

PRAIRIE FORUM

THE JOURNAL OF THE CANADIAN PLAINS RESEARCH CENTER

VOL. 13, NO. 1

SPRING 1988

Visual Depictions of Upper Fort Garry

Brad Loewen
Canadian Museum of Civilization
Ottawa
and
Gregory G. Monks
Department of Anthropology
University of Winnipeg

ABSTRACT. This article discusses visual depictions of Upper Fort Garry in order to clarify its architectural history. Primary and secondary sources are identified and evaluated for their accuracy, and a major error in some sources is corrected. The independent yet complementary nature of the archival and archaeological records is discussed in the context of archaeological concepts and the data from Upper Fort Garry. It is concluded that history and archaeology are interdependent because without architectural history, archaeological research will be poorly conducted and that without archaeological interpretation architectural history cannot be placed fully in context.

SOMMAIRE. Cet article discute des représentations visuelles du Haut Fort Garry afin de clarifier son histoire architecturale. On identifie des sources primaires et secondaires dont on évalue l'exactitude et on rectifie une erreur importante dans certaines sources. On discute, dans le contexte des concepts archéologiques et des données provenant du Haut Fort Garry, de la nature indépendante mais aussi complémentaire des archives et des documents archéologiques. On en conclut que l'histoire et l'archéologie sont interdépendantes car sans histoire architecturale, on ne peut diriger de recherche archéologique exacte et sans interprétation archéologique, on ne peut situer dans son véritable contexte l'histoire architecturale.

Introduction

This article arises out of the Upper Fort Garry Archaeological Project. A study of the site's archaeological history was necessary for interpretation of the chronology and significance of remains excavated from Bonnycastle Park between 1981 and 1983. The principal investigator (Monks) therefore hired an archival historian (Loewen) to undertake this and other research. Loewen, aided by reports from two other archival researchers at the Public Records Office in Kew, England, and the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa, assembled a body of relevant material.

The data base was examined to determine which buildings existed in which locations at which times. Also of interest were the changes in structures through time and the uses to which the various buildings were put. Predictably, a number of inconsistencies between sources were detected, and some time periods were more fully documented than others. These issues are addressed by Loewen in the first section of the article. In the second section Monks illustrates, first, the importance of archival research into the history of physical structures to archaeological interpretation and, second, the importance of archaeological research to a fuller knowledge of the fort's architectural history.

Visual Depictions

Knowledge of the buildings and their uses at Upper Fort Garry (1835-82) is fundamental to the history of the Red River Settlement. Upper Fort Garry was not only the residence of the transient élite of the Hudson's Bay Company but

also the place where all groups in the settlement interacted and the setting for many watershed events. However, due to the relative paucity of written records on the subject and the inaccessibility of much of the site to archaeologists, basic knowledge of the fort's appearance relies heavily upon visual depictions. Such depictions are not rare; they exist in a wide variety of forms and collections. All too frequently, however, visual depictions have been used to illustrate texts with little regard to the exact place and time of the depiction. Visual depictions nonetheless may serve as useful historical data when they are properly interpreted.¹

The primary visual sources date approximately from 1840 to 1881 and are composed of plans, graphics (paintings, sketches, lithographs corresponding to a view), and photographs. From 1882 to 1943, primary sources melded into historiography, with a consequent blurring of details analogous to those commonly found in written memoirs. While the problems of dating and accuracy in detail are critical for the primary sources, for the second period the question of provenience of the information depicted also arises. Collections of visual depictions are far flung and occasionally difficult to assess, but the Provincial Archives of Manitoba has a large number of originals and facsimiles and is continuously organizing them. The most helpful secondary works are those of Ferdinand Eckhardt, Rodger Guinn and Virginia Berry.² This article is based on the internal evidence of depictions of Upper Fort Garry, an occasional reference to the written archival record, and existing secondary material.

Six primary plans of Upper Fort Garry are known to exist. Three of these date from a brief period in 1845-48 and are referred to as the Warre, Beatty and Moody plans according to their depicitors (Figures 1, 2 and 3). As a group, they make this period a well-documented base from which to construct a chronography of structures. Another plan, likely drawn by John Balsillie, a Hudson's Bay Company officer, is a depiction of all the major structures that existed in the fort from approximately 1860-68 (Figure 4). Two more plans date from 1876-77, drawn by Dominion Land Surveyor George McPhillips Junior (Figures 5 and 6). In 1928 the so-called Hazel plan was drawn according to the fort's supposed appearance in 1876, superimposed upon a 1928 street map of Winnipeg (Figure 7). Finally, a plan produced in 1857 by C.E. Osborne for Governor George Simpson, depicting the disposition of the Royal Canadian Rifles within the fort,³ remains to be found.

From 1845 to 1848, the remote settlement at Red River became a strategic focus as western North America was redivided among Mexico, the United States and Britain. During this time three plans of Upper Fort Garry were drawn under military auspices. Attention was paid to such details as ranges, perimeters, terrain, and disposition of troops and materiel. The first was a rough sketch, dated 7-16 June 1845, by Lieutenant (later Sir) Henry James Warre (Figure 1). It simply depicts the walls, bastions, gates, Main House, the three stores in the western

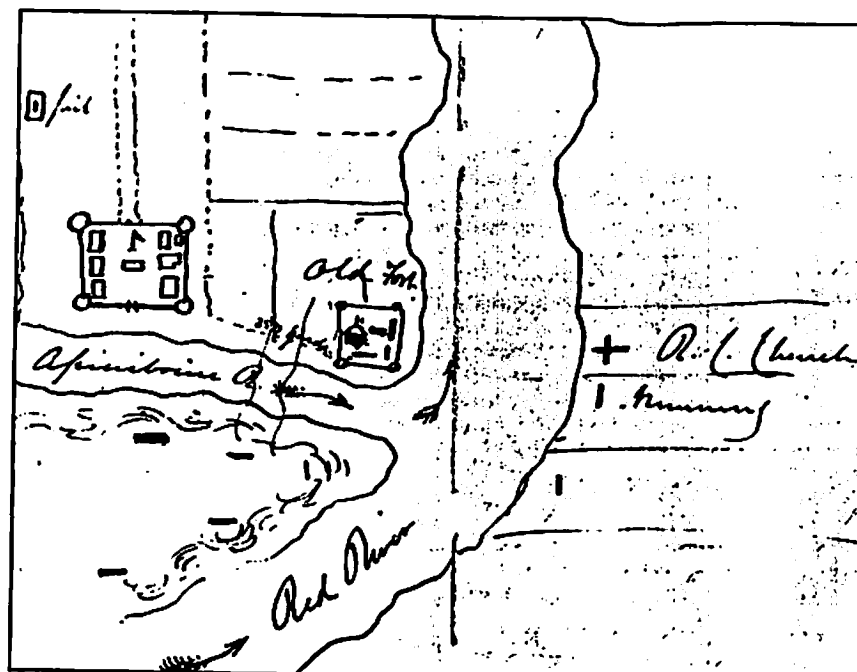


Figure 1. H.J. Warre plan of Upper Fort Garry, 1845. H.J. Warre papers, Public Archives of Canada, MG24, F71, vol.1, pp. 936, 937.

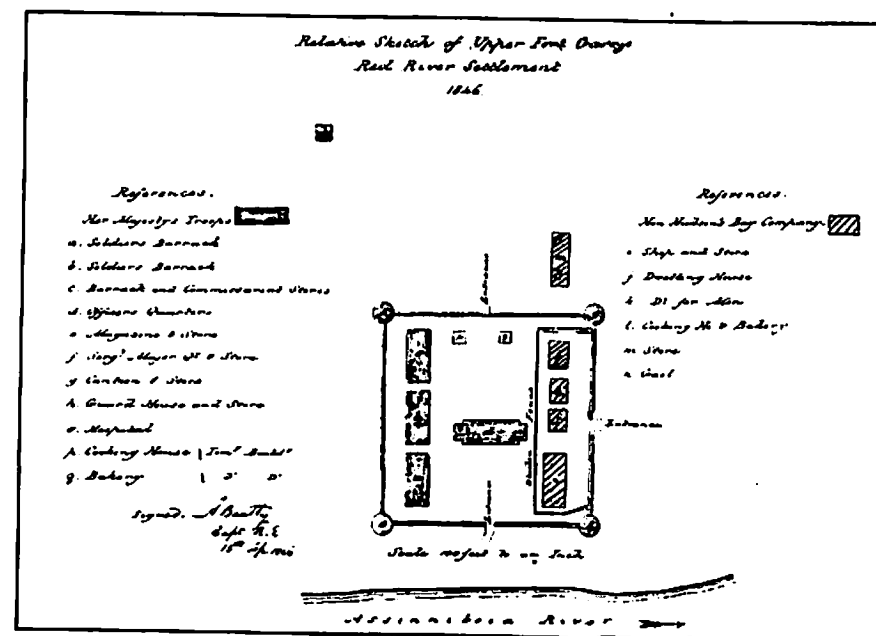


Figure 2. Captain Beatty's Plan of Upper Fort Garry, 1846. Public Records Office, MPI/735.

