ARCHIVAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ECONOMIC VARIABILITY IN THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, 1830-1870.

By

Bonnie Lee A. Brenner

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to develop a method of economic scaling that can be used to determine the relative economic position of assemblages. Scales of economic means are independently derived from the archaeological and archival records available for a site, and are then correlated to determine the consistency of the ranking. If correlation between archival and archaeologically derived economic scales exists, then, in the absence of the archival records, the relative economic position of an assemblage can be determined on the basis of the archaeological record alone.

The assemblages must fulfil two basic criteria for inclusion in this thesis: 1) it is represented by an excavated archaeological assemblage, and 2) suitable archival or historical documentation exists. The assemblages meeting the above requirements are Upper Fort Garry (Privy Refuse Pits I and II); Lower Fort Garry (the Big House, Farmer's House, and the Troop Canteen and Barracks); Fort Garry; The Delorme House Site; The Riel House Site; and The Garden Site.

The archaeological scales are created from the ceramic and faunal assemblages. The ceramic assemblages are rank ordered using Miller's (1980) method of ceramic economic scaling. The faunal assemblages are rank ordered in a similar method using butchered *Bos taurus* remains following Schulz and Gust (1983). The archival scales are created from the Hudson's Bay Company censuses of the Red River Settlement recorded between 1832 and 1868, which provide variables (dwellings, livestock, implements and acres) for the creation of an economic scale. For military and Hudson's Bay Company Fort employees who do not appear in the census documents, post journals, paylists, and other records providing wage lists are used to rank order the various Fort assemblages. The two sets of rank orders are tested for correlation. Significant correlation was not demonstrated for the archival ranking derived from possessions or income and the archaeological ranking based on faunal indexing. However, the lack of success may be due to a) the small number of assemblages available, or b) indexing based only on *Bos taurus* remains. Significant correlation was found to exist between the archival ranking based on possessions or income and archaeological ranking based on ceramic indexing. This indicates that relative economic position for an assemblage lacking archival documentation, can be predicted on the basis of the ceramic ranking alone.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historical archaeologists have continually urged the use of both archaeological and archival data in a complementary manner; however, much of the past research carried out in historical archaeology has either a) not effectively integrated these two data sources, or b) done so loosely or intuitively. Many studies have resorted to using historical documents to simply describe the events that occurred at a particular site in the past. In other research, vague references to the archival record were often used to "explain" the archaeological record. The written and archaeological records each contain a number of biases that have prevented complete understanding of a site and its inhabitants. This thesis attempts to rigorously utilize both data sources to create a more complete picture than is available using one source alone.

The purpose of this thesis is to develop a method of economic scaling to determine the relative economic position of assemblages. These assemblages represent social groups that are ultimately the objective of anthropological inquiry. The economic relations between these groups, as seen archaeologically and archivally, is the focus of this thesis. This is accomplished by independently deriving scales of economic means from the archaeological remains and archival documents for the same assemblage. These scales are then correlated to determine how consistently they rank members of the various sites, in this case, the Red River Settlement, the first settlement colony in western Canada.

The rationale behind this topic is that if such a methodology can be shown to be viable, and a correlation between archival and archaeologically derived economic scales

exists, then assemblages which do not have adequate archival documentation can be scaled relative to each other using the archaeological record alone. This scaling can be accomplished with the certainty that the archaeological data accurately reflect the historic record. The method is applicable for comparisons between assemblages (inter- and intra-site), and it creates a more rigorous treatment of both data sources than is available using one source alone. The method permits the examination of economic variability, a key aspect of all cultural systems, and also presents the opportunity to understand individuals and/or groups not included in historical documents.

There is a wealth of research that uses economic scaling (Ackerman 1991, Schulz and Gust 1983, Spencer-Wood 1987); however, these studies are usually confined to the creation of either an archival or an archaeological scale in order to understand the economic and social standing of individuals in a community. These studies often conclude with the recommendation that indices from both data sources should be used in connection with each other. To date, a few studies of this type have been carried out using data deriving from the eastern United States, but this method has not been applied to the Red River Settlement.

This study is an attempt to use the two available data sources, in this case from the Red River Settlement, to create a specific form of scaling to determine relative economic position. For the purposes of this study, relative economic position (REP) is defined as the economic position of one individual relative to another as determined by the rank ordering of his or her economic variables (derived from archival and/or archaeological sources) that are placed on an arbitrary scale.

The development and application of this method will use Red River Settlement

archival and archaeological data dating between 1830 to 1870. The criteria required for an individual's or group's inclusion in the study are: a) a record of the individual or group in the census records or other suitable historical documents, and b) representation by an excavated archaeological assemblage. Groups and individuals will be treated equally because an individual in a census represents a group, that is to say, a family or household, of one economic position. An institutional group, such as the Sixth Regiment Enlisted Men, also occupies a single economic position. The only differences between a household and the Sixth Regiment Enlisted Men are the relative size of the group and quantity of deposited remains.

The archival documents used are the Hudson's Bay Company census documents from Red River Settlement, recorded between 1832 and 1868. Rank order is assigned based upon each of the variables recorded for each individual in the census (numbers of dwellings, livestock, implements and acres). The rank order values of an individual's variables are totalled and a mean rank order value per individual is calculated. The mean rank order value is used as an index value in order to place individuals and groups in their relative economic position to one another on an arbitrary scale. Other documents, such as post journals, are used for Fort personnel who do not appear in the census records. The various occupations or military ranks are associated with particular wages recorded in the historical documents. As the Fort assemblages are each connected with a discrete occupation or rank, the relative economic position is determined by the associated income and used as an index value to place the group on an arbitrary scale.

The archaeological indices are created from the excavated ceramic and faunal assemblages. Using Miller's (1980, 1991) technique for ceramic economic scaling, the

ceramic indices from each assemblage are ranked. A comparable method is used to rank order faunal remains, specifically *Bos taurus* or Bison/Bos specimens which exhibit evidence of butchering and are identifiable to a specific cut of meat. The two rank order values (ceramic and faunal) for each individual are used separately as index values, and are also averaged and used as a single index value to place each individual's assemblage on an arbitrary scale of relative economic position.

A rank order correlation test (Spearman's rho) is applied to the two sets of rank ordered scales in order to evaluate the effectiveness of predicting one from the other. If the scaling derived from the archival records is unlikely to correspond with the archaeological record on the basis of chance, then, in the absence of archival documents, the economic indicators based on the archaeological remains provide reliable relative economic positions of the individuals and/or groups whose deposits are studied.

This information is then used to discuss the reasons behind economic differences in the Red River Settlement during this period. Such discussion will open doors for further understanding of economic and social position within the Settlement. Researchers agree that economic position, as indicated by occupation or possessions, is a good indicator of social position. By examining the relative economic position of the Red River Settlement settlers and Fort personnel under consideration, discussion of social position can be advanced. This thesis will also present the opportunity to further understand individuals and/or groups not usually recorded in historical documents. This will reveal more information about otherwise unrecorded groups or "...people without history...add[ing] many more voices to our perception of the past" (Little 1994:6).

To recapitulate, the aims of this thesis are:

1) to create a method utilizing the archival and archaeological records to create indices of relative means which can be compared to determine the relative economic position of individuals or groups in a given community, and

2) to test this method with available data from the Red River Settlement to determine if there is any rank order correlation between the two scales. This will,

3) provide a method which can be used to determine the relative economic position of an individual in the absence of documentary records, and

4) permit the study of the relative economic position of selected individuals/groups in the Red River Settlement between 1830 to 1870, for which archaeological data exists, and

5) advance the discussion as to the reasons behind these economic differences in the Red River Settlement during this time frame.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

A. History of the Red River Settlement

a) A brief history of the Hudson's Bay Company (1670-1821)

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was established by royal charter in 1670, granting the Company the monopoly to trade furs in the region known as Rupert's Land, an area encompassing Hudson Bay and its drainage system. As a chartered company, it was controlled by a committee based in London. In Rupert's Land, the Company was a strict, military, hierarchical organization composed of Officers, Clerks, Tradesmen and Labourers ordered in a pyramidal structure (Figure 1). Employees were initially recruited from the British Isles and were often of English, Scottish or Orkney descent. Social segregation between the various levels of the hierarchy was strictly maintained, however, depending on the level of education, and in spite of the HBC social structure rigidity, there was some degree of upward mobility as shortages of experienced workers permitted promotion of low ranking men possessing country skills to higher positions, status and wages. The degree of upward mobility decreased in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and by amalgamation had virtually ceased (Cowie 1913; Goldring 1979:25; Hamilton 1985b:379-383; Hargrave 1871:69-70; Monks 1985:407; Morton 1957:11; Newman 1985; Prager 1985:388; Pyszczyk 1985:399-400, 1987:89;).

The employees' Native wives and children were housed at the fur trade posts, in addition to HBC personnel. In the early decades of the charter, these unions were discouraged, but in the absence of European women, marriages in the "custom of the

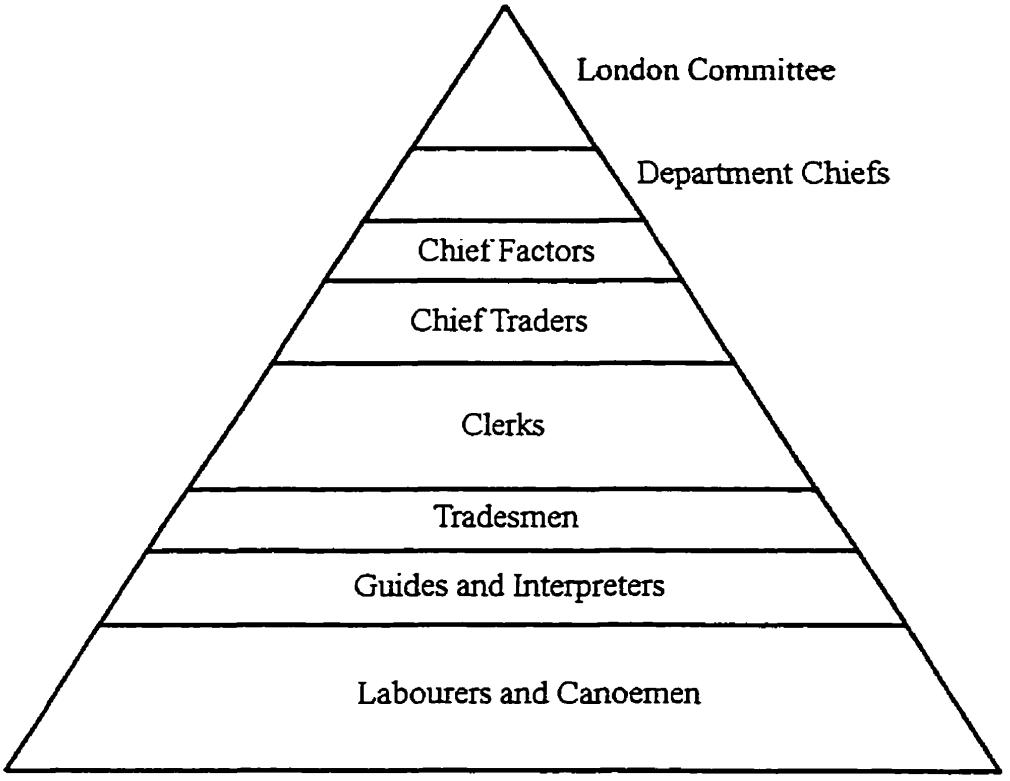


Figure 1: Pyramidal Structure of the HBC Hierarchy (from Prager 1985:388).

country" (à la façon du pays) took place. The initial union of Native women and fur traders helped to cement trade relations, placing Native wives in the position of cultural liaison (Van Kirk 1980:4). Because of the Native women's role in her own society, they were able to help the European fur traders not only carry out their duties as Company employees, but survive in the new environment (Livermore 1976:158; Van Kirk 1980:28-29).

Mixed Blood offspring resulted from these marriages and the male children often found employment in the Company in a low ranking position or, on rare occasions, were sent to England for further education. The daughters became suitable marriage partners for incoming Officers, initially because they held qualities from both cultures and later, because they resembled proper English ladies due to their upbringing (Bourgeault 1983:61; Van Kirk 1980:94-109). As the fur trade became less dependent on the Native population, marriages to Native women decreased while unions with Mixed Blood women increased (Livermore 1976:178).

HBC employees could neither retire to Rupert's Land nor obtain passage to Britain for their families prior to 1821. As a result, most marriages were dissolved as men returned to Britain once their contracts expired or they retired. Before departing, men often tried to arrange for their families to be taken care of by another HBC employee, in what was known as "turning off." Some employees also attempted to find a role for their children in the HBC. (Brown 1980:51-67, 72; Hamilton 1985b:380; Van Kirk 1980:28-29, 50-51, 98-99). After the amalgamation in 1821, HBC employees were permitted to retire with their families in Rupert's Land.

The HBC began to experience an increase of financial difficulties at the beginning

of the nineteenth century, as fur trade goods' costs and North West Company (NWC) competition elevated, while European markets declined. These events decreased revenues to the point that shareholders' dividends were not paid in 1809. The Retrenchment Policy was a re-organization strategy that attempted to return the HBC to profitability. In the policy, Chief Factors were allotted a share of HBC profits, a settlement at Red River would be established to provide provisions for the HBC, and employees would be permitted to retire to Rupert's Land in the new settlement (Guinn 1980:46; A.S. Morton 1973:442). The introduction of the Retrenchment policy also decreased wages, increased the price of goods sold to the employees and changed the labour system so that upward mobility occurred less frequently (Hamilton 1985b:379-383; Rich 1967:204).

Conflict between the two rival companies continued to intensify and the arrival of the Selkirk settlers in 1812 provided additional tension. The increased strain on the NWC culminated in 1819, when HBC Governor Williams seized the NWC Saskatchewan and Athabaska fur brigade at Grand Rapids, Saskatchewan portage. Coupled with collapsing finances and dissatisfaction from within, the NWC amalgamated with the HBC in 1821 (Goldring 1979:138; Morton 1957:59). After amalgamation, Rupert's Land was divided into the Northern and Southern Departments, each of which was run by a governor. Each department was subdivided into a number of districts presided over by a Chief Factor at a central fort. The other forts within a district were run by Chief Traders (Innis 1956:285; Prager 1985:388).

The two competing companies were united and major reforms were carried out under the governorship of George Simpson. In addition to administrative centralization, animal

conservation and cost reductions, the numbers of forts and personnel were decreased. During the period of competition, the HBC and NWC built posts close to each other to protect their own trade. With amalgamation, the redundant posts were closed and approximately 1300 men were laid off or retired. These employees were permitted and encouraged to remain in Rupert's Land at the fledgling Red River Settlement. In addition to the Protestant English and Scottish HBC employees, Catholic French Canadian and Métis ex-NWC employees and their families also had the option to settle in the RRS as retirees or to start a new career outside the fur trade (Guinn 1980:58; Hamilton 1985b:383; Hargrave 1871:82-83; Innis 1956:286-289; Monks 1985:409, 1992:41; Sprague and Frye 1983:13; Van Kirk 1980:142-143).

b) The Red River Settlement

The idea of establishing a colony was provided for within the HBC charter, "...but the Company had never seriously engaged in colonization" (Rich 1967:205). For Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, the concept of settling North America was appealing. Selkirk's desire to establish a settlement in Rupert's Land began early in the nineteenth century and by 1802, he had already submitted two proposals for colonization. Temporarily put aside, they were renewed in 1807; however, he was prevented from carrying out his plans as the HBC Charter made the Company sole proprietor of the land. To gain HBC support, Selkirk began to purchase HBC stock and by 1810, he was in a position of power (Kaye 1986:6-9; W.L. Morton 1957:44; Rich 1967:207).

A number of reasons have been given for Selkirk's desire to settle Rupert's Land. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a period of European agricultural

revolution and Scottish and Irish tenant farmers faced economic hardship as they were forced off their land. The RRS provided a place for these farmers to settle and at the same time supply provisions to posts and boat brigades. This conformed nicely with the 1810 Retrenchment Policy by decreasing HBC provisioning costs. In addition, the colony would provide a stepping stone for the HBC to enter the fur rich Athabaska region, aiding in the restoration of Company dividends and undermining NWC trade. From the colony, country born men would be available for Company employment and the settlement would provide a retirement centre in Rupert's Land for HBC employees and their families. The ex-employees remaining in Rupert's Land were dependent on the Company for goods which would decrease the cost to the HBC for their support. Finally, the colony would serve to introduce civilization and Christianity into the wilderness and to the Native populations (Bryce 1909:35-39; Hargrave 1871:72-73; Kaye 1986:6-9; Morton 1957:44; Rich 1967:207; Ross 1957:16-19).

In 1811, the HBC provided Selkirk with 116,000 square miles of land, including portions of present day Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Minnesota and North Dakota, in what was known as the Assiniboia Grant (Figure 2). Establishing the colony at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was strategic in a number of ways. The Forks had been used for centuries by Native populations as a hunting, fishing and meeting or gathering place, and its accessibility and geographical location provided a transportation route. The NWC traders favoured the Forks for the same reasons and the region remained important as part of their trade and provisioning route, uniting western outposts with eastern home offices. Even as it

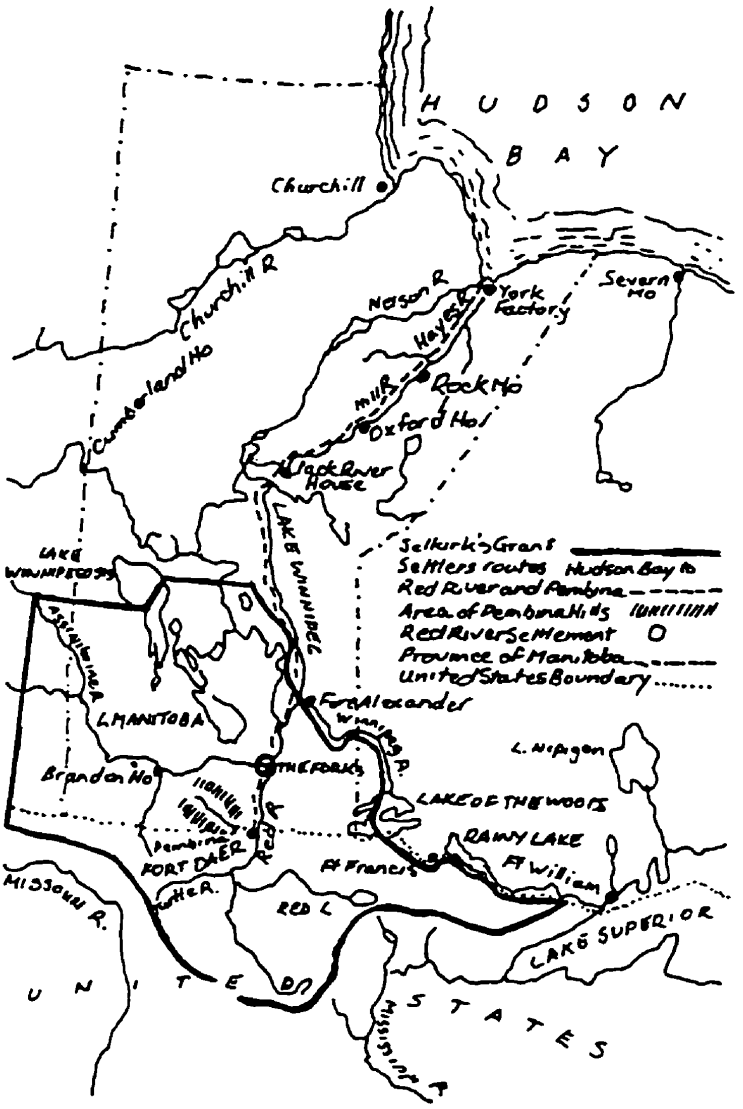


Figure 2: Assiniboia Land Grant Given to Selkirk, 1811 (Bumstead 1994:76).

became important to both major trading companies, it retained its significance for the Native population (Guinn 1980:3, 15-25).

The Red River area was regarded by some HBC trader as prime agricultural land although the area in general had been depleted of furs by the early nineteenth century. However, as this area was particularly important to the NWC for the transport of provisions. the establishment of the colony provoked a negative response from the NWC and its supporters (Coutts 1994:18; Hind 1861:172; Martin 1994:59-60; A.S. Morton 1973:534; Morton 1957:45).

In 1811, Governor Macdonell and HBC servants were sent to Rupert's Land to establish the settlement. Arriving late, they were not prepared for the arrival of the first group of settlers in 1812. A harsh winter and lack of provisions forced them to move south to the Pembina area where they constructed Fort Daer. They returned to the colony the following spring, but crops were destroyed by drought and they were forced, once again, to overwinter at Fort Daer. In an attempt to ensure food for the settlers, Macdonell issued an embargo prohibiting the export of pemmican from the Forks. This seriously hampered the NWC who relied on these supplies for their boat brigades and posts. The NWC viewed the embargo as a poorly disguised plot on the part of the HBC to cripple their provisioning system. They arrested Macdonell and sent him east with a number of settlers who had been lured by promises of free land and provisions. The remaining settlers overwintered at Jack River while the NWC and their allies destroyed the colony (Begg 1894:168-174; Coutts 1994:1; Hargrave 1871:74; Hind 1861:172-173; Martin 1994:59-60; A.S. Morton 1973:539-542, 553-559, 567-568; Morton 1957:46-52; Ross 1957:20-28).

In 1815, under the leadership of Colin Robertson, the settlers returned and rebuilt. Animosity continued between the NWC and the HBC, provoking attack and counter attack. Ending with the eventual seizure and destruction of the NWC post of Fort Gibraltar, the NWC was forced to ship provisions overland. In 1816, Cuthbert Grant, transporting NWC supplies, passed within view of Fort Douglas. Intercepted at Frog Plain by a group of settlers and Governor Semple, circumstances led to battle, resulting in the death of Semple, 21 settlers and one Métis at Seven Oaks. Once again, the NWC had control of the colony, settlers were forced to flee to Jack River, and the colony was destroyed. In 1817, the colony was recaptured by Lord Selkirk and the De Wattville and de Meurons mercenaries. The settlers returned and the colony was rebuilt. (Begg 1894:175-187; Hargrave 1871:75-81; Hind 1861:173-176; Martin 1995:60-63; A.S.Morton 1973:572-578; Morton 1957:52-56; Ross 1957:35-36, 40-44;).

Conflicts between the HBC and the NWC ceased as the two companies amalgamated in 1821, forming the new HBC. During the following decade, the colony grew as institutions were built and agricultural pursuits were more firmly established. The HBC administrative headquarters at Upper Fort Garry became the centre of the RRS with the Company initiating and directing all social, economic and government institutions. The ethnic diversity of its occupants, its isolation and its dependence on the HBC resulted in a unique community. In addition, Upper Fort Garry became the social, economic and administrative focus of the Northern Department (Guinn 1980:59-61).

The population of the colony was diverse and the various groups tended to segregate themselves. By 1850, the colony was settled by 5 main groups, each occupying a discrete

area. The remnants of the Presbyterian, Selkirk farmers had located in Kildonan. The Roman Catholic, French speaking Canadians, originating from Lower Canada and many of the Rupert's Land Métis settled in the St. Boniface area. They were associated with the French Catholic Métis, living at White Horse Plains, who relied on the buffalo hunt and, to a lesser extent, the fisheries at Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba. Many Métis found employment with the HBC on a seasonal basis, in addition to maintaining small farms (Ens 1996:36). The Orcadians settled in St. Andrew and St. Paul parishes, consisting mainly of retired HBC employees and their Native or Mixed-Blood wives and families. Some practised agriculture while others lived off their savings, constructing stately homes along the Red River. The parishes of St. Peters and Baie St. Paul formed the Native component (Swampy Cree and Saulteau) of the RRS. Under Reverend Cockran, permanent settlements were created to teach European agricultural methods, and convert the Natives to Christianity. The dominant group in RRS society was the HBC, centred at Upper Fort Garry (Clarke 1967:44; Guinn 1980:81-82; Rich 1967:258-259).

A number of influences forced change in the RRS through time. During the 1820s and 1830s, many of the Métis residing in the RRS were involved in the bison hunt for subsistence and the sale of surplus to the HBC and the Red River settlers. Because this market was neither extensive nor expanding, the Métis turned to the illicit trade in furs to supplement their income. Although the HBC held the fur trade monopoly, merchants within the community carried on illegal trafficking in furs. Increased import duties imposed by the HBC did not stop free trade and only served to agitate the merchants and Métis traders. Import levies and rising hostility towards the HBC monopoly continued through the 1840s,

culminating in the Sayer Trial. In 1849, Guillaume Sayer was arrested for illegal fur trading, and on the day of the trial, a group of 200 armed Métis awaited the verdict outside the courtroom. Although Sayer was found guilty, his sentence was suspended, signifying victory for the Métis. The HBC continued to hold the monopoly for fur trading until 1869; however, the outcome of the Sayer Trial reduced HBC influence in the colony and free trade continued. After the trial, the Red River-St. Paul trade flourished and increased merchandise available to the RRS (Ens 1996:76-77; Gosman 1977:6-15; Rich 1967:264-265).

The northern route to the bay posts became increasingly inadequate during the 1850s, as the rising demands of the settlement could not be filled by York boat transportation. Freight charges increased over time and brigade work became more unpopular, only accepted for high wages. The encroaching American frontier and growth of Minneapolis/St. Paul permitted American traders to accommodate the RRS demands. Because of these factors and the shorter route to St. Paul, the HBC began shipping along the southern route to save time and money (Guinn 1980:83-84, 92; Klassen 1963:21).

Escalating interest in the RRS and the northwest region of the continent prompted an increase in the number of visitors and settlers to the RRS. This attention brought the outside, industrialized world to the colony. Unrest developed within the settlement as it continued to remain dependent on the HBC with no recourse for developing a more diverse economic base (Guinn 1980:84-88).

Red River society was deteriorating during the 1860s, despite the increase in trade through the St. Paul route and subsequent expansion of Upper Fort Garry to accommodate incoming goods. The largest population of the settlement, the Métis, had no part in its

government, and the steady decline of the buffalo hunt placed additional economic strain on them, forcing them to travel further and further away to hunt. The HBC government came under criticism and brigade routes to the west began to breakdown. Civil unrest became more apparent and this sense of crisis resulted in the 1869 Rebellion when the new Dominion of Canada planned to purchase Rupert's Land from the HBC. As the Métis had not been consulted about the sale, and there were no provisions to protect their rights in the face of Protestant, English immigration from the east, the Métis believed rebellion was their only recourse. In 1869, they organized into a National Committee and refused the Canadian Lieutenant Governor entrance into the Red River valley. The Métis seized Upper Fort Garry, declared themselves as Provisional Government and held it over the winter. By August 1870, the Canadian military retook Upper Fort Garry and reverted to military order. Later that year, the new province of Manitoba was admitted into Canadian Confederation (Guinn 1980:93-100).

c) Social Hierarchy of the Red River Settlement

The social hierarchy of the RRS originated with the HBC, a "...quasi-military structure, (which) imposed a relatively ordered, conservative society on the wilderness...the structure and function of Red River in particular bore the unmistakeable stamp of the fur trade and the values of Victorian England" (Livermore 1976:53).

The colonial administrative and governing body was similarly constructed, although outside the jurisdiction of the HBC. Parallelling the pyramidal structure of the HBC, the settlement was headed by the Governor of Assiniboia, distinct from the HBC Governor, and

supported by administrators and bureaucratic personnel. This elite was composed of the English Anglicans, immediately followed by the Scottish Presbyterians. The members of the clergy also ranked towards the top of the hierarchy. The Mixed Blood children of both English and Scottish employees maintained a relatively high position by either becoming HBC employees (men), or marrying highly ranked HBC officials (women). This eventually changed as attitudes towards Mixed Bloods shifted in the 1830s. The Mixed Bloods and Farmers, made up of settlers and ex-HBC employees, occupied the middle and lower levels. The French Catholic Canadians and Métis were placed in socially and economically lower levels of the hierarchy. The Métis hunters were below the farmers, and the Native population formed the bottom rank (Brown 1980:77; Ens 1996:51-52; Livermore 1976:107-108; Van Kirk 1980:160).

Descriptions of the social hierarchy and the history of the RRS were available in first hand documents. Although usually reflecting the perspective of the higher levels of the hierarchy, these descriptions of other social and/or ethnic groups have provided a contemporary placement and attitude of others in the social hierarchy (Gunn 1880; Hargrave 1871; Ross 1957). Alexander Ross (1957:238-239) writing in the 1850s, described the social hierarchy of the RRS and general characteristics of the various populations. According to Ross, the Native population was at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and in Ross' opinion, needed the paternalistic care of the clergy to be civilized and converted to Christianity. The Métis and French Canadians were marginally above them, leading a semi-sedentary existence. Over them were the Scottish farmers, the backbone of the community, who were "...sober, shrewd and attentive to their several duties, both as Christians and subjects..."

(Ross 1957:208). He compared the spendthrift, lazy, migratory Métis with the hard-working, persevering, long-suffering Scots. He did not discuss the Mixed Blood population at length and in the single account given, they appeared to be moderately high on the social ladder, likely placed slightly below the Scots, but above the Métis.

A detractor of Selkirk and his colonial efforts, Donald Gunn, presented different reasons for Selkirk's settlement, stating that resettlement, christianizing and civilizing the new land were not his primary reasons for establishing the RRS. As a major stockholder of the HBC, the fierce competition from the NWC fired Selkirk's determination to block their northern advance into HBC territory. The presence of the RRS provided a physical obstruction to the NWC, and the settlers an able, if not willing, army (Gunn 1880:107, 214). This idea also suggested that a social structure was being set in place by the transplantation of Scottish crofters, and a method by which the upper class HBC Officers were further separated from the Métis and Mixed Blood population in the Red River area, enabling the hierarchical social structure of the HBC to have been more easily transferred onto the resident population.

Native and Mixed Bloods status seemed to depend on the degree to which they were needed in the fur trade. Traditional Native activities were not considered economically or socially valuable as the RRS developed into a settled agricultural community. As European traders adapted to the wilderness and trade ties became firmly cemented, the need for Native wives diminished in favour of Mixed Blood women. Initially these women possessed traits of their Native and European heritage that were attractive and useful to the fur trade. By the end of the eighteenth century, HBC traders "...sought to outfit their women in civilized

fashion and to inculcate in them the precepts of Christianity and proper womanly behaviour" (Livermore 1976:179-185; Van Kirk 1980:102).

The arrival of Simpson not only brought about major alterations in the structure of business in the HBC, he also managed to alter the structure of the non-HBC social hierarchy. Simpson disregarded tradition country marriage customs and had a number of affairs with Mixed Blood women whom he did not acknowledge as his wives, easily abandoning them when necessity dictated. Despite his own relationships, Simpson did not approve of Company men taking Native or Mixed Blood wives. In 1831, Simpson brought his European wife to the RRS prompting changes in the opinions of Company men towards the suitability of Mixed Blood women as marriage partners, regardless of their European accomplishment (Livermore 1976:179-185; Monks 1992:41-42; Pannekoek 1991:79-81; Van Kirk 1974-75:43, 1980:161-163).

Simpson increased the social distance between the European and Mixed Blood populations with the shift to refined, accomplished European women as ideal wives for HBC Gentlemen. In addition, the Simpsons introduced conspicuous consumption as a means of displaying rank and status. Although the Simpsons did not reside in the colony long, these two new ideas remained. Since the hierarchy prompted the imitation of those superior, status and rank were accentuated for the man who could support an European wife and the luxuries necessary to keep her happy. This aroused concern among the Mixed Blood women, as they faced a major threat to their social position (Livermore 1976:179-185; Monks 1992:41-42; Pannekoek 1991:79-81; Van Kirk 1974-75:43).

The clergy also had a role in changes in the Red River Settlement. Observing the

community from "...a prejudiced and uninformed point of view..." (Livermore 1976:92), the clergy perceived its primary aim to be one of reforming and civilizing fur trade society. As well as attempting to civilize and Christianize the Native population, the clergy took on the task of providing leadership for the Settlement. As a result, the clergy and their wives found themselves in an elevated social standing, often higher than they would have achieved in England. This new status was not to be compromised by anyone, especially Mixed Blood women. The clergy made it clear early that the English were the dominant race. The opinions they held of the Mixed Bloods were judgemental, and gossip was used to discredit them. The clergy and their wives attempts to solidify their position in a suitably high station in the hierarchy reached a fevered pitch with the Foss-Pelly Scandal of 1850 to 1851 (Pannekoek 1976:277-279, 1991:79).

The scandal began quietly when Sarah Ballenden, Mixed Blood wife of Upper Fort Garry's Chief Factor, rejected the attentions of Augustus Pelly, HBC accountant. Shortly thereafter, Pelly married a European woman who found it difficult to be ranked below Mrs. Ballenden (Van Kirk 1974-1975:46). Mrs. Ballenden became friendly with Captain Foss of the Chelsea Pensioners, but the friendship became a source of gossip for the community. Mrs. Pelly, believing she had been insulted at the Officers Mess by Mrs. Ballenden and Foss, used this gossip to sully Mrs. Ballenden's reputation with allegations of immoral behaviour. During a temporary departure of Mr. Ballenden, Mrs. Pelly and her supporters encouraged the RRS elite to avoid Mrs. Ballenden. Investigations revealed that no impropriety had occurred, and upon his return, Mr. Ballenden wished to settle the matter privately. Pelly and others made charges against the two before Simpson, forcing Foss to bring charges of

defamation against them. The three day trial ended with Mrs. Ballenden exonerated of all charges and the defendants required to pay damages. The long term results of this scandal was a division of the RRS along lines of race, religion and social position (Pannekoek 1991:124-126; Van Kirk 1974-1975:45-47).

Traditional British society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries revolved around a well-defined hierarchical system of rank and status. The hierarchy of the Company and the Settlement changed as social, economic and political factors changed. The social structure was altered with the arrival of the clergy, the introduction of upper class, European wives and conspicuous consumption, which prompted changes in the status of Natives and Mixed Bloods. As the colony grew in size, free trade and decreasing isolation forced political and economic changes. Ethnicity also played a role in the colony, as the Mixed Bloods faced a crisis of identity and the Métis population fought for indigenous rights. It is apparent that the reasons for change are many and varied and cannot be attributed to a single event or cause.

B. Archaeology of the Red River Settlement

The archaeological excavations carried out in the RRS have been informative and have lead to further research, although they have not been numerous.

McLeod has excavated a number of sites in the Red River valley including the Burns Site (EaLi-1) near Stonewall (McLeod 1982a); St. Peter's Church Dynevor (McLeod and Hart 1986); Lane's Post in the Parish of St. François Xavier (McLeod and Seyers 1988); and the Upper Fort Garry Courthouse and Gaol (McLeod 1990-1991). Using Stanley South's Mean Ceramic Date technique, the Burns Site was dated to the late nineteenth or early

twentieth century, and the attempt to determine the function of the Burn's site was based on the recovered artifacts. Unfortunately, the function of the building could not be inferred (McLeod 1982).

Excavated by McLeod and Hart (1986), the date of St. Peter's Church Dynevor was determined from recovered artifacts. The occupation was estimated to be between 1833 and 1890 which corresponded to the arrival of Reverend Cockran as recounted in the archival sources. Their examination of wild and domestic fauna consumed by the predominantly Native inhabitants pointed to either Native preference for wild game, difficulty in establishing domestic animals, or their need to supplement domestic species with wild game (McLeod and Hart 1986).

McLeod was able to date Lane's Post from 1855 to mid-1870s which was consistent with the archival records. Based on these remains and the nature of the site, McLeod and Seyers (1988) tentatively concluded that the excavated structure was used as a storage facility.

McLeod also conducted an excavation at Fort Garry Place in 1990 and 1991. Three debris-filled barrels were believed to constitute a midden of either the Courthouse Gaol and Hospital (1844-1880); the HBC's Trade Commissioner's House (1881-1929); or the Fort Garry Hotel (post-1912). The excavation yielded a large number of sherds assigned to only six Copeland patterns distributed by the HBC. This reflected the institutional nature of the deposit, whereby a large number of ceramics were purchased at one time. Remains recovered from homestead middens seemed to indicate that the inhabitants bought items on a per piece basis, purchasing whatever was available (McLeod 1990-1991).

McLeod's (1985) thesis focused specifically on three Farmer-Merchant Métis sites in the Red River Settlement. His objective was to determine if their cultural remains could be distinguished from the materials recovered from western Canadian Hivernant sites and two Upper Fort Garry sites. Using South's quantification and pattern recognition methods, he studied the Delorme House, the Garden Site and Riel House, but was unable to demonstrate differences in cultural remains. This research did point out the inherent difficulties in functional classification as advanced by South.

The preliminary investigations at Bonnycastle Park by Monks in 1981, 1982, and 1983 outlined the progress made in the excavation of Upper Fort Garry (Monks 1982, 1983, 1984). Discovery and excavation of the Fort walls and two privy pits provided ample archaeological material for future analysis and interpretation. The examination of archivally derived sketches, plans and photographs used to aid in site interpretation, indicated building locations, functions and changes over time. The combined use of archival sources and archaeological material has clarified and added to the information of both sources (Loewen and Monks 1988:1). From these excavations at Upper Fort Garry, specific studies by Seyers (1986), Fifik (1988) and Larcombe (1988) have been carried out using this data.

Seyers (1988) examined the faunal remains of Upper Fort Garry in order to determine how various animals were utilized during the Fort's occupation. These data were compared with historical documents and archaeological remains of fauna from the RRS.

Relating butchered faunal remains to social and economic position has been carried out by a number of researchers (Branstner and Martin 1987; Garrow 1987; Otto 1977; Schulz and Gust 1983). The relationship between diet and economic position was also studied by

Seyers (1988:7), who proposed that the exploitation of different species was a reflection of status differences. The use of animals as food was dependent on culturally determined preferences, personal taste, and economic factors (Seyers 1988:11-12). Nineteenth century prices for eight beef cuts from the Sacramento area were rank ordered and compared with present day, local beef prices. This enabled Seyers to rank meat cuts in order of price with the most expensive cut assigned the rank order value of 1. This ranking procedure illustrated that the Upper Fort Garry privies contained "...a higher percentage of expensive cuts compared to the St. Peter and Delorme House sites, where greater percentages of cheaper cuts predominate" (Seyers 1988:89-99).

Fifik's (1986) examination of the fabrics recovered from the Privy Refuse pits at Upper Fort Garry considered problems of dating and economic variability. The archaeological records used in conjunction with archival research provided price lists for fabrics. This permitted the creation of a clothing cost index for the recovered fabrics, based on the principles used by Miller (1980) to index ceramics. The result was a series of indices for ready-made clothing and fabric. A comparison of the two privies at Upper Fort Garry indicated that the total cost of fabric to have been greater in Privy Refuse Pit II (P/R II) than Privy Refuse Pit I (P/R I). Upper Fort Garry was then compared to York Factory and results revealed similar fabrics were present at both Forts. It was also demonstrated that persons of high economic position purchased more ready-made clothing than those of lesser economic position.

Larcombe (1988) studied five sites in the RRS to determine social and economic variability. The ceramic assemblages recovered from archaeological excavations were

analyzed using Miller's (1980) ceramic indices. This method utilized vessel form as the means to determine the status of a household. Information derived from the ceramic indexing was compared to the documentary records to determine an individual's social standing in the RRS.

Forsman (1977) excavated the remains of Riel House (Lot 51) located in St. Vital on the east side of the Red River. Declared a National Historic Site in 1969, it was necessary to excavate and define site limits in order to plan visitor parking and interpretive centre locations. In addition, it was important to discover whether the present building was the location of the original 1835 structure.

A number of building remains were excavated, permitting Forsman (1977) to create a chronology for the Riel House Site, conforming to the habitation of the site outlined in historic documents. His conclusions indicated that each of the three structures corresponded to one of the three different families occupying the property between 1835 and 1900. The original landowner, Parenteau, occupied the site from 1835 to 1849 (Structure One); followed by the Gendron occupation from 1849 to 1864 (Structure Two); and finally, the Riel occupation was represented by an annex (Structure Three), attached to the post-1864 Riel home.

Lunn, Hamilton and Priess (1980) further investigated the site in 1979, and questioned some of Forsman's interpretations of the site's chronology. Their study fine-tuned Forsman's chronology, casting some doubt as to the whether the currently standing structure was actually built as late as 1885 to 1886, and not in 1864 as Forsman claimed. They suggested that the basic chronology and association of each Structure with a particular family

may not have been quite as clear cut as Forsman proposed.

C. Historical Research in the Red River Settlement

A great deal of research has been completed about the RRS which has not involved archaeological excavations. One such study was Clarke's (1967) examination of RRS populations from a historical geographical perspective based on the census records. He utilized the census records of the RRS and reorganized alphabetical lists of individuals into ethnic groups within parishes. The census data used a number of terms to indicate country of origin for the head of each household. Immigrants from Europe were designated by easily recognizable terms such as Scots, Orkney, and English. However, people who had moved to the RRS from within North American were not as easily identified, and were described by such terms as Native, Rupert's Lander and Canadian. Using historic records other than censuses, Clarke (1967:8-11) was able to deduce the meaning of these three terms employed by the census takers. Once this was accomplished, he was able to make determinations about changes in the community's ethnic composition through time, the age/sex structure and the religious affiliations of the people. He also discussed the involvement of these different groups in the agriculture and animal husbandry aspects of the RRS.

Bourgeault (1983) examined the history of the RRS from a Marxist perspective, providing an economic explanation for change and development in the RRS from European arrival to the mid-1800s. With the arrival of the English fur traders, the egalitarian, Native population altered as European guns, steel traps and axes were introduced, displacing indigenous equipment and creating Native dependency on European goods. This changed the

nature of production, as the land became an object of production and the furs trapped by Natives were traded for more European goods. As a result, the Natives possessed the means of production, but had no control over it, thereby losing their independence and being forced to continue in a feudalistic state (Bourgeault 1983:49-55). Within this new system, Native women became more dependent on men, and their Mixed Blood children formed a source of wage labour. A Native petty bourgeois developed, which was not allowed to become English, but was no longer considered Native (Bourgeault 1983:61-62).

The English and French Mixed Bloods took on different roles after the NWC and HBC merger. The French Métis formed a wage labour pool on the fringe of the hierarchy and were involved in diverse employment including farming, hunting, or working as labourers and/or fur brigade personnel. Displacement of English Mixed Blood men in the employ of the HBC and Mixed Blood women within the RRS hierarchy coincided with the arrival of European women. This resulted in the struggles for free trade and governmental representation in the 1840s (Bourgeault 1983:64-68).

In her account of the RRS, Livermore (1976) described a number of complex political, economic and social factors responsible for change and evolution in the Settlement. As previously mentioned, the arrival of the clergy and the preference for European wives increased racial prejudice and disharmony within the RRS social structure. Mixed Blood and Native men and women found themselves displaced and unable to rise in social prominence (Livermore 1976:124-137).

Economic problems plagued the community in addition to social strife. With the HBC as the only market for the sale of excess produce, and free trade in furs illegal, the

settlers were confined to subsistence agriculture. This created growing discontent within the white sector of the population, as did the shortage of employment for the children of farmers, both European and Mixed Blood. The HBC made numerous attempts to develop new economic bases, other than furs, to provide farmers with a market to pull themselves out of their economic slump (Livermore 1976:124-137)

The Métis were originally able to adapt to these economic restrictions by becoming the main provisioners of pemmican to the HBC tripmen and smaller posts. However, as the buffalo herds diminished and HBC-American trade increased, the need for Métis hunters declined. The decrease in employment opportunities brought about an increase in free trade. Meshed with the economic and social problems, political tension between the HBC and RRS administrative bodies and Métis culminated in the Sayer Trial in 1849 (Livermore 1976:129-134). From the beginning of the colony, these stresses increased and as technology and market transformed the fur trade community, the RRS was often threatened with collapse (Livermore 1976).

Pannekoek (1976, 1991) conducted a great deal of research into life and social pressures in the RRS, focusing on the Mixed Blood population, the English Protestant descendants of European and Native individuals. According to Pannekoek (1976, 1991), it was the efforts of the clergy that brought civilization to the colony. The Catholic clergy had been present in the RRS from an early date (1818) and were well established; however, their role in the community differed from that of the Protestant clergy. The Anglican clergy was dominant, preaching the nineteenth century work ethic and attempting to establish a traditional British rural parish with the clergyman as its leader. Unfortunately, the clergy did

not provide the leadership the RRS required and only managed to elevate status, religious and racial conflicts. Finding their own status artificially elevated in the RRS, the ministers and their wives mixed with the settlement elite (Pannekoek 1976, 1991).

The clergy contributed to deterioration in the social fabric in their attempt to create a civilized, little Britain in the RRS. This resulted in the division of the population. Gossip and rumour were used offensively and defensively against rivals within society, becoming most noticeable during the 1850 Foss-Pelly Trial. The Trial illustrated the struggle between Mixed Blood and European women for social dominance, the effect of the clergy's rigid ideas of morality forced on the fur trade society, and the Settlement's fondness for gossip (Van Kirk 1974-1975:41). Pannekoek believed that the Trial initiated the divisions between clerical and Mixed Blood, Presbyterian and Anglican, and effectively divided the community on issues of social status, religion and race (Pannekoek 1976, 1991).

Giraud (1945) traced the origins of the Métis population and their role in the changing west. Beginning in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, he followed their social and economic position through the Red River Settlement era and into the twentieth century. Confining himself to the French and Native Métis, Giraud spent little time on the Mixed Blood population. He described how the Métis defined themselves as a people and interacted with the HBC and the Canadian government.

Brown (1980) and Van Kirk (1980), cited above, have written extensively about the fur trade. Brown (1980) has studied the HBC and the NWC to explain the differences between the French Métis and English Mixed Bloods and their roles in the social structure of the RRS. Van Kirk (1980) has focused her attention on the roles of Native, Mixed Blood,

and white women in fur trade society.

Monks (1992) investigated the symbolic meaning behind the construction of Upper Fort Garry and the messages communicated to the people of the RRS. The physical layout of the Fort conveyed specific ideas of the HBC's role in the RRS in a non-verbal manner. As a result, the HBC maintained its economic and social dominance within the colony and within the ranks of the HBC. As the settlement grew and changed through time, the Fort also underwent major restructuring in a continued effort to maintain its hierarchical organization and social and economic dominance.

