The Material Culture of Hudson's Bay Company Servants at Edmonton House in the Early 19th Century

by

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Abstract

Consumer markets were an important aspect of the westward expansion of European trading companies in North America in the early 19th century. This thesis is concerned with one particular consumer market, that of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company at Edmonton House. The servants at Edmonton House travelled across trade networks bringing with them a great variety of material culture. While living and working on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River, the servants of the HBC bought many goods which originated from around the world. These goods ranged from consumables: such as sugar, tea, rum and tobacco, to tools, such as axes, guns and knives. They also purchased fashion items such as beads, ribbons, and textiles. In the early 19th century the patterns in which these goods were consumed were recorded in a series of account books.

It is the focus of this thesis to examine how patterns of consumption changed after the merger of the Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay company in 1821. Throughout the early 19th century a consumer society persistent within the compound of Edmonton House. Still broader changes in the context of the fur trade influenced the development of the consumption on the northwest plains. Before 1821, a large appetite for consumer goods existed at Edmonton House. That being said, following the merger the total amount of goods purchased decreased slightly. Later, by 1833 the number of goods servants purchased from the company store increased dramatically. As the relationship between servants and the HBC was reorganised after the monopolisation of the trade in 1821, so too was the relationship between servants and consumer goods.

Although material consumption was important to the HBC and servants it is generally overshadowed by other topics of the fur trade. By examining the goods which were available to servants, and the quantities in which they were purchased, a greater understanding of the fur trade can be achieved. It is the position of this thesis that material culture was at the centre of relationships, such as the relationship between servants and their environment as well as the relationship between servants and the Hudson's Bay Company.

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Introduction

Nineteenth-century Edmonton House was a centre for consumption, not only for Indigenous groups, but for servants as well. Employment was the primary reason why individuals moved to the banks of the North Saskatchewan River to live. A central component to working at Edmonton House was acquiring material possessions from the Hudson's Bay Company. At Edmonton House, servants were a conduit for the flow of consumer goods from around the globe onto the banks of the North Saskatchewan River. Additionally, they were a market for those goods. Simply put, Edmonton House in the early 19th century was a consumer society. Labourers, tradesmen, clerks and officers carried their tastes and fashions with them into Indigenous territory where they met local women, and other servants who were born inland. The result of these encounters was the production of a unique culture of consumption. Fortunately, the Hudson's Bay Company took great care recording the items purchased from the company store. The details of these accounts reveal which goods servants depended on the HBC for, in addition to which articles servants in the HBC valued. It is likely that fur traders were always consumers, yet, the degree to which their demand for material culture existed within Edmonton House was subject to change over time. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine consumption patterns at Edmonton House from 1815 until 1832-3 using a selection of 5 account books from the Hudson's Bay Company.[1]

Consumption at Edmonton House

This begs the question: why is it important to examine the culture of consumption at Edmonton House? The essence of this query can be addressed by understanding that the

[1]Edmonton House Accounts 1815,1823-24,1832-33 HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.

consumption of material culture was important to both fur traders and the management of the Hudson's Bay Company. Simply put, servants purchased many things from the HBC stores. Moreover, servants made a great effort to emphasise their material worth. Carolyn Podruchny's book *Making the Voyageur World* reconstructs the world view of fur traders. In her analysis, Podruchny continually touches upon how material culture was central to the identity of fur traders. She argues that fur traders prided themselves on their appearance. For example, voyageurs would stop immediately before they reached a post to change into their best clothes. The aesthetic result of this performance was that voyageurs would appear to have canoed great distances with seemingly no effort.[2]

The management of the Hudson's Bay Company was concerned with the consumption of the company's servants. The HBC recorded their transactions with their employees in great detail. Gary Spraakman in his book *Management Accounting at the Hudson's Bay Company* examines the changes in the HBC's use of management accounting. The management accounting of the HBC was developed especially because of the absentee ownership structure of the HBC. By keeping more accurate records, the London committee was able to exert greater control over the trade in Rupert's Land.[3] In the years following 1821, the HBC was able to produce increasingly more detailed records. One of the things which the HBC tracked carefully was the debts held by employees. In addition to tracking how much was owed, the HBC carefully recorded exactly which goods were being purchased. The changes in the corporate

[2] Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 67.
[3] Gary Spraakman, *Management Accounting at the Hudson's Bay Company: From Quill Pen to Digitization* (Bingley, England: Emerald, 2015), 66.

practices of the HBC as they related to the impact on consumers are particularly interesting. The HBC's global capitalist practices produced a unique consumer society.

The relationship between the HBC and servants can be conceptualised as a material relationship. The material culture which was consumed by the servants living at Edmonton House was the physical manifestation of their labour. That is to say the labour of these men and women was transformed into goods, at the moment of purchase.[4] Indeed, servants worked for the HBC so that they could acquire material benefit. This benefit was characterised both by the pay which servants received and to the goods which they purchased. The material relationship between servants of the HBC and the Hudson's Bay Company is a central focus of this thesis.

Consumption has a strong relationship with broader societal changes. Consumption can be considered a driving force for change as well as a symptom of change. Broader changes within the context of the fur trade produced changes in the ways that servants procured and valued goods. After the merger of 1821 servants of the HBC relied increasingly on goods from the company stores. By 1832 the structure of the HBC was stabilised. The 1832-3 accounts indicate that the amount of goods purchased in 1832-3 was much greater than quantities bought in either 1815 or 1823-4. These changes were not the result of servants attempting to emulate officers, or other changes in demand. Rather it was the environmental, corporate and social contexts which shaped the evolving consumer culture of Edmonton House between 1815 and 1832.

After the merger of 1821 there was a small decrease in the amount of goods purchased from the company store at Edmonton House. Yet, by 1832-3 there was significant increase in

[4] Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," in *Consumption: Critical Concepts In the Social Sciences,* ed. Daniel Miller (London: Routledge, 2001), 37-8.

the amount of goods bought by servants. The implications of the increase in consumerism on the banks of the North Saskatchewan have been speculated on by John Foster. In his chapter "The Métis and the End of the Plains Buffalo in Alberta," Foster suggests that an increasing consumerism was inextricably tied to the destruction of buffalo populations.[5] That is to say that local populations had learned a taste for global goods and were willing to go to great lengths in order to secure trade goods from the HBC, even to the extent of slaughtering buffalo to extinction. In this light, the servant accounts at Edmonton House indicate that consumerism was a cultural institution for servants by at least 1832. While the ramifications of the development of global consumerism on the banks of the North Saskatchewan are not the focal point of this thesis, this study does make the case that consumption and material goods were important to HBC servants, and that changes in consumption reflected significant changes occurring on the northwestern plains during the first half of the 19th century.

The Early 19th Century Fur Trade

The period between 1815 and 1832-3 marks one of the most volatile periods in the trade. The years leading up to 1821 were characterised by a fierce and sometimes violent competition between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. In the year leading to 1815 the HBC and NWC were rapidly expanding their trade network into Indigenous territory. The result of this competition was an increased flow of Europeans, Euro-Canadians and global goods into the northwestern plains. By 1815 Edmonton House had become an important centre in the chain of trade. Edmonton House's location was specifically important to the trade since it was positioned well to procure a large amount of plains provisions to supply fur brigades in the more

[5]J.E Foster, "The Métis and the End of the Plains Buffalo in Alberta," John E. Foster, Dick Harrison, and I. S. MacLaren (eds.) *Buffalo* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 72-3.

beaver rich northern regions. One outcome of this competition, E.E Rich explains, is that the HBC offered incentives to potential employees in order to secure their services. Likewise, the HBC was careful to incentivise First Nations to trade with them.[6] This competition was understood by the management of these two companies to be a great inefficiency. Thus, the companies painfully merged into a single entity by 1821: the Hudson's Bay Company.

The years following 1821 and the merger of the HBC and the NWC can be understood as a period when the HBC enjoyed a temporary monopoly of the trade on the northwest plains. The consequence of this change was a dramatic transformation in the relationship between servants and the HBC. Thus, the HBC was able to exert greater control over the behaviors of their employees. As such, the HBC dismissed over half of their now bloated labour force. Another particular way the relationship between company and servants manifested itself was changes in the spending behaviors. The account book of 1815 indicates that servants purchased a significant amount of goods. Still, there was a particular focus on non-durable goods such as rum and tobacco. The 1823-4 accounts indicate that in the years following the mass exodus of fort populations, servants purchased fewer goods. Yet, by 1832-3 the nature of life in the fur trade on the North Saskatchewan had changed in such a way that servants purchased more goods from the HBC than in either of the 1815 or 1823 accounts.

