket
1 Candlestick
2 dough Cutters
1 tin Kettle 8 gns.
2 tin Pots
1 tin Scales
2 Biscuit Stamp[s]
1 Steelyards 100 lbs.
3 lead Weights [25]

The inventory for 1845 listed practically the same items, but there were a few interesting variations:

1 Axe
2 Buckets
1 Candlestick
3 pln [plain] Blankets 2- 1/2 pts [points]
1 dough Cutter
1 Tin Kettle 8 gns
1 Tin pot 3 qts
1 pr Tin Scales
1 Biscuit Stamp
1 lead Weight
1 pr Steelyards [26]

No listing of articles in use in the bakery seems to be available for 1846, but the Fort Vancouver Depot inventory made in the spring of 1847 lists the following articles in the "Bake House":

2 Axes
6 Buckets
1 Candlestick
2 dough Cutters
2 Tin Kettles 8 gns.
3 Tin Pots
1 pr. Tin Scales
4 Biscuit Stamps
1 pr. Steelyards
1 lead Weights
18 Yds. duck sheeting
1 [illegible]
1 hand Saw

3 Tables
2 Tin Pans [27]

The list in the 1848 inventory is somewhat more sophisticated:

Bakehouse

2 large square headed Axes
1 iron weighing Beam & tin Scales
5 plain Blankets 3 points
2 water Buckets
1 tin Candlestick
2 duck sheeting
2 dough Cutters
1 Hammer
2 tin Kettles
2 tin Pans
1 jack Plane
2 tin pint Pots
1 hand Saw
1 iron Shovel
3 biscuit Stamps
1 pr. beam Steelyards, to weigh 110 lbs.
1 pr. beam Steelyards, to weigh 1400 lbs.
1 Canada single Stove 3 ft.
3 Tables
2 yeast Tubs [28]

Furnishings

Under the heading "Articles in Use," the Fort Vancouver inventory made during the spring of 1844 contains the following list of Company- owned items in the "Bake House":

1 round head Axe
1 water Bucket
1 Candlestick
2 dough Cutters
1 tin Kettle 8 gns.
2 tin Pots
1 tin Scales
2 Biscuit Stamp[s]
1 Steelyards 100 lbs.
3 lead Weights [25]

The inventory for 1845 listed practically the same items, but there were a few interesting variations:

1 Axe
2 Buckets
1 Candlestick
3 pln [plain] Blankets 2- 1/2 pts [points]
1 dough Cutter
1 Tin Kettle 8 gns
1 Tin pot 3 qts
1 pr Tin Scales
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1 pr. Steelyards
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18 Yds. duck sheeting
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2 water Buckets
1 tin Candlestick

2 duck sheeting
2 dough Cutters
1 Hammer
2 tin Kettles
2 tin Pans
1 jack Plane
2 tin pint Pots
1 hand Saw
1 iron Shovel
3 biscuit Stamps
1 pr. beam Steelyards, to weigh 110 lbs.
1 pr. beam Steelyards, to weigh 1400 lbs.
1 Canada single Stove 3 ft.
3 Tables
2 yeast Tubs [28]

Recommendations

- a. Reconstruction of the bakery should be in accordance with the data provided by the Kane sketch, the Yale painting, the Vavasour ground plan, and archeological evidence. The result should be a gable- roofed building of 1- 1/2 stories with the eave line at about the height of the palisade. The appended oven complex should have two chimneys at the east bakery wall, and the ovens should be covered by a wooden, shed- roofed structure without windows or exterior doors.
- b. Construction should be post- on- sill, with the posts about 10 feet apart. The center posts on the gable ends should not extend above the first story, since the upper story windows were in the center of the gable. The only doors and windows in the lower story should be in the west bakery wall. Windows were generally rather small at Fort Vancouver, and two or three were probably considered sufficient. The door should be near the center of the west wall. The windows should have exterior shutters.
- c. For the portion of the main bakery building which extended outside the stockade, the air space between the bottom of the sills and the ground should be filled with a tight row of upright planks or puncheons as revealed by the archeological excavations. These planks were sunk in the ground and apparently were fastened to the inside edges of the sills. It is known that the inhabitants of Fort Vancouver were troubled by skunks and other animals which invaded the area beneath the buildings. The puncheon barricade may well have been built to prevent the entry of these unwelcome visitors.

d. The presence of this puncheon wall and also the fact that the sills were on raised blocks makes it likely that the Fort Vancouver bakery had a raised wooden floor instead of one of earth despite the added fire hazard. Thus, the installation of a wooden floor is recommended. [29]

e. Additional research upon the design and equipment of bakeries and bake ovens in the 18th and early 19th centuries is recommended. The 12- volume Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, by Denis Diderot, Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, and others should be useful in this regard.

f. The fact that one inventory of the bakery included blankets makes it probable that the upper story was used as living quarters for one or more of the bakers. It is suggested therefore, that a part of the upper story be furnished for such use; the remainder perhaps was used as storage for flour and other baking supplies, as well as lumber and miscellaneous articles of fort equipment. The storage portion of the attic should include a trap door for raising and lowering stored items. There probably was a stairway to the upper floor, most likely with open treads and no hand rail.

g. The bakery should be painted white on the outside, except for the roof and the shed covering the ovens.

CHAPTER IV: ENDNOTES

1. John Warren Lease, Memorandum Book 1829, MS, entry for November 26, 1829, in Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa (hereafter cited as PAC). Among the structures considered loss essential than those for the trade were houses for the fort's "gentlemen." Ibid., entry for September 6, 1829.

2. Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, under the Direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in the Years 1835, '36, and '37... (Second edition, Ithaca, N. Y., 1840), 184.

3. H.B.C., York Factory Indent Books, 1823- 1838, H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fols. 155- 155d.

4. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandums to Chief, Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center [Fort Vancouver National Historic Site], April 1, May 3, July 1, 1971, MS, in files, National Park Service, Western Regional Office, San Francisco.

5. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 5. The meaning of the words "the first which have come here yet" is not quite clear, since there certainly were bricks at Fort Vancouver before 1844. As early as 1825 Chief Factor McLoughlin complained of the quality of the brick being sent from England to Fort Vancouver. H.B.S., IV, 1. And in 1841 Emmons described the magazine as "the only brick building." Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841. Perhaps Lowe meant that these were the first bricks from the Willamette Valley to reach the depot. George Gay, an English settler in the valley, had a brick house by 1844, although who made the bricks is not stated. Elijah White said that bricks had been made to a small extent in Oregon by 1843 and that there were then two persons in the region who understood the manufacture of bricks. Elijah White, A Concise View of Oregon Territory . . . (Washington, D. C., 1846), 17.
6. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 7.
7. The history of the harness shop is discussed in Chapter XXVII of this report.
8. George B. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June- September, 1962), 197. Roberts's opportunities to observe operations at Fort Vancouver extended over the periods 1831- 1842 and 1844- 1846, so it is not possible to be positive as to which bakery he had in mind. The employee rolls for Fort Vancouver do not list more than two bakers for any year; therefore, several of Roberts's four "bakers" must have been laborers or other employees assigned to assist.
9. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 188.
10. H.B.C.A., B.239/l/8, MS, 80; B.239/l/13, MS, 61; B.239/l/14, MS, 63; B.239/l/15, MS, 62; B.239/l/17, MS, 44; B.239/l/19, MS, 42; B.223/g/8, MS, 30. Petrain's name sometimes appears on the rolls as "Petraint."
11. H.B.C.A., B.223/g/9, MS, 11; B.239/l/20, MS, 43; B.239/l/22, MS, 41; B.239/l/23, MS, 37.
12. Compare the ground plan of the "Bake House" on the Vavasour map of 1845 (plate VI) with building no. 6, the "Bake house," on the plan drawn by a board of Army officers on June 15, 1860 (plate XXX).
13. Proceedings of a board of officers, which convened at Fort Vancouver, W. T. June 15, 1860, MS, in A. G. O., Ore. Dept., Doc. File 212- S- 1860, in War Records Division, the National Archives [records in the National Archives are cited as they were classified in 1947, when they were examined for Fort Vancouver materials].

14. Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America . . . (Toronto: The Radisson Society of Canada Limited, 1925), 116, 178. The drawing was made before early May, 1847, since it shows the Modeste at anchor in the Columbia River.
15. From certain stylistic details the present writer suspects that the artist may have been John Mix Stanley, who was in the Columbia region during the latter half of 1847 and the first half of 1848 and again in 1853.
16. This painting, reproduced in color, forms the frontispiece of Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver.
17. Br. & Am. Joint Co., Papers, [II], 8- 9, 19, 118- 119; T. C. Elliott, "British Values in Oregon, 1847," in OHQ, XXXII (March, 1931), 34.
18. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 176- 177, 183, 188.
19. There are two bakeries at Lower Fort Garry, one in the building used as a stable, and one in the northwest bastion. The latter was the main fort bake house and is that here described. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Historic Sites Service, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park (Informational folder, Ottawa, 1969).
20. J. J. Hoffman, Preliminary Draft of Report on Excavations at Fort Vancouver, Season 1970- 1971 (typewritten, Vancouver, Washington: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, 1971), 13. See also Louis R. Caywood, Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 1948 Season (Mimeographed, [San Francisco]: United States, Department of the Interior, National Park Service, [1949], 6.
21. Warre, Travels and Sport in North America, MS, 137- 138, in PAC.
22. Hoffman, Preliminary Draft of Report, MS, 14.
23. Hoffman, Preliminary Draft of Report, MS, 94. Three shutter latch nails were found in the bakery area during the 1970- 1971 excavations. Interview, J. A. Hussey with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver NHS, February 23, 1972.
24. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief, Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, [Fort Vancouver National Historic Site], July 1, 1971, MS.
25. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 165.

26. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, 143.

27. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/174, MS, 200; copy through courtesy of Mrs. Joan Craig, Archivist, Hudson's Bay Company.

28. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, 162; copy through courtesy of Mrs. Joan Craig, Archivist, Hudson's Bay Company.

29. No evidence of a hard- packed earth floor was discovered during archeological excavations. Interview, J. A. Hussey with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver NHS, February 23, 1972.

CHAPTER V: FLAGPOLE

History and location

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

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

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

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

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

As nearly as can be determined from the somewhat small scale of Vavasour's plan, the flagpole was situated about 22 or 23 feet north of the south stockade wall and about the same distance east of the southeast corner of the large warehouse labelled no. 8, "Stores," on the plan, "Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations, Fort Vancouver National Monument" (see [plate I](#)). When one examines this same "Summary Sheet," however, it is noted that excavations revealed two lines of pickets, about nine feet apart, along the south wall. The wall shown on the Vavasour plan was clearly the inner wall, as is shown by the fact that the distance between the wall and building no. 8 as shown by Vavasour coincides almost exactly with the distance between the Summary Sheet's inner wall and building no. 8 as revealed by archeological excavations. This conclusion is supported by historical evidence and by stockade construction details. [6]

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

Construction details

The flagstaff erected on December 21, 1844, is shown in several pictures of Fort Vancouver drawn during the next few years. None of these views is large enough in scale to provide all the details one could desire, but at least they all agree on one point: the flagstaff was a single pole without any visible bracing at the base (see plates [IX](#), [XII](#), [XVIII](#), [XXII](#)). As has been seen, Thomas Lowe recorded that the pole was "103 ft. in length." These words seem to indicate that this was the total length of the staff before erection; thus the above- ground height would have been somewhat less due to the base being buried in the soil.

The original pencil sketch of Fort Vancouver made in late 1845 or early 1846 by Lieutenant Henry J. Warre appears to show a round ball at the top of the flagstaff. [7] This same feature very definitely is indicated in the lithograph of the same scene published by Warre in 1848 ([plate IX](#)). [8] However, Warre's water color sketch, which evidently was sent to the engraver as a basis for the lithograph, shows no such ball atop the staff (see [plate X](#)).

The Coode water color view of the fort, which must have been painted between June, 1846 and May, 1847, perhaps gives the best representation of the flagstaff. This picture seems to show a fairly large device or decoration on the top of the pole. As nearly as can be made out, this object most resembles a modern wind gauge, but the small scale of the drawing permits no definite conclusion on this score (see plates [XI](#) and [XII](#)). No other known picture showing the pole adds any significant information. It should be noted, however, that it was fairly common practice at the larger Hudson's Bay Company posts to place a weather vane at the summit of the flagstaff. [\[9\]](#)

Flags

It was not the general custom at Hudson's Bay Company posts to display flags every day of the week. Describing the routine of life at Fort Garry during the 1840's Robert M. Ballantyne, a company clerk who later turned to the writing of fiction, noted that the flagstaff "was used on particular occasions, such as the arrival or departure of a brigade of boats." [\[10\]](#) Another employee, writing of conditions at Fort Qu'Appelle during the 1860's, recorded that the firm's flag was hoisted on Sundays and holidays and on the arrival or departure of important visitors and brigades. [\[11\]](#)

No particular attempt has been made during this study to examine the history or design of the flags employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Pictures of Fort Vancouver dating back to 1841, however, make it perfectly clear that by that date the post was displaying the Company flag which from at least 1818 until 1970 symbolized the firm at the far- flung posts scattered across the northern part of North America: the British red ensign with the letters "H.B.C." in white on the fly. [\[12\]](#)

During the present century, at least, it has been Company practice to join the letters "H" and "B" on the flag so that the firm's initials formed the symbol "HBC." In fact, one visitor to Fort Simpson on the Northwest Coast in 1868 sketched the flag flying there with the first two letters joined in this manner. [\[13\]](#) Undoubtedly the practice had an even earlier origin. [\[14\]](#)

However, there are several drawings of Fort Vancouver between 1841 and 1847 which distinctly show the flag, and all of them clearly indicate that the letters were separate. For examples, see plates [IV](#), [IX](#), and [XII](#). Further confirmation of this practice is given by a sketch of Fort Ellice made by Lieutenant Warre while he was traveling toward Oregon in June, 1845. This very clear picture shows the flag at that post with the letters unjoined. [\[15\]](#)

The inventories and indents of Fort Vancouver throw some light upon the flags used there, but it is difficult to interpret all of the information in the cryptic

entries. For instance, the "Columbia District" headquartered at Fort Vancouver ordered the following flags from London in its requisition for Outfit 1835 (to be shipped in 1833):

2 large H.B.C. Fort Flags 8 yards
1 small Union Fort Flags 3 yards [\[16\]](#)

In the Fort Vancouver Depot inventory for 1844, under the heading "Naval Stores," are listed the following:

2 burgee flags 6 yards fly
2 union flags 3 yards fly
1 union flags 2 yards fly [\[17\]](#)

A better idea of the range of flag sizes employed at Hudson's Bay Company posts in general may be obtained from the York Factory scheme indents for 1832. This list contains orders for flags under the following descriptions:

Flags Red Ensign 2 yards HB C
3 yards HB C
4 yards HB C
6 yards HB C
8 yards HB C [\[18\]](#)

There seems to have been another type of Company flag used at Fort Vancouver perhaps as early as 1849 or even before that date. The Fort Vancouver Historical Society of Vancouver, Washington, has in its possession a very large and obviously old flag which is said to have once flown over the Hudson's Bay Company's western headquarters. It is white, and on it in colors are painted the arms of the firm. [\[19\]](#)

It was given to Mr. Glen N. Rank, a leader in what first was known as the Fort Vancouver Restoration and Historical Society, in 1920 by Mr. C. H. French, then District Manager of the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, B. C. In transmitting this banner, Mr. French termed it a "house flag" and supplied the following information relating to it:

When I discovered it twenty years ago it was carefully stored away and labelled "Very old house flag used by Sir James Douglas." On further investigation old employees of the Company told me that it was brought from Vancouver, Washington, by Sir James Douglas when he moved here in 1849.

This constitutes the only available history on the flag. . . [\[20\]](#)

According to information supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company, this type of banner, though sometimes called a "house flag," was more frequently designated the "Governor's flag." It apparently was also flown on occasion by chief factors and by such persons as the Company's Deputy- Governor when he visited Rupert's Land. One account published in 1882 mentions that "a great white flag with the arms and motto (pro pelle cutem) of the Hudson's Bay Company" was flown from a York boat arriving at Norway House carrying the factor in charge of the district. [21] The similarity of this flag to the one now owned by the Fort Vancouver Historical Society is obvious. What appears to be a similar flag was flying at Norway House when that post was photographed in 1890. [22]

The "Governor's flag" was displayed at sea as well as at the Company's posts and on inland waters. One drawing shows that the coat- of- arms banner was flown on the firm's ships at least as early as 1767 or 1769. [23]

It is not known when the house flag ceased to be used at sea. On land, however, it still proudly flies, as is shown by the following extract from a letter written by the Company's librarian:

In this century the coat- of- arms was flown in Canada when the Governor was in residence; i.e., when the Governor visited Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, the flag was raised. This procedure was discontinued in 1951.

Since the transfer of the Company's Head Office from London, England, to Winnipeg, Canada, the coat of- arms flag has been flying from its Canadian headquarters at Hudson's Bay House, and the large Western Department Stores, in conjunction with the flag of Canada. [24]

Recommendations

It is suggested that an archeological search be conducted at the flagpole location described above for the remains of this feature. Such a search could be expected to reveal the exact site of the flagpole and information as to the diameter and bracing of the staff.

CHAPTER V: ENDNOTES

1. Frederick Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire; George Simpson's Journal. . .1824-1825 (Harvard Historical Studies, XXXI, Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 122- 124.

2. These sketches are those found in Henry Eld, *Journal, Statistics, &c., in Oregon and California*, MS, Sketch Book No. 1, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; and in Wilkes, *Narrative*, IV, 327. Because these pictures are similar in many respects, it is probable that the Eld view was the basis of the small illustration in the Wilkes volume, although it has been ascribed to Albert T. Agate. See *OHQ*, LXV (June 1964), 137. Another drawing perhaps based on the Wilkes view but with several independent features is found in *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, VII (September, 1850), 137. This latter picture, however, does not show the flagpole.

3. Lowe, *Private Journal*, MS, 4.

4. *Ibid.*, 11.

5. See plate VI. There are several versions or copies of this plan, which was an inset on a larger map entitled "Sketch of Fort Vancouver and Adjacent Plains," dated 1845. The copy used as a basis for the calculations described in this section was one in the records of the British Foreign Office, a reproduction of which was furnished to the National Park Service about 1947 through the courtesy of Mr. Howard J. Burnham of Vancouver, Washington. It was reproduced in Caywood, *Exploratory Excavations at Ft. Vancouver*, plates 31 and 32.

6. See discussion above in Chapter I on the stockade. At the time this report was written, archeologists had not yet excavated in the part of the fort site where the flagpole was located.

7. Henry James Warre, *Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory, By Captain H. Warre*, with an introduction by Archibald Hanna, Jr. (Barre, Massachusetts: Imprint Society, 1970), plate 40.

8. This view appears in Henry James Warre, *Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory* [London, 1848].

9. For an example, see the picture of Norway House in Erwin N. Thompson, *Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall Historic Structures Report, History Data Section* (multilithed, Washington, D. C.: National Park Service, May, 1970), plate 37.

10. Robert Michael Ballantyne, *The Young Fur- Traders: Snowflakes and Sunbeams* (London, Melbourne and Toronto: Ward, Lock & Co., Limited, n. d.), 20- 21.

11. Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867- 1874 on the Great Buffalo Plains . . . (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 213.

12. According to information in Company files, the "earliest specific reference" to the firm's red ensign was in 1818; its use was discontinued in 1970. Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith (Librarian, Hudson's Bay Company) to Mr. Robert E. S. Clark, Winnipeg, November 18, 1971, MS, in files, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

13. Emil Teichmann, A Journey to Alaska in the Year 1868. . . (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian Ltd., 1963), 105, 107.

14. The Archivist of the Hudson's Bay Company stated in 1963: "The earliest reference we have on file to the Company flag as it is in use to- day is dated 25 May 1818 when nine 'Ensigns 6 yds. red with the letters HB C sewed on ditto...'" were shipped from London to York Factory. Miss Alice M. Johnson to William R. Sampson, London, March 28, 1963, MS, in files, Fort Vancouver National Historical Site.

15. Henry J. Warre, Journal from Red River to the Columbia, 1845, MS, opp. p. 23, which is item 3 in the microfilm strip, Journals of Henry J. Warre, in The Public Archives of Canada.

16. H.B.C., York Factory Indent Books, 1823- 1838, H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fol. 134, from microfilm copy in The Public Archives of Canada.

17. H.B.C. Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 126.

18. H.B.C., York Factory, Scheme Indents, 1832, H.B.C.A., B.239/m/2, MS, from microfilm copy in The Public Archives of Canada. It will be noted that the "H" and "B" are joined in these specifications for the initials "H.B.C." However, by 1832 "HBC" was the commonly used symbol for the Company name, employed in shipping marks and other places. Possibly the use of this symbol in an order did not necessarily mean that the initials appeared so on the flag.

19. See Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, plate XXXIX, for a photograph of this flag; also Caywood, Final Report, frontispiece, for another version, probably a later copy. See also plate LIV of the present report for a picture of the first version.

20. C. H. French to Glen N. Rank, Victoria, B. C., June 7, 1920. MS, photocopy of the original in files of the Fort Vancouver Historical Society through the courtesy

of Mr. Robert E. S. Clark, Chief Park Interpreter, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

21. Miss Alice M. Johnson to William R. Sampson, London, March 28, 1963, MS, in files, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

22. Thompson, op. cit., plate 37.

23. Miss Alice M. Johnson to William R. Sampson, London, March 28, 1963. The Company's librarian, in a more recent communication, says that the earliest representation of this flag was in 1779. Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith to R. E. S. Clark, Winnipeg, November 8, 1971, MS, in files, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.

24. Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith to R. E. S. Clark, Winnipeg, November 8, 1971.

CHAPTER VI: BELFRY

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

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

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

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

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

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

that the "small" granary was the only granary known to have been within the pickets on the last day of 1844, the granary of the Vavasour map.

A much more useful hint as to the location of the belfry is found in Lowe's diary entry for August 8, 1845: "Commenced building a new Office, in front of the belfry [sic]." [9] The location of the New Office, as the structure was named, is known with precision from Vavasour's map and from archeological evidence. A belfry located behind the office would scarcely be described as being "behind" the granary of 1845, but this apparent discrepancy must remain one of the several unexplained minor mysteries of the fort's layout until further excavations produce the remains of the barrel of salt.

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

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

Recommendations

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

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

CHAPTER VI: ENDNOTES

1. Occasionally, as at Fort Langley in 1829 and Fort Nisqually in 1849, a post would be without a bell; in such cases a horn was sometimes substituted. Leechman, Notes and Comments, MS, section on bells.

2. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 329.

3. Beaver, Reports, 55. The use of the bell to regulate the daily routine was long a feature at many Company posts. As late as the period 1867- 1882 the schedule of bell soundings at Lower Fort Garry was as follows: 6:00 a.m. Work starts. 7:30 a.m. Breakfast. 8:30 a.m. Return to work. 1:00 p.m. Dinner. 2:00 p.m. Return to work. 6:00 p.m. Work closes (5:00 p.m. on Saturdays). "Lower Fort Garry, in The Beaver, Outfit 266, no. 3 (December, 1935), 35- 36.

In 1840 Mrs. Letitia Hargrave, wife of the post manager at York Factory on Hudson Bay, mentioned in a letter that the bell there was rung "always 6 times a day, but on particular days still more frequently," and she complained that all the dogs about the establishment "began howling while the noise continues." Margaret Arnett MacLend, ed., The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXVIII, Toronto, 1947), 79.

4. John Sebastian Helmcken, A Reminiscence of 1850, MS, 4, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Helmcken, speaking of conditions at Fort Victoria in 1850, also mentions (p. 2) the dogs which assembled under the bell at every meal and howled, "the howling being taken up by some dogs in the Indian village opposite."

5. Beaver, op. cit., 55.

6. Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841.

7. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, II.

8. For a discussion of this point see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, p. 187, note 250.

9. Lowe, op. cit., 21.

10. See plates XI and XII. The unsigned painting of c.1847- 1848 in the Yale University Library also seems to show this single- mast belfry rising behind the New Office (see plate XVI).

11. See plate XXII. This same feature seems also to be shown in a drawing which may date from 1854 (see plate XX).

12. See plates XXVII and XXVIII.

CHAPTER VII: WELLS

History and location

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

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

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

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

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

At any rate, it is apparent that a well in the northwest quarter of the stockade enclosure underwent some type of renovation during February, 1845. This was seemingly the well shown by Vavasour since one reconstructed in February probably would not have been replaced by the end of the year. This well, indicated on the Vavasour plan as being just north of the Beef Store and about 45 feet west of the granary, is termed "Well No. 1" in the balance of this report.

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

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

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

Construction details

a. Well No. 1. The Vavasour map shows this well as a rectangle which according to the scales on two different versions of the plan measures between 25 and 28 feet on one side and between 18 and 20 feet on the other (see plates [VI](#) and [VIII](#)). The inventory of the Hudson's Bay Company property made during the winter of 1846- 1847 listed "one well house, 24 x 18 feet." [13] Almost certainly these data refer to the same structure. Unfortunately, there seems to be no known picture of this building which stood over Well No. 1, nor has any archeological evidence concerning its dimensions or construction yet been uncovered.

Much more information is available concerning the well itself. It was partially excavated by the National Park Service in 1952. Under the site of the well house as

shown by the Vavasour plan was found a pit about 15 feet deep and roughly 15 feet square, with rounded corners. In the lower third of the pit were found many artifacts dating from the Hudson's Bay Company period. The upper portion of the pit was filled with dirt, rocks, and trash. Objects recovered here seemed to date from about 1870 to 1900. There was no evidence of walls or other structural elements on the sides of the pit.

At the bottom of the pit, 15 feet below present ground level, the well shaft was discovered. It measured slightly less than five feet square and was cribbed with 6-inch by 8-inch timbers which interlocked at the corners. The shaft was opened to a depth of about eight feet but, due to the danger of cave-in, the exploration was abandoned before the bottom of the well was reached. The well was then backfilled, but an excellent diagram in Mr. Caywood's report preserves a record of the cribbing construction (see plate [LVI](#)). [[14](#)]

As Mr. Caywood so aptly states, if the cribbing had originally extended to the ground surface, there is now no way of knowing it, since the large 15' x 15' pit, if dug at a date after the well had been constructed, would have obliterated all evidence. Mr. Caywood suggests that the space between the ground surface and the cribbing - - the 15' x 15' pit, 15' deep — may have been used for the storage of perishable foods, but no archeological evidence of its use, "other than as well and deposit for refuse," was discovered. [[15](#)]

One object found during the excavation tends to support the view that the cribbing did not extend to the ground surface. Mr. Caywood's description of this discovery is as follows:

During the excavation of Well No. 1, a windlass, complete with iron ferrules and crank handles, was found across the top of the cribbed well shaft. The drum had been made of a fir log and was still in a good state of preservation. The windlass was found in place and would substantiate the theory that water was drawn from the lower level, some twelve to fourteen feet below the [1845?] ground level. The larger excavation above the well shaft must have been used as a "spring house" or cooling room for perishables. [[16](#)]

b. Well No. 2. During the 1952 excavations a search was made for this well by running a trench over the site as shown on the Vavasour ground plan. At a depth of about four feet an area of gravel fill was encountered which, on exploration, proved to measure about 24' x 21'. Near the center of this fill area a number of large boulders were found. When these were cleared away a circle of stones forming the top of the well was revealed. There were 15 rocks, averaging about 13 inches in thickness, in this circle. The shaft opening was 5.2 feet in diameter.

The well was filled with large stream boulders, some of which were believed to have weighed between 300 and 400 pounds. These were removed and the well cleared down to water level, 25.6 feet below the collar and 29.8 feet below the present ground surface. As far as it was excavated, the circular shaft was lined with boulders.

Mr. Caywood, who directed the uncovering of the well, made some interesting speculations concerning the method of its original construction:

When the Hudson's Bay Company dug the well, they probably made an excavation nearly 17 feet square. This is indicated by the gravel fill area round the well. Then, from the bottom of this excavation they began to lay the stone well lining, thus building it up towards ground level. At the same time, they refilled behind the lining with clean gravel. When they were through, they had stone lined well shaft only 5.2 feet across and over 25 feet deep. The lining is still as sturdy today as it was then. [17]

Early in 1971 additional archeological testing was conducted in the vicinity of Well No. 2. The complete report on this work is not yet available, but Mr. J. J. Hoffman, in charge of the excavations, believes that earlier conclusions concerning the structural details of this well will have to be altered. "We now know," he reported on February 1, 1971, "that strangely shaped masonry structures lay deeply buried around the well shaft." [18]

No picture has yet been found that shows the aboveground structure of Well No. 2; neither were any remains reported as the result of the archeological explorations. Any reconstruction, therefore, will have to be based upon typical wells at other Hudson's Bay Company posts. Unfortunately, information on this subject seems scanty.

It was noted that in 1876 Fort Ellice possessed a "fine well" which was located near the chief factor's house. The only structural information given about this well, however, was that it had "the proverbial oaken bucket attached to a rope and chain." [19]

Recommendations

Although the archeological excavations of 1952 probably destroyed any traces which might have remained of the well house at Well No. 1, it is suggested that additional searching be done. The most promising areas appear to lie to the south and east of the 1952 excavations, which may not have extended far enough at this site to reach the footings.

It is also recommended that a search be made on and near the site of the Beef Store for possible remains of the well shown in the Emmons ground plan. It would also be desirable to explore the site of the device which seems to be a fire-fighting pump shown in the courtyard in the 1860 photographs. It is possible that a well might also be found in that location.

There seems little chance that further excavation at Well No. 2 will reveal important information about a structure which must have at least roofed that feature. On the other hand, such work seems to offer the only hope of learning anything about the aboveground appearance of the well.

CHAPTER VII: ENDNOTES

1. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 378.
2. Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841. See plate III. It will be noted that this location was convenient to the Big House as it must have been placed when first moved down to the new fort site in 1829.
3. James Dwight Dana, Notebooks kept while Serving as Geologist on the U. S. Exploring Expedition, 1838- 1842, MS, [III], [n.p.], in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library.
4. Wilkes, op. cit., IV, 378.
5. Caywood, Final Report, 21.
6. Mr. Caywood supported the latter view and suggested that the abandoned 1841 well might be found by archeological testing at the site shown by Emmons. Ibid., 21- 22.
7. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 13.
8. Caywood, Final Report, 22. Vavasour definitely stated that the fort contained two wells, thus implying that there were no more at the time of his visit. Schafer, "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnoissance," in OHQ, X (March, 1909), 85- 86.

9. See plate LV.
10. Schafer, "Documents Relative to Warre and Vavasour's Military Reconnoissance, in OHQ, X (March, 1909), 85- 86.
11. Report of a board of officers, January 23, 1854, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 104- 106.
12. Susan Kardas, 1969 Excavations at the Kanaka Village Site, Fort Vancouver, Washington (typescript, Bryn Mawr College, May, 1970), 97- 100.
13. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 118- 119; Elliott, "British Values in Oregon, 1847," in OHQ, XXXII (March, 1931), 32- 35.
14. Caywood, Final Report, 20- 21.
15. Ibid., 21.
16. Caywood, Final Report, 44- 45.
17. Caywood, Final Report, 22.
18. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief, Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, [Fort Vancouver National Historic Site], February 1, 1971, MS.
19. The Beaver, vol. I, no. 5 (February 1921), 16.

CHAPTER VIII: WASH HOUSE

History and location

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Construction details

Practically nothing is known concerning the physical structure of the wash house. The only reasonable basis for estimating the dimensions (since the Emmons plan of 1841 has no scale and is known to be inaccurate in its proportions) is the Vavasour plan. On that basis the building would have been about 15 feet by 30 feet in size, with the long dimension running north and south (see [plate VII](#)).

Because of its age (pre- 1841), the structure almost certainly was roofed with boards. In such case the ridge of the gable roof would have been north and south. If the wooden blocks found during archeological excavation actually represent footings, it can be assumed with some confidence that the building was of the usual post- on- sill construction. According to the Emmons plan, there were three doors in the west wall of the wash house.

Recommendations

- a. Since it is now practically certain that the wash house existed in late 1845, there is no longer any reason to hesitate to include it among the buildings to be reconstructed.
- b. Since no information whatsoever has been found concerning the interior arrangements of a wash house at any Company post, it is recommended that only the exterior shell be constructed in conformity with usual Company building practices. The interior may, if such action appears administratively desirable, well be devoted to some utilitarian purpose, such as use as visitor restrooms.

CHAPTER VIII: ENDNOTES

1. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 118- 119.
2. J. Ballenden to A. Barclay, Fort Vancouver, November 23, 1852, in H.B.C.A., B.223/b/40, MS, fols. 42- 43.
3. Ibid. The identity of the intervening new building has not yet been ascertained.
4. J. Ballenden to J. Douglas and J. Work, Fort Vancouver, December 6, 1852, in ibid., fols. 44- 45.
5. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 104- 106.
6. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 75- 77.
7. Caywood, Final Report, 7.
8. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandums to Chief, Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, [Fort Vancouver National Historic Site], April 1, July 1, 1971, MS.

CHAPTER IX: BIG HOUSE

History and location

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

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

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

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

When Fort Vancouver was moved from atop the bluff down onto the river plain during the winter of 1828- 1829, the Company's officers as usual paid more attention to providing shelter for the trade goods, provisions, and furs than to housing the employees, including themselves. By the middle of March, 1829, construction of the new post was well under way. [8] Work had then progressed

far enough for the American trapper, Jedediah Smith, to observe that the stockade was about 300 feet square. [9] Yet a visitor arriving as late as September 6 of that year could find no roof under which to sleep. All the "gentlemen" -- the chief factors, chief traders, and clerks -- he recorded, were still housed in lodges or tents. [10]

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

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

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

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

W. H. Gray, who reached Vancouver with the Whitman party of missionaries in the fall of 1836, found three cannons centered in front of the chief factor's residence, "all pointing to the main gate entrance." [20] Although the stockaded area perhaps had been doubled in size by 1836, the main gate at that time almost

certainly was the entrance to the original fort about midway along the south wall (line DE) of the 318 feet by 320 feet enclosure.

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

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

Almost nothing is known of the interior arrangement of the first Big House. Evidently the front door gave entry to a central hall. "On the right" of this hall, which may also have been the dining room or "common hall," was a room used by Dr. McLoughlin as his private office and sitting room. [23] Divine service was held on Sundays and at other times in the "messroom" in McLoughlin's house, and in 1836 the chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Herbert Beaver, complained of interruptions arising "from the occupancy of part of the same building by several families who do not attend me." From this fact it can be deduced that, as at many other Company posts, the living quarters were entered from the central dining hall. [24]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But merely to summarize the events which took place in the manager's residence from 1838 to the 1850's would practically amount to the writing of a history of Fort Vancouver, a project quite beyond the scope of this report. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to mentioning a random series of occurrences which

illustrate the uses of the structure, convey some idea of the quality of life within its walls, or throw light upon the physical structure itself.

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

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

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

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

On March 25 of the next year there was another gala occasion connected with important visitors. Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour of the British Army were about to set off overland for Canada with the Company's express. "We took our last dinner in the Hall and drank the stirrup Cup after

which we were accompanied to the beach by all the Gentlemen of the Establishment," wrote Warre in his diary. [42] He threw further light on the festivities in another document. "The gentlemen in charge of the Fort," he said, "also gave a grand dinner in the large dining hall at which many civil speeches were made." [43]

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

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

[December 25, 1844]. Christmas. . . . Holyday to all hands. . . . Divine Service in the Church, forenoon and afternoon. Had a card party in Dr. McLoughlin's room in the evening, and a Supper afterwards.

[December 26, 1844]. A holyday also. Another card party, and a dance in Bachelor's Hall.

[January 1, 1845]. We had a ball in the evening up stairs, which was kept up till 2 o'clock next morning. Men comparatively quiet. [45]

[December 31, 1845]. Singing, dancing, and all kinds of fun carried on to a late or rather early hour in Bachelor's Hall, ushering in the New Year. Several of the Junior Officers from the "Modeste" and a number of the other visitors were with us.

[January 1, 1846]. Visited all the ladies in the Fort to wish them a Happy New Year and many returns. A dance in the evening in the large Mess Hall, at which all the ladies were present.

[January 2, 1846]. A holyday still. . . . Another ball this evening at which all the ladies of the Establishment and all the officers of the "Modeste" who could be spared were present. . . . Broke up dancing at midnight and sat down to supper. Adjourned afterwards to Bachelor's Hall where we continued singing and enjoying ourselves until 4 in the morning. [46]

[January 1, 1847]. Had a very excellent dinner at Fort, but none of the Officers of the "Modeste" were present. . . . In the evening we had a splendid ball up in the Hall, which went off remarkably well, and was kept up until 3 o'clock in the

morning, after which we sat down to supper. Most of the Officers of the "Modeste" were at the Ball, and all the Ladies of the Fort. [47]

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

[March 29, 1845]. Mr. [Chief Trader] [Richard] Grant was married this afternoon to Mrs. [Eleanor] Kittson in the Hall, at which we all were present. [48]

[October 24, 1845]. A card party and supper up stairs in celebration of Cecilia Douglas' eleventh birthday. [49]

[January 7, 1849]. A band of the sailors came up this afternoon from the Modeste and forming into line before the Big House struck up God save the Queen and Rule Brittannia accompanied in the music by the Sergeant of marines playing on the fife. They were taken up stairs by Mr. Douglas and got something to drink. [50]

[January 12 1850]. Another dance to night, in the Second Hall. . . [51]

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

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

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

Lowe's mention of Chief Factor James Douglas and his daughter Cecilia calls attention once again to the fact that more than one family resided in the Big House. Lieutenant George Foster Emmons found during the summer of 1841 that

"Dr. McLaughlin & Mr. Douglass" inhabited the "commander's residence." [52] Evidently this arrangement was continuous from the time the mansion was first inhabited in 1838 until January 17, 1846, when Mrs. McLoughlin "and all her household" left Fort Vancouver to take up residence in the house Dr. McLoughlin had prepared for them in Oregon City. [53] Even while the Doctor had been in Europe on furlough during 1838 and 1839 Mrs. McLoughlin and her family had continued to occupy their usual quarters in the Big House. [54]

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

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

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

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

Regardless of whether there were other permanent residents, there certainly were occasions when visitors were housed in the mansion. It seems to have been

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

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

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

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

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

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

continued to occupy that structure even after he succeeded to the manager's position. [72]

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

Construction details

a. General description and dimensions. The second Big House (1838- 1860) made a distinct and generally favorable impression upon a long succession of observers over the years of its existence, yet there apparently exists no really satisfactory description of it. When all the available evidence - - written, pictorial, and archeological - - is analyzed, the resultant body of demonstrable facts is amazingly small. Nothing is known, for instance, of the interior room arrangement. Still, more information is at hand concerning the manager's residence than most other fort structures, a situation which says much about the state of our knowledge regarding Fort Vancouver.

When Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the United States Navy visited the Company's western depot in 1841, the first thing that attracted his eye inside the enclosure was the mansion. "At one end," he wrote, "is Dr. McLaughlin's house, built after the model of the French Canadian, of one story, weather- boarded and painted white. It has a piazza and small flower- beds, with grape and other vines, in front. Between the steps are two old cannons on sea- carriages, with a few shot." [75]

Silas Holmes, assistant surgeon with the Wilkes expedition, also recorded his reaction. "The house occupied by Dr. McLaughlin," he wrote in his journal, "is a very neat and comfortable residence, well furnished and prettily situated; and in it during the detention of the brig at Fort Vancouver, I spent many very agreeable hours." [76]

Despite Wilkes's testimony, observers often described the residence as a two-story building. [77] Unfortunately, one cannot determine whether they were speaking of the actual interior arrangement or whether they used the term "two-story" to convey the impression of the exterior created by the fact that the main floor was raised five or six feet above the ground, with the space beneath being used as a basement or cellar for the storage of wines and spirits. [78]

The broad, general view of the Big House conveyed by the words of Wilkes is confirmed by the three known pictures in which substantial portions of the structure are clearly visible. Two of these pictures are photographs taken by members of the British Boundary Commission in May, 1860 (see plates [XXVII](#) and [XXIX](#)). The third is a water color sketch in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in London (see [plate XII](#)). Though unsigned and undated, it almost certainly was drawn by Lieutenant T. P. Coode, an officer on H. M. S. Modeste, between June 18, 1846, and May 3, 1847. [\[79\]](#)

The residence was built in the usual Canadian fashion, that is, of squared timbers set into upright grooved posts. At least such is the inference which can be drawn from Wilkes's description already quoted, together with his statement that the granary was the only frame building in the fort, "the rest being built of logs." [\[80\]](#) Archeological evidence, the finding of footings on ten-foot centers, confirms this conclusion. [\[81\]](#) Unlike its predecessor, however, the second Big House was covered with horizontal, lapped board siding on the exterior.

A close examination of the 1860 photographs reveals that the walls of the mansion rose for some distance - - evidently about four feet or four and a half feet - - above the tops of the window and door openings on the main floor. This fact makes it virtually certain that a typical Hudson's Bay Company building technique was employed in constructing the Big House, even though the framing details are hidden by the exterior siding.

This technique consisted of supporting the ceiling beams or joists by mortising them into or, more often, through the heavy, fixed headers that ran around the building directly over the door and window openings. These headers were usually pegged to the upright posts so that there would be no movement when the timbers shrank. Perhaps the most common practice was not to rest the joists on the actual header timbers themselves but on the timbers of the course immediately above the headers. Occasionally the joists were mortised into the second tier above the headers. [\[82\]](#)

By continuing the walls for two or more feet upward above the ceiling joist level, additional headroom was obtained for a second story, loft, or attic. Such upstairs rooms were often placed in Company dwellings which were little or no greater in roof elevation than the Fort Vancouver Big House, though in such cases dormer windows were frequently provided for light and ventilation. [\[83\]](#) No evidence of dormers on the manager's residence at Fort Vancouver has been found, but the fact that there was sufficient height upstairs for a room or rooms has significant implications which will be discussed when the interior arrangement is considered.

The earliest available map of Fort Vancouver provided with a scale so that the sizes of individual buildings can be determined is the ground plan drawn by Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour of the Royal Engineers late in 1845. His "Dwelling House" shown on the site of the manager's residence scales out to 70 by 40 feet (see [plate VII](#)).

When the Company's officers in charge of the Columbia Department learned of the Oregon boundary treaty, they ordered an inventory taken at all posts which lay in United States territory south of the 49th parallel. At Fort Vancouver this listing was made under the supervision of Clerk Thomas Lowe late in 1846 and was completed on time to be taken east to Norway House by him with the spring express in 1847. According to this inventory, which on the whole archeological excavations have shown to be remarkably accurate, the "dwelling house" for the principal officer measured 70 feet by 40 feet. [\[84\]](#)

Major D. H. Vinton of the United States Army, who inspected the building in 1849, recorded its dimensions as 80 by 40 feet. [\[85\]](#) Footings discovered during archeological excavations in 1950 and 1971 confirmed the Vavasour and the 1846-1847 inventory dimensions of 70 by 40 feet. [\[86\]](#) These measurements were for the building proper; the veranda extended an additional seven feet across the southern side of the house.

b. Footings, other foundations, and "cellar". Exploratory archeological excavations during 1948 failed to produce evidence of the footings of the exterior walls of the Big House, but somewhat to the west of where the building's center was believed to be a couple of blocks of wood, possible footings, were found. Associated with these pieces of wood was a fairly extensive area of "stone, brick, and plaster." Mr. Caywood believed this rubble "undoubtedly" constituted the foundation of the fireplace. Directly south of this foundation the remains of a post were found, from which a row of upright wooden slabs extended for about ten feet in a southerly direction. [\[87\]](#)

During the 1950 season the archeologists located the key footings of the Big House, those establishing the four corners of a 40 x 70- foot rectangle. Enough exterior wall footings were found along the north and east walls to reveal their spacing as ten feet. All of the west footings were "in a burned condition." Mr. Caywood reported that the corner footings" were different from any other footings found in that they consisted of two 3- inch by 8- inch wooden blocks set one on top of the other. [\[88\]](#)

In 1971 it was at last possible to make a complete and careful excavation of the entire Big House site. The results were of much importance for the proposed reconstruction project. For one thing, they confirmed Mr. Caywood's conclusion

that the footings of the structure were "different." Mr. J. J. Hoffman, Project Archeologist, wrote in a progress report:

Among other things, investigation of the Chief Factor's house revealed an interesting variation of the Canadian "post- in- sill" construction technique. Vertical corner posts of the house were found to be tenoned through both sills and sub- surface footings. The sub- surface portions were packed in stone after joining of the wooden pieces, resulting in exceptionally strong corners. [89]

As suggested by these quoted words, the archeologists in 1971 found evidence that the footings - - "short, transverse" blocks of wood placed at intervals of about 10 to 10.5 feet around much of the perimeter of a 70 x 40- foot rectangle - - supported a series of massive wooden sills upon which, in turn, the walls of the building rested. [90] No signs of interior supports for the floor joists were found.

The area of stone and brick rubble found by Mr. Caywood was also thoroughly examined in 1971. "By carefully taking apart the hearth area at the center of the house, we finally found an intact portion of it," reported Mr. J. J. Hoffman. "The only intact portion was the very base of the chimney and firebox consisting of partially dressed stone laid without mortar in a rectangle 4.00 by 2.75 plus feet." [91] The west edge of this chimney base was found to be about 25 feet east of the west wall foundation line; the north edge was about 23 feet south of the north wall foundation line.

The archeologists noted that this chimney base area seemed to be "out of context in its upper portions." They noted that the base did not appear to match the location of the chimney as shown in the 1860 photographs. Some of the bricks in the hearth area showed signs of having been painted - - some blue and some green. Significantly no signs whatever of a second chimney were found within the Big House foundations. [92]

Excavations also revealed the evident location of the "cellar" door shown in one of the 1860 photographs. Between the first and second footings from the north in the west wall, an intervening footing equidistant from each, was uncovered. The purpose of this footing, undoubtedly, was to support the upright post forming one jamb of the cellar door. From the photograph, it seems clear that the door was in the opening which was from 15 to 20 feet south of the northwest corner of the building rather than in that which was from 10 to 15 feet south of the same point. Due to the thickness of the upright posts, the actual door opening must have been only about four feet wide. What may have been a part of the basement door hardware was recovered.

Between the door and the chimney base there was some evidence that the ground had been excavated to a depth of about two feet, but a precise definition of the

excavated area could not be obtained. Also, the historical evidence was confirmed by the discovery of metal spigots, bottle glass, and other artifacts which indicated "that the western portion of the crawl space beneath the house was used for liquor storage." [93]

Archeological evidence, in the form of several "isolated" footings, was found of the veranda across the front of the house. These footings were centered about seven feet south of the main dwelling wall. "Minimal" traces of the front stairs were also uncovered.

Remains of "at least one fence line" that outlined the garden in front of the mansion were discovered. Project Archeologist Hoffman considered this fence to be of "a late period." He described it as "exceptionally strong in construction." The primary supports for this fence, he stated, "consisted of squared, vertical posts set into subsurface wooden footings. In turn, the wooden footings rested on bricks that served as supportive and leveling devices." These footings were centered along a line about 7.5 feet south of the outer edge of the veranda. How far the fence extended at the sides of the building is not so clear. On the west side, evidently, the fence was about 5.5 feet west of the main house wall and extended northward for about 10 feet beyond the southwest corner of the main dwelling. [94]

c. Chimney. Somewhat amazingly, there appears to have been only one chimney in the manager's residence. Certainly there was only one in the front, or south, half of the building. The two 1860 photographs show all of the west and south roof slopes. One chimney can be seen rising from the south slope, apparently located three or four feet south of the ridge line and several feet west of a line which would mark the east- west center of the structure (see plates [XXVII](#) and [XXIX](#)). Although the east roof face cannot be seen in these photographs, it is probable that a chimney in the forepart of that slope would be visible on the skyline.

Moreover, there is positive evidence in support of the theory that there was no chimney on the east side of the mansion. An undated, unsigned oil painting of Fort Vancouver now on display in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University shows every evidence of having been executed with care. This painting clearly shows the east portion of the Big House roof, and no chimney is visible (see [plate XVI](#)). [95]

The rear or north face of the roof is well shown in a pencil sketch of Fort Vancouver drawn by George Gibbs on July 2, 1851. No evidence of a chimney can be discerned in this view (see [plate XVIII](#)).

With all possible sites for a second chimney eliminated, one is left to ponder upon how a house 70 by 40 feet in size was warmed in the days before central heating in the Pacific Northwest. The men of the Hudson's Bay Company thought nothing of running stove pipe through walls and across the upper parts of rooms for considerable distances, but spans of up to 30 feet, with several pipes running across the main dining hall, seem improbable. One can only conclude that the rooms on the perimeter, particularly on the east end, were unheated.

As shall be seen during the detailed discussion of the dining hall furnishings, the historical record proves that there was at least one stove in the Big House. No other information about the heating arrangements is provided by the written sources thus far examined. [96]

It is possible, however, that there was a fireplace opening into a room in one of the living quarters. Certainly the chimney foundation uncovered during archeological explorations was sufficiently large to support a fireplace.

The construction of such a foundation even at as large a post as Fort Vancouver was no simple matter in 1837- 1838. There was no large surface source of stone in the immediate vicinity of the post, and the rock for the filling, even if brick was used for the exterior shell, must have been brought from a distance by boat or cart. And the quantity of stone required must have been considerable, because the floor was so high off the ground.

All in all, the problem undoubtedly was similar to that faced by John Work when he built Fort Simpson on the Northwest Coast during the summer of 1835. He noted in his journal that building the chimney was a "laborious job," particularly since the foundation, measuring 18 feet by 12 feet had to be "sunk 8 feet below the flooring, and requires a great quantity of stones to fill it up." The clay for the mortar and most of the rocks had to be brought "a considerable distance" by water, and burning shells into lime also proved tedious "as the people are not acquainted with the proper mode." It is interesting to note that the flooring in the dwelling was not laid until the chimney was practically finished. [97]

As is clearly shown by the 1860 photographs, the chimney proper was of brick. At the third course of bricks below the top, a protruding brick ledge served to define the cap.

d. Roof. The roof of the Big House is shown with reasonable clarity in a number of drawings and photographs of Fort Vancouver. The earliest of these, evidently, is the water color sketch made by Lieutenant Coode, probably between September, 1846, and May 3, 1847 (plates [XI](#) and [XII](#)). Of about the same date must be the pencil drawing made by the Canadian artist, Paul Kane, who visited the post at intervals between December 8, 1846, and July 1, 1847 ([plate XIV](#)). [98]

Somewhat later, seemingly, is the undated oil painting at Yale University (plates [XV](#) and [XVI](#)). A particularly good view of the roof is provided by the pencil drawing made by George Gibbs on July 2, 1851 ([plate XVIII](#)). And of course the two 1860 photographs show the roof with great sharpness (plates [XXVII](#) and [XXIX](#)). Several other pictures falling in between the 1846- 1847 and 1860 views in date but of less importance as far as the Big House roof is concerned, will be found among the illustrations to this report.

All of these pictures agree on one point: the roof of the manager's residence was hipped in the style so much favored at Hudson's Bay Company posts across the entire continent. The use of hip boards and ridge boards is shown in the 1860 photographs, and it undoubtedly is safe to assume that this practice extended back to the completion of the structure in 1838 in conformity with usual Company custom.

The Coode water color of about September, 1846, to May, 1847, date and the 1860 photographs all show the roof of the Big House as being covered with shingles. As we have seen, the shingling of the mansion was reported by Clerk Thomas Lowe as having begun on August 27, 1846. [\[99\]](#)

The inference is that the roof had not been shingled prior to that date. If the memory of W. H. Gray was correct, "all" the "houses" erected in the new or eastern portion of the fort enclosure in or about 1836 were roofed with boards. [\[100\]](#) As we shall note under the histories of the individual structures, however, the fort buildings began to be shingled during the early 1840's. The shingles ordinarily were laid with four inches exposed to the weather. [\[101\]](#) Outfit 1844 (the business year beginning June 1, 1844, and ending May 31, 1845) appears to have been a period of unusual activity in the installation of shingle roofs, for the Vancouver Depot imported from the Company's mills at Willamette Falls 98 3/4 thousand cedar, fir, and pine shingles. [\[102\]](#)

Thus it is virtually certain that the Big House started out as a board- covered structure and that it was not shingled until the surge of new construction in 1844 and 1845 had subsided somewhat.

The use of boards by the Company to cover hipped- roof buildings was not at all unusual. A fine specimen of this type of covering survived on the manager's residence at Fort Colville, on the Columbia River near the present Canadian boundary, until at least 1860 (see [plate LVII](#)). The planks were ranged vertically, and their upper ends were covered by ridge and hip boards.

Because the boards had a tendency to crack as they weathered and because the knots in the wood often worked loose after a time, the plank roofs frequently

leaked. One method of overcoming this difficulty was to apply the boards in double or triple thickness, batten fashion (see plates [LVIII](#) and [LIX](#)).

William H. Gray said that in 1836 the roofs at Fort Vancouver were covered with sawed boards, one foot wide, one inch thick, "with grooves in the edges of the boards, placed up and down upon the roof." [103] Perhaps this technique was the same as that employed by the Russians on the roof of the commander's house at Fort Ross on the California coast. There the boards were grooved and applied as follows:

Figure 5.

(Based on information supplied by Mr. A. L. Koue.)

From the 1860 photographs it will be noted that the roof was extended, at a diminished slope, across the entire front of the Big House to form a cover for the veranda. The front edge was supported by 14 narrow poles, evidently metal pipes or rods, and by an additional short center pole that rose from an arch of the same rod or pipe. These rods seemingly descended behind the porch rail and rested on the porch floor or sill. Where the porch roof rafters joined the main house at the eave line, there probably were knee braces of some sort to provide support. At least, what appears to be such a support seems to be visible at the west end of the porch roof in the 1860 photograph.

The 1860 photograph also shows a gutter at the eave line along the west side of the house, with a drainpipe at the northwest corner emptying into a barrel. It seems reasonable to assume that the gutter continued along the north and east faces. Across the front of the residence, however, the only gutter was a U-shaped trough, evidently metal, which was suspended over the entrance opening in the porch rail. The principal roof gutter, as nearly as can be determined from the picture, was simply a V-shaped wooden trough.