Goldring (1979) undertook a study of the HBC labour system between 1821 to 1900. Focused on the Northern Department, the structure of the workforce and its changes through time were considered using a number of first hand sources. As well as documenting some of the biases inherent within these records, he outlined the rise and fall of Gentlemen and Servant numbers. Goldring tracked their wages after the Deed Poll, Retrenchment and Amalgamation, continuing into the Monopoly Period until 1870, when Manitoba became a province.

Klassen's (1963) thesis examined the various routes and forms of transportation that developed between the Red River and the United States from 1859 to 1870. Not only did the St. Paul route provide a market for the Métis population in the RRS, it enabled the HBC to pursue commercial ventures and prevent American traders from encroaching into HBC held territory. After the Sayer Trial (1849) free trade in furs began with St. Paul outlets. Ten years later, the HBC realized its northern route was insufficient and began transportation of goods via St. Paul by cart brigade then steamship, and finally, railway. Besides the economic

benefits of trading with the RRS, the Americans were hopeful that the population of this area would desire annexation with the United States. Despite past RRS and HBC conflict, the settlers remained loyal to the British Crown. Although American hopes of annexation were renewed during the Riel Rebellion (1869), circumstances were such that it did not come to pass and in 1870 Manitoba entered Confederation.

Ens (1996) has researched the social and economic origins of the RRS Métis. Focused on the parishes of St. François Xavier and St. Andrews, Ens contrasted the different development of the Mixed Bloods and the Métis from the colony's beginning. Rather than viewing the Métis as anachronisms, he traced their expansion into an entrepreneurial niche that differed from the Métis merchant/trader class living in the parish of St. Boniface. By developing the pemmican market, St. Paul tripping and especially the commercial hide hunt, the Métis hunters were able to free themselves from their limited financial and social niche.

D. Site Histories

The previous sections presented an overview of the RRS origins, its social development, the influence of the HBC, and previous research in the area. This section provides brief histories of the individuals and groups considered in this thesis. The specific criteria for the selection of the various sites will be presented in Chapter IV, and the archaeological and archival records will be discussed at length in Chapter V.

a) The Garden Site

The first owner of the Garden Site, Lot 374, was Etienne Gilbert who sold the

property to Pierre Beauchamp in 1845. Beauchamp also purchased Lot 375 from the HBC in the same year. Pierre Beauchamp, a Métis, was born in 1812, and married Marie Morin also a Métis, born in 1810 (Sprague and Frye, 1983). Marie died in 1862, and within a year after her death, Beauchamp married Scholastique Versaille.

Beauchamp's life was well documented in the census records and throughout his lifetime there was a noticeable increase in possessions and acres under cultivation. His ownership of a number of carts was a good indicator of his work as a freighter and involvement in free trade. A large number of carts and livestock indicated greater success and a higher position in the community (Gosman 1977:16).

Beauchamp was reputed to have been a successful and respected Métis farmer and merchant, despite the lack of personal details in historic documents. McLeod (1983) compared Beauchamp to his Métis contemporaries and found that he was above average with respect to possessions. Another indicator of Beauchamp's economic prosperity was that all his children reached maturity during a time of high infant mortality within the Métis population. Beauchamp also requested that he be buried in the vault of the parish church, a wish that was granted after his death in 1865. The request and its realization demonstrated an elevated position in the community (McLeod 1983:92-95).

b) The Delorme House

Pierre Delorme, a Catholic Métis, was born in St. Boniface in 1832. He married Adelaide Beauchemin, a Catholic Métis also born in the RRS (Sprague and Frye, 1983).

Little is known of Pierre Delorme's early life. He attended Le College de Saint-

Boniface (Tellier 1996) and was involved in the buffalo hunt and accompanying trade (Hamilton 1876:222). It was possible that the Delorme family was living on Lot 21 as early as 1856, and by 1864, he had purchased Lot 53. Delorme was raising cattle for sale at the Fort Garry market by the 1870s, and was recognized as a "...prosperous merchant[s] and trader[s]..." (Hamilton 1876:175).

Delorme was also involved in the Riel Rebellion and a member of Riel's Provisional Government. In 1870, he was elected to the Provincial Legislative Assembly and in 1871, he was elected to the House of Commons for the riding of Provencher. He was defeated in the general election of 1874, but was re-elected in 1878. In 1879, he gave up politics with his defeat by Cartier and returned to farming. Between 1879 and 1887, he served as President of the Council and from January to June 1879, he was Minister of Agriculture under Premier Norquay (http://www.gov.mb.ca/cgi-bin/print_hit_bold.pl/leg_asmb/deceased).

In 1876, J.C. Hamilton visited the Red River Settlement and recorded his visit in detail. One of the stops made on his journey was at the home of Pierre Delorme. Located approximately 15 miles south of Winnipeg, Delorme's home served as a way station for travellers. Hamilton (1876) recorded his stopover, and gave the impression that Pierre Delorme was well off.

> Talk with Pierre, as he comes to the door and points to his herd of many cows, log barns and great stacks of hay. He looks across the river to cottages among the bushes, and they are his. His hay farm contains already fifteen hundred acres. He has a grade bull from the States, and has given up buffaloes to raise fat cattle for the Garry market, where they fetch good figures. He has half a dozen sheep that seemed rather lean, and were the only live mutton we saw on the road;...As to fruit, he has plenty of small fruit...Good potatoes and onions were in the garden [Hamilton 1876:223].

In addition to Delorme's prosperity, evident in the crops and livestock in his possession, Hamilton (1876) also described his home and its contents.

> ...His house is a model of the better class of Metis--a story and a half high, of logs, but clapboarded without, having a large sitting-room...dining-room, little parlour and bedrooms. A table, chest of drawers, sewing machine, and half a dozen chairs with seats of wood or shagynappi, and boxstove are in the reception-room, into which the outer door opens direct...
> One, more prying, opens the parlour door, and finds to his astonishment an excellent cottage piano of London make... [Hamilton 1876:224].

Delorme sold Lot 21 in 1880 to the Patterson's who in turn sold it to Levi Courchaine in 1891. Built in the Red River Frame style, or *piece sur piece*, the house remained on site after the Delorme family departed and served as the Courchaine family dwelling until 1950, when extensive flood damage prompted them to build a new house. The original house remained standing, however, and was used as a chicken coop and garage/storage shed. In 1981, McLeod's salvage excavation was carried out prior to the house's removal to its present location in St. Norbert Heritage Park (McLeod 1982b:6-21).

c) The Riel House

Little is known of the site's first owner, Pierre Parenteau, and even less of the second, François Gendron. Pierre Parenteau was a Roman Catholic, born in Canada (British North America east of Lake Superior) in 1797. He married Josephte Laurin, a Catholic Metis in 1800. Pierre died in 1867 (Sprague and Frye, 1983).

Parenteau was listed as one of a dozen St. Boniface inhabitants owning a farm of 20 acres or more in 1843. In 1849, his father, Joseph, owned 15 cultivated acres, 4 farm animals and 3 carts, suggesting that both were above average (Gosman 1977:38, 40, 48). Although

there were a number of census records available for Parenteau and he was associated with the Riel Site, there was no accompanying archaeological assemblage identified as deriving from the family.

The second owner of the property was François Gendron. He was a Roman Catholic, born in 1797, in British North America west of Lake Superior. He married Angelique Lussier, a Catholic Métis born in 1800 (Sprague and Frye, 1983). The Gendron family was responsible for the deposits associated with Structure 1 of the site (Forsman 1977). The only available data for the family were from the census records.

The Riel family was the third owner of the site and the Riel House was the third property owned by the family. Jean-Louis Riel, a Catholic Métis, was born in British North America west of Lake Superior in 1816. He married Julie Lagemonier [sic] a Catholic European, born in Lower Canada in 1822. He died in 1864 (Sprague and Frye, 1983). Jean-Louis Riel, Louis Riel's father, was initially given a parcel of land at the junction of the Red and Seine Rivers, on the occasion of his marriage, by his wife's father. Although well-educated, Jean-Louis' success at farming was not considerable. In 1847, he became involved in the milling industry (Gosman 1977:84-86). Lot 756 became the site of Jean-Louis' second mill, but he was unable to repay debts owing. A third milling operation began in 1857, and involved the transportation of machinery from the east. Although the mill was successful in its first two years of operation, Riel remained in debt until his death in 1864 (Gosman 1977:89-94).

In 1864, Julie de Lagimodière-Riel and 7 of her children began farming Lot 50 which eventually became successful. Louis Riel, away at school when Lot 50 was purchased,

returned in 1868 and resided there until 1869 and the Riel Rebellion (Forsman 1977:1-7).

Jean-Louis Riel became politically active during his life time, voicing his anti-HBC opinion, although his involvement never resulted in a political appointment. Generally an unsuccessful farmer and miller, Jean-Louis left behind a large debt. Despite his lack of success for most of his life, he held a high position in the social hierarchy. As Gosman states:

> ...his children had received good educations and had married into prominent and wealthy families, his friends and associates were among the leading members of the community...Riel's political and business involvement had never obtained for him the status that he wanted and perhaps deserved [Gosman 1977:95]

Payment (1980) has gathered information about the Riel family through personal letters and bills of purchase. Although the first few years at Lot 51 were full of hardship and struggle, it was evident that the farm was beginning to improve.

> Between ca. 1880 and 1910, there is some evidence of wool spinning and carding, extensive vegetable gardening, butter making and revenue from the sale of dairy products such as milk and eggs. Joseph Riel and other members of the family were wintering cattle at St-Pierre-Jolys and St. Malo in the 1890's. Joseph bought a variety of agricultural implements for the farm in the 1880's. In 1881, he purchased a breaker or plow from Archibald and Howell at a cost of $39.00. In 1895, a Singer sewing machine was acquired. In 1892, Joseph Riel received a statement of $20.00 for the purchase of a sleigh and in 1911, he bought a cutter or democrat from Tudhope Anderson and Assoc [Payment 1980:30].

d) Fort Garry (1821-1852)

In addition to these individuals, this thesis has included three Forts located in the Red River district. These three Forts were interconnected with the RRS and each other as they existed simultaneously.

Originally the NWC Fort Gibraltar II, Fort Garry was renamed after the

amalgamation in 1821, in commemoration of Nicholas Garry, Deputy Governor of the HBC (1822-1835). It became the HBC administrative centre and by 1823 was the permanent trading post. In 1824, Fort Douglas, the Colonial centre of the RRS was moved to the Forks due to its run down condition. In 1826, spring flooding partially destroyed Fort Garry and adjoining Fort Douglas; however, enough of the two were salvaged to continue functioning. Deterioration continued and by 1830, Gov. Simpson decided to abandon the site, relocate, and construct a new fort, Lower Fort Garry.

In 1836, the London Committee decided to establish an Experimental Farm at the Forks and used old Fort Garry to house Captain Cary and his HBC servants. Since the RRS farmers could scarcely provide enough produce for their own subsistence, Simpson established the Experimental Farms in an attempt to introduce "...the settlers, and particularly the natives of the country, into an improved system of husbandry and dairy management, the cultivation of hemp, flax...[to] ensure a steady market for the fruits of his industry" (Ross 1972:133).

The Experimental Farm was a failure, although it had been adequately outfitted. Operations ceased in 1841 and Captain Cary and his men retired. The buildings at Fort Garry continued to crumble and began to erode into the Assiniboine. In 1852, the remaining structures were abandoned and demolished, the area eventually became an immigrant shanty town, and later, was occupied by a number of industries. In 1888, the land was purchased by the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railroad (Bell 1927:3; Guinn 1980:64-69, 87; Kroker 1990:10).

e) Lower Fort Garry (1833-1911)

Governor Simpson decided to relocate HBC administration north along the Red River providing larger and better facilities. The second Fort Garry became known as the Stone Fort, or the Lower Fort, due to its location below St. Andrew's Rapids. A variety of reasons for relocating Fort Garry have been cited. First, but not necessarily most important, it was to provide the Company with a more fortified structure should open hostilities between the French Métis and the English White and Mixed Blood populations have arisen. This would ensure that the Company would be closer to the English population (Bell 1927:32). Second, Simpson's choice of location provided greater safety from flooding; third, it alleviated problems of transporting goods over the rapids and; fourth, it provided a more gracious home for his new English wife (Miquelon 1970:11-13).

Lower Fort Garry was constructed between 1833 and 1835, and briefly became the Administrative centre of the Northern Department. The Big House and the Fur Loft-Saleshop were the first buildings to be constructed, beginning in the fall of 1830. The Big House was initially constructed to house Governor Simpson, but with his departure, it was used by the Gentlemen or Clerks in charge of the post. With the arrival of Military troops, it was often used to house Military Officers.

After the three failed attempts of the Experimental Farm, a last attempt began at Lower Fort Garry. More than a model farm for the settlement, it was established to alleviate the lack of produce the HBC received from the Settlement by enabling the Company to provide for themselves. Established in the 1850s, the farm was managed by Lower Fort Garry Clerk, Alexander Lillie. It quickly became successful as he had farming experience,

and within the first year, he had 100 acres of land cultivated and "...kept large herds of cattle, sheep and swine for food, as well as oxen for cart transport" (Livermore 1976:120).

Simpson had failed to recognize the importance of the Forks as the trading centre of the RRS, despite some success at the Lower Fort. Alexander Christie (Governor of Assiniboia), convinced that the Forks was the economic centre of the RRS, petitioned that Fort Garry be returned to the Forks, finally convincing Governor Simpson of this as well. With the construction of Upper Fort Garry in 1835, the importance of Lower Fort Garry decreased, although trade and expansion continued with the nearby settlers and the Native population. In general Lower Fort Garry "...played a service role, recruiting and equipping brigades, receiving and storing goods in transit to and from other posts, and supplying storage for surplus articles from the Upper Fort" (Ingram 1967:1-2).

Fort expansion was often undertaken to accommodate arriving troops, as well as providing the farm and industrial facilities. Troops were often garrisoned at Lower Fort Garry including the Sixth Regiment of Foot (1846-1848) and the Quebec Rifles (1869-1870). Between 1880 and 1911, Lower Fort Garry served numerous functions including the first mental hospital in Manitoba. The Company finally closed its store in 1911, and from that date until 1963, it was utilized as a country club after which it became a National Historic Park (Chism 1972:12).

f) Upper Fort Garry (1834-1882)

From 1834 to 1835, construction of the third Fort Garry, or Upper Fort Garry, began under the direction of Governor Christie. In 1835, HBC administration returned to the Forks.

With its completion, Upper Fort Garry was reinstated as the centre of HBC trade, RRS administration and social life (Bell 1927:32; Guinn 1980:66-68; Ingram 1967:2; Kroker 1990:8; Miquelon 1970:20-28).

Troops were sent to the RRS at the request of the HBC on several occasions. In 1846, the Sixth Regiment of Foot arrived in response to the Oregon Question and the threat of war between Britain and the United States. Stationed at Upper Fort Garry, they remained until 1848 under the command of Colonel J. F. Crofton, who recorded in his diary the following details of the troops under his command,

> The official instructions dated 28th May 1846 detail the Force thus:
> Three companies of Her Majesty's Sixth Foot, consisting of
> 3 captains
> 6 subalterns
> 1 surgeon
> 2 assistant Surgeons
> 15 Serjeant's [sic], 6 Drummers, 270 Rank and File
> 1 Commissariat Officer, 1 Barrack Master
> In addition, a Detachment of the Royal Artillery,
> consisting of
> 1 Lieutenant
> 2 Serjeants, 2 Bombardiers, and 22
> Gunners
> and Drivers
> under the Command of Capt. Blackwood, with the following equipment
> 6 Light 6 Pounders
> 6 Light 3 Pounders
> 8 Howitzers, 12 Pounders
> 8 Mortars, 4 2/5 inches
> with Carriages and a proportion of 250 Rounds of Ammunition per piece
> 12 Royal Sappers and Miners:
> - 1 Serjeant, 11 Rank and File
> There were also 17 women and children [PAM, MG2, B7-3]

According to Morrison (1970:169), two captains, the lieutenants, the assistant surgeon, the sappers and 150 men of the regiment were housed at Lower Fort Garry. The

rest, including Crofton's surgeon, were billeted at Upper Fort Garry.

Once the Sixth Regiment of Foot returned to England, the Chelsea Pensioners arrived to take their place. Under Major Caldwell, they briefly settled at Upper Fort Garry, forming the nucleus of an HBC law enforcement body. Enlisted for seven years, they were encouraged to remain in the settlement with the receipt of land grants, the size of which was dependent upon rank (Hargrave 1871:93-94).

From 1856 to 1861, the Royal Canadian Rifles were housed at Upper Fort Garry after American troops arrived at Pembina and informed British subjects that they could not cross the border to hunt or trade furs. In 1870, the Quebec Rifles arrived in response to the Riel Rebellion. By 1871, the majority had returned east, while a small permanent force remained. In 1871, the last troops to be billeted at Upper Fort Garry was in response to the threat of a Fenian Raid, Irish rebels intent on taking possession of the RRS and declaring it an Irish Republic (Bell 1927:32-36).

In 1882, the HBC sold the Fort, which was subsequently dismantled leaving only the northern gate standing. Throughout its occupation, the Fort had undergone numerous additions and changes. By 1895, a series of small buildings and streetcar barns had been constructed in the immediate area, and by 1960, Bonnycastle Park was established with the aid of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba (Bell 1927:39).

CHAPTER III

INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT

The major aim of this thesis is to compare economic variability in the documentary record with economic variability in the archaeological record. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary to explore theoretical perspectives that pertain to this goal. In general, archaeology is concerned with the relationship between material remains and human behaviour, an issue also important in historical archaeology. In order to address this concern and the major aim of the thesis, it is necessary to examine cultural materialism, consumer choice and contextualism. It is essential to discuss the peculiarities of the documentary record and the formation processes which are responsible for the archaeological deposits.

a) The Documentary Record

It is the existence of a documentary record in addition to the archaeological remains that sets historical archaeology apart from prehistoric study (Deetz 1977:7). Relatively young as a formal discipline, early debates in historical archaeology focused on whether it should be associated with history or with anthropology. Hume suggested that through the efforts of historical archaeologists, discrepancies in historical documents could be resolved, and although "...he cannot hope to equal the historian...", an archaeologist can provide information and "...facts often available to the historian in no other way" (Noël-Hume 1978:207). Walker (1978:208) also perceived archaeology as "...a recognized method of adding to historical knowledge..." These and other researchers claimed that there were four major goals in historical archaeology: 1) to answer questions raised by the documentary

record through archaeological excavation, 2) respond to problems of site location, 3) collect artifacts, and 4) resolve contradictions in the historic record (Hamilton 1990-1991:2).

On the other hand, Cleland and Fitting (1978:242) believed that to define historic archaeology as a "technique of history" was to diminish its importance, and they approached historic archaeology using anthropological theory. Binford also saw archaeology as a part of anthropology but extended his position by claiming that anthropology "...must become a science before it can adequately serve to enhance our historical understanding of man and his past" (Binford 1978:248).

More recently, many archaeologists have used documentary sources as a "control" in one of three ways: a) to identify archaeological finds after excavation, b) to develop a historic context from the documents and fill in the gaps with the excavated archaeological remains, or c) to use historical sites as test cases for models developed in prehistory. Although many prehistoric models could be adapted for use in historical archaeology, it was necessary that models and research questions pertinent to historical archaeology were developed. As part of this task, analyses of the historical documents must also be carried out (Beaudry 1988:1; Deagan 1982; Deetz 1977:22; Langhorne and Babits 1988:132; Leone and Potter 1988:11-12).

One of the major concerns in archaeology is the desire to understand the relationships between patterns of material remains and sociocultural behaviour patterns (Deetz 1971:3; Spencer-Wood 1987:321). In order to better understand this relationship, it is necessary to look more closely at the two sources of data. The use of historical documents in association with the archaeological remains can serve five purposes: a) the historical record can provide

information about a site improving the precision of the excavation, b) the excavation can contribute historical details not accessible from the documentary sources, c) archaeology can assist in the discovery and addition of data into the documentary record that are biased or have been eliminated completely, d) the documentary sources can provide information on the cultural and natural processes which have affected the site, and e) the archaeological and historic record can indicate some of the relationships between the population and the environment (Loewen and Monks 1988:19-22).

The use of documents in archaeological research has often been poor, despite the benefits. According to Hamilton (1990-1991), the non-archaeological data used were either primary documents or the interpretations of historians. These works were often incorporated with the archaeological evidence but only as a sketch of the historic events that occurred at the site during the time in question. This type of documentary use harkened back to the debates of the 1960s, when the primary goals of historic archaeology were overshadowed by controversy as to whether it should be defined as a "a technique of history" or as part of anthropology (Cleland and Fitting 1978:242).

There are two basic types of written accounts: a) primary sources, those documents written by someone directly involved in, or an eyewitness to, an event, and b) secondary sources that furnish an interpretation of an event, or give information about original sources. Both sources must be used with caution. Even when primary sources are available, it must be remembered that only a "... small part of what takes place is observed; much less is recorded; and what has survived is surely not always the most important..." (Wood 1990:83). The aim in reconstructing the past is to get as near to the truth as possible. The closest truth

that can be achieved is only the probable; the "truth" is the best current hypothesis based on the prevailing investigation of all the pertinent evidence. Since so much information has been lost through time, a reconstruction of the past is not possible, rather it is a construction based on available data (Wood 1990:84).

A major concern in the use of the documentary record is the researcher's naive acceptance of a document at face value without concern for its reliability, validity, authority or completeness (Hamilton 1990-1991:4; Wood 1990:82). Documents are artifacts and must be subjected to criticism that resembles contextual analyses, in which the "...interpretation of artifacts is linked to their stratigraphic setting and associations" (Wood 1990:82).

Many factors affect the use of written documents. Documentary sources must be understood in the context in which they were written, and the words used must be understood in reference to the original time and place of the document. Cultural bias and ethnocentrism can also influence an eyewitness account (Wood 1990:85-91). Hamilton (1990-1991:4, 1985:34) enumerated six basic questions that should be asked about the documents used. These included: a) who wrote the document, b) who was the intended audience, c) what was the function of the document, d) how much time had elapsed between the event and the writing of the document, e) had the record been transcribed or edited, and e) what were the biases and perspectives of the author.

A good example of the bias inherent in documents is the surviving records of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). These records were written by white, English men of high position within the Company, and the documents were intended to convey business details to be read by the London Committee. This information described the operation of the post

as well as events and business considered unexpected by the author. It would not be unreasonable to find the author referring to himself and his role in the events of the post in great detail, as well as eliminating events which would place him in a poor light. The biases become more apparent as references made about the Native population often revolved around Native and Company conflict. The omission of information regarding labourers, women and children also created bias (Hamilton 1990-1991:4).

Groups of people, such as women, children or Natives have been referred to by Ascher (1974) as the inarticulate, those unable to write about themselves, or those the writers did not find interesting enough to write about. Although the inarticulate may be occasionally and/or indirectly associated with some form of written record, it is through their artifacts that they can be understood. Because of a preoccupation with written documents in historical archaeology, entire sections of the population have been frequently left out, becoming virtually invisible. These individuals produced an abundance of material remains that enables the archaeologist to access them through their technology. By using the archaeological record in conjunction with written records, Ascher has stated that these inarticulate people may be discovered (Ascher 1974:11, 22).

Documenting the role of the inarticulate is, therefore, one of the obligations of historical archaeology. Not only can historical archaeology provide further awareness and understanding of the contributions of these "invisible" people, it can also help to eliminate inaccurate stereotypes that have been propagated and add more "...voices to our perception of the past" (Little 1994:6). (See also Deagan 1991:108-109).

Hamilton (1990-1991) noted in his study of Brandon House, the discrepancy between

the evidence of bone processing and the lack of mention of this activity in the Fort journals. However, the huge amount of faunal remains at the Fort indicated unrecorded activities, dietary considerations and the labourers, predominantly Native women, who processed the bone. The presence of Natives at the post indicated acculturation of the Native population and post employees. Their lack of mention eliminated a group of people who were instrumental in the success of the fur trade. By utilizing both the archaeological and historic records as two independent sources, attempts were be made to access the invisible and the social dynamics of the fur trade community (Hamilton 1990-1991:20-21).

Another method of gaining information about the "invisible" is the use of oral traditions or oral histories (Deetz 1977:138). Oral histories can provide particularistic information when people remember and identify objects from the past and how they were produced, distributed and used. This type of data can also give details as to the relationship between objects and their wider material and social context, "...parallelling and critquing archaeological interpretation as it moves from definition to analysis" (Purser 1992a:32).

Ideas about the past are incomplete, having been constructed from available facts which have particular biases or omissions. By combining documentary sources, archaeological records and oral history, an ethnoarchaeological approach takes these separate and distinct versions of the past and blends them into one consolidated account (Adams 1983:294; Brown 1978:278).

Far from its beginnings as a 'technique of history' or adjunct of anthropology, historical archaeology has demonstrated that is has an important role in the 'reconstruction' and interpretation of the past. It is necessary to recognize that the documentary record does

not provide the ultimate truth about the past and the archaeological record is not the final authority. These two records are separate and distinct, created and used by different people for different reasons and discarded in different ways, therefore the use of one is more than a check of the other. They are two sets of information that work best when assessed together.

b) Cultural Materialism

The goal of both anthropology and archaeology is to come to a better understanding of the relationship between culture and human behaviour. One method of explaining human behaviour and culture is through cultural materialism. This research strategy strives to explain, in terms of cause and effect, the similarities and differences between cultures, or change and evolution within a culture. Cultural materialism emphasizes technology, environment, demography and economy, as key factors in shaping a cultural system. Cultural materialism attempts to explain "...sociocultural phenomena in terms of the relative costs and benefits of alternative strategies, as measured in terms of these criteria" (Trigger 1989:292).

As part of this theory, initial distinctions between emic and etic, and mental and behavioral are made. Emic operations raise the "native informant" to the position of highest authority regarding the researcher's descriptions and analyses (Harris 1980:32). On the other hand, etic operations raise the observer to the position of ultimate judge. The test of the etic analyses is "...their ability to generate scientifically productive theories about the causes of sociocultural differences and similarities" (Harris 1980:32).

Behaviour refers to the "...body motions and environmental effects produced by such

motions..." (Harris 1980:31), while mental refers to the thoughts and feelings humans experience within their minds. From a cultural materialist perspective, it is not necessary to know what an individual is thinking to describe his or her behaviour, therefore cultural materialism is etic and behavioral.

Cultural materialism is based not only on the distinction between thought, behaviour, emics and etics, but on the "...biological and psychological constants of human nature..." (Harris 1980:51). Societies are made up of an etic and behavioral three part system consisting of the infrastructure, structure and superstructure. Infrastructure includes the modes of production and reproduction; structure encompasses domestic and political economies; and superstructure consists of those behaviours that produce etics, recreation, aesthetics and science. Interaction between the infrastructure and the environment bring about changes within the infrastructure. It is through these changes that differences and similarities are brought about in the structure and superstructure. This is known as "infrastructural determinism" (Harris 1980:52-56). The cultural materialist use of this term is in a scientific manner and not in the traditional Marxist sense, that is, as part of a political agenda or a personal expression of revolutionary social change.

Changes within the infrastructure are deemed causal by the fact that modes of production and reproduction are regulated by natural laws that cannot be changed by human intervention. Therefore, the infrastructure is the primary link between culture and nature, not as a "...single-factor 'prime mover'", but within a broader amalgamation of demographic, technological, economic and environmental variables (Harris 1980:57,74). Changes in the infrastructure affect the structure and, ultimately, the superstructure. Hamilton (1990:35-37)

has extended this one-way causality by encompassing the notion of feedback in which changes within the superstructure result in actions that cause change in both the structure and infrastructure. This, in essence, affects the environment and the relationship between the environment and the infrastructure.

Cultural materialism focuses on the economy, technology, demography and environment, and the interactions between them which results in the change in a culture system. The material culture is the evidence, and result, of economy. Through the material culture, in the form of archaeological remains and documentary records, an understanding can be gained of the relationship between the population and the environment. This relationship effects, and is affected by, the economic strategies, the technology and the human behaviours responsible for the changes within the culture.

c) Consumer Choice and Behaviour

Linked to cultural materialism and the material remains recovered at an archaeological site, is the relationship between behaviour and consumer choice. The choices made by the consumer are based on his or her economic capability to purchase items for utilitarian and/or communicative purposes. By considering the choices an individual makes when acquiring items, further meaning can be obtained about the material remains, behaviour patterns and the culture.

The study of material culture patterns and behaviour patterns had been considered by Binford (1962:219) as a major area of research in archaeology. In historical archaeology, there has been an increasing amount of interest in relating artifacts to the economic and

social position of the site's inhabitants. Utilizing Miller's (1980) ceramic price scaling indices, a connection between consumer behaviour and ceramic price has developed into the study of consumer choice profiles. Because a relationship exists between price and ceramic decoration, it has been proposed that a relationship between a consumer's choice of ceramics and his or her social and economic position must exist. These choices are reflected in the archaeological assemblage (Spencer-Wood 1987:321-322).

A consumer's choice is governed by a number of interrelated variables including availability, utility and affordability of goods; the use of goods for status display; and behaviours related to ethnicity, political status, religion, family size and life cycle. Usually, wealth is the limiting factor affecting the purchase of goods; however, wealth does not necessarily indicate high status, nor does the lack of wealth necessarily imply low status (Henry 1996:237-239; Spencer-Wood 1987:323-325).

With the household as the unit of study, a number of dimensions need to be considered. Household composition can affect economic and social relationships, as well as the income strategies by which money is brought into the household by one or more individuals. The lifecycle describes the developmental stages of the household, beginning with a newly married couple that expands to a family with the addition of children, and finally returning to the original couple after the departure of grown children. The income and lifecycle of the household are linked to its composition (LeeDecker et.al. 1987:235-237; Henry 1996:238-239).

In addition to the comparison between consumer choice and ceramics, consumer choice profiles can be studied utilizing the faunal assemblage, specifically through the cost

of meat cuts. Ceramics are highly indicative of consumer choice and fragments are plentiful in the archaeological record. However, ceramics in general are relatively durable, and more expensive ceramics have the disadvantage of being highly curated. Animal bones are less affected by curation, and the purchase of meat occurs on a regular basis and may be more sensitive to changes in cost over a short time period (Huelsbeck 1991:65; Schulz and Gust 1983:44). Other factors influence the purchase of meat, including ethnicity, cost, environmental setting and site function, as well as the social and economic position of the occupants (Reitz 1987:105-106).

Consumption has also been defined as part of communication, since it involves more than "...market participation or conspicuous social competition" (Purser 1992b:107). As such, it requires a contextual approach to define the actions involved in the acquisition and use of consumables, as well as the changes in consumption practises that occur through time (Purser 1992b:107). Therefore, it is necessary to place an assemblage and the household in the proper social and economic context. This will lead to an understanding of the behaviours associated with the material remains, and provide a building block in the understanding of the larger society (Klein 1987:88).

d) Contextual Approach

Woven into the concepts of cultural materialism and consumer choice, is the context in which the material culture was produced and used, and the context within which the society functioned. By utilizing the documentary record, control of context can be maintained. According to Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski (1996:281), "...context is where

meaning is located and constituted and provides the key to its interpretation..." by linking the document to events and binding it to meaning. By studying historic texts, researchers gain a clearer "...insight into peoples' attitudes toward the world around them..." (ibid., p. 281). This allows the emic perspective to counterbalance the etic, objective analysis of the past, providing a cultural context that can be added to the archaeological record and any patterns noted within it (ibid., p. 282).

This not only provides insight into the meaning of the text, but also provides meaning for the archaeological record. Because an archaeological site is complicated, it is necessary to construct the cultural context of the archaeological excavation in order to learn about the behaviour that produced the remains. This includes the formation and depositional processes, the physical structure of the site and matrix and how the artifacts were situated within the site. Context for both the historical and archaeological materials are necessary, for "...(J)ust as documents are not best used as background context to test against artifacts, artifacts are not best used when considered independent of the contexts from which they were recovered" (ibid., p. 285).

As artifacts and written documents are used and reinterpreted through time, the original producer's and user's meanings are no longer complete. Material culture provides a challenge for researchers since muted or inarticulate voices can often be expressed. However, meaning is contextual and interpretation must focus on context definition, similarities and differences, and the use of relevant social and material culture theory. In this manner, more information and interpretations may be derived from the material culture (Hodder 1994:401).

Study of the documentary records from Upper Fort Garry has provided the basis for

the analysis of architectural symbolism and non-verbal communication (Monks 1992:38). Through the use of architectural plans, maps and writings from some of the Red River settlers, an argument can be made for the meaning of architecture. According to Monks (1992), the construction of Upper Fort Garry was a reflection of, and reflected on, the lives of the Red River Settlement occupants. Architectural symbols conveyed cultural messages to those living in and around the Fort. Increasing complexity in the architecture of the Fort in building form and space, reflected the growth of the settlement both economically and socially, while at the same time represented the HBC's intention to remain a dominant force in the Red River Settlement (Monks 1992:54-55). In this example, the study of the changes in the Fort are within the context of the community at the time the changes were occurring. By utilizing the documents in various forms, a greater understanding of social, economic and ideological factors in the settlement can be gained. It is possible that the documentary evidence provides a communication or representation of ideas of dominance, while the structure of Upper Fort Garry may indirectly evoke within the population of the Red River Settlement a feeling of HBC dominance.

Another example of context is the presence of delicate teacups and saucers found within Hivernant Métis assemblages. These people employed a migratory lifestyle that revolved around the bison hunt, a lifestyle reflected in their material culture with the exception of these breakables. It must be recognized that these earthenwares represented a symbolic dimension of Métis culture and were not an anomaly. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Métis women became the preferred marriage partners of the HBC employees, especially those who were more European in manner. An outward sign of their

civility was the "...display and use of ceramics with appropriate social protocols [in] the formal tea service" (Burley 1989:102). During this period, separation between the upper class Métis women and other Métis was not inflexible, and ceramic use by the more elite Métis spread to the rest of the Métis community, including those involved in the bison hunt. As this spread occurred, "...social meaning is transferred from visual displays of status to a shared form of material culture" (Burley 1989:104).

A shift to an all white elite began with the arrival of Simpson's European wife to the RRS. This led to social strife as highly ranked Métis women found themselves rejected by the European elite. A consequence of this conflict was "...that ceramic use intensified as a means to reinforce social position in a display of behavioral etiquette" (Burley 1989:103). For all classes of Métis, ceramics became more than just a functional object, they were an item embedded with social meaning and a "...shared form of material culture" (Burley 1989:104). The presence of teacups in Métis Hivernant sites suggests they were an indispensable element of their material culture that provided continuity of ethnic integration and a necessary element of social action. Understood in this symbolic context their meaning outweighs their function (Burley 1989:105).

Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski (1996) contend that an important element in historical archaeology is documentary analysis. By studying historical documents, "...from 'the inside out', we can begin to reconstruct meaning in the active voice, in the multiple voices of the 'silent majority'..." and discover through the archaeological record that "...they were not so inarticulate after all..." (Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1996:294). As such, the context becomes much more than a historical backdrop to a site or assemblage.

e) Formation Processes

Archaeologists interested in studying and explaining past human behaviour from material remains recognize that the remains have been affected by a number of formation processes that alter or enhance the aspects of behaviour available to the archaeologist. The archaeological remains are subjected to their own set of biases as they are acted upon by cultural and natural formation processes, providing context for the archaeological assemblage that must be understood.

Artifacts pass through a systemic and an archaeological context. When an artifact is still functioning within a cultural setting, it is in the systemic context. Once the artifact is no longer active in the cultural system and is discarded or lost, it moves into the archaeological context and is available for excavation and study by archaeologists (Schiffer 1995:26-27).

Archaeologists are especially interested in the systemic context of the material remains recovered and the information the remains can impart about the society that created, used and discarded them. The systemic context includes the processes required to procure materials, and the manufacture, use, maintenance, disposal and reuse of the artifact (Schiffer 1995:27, 1987:3-4).

Before appropriately interpreting the object in its systemic context, one must first understand transformations caused by the archaeological context. The archaeological and the historical records are affected by cultural and natural formation processes. Cultural formation processes includes the human behaviour that affect an artifact after its period of use, such as abandonment or disposal, thereby converting material remains from the systemic to the archaeological context (Schiffer 1995:48). In addition:

> Cultural formation processes are responsible for retaining items in systemic context (by reuse) to form the historic record, for depositing artifacts, thus creating the archaeological record, and for any subsequent cultural modifications of material in either record. Cultural formation processes, of course, also include the activities of the archaeologist in the recovery and analysis stages of research when materials from the archaeological record re-enter systemic context [Schiffer 1987:7].

Noncultural formation processes are the interactions between artifacts, sites and the environment that result in modifications to all three. These formation processes continually act on organic matter, metal, glass, ceramic and stone artifacts in both contexts, resulting in their decay or preservation through chemical, biological and/or physical action (Schiffer 1995:48, 1987:7).

These formation processes and the resulting transformation of the artifact are fairly constant in their causes and effects. As a result, the "...regularities of formation processes...usually take the form of experimental laws..." (Schiffer 1987:22). The laws are known as cultural and natural transforms. Cultural transforms (c-transforms) apply to the cultural formation processes and relate the behavioural and organizational characteristics of a culture to its archaeological remains. Natural transforms (n-transforms) deal with the noncultural interaction between the material remains and the environment. The combined c- and n-transforms is the method "...by which an archaeological site acquired specific, formal, quantitative, relational and spatial attributes (Schiffer 1987:23).

The documentary record and the archaeological data are generated by two very different formation processes. The data of both were made at different times, for different purposes, by different individuals often with no direct connection to one another. To illustrate, a plate created in Staffordshire is "...a fundamentally different thing from the same

plate, three months later, in the hands of its ultimate owner in colonial Maryland" (Leone and Potter 1988:14). Similarly, the person responsible for creating a ceramic pattern record book was doing so for an entirely different reason than to aid the archaeologist in naming the artifact recovered from a site. To use the record to name the plate is employing the record in an entirely different context and for an entirely different reason than it was intended (Leone and Potter 1988:14).

In the early stages of interpretation, the documentary evidence can be compared with the archaeological remains in order to determine the consistency of the written record with the excavated remains. It is by no means intended that the archaeological record be the "final authority" (Hamilton 1990-1991:4). The archaeological remains are subject to their own sets of biases; namely, the formation of the archaeological record. Because of these differences in formation, and the information derived from them, the two records must be considered separate and distinct. Comparison between the two can take place only to determine if they are consistent. If they are not, "...one information source cannot be legitimately rejected since both provide incomplete and biased views of some unknown and perhaps unknowable 'true social reality'" (Hamilton 1990-1991:4).

f) The Archaeological Record and Behaviour

According to Deagan (1982:167) an important aspect of historical archaeology is "...its ability to test principles of archaeological interpretation under controlled conditions." To this end, a number of studies have been undertaken to explain the relationship between the archaeological record and behavioral variability. The results illustrate that the

connections between the two are patterned and predictable. These studies have approached this problem scientifically, concentrating on developing, testing and verifying "interpretive principles" (Deagan 1982:164). Some of the research in this area includes Deetz and Dethlefson's (1967) battleship curve; South's (1977) refuse disposal patterns; and Otto's (1977, 1975) work on social status variation in Georgian plantations. Another well known project is the Tucson Garbage Project (TGP) which looks at contemporary remains to understand economy and ethnicity as reflected in consumption refuse. The TGP also studies the relationship between material culture and behaviour (Deagan 1982:165-166; Rathje 1977:41).

The development of the connections between behaviour and material remains has been termed the "science of material culture" (Deagan 1982:164-167). The modification of material culture through behaviour has permitted historical archaeology not only to develop ideas about the past, but to "...help us to understand ourselves today, and possibly even predict our future behaviour with regard to material things" (Deagan 1982:167). However, it is not only the development, testing and refinement of interpretive principles, but their use as a "...foundation for explaining why patterns and pattern variations exist in terms of human cultural adaptive behaviour" (Deagan 1982:168). Attempts to interpret past behaviour from the archaeological record has been a core issue of archaeology and has been addressed by numerous researchers such as Binford (1977); Raab and Goodyear (1984); and, Schiffer (1972).

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

There were a number of ways to determine an individual's relative economic position within a community, and the data available in the archival records could be used to create indices of relative means, based on wealth as reflected by ownership of material items. These indices were placed on an arbitrary scale of relative economic position. There were a number of ways to create indices, and the variable most frequently used by researchers is wealth, as wealth permits the acquisition of material items.(see Ackerman 1991, Schulz and Gust 1983, Spencer-Wood 1987).

The RRS census records indicated the quantities of specific items in an individual's possession, unlike the studies carried out by Spencer-Wood that used an actual monetary value of each individual's estate. Some items were purchased, while others were produced directly or indirectly by labour. The possession of items, whose remains were evident in both the archival and archaeological record, demonstrated wealth. The ability to acquire items was essential in the organization of individuals into a hierarchy. This organization was independent of, but may be related to, perceived or acquired status (Pyszczyk 1987).

Fort personnel responsible for the various deposits were ranked on a scale of relative economic position, based on wage defined by occupation. Ranking based on occupation and wage, was combined with ranking based on ownership, as derived for the Settlement individuals, thus permitting the ranking of Fort personnel and Settlement individuals. The result was the scaling of the groups and individuals which had an archaeological assemblage and archival information available to determine their relative economic position.

A. Past Methodological Approaches

In order to derive more information about social and economic variation at archaeological sites, researchers have developed various methods of using the archival or archaeological sources available to them.

Ackerman (1991:26-36) developed an indexing method to determine economic position for individuals. Using the archival records, he calculated the average economic means for the top 100 wealthiest Virginians from 1787 to 1788 as a basis of comparison. These average economic means provided an objective standard utilizing four variables determined to be the most important to the people at that time. These included land, bound labour, cattle/oxen, and horses/mules. A Comparative Status Value (CSV) was calculated for each variable of an individual. When compared to the top 100, the closer the CSV to the top 100 values, the closer the individual was socially to Virginia's wealthiest. The Economic Means Index (EMI) was the sum of the CSV values for all variables of one individual, divided by the number of variables. This was used to arrive at a total comparative status for the individual in question.

Constructing indices based on the archaeological assemblage required artifact categories which were readily datable and have associated price lists. The best known example is Miller's (1980, 1991) index of ceramics which has been used by numerous researchers in its original or in slightly altered forms.

Miller's (1980) approach to indexing began by shifting the manner in which he classified historic ceramics. Archaeologists originally classified them on the basis of ware that corresponded to the classification used by the manufacturers of seventeenth and

eighteenth century ceramics. Modifications in nineteenth century manufacturing techniques prompted changes in the classification system. In historic documents, ceramics were described by decoration rather than ware, which was appropriate for classification by archaeologists. During the nineteenth century, pottery prices were determined by their manner of decoration as observed in the price fixing lists from the Staffordshire potters. Creamware was the only ware type that appeared and was commonly listed as "CC" to indicate cream colour. It was the cheapest type of undecorated ware available and remained fairly stable in price providing an adequate base line for an economic scale. Therefore, CC ware was given an index value of 1. Other decorative techniques were assigned index values based on its cost relative to CC ware, calculated by dividing the cost of the decorated ware by the cost of CC ware. In 1991, Miller was able to provide an update for the CC index with the accumulation of more price fixing lists and other documents. This provided a clearer picture of the price structure, to the extent that CC and decorated pottery prices in general were observed to drop. This prompted him to provide a series of expanded and updated index values which replaced those published in 1980.

Further use of Miller's indices by Spencer-Wood (1984) centred around the relationship between archaeological remains (ceramics) and socioeconomic status. In this study, sites were first ranked by the personal estate values and the occupations of site residents determined from historical records. This rank order was compared to the ceramic rank orders derived using a modification of Miller's index. Using the probate records for 4 sites in Quincy, Massachusetts between 1850 and 1900, the average personal estate and occupational categories were established. This documentary measurement of status was

compared and contrasted with the ceramic indices. Results indicated the ceramic index rank and personal estate values rank were the same, therefore general occupational categories could be predicted from the archaeological measurement of social and economic position (Spencer-Wood 1984:92-94, 106-107).

In further research, Spencer-Wood (1987) developed consumer choice profiles in an attempt to draw connections between artifacts and behavioural patterns. The purpose of her research was twofold: first, to detect status related ceramic procurement and deposition behaviour, and second, to assess the connection between household socioeconomic position and price-scaling ceramic indices. The results indicated that consumer behaviour patterns differentiated socioeconomic groups, and consumer choice profiles provided more information about status related consumer behaviour than ceramic indices (Spencer-Wood 1987:322).

Probate inventories were used to determine the personal estate values and occupation, and ceramic indices were used to measure relative ceramic values. The ceramic indices were then compared and contrasted with personal estate means (Spencer-Wood 1987:353). Extensive use of this method has been made by other researchers in studies of socioeconomic status (Heberling 1987; Henry 1996; McBride and McBride 1987; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987).

Schulz and Gust (1983) explored the usefulness of faunal remains in their study of social status in nineteenth century Sacramento. The excavation of four different sites in Old Sacramento provided assemblages that enabled them to economically rank meat cuts to determine if the "...socioeconomic status of a depositing population is reflected in the

character of the faunal debris it leaves behind" (Schulz and Gust 1983:45).

Beef prices from nineteenth century records supplied the relative value of the meat cuts. The ordinally ranked cuts were used to measure the economic value of meat represented by the assemblage and to determine if this reflected the relative socioeconomic position of the populations reported in historic documents. The results of their study indicated that the differences in faunal remains reflected socioeconomic position (Schulz and Gust 1983). Lyman (1987) provided an examination of cost effectiveness of beef purchases to help define aspects of an individual's income despite his or her status. Although income determined an individual's purchase choices, status did not, unless it was strongly associated to income.

Otto (1977) looked at the ceramic artifacts from planter, overseer and slave sites at Cannon's Point, an eighteenth century antebellum plantation, in an attempt to uncover past human behaviour from material remains. This site provided assemblages from three different contemporaneous groups in the social hierarchy. Combining results with documentary and faunal data, Otto confirmed that the economic, racial and social hierarchy of the population living at the site could be ascertained from the material remains (Otto 1977:91-118).

Carillo (1977) used the data from the excavations of two house sites, one of British cultural tradition, the other German, in an effort to determine pattern variation reflecting sociocultural differences. The variability would therefore have been indicative of different behaviour patterns (Carillo 1977:73-74). The artifact categories used (ceramics, bottle glass, window glass and nails) represented subsistence related and architecturally related functional categories. He analyzed the distribution and relationship of these two groups and found that patterning of artifacts at the British site had a selective disposal of artifacts that differed from

the German site's random disposal. Carillo attributed these differences to "...different behaviour patterns in different sociocultural systems" (Carillo 1977:86).