[6] E. E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870* Vol. II (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), 173-176.

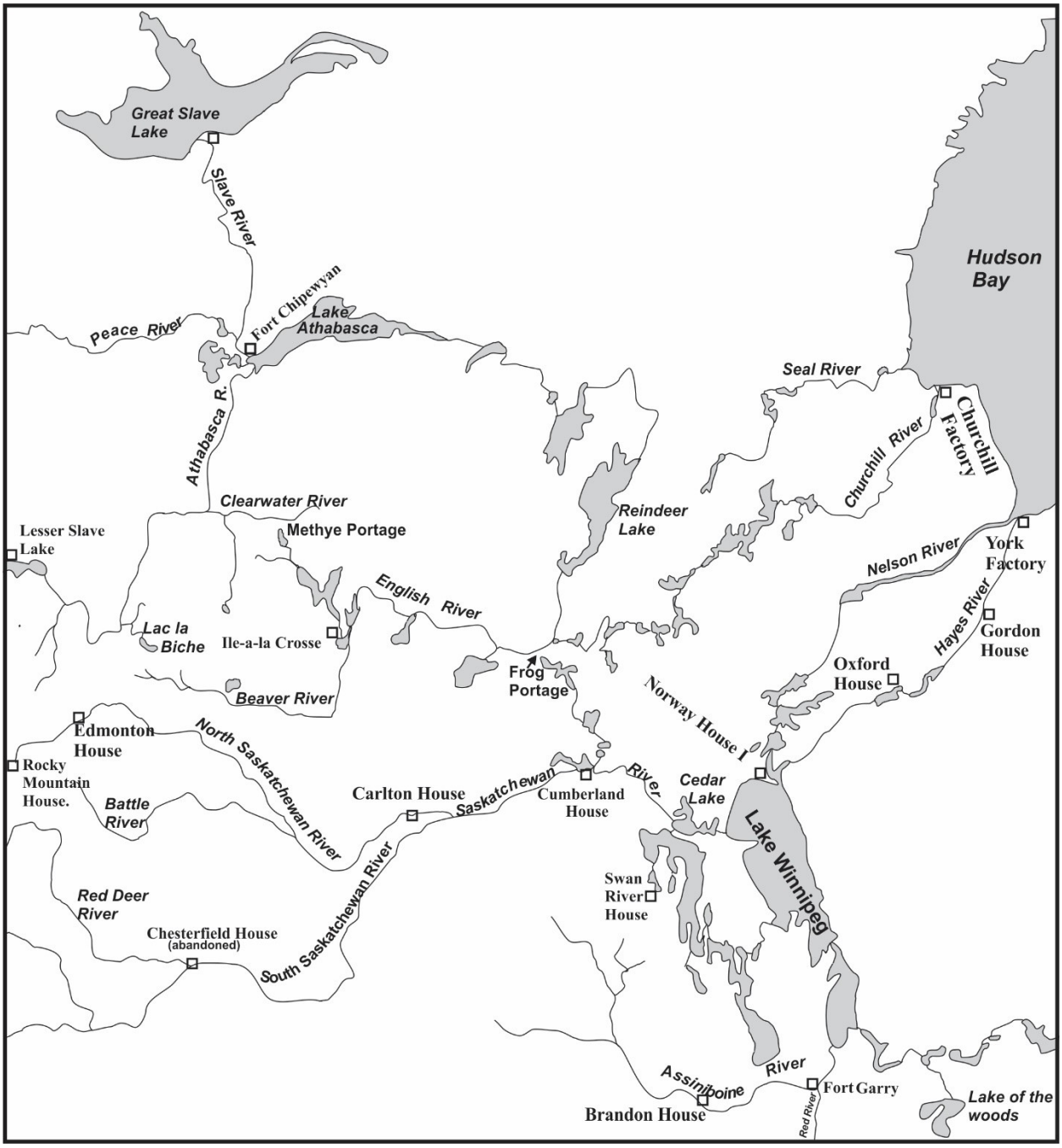

Figure 1. **The Western Interior of British North America in 1821**
Source: Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.) *Hudson's Bay Company, Edmonton House Journals, 1821-26* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), xviii.

These years (1815, 1823-24 and 1832-33) were selected for analysis in order to observe how changes to the corporate structure of the HBC impacted consumption patterns by HBC servants. The first account, 1815, was chosen to reflect servant consumption before the merger of 1821. The second set of accounts 1823-4 were selected to illustrate the contours of servant consumption in the period immediately after the monopolisation of the trade. The 1832-3 accounts on the other hand, provide an example of the longer-term effects of the 1821 merger. It is the argument of this thesis that the larger societal changes in the fur trade after 1821 account for the increase in the purchases of material goods by servants from the HBC. These changes include, the growth of fur trade families both within and without the post, and a reduction of servants' equipments.[7] These developments at Edmonton House influenced the value of material goods by increasing the cultural importance, and economic worth of these items.

Sources

The account books utilised in this study are not without their challenges, yet, the information they provide illustrates that servants had access to, as well as an appetite for a large variety of goods. The accounts which I have selected are: one account from the year 1815, the summer account for 1823, in addition to the account for the winter of 1823-4. Likewise, I have chosen the summer and winter accounts of 1832-3. One of the challenges of using these sources to track change over time is that the accounts themselves are not consistent in format over time.[8]

[7] Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 36. Before the merger of 1821, equipments were a fur trade standard. Servants received material goods in addition to wages in return for their services. The contents of such equipments are elusive, as their negotiation was often verbal. It is likely that most contracts included in addition to money, textiles, tobacco, clothing and other goods such as beads. Harvey Fleming, ed. *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1940), 26. In 1822 equipment were reduced to: two blankets, two yards of stroud, two cotton shirts and three pounds of tobacco unless one was a *boute* who would receive nine pounds instead of three.

[8] HBCA B.60/d/6-42. See Appendix III.

The most notable of these differences is between the 1815 account and the other four. In 1815, the contents of each account were recorded alphabetically regardless of the date on which transactions occurred.[9] As such, there is no indication of when during the year goods were purchased. The manifestation of this difference is that there is only one account for the entire year. By 1823-4 the year is split into two seasons: summer and winter. Moreover, the date on which each transaction occurred is also tracked.[10] In 1832-4 it is apparent that the HBC took steps to centralise their records, as these accounts did not record transactions on a post by post basis. Previously in 1815, the accounts were exclusive to servants living in Edmonton House. In the winter of 1823-4 the accounts include a handful of postmasters from the Saskatchewan district, members of the Bow River expedition, servants living in Rocky Mountain House in addition to servants from Edmonton House. However, the summer of 1823 accounts contained accounts for every servant in the Saskatchewan district. This likely reflects the movements which occurred during the summer, as servants could accumulate debts to the HBC from multiple transactions at different posts. By 1832-3 the account book was for the entire Saskatchewan district.[11]

My goal while recording the contents of these accounts was to keep the data collected as true to the source material as possible. As such, when recording the contents of the 1823-4 winter accounts, I chose to include the accounts of servants who undertook the Bow River expedition. The HBC thought that it was best to keep these records in the same book. Moreover, these servants likely would have acquired their goods from Edmonton House stores. Thus, I recorded them together. That being said, for the summer of 1823 accounts I did not

[9] HBCA B.60/ d/6.
[10] HBCA B.60/ d/14-15.
[11] HBCA B.60/ d/ 41-42.

include the accounts of every servant in the Saskatchewan District. Rather I only selected the accounts of servants which also appear in the 1823 winter accounts. Because the 1832-3 summer and winter accounts were recorded for the entire district, it is difficult to reconstruct exactly where each servant purchased their goods. These accounts are further complicated because there is no list indicating which servants resided at Edmonton House. Therefore, I chose to select servants based on the appearance within the Edmonton House journals for 1832. While this does not produce an exact replication of the servant population at Edmonton House, it does at the very least confirm that these servants did live at Edmonton House during that year. Therefore, when examining the data for 1832-3 in particular, one needs to bear in mind that this year especially should be considered a sample of servant purchases rather than an exact total.

