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A HISTORY OF THE STRUCTURES AT UPPER  
FORT GARRY, WINNIPEG, 1835-87

by Brad Loewen and Gregory Monks  
1986

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Upper Fort Garry, Winnipeg, 1835-87  
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Upper Fort Garry, 1835-87

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1	Abstract
2	Acknowledgements
3	Preface
6	Introduction
12	Historical Context of Upper Fort Garry
23	Construction for Retail, Fur Trade Administration and Civil Government: 1835-46
23	Functions and Overview of Construction
37	Stores
39	Sales Store
44	Dwelling Houses
49	Walls and Bastions
66	The Effects of Military Occupation: 1846-49
66	Overview of Construction and Sources
67	Renovations Inside the Fort
72	Stores
84	Walls and Bastions



- 100 Competition and Expansion: 1849-57
- 100 Overview of Construction and Sources
- 102 Walls, Flood Damage and Drains
- 106 Well and Office
- 109 Dwelling Houses
- 122 Entrepôt for the North-West: 1858-70
- 122 Summary and Sources
- 129 Construction Related to the Royal Canadian Rifles
- 132 Smaller Buildings
- 137 Stores, Walls and Dwelling Houses
- 140 Other Structures
- 150 Decline and Demolition: 1871-87
- 150 Summary and Sources
- 152 Construction and Demolition
- 156 Denouement
- 203 Conclusion
- 205 Appendix A. A Description of Upper Fort Garry in 1871.
- 207 Appendix B. Inventory of Major Structures at Upper Fort Garry.
- 212 Appendix C. Description and Depiction of Upper Fort Garry, 1887.
- 217 Appendix D. Foundation Styles, Post-and-Beam Timber Construction, drafted at York Factory, 23 September 1857.
- 222 Appendix E. An Essay on the Timber Buildings in Hudson's Bay Intended to Improve the Manner of Building Such Buildings.
- 227 Appendix F. Computation of North-South Measurements at Upper Fort Garry.
- 229 Appendix G. Plan Shewing Profile and Section of Lockup at Norway House.

231	Endnotes
242	Bibliography

#### Diagrams

50	1	Reproduction of 1871 Survey Measurements.
51	2	Dimensions of the Fort Including Bastions.
53	3	Comparison of Archival and Survey Measurements.
54	4	Sinclair's Method of Determining Relation of Wall to Bastion.
55	5	Excavations in the Southwest Corner, 1983.

#### Illustrations

27	1	"Upper Fort Garry, 1846."
29	2	"Upper Fort Garry and Environs" [1845].
31	3	"Sketch of Upper Fort Garry Assiniboine River" [1845-46].
33	4	"South and east sides" [Upper Fort Garry] [ca. 1840].
35	5	"Fort Garry. From a drawing made June 12, 1845, by Alexander H. Murray."
58	6	"Upper Fort Garry, 1850."
60	7	"Relative sketch of Upper Fort Garry, Red River Settlement, 1846."
62	8	"General survey of Upper Fort Garry and its immediate vicinity" [1848].
64	9	Detail of Figure 8.
76	10	"View of Upper Fort Garry, north wall" [1846].
78	11	"View from inside Upper Fort Garry..." [ca. 1846].

- 80 12 "Front Gate, Fort Garry" [ca. 1840].
- 82 13 "View of Upper Fort Garry from across the river"  
[1847].
- 88 14 "Upper Fort Garry, 1857."
- 90 15 "Plan of Fort Garry, 1836-1881" [ca. 1868].
- 92 16 "Plan of Fort Garry" [ca. 1868].
- 94 17 "Fort Garry - Rear View" [1857].
- 96 18 "Fort Garry" [1857].
- 98 19 "Fort Garry, 1858."
- 116 20 "Men's Barracks from the Officers' Mess Room  
Window, Fort Garry, Winter of 1857-58."
- 118 21 "Fort Garry, Manitoba" [ca. 1858].
- 120 22 "Steamer International at Fort Garry, Manitoba,  
for Mr. Jolly" [ca. 1869].
- 125 23 "Upper Fort Garry, 1870."
- 127 24 "Survey field notes, Upper Fort Garry" [1871].
- 144 25 "A view showing Fort Garry, Assiniboine River with  
a drawbridge over it and the steamer Dakota of  
the Kitson Line unloading at the warehouse"  
[1872].
- 146 26 "Court house and southwest bastion" [1870].
- 148 27 "Red River expeditionary force at drill" [1870].
- 157 28 "Upper Fort Garry, 1874."
- 159 29 Detail of "Winnipeg, 1876."
- 161 30 Detail of "A Map Showing the City of Winnipeg"  
[1876].
- 163 31 "Plan of Upper Fort Garry" [1887].
- 165 32 "Upper Fort Garry in 1876, drawn by F.B. Hazel for  
Thomas W. Leslie, Winnipeg, from Information  
supplied by him, April 1928."

- 167 33 "Liquor store under construction" [ca. 1872].  
169 34 "Upper Fort Garry" [1872].  
171 35 "Fort Garry" [1872].  
173 36 "Fort Garry - 1878. A Vanished Scene in the Early  
History of Our Country" [ca. 1874-75].  
175 37 "North gate, Fort Garry" [1870s].  
177 38 "Retail store" [ca. 1873].  
179 39 "Fort Garry" [ca. 1874].  
181 40 "Fort Garry, ca. 1880."  
183 41 "Government House" [1878].  
185 42 "Fort Garry" [ca. 1876].  
187 43 "Fort Garry" [ca. 1876].  
189 44 "Chief Factor's house" [1878].  
191 45 "Officers' quarters from Assiniboine Avenue  
entrance" [ca. 1878].  
193 46 "Officers' quarters" [ca. 1878].  
195 47 "HBC offices, corner of Main and Broadway" [1878].  
197 48 "Fort Garry, showing Main Street Bridge and old  
Davis house at north end of bridge" [ca. 1878].  
199 49 "Fort Garry" [1878].  
201 50 "North gate, Fort Garry" [1887].

## Abstract

This manuscript is a presentation of archival and pictorial sources concerning the functions, origins, locations, dimensions, construction methods and materials of structures at Upper Fort Garry from 1835 to 1887. A brief overview of the economic and political context for the architecture at the fort is presented for the general reader. Detailed descriptions of individual structures and the fort as a whole form the body of the manuscript. The purpose of this information is to aid in archaeological excavations, contribute to the field of fur trade wood architecture, and furnish a spatial basis for the many historical events associated with the fort.

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## Preface

This study is one product of the Upper Fort Garry Archaeological Project. Initially archaeological interest in the fort was spurred by the Downtown Winnipeg Association through its desire to see the Upper Fort Garry Gate Park upgraded. Two small-scale excavations were undertaken as a result, one in the gateway itself<sup>1</sup> and another between the gate and Main Street.<sup>2</sup> Both these excavations were conducted to recover structural information that would aid in the reconstruction and displays that have subsequently been erected in the park. The archaeological potential of the fort, as demonstrated by these two excavations, prompted the commencement in 1981 of the Upper Fort Garry Archaeological Project in the principal remaining area where remains of the fort were still accessible, namely, Bonnycastle Park.

The chronological parameter of the research was defined by the fort's period as a trading centre (1835-83) with the spatial parameter being the Red River Settlement. The research aim was to recover cultural remains from the southwestern portion of the fort under Bonnycastle Park, to integrate these remains with the historical record and the two previous excavations in the Upper Fort Garry Gate Park, and to use the historical and archaeological data bases to examine the roles of the fort and its occupants in the social and economic life of the Red River Settlement.

The project was initiated and directed by Dr. Gregory Monks, University of Manitoba, and involved three consecutive summers of excavation. It was recognized at the

outset that extensive archival research would be required, and funding for this purpose was obtained under grants 410-85-1093 and 410-84-0454 from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council in 1984. Acquisition and analysis of archival data have thus proceeded concurrently with analysis of the archaeological data.

To date, a series of publications has arisen from this project. Three preliminary reports on archaeological excavations have appeared<sup>3</sup> and a review of visual depictions of the fort has been accepted by Prairie Forum.<sup>4</sup> One master's thesis has been completed on the cloth remains<sup>5</sup> and two more are nearing completion (Seyers on faunal remains; Larcombe on ceramics). In addition, the archival and archaeological research of this project has been the subject of an educational videotape, public lectures, academic colloquia and academic conference papers. At this writing, a paper on symbolic communication of the fort's architecture is in the final stages of preparation.<sup>6</sup>

This volume is a further outcome of the project. One of the basic questions that needed to be answered from an archaeological standpoint was exactly which buildings had been uncovered during excavations. Subsidiary questions also arose from this initial one, namely, when and how were they built, what modifications were made and when, and what were the functions of the buildings over time. Further, an anomaly was noted between various existing plans of the fort; some showed three major buildings inside the original west wall and others showed four. The resolution of this discrepancy was important because excavations were located precisely in this part of the fort, but the architectural history of its southwest corner was deemed meaningless outside the context of the fort as a whole.

Accordingly, Brad Loewen was hired to conduct archival research principally on this topic and on the 6th Regiment



of Fort garrison of 1846-48. At a later date he was also employed to search out details of the architectural history of a sample of forts and posts in the Northern Department contemporary with Upper Fort Garry. Between his employments, Susan Dueck was hired to collect social, economic and census data on the Red River Settlement. In total, these bodies of data complement the archaeological data base, and these two independent data bases provide the foundation on which the analyses and interpretations of the project rest.

A series of documentary reports on the fort's architecture were prepared by Loewen, and these formed the basis for stimulating, informative and productive weekly meetings with Monks. These discussions provided not only the required substantive data but also a jointly developed body of analytical and interpretive ideas about the fort's architecture over time. As well, further avenues of potentially fruitful research were identified. It became clear that the sum of Loewen's reports and the joint thinking needed to be analyzed and reported and Loewen generously undertook the task.

The resulting monograph contributes significantly to our knowledge of Upper Fort Garry through a careful and detailed synthesis of its construction history. As well, some errors in frequently cited plans and dates are exposed, and interpretations are made that relate the fort as an architectural phenomenon to its context in the Red River Settlement.

## Introduction

For nearly half a century from 1835 to 1883, Upper Fort Garry was the focus for many political developments in the Red River Settlement and the entire North-West. The physical appearance of the fort was intricately associated with the social events of the time. The builders of the fort in 1835-37 intended it to be not only a lynchpin in the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company's far-flung concession, but also an architectural symbol of the company's station in northwestern society. When the fort was abandoned and partially destroyed by the HBC in 1883, the symbol of an era, according to one contemporary visitor,<sup>7</sup> was lost.

The 50 years during which the fort stood witnessed fundamental changes in the history of the region. In 1835 the HBC held a legal monopoly of trade in furs in a vast area known as the "North-West". In practice, this monopoly included many other aspects of social, political and economic life. In terms of European culture in the North-West, the only complement to the far-flung trading posts was the community known as the Red River Settlement, comprising approximately 3,500 persons. By the 1840s this community, which had originally been entirely dependent upon the company, had developed to the point where indigenous free traders and agrarian producers began to apply pressure upon the HBC's monopoly. The English governors of the company did not see these developments as a localized

phenomenon, for at the same time in England the colonial policy of Great Britain was under attack from radical liberal reformers who eventually achieved the break up of the East India Company's monopoly. Upper Fort Garry's importance cannot be measured solely in terms of its fur trade functions, however significant they were in themselves. The fort was the point at which the HBC's monopoly came into contact with European culture in Red River and the North-West.

Many of the buildings at the fort were the setting for mid-19th century Red River politics. The great storehouses held the commodities of the company's monopoly or were converted into military barracks to enforce the HBC's economic and legal status. Adam Thom's courthouse saw the celebrated trial of Guillaume Sayer in 1849. In the sales shop, storekeeper Magnus Linklater established values for goods and services. The office building was not only the scene of District of Assiniboia Council meetings and the source of the settlement's currency, but also the place where labour was hired, paid and released. In 1869 the significance of this building was underscored when Louis Riel's provisional government was based there. The upper fort was the physical nexus of the politic between establishment and settler, and as such attracted both the romance and the approbation of the developing North-West.

Between 1858 and 1874, Upper Fort Garry gradually assumed the rôle of entrepôt for the company's entire Northern Department, which had been formerly held by York Factory. However, changes in the North-West were not limited to the venerable monopoly shifting its weight from one foot to the other. The railhead to the Mississippi, which was fundamental to the change in transport routes, also brought the outside world to the Red River area. Most significant was the arrival of a mercantile-colonial social element which held the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly to be economically outmoded and ideologically repressive. The

influence of this element was pervasive rather than intrusive, for its hallmarks of nationalism, bourgeois manners and mind sets, formal political structures, an extension of the concept of private property, and a "progressive" philosophy may be observed even in the leaders of the traditional rivals of Red River, the Métis and Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>8</sup> The formation of Riel's government and its demands and methods reflect these characteristics. Within the company, the passing of such conservatives as George Simpson, George Barnston and James Anderson opened the way for such progressives as Donald Smith and William Mactavish, who had much in common with the newer social elements of Red River.

In 1869-70 Upper Fort Garry was the setting for events that eventually led to the reorganization of the HBC and the creation of the province of Manitoba. The fort's function during its final decade was related to the transition into the new era, as the fort received immigrants, lodged soldiers, and temporarily held the provincial government, while the company's business was moved north to the boomtown of Winnipeg.

For all its significance, Upper Fort Garry remains a largely unfamiliar setting. There are several reasons for this. The fort lay in the way of progress and its wooden buildings were either taken down or left to rot, while the stone Lower Fort Garry, despite its atypical stone construction and lesser importance to the fur trade and politics of Red River, has come to represent the 19th century fur trade in Red River. Second, many of the HBC records with which the fort could have been reconstructed have been lost, and the sparse historical record has been confused by an error which occurred in the 1877 printing of an 1876 survey of the fort. The error concerned the western row of stores within the older half of the fort, and depicted four stores where only three existed. This

misrepresentation was perpetuated in the best known plan of the fort, the so-called "Hazel Plan" of 1928. Third, during the urban era in the history of the Forks, the location of Upper Fort Garry was viewed as integral to the commercial and transport infrastructure of the city of Winnipeg's economy. Even though urban construction did not overwhelm the site of the fort, the historical character of the site has been lost. Fourth, the organizations interested in the protection of historic sites in Winnipeg have never implemented a comprehensive policy with respect to this site, attention which the fort could so richly reciprocate by providing ready public access to the past.

The site lies on the north bank of the Assiniboine River in downtown Winnipeg. Urban construction has made about 40 per cent of the site inaccessible to archaeology, as Main Street and Assiniboine Avenue meet near the former south gate of the fort, and the City of Winnipeg offices at 100 Main Street and an adjacent curling arena lie in the northern half of the site. A row of features some 110 to 120 feet (33.53-36.58 m) to the west of the fort consisted of the jail and courthouse, workshop, wood yard and sawpit, stable, and cattle byre in order from north to south. However, they have essentially been obliterated by the south entrance to the Fort Garry Hotel, Fort Street, Assiniboine Avenue, and the extensive substructure of the former Winnipeg Electric Railway Company car barns<sup>9</sup> (Figures 15, 16, 31 and 32).

Significant portions of the fort lie in areas accessible to archaeology. The southwest corner lies beneath a Hudson's Bay Company parking lot. This area is, however, near a former service station which may have disturbed the site.<sup>10</sup> A City of Winnipeg parking lot covers the central portion of the site west of Main Street. The extent of sub-soil disturbance under the parking lots has not been ascertained. However, excavations carried out in

Bonnycastle Park south of Assiniboine Avenue suggest the city parking lot site may be protected by an overburden of earth and gravel.<sup>11</sup> In addition to Bonnycastle Park, an area surrounding the post-1853 north gate of the fort known as Fort Garry Park has remained undisturbed. Remains of the fort in these parks, including the preserved north bastion gate and the reconstructed oaken north wall which are above ground, are vital reference points in determining the precise location and size of the fort.

Some two-thirds of all construction was concentrated in the years 1835-39 and 1851-54. Those structures not built during these years were of lesser durability and technological complexity. In 1835-39 a nearly square stone wall with bastions at the corners and six major buildings inside were built. From 1840 to 1848 three buildings were added as circumstances demanded, filling up the area within the walls and spilling over to the north. The second major phase was planned in 1849 and commenced in 1851. The fort's walled area was doubled by an oaken northward extension of the walls, enclosing a total area some 574 by 245 feet (174.96 m by 74.68 m) excluding the bastions, and three major buildings were added. Ad hoc construction resumed in 1859 and lasted till about 1875, during which time five major structures were erected and two significant additions were made.

In 1871 the process of dismantling began with the removal of the eastern stone wall. In 1873 two buildings were taken down. By 1878 the massive walls had all been levelled. In 1883 the entire southeast corner and some other minor buildings were demolished to make way for Main Street. Between 1889 and 1900, the remaining buildings were removed, leaving only the bastion gate.

Previous research on Upper Fort Garry began in 1887 with the observations of Robert Miller Christy (Figure 31; Appendix C). A series of plans and depictions, including

the Balsillie plan (Figures 15 and 16), Hazel plan (Figure 32), "Bird's Eye View of Winnipeg" in the 1880s, and an idea to reconstruct the fort with accompanying sketches by Jules Perret of the Winnipeg Free Press in 1942,<sup>12</sup> all occurred within the span of living memory of the fort. Archival research by Rodger Guinn and archaeological research by Peter Priess, Michael Kelly and Gregory Monks from 1980 to 1983 are unquestionably the most advanced work on the fort.

This study is limited to the fundamental historical question of spatial distribution within the fort and a description of these spaces. It is crafted within the broad brushstrokes of Rodger Guinn's The Red-Assiniboine Junction: A Land Use And Structural History, 1770-1980. A brief contextual sketch opens each chronological section. It is followed by a presentation of all available information on the intended use, construction and subsequent function of each structure in the fort during that period. The most important visual sources for each period are reproduced. Development of this study is already possible in those areas of the fort which have been excavated, while lacunae remain in certain areas: the 1841-44 and 1863-69 periods, the fort's final fate after 1878, and matching the described spaces to the individuals who lived and worked in them.

## Historical Context of Upper Fort Garry

Upper Fort Garry was built to fulfill several functions for which Lower Fort Garry, begun in 1832, was not suitably located. The first function was directly related to the logistics of the fur trade. A storage depot was required above the Red River rapids to serve the posts of the district. Second, "the Forks" of the Red and Assiniboine rivers was the customary location for the retail trade with local settlers. Third, the settlement of Lord Selkirk's will left the Hudson's Bay Company with significant civil responsibilities to the legal entity called the District of Assiniboia, the fulfillment of which was concentrated at the upper fort.

The Hudson's Bay Company was internally organized first of all into departments. The Northern Department had its headquarters at York Factory, which in turn was divided into districts. Each district had a storage depot where trade goods were stored and records were kept. Transport routes and watersheds determined the size and location of these districts and their headquarters. Upper and Lower Fort Garry were jointly the headquarters of the Red River District. The posts within the district had lesser storage capacity and minimal accounting and administrative responsibilities which enabled them to be profitable, whereas a post such as Upper Fort Garry was expected to incur heavy costs. To complete the organizational hierarchy, satellite outposts, often no more than notched log huts occupied during the fur gathering season in winter, were attached to various posts within a district. Thus,



Upper Fort Garry fulfilled the fur trading functions of all but the departmental level of organization.

A long tradition of fur trade establishments near the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers had accustomed the local community to trade there. Indeed, this tradition itself had influenced the demographic and economic distribution of the Red River Settlement. When the lower fort was built to become the new location of the sales shop, it was found that settlers were not prepared to travel the intervening 20 miles to conduct their business. When Upper Fort Garry was built to replace a deteriorating all-wood establishment at the Forks, the retail sales shop was moved there as well. The old fort was used for a variety of agricultural purposes until the flood of 1852.<sup>13</sup>

The titles associated with public institutions and offices in Red River are occasionally confusing. In 1836 word reached Red River that the Hudson's Bay Company was to assume legal responsibility for the support and administration of the settlement, which had been in doubt since the death of the colony's patron, Lord Selkirk, in 1820. The company decided to concentrate the political, legal and administrative functions relating to the settlement at Upper Fort Garry. However, the line between civil and company functions was never clearly distinguished, for in keeping with the monopolist phase of British colonialism in general, both functions were considered "public". The institutions of the legal entity known as the District of Assiniboia, including meetings of the council, its bookkeeping, the court house and jail, and the residences of its governor and recorder (magistrate) were all at the fort. Informally George Simpson, a governor of the company, exercised considerable control over the membership of the Council of Assiniboia, and the chief company representative in Red River normally assumed the title of Governor of Assiniboia. During times of military

presence at the fort, the ranking officer would fulfill this civil office, a practice which lasted from 1846 to 1855. The following year, the recorder held the office of Governor of Assiniboia, taking over from the military the use of the governor's residence at the centre of the fort which had come to be associated with the civil office. The recorder generally sat as magistrate and councillor for the District of Assiniboia, while being in the pay and employ of the company as legal counsel. The bookkeeping of Assiniboia, including the issuing of currency notes, was usually done by company clerks.

On the basis of periods of construction, the social history of Red River and the dates around which the major historical sources cluster, five periods in the fort's history emerge. The first includes the structures built in 1835-37 when work on the fort was begun, up to 1846 when the fort was renovated to accommodate 240 troops of the Sixth Regiment of Foot. Preparations to make it appropriate for military purposes included the drafting of several detailed plans. The earliest surviving plans depicted the fort at the end of the era when it was used only for fur trade and civil administrative purposes. Although the state of the fort at the close of this period is quite well documented, the previous decade of construction contains many lacunae which must be labouriously narrowed.

Space within the upper fort was fully utilized by 1846 by its functions as fur trade depot and administration centre, civil capital, and sales emporium. In that year, the first of a succession of military units was barracked at the fort. Used by the company to secure its colonial position against free traders, the troops were ostensibly brought in as a bulwark against United States military and economic expansion. Seen in the context of English colonial debates of the time, military support for a monopoly is a

surprising testament to the political skill and influence of the governors of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>14</sup> Two explanations for their success may be found: one in the relatively low level of free trade interest in the North-West and the limited political influence which could be brought to bear upon London from Red River; and the second in the apprehensions aroused by the military expansion of the United States toward the southwest against Mexico in 1845. For Upper Fort Garry, however, it meant that an additional function had to be accommodated. As a direct result of the arrival of the Sixth Regiment of Foot in September 1846, the fort outgrew the confines of the walls. The second period from 1846 to 1849 consisted of converting the existing fort to military use and building structures to the north so as to accommodate the needs of the fur trade.

In light of the events that occurred 20 years later, it is worth contrasting the Métis and the English-speaking responses to the company's legal monopoly in the trade of furs during the 1846-48 period. On Ascension Day 1849, Guillaume Sayer was tried and found guilty of violating the company's fur trade monopoly. The decision, handed down by Recorder Adam Thom, proved meaningless as the assembled Métis community threatened violence unless Sayer was freed, and the victory effectively overrode the company's legal monopoly. The Métis response reflected a tendency to use force and a distrust of local public institutions and processes. On the other hand, the response of a group of English-speaking proponents of liberalization utilized legal channels and sought to associate itself with the cosmopolitan free trade movement in England. Letters in favour of free trade were written to England and a deputation to London was planned in the early 1850s. The leading free trader, Andrew McDermot, abided by legal decisions in all his disputes with the company and continued to contract as a freighter of goods for the fur trade.<sup>15</sup>

This moderate approach to the question of the company's monopoly meant that the Métis and English-speaking communities were allied on the point of opposition to the HBC's stronghold, but differed on the means to achieve their common goal. The relationship between the company and the English-speaking settlers always remained within mutually acceptable social standards, and in 1870 this relationship matured into a formal coalition of political, economic, and social interests and structures. The Métis community retained its alienated political ideology and somewhat revolutionary tendencies. Once its alliance with anglophone free traders achieved its goal of breaking the company's monopoly, the Métis community had no further grounds for rapport with the anglophone community and soon found itself politically isolated.

After 1846, the fort was occupied by military units for most of the rest of its history. However, their presence left less impression upon the fort's outward appearance than might be expected. The predominant response on the part of the HBC was to convert existing stores into barracks and construct new storage capacity further away from the river. Only minor buildings were erected for the military, such as privies, bakeries, cookhouses, ablution sheds, wash houses for laundry, magazines and some alterations and annexes which were made to existing structures. This pattern began in 1846 when most of the fort's outer perimeter and area was given over to the military (see Figure 7). The company was crowded into the eastern row of buildings and obliged to build two new stores and a magazine beyond the northern wall of the fort. The 1846-48 era was a time of ad hoc construction, during which the company attempted to adjust as economically as possible to the fort's added function as a military post.

The third period, from 1849 to 1857, was characterized by increased competition within the fur trade, in which the

HBC participated vigorously in a vain attempt to enforce its legal monopoly by bringing to bear its superior resources and organization. This competition was attended by increasing economic stratification in Red River as the surrounding plains were stripped of their vegetal and animal life, as well as a change in social manners which divided the community along racial and linguistic lines.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the fact that the district was not in prime fur bearing country, the company's outposts proliferated to meet local competition. Within the officer ranks, which had managed the company during its monopolist years, the dangers of over-hunting were well understood, but Simpson, who was further removed from the land, saw no alternative to economic competition.<sup>17</sup> Not only was the environment devastated and social structures dislocated, but, for the purposes of this study, construction techniques mirrored the depletion of the great stands of oak. In 1859 the first stud frame building appeared at Upper Fort Garry, standing in contrast to traditional post-and-beam structures requiring massive timbers. The smaller stud frame buildings disturbed the fort's carefully planned symmetrical appearance.

The 1849-57 period was also the last in which the British colonial context was more important than the growing eastern American influence. The attacks against the company's monopoly carried out by progressive Upper Canadian newspapers since the 1840s were directed more at London than at Upper Fort Garry.<sup>18</sup> The activities of the HBC at Red River were still determined within the context of English colonial and industrial developments. In England, the European upheavals of 1848 had resulted in the discrediting of opposition to capitalist development from the Chartist movement. Although proletarian-based, it related to the social dislocation in Red River in that it traced its alienation from capitalist development back to the enclosure

of lands and the loss of the British commons.<sup>19</sup> After the quelled revolts of 1848, an unfettered spirit of free competition and economic expansion pervaded the entire British Empire. The most serious resistance to this forward march in the empire was the bloody "Indian mutiny" of 1857-59. In the remote flashpoint of Red River, regular troops were deployed as well, as the Royal Canadian Rifles arrived for a five year stay at Upper Fort Garry in 1857, but no violence occurred.

In 1849 a decision was made, probably by George Simpson, which essentially determined the subsequent appearance of Upper Fort Garry. The area of the fort was to be doubled by extending the walls northward to embrace the exposed stores and magazine. Several major buildings were to be erected within the new walls, with space being left for future construction. The reasons for this expansion are found in the growth of company activity in the areas of the fur trade, retail sales and civil administration - whether by company officers or the military - that was concentrated at the fort. The newest buildings were built in a much more distinguished style, with palpable attention paid to the impression the HBC wished to project in North-West society. In 1852 the Red and Assiniboine rivers flooded, and repair work to existing buildings that summer interrupted the construction schedule. Although most of the planned work was completed by 1854, the third era continued through 1857.

For Red River and Upper Fort Garry, 1858 was a watershed year. The new overland transport route - by rail to the Mississippi, by steamer to St. Paul, and by the cart trail which had been pioneered by the Métis in 1844 to Red River<sup>20</sup> - brought a wave of people, ideas and commodities to the remote settlement. The HBC responded by shifting the outfits for its frontier and plains districts from York Factory to the St. Paul route, and transferring Chief Factor William Mactavish from York to Red River. In 1858 Red River

began to assume the mantle as entrepôt, manufacturing centre and administration headquarters for the North-West, much as York Factory had taken over this role from Fort William in 1821.

The influx of people and capital from the east further destabilized Red River society, which had already been affected by the depletion of plains "resources" and relative overpopulation. Political unrest focussed in the Métis community, and may be traced in three issues. First, Métis land claims were not being upheld. For those Métis who had turned to agriculture after the buffalo herds were exhausted, this represented the second loss of economic "resources" in a generation. Second, conditions for riverine transport brigades became worse, as this labour intensive form of transport competed with the railroad. The Portage la Loche brigades refused to work in 1865, 1867, 1869 and 1870. Such labour action represented a growth in the solidarity and frustration of the Métis community, and hastened the company's decision to abandon riverine transport in favour of an overland route to la Loche via Fort Garry and Fort Carlton. Finally, a sense of nationalism arose, particularly among the Catholic clergy and Métis bourgeoisie, who resented the economic limitations and social prejudice encountered by the entire Métis community. Economic relations deteriorated to near famine conditions in 1868 when relief had to be organized for the Roman Catholic parishes of the Red River Settlement. Economic marginalization and cultural solidarity resulted in the formation of the government of Louis Riel in 1869-70, which resided in the office building of the upper fort.

Three significant developments characterized the fourth period of construction from 1858 to 1870. From 1857 to 1862 the fort was occupied once more by a contingent of regular troops. Second, in 1858 the extension of the

western railhead to the Mississippi revolutionized the importation of goods to the North-West, and Fort Garry took from York Factory the role of principal entrepôt and depot for the company's goods. This revolution did not occur overnight, for the expansion of Yankee hegemony westward encountered two major obstacles in the 1860s which directly affected transport to Red River. The American Civil War of 1860-65 created shortages of railway rolling stock in the wake of Unionist war requisitions. In 1864-65 the Sioux resistance in the Minnesota River valley closed the route between St. Paul and Red River entirely. However, between 1866 and 1872, the outfits of all the plains and woodlands districts were rerouted from York to Upper Fort Garry.<sup>21</sup> This is the era of the Red River cart and the river steamer; it also marked the ascent of English-speaking mercantile factors within Red River society. The third development, historically inseparable from the second, was the emplacement of a Metis government within the fort in 1869-70 and the political crisis which ensued. Construction in the fort mirrored these developments. Stores were added to accommodate the increased volume of goods passing through the fort, the Rifles built a considerable number of minor structures, and the fort took on a rather weighty political appearance with a garden and public courtyard.

The trends that coalesced in the so-called "Red River uprising" in 1869-70 have been outlined. The actual "uprising" was led by a group of progressive Métis and took the form of the occupation of the upper fort. The symbolic value of this occupation has been compared by Guinn to the storming of the Bastille; however, the fort was the real seat of administration of both the District of Assiniboia and the Hudson's Bay Company. The Council of Assiniboia met on the main floor, which was also the officers' mess. All records relating to land claims were kept on the second



floor. The building had an outside set of stairs leading to the office level with an intermediate landing, from which speakers addressed crowds in the courtyard below (Figure 45).

Not only the office building, but most of the fort's buildings were affected by the occupation. Prisoners were kept here, and company officers were placed under a form of house arrest. The company's stores were seized and only direct negotiation with the Métis government gained their release. The drama came to a head when troops arrived from Canada in 1870, but in the face of greater military might, the Métis left the fort open.

The upshot of these events was the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada, the creation of the Province of Manitoba, and the reorganization of the HBC to meet the demands of the new era. The upper fort was once more occupied by troops, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the new province resided at the fort. The areas of land titles and commercial operations, which had been previously handled on an ad hoc basis, were now made administrative areas equal to that of the fur trade. The company's existing facility of Upper Fort Garry was refurbished to serve as a springboard to an era of participation in commercial competition. The focus of this new economic era was not, however, at the Forks but in the city of Winnipeg to the north.

The events of 1869-70 disrupted fort life, and when the company once again controlled its own fort, a final spate of construction and reorganization ensued during 1871-74. Some aging structures were dismantled, and the walls, which by this time had evidently lost even their symbolic value, no longer formed any sort of perimeter, as structures such as the Land Titles building and "Warehouse #4" were built outside. In fact, the walls became increasingly dilapidated and were replaced by a low palisade. In 1881 the company

built a steel bridge across the Assiniboine River in front of the south gate of the fort. This bridge proved popular with the merchants of the young city of Winnipeg to the north, but to reach it they were obliged to detour in a dog-leg around the aging fort. In 1883 the HBC demolished the southeast third of the fort to make way for a new thoroughfare to the bridge, effectively ending the history of the upper fort. Several of the buildings, however, remained standing at least until 1887. Thus the final era in the history of the fort's structures, from 1871 to 1887, was primarily one of destruction.

A detailed history of the structures at Upper Fort Garry, although it is a "building block" for historical analysis, is in itself contingent upon the social developments at Red River. This relationship colours any appraisal of the functional as well as the ideological aspects of the fort's architecture.

Construction for Retail, Fur Trade Administration and Civil Government: 1835-46

### Functions and Overview of Construction

Upper Fort Garry was primarily intended to serve as a district depot for the fur trade, but unique circumstances at Red River determined that the fort should not appear as just any district headquarters. While planning the fort in 1834, Alexander Christie, the chief Hudson's Bay Company officer at Red River, and George Simpson were obliged to consider the civil administration of the Red River Settlement, which formally devolved upon the company through the final settlement of the Selkirk estate in 1836. The District of Assiniboia was to be administered from the new fort, which eventually meant the construction of the governor's house, courthouse and jail, and residence for the recorder.

Second, the Forks, that is, the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, was the traditional location for retail trade with the Red River settlers - retail trade which at this time was unique in the North-West. Thus Simpson and Christie planned for a sales shop and store.

Third, Red River was a lynchpin in the internal organization of the company. Lower Fort Garry, operational since 1832 some 20 miles (32 km) downstream, had been intended to serve as the administrative headquarters of the Northern Department,<sup>22</sup> but given the distribution of the settlement with its focal point at the Forks and the

importance of the Assiniboine as a route to the plains, the upper fort soon took on many of these functions. The construction which reflected this administrative function included a men's or clerks' house, bakery and office. For reasons of trade communications, the upper fort also became the principal inland depot for the Northern Department, where trade goods were laid up in the great store houses in summer and where furs and "plains produce" - tallow, pemmican, grain, flour - were collected during the fall and winter.

In addition, two other less tangible circumstances shaped the fort's appearance. A certain siege mentality existed within the upper ranks of the HBC in America, which led to the pseudo-military appearance of both Forts Garry. Were the old battles with the North-West Company, for whose Métis allies Red River remained a cultural metropolis, still remembered? Was there a clearly defined fear of expansionism from the United States? Or were the stone walls a defence against burglary, floods and prairie fires? It is difficult to distinguish between the intended purpose of the stone walls and bastions and the roles they were later to play. At the simplest level of interpretation, the stone walls were a technical improvement over the typical wooden construction. At a higher level, the stone construction of the fort communicated the company's power and dominance within the Red River Settlement.

Second, an experimental farm headed by Captain George Marcus Carey was to be established at the Forks. Although this farm utilized the buildings 350 metres to the east which had formerly housed the company's fur trade activities, the presence of sheep, cattle and horses as well as a contingent of English farm labourers is the reason for depictions of a large number of fences, stables, byres and haymows around the upper fort (Figures 17 and 18).

The first record of construction concerned the HBC's decision to build part of the fort from stone. The company was clearly tired of continually replacing its wooden buildings at the Forks and determined to build a fort to last. At the same time, the company's leading institutional rival in Red River, the Roman Catholic Church across the river, was preparing to build a cathedral from stone, and this may well have spurred the company to make its own establishment the more impressive one. A sense of rivalry emerges from an exchange of letters in the winter of 1835, when the Bishop of Juliopolis complained to Simpson that the company's labourers were taking cobbles which the Roman Catholic church wanted from the right bank of the Red River eight miles below the Forks. Simpson responded:

I discovered, on examining more attentively the printed title deeds which had been prepared in London, that the bank of the river was the proper boundary...and gave you written authority to collect stones where you could find them. At that time I never contemplated using stones in the construction of our own Establishment, but at the suggestion of Mr. Christie, about a week afterwards, we determined on building two stores and a dwelling house on stone foundations, and immediately set about collecting stones in the bed of the river opposite the Image Plain.<sup>23</sup>

The structures mentioned by Simpson were the two large stores located at the northwest and southwest corners of the fort and the governor's house near the centre of the stone enclosure (see Figure 1). In another early reference from 20 June 1836, Simpson urged Christie to get "...on with the Buildings, walls and bastions, likewise the jail, as expeditiously as possible..."<sup>24</sup> These two citations are crucial in determining which structures were the earliest to be built at the upper fort.

Questions remain about the construction dates of the middle store in the western row, the sales store, and the houses and outbuildings in the northeast corner. These buildings, while excluded from the relatively detailed 1835

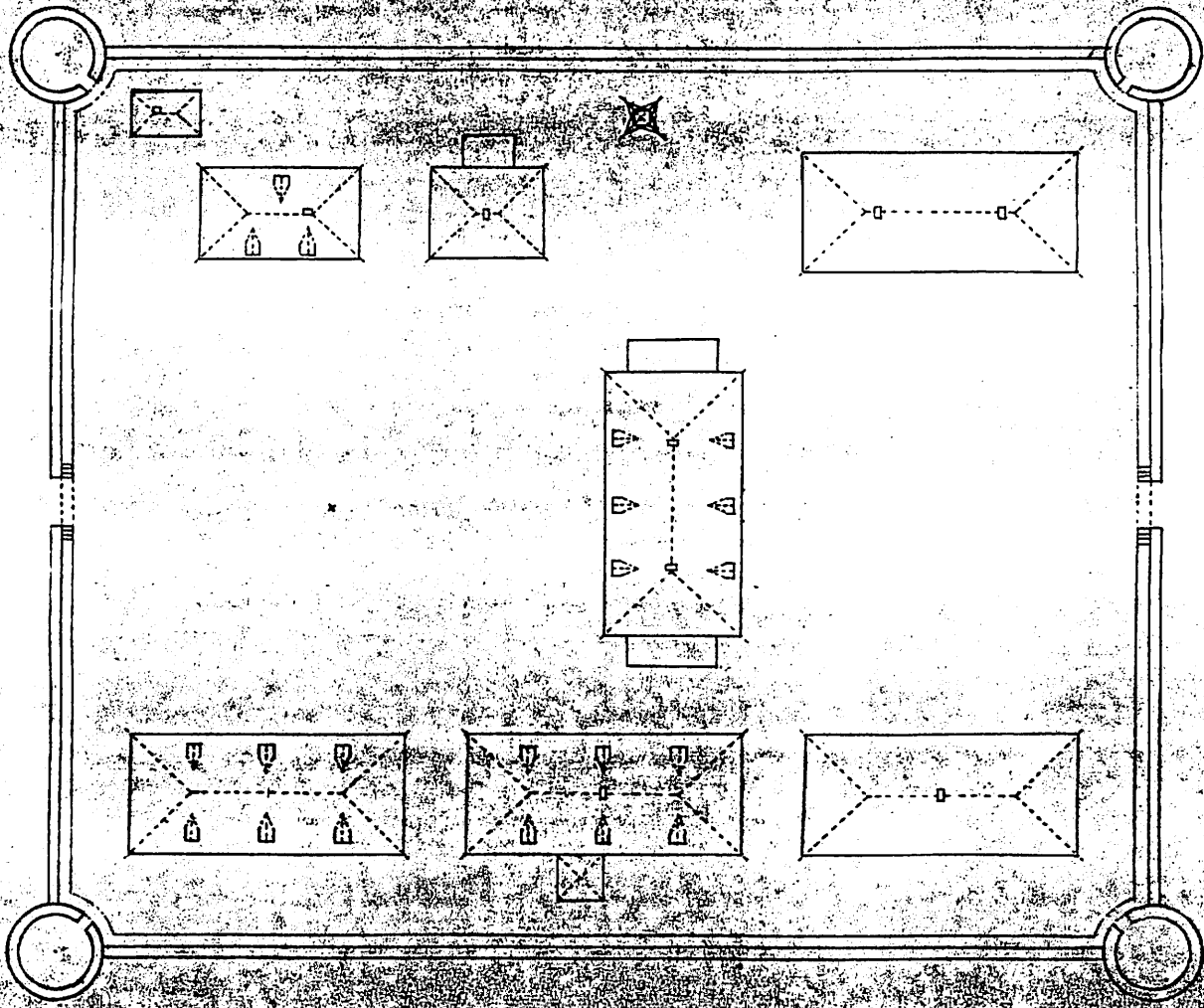
and 1836 references, were clearly documented by Royal Engineers Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour in 1845 (Figures 2 and 3) and continued to exist subsequently. In addition, an 1840 depiction by Isobel Finlayson (Figure 4) of a mysterious smaller two-storey structure, apparently just inside the south gate, is nowhere corroborated. Apart from the building depicted by Finlayson, whatever it was, the major structures built during the misty 1835-45 decade all survived long enough to be photographically depicted after 1858, giving us a good idea of their appearance.

Figure 1

Date: 1846

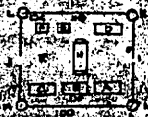
Aspect: Plan

"Upper Fort Garry, 1846." Brad Loewen and Gregory Monks,  
1986.



**UPPER EAST BARRACKS**

Showing structures extant up to the spring of 1846.



Scale: 1 inch = 50 feet

- A. SIDE CHURCH
- B. MESS ROOM (1840)
- C. MESS ROOM (1840)
- D. MESS ROOM (1840)
- E. MESS ROOM (1840)
- F. MESS ROOM (1840)
- G. MESS ROOM (1840)
- H. MESS ROOM (1840)
- I. MESS ROOM (1840)
- J. MESS ROOM (1840)
- K. MESS ROOM (1840)
- L. MESS ROOM (1840)
- M. MESS ROOM (1840)
- N. MESS ROOM (1840)
- O. MESS ROOM (1840)
- P. MESS ROOM (1840)
- Q. MESS ROOM (1840)
- R. MESS ROOM (1840)
- S. MESS ROOM (1840)
- T. MESS ROOM (1840)
- U. MESS ROOM (1840)
- V. MESS ROOM (1840)
- W. MESS ROOM (1840)
- X. MESS ROOM (1840)
- Y. MESS ROOM (1840)
- Z. MESS ROOM (1840)

THE PLAN OF THE BARRACKS, AS THEY EXISTED IN 1846.

- 1. S.E. BASTION
- 2. N.E. BASTION
- 3. N.W. BASTION
- 4. S.W. BASTION
- 5. GALLERY
- 6. TWO STORY ANNEX
- 7. BENT HOUSE
- 8. CHURCH



Figure 2

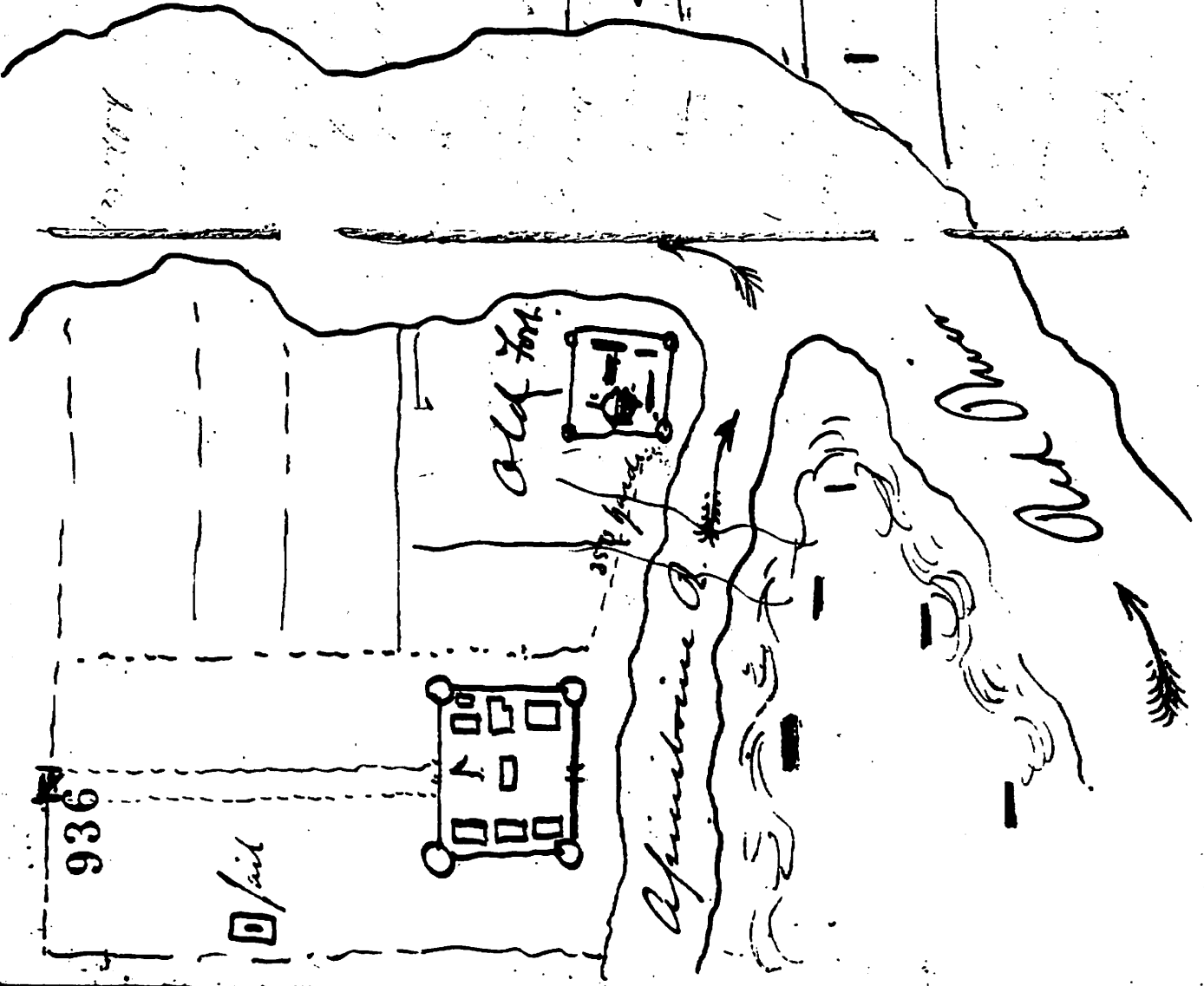
Date: 7-16 June 1845

Aspect: Plan

"Upper Fort Garry and Environs," drawn by Henry James Warre. Public Archives Canada/C-58121.

937

+ P. C. Church  
I. Murray



936

D/air

Old Fort

37

Apiciboine

Rock Over

Figure 3

Date: 1845-46

Aspect: Plan

"Sketch of Upper Fort Garry Assiniboine River." Public Record Office, London, WO 33/21, "Reports on Routes to Fort Garry", pp. 244-5.

Note: This is a scaled plan apparently based upon material recorded in the field, shown in Figure 2.

SKETCH OF UPPER FORT GARRY ASSENEBOINE RIVER.

- A.A. Dwelling Houses.
- B.B.B.B. Stores.
- C.C.C. Servants Quarters.
- D. Powder Magazine under the River.

Scale, 100 Feet to 1 Inch.

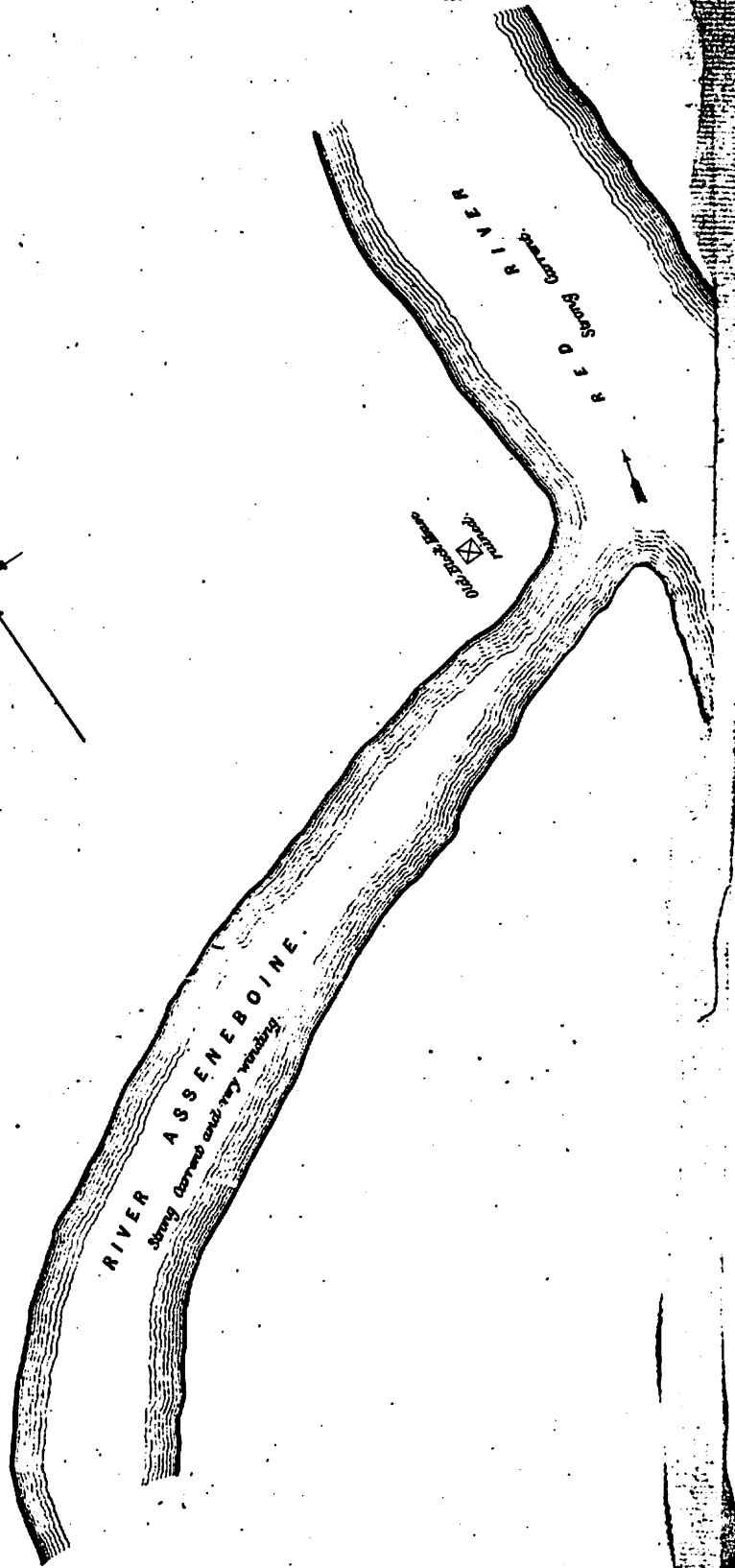
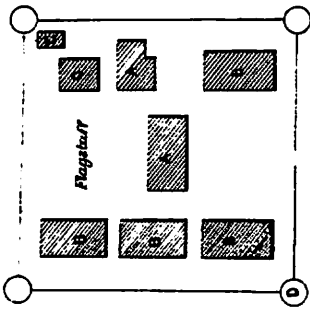
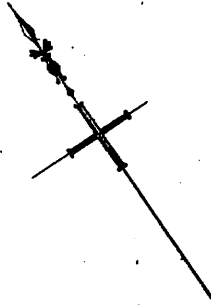


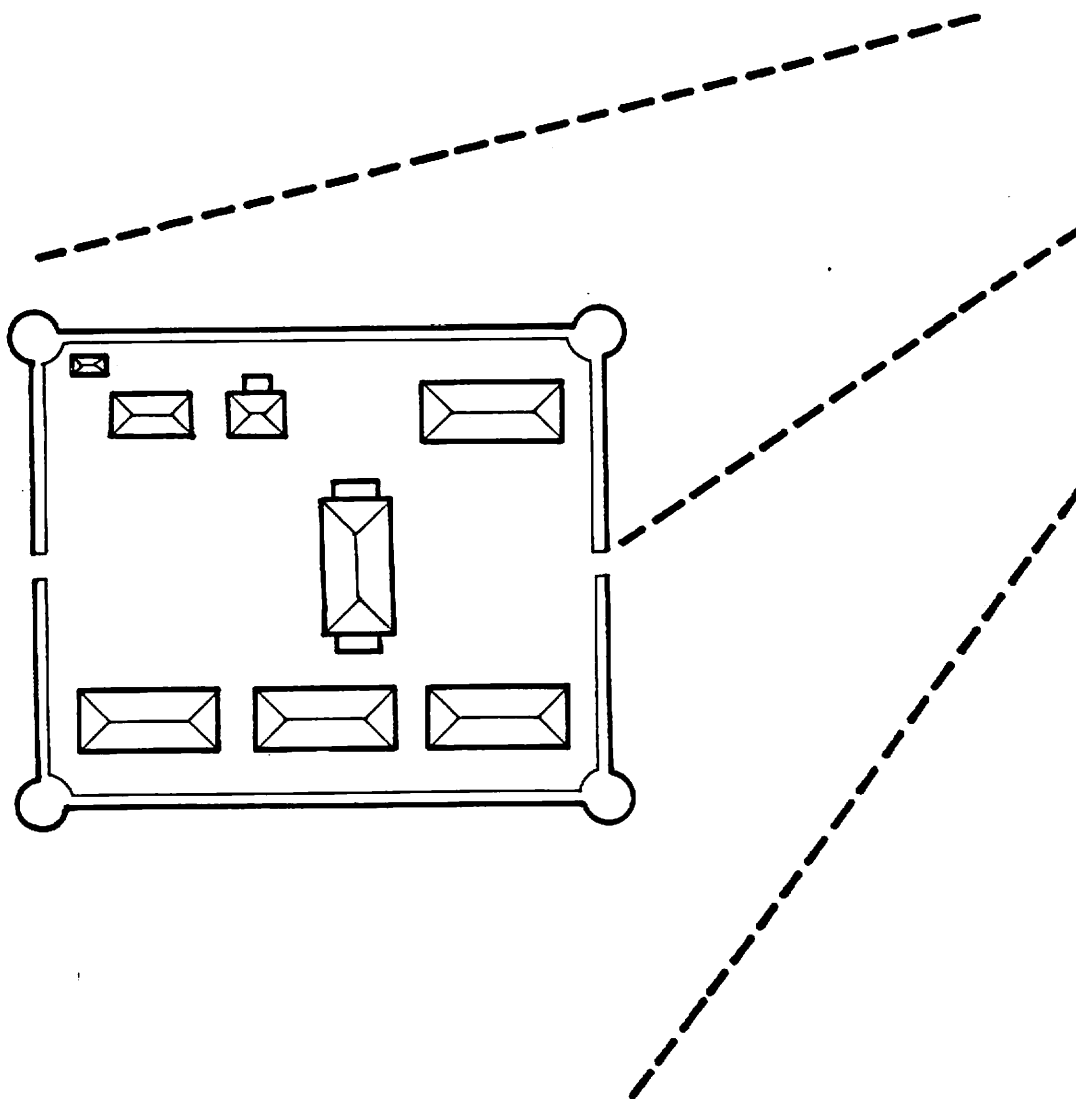
Figure 4

Date: ca. 1840

Aspect: SSE

"South and east sides" [of Upper Fort Garry], drawn by  
Isobel Simpson Finlayson. Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 1.

Note: Lithograph reproduced in Alexander Ross, The Red  
River Settlement... (London: 1856).