Reitz (1987) examined the faunal remains from plantations to identify social and economic status. Before pursuing the variables that influenced the choice of one particular animal or cut above another, Reitz considered the cultural and taphonomic processes that altered the remains. Differential disposal, taphonomic processes, variability in sample size, identifiability of remains and analytical bias all contributed to bias in the faunal record. When considering the choice of meat, a number of variables were influential, including: ethnicity, cost, time period, and environmental zone characteristic of the area. These factors, while influencing choice, may or may not have been due to the status of the individual and should be considered before assigning the deposit social and economic status (Reitz 1987:101-106).

Other data besides site formation processes were necessary to identify status. Historic records have provided information about a site's occupants in addition to the non-faunal remains. Butchering marks defined the meat cut, reflecting meat preference or perhaps more highly prized portions which could indicate status. Status may be demonstrated by the species of animal consumed, as well as the use of exotic or rare taxa. Diversity of species may have also indicated status although this may not have been apparent in a small sample (Reitz 1987:107-116).

Reitz and Zierden (1991) utilized the faunal remains of an urban South Carolina site to enhance understanding of eighteenth and nineteenth century life. This study involved the hypotheses that a) faunal assemblages from high status sites should show more diversity,

more domestic species consumed, and the presence of more exotic taxa than low status sites, and b) high status sites would have had more fragments from highly valued cuts of meat than low status sites. Results indicated that there were no distinctions in the percentages of meaty versus non-meaty cuts between high and low status sites. This was more a reflection of site function rather than status, that is, the differences between residential, public and market/dump sites. Reitz and Zierden concluded that status was but one variable in the formation of an assemblage (Reitz and Zierden 1991:403-405).

Ewen (1986) used faunal data to discuss status differences between a NWC post and an XY post in northern Wisconsin (1802-1804). He hypothesized that because the NWC was more established, its assemblage would reflect higher status. The faunal remains indicated that the NWC had more and better cuts of meat and more delicacies than the XY company (Ewen 1986:18-21). In an intrasite comparison, Ewen postulated that the faunal assemblages associated with each cabin of the NWC post should have indicated the status of its occupants. The results of this investigation were neither proved nor disproved and further re-examination of the non-faunal data could not support the hypothesis (Ewen 1986:24-26).

Hamilton (1990-1991) utilized the archaeological and historical records in an integrated manner to uncover the invisible in fur trade society. Realizing and enumerating the biases present in historical fur trade documents, Hamilton resolved the discrepancy between the large amount of processed faunal remains requiring extensive labour, and the lack of information in the post journal pertaining to this activity. Many non-HBC personnel, mostly women and children, provided an informal labour force involved in the processing of bone to procure fat for pemmican production. The London Committee did not approve of

the Fort supporting non-HBC employees and their presence and labour were not reported in post journals destined for the London Committee. The elimination of this information rendered these people and their efforts invisible. Hamilton's (1990-1991) investigation also provided information on the importance of fat in diet and the importance of the Native women located at the post (Hamilton 1990-1991:3-20).

Hurlburt (1977) examined the faunal assemblage recovered at Fort White Earth, one of the two NWC posts constituting the Forts des Prairies in the Saskatchewan River district. These forts functioned as provisioning posts supplying pemmican to the northern canoe brigades and posts. By studying the faunal remains, patterns of bone breakage, and butchering marks, she determined the amount of meat the Fort personnel would have had available to them. With extensive research into historical documents and archival records, Hurlburt determined how the remains arrived in their present condition. The areas excavated were the refuse pits associated with the Engages and their families. The highly fractured nature of the fauna indicated marrow and bone grease extraction, two products necessary for their diet and provision production. By the variety of species and elements present, she reconstructed the Engages subsistence during the summer and fall.

Hurlburt (1977) also ascertained that the Engagés and their families were receiving less choice portions of the butchered animals, while the Gentleman of Fort White Earth enjoyed the meatier cuts. The archival documents and post journals helped her to identify preferred animal species with regard to quality or taste of meat, fat, and marrow. The latter two were important considerations of their diet and provisioning responsibilities.

Pyszczyk's (1987) dissertation discussed the archival and archaeological data from

five fur trade posts situated in the Canadian interior. He examined the social structure of fur trade society, how individuals perceived themselves, and how they expressed their social position with their material culture. To do this, he looked at the ways social information was communicated to society, the factors that caused changes in societies, and which attributes passed this information to others. Material culture was the result of behaviour that could function in a symbolic manner to define an individual within the social organization. These material goods did not necessarily have to be luxury items, but could be utilitarian items that took on symbolic and communicative roles. By examining the consumption patterns of available goods, an understanding of social differentiation could be possible.

In 1970, Losey et.al. excavated Fort Enterprise, a post established by Franklin in the North West Territories between 1819 and 1821. This post was constructed while Franklin mapped the coastal region from the Coppermine River east toward the Hood River in an effort to find the Northwest Passage. Excavation of the main house was the primary concern, and the initial objective was to verify the identity of three structures. In addition to the recovered artifacts were a group of human remains, consistent with the historical documents. Unfortunately, looting and unrecorded digging by individuals searching for the cache site disturbed the provenience of these human remains. Analysis of the faunal remains indicated the use of caribou, bird, fish and small mammals (Losey et.al. 1979:12-36).

An examination of two faunal middens was conducted in an attempt to distinguish whether or not portions of caribou were allotted to the Officers and Voyageurs in a preferential manner, and to determine which midden could be associated with the main house structure occupied by the Officers. The result of this examination indicated that there was

enough dissimilarity between the two middens to suggest that each group was consuming different portions of the animal. Further analysis indicated that Midden A was most likely associated with the Servants, whereas Midden B was connected with the Officers (Losey et. al. 1970:37-46).

The artifact assemblage, though very small, was separated into eight functional categories similar to South's classification. Since the Fort was only a temporary site, the small number of artifacts was to be expected (Losey et. al. 1970:47-64). In addition, meteorological studies were carried out for comparison with data collected by Franklin, and pollen analysis indicated that contemporary plants were consistent with the species present during Franklin's expedition (Losey et. al. 1970:65-80).

B. The Red River Data

a) The Archival Data

i) The Census Records

The RRS was considered as the unit of study for the purpose of this thesis. As there were only a small number of archaeological assemblages available, census data from only excavated assemblages were examined. This sets the criteria for individuals and groups as: a) inclusion in the census data or other historical documents and b) representation by an excavated archaeological assemblage.

The RRS censuses were recorded by HBC appointees during April or May of 1821, 1829, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834-35, 1838, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1849, 1856, 1868. The first two years were unavailable. The census records provided information for the individuals

living in the RRS, listing household head and age, his country of origin, number of family members, number of buildings, livestock, farm equipment and acres under cultivation.

The items listed for a household (dwellings, livestock, implements and acres) in the census records were used as variables that were separately rank ordered. Once all variables were rank ordered, each individual's rank order was calculated by dividing the sum of the individual's ranked values by the number of variables. This mean rank order was used as an index value to place all individuals on an arbitrary scale of relative economic position. This rank ordering of individuals based on scales derived from the archival documents was similar to Ackerman's (1991) Economic Means Index. Although each individual was not compared to the top 100 wealthiest individuals in the RRS, each was in rank order relative to the rest of the individuals associated within the study group.

ii) Census Record Limitations

Sprague and Frye (1983:30) have related a few problems with the HBC documents that were important to keep in mind when using the census records. First, the household was represented as a group rather than as individuals, listing only the male household head and his particulars, while wives and children remained anonymous, even in the case of female household heads. Second, the custom of "turning off" a Native wife often resulted in the adoption of children by a new husband, although this was not often noted. Third, many individuals were unable to write and numerous spellings of a name by the census takers was a distinct possibility, muddying the information available (Sprague and Frye 1983:30).

A few errors were detected while working with the computerized census data. To

ensure that the information regarding the specific individuals in this project was accurate, it was necessary to go back to the original records and verify data. With the conversion of words into numeric codes for computer entry, it became increasingly difficult to recognize an error unless it was plainly obvious. When converted information is used without question, existing errors could remain unchecked, introducing another bias in the documentary records.

The idea of turning to the Red River Settlement census to obtain information about the various individuals in question was originally considered to be relatively straightforward; however, the reality proved to be much more complicated. In addition to concerns about bias in the documents, three major problems were found to occur. First, the names of some well-known individuals did not appear; second, some names exhibited a variety of spellings; and third, some Christian and surname combinations occurred frequently within the same year, making the distinction between individuals difficult, if not impossible.

Pierre Delorme was an example of the first problem. He was born in 1832, a late date considering the last complete HBC census was taken in 1849. Although a well-known individual in the settlement, his later birth date prevented his appearance in these specific HBC documents. He appeared in the 1868 Relief Committee Report; however this document was recorded for purposes other than enumeration of the settlers.

The second problem involved complications with surnames encountered while researching the Riel family. In an effort to determine the relative economic position of the Riel occupation of the site, it was necessary to look into the their family history. Jean-Louis Riel entered the census records after 1844, the date marking his marriage to Julie Lagimodière. The 1846 census contained Riel's information, however, since his surname was

originally "Riel dit L'Ireland", he was recorded by the surname "Ireland" . The 1849 census provided information for Riel although this time it was misspelled "Rielle", and included in brackets "dit L'Ire". Another surname problem arose with an alternate spelling of Delorme in the 1849 census. This version (D'Lorme) was used for all Delormes only in the 1849 census, in all other census years it was spelled Delorme.

An example of the third problem experienced was with Joseph Delorme, Pierre Delorme's father. The name Delorme appeared frequently in the census records due to the presence of two unrelated Delorme families in the RRS. As a result, there was more than one Joseph appearing in the census records. Because of multiple entries, those in which age categories did not correspond or were left blank were not included and resulted in only two reliable census years.

Each individual census year appeared to be well-organized and carefully recorded; however, when a number of documents were compared, errors and differences could be detected, sometimes generating confusion. The most noticeable irregularity was the omission of data. The important information for the purposes of this thesis were the required variables listed above; however, the less crucial details, such as age, for example, could help resolve the problem of duplicate names. In instances when an individual's identity was not clear, that census year was eliminated because erring on the side of caution was preferable to including potentially false information.

iii) Historical Documentation

Census documents were not available for Fort and/or Military personnel who worked

and lived at the three Forts. Instead, ranking of these groups was based on their wages defined by their occupations. As the different deposits have been attributed to specific groups of people with known occupations, and the assemblages have been dated, linking the assemblages to specific historic documents was possible. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives contained numerous Post Journals, Servants Accounts and Minutes of Council that provided the information necessary to rank the different Fort assemblages. The Paylists and Muster Rolls provided a pay scale for Military ranks. These various records permitted the Fort and Military personnel to be ranked on a scale of relative economic means.

iv) Historical Document Limitations

When different HBC records were compared, inconsistencies were apparent, although the HBC was presumed to have been very meticulous in their record keeping. Most noticeable were the varying degrees of detail recorded by different Clerks and/or Officers in Post Journals. Some Post Journals were extremely detailed, providing abundant information about the activities at the Fort on any given day. Other Journals, however, provided meagre information, sometimes amounting to nothing more than a weather description.

There were also inconsistencies between the "Servants Lists" (HBCA: B.235/f/1) and the "Abstracts of Servants Accounts from York Factory" (HBCA: B.239/g/2-6). The "Servants Accounts" listed the posts to which men were assigned, and the "Servants List" recorded the actual Fort personnel. In some instances, the "Servants Accounts" listed an individual assigned to particular post, although he was not recorded in the "Servants List" for that Post. Conversely, there were men who appeared in the "Servants List" but were not

recorded in the "Servants Accounts." For reasons unknown, Servants appeared in one but not the other. Although there was probably a reasonable explanation for these shifts in employees, there was no accompanying documentation explaining the alterations. These irregularities may be problematic today but may have not needed explanation in the 1800s. In addition, the "Servants Accounts" from York Factory listed the various Servants as posted to either Upper Red River, Lower Red River, Red River, or Winnipeg. These destinations were used in a variety of combinations, without indicating to which area or post they referred.

These types of problems did not call into question the validity of the data or the method, but raised questions as to how they should be remedied. In the interest of maintaining consistency, the decision was made to use only the "Servants List" since these individuals were recorded as actually arriving at the Post. By carefully selecting and eliminating unreliable data, the results obtained from the archival documents and the historical records were considered to be dependable.

v) Ranking of Census and Historical Data

The rankings derived from the census data (possessions) and historical documents (occupation and wage) differ; therefore, it was necessary to effectively combine the two. This was accomplished by linking occupations with possessions and ranking the Settlement individuals and Fort personnel together. By determining the amount of possessions that could have been acquired by a particular wage, ranking both the settlers and the Fort personnel could be carried out on the basis of possessions.

b) The Archaeological Data

Creating index values for artifact categories required the selection of artifacts that were datable and had associated price lists. This was accomplished by creating the archaeological indices from excavated ceramic and faunal assemblages.

i) Ceramic Methodology

The method used to complete the Fort Garry (DlLg 33/88C) sample was directed by Larcombe's (1988) work, in order to maintain consistency in data analysis. The ceramic assemblage was received in part in 1993, the remaining fragments were obtained from the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature in 1997. The ceramics were identified and catalogued in C.H.I.N. format.

Vessel forms and the minimum number of vessels were determined once preliminary identification was carried out. Using South's (1977:217) method, the mean date of the ceramic assemblage was determined by multiplying a pattern's median date by its frequency of sherds to produce a product. The sum of all products was divided by the sum of all sherds to obtain the mean ceramic date. In addition, a second method of calculating a median date for each assemblage was performed. Within an assemblage, the initial dates of all patterns were multiplied by the frequency of sherds per pattern. The results were added together and divided by the total number of sherds to provide an Initial Date. The same procedure was repeated using the terminal dates of the patterns to produce a Terminal Date. To calculate the Median ceramic date, the Initial and Terminal dates were added together and divided by two. The same calculations were carried out based on the frequency of vessels.

The Mean Index Value of the site assemblage was determined by using vessel frequency. Based on Miller's (1980, 1991) ceramic indices, Larcombe (1988) accumulated HBC documents from 1827 to 1860, and calculated the mean price, in pence, of each vessel type present. The vessel with the lowest mean price was given an Index Value of 1.00 (bowls). All other vessels were assigned an Index Value based on their mean price divided by the mean price of a bowl. For example, if a soup plate was worth 4.0 pence and a bowl 2.95 pence, the index number of a soup plate was 1.35 (Larcombe 1988:101).

A site's Mean Index Value was calculated by multiplying the frequency of vessel type by the vessel Index Value. These products (weighted vessel Index Values) were then added together and divided by the total number of vessels to produce a Mean Index Value for the site. The standard deviation was also calculated. The higher the standard deviation, the more variation in vessel forms existed at that site. The Mean Index Values for all sites were then ranked to each other, producing a rank order, based on the cost of ceramic vessel forms present.

ii) Faunal Methodology

A similar ranking method was used for the faunal remains. This method was outlined in Schulz and Gust's (1983) study of status using beef cuts in four nineteenth century Sacramento sites. Seyers (1986) undertook a similar study in the RRS, using butchered *Bos taurus* and Bison/Bos remains from Upper Fort Garry, Delorme House, and St. Peter's Dynevor. The results of her analysis of Upper Fort Garry (P/R I and P/R II) and Delorme House were used here. Again, in the interest of methodological consistency, this thesis

followed Seyers' (1986) method of calculating Index Values for sites based on butchered faunal remains.

Faunal remains of *Bos taurus* and Bison/Bos exhibiting cut, chop or saw marks were used as evidence of butchering and were assigned to a particular cut of meat based on Parks Canada Butchering Units. Therefore, the criteria for determining a cut were identifiable taxon, element and the presence of butchering marks. Seyers (1986:87-88) compared beef prices from the nineteenth century Sacramento area, as outlined in Schulz and Gust (1983:50), and compared them with modern beef prices from Canada Safeway Ltd., discovering that the beef prices were similar, with the exception of three cuts. The frequency of ranked cuts from each site assemblage was calculated and graphed on a cumulative frequency graph. This provided the ranking of each site assemblage relative to the others.

iii) Limitations in the Archaeological Record

Bias was a consideration for the archaeological record, as it was for the archival documents. According to Reitz and Zierden (1991), there were associated cultural behaviours and symbolic meanings attached to food in addition to their nutritional aspects. Variables such as age, ethnicity, economic position, and religion were communicated through foods by their avoidance or use. As such, "...there is a complex but fundamental relationship between status, wealth and food" (Reitz and Zierden 1991:397). Since behaviour and meaning were attached to subsistence, archaeologists must be aware that present day attitudes (biases and stereotypes) about food should not influence the study of faunal remains from ancient or past occupants.

The nutritional value of a food resource may have had no effect on whether or not it was considered a high prestige item. Meat cuts often had available associated prices determined by the related cultural and symbolic values. Some meat cuts had a higher value that was reflected by a higher price, for example hindcuts were less expensive than front cuts, and cuts from the upper hind quarter were more expensive that those from the upper front quarter. The presence or absence of expensive cuts at a site permitted the development of theories about the site occupant's economic and social position (Reitz and Zierden 1991:397)

There were a variety of influences that altered the remains, in addition to considerations regarding meat cut preferences, the potential cultural biases of an archaeologist, and the effects of cultural factors such as butchering and food preparation (Reitz and Zierden 1991:399). Variables included differential disposal, taphonomic variables, and biases introduced during deposition such as skewed skeletal elements or non-cultural faunal remains. As a result of these variables, "[t]he recovered fragments are not an unbiased reflection of the original diet or even the original deposits" (Reitz 1987:102).

Other types of biases must be considered. Bias could be introduced into the sample during the excavation. The sites used in this thesis were excavated by professional archaeologists and/or students, with each excavation undertaken for a different reason (salvage, research, field school). Each excavation required different logistics and research problems depending on the duration of the excavation, the number and experience of people involved, and budgetary constraints. Differences in analytical and identification techniques, and variation in criteria between people became potential sources of bias within these samples.

C. Statistical Testing

A rank order correlation test was applied to the two sets of rank order scales which evaluated the accuracy of predicting one from the other. The statistical test used was a rank order correlation coefficient, specifically Spearman's rho. This is a nonparametric test which tests that variables X and Y are correlated (Pfaffenberger and Patterson 1987:1013-1023).

The test determined whether or not correlation existed between the ranking derived from the archival records and the ranking derived from the archaeological records (ceramics and fauna). The ranking of the ceramics and faunal assemblages were be tested separately, and a combined ceramic and faunal rank ordering was calculated and tested for correlation to the archival ranking. A significant, positive correlation would indicate that in the absence of archival documents, the economic indicators based on the archaeological remains could be used to predict the relative economic position of the individual or group. If a significant, positive correlation were found, it would demonstrate that the utilization of economic indicators was a acceptable proxy to determine relative economic position.

CHAPTER V

DATA AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

The archaeological remains utilized in this thesis were excavated by various institutions and excavators over a number of years. The archaeological sites were located in the RRS and dated from 1821 to 1880. The assemblages included the Garden Site, Delorme House, Riel House (Structure 1 and Structure 2 and 3), Fort Garry, Upper Fort Garry (Privy/Refuse Pits I and II), and Lower Fort Garry (the Big House, Farmer's House, Troop Canteen and Barracks).

Data presentation for this chapter begins with a brief overview of the sites under consideration. These site descriptions outline the excavation, the resulting assemblages and storage locations. The historic background for each site was provided in Chapter II.

The two major areas of analysis discussed dealt with the archaeological and archival remains. The ceramic and faunal assemblages were considered separately. The ceramic data and indexing results were derived from Larcombe's (1988) thesis, with the exception of the Fort Garry (DlLg 33/88C) and the Riel House Site assemblages. The analyses of these two areas were described in detail and the results added to Larcombe's indexing results, providing ten assemblages available for indexing purposes.

The faunal analysis addressed the NISP, wild and domestic species and the numbers of mammal, fish and bird from each assemblage. Butchered *Bos taurus* elements were selected for meat cut indexing. The percentages of each meat cut were presented as cumulative frequencies and graphically displayed. Upper Fort Garry and Delorme House

analyses were completed by Seyers (1988) and were adapted for use here. The occupations of the Riel House were combined into a single sample due to the small sample size. The Lower Fort Garry faunal assemblage was eliminated since identifications were not yet completed. This provided six assemblages for ranking based on meat cut indexing.

Archival data containing relevant economic details were collected from all available sources and indexed to produce a ranking of the Red River Settlement individuals and the Fort personnel (Military and HBC). Once individuals and groups were combined to generate a rank ordering, a Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient test was applied to ascertain whether or not there was correlation between the archaeological ranks and the archival rank. The test was applied to a) archival and ceramic, b) archival and faunal, and c) archival and combined ceramic and faunal rankings.

A. Site Descriptions

a) Fort Garry (DlLg 33/88C)

Located at the present day Forks Market, Fort Garry was situated on the north side of the Assiniboine River and on the west side of the Red River (Figure 3). Originally the NWC Fort Gibraltar II, it was renamed Fort Garry after amalgamation in commemoration of Nicholas Garry, Deputy Governor of the HBC (1822-1835).

Excavations at Fort Garry, directed by Dr. G. Monks of the University of Manitoba, were conducted in 1988 and 1990 as part of the Manitoba Universities Archaeological Field School. Excavation continued after the completion of the Field School. Trenches were selected with the intention of locating structural remains of the Fort. Since the overburden,

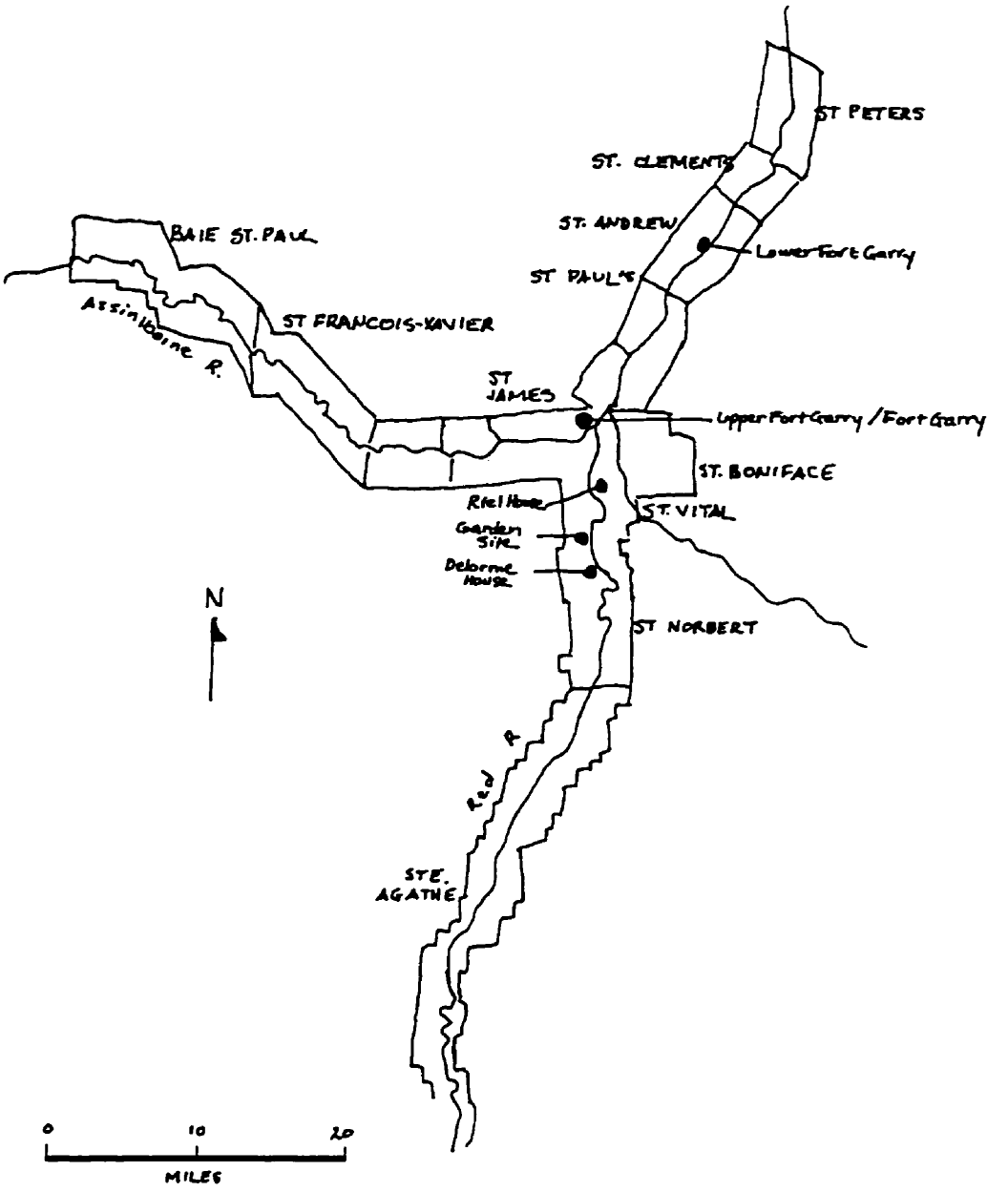


Figure 3: Parishes and Sites of the Red River Settlement
(adapted from Sprague and Frye 1983:26).

Stratum A or Fill, represented Railway by-products deposited after the occupation of Fort Garry, artifacts from this Stratum were not included here.

Units of note were Trench 5, originally a cellar and later used as a refuse pit, containing a number of household items; and Trench 7, opened in an effort to locate buildings within the Fort. Trench 5 remains represented the interior of a main residential structure within the post compound and dated to the Fort Garry occupation. In the Trench 7 area, archival maps indicated the location of another structure which may have been the 1840s courthouse situated within the Fort area. Fur Trade artifacts appeared only in Stratum B and reflected domestic use. Although no major structures were located, Trench 7 was considered to extend into the Fort interior (Monks 1989:1,5,14,16).

In the summer of 1993, the faunal assemblage was analyzed by K. Peach by the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature (MMMN). Within this assemblage were a number of non-faunal artifacts, from both Stratum A and Strata B to Q, which were identified by Brenner and Peach using CHIN (Canadian Heritage Information Network), and prepared for Museum storage. The non-Fill ceramic assemblage used in this thesis consisted of 462 sherds of earthenware and stoneware. The faunal assemblage consisted of 11,694 specimens, the analysis of which was provided by Peach for use in this thesis.

b) Lower Fort Garry

The HBC post of Lower Fort Garry is located on the west bank of the Red River on Lot 131, St. Andrew's Parish, and Lot 1, St. Clement's Parish, approximately 20 miles north of Winnipeg (Chism 1972:9). See Figure 3.

In 1965, the University of Manitoba, in conjunction with the Research Division of the National Historic Sites Service, began excavations at Lower Fort Garry for the purposes of locating archaeological features and investigating the variety of activities carried out in and around the Fort enclosure. During the three year excavation, 22 major and 4 minor excavations were completed, as well as numerous tests (Chism 1972:9, 93).

The excavations produced large artifact and faunal assemblages. A number of subsequent studies have focused on the recovered architectural remains (see Ingram 1970a, 1970b, 1967 and Priess 1968), while other research has focused on the artifact assemblages. Sussman (1982) examined the ceramics with an emphasis on the economic and social differences. Larcombe (1988) analyzed the LFG ceramics in conjunction with four other RRS assemblages in order to determine economic variability, the results of which were used in this thesis. Unfortunately, the faunal remains have yet to be conclusively identified and were not included in this thesis.

c) Upper Fort Garry (DlLg 21)

Upper Fort Garry is located on the north bank of the Assiniboine River, just west of the present day Forks market (Figure 3). Built in 1835, the Fort was the economic and social centre of the RRS until its demolition in 1882. Remnants of the northern gate still stand in Bonnycastle Park, situated on the west side of Main Street.

From 1981 to 1983, the Tri-University Archaeological Field School excavated at Bonnycastle Park with the purposes of determining: a) the Fort's location and position, b) the preservation of the remains and potential for further investigation, c) the method of Fort

dismantling, d) information regarding the Fill, and e) the extent of streetcar track removal.

During the three year period, three major features were exposed: a) the west wall of Upper Fort Garry, b) the corner and wall of a log building, and c) a large cobble and mortar portion of the Fort's foundation wall in the south excavation unit. Two privy/refuse pits were located and uncovered within the Fort walls. The pits contained water-logged deposits with a number of organic and faunal remains, cultural material, and architectural objects that were well preserved due to the pits' anaerobic condition. The diversity and good preservation of the pits produced extensive assemblages that assisted in dating the Fort's construction and occupation. A greater number of cultural remains were recovered in P/R II. The three years of excavations recovered approximately 20,000 artifacts (Monks 1982:51-55; 1983:11-12,21-23; 1984:35-39).

The faunal assemblage was analyzed by Seyers (1988), who incorporated it in her thesis and compared economics and faunal utilization between four assemblages in the RRS. The ceramic assemblage was analyzed by Larcombe (1988) as part of her study of economic variability in the RRS. Further analysis of the UFG remains was carried out in Fifik's (1986) examination of the textiles located in the privy/refuse pits, dealing with concerns of dating and economic variability. The collections are currently housed at the MMMN, and the data from Larcombe and Seyers' theses are incorporated here.

d) The Garden Site (DkLg 16)

The Garden Site was located on the north bank of the Rivière Sale in St. Norbert Parish (Figure 3). Prior to 1870, this Lot was designated as Lots 374-375 in the HBC Survey

records. After 1870, it was designated as Lot 81. In 1845, it was purchased by Pierre Beauchamp who lived at the site with his family until his death in 1865. At that time the land was divided between his wife and eldest son. By 1870, the son had completely sold his portion, and by 1872, Pierre's widow had sold hers (McLeod 1983:79-95).

Located on the Trappist Monks' property, the site was discovered in 1978, when garden cultivation uncovered a number of pre- and post- contact artifacts. The lack of information regarding any previous structures prompted K.D. McLeod of the Historic Resources Branch to begin excavations in the garden in 1979 (McLeod 1983:ix). Excavations uncovered three major refuse pit features with associated artifact and faunal assemblages. The assemblages are currently housed at the Historic Resources Branch (HRB) and results of the analysis have been presented in an HRB publication (McLeod 1983). The faunal data used in this thesis were retrieved from McLeod's publication (1983) and the ceramic data utilized were from the ceramic analysis conducted by Larcombe (1988).

e) Delorme House (DkLg 18)

The Delorme House Site was located south of Winnipeg, on the west bank of the Red River near St. Adolphe (Figure 3). Constructed by Pierre Delorme between 1857 and 1865, it was situated on Lot 21 (Dominion Land Survey) in St. Norbert Parish. In 1864, Delorme also purchased Lot 53, across the river, which was probably used for hay (McLeod 1982b:5).

The Delorme House Site was excavated as a salvage operation before the house was moved to its present location in St. Norbert Provincial Heritage Park. The data were assembled from the 1980 and 1981 field seasons under the direction of D. Campbell and

K.D. McLeod. The faunal assemblage was identified by P. Walker and K.D. McLeod of the Historic Research Branch, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Of the numerous areas excavated and tested during the field seasons, Areas A and B were the two units that corresponded to occupation by the Delorme family. The data used in this thesis were the results of the faunal analysis completed by Seyers (1988) and the ceramic analysis completed by Larcombe (1988).

f) Riel House

Riel House is located in St. Vital, Winnipeg, on the east bank of the Red River (Figure 3). Designated as Lot 50, it was first purchased in 1835 by Pierre Parenteau who sold in 1849 to François Gendron. In 1864, the property was purchased by Julie de Lagimodière, Jean-Louis Riel's widow (Forsman 1977:6-7).

In 1969, the Riel House Site was designated as a National Historic Site. Over time, an increasing need for improved visitor facilities, including parking areas and an interpretive centre, developed. In order to provide these improvements, it was first necessary to determine if the present structure was in its original location. In addition to development issues, investigation of the site was an attempt to understand more about the Métis community and the Riel family (Forsman 1977:viii). Excavation at the Riel Site began in 1976, in an effort to address these issues. The site was surface surveyed and extensive excavations were carried out. The three most prominent areas of the site were the building remains and associated artifacts of three structures.

The faunal assemblage collected for the Riel House was identified by D. Grainger (1977), the results of which are available in an unpublished report housed at Parks Canada.

The ceramic assemblage was analyzed by Forsman (1977) who developed a chronology of the site based on historic and archaeological evidence. Subsequent artifact research by Lunn, Hamilton and Priess (1980) indicated that the chronology developed by Forsman (1977) regarding site occupation may not have been as clear cut as proposed. The faunal data used in this thesis were furnished by Grainger (1977), and the ceramic data were provided by Forsman (1977).

B. Ceramics

a) Introduction

In 1836, the HBC began purchasing transfer-printed ware from the Spode/Copeland potters of Staffordshire, England. As the commissioned supplier of the HBC, they provided ceramic table and toilet ware for the greater portion of the nineteenth century. During this time, changes within the Spode/Copeland potteries were taking place and were reflected in the company name and ownership. The name altered as follows: Spode and Copeland (1833); Copeland and Garret (1947); W.T. Copeland (1847-1867) and W.T. Copeland and Sons (1867-the end of the HBC contract). Although Josiah Spode III died in 1827, the excellent reputation and prestige of the Spode name were retained directly in the backstamps with the inclusion of "Late Spode". The contract between Spode/Copeland and the HBC lasted until the 1930s, although the quantities shipped to North America declined after 1850, partially due to restrictions on British importations (Sussman 1979:9).

Transfer printed white earthenware was most popular during the contract period and the time frame of this thesis. This was a particular decorative technique involving six major

steps: 1) a copper plate was engraved with a particular design, 2) a metallic oxide pigment in an oil base was applied to the plate, 3) the pigmented design was transferred onto special paper which was, 4) used to transfer the design onto a biscuit-fired ceramic object that was, 5) glazed and 6) fired to vitrify the glaze and change the pigment into the resulting colour (Sussman 1979:10).

Table 1 provides the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) data for all assemblages under consideration in this thesis. The indexing data for Delorme House, P/R I and P/R II, the Big House, Farmer's House and Troop Canteen and Barracks have been taken from Larcombe's (1988) thesis. Described below was the addition of Fort Garry (DlLg 33/88C) and Riel House Site ceramics. The remaining data were taken directly from Larcombe (1988:101-105).

b) Fort Garry

After the demolition of Fort Garry, various industries, a shanty town and levelling for the railway yard produced a thick depositional layer known as Stratum A or Fill. Artifacts that had no recorded stratum, were excavated from the Fill, or from the Stratum A/B transition have not been included.

The Fort Garry (DlLg 33/88C) sample consisted of 462 ceramic fragments recovered below Stratum A. Of this total, 17 different vessel types made up of 291 sherds were identified. The remaining 171 sherds in the assemblage could not be identified to vessel type.

Table 1 compares the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) with the other assemblages in this study. Fort Garry had the second highest quantity of vessels (N = 124),

Table 1: Number of Ceramic Vessel Types from All Sites.

Site	ST	Bo	Lid	PL	P	DS	S	SB	SD	W	T	Ps	SP	M	E	C	Ts	B	Bc	Pi	CP	J	Cr	TOTAL
Fort Garry	1	1	1	4	66	0	4	5	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	18	0	13	0	3	2	1	1	124
TOTAL	1	1	1	4	66	0	4	5	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	18	0	13	0	3	2	1	1	124
Upper Ft. Garry																								
P/R 1	0	0	0	0	15	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	25
P/R 2	0	0	0	0	6	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	20
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	21	2	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	6	0	1	1	0	0	45
Delorme House																								
Delorme A	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Delorme B	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	19	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	26
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	20	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	32
Lower Ft. Garry																								
Troop Canteen	0	0	0	0	19	0	6	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	23	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	62
Farmer's House	0	0	0	0	12	1	17	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	11	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	47
Big House	0	0	0	0	28	3	22	1	2	4	2	13	1	0	1	18	4	0	1	1	3	0	0	104
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	59	4	45	1	3	5	2	21	1	0	1	52	4	6	5	1	3	0	0	213
Riel House	0	0	0	0	7	0	9	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	7	0	9	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Garden Site	0	0	0	0	12	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	21
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	12	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	21
GRAND TOTAL	1	1	1	4	170	6	69	5	6	6	5	21	3	1	1	105	4	30	5	7	6	1	1	459

surpassed by Lower Fort Garry. Plates were the most frequently occurring vessel type at Fort Garry (N = 66), constituting 53.32% of all vessels. Plates were the most common vessel type at the other assemblages as well. All assemblages combined had a total of 170 plates out of 459 vessels (37.03%). In all listed assemblages, plates, cups, saucers and bowls were the most frequently occurring vessel types, suggesting that these types were the basis of the assemblages. Any differentiation between assemblages was the result of the addition of more expensive vessel types to the basic tablewares. Note: the legend for Table 1 is as follows:

ST - soup tureen
Bo - bottle
PL - platter
P - plate
DS - deep saucer
S - saucer
SB - sugarbowl
Cr - crock
S - serving dish
W - washbasin
T - teapot
Ps - small plate
SP - soup plate
M - mug
E - ewer
C - cup
Ts - sauce tureen
B - bowl
Bc - breakfast cup
Pi - pitcher
CP - chamber pot
J - jug

Table 2 presents the MNV and the number of sherds that constitute each of the vessels. The table is divided into five parts. The first considers all of the vessels in the assemblage and the number of sherds for each vessel type. The remaining sections of the table individually examine the Decorated, Burned, White and Stoneware vessels and number of sherds per vessel type. In the first series of calculations (All Types), 124 vessels consisted of 291 sherds. The numerically most important ware type were plates (66 plates or 53.23% of the total). There were 132 Decorated sherds which represented 65 vessels. Burned vessels were those that could not be designated as decorated or plain since any evidence was obscured by burning. There were 42 sherds which were designated as 13 Burned vessels. There were 44 White vessels consisting of 112 sherds. The final category was Stoneware

Table 2: Minimum Number of Vessels including All Vessels, Decorated, Burned and White Vessels, Fort Garry (DlLg 33/88C).

Vessel type	All Types				Decorated Vessels				Burned Vessels				White Vessels				Stoneware			
	#Vessels	%Total	#sherds	%Total	#Vessels	%Total	#Sherds	%Total	#Vessels	%Total	#Sherds	%Total	#Vessels	%Total	#Sherds	%Total	#Vessels	%Total	#sherds	%Total
Basin	1	0.81	1	0.34	1	1.56	1	0.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jug	1	0.81	1	0.34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.3	1	0.9	0	0	0	0
Bottle	1	0.81	3	1.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	3	60
Crock	1	0.81	2	0.68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	2	40
Lid	1	0.81	1	0.34	1	1.56	1	0.76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chamberpot	2	1.61	2	0.68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4.5	2	1.8	0	0	0	0
Pitcher	3	2.41	3	1.03	2	3.13	2	1.52	0	0	0	0	1	2.3	1	0.9	0	0	0	0
Teapot	1	0.81	5	1.71	1	1.56	5	3.79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mug	1	0.81	2	0.68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.3	2	1.8	0	0	0	0
Bowl	13	10.48	22	7.56	8	12.51	13	9.85	4	30.77	4	9.52	1	2.3	5	4.5	0	0	0	0
Cup	18	14.51	26	8.9	13	20.3	21	15.91	0	0	0	0	5	11.4	5	4.5	0	0	0	0
Platter	4	3.22	31	10.65	1	1.56	1	0.76	0	0	0	0	3	6.8	30	26.8	0	0	0	0
Sugarbowl	5	4.03	23	7.9	4	6.25	18	13.64	1	7.69	5	11.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plate	66	53.23	127	43.6	30	45.3	49	37.12	7	53.85	17	40.48	29	65.9	61	54.5	0	0	0	0
Saucer	4	3.22	15	5.15	3	4.68	10	7.58	0	0	0	0	1	2.3	5	4.5	0	0	0	0
Soup Tureen	1	0.81	11	3.78	1	1.56	11	8.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soup Plate	1	0.81	16	5.49	0	0	0	0	1	4.69	16	38.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
																	0	0	0	0
Total	124	100	291	99.86	65	99.97	132	100	13	100	42	100	44	100.1	112	100.2	2	100	5	100

which had 2 vessels composed of 5 sherds. Included within Table 2 were six reconstructed vessels that are currently housed at the MMMN. These include a decorated sugarbowl, cup, soup tureen, a burned soup plate and plate, and a white platter. These vessels together constituted 71 sherds.

Table 3 summarizes the entire ceramic assemblage from Fort Garry, describing the sherds in terms of decoration or lack thereof. Decoration refers to all decorative techniques applied to the ceramics. As evident in Table 3, there were a wide variety of decorative techniques. Undecorated included the plain white ware. The burned category consisted of those sherds where the degree of burning obscured the decoration.

When all decorative techniques were grouped together there were 231 sherds (50.00% of the total ceramic artifacts). Transfer-printed ware was represented by 158 sherds (34.19%). The largest number of ceramics present at Fort Garry was 187 plain, white sherds (40.48% of the total sherds). When white and white moulded ceramics were added together there were 192 sherds (41.56%). Included in the white, undecorated ware was the fragment bearing the partial maker's mark. Since this was not intended as a decoration but to convey information, it was not included in the decorated fragments.

A number of ceramic sherds were considered as white and undecorated, although there was the possibility that these fragments originated from a decorated vessel. However, as there was no way to verify this, short of refitting them with a decorated sherd or vessel, ceramic fragments bearing no obvious decorations were considered as white, undecorated fragments. When determining the vessel types, there was again the possibility that some plain sherds designated as a separate vessel may originally have been an undecorated portion

Table 3: Raw and Relative Frequencies of Decorated, Undecorated and Burned Ceramic Sherds, Fort Garry (DlLg 33/88C).

Decorative Technique	Number of sherds	% of Total
Decoration		
Transfer Print	158	34.19
Lustre	2	0.43
Hand Painted	5	1.08
Transfer Print and Hand Painted	10	2.16
Sponged	7	1.51
White with Gold	2	0.43
Black Embossed	1	0.22
White Embossed	14	3.03
Moulded, blue edges	1	0.22
White with Painted Lines	1	0.22
Sponged and Painted	2	0.43
Glazed Blue	1	0.22
Glazed Tan/Brown	25	5.41
Mocha	2	0.43
TOTAL	231	50.00
Undecorated		
White	187	40.48
White Moulded	4	0.87
Makers Mark	1	0.22
TOTAL	192	41.56
Burned		
TOTAL	39	8.44
Grand Total	462	100.00

of a decorated vessel. The greater majority of recovered patterns tended to cover the entire vessel; therefore, white sherds were more likely to have been part of an undecorated white vessel and were recorded as such. It was quite within reason to expect plain white vessels in the Fort assemblage. In addition to a few Gentlemen, Fort personnel were made up of a number of Servants who were supplied with basic white dinnerware in the Mess. It was doubtful that the HBC would go to the added expense of providing the Servants with more costly transfer printed ware. It was interesting that the amount of vessels exhibiting decoration outnumbered plain white vessels, especially if it was assumed that the larger population of Servants were supplied with, and used, plain white ware, while the Gentlemen used decorated ware. There may have been a practice of handing down old, scratched or chipped vessels to the Servants by the Officers, presumably to the higher ranking skilled Tradesmen rather than general Labourers. This idea was expressed by Otto (1977:93-94) in his study of planter, overseer and slave assemblages.

c) Mean Ceramic Date

South (1977:217) devised a method to take into account presence-absence and frequency of ceramic types in order to assist researchers in determining a site occupation date. The date derived from this method can be used in conjunction with historical documentation to arrive at an occupation period. This date can be determined by the formula:

$$Y = \frac{\sum x_i \cdot f_i}{\sum f_i}$$

where: x_i = median date for a ceramic type manufacture
f_i = the frequency of the ceramic types (South 1977:217)

Ceramic types for a particular site were listed with their accompanying median dates. The sherd frequency of each type was multiplied by the median date, producing the product. The sum of the products was then divided by the sum of frequencies of all ceramic types to obtain the Mean Ceramic Date (MCD).

Table 4 presents the results of South's Mean Ceramic Date Formula for Fort Garry based on the number of sherds. Fort Garry was demolished in 1852, and would have received ceramics only up to that date. A few ceramic patterns present had manufacturing dates extending into the twentieth century. For these patterns, two terminal dates were calculated: the first, using the 1852 date, representing the end of the Fort; and the second, using the end date of the pattern's manufacture as a bracketed twentieth century date (1900). Had a pattern's manufacturing date extended past 1852, but ended before 1900, that date became the bracketed date. Once the Initial, Terminal and bracketed Terminal Dates were determined, the Median Date was calculated.

There was only one anomaly in the Fort Garry ceramic data. This was a single sherd with the "Wheat" embossed pattern identified as "Unnamed Pattern with Wheat, Ropes and Ribbons" registered by Thomas Furnival and Sons of Cobridge, April 20, 1878 (Sussman 1985:71). The appearance of this sherd posed two problems. First, the starting date of this pattern began 26 years after the demolition of Fort Garry. Second, the provenience information of this artifact (Catalogue number 3532) indicated that this sherd was located in Trench 2-6, Stratum B at an elevation of 229.70 - 229.80 m. asl. According to the east and west wall profile diagrams, this elevation was well within Stratum B and not likely to have been the result of intrusion or mixing at the transition between Strata A and B. Further

Table 4: Mean Ceramic Date, Initial and Terminal Dates, Fort Garry (based on Number of Sherds).