Historians have approached other Hudson's Bay Company accounts in meaningful ways. Their approaches are a useful example of the potential of these sources. In "A Compendium of Material Culture," Jeff and Angela Gottfred argued that account books are a reliable source of information when examining the material culture of the fur trade.[12] While the servant accounts are not equipped to give information about the spatial arrangement of these goods, they do illustrate what goods were purchased, by whom and in what quantity. The accounts are particularly useful because they include objects that would not survive archaeologically.

Another effective use of servant accounts can be found in Sherry Ferrel Racette's dissertations on Métis dress.[13] Racette used these accounts to help reconstruct Métis fashion during the 19th century. By combining period descriptions of clothing, drawings, and account

[12] Jeff and Angela Gofffred, "A Compendium of Material Culture; Or, what we Dug Up," *The Northwest Journal Online,* http://www.northwestjournal.ca/X2.htm

[13] Sherry Farrell Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together: Clothing, Decorative Arts and the Expression of Métis and Half-Breed Identity* (PhD diss: The University of Manitoba, 2004).

books, Racette was able to relate the development of a distinct fashion to developments of a distinct Métis identity. While this work does use servant accounts as evidence, it does exclude a large portion of the goods which were purchased at company stores. Textiles were one of the goods which were purchased the most frequently. Still, other goods such as playing cards, musical instruments, rum and tobacco were also important to the development of a fur trade consumer culture. This thesis will examine the consumer culture of Edmonton House that extends beyond costume.

In order to analyse how changes in consumption relate to larger societal changes, I have compiled the information from the five accounts into a database. This database was created by recording the biographical information of the servants at Edmonton house during 1815, 1823-4 and 1832-3. The biographical information included occupation, country of origin, wage, age, and number of years engaged with the HBC. Once this data set was completed I listed all the goods which appear in each year's account purchased by that individual. When recording the goods which appeared I retained the closest description of what each good was. For example, rather that recording all cotton as the same, regardless of colour, I recorded the same amount of detail the clerks of the HBC did: red cotton, red cotton striped and red cotton corded. The production of the tables that appear in this thesis, however, collapsed these differences into one category for the purpose of brevity. Still, when analysing this data, every good purchased is recorded separately in order to maintain an appropriate level of accuracy. This allowed for an appreciation of how much variety was available for each type of item. I also entered every purchase, by individual servant, and the quantity of the good that was purchased. The subsequent database allowed for quantitative and comparative analysis. Within this data set I was able to sort differences in consumption by year, by servant, by occupation, by country of

origin and, of course, by good. This data was recorded in a way that allowed me to track changes in consumption over time. Additionally, this database also enables me to examine the differences in consumption of goods in relation to each other.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One will be a general overview of consumption patterns at Edmonton House. This chapter will outline the contours of consumption including the avenues which servants used to acquire goods. Moreover, this chapter will contextualise how many goods were purchased in relation to the years studied. Consumption patterns at Edmonton House were shaped by and large by three factors: the environmental context, the corporate context, and the social context. The environmental context shaped which goods were valuable and how goods could be acquired. The corporate context shaped which goods were available, and how the HBC responded to the material needs of servants. The social context is comprised of other factors such as country of origin, gender and social position of the servants. These factors worked in concert to produce the consumer culture of Edmonton House.

The environmental context of Edmonton House produced a culture of consumption which was dictated by the seasons. The summer of 1823 and 1832 accounts indicate that the majority of purchases from the HBC stores occurred in the month of July. During the remainder of the year few goods were purchased except for skins and gun powder. Between 1815 and 1832-3 considerable changes occurred in the relation between servants and the HBC. One of these changes was an increase in dependency on company stores to acquire goods. These changes were coupled with demographic changes. The 1823-4 accounts are the first from this sample of account books to include Canadian servants. These servants brought with them new desires. For example, in 1815 no capots were purchased, yet by 1823-4, 10 capots were purchased.

Moreover, by 1832-3, 30 capots were bought. These changes in patterns of consumption were shaped by environmental, corporate and social factors

Chapter Two examines rum and tobacco consumption at Edmonton House. I argue that the HBC's attitudes towards these goods in the post-merger era lead to policies which restricted servants' access to rum, while they continued to supply tobacco. In the 1815 account, both goods flowed freely. Yet, by 1832-3 the amount of rum present at Edmonton House was greatly reduced. I examine the materiality of these goods and their place within the fur trade using theories of value in order to understand why this change occurred. By analysing rum and tobacco together, one can contrast how the value of two seemingly similar goods can be quite distinct. I argue that the HBC's understanding of the value of these goods was a dominant factor in shaping whether or not servants had access to these goods. This chapter indicates that the corporate attitudes of the HBC had an impact on the lived reality of the servants of the HBC.

Chapter Three analyses the relationship between consumption and broader social changes at Edmonton House. The sale of textiles is the focus here. Before the merger of 1821 large families existed in Edmonton House. That being said, these families were often temporary, as few opportunities existed to maintain these family bonds beyond employment in the fur trade. Related to this was a moderate consumption of cloth and clothing. By 1823-4 many of the larger families at Edmonton House were dismissed. Similarly, the amount of cloth purchased was much less than in the 1815 accounts. By 1832-3 there was greater opportunity for the longevity of family bonds, in addition to an increase of women and children at the fort. Consequently, the amount of cloth and clothing purchased in the 1832-3 accounts was nearly double that which was purchased in 1815.

While the relationship between societal changes and consumption are not linear, the servant debt accounts at Edmonton House do indicate that there is some correlation between the two. This correlation was likely characterised by changes in the value of durable goods such as clothing and textiles. These changes in value were related to changes in composition of family life, and the development of informal markets which rendered the purchasing of textiles to be more prudent.

Taken as a whole this thesis will illustrate the relationship between a consumer market and the HBC as a mediator in the supply of global goods. More simply this can be understood as the relationship between servants and the HBC, and this relationship was subject to change over time. The changes which occurred in this culture of consumption between 1815 and 1832-3 were an indication of how life on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River changed during this period. That is, broader societal changes are in a reciprocal relationship with changes in consumption. At a cursory level this thesis will describe what the culture of consumption at Edmonton House was in the early 19th century.

Chapter 1

The Culture of Consumption at Edmonton House 1815-1833

During the early 19th century The Hudson's Bay Company recorded the debts held by their employees.[14] These debts were often the product of employees purchasing a variety of consumer items. The Hudson's Bay Company accounts of servants' consumption capture a moment of exchange. This moment can be conceptualised as an intersection between an object, and an HBC employee.[15] Although these accounts surely capture this moment, they leave the moments leading up to and after this intersection obscured.[16] The moment which was recorded within these accounts does not offer conclusive answers about the motivation for consumption, or the trajectory of a given good. It is also important to note that these lists do not explain how fur traders and their families felt about the things which they purchased. Still, these accounts do offer strong evidence that these servants and officers did exchange their labour and wages for these objects. Therefore, there is very strong evidence that these objects were real and were used at those times.[17] As such, it is obvious that material consumption was a significant aspect of fur trade life. Indeed, Edmonton House in the early 19th century can be understood as a being a consumer society.

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[14] As noted early the focus of the study are the Edmonton House accounts for 1815, 1823-24 and 1832-3. See HBCA B.60/d/6-42.

[15] Objects and people travel through time differently. It is important to maintain that objects do exist as separate from people. Essentially, some objects which are consumed cease to exist much more quickly than humans, while other objects survive thousands of years without extensive contact with humans.

[16] Sara Pennell, "Mundane Materiality, or Should Small Things be Forgotten? material culture, micro-histories and the problem of scale," In *History and Material Culture* edited by Karen Harvey (New York: Routledge, 2009), 176. Inventory lists do not give information about the spatial arrangement of objects.

[17] Jeff and Angela Gofffred, "A Compendium of Material Culture; Or, what we Dug Up," The Northwest Journal Online, http://www.northwestjournal.ca/X2.htm. Jeff and Angela Gottfred argue that inventories such as these servant accounts are a reliable source of information about what stuffs passed through a fur trade fort.

