

Early Fur-trade Forts of the Peace River Area of British Columbia

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In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the area now known as British Columbia was being approached and penetrated from both land and sea by Europeans intent on trading for furs with the natives of one of the last "untouched" regions of North America. The early maritime fur trade has long been understood as a major influence on the post-contact characteristics of Northwest Coast Indian cultures, and as a result intensively studied by ethnohistorians and "pure" historians alike. Surprisingly, however, relatively little attention has been devoted to an equivalent understanding of the processes and evolution of the land-based fur trade as it unfolded in British Columbia specifically and as it influenced the interior native peoples.

It is my intention simply to describe a body of archival and archaeological data from a portion of the interior of B.C. which, if properly exploited, has the potential to provide significant insights into many of these and other problems. These data concern the early (1793-1823) fur-trade period in the Peace River valley of northeastern British Columbia. Lying east of the Rocky Mountain divide, the Peace River district often is neglected in modern southwesterly dominated perceptions of this province, but during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was at the leading edge of European land-based expansion in Canada and was the main east-west communication route by which new materials and ideas penetrated the intermountain interior.

In the remainder of this paper I hope briefly to outline the evolution of the fur trade physical establishment — i.e., forts and trading posts — in the Peace River valley, based on published and unpublished archival data and archaeology. I am indebted to Finola Finlay (1976, 1978, n.d.) for much of the reconstruction of the fur trade history of the Peace River area which follows. Preliminary archaeological investigations conducted on these sites in 1974, 1975 and 1976, in the course of resource impact assessments carried out in proposed Hydro reservoirs, also serve to support and complement the documentary record.

Fur-trade Forts of the Upper Peace River Valley, 1794-1823

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, working for the Northwest Company (NWC), was the first European known to have reached the Peace River area of British Columbia, on his famous trip to the Pacific in 1793. Prophetically, passing the mouth of what is now the Pine River, near the present location of the city of Fort St. John, Mackenzie commented on the suitability of that area for a future trading establishment (Mackenzie, 1793).

In 1797 John Finlay retraced Mackenzie's voyage up the Peace River and explored the northerly branch now named after him. Unfortunately, Finlay's journals are long lost and we know few details of his stay on the Upper Peace. However, later secondary references suggest the possibility that Finlay built the first fort in the area as early as 1794, near the location suggested by Mackenzie (Finlay, 1976). Whatever its initial date there is no doubt that a NWC post, known as "Rocky Mountain Fort," was in operation near present day Fort St. John by, at least, 1798 (fig. 1). The existence of such an early permanent European establishment on mainland British Columbia has not always been clearly recognized by historians (e.g., Ormsby, 1958) and some confusion has surrounded its precise location (e.g., O'Neil, 1928). However, substantial archival data and archaeological verification now leave no valid basis to doubt its existence or age.

A relatively detailed anonymous journal describes life at this lonely establishment in the winter of 1799-1800, when it was the most westerly English- (and French-) speaking outpost on the continent of North America (O'Neil, 1928). The same journal indicates that the fort had been in existence for at least one year previously, and the need to refurbish buildings which had fallen into disrepair suggests an even greater age. The fort establishment included at least a "shop" (and/or a big-house), men's houses (for twelve men, four women and five children), at least one *hangard* (or storage cellar), a 55' flagpole and a fur-press, as well as at least five Indian lodges nearby. We know that they obtained their drinking water from the river, as well as throwing some of their refuse on the beach, and the tensions of a hard, isolated existence are revealed in terse descriptions of a French-Canadian workman who went deliriously insane, a fight between two other men, and the firing of a shot through the window of the chief trader's bedroom by overzealous revellers on New Year's day. Rocky Mountain Fort continued in existence until at least the fall of 1804, and perhaps as late as the summer of 1805. It was

visited in early March of 1804 by David Thompson, who undertook a solitary and apparently miserable walk up the ice of the Peace River from Fort Fork, a distance of about 250 km. Thompson's manuscript course descriptions, latitudinal calculation and later published map were instrumental to re-location of the old fort site in 1975. His terse comment after thirteen days' gruelling march, "2 miles to the House Thank God," says much about the realities of early fur-trade travel.