Pattern	Date	Median (xi)	Frequency (fi)	Product (xfi)	Product (bracketed)	Initial Date	Terminal Date	Terminal Date (bracketed)
Ruins	1848-1852 (1900)	1850 (1874)	3	5550	5622	5544	5556	5700
Pergola	1844-1865	1854.5	1	1854.5	1854.5	1844	1865	1865
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	1816 (1840)	15	27240	27600	26700	27780	28500
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	1834 (1858)	10	18340	18580	18160	18520	19000
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1825	10	18250	18250	18200	18300	18300
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	1833	24	43992	43992	43920	44064	44064
B700	1838-1847	1849	1	1849	1849	1838	1847	1847
Foliage	1830-1850	1840	1	1840	1840	1830	1850	1850
Violet	1847-1852 (1900)	1849.5 (1873.5)	1	1849.5	1873.5	1847	1852	1900
Hawthorn	1873	1873	1	1873	1873	1873	1873	1873
Continental Views	1845-1852 (1900)	1848.5 (1872.5)	1	1848.5	1872.5	1845	1852	1900
Antique Vase	1847-1852 (1900)	1849.5 (1873.5)	1	1849.5	1873.5	1847	1852	1900
Wheat	1878-1900	1889	1	1889	1889	1878	1900	1900
Broseley	1818-1847	1832.5	1	1832.5	1832.5	1818	1847	1847
Total (incl. Wheat)			71	130057.5	130801.5	129144	130958	132446
Total (excl. Wheat)			70	128168.5	128912.5	127266	129058	130546

Including Wheat Initial Date: 1818.9
Terminal Date: 1844.5 (1865.4)
Median: 1831.7 (1842.2)
South's MCD: 1831.8 (1842.3)

Excluding Wheat Initial Date: 1818.1
Terminal Date: 1843.6 (1864.9)
Median: 1830.8 (1841.5)
South's MCD: 1830.9 (1841.6)

examination of the field notes did not mention that the sherd fell into the unit from a wall or that there was any evidence of intrusion.

Using South's method, the MCD for Fort Garry, including the Wheat pattern, was 1831.8 (1842.3). Repeating the calculation and excluding the Wheat pattern, produced a MCD of 1830.9 (1841.6). The presence of the Wheat pattern sherd did not seem to significantly alter the MCD (see Table 4). Unfortunately, there does not seem to be an explanation of the sherd's origin.

To determine an Initial and Terminal date for the site, each ceramic pattern's starting manufacture date was multiplied by the frequency of the pattern. The results for all recovered patterns were summed and divided by the sum of the frequencies. This provided an Initial Date for the assemblage. The same procedure was carried out for the patterns' final manufacturing date and bracketed date, providing a Terminal Date and a bracketed Terminal Date for the site (see Table 4).

The presence of the late Wheat pattern was examined once again, by calculating Initial and Terminal Dates with and without the Wheat sherd. With the Wheat sherd included, the Initial Date was 1818.9 and Terminal Date was 1844.5 (1865.4). The Median Date was 1831.7 (1842.2). Excluding the Wheat sherd, the Initial Date was 1818.1 and Terminal Date was 1843.6 (1864.9). The Median Date was 1830.8 (1841.5). With or without the Wheat sherd, the differences between the two sets of Initial and Terminal Dates did not appear to be consequential. The Median date derived from the Initial/Terminal dates and the South MCD method were almost the same (see Table 4).

The documented period of occupation for Fort Garry as an HBC post was 1821 until

1852. The Median Date was 1836.5, which compared favourably with the MCDs calculated using South's method on the basis of recovered ceramic sherds. Fort Garry was believed to originally have been Fort Gibraltar II, a NWC post, occupied from 1817 until amalgamation in 1821. This expanded the occupation period, resulting in a Median Date of 1834.5, closer to the sherd estimate and indicated that some sherds may have been representative of the Fort Gibraltar II occupation.

Table 5 displays the ceramic date calculations using vessel number rather than sherd number. Using this method, the MCD was 1835.1 (1847.4), only slightly later than calculations based on sherd number. The initial date was 1807.8 and the terminal date was 1851.9 (1873.9). The dates were only slightly different utilizing vessel number which reflected the larger number of vessels with an earlier manufacturing date, namely Willow, Italian, Bamboo and Flower, and Swiss Cottage.

d) Fort Garry Stratigraphy and Chronology

Examination of ceramic sherds by strata and combined units revealed that the majority of sherds were recovered from Stratum B (246 sherds, 53.25% of the assemblage). The remaining 216 sherds were recovered from 20 other strata. Within Stratum B, Level 67 contained the most artifacts at 59 sherds (12.77% of the assemblage).

Trench 5 has been interpreted as a cellar which was later used as a refuse pit. As seen in Table 6, Trench 5 Unit 2 (5-2) had the greatest number of ceramic fragments (94 sherds) of any excavation unit, representing 20.35% of the assemblage. Next highest was Trench 5-3 with 78 sherds, 16.88% of the total. When all Trench 5 units (5-1, 5-2, 5-3, 5-5) were added

Table 5: Mean Ceramic Date, Terminal and Initial Dates, Fort Garry (based on Number of Vessels).

Pattern	Date	Median (xi)	Frequency (fi)	Product (xifi)	Product (bracketed)	Initial Date	Terminal Date	Termianl Date (bracketed)
Ruins	1848-1852 (1900)	1850 (1874)	2	3700	3748	3696	3800	3800
Pergola	1844-1865	1854.5	1	1854.5	1854.5	1844	1865	1865
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	1816 (1840)	9	16344	16560	16020	16668	17100
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	1834 (1858)	4	7336	7432	7264	7408	7600
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1825	5	9125	9125	9100	9150	9150
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	1833	5	9165	9165	9150	9180	9180
B700	1838-1847	1849	1	1849	1849	1838	1847	1847
Foliage	1830-1850	1840	1	1840	1840	1830	1850	1850
Violet	1847-1852 (1900)	1849.5 (1873.5)	1	1849.5	1873.5	1847	1852	1900
Hawthorn	1873	1873	2	3746	3746	3746	3746	3746
Continental Views	1845-1852 (1900)	1848.5 (1872.5)	1	1848.5	1872.5	1845	1852	1900
Antique Vase	1847-1852 (1900)	1849.5 (1873.5)	1	1849.5	1873.5	1847	1852	1900
Broseley	1818-1847	1832.5	1	1832.5	1832.5	1818	1847	1847
Wheat	1878-1900	1889	1	1889	1889	1878	1900	1900
Total			35	64228.5	64660.5	63723	64817	65585

Including Wheat Initial Date: 1807.8
Terminal Date: 1851.9 (1873.9)
Median: 1829.9 (1840.9)

South's MCD 1835.1 (1847.4)

Table 6: Artifact Distribution by Unit, Fort Garry.

Excavation Unit	Total by Unit	Excavation Unit	Total by Unit
1001/1017	10	1024/1017	3
1002/1017	9	1028/1017	1
1003/1017	8	1032/1017	3
1004/1017	11	1034/1017	2
1005/1017	7	TR 2-1	6
1006/1017	14	TR 2-2	4
1008/1017	4	TR 2-4	22
1009/1017	3	TR 2-5	25
1010/1017	3	TR 2-6	12
1011/1017	12	TR 3-2	1
1012/1017	7	TR 4-1	11
1013/1017	1	TR 4-2	4
1014/1017	13	TR 5-1	13
1016/1017	2	TR 5-2	94
1017/1017	1	TR 5-3	78
1018/1017	1	TR 5-5	24
1019/1017	9	TR 6-1	8
1020/1017	1	TR 6-2	14
1021/1017	1	TR 6-3	7
1022/1017	5	TR 6-4	3
1023/1017	5	**Total**	**462**

together, they represented 45.24% of the total ceramic artifacts (209 sherds).

Trench 7 has been interpreted as part of the Fort Garry compound (Monks 1989), and the largest number of artifacts were retrieved from Trench 1006/1017 (14 sherds or 3.03% of the total). The number of artifacts retrieved from Trenches 1001/1017 through 1034/1017 (136 artifacts, 29.43% of the total) was quite low in comparison with Trench 5.

Table 7 presents the decorated sherds with identified patterns by Unit, Level and Stratum. There were 14 identifiable ceramic patterns in the Fort Garry assemblage for a total of 71 sherds. These were sorted in this table by their initial manufacturing date. Four patterns, Bamboo and Flower (10 sherds), Italian (10 sherds), Swiss Cottage (23 sherds) and Willow (15 sherds), represented 81.7% of the artifacts. Of the total number of patterned sherds, 25 were from Stratum B (35.21%).

Bamboo and Flower and Swiss Cottage had very short production ranges. Bamboo and Flower was manufactured from 1820 to 1830, and Swiss Cottage, from 1830 to 1836. Sherds of these two patterns were located in the midden feature uncovered in Trench 5-3. A Bamboo and Flower sherd was excavated at Level 58 (228.80-228.90 m. asl) and a Swiss Cottage sherd was recovered from Level 59 (228.90-229.00 m. asl). Bamboo and Flower was the older of the two patterns and was found in the lower of the two levels.

The recovery of these datable pattern fragments could point to a post-NWC deposit. The Bamboo and Flower pattern was manufactured in 1820 and amalgamation occurred in 1821. If ceramics of this pattern were ordered in 1820, the post would have assuredly been renamed Fort Garry by the time Bamboo and Flowers ceramics arrived at the post, considering lag time between ordering and arrival of the vessel. This could indicate that the

Table 7: Fort Garry Decorated Sherds by Unit, Stratum and Level.

Pattern	Date	Trench	Stratum	Level	Quantity
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	1003/1017	B	77	1
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	1034/1017	B	77	1
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	TR 2-5	B	67	1
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	TR 5-1	Z	73	1
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	TR 5-2	B	73	1
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	TR 5-2	Q	60	1
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	TR 5-3	H	64	4
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	TR 5-3	Q/N/I	59	1
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	TR 5-5	I	65	2
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)	TR 5-5	I	68	1
Willow	1780-1852 (1900)				1
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	1001/1017	B	75	1
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	1001/1017	B	78	1
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	TR 5-2	H	65	2
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	TR 5-2	N	62	1
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	TR 5-2	Q	60	1
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	TR 5-3	H	65	1
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	TR 5-3	I	66	1
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	TR 5-5	H	65	1
Italian	1816-1852 (1900)	TR 5-5	I	66	1
Broseley??	1818-1847	TR 2-4	B	67	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1001/1017	B	76	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1001/1017	C	74	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1005/1017	C	76	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1005/1017	C	73	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1011/1017	B	76	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1012/1017	B	76	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	1016/1017	B	73	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	TR 2-2	B	68	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	TR 2-4	B	67	1
Bamboo & Flower	1820-1830	TR 5-3	R	58	1
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	1002/1017	B	77	1
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	1004/1017	B	76	2
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	1004/1017	C/W	71	1
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	1014/1017	B	75	1
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	TR 5-2	Q	60	10
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	TR 5-2	Q	60	1
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	TR 5-3	H	62	1
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	TR 5-3	H	64	4
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	TR 5-3	I	61	2
Swiss Cottage	1830-1836	TR 5-3	J	59	1
Foliage	1830-1850	TR 5-2	B	73	1
B700?	1838-1847	TR 2-4	B	67	1
Pergola	1844-1865	1019/1017	B	72	1
Continental Views	1845-1852 (1900)	TR 5-3	H	69	1
Antique Vase	1847-1852 (1900)	TR 2-1	B	68	1
Violet	1847-1852 (1900)	1022/1017	B	75	1
Ruins	1848-1852 (1900)	TR 5-3	H	69	2
Ruins	1848-1852 (1900)	TR 2-5	B	67	1
Hawthorn	1873	1006/1017	B	66	1
Hawthorn	1873	1024/1017	B	76	1
TOTAL					71

feature was used as a cellar before amalgamation when the post was still NWC Fort Gibraltar II, and then used as a midden during HBC occupation. This was contrary to the suggestion made above in the discussion of the Mean Ceramic Date of Fort Garry. It was previously suggested that the earlier of the two dates could indicate the inclusion of ceramics used by the NWC. This subsequent examination of specific sherds and their stratigraphic location has lent more credibility to the suggestion that the cellar was NWC in origin and the midden refuse was deposited by the HBC.

e) Riel House Site

The data pertaining to the ceramics from other site assemblages was taken from Larcombe's (1988) thesis calculations, with the exception of Fort Garry and Riel House. Within the boundaries of her study, Larcombe was interested in the occupation of the Riel House Site by the Riel family. With this objective, she combined the artifact assemblages of Structures 2 and 3 which, according to Lunn, Hamilton and Priess (1980), were believed to represent the Riel family occupation. This thesis was concerned with the entire occupation of the Riel Site; however, the remains from Structure 1 continued to be problematic. Forsman (1977) concluded that the remains from this structure were the result of the Gendron family backfilling the Parenteau cellar after the Gendron's purchased the property; however, Lunn, Hamilton and Priess (1980) were not convinced that this was the case. As they were not able to provide a definitive explanation for this assemblage, for the purposes of this thesis, the assemblage from the Structure 1 cellar feature has been designated as originating from the Gendron family. In the process of indexing Structure 1, Structure 2 and 3 was re-worked and

those results were used here.

Historic documentation regarding the Riel House Site indicated Pierre Parenteau to be the first owner, occupying the land from 1835 to 1849. Parenteau sold the land to François Gendron who remained on the property from 1849 until 1864, and utilized the Parenteau family cellar structure as a midden. Gendron sold the land to Julie Lagimodière-Riel who occupied it into the twentieth century and used a second cellar feature as a midden (Structure 2). The third structure belonged solely to the Riel family and was used sometime after their arrival.

Since the above researchers have not reached an agreement about the origin of the Structure 1 assemblage, it would be interesting to see how, and to what degree, the dates derived from the MCD and Median Dates corresponded to the known dates of the Gendron family occupation. To this end, Tables 8, 9 and 10 present the calculations for Structure 1, 2 and 3, respectively. These dates were calculated based a) on the sherd frequency and b) on vessel frequency.

South's Mean Ceramic Dates and the Initial/Terminal and Median Dates were similar when using either sherd or vessel frequencies. The patterns identified for Structure 3 could not be assigned to vessel types; therefore, the following discussion will use the results obtained only from sherd frequencies. Ceramic data for these calculations have been obtained from Forsman (1977: Appendices A and B).

The dates used for the calculation of MCD, Initial and Terminal dates were bracketed to take into account the habitation of the site. The Gendron family lived at the site from 1849 to 1864, and as many of the terminal production dates for the identified ceramic patterns

Table 8: MCD, Initial and Terminal Dates, Structure 1, Riel House Site (based on Sherd and Vessel Number).

Pattern	Date	Median (x_i)	Sherds						Vessels					
			Frequency (f)	Product (x.f)	Product (bracketed)	Initial Date	Terminal Date	Terminal Date (bracketed)	Frequency (f)	Product (x.f)	Product (bracketed)	Initial Date	Terminal Date	Terminal Date (bracketed)
Continental Views	1844-1849(1882)	1846.5 (1865.5)	11	20311.5	20520.5	20284	20339	20702	2	3693	3731	3686	3698	3764
Wellington	1833-?	1833	3	5499	5499	5499	5499	5499	1	1833	1833	1833	1833	1833
British Flowers	1828-1849(1874)	1838.5 (1851)	2	3677	3702	3656	3698	3748	1	1838.5	1851	1828	1849	1874
Macaw	1833-1849(1872)	1841 (1852.5)	12	22092	22230	21996	22188	22464	2	3682	3705	3666	3698	3744
Watteau	1833-1849(1861)	1841 (1847)	7	12887	12929	12831	12943	13027	1	1841	1847	1833	1849	1861
B772	1847-1849(1882)	1848 (1864.5)	2	3696	3729	3694	3698	3764	1	1848	1864.5	1847	1849	1882
Alhambra	1848-1849(1882)	1848 (1865)	13	24024	24245	24024	24037	24466	2	3696	3730	3696	3698	3764
Floral	1830-?	1830	1	1830	1830	1830	1830	1830	0	0	0	0	0	0
Italian	1816-1849(1900)	1832.5 (1858)	2	3665	3716	3632	3698	3800	0	0	0	0	0	0
Flower Vase	1828-1849(1900)	1838.5 (1864)	1	1838.5	1864	1828	1849	1900	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total			54	99520	100265	99274	99779	101200	10	18431.5	18561.5	18389	18474	18722

Sherd

MCD	1842.96 (1856.8)
Initial Date	1838.4
Terminal Date	1847.8 (1874)
Median Date	1843.1 (1856.2)

Vessel

MCD	1843.2 (1856.2)
Initial Date	1839.1
Terminal Date	1847.4 (1872.2)
Median Date	1843.3 (1855.65)

Table 9: MCD, Initial and Terminal Dates, Structure 2, Riel House Site (based on Sherd and Vessel Number).

Pattern	Date	Median (x_i)	Sherds						Vessels					
			Frequency (f_i)	Product ($x_i f_i$)	Product (bracketed)	Initial Date	Terminal Date	Terminal Date (bracketed)	Frequency (f_i)	Product ($x_i f_i$)	Product (bracketed)	Initial Date	Terminal Date	Terminal Date (bracketed)
Continental Views	1844-1882	1863	26	48438	48438	47944	48932	48932	2	3726	3726	3688	3764	3764
Ivy	1845-1865	1855	7	12985	12985	12915	13055	13055	2	3710	3710	3690	3730	3730
Flower Vase	1828-1886(1900)	1857 (1864)	4	7428	7456	7312	7544	7600	1	1857	1864	1828	1866	1900
Wellington	1833-?	1833	2	3666	3666	3666	3666	3666	1	1833	1833	1833	1833	1833
Rural Scenes	1850-1886 (1900)	1868 (1875)	8	14944	15000	14800	15088	15200	1	1868	1875	1850	1866	1900
Brosely	1818-1847	1832.5	5	9162.5	9162.5	9090	9235	9235	1	1832.5	1832.5	1818	1847	1847
British Flowers	1828-1874	1851	5	9255	9255	9140	9370	9370	1	1851	1851	1828	1874	1874
B772	1847-1882	1864.5	5	9322.5	9322.5	9235	9410	9410	1	1864.5	1864.5	1847	1882	1882
Shamrock	1861-1886 (1900)	1873.5 (1880.5)	9	16861.5	16924.5	16749	16974	17100	1	1873.5	1880.5	1861	1886	1900
B700	1837-1847	1842	3	5526	5526	5511	5541	5541	1	1842	1842	1837	1847	1847
Alhambra	1848-1882	1864	1	1864	1864	1848	1882	1882	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bosphorus	1854-1886(1899)	1870 (1876.5)	1	1870	1876.5	1854	1886	1899	0	0	0	0	0	0
Camilla	1833-1886 (1900)	1859.5 (1866.5)	4	7438	7466	7332	7544	7600	0	0	0	0	0	0
Floral	1830-?	1830	1	1830	1830	1830	1830	1830	0	0	0	0	0	0
Watteau	1833-1861	1847	1	1847	1847	1833	1861	1861	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total			82	152437.5	152619	151059	153818	154181	12	22257.5	22278.5	22080	22395	22477

Sherd

MCD	1858.9 (1861.2)
Initial Date	1842
Terminal Date	1875.8 (1880.3)
Median Date	1858.9 (1861.2)

Vessel

MCD	1854.8 (1856.5)
Initial Date	1840
Terminal Date	1866.3 (1873.1)
Median Date	1853.1 (1856.6)

Table 10: MCD, Initial and Terminal Dates, Structure 3, Riel House Site (based on Sherd Number only).

Pattern	Date	Median (x_i)	Sherd					
			Frequency (f_i)	Product (xf_i)	Product (bracketed)	Initial Date	Terminal Date	Terminal Date (bracketed)
Alhambra	1848-1882	1865	2	3730	3730	3696	3764	3764
Ionian	1851-1886 (1900)	1868.5 (1875.5)	5	9342.5	9377.5	9255	9430	9500
Ivy	1845-1865	1855	1	1855	1855	1845	1865	1865
Macaw?	1833-1872	1852.5	1	1852.5	1852.5	1833	1872	1872
Total			9	16780	16815	16629	16931	17001

Mean Ceramic Date	1864.4 (1868.3)
Initial Date	1847.7
Terminal Date	1881.2 (1889)
Median Date	1864.4 (1868.4)

were later than the Gendron's departure, these later date ranges needed to be bracketed. This took into account the last date the Gendron's would have been able to purchase certain patterns (1864) while at the site, and the last date of these patterns' manufacture. The dates of these occupations based on the recovered ceramics were as follows:

	MCD	Initial	Terminal	Median
Structure 1 Gendron	1842.9 (1856.1)	1838.4	1847.8 (1874)	1843.1 (1856.2)
Structure 2 Riel	1858.9 (1861)	1842	1875.8 (1880)	1858.9 (1861)
Structure 3 Riel	1864.4 (1868.3)	1847.7	1881.2 (1889)	1864.4 (1868.4)

The non-bracketed MCD for Structure 1 was somewhat earlier than the occupation of the Gendron family (1849 to 1864), and Structure 2 was slightly early for the Riel family, who occupied the site after 1864. These results for Structures 1 and 2 could point to the curation of items. This was reasonable, as Julie Riel, recently widowed, was about 42 years old at the time of her arrival at the Riel Site and would have brought with her household items accumulated prior to that time. The early date may also indicate that Structure 2 was used by both the Riel and Gendron families as a midden, prior to the Gendron family departure, thereby adding earlier ceramic patterns to the assemblage. Structure 3 matched with the Riel occupation of the site, coinciding with the documented use of the midden (Forsman 1977).

f) Index Values

Calculation of Mean Index Values was necessary to rank order the various assemblages. This has been completed previously by Larcombe (1988:102-105) for Upper Fort Garry (Privy Refuse Pits I and II); Delorme House Areas A and B; the Garden Site; and Lower Fort Garry (Big House, Farmer's House and Troop Canteen and Barracks). Mean Index Values for Fort Garry and the occupations of the Riel House Site needed to be determined.

Indexing sites using their ceramic assemblages was carried out extensively in the past. Miller's (1980, 1991) ceramic indexing method, as mentioned in Chapter IV, served as the template for Larcombe's (1988) creation of a series of Index Values for the RRS. Research into the HBC's Invoices of Shipment for York Factory indicated that: a) preference was given to decorated ware over white, b) colour of transfer printed ware was not a factor influencing price, c) price of goods remained relatively constant between 1830 and 1862, and d) price varied according to form (Larcombe 1988:98-99). Based on vessel form, a series of indices were developed by Larcombe (1988). Table 11 presents the indices pertaining to the decorated vessels recovered from the Fort Garry site (from Larcombe 1988:101).

To calculate the Mean Index Value for Ft. Garry and Riel House Structures 1, 2, and 3, the following formula was used:

$$\text{Mean index value } (x) = \frac{\sum x_i}{N}$$

where: x_i = the total index value
N = the total number of vessels

The calculations for these assemblages are presented in Tables 11 - 14. The index

Table 11: Mean Index Value and Standard Deviation, Fort Garry (based on Decorated Vessels).

Vessel	N	Index #	Total Index Value (x_i)	(x_i-x)	(x_i-x)^2
soup tureen	1	41.08	41.08	38.57	1487.6
cup	13	1.88	24.44	-0.63	0.4
saucer	3	1.88	5.640	-0.63	0.4
platter	1	5.93	5.930	3.42	11.69
plate	30	1.31	39.3	-1.20	1.44
sugar bowl	4	4.00	16.00	1.49	2.22
basin	1	7.50	7.50	4.99	24.9
teapot	1	5.93	5.93	3.42	11.69
bowl	8	1.00	8.00	-1.51	2.28
pitcher	2	3.38	6.76	0.87	0.76
Total	64		160.58		1543.38

Mean Index Value (x) = 2.51
Standard Deviation = 4.95

Table 12: Index Values, Structure 1, Riel House Site (Decorated and Decorated and White Vessels).

Vessel	Index Number (x_i)	Decoration only				Decoration and White			
		N	Total Index #	$x_i-\bar{x}$	$(x_i-\bar{x})^2$	N	Total Index #	$x_i-\bar{x}$	$(x_i-\bar{x})^2$
dinner plate	1.31	1	1.31	-1.07	1.14	1	1.31	-0.94	0.88
soup plate	1.35	1	1.35	-1.03	1.06	1	1.35	-0.9	0.81
saucer	1.88	7	13.16	-0.5	0.25	9	16.92	-0.37	0.14
cup	1.88	3	5.64	-0.5	0.25	6	11.28	-0.37	0.14
small platter	5.93	1	5.93	3.55	12.6	1	5.93	3.68	13.54
pitcher/teapot	5.93	1	5.93	3.55	12.6	1	5.93	3.68	13.54
Total		14	33.32		27.9	19	42.72		29.05

Mean index value $\bar{x}$=33.32/14= 2.38 (decoration only)
Mean index value $\bar{x}$=42.72/19=2.25(including white)

Standard deviation (decoration only)=1.46
Standard deviation (including white)=1.27

Table 13: Index Values, Structures 2 and 3, Riel House Site (Decorated and Decorated and White Vessels).

Vessel	Index Number (x_i)	Decoration only				Decoration and White			
		N	Total Index #	$x_i-\bar{x}$	$(x_i-\bar{x})^2$	N	Total Index #	$x_i-\bar{x}$	$(x_i-\bar{x})^2$
large platter	5.93	1	5.93	3.67	13.47	1	5.93	3.88	15.05
dinner plate	1.31	4	5.24	-0.95	0.9	7	9.17	-0.74	0.55
soup plate	1.35	1	1.35	-0.91	0.83	1	1.35	-0.7	0.49
saucer	1.88	6	11.28	-0.38	0.14	9	16.92	-0.17	0.03
cup	1.88	1	1.88	-0.38	0.14	2	3.76	0.17	0.03
teapot	5.93	1	5.93	3.67	13.47	1	5.93	3.88	15.05
Total		14	31.61		28.95	21	43.06		31.2

Mean index value $\bar{x}$=31.61/14=2.26 (decoration only)
Mean index value $\bar{x}$=43.06/21=2.05 (including white)

Standard deviation (decoration only) = 1.49
Standard deviation (including white) = 1.25

Table 14: Index Value, Structure 3, Riel House Site (White Vessel Only).

Vessel	Index Number	Decoration only		Decoration and White	
		N	Total Index # (x_i)	N	Total Index # (x_i)
saucer	1.88	1	1.88	1	1.88
Total		1	1.88	1	1.88

Mean index value $\bar{x}$=1.88/1=1.88

No Standard Deviation

number of a vessel type was multiplied by the number of vessels of that type present to produce a total Index Value for that type. The total Index Values of all types were added together and divided by the total number of vessels producing the Mean Index Value for the assemblage (Miller 1980:12). Due to the small sample from Riel House Structure 3, Structures 2 and 3 have been considered together. The calculations in Table 13 include the single saucer present in Structure 3. Table 14 shows the Mean Index Value for the single vessel present at Structure 3.

Table 15 presents rank order data from Larcombe (1988) plus data from Tables 11 - 14 which includes the data from Fort Garry and the Riel structures. The Fort Garry assemblage ranked in the third place overall, just below the Big House. The Riel House structures ranked below Fort Garry, with Structure 1 in Rank 4, and Structures 2 and 3 in Rank 5.

The high Index Value for the Fort Garry assemblage was due to the soup tureen. If it was removed from the calculation, the new Index Value dropped to 1.92 (N = 63). This decreased Fort Garry's rank from Rank 3 to Rank 7. Despite the skewing of the Index Value because of the soup tureen, it must be kept in mind that the tureen, in and of itself, was not an anomaly in the assemblage. This vessel was recovered from Trench 5 which contained the cellar/midden. This structure may or may not have been the dwelling of the Fort Gentlemen, but in either case, the tureen was not out of place. If the midden was a general Fort midden, the tureen was more than likely to be one of a number of more expensive, luxury items utilized by the Gentlemen. It also showed the high value of the soup tureen and the tight packing of ceramic Index Values.

Table 15: Ranking Based on Mean Index Values and Standard Deviation, All Assemblages.

A	**Rank by Mean Index Value**			
Rank	Site	N	Mean Index	Standard Deviation
1	Privy Refuse Pit II, UFG	20	3.14	5.00
2	Big House, LFG	104	2.57	1.50
3	Fort Garry	65	2.51	4.95
4	Riel Structure 1	14	2.38	1.46
5	Riel Structure 2&3	14	2.26	1.49
6	Delorme House (A&B)	32	1.98	0.85
7	Farmer's House, LFG	47	1.80	0.92
8	Troop Canteen and Barracks, LFG	62	1.60	0.65
9	Privy Refuse Pit I, UFG	25	1.59	1.90
10	Garden Site	21	1.38	0.09

B	**Rank by Standard Deviation**			
Rank	Site	N	Mean Index	Standard Deviation
1	Privy Refuse Pit II, UFG	20	3.14	5.00
2	Fort Garry	65	2.51	4.95
3	Privy Refuse Pit I, UFG	25	1.59	1.90
4	Big House, LFG	104	2.57	1.50
5	Riel Structure 2&3	14	2.26	1.49
6	Riel Structure 1	14	2.38	1.46
7	Farmer's House, LFG	47	1.80	0.92
8	Delorme House (A&B)	32	1.98	0.85
9	Troop Canteen and Barracks, LFG	62	1.60	0.65
10	Garden Site	21	1.38	0.09

Standard deviation for each assemblage was calculated by the following formula:

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma(x_i - \bar{x})}{n - 1}}$$

where: n = number of vessels
x_i = the average index value

These calculations were based on the number of decorated vessels, thereby eliminating doubt as to whether white sherds originally belonged to decorated vessels.

Based on the calculations in Table 11, the standard deviation at Fort Garry was s = 4.95, indicating that there was great variability within the assemblage, surpassed only by the assemblage from Privy Refuse Pit II, Upper Fort Garry. If the soup tureen was removed from the calculation, the standard deviation decreased to s = 1.06, reflecting less variability in the cost of ceramic types. However, this vessel's inclusion was legitimate considering the composition of the Fort personnel. Caution should be exercised when examining the variability of an assemblage. When a single, high value item significantly increases the standard deviation, it may be prudent to determine if the item was an exception within the assemblage given the context of the assemblage.

The standard deviations of the various assemblages are presented in Table 15(B) in rank order. There were three noticeable clusters of high, moderate and low standard deviations. High deviation included P/R II and Fort Garry; moderate comprised P/R I, the Big House and the Riel Structures; and low contained the remaining assemblages. Fort Garry and P/R II represented institutional assemblages and had a range of high and low index value vessels that produced a high Mean Index Value and a high standard deviation. Within the low deviation group, the Farmer, Delorme, Troop and the Garden Site were discrete

economic units and, with the exception of the Troop, were individual households. All had a low standard deviation and low Mean Index Value, pointing to the tight packing of index values and infrequent, or absence of, high index value vessels.

Of the assemblages included in the moderate standard deviation group, the two exceptions were P/R I and the Big House. Privy/Refuse I had a low Mean Index Value but a much higher standard deviation, while the Big House exhibited the reverse. In the case of the Big House, the high Mean Index Value was due to the presence of expensive vessels and the low standard deviation may have reflected the presence of tightly packed high value items, indicating low variation of numerous high index value vessels. Privy/Refuse I had a low Mean Index Value indicating little variation of low value ceramics; however, the high standard deviation may have pointed to the presence of a single high value vessel, creating the high standard deviation.

A cursory glance seemed to indicate that there was a correlation between a high Mean Index Value and high Standard Deviation. Exceptions to this were the Big House and P/R I. However, if a Spearman's rho Correlation Coefficient was carried out, $r_s = 0.697$ was significant when $\alpha \leq 0.05$ (critical value = 0.564), and was approaching significance when $\alpha \leq 0.01$ (critical value = 0.746). This indicated that there was a correlation between the Mean Index Value and the Standard Deviation. This demonstrated that high Index Values appeared to have been created when expensive ceramic vessels were added to a basic, functional ceramic assemblage, that is to say, an assemblage that contained the inexpensive, utilitarian vessels (plates, cups, saucers, bowls) required for the purpose of eating.

The addition of expensive vessels may have been a means of displaying economic

position. The ability to afford and use expensive vessels may also have had a symbolic function by communicating the higher economic and social position of those who possessed them. The presence of expensive ceramics may have also illustrated "decreasing marginal utility" that explained the "...declining investment in consumer goods after a certain level of acquisition has been reached" (Spencer-Wood 1987:325). As wealth increased, the amount of ceramics purchased increased until saturation was reached and the amount purchased levelled off. At the same time, the proportion of total income spent on ceramics began to decrease even though the total amount purchased was increasing. This again promoted the idea of economic position and display, for if lower ranked Servants or Military personnel were to purchase these types of expensive ceramic vessels, the percentage of their salary used would far exceed the percentage of a Governor or Chief Trader's salary. This knowledge reinforced ideas of economic and social position within the hierarchy of the HBC for both the Servant and Chief Trader.

C. Faunal Results

a) Introduction

The faunal remains used in this thesis were excavated from Riel House, the Garden Site, Fort Garry, Upper Fort Garry and Delorme House. The faunal data for the Riel House Site was obtained from Grainger (1977) and the faunal data for the Garden Site was extracted from McLeod (1982). The data for Fort Garry was provided by K. Peach (1998), and the data for Upper Fort Garry and Delorme House were analyzed and presented in Seyers' (1988) thesis. Unfortunately, Lower Fort Garry could not be included in the faunal analysis portion

of this thesis. Although a large faunal assemblage exists for the Fort, it has yet to be analyzed.

Discussion in this section will focus on three major issues: a) an examination of mammal, bird and fish taxa, b) wild versus domestic species, and c) indexing of the butchered *Bos taurus* remains.

The indexing of butchered *Bos taurus* remains was the basis for determining relative economic position of individuals; however, it was important to consider other ways of examining the faunal assemblage which may aid in the understanding of an individual's economic position. An individual's possession of domesticated animals created certain constraints for the owner. The continual care requirements of these animals necessitated a sedentary lifestyle for their owners. For a Rupert's Land Métis involved in the mobile lifestyle of the bison hunt, the care of domesticated animals was difficult, if not impossible. The archival records reflected this scarcity of domesticated animals for Métis hunters. By examining the number of wild or domestic species in an assemblage, data concerning preferences and/or availability of species may be derived. The numbers of mammal, fish and bird species present in an assemblage may also help to determine preference and availability.

All fish species were considered wild for the purpose of this thesis. Mammal and bird species that were unidentifiable were not assigned as wild or domestic. When mammals or birds were identified to Genus and species, it was not difficult to determine if they were wild or domestic; however, if remains were identified only to the Family or Order level, they were often considered as wild. In the case of Bison/Bos, the remains were considered as domestic. The majority of the sites were occupied in the second half of the nineteenth century, a time

when the bison herds in the northeast plains were decreasing dramatically. In order to hunt, the Métis hunters were forced to range further and further away from the RRS. With the increased distance, the chance that the animal was defleshed and brought back as portions of fresh or dried meat seemed more logical than transporting complete bison quarters with bones back to the colony. This would result in very little bone available for refuse. This argument, coupled with the difficulty associated in distinguishing between Bison and *Bos* remains, warranted the consideration of Bison/Bos as domestic.

Meat cut indexing as developed by Schulz and Gust (1983) was the basis of Seyers' (1988) analysis, and to maintain consistency, it was used in the analyses of Fort Garry, the Garden Site and the Riel House data. In order to verify that the method was repeatable, the Delorme House faunal material was re-indexed. Similar results were obtained, permitting the use of Seyers' (1988) Upper Fort Garry data. Also, to maintain consistency, NISP (Number of Individual Specimens Present) was used in all calculations and percentages for all assemblages.

Table 16 presents data for all assemblages, divided into the various classes, as well as those specimens that were unidentifiable.

b) Site Results

This section presents data for all assemblages, providing the NISP and number of taxa for wild and domestic remains, as well as mammal, fish and bird classes for all assemblages. In addition, the Index Values for the Riel House Site, the Garden Site, Delorme House and Fort Garry were calculated and added to the results of Seyers' (1988) indexing

Table 16: NISP Totals by Class for Available Red River Assemblages.

Site	Mammal	Birds	Fish	Mollusc	Amphibians	Unidentifiable	TOTAL
UFG, P/R I	975	324	748	13	0	185	2245
UFG, P/R II	317	64	800	0	0	0	1181
Other units	663	106	129	119	0	399	1416
Sub-total	1955	494	1677	132	0	584	4842
Delorme A	331	143	40	17	2	0	533
Delorme B	2812	104	41	15	0	0	2972
Sub-total	3143	247	81	32	2	0	3505
Riel Site	104	29	18	17	0	0	204
Garden Site	149	29	30	0	0	0	208
Fort Garry	5494	2227	3631	165	104	73	11694

for P/R I and P/R II.

i) Garden Site

Table 16 documents the total number of remains (NISP = 208) recovered from the Garden Site, a relatively small faunal assemblage. The Class with the greatest number of fragments was Mammalia with 149 remains, or 71.63% of the sample. The remaining specimens were evenly divided between fish and bird. This suggested that the Beauchamp family was more dependent on mammal than bird or fish.

Table 17 presents the NISP of wild and domestic specimens by Class, as well as the number of taxa for each. There were 24 taxa in total, the majority of which were wild (20 taxa) comprising 168 fragments or 80.76% of the total sample. Wild mammals were made up of only 5 taxa, containing 109 fragments which was over half of the entire sample (52.40%). It was also noteworthy that there were no domestic bird species at the Garden Site, and the 29 wild specimens were represented by 10 taxa. This may have indicated a preference for wild game birds or, a need to bolster their diet with wild species for lack of domesticates.

Within the wild mammal species present, muskrat and rabbit comprised 91.74%. Muskrat was not a usual food source and could have been hunted for their pelts. Rabbit may also have been acquired for their skins, but they also provided food. A glance at the other assemblages revealed that rabbit was not as abundant and muskrat was not present. The predominance of wild birds and abundance of rabbit and muskrat may suggest, a) the Beauchamp's needed to supplement their income by selling pelts or, b) they were not active

Table 17: Wild/domestic, NISP and Number of Taxa for Major Faunal Classes, Garden Site.

Class	Wild/domestic	NISP	# Taxa
MAMMAL	wild domestic	109 40	5 4
Sub-total		149	9
BIRD	wild domestic unidentifiable	29 0 0	10 0 0
Sub-total		29	10
FISH	identifiable	30	5
Sub-total		30	5
TOTAL		208	24

farmers and needed to supplement their diet with wild game.

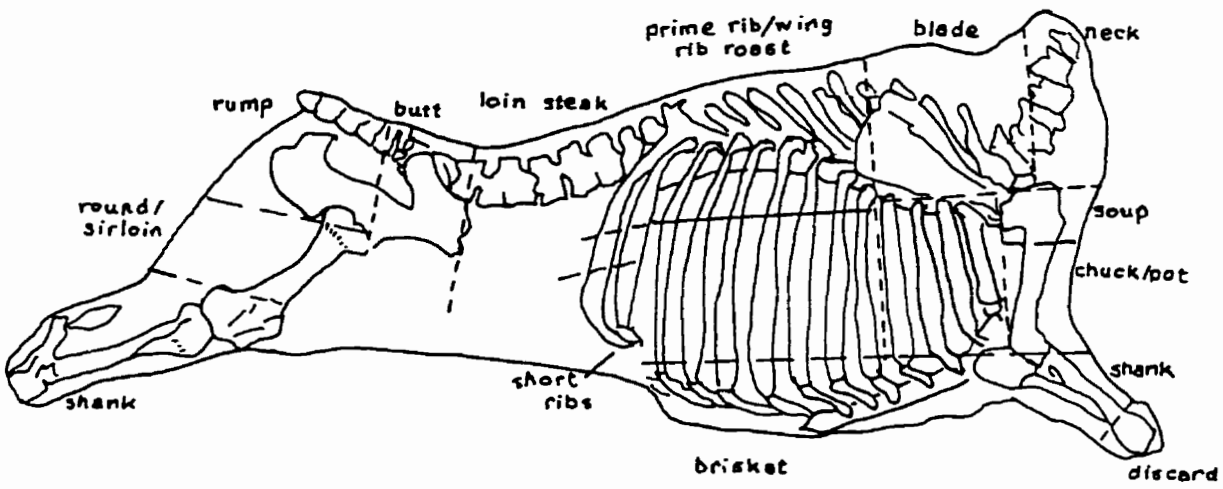
Sus scrofa comprised 22 specimens of the 40 domestic mammal fragments present in the assemblage. There was a fairly even distribution of front and hind elements, indicating that the Beauchamp family would have consumed the entire animal, including the more expensive, meatier portions. This may have indicated a preference for pigs to cattle, which may have been kept for dairy purposes or for the sale of meat.

Seyers (1988) compared present day beef prices (ca.1988) to historic prices determined by Schulz and Gust (1983:48) in order to rank meat cuts. Using these price lists, Seyers concluded that historic meat prices were comparable to present day. From this information, she was able to construct the ranking scheme adapted in Table 18. The ranking method was implemented as follows: 1) elements exhibiting butchering marks (cut, saw or chop) were selected, and 2) were assigned to a Meat Cut determined from the butchering divisions (see Figure 4) that, 3) corresponded to a particular rank.

Table 18: Ranking of Historic Meat Cuts (adapted from Seyers 1988:88).

Rank	Meat Cut
1	Loin Steak
2	Butt/Rib Roast/Prime Rib/Wing
3	Round/Sirloin
4	Rump
5	Blade
6	Short Rib/Cross Rib/Chuck/Pot/Soup
7	Neck
8	Hind Shank/Fore Shank

Table 19 presents the butchered faunal remains for the Garden Site. There were only ten specimens identified to *Bos taurus* that could be indexed. The various tarsals listed



1 Hind Cuts

a) shank - all tarsals, tibia, fibula, distal articulating femur
b) round/sirloin - femur shaft
c) rump - proximal articulating femur, posterior pelvis
d) butt - anterior pelvis (1/2 acetabulum forward)
e) loin steak - lumbar vertebrae

2 Front Cuts

a) shank - all carpals, radius, ulna, distal articulating humerus
b) chuck/pot roast - humerus shaft
c) soup bones - proximal articulating humerus, glenoid fossa
d) blade steak/roast - scapula (less glenoid fossa)
e) neck - cervical vertebrae
f) rib roast - thoracic vertebrae

3 General Cuts

a) prime rib/wing - proximal section all ribs
b) short ribs - medial section all ribs
c) brisket - distal section all ribs, sternum

Figure 4: Major Butchering Cuts of Beef (Seyers 1988:69).

Table 19: Taxon, Element, Cut and Rank of Butchered *Bos taurus* , Garden Site (from McLeod 1983).

Taxon	Element	Cut	Rank
Bos taurus	2nd phalanx	discard	9
Bos taurus	Right metatarsal	shank	8
Bos taurus	Rt. metatarsal -central & 4th tarsal	"	"
Bos taurus	Rt. metatarsal-2nd & 3rd tarsal	"	"
Bos taurus	Rt. metatarsal-1st tarsal	"	"
Bos taurus	R. distal metacarpal	shank	8
Bos taurus	R. proximal metacarpal	"	"
Bos taurus	Right metatarsal	shank	8

formed one discrete unit with the right metatarsal, and were assigned to a single shank cut of Rank 8. The same was true for the proximal and distal metacarpal fragments. Seyers (1988) did not include phalanges in the cuts; however, by instituting a ninth rank, discard bones that were usable in some fashion could be included. This permitted the inclusion of phalanges as soupbones. As a result, the ten individual fragments were assigned to four cuts and ranks.

ii) Riel House.

The data presented for the Riel House Site were derived from Grainger's (1977) raw data. The Riel House Site archaeological material was excavated from areas that corresponded to Structures 1 and 2 on the property. The remains from Structure 1 were associated with the Gendron occupation, and the remains from Structure 2 were associated with the Riel occupation. There were no remains listed in association with Structure 3, and the remaining specimens in Grainger's (1977) data were not connected with a particular structure or family. As the sample of butchered remains was small, all the remains were considered together for indexing purposes.

The Riel House Site faunal assemblage was small, consisting of 204 fragments representing 29 taxa (see Table 16). Examining the remains for the entire site by Class, the largest number of specimens belonged to Mammalia (NISP = 104), followed by Bird, Fish and Mollusca. Of these four classes, Mammalia had the largest number of taxa (11). Mammals constituted more than 50% of the sample and domestic mammals made up 40.7% of the sample. This perhaps indicated a preference for mammal to bird and fish. There were

also a number of mammal remains which were listed by Grainger (1977) as "cf." followed by a domestic species name, however as these remains were not positively identified to species, they were included in Class counts but not species counts.

Table 20 displays the Class NISPs and numbers of wild and domestic species and their taxa for the Riel House Site fauna. Domestic species made up the greatest number of remains with 95 fragments or 46.6% of the sample, represented by only six of the 23 taxa identified. This indicated a preference for particular domestic species to wild.

Table 21 provides the butchered Bison/Bos and *Bos taurus* remains available for indexing. Within the Riel House sample there were only 37 specimens which bore evidence of butchering. Of these remains, there were only ten Bison/Bos remains and only one that was positively identified as *Bos taurus*. Although only *Bos taurus* was being utilized for indexing purposes in the other assemblages, it was obvious that Bison/Bos needed to be included for Riel House. Of the ten Bison/Bos elements present, two cannot be considered in the ranking as they represented portions of the animal not utilized as food (horn core and mandible) and were considered unusable. As with the Garden Site, the ninth rank was used to permit the inclusion of the one phalanx present in the assemblage.

iii) Fort Garry

The available Fort Garry faunal assemblage was excavated during the 1989 Field School season, and was identified by K. Peach (1998), University of Manitoba.

Table 22 presents the division of faunal remains into the three major Classes and their subdivision into wild, domestic and unidentifiable specimens, the NISP and taxa in each. The

Table 20: Wild/domestic, NISP and Number of Taxa for Major Fauna Classes, All Structures, Riel House Site.

Class	Wild/domestic	NISP	# Taxa
MAMMAL	wild	20	3
	domestic	83	4
	unidentifiable	37	
Sub-total		140	7
BIRD	wild	6	3
	domestic	12	2
	unidentifiable	11	
Sub-total		29	5
FISH	identifiable	5	4
	unidentifiable	13	
Sub-total		18	4
MOLLUSC		17	6
TOTAL		204	23

Table 21: Taxon, Element, Cut and Rank of Butchered *Bos taurus* and Bison/Bos, All Structures, Riel House Site.

Taxon	Element	Cut	Rank
Bison/Bos	horn core	n/a	n/a
Bison/Bos	pelvis-ilium	butt	2
Bison/Bos	rib shaft	short ribs	6
l. artiodactyl cf. Bison/Bos	femur-distal end	shank	8
Bison/Bos	caudal vert.	rump	4
Bison/Bos cf. *Bos taurus*	metatarsal	shank	8
Bison/Bos cf. *Bos taurus*	tibia-distal end	shank	8
Bos taurus	phalanx-prox.	discard	9
Bison/Bos	rib shaft	short ribs	6
Bison/Bos	mandible post.ramus	n/a	n/a

Table 22: Wild/domestic, NISP and Number of Taxa for Major Faunal Classes, Fort Garry (adapted from Peach 1998).