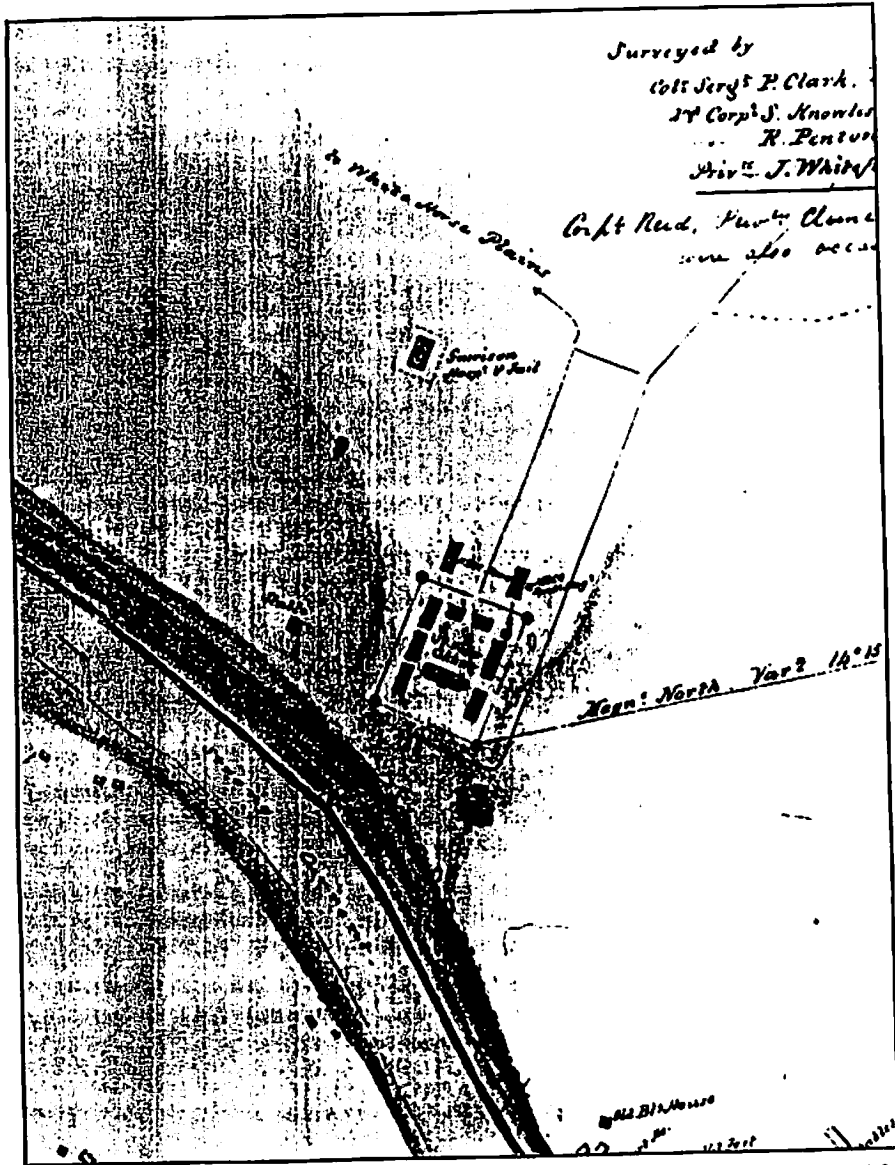


Figure 3. Captain Moody's Plan of Upper Fort Garry, 1848. Public Archives of Manitoba, 619.2, gbb, 1848R.

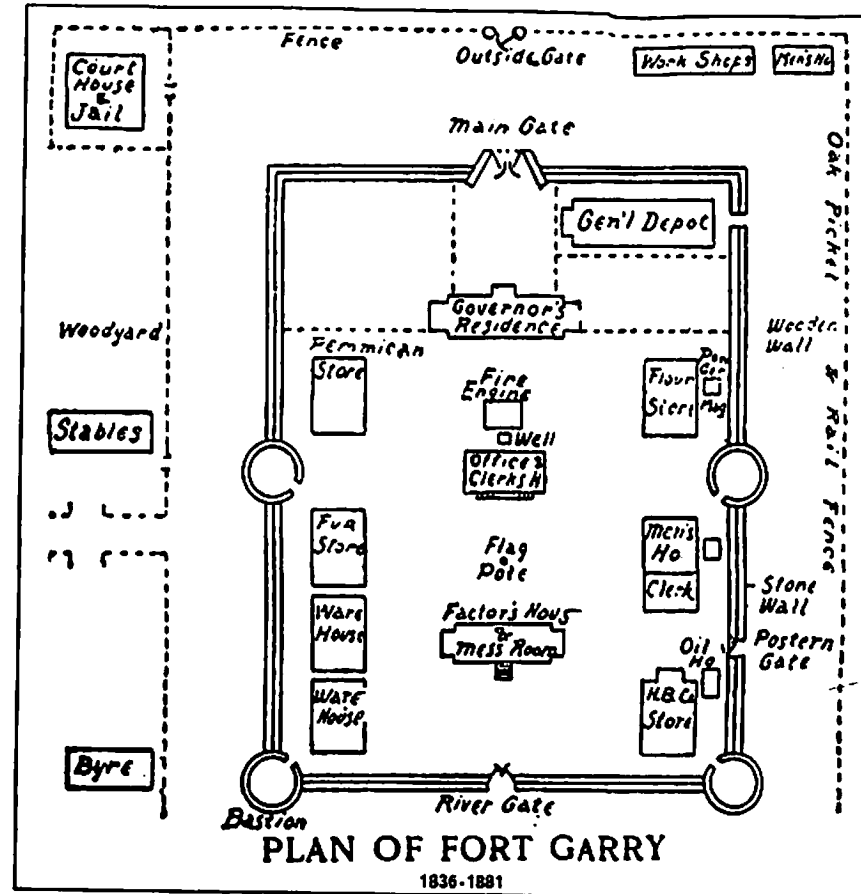


Figure 4. John Balsillie's plan of Upper Fort Garry and adjacent structures, c. 1868. Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

