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CONTEXT DOCUMENT
on the
FUR TRADE
OF NORTHEASTERN NORTH DAKOTA (Ecozone #16)
1738-1861

by
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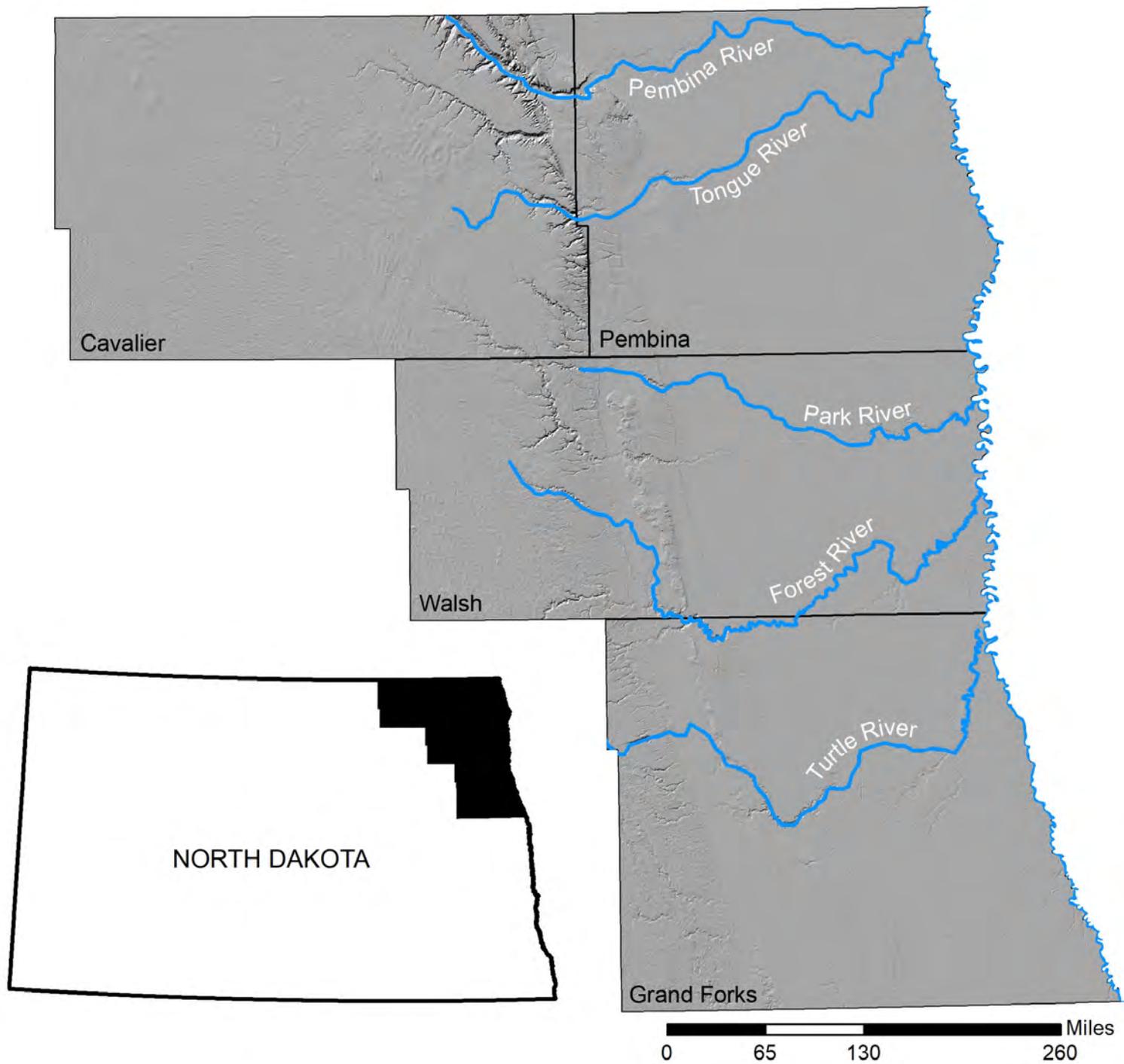
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FUR TRADE IN NORTHEASTERN NORTH DAKOTA (ECOZONE #16), 1738-1861

The fur trade was the commercial medium through which the earliest Euroamerican intrusions into North America were made. This world wide enterprise led to the first encounters between Euroamericans and Native Americans. These contacts led to the opening of Indian lands to Euroamericans and associated developments. This is especially true for the history of North Dakota. It was a fur trader, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, and his men that were the first Euroamericans to set foot in 1738 on the lands later designated part of the state of North Dakota. Others followed in the latter part of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. The documents these fur traders left behind are the earliest known written records pertaining to the region. These records tell much about the early commerce of the region that tied it to world markets, about the indigenous populations living in the area at the time, and the environment of the region before major changes caused by overhunting, agriculture, and urban development were made. Trade along the lower Red River, as well as along the Missouri River, was the first organized Euroamerican commerce within the area that became North Dakota.

Fortunately, a fair number of written documents pertaining to the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota have been located and preserved for study. These documents provide a plethora of data on various historical subjects. They do not, however, provide a detailed accounting of all the activities related to the fur trade. For this other sources of data, such as archaeological sites, must be sought. No doubt various remains were left behind by fur traders when they abandoned the region and, under favorable conditions of preservation, should be present within northeastern North Dakota. These remains would be of immense use in learning more about the lives and activities of fur traders and the Indians with whom they had contact. The study of the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota through historical and archeological research is of immense value to understanding the history of this state and larger international region, thus, forms the basis for this context.

The geographic area of this context is northeastern North Dakota or Ecozone #16 as defined by the State Historical Society of North Dakota. Ecozone #16 encompasses the western drainage basin of the lower Red River of the North in all of Pembina and Grand Forks counties, the eastern three-fourths of Walsh County, and the eastern one-fifth of Cavalier County, North Dakota (Figure 1). The Red River of the North, the largest stream within the region, forms the eastern boundary of North Dakota. Other major drainages within this area include the Pembina, Tongue, Park, Forest (or Salt), and Turtle Rivers and English Coulee. These are all western tributaries of the lower Red River. Unlike most other drainage systems in the continental United States, that of the Red River of the North drains north to Hudson's Bay by way of Lake Winnipeg and the Nelson River (Figure 2). This is important in terms of the early history of the region, because many of the early Euroamericans who entered this area arrived by way of Hudson's Bay to the north. Other early traders arrived by way of an



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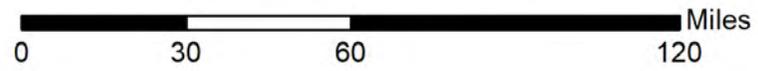
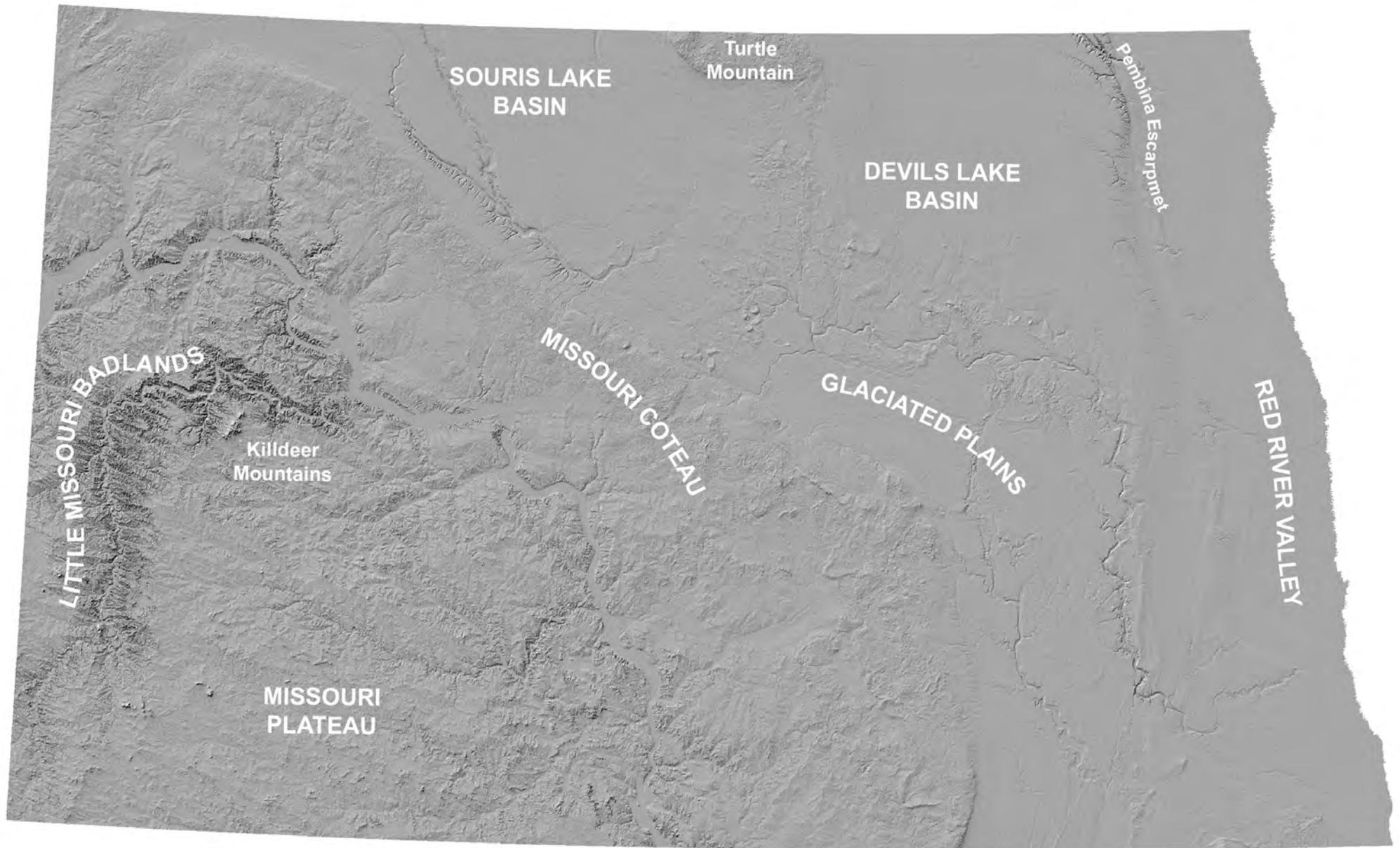
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eastern water route from Lake Superior, along the Rainy and Winnipeg rivers to Lake Winnipeg, to the lower (northern) Red River. Ecozone #16 is part of the Central Lowlands physiographic province, which includes the Red River Valley and Drift Prairies. A major portion of Ecozone #16 is formed by the Red River Valley, the lacustrine plain of glacial Lake Agassiz as cut by the winding, yet relatively stable, Red River of the North. The remaining western portion of this ecozone lies in the glacial Drift Prairies (Figure 3).

The temporal period under consideration for this context is given as 1738-1861. This period starts with the first intrusion of fur traders into the area that became North Dakota. This beginning date does not coincide with the earliest documented entrance of Euroamerican fur traders into the specific context region; however, the influence of the fur trade between Euroamericans and Native Americans no doubt extended into northeastern North Dakota by 1738. The first actual documented entrance of Euroamericans into the study area did not occur until the late 1700s. From that time on fur traders were active in the area and set the stage for the North Dakota's earliest Euroamerican history. Their activities, including involvement with the Native American and métis populations of the region, extended well into the nineteenth century. By the 1860s, however, the trade in furs was declining and new interests related to Euroamerican settlement began to dominate in the region. The date of 1861, the year Dakota Territory was organized, is given as a logical date for the end of the fur trade era. At this approximate date the fur trade era became supplanted by the settlement era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Historical Overview

The fur trade of the lower Red River region, like in many other regions of North America, had its roots in French expansionism of the eighteenth century. Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, a Canadian-born fur trader who worked as an explorer for the French government from 1731 to 1744, is credited with being the first Euroamerican to establish a trading post on the lower reaches of the Red River and to set foot on the land later to be identified as North Dakota. La Vérendrye and his nephew, La Jemeraye, built their first western trading post at Rainy Lake in the fall of 1731. Previous French explorers and traders had placed similar posts in this area even earlier, yet it was La Vérendrye who pushed westward, establishing Fort St. Charles at the Lake of the Woods in 1732, and Fort Maurepas to the west. Fort Maurepas I, named for the French Minister for the Colonies, was built by René Cartier for La Vérendrye about five leagues above the mouth of the Red River in 1734. La Vérendrye visited this post, the first on the Red River, in 1737 and noted that Cree and Assiniboin Indians came there from Lake Winnipeg (to the north) and the prairies and plains (to the south and southwest) to trade. A second Fort Maurepas was built by Louis D'Amours de Louvière for La Vérendrye at the mouth of the Winnipeg River in 1737 to trade with the Cree of Bois Fort. It appears that this second Fort Maurepas replaced the first, which closed that year (Burpee 1927).

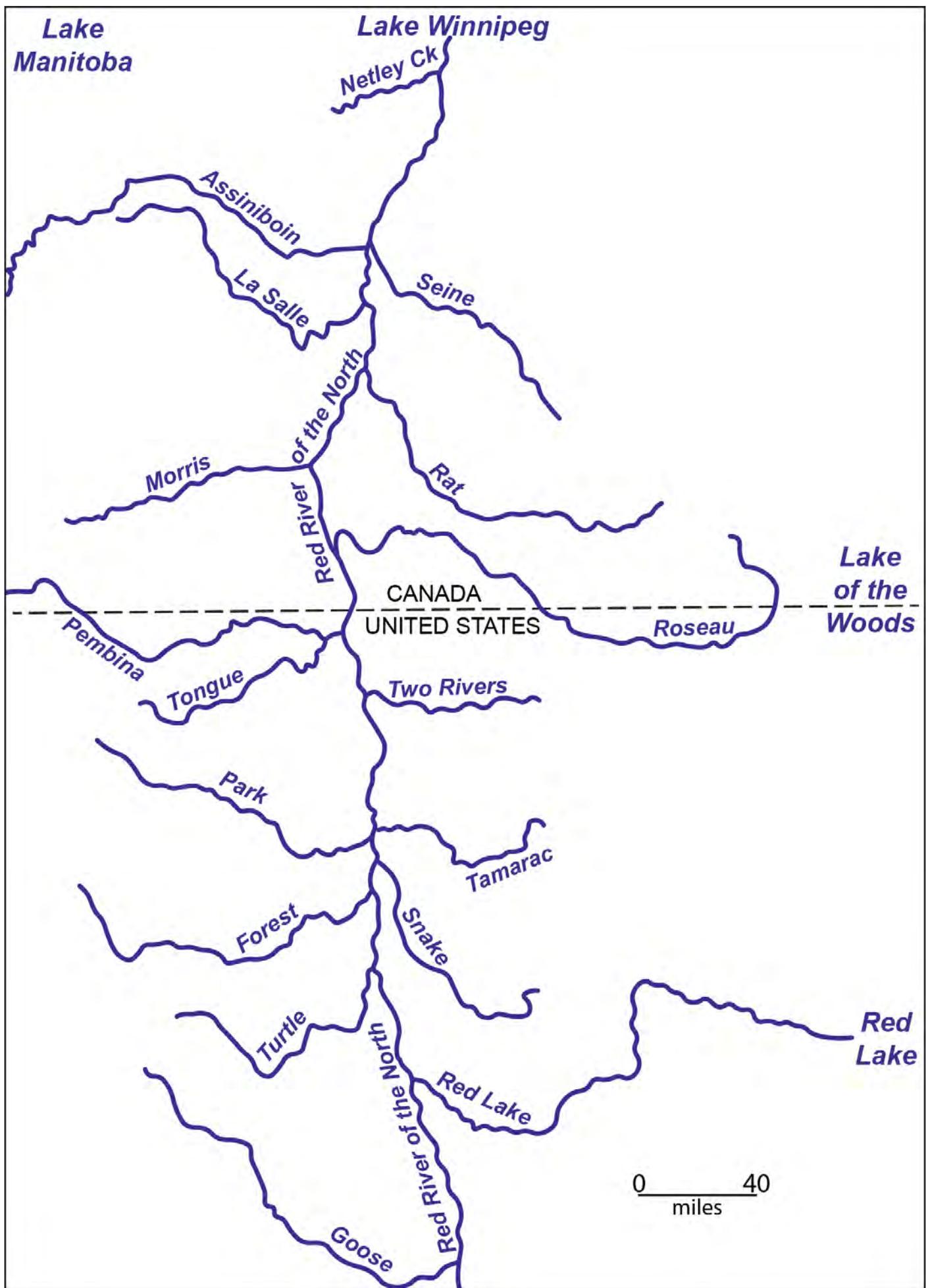


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In order to maintain his trading license, La Vérendrye was required to move westward to satisfy the French government in their search for the Western Sea. Consequently, in 1738 La Vérendrye established Fort La Reine on the north side of the Assiniboine River, a short distance above the mouth of that river, an area called "the Forks" of Red River. At this post traders had contact with the Assiniboin who roamed the neighboring plains and prairies. La Vérendrye's employée, Louis D'Amours de Louvière, also established Fort Rouge at the Forks in 1738 (Figure 4). It appears that Fort La Reine was the most stable post on the Assiniboine River and it continued as a French trading post until at least 1743. In 1738 La Vérendrye left this post for an exploratory excursion to the Missouri River and in 1743 two of his sons set off from here on a westward expedition (Burpee 1927; Smith 1980). During these expeditions La Vérendrye, his sons, and their employees entered present-day North Dakota and became the first known Euroamericans to enter this future state.