Class	Wild/domestic	NISP	# Taxa
MAMMAL	wild	716	20
	domestic	708	8
	human	1	1
	unidentifiable	4069	n/a
Sub-total		5494	29
BIRD	wild	283	10
	domestic	122	5
	unidentifiable	1076	n/a
	unid.-eggshell	746	n/a
Sub-total		2227	15
FISH	identifiable	1065	10
	unidentifiable	1486	n/a
	unid.-scales	1080	
Sub-total		3631	10
TOTAL		11352	54

Fort Garry sample consisted of 11,352 mammal, bird and fish remains, representing 54 different taxa. The taxa listed in Table 22 included identifications made to the Genus and species level, as well as the broader Family and Order identifications. Mammals were the predominant remains in the Fort Garry sample constituting 48.4% of the sample, perhaps indicating a preference for mammals. There were a large number of fish remains (NISP = 3631) followed by bird. Note also that the bird remains were made of a large percentage of eggshell (48.3% of the total number of bird remains), and the fish remains contained a large number of scales (N = 1080, 29.74% of the total fish remains).

When considering the identifiable mammal remains (NISP = 1424, excluding the human remains), the wild and domestic fragments were roughly equal in number; however, the wild specimens had a much larger number of taxa (20) in comparison to the domestic (8). The wide variety of wild game indicated a few possibilities: 1) the basic diet was supplemented with wild game, such as moose and deer, and 2) other species may have represented wild game hunted for the acquisition of pelts (beaver and fox), pest control (voles and squirrels), or a combination of pelts and food (snowshoe hare).

There were almost twice as many wild bird taxa and remains in comparison to domestic birds. Species such as duck and goose may have been hunted for sport and used as food, while other species, such as pigeons or swans, may have had commercial value for feathers or down in addition to being a dietary supplement.

Table 23 presents the various meat cuts, ranks and the number and frequency of cuts present at Fort Garry. *Bos taurus* was used for indexing, and was represented by 57 cuts. All ranks of meat cuts were represented in the Fort Garry assemblage with the exception of

Table 23: Meat Cut, Rank, Number and Frequency of Cuts for *Bos taurus* , Fort Garry.

Meat Cut	Rank	# Cuts	Frequency of Cuts
Loin	1	3	5.3
Butt	2	6	10.5
Round/Sirloin	3	0	0
Rump	4	2	3.5
Blade	5	3	5.3
Short rib	6	23	40.4
Neck	7	6	10.5
Shank	8	14	24.6
TOTAL		57	100

round/sirloin (Rank 3). Note that the ninth rank used in the Garden and Riel Sites was not implemented because an adequate number of butchered cuts were present in this assemblage. The ninth rank was not necessary for the rest of the assemblages.

iv) Delorme House Site

The faunal assemblages of the Delorme House Site and the two Upper Fort Garry Privy/Refuse Pits were analyzed by Seyers (1988) for the purpose of determining faunal utilization and economic position. As mentioned previously, the butchered *Bos taurus* remains from Delorme House were re-indexed with the aid of raw data obtained from the Historic Resources Branch. The meat cut frequencies were similar to Seyers' and supported the use of her results. Unfortunately, she did not provide tabular data for Delorme House or the two privy pits in the same manner as Tables 19, 21, and 23. In the case of the Delorme House, the *Bos taurus* remains fulfilling the criteria for indexing were few (N = 29), and it was not difficult to reproduce the results, hence the re-indexing results have been used in the place of Seyers' (1988). The two P/R pits results could not be replicated, therefore only the cumulative frequencies of *Bos taurus* remains provided in Seyers (1988) thesis were available.

The Delorme House Site was excavated in a number of units and test pits, although the Delorme occupation was most securely assigned to Areas A and B. Seyers (1988) presented the raw data for each area separately in her analysis, but combined Areas A and B for indexing.

Table 24 presents the total NISPs for the various Classes of faunal remains present

Table 24: Wild/domestic, NISP and Number of Taxa for Major Faunal Classes, Delorme House A and B (from Seyers 1988:81).

Class	**Wild/domestic**	**NISP**	**# Taxa**
MAMMAL	wild domestic unidentifiable	38 212 2893	5 5 n/a
Sub-total		3143	10
BIRD	wild domestic unidentifiable	40 13 194	2 1 n/a
Sub-total		247	3
FISH	identifiable unidentifiable	7 74	2 n/a
Sub-total		81	2
AMPHIBIA MOLLUSC		2 32	n/a n/a
TOTAL		3505	15

at Delorme A and B. Each Class was subdivided into wild, domestic and unidentified specimens, and the number of taxa. As seen in Table 24, there were 3505 fragments, 533 of which were attributed to Delorme A, and 2972 to Delorme B. The most prevalent class utilized by the Delorme family was mammal, and the 3143 fragments represented 89.7% of the Delorme A and B faunal assemblage. Although there was a substantial number of the mammal remains that were unidentified beyond Class, it was evident that mammals had an important dietary role in the Delorme family.

The Delorme House Site mammal fragments (N = 3143) consisted of ten species, five wild and five domestic. The wild species were represented by 38 specimens in contrast to the 212 domestic specimens. This may have indicated a greater reliance on domestic mammals that were almost equally divided between Bison/Bos species and *Sus scrofa*. The wild species may have provided additional, but infrequent, subsistence perhaps for variation rather than necessity. Of the 194 bird remains recovered, there were two wild species represented by 40 fragments, compared to the single domestic species represented by 13 fragments. There was more use made of wild bird species compared to domesticates, but in general there seems to have been greater relative importance on domestic mammals.

Table 25 presents the data for meat cut, rank, and number and frequency of cuts for *Bos taurus*. There were 29 cuts present, five ranks represented, and the majority were from the lower ranking cuts (Ranks 5 to 7).

Table 25: Meat Cut, Rank, Number and Frequency of Cuts for *Bos taurus*, Delorme Site

Meat Cut	Rank	# Cuts	Frequency of Cuts
Loin	1	0	0
Butt	2	0	0
Round/Sirloin	3	4	14
Rump	4	2	7
Blade	5	0	0
Short rib	6	8	27
Neck	7	2	7
Shank	8	13	45
TOTAL		29	100

v) Upper Fort Garry

Table 16 shows that the Upper Fort Garry assemblage consists of 4842 fragments of bone recovered from P/R I, P/R II and units outside the two privy structures. The majority of the remains outside the privy areas were located in the Fill (Stratum A) and were not considered here. Each privy pit was examined by Seyers (1988), and the data presented below were collected from her work.

Table 26 presents P/R I's mammal, bird and fish NISPs in addition to numbers of taxa and wild, domestic and unidentifiable fragments of each. Of the total number of elements excavated from Upper Fort Garry, 20.83% were identifiable. Privy Refuse Pit I had a total of 2245 remains, including molluscs and fragments which could not be identified to Class. Table 26 recorded the mammal, fish and bird classes only. Of these specimens, 975 mammal

Table 26: Wild.domestic, NISP and Number of Taxa for Major Faunal Classes, Upper Fort Garry, P/R I (adapted from Seyers 1988:56-63).

Class	Wild/domestic	NISP	# Taxa
MAMMAL	wild domestic unidentifiable	143 279 553	7 7 n/a
Sub-total		975	14
BIRD	wild domestic unidentifiable	162 86 76	11 2 n/a
Sub-total		324	13
FISH	identifiable unidentifiable	184 564	8 n/a
Sub-total		748	8
TOTAL		2047	35

fragments represented 43.4% of the total fragments recovered. There were 422 identifiable mammal fragments represented by 14 species. Of these specimens, 279 were domestic consisting of seven taxa. Within the bird class, there were 13 species identified, but only two domestic species, that made up 86 of the 248 identified fragments (34.7%). Within the bird and mammal classes, the domestic species were not the most plentiful indicating a tendency towards wild game.

Table 27 presents the NISPs for the mammal, fish and bird remains excavated from P/R II, providing the number of wild, domestic and unidentified species and the number of taxa. Privy Refuse Pit II had fewer recovered fragments than P/R I, with 1181 recovered specimens and 18 identified taxa. Fish remains were dominant with six identified taxa and a total of 800 fragments (67.7% of the total remains), although 735 specimens were unidentifiable. There were 317 mammal fragments, representing eight species. Of the mammal remains, 31 fragments were identified to five domestic species. The wild remains were limited to two taxa. Within the bird remains, there was only one taxon, however, of the 64 excavated fragments only 5 specimens were identified as domestic. There were 4 types of wild species present, all of which were game birds, perhaps used to supplement their diet.

The meat cuts, ranks and number of cuts were not present for the two Privy/Refuse pits. The percentages for each meat cut rank and their cumulative frequencies are available in Tables 28 and 29.

Table 27: Wild/domestic, NISP and Number of Taxa for Major Faunal Classes, Upper Fort Garry, P/R II (adapted from Seyers 1988:65-67).

Class	Wild/domestic	NISP	# Taxa
MAMMAL	wild	18	2
	domestic	30	5
	human	2	1
	unidentifiable	267	n/a
Sub-total		317	8
BIRD	wild	13	4
	domestic	5	1
	unidentifiable	46	n/a
Sub-total		64	5
FISH	identifiable	65	6
	unidentifiable	735	n/a
Sub-total		800	6
TOTAL		1181	18

Table 28: Percentage of Meat Cut Index Values of Six Red River Assemblages (adapted from Seyers 1988:89).

Site/Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Riel House	0	12.5	0	12.5	0	25	0	37.5	12.5
Garden Site	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	75
P/R I	0	22.5	0	12	0	20	12	33	0
P/R II	33.3	33.3	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0
Delorme A&B	0	0	14	7	0	27	7	45	0
Fort Garry	5	11	0	4	5	40	11	25	0

Table 29: Cumulative Frequency of Faunal Index Values for Six Red River Assemblages (adapted from Seyers 1988:89).

Site/Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Riel House	0	12.5	12.5	25	25	50	50	87.5	100
Garden Site	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	100
P/R I	0	22.5	22.5	34.5	34.5	54.5	66.5	100	100
P/R II	33.3	66.6	66.6	66.6	100	100	100	100	100
Delorme A&B	0	0	14	21	21	48	55	100	100
Fort Garry	5	16	16	20	25	65	76	100	100

c) Indexing Meat Cuts

The procedure for indexing meat cuts has been described in Chapter IV, however, once the actual data manipulation began, it became obvious that two modifications were necessary. The first was the addition of a ninth rank as mentioned in the Garden Site and Riel House results. To reiterate, the Garden Site had a small sample size, with more discards than meat cuts available for use. The discard elements were given a low value rank (Rank 9) to recognize their potential use, for example, as soupbones. The only other site using Rank 9 was the Riel House which also had a low number of rankable cuts. Rank 9 was not utilized for the remaining assemblages since there was adequate representation of butchered remains available for ranking. The second modification was the use of Bison/Bos for indexing purposes at the Riel House. As there was only one specimen identified to *Bos taurus*, and Bison/Bos remains may often be difficult to differentiate, those remains identified to Bison/Bos were included in the Riel House calculations.

Tables 28 and 29 present the Index Values and the cumulative frequencies, respectively, for the various meat cuts from the six available Red River assemblages. Figure 5 is a graphical representation of the cumulative frequencies. At the two extremes were P/R II and the Garden Site. The former yielded chiefly high ranked meat cuts with almost 70% of its cuts represented in the first two ranks, while the latter contained only low rank cuts. The remaining assemblages had mixtures of low and high ranking cuts in a variety of proportions which clustered together. It was not easy to differentiate these assemblages from one another as the graph lines tended to cross-over. Of these assemblages, Fort Garry was the only other assemblage with Rank 1 cuts.

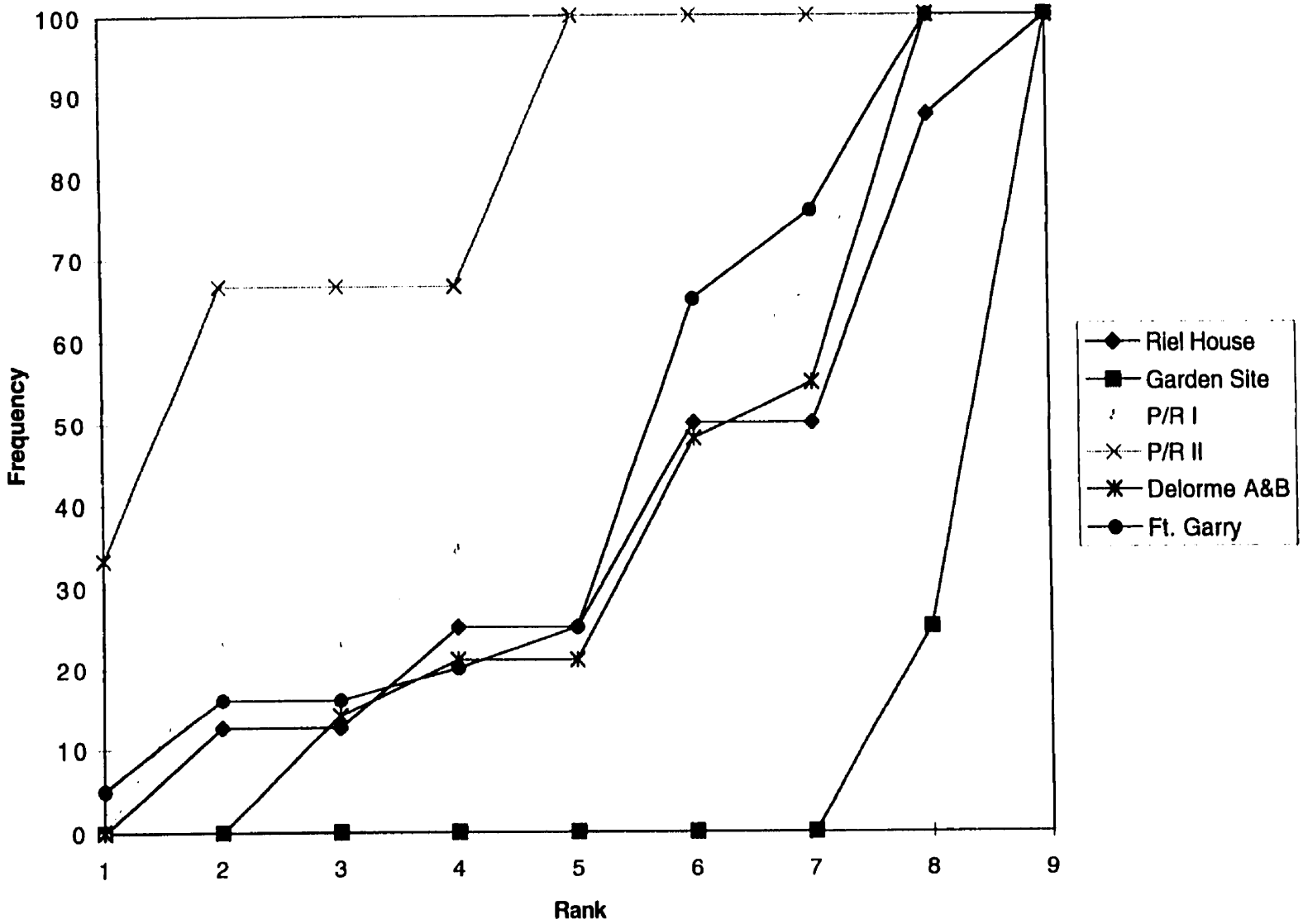


Figure 5: Cumulative Frequency Graph of Meat Cuts for Six Red River Assemblages.

It was necessary to look at each meat cut individually and rank order the cumulative frequencies of each cut to derive the rank ordering of assemblages. The ranks for an assemblage were added together and divided by the number of meat cuts to provide each assemblage with an overall rank value which could be used to scale one assemblage to another.

The results of this procedure are summarized in Table 30. The ninth rank was included only for the Riel House and Garden Assemblage assemblages since they lacked sufficient remains for ranking. The ninth rank was not used for the remaining assemblages which had ample *Bos taurus* remains. To determine the assemblage ranks, N = 9 for the Riel House and Garden Site, while N = 8 for P/R I, P/R II, Ft. Garry and Delorme assemblages. The resultant ranking of each assemblage, based on the meat cuts was as follows:

Assemblage	Rank
P/R II	1
P/R I	2
Ft. Garry	3
Riel House	4
Delorme A&B	5
Garden Site	6

Comparing the faunal ranking of assemblages with the ceramic ranking, it was shown that:

Assemblage	Faunal Rank	Ceramic Rank
P/R II	1	1
P/R I	2	5
Ft. Garry	3	2
Riel	4	3
Delorme A&B	5	4
Garden	6	6

Table 30: Rank Order of Six Red River Assemblages Calculated from Ranked Cumulative Frequencies of Nine Meat Cuts.

Assemblage	Meat Cut 1		Meat Cut 2		Meat Cut 3	
	C. Freq.	Rank	C. Freq.	Rank	C. Freq.	Rank
Riel House	0	5.5	12.5	4	12.5	5
Garden Site	0	5.5	0	5.5	0	6
P/R I, UFG	0	5.5	22.5	2	22.5	2
P/R II, UFG	33.3	1	66.6	1	66.6	1
Delorme House	0	5.5	0	5.5	13	4
Fort Garry	5	2	16	3	16	3

Assemblage	Meat Cut 4		Meat Cut 5		Meat Cut 6	
	C. Freq.	Rank	C. Freq.	Rank	C. Freq.	Rank
Riel House	25	3	25	3.5	50	4
Garden Site	0	6	0	6	0	6
P/R I, UFG	34.5	2	34.5	2	54.5	3
P/R II, UFG	66.6	1	100	1	100	1
Delorme House	21	4	21	5	48	5
Fort Garry	20	5	25	3.5	65	2

Assemblage	Meat Cut 7		Meat Cut 8		Meat Cut 9	
	C. Freq.	Rank	C. Freq.	Rank	C. Freq.	Rank
Riel House	50	5	87.5	5	100	1.5
Garden Site	0	6	25	6	100	1.5
P/R I, UFG	66.5	3	100	2.5	n/a	n/a
P/R II, UFG	100	1	100	2.5	n/a	n/a
Delorme House	55	4	100	2.5	n/a	n/a
Fort Garry	76	2	100	2.5	n/a	n/a

Assemblage	Σ Rank	N	$\frac{\Sigma \text{ Rank}}{N}$	Assem Rank
Riel House	36.5	9	4.06	4
Garden Site	48.5	9	5.39	6
P/R I, UFG	22	8	2.75	2
P/R II, UFG	9.5	8	1.19	1
Delorme House	35.5	8	4.44	5
Fort Garry	23	8	2.88	3

Privy/Refuse II maintained its highest ranking position in both the faunal and ceramic ranks, while at the opposite end of the scale, the Garden Site consistently ranked last in both rankings. Considering the social position Beauchamp (Garden Site) was reputed to have had, the low rank was worthy of further attention and will be returned to once the archival evidence has been considered.

The remaining assemblages occupied mid-ranking positions in both ceramics and fauna. The P/R I assemblage shifted from Rank 5 (Ceramic) to Rank 2 (Fauna). This pit was deposited by the Sixth Regiment of Foot over a two year period. It was plausible that the quantity and quality of food would have been relatively good; however, the ceramics supplied by the HBC for the Servants' mess would have been more for function than for aesthetics than status indicators.

There was also a great deal of species diversity present in P/R I, when the result of wild species were included in the assemblage. This may have been due to the men's inability to choose from a restricted number of favoured domestic species. Although there was a great deal of species diversity in P/R I and the relative frequency of wild animals was higher than domestic species, the quality of the domestic species present was fairly high.

Livermore (1976:129) listed the food provided to the Servants and Gentlemen of Lower Fort Garry. Comparison of the two indicated an interesting difference.

Table 31: Supplies for Servants and Gentlemen, Lower Fort Garry, 1861-1862

Male Servants	4330 lb. pemmican; 4976 lb. fresh beef; 2275 lb. salt beef; 1038 lb. dried meat; 1237 lb. salt pork; 1038 lb. dried meat; 1237 lb. salt pork; 181 lb. sturgeon; 16 lb. ham
Gentlemen	2735 lb. fresh beef; 84 ducks; 48 doz. eggs; 507 whole fish; 31 fowl (chickens); 9 geese; 233 lb. ham; 437 lb. mutton; 8 sturgeon.

Conspicuous was the abundance of fresh, domestic meat and lack of wild species available to the Gentlemen, who made up a smaller percentage of Fort personnel. In contrast, there was less fresh meat for the Servants, replaced with salt and dried varieties of wild and domestic species. In response to the absence of fresh, domestic meat, it was quite plausible that the servants would have hunted wild game for variety and fresh meat. This may have explained the assortment of wild fowl, for example, in P/R I compared with P/R II. Although the fresh beef may have been less plentiful, the meat cuts supplied to the Servants appeared to have been of good quality, slightly lower in rank than P/R II but higher than the other assemblages under consideration.

Slated for the Officers, the types of cuts recovered from P/R II were not only of better quality, but they were more likely served as individual portions (loin steak, prime rib) or as a smaller roast. In contrast, many of the meat cuts from P/R I were easily cooked and served in large portions or used in soups or stews to feed a large group of Servants at one time. The smaller, individual, specially prepared servings were a good indication of the economic, and social, position of the Officers in addition to the quality of the meat served.

The Fort Garry assemblage ranked below P/R I and II in the faunal assemblage, but

ranked above the individual settlers of the settlement. It was third in overall ranking, and like P/R II had high quality and high value meat cuts in the first two ranks which were perhaps served as individual portions to higher ranking Officers. Fort Garry was reduced to third rank due to the greater number of low ranking cuts which would have served to feed a number of men with a minimum of effort. This may have signified that a mixed population (Officers and Servants) was responsible for the Fort Garry deposits. Also noticeable was the high quantity of wild mammal and bird species that may suggest they were supplementing their diet with wild game.

Unlike P/R I, Fort Garry remains highly ranked in both ceramic and faunal categories. Privy/Refuse I's low ceramic rank was due to the lower ranking men's (NCOs and Enlisted Men) lack of high priced ceramics, whereas the Fort Garry ceramic remains may have been from a mixture of Officers and Servants. This provided an amalgamation of expensive and inexpensive ceramics in the deposit, providing them with an overall higher rank. Although the presence of faunal remains from Officers provided a number of high quality meat cuts, it was offset by the large quantity of lower quality cuts that likely would have been for the Servants' consumption. This gave the Fort Garry sample a lower ranking than P/R I.

Figure 6 presents the percentages of mammal, fish and bird for all assemblages. The Fort and non-Fort assemblages presented some interesting differences. The non-Fort assemblages showed a distinct predominance of mammal over bird and fish, whereas Fort Garry and P/R I did not indicate the same extremes between mammal over birds and fish. Privy/Refuse II was conspicuous in that it had the highest frequency of fish and the lowest

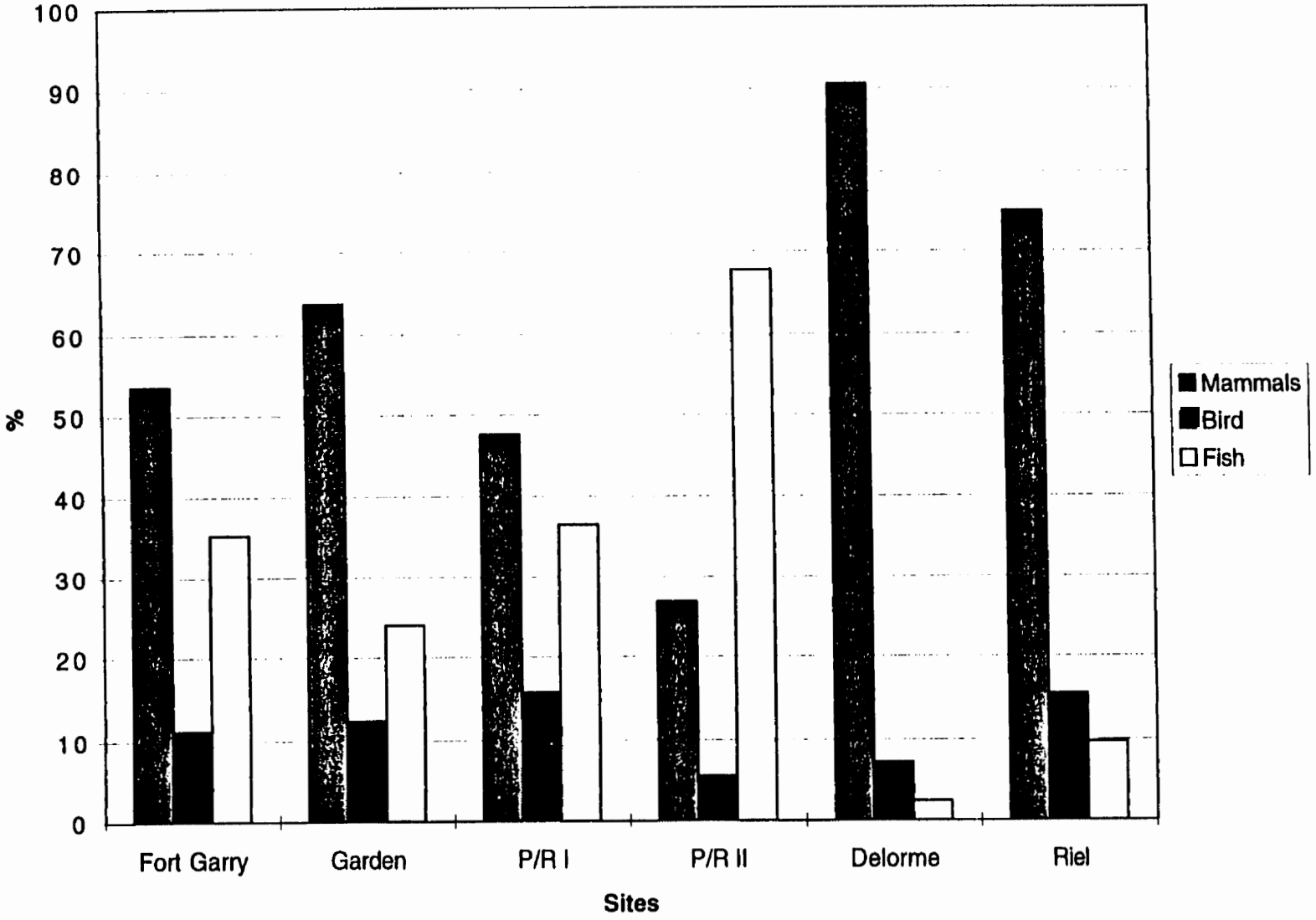


Figure 6: Percentages of Mammal, Fish and Bird for Six RRS Assemblages.

frequency of mammal and bird.

Figure 7 presents the percentages of domestic and wild mammal and birds and the percentage of fish. The figure did not include unidentified species and therefore did not add up to 100%. An interesting division could be seen between the Fort and non-Fort assemblages. There was a predominance of fish at the Forts, domestic birds were the least prevalent Class, and wild and domestic mammals were approximately equal. On the other hand, the Riel and Delorme sites had a greater reliance on domestic mammal. Once again, the Garden Site was unusual, this time with the high frequency of wild mammal, lack of domestic bird and higher occurrence of wild bird and fish in comparison to the other assemblages.

D. Archival Data

a) The Forts

The archival data for the three Forts were compiled to determine the cost of labour for the various occupations present at the Forts in order to rank Fort deposits to each other and, ultimately, to the rest of the assemblages. Archival records with the most helpful material were the "Lists of Servants" (HBCA: B.235/f/1) and "Council Meetings" (HBCA: B.239/k/11). From the Council meetings, the appointments for the upcoming year's Chief Traders, Factors and Clerks were selected and recorded. The Gentlemen and Servants names that appeared in the "Servants List" were appointees to the entire Red River District and were not subdivided into Upper or Lower Fort Garry. The "York Factory Minutes of Council" 1832-1850 (HBCA: B.239/k/2) also registered the newly appointed Chief Traders, Factors

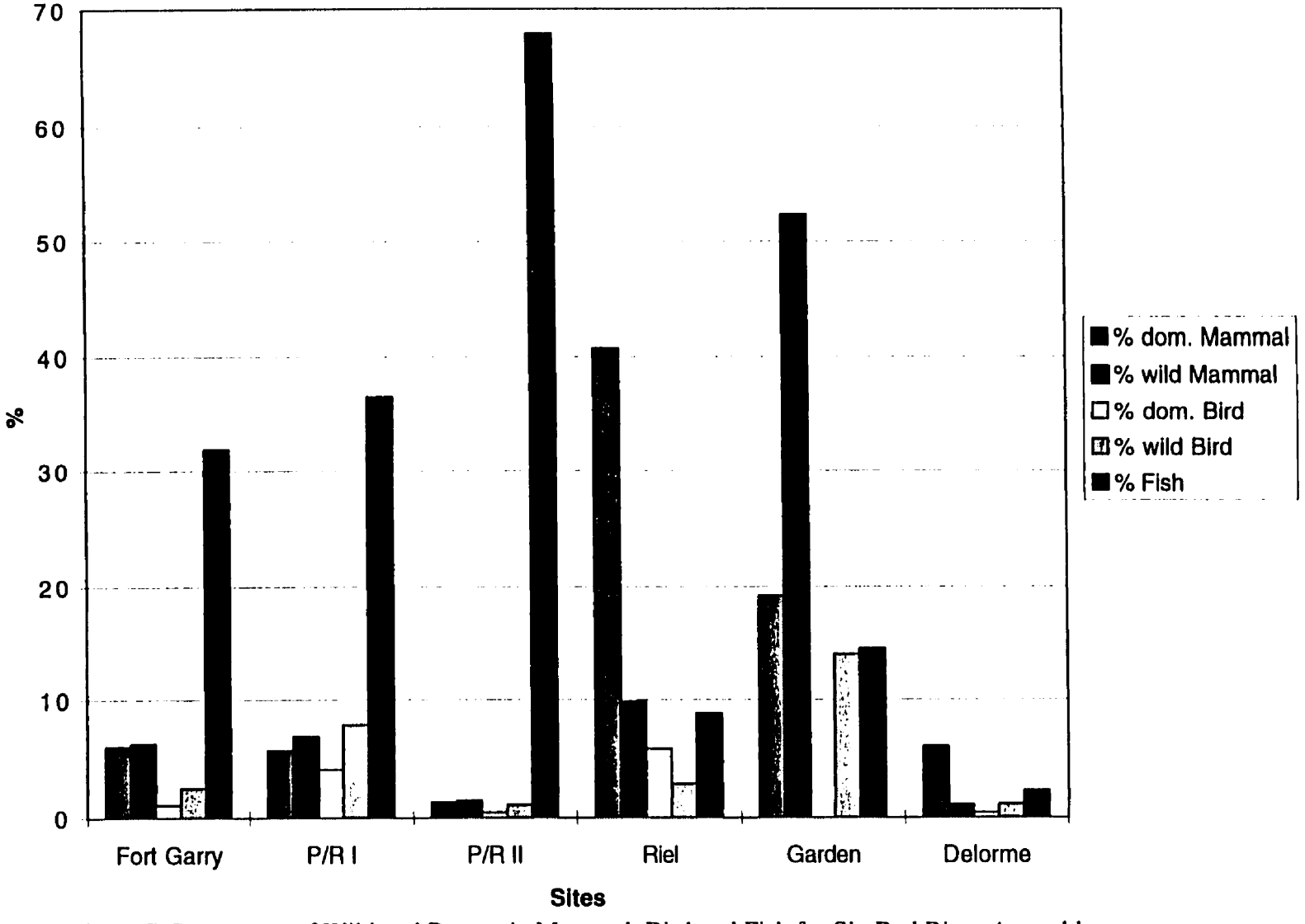


Figure 7: Percentage of Wild and Domestic Mammal, Bird and Fish for Six Red River Assemblages.

and Clerks and indicated their specific location.

As Goldring (1979) noted, the designation of "Gentleman" was subdivided into Commissioned and Salaried Gentlemen. Commissioned Gentlemen were often referred to as "Officers" and were so designated in this thesis. Chief Traders and Factors were Commissioned Officers and after amalgamation received a percentage of Company profits. This amounted to the yearly profits of 40% of HBC shares, divided into 85 equal portions. This quantity was distributed between 25 Chief Factors and 28 Chief Traders. Each Chief Factor received 2/85 of the profits, while Chief Traders received 1/85. The yearly 1/85 of the dividends are listed in Table 32 (Livermore 1976:347). Officers wages were not recorded in the Servants Lists but the dividends for 1821 to 1871 (inclusive), permitted the calculation of the Chief Factors and Traders yearly earnings. The average yearly income as determined for "...the past 36 years profits had averaged 12%, giving each trader an annual income of over £308 with Chief Factors getting double that amount" (Livermore 1976:43).

The Salaried Gentlemen received a yearly salary which "...accorded a status well above the mass of ordinary servants..." and included the positions of Clerk, Postmaster and their apprentices (Goldring 1979:23). The salaries for these occupations appeared in the "Servants Lists" for the various years available, and were referred to here as "Clerks" (see Appendix A). As can be observed in Appendix A, the range of wages for these positions was quite large. Table 33 presents the average rates of pay for each occupation for the available "Servants Lists." The average salary for a Clerk was between £75-90 per annum and Apprentice Clerks average ranges from £22-41 per annum. The ceiling appeared to have been capped at £100 for the highest Clerk position (Appendix A).

Table 32: 1/85 Share of HBC Dividends, 1821-1870 (Livermore 1976:347).

Outfit	Result	Amount		
		£	s	d
1821	Loss	0	0	0
1822	Gain	203	8	9
1823	Gain	342	1	1
1824	Gain	322	12	10
1825	Gain	292	12	10
1826	Gain	419	19	9
1827	Gain	560	1	11
1828	Gain	560		
1829	Gain	535		
1830	Gain	385	9	7
1831	Gain	405	18	6
1832	Gain	372	16	9
1833	Gain	321	3	7
1834	Gain	546	8	8
1835	Gain	306		
1836	Gain	460		
1837	Gain	449	3	11
1838	Gain	249	9	7
1839	Gain	419	15	9
1840	Gain	205	5	
1841	Gain	168		2
1842	Gain	244		1
1843	Gain	259		
1844	Gain	329		
1845	Gain	273	10	
1846	Gain	316	15	7
1847	Gain	315	18	10
1848	Gain	265	2	11
1849	Gain	328	2	
1850	Gain	260	18	4
1851	Gain	322	3	9
1852	Gain	348		1
1853	Gain	335	12	4
1854	Gain	690	18	2
1855	Gain	872	10	1
1856	Gain	339	7	6
1857	Gain	479	3	9
1858	Gain	476	15	1
1859	Gain	188	12	1
1860	Gain	275	14	3
1861	Gain	233	12	9
1862	Gain	403	10	10
1863	Gain	433	15	10
1864	Gain	785	5	8
1865	Guaranteed	Min. 275		
1866	Guaranteed	Min. 275		
1867	Guaranteed	Min. 275		
1868	Guaranteed	Min. 275		
1869	Guaranteed	Min. 275		
1870	Gain	206	17	6
1871	Gain	543	9	6
Total		18408	5	10

Table 33: Average Rates of Pay (£) for HBC Officers and Servants, Upper Fort Garry, 1844-1865.

1844				1858				1861			
Position	N	Total £	Average £	Position	N	Total £	Average £	Position	N	Total £	Average £
Clerk	2	150	75	Clerk	6	495	82.5	Clerk	6	525	87.5
Total	2	150	75	App. Clerk	2	45	22.5	App. Clerk	3	95	31.7
				Total	8	540	67.5	*Total*	9	620	68.8
Carpenter	1	40	40	Tinsmith	1	48	48	Interpreter	1	50	50
Distiller	1	30	30	Interpreter	2	95	47.5	Tinsmith	1	40	40
Storekeeper	1	25	25	Blacksmith	1	40	40	Joiner	1	30	30
Butler/Baker	1	25	25	Slooper	1	30	30	Slooper	1	30	30
Slooper	6	136	22.6	Mason	1	30	30	Blacksmith	2	48	24
Mason	3	136	45.3	Carpenter	1	30	30	Mason	1	24	24
Laborer	4	66	16.5	Groom	1	30	30	Midman	1	22	22
Cook	1	16	16	Farmer	1	30	30	Laborer	12	247	20.6
Total	18	474	26.3	Baker	1	24	24	*Total*	20	491	24.5
				Salesman	1	23	23				
				Laborer	6	88	14.6				
				Total	17	468	27.5				

1862				1864				1865			
Position	N	Total £	Average £	Position	N	Total £	Average £	Position	N	Total £	Average£
Clerk	5	475	95	Clerk	5	450	90	Clerk	5	450	90
App. Clerk	8	226	28.25	Postmaster	1	60	60	App. Clerk	4	165	41.25
Total	13	701	53.9	App. Clerk	4	160	40	Agent	1	350	350
				Total	10	670	67	Postmaster	1	60	60
								Engineer	1	100	100
Joiner	1	40	40	Blacksmith	1	40	40	*Total*	12	1125	93.75
Tinsmith	2	75	37.5	Joiner	1	40	40				
Blacksmith	1	35	35	Boatbuilder	1	40	40				
Interpreter	2	69	34.5	Unknown	1	35	35	Tinsmith	1	50	50
Hooper	1	30	30	Tinsmith	2	66	33	Blacksmith	1	45	45
Midman	1	22	22	Hooper	1	30	30	Joiner	1	40	40
Laborer	16	346	21.6	Midman	1	22	22	Slooper	1	30	30
Total	24	617	25.7	Laborer	16	325	20.3	Storesman	1	35	35
				Interpreter	1	7	7	Laborer	17	401	23.59
				Total	25	605	24.2	Boatbuilder	1	40	40
								Total	23	641	27.87

The Apprentice Clerks were usually the well educated sons of Gentlemen, recruited from Britain, primarily Scotland. With time, diligence, and intelligence an Apprentice Clerk could rise to the position of Clerk with its accompanying higher wage and position in the HBC. After a number of years in service, a Clerk may have been promoted to an Officer. Unfortunately, this was not often the case, and most Clerks remained in this occupation for their duration of service (Livermore 1976:45-47).

The position of Postmaster was an intermediate rank developed as a means by which the Métis and Country-Born could be employed in the Company. This was also the highest rank a Servant could achieve (Livermore 1976:47).

The Servants were the lowest class of employees with recruits originating in the Orkneys or Canada. Their pay was based on the level of skill they possessed. The more specialized, skilled occupations were specified in the lists and received correspondingly higher wages. The most general category of Servant was the Labourer who was paid the lowest wage and performed an extensive range of duties including "...tripping on the York Boat brigades to fishing, hunting, cutting wood, gardening and other necessities around the fort, including personal servitude to the officers..." (Livermore 1976:50).

The only available wage lists for Fort Garry were for the years 1824, 1825, and 1826 (see Appendix A). The wage lists for the years 1844, 1858, 1861, 1862, 1864, and 1865 (HBC B.235/f/1) were the only available records remaining, and represented the period when Upper and Lower Fort Garry were functioning simultaneously (see Appendix A). During this time, most of the employment records were kept at Upper Fort Garry. As a result, the lists of employees in the archival records presented here were accounts of the personnel

contracted to both Forts. The only employees who were designated to either of the Forts were the Chief Factor, Traders and Clerks (see Minutes of Council HBCA: B.239/k/11). The Servants were divided between the two posts in some fashion, but that information was not available. Some of the positions could be assigned to one Fort or the other, for instance, the Distiller, John Muir, appearing in the 1844 "Servants List" was likely assigned to Lower Fort Garry (LFG), since in 1845 a brewery and distillery were built at LFG (Ingram 1970a:45). The 1858 "Servants List" registered John Smith as Farmer, which corresponded with the establishment of the farm at LFG in 1857, and an increased need for experienced farm labour.

There were a few peculiarities in the HBC Fort documents that may have been understood without explanation when they were written originally, but at this point were puzzling. For example, the 1858 "Servants List" provided the average wages for a Labourer from £20 to £22 per annum. The exceptions to this were two Norwegian Labourers who received only £3.12s.19d and £3.6s.2d. Although both were dismissed, the record did not indicate that they received a cash advance in England which may have accounted for the extremely low wage, nor was there anything to indicate that this was the amount paid to them for services rendered prior to dismissal. This also altered the average wage for Labourers in 1858, and brought it down to approximately £14 per annum rather than £20.10s.0d had the Norwegians not been included.

i) Lower Fort Garry

There were three assemblages at Lower Fort Garry for which archival documentation

was available: the Big House, the Farmer's House, and the Troop Canteen and Barracks. The first assemblage was recovered from the Big House which was occupied for a number of years by HBC Governor George Simpson. In addition to administering the Company in Rupert's Land, he was Governor of the Northern Department and chief representative of the London Committee, a position he held for over thirty five years (Livermore 1976:179-180). After Simpson's departure from the Big House, it became home to Adam Thom, Recorder of Rupert's Land and others. In addition to a number of Military Officers and Chief Traders or Clerks in charge of the Fort, notables such as Eden Colville, Associate Governor of Rupert's Land; Chief Factor Ballenden; Lord Dufferin; Dr. Cowan; Rev. Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land; and Chief and Trade Commissioners lived at the Big House (Ingram 1970b:99-114).

In March 1821, the London Governor and Committee appointed Simpson as Governor of Rupert's Land, informing him as follows,

> We have now to enclose a Commission dated this day appointing you Governor in the territory of Ruperts Land, and to inform you that your Salary will be One Thousand pounds p. annum commencing on the 1st June 1821...[Fleming 1940:297].

Over Simpson's 35 year career, he would have received salary increases but further documentation concerning his income was unavailable, so an average of his salary could not be calculated. Comparing Simpson's wages to a Chief Trader (£203.8s.9d) and a Chief Factor (£406.17s.6d) in 1821, it was evident that Simpson received a substantial salary. There were only a few years between 1821 and 1870 when a Chief Factor might equal or exceed Simpson's income. Using £308 and £616 per annum as the average salaries for Chief Traders

and Factors respectively (Livermore 1976:43 see Chapter V, page 152), and Simpson's wage of £1000 per annum, the average salary for the Big House was £641 per annum.

The second assemblage was the Farmer's House. According to Livermore (1976:120), the Farmer at Lower Fort Garry was Alexander Lillie. He was listed in the 1858 "Servants List" in the capacity of Clerk and received the sum of £75 per year as wages. According to the same List, his contract expired in 1860. Although he did not appear in the 1861 "Servants List", it was recorded in the "Council Minutes" that he was still employed at Lower Fort Garry, earning £100 per annum, his contract expiring in 1861 (HBCA: B.235/b/7).

The third assemblage was the Troop Canteen and Barracks. According to Morrison (1970:170), the Sixth Regiment of Foot was housed in two stone structures he believed were the fur-loft/retail shop and the penitentiary. Chism (1970:36) dated the fur-loft to the early 1830s when Simpson was still at the Fort. Although the penitentiary was not used in that capacity until the 1870s or later, the structure itself may have been present at the site and available for use by the Sixth Regiment of Foot troops.

The "Muster and Paylists for a Detachment of the Sixth Regiment of Foot" provided a listing of all Military personnel; however, Payroll data were not available for the Officers. Payroll information adapted from the Public Record Office is presented in Table 34 (Public Records Office WO 12/2415 84019).

The highest ranking Noncommissioned Officer (NCO) present in the Sixth Regiment was the Colour Sergeant, earning a wage of £0.2s.4d per diem, or £42.11s.8d per annum. At the bottom of the hierarchy was the Private, earning £0.1s.0d per diem for a total of £18.5s.0d per annum.

Table 34: Paylist of Noncommissioned Officers and Enlisted Men, Sixth Regiment of Foot, 1846.

# Rank	Military Rank	# of days in Quarter	Rate per Diem (£.s.d)	Amount (£.s.d)	Wage/year (£.s.d)
0	Sergeant Major	0	0.3.0	0	0
0	Quarter Master Sergeant	0	0.2.6	0	0
3	Colour Sergeant	294	0.2.4	34.6.0	42.11.8
12	Sergeant	1176	0.1.10	107.16.0	33.9.2
12	Corporal	1176	0.1.4	78.8.0	24.6.8
6	Drummers and Fifers	588	0.1.1 3/4	33.13.9	20.18.2
258	Privates	25199	0.1.0	1259.19.0	18.5.0

Note: there were 98 days in the quarter, multiplied by the # in each rank produced the # of days in the quarter

Adapted from Public Record Office, Reference: WO 12/2415 84091 (form 12), Muster and Paylists for a Detachment of the Sixth Regiment of Foot 1846.

A portion of the Sixth Regiment of Foot was stationed at Lower Fort Garry and included:

2 Captains
4 Lieutenants
1 Assistant Surgeon
150 Rank and File (Privates)

In addition to the above personnel, there were Miners and Sappers; however their wages were not listed in the Muster and Paylist as they were part of the Royal Engineers (Morrison 1970:171).

The Officers listed above were housed separately from the Rank and File who would have been quartered together and responsible for the Troop Canteen and Barracks' assemblage. As all the NCOs from the Sixth Regiment were lodged at Upper Fort Garry, the only occupation represented by the Troop Canteen and Barracks assemblage was that of Private. Consequently, the total earnings of £2762.6s.0d at the Troop Canteen and Barracks averaged to £18.5s.0d per person per annum.

Utilizing the accounts of wages based on occupation received at Lower Fort Garry, it was possible to rank the three structures:

Rank 1 - Big House - Gov or CF - £641 per annum
Rank 2 - Farmer's House - Clerk - £75-100 per annum
Rank 3 - Troop Canteen/Barracks - Privates - £18.5s.0d per annum

ii) Upper Fort Garry

The two assemblages available from Upper Fort Garry were from the two Privy/Refuse Pits. Artifacts consisting of an 1846 coin, newspapers dated 1845 and 1846,

and a medallion bearing regimental markings have aided in the dating of Privy/Refuse Pit I (P/R I) to the mid-1840s. This date coincided with the presence of the Sixth Regiment of Foot stationed at Upper Fort Garry from 1846 to 1848 (Monks 1983:21-23). The date of Privy/Refuse Pit II (P/R II) remains unclear and has been thought to be either after the departure of the Sixth Regiment of Foot, or before the arrival of the Regiment (cf. Fifik 1986; Larcombe 1988:90; Seyers 1988:58). Regardless of P/R II's date of use, the assemblages of the two privy pits exhibited differences in the economic position of the individuals who used them. P/R II was used by the Officers of the HBC and Military.