At many Hudson's Bay Company posts it was standard procedure to keep ladders fixed to the roofs for access in case of fire and for cleaning chimneys. Thus far no written or pictorial sources have been found indicating that this practice was followed at Fort Vancouver. As shown by the 1860 photograph, wooden cleats affixed over the shingles served the same purpose on the roof of the Big House.

e. Exterior finish. As has been seen, Lieutenant Wilkes described the Big House as "weather-boarded" as early as 1841. Since the Coode water color of 1846- 1847 and the 1860 photographs show the same type of exterior covering, it may be assumed that this lapped finish marked the structure throughout its existence.

The technique of applying the weatherboarding and its attendant corner boards is well illustrated by a photograph of corner details on an 1830's building at Norway House (see [plate LX](#)).

Existing evidence points to the probability that the governor's residence had only three exterior doors: The front entrance in the center of the south wall at the main floor level; the rear entrance at the center of the north wall, also evidently at the main floor level; and a low door at ground level in the west wall giving entrance to the "cellar." The west and south doors are clearly shown in the 1860 photograph of the house ([plate XXIX](#)); the Emmons ground plan of 1841 gives the locations of the south and north doors ([plate III](#)). The probability that the north door was at main floor level is discussed in greater detail in the section of this chapter dealing with the room arrangement.

The cellar door was a simple affair with vertical boards on its external face. From what can be seen in the 1860 photograph, it had two leaves, opening in the center, with a lock of some undeterminable type. Because of the liquor stored beneath the house, it is probable that the door was at least two boards thick, in which case, if usual Company practice was followed, the inner planks would have been applied diagonally or horizontally. Commonly the boards for such doors were tongued and grooved; the edges on the exterior surface were often beaded. [[104](#)]

Unfortunately, the front door seems to have been open when the members of the British Boundary Commission photographed the house in 1860. At least no details of the door proper are visible. It can be assumed, however, that the door would have been in keeping with the general dignity of the building and with the station of the officer who lived there. Fort Vancouver had carpenters quite capable of turning out delicate sash and panelled doors. Photographs of the officers' quarters doors at two Pacific Coast Hudson's Bay Company posts are available to indicate how that on the Big House may have been constructed. [[105](#)]

No information whatever is available concerning the rear door.

The only pictures which show the windows of the Big House in any meaningful way are the photographs of 1860. These views reveal that there were six principal windows across the front of the building, three on each side of the main door. There were also two on the west wall. Evidently all of these full-sized windows were in the French style, opening outward at the center. Each sash, marked by extremely narrow muntins, contained 14 panes of glass.

Window glass for Fort Vancouver was requisitioned from England, and over a long period of years it came in three standard sizes, 7 x 9 inches, 7- 1/2 x 8- 1/2 inches, and 8 x 9 inches. [[106](#)] Which size was employed for the Big House

windows undoubtedly can be determined when an architect scales out the structural details from available photographs and other data.

In addition to the full- sized windows on the front wall, there were also on that same wall a light over the door and a half window on each side of the door. All that is known about these lights is evident from 1860 photograph. [107] All of the visible windows and half windows were equipped with louvered wooden exterior shutters that folded back against the wall. [108]

The only picture known to show the windows on the north wall of the manager's residence is an unsigned sketch, said to be dated from 1854, in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. It shows two rows of six windows each. However, this drawing is so much in error in certain other details that it cannot be relied upon as far as windows are concerned (see [plate XX](#)).

f. Veranda and front stairs. We have seen that a "piazza" and a "half semicircle double stairway" graced the first governor's mansion of 1829- 1838. Similar features evidently marked the second Big House from the time of its construction, since the Emmons ground plan of 1841 seems to indicate their presence by that date (see [plate III](#)). It has also been seen that all or part of the veranda was removed for repair between May 26, 1845, and early September, 1846, but everything seems to have been back in place by the time Coode made his water color sketch prior to May 3, 1847.

The latter picture shows the porch and stairs almost exactly as they appear in the 1860 photographs. There are only four significant differences observable: The veranda roof seems to have fewer supports in the 1846- 1847 view; there seem to be round or other- shaped decorative caps on the end posts of the center section of the porch rail in 1846- 1847; the central ornament or feature of undetermined use shown in the railing in the 1860 photograph seems to be of different shape in the 1846- 1847 picture; and the metal arches at the ends and in the center of the porch to support vines are not discernable in the water color but can clearly be seen in the photographs.

The remainder of the porch and stair details, such as the number of stair treads and the shape of the railing posts, are reasonably evident from the photographs. If these pictures of the Big House in 1860 do not provide all the information necessary for reproducing the porch and stair railings, further guidance may be found in a photograph showing those features on the front of the officer's residence at Fort Langley (see [plate LXI](#)).

g. Exterior paint colors. The Hudson's Bay Company was not noted for its liberality in supplying paint for buildings. [109] We have seen that Lieutenant Wilkes reported that the Big House was "painted white" in the summer of 1841,

seeming to imply that the entire structure was so decorated. This inference is supported by the fact that the Yale Library oil painting of perhaps six or seven years later shows the east and rear walls of the residence as white in color (see [plate XVI](#)).

But evidently soon afterwards the true habits of the Company were made evident. A resident of the neighborhood who knew the fort intimately from 1849 to 1860 testified: "I don't think the house was ever painted on the outside except in front." [\[110\]](#) The accuracy of his observation is borne out by the 1860 photographs.

It can be reasonably assumed that in the 1845- 1846 period to which the fort is to be restored, all the exterior walls, window trim, porch railings, front stair rails and risers, and the fence around the front garden were painted white. The Coode water color shows that the shutters were painted green, not a greenish black as is so fashionable today but a dark olive green. [\[111\]](#)

The original Coode water color, as has been mentioned, shows a part of what appears to be the front door. Both frame and door are represented as being a very dark gray or blackish brown color. In view of the discrepancies between this drawing and the 1860 photographs, it is impossible to judge the accuracy of the water color in this respect.

h. Room arrangement. Practically all that is known for certain of the interior arrangement of the second Big House is that in 1849, when the building was examined by Major D. H. Vinton of the United States Army, it contained ten rooms. [\[112\]](#) It is also known that this structure contained the mess hall or common dining room in which the fort's "gentlemen" took their meals. [\[113\]](#) Further, the building contained the living quarters of the principal officer and his assistant together with their families. [\[4\]](#) At least some of these dwelling rooms opened directly off the dining hall. [\[115\]](#)

From the 1860 photographs it is also known that the main entrance door was situated in the center of the front wall. The Emmons ground plan of 1841 shows a second door to the building located in the center of the north or back wall and connected to the kitchen by a passage or bridge (see [plate III](#)). Unfortunately, it is not certain whether this second door was at ground level or at the main floor level. It is the supposition of the present writer that the rear door gave direct entry to the main floor, but this hypothesis cannot yet be proved. [\[116\]](#)

In addition to these facts, certain other assumptions about the room arrangement can be made at least tentatively on the basis of available evidence. We have already noted that some observers declared that the Big House was two stories in height. [\[117\]](#) We have also seen that Clerk Thomas Lowe in his journal referred to

balls, parties, and suppers occasionally being given "upstairs," and that this "upstairs" area evidently was not the same as the dining hall or the Bachelors' Hall, in which rooms the same types of entertainments were also held on other occasions. [118] We have already speculated that this "upstairs" room may have been the same as that which Lowe sometimes termed the "Second Hall" where dances are also reported to have taken place at times. [119]

Thus it seems quite probable that the Big House actually did have at least one large room above the main floor despite its outward appearance of being only a one-story structure. There certainly was ample height for such a room in the large attic, though there evidently were no windows for light and ventilation. And, if there was an upstairs room, there must have been a stairway to reach it.

The key to laying out a logical but necessarily assumptive room arrangement for the Big House is the location of the mess hall or common dining room. This chamber was probably the largest in the building. Certainly it was the most conspicuous. It could accommodate a dining table sometimes described as being 20 feet long and sometimes as being large enough to seat up to 30 persons. [120] As the gathering place for the fort's "gentlemen" three times a day and as the meeting room for religious services and other types of large gatherings, the dining hall undoubtedly was accessible quite directly from the front door, and for obvious reasons it probably was not too distant from the kitchen entrance. It also served as a means of access to at least some of the living quarters.

Unfortunately, problems arise when one attempts to fix the location of the mess room. Ordinarily one would expect to find the dining hall immediately inside the front entrance on the main floor. After an exhaustive study of room arrangements in "Big Houses" at Hudson's Bay Company posts across the continent, architects planning the restoration of Fort Langley, British Columbia, during the 1950's stated: "It will be seen that almost without exception the largest room in these buildings was in the central position and extended from the front of the building clear to the back." [121]

But at Fort Vancouver the most detailed known eyewitness description of the mess room virtually rules out such a location. "The dining hall," wrote Thomas Jefferson Farnham who visited the post in 1839, "is a spacious room on the second floor, ceiled with pine above and at the sides. In the south west corner of it is a large close stove, sending sufficient caloric to make it comfortable." [122]

Did Farnham really mean that the mess room was on the second floor, that is the attic? Or did he mean it was up a flight of stairs from the ground, above the cellar? It is, of course, impossible to be sure on the basis of presently available data, but we have seen that when Thomas Lowe spoke of "upstairs" he evidently meant an attic room which was not the common dining hall. Also, the principal meal at

Fort Vancouver was the noon time "dinner," and it seems rather unlikely that it would have been eaten in a room without windows or ventilation. Then, too, a second- floor dining room would have been troublesome to reach from the kitchen, though this fact alone probably would not have ruled out such a location. Taking all these factors into consideration, the present writer is inclined to the view that the dining hall was on the main floor despite Farnham's apparently positive words to the contrary.

Assuming, then, that the mess hall was on the main floor, it would be logical to expect that the room arrangement would have been like that found at most Company posts or at least like that at Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River where the first floor was much like that at Fort Vancouver in proportion, size, window and door openings, and in having an attached kitchen at the rear. The similarities are made clearly evident by the following diagram of the ground floor of the two- story Big House at Fort Mackenzie (see following page).

Figure 6.

(Based on diagram in Room Layouts in "Big Houses" at Hudson's Bay Company Posts, MS, appendix.)

But at Fort Vancouver, the position of the excavated chimney base, centered about 15 feet in from the front wall and about 26 feet in from the west wall, virtually rules out the possibility that the dining room could have occupied a central position at the front of the house. The chimney would have passed right through a room of any size in such a position. The possibility that the dining room could have extended clear through the house from front to back seems eliminated by Farnham's statement that a large stove stood in the southwest corner of the room. While such a stove need not have been close to the chimney, it seems unlikely that it would have been adjacent to the front door or windows.

Given these limiting factors, it appears logical to assume that the dining room was toward the rear of the house, probably centered along the north wall as shown in the hypothetical floor plan on Page 126 (Figure 7). When dealing with historical matters, however, it is well to remember that logic often plays little part in the disposition of affairs.

Figure 7.

Hypothetical plan, main floor, Big House, Fort Vancouver, 1845.

Much has been taken for granted in preparing the room layout shown in Figure 7, but most of the assumptions are not entirely arbitrary. It is known, for instance, that Doctor McLoughlin had his personal office in the first Big House (1829- 1838) and that it lay to the right of the entrance door. [123] There is a local tradition to the effect that after the manager's residence was rebuilt in the eastern half of the fort, McLoughlin shifted his office to the left or west side so that he could better keep his eye on the activities in the courtyard. [124] Since such a move would have been in keeping with McLoughlin's character, it has been reflected in the hypothetical plan.

Admittedly, however, the decision to draw the office as a separate apartment from McLoughlin's sitting room was based on the personal preferences of the present writer, who feels that, given an opportunity, a business man would prefer to conduct his affairs removed from the daily bustle of family life. Also, a separate office permitted a more symmetrical room arrangement. On the other hand, it seems apparent that the office and sitting room were combined in the first Big House of 1829- 1838, although it is difficult to be positive on this point. [125]

At York Factory, the Company's principal depot in North America, the chief factor's office was not in his residence, but he prepared much of his correspondence at a large desk in a "writing- room" off the winter mess room in his home. This "writing- room" seems to have been one of the building's two sitting rooms. [126] But at Fort Ellice the factor's private office definitely was a separate room in his residence. [127] Precedent, therefore, both supports and contradicts the assignment of a separate room in the Fort Vancouver Big House for this purpose.

The allotment of three bedrooms to Chief Factor James Douglas and only two to Dr. McLoughlin was also done on a rather arbitrary basis. On the surface, this division might appear reasonable because of Douglas's family of four daughters, while the manager by 1845 may have had no children living in his quarters. But at Hudson's Bay Company posts it was not at all unusual for much larger families than Douglas's to be housed in a single, all- purpose room. [128] Therefore, two bedrooms would ordinarily have been considered ample, even for so exalted a personage as a chief factor. [129]

It will also be noted that no space has been assigned in the hypothetical plan of the main floor to the common sitting or smoking room most often called "Bachelors' Hall." Nor, in the opinion of the present writer, was the Bachelors' Hall on the upper floor of the Big House. We have already seen that Clerk Thomas Lowe did not appear to be talking about the Bachelors' Hall when he mentioned the room "upstairs" that was occasionally used for dances and other social affairs.

The elimination of the Bachelors' Hall from the Big House is thus suggested despite the fact that writers and historians sometimes state positively that the manager's residence contained the public sitting room or Bachelors' Hall. [130] It is easy to see how such an impression could be gained. When visitors after 1838 referred to the sitting room they generally did so in the same breath with the manager's residence and the dining hall, not making clear the locations of each. And some of the eyewitness accounts seem to imply that the Bachelors' Hall was located in the manager's dwelling itself.

For instance, in the edition of John Dunn's The Oregon Territory published in Philadelphia in 1845 a sentence in the description of the fort reads as follows: "In the centre stands the governor's residence, which is two stories high - - the dining hall, and the public sitting room." [131] The singular verb makes it appear as if the two rooms mentioned were in the governor's residence. In the London edition of 1844, however, this sentence reads: "In the centre stand the governor's residence, which is two stories high - - the dining hall; and the public sitting room." [132] The plural verb and the use of the semicolon between the names of the two rooms at least permit one to question Dunn's meaning. Perhaps he intended to indicate that the residence, which contained the dining hall, was a different structure from the public sitting room.

To support the view that the Bachelors' Hall was not in the Big House there are a number of eyewitness statements. In 1843, for example, Clerk Thomas Lowe very shortly after his arrival at the post noted in his journal: "I have been given for my exclusive use one of the rooms in the 'Bachelors Hall' building. There I am to sleep, taking my meals at the general mess table in the Big House." [133] The next year an American emigrant named John Minto and two companions reached Vancouver. From the porch of his dwelling, Chief Factor McLoughlin directed the newcomers to the "stranger's room," which was "across the northeast angle of the area from his residence." After thanking the Doctor, Minto stated, "we entered bachelors' hall." [134]

Unfortunately, the term "Bachelors' Hall" seems to have been used both to describe the individual room which served as the common sitting and smoking hall and the entire row of converted dwellings often known as the "Bachelors' Quarters." Thus it still is not possible to be absolutely certain that these witnesses intended to say that the Bachelors' Hall was in the Bachelors' Quarters, but Lowe's use of the term "Bachelors Hall' building" would seem positive enough to convince all but the most determined sceptics. At any rate, the present writer believes that, on the basis of the evidence thus far available, it seems probable that the Bachelors' Hall or common sitting room was not in the Big House.

As has been seen, archeology has revealed no signs of an interior stairway to the so-called "cellar." Therefore the only stairs provided for in the suggested layout

are those to the attic. The space under these stairs and off the entry hall may have been used as a closet. [135] If the new Big House as occupied as early as January 14, 1838, this space under the stairs may have been the "dark room" into which Dr. McLoughlin "dragged" the luckless Captain Brotchie from the tea table when that Company employee refused to drop his plans to marry a part- Indian girl. [136]

Lacking any information about possible upstairs rooms, it is suggested that a section of the attic be lined and ceiled to form a single large hall. In this manner the total number of rooms in the Big House, disregarding the entry hall, would be the required ten. It seems probable that the chimney would have been close behind one wall of such a room instead of intruding into the room itself.

i. Interior finish. The inventory of 1846- 1847 describes the manager's residence as being "lined and ceiled." [137] Other witnesses corroborated this information, and one, Thomas J. Farnham, threw additional light on the matter when he said that in 1839 the dining hall was "ceiled with pine above and at the sides." [138] William Gray reported that when he reached the fort in 1836 the partitions in the houses were "all upright boards planed, and the cracks battened." [139] Evidently the new structures built after that date were better finished. Years later Thomas Lowe testified that most of the dwelling's were ceiled with "tongued and grooved dressed boards." [140]

The fact that Farnham made such a point of mentioning that the mess hall was lined with "pine" leads to the conclusion that in 1839 the walls of this room were still unpainted. [141] But in 1866 Lloyd Brooke testified that he believed the interior of the Big House was painted and papered at least between 1849 and 1860. [142] Brooke's statement finds some support in the fact that when archeologists in 1971 examined bricks from the fireplace or chimney in the Big House, some of them showed evidence of having been painted. Green and blue were the colors found. [143]

In short, it is not known if the interior of the Big House was painted in late 1845. But if it was, it is very probable that the two chief factors had the work done at their own expense, since the Company took a dim view of such frivolities. [144]

It evidently was common practice at Company posts to have wainscoting or at least a chair rail about the lower portion of the walls in the principal rooms. [145] [Plate LXIII](#) illustrates such wall treatment at the North West Company's Fort William in 1816. A picture of a dwelling room at Moose Factory about 1900 reveals how little styles in interior finish changed over a century ([plate LXIV](#)).

When the interior walls were painted, it sometimes was the custom to make the "wainscoting" or the area beneath the chair rail, a different color from the upper

section. At York Factory in 1840, for instance, one bedroom in the manager's residence was "pale blue with a wainscoting color of indigo." [146]

Gray stated that in 1836 the floors of the first Big House were of planed boards. [147] It seems safe to assume that this same condition held true for the second manager's residence. At some posts, at least, the floor planks were tongued and grooved. [148] There seems to be no direct evidence as to the practice at Fort Vancouver in this regard.

Although no details of the construction of the interior doors are known, there fortunately are clear pictures of the doors in the Fort William and Lower Fort Garry Big Houses (see plates LXIII and LXV). The remarkable similarity of the doors in these two structures is readily apparent. Evidently six- paneled doors were considered *de rigueur* for the managers' residences at major depots and headquarters. At least it seems reasonable to assume that this precedent was followed at Fort Vancouver.

The same pictures show that the door locks, with brass pulls instead of round handles, were also similar. Archeologists at Fort Vancouver have uncovered what were apparently the same types of locks and pulls, although it is not now known that they were found on the site of the Big House. [149] In any case, lacking more precise information, it may be assumed that the door hardware was like that in the Big Houses at Fort William and Lower Fort Garry.

There probably was only one fireplace in the manager's residence if our hypothetical room layout is approximately correct and if the archeological evidence truly reflects the situation concerning chimneys. There is, of course, no information available concerning the design of such a fireplace, but it is suggested that one of those in the McLoughlin House in Oregon City be selected as a model.

Landscaping

a. Cannons. As early as 1832 visitors reported that Fort Vancouver contained cannons of large caliber, and by 1834 the location of four of these guns, two "long 18's" and two nine- pounders, was fixed as being in front of the chief factor's residence. Over the next decade or so there were conflicting accounts by travelers as to the sizes and numbers of these guns, but the location seems never to have varied. A detailed account of the evidence on this score has been given elsewhere so need not concern us here. [150]

By 1841 it seems reasonably certain that there were only the two 18- pounders, with a few piled shot, on the ground before the house, centered between the two flights of the stairs and pointing south toward the river. The guns were mounted

on sea carriages, which even then were "defective." The pieces had been spiked and were quite useless. [151]

The same condition still prevailed in the 1845- 1846 period. Lieutenant Vavasour of the Royal Engineers noted the two 18- pounder guns at the post. [152] The Coode water color sketch shows the same armament, each gun with a pile of shot before it (see plates [XI](#) and [XII](#)). This drawing also indicates that the equipment required to operate the guns - - ramrods, sponges, etc. - - was kept ready to hand on racks attached to the veranda wall.

The guns were still in place as late as May, 1860, when the British Boundary Commission party photographed the Big House. Even the round shot was there, though somewhat scattered about. Probably these pictures provide enough details to permit replacement of the weapons (see plates [XXVII](#) and [XXIX](#)). If not, the 1878 photograph of a similar gun at Moose Factory should be helpful (see [plate LXVI](#)).

During archeological excavations in 1971 several cannon balls were found in the area in front of the Big House. Another object, "a possible gun carriage part," was uncovered in the same vicinity. J. J. Hoffman, Project Archeologist, believes these items to be remains of the armament display which added to the character and impressiveness of the governor's mansion throughout its entire existence. [153] If so, they may serve as reminders of the harsh discipline which was an integral part of the fur trade, since the guns in front of the Big House formed the posts at which transgressors against Company rules and regulations received corporal punishment. [154]

b. [Garden](#). Dr. McLoughlin's house, said Lieutenant Wilkes in 1841, had "small flower- beds, with grape and other vines, in front." [155] The Coode water color sketch of 1846- 1847 confirms this description, for it shows a low, white wooden fence in front of the veranda, behind which green foliage can be seen. This same fence, or a virtually identical replacement, can be clearly observed in the 1860 photographs.

Archeological excavations in 1971 revealed evidence of this fence, which Mr. J. J. Hoffman, Project Archeologist, describes as of "a late period." The archeologists were impressed by the care with which this feature was constructed: "Primary supports for the fence consisted of squared, vertical posts set into subsurface wooden footings. In turn, the wooden footings rested on bricks that served as supportive and leveling devices." [156] The dimensions of the fence have already been discussed in the section on footings.

The grapevines which twined up the front of the veranda were long one of the best- known features of Fort Vancouver. On September 25, 1843, Clerk Thomas

Lowe remarked in his journal: "grapes in front of Big House still green." [157] In 1851 newly arrived emigrant John S. Zeiber commented on the "fine grape vines loaded with fruit" that screened the porch. [158] The well-matured vines practically covered the front of the house by 1860 as is shown by the photographs of that year. By then arches of metal rod or pipe had been installed at each end of the porch, evidently to support the vines.

Nothing is known about the types of flowers grown in the plots before the Big House. In a restoration, dahlias would not be inappropriate, since Dr. William Fraser Tolmie imported seeds of this plant in 1833 from Honolulu and sowed them under frame at Fort Vancouver, thus introducing this beautiful flower to the Pacific Northwest. [159]

Furnishings

a. General remarks. A number of visitors to Fort Vancouver made written mentions of certain items of furniture which they observed in the Big House at Fort Vancouver. In addition, there are many pieces of furniture, silveware, earthenware, and jewelry in existence today which are said, upon authority of varying credibility, to have once been used in the manager's residence. And archeological excavations on the sites of the Big House and its adjacent kitchen, as well as at nearby trash pits, have produced sundry artifacts and literally thousands of fragments of ceramic dishes, cups, and other pieces of tableware, many of which undoubtedly graced the groaning boards of the mess hall and the family sitting rooms.

Despite all this evidence, however, we really know very little about how the Big House was furnished. The existing testimony and the claimed association pieces generally raise more questions than they settle. And there are many aspects of the furnishings concerning which we have no evidence whatever.

Under such circumstances, one would ordinarily recommend refurnishing with items which might be found in a typical English or Canadian home of people of equal economic and social position during the same period. After all, Vancouver, having direct communication by ship with London, was scarcely in the same position as the inland posts, where many items had to be imported by bateau or pack animal. But to act on the assumption that imported articles of furniture were commonly found at Fort Vancouver would be to ignore certain facts about the policies and operations of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1836 the firm's chaplain at the post, the Reverend Mr. Herbert Beaver, complained that his furniture was rough and his rooms were uncarpeted. Chief Factor McLoughlin was indignant at these demands for what he held to be luxuries. "I consider people ought to satisfy themselves with such things as the

country affords," he wrote to the Governor and Committee in London, "and I am Averse to the Introduction of any thing in the country which may lead to unnecessary Expence. Mr. Beavers house is the Best in the Fort. If he is Allowed carpets and imported furniture - - has not every Gentleman in the place a Right to the same Indulgence." [160]

The situation more generally throughout the Company's far flung posts was made clear by Henry Martin Robinson who wrote of a time somewhat later than the period with which we are concerned but whose remarks were applicable to the firm's operations over a long span of years. He said:

As to the comforts of upholstery and furniture in the messroom, and indeed, throughout the entire establishment, but little attention is paid to it. The constantly recurring changes of residence, occasioned by the necessities of their condition, render the officers of the Company as a class, somewhat careless about the accommodations afforded by their houses. At remote stations, the most simple articles of furniture are held to be sufficient, and shifts are made to adapt different objects to uses not contemplated by their makers. The strong, compact wooden trunks or travel- cases used in the country, for example, often constitute the chief pieces of furniture - - if we except, perhaps, a bedstead - - and do duty as chairs, tables, and wardrobe. At the larger posts, however, the residences are furnished with more of the appliances of civilization, and means exist whereby such as may be so inclined can render themselves very comfortable, especially as changes of appointments occur less frequently at headquarters than elsewhere. [161]

Certainly, as shall be seen in detail in the chapters on the Bachelors Quarters and the "Priests' House," the testimony of witnesses amply supports the case for simplicity, and even austerity, of furnishings at Fort Vancouver. But this evidence mainly concerns the living quarters of the clerks, the chaplains, the surgeon, and other lower- ranked "gentlemen," where the furniture was largely supplied by the Company. As a general rule, about all such persons brought with them when they reached the post was what could be contained in two or three of the ubiquitous cassettes, or small wooden trunks used to carry personal belongings throughout the area of the British fur trade, in one or two additional bundles or "pieces" for bedding, tent, clothes, and miscellaneous compressible items, and in a traveling basket for provisions and utensils. And when they left through transfer to another station or for retirement, they took with them about the same amount of baggage. [162]

At the Big House, however, somewhat different standards seem to have prevailed. In 1841 Assistant Surgeon Silas Holmes of the Wilkes expedition found McLoughlin's residence to be "well furnished." [163] Thomas Jefferson Farnham, an American traveler, had been much impressed two years earlier by the "elegant

queen's ware" and the "glittering glasses and decanters" that graced the table in the mess hall. [164] It is probable then, that the chief factors did not have the same prejudice against imported items when these pertained to themselves rather than to the lesser employees.

Indeed, it was not uncommon for the chief factors at major posts and depots to live in comfortably furnished quarters. In 1840 Mrs. Letitia Hargrave, wife of the chief factor at York Factory on Hudson Bay, took great satisfaction in describing her sitting room, furnished with tables, a dark carpet, a sofa, her husband's large desk, and her piano. The curtains at the windows were held back by six curtain pins shaped "like so many sunflowers magnified." Mrs. Hargrave admitted that these pins, when they arrived in the annual shipment of invoiced goods from London, had been destined for a lady at Red River. But, she owned, "we seized them." With such autocratic authority, it is little wonder that the factors at major depots got the best of everything.

The Hargrave bedroom contained a French wardrobe painted green with black feet and "a broad stripe of palest yellow," two chests of drawers, a second wardrobe, two book cases, a screen for holding towels and drying cloths, two large mirrors, basin stands, a bed, and a night table. Even the large tin dishes on the stove were green- black and palest yellow in color to match all the other furniture except the basin stands and bed which were still in their original brown. [165], though evidently unfashionable,

With such unimpeachable testimony at hand, it is difficult and perhaps unrealistic not to go along with the romantics who have fostered the idea that chief factors lived with all the grace and elegant surroundings of wealthy West Indian planters. "A certain standard of life was observed at the posts," wrote the knowledgeable Margaret Arnett MacLeod, editor of The Letters of Letitia Hargrave. "Prominent officers usually had personal servants, and serving—men were trained for the officers' mess. Table service was important, and heads of districts usually had their monogrammed silver, and plate chests, and there was crystal on their tables. Donald Ross complained to Hargrave of the fragility of the crystal, saying, 'A man can almost blow the bottom out of the tumblers and as for the Wine glasses a person half seas over might easily swallow Glass and all without knowing any thing about the matter.' Angelique McKenzie's monogrammed silver is hallmarked 1830, and the silver tea service that graced her table at Isle a la Crosse is now in the beautiful Toronto home of a descendant." [166]

Dr. Burt Brown Barker, the great student of the life of Dr. John McLoughlin and a prime leader in the movement to refurnish the McLoughlin House at Oregon City, was a devoted exponent of the gracious living theory. "At Fort Vancouver," he wrote, "Dr. John McLoughlin could make an unusually fine display with the dining table and chairs, probably twenty- four in number, which the Hudson's

Bay Company sent him from London. . . . The pair of candelabra, approximately twenty- four inches high, with silver tray and snuffer at hand, appropriately spaced on the table, flanking the sterling silver fruit dish, or castor as the occasion required, with a complete coffee or tea set at the end, supplemented by the pearl handled knives and forks with the accompanying spoons at each place, together with the dessert spoon and fork at the front of the plate, would be a setting to cheer the heart or any guest. Add to this picture . . . four decanters in silver holders on the sideboard." [167]

Undoubtedly there is much truth in these pictures. The mahogany tables, the graceful chairs, the crested silverware, and many other items of furnishings owned by a number of chief factors and other Company officers are still in existence, scattered among descendants or in public museums, restored houses, and other repositories. [168]

Unfortunately, the documentation for assertions such as "these were the dining room table and chairs, which were used originally in old Fort Victoria," or "the square desk belonged to Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver," is not always as firm as one would wish. It is possible that some of these items, even those now in the hands of, or acquired from, the factors' families, were originally purchased after the Hudson's Bay men had retired to comfortable homes in Oregon City, Victoria, or eastern Canada.

At any rate, before accepting the elegant living tradition in its entirety, it might be well to bear in mind that graceful appointments and imported furniture were far from universal in the Big Houses of the Company's establishments. Describing Christmas dinner in the mess hall at Fort Edmonton - - no unimportant post - - in 1847, the artist Paul Kane wrote: "No tablecloth shed its snowy whiteness over the board; no silver candelabra or gaudy china interferred with its simple magnificence. The bright tin plates and dishes reflected jolly faces. . . ." [169]

A visitor to Fort Simpson on the Northwest Coast as late as 1868 found the main room in the dwelling house furnished with a long table in the center. "This," he said, "with a row of chairs along the walls constituted almost the only furniture." [170] Even at York Factory, the chief depot for all of Rupert's Land, the winter mess hall, while it could boast of a mahogany table had only "country made" chairs, and the floor was uncarpeted. [171]

While it is known that Fort Vancouver had its tablecloths, candelabra, and gaily patterned china, it is virtually certain that some of the refinements of cultured domesticity had not yet reached this distant outpost by 1845. Mrs. Hargrave at York Factory wrote in 1840 that her tables, sofa, and even the desk and piano were "covered with green" while "the beds wear green blankets." She hastened to explain: "I didnt mean that all the blankets are green only the upper one. The rest

are beautiful Yorkshire." [172] In other words the covers on the beds were blankets and not the elaborately worked bedspreads and quilts which are the darlings of present-day restorers of historic houses. It can be assumed that similar conditions prevailed at Fort Vancouver, if not in this exact respect then in others.

Clerk George B. Roberts probably hit upon the true explanation for at least a part of the enthusiasm with which visitors described the elegance of the Big House furnishings. "The decanters & fine English glass set off the table," he wrote in later years, "& made it look I suppose superb to those who had come across the country." [173]

Evidently most of the furniture in the Big House, except for the dinnerware and table utensils used in the mess hall, was the private property of the resident chief factors. At least the inventories of "articles in use" at Fort Vancouver do not permit the identification of such Company-owned items as may have been in the manager's dwelling. [174]

b. Mess Hall. Several eyewitnesses have left descriptions of the common dining room as it looked during Dr. McLoughlin's regime. From these we can garner a moderate amount of information about the hall's furnishings. In certain cases, the documentary data can be supplemented by what is known about actual pieces of furniture said to have been in the room, by information about similar items in general, and by comparison with what is known about the furnishings in dining rooms at other Company posts.

Stove. We have already noted Farnham's testimony that in 1839 the dining hall contained "a large close stove" in its southwest corner. [175] Although no further information seems to be available, it is most probable that this stove was manufactured by the Carron Company at Falkirk, Stirlingshire, Scotland. Established in 1760, this firm "for generations" supplied heating equipment to fur traders and settlers in Canada. [176]

Carron stoves came in several sizes and shapes, but the form most favored by the fur trade was an oblong box mounted on short, curved legs. It came in six pieces, which could be disassembled for easy transport and storage. For this reason Carron stoves were found at posts throughout the Hudson's Bay Company's field of operations. [177]

A number of these stoves are still in existence. The present writer saw five or six in storage at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park near Winnipeg in 1967, and there are several others at house museums scattered over a wide area in Canada. A very similar stove, though not bearing the name "Carron," said to have been brought from Fort Vancouver by Father F. N. Blanchet about 1839 to the

Willamette Valley is now in the D. A. R. Memorial Cabin at Champoeg State Park, Oregon. [178]

Pictures of Carron stoves, or stoves of similar design, in use at various fur- trading posts will be found in plates [LXIII](#), [LXVII](#), [LXVIII](#), [LXIX](#), and [LXX](#) of the present report. From these pictures it will be noted that it was not unusual to extend the stovepipes for considerable distances. Evidently heat was considered more important than aesthetics.

It will also be observed that the stoves generally stood on a thin platform of metal or stone to protect the floors from fire. When the stoves were near walls, as evidently was the case in the Fort Vancouver mess hall, there were also protective shields or heat reflectors against the walls. At Fort Vancouver, the stoves in "the different Houses" were disassembled and stored each spring and set up again in the fall, seemingly as a further protection against the dreaded danger of fire. [179]

Dining table. In 1839 Farnham judged the table in the Fort Vancouver dining hall to be 20 feet in length. [180] Clerk George Roberts later recalled that during the 1830's and 1840's there were often from 12 to 30 persons, including visitors, taking meals in the hall. [181] If we allow 20 inches for each person along the two sides and place one person at each end, a 20- foot table would seat 26 men with some crowding. Therefore, the evidence given by Farnham and Roberts appears to be in general agreement. Presumably when some special occasion, such as the entertainment of the officers from H. M. S. Modeste, required the seating of more than 26 persons, the fort's carpenter was called in to rig an extension. [182]

Today, at McLoughlin House National Historic Site in Oregon City, the home to which Dr. John McLoughlin moved in 1846 after giving up his active role in Company affairs, there is a beautiful, solid mahogany dining table, "Georgian in style," which is said to have belonged to McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver. [183] Such may have been the case, but it perhaps was not the table from the mess hall. The existing table "when extended," wrote Dr. Burt Brown Barker, "is long enough to seat twelve persons comfortably." [184] So, despite Dr. Barker's conviction that the Oregon City table was the one the Hudson's Bay Company sent to Dr. McLoughlin from London, it scarcely can be the 20- foot table seen by Farnham in 1839.

But even if this table is not the one from the Fort Vancouver mess hall, there is no reason to deny that the common dining table was of mahogany. The winter mess room at York Factory possessed a mahogany table in 1843, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that the great western depot of the Company may have been equally favored. [185]

In addition to the large table, there was a "side table" at which visiting Indian notables were fed. Lieutenant Charles Wilkes in 1841 noted that Casenove, a local chief, could eat at the fort in this manner whenever he chose. [186] Four years later, Lieutenant Warre observed that both Casenove and a visiting chief from above The Dalles were admitted to the dining hall. [187]

Chairs. The chairs used in the mess hall present quite as much of a problem as does the table. No known source specifically mentions chairs, but it is obvious that there must have been a good number, probably as many as 30. York Factory, despite its gleaming mahogany table, had "home-made" chairs to go with it. [188] These probably resembled the locally manufactured chairs at Moose Factory illustrated in plates [LXXII](#) and [LXXIII](#). At Fort Victoria in 1850 the dining room chairs were Windsor in design. [189] The Fort Walla Walla inventory of 1855 lists "11 Maple Chairs." [190]

At McLoughlin House National Historic site there are ten "solid mahogany" chairs of early Victorian style which, it is claimed, were sent, as was the table, from London by the Company for the Fort Vancouver dining room (see [plate LXXI](#)). These chairs originally were "probably twenty-four in number," according to Dr. Burt Brown Barker. [191]

The history of these handsome chairs is somewhat obscure. According to newspaper accounts about a century later, Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, who at one time had been the Company's surgeon at Fort Vancouver, bought the original set of 24 chairs from the Big House at that post. Presumably this purchase was made at Victoria where Tolmie was living when the movable property from the abandoned Fort Vancouver was brought there in 1860.

At any rate, the chairs for many years graced "Cloverdale," the Tolmie family estate on Vancouver Island. Then, either in 1934 or in 1938 -- accounts differ as to the date -- the Tolmie effects were largely auctioned; and Mr. Joseph A. Hill acquired some of the chairs. For years they remained in storage at the Hill Military Academy, but in 1959 four of them were "discovered" and presented to McLoughlin House National Historic Site.

Newspaper stories describing the accompanying ceremonies state that when found, each of the four chairs had stamped on it the following inscription: "This is to certify that this chair was the property of the Hudson's Bay Co. in the time of Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory, 1833." By the date of the presentation the McLoughlin House had already acquired other chairs from the same set. [192]

Clearly, this documentation is not as well authenticated as one could wish. In default of evidence to the contrary, however, the chairs in the McLoughlin

House probably should be accepted as the pattern for those to be placed in a reconstructed and refurnished mess hall.

Table setting. Thomas Jefferson Farnham made it clear that a tablecloth was used in the Fort Vancouver dining hall. [193] There is no reason to suppose that it was not as "snow- white" as that observed in 1843 in the winter mess room at York Factory by that rather unbusinesslike apprentice clerk and future novelist, Robert M. Ballantyne. [194] The Fort Vancouver pantry inventories list "diaper table Cloths," indicating that the table was graced with linen or cotton, usually white, woven in a repetitive pattern. [195] The inventory of 1845 lists 36 "table Napkins." [196]

Farnham also waxed quite eloquent over the "dinner- set of elegant queen's ware, burnished with glittering glasses and decanters of various- colored Italian wines." [197] Clerk George B. Roberts likewise testified to the presence of "decanters & fine English glass." [198] In 1837 Anna Maria Pittman, a member of the Methodist mission, was quite overwhelmed by the "table set with blue" at which she dined. [199] Although this table probably was in a sitting room and not in the mess hall, the dinnerware must have been similar in both rooms.

It is not a purpose of the present report to attempt to identify specific makes and patterns of dinnerware which were used at Fort Vancouver. Mr. Louis R. Caywood made an excellent start in this direction during his excavations from 1947 to 1952. [200] But at the present time, as a result of later explorations at the site, archeologists are making a completely new study of this matter. When their work is finished it should be a relatively simple matter to select a pattern, preferably blue on white, from among the fragments found near the Big House and its kitchen. Some of the same patterns used in the 1840's, or ones very similar, are still being manufactured in Britain, or at least were until very recently. The quantities of dinnerware of different shapes used in the mess hall will be found in the pantry inventories in the chapter of this report dealing with the Big House kitchen.

Evidently the tableware - - knives, forks, spoons, and so forth - - used in the mess hall was owned by the Company. It, together with such other items employed on the table as candlesticks, decanters, and cruet stands, were included in the annual inventories of "articles in" in the kitchen and pantry. Since one of these inventories will be reproduced in the following chapter of this report, there is no need to enumerate these items here.

It might be pointed out, however, that the ivory handled knives and forks and the "assorted table spoons" listed in the inventory do not seem to measure up to the crested and monogrammed silver so firmly believed in by the romantics. And the

tin dish covers and tin teapots are a long way from the silver tea service thought by some to have dressed the "officers' mess."

Having said this much, it is recognized that Chief Factor McLoughlin undoubtedly did possess, as his private property, a considerable amount of fine chinaware and silver. It is quite unlikely that these valuable items were in daily use in the mess hall for the edification of the clerks and Chief Casenove. Dr. McLoughlin's belief that the humble should live humbly has been amply documented. Probably, however, they were employed on special occasions, particularly when there were important guests to be entertained.

Unfortunately, little is known for certain as to the numbers of these items or as to exactly when Dr. McLoughlin acquired them. But there is available some quite precise data concerning the silver that was in his possession after he left the Company's service. This information can be summarized as follows:

Silver plate. After Dr. McLoughlin's death in 1857, the inventory of his estate listed the following pieces of "Silver Plate" which were among the furnishings of his home in Oregon City:

1 Pr. Silver Candleabra [sic]
1 Castor
1 Pr. Silver Candlesticks small
1 Doz. Silver Knives & Forks (pearl han)
4 Decanter Holders
6 Lge. Spoons Extra
3 Prs. Sugar Tongs
29 Lge. Table Spoons
29 Lge. Forks
30 Small Forks
27 Small Desert Spoons [sic]
27 Small Tea Spoons
3 Lge. Ladles
9 Small Ladles
3 Fish Slices [slicers]
2 Salt Spoons
4 Egg Spoons
12 Silver Handle Knives - - desert [sic]
1 Toaster
1 Fruit Dish
2 Coffee Pots
2 Tea Pots
2 Sugar Dishes
2 Cream Pitchers

2 Snuffers & Trays

4 Knife Resters & 2 Butter Knives. [201]

Much of this silver bore the McLoughlin Family crest, a lion rampant. The flatware was stamped with the initials "J. Mc." [202]

The greater number of these items descended to Mrs. George Deering, a great-granddaughter of Chief Factor John McLoughlin. At an unspecified date she had the silver appraised by the director of the Metropolitan Museum. Some of the pieces were found to date from the late seventeenth century. These were sold, but a portion of the remainder, dating from the nineteenth century, were retained in Mrs. Deering's hands and eventually some of them found their way to the restored McLoughlin House in Oregon City.

The McLoughlin silver now in the McLoughlin House includes a tea- pot, sugar bowl and tongs, long serving spoon, fish knife, two large forks, two tablespoons, and two dessert spoons. The flatware was made in Edinburgh by J. McKay in 1829, 1830, and 1831. The tea pot, sugar bowl, and tongs were produced in 1837-1838 by Joseph and Albert Savory of London. "There are also," wrote Dr. Burt Brown Barker in 1959, "nine other silver teaspoons and two soup ladles" which, according to their marks, were manufactured in London in 1811 by Paul Storr. [203]

According to Dr. Barker, who undoubtedly knew more about the McLoughlin House furnishings than any one else will ever know, "all this silver" was at Fort Vancouver "prior to the arrival of the first wagon train of immigrants in 1843." He believed that the major pieces were acquired by McLoughlin during his visit to London during the winter of 1838- 1839. [204]

Miscellaneous dining hall furnishings. It is virtually certain that there was no rug or carpet on the mess room floor. Not even the winter dining hall at York Factory could boast of such a luxury. [205]

In the winter mess room at the latter post the walls "were hung round with several large engravings in bird's- eye maple frames" during the 1840's. [206] In North West Company days the Great Hall at Fort William had been decorated with oil paintings, pastel portraits, and David Thompson's famous map. [207] About 1850 the mess hall at Upper Fort Garry was enlivened by "sporting prints of the day." [208] No witnesses have testified to the presence of similar decorations in the Fort Vancouver dining room, but it is reasonable to suppose that the practice of the times in this respect was followed on the banks of the Columbia.

Dr. Burt Brown Barker has assumed that because the inventory of McLoughlin's estate listed "4 Decanter Holders," there must have been a sideboard upon which they were displayed. [209] There well may have been, but it may have been in the chief factor's quarters rather than in the mess hall. Or, there may have been no sideboard at all. No visitor to the fort mentions such a piece of furniture. And at Christmas dinner at York Factory in 1843, Robert Ballantyne recorded that the decanters of wine, flanked by tumblers and glasses, rested "on the board," meaning, evidently, on the table. [210]

But there is one lesser article of furniture of whose presence we can be certain. The pantry inventory for 1844 mentions a "call Bell," and George Roberts recalled years later how at the end of a meal Dr. McLoughlin, sitting at the head of the dining room table, would suddenly pull the bell tassel and call, "Bruce." In due time the fort gardener, William Bruce, "would be on hand with an open mull from which a pinch [of snuff] would be taken without a word on either side." [211] Certainly a bell pull would be indispensable for any meaningful restoration project!

The only means of lighting mentioned in the pantry inventory are 14 assorted candlesticks of tin, brass, and plated metal of some type. [212] So, unless Dr. McLoughlin from his personal property supplied an argand lamp or another form of lamp as was done by the factors at certain other posts the evening meals at Fort Vancouver were eaten by candlelight. [213]

c. Chief Factor McLoughlin's quarters. As we have seen, the suggestion that McLoughlin's office and his sitting room might be divided into two separate rooms in a reconstructed Big House is made more or less upon arbitrary grounds. There is no known evidence to show that these two functions were not housed in a single chamber in the second Big House as evidently had been the case in the first. At any rate, since so little is known about the furnishings of the office and the sitting room, the two rooms will here be considered as one for the purpose of discussing what pieces of furniture might have been in them.

In the living room at McLoughlin House National Historic Site there is a large square desk which it is claimed, "belonged to Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver." [214] It is a handsome piece of furniture (see [plate LXXIV](#)), although its association with the Big House is not as firmly fixed as one might wish. But undoubtedly this desk or one rather like it was in McLoughlin's quarters at the fort.

One of the items which surely was on or in the desk in McLoughlin's residence was his personal seal, used to impress the wax with which his letters were closed. On November 1, 1836, Narcissa Whitman wrote to her relatives in the East as follows: "You will see the Seal of my host [Dr. McLoughlin] upon the enclosure

of this journal. They are over nice in following the rules of etiquette here in some particulars. It is considered impolite to seal a letter with a wafer for the reason that it is wet with spittle. Very impolite to send spittle to a friend." [215]

A wax imprint from McLoughlin's seal is in the McLoughlin House in Oregon City. The impression is one inch long and 3/4- inch wide, and in its center is a coat of arms about half an inch high showing a lion rampant between upright swords, with three crescents. Below is a ribbon motto, "vinces virtute." [216]

Undoubtedly Dr. McLoughlin also kept in his desk his North West Company seal. This relic of his fur- trade service before the coalition with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 is today in the McLoughlin House. It is the only North West Company seal known to exist. And also probably in the desk was the silver medal presented to him in 1826 by the Horticultural Society of London for his services to David Douglas. [217]

Another article of furniture said to be "from Fort Vancouver" is the secretary which now stands in the library of the McLoughlin House (see [plate LXXV](#)). [218] Here again, the documentation is some what vague, but it is highly probable that Dr. McLoughlin had such a sturdy, handsome desk, with bookcase above, in his apartments.

For one thing, it is known that the chief factor possessed a personal library which was distinct from the subscription library maintained by the employees of the Columbia Department. In 1833 William Fraser Tolmie noted in his journal that he had borrowed from McLoughlin the first and second volumes of von Humboldt's Personal Narrative of Travels in South America. [219] The titles of his other books are not known, but we may safely assume that he had a solid collection of works on medicine, travel, science, and politics and that he had bookcases in which to house them. [220]

When the Whitman party reached Fort Vancouver in September, 1836, the principal members were quickly led to the Big House and into Dr. McLoughlin's "office," where the two ladies were seated on "the sofa." [221] There seems no way of knowing whether this piece was one of the four "Wooden Sofas" listed in the inventory of Company- owned furniture in "Bachelors Hall & No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5" in 1844 or whether it was privately owned by the chief factor. [222] At any rate, it seems probable that after his visit to Europe in 1838 McLoughlin would have had an upholstered imported sofa in his sitting room.

It may also be assumed with reasonable safety that there were two or three upholstered chairs in the McLoughlin living room and office. Even at the inland post of Fort Walla Walla as early as 1836 the Whitmans were "comfortably seated in cushioned arm chairs" by the officer in charge. [223] The Company also carried

in stock at the Fort Vancouver Depot "dark stained cane seat chairs." [224] It would not be illogical to suppose that the chief factor purchased several of these for extra occasional chairs.

The wives of the "gentlemen" at Fort Vancouver did not eat with their husbands in the common mess hall. Rather, the women and children dined in their own quarters on food brought in from the kitchen. Therefore, there must have been a table in the sitting room for this purpose.

The table in McLoughlin's quarters must not have been a large one in 1836, because on the arrival of the Whitman party, with its two women, McLoughlin had to direct the carpenter to make an "extra table" which was set up in the Chief Factor's office. [225] A year later another missionary, Anna Maria Pittman, joined 17 other persons seated for dinner "around a long table" which almost certainly was not in the mess hall. [226]

This need for a larger table in his rooms may have induced Dr. McLoughlin to buy one in London, perhaps during his visit in 1838- 1839. At least the question comes to mind, is the table now in the McLoughlin House dining room, which is probably too small to have been the mess hall table, the one from the chief factor's quarters?

Among the other items which almost certainly were in Dr. McLoughlin's office was a strong box or safe. One which is said to have belonged to him at the fort is in one of the small bedrooms off the living room in the McLoughlin House. [227] And irons, fire tongs, a tailor's iron used as a doorstep, and a few pewter tankards at the McLoughlin House are also described as being "from the Company," although none except the tailor's iron is specifically claimed to have come from Fort Vancouver. [228]

It is not known definitely that there was a rug on the floor of McLoughlin's sitting room, particularly as early as 1836 to 1838. But it seems reasonable to assume that by 1841, when Holmes described the Big House as being "well furnished," there was carpet on the floors in McLoughlin's quarters. A year earlier there was a Kidderminster carpet in the chief factor's drawing room at York Factory. [229] And certainly draperies, or at least curtains, would have been a feature of a well-furnished home.

In view of the well- documented practice of decorating the mess halls at Company posts with various types of paintings, maps, and framed lithographs, and in light of the known predilection of Oregon pioneers for brightening their homes, even the most humble, with prints, it can be assumed that the walls of the McLoughlin living quarters supported several pictures. [230] In fact, a vivid description of one has been preserved.

On October 6, 1841, Narcissa Whitman wrote to her parents from the Whitman mission at "Wioletpoo" that she had heard of a "picture of a tree" hanging in Chief Factor McLoughlin's "room" at Vancouver, "which represents all Protestants as the withered ends of the several branches of papacy falling off down into infernal society and flames, as represented at the bottom." [231] This reference was to the famed Catholic ladder, which apparently was devised by Father F. N. Blanchet in 1839 as a means of furthering the instruction of the Indians in the Roman Catholic faith. Only manuscript copies circulated until 1844 when a printed version was prepared in Paris. Several examples of the manuscript form have survived. [232]

If there were pictures, there undoubtedly were also mirrors. Large, mahogany framed "Looking Glasses" were carried in stock in the Fort Vancouver Depot. [233] Dr. McLoughlin may have used lamps in his quarters, but these seem to have been scarce articles at Fort Vancouver. Candles seem to have been the usual mode of illumination throughout the establishment.

The historical record tells absolutely nothing about the furnishings of the bedrooms in the McLoughlin quarters beyond the fact that there must have been accommodations for the Doctor and his wife as permanent residents. During most of 1845 their grown son, David, was a rather frequent visitor to Fort Vancouver, and possibly he lodged with his parents at such times, though in December, 1844, he had moved "all his things" to Willamette Falls. [234] Other residents of the McLoughlin quarters on an occasional basis were Mrs. McLoughlin's married granddaughter and infant great-granddaughter. The presence of rugs, carpets, or Indian mats on the floors is conjectural, as is the use of curtains at the windows.

If there was heating in the bedrooms, it must have been by means of stoves. The extension of stovepipes for considerable distances, even through more than one room, was not unusual at Company posts.

The beds present an even more knotty problem. As shall be seen when the furnishings of the Bachelors' Quarters and other houses are discussed, the usual bed at Fort Vancouver was a wooden bunk. That these rough beds were not only for males and persons in the lower ranks of the service is amply demonstrated by the following extract from the diary of Narcissa Whitman describing some of the domestic arrangements at Vancouver in September, 1836:

You will ask what kind of beds are used here. I can tell you what kind of bed they made for us after we arrived, & I have since found it a fashionable bed for this country. The bedstead is in the form of a bunk with rough board bottoms, upon which were laid about one dozen of the Indian blankets. These with a pair of pillows covered with calico cases constitute our bed sheets and covering. There

are several feather beds in the place, but they are made of the feathers of wild game. [235]

But there are certain hints in the records to the effect that chief factors may have slept in more commodious beds. During May, 1849, when James Douglas was in fact if not in title the principal officer of the Columbia Department, he paid a visit to the Company's post at Fort Nisqually, on Puget Sound. Shortly before he was due to arrive, the following entry was made in the post journal: "Wren making a four posted bedstead for Mr. Douglas's use." [236] Apparently the usual bunk was not the type of sleeping accommodation to which the chief factor was accustomed.

Lacking more positive information, but going on the basis of the Holmes assertion that the Big House was "well furnished," it seems reasonable to assume that the bedrooms in both the McLoughlin and Douglas quarters were as well equipped as those in the manager's residence at York Factory. Thus, as we have already seen, such items as regular beds of the period, wardrobes, chests of drawers, night tables, commodes, mirrors, and stands for supporting wash basins and holding towels were probably present.

In one of the small bedrooms in the McLoughlin House in Oregon City there is a handsome wash basin, white in color with blue border and bearing the Hudson's Bay Company's coat of arms also in blue. It is said to have come from Fort Vancouver. [237] Such may have been the case, since the Vancouver Depot regularly stocked "blue & white E. Ware washhand Basins." Also kept on hand were cream-colored earthenware basins and "deep tin wash-hand Basins." [238]

One other piece of furniture was sure to be found in the quarters of every one of the Company's "gentlemen." This was the cassette or specially constructed wooden trunk used for carrying personal effects on journeys by boat or horse. In the rooms of the clerks the cassette was a prominent object, often serving as the only chair or table, but in the Big House the sturdy boxes undoubtedly rested under the beds or in corners.

The construction and appearance of these unique objects will be treated in detail in the section on the Bachelors' Quarters, but attention should be drawn here to the fact that the commissioned officers sometimes seem to have had boxes of finer workmanship than those belonging to, say, the clerks. Dr. Douglas Leechman of Victoria, British Columbia, has such a cassette in his possession. It is made of camphorwood and is bound in copper. Its curved top and "alarm lock" are distinctive. According to Dr. Leechman, the officers ordered such boxes made in China. [239]

d. Quarters of James Douglas and family. No information is available concerning the furnishings possessed by the Douglas family during its long stay at Fort Vancouver beyond the fact that when Douglas moved to Victoria in 1849 he traveled part of the way accompanied by five wagons "containing cases of gold dust, bales of Furs and Mr. Ds private property." [240] Therefore, one will have to assume that in late 1845 the furnishings would have been those befitting a prosperous chief factor very conscious of his position as a British gentlemen.