Despite his attempts to advance westward and maintain his trade, La Vérendrye could not win enough government support for a continuing license to trade (Burpee 1927). Other traders/explorers went west for the French government, but few (if any) are recorded as having entered the Red River region. In fact, Voorhis (1930:18) believed the region west of the Great Lakes was "practically deserted" in 1756. Much of this may have been due to the French involvement in the War of Austrian Succession, King George's War, and the French and Indian Wars between 1740 and 1763. With the end of the French and Indian War in North America in 1763 France was forced to abandon its claim to lands in northern North America in favor of Britain. With this cession France discontinued trade in furs in northern North America, thereby, ending direct French involvement in the fur trade of the Red River and surrounding regions.

The French influence on the northern trade in furs could not be erased, however. Numerous French Canadians continued to trade independently or with British merchants who entered northern North America in significant numbers at this time. In general, these British and American-born traders continued French practices, which had developed over decades of interaction between the French and Native Americans. The drive for furs pushed many traders westward beyond the Great Lakes. Within five years after the Treaty of Paris, which ended the French and Indian Wars, several had reached the Red River region. By the late 1760s independent British traders had established seasonal trading posts along the Assiniboine River and the surrounding region. Farrell (1906:294) suggests that trader Peter Grant may have been in the Pembina Mountain country as early as 1767, although this is unlikely. Morton (1937) indicates that Forest Oakes had been on the lower Red River from 1766-1768 and later on the Assiniboine River with other traders. Unfortunately, few, if any, of these early British traders left written accounts of their activities and none are known to survive for the Red River prior to the late 1790s. There is no clear evidence that any of these traders established posts within northeastern North Dakota.



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Euroamericans who traded and travelled in the region in the 1790s indicate that they were not the first Euroamericans to enter the lower Red River valley. For instance, John Macdonell reported in the 1790s that Joseph Frobisher had a post on the lower Red River above Netley Creek probably during the 1770-1771 season (Nute 1930:364; Voorhis 1930:22; Wood and Thiessen 1985:80; Masson 1889:268; Gates 1965:109n.97; Michael 1965:11). A decade later other traders, including Mr. Bruce and Mr. Boyer, were on the Assiniboine River and at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers (HBCA, B.22/a/1; Masson 1889:270; Michael 1965:12; Bell 1927:17). Other traders also trickled into the area during the 1700s to try their luck at trade. William McGillivray, later the leader of the North West Company, is reported to have spent the winter of 1789-1790 at Rat River, a tributary of the lower Red River in present-day Manitoba (Figure 4) (Ouellet 1987:454; Michael 1965:12-13). No doubt these traders interacted directly and indirectly with Indians who hunted in northeastern North Dakota, yet it was not until the early 1790s that a Euroamerican trader established a post along the Red River within the modern boundaries of the United States. This post was built by Peter Grant on the east side of the Red River opposite the mouth of the Pembina River (Gough 1988:11n.24,43,118). A later trader at Pembina recorded in 1801 "On the east side of the Red River is the remains of an old Fort, built by Mr Peter Grant some years ago and was the first establishment ever built on the Red River" (Gough 1988:43). Also in the early 1790s, probably in 1792-1793, Joseph R aume established a trading post in the vicinity of Pembina (Quaife 1916:209; Innis 1956:245n.297; Gough 1988:43n.63; Michael 1965:13; Birk 1984:57-58). At this time Peter Grant was an independent trader, yet he, like Joseph R aume and others, helped form the North West Company during this decade.

The North West Company (NWC) was formed in Montreal during the last decade of the eighteenth century through various mergers of traders active west of the Great Lakes. Traders within this organization travelled and traded far and wide, including in the lower Red River region. John McKay, trader for the North West Company at Rainy River in 1793, reported that his colleague, "the Soldier", went to Red River to trade during the 1793-1794 season (HBCA, B.105/a/1). We can surmise that "The Soldier", otherwise known as Frederick Schutz (Shutts, Shoutts), established himself at or near Pembina on the basis of John Macdonell's report that Schutz and Desmarais came to the Forks in May 1794 from Pembina River (Masson 1889:290). During the next two trade seasons, from 1794-1796, Schutz was back at Rainy River trading for the North West Company (HBCA, B.105/a/2, B.105/a/3), but a number of other traders were reported to be active in the Red River region (Morrison 1988:356; Nute 1930:365). Many of these were probably trading along the Assiniboine River, but Gabriel Attina (dit LaViolette) was reported at Pembina in 1795 (Gough 1988:43n.63).

In 1796-1797 North West Company trader Charles Chabouillez entered trade along the Red River. His first season was spent near the mouth of the Rat River (Hickerson 1959:265,377; Michael 1965:14; Allaire 1983:177). No doubt this was a productive trade year for him. The following season Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trader John McKay stated, "as I passed the Forks of Red River I could not help reflecting on the 36 Packs of prime Beaver Mr Chabouillier made there [on Red River] last winter ..." (HBCA,

B.22/a/5). Chaboillez' return up Red River in 1797-1798 also indicates his trading success. On September 23, 1797 he established trade with the Indians at Pembina and left a journal of his activities there (Figure 4) (Hickerson 1959). Many people believe this to be the first documented Euroamerican fur trade post along the Red River in present day North Dakota. Chaboillez, however, was not the only person to trade in North Dakota during the 1797-1798 season. As noted in the previous quote, John McKay of Brandon House (on the Assiniboine River) was aware of Chaboillez' earlier success on the Red River. McKay continued in his journal on August 31, 1797

...when I compared the Beaver [collected by Chaboillez in 1796-1797] with the Wolves of Brandon House I soon came to a determination to send a Boat up it [the Red River], particularly as I found there was no outfit in McDonell['s] Band [NWC] for the Red River and of course I would be the first in... (HBCA, B.22/a/5)

Upon Chaboillez' arrival at Pembina he found that a Hudson's Bay Company trader named John Richards had preceded him and was established "about 1 1/2 Mile Below the [Pembina] River" (Hickerson 1959:279; HBCA, B.22/a/5). John Richards did not remain at the Hudson's Bay Company post near Pembina for long, however, and on October 25, 1797 he defected from the Hudson's Bay Company and joined Chaboillez as a North West Company employee (HBCA, B.22/a/5; Hickerson 1959:284). Thomas Miller was sent from Brandon House on the Assiniboine River to Pembina as Richard's replacement and arrived there on November 12, 1797, as documented in his journal (HBCA, B.235/a/1, B.22/a/5).

A comparison of Chaboillez' and Miller's journals for the 1797-1798 trade season reveals intense competition between the two trading companies (Hickerson 1959; HBCA, B.235/a/1). Often the two traders raced their men against one another in order to reach the Indians at their camps before the other could get to the Indian's furs. Chaboillez, with a contingent of 25 men and many canoes and trade goods, was well equipped to dominate the much smaller outfit of the Hudson's Bay Company. Because of his larger outfit Chaboillez was able to send men to stay with the Indians and to establish outposts for them away from the Pembina River.

In addition to Chaboillez' outposts on the Red River, another North West Company employee named Roy established a post upstream from Chaboillez. This post, established in the fall of 1797, was probably an outpost of North West Company trader Jean Baptiste Cadot at Red Lake (Hickerson 1959:284-285). In March 1798 geographer David Thompson visited Roy's post and located it south of the "Salt Rivulet" or River Salle (MHS, Thompson Diary; Tyrrell 1916:251n.1; Hickerson 1959:280,284-285,287).

The competition between the Hudson's Bay and North West companies continued in later years on the Red River. Thomas Miller of the Hudson's Bay Company returned to Pembina for at least four more season of trade (although only one of his journals [HBCA, B.235/a/2 - 1799-1800] is extant). In 1798-1799 he maintained a relatively friendly competition with John Sayer of the North West Company (HBCA, B.22/a/6; Birk 1984:58) and in 1799-1800

competed with an unnamed North West Company trader (HBCA, B.235/a/2). In 1801-1802 and 1805-1806 Miller was opposed by North West Company trader Alexander Henry (the younger) (Gough 1988:122,128,176,177; HBCA, B.22/a/13).

Alexander Henry (the younger) started to trade along the Red River in the fall of 1800 (Gough 1988; Coues 1897). His journal recounts his trip up the Red River in August 1800. At the Forks a number of Ojibwa (Saulteaux) Indians awaited the traders' arrival, then followed Henry upstream. Henry attempted to lead the Indians as far upstream as possible in order to trap the rich tributaries of the middle reaches of the Red River. Many of the natives were reluctant, however, to proceed south due to the threat of attack by their long time enemies, the Dakota. Finally he was able to convince a group of Indians to follow him as far as the mouth of the Park River, where he established his first Red River post (Gough 1988:22-49). Henry carried out a profitable trade during his first season on the Red River through the establishment of outposts at the Reed or Roseau River and at the Hair Hills (or Pembina Escarpment) (Figure 4). From these posts Henry established trade with Ojibwa and Ottawa migrants to the region, as well as with the Assiniboin and Plains Cree to the west.

This trade continued for the next eight years under Henry's direction. After his first season Henry decided to leave his Park River location and in the summer of 1801 instructed his men to build a post on the north side of the mouth of the Pembina River. This became Henry's main post through the spring of 1808. During this period he established outposts at various locations, including at Riviere aux Gratiis (Morris or Scratching River), Grand Forks, the Hair Hills (Pembina Escarpment), Turtle River, Park River, the Forks, Dead River (Netley Creek), the Salt (Forest) River, and elsewhere (Figure 4). The opposition varied, but his efforts were not uncontested. The Hudson's Bay Company continued to trade along the Red River occasionally and the XY or New North West Company provided strong opposition until their merger with the North West Company in 1805.

Throughout these initial years of trade along the lower Red River, the Indians brought a variety of furs to the traders. These included the skins of beaver, muskrats, bear, fisher, foxes, wolves, martins, raccoons, otters, wolverines, skunks, lynxes, badgers, ermine, minks, and occasionally rabbits (Gough 1988; HBCA, B.235/a/1, B.160/d/1). Also traded on occasion were raw and prepared moose and buffalo hides, swan skins, feathers and quills, and castoreum (HBCA, B.160/d/1, B.160/a/2). Certainly the most sought after commodity was beaver skins. These and other furs were obtained by the traders as payment for credit (debt) given to the Indian hunters in the fall or in exchange for gifts of liquor, cloth, or other goods. Traders often gave credit to Indians in order to guarantee at least some furs in exchange and to control the competition.

A variety of trade goods were brought inland by the Euroamericans. As an example, Chaboillez' packing list for Pembina in the fall of 1797 (Hickerson 1959:273) included the following bulk goods:

1 large knife
1 small knife

a little vermilion
5 pints mixed rum.

Hudson's Bay Company trader John McKay while at Brandon House also followed this practice and reported that "we must give a little Brandy, knives, vermilion, combs, gunworts, Flints, Steels, needles, and awls to every Indian that takes Debt, and in most places powder and Shot" (HBCA, B.22/a/5).

In addition to these gifts, goods were given by the traders to the best and/or most influential Indians in order to reward or encourage them and their followers. The most common gift was liquor, and often tobacco, but the most prestigious gift was chief's clothing. On August 21, 1800 Henry awarded each of three influential Indians the following chiefs clothing and gifts (Gough 1988:26-27):

a scarlet laced coat	a laced hat
a red round feather	a white linen shirt
a pair of leggings	a breech clout
a fine Tobacco	a flag
a gallon keg of rum	

Other traders on the Red River and in neighboring regions followed a similar practice of awarding chiefs clothing and gifts (e.g., HBCA, B.235/a/2). The importance of this practice in controlling the trade is reflected in Henry's statement four years later in regard to the extreme competition between the fur companies before the merger of the North West and XY companies. He wrote in his journal,

The XY [Company] had always been lavish of their property, selling very cheap and we on our part to keep the trade in our own hands we were under the necessity of following their examples. Thus by our obstinate proceedings we had spoilt the Indians, made them worse than they ever were before. Every man who killed a few Skins was considered as a Chief and treated accordingly. There was not scarcely a common[er] to be seen. All wore scarlet Coats, had large kegs [or] Flasks, and nothing was purchased by them but Silver works, Strouds and Blankets. Every other article of trade was either given out on Debt and never paid, or given gratis when asked for (Gough 1988:167-168).

Gifts were also given in exchange for foodstuffs, such as pemmican, dried or fresh meat, grease or fat, and sugar. These foodstuffs were necessary for the traders' daily subsistence since little food was brought into the country by the traders themselves. Like the Indians, the traders and their men had to live off the land. They received much of their food from the natives through gift-giving or trade. The traders also hunted bison and other animals for their own enjoyment and/or subsistence, and it was common practice for traders to hire an Indian or freeman to provide the posts with meat.

Bison meat was the main staple for the men at the post, yet elk, moose, ducks, and other animals were also hunted. During certain seasons fish were eaten, most commonly in the spring when the large lake sturgeon migrated upstream to spawn in the tributaries of the Red River. At this time they could be easily caught with seines or weirs in the Red, Pembina, or other rivers by the natives and Euroamericans. During this spawning period Henry and his men generally caught 10-20 sturgeon per day (120 on one day with one net), each weighing between 50-180 pounds (Gough 1988:140,157-159,301,317).