Privy/Refuse Pit I was utilized by the Noncommissioned Officers (NCO), the rank and file from the Sixth Regiment of Foot, and possibly the Servants of the HBC. Upon arrival at the Red River Settlement, part of the troops were stationed at Lower Fort Garry and the rest were quartered at Upper Fort Garry (Morrison 1970:171). The NCOs and Enlisted Men arriving at Upper Fort Garry included:

3 Colour Sergeants
12 Sergeants
12 Corporals
6 Drummers
108 Men (Privates)

The available wages for the Sixth Regiment of Foot stationed at Upper Fort Garry are displayed in Table 34. Since the "Servants Lists" for this particular time were not available, only the military personnel were considered. The total earnings for these occupations was £2917.14s.0d per annum for P/R I, an average of £20.8s.0d per person per annum (for NCOs and Enlisted Men). As mentioned before, the balance of the troops were housed at Lower Fort Garry, and their earnings were £18.5s.0d per person per annum. This

placed the Troop Canteen and Barracks at Lower Fort Garry below the Privy/Refuse Pit I at Upper Fort Garry in terms of average annual salary.

Privy/Refuse Pit II was reserved for the use of Officers. If the pit pre-dated the arrival of the Sixth Regiment, it would have been used by the Officers of the HBC, including the Chief Factor and a number of Clerks. If it was still available for use upon arrival of the Sixth Regiment, Commissioned Military Officers as well as the HBC Officers would be responsible for the deposit. Considering only the Sixth Regiment, there were:

1 Major
2 Captains
1 Lieutenant
2 Ensigns
1 Surgeon

Since pay lists for the Officers were unavailable for the Sixth Regiment of Foot, it may be helpful to turn to the paylist of the Quebec Rifles, present at the RRS in 1870. The Quebec Rifles pay lists were recorded in dollars, but using Goldring's (1979:22) conversion from pounds sterling to dollars, the monthly and yearly dollar wages can be converted into pounds (£1 = $4.8666). Table 35 indicates the wages in dollars and pounds for each of the ranks represented in the Quebec Rifles.

Using this paylist, it was possible to calculate how many times larger Officers wages were than a Privates. Taking this information from the Quebec Rifles, it was then feasible to calculate probable wages for the Officers of the Sixth Regiment of Foot.

Listed below are the military positions in question, the number of times greater a Quebec Rifle Officer's wage was than a Private, and the equivalent Sixth Regiment Officers wages. Using the Sixth Regiment Private's wage of £18.5s.0d per annum the Sixth's Officers

Table 35: Paylist of Commissioned and Noncommissioned Officers and Privates, Quebec Rifles, 1870.

Payroll for the Second Battalion Quebec Rifles Oct. 1870					
Rank	Number	Wage/person	Total/month	£/Month/ person	£/Year/ person
Lieut. Colonel	1	$5.87/day	$181.97	37.4.4	448.13.0
Major	1	$4.90	$151.90	31.4.3	374.11.0
Captain	7	$3.58	$776.86	22.16.1	273.13.0
Lieutenant	7	$2.30	$499.10	14.13.0	175.16.2
Ensign	7	$1.97	$427.49	12.11.0	150.11.9
Surgeon	1	$4.65	$144.15	29.12.4	355.8.9
Paymaster	1	$3.95	$122.45	25.3.2	301.18.9
Adjutant	1	$3.34	$103.54	21.5.7	255.6.2
Quartermaster	1	$2.70	$83.70	17.4.0	206.7.9
Chaplain	1	$3.50	$110.98	22.16.0	273.13.0
Sgt. Major	1	$20.00/month	$20.00	4.2.2/month	49.6.4
Qt. Mst. Sgt.	1	$20.00	$20.00	4.2.2	49.6.4
Pay Mst. Sgt.	1	$18.00	$18.00	3.14.0	44.7.7
Hospital Sgt.	1	$18.00	$18.00	3.14.0	44.7.7
Armourer Sgt.	1	$18.00	$18.00	3.14.0	44.7.7
Colour Sgt.	7	$18.00	$126.00	3.14.0	44.7.7
Sergeant	21	$15.00	$315.00	3.1.0	36.19.9
Corporal and Bugler	35	$13.00	$455.00	2.13.4	32.1.2
Private	286	$12.00	$3,432.00	2.9.4	29.11.9
Total	382		$7,024.14	265.13.9	3190.15.0

ref: Morrison (1970:Appendix C p. 186)

wages were as follows:

Rank	Quebec	Wage for Sixth
Major	13 X>Private	£237.5s.0d
Captain	9.5 "	£173.8s.0d (2) = £346.16s.0d
Lieutenant	5.9 "	£107.9s.0d
Ensign	5.1 "	£91.5s.0d (2) = £182.10s.0d
Surgeon	12 "	£220.10s.0d

Using these figures the total earnings from these five occupations was £1094.10s.0d for an average of £156.7s.0d per person per annum. Comparing the Major's yearly earnings with the Chief Trader's earnings for 1846 to 1848, the Major's earnings were less than a Chief Trader, however it should be kept in mind that Major Crofton would have received a sum of money for the duties he performed as Governor of Assiniboia (refer below to Major Caldwell of the Chelsea Pensioners). However, as this sum was not available, it was not included.

Once the Sixth Regiment of Foot left Upper Fort Garry, the Chelsea Pensioners took their place. Should P/R II date to post-Sixth Regiment of Foot, it may have been utilized by the Commissioned Officers of the Chelsea Pensioners, as well as the HBC Chief Factor and Clerks. Only the 1849 census record included the Pensioners listing their military rank, family members and possessions. There were 27 military men associated with the Pensioners, including one Sergeant, one Sergeant-Major, two Corporals and 23 Privates. There were 81 individuals in total with the addition of family members, wives and children. These people did not own many possessions with regard to livestock or dwellings and there were no implements recorded. There were only three houses, one ox, four cows and two calves for all these people (PAM: MG 2 B3).

Some information regarding the salaries of military personnel was found for the Chelsea Pensioners, who began occupation of Upper Fort Garry in 1848. They were engaged for a seven year contract, at a particular rate of pay that was dependent on their rank. They were also given a grant of land on which they could live and farm. At the end of the seven years, it would become their property if they so desired. The rates of pay and land grants were as follows:

Rank	Salary	Land Grant
Private	1s.3d per day	20 acres
Corporal	1s.6d "	30 "
Sergeant	1s.10d "	40 "

In charge of the Pensioners, was a Field Officer or Subaltern who would be commissioned as Governor of Assiniboia and resided at the Fort. He received an allowance of £300 per annum and 10s.6d per day as the usual allowance for a staff officer of the first class. The Senior Officer received £50 per annum and 8s.6d per day (WO 43/89). Considering these wages, a Field Officer/Governor earned £491.12s.6d per annum and a Subaltern earned £205.2s.6d per annum. Depending on the year, the Officer/Governor may have earned close to a Chief Factor and usually as much as a Chief Trader. The Subaltern earnings were comparable to a Chief Trader during some years. Should P/R II be considered to have originated from the time of the Chelsea Pensioners, the average per person per annum was £402.4s.0d. This figure included the Pensioners Officers, the Chief Traders and Chief Factors stationed at Upper Fort Garry.

Should P/R II date as late as the arrival of the Quebec Rifles in 1870, the Commissioned Officers would have been responsible for the deposits. Examination of Table

35 reveals a discernible difference between Commissioned and Noncommissioned Officers. The lowest paid Commissioned Officer was an Ensign receiving £12.10s.6d per month while the highest NCO was a Sergeant Major receiving £4.2s.2d per month. Well below him were the Privates, earning roughly £2 per month.

Comparing the 1870 wages earned by the higher Officers of the Quebec Rifles with those earned by the HBC employees, the 1/85 share paid to a Chief Trader was £206.17s.6d and for the Chief Factor was £413.15s.0d. A Lieutenant Colonel was earning £37.7s.9d per month, which was £448.13s.7d when calculated over the course of a year, slightly more than a Chief Factor. However, due to the fluctuations in the yearly earnings of the HBC shares, in 1871, a Chief Trader would have been earning £543.9s.6d and a Chief Factor would have been earning £1086.19s.0d. Despite these yearly fluctuations, Commissioned Officers received high wages, comparable to a Chief Trader (and sometimes Factor) and well above a Clerk.

Using the Quebec Rifles wages for Officers, the total earnings for these five military ranks represented in P/R II were £1716 per annum. The average for these seven individuals was £245 per person per annum. This was approximately 13 times greater than the enlisted men.

Since the dating of the P/R II was unclear, and the deposits may have been from HBC Officers, Officers of the Sixth Regiment, Chelsea Pensioners or the Quebec Rifles, the average of all these individuals was calculated:

Sixth Regiment of Foot	£156.7s.0d
Chelsea Pensioners	£402.4s.0d
Quebec Rifles	£245.0s.0d
HBC Chief Trader	£308.0s.0d
HBC Chief Factor	£616.0s.0d

The total for the above wages was £1727.11s.0d which averaged to £345.10s.0d per person per annum.

These data indicated that P/R II ranked higher than P/R I, considering that P/R II was reserved for Officers and P/R I was utilized by the Noncommissioned Military and perhaps Servants of the HBC. Therefore, they ranked:

Rank 1 - Privy/Refuse II - £345.10s.0d per annum
Rank 2 - Privy/Refuse I - £20.8s.0d per annum

iii) Fort Garry

Wages for Fort Garry employees are presented in Appendix A (HBCA: B.235/f/1). These three documents were the only wage lists available for Fort Garry (1824, 1825, 1826), and indicated employees in the capacities of Steersman, Bowsman, and Middleman. In addition to the specific duties of each of these positions, the Servants were responsible for the general upkeep and chores required at the Fort. Contracts spanned three years for which they received the wage indicated. At the end of the contract, they had the option of renegotiating a new contract or return home. These three wage lists were recorded shortly after amalgamation. Occasionally, wages were listed in "livres" and "prix de postes" which may have been a carry over from the NWC. The latter term referred to the wage an unskilled Canadian labourer was paid. This wage was originally fixed at the post, but later it was fixed by the Council (Innis 1956:312). However, since these rates remain unknown, they have not

been included in any of the calculations. The "Abstracts of Servants' Accounts from York Factory" (HBCA: B.239/g/4) recorded the names of Officers and Clerks. The specific wages were not recorded for Clerks; nevertheless, an estimate was made based on the averages already calculated and presented in Table 33.

The personnel of Fort Garry consisted of the Chief Trader or Factor, a few Clerks and a number of Servants. The average wage for all Servants at this time was £19 per annum, while the Chief Trader was earning £344.14s.10d per annum and a Chief Factor, £689.9s.8d per annum as calculated for the three years using the amounts recorded in Table 32. The average wage for a Clerk between 1844 and 1865 was approximately £86 per annum, with the lowest wage in 1844 as £75 per annum (see Table 33). From 1844 to 1865, there did not appear to be a noticeable increase in a Clerks wage; therefore, an average of £86.13s.5d per annum was used.

The average income per person per annum for each of the three available Fort Garry documents were the following (N = number of employees):

Year	Total Wages	N	Average
1824	£1185.15s.6d	20	£59.5s.9d
1825	£1101.8s.11d	12	£91.15s.8d
1826	£1234.8s.11d	19	£64.19s.0d

The average of all three years was £72.0s.1d per person per annum.

Prior to amalgamation in 1821, Fort Garry was the NWC post Fort Gibraltar II. After amalgamation it was renamed. By the early 1830s, it had deteriorated to such an extent that Lower Fort Garry was constructed. By the end of the 1830s, Fort Garry was used to house the Experimental Farm headed by Captain Cary and the Servants employed for farm

maintenance. The cellar features excavated were thought to represent the remains of a structure housing the Gentlemen of the Company. The presence of the cellar under the building was considered to occur only in residences inhabited by officers, based on evidence at Upper Fort Garry (Monks 1992:46). However, the origins of the refuse tossed into the available pit once the building had been removed could not be determined. Therefore, it was possible that this was a disposal area used by all employees of the post, rather than a midden reserved specifically for Officer or Servant rubbish.

iv) Ranking the Forts

The six assemblages were represented by various occupations that were defined by specific wages. It was possible to rank the Fort assemblages on the basis of occupation. From the previous calculations of each of the assemblages from the three Forts, the resulting ranking was as follows:

Rank	Assemblage	Wage/annum
1	Big House	£641
2	Privy/Refuse II	£345.10s.0d
3	Farmer's House	£100
4	Fort Garry	£72.0s.1d
5	Privy/Refuse I	£20.8s.0d
6	Troop Canteen/Barracks	£18.5s.0d

b) The Settlement

i) Ranking

The HBC census was taken during April or May by an HBC appointee, providing records for a number of years in the first half of the nineteenth century. The remnants of the 1856 census was the last document available but, unfortunately, it did not contain information about the individuals under consideration in this study. The next available document was the specialized 1868 Relief Committee Report, the function of which was to record damages and the subsequent needs of the people in the settlement after a devastating locust infestation. The focus of concern was the harvest, specifically the bushels of potatoes and grain harvested in 1867 and 1868, which would determine the amount of assistance to be provided by the Council of Assiniboia. As a result, the data available differed moderately from the census records. After Confederation in 1870, the Federal government carried out national censuses in 1880, 1881, and 1901, which were concerned with different information and provided fewer details than the HBC census documents.

The HBC census records contributed seventeen possible variables that could be used for determining the Relative Economic Position for some of the individuals in this study. Table 36 provides the information collected from a number of census years recorded by the HBC (PAM MG 2 B3). The data recorded in this table replicated their appearance in the original documents. Note that the 1865 entry for Pierre Beauchamp was retrieved from his Will rather than the census records. This explains his absence in the "married men" column (McLeod 1983:92).

To scale the individuals, each variable was rank ordered. The ranks for an individual

Table 36: HBC Census Records for RRS Individuals.

Date	Name	Age	Sex	Geographical Location	Religion	Country Birth	Married Men	Unmarried Men	Married Women	Unmarried Women
	GARDEN SITE									
1834	Beauchamp, Pierre	22			Catholic	Ruperts Land	1	0	1	0
1834-35	Beauchamp, Pierre	23			Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0
1838	Beauchamp, Pierre	26	Male	Lower Settlement	Protestant	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0
1840	Beauchamp, Pierre	0			Protestant	Native	1	0	1	0
1846	Beauchamp, Pierre	33			Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0
1849	Beauchamp, Pierre	38	Male	Catholic Settlement	Catholic	Rupert's land	1	0	1	0
1865	Beauchamp, Pierre	53							1	
	RIEL HOUSE SITE									
1834-35	Parenteau, Pierre	37			Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0
1838	Parenteau, Pierre	40	Male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0
1840	Parenteau, Pierre	42			Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0
1843	Parenteau, Pierre	45	Male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0
1849	Parenteau, Pierre	52	Male	Catholic Settlement	Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0
1834-35	Gendron, Francois				Catholic	Native	1	0	1	0
1838	Gendron, Francois	0	Male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0
1840	Gendron, Francois				Catholic	Native	1	0	1	0
1843	Gendron, Francois	0	Male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0
1847	(Ireland)Riel, Louis	27	Male	Catholic Settlement	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0
1849	Rielle Louis	30	Male	Catholic Settlement	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0
	DELORME SITE									
1843	Delorme Joseph	0	Male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0
1849	D Lorme Joseph	36	Male	Catholic Settlement	Catholic	Rupert's land	1	0	1	0
1876	Delorme Pierre	46	Male	St. Norbert	Catholic					
1901	Delorme Pierre	70	Male	St. Adolphe	Catholic		1	3	1	
	1868 Census Data for Riel and Delorme	Age	Sex	Geographical Location	Religion	Country of Birth	Married Men	Unmarried Men	Married Women	Unmarried Women
1868	Riel Veuve		Female	St. Vital	Catholic		2	4	3	
1868	Delorme Pierre		Male	St. Norbert	Catholic		3		3	
	EXPERIMENTAL FARM									
1840	Experimental Farm						1	0	1	0

Table 36: HBC Census Records for RRS Individuals.

Son>16 yrs.	Son<16 yrs.	Daughter>15 yrs.	Daughter<15 yrs.	Total Population	Houses	Stables	Barns	Total Dwellings	Horses	Mares	Oxen	Bulls	Cows	Calves	Pigs	Sheep	Total Livestock
0	2	0	0	4	0	1	0	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	8
0	2	0	0	4	1	1	0	2	3	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	10
0	3	0	1	6	1	0	0	1	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	0	12
0	3	0	1	6	1	1	0	2	2	2	3	0	2	3	3	0	15
0	3	0	3	8	1	2	0	3	4	1	4	0	5	3	3	0	20
0	3	0	3	8	1	2	0	3	4	3	4	0	5	1	0	0	17
	3		3	7	2	1	0	3	3	1	2	0	2	0	2	0	10
0	1	0	4	7	1	1	1	3	1	1	4	1	3	5	10	0	25
0	2	0	3	7	1	1	0	2	3	2	2	0	3	4	10	0	24
0	2	1	2	7	1	1	0	2	1	2	3	0	3	2	10	10	31
0	2	0	2	6	1	1	1	3	1	1	7	0	3	2	18	15	47
0	3	1	1	7	1	2	1	4	2	2	2	0	3	5	5	10	29
0	2	0	3	7	1	1	0	2	1	0	2	0	2	2	7	0	14
0	2	0	3	7	1	1	0	2	1	0	2	0	2	2	7	0	14
0	1	0	3	6	1	1	0	2	1	0	3	0	2	1	5	0	12
0	2	0	3	7	1	2	1	4	2	1	1	0	3	4	2	5	18
tot. # children 3				5	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	5	1	5	8	22
0	1	0	1	4	1	1	0	2	1	0	3	0	3	0	2	8	17
0	1	0	2		1	2	1	4	1	1	4	0	1	2	3	0	12
0	2	0	4		1	2	0	3	2	1	2	0	4	2	0	0	11
					1	2+	2+		1			1	herd			6	
				5	1	6		7									

Son>16 yrs.	Son<16 yrs.	Daughter>15 yrs.	Daughter<15 yrs.	Tot. Pop.	Houses	Stables	Barns	Tot. Dwell.	Horses	Mares	Oxen	Bulls	Cows	Calves	Pigs	Sheep	Tot. Live.
				7					5		3		3	5			16
tot.# children 3				6?					10		11		7	10			38
0	9	1	9	65	4	4	1	9	3	5	20	1	26	29	32	660	776

Table 36: HBC Census Records for RRS Individuals.

Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Boats	Canoes	Total Implements	Cult. Acres	Type of Institution	Res/Boards
1	0	2	0	0	2	4.5		
0	1	3	0	0	4	8		
1	1	4	0	1	7	30	non-inst.	own res.
1	1	3	0	1	6	4		
1	1	5	1	0	8	3		
1	1	6		1	8	80		
0	0	5	0	0	5	N/A		
1	1	2	0	1	5	15		
1	1	5	0	1	8	50	non-inst.	own res.
1	1	2	0	1	5	6		
1	1	4	0	1	7	200	non-inst.	own res.
1	1	4	0	1	7	130		
1	1	2	0	1	5	3		
1	1	2	0	1	5	30	non-inst.	own res.
1	1	2	0	1	5	5		
1	1	2	0	1	5	100	non-inst.	own res.
						3		
1	1	2		1	5	100		
1	0	5	0	3	9	110	non-inst.	own res.
1	1	4		1	7	150		
						1500		
						400	$200.00 earnings	

Usual bush.	Grain 1867	Potatoes 1867	Grain 1868	Potatoes 1868	Able bodied men	Able bodied men who can leave home	
15	0	0		0	0	0	
30	400	100			1	1	
6	8	14	0	1	29	70	7 sheepfolds &1 donkey

were added together and divided by the total number of variables to produce an Index Value that was used to place the individual on a scale of Relative Economic Position. Although Delorme was listed in the 1868 Relief Committee report, he did not appear in any census records. In order to include Pierre Delorme, other historic documents needed to be consulted.

Table 37A presents the result of scaling three RRS individuals (Riel, Gendron, and Beauchamp) on the basis of their possessions as recorded in the censuses. Only sixteen variables were used because the three individuals did not own any bulls. In some census years, mills were recorded in a "Remarks" column. It was known that Riel was involved in milling (Gosman 1977), although it was not recorded in the available census years. If mills were added in as a seventeenth variable and rank orders calculated for these three individuals, their rank ordering remains the same. The final rank ordering was as follows:

Rank	Name
1	Gendron
2	Beauchamp
3	Riel

Since census data for Pierre Delorme was so scanty, it would be interesting to look at his father, Joseph, as an understanding of his economic background may be helpful to perceive how Pierre entered into the RRS. A number of Joseph Delormes existed in the census records; however, a number of records had to be eliminated as there were multiple entries and no means to distinguish one Joseph Delorme from the other. A general idea of his position in the community was determined by examining two reliable census years, 1843 and 1849. Table 37B ranks Joseph Delorme with Beauchamp, Gendron and Riel. When figured into the above ranking, based on either 16 or 17 variables, he ranked in first position.

Table 37: Ranking of RRS Individuals based on HBC Census Record Variables.

[redacted]

Name	Houses	Rank	Stables	Rank	Barns	Rank	Horses	Rank	Mares	Rank	Oxen	Rank	Cows	Rank	Calves	Rank	Pigs	Rank	Sheep	Rank	Ploughs	Rank
Beauchamp	1	2	1.14	2	0	2.5	2.9	1	1.7	1	2.6	1	2.6	2	1.4	2	1.7	3	0	3	0.7	2
Gendron	1	2	1.25	1	0.25	1	1.25	2	0.35	3	2	2.5	2.25	3	2.25	1	5.25	1	0.25	2	1	1
Riel	1	2	1	3	0	2.5	1	3	0.5	2	2	2.5	4	1	0.5	3	3.5	2	8	1	0.5	3

Name	Harrows	Rank	Carts	Rank	Boats	Rank	Canoes	Rank	Acres	Rank	∑ Rank	N	∑R/N	Rank	Mill	Rank	∑ Rank	N	∑R/N	Rank
Beauchamp	0.7	2	4	1	0.14	1	0.43	3	6	2	30.5	16	1.91	2	0	2.5	33	17	1.94	2
Gendron	1	1	2	2	0	2.5	1	1	5.25	3	29	16	1.81	1	0	2.5	31.5	17	1.85	1
Riel	0.5	3	1.5	3	0	2.5	0.5	2	6.5	1	36.5	16	2.28	3	1	1	37.5	17	2.21	3

[redacted]

Name	Houses	Rank	Stables	Rank	Barns	Rank	Horses	Rank	Mares	Rank	Oxen	Rank	Cows	Rank	Calves	Rank	Pigs	Rank	Sheep	Rank	Ploughs	Rank
Beauchamp	1	2.5	1.14	3	0	3.5	2.9	1	1.7	1	2.6	2	2.6	2	1.4	3	1.7	3	0	3.5	0.7	3
Gendron	1	2.5	1.25	2	0.25	2	1.25	3	0.35	4	2	3.5	2.25	4	2.25	1	5.25	1	0.25	2	1	1.5
Riel	1	2.5	1	4	0	3.5	1	4	0.5	3	2	3.5	4	1	0.5	4	3.5	2	8	1	0.5	4
Delorme, J	1	2.5	2	1	0.5	1	1.5	2	1	2	3	1	2.5	3	2	2	1.5	4	0	3.5	1	1.5

Name	Harrows	Rank	Carts	Rank	Boats	Rank	Canoes	Rank	Acres	Rank	∑ Rank	N	∑R/N	Rank	Mill	Rank	∑ Rank	N	∑R/N	Rank
Beauchamp	0.7	2	4	2	0.14	1	0.43	4	6	3	39.5	16	2.47	2.5	0	3	42.5	17	2.5	2.5
Gendron	1	1	2	3	0	3	1	2	5.25	4	39.5	16	2.47	2.5	0	3	42.5	17	2.5	2.5
Riel	0.5	3.5	1.5	4	0	3	0.5	3	6.5	2	48	16	3	4	1	1	49	17	2.9	4
Delorme, J	0.5	3.5	4.5	1	0	3	2	1	13	1	33	16	2.06	1	0	3	36	17	2.12	1

[redacted]

Name	Houses	Rank	Stables	Rank	Barns	Rank	Horses	Rank	Oxen	Rank	Bulls	Rank	Cows	Rank	Sheep	Rank	Ploughs	Rank	Harrows	Rank
Beauchamp	1	2.5	1.14	3	0	3.5	2.9	2	2.6	2	0	3	2.6	2	0	4	0.7	3	0.7	3
Gendron	1	2.5	1.25	2	0.25	2	1.25	3	2	3.5	0	3	2.25	4	0.25	3	1	1.5	1	1.5
Riel	1	2.5	1	4	0	3.5	1	4	2	3.5	0	3	4	1	8	1	0.5	4	0.5	4
Delorme, P	1	2.5	2.6	1	0.66	1	3.3	1	3.67	1	0.33	1	2.33	3	2	2	1	1.5	1	1.5

Name	Acres	Rank	∑ Rank	N	∑R/N	Rank	Mill	Rank	∑ Rank	N	∑R/N	Rank
Beauchamp	6	3	31	11	2.82	3	0	3	34	12	2.83	4
Gendron	5.25	4	30	11	2.73	2	0	3	33	12	2.75	2
Riel	6.5	2	32.5	11	2.95	4	1	1	33.5	12	2.79	3
Delorme, P	100	1	16.5	11	1.5	1	0	3	19.5	12	1.63	1

This placed Joseph Delorme in a fairly high position among the Métis in the RRS, and this background may have had positive consequences on Pierre's future.

It was necessary to extrapolate information from the available documentary evidence in order to include Pierre Delorme with the others in the rank ordering. There were three available sets of data for Pierre Delorme, although none of them provided the entire complement of variables available to Riel, Gendron and Beauchamp. Accessible was the 1868 Relief Committee Report, the description provided by Hamilton in 1876, and the 1901 census. Although the latter two sources were outside the time frame of this thesis, it was necessary to understand Delorme's position in the community during the period in his life when he was an active member. As his year of birth was much later than the other individuals, he was only 17 years old at the time of the 1849 census. In addition, he was not recorded in the existing portions of the 1856 census. The other individuals were born earlier and census information reflected the time of their lifecycle when they were accumulating possessions. Delorme must be examined during the same period of his life in order to be able to place him in the scale of relative economic position on equal footing with the others.

In the 1868 Relief Committee records, Pierre Delorme was recorded as harvesting 400 bushels of grain and 100 bushels of potatoes in the 1867, the year before the locust infestation. He would have required a plough and a harrow and a reasonable number of acres to harvest these quantities. He was also recorded as having a total of 38 livestock in 1868, far more than the other individuals. He was also in possession of eleven oxen used for carting and perhaps for ploughing. The large number of oxen reasonably indicated a substantial number of carts; however, carts were not included in the calculations since their numbers

were not recorded.

Using Hamilton's (1876) account of Delorme's way station/home, further material was accumulated. Hamilton (1876:223-225) reported that Delorme had an above average Métis home, as well as a number of outbuildings, a grade bull and six sheep. Although he made reference to a herd of cattle, an actual number was not given. Delorme also had 1500 acres, a garden and fruit trees. From the 1901 census, the only usable data were references to dwellings that included one house and six stables. This document indicated that he had 400 acres under cultivation.

The three years of data were utilized in the same manner as the other individuals under consideration. There was some question as to the amount of land under cultivation, and for these purposes, a figure of 100 acres was estimated and used. This was a low figure, considering the Delorme data, and may not have been representative of the total amount he used. Only those items with an enumerated quantity were used, the others have been noted but were not included in the calculations, with the exception of a plough and harrow.

In addition to Pierre Delorme's accumulated possessions (see Hamilton 1876), his position was secured by the wages he received in 1871 as an M.L.A. for Provencher. Using Goldring's (1979) conversion, his $8801.60 per annum wage was equivalent to £1809. With supplementary allowances, his wage would have amounted to $12,795.68 or approximately £2629 per annum. The 1/85 share for a Chief Trader in 1871 was £543.9s.6d and the 2/85 share for a Chief Factor was £1086.19s.0d. Even without the supplement, Delorme was receiving a higher income than a Chief Factor. Because he was the Minister of Agriculture for only a few months in 1879, he was not listed in Public Accounts in this position. This

aside, his Ministerial salary would have been $7,000.00 or approximately £1438 per year, without the extra Member of Parliament salary. In addition to his thriving farm, this salary placed him in Rank 1 when considered with the colonists (Treasury Department 1878).

The final calculations were based solely on the census data using only those variables available to all. Table 37C presents the ranking of the four RRS individuals using eleven (excluding mills) and twelve (including mills) variables that were common to all. There was representation of the four major categories of variables: dwellings, livestock, implements, and acres. The variables eliminated were mares, calves, pigs, carts, boats and canoes. The final ranking of the four individuals based on twelve variables was as follows:

Rank	Name
1	Delorme
2	Gendron
3	Riel
4	Beauchamp

Despite the scanty census information for Delorme, he still ranked in first position. Beauchamp and Riel changed position which was perhaps a result of the variables chosen for these calculations. It was interesting that Beauchamp (Garden Site) once again ranked in the lowest position, repeating the trend observed in the ceramic and faunal indices.

ii) Comparison with Gosman

The above ranking indicated the position each individual held in relation to each other. It was instructive to see how these individuals compared to the rest of the RRS. In his 1977 study, Gosman compared the rising merchant/trader Métis of St. Boniface, first, to the Métis involved in the hunt, and second, to the Scot and Orkney farmers. Gosman (1977)

selected six possessions (carts, acres, cows, pigs, sheep and ploughs) and calculated the average of each owned by the various groups. These groups included the Roman Catholic French Canadians and Rupert's Lander Métis living in St. Boniface and Grantown; and the Protestant Scots, Orkneymen, and Rupert's Landers living in the English Settlement. Gosman's (1977) article did not compare these items in an attempt to determine the wealth of the various groups, but he selected these items as indicators of the two distinct ways of life, that is to say, the migratory, hunting, Rupert's Landers of Grantown and the sedentary, merchant/trader of St. Boniface.

Gosman (1977) focused his study on the Riel and Lagimodière families between 1840 and 1860, and compared these families with French Canadian and Rupert's Land Métis in the RRS. He developed a number of informative tables which were utilized for the individuals in this thesis. He calculated the average numbers of Red River carts, number of acres cultivated, and the numbers of cows, pigs, sheep and ploughs owned by household heads based on "...religious affiliation and birthplace, in St. Boniface, Grantown, and the English Settlement" (Gosman 1977: Appendices A, D, E). Utilizing these averages, individuals under consideration were placed within the community in general.

Table 38 provides the average number of possessions for Rupert's Landers and Canadians supplied by Gosman, as well as the averages for the individuals examined in this thesis. The census years used by Gosman (1977) to determine the averages for the six variables were 1832, 1838, 1843, 1847, and 1849. For some individuals, the available census dates did not quite match, but they appeared in census years that were close enough to provide useful comparisons. All three individuals compared to Gosman (1977) were Catholic

Table 38: Comparison of Beauchamp, Gendron, Riel and J. Delorme with Rupert's Lander Averages (from Gosman 1977).

	Average/RL	Beauchamp	Gendron	Riel	J. Delorme
Carts					
1832	0.48	2	2	n/a	n/a
1838	1.5	4	2	n/a	n/a
1843	2.13	3	2	n/a	5
1847	1.7	5	n/a	0	n/a
1849	1.86	6	n/a	2	4
Acres					
1832	2.73	4.5	3	n/a	n/a
1838	1.97	8	5	n/a	n/a
1843	4.02	4	10	n/a	11
1847	3.47	3	n/a	3	n/a
1849	5.19	8	n/a	10	15
Cows					
1832	1.49	1	2	n/a	n/a
1838	1.27	2	2	n/a	n/a
1843	1.52	2	3	n/a	1
1847	1.66	5	n/a	5	n/a
1849	1.39	5	n/a	3	4
Pigs					
1832	2.75	2	7	n/a	n/a
1838	1.52	2	5	n/a	n/a
1843	183	3	2	n/a	3
1847	3.89	3	n/a	5	n/a
1849	0.99	0	n/a	2	0
Sheep					
1832	n/a	0	0	n/a	n/a
1838	0.02	0	0	n/a	n/a
1843	0.95	0	5	n/a	0
1847	1.11	0	n/a	8	n/a
1849	0.56	0	n/a	8	n/a
Ploughs					
1832	0.16	1	1	n/a	n/a
1838	0.31	1	1	n/a	n/a
1843	0.39	1	1	n/a	1
1847	0.35	1	n/a	0	n/a
1849	0.43	1	n/a	1	1

Rupert's Lander Métis.

Beauchamp had an above average number of carts. Three out of the five years were greater than average for acres under cultivation, although there were two years when he was slightly less than average. He was above average in the number of cows he kept in all years except 1834, and he was below average in all years, except 1840, for sheep.

Information about François Gendron was available in three census years. The Gendron family had an above average number of carts except in 1843. The number of acres under cultivation was always well above the average as was the number of livestock, with the exception of the lack of sheep in 1838. Although there were no census years available for Gendron during the Riel Site occupation, there was a general increase in the items under consideration for the years that were available. This suggested a continued increase in possessions when Gendron occupied the Riel Site.

Jean-Louis Riel had only two years of census records to compare with Gosman's averages. These years predated the Riel House Site occupation, but they were necessary to examine since they were the only records available for comparison. It was during Jean-Louis' lifetime that the reputation and economic position of the family within the community were established. With regards to the number of carts, in 1847 he was below average, in 1849 he was above average. The first year, he was below average for the number of acres under cultivation, but not by a great deal, and in the second year he was well above average. In both years, he scored above average in the numbers of livestock kept. Although Gosman did not consider mills, Riel was involved in milling operations and was an owner or part owner of three mills. This would put him above average in this category since the number of mills in

the RRS was quite low.

All three individuals owned a plough in all available census years. According to Gosman (1977) an emphasis on farming was indicated by the ownership of a high priced plough. The European-born Scots had one plough per household as a matter of course since, more often than not, they were farmers. On the other hand, for the St. Boniface "...Métis born in Canada there were only 84 ploughs for 129 householders in 1849. The hunting Métis of Grantown were less likely to own a plough..." (Gosman 1977:40). The tendency to have had livestock was also indicative of a more sedentary lifestyle due to the continual care demands of livestock. This also stressed agriculture as opposed to hunting or trading (Gosman 1977:40). The ownership of implements and the higher than average livestock pointed toward a more sedentary, generally above average, farming lifestyle for Riel, Gendron and Beauchamp.

Pierre Delorme could not be included in this comparison because the census years used by Gosman (1977) predated Pierre's involvement in the RRS. Turning once again to his father and briefly examining Joseph Delorme's possessions, he was above average for carts, acres under cultivation, and the number of cows and ploughs. He was above average in 1843 for pigs but below average in 1849. He was below average for the number of sheep.

Although Gosman's (1977) calculations showed that averages for Catholic Métis born in Rupert's Land were lower than the Catholic Métis born in Canada, this did not appear to be the case with the individuals in this thesis. Comparing Beauchamp, Gendron and Riel to the Canadian Métis averages, it was observed that they exceeded the Canadian Métis in some years for some variables (see Table 38). Beauchamp had a greater number of carts, Riel

scored higher than average for cows and sheep, and Joseph Delorme was higher than average for carts and acres. With the exception of Riel, all individuals scored higher than average for ploughs. Since all individuals' averages were higher than the Rupert's Lander averages and higher than some Canadian averages, they were undeniably well above the average Rupert's Lander in terms of economic position.

iii) Comparison with Protestant Orkney and Scots

Table 39 compares the three individuals with the averages for the Protestants born in the Orkneys and Scotland (Gosman 1977). Regarding cart ownership, Beauchamp exceeded the Orkney and Scots averages. Gendron exceeded them in the first two census years (1832, 1838), and was slightly lower in the third year. Riel on the other hand was well below the average of Orkney and Scottish Protestants in cart ownership.

This appeared to be the only category in which these individuals surpassed their Protestant, European counterparts. Pierre Delorme was again exempt from these comparisons; however, his father, Joseph Delorme, ranked higher than average for both carts and acres, lower for cows and sheep, and the numbers of pigs and ploughs varied. The high numbers of carts owned by Beauchamp, Gendron, and Delorme reflected their involvement in tripping to St. Paul, free trading or commercial bison hunting.

iv) Ranking using Gosman

Using Gosman, it was possible to rank order only three of the individuals in the study, since Pierre Delorme must be omitted; however, Joseph Delorme was included.

Table 39: Comparison of Beauchamp, Gendron, Riel and J. Delorme with Orkney and Scottish Averages (from Gosman 1977).

	Orkney	Scottish	Beauchamp	Gendron	Riel	J. Delorme
Carts						
1832	0.94	1.02	2	2	n/a	n/a
1838	1.61	1.61	4	2	n/a	n/a
1843	2.48	2.46	3	2	n/a	5
1847	n/a	3.26	5	n/a	0	n/a
1849	n/a	3.31	6	n/a	2	4
Acres						
1832	7.5	6.97	4.5	3	n/a	n/a
1838	10.07	9.67	8	5	n/a	n/a
1843	12.78	11.04	4	10	n/a	11
1847	n/a	13.31	3	n/a	3	n/a
Cows						
1832	4.02	4.26	1	2	n/a	n/a
1838	4.63	4.98	2	2	n/a	n/a
1843	5.32	5.75	2	3	n/a	1
1847	n/a	7.21	5	n/a	5	n/a
1849	n/a	6.2	5	n/a	3	4
Pigs						
1832	7.88	3.6	2	7	n/a	n/a
1838	5.36	2.37	2	5	n/a	n/a
1843	n/a	2.69	3	2	n/a	3
1847	n/a	8.13	3	n/a	5	n/a
1849	n/a	2.66	0	n/a	2	0
Sheep						
1832	n/a	n/a	0	0	n/a	n/a
1838	2.21	3.04	0	0	n/a	n/a
1843	11.03	17.48	0	5	n/a	0
1847	n/a	18.22	0	n/a	8	n/a
1849	n/a	15.31	0	n/a	8	0
Ploughs						
1832	n/a	0.66	1	1	n/a	n/a
1838	n/a	0.74	1	1	n/a	n/a
1843	n/a	0.83	1	1	n/a	1
1847	n/a	1.11	1	n/a	0	n/a
1849	n/a	1	1	n/a	1	1

Using the variables and rank orders obtained from Table 37, the results of the calculations were as follows:

Rank	Name
1.5	Riel
1.5	Joseph Delorme
3	Gendron
4	Beauchamp

Beauchamp remained in the same position when using the census variables or using Gosman's averages. Utilizing the variables Gosman (1977) selected, Joseph Delorme tied with Riel in first position. Comparing this rank ordering with the previous rank ordering based on the census variables, J. Delorme ranked first and Riel ranked third. The difference between the two rank orderings may have been a factor of the variables selected by Gosman as opposed to the broader range of variables used here. The selection of variables in the previous calculations of rank was preferable to Gosman's because of the breadth of indicators used to determine economic position.

c) Fort and RRS Ranking

Using the archival and historic documents, the Fort personnel were ranked on the basis of occupation, while the settlers were ranked on the basis of possessions. Relative Economic Position could be calculated using either occupations or possessions; however, a bridge between the two must be defined in order to connect the two data sets. In order to solve this problem, consideration was given to converting possessions to a dollar (or pound) value and ranking everyone on a monetary basis. This may have worked if all the individuals in question lived at the same time. Unfortunately, they lived over a span of forty years and

inflationary rates, unavailable prices of some goods, and price fluctuations made this calculation problematic and uncertain.

Although it was not possible to translate possessions into money, perhaps it was possible to translate occupations into possessions. This permitted the census information available for the Settlement individuals (farmers and merchant/traders), to be connected with the wage information available for the Fort and Military personnel. If it could be demonstrated that an individual in a particular occupation, earning a particular wage, could have afforded a certain amount of material possessions, it was then possible to rank him with other members of the community and placed him in his relative economic position within the Settlement. It became possible, then, to place assemblages not created by an individual, for instance, the Troop Canteen and Barracks, into an overall ranking based on the average wage of those who created the assemblage.

In order to carry this out, the following steps were taken: 1) select individuals who had been connected to a particular occupation and wage while in the HBC employ, who left the HBC and settled in the RRS, and who then had archival census information recording possessions; 2) rank order their income based on wage lists and possessions based on census information; 3) perform a Spearman's Rho Correlation test to demonstrate that there was correlation between wages earned and possessions owned; 4) rank the settlers and ex-HBC employees together, demonstrating their relative economic positions to each other based on possessions common to all; 5) link the ranking of the ex-HBC employees and RRS settlers to their corresponding assemblages, which permitted, by extension from average salary data, the ranking of all the assemblages.

The first step in this process was accomplished by examining Fort personnel who had worked for the HBC and then left its employ to reside in the colony. As HBC employees, they would have had a listed occupation and an accompanying wage that granted them a certain level of purchasing power. Once in the Settlement, these people would have bought material goods, including those items recorded in the census. Therefore, an individual's known wages in the Company would have been reflected by his possessions once in the colony.

Table 40 presents the name, occupation and wage of ex-HBC employees available for study. After examining the available documents, eight individuals were selected. Seven men had retired from the HBC and lived in the colony. The eighth was still in HBC employ, but resided in the RRS. This provided all individuals with reliable data both in the census and HBC records. Despite the numerous individuals that worked for the HBC, and the large number of available census returns, it was not easy to link HBC employees to the census records. Because of the inconsistencies in the censuses, repetition of family and given names, errors, and missing information, only data with a high degree of reliability were selected. The eight qualifying individuals included one Chief Factor, one Warden of the Plains, one Clerk, and five Servants, three of whom only had one census year available to them.

Table 40: Name, Occupation and Yearly Wages for HBC Employees appearing in some or all Census Records Years 1833, 1838, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1849.

Name	Position	Wage (£)
James Bird	Chief Factor	638.4s.6d
Cuthbert Grant	Warden	200
Robert Clouston	Clerk	75
Cox, John	Slooper	30
Muir, John	Labourer/Distiller	17-30
Laliberte, Alexis	Bowsman/Labourer	23
Boisvert, Jean Baptiste	Middleman	17
St. Denis, Jacques	Middleman	17

A few clarifications regarding these employees were necessary. James Bird was known to have been employed as Chief Factor from 1823 to 1826, inclusive, and as such, he received 2/85 dividends during this time. The amount presented above was an average of the years in which he served the HBC in that capacity (HBCA B.239/g/2; Livermore 1976:43). Cuthbert Grant was initially employed by the HBC as a Clerk from 1822 to 1824 then retired to the settlement. In 1828, he was appointed by the HBC as Warden of the Plains and received the sum of £200 per annum from the Company until he resigned in 1849 (Pannekoek 1991:76; HBCA B.239/k/2). Robert Clouston's wage of £75 per annum, was mid-range for Clerks whose earning ranged from £20 as an Apprentice Clerk to £100 as a Clerk. Clouston's data were from the 1858 "Servants List" (HBCA B.235/f/1). During the early Fort Garry years, Bowsman, Steersman and Middleman were the only positions listed; however, these men would have acted as general Labourers. The three positions appeared in the early "Servants Lists" and disappeared after 1827. After that point, Bowsman, Steersman, and Middlemen were paid on a per trip basis. The wages for these three positions fluctuated over time, but their ranking remained constant. The best paid of the three were the

Steersmen, followed by Bowsmen and finally Middlemen. After 1827, the post duties performed by these men would have been completed by the general Labourers. Muir was listed in the 1844 List as a Distiller, and in earlier records as a general Labourer, providing him with a range of wages.

Table 41 presents the available census data for ex-HBC employees residing in the RRS. These records fall between 1833 and 1849. The employees were from mixed heritage, religion and location within the RRS. Bird was a Protestant Englishman, Clouston was a Protestant Orkneyman, and Cox and Muir were Protestant Scots. Boisvert and St. Denis were Catholic Canadians and it was highly unlikely that they were Métis, while Grant and Laliberte were Catholic Rupert's Landers and Métis.

The second step was to rank the eight individuals on the basis of occupational income derived from the HBC wage lists. Rank 1 indicated the highest wage. Boisvert and St. Denis tied at Rank 7.5. Based on archival census documents (see Table 41), all eight were ranked based on possessions in the same manner as the Red River settlers. The census records provided the same twelve variables that had been used for the settlers in the previous section. These variables included: houses, stables, barns, horses, oxen, bulls, cows, sheep, ploughs, harrows, acres and mills. When these variables were ranked, the rank order based on possessions could be compared with the rank order based on wages.

Table 41: Census Data for Employees of the HBC Retired to the RRS.