In the case of the Douglas family, however, there probably were, in addition to the imported furniture, chinaware, and silver, more evidences of the frontier than usual at some Company posts in the Indian Country. Mrs. Douglas seems to have retained through life many of the likes and dislikes acquired from her Cree mother. As late as the 1880's an observer noted that Amelia Douglas was still "very fond" of bitterroot, camas, and buffalo tongue "when she can have them" and that she was "much bored" by the dishes of the European dinner table. [241] Thus, while Mrs. Douglas undoubtedly conformed to the styles set by the other wives of Company employees at Fort Vancouver and wore European dress, she probably kept items of Indian manufacture about the house. [242]

In one other respect the equipment of family quarters at Fort Vancouver differed from that found in frontier houses in the United States and eastern Canada at the same period. There were no spinning wheels, looms, or other devices connected with the making of thread and cloth. Visitors to the post were quick to observe that while the Indian and mixed- blood wives of Company employees were skillful seamstresses, they did no spinning or weaving. [243]

In view of Mrs. Douglas's fondness for Indian ways, her quarters may have been distinctive in still another way. Narcissa Whitman had noticed in 1836 that there were "several" feather beds at Fort Vancouver which contrasted with the usual bed covering made of about a dozen blankets. The only material available for ticking in making feather beds, she observed, was brown linen sheeting. "The Indian ladies," she added, "make theirs of deerskin." [244] Could Chief Factor Douglas have reposed each evening on a feather bed covered with deerskin?

Otherwise, the furnishings of the Douglas quarters were probably much like those in the rooms of Chief Factor McLoughlin and his lady, except of course that there were more persons to be accommodated. Beds and other items to provide for a family of six - - two adults and four daughters aged eleven, six, four, and one - - must have been present.

Among the additional items undoubtedly were toys. It was evidently during the 1830's that an American trader created a sensation among the Indians by bringing in a supply of toys described as "squeaking wooden Cats & Dogs." The Company countered by importing from England "that beautiful toy, Hussars on wheels."

[245] Perhaps some of these playthings were still available to amuse the children of a chief factor during the next decade.

Recommendations

a. When archeologists excavate in the area of the original 1829 stockade (ABED), they should be alert for evidence of the first Big House (1829- 1838).

b. The second Big House should be restored to the period just prior to the removal of Dr. John McLoughlin on January 6, 1846, and of his family on January 17, 1846. This dating will permit the furnishing of the structure with items or reproductions of items associated with the "Father of Oregon," the dominant figure in the history of Fort Vancouver.

c. Despite the fact that the veranda across the front of the house apparently was removed pending repair between May 26, 1845, and September 2, 1846, it is recommended that the building be reconstructed with this feature intact as shown in the 1860 photographs. There appears no way of knowing to what degree the veranda was removed and when various parts of it may have been replaced.

d. If some practicable means can be found of providing a waterproof subroofing, it is recommended that the roof of the reconstructed Big House be covered with boards rather than shingles, which do not seem to have been applied to the original structure until August 27, 1846. During the fur trade period, however, the roofs of vertically laid boards were notorious for leaking as they aged and cracked.

e. The house should be reconstructed with most architectural details as shown in the 1860 photographs of the structure. Although the Coode water color of the fort yard in about 1846- 1847 shows certain differences, particularly in the front door and windows, there appears to be no way to judge the accuracy of the artist. Further, the Coode drawing does not provide the details which would permit restoration according to the general plan it presents.

On the other hand, it is recommended that the Coode drawing be followed for porch railing details. Evidently it shows the railing, with end ornaments and the center object of unknown utility, more nearly as it appeared in 1845 than do the photographs.

CHAPTER IX: ENDNOTES

1. For examples see John Warren Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for October 9, 1829, in The Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa (hereafter cited as PAC); Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 17, 40, 48. The term "Big House" was quite generally used to name the manager's or chief factor's residence at posts throughout the H.B.C. territories.
2. Testimony of J. A. Hardee, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], III.
3. Herbert Beaver, Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, 1836- 1838, Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company and Missionary to the Indians at Fort Vancouver, edited by Thomas E. Jessett (Portland, Oregon, 1959, 2, 120.
4. Testimony of J. L. Meek, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VII], 86; William Fraser Tolmie, "Journal of William Fraser Tolmie — 1833," in Washington Historical Quarterly, III (July, 1912), 234; Emmons, Journal, MS, entry for July 25, 1841.
5. Theresa Gay, Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee, First Wife of Rev. Jason Lee of the Oregon Mission (Portland, Oregon, 1936), 152- 153.
6. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 177.
7. For the sources of the quotations given in this paragraph as well as for a detailed analysis of the conflicting evidence see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, 140- 146.
8. Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Thompsons River March 14, 1829, in Ermatinger, Letters, MS, 53.
9. J. S. Smith, D. E. Jackson, W. L. Sublette to J. H. Eaton, St. Louis, October 29, 1830, in 21 Cong., 2 Sess., Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 39, pp. 21- 23.
10. Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for September 6, 1829.
11. Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for October 9, 1829.
12. This fact is clearly demonstrated by the words of Clerk Francis Ermatinger, who in 1838 announced to his brother Edward, who had been stationed at Fort Vancouver prior to the building of the new fort, the completion of a new residence for Dr. McLoughlin. "The old House you know," he wrote, "and could

appreciate the accommodation it afforded you, and you may suppose that it could not be much bettered by removal from the Hill to where it at present stands." Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Colvile, March 19, 1838, in Ermatinger, Letters, MS, [121]. Actually the first Big House had been dismantled by March 19, 1838, but Ermatinger, at distant Colvile, was not aware of the fact.

13. Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for November 2, 1829.

14. J. McLoughlin to G. Simpson, Fort Vancouver, March 20, 1830, in Burt Brown Barker, ed., Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, Written at Fort Vancouver, 1829-1832 (Portland, Oregon, 1948), 93.

15. J. McLoughlin to Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, November 15, 1836, in H. B. S., IV, 160- 161.

16. Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Colvile, March 19, 1838, in Ermatinger, Letters, MS, [121].

17. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 82.

18. John Kirk Townsend, Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains, to the Columbia River (Reuben Gold Thwaites ed., Early Western Travels, vol. XXI, Cleveland, Ohio, 1905), 297- 298; J. K. T.[ownsend] to [?], Washington, January 26, 1843, in OHQ, IV (December, 1903), 399- 402; J. K. Townsend, "Private Journal," in Archer Butler Hulbert, ed., The Call of the Columbia: Iron Men and Saints Take the Oregon Trail (Overland to the Pacific, IV, [Denver], 1934), 226.

19. Fred Wilbur Powell, "Hall Jackson Kelley - - Prophet of Oregon," in OHQ, XVIII (June, 1917), 126.

20. Gray, A History of Oregon, 149- 150.

21. Gay, Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee, 152- 153.

22. Gray, A History of Oregon, 149- 150.

23. Gray, A History of Oregon, 149; Narcissa Whitman to Samuel Parker, Vancouver, October 25, 1836, in Archer Butler Hulbert and Dorothy Printup Hulbert, eds., Marcus Whitman, Crusader, Part One 1802 to 1839 (Overland to the Pacific, vol. VI, [Denver], 1936), 240- 242.

24. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 2. In fact, in another place Beaver definitely stated that rooms "occupied by families" opened into the mess room. Ibid., 120.

25. Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Colvile, March 19, 1838, in Ermatinger, Letters, MS, [121].
26. For mentions of such hospitality, see Hulbert, The Call of the Columbia, 186; Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains . . . in the years 1835, '36, and '37 . . . (2nd ed., Ithaca, N . Y., 1840), 145.
27. Gray, A History of Oregon, 150.
28. Gray, A History of Oregon, 163.
29. Quotation from journal of Narcissa Whitman, in T. C. Elliott, "The Coming of the White Women," in OHQ, XXXVII (September, 1936), 179.
30. Gray, A History of Oregon, 150.
31. Francis Ermatinger to Edward [Ermatinger], Colvile, March 19, 1838, in Ermatinger, Letters, MS, [121].
32. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 82.
33. Testimony of W. H. Gray, Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 184.
34. Caywood, Final Report, 7, 15- 16; J. J. Hoffman, Memorandums to Chief, Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, NPS, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, July 1, October 1, December 30, 1971, Ms.
35. See Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, plate XXXVIII.
36. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 40.
37. Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, 173- 180.
38. Herbert Beaver to Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, October 2, 1838, in Beaver, Reports and Letters, 120.
39. E. Ruth Rockwood, ed., "Diary of Rev. George H. Atkinson, D. D., 1847- 1858," in OHQ, XL (June, 1939), 181, 184- 185; XLI (March, 1940), 14.
40. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 328- 329.
41. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 30.

42. Henry J. Warre, Diary to Liverpool, 1846, MS, 115- 116, which is item 6 in the microfilm strip, Journals of Henry J. Warre, in The Public Archives of Canada.

43. Henry J. Warre, Travel and Sport in North America, 1839- 1846, MS, 145, in The Public Archives of Canada; quoted by the kind per mission of Mr. Michael Warre of London, England.

44. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 177.

45. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 11.

46. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 31- 32.

47. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 57.

48. Ibid., 15.

49. Ibid., 28.

50. Ibid., 32.

51. Ibid., 72.

52. Emmons, Journal, MS, entry for July 25, 1841.

53. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 33.

54. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 115.

55. For references to David McLoughlin's visits to the fort and his occupation during 1845, see Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 9, 21, 24, 30- 31. David left Vancouver early in December, 1845, to escort his widowed sister, Mrs. William G. Rae, back from California.

56. Burt Brown Barker, The McLoughlin Empire and Its Rulers, Doctor John McLoughlin, Doctor David McLoughlin, Marie Louise (Sister St. Henry) (Northwest Historical Series, V, Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959), 132- 140. David was born on February 11, 1821.

57. For mentions of visits by Mrs. Ermatinger, wife of Chief Trader Francis Ermatinger, see Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 11, 13, 17, 18, 30. The Ermatinger daughter was born on June 3, 1843. She was called Fanny by her family. Mrs. Ermatinger lived with the McLoughlins before her marriage in 1842, and it can be presumed that she continued to do so during subsequent visits. For information

on Fanny Ermatinger, see Ermatinger, Letters MS, 161 [171], 175 [185]- 176 71867; and Harriet D. Munnick, "The Ermatinger Brothers, Edward and Francis," in LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, VIII (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1971), 166- 167.

58. For references to visits by Joseph McLoughlin, Thomas McKay, and other relatives, see Lowe, Private Journals, MS, 11, 17, 23, 31. Joseph McLoughlin was about 36 years old in 1845.

59. At least her eleventh birthday was celebrated on October 23, 1834.

60. Derek Pethick, James Douglas: Servant of Two Empires (Vancouver, B.C., 1969), 16- 17, 33, 48.

61. George B. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in Oregon Historical Quarterly, LXIII (June- September, 1962), 214.

62. Ibid., 209, 227- 228; Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 4.

63. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 143- 145.

64. Ibid., 120.

65. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 17.

66. Ibid., 48.

67. Ibid.

68. In later years W. H. Gray, after describing the enlargement of the stockade enclosure which he said was under way in 1836, wrote: "All the houses were covered with boards in a similar manner in the new quarters." Gray, A History of Oregon, 150.

69. Testimony of L. Brooke, in Br. & Am., Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 128, 138.

70. Ibid., [IX], 133.

71. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 133.

72. Report of a board of officers, Port Vancouver, January 23, 1854, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 104- 106; proceedings of a board of officers, Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860, in ibid., 75- 77. The names of the several chief factors and members of the Board of Management who lived at Fort Vancouver after

1846 are not of immediate concern for this study. For details see Hussey History of Fort Vancouver, 93- 96.

73. Testimony of J. A. Hardie, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], III.

74. Caywood, Final Report, 16.

75. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 326- 327.

76. Silas Holmes, Journal kept by Assistant Surgeon Silas Holmes during a Cruise in the U. S. Ship Peacock and Brigs Porpoise and Oregon, 1838. . . 1842 Exploring Expedition, MS, II, 306, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

77. For examples, see John Dunn, History of the Oregon Territory and British North- American Fur Trade . . . (London, 1844), 144; testimony of A. McKinlay in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 91.

78. Testimony of H. A. Tuzo, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 177; testimony of L. Brooke, in ibid., [VIII], 128.

79. For a discussion of the origin and date of this picture see above in the chapter on the stockade. Since the water color apparently shows the veranda across the front of the Big House as complete, the date of the drawing perhaps can be narrowed to between about September 2, 1846, and May 3, 1847. To be strictly accurate, the water color in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives is not Goode's original painting but a copy of it made in or about 1928. Mrs. Joan Craig (Archivist, H.B.C.) to J. A. Hussey, London, March 22, 1972. However, in order to distinguish this water color copy from other photographic and printed copies, it is for convenience referred to as the "original" water color in this report. The true original water color evidently still is in the possession of the Goode family. A photograph of this true original sketch is reproduced as plate XI of the present report, through the kindness of Mrs. Joan Craig, Archivist, and with the permission of the Hudson's Bay Company. The writer is also indebted to Mrs. Craig for the information on the histories of the copies of the sketch and for biographical data on Lieutenant (later Vice- Admiral) T. P. Goode.

80. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 332.

81. Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, plate XXXVIII.

82. For photographs illustrating these variations, see Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall, illustrations, 32, 39, 42.

83. For examples see Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall, illustrations 30, 38.

84. The Fort Vancouver inventory was printed in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 118- 119; and in T. C. Elliott, "British Values in Oregon, 1847," in Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXXII (March, 1931), 34- 35.

85. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers [IX], 133.

86. Caywood, Final Report, 15; interview, J. A. Hussey with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver NHS, February 23, 1972.

87. Louis R. Caywood, Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 1948 Season (mimeographed, [San Francisco]: United States, Department of the Interior, National Park Service, [1949]), 6- 7, and map, sheet 1. No traces of these interior wooden features remained when archeologists reexcavated the site in 1971.

88. Caywood, Final Report, 15- 16, and Map of Archeological Excavations, sheet 9.

89. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief of Archeological Investigations, San Francisco Field Office, Denver Service Center, NPS, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, December 30, 1971, MS, in files, Denver Service Center.

90. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief of Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, NPS, Fort Vancouver NHS, September 1, 1971, MS, in files, WSC. Evidently significant remains of these sills were found only along the west wall of the house; another, shorter, section of apparent sill was found along the south wall site. Interview, J. A. Hussey with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver NHS, February 23, 1972.

91. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief of Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, Fort Vancouver NHS, August 2, 1971, MS, in files WSC.

92. Same to same, July 1, 1971, MS; interview, J. A. Hussey with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver NHS, February 23, 1972.

93. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief of Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, NPS, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, July 1, 1971, MS, in files, Western Service Center; interview, J. A. Hussey with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, February 23, 1972.

94. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief of Archeological Investigations, San Francisco Field Office, Denver Service Center, NPS, Fort Vancouver NHS,

December 30, 1971, MS, in files, Denver Service Center; interview, J. A. Hussey with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver NHS, February 23, 1972.

95. For a discussion of the possible painter and date of this picture see above in the chapter on the bakery.

96. Popular histories sometimes speak of the two large fireplaces which, together with a Highland piper, graced the Fort Vancouver dining hall. For an example see Mae Reed Porter and Odessa Davenport, Scotsman in Buckskin: Sir William Drummond Stewart and the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1963), 91- 92. The present writer has been unable to find any authentic basis for such flights of fancy.

97. Henry Drummond Dee, ed. The Journal of John Work, January to October, 1835 (Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C., 1945), 53- 54.

98. For a discussion of the dating of this sketch see above in the chapter on the bakery.

99. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 48.

100. Gray, A History of Oregon, 150.

101. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 181- 182.

102. H.B.C., Account Books, Fort Vancouver, 1844- 1845 [Abstract, Cost and Charges of Goods Received], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, 120. Of course, not all the shingles mentioned above were used at Fort Vancouver; some were exported.

103. W. H. Gray, A History of Oregon, 150. Apparently the standard width of a plank or deal in England and Canada was nine inches. Whether this practice was followed at Fort Vancouver is not known. It is unlikely that Gray actually measured the roof planks in 1836. For a discussion of Canadian lumber dimensions see Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 351.

104. Personal observation of surviving H.B.C. structures at Fort Langley, Fort St. James, Lower Fort Garry, and other posts, supplemented by Douglas Leechman, Notes and Comments on Hudson's Bay Company Trading Posts in the Mid-nineteenth Century, Extracted from the Literature (typescript, 1958), section on doors, p. [2], citing H.B.C.A., B.226/b/16, fol. 46.

105. See plates LXI and LXII. Another chief factor's house door, that at Fort Edmonton, is shown in Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall, illustration 24. It should be noted, however, that all of these photographs

were taken in relatively late years and that the doors shown may not have been installed at the times the buildings were erected.

106. H.B.C., York Factory Indent Books, 1823- 1838, H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fols. 139d- 140; Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 101.

107. The photograph of the original Coode water color drawing of 1846- 1847 and the water color copy of that drawing now in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives both show what appears to be the front door of the Big House at the extreme right of the pictures (see plate XI). Unfortunately, in the reproductions of the water color copy appearing as plate XII in this report and printed in The Beaver, Outfit 301 (Autumn, 1970) the right edge has been trimmed so that this feature cannot be seen. However, if this feature is in fact a door, then the Coode sketch shows only two front windows to the left of the door, and it does not show the half window of 1860 at all. The present writer is unable to account for these apparent discrepancies between the Coode drawing and the 1860 photographs.

108. Shutter latches and other hardware found during archeological excavations at Fort Vancouver will provide patterns for use in reconstruction. Shutter hardware seemingly identical to that used at Fort Vancouver may be seen on the old Catholic church at St. Paul, Oregon. Information from Mr. Lester Ross.

109. Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers: A Narrative of Seven Years in the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company during 1867- 1874 on the Great Buffalo Plains . . . (Toronto, 1913), 211. For Outfit 1838 the Columbia Department requisition called for 3 hundredweight of black paint, 1 of green, 3 of white, 2 of yellow, and 1 of blue. Evidently this was liquid paint, since only 75 gallons of linseed oil were ordered. York Factory Indent Books, 1823- 1838 H.B.C.A.B239/n/71, MS, fol. 160.

110. Testimony of L. Brooke, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 138.

111. This color is described from the original drawing in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in London. The drawing has been reproduced in color in The Beaver, Outfit 301 (Autumn, 1970), 52.

112. Maj. W. H. Vinton to Maj. Gen. P. F. Smith Fort Vancouver, October 1, 1849, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers [IX], 133.

113. For examples of direct statements by eyewitnesses to this effect, see Belcher, Narrative, I, 294; Lowe, Private Journal, MS, entry for June 16, 1843, on p. 1A.

114. Emmons, Journal, MS, entry for July 25, 1841. In a letter of March 19, 1838, Clerk Francis Ermatinger mentioned the completion of the house for "their honors," meaning for the commissioned officers. Ermatinger, Letters, MS, [121].

115. Beaver, Reports Reports and Letters, Letters 120- 121. As has been seen, the Rev. Mr. Beaver's remark that interruptions of his sermons by families entering living quarters from the dining room were reduced in the new Big House but still liable to occur, leaves little room for any interpretation but that the quarters in the new building still opened from the mess room.

116. In 1971 archeological excavations revealed an extra footing in the center of the central ten- foot section of the rear wall foundation. The assumption is that this footing supported an upright post which formed one jamb of the rear door. Such undoubtedly was the case, but probably the jamb would have extended down into the sill whether the door was at ground or main floor level. A door at ground level probably would not have been high enough for convenient use in view of the frequent passage by servants between the kitchen and the mess hall. The archeologists found no evidence near the rear door of the foundations of a stairway which would have been required had the entry been at ground level. Also, the Emmons plan does not show the known cellar door in the west wall, leading to the belief that his diagram showed conditions on the main floor.

117. The most positive statement to this effect from an eyewitness at the time seems to be in Dunn, History of The Oregon Territory, 144. Dunn, a postmaster in the Company's service, left the Columbia Department for England about November 1, 1838, so he could have seen the new Big House, but most of his service at the post was prior to the erection of that structure. H.A.B.S., B.239/1/9, MS, 48.

118. For example, see Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 11, 28.

119. Ibid., 72.

120. Thomas Jefferson Farnham, Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory (Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1841), 195; Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June- September, 1962), 183.

121. Room Layouts in "Big Houses" at Hudson's Bay Company Posts (typescript, [n.p., n.d.]), 5. The largest room, however, was not always the dining room. There is a great bulk of information available concerning the arrangement of rooms in managers' residences at various Company posts, but the above- cited report, with its appendices, covers the subject so adequately that there is no need to treat the matter further here.

Of particular pertinence, however, is the room arrangement of the Great Hall at Fort William, the North West Company's great depot on Lake Superior. Dr. McLoughlin had served at that post, and undoubtedly it helped to form his notions of what a fur-trading post should be. In the Fort William Great Hall the dining room occupied the central position from front to rear, and it was connected by a passageway to a kitchen at the back. Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument Great Hall, plates 17 and 18. For a description of the Great Hall at Fort William see Gabriel Franchere, Adventurers at Astoria, 1810- 1814, translated and edited by Hoyt C. Franchere (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 161- 163.

122. Farnham, op. cit., 195.

123. Gray, A History of Oregon, 149, 151.

124. J. A. Hussey, interview with Historian Robert Clark, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, February 21, 1972. Mr. Clark states, however, that he has not been able to authenticate this rumor or trace it to any reliable source.

125. Gray, A History of Oregon, 148- 151; Narcissa Whitman to Samuel Parker, Vancouver, October 25, 1836, in Archer Butler Hulbert and Dorothy Printup Hulbert, eds., Marcus Whitman, Crusader, Part One, 1802 to 1839 (Overland to the Pacific, vol. VI, [Denver,] 1936), 240- 242. The pertinent passages in both of these sources concern an extra dining table which Dr. McLoughlin had erected for the female guests. Gray said this table was placed in the office; Mrs. Whitman said it was in the Doctor's sitting room.

126. Margaret Arnett MacLeod, ed., The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXVIII, Toronto, 1947), xlii; Room Layouts in "Big Houses," MS, 5.

127. N. M. W. J. McKenzie, "Forty Years in Service of the Hudson's Bay Company," in The Beaver, vol. I, no. 5 (February, 1921), 15.

128. The Reverend Herbert Beaver early in 1838 reported that a clerk's wife and three children were living in one room, 15 by 30 feet in size, when another clerk, his wife, and five children were quartered with them, making 11 persons in the same room. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 81- 82.

129. See examples of manager's residence floor plans in Room Layouts in "Big Houses," MS, 1- 5, and appendices.

It is also possible that Douglas, as well as McLoughlin, had a separate office in the Big House. See mention of Douglas's "office" in H. S. Lyman, "Reminiscences of

F. X. Matthieu, " in OHQ, I (March, 1900), 102. However, Matthieu did not make clear in which building the two offices were located.

130. For an example of such a definite statement see D. Geneva Lent, West of the Mountains: James Sinclair and the Hudson's Bay Company (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), 154. No source for this statement is cited.

131. John Dunn, The Oregon Territory, and the British North American Fur Trade. With An Account of the Habits and Customs of the Principal Native Tribes on the Northern Continent, Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1845), 102.

132. Dunn, History of the Oregon Territory, 144.

133. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 1A.

134. John Minto, "Reminiscences of Experiences on the Oregon Trail in 1844 — II," in OHQ, II (September, 1901), 234- 235. For additional evidence on this point, see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, 166- 167.

135. Although closets as such were not common in early 19th century residences, it is recorded that the manager's house at York Factory in 1840 had "a very large closet" off the dining room. MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, 62.

136. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 75- 76.

137. Br. and Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 118- 119.

138. Testimony of Lloyd Brooke in ibid., [VIII], 128; Farnham, Travels in the Great Western Prairies, 195. By pine Farnham of course meant fir, since no pine trees grew along the lower Columbia River.

139. Gray, A History of Oregon, 150.

140. Br. and Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 33. The use of vertical tongued and grooved boards for finishing the interior walls of Hudson's Bay Company structures was widespread. In such cases one edge of the boards was usually beaded. A splendid example may still be seen at the old warehouse at Fort St. James, B. C.

141. Wilkes in 1841 found that the houses at Fort Vancouver were "unpretending" inside. "They are," he wrote, "simply finished with pine board panels, without any paint." Unfortunately, it is not certain that the Big House fell within the class of buildings he was describing. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 331.

142. Br. and Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 138.

143. J. A. Hussey, interview with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver NHS, February 23, 1972.

144. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 211.

145. In 1834 Dr. William F. Tolmie described the houses at Fort Simpson on the Northwest Coast as "wainscoted within." Dee, The Journal of John Work, 28n. Since the term "wainscoting" generally meant simply wooden lining or panelling, however, it cannot be taken as evidence that the lower portion of the walls received a different treatment from the upper. But in the Big House at Lower Fort Garry, completed in 1832, there were chair rails in the principal rooms. This post and Fort William were considered models to be emulated at other stations in the Indian country. See G. P. de T. Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843 (The Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. XXIV, Toronto, 1938), 99.

146. MacLeod, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, 74.

147. Gray, A History of Oregon, 150.

148. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 211 (for Fort Qu'Appelle); Leechman, Notes and Comments on Hudson's Bay Company Trading Posts, MS, section on floors, p. [2] (for Fort Kamloops, 1855, 1859).

149. During the 1971 excavations practically no hardware was recovered on the Big House site. The records concerning the artifacts recovered there during earlier excavations are still being studied.

150. See Hussey, A History of Fort Vancouver, 169- 170.

151. Emmons, Journal, MS, entry for July 25, 1841 (see plate III); Nellie Bowden Pipes, ed., "Translation of Extract from Exploration of Oregon Territory . . . by Eugene Duflot de Mofras," in OHQ, XXVI (June, 1925), 153; Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 327.

152. M. Vavasour to Col. N. W. Holloway, Fort Vancouver, March 1, 1846, in Papers Relative to the Expedition of Lieutenant Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory, MS, fol. 42d, microfilm in The Public Archives of Canada. It should be noted, however, that an equally qualified witness seven years earlier, in 1839, had said the two large cannons in front of the steps were "long twenty- four pounders ship guns." Belcher, Narrative, I, 294.

153. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief, Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, July 1, 1971, MS.
154. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 36- 37.
155. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 327.
156. J. J. Hoffman, Memorandum to Chief of Archeological Investigations, San Francisco Field Office, Denver Service Center, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, December 30, 1971, MS, in Denver Service Center files.
157. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 2A.
158. John S. Zeiber, "Diary of John S. Zeiber, 1851," in Transactions of the . . . Oregon Pioneer Association . . . 1920, 325.
159. William Fraser Tolmie, The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader (Vancouver, B. C., 1963), 173, 180.
160. J. McLoughlin to Governor and Committee, Fort Vancouver, November 16, 1836, in H.B.S., IV, 176- 176.
161. Henry Martin Robinson, Great Fur Land 96- 97, as quoted by Leechman, Notes and Comments Company Trading Posts, MS, section on furniture, (New York, 1879), on Hudson's Bay p. [2].
162. According to the Company's "Standing Rules and Regulations" for 1836, junior clerks and postmasters were allowed a free baggage allowance of 3 pieces (packages weighing 90 to 100 pounds), "first class" clerks were allowed 5 pieces, while "Commissioned Gentlemen" could take 10 pieces. Freight above these allowances had to be paid for. "The Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Ruper's Land, 1830 to 1843," in Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, IV (1910- 1912), 843- 844.
163. Holmes, Journal, MS, II, 306.
164. Farnham, Travels, 195.
165. MacLeod, The Letters of Lotitia Hargrave, 88- 89.
166. MacLeod, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, lvi.
167. Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 321.

168. For mentions of some of these surviving pieces see Leechman, Notes and Comments on Hudson's Bay Company Trading Posts, MS, section on furniture.

169. Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again (Toronto, 1925), 262.

170. Teichmann, A Journey to Alaska, 106.

171. MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, xlii.

172. MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, 89.

173. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June-September, 1962), 195.

174. During the mid- 1840's the Company- owned articles of furniture which might have been in the Big House may have been lumped in with other items in the inventories under the heading "Articles in Use - - Bachelors' Hall & No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5." In 1844 the articles listed in this category were 11 "washhand" basins, 14 beds, 37 chairs, 10 earthenware jugs, 4 wooden sofas, 18 wooden tables, and 7 tablecloths. There was no separate listing for the manager's residence. H.B.C.A. B.223/d/155, MS, p. 156.

It is not clear to which buildings or rooms the words "Bachelors Hall & No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5," refer. If "Bachelors Hall" was intended as the name of a single room (the common sitting room), the numbers 1 to 5 could refer to individual rooms in the Bachelors' Quarters. On the other hand, if "Bachelors Hall" was intended as another name for the entire Bachelors' Quarters, then the numbers could designate separate buildings, though which ones is not clear. On the Emmons plan of 1841 (see plate III), building no. 1 is the Big House, no. 2 is the Big House kitchen, no. 3 is the priests' house, no. 4 is the school or Owyhee church, and no. 5 is the old office. All of these structures seem to have had living quarters in them, but it is not known that Emmons's numbers represented Company usage.

175. Farnham, Travels, 195.

176. Interpretive sign at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, Manitoba, Canada, September 20, 1967. The firm, by the way, is still in existence. Patterns for the stoves may still be in the company's files, although it is understood that during modernization of the works in recent years a number of old records were destroyed.

177. For quotations from source materials mentioning Carron stoves at a number of posts, see Leechman, Notes and Comments, MS, section on stoves.

178. Field visit to Champoeg State Park, September 14, 1971.

179. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 7.

180. Farnham, Travels, 195.

181. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June-September, 1962), 183.

182. It is known that the carpenter was ordered to make a dining table for McLoughlin's quarters in 1836 upon the arrival of the Whitman party. Gray, A History of Oregon, 151.

183. Perhaps the most convenient source in which to find a statement to this effect is in Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 321. For a picture of this table see plate LXXI.

184. Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 321.

185. Robert Michael Ballantyne, Hudson Bay; or, Everyday Life in the Wilds of North America, During Six Years' Residence in the Territories of the Hon. Hudson Bay Company (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1908), 193.

186. Charles Wilkes, "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," in Washington Historical Quarterly, XVI (October, 1925), 291.

187. Warre, Travel and Sport, MS, 140- 141.

188. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, 193.

189. John Sebastian Helmcken, A Reminiscence of 1850, typescript, 4, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

190. Noted, among other places, in Leechman, Notes and Comments, MS, section on chairs.

191. Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 321.

192. Leechman, Notes and Comments, MS, section on furniture; Oregonian (Portland), March 14, 20, 1959; Enterprise-Courier (Oregon City, March 19, 20, 1959). The newspaper accounts state that there were already 12 Fort Vancouver

chairs at the McLoughlin House when the newly found four were presented, making a total of 16 chairs saved. Dr. Barker's statement noted above presumably is correct. From the information cited by Dr. Leechman, it would appear that Dr. Tolmie acquired the mess hall chairs from both Fort Vancouver and Fort Victoria as well as the dining hall table from the latter!

193. Farnham, Travels, 195.

194. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, 193.

195. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 153- 154.

196. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, 144.

197. Farnham, Travels, 195.

198. Roberts, op. cit., 195.

199. Gay, Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee, 152- 153.

200. Caywood, Final Report, 51- 57.

201. Burt Brown Barker, ed., The Financial Papers of Dr. John McLoughlin . . . ([Portland, Oregon]: Oregon Historical Society, 1959), 19- 20.

202. Burt Brown Barker, The McLoughlin Empire and Its Rulers, Doctor John McLoughlin, Doctor David McLoughlin, Marie Louise (Sister St. Henry) . . . (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959), 320.

203. Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 320.

204. Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 320- 321. Dr. Barker, upon what authority he did not state, described the candelabra as being "approximately twenty- four inches high." Ibid., 321.

205. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, 193.

206. Ibid.

207. Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall, 84- 88.

208. Ibid., 97.

209. Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 321.

210. Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, 193.
211. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June-September, 1962), 199- 200; H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 154.
212. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 153.
213. For the use of an argand lamp in the winter mess hall at York Factory in 1843, see Ballantyne, Hudson Bay, 193.
214. Alice Greve, "Dr. McLoughlin's House," in The Beaver, Outfit 272 (September, 1941), 34.
215. Drury, First White Women, I, III.
216. Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 317.
217. Barker, The McLoughlin Empire, 315- 316. The medal is also at the McLoughlin House.
218. Greve, "Dr. McLoughlin's House," in The Beaver, Outfit 272 (September, 1941), 33.
219. Tolmie, The Journals, 173.
220. See Ibid., 333 and passim, for the titles of books read by a cultured man of the time and place. Some of Dr. Tolmie's medical books are now at McLoughlin House.
221. Drury, First White Women, I, 101; Gray, A History of Oregon, 151.
222. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 165.
223. Drury, First White Women, I, 94.
224. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 97. This particular inventory is for 1844.
225. Gray, A History of Oregon, 151.
226. Gay, Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee, 152- 153. It is possible, of course, that this long table was not in the Big House at all but in another structure used for the accommodation of the missionaries.

227. Greve, "Dr. McLoughlin's House," in The Beaver, Outfit 272 (September, 1941), 34. A picture labeled "Dr. John McLoughlin's safe and strong box" is to be found on the first page of a pamphlet entitled Souvenir Book, Historical Story of the Hudson's Bay Company and Old Fort Vancouver [Vancouver, Washington, 1925]; a copy is in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

228. Greve, op. cit., 34. A couch is said to have belonged to Dr. McLoughlin, but it is not definitely linked to Fort Vancouver in this source.

229. MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, xlii.

230. In 1841, for example, Wilkes found a print depicting the capture of the Guerriere by the Constitution in the bedroom of a rough cabin at Champoege belonging to William Johnson, a British subject. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 347.

231. Transactions of the . . . Oregon Pioneer Association for 1891, 150.

232. For information on the history of the Catholic ladder, see Drury, First White Women, I, 218- 225; and Notices & Voyages, 44- 45, 230. Opposite p. 44 in the latter work is a reproduction of an original Catholic ladder, painted on cloth, which is now in the Bancroft Library, University of California. Other original copies are in the Oregon Historical Society, the Yale University Library, and the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. The Huntington copy was made by Father Blanchet in 1841- 1843 and is drawn on paper pasted on cloth. The Washington State Historical Society and Fort Columbia State Park, Washington, have reproductions of interesting Catholic ladders.

233. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 101.

234. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 11.

235. Drury, First White Women, I, 102- 103.

236. Farrar, "The Nisqually Journal," in Washington Historical Quarterly, X (July, 1919), 216.

237. Greve, "Dr. McLoughlin's House," in The Beaver, Outfit 272 (September, 1941), 34.

238. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 93.

239. J. A. Hussey, interview with Dr. Douglas Leechman, Victoria, B. C., October 5, 1967.

240. Farrar, "The Nisqually Journal, in Washington Historical Quarterly, X (July, 1919), 218.

241. Angus McDonald, "Angus McDonald: A few Items of the West," in Washington Historical Quarterly, VIII (July, 1917), 225.

242. The Indian and half- breed wives of Company employees at Fort Vancouver, though they dressed in European style, almost universally wore deerskin leggings for riding.

243. For an example of such statements see Notices & Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest, Being the Correspondence, Notices, etc. of Fathers Blanchet and Demers, Together with Those of Fathers Bolduc and Langlois . . . 1838 to 1847, translated by Carl Landerholm (Portland, Oregon, 1956), 146. It must be noted, however, that the Fort Vancouver Depot inventory for 1844 listed "4 spinning Wheels Complete." These may have been ordered for sale to the European wives of employees and to the families of American settlers. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 119.

244. Clifford Merrill Drury, ed., First White Women over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission Who Made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838 (3 vols., Glendale, California, 1963- 1966), I, 102- 103.

245. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June-September, 1962), 192.

CHAPTER X: KITCHEN

History and location

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

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

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

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

Emmons was observing another widespread Company practice when he noted that the servants' living quarters were in the kitchen building. In 1840, for example, the wife of the chief factor at York Factory described her home in a letter. Among the features she mentioned were the "men servants rooms off the kitchen." [4] Writing of Fort Qu'Appelle in 1867, Isaac Cowie stated: "Behind and connected by a short passage with the 'big house' was another building, divided by log partitions into a kitchen and cook's bedroom, and into a nursery for Mr.

McDonald's children and their nurse." [5] Similar testimony is available concerning other posts. Incidentally the cooking - - and much of the house work - - was largely performed by men at Hudson's Bay Company posts. [6]

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

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

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

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

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

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

At any rate, by the time Colonel Bonneville completed his survey of the Fort Vancouver Military Reservation in 1854 a new kitchen had been erected. It stood

adjacent to the northeast corner of the Big House and thus lay immediately northeast of that structure. Although not labeled on the Bonneville map or on at least two later military reservation surveys on which it appears, the identity of this new structure as a kitchen is clearly established by the ground plan (see [plate XXX](#)) and inventory of Hudson's Bay Company structures drawn up by a board of army officers on June 15, 1860. Building no. 4 on that plan is named "Kitchen (Governor's house)" in the accompanying report by the board. [\[11\]](#)

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

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

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

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

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

dishes served in "course after course" made a distinct and favorable impression. [14]

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

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

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

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

One of the best-known stewards at Fort Vancouver was William Burris, a Londoner who appeared on the post rolls as cook for Outfit 1839 at £27 per annum. The next year he was listed as a steward, but he went home to England on the Company's vessel Vancouver during the fall of 1840. He returned on the same ship during Outfit 1842 and took up his former position as steward at £30 a year. He continued to serve until the last day of 1844 when he retired to a claim he had purchased in the Willamette Valley. [21] According to George B. Roberts, Burris

had a European wife, an extremely rare circumstance at Fort Vancouver at the time. Unfortunately, once free from the Company's discipline he lost control of himself and eventually killed his wife and children. [22]

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

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

Construction details

As is the case with so many Fort Vancouver buildings, very little is known about the physical structure of the kitchen. Archeologists uncovered a "smooth floor-like area of white plaster" from 10 to 12 inches below the present ground level when exploring northeast of the Big House site in 1948. The western edge of this plaster layer was defined by a section of plank which, Mr. Caywood surmised, might have been a part of the east wall of the 1838 kitchen or a portion of the west wall of the post-1852 kitchen. He concluded that the plaster probably marked the floor of the latter structure. [26]

In 1950 and 1952 Mr. Caywood examined the area behind the Big House site. Another plaster layer about 10 inches below the present ground surface was struck. It seemed to the archeologists that the "entire area" - - presumably of the 1838 kitchen - - "had at one time been plastered," although no definite limits could be determined. The plaster seemed to blend "finally" into the surrounding soil. The plaster of the earlier kitchen was "blackened and burned," and from evidence in the overlying soil Mr. Caywood concluded that the building must

have been destroyed by fire. No footings, sills, or other structural remains were found. [27]

During the summer of 1971 another team of archeologists under the direction of Mr. J. J. Hoffman reexcavated the two kitchen sites. The evidence then uncovered concerning the post- 1852 kitchen will not be considered here, as it is not relevant to the problem of reconstructing the fort to its 1845- 1846 condition. The finds concerning the 1838 kitchen, however, were both germane and significant.

Like Mr. Caywood, the later investigators found nothing that could positively be identified as footings, and the floor of plaster had so disintegrated since 1952 that it was of almost no help in indicating the size or exact location of the kitchen. But Mr. Hoffman and his associates succeeded in finding an area, approximately five feet by eight feet in size, of stones which seemingly had once been set in mortar. Mixed in with the rocks were pieces of metal which appeared to be parts of grills and spits. Here, evidently, was the base of an "open hearth or fireplace." Its center was about 28 feet north of the north Big House wall and about 20 feet west of a northward extension of the east wall of the Big House. [28]

Since the archeological evidence throws no reliable light upon the size of the kitchen, the documentary record must serve. Both the Vavasour ground plan of 1845 and the 1846- 1847 inventory agree in showing the building to have measured 60 feet by 24 feet. [29] The Emmons map of 1841 (plate III) provides the additional information that a door in the south wall of the kitchen opened into a passageway which gave access to the Big House midway along the latter's rear wall.

Dugald Mactavish later remembered that the kitchen was a frame structure. [30] Exactly what he meant by that description is not evident, except that he probably intended to indicate that it was not built of squared logs as were most of the other buildings. Yet even these heavy timber structures had frames, and it will be remembered that Lieutenant Wilkes in 1841 had found all the buildings constructed of logs except the granary. [31]

Dr. H. A. Tuzo, who arrived at Fort Vancouver during November, 1853, testified years afterwards that the post when he first saw it contained a two- story frame kitchen. [32] It is probable, however, that the structure he saw was not the 1838 kitchen but its post 1852 successor.

Three pre- 1852 pictures show the roof of the 1838 kitchen with reasonable clarity: the unsigned painting at the Yale University Library (plate XVI); the Paul Kane pencil sketch (plate XIV); and an 1851 drawing by George Gibbs (plate XVIII). From these views it is evident that the kitchen had a gable roof, with the ridge line

running east and west. From the manner in which Gibbs indicated the roof, it is probable that the building was plank covered. All the pictures agree in showing the kitchen as a rather low structure with its ridge rising to or only a few feet above the eave line of the Big House. No chimney appears in the views, although archeological evidence makes it clear that there was one. The Yale painting, further, shows the kitchen as being brown in color, indicating that it was unpainted.

In summary, the following facts are known about the kitchen:

- a. Size: 60 ft. x 24 ft.
- b. Floor: of hard- packed earth and plaster.
- c. Hearth: of stones set in mortar, center located about 20 feet west of east wall and about 4 feet south of north wall (approximate distances only).
- d. Doors: only one known for certain, in south wall and connected by a passageway with the Big House.
- e. Roof: gable, probably covered with vertically ranged planks.
- f. Height: lower than the Big House.
- g. Rooms: a kitchen proper and several rooms for servants' living quarters; very probably the pantry was in the same building.
- h. Exterior finish: unpainted.

With only this meager basis from which to work, the architects who prepare the drawings for a reconstructed kitchen obviously will have to make a number of arbitrary decisions. As a possible assistance in making such commitments, the following comments are offered:

a. Type of construction. Despite the somewhat vague references to the kitchen as a "frame" building, it seems probable that it was actually constructed in the usual Canadian, Red River frame, or post- on- sill style so nearly universal at Hudson's Bay Company establishments of the 1830's. What are purported to be the timbers from the Fort Victoria "cook house" are preserved at the Fort Victoria Museum, Victoria, B. C., and they are clear evidence that the traditional style was followed at that post at least (see plates [LXXVI](#) and [LXXVII](#)). One observer in 1841 later said that some of the smaller buildings at Fort Vancouver were built of puncheons (split logs or heavy slabs) set in a frame, evidently intending to make a distinction between these slabs and the heavier squared logs. [33] Seemingly the

kitchen fell into this category of "frame" or "slab" structure, but the basic style was still the Canadian.

b. Passageway to Big House. For reasons which have already been discussed in Chapter IX, it seems most likely that the passage way which gave access to the Big House entered the latter structure at its main floor level rather than at ground level. If such was the case, it is also probable that the passageway level was reached from the kitchen floor at ground level by a stairway within the cook house building. In such case, since the eave line of the kitchen was considerably lower than that of the Big House, there must have been a gable where the passageway roof joined that of the kitchen.

c. Second floor. Although the reference to the kitchen as a two- story building seems to apply to the post- 1852 structure, it seems reasonable to assume that the servants' quarters were in the space under the roof gable, off the damp ground and away from the cooking and food storage areas. Access to this living space could be by a stairway from the passageway level if the stairs ascend toward the south.

d. Cooking facilities. The Fort Vancouver inventory taken in the spring of 1844 lists "1 Cast iron Stove" in the kitchen and pantry, and that for 1845 itemizes "1 Stove w[ith] funnel." [34] Unfortunately, it is not clear whether this stove was for cooking or simply for heating. Iron cooking stoves were available on the American frontier by the early 1840's, and one Company employee was advocating the use of one at York Factory by 1843. [35] Since " cast iron single Canada Stoves" in 30- inch and 36- inch sizes were carried in the depot stock, however, and since "1 stove & funnel" were listed in a room in which cooking probably did not take place, it seems most likely that the stove in the kitchen was intended to provide warmth in the living quarters. [36]

Whether there was a cooking stove or not, there certainly was a large open fireplace, probably with attached oven, at which the roasting, boiling, toasting, and baking were conducted as had been the European practice for centuries. The active utilization of the hearth is proved beyond a doubt by the listing of such items as fire tongs, poker, roasting hooks, "Iron Dogs," and Dutch ovens in the inventories of "articles in use" in the Fort Vancouver kitchen. [37]

That such as the usual method of preparing meals for the common mess and for the families fed from the Big House kitchen at Company posts is demonstrated by the words of the manager's wife at York Factory in 1840. Writing to her mother, she said she would prefer having a chaplain with few children "as the meals of the family are cooked here [the manager's kitchen] & sent from this, & yⁿ may imagine what roasting at a wooden fire & no grate it takes for the Gladman family." [38]

There is no information available as to the design of the kitchen hearth at Fort Vancouver. The splendid example in the basement kitchen of the Big House at Lower Fort Garry may be a bit extensive in scale for duplication at Vancouver, but it should provide general guidance for the project at the latter post. The book, The Domestic Encyclopedia, by Dr. A. F. M. Willich (Philadelphia, c.1800), contains drawings of typical cooking facilities of that day.

e. Pantry. The Fort Vancouver inventories contain a separate heading, "Kitchen & Pantry," under which are listed the items used in preparing and serving meals from the Big House kitchen. As has been seen, in at least one Company post, Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River, the pantry was in the Big House itself. There is no conclusive evidence as to where it was situated at Fort Vancouver, but if the hypothetical floor plan already suggested has any validity, there would seem to have been no convenient location for the pantry in the manager's residence proper. It would seem logical, therefore, to place the pantry in the kitchen building, near the north end of the passageway leading to the mess hall.

f. Miscellaneous features. "I went into the kitchen today & found Betsy the washing woman busy over a tub," wrote Letitia Hargrave from York Factory in 1840. [39] That much the same type of activity went on in the Fort Vancouver cook house is demonstrated by the listing of such items as "1 Wash Tub" and "1 pair smoothing Irons" in the kitchen and pantry inventories. [40]

Space for this type of work should be allotted in a restored kitchen. Also, it must be remembered that it was against the rules at Fort Vancouver to hang laundry out to dry in the yard. [41] Therefore, facilities for indoor drying should be provided.

Undoubtedly the steward, cook, and other Big House servants ate in the kitchen proper. They also probably spent what little evening leisure they had before the open fire during the appropriate seasons.

Furnishings

Thanks to the careful inventories of "Articles in Use" kept at Fort Vancouver each year, there is excellent knowledge of the Company- owned property situated in the kitchen and pantry. The inventories made in the spring of 1844 and the spring of 1845 are reproduced below. Although the lists lump all the items together under the heading "Kitchen & Pantry," it would appear that in the 1844 inventory the tableware and utensils kept in the pantry were recorded first.

Inventory of Sundry Goods, property of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Company,
remaining on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot, Spring 1844

Articles in Use

. . .

Kitchen & Pantry

1/4 dozen E[arthen]Ware Butter Plates
2- 1/2 dozen E[arthen]Ware deep Plates
4 dozen E[arthen]Ware dessert Plates
4 dozen E[arthen]Ware flat Plates
2- 1/2 dozen E[arthen]Ware Cups & Saucers
2- 1/2 dozen ivory handled table Knives & forks
2- 1/2 dozen ivory handled dessert Knives & forks
5 pairs Carving
4 forebuck hdled table
4 block tin soup Tureens
3 Britannia metal Ladles
2 Cruet Stands
21 Wine Glasses
20 glass Tumblers
12 E. Ware Dishes
3 E. Ware Water Jugs
7 E. Ware milk Jugs
34 assorted table spoons
33 assorted tea spoons
2 plated Candlesticks
4 brass Candlesticks
8 tin Candlesticks
6 prs. Snuffers
5 E. Ware Sugar Basins
1 pair smoothing Irons
5 salt Cellars
9 tin dish Covers
6 Tea Pots
1 tin Tureen
1 Wash Tub

3 tin Coffee Pots
4 Wine Decanters
2 large diaper table Cloths
4 small diaper table Cloths
8 Towels
1 call Bell
1 Coffee Mill
1 pepper Mill
2 frying Pans
1 grid Iron
1 soup Ladle
1 pr. Tormentors
4 tea Kettles
12 assd. tin Kettles
1 Cast iron Stove
1 sauce Pan
4 Axes
1 pair fire Tongs
1 Iron Poper [Poker?]
2 tea Trays
2 fish Strainers
8 tin baking Dishes
2 roasting Hooks
2 Iron Dogs
2 dutch Ovens
1 Colander
5 Salt Spoons
1 Cast Iron soup Boiler [42]

Inventory of Sundry Goods Property of The Honble. Hudson's Bay Company
remaining on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot, Spring 1845

Articles in Use

. . .

Kitchen & Pantry

5 Axes
8 E. Ware wash hand Basin
4 house Bells
4 butter Boats
2 wooden Knife Boxes
7 E. Ware Sugar Bowls
4 scrubbing Brushes
2 stove Brushes
5 long brass Candlesticks
2 plated Candlesticks
28 tin bedroom Candlesticks
8 cut glass salt Cellars
4 Chains w[ith] hooks & Kettles
6 pudding Cloths
2 large table Cloths
2 small table Cloths
10 dish Covers
2 Cruet stands
1 Cullender
5 doz. E. W. Cups & Saucers
6 wine Decanters
18 Assd. E. W. Dishes
15 wine Glasses
1 nutmeg Grater
1 Gridiron
4 roasting Hooks
2 fire Irons
1 pr. smoothing Irons
8 E. Ware Jugs 2 qts.
12 E. Ware Jugs 1 qts.
10 assd. covd. tin Kettles
4 large covd. tin Kettles
4 wwt. iron tea Kettles 8 gns.
1 doz. forbk. hdled table Knives & forks
1 pr. forbk. hdled carvg. Knives & forks
6 pr. ivory hdled carvg. Knives & forks

2 pr. [dozen] ivory hdled dessert Knives & forks
 2- 2/3 pr. [dozen] ivory hdled table Knives & forks
 7 soup Ladles
 1 Coffee Mill
 1 pepper Mill
 36 table Napkins
 1 dutch Oven
 2 C. I. [Cast Iron?] frying Pans
 10 tin milk Pans
 3 sauce Pans
 3- 3/4 doz. E. Ware dessert Plates
 5 doz. E. Ware dinner Plates
 4- 1/2 doz. E. Ware soup Plates
 8 tea Pots
 3 Coffee Pots tin
 2 fire Rakes
 3 pr. Snuffers
 1/6 doz iron tin table Spoons
 4- 2/3 doz. B. metal table Spoons
 1- 2/3 doz. B. metal tea Spoons
 1- 2/3 doz. steel plated table Spoons
 2 tin Stands p. tea Pots
 1 Stove wh. funnel
 2 fish Strainers
 5 cooks baking Tins
 1 Tormentor
 1 tea Tray
 1 washing Tub
 2 doz. glass Tumblers
 6 E. ware soup Tureens
 2 tin soup Tureens [43]

It will be noted that certain articles which would seem to belong in every well regulated kitchen do not appear in the above lists. One such item is brooms. It is known definitely that there were brooms at Fort Vancouver and their use undoubtedly was a part of the work of the kitchen servants. They probably were

not inventoried because, in the early years at least, they were locally manufactured or "country made" objects.

Narcissa Whitman was struck by the unique character of the brooms at Fort Vancouver during her visit in 1836. Noting that there was no broom corn at the post, she added that the Company used "hemlock boughs for broom[s], hemlock I say, there is no such tree known here. It is balsam." [44] Of course there are hemlock trees near the mouth of the Columbia River, so we will leave it to the naturalists to determine which tree Mrs. Whitman meant when she spoke of the "balsam."

Perhaps this situation had changed by 1844, however. The depot inventory for that year listed "broomhead Brushes" whatever they may have been, among the items kept in stock. [45]

It can be assumed that there were at least a couple of fir tables and several locally made chairs in the kitchen proper. There probably were cupboards both in the kitchen and in the pantry. And there must have been shelves and bins for supplies such as flour, dried peas, sugar, and salt.

CHAPTER X: ENDNOTES

1. There are references to the cooks and the cooking at Fort Vancouver during the 1829- 1838 period, but evidently little was written about the structure itself. For examples of mentions of the cooking arrangements, see Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for October 15, 1829; Beaver, Reports and Letters, 21, 79, 83.
2. Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841.
3. A separate kitchen was not universal at Company posts by any means, but it seems to have been the most usual arrangement. The lack of space will not permit a more extended, documented, discussion of this interesting point. For quotations from a number of primary sources concerning the locations of the kitchens at assorted fur- trading posts, see Leechman, Notes and Comments on Hudson's Bay Company Trading Posts, MS, section on kitchen. For a diagram showing the location of the kitchen at Fort William, the model for many later

posts, see Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall, illustration 17.

4. MacLeod, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, 62.

5. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 210.

6. For a direct statement to this effect by Narcissa Whitman in 1836 see Drury, First White Women, I, 95. It was a common practice, however, to employ women, particularly Indian women from nearby villages, to clean the living quarters and fort yard on occasions, and native women were hired by individual employees for such tasks as washing and sewing.

7. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 118- 119. The size given in the inventory is 60 x 24 feet. The kitchen also is shown on the Covington map of 1846 (plate XIII).

8. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 202- 203.

9. Ibid., [VIII], 137.

10. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/40, MS, fols. 42- 43.

11. The original report is in Adjutant General's Office, Oregon Department, Document File, 212- S- 1860, in War Records Division, the National Archives. More convenient is the printed version in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 75- 77.

12. The two paragraphs immediately above are based upon a perusal of a long series of account books in the Company's London Archives. Most useful were the District Statements, York Factory, covering Outfits 1837 to 1852 (B.239/l/8 to B.239/l/23); and Abstract of Servants' Accounts . . . Columbia District, Outfit 1843 (B.223/g/8); and Abstract of [Servants'] Accounts . . . Oregon Department, covering Outfits 1853 to 1860 (B.223/g/9 to B.223/g/16).

13. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/5, MS, fols. 30- 31d.

14. For a sampling of favorable comments on the Fort Vancouver cuisine see Drury, First White Women, I, 106; Farnham, Travels, 195; and Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 328- 329.

15. Gay, Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee, 152- 153.

16. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June-September, 1962), 183.

17. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 79.
18. MacLeod, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, 72.
19. The sources for these general remarks on stewards are the same as those cited in note 12 in this chapter.
20. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/5, MS, fols. 30- 31d. The surgeon was also ordered to tell the cook how to prepare the foods thus dispensed, that is whether they were to be "boiled or Roasted &c &c as may best suit them."
21. H.B.C.A., B.239/l/10, MS, 55; B.239/l/11, MS, 58; B.239/l/13, MS, 58; B.239/l/14, MS, 60; B.239/l/15, MS, 59; B.223/g/8, MS, 8. See also Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 10.
22. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June-September, 1962), 225.
23. H.B.C.A., B.223/g/8, MS, 33; B.223/g/15, MS, 3; B.239/l/16, MS, 61; B.239/l/17, MS, 45; B.239/l/18, MS, 44; B.239/l/19, MS, 43; B.239/l/20, MS, 46; B.239/l/22, MS, 44.
24. H.B.C.A., B.223/g/8, MS, 35; B.239/l/16, MS, 62. Thibeault evidently did not serve as mess steward for long. During Outfit 1846 he seems to have been back at his regular job as middleman.
25. Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for October 15, 1829.
26. Caywood, Excavations at Fort Vancouver, 1948 Season, 7.
27. Caywood, Final Report, 7, 15.
28. J. J. Hoffman, memorandum to Chief, Archeological Investigations, Western Service Center, NPS, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, August 2, 1971; September 1, 1971, MS; J. A. Hussey telephone conversation with Mr J. J. Hoffman, April 3, 1972. In addition to the plaster floor, the archeologists in 1971 also found evidence of hard- packed earth floor in places. J. A. Hussey, interview with J. J. Hoffman and L. Ross, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, February 23, 1972.
29. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 118- 119.
30. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [X] 74.
31. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 332.

32. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 176- 177.
33. Testimony of T. R. Peale, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 345.
34. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 154; B.223/d/160, MS, 144.
35. John Charles to James Hargrave, Red River, December 2, 1843, in Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, 453- 454.
36. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 114, 152. This conclusion seems to be supported by the fact that the 1847 inventory listed "5 Stoves with Funnel," in the kitchen and pantry. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/174, MS; information through the courtesy of Mrs. Joan Craig (Archivist, H.B.C.) in letter to the writer, May 24, 1972.
37. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 154.
38. MacLeod, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, 85.
39. MacLeod, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, 72.
40. For example, see H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 153.
41. Beaver, Reports and Letters, 81- 82.
42. Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 93, 143, 153- 154.
43. Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, 85, 129, 144.
44. Narcissa Whitman to "Brother Oren and Sister Nancy," Vancouver, October 24, 1836, in Drury, First White Women, I, 110.
45. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 96.

CHAPTER XI: SALE SHOP

History and location

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

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

Bldg. no. 4. "Shop & Store"; "Sale Shop." [1]

Bldg. no. 5. "Store"; "New Store." [2]

Bldg. no. 7. "Stores"; "Receiving Store." [3]

Bldg. no. 8. "Stores"; "Fur Store." [4]

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

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

The Eld drawing of 1841 demonstrates that all four warehouses at that time had gable roofs. The Warre view of 1845, on the other hand, shows that by then three of the four, all that are visible in the picture, had hipped roofs (see [plate IX](#)). The Coode water color sketch and the Paul Kane pencil drawing, both dating from about a year later, show hipped roofs on all four structures with great clarity, as does the Yale University painting which probably represents the fort as it appeared in 1847- 1848 (see plates [XI](#), [XIV](#), and [XV](#)). Also, the warehouses shown in the Eld drawing, except possibly for that on the site of Building no. 7, seem to be appreciably lower than those shown in the views of 1845 and later (see

especially the George Gibbs drawings of 1851, plates [XVII](#) and [XVIII](#)). On the basis of the pictorial evidence, therefore, one must conclude that between 1841 and 1845 the four warehouses were either rebuilt or rather extensively altered.

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

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

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

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

During the late 1850's when the staff at Fort Vancouver was reduced to a mere skeleton crew, it became impossible to keep up with the needed repair work. "The buildings are becoming very old and some of them crazy," lamented Chief

Trader James Allan Grahame on September 19, 1859. "The Warehouses in which the goods are kept, being newer than any of the other buildings," he continues "are in a much better state of preservation, but even they are beginning to show the effects of wind and weather, and are so ponderously put together that when any part gives way it is very expensive and laborious to patch it up." [12]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Evidently during the earliest years the stock carried in the Fort Vancouver sale shop was somewhat limited. In 1829 William Connolly wrote from Stuart Lake in British Columbia to his friend James Hargrave in the East asking him to send a half dozen "neat cotton handkerchiefs" as "nothing of the kind can be got at Fort Vancouver." [26] When ordering fresh stock, Chief Factor McLoughlin frequently kept in mind the tastes and the incomes of the Company's servants. [27]

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

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

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

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

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

shrank about two thirds during that time, from about £13,000 to approximately £4,500.

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

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

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

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

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

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. By using the scale on the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 ([plate VII](#)), it is seen that the dimensions of the sale shop as thereon represented were 40 feet by approximately 83 feet. The inventory of 1846- 1847 gives the measurements of "Store No. 1" as 40 x 86 feet. That "Store No. 1" was the sale shop is demonstrated by the fact that the measurements given for the remaining three stores are greater and correspond almost exactly with the sizes of those structures as shown on the Vavasour plan. [\[38\]](#)

In 1952 National Park Service archeologists tested the site of the sale shop and found the footings at all four corners. If the excavation maps represent the findings correctly, the building was about 40 feet wide and 82 feet long. [\[39\]](#)

Not all of the side and end wall footings were found, but enough were located to demonstrate clearly that the footings were spaced, as usual in the Canadian type of construction at Vancouver, about ten feet apart from center to center. "All of the footings," reported Mr. Caywood, "followed the general pattern [for Fort Vancouver] in that they were of Douglas fir, some were partially burned, all were in a poor state of preservation, and those on the sides of the building were perpendicular to the log axis." [\[40\]](#)

b. General construction. Along with the other principal warehouses, the "Shop & Store" was generally described as being two stories high. [\[41\]](#) A closer observer, however, said that there was "one story complete, and one that may be called a story under the roof, and a place for storing light stuff in the roof part." [\[42\]](#) A glance at the Coode water color and the 1860 photograph (plates [XI](#) and [XXVIII](#)) confirms the latter description. There clearly was full head room to the top of the walls on the second floor, but the small windows, the low clearance, and the lack of a ceiling could easily lead one to describe this space as what "may be called a story." [\[43\]](#)

Although the exterior walls are sheathed by horizontally laid weatherboards in the 1860 photograph - - the only known picture which clearly shows construction details of the warehouses - - there can be no doubt that the sale shop was built in the usual Canadian, Red River frame, or post- in- the- sill style so characteristic of Company structures. The general shape, the spacing of the doors and windows and the hip roof all attest to the fact that beneath its clapboard sheathing the sale shop had walls of squared logs exactly like those of the adjoining "New Store." One visitor to Fort Vancouver later estimated that the upright posts of the warehouses were sixteen feet high. [\[44\]](#)

It is not a purpose of this historical section of the historic structures report to give a detailed description of the fabric of a typical Hudson's Bay Company

warehouse, of which the "Shop & Store" was one. This is properly the function of the architectural section. It might be noted, however, that a splendid example of such warehouses survives at Fort St. James, British Columbia. Measured drawings of this structure were made by Historic Architect A. Lewis Koue on the basis of data gathered by him and the present writer during a visit to Fort St. James in 1967 (see plates [LXXIX](#), [LXXX](#), and [LXXXI](#)) Very detailed measurements of this same building have been made by the Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada, and the resultant drawings undoubtedly would be available to the National Park Service upon completion. [\[45\]](#)

In this section of the report, therefore, only the specific construction details revealed by the documentary and pictorial evidence relating to the sale shop will be discussed. It might be noted, however, that the construction of all the Fort Vancouver warehouses impressed visitors as being "rough." [\[46\]](#) General P. H. Sheridan, describing conditions as they were in 1855, found the trading store to be nearly as rude as the other warehouses. [\[47\]](#)

Walls. One witness who saw the warehouses at about the time they were being demolished, testified that the walls of the stores were formed of "planks" three inches thick. [\[48\]](#) Undoubtedly, however, the horizontal filler timbers at Fort Vancouver were at least as thick as those at Fort Edmonton, which, as shall be seen by pictures cited in the next chapter, were about six to eight inches through.

This view is confirmed by the testimony of Thomas Lowe, who was a clerk at Fort Vancouver during most of the 1840's. Most of the buildings at Vancouver, he said, were built of timbers six inches thick, which were let into grooved upright posts forming very solid walls. Significantly he stated that these timbers were sawed. [\[49\]](#)

Roof. The Warre lithograph of 1845 shows, directly to the left of the bastion, a hipped- roof building which probably is the sale shop ([plate IX](#)); but the Coode water color of late 1846 or early 1847 provides the first unmistakable view of the sale shop as a hipped- roof structure ([plate XI](#)). But it has already been seen that shingles were applied to the roof during May and June, 1845, so it is virtually certain that the roof was hipped by that time.

It should be noted that with most Company structures, particularly large ones, the shingles were nailed to solid roof sheathing. On the only surviving old structure at Fort Langley, which apparently served as a trading store for a time, the roof sheathing is composed of whip- sawn planks seven inches wide and of undetermined thickness. [\[50\]](#) Hip boards and ridge boards were applied over the shingles.

Special note should also be taken of the fact that the roofs at Fort Vancouver did not flare out at the eaves as did those at Fort Langley, Fort Victoria, and several other posts. The technique for achieving this result is illustrated in Mr. Koue's drawings of the warehouse at Fort St. James (see [plate LXXXI](#)). See also the photograph which forms [plate LXXXII](#) of the present report.

Chimneys. No known picture of Fort Vancouver shows chimneys protruding from the roof of the sale shop or of any other warehouse at Fort Vancouver. As shall be documented later in this chapter it was general Company practice not to permit stoves or fireplaces in shops and "stores" due to the danger of fire. Hence there were no chimneys in these structures.

Exterior finish. The 1860 photograph ([plate XXVIII](#)) shows that the exterior of the sale shop, at least on the front of the structure, was covered with horizontally laid siding. No evidence as to when this weatherboarding was applied has been uncovered.

The sale shop, along with the other warehouses, was unpainted in 1851- 1852. [\[51\]](#) It undoubtedly never was painted, except that in 1860, at least, the door and the window trim on the first floor were painted white or a very light color, as is shown by the photograph of that year. The door itself seems to have been a dark gray in 1846- 1847, and the shutters were reddish brown. [\[52\]](#)

Doors. Both the Coode sketch and the 1860 photographs show only one door to the sale shop. It was located in the front wall, somewhat north of the center of that wall. As has already been noted, the Coode water color indicates that this door in 1846- 1847 was rather simple in design, without the side lights shown in the 1860 photograph. The drawing is so indistinct that one cannot make out whether the door had a curved top, whether there was a light over it (as there seems to have been in 1860), or whether the object shown above the door is an ornament, a sign, or some type of rain shelter.

It is not known whether the front was entered through a single door or a double door. In either case, the construction probably was not much different from that observable in the surviving double door to the trade shop at Lower Fort Garry (see [plate LXXXIII](#)). The method of constructing such a door, of two thicknesses of planks, the exterior vertical and toe interior diagonal, is illustrated by the front door to the the warehouse at Fort St. James (see [plate LXXXIV](#)).

It will be noted that both the Coode sketch and the 1860 photograph show the sale shop linked to the next warehouse to the south by a covered and partially enclosed platform of some type. Although not visible in any known picture, it seems probable that there was a door in the south well of the sale shop to permit the transfer of goods from the "New Store."

If this reasoning is correct, the door most likely was double so as to facilitate the movement of the large bales and barrels received by ship from London. An example of this type of door can still be seen at the Lower Fort Garry trade store (see [plate LXXXV](#)).

One of the dangers which had to be guarded against at Fort Vancouver, though actual break-ins were extremely rare, was the stealing of goods from the shops. For this reason it is very probable that there were no doors in the rear and north walls of the structure.

According to the Coode water color there was a stop or stoop of some sort before the front door.

Windows. Both the Coode water color and the 1860 photograph demonstrate that there were seven windows on the front of the sale shop on the first floor level. Four of these were south of the front door, and three were north. These windows were double-hung, with 12 panes each in the upper and lower halves.

The 1860 photograph shows four windows at the second story level on the front of the trade store. Spaced unsymmetrically, these openings were smaller than those on the first floor. They were covered by heavy wooden shutters. Something of the construction of these shutters can be learned from the 1860 photograph, but unfortunately the details are not clear in the picture. Probably the hinges were like those on the shutters of the surviving trading store at Fort Langley, British Columbia (see [plates LXXXVI](#) and [LXXXVII](#)), although see also the photographs of the warehouses at Fort Edmonton ([plates LXXXVIII](#) and [LXXXIX](#)).

The second-story windows probably had nine panes like those once in the warehouse at Fort St. James. [53] Or, they may have had twelve panes as was the case in at least one of the warehouses at York Factory (see [plate XC](#)). In either event, they were undoubtedly single-frame, and they may have been fixed as were their counterparts at Fort St. James.

It is also possible, however, that the second-floor windows resembled those in the surviving original building at Fort Langley. This structure, which was a residence, seems to have served at one period as a trade shop. The small windows on the upper story of this building were single, "side-hung, small paned of four panes and opened inwards. Similarly, the shutters to these windows were also single, composed of rough, ledged hoards of random widths and hung by a wrought-iron strap and gudgeon." [54]

There is a puzzling fact connected with the second floor windows, however. The Coode water color seems to show five evenly spaced windows across the front of

the building on the second story. On analysis, the three southern windows match reasonably well the three southern windows shown in the 1860 photograph. But the two northern- most seem entirely different from the single northern window of 1860. Therefore, either Coode was in error, or the upper story windows were changed in location and number between 1846 and 1860. There seems to be no way of determining which possibility is the more likely. Since, as was discussed in Chapter IX on the big House, Coode evidently sometimes was not too accurate in recording window and door details, the present writer favors following the 1860 photograph in this respect.

As for the windows in the other walls of the sale shop, there is very little information available. Four known pictures provide fairly good views of the upper portion of the rear or west wall of the sale shop. These are an excellent and evidently very careful pencil drawing by George Gibbs in 1851 ([plate XVII](#)), the lithograph view of Fort Vancouver from the northwest, 1851, by Gustavus Sohon ([plate XXI](#)), the now- lost drawing of the same scene in 1855 by R. Covington ([plate XXII](#)), and a sketch made about 1860 by Lieutenant John W. Hopkins ([plate XXVI](#)). The first three agree in showing four windows at the second story level; the Hopkins sketch shows five. It can be assumed that these were of the same type as their counterparts on the front wall.

Another view of Fort Vancouver, said to date from 1854, shows the upper portion of the north wall of the sale shop ([plate XX](#)). It appears to show three or four windows at the second floor level. Unfortunately this picture is so inaccurate in many respects, particularly as to the number of windows in various structures, that it cannot be relied upon. If the practice followed at ether posts was an indication, two windows would appear to have been a generous allowance (see [plate XXXII](#)). [55]

The number of windows at the first story level of the rear and side walls is entirely unknown. Due to the fear of pilferage, they were probably few and strongly shuttered.

c. Interior finish and arrangement. There is practically no specific information available concerning the interiors of the sale shop and the other warehouses at Fort Vancouver. Thus reconstruction will have to be based largely upon what is known concerning similar structures at other Company posts.

The general, overall impression given by the warehouse interiors was one of gloom. The windows of the trade shop were described as "very small," but even so this building seemed to visitors to be "a little more cheerful" than its companions. [56] General Sheridan's remark that the sale shop was "nearly as rude" as the others seem to have applied to the interior as well as to the exterior.

Floors. The floors of the warehouses evidently were made of three- inch planks, rough and loosely laid. [57] Since the sale shop was somewhat more carefully finished, however, it is probable that the floor of the ground story, at least, was planed.

Architects planning the reconstruction of Fort Langley in 1953 believed that the floor of a comparable building had been originally composed of a single thickness of "rough whip- sawn boards about 2" in thickness and about 10" in width. These boards had either a tongue or a groove along each edge for close fitting and were fixed to the beams by means of spikes." [58] The floor on the upper story of this same building consisted of 2" x 11- 1/2" tongued and grooved boards. [59]

Walls. If the practice at surviving Company stores and warehouses was followed at Fort Vancouver, the interior walls were lined with planed boards or deals. At Fort St. James, for instance, the walls of the lower floor have vertical, tongue- and groove siding from floor to ceiling. The boards are not of uniform width. The siding is finished at the ceiling (actually the floor of the upper story) and around the rafters by a trim of thin, square stock, bevelled along its lower, outer edge. [60]

As will be seen by the photographs of Company trading shops referred to later in this chapter, the siding was sometimes applied horizontally, though vertical sheathing appears to have been the more common. Occasionally the edges of the boards were beaded (see [plate XC](#)). [61]

Ceilings. It seems to have been the almost universal practice of the Company to leave the rafters (which were also the joists of the second story) exposed in buildings such as sales shops and warehouses. This fact is demonstrated by surviving structures and, particularly as regards trading stores, by the photographs of Company shops referred to later in this chapter. Thus the floor planks of the second story, applied to the tops of the rafters, formed the ceiling of the ground floor rooms. This probably was the condition described by General Sherman in a somewhat ambiguous statement concerning a ceiling in the Fort Vancouver sale shop. [62]

With regard to the upper story, there is no such question. Describing the Vancouver trading store as it was in 1855, Sherman said there "was no covering above the upstairs room but the roof." [63] In other words, the ceiling was open. Since this condition is in conformity with what is known of usual Company practice, Sherman's statement may be accepted without hesitation.

Windows. At the Fort St. James warehouse the ground floor window openings are protected by a series of horizontal iron bars attached to the inside frames.

These bars are round, 5/8" in diameter, and flattened at the ends to receive two bolts or screws. It is probable that similar bars were used at Fort Vancouver. [64]

Hardware. An examination of the Fort Vancouver Depot inventories makes it obvious that many items of building hardware, such as hinges, nails, locks, and padlocks, were imported from England and carried in stock for construction purposes. [65] Archeological excavations at Fort Vancouver have provided and will provide many examples of such standard articles.

Field visits to surviving Company buildings at Fort Nisqually, Fort Langley, Fort Kamloops (fragment of structure in local museum), Fort St. James, and Lower Fort Garry, however, indicate that some types of hardware, such as door handles, hasps, hooks, and latches, often were not of standard pattern but were individually designed by the local blacksmith. A splendid example of a warehouse latch at York Factory is illustrated in [plate XCIII](#). Other typical hardware items are shown in the preliminary historic structures drawings for Fort Vancouver prepared under the direction of Mr. A. L. Koue and in several illustrations in the present report (see plates [XCI](#) and [XCII](#)). It will be noted that items from widely scattered posts show a remarkable similarity in design and feeling even though not identical.

Stairs. In warehouses and shops the universal Company practice, as far as can be determined from surviving old structures and from photographs of such buildings, seems to have been to construct stairs of heavy plank open treads, generally about 2- 1/2 inches thick, and stringers of about 3- inch thickness. [66] There were no handrails. A splendid and typical example of a warehouse stair is preserved at York Factory (see [plate XCIV](#)).

There usually seem, however, to have been protective railings on the second floor around the stairway opening. The railing in one of the warehouses at York Factory may be taken as a typical example (see [plate XCV](#)). Another and evidently later railing at Fort St. James is also of interest. The top of the rail is a 1- 1/2" x 3- 1/2" plank, rounded at the upper edges. It is supported by a series of posts, 2" square, set diagonally into holes in a base board. There are corresponding holes in the rail. The 2- 1/2" x 3- 1/4" corner post is 34- 1/2" high. [67]

Room arrangement. As far as is known, there is not a shred of information concerning the interior layout of the sale shop building. In 1866 the "Fort Colville storehouse" - - which was distinguished from the "warehouse" — is said to have been divided by "two partition walls." The building was not much smaller than the Fort Vancouver trade shop. [68] When the sale shop at Fort Langley was moved to a different building in 1858, the new store and a baling room occupied between them the entire lower floor of the structure. [69]

The available comparative data is thus not of much help, particularly as the other Company shops about which anything is known, such as the one at Lower Fort Garry, came at the ends of the buildings in which they were located. The trading store proper at Fort Vancouver evidently was in the center of the sale shop building or near to it, since the door was almost in the middle of the east wall.

The "breadth" of the 1858 Fort Langley sale shop building already mentioned was about 40 feet, and it was intended to have the shop proper occupy this entire width. It will be remembered that the "breadth" of the Fort Vancouver sale shop building was also 40 feet, so it would not have been out of keeping with Company practice if the trading store at Vancouver extended from the front to the rear wall.

Sale shop fittings. A newcomer to the Company's field of operations in America was somewhat taken aback upon his first visit to the Fort Vancouver trading store. "It seems in a state of confusion," he wrote in his diary after he saw the array of blankets, guns, strouds, trinkets, and many other items offered for sale. [70] But twenty years later another new arrival pronounced the sale shop to be "very conveniently and commodiously fitted up." [71]

Only one specific description of the Fort Vancouver sale shop is known to the present writer, and it seems of modest utility. It is given for what it is worth.

Shortly after arriving in Oregon following a difficult overland journey in 1842, a Willamette Valley settler named F. X. Matthieu "went down" to Fort Vancouver to buy some much-needed clothes. He was able to establish credit with Dr. McLoughlin, who gave him an order for about \$18 worth of goods. "Go to the office [sale shop?]," said the chief factor, "and get this filled."

"At the office [shop?]," said Matthieu many years later, "there was a little entrance, about eight feet square, and a little window into the store, where the goods were passed out. The clerk there was Doctor McLoughlin's son, whom I had seen in Montreal. He knew me, and at once opened the door inside and asked me in. 'Take all you need,' he said, 'and never mind the old man.'

"But I took only the amount of the order. But all the clothes were made for big fellows - - a great deal too big for me. So I took cloth, and got it made up the best I could." [72]

Lacking specific details concerning the Fort Vancouver sale shop, one must rely on descriptions of the trade stores at other Company posts. Robert Michael Ballantyne, once a clerk in Rupert's Land, later described in a novel the trading shop at Upper Fort Garry, evidently during the 1840's:

Its interior resembles that of the other stores in the country, being only a little larger. A counter encloses a space sufficiently wide to admit a dozen men, and serves to keep back those who are more eager than the rest. Inside this counter . . . stood our friend Peter Mactavish, who was the presiding genius of the scene.

"Shut the door now, and lock it," said Peter, in an authoritative tone, after eight or ten young voyageurs had crushed into the space in front of the counter. "I'll not supply you with so much as an ounce of tobacco if you let in another man."

Peter needed not to repeat the command. Three or four stalwart shoulders were applied to the door, which shut with a bang like a cannon- shot, and the key was turned.

"Come now, Antoine," began the trader, "we've lots to do, and not much time to do it in, so pray look sharp."

Antoine, however, was not to be urged on so easily. He had been meditating deeply all the morning on what he should purchase....

"Come now, Antoine," said Peter, throwing a green blanket at him; "I know you want that to begin with.... And that, too," he added, throwing him a blue cloth capote. "Anything else?"

"Oui, oui, monsieur. . . . Tabac, monsieur, tabac!"

"Oh, to be sure," cried Peter. "I might have guessed that that was uppermost in your mind. Well, how much will you have?" Peter began to unwind the fragrant weed off a coil of most appalling size and thickness, which looked like a snake of endless length. "Will that do?" and he flourished about four feet of the snake before the eyes of the voyageur.

Antoine accepted the quantity, and young Harry Somerville entered the articles against him in a book.

"Anything more, Antoine?" said the trader. "Ah, some beads and silks, eh? Oho, Antoine! - - By the way, Louis, have you seen Annette lately?"

Peter turned to another voyageur when he put this question, and the voyageur gave a broad grin as he replied in the affirmative, while Antoine looked a little confused. He did not care much . . . for jesting. So, after getting one or two more articles - - not forgetting half- a- dozen clay pipes, and a few yards of gaudy calico . . . - - he bundled up his goods, and made way for another comrade. [73]

More useful, perhaps, is a description of the trade store at Lower Fort Garry during the 1870's:

The sales- room is a square apartment, with no attempt at ornament, no plaster, the ceiling merely the joists and flooring of the second flat, thickly studded with nails and hooks, from which are suspended various articles of trade. Along the side walls are box shelves, nearly two feet deep. On the floor within the counter are piled bales of goods, bundles of prints, hardware, etc.; and this space within the counter comprises almost the entire room. A small area is railed off near the door sufficiently large to hold twenty standing customers. When this is filled, the remaining patrons must await their turn in the courtyard; and it is not at all an unusual sight to see from fifty to one hundred people standing quietly about outside until their time comes to be served. The best goods of all manufacturers alone are sold here. No shoddy or inferior goods are ever imported or sold by the company. Everything is purchased direct from producers and of a stipulated quality. The principal articles of trade are tea, sugar, calico, blankets, ammunition, fishing- gear, and a kind of cloth, very thick and resembling blanketing, called duffle. Coffee is rarely sold, and green tea is almost unknown, the black only being used. Raw spirits are sold to a large extent in the posts immediately contiguous to settlements. . . .

Amidst this stock of merchandise, composed in so great a part of staple articles, may be found, nevertheless, an assortment of dress goods and gewgaws over a century old - - old- time ruffs, stomachers, caps and what not; garments of antique cut and trim, articles of vertu, and apparel long since out of vogue are mixed up in a heterogeneous mass. . . . Yet doubtless, much would be found apropos to the reigning fashions; for here, too, maybe purchased the latest styles of wear upon Cheapside and Regent's Park - - kid gloves at fabulously low prices; made- up silks, Parisian bonnets, delicate foot gear, etc., with near neighbours of huge iron pots, copper cauldrons, and iron implements of grim aspect and indefinite weight, together with ships' cordage, oakum, pitch, and other marine necessities. Over this dispensary of needfuls and luxuries presides an accountant and two clerks, none of them gotten up in the elaborate costumes of the counter- waiters of civilization, but rather affecting buckskin coats, corduroy trousers, and the loudest styles of flannel shirts. [74]

From these descriptions one gathers that counters and shelves were an indispensable feature of the trade shop. That this condition was not unique to Fort Garry or a development of decades later than the 1840's is demonstrated by a few scraps of information from earlier times. During the construction of Fort Nisqually in 1833, for example, the following entry was made in the post journal on September 23: "Pierre Charles has been making a cou[n]ter for] the store. . . ." Three days later further information appeared: "Pierre making shelves in the store." [75]

But knowledge of the mere fact that there undoubtedly were counters and shelves in the Fort Vancouver sale shop does not provide much guidance for the reconstruction of those features. Once more we must look to the practices at other posts.

Some idea of the fittings of a Company sale shop may be derived from the instructions and specifications which Chief Factor James Douglas, at Victoria, sent to J. M. Yale, who was in charge of Fort Langley, on April 27, 1858:

I now send a supply of deals to complete the Fort Langley sale shop, and also a person named . . . Adams, who has contracted to do all the work, at his own expense according to the Contract and specifications herewith, for the sum of. . .

The plan of the counter and interior arrangements of the shop, is sent herewith. I was not sure of the exact breadth of the building, but we assumed it to be about 40', and made the internal arrangements accordingly. Should the breadth be less than 40', the stalls must be contracted to suit the dimensions of the house, but the counter and passage must remain the same . . .; at the other end of the shop we shall have a baling room partitioned off for packing Servants orders and other purposes.

The shop and baling room will therefor occupy the whole of the lower part of the building. . . Pray bear in mind that the shop is to be in the lower story and not in the garret of that building. [76]

The specifications mentioned by Douglas and enclosed with his letter were as follows:

I, Daniel Fowler Adams hereby agree and Contract in consideration of the sum of Four Hundred and forty dollars to be paid on the faithful completion of this Contract to perform all the Work mentioned in the Specifications in a Workmanlike manner that is to say.

Windows. To be fitted with outside facings hinges etc complete. 12 in all.

Shutters. To be made in halves and properly hung and planed tongued and grooved with an iron bar to secure the same when closed.

Door. Four feet 4'0" wide to be made in two halves and properly hung - - to be double- formed of 7/8" or 1" stuff planed, tongued and grooved the inner lining or thickness to be put on in the opposite direction to the outside and fitted with locks etc complete.

Counter. To be in all 90 lineal feet with two openings as shown on plan - - 3'4" high - - 2'6" wide distance between counters 5'0" rounded at the ends instead of square as shown on plan. Outsides all round to be panelled

and properly framed, planed and dressed, - - and fitted with drawers 3'0" wide and 6" deep. Inside the counter to be a shelf rough but properly fitted - - the openings mentioned above to be formed with panel doors like the counter facing itself.

Stalls. 8 in number. Lower shelf to be of same height as Counters. 3 shelves 2'0" apart - - these Stalls 11'0" long and 4'0" wide [sic] planed, tongued and grooved and properly framed and joined into uprights - - which are to be 6 in number and planed.

Gun Racks Shelves Over the Windows right up to the Ceiling 1'6" deep and 1'0" wide and 1'6" apart to extend to height of Stalls. At the end of the building to be 3 rows of shelves 2'6" deep and of same height as Stalls.

The Whole of this Work to be faithfully performed in a substantial and Workmanlike manner and to the entire satisfaction of the Officer in Charge of the Fort. All materials to be found and delivered on the Spot. The entire work to be completed in 6 weeks from the time of arrival at Langley.

Dated this 26th day of April 1858. [77]

In all of the descriptions quoted above a common feature will be observed. By one means or another - - a railing, a small entrance, or simply by a confined space between the counters - - provision was made for limiting the number of customers conducting business at one time.

Further information concerning the fittings of Hudson's Bay Company sale shops may be gained from historic photographs of such stores at posts scattered over the firm's field of operations. Unfortunately these pictures date from the early decades of the present century, by which time such modern innovations as glassed display cases, spring scales, and canned foods had considerably altered the appearances of the shops. Yet tradition died hard at the establishments of the Honorable Company, and enough of the old features, such as the exposed ceiling beams, the hanging kettles, and the shelves heavy with bolts of cloth, remained to give an idea of how the stores of the 1840's must have looked. A selection of such historic photographs, and modern photographs of old shops, is included among the illustrations to this report (see plates [XCVI](#), [XCVII](#), [XCVIII](#), [XCIX](#), [C](#), [CI](#), [CII](#), and [CIII](#)).

Another source of information is to be found in surviving Canadian stores of the 1840's and '50's. A splendid example is to be found in the annex to Seven Oaks House, at the West Kildonan Museum, near Rupertsland Boulevard and Jones Street, West Kildonan, Manitoba. This annex was the original house on the property. It was built in 1835 and later served as a post office and store.

Constructed in typical Canadian style, the shop section has interior vertical siding with no trim except a small base board. The counters and shelves must be much like those in Hudson's Bay Company shops of the period. [78]

Furnishings

The "furnishings" of a retail general store would, of course, consist primarily of the counters, shelves, and drawers, which have already been discussed, and of the actual goods displayed for sale or held in reserve for replenishing shelves as needed. But there undoubtedly were also at hand various items of "furniture" of a different type, articles such as scales, funnels, and ledgers used to facilitate the conduct of business.

Unfortunately, the inventories of "articles in use" at Fort Vancouver for 1844 and 1845 contain no separate listing for the sale shop. It can only be assumed that the lists of articles in use "in Stores" included the items employed in the "Shop and Store" building as well as in the other warehouses. Articles inventoried as being in the Stores which might have been found in the sale shop include the following:

Small iron Beams & Copper Scales

Tin funnels

Sets tin Measures

Sets, brass weights

Sets iron weights, of sizes. [79]

No inventory of articles in use at Fort Vancouver for 1846 has yet been found, but the inventory taken in the spring of 1848 makes amends for earlier deficiencies. It not only includes a separate listing for the sale shop, but it itemizes even such pieces of furniture as a desk and a stool. Undoubtedly the changes in shop equipment between 1845 and 1848 were few. The 1848 inventory of articles in use in the sale shop is as follows:

2 counter Beams, with copper Scales

1 small counter Beam, with copper Scales

1 small brass Scales & weights, for Specie

6 assorted tin Pans

3 assorted tin Kettles

1 set Weights, 1/4 lb. @ [to] 14 lbs.

1 desk

1 Stool

1 Table

1 ivory Folder

2 glass cone Inkstands
2 Rulers

1 old Rifle [80]

Also in evidence undoubtedly were several account books (which will be described in chapter XIX) together with the necessary pencils, quill pens, and other writing materials of the period.

There was one item of furniture, however, that was conspicuous by its absence. Due to the fear of fire, no stoves or other means of heating were permitted in the shop or in the stores at Company posts. [81]

By far the most colorful part of the "furnishings" consisted of the goods offered for sale. Enough has been said about the manner in which they were displayed to serve as a guide for refurnishing, but it now remains to examine the stock itself in some detail.

For this purpose it seems desirable to reproduce the inventory of the Fort Vancouver sale shop for one of the years during the period in which we are particularly interested. That for 1844 has been chosen simply because it was encountered first in the Company's archives. Additional scattered items from the inventories of 1845 and 1846 have been listed also in order to give a more extended view of the items carried in stock.

It should be remembered that the inventories show only the goods on hand in the spring of each year and not the entire range of products offered at the start of the Outfit. [82] But they will certainly provide adequate guidance for all practical refurnishing purposes.

More complete lists of goods which might have been found in the sale shop when stocks were full will be found in the depot inventories appended to chapter XII. Perhaps still more complete lists could be garnered from the annual indents or invoices (lists of goods ordered from London) of the Columbia Department, but there seems to be no way of knowing which of these items were to be offered at the Fort Vancouver sale shop.

The inventory for 1844 is as follows:

Inventory of Sundry Goods, Property of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Company
remaining on hand in Fort Vancouver Sale Shop Spring 1844. [83]

2	Yards blue Baize
2	Yards green Baize
32	Yards scarlet Baize
6	Col[ore]d Earthen ware wash hand Basins
70	Tin deep Basins
1	Bunche l[igh]t blue Cut Glass Beads No. 4
1	Lb. common ro[un]d dark blue Beads No. 4
2	Lb. common ro[un]d dark green Beads No. 4
15	Lb. common ro[un]d dark white Beads No. 4
13	broad Scarlet Worsted Belts
11/12	dozen D&M liquid blacking
9	Green Blankets 4 p[oin]ts
32	Green Blankets 3 p[oin]ts
1	Inferior Blankets 4 pts. B. B. [blue bars]
9	plain Blankets 3- 1/2 pts B. B.
60	plain Blankets 3 pts B. B.
137	plain Blankets 2- 1/2 pts B. B.
6	plain Blankets 1- 1/2 pts B. B.
65	plain Blankets 1 pts B. B.
5	rosed Blankets 10/4 B. B.
14	yards black Bombazette 1/2 piece
1- 1/4	dark green Bombazette
10	piece of colors Bombazette superior
1	p[ai]r large Cast Iron pipe Boxes pr. [for] Cart Wheels
1/2	doz. Japand. tin Tobacco Boxes w[ith] glasses
1- 5/6	doz. wood shaving large Boxes w[ith] glasses
1/2	doz. Snuff Boxes
7/12	doz. Gentlemens leather Braces
1/12	doz. hand dusting Brushes
2- 1/12	doz. Nail Brushes
1/6	doz. large paint Brushes
6- 75/144	Gross white & y[ellow] metal coat Buttons
1- 1/2	Gross Plated Jacket Buttons
1	G[rea]t Gross Jacket bone mountd [?] Buttons
1/3	Gross Mother pearl Jacket Buttons
1- 11/12	Gross Maltese Buttons

6- 7/12	Gross Mother pearl Shirt Buttons
4- 2/3	Gross round gilt Vest Buttons
5- 134/144	Gross Wh. & Y. metal Vest Buttons
2	Gross plated ball Vest Buttons
4- 26/144	Gross Covered Cloth Vest Buttons
1	Gross flexible silk convex Vest Buttons
1	piece blue Camlet
6	M Percussion Caps
1/4	doz. white Cotton Caps
3- 1/6	doz. grey milled worsted Caps
2	second Cloth Capots 4 Ells
1	second Cloth Capots 3- 1/2 Ells
2	common Cloth Capots 4- 1/2 Ells hoods
13	common Cloth Capots 4 Ells hoods
1	common Cloth Capots 2- 1/2 Ells hoods
1	common Indian Cloth Capots 1 Ells Capes
5	yards Superfine blue Cassimere
20	yards Superfine mixed Cassimere
109	yards Iron trace Chain No. 4
11	yards Iron trace Chain & pipes
2- 1/3	doz. Socket Chisels of sizes
4	yards second dark blue Cloth
18	yards second light blue Cloth
3- 1/2	yards second claret brown Cloth
40- 1/2	yards second dark green Cloth
22	yards second grass green Cloth
14	yards second Scarlet Cloth
1- 1/2	yards Superfine green Cloth
6- 1/2	yards Superfine dk. grey Cloth
14	yards Superfine Scarlet Cloth
99- 2/3	yards brown lest [?] Cloth
3	yards green lest Cloth
25- 1/2	yards white bath Coating
1/16	lb. Cochinear
12- 7/12	doz. large Cramber horn Combs
2- 11/12	doz. horn dressing Combs

2- 1/2	doz. small Ivory dandriff Combs
5- 3/4	doz. Shell braid Combs No. 2
43	Worsted Comforters
1- 1/2	yard dark olive Corduroy
10- 1/2	pieces fine printed Cotton
1	pieces Navy blue Cotton
135- 1/4	yards fine Striped Cotton
109- 2/3	pics Striped Regatta Cotton
67	yards grey Shirting Cotton 30 ins.
12	yards grey Shirting Cotton 26 ins.
2	pieces White British Cotton
22- 1/2	yards White Estopellas Cotton
1	piece white 5/4 Salamphore Cotton
26	yards white 9/8 Shirting Cotton
3- 3/8	lb. Cotton Wick
3/4	doz. Assd. earthenware Dishes
3	pairs white Serge Drawers
28	yds. plain Druggets
23	yards Striped Druggets
2	pieces dark blue Duffle
3/4	Gross cold. 4dy. silk Italian Ferrets
2- 1/2	dozen flat bastard Files 8 ins.
1/3	dozen h'lf. round smooth Files 8 ins.
1- 1/2	dozen h'lf round smooth Files 10 ins.
1/12	dozen flat rasp Files 12 ins.
1/6	dozen rattair Files 8 ins.
4- 2/3	dozen cross cut saw Files 6- 1/2 ins.
1/6	dozen hand saw Files 5 ins.
2- 2/3	dozen pit saw Files 5- 1/2 ins.
12	yards com blue Flannel
3	yards com green Flannel
173	yards com white Flannel
170	yards Superfine white Flannel
78	Duck Sheeting Frocks
1- 1/4	Gross highland worsted Garters
22	yards green silk Gauze

5- 1/2	doz. small assorted Gimlets
7/12	doz. "Spike" assorted Gimlets
455	yards fancy Earlston Gingham
4- 5/12	doz. P[aper] C[ased] Looking Glasses
7- 7/12	doz. M[etal] Frame Glasses
2- 5/6	doz. r'ge Maho[gan]y Frame Glasses
41	panes Window Glass 7- 1/2 x 8- 1/2 in.
1- 1/4	doz. Gentlemens dark Kid Gloves
1/2	doz. Ladies short Kid Gloves
1	com[mon] Indian gun 3- 1/2 feet
9/10	⌘ best black Gunflints
4/10	⌘ Musket Gunflints
2- 5/144	Gro. wire Gunworms
6	pair Hames
4	Carpenters large Kent Hammers
1	Carpenters small Kent Hammers
2- 1/2	doz. Turkey Band[an]a Cotton Handkfs.
1/6	doz. tamboured White Muslin Hndkfs.
5- 1/2	doz. red & White flowd. lappet Hndkfs.
1/3	doz. Midg. black silk Hndkfs. 36 ins.
1/12	doz. Paris silk Handkfs.
37	boys plated wool Hats
43	mens plated Beaver Hats
20	mens plated Beaver Hats
13	mens plated Spanish Beaver Hats
89	mens plated com. wool Beaver Hats
74	mens fine plated Beaver Hats
4- 5/12	dozen Oiled silk Hatcovers
5/6	dozen waxed silk Hatcovers
5/6	dozen dovetail Cassette Hinges 2 in.
7- 1/2	Gross metal hooks & Eyes
73/1000	⌘ Kirby bent trout Hooks
15	Powder Horns
1- 1/2	doz. mens col[ore]d cotton half Hose
45	boys common Cloth Jackets
23	mens common Cloth Jackets

1/3	doz. hand plane Irons
1/6	doz. Coopers jointer plane Irons
1	pair sad Irons
3	Earthen ware Jugs 1 quart
1- 5/6	dozen Rowlands Kalydor
25	Lbs. open brass Kettles
17	Lbs. Covd. Copper Kettles
150	Lbs. open Copper Kettles
1	wrought Iron tea Kettles 6 quarts
42	nests Covd. tin Kettles<
5	nests Covd. tin Kettles #1
23	nests Covd. tin Kettles #2
15	nests Covd. tin Kettles #3
39	nests Covd. tin Kettles #4
98	nests Covd. tin Kettles [#]5
110	nests Covd. tin Kettles [#]6
60	nests Covd. tin Kettles [#]7
3- 2/3	doz. Butchers Cast Steel Knives
7- 1/6	doz. com. pocket Knives
24- 5/12	doz. Scalping Knives
2	doz. 1'ge fancy forebuck table Knives & forks
22- 1/2	lbs. English sole Leather
2	single Cod Lines 24 thds.
44- 1/2	yards Irish Linen
54	yards bed ticking Linen
1- 1/3	doz. double link Chest Locks
1/12	doz. Iron double Pad Locks 3 ins.
1/3	doz. fancy Stock Locks 10 ins.
6- 9/28	p's common colored Merine
3- 21/28	p's Superfine colored Merine
105	ps worsted Mittens
1	⌘ 4d brad Nails
13- 1/2	⌘ 14dy. fine drawn rose Nails
36/112	Cwt. spike Nails 7 in.
666/1000	⌘ 2dy. clout head tack Nails
52/144	Gross assd. wood screw Nails

225/1000	Ⓜ com. brown Thread Needles
200/1000	Ⓜ Darning Needles
200/1000	Ⓜ Glovers Needles
850/1000	Ⓜ whitechapel Needles
7	long handle frying Pans
4	oval tin Pans #1
2	oval tin Pans #2
1	oval tin Pans #4
1	oval tin Pans #7
2	oval tin Pans[#]8
35	round tin Pans [#]1
10	round tin Pans [#]2
4	round tin Pans [#]4
8	round tin Pans [#]7
2	round tin Pans [#]8
11/12	doz. large Castas strop Paste
5/12	doz. small Castas strop Paste
3	prs. Carpenters Pincers
1/4	dble. doz. B. C. Pins
2- 112/144	Gross hunters clay Pipes
5/6	Gross long clay Pipes 18 ins.
1	pr. grooving planes 2 ins.
8- 3/4	doz. large Earthenware deep Plates
4- 1/2	doz. large Earthenware flat Plates
1/4	doz. tin camp Plates
1- 1/12	doz. plough Shares 835
3/4	doz. plough Shares 836
1/2	doz. Earthenware tea Pots
1	Cast Iron Pot 8 G'ns.
1	Cast Iron Pot 12 G'ns.
1	Cast Iron Pot 14 G'ns.
1	Cast Iron Pot 16 G'ns.
1	tin Coffee Pot
147	Japd. Tin Pot 1 pt.
271	Japd. Tin Pot 1/2 pt.
408	Japd. Tin Pot 1 pt.

14/112	Cwt. Glaziers Putty
2- 2/3	doz. com. paper cased Razors 1 ea.
1/6	doz. fine mor[occo] cased ea. 2 blk. hand[le]d Razors
1- 1/3	doz. fine mor[occo] cased ea. 2 Ivory hand[le]d Razors
16	pieces assorted 4dy. Ribbon
7	pieces assorted 6dy. Ribbon
8- 1/2	pieces assorted 10dy. Ribbon
3- 3/4	pieces assorted 24dy. Ribbon
25- 1/3	Gross com. brass finger Rings
46	Gross stoned brass finger Rings
51	yards strong twilled tow Sacking
1	Pit Saw
8- 1/2	doz. Tailors midg. Scissors
1/12	doz. Tailers small Scissors
1/2	doz. hay Scythes 40 inches
1/6	doz. hay Scythes 48 inches
2- 1/2	yards black silk Serge
8	yards green silk Serge
1/6	doz. clipping Sheep Sheers
10	yards Russian Sheeting 45 ins, bleached
95	men['s] com. striped Cotton Shirts
207	men['s] fine striped Cotton Shirts
36	men['s] white Cotton Shirts linen collars & bosoms
86	men['s] com. wh. flannel Shirts
1	men['s] rowing Shirts
39	men['s] blue Serge Shirts
10	prs boys Shoes P.C. 3/6
157	prs girls Shoes
9	prs Infants Shoes P.C. 3/
9	prs mens Shoes
50	prs mens Shoes
5	prs mens Shoes
4	prs mens Shoes
20	prs mens Shoes
7	prs womens Shoes
40/112	Cwt. Ball Shot

53/112	Cwt. Duck Shot #1
37/112	Cwt. Pigeon Shot
13- 7/12	doz. Sickles wh. teeth No. 4
1/2	doz. Japd. Snuffers
67/112	Cwt. Mottled Soap
2- 1/4	doz. Vegetable Soap
11	doz. Windsor Soap
5	lbs. tinmans Solder
1/12	doz. Spades wh. handles
1/2	piece common Sponge
1/12	doz. Iron tind. table Spoons
4- 5/6	doz. Britannia Metal table Spoons
5- 1/2	doz. Britannia Metal tea Spoons
7	lbs. best Poland Starch
2- 5/12	doz. oval polished fire Steels
1- 1/5	pieces H.B. plain green Strouds
1- 1/2	pieces H.B. plain white Strouds
2/3	piece common N.C. blue Do Strouds
1- 1/5	piece common N.C. red Strouds
1/2	doz. Midg. black holland Tape
1/12	doz. broad white holland Tape
1/6	doz. midg. white holland Tape
1/3	doz. narrow white holland Tape
8	yards McDuff Tartan
1	prepared sheeting Tent 12 Ells
2- 112/144	Gross womens com. assd. brass Thimbles
3- 1/2	lbs. black & coloured Thread #25
8	lbs. white cotton ball Thread #100
1- 1/4	lbs. white cotton ounce Thread #26
1- 2/9	lbs. white cotton stitching Thread 120
1/8	lbs. Coloured silk sewing Thread
4- 1/2	lbs. Canada roll Tobacco
458	lbs. Carrot Tobacco
54	lbs. Irish roll Tobacco
12	lbs. Leaf Tobacco
894	lbs. Cavindish plug Tobacco

10	pairs striped Melbe. buckskin Trousers
82	pairs Canvas Trousers
162	pairs common Cloth Trousers
1	pairs second Cloth Trousers
75	pairs bedford Cord Do
2	pairs unbleached Russian drill Trousers
1	pairs gambroon crape Trousers
1	pairs moleskin Trousers
3	pairs tweed Trousers
1/3	doz. glass Tumblers 1/2 pint
4	lbs. turmeric Powder
2- 5/6	dozen holland Twine
1	lb. pure Chinese Vermilion
196	common blue Cloth Vests
78	second blue Cloth Vests
34	scarlet Vests wh. sleeves
13	lbs. brass collar Wire
8/11	stone tinsmiths Iron Wire #10
1- 1/12	dozen steel Knitting Wires
11	lbs. grey darning Worsted
1	lbs. Scarlet & Crimson Worsted
10	prs. Sea Boots
2- 1/2	doz. Rowlands pearl dent. Odonte [?]
62	yards best Osnaburghs
	<u>Stationary</u>
2/3	doz. black Inkpowder
1/2	quire blotting Paper
1	ream ruled foolscap Paper
1- 17/20	ream thick quarto post Paper
13/20	ream plain yellow uncut pot Paper
1/6	doz. black lead Pincels [pencils]
55/100	Ct. Slate Pincels
13	small Slates
1/4	doz. narrow pink Office Tape
	<u>Provisions</u>
280	Lbs. sugared Carraways

1- 1/2	Lbs. Cinnamon
25- 1/2	Lbs. Cloves
80/112	Cwt. Havannah Coffee
49- 1/2	lbs. ginger Lozenges
48	lbs. paregoric Lozenges
44	lbs. peppermint Lozenges
1	lbs. Mustard
39	lbs. Nutmegs
8	lbs. pearl Ash
100	lbs. black pepper
1- 8/112	Cwt. Muskatel Raisins
1- 1/2	Cwt. Rice
4- 60/112	Cwt. Crash Sugar
17	Cwt. Congon Tea
12	Gns. Vinegar
56	Lbs Barley Sugar
3- 34/112	Cwt. unshelled Almonds

Medicines

12	Lbs. Lemon Peel
1- 1/2	Lbs. Yellow wax

Naval Stores

24	yards Canvass No. 7
1- 45/112	Cwt. tard. Rope 3/8 in.
Bunches seaming Twine	

Varney [84]

3	Washing Boards
179	yards white Cambric Cotton

Spalding

16	Jacket Lamps
3	standing Lamps
1	Iron sauce Pan
6	Tin soup Tureens

American Goods

170	Lbs. Cavendish plug Tobacco
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Wyeth

15	shot Belts
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Damaged

4 plain Blankets 1- 1/2 pt. B. B.
1 com. Cloth Capot 4 Ells hoods
4 doz. small Tailor Scissors

Fixed Price

7/12 dozen house Bells
2- 1/16 dozen hand Dags 7 in.

School Books

7 Lithurgic 32 Mo.
2 Mavois Spelling Book
42 slips on boards
77 souters Primers
88 souters sacred history Catechism
14 French 24 mo. Testaments
1 Walkers first 4 Rules
3 Walkingham's tutors assistant

Extracts from "Inventory of Sundry Goods property of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Company remaining on hand in Fort Vancouver Sale Shop Spring 1845." 85

1/12 doz. Carpenters Adzes No. 3
5/12 doz. Screw Augers
3/4 gross hawk Bells
8- 1/2 yds. black spotted Blond
6 lbs. stone Blue
10 E[arthen]ware butter Boats
3 prs. mens sea Boots
4- 1/2 doz. Gent. Cotton Braces
4 sett [sic] Shoe Brushes
1- 5/6 doz. tooth Brushes
1/6 gro. tind. roller Bucklas [Buckles?] 2 ins.
5/6 gro. tind. roller Bucklas [Buckles?] 1- 1/2 ins.
1/2 gro. tind. roller Bucklas [Buckles?] 1 ins.
5/6 gro. Jacket mould Buttons
1/2 doz. wors[ted] Scar[let] milled Caps
6 large ox Chains
7 small ox Chainsz

5/6 doz. iron trap Chains
 Woahoo [Oahu] Chairs
 2 dress cambleteen Coats
 4 doz. scarlet worsted Comforters
 1 yd. bleached Diaper
 7/12 doz. col[ore]d cock Feathers
 3 doz. black foxtail Feathers
 1- 1/2 gro. plain cold, worsted Garters
 1- 3/4 gro. Scar. striped Garters
 3- 4/5 pcs. cold web Gerthing
 1- 8/30 pcs. white web Gerthing
 5 lb. Glue
 1/2 doz. strong socket Gouges
 4/5 bbl. TPF Gunpowder (of 100 lbs.)
 15 pr. Hames & horse Collars
 8/144 gross brass Jews Harps
 1/2 doz. iron butt Hinges 5 x 2- 1/2 ins.
 1/10 ~~M~~ Cod extra large hooks 3020
 1/4 doz. bronzed hooks & chains p. Cloaks.
 1/6 doz. gilt hooks
 3/4 doz. mens long cold, cotton Hose
 1/2 doz. mens 1/2" cold worsted Hose
 2- 1/2 doz. mens long fancy sanquar Hose
 1/2 doz. mens 1/2" fancy sanquar Hose
 1/12 doz. womens long wh[ite] cotton Hose
 5 doz. Girls cold, worsted Hose
 38 yds. Huckabuck
 - - nests covd. tin pr. Kettles [sizes 8, 10, 11, 12, 13]
 2 pr. Ivory hdled carving large Knives & forks #1003
 1 britannia metal Ladle
 22 lb. soft bar Lead
 10 lb. Manchester baling Line
 1/2 doz. iron ball Molds
 26 boxes rowlands pearl dent[?]
 1 dutch camp Oven 2 gns.
 5/12 doz. Cakes lar. razor strop Paste

1/6 doz. Cakes sm. razor strop Paste
 1 set plough Irons complete E
 1/2 doz [plough?] Blades
 2 upper Chaps [?]
 1 Ploughshare #835
 1 Ploughshare 836
 24 pr. Ploughshare Traces (Incd. in sets plough Irons)
 32 sets swingle tree Irons
 1/2 gro. 8dy. hair Ribbons
 1/4 doz. extract of Roses
 1 X cut saw 5 feet
 1 hand saw 26 ins.
 1 tenon saw 16 ins.
 3- 1/2 doz. common ladies scissors
 1/6 doz. fine ladies scissors
 1- 1/2 doz. hay scythes 40 ins.
 8- 3/4 yds. blk. silk Serge
 10 yds. green silk Serge
 32 (?) yds. black Shalloon
 3/4 5/4 resist cotton Shawls
 1/2 assd. Tiolet Shawls
 5 prs. sheep clipping Sheers
 4 prs. mens bluchers Shoes
 5 prs. mens Golashes Shoes
 7 prs. mens calf bd. Shoes
 1 prs. mens Wellington Shoes
 6 prs. womens weltz Shoes
 52 prs. womens Oahu Shoes
 13 yds. Gras de Naples white Silk
 4 prs. Cassatte [sic] straps wh. roller buckles
 1 pr. printed beaverteen Trousers
 [glass Tumblers, 1/2, 1/4, 1/8 pint sizes]
 45 yds. blue cotton Velvet
 1- 1/2 yds. blue silk Velvet

Provisions

Woahoo Cof[f]ee

24/112 Cwt. Currants
Woahoo Molasses
brown sugar

School Books

1/2 doz. assd. Childrens Books
5 English prayer Books
94 copy slips

Extracts from "Inventory . . . Fort Vancouver Sale Shop," spring, 1846. [86]

1- 2/3 doz. horse Bells
2 broad Scar. word. Belts
14 prs. Hessian Boots
15 prs. Wellington Boots
1 prs. Clarence Boots
1- 11/12 doz. cloth Brushes
1/12 doz. hair Brushes
2- 11/18 gro. overcoat pearl Buttons
1/12 gro. metal brace Buttons
1/12 gro. horn brace Buttons
4- 25/144 gro. figd. brass Buttons Vest
2- 3/4 doz. Gents Lambswool Gloves
94 prs. boys strong Shoes
49 prs. childrens Shoes
209 prs. Girls Shoes
4 prs. Mens ancle [sic] Shoes
36 prs. Mens light Shoes
34 prs. Mens strong Shoes
6 prs. Mens fine morocco Shoes (leather)
12 prs. Mens com. Shoes (leather)
4 prs. Mens Carpet Shoes
3 prs. youths Shoes
5 yds. McDuff Tartan
56 yds. Clan Ranald Tartan
2 Ladies draw silk Bonnets
22 ladies Bonnets Shapes

It will be noted that the items in the inventories quoted above are all articles imported from England, the Hawaiian Islands, or other overseas region. Yet it is known, from inventories at other posts, from settlers' narratives, and from individual accounts such as that of James Flett quoted earlier in this chapter, that the Company's sale shops stocked and sold a considerable amount of farm produce as well as items manufactured at the posts or purchased from the Indians. Such was certainly the case at Fort Vancouver. [87]

The annual inventories of the stock in the Fort Vancouver sale shop, at least during most of the 1840's, do not seem to list the locally produced articles on hand, but in the Company's archives in London there has been preserved a separate account book containing the so- called "country produce" inventories in the Columbia District for Outfit 1840/41 [Outfit 1840]. The rather brief list relating to the Fort Vancouver sale shop is as follows:

Fort Vancouver Sale Shop Outfit 1840

Country Produce & Country made articles remaining on hand spring 1841

Country Produce

- 35 lbs. California Grease
- 42 Chev[reui]l [mule deer] Skins
- 13 Portage Straps

Country Made

- 1 Half sqe Head Axe
- 1 Canvas Bag pr. Salt
- 12 Garden Hoes
- 426 lbs. Wrought Iron
- 20 Hunters Knives
- 101 Large round Tin Pans
- 64 Boat Pans
- 22 Porringers
- 4 Hook Pots
- 3 Tin Milk Strainers
- 2 Tin Milk Tureens [88]

Recommendations

- a. It is not known when the weatherboarding was applied to the exterior of the sale shop. Unless additional information comes to hand indicating that this finish was applied after 1845, it is suggested that the sale shop be reconstructed with the siding.
- b. It is suggested that prior to preparing the working drawings for reconstruction of the sale shop the advice of the Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada, be obtained, so that we can benefit from the drawings made and the experienced gained as the result of planned restoration at Fort St. James, British Columbia.
- c. It is suggested that the front door treatment be as shown in the Coode water color, without the side lights and the projecting porch shown in the 1860 photograph. The lack of definition in the Coode sketch, however, still allows the possibility that there was a light over the door.
- d. The door trim and the window trim on the first floor should be painted white. The door should be painted a dark reddish brown.
- e. The number of windows should be as shown in the 1860 photograph.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI:

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON SALE SHOP GOODS

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

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

descriptions have been encountered, and they are given here for what they may be worth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER XI: ENDNOTES

1. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 4; H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 37

2. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 4, 7.