What was the culture of consumption at Edmonton House? This question can be most directly answered by quantifying what the contents of servant debt accounts were. I have chosen to examine five accounts, 1815, the summer of 1823, the winter of 1823-24, the summer of 1832 and the winter of 1832-33. Of course, the trajectory of goods in a fur trade families' life is often elusive. That said, discussing the purchases of fur traders within these accounts does illustrate what possible items were purchased, and how consumption changed over time. Consumption in Edmonton House underwent a transformation as a consequence of the 1821 merger between the North West Company and The Hudson's Bay Company. These changes were influenced by four factors. The first is the corporate structure of the HBC. Changes to the business of the fur trade had a great impact on how servants procured goods. The merger between the HBC and NWCo in 1821, and the monopolisation of the fur trade, dramatically altered the way fur traders consumed. This was in large part due to changes to the HBC's policy towards gratuities included within servant contracts. This, however, was not the only factor which shaped consumption patterns at Edmonton House. Environmental factors are somewhat of a stabilising force. The environmental context of the North Saskatchewan produced a distinct seasonal pattern of consumption which endured over time. In addition to this, cultural and occupational negotiations of power were omnipresent in the fur trade, and these negotiations were often expressed through the act of consumption. As the cultural demographics of the fur trade changed, so did consumption.

Fur traders living in Edmonton House, between 1815 and 1833 had an abundance of goods available to them. Still, the daily contours of life were subject to the scrutiny of their employers. For the HBC the bottom line was that the fur trade was a business. Therefore, the supply of goods was often predicated on the object's ability to procure profit. The context of

these accounts is that they are an intersection between the desire for goods by employees, and the desire for profits by the HBC. This moment of exchange can be conceptualised as a record of the material relationship between employees and their employer, on whom they depended for goods.[18] Because of this, consumption at Edmonton House was subject to change when the HBC changed, as well as when the tastes of its employees changed.

The most dramatic of these changes was the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company in 1821. With this change many customary practices, including subsidising families, and offering an "equipment" as a part of contracts were throttled by George Simpson and the Council of the Northern Department. This change was intended to increase profits for the HBC.[19] Subsequently, the contents of servants' and officer accounts also underwent a transformation. Before the merger of 1821, equipments were a fur trade standard. The contents of such equipments are elusive, as their negotiation was often verbal. It is likely that most contracts included in addition to money, textiles, tobacco, clothing and other goods such as beads.[20] In 1822, equipments were reduced to: two blankets, two yards of stroud, two cotton shirts and three pounds of tobacco unless one was a *boute* who would receive nine pounds instead of three.[21] The motivations of the HBC's management after 1821 were to eliminate equipments entirely. However, this was never achieved before 1833, due to fear of losing the

[18] Edith Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1870* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1. Burley makes the arguments that although fur trade posts where social spaces, their function was essentially as a business.

[19] Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District, Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821-1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), xxix- xxxi. Upon entering the fur trade, servants were entitled to equipment provided by their employer. This custom often included a variety of food and supply's. It appears that both the NWC and HBC provided equipments.

[20] Carolyn Podruchny*, Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006)*,* 36.

[21] Harvey Fleming, ed. *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1940), 26. Bout or Boutes was a French term for the steersmen of a boat. They were better paid than the middlemen.

trust of their staff, as equipments were an important tool for securing new labour.[22] Nevertheless, equipments were reduced, and the number of goods in employee debt books increased.

The Hudson's Bay Company looked to the material needs of their employees as a source of profit. As such, servants were encouraged to purchase what they needed from stores. Although they were offered reduced prices, the HBC could, in most years, expect to recover half its money on servant wages because of servant debts.[23] Justification for this change was thinly veiled in the rhetoric that the HBC was teaching its employees how to use their money soberly and economically, because it would force employees to use restraint and practice thrift.[24] By and large, the change which occurred was that the amount of goods purchased at stores increased. This increase might reflect an augmentation in the demand for goods, however, reduction of contract equipments is likely the more prevalent factor. Still, these servants' accounts bear witness to the material desires of HBC employees, and it is evident that a considerable demand did exist. Indeed, these accounts illustrate that a thirst for a variety of possessions existed and that those living at Edmonton House were able to quench their thirst by consuming a variety of things.

The servant accounts at Edmonton House prove that many goods were available for purchase. This is evidence that a market for these goods did exist. Not only was there a variety of different *kinds* of goods, but there was also a variety of choices about what could be purchased within each category.[25] Many different assortments of goods are noted in these accounts, each

[22] I chose 1833 because it was the date which my study ends, therefore, I will not offer a conclusive answer for when the practice of equipments was entirely eliminated.
[23] Michael Payne, "Labour at Lower Fort Garry: an animation history," (Unpublished manuscript, 1990), 24.
[24] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company,* 54.
[25] Edmonton House Books, 1815, 1823-4, and 1832-3. HBCA B.60/d/ 6-42.

recorded in black ink, often in great detail (see appendix III). That being said, the contents of these accounts are not a complete record of consumption in fur trade society. It is difficult to make assessments about the totality of goods purchased, as alternative markets did exist.

It is also difficult to determine who the average fur trader was. Fur traders came from many different regions, and countries, (see Appendix II), and wanted different things. Yet, it is clear that across social boundaries, people living in fur trade society wanted to buy things. As such, it is useful to outline which goods were obtainable at Edmonton House. The following is a table that lists the *kinds* of goods purchased in a given year, and also indicates that as time progressed more kinds of goods were purchased. This is likely, in part, a consequence of the change is the HBC's policy on servant debts. Still, this change does not account for the all differences in available goods between 1815 and 1832-33. It appears that the culture of consumption also changed. This transformation is indicated more clearly in table 1.2 which shows changes in the amounts of goods purchased.

Table 1.1 Summary of Goods Purchased by Employees at Edmonton House		
1815	1822-23	1832-33
Beads	Augers	Axes
Bells	Awls	Beads
Blankets	Axes	Bells
Buttons	Beads	Belts
Cloth	Bells	Blankets
Combs	Belts	Bridles
Dye	Blankets	Buttons
Files	Buttons	Capots
Food stuffs	Capots	Cloth
Gartering	Cloth	Combs
Gun flints, shot, and powder	Combs	Cups and saucers
Handkerchiefs	Coats	Dagger
Hats	Daggers	Dye
Kettles	Dye	Ear Rings
Knives	Ferrets	Empty kegs
Liquor	Fishing supplies	Ferrets
Looking glasses	Files	Finger Rings
Needles and thread	Fired steel	Fishing supplies
Paper	Food stuffs	Files
Pots	Garters	Frocks
Pans	Gun flints, shot and powder	Garters
Pipes	Handkerchiefs	Gun flints, shot and powder
Rings	Hats	Handkerchiefs
Scissors	Hose	Hats
Shawls	Jackets	Hose
Shoes	Kettles	Jew harps
Skins	Knives	Kettles
Soap	Liquor	Knives
Tobacco	Looking glasses	Liquor
Trousers	Needles and thread	Locks
Waistcoats	Pans	Looking glass
	Pins	Needles and thread
	Pipes	Pans
	Pots	Pins
	Playing cards	Pipes
	Ribbon	Plates
	Saws	Pots
	Scissors	Ribbon
	Skins	Razors
	Shawl	Scissors
	Shirt	Shawls
	Shoes	Shirts
	Soap	Shoes
	Spoons	Skins
	Thimbles	Soap
	Tobacco	Spoons
	Trousers	(Stessens)
	Vests	Fired steel
	Waistcoats	Tobacco
		Trousers
		Vests
		Violin strings
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815,1823-24,1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.		