In 1805 James MacDougall built "Rocky Mountain Portage House" on the south bank of the Peace River, opposite the present town of Hudson Hope, and Rocky Mountain Fort was abandoned. Journals kept by John Stuart and Simon Fraser in 1805 and 1806 describe life at this fort, and the difficulties involved in persuading the Indians to come to the new post, which was mainly built to facilitate expansion of trade westward into New Caledonia. Rocky Mountain Portage House was situated at the eastern end of the Rocky Mountain Portage trail, which skirted the Peace River canyon and provided the main overland route of communication into intermontane British Columbia until the growth of the Saskatchewan and Columbia River-based supply systems in the 1820s. Rocky Mountain Portage House was abandoned in 1814 and reopened briefly in 1823-24 by the infamous Samuel Black under Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) control. It was finally re-established on the north bank of the river, at the present site of Hudson Hope, about 1866, as a supply centre for the Omineca gold rush (Finlay, 1976).

The next post to be established along British Columbia's Peace River valley was called "St. John's" by the Northwest Company, which owned it, and "Fort d'Epinette" or "de Pinette" by the Hudson's Bay Company, which eventually arrived as competition. This fort was constructed on the north bank of the Peace River just downstream from the present Beatton River confluence in 1806 (Wallace, 1929), and was under the control of Fred Goedike, J. Clarke and Archibald McGillivray between 1808 and 1813, as noted by Daniel Harmon in his travels between Dunvegan (now in Alberta) and New Caledonia (Harmon, 1800-16). There are no known references to St. John's between 1813 and 1820, but it is presumed that it was continuously occupied through this period, as part of a Northwest Company monopoly in the Upper Peace River and New Caledonia. By 1820 the Hudson's Bay Company began to penetrate into northern British Columbia and after 1821 took over control of NWC assets.

Before 1821 there is little useful information about the physical appearance of St. John's; however, an unpublished manuscript journal kept at

the post by Hugh Faries between October 1822 and May 1823 contains much detail about its installations, personnel and activities in its final phase of existence. We learn that Mr. Faries was dissatisfied with the poor condition of the fort, describing it as "all fallen in ruins, the wood of the buildings being perfectly rotten," and he put his men hard to work in repair, including construction of a new floor and chimney in one house, putting in windows, and "mudding" all buildings with a "yellow earth" obtained upstream along the Peace River. Considerable excitement surrounded the arrival of the first horse to reach northern British Columbia in October 1822, obtained from Dunvegan after a failed attempt the previous year, and men were put to work building a stable and cutting grass. Also notable are recurrent complaints that game was becoming increasingly hard to find in the vicinity of the fort and that some of the Indians were near starvation. Much of the meat that was obtained was sent westward as pemmican to supply the posts in New Caledonia. Considerable efforts were expended in cutting birch bark and firewood, each man being expected to cut and haul fifteen cords in preparation for the winter. Birch trees, whose bark was so essential for the company canoes, do occur in useful quantities and size along the Peace River, and this area provided birch bark for New Caledonia. Interestingly, an Indian, "Chimarouche," first met in the Rocky Mountain Fort journal of 1799-1800, is encountered again at St. John's on 14 January 1823, when, old and crippled, he met a gruesome death by rolling accidentally into his campfire. The same character, sometimes called "Jimathush," undoubtedly of some distinction during the early fur-trade period, but now locally forgotten, still gives his name to at least one prominent landmark in the area today — "Jim Rose" hill, a high cliff on the north bank of the Peace River, upstream from Rocky Mountain Fort (Butler, 1873; MacGregor, 1952).

On 14 May 1823 Mr. Faries travelled downstream to Fort Dunvegan, while Hughes was left on the upper Peace to oversee the company's planned closure of St. John's and the transfer of its trade to Dunvegan and the re-opened Rocky Mountain Portage House. On the 5th of August the Dunvegan journal (McIntosh, 1822-23) notes the arrival of a message from St. John's claiming that the Indians there were "ungovernable and in a state of open warfare." On the 28th of October Guy Hughes was left alone at St. John's, after sending his men upstream with goods being transferred to Rocky Mountain Portage House. Five days later he was shot and killed from ambush while walking on the riverbank, and the next day four of his men, returning from upriver, were also killed as they

landed their canoe in front of the fort. The Indian perpetrators of the "Fort St. John massacre" looted the buildings but did not set fire to them, and were just disappearing across the river when another HBC canoe happened to arrive downstream from Rocky Mountain Portage House (Heron, 1824; Krech, 1982, 1983).