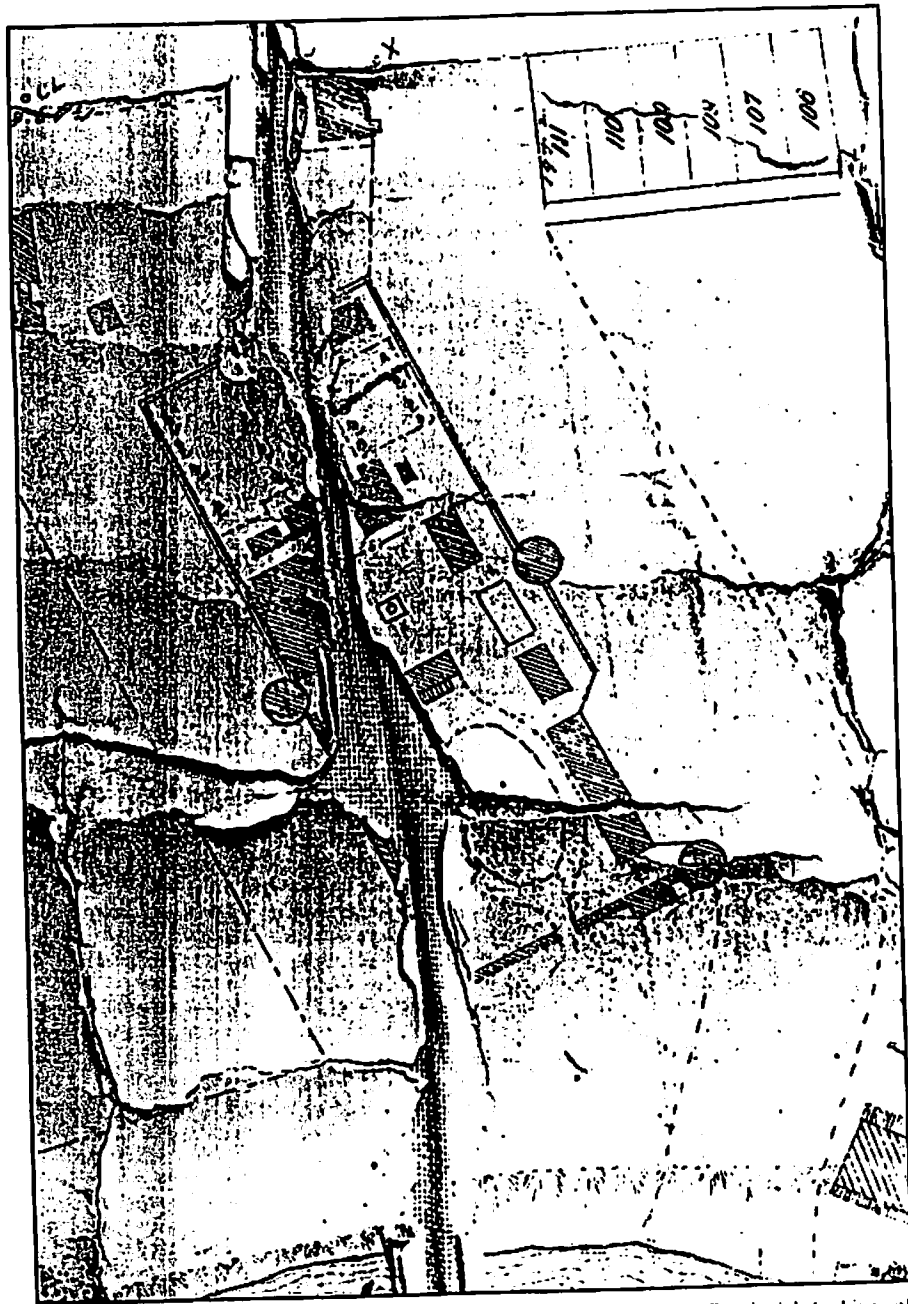


Figure 5. Portion of G. McPhillips's plan of the City of Winnipeg. 1876. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 614.41 ccc, 1876.

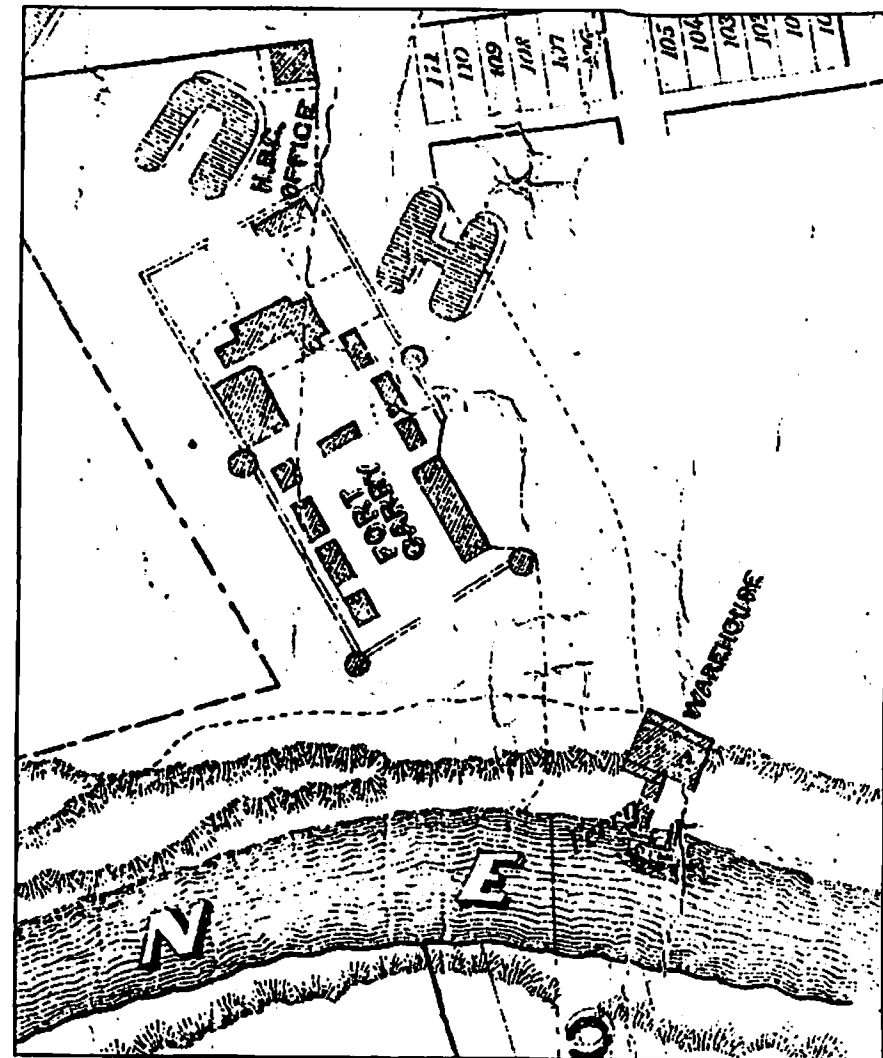


Figure 6. Portion of G. McPhillips's plan of the City of Winnipeg. 1877. Provincial Archives of Manitoba Dept. of the Interior rolled plan #251.

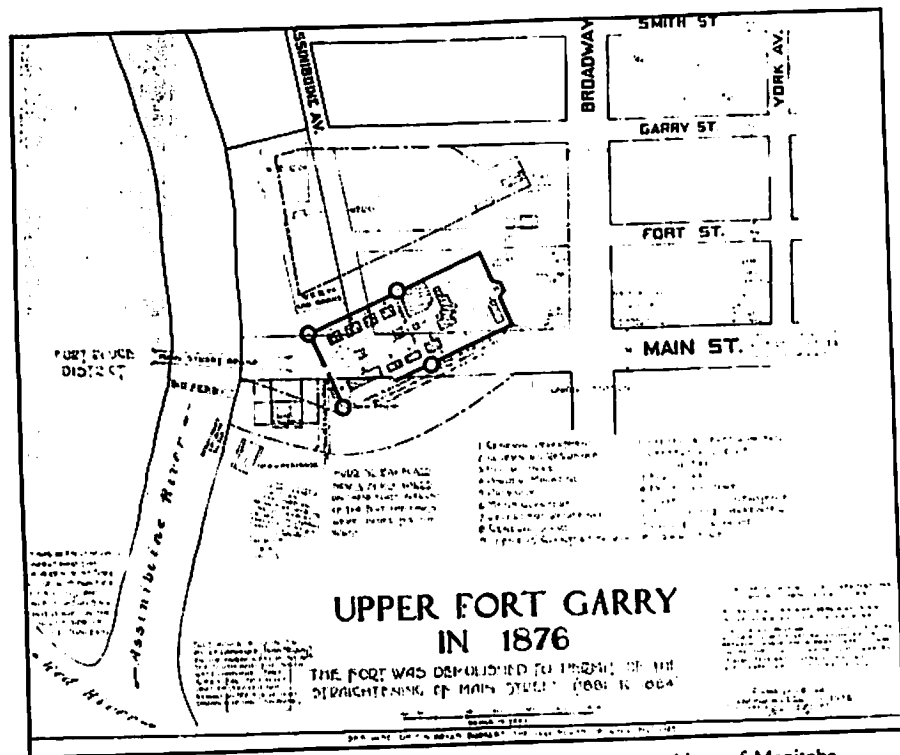


Figure 7. The Hazel plan of Upper Fort Garry in 1876. Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

row, the sales store, recorder's house with a lean-to, mens's house, bake house, and flagpole. Although it is not drawn to scale, it is a clear and useful depiction. Furthermore, from this rough sketch Warre produced a scaled plan including a cursory description of the uses of the major buildings in the fort which was used in an 1860 War Office document concerning the North-West.⁴

The second plan was drawn in 1846 by Captain Andrew Beatty following the occupation of most of Upper Fort Garry by the Sixth Regiment of Foot (Figure 2).⁵ It was drafted with more attention to scale and depicts all of the buildings indicated by Warre the previous summer, plus additions and modifications made to accommodate the troops. A key describing the use of each building is included. The third plan, drawn by Captain Hampden Clement Blamire Moody, is dated 31 July 1848 (Figure 3).⁶ It depicts Upper Fort Garry and its immediate vicinity as it stood after two years of military garrisoning and includes construction not depicted by either Warre or Beatty. There is no evidence that any structures were subsequently added to the establishment until 1852, when the walls were extended northward to enclose the entire establishment once again.