Table 1.2 Consumption Patterns According to Account Books					
Year, Number of accounts (men)	**1815 (27)**	**Summer 1823 (33)**	**Winter 1823-24 (57)**	**Summer 1832 (28)**	**Winter 1832-33 (32)**
Ammunition	--	--	100 rounds	--	2108 rounds
Awls	--	--	2	--	12
Beads	2 lbs	10 ½ lbs	7 9/16 lbs	24 lbs, 12 bundles, 4 Necklaces	8 5/8lbs 3 bundles
Bells	10	1 lbs	1 lbs	6 doz	--
Belts	--	2	--	24	6
Blankets	31	15	7	39	7
Buttons	29 doz	9 doz	1 doz	18 doz	1 doz
Capots	--	4	6	29	1
Cloth	344 3/8 yds	207 ¼ yds	42 5/8 yds	543 ¼ yds	52 13/24 yds
Coffee	--	1 lbs	--	4 lbs	--
Combs	36	7	11	41	3
Coats	--	--	1	--	--
Cups and saucers	--	--	--	2	--
Daggers	--	--	4	5	2
Ear Rings	--	--	--	14 pairs	6 pairs 1 person
Empty kegs	--	--	--	9	
Ferrets	--	8 yds ½ roll	7 yds	179 yds, 1 roll	19 yds, 1 roll
Files	9	1	4	17	2
Fired steel	--	--	4	--	5
Forks	--	--	--	3	--
Frocks	--	--	--	5	--
Garters	3 4/5 Gw	1 ½ yds 1 roll	20 yds ½ roll	20 rolls, 5 yds	8 ½ roll, 4 yds
Gun flints	49	--	3 1/3 doz	40	81
Gun shot/ balls	47 1/2lbs	27 lbs	29 lbs	--	95 1/12 lbs
Gun powder	30 1/4lbs	16 lbs	21 1/4lbs	--	50 ¼ lbs
Handkerchiefs	41	36	6	117	3
Hats	27	24	--	11	4
Hose	--	3 pairs	--	8 pairs	--
Jackets	--	1	1	--	--
Jew harps	--	--	--	6	--
Kettles	3	3	4	13	3
Knives	193	20	43	129	16
Looking glasses	10	3	1	4	--
Locks	--	--	--	1	--
Needles	106	259	--	965	30
Pans, pots, plates	23	5	3	19	--
Pepper	--	½ lbs	--	10 lbs	--
Pins	--	7	--	16 oz	--
Pipes	21	130	12	240	28
Playing cards	--	--	1	--	--
Razors	--	--	--	7	--
Ribbons	--	72 yds	--	199 7/12 yds, 1 roll	12 yds
Rings	10	--	--	84	192

Year, Number of accounts	**1815 (27)**	**Summer 1823 (33)**	**Winter 1823-24 (57)**	**Summer 1832 (28)**	**Winter 1832-33 (32)**
Rum	109 2/3 gal.	15 ½ gal.	9 7/16 gal.	16 ¼ gal.	3 13/16 gal.
Salt	7/10 of a brick	½ gal.	7 lbs	0	28 ¼ gal., 13 lbs
Scissors	1	2	--	8	--
Shawls	11	11	1	49	4
Skins	56	--	104	--	141 1/2
Shirts	48	52	14	124	4
Shoes	13	4	--	8	30
Soap	60 ¼ lbs	38 ½ lbs	--	105 lbs	15 lbs
Spoons	2	3	2	15	--
Sugar	102 lbs 149 ¼ loafs	150 lbs 12 7/8 loafs	96 (two men)	13 ½ kegs, 90 1/8 loafs, 175 lbs	--
Tea	4 1/4	9 3/4	16 lb	47 lbs	--
Thimbles	--	2	--	6	6 (1 person)
Thread	4 15/16 lbs	5 7/18 lbs 2 oz	3/8 lbs	18 lbs, 10 oz	5/8 lbs
Tobacco	235 ¼ lbs	43 1/3 lbs 3 carrots	97 11/12 6 1/3 carrots	103 lbs, 171 carrots	84 lbs 14 carrots
Tools: augers, saws, axe heads ect.	--	2	2	1	5
Trousers	10	22	2	32	1
Vests	--	3	--	9	2
Vermillion	¼ lbs	--	¼ lbs	4 ¼ lbs	4 1/8 lbs
Violin strings	--	--	--	8	--
Waistcoats	1	3	--	--	--

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815,1823-24,1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42. Not every good which was purchased is included in these tables. For example, tobacco boxes, guns, horses, muskrat darts and powder horns were purchased. However, for the sake of brevity they were not included because often their purchases were singular. I attempted to preserve distinctions in unit of measurement when possible. As such, food stuffs were omitted as different food stuffs were purchased in different units making it difficult to produce a succinct category. Finally, in the pots, pans, and plates category the most popular item was pots, and for tools, axe heads were the most common.

Table 1.1 and 1.2 indicate that both the amount of goods available had augmented, and that the total number of goods purchased increased. This pattern of consumption is congruent with the effects which occurred due to the HBCs change of policy towards equipments and gratuities. After 1821, servants had to purchase more of their goods from the company stores. However, an explanation for why the quantity of choice increases remains elusive. It is likely that the HBC had grown more efficient in its trade networks resulting in more goods in the interior.

Consider the appearance of *Jews' harps* (jaw-harps) and violin strings in the 1832-3 accounts. Even though these goods do not appear in the 1815 or 1823-4 accounts, it does not necessarily indicate that Edmonton House was devoid of these musical instruments in this period. Music culture in trading posts was thriving long before the merger of 1821. Indeed, there is evidence that the first bowed instrument in an HBC post came as early as 1678.[26] Likewise jaw-harps were incredibly popular in Europe and across the globe. Jaw-harps in particular had qualities which were appreciated by servants because of their durability, compact size, and ease of use. Servants would have surely brought their own jaw-harps with them into the country.[27] After all, music and dancing were an important aspect of post life. Similarly, articles such as locks and razors, which only appear in1832-3 probably existed in Edmonton House before their sale in the company store. Yet, their eventual appearance, gives some indication that the HBC was receptive to the demands of their employees. Of course, this theory is based on the assumption that the HBC was purely motivated by profit. Moreover, changes in the demand of servants could also affect consumption patterns.

Some goods decrease in quantity. Waist coats, for example, are purchased in each of the years except for 1832-3. Was this a function of change in demand, or changes by the HBC? Additionally, the quantity of rum decreases over time. This change is perhaps the most dramatic of all the items available. Was this a change a consequence of change in demand or supply? Other psychotropic goods such as tobacco do not experience the same decline. There is no indication that servants wanted less of either item. Rum and tobacco were both profitable for the company. If there was a change in supply initiated by the HBC it was not entirely motivated by

[26] Daniel Robert Laxer, *Listening to the Fur Trade: Sound, Music, and Dance in Northern North America 1760-1840* (PhD diss: University of Toronto 2015), 308-315.
[27] Ibid, 338-9.

profit. In any case, the changing relationship between the HBC and its employees after the 1821 merger did have repercussions on the consumption patterns of servants and masters.

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 do not illustrate the totality of the goods available at Edmonton House as not every good in stock was purchased in a given year. Moreover, some goods existed in fur trade forts by other means, such as extralegal trade, gifting, or acquisition prior to engagement with the HBC. An effective example of how complex consumption patterns at Edmonton House were, is a purchase which occurred in the winter of 1823. On November 2, 1823, Donald McDonald purchased a pack of playing cards. That year he was the only individual to purchase playing cards.[28] Additionally, his is the only example of such a purchase in any of the five selected account books. It is entirely possible that he was the only person to play cards or to own playing cards in this time span. This however, is not likely, as playing cards are recorded as being a common pastime for those working and living in fur trade societies.[29]

While McDonald was the only person to purchase playing cards in 1823, he might not have been the only person to own them. A deck of cards could have been bought in a different year which is not subject to my study. Playing cards could presumably last a considerable amount of time while maintaining their functionality. Donald McDonald continues to appear on Edmonton House accounts in the winter of 1832-33.[30] Might his cards have survived until then? Another possibility is that a deck of cards could have been purchased by a servant before their service and been brought inland along with the servant. After all, a deck of cards is small, and therefore easily carried long distances. Perhaps other servants did not need to purchase cards

[28] HBCA B.60/ d/15.
[29] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company,* 76.
[30] HBCA B.60/ d/41-42.

because they already owned a deck. It is also entirely possible that McDonald's cards were a gift for a friend.

A central aspect of playing cards which requires further consideration is that they are conducive to sociability.[31] A deck of cards can certainly be used alone. However, playing cards is a social activity which allows for groups of people to play together. Therefore, Donald McDonald's playing cards might have been used by multiple groups of people who were living in Edmonton House who consequently might not have needed their own deck. The example of playing cards is evidence that table 1.1 and 1.2 does not offer the complete story behind fur trade consumption.

[31] Janet E. Mullin, "'We Had Carding': Hospitable Card Play and Polite Domestic Sociability among the Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of Social History* (2009), 1001.