Vegetable products were also available from the Indians or were harvested by the Euroamericans. The Indians of Red River commonly collected wild greens, roots and tubers, fruits and berries, and nuts. No doubt these plant foods were occasionally given to or traded with the Euroamericans. To the east of the Red River, wild rice was a common trade item between the Ojibwa and Euroamerican traders. Wild rice was not available in the Red River area, yet other plants or plant products, such as maple sugar, are known to have been exchanged. Domestic produce also were available to the traders. Before building his post at Pembina in mid May 1801 Henry planted a garden near the post site and later harvested potatoes, turnips, carrots, beets, parsnips, onions, cabbage, cucumbers, melons, squash, and corn (Gough 1988:141,165,195). Harvests were generally very good, producing record plants, including a 25 pound turnip, an onion measuring 22 inches in circumference, and an 18 inch long carrot with a maximum circumference of 14 inches (Gough 1988:148-149). Gardens were generally maintained at most of the main posts in the Northwest and the Indians of Red River also planted gardens at certain localities after 1804 (Moodie and Kaye 1969). Once established, the Indian gardens, especially those at Netley Creek, provided produce for subsistence and trade (e.g., HBCA, B.160/a/2; Coues 1897:448).

Local nonfood products were also necessary for the survival of the traders. Although the trading companies generally provided clothing for their men, hides of bison, moose, and elk were traded for use by the Euroamericans. Bison robes made excellent bedding material and moose and elk hides were especially suited for making shaganappy for snowshoe netting and thongs (HBCA, B.235/a/1). Moose skins were also used to make shoes (mocassins) for the men and were in high demand since they wore out often (Hickerson 1959:363,381). Riggings for horses could also be made from bison skins when needed (HBCA, B.22/a/18b). Finished bark canoes and materials for canoe maintenance, such as gum and wattap (fine spruce or other roots for stitching seams), were also obtained from the natives (HBCA, B.235/a/1, B.235/a/2).

Besides trading with the Indians for furs, food, and other products, the men at each trading post were kept busy with other tasks vital to their own subsistence and survival. During each year the men were required to hunt and/or haul meat from the hunter's tent. Much of this was done in the winter when dogs, obtained from the Indians (Hickerson 1959:279; Gough 1988:54), could be used to pull sleds loaded with meat. The distance to the hunter's camp varied with the movements of the bison, but may be as far as 30 miles in one direction (HBCA, B.235/a/1). Before making such trips

through snow, materials for sleds and snowshoes had to be collected and made into the necessary items (HBCA, B.235/a/1, B.235/a/2; Gough 1988:97).

Also of vital importance was the cutting and collecting of firewood. A common task of the men at each post in the fall and winter was to cut and haul firewood (HBCA, B.235/a/1, B.235/a/2; Gough 1988:149,151). In the fall of 1800 Henry estimated that 120 cords of oak would be needed for the four fireplaces at his Park River post until their departure early in the spring (Gough 1988:74, cf.155). Cutting and hauling wood for building was also a common chore for the men at a trading post (HBCA, B.160/a/1, B.235/a/2). New posts were built often due to the changing habits of the competing traders, the infestation of posts with mice and lice, or the depletion of resources at certain localities (HBCA, B.235/a/2; Gough 1988:83,118,140). In addition, the posts at Red River appear to have been poorly constructed and needed constant repair. Upright stockades and chimneys needed the most repair (Gough 1988:103-104,126,140; HBCA, B.235/a/2). As Henry stated on September 28, 1800 while at the Park River post:

The men are now employed making the chimnies but having no stone in this river We are under the necessity of making them of clay, and which is not of a very good kind for the purpose, being a coarse black soil may be more properly called mud, which having no consistency, on drying it cracks and falls to pieces (Gough 1988:58, cf. HBCA, B.235/a/2).

Supporting this statement is the not too unusual report of chimneys falling down and/or needing repair (e.g., Gough 1988:103-104; Hickerson 1959:377).

A winter task for one or two men from the Red River posts was to make salt (HBCA, B.160/a/1, B.160/a/4; Hickerson 1959:374; Gough 1988:82-83,102,124,126,153,300). Salt was made by boiling the saline water of various small lakes and streams in the region (Gough 1988:32,45; MHS, Campbell Reminiscences; HBCA, B.22/e/1; Tyrrell 1916:248). Although not used by the native populations, the Euroamerican traders, and later European settlers, had a strong demand for this local product despite its poor quality.

Other chores of the men included making furniture and soap, cutting hay, fishing, setting snares for rabbits and partridges during difficult winters, and occasionally trapping furs (e.g., Gough 1988; HBCA, B.235/a/2). Men with specialized talents made capotes for the men, Indian coats and clothing; carts, wheels, and casks; or fish nets (HBCA, B.235/a/2; Gough 1988:65,182,183,300). Spring tasks included making fur presses and pressing the furs into 90 pound packs for shipping. Canoes or boats also had to be repaired each spring, paddles made, and false keels constructed in the Hudson's Bay Company boats for added protection and stability (e.g., HBCA, B.235/a/1, B.235/a/2).

To aid the men at a trading post in their many tasks, freemen were hired occasionally for particular jobs. Freemen were Euroamericans who had once worked for one of the trading companies in the region. Most had left the service of their company at the expiration of their contracts or as deserters. They then lived on their own in the country by hunting, fishing

and collecting and working as temporary employees for the traders. One of the earliest references to a freeman in the lower Red River region was to a Mr. Picotte in the fall of 1797 by Hudson's Bay Company trader John McKay (HBCA, B.22/a/5). McKay had hired Picotte en route to Brandon House and appointed him trader of an outfit to be sent up the Red River. The men appointed to his charge refused to work for Picotte since they did not know him and he spoke French instead of English. Therefore, McKay was forced to appoint John Richards in Picotte's place and Picotte left the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company to spend the winter along the Red River (HBCA, B.22/a/5). Perhaps Picotte, like many freemen, was married to an Indian woman and adapted to life away from the trading posts through the influence of his Indian and half breed (metis) family.

Although Henry mentioned a few freemen at Pembina in 1803, their numbers in the Red River region vastly increased after 1805 following the merger of the XY and North West companies. Many men were released from their employment at this time and many opted to remain inland rather than return to Montreal or other eastern population centers. Henry, McKay, and other traders complained of their presence as early as 1805. In the fall of that year Henry wrote,

Antony Peltier, Desjardin, Bos. Pangman &c arrived from Assiniboine River. [They were] XY Freemen, the first of the Kind [that] ever came to Panbian River and as great a nuisance according to their capacities as their former employers. This quarter has always been free from men of that description, having always made it a settled rule with myself never to give a man his freedom in this Country on any conditions, and I have always found the benefit of such proceedings (Gough 1988:178-179).

On August 31, 1807 Henry complained further at Pembina,

This season we were troubled by an augmentation of Freeman from Canada &c. Their total numbers now in this river amount to forty five men. More worthless fellows could not be found in the North West (Gough 1988:298).

Likewise noted John McKay on September 5 of the same year,

stoped a little while with Haney [HBC trader from Pembina] at the Forks. This place is swarming with freemen, all wanting to engage in our service. I would have nothing to do with them, I have had enough of their Witchcraft already. I sent them all to their country Man Haney (HBCA, B.22/a/15).

Despite these complaints the freemen provided additional labor and valuable service to the traders. For instance, Bostonais Pangman, mentioned above by Henry, later served as an interpreter for the Hudson's Bay company at Hugh Heney's Turtle River outpost with John McLeod (PAM, McLeod Papers; HBCA, B.160/a/4). A man by the name of Delorme (probably Francois Delorme) worked for the North West Company from at least 1802 to 1808 (Gough 1988:125,142,171,303), but in the fall of 1808, Heney of the

Hudson's Bay Company hired Delorme, then a freeman, as a trader for an outpost in the "Blue Hills" (HBCA, B.160/a/1). Other freemen who visited Heney's Pembina River post in 1808-1809 hunted for the post and did odd jobs (HBCA, B.160/a/1). Heney's successor, John Stitt, noted the presence of many freemen at the Forks upon his arrival there in the fall and around his post at Pembina (HBCA, B.160/a/2). He hired one as a hunter and purchased meat from several others. On occasion Stitt sent a freeman with the Indians to trade for their furs and also bought furs from them. Like the Red River Indians, the freemen became enemies of the Dakota and generally avoided the middle reaches of the Red River in the summer when the likelihood of Dakota attack was greatest. For some, the retreat northward to the Forks in the summer offered different employment. This included caring for the dogs and horses of the traders while the traders took their furs to the company depots. As noted by Stitt and later traders, these men pastured the horses and fed the dogs fish from the Red River in exchange for ammunition and trade goods (e.g., HBCA, B.160/a/2). In later years the freemen also occasionally supplied the traders with fresh produce, such as potatoes, fish, and meat (HBCA, B.160/a/4).

Red River Settlement and Fur Trade

At the beginning of the 1812 trade season (late summer/early fall) a new element entered the scene of the lower Red River. This was the first European settlers, who arrived in August. These settlers, largely Scot, were recruited by supporters of Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, who was attempting to start an agricultural colony in interior North America along the lower reaches of the Red River. Although these settlers were not directly involved in the fur trade, the colony was tied to the Hudson's Bay Company through a charter that awarded Lord Selkirk rights to some 116,000 square miles of land along and around the Assiniboine and Red rivers as far south as the headwaters of the latter stream. Selkirk's claim to these lands was legitimized with the native populations of the region in 1817. In that year Selkirk was granted use rights to a strip of land four to six miles wide along the lower Red and Assiniboine rivers by several Ojibwa and Cree leaders (PAM, Selkirk Papers, Macdonell Journal; HBCA, B.22/a/20; Pritchett 1942:197-199). Included in these grants was that portion of the Red River of the North that now forms the eastern boundary of the state of North Dakota. Of most particular interest to the Red River settlers was the lower reach of the Red River including that about the mouth of the Pembina River in the extreme northeastern corner of North Dakota.

Despite the promising agricultural potential of the region, misfortune and conflict plagued the colonists and the Red River Settlement grew slowly. Nonetheless, a settlement at this strategic position between Hudson's Bay and the western plains and mountains was advantageous and became a center of settlement and fur trade by the 1820s. Other Europeans joined the colony over the years, including a number of Swiss and Germans. In addition, the population of the colony was boosted by the settlement of retired fur traders and métis (half breed) families.

The settlement itself was established around the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers in present-day Manitoba (Winnipeg) (Figure 4). A secondary, seasonal settlement also grew around Pembina. Upon their first arrival the settlers were faced with a bleak existence due to lack of winter housing and subsistence at the Forks. In September 1812 John McLeod and a Mr. Edwards were sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to build a post at Pembina that could serve the settlers through the winter (PAM, McLeod Papers; HBCA, B.160/a/4). The colony post at Pembina was christened Fort Daer on December 24, 1812 by the appointed governor, Miles Macdonell (PAM, Selkirk Papers, Macdonell Journal). During that winter, and a number following, the settlers moved to the Pembina area, staying at Fort Daer or camping on the plains where bison were relatively easily accessible. Through this experience the settlers learned quickly to subsist on the meat of bison and often relied on the aid of Hudson's Bay Company traders and the local Indians and freemen (PAM, Selkirk Papers, Macdonell Journal & Anonymous Journal 1814-1817; James 1830:149-200).

Pembina, therefore, became a seasonal settlement for the colonists. In addition, Pembina continued to serve as the locus of fur trading activities along the lower Red River. During the period from 1812 to 1821 both the Hudson's Bay and North West companies maintained posts at (or near) Pembina with occasional outposts at Grand Forks, Turtle River, and Netley Creek (HBCA, B.160/a/4, B.235/a/3, B.108/a/1, B.108/a/2, B.235/a/4, B.235/d/3, B.235/e/1; PAM, Selkirk Papers; PAM, McLeod Papers). Other posts were also established at the Forks, near the Red River Settlement (PAM, McLeod Papers; PAM, Selkirk Papers; HBCA, B.235/a/3, B.235/a/4; Nute 1942:132; Bell 1927:28).

During this period the competition between these companies intensified. Their rivalry continued to center on the contest for furs, but was also spurred by the activities of the colony's governor, Miles Macdonell. In 1814 Macdonell issued a proclamation against North West Company trade in the Red River region. The importance of the North West Company trade in pemmican along the Red and Assiniboine rivers caused an uproar by this company and its associates in response to the proclamation. Incidents of antagonism between the two companies broke out throughout the Northwest, including the area of present-day North Dakota. One such incident was the harassment and capture of Hudson's Bay Company trader, John McLeod, at Turtle River by the North West Company and associated freemen. This action followed the delivery of Macdonell's 1814 proclamation for the North West Company to cease trade in the Red River region (PAM, McLeod Papers; PAM, Selkirk Papers; HBCA, B.235/a/3). The outcome of this incident was not disastrous, but McLeod reported that the North West Company burned the Hudson's Bay Company trading house at Turtle River at the end of this trade season (PAM, Selkirk Papers, Macdonell Journal & A.McDonald Journal).

Other incidents in the region were not so calm. Threats and harassment of the settlers at the Forks in 1815 caused the colonists to abandon the colony (PAM, Selkirk Papers, A.McDonald Journal). Upon their departure associates of the North West Company burned many of the structures that had been built by and for the settlers (PAM, McLeod Papers; HBCA, B.22/a/19). Later that year, however, the settlers, including a

number of new colonists, returned to rebuild their hopeful colony. North West Company threats continued and on June 19, 1816 the colony's governor, Robert Semple, and 20 settlers were massacred at Seven Oaks (Ross 1957:35-36; PAM, Selkirk Papers, Anonymous Journal 1814-1817). These incidents brought Selkirk to the Red River Settlement in person in 1817, along with a number of retired German DeMeuron soldiers (HBCA, B.22/a/20). Fortunately the soldiers were not needed to quell any uprisings. Finally, in 1821 the North West and Hudson's Bay companies' rivalry ended with the merger of these two successful fur trade enterprises under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The period of European settlement brought many changes to the lower Red River region. One was the arrival of missionaries. The first missionaries to arrive were Catholic priests in 1818. One of the first two Catholic missionaries to arrive in the area, Severo Dumoulin, moved to Pembina in September 1818 to minister to the wintering settlers, as well as to local Métis and Indians (Voisine 1985). He established both a school and a chapel there by 1821, as documented in his correspondence, and was assisted in teaching the mobile Métis by a seminarist and lay teachers (Nute 1942). Other Catholic and Anglican missionaries served the European and native populations of the area, yet few left the immediate surroundings of the Red River Settlement at the Forks, thus, had little impact on the inhabitants of present day North Dakota until later years.