Upon comparison of internal evidence of these three plans, several questions

arise: Does the opening of a gate in the east wall as depicted by Beatty reflect an attempt to restrict public access within the fort or had the walls by this time become superfluous? For the archaeologist, can an artifact found within the fort be assumed to have been left behind by a denizen of the fort or possibly by settlers who passed freely about the fort while attending to their business or other social activity?

With the existence of the sales shop in the southeast corner of the fort, it may be assumed that settlers regularly visited this area. Before 1846, the only access to the sales shop was through the southern gate. This is corroborated by Finlayson's and Finlay's sketches of the south gate⁷ which depict people casually passing through. Warre's failure to depict the so-called "postern gate" was not an oversight; Finlayson's 1840 painting⁸ of the southeast view shows no opening there and furthermore depicts a bell tower just inside the wall at that point. Kane's 1846 painting⁹ similarly shows the bell tower. A.H. Murray's sketch in 1846 indicates that for a time the postern gate and bell tower existed together.¹⁰

The disappearance of the bell tower and the opening of a gate at that point in the wall appear to have been part of the accommodations made for the arrival of the Sixth Foot, when the fort was divided between the military and the Hudson's Bay Company. The military took over the two main gates, so the company was obliged to open a postern gate to facilitate access to the sales store and residences, and to remove the bell tower to create more space in the company compound. From 1846 on, it may be assumed from the plans of the fort that the settlers were carefully herded through the postern gate on their way to conduct business with the company. However, in his report of an assault charge against a member of the Sixth Foot by a woman of the settlement, Adam Thom mentions that this woman was a frequent visitor to the barracks, and that such entertainment was common.¹¹

The archaeologist must, in this case, wonder if some of the decorated cloth fragments and ladies' shoes recovered from excavations belonged to soldiers' British wives, local consorts, or both. This situation exemplifies the importance of detailed knowledge of structural uses to the archaeologist. Without a comprehensive understanding of the history and functions of buildings inside the fort, issues such as these, which account for the formation of the archaeological record, cannot properly be understood.

After the departure of the Sixth Foot, the interior wall dividing Upper Fort Garry became redundant. Photographs of the interior of the fort after 1871 show no sign of the wall, although it seems plausible that the occupation of the Royal Canadian Rifles in 1857-61 necessitated a division of the fort once more.

To return to the primary reason for settlers to visit the fort, *The Manitoban* noted in 1871 that "The entrance to the store, which used to be through the inside of the Fort, will now be from Winnipeg Road...."¹² From reviewing the

evidence concerning the sales shop and the postern entrance to the sales shop area, it appears that during normal times the denizens of Upper Fort Garry and the Red River settlers mingled extensively within the southern court of the fort. Occasional attempts to control such circulation, of which the postern gate and Beatty's depiction of the interior wall are two examples, are evidence more of the generally porous nature of the fort's social and physical perimeter than the company's preoccupation with enforcing its privacy. This is one example of how visual depictions of the fort may be used in conjunction with written records to aid the archaeologist in anticipating the location of buried architectural remains and in understanding the rationale behind their existence.

A question arising from comparison of the internal evidence of the three early plans relates quite simply to the chronology of certain structures in the fort. In the northeast corner, that is, in the eastern row north of the sales shop, the three plans appear to depict three different groups of structures. Does this reflect a literally accurate record of three different groups of structures that were successively erected and dismantled, or can some other explanation of these depictions be found? Although this part of the site is buried under Winnipeg's Main Street (the "Winnipeg Road" mentioned earlier, also known as "Garry Street" in the nineteenth century) and will not likely be excavated by archaeologists, resolution of this conflict might aid in a reconstruction of the fort. According to an examination of visual and written records, the structures of this area were, in order proceeding from the sales store, the recorder's residence (used occasionally as the residence of the chief Hudson's Bay Company representative at Red River), the men's residence, and near the northeast bastion a bake and cook house. The apparently contradictory depictions in the three plans must be explained in some other way.

The Warre plan shows three independent structures in this area and the Beatty plan indicates three as well, albeit in a different layout and both identify their uses. The Moody plan shows one long structure where the two residences are indicated in the Beatty plan, and unlike Warre positions the cookhouse in line with the other buildings. The two dwelling houses were first described in a report by the Royal Engineers Warre and Vavasour in 1846, and it seems certain that Warre's depiction and written report would have referred to the same buildings. Beatty confirms that three structures continued to exist in 1846. Furthermore, Finlay's 1 October 1847 sketch depicts buildings which correspond in detail to later photographs of the recorder's and men's residences.¹³ The essential structures in this area were never changed.

The somewhat confusing size and distribution depicted in the Warre sketch may be attributed to an inconsistency of scale on Warre's part. The three western stores, the main house, and the sales store appear to be drawn fairly consistently, but the lesser structures in the northeast corner have been drawn somewhat differently in order to accommodate the details of their ground plans. Notice of Warre's

inattention to the niceties of scale in his rough sketch is given in many other ways including the manner in which the fort's walls are depicted as being wider (east to west) than they are long.

Beatty's 1846 depiction of three similarly sized structures corresponds in number to the Warre plan, and in layout more closely to the Moody plan. The size of the structure described as a cooking and bake house, much greater than that shown by Warre or Moody, may have been an attempt to depict the small cookhouse which was used by the fur trade as well as an outdoor oven of the type reconstructed at Lower Fort Garry, which might not have been considered a building by Warre and Moody.

While it is easy to accept that the structures depicted by Warre in 1845 were the same ones depicted by Beatty in 1846, less easy to explain is Moody's depiction of one long structure where formerly there were two — in 1848 after two years of military activity. The most plausible explanation is that from 1845 to 1848, while the essential structures of the recorder's and men's houses remained, lean-tos and a one-storey passageway between the two were added. These accretions to core structures were a continuing feature of the architectural history of Upper Fort Garry; in the case of the accretions to the eastern row of residences, a good depiction of the final result may be seen in a lithograph (c. 1874) by Rolph Smith.¹⁴ Other photographs depict various accretions at different times. It appears from the Warre plan that by 1845 the recorder's residence had a lean-to; by 1848 the two residences had been joined by the passageway to make them the contiguous structure depicted by Moody. The idea of contiguity recurs in the Balsillie plan (c. 1868) and must have been a general impression of the two dwelling houses.

Moody's decision to depict the concept of contiguity has several possible explanations. The first is based on the supposition that the 1848 plan existed for military purposes. The map bears similarities to other maps produced by British military intelligence during the nineteenth century.¹⁵ For the purposes of planning military deployments and movements, representation of a contiguous line of defensive structure and internal movement would outweigh the need to have a representation of core structures. By contrast, the Beatty plan depicts details of structures which would aid in logistical planning.

A review of evidence relating to the structures in the northeast corner of Upper Fort Garry suggests that the 1845 Warre plan, the 1846 Beatty plan, and the 1848 Moody plan depict the same basic structures seen in post-1858 photographs of the fort. Although this creates problems in interpretation of the early plans, particularly the Moody plan, it significantly simplifies the architectural history of the fort. The only changes in this area of Upper Fort Garry after 1845, and probably after 1840 based on Finlayson's painting, were: (1) the temporary interior wall built in 1846 to enclose the Hudson's Bay Company's buildings; (2) the lean-

tos and passageway associated with the two residences depicted in the Smith lithograph; (3) removal of the bell tower (1846); (4) changes to the wall including the postern gate (1846), its gradual dilapidation and/or quarrying and the substitution of oaken paling (1860s), and its complete removal in front of the sales store (1871); and, (5) an otherwise undocumented structure near the sales store depicted in the Balsillie plan as an "Oil House" (Figure 4).



Figure 8. View of Upper Fort Garry from the south showing the liquor store under construction. c. 1872. Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

The three plans dating from 1845-48 provide a basic knowledge of Upper Fort Garry's appearance. The second group of plans dates from 1876-81, and reconstructs significant changes made to the fort during the intervening decades. In 1852 the fort walls were extended northward using oaken pales, doubling the area of the enclosure, to once again secure the entire establishment which had overflowed the stone walls in 1846. Soon after, a new Main House was built in the northernmost part of the fort, as well as the administration and mess building that was occupied by the provisional government of Louis Riel in 1869-70. Both buildings were in use by 1854. In 1860 a building known as the "General Depot" was erected in the northeast corner. The old north wall was removed, and an interior paling erected north of the flour and pemmican stores to separate the residential enclosures in the north quarter of the fort from the workaday southern part. Certain of the older buildings received typical accretions, and the area between the western row of buildings and the western wall was almost filled with small sheds. In 1871 or 1872 the southern end of the fort was cleared of the old Main House and a short-lived store which lay along the inside of the south wall,

creating the spacious interior appearance depicted in many of the later photographs. A store for liquor was built along the outside of the south wall, completing construction at Upper Fort Garry proper (Figure 8). The second group of plans reflects this final distribution of structures.