3. Ibid., 17.

4. Ibid., 11.

5. In general function, that is storage and sales, the buildings of 1845 resembled those of 1841, but not in specific function. For instance, the fur store of 1845 was on the site of the 1841 Indian trade shop; and the receiving store of 1845 was on the site of the 1841 fur store.

6. Testimony of T. Lowe, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 24; testimony of W. H. Gray, in ibid., [VIII], 164.

7. Ibid., [VIII], 214.

8. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 4.

9. Ibid., 17.

10. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 11.

11. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 17.

12. H.B.C.A., B.223/6/42, MS, fols., 148- 150d.

13. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 75- 77.

14. For citations of sources relating to the destruction of the sale shop see Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, 157- 160.

15. On August 27, 1844, Clerk Thomas Lowe at Fort Vancouver noted in his diary: "Men getting their advances from the Sale Shop." These words may indicate that the once- a- year rule was still in force at the depot. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 4.

16. William Fraser Tolmie, "Diary," in Washington Historical Quarterly, XXIII (July, 1932), 216. See also Tolmie, Journals, 173, 176- 177.

17. In 1845 and early 1846 the basic pricing policy for sales at Company shops was that stated in the first standing rule of the Standing Rules and Regulations of 1843. This first standing rule reads as follows:

That the following be the Tariff for Sales throughout the Northern and Southern Departments.

Commissioned Gentlemen. The Depot Inventory Tariff for all Goods supplied them during the Summer and 25 p Cent thereon for all subsequent supplies, without distinction, whether taken at the Depot or Inland, Wines and Spirits excepted, to be at 100 p Cent on the Depot Inventory Tariff, but all Country and

Colonial Produce at the Depot Inventory Tariff or actual cost throughout the year.

Clerks and Servants. 50 p Cent on the prime cost of all imported Goods and 12- 1/2 p Cent on the Depot Cost of all Country made articles, supplied during the Summer at the Depot Wines and Spirits excepted, to be continued at fixed prices viz. Madeira Wine 20/- Port and all other Wines 16/- Shrub Gin and Brandy 16/- Spirits reduced to proof strength 12/- p Gallon: and all subsequent supplies without distinction of articles, whether taken at the Depot or Inland, to be charged 50 p Cent on the Depot Inventory Tariff, with the exception of Wines and Spirits, to be sold at 50 p Cent on the Depot Summer Sale Tariff to Servants, all country Produce to be sold throughout the year at 50 p Cent and Red River or Colonial Produce at 12- 1/2 p Cent on Inventory prices.

Wesleyan Missionaries - - to be charged at the Tariff for Sales to Clerks and Servants. H.B.C.A., B.239/k/2, MS, 293.

As far as the Columbia District was concerned, this tariff was modified by the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land at its meeting at Red River beginning June 7, 1845:

In order to simplify the Sale Tariffs in the Columbia District

It is Resolved 76th That they be determined as follows vizt Commissioned Gentlemen Clerks and Servants as p. 1st Standing Rule of 1843, the Summer Tariff at the Depot, commencing on the 1st March and ending on the 31st October each year. Sandwich Islanders on wages exceeding the Standard of the District 200 p.Cent or upwards on prime cost, Settlers and Missionaries of all denominations and strangers 100 p.Cent on prime cost for Cash or approved Bills, Dollars being valued at 4/6 each. Settlers in payment of Furs or wheat to receive goods at 50 p.Cent on prime cost. H.B.C.A., B.239/k/2, MS, 364- 365; both quotations supplied through the kindness of Mrs. Joan Craig, Archivist, H.B.C.

18. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts," in OHQ, LXIII (June-September, 1962), 182.

19. Drury, First White Women, I, 112.

20. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 51.

21. John A. Hussey, Champoeg: Place of Transition: A Disputed History (Portland, Oregon, 1967), 108- 109; H. S. Lyman, "Reminiscences of F. X. Matthieu," in OHQ, I (March, 1900), 102.

22. Fort Nisqually, Settlers' Accounts, Nov. 1841- Sept. 1842, MS, I, 2- 3, in Fort Nisqually Collection, in Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. The above entries are extracts only and do not reproduce Flett's complete account.
23. Fort Nisqually, Settlers' Accounts, June 1842- Sept. 1843, MS, III, 21.
24. Lyman, "Reminiscences of F. X. Matthieu," in OHQ, I (March, 1900), 102.
25. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 225.
26. Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, 27- 28.
27. H.B.S., IV, 219- 220.
28. Drury, First White Women, I, 112- 113.
29. Ibid., 103.
30. Minto, "Reminiscences," in OHQ, II (September, 1901), 246.
31. H.B.S., IV, 286.
32. Elliott, "British Values in Oregon," in OHQ, CCCII (March, 1931), 43.
33. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/39, MS, fols. 109d- 118d.
34. J. A. Grahame to Dugald Mactavish, Vancouver, June 18, 1855, MS, in Fort Nisqually Collection.
35. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/41, MS, fols. 114d- 116.
36. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/42, MS, fols. 144d- 145d.
37. This sketch of Grahame's career is based principally upon Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 466; Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, 110; Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 8- 11; and E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Third Series, 1844- 46 (Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, vol. VII, Toronto, 1944) (hereafter cited as H.B.C., VII), 107 note.
38. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 118- 119.

39. These estimates are derived by measuring between the outside edges of the footings of opposite walls, not between the footing centers as shown on Mr. Caywood's map. Caywood, Final Report, 10- 11, and Map of Archeological Excavations, sheet 4. Ordinarily in Company structures the outside edges of the footings were flush with the outer surfaces of the sills and walls they supported.
40. Caywood, Final Report, 10.
41. Vavasour ground plan (see plate VI); and Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 91, 137, 176- 177; [IX], 119; [XI], 219.
42. Testimony of W. H. Gray, in ibid., [VIII], 184.
43. The surviving old H.B.C. warehouse at Fort St. James, British Columbia, has full head room on its second story, and its windows are even closer to the top of the walls than were those at Fort Vancouver. Compare plate XXVIII and plate LXXVIII. The clearance on the second floor of the St. James warehouse is 6 feet 9 inches.
44. Testimony of W. H. Gray, 1866, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VII], 184. He resisted an attempt by a lawyer to get him to state that the posts were 22 feet high. It is interesting to note that the posts at the Fort St. James warehouse, a very comparable structure, are about 16 feet 4- 1/2 inches high.
45. Inquiries should be addressed to Director, Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 400 Laurier Avenue W., Ottawa 4, Ontario, Canada.
46. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 164.
47. Ibid., [IX], 267.
48. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 119.
49. Ibid., [II], 37. It should be noted, however, that a visitor of 1841 said that the fort buildings then were "generally" of "hewn logs." Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841.
50. J. Calder Peeps, A Preliminary Survey of the Physical Structure of Fort Langley, B. C., 19th November 1858 (typewritten, [Vancouver]: University of British Columbia, June 30, 1953), 18.
51. Testimony of T. Nelson, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 88.

52. Based on examination of the water color copy of the Coode sketch in the H.B.C. Archives.
53. Thompson, Grand Portage National Monument, Great Hall, illustration 42.
54. Peeps, A Preliminary Survey of the Physical Structure of Fort Langley, MS, 21. At least some of the upstairs windows at the York Factory depot were also side-hung and opened inwards. See illustration in The Beaver, Outfit 288 (winter, 1957), 59.
55. However, the Coode water color indicates that at least one Fort Vancouver warehouse probably had four upstairs windows in an end wall.
56. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 149; [IX], 267.
57. Testimony of L. Brooke, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 128; see also ibid., 216.
58. Peeps, A Preliminary Survey, MS, 18. The authority for this assumption is not apparent, however, since the source cited by Mr. Peeps contains no mention of such a floor.
59. Ibid., 18- 19.
60. Field trip, A. L. Koue and J. A. Hussey, September 8, 1967.
61. In the trading store at Lower Fort Garry, the siding on three sides of the shop room is horizontal and unbeaded, while that on one end is vertical and beaded. Field Visit, A. L. Koue and J. A. Hussey, September 20, 1967.
62. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [IX], 267.
63. Ibid.
64. The design of these bars will be found in the drawings of the Fort St. James warehouse prepared under the direction of Mr. A. L. Koue (plate XCII).
65. For examples, see H.B.C.A., B. 223/d/155, MS, 103, 107, 108- 109. ee extracts from inventories in this chapter and chapter XII.
66. There are examples of interior stairs with risers, as at Fort St. James, but these seem to have been of rather recent construction for the most part. The stair at Fort St. James does have a hand rail.

67. Data gathered on field visit, September 8, 1967.
68. Br. & Am., Joint Comm., Papers, [VIII], 276.
69. H.B.C.A., B.226/b/16, MS, fol. 46, as quoted by Peeps, A Preliminary Survey, MS, 50- 51.
70. Tolmie, Journals, 173.
71. Deposition of E. A. Tuzo, in Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 176- 177.
72. Lyman, "Reminiscences of F. X. Matthieu," in OHQ, I (March, 1900), 102- 103.
73. Robert Michael Ballantyne, The Young Fur- Traders: Snowflakes and Sunbeams (London: Ward, Lock & Co., Limited, [n.d.]), 73- 74.
74. Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, National Park Branch, Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park (Ottawa 1967), 6, quoting H. M. Robinson, The Great Fur Land or Sketches of Life in the Hudson's Bay Territory (1879).
75. Bagley, "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House," in Washington Historical Quarterly, VI (July, 1915), 196.
76. H.B.C.A., B.226/b/16, MS, fol. 46, as quoted in Peeps, A Preliminary Survey of the Physical Structure of Fort Langley, MS, 50- 51.
77. H.B.C.A., B.113/2/1, MS, fol. 130, as quoted in Peeps, A Preliminary Survey, MS, 51- 52. There seems to have been an error of some sort in copying the paragraph on the gun racks and shelves.
78. Field visit, A. L. Koue and J. A. Hussey, September 21, 1967. Drawings and photographs made by Mr. Koue at Seven Oaks House will be found in his folders of Fort Vancouver architectural data.
79. H.B.C.A., B. 223/d/155, MS, 143.
80. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/181, MS, 171; copy supplied through the courtesy of Mrs. Joan Craig, Archivist, H.B.C.
81. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 213; McKenzie, "Forty Years in Service of the Hudson's Bay Company Inland," in The Beaver vol. I, no. 5 (February, 1921), 15. There seem to have been exceptions to this rule, particularly in later years, but no evidence of stoves in the shops or warehouses at Fort Vancouver

has been found. For mention of a Carron stove in the trading store- office at Fort Ellis in 1876, see McKenzie, "Forty Years," in The Beaver, vol.1, no.5 (February, 1921), 15.

82. Actually, inventories seem to have been taken in November or December of the year preceding the date of the inventory.

83. This inventory is from H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 37- 51. In reproducing this list, prices and total value figures have been omitted as not germane to the present study. No attempt has been made to correct errors in spelling, but certain explanatory material has been added in brackets, particularly when to do so on the first appearance of an abbreviation or unusual term would seem to be helpful.

84. Goods under this heading and the next three headings represent items acquired from various individuals or sources and not received from London. Chief Factor John McLoughlin had purchased goods from Captain Varney of the Thomas Perkins in 1841, and those here listed seem to have been still on hand. H.B.S., VI, 37.

85. This inventory is found in H.B.S., Account Book, Port Vancouver, 1845 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, 1- 13. Only a sampling of items not included in 1844 inventory is given here to show additional varieties of goods sold.

86. From H.B.S., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1846 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/165, MS, 126- 141.

87. Minto, "Reminiscences," in OHQ, II (September, 1901), 246.

88. H.B.C., Account Books, Fort Vancouver, 1840- 41 [Country Produce Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/137, MS, 10. There are also other separate inventories of country made articles and country produce for the Columbia District during the 1840's in the Company's Archives. That made in the spring of 1846, for instance, is in B.223/d/161, MS, 119- [136].

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI:

ENDNOTES

1. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, 26.

2. H.B.C.A., A.11/70, MS, fols. 110- 111.
3. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 242.
4. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, 234.
5. H.B.C.A., A.11/70, MS, fol. 251d.

CHAPTER XII: NEW STORE AND RECEIVING STORE

History and location

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

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

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

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

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

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

Though these words are few, they tell a great deal. First, they indicate that the "New Store" was begun in the spring of 1844 and completed about the end of October that same year. Second, by describing the new structure as adjoining the sale shop they fix its location precisely, for the only building standing in such a position was the one presently called Building no. 5, which stood directly to the south of the trading store. In fact, on two versions of the Vavasour ground plan of 1845 and in the Coode water color of 1846- 1847, the "New Store" is shown linked to the sale shop by structural elements of undeterminable nature (see plates [VI](#), [VII](#) and [XI](#)).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But Governor George Simpson ordered the construction of a new depot on Vancouver Island in 1842, and the post, known as Fort Victoria, was built during the next year. The arrival of the "great immigration" of American settlers in 1843

and the formation of the Oregon Provisional Government made it clear that Great Britain might not be able to maintain its position in Oregon, at least south of the 49th parallel.

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

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

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

Thus the warehouses as reconstructed at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site should reflect in their furnishings a certain diminution in activity. However, the effects of the new policy on the stocks of warehoused goods probably were slight before the departure of the inland brigade in the summer of 1846. Evidently the first complete departmental reserve stock of goods to be placed in storage at Fort Victoria was that for Outfit 1847, which did not arrive there until the spring of 1846. [11] It should be remembered that the great bulk of the trade goods for the Columbia Department, including New Caledonia (the present inland British Columbia), still had to be transported laboriously up the Columbia River by modified York boats, known as Columbia boats, to such posts as Fort Walla Walla, Fort Okanogan, and Fort Colville, from whence they were sent by pack animal to the still- more- distant outposts. Thus the amount of goods kept on hand at Fort Vancouver, at least until the departure of all the inland boats, would have been impressive even without the reserve outfit.

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

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

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

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

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

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

directly from the manufacturers, sometimes based upon the Company's own specifications.

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

It was McLoughlin's intention, when he made out his order on March 2, 1835, that the requested goods should be shipped from London in the fall of 1836, since that season was the usual one for the departure of the annual supply vessel to the Columbia. There was some delay in chartering a ship, however, and it was about the end of January, 1837, before the Sumatra sailed with the supplies for Outfit 1838. She did not reach Fort Vancouver until the fall of 1837, several months later than was customary. But McLoughlin did not complain. The cargo was in "excellent order," and it was transferred to the warehouses for use during the trading year which would begin on June 1, 1838. [18]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another class of locally produced goods was called "country made articles." Under this heading came items fabricated in the Columbia Department's own tradesmen's shops, generally from imported raw materials. So classified were axe

heads, canvas shot bags, tin boxes, tin candlesticks, garden hoes, beaver traps, and many other articles.

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

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

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

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

Not everyone was as charmed with these "perfect packages" as were the clerks who assembled them, however. When J. W. Dease complained in 1827 that some articles in his post's requisition had not been received, McLoughlin admitted: "It may be that some other place has these things and got mixed with theirs in the Baling Room." [29] And protests against the practices that permitted goods such as crockery and pipes to arrive broken at their destinations were not infrequent. [30]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'43 FN	#1	Bale	25 plain Blankets 2- 1/2 pts BB 2 pieces Navy blue Cotton 1 parcel common round Beads
	#2	do	ditto
	#3	do	2 balls Cotton Wicks 3 parcels Beads 6 plain Blankets 2- 1/2 pts BB 3 Scotch Bonnets 3 prs Cordy. Trousers 15 com. Cotton Shirts 1 piece Navy blue Cotton 50- 1/2 yds green Baize 5 Ct. Kirby trout hooks
	#4	do	ditto except 52 yds red in lieu of green Baize
	#5	do	11 plain Blankets 2- 1/2 pts BB 3 prs Cordy. Trousers 3 Scotch Bonnets 3 balls Cotton wick 2 parcels Beads 5 Ct. Gunflints 7 lbs. necklace Beads 1 doz. butchers CS Knives 10 Com Cott. Shirts 1 piece Navy blue Cotton

		1	Tent 10 ells
#6	do		27 plain Blankets 2- 1/2 pts BB
		1	piece Navy blue Cotton
		3	[illegible] Beads
		3	balls Cotton wick
		3	Scotch Bonnets
		3	prs olive Cord Trousers
		10	Com. Cott Shirts
		5	Ct. Kirby Hooks
		5	Ct. Gunflints
		1	gro. Wire Gunworms
		1	cupboard Lock
	Bundle	10	beaver Traps complete w. chains
	roll	92	lbs Canada twist Tobacco
	[MS torn]	[24]	lbs brass collar wire
		[10]	beaver trap springs [35]

Construction details

a. Dimensions and footings. Building no. 5 scales out on the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 to measure about 38 feet wide and 93 feet long ([plate VII](#)). The inventory of 1846- 1847 lists a "Store No. 2" with dimensions of 90 feet by 40 feet. [\[36\]](#) This structure, through a process of comparing the measurements of all the warehouses listed with the sizes of the warehouses as shown on the Vavasour plan, can be identified beyond reasonable doubt as the structure presently known as Building no. 5. Archeological excavations in 1952 uncovered the footings at three corners of this "New Store" and most of the wall footings. According to the footings, as plotted by Mr. Caywood, the building was about 40 feet wide and 92.5 feet long. [\[37\]](#) As usual, the footings were spaced 10 feet between centers.

Building no. 7 was depicted on the Vavasour map as being about 40 feet by 98 feet. The 1846- 1847 lists two warehouses, "Stores Nos. 3 & 4," of which Building no. 7 certainly was one, as measuring 40 feet by 100 feet. All four corners were located by archeologists in 1952. According to their findings, the building dimensions were very close to those in the inventory, 40' x 100'. The footings were spaced as in the other warehouses. [\[38\]](#)

b. General construction. The two stores here under discussion were built in the same general manner as was the sale shop described in the previous chapter except that, being longer, they had more 10- foot sections or bays in their front and rear walls. The general appearance and construction of such massive timber structures so typical of Hudson's Bay Company posts are well illustrated by two photographs of the so- called "Athabasco Building" at Fort Edmonton, Alberta (plates [LXXXVIII](#) and [LXXXIX](#)). Both were two- story structures with the usual "Hudson Bay" hipped roofs. They were not weather- boarded, and most probably the timbers of which they were made were sawed not hand- hewn. No chinking is visible in the 1860 photograph which shows part of the "New Store." The roofs were shingled, probably with boards at the ridges.

From the 1860 photograph it appears that Building no. 5 may have been slightly higher than the sale shop, but the eaves seem to have been at about the same level on both structures. No available picture permits one to judge the relative height of Building no. 7 beyond the fact that it was a two- story structure.

The fact that there were no stoves or fireplaces, and hence no chimneys, in Company warehouses has already been mentioned in connection with the treatment of the sale shop. This point seems to require reiteration here. [\[39\]](#)

Doors. The only knowledge we have of the doors in these buildings comes from the Coode sketch of 1846- 1847 ([plate XI](#)). This drawing shows one door in the center of the front wall of each structure. These doors seem to be wider than that on the front of the sale shop, and they have arched tops. One can almost be certain that they were double doors.

Fortunately, an excellent example of this type of double, arched door and arched door frame survives in the original granary at the restored Fort Nisqually, Tacoma, Washington, (see [plate CXI](#)). There are H.A.B.S. measured drawings of this latter structure.

Probably the door in the front or north wall of Building no. 7 was the only exterior door in the receiving store. But in the case of the "New Store," Building no. 5, there undoubtedly was at least one other exterior door besides that visible in the Coode sketch. As has been observed, this building was linked to its neighbor on the north, the sale shop, by a roofed passage way or platform of some sort. Almost certainly there were doors in both structures to permit the transfer of goods from one to the other.

Very probably a ramp rather than stairs led from the yard level to the threshold of the front door to facilitate the movement of heavy bales and barrels. Such a ramp at Fort Vancouver may be seen at the entrance to the granary in one of the 1860 photographs ([plate XXVIII](#)).

Windows. The windows in the two warehouses under consideration here pose several difficult problems. It will simplify matters to treat each structure separately.

(1) Building no. 5, the "New Store." The Coode water color of 1845- 1846 pictures almost all of the front wall of this structure. Assuming that the most southerly window on the first floor is hidden behind the corner of Building no. 7, the sketch seems to indicate that there were six windows on the lower floor and three windows on the upper floor ([plate XI](#)).

But most of the northern half of Building no. 5 is visible in the photograph of the northwest corner of the fort enclosure taken in May, 1860 ([plate XXVIII](#)). This picture shows the four northern 10- foot bays in the front wall, and in the center of each bay there is a window. Since this building had nine bays across its entire front, one of which contained the door, there must have been eight windows across the lower story front if the same window spacing was used in the southern half as was employed in the northern. As can be seen from pictures of the warehouses at Fort Edmonton (plates [LXXXVIII](#) and [LXXXIX](#)) and the structures at Fort Langley (plate [XXXVII](#)), it was common Company practice to place windows in the centers of each bay across the fronts of major buildings.

Therefore, the present writer is inclined toward the conclusion that Coode erred in this instance as he seems to have in others. The alternative, that the number of windows was changed from six to eight between 1847 and 1860, does not seem so probable.

On the other hand, the 1860 photograph seems to confirm the information given by Coode to the effect that there were three windows across the second story front of the "New Store." The photograph shows one upper- story window, in the third bay from the north end of the building. If this same spacing was followed in the southern half of the wall, and if there was one window in the center over the door as shown by Coode, the total number of windows on the second story would have been three.

Turning to the rear or west wall of Building no. 5, we find no picture which shows the first- floor windows. One can only assume that there were nine windows, one in the center of each bay to match those in the front wall. Undoubtedly such openings were heavily barred and shuttered. When it comes to the second story, however, there is a plethora of conflicting information. One sketch said to have been drawn in 1854 shows six upper- story windows ([plate XX](#)); the Sohon lithograph of 1854 and the very similar Covington view of the next year show four windows (plates [XXI](#) and [XXII](#)); and a drawing by an army officer about 1860 shows five (plate [XXVI](#)). Because the Sohon and Covington drawings agreed with the very accurate Gibbs sketch in the case of the sale shop (the "New Store"

windows are obscured in the Gibbs picture), the present writer is inclined to credit their evidence.

No known picture shows the windows on the south wall of the "New Store," and only one, the 1854 drawing by an unidentified artist, depicts the windows on the north wall, and then only for the second story. According to this view, there were four windows upstairs in the north wall ([plate XX](#)). This sketch contains many inaccuracies, and it is particularly suspect with regard to the "New Store" because it does not show the roof linking that structure to the sale shop. Nevertheless, in view of what is known about the windows on the end walls of the Receiving Store, as will be brought out under the next heading, one is inclined to accept the evidence given by the 1854 picture.

In fact, if one were to guess, as one must in this case, one might suspect that there were four windows on each floor in the south wall, four on the second floor in the north wall, and three windows and a door at the main floor level in the north wall.

As shown by the 1860 photograph, the windows in the "New Store" were smaller than those in the sale shop. From the prints available one cannot make out the number of panes or ascertain whether the windows were double-hung or casement in type. It is clear, however, that the openings were protected by large, single shutters which opened toward the south.

(2) Building no. 7, the "Receiving Store." Only two pictures thus far known give any information about the windows in the Receiving Store. The Coode water color shows this structure as having only two windows, in addition to the door, on the lower story of the front or north wall and three windows on the second story. It will be recalled that this wall was about 100 feet long. Although it scarcely seems possible that such a lengthy wall would have had so few windows, there seems no choice but to accept Coode's evidence, which is all there is.

The credibility of Coode's sketch is enhanced by what he shows of the east wall of the Receiving Store. Although only a small sector of the wall is visible, it is evident from the spacing of the windows shown that there were four windows on each floor. In other words, there was a window in the center of each bay on each story of the east wall. Such an arrangement would have gone far to compensate for the lack of light through front wall openings.

A drawing of Fort Vancouver by Lieutenant J. W. Hopkins about 1860 provides a distant and indistinct view of the west end of the Receiving Store. Only one window is shown ([plate XXVI](#)). Probably, however, the west wall was much the same as the east wall.

No view showing the windows on the south wall is known. It can only be assumed that the arrangement was similar to that on the front wall, that is three windows on the upper floor and three windows on the lower (in place of the two windows and one door in the north wall).

Exterior finish. The outside walls of these two warehouses were unpainted. However, the Coode water color shows the doors and windows as being much darker than the walls and reddish brown in color. The 1860 photograph which includes the northern part of the "New Store" also seems to indicate that the shutters were darker than the walls. Thus it is possible that the doors and shutters on these buildings were painted the "Spanish brown" color so widely favored at fur-trade establishments.

Although the structural details of the "New Store" are rather indistinctly visible in the 1860 photograph, a careful study of the best prints available fails to produce any signs of chinking between the timbers. Here again we must conclude that the practice in this regard differed from that at many other Company posts. Sawed timbers evidently did not require visible chinking.

e. Interior finish and arrangement. As was discussed in the previous chapter on the sale shop, practically nothing is known about the interior finish and room arrangement of the Fort Vancouver warehouses. But we can be certain that Buildings nos. 5 and 7 differed from the sale shop only in being somewhat cruder and in lacking the counters and other equipment of the trading room itself. Perhaps one end of the "New Store" was partitioned off to make a baling room, but otherwise these large structures probably were without interior walls. The plank floors, the exposed beams, the deal siding, and the open-tread stairs without handrails were as described in the previous chapter.

One feature of the interior finish seldom mentioned in written sources are the inscriptions often found on the walls and beams inside the warehouses. Speaking of the interior of the great store at York Factory in 1879, George Simpson McTavish wrote: "The names of many officers and workers with the weights of their respective persons were inscribed on the walls." [40] In 1967 Mr. A. Lewis Koue and the writer found pencilled lists of furs on the deals lining the walls in the loft of the abandoned warehouse at Fort St. James. What seem to be chalked markings indicating the locations of various types of goods can be seen in a 1923 photograph of the depot at York Factory (see [plate CXII](#)). It seems likely that a practice in vogue by 1879 and later so widespread was known in the 1840's.

d. Connection with stockade. One version of the Vavasour ground plan of late 1845 ([plate VI](#)) indicates that the southeast corner of Building no. 7 was linked to the south palisade wall by a fence or barrier of some type. This connection, which undoubtedly was a line of pickets, was shown by Vavasour as running at an angle

southwesterly to join the main stockade directly west of the opening for the southwest fort gate. What appears to be the same connecting barrier is also shown on the "Line of Fire" map of September, 1844, though on such a small scale as to provide no structural information ([plate V](#)).

Furnishings

As with the sale shop, the principal "furnishings" of the warehouses were the goods stored there. But there was also a certain amount of equipment kept on hand to facilitate business both in and on behalf of the warehouses and, evidently, to protect the goods in them.

In the lists of "Articles in Use" which appeared in the annual Fort Vancouver inventories, there was a subheading for items employed "In Stores." Unfortunately, all of the warehouses seem to have been lumped into this one category, including the sale shop, the fur store, and evidently even such structures as the granary and the beef store. Thus it seems impossible to identify those articles which may have been in the "New Store" and the Receiving Store.

For what it is worth as an indication of the kinds of equipment that may have been in those two structures, however, the list for 1844 is given below:

Inventory of Sundry Goods, property of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Company,
remaining on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot, Spring 1844

Articles In Use

In Stores

4 half round head Axes
2 large round head Axes
2 small iron Beams & Copper
2 large iron Beams & wood Scales
1 single purchase Block pr. heaving down
6 double purchase Block pr. heaving down
8 large treble Block
2 large leading Block
2 large snatch Block
10 sets Bolts
10 brass Cocks of sizes

7 tin Funnels of sizes
 1 glass California Lamp
 3 sets tin Measures
 1 Marrayats weighing Machine
 1 Set Blocks & tackle
 6 seine nets Wyeths
 11 boarding pikes
 2 Jack Screws
 2 p'rs Steelyards
 2 small swivel Guns
 3 sets, brass weights
 14 sets, iron weights of sizes
 1 travelling Basket Complete
 1 travelling Case Complete
 1 wood packing press
 2 Copper Stills with worms
 2 Tents
 2 rope Wenches [sic]
 46 Muskets
 1 Copper ball Mould 24
 1 Musketoon ball Mould
 6 Chinese flower pots
 1 Tellescope [sic]
 1 Warp Rope
 1 Coil 4 strand Rope pr. lower shrouding. [41]

The list of articles in use "in Stores" in the inventory for the spring of 1845 is very similar to that for 1844. A few changes and additions were noted, however, and they may be summarized as follows:

2 sets blocks and Tackle [only 1 set in 1844]
 1 pump Borer
 4 Irons pr do
 1 Camboose [cambist?]
 5 Steering compasses
 1 pr. Timber dogs
 13 Coopers screwing Irons

3 Copper moulds pr. ball and Shot
2 prs. double jack screws
1 sheeting Tent [instead of 2 in 1844.] [42]

But the real furnishings of the warehouses were the bales, boxes, and barrels of bulk goods, imported and domestic, and the "whole pieces" which were ranged row after row in the cavernous interiors. There are several types of source materials which might be used to gain an idea of the types and quantities of these goods. First, there are the requisitions or indents from the Columbia Department ordering the annual "outfits" from London. These may be found in the Company's archives in the York Factory Indent Books (up to 1838), in the B.239/n/ series. Later requisitions are in the A.11/70 series, and some in the B.223/d/ series. Perhaps even better than the requisitions, however, are the lists of goods actually received found in the Account Books, Fort Vancouver [Abstracts, cost and charges of goods received], in the B.223/d/ series.

Also extremely valuable are the annual depot inventories. These, also, are in the B.223/d/ series under the heading Account Books, Fort Vancouver [Inventories]. While not as complete as the lists of goods actually received, since they indicate only the items remaining on hand in the spring of each year, they nevertheless give a fine picture of what was actually in the warehouses at a given time. In other words, they list not only goods received but goods remaining from previous years. The picture becomes even more complete when the depot inventories, which generally covered only imported goods and livestock, are supplemented by the annual district inventories of "country produce and country made articles" remaining on hand in the spring of each year. These are also in the B.223/d/ series.

In the belief that the annual depot inventories would prove to be the most useful guides for possible refurnishing of the warehouses, there is reproduced below that part of the Fort Vancouver inventory for 1844 which relates to goods most probably kept in the stores. This list is supplemented by extracts from other inventories and by inventories of country produce and country made articles on hand at the depot.

Inventory of Sundry Goods, property of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Company,
remaining on hand at Fort Vancouver Depot, Spring 1844 [43]

1/12	doz. Carpenters Adzes
1	Blacksmiths Anvil w[eighin]g 3- 98/112 Cwt.
1	Blacksmiths Anvil w[eighin]g 3- 93/112 Cwt.
11/12	doz. screw Augers w[it]h eyes

3- 11/12	doz. shell Augers
111	Gro. Indian Awls
624	yards blue Baize
416	yards blue Baize
2548	yards green Baize
1700	yards green Baize
1544	yards red Baize
2028	yards red Baize
2585	yards scarlet Baize
1220- 1/2	yards scarlet Baize
37	blue & white E. Ware washhand Basins
110	blue & white E. Ware washhand Basins
26	cream colored E. Ware washhand Basins
132	deep tin washhand Basins
2	travelling Baskets
138	bun[che]s barley corn Beads of colors
359	lbs. white Enamel Beads
6	buns, blue cut glass Beads "4"
320	buns, lt. blue cut glass Beads 4
348	buns, lt. blue cut glass Beads 5
26	buns, green cut glass Beads 4
54	buns, purple cut glass Beads 6
57	buns, purple cut glass Beads 7
44	buns, white cut glass Beads 4
80	buns, yellow cut glass Beads 4
50	lbs. com. ro[un]d black pound Beads
98	lbs. com. ro[un]d d'k blue pound Beads
449	lbs. com. ro[un]d lt. blue pound Beads
252	lbs. com. ro[un]d green pound Beads
638	lbs. com. ro[un]d white pound Beads
1	large iron weighing Beam 4 feet
1	steeld. square end Counter Beam
4	dozen horse Bells
1	pair blacksmiths Bellows
125	narrow col[ore]d worsetd Belts
101	narrow Scarlet worsetd Belts

100 mid[dlin]g Scarlet worsted Belts
 70 narrow Scarlet worsted Belts
 6 doz. Day & Martins Liquid Blacking
 10 green Blankets 4 points
 334 green Blankets 3 points
 554 green Blankets 3 points
 1274 Inferior Blankets 3- 1/2 points BB [blue bars]
 5079 Inferior Blankets 3 points BB [blue bars]
 1949 Inferior Blankets 2- 1/2 points BB [blue bars]
 446 Inferior Blankets 2 points BB [blue bars]
 715 Inferior Blankets 1- 1/2 points BB [blue bars]
 158 Inferior Blankets 1 points BB [blue bars]
 1260 Inferior Blankets 3- 1/2 points RB [red bars]
 1180 Inferior Blankets 3- 1/2 points RB [red bars]
 100 Inferior Blankets 3 points RB [red bars]
 267 Inferior Blankets 2- 1/2 points RB [red bars]
 100 Inferior Blankets 2 points RB [red bars]
 34 plain Blankets 3- 1/2 points B.B.
 382 plain Blankets 3 points B.B.
 8610 plain Blankets 3 points B.B.
 1032 plain Blankets 2- 1/2 points B.B.
 3985 plain Blankets 2- 1/2 points B.B.
 100 plain Blankets 2 points B.B.
 268 plain Blankets 2 points B.B.
 32 plain Blankets 1- 1/2 points B.B.
 420 plain Blankets 1- 1/2 points B.B.
 12 plain Blankets 1 points B.B.
 130 plain Blankets 1 points B.B.
 8 Makina Blankets 2 points
 4 Makina Blankets 1- 1/2 points
 1 rosed 10/4 Blankets
 55 striped Blankets 3 points G&Y [green & yellow]
 16 striped Blankets 1 points G&Y
 34 striped Blankets 1 points G&Y
 32 Earthenware butter Boats
 4 pieces black Bombazette

11	piece blue Bombazette
2	piece lt.blue Bombazette
3	piece dark brown Bombazette
4	piece dark green Bombazette
12	piece dark green Bombazette
4	piece dark purple Bombazette
4	piece dark purple Bombazette
1/12	doz. mens scotch Bonnets wh. peaks
12	Earthenware Sugar Bowls
8	prs. large cast Iron pipe Boxes pr. Cart Wheels
8	prs. small cast Iron pipe Boxes Cart Wheels
8	doz. jap[anne]d tin tobacco Boxes
2- 7/12	doz. jap[anne]d tin tobacco Boxes wh. B[urnin]g G[las]s
7	doz. large wood shaving Boxes
1/2	doz. small wood shaving Boxes
1- 1/4	doz. papered snuff Boxes
8	doz. Gentlemens Cotton Braces
2	doz. Gentlemens leather Braces
1- 2/3	doz. single- rein Bridles
5/12	doz. broomhead Brushes
1	doz. cloth Brushes
5/6	doz. hand dusting Brushes
2- 5/12	doz. marking Brushes
1/2	doz. large paint Brushes
3/4	doz. midg.paint Brushes
3- 5/12	doz. Shoe Brushes
84	yards black Buckram
125- 2/3	gro. Wh. & Ye. metal coat Buttons
10	gt. gro. Jacket bone mould Buttons
40	gro wh. & Ye. metal Jacket Butons
48	gro. mother o[f] pearl Jacket Buttons
10	gro. mother o[f] pearl shirt Buttons
10	gt. gro. Vest bone mould Buttons
43	gro. gilt ball Vest Buttons
22	gro. gilt round Vest Buttons
6	gro. wh. & Ye. metal Vest Buttons

75	gro. plated ball Vest Buttons
4	pieces black Camlet
3	pieces blue Camlet
14- 1/4	lbs. Wax candles
3	prs. brass camp Candlesticks
11	tin Candlesticks com[let]e wh. extinguishers
10	lbs. split Cane
7- 1/2	M percussion Caps
23- 1/4	doz. grey milled worsted Caps
3	doz. scarlet milled worsted Caps
10	second Cloth Capots 4 Ells
2	second Cloth Capots 3- 1/2 Ells
34	common Cloth Capots 4- 1/2 Ells hoods
556	common Cloth Capots 4 Ells hoods
231	common Cloth Capots 3- 1/2 Ells hoods
20	common Cloth Capots 3 Ells hoods
10	common Cloth Capots 2- 1/2 Ells hoods
30	common blue Cloth Indian Capots 4- 1/2 Ells Capes
193	common blue Cloth Indian Capots 4 Ells Capes
133	common blue Cloth Indian Capots 3- 1/2 Ells Capes
62	common blue Cloth Indian Capots 3 Ells Capes
95	common blue Cloth Indian Capots 2- 1/2 Ells Capes
117	common blue Cloth Indian Capots 2 Ells Capes
133	common blue Cloth Indian Capots 1- 1/2 Ells Capes
68	common blue Cloth Indian Capots 1 Ells Capes
20	common white Cloth Indian Capots 4 Ells Capes
23	common white Cloth Indian Capots 3- 1/2 Ells Capes
1	common white Cloth Indian Capots 2- 1/2 Ells Capes
29- 1/4	doz. highlander playing cards
2	prs. Wool cards
20	Cut glass salt Cellars
61	yards stout iron trace
76- 1/2	p'rs. iron chain pr. Harness
186- 7/12	doz. iron trap Chains
25	dark stained cane seat Chairs
1- 20/112	Cwt. white Chalk

2- 2/3	doz. Cherries pr. ball moulds
1	doz. firmers Chisels
6- 1/6	doz. socket Chisels
41- 1/2	yards second grass green Cloth
190- 1/2	yards second scarlet Cloth
22- 1/4	yards superfine dark green Cloth
28	pieces dark blue list Cloth
406- 1/2	yards dark blue list Cloth
151- 1/2	yards light blue list Cloth
14	pieces brown list Cloth
302- 1/2	yards brown list Cloth
273- 1/2	yards brown list Cloth
40	pieces green list Cloth
206	yards green list Cloth
30	yards grey mixed padding Cloth
1	bolting Cloth
80	tons tanfield moor Coals
2	full dress regimental Coats #1
3	full dress regimental Coats #2
1	full dress regimental Coats #3
1/6	doz. large patent brass Cocks
1/3	doz. strained & nighted butt Cocks 5/8 in.
1/3	doz. strained & nighted butt Cocks 3/4 in.
3- 1/6	doz. large brass Cocks
3- 1/2	doz. midg. brass Cocks
1/12	doz. small brass Cocks
213- 1/3	doz. large cramber horn Combs
27- 11/12	doz. small cramber horn Combs
4	doz. horn dressing Combs
43- 5/6	doz. small Ivory dandriff Combs
24	worsted Comforters
18- 1/8	lbs. bolt Copper 1- 1/2 in.
31- 77/144	gro. wine Corks
4	pieces dyed Calico Cotton
22	pieces printed Navy blue Cotton
2	pieces printed furniture Cotton

3183- 1/2 yards com. striped Cotton
 997 yards com. striped Cotton
 1857- 1/4 yards com. striped Cotton
 970- 1/2 yards fine striped Cotton
 479- 1/2 yards fine striped Cotton
 82 pieces striped regatta Cotton
 60 pieces grey shirting Cotton
 20 pieces grey shirting fine Cotton
 8577 yards grey shirting cotton 26 in.
 7- 1/2 yards white estopellas Cotton
 150 pieces white salampore Cotton
 519 pieces white salampore Cotton
 243 yards white shirting Cotton 6 pieces
 302- 1/2 lbs. Cotton Wick
 1 blackhead Crucible No. 35
 1 blackhead Crucible No. 18
 1 blackhead Crucible No. 10
 2 japanned Cruetstands
 65- 1/6 doz. earthenware Cups & Saucers
 8 flint glass Decanters 1 quart
 1 flint glass Decanters 1 pint
 37- 3/4 yards bleached Diaper
 19- 1/4 doz. earthenware Dishes assd. sizes
 85 pieces blue Duffle
 2 pieces red Duffle
 12 doz. cold. cock Feathers
 14 doz. black foxtail Feathers
 14- 1/2 gro. 4d [penny] silk flat Italin Ferrets
 50- 1/2 doz. flat bastard Files 7 in.
 78- 11/12 doz. flat bastard Files 8 in.
 61- 3/4 doz. flat bastard Files 10 in.
 5- 1/2 doz. flat bastard Files 12 in.
 41- 1/6 doz. flat bastard Files 14 in.
 11- 5/6 doz. h'lf round bastard Files 6 in.
 4- 7/12 doz. h'lf round bastard Files 7 in.
 1- 1/2 doz. h'lf round bastard Files 8 in.

1- 1/2	doz. h'lf round bastard Files 9 in.
12- 1/6	doz. h'lf round bastard Files 10 in.
5/12	doz. h'lf round bastard Files 11 in.
2- 7/12	doz. h'lf round bastard Files 12 in.
1	doz. h'lf round bastard Files 14 in.
1- 11/12	doz. flat smooth bastard Files 6 in.
1/3	doz. flat smooth bastard Files 7 in.
1- 7/12	doz. flat smooth bastard Files 8 in.
2- 5/12	doz. flat smooth bastard Files 10 in.
5/12	doz. flat smooth bastard Files 12 in.
1- 1/4	doz. flat smooth bastard Files 13 in.
5/12	doz. flat smooth bastard Files 14 in.
1/3	doz. h'lf round bastard Files 10 in.
1/12	doz. h'lf round bastard Files 12 in.
1/4	doz. flat rasp Files 8 in.
2- 1/4	doz. flat rasp Files 10 in.
1- 5/6	doz. flat rasp Files 12 in.
3- 1/3	doz. hlf round rasp Files 7 in.
5/12	doz. hlf round rasp Files 8 in.
1/12	doz. hlf round rasp Files 10 in.
1/2	doz. hlf round rasp Files 12 ins.
1- 3/4	doz. rattail Files 6 ins.
4- 1/2	doz. rattail Files 8 ins.
5/12	doz. rattail Files 10 ins.
12	blacksmiths rubber Files w[eighin]g 62 lbs.
3	doz. cross cut saw Files 8- 1/2 ins.
37- 1/2	doz. cross cut saw Files 6- 1/2 ins.
4- 1/4	doz. cross cut saw Files 6 ins.
27- 1/6	doz. hand saw Files 5 ins.
4- 1/4	doz. hand saw Files 4- 1/2 ins.
15- 7/12	doz. pit saw Files 6 ins.
37- 3/4	doz. pit saw Files 5- 1/2 ins.
5/6	doz. tenon saw Files
1	doz. three square Files 8 ins.
1	doz. three square Files 10 ins.
25	Indian Flags 3 yards fly

1	piece com. blue Flannel
50	duck sheeting Frocks
7- 1/2	gro. worsted highland Garters
3	gro. worsted highland Garters in 59 rolls
6	gro. worsted plain cold. Garters
2- 1/2	gro. worsted plain scarlet Garters
2	gro. worsted striped Garters
32- 7/12	doz. assd. small Gimlets
7	doz. assd. spike Gimlets
1500	yards fancy Earlston Gingham
12	pieces web Girthing
8	pieces web Girthing
230- 1/2	doz. paper cased Looking Glasses
74	doz. metal frame Looking Glasses
7- 2/3	doz. large mahogy. frame Looking Glasses
1275	panes Window Glass 7 x 9 = 557 ft. 10 ins.
943	panes Window Glass 9 x 8
2222	panes Window Glass 7- 1/2 x 8- 1/2) 1483- 2/3 ft.
500	feet Window Glass 7- 1/2 x 8- 1/2)
24- 1/4	doz. wine Glasses
4	dozen Gentlemens lambswool Gloves
40	lbs. best Glue
11	hard grit holed Grindstones 42 in.
1	hard grit holed Grindstones 36 in.
33	hard grit holed Grindstones 19 in.
6	fine grit holed Grindstones 19 in.
433	Common Indian Guns 3- 1/2 feet
299	Common Indian Guns 3 feet
18- 684/1000	♠ best black Gunflints
3- 1/5	♠ best fowling piece Gunflints
254/1000	♠ best musket Gunflints
4/10	♠ best duelling pistol Gunflints
1	♠ best pocket pistol Gunflints
	Gunfurniture viz.
4- 1/3	doz. Cocks

4- 11/12	doz. Hammers
2	doz. Jaws
2	doz. 2 Nails pr. Cocks
4- 1/2	doz. Tumblers
68- 3/8	lbs. brass Gunmetal
20/100	bbls. Canister Gunpowder
13- 1/2	bbls. Cannon Gunpowder
97- 15/100	bbls. TPE Gunpowder
27	Kegs TPE Gunpowder each 66- 2/3 lbs.
34- 20/144	Gro. wire Gunworms
56	prs. Hames pr. horse Collars
1/2	doz. Carpenters large Kent Hammers
175- 7/12	doz. assd. Turkey ban[dan]a Cotton Hndkfs.
80- 11/12	doz. assd. Turkey pullicat Cotton Hndkfs.
14- 7/12	doz. assd. resist 4/4 Cotton Hndkfs.
54- 3/4	doz. assd. blue romali Cotton Hndkfs.
5	doz. 4/4 wh. muslin tamboured Hndkfs.
5	doz. 4/4 wh. muslin tamboured Hndkfs.
5	doz. 4/4 wh. muslin star bordered Hndkfs.
10	boys plated Wool Hats
52	childrens Common Hats
30	ladies round plated Hats
10	ladies round plated Hats
10	ladies round plated Hats
20	mens plated beaver Hats
40	mens plated beaver Hats
30	mens superfine beaver Hats
20	mens waterproof beaver Hats
20	mens spanish Hats
231	mens common wool Hats
261	mens fine wool Hats
8	laced Chiefs Hats
29- 11/12	doz. wh. & ye. tinsel Hatcords
29- 11/12	doz. oiled silk Hatcovers
5	doz. waxed silk Hatcovers
33- 5/12	doz. midg. round head axe Heads

30- 7/12	doz. small round head axe Heads
1/12	doz. large square head axe Heads
11- 11/12	doz. midg. square head axe Heads
10- 11/12	doz. small square head axe Heads
1671- 1/2	yards Hessens 42. in.
3- 1/2	doz. strong iron butt Hinges 5 x 2- 1/2 in.
2/3	doz. strong iron butt Hinges 2 ins.
1- 1/4	doz. strong iron butt Hinges 1- 3/4 ins.
1- 1/2	doz. strong iron butt Hinges 1 ins.
1	doz. strong cross garnet Hinges 20 ins.
3	doz. strong cross garnet Hinges 18 ins.
3- 1/4	doz. strong cross garnet Hinges 16 ins.
1- 1/2	doz. strong cross garnet Hinges 12 ins.
14- 980/1000	⌘ Cod Hooks 3019/20
6- 720/1000	⌘ Cod Hooks 3021/22
1- 560/1000	⌘ Kirby trout Hooks No. 1 & 2
4- 1/5	⌘ Kirby trout Hooks No. 5/0 & 6/0
619	powder Horns
4	doz. mens cold. Cotton h'lf. Hose
24	doz. mens cold. worsted h'lf. Hose
69- 1/2	doz. mens cold. worsted long Hose
4	doz. womens long white Cotton Hose
14	doz. womens long cold.worsted Hose
82- 1/2	yards Huckabuck
50	boys com. blue Cloth Jackets
47- 16/112	Cwt. flat bar Iron 3 x 7/8
	[balance of inventory of bar, scrap, hoop, bolt, sheet, and square iron here is not copied here as it is given below in chaper XVIII on the Iron Store]
2/3	doz. bead plane Irons
2- 1/2	doz. grooving plane Irons
1- 1/12	doz. hand plane Irons
1- 1/3	doz. hollowing plane Irons
1/3	doz. Jack plane Irons

1/3	doz. trying plane Irons
1/6	doz. Coopers jointer plane Irons
31	doz. Earthenware Jugs 3 qts.
62	doz. Earthenware Jugs 2 qts.
43	doz. Earthenware Jugs 1 qts.
65	doz. Earthenware Jugs 1/2 qts.
23	lbs. open brass Kettles
830	lbs. Covd. Copper Kettles
1271	lbs. open Copper Kettles
3	wrought Iron tea Kettles 6 qts.
243	nests Covd. tin Kettles #1 @ 13
2	nests Covd. tin Kettles #2 @ 13
11	nests Covd. tin Kettles #3 @ 13
1	nests Covd. tin Kettles #4 @ 13
5	covered tin Kettles No. 4
5	covered tin Kettles 5
4	covered tin Kettles 6
2	covered tin Kettles 8
1	covered tin Kettles 9
2	covered tin Kettles 10
2	covered tin Kettles 11
3	covered tin Kettles 12
5	covered tin Kettles 13
11	covered tin Kettles 8 g'ns wh. hollow bottoms
54- 1/12	doz. butchers cast steel Knives
73	doz. com. pocket clasp Knives
4	doz. sneck [?] pocket Knives
401	doz. scalping Knives
20- 1/2	doz. lar[ge] forebuck table Knives & Forks
32- 1/6	doz. dessert forebuck table Knives & Forks
7	pairs large forebuck Carv[in]g Knives & Forks
31	pairs small forebuck Carv[in]g Knives & Forks
1	doz. Ivory handled table Knives & forks 1000
6	doz. Ivory handled table Knives & forks 1001
2	doz. Ivory handled table Knives & forks 1003A
1	doz. Ivory handled table Knives & forks 1003

2 doz. Ivory handled table Knives & forks 1008
 6 doz. Ivory handled desert Knives & forks 1000
 6 doz. Ivory handled desert Knives & forks 1001
 3 prs. Ivory handled large Carvg. Knives & forks 1000
 3 prs. Ivory handled large Carvg. Knives & forks 1001
 2 prs. Ivory handled large Carvg. Knives & forks 1008
 3 prs. Ivory handled small Carvg. Knives & forks 1001
 2 prs. Ivory handled small Carvg. Knives & forks 1008
 12 Britannia metal soup Ladles
 8- 33/224 Cwt. soft bar Lead
 99 lbs. black Lead
 266 lbs. manchester baling Line
 7 double cod Lines 24 thd.
 228 single cod Lines 24 thd.
 1- 1/4 doz. small fishing Lines
 8- 5/6 doz. mackerel Lines
 39 yards fine Irish Linen
 38 yards finer Irish Linen
 4 doz. double link Chest Locks
 1/2 doz. Cupboard Locks
 1/6 doz. desk Locks
 4- 3/4 doz. brass case door Locks 3 bolts &c.
 1/4 doz. dead Iron Locks 8 in.
 1 doz. single brass pad Locks 1- 1/2 in.
 3- 1/4 doz. iron double bolt pad Locks 3 in.
 1- 5/12 doz. iron single bolt pad Locks 2 in.
 1 doz. iron single bolt pad Locks 1- 1/2 in.
 1 doz. fancy stock Locks 6 ins.
 14- 5/12 doz. fancy stock Locks 8 ins.
 6- 11/12 doz. fancy stock Locks 10 ins.
 1 doz. fancy stock Locks 12 ins.
 3/4 doz. Victoria Medals
 2 pieces dark blue Merino
 2 pieces dark blue Merino
 4 pieces dark brown Merino
 3 pieces dark brown Merino

6	pieces olive green Merino
3	pieces olive green Merino
2	pieces dark purple Merino
2	pieces dark purple Merino
2	Coffee Mills
3	pepper Mills
1- 1/3	doz. iron ball Moulds
15	sets pewter Candle Moulds (6 pr. Set)
2	doz. single pewter Candle Moulds
2	ℳ 2dy. [penny] brad Nails
4	ℳ 3dy. brad Nails
6	ℳ 4dy. brad Nails
16	ℳ 6dy. Clasp Nails
52- 3/10	ℳ 8dy. Clasp Nails
64	ℳ 10dy. Clasp Nails
50- 1/2	ℳ 12dy. Clasp Nails
64- 12/20	ℳ 20dy. Clasp Nails
5	ℳ 28dy. Clasp Nails
10	ℳ 6dy. Clench Nails
28- 1/2	ℳ 8dy. Clench Nails
63	ℳ 14dy. Clench Nails
60	ℳ 18dy. Clench Nails
61	ℳ 20dy. Clench Nails
24	ℳ 24dy. Clench Nails
40	ℳ 30dy. Clench Nails
50	ℳ 36dy. Clench Nails
1	ℳ Cut Nails of sizes
134	ℳ Coopers large rivet Nails
12	ℳ tinmans rivet Nails
18	ℳ 3dy. rose Nails pr. Coopers
72	ℳ 8d. fine drawn rose Nails
16- 3/5	ℳ 14d. fine drawn rose Nails
80	ℳ 20d. fine drawn rose Nails
96- 1/2	ℳ 24d. fine drawn rose Nails
10	ℳ 28d. fine drawn rose Nails
121	ℳ 30d. fine drawn rose Nails

20	Ⓓ 4d. Sharpe Nails
6	Ⓓ 20d. Sharpe Nails
21	Ⓓ 24d. Sharpe Nails
10	Ⓓ 28d. Sharpe Nails
30	Ⓓ 4d. shingling Nails
6	Cwt spike Nails 4 in.
5- 7/112	Cwt spike Nails 5 in.
6	Cwt spike Nails 6 in.
1- 97/112	Cwt spike Nails 7 in.
7	Ⓓ 2d. tack Nails
10	Ⓓ 3d. tack Nails
11	Ⓓ 4d. tack Nails
5	gro. assd. wood screw Nails
31- 9/10	Ⓓ Com. brown thread Needles
7- 1/4	Ⓓ darning R 50 Needles
525/1000	Ⓓ glovers Needles
2- 1/2	Ⓓ tailors Needles
9- 1/2	Ⓓ whitechapel Needles
225	g'ns. boiled linseed Oil
20	g'ns. raw linseed Oil
240	g'ns. sweet Oil
1591- 1/2	yards stouter Osnaburghs
4061	yards stout Osnaburghs
12- 1/2	Cwt. black Paint
1- 45/112	Cwt. blue Paint
6- 102/112	Cwt. Spanish brown Paint
3- 20/112	Cwt. green Paint
4- 86/112	Cwt. white Paint
3- 4/112	Cwt. yellow Paint
35- 1/2	doz. Pallets pr. beaver Traps
15	cast iron long h'dle frying Pans
16	cast iron short h'dle frying Pans
3	tinned iron sauce pans wh. covers #3
2	tinned iron sauce pans wh. covers #4
1	tinned iron sauce pans wh. covers #5
3	tinned iron sauce pans wh. covers #7

3	tinned iron sauce pans wh. covers #8
98	nests oval tin pans No. 1 @ 8
48	nests oval tin pans No. 2 @ 8
39	oval tin Pans No. 2
47	oval tin Pans No. 3
18	oval tin Pans No. 2
24	oval tin Pans No. 5
11	oval tin Pans No. 7
13	oval tin Pans No. 8
666- 2/3	nests large round tin Pans 1 @ 3
73	nests round tin Pans #1 @ 8
14	round tin Pans No. 2
39	round tin Pans No. 3
61	round tin Pans No. 4
41	round tin Pans No. 5
47	round tin Pans No. 6
65	round tin Pans No. 7
7	round tin Pans No. 8
3/4	dozen Carpenters Pincers
16- 1/2	double dozen B. C. Pins
3	lbs mixed Pins
150	gro. hunters clay Pipes
27	gro. long clay Pipes
2	dutch Pipes
1	bead Plane
1	hand Plane with spare iron
1	philister moving Plane
55- 2/3	dozen large deep E. Ware Plates
54- 11/12	dozen large flat E. Ware Plates
68- 11/12	dozen small dessert E. Ware Plates
2	dozen smaller cheese E. Ware Plates
2	dozen tin camp Plates
2- 1/3	dozen earthenware tea Pots
5	cast iron Pots without legs 6 g'ns.
8	cast iron Pots without legs 8 g'ns.
5	cast iron Pots without legs 10 g'ns.