The company launched an investigation of this event, but the "bandittes" were never captured. A wide range of reasons has been cited to explain the massacre, including the opinion, still stated by living Indians in the area today, that Hughes was thought to have magically or supernaturally injured a native boy (Goddard, 1916; Ridington, 1979). Whatever Hughes' magical capabilities, the basic reasons for the attack were probably economic, centred on the plan to close St. John's as a "restraint" measure because of generally failing resources in the area, which would have forced the "St. John Indians" to trade in territories of unfriendly neighbouring groups. As a result of the massacre, which was one of the most violent events ever to occur in interior British Columbia involving fur-trade company personnel, all HBC posts on the Upper Peace River were closed and none re-opened in the British Columbia portion until about 1860.

The 1823 massacre at St. John's should, seemingly, close the book on the early fur-trade period in the upper Peace region. Later re-establishments of Fort St. John (Fort St. John II, ca. 1860-74; Fort St. John III, 1874-ca. 1923) closer to the present city which bears that name are beyond the period considered in this paper, as is Rocky Mountain Portage House of the post-1860 period. However, there is another brief but complicating chapter which requires mention, and it takes us back to the site of old Rocky Mountain Fort.

Between about 1818 and 1820, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies were engaged in intense and sometimes bitter competition for diminishing fur resources. Some of the most extreme episodes in this struggle occurred in the Athabaska District, which included the Peace River area. In 1820 the HBC established its first fort in British Columbia, in the Peace River valley, at the site of old Rocky Mountain Fort about a half day's canoe travel above St. John's. This new post, variously known as "Fort de Pinette," "Yale's House" and "Fort George," was intended to provide direct competition for the NWC at Fort St. John's and to be a springboard for expansion into New Caledonia (e.g., Simpson, 1938). To further complicate matters, the NWC, in turn, set up a nuisance guard-post directly beside the new HBC establishment as was the pattern in earlier encounters between the two trading rivals. Thus, briefly in 1820-

21, there were three separate forts operating simultaneously in a single short stretch of river valley. The fact that at least two of these forts shared the same name ("Fort de Pinette"), while two were also on the site of a less well-known and much older fort, has considerably complicated interpretation of the historical record.

In 1821 the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Company merged, under the energetic and parsimonious direction of Governor George Simpson. One of his major concerns was rationalization of fort sites and termination of redundant establishments constructed during the period of most intense competition. As part of this campaign, "Yale's House" and its NWC shadow at the old site of Rocky Mountain Fort were closed, company operations shifted to the old NWC fort of "St. John's," and an unsuccessful attempt was made to float the buildings from "Yale's House" downstream to "St. John's." Thus, in the final two years of its seventeen-year history, that establishment operated under new company colours, to the confusion of some secondary historical chroniclers (e.g., Bowes, 1963; MacGregor, 1952; Wallace 1929), not to mention even later Hudson's Bay Company personnel (e.g., Alexander Mackenzie, 1908), concerning the age, locations and historical associations of the various predecessors of the modern town of Fort St. John.

Fur-trade Archaeology in the Upper Peace River Area

In the summers of 1974, 1975 and 1976 I directed aspects of archaeological surveying and excavation in the proposed "C" and "E" hydroelectric reservoirs in the Peace River valley, between the Alberta border and Hudson Hope, funded by B.C. Hydro through what was then the Provincial Archaeologist's office. Although the sheer numeric density of prehistoric aboriginal sites in the area consumed most archaeological efforts, a concern was also the re-location and identification of the historically documented fur-trade forts described above.

The site of Rocky Mountain Portage House was archaeologically relocated in 1974, readily visible as a complex of low mounds and shallow depressions enclosing a roughly quadrangular area. Unlike other fur trade sites in the Peace River valley, this establishment has not been damaged by riverbank erosion, but has been affected by modern construction activities, including several relatively recent log-cabins and a road and landing area for a Department of Highways ferry which operated here until completion of the present highway bridge about 1965. Other than basic mapping and surveying, no archaeology has yet been undertaken at

Rocky Mountain House, since it would have been least affected of all the early fort sites by proposed Hydro dam construction.

In 1975, armed with primary historical documentation, such as Thompson's journal, we were able immediately to locate the site of Rocky Mountain Fort. In addition that year, we began excavations at the Beatton River site with the SFU archaeology field school. Results of that work, and archival data obtained that winter, permitted increasing confidence in identifying the Beatton River site as "St. John's" of the 1806-23 period, including both NWC and later HBC occupations. The definite presence of the HBC at this site was further supported by a second season of excavations in 1976, again with the SFU field school, which saw the recovery of several indisputably HBC artifacts, including a company seal. That season also saw some small exploratory excavations at Rocky Mountain Fort, under the direction of Finola Finlay (Fladmark, 1975; Fladmark, Finlay and Spurling, 1977; Spurling, Finlay and Fladmark, 1976).