Recognition of United States Territory

British interest in the region expressed in trade, settlement, and missionary activities caused the United States some concern. In order to gain information on the status of regional and international relations, commerce, and Indian affairs, the United States government sent Stephen Long and an expedition of topographical engineers down the Red River in 1823 (Keating 1959; Kane, Holmquist, and Gilman 1978). One goal of this expedition was to mark the international boundary between United States and British territories. Long and his men arrived at Pembina on August 5, 1823 and described it as the second of two principal settlements of Lord Selkirk (Keating 1959:38). The appointed narrator of the expedition described the settlement near the mouth of the Pembina River as follows:

The settlement consists of about three hundred and fifty souls, residing in sixty houses or cabins; they do not appear to possess the qualifications for good settlers; few of them are farmers; most of them are half-breeds, who having been educated by their Indian mothers, have imbibed the roving, unsettled, and indolent habits of Indians... These form at least two-thirds of the male inhabitants. The rest consist of Swiss and Scotch settlers, most of the former are old soldiers, as unfit for agricultural pursuits as the half-breeds themselves. ... Although the soil about Pembina is very good, and will, when well cultivated, yield a plentiful return, yet, from the character of the population, as well as from the infant state of the colony, it does not at present yield sufficient produce to support the settlers, who therefore devote much of their time to hunting;... (Keating 1959:39)

The evident bias against the settlement at Pembina was no doubt affected by the fact that many of its inhabitants were at that time absent. Keating continued,

At the time when we arrived at the colony, most of the settlers had gone from home, taking with them their families, horses, &c. They were then chasing the buffalo in the prairies, and had been absent forty-five days without being heard from. The settlement was in the greatest need of provisions; fortunately for us, who were likewise destitute, they arrived the next day. Their return afforded us a spectacle that was really novel and interesting; their march was a triumphant one, and presented a much greater concourse of men, women and children than we had expected to meet in those distant prairies. The procession consisted of one hundred and fifteen carts, each loaded with about eight hundred pounds of the finest buffalo meat; there were three hundred persons, including the women. The number of their horses, some of which were very good, was not under two hundred. Twenty hunters, mounted on their best steeds, rode on abreast; having heard of our arrival, they fired a salute as they passed our camp. These men receive here the name of Gens libres or Freeman, to distinguish them from the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who are called Engagés. Those that are partly of Indian extraction, are nick-named Bois brûlé (Burnt Wood,) [métis] from their dark complexion (Keating 1959:39-40).

Another factor affecting the state of the settlement and fur trade center at Pembina in 1823 was that the Hudson's Bay Company had removed their post from the mouth of the Pembina River just prior to Long's arrival (HBCA, B.235/e/1, D.4/1 August 27, 1822; D.4/7 June 5, 1824). Although still trading in the area, the Hudson's Bay Company post had been moved several miles north, out of what was presumed to be United States territory. At the same time the Catholic missionary, Dumoulin, was removed from Pembina. The Catholic church at Pembina was left abandoned and the schools at Pembina and on the plains were discontinued (Nute 1942:353-354,363-366,371,373,410). It was hoped by the Hudson's Bay Company that the removal of the trading post and priest from Pembina would draw many of the Pembina inhabitants to the church and settlement at the Forks or north to Lake Manitoba. To some extent this move had the desired effect and the population at Pembina appears to have diminished after 1823 (Woods 1850:26,41; Nute 1942:418).

While at Pembina the men of the Long expedition pursued various duties, including that of marking the international boundary between United States and British territory. On August 7, 1823 the expedition established a camp north of the mouth of the Pembina River in order to make astronomical observations (Kane, Holmquist, and Gilman 1978:183). This camp was named Camp Monroe after the President of the United States, and a flagpole was erected to mark the camp. From their observations Long's men determined that the 49th degree of latitude lay slightly north of Camp Monroe (Kane, Holmquist, and Gilman 1978:183). Once the location was determined an oak post was set to mark the international boundary on the

west side of the Red River at what was believed to be the 49th degree of latitude (Keating 1959:42-43). The existing settlement of Pembina, except for a single log house and the Hudson's Bay Company post, lay south of this marker.

Upon the physical identification of the international boundary, the region necessarily became aware of the legal jurisdiction of Britain and the United States. Although no policing force existed, the Hudson's Bay Company attempted to trade within British bounds, at least in theory. Hudson's Bay Company posts were maintained in the 1820s at the Forks, Netley Creek, and north of the border near Pembina (HBCA, D.4/3 November 25, 1823, July 24, 1824, D.4/7 June 5, 1824). Records of the Hudson's Bay Company also indicate that private traders, such as Augustin Nolin, Andrew McDermot, James Sinclair, and various other freemen, métis, and settlers, were supplied by them to hunt and trade along or within United States territory, often at Pembina (HBCA, B.235/e/3, D.4/7 August 31, 1825, D.4/14 July 12, July 25, 1827, E.7/34; MHS, Sibley Papers, February 6, 1845; Kane, Holmquist, and Gilman 1978:181).

In opposition to this British trade various independent American traders established themselves near the international boundary. In 1822-1823 American traders were reported at Pembina, Grand Forks, and Turtle Mountain (HBCA, B.235/e/3, B.235/a/5, D.4/14 July 25, 1827; MHS, Sibley Papers, August 2, 1824). By 1830 the American Fur Company (AFC) entered the trade along the boundary (HBCA, D.4/18 November 26, 1830, D.4/20 July 2, 1834). In 1833, however, one of the American Fur Company traders in the region, William A. Aitken, initiated an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company to abandon American Fur Company posts along the international boundary for a period of five years (HBCA, D.4/20 July 2, 1834, D.4/21 October 29, 1834, June 1, 1835, D.4/22 June 30, 1836, D.4/23 July 10, 1837; MHS, Sibley Papers, June 7, 1838). This agreement was renewed with American Fur Company leader Ramsey Crooks and continued until 1847 (HBCA, D.4/25 May 25, July 30, 1840, D.4/26 June 11, 1841, D.4/28 June 1, 1843, D.4/31 May 14, June 3, 1844, D.4/34 June 20, 1846, D.4/36 September 26, 1847). The agreement most directly affected those American posts east of Red River and west of the western tip of Lake Superior. It did not, therefore, eliminate American interest in trade at Pembina. American traders intensified their commerce at Pembina in the 1840s under the direction of Norman Kittson.

In 1842 Norman W. Kittson and Franklin Steele formed N. W. Kittson and Company for trading along the Minnesota River (MHS, Sibley Papers, June 30, 1842). Their supplier, Henry H. Sibley of Mendota, Minnesota, had served as a representative for the American Fur Company until Ramsey Crooks of the American Fur Company sold the American company's Western Department to Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis in 1842. After that time Sibley was put in charge of the Upper Mississippi Outfit of Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Company (Davis 1968:11). Due to this division within the American Fur Company the agreement between Crooks and the Hudson's Bay Company did not affect trade in the Red River region.

After controlling trade along the Minnesota River, at Big Stone Lake, the Sheyenne River, and the James River, Kittson decided to expand to the Red River (MHS, Sibley Papers; Rife 1925). By 1844 Kittson was making arrangements for trading in the region of the lower Red River within United States territory (MHS, Sibley Papers, September 18, 1843, May 7, July 14, July 16, 1844). By the end of that year he had established a small trading post at Pembina (HBCA, D.4/32 December 24, 1844; MHS, Sibley Papers, February 6, 1845; SHSND, Garrioch Papers). He returned to Pembina the following season (1845-1846) and made arrangements for trade in the American portion of the lower Red River region. In addition to activities of his Pembina post, Kittson arranged to trade with two independent traders from the Red River Settlement (Andrew McDermot and James Sinclair) and purchased furs from others willing to cross the border (SHSND, Garrioch Papers). Kittson also hired Joseph Rolette to operate an outpost to the east along the international border (MHS, Sibley Papers, September 10, 1845, September 1846; MHS, Fisher Papers; Klassen 1982). The Hudson's Bay Company competed with Kittson directly at Pembina during at least a portion of this 1845-1846 season by obtaining a United States trade license for an American born Hudson's Bay Company trader, Henry Fisher, and establishing him next to Kittson (MHS, Fisher Papers; HBCA, D.4/32 March 25, 1845, D.4/33 July 3, July 10, November 28, December 8, 1845, D.4/34 April 1, 1846; MHS, Sibley Papers, March 2, 1846; Nute 1941:278-279).

In the fall of 1846 Kittson returned to Pembina for at least the next six trade seasons. In addition to operating this post, Kittson sent men eastward to Lake of the Woods and Lac des Roseau (Reed Lake) to trade with the Ojibwa and west to Turtle Mountain and the plains to trade with the Assiniboin and possibly the Cree (MHS, Sibley Papers, February 11, April 20, December 4, 1847, February 1, February 2, April 6, September 16, 1848, January 17, December 8, 1850, March 19, 1851, October 19, 1852; Rife 1925:230; MHS, Kittson Papers, 1851-1853 Ledger). Among the furs he received in trade were those of lynx, martin, fishers, foxes, and minks, as well as wolf skins and bison robes from the plains. Many of the latter, in addition to bison meat, fat, and pemmican, were obtained from the mètis of Red River who travelled biannually to the plains on large bison hunts (MHS, Sibley Papers). Kittson often paid for these furs, robes, and meat with English currency. This practice may have been extended to the Indians with whom Kittson and his men traded, although Kittson noted the preference of the Indians for cloth, blankets, ammunition, and other trade goods.

The practice of paying money for furs (instead of bartering trade goods) was started by the Hudson's Bay Company at the Red River Settlement. The establishment of stores at the settlement allowed settlers, mètis, and Indians to purchase goods with money obtained in exchange for furs. Since the British controlled these stores, English money was necessary. The demand for English coins and paper currency forced Kittson to likewise pay for furs and provisions. This was accentuated in 1845 when the Hudson's Bay Company reestablished a post directly across the international boundary from Pembina and paid only money for furs (MHS, Sibley Papers, April 20, 1847, August 24, September 16, October 14, 1848, April 28, 1849; MHS, Fisher Papers; Woods 1850:19).

Besides the opposition from the Hudson's Bay Company, Kittson reported as early as 1849 competition from various unlicensed petty traders (MHS, Sibley Papers, September 4, 1849, January 2, January 17, December 8, 1850). One of these traders was Charles Grant, a métis son of an official of the Red River Settlement (Rife 1925:238). Another competitor was Antoine Gingras (MHS, Dease Biographical Information; MHS, Sibley Papers, May 29, 1853). Because of Kittson's relatively easy access to goods from suppliers at St. Paul, these men later associated themselves with Kittson and became semi-independent traders upon whom he depended (Woolworth 1975:22).

During the period of Kittson's trade at Pembina several expeditions of government officials visited the area. One of these was the Woods Expedition of 1849. In the summer of 1849 Major Samuel Woods, accompanied by Brevet Captain John Pope of the Topographical Corps, travelled between Fort Snelling and Pembina in order to find a favorable location for a military post in or near the Red River valley, as well as to gain general information on the Red River region and its inhabitants (Woods 1850; Pope 1850; Babcock 1927). While travelling overland southeast of the Red River this party passed Kittson and his 65 carts of furs, robes, and meat being delivered to the Minnesota River for shipment to market in St. Paul. Later, the military expedition arrived at Pembina where they enjoyed the hospitality of Kittson's assistant, Joseph Rolette (Woods 1850). At that time Pembina consisted of Kittson's post at the mouth of the Pembina River, Reverend Belcourt's home/school and chapel (about a mile north), and eight to ten métis houses, as well as temporary lodges of the métis and Indians (Woods 1850:18-20,27-28; Pope 1850:27-28). Most of the local métis inhabitants were absent from Pembina when Woods and Pope arrived, but returned from their spring bison hunt before the expedition's departure. The various reports of this expedition provided the United States government with insight into the physical and cultural condition of the region. Of importance were Woods' and Pope's comments pertaining to the selection of sites for one or two future military posts along the Red River, the commerce of the region as it related to the governing of individuals in this British-American frontier region, and the need for a land treaty with the native populations.

The latter concern, pertaining to the negotiation of a treaty between the United States government and the Red River natives, was addressed in 1851. After much talk on the subject by concerned individuals (e.g., Kittson - see MHS, Sibley Papers), Alexander Ramsey, then Governor of Minnesota Territory, travelled to Pembina to discuss terms for the cession of land (for probable Euroamerican settlement) along the Red River of the North. Ramsey and his entourage arrived at Pembina in mid September to find approximately 500 Indians, 50 métis families, and a few whites, including Kittson, Rolette, and Charles Cavileer, awaiting their arrival. At that time the settlement of Pembina consisted of Kittson's trading post, "half a dozen log-dwellings, and a quantity of half-breed and Chippewa lodges," barns, stables, haystacks and livestock (horses and cattle), and to the north Reverend Belcourt's two story house and log church (Bond 1856:274-277). A treaty was concluded on September 20, 1851 with the cession of a strip of land about 120 miles long and 60 miles wide along the Red River by the Pembina and Red Lake Ojibwa. In return, the Indians agreed to accept \$30,000 for the mixed-blood relatives of the Ojibwa and \$10,000 annually for

20 years for the Indians, a portion of which was reserved for agricultural and educational development (MHS, Treaty with the Chippewas 1851; HBCA, B.235/a/5). This treaty was never ratified by the U. S. Senate despite later efforts by Joseph Rolette and others to gain support for it on behalf of the Ojibwa (MHS, Fisher Papers).

The United States government's growing awareness of commerce in the Red River region, along with an interest on the part of Red River settlers and Hudson's Bay Company officials in importing goods through United States territory, led United States officials to consider seriously the situation along the international boundary near Pembina. Upon the urging of various individuals, including Kittson, a customs office was established at Pembina in 1850 to control transport of goods between British and United States territory (UND, Records of the U.S. National Archives, RG 56, February 24, April 24, 1851). Charles Cavileer was appointed the first customs officer in 1851 (HBCA, B.235/a/5). After travelling with Kittson and Belcourt from St. Paul to Pembina in 1851, Cavileer established himself and the customs office in rented space in Kittson's buildings on the north side of the mouth of the Pembina River (MHS, Cavileer Papers). His principal concern was to seize liquor brought in trade to the United States and to collect duties on trade items between the métis of the Red River Settlement and the United States. Among the things transported across the border for trade were furs, buffalo robes, elk skins, buffalo tongues and meat, decorated moccasins, dressed skins (clothing), porcupine quills, beads, thread, and braid (UND, Records of the U.S. National Archives, RG 56, June 2, 1851).

After his retirement from this position in 1853, Cavileer was replaced by Philip Beaupre. Beaupre became involved in establishing a transit duty for importing English goods transported through the United States to the Red River Settlement (UND, Records of the U.S. National Archives, RG 56, September 13, 1853). These goods, primarily blankets, cloth and clothing, cutlery, crockery, tea, sugar, and tobacco, were needed at the Red River Settlement but difficult and expensive to obtain through northern ports on Hudson's Bay. The British, therefore, sought permission to import goods through the United States. This permission was given with the levy of a transit duty on all good brought through United States territory. The approval of British importation through the United States with a this duty established Pembina as an important frontier port of entry in the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1856 Beaupre was replaced by James McFetridge and later Joseph LeMay (UND, Records of the U.S. National Archives, RG 56, various letters).

The years of 1851-1852 marked other changes for the settlement of Pembina and its traders. As noted in 1849 by Woods and Pope, the settlement at Pembina then consisted of relatively few semi-permanent and permanent homes, a chapel, and a trading post. They also noted the heavy rains and high water of the Red and Pembina rivers that summer that had driven many of the métis from their homes (Woods 1850; Pope 1850). The years 1850, 1851, and 1852 also proved to be wet, causing much hardship for the Red River settlers and Pembina residents (Bumstead 1986; HBCA, B.235/a/5). One of the effects of the damp conditions and resultant flooding

was that many of the residents of Pembina moved westward to higher ground. The métis, who tended to live along the Red River near Pembina, were the first to move and formed a settlement upstream along the Pembina River. In 1851 Reverend Belcourt followed and reestablished his church near the base of the steep Pembina Escarpment (Bond 1856:276). The settlement that grew here in the 1850s became known as St. Joseph (later to be renamed Walhalla) (Hind 1858:384-385; Palliser 1969:12,56). In the fall of 1852, Kittson also started moving his operations from Pembina to "the mountain" or St. Joseph (MHS, Sibley Papers, October 19, 1852, September 4, 1853). Prior to this time Kittson may have had traders operating at or near the Pembina Escarpment, but it does not appear that he was well established at St. Joseph until 1853 (MHS, Sibley Papers, September 4, September 20, 1853). By 1857 St. Joseph had become a new trade center as described by Hind,

About a day's journey west of Pembina the village of St. Joseph is situated, in the territory of Dakota, seven miles south of the boundary line. It was founded by the Red River half-breeds, who were induced to settle there in order to escape the floods of Red River, from which they had suffered or anticipated severe losses. The village has already acquired considerable importance as a depôt for articles of trade which are brought by citizens of the United States from St. Paul (Hind 1971:255).