4	cast iron Pots without legs 12 g'ns.
3	cast iron Pots without legs 14 g'ns.
3	cast iron Pots without legs 16 g'ns.
7	cast iron Pots without legs 18 g'ns.
3	cast iron Pots without legs 20 g'ns.
31	block tin Coffee Pots
2	japanned tin quart Pots
922	japanned tin pint Pots
859	japanned tin 1/2" Pots
1792	plain tin pint Pots
39	sailors tin Pots with iron Hooks 1- 1/2 pt.
23	block tin tea Pots 3 quarts
27	block tin tea Pots 2 quarts
16	block tin tea Pots 1- 1/2 quarts
19- 62/112	Cwt. prepared Putty
2- 1/2	doz. paper cased Razors each 1
2	doz. morocco cases ea. 2 blk h'dled Razors
1	doz. morocco cases ea. 2 ivory h'dled Razors
24	pieces 4dy. Ribbon
19	pieces 6dy. Ribbon
9	pieces 10dy. Ribbon
2- 1/4	gro. 6dy. double black hair Ribbon
2	brass mounted Rifles
233- 2/3	gro. com. brass finger Rings
12	gro. stoned brass finger Rings
1/6	doz. Carpenters 2 foot 4 fold rules
687	yards strong twilled tow Sacking
4	Cross cut Saws 5 feet
5	Cross cut Saws 4 feet
1/4	doz. Coopers frame Saws 30 ins.
2/3	doz. Coopers frame Saws 26 ins.
1/4	doz. Keyhole frame Saws 12 ins.
1	pit saw 6- 1/2 feet
5/12	dozen sash Saws 12 in.
7/12	dozen tenon Saws 16 in.
2/3	dozen Coopers turning Saws 22 in.

9- 3/4	dozen ladies common Scissors
4- 1/12	dozen tailors small Scissors
2- 1/12	dozen hay Scythes 40 in.
11/12	dozen 6/4 chintz berlin Shawls
7- 7/12	dozen printed Cotton Shawls 7/12 9/8 7 6/4
3	dozen 8/4 cambric ground chintz Shawls
2	dozen worsted discharged fringe Shawls
107- 7/12	dozen 6/4 resist Cotton Shawls
63- 1/12	dozen 9/8 resist Cotton Shawls
143- 3/4	dozen 5/4 resist Cotton Shawls
2- 5/12	Clipping sheep Sheers
371- 1/2	yards duck Sheeting
100	yards scotch flaxen Sheeting
69	yards bleached Russia Sheeting Shirts
8559	mens com. striped Cotton Shirts
2704	mens fine striped Cotton Shirts
334	mens com. white Flannel Shirts
1448	mens rowing Shirts
160	mens blue serge Shirts
50	prs. boys Shoes
50	prs. boys Shoes
30	prs. Childrens Shoes
16	prs. girls Shoes
24	prs. girls Shoes
20	prs. infants Shoes
30	mens com. Shoes
132- 81/112	Cwt. Low Indian Shot #28
1- 3/4	Cwt. musket ball Shot #16
4- 81/112	Cwt. beaver A&B Shot
66- 1/2	Cwt. beaver AAA Shot
1/4	Cwt. buck L.G. Shot
73- 90/112	Cwt. buck S.G. Shot
15- 1/4	Cwt. duck Shot No. 1
2	Cwt. pigeon Shot
2- 2/3	dozen Shovels wh. handles
2- 1/2	dozen japanned Snuffers

19 Cwt. mottled Soap
 2 firkins soft Soap
 9 doz. vegetable Soap
 19 doz. old brown Windsor Soap
 173- 42/112 Cwt. Yellow Soap
 40 lbs. plumbers Solder
 50 lbs. tinmans Solder
 2- 1/6 doz. Spades wh. handles
 2- 1/2 pieces common Sponge
 1/4 doz. ivory salt Spoons
 29- 3/4 doz. Britannia metal dessert Spoons
 44- 1/6 doz. Britannia metal table Spoons
 28- 1/4 doz. Britannia metal tea Spoons
 1/3 doz. mother [of] pearl salt Spoons
 2 doz. plated steel table Spoons
 1/3 doz. plated steel tea Spoons
 2 flint Squares 2 pints
 155 lbs. best Poland Starch
 2- 42/112 Cwt. cast Steel

[balance of inventory of steel stock is not copied here as it is given below in chapter XVIII on the Iron Store.]

49- 1/2 doz. oval polished fire Steels
 4 p'rs. barrel Steelyards to weigh 28 lbs.)
 1 p'rs. strong steeled Steelyards & poize to weight 1170 lbs.)
 5 cast iron single Canada Stoves 30 in.
 1 cast iron single Canada Stoves 36 in.
 1 piece H.B. plain blue Strouds
 12 piece H.B. plain blue Strouds
 4 piece H.B. plain green Strouds
 10 piece H.B. plain green Strouds
 7 piece H.B. plain red Strouds 5- 110/3 & 2- 119/9
 8 piece H.B. plain red Strouds
 6 piece H.B. plain white Strouds
 10 piece H.B. plain white Strouds
 33 piece com. B.&N.C. blue Strouds
 100 piece com. B.&N.C. blue Strouds

12	piece com. B.&N.C. green Strouds
6	piece com. B.&N.C. green Strouds
26	piece com. B.&N.C. red Strouds
40	piece com. B.&N.C. scarlet Strouds
2	piece com. B.&N.C. white Strouds
8	doz. midg. black Holland Tape
9- 11/12	doz. broad white Holland Tape
11	doz. midg white Holland Tape
3	doz. narrow white Holland Tape
12	prepared Sheeting Tents 10 ells
6	prepared Sheeting Tents 12 ells
13	prepared Sheeting Tents 15 ells
2	prepared Sheeting Tents 20 ells
1- 1/2	gro. girls brass steel end Thimbles
2	gro. tailors lined steel Thimbles
47	gro. womens common brass Thimbles
1	gro. brass steel end'd Thimbles
100	lbs. black & coloured Thread # 8
199	lbs. black & coloured Thread # 10
204	lbs. black & coloured Thread # 25
232	lbs. black & coloured Thread # 30
13	lbs. white brown Thread # 10
6	lbs. white cotton ball Thread # 80
9	lbs. white cotton ball Thread # 100
1	lbs. white ounce Thread # 26
6	lbs. white stitching Thread # 90
9	lbs. white stitching Thread # 100
3- 1/2	lbs. black silk twist Thread
11	cases IX Tin
13- 153/200	cases SDXW Tin
1	cases DXXXX Tin
16200	lbs. Canada roll Tobacco
961	lbs. Carrot Tobacco
938	lbs. Carrot Tobacco
467	lbs. Irish roll Tobacco
1647	lbs. Irish roll Tobacco

31807- 1/2 lbs. leaf Tobacco

Sundry Tools in Chests viz. Ship Carpenter Tools

1 Adz
15 shell Augers
1 Axe
1 Bevil
1 pr. Callipers 12 in.
16 firmer Chisels
6 socket Chisels
1 pr. Compasses 6 in.
1 pr. Compasses 12 in.
2 tenon saw Files
1 hand saw Files
2 dozen small Gimlets
2 dozen spike Gimlets
8 Gouges
1 large claw Hammer
2 small claw Hammer
9 plane irons of sizes
4 Caulking Irons
1 drawing Knife
1 Chalk Line & reel
1 iron Mallet
1 large wood Mallet
1 small wood Mallet
1 pr. iron Pincers
2 bead Planes
1 pr. grooving Planes
1 pr. turning Planes
1 tenon Saw 15 in.
1 two foot Rule
1 socket Slice
24 small Slice
1 spokeshave 4 in.
1 square 9 in.
1 square 4- 1/2 in.

1 oil Stone

Joiners Tool

6 shell Augers

6 brad Awls

1 Bevil

8 firmers Chisels

8 socket Chisels

8 mortice Chisels

6 steel drill Bits

1 half round bastard File 10 in.

1 half round rasp File 10 in.

12 saw Files

2 doz. small Gimlets

1 doz. spike Gimlets

2 Gouges

2 claw Hammers

10 plane Irons of sizes

1 pr. iron Pincers

1 chalk Line & reel

1 bead Plane

1 two foot Rule

1 frame Saw

1 sash Saw

1 Keyhole Saw

1 spokeshave 3 in.

1 Square 4- 1/2 in.

64 beaver Traps Complete wh. Chains

5/6 doz. japanned snuffer Trays

60 pairs men[s] Canvass Trousers

1 pairs men[s] S. fine it. blue Cassimere Trousers

3 pairs men[s] S. fine it. blue mixt. Cassimere Trousers

5 pairs men[s] S. fine it. blue Cassimere Trousers

150 pairs men[s] com. cloth Trousers

140 pairs men[s] bedford Cord Trousers

311 pairs men[s] drab Corduroy Trousers

34 pairs men[s] olive Trousers
 9 pairs men[s] champion canton drill Trousers
 70 pairs men[s] moleskin Trousers
 28- 2/3 doz. glass Tumblers 1/2 pint
 7- 1/2 doz. glass Tumblers 3/8 pint
 3- 2/3 doz. glass Tumblers 1/8 pint
 11 earthenware soup Turreens [sic] wh. ladles
 4 block tin soup Turreens
 7 lbs. powder Turmeric
 105- 3/4 dozen holland Twine
 57 bunches maitres de retz Twine
 26 bunches sturgeon Twine
 65- 1/2 lbs. best mixed Vermilian
 1221- 1/2 lbs. pure Chinese Vermilian
 10 black Cassimere Vests
 4 black Cassimere Vests
 20 blue Cassimere Vests
 3 blue Cassimere Vests
 4 buff Cassimere Vests
 15 scarlet Cassimere Vests
 204 com. blue cloth Vests
 91 com. drab cloth Vests
 50 second black cloth Vests
 51 second blue cloth Vests
 20 Superfine blue cloth Vests
 3 fancy dress Vests
 13 fancy dress Vests
 12 green & red check merino Vests
 34 stuarths plaid merino Vests
 2 quilting Vests
 25 scarlet Vests wh. moleskin sleeves
 2 satin dress Vests
 10 extra striped Swansdown Vests
 2 dark Valentia Vests
 9 blk. & white spotted Valentia Vests
 3 small hand Vices

3 sets brass weights 1 lb. @ 1/8 oz.
 4 iron Weights 56 lbs.
 1 set iron Weights 2 @ 28 lbs.
 4 spinning Wheels Complete
 1559 lbs. brass collar Wire
 3 lbs. brass snaring Wire
 17 lbs. iron binding Wire
 7- 1/2 sheets bolting machine Wire #54
 1 sheets bolting machine Wire #60
 17- 9/11 stones tinmans iron Wire #1
 3 stones tinmans iron Wire #3
 2 stones tinmans iron Wire #5
 7 stones tinmans iron Wire #10
 3- 1/2 stones tinmans iron Wire #11
 2- 6/11 stones tinmans iron Wire #12
 6 stones tinmans iron Wire #13
 1- 6/11 stones tinmans iron Wire #16
 3- 5/11 stones tinmans tinned iron Wire #14
 2- 1/2 stones tinmans tinned iron Wire #16
 12 doz. steel Knitting Wires
 38 lbs. coloured Worsted
 5 lbs. grey darning Worsted
 130 lbs. scarlet & crimson Worsted

Stationary

5 Nautical Almanacs 1844 & 1845
 1 Abstract Book 4 q[ui]res
 1 Abstract Book 1- 1/2 q[ui]res
 3 Abstract Book 1- 1/4 q[ui]res
 3 Abstract Book 1 q[ui]res
 49 basil 8 vo. Memorandum Books
 5 calf bound demy Books 8 q'res
 4 calf bound demy Books 6 q'res
 3 calf bound demy Books 4 q'res
 9 marble cover demy Books 3/4 q'res
 13 marble cover demy Books 1/2 q'res

36	half bound foolscap demy Books 4 q'res
13	half bound foolscap demy Books 3 q'res
38	half bound foolscap demy Books 2 q'res
29	half bound foolscap demy Books 1- 1/2 q'res
98	marble covered demy Books 1 q'res
67	marble covered demy Books 3/4 q'res
48	marble covered demy Books 1/2 q'res
19	marble covered demy Books 1/4 q'res
1	Scheme Book 24 sheets ruled impl.
4	district statement Books
10	Servants fur trade Bill Books
2	Columbia Indents Books 3/4 q're
3	ivory pounce Boxes
2	ivory thick Folders
11	Glasses pr. Inkstands
1	fine Hone in case
6	bottles India rubber
85	pieces patent rubber
1	stick China Ink
11- 1/2	dozen black Inkw powder
1/2	doz. perryian [?] Inkw powder
6	dozen red Inkw powder
5/12	dozen glass screwtop Inkw powder
1	dozen pen Knives 12/ [shillings]
4	dozen pen Knives 16/
3- 1/2	dozen pen Knives 21/
2	dozen pen Knives 28/
2	dozen pen Knives 54/
4- 41/80	reams blotting Paper
7	reams demy Cartridge Paper
6- 13/20	reams stout Cartridge Paper
1/10	reams plain folio Paper
1- 1/2	reams ruled folio Paper
4	reams plain foolscap Paper
11- 17/20	reams ruled foolscap Paper
13/24	quire ruled imperial Paper

1- 16/24 quire assorted drawing Paper
 12- 14/20 ream thick post quarto Paper
 3- 3/20 ream thin post quarto Paper
 31- 12/20 ream yellow uncut plain pot Paper
 2- 22/24 quire printed English Engagements Paper
 3 quire printed English Engagements Paper
 14 quire printed French Engagements Paper
 4 quire boat bills lading Paper
 1- 1/2 quire ship bills lading Paper
 2 quire royal ruled 4 to. printed Paper pr. Abstracts
 5/24 quire superfine tracing Paper
 17- 13/20 reams wrapping lumberhand Paper
 3 reams double hand Paper
 9 reams stout royal hand Paper
 27- 11/12 dozen blacklead Pencils
 1- 1/3 dozen redlead Pencils
 7- 88/100 Cwt. slate Pencils
 8- 5/12 Gro. Deanes steel Pens
 92 cards Perryian Pens
 1 lb. Pounce
 12 Ct. mixed string Quills
 7 pieces narrow green office Ribbon
 5 ebony Rulers 2- 1/2 feet
 1 ebony Rulers 2 feet
 82 Slates
 8- 1/4 dozen broad pink office Tape
 8- 5/12 dozen narrow pink office Tape
 5 boxes coloured Wafers 1 oz.
 15- 1/20 lb. red sealing Wax

Provisions

142 gallons Cogniac Brandy
 19 lbs. Chocolate
 9- 1/8 lbs. Cinnamon
 50- 1/2 lbs. Cloves
 13- 86/112 Cwt. Cuba Coffee

6- 89/112	Cwt. Havannah Coffee
7- 34/112	Cwt. Java Coffee
1- 108/112	Cwt. Coffee damaged
12- 67/112	Cwt. Currants
70	g'ns. lime Juice
7- 1/2	lbs. Mace
108	lbs. durham Mustard
6- 1/8	lbs. Nutmegs
60	lbs. pearl Ash
702	lbs. black pepper
17	lbs. Cayenne pepper
186- 1/2	lbs. Pimento
4	hogsheads Porter
8- 76/112	Cwt. Eleme Raisins
4- 58/112	Cwt. Muscatel Raisins
108- 51/112	Cwt. Rice
485	g'ns. mixed Rum
3572	g'ns. mixed Rum
19- 3/4	Cwt. fine Salt
20- 48/112	Cwt. basket Salt
13- 38/112	Cwt. Saltpetre
177- 21/112	Cwt. Crash Sugar
68- 63/112	Cwt. loaf Sugar
1203	lbs. Congon Tea
1523	lbs. Hyson Tea
624	lbs. twankey Tea
94	g'ns. Vinegar
153	g'ns. Madeira Wine
169	g'ns. Port Wine
8	g'ns. Spanish red Wine
113	g'ns. O.L.P. Teneriffe Wine

Naval Stores

1	bower Anchor patent small palend. 1216 C#18.2.5
1	bower Anchor patent small palend. 1218 C#18.2.5
1	Kedge Anchor IS 6070 C#2.0.18

1	Kedge Anchor IS No. 6071 C#1.0.7
1	Kedge Anchor IS No. 6072 C#1.2.6
1	Bell & Clapper
20	lbs. lamp Black
1	double Block 9 in. brass Coaked
4	double Block 8 in. brass Coaked
2	double Block 7 in. brass Coaked
2	double Block 6 in. brass Coaked
6	double Block 5 in. brass Coaked
5	double Block 4 in. brass sheaves
24	single Block 5 in. brass Coaked
12	single Block 5 in. brass sheaves
36	double Block 4 in. brass sheaves
6	double Block 4 in. leading
3	double Block 16 in. leading
9	single Block 5 in. leading
4	single Block 12 in. purchase
3	double Block 12 in. purchase
1	treble Block 15 in. purchase
1/6	dozen banister Brushes
2- 1/6	dozen assd. paint Brushes
7/12	dozen short tar Brushes
1	piece blue Bunting
1	piece white Bunting
167	yards Canvass #3
156	yards Canvass #4
294- 1/2	yards Canvass #5
41	yards Canvass #6
274- 1/2	yards Canvass #7
1	patent Cable Chain 1- 5/16 in., 120 fins, with 6 punches, 6 pins, 2 Keys, 1 hammer, 1 splicing piece & 6 hand hooks weighing 1/109.2.11
5	brass steering Compasses wh. spare Cards
17- 36/112	Cwt. sheet Copper
1705	lbs. Cotton Waste
2	burgee Flags 6 yards fly
2	union Flags 3 yards fly

1	union Flags 2 yards fly
1	square plate Glass
1	sand Glass 2 hours
3	sand Glass 1/2 hours
15	sand Glass 28 seconds
15	sand Glass 14 seconds
17	jib Hanks
4	wood Hearts 6 in.
4	wood Hearts 7 in.
2	wood Hearts 8 in.
2	wood Hearts 9 in.
1	shark Hook
1/2	Cwt. long Hemp pr. packing
6- 26/112	Cwt. Composition metal pintles & Braces pr. Rudder Irons ¹
48/112	Cwt. Composition metal Rings pr. rudder ¹
43/112	Cwt. Composition copper bolts pr. pintles & Braces ¹
27/112	Cwt. Composition copper rudder Nails ¹
18	Composition Copper bolt Rings ¹
36/112	Cwt. Composition copper rudder Irons ¹
72/112	Cwt. iron pintles & Braces ¹
4	lbs. Saucer head Bolts ¹
8	Square head iron screws pr. Bolts ¹
	¹ pr. Columbia
4- 57/112	Cwt. Composition pintles & Braces ²
42/112	Cwt. Composition ring Braces ²
39/112	Cwt. Copper bolt Rings pr. Braces ²
21/112	Cwt. solid eyed iron rudder Braces ²
4	square head screws Pr. ²
4	Counter sunk head Nails ²
18	iron bolt Rings ²
	² pr. Beaver
1- 2/3	dozen sewing palm Irons
87- 1/2	Cwt. Cable Junk
1	patent copper binacle Lamp
2	common copper binacle Lamp
9	Cooks Lanterns

5	hand wired Lanterns
13- 55/112	Cwt. sheet Lead
2	hand Leads
6	deep sea Leads
83- 3/4	lbs. pump Leather
1/3	dozen blue Lights
2	hand lead Lines
8	log Lines
5	deep sea lead Lines
5/12	dozen Mops
3	M 4d. Clench Nails
10	M 3d. rose Nails
4	M 4d. rose Nails wh. rivets
2- 8/10	M 6d. scupper Nails
10	M 2d pump tack Nails
3- 1/4	M Copper boat Nails 1- 1/4 in.
3- 1/4	M Copper boat Nails 1- 1/2 in.
2- 1/2	M Copper Sheathing Nails
207	lbs. Composition Sheathing Nails
13- 70/100	Ct. assorted sewing & roping Needles
42- 24/112	Cwt. Oakum
1	sewing & roping Palm
3	hawse Pipes 1- 108/112
11	barrels Pitch
1	marline Pricker
1	Copper spirit Pump
4- 102/112	Cwt. tarred Rope 1 in.
6- 72/112	Cwt. tarred Rope 1- 1/4 in.
7- 48/112	Cwt. tarred Rope 1- 1/2 in.
5- 33/112	Cwt. tarred Rope 1- 3/4 in.
14- 88/112	Cwt. tarred Rope 2 in.
11- 97/112	Cwt. tarred Rope 2- 1/4 in.
7- 81/112	Cwt. tarred Rope 2- 1/2 in.
2- 48/112	Cwt. tarred Rope 7 in. pr. lower Rigging
1- 51/112	Cwt. 12 thd. ratline Rope
7- 15/112	Cwt. 9 thd. ratline Rope

10-	77/112	Cwt. 6 thd. ratline Rope
6-	40/112	Cwt. 9 thd. ratline Rope white
8-	15/112	Cwt. warp Rope 4 in.
4-	96/112	Cwt. warp Rope 2- 1/4 in.
1-	46/112	Cwt. warp Rope 2- 1/2 in.
2-	93/112	Cwt. 3 strand worming Rope
1-	3/112	Cwt. 2 strand worming Rope
5-	28/112	Cwt. 3 yard Spunyard Rope
2		Cwt. 2 yard Spunyard Rope
2-	87/112	Cwt. Rosin
1		sail Rubber
4		barrels Chocolate Tar
2		barrels Coal Tar
12		barrels Stockholm Tar
24		double shroud Trucks
24		single shroud Trucks
37		gallons spirits Turpentine
1-	1/2	dozen marline Twine
87-	7/12	dozen assd. roping & sewing Twine
20		gns. black Varnish
15		gns. bright Varnish

Naval Stores at Fixed Prices

8	long 3 pound Guns wg. 1/40..0..26
412-	55/112 Cwt. milled sheet Lead
1	stay foretop Sail 36 yards
59	Canister Shot 9 lbs.
50	Canister Shot 3 lbs.
11-	1/4 Cwt. round Shot
2-	72/112 Cwt. round Shot 3 lbs.

Articles at fixed Prices

392-	1/2 lbs. Aquamarina Beads
78	lbs. Canton N. I. [?] Beads
6916	yards green transparent Beads

2/3 dozen house Bells
 9- 1/2 lbs. dutch pink Colors
 11 lbs. dutch rose Colors
 20- 1/6 dozen large hand eyed Dags
 12- 5/6 dozen hand Dags 8 in.
 37 dozen hand Dags 7 in.
 5- 3/4 lbs. Emery
 1- 5/12 doz. brass butt Hinges
 100 yards Irish Linen YF
 11- 3/4 lbs. yellow Ochre
 2 reams wrapping Paper "Tolmies"
 2 large cross cut Saws
 9- 116/225 Cases F Cr. [?] Tin
 8 lbs. Verdegris

Irons pr. winnowing Machine

12 side Bearings & drilling for Crank
 10 Brasses pr. set of 4 2/
 6 double Cranks turning & screwing
 3 single Cranks
 1 set riddle Frames
 3 pinions
 2 Wire Screens
 4 Spindles for large wheel
 3 long drum Spindles
 4 large Wheels

Machinery & Farming Utensils at fixed Prices

6 dozen mill Bills 218 lbs.
 1- 1/2 pr. plumber Blocks 3 in.
 1 pr. plumber Do 2 in.
 3 Cylinder Brushes
 2 sets (16) 6 ft. 3 single Brushes 100
 1 rubber Burr
 1 Cap & Brass pr. 9 in. Gudgeon

- 1 Cap & Brass pr. 7 in. Gudgeon
- 1 Cap & Brass pr. 6 in. Gudgeon
- 2 wrought iron Cranks 8- 1/2 ft. long 6 in square
- 1 wrought iron Links to receive Brasses of Connecting rod with bolts &c.

Machinery for a flour Mill Complete

- 3 prs. French burr Stones
- 2 Brasses
- 2 Beaters
- 1 beat iron pinion Extra for the patent Flour Machine
- 4 ~~M~~ Tacks
- 1 Key
- 10 sheets wire Cloth
- 4 ~~M~~ Tacks extra
- 24 steel Picks pr. dressing Stones
- 12 steel Picks
- 11 steel Chisels
- 3 nut Keys

Machinery for a barley Mill Complete

- 2 extra barley mill Stones
- 4 Cast iron Rings for Centres of Stones
- 8 bolts pr. stone eyes
- 6 gro. cut washers
- 3 Chisels & 2 punches
- 1 brass plumb ball

- 1 brood cast seed Machine
- 3 extra seed Boxes pr. Machine
- 2 sets irons pr. chaff cutting Machine

Plough Furniture vizt.

- 1/12 doz. small Bolts
- 92 iron ploughshare Moulds
- 9 Cast metal Mould boards

5- 1/4 doz. Shares #836
 1/6 doz. Slades 835
 2 Sheathes & 2 Shares
 4 new driving Irons & 4 Centre Bars, steel Centars fitted, driving Irons turned & chipped, and Center bars chipped & bored ready for work
 1 wrought iron stone Spindle with step block & brass, 4- 5/8 set screws with stone brasses & Complete, a centre bar & driving iron with damsel for work
 1 pr. 4 ft. 6 in. French mill Stones
 1 brass step pr. bearings
 2 cast iron Cog pinion Wheel 12 in. dia'r No. 2
 2 cast iron Cog pinion Wheel 18 in. dia'r No. 3
 2 cast iron Cog pinion Wheel 12 in. dia'r No. 5
 2 cast iron Cog pinion Wheel 18 in. dia'r No. 6
 4 cast iron Cog pinion Wheel 9 in. dia'r No. 7
 4 cast iron Cog pinion Wheel 7 in. dia'r No. 8
 4 cast iron Cog pinion Wheel 5 in. dia'r No. 9
 2 cast iron bevel Wheel 9 in. dia'r No. 10
 1 cast iron bevel Wheel 12 in. dia'r No. 11
 1-
 92/112 Cwt. box Wood

Sundries pr. Steamer Beaver

1 pr. pully Blocks 4 in., brass sheaves & 2 guards
 12 doz. hook bolts pr. paddle Wheels
 8 Brasses pr. main Gudgeons
 8 Brasses for connecting links for Crank pins
 8 Brasses for connecting red short links
 16 Brasses for cylinder side rods
 1 steel straight edge
 1 doz. flat bastard Cut Files 12 in.
 1 doz. flat bastard Cut Files 15 in.
 1 doz. hlf round bastard Cut Files 10 in.
 1 doz. hlf round bastard Cut Files 12 in.
 1/2 doz. hlf round bastard smooth Files 10 in.
 1/2 doz. round Files 8 in.

- 1 doz. three square Files 12 in.
- 24 Coal box plates 6 ft. long 2 ft. wide & 3/16 in. thick
- 1 piston rod & nut

Wyeth

97 lbs. pig lead

American Goods

- 7 tin Funnels
- 182 Indian Guns
- 45 Indian Guns
- 1 tin liquor pump
- 32- 1/4 lbs. Nutmegs

Damaged

- 1 green Blanket 3 pts.
- 3 inferior Blanket 3- 1/2 pts. B.B.
- 28 inferior Blanket 3 pts. B.B.
- 15 inferior Blanket 2- 1/2 pts. B.B.
- 1 inferior Blanket 2- 1/2 pts. R.B.
- 397 plain Blanket 3 pts. B.B.
- 6 plain Blanket 2- 1/2 pts. B.B.
- 7 plain Blanket 1- 1/2 pts. B.B.
- 28 pieces white Salampore Cotton
- 1 pieces com. red Strouds

Medicines

[Inventory of medicines is not copied here as it is given below in chapter XIV on the Indian Trade Shop and Dispensary.]

Medical Apparatus

[Inventory of medical apparatus is not copied here as it is given below in chapter XIV on the Indian Trade Shop and Dispensary.]

New Stores

- 1 Axeltree best iron fagotted
- 6 double Blocks brass sheaves 2- 1/2 in.
- 20 double Blocks brass sheaves 3 in.
- 5 single Blocks brass sheaves 2- 1/2 in.
- 4 single Blocks brass sheaves 3 in.
- 25 webbed horse Brushes
- 16- 1/2 yards bolting Cloth
- 1 pr. Canhooks
- 5 head Grenades
- 3 sets markings Irons o @ 9
- 4 stamping Irons HB C
- 6 Copper imp'i Measure 2/4 [sic], 1/8, 1/16, 1/32, 1/64 gns.
- 3 turned iron pins pr. 7 & 8 in. Blocks
- 9 turned iron pins pr. single Blocks
- 4 Wyethes rifle boring Rods
- 1 wood Cheese Screw
- 10 Sheaves pr. 8 in. Blocks
- 1 Sheaves pr. 7 in. Blocks
- 1/2 yd. brass wire pr. bolting machine
- 10 brass pocket Compasses
- 1 Sextant
- 1 French Bible
- 17 French Testaments
- 8 English Testaments

In addition to the imported articles, the Fort Vancouver Depot kept in stock rather impressive amounts of locally produced provisions and items fabricated at the post. An account book labelled "Columbia District, Country Produce & Country Made Articles Inventories, Outfit 1840/41" is available in the Company's archives. The part of the inventory having to do with the Fort Vancouver Depot is as follows:

Fort Vancouver Depot Outfit 1840

[Country Produce & Country made articles remaining on hand Spring 1841.]

Country Produce

- 41 Tierces Beef ea[ch] 300 lbs.

2 Casks Beef ea[ch] 200 lbs.
 471 lbs. Mould Candles
 105- 1/2 Cwt. fine flour
 11598 lbs. California Grease
 1720 f[atho]ms Hayquois
 27 Raw Ox Hides
 548 lbs. Hogs Lard
 687 Galls. Cape Flattery Oil
 127 lbs. Tanned Leather
 20 Tierces Salt Pork ea. 300 lbs. FV [produced at Fort Vancouver]
 1 Cask Salt Pork ea. 400 lbs.
 1 Tierce Salt Portk ea. 300 lbs. FL [produced at Fort Langley]
 121 Dressed Chevl. Skins
 23 Large red Deer
 1185 Bushels Salt
 200 Barrels Salmon FV
 250 Barrels Salmon FL
 450 lbs. Suet
 13 Galls. Whiskey

.....

Country Made

87 Large Sqe. head axes
 106 half Sqe. head axes
 30 Small Sqe. head axes
 21 Large Round head axes
 1067 half Round head axes
 182 Small Round head axes
 9 Osnaburgh Bags
 8 Sheeting Bags pr. flour
 110 Canvass Bags pr. Shot
 15 Canvass Bags pr. Salt
 6 Tin Boxes ea. 1 lb.
 11 Tin Candlesticks
 3 Tin Canisters 1 lb.

- 1 Tin Canisters 2 lb.
- 1 Tin Canisters 1/4 lb.
- 8 Painted Boat Oil Cloths
- 6 Tin Cups & Saucers
- 1 Tin Funnel
- 6 Garden Hoes
- 617 lbs. Wrought Iron
- 1 Tin Kettle 4 Galls
- 1 Tin Kettle 4 Galls Cream
- 1 Tin Kettle 8 Galls
- 29 Hunters small Knives
- 1 Tin Soup Ladle
- 3 Assd. Tin Measures
- 29 Large round Tin pans
- 349 Tin Boat Pans
- 128 Tin Porringers
- 4 Tin Plates
- 4 Tin Hook Pots 1- 1/2 Qt.
- 1 Tin Quart Pots
- 5 Tin Coffee Large Pots
- 10 Tin Coffee Small Pots
- 31 lbs. Wrought Steel
- 18 Tin Milk Strainers
- 397 Beaver Traps Complete
- 50 Beaver Traps Crosses
- 50 Beaver Traps Pallets
- 66 Tin Milk Tureens
- 1 Tin Soup Tureens [45]

Another list, headed "Outfit 1846 Dr. To Columbia District, for Inventories of Country Made Articles and Country Produce remaining on hand at the different Posts in the Columbia District Spring 1846, transferred for the Use of that Outfit, viz.," gives a more extensive view of the locally produced items in stock at the Fort Vancouver Depot. It was not possible to copy this list in its entirety, but the following entries illustrate the range and quantity of the goods on hand in the post storehouses at that time:

269	large round head Axes
247	mid. round head Axes
19	small round head Axes
257	large square head Axes
271	middling square head Axes
34	small square head Axes
18	sheeting Bags
6	deck Buckets
1	Oiled sheeting Cloths
2	painted bed Oil Cloths
3	painted boat Oil Cloths
3	unpainted bed Oil Cloths
2	Tin Funnels
5	sets swingle tree Irons
1	crooked Knife
1	drawing Knife
10	sm. hunters Knife
3	tin measures 1/2 gns.
2	tin measures 1 qt.
4	tin measures 1/2 pt.
2	prs. horse Shoes
5	fish Spears
1	tin milk Strainers
316	Beaver Traps complete
18	tempered springs p. complete
	[various round and square tin boxes]
17	hollow bottom tin Kettles 7 gallons
15	hollow bottom tin Kettles 5 gallons
20	bus. Barley
176	barrels Salt Beef
74-	36/112 Cwt. Com. Biscuit
24-	87/112 Cwt. fine Biscuit
94	Kegs salt Butter
265	lbs. Cheese
106	Cwt. fine Flour
9598	lbs. California Grease

400	lbs. pork Hams
30	ox Hides
233	tanned Ox Hides
214	lbs. Hops
1014	lbs. hogs Lard
30	bus. Peas
16	bbls. Pork
30	Tierces Pork
1	Assd. Garden Seeds
110	Chevl. Skins (dressed)
5	Elk Kings (dressed)
10	portage Straps
650	Tallow [45]

Recommendations

a. When excavating in the vicinity of Building no. 7 archeologists should attempt to find traces of the barrier that linked this structure to the south palisade wall. Remnants of pickets or posts could tell much of the nature of this barrier.

b. Undoubtedly it would be difficult and extremely costly to assemble enough original and replica mid- nineteenth century artifacts to fill these two very large structures, even though many bales, barrels, kegs, and boxes could be displayed unopened and, therefore, empty. Although to "refurnish" these two warehouses completely undoubtedly would convey to visitors in vivid fashion the importance of the Fort Vancouver Depot in the western fur trade, such a vast and expensive project, which would require periodic maintenance, cleaning, and protection from insects, does not appear practicable.

Also, there is a need for administrative and interpretive facilities at the fort site. These two structures, together with the neighboring Building no. 8, appear to be those most suitable for such purposes. They are all large, and all would be extremely difficult to refurnish as historic house exhibits in any meaningful manner.

It is suggested, therefore, that a portion of the "New Store" 7 (Building no. 5) be set aside for a baling room exhibit. This area should be large enough so that, when "refurnished," it would convey an impression of the quantities and types of goods stored in the depot.

Since the National Park Service almost certainly could never obtain enough furs to maintain a meaningful fur storage exhibit in Building no. 8 (a structure 40' x 100' loaded with furs on both floors would present a tremendous mothproofing and maintenance problem even if the furs could be obtained), all displays of furs might well be confined to the Indian trade shop, where furs were also kept.

With these two steps taken, most of Building no. 5 and all of Buildings nos. 7 and 8 would be free for internal adaptation to administrative and interpretive uses. The exteriors, of course, should retain their historic appearance.

CHAPTER XII: ENDNOTES

1. Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entry for July 25, 1841.
2. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, II.
3. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 4. Charles Diamare dit Baron was the depot carpenter. His wages during Outfit 1844 were L30 per annum. H.B.C.A., B.239/1/15, MS, 60.
4. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 7.
5. Hussey, History of Fort Vancouver, 158- 160.
6. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 2.
7. Lowe, Private Journal, MS, 17.
8. E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Third Series, 1844- 46 (Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, vol. VII, Toronto, 1944) (hereafter cited as H.B.S., VII), 177- 191. These goods were the "reserved outfit," for Outfit 1846. See H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, 6- 38, 43- 54.
9. H.B.S., VII, p. 87, note 3.
10. H.B.S., VII, 75- 94.

11. H.B.S., VII, 124 note. Lieutenant Henry J. Warre, who visited Fort Vancouver in late 1845 and early 1846, said that the warehouses at the post then contained the supplies both for the current year and the succeeding year. Warre, *Travel and Sport*, MS, 104.
12. Parker, *Journal*, 174.
13. H.B.C., Account Books, Fort Vancouver 1845- 46 [Abstracts, costs and charges of goods received], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, 6- 38, 43- 54
14. Roberts, "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts, in *OHQ*, LXIII (June-September, 1967), 204, 228.
15. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, 105.
16. For a complaint by McLoughlin that the rope he had ordered had been "curtailed," see H.B.S., IV, 143.
17. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/164, MS, 7.
18. This account of the processing of the Outfit 1838 indent is based largely upon the indent itself, which is to be found in H.B. C., York Factory Indent Books, 1823- 38, H.B.C.A., B.239/n/71, MS, fols. 156d- 164; and upon H.B.S., IV, 194. See also Barker, *The Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin*, 337- 338.
19. Drury, *First White Women*, I, 103.
20. Emmons, *Journal*, MS, III, entry for July 26, 1841.
21. Requisition for Columbia District, Outfit 1850, H.B.C.A., A.11/70, MS, fol. 246d.
22. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, 76, 106.
23. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, 106. See also George Simpson McTavish, *Behind the Palisades: An Autobiography* (Victoria, B. C., 1963), 84.
24. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/158, MS, 1- 32.
25. H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, 6- 38, 43- 54.
26. Lowe, *Private Journal*, MS, 2, 33, 35, 37, 40- 41, 42.
27. Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*, 106- 107.

28. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, 83, 85.
29. H.B.C.A., B.223/b/3, MS, fols. 18- 19.
30. For example, see Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, 318- 329.
31. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 277.
32. Packing Account, Sundries P. Fort Nisqually, September 26, 1843, in FN 1265, MS, in Fort Nisqually Collection, in The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.
33. Fort Nisqually, Invoice Book, Feb. 1853- Sept. 1860, FN 1263, MS, vol. 2, p.[16], in Fort Nisqually Collection.
34. Cowie, The Company of Adventurers, 278.
35. FN 1265, MS, in Fort Nisqually Collection.
36. Br. & Am. Joint Comm., Papers, [II], 118- 119.
37. Caywood, Final Report, 10- 11, and Map of Archeological Excavations, sheets 1 and 4.
38. Caywood, Final Report, 10- 11, and Map of Archeological Excavations, sheets 1, 2, 4, 5.
39. For additional testimony concerning the lack of heat in stores, see McTavish, Behind the Palisades, 53, 83.
40. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, 83.
41. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1844 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 143- 144..
42. H.B.C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver, 1845 [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/160, MS, 130- 131.
43. In Account Book, Port Vancouver, 1844. [Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/155, MS, 93- 142.
44. H.B.C., Account Books, Fort Vancouver, 1840- 41 [Country Produce Inventories], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/137, 11- 13.

45. H.B. C., Account Book, Fort Vancouver 1845- 46 [Abstracts, Cost and Charges of goods received], H.B.C.A., B.223/d/161, MS, 119- 121. The extracts given above reproduce only part of the list, and entries are not always in the exact form of the originals.

PLATES

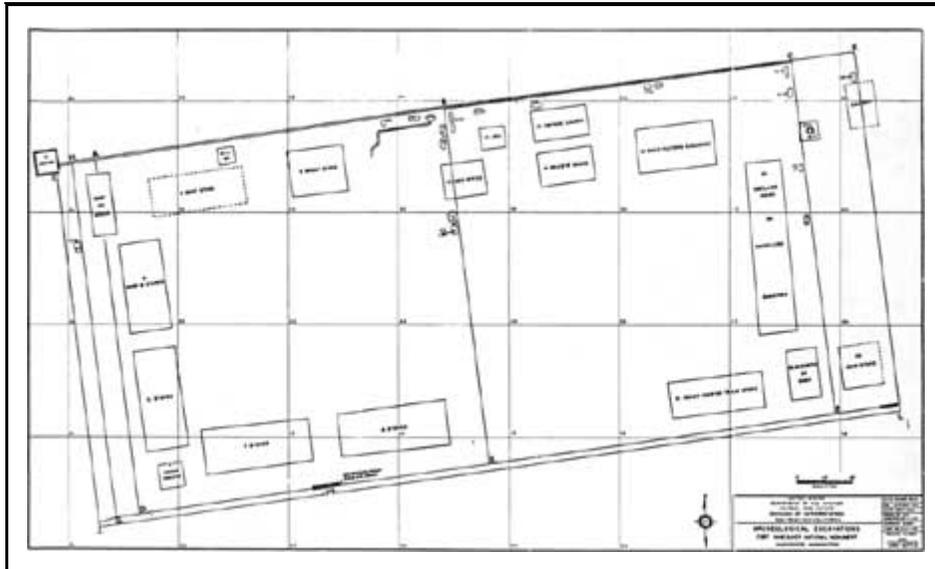


Plate I. Summary Sheet, Archeological Excavations, Fort Vancouver National Monument, [1947-1952]. (From Louis R. Caywood, *Final Report, Fort Vancouver Excavations*, Map No. II.) (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

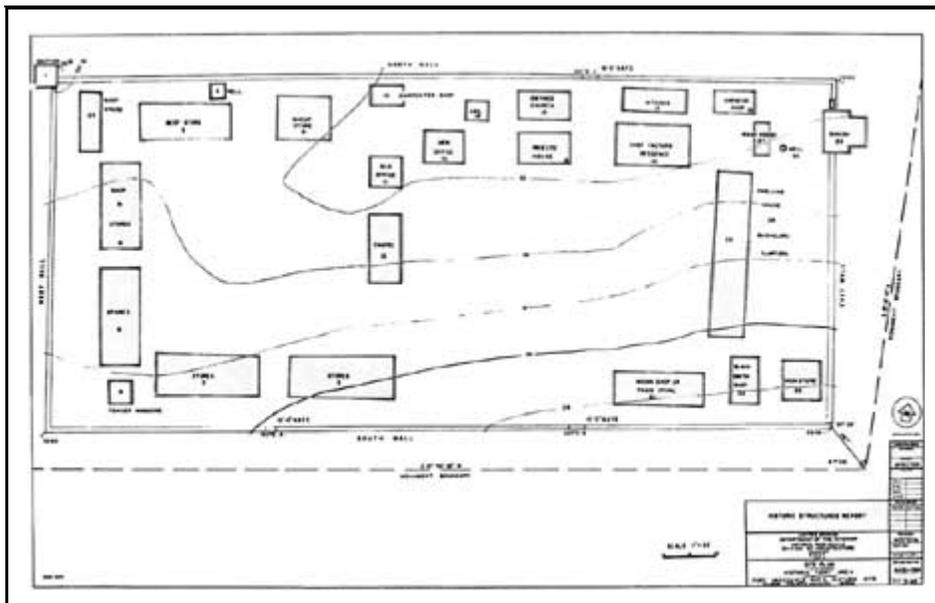


Plate II. Site Plan, Historic Fort Area, Historic Structures Report, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, July, 1965. (National Park Service Drawing No. NHS- VAN) (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

Plate IV. Fort Vancouver from the Southwest, 1841, drawn by Henry Eld. (*From Henry Eld, Journal Statistics, &c, in Oregon and California, MS; courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*)

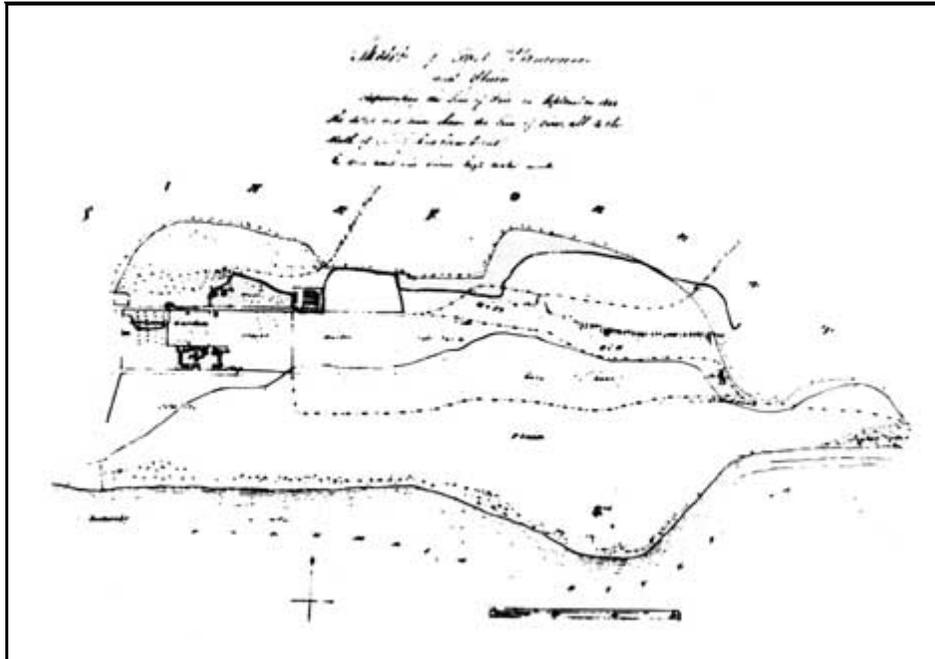


Plate V. Sketch of Fort Vancouver and Plain, representing the Line of Fire in September, 1844. (*From the original map in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives; reproduced by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company*)

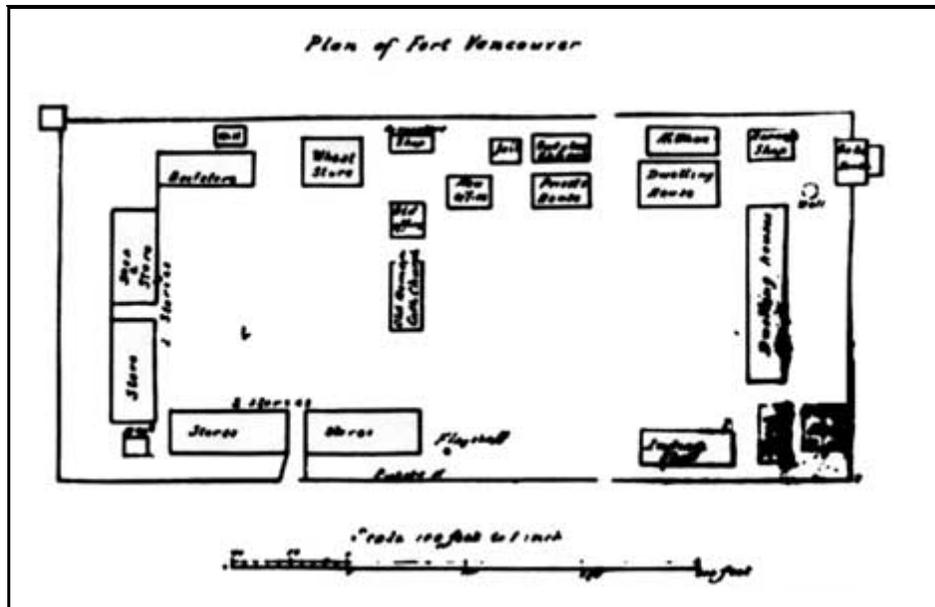


Plate VI. Plan of Fort Vancouver, an inset in "Sketch of Fort Vancouver and Adjacent Plains," 1845, drawn by M. Vavasour. (Courtesy of Mr. Howard J. Burnham, of Vancouver, Washington)

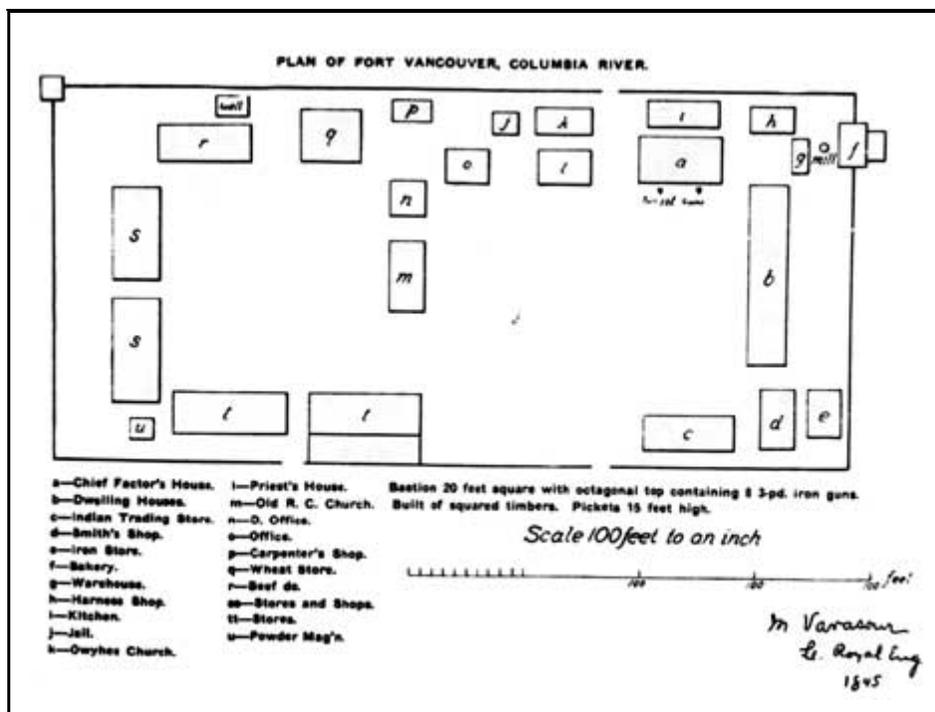


Plate VIII. Version of Vavasour's Plan of Fort Vancouver, 1845,

as redrawn for publication in Oregon Historical Quarterly.
(From Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, X (March,
1909), opposite, p. 100)



Plate IX. Fort Vancouver from the southeast, 1845, lithograph
based on drawings by Henry J. Warre. (From *Henry J. Warre,
Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory*, [London,
1848])



Plate X. Water color sketch of Fort Vancouver, 1845, by Henry
J. Warre. (From the original wash drawing in the Public Archives

of Canada)



Plate XI. Photograph of an original water color sketch of Fort Vancouver by Lieutenant T. P. Coode, of H.M.S. Modeste, probably between June 18, 1846, and May 3, 1847.