As first observed in 1975, historical remains at Rocky Mountain Fort consisted of three spatially distinct groups of surface features, spread along more than 180 m of riverbank on a low floodplain terrace of the south bank of the river (fig. 2). The most westerly or furthest upstream group ("Area A") consisted of two sandstone fireplaces eroding from the bank, and some low mounds and pits. Test excavations directed by Finola Finlay in 1976 revealed the outline of a single house, approximately 6 x 9 m in area, containing very few artifacts (one lead musket ball, one piece of sheet glass, and a plain brass button). The nature of these artifacts indicates a relatively early contact age, but their scarcity—in marked contrast to other portions of this site as well as St. John's—strongly suggests a brief occupation. Most of Area A has probably been lost to river erosion, but still there is evidence to suggest that it represents one of the 1820-21 occupations—perhaps the NWC nuisance post—rather than Rocky Mountain Fort itself, which was occupied for six to ten years.

Approximately 100 m downstream from "Area A," a well-defined, narrow trench encloses a rectangular area approximately 26 x 30 m in size, with its long axis at right angles to the riverbank. No obvious structural features occur within the enclosure, although a narrow test trench revealed possible burned beams, as well as gun-flint fragments, a red trade bead, a piece of retouched chert, a fragment of sheet glass and some birch bark. This feature ("Area B") is considered to be the remains of a stockade trench—one that perhaps was never filled, or from which the posts were later removed—again resulting from one of the 1820-21

occupations, possibly that of Hudson's Bay Company "Yale's House." The latter suggestion is reinforced by the information in Hugh Faries' journal that an attempt was made to remove those structures and float them downriver to St. John's.

Centred about 30 m downstream beyond the east edge of this stockade trench, "Area C" is the most complex of the three feature clusters (Spurling, Finlay and Fladmark, 1976). It includes at least three stone chimney mounds, three sizeable "cellar" depressions, and several smaller mounds and hollows, in an area approximately 30 x 15 m in size, paralleling the river bank. A magnetometer survey conducted by Dr. John Stroud, then a visiting physicist at SFU, clearly revealed a ca. 8-9 m long rectangular wall-outline, including a possible door, enclosing the two largest chimneys, as well as possible suggestions of a stockade line, not otherwise visible (Sparling, Finlay and Fladmark, 1976). Test excavations around the periphery produced glass beads, gun-flints, a small brooch, an embossed steel button, a clasp-knife blade, part of a mattock-head (?), an iron arrowhead, file fragments, a gun lock-screw, lead shot, nails, fragments of sheet copper, and a fragment of an incomplete stone pipe bowl of so-called "Micmac" type. The density of features and artifacts in "Area C" suggests a substantial and relatively long-lived occupation. Although excavations conducted to date have been simply exploratory, there is reason to believe that this area represents the remains of old Rocky Mountain Fort itself. If that is the case, then this site is remarkably well-preserved and completely unaffected so far by modern disturbances of any sort, making it probably unique among western Canadian fur trade forts of this age. It is possible, however, that some part of the front of the fort has been removed by riverbank erosion; that won't be determined until full excavations can be carried out.

It seems too good to be true that a site for which there is documentation of three distinct historical occupations should produce relatively clear, unmixed surficial archaeological evidence to support this, let alone that the oldest of these occupations should turn out to be the best preserved! It was with considerable relief that I greeted the recent news that B.C. Hydro has decided to forgo, for the time being, any further development of the "C" damsite on the Peace River. Not only would that project have deeply submerged Rocky Mountain Fort, but the old fort itself lies sufficiently close to the actual damsite that it would undoubtedly have been directly and seriously damaged by construction activities. Now we still have the opportunity to ensure that it be properly investigated and pro-

tected — there are not many equivalent site complexes remaining anywhere in western Canada, and for British Columbia it is unique.