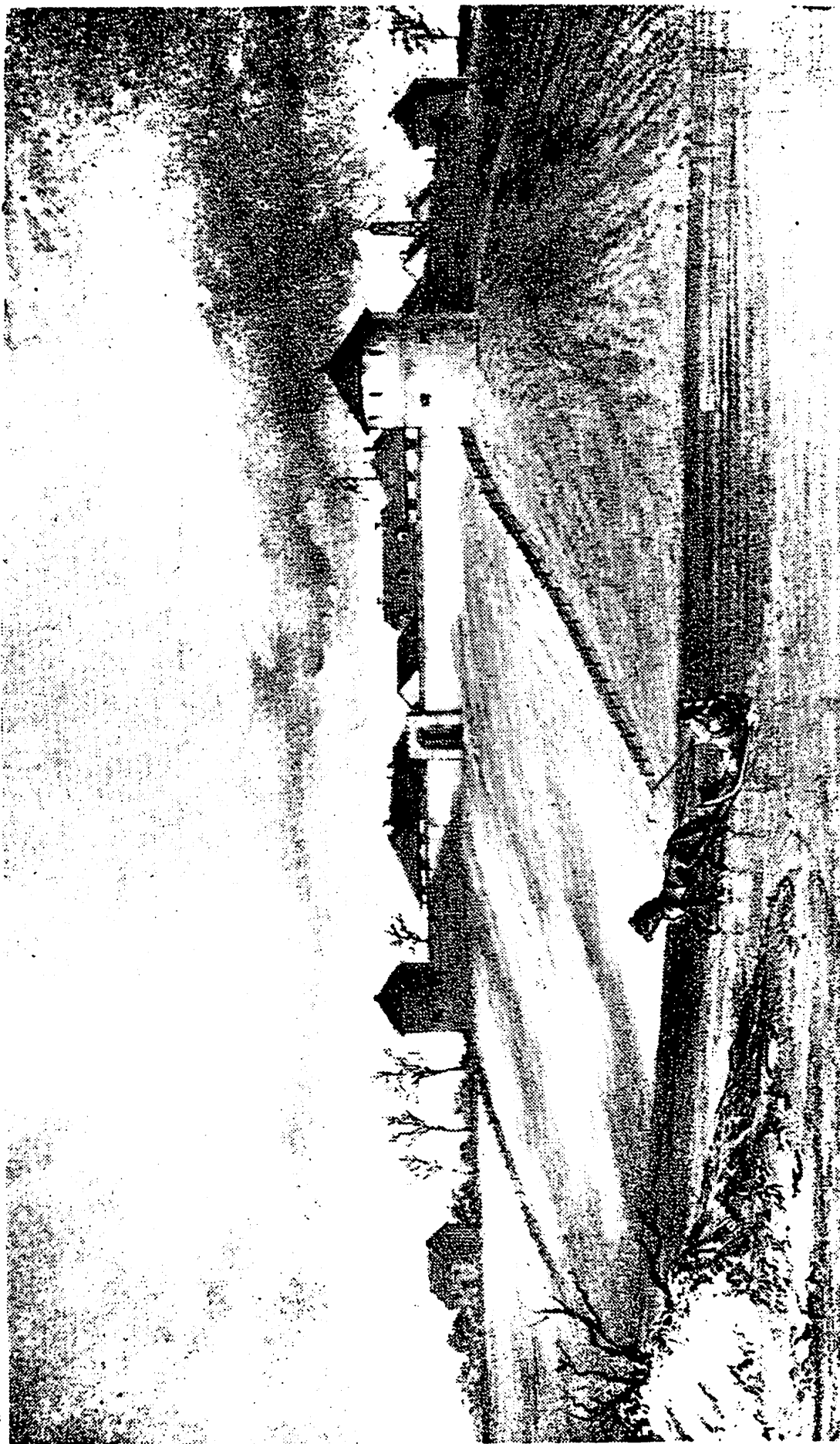


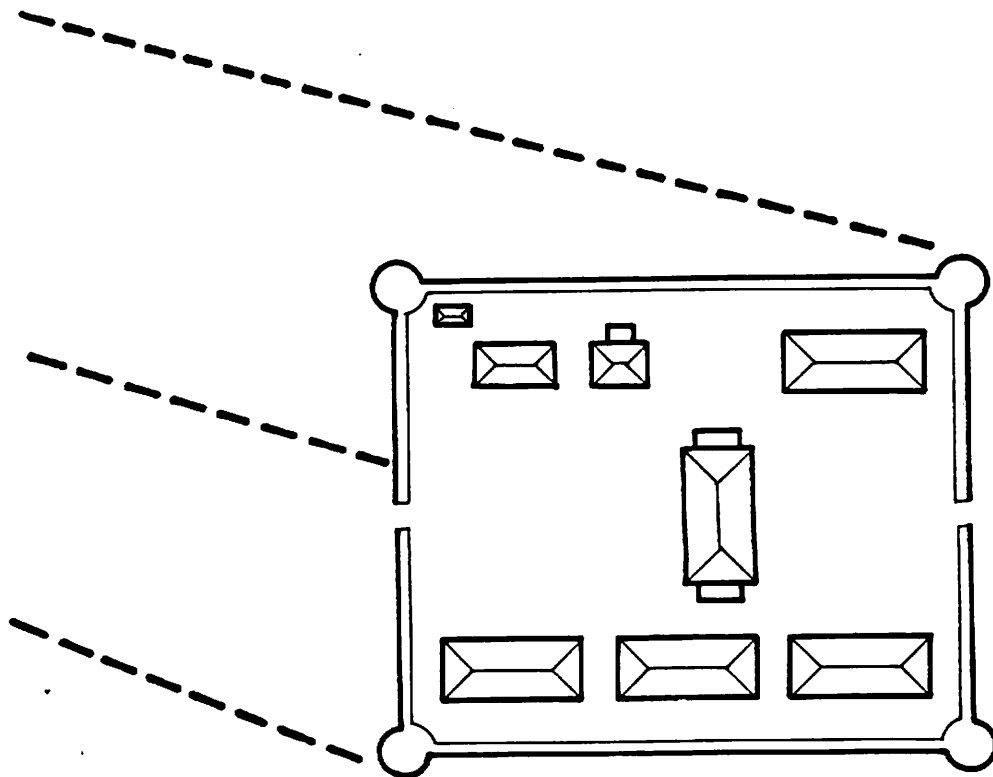
Figure 5

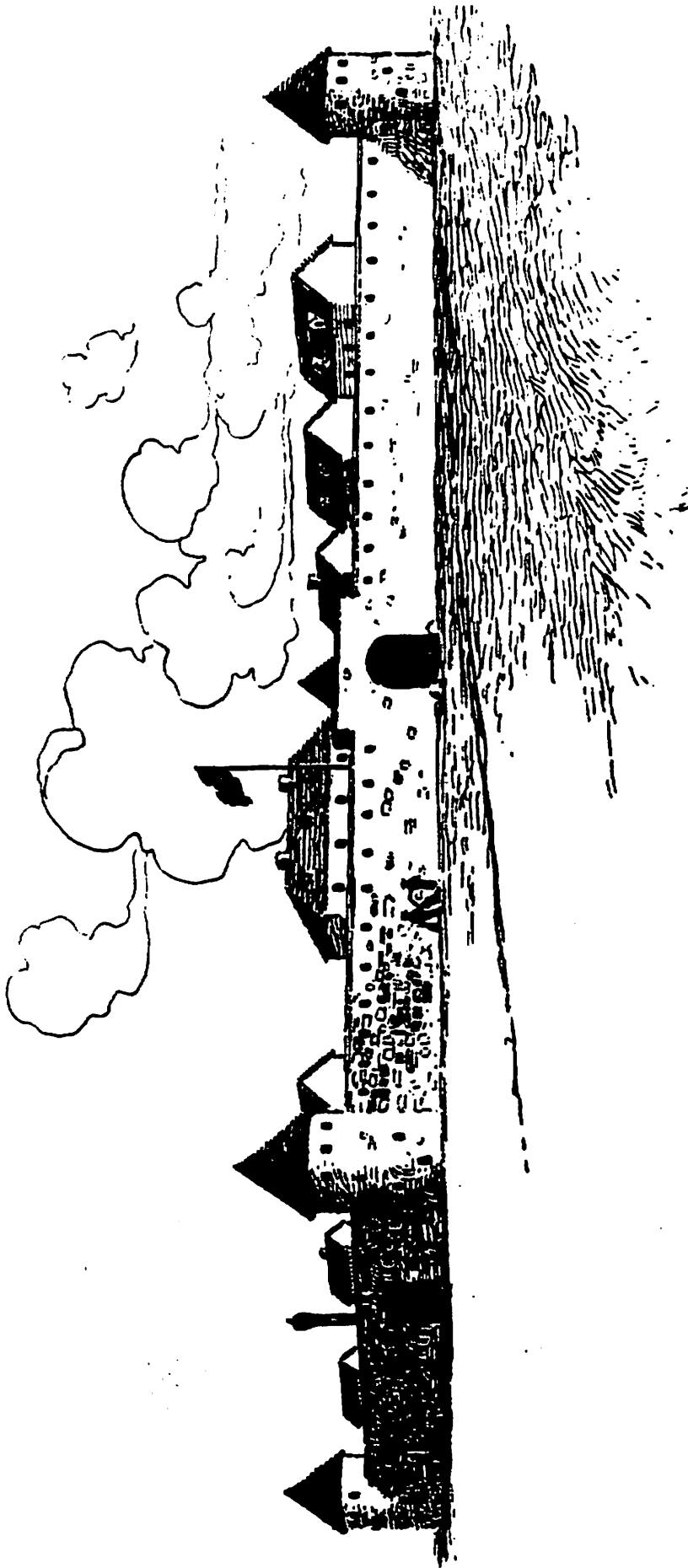
Date: ca. June 1845

Aspect: NNE

"Fort Garry. From a drawing made June 12, 1845, by Alexander H. Murray." Hudson's Bay Company F-131, Brigdens 410.

Note: Original unknown, but compare Louise Rasmussen, "Artists of the Explorations Overland, 1840-1860," Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLIII (March 1942), p. 61.





**FORT GARRY.**

From a drawing made June 12, 1845, by Alexander H. Murray.



### Stores

The stores built during the first decade of Upper Fort Garry's existence were the three similarly sized stores in the western row (A, B and C in Figure 1). A fourth and fifth were added north of the walls in 1846 and 1848 in line, respectively, with the eastern and western rows inside the stone walls. In 1860 a sixth similarly sized store was built in the far northeast corner of the lengthened enclosure. These buildings were variously intended for the storage of furs, trade goods, plains produce and importations for sale in Red River. The three earliest stores were occasionally converted for use as barracks.

The first two stores built in 1835-37 were described by John Balsillie as being a "warehouse" and a "fur store" in 1868 (Figures 15 and 16). The warehouse nearest the river was used to store material imported for the trade, which was distributed to the outlying posts during the winter according to their need and storage capacity. The fur store in the northwest corner was used for the collection and packing of furs as they were brought in from the posts. Plans of the fort drawn up by the military in 1845-48 refer to these buildings only as "stores", since the buildings held interest to the Royal Engineers only because they could be adapted as barracks.

By combining several sources, it is possible to describe the first two stores to be built with outside measures of approximately 72 feet by 32 feet (21.94 m by 9.76 m), a hip roof, a peak at approximately 27 feet (8.02 m) and eaves at 16 feet (4.88 m). They had two full storeys and one-half storey within the roof. Their walls were built by a post-and-beam method with stone and mortar nogging in between the posts. They had foundations three feet (0.92 m) deep and three feet wide made of cobbles collected from the Red River, upon which crosswise beams about one ell (45 in. or 1.38 m) apart<sup>25</sup> and a floor of planks were suspended.

The fur store in the northwest corner had five gable windows in its roof - three facing the fort's inner courtyard and two facing west - to allow light into the upper storey. This suggests the upper storey was intended not only for storage but also as work space. However, the southern "warehouse" is shown with a chimney from its earliest depiction in the 1840 Finlayson painting, indicating it was used as a winter work space whereas the northern store, despite its better lighting, is depicted without a chimney until 1872.<sup>26</sup> The windows and doors of the stores in the west row, at least those facing the inside of the fort, were frequently depicted in later photographs and drawings (Figures 45 and 48). The western aspect of the fort, including the facades of the early stores, appears only obliquely in a relatively small number of surviving depictions (Figures 17, 18 and 21).

According to archaeological evidence,<sup>27</sup> analysis by photogrammetry<sup>28</sup> and estimates extracted from scaled plans, 18 feet (5.49 m) separated the southern store from the south wall and approximately 22 feet (6.71 m) of space lay between the west wall and west row of stores. This figure of 18 feet seems to have been chosen to allow for the symmetrical construction of a third store of like dimensions between the first two at a later date. It is noteworthy that in contrast to other early and mid-19th century HBC posts, Upper Fort Garry was laid out with a consistent eye for symmetry, or in ideological effect, order.

The third store had been completed by 1845, when it was first documented by Warre<sup>29</sup> (Figure 2). The 1840 painting by Finlayson, which is a faithful representation in its verifiable aspects, excludes the middle store. Because of the absence of other records, the date of the middle store's construction can only be given as between 1840 and 1845. This store, although consistent with the first two stores

in its construction and dimensions, was unique in outward appearance. It was built in the same fashion as the first two stores, using a timber frame with stone and mortar nogging, but unlike the other stores it was never covered with weather boarding (Figure 48). It was known as the "yellow store", owing to the colour of its plaster coat.<sup>30</sup> The subsequent discussion on dwelling houses reveals two dwelling houses dating to 1838 or 1839 were the only buildings besides the "yellow store" to have a plaster exterior. The difference of covering technique corroborates evidence already presented that only two stores were built in 1835-37. It also suggests the possibility of a different master carpenter and an increasing scarcity of timber.

Whether the "yellow store" had a stone foundation is unknown. The body of evidence suggests that the company abandoned stonework at Upper Fort Garry for some time after the original construction period, until the north wall of the fort was quarried to yield stone for the bastion gate and the foundation of the new main house in 1853-54. Evidence suggests the "yellow store" rested on a more typical piled wood foundation. It stood for at least 50 years.<sup>31</sup>

In summary, the first period saw the construction of three stores in the western row, the middle of which was constructed later and in a slightly different fashion.

### Sales Store

The completion date of the sales store located in the southeast corner of the fort is probably 1839. Five pieces of evidence lead to this conclusion. First, the quotations from Simpson's letters to the Bishop of Juliopolis and to Christie indicate only two stores were built with stone foundations in the first phase of construction lasting from

1835-37. It is known from archaeological excavations that the store in the southwest corner had a stone foundation. According to Finlayson's painting, the only other "stores" constructed before 1840 were the fur store and the sales store in the northwest and southeast corners respectively.

Second, it is possible to show that the sales store foundation was not made from stone. The alternative to a stone foundation was one of timbers, stacked three high, as documented in Appendix E and excavated at the "General Depot" in the far northeast corner of the fort.<sup>32</sup> A wooden foundation was built into trenches in the ground, which were filled with sand for two reasons: to facilitate drainage around the foundation and allow it to "breathe" to prevent rot, and to stabilize the timbers of the foundation against frost heaving, to which packed clay is susceptible. Corroborative evidence from the Oxford House post journal in 1880 clearly describes the use of sand fill to preserve a wooden foundation.<sup>33</sup> No parallel evidence can be found to suggest the stone foundations were similarly protected and maintained. Against this background, an entry in the Red River post journal on 12 August 1858 may be read as a reference to a wooden foundation: "Gadoua carting sand round the Sale Shop foundation..."<sup>34</sup> From this evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that the sales store was not one of the original trio of buildings erected upon stone foundations in 1835-37.

Third, Guinn has pointed to a disagreement between Simpson who wished to concentrate the HBC's interaction with the Red River settlers at Lower Fort Garry, and Alexander Christie who argued for the advantage of building the sales store near the Forks. The chief company officer at Red River recognized that "the settlers and farmers were simply not prepared to travel the additional 20 miles to the Lower Fort in order to dispose of their produce and procure

merchandise."<sup>35</sup> Christie's removal from Red River in 1840-43 may have been related to his disagreement with Simpson over the relationship of the Red River settlers to the company, a relationship largely determined within the walls of the sales shop. From this disagreement between the two officers, it may be hypothesized that a sales shop was not initially planned for the upper fort. In favour of Simpson's position was the final legal settlement of Selkirk's will in March 1836, which left the HBC with full responsibility for administering the District of Assiniboia and added to the burden upon space within the upper fort.

Fourth, it is clear from Isobel Finlayson's painting that the sales shop was standing by 1840. As it was not constructed in the years 1835-37, this leaves the years 1838 and 1839 for construction.

Finally, in outfit 1839 which began on June 1 of that year, the first "storekeeper" appeared in the Red River personnel appointments.<sup>36</sup> In 1837 a young Orkneyman named Magnus Linklater worked as a labourer at Fort Garry. In 1839 he was appointed storekeeper, a post he was to hold continuously until 1864, at which time he had risen to the title and salary of Chief Trader. This final piece of evidence supports previous arguments which point to the years 1838-39 for the construction of the sales store, and suggests that 1839 was the date of its completion.

As mentioned previously, the sales shop located in the ground floor of the sales store was the crucible in which the company's political relationship with the settlers, plainsmen and labourers of Red River was forged. It was here that the English goods imported by the HBC were offered for sale or barter. Typically, a company sales shop consisted of a counter ("comptoir") behind which wares were displayed. A customer would point to articles until the shopkeeper deemed that the value of whatever commodity brought in by the customer for credit had been met. With

the shopkeeper rested the responsibility of deciding which local residents were worthy of credit, of ensuring almost on an article by article basis that the company secured a profit, and of the dispensation of "favours" or gratuities. There is further evidence that the hiring on and crediting of day and seasonal labour at Red River took place at the shop at least until a new office was built in 1852.

The politically sensitive nature of the sales store is echoed in the material evidence of the HBC's uneasiness about contact with the settlers. To reach the sales shop, customers had to enter the walled enclosure. For the company, this access raised the issues of security and social differentiation. Attempts on the part of the company to control access to the sales store by means of side entrances to the fort, interior fences and finally relocation of the outside wall lie behind the many subsequent alterations in the southeast corner of the fort.

The northern end of the sales store served as an office where accounts and records were kept. An 1878 photograph (Figure 44) reveals a wooden path leading from the recorder's house to the northern end of the store to an entrance protected by a porch (Figures 15 and 16). Both the porch and wooden approach were features typically constructed for the convenience of clerks. An 1874 photograph depicting the east side of the store (Figure 36) indicates the door to the sales shop was more toward the south end of the building, and an 1881 photograph depicts a loading dock at the south end of the west side.

These later pieces of evidence corroborate a letter of 27 December 1844 from Christie to Simpson describing a burglary in which £400 of the company's currency was taken:

The depredator was evidently fully determined to effect the purpose, by having brought a ladder from behind Mr. Ross's house, to scale the wall at the South West Bastion, and then to break through the corner window of the Shop, immediately in front of the dwelling house..."<sup>37</sup>

The office entered would have been at the north end of the sales store.

An example of the economic power concentrated in this building was the company's initial response to the theft:

With the view to ascertain the number of the stolen note, and to prevent their circulation in the Settlement, all the cash was immediately called in and duly registered on the 30th Ultimo [September], in which it is most pleasing to add the public evinced the utmost readiness to come forward with the cash in their possession.<sup>38</sup>

Not only economic decisions but also rulings of a more social nature were made here, as J.F. Crofton dryly noted in his journal on 23 December 1846:

The settlers are on this day, and will tomorrow also be, allowed to purchase rum at the Company's store, for their Christmas festivities.<sup>39</sup>

The core structure was approximately 72 feet by 32 feet (21.94 m by 9.76 m), the same dimensions as the other stores in the compound. It had no gables in its hip roof, but had seven windows on each level along the east and west facades, and three windows in the south end. In later years, several alterations, annexes and outbuildings were associated with it. Furthermore, the evidence of portals knocked through the stone wall near the store described in the "Decline and Demolition" section suggests even more alterations which cannot be documented.

The sales store built in 1838-39 was of a controversial nature, for it was the point of daily contact between the settlers and the HBC. It was placed in the upper fort only after considerable deliberation, and the company was uneasy about the political effects of its economic function.

### Dwelling Houses

Three dwelling houses were constructed during the 1835-45 period. The first was the "main house" near the centre of the enclosure built in 1835-37. The "recorder's house" and the "men's house" proceeding northwards from the sales store were built within a few years (Figure 1: H, E and F). Certain features were frequently added: iconographic depictions and photographs show a confusing array of lean-to's, stairways, privies, extra rooms, summer kitchens, verandas, garden sheds, gazebos and porches which offer tantalizing clues to the functions of the rooms inside. The extent to which these accretions had developed by 1845 is difficult to ascertain, but a lean-to on the east side of the recorder's house and a stairway against the south wall of the men's house are early, if not original, additions.

In 1846 Warre and Vavasour reported that 12 people lived at the fort.<sup>40</sup> It appears possible to identify these persons from Hudson's Bay Company records. The 1845 Minutes of Council list 29 "winterers" at Red River, which included Lower Fort Garry, for the outfit of that year.<sup>41</sup> From these, it is possible to exclude Cuthbert Grant and John Bunn who lodged independently, Lake Winnipeg sloopers who traditionally wintered there, masons employed for that year, John Muir who was brought in from Orkney as a distiller and worked at the lower fort,<sup>42</sup> and John Black who was the clerk in charge. The following 12 names are left:

Alexander Christie, Chief Factor	Patrick Gunn, Midshipman
Alex Christie, Jr., Clerk	William Drever, Labourer
Robert Clouston, Clerk	John Davidson, Labourer
Adam Thom, Recorder	Angus McDonald, Labourer
Magnus Linklater, Storekeeper	Peter Matheson, Labourer
Robert Morris, Baker	William Sinclair, Labourer



Any researcher familiar with the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg will raise a skeptical eyebrow at this perfect coincidence of numbers. However, the list gives a good indication of who the 12 winterers may have been as well as the capacities in which they were employed.

Near the centre of the pre-1848 enclosure lay the main house, about 106 feet (32.31 m) from the inside of the south wall.<sup>43</sup> In depictions, the bottom half of this structure was always obscured by the fort's wall, but its essential appearance and location are known. The house lay across the axis of the fort facing the south gate. It measured 70 feet by 35 feet (21.34 m by 10.67 m), rose to a height of 16 or 17 feet (4.88-5.18 m) at the eaves, and had a hip roof pitched at a typical 3:2 angle which resulted in a 28 or 29 foot (8.53-8.84 m) peak. It rested on a stone foundation<sup>44</sup> and had a cellar which was used as a cold storage for roots and meat.<sup>45</sup>

The roof had three gables on each side, indicating that the third storey was inhabited. This is corroborated by an 1846 sketch by George Finlay, an officer with the Sixth Foot, of the view from his window which is obviously from the upper storey (Figure 11). A chimney rose from each end of the level peak of the roof. The main entrance was in the centre of the south side and flanked on each side by three tall windows. No depictions of the north side add any details, but the appearance was probably symmetrical save for the entrance.

At either end of the main house was a one-storey lean-to, built before 1846 and possibly housing privies and storage, which brought the building to more than 100 feet (30.48 m) in length.<sup>46</sup> This residence was associated with the office of Governor of Assiniboia. During the austere early days of the fort, Alexander Christie lived there along with the junior "gentlemen" employees. His family joined him later. However, in times of military occupation when

the office of Governor of Assiniboia was vested in the military commander, the company's officers were obliged to move to the recorder's house. This was occasion for many an anguished missive from the dislodged Adam Thom in his make-do accommodations beyond the wall. The main house was used rather heavily by the military and was boarded up for a time in 1855. Its usefulness was spent by 1873 when it was taken down. Aside from Simpson's reference to its stone foundation in 1835 and Finlayson's depiction in 1840, the main house does not appear in any records before 1845.

The recorder's house was built for recorder Adam Thom, possibly in anticipation of his arrival in 1839.<sup>47</sup> The earliest record of it is Finlayson's 1840 painting (Figure 4). The house measured 30 feet by 24 feet (9.14 m by 7.32 m)<sup>48</sup> and at two-and-one-half storeys, its height conformed approximately to that of the stores. The exterior finishing consisted of plaster, but contrary to the "yellow store" no structural timber was visible. It had a hip roof with a level peak only eight or ten feet (2.48-3.05 m) in length and a chimney in the very centre, implying a centralized interior layout designed for occupation by a single family. From its earliest depictions it had a one-storey lean-to on the east side, approximately 12 feet by eight feet (3.67 m by 2.44 m). This lean-to may have housed a privy, although its ample dimensions suggest storage as well. As far as can be determined, the core structure of the recorder's house remained unchanged until its 1883 demolition and photographs from the 1870s show it was kept in good condition. In its later years, the recorder's house was retained as a residence by senior company officers along with the spacious new Government House (Figure 46).

About 15 feet (4.57 m) north of the recorder's house was the men's house, a structure of similar style and apparently constructed in 1838 or 1839. Its purpose was to

house the unmarried labourers who wintered at the fort. It held six or eight men in individual rooms in relative comfort. As well, a mess was usually kept here. The house measured 42 feet by 24 feet (12.80 m by 7.32 m) and was also two-and-one-half storeys high. It was also plastered on the outside, with no visible timber frame work. Its hip roof had two gables to the west but only one to the east, and a chimney rose at each end of the level peak. An outside staircase along the south wall led from the central courtyard of the fort to the second floor of the house. In 1848 a lean-to was depicted on the east side (Figure 9). It was probably a privy and built fairly early on. A porch was later depicted sheltering an entrance on the north side, although the main entrance was to the west (Figure 5). The men's house also survived until the partial destruction of the fort in 1883. From photographs, it appears to be well maintained until the end. In the Hazel plan (Figure 32) it is described as being a "clerks' house" in 1876, which is evidence of careful maintenance.

Two more structures complete the list of those known to have been built within the wall before 1845. A bell tower rose just inside the east wall about halfway along its length. This tower is never mentioned, although it was clearly depicted by Finlayson in 1840, by Alexander Hunter Murray (Figure 5) and Paul Kane in 1845,<sup>49</sup> and for the final time by George Finlay on 11 June 1847 (Figure 12). Details of its structure are unclear, but in general appearance it conforms to a contemporaneous bell tower at York Factory.<sup>50</sup> At Lower Fort Garry a bell tower of similar description remains today. Depictions show the upper fort tower was approximately 30 feet (12.19 m) in height with a small hip roof covering the belfry. The bell would have been used to announce mess and stir late sleepers. Evidence from 1861 linking a second belfry to a fire engine shows it was intended to sound alarms as well (see "Entrepôt for the North-West" section).

Finally, in the far northeast corner stood a one-storey structure about 12 feet by 16 feet (3.62 m by 4.88 m) which served as a cookhouse. Its low profile may be seen consistently in later photographs in the same spot as indicated by Beatty in 1846 (Figure 7). Warre's official plan of the fort, which appeared in a British War Office publication in 1860 (Figure 3) and was based on the rough sketch he made in 1845 (Figure 2), indicates the smaller company bakery in the northeast corner of the fort was used as a men's house: perhaps Morris the baker slept there! As a military engineer Warre may have been interested in the cookhouse in that it was reserved for use by the company's men.

The most significant gray area during this early period concerns the 22 foot (6.71 m) space between the rows of buildings and the east and west fort walls. These spaces, according to all pictorial and archaeological evidence, were generally used for minor outbuildings which were transitory, but probably complemented the functions of the neighbouring large buildings. Next to nothing can be learned about them from archival sources.

Another question is the location of the bake oven which was a fixture of fort life. Although the location of the military's cookhouse and bake oven are both known, for the company only the cookhouse is identified. Finally, from the Finlayson painting, which is a crucial source for this period, arises the question of a medium sized building which was depicted just inside the south wall, west of the gate (Figure 4). By the time of the fort's next depiction in 1845, this building had disappeared. It appears to lie transaxially and to consist of one-and-one-half storeys, with a gable roof. This suggests it was built for a temporary purpose. The possibility remains that it is an error in perspective on Finlayson's part and was meant to

portray the "yellow store" in the middle of the west row. However, on the basis of other internal evidence this is not an error to expect of Finlayson. Yet our inventory of buildings completed by 1845 is remarkably extensive and the list of major buildings seems complete.

### Walls and Bastions

The walls and bastions of Upper Fort Garry were built in two phases in the years 1835-37 and 1851-54. During the first phase, stone was used in the construction of a quadrangle with outside measures of approximately 290 feet (88.39 m) north to south by 245 feet (74.68 m). Protruding from each corner was a circular bastion about 24 feet (7.24 m) in diameter. During the second phase, the walls were extended northwards using an oaken construction with a rammed-earth core to achieve a total length of about 574 feet (173.82 m). The second phase of construction will be described in detail in the "Competition and Expansion" section. However, in determining the measures of the early walls, evidence from both phases must be weighed together.

Four mutually contradictory measurements of the outside dimensions of Upper Fort Garry are known. In 1846 George Simpson described the fort as a quadrangle measuring 240 feet by 250 feet, with four bastions at the corners.<sup>51</sup> In 1845-46 Royal Engineers Warre and Vavasour inspected the fort, preparatory to its military occupation. Vavasour's preliminary description read it was "80 yards square, the circular towers are 18 feet in diameter".<sup>52</sup> In their final report, the engineers described the fort as measuring 324 feet by 264 feet, with the towers measuring 24 feet in diameter.<sup>53</sup> In 1871 Dominion Land surveyor Duncan Sinclair measured the walls and bastions, and the findings recorded

in his field notes (Figure 24) are reproduced here.

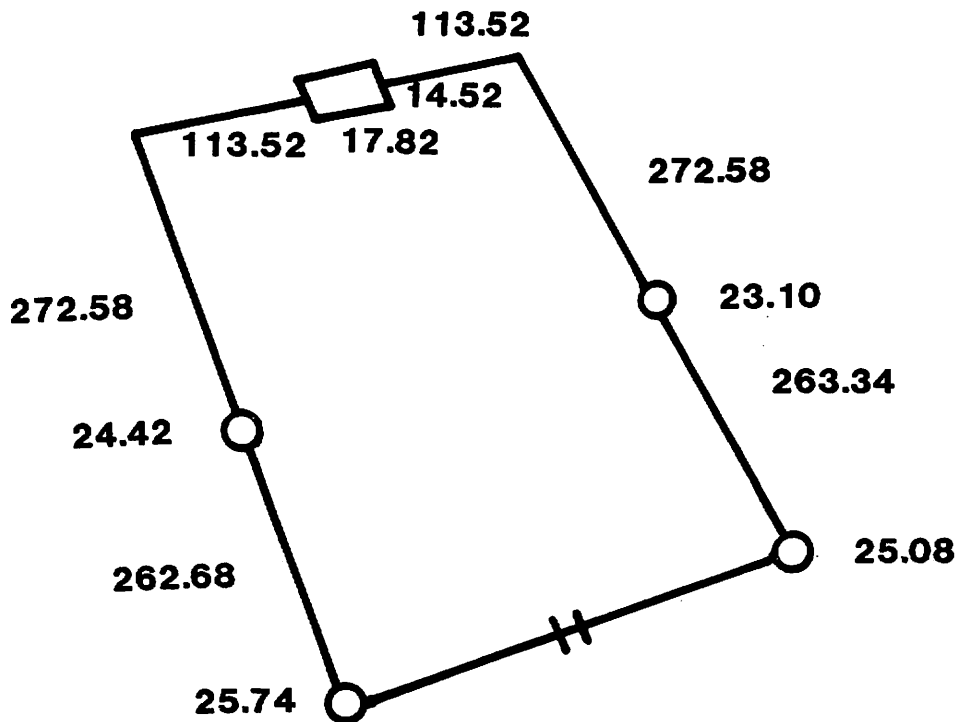


Diagram 1. Reproduction of 1871 Survey Measurements.  
(Manitoba Archives.)

What is to be made of these widely contradictory measurements? In two cases it is possible to say the quoted figures were simply estimates. Simpson's estimate of 240 feet by 250 feet (73.15 m by 76.20 m) was made from his office in Montreal, and although well-informed, need not be taken as precise. Vavasour's "preliminary" description of "80 yards square" corresponds very closely to Simpson's 240 feet and to the east-to-west inside measure of about 239 feet (72.85 m), allowing for a three foot (0.91 m) wall.

Vavasour's assertion that "the circular towers are 18 feet in diameter" is clearly an inside measure. In preparing a "preliminary" description, Vavasour may have measured only one wall and the fort may have appeared square to the eye, for Appendix A also says the fort was "originally square". Warre and Vavasour's 1846 report of 324 feet by 264 feet (98.76 m by 80.47 m) compares with Sinclair's measures of 313 feet by 266 feet including the bastions. It would not be unreasonable to suggest a computation error on the part of the Royal Engineers, for their final report was completed at Fort Vancouver and the error would amount to about 11 feet (3.35 m) from east to west, or the distance by which the bastions protruded from the walls.

The following diagram gives Sinclair's dimensions of the fort in feet if the corner bastions are included.

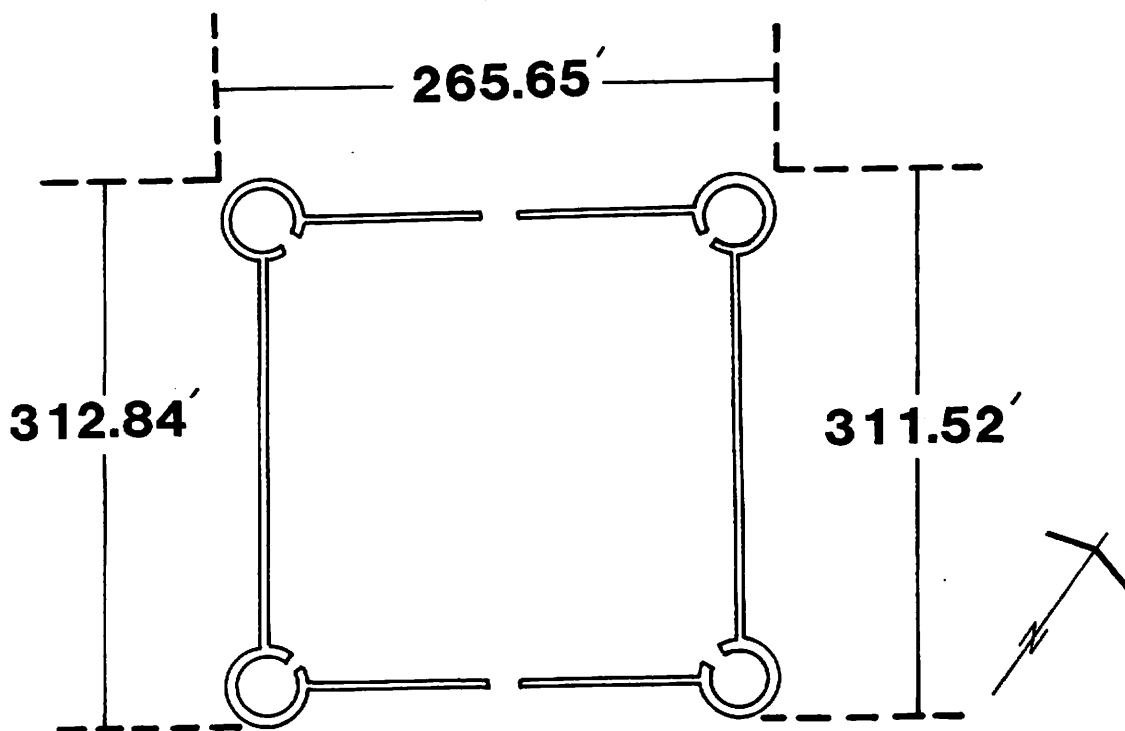


Diagram 2. Dimensions of the Fort Including Bastions.  
(Manitoba Archives.)

Calculations relating to preceding diagram (in feet):

262.68	W wall	263.34	E wall
24.42	NW bastion	23.10	NE bastion
25.74	SW bastion	25.08	SE bastion
<u>312.84</u>		<u>311.52</u>	
113.52	post-1852 wall to gate - east		
113.52	post-1852 wall to gate - west		
17.82	post-1854 gate		
10.05	one-half NE bastion minus 1.5 feet (one-half wall)		
10.74	one-half NW bastion minus 1.5 feet (one-half wall)		
<u>265.65</u>	East-West measure		

Sinclair's survey provides information which is more specific and methodologically closer to the actual fort than any other archival information discovered to date. However, not all the information contained in Sinclair's notes is satisfying. It is not known how accurately he was able to measure the diameters of the bastions nor is the width of the south gate known. Given these reservations, however, there is a basis for comparison with other information which can be interpreted accurately.

For example, it is known the walls of the fort were three feet (0.91 m) thick<sup>54</sup> and about 13 feet (3.96 m) high.<sup>55</sup> Photographs show the south gate was nearly as wide as the height of the wall, about 12 feet (3.62 m). Several measurements, when added up, total the north-south length of the fort: the lengths of the three 72 foot (21.94 m) stores, the 18 foot (5.49 m) clearance at each end of the west row of stores,<sup>56</sup> plus clearance at either end of the yellow store.

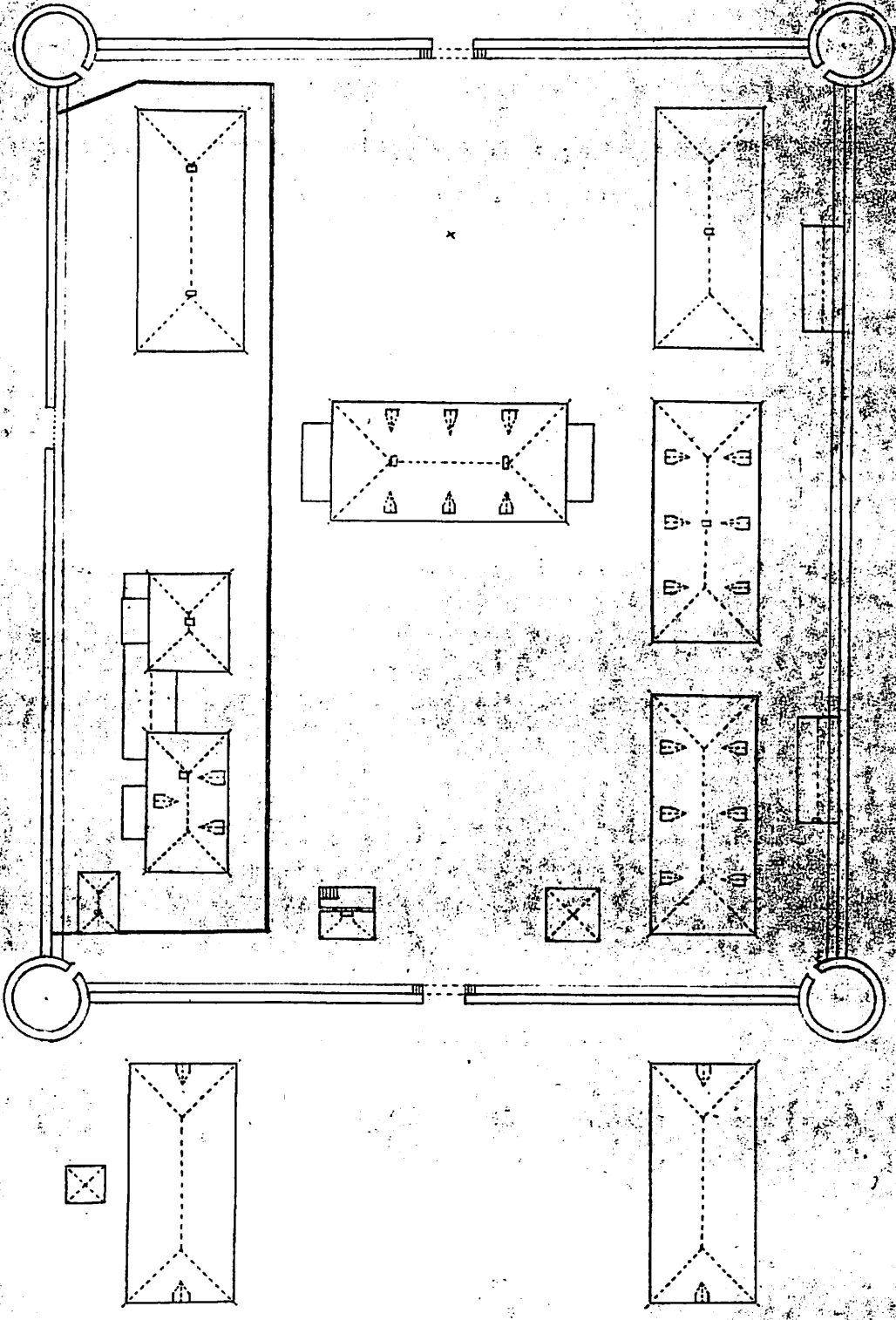


Figure 7

Date: 15 September 1846

Aspect: Plan

"Relative sketch of Upper Fort Garry, Red River Settlement, 1846," drawn by Lt. Andrew Beatty. Public Record Office, London, MPI/735 84129.



- A. SEAT (SEAT)
- B. TABLE (TABLE)
- C. CHAIR (CHAIR)
- D. KITCHEN (KITCHEN)
- E. BAR (BAR)
- F. COUNTER (COUNTER)
- G. SINK (SINK)
- H. STOVE (STOVE)
- I. REFRIG. (REFRIG.)
- J. CUPBOARD (CUPBOARD)
- K. CASE (CASE)
- L. CASE (CASE)
- M. CASE (CASE)
- N. CASE (CASE)
- O. CASE (CASE)
- P. CASE (CASE)
- Q. CASE (CASE)
- R. CASE (CASE)
- S. CASE (CASE)
- T. CASE (CASE)
- U. CASE (CASE)
- V. CASE (CASE)
- W. CASE (CASE)
- X. CASE (CASE)
- Y. CASE (CASE)
- Z. CASE (CASE)



LIFE'S DEPARTMENT  
 SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"  
 DRAWN BY: [Name]  
 CHECKED BY: [Name]

The following diagram illustrates how closely the deduced and known figures tally with Sinclair's measures.

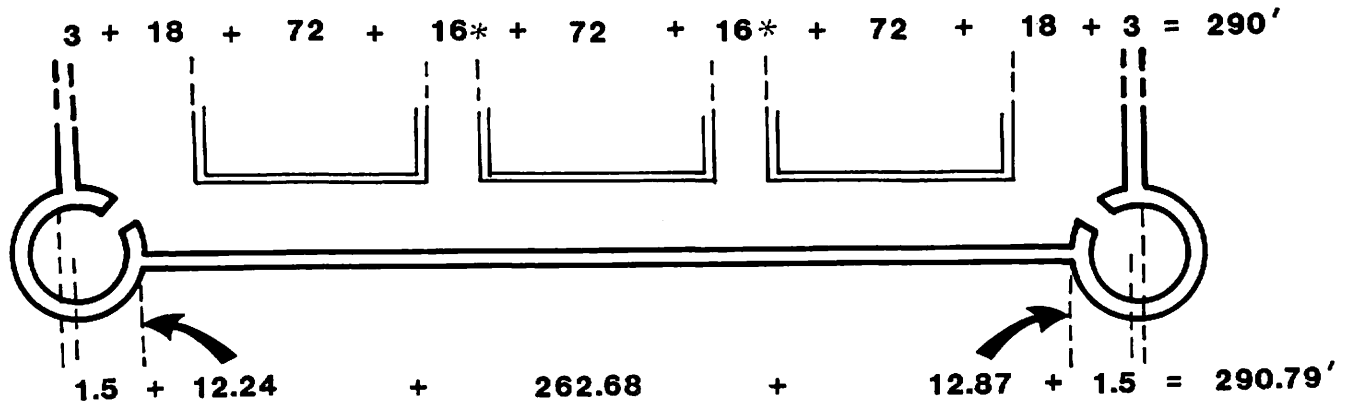


Diagram 3. Comparison of Archival and Survey Measurements.  
(Manitoba Archives.)

\*Two possible variables must be noted. First, the clearance between buildings remains an estimate, based on comparison of the distance between the stores and the 16-17 foot height of their eaves. Second, according to one source, the stores measured 70 foot in length. The northern end of the store excavated in 1982-83 lay just underneath a city of Winnipeg sidewalk and thus escaped measure. The variables of equal clearances and a possible 70 foot store length mean that the aggregate distance may be as little as 288 feet, or as much as 294 feet.

From Sinclair's field notes it is possible to infer that the centre of the three foot (0.91 m) walls lined up with the exact centre of the bastions. Sinclair measured the distance from the water's edge to the southwest bastion as 102.96 feet (1.56 chains) and from water's edge to the

wall as 114.18 feet. The southwest bastion had a 12.87 foot radius, leaving 1.65 feet (0.50 m) or 19.67 inches as one-half the thickness of the wall.

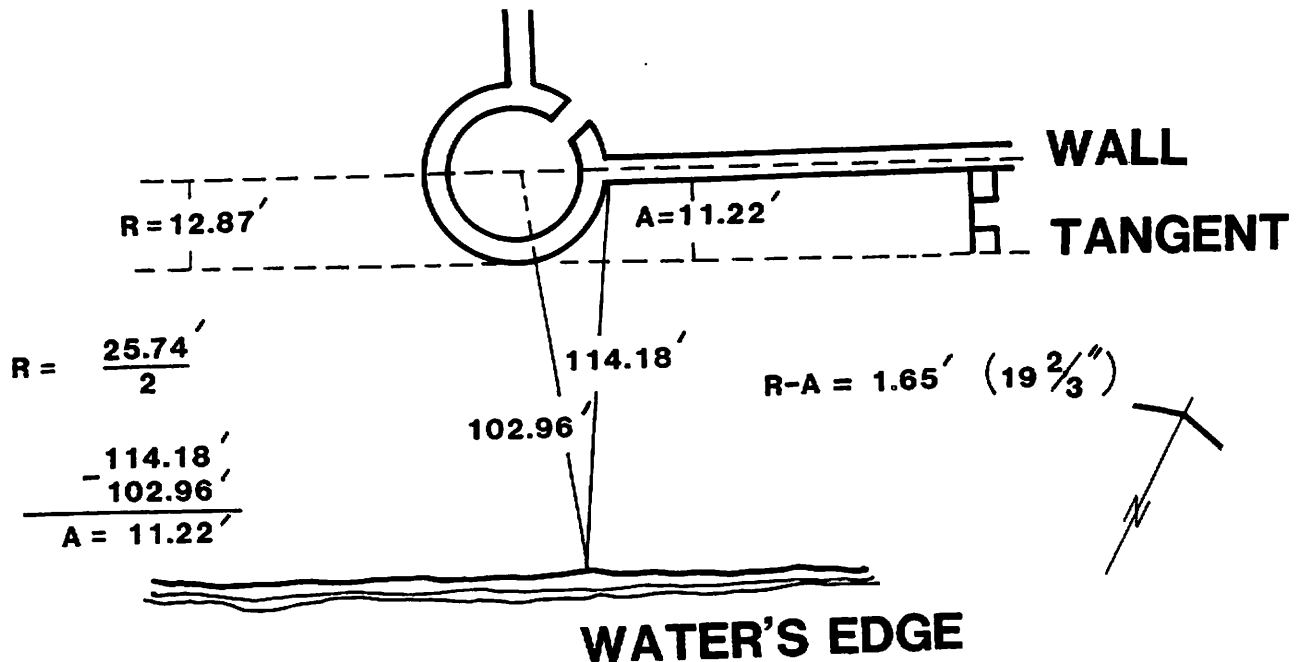


Diagram 4. Sinclair's Method of Determining Relation of Wall to Bastion. (Manitoba Archives.)

In these ways, Sinclair's survey measurements can be used to establish a fairly accurate estimate of the fort's north-south dimensions. The manner in which the bastions projected from the walls may explain some of the discrepancies in the archival record which cannot be identified as cursory estimates from their contexts. Those independent measurements known from archaeological investigations can also be used to check Sinclair's measurements. The location of the southern wall, while not found, is apparent, while the north wall has been located.<sup>57</sup> On 28 July 1985, the author and a surveyor carried out a surface measurement from the existing north wall to a point 18 feet (5.49 m) south of the excavated southwest store, which confirmed Sinclair's measures.

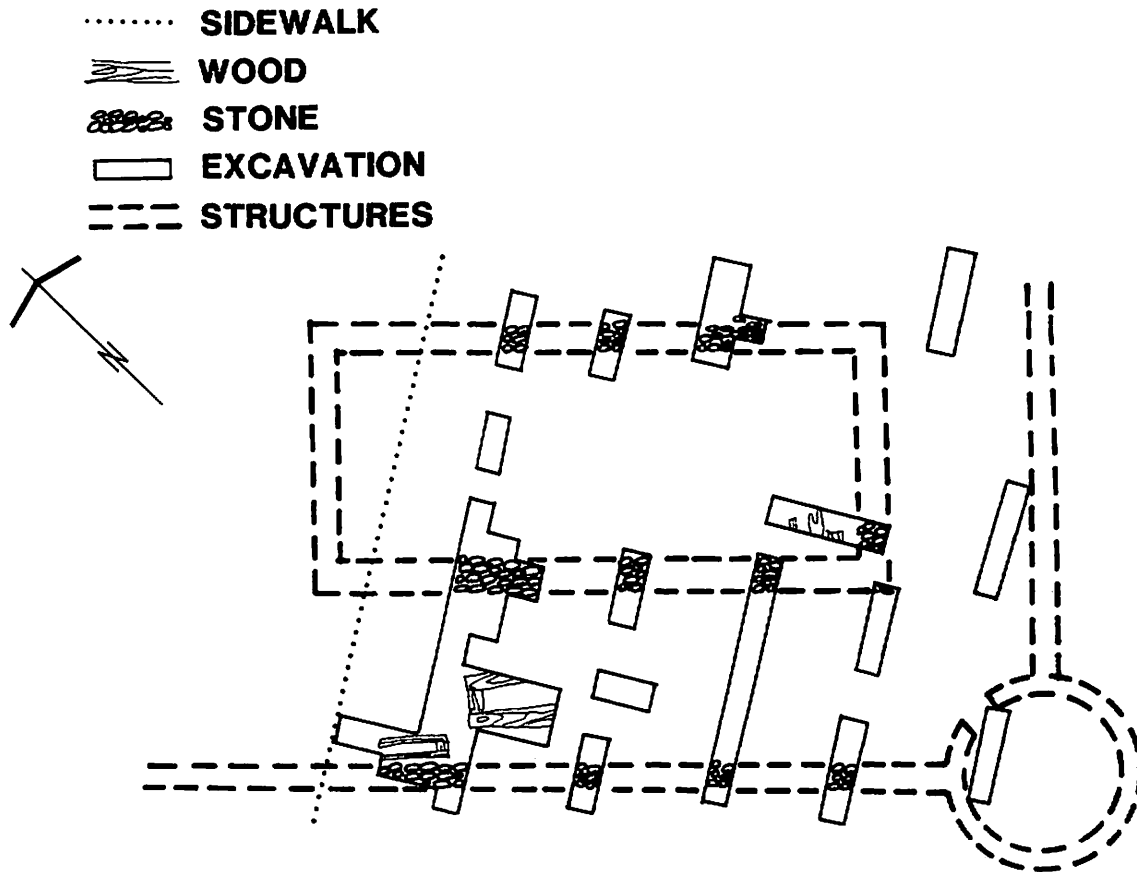


Diagram 5. Excavations in the Southwest Corner, 1983.  
 (Gregory C. Monks, 1983.)

As a conclusion to this analysis of the various descriptions of the fort walls, it is possible to describe them in some detail. The walls measured some 13-15 feet (3.96-4.57 m) in height; accounts vary, perhaps due to a decline in the ground's surface.<sup>58</sup> They were three feet (0.91 m) thick.<sup>59</sup> The outside dimensions of the wall were about 290 feet by 245 feet (88.39 m by 74.68 m). The stones, at least in part, were river cobbles; other light-coloured ones may have been sandstone quarried at Bird's Hill, 15 miles to the north. The walls had neither loopholes nor battlements. A course of smooth, beveled

masonry called coping ran along the top. It was probably of the saddle variety, higher in the middle to direct rainfall off to each side.<sup>60</sup>

Inside the wall, a wooden gallery about 8.5 feet (2.49 m) off the ground ran all the way around the fort. It was supported by eight foot (2.44 m) high wooden posts placed at four foot (1.22 m) intervals, about three feet (0.91 m) from the walls. A rail 3.5 feet (1.07 m) in height ran along the inward side of the gallery. Access to the gallery may have been by way of the corner bastions, each of which contained a second floor. The gallery passed over the gates, which were about 12 feet (3.62 m) high. This latter elevation was achieved for the gallery at that point by about five stairs. Isobel Finlayson described the gallery as "a pleasant walk" from which one could see far out onto the prairie,<sup>61</sup> and both she and George Finlay (Figures 11 and 12) sketched the gallery where it passed over the south gate.

At each corner of the fort stood a circular bastion, surveyed in 1871 as being from 23-26 feet (7.01-7.92 m) in diameter. Vavasour's preliminary description of the bastions in 1845 as being 18 feet (5.49 m) in diameter may be interpreted as being a measure of the inside dimension and as corroborative evidence of the walls being three feet (0.91 m) thick. The circular towers had conical roofs, about 24 feet (7.32 m) at the eaves and 31 feet (9.49 m) at the peak. They had two floors and were militarily equipped with four field pieces each. The guns were aimed through broad gunports, allowing defenders to rake the fort's approaches with a cross fire. During the 1835-45 period the bastions were used for storage.

The intended purpose of the walls and bastions is unclear. They were not planned as military redoubts against a force equipped with even small artillery. The stone

construction was prone to splintering when struck by heavy fire, and the exposed bastions would have been easy for 19th century gunners to pick apart. The choice of a gallery to allow defenders to fire over the wall varies from the loopholes used at the lower fort. The explanation for the design of the walls appears to be two-fold: the HBC never intended to defend Fort Garry against a well-equipped army, planning instead a defence against a lightly armed mounted foe which could be intimidated with a few field pieces. Second, there is no reason to suspect that the company availed itself of military advice while planning the fort.<sup>62</sup> Upper Fort Garry was simply a frontier stockade, built of stone only in passing and then more as an improvement on the wooden stockades that were continually tumbling down and as an architectural statement than as a prairie fortress. Longevity and psychological effects were the company's intentions when it built of stone and it succeeded in attracting to the upper fort every political act of significance to Red River history.

The construction completed during the 1835-46 phase brought the fort to the point for which had been conceived originally. Its primary purpose was as an administrative and storage centre for the fur trade. Secondary purposes included retail sales and civil administration, both bringing the HBC into contact with the settlers of Red River. The layout of the fort at this time was symmetrical and typical of other posts of similar importance. The fact that the company filled all the space within the walls is testimony to the extent to which it miscalculated the subsequent growth and added functions of the establishment.

Figure 6

Date: 1850

Aspect: Plan

"Upper Fort Garry, 1850." Brad Loewen and Gregory Monks,  
1986.



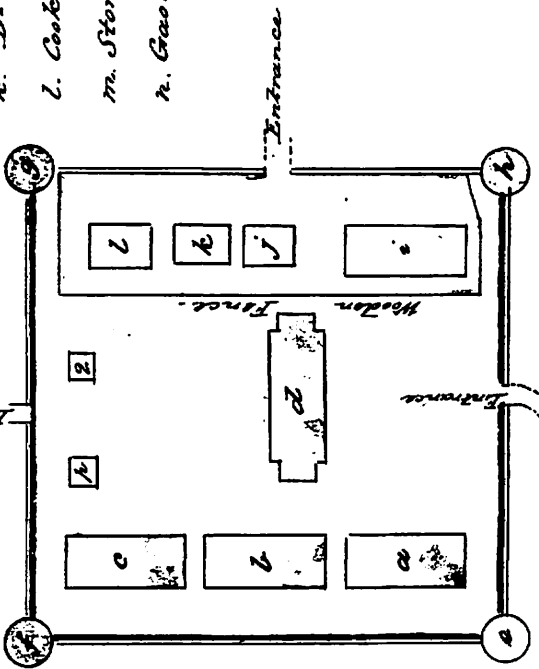
Relative Sketch of Upper Fort Garry  
Red River Settlement

1846.

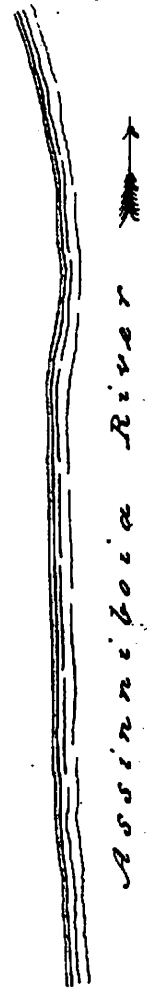
References.

Hon Hudson's Bay Company.

- i. Shop and Store
- j. Dwelling House
- k. D: for Men
- l. Cooking Ho. & Bakery
- m. Store
- n. Gaol.



Scale 100 feet to an Inch.



References.

Her Majesty's Troops

- a. Soldiers Barrack
- b. Soldiers Barrack
- c. Barrack and Commissariat Stores
- d. Officers Quarters
- e. Magazine & Store
- f. Serg? Major Q? & Store
- g. Carteen & Store
- h. Guard House and Store
- i. Hospital
- k. Cooking House { Tom? Built?
- g. Bakery { D: D:

Signed. A. Beatty  
Capt. R. E.  
15th Sep. 1846

Figure 8

Date: 31 July 1848

Aspect: Plan

"General survey of Upper Fort Garry and its immediate vicinity," drawn by Captain Hampden Moody. Manitoba Archives, 619.2 gbb 1848.

Surveyed by

Col<sup>l</sup> Serg<sup>t</sup> P. Clark, -

2<sup>nd</sup> Corp<sup>s</sup> S. Knowles

-- R. Penton

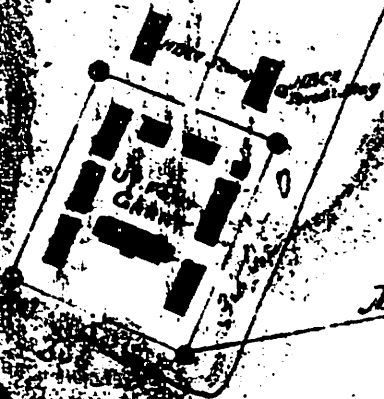
Priv<sup>t</sup> J. White

Corpt<sup>s</sup> Reid, Powell, Clume  
were also occu

to White Horse Plains

Garrison  
Hoop & Jail

Stable



Magn: North Var<sup>t</sup> 14° 15'

Ser<sup>v</sup>ing

Current

Old B<sup>l</sup> House

226

Figure 9

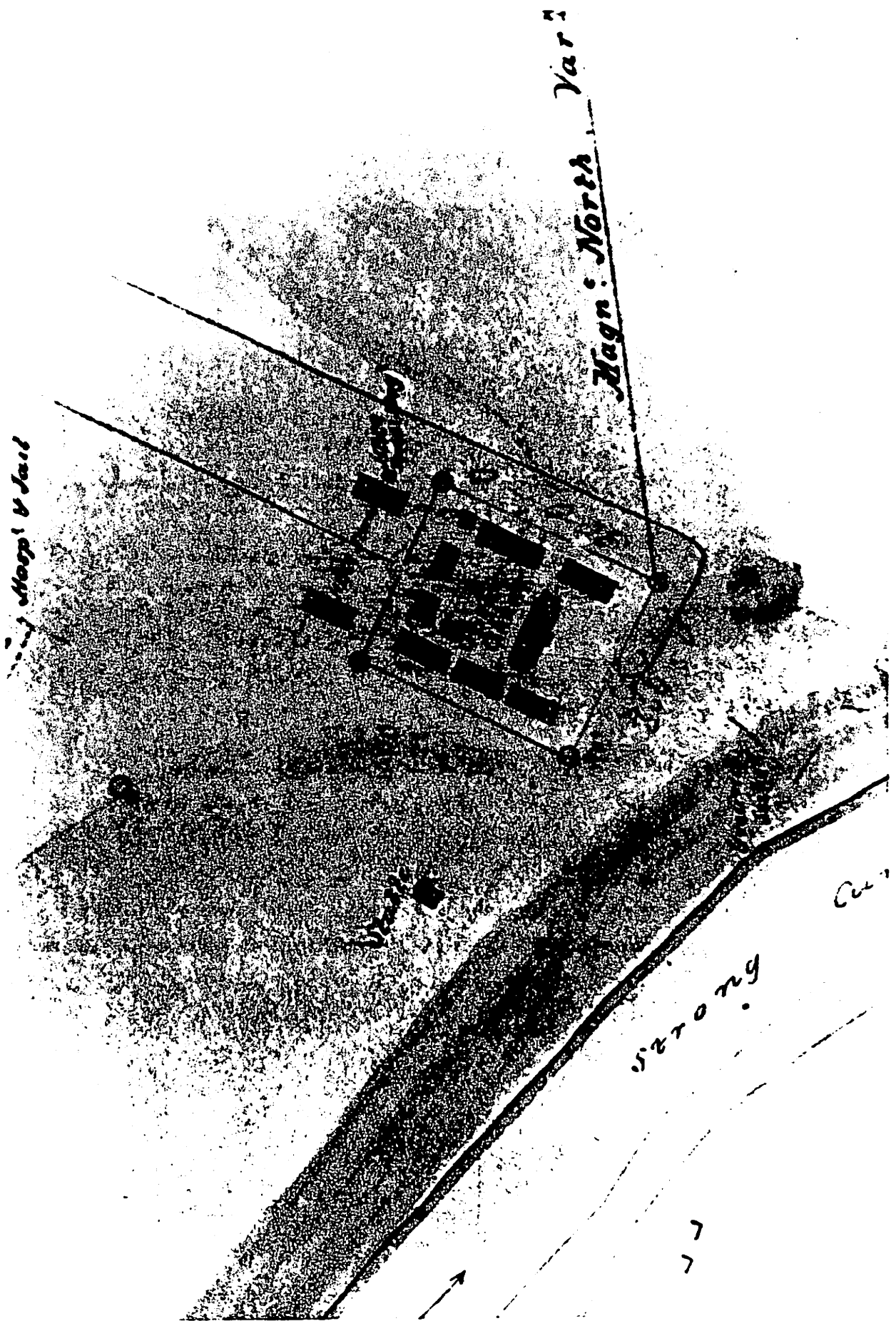
Date: 31 July 1848

Aspect: Plan

Detail of Figure 8.

Magp's Yard

Magp's North Yard



77  
77  
Carr

## The Effects of Military Occupation: 1846-49

### Overview of Construction and Sources

One of the reasons contributing to a neat separation of eras at the year 1846 is simply historiographical. In that year, the first plans of the fort to have survived were drawn up, providing a summary of construction to that date. However, there are at least two more reasons. In 1846 the fort's function was radically changed as some 246 troops and officers of the Sixth Regiment of Foot, also known as the Warwickshire Regiment after its early recruiting grounds, were garrisoned here. With this added function, a new phase of construction was begun to accommodate the fort's new role. It was a period of ad hoc construction which ended in 1849, when the Hudson's Bay Company anticipated the fort's uses for the next decade and began a systematic program of construction.

Construction during the 1846-49 period was hasty and make-do. Many existing structures were modified and new structures had few unnecessary features. New structures included two stores and a powder magazine built beyond the wall to the north, and a bake oven and cookhouse just inside the north wall (Figure 6: U, V, T, X and Y). Renovations included converting the two southern stores (Figure 6: A and B) and part of the fur store into barracks, converting the main house into officers' quarters, linking the recorder's house and the men's house with a covered passageway, preparing the recorder's house for occupation by Alexander

Christie, and erecting an interior wall to separate the company and military domains within the fort (Figure 7). A postern gate was built into the east wall to provide access to the company domain and the bell tower was taken down. Soldiers' latrines were dug along the west wall and the bastions given over to the military. During its sojourn at Fort Garry in 1846-48, the Sixth Foot occupied roughly 80 per cent of the fort's area.