Of the four plans in the second group, only two are verifiable primary documents, the surveyed maps of Winnipeg signed by George McPhillips in 1876 and 1877. The earlier depiction (Figure 5) is a pen-and-ink original¹⁶ while the latter (Figure 6) is an official version likely derived from the first.¹⁷ An obscure plan already referred to as the Balsillie plan (Figure 4) is a depiction of the fort's layout in the 1860s, after the "General Depot" was built, and before the appearance of the store along the southern wall. It is not drawn to scale but the structures are identified and as far as can be verified the information contained in the key is accurate. It provides several otherwise undocumented items, most notably the fire engine, well, oil house, and the second postern gate in the east wall near the General Department. However, since the plan cannot be dated precisely and its provenience is not verifiable, it remains a qualified source.¹⁸ Finally, the 1928 Hazel plan (Figure 7) is included because it purports to be a depiction of information dating to 1876.¹⁹ This plan includes a helpful legend identifying structures.

In this group of plans, one problem immediately becomes apparent. Both the Hazel plan and the 1877 McPhillips survey depict four structures of equal size along the same swatch of ground in the western row that was occupied by the three pre-1846 stores. This is an error, the origin of which remains uncertain. Graphic depictions of Upper Fort Garry indicate clearly that no wholesale destruction of the three older stores took place from 1845 until 1882. The Balsillie plan is also clear that only three stores stood within the confines of the pre-1852 walls in the western row. Since the Hazel plan is a derivation of a previous depiction, it cannot be said that the depiction of the extra structure reaches us from two independent sources.

Certainly, the depiction of the four stores where only three stood was not based on observation. Possibly, since it was known that the fourth store was built in 1848 and that the walls were extended in 1852, it was assumed that the fourth store stood inside the old wall. Yet the 1877 depicter was aware of a large structure in the west row which lay north of the bastion and drew its ground plan in a manner consistent with at least one photograph of the western face.²⁰ The key accompanying the Hazel plan does not identify this structure, although it identifies the first four structures depicted in the western row. Hazel's identification of these structures is consistent with the Balsillie plan's identification of the four western stores and is accurate in most other ways as well. Thus the error can be isolated as consisting solely of placing four structures in the old half of the fort where actually only three existed.

The interpretation of the plans involves a process of crosschecking with information contained in photographs and graphic depictions. In using these images as evidence, the questions of provenience and exact dating are crucial. Approximately thirty artists depicted Upper Fort Garry — some photographically, some as they saw it, and others on the basis of previous depictions. Careful analysis of still images as an historical source is an essential part of arriving at an architectural history of Upper Fort Garry.

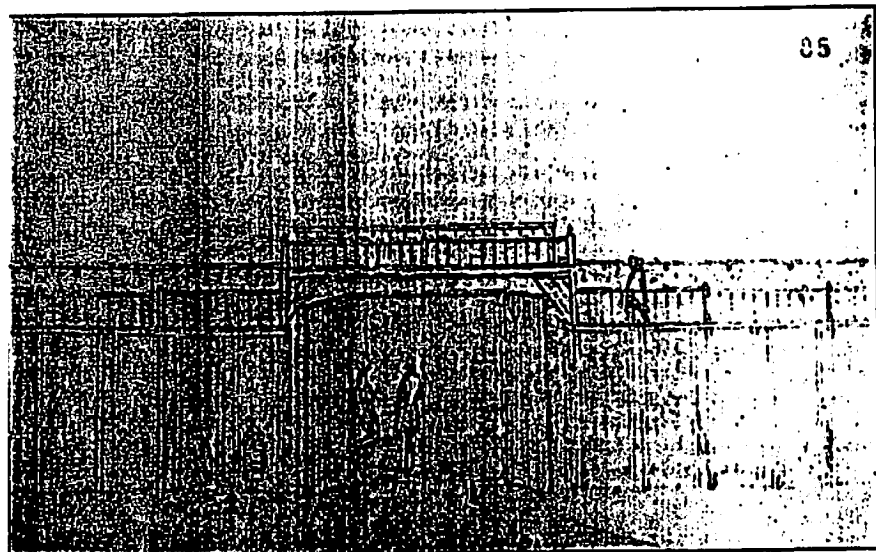


Figure 9. Isobel Finlayson's sketch entitled "Front Gate, Fort Garry." Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba E. 12/5 fo. 85.

Many graphic depictions of Upper Fort Garry exist which predate the first photographic depictions in 1858. The first known depictions are those of Isobel Finlayson, the wife of Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson, dating from her 1840-43 sojourn at Red River. One is a painting of the fort from its usual south-southeast appearance; it is carefully rendered with attention to scale, perspective, and detail. It is remarkable for its depiction of a smaller structure just inside the south gate (otherwise unknown), the bell tower, and the unpierced eastern wall.²¹ The other is a pencil sketch of the south wall and gate from inside the fort which clearly illustrates the gallery inside the wall (Figure 9).²²

In 1845 Henry Warre produced a lithograph of Upper Fort Garry from the southeast²³ in which he altered details such as perspective, the terrain, and the roofs of structures in the eastern and western rows. In 1846 Alexander H. Murray sketched the fort from the northeast soon after his entry into the company's service.²⁴

In that year as well Captain George Finlay arrived with the Sixth Foot: during

the next two years he produced four sketches of the fort. One, dated 1 October 1847, is a faithful view from the north which depicts a puzzling structure and chimney near the west wall and a low chimney and cottage roof near the north wall where Moody and Beatty located the temporary bake oven and cook house.²⁵ Finlay sketched the interior of the south wall in a view similar to that of Isobel Finlayson, apparently from his third-storey window in the Main House.²⁶ He included a depiction of a corner of the interior wall indicated by Beatty. Another sketch is of a room in the Main House; the last is of the fort from the southeast. Finlay dated his sketches, and they are useful in establishing the minimum and maximum construction dates of the trans-mural powder magazine and stores.

Artist Paul Kane of Toronto also visited Red River in 1846. He painted at least two views of Upper Fort Garry from the northeast.²⁷ His biographer, J.R. Harper,²⁸ states that this visit was unproductive, but one of his paintings²⁹ depicts a structure that was not erected until 1848.³⁰

A frustrating lacuna follows, spanning the period of the erection of the new walls, the new Main House, and the administrative building, up to September 1857 when John Fleming arrived with Henry Youle Hind's expedition. He depicted the fort from both the south and the north,³¹ including rare views of the west side. In 1858 Humphrey Lloyd Himes, a Toronto photographer who also accompanied Hind, photographed Upper Fort Garry. The photographic record continues with a depiction of the steamer *International* docked in front of the fort, probably in 1869.³² A series of photographs dating from 1871 or 1872 shows the construction in the southern part of the fort at that time, and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba holds many depictions of various views of the fort after this period. Most of the photographers remain anonymous, and as a consequence, the precise dating of their work is uncertain. This is an unusual problem for historians: the usual method of dating by written records leaves ambiguity as to which structure is referred to and excludes a visualization entirely, while using photographs leaves a converse problem of dating and authorship.

With the exception of the works of W.E. Napier, another painter accompanying Hind in 1857-58, W.F. Lynn, a journalist painter who arrived in Red River in approximately 1872, a few lesser known artists such as R.P. Meade and William Armstrong who depicted the Red River Expeditionary Force in 1870, and Governor General Dufferin who visited Red River in 1876, no further primary graphic depictions exist after the appearance of the camera. But sketches continued to appear. Among these, a curious sketch produced by William George Richardson Hind of the "gold miners" leaving Fort Garry in 1862 is notable for its depiction of a structure along the outside of the west wall near the south bastion, which may also be a hole in the wall.³³ This structure is repeated earlier in one of Himes's photographs and depicts a low structure against the wall at that point in 1858.³⁴ Fleming's 1857 depiction of the western wall, however, has no

indication of any structure at that point.³⁵

After the fort was largely demolished in 1882, several artists continued to produce paintings of Upper Fort Garry, beginning with L.M. Stephenson who sold his paintings to Middleton's troops in 1885. Several other artists fall into a similar category, never having seen the fort themselves, working from unknown sources, and arbitrarily dating their work, such as L.M. Stollery, E.J. Hutchins, H.A. Strong, and W. Coltman Eade.³⁶

Deserving special mention is the "Bird's Eye View" (c. 1880) of Winnipeg, including Upper Fort Garry.³⁷ It is not a faithful depiction of scale or building details, but hews the line well in the area of relative sizes and locations. Finally, in the twentieth century several attempts were made to depict the fort from the air, based on pictorial research. Many of the sources are familiar to us but in some respects, notably in depictions of structures in the northern third of the fort, the information conveyed is novel. One sketch, produced by artist Jean Perret, appeared in the *Manitoba Free Press* in 1942.³⁸ They certainly belong to the classification of secondary sources but may be partly based on information now lost to us.