St. John's, at the mouth of the Beaton River, was not burned by the Indians after the 1823 "massacre," and apparently the gloomy but habitable buildings still stood as late as 1833 (McLean, 1833). Crosses on the beach marked the deaths of Hughes and his men, and occasional passersby would camp briefly in the mouldering old fort (McDonald, 1828; McLean, 1833). By the 1870s, however, St. John's was reduced to mere overgrown chimney mounds, although the drama earlier enacted there was not forgotten (Butler, 1873). Even modern residents are still aware of parts of the story, and the old fort site has never been completely lost. In 1974, acting on secondary historical sources and the advice of local landowners, we readily relocated the remains of "St. John's" amid the dense cottonwood and willow tangles of the low river floodplain terrace which has held them for about 150 years. In 1975 and 1976, supported by B.C. Hydro, SFU archaeological field schools intensively excavated this site under my direction, and some results of this work will be described in a following section.

In comparison to the very limited investigations carried out at Rocky Mountain Fort, our excavations at St. John's in 1975 and 1976 were relatively large-scale. Over 100 1.7 x 1.7 m pits were dug, resulting in the recovery of approximately 5,000 artifacts, thousands of animal bones, and large amounts of structural information. There is not space here to describe all of this in any detail, so the following represents general reconstruction of the fort and some of its activities based on many lines of evidence (Spurling, Finlay and Fladmark, 1976).

St. John's was a stockaded fort, with the outer wall originally enclosing an area of approximately 30 x 33 m. The precise dimensions cannot be known with certainty, since an unknown portion of the front of the site was removed by river erosion sometime after its abandonment. The stockade itself was relatively light and flimsy, in strong contrast to the massive fortifications of both prairie and coastal forts, probably attesting to the normally peaceful conditions expected in this area. Within the stockaded area there were three main buildings, enclosing a central quadrangle or "parade-ground," probably originally about 14 m square (fig. 3). On the north side of the quadrangle was the "big-house," which served as chief trader's residence, store and general mess-hall. Measuring approximately 7 x 12 m, the ground plan of this structure indicates three main rooms. Occupying the western two-thirds of the house was a single large (dining?) room overlying a deep cellar, heated by a sandstone

fireplace diagonally oriented in one corner. The remaining eastern portion of the structure was divided into two chambers, with a partition largely formed by a sandstone double fireplace and chimney, ca. 4 m high, one hearth facing into each room. At least one of these rooms was probably the clerk's bedroom, as suggested by a straight razor and other personal items. Archaeological data do not provide much information about the architectural details of this house above the floor, although it was likely of post-on-sill construction, with a bark-covered roof. It was floored with well-finished planks, fitted with tongue-in-groove joints, and its walls and chimneys had been repeatedly "washed" with yellow earthy pigment. It is likely that the eastern portion of the house represents a newer addition, and at least one of the fireplaces and some of the floor had been completely rebuilt in the course of its history. The cellar contained gun-parts and a bronze barrel spigot, suggesting its use for storage of valuable or sensitive materials such as weapons and liquor. Clay mounds accumulated around each fireplace and protecting the floor planks indicate that the roof had deteriorated sufficiently to permit the mudding to slough off the chimneys before the house met an ultimate fate through fire. Considerable quantities of nails found in the west fireplace suggest that nailed lumber was being burned, probably by casual users of the building after its abandonment.

The other two buildings are far less well preserved, and were possibly much less substantial structures to begin with. On the west side of the quadrangle lies the remaining portion of the "men's house," so identified by the quantity and diverse ethnic identity of artifacts found within, and the known usual placement of such a barracks building along one side of a fort's central area. This structure had an earthen floor and was probably divided into two or three individual rooms adjoining in a row, each with its own single hearth and chimney. Quantities of native-manufactured artifacts were found in this building on the floor, sunk into it, and deep beneath in several sub-floor garbage pits. Such artifacts include stone tobacco pipes of both plain-elbow and "Micmac" type in various stages of completeness, including one very large specimen ornately decorated with a lead inlay; bone snowshoe needles and awls; a toothed metapodial-bone flesher; occasional flaked chert and quartzite artifacts; and birchbark items, including remains of decorated baskets, geometric bark cut-outs and quantities of cut birchbark scrap. These were in addition to objects of Euro-Canadian manufacture, including various clasp-knives, "canoe-awls," burning glasses, gun parts and balls, beads,

buttons, clay-pipes, ornaments, and even a complete leather shoe, fortuitously preserved in alkaline wood-ash deposits in a sub-floor pit.