This photograph was made in 1928 from the original painting then in possession of Lieut. (later Vice- Admiral) Coode's son, Rear- Admiral C. P. R. Coode. The photograph is now in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, London. The present location of the original water color is not known.

(Reproduced by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company)



Plate XII. Water color copy of Lieutenant T. P. Coode's water color sketch of Fort Vancouver, 1846- 1847.

In 1928 Rear- Admiral C. P. R. Coode lent to the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company a water color sketch of Fort Vancouver made by Admiral Coode's father, Lieutenant T. P. Coode, probably between June 18, 1846 and May 3, 1847. A water color copy of the sketch was made by a Mr. Kashnor of London, and it is now in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(Reproduced by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company)

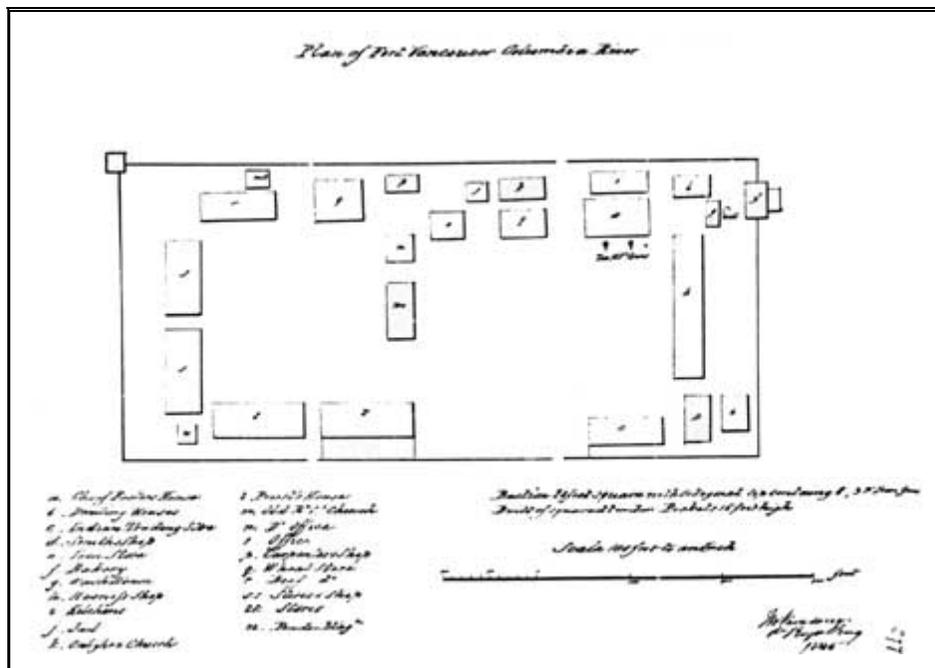


Plate VII. Plan of Fort Vancouver, 1845, drawn by M. Vavasour. *(From the original in the Public Record Office, London, copy courtesy of Mr. Thomas Vaughan)*

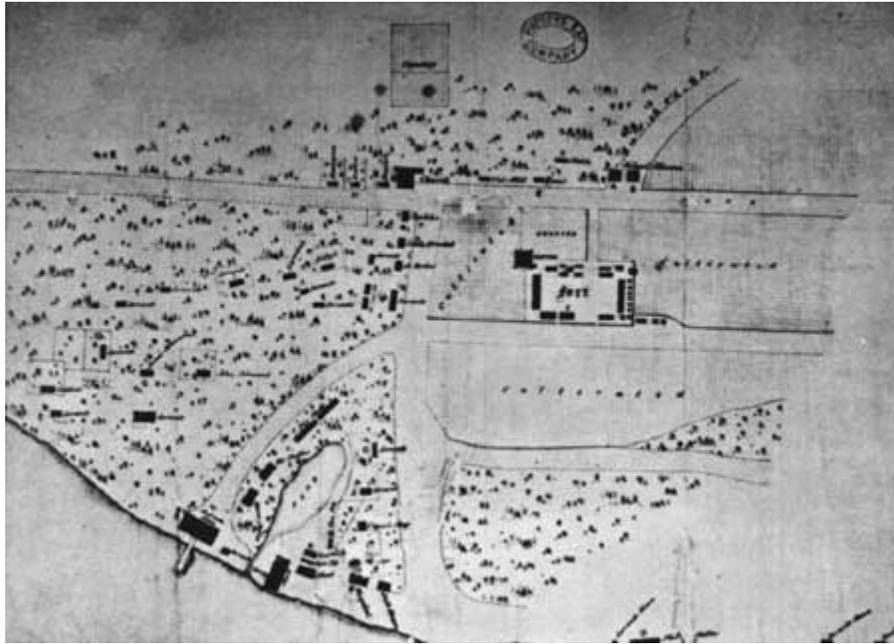


Plate XIII. Map of Fort Vancouver and Village in 1846, drawn by R. Covington. *(From the original in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. Reproduced by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company)*



Plate XIV. Pencil sketch of Fort Vancouver from the northeast, drawn by Paul Kane between December, 1846, and July, 1847. *(From the original sketch in the Ethnology Department, Royal Ontario Museum)*

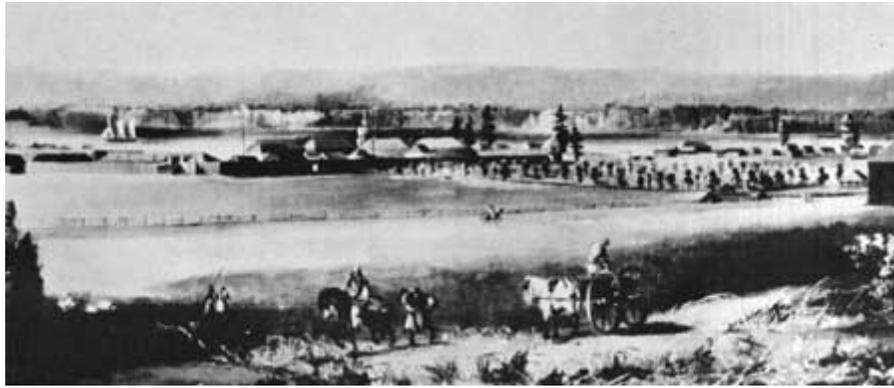


Plate XV. View of Fort Vancouver from the Northeast, Painted by an Unknown Artist, Probably about 1847 or 1848. (*From the original painting in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*)



Plate XVI. Enlarged Section of Painting of Fort Vancouver from the Northeast by an Unknown Artist, c. 1847 or 1848. (*From the original painting in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.*)

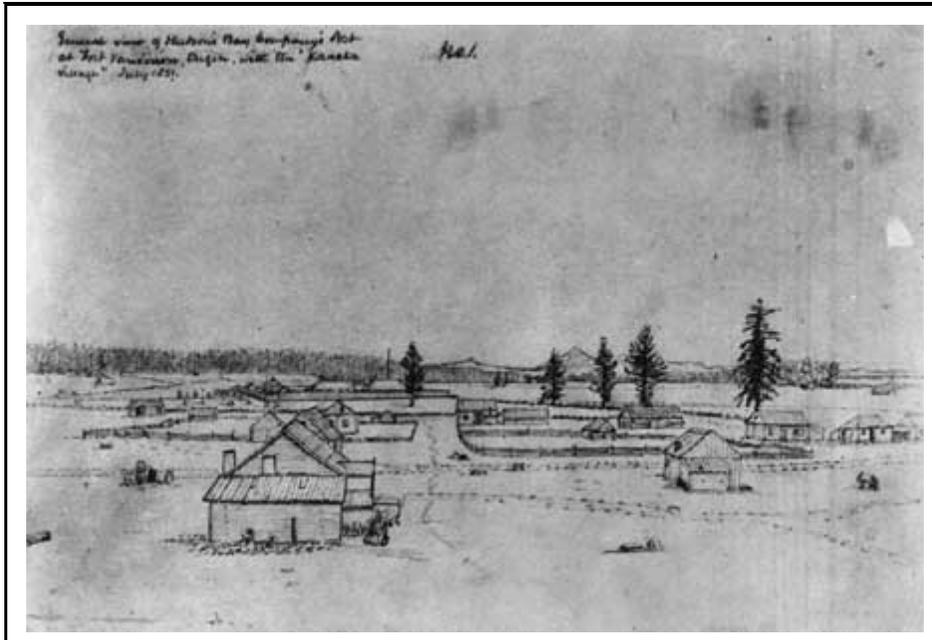


Plate XVII. Fort Vancouver and the Village from the West, July, 1851. Drawn by George Gibbs. (*Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Neg. No. 2854- F- 14.*)

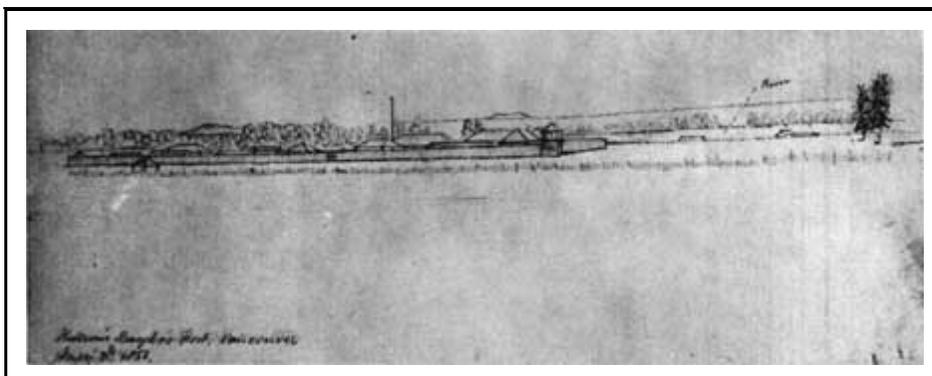


Plate XVIII. Fort Vancouver from the Northwest, July 2, 1851. Drawn by George Gibbs. (*Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Neg. No. 2854- F- 15.*)



Plate XXI. Fort Vancouver from the Northwest, 1854. Drawn by Gustavus Sohon. (*From United States, War Department, Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, vol. XII, plate XLIV.*)



Plate XXII. View of Fort Vancouver from the Northwest, 1855. Drawn by F. Covington. (*From photostat in possession of Mr. Howard J. Burnham, Vancouver, Washington.*)

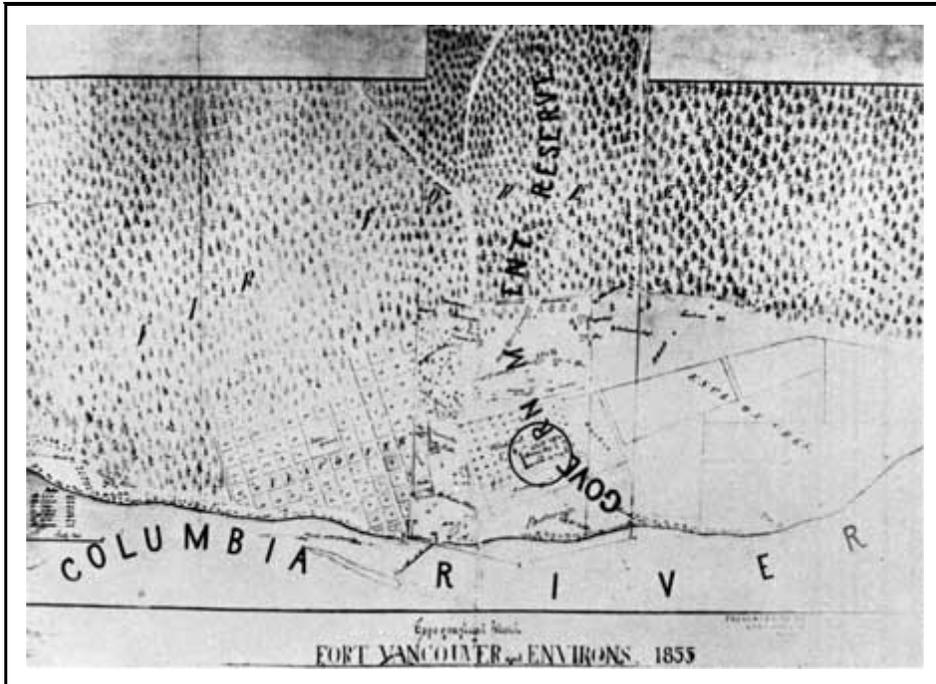


Plate XXIII. Topographical Sketch of Fort Vancouver and Environs, 1855. (From photostat in possession of Mr. Howard J. Burnham, Vancouver, Washington.)

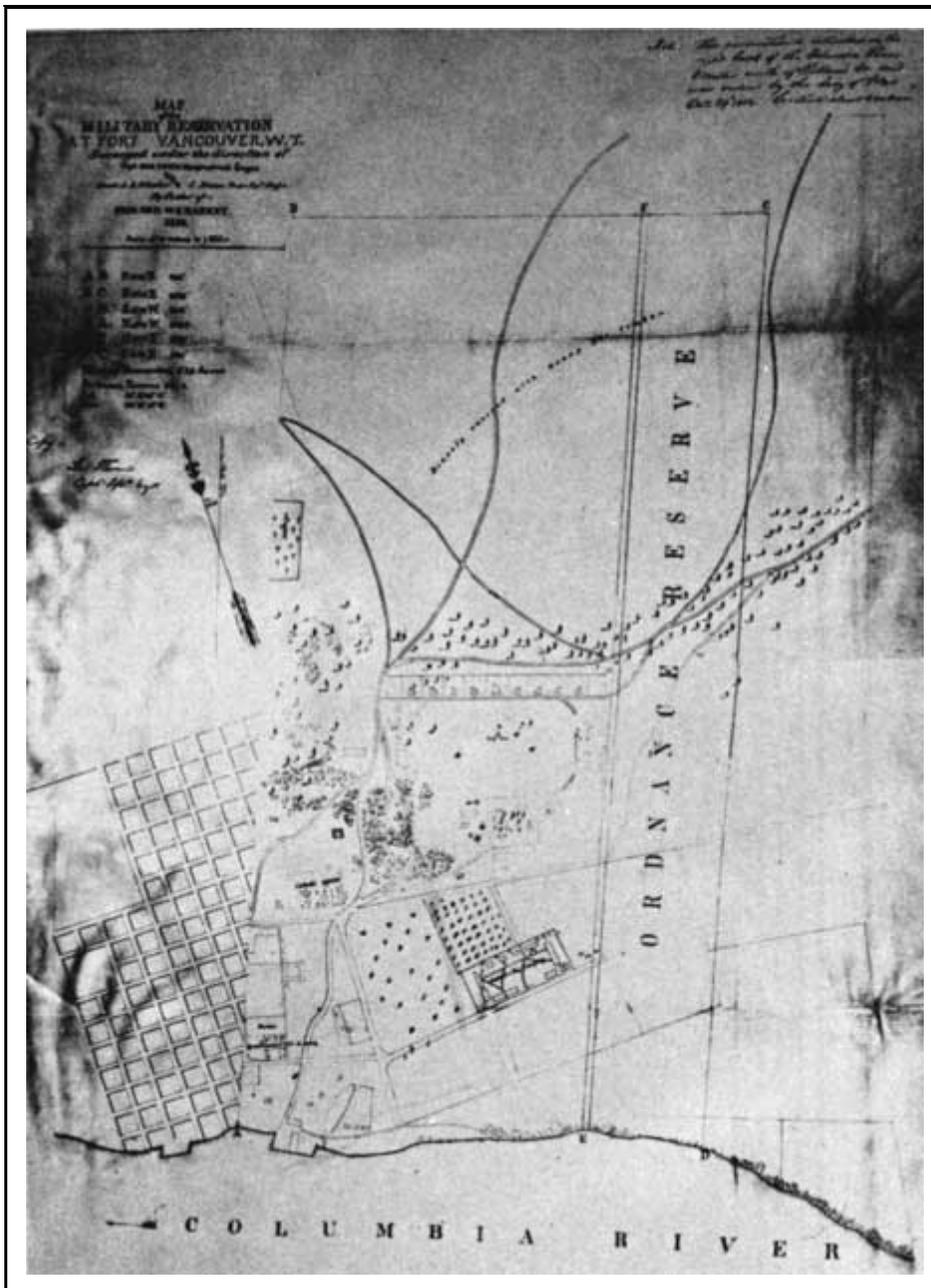


Plate XXIV. Map of the Military Reservation at Fort Vancouver W. T., Surveyed under the Direction of Capt. Geo. Thom...by Order of Brig. Gen. W. S. Harney, 1859. (From General Land Office Records, Abandoned Military Reservation Series, Ft. Vancouver, Washington, Box 100, in the National Archives.)



Plate XXV. Water Color Sketch of Fort Vancouver from the North. Painted by J. M. Alden, c. 1859- 1860. (*From the original painting in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.*)



Plate XXVI. Sketch of Fort Vancouver from the Northwest, c. 1860, by Lieut. John W. Hopkins. (*Reproduced, with permission, from the original ink and wash drawing in the Oregon Historical Society.*)



Plate XXVII. Fort Vancouver Courtyard, View toward Northeast Corner, Photographed by British Boundary Commission Party, May, 1860.

The buildings visible are, left to right, the Priests' House, the Big House, and the Bachelors' Quarters. The belfrey is in the center foreground.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.)



Plate XXVIII. Fort Vancouver Courtyard, View toward Northwest Corner, Photographed by British Boundary

Commission Party, May, 1860.

The buildings visible are, left to right, the New Store, the sale shop, an unidentified structure, the root house (with gable roof sloping to ground level), the bastion, the granary, and the New Office.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.)



Plate XXIX. The Big House or Chief Factor's Residence, Fort Vancouver, Photographed by British Boundary Commission Party, May, 1860.

The north and east palisade walls show flat-topped pickets; a shed-roofed outhouse is visible to the right of the Big House.

(Courtesy Royal Engineers Archives, Brompton Barracks, Kent, England.)

This sketch shows the relative position of the buildings within the pickets—

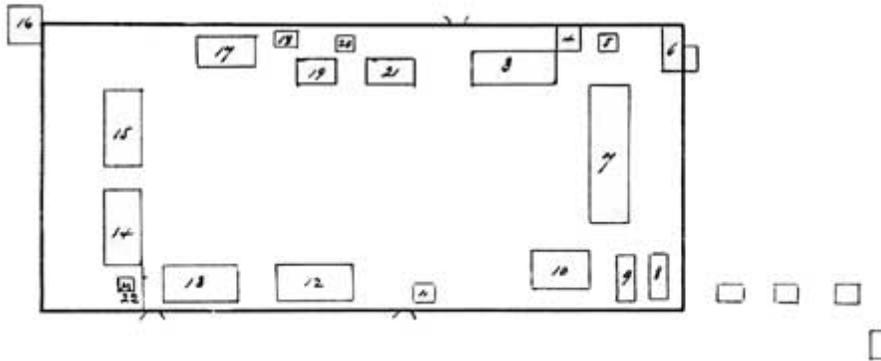


Plate XXX. Ground Plan of Fort Vancouver, June 15, 1860, Drawn by a Board of Army Officers which Evaluated the Buildings Abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company on the Previous Day.

The numbered structures were as follows:

3. Governor's House	12,13,14. Three large storehouses
4. Kitchen (Governor's House)	15. H. B. Company's store
5. Butcher Shop &c.	16. Bastion
6. Bakehouse	17. Granary
7. Quarters for employees	18. Carpenter & wheelwright shop
8. Small storehouse	19. Company's office
9. Blacksmith shop	20. Guard house
10. Fur house	21. Dwelling house (formerly Grahame's)
11. Porter's lodge	22. Magazine

(From Proceedings of a Board of Officers, Fort Vancouver, W. T., June 15, 1860 MS in A. G. O., Oregon Department, Document Pile, 212- S- 1860, in War Records Division, the National Archives.)



Plate XXXI. Bastion and Stockade at Fort Langley, British Columbia, 1862.

The stockade pickets are clearly shown with flat tops. They also appear to be peeled.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)



Plate XXXII. Stockade and Buildings of Fort Victoria, British Columbia, 1858.

The pickets have flat tops and appear to be peeled.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)

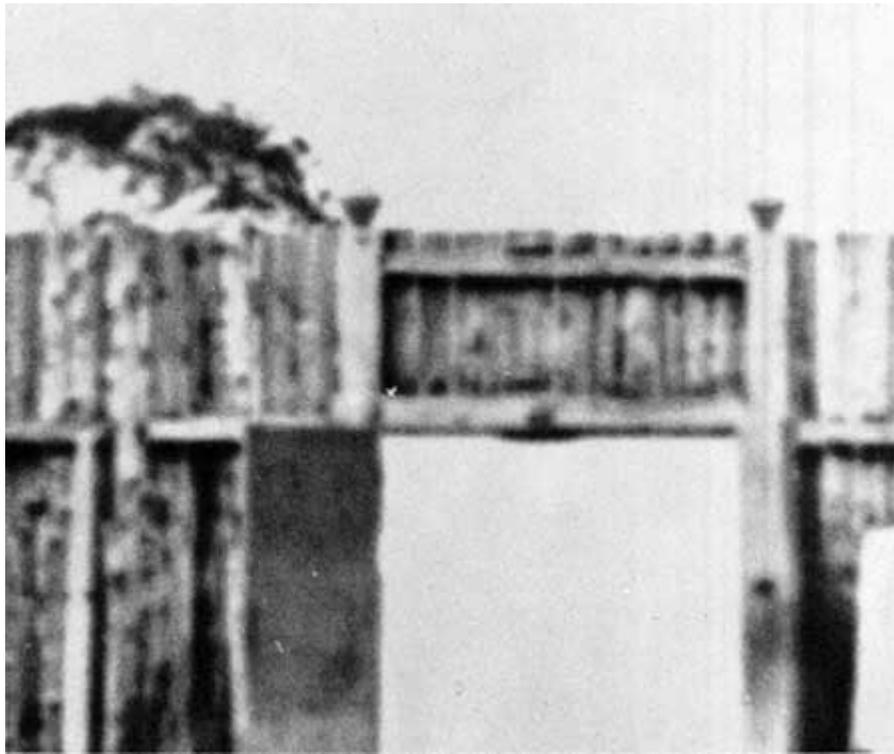


Plate XXXIII. Enlarged Section of Photograph of Fort Victoria, showing Palisade and Gate Construction.

Notable features include flat-topped pickets, apparently peeled logs, king posts, and single girth.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)



Plate XXXIV. Enlarged Section of 1860 Photograph of Northwest Stockade Angle, Fort Vancouver, 1860.

The stockade pickets vary in height (compare wall just north of the sale shop on the left with that between bastion and granary on the right); posts appear to be flat-topped; king posts seem to be behind pickets (?); one row of girths.

(Courtesy of Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)



Plate XXXV. Drawing of Fort St. James, British Columbia, c. 1864- 1867, by George Albert Frost.

The palisade posts clearly were pointed at this Hudson's Bay Company post.

(Courtesy of the Glenbow- Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.)

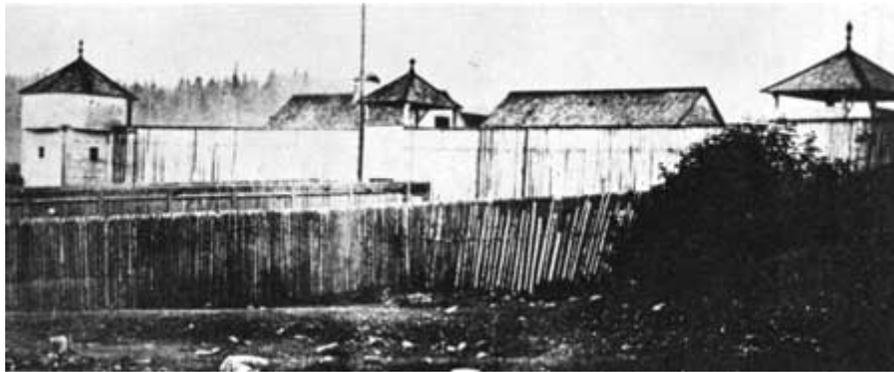


Plate XXXVI. Photograph of Hudson's Bay Company Post, Fort Rupert, British Columbia.

Outer pickets definitely were pointed; main stockade was topped by a horizontal timber cap.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)



Plate XXXVII. Sketch of Fort Langley, 1858, by E. Mallandaine.
(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)

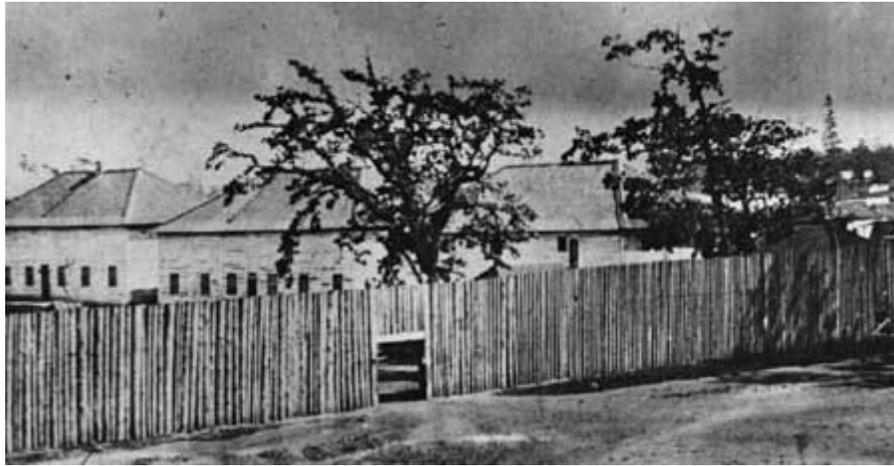


Plate XXXVIII. Fort Victoria, c.1858, Showing Stockage Exterior and Gate Entrance. (Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)

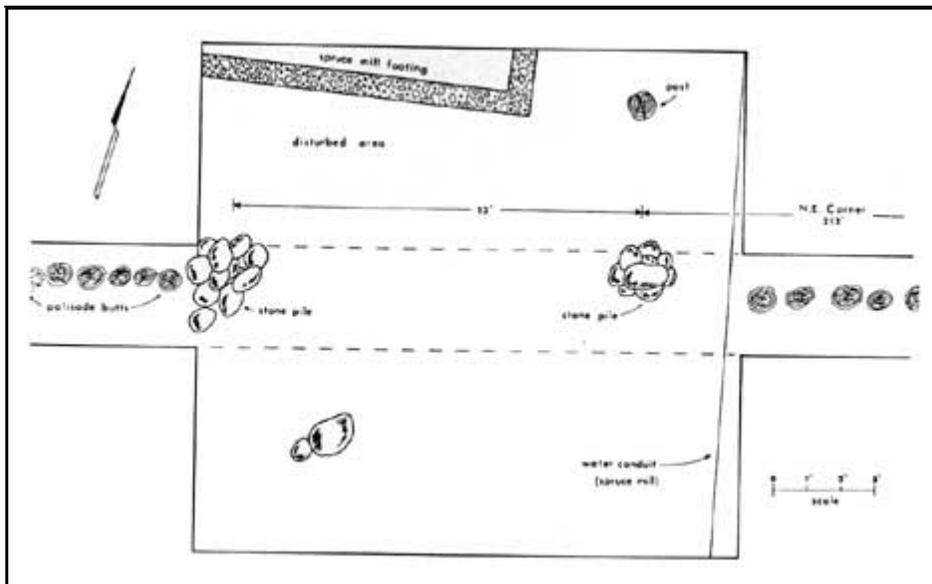


Plate XXXIX. Diagram of North Gate Foundations, Fort Vancouver, as Excavated in 1966. (From John D. Combes, *A Report of the Fort Vancouver Archaeological Excavations of the North Wall*, figure 4.)



Plate XL. Gate at Fort York, Canada, After Restoration.

Fort York was a military post, but its gates appear to have been much like those at Hudson's Bay Company forts in the present British Columbia.

(From The Beaver, Outfit 265, No. 2 (September, 1934), 56.)

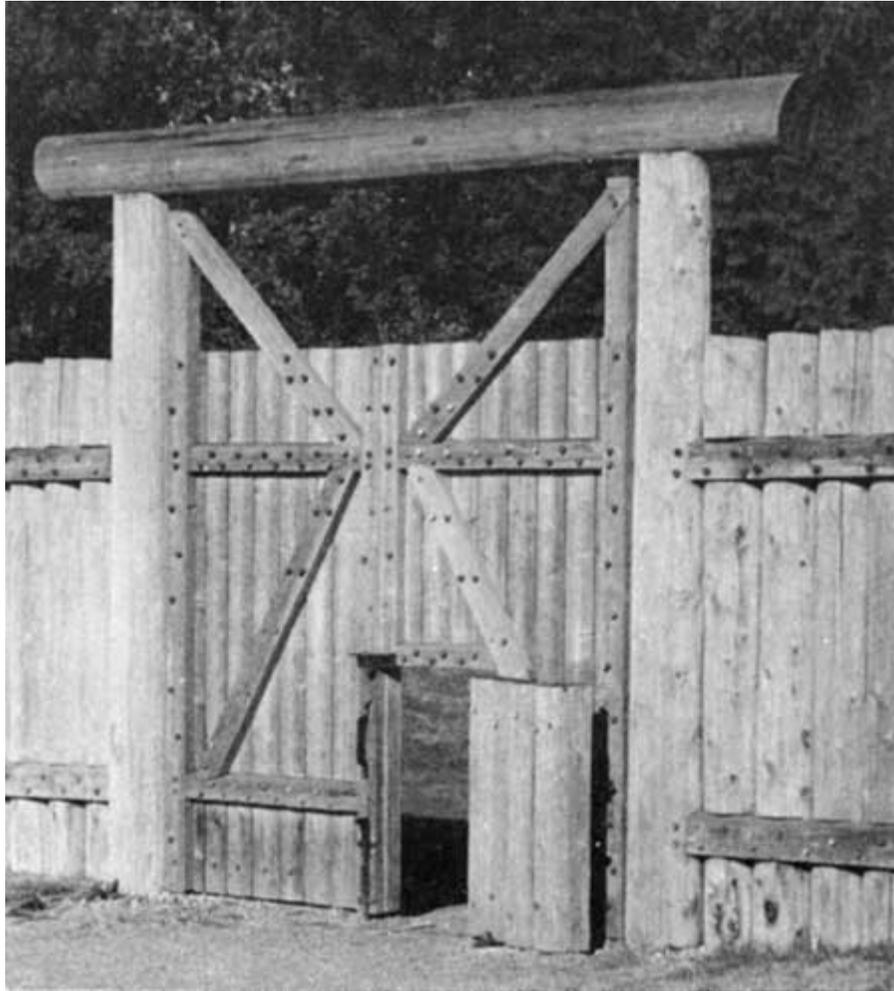


Plate XLI. Reconstructed Gate at Fort Langley, British Columbia. (*National Park Service photograph, by J. A. Hussey, Sept. 9, 1967.*)

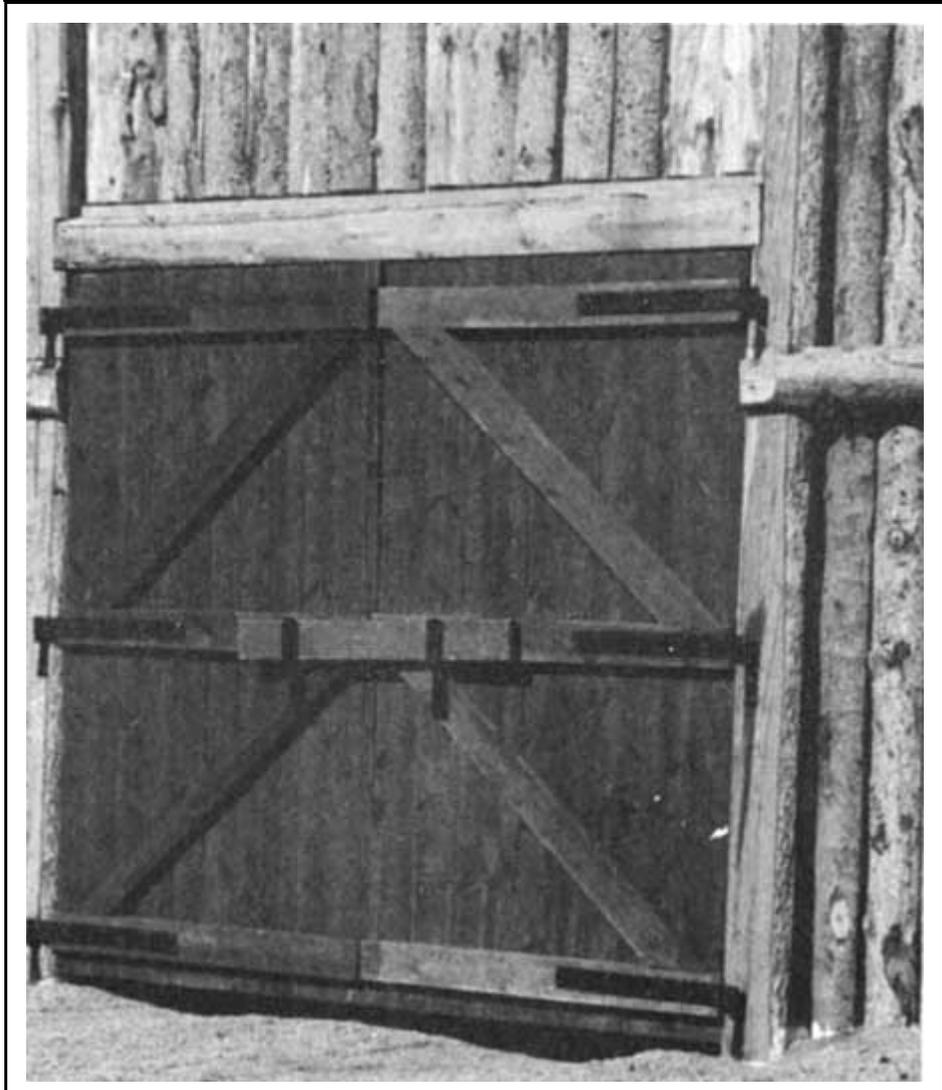


Plate XLII. Reconstructed Gate at Fort Carlton, Saskatchewan.
(National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, Sept. 15, 1967.)

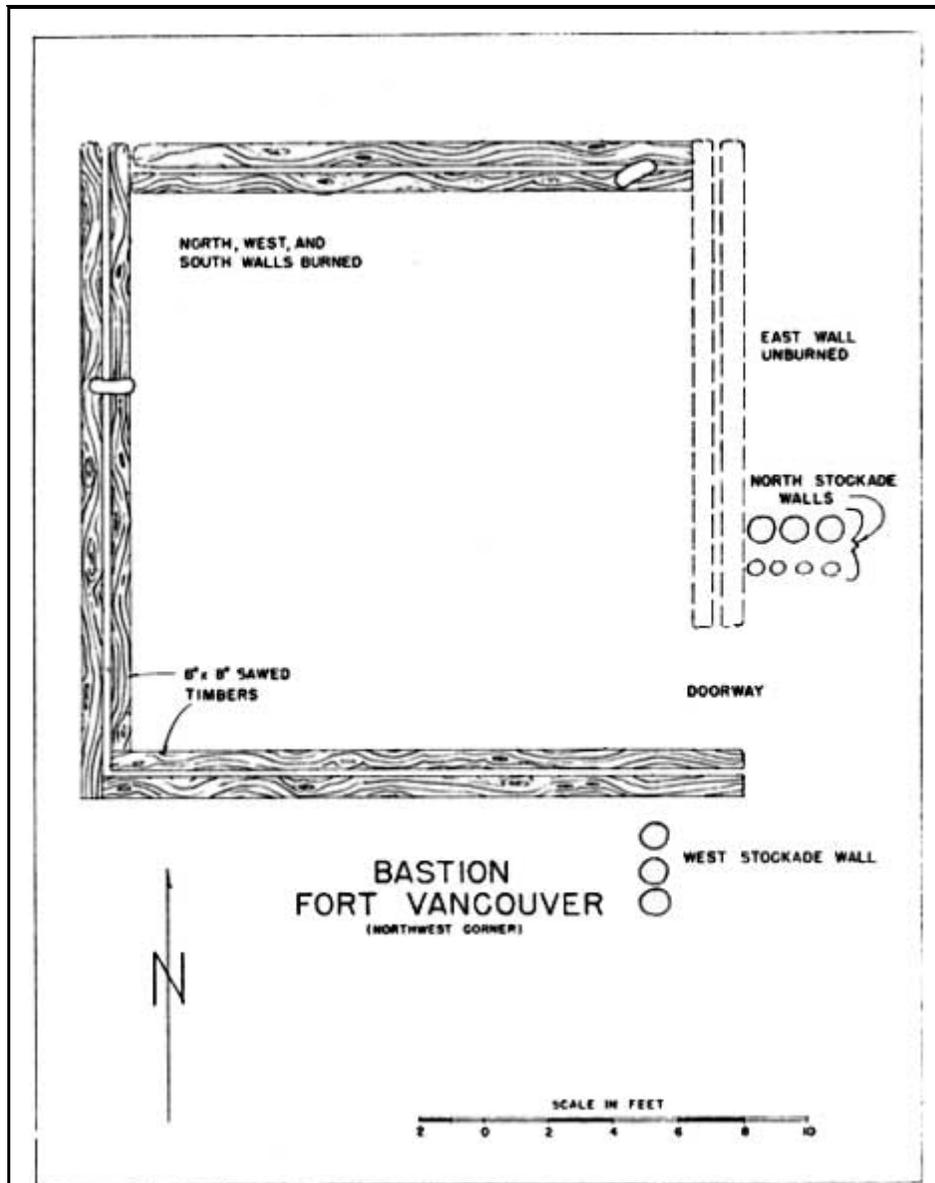


Plate XLIII. Plan of Foundation Timbers, Fort Vancouver Bastion, As Excavated in 1947. (From Louis F. Caywood, *Exploratory Excavations at Fort Vancouver*, plate 4.)

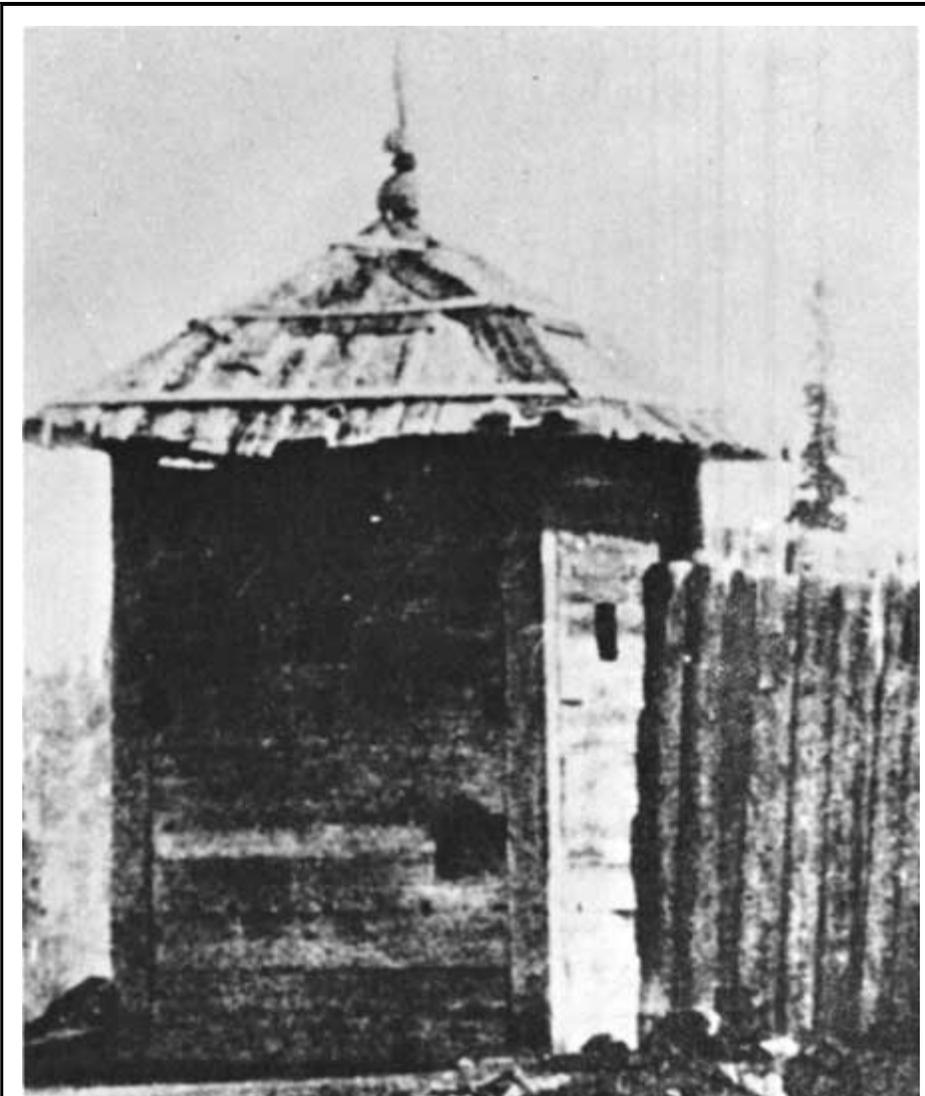


Plate XLIV. Bastion at Fort Langley, British Columbia.

(Enlarged portion of Photograph NA- 1141- 1 in the Glenbow- Alberta Institute, Calgary; reproduced through the courtesy of the Glenbow- Alberta Institute.)



Plate XLV. Bastion at Fort Victoria, British Columbia.

The gun slits are observable as dark lines above each cannon port and about midway between the lower cannon ports and the ground.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)



Plate XLVI. Fort Nanaimo Bastion, British Columbia, 1971.
(National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September, 1971.)

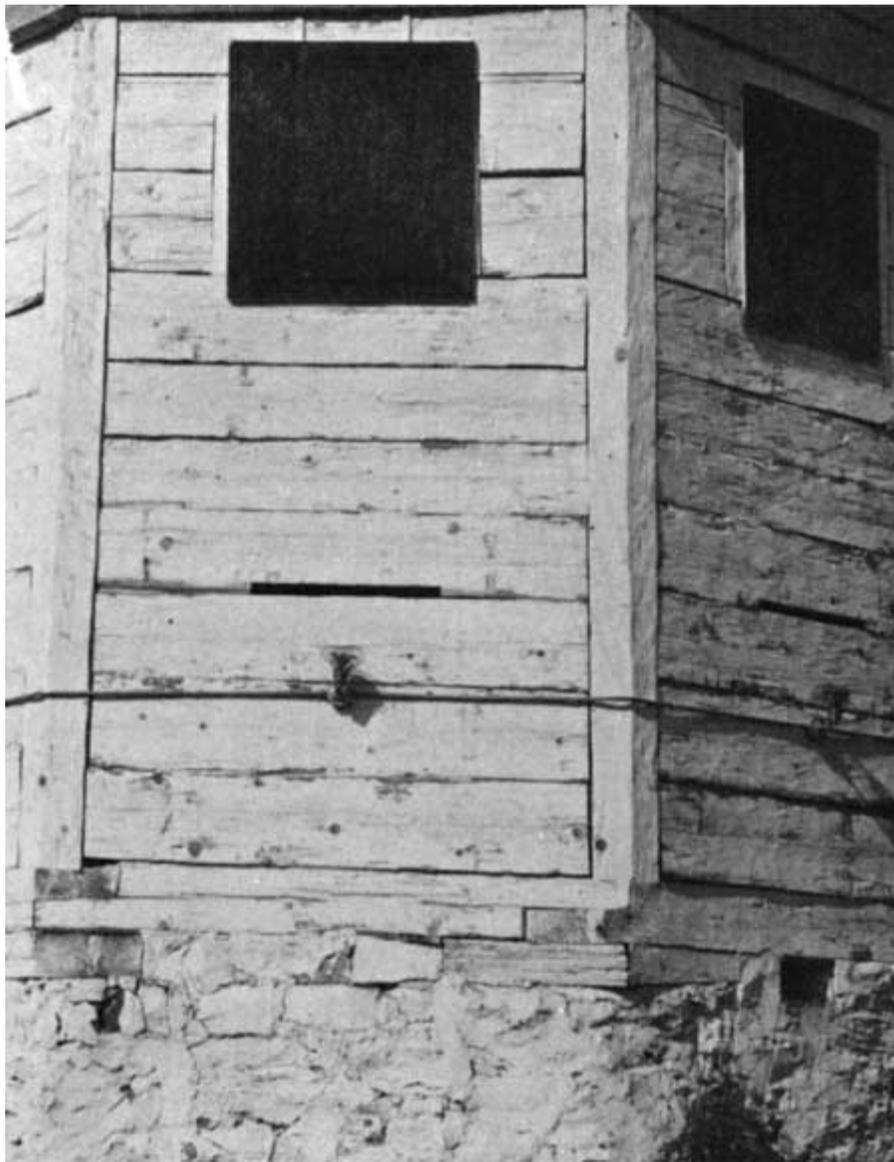


Plate XLVII. Construction Details, Fort Nanaimo Bastion.
(National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September,
1971.)



Plate XLVIII. Shutter Details, Fort Nanaimo Bastion. (*National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September, 1971.*)



Plate XLIX. Fort St. James, British Columbia, 1914.

The structure in the center is the fish store.

(Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.)



Plate L. Bake Ovens in Bastion, Lower Fort Gerry, Manitoba.
(National Park Service photograph by A. L. Koue, September, 1967.)

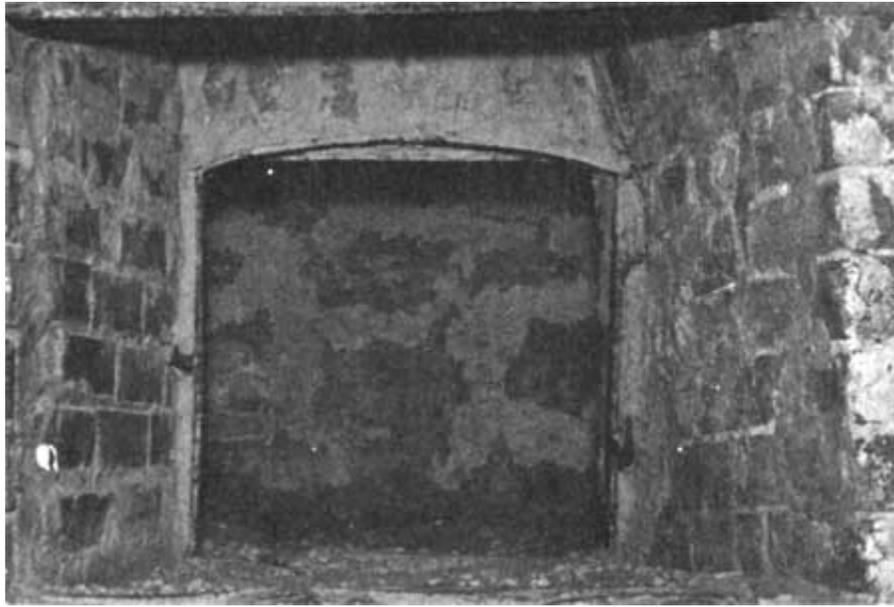


Plate LI. Oven Door Detail, Lower Fort Gerry Bakery.
(National Park Service photograph by A. L. Koue, September, 1967.)

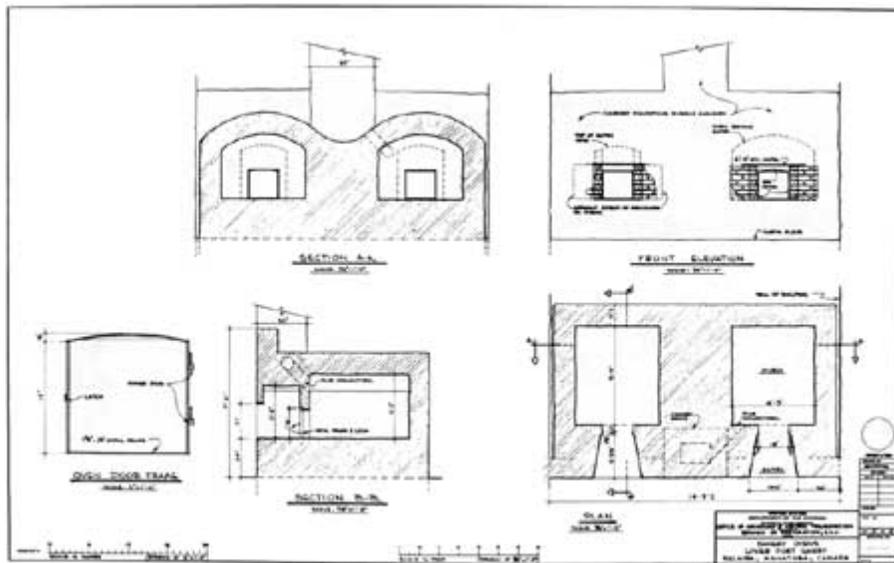


Plate LII. Plan of Bakery Ovens, Lower Fort Gerry. *(National Park Service Drawing by Architect Richard Mehring.)* [\(click on image for an enlargement in a new window\)](#)

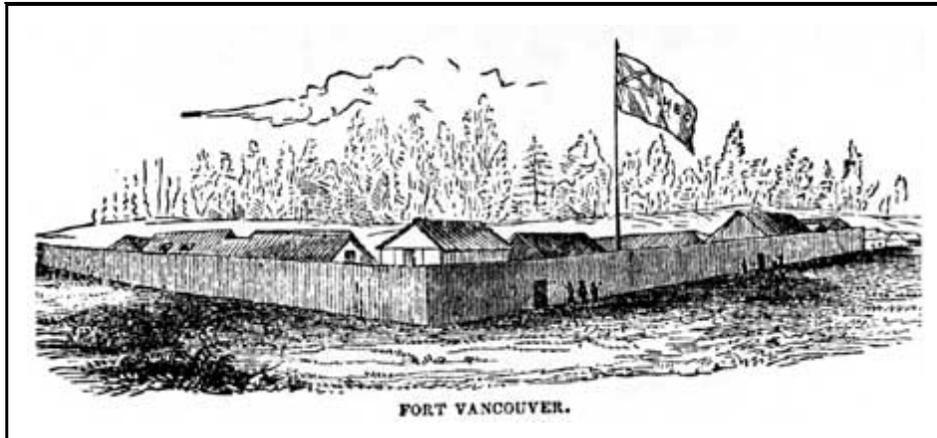


Plate LIII. View of Fort Vancouver from the Southwest, 1841.
(From Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition...*, IV, 327.)

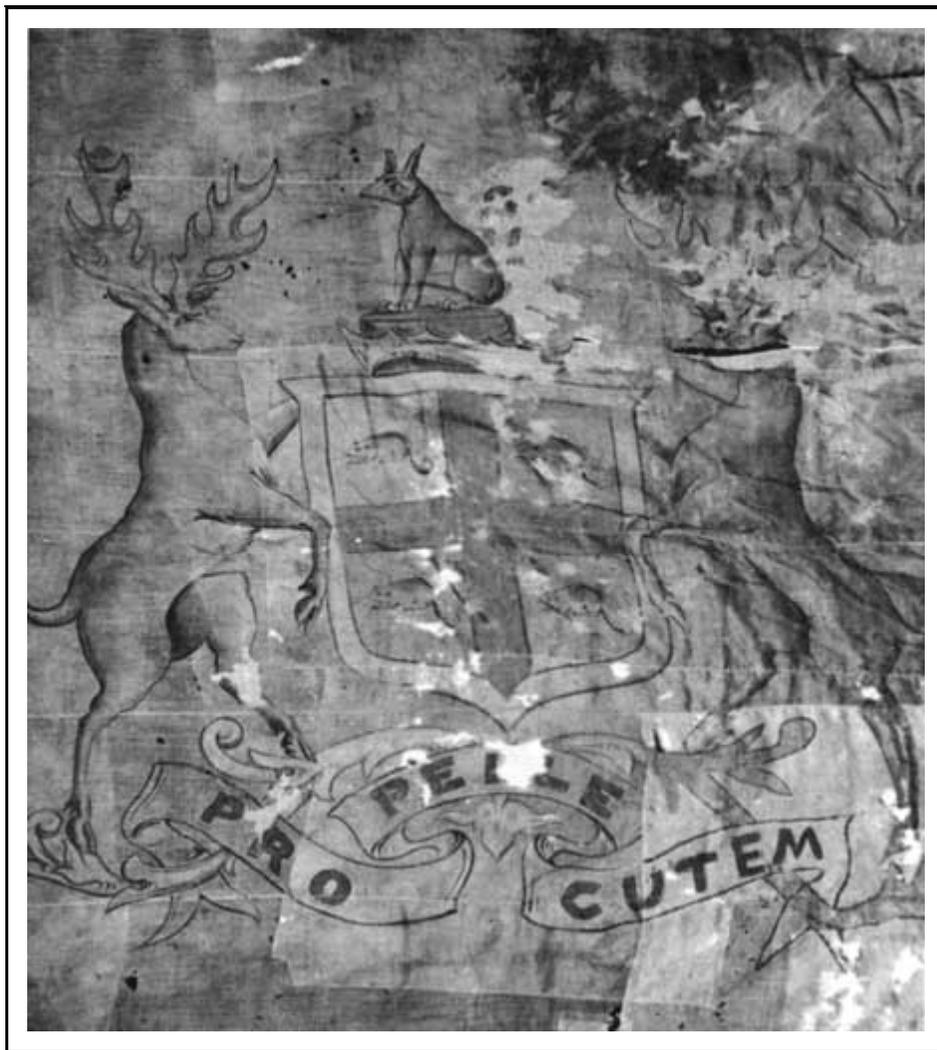


Plate LIV. Hudson's Bay Company House Flag, said to have flown at Fort Vancouver as early as 1849. (*National Park Service photograph courtesy of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.*)



Plate LV. Well No. 2, Fort Vancouver.