The fur trade at Pembina, however, did not end and Kittson placed Joseph Rolette in charge there. For further trade Kittson made arrangements with as many as 15 men to trade throughout the region (MHS, Sibley Papers, November 12, 1853). Thus, the trade of the 1850s thrived in northeastern North Dakota with its hub at St. Joseph and various traders in surrounding area, including Pembina (Hind 1971:156-157,254-255).

During this period Kittson became more dependent on semi-independent traders for the furs he purchased for Sibley and Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Company. Part of this was due to his involvement in other activities, such as Minnesota territorial politics. In 1849 Kittson's supplier and friend, Henry Sibley, was elected to the United States legislature and turned over his charge of the fur trade out of Mendota to his brother, Frederic Sibley (Davis 1968). With the encouragement of Henry Sibley and others, Kittson reluctantly ran for the office of representative to the Minnesota Territorial Legislative Council and won the position for the Pembina District in 1851 (MHS, Sibley Papers, October 15, 1851; Klassen 1982; Rife 1925:249). His fur trade associates, Joseph Rolette and Antoine Gingras, of Pembina and St. Joseph were also elected to the territorial House of Representatives. Because of this responsibility, these long-time fur traders travelled each winter to St. Paul, where they became influential in the development of Pembina's regional politics.

By the 1850s the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota had changed. Through the 1840s and 1850s Kittson served as middleman between his supplier at Mendota and the actual traders who travelled throughout (or set up posts) in the region. Unlike earlier Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company traders, such as Chaboillez, Henry, and Miller, Kittson

concerned himself less directly with actual trade than with increasingly serving as distributor and transporter of goods with outside interests in regional development.

It is evident that over the years in which Kittson traded in northeastern North Dakota some of his primary concerns were obtaining goods to supply semi-independent traders, money with which to purchase their furs, and horses, oxen, carts, and men to transport the furs, robes, and pemmican to St. Paul. Each summer his colorful and unique trains of two-wheeled Red River carts and their métis drivers travelled back and forth between the Red and Minnesota rivers, starting a trend in overland, rather than water, transportation. In 1849 Kittson led out of Pembina at least 65 carts, each loaded with as much as 1000 pounds of furs, robes, pemmican, and supplies (Woods 1850:14). A decade later, as many as 500 carts were travelling between the Red River and St. Paul (Gilman, Gilman, and Stultz 1979:14). Kittson's interest in cart transportation and the growing demand for economical shipping led Kittson to investment in steamboat transportation in the late 1850s and 1860s when these craft started to ply the Red River (Rife 1925:251; Klassen 1982).

During the 1850s and 1860s various traders other than Kittson became active in the St. Joseph area. One of these was Charles Cavileer, who moved to St. Joseph as a trader for Kittson after leaving the position of customs officer at Pembina (Lee 1899:63). Many of the others were métis who worked as independent and semi-independent traders in the region. Some started working with Kittson, who supplied them with trade goods and supplies from St. Paul. The best known regional traders were Antoine Gingras, Charles Grant, and Charles Bottineau. Gingras was a métis who traded at St. Joseph and surrounding areas from the 1840s to 1860s. He became a prominent man in the St. Joseph area and was elected in 1851 to the Minnesota Territorial House of Representatives (MHS, Sibley Papers, October 15, 1851). His home and trading store still stand and are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. They have been restored by the State Historical Society of North Dakota on their original site north of Walhalla. Grant, another métis trader and territorial representative from 1855-1857, started trading in opposition to Kittson in the 1840s, but was later supplied by him (Rife 1925:238). In 1859 Grant joined Bottineau, a métis with long family lines in the Red River region and a continued family involvement in the fur trade. Together they bought Cavileer's interest in the former Kittson trading post at St. Joseph. Bottineau directed the trade at St. Joseph, while Grant built a home and trading post east of there near the international boundary. This latter post was maintained by Grant into the 1860s when the fur trade diminished and he expanded into other interests, such as supplying settlers and raising livestock. Grant's home and trading post were destroyed, yet the site of these structures was recorded in 1981 as 32PB31 (Brown, Brown, and Zimmerman 1982:134-138; SHSND, Wright Papers).

The evolving role of fur traders in the Red River region during the mid nineteenth century allowed for Kittson's removal from St. Joseph and Pembina by 1855. His past commercial and political contacts in Minnesota made a move to St. Paul logical, especially given the removal of his supplier,

Henry Sibley, from the fur trade business (Davis 1968). With this move, Kittson's connections with the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota changed once more. In St. Paul Kittson joined with William H. Forbes and the firm of Culver and Farrington to supply the diminished, but continuing trade in the Pembina area (MHS, Cavileer Papers; Rife 1925:251). Charles Cavileer, first customs officer at Pembina, also joined Kittson in 1857 and was put in charge of the Pembina Outfit. Joseph Rolette also continued trading at Pembina in the late 1850s. His association with Kittson is unclear, but it is evident that he received many of his supplies from Culver and Farrington (MHS, Culver and Farrington Daybook). In difficult times he received aid from his uncle, Henry Fisher (once a rival of Kittson), at the Red River Settlement who also supported Rolette in his cart business between Pembina and St. Paul (MHS, Fisher Papers). Nonetheless, both Kittson and Rolette had diminished roles in the fur trade and had removed themselves from the trade in the early 1860s.

By 1861, when Dakota Territory was formed, the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota was no longer centralized around a limited number of individuals. This situation existed through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when competitive rivalries between backcountry traders of a few large trade companies dominated the commerce of northeastern North Dakota. With the entrance of European settlers to the region and increased interest by the United States in defining the international boundary that split the Red River valley, this situation started to change. Later changes came through American interests in the region. The activities of fur trader Kittson serve as an example of the changes in the lower Red River region in the mid-1800s. Through his interests we see the transformation of the fur trade to a diffuse economic pursuit, divided between numerous individuals within a more complex system of specialized roles. During the latter part of the fur trade era, the métis, who had long provided furs, robes, and meat to traders, dominated the trade as hunters and as traders in the St. Joseph area. By 1861, the fur trade, which had once comprised most of the commerce and settlement of the region, played a relatively small role in regional economics. Through the 1860s other interests developed and steamboat transportation and agricultural settlement grew in importance.

Property Types

A variety of property types are associated with the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. Unfortunately, many of these property types are not easily identified and are unlikely to be located with any precision through archival research alone. Until further study is undertaken of specifically fur trade related historic sites, these properties will remain difficult to identify archaeologically. Probable property types identified from historical research about the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota include the following:

- Trading Posts/Forts
- Outposts
- Trading Grounds
- Indian Campsites
- Trapping Grounds
- Hunter Campsites
- Salt Extraction Sites
- Trails
- River Crossings/Fords
- Métis Bison Hunting Camps
- Métis Homes
- Burial Grounds
- Customs House

Trading Post/Fort

The best documented property type, and perhaps most likely to be located through combined literature search and archaeological investigation, is the trading post or fort. Trading posts/forts were established by chief traders as the central trading and outfitting post for a particular company (or independent trader) within the region. These loci formed the nucleus of trading activities in any given trade season. A variety of structures were generally built as part of the trading post in order to serve as living quarters for the chief trader and his men, storage facilities for trade goods (including liquor) and supplies (including provisions), and a shop for trade transactions. Structures serving other functions may also have been included in the trading post. Most often these posts are referred to as "forts," since many (although possibly not all) were stockaded for protection from enemies and to keep even friendly Indians far enough away at certain times (e.g., at night) to prevent mischief.

A good example of a trading post or fort in northeastern North Dakota is that of North West Company trader, Alexander Henry, the younger, at Pembina from 1801-1808. This fort was the main trading post of the North West Company along the Red River at the time. It consisted of a variety of buildings, including more than one dwelling house, a storehouse, a shop, and other miscellaneous structures. It appears that Henry had a house built for himself that was probably quite luxurious for the fur trade frontier. His house was the tallest building in the fort, one and a half to two stories

high, and had amenities such as windows with curtains and a "library" (Gough 1988:147,148,153,180,182,183,322). Henry's men occupied a "range" of buildings that appears to have included an "Indian Hall" where visiting Indians could relax and talk (Gough 1988:141,146,148,163,179-180). Other buildings in Henry's Pembina post were a storehouse and shop. On April 5, 1802 Henry "Set my men to work building a store house 100 feet long and 20 wide, all Oak wood" (Gough 1988:127). This was probably used to store miscellaneous equipment, extra trade goods, furs, and/or provisions such as pemmican. Given the building's large size, canoes may also have been stored here during the winter to protect them from the elements. Fresh meat and produce may have been stored in a cellar or ice house; the latter mentioned by Henry on March 12, 1804 and February 13, 1808 of his journal (Gough 1988:155,300). A blacksmith shop was also maintained within Henry's fort (Gough 1988:141,149). This blacksmith shop was probably in addition to a "shop" where trading occurred. A flagstaff "of Oak stick of 75 feet without splicing" was also erected at the fort (Gough 1988:124). Like many other trading posts along the Red River, Henry's post can be called a fort since it was enclosed within a protective stockade. The stockade at Pembina was first built of poplar (cottonwood) and later replaced with oak. It could be entered by one or more gates. The fort was further protected by several "blockhouses" (Gough 1988:126,140,183,321).

Another example of a main trading post/fort in northeastern North Dakota was the first post built by Henry and his men in 1800 near the mouth of the Park River. We can surmise that this post was probably relatively small, as Henry states that he "wished to make [the post] as compact as possible" (Gough 1988:49). This fort was also protected by stockades. On September 11, 1800 Henry wrote,

I now desired the men to begin to cut each man fifty Oak stockades of twelve feet in length and to carry them to the spot where I proposed erecting the Fort (Gough 1988:52).

Judging from Henry's list of wood used in building the fort, the stockades had an outer wall, a shorter "lining," bastions with loopholes, a third "lining" for the bastions, and two gates (Gough 1988:74,53,56,57,59,101,108). On September 24 Henry reported

the bastions of my Fort being now compleat, having a flooring about nine feet from the ground, I covered my Tent to be pitched up in the south West bastion on this flooring. Here I had a fine view from the door of my Tent. I could see every thing that was going forward both within and without the stockades, and at the same time had a full view of the open plains and country around us (Gough 1988:57).

Apparently this was one of the first stockaded trading post on Red River.

September 28, 1800 ... These people [local Indians] are not much accustomed to having Traders that have their houses stockaded in, it is but of late years they have seen any thing of the kind ... (Gough 1988:59)

Within the stockade of Henry's Park River post were a padlocked store house for the trade goods and supplies, one or more dwelling houses, a trading shop with cellar, and a flagpole (Gough 1988:51,52,56,58,72,73-75,109,110).

Most of the main trading posts/forts maintained in northeastern North Dakota during the early fur trade era were located in the area near the mouth of the Pembina River (Ritterbush 1991:45-58). Besides that maintained by Henry at this locality were the main posts of North West Company trader Charles Chaboillez in 1797-1798 and John Sayer in 1798-1799, the XY Company between 1801 and 1805, and later North West Company traders such as McKenzie, Wills, and A. Macdonell (Hickerson 1959; HBCA, B.22/a/6, B.160/a/1-3, B.235/a/2; Gough 1988:122,127,136,150,164; James 1830:181-182). The Hudson's Bay Company also maintained posts at Pembina for many years during the first quarter of the nineteenth century (HBCA, B.235/a/1, B.22/a/6, B.235/a/2, B.22/a/13, B.160/a/1-4, B.22/a/15, B.22/a/17, B.22/a/18a-b, B.160/d/1, B.22/a/20-21, B.22/e/1; Hickerson 1959; Gough 1988:122,176; James 1830:167). The first of these posts, however, were outposts to the main Hudson's Bay Company post of the region at Brandon House (Assiniboine River) and are best considered under the property type of outpost.

There was at least one unique type of trading post/fort at Pembina during the second decade of the nineteenth century. This was Fort Daer. Fort Daer was originally built as a protective fort for settlers of the Red River colony for use during the winter while away from the main settlement at the Forks (Winnipeg). This fort can also be considered a trading post/fort since trade activities of the Hudson's Bay Company and colony personnel were transacted here between 1813 and 1823 (PAM, Selkirk Papers).

As noted in the historical overview presented above, trade activities at Pembina (and northeastern North Dakota as a whole) diminished or were carried out by petty or independent traders between about 1823 and 1843. We have no direct evidence of trading posts/forts in the study area at this time, although Hudson's Bay Company and American traders visited the region (HBCA, B.235/e/3, B.235/a/6, D.4/14 July 12, 1827, D.4/25 October 1, 1839, B.235/a/13; MHS, Sibley Papers, August 2, 1824; MHS, Campbell Reminiscences). This period of limited fur trade activities directly at Pembina may be significant in understanding the fur trade history of the region. Additional research is necessary to confirm the relative inactivity at Pembina and possibly northeastern North Dakota as a whole during this period.

Between 1843 and 1844 a new trading post/fort was built at Pembina by American trader Norman W. Kittson (MHS, Sibley Papers; Ritterbush 1991:53-55). His post was described as a fenced compound including a "large log hut," trading shop, stores or warehouses, icehouse, blacksmith shop, barns and stables, and flagstaff (UND, Wortley Journal; Bond 1856:275). This trading post was maintained by Kittson until 1852 and probably later by his associate Joseph Rolette (MHS, Sibley Papers).

Some of the later main trading posts were located away from the Red River at St. Joseph (later renamed Walhalla). This community at the base of the Pembina Escarpment along the upper Pembina River was not founded until the 1850s. In 1852 Kittson moved his trading operations to this m tis settlement and established a post. This later post does not appear to have been a fort in the sense of a stockaded compound like earlier trading posts, but instead probably consisted of at least two separate buildings (store and warehouse). One of these buildings still stands; however, it has been moved from its original location (near present-day downtown Walhalla) to be preserved at the Walhalla State Park (Ritterbush 1991:90-92). Other trading posts during the latter part of the fur trade era were also established in the area. These generally consisted of stores/warehouses built with or along side of m tis homes. Probably the best example of this is the trading post and house of Antoine Gingras that have been preserved and restored by the State Historical Society of North Dakota and are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Another m tis trader, Charles Grant, had a similar trading establishment east of St. Joseph near the international boundary at the end of the fur trade era. The structures of this post have been destroyed, but the site of these buildings has been recorded as 32PB31 (Brown, Brown, and Zimmerman 1982:134-138; SHSND, Wright Papers).

The primary construction material for these posts was wood found within the immediate surroundings. Henry, like many other traders, selected the site of his trading post primarily on the basis of the accessibility of wood for building material and firewood. Oak, bois blanc or basswood, and poplar or cottonwood were used for building walls and flooring (Gough 1988: 51,56,74-77,5,118,127; Lee 1899:59). Grass was cut to be used as thatch or with earth to roof the buildings and in at least one instance (on one of Kittson's buildings and later the custom house at Pembina) bark was used as a roofing material (HBCA, B.235/a/2; Gough 1988:110; Bond 1856:275; Lee 1899:59). Since stone is not available in this portion of the Red River valley, clay was used to construct fireplaces and chimneys. This clay was locally derived and of poor quality, thus, chimneys often needed repair (Gough 1988:58,103-104; HBCA, B.235/a/2). Clay and straw was also used to chink the logs of the buildings and a whitewash was made from white earth dug from the prairies (Bond 1856:275; Gough 1988:110,123). Accessory items, such as furniture, were also generally made of wood.