Opposite the men's house, on the east side of the quadrangle, the presence of a probably comparable building is just demonstrated by a small remaining corner which has not yet eroded onto the river beach. This building had a plank floor over a stone "foundation," and the presence of a number of small glass beads and equivalently sized lead bird-shot filtered down between the floor planks suggests the possibility that it originally functioned as a storehouse or trading store.

Behind the big-house a deep cellar, lacking evidence of any substantial overlying structure, may represent the remains of a "hangard" (a semi-subterranean storehouse for meat) or perhaps a saw-pit. Just outside the back wall of the stockade, a low rambling midden mound consists of stratified ash and humic layers, as well as numerous artifacts and bones, indicating that there was nothing complicated about refuse disposal patterns at this site. Other pit features both inside and outside the stockade line suggest the presence of further structures not yet revealed. In summary, the final form of St. John's may have approximated the artist's reconstruction shown in figure 4.

The archaeology of St. John's provided direct confirmation of many details of the historical accounts of the site, or conversely might have permitted reconstruction of many details in the absence of written descriptions. Areas of compliance between the documentary and archaeological records include site location; evidence of both Hudson's Bay Company and Northwest Company occupations; evidence of building repair and reconstruction; mudding of buildings with yellow earth; and evidence of a considerable period of slow decay prior to burning. Even the famous horse, so proudly brought to the area in 1822, may be archaeologically represented by a butchered horse mandible, the only domestic animal in the large faunal assemblage from the site, other than dog (Williams, 1978). Perhaps the horse was killed by the Indians at the time of Guy Hughes' murder, or died earlier from any number of possible natural causes, to be eaten by its one-time owners. In contrast, a feature definitely present archaeologically, for which there is a puzzling total lack of comment in the documents, is the outer fence or stockade. Perhaps it predates the 1822-23 (HBC) period for which we have most historical data, or was considered totally insignificant by Faries and the other chroniclers.

In conclusion, a large body of documentary and archaeological data bears on the history of the early fur trade period in the Peace River Valley of British Columbia. Many of these data remain unanalyzed and

unintegrated, but even in their present preliminary form they establish the basic site chronology and provide bases for mutual verification of archaeological and documentary evidence. The full depths of both documentary and archaeological records have barely been touched as they pertain to subsistence and settlement patterns, identification of indigenous and extra-areal ethnic groups (e.g., Cree, Iroquois, Métis, Highlanders, French Canadians), establishment of artifact seriations and numerous other research topics. It is hoped that this paper has revealed a little of this potential, as well as a glimpse of the rich and fascinating fur trade history of the Peace River area.

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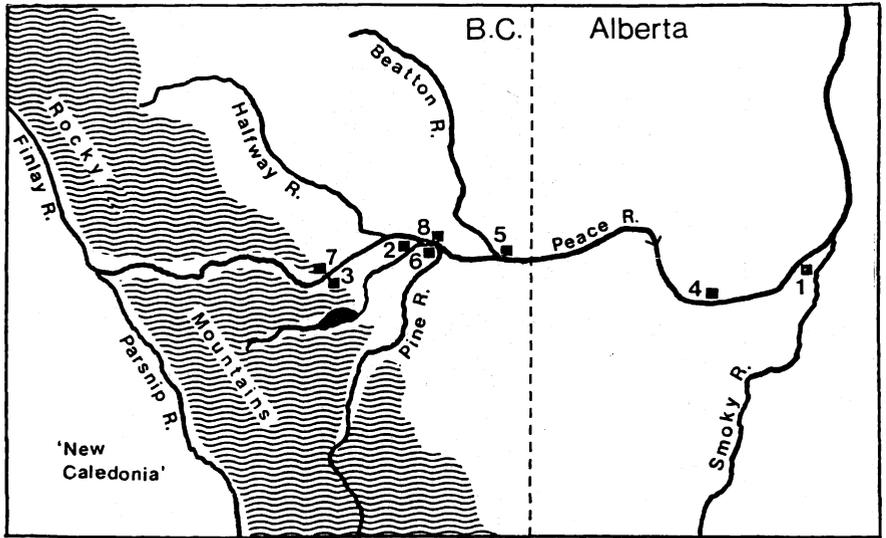


FIGURE 1

Fur trade forts of the upper Peace River: 1. Fort Fork (NWC, established 1792); 2. Rocky Mountain Fort (NWC, 1794?), Fort de Pinette/Yale's House (HBC, 1820), McIntosh's "nuisance post" (NWC, 1820); 3. Rocky Mountain Portage House (NWC, 1804); 4. Dunvegan (NWC, 1805); 5. St. John's (Fort St. John I, NWC, 1806); 6. Fort St. John (II, HBC, 1860); 7. Rocky Mountain Portage House/Hudson Hope (HBC, 1866); 8. Fort St. John (III, HBC, 1874). Not all Alberta forts shown.