Sources for this period are unusually numerous and varied. Warre and Vavasour produced a preliminary report, including a sketch of the fort's plan (Figure 2) as well as a final report with a scale plan (Figure 3) that was published in 1860.<sup>63</sup> Royal Engineers Andrew Beatty and Hampden Moody, who accompanied the Sixth Foot, each produced a plan of the fort (Figures 7 and 8) showing details of the occupation. George Finlay, an officer of the Sixth Foot, left three sketches showing different aspects of the fort (Figures 10, 11 and 13). Paul Kane, a celebrated Canadian painter, visited the fort during his travels in the North-West. John Ffolliott Crofton, commander of the regiment, left a journal, part of which has survived. This is also the period during which the Simpson correspondence is most helpful on details of structures. In all, knowledge of the fort's appearance emerges from its "dark age".

#### Renovations Inside the Fort

Some 246 members of the Sixth Regiment of Foot barracked at Upper Fort Garry from September 1846 to June 1848. The three large stores in the west row were given over to the military, as Crofton wrote:

The barracks are made from the Store rooms of the Co. and are about 70' by 36'. There are two of these dimensions, having a second floor. These 4 large rooms are divided off into 4, with Serjents' rooms boarded up...<sup>64</sup>

According to the Beatty plan of 15 September 1846 (Figure 7), the barracks were located in the two southernmost stores, while the third store was designated "Barrack and Commissariat Stores". How the third store was divided is not known. As noted previously, it was depicted without a chimney until 1872 and was likely not inhabited.

Few changes were made to the outside of the stores, but there is evidence of considerable interior work. Each of the four rooms arranged on each floor would have measured about 15 feet by 30 feet (4.57 m by 9.14 m) and had its own stove, mess table and chairs. In an exchange of letters regarding materials available at Red River, Simpson mentioned the British troops could find bedding and material for building bedsteads at Red River but would have to bring their own ticking.<sup>65</sup> As it turned out, the ships bearing the troops to York Factory also brought military issue bedsteads made of iron, and although they were unloaded they were not transported to Red River that summer due to low water.<sup>66</sup> The barrack rooms bore a rough look, having wooden bedsteads with local ticking and Hudson's Bay Company blankets and shirts folded on top. There were 50 beds to a floor.

Up against the west wall of the fort, the soldiers dug privy pits, lined with wooden cribbing and covered with rudimentary structures. Such pits would then fill up, creating the dilemma of emptying them or covering them over and moving the latrine elsewhere. Over the course of the fort's history, numerous pits were dug along the west wall.

The main house at the centre of the fort was also given up by the company to be used as officers' quarters. Not much is known of any special accommodations made for the officers beyond an uninteresting sketch George Finlay left of the interior of a room<sup>67</sup> and a cryptic note in Crofton's journal on 1 May 1847:



(During the winter months) I had heavy accounts to make up and examine, and some of my time spent in the orderly room, I had little to mark my time with....<sup>68</sup>

It is possible to form some idea of how many men were quartered in the main house, for Crofton wrote to his wife back in Ireland of their mess:

We sit down to dinner generally as follows:  
 Finlay, Peel, Elrington, Puleston, Mosse,  
 Duncan, Robertson, Mildmay, Townsend, Wilson,  
 Blackwood and J.C. [John Crofton - B.L.]  
 Occasionally we have the officers from the Lower  
 Fort to visit us.<sup>69</sup>

This allows us to assume that 12 officers lived in the main house. If Finlay's room is taken as an example, the top floor would have lodged six of these. Doctors Duncan and Robertson and Commissary Officer Mildmay may have been given extra space, and one assumes that Crofton, who became Governor of Assiniboia, took over Christie's quarters. Including a mess room and the orderly room, the house was probably quite full.

The company officers, meanwhile, with the equanimity of men accustomed to frequent rotation, moved their effects over into the recorder's house. Somewhat less unconcerned was the recorder, Adam Thom, who wrote to Simpson on 28 July 1847:

On the subject of the inconvenience, to which the arrival of the troops has subjected me and me alone, I beg herewith to transmit through you a representation to Their Honors. My removal from the Fort, although inevitable at the time, was not irremediable, not is it even now irremediable.<sup>70</sup>

Evidently, the company eventually found room for Thom at the lower fort, but not before the gossipy unpopular recorder was resolved on his own course of action, as he explained to Simpson on 30 March 1848:

You regret me having bought this house. You cannot regret the fact more deeply than I regret its necessity. Even if accommodated, I should hardly have relied on the Stone Fort as a contingent resource, knowing, as I did, that the not improbable accident of a fire at the Upper Fort would again dispossess me to make room for the dislodged garrison.<sup>71</sup>

It appears unlikely that Thom ever returned to the recorder's house. Thom remained in his new house, since he sold it to the company in the 1850s after he left America. The new recorder, F.G. Johnson, was allotted rooms rather than a house in accordance with his status as a bachelor (see "Entrepôt for the North-West: Dwelling Houses"). In light of the subsequent history of the main house, it seems doubtful that the chief company officer in Red River ever resided there again, but preferred rather to live in the recorder's house until the construction of a new main house in 1854.

Finally, an accretion in the form of a covered passageway was built between the recorder and men's houses. The first record of this structure is the 31 July 1848 Moody map (Figure 9), which depicts the two houses as one contiguous structure. The best depiction of the passageway is Rolph Smith's 1874 lithograph of the eastern appearance of the fort (Figure 39). The passageway was one storey in height with a simple peaked roof, and connected the backs of the two houses. Other annexes on the backs of the houses were incorporated into its structure. Such a passageway would hardly have been thinkable as long as Thom inhabited the recorder's house, but the exigency of restricted mess and winter accounting space which had formerly been located in the main house may have mitigated the company's preference to segregate its "officers" and "servants". Perhaps the men's house was converted to a clerk's residence at this time with wintering labourers quartered in the settlement.

When the Sixth Foot departed America via York Factory, they were replaced by a force of pensioned soldiers and their families to take up duties as a farming militia. The arrangements concerning living quarters were sufficiently aggravating for George Simpson to become involved. As Simpson wrote on 9 July 1848, the "Chelsea Pensioners" were at first to be quartered at the fort:

That portion of the Upper Fort now occupied by the garrison, will provide sufficient accommodation for the whole party; you will therefore be pleased to get them quartered there in the meantime, placing the main house, furnished as it is, at the disposal of Major Caldwell, for the accommodation of himself and family: and should he require the use of the old gaol as a guardhouse, or for any other military purpose, you will perhaps put him in possession of it.<sup>72</sup>

As the administrative distinction between the HBC and District of Assiniboia became clearer, a practice evolved which recognized the Governor of Assiniboia's right to reside in the main house at Upper Fort Garry. Before 1846, the senior company representative at Red River was also the Governor of the District of Assiniboia. There was some confusion over Crofton's role on the Council of Assiniboia at first, but the council deferred to Crofton's military rank and association with the British crown and accorded him the chair of the council. In this light, Simpson wrote Christie on 12 July 1848, regarding Crofton's successor Major Caldwell of the Pensioners:

The pecuniary allowance to the Commissary Officer as Governor of Assiniboia, I presume is meant to cover board and lodging, etc., but for the present year he is to have the use of the dwelling house in the Upper Fort.<sup>73</sup>

A relationship appears to have emerged among the main house of the upper fort, the post of Governor of the District of Assiniboia and chair of its Council, and the commanding

officer of the military forces posted at Red River. In the late 1840s, both the civil and commercial organizations remained under the personal control of George Simpson.

In correct, though not mollified response to Simpson's involvement, Christie wrote Simpson on 18 August 1848:

Agreeably to your desire, we are preparing the Upper Fort for the reception of Major Caldwell and the pensioners. The large dwelling house is in a more dilapidated state than it would have been after 20 years occupation by the Company's gentlemen, and will therefore require considerable repairs before being again inhabited...

With reference to my own residence for the next winter, it appears to me under the existing circumstances that the only vacant place would be the rooms formerly occupied by Mr. Thom, and recently by Captain Moody in the Lower Fort, and which, should the military return, would not be required...<sup>74</sup>

Certainly, the period of 1846-49 was one in which the added military function of the fort strained its formerly ample dwelling space.

### Stores

Not only lodging but storage capacities were strained by the arrival of the Sixth Foot. Turning over the stores for use as barracks obliged the company in 1846 to build another store north of the wall in line with the east row inside the fort. Alexander Christie illustrated the extent of the disruption in a letter to Simpson on 8 August 1846:

Alterations are to be an extent that you could not have imagined leaving here, it now appears, the second floors must be taken out of the Stores...so that no wheat can be stored above the troops, and God only knows where I am to find room for the removal of 3 to 4,000 bushels of this valuable article.<sup>75</sup>

The store that Christie resolved to build is seen on Beatty's plan of 15 September 1846 (Figure 7) and on Finlay's sketch of the fort's northern appearance dated 1 October 1846 (Figure 10). This structure was of similar dimensions to the other stores, but had windows only on the ground floor and gables only in the ends of the hip roof. According to Finlay's drawing, it was of "Red River" construction. This involved a post-and-beam frame in which the posts were grooved lengthwise and "tongued" square timbers were placed horizontally between the posts. The store is the first clearly documented instance of this building technique in the Upper Fort Garry complex. The building came to be known as the "flour store", but in 1846 it was used to store unthreshed grain. In anticipation of feeding 400 troops, the company had agreed to buy surplus cattle and grain from the settlers, but disastrous crops had resulted in the onerous obligation to buy cattle from settlers who could no longer afford to feed them and then to pay for scarce fodder.

Even the addition of this new store was not sufficient. On 30 June 1848, at a time when word regarding the disposition of new troops had not yet reached him, Simpson wrote Christie:

With reference to the erection of another store at Fort Garry, after the removal of the present garrison, probably an increase upon our existing means of storage will not be required, so that this point must be dependent on the future arrangements for the garrison; we must, however, be prepared to lay by a large reserve, at least 10,000 bushels of wheat.<sup>76</sup>

By the time Christie received this letter, a second store of equal dimensions, to be known as the pemmican store<sup>77</sup>, was already under construction opposite the flour store in line with the west row of buildings. When Moody finished his depiction of Upper Fort Garry and its environs on 31 July 1848, he had included the second trans-mural store (Figure 9). On 18 August 1848 Christie wrote Simpson:

From the interior of the Fort being required, there was no alternative but to erect the Second Store behind, for the reception of the plains provisions on the lower floor, leaving the two upper floors for grain, and which with two upper floors in the opposite store, are sufficient to contain from 7 to 8,000 bushels of grain, exclusive of the stores at the lower fort, which are even more commodious.<sup>78</sup>

Out of these quotations arise certain questions concerning 19th century grain handling. First, calculations relating Christie's figures to the volume and weight of threshed wheat indicate the depth of grain on each of the two upper floors of a store measuring 30 feet by 70 feet (9.14 m by 21.33 m) or 2,100 square feet (195 m<sup>2</sup>) at 2,000 bushels per floor (1 bushel = 1.28435 cubic feet or 36.368 litres) would only be 1.22 feet (14 inches or 0.37 m). The weight of wheat would be about 120,000 pounds (54,545 kg). This clearly indicates the grain was stored unthreshed in fall and threshed inside during the course of the winter. At Fort Alexander on the Winnipeg River, grain was threshed inside during winter at a rate of about ten bushels (363.68 litres) per day by one man.<sup>79</sup> The only reference to the processing of grain at Upper Fort Garry occurs in the late 1850s. It only reveals that grain was stored and moved in bags tied by "some women" before being transported by barge to the Riel mill for grinding.<sup>80</sup>

Second, what is meant by Christie's statement "... it now appears, the second floor must be taken out of the stores ... so that no wheat can be stored above the troops"? This may have been in accordance with military regulations or wishes concerning ceiling heights or simply a desire not to have threshing operations going on overhead.

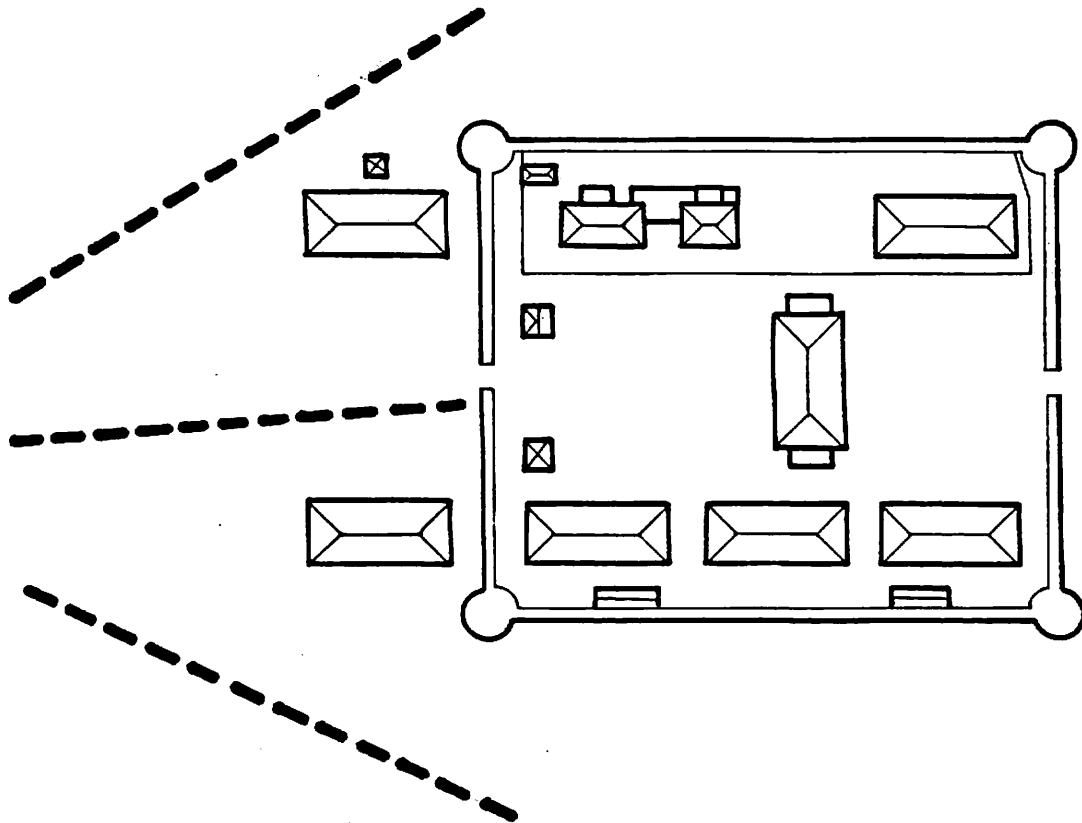
One other feature belongs to the 1846-49 period. This was the company's magazine, which was built after the old magazine (probably located in one of the bastions) and then appropriated by the Sixth Foot. The magazine was generally kept in a separate waterproof building as security against the threat of fire. Separate magazines were maintained for the military, the company's internal use and retail trade. The new magazine was a one-story structure, roughly 12 feet (3.61 m) square, built just east of the first trans-mural store. It was not constructed by October 1846 (Figure 10), but Moody depicted it in July 1848 and designated it the "HBC Magazine" (Figure 9). The low profile of this building is visible in photographs dating to the very end of the fort's existence.

Figure 10

Date: 1 October 1846

Aspect: N

"View of Upper Fort Garry, north wall," drawn by George Finlay. Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta 58.24.77.





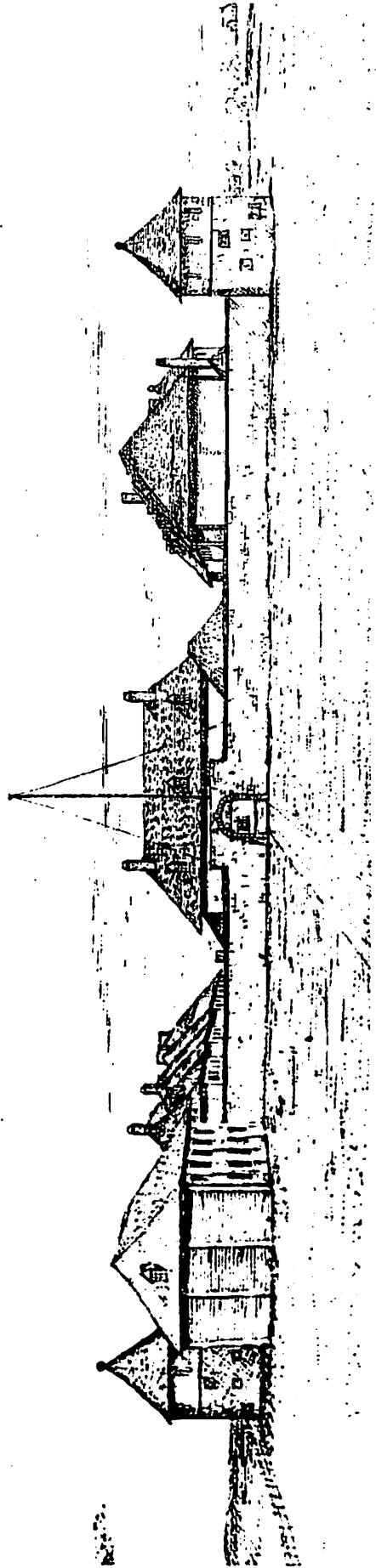


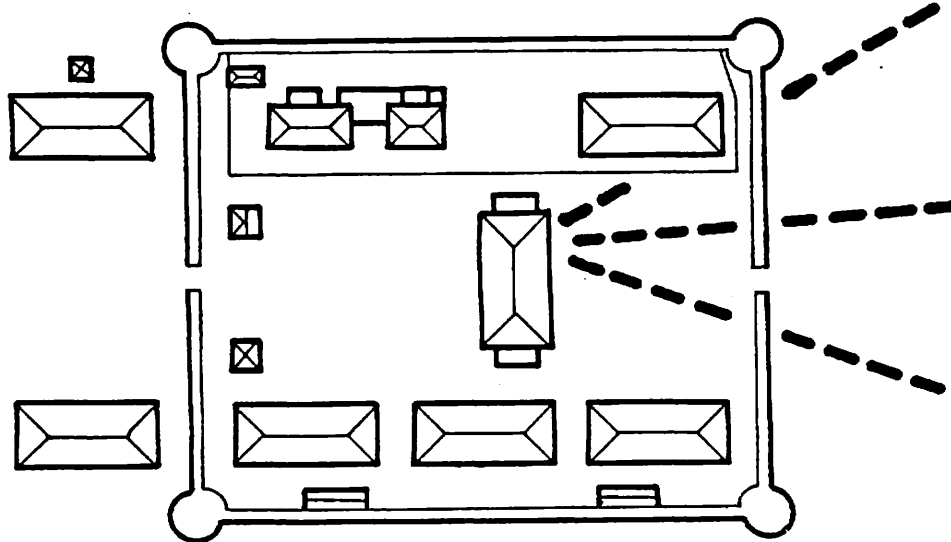
Figure 11

Date: ca. 1846

Aspect: N

"View from inside Upper Fort Garry ..." drawn by George Finlay. Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta 58.24.76.

Note: The full title is "View from Inside Upper Fort Garry looking north". The view, however, is from the main house southward, including the Forks and the Assiniboine River.



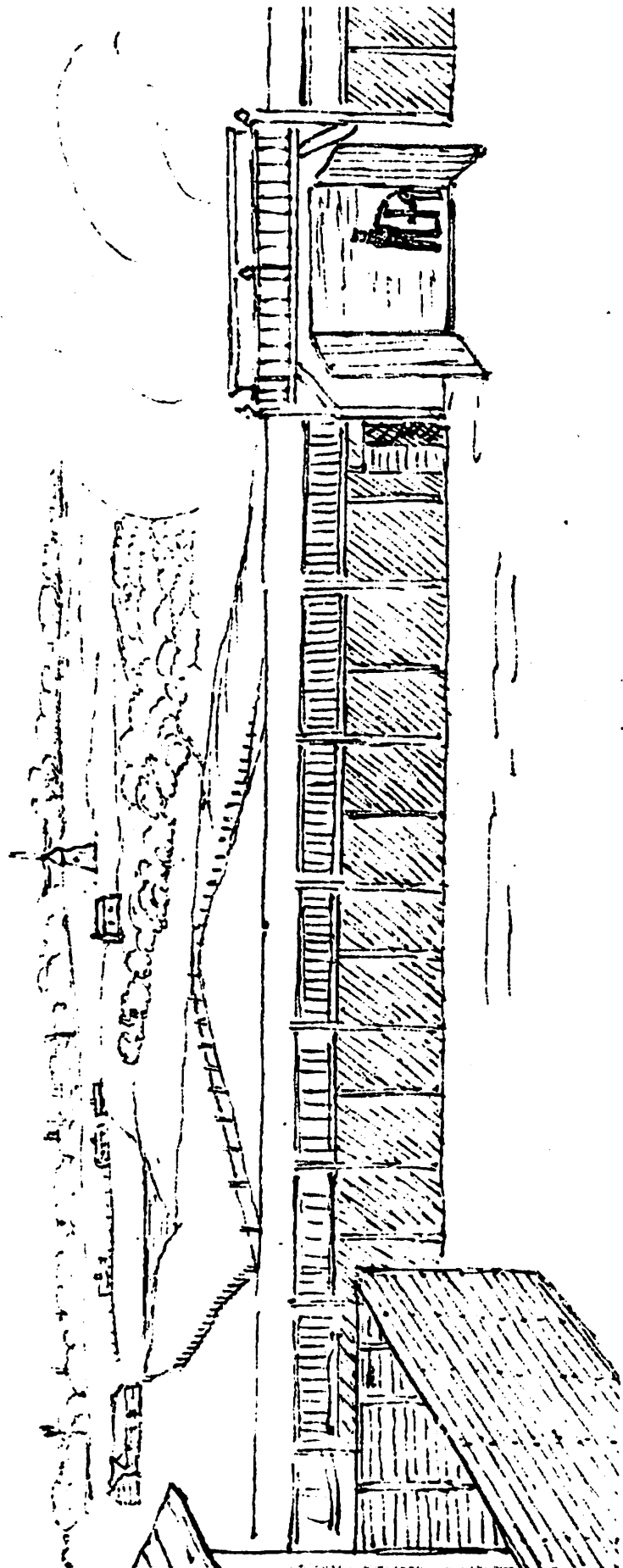


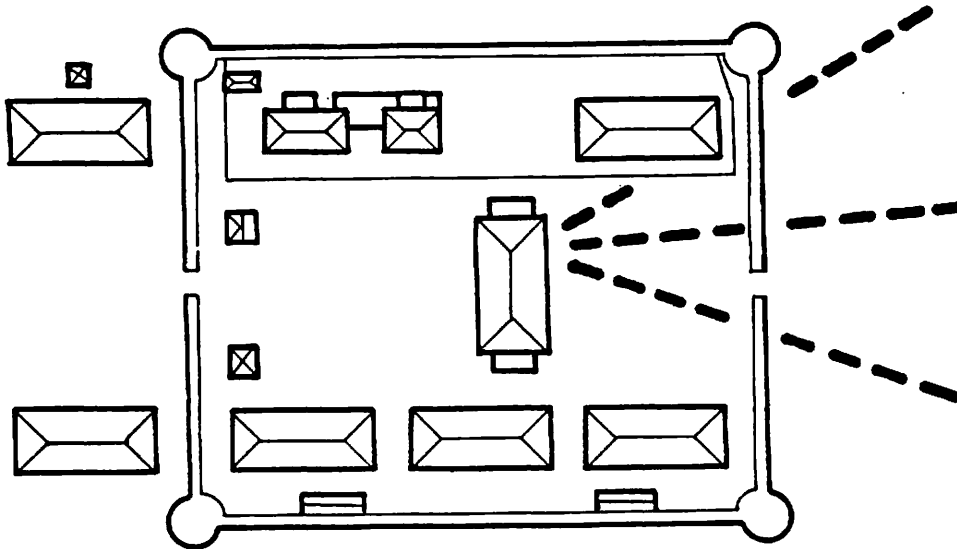
Figure 12

Date: ca. 1840

Aspect: N

"Front gate, Fort Garry," drawn by Isobel Simpson  
Finlayson. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, E.12/5, fo.85.

Note: This is the same gate depicted in Figure 11.



35

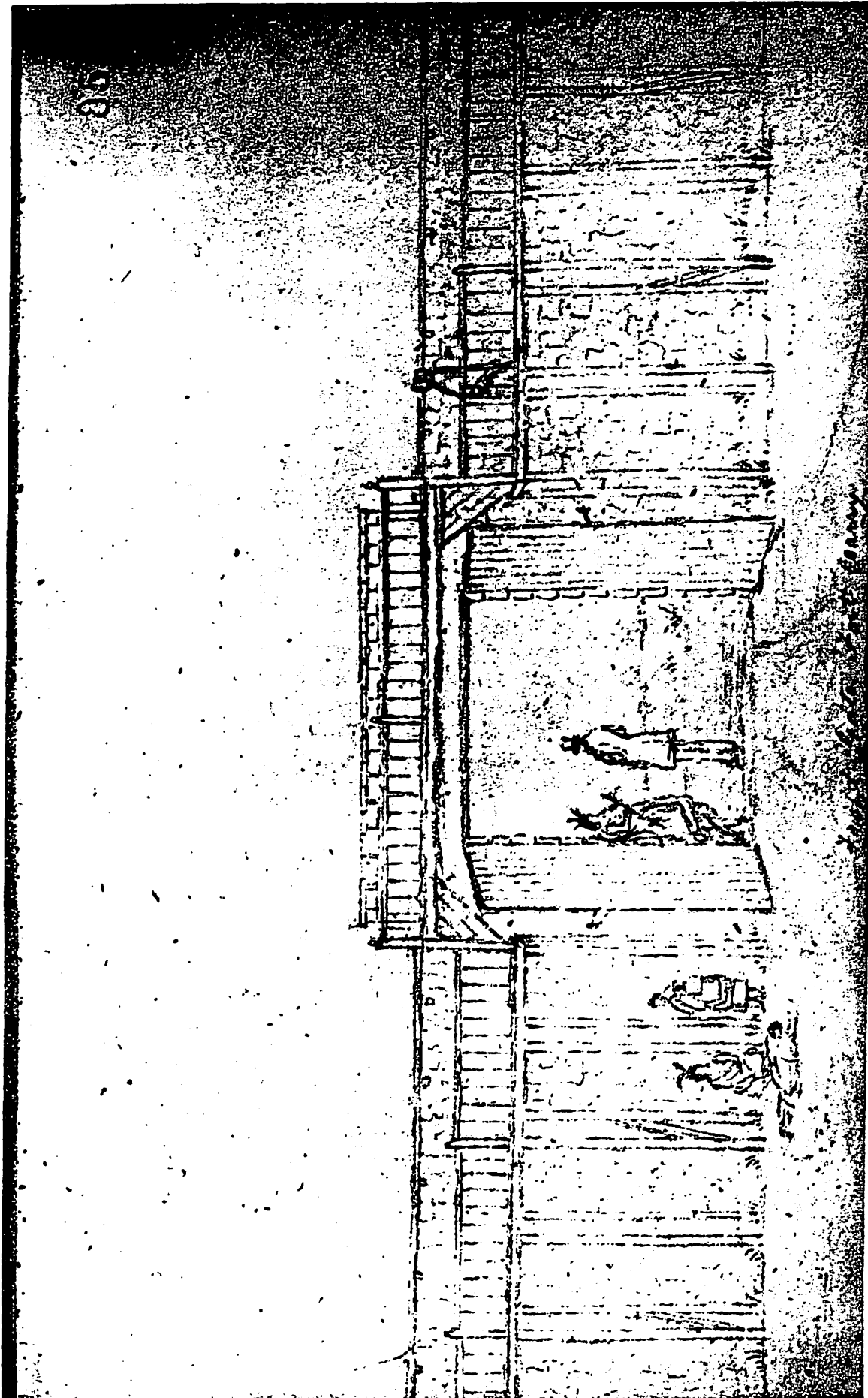
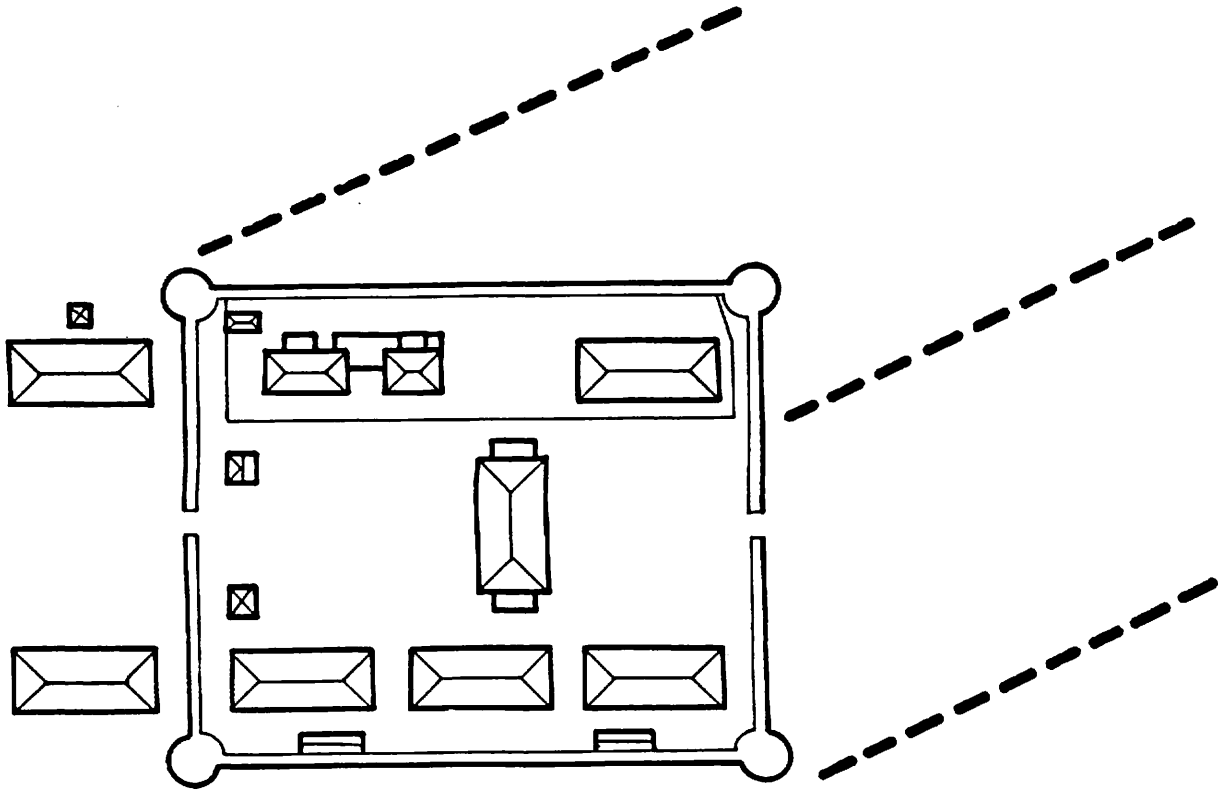


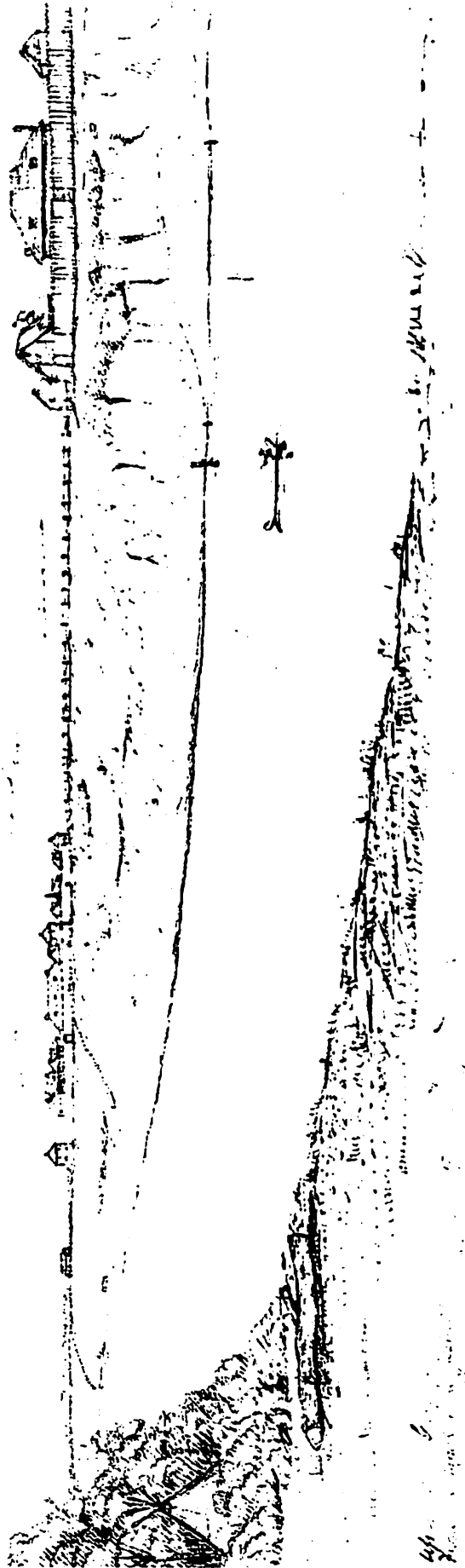
Figure 13

Date: 11 June 1847

Aspect: SSE

"View of Upper Fort Garry from across the river," drawn by George Finlay. Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta 58.24.78.





### Walls and Bastions

The walls and bastions were also affected by the fort's new function as a military outpost. As seen in the Beatty plan (Figure 7), having been relegated to stewardship over the east row of buildings in the fort, the HBC also lost use of the two main gates to the fort. A "postern gate" was built into the east wall some 100 feet (30.48 m) from the southwest bastion. This gate was narrower and lower than the main gates and appears to have been intended as a means of access rather for persons than supplies.

The postern gate was built before the summer of 1846, probably in anticipation of the Sixth Foot's arrival. It does not figure in Warre's 1845 sketch nor does it show up in Paul Kane's paintings which were researched on 2-5 July 1846 and depicted the bell tower at that point along the wall. In Murray's sketch of the northeast aspect of the fort (Figure 5), both the postern gate and the tower are clearly depicted. Murray's sketch has been dated as 12 June 1845, although this visit to Red River was not recorded. It is known he travelled from the upper Missouri River to Red River in the spring of 1846 to join the company, dispatched forthwith to the Yukon River, and married at Fort Simpson on 24 August 1846.<sup>81</sup> Beatty's plan dated 15 September 1846 does not portray the tower but does depict the gate. Finlay's 11 June 1847 sketch again depicts both features together (Figure 12). Shortly after this latter date, the tower was taken down, probably because it impeded movement near the only entrance to the cramped confines of the company's enclave.

The inner wall dividing the military and fur trade functions of the fort was clearly depicted by Beatty in 1846 (Figure 7). The difficulty with Beatty's plan is he exaggerated the size of the company's cookhouse. The



interior wall included the cookhouse in the fur trade enclave and attenuated the adjacent bastion to the military's part of the fort. A corresponding corridor led from the southwest bastion along the south wall to the military square. The interior wall was made from wood. Posts were driven into the ground and planks nailed horizontally to a height of 8-10 feet (2.44-3.05 m). This wall appears in Finlay's sketch of the view from his window (Figure 11) as does the southwest corner of the sales store.

The bastions were, quite naturally, put to military use. Crofton's account of their function dovetails with the references attached to Beatty's plan, and where there are discrepancies, they are enriching rather than contradictory. Beginning from the southeast bastion and proceeding clockwise on Beatty's plan, the bastions were used as a guardhouse and store, Sergeant Major's quarters and store, canteen and store, and magazine and store (Figure 7). Crofton's description is in the same order:

The guardroom is in one of the Round Bastions. In another is to be the Engineers' Office and Stores, and in the 3rd is a Sutler's Shop, and in the 4th a Magazine...<sup>82</sup>

It is perhaps noteworthy that, even though the company retreated into a mere rump of its own fort, the military mounted its watch from the bastion overlooking the sales shop. From this guardhouse a continual watch was maintained along the gallery around the fort, as described by Crofton:

Every day my orders are given to the Sergeant Major, while mounting the guard, that I would severely punish any soldier who stood still on his post, except to salute officers passing, and who did not call out every quarter of an hour "All's well"...If any sentry failed in calling out, in reply to the Sentry at the Guardhouse, the Sergeant was ordered to proceed with two men to see the sentry. I thus did all I could to prevent a poor fellow being frozen to death.<sup>83</sup>

Within the part of the fort turned over to the Sixth Foot, both Beatty (1846) and Moody (1848) depicted a pair of structures near the north gate called a cooking house - the western structure - and bakery (Figures 7 and 9). These structures were meant to be temporary and duplicated functions for the military which were also provided by the company in its enclave. Finlay's sketch of the northern appearance of the fort shows the tops of these structures above the wall (Figure 10). The bakery is indicated only by a chimney and may have consisted of an open oven made from bricks with a three foot (0.91 m) deep pit in front to work from, such as has been reconstructed at Lower Fort Garry. The cookhouse is depicted as having a one-storey hip roof with a chimney. These structures were built by the military very soon after its arrival on September 6,<sup>84</sup> for Beatty depicted them on the fifteenth of the same month. No evidence of their continued existence after the departure of the Sixth Foot can be found, and in 1852 the new office was erected on the spot where they had stood.

Doubtless, the renovations inside the fort to accommodate the Sixth Foot were extensive, as was the disruption to fur trade routine. If the amount of dislocation suffered by the company serves as any indication of the price it was willing to pay for the presence of regular troops at Red River, the perceived threat from United States expansionism and the related distrust of the Métis plainsmen and farmers must have been considerable. It matters little whether this threat was seen in terms of a direct military campaign by the U.S. Army, blooded and bellicose after the Mexican war, or a more insidious economic challenge from the various "free traders" based in Red River. The response was calculated and stern.

However, the spectre of a military confrontation faded and the company reassessed its position. The company refused to lay out the capital which the Royal Engineers

required to turn Upper Fort Garry into a true military fortress.<sup>85</sup> Instead, the concept of a yeoman militia to replace the regular troops was hit upon to make defences correspond to the threat from plainsmen organized into disciplined hunting squadrons. Subsequently, Upper Fort Garry was conceived in terms of a secure wilderness stockade with apparent force behind it rather than a fortress with true military capacities.

By the end of the 1846-49 period, the Hudson's Bay Company realized the military's presence at Upper Fort Garry had changed the nature of the establishment permanently. Although the Chelsea Pensioners had for the most part been moved into their own houses, leaving the store houses open to the company once more, the main house was occupied by Commanding Officer Caldwell and two junior officers until 1855. It was decided to make the ad hoc construction of 1846-48 permanent. Actual construction was limited to the two trans-mural stores, a powder magazine, and temporary structures for the soldiers such as food preparation buildings and latrines. More significant was the dislocation in terms of dwelling quarters, storage capacity and food collection which occurred after the arrival of 246 troops.

Figure 14

"Upper Fort Garry, 1857." Brad Loewen and Gregory Monks,  
1986.



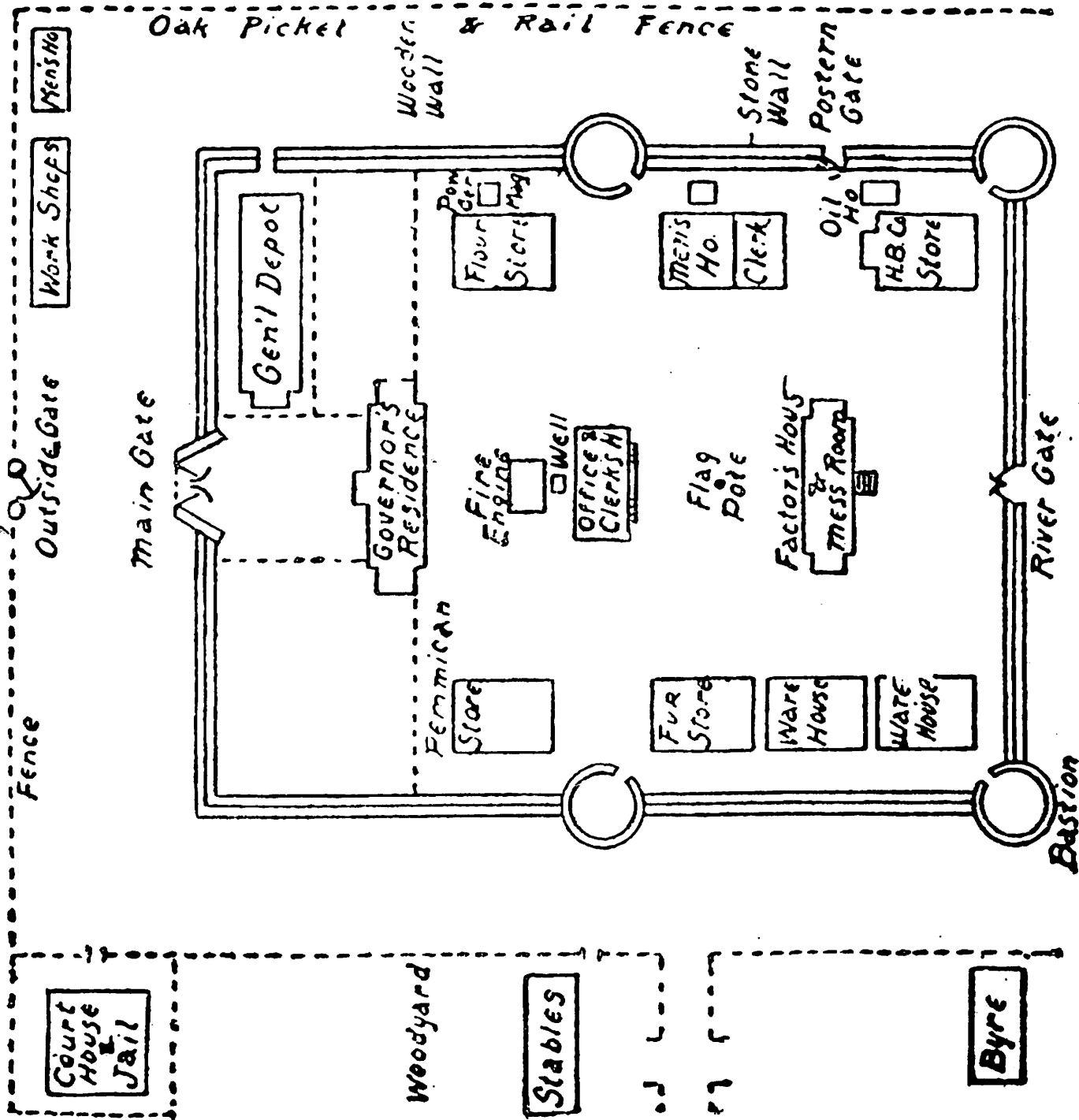
Figure 15

Date: [ca. 1868]

Aspect: Plan

"Plan of Upper Fort Garry, 1836-1881," based on a sketch by John Balsillie. Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 51.

Note: Original unknown.



PLAN OF FORT GARRY

1836-1881

Figure 16

Date: [ca. 1868]

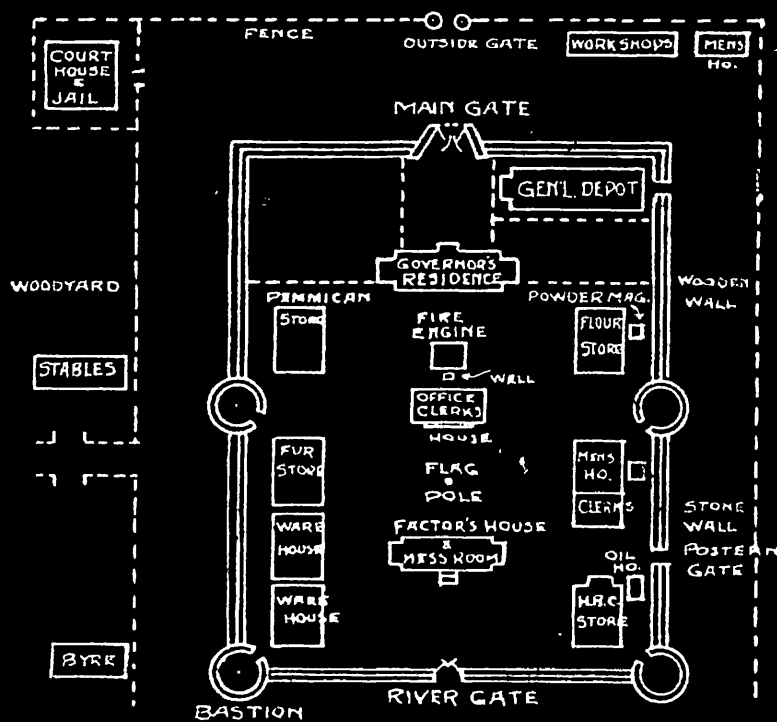
Aspect: Plan

"Plan of Fort Garry," copy of sketch by John Balsillie.  
Public Archives Canada/F-550/Winnipeg.

Note: Original unknown.

Figures 15 and 16 are based on the same original.





Plan of Fort Garry

South portion with stone wall and bastions built in 1835  
 North portion with wooden wall and stone north gate still standing, built in 1850

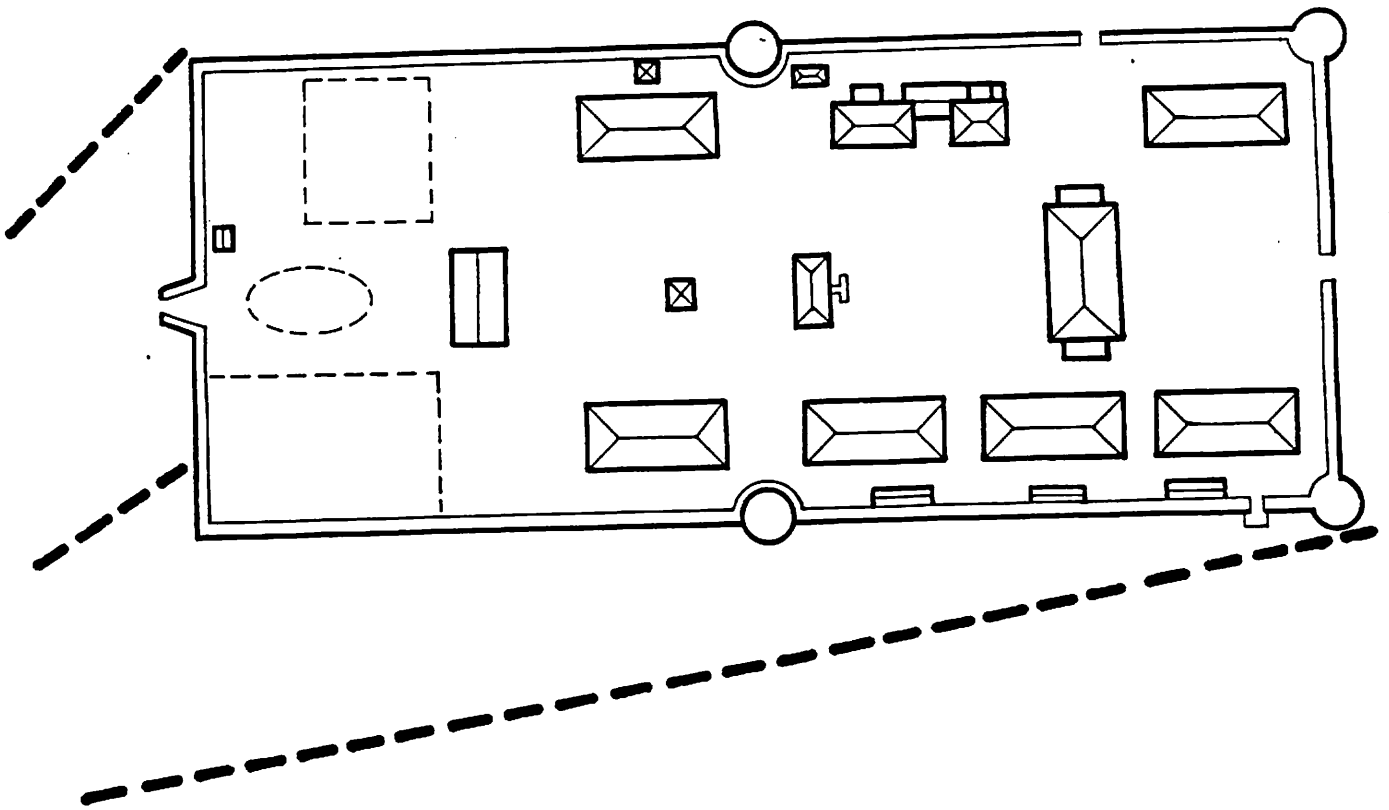
Copy of sketch drawn by John Balsillie

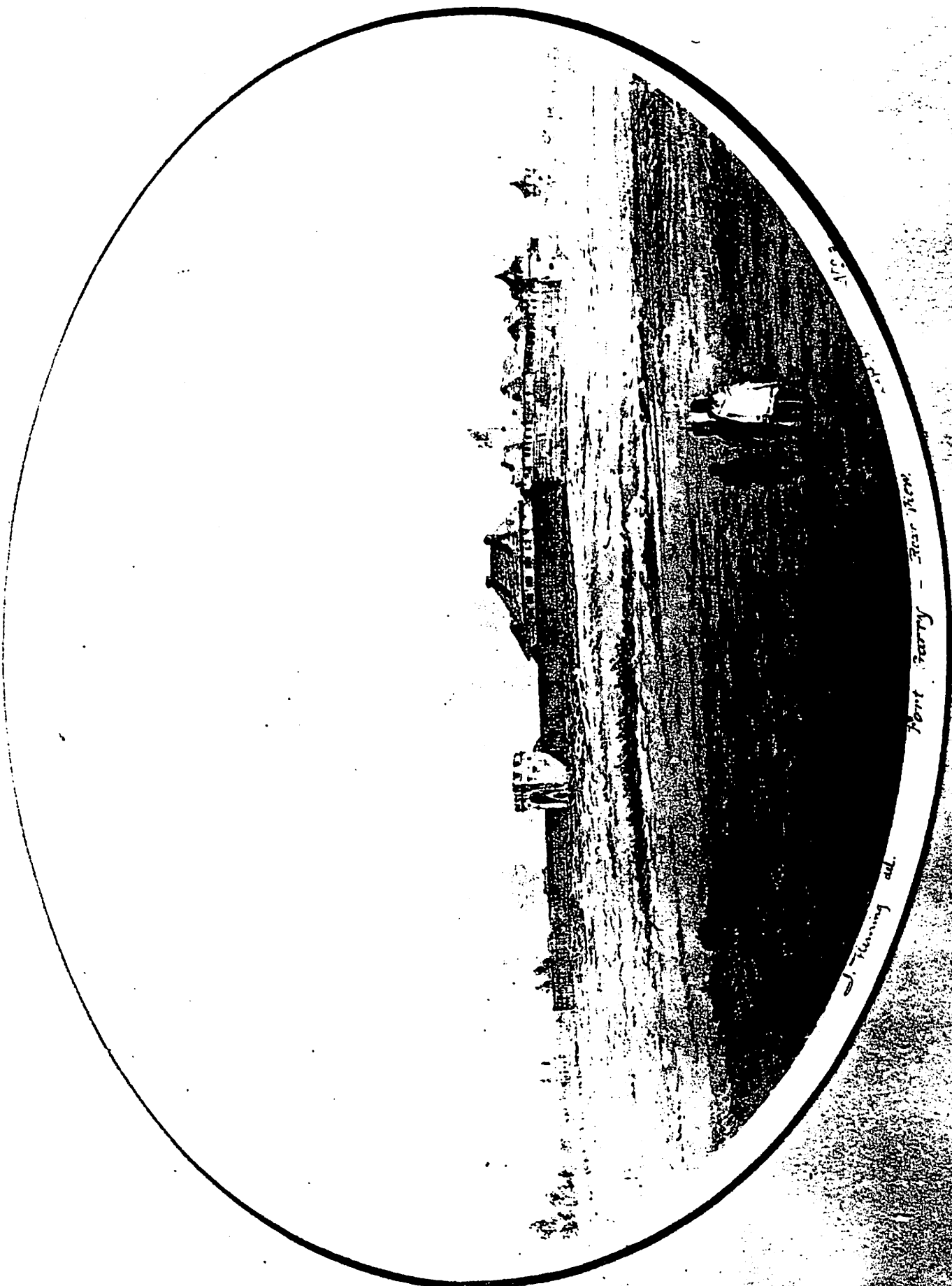
Figure 17

Date: 1857

Aspect: NNW

"Fort Garry - Rear View." Metropolitan Toronto Library,  
T 15994.





APR 3

Fort Perry - Bear Men

J. Fleming ad.

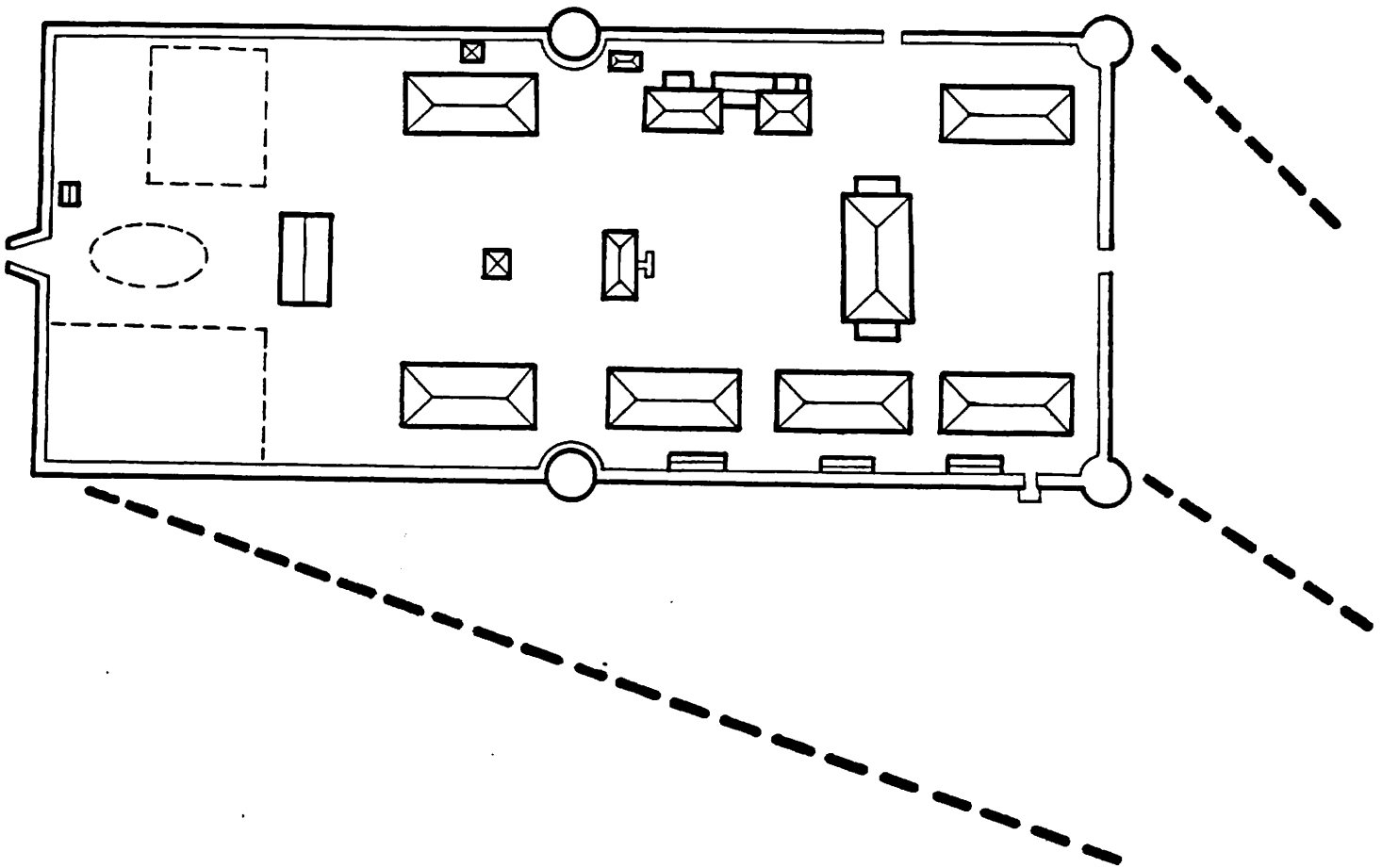
Figure 18

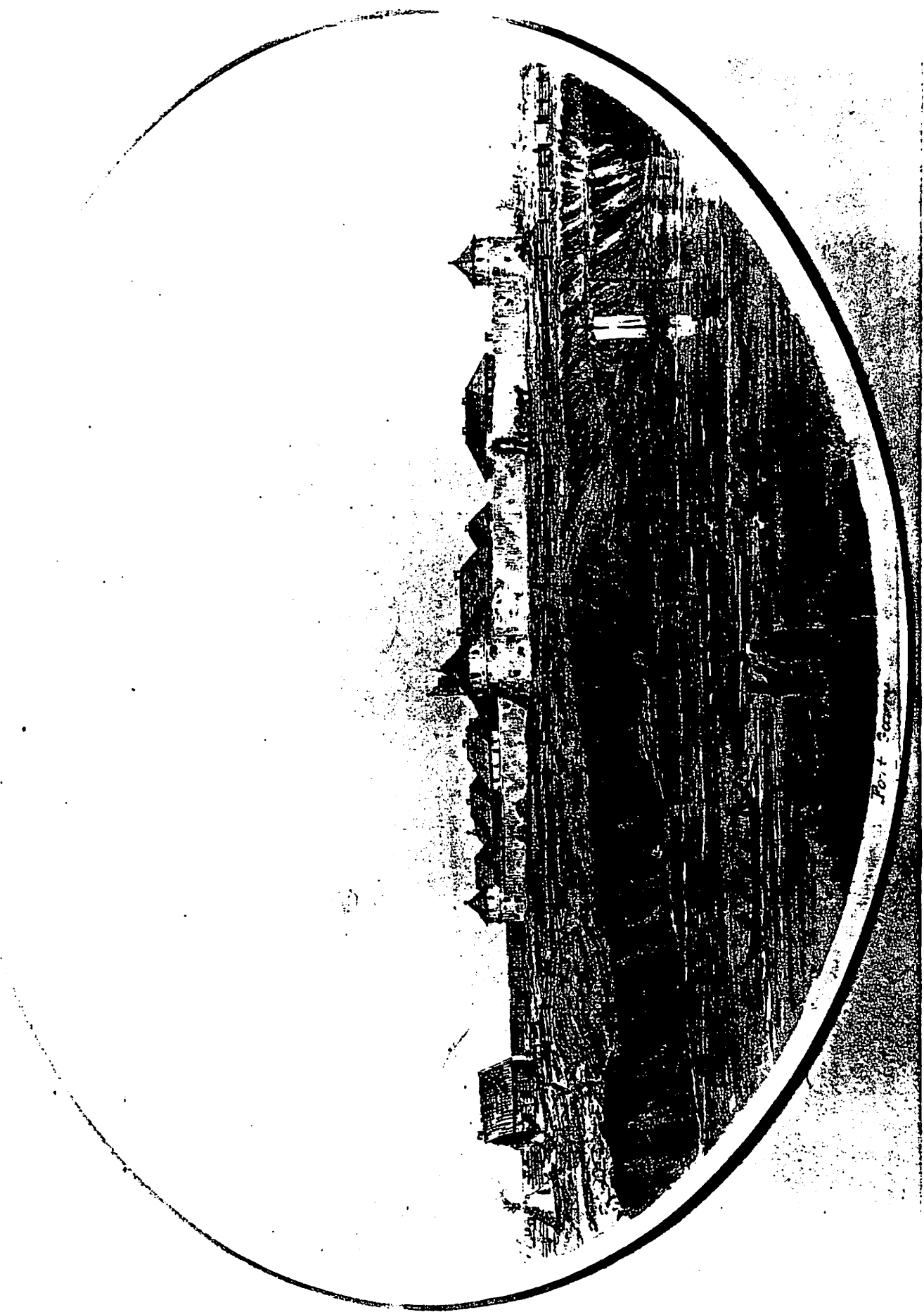
Date: 1857

Aspect: SSW

"Fort Garry." Metropolitan Toronto Library, T 16007.