All of these materials were locally derived and perishable in nature. For this reason, finding archaeological remains of trading post/fort structures may prove difficult. It is unlikely that wood and poor quality clay would have survived approximately 150-200 years of exposure to the elements. Some of the posts may have burned in natural or man-made fires after being abandoned, thus, carbonized remains of wood may be preserved. Burned clay from fireplaces may also be present at trading post sites if conditions have been favorable for preservation. In some cases, such as the case of Fort Daer at Pembina in 1823, posts were dismantled for use of the building materials elsewhere, thus, few structural remains are likely to be found (Keating 1959:38-39). In some instances depressions marking the location of storage cellars or icehouses may be evident.

Nonperishable hardware used in the construction of trading posts/forts may provide the best archaeological indicators of structural remains. Items such as cut and wrought nails, hinges and pintles, padlocks and keys, and window glass have been found at other excavated fur trade sites outside the context region (e.g., Kehoe 1978; Klimko 1983; Nystuen and Lindeman 1969; Smith and Ludwickson 1981; Stone 1974). It is unlikely, however, that much large, heavy hardware was brought to the posts by the traders, especially during the early years. Those that were brought may have been salvaged by the trader, another trader, freemen, métis, or Indians after a post was abandoned. Henry noted using wooden pegs in the construction of his Park River post, thus, many nails may not have been needed (Gough 1988:74-75). Nonetheless, his blacksmith was making nails at the Pembina post by the spring of 1804, if not a year earlier (Gough 1988:156). No doubt these hand wrought nails were used in later construction and maintenance at Henry's Pembina fort.

Other indicators of trading posts/forts may be artifacts, such as nonperishable trade goods, that were lost or left behind at the trading site. Some of the nonperishable trade goods used during the first half of the fur trade era in the region were guns, kettles, traps, awls and needles, bells, files, gunflints and gunworms, bayonets and various kinds of knives, hatchets, spoons, beads, silver ornaments, fire steels, shot, pipes, and looking glasses (HBCA, B.160/d/1; Hickerson 1959). Similar items were used by the traders themselves at or near the posts. Some of these objects may have been broken, lost, or otherwise left behind; however, a statement by Henry upon his departure from his Park River post reminds us that the quantity of these goods may be limited.

The Canoes were no sooner off than the [Indian] women and children began to rummage the buildings by raising the floor &c. to search for any trifle that might have been lost in the course of the winter (Gough 1988:115).

Another type of data that might be expected to be preserved at fur trade post/fort sites would be faunal remains. Bones of animals killed for food (and possibly furs) were no doubt left at or near the trading post sites. The animals that provided the largest percentage of meat for the traders at their posts were bison, elk, moose, and fish of various kinds (e.g., sturgeon and catfish). During difficult winters rabbits were snared and butchered. At least some remains of these animals should be expected at fur trade post/fort sites. Remains may also be found of waterfowl, pigeons, bears, wolves, raccoons, beaver, fishers, other furbearers, dogs, possibly horses, and other animals.

Outposts

The second property type identified with the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota is similar and related to the first. This is trade outposts. Outposts were relatively small operations sent out from a main trading post/fort for the purpose of contacting Indians and métis away from the central trade areas. Little is known about trade outposts, apparently

because trade records and journals were rarely maintained by the employees sent to these sites. In most cases, the only extant written information pertaining to outposts is found as brief references in the journals and records of the chief trader and his clerk at the main post with which the outpost was allied. At present, this property type may not always be clearly segregated from that of main trading posts/forts. However, their smaller size, the lower level of occupancy and activity at these sites, probable limited associated inventory of goods and supplies, and the general lack of information about this site type suggests that this property type should be considered separately from main trading posts/forts until further information is obtained to support its inclusion with main trading posts/forts.

An example of one outpost from which we do have written records is the Hudson's Bay Company post under John Richards and Thomas Miller at Pembina in 1797-1798 (HBCA, B.235/a/1). This outfit was relatively small (including eight Hudson's Bay Company men in comparison to 25 at the competing trading post of North West Company trader Chaboillez) and was sent out from the main Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Brandon House (HBCA, B.22/a/6). In later years the Hudson's Bay Company post at Pembina appears to have become a trading post/fort under its own direction rather than an outpost of Brandon House.

A number of other outposts were maintained by the various fur trade companies in northeastern North Dakota. Roy's post south of the Park River in 1797-1798 was probably an outpost of North West Company trader Cadot at Red Lake (Hickerson 1959; MHS, Thompson Diary). Among the many outposts maintained by Henry between 1800 and 1808 were ones at or near the Hair Hills (Pembina Escarpment), Salt (or Forest) River, Turtle River, and Grand Forks (Gough 1988:42,121-122,129,134,136,138,143,145,147,157,161,164,171-172,177,186-187,298,303). In many instances between 1801 and 1805 these North West Company outposts were opposed by XY Company outposts also sent from Pembina (Gough 1988:121-122,123,125,129,134,161,171-172). After the Hudson's Bay Company established a main trading post at Pembina (and the Forks or Red River Settlement), they too sent men to various outposts. Between 1812 and 1815 one such outpost was maintained by the Hudson's Bay Company (and by their competitors of the North West Company) at Turtle River (PAM, McLeod Papers; HBCA, B.160/a/4, B.235/a/3; PAM, Selkirk Papers, Macdonell Journal & A.McDonald Journal). Kittson also had several outposts to his Pembina operation, but most were outside of the context region (MHS, Sibley Papers).

Little documentary evidence, beyond mere mention of sending men to certain outposts, exists for this property type within northeastern North Dakota. This has made the locating of these small posts difficult. No descriptions exist of an outpost in northeastern North Dakota although it might be assumed that they consisted of only a few buildings, perhaps one or two combined houses and trading shop. The same types of artifacts expected at trading posts/forts might be expected at outposts, but perhaps in more limited quantity. If sites of a main trading post/fort and an outpost were found, it would be useful to compare the types and quantity of features and artifacts present at each in order to gain a better idea of what might be expected archaeologically at each.

Trading Grounds

The historical records pertaining to the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota indicate that not all trade transactions occurred at trading posts/forts and outposts. In many instances fur trade employees were sent en derouine or to trade with the Indians at their camps (e.g., see Hickerson 1959; HBCA, B.235/a/1). Often the trade was completed within a short period of time and the Euroamericans would return to their trading post or outpost within a few days. These men did not carry many trade goods, thus, it is unlikely that they had a wide assortment of items for trade. Finding the locations at which this type of trade was transacted would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. It is expected that trading grounds such as these would look much like an Indian camp with possibly a few lost or broken trade goods or trader supplies.

Indian Campsites

Indian campsites must be discussed in relation to trading grounds, since it would be difficult to distinguish between the two. Trade may not have occurred at all Indian campsites of the fur trade era, however, and this property type may only be distantly related to fur trade activities. The presence of trade goods at an Indian campsite might only mean that the site was occupied during the fur trade era.

Most Indian campsites of the fur trade era in northeastern North Dakota were temporary since the Indians that utilized the area (migrant Ojibwa and Ottawa, and Assiniboin and Cree) did not generally establish long-term villages. Much of the year these Indians were mobile and established various camps in areas where seasonal resources (e.g., furbearers, bison, fish, plants) were available. Some of the more stable and probably most interesting camps in terms of the fur trade were those that were revisited annually near the fur trade posts. These camps were often in close proximity to the main trading posts/forts, for instance at the Bois Perce and at Pembina near Henry's posts (Gough 1988). From comments by traders at several posts we know that these camps were often visited in the fall when the traders arrived and spring before they left for the summer. These camps were also visited by smaller groups throughout the year while visiting or trading with the Euroamericans. It is unlikely that much trade was transacted directly in these camps since they were close to the main trading posts, but a variety of other activities occurred here. These included drinking liquor received from the traders, ceremonies such as the Wabbano and Midiwiwin, preparing for war, making mats for their homes, and various subsistence activities related to hunting and fishing and possibly gardening (see Gough 1988 for examples).

Because of the relative stability of these sites and the variety of activities that took place here, these Indian campsites would be extremely valuable sources of data on the Indians of the fur trade era. Although some

information on the Indians of the region during the fur trade era and their interaction with Euroamerican fur traders can be gleaned from the available primary documents (Ritterbush 1990), much more could be learned from a study of the archaeological remains of these Indians at their various camps.

Trapping Grounds

The sites at which the Indians hunted or trapped furbearing animals in order to obtain skins for trade are called trapping grounds. These are probably nearly impossible to find since written sources rarely mention the location of these activities and few archaeological remains would be expected. In some instances, metal traps might be found at trapping grounds, but these would be expected to be found individually without much association. Traps may also not have been widely used by the early Indians who hunted in northeastern North Dakota. Chabouillez mentions bringing beaver traps to Pembina in 1797-1798, but few other Red River traders mention traps (Hickerson 1959:273). Many furbearing animals were probably hunted with spears, guns, and snares. Some of these items might be found at campsites near trapping grounds. In order to identify camps related to trapping activities it would be necessary to study carefully the past local environmental setting of and faunal remains at the site. Bones of furbearing animals, such as beaver, muskrats, fishers, bear, foxes, wolves, martins, otters, wolverines, mink, and others, would be expected.

Hunter Campsites

Other types of campsites, namely those of individuals working for the fur traders as hunters, form another property type of the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. Fur traders were generally obliged to send their men or hire Indians, freemen, or métis to hunt for the subsistence of the men at the trading post. Although some hunting was done near the post, often hunters had to camp in the prairies where game (primarily bison) was abundant. A hunter might establish a temporary camp at which he (and his family) stayed until game was no longer available nearby. This hunter might transport meat back to the post from this camp or the trader might send men to the "hunter's tent" to retrieve the meat.

It is assumed that in cases where the hunter's camp was away from the post the hunted animals were butchered at or near the camp before being transported back to the post. If such were the case, a hunter's campsite might be relatively small, but with a fairly high frequency of animal remains. In most cases the faunal remains would be of one type of animal, most often bison. The sites could be located in many different areas, but probably in the prairies near optimal grazing areas. Artifacts which may be expected at such sites would include gunflints, gunworms, or other gun parts and worn knives, scrapers, and other butchering tools. Hunter campsites may be difficult to find since little is recorded about these sites in the available written documents.

Salt Extraction Sites

Another property type associated with Euroamerican fur traders, but located away from the main trading posts, is salt extraction sites. The earliest fur traders in the Red River region were aware of the saline nature of many of the pothole lakes and streams in the region. This is why the Forest and Park rivers were often referred to as the Salt or Big Salt River and the Salt Rivulet or Brackish Water Rivulet (Gough 1988:85; MHS, Thompson Diary; Warkinton and Ruggles 1970). Since salt was a commodity not generally brought to the posts by the traders in any quantity, many of the traders sent men to harvest this product from the area lakes and streams (HBCA, B.160/a/1, B.160/a/4; Hickerson 1959:374; Gough 1988:82-83,102,124,126,153,300). This salt was made by sometimes filtering, then boiling saline water in large kettles (Gough 1988:82-83; MHS, Campbell Reminiscences).

Salt extraction sites should be found near wooded saline lakes or streams, such as those mentioned in several of the journals of fur traders in the Red River region (e.g., Gough 1988:32,45,82-83; HBCA, B.22/e/1; Tyrrell 1916:248). The sites are expected to be relatively small since they were generally occupied by only one or two men. Evidence of a shelter might be present, although the temporary nature of these sites suggests that tents were probably used. Since salt was processed in the winter, shelter, warm clothing, and a fire would have been necessary for the men's protection from the elements. Diagnostic of a salt extraction site would be evidence of water boiling activities. Large kettles were used to boil down saline waters over relatively large fires until dry salt was produced to put in kegs or other containers to be transported back to the posts. Evidence of fires, kettles, and/or kegs might be found at salt extraction sites today. Additional artifacts, such as pipes, might indicate what activities the men pursued while at salt extraction camps.

For comparative data, salt extraction sites in other regions should be studied. For instance, archaeological data obtained from near salt springs in eastern Missouri (near St. Genevieve) and southern Illinois (Kaskaskia) might be used. Although the natives of the Red River valley did not process salt, references to native and Euroamerican salt processing at other localities (such as Missouri) may be useful.

Trails

A variety of trails were used by the fur traders, Indians, freemen, and métis of northeastern North Dakota during the fur trade era. During the early part of the fur trade era, water transportation was most important to the traders and Indians, yet overland travel was also necessary. There are few references to trails used by these early traders and Indians in the written records and it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to locate evidence of early trails. However, by the latter part of the fur trade era a

system of trails used by the traders and m̄tis was developed. These trails were used mostly for horse or ox driven carts referred to as Red River carts. As Gilman, Gilman, and Stultz (1979) have described, there were several different recognized Red River cart trails that skirted the Red River valley between St. Paul or the Minnesota River and the Red River Settlement (Winnipeg). Kittson was one of the first traders to make extensive use of these trails in transporting goods and furs between Pembina/St. Joseph and the Minnesota River, from whence markets and stores at Mendota or St. Paul could be reached via water transportation (MHS, Sibley Papers). By the mid 1800s Joseph Rolette, m̄tis traders, and Red River settlers were also using these trails and travelling annually to and from St. Paul and the lower Red River.

Remnants of some of these trails are still visible, although large portions of the trails have been destroyed by agricultural and other activities. Like other frontier trails, those associated with the Red River region have drawn much attention, however, no concerted effort has been made to preserve those portions still visible. Gilman, Gilman, and Stultz (1979) have conducted an extensive study of Red River cart trails in Minnesota, North Dakota, and Manitoba. It is recommended that this study, GLO (General Land Office) plat maps from the late nineteenth century, areal photographs, and interview of landowners be used to locate actual remains of these trails.

River Crossings/Fords

River crossings or fords might be one property type that could be identified in northeastern North Dakota for the fur trade era in conjunction with the identification of trails. It is known that several of the Red River cart trails followed a route west or east of the Red River Valley in order to avoid the troublesome stream crossings nearer the Red River (more deeply incised and soft mud). It does not appear that any major modifications were made of streams and their banks to aid in crossing, but this should be checked by tracing some of the Red River cart trails through the region. In most cases goods were ferried across streams on makeshift rafts or cart beds, or temporary bridges (that generally washed out in the spring) were constructed (e.g., Woods 1850:16). During his first year in the Red River valley, Henry had his men build a log bridge over the Park River so that he could cross easily when going to hunt (Gough 1988:83). Henry also mentions some localities that apparently were commonly used as fords by the fur traders and Indians. Later traders, such as Kittson, likewise used specific river crossings when transporting goods through eastern North Dakota. At least one bridge site utilized by Kittson in the 1850s is known in northern Richland County, ND (Walt Bailey, personal communication, March 1991). In most cases, however, sites of this property type would be difficult to pinpoint and would probably not be associated with archaeological remains.