This round, boulder-lined well was constructed early in 1845 near the fort bakery.

(National Park Service photograph, courtesy of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site.)

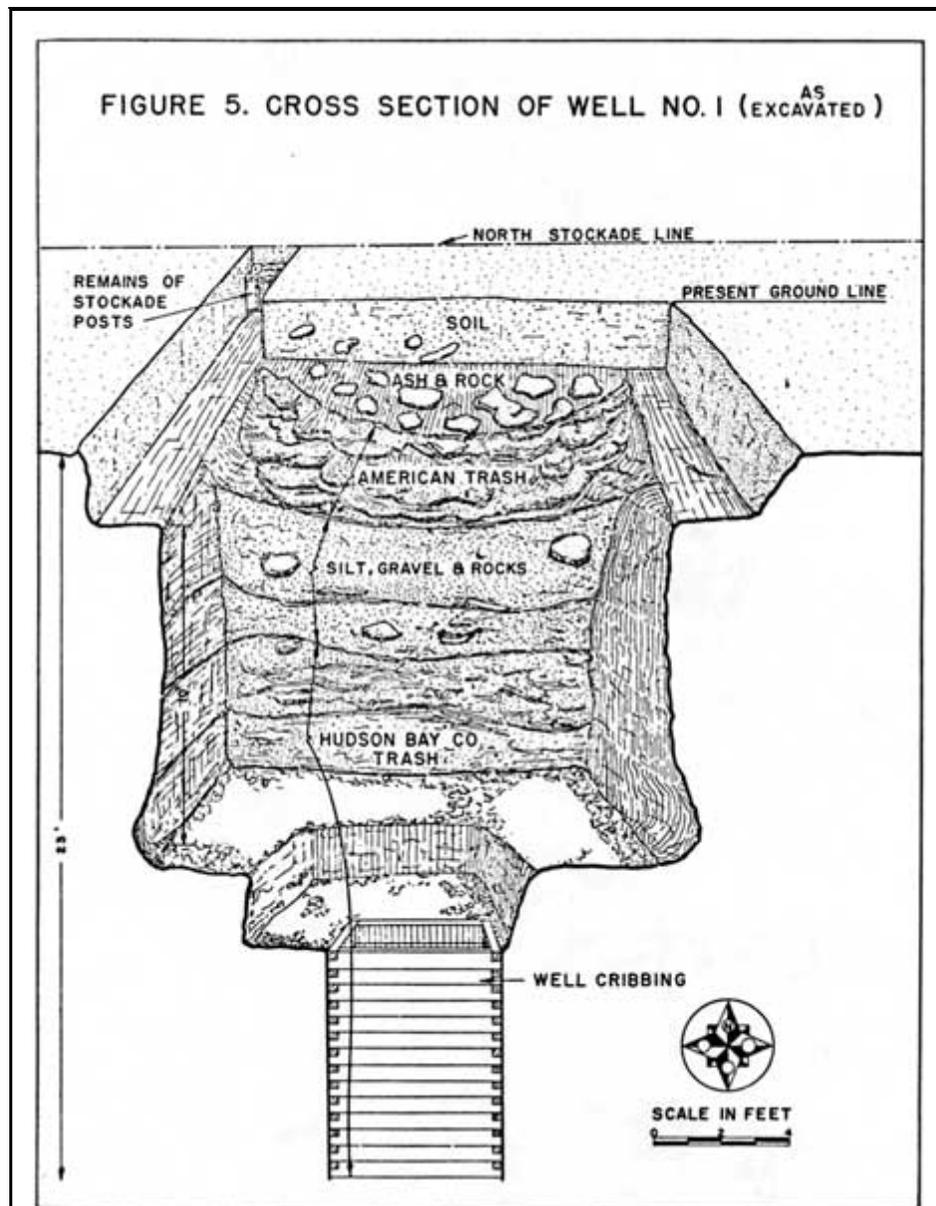


Plate LVI. Cross Section of Well No. 1, Fort Vancouver, As Revealed by Archeological Excavations in 1952. (From Louis F. Caywood, *Final Report*, figure 5.) (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)



Plate LVII. Fort Colville, photographed by the British Boundary Commission Party, 1860.

The manager's house is the hipped- roof structure to the left.

(Courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. No. C 19132.)



Plate LVIII. Jasper House, H. B. C. Post, 1872.

This photograph of a small Hudson's Bay Company structure well illustrates the technique of applying roof boards.

(Courtesy of the Glenbow- Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta.)



Plate LIX. Roof Detail, Reconstructed Rocky Mountain House, Heritage Park, Calgary, Alberta. (*National Park Service Photograph by J. A. Hussey, September 24, 1967.*)



Plate LX. Weatherboards and Corner Boards, Archway

Warehouse, Norway House. (Photograph courtesy of Mr. Terence B. Smythe, National Historic Sites Service, Canada.)

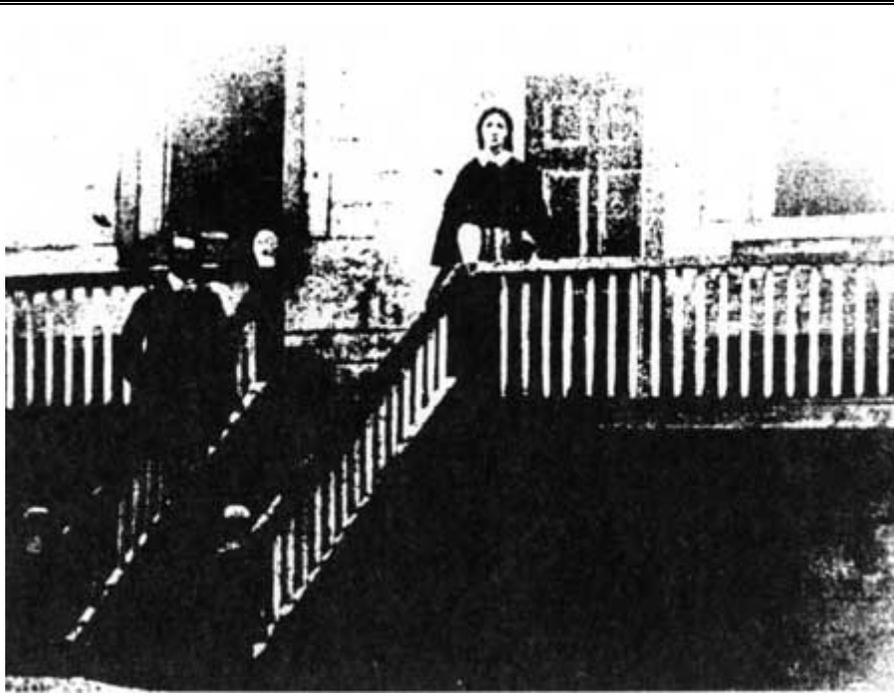


Plate LXI. Front Stairway and Entrance, Officers' Quarters, Fort Langley, c.1858- 1874. (From *The Beaver*, Outfit 289 (Autumn, 1958), 36.)



Plate LXII. Restored Factor's House, Fort Nisqually. (From *The*

Beaver, Outfit 292 (Summer, 1961), 15.)

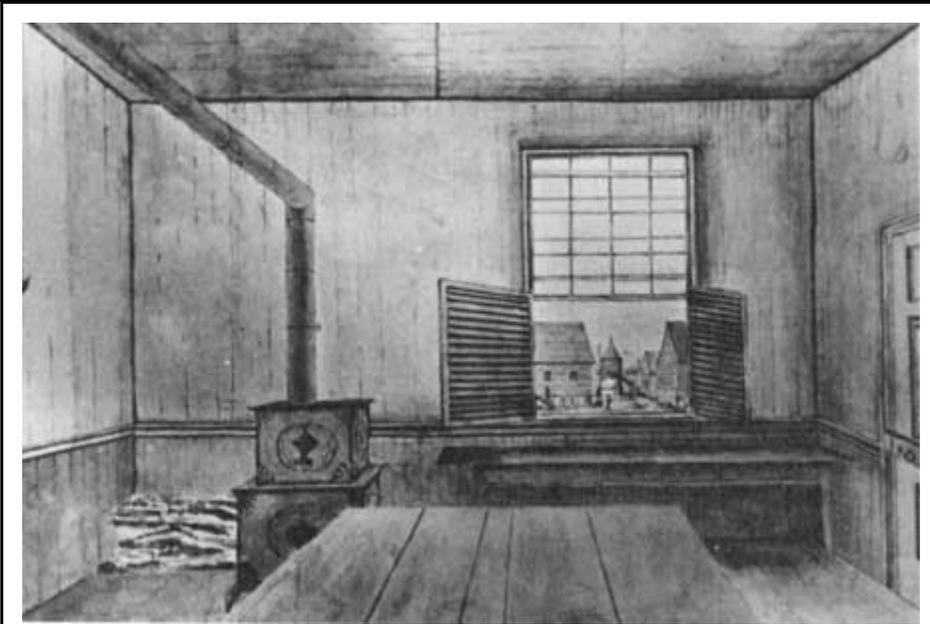


Plate LXIII. Room in the Great Hall, Fort William, 1816.

This drawing is said to have been made by Lord Selkirk shortly after he captured the North West Company's great depot in 1816. Dr. McLoughlin served the North West Company at that post and undoubtedly ideas absorbed there concerning construction methods were later employed at Fort Vancouver.

(Courtesy of Public Archives of Ontario, Toronto, from Selkirk Papers, Pkg. 21, #126. Photograph lent for this study by Mr. Erwin N. Thompson.)



Plate LXIV. Sitting Room Interior, Staff House, Moose Factory, Hudson Bay. *(Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.)*

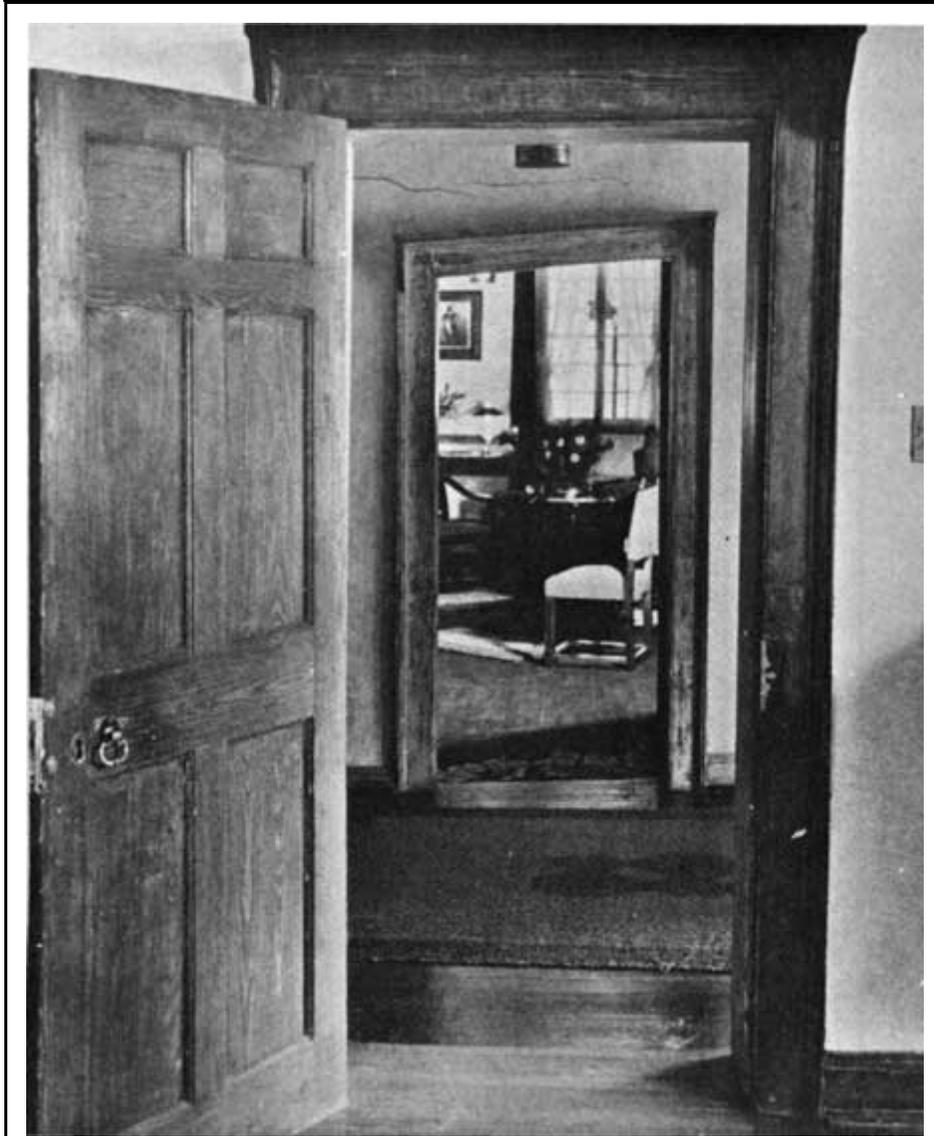


Plate LXV. Interior Doorways, Governor's House, Lower Fort Garry, c.1935. (From *The Beaver*, Outfit 266, No. 3 (December, 1935), [34].)

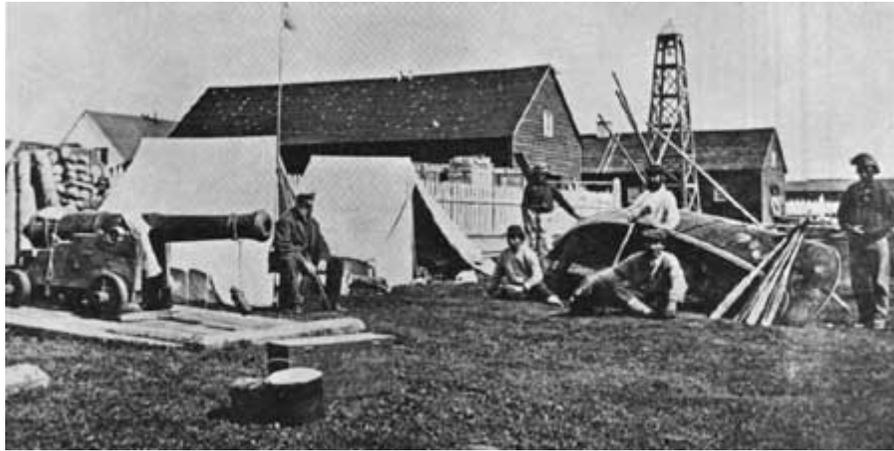


Plate LXVI. Moose Factory, 1878. (From *The Beaver*, Outfit 277 (June, 1946), [26].)

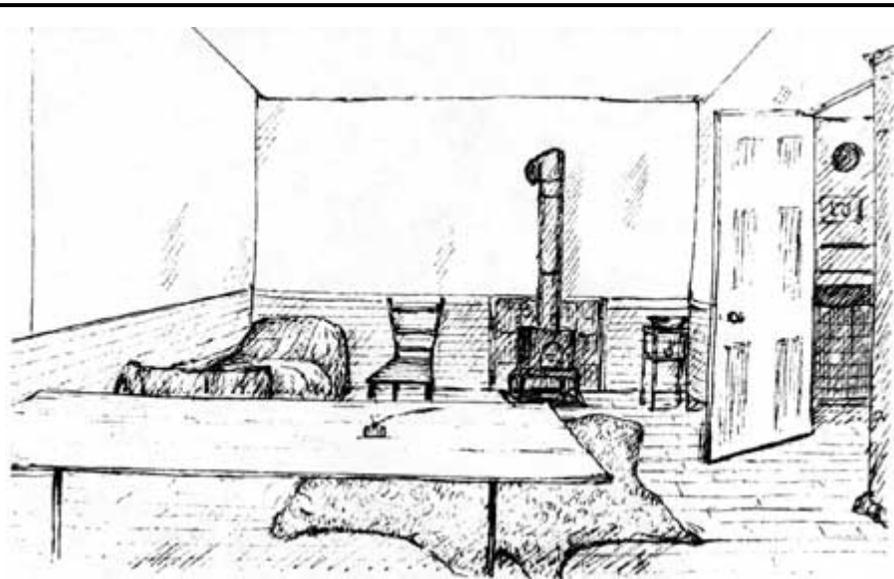


Plate LXVII. View of a Room, Presumably in Upper or Lower Port Garry, c.1846- 1848, Drawn by George B. Finley. (Courtesy of the Glenbow- Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta. Fig. 58.24.75.)



Plate LXVIII. Blacksmith Shop, Moose Factory, c.1946.
*(Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg;
reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.)*



Plate LXIX. Drawing Room, Governor's House, Lower Fort Garry, c.1935. *(From The Beaver, Outfit 266, No. 3 (December, 1935), 37.)*



Plate LXX. Christmas Dance in Bachelors' Hall, York Factory, 1840's. (From R. M. Ballantyne, *Hudson Bay*.)



Plate LXXI. Dining Room, McLoughlin House National Historic Site, 1941.

The dining table and chairs are said to have belonged to Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver.

*(National Park Service photograph by Baychuck Studio,
Portland, Oregon.)*



Plate LXXII. "Country Made"
Chair, Front View, Moose
Factory. *(Courtesy of Library,
Hudson's Bay Company,
Winnipeg; reproduced with
permission of the Hudson's Bay
Company.)*



Plate LXXIII. "Country
Made" Chair, Rear View,
Moose Factory. *(Courtesy
of Library, Hudson's Bay
Company, Winnipeg;
reproduced with permission
of the Hudson's Bay
Company.)*



Plate LXXIV. "Dr. McLoughlin's Desk," McLoughlin House National Historic Site, 1941.

This desk is said to have been used by Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver.

(National Park Service photograph, by George Grant.)



Plate LXXV. Secretary "from Fort Vancouver," McLoughlin House National Historic Site, 1941. (From *The Beaver*, Outfit 272 (September, 1941), 33.)



Plate LXXVI. Assorted Timbers from Original Fort Victoria Cook House, Fort Victoria Museum, 1967.

A grooved corner post is clearly visible in the center of the picture. The thinner "filler" timbers are ranged to the left.

(National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, October, 1967.)



Plate LXXVII. Horizontal "Filler" Timbers from Original Fort Victoria Cook House, Fort Victoria Museum, 1967.

The shape and finish of these timbers are characteristic of Hudson's Bay Company construction across the continent. The right-angled side of the tenon faced the outside of the wall; the

beveled side was toward the inside of the structure.

(National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, October, 1967.)



Plate LXXVIII. British Columbia. Old Hudson's Bay Company Warehouse, Fort St. James, *(National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September, 1967.)*



Plate LXXIX. Measured Drawings, H. B. C. Warehouse, Fort St. James, Sheet 2. *(National Park Service drawing by Historic*

Architect A. L. Koue.) (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

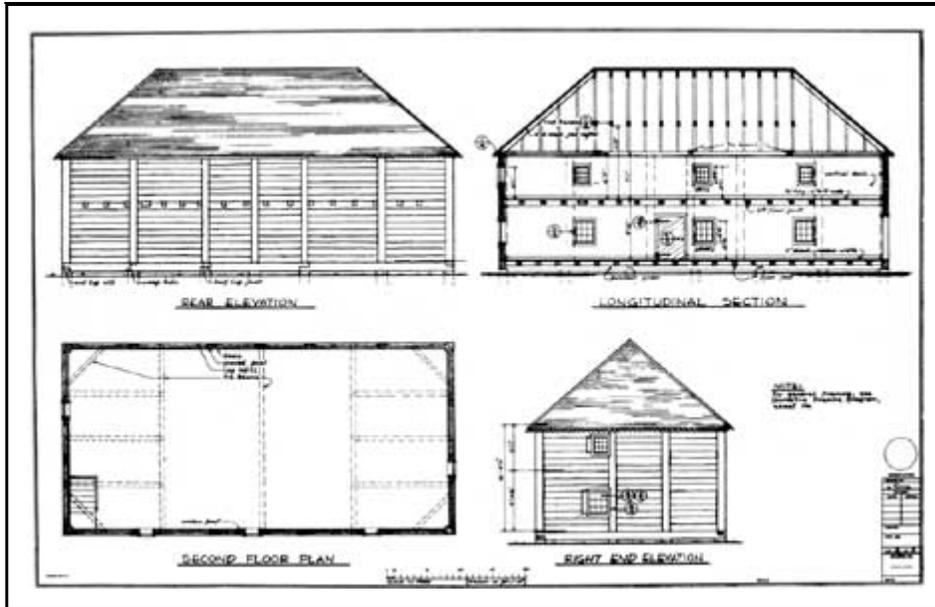


Plate LXXX. Measured Drawings, H. B. C. Warehouse, Fort St. James, Sheet 3. (National Park Service drawing by Historic Architect A. L. Koue.) (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

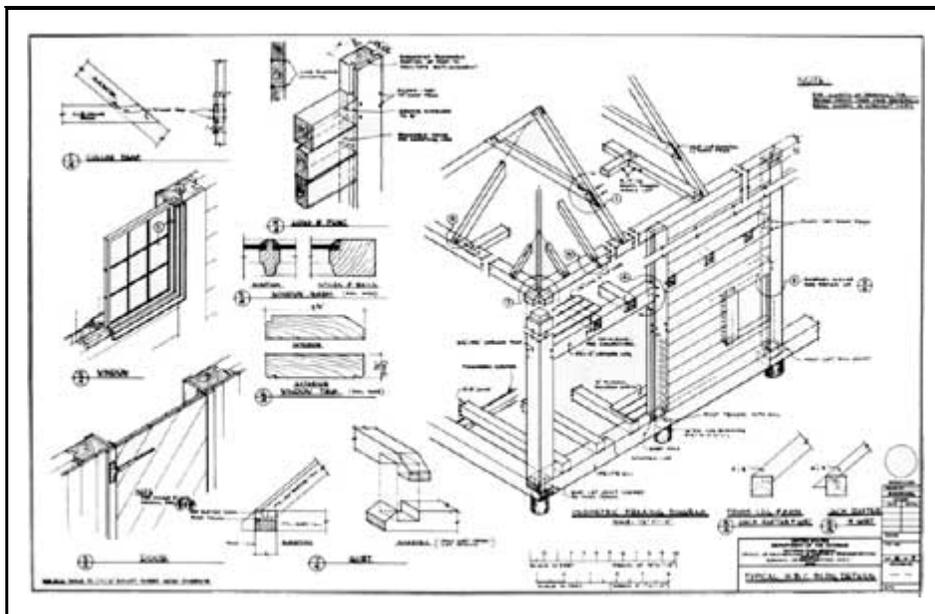


Plate LXXXI. Typical H. B. C. Building Details, Warehouse, Fort St. James, Sheet 4. (*National Park Service drawing by Architect F. Mehring, based on measurements by A. L. Koue, September, 1967.*) ([click on image for an enlargement in a new window](#))



Plate LXXXII. Eaves Detail, Warehouse, Fort St. James. (*National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September, 1967.*)



Plate LXXXVI. Shutter on Upper Story Window on Only Surviving H. B. C. Building, Fort Langley, B. C. (*National Park Service photograph by A. L. Koue, September, 1967.*)

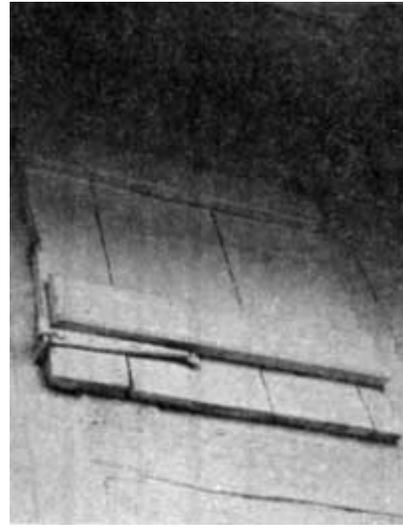


Plate LXXXIII. One- Half of Trade Shop Double Door, Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba. (*National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September, 1967.*)



Plate LXXXVII. Shutter on Lower Story Window, Surviving Original H. B. C. Structure, Fort Langley.

The hinges are 13- 1/2 inches long overall.

*(National Park Service
photograph by J. A. Hussey,
September, 1967.)*



Plate LXXXIV. Main Door, H. B. C. Warehouse, Fort St. James.
*(National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September,
1967.)*



Plate LXXXV. Double Door, H. B. C. Warehouse, Lower Fort Garry. (*National Park Service photograph by J. A. Hussey, September, 1967.*)

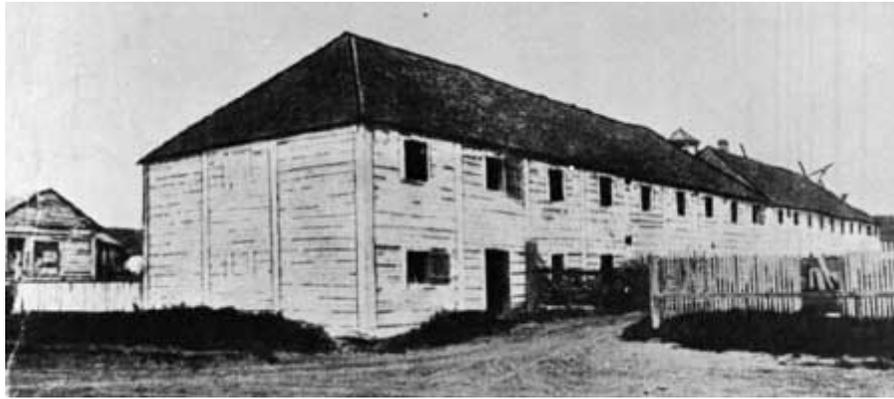


Plate LXXXVIII. "Athabasca Building," H. B. C. Warehouse, Port Edmonton, Alberta, c.1900 (?).

(Alberta Government Photograph, from the Ernest Brown Collection, Department of Industry and Development, Edmonton, Alberta. Neg. No. B1062.)



Plate LXXXIX. Tearing Down the "Athabasca Building," Fort Edmonton, October 14, 1915. *(Courtesy of the Glenbow- Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta. File No. NC- 6- 1544.)*



Plate XC. Warehouse Window, York Factory, c.1970. (Courtesy of Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.)

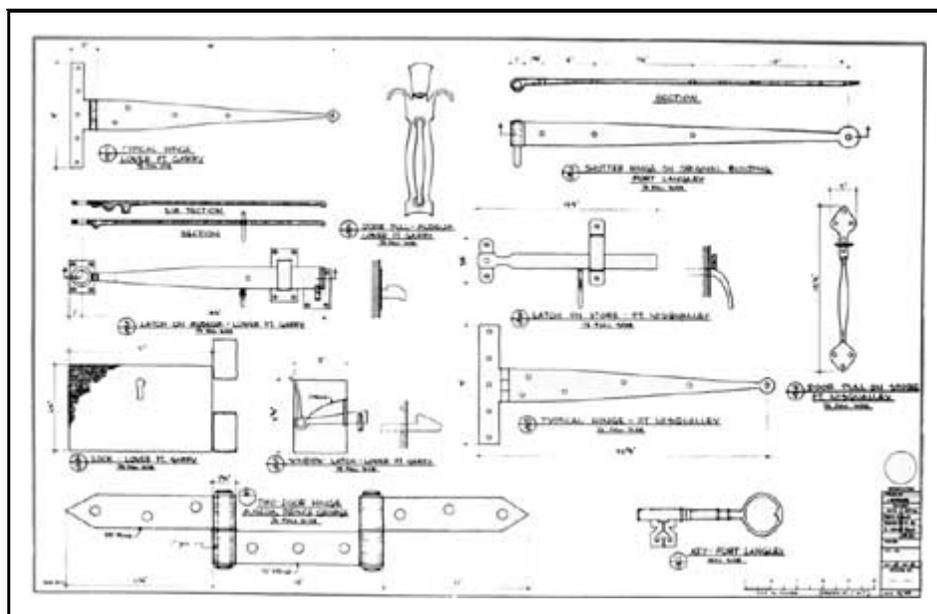


Plate XCI. Typical Hardware, H. B. C. Structures, Sheet 5.
(National Park Service drawing by F. Mehring, based on field
data by A. L. Koue, April, 1969.) (click on image for an
enlargement in a new window)

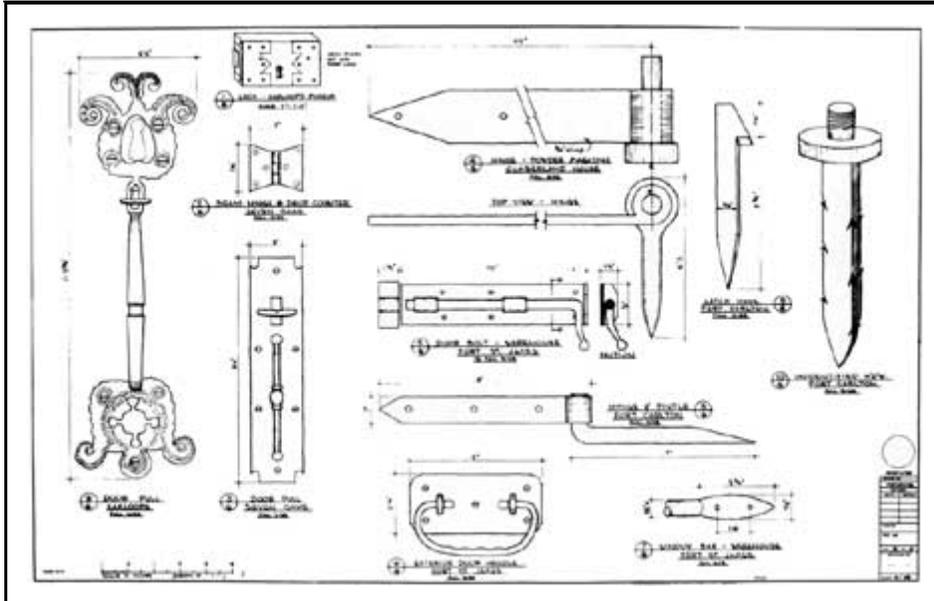


Plate XCII. Typical Hardware, H. B. C. Structures, Sheet 6.
(National Park Service drawing by R. Mehring, based on field
data by A. L. Koue, April, 1969.) (click on image for an
enlargement in a new window)

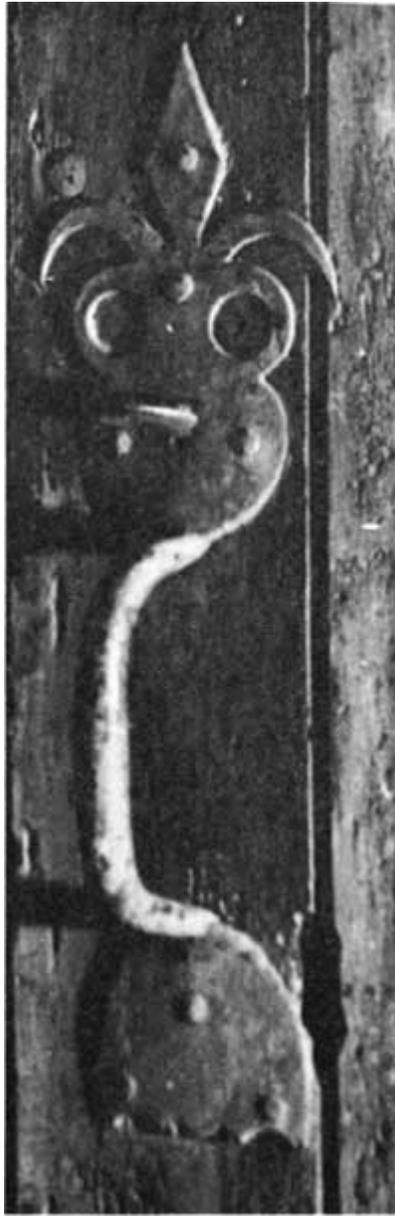


Plate XCIII. Latch on Warehouse Door, York Factory, Hudson Bay, c.1970. (Courtesy of Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.)



Plate XCVII. Shelves and Ladder in Shop or Warehouse, York Factory, c.1970. (Courtesy of Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.)



Plate XCIV. Stairway in Warehouse, York Factory, c.1970.
(Courtesy of Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.)

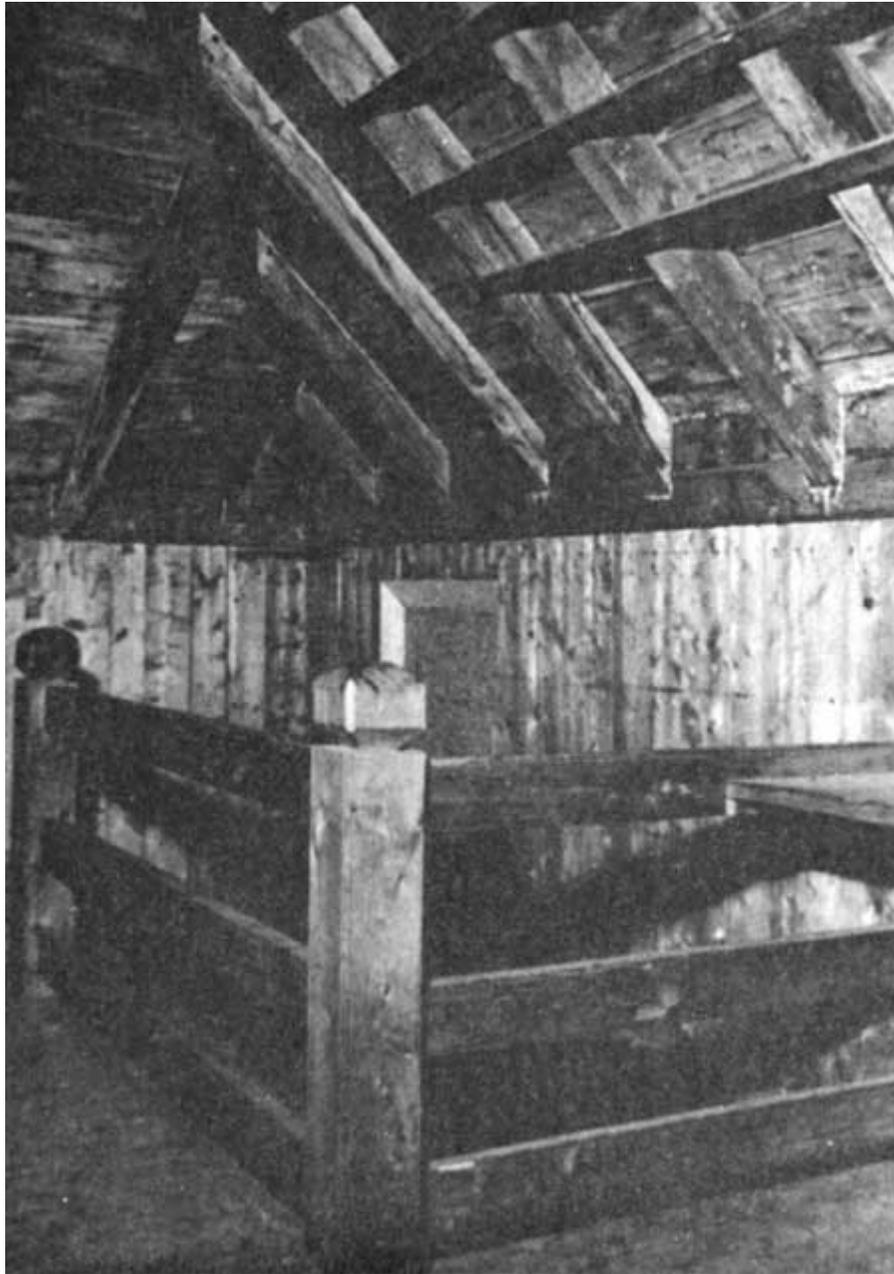


Plate XCV. Protective Railing Around Stairway Opening on Second Floor of Warehouse, York Factory, c.1970. (*Courtesy of Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.*)

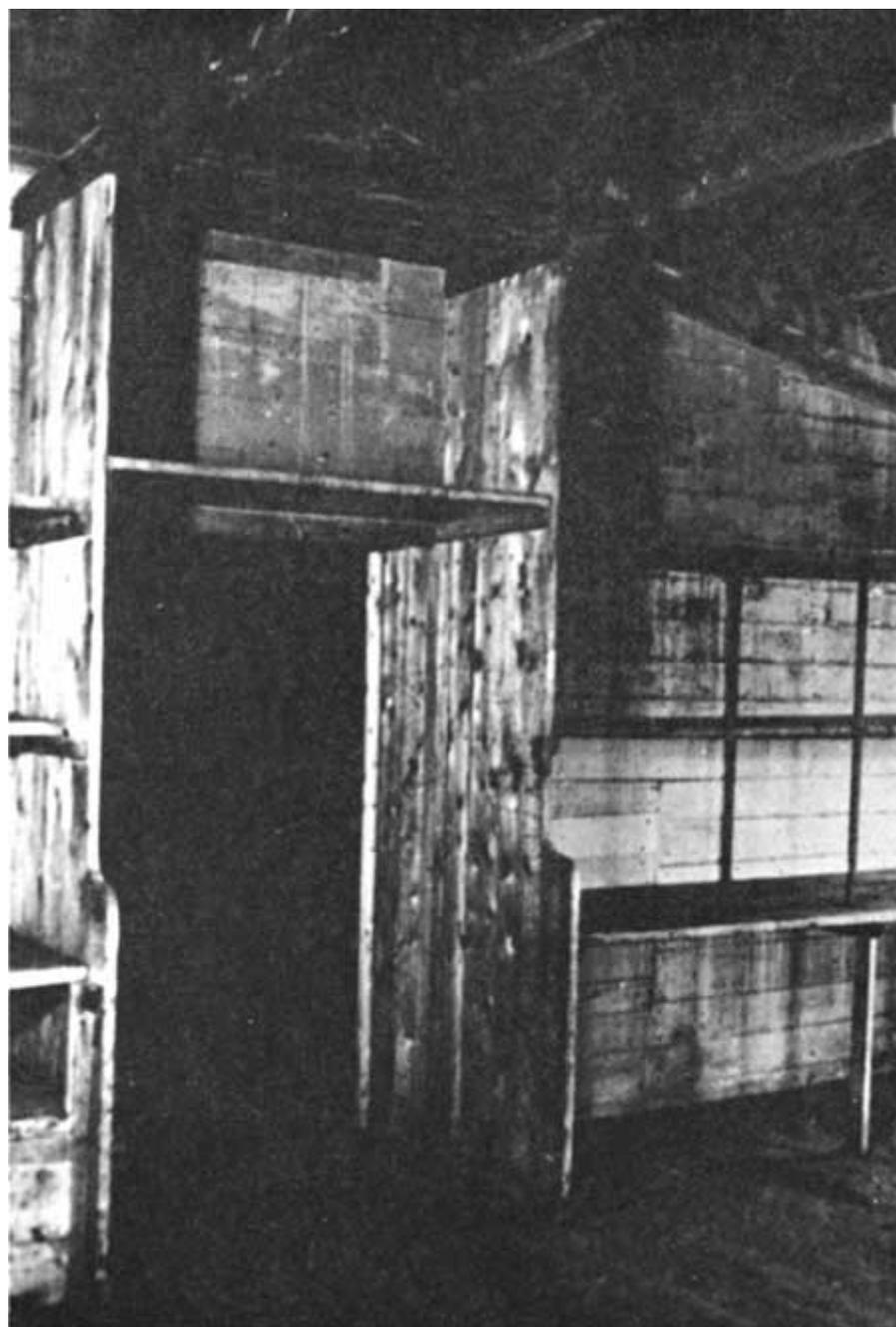


Plate XCVI. Shelves in an Old Structure at York Factory, c.1970.
(Courtesy of Technical Services Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.)



Plate XCVIII. Interior of an Unidentified H. B. C. Trading Store. (*Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.*)



Plate XCIX. Hudson's Bay Company Trade Shop at Fort Resolution. (*Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.*)



Plate C. Interior of Trade Shop, Fort Resolution. (Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.)



Plate CI. Interior of Hudson's Bay Company Store, Fort Vermilion, c. 1910. (Courtesy of the Glenbow- Alberta Institute,

Calgary, Alberta. File No. NA- 1315- 27.) (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

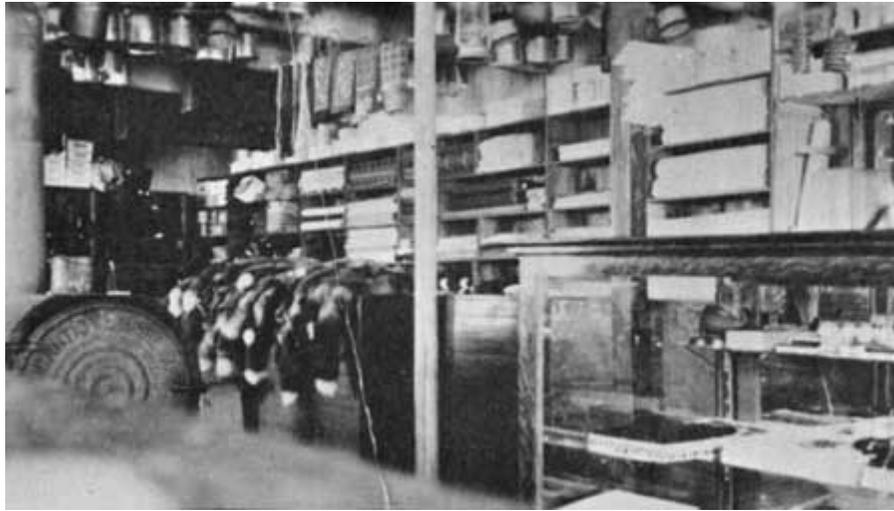


Plate CII. Interior of H. B. C. Store at Lac Seul, Ontario, Early 20th Century. (Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.) (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)



Plate CIII. Interior of H. B. C. Trading Store, Albany, Hudson Bay, c.1905. (Courtesy of Library, Hudson's Bay Company,

Winnipeg; reproduced with permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.)

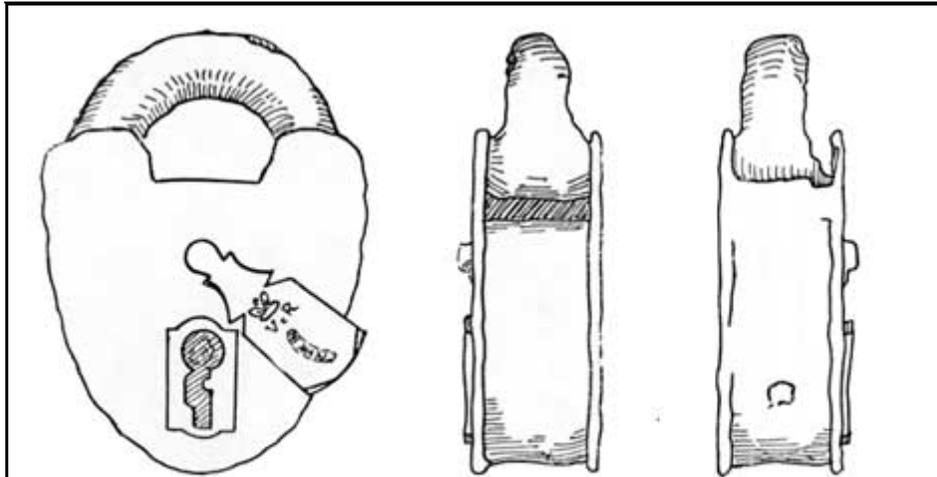


FIGURE 9—IRON PADLOCK WITH BRASS KEYHOLE ESCUTCHEON AND COVER
(Natural size)

Plate CIV. Iron Padlock Excavated at Fort Vancouver. (*From Caywood, Final Report, Figure 9.*)



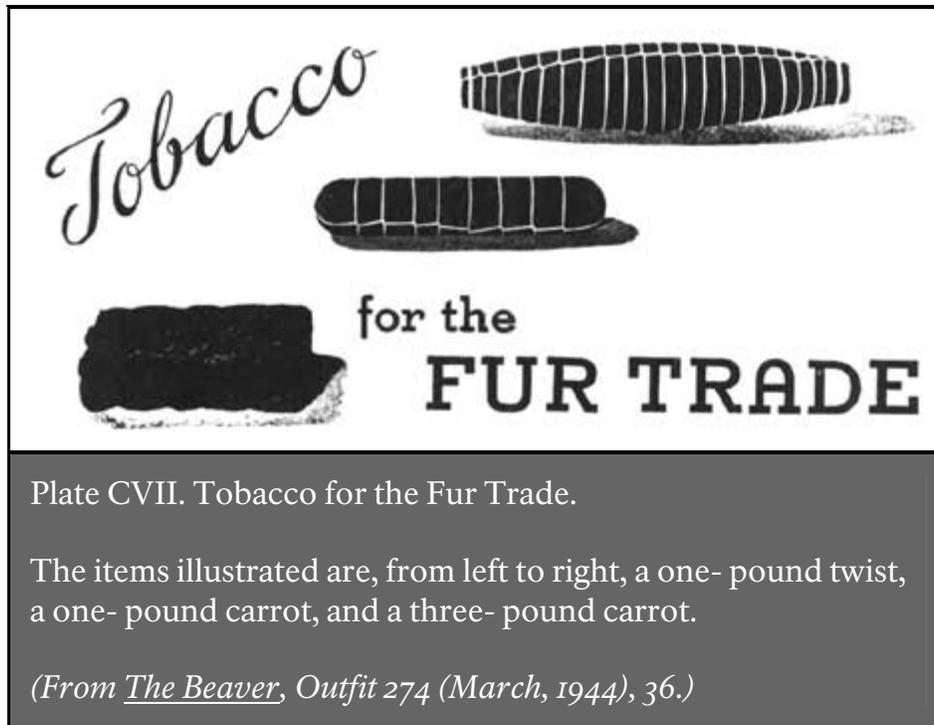
Plate CV. A "Covered Copper Kettle" of the Type Sold at Hudson's Bay Company Shops During the Nineteenth Century.

Photograph of a specimen formerly in the Company's museum.

(From The Beaver, Outfit 287 (Summer, 1956), 50.)



Plate CVI. Haida Woman Wearing a Hudson's Bay Company "Point" Blanket, 1880's. (From *The Beaver*, Outfit 287 (Summer, 1956), 51.)



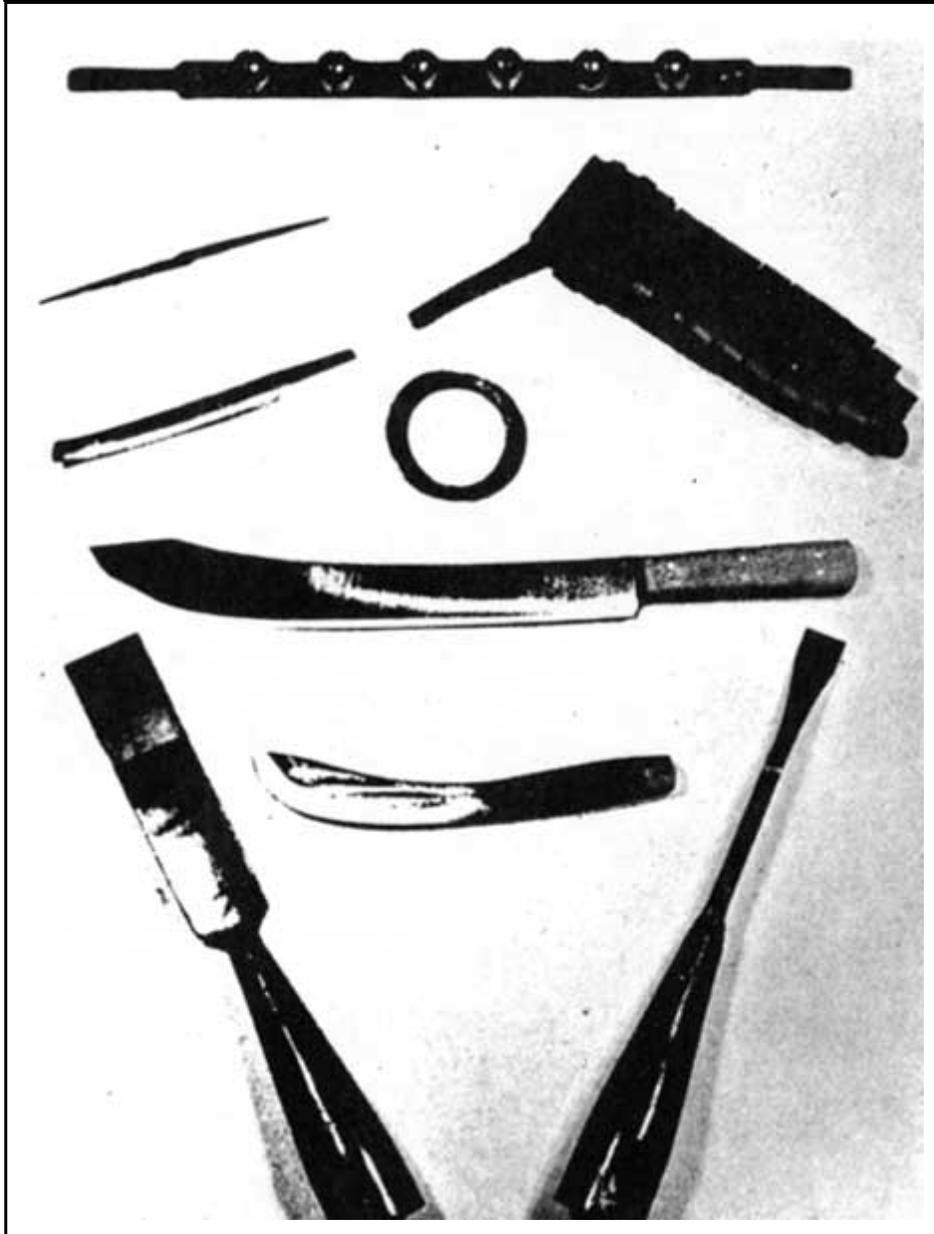


Plate CVIII. Sales Items Long Carried at H. B. C. Sales Shops Across the Continent.

The objects shown, front left to right, are dogbells, canoe awl, crooked knife, tumpline, snare wire, snow knife, skinning knife, and ice chisels.

(From The Beaver, Outfit 274 (March, 1944), [33].)



Plate CIX. An H. B. C. Fur Pack, 1895. *From Casper Whitney, On Snow- Shoes to the Barren Grounds, 295; photograph courtesy of the Glenbow- Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta. File No. NA-1185-14.)*

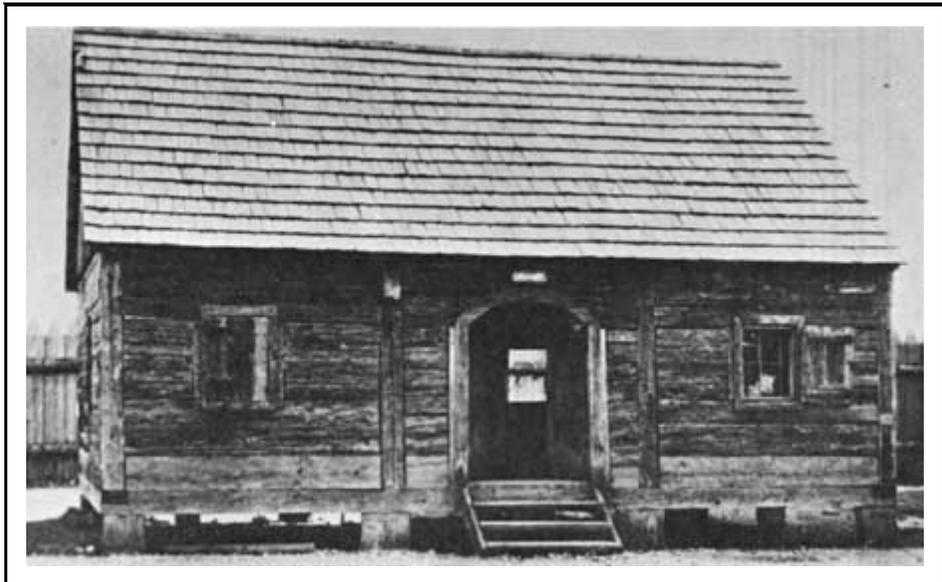


Plate CXI. Original H. B. C. Granary, Fort Nisqually, Washington. *(Courtesy Photographic Records Office, The National Archives.)*

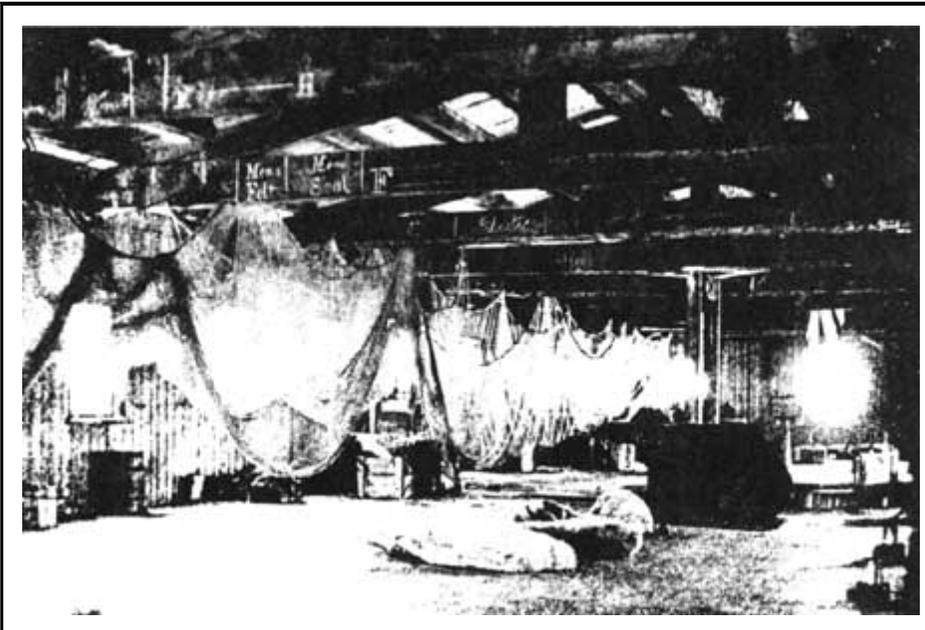


Plate CXII. The Great Store Room on the Second Floor Back of the Depot at York Factory, 1923.

This building was constructed during the 1840's.

(Photograph by Martin Bovey, from The Beaver, Outfit 288 (Winter, 1957), 16.)