Note: Figures 17, 18 and 21 represent the only extant views of the western aspect of Upper Fort Garry.





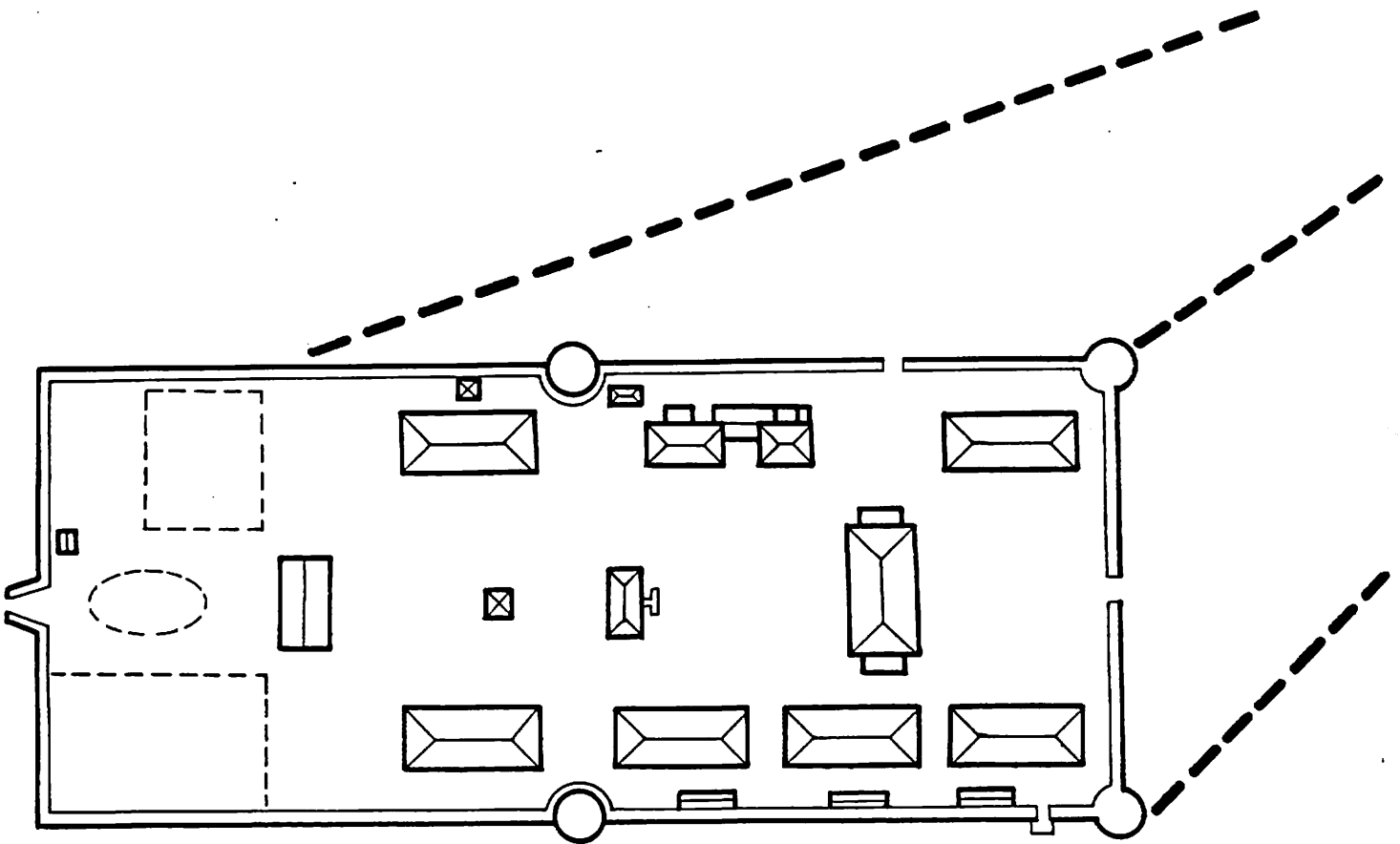
Fort ...

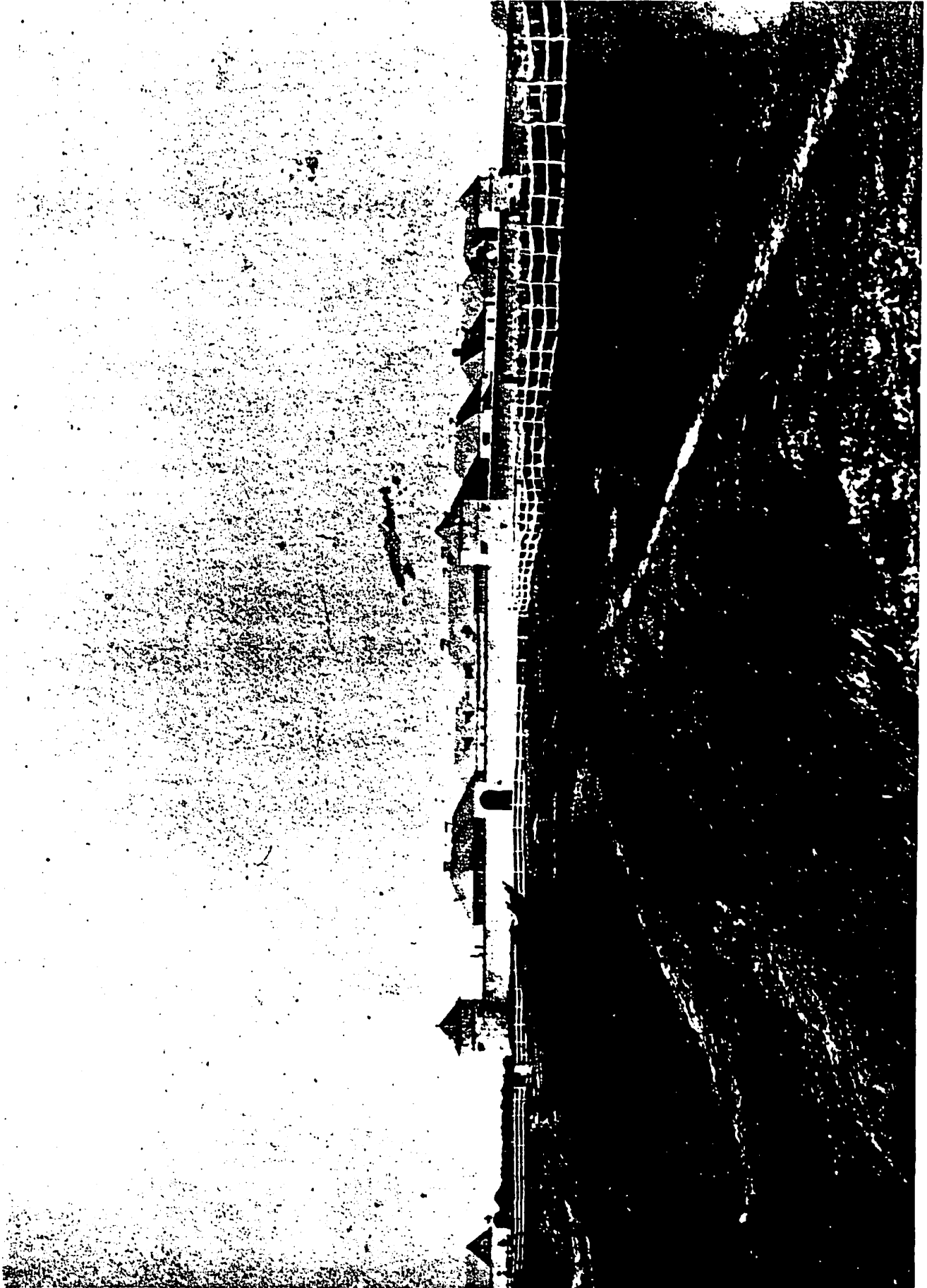
Figure 19

Date: September-October 1858

Aspect: SE

"Fort Garry, 1858." H.L. Hime/Public Archives Canada/  
C-18695.





Competition and Expansion: 1849-57

Overview of Construction and Sources

With reference to my own residence for the next winter, it appears to me under the existing circumstances that the only vacant place would be the rooms formerly occupied by Mr. Thom, and recently by Captain Moody in the Lower Fort.... I will not however leave here until after Mr. Ballenden's arrival.

- Alexander Christie to George Simpson, 18 August 1848.

So ended Alexander Christie's years as the key figure at Upper Fort Garry. John Ballenden did arrive, carefully assisted up the riverbank by his boat crew. He had collapsed while bathing in the Winnipeg River and had been laid up for days at Dog Portage. On 5 September 1848 he wrote Simpson from Fort Garry in a painful hand that he could neither speak, walk nor feed himself, and that he did not expect to recover.<sup>86</sup>

Over the next week, the York Factory flotilla arrived, bearing the unimposing group of soldiers known as the Chelsea Pensioners, who became objects of ridicule during their seven year tour of duty.

The ill auspices attending the post-Christie era at Red River foreshadowed the Ballenden scandal and the Sayer trial, which were nadirs in the company's reputation in Red River. Then, despite his fears, Ballenden rallied and in 1849 took over from Christie, marking the beginning of a



farsighted construction program and robustly competitive trade practices at the fort.

The pensioners remained at the upper fort during the winter of 1848-49. In the next year they were settled on the north bank of the Assiniboine on company property, on lots beginning at Colony Creek some 250 yards west of the fort, and including "Pensioners' Point", known today as "Armstrong's Point".

In 1849, when Simpson made his annual early June call at Red River on his way to the Northern Department Council meeting at Norway House, plans for the extension of the fort's walls were formulated. The walls would double the size of the fort, enclosing the trans-mural stores and magazine, and leaving enough space to build an office and a well head, with a residential compound in the northern quarter of the fort. The 1852 flood delayed plans somewhat, but that year saw the completion of the new office building and well. Construction on the walls continued into 1853, and in 1854 John Ballenden raised wages in an attempt to complete the new bastion gate and "Government House" (see Figure 14). Meanwhile, a garden including shade and fruit trees was planted in the residential compound.

During the 1849-57 period, the upper fort reverted to its former functions as a depot for goods and provisions for the fur trade, a bureaucratic centre for the Northern Department, the administrative centre for the District of Assiniboia, and retail shop for the settlers. It was a period of apparent tranquility and prosperity. The company reconciled itself to a certain amount of fur trade competition, conceding the point which had united the Red River Settlement against it. The insidious effects of competition upon the resources of the land and human relations remained beneath the political surface. In 1855 the greater number of the Chelsea Pensioners returned to England, having left only an occasional mark on the history of the fort.

Sources from this period are relatively few. Of most value is a surviving book of the Fort Garry post journal covering 1852-54, and the useful George Simpson and William Lane papers. From a graphic point of view, the only works belonging to this period are two sketches by John Fleming in 1857, which are rare depictions of the northwest and southwest aspects of the fort. Of inestimable value as a historical source is the ceremonial bastion gate which still stands as a direct link to this period. The foundation of the wooden wall next to the gate and the wooden substructure of the gate have both been excavated.<sup>87</sup>

#### Walls, Flood Damage and Drains

The most important construction project undertaken during this period was the extension of the wall to the dimensions surveyed by Sinclair in 1871 (Figure 24). The fort was extended some 272.58 feet (93.08 m) beyond the northern bastions, about 283 feet (96.26 m) beyond the old north wall. The length of the fort, measured between the outsides of the north and south walls, was 574.05 feet (173.97 m) along the west and 573.06 feet (173.67 m) along the east (see Appendix E). The new wall was only ten feet (3.05 m) high and consisted of a hollow wooden structure three feet (0.91 m) in width, secured upon a stone foundation and braced inside with 14 inch (0.36 m) oaken planks running horizontally and a rammed earth core.<sup>88</sup> It is not known who devised this method. It may have been one of the pensioners whose skills were utilized in the construction of the new buildings. The wall had neither loopholes nor a gallery, which in addition to its ineffectiveness against artillery or prairie fire raises questions about its intended function.

From a letter written by Simpson to Christie in 1849,<sup>89</sup> it seems construction of the wall was to begin the following year. Construction did not progress very quickly, however, due to various factors. The immense oaken timbers were required at a time when convenient stands of timber were exhausted. The sheer amount of work to be done during a limited construction season also played a role. In the Red River Valley the frost would not leave the soil until April and returned in November. The labour supply in Red River was quite precious, and manning the York Factory and Portage la Loche transport brigades always took precedence. The 1852 flood was followed by a season of repairs, but reconstruction and work on other building projects continued simultaneously. On the other hand - and this was probably the factor which made such an ambitious construction program at all possible - the presence of the Chelsea Pensioners put a large pool of skilled and unskilled labour at the company's disposal. By 1854 the company had completed the final details of this project, as a letter from Simpson to John Swanston on 28 June 1855 illustrates:

The price of day labour [is] to be reduced to the old standard, having been raised last autumn to push forward the building, etc., then in progress at Fort Garry.<sup>90</sup>

The first report of progress on the walls' construction is in the post journal of 22 October 1852: "A considerable number of pieces of oak timber have been added within the last three weeks to the walls of the Fort at which a number of men are still employed."<sup>91</sup> During the night of 2-3 July 1853, the sales store was broken into again, and the post journal carries the self-admonition: "Now that the wall is nearly completed all the gates must be shut and locked every night."<sup>92</sup> This reference implies the north stone wall was already partially removed. On 4 November 1853, John Black wrote Simpson that the new wall and gate bastion were nearly complete:

I am glad to say that our wooden wall is now finished so that we are once more able to shut the gate at night which is a great security. The stone gateway with a bastion over it and an arch in front is also nearly complete, and I think you will like the appearance of the place altogether. In a year or so more, if the place were not again turned upside down by Pensioners or something of that kind, the Fort might be put in a perfect state of repair.<sup>93</sup>

Two further references in the Fort Garry post journal elaborate on the walls of the fort. On 3 March 1854 one reads: "The Fort very full of snow, some drifts reaching to the gallery, and almost over the wall."<sup>94</sup> The gallery built in 1835-37 was last depicted in the winter of 1857-58 by George Seaton (Figure 20).

Second, on 29 May 1854 the company was "going on with the removal of the coping from the stone wall".<sup>95</sup> Assumably, this refers to the removal of the old north wall which by this time uselessly bisected the fort. Hewn coping was not easy to come by, and the 1837 handiwork of the Orkney masons who had built the old north gate and wall can possibly still be seen today in the crenellated battlements at the top of the bastion gate. It seems probable that the archway above the 1854 gate - which according to Winnipeg tradition was designed by the same A.H. Murray who sketched the fort in 1846 (Figure 5)<sup>96</sup> - was the same archway fashioned above the first gate in 1837 and depicted by George Finlay in 1846 (Figure 10).

Perhaps the best known event of this period was the flood of 1852. The pressure of the ice and current damaged the dwellings of the Chelsea Pensioners upriver from the fort, swept away the fences that ringed the fort and extended to the Forks, and eroded the decrepit structures of old Fort Garry.<sup>97</sup> In July and August a crew of eight to ten men under the direction of William Drever repaired the pensioners' houses and replaced smaller structures.<sup>98</sup> The fencing appears in various depictions after 1858. It ran

parallel to the fort on both sides down to the water's edge. Another fence ran parallel to the river from the upper fort to buildings of the old fort. It was built of rails supported by bucks (Figures 15, 16 and 21).

A detail of the fort's inner workings that came to light as a result of the flood was the system of drains that lay underneath the surface of the soil. These drains backed up as the floodwaters rose, forcing water into the cellars inside the compound. In normal times they were connected to those buildings which had cellars. As the river silt was being cleared from various drains and the rotted wooden covers were replaced, it was occasionally noted in the post journal: "Two men opening the drain from the cellar under the store"; "Two men cleaning out the cellar of the store."<sup>99</sup> Which store this was cannot be said, nor have we any indication how deep the cellar was. Warre and Vavasour mention only the cellar of the main house in 1846<sup>100</sup> which is corroborated in Finlayson's 1840 journal. In 1948 when the building presently situated at 100 Main Street in Winnipeg was being built, excavations uncovered part of what appears to have been the wooden drainage system of the Government House built in 1853-54.<sup>101</sup> At other Northern Department posts, cellars for roots and vegetables were routinely dug within new buildings after the roof was put on and before the floor was laid.

Comparative information concerning the drainage system comes from York Factory, where fragile and damp soil conditions were countered with an extensive system of drains, covered and lined with wood.<sup>102</sup> At Fort Garry it is possible a drainage system existed beneath the wooden roads or "platforms" inside the fort (Figures 28, 48 and 49).

### Well and Office

During September and October of 1851, a Chelsea Pensioner by the name of Chart supervised the digging of a well in the new half of the fort. The post journal keeper was keenly interested, and Chart's progress can be followed quite closely.<sup>103</sup> On September 2, "Chart commenced today to dig a well". On October 12 there was "about three feet (0.91 m) of water in the well, the depth dug about 42 feet" (12.80 m). On October 13, "Today we have about four feet (1.22 m) water in the well, and may therefore consider the experiment successful. The water appears to be of very good quality". By the last day of October, the water had risen to a height of 23 feet (7.01 m) in the well.

It was not the first well to be sunk at the fort, for an isolated reference in a meteorological journal dated 23 September 1839 reads, "Commenced digging the well this forenoon."<sup>104</sup> What became of this well - Crofton wrote of the need for one in 1846<sup>105</sup> - is clear from Warre and Vavasour's 1846 report:

Good river water - a well was sunk in the Fort, a depth of 50[?] feet (15.24 m), but having omitted to line the sides, the loose nature of the soil caused it to fall in. They had reached a spring of water.<sup>106</sup>

The location of the short-lived 1839 well is unknown, but it is apparent that the 1851 builders remembered the earlier attempt for they knew where to dig, and the well was cribbed with stone.

The 1851 well has its own traditions and legends. It was filled in with the tenacious Red River Valley clay in 1883 when the fort was abandoned. It is said that entombed underneath the gumbo were land title documents and maps referring to the lots held by the Chelsea Pensioners with "interesting" legal implications for downtown Winnipeg, which in 1883 was in the midst of a collapsing land speculation boom.<sup>107</sup> An equally persistent tradition

holds the well as the final resting place, among strata of gunnysacks with gruesome contents, coins tossed over the shoulder and hats a size too large, of documents - even the missing Fort Garry post journals! - which were hastily jettisoned when Louis Riel's provisional government arrived in 1869.

Such stories related to the author from several sources do have a certain amount of corroboration in a letter from James Taylor to Archer Martin on 31 May 1893:

... I have it on the best authority that several bags of books (including land grants and transfers) were lowered into the well in old Fort Garry (during the Red River rebellion?) by the late John McTavish. The well has been filled up, but could be easily excavated as it is lined with stone and is not over 55 feet [16.76 m] in depth - and I am of the opinion that whatever is there is in a good state of preservation. I called the attention of the matter, at one time, to the Historical Society but it was treated with indifference.<sup>108</sup>

Details of a more concrete nature concerning the well can be found in the post journal for the summer of 1852, as the well was emptied and lined with hewn stone up to the level of the ground by Chart and a crew of pensioners, masons and labourers between July 12 and 22. On July 23 the work was completed, and the journal reads, "We are now obtaining fine cool water from the well; a most useful thing in this very warm weather."<sup>109</sup> The water continued to rise at a rate of about six inches (0.15 m) per day.<sup>110</sup> With the stone work completed, three carpenters were set to work on August 2 to erect a frame for raising the water and a "house for covering the well".<sup>111</sup>

The well house was roughly 16 feet square, with a hip roof about eight feet high at the eaves. It was located directly on the main axis of the fort, and its position relative to the office built in 1852 and the 1846 flour store may be determined through analysis of later.

photographs (Figures 40, 46 and 49). The well house appears in John Fleming's 1857 sketch from the northwest (Figure 17), albeit without the bell tower on the point of its hip roof by which it can be recognized in photographs from the 1870s.<sup>112</sup> The baleful spell of the error-ridden 1928 Hazel plan<sup>113</sup> (Figure 32) has contributed to the mystery of the well. It is benignly labelled "Clerk's House" in the plan's legend.

The next significant structure built was the new office building completed in 1852. This building was later photographed many times as it was the former seat of Riel's government. It was also located on the central axis of the fort at the northern end of the older half. Analysis of photographs in relation to the stores and men's house indicate it was built with the usual 18 feet (5.48 m) of clearance to the north wall. It was about 18 feet by 36 feet (5.48 m by 10.96 m) in size, two full storeys in height with a relatively steep hip roof and one chimney. The 1868 Balsillie plan and photographs from 1874 (Figure 45) depict stairs rising from both east and west to an intermediate landing about six stairs below the second floor. This was the "gallery" from which Donald A. Smith addressed the assembled Red River settlers in 1870.<sup>114</sup> In photographs from 1878, a set of stairs leads from the east to a second floor landing or gallery (Figure 46).

Before 1852, the office where accounts and records were kept by a handful of European clerks was situated in the northern end of the sales store. In winter they moved over to the office, which had also been used by Crofton, in the main house which was better heated.<sup>115</sup> In 1852 A.W. Buchanan, then in charge of the upper fort, hired local carpenters to make "some alterations on the wing of the house occupied at present by Major Caldwell [the main house] which wing is intended for an Office for myself in place of the present one which is inconveniently situated".<sup>116</sup>



Hazel's legend indicates the new office building as a mess room in 1876, and it seems only the second floor was used as an office.<sup>117</sup> This floor also served as the office for the District of Assiniboia, which explains why the Riel government was seated here. The main floor probably served as the mess for officers, as indicated by Hazel, for it was used for a community dance in 1870.<sup>118</sup>

### Dwelling Houses

The building known as Government House was completed in 1854 as part of the plans "chalked out" by Simpson in 1849. It was intended as the residence for the senior company officers at Red River, replacing the Main House which had been occupied continuously by the ranking military officer in Red River since 1846. As already mentioned, the recorder's house had been taken over by the company's officers, while at the same time the old Main House had not been kept up well. Not only had existing official dwelling space been cramped and less refined for some time, but the HBC was finding it necessary to post two senior officers to Red River to take charge of fur trade and commercial affairs.

No details of the construction of the house are recorded beyond its completion date in 1854. It measured about 48 feet by 28 feet (14.63 m by 8.53 m) and stood about 115 feet (35.05 m) from the north bastion gate. Before 1857 a one-storey wing was built onto the western end, which was still extant in 1878 when it apparently served as a conservatory.<sup>119</sup> A similar extension is depicted in Balsillie's plan of the fort as he remembered it to have appeared about 1868 (Figures 15 and 16), but there is no written evidence of it. The main entrance was centred on

the north side, and at least three different verandas were depicted at various times on that side.

Since Government House is today probably the best known building associated with the fort, it is necessary to point out that the way the house appears in photographs from the late 1870s was not the way it was built in 1854. Most photographs of this building date from 1878, depicting a three-storey gable-roofed house (Figure 41). John Fleming's 1857 views of the fort, however, clearly depict a two-and-one-half storey hip-roofed building with gables very similar in style to the other buildings in the fort.

No archival records note the addition of the third storey, but depictions up to and including 1875, the last being a painting by W.F. Lynn,<sup>120</sup> either show the hip roof or lack the high roof line that clearly identified Government House later. The first depictions to include the later silhouette are a ca. 1875 painting by Mary Kennedy<sup>121</sup> and a ca. 1875 photograph.<sup>122</sup>

When Robert Miller Christy visited the site in 1887, he noted:

The Governors House still stands though in a dilapidated condition, the greater part of it being uninhabited. It has had a storey added of late years [See Appendix C].<sup>123</sup>

One photograph (Figure 50) shows the top floor was apparently uninhabited in 1885.<sup>124</sup>

One explanation of this curious expansion may be offered. During the early 1850s traditional post-and-beam construction was still unchallenged at Upper Fort Garry. The 1852 office building was erected in this style, and the lower part of Government House could also have been built using this method. However, by 1875 stud frame construction had replaced the post-and-beam construction, and it seems the relatively much lighter weight stud frame would be attempted atop the existing structure. It is ironic that

the stud frame storey was abandoned to be survived by the older post-and-beam lower structure.

In 1854 four buildings were used as dwellings: the old Main House, recorder's house, the Men's House and the new Government House. It is possible to develop a limited picture of the interior of the fort's dwelling houses from letters which describe the allocation of rooms. Some idea of the relative respectability of the various houses can also be formed. With the old main house being turned over to Caldwell of the pensioners in accordance with his office as Governor of Assiniboia in 1848, the recorder's house was in turn established as the company's chief residence. As Simpson wrote to George Colville on 1 May 1851, this arrangement was attended by social unease:

In consequence of the greater part of the furniture at Fort Garry having been made over the Major Caldwell, there was not sufficient for the use of the Company's officer conducting Commercial affairs at the Settlement. To supply this deficiency and in order that the residence of the Company's representative might make a respectable appearance, Mr. Ballenden had some furniture made, the cost of which about sixty pounds. I believe he charged this to his own private account for no reason I can ascertain except to prevent any feeling of jealousy on the part of Major Caldwell at the better style in which the Company's agent was lodged, as compared with the Governor of Assiniboia.

The furniture in question I understand is required in order to complete the domestic appointments of the establishment for the use of yourself and the Company's officers in the Settlement so that I think ... Mr. Ballenden should be refunded his outlay upon it.<sup>125</sup>

In 1854 F.G. Johnson arrived in Red River to replace Adam Thom as recorder, the anomalous office as legal counsel to the company and magistrate and occasional Governor of the District of Assiniboia. He was paid by the company on the same level as an officer, allotted two rooms upstairs in Government House, and in general treated as a company

employee, as Simpson's letter of 1 February 1855 indicates:

I have been informed that there is a possibility of your getting married in the course of the spring... As such change in your condition would of course terminate the arrangement ... whereby you are furnished with rooms in Fort Garry and a seat at the Company's mess table, I consider it advisable to state at once the accommodations that will be provided you in the event of your taking a wife...

It will be necessary for you to remove to the Lower Fort where you will be put in occupation of the rooms Mr. Thom inhabited for several years and Mr. Ballenden will further provide the requisite kitchen accommodations. You will have to provide your own table arrangements, and to furnish your apartments.<sup>126</sup>

Simpson was frequently obliged to intervene in the affairs of the fort, as the standard of living enjoyed by officers at Red River rose to uneconomical levels. In June 1855 Simpson limited the number of persons who worked as servants to company officers to one blacksmith, one groom, one waiter, one female cook, one housemaid and one outdoor man. Only two messes were to be allowed at the fort, "one for gentlemen and the other for officers' families". In the event of marriage, no servant was allowed to move his family into the fort without approval. An inventory of company furniture was to be taken and a moratorium on further purchases imposed. As well, the departure of the Chelsea Pensioners in 1855 allowed the old main house to be boarded up.

The house now occupied by Col. Caldwell and Captain Hill [is] to be shut up after their departure until further orders, being of course occasionally dried and examined to see that windows are closed... The furniture in Col. Caldwell's house to remain there.<sup>127</sup>

In the same letter, Simpson described arrangements for the two floors of Government House:

[J.S.] Clouston ... to the main house where he is to have two rooms upstairs. The Recorder having also two rooms and one room left vacant for the use of strangers. Mr. Swanston and his family to occupy the three rooms in the lower part of the house.<sup>128</sup>

This letter indicates Johnston was in fact not yet married at this time. Another letter from Simpson to John Ballenden, who was living in the recorder's house, completes the picture of the three principal dwelling houses for June 1855:

I think it might be convenient that, before my arrival you removed with your family to the Lower Fort, leaving them and going up and down as your presence requires.<sup>129</sup>

These arrangements leave only the storekeeper Magnus Linklater, who was also allowed to keep his family at the fort, and clerks Joseph Fortescue and James McKenzie unaccounted for.<sup>130</sup> They probably lived in the Men's House. Linklater and his family were given a house of their own in 1859.

This lengthy letter contains a reference to "the houses now occupied by Dr. Cowan and Mr. [J.S.] Clouston to be also shut up..." One of these houses may be the old gaol house, which was occasionally used as a military hospital and emergency residence.<sup>131</sup> Or it may be that one of the buildings known to have been connected to Government House dates from this period. Finally, the houses mentioned may in fact have been part of the Lower Fort Garry complex.

It was during this period that the gardens in the northern residential part of the fort were laid out. An oval ornamental garden lay between the gate and the house. To the east of the gate appears a one-storey gable-roofed structure which may be a garden house (Figure 17). The trees planted in the 1850s show up on photographs from

the 1870s as mature, gracious shade trees. A fruit garden lay to the west of the gate and a kitchen garden to the east (Figure 30).<sup>132</sup>

In summary, it should be reiterated that this period of construction is not well documented. At particular issue are the outshots and outbuildings associated later with Government House, which may date from this period. The reader of Guinn (1980) may wonder about the two stores that he says were built north of the stone walls in 1854.<sup>133</sup> Guinn's assertion that they were completed in that year seems to be based on John Black's request of 19 April 1854 to William Lane for stones to support the corners of the hastily built 1846 and 1848 stores, which were the newest and furthest north of any stores extant until 1860.

There are six cut stones wanted here for putting under the two new stores next our Dwelling House, of 8 x 12 x 12 inches, and if there are any of these dimensions at the Lower Fort, please lay them aside, so as to be ready for being sent up by the first chance that may occur; or if there are none ready, I wish you would direct Gibeault to prepare the stones. Eight inches is the thickness; and the stones must be of that thickness, neither more nor less; but although twelve inches are given as the dimensions in the other directions, it is not essential that we should have that size exactly either way: an inch or two more or less on either end will not matter. Of course the stones will need to be dressed only on the outside faces.<sup>134</sup>

The construction completed in 1854 was also an architectural statement of the company's increasingly complex social organization. The 1852 office building was intended to be the administrative and bureaucratic focus of the fort. It faced southwards and stood at the heart of the workaday southern section of the fort. In contrast to the symbolism of the office, the new Government House completed in 1854 was the focus of the residential compound in the

northern quarter of the fort, facing the ceremonial gateway to the north. In this way the fort came to be divided into two areas with their backs to each other, emphasizing the company's productive means and its social status.

Figure 20

Date: Winter 1857-58

Aspect: NE

"Men's Barracks from the Officers' Mess Room Window, Fort Garry, Winter of 1857-58." Public Archives Canada/C-1066.



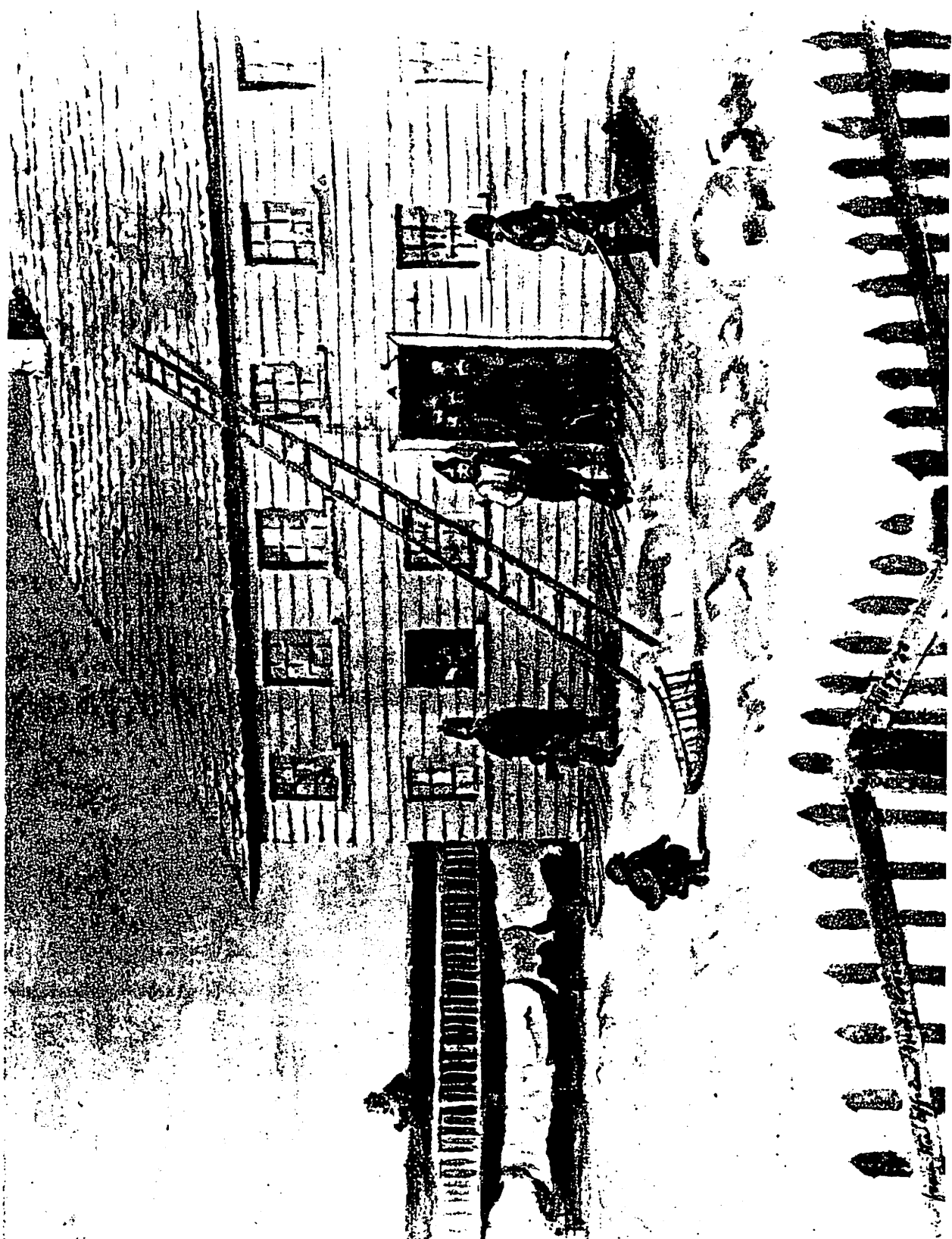


Figure 21

Date: ca. 1858

Aspect: SSW

"Fort Garry, Manitoba." Public Archives Canada.

Note: The provenience of this photograph is cast into doubt by internal evidence depicting a small structure against the outside of the west wall, which may have been built in September 1859.

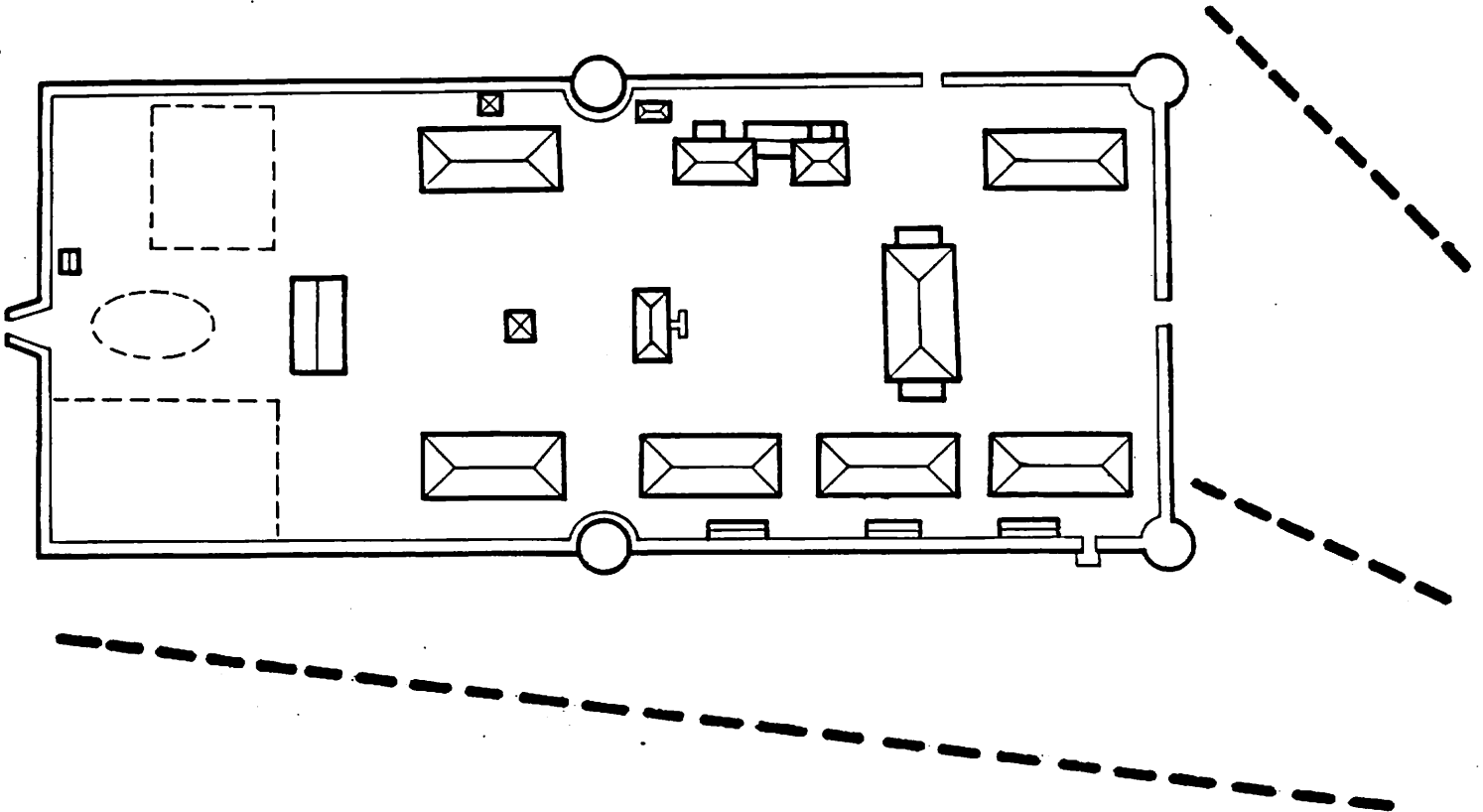


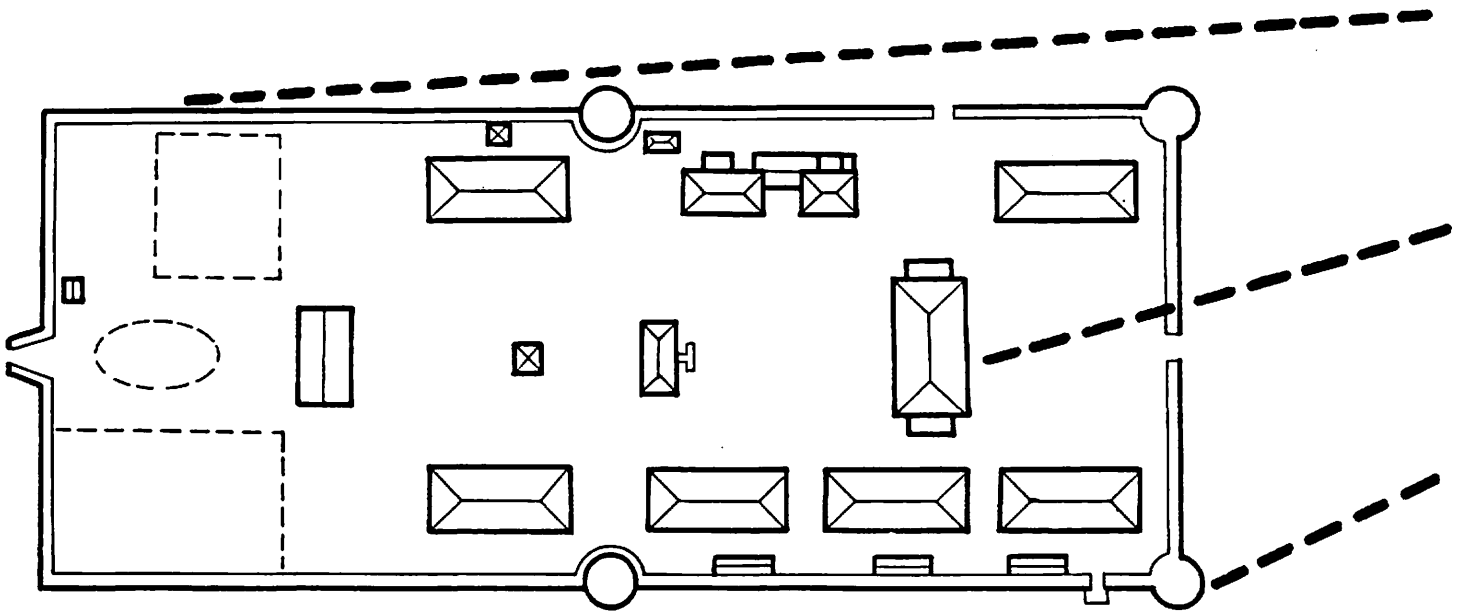


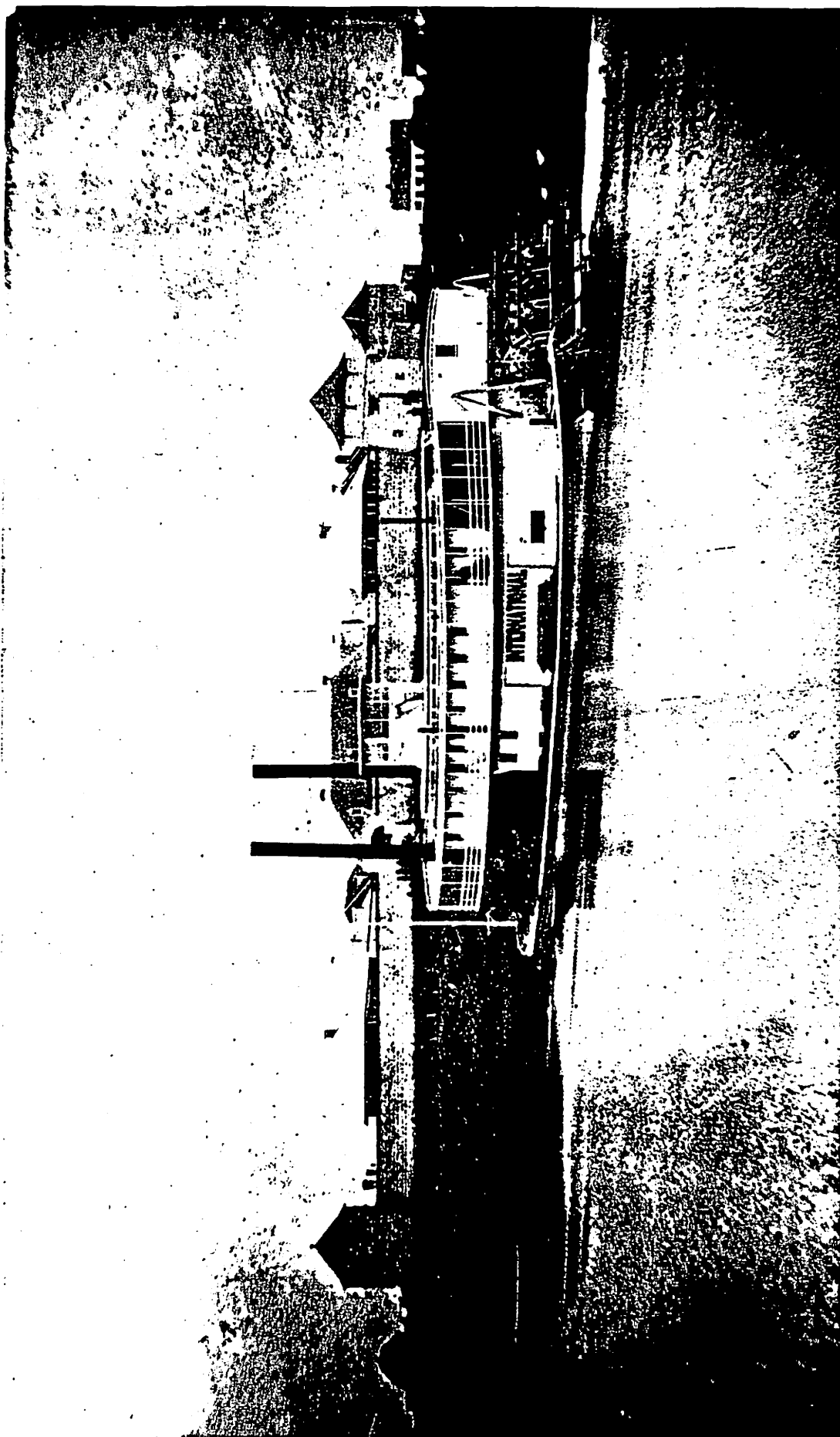
Figure 22

Date: [ca. 1869]

Aspect: SSE

"Steamer International at Fort Garry, Manitoba, for Mr. Jolly." Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University, No. 61,394-Misc. I.





## Entrepôt for the North-West: 1858-70

### Summary and Sources

During this period, the tensions within Red River society surfaced as the settlement evolved from a rural character to that of a town. At the upper fort, the Royal Canadian Regiment was brought in from 1857 to 1862 to buttress the old order. Yet even the Hudson's Bay Company was part of the changes. With the retreat of George Simpson from active control, the company was led by men who were influenced by the same ideology of a progressive Canadian empire which actively undermined the ancient monopoly. A key event of this period was the advance of the American railhead to the Mississippi in 1858 which made the York Factory route relatively uneconomical. A direct result was that Red River became the principal company and private entrepôt for the North-West. Part of the company's adjustment was the transfer of William Mactavish, who had been at York Factory since 1852, to Upper Fort Garry. Popular interest in the United States and Canada focused on the quaint, isolated settlement on the Red River, and chronicles of both official and private visitors became typical. The developing world had reached the settlement, and partly in response, partly in reaction, a bourgeois state was organized in 1869 under Louis Riel with the broad support of the Métis community. A new, more formal and overt political era had begun.

Since the stores used by the Sixth Foot were again pressed into service as barracks in 1857 and the shifting of trade routes in 1858 increased the volume of goods passing through Fort Garry, the company once more faced a shortage of storage space. In 1860 two stores were built in the northeast corner of the fort, and around 1869 a temporary store was erected against the inside of the south wall. The coming of the Rifles meant the three oldest stores were once more converted into barracks. Outbuildings such as latrines, cookhouses, ablution shed, kitchens and a workshop which was shared by the company were constructed. The neat organization envisioned by Swanston in 1853 crumbled as the functions of the fort were once more reorganized. A fence was built across the inside of the fort between the stores and Government House to protect the residences from the hurly-burly of barrack and fur trade life. Then the construction of two stores within the residential sanctuary in 1860 disturbed even this division.

The sources for this period include, until 1860, the Simpson correspondence and the Fort Garry post journal. The correspondence of William MacTavish and Donald Smith follows, and John Balmer of the Rifles left an account of his Red River days.<sup>135</sup> The plan drawn by John Balsillie depicting the fort as it stood in 1868, although not drawn to scale, is most useful (Figures 15 and 16). The documentary record of this period would remain thin, however, were it not for the 1857 arrival of photographer H.L. Hime with the Palliser exploration expedition, which heralds a new era of historical source material. The first photographs of the fort, used in conjunction with sketches and paintings from a wide variety of artists, give the first true pictures of many of the older buildings and, for the purposes of dating structures, provide an irrefutable record of contemporaneous structures. Of primary importance would

be the discovery of a plan to which Simpson makes reference in a letter of 5 July 1857 to C.E. Osborn, who together with Major George Seton was in charge of preparations for the arrival of the Rifles: "I have to thank you for sending me a plan of Fort Garry and the arrangements of the barrack".<sup>136</sup> A search at the Public Archives of Canada, Public Archives of Manitoba and Hudson's Bay Company Archives failed to unearth the plan. One is left to trust serendipity for the discovery of the plan, if it exists at all.



Figure 23

Date: 1870

Aspect: Plan

"Upper Fort Garry, 1870." Brad Loewen and Gregory Monks,  
1986.

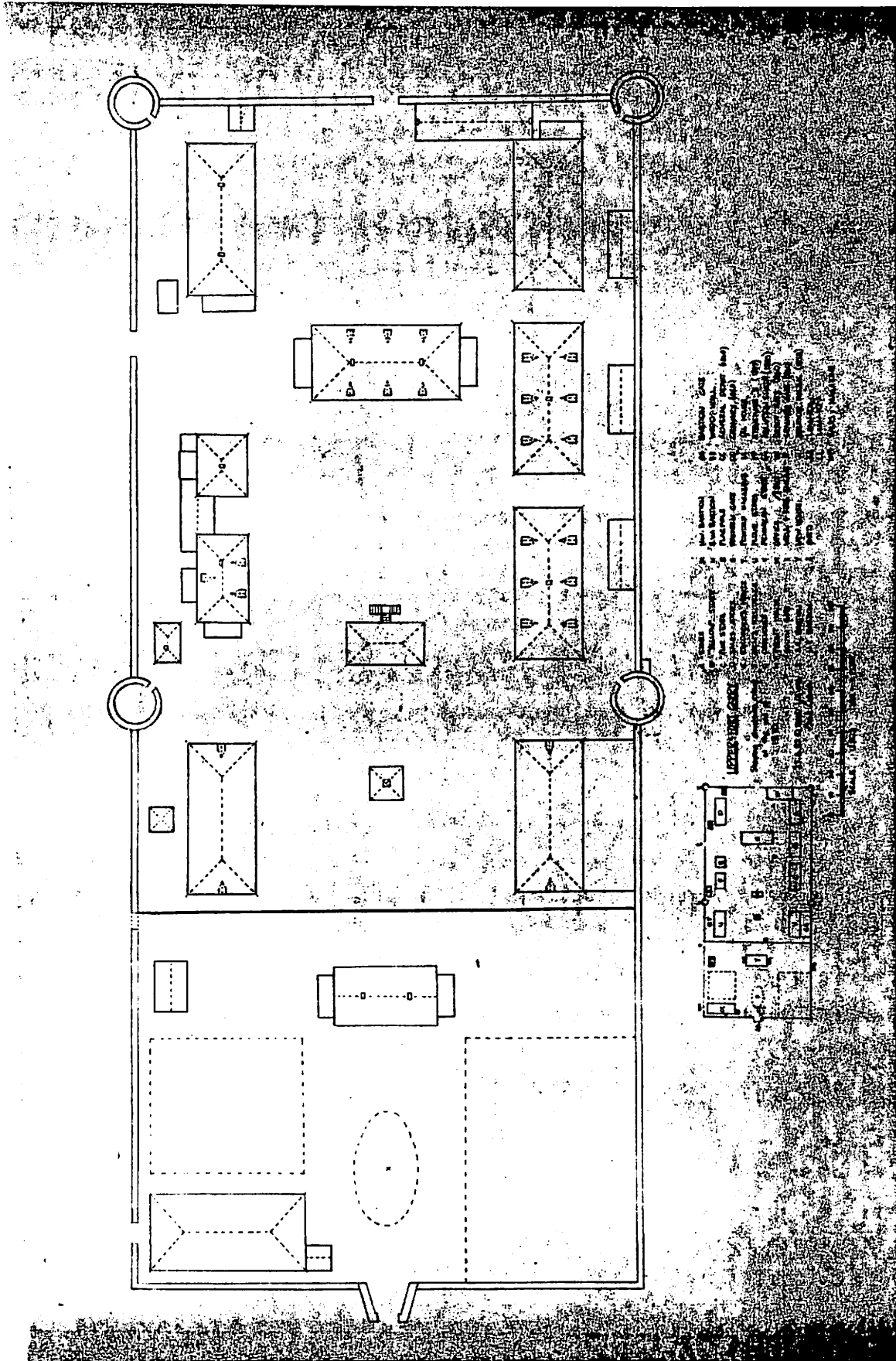
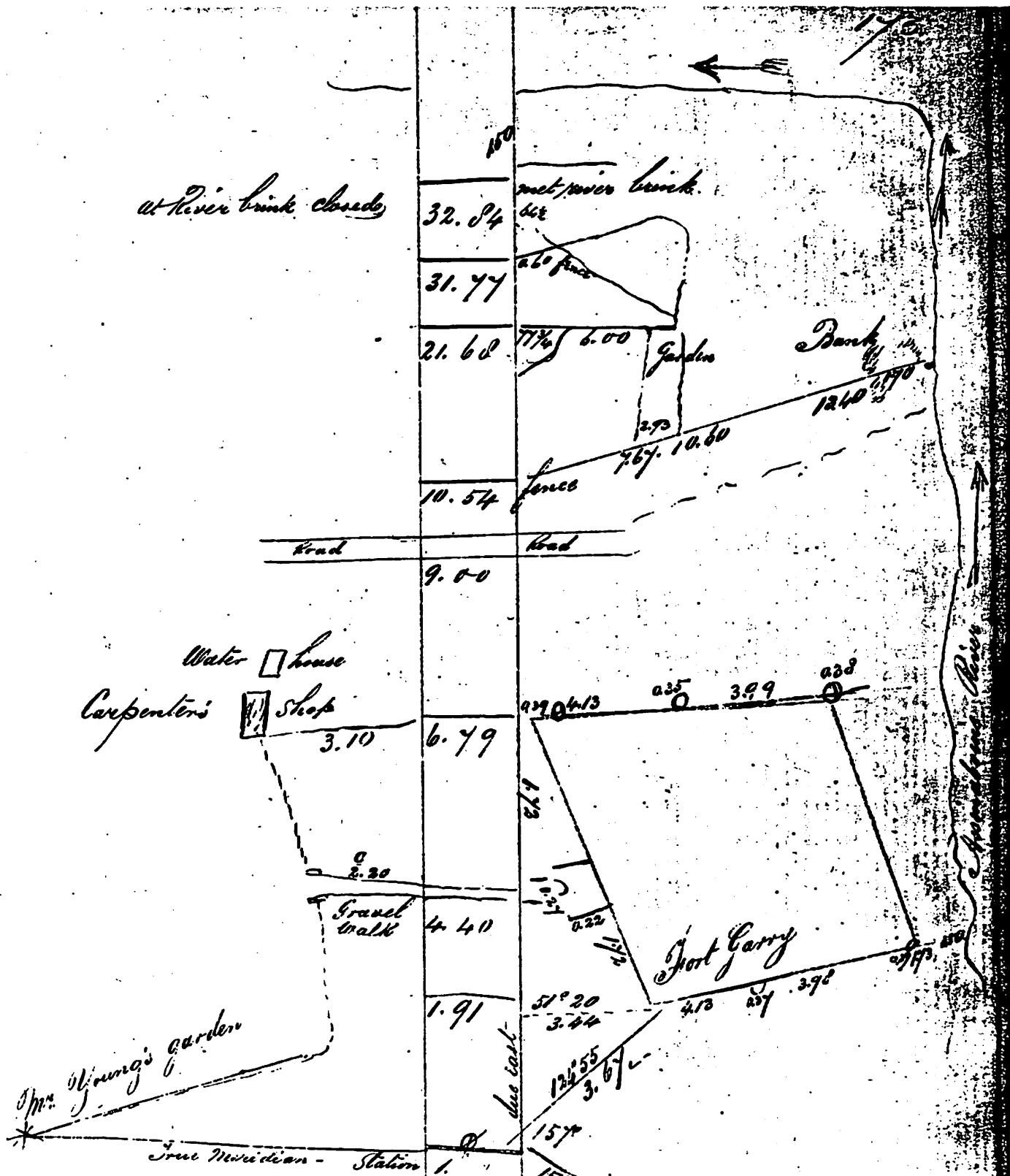


Figure 24

Date: 1871

Aspect: Plan

"Survey fields notes, Upper Fort Garry," by Duncan Sinclair,  
Dominion Land Surveyor. Manitoba Archives, FSNB #535, p.  
173.



of Fort Carry (see Sketch garden. thence extended Southward towards the Northern wall. Began to survey from a Meridian taken from the Revd Mr. Young of Winnipeg.

Construction Related to the Royal Canadian Rifles

On 21 April 1857 Simpson wrote John Swanston from Lachine with the news that the Royal Canadian Rifles would be arriving together with 12 of their families<sup>137</sup> later that year:

There is every possibility of a small detachment of troops being stationed at Fort Garry this season... You must begin quickly for their reception. The force will be 120 men and 6 officers, who are to be quartered at the Upper Fort. You must not incur any expense in preparing the barracks, as an Engineer Officer and Chief of Works will accompany me from hence by canoe on whom will devolve the task of fitting up the buildings to be used by the troops, the Company furnishing labour and materials for the work that may be deemed necessary.<sup>138</sup>

A further logistical issue dealt with barrack furnishings, which were worked out according to Simpson's plan:

As regards bedding and barrack utensils ... it would be impossible to procure them at Red River. The full allowance of bedding should be sent and I think an extra blanket to each man would be advisable. Of barrack utensils, the following can be furnished on the spot: bedsteads, tables, chairs, forms, coal horses, tubs and wood horses.<sup>139</sup>

The preparations were overseen by Major George Seton, who was initially given the two southern stores in the west row for use as barracks. This proved insufficient, for on 5 July 1857 Simpson wrote Seton:

The wing of the main house and the portion of the third store which you consider necessary for the proper accommodation of the troops shall be made over to you.<sup>140</sup>

The barracks were the three oldest stores, and the house in the quotation was the old main house which was to be used once more as an officers' quarters. Since having been boarded up in 1855, it had apparently been pressed into use for the recorder F.G. Johnson, married by this time and

carrying the title of Governor of Assiniboia.<sup>141</sup> Part of this house was also to be sealed off and used as a military hospital, as Simpson informed MacTavish on July 5:

The whole of the main house at Fort Garry to be given up as officers' quarters, and a part of the 3rd store adjoining those already made over to the soldiers. Dr. Bunn to be placed in the front house [Government House] say the two rooms forming the wing on the west side, with access from the front. The inner communication between the wing and the main house to be filled up.<sup>142</sup>

A summary of the arrangements made for the troops, apparently written by Simpson with the lost Osborn plan before him, was sent to London:

Two large two-storey buildings and a part of the third formerly occupied by the 6th Reg. are set apart for the soldiers quarters and hospital; one of the bastions will be used as a guardhouse, and another as a prison. The upper part of the latter serving for tailors and shoemakers. Warehouses and bins and other outdoor accommodation will be erected immediately. The main dwelling house has been entirely given up to the officers. Mr. Johnson who at present occupies it will move to a smaller dwelling alongside.<sup>143</sup>

These arrangements were evidently satisfactory for the Rifles when they finally arrived via York Factory, for John Balmer noted in his journal on 13 October 1857:

One Major Seaton [sic] of our Corps had been sent in advance Via the U.S. Route in order to see preparations made for our accommodation, and right nobly he had done it. Several of the large store houses had been fitted up for the comfort and convenience of the men, and a separate apartment for each married man.<sup>144</sup>

Certain questions remain for the historian. The "smaller house alongside" for Johnson remains unidentified, although it was probably the original recorder's house. The hospital's final location appears to have been unresolved and seemed to follow the luckless recorder, for Simpson

wrote Mactavish on 9 June 1858: "The house now occupied by Mr. Johnson to be given up to the military for a hospital when he leaves."<sup>145</sup> The hospital had, however, been in operation during the previous winter at some location, for Simpson wrote Mactavish on 18 February 1858:

In reply to sundry complaints made by Dr. Stranaghan in reference to the non-shipment of medical comforts, want of milk for the hospital, etc. I have to beg you will give effect to the assurances I have given that every effort shall be made to convey the Medical comforts from York Factory to Red River this season, and that the hospital shall be provided with any milk required for patients at the expense of the HB Co.<sup>146</sup>

In 1858 Johnson travelled to Montreal, freeing up his house for the hospital, and in the fall the carpenter Leask was "putting up shelves in the new military hospital" and "preparing the outer door of the hospital".<sup>147</sup> The location of the 1858 hospital is unknown. However, the 1846-48 hospital was in the former jail, as J.F. Crofton wrote: "The hospital is outside the Fort, in a Building, formerly the Gaol."<sup>148</sup> This building was used again as a jail in 1853 to 1855, but proved notably insecure,<sup>149</sup> so Norway House was used as a jail instead (Appendix A). This clue is useful only in that the accommodation made for the Sixth Foot was used as a model for the Royal Canadian Rifles.