Métis Bison Hunting Camps

By the 1820s a large métis or half breed population was growing in the lower Red River region of the United States and Canada. These métis generally followed a lifestyle based on mobile bison hunting and trading with fur traders in British and United State territory. They are probably best known for their large biannual bison hunts in the prairies. The products of their hunts were used for subsistence and trade and tied them closely to the fur trade, especially during the latter half of the study period. Métis bison hunting camps are another property type associated with the fur trade of North Dakota. This site type may not, however, be common in Ecozone #16 and is more likely to be found further westward in other parts of northern and eastern North Dakota.

Métis bison hunting camps were quite large as indicated by written records reporting on the métis bison hunts. In 1823 Keating (1959:39-40) reported that the returning bison hunters of that summer included "one hundred and fifteen carts, each loaded with about eight hundred pounds of the finest buffalo meat; there were three hundred persons, including women." Nicollet had heard of the métis bison hunts when he came to the Sheyenne River and Devil's Lake region in 1839 and related that 600 to 800 métis hunted in that area on two hunts per year (Bray and Bray 1976:188). In 1845 Sumner encountered a métis bison hunting camp near Devil's Lake that included about 180 men (Woolworth 1961:94). This is not surprising since Stevens encountered a métis hunting group in 1853 that included 824 carts and about 1300 people, 336 of which were men. This groups was also reported to have about 1200 animals (horses and oxen) (Steven 1860:65). A camp composed of so many people, carts, and livestock would have been very large and made a noticeable impact on the local environment. As Stevens (1860:65) describes, the camp of the métis was formed by pulling all the carts together to form a protective barricade, within which skin tents were erected and animals were kept at night. If such a camp was located near a sizable bison herd it may be occupied for several days or weeks. Within this time bison would be hunted and butchered. The meat would be dried and/or made into pemmican and hides would be prepared for trade or use as tent covers, clothing, or other accessories.

Archaeological remains of métis bison hunting camps and the activities associated with them should be found in northern and eastern North Dakota. Among the artifacts to be expected are quantities of bison bone, hunting and butchering tools, domestic items, and other tools of both Euroamerican and native manufacture. The location of métis bison hunting camps varied with the roaming nature of the bison herds, but general areas that the métis commonly visited for hunting were near Devil's Lake and the Sheyenne River valley. No doubt a number of sites could be found archaeologically in these areas or elsewhere on the northern prairies. One such site has possibly been found in the Sheyenne River valley (Haury and Schneider 1986:190-197).

Métis Homes

Métis sites more likely to be found in Ecozone #16 are the semipermanent homes of these often transient people. Many métis had homes near Pembina and St. Joseph during the fur trade era. At these locations they were near trading centers, a Catholic church, and other métis. These served as a home base when not travelling on the biannual bison hunts or transporting goods to market centers, such as St. Paul. Some métis may have also planted crops at their homes, although few were known as farmers.

Like the fur traders, the métis constructed their homes of local materials. In 1849 Captain Woods reported that the métis at Pembina lived in "Indian lodges" and houses, "but they build in the timber along the rivers, for protection from the cold winds of winter and the convenience of wood" (Woods 1850:19,28). In the early 1850s many of the métis moved westward towards the Pembina Escarpment to escape the floods of the Red River along which they had earlier built their "cabins." It was these métis who formed the early population of St. Joseph. At least one example of a métis home, the Gingras house and trading post, dating to the latter part of the fur trade era still stands near present-day Walhalla. This, and any other known métis homes, should be studied in detail to learn more about the form and arrangement of the structures and activities associated with this property type. This type of information is vital to identifying other métis homes.

It is very likely that many métis homes were scattered along the Red River, especially at or near Pembina, and along the Pembina Escarpment, especially at or near St. Joseph. Since these people were very dependent on the trade in furs and particularly bison robes and meat, métis home sites should be included in the list of property types associated with the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. This type of site may appear archaeologically similar to a fur trade post or outpost since cabin structures would be expected in many cases and many artifacts would be trade goods of Euroamerican origin. The Indian heritage of the métis might be evident among the archaeological remains in terms of certain artifacts (possibly bone tools, arrowpoints, etc.) and their distribution. Further study of métis sites, starting with those already known within the region and those studied elsewhere, such as in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, is necessary before those of northeastern North Dakota can be identified and understood.

Burial Grounds

Burial grounds of fur traders and their associates form another property type of the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. The historic records indicate that a number of Euroamerican traders died while stationed at posts and outposts in northeastern North Dakota. Many of these men died from disease or accidents. For example, one of Henry's employees, John Cameron, died of an unidentified disease in January of 1804. He was buried in a coffin at Pembina beside his (Indian) wife who had been sick and died three months earlier (Gough 1988:148,151-155). Two years later, another of Henry's employees, Duford, died of an accidental gunshot wound. He too

was buried at Pembina (Gough 1988:179-182). It is assumed that fur trader burial grounds, such as that associated with Henry's Pembina post, were located near the trading post/fort (see reference to "the burying ground" near Henry's Pembina post in Gough 1988:320-321). Presumably Indians, as well as Euroamerican traders, were buried in or near these burial grounds. A common practice of the Red River Indians was to bring the corpse of a deceased Indian to a trading post/fort to be buried. Henry and other traders mention this common occurrence. (By bringing the deceased to the post, the Indians were generally able to secure liquor, cloth, and/or other goods to aid them in their mourning [e.g., Gough 1988:98,107-108].)

Customs House

During the last decade of the fur trade era a customs officer oversaw the transport of goods for and received in trade over the international boundary. The first customs officer arrived in 1851 and established a customs house at Pembina. This officer, Charles Cavileer, established close ties with trader Kittson and rented living and office space from him (MHS, Kittson Papers, 1851-1853 Ledger). The customs house at Pembina during the fur trade era, thus, was actually located within Kittson's trading post/fort. Later customs officers reportedly used the same building until about 1863. Therefore, this particular property type for the fur trade era coincides with that of fur trade post/fort and may not be a significant property type of the fur trade era (Lee 1899:60; Ritterbush 1991:58).

Other Property Types

This list of property types associated with the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota is meant to be as inclusive as possible; however, other property types may be identified through future research. Similar contexts include property types such as boat dockage facilities, earthlodge villages, and portages and portage routes. Each of these is not expected in northeastern North Dakota. There are no mentions of boat dockage facilities associated with fur trade posts along the Red River in North Dakota during this period. Canoes and York boats were the common form of boats used by fur traders and these did not need special facilities for docking along the Red River. (Steamboat and ferry docks were associated with the Red River at the very end of this period and in the later settlement era.) Earthlodge villages were not built by the Indians of northeastern North Dakota, thus, are not a property type of the fur trade in this region. (This is more applicable to the Missouri River trade.) Although the early traders who came to the lower Red River crossed many portages and followed various portage routes en route to their posts, no portages or portage routes are known in northeastern North Dakota. All travel in the context region was done by canoe or boat in the Red River (and occasionally the lower part of its tributaries) or overland by foot, snowshoe, dog sled, horse, or Red River cart. No portages were necessary between waterways since the Red River is continuous and unobstructed in this region.

National Register of Historic Places Eligibility Criteria

The general criteria used for determining eligibility of properties to the National Register of Historic Places include the following (36 CFR 60.6; King, Hickman, and Berg 1977:98):

- Criterion A - association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history,
- Criterion B - association with the lives of persons of significance to the past,
- Criterion C - embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction,
- Criterion D - potential to yield information important in prehistory or history

In terms of the topic of the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota during the period from 1738-1861 criteria A and D are most likely to be used in determining the eligibility of properties to the National Register of Historic Places.

Criterion A is used if a property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history. Properties associated with the fur trade may potentially provide a significant contribution to our understanding to the first Euroamerican intrusions into the context region, the earliest interactions of Euroamericans with Native Americans that migrated to and visited northeastern North Dakota during the fur trade era, the development of a métis culture in the region, and the foundations of Euroamerican occupation of northeastern North Dakota and surrounding areas. In general, properties associated with the fur trade are all potentially significant under this criteria, because of the importance of the fur trade to the earliest Euroamerican and historic métis and Native American past in northeastern North Dakota.

Criterion B, which is used to judge significance on the basis of a property's association with the lives of persons significant in our past, may be used on occasion for fur trade properties in northeastern North Dakota. Although no world-renowned individuals have been associated with the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota, several individuals active with the fur trade of this region are recognized as important persons in local and regional fur trade history. Probably most notable are Alexander Henry, the younger, and John Tanner. As discussed above, Henry was an early trader in the Red River region who maintained a relatively detailed journal of his eight year occupation of northeastern North Dakota. The existing copy of

his journal provides important information on the fur trade of this region and of the North West Company as a whole during the initial years of the nineteenth century (Coues 1897; Gough 1988). After leaving the Red River in 1808, Henry traded with other Indian groups in the northern Rocky Mountains and Northwest Coast regions of North America before drowning tragically at the mouth of the Columbia River. Unlike Henry, John Tanner, was not a fur trader, but an Indian captive who lived most of his life with the migrant Ottawa and Ojibwa in this northern prairie region. His adventures and exploits are recounted in his published narrative, which has been widely read and studied by anthropologists and historians (James 1830). Although no positive identifications are made of Tanner directly in the journals of traders of northeastern North Dakota, it is evident that he and his Indian family were trading with men such as Chaboillez, Henry, and Heney in northeastern North Dakota during the early part of the fur trade era. Other important personalities associated with the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota might include North West Company trader Charles Chaboillez and geographer David Thompson. Norman Kittson, Joseph Rolette, Antoine Gingras, and Charles Cavileer are locally recognized as important individuals in the early Euroamerican development of the region. Finally, the association of the earliest Red River settlers with Pembina might be judged locally significant due to their role as the earliest European settlers in the region. If a site, such as Henry's Pembina post, is judged to be the most representative contribution of these particular people to the history of the fur trade, Criterion B may be useful in determining its eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places.

Criterion C is most applicable to standing structures of architectural importance, thus, will be of limited use in determining significance for most fur trade sites in northeastern North Dakota. This criterion may apply to only a few fur trade sites, such the Kittson building and Gingras' house and trading post near Walhalla. Detailed analysis of such structures and their topical, cultural, and temporal context, may indicate that these buildings embody distinctive characteristics of the fur trade era or a portion of it or that they represent significant and distinguishable entities whose components may lack individual distinction. If such is the case, criterion C may be useful for determining eligibility of certain fur trade sites to the National Register of Historic Places. The Gingras site has already been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Kittson building, now located at Walhalla State Park, has been removed from its original site, therefore, is lacking its locational context, which is generally important in determining eligibility to the National Register. Criteria consideration B may be used, however, to overcome the lack of this contextual data. This criteria consideration allows a structure to be judged on the basis of its architectural value or, more likely, on the number of similar extant structures. In the latter case, the Kittson building might be determined to be one of only a very few surviving structures most importantly associated with the fur trade era or a particular person.

Criterion D applies to many archaeological sites since it relates to properties that have or are likely to yield information important in

prehistory or history. Since few possible fur trade sites have been identified and none have been studied in detail in the region this criterion will apply to nearly all fur trade sites in northeastern North Dakota that possess any integrity. No doubt archaeological fur trade sites in the context region will yield additional data for understanding the history of North Dakota and surrounding areas. These data can be used to cross check documentary evidence as well as to supplement it. Together the two forms of data will be indispensable to understanding our past.

Special criteria considerations for fur trade sites in northeastern North Dakota should include attention to integrity of the properties under consideration. Since no archaeological fur trade sites have been studied in any detail in northeastern North Dakota, the amount of integrity likely to be found at a site has yet to be determined. It is assumed on the basis of surface reconnaissance surveys of potential fur trade site locations that archaeological integrity may be limited. At present, it appears that substantial structural remains will not commonly be found, nor massive quantities of cultural materials. Limited archaeological data, therefore, may be considered significant, especially if it can be correlated with written historical data. Based on present knowledge of fur trade remains in northeastern North Dakota it is determined that integrity criteria should be applied leniently to this context.

I suggest that if a site can be clearly proven to be one of the above mentioned property types related to the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota, it should be considered significant to our understanding of this aspect of North Dakota's history. Proof of such sites must be based on a detailed study of the archaeological and historical data pertaining to the site and study area. Further study of artifacts from other fur trade sites will aid in the determination of what types and quantities of cultural materials are diagnostic of fur trade properties. The presence of undisturbed deposits (e.g., below plowzone) should be considered significant although potentially limited in quantity. Any structural remains or artifacts that can be used to restore original features when studied in conjunction with available written documents should also be considered significant. Supporting data from written records must necessarily be combined with archaeological remains to determine eligibility.

Data Gaps and Research Questions

A variety of primary written records are available to researchers of the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. These documents include trader journals, fur trade company district reports, correspondences, traveller accounts, and government records. The data included in these documents are very useful in understanding the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. Nonetheless, they do not often provide continuous coverage of the topic and leave gaps in the written record which may not be easily filled. The search for additional written sources must continue and in some cases, archaeological research will be necessary to fill these voids.

Of the available literature, primary documents are the most valuable in gaining an accurate picture of fur trade activities in northeastern North Dakota. Some primary documents have been published and are easily accessible; however, care must be used in utilizing translated, edited or transcribed primary documents. Among the many different factors that must be taken into consideration when using transcribed editions include the liberties taken by an editor in transcribing handwriting, punctuation, etc., changes in language use over time, the background of the editor to the larger subject, and the context in which the document was written and transcribed. Fortunately, many original documents are accessible in archives scattered throughout the larger region and across Canada and the United States. In addition, many archival materials are available on microfilm through Interlibrary Loan. The information in these primary records must also be viewed critically, using the techniques of internal and external historical criticism.

Probably the most useful primary documents pertaining to the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota are the existing records of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). These are now available at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Among the HBC records consulted for research on the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota are post journals, account books, district reports, and various correspondences of HBC employees during the study period. Several post journals, account books, and other miscellaneous records are available for Pembina (HBCA, B.235/a/1-2, B.160/a/1-4, B.160/d/1-6, B.160/z/1) and provide some of the most direct evidence of activities in the context region. Nevertheless, these are limited and other records of the Hudson's Bay Company, including post journals, account books, and district reports from neighboring posts, such as Winnipeg, Brandon House, Lac La Pluie (Rainy Lake), and Lac Travers, must be consulted for incidental reports of activities in the study area (HBCA, B.235/a,d,e, B.22/a,d,e, B.105/a,e, B.108/a,d). Correspondences of Hudson's Bay Company officials, for example those of Governor George Simpson (HBCA, D.4/), and records of the Red River Settlement, including account books (HBCA, E.7/), also provide some information on activities at Pembina and the surrounding area. The Hudson's Bay Company records are by no means complete, but they provide a good representation of records pertaining at least indirectly to the context topic and region from as early as 1797 to the mid 1800s.