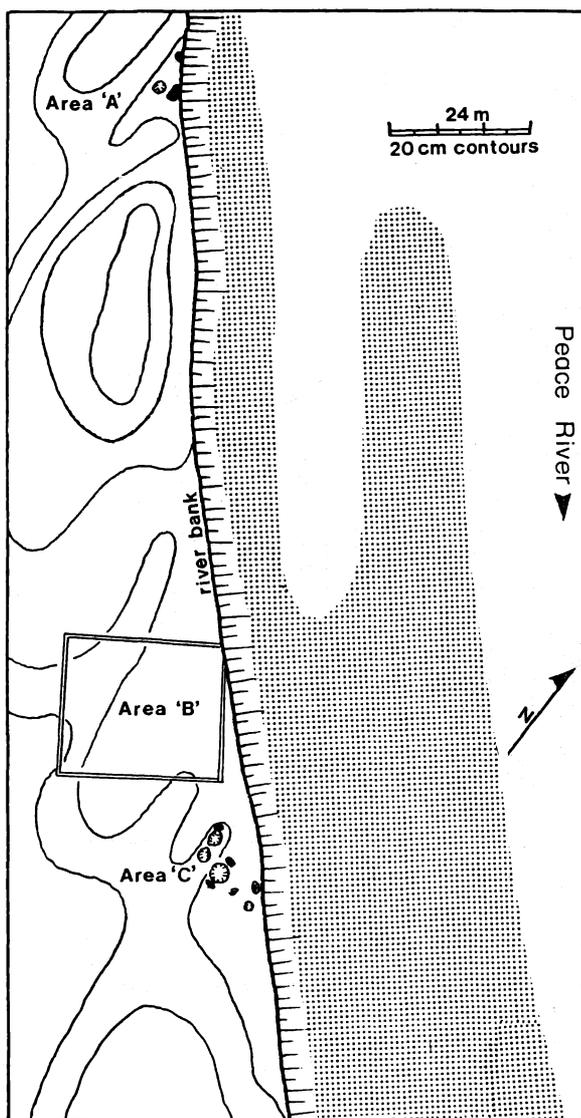


FIGURE 2

Preliminary map of the Rocky Mountain Fort site. Areas "A", "B" and "C" are clusters of surface features which may correspond respectively to the 1820 NWC "nuisance post," Yale's House and Rocky Mountain Fort. Hachured ovals represent cellars and solid ovals are stone chimney mounds. The dotted area paralleling the river bank represents a gravel bar which may provide some indication of the extent of shoreline erosion since the forts were occupied.