Date	Name	Age	Sex	Geographical Location	Religion	Country of Birth	married men	unmarried men	married women	unmarried women	son>16 yrs.	son<16 yrs	daughter>15 yrs.	daughter<15 yrs	male servants	female servants	houses	stables	barns
1838	BOISVERT St Bap	37	male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
1843	BOISVERT J Baptse	42	male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1
1846	BOISVERT St Bap		male		Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
1849	BOISVERT St Bap	48	male		Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1832	CLOUSTON Robt	38	male	Lower Settlement	Protestant	Orkney	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	2	0
1838	CLOUSTON Robert	45	male	Lower Settlement	Protestant	Orkney	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	1	2	1
1843	CLOUSTON Robert	50	male	Lower Settlement	Protestant	Orkney	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	4	0	0	1	3	1
1849	COX John	50	male		Protestant	Scotland	1	0	1	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	1	1	0
1843	LALIBERTE Alexis	0	male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0	2	1	3	1	0	0	1	1	0
1849	MUIR John	40	male	English Settlement	Protestant	Scotland	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	1	1	0
1838	GRANT Cuthbert	42	Male	Grantown	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	2	0	3	0	4	0	0	2	2	1
1843	GRANT Cuthbert	46	Male	Grantown	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0	2	2	3	5	0	0	2	2	1
1849	GRANT Cuthbert	52	Male	Grantown	Catholic	Rupert's Land	1	0	1	0	2	2	3	2			2	3	1
1838	STDENIS Jacques	44	male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
1843	STDENIS Jacques	49	male	Lower Settlement	Catholic	Canada	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	1	0
1849	ST DENIS Jacque	58	male	Catholic Settlement	Catholic	Canada	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	0
1832	BIRD James	57	Male	Lower Settlement	Protestant	England	1	0	1	0	2	3	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
1843	BIRD James	63	Male	Lower Settlement	Protestant	England	1	0	1	0	5	1	2	4	0	0	2	3	1
1838	BIRD James	68	Male	Lower Settlement	Protestant	England	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	3	1
1849	BIRD James	74	Male		Protestant	England	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	3	1

Table 41: Census Data for Employees of the HBC Retired to the RRS.

horses	mares	oxen	bulls	cows	calves	pigs	sheep	ploughs	harrows	carts	boats	canoes	cultivated acres	type of holding	res/board	windmills	
1	0	3	0	4	8	6	0	1	1	4	0	1	6	non-inst.	res.	0	
1	0	4	0	3	1	6	0	1	1	3	0	1	9	non-inst.	res.	0	
2	1	3	0	3	0	16	0	1	1	3	1	0	15				
0	2	1	1	2	1	6	0	1	1	2	1	0	4				
1	0	4	0	5	4	13	0	1	1	1	0	0	6	non-inst.	res.	0	
0	1	6	0	8	14	13	0	1	1	2	0	1	20	non-inst.	res.	0	1 forge, 1 icehouse
2	3	12	0	8	4	10	0	1	2	5	0	1	25	non-inst.	res.	0	
0	1	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6				
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	non-inst.	res.	0	
1	1	5	0	7	9	3	0	1	1	3	0	1	6				
7	1	9	1	9	8	2	0	2	1	14	0	2	500	non-inst.	res.	1	
6	2	5	2	5	3	6	14	2	1	8	0	1	300	non-inst.	res.	1	
7	6	3	1	2	2	8	9	2	2	15		1	270			1	
0	0	0	0	1	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	non-inst.	res.	0	
0	0	1	0	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	non-inst.	board	0	
0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8				
2	1	12	2	13	6	30	0	2	3	2	0	2	330	non-inst.	res.	0	
2	3	12	1	10	11	6	0	3	2	6	0	2	300	non-inst.	res.	1	
1	1	8	1	8	16	4	0	2	2	3	1	1	300	non-inst.	res.	1	
2	1	12	1	9	11	5	0	2	2	4	1	1	200				

Name	Rank Possessions	Rank Wages
Bird	1	1
Grant	2	2
Clouston	3	3
Boisvert	4	7.5
Muir	5	5
Cox	6	4
St. Denis	7	7.5
Laliberte	8	6

The third step was to apply Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient Test to the wage and possession ranks. The results indicated that there was a positive correlation between the two ranks ($r_s = 0.756$). The critical value of r_s when $\alpha = 0.05$ with $n = 8$, is 0.643, and when $\alpha = 0.01$ with $n = 8$, the critical value is 0.833. This meant that the rank of one variable could reliably be predicted on the basis of the other variable more than 95 times out of 100. The results indicated that there was correlation between the occupation and its associated wage and the amount of material possessions employees could have acquired.

Table 42 compares the eight ex-HBC employees to Gosman's (1977) averages for the particular groups in the Settlement. Boisvert ranked above the average Canadian and for the most part was below the average Scot and Orkney. Cox ranked below the average Scot, Laliberte below the average Rupert's Lander, Muir was equal in some and lower than average Scot, and St. Denis was lower than the average Canadian. Clouston ranked above the average Orkney, and Bird ranked well above the average Scot, with the exception of his average for sheep. Grant ranked well above the average Rupert's Lander, and for the most part, higher than the average Canadian. He had a higher average for carts, ploughs and acres when compared with the Orkney and Scottish Protestants, although he was below their averages for sheep.

Table 42: Gosman's Averages (1977) Compared with ex-HBC Employees in the RRS.

	Average R. Lander	Average Canadian	Orkney	Scot	Bird	Grant	Clouston	Boisvert	Muir	Cox	St. Denis	Lallberte
Carts												
1832	0.48	0.73	0.94	1.02	2	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1838	1.5	2.02	1.61	1.61	3	14	2	4	n/a	n/a	0	n/a
1843	2.13	2.08	2.48	2.46	6	8	5	3	n/a	n/a	0	0
1847	1.7	1.99	n/a	3.26	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1849	1.86	2.23	n/a	3.31	4	15	n/a	2	3	0	0	n/a
Acres												
1832	2.73	5.44	7.5	6.97	33	n/a	6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1838	1.97	3.89	10.07	9.67	30	50	20	6	n/a	n/a	3	n/a
1843	4.02	7.67	12.78	11.04	30	30	25	9	n/a	n/a	4	4
1847	3.47	8.76	n/a	13.31	n/a	n/a	n/a	15	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1849	5.19	9.87	n/a	13.15	20	27	n/a	4	6	6	8	n/a
Cows												
1832	1.49	2.35	4.02	4.26	13	n/a	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1838	1.27	2.51	4.63	4.98	8	9	8	4	n/a	n/a	1	n/a
1843	1.52	2.87	5.32	5.75	10	5	8	3	n/a	n/a	3	0
1847	1.66	2.7	n/a	7.21	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1849	1.39	2.42	n/a	6.2	9	2	n/a	2	7	4	1	n/a
Pigs												
1832	2.75	5.21	7.88	3.6	30	n/a	13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1838	1.52	3.37	5.36	2.37	4	2	13	6	n/a	n/a	4	n/a
1843	183	4.23	n/a	2.69	6	6	10	6	n/a	n/a	3	0
1847	3.89	5.71	n/a	8.13	n/a	n/a	n/a	16	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1849	0.99	2.96	n/a	2.66	5	8	n/a	6	3	0	0	n/a
Sheep												
1832	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1838	0.02	0.06	2.21	3.04	0	0	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	n/a
1843	0.95	6.09	11.03	17.48	0	14	0	0	n/a	n/a	0	0
1847	1.11	3.81	n/a	18.22	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1849	0.56	2.64	n/a	15.31	0	9	n/a	0	0	0	0	n/a
Ploughs												
1832	0.16	0.33	n/a	0.66	2	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1838	0.31	0.62	n/a	0.74	2	2	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	n/a
1843	0.39	0.66	n/a	0.83	3	2	1	1	n/a	n/a	0	0
1847	0.35	0.72	n/a	1.11	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1849	0.43	0.65	n/a	1	2	2	n/a	1	1	0	0	n/a

Generally, the Servants ranked below the averages for their ethnic group with the exception of Boisvert. This gave the impression that Boisvert, paid the lowest wage as a Middleman was involved in free trade or the cart brigades to St. Paul which increased the amount of money available to him and enabled him to purchase more than a meagre Labourers salary would seem to have allowed.

The fourth step was to combine the ex-HBC employees and the RRS individuals and rank order them on the basis of possessions. Using the twelve variables that were common to all (mentioned above), the following rank order was observed:

Name	Rank
Grant	1
Bird	2
Delorme	3
Clouston	4
Boisvert	5
Gendron	6
Riel	7
Muir	8
Beauchamp	9
Cox	10
St. Denis	11
Laliberte	12

This ranking was based on possessions only, and as a result Grant and Bird have changed positions. This was because Bird did not own any sheep, and if this variable was removed from the equation, Bird ranked above Grant. This switch was not of real concern since the two individuals were both within the top ranking. Grant's occupation and wage as Warden of the Plains placed him well above a Clerk and close to a Chief Trader. Once again, the only individual whose occupation and ranking were anomalous was Boisvert who ranked below Clouston despite the fact that St. Denis and Boisvert earned the same wage. Boisvert's

high ranking substantiated the idea that he was earning money by taking part in the cart brigades or the hunt.

The final step was to link the various individuals with the assemblages. Once the RRS individuals and their corresponding assemblages were identified (Delorme, Gendron, Riel and Beauchamp), the ranking of the Fort assemblages could be determined based on the ranking of ex-HBC employees. Since it was demonstrated that there was correlation between wages and possessions, and the rank order of the Fort assemblages based on occupation and wage was determined in the previous section, the rank order of ex-HBC individuals based on possessions corresponds to the rank order of Fort assemblages based on wages. For example, although Grant did not live at the Big House, his rank (Rank 1) based on his possessions corresponded to rank based on wages of those who inhabited the Big House. Continuing in this fashion the following correspondences were made:

Name	Rank	Site
Grant	1	Big House
Bird	2	P/R II
Delorme	3	Delorme
Clouston	4	Farmer's House
Boisvert	5	anomaly
Gendron	6	Riel Structure 1
Riel	7	Riel Structure 2&3
Muir	8	Fort Garry
Beauchamp	9	Garden Site
Cox	10	P/R I
St. Denis	11	Troop Canteen/Barracks
Laliberte	12	Troop Canteen/Barracks

Grant's and Bird's ranking in first and second places were a result of their possessions based on occupations, corresponding to the ranking based on occupation of those who were responsible for the Big House and P/R II assemblages, the high ranking, highly paid

occupations of Chief Traders, Factors and Governor. Third place rank belonged to Delorme and his assemblage. Fourth rank belonged to the Clerk, Clouston, who was comparable to Alexander Lillie, the Farm Manager at Lower Fort Garry residing in the Farmer's House. Although Lillie managed the Farm, he was listed as a Clerk and earned a similar wage to Clouston. Fifth rank represented by Boisvert was anomalous as mentioned and was therefore not representative of an assemblage. Sixth and seventh ranks represented the Riel House Site, Structure 1 deposited by the Gendrons, and Structures 2 and 3 deposited by the Riels. Eighth rank was occupied by Muir who was representative of Fort Garry. Muir's occupation and wage was average for a Servant, which was further reflected by his average possessions. He represented Fort Garry since that assemblage was a mixture of Gentlemen and Servants and ranked somewhat lower than those deposits created only by Gentlemen and higher than those created only by Servants. Ninth rank was filled by Beauchamp and the Garden Site. Tenth rank was filled by P/R I represented by Cox. St. Denis and Laliberte represented the lowest paid employees of the HBC, the Labourers. A corresponding group was the similarly paid Privates of the Sixth Regiment of Foot responsible for the Troop Canteen and Barracks assemblage at Lower Fort Garry. Comparisons were made between HBC Labourers and Privates. Both were provided with basic room and board. Both received the lowest wages available in the military or HBC. Privates in the Sixth Regiment of Foot received £18.5s.0d per annum, while an HBC labourer received £22 to £25 per annum, placing these two categories of personnel on similar footing.

By removing "anomaly" Rank 6 and by condensing the two Troop Canteen and Barracks ranks, the following re-ranking for the assemblages used in this thesis was as

follows:

Rank	Assemblage
1	Big House, LFG
2	P/R II
3	Delorme
4	Farmer's House, LFG
5	Fort Garry
6	Riel House, Structure 1
7	Riel House, Structure 2
8	Garden Site
9	P/R I
10	Troop Canteen & Barracks, LFG

E. Statistical Test

a) Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Coefficient

The purpose of this thesis was to determine whether or not there was correlation between the archivally and archaeologically derived ranks. Correlation supported the hypothesis that one rank could be used to predict another; thus the archaeological record could be used to predict an individual's relative economic position in the absence of the archival record.

The Spearman Rank-Order Correlation Coefficient (r_s), defined in 1904, is a nonparametric statistic based on ordinal ranking. The statistic r_s compares similarity of two ordinal rankings. The Coefficient is defined as:

$$r_s = 1 - \frac{6\Sigma d^2}{n(n^2-1)}$$

where: d^2 is the difference between paired rankings
n is the number of ranked items

The measure of correlation between the two sets of data determined whether the ranking in one case could predict the ranking in another case. The results of this calculation range from +1.0 (perfect positive correlation) to -1.0 (perfect negative correlation). (Thomas 1986:395-397).

In this thesis, the ranking pairs were the scales derived from the archival and the archaeological data. The two scales from the archaeological data, the fauna and the ceramics, were added together to form a combined scale, and kept separate for individual comparison with the archival scale.

The null hypothesis (Ho) stated that the two rankings (the archival and archaeological scales) were not correlated, and any deviation from zero for r_s was due to chance. The (Hi) stated that there was a correlation between the archivally determined rankings of assemblages and the archaeological derived rankings of assemblages.

b) Archival versus Ceramics

Table 43 presents the ceramic and archival rank ordering, the difference between them, and the square of the difference for the various assemblages under consideration.

Table 43: Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient for Archival versus Ceramic Ranking.

Name	R_A	R_C	d	d^2
Big House	1	2	-1	1
P/R II	2	1	1	1
Delorme	3	6	-3	9
Farmer's House	4	7	-3	9
Fort Garry	5	3	2	4
Gendron	6	4	2	4
Riel	7	5	2	4
Garden Site	8	10	-2	4
P/R I	9	9	0	0
Troop Canteen	10	8	2	4

$r_s = 1 - \frac{6(40)}{990}$ $\quad r_s = 1 - 0.242$ $\quad r_s = 0.758$

where: R_A is the rank determined from the archival documents
R_C is the rank determined from the ceramic assemblage

When N = 10, and $\alpha \leq 0.05$, the critical value is 0.564 and at $\alpha \leq 0.01$, the critical value is 0.746 (Thomas 1986:510). At $\alpha \leq 0.05$ the critical value was exceeded by the observed value indicating that the null hypothesis could be rejected. Therefore, the deviation from zero was not due to chance. There was a correlation between the archival and ceramic indices, indicating that there was correlation between the economic position determined by

the ceramic assemblage and the economic position determined by archival data. Thus, in the absence of archival documentation, the relative economic position of a site, individual or assemblage could be predicted by the ceramic assemblage alone.

c) Archival versus Fauna

Table 44 presents the archival and faunal rank ordering, the difference between them, and the square of the difference for the various sites under consideration.

Table 44: Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient for Archival versus Faunal Ranking.

Name	R_A	R_F	d	d^2
P/R II	1	1	0	0
Delorme	2	5	-3	9
Ft. Garry	3	3	0	0
Riel 1/2&3	4	4	0	0
Garden	5	6	1	1
P/R I	6	2	4	16

$r_s = 1 - \frac{6(26)}{210}$ $\quad r_s = 1 - 0.743 \quad r_s = 0.257$

where: R_A is the rank determined from the archival documents
R_F is the rank determined from the ceramic assemblage

When N = 6, and $\alpha \leq 0.05$, the critical value is 0.829 and at $\alpha \leq 0.01$, the critical value is 0.943 (Thomas 1986:510). At both 0.05 and 0.01, the results were not shown to be statistically significant and the null hypothesis could not be rejected, therefore the deviation from zero was due to chance. There was no association between the archival and faunal

indices, indicating that there was no correlation between the economic position determined by the faunal assemblage and the economic position determined by archival data. This meant that in the absence of archival documentation, the relative economic position of a site, individual or assemblage could not be predicted by the faunal assemblage.

d) Archival versus Combined Ceramics and Fauna

Table 45 presents the archival and combined ceramic and faunal rank ordering, the difference between them, and the square of the difference for the various assemblages under consideration. In order to determine the combined Ceramic and Faunal Rank, the two ranks for each assemblage were summed and then divided by the number of ranks used (N = 2). The resulting mean rank became the combined Ceramics and Fauna Rank.

Table 45: Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient for Archival versus Combined Ceramic and Faunal Ranking.

Name	R_A	R_{C+F}	d	d^2
P/R II	1	1	0	0
Delorme	2	5	-3	9
Ft. Garry	3	2	1	1
Riel 1/2&3	4	3.5	0.5	0.25
Garden	5	6	1	1
P/R I	6	3.5	2.5	6.25

$r_s = 1 - \frac{6(17.5)}{210}$ $\quad r_s = 1 - 0.5 \quad r_s = 0.5$

where: R_A is the rank determined from the archival documents
R_{C+F} is the rank determined from the faunal and ceramic assemblage

When N = 6, and $\alpha \leq 0.05$, the critical value is 0.829, and at $\alpha \leq 0.01$, the critical value is 0.943 (Thomas 1986:510). At both 0.05 and 0.01, the results were not shown to be statistically significant and the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, therefore the deviation from zero was due to chance. There was no association between the archival and combined ceramic and faunal indices, indicating that there was no correlation between the economic position determined by the two assemblages and the economic position determined by archival data. This meant that in the absence of archival documentation, the relative economic position could not be predicted by the combined ceramic and faunal assemblage.

e) Reasons for Failure of Faunal and Combined Rank

A number of possibilities presented themselves as potential explanations for the failure of the Faunal ranking and the Combined ranking to provide a statistically significant test of correlation. The decrease in the number of samples from ten to six as a result of the absence of the Lower Fort Garry assemblages and the combination of the Riel Structure, may have had a negative impact on the test. Since the sample size has been decreased, there was only a small margin before the difference (d) between the ranks became critical and the values of d^2 became too large.

Another drawback was the use of only butchered *Bos taurus* or Bison/Bos to determine the faunal ranking of an assemblage. Should this have been extended to a sum of butchered *Sus scrofa* and sheep and/or goat, a more comprehensive measure of the economic

position based on faunal remains may have been achieved. This could be of real concern if certain species of mammal were utilized, or not, based on ethnic preferences. This statement begs the question of why these other remains were not considered in this thesis. Primarily, the past research in this area was conducted exclusively on beef cuts and was not concerned with pig or sheep/goat. Consequently, there were no comparative meat cut index values for pig or sheep/goat. Seyers (1988) thesis provided the butchering diagrams for cow, pig and sheep, but dealt only with the *Bos taurus*, Bison/Bos, and Bovid remains. The goal of this thesis was to use the ranking method outlined by Schulz and Gust (1983) based on beef cuts that had been applied to a number of Red River assemblages by Seyers (1988). It would be a worthwhile exercise to re-index the available Red River assemblages using beef, pig and sheep/goat cuts to determine if there was correlation between these faunal remains and the archival documentation. This would entail a re-evaluation of the faunal assemblages and archival work to determine a ranking of cuts based on pig and sheep/goat. To overcome the problem of small sample size, the Lower Fort Garry remains would have to be completely identified to permit their inclusion in the rank ordering.

f) Alternative Correlation Tests

In order to determine if there was any type of correlation between the faunal assemblages and the archival rankings, scaling of the percentages of domestic and wild mammal, domestic and wild bird, and fish were calculated, and tested for correlation against the archival ranks.

Table 46 presents the r_s values. When N = 6, the critical value at $\alpha \leq 0.05$ is 0.829,

and when $\alpha \leq 0.01$, the critical value is 0.943. The only observed values that exceeded the expected were the percentages of wild bird and bird. The negative correlation indicated that the higher an individual ranked archivally, the fewer wild bird or bird remains would be present in their faunal assemblages. Also noteworthy, were the number of comparisons which did not correlate but which approached significance (domestic and wild mammal and domestic fauna). Again, these were negative correlations, indicating that the higher the archival ranking, the less of these faunal remains would be found.

Ranking the percentages of pig and sheep/goat was attempted to determine if there was some significance in the amount of these types of remains at the assemblages, since the previous ranking of the faunal remains was based solely on the butchered Bison/Bos and/or *Bos taurus* specimens. The test indicated that there was no correlation and the percentage of pig or sheep/goat remains could not be predicted from the archival ranking or vice versa.

Although some of these percentages demonstrated significance, the small number of assemblages may have affected the results obtained for mammal and fish. The results may also alter once other *Sus scrofa* and sheep are indexed by meat cut which may indicate a preference by some individuals for a particular type of domestic mammal. It is also essential that more assemblages be included, not only to increase the data base, but also to include all economic groups present in the RRS, Métis hunters, Mixed Blood and European farmers, HBC and RRS elite, and Natives.

Table 46: Results of Spearman's Correlation Test between Archival Ranking and Percentages of Wild and Domestic Mammal, Bird and Fish, and Percentages of Pig and Sheep/Goat.

Taxa	r_s
mammal	-0.029
domestic mammal	-0.771
wild mammal	-0.771
bird	-0.943
domestic bird	-0.257
wild bird	-0.943
fish	-0.029
pig	-0.486
sheep/goat	-0.143
domestic fauna (mammals & birds)	-0.771

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION

a) The Red River Settlers

The various assemblages in the RRS have been ranked on the basis of their relative economic position derived from the archaeological and archival records. The following section discusses the results of each assemblages and then compares them to each other.

The Garden Site faunal remains described in the Results section were predominately wild mammal and bird. Although the number of wild mammal fragments was notably higher than domestic ones, there was not a great deal of species diversity in either. Within the five wild taxa, rabbit and muskrat encompassed the largest number of remains; however, these were relatively small animals and may not have been major subsistence contributors. Two other taxa were represented by a squirrel and a skunk, the latter a highly debatable subsistence item. Bison was the remaining wild taxon containing only a small portion of the remains but was definitely a food source. Of the three taxa representing possible food sources (cow, pig, bison), pig had the highest number of remains. The butchered remains selected for indexing (*Bos taurus*) were in short supply at the Garden Site which may have accounted for the site's low ranking. The Beauchamp family preference for pig may have explained the low *Bos taurus* remains, especially since both front and hind quarter remains were recovered, indicating that the family would have consumed both high and low quality cuts.

The Garden Site had a high frequency of wild bird species and a lack of domesticates, although not all of the ten wild species would be for used subsistence (e.g., hawk and blackbird). With regards to fish species, the Beauchamp family consumed five species of fish

but not in great quantities.

The low ranking of the ceramics assemblage may have been due to the small sample size. The Mean Index Value was calculated on the basis of recognizable vessel types. This may have excluded expensive, unidentifiable vessel types which may have increased the ranking. The Beauchamp family may have decided not to purchase more expensive vessels or may have obtained their ceramics from American markets for which no price listing was available (Larcombe 1988:116).

Beauchamp was considered to have been a successful Métis farmer/trader, substantiated by the survival of all his children to adulthood during a time when Métis infant mortality was high, and by his burial in the church cemetery (McLeod 1983:92-95). However, upon examination of the archival documents, his reputation for prosperity was not corroborated using these measures of wealth. The Index Value based on possessions recorded in the censuses placed him in the last rank of the four individuals in the colony, and in Rank 10 when all assemblages were considered. Whereas the low sample size of the ceramic and faunal assemblages may have been a reason for the low archaeological rankings, the census indicators of economic positioning did not increase Beauchamp's ranking. There were seven census records available for the Beauchamp family, but the results of ranking based on the variables were unable to show any economic reason for his reputation.

The discrepancy between the Beauchamp's economic position determined from the archival, ceramic and faunal assemblages and his reputation as well respected, high ranking farmer/trader provided an interesting ambiguity. Economic position may have provided a basis for determining social position; however, it did not do so in this instance. This

ambiguity may have referred more to the intangible aspects of social positioning and the concept that an individual need not have been wealthy or have had many possessions to have had high social position (see Spencer-Wood 1987, Henry 1996). This may also have been a reflection of the Beauchamp family's idea as to what part(s) of the material culture value system they wished to participate in.

The Riel House Site deposits were attributed to the Gendron family (Structure 1) and the Riel family (Structures 2 and 3). For the purpose of examining and indexing the ceramic assemblage, each family's deposit was treated as a discrete unit. However, as there was only one butchered element identified to *Bos taurus*, it was necessary, first, to extend butchered cuts to Bison/Bos and, second, to combine faunal remains from all three Structures to provide enough meat cuts for indexing.

The Riel House Site ranked fourth in the six assemblages, despite the small sample. Unlike the Garden Site, its faunal remains exhibited a larger number of domestic mammal and bird specimens. The number of domestic mammals may have been larger than recorded, considering that Grainger (1977) recommended that comparisons be made to domestic pig and sheep/goat for a number of the unidentified mammals. The highest frequency of domestic fragments were pig, suggesting that the Riel Site occupants had a preference for pig to cow or sheep/goat. However, since the Structures were combined and there were a number of specimens that were unidentifiable, or "unidentifiable cf. Bos/Bison" (Grainger 1977), firm conclusions about preference cannot be made.

The variety of bird species was quite restricted and contained primarily turkey, chicken, goose and duck. Fish remains were also quite sparse and were represented by only

a few taxa. It appeared that the primary food resource was mammal with a little variety provided by bird and fish.

Each Structure's ceramic assemblage was considered separately. The Gendron family (Structure 1) ranked fourth out of ten assemblages in ceramics, and fifth in archival documentation. These values placed them rather high in the rank ordering. Regrettably, other than the paucity of information derived from the census records, little was known about the Gendron family.

Structures 2 and 3 were represented by the Riel family. In order to collect information, it was necessary to turn to Jean-Louis Riel's records, even though he had died before the Riel House Site occupation. Although Jean-Louis lacked business acumen, it did not hamper his social position which was aided by his involvement in local politics and the rise of the Métis merchant/trader class. The Riel family's placement in the overall ceramic and archival index was roughly the same (Rank 5 and 6, respectively). Despite the lack of financial success in his business ventures, Riel's Mean Ceramic Index Value was higher than the Delorme family. Jean-Louis' monetary hardships were not evident in the archaeological record.

The Delorme family ranked much higher than the Riel family in the archival ranking, but the opposite was true in the ceramic ranking. Perhaps this suggested that the Riel family was accumulating visible symbols of wealth, items recognized by others in the RRS as goods associated with sedentary farming and a business oriented lifestyle as opposed to the hunt. The Riel family may have been engaging in a form of conspicuous consumption, especially during Jean-Louis lifetime, masking a less than prosperous income. After Jean-Louis' death

and the family's move to the Riel Site in 1864, Julie Riel and her children managed to pay Jean-Louis' outstanding debts and eventually began to prosper. The material goods available in the archaeological record associated with the Riel family may have been items acquired either by the family prior to Jean-Louis' death or by Julie Riel and family after the death of Jean-Louis and the payment of outstanding bills. The possibility also existed that Jean-Louis wife, a member of a prosperous family, brought with her a large dowry that contained expensive vessel types. Unfortunately, these suggestions could not be confirmed because the necessary documentation did not exist. However, various historic records have documented the purchase of high priced items after Jean-Louis' death.

Numerous historical documents have described Pierre Delorme as a prosperous trader and merchant, who was known to have been employed as an M.L.A. and earned wages in excess of a Chief Trader's, and possibly a Chief Factor's, income. Within this thesis, however, the Delorme family was ranked on the basis of variables found solely in the census and historic records. Despite the lack of complete records, they still ranked high archivally. Ceramic and faunal Index Values were much lower, ranking sixth and fourth, respectively.

The low Meat Cut Index Value was due to the fact that 50% of the indexed cuts were in Rank 8. However, Delorme provided meat to the Fort Garry market (see Hamilton 1876), and when slaughtering cattle for shipment to the Fort, he may have removed the front and hind shanks and tossed them aside as waste or possibly utilizing them himself in some manner. The Delorme family also operated a way station, and as such, were expected to provide travellers with meals, which may have included beef.

An interesting parallel to the Delorme family way station was Schulz and Gust's

(1983) examination of four deposits in Sacramento. Two of these deposits were saloons that served free lunches to attract customers. These lunches usually consisted of a roast which would provide a large quantity of meat with minimum cost and effort to the saloon. The cut of meat was often of mid to low rank. When examining the Delorme House meat cuts, the same idea was applied. They also supplied food to customers and the ranks observed in the Delorme assemblage compared with the mid to low ranks used at the Sacramento saloons. Either of these reasons (market supply or way station meals) may be used to explain the high number of *Bos taurus* remains in their assemblages. Market supply may have accounted for the predominance of shank cuts in the assemblage and way station meals may have accounted for mid to low range cuts. As such, the butchered cow remains were not necessarily representative of the cuts utilized by the family.

The amounts and types of fauna utilized by the Delorme family demonstrated that there was a greater dependence on domestic mammal species than wild. The predominant domestic mammal was *Bos taurus*. The reliance on domestic mammals may have been a means of indicating or emphasizing their separation from the Métis hunters who were less involved in sedentary farming. If *Bos taurus* remains were predominantly for sale and not personal use, the high frequency of *Sus scrofa* may have been for family consumption, and the preferred domestic food resource. A quick examination of the various elements derived from *Sus scrofa* indicated that both front and hind elements were represented in the remains, suggesting that the Delorme family was consuming both low and high quality cuts (refer to McLeod 1982:63, 170). The amounts of domestic and wild bird were very low and the amount of fish was also not plentiful. The identified bird species in the Delorme faunal

assemblage were confined to chicken, duck and goose/duck. There were also only two fish taxa identified. It would appear that the primary food resource for the Delorme family was domestic mammal, with the occasional wild mammal, bird and fish.

The ceramics index from Delorme A and B ranked the family at sixth out of ten ranks. Considering the high archival ranking (Rank 3), it was surprising that the ceramic Index Value was so low. Scanning the ceramics section of McLeod's (1982) report, the ceramics recovered and identified to vessel were primarily flatware (plates, saucers) and bowls or cups. In his description of the fragments' condition were numerous references to storage abrasions and utensil wear marks that were quite visible in the available photographs (refer McLeod 1982:34-47, 132-153). It was not mentioned whether these wear marks were unusual in their frequency, but the degree of wear may again have reflected their potential use in the way station aspect of the Delorme Site. If these vessels were used in this capacity, it may also explain the relative abundance of plates, saucers, cups and bowls. Also of note, was a Minnesota manufacturer's makers mark on a stoneware vessel, suggesting that the Delorme family was purchasing ceramics from the American market. If this was the case, they could not be indexed in Larcombe's (1988) thesis due to the lack of pricing information. Consequently, the absence of this type of information may be contributing to an artificially low ceramic index rank.

The unexpectedly low ceramic and faunal rankings provided two more instances where ambiguity occurred. In this case, they did not point necessarily to other factors influencing high social position since the archival documents substantiated this claim. It was the low ceramic and faunal ranking that was contradictory to the archival ranking. In this

situation, it was the historic context that provided the explanation for the low ranking that was seen here. The combination of context and the economic position provided a more complete picture of the Delorme family.

b) Comparison of the Red River Individuals

Examination of the archival ranking placed the four individuals in the following rank order, from highest to lowest: Delorme, Gendron, Riel, and Beauchamp. Considering the criteria outlined in the Results section, the rank order was based on ownership of a selected number of variables. Utilizing Gosman's (1977) averages to compare Beauchamp, Riel, Gendron and Joseph Delorme (Pierre's father) to the rest of the RRS, it was established that they were generally all above the average Rupert's Lander Métis for the variables under consideration. This was in keeping with the general standing they were reputed to have had in the community. It was also made clear in the Results, and observed in Gosman's (1977) averages, that Beauchamp was above the average Rupert's Lander, Catholic, Métis, but was not above Delorme, Riel or Gendron. All four ranked higher than the average Scot and Orkneyman in the number of carts, which according to Gosman (1977) was a good indication of involvement in the elite merchant/trader class.

> The rise and composition of this middle class is difficult to document. One good indicator of both of the above is Red River cart ownership during the 1830's and 1840's...The increasing concentration of carts ... indicates the rise of that community as traders and possibly merchants during the 1840's [Gosman 1977:16].

This may reasonably suggest that, although all four may have been of the rising Métis merchant/trader class, there was a hierarchy within this class and Beauchamp was at or near

the bottom.

The Riel Site demonstrated more dependence on mammal species and the greater proportion of the mammals were domestic when comparing the Riel Site and the Delorme and Beauchamp families faunal remains. Despite the large number of domestic mammal remains recovered, there was very little representation of *Bos taurus*, and a much higher reliance on *Sus scrofa*. At Delorme A and B, there was a high number of *Bos taurus* and Bison/Bos elements, but there was an equally high number of *Sus scrofa* remains from the front and hind quarters. The Garden Site differed in its utilization of wild and domestic mammal species. Like the Delorme and Riel Sites, mammal was the major Class recovered, but only a small portion of the remains were domestic and those were chiefly *Sus scrofa*. It was the wild species (rabbit and muskrat) that accounted for the bulk of the remains which may have represented a dependence on wild game for food, or suggested trade in pelts. None of the sites depended heavily on bird or fish species; however, all three differed in bird utilization. There were no domestic bird remains at the Garden Site. The Riel Site had more domestic than wild specimens, whereas the Delorme House Site was the reverse. Common to all three assemblages was a preference or reliance on mammal species for subsistence. Bird and fish species were decidedly less important but provided some variety in their diet.

Common to the Delorme, Riel and Garden Sites was the predominance of *Sus scrofa* despite the differences between them. Perhaps this indicated an ethnic preference, since all three households were Rupert's Land Métis. In addition to this presumed preference, the reliance on domestic fauna at the Delorme and Riel Sites may have been an assertion of a sedentary farming lifestyle separating them from the Métis hunters. The low representation

of domestic mammals at the Garden Site indicated that the Beauchamp family had a somewhat different lifestyle.

The Gendron family was considered as a separate assemblage when the ceramic ranking was examined. The Garden Site ranked low, which as mentioned above may have been due to a conscious decision not to purchase expensive ceramics, or their use of American-made ware that could not be indexed. The Delorme family's management of a way station and the need for more utilitarian vessels may have contributed to the lack of expensive wares in the assemblage. The Delorme family may have also purchased American-made ceramics which could not be indexed. The Gendron and Riel families ranked highly for ceramics, and the presence of more expensive vessels provided a higher economic position.

The four families were above average in comparison to the rest of the RRS Métis population; however, some discrepancies became evident in the rankings. Despite Beauchamp's reputation for prosperity, it remained unsubstantiated by the rank orderings derived from the census records and the archaeological assemblages. As suggested by McLeod (1983), Beauchamp may have been of the freighter/trader class, a slightly lower position than the merchant/trader. The lack of domestic birds and low frequency of domestic mammals could also point to a more mobile lifestyle for this family. This unexpected ranking of the Beauchamp family was an interesting ambiguity that prompted questions about the correspondence between economic and social positioning.

The low ceramic and faunal ranking of the Delorme family in contrast to their high archival ranking provided another set of ambiguities. This indicated the necessity of

incorporating the historical context with the economic position derived from the archaeological assemblage.

c) The Fort Assemblages

Privy Refuse Pit II, Upper Fort Garry was utilized by Military Officers and HBC Gentlemen. The high rank determined from the archival records was also reflected in the ranking of the archaeological remains. In all situations, P/R II ranked in first or second position.

Privy Refuse Pit II exhibited high ranking, high quality cuts of beef, with 70% of cuts falling within the first two ranks (see Chapter V). Although there were almost equal numbers of wild and domestic mammal fragments, the Officers may have been more dependent on domestic mammals, since 75% of the wild mammal fragments are rabbit. There were also more wild bird remains than domestic; however, two of the four wild bird species (crane and cuckoo) were debatable food resources.

Privy Refuse Pit II had expensive ceramic vessels that contributed to the high Index Values (Larcombe 1988:105). This was to be expected since this assemblage was created by the Officers and Gentlemen at the post. Characteristic of socially high ranking individuals was the larger number of serving dishes, reflecting more elaborate dining practises than would be followed by the HBC Servants or Military Rank and File.

The NCOs and Enlisted Men (Corporals and Privates) of the Sixth Regiment were responsible for the Privy Refuse Pit I assemblage. Due to the low wages earned by these two occupations and the corresponding low number of possessions into which this translated, P/R

I ranks ninth archivally. The ceramic assemblage also ranked in ninth position, which was reasonable since the NCOs and Enlisted Men were supplied with table and toilet wares from the HBC who would not have gone to a great deal of expense to outfit the men and their Mess.

There was a dramatic switch in faunal ranking in comparison to the ceramic and archival rankings. The faunal index ranked in second position just below the P/R II remains. This provided a fourth instance of ambiguity. The Enlisted Men were shown in Chapter V to receive more low than high ranking meat cuts than the Officers; however, it appeared that the high ranking cuts they received were fairly choice portions. In 1857, a letter from Sergeant Warburton of the Royal Canadian Rifles stated:

> The Major has wrote to Sir George Simpson concerning the Messing etc, and it is expected we will get everything free. We get the very best of Beef, neither shins or neck is served out, all these is thrown aside and served to the Company's servants... [Public Records Office Reference: WO 30/46/12 84307].

This letter dated later than the Sixth Regiment of Foot occupation, but it served to illustrate that the Military NCOs and Enlisted Men were not necessarily receiving only poor quality meat. With this in mind, it was not startling to see the shift in P/R I's ranking with regard to faunal remains. The Index Values derived for P/R I indicated that 22.5% of the meat cuts were in Rank 2 and that the remaining cuts were of a wide variety. At the same time, it must be remembered that the Fort was supplied with meat from the colony, in which case, they were receiving butchered quarters that had the discard elements removed before shipment to the Fort. This would decrease or eliminate the amount of discard or low quality elements available for disposal.

This corresponded with the high number of Rank 8 shank cuts observed in the Delorme assemblage. Prior to shipping meat to the Fort Garry market, the discard elements were removed. These elements show up in the Delorme assemblage, artificially increasing the frequency of low ranked cuts that were not part of the Delorme family diet. At the same time, the meat received at the Fort was missing the low ranking shanks.

There were a wide variety of fish and wild bird species in the P/R I assemblage. Mammal remains were not confined to domesticates, but the majority of the remains came from domestic species. The presence of a large number of wild taxa suggested a broad subsistence base, or that the Sergeants, Corporals and Privates were unable to consume a few favoured items and were forced to turn to other less favoured foods for sustenance (Monks 1997). Alternatively, these wild species may have resulted from hunting for sport rather than for food.

The population composition of Fort Garry was typical of all HBC posts; although, the individuals responsible for the assemblage have not yet been positively identified. Working on the assumption that the assemblage was created by Servants and Gentlemen, the archival evidence for Fort Garry placed it in a mid ranking position (Rank 5).

The resulting ceramic assemblage situated Fort Garry in a much higher rank (Rank 3) than the archival evidence. This was not surprising, since the Gentlemen of the post would have contributed higher priced vessels to the assemblage.

The faunal assemblage for Fort Garry was notable for the large number of fragments recovered. The Fort Garry assemblage total was 11,694, while the sum of the other sites' faunal remains was 8,759. Within the mammal Class, the number of wild and domestic

fragments were approximately the same, however, there were almost three times as many taxa in the wild species. Despite the diversity of wild taxa, there were numerous wild mammals which were not potential food resources. The majority of the food resource fragments originated from the domestic taxa. The remainder may have been hunted for pelts, sport, or pest control. With regard to the birds, there was substantial species diversity (15 taxa), and the majority were potential subsistence resources. There was also a broad variety of fish, plentiful in number, which would have been caught for food.

Lower Fort Garry's Big House was also retained for use by HBC and Military elite as had P/R II, which was reserved for the high ranking Military and HBC personnel. The ceramic assemblage reflected the presence of high ranking individuals in the number and variety of expensive vessels in the assemblage. The archival ranking also reflected the presence of the elite with its first place ranking. The lack of a faunal assemblage did not permit indexing for Lower Fort Garry assemblages.

The Farmer's House ranked rather high in the archival records (Rank 4) but dropped to Rank 7 in the ceramic scale. This may be because the Farmer, Alexander Lillie, was a bachelor at the time of his employ as the farm manager, and did not feel the need to express economic or social position by displaying expensive ceramics. He would have probably eaten his meals at the Officers Mess. Before his employment as the Farm Manager, Lillie was a Salaried Gentleman and received an above average wage. This was reflected in his positioning in the archival ranking.

The shift in ranking between possessions and archival documentation was the final ambiguity that occurs. The choices that Lillie made in the acquisition of ceramic goods

reflected his particular circumstances (bachelor), and the way he chose to express his social and economic position. Therefore, despite his high archival ranking, the ceramic remains available did not reflect his economic position to the same extent because of the context in which he acquired his material culture.

The Troop Canteen and Barracks ranked in low positions in both the ceramic and the archival indices. As with P/R I, the occupation of the Sixth Regiment of Foot (Enlisted Men) with its low wage and the inexpensive provisions supplied by the HBC, resulted in low archival and low ceramic rankings.

d) Comparison between Fort Assemblages

Archival ranking of the various Forts based on wage was fairly straightforward since each site yielded assemblages associated with discrete occupational classes, with the exception of Fort Garry. The Fort rankings placed the Big House and P/R II at the top, which was to be expected, considering the high wages of the Officers and Gentlemen responsible for the assemblages. At the other end of the scale, the Troop Canteen and Barracks assemblage was deposited by Army Privates, and the P/R I assemblage was deposited by Army Enlisted Men, NCOs and HBC Servants. These two groups were the lowest paid employees of both organizations. The Farm Manager at Lower Fort Garry ranked in third position as he was a Salaried Gentlemen (Clerk), earning more than the mixed group at Fort Garry.

The Big House and P/R II were in the top two ceramic rank orderings, while the Troop Canteen and Barracks and P/R I were at the bottom. The HBC and Military elite

responsible for the Big House and P/R II assemblages, would have been involved in ostentatious display, communicating economic dominance. This would have included numerous, expensive vessels for their multicourse meals. On the other hand, the Enlisted Men and HBC Servants, supplied with their dinnerware, would be provided with the bare essentials. Fort Garry (Rank 3) and the Farmer's House (Rank 7) were far apart in ceramic ranking. The low rank of the Farmer's House may have been due to the bachelor status of the Manager and his dining at the Officer's Mess. The higher rank of the Fort Garry assemblage was probably due to the mixed origin of the deposit, that would have included the more utilitarian ware of the Servants mixed with the higher priced vessels contributed by the Officers.

The lack of faunal assemblages from Lower Fort Garry did not permit indexing. The other Fort assemblages ranked in the first three positions with P/R II in first place, P/R I second, and Fort Garry third. The latter two positions were very close, indicating they had comparable quality of meat cuts available to them.

e) Comparison of Fort and Non-Fort Assemblages

In a comparison of the Fort and non-Fort assemblages, the Big House and P/R II remained in the top positions, and the Troop Canteen and Barracks, P/R I, and the Garden Site all remained at the bottom of the ranking, with the exception of the second place ranking of P/R I in fauna. The remaining sites tended to shuffle into the middle five ranks.

The Riel, Delorme and Garden Sites primarily utilized mammalian species, whether wild or domestic, which was also true of Fort Garry and P/R I. Privy/Refuse II had a higher

percentage of fish than mammals.

There was a noticeable diversity of species present in the three Fort assemblages which contrasted with the lack of diversity in the settlers' assemblages. The settlers' assemblages included representation of the four leading domestic mammal species (cow, pig, sheep and goat), and domestic and wild bird (duck, goose, chicken, turkey). Sprinkled in amongst these specific species were a few wild mammals (rabbit and rodents). The Garden Site had a few more wild mammal and bird species than the other settlers, but they were not high in frequency and some were not subsistence related. On the other hand, P/R I, P/R II and Fort Garry had a large number of wild mammal and bird species in addition to the domestic species. The broader subsistence base of the Forts may have been due to their need to supplement their diet with wild game, perhaps because a) they were dependent upon the settlers to some extent for their produce, b) they desired variety in their diet, c) wild species were hunted for sport and secondarily fulfilled subsistence requirements, or d) the commercial value of some species for pelts, down or feathers were also consumable (rabbits, geese/ducks, passenger pigeon). Also observed was the high percentage of fish species at the Fort sites in comparison to the non-Fort sites.

All ceramic assemblages tended to reflect the archivally determined economic positions of those responsible for the deposits. This was confirmed by the significant result of the Spearman's Correlation Coefficient test. The ranking of the assemblages based on the archival documents was reflected by the ranking of assemblages based on the ceramic remains. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the ranking based on the faunal assemblage.

The rank orders derived for the archival and archaeological remains produced a series of ambiguities which consisted of unexpected rankings in five cases. These included: the high archival ranking, but low ceramic and faunal rankings of the Delorme family; the high archival ranking but low ceramic ranking of the Farmer's House; the low archival ranking but high faunal ranking of P/R I; and, finally the overall low archival, ceramic and faunal ranking of the Garden Site, despite Beauchamp's reputation as a prominent merchant/trader as recorded in the historic documents.

The positive correlation achieved between the archival and ceramic ranking in spite of these ambiguities point to the coarse-grained nature of this method. However, these ambiguities cannot be dismissed since they suggest that there were factors, not directly discernable in the archaeological record, that effected social position, including prestige, reputation, ethnicity, religion, sampling, family life cycle and consumer choice behaviour. Reasons have been offered which may explain why these unexpected rankings have occurred; however, these explanations were not offered as an attempt to dismiss the ambiguities.

The ambiguities point to the necessity of investigating the factors contributing to an individual's social position. While the archaeological record provided the material culture that were scaled to determine economic positioning, these intangible factors, when assembled with the economic information, could produce a construction of the social and economic position of the individual under consideration. Therefore, this scaling method permitted an understanding of the economic position which could be used as a stepping stone for further discussion of social position.

The assemblages must be contextualized, in addition to considering the intangible factors that affected social position. The historical, economic and social contexts could provide further details about the individuals and groups under consideration. An example of this was the Delorme family who had low ceramic and faunal rankings in contrast to their high archival ranking. By incorporating the details regarding their involvement in the sale of beef to Fort Garry, and their management of a way station, the resultant low ceramic and faunal ranking can be understood.

These ambiguities, combined with considerations of other intangible factors and context, provided details about the inhabitants of the RRS and permit further exploration of economic and social position.

f) The Bigger Picture

The archaeological and archival rankings were determined for the various assemblages. To understand what they meant with reference to the various sites, it was necessary to turn to the larger historical context and examine the changes within the RRS that effected the rankings.

When the colony was established in 1812, the HBC hierarchy provided a rigid template for RRS social structure. After amalgamation in 1821, the settlement included a mixture of colonists, retired HBC employees, their Mixed Blood wives and children, and ex-NWC employees composed of French Canadians and Rupert's Land Métis. As the various groups entered the new colony, they tended to settle in religious and ethnic parishes. With the arrival of the clergy and European wives, the Mixed Bloods saw their social and

economic position threatened with the result that racial tension increased. In addition, the settlers faced economic stress because the HBC was the sole supplier of goods and the only purchaser of country produce.

The result of the Sayer Trial in 1849 permitted non-HBC trade in furs. This resulted in trade with St. Paul that increased over time (see Chapter II). Escalating freight charges, the lengthy shipment route via York Factory, and increasing wage demands from tripmen provided impetus for the HBC to change its transportation route to St. Paul. In conjunction with the changing route, cart brigades became the primary mode of shipment. In the 1850s, steamship and railway transportation once more altered the cost and time required to transport goods and enabled more people to visit the settlement. During this period, shifts in European fashion resulted in a decreased demand for furs causing economic hardship for the HBC. In addition to these troubles, the settler's economic unrest jeopardised the HBC dominance in the RRS. Despite these problems, the HBC maintained its economic and social structure and managed to hold a principal position within the RRS.