Written records of the other major fur companies that operated within northeastern North Dakota are not as abundant. Many of the records of the North West Company were destroyed or lost and few are extant today. In spite of this, researchers of the fur trade of the lower Red River are very fortunate to have access to two journals kept by separate North West Company traders during their stay within this region. The journal of Charles Chaboillez for the year 1797-1798 is important since it documents activities at one of the first fur trade posts in North Dakota (Hickerson 1959). It is also important because it overlaps the journal of another Pembina trader working for the Hudson's Bay Company that same year (Thomas Miller) and other ancillary reports about the Red River region (HBCA, B.235/a/1; MHS, Thompson Diary; Tyrrell 1916). Together these provide interesting comparative data about the fur trade of the Pembina area during a single early trade season. The other important North West Company journal is that of Alexander Henry, the younger, which spans his eight year residence in northeastern North Dakota. Actually Henry's original journal has been lost and all that remains is a copy of the journal. This must be kept in mind since it is unknown how accurate this copy is. The copied journal is relatively easily accessible to researcher in two different published forms. The first published copy of Henry's journal was edited by Elliott Coues in 1897. A more accurate transcription by Barry Gough has recently (1988) been released and is an invaluable tool to researchers of the fur trade. The detail provided in portions of this journal is especially interesting in relation to Henry's posts, to the Indians who traded in northeastern North Dakota, and the environment of the region at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Little documentary evidence exists for the activities of other fur traders in northeastern North Dakota. These include the New North West or XY Company traders who later merged with the North West Company, independent traders, and later métis individuals who were involved in the fur trade, all of whom played important roles in this early commerce of northeastern North Dakota. Even the activities of American traders, such as Kittson, are not documented in detail. Few papers of Norman Kittson are extant and much about his activities at Pembina and St. Joseph in the 1840s and 1850s must be extracted from correspondences in the Sibley Papers and various traveller accounts and government records (e.g., Woods 1850, Pope 1850, Bond 1856). The Sibley Papers are available at the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) and various other repositories on microfilm (e.g., University of North Dakota, Chester Fritz Library, Special Collections).

Other primary sources are available that provide data on some of the different aspects of the fur trade of the context region. Among these are the records of officials and settlers of the Red River Settlement. Most notable are the Selkirk Papers, which include various journals of individuals that visited or spent time in northeastern North Dakota during the second decade of the nineteenth century (e.g., Selkirk Papers, Macdonell Journal, A.McDonald Journal, Anonymous Journal 1814-1817, Robertson Journal). These papers are available on microfilm at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM) in Winnipeg, MB. Various other useful documents are available at this archives, as well as at the Minnesota Historical Society Archives, University of North Dakota Chester Fritz Library Special

Collections (UND), and the State Historical Society of North Dakota Archives (SHSND) (see bibliography for samples). Some additional primary documents have been published and are more easily accessible (see bibliography).

Gaps within the written records are evident throughout the study period. Perhaps the largest gap is that associated with fur trade activities in northeastern North Dakota during the period from about 1823 to 1843. Prior to this period the Hudson's Bay and North West companies merged under the guise of the Hudson's Bay Company. Because of this, competition within the region was reduced such that the Hudson's Bay Company had a virtual monopoly on the trade of the context region. At the beginning of this period the Hudson's Bay Company retreated from Pembina due to potential disputes with the United States over the international boundary. Still the Hudson's Bay Company maintained trade immediately over the boundary, while most of the commerce within northeastern North Dakota was carried out by independent and Hudson's Bay Company supported traders from the Red River Settlement, independent American traders, and occasional outfits sent by the American Fur Company from its posts to the east. No direct records of the activities of these traders are known, although occasional reference is made to them in records from surrounding areas.

Another apparent gap in our knowledge of the fur trade in northeastern North Dakota as interpreted from written records is of the fur trade activities of mêtis traders. Many mêtis worked as independent and semi-independent traders against and with Kittson during his tenure as American trader at Pembina and St. Joseph. Several of these individuals continued the trade of the region after Kittson's retirement from the area, thus, were the primary traders of northeastern North Dakota at the end of the fur trade era. Unfortunately few records document the exact activities of these individuals. Since many of their transactions were carried out in the St. Joseph, rather than the Pembina area, little mention is made of them by travellers or government explorers who generally visited Pembina along the Red River instead of travelling inland to St. Joseph. More research is needed into mêtis activities in northeastern North Dakota in order to fully understand the fur trade of the context region.

Archaeological evidence of fur trade activities in northeastern North Dakota is very limited at present. Pedestrian reconnaissance survey of potential fur trade sites has recently (1990) been conducted in the context region, however, results of this survey are not conclusive (Ritterbush 1991). Eight potential fur trade sites were located during this study, but the surface evidence for this interpretation is scanty and needs additional testing. At least one other survey has located the fur trade site of Charles Grant's house and trading post in Pembina County (Brown, Brown, and Zimmerman 1982:134-138). A similar site is the home and trading post of Antoine Gingras which has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places and restored by the State Historical Society of North Dakota. Additional archaeological study of these two sites may help fill the gap in our knowledge of later mêtis fur trade activities in northeastern North Dakota. Further archaeological research is needed of other potential fur trade sites before a determination of what types of information might be obtained from these sites can be made.

Research Concerns and Questions

A number of research questions and concerns can be set forth to guide future research towards a better understanding of the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. The following list is not complete as additional questions and concerns will arise as research continues and new data sources are uncovered and studied.

- One of the first major concerns is continued search for written documents that provide data on the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. This should be an ongoing process of search for primary documents and study of already existing archival sources. Additional sources pertaining to the North West Company, the New North West or XY Company, independent traders, and American involvement in the fur trade of the region should be sought.
- What additional data can be gleaned from written sources on the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota between 1823 and 1843? The involvement of independent Red River Settlement and American, Hudson's Bay Company supported, and American Fur Company traders in the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota is assumed to be limited on the basis of our scanty data about these individuals and their activities. Nonetheless, it is known that they were active in the region. A better understanding of their role in the fur trade of the context region is necessary to fill a gap in our existing knowledge of the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota.
- How important were the mêtis in the fur trade of the latter part of the fur trade era in northeastern North Dakota? Already we know that the mêtis provided many of the commodities sought in trade in the region in the latter half of the fur trade era. In addition, several noteworthy mêtis not only supplied the traders with products, but acted as traders themselves, either independently or in association with American trader Kittson. The role of these mêtis needs further study to better understand the latter part of the fur trade era in the region.

Archaeological research has only just begun on the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota, yet promises to provide additional data on various topics related to the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. More intensive archaeological research, beyond pedestrian survey is necessary to answer questions pertinent to the fur trade and to the processes of extracting data from fur trade sites in the region. Some of the questions that can be addressed through archaeological and related research follow.

- Has the geomorphic setting of potential fur trade sites within the floodprone Red River Valley resulted in burial or destruction of fur trade sites?
- If buried, what means can best be used to locate fur trade sites?

- Can a predictive model be devised for finding poorly documented fur trade sites in the Red River region (e.g., proximity to wood, located on high points away from flood waters, distance from water, etc.)?
- What impact has agricultural activities had on the preservation of fur trade sites?
- What specific criteria can be used to judge integrity of fur trade sites within the region?
- What artifacts would most likely be found at fur trade sites during different time periods or according to different fur companies/suppliers in the region?
- What types of artifacts are most diagnostic of fur trade sites in northeastern North Dakota? If diagnostic artifacts are lacking, what types of nondiagnostic artifacts should be expected?
- How can fur trade sites be distinguished from other historic sites within the region?
- Can archaeological data be used to determine with which trade company a fur trade site was associated?
- What patterns of artifacts, artifact distributions, and other data can be used to separate fur trade sites from contemporaneous mètis sites?
- What patterns of artifacts, artifact distributions, and other data can be used to separate Indian campsites associated with fur trade activities from other Indian sites in the region?
- How can mètis camps be distinguished archaeologically from Indian camps in the region?
- How can fur trade related burial grounds be identified with minimal disturbance of human remains?

Prioritized Goals

1) Devise and carry out a program of careful test excavations at 32PB63, the Pembina State Historic Site, in order to ascertain the existence and integrity of subsurface archaeological deposits related to fur trade activities associated with this general location during the first half of the fur trade era. As discussed in Ritterbush (1991:65-71,138) this site has already been heavily impacted by later historic activities, most importantly, use of the area as a recreational park and dike construction and maintenance. These activities (as well as others associated with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century) must be documented in as much detail as possible before excavations are instituted. These data, as well as that derived from previous testing (auger and other), should be used to guide test excavations. The excavations should include deep tests and geomorphic studies that will determine how natural and cultural processes have affected the site through time. Results of archaeological and geomorphic analyses of the site should be closely correlated with available documentary evidence of past use of this locality.

2) Devise and carry out a program of careful test excavations at 32PB64, the north side of the mouth of the Pembina River, in order to determine the extent of damage to the site and the presence or absence of any remains of fur trade activities. Like the southern side of the mouth of the Pembina River, this location is well documented as a locus of fur trade activities throughout the fur trade era. Unfortunately, many other activities were conducted here after the fur trade era, possibly masking earlier activities and their remains. Surface inspection of the site indicates that much of the site may have already been destroyed by house and dike construction in the mid twentieth century. Auger probes have, however, uncovered limited cultural materials buried at the site (Ritterbush 1991:71-71). More exact test excavations should be conducted at this important fur trade locality in order to ascertain the existence of fur trade remains and the damage to the site. Site boundaries should also be refined if possible. Before instituting any program of further study of this site, historical research, including oral histories, is necessary to document the entire range of activities that have occurred at the site since the fur trade era. This will assist in the interpretation of any archaeological remains found during test excavations.

3) Should the results of test excavations at 32PB63 and/or 32PB64 be successful in uncovering significant fur trade remains, these sites should be nominated (individually) to the National Register. Ample documentary evidence is available to indicate the significance of these sites, yet the archaeological potential and integrity has yet to be established.

4) Carry out a detailed study of previously investigated fur trade sites in surrounding regions (e.g., Minnesota, Manitoba, Saskatchewan) in order to identify the types, quantities, and relationships of artifacts and features within fur trade sites. This information should then be used to devise a model of the expected archaeological manifestations of similar sites. By adding documentary evidence of features and artifacts expected at fur trade sites in northeastern North Dakota (e.g., lists of trade goods - HBCA, B.160/d/1), this model can be made especially appropriate for identifying

different fur trade sites in the study area. This study should indicate what archaeological data are necessary to identify each of the property types listed above and how to distinguish one from another. For example, special emphasis should be put on determining how to differentiate trading sites (e.g., trading posts/forts and outposts) from mètis homes on the sole basis of archaeological remains. This study should also act as a guide to the appropriate methodologies for studying fur trade sites in the region.

5) Conduct careful excavations of the depression feature at Walhalla State Park (32PB66) in order to determine its possible relationship to the fur trade. As discussed in Ritterbush (1991:91-94) the origin and function of this feature is unknown, but may be related to early fur trade in or mètis occupation of the Pembina Escarpment area. Surface indications do not reveal its origin or function, thus, excavations are needed. Since little artifactual evidence is expected at this relatively small site/feature, very detailed, precise, and careful excavation procedures are necessary. Specialized analyses, such as soil composition and flotation studies, should be included in any excavations along with careful procedures such as fine mesh waterscreening and point proveniencing in order to maximize data recovery.

6) Determine the eligibility of the Kittson structure at the Walhalla State Park for the National Register of Historic Places. This structure was used in the fur trade of St. Joseph (Walhalla) for a number of years and was associated with fur trader Norman Kittson and others. It has, however, been removed from its original location, therefore, is lacking locational integrity. On the basis of this, it may not be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Nonetheless, in some instances (criteria consideration B), structures such as this can be placed on the National Register if it is the sole surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic period or event or possesses architectural value. These possible considerations should be studied by an historian and/or architectural historian and a determination made of whether this structure is significant in itself away from its original location.

7) Conduct test excavations and further study of 32PB62. Judging from surface remains and a private individual's collection of artifacts from this general locality this site has good potential for representing a fur trade post/fort or outpost (Ritterbush 1991:86-88). A study of this site should start with a thorough analysis of known private collection (or collections) of artifacts (Pete Kostiuk, Melanie Sodderfeldt) reported to be from this (or a neighboring) site. The provenience of each artifact in this collection(s) should be determined as exactly as possible through the informant(s). Test excavations should then be conducted in order to confirm (or disprove) the hypothesis that this is a fur trade site and determine its integrity.

8) Sponsor a documentary study of mètis activities in northern and eastern North Dakota during the nineteenth century.

9) Undertake or sponsor a documentary study of mètis trading sites in the context region which would summarize our existing knowledge of this aspect of the fur trade in northeastern North Dakota. This study should include a summary of historical and archaeological research conducted for such sites as

the Gingras site and that of Charles Grant's home and trading post. The results of this study may indicate the direction of future research into this topic.

10) Encourage additional interpretive use of the Gingras State Historic Site. The restored structures at this site should be continually maintained and protected from vandalism. The site should be clearly marked with signs and interpretive displays should be designed for visitors.

11) Attempt to relocate m̄tis homesites of the fur trade era in northeastern North Dakota.

12) Conduct test excavations at sites 32PB65 and 32PB68 in order to determine the origin, function, and cultural/temporal affiliation of each. These two are lumped because of their close proximity to one another and the possibility that each may be related to the fur trade and/or m̄tis occupation of the Pembina area (Ritterbush 1991:77-82,135-136).

13) Sponsor a study to document possible locations of m̄tis bison hunting camps in eastern and northern North Dakota. Since this would be an extensive endeavor the study should begin by locating potential site leads through documentary research, review of existing site records, and discussions with collectors/amateur archaeologists and landowners.

14) Should goal #13 be successful in locating potential m̄tis bison hunting campsites, archaeological reconnaissance survey should be conducted of those site leads deemed to be most productive.

15) Conduct test excavations at one or more possible fur trade outpost sites in order to determine what types of data might be expected to be retrieved from this property type. It is recommended that the site or sites chosen for this study include 32GF154 and 32GF155 (Ritterbush 1991:121-129). The former is probably the most manageable, however, the excavation of more than one site (especially within the same general area and possibly contemporaneous) will provide a more complete interpretation of such property types. In order to include 32GF155, analysis must also start with the active involvement of a historical archaeologist well versed in the settlement era of the region. This is necessary because the primary component at the site is a twentieth century home.

16) Sponsor a reconnaissance survey for minimally disturbed remains of Red River cart trails in eastern North Dakota. This study should make intensive use of the earliest General Land Office plat maps, the book The Red River Trails by Gilman, Gilman, and Stultz (1979), other early maps, other primary sources, aerial photographs, and oral information from past and present landowners and local historians. A study of the usefulness of stereo aerial photography in locating trails should be conducted in conjunction with this larger study. This analysis should identify the visible manifestations of trails on aerial photos (probably as linear depressions). Historical research and surface reconnaissance of areas identified as possible trails on the basis of stereo viewing of aerial photos should then be conducted to test the accuracy of this type of survey.

17) Sponsor a study to locate potential Indian campsites related to the fur trade. This study should involve detailed study of primary documents to locate potential site areas, review of existing site records for site leads, and interview of collectors/amateur archaeologists and landowners near possible site areas to locate additional site leads.

18) Should goal #17 be successful in locating potential Indian sites related to the fur trade, reconnaissance survey, and possibly test excavations, should be conducted. Resultant archaeological data should be interpreted in conjunction with available documentary evidence of Indian use of the context region during the fur trade era.

19) Conduct or sponsor a study to relocate salt extraction sites in northeastern North Dakota.

20) Institute a continual monitoring reconnaissance program of 32WA53 in order to locate possible additional evidence of fur trade activities at this site. The primary component at this site is the late nineteenth and earliest twentieth century townsite of St. Andrews. Although this town is not associated with the fur trade era, it deserves study for its role in the early settlement era of northeastern North Dakota. Such a study cannot be recommended here, however, the documentary and very limited archaeological data supporting the interpretation that this site may also have been the location of Henry's Park River post suggests that further study of 32WA53 should be undertaken in terms of the context topic of the fur trade of northeastern North Dakota. Any study of the settlement era component of this site should include analysis for a possible fur trade component. If this is not possible, further reconnaissance survey of the site may locate additional fur trade artifacts as they are plowed up in the field in which the site is located. Since privately owned, this must be done with the landowner's permission.

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