A description of Upper Fort Garry, if it is to be achieved, will rely on visual depictions and archaeological research. The loss of the Hudson's Bay Company post journal and the burial of much of the site by Main Street and other construction has ensured this. The methods of such a line of enquiry are more familiar to art historians than to archival historians. Some of the landmarks and pitfalls of research into visual depictions of Upper Fort Garry have been noted. Methodical handling of these depictions supported by archaeological verification may yet unlock the landscape of one of the more significant settings in Canadian history.

Archaeological Relevance

The following section of the article claims that the historical and archaeological data bases are independent yet complementary and that historical phenomena are not fully understood without reference to both sources of information. This claim is supported using examples from the Upper Fort Garry project that show (a) how each discipline contributes previously unknown information to the other and (b) how information from one data base can confirm or contradict aspects of the other.

The preceding section is of particular importance to the Upper Fort Garry Archaeological Project for the light it sheds on the confusion over the number of buildings along the fort's west wall. Excavations in 1981-83 took place in Bonnycastle Park where the southwest corner of the fort is located, but at the outset it was not possible to tell whether the remains of three unmodified buildings, four unmodified buildings, or three buildings modified into four were to be expected.

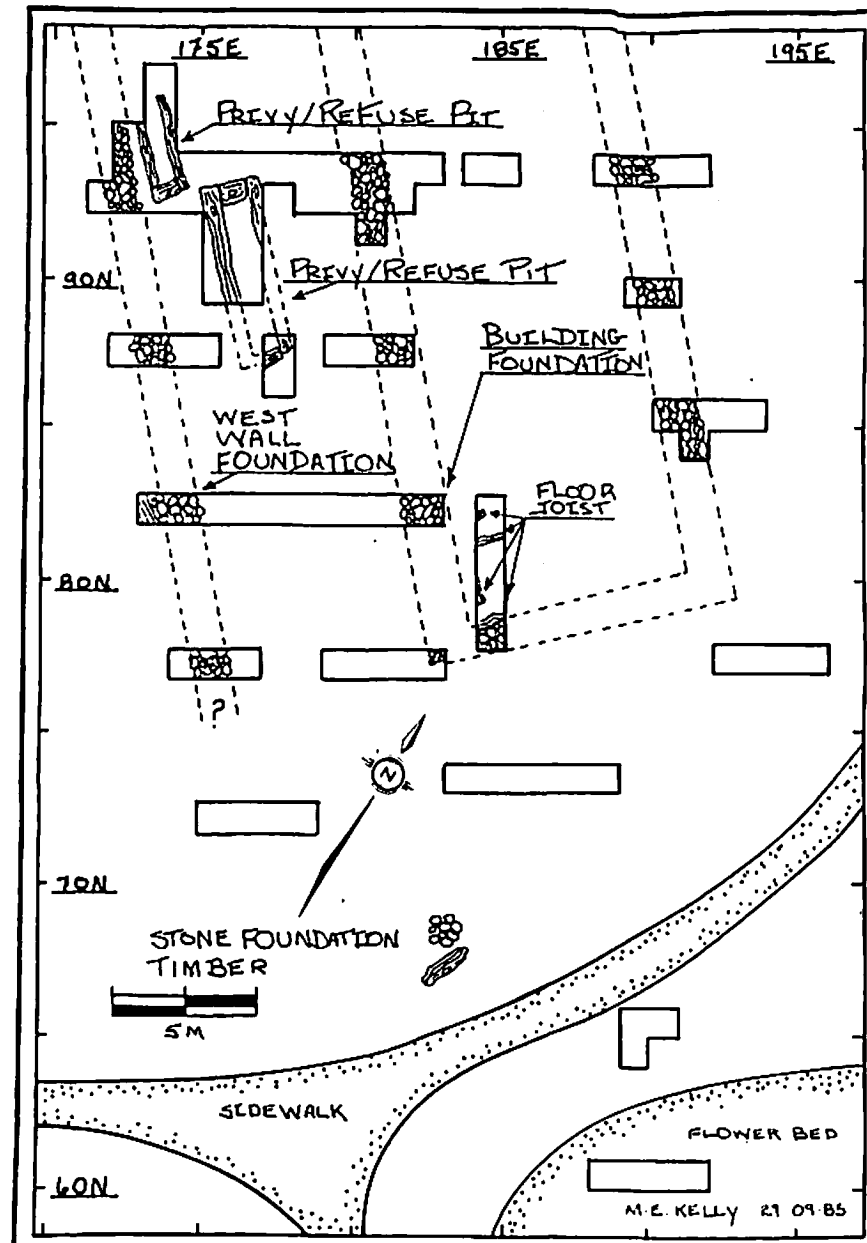


Figure 10. Plan of excavation units and exposed structures in southwest portion of Upper Fort Garry under Bonnycastle Park.

From an archaeological point of view this uncertainty had important implications. First, a decision had to be made whether the resolution of this issue was sufficiently important to justify the necessary efforts. Second, since the buildings inside the fort could not be ignored archaeologically, a field strategy for exposing their remains had to be devised. The more complex the structures, the more they would need to be exposed to clarify the details of any modifications. Third, the interpretive stage of archaeological analysis was affected because even if test excavations revealed no modifications to structures there could be no absolute certainty from the archaeological record, without complete exposure, as to whether remains of three or four unidentified buildings had been encountered.

Excavations revealed the remains of a building's cobble and mortar foundation (Figure 10).³⁹ The width of the building, measured from exterior to exterior of the foundation, was twenty-nine feet and three inches,⁴⁰ which compares well with Warre and Vavasour's report of three buildings each seventy feet by thirty feet.⁴¹ Colonel Crofton, commanding officer of the Sixth Foot, records the buildings as seventy feet by thirty-six feet, although Guinn⁴² concludes the two engineers' dimensions are more likely correct. The archaeological evidence seems to corroborate Guinn. No information was recovered regarding the building's length, but if it was indeed seventy feet long, then the north wall lies under the sidewalk on the south side of Assiniboine Avenue.

The archival and archaeological records of a site are each distinct and independent, although they may overlap in some areas and complement one another in others. Indeed, one lacks a complete picture of a site until both records have been fully explored. Some writers claim indeed that written records are superficial and elitist in their bias against ordinary things and people.⁴³ The following example is offered to show how archaeology can provide information about the architectural history of Upper Fort Garry that written and visual documents cannot.

Archival records of outbuildings and temporary structures at Upper Fort Garry are rare. When documented, the references are sketchy at best, e.g., "one man digging a pit behind the pensioner's house for a convenience"⁴⁴ or "Leask commenced making a urinal for the soldiers."⁴⁵ Guinn records a contract for the construction of a wash house,⁴⁶ and visual depictions of the fort show roofs of unidentified small buildings appearing, changing, and disappearing. In all these cases, important questions remain unanswered. Is the "pensioner's house" inside the fort or at Pensioner's Point? If inside the fort, which building was it? How big was the pit, was it covered, and if so, how was it constructed? What exactly was/were the function(s) of the wash house? Are any of these reports related to the unidentified structures depicted within the fort, and if so, which ones? The same questions apply to the Leask reference and the wash house referred to in Guinn.

To such a barrage of questions one might retort, "Why would one want to

know?" There are five reasons why an archaeologist would want to answer such questions. First, one needs to answer such questions from historical documents to prepare adequately for archaeological field work. In preparing the research design of an archaeological project, the investigator needs to know which areas of the site are most likely to provide information that will answer his/her questions and therefore help to achieve the study objectives. Prior knowledge of which site areas are most likely to provide relevant information improves the accuracy of sampling procedures employed in the field and consequently improves the reliability of interpretations derived from the recovered materials. In this respect, historical archaeology enjoys an advantage over much prehistoric archaeology where site contents and internal patterning are seldom known in advance. Field methods must also be tailored to the research aims and the site's characteristics. The size, shape, orientation, spacing, and location of excavation units must be controlled to intercept or avoid certain parts of the site. Proper excavation techniques must also be selected to recover desired information from each part of the site.