Returning to Simpson's description, it is not known which two bastions were used by the military, although the two western ones seem the more likely. In July 1858 Leask was "putting up shelves in the Bastion used as a Barrack store",<sup>150</sup> and in November the tinsmith Carrière was "arranging a stove for the Shoemaking shop".<sup>151</sup>

Seton, meanwhile, remained dissatisfied with the arrangements he was able to make for Balmer's troops. He wrote to Simpson on 12 January 1858:

You are not perhaps aware that this house [the old Main House - B.L.] although perhaps a good enough one for a family (in Red River) is not suited as a Barrack -- with the exception of my room and the mess room. The appointments are small, dark and ill contrived; and what would prevent a married officer living in the house, even supposing he could put up with the one or two very small rooms allotted to him, is the fact that every word, and every sound even the splashing of water is distinctly heard from room to room -- decency would utterly forbid any lady living under these circumstances in a house full of single men.<sup>152</sup>

Seton spoke to Mactavish at Fort Garry regarding his needs, which Mactavish duly communicated to Simpson in Montreal. In Simpson's 15 January 1858 letter to William Eyre of the Rifles in Montreal, he answers the queries in Mactavish's letter:

Query: Major Seton lately informed me that if the troops remained here, new barracks would have to be built for them, as their present quarters are quite unfit: he also tells me that a forge must be built next spring for the Armourer.

Answer: A forge for the armourer being required, should be constructed as desired by Major Seton. We cannot, however, undertake to build new barracks at the present....<sup>153</sup>

Although this description highlights the friction between the company and the military, the relationship was on the whole conducted along professional lines. The Rifles were model tenants at the fort, as the daily entries of the post journals indicate. For its part, the company had learnt much about sharing its establishment with a garrison since 1846.

### Smaller Buildings

Many of the smaller buildings erected after 1857 related to the military or to Upper Fort Garry's new role as



a manufacturing centre for the fur trade which it had inherited from York Factory. Partially at the military's prompting, the HBC began employing a tinsmith, Louison Carrière, in the spring of 1858.<sup>154</sup> The forge cannot be definitely located, but may have been in the northeast bastion, downwind against the danger of fire to the fort. The forge itself was operational by early May 1858. A year later, workshops for the various craftsmen employed by the company were built north of the fort. The post journal records the production of a wide variety of articles, including tin pots, scythes, door hinges and handles, hay forks, bushings for cart wheels, "sundries and brass chains for the Roman Catholic Mission", and "leg pins for Captain Palliser and knee nails for the boats".<sup>155</sup>

The forge required a steady supply of charcoal which was prepared in "charcoal pits". They were carefully piled full of wood, fired, covered over with earth to be allowed to smoulder, and finally raked out. The charcoal was carried to the forge which had a "loft" for the reception of the charcoal. The pits were tended almost daily by two day labourers. There are also related references to "kilns" and "ash pits". References to these structures in the post journal are ambiguous, but there was more than one such pit, one known as the "Garrison ash pit". The ash pits may be compared to those at other posts, Fort Simpson for example, where the ash was used in the production of soap and lime for mortar.<sup>156</sup> With reference to the kilns, we know that in 1853 another kiln was maintained,<sup>157</sup> while in 1854 a kiln was in operation for smoking hams.<sup>158</sup> In May 1860, in connection with a renewal of construction, the kilns were used to cure green plank.<sup>159</sup>

Before the shift in transport routes, HBC artisans worked as tinsmiths, coopers, tailors, armourers and cobblers at York Factory, and their handiwork was sent inland

with the spring brigades. Some of this work shifted to Red River after 1858 as indicated by the construction of the forge. It was to accommodate these tradesmen that a workshop was built some 205 feet (62.48 m) north of the fort's walls in September 1859<sup>160</sup> (Figure 23). On 14 September 1859, "Leask, Leith, and Webb commenced laying the foundation of the new workshop".<sup>161</sup> Since none of these men was a mason, the building likely rested on a wooden foundation. It was last recorded by the surveyor Duncan Sinclair in 1871. The workshop was demolished and its site disturbed by the construction of the Land Titles Building, completed in 1874.

The post journal for 1858-60 contains many references to details of buildings which can only occasionally be placed in a meaningful context. Numerous references to cleaning the stovepipes and chimneys indicate winter brought the fear of conflagration, and the stoves in the barracks were rather ill-constructed or fueled by poorly-burning wood. Vast quantities of firewood were floated down the Assiniboine in rafts and piled in the woodyard, which lay some 110-120 feet (33.53-36.58 m) west of the fort (Figures 15 and 16).

The soldiers and officers maintained vegetable gardens, growing crops such as potatoes and turnips, staples of the North-West diet. These crops were stored in roothouses in the cellar of the old main house and perhaps in a structure built into the riverbank.

The evidence for a riverbank roothouse are a group of post journal entries beginning on 13 April 1853, which suggest a location near the water: "The ice still sticks fast and the water is rising fast. Had to remove the roots from the roothouse."<sup>162</sup> In September 1858 another roothouse was built by Leask for the soldiers<sup>163</sup> which was in danger of flooding in May of 1859: "In the evening the people took

the potatoes out of the roothouse and put them in the store."<sup>164</sup>

Also, a survey map from 1874 showing the settlement at Portage la Prairie, some 60 miles (95 km) to the west on an oxbow of the Assiniboine, depicts a series of "roothouses" imbedded in the north bank. At least one of these structures is still visible. It protrudes only a foot or two above the top of the bank with a low entrance to the south. It is presented here as evidence of the type of structure known as a roothouse during this period.

In 1857 the soldiers were put in possession of a "cookhouse", but apparently not the one used as a men's kitchen by the company. These kitchens were characterized in the journal mainly by their insatiable demand for wood and water. A few more helpful references show they had stone chimneys and iron water tanks. In June 1858 the company began repairs to the soldiers' cookhouse. Leask the carpenter prepared wood and on July 21 "the soldiers pitched a tent for cooking and the Baker shifted over to our men's Kitchen as the Soldiers' Cookhouse is to be repaired and the chimney rebuilt".<sup>165</sup> The roof was taken off, the walls raised by the addition of logs, and a new chimney of stone built. The new walls were plastered, a partition was built inside, and the new roof shingled. Repairs resumed in 1859 when Baillie the tinsmith was to "rivet the new boiler for the Soldiers' kitchen".<sup>166</sup> The location and identity of this kitchen remain unknown.

Another building which is unidentified was known as the washhouse which was used for laundry. It was built in 1858 with a sewage drain, iron boilers and a stone chimney which was rebuilt a year later.<sup>167</sup> Throughout the North-West, chimneys had to be repaired almost annually, owing to the materials used as mortar. There is, however, no evidence to suggest the upper chimneys were made of mortar and wattle, as was typical at other company posts. On 29 December 1859

the blacksmith Carrière "arranged a fireboard for the Soldiers' wash house".<sup>168</sup>

Photographs from this period reveal the space between the west row of stores, used as barracks, and the west wall as well as the space between the southern store and the south wall were occupied by low buildings, some with chimneys (Figure 21).<sup>169</sup> This is the most likely location for the soldiers' cookhouse, the "ablution shed" built in 1859,<sup>170</sup> and the soldiers' latrines. Archaeological excavations have uncovered one of these latrines, as well as one dating to 1846-48.<sup>171</sup> In 1858 a "urinal" was built, the pit having to be emptied in midwinter.<sup>172</sup>

In August 1859 another latrine was built. During construction, the pit caved in and had to be picketed up. By September this building was framed, shingled, and given a door, as indicated by an enigmatic entry in the post journal: "Gadoua ... carting away the rubbish broken out of the wall for the privy door."<sup>173</sup> It may be this privy was outside the fort's stone wall. Photographs dating to this period show a structure outside the wall just south of the northwest bastion, and one photograph depicts a structure some 50 feet north of the southwest bastion (Figure 21).<sup>174</sup> Excavations have revealed evidence of construction against the outside of the wall near this point.<sup>175</sup> The space between the barracks and wall may have been used up by this time. A final piece of information relating to latrines is found in the Robert Miller Christy papers which contain a sketch of the fort as it remained in 1887, clearly depicting and identifying a latrine in the southwest corner complete with seat holes (Figure 31).

The carpenter was kept busy with repairs and renovations for the military, such as replacing panes in the barrack windows, putting up a partition in the yellow store

and repairing the barracks roof.<sup>176</sup> In May 1858 Leask and Carrière put jalousies on the windows in accordance with military regulations,<sup>177</sup> and in autumn double windows were installed. Other minor repairs were made to the floors of the pemmican store, flour store, men's house "and the garret windows of the same".<sup>178</sup> The various houses in the fort were plastered regularly and the windows fixed with gauze frames to ward away the insects.<sup>179</sup> Leask also built a bed for the men's house and "double windows for Mr. Linklater's house",<sup>180</sup> while "Carriere made fire dogs for Mr. Armstrong's room".<sup>181</sup> These references are all self-explanatory, save that to Mr. Linklater's house. The storekeeper was by now living in the recorder's house with his "considerable family".

#### Stores, Walls and Dwelling Houses

The presence of the Rifles and the shift in transport routes strained the HBC's storage capacity at Red River. At first the lower fort was used, but that too became insufficient. A series of correspondence which led to the construction in 1860 of the "General Depot" and a smaller granary in the northeast area of the fort began when Simpson wrote Mactavish on 10 December 1857:

If accommodation at the Upper and Lower Forts be insufficient for the Company's business, it will of course be necessary to erect another store or stores. But as the Upper Fort is already dangerously crowded (as regards the risk of fire) it would be better to increase the storage at the Lower establishment, where there is an abundance of space for building.<sup>182</sup>

A few weeks later, Simpson again wrote in apparent response to a letter that has not survived:

As the storage at the Upper Fort proves insufficient I approve of your collecting material for the purpose of erecting such further buildings as may be considered necessary.<sup>183</sup>

On 6 October 1859, nearly two years after the idea was first broached, Simpson again raised the subject to Mactavish with a note of impatience as he reiterated the need for storage capacity:

Fort Garry is likely to become the Depot for all the frontier and plain districts, and our arrangements should be made with that object in view.<sup>184</sup>

The reasons for the delay in action become evident in a letter of 18 January 1860. The only available space at the upper fort was in the residential compound in the northern part of the fort, and Simpson finally enforced his decision that this area should be used for the construction of two working buildings:

I quite approve of your increasing the storage accommodation at both the Upper and Lower Forts. As regarded the Upper Fort, I considered the erection of a store and granary, one on each side of the garden, facing your house, was a matter understood and agreed upon.<sup>185</sup>

On 6 February 1860 the post journal laconically reports: "Leask dressing boards for a new store."<sup>186</sup> Both new buildings are well known through photographs, and the location and substructural details of the store known as the General Depot have been ascertained archaeologically.<sup>187</sup> The store had a piled wood foundation as depicted in an architectural design drafted at York Factory in 1857 (see Appendix D). The General Depot was built according to dimensions similar to those of the other stores, but it had few windows and no roof gables. It was the last building to be erected at the upper fort in the post-and-beam style. It is depicted with a chimney at each end with a porch at its western end (Figure 37), which may have been the garden shed depicted near the same spot by Fleming in 1857 (Figure 17).

It had only six feet (1.83 m) of clearance to the wall.<sup>188</sup> An eight foot (2.44 m) wide gate for loading was built into the oaken fort wall opposite a door in the depot's eastern end (Figures 15, 16 and 40). By providing access to the building from outside the fort in this way, Mactavish was able to keep the loading activity associated with the General Depot away from the residences and the garden.

The second structure built in 1860 was a stud frame granary measuring about 16 feet by 24 feet (4.87 m by 7.32 m) directly east of Government House. It was only one storey in height with a storage capacity of approximately 3,000 bushels of threshed grain. Adjacent to this building another gate was built into the outer wall (Figure 40). The granary stood to the north of the picket fence which divided the interior of the fort. On 22 September 1858 the journal reads: "Leask ... commenced putting up a railing from the Flour Store to the Fort wall",<sup>189</sup> an apparent reference to this fence.

In September and October of 1859, another dwelling house was raised. Various plans and photographs which post-date this time depict a substantial house connected to the eastern end of Government House (Figures 32, 45 and 49). From the post journal we know the house had a frame construction - the first of its kind at the fort - and was built by the Orkneyman Leask. It was built with a stone chimney and the inside walls were lathed and plastered, while the outside walls were clad with siding. Leask erected scaffolding around the building as he constructed it.<sup>190</sup>

Photographic depictions from 1878 show the house was two-and-one-half storeys in height with a gable roof. The best depiction is from the south (Figure 49), which shows the back of the house with a lean-to filling the niche to its west and to the south of Government House. On the north

end, a one-and-one-half storey annex was added. The main doors led east from this annex and north from the main building just to the west of the annex into an arbour area with a trellis (Figures 28 and 41). A curious feature was an elevated passageway leading from the upper floor to the new third floor of Government House.

Although identifying the uses to which the various houses in the fort were put remains difficult in this period, it seems possible to explicate a letter written in December 1870 to William Cowan by J.J. Hargrave, who described living and working conditions in the fort in the aftermath of Riel's overthrow:

Our fort is much crowded now. Governor Archibald and family live in one half of Governor MacTavish's old house [Government House] and Mr. [D.A.] Smith and Judge Johnson occupy the other. The volunteer officers live in your old house [the old main house]. About 300 men occupy Balsillie's old building and the two others in line with it. [Once more, the stores were used as barracks.] MacTavish lives where Magnus Linklater did and we mess there [the Recorder's house]. Balsillie lives where Burdick did [1859 house]. Henry Moncrief keeps the Winnipeg store. James Anderson lives in the men's house and the men live outside the fort [in the former gaol?]. Anderson has charge of the depot. Balsillie accountant. Ramsay and I are in the office. MacKenzie, Armit, and Mr. Lenneigham from Fort William ... are in the stores and warehouses.<sup>191</sup>

### Other Structures

In 1860 a significant event occurred concerning a low building known as the ice house. This building was first recorded in the winter of 1853-54,<sup>192</sup> but an ice house was a typical feature in Red River, for Peter Rindisbacher painted the winter ice-cutting ritual in the 1820s. Ice-cutting was done in February, and the Fort Garry ice



house was filled within a week by about six men and a team of oxen.<sup>193</sup> In mid-March 1859, some 5,000 pounds of beef were stored in the ice house. The building was low and well insulated, for its door had to be specially opened,<sup>194</sup> and it had a space between the roof and ceiling. It possibly lay against the cool stone wall.

On 12 May 1860 the roof of the ice house was found to be smouldering. The fire was put out with the help of the Rifles and the damage repaired within days,<sup>195</sup> but the fire created quite a reaction.

On the 12th instant a fire broke out in the Upper Roof of the Ice House of this establishment, fortunately before the flames broke out it had been observed and water had been got to the spot, had it been otherwise I fear the whole Establishment would have been burned as the weather previously had been very dry and it was blowing a gale at the time, there are many surmises regarding the cause of the fire but in my opinion it was occasioned by a spark from the Soldiers' Bake House which had lodged in the roofing boards, the Company of Rifles stationed here were very active in extinguishing the fire, but no exertions or means at our command could have saved the Establishment if instead of the low roof of the Ice House one of the stores had taken fire.<sup>196</sup>

As a result, a steam-driven fire engine was brought in from the United States and installed in a building near the well. The belfry depicted on top of the well house may also date from this time, although there are no depictions of it between 1857 and 1874.

A few more details of construction before 1870 are known. The 1868 Balsillie plan depicted a small building between the sales store and the fort wall designated as an "oil house". The Balsillie plan was not drawn to scale, but the building appears to be about 12 feet by 8 feet (3.62 m by 2.44 m). Nothing more is known of this building and it

appears in no other depiction of the fort. However, an "oiling house" at York Factory was used before 1858 to hang up canvases soaked in tar to be used as tarpaulins over boats.<sup>197</sup>

For 16 April 1860 the post journal reads, "Carriere and McLean ... making copper hinges for the shop magazine."<sup>198</sup> This may be a reference to a one-storey outbuilding which appears in later depictions between the sales store and the fort's south wall (Figure 38).

A ca. 1874 photograph shows a large lean-to suspended between the pemmican store and west wall (Figure 36). The purpose of this lean-to, which practically doubled the area of the pemmican store, may have been related to the arrival of the Rifles, for Fleming did not depict it in the summer of 1857 (Figure 17). The 1928 Hazel plan and its source, the 1876 McPhillips survey, depicted it as part of a large unidentified structure abutting the northwest bastion (Figures 29 and 32).

In 1869 a two-storey structure was built along the south wall, squeezed into the 18 foot (5.49 m) space between the store and the wall. This building was some 70 feet (22.86 m) in length and had a steep gabled roof. It had only three windows on its south side and was clad with vertical siding. At each end it had a chimney and an outshot for a staircase. It does not appear to have been intended as more than a temporary structure, and was in fact taken down in 1872 (Figures 25, 33 and 35).

This brings the architectural history of Upper Fort Garry to the dramatic events of 1869-70 when the province of Manitoba was born. The events were played out with little effect upon the buildings, but the reorganization which followed had some effect. The following three depictions,

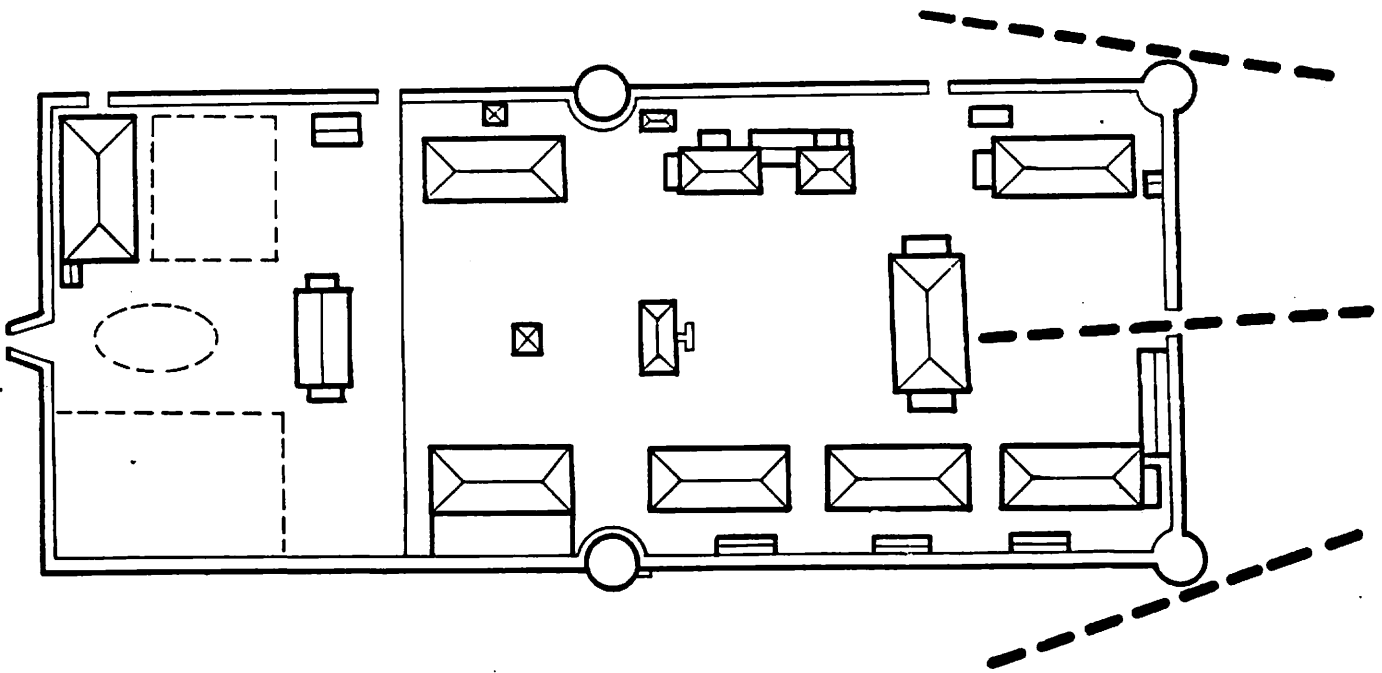
as well as Figures 14 to 16, are the best indication of the physical setting of the so-called "Red River Rebellion". The reader is also referred to Appendix A, a description of the fort left by a member of the Red River Expeditionary Force.

Figure 25

Date: [1872]

Aspect: S

"A view showing Fort Garry, Assiniboine River with a drawbridge over it and the steamer Dakota of the Kitson Line unloading at the warehouse." Public Archives Canada/PA-11337.



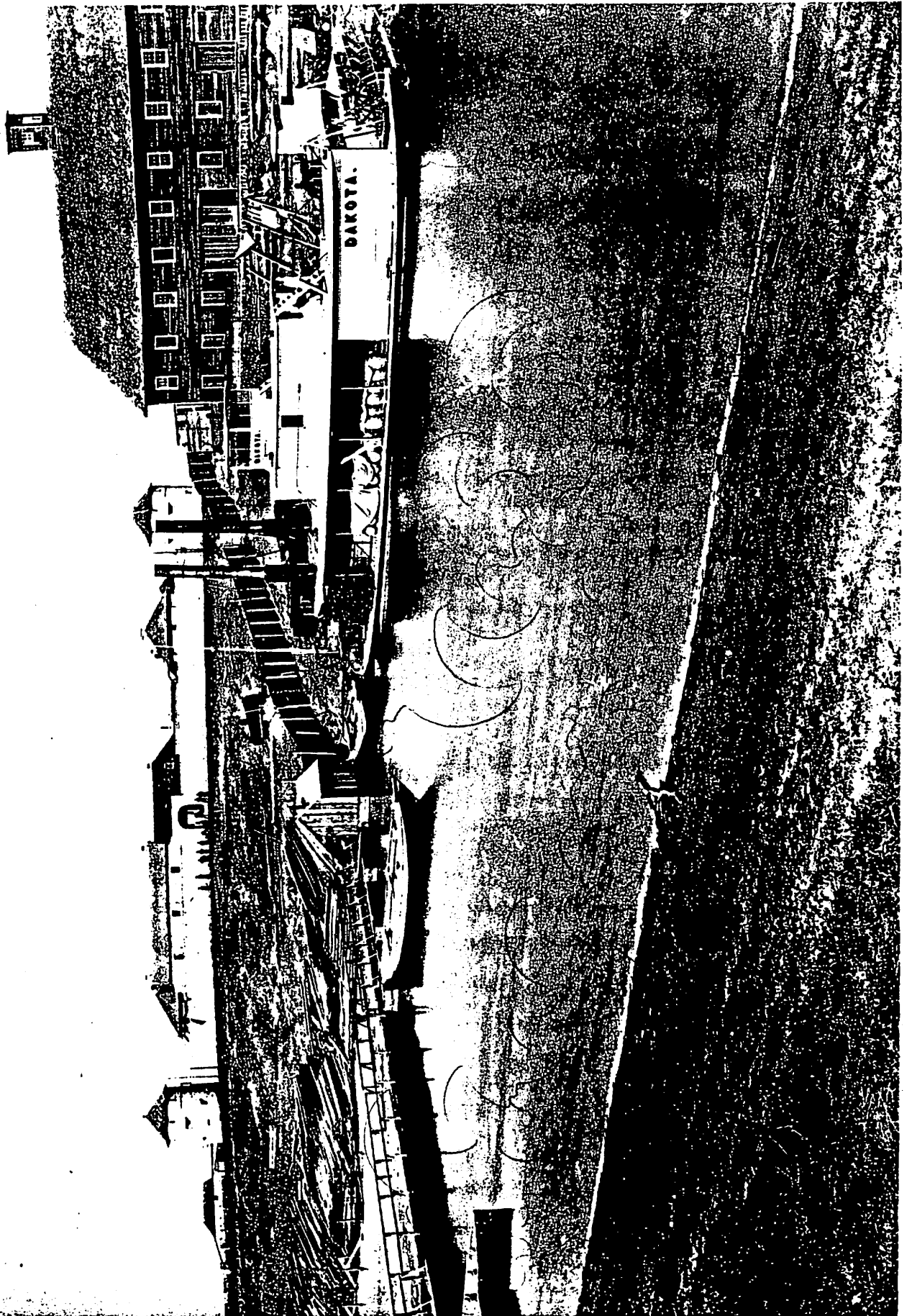
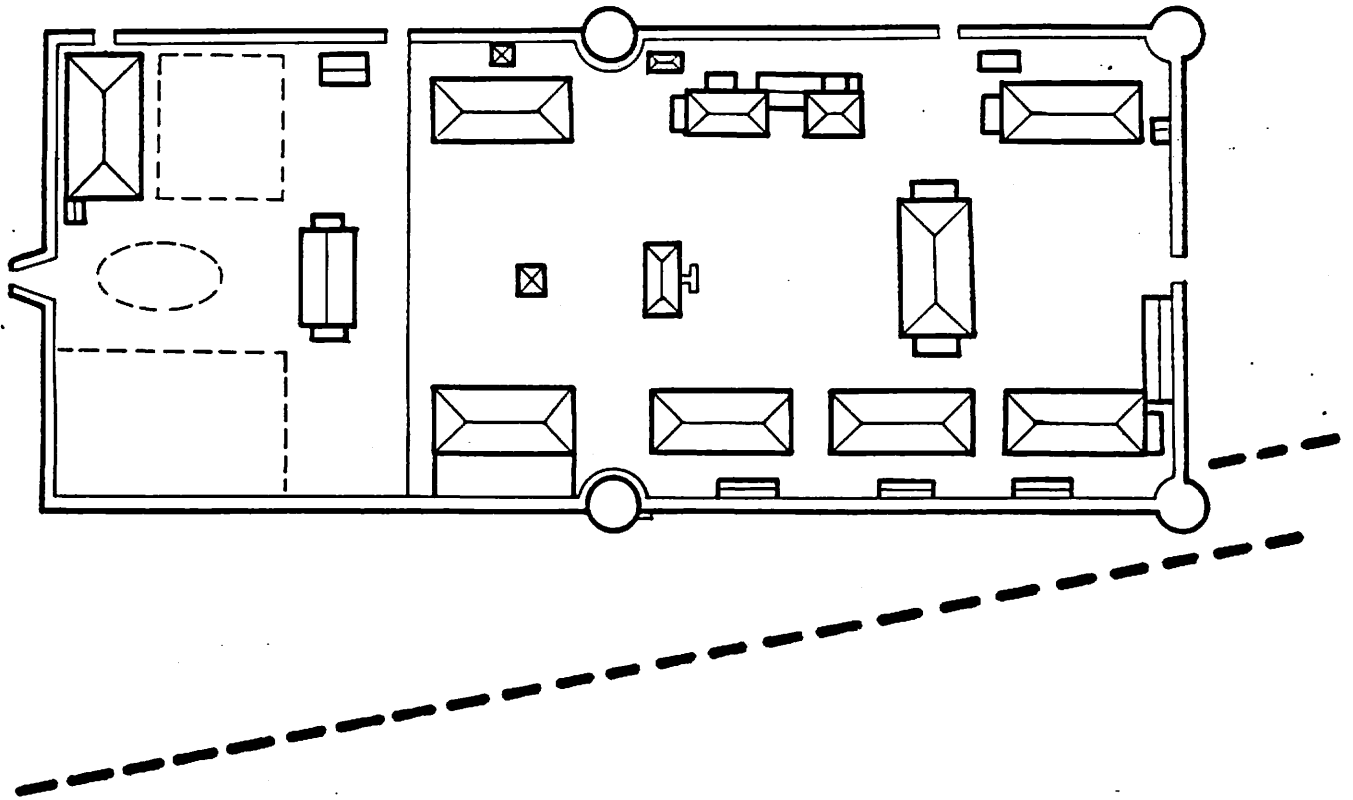


Figure 26

Date: [1870]

Aspect: SSE

"Court house and southwest bastion." Manitoba Archives,  
Fort Garry 18.



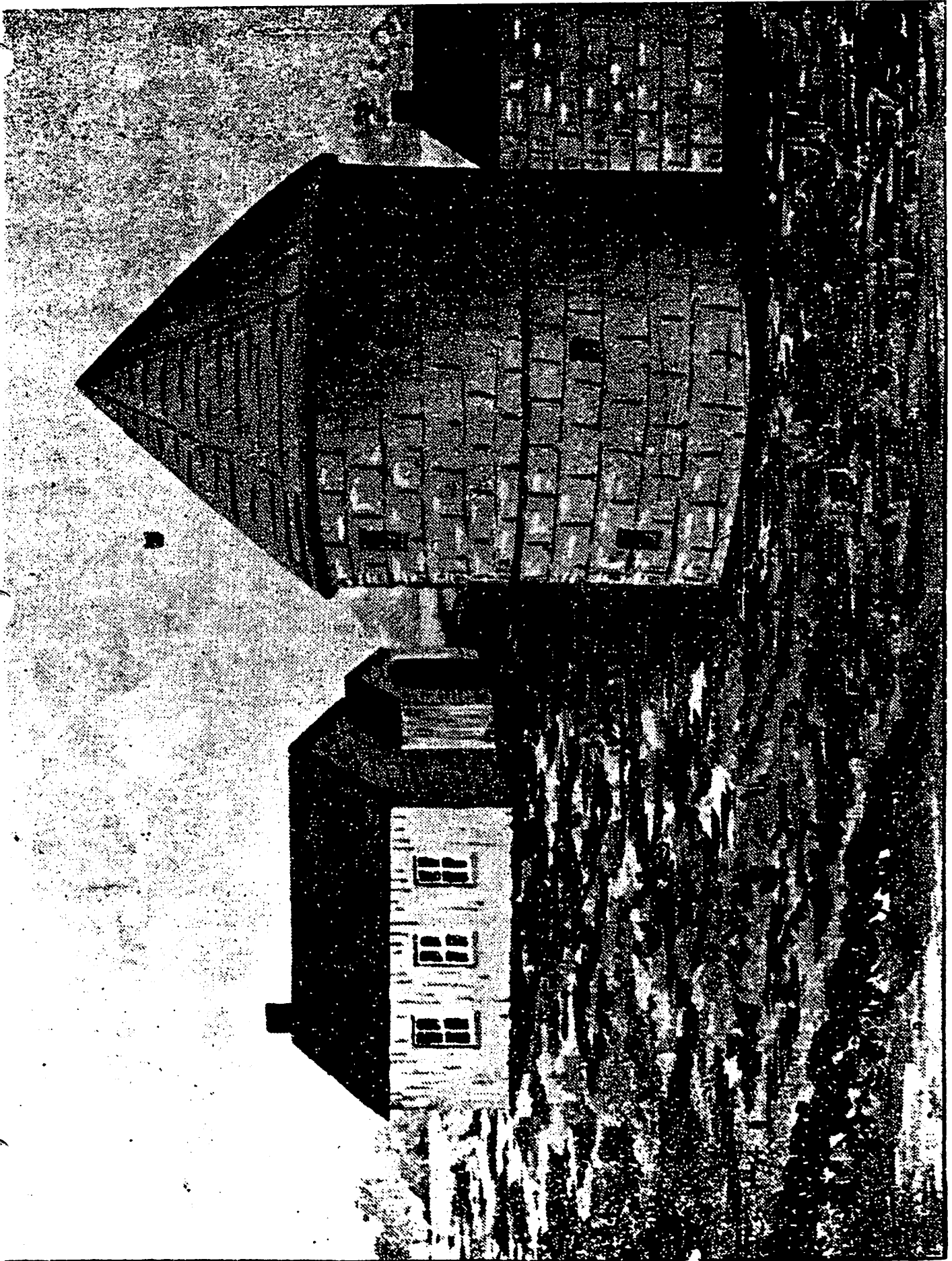
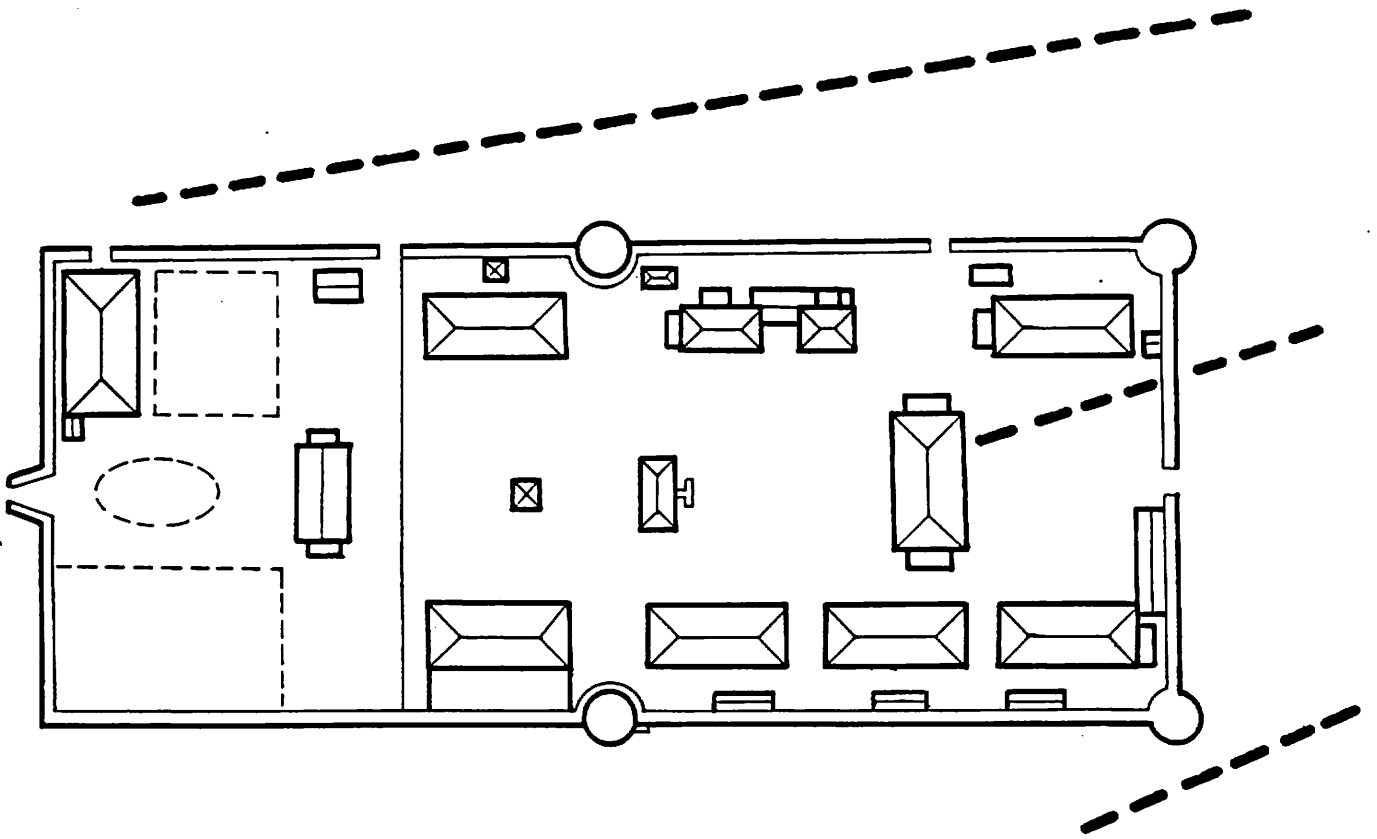


Figure 27

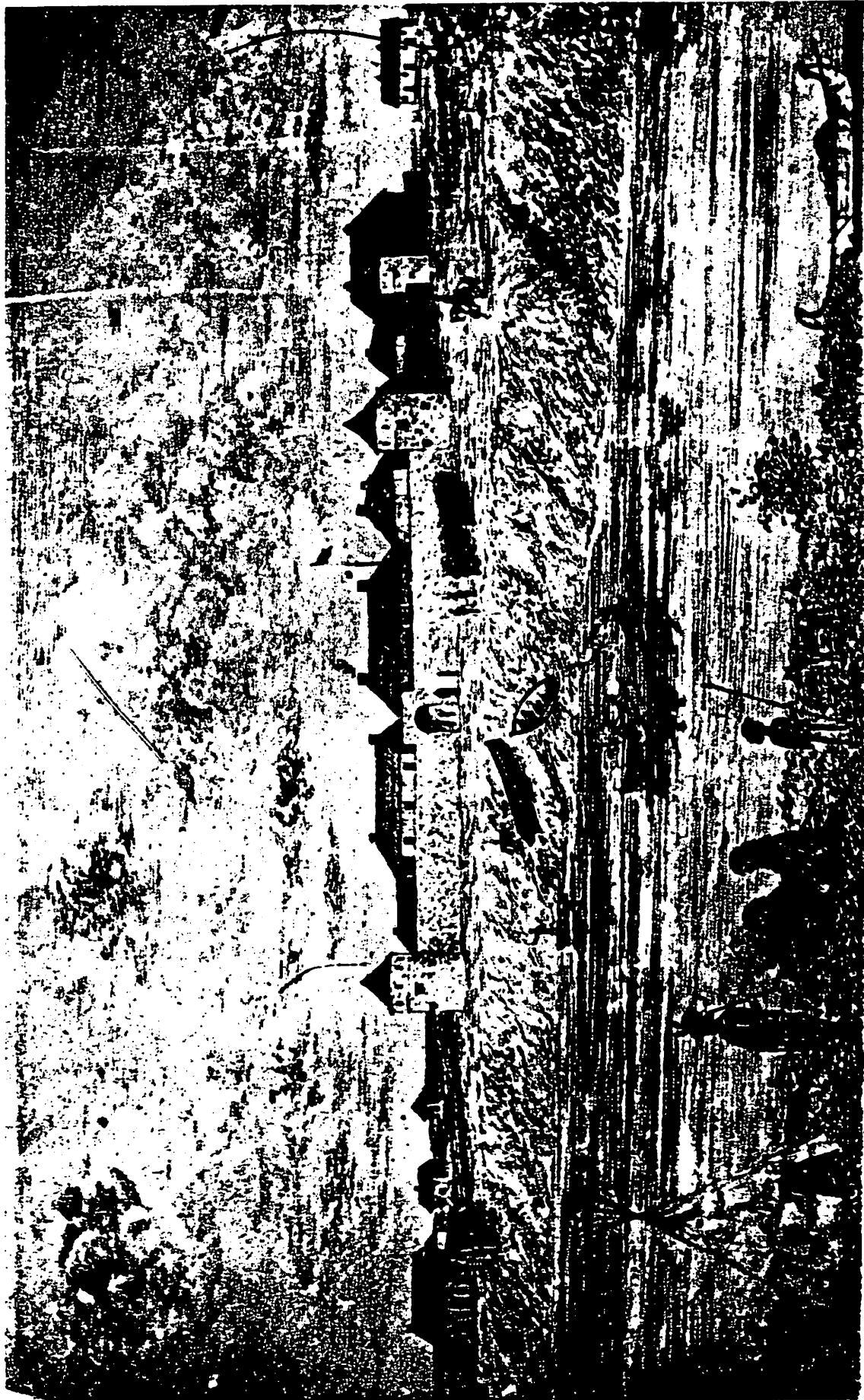
Date: 1870

Aspect: SSE

"Red River expeditionary force at drill," drawn by Sgt. Douglas. Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 20.







Decline and Demolition: 1871-87

### Summary and Sources

After the overthrow of the Riel government by a coalition of the Hudson's Bay Company establishment and the local English-speaking bourgeoisie, the company was once more left in control of the upper fort. Immediately the south end of the fort was reorganized. In 1871 the east stone wall collapsed and was replaced by a lower fence which was indented so the sales store was accessible to passers-by on Winnipeg Road. The old main house, which had been used as a military officers' quarters in the winter of 1870-71, was torn down in 1872, as was the temporary store against the south wall. At the same time, a new liquor store was built just outside the south wall of the fort near the sales store. This created an open courtyard in the southern half of the fort, dominated by the office building. As part of this building program, the gigantic "Number 4 Warehouse" was built by the river in 1872 (Figure 30).

In 1873 the stone from the east wall was used in the foundation of the Land Titles building on Winnipeg Road, north of the fort on the spot where the workshops had stood. In 1871 the workshops were moved into a building north west of the fort (Figure 23). In 1874 the upper floor of the southeast bastion collapsed.

Many minor renovations are recorded for this period, such as annexes to the pemmican store, Government House,

recorder's house, sales store and office. By 1878 all the old walls were replaced with a low picket fence. Partly because the lower enclosure allowed a better view from the outside, photographic depictions from this period afford glimpses of some aspects of the fort for the first time.

Many of the buildings were aging and photographs betray a rather forlorn atmosphere as the fort's raison d'être withered away. Vain attempts were made to lure investment from Winnipeg's new focus to company property on the Assiniboine.<sup>199</sup> A final act of hubris was to locate the new steel span across the Assiniboine River directly in front of the south gate. The apparent result was the townsfolk objected to making a detour around the HBC sales shop to reach the bridge, and in 1883 the company absently responded by leveling the offending corner of the fort.

Later travellers still associated the upper fort with the halcyon days of the late 1850s when the outside world discovered Red River. R.M. Christy remarked on the company's folly in destroying the fort when he visited Winnipeg in 1887. However, Christy sketched and described those buildings which still stood: two old stores, the remains of a third, office, Government House and a latrine. Adding to the melancholy of Christy's description is a sketch of an old sledge he found abandoned in the grass. Traces of the stone foundation were all that remained of the walls and bastions (Appendix C).

Something of the disappointment felt by visitors can be documented by the large number of nostalgic paintings of the fort which date to the time when Ontario troops, nurtured on tales of Riel's infamous deeds, passed through Red River on their way to Batoche in 1885. Even by the turn of the century, the associative power of the fort had hardly diminished as several Winnipeg artists continued to sell bowdlerized depictions of the fort.<sup>200</sup>

The sources utilized for this period are primarily photographs and secondary works. A systematic attempt was made to place the large number of extant photographs in a historical context, although serious work remains to be done in this area. Depictors include Duffin the photographer, painters Lynn, Kemp and Armstrong, and various engravers such as A. Mortimer and Rolph Smith. Once these sources are identified according to provenience and date, they are matchless sources of information on the structures of the fort.

Of crucial importance are surveys taken by Duncan Sinclair of the fort's outside dimensions in 1871 and George McPhillips in 1876 of the interior buildings (Figure 29). The latter survey was printed in 1877 with an error depicting four stores in the west row where only three existed. The original hand-inked map is mutilated by folding at the very spot where the published error occurs (Figures 29 and 30). Sinclair's survey was done in 1871 before the construction of the Land Titles building, which was depicted in 1876 by McPhillips (Figure 47). The McPhillips map is important in estimating the location of Government House and in identifying some of the annexes of this house in photographic depictions.

### Construction and Demolition

Almost no details of the construction period that followed the events of 1869-70 are recorded. Three buildings were affected: the old main house and 1869 store were removed, and the liquor store was built. Photographs indicate it was all done in one season's work (Figures 33-36) and the liquor store was built after the other two buildings were dismantled. But some question remains as to

whether these photographs date from 1872 or 1873. The reasons for the destruction of the two buildings are apparent: the store was intended as a temporary structure, and the main house had been considered unfit for civilized habitation since 1855. The removal of these buildings restored a symmetry to the south end of the fort, which had become chaotic and crowded. The political thermidor of 1870 revitalized the company's interest in the fort's symbolic value to the community, but for the most part, the reorganization at Upper Fort Garry was a temporary measure as the company prepared for a future in the city of Winnipeg.

The liquor store was built of a stud frame construction and stood two storeys high with a gable roof. Its dimensions were about 18 feet by 40 feet (5.49 m by 12.19 m) and the east end was in line with the east side of the sales store. It had a chimney at each end and windows on both levels. A door led out to the south, and close examination of a photograph depicting its construction indicates a second door which led through the stone wall at the place where the magazine stood on the inside (Figure 33). At the west end an open stairway led to a second-storey porch.

A diagonal fence enclosed a door at the west end and a postern gate was broken into the wall near the main gate. Another depiction shows the fence had been relocated at a higher angle to the fort wall so it did not enclose the gate (Figure 39). The reason for this gate is obscure. It may be linked to an interior division when the fort was occupied in 1870, something like the 1846 fence. The photograph showing the liquor store under construction (Figure 33) also depicts a log hutch against the wall at the place where the gate is later depicted. An interesting 1877 etching (Figure 43) depicts the southern appearance of the fort with the liquor store and the postern gate, although other details are altered. This etching was based on a painting by Lord

Dufferin, who visited Manitoba as Governor-General of Canada in 1876 (Figure 42).

Beginning in 1871 the sales store was the focus of extensive renovations in an attempt to emphasize the retail function of the fort. It was given a bank of windows to the east, and the stone wall was removed to afford access from Winnipeg Road (Figure 38). The stone was used in the construction of the Land Titles building further north on the road. A palisade was built from the southeast and northeast bastions up to the east corners of the sales store, so it became part of the fort's perimeter (Figure 28). On 26 August 1871 the Manitoban reported:

The Hudson Bay Store at Upper Fort Garry, is being greatly improved and renovated, and to all appearance, its old peculiar trading aspect will soon be among the things that were, and we suppose a more showy and pretentious shop will be fitted out in its stead. The entrance to the store, which used to be from the inside of the Fort, will now be from Winnipeg road. A handsome front has been constructed on the north [i.e., magnetic north; read rather the east wall] wall, and, when finished, the whole will present a very fine appearance. At the present rate, our stores will soon vie in outward appearance with those of any Canadian town. The wall on the north side of the Fort, which lately fell, has also been replaced by a neat palisade.<sup>201</sup>

The west side of the sales store now became the rear. A large shed was leaned against this side, covering the southern two-thirds of the wall. It was one storey high, rising up to the sills of the windows on the second floor of the store. At its north end was a large sliding door. The corduroy roads which circled the south courtyard of the fort led to this door.<sup>202</sup> The roads corresponded to "platforms" at other posts, which were typical post features by the 1830s (Figure 20).

Between 1875 and 1878 the rest of the old walls were removed, the south wall being the last to go. The new wall was about five feet (1.52 m) in height and built by bolting

or nailing vertical pales against horizontal rails about one and four feet off the ground. It appears the gates could no longer be closed.

In 1874 the upper floor of the southeast bastion collapsed. An account in the Manitoba Free Press indicates it was used as a magazine at that time.<sup>203</sup> One photograph which shows the Land Titles building nearing completion also shows heavy timbers protruding at odd angles from the gunports of the southeast bastion, indicating an attempt at salvage (Figure 40). Nevertheless, this bastion, dilapidated and intruding upon the path of passersby and customers, was the first of the four to be taken down.

Several other minor renovations dating from this period may also be noted. An 1874 photograph of the recorder's house, occupied at this time by Mactavish, shows the one-storey annex was replaced with a two-storey annex, without disturbing the passageway leading to the men's house (Figure 44). The new annex had a protected door leading into the garden between the house and the sales store. This annex is also depicted in a lithograph by Rolph Smith in 1874 (Figure 39). A small garden shed or gazebo stood against the fort wall in the garden and a boardwalk led from the recorder's house through the garden to the sales store. The garden was shielded from view from the inside of the fort by a five foot (1.52 m) picket fence which ran from the sales store to the house and extended north of the recorder's house flush with its west wall to the men's house to form another enclosure between the two houses (Figure 49). In 1875 the Manitoba Free Press reported the building which had been used as the "Serjeant's mess room" and the "old officers' quarters" had been dismantled.<sup>204</sup> Also to this period, specifically 1875, belongs the addition of a third floor to Government House described in the "Entrepôt for the North-West" section.

From the 1878 photographs one can see that the old stairway leading to the second floor of the office building was replaced by a new stair leading up from the east. These photographs also provide a glimpse of the northwest corner of the fort, one of its least known areas. Along the north wall of the pemmican store, a second lean-to appears, two storeys high and clad with horizontal siding suggesting a frame construction. It was squeezed between the store and fence which divided the interior of the fort. It is also possible to make out the summer kitchen of Government House, attached by means of a passageway to the low west wing (Figure 45). The plan of this series of accretions is depicted in the 1876 McPhillips survey (Figure 29).

#### Dénouement

After 1878 the upper fort's inaction once more set in, and in 1883 the fort was partially destroyed and abandoned by the company. Christy recorded which buildings remained standing in 1887: two of the original stores, a privy, the office, Government House, the foundations of the walls, and the north gate. For a time, the sturdy storehouses were used by the Electric Railway Company. By 1900 only the bastion gate remained. Winnipeg's Main Street was built over the southeast corner after 1883, covering about 40 per cent of the site, with the very southeast corner extending beyond the modern street. Two buildings, 100 Main Street and a curling arena, have been built over the site of Government House. The rest of the site has been buried by successive landfills to create a parking lot and a park.



Figure 28

Date: 1874

Aspect: Plan

"Upper Fort Garry, 1874." Brad Loewen and Gregory Monks,  
1986.

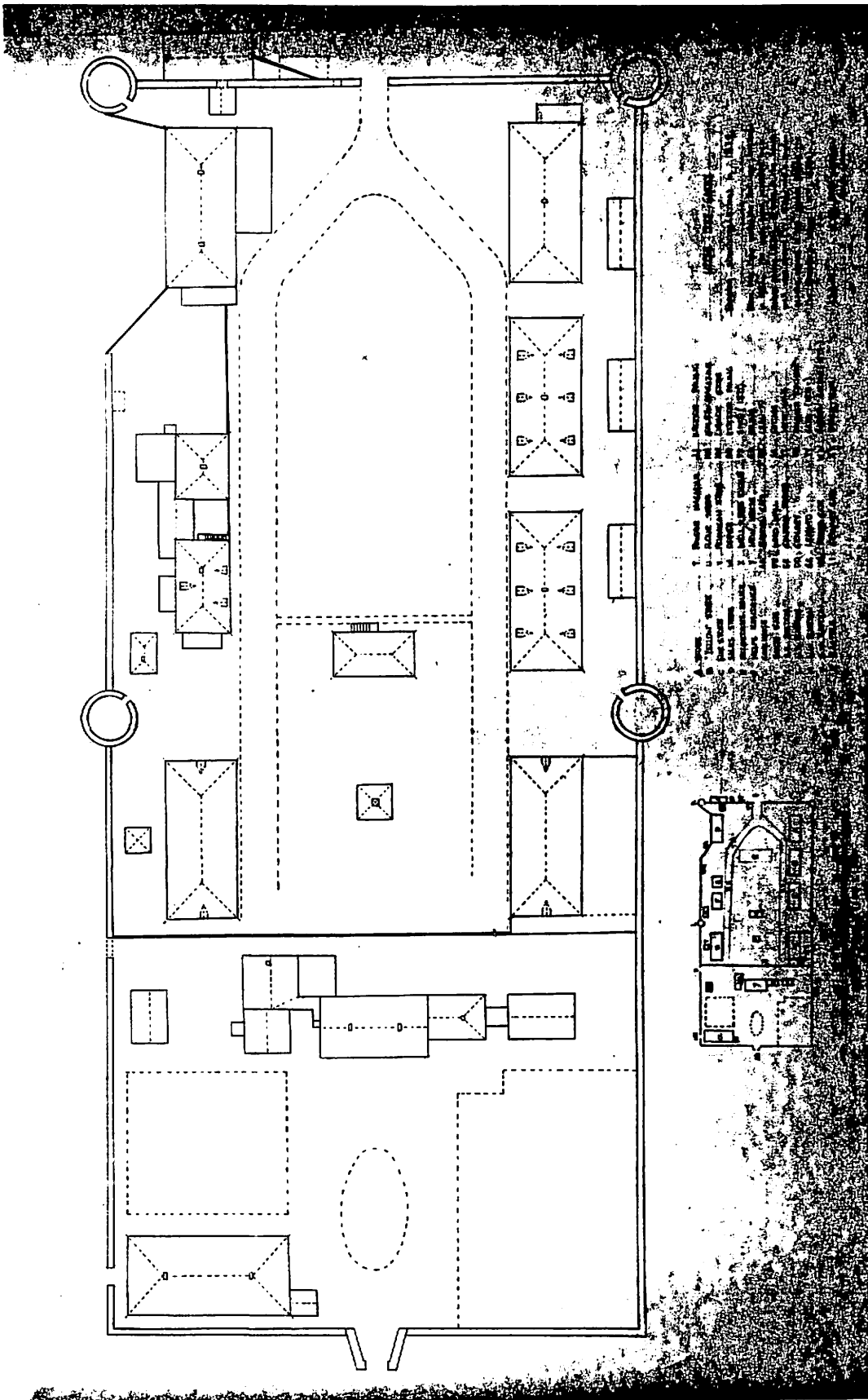


Figure 29

Date: 1876

Aspect: Plan

Detail: "Winnipeg, 1876," detail drawn by George  
McPhillips, Jr. Manitoba Archives, 614.41 edc  
1876.

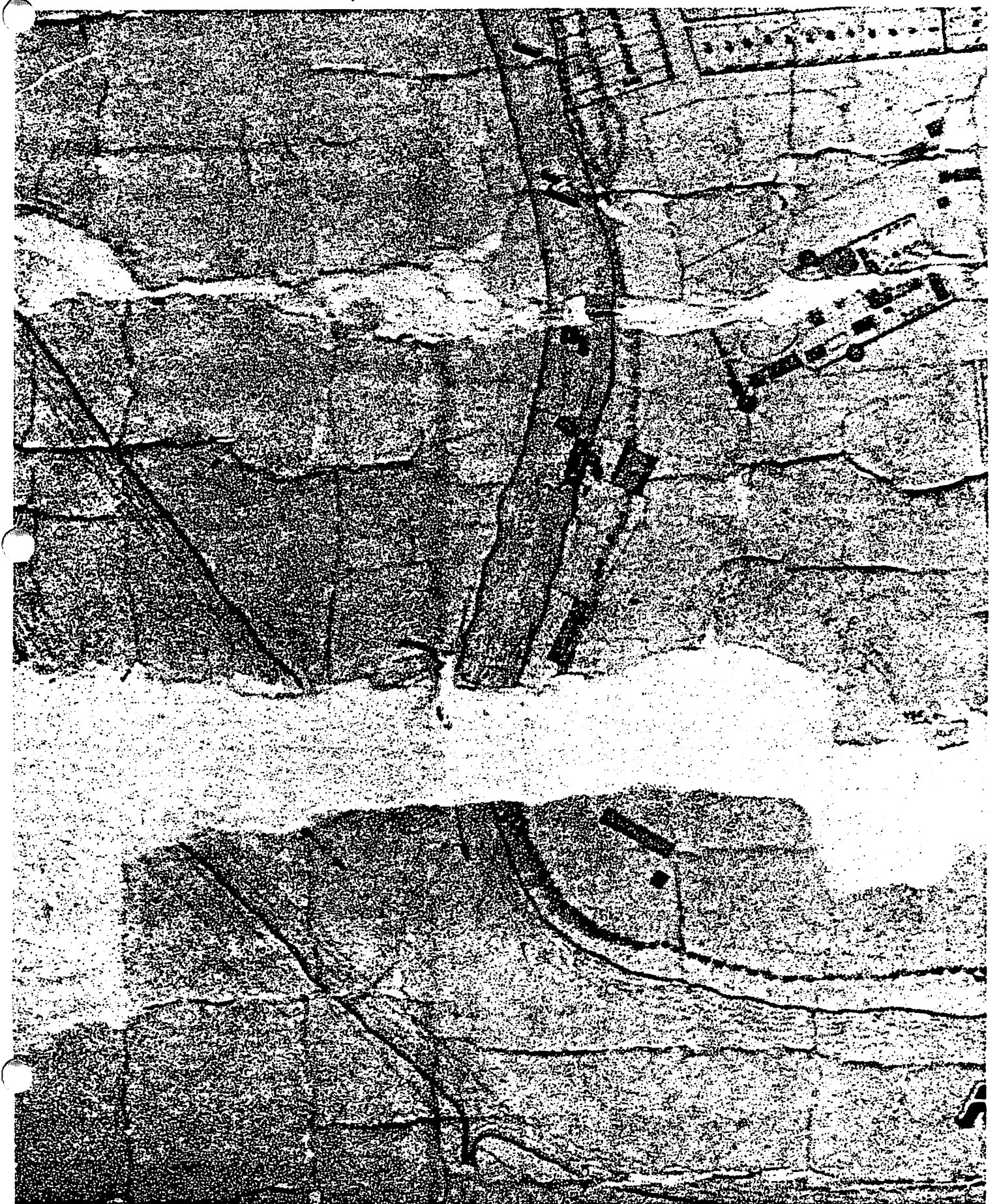


Figure 30

Date: Surveyed in 1876; map produced in 1877.

Aspect: Plan

Detail of "A Map Showing the City of Winnipeg," signed by George McPhillips, Jr., 29 May 1877. Public Archives Canada, V1/540 Winnipeg, 1877, 19746.

Note: The dissimilarities between this map and the original (Figure 29) are discussed in Loewen and Monks (1987).