Figure 2. Source: Cornelius Krieghoff, "French Canadian Habitants Playing at Cards," 1848. National Gallery of Canada. Notice that playing cards is a social activity which might not have excluded women and children. Moreover, cards might be included with other activities such as eating, drinking and smoking.

However problematic, these debt accounts indicate that a wealth of variety within each kind of good existed. No object exemplifies this abundance and variety of choice more effectively than the handkerchief.[32] Table 1.3 displays the variety of options fur traders and their families had when choosing a handkerchief at Edmonton House. Handkerchiefs exemplify variety well because of their popularity. Nearly every fur trader would have worn handkerchiefs. The popularity of this item is by and large due to the versatility of a handkerchief. Handkerchiefs were sometimes worn as improvised summer caps. They were folded and placed

[32] HBCA B.60/d/6-42.

over the head and tied together on the forehead, and they could also be worn as a headband with a bow in the front. Both techniques could be employed to restrain or organise a fur trader's hair, which was typically long. Handkerchiefs were also worn around the neck. Handkerchiefs were also utilitarian, they were used for wiping sweat from foreheads, blowing noses and trickling cold water over the head in the summer heat.[33]

Figure 3. Source: Peter Rindisbacher, "Two of the Companies Officers Travelling in a Canoe Made of Birchbark Manned by Canadians," 1823. National Gallery of Canada. This painting depicts how fur traders may have worn handkerchiefs. A man to the left is wearing a handkerchief on his head, and the man in the middle of the canoe is wearing one around his neck.

[33] Angela Goffred, "What Voyageurs Wore: Voyageur Clothing from Head to Toe, 1774-1821," *The Northwest Journal Online.* http://www.northwestjournal.ca/XVII1.htm

Table 1.3 Handkerchiefs Purchased 1815-33		
1815	**1823-24**	**1832-33**
Handkerchief, cotton **(3)**	Handkerchief, azure blue **(2)**	Handkerchief, silk bandana **(14)**
Handkerchief, fancy cotton **(1)**	Handkerchief, light checked malabar **(4)**	Handkerchief, silk black **(5)**
Handkerchief, linen **(8)**	Handkerchief, light checked pullicat **(2)**	Handkerchief, 4/4 cotton **(87)**
Handkerchief, soosee **(29)**	Handkerchief, silk bandana **(2)**	Handkerchief, muslin **(14)**
	Handkerchief, blue cotton bandana **(1)**	
	Handkerchief, bernagore cotton blue **(5)**	
	Handkerchief, silk black **(5)**	
	Handkerchief, britannica **(7)**	
	Handkerchief, turkey red **(8)**	
	Handkerchief, fancy silk **(1)**	
	Handkerchief, silk soosee **(2)**	
	Handkerchief, cotton fancy romal **(1)**	
41	**40**	**120**
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815,1823-24,1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42. Please note that the number of people who held accounts each year is different. It is not useful to draw conclusions about changes in consumption outside of the evidence of choice.		

Figure 4: "Man's handkerchief," 19th century. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Objects such as handkerchiefs complicate what these accounts mean. This is because handkerchiefs in particular were items which were extremely popular among all servants regardless of national origin. By the early 19th century, handkerchiefs were not gender or age specific, as men and women bought and wore them. Moreover, both adults and children wore them.[34] This is an indication that the final destination of an object might not have been the person who held the account. The fact that these accounts are only in the name of men often conceals the evidence for the gendered use of an item. As such, it is important not to assume that every purchase was for men since consumption was an important aspect of family life in fur trade forts. Women and children surely coveted new possessions. That being said, there were clearly articles of masculine consumption. Many objects listed in servants' accounts include the adjective "men's". For example, hats, shoes, and hose were often described as "men's."

Handkerchiefs were not the only items distinguished by their variability. An assortment of options existed for multiple objects. Generally, it appears that as time advanced, more options for consumption became available. However, this was not always the case. Blankets, for example, are one of the objects which was consistently available in different qualities. From year to year there was always a considerable amount of choice for consumers who were purchasing a blanket. That being said, the availability of goods was far from stable over time. It appears that the availability of goods might fluctuate from year to year and especially from season to season. The availability of choice is further complicated because there is no reliable metric for tracking the quality of a particular good over time.

[34] John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 40. Moreover, figure 1 depicts a little girl wearing a handkerchief.

The most reliable approach to analysing consumption patterns is on an object by object basis as, unlike blankets, the variety of some objects did increase or decrease substantially over time. For example, in 1815 there were eight varieties of gartering available. This number would diminish over time. By 1833, only four varieties were purchased. It is difficult to know if this is the result of a change in fashion, or if the HBC exercised greater control over the market and chose to limit options. Beads, however, indicate a different change. The number of different styles of beads purchased increases over time. There was only one example of beads in 1815, but by the winter of 1833 there were eleven options available.[35]

Table 1.4 Beads Purchased 1815-33

1815	1823-24	1832-33
Beads, Common **(2 lbs)**	Beads, blue common (**9 3/4 lbs)**	Beads, enamel white **(6 ½ lbs)**
	Beads, white **(3 lbs)**	Beads, enamel blue (**1 lbs)**
	Beads, boon agate **(1)**	Beads, white (**2 lbs)**
	Beads, moccasin **(4 lbs)**	Beads, blue (**7 lbs)**
	Beads, stripped enamelled **(1/4 lbs)**	Bead necklace **(4)**
		Beads, common coloured **(10 lbs)**
		Beads, bar corn **(2 bundles)**
		Beads, Moccasin **(6 bundles)**
		Beads, agate **(3 bundles)**
		Beads, common round **(1 5/8 lbs)**
		Beads, cotton abrise (**1 1/12 lbs)**
2 lbs	**18 lbs**	**32 5/8 lbs, 15 bundles, and 4 necklaces**

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24,1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.

[35] Edmonton House Accounts, HBCA B.60/ d/ 6-42.

It is obvious that those living in Edmonton House had an abundance of goods available to them. This runs counter to the narrative that consumer societies only exist in urban environments.[36] While it is obvious that the consumption at Edmonton House is different from urban consumption, it is clear that a comparable appetite for consumption did exist. A variety of goods do appear on these accounts and quite often these goods were purchased in significant quantities. The variety of goods available, and the quantities that were purchased allowed for a series of complex material relationships to take place, such as the relationship between servants and their kin. As such, the evidence for the presence of objects is simultaneously the evidence for other complex social relationships.[37] These social relationships as described by objects are intense, and multifaceted. This is, in part, because the consumption of objects is a sensory experience. While it can be linguistic, it is often a wordless experience. Buying and using goods is meaningful in many unspoken ways producing complex entangled reality. This sensory reality is exemplified best by the relationship between consumption and the environment. Tables 1.4 through 1.8 display how consumption differentiated between cultural groups based on country of origin over time. These tables also indicate that differences in consumption varied according to the season of the year. As such, the importance of the environment in sculpting consumption merits further discussion.

[36] Belen Moreno Claveries, "Luxery, Fashion and Peasantry: the introduction of new commodities in rural Catalan," In *the Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times,* Edited by Beverly Lemire (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010), 74. Belen Moreno Claverias effectively argues that large scale and meaningful consumption does exist outside of urban centers. Her example of rural Catalan proves, that although distinct, rural farmers did have an appetite for fancy things and luxury.

[37] Karen Harvey, "Introduction: practical matters," In *History and Material Culture* edited by Karen Harvey (New York: Routledge, 2009), 2.