The bison population began to dwindle to seriously low levels in the north east plains, and towards the end of the 1850s, the Métis hunters faced economic jeopardy. However, in the 1840s, a portion of the Métis hunters had become involved in the trade of bison robes. This new market gathered momentum throughout the 1850s during this period of economic peril, and continued into the 1870s. The Métis established wintering camps west of the Red River and Pembina in order to hunt the well-furred bison that provided the best robes. Known as the Hivernants, these wintering Métis would build temporary cabins near anticipated bison winter ranges. Returning to Fort Garry in the summer months, they traded

their produce to Red River Métis merchant/traders, who in turn made their way to St. Paul to trade the furs to American merchants (Ens 1996:77-80).

This rise of the Métis merchant/trader class permitted economic prosperity for a restricted portion of the Métis population. Although their rise in power has been difficult to trace, cart ownership provided a good indication of increasing trade with St. Paul (Ens 1996:96). During the 1830s and 1840s, cart ownership increased and by 1849 a number of St. Boniface residents owned more than 11 carts. The general increase in cart ownership over time demonstrated the increase in traders and merchants. Among the St. Boniface population with a significant number of carts were Pierre Beauchamp and Pierre Parenteau, each possessing six carts (Gosman 1977:16-18).

This budding merchant/trader group was only a small portion of the Métis population. Although it was the hunt that provided the Settlement with much needed food during times of starvation, the Métis hunters were regarded by the European colonists as somewhat uncivilized and barbaric. When the rising Métis merchants became a more powerful political faction, appointees to council came only from the merchants. Most of the appointees were generally wealthy, educated, and "...at no time agitated to have public positions opened to the hunter class..." (Gosman 1977:26).

This wealthier merchant class lived in St. Boniface, while the hunters tended to settle in Grantown or White Horse Plain. As late as 1849, a large percentage of the St. Boniface inhabitants originated from Quebec, while in Grantown, the greater majority had been born in Rupert's Land. The "...attitudes of the bourgeois of St. Boniface, however, differed markedly from that of the hunting group..." (Gosman 1977:34), as the bourgeois were better

educated, more tied to the church, not involved in the hunt, and their sedentary lifestyle permitted their children to attend school. They sought ownership of the land they cultivated and some were large scale farmers. The Rupert's Lander Métis had much smaller farms than the St. Boniface merchant/traders, and although the number of large farms in the St. Boniface parish was smaller than the Scots and Orkneys, they slowly increased (Ens 1996:36). The importance of farming is demonstrated by the possession of a plough, a somewhat costly piece of equipment, and livestock ownership requiring year round care. This suggested a sedentary lifestyle, rather than the seasonal mobility of the Métis hunters (Gosman 1977:33-39).

The idea of a hierarchical development within the Métis based on economic prosperity has also been proposed by McLeod (1983:57). Similar to Gosman's (1977) merchant/trader, McLeod (1983) placed the farmer-trader at the top of the hierarchy. The next level was occupied by individuals working as tripmen on the York boats, those involved in the cart brigades, and the small trader/freighters. The third group was the bison hunters who became the Hivernant. According to McLeod (1983), this stratification became obvious in the 1860s and 1870s during the period of HBC land transfer to Canada, and the creation of a number of political divisions in the RRS.

The economic aspects of the general changes that occurred in the RRS could be illustrated by Lewis' (1977) Frontier Model, and provided part of the reason for the elevation of the merchant/trader class. The frontier was defined as a region "...in which the dispersal of settlement into a new territory takes place" (Lewis 1977:154). This area of expansion remained linked to the parent country, continuing to rely on trade and communication ties,

while in contact with the new environment. It functioned as a transition zone between the wilderness and civilization, separating settled and unsettled regions in an area of colonization. Within this area, settlement patterns were more dispersed and eventually focussed around the frontier towns that had the role of supporting political, social, economic and religious activity. As the frontier pushed outward, some frontier towns were in less strategic positions and resulted in their decline and/or abandonment while new settlements began at the expanding edge. The town became more centrally located, developing into a redistribution centre for new settlements at the periphery (Lewis 1977:154-155, 159).

The small colony was slowly changing from an isolated HBC, fur trade dominated community, to an increasingly settled, agrarian and eventually urbanized population as the fur trade and the agrarian frontier expanded westward. With expansion and change, conditions were such that the Métis merchant/traders could develop. The Métis hunters adapted to economic stress by expansion into the pemmican market, St. Paul tripping and the commercial hide hunt. The hunters strove to change their limited financial and social niche by becoming entrepreneurial in a different manner from the merchant trader. However, economic discontent of the Métis hunters was aggravated by concerns about Confederation and an influx of settlers from the east (Ens 1996:34). The unrest increased until the Riel Rebellion, but the desired results were not obtained, further ostracising the Métis hunters. With Confederation, eastern settlers began to move west, and further change followed as the RRS became incorporated into the city of Winnipeg in 1871.

This sets the historic background of the RRS, providing the historic context within which the individuals and Fort personnel were involved. The rank ordering of the archival

material established Delorme, Gendron, Riel, and Beauchamp in relative economic position to one another. They ranked above Gosman's (1977) averages for Rupert's Land Métis, and the Scot and Orkney population in selected variables. When examining the ceramic rank ordering, the positions altered somewhat, with Delorme moving into third position.

Integrating the settlers assemblages with the Fort assemblages demonstrated that the settlers were found to rank in amongst the Fort Gentlemen in both the ceramic and archival rank orderings. The settler's relative economic positioning, their above average possessions, and the economic changes that were occurring permitted Riel, Delorme and Gendron placement within the Métis merchant/trader class. Beauchamp was either within this group but at a somewhat lower level or was more suitably positioned within McLeod's (1983) second level of small trader/freighter.

The integration of the individuals and the Fort employees rank orderings was interesting. Delorme, Riel and Gendron occupied relatively high economic positions and ranked above HBC Servants and Clerks, Military NCOs and lower ranking Officers. Delorme earned as much as a Chief Trader and sometimes a Chief Factor, the economic and social elite of the RRS and HBC. Based on economics, the settler's and Fort employees' positions within the rank ordering conformed to the economic structure of the HBC and RRS hierarchy.

The Forts' faunal ranking occupied the top three economic positions, while the settlers faunal ranking was in the bottom three. Indexing based on butchered *Bos taurus* may have caused an artificially low ranking of the individuals especially since their faunal assemblages were small to begin with. The narrow focus on *Bos taurus* may have been

misleading.

The economic and social positioning of the HBC Gentlemen and Servants remained fairly constant despite the economic changes with the RRS and the HBC. The HBC had a well-established hierarchy and the Gentlemen's economic positions were evident in the high archival and ceramic rankings. The Servants and Military Enlisted Men ranked at the bottom. The relative economic positions of the Military corresponded to those of the HBC personnel. The Military also had a strict economic and social hierarchy which meshed easily with the HBC, evidenced in the rank ordering of their ceramic assemblages. This placed the HBC and Military elite at the top of the economic scale and the Servants and the low Military ranks at the bottom. The settlers economic ranks interspersed between these two extremes with the exception of Beauchamp.

The HBC managed to maintain their economic and social positioning regardless of changes in the RRS. On the other hand, changes were occurring for the Métis population and an economic and social hierarchy developed within this group placing some (Delorme, Riel, Gendron) in high economic positions when compared with the HBC.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

As stated in the Introduction, the major goals of this thesis were as follows:

1) to create a methodology utilizing the archival and archaeological records to create indices of relative means which could be compared to determine the relative economic position of individuals or groups in a given community, and

2) to test this methodology with available data from the Red River Settlement to determine if there was any rank order correlation between the two scales. This would,

3) provide a methodology which could be used to determine the relative economic position of an individual in the absence of documentary records, permitting

4) the study of the relative economic position of selected individuals and/or groups in the Red River Settlement between 1830-1870, for which archaeological data existed, and

5) advance the discussion as to the reasons behind these economic differences in the Red River Settlement during this time frame.

a) Methodological

Archaeological assemblages were chosen if they had archival records and/or historical documents with appropriate economic information. The assemblages included Delorme House, the Garden Site and the Riel House Site, which had HBC census records. Fort Garry, Upper Fort Garry Privy/Refuse Pits I and II, and the Big House, Farmer's House and the Troop Canteen and Barracks from Lower Fort Garry had occupational wage lists. All sites had additional, accessible historical documents.

The ceramic and faunal remains of an assemblage provided economic position indicators of the site's inhabitants based on the types of vessels and meat cuts present. These remains represented items produced or purchased, used and discarded. Economic position has been demonstrated by the amount and type of ceramic vessels purchased. Vessels have also been involved in the display and communication of the owner's position within the community. Faunal remains, especially butchered beef cuts have been ranked on the basis of market price that reflected the quality of the cut.

Larcombe (1988) calculated the Mean Index Values of RRS assemblages based on Miller's (1980) method for economic scaling of ceramics. This allowed the determination of rank ordering for eight assemblages. Utilizing the same method, the Fort Garry and the second Riel House Site assemblages were incorporated into Larcombe's (1988) rank ordering. In addition to indexing the Fort Garry assemblage, South's (1972:217) Mean Ceramic Date and the minimum number of vessels were determined. The Fort Garry stratigraphy and location of dated ceramic patterns have suggested that the midden feature in Trench 5 was deposited by the inhabitants of the HBC Fort Garry into a cellar that was constructed during the NWC Fort Gibraltar habitation.

The structures and associated families of the Riel House Site have been a matter of discussion, and Forsman (1977) and Lunn, Hamilton and Priess (1980) have arrived at slightly different chronologies for the site. For the purpose of this thesis, the deposits in Structure 1 were assigned to the Gendron family and the deposits in Structures 2 and 3 were combined and assigned to the Riel family. Calculation of the Mean Ceramic Date substantiated these occupations.

The faunal assemblages from the Riel House, the Garden Site, Fort Garry, Upper Fort Garry and Delorme House were rank ordered. The number of assemblages was decreased from ten, based on ceramics, to six, based on fauna, because the Lower Fort Garry assemblages were not available and the assemblages of the Riel House had to be combined into one because of small sample size.

The samples were examined on the basis of species diversity and wild versus domestic remains, providing information on the subsistence practices and preferences of the site inhabitants. Indexing meat cuts was based solely on the butchered *Bos taurus* remains, which had an associated rank ordering of meat cut prices.

Assemblages were ranked archivally by using the HBC census records, historical accounts, and Military documents. Despite unforseen difficulties with these documents (missing records, inconsistent information, alterations in surname spelling), careful and consistent selection of information provided reliable data. The settlers and Fort employees were researched separately. Each Fort assemblage represented a discrete group of individuals with a specific occupation. Individual Fort employees did not have census records; consequently, occupational wage was used to rank the Fort assemblages. Fort Garry was an exception because the deposit has not been allocated to a specific occupation; therefore, the average wage for the Servants and Gentlemen residing at the Fort was calculated.

The rank orders for Beauchamp, Delorme, Riel and Gendron were determined on the basis of possessions as recorded in the HBC censuses. Of eighteen possible variables in the census records (livestock, dwellings, implements and acres), twelve types were common to all. Each of these twelve variables were rank ordered, and the sum of these rank orders was

divided by the number of variables to provide a mean rank order that was used as an Index Value to scale each settler.

The wages of the Fort personnel were converted into possessions in order to rank the settlers and the Fort personnel together. This was accomplished by selecting ex-HBC employees from different occupations who had retired to the RRS and were recorded in census documents. By calculating the amount of possessions an occupation could provide, the Fort employees were ranked with the settlers using the same twelve variables.

Archival ranking of all assemblages was made possible by this procedure. The archival ranks were then compared with the archaeological ranks. A Spearman's Correlation Coefficient test was applied to the following paired rankings of assemblages: a) archival versus ceramics, b) archival versus faunal, and c) archival versus combined ceramics and fauna. The combined ceramics and fauna rank was determined by averaging the two rank orders for each available assemblage.

b) Substantive

The archival and ceramic rankings produced a significant, strong positive result of the test, indicating that correlation between the two existed. This meant that relative economic position of an assemblage could be confidently predicted from the ceramic ranking in the absence of archival documentation.

The correlation tests for the archival and faunal rankings and the archival and combined rankings did not show significant correlation. This was due to: a) the small number of assemblages, and b) the indexing of only butchered *Bos taurus* cuts which reduced the

available faunal remains for some assemblages, and it eliminated other butchered mammal species which may have been correlated to economic ranking.

The correlation test was applied to the rankings based on the percentages of wild and domestic mammals, birds and fish versus the archival ranking. The results indicated a significant negative correlation of archival ranking with both wild bird and bird, suggesting that an assemblage with a high archival ranking would have few of either kind of remains.

The success of the ceramic ranking was not diminished, despite the lack of correlation between the faunal and archival rankings. Using both the faunal and ceramic assemblages was desirable because of the suitability of rank ordering the two types of remains and because of the complementary information they could provide; nevertheless, the use of only the ceramic assemblage was still informative.

One outcome of the ranking process was the ambiguities that occurred within the rank orderings of the assemblages. These ambiguities could not be dismissed because they indicated that, although economic position was a good proxy for social position, there were other intangible factors in addition to wealth that effected social position. These factors included prestige, ethnicity, religion, consumer choice, family life cycle and sampling. The low archival, ceramic and faunal ranking of Beauchamp, contrasting with his high reputation as a Métis merchant/trader, demonstrated that factors other than wealth contributed to his social position. Despite the presence of ambiguity, significant positive correlation between the archival and ceramic rankings was unaffected, indicating that the method, while coarse grained, produced robust substantive results.

c) Future Directions

The results of this thesis have provided a number of ways in which further study of the RRS can be continued. As Ackerman (1991:27) has stated, the social position of an individual in a community was based on his or her relative economic position. Ambiguities that became apparent between the archival ranking and the ceramic and faunal rankings have provided opportunities for further understanding the social and economic position of individuals in the RRS. These ambiguities highlighted the necessity of examining the social, economic and historic context in finer detail in order to confirm or challenge conventional wisdom about the economic and social position of individuals and/or groups in the settlement.

Future work in this area should attempt to furnish a more fine grained method by reexamining the archival and archaeological records. One way to accomplish this would be the expansion of the ceramic ranking to include those artifacts omitted from the original ranking, such as American made ceramics and British non-Copeland ceramics. Expanding butchered meat cuts to include other domestic mammals, such as pig and sheep, would also be a worthwhile endeavour and may provide information about ethnic preferences. Increasing the number of assemblages is another future direction, particularly the analysis of the Lower Fort Garry assemblages to match the ceramic ranking, and the incorporation of assemblages representing a wider range of economic and social groups in the RRS, such as the Native, Hivernant Métis, Mixed Bloods and Kildonan Scots. Further studies utilizing consumer choice profiles for both faunal and ceramics would also be beneficial. This would serve to furnish a more complete understanding of the economic and social complexities of the

colony. Archival variables should be selected on the basis of their economic importance to the individuals or groups under consideration. For example, the number of carts may not be a measure of economic position to settled farmers; conversely, cultivated land may not be economically important to Hivernant Métis. Gosman's (1977) work on the merchant/trader class is a useful model of this type of analysis.

In summary, the method developed in this thesis has been demonstrated to be a viable way in which relative economic position can be determined for an assemblage. Because the correlation test of ceramics and archival ranking was significant, the method can confidently be used to determine the economic position of an assemblage in the absence of archival documentation using the ceramic assemblage alone. This permits the acquisition of information not previously available for certain groups of people, providing a voice for the inarticulate. The success of this ranking procedure has been demonstrated in other regions, and is now shown to be feasible in the RRS. The results of this analysis can now be used as a starting point for further refinement of economic indicators in the archival and archaeological records and for discussion of the relationship between economic position and social position as seen from both archival and archaeological perspectives. Discussion of these issues will also help to reveal how the RRS developed over time as a cultural system.

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APPENDIX A

Servants Lists for the Red River District
1824, 1825, 1826, 1844, 1858, 1861, 1862, 1864, 1865.

(HBCA: B.235/f/1)

List of Servants, 1824.

Name	Capacity	# Years	Wages (£)	Time Expires	Destination	Limit of Advance	Terms of Tariffs	Remarks
Ashburn, John	Steersman		23	1826	YF	11.0.0		
Boucher, John Bs.	Middleman		55	1825	YF			
Borwick Wm	Bowsman		20	1825	YF		50pcs	
Bissonelle, Solomon	Steersman		24	1825	YF			
Courchaine, Francois	Middleman		17	1827	YF	8.10.0	50pcs	
Desriviere, Pierre	Middleman		17	1825				deserted
Dunword, Antoine	Steersman		800 livres	1825	YF			free inland
Fobias, John	Middleman		17	1826	inland		50pcs	
Henderson, Peter	Bowsman		20	1825				free inland
Larivie, Louis	Steersman		24	1827	YF	12.0.0	75pcs	
Letang Jacques	Bowsman		20	1825	YF		50pcs	
MacDonald, Donald	Steersman		24	1826	YF			
Malcom, Wm	Middleman		15	1825	YF	8.10.0		
Papin, Pierre	Middleman		17	1826	YF		50pcs	
Rhaine, Michel	Middleman		17	1827	inland		50pcs	
St. Denis, Jacques	Middleman		17	1825	YF			
Scott, David	Middleman		15	1825		8.10.0		
Siveason, John	Bowsman		20	1825				free inland
Trembler, Louis	Middleman		500 livres	1825	YF			

List of Servants, 1824.

Servants Engaged @ RR Spring 1825								
Name	**Capacity**	**# years**	**Wages**					
Arquoitte, Amable	Middleman		Prix de Postes					
Choutier, J.Bs dit Carriboux	Steersman		Prix de Postes					
Rassette, Charles	Bowsman		Prix de Postes					
Wells, Xavier	Middleman		Prix de Postes					
Bereau, Jos. dit Boisclaire	Middleman		Prix de Postes					
Desastin Louis dit Marineau	Middleman		Prix de Postes					
Statement of Men Engagedin RR Colony Winter 1824/1825						**Servants Engaged @ RR Spring 1825**		

List of Servants, 1825.

Name	Capacity	Equip.	Wages	Contract Expires	Balance 1 June 1826		Destination
					Dr (£.s.d)	Cr (£.s.d)	
Ashburn, John	Steersman	None	22	1826	0.7.8		Prt. La Loche
Boisvert, Jean Bs.	Middleman	None	17	1827		4.11.4	R.R.
Lariver, Louis	Steersman	None	24	1827	8.18.11		YF
L'Etand, Jacques	Middleman	None	17	1827		11.10.9	R.R.
Malcolm, Wm.	Middleman	None	17	1826		0.2.2	Prt. La Loche
Papin, Pierre	Middleman	None	17	1826		12.7.2	YF
Scott, David	Middleman	None	17	1826		6.9.6	Prt. La Loche
St.Denis, Jacques	Middleman	None	17	1827	6.15.5		YF
Free							
Boucher, J.Bs							YF
Bonamis Al: dit L'Esperance							
Bissonette, Solomon						0.2.0	
Courchaine, Fras					21.18.5		
Desriviere, Pierre					15.4.10		
Fobais, John							
MacDonald, Donald							
Raine, Michel							
Dunord, Antoine						5.0.6	

List of Servants, 1825.

Terms of Tariffs	Re-engaged			Remarks
50pcs	#yrs	Wages	Tariffs	
50pcs 50pcs 50pcs 50pcs 50pcs 50pcs 50pcs 50pcs				his debt _ 43 Ca by bo dedicated(?)
	3	27	50pcs	contract cancelled 31 Aug 1825 contract cancelled 5 Sep 1825 contract cancelled 1 Dec 1825 Free/Excgd. with J.Bs. Boisvert 7 Nov 1825 Deserted 1 Jan 1826 Free/Contract expired 6 Oct 1825 Contract Cancelled 31 Oct 1825 Contract cancelled 23 Oct 1825 Free 1 June 1826

List of Servants, 1826.

Name	Credits			Debits			Wages		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Allard, Pierre	17	0	0				17	9	1
Beaton, James	30	0	0				11	5	0
Coutombe, Francois-inland	17	0	0				2	7	3
Dasgneau, Joseph	23	0	0				3	5	2
Fleurie, Louis	17	0	0				44	13	11
Achete, Louis Joseph	18	0	0				10	9	0
Hay, Henry	18	0	0				6	2	5
Lafreniere, Louis-inland	17	0	0	2	2	2			
Louviou, Louis dit St. Cariter	17	0	0				152	12	7
Lucier, Toussant	20	0	0						
Macgruar, Alexander	30	0	0				26	14	3
Pattenaude, Michel	20	0	0				33	19	2
Prunier, Pierre	18	0	0				14	10	4
Pritchard, Wm	17	0	0						
Rowe, Wm	17	0	0				17	18	10
Sabiston, Wm	17	0	0				23	5	3
Spence John, B	17	0	0				13	8	10

List of Servants, 1844.

Name	Capacity	Wages (£)	Gratuity (£)
Chief Factor			
Christie Alexander			
Clerks			
Clouston, Robert		75	
Lane, Richard		75	
Servants			
Adamson, Wm	Laborer	16	
Cox, John	Slooper	36	
Davidson, John	Cook	16	
Drever, Wm	Carpenter	4	
Folster,John	Slooper	20	
Garson, Thomas	Slooper	20	
Gunn, Patrick	Laborer	17	
Hunter, John	Slooper	20	
Jameson, Lawrence	Slooper	20	
Knarston, John	Mason	25	
LInklater, John	Mason	25	
Linklater, Magnus	Storekeeper	25	
McArthur, Alexander	Blacksmith		
Macdonald, Angus	Laborer	17	
MacLeod, Malcolm	Slooper	20	
Matheson,James	Mason	25	
Morris, Robert	Butler&Baker	25	3
Muir, John	Distiller	30	
Sinclair, Wm	Laborer	16	
Sundry on Acct. of Gent. charges			
Black, John	Recorder clerk		
Thom, Adam	Recorder		

List of Servants, 1844.

Book Debts						Remarks
Db			Cr			
£	s	d	£	s	d	
141	17	4				
43	11	3				
36	1	8				
12	16	10				
32	17	8				
7	14					
			19	15		
12	10					
19	5					
8	4	8				
12	11	3				
14	17	3				
14	16	2				
19	10					
6	3					
			1	10		Wages not known at R.R.
13	18					
5						
10	14	4				
15	10	3				
3						
35	18	16				
150						

List of Servants, 1858.

Name	Age	Parish	Capacity	# Yrs Service	Contract Expire	Balance 1 June 1855						Wages		
						Dr			Cr					
						£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Mactavish, Wm**	UFG		Chief Factor											
Bunn, Dr.**	UFG		Surgeon											
Clerk														
Bridgeman, Ollando	UFG	Shopshire	Clerk	1	1861							60	0	0
Fortescue, Joseph	UFG	St. Pancras	Clerk	7	1860	64	10	5				100	0	0
Jones, _achan	LFG		App. clerk	1	1863							20	0	0
Kennedy, John	Pem.	St. Andrews	App. clerk	2	1862	25	7	9				25	0	0
Lane, Wm	WHP	Birsay	Clerk	16	1860				17	13	6	100	0	0
Lillie, Alexander	LFG		Clerk	5	1860				35	6	7	75	0	0
Linklater, Magnus	UFG		Clerk	23	1861				46	19	1	100	0	0
McKenzie, James	?		Clerk		1859	70	7	1				60	0	0
Davis, George**	LFG		Post Master											
Servants														
Anderson, Caleb		Native	Int & Laborer		1859	21	16	10				22	0	0
Baillie, Wm		Native	Tinsmith		1862				20	15		48	0	0
Carriere, Louis		Native	Blacksmith			33	11	5				40	0	0
Cox, John B	64	Native	Slooper	34					20	1	2	30	0	0
Davis, George		Native	Interpreter			42	0	7				50	0	0
Deboos, George		Middlesex	Laborer	2	1862	8	9	4				20	0	0
Gibeault, Belonie			Mason	25		3	17	0				30	0	0
Jensen, Martin		Norway	Laborer	2	1862	8	5	4				3	12	9
Leask, Samuel		Landwick	Carpenter	8	1860				13	10	1	30	0	0
McDonald, Donald		Lochs	Laborer	7					42	2	10	20	0	0
McKay, James	32	Northern District	Groom	10	1860				15	4	0	30	0	0
McLean, Donald	31	Native	Laborer		1860	9	11	11				20	0	0
Rassmussen, Andreas		Norway	Laborer		1860	0	7	2				3	6	2
Sinclair, James		Native	Interpreter	6	1859				27	2	7	45	0	0
Stuart, James B		St. Ronaldsha	Salesman	7	1859				17	9	11	23	0	0
Smith, John			Farmer		1859							30	0	0
St. Germain, Maximim	18	Lachine	Baker	1	1861							24	0	0

List of Servants, 1858.

Gratuity	Cash Advances England	Book Debts Dr			Bills in London	Sundry Accounts						Balance 1 June 1959						Remarks
						Dr			Cr			Dr			Cr			
		£	s	d		£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	
									48	1	9				68	4	0	
	0.9.0	45	8	9					25	0	0	26	12	1				
		84	1	8		4	7	4				7	7	4				
		88	0	0								34	1	11				
		86	14	2		17	13	6	25	0	0				74	15	9	
		50	4	3					15	0	0				3	19	6	
	0,10.3	60	0	11		47	19	1							47	4	9	
		58	15	3		0	5	1				98	15	2				
		84	18	3														
		24	11	6								27	8	4				
		31	14	11		1	12	1							6	13	0	
		24	2	6								17	13	11	17	9	1	
		32	12	1														
		64	6	4								56	6	11				
5		22	1	6								5	10	10				
		48	16	1								14	13	1				
		11	7	1								15	19	8				Dismissed
		56	14	5		13	10	1				26	17	5				
		6	4	0					3	0	0				68	18	10	
		24	6	11											21	10	1	
		10	7	1											0	0	2	
		10	4	18								7	15	10				Discharged
		73	8	11								0	6	4				
		16	7	8											24	2	3	
															30	0	0	
		19	3	3		12	19	4				6	2	7				

List of Servants, 1861.

Name	Age	Parish	Capacity	# Yrs Service	Contract Expire	Balance 1 June 1861						Wages			Cash Advances England
						Dr			Cr						
						£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£/s/d
Mactavish, Wm	UFG		Chief Factor												
Grahame, ?			Chief Factor												
Murray, Alexander	Georgetown		Chief Trader												
Balsille, John	UFG	St. Andrew	App. Clerk	4	1863	21	1	1				40	0	0	
Davis, George	LFG	Native	Clerk						6	12	0	70	0	0	
Hackland, James	Pem		Clerk		1863				49	12	6	100	0	0	
Lane, Wm	WHP		Clerk	19	1863				62	8	2	100	0	0	
Linklater, Magnus	UFG	Birsay	Clerk	36					58	2	4	100	0	0	
MacKenzie, Alexander	UFG	Inverness	App. Clerk	2	1865	25	2	3				25	0	0	
McLean, Wm	LFG	Stornoway	App. Clerk	3	1864	5	0	0				30	0	0	
McTavish, J.H.	UFG		Clerk	6	1863	91	0	0				75	0	0	
Watt, Alexander		St. Ola	Clerk	7	1863				37	1	5	75	0	0	
Lillie, Alexander.	LFG		Clerk										0	0	
Anderson, James			Laborer	2	1865				3	14	5	22	0	0	
Baillie, Wm		Native	Tinsmith		1862				7	5	0	40	0	0	
Bias, John		Birsay	Joiner		1862	43	13	3				30	0	0	
Campbell, Roderick			Laborer	3	1864				7	2	3	22	0	0	
Carriere, Louis		Native	Blacksmith			11	13	3				13	0	0	
Cox, John			Slooper	37					2	12	1	30	0	0	
Deboos, George		Middlesex	Laborer	5	1862				7	8	8	20	0	0	
Gibeault, Belorie			Mason	28		15	12	11				24	12	11	
Grant, Colin		Stornoway	Laborer	4	1863	2	7	1				22	0	0	
Laliberte, Alexis		Native	Laborer		1862	0	18	6				23	0	0	
Laporte, Pictot			Midman	1	1864							22	0	0	
McDonald, Donald		Lochs	Laborer	19	1863				12	18	4	23	0	0	
McKay, Angus		Halkirk	Laborer	3	1864	9	7	1				22	0	0	
McLean, Farquhar			Laborer	3	1864				9	16	4	22	0	0	
Marallais, Pierre		Native	Laborer		1862	2	16	2				5	11	3	
Moncrieff, Henry		Sandstring	Laborer	2	1865				4	15	1	22	0	0	
Morrison, Norman		Stornoway	Blacksmith	3	1864				20	10	3	35	0	0	
O'Donnell, Michael		Stornoway	Laborer	3	1864				12	14	4	22	0	0	
Sinclair, James		Native	Interpreter	9					14	13	1	50	0	0	
Tulloch, John		Sandwick	Laborer	2	1865				4	10	4	22	0	0	
Supernumeraries															
Clark, William			App. clerk	1	1866							18	6	8	
Hume, James			Laborer	deserted											
Munro, Donald			Laborer	deserted											

List of Servants, 1861.

Book Debts YF			Book Debts RR			Book Debts NH			Bills in London	Sundry Accounts						Balance 1 June 1862					
										Dr			Cr			Dr			Cr		
£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	L/s/d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
2	16	6	140	18	2																
			10	9	0																
			71	12	9																
2	2	0	61	10	0	0	8	8								45	1	8			
			103	2	10											26	10	10			
1	9	0	47	15	5					49	12	6							50	15	7
			48	19	0					62	8	2							21	1	0
			25	6	8					58	2	4							74	13	4
			52	10	3											52	12	6			
			54	10	3											29	10	3			
			95	14	0											11	14	0			
12	17	7	14	14	4	0	2	3	20/0/0	37	1	5							27	5	10
			6	2	2														19	12	3
0	19	11	67	12	2					8	3	6				29	10	7			
			36	18	8											50	2	11			
			12	18	8														16	4	3
			27	13	8																
			35	0	4											2	8	3			
			17	2	2														10	6	6
			9	10	0											-	-	-	-	-	-
			24	19	8											5	6	9			
			26	8	2											4	6	8			
			17	1	1														4	18	11
			8	6	5					12	18	14							14	13	7
			26	11	10											13	18	11			
7	2	11	14	17	9				10/0/0							0	4	8			
			2	15	1												-	-	-	-	-
7	12	3	7	1	3				11/0/0										1	1	4
			12	5	6														43	4	9
			7	19	5														26	15	0
			39	16	3														24	10	10
			5	19	8														20	10	8
2	6	6	12	6	10	0	5	4													
4	10	9	2	10	0																
6	6	0	4	10	0																

List of Servants, 1861.

Remarks
served in K 2/3 of a year at £40/0/0
left service in March 1862
left service in August 1862

List of Servants, 1862.

Name	Fort	Parish	Capacity	# Yrs Service	Contract Expire	Balance 1 June 1862						Wages			Cash Advances England
						Dr			Cr						
						£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£/s/d
Officers															
Cowan, Wm	UFG		Chief Trader												
Griffon, Charles J.			Chief Trader												
Lane Wm	WHP		Chief Trader												
Mactavish, Wm	UFG		Chief Factor												
Murray, Alexander	LFG		Chief Factor												
Clerks															
Balsillie, John	UFG	St. Andrews	App. Clerk	5	1863	45	13	4				50	0	0	0/2/0
Clarke, Wm	Pem	Nesshaven	App. clerk	2	1866	6	12	0				25	0	0	
Davis George	LFG	Native	Clerk		1864	26	10	10				100	0	0	
Hackland, James	Pem		Clerk		1863				50	11	11	100	0	0	
Hargrave, J.J.	UFG		App. Clerk	2	1866				10	0	0	25	0	0	
Linklater, Magnus	UFG	Birsay	Clerk	27	1864				74	13	4	100	0	0	
MacKenzie, Alexander	UFG	Inverness	App. Clerk	3	1865	52	13	6				30	0	0	
McLean, Wm	LFG	Stornoway	App. Clerk	4	1865	29	10	3				40	0	0	
McTavish, John Henry	UFG	Lachine	Clerk	7	1863	86	14	0				100	0	0	
Watt, Alexander	UFG	St. Ola	Clerk	8	1863				27	5	10	75	0	0	
Hargrave, J.J.	UFG		Clerk									***			
Servants															
Anderson, James		Birsay	Laborer	3	1865				19	12	3	22	0	0	
Baillie, Wm.		Native	Tinsmith			30	10	7				40	0	0	
Barritt, James			midman	1	1865							22	11	1	
Bias, John		Birsay	Joiner			50	2	11				40	0	0	
Campbell, Roderick			Laborer	4	1864				16	4	3	22	0	0	
Cox, John		St. Ola	Hooper	38		2	8	3				30	0	0	
Craig, James		Wick	Tinsmith	4	1864				34	17	8	35	0	0	
Laliberte, Alexis		Native	Laborer			4	6	8				23	0	0	
McDonald, Donald		Lochs	Laborer	11	1863				14	13	7	23	0	0	
McKay, Angus		Halkirk	Laborer	4	1864	13	18	11				22	0	0	
McLean, Farquhar		Ross	Laborer	4	1865	0	4	4				22	0	0	
McLeod, Roderick		Sutherland	Laborer	2	1866				1	10	6	22	0	0	
Mc-ae, John			Laborer	4	1864				11	5	4	33	0	0	
Moncrieff, Henry		Tingwall	Laborer	3	1865				1	1	7	22	0	0	
Morrison, Norman		Stornoway	Blacksmith	4	1864				43	4	9	35	0	0	
O'Donnel, Michael		Stornoway	Laborer	4	1864				26	15	0	22	0	0	
Pritchard, John		Red River	Interpreter	1	1865							14	11	8	
Sinclair, James		Native	Interpreter	10					24	16	10	55	0	0	
Smith, Wm		Edinburgh	Laborer	2	1866				2	3	10	22	0	0	
Tulloch, John		Edinburgh	Laborer	3	1865				20	10	8	22	0	0	
Supernumeraries															
King, Wm		Douglas	App. Clerk	1	1867							19	13	4	
Matheson, Alexander		Lochalth	App. Clerk	1	1867							18	6	8	10/0/0
Tebbitt, Arthur		Bristol	App. Clerk	1	1867							19	13	4	
McDonald, John		Barrus	Laborer	1	1867							20	3	4	11/0/0
McLean, Duncan		Stornoway	Laborer	1	1867							20	3	4	11/0/0
McLeod, Angus		Stornoway	Laborer	1	1867							20	3	4	11/0/0
Morrison, Angus		Stornoway	Laborer	1	1867							20	3	4	11/0/0

*** J.J. Hargrave had a 5 year Contract from 1861 at the wages £ 20,25,30,40,50

List of Servants, 1862.

Book Debts			Bills in London	Sundry Accounts			Sundry Accounts			Balance 1 June 1863						Balance Book Debts Other Districts-Cr	Cash Received Eng. & Canada
				Dr			Cr			Dr			Cr				
£	s	d	£/s/d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£/s/d	£/s/d
166	3	10		1	1	0											
219	2	2															
84	8	2															
90	13	11		0	14	4											
97	7	7															
42	17	10								38	13	2					
26	5	6								7	17	6					
108	4	2								34	15	0					
80	3	11		50	11	11											
19	0	0											16	0	0		
19	0	0		74	13	4							81	0	0		
28	15	4								55	7	10					
42	9	7								31	19	10					
50	19	6		2	4	4				39	17	10					
73	12	9		27	5	10							1	7	3		
10	9	9											31	2	6		
59	3	1					30	10	7	19	3	1					
19	0	1		2	15	4							0	15	8		
21	11	1								31	14	0					
12	9	11											25	14	4		
37	1	5								9	9	8					
10	5	9	10/0/0										50	17	11	1/6/0	
26	13	11								8	0	7					
10	8	6		14	13	7							12	11	6		
10	19	3								2	18	2					
21	7	3		0	7	6							0	0	11		
10	14	0	5/0/0										7	16	6		
23	3	2											10	2	1		
15	19	4											7	2	3		
28	11	7											49	13	2		
31	0	9											17	14	3		
10	10	3											4	1	5		
33	7	1											46	9	9		
26	5	5								2	1	7					
17	5	8											25	5	0		
55	5	10								6	2	1	4	7	6		20/0/0
14	8	9															
27	5	8								6	10	2					20/0/0
15	13	6								2	7	8					
11	11	0								9	17	17					
19	0	11								9	14	9					
18	18	1															

List of Servants, 1862.

Transferred to General Charges	
Part wages of the following supernumeraries Name	Balance 1 June '63 Cr-£/s/d
King, Wm	9/13/4
Matheson, Alexander	8/6/8
Tebbitt, Arthur	9/13/4
McDonald, John	9/3/4
McLean, Duncan	9/3/4
McLeod, Angus	9/3/4
Morrison, Angus	9/3/4
Barritt, James	11/11/1

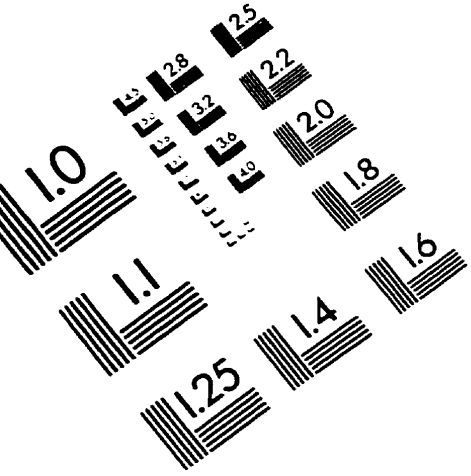
List of Servants, 1864.

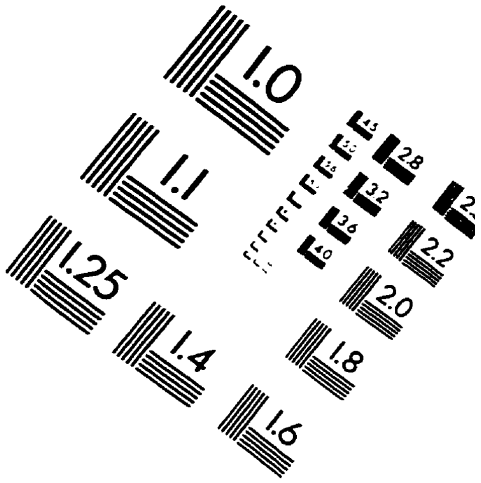
Name	Fort	Parish	Capacity	# Yrs Service	Contract Expire	Balance 1 June 1864						Wages		
						Dr			Cr					
						£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Officers														
Clare, James														
Hacklund, James	Pembina													
Lane, Wm	WHP													
Mactavish, Wm	UFG													
Clerks														
Balsallie, John	UFG	St. Andrew	Clerk		1866	22	10	6				75	0	0
Clark, Wm	Port. la Prairie	Nehaven	App. Clerk		1866	28	7	4				40	0	0
David, George	LFG	Native	Clerk		1865	30	19	8				100	0	0
Hargrave, J.J.	UFG	Native U.S.	App. Clerk		1866				27	0	0	40	0	0
Kittson, N.W	St. Paul	U.S.	Agent						50	0	0	350	0	0
Linklater, Magnus	UFG	Birsay	Clerk		1867				67	6	5	100	0	0
Matheson, Alexander	Pembina	Lochalsh	App. Clerk		1867							300	0	0
McDonald, Ewen	LFG	Inverness	Clerk		1866				8	11	3	75	0	0
McKenzie, Alexander	UFG	Inverness	App. Clerk		1865	6	14	9				50	0	0
McTavish, John	UFG	Lachine	Clerk		1867	29	18	9				100	0	0
Sinclair, James	Port. la Prairie	Native	Postmaster						59	18	11	60	0	0
Servants														
Anderson,James		Birsay	Laborer		1865				48	11	0	22	0	0
Baillie, Wm		Native	Tinsmith						12	15	8	50	0	0
Bais, John		Birsay	Joiner			11	15	2				40	0	0
Brown, HJohm		St. Ronaldshag	Boatbuilder						21	0	10	40	0	0
Campbell, roderick									27	2	7	35	0	0
Cox, John			Slooper			5	17	10				30	0	0
Harper, John		Native	Tinsmith									16	0	0
Harper, Wm		Birsay	Laborer		1866				0	15	2	22	0	0
Laliberte, Alexis		Native	Laborer			1	2	4				23	0	0
Letourneau, Hilaire		Deschambreaul	Midman						16	15	2	22	0	0
McDonald, Donald		Lochs	Laborer						16	2	5	23	0	0
McDonald, John		Barrus	Laborer		1867	18	7	4				22	0	0
McKay, Angus		Halkirk	Laborer						3	0	10	22	0	0
McLean, Duncan		Stornoway	Laborer		1867	2	10	3				22	0	0
McLean, Angus		Stornoway	Laborer		1867	28	8	6				22	0	0
McLeod, Roderick		Sutherland	Laborer		1866	2	7	0				22	0	0
Moncrieff, Henry		Tingwall	Laborer		1865				14	0	0	22	0	0
Morrison, Angus		Stornoway	Laborer		1867	20	11	11				22	0	0
Morrison, Norman		Stornoway	Blacksmith						21	19	7	40	0	0
O'Donnel, Michael		Stornoway	Laborer						8	9	10	4	0	0
Pritchard, John		Native	Interpreter		1865				10	0	1	5	0	0
Scott, George		Edinburgh	Laborer		1866				2	4	1	7	0	0
Reid, Mudoch		Stornoway	Laborer		1865				6	17	7	7	5	10
Tulloch, John		Sandwick	Laborer		1865				34	9	2	22	0	0
Supernumeraries														
Johnson, Francis G		Montreal	App. clerk									10	0	0
Matheson, Duncan			App. Clerk									10	0	0
Kirkness, John		Birsay	Laborer		1869							11	0	0

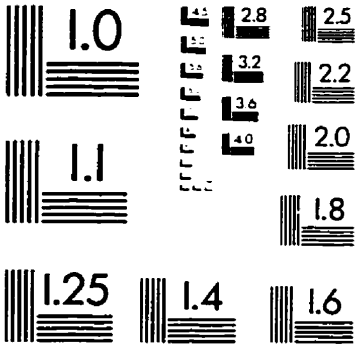
List of Servants, 1865.

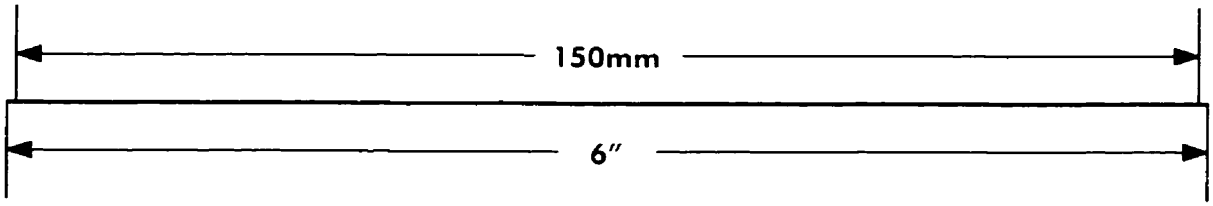
Name	Capacity	Location	Wages (£)	Gratuity (£)
Clare, James R.	Chief Factor	UFG		
Hackland, James	Chief Trader			
Lane, Wm.	Chief Trader			
Linklater, Magnus	Chief Trader	UFG		
Abell, Edmund R.	Engineer		100	
Balsillie, John	Clerk	UFG	75	
Clark, Wm.	App. Clerk		50	
Burdick, Richard C.	Clerk		100	
Davis, George	Clerk	LFG	100	
Hargrave, Joseph J.	App. Clerk	UFG	50	
Kittson, Norman R.	Agent		350	
McKenzie, Alexander R	Clerk	UFG	75	
McTavish, John	Clerk		100	
Matheson, Alexander	App. Clerk	LFG	40	
?, Duncan[sic]	App. Clerk		25	
Sinclair, James B.	Postmaster		60	
Anderson, James	Labourer		30	
Baillie Wm	Tinsmith		50	
Bias, John	Joiner		40	
Brown, John M.	Boatbuilder		40	
Campbell, Roderick	Storesman		35	
Cox, John	Slooper		30	
Harper, Wm.	Labourer		22	
Kirkness, John	Labourer		22	
Laliberte, Alexis	Labourer		22	
Letourneau, Hilaire	Labourer		22	
McDonald, Donald	Labourer		22	
McDonald, John	Labourer		22	
McKay, Angus a	Labourer		22	
?, John b [sic]	Labourer		22	
McLean Duncan	Labourer		22	
McLeod Angus	Labourer		22	
?, Roderick	Labourer		22	3
Moncrieff, Henry	Labourer		22	
Morrison, Angus	Labourer		22	
?, Norman [sic]	Blacksmith		45	
Reid, Murdoch	Labourer		25	
Tulloch, John	Labourer		25	
White, Philip	Labourer		25	

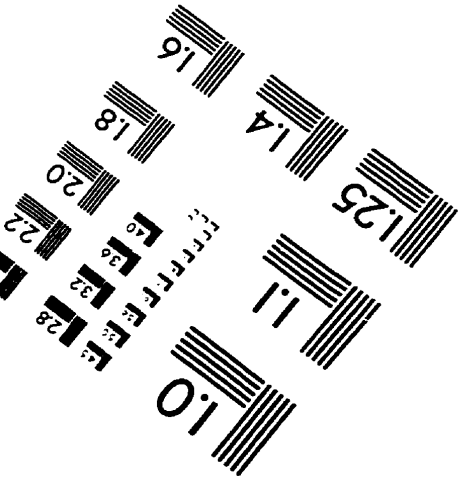
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

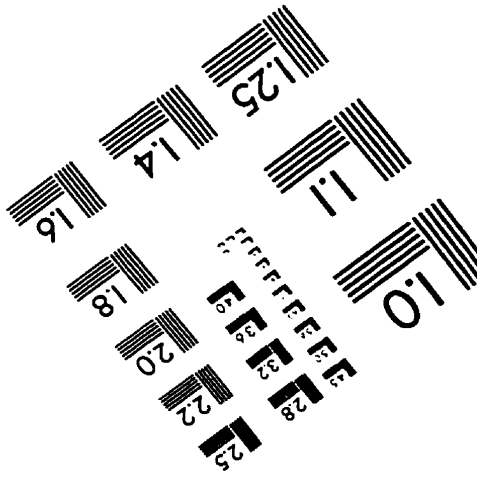












APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
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