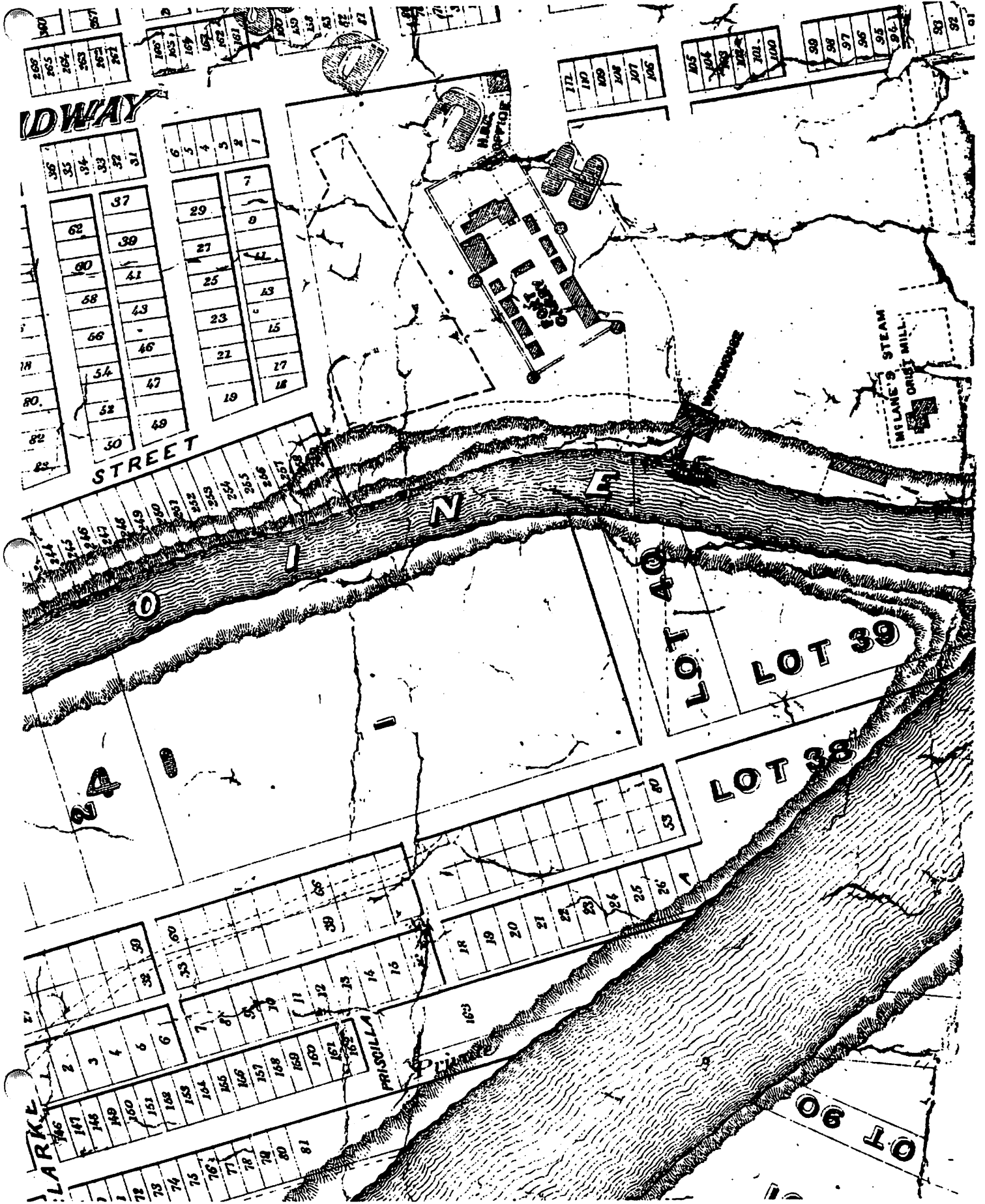


Figure 31

Date: 1887

Aspect: Plan

"Plan of Upper Fort Garry, drawn by Robert Miller Christy.  
Manitoba Archives, MG9 A75-2.

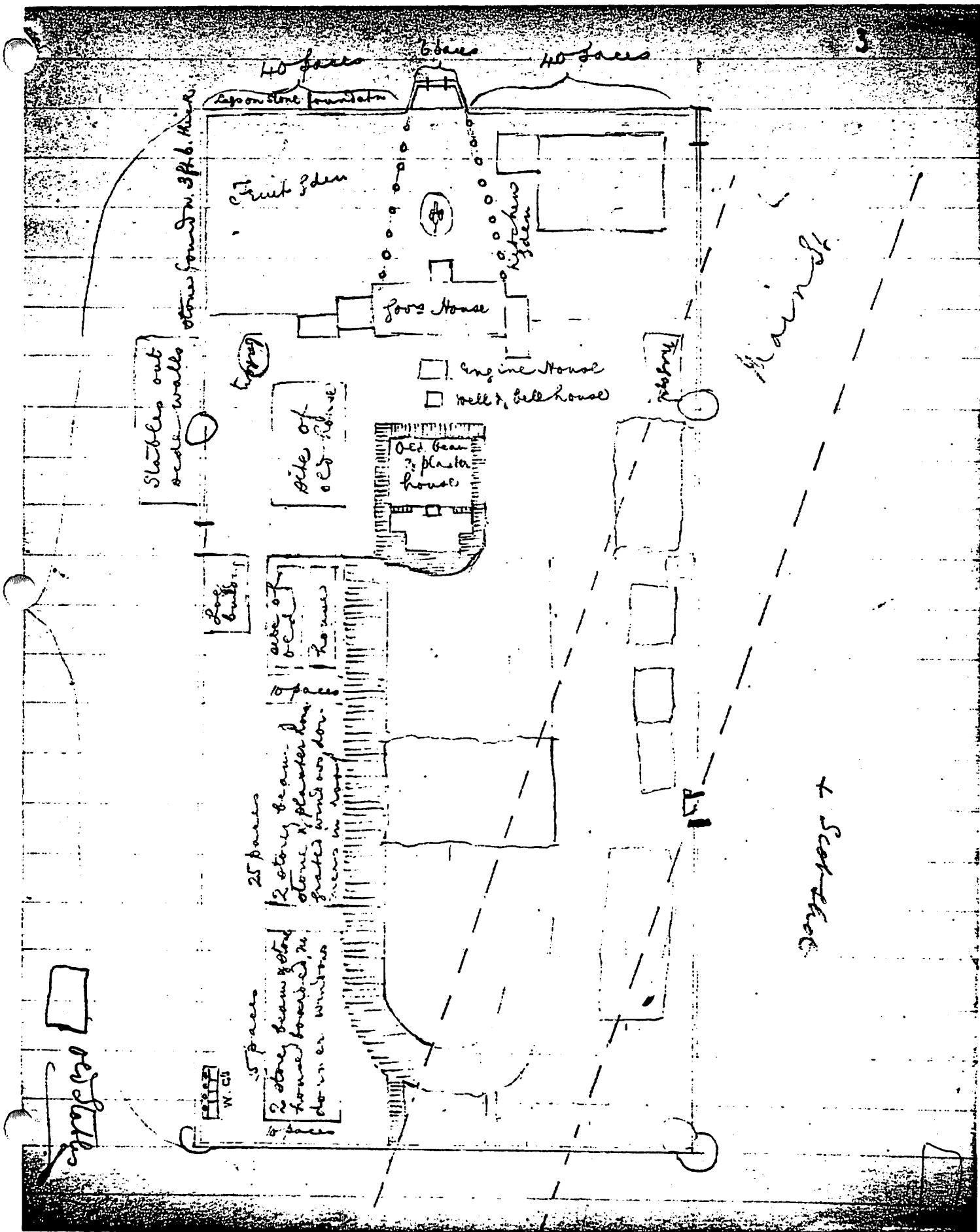


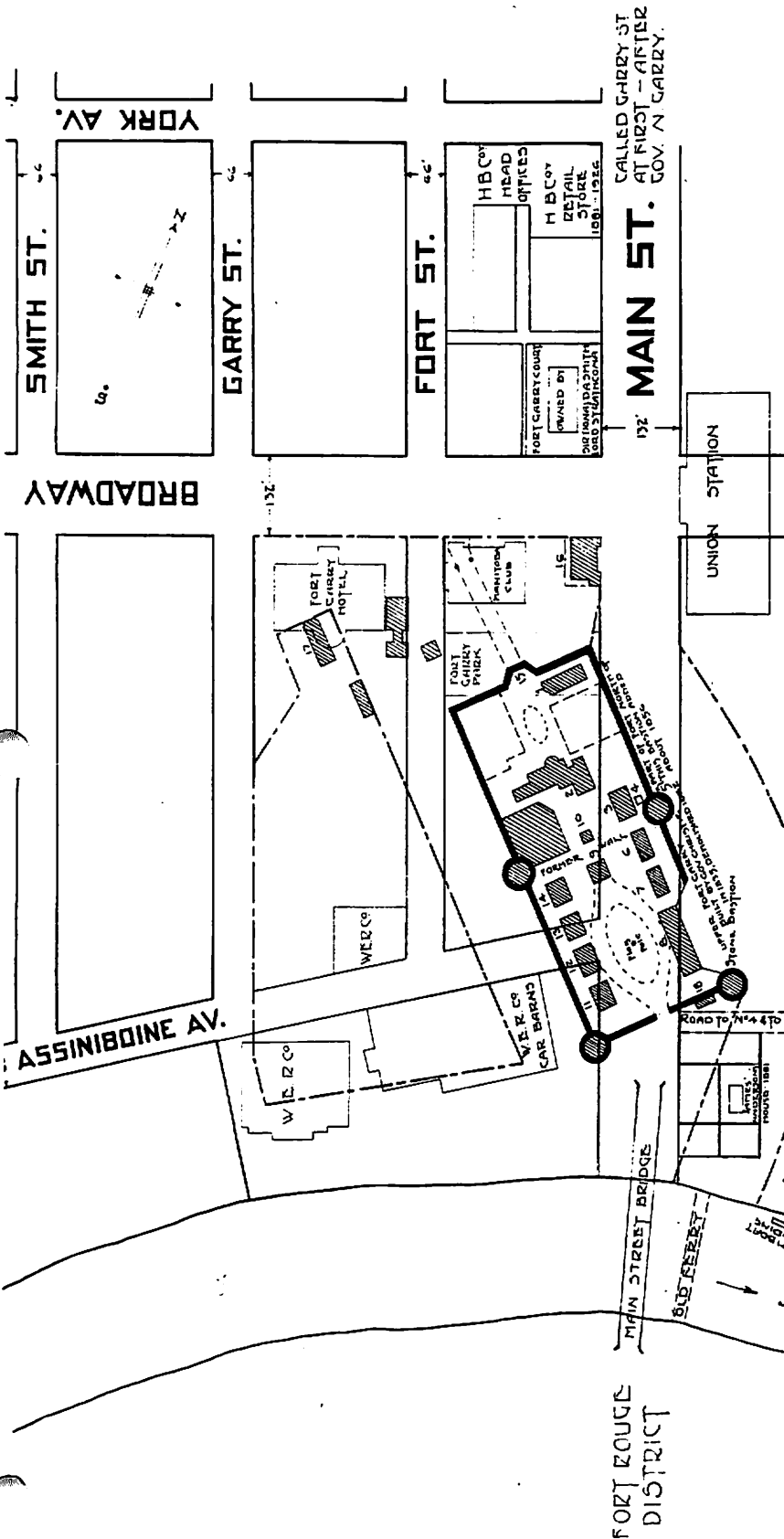


Figure 32

Date: 1876

Aspect: Plan

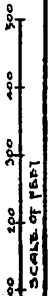
"Upper Fort Garry in 1876, drawn by F.B. Hazel for Thomas W. Leslie, Winnipeg from information supplied by him, April 1928." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 39.



- 1 GENERAL DEPARTMENT
- 2 GOVERNOR'S RESIDENCE
- 3 FLOUR STORE
- 4 POWDER MAGAZINE
- 5 ARMOURY
- 6 MEN'S QUARTERS
- 7 RECORDERS RESIDENCE
- 8 GENERAL STORE
- 9 OFFICERS QUARTERS (Mess Room)
- 10 OFFICERS & CLERKS QUARTERS
- 11 OFFICERS RESIDENCE
- 12 ISLAND DEPOT
- 13 FUR STORE
- 14 PENNACAN STORE
- 15 GATEWAY (STILL IN EXISTENCE)
- 16 EN AICKMITH & CARPENTER
- 17 GARD & COURTHOUSE
- 18 LIQUOR STORE

# UPPER FORT GARRY IN 1876

THE FORT WAS DEMOLISHED TO PERMIT OF THE STRAIGHTENING OF MAIN STREET. (1881 TO 1884)



NEAR WAREHOUSE  
H B CO  
CAST  
MILLS

1876 GARRISON  
BUILT IN 1876  
ON THE NORTH WEST POINT NOT  
BY DE LAHARQUE (JEAN-BAPTISTE)  
FORT ROUGE BUILT IN 1738

HUDSON'S BAY FLATS  
NOW CANAL YARDS  
ON THESE FLATS IN FRONT  
OF THE FORT THE CARTS  
WERE LOADED FOR THE  
WEST.

IT HAD BEEN CONSIDERED  
UNDESIRABLE TO BUILD  
LA VERMOREL'S FORT  
BECAUSE IT WAS ON THE  
SOUTH SIDE OF THE  
RED RIVER AT THE  
JUNCTION

THE FORT WAS BUILT  
BY GARRISON IN 1876  
ON THE NORTH WEST POINT NOT  
BY DE LAHARQUE (JEAN-BAPTISTE)  
FORT ROUGE BUILT IN 1738

192' CALLED GARRY ST  
AT FIRST - AFTER  
GOV. N GARRY.

NOTE THE STONE FORT BUILT UNDER FORT GARRY  
WAS BUILT UNDER STRICKER IN 1874.  
THE STONE FORT, 1876, WAS MADE WHEN IT WAS  
NOT YET BUILT AND WAS BUILT IN 1874.  
THE STONE FORT WAS BUILT ON THE REMAINS  
AT THE FOOT OF THE PRESENT LOCAL AVENUE  
BETWEEN GARRY AND GARRY STREETS. IT WAS  
CALLED THE COUNTY FORT BEING HEADQUARTERS  
OF LORD SELWICK'S COLONY ADMINISTRATION IN  
WEST SWIFT ABERNETHY IN THE FALL OF 1872.

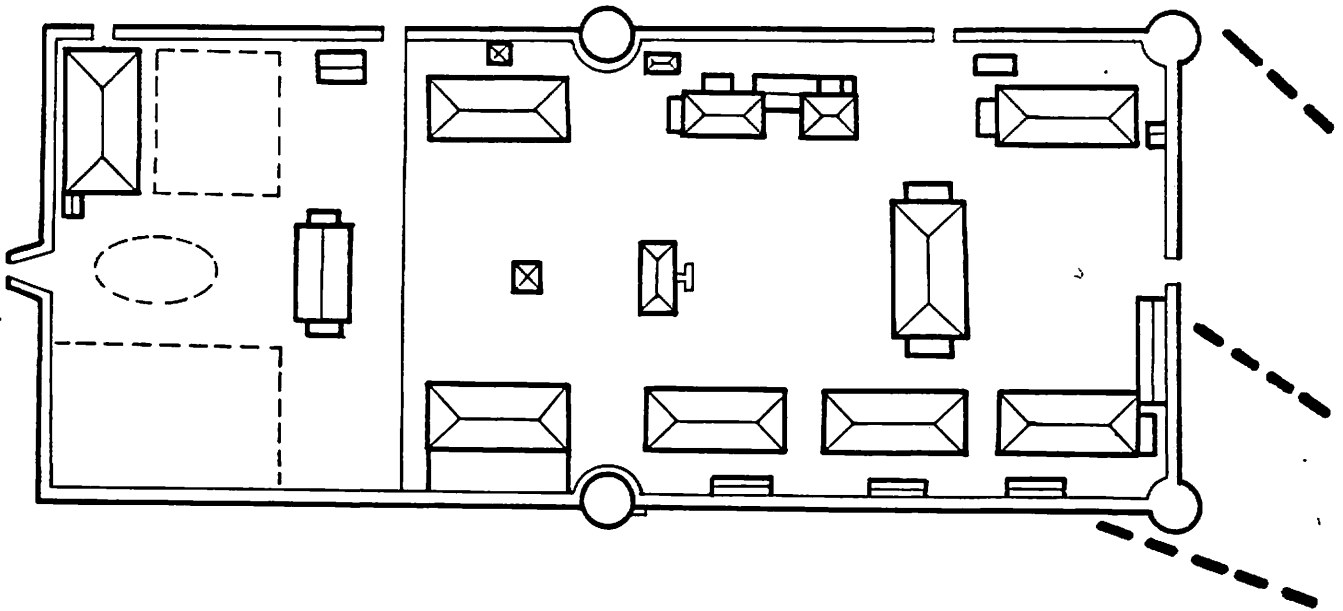
Drawn by J.B. Lloyd  
THOMAS W. J. BULLOCK, MANAGER,  
from information supplied by him  
April 1928

Figure 33

Date: [ca. 1872]

Aspect: SSW

"Liquor store under construction." Manitoba Archives,  
Fort Garry 28.



1873

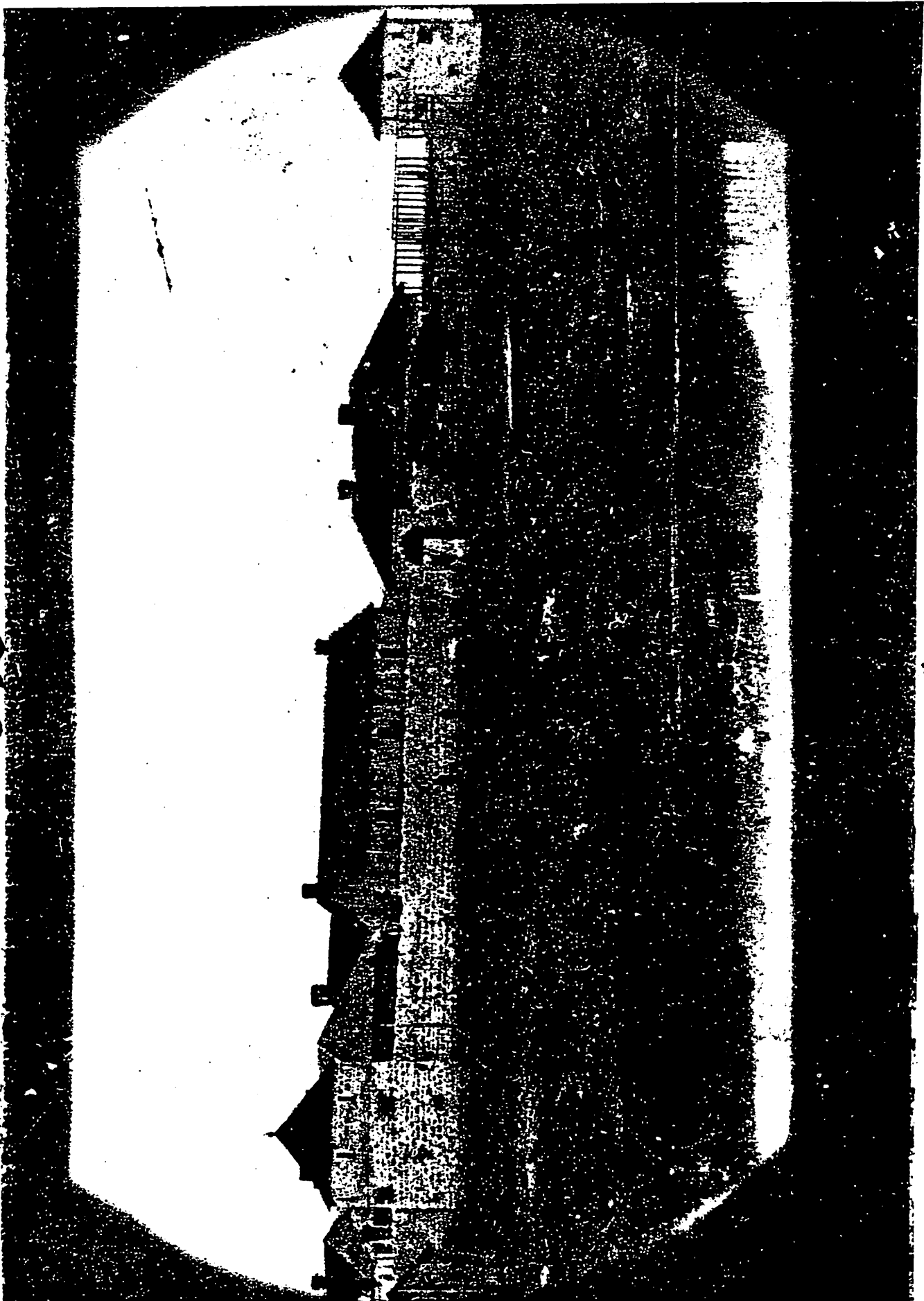
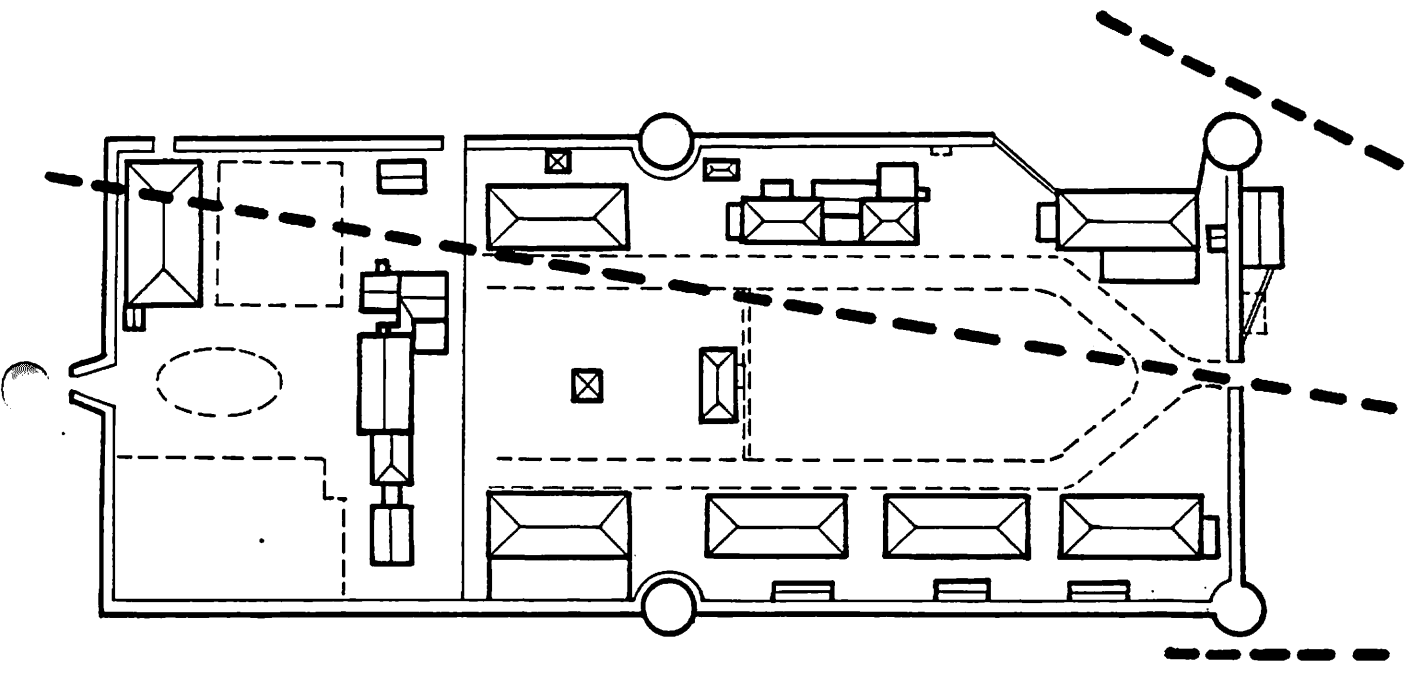


Figure 34

Date: [1872]

Aspect: SSW

"Upper Fort Garry." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 29.



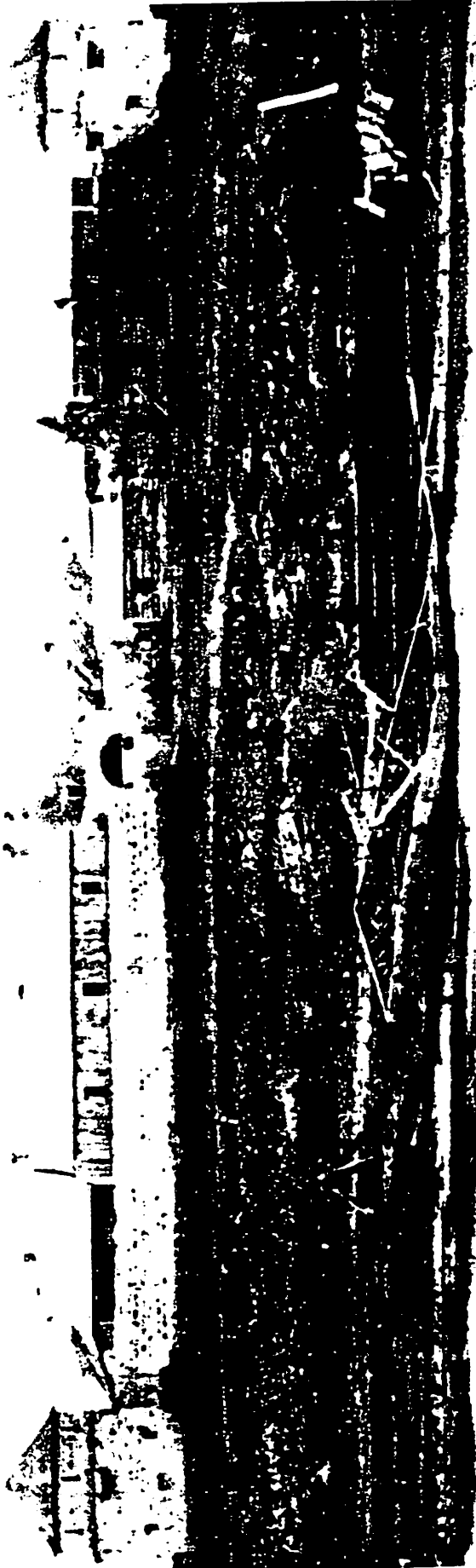


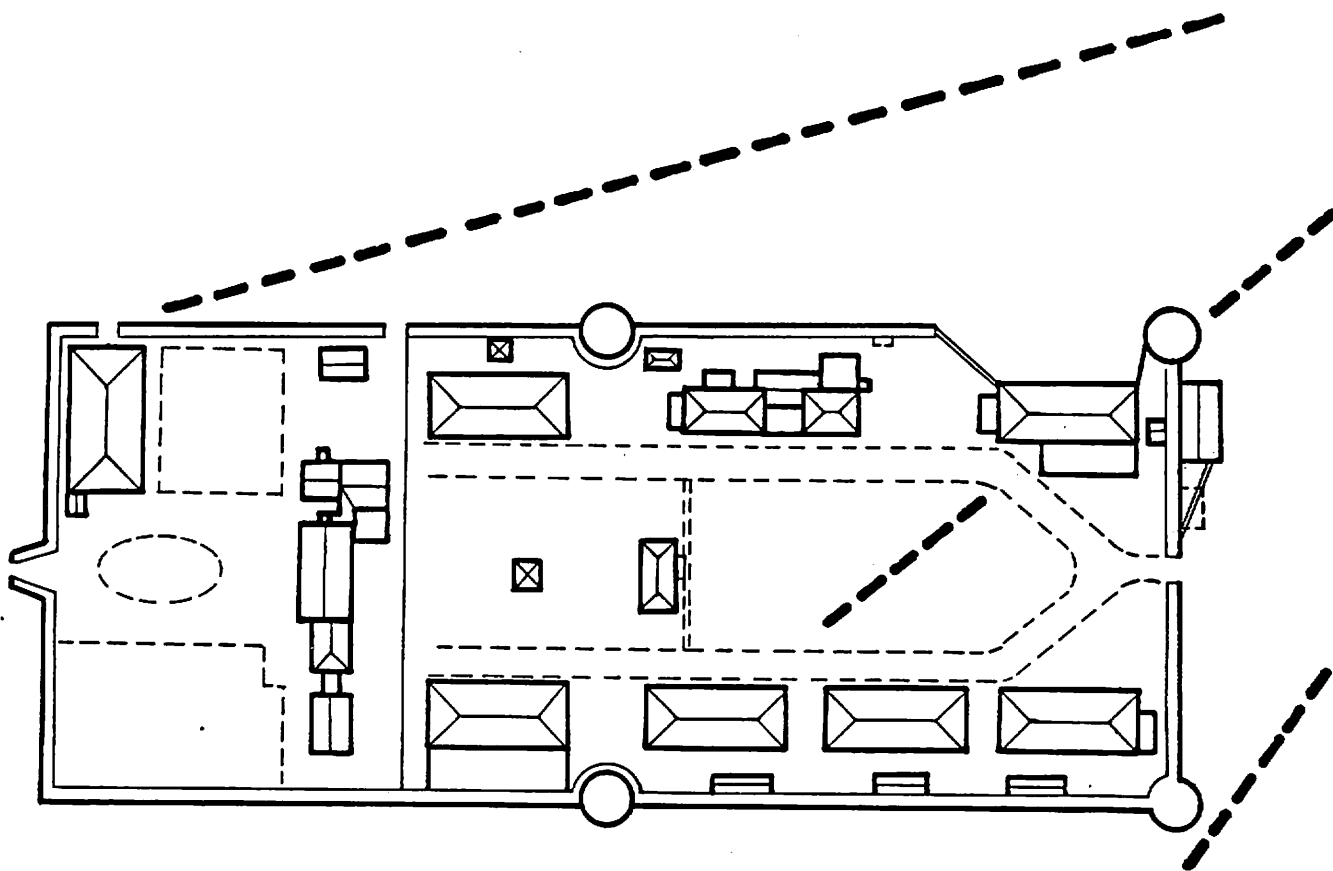
Figure 35

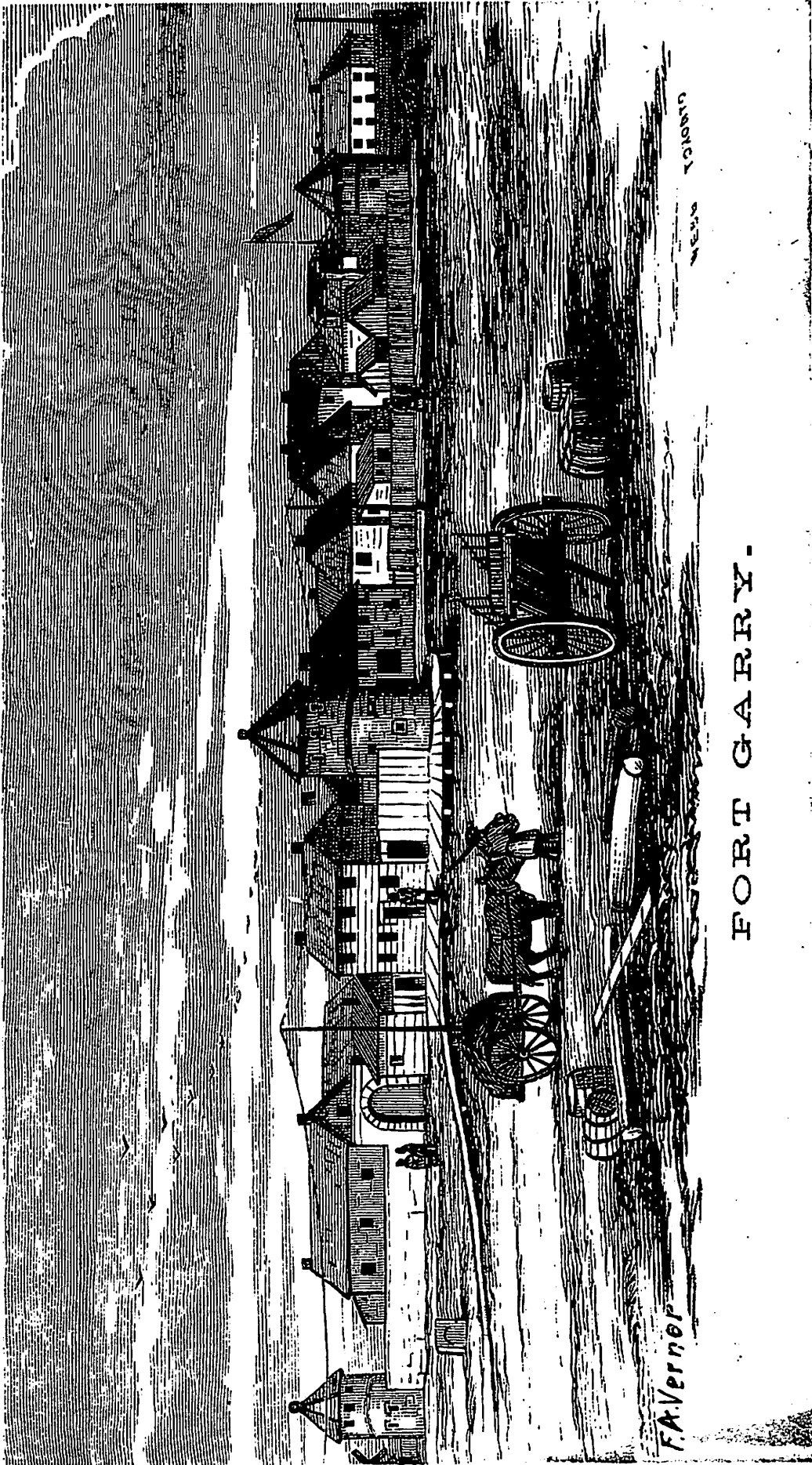
Date: [1872]

Aspect: SE

"Fort Garry," drawn by F.A. Verner. Manitoba Archives,  
Fort Garry 53.

Note: Long storehouse inside wall; platform surrounding  
liquor store.





FORT GARRY.

F.A. Verner

NEW YORK

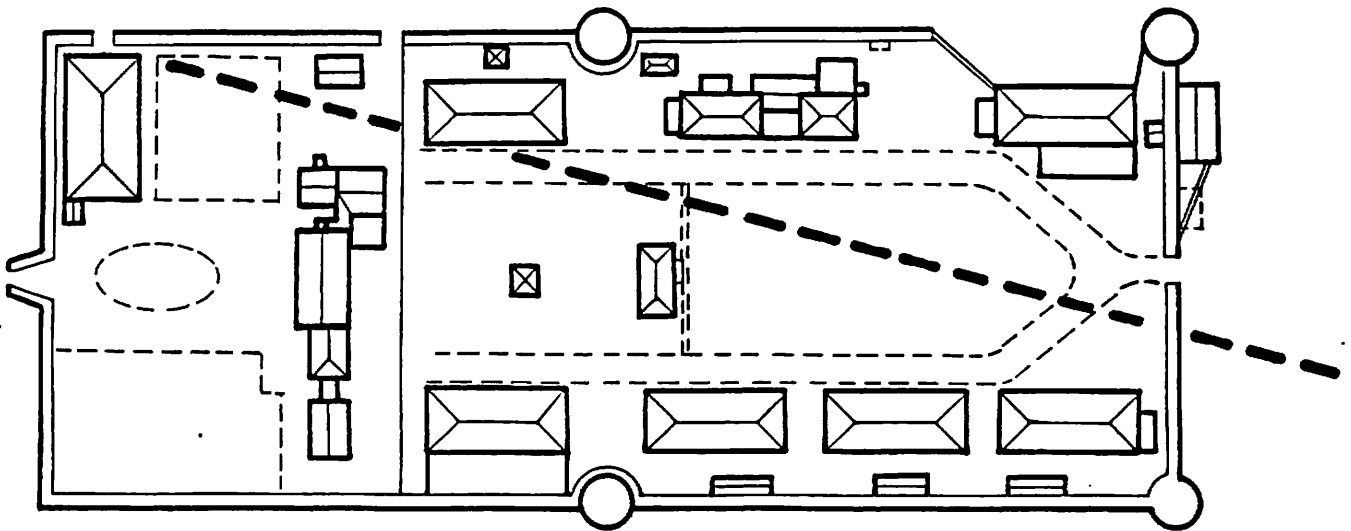


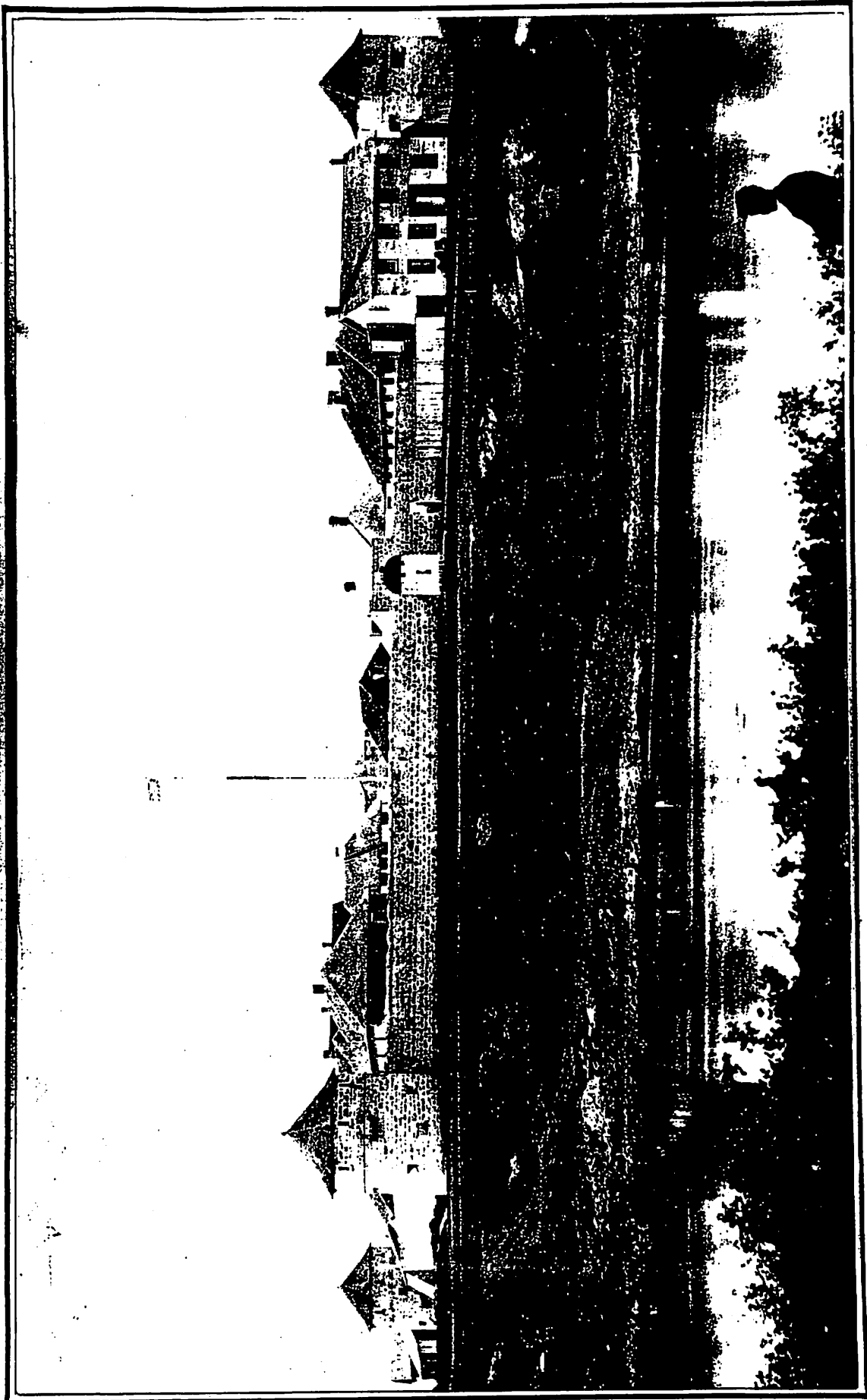
Figure 36

Date: ca. 1874-75

Aspect: SSW

"Fort Garry - 1878. A Vanished Scene in the Early History of Our Country." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 37.





~ Fort Garry - 1878. ~  
A Vanished Scene in the Early History of Our Country. ~

Figure 37

Date: 1870s

Aspect: N

"North gate, Fort Garry." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry  
Gate 2.

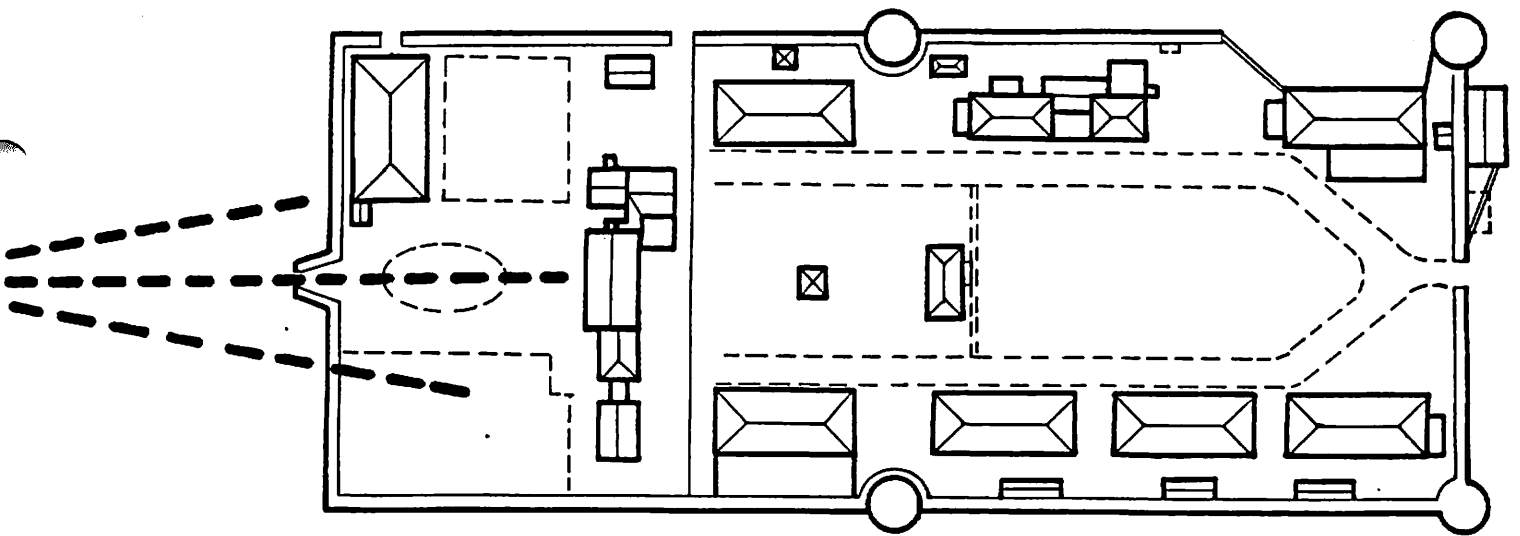


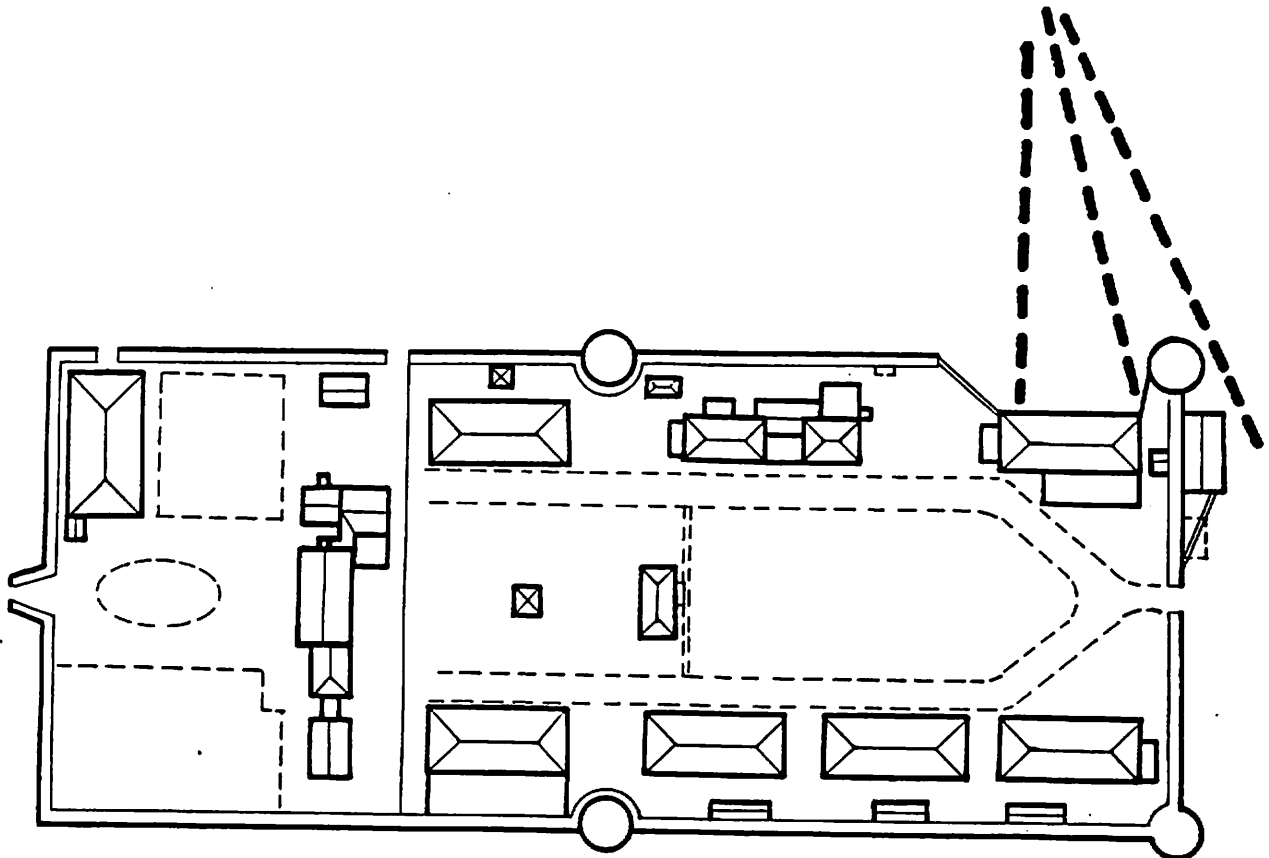


Figure 38

Date: [ca. 1873]

Aspect: ENE

"Retail store." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 49.



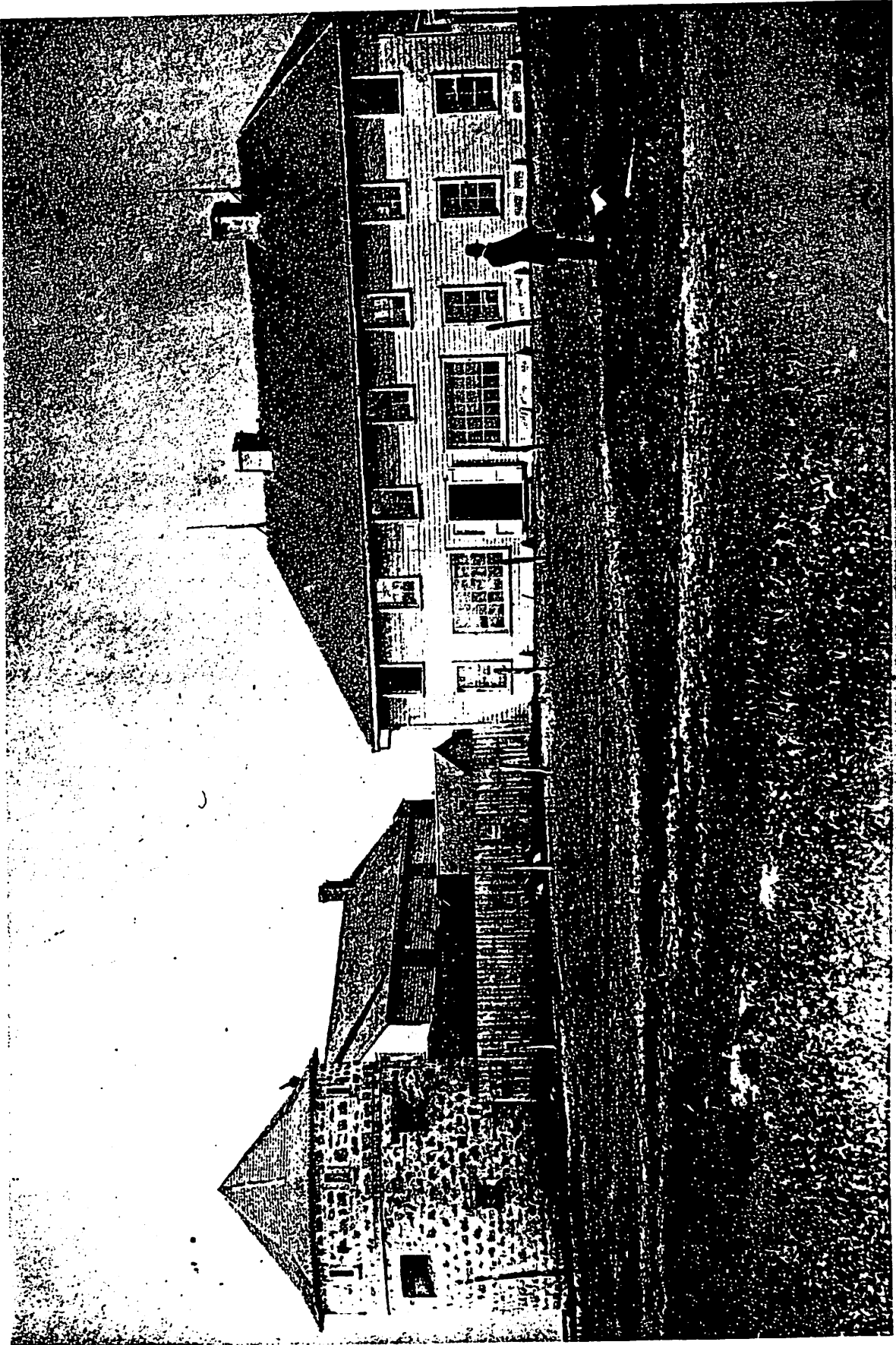


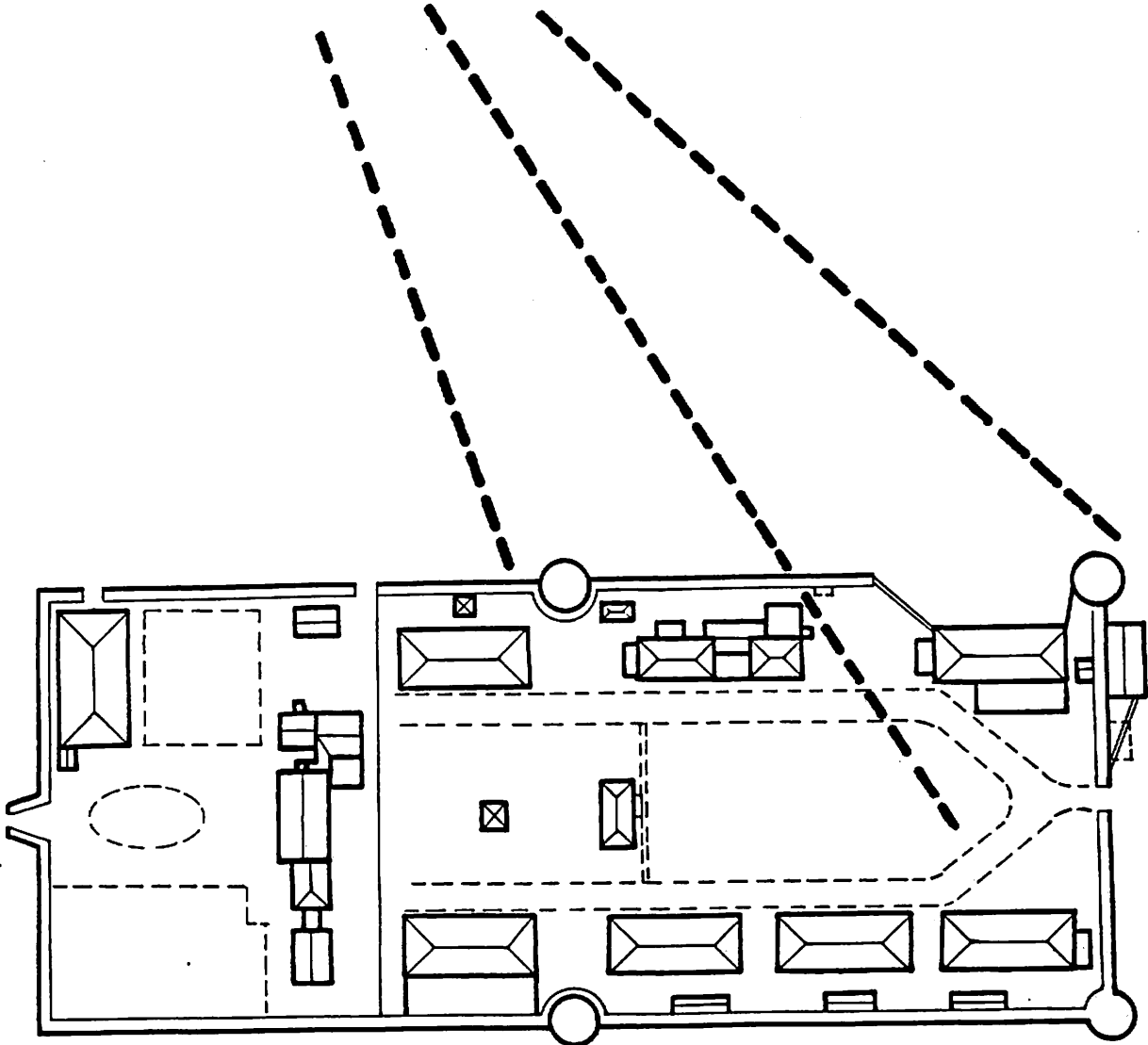
Figure 39

Date: ca. 1874

Aspect: ENE

"Fort Garry," drawn by Rolph Smith. Manitoba Archives,  
Fort Garry 30.

Note: This lithograph is the clearest depiction of  
annexes along the east side of the fort.



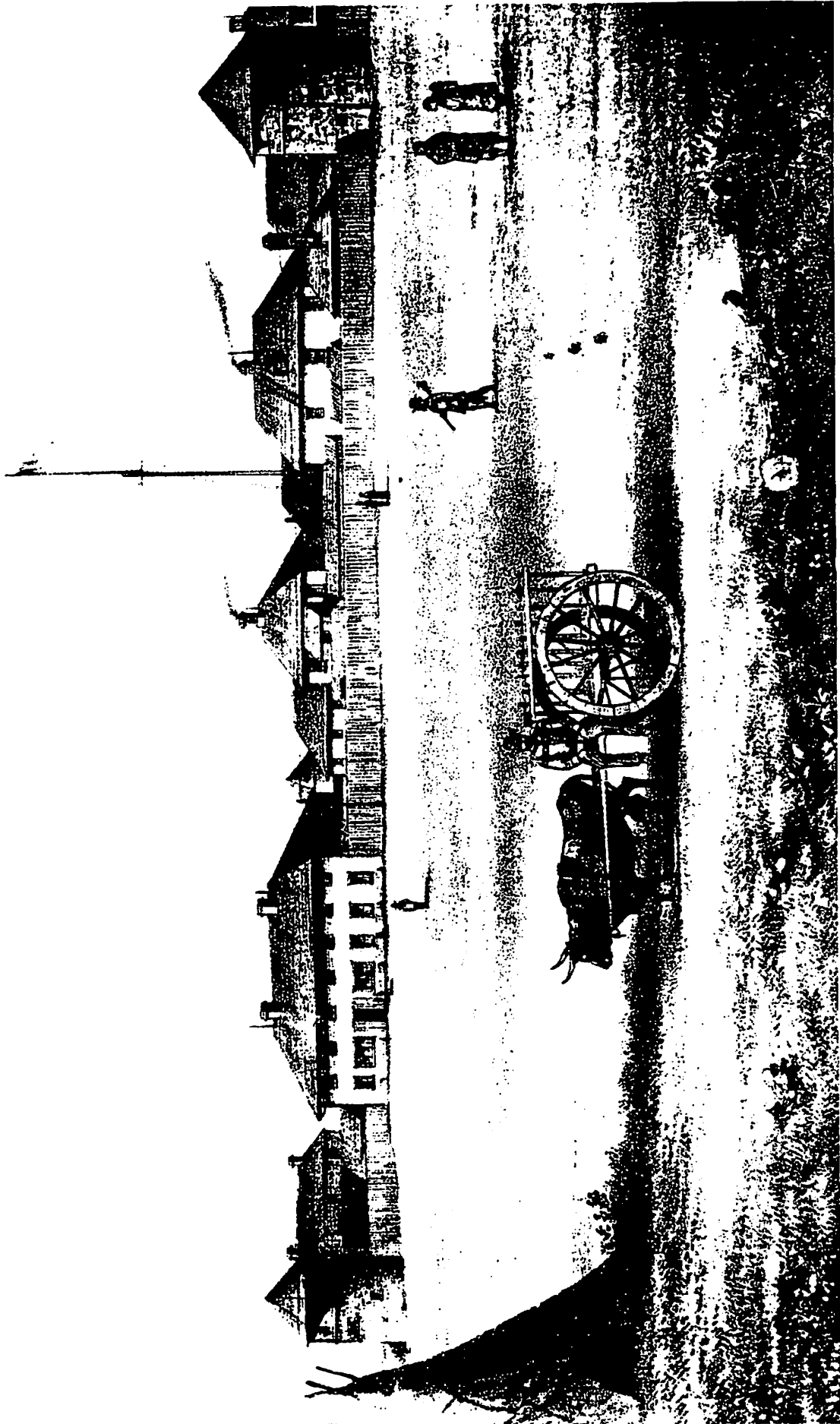




Figure 40

Date: [1874]

Aspect: ENE

"Fort Garry, ca. 1880." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 46.

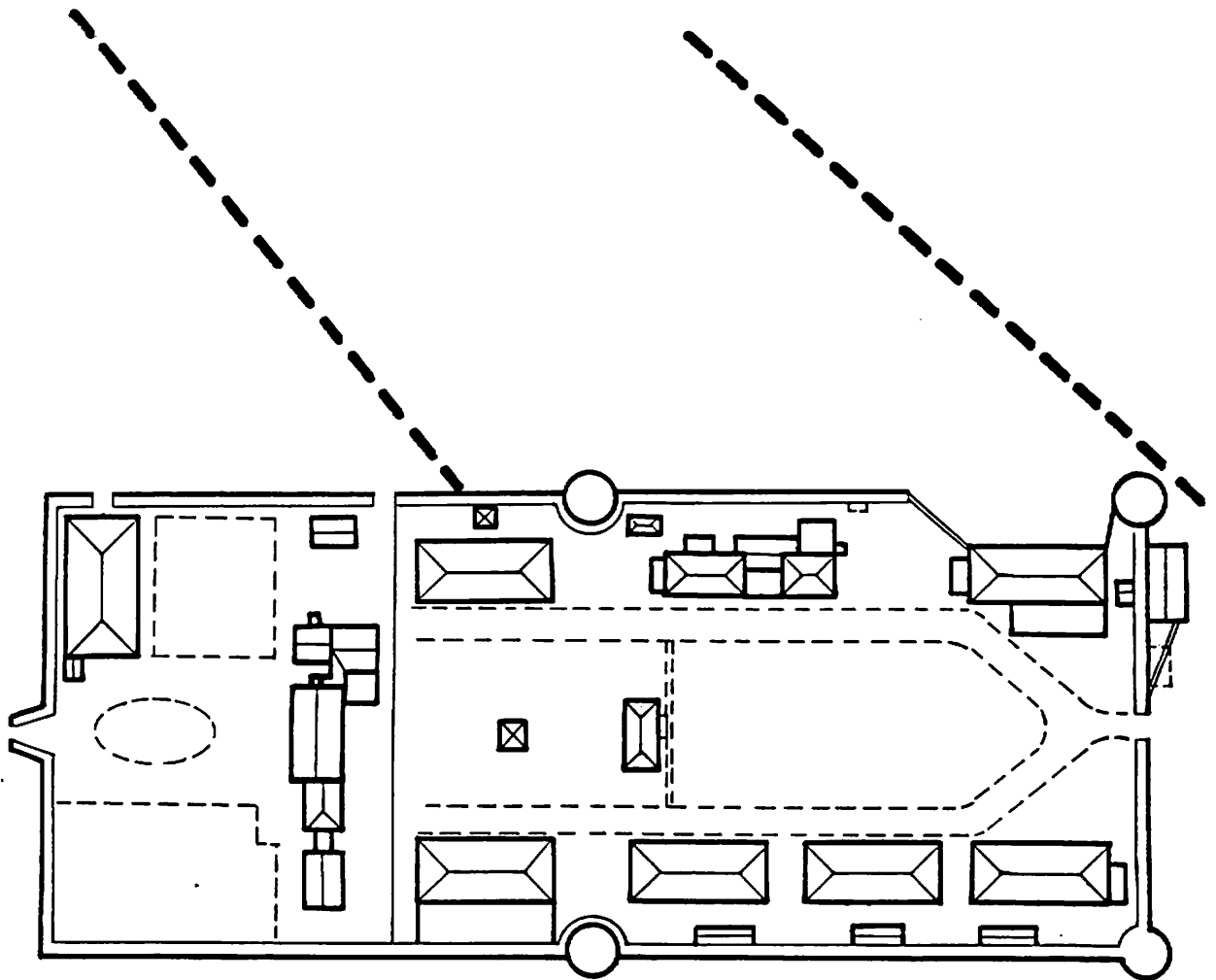


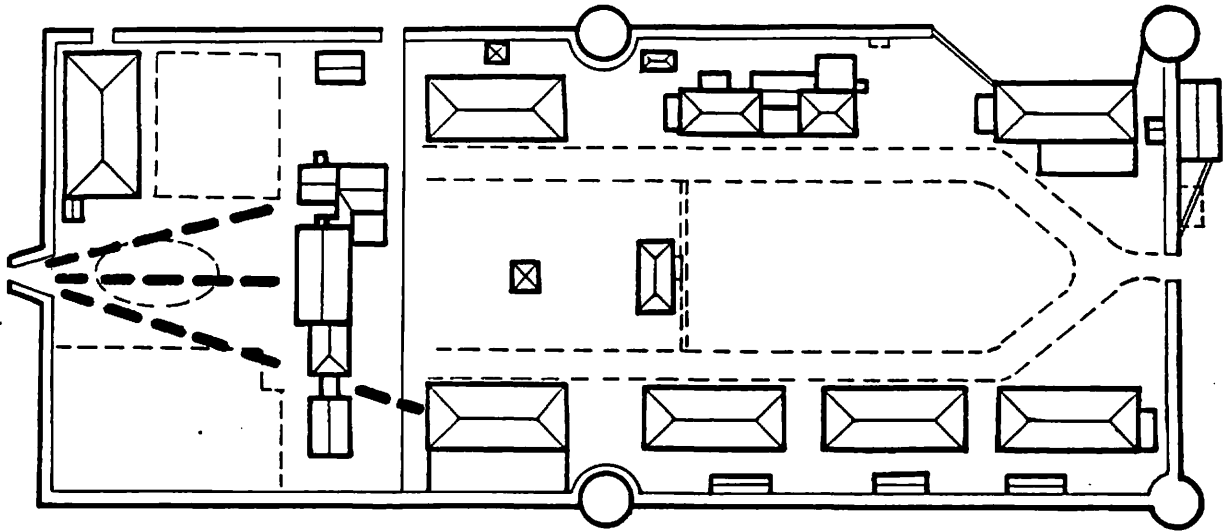


Figure 41

Date: 1878

Aspect: N

"Government House." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 45/9.