Second, historical archaeology can provide historical information unavailable from documents. A vigorous debate in the mid-1960s questioned whether this contribution was the sole value of historical archaeology.⁴⁷ Anthropological archaeologists have concluded that historical archaeology can serve a valuable purpose in this regard, but its contribution can and should include much more.⁴⁸

Third, and perhaps obviously, historical documents are selective and therefore biased by the perceptions of those who recorded information or those who subsequently preserved it. Two areas stand out immediately as being under-documented: the lives and views of middle and lower socioeconomic groups and material history. This is a general archival phenomenon, to which the Red River Settlement is no exception. Historical archaeology begins to address the latter area through recovery of portable and non-portable artifacts. Architectural remains indicate the size, shape, location, and construction methods of recorded and unrecorded buildings. Portable artifacts and refuse indicate what items were utilized in the lives of the people under investigation. This material record enables archaeologists and historians alike to add to the documentary sources as well as, for example, tracing the introduction and modification of past technologies. In so doing, some aspects of the undocumented lives of middle and lower socioeconomic groups can be gleaned.

Fourth, the archaeologist wishes to know as much as possible about the effect of cultural and natural processes that caused the site to take on its distinctive characteristics. Site occupants live and work differentially on a site; consequently, different parts of a site can exhibit traces of activities that may vary over space or through time. For example, items lost or discarded by a farmer while shopping at Upper Fort Garry would be different both in kind and location from those left behind by women visiting the troops. The spatial distribution, chronology, and

function of structural and non-structural remains thus help to determine who was doing what where on the site.

Natural processes, too, influence what the archaeologist recovers and interprets. Natural decomposition of organic remains is a constant affecting the archaeologist's data base. The archaeologist, even when dealing with historic period sites, normally must examine objects that decompose slowly (bones, teeth, metal) or not at all (stone, glass, ceramics). The recovery of water-saturated deposits at Upper Fort Garry, in which the decay process had been arrested due to a lack of oxygen that decay bacteria require, was a rare discovery. A vast quantity of organic remains, including newspapers, cloth, leather, wood and seeds provides a fuller than usual glimpse of the material culture at Upper Fort Garry, but at the same time complicates the determination of the impact of various cultural and natural formation processes on various categories of remains. Most artifacts from Upper Fort Garry were recovered from two privy/refuse pits between the west wall of the fort and a storehouse/barracks immediately inside. Again the documented and undocumented architectural history of the site is important because it has implications for cultural activities that occurred in various parts of the fort as well as natural processes (e.g., lack of decomposition, compaction, slumpage) that occurred between deposition and excavation.

Fifth, the archival and archaeological record of architectural and associated remains indicates to some extent the nature of relationships within the cultural and natural environment. Construction methods show which aspects of the environment were exploited for which purposes as well as how construction methods were adapted to environmental conditions (e.g., harsh climate, unstable ground). The locations of buildings, their forms, and their variable functions indicate not only what sorts of activities could be expected at various parts of the site but also social relationships among site occupants and between occupants and non-occupants.

Similarly, non-architectural remains provide clues to the cultural and natural relations of the site occupants. Animal bones, seeds and wood show what parts of the natural environment were exploited for subsistence, and glassware, ceramics, cloth, leather and newspaper provide clues to the social and economic relations of site occupants to each other and to non-occupants.

At the present stage of analysis, the Upper Fort Garry project has been able to make initial contributions in each of these five areas. The research design was guided by archival documentation that showed which portion of the site lay under Bonnycastle Park and which major buildings comprised that portion. Excavation units were set out to intersect the architectural remains, which they successfully did. Likewise, excavation techniques ranging from a backhoe to dental picks and paint brushes were employed to recover structural and non-structural information. The project was able to supplement the historical documents by confirming the

location, function, and chronology of at least one outbuilding, and possibly two that are never specifically depicted or described.

The material history of the fort has been increased in proportion to the quantity and diversity of recovered remains. Excavations revealed that the fort's west wall foundation was composed of large cobbles and boulders, both limestone and granite, held together by mortar. These foundations measured three feet wide by eighteen inches deep and were laid in a trench dug into the ground. The major building exposed inside the fort rested on a foundation of similar materials and width but, inexplicably, was twice as deep (i.e., three feet). The floor joists under this building were spaced approximately forty-five inches apart — the now obsolete unit of measurement known as the cloth ell.⁴⁹ It was also discovered that two privy/refuse pits lay between this building and the west wall of the fort. The larger pit measured approximately eighteen feet by six feet by five feet and three inches and the smaller one was narrower and shallower. Both were cribbed with oak beams to prevent slumpage, but while the beams were hand hewn in the earlier pit, they were sawn square in the later one.

The site formation processes that affected the southwestern part of the fort are starting to become clear. The building inside the fort was a storehouse converted to a barracks for the Sixth Foot from 1846-48. The larger privy/refuse pit dates from this period and appears, on the basis of remains excavated from it, to have been constructed to accommodate the troops. The second pit dates from around 1880, but both were used as refuse disposal facilities as well as toilets. A layer of grey clay and cultural debris atop the first pit may be associated with the 1857 flood and/or the cleanup in its aftermath. Little cultural debris was found in or around the storehouse/barracks, suggesting that the military and/or the Hudson's Bay Company were fastidious in their maintenance of the fort.

Natural formation processes at the site have been predominantly water saturation and subsidence/compaction. Groundwater has kept out oxygen which is required by decay bacteria that attack organic material. This accounts for the excellent preservation of large quantities of organic remains. Subsidence of the privy deposits has occurred as their contents have compacted with age and the weight of overlying deposits. This process may have influenced the spatial positioning of materials in ways that have yet to be investigated in detail.

Relations to the natural and cultural environment are shown in the relative opulence and complexity of the structures inside the fort in comparison to the buildings in the surrounding settlement. The strength and permanence of the fort in comparison to small dwellings of Red River frame construction shows at a glance the superior social position of the fort occupants and the relatively effective steps that were taken to protect them from outside cultural and natural environmental conditions. The artifacts and refuse excavated inside the fort also indicate the character of cultural and environmental relations. Food refuse shows

that the fort occupants, at least the Sixth Foot, ate well. Local delicacies and imported foodstuffs were consumed in marked contrast to the diet of Hudson's Bay Company servants⁵⁰ and Red River settlers.⁵¹ Clothing and other accoutrements show the relative richness of the fort's occupants as well as the steps they took to deal with local environmental conditions.

An archaeological maxim states that one destroys what one digs. Because there is only one chance to excavate a specific piece of archaeological deposit, considerable care must be taken to service not only the immediate needs of the research but also to collect as much additional information as possible for other researchers examining different problems. The archaeologist therefore must compile a complete data base for the site, regardless of how much of it is to be used for the research at hand, in order that what has been destroyed in the ground can be preserved in the form of objects, field records, and published reports for the comparative purposes of other archaeologists.

Is the cost of this exercise justified? An archaeologist would say it is on the following grounds. In the widest terms of reference, the production of knowledge about our world is always valuable. In a more restricted sense, historical archaeology contributes information that is of use to other archaeologists, and to anthropologists, sociologists and geographers as well as to historians. If one totals the contributions that historical archaeology makes in each area, the cost is arguably justified. In the narrow sense, the cost of historical archaeology in relation to its benefits can be defended by considering that: (a) historians are fortunate in having the labour and cost of archival compilation already provided for them; (b) it is very costly, as this archaeologist has discovered, to have to search every document in every archive for every shred of germane evidence when; (c) historians' arguments are largely those of enumeration, and therefore; (d) there is no means for objectively evaluating the correctness of competing interpretations of historical events; (e) only historical archaeology can provide information on undocumented social groups and material culture.

NOTES

Gregory Monks wishes to acknowledge the financial assistance of The Winnipeg Foundation, the Manitoba Archaeological Society, the University of Manitoba, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Grant #410-84-0454) in the conduct of this research. The authors gratefully acknowledge the permission granted by the Public Records Office, the Public Archives of Canada, the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, and the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for the reproduction of illustrations contained herein. Thanks are expressed to D.N. Sprague who commented on an earlier draft of this article. Any errors or oversights are the authors' responsibility.

- 1 William A. Frassanito, *Gettysburg: a journey in time* (New York: Scribner, 1975). Frassanito has pioneered the use of photographs as historical documents and stresses three cardinal pieces of information necessary in using photographs: location, date and photographer. Before the advent of the photograph, a fourth consideration becomes vital: was the depicter attempting to provide a faithful record or were details consciously altered?
- 2 Ferdinand Eckhardt, *150 Years of Art in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1970); Rodger Guinn, *The Red-Assiniboine Junction: A Land Use and Structural History, 1670-1980* (Parks Canada Manuscript Number 355, 1980); Virginia Berry, *Boundless Horizons* (Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1983).