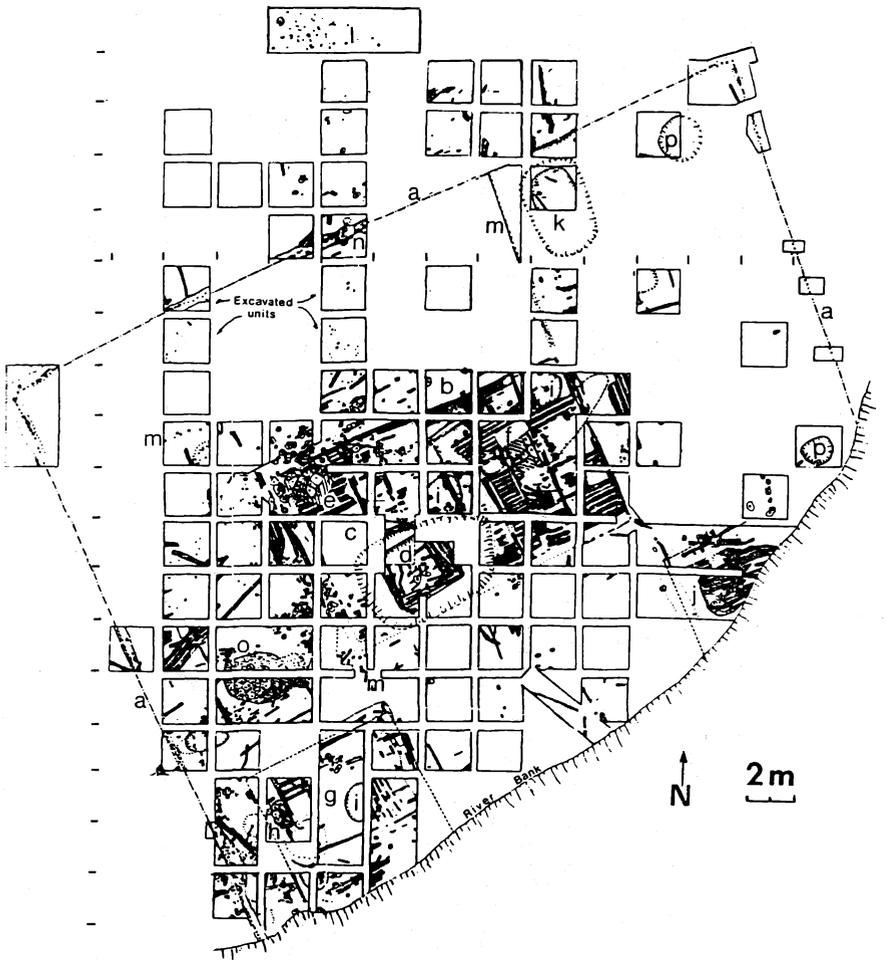


FIGURE 3

Map of excavated features, St. John's 1806-1823. a. stockade line; b. "big-house"; c. possible dining room-mess hall; d. cellar; e. corner fireplace; f. double fireplace separating two rooms in the eastern portion of the big-house; g. "men's house"; h. fireplace in men's house; i. sub-floor pits; j. "store-house"; k. "hangard" or saw-pit; l. garbage midden; m. internal fence-lines; n. possible gate; o. rock-filled pit; p. other pits. Black areas are charred planks and timbers.

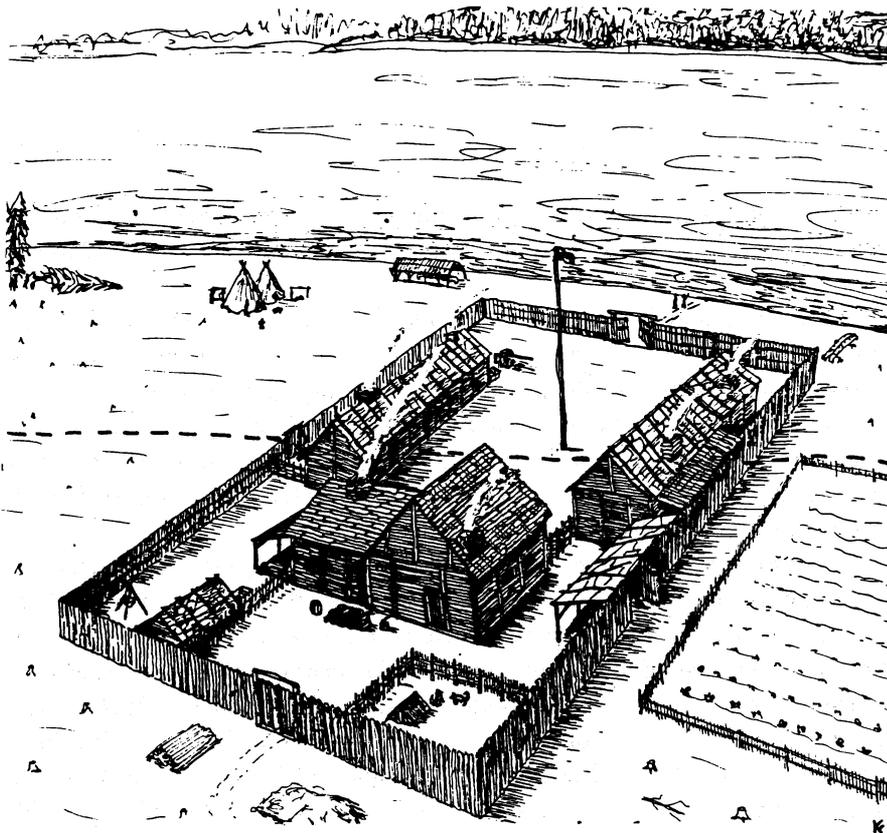


FIGURE 4

Artist's impression of the possible appearance of St. John's in 1823. The dashed line indicates the position of the modern riverbank.