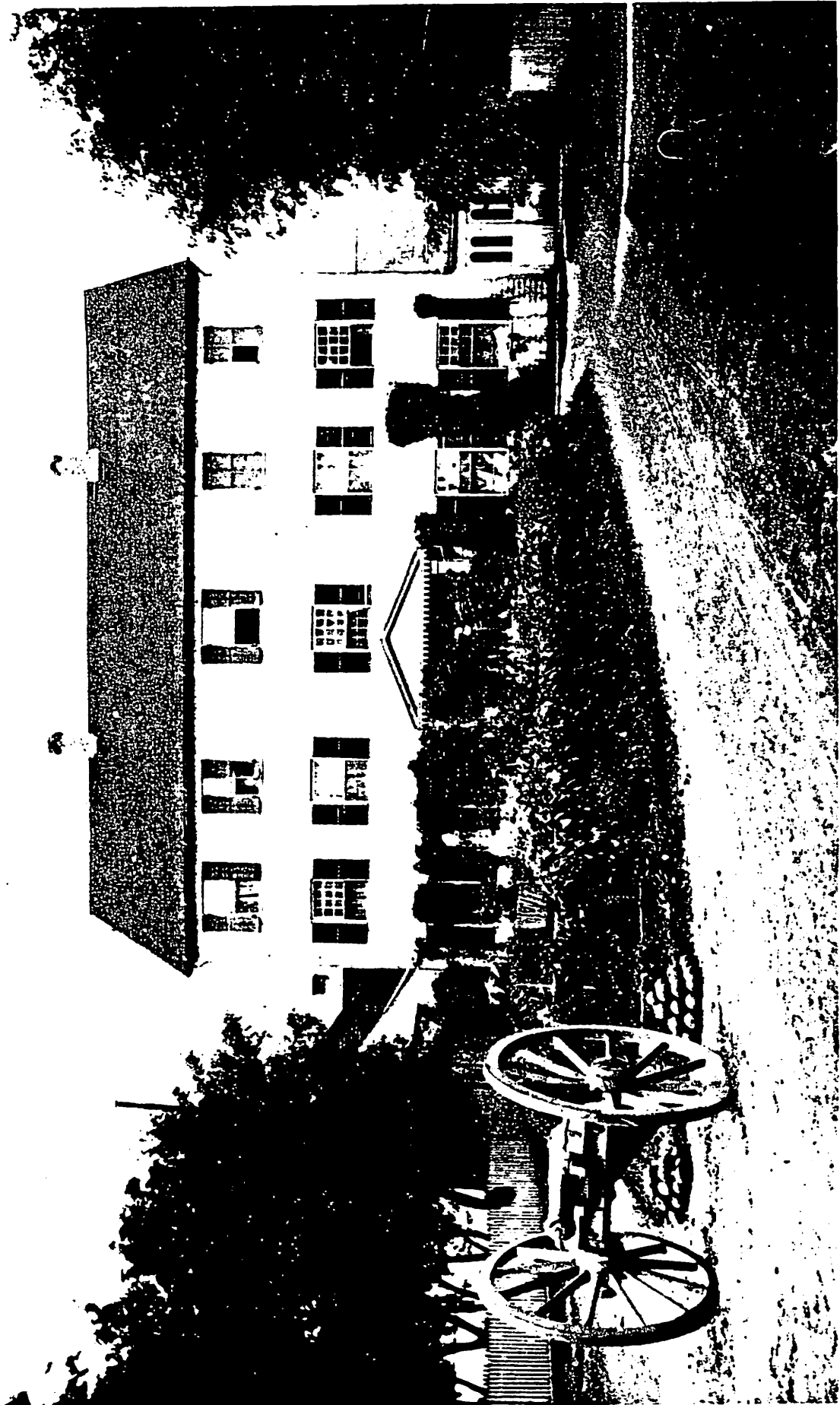
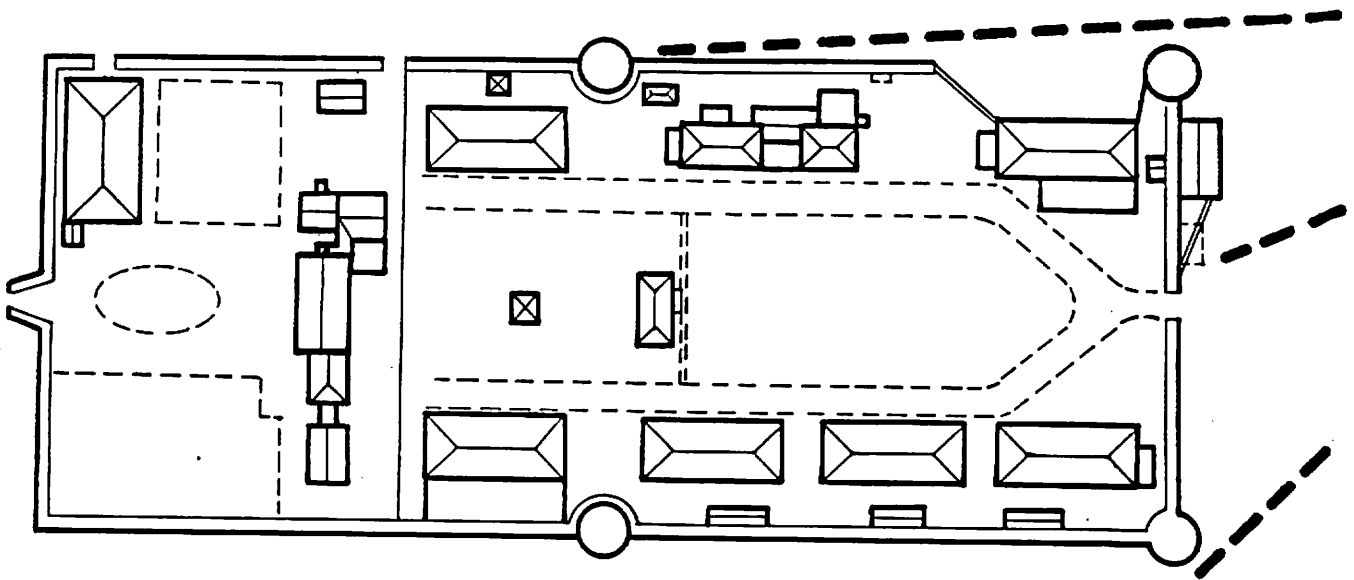


Figure 42

Date: ca. 1876

Aspect: SSE

"Fort Garry," sketch by the Earl of Dufferin. Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 40.



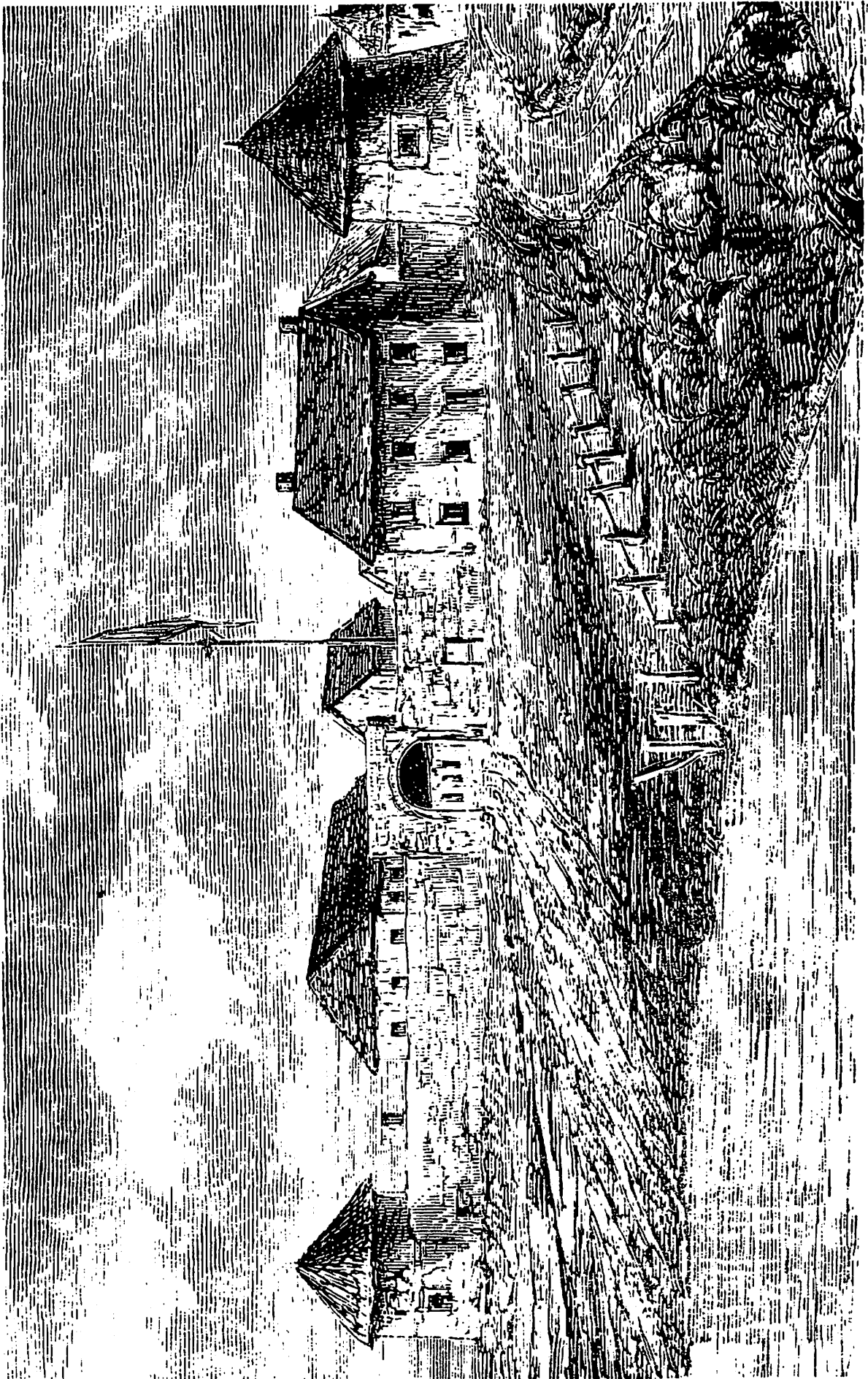
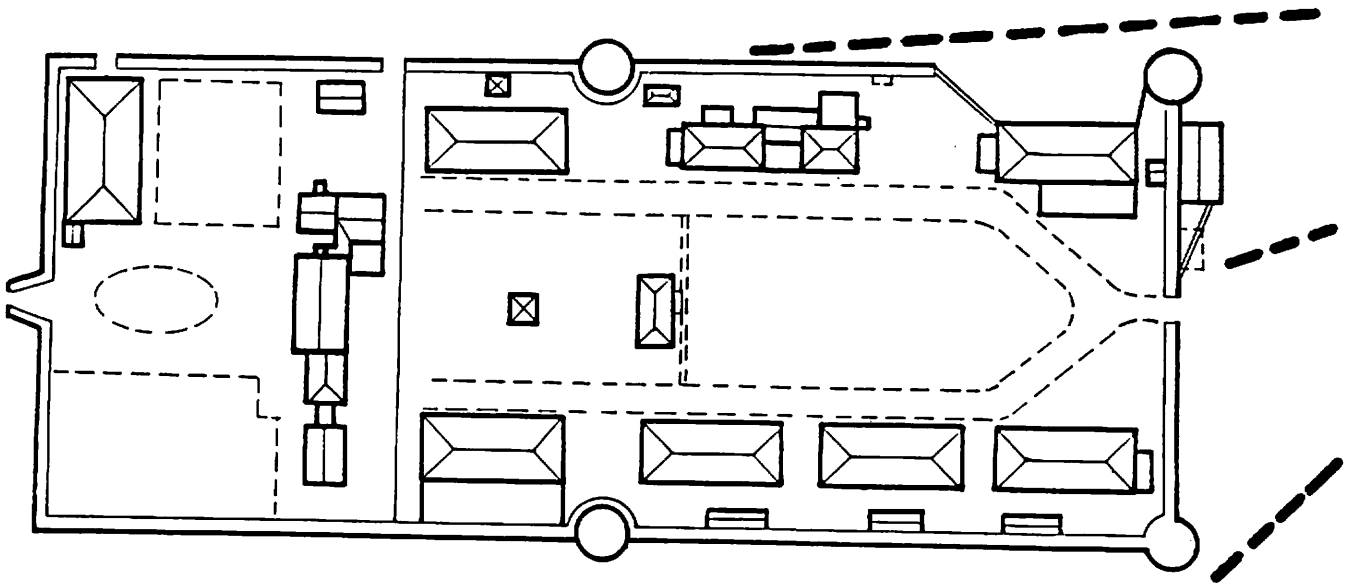


Figure 43

Date: ca. 1876

Aspect: SSE

"Fort Garry," drawn by Manton Marble. Manitoba Archives,  
Fort Garry 9.



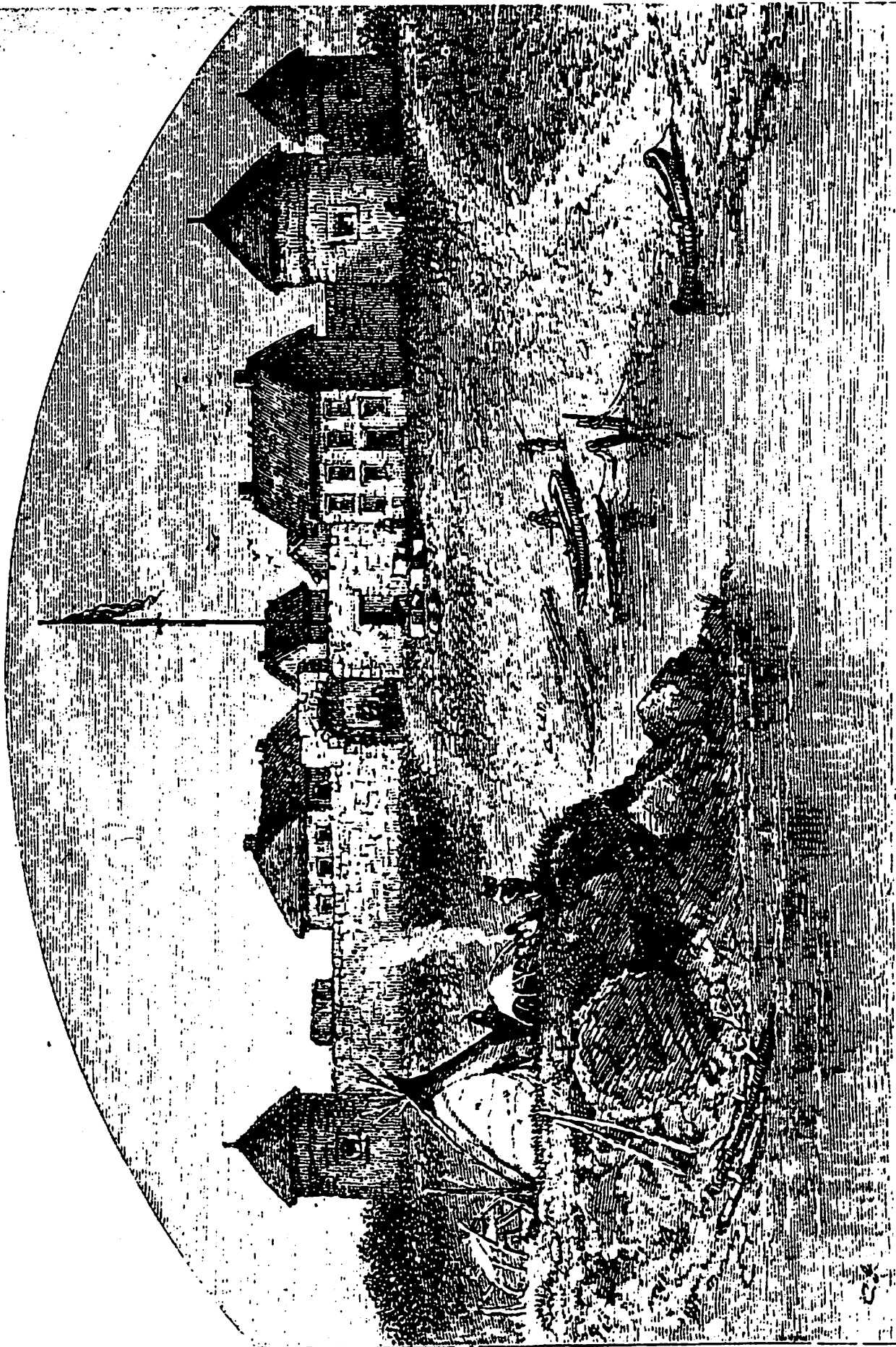




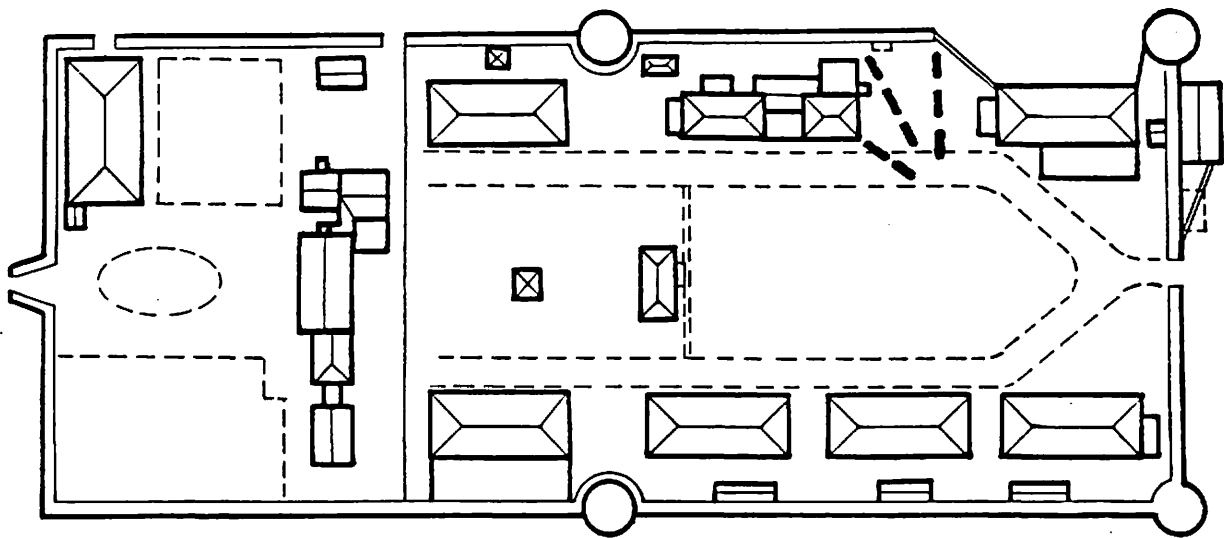
Figure 44

Date: 1878

Aspect: WSW

"Chief Factor's house." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 45/4.

Note: This view is of the south side of the recorder's house, inhabited in 1878 by William Mactavish.



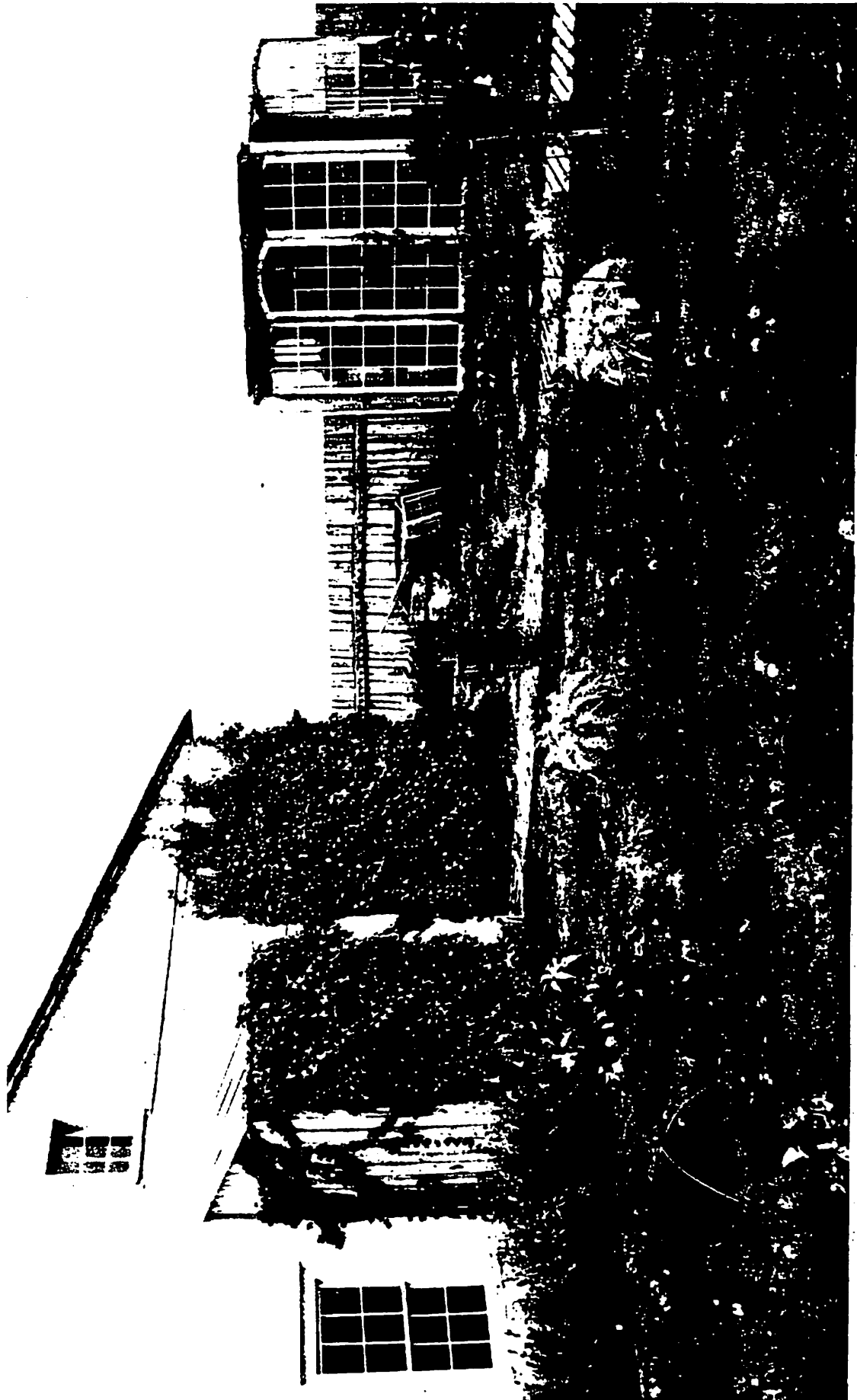
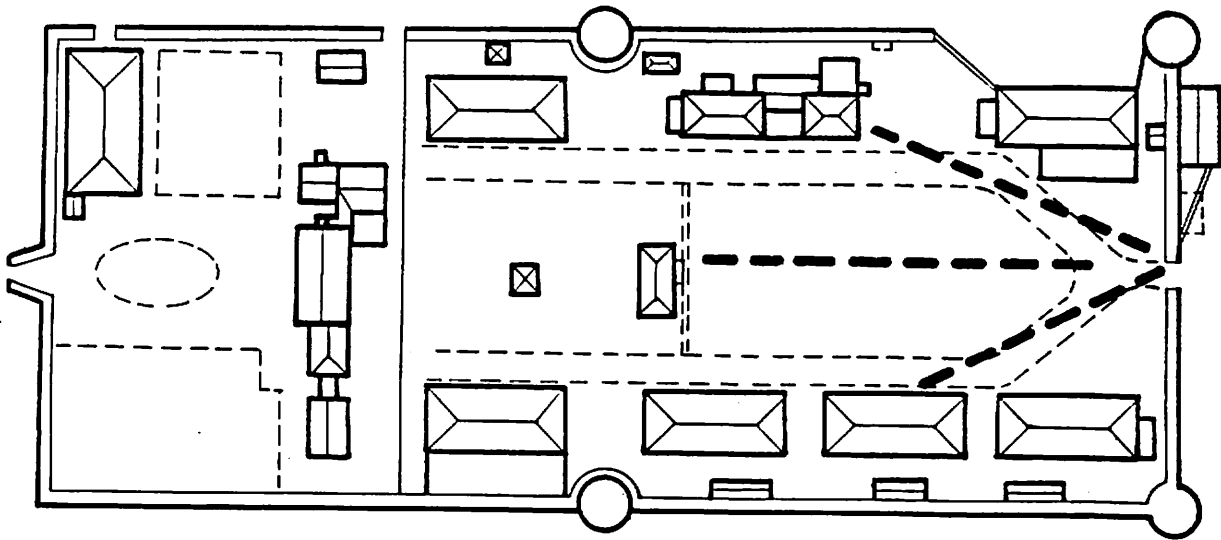


Figure 45

Date: ca. 1878

Aspect: S

"Officers' quarters from Assiniboine Avenue entrance."  
Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 45/5.



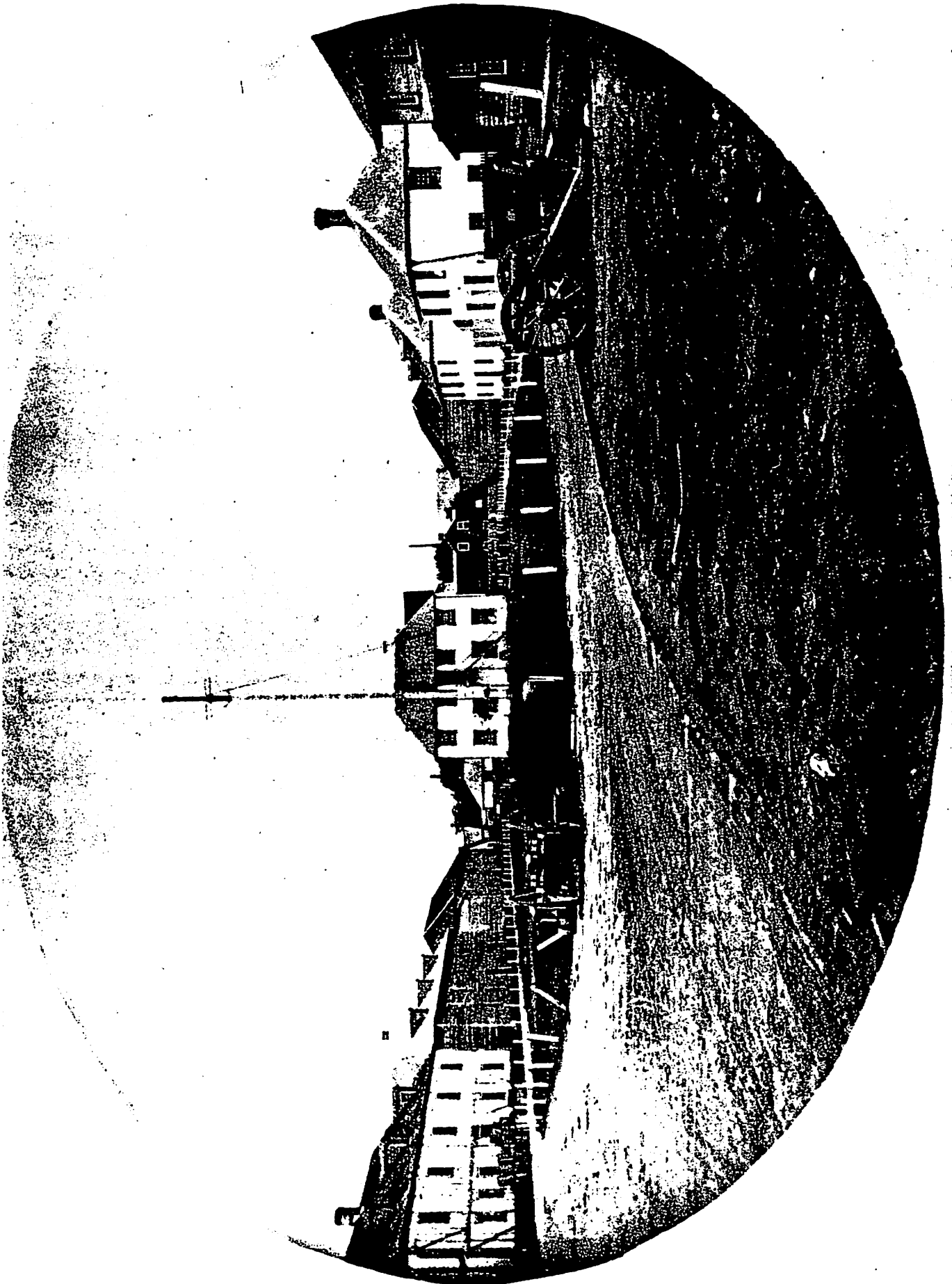
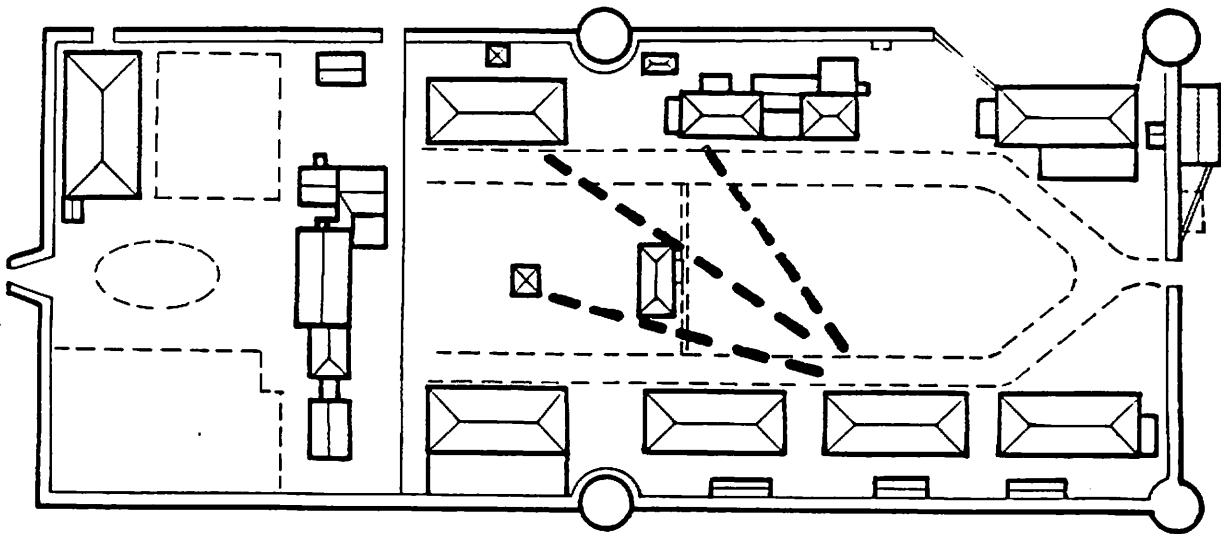


Figure 46

Date: ca. 1878

Aspect: SW

"Officers' quarters." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 45/2.



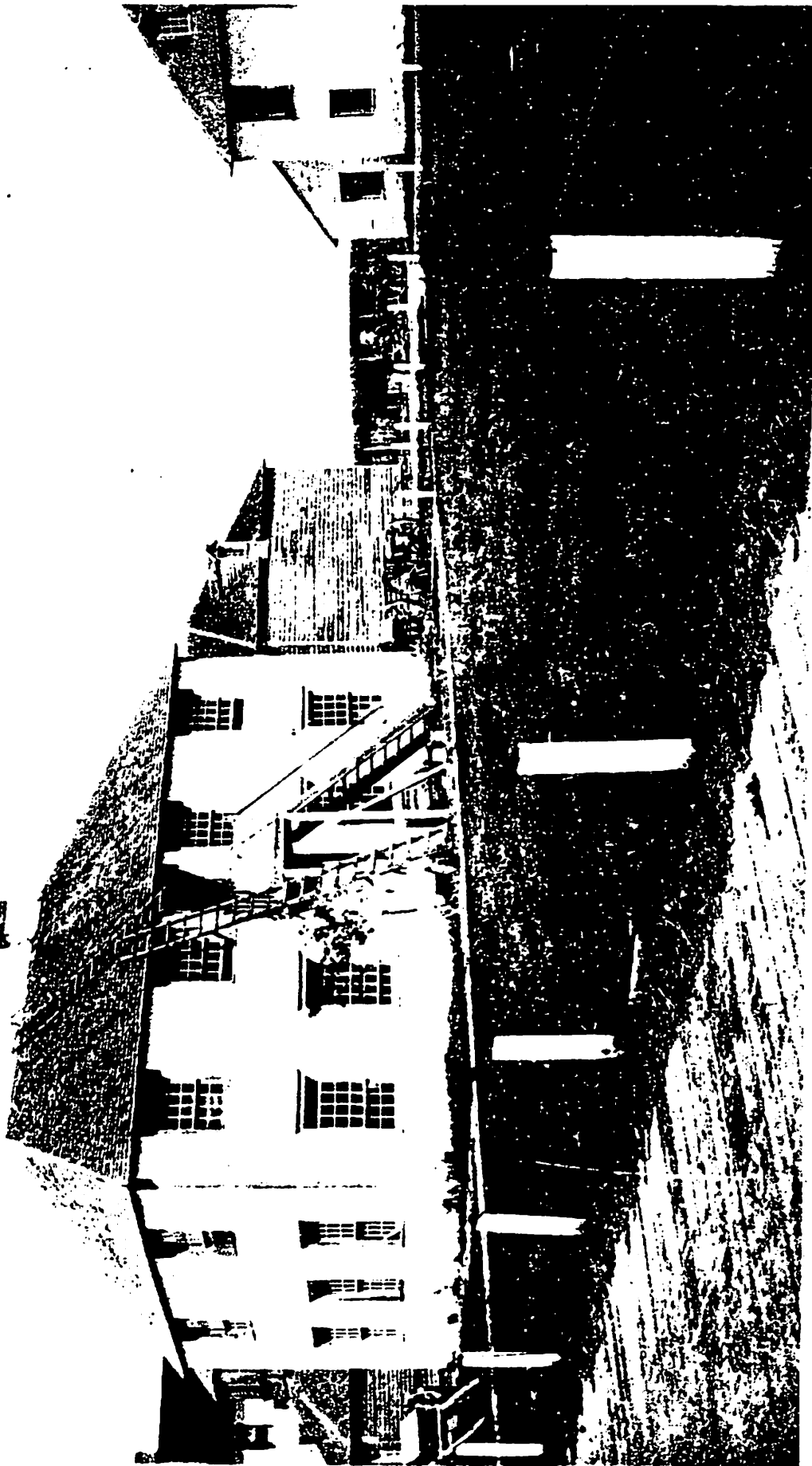
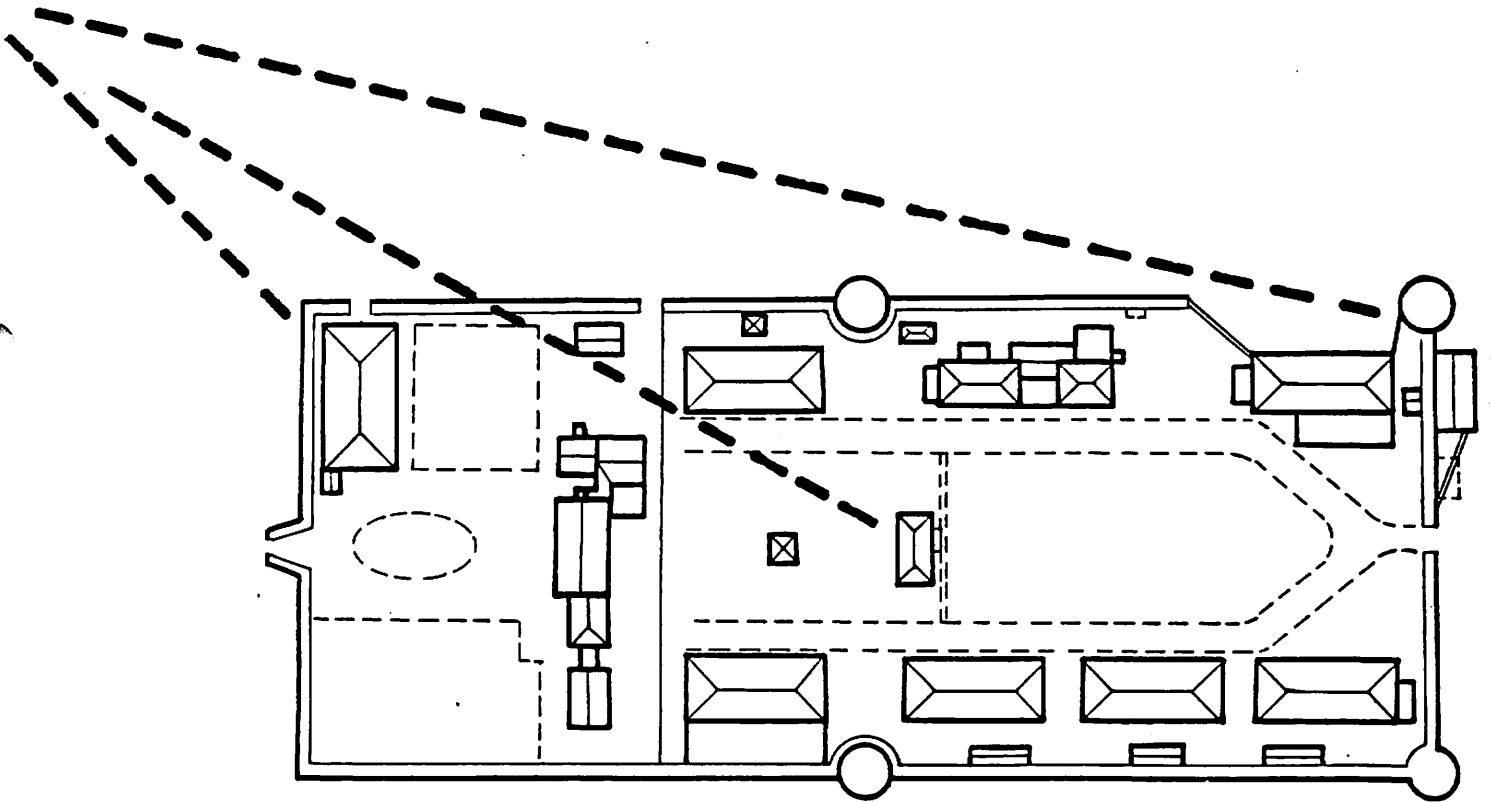


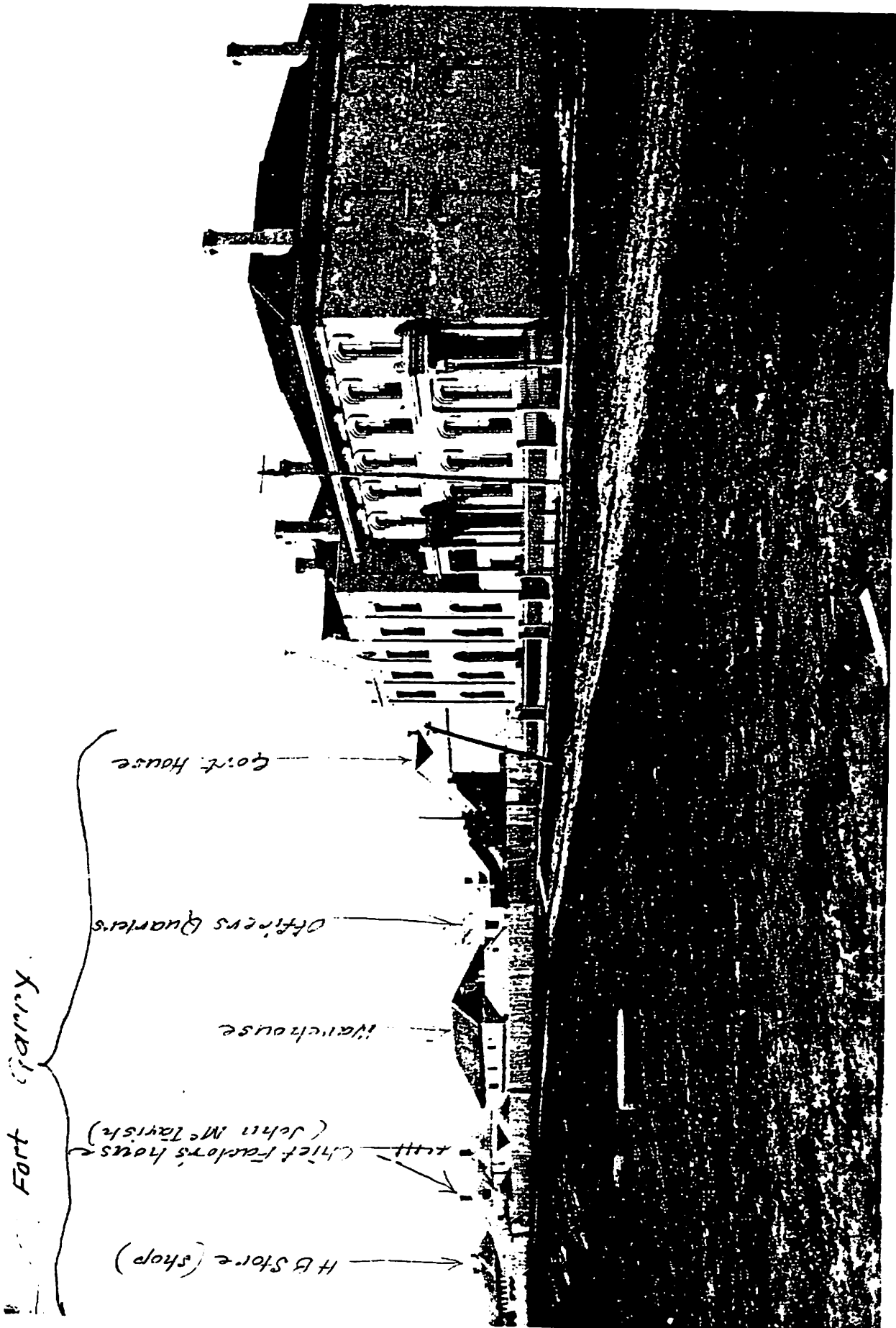
Figure 47

Date: 1878

Aspect: NNE

"HBC offices, corner of Main and Broadway." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 45/3.





Govt. House

Officers Quarters

Warehouse

Chief Factor's house  
(John McTavish)

H B Store (shop)

Fort Garry

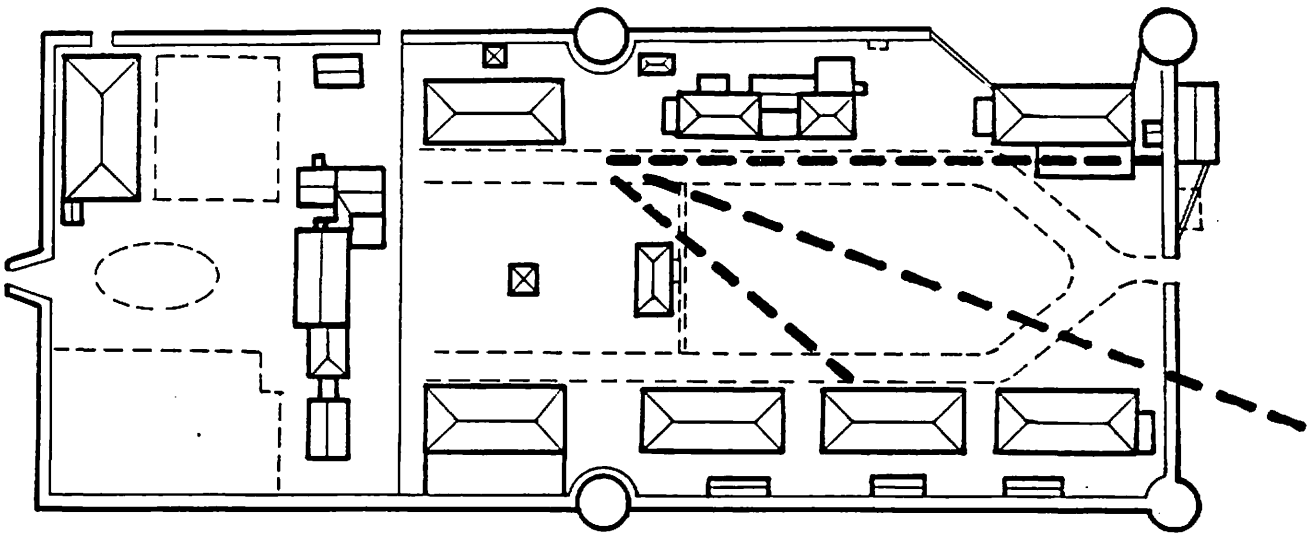


Figure 48

Date: ca. 1878

Aspect: NNE

"Fort Garry, showing Main Street Bridge and old Davis house at north end of bridge." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 45/1.



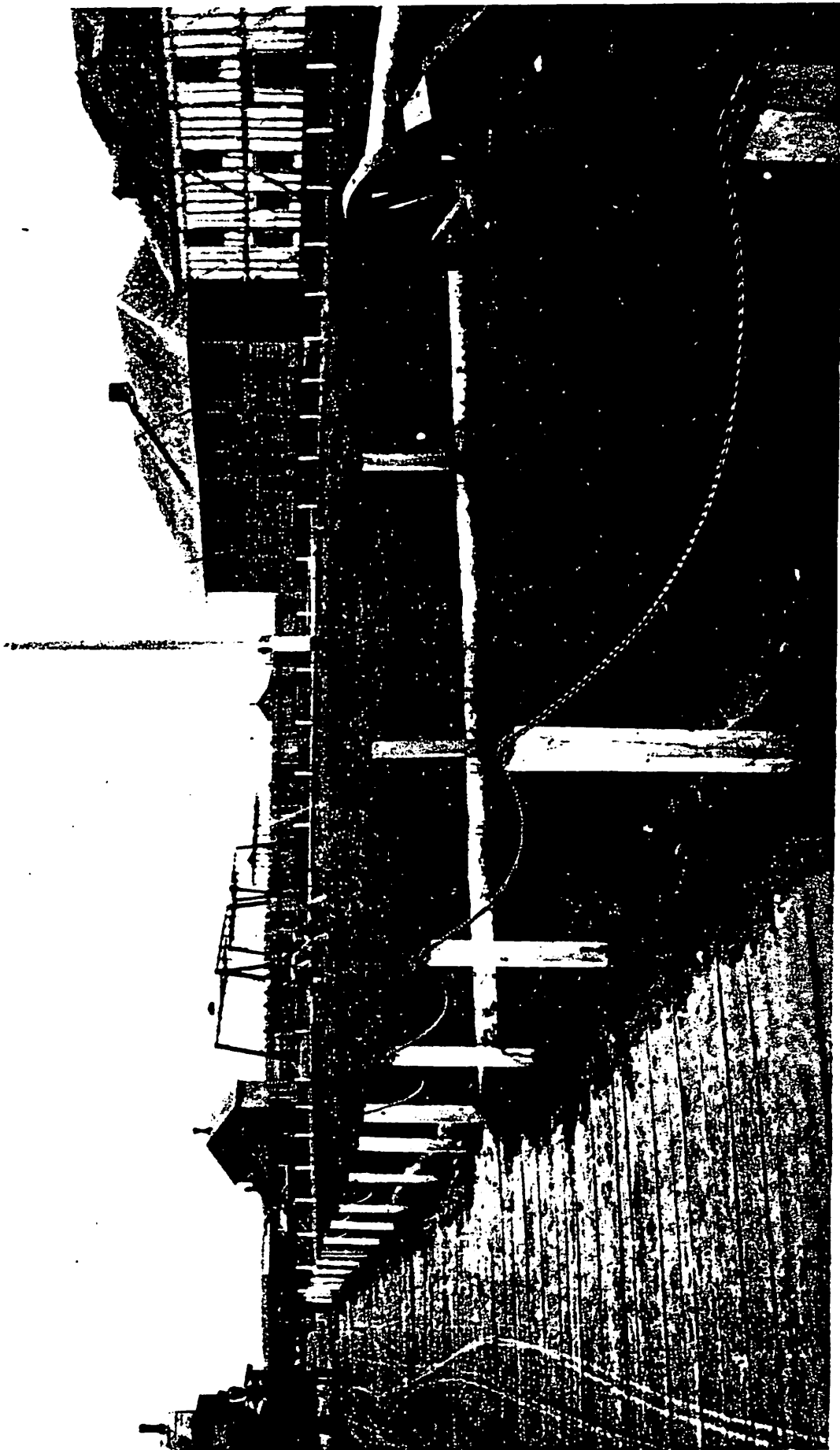


Figure 49

Date: 1878

Aspect: S

"Fort Garry." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry 45/7.

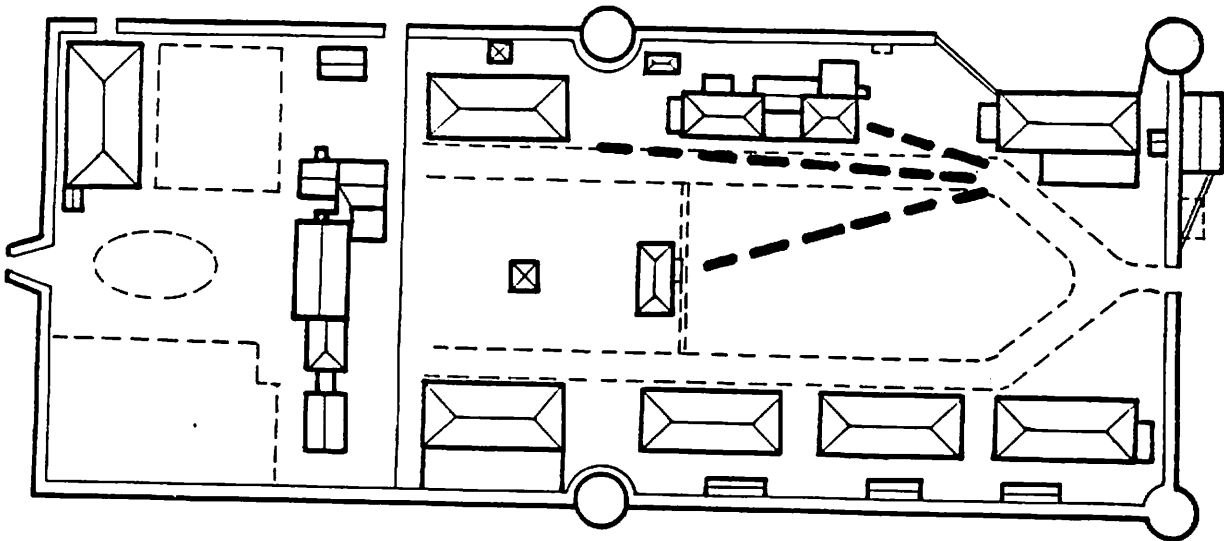


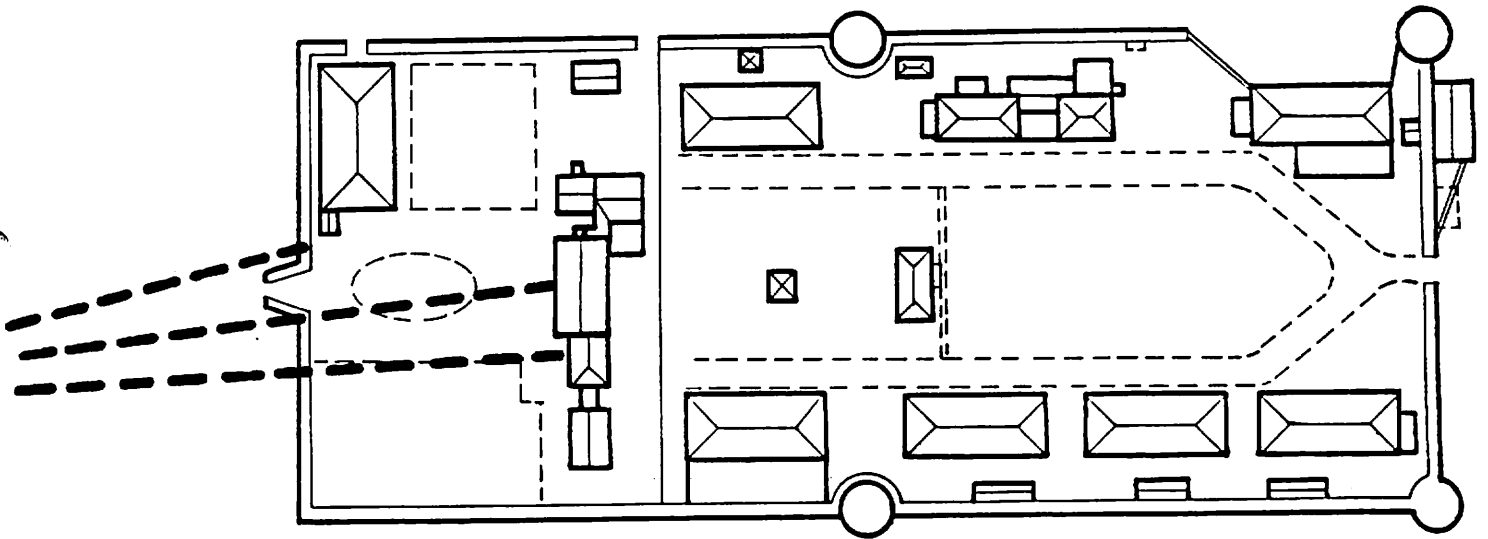


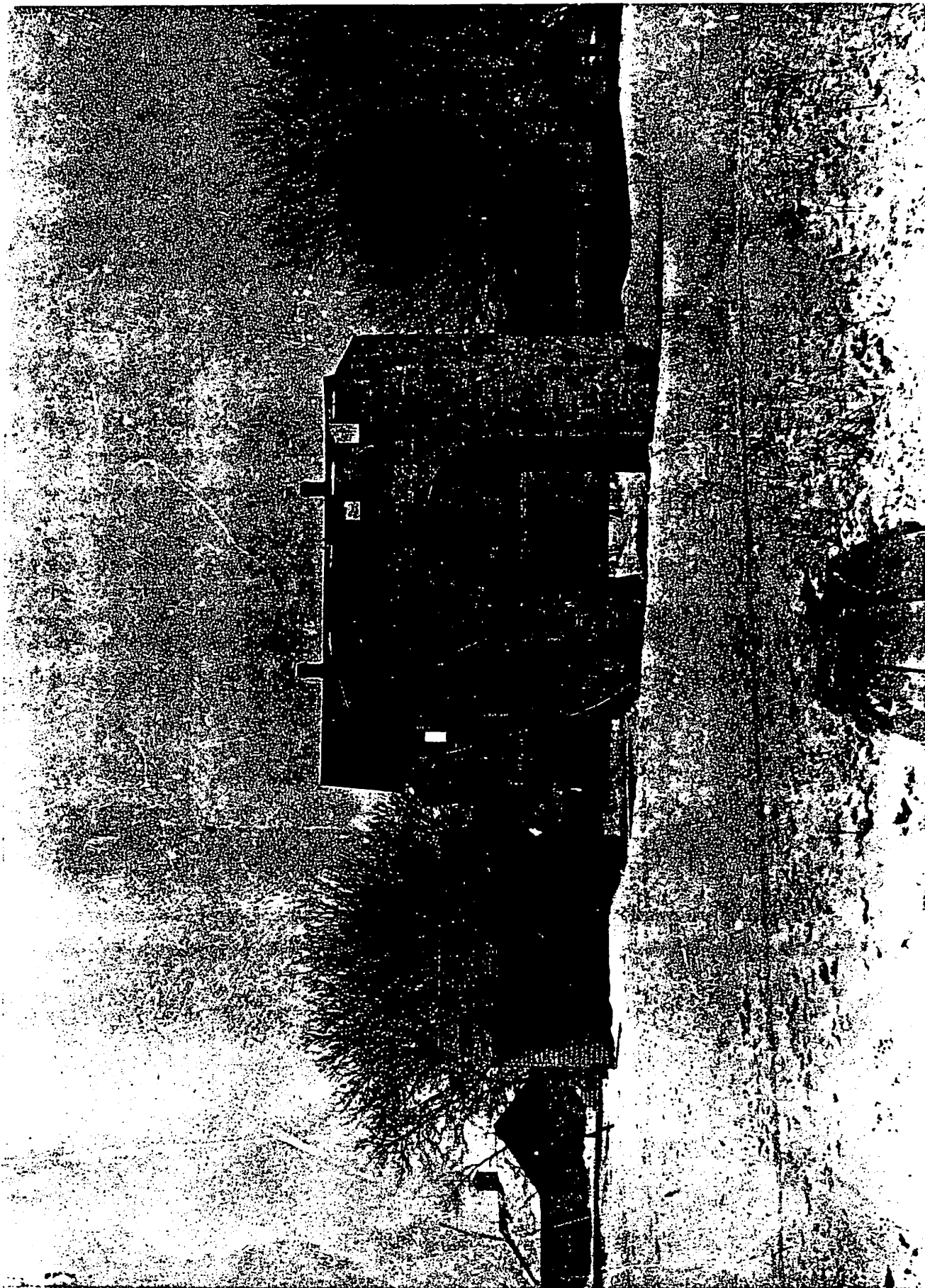
Figure 50

Date: 1887

Aspect: NNW

"North gate, Fort Garry." Manitoba Archives, Fort Garry  
Gate 11.