- 3 The Osborne Plan was drawn in the summer of 1857 at the request of George Simpson, so that he could see what changes were being made by Osborne to accommodate the Royal Canadian Rifles, who occupied the fort from 1857 to 1861. The record of the request, as well as Osborne's letter covering the map and Simpson's correspondence are located in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA) D.4/53, fo. 47; the map, however, remains to be discovered.
- 4 Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), Henry James Warre Papers, MG24, F71, Vol. 1, pp. 936-37. Reproduced as figure 14 in Rodger Guinn, *The Red-Assiniboine Junction*, 244-45. The final draft is in Britain's Public Records Office (hereafter PRO), War Office (hereafter WO) 33/21, p. 245. Facsimile is in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter PAM), M106.
- 5 Andrew Beatty, "Relative sketch of Upper Fort Garry, Red River Settlement, 1846." PRO, MPI/735 84129.
- 6 PAM, "General Survey of Upper Fort Garry and Its Immediate Vicinity," 31 July 1848. Captain Hampden C.B. Moody, et. al.
- 7 Glenbow Museum (Calgary), "U.F.G. (Upper Fort Garry)" GF 58.24.75. See also PAM, Finlay 38 for a facsimile; Isobel Graham Simpson Finlayson, HBCA, E.13/5, p. 158.
- 8 PAM, Fort Garry 1, Isobel Graham Simpson Finlayson.
- 9 Paul Kane, "Red River Settlement," c. 3-4 July 1846. Reproduced as PAM Fort Garry 2.
- 10 *The Beaver* (1931). Reproduction only, original unknown.
- 11 *The Manitoban*, 26 August 1871; Rodger Guinn, *The Red-Assiniboine Junction*, 115.
- 13 Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, "Upper Fort Garry - N. America," George Finlay Collection, GF 58.24.78. Facsimile in PAM.
- 14 PAM, Fort Garry 30.
- 15 WO 33/21, p. 266.
- 16 PAM.
- 17 National Map Collection, PAC VI/540 Winnipeg, 29 May 1877.
- 18 The plan's attribution to John Balsillie, a clerk at Upper Fort Garry from 1856-68, is courtesy of R.R. Swann. A copy (dated c. 1882) is in PAM, Fort Garry 51.
- 19 National Map Collection. Reproduced in A.F.G. Artibise and E.H. Dahl, *Winnipeg in Maps, 1812-1972* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975), 18.
- 20 National Photo Collection, PAC, C16834 (c. 1872). Cf. Rodger Guinn, *The Red-Assiniboine Junction*, Figure 32, 280-81.
- 21 PAM, Fort Garry 1.
- 22 HBCA E.13/5, p. 158.
- 23 HBCA P-49.
- 24 Reproduced in *The Beaver* (1931), original unknown. According to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), Murray travelled in 1846 from the United States to Red River to enlist with the Hudson's Bay Company. However, HBCA B.235/b/95, fo. 34 (Red River officers' and servants' accounts, 1845-46) shows a withdrawal for three pounds on 5 June 1845 for "Alex. H. Murray" but notes nothing subsequently. The *Dictionary* continues to state that Murray was immediately forwarded to the Mackenzie River District. On his way, he married Anne Campbell at Fort Simpson; this marriage was listed at St. John's, Red River Settlement, on 24 August 1846. The date for the Murray sketch, while certainly executed before mid-June 1846, cannot be precisely given at this time.
- 25 PAM, Captain Hampden C.B. Moody, et. al. (see note 6); Beatty (see note 5), PRO MPI/735 84129.
- 26 "U.F.G.," GF 58.24.76, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, George Finlay Collection.
- 27 Paul Kane, "Red River Settlement," c. 3-4 July 1846, (PAM, Fort Garry 2), and "Red River Settlement," 1849?, Stark Foundation, Orange, Texas, POP-1 CR IV-36 (reproduced in Winnipeg Art Gallery, *150 Years of Art in Manitoba*, 29.)
- 28 John Russell Harper, *Paul Kane's Frontier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 30-33.
- 29 "Red River Settlement," 1849?, Stark Foundation.
- 30 HBCA D.5/22, fo. 522, A. Christie to G. Simpson, 18 August 1848: "from the whole of the interior of the Fort being required (by the soldiers known as the Chelsea Pensioners), 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, which with the two upper stores in the opposite store, are sufficient to contain from 7 to 8,000 bushels of grain, exclusive of the storages at the lower fort, which are even more commodious."

The amount of grain contained in the new store, for example thirty-five hundred to four thousand bushels, would occupy a space approximately seventy feet by thirty-five feet, to an average depth of seventeen feet. This corresponds to approximations of the dimensions of the upper two storeys of the trans-mural stores, based on comparisons with previously built and described stores, and the calculation based on graphic depictions, that the cave height was about eighteen feet and the peak height about twenty-nine feet.

HBCA D.4/38, fo. 10, G. Simpson to A. Christie, 30 June 1848, indicates that Simpson recognized that the store might have to be built; therefore, it is reasonable to assume that on Simpson's annual visit to Red River during the first week of June, the erection of the store was not fully anticipated. Thus, the second store was built during the summer of 1848.

- 31 J.W. Fleming, "Fort Garry — Rear View," 1857, John Ross Robertson Collection, Metropolitan Toronto Library, T15994 (view from north northwest); "Fort Garry," 1857, John Ross Robertson Collection, Metropolitan Toronto Library, T16007 (view from south southwest).
- 32 The *International* sailed to Red River Settlement in 1862, then again from 1863 until the 1870s. The photograph appeared in *Canadian Illustrated News* (December 1869); presumably the depictor had his photograph published as soon as possible. Other depictions dated 1869 (albeit uncertainly) depict the phantom store inside the south wall already standing. Cf. Rodger Guinn, *The Red-Assiniboine Junction*, 270-71, figure 22.
- 33 W.G.R. Hind, "Miners leaving Fort Garry, June 1862," from the sketchbook *The Overlanders of 62*, p. 5, PAC C9583.
- 34 Humphrey L. Himes, 1858. PAC, National Photograph Collection. Cf. Rodger Guinn, *The Red-Assiniboine Junction*, 268-69, figure 26.
- 35 G. Monks, "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations in Bonnycastle Park (Upper Fort Garry), 1983," *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 8, nos. 3-4 (1984): 35, describes the finding of construction timber outside the wall at this point. This may be the construction referred to in HBCA B.236/a/16, fo. 43 (9 September 1859): "Green ... carting away the rubbish broken out of the wall for the new privy door." Alternately, this reference may be to a lean-to against the outside west wall just south of the northwest bastion. Himes's 1858 photograph already depicts a structure outside the wall at this point excavated by Monks.
- 36 PAM, Fort Garry 24-26.
- 37 PAM, Fort Garry 50.
- 38 *Manitoba Free Press*, 26 June 1942.
- 39 G. Monks, "Preliminary Report," figure 1.
- 40 G. Monks, "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations in Bonnycastle Park (Upper Fort Garry), 1982," *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (1983): 21.
- 41 Rodger Guinn, *The Red-Assiniboine Junction*, 75.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 76.
- 43 Henry Glassie, "Archaeology and Folklore: common anxieties, common hopes," in L. Ferguson, ed., *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things* (Washington: Society for Historical Archaeology, 1977), 29; William Rathje, "In Praise of Archaeology: le projet du garbage," in L. Ferguson, ed., *Historical Archaeology*, 38.
- 44 HBCA B.235/a/15, fo. 12, Fort Garry Journal, 2 August 1852.
- 45 HBCA B.236/a/16, fo. 4, Fort Garry Journal, 24 May 1858.
- 46 Rodger Guinn, *The Red-Assiniboine Junction*, Appendix B.
- 47 See the articles in parts one and four of Robert L. Schuyler, ed., *Historical Archaeology: a guide to substantive and theoretical contributions* (Farmingdale: Baywood Publishing Co., 1978).
- 48 See Kathleen Deagan, "Avenues of Inquiry in Historical Archaeology," in M. Schiffer, ed., *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 5 (New York: Academic Press, 1983), 151-78.
- 49 This unit of measurement was brought to Monks's attention by Professor Connors, University of Manitoba, and subsequently referenced in Lester A. Ross, *Archaeological Metrology: English, French, American and Canadian systems of weights and measures in historical archaeology* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, History and Archaeology Series, No. 68, 1983), 51-52.
- 50 G. Monks, "A Model of cultural evolution in the Red River Settlement, 1821-1870," paper presented at the 18th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, Winnipeg, April 1985.
- 51 Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines Inc., 1957), 196, 361.