Table 1.5 Consumption in 1815 According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	**European (23)**	**HBC (3)**	**Freeman**
Beads	--	2 lb	0	--
Belts	--	--	--	--
Blankets	--	28	1	--
Buttons	--	24 doz.	5 doz.	--
Capots	--	--	--	--
Cloth	--	290 1/8 yd	49 3/8 yds	--
Combs	--	31	5	--
Daggers	--	--	--	--
Ear Rings	--	--	--	--
Ferrets	--	--	--	--
Files	--	9	0	--
Garters	--	2 4/5 gw.	1 yd	--
Gun flints	--	49		--
Gun shot	--	41 ¼ lbs	0	--
Gun powder	--	26 lbs	4 ¼ lbs	--
Handkerchiefs	--	33	7	--
Hats	--	26	3	--
Kettles	--	3	0	--
Knives	--	14 2/3 doz.	14	--
Looking glasses	--	8	2	--
Needles	--	101	5	--
Pipes	--	9 ½ doz.	0	--
Ribbons	--	--	--	--
Rings	--	10/24 gw	0	--
Rum	--	102 7/16 gal.	3 ¾ gal.	--
Shawls	--	10	4	--
Shirts	--	40	7	--
Shoes	--	11 pairs	0	--
Skins	--	47	9	--
Soap	--	56 ¼ lbs	16 lbs	--
Sugar	--	80 lbs 126 ¼ loafs	15 lbs 27 ¼ loafs	--
Tea	--	4 ¼ lbs	1 ½ lbs	--
Thread	--	4 7/16 lbs	11/16 lbs	--
Tobacco	--	212 ½ lbs	22 ¼ lbs	--
Trousers	--	7	0	--
Vermillion	--	¼ lbs	0	--
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815 HBCA B.60/d/6. The figure in brackets indicates the number of accounts in that demographic. Moreover, the category European in tables, 1.5 to 1.9 include men from England, Ireland, Scotland and the Orkneys in various numbers.				

Table 1.6 Consumption in the Summer of 1823 According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian (14)	**European (11)**	**HBC (1)**	**Freeman (7)**
Beads	2 lbs	8 ½ lbs	0	0
Belts	1	1	0	0
Blankets	4	9	1	0
Buttons	2 lbs	7	0	0
Capots	3	0	1	0
Cloth	76 yds	107 ½ yds	13 yds	11 yds
Combs	1	6	0	0
Daggers	--	--	--	--
Ear Rings	--	--	--	--
Ferrets	½ roll	8 yds	0	0
Files	0	1	0	0
Garters	2 rolls	½ roll	0	½ roll
Gun flints	--	--	--	--
Gun shot	8 lbs	15 lbs	0	0
Gun powder	8 lbs	16 lbs	0	0
Handkerchiefs	14	14	1	5
Hats	8	26	1	4
Kettles	1	0	0	2
Knives	12	8	0	0
Looking glasses	1	8	0	0
Needles	142	101	30	25
Pipes	1 1/3 doz.	9 ½ doz.	0	0
Ribbons	39 yds	42 yds	0	0
Rings	--	--	--	--
Rum	3 4/7 gal.	5 7/12 gal.	0	0
Shawls	8	0	2	0
Shirts	21	37	0	5
Shoes	3	2	0	1
Skins	--	--	--	--
Soap	18 ½ lbs	16 lbs	2 lbs	3 lbs
Sugar	54 lbs	12lbs, 12 7/8 loafs	0	20 lbs
Tea	4 lbs	7 ¾ lbs	0	0
Thread	2 31/36 lbs	1 ¾ lbs	½ lbs	1 lbs
Tobacco	14 ¼ lbs	41 1/8 lbs	0 lbs	3 ¼ lbs
Trousers	8	11	1	1
Vermillion	--	--	--	--
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1823, HBCA B.60/d/14.				

Table 1.7 Consumption in the Winter of 1823-4 According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian (27)	**European (18)**	**HBC (3)**	**Freeman (9)**
Beads	2 ½ lbs 4 bundles	9/16 lbs	0	½ lbs
Belts	--	--	--	--
Blankets	1	1	1	4
Buttons	1 doz.	0	0	0
Capots	2	3	1	0
Cloth	6 1/2 yds	20 11/12 yds	0 yds	10 3/8 yds
Combs	6	6	2	0
Daggers	2	0	0	1
Ear Rings	--	--	--	--
Ferrets	4 yds	0	0	3 yds
Files	2	2	0	1
Garters	10 ½ yds	½ roll	0	6 yds
Gun flints	19	3	0	1 ½ doz.
Gun shot	2 2/3 lbs	17 lbs	0	9 1/3 lbs
Gun powder	5 ¼ lbs	11 lbs	1 lbs	5 lbs
Handkerchiefs	1	4	0	1
Hats	--	--	--	--
Kettles	0	4	0	0
Knives	17	24	3	1
Looking glasses	1	1	0	0
Needles	--	--	--	--
Pipes	6	0	0	6
Ribbons	--	--	--	--
Rings	--	--	--	--
Rum	3 3/4 gal.	5 9/16 gal.	0	1/8 gal.
Shawls	1	0	0	0
Shirts	5	4	1	5
Shoes	--	--	--	--
Skins	61	34	2 1/2	3
Soap	0 lbs	1 lbs	0	0
Sugar	56 lbs 1 person	40 lbs (1 person)	0	0
Tea	8 lbs	4 lbs	0	0
Thread	0	¼ lbs	0	1/8
Tobacco	46 1/6 lbs, 2 carrots	37 ¾ lbs, 4 2/3 carrots	½ lbs	7 lbs
Trousers	1	1	0	0
Vermillion	¼ lbs	0	0	0
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1823-24, HBCA B.60/d/15.				

Table 1.8 Consumption in the Summer of 1832 According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian (14)	**European (8)**	**HBC (1)**	**Freeman (3)**
Beads	12 ½ lbs, 9 bundles	5 ½ lbs 4 necklaces	1 ½ lbs	1 ½ lbs 3 bundles
Belts	13	8	0	3
Blankets	21	6	2	8
Buttons	8 doz.	7 doz.	0	0
Capots	16	6	1	5
Cloth	274 ¼ yds	150 5/12 yds	25 yds	52 yds
Combs	21	8	0	3
Daggers	3	2	0	1
Ear Rings	8	3 pairs	0	3 pairs
Ferrets	131 yds	51 yds	0	48 yds
Files	8	2	0	1
Garters	15 yds	5 yds, 2 roll	0	6
Gun flints	40	0	0	0
Gun shot	--	--	--	--
Gun powder	--	--	--	--
Handkerchiefs	61	36	4	14
Hats	11	1	0	2
Kettles	7	3	2	1
Knives	72	29	7	17
Looking glasses	2	2	0	0
Needles	535	230	60	170
Pipes	10 ½ doz.	7 doz.	3 doz.	2 doz.
Ribbons	108 7/12 yds	33 1/3 yds	0	18 yds
Rings	5 doz.	0	0	0
Rum	11 ¼ gal.	3 gal.	0	3 ¼ gal.
Shawls	26	8	2	7
Shirts	69	35	3	18
Shoes	6	3	0	0
Skins	--	--	--	--
Soap	55 ½ lbs	38 ½ lbs	6 lbs	12 lbs
Sugar	50 lbs, 32 9/16 lbs of loaf 8 kegs	75 lb 20 13/16 lbs of loaf, 2 ¼ keg	¼ keg	50 lbs, 3 kegs, 12 ¾ loafs
Tea	28 lbs	20 lbs	3 lbs	2 lbs
Thread	11 ¾ lbs, 4 oz	4 ½ lbs 3 oz	½ lbs	2 lbs , 1 oz
Tobacco	42 5/8 lbs 89 carrots	50 3/16 lbs 40 carrots	9 ½ lbs 6 carrots	9 13/16 lbs, 18 carrots
Trousers	16	8	1	4
Vermillion	2 ¼ lbs	1 lbs	0 lbs	½ lbs
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1832, HBCA B.60/d/41.				

Table 1.9 Consumption in the Winter of 1832-3 According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian (14)	**European (9)**	**HBC (2)**	**Freeman (3)**
Beads	4 lbs	2 5/8 lbs	0	0
Belts	1	2	0	1
Blankets	0	5	1	0
Buttons	1 doz.	0	0	0
Capots	0	1	0	0
Cloth	14 1/6 yds	19 5/12 yds	11 1/6 yds	1 yds
Combs	0	2	1	0
Daggers	0	2	1	0
Ear Rings	0	0	6 pairs	0
Ferrets	0	16 yds (2 accounts)	1 roll	0
Files	0	2	0	0
Garters	0	4 yd 8 roll (2 accounts)	0	0
Gun flints	29	24	10	0
Gun shot	63 ¾ lbs	20 1/3 lbs	0 lbs	2 lbs
Gun powder	18 ½ lbs	19 lbs	3 lbs	3 ¾ lbs
Handkerchiefs	1	1	0	0
Hats	2	3	0	0
Kettles	0	2	1	
Knives	1	7	5	0
Looking glasses	0	1	0	0
Needles	6	0	0	0
Pipes	1 1/3 doz.	1 doz.	0	0
Ribbons	2 yds	10 yds	0	0
Rings	2	9 doz.	1 doz.	0
Rum	1 5/8 gal 2 ½ pints	1 ¼ gal., ½ pint	0	3 ½ pints
Shawls	0	0	0	0
Shirts	0	4	0	0
Shoes	9	15	1	5
Skins	64	32 1/2	5	14
Soap	0	0	3 lbs	0
Sugar	--	--	--	--
Tea	--	--	--	--
Thread	0	1/8 lbs	0	0
Tobacco	35 lbs 3 carrots	20 ½ lbs 3 carrots	10 ½ lbs 2 carrots	2 ½ lbs 1 carrot
Trousers	0	1	0	0
Vermillion	¾ lbs	7/8 lbs	½ lbs	0
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/42.				