## Conclusion

The structures at Upper Fort Garry provide a wide range of examples of building functions and styles over a significant period of time. Because many of these buildings can be related to specific decisions and circumstances, conclusions can be drawn between material evidence from the fur trade era and the archival record describing the larger and more abstract history of the fur trade.

The collection of structures at Upper Fort Garry were for the most part representative of the post-and-beam architectural style which was predominant in 19th century fur trade construction. Both of the major variants of the post-and-beam style, namely the European mortar nogging variant and the "Red River" tongue and groove variant, existed simultaneously at the fort. However, the "Red River" style appears to have been employed only when a pressing need for storage space was to be met, while the European style was employed in cases where planning and prior allocation of resources and skills were involved.

The early use of stud frame construction at Upper Fort Garry may be related to the demise of the craft of joining in the face of technological progress in the production of building materials. More importantly, the decline of post-and-beam construction may also be related to the depletion of oaks of sufficient size for construction.

The purpose of walls surrounding Hudson's Bay Company establishments is also called into question in the history of the fort. The practical need to separate the collected spoils of the land from the inhabitants of the land was an obvious purpose of the walls, yet at the Red River Settlement the use of stone and pseudo-military features served a much more complex political function.

The imposing and dominating appearance of the fort left an impression which has survived in a legacy of depictions by various artists and photographers. It is perhaps the most important reason for knowing Upper Fort Garry in detail that the fort was so frequently depicted and described during its lifetime. What the fort actually was and symbolized were apparently central to the history of the North-West. Whether one was a traveller, an ambitious company officer or a political aspirant, it was an important thing to be at Upper Fort Garry. To understand the significance of the fort in these terms is to impart historical meaning to the details of construction, location and function. Historical meaning is a difficult goal when the material connections to the past are missing - a truism which forms into two observations. When Upper Fort Garry was demolished in 1883, the Hudson's Bay Company felt no residual sentimental connection to the Red River Settlement era, so completely had attitudes changed. Finally, historical reconstruction of the 19th century Red River mentalité begins with knowledge in detail of its chief architectural symbol, Upper Fort Garry.



Appendix A. A Description of Upper Fort Garry in 1871.

Taken from J.A. Griffin, From Toronto to Fort Garry (Hamilton: Evening Times Office, 1873), pp. 53-54.

On the northern bank of the Assiniboine River, and about five hundred yards from its junction with the Red River, stands the much talked of and much written of Fort Garry. The fort itself is a rectangular structure, 90 yards in width by 180 in length, having circular bastions at the south-east and south-west corners, and in the centre of each of the two side walls; these bastions, which at one time formed the four corners of the fort -- it having been originally a square -- are pierced with port-holes for artillery and loop-holes for small arms, and are connected by a stone wall twelve feet high and between two and three feet in thickness, while the east and west sides have been extended to double their original length, the additional piece of wall having been built of squared oak timber, as was also the new northern wall. Over the north gate is a square tower, also pierced for both guns and small arms, and over it waves the flag of the British Empire. Entering the fort by the southern gate, we find directly in front of us the building occupied as officers' quarters; immediately to our left and against the south wall are the guardhouse, orderly room, and sergeant's mess, and down the western side are four long two-storey buildings, built for store-houses, two of which are now used as barracks; between these and the wall are several smaller buildings, used for cook house,

bake house, etc. On the east side are several more store-houses, a retail store, and the residence of the Governor of the fort and other Hudson's Bay Company officials; in the centre are the offices of the Hudson's Bay Company and the engine-house; near the northern end, and facing the north gate, is the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba. In the barrack square, in front of the officers' quarters, are a number of field guns of different calibre, and several garrison guns and mortars, which, with the piles of shot and shell lying around, and the sentries pacing their beats in different directions, give the place and scene a truly military appearance, which is still further enhanced at times by the mounting of guards or the drilling of the various squads or companies of soldiers.

Appendix B. Inventory of Major Structures at Upper Fort Garry.

Organized chronologically by construction date.

Where it is known, information is given in the following order: Dimensions. Location. Construction date. Style of construction. Function. Accretions. Destruction date.

Ware House:

72' x 30', axial. 18' from south wall, 22' from west wall. 1835-37. Stone foundation; post-and-beam, stone and mortar nogging siding; hip roof. Warehouse for trade goods, barrack. Latrines against inside west wall and outside west wall.

Fur Store:

72' x 30', axial. 18' from north stone wall, 22' from west wall. 1836-37. Stone foundation; post-and-beam, siding; hip roof, gables. Collection of furs; barrack and military store. Outbuilding inside west wall. 1886.

Main House:

70' x 35', trans-axial. 106' from south wall, centred trans-axially. 1835-36. Stone foundation, cellar; post-and-beam, horizontal siding; hip roof, gables. Chief HBC officer's residence, Governor of Assiniboia's residence, military officers' quarters. One-storey annex each end. 1872.

**Sales Store:**

72' x 30', axial. 18' from south wall, 22' from east wall. 1838-39. Timber foundation; post-and-beam, siding; hip roof. Retail sales and storage, office. Porch on northside; lean-to app. 14' x 50' on west side; outbuilding to southeast against east wall; passageway to men's house; picket fence to sales store and men's house. 1883.

**Recorder's House:**

36' x 24', axial. 28' from east wall, 160' from south wall. Ca. 1838. Post-and-beam, plaster; hip roof. Residence of recorder, chief HBC officer with families. Lean-to on east side, after 1878 two-storey annex; porch on south side; gazebo outbuilding to southeast against east wall; passageway to men's house; picket fence to sales store and men's house. 1883.

**Men's House:**

42' x 24', axial. 28' from east wall, 18' north of recorder's house. 1838. Post-and-beam, plaster; hip roof, gables. Residence for unmarried servants, clerks. Latrine on west side, porch on north side; cookhouse to northeast. 1883.

**"Yellow" Store:**

72' x 20', axial. 22' from west wall, 16-18' clearance from warehouse and fur store at either end, 106' from south wall. 1841-44. Stone foundation; post-and-beam, stone and mortar nogging, plaster; hip roof, gables. Warehouse; barrack. Latrine against west wall.

**Flour Store:**

72' x 30', axial. 18' north of north stone wall, 22' from east wall. 1846. Wood foundation, cornerstones; tongue and groove frame, siding; hip roof, end gables. Grain storage and threshing. Powder magazine to the east.

**Pemmican Store:**

72' x 30', axial, 18' north of north stone wall, 22' from west wall. 1848. Wood foundation, cornerstones; tongue and groove frame, siding; hip roof, end gables. Plains produce storage; grain storage and threshing. Lean-to extending to west wall; lean-to against north wall.

**Well house:**

16' x 16'. On axis, 50' north of office, 30' north of north stone wall. 1851-52. 42' deep well, stone cribbing; wood foundation; tongue and groove; hip roof. Well head. Bell house on peak.

**Office:**

18' x 36', trans-axial. On axis, 18' south of stone north wall. 1852. Stone foundation; post-and-beam with stone and mortar nogging, plaster; hip roof. Mess; HBC and District of Assiniboia offices. Outside stair, wooden walkaround.

**Government House:**

48' x 28', trans-axial. On axis, 120' from north wall. 1853-54. Stone foundation, cellar; post-and-beam lower levels, stud frame upper storey ca. 1875, siding; gable roof. Residence of chief HBC officer, Lieutenant Governor of province. Veranda on north side; wing on west side with passageway to summer kitchen further west; passageway to 1859 house. 1891-99.

**Bastion Gate:**

17' x 14', trans-axial. On axis, south side flush with north wall. 1853-54. Stone, dressed stone from stone north wall. Archway; wooden ceiling; crenellations with coping. Extant.

**1859 House:**

24' x 24', axial. 10' east of Government House, 145' from north wall. 1859. Stud frame, siding; gable roof. Two-storey annex on north side with gable roof;

porch on east side of annex; lean-to on west side, connected to south side of Government House; gazebo to the northwest residence for senior officer.

**Workshops:**

Trans-axial. 205' north of northeast corner of fort. 1859. Frame. Tinsmith, carpenter shop. 1874.

**General Depot:**

70' x 32', trans-axial. 6' from north and east walls. 1860. Wood foundation; tongue and groove, siding; hip roof. Trade goods storage. Porch on west end; gate in wall at east end. 1883.

**Granary:**

24' x 16', axial. 8' from east wall, 150' from north wall. 1860. Stud frame; gable roof. Grain storage. Gate in east wall. 1883.

**Engine House:**

20' x 16', trans-axial. On axis, between well houses and interior wall. Construction unknown. Housed fire engine.

**1869 Store:**

18' x 75', trans-axial. Along south wall, 44' from west wall. 1869. Vertical clapboard; gable roof. Storage; orderly room and sergeants' mess. Outshot either end for stairs. 1872.

**Liquor Store:**

22' x 40', trans-axial. Along outside of south wall, 22' from east wall. 1871. Frame, siding; gable roof. Fence angling from southwest corner to fort wall, enclosing staircase; portal through wall to magazine 1883.

**Workshop #2:**

Axial. 120' west of west wooden wall. 1874. Replaced earlier workshop. 1878.

**Number 4 Warehouse:**

By the river. 1871. Wood foundation; frame, siding; gable roof. Storage. Receives name from fact that

three previous stores were used by military, leaving  
three for the company.

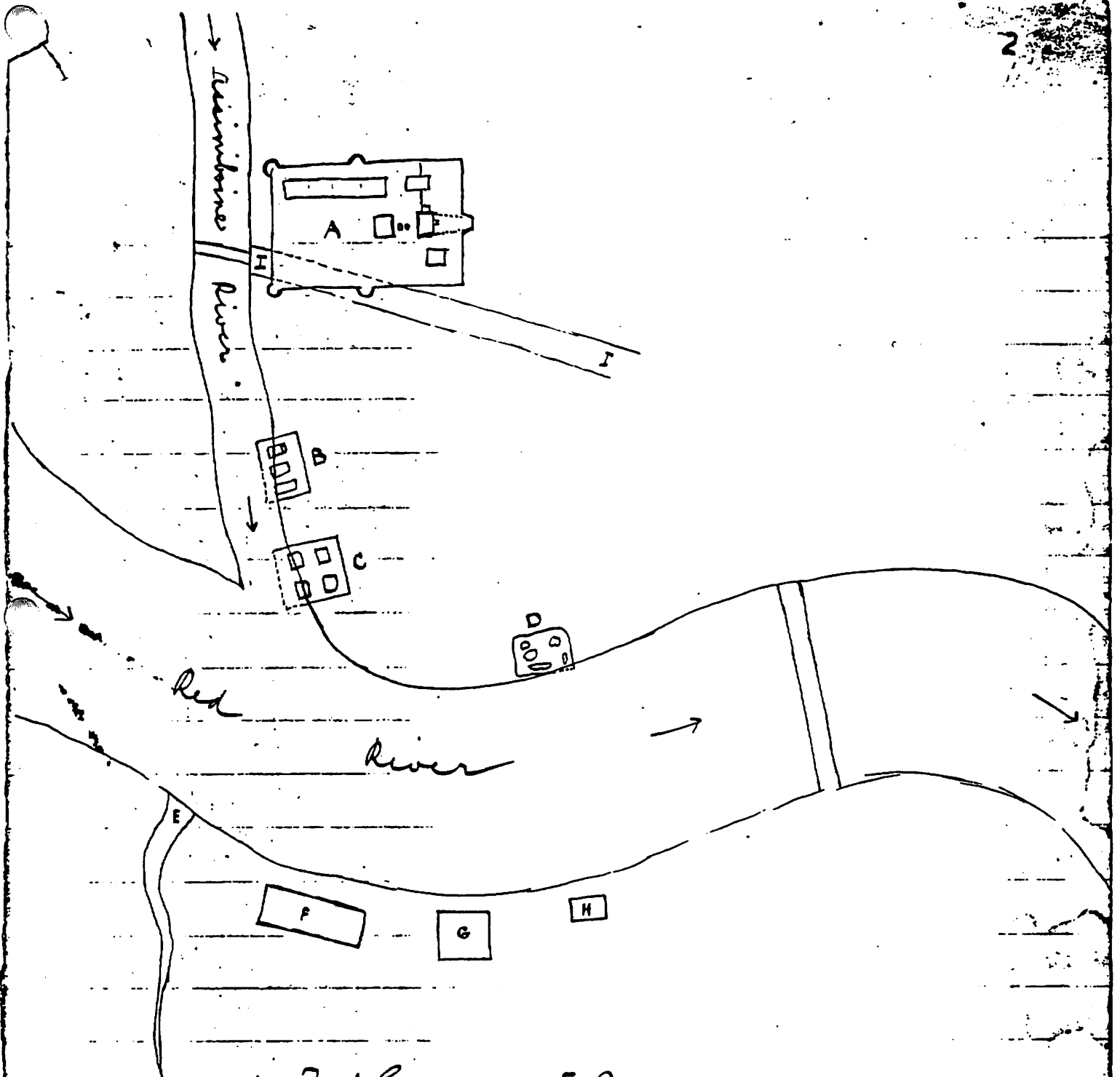
Land Titles Building:

On Winnipeg Road north of fort. 1873-74. Stone.

Appendix C. Description and Depiction of Upper Fort Garry,  
1887.

Taken from the Robert Miller Christy Papers (Manitoba  
Archives, NG2, A75-2).





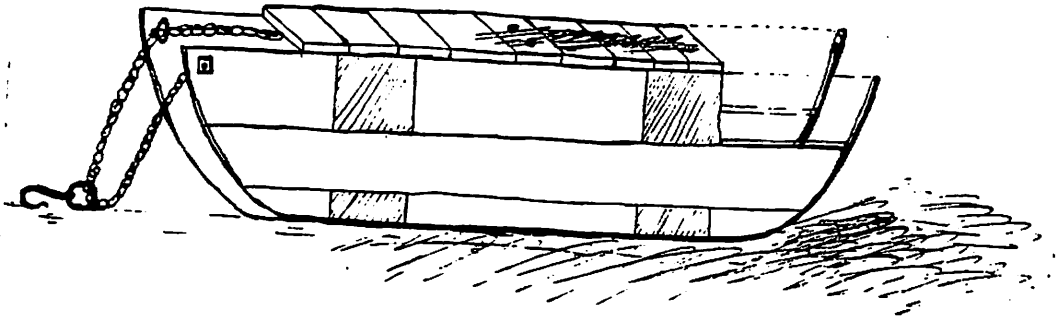
- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| A. Fort Garry     | F. Convent         |
| B. Old Fort Garry | G. Archbishopric   |
| C. Fort Gibraltar | H. R.C. Cathedral. |
| D. Fort Rouge ??  | II. Main Street    |
| E. Creek          |                    |

is nothing to prove this. Henry mentions remains of it about ~~1800~~ <sup>1840</sup> Mr Bell says.

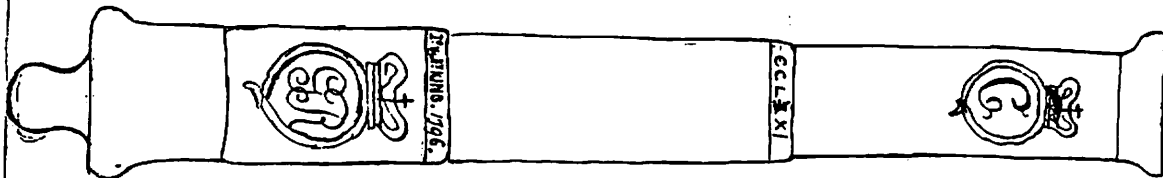
Of the ruins of Fort Gary, as they are at present, I have made a larger plan. The walls are now down all round except the entrance gateway. The Gove's House still stands though in a dilapidated condition, the greater part of it being uninhabited. It has had a storey added of late years. Behind it are the engine house & the well-house with a bell thereon. Behind these again stands an old ruinous residence, very well built <sup>with a framework</sup> of hewn logs, filled in with <sup>rough masonry</sup> ~~blocks~~ of limestone & mortar. In one place I noticed 2 large red bricks built in. It has a plank walk round it. On the W. side of the fort are still standing two somewhat similar buildings of equal size (10 paces x 25). Their framework is of beautifully hewn pine logs, evidently cut at a distance as each joint & piece has been most carefully numbered. The interspaces are filled in with stone & mortar. Both have wide eaves. The N one is plastered; its windows are grated; & its roof has dormer windows. The other is boarded & has neither dormer ~~nor~~ grated windows (are now used by the Street Car Co.) Beside them runs a broad plank road as shown.

In one spot among the ruins lies a portion of an old gun carriage with the date '1810' clearly stamped thereon. It has neither wheels, gun nor beam at the back. Doubtless it is

one of those brought out by Lord Selkirk's settlers. Close to it still is an article of considerable interest - namely the sled used to convey the heavy guns about during winter, either over the portages when coming up from York or about the settlement afterwards. It is now in a very rotten condition, which attests its age. It is <sup>very solidly</sup> constructed of hewn timbers, shod with strips of iron & is 8 ft. long, 3 ft. broad & 18 inches high. It bears no date that



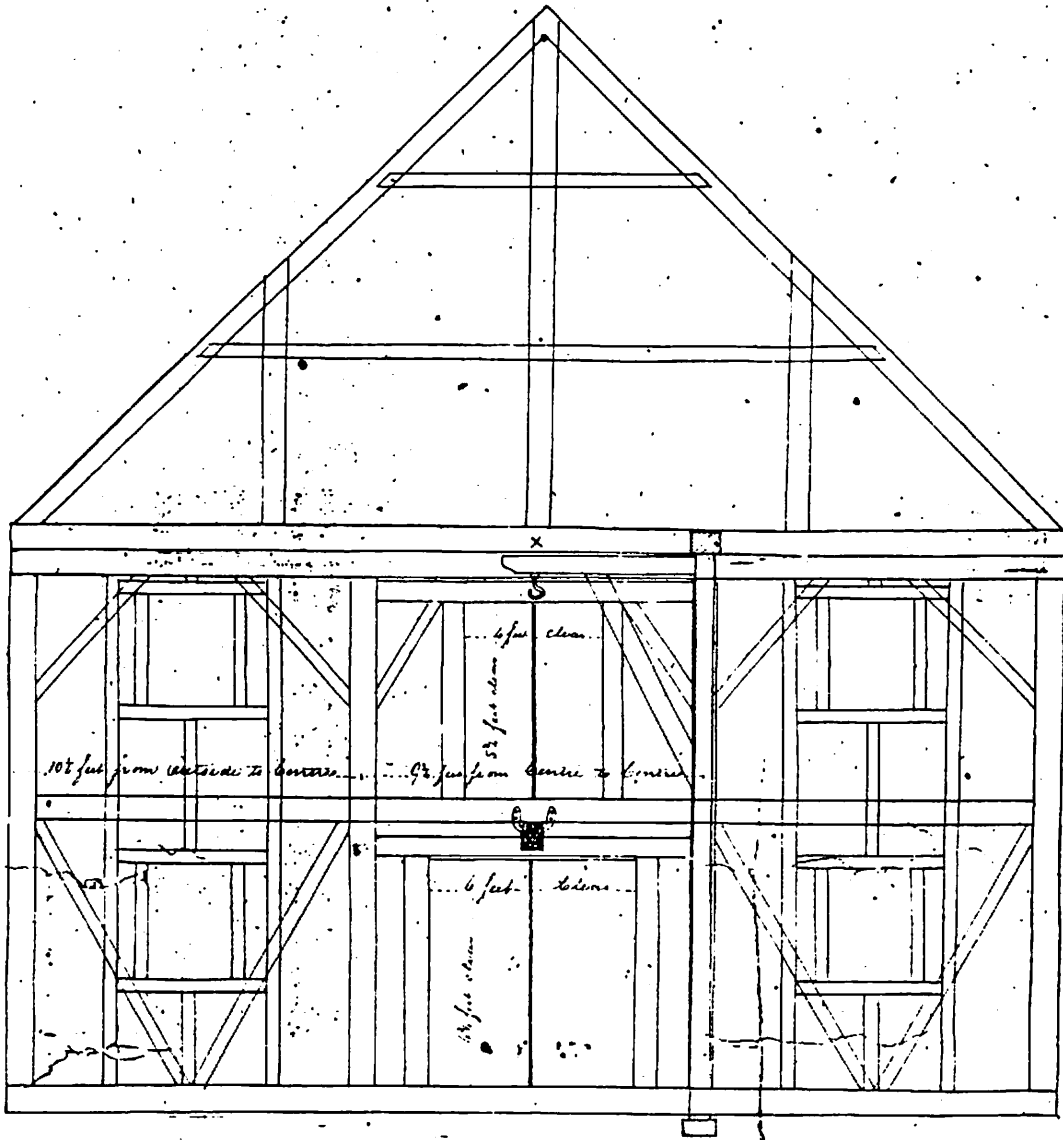
I can see. The above is a rough sketch of it in its broken condition. The top boards are much rotted. In front of the Houses of Parliament stands a fine old brass gun - very likely another brought out by Lord Selkirk. Its carriage is similar in construction to that at the fort, but I can see no date on it. Evidently however it is old. On one side is 'L. 6 P<sup>2</sup> No. 632' or something to that effect. On the gun itself ~~which is finely~~ are various devices, as shown



Cast on it are the inscriptions shown while the initials C. & G. are both beautifully engraved on, within the garter (inscribed) surmounted by a crown. On the trunion is "No. 478."

Capt James of St. James has two ship's guns, mounted on ship's carriage (see) taken from Fort Gary. On the end of the trunions of each are numbers (757 & 754) & the inscriptions "S. Co." There is a similar gun opposite the northern Dept. office.

Appendix D. Foundation Styles, Post-and-Beam Timber Construction, drafted at York Factory, 23 September 1857 (HBCA, A.67/1, fos. 402-5).

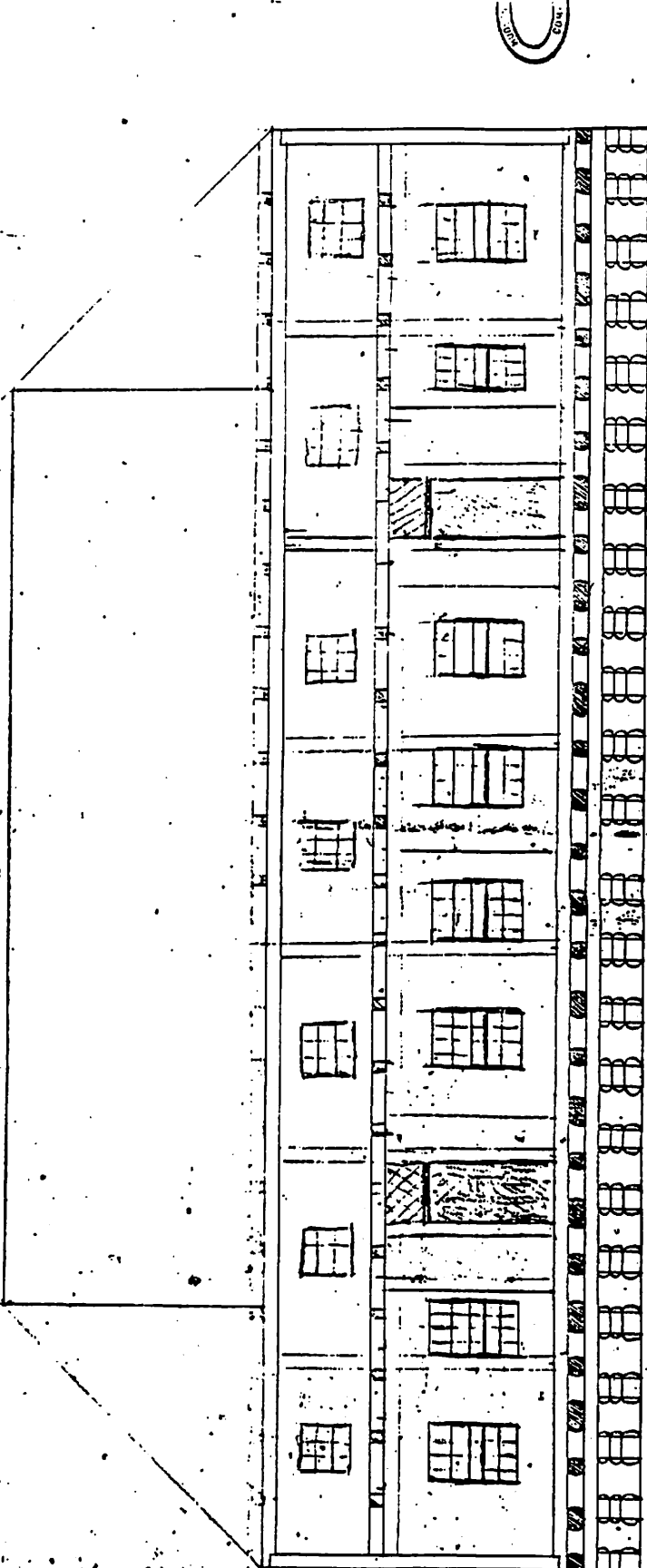


Plan of east end of New Store, showing the axes of Lower and upper Sills, also position of the beam in the latter part. - Perhaps the better plan would be, to have a beam of wood projecting about 3 feet from the center of the wall over the sashes, joining at the joint marked with x, the inner end of the same being attached by hinges or otherwise to the axis of the nearest beam of the another couple, from whence a ratchet could be formed, and thus raise the beam, as may be necessary. -

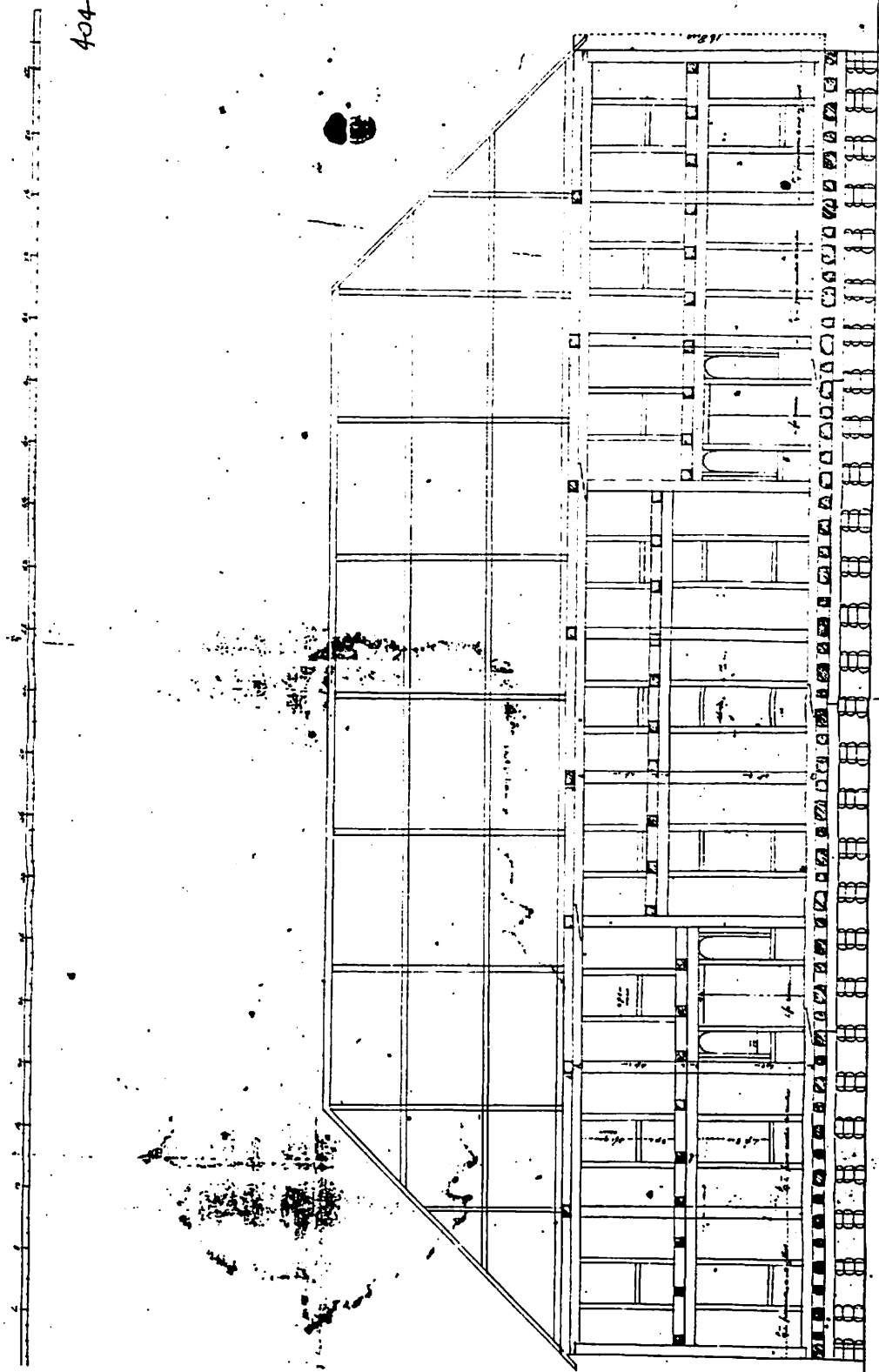
W. S. 22<sup>d</sup> November 1867



W. S.

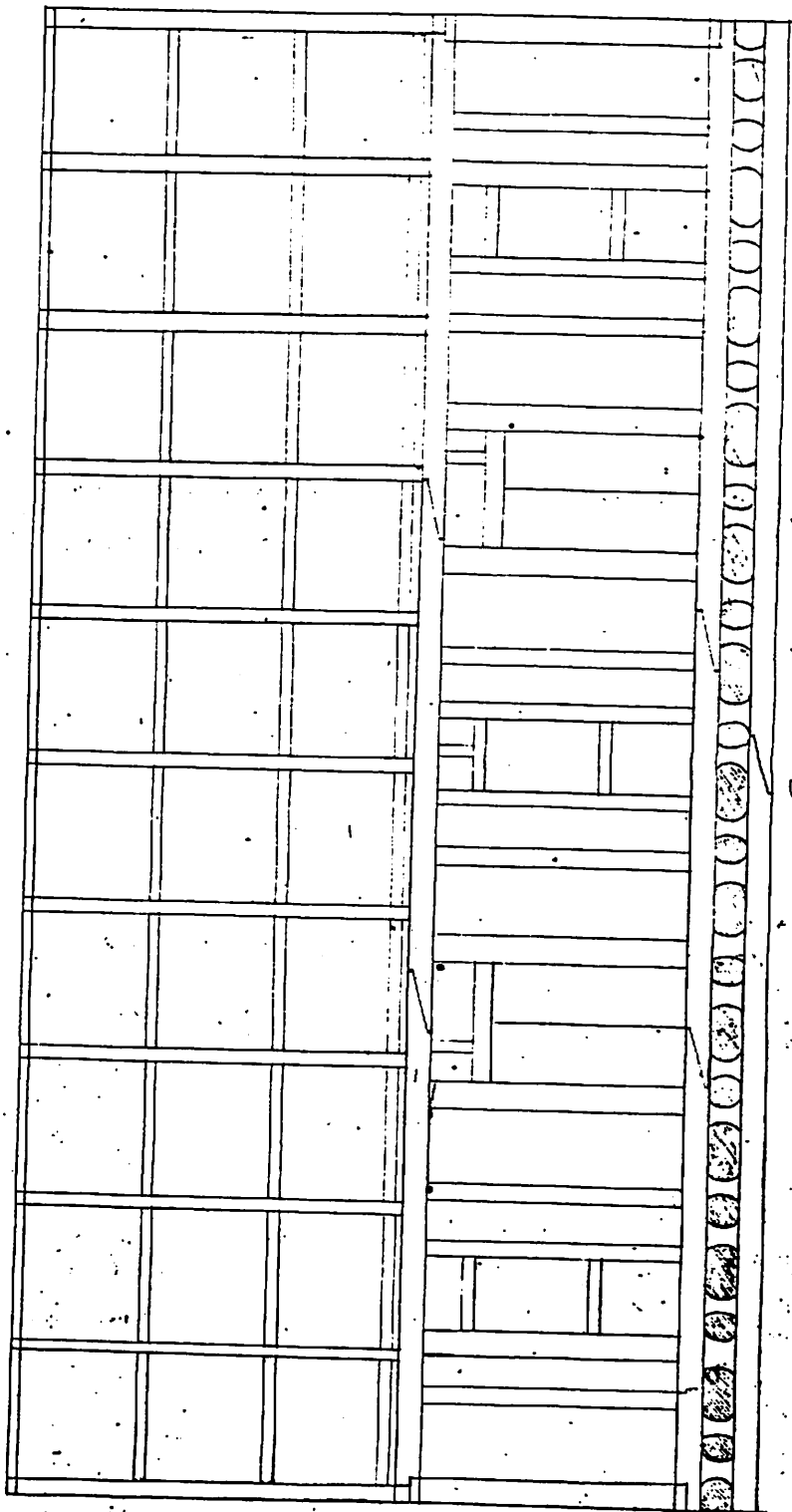


404



I





Iron Stud 50 ft x 25 ft  
 ————  
 ————  
 1/2 inch x 1/2 inch



Appendix E. An Essay on the Timber Buildings in Hudson's Bay Intended to Improve the Manner of Building Such Buildings, by an anonymnous British carpenter, York Factory, n.d.

An Essay on the Timber Buildings in Hudsons Bay  
Intended to Improve the manner of Building such Buildings

I Understand that the Wood-Buildings in Hudsons Bay do not endure above Seven or Eight and twenty years till they must be wholly rebuilt; neither is it probable such Buildings should endure longer, considering how they are built i.e. The Loggs is laid in the ground for foundations to the buildings, and that part of the Loggs that lyes part above ground and part under ground rott very fast, as is well known tho' such Loggs were the best Oake, much more while Fir Loggs, as those are that I have seen lying in the ground for Foundations to Buildings in Hudsons Bay; I have <sup>thought</sup> often, this was a very great-Mistake (for in many places in England it is to be seen, that it is a principal Maxim not to lay the bottom Loggs of a Timber Building in the ground, how Search soever — Materials are to make a Foundation) it being well known that Timber in the upperworks will endure many Years longer than the Timber in the bottom, if that Timber is not Rais'd above the ground to preserve it from the Vainness of the Earth &c;

The method that is used in England, to preserve the bottom of Timber buildings, is what might be practic'd in Hudsons Bay, the advantage that would accrue from this method, would be very Considerable, as will appear hereafter.

In a part of England, where Stone and Brick are too Expensive, I have seen pieces of Oake, pull into the ground three feet or more, having their upper Ends tenoned into the under side of the sill or bottom of the Timber building, Supporting it a foot or more  
above

above the ground, between such pieces, under the sill, was made up with flints; pebble stones or what could be got; those pieces of Oak, <sup>if decay'd</sup> could be taken out, and others put inn, and not disturb the Super-<sup>structure</sup> Struict, Such a Foundation in Hudsons-Bay would be much better than what's usual there; if the out side of the walls was secur'd, as is describ'd hereafter; But in all places of the Bay where I have been, there is Stone that would make a good foundation for any building;

If the Expence of such a Foundation of Stone was Consider'd, and compar'd with the advantage, that would accrue, it will appear plain, the Expence would be Inconsiderable; to make this appear; lett it be suppos'd, a wood building is to be built on Hazes-River, or any place in the bay, where Stone is to be had; It would not be difficult, to gett Stone, on Hazes-River, to make good foundations. If Hazes-River, with the Stone, that is there, was in England, any Mason, would make a good foundation of Stone, for such a Building as York-Fort, for between twenty and thirty Pounds, the Difference between mens Labour in England and Hudson-Bay I cannot now determine; But admitt a Stone Bottom was made <sup>rais'd</sup> a foot or more above ground (and Cost fifty Pounds, which is more than it need Cost, if Opportundys were made proper use of) and a logg wall-Fort built upon that foundation, then pieces (two or three Inches Square) put upright; and nail'd to the Face of the loggs a foot apart all about the Building, their lower Ends standing upon the Stone bottom, then weather-board, or lath and Rough-cast, upon or against these pieces, to secure the Loggs from the weather; by which means, the Logg walls would endure as long as the Beams

and

and other timber in the Inside, which every one that is acquainted with Building knows to Exceed Sixty Years, as may be proved by Inspected any considerable old House or building;

There was Rough-cast upon the old Fort on Hazes-River that lately was rebuilt; but that rough-cast was done upon the face of the Loggs, in such manner, that wet got in between the Loggs and the rough-cast, and rotted the Loggs <sup>faster</sup> than if there had been no rough-cast thereon, and where there is nothing against the Loggs to keep out the wet, the wet drives in between the Loggs and rots the Walls above and below; <sup>so</sup> that the upper works rots as fast (near) as the Bottom; so that the Building decays near all alike;

By what is said it appears plain (to me) that if there was proper methods of building Practiced the wood Buildings would want rebuilding but every Seventy or Eighty perhaps but every Hundred Years; whereas by the Practice hitherto, the wood buildings Duration is not half the time, as is well known to your Hon<sup>r</sup>. which with considering the several Buildings in the Bay and the Expence to rebuild them and that the Timber grows scarce and Everytime requires more labour to gett it than before and that by all reports Timber will soon be very scarce; all these considered and compar'd with <sup>the</sup> rivaling Expence (to secure the Logg-walls from wet above and below) will appear so inconsiderable as scarce worthy mentioning

Under-ottings to wood Buildings (where Stone or Brick are difficult to be got) may be made with less Expence than a continued Stone Foundation;



a wood

50  
 a Wood Building of York: Forts Size might be supported with Peers of Stone or Brick, i.e. a Peer under Each Salliant and reentering angle and at proper places between those — angles; between such Peers under the logs, might be made up with what could be got for the purpose, no great — matter what

But if a Wood Fort was to be built where lime — and Stone could not well be got; Stones might be prepared in the Orcades; or Elsewhere; Each Stone a Peer and the Stone not Exceed five hundred weight, forty eight or fifty such Stones would, <sup>the stones</sup> undersott a Wood Building as large as York: Fort, and all would not cost above 6 or 7 Pounds in the Orcades; a Wood Building Built upon such Stones, and Secured as before mentioned (with weather Boarding or roughcast) would answer the Land as if there was a Continued Stone foundation

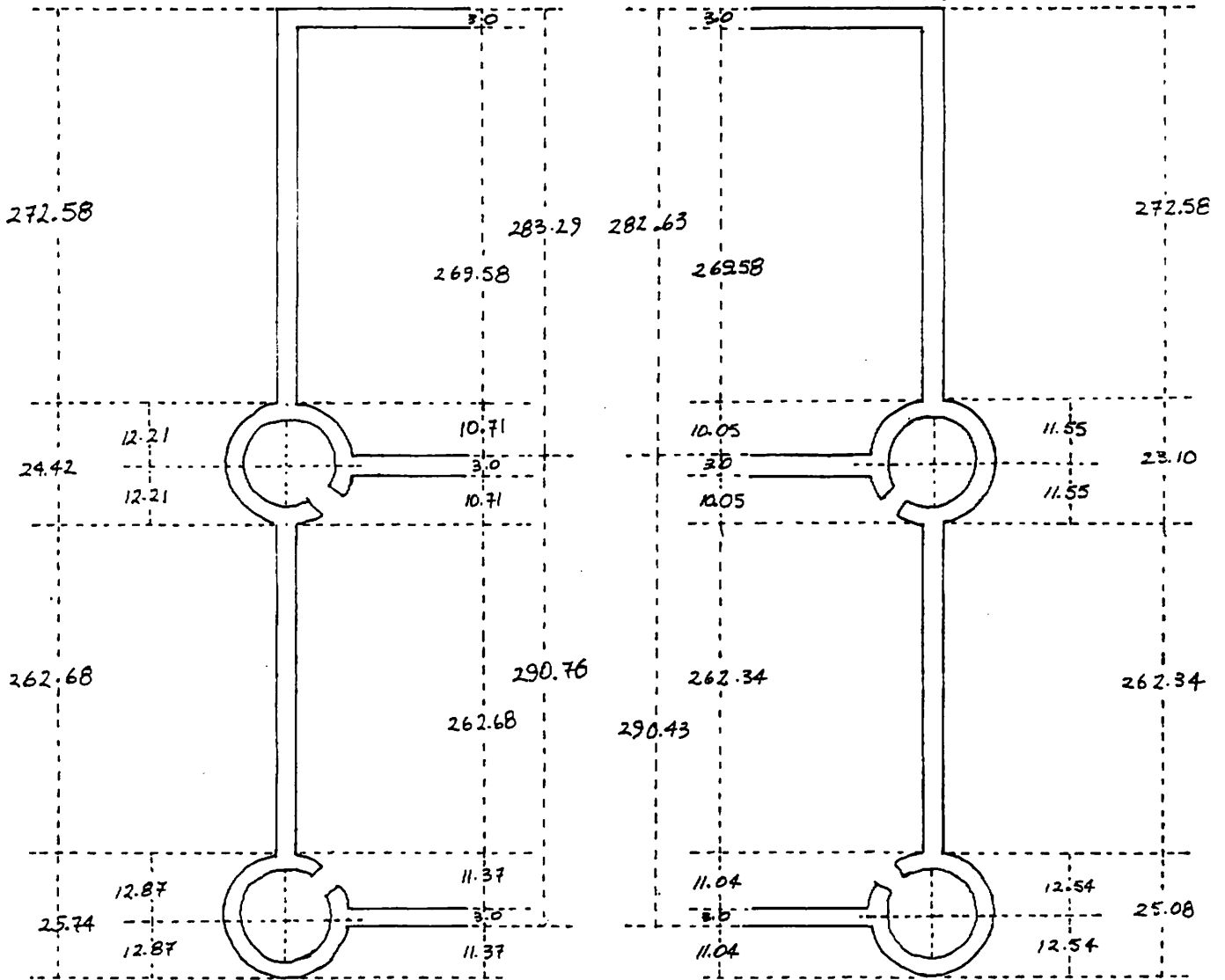
Stone or Brick Peers might be put under a Timber Building after its Built, tho' not so safely or quite so well, yet it might be done and cause the Building to Indure many Years longer than otherwise it would; the Building being Secured from wet as a for said

What I have more to say concerning Wood Forts I agree — <sup>will</sup> send <sup>in</sup> in a properer place in the Survey when I have collected all together and Demonstrating the advantages; and disadvantages;

I am careful not to write any thing to your Hon<sup>r</sup> but what I can Demonstrate, by Lines and numbers, that cannot be Denied.



Appendix F. Computation of North-South Measurements at  
Upper Fort Garry.



283.29	282.63
+ 290.76	+ 290.43
<u>574.05</u>	<u>573.06</u>
+ 11.37	+ 11.04
<u>585.42</u>	<u>584.10</u>

4. 3. 2. 1. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



Appendix G. Plan Shewing Profile and Section of Lockup  
at Norway House, by C.J. Bouchette, Norway  
House, 2 August 1889 (HBCA, G.1/241).



## Endnotes

- 1 Peter J. Priess, "Archaeological Investigations at Upper Fort Garry, 1978," Research Bulletin No. 125 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980).
- 2 Michael E. Kelly, "Under the Wall: An Archaeological Consideration of the Government House Compound at Upper Fort Garry" (hereafter cited as "Under the Wall"), paper delivered at the 39th Plains Conference (Bismarck 1981).
- 3 Gregory C. Monks, "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations in Bonnycastle Park, 1981," Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1982); "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Excavations in Bonnycastle Park (Upper Fort Garry), 1982," Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 4 (October 1983); "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations in Bonnycastle Park (Upper Fort Garry), 1983," Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly, Vol. 8, Nos. 3-4 (June and October 1984).
- 4 Brad Loewen and Gregory C. Monks, "Visual Depictions of Upper Fort Garry," Prairie Forum, upcoming (Regina: 1987).
- 5 Gail Fifik, "Fabrics From Upper Fort Garry: Unusual Archaeological Evidence," Master's thesis (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1986).
- 6 Gregory C. Monks, "The Symbolic Communication of Architecture: A Case Study," manuscript in preparation (n.d.).

- 7 Robert Miller Christy, Manitoba Described: Being a series of general observations upon the farming, climate, sport, natural history, and future prospects of the country (London: Wyman and Sons, 1885), pp., 171-2.
- 8 Horst Krüger, Indische Nationalisten and Weltproletariat (Berlin: Akademisches Verlag, 1984), p. 79.
- 9 Martin Bergen 1985: pers. com.
- 10 Gregory C. Monks and local resident 1982: pers. com.
- 11 Gregory C. Monks, op. cit., 1984.
- 12 Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter cited as PAM), Fort Garry 19, 50 and 54 photos.
- 13 Rodger Guinn, "The Red-Assiniboine Junction: A Land Use and Structural History, 1770-1980." Manuscript Report Series No. 355, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1980, p. 67; Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as HBCA), A.6/23, fo. 225, George Simpson to Alexander Christie, 8 November 1835.
- 14 John S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 313.
- 15 Irene M. Spry, "The Private Adventurers of Rupert's Land," in The Developing West: Essays in Canadian History in Honor of Lewis H. Thomas, ed. J.E. Foster (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983), pp. 49-70.
- 16 Irene M. Spry, "The Tragedy of the Loss of the Commons in Western Canada," in As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows (hereafter cited as "The Tragedy"), eds. I.A.L. Getty and A.S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), pp. 203-28.
- 17 John S. Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 74-75.
- 18 Ibid., p. 334.

- 19 H. Krüger, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-80. Compare this to Irene M. Spry, "The Tragedy," *op. cit.*
- 20 Arthur J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay: 1660-1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 212.
- 21 Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 344-7; Bruce Donaldson, "York Factory: A Land-Use History." Manuscript Report Series No. 444, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1981, pp. 69-71.
- 22 Rodger Guinn, *op. cit.*, p. 67: "The lower fort will in due time become the principal engagement for, farming, warehousing, holding Courts and Councils etc. It will therefore be necessary to make it a place of some strength and greater extent than the Upper Establishment"; HBCA, A.6/23, fo. 225, George Simpson to Alexander Christie, 8 November 1835.
- 23 HBCA, D.4/21, fo. 43, George Simpson to the Bishop of Juliopolis, 16 March 1835.
- 24 HBCA, D.4/22, fo. 34.
- 25 Gregory C. Monks, *op. cit.*, 1984.
- 26 PAM, Fort Garry 29 photo.
- 27 Archaeological searches were done in 1982-83 by Gregory C. Monks along the west wall of the fort, including the first store; in 1981 by Michael E. Kelly along the far northern wall, including the 1860 "General Depot"; and in 1978 by Peter J. Priess within the north bastion gate.
- 28 Certain photographs may be subjected to this kind of analysis, which yields data regarding relative distances among the buildings, including distance from the lens. It was carried out by the author.
- 29 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), MG24, F71, Vol. 1, pp. 936-7. See Figure 2.
- 30 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 15.

- 31 PAM, MG9, A75-2, unpaginated.
- 32 Michael E. Kelly, "Under the Wall."
- 33 HBCA, B.156/a/33, fo. 43, 8 October 1880.
- 34 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 12.
- 35 Rodger Guinn, op cit., p. 66.
- 36 HBCA, B.239/f/28, 1839.
- 37 HBCA, D.5/12, fo. 584.
- 38 HBCA, B.235/d/4, fo. 41, 12 October 1844.
- 39 PAM, MG2, B7-3.
- 40 PAC, MB2323, fo. 5/457, p. 133, 16 June 1846.
- 41 HBCA, B.239/f/28. Outfit 1845 included the year from 1 June 1845 to 31 May 1846.
- 42 HBCA, D.5/14, fo. 194, Alexander Christie to George Simpson, 28 July 1845.
- 43 PAC, PA-11337 photo. Photogrammetric analysis of "Red-Assiniboine Junction", c. 1871.
- 44 HBCA, D.4/21, fo. 43, George Simpson to Bishop of Juliopolis, 16 March 1835.
- 45 HBCA, E.12/8.
- 46 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Photo 58.24.75: "Upper Fort Garry - N. America, Oct. 1/46." This description is based on analyses of the 1846 Beatty plan, the 1848 Moody map, and George Finlay's 1846 depiction of the fort from the north. See Figure 10.
- 47 George Bryce, A History of Manitoba: Its Resources and People (Toronto: Canada History Company, 1906), p. 56. PAC, MB2323, fo. 5/457, 1846.
- 49 Virginia Berry, Boundless Horizons (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1883).
- 50 Bruce Donaldson, op. cit., pp. 232-3, 240-1. HBCA Photo Y-100, neg. 58A128: "York Factory," 1870s.
- 51 PAM, M106, Great Britain War Office Correspondence, George Simpson to Earl Cathcart, 1846.
- 52 PAC, MB2323, 1845.

- 53 Rodger Guinn, op. cit., p. 75, based on PAC, MB2323, ibid. The discrepancy in the diameter of the towers can be explained by their three foot walls, one measure being inside, the other outside. A more detailed explication of written descriptions is found in Rodger Guinn, op. cit., pp. 74-75.
- 54 PAC, MB2323, op. cit.; Gregory C. Monks, op. cit., 1984.
- 55 PAC, MB2323, op. cit.
- 56 See Gregory C. Monks, op. cit., 1984.
- 57 Ibid.; Michael E. Kelly, "Under the Wall."
- 58 Rodger Guinn, op. cit., pp. 74-75; PAC, MB2323, 1845 and 1846.
- 59 PAC, MB2323, op. cit.; Gregory C. Monks, op. cit.
- 60 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fo. 54, 29 May 1854.
- 61 HBCA, E.12/8, p. 58.
- 62 However, the British military intelligence obtained an ordinance sketch of Fort Snelling drawn by James Clouston, a company officer, in 1846. PAM, M106, pp. 266-7: "Description of Fort Snelling on St. Peter's River, United States, furnished by Mr. Clueston [sic], H. B. C.'s service, 24th December 1846."
- 63 Ibid., p. 245.
- 64 PAM, MG2, B7-3, p. 15.
- 65 HBCA, D.5/18, fo. 81, A. Christie to G. Simpson, 27 July 1846.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Photo 58.24.75: "View of a room..." by George Finlay.
- 68 PAM, MG2, B7-3, p. 36.
- 69 Ibid., p. 13.
- 70 HBCA, D.5/20, fo. 50.
- 71 HBCA, D.5/21, fo. 607.
- 72 HBCA, D.4/38, fo. 14.
- 73 Ibid., fo. 19.

- 74 HBCA, D.5/?, fos. 522-3.
- 75 HBCA, D.5/18, fo. 119.
- 76 HBCA, D.4/38, fo. 10. This quantity of wheat would occupy a space of 12,800 cubic ft., or about 30 ft. by 70 ft. by 6 ft.
- 77 A.F.J. Artibise and E.H. Dahl, ed., Winnipeg in Maps, 1816-1972 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1976), pp. 16-17: "Upper Fort Garry in 1876 drawn by F.B. Hazel for Thomas W. Leslie, from information supplied to him, April 1928."
- 78 HBCA, D.5/22, fo. 522.
- 79 HBCA, B.6/b/G. fo. 10.
- 80 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 17, 22 October 1858, 2 May 1859, fo. 32.
- 81 Brad Loewen and Gregory C. Monks, op cit.
- 82 Kenneth L. Holmes, "Alexander Hunter Murray," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), Vol. 10: 1871-1880, pp. 540-1.
- 83 PAM, MG2, B7-3, p. 16.
- 84 Ibid., p. 26.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Rodger Guinn, op. cit., p. 76.
- 87 HBCA, D.5/22, fo. 608, John Ballenden to George Simpson, 5 September 1848.
- 88 Ibid; Peter J. Priess, op. cit.
- 89 Michael E. Kelly, "Under the Wall."
- 90 HBCA, D.4/24, fos. 86-87.
- 91 HBCA, D.4/50, fo. 71.
- 92 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fo. 19.
- 93 Ibid., fo. 34.
- 94 HBCA, D.5/35, fos. 166-7.
- 95 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fo. 49.
- 96 A newspaper clipping, n.d., n.p., with a photograph of the bastion gate and the following caption was given to the author: "The Gate to Fort Garry, built in 1850,



was designed by Alexander Hunter Murray the builder of Fort Yukon. Located near Main Street in Winnipeg. It served as an entrance to Upper Fort Garry which was constructed in 1835. The Fort was destroyed to make way for an extension of Main Street. The above photo was taken before the turn of the century and all that remains now is the gate, a quiet remainder of our heritage."

- 97 Rodger Guinn, op, cit., pp. 86-87.
- 98 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fos. 8-13.
- 99 Ibid., 12 and 30 July 1852, fos. 10 and 12.
- 100 PAC, MB2323, op. cit.
- 101 Michael E. Kelly, An Inventory of Pre-1880 Historical Resources in the City of Winnipeg (Winnipeg: 1980), Fig. 5, p. 70; "Detail of Fort Garry excavation site," October 1948, HBC Library 79/83: "Large barrel used as a garbage dump or cesspool was half destroyed by machine operator. The wooden drain leads to Main Street."
- 102 Bruce Donaldson, op. cit., p. 67.
- 103 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fo. 3.
- 104 HBCA, B.235/a/14, fo. 10.
- 105 PAM, MG2, B7-3, op. cit.
- 106 HBCA, Copy #132(a), "Papers Relative to the Expedition of Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour to the Oregon Territory, 3 November 1846", PRO FO5, Vol. 457, p. 46.
- 107 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fos. 10-11.
- 108 Provincial Archives of British Columbia, ADD MSS, Box 1, File 4, 630, Archer Martin Papers.
- 109 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fos. 10-11.
- 110 Ibid., fo. 13.
- 111 Ibid., fos. 12-13.
- 112 See also PAM, Fort Garry 46 photo.

- 113 This well-known plan perpetuates several errors that have developed in the historical record of the upper fort. Cf. Brad Loewen and Gregory C. Monks, *op. cit.*, and A.F.J. Artibise and E.H. Dahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
- 114 W.L. Morton, ed., "Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870" (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1956, p. 92. Quoted in Rodger Guinn, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
- 115 PAM, MG2, B7-3, *op. cit.*
- 116 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fos. 8-11, 3 July-26 August 1852.
- 117 HBCA, A.12/45, fo. 322, William MacTavish to the Governor and Committee, 6 April 1870.
- 118 W.L. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
- 119 PAM, Fort Garry 45/9 photo.
- 120 PAM, Fort Garry 32, painting by W.F. Lynn, 1875.
- 121 PAM, Fort Garry 16, painting by Mary Kennedy, ca. 1875.
- 122 PAM, Fort Garry 36 photo, ca. 1875.
- 123 PAM, MG9, A75-2, *op. cit.*
- 124 See PAM, Fort Garry Gate 11 photo, ca. 1885: "North Gate, Fort Garry."
- 125 HBCA, D.4/43, fos. 83-86, Simpson to Colville.
- 126 HBCA, D.4/50, fos. 18-19.
- 127 *Ibid.*, fo. 70.
- 128 *Ibid.*
- 129 HBCA, D.4/50, fo. 53, Simpson to Ballenden, 15 June 1885.
- 130 *Ibid.*, fo. 68.
- 131 HBCA, D.4/54, fo. 154, George Simpson to William Mactavish, 9 June 1858.
- 132 PAM, MG9, A75-2, *op. cit.*
- 133 Rodger Guinn, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
- 134 PAM, M99, unpaginated, John Black to William Lane, 19 April 1854.

- 135 PAM, MG2, B7-4.
- 136 HBCA, D.4/53, fo. 47.
- 137 PAM, MG2, B7-2, p. 33.
- 138 HBCA, D.4/52, fo. 139.
- 139 HBCA, D.4/53, fo. 22, Simpson to Lt. Col. William Eyre,  
18 May 1857.
- 140 HBCA, D.4/53, fo. 48.
- 141 Rodger Guinn, op. cit., p. 90.
- 142 HBCA, D.4/53, fo. 45.
- 143 HBCA, A.8/15, p. 170, Simpson to the Governor and  
Committee, 30 June 1857.
- 144 PAM, MG2, B7-4, pp. 42-43.
- 145 HBCA, D.4/54, fo. 154.
- 146 Ibid., fo. 65.
- 147 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fos. 14 and 19, 4 September and 8  
November 1858.
- 148 PAM, MG2, B7-3, p. 16.
- 149 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fos. 38-44, 51; 19, 20, 21 September;  
17, 19 October; 17 November 1853; 10 April 1854; cf.  
Simpson to Swanston, 28 June 1855.
- 150 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fo. 11.
- 151 Ibid., fo. 21.
- 152 HBCA, D.5/46, fo. 25.
- 153 HBCA, D.4/54, fo. 36.
- 154 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 2.
- 155 Ibid., fos. 2-4, 10, 52, 55.
- 156 HBCA, B.200/a/10, fo. 6d, 7 October 1826; B.200/a/27,  
fo. 16, 16 November 1842.
- 157 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fo. 59.
- 158 Ibid., fo. 62.
- 159 Ibid., fo. 64.
- 160 PAM, Duncan Sinclair field notes, 1871.
- 161 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 44.
- 162 HBCA, B.235/a/15, fo. 28.

- 163 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 16.
- 164 Ibid., fo. 32.
- 165 Ibid., fo. 10.
- 166 Ibid., fo. 47.
- 167 Ibid., fos. 12, 15, 24, 32 and 33.
- 168 Ibid., fo. 53.
- 169 PAC photo: "Red-Assiniboine Junction, Fort Garry", ca. 1858.
- 170 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 38. See also Appendix A: "Fort Garry in 1871."
- 171 Gregory C. Monks, op. cit., 1984.
- 172 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fos. 4 and 25.
- 173 Ibid., fo. 43, 10 September 1859.
- 174 Rodger Guinn, op. cit.
- 175 Gregory C. Monks, op. cit., 1984. See "Diagram of Excavations in the Southwest Corner, 1983", p. 50 above.
- 176 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fos. 7, 9, 15 and 41.
- 177 Ibid., fo. 1; Ordinance and Regulations, Royal Engineers, London, 1851, p. xix 90.
- 178 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 9.
- 179 Ibid., fo. 10.
- 180 Ibid., fo. 18.
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- 182 HBCA, D.4/54, fo. 7.
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- 184 HBCA, D.4/56, fo. 69.
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- 186 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 56.
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- 191 PAM, MG2, C15.1, J.J. Hargrave to William Cowan, December 1870.

- 192 HBCA, B.235/a/14, 18 February 1854.
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- 194 Ibid., fo. 28.
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- 196 HBCA, A.11/96, fo. 429d, W. MacTavish to T. Fraser, 28 May 1860.
- 197 Bruce Donaldson, op. cit., p. 65.
- 198 HBCA, B.235/a/16, fo. 62.
- 199 Rodger Guinn, op. cit., pp. 112-5.
- 200 PAM, MGl, D11, J.H. McTavish to Wm. Lane, 14 April 1873.
- 201 Manitoban (Winnipeg), 26 August 1871.
- 202 PAM, Fort Garry 48 photo: "Fort Garry, Manitoba."
- 203 Manitoban (Winnipeg), 6 July 1874.
- 204 Manitoba Free Press (Winnipeg), 22 February, 10 and 22 April 1875. The reference to the officers' quarters is unexplained at this time, since the old main house went down in 1873.

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