The environment is an elusive concept to communicate. Often a satisfying definition of the environment does not exist. Therefore, for the purposes of my argument the environment should be understood in two ways: first as climate - that is the weather, temperature and other atmospheric conditions. The second way is to understand the environment as space. The physical place can be considered an essential quality of the environment. This might include the geography, both natural and man modified, such as transportation routes.

The environment was an important variable in the consumption patterns at Edmonton House and it was also common denominator. In essence every one living at Edmonton House was subjected to the same environmental factors. That being said, the ways in which people at Edmonton House experienced the environment could be vastly different. This is, in part, because objects mitigate the relationship between a person and their immediate surroundings.[38] For example, warm clothes were central to remaining safe during the winter. The differences in fur trade families' ability to procure and produce goods created different experiences with the environment.[39] These factors in concert create an interesting dynamic. Not only is the environment constantly impacting human life, it is also changing, creating unique seasonal patterns of consumption.

The climate at Edmonton House often received the attention of the officers who kept fort journals. The temperature, and wind direction were commonly recorded within Edmonton

[38]Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800,* translated by Brian Pearce (Cambridge, 2000), 108. Daniel Roche, argues that tolerance to the cold or heat is not a biological fact. Rather it is the result of cultural conditioning. This relationship between people and the environment is often amplified by access to material goods which mitigate the environmental factors, such as stoves or lamps.

[39] Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 197-98. Robert S. DuPlessis, argues effectively that the environment was an important factor in determining how European material consumption was shaped within different colonial contexts.

House journals. Yearly reports also included commentary about the climate. John Rowand commented in his 1823-24 yearly report for Edmonton House that

> I have never experienced in any part of the Country such an astonishing variation in the Weather, last fall was uncommonly mild the beginning of December we had snow, and in the latter part frequent showers of rain, the beginning of January was intensely cold the last ten days of the same month was again mild; February was generally cold, and the weather in the month of march was changeable, and upon the whole the Winter was cold and the spring very backward.[40]

This passage confirms that the climate at Edmonton House was subject to cycles. Still, the commentary about the force of the cold merits further observation. For example, on Monday the 12th of January of 1824, it was recorded that the weather was so intensely cold that the men that day were required "to be well clothed otherwise they run the risk of getting frostbit."[41] Indeed, the material goods a servant purchased were crucial to mitigating the power of the elements. Without being well clothed the loss of life or limb was a chronic possibility. This point is further exemplified within the servant accounts.

The account books for the summer of 1823 and the winter of 1823-24 as well as the summer of 1832 and winter of 1832-33 reflect the influence of the climate as it changed over the year. Unfortunately, the 1815 account book was not split into seasons, therefore no environmental analysis is possible for that year. The two later years indicate that there was a distinct cycle of consumption. In the winters of 1823-24, and 1832-33, a few items are purchased which did not appear in the respective summers of those years. The most notable of such items are the hides of animals. Winter necessitated the consumption of leather. Whether it was buffalo or red deer skins, during the winter animal hides were both fashionable and essential

[40]Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1821-26,* 149.
[41] Ibid, 150.

to keeping warm. Undeniably, the most popular choice in animal skin was moose.[42] During the winter of 1823-24, 69 moose skins of various sizes were purchased. This comprised 66% of the total hides purchased that winter. In comparison only 17 red deer skins were purchased, which was only 16% of the total skin consumption.[43] Although moose skin jackets were surely fashionable, they were also useful. Abstaining from these purchases was dangerous, and the consumption of skins was almost universal between cultural groups and occupation. Still, in 1823-4 and 1832-3 it is Canadians who purchase the most of this article. Moreover, by the winter of 1832-3, there is a sharp increase in the amount of skins which were purchased by freemen. While all groups required skins for their insulating properties, there is evidence that Canadians and freemen embraced these items more than their European counterparts. The environment certainly shaped consumption, however, there was still room for difference in consumption within that context. Interestingly, it was also the environment that made these products available. For example, a buffalo robe was the product of the plains. In this sense it can be ascertained that the environment both influenced what needed to be worn, and what was possible to procure. The result was a distinct regime of fashion.

In comparison to the winter, the summer also had its own patterns of consumption. The summer was marked by the consumption of many goods. Most notable in the summer accounts was the copious number of textiles which were purchased. In addition to this, needles and thread were also common purchases in the summer. This does not negate the fact that some of these goods were also purchased in the winter. However, during the winter, purchasing textiles, thread, and especially needles was uncommon. In the summer, the presence of these goods was

[42] HBCA B.60/d/15 and d/ 42.
[43] HBCA B.60/d/15

ordinary, with few accounts being void of these articles.[44] The presence of light was vital to permit skilled work such as stitching.[45] The long dark days of December were not conducive to sewing, because careful eyes needed to see their work, not to mention that cold weather renders agile fingers less nimble.

Life at Edmonton House was dominated by the seasons, not by clocks and machines. Winter was a continual routine of fetching meat, wood and furs, shoveling snow, and repairing houses. The thaw of spring allowed for the rivers to run full of people and goods. In the spring, furs were prepared for transportation and outfits of men made the journey east to collect goods and provisions sent from around the globe. As soon as shipments global goods were collected from York Factory, the tripmen and their Bourgeois would return inland as quickly as possible so as to beat the freeze of winter.[46] The summer of 1823 and 1832 accounts indicate that the majority of consumption in fur trade societies occurred during the summer. Although accounts for 1823, and 1832 were titled summer, the majority of transactions occurred in the month of July, meaning that winter accounts held the debts of the remaining eleven months.[47] Canadian bowman Charles Bougard made 49 separate purchases in the July of 1832. In contrast rest of the year he only made 15. Similarly, Thomas Firth, an Orcadian steersman had 33 transactions in the summer of 1832, and 14 during the winter. Although not every example is so dramatic, no single person with accounts in the winter and summer of 1832 made more transactions in the

[44] HBCA B.60/ d/ 6-42.
[45] Roche, *A History of Everyday Things,* 113-114.
[46] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company,* 13.
[47] HBCA B.60/ d/ 6-42. The summer accounts are named such by the HBC. However, the winter accounts are only named by year their year (1823/24.) I refer to the account books by summer and winter for convenience. Please note that the winter accounts also include debts acquired in the spring and fall. Interestingly some servants were away from Edmonton House for the entirety of July. It is likely these purchases occurred else where. The debt collected from a variety of different posts were consolidated onto one book containing all the servants from the Saskatchewan department. Gary Spraakman, *Management Accounting at the Hudson's Bay Company: From Quill Pen to Digitization* (Bingley, England: Emerald, 2015), 51.

winter.[48] This illustrates that summer was the season for shopping. Clearly, the contents of the cargo weighed heavily on the minds of the men who carried them.

The physical space of Edmonton House also constrained the injection of new goods to specific times of the year. The nature of the primary transportation routes regulated consumption patterns in regional ways. The region of the North Saskatchewan created a culture of summer consumption rather than winter consumption. Environmental factors created a culture of binging in the summer and fasting in the winter. The spatial and physical properties of Edmonton House created an atmosphere where common patterns of consumption were imposed. Indeed, this culture of consumption was not necessarily the result only of choice; the cycles of consumption were to a large degree a product of the environment.

Clothing does more than simply insulate the body. For example, moose skins were purchased for more reasons than the average temperature on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River. Moose skins, and other items like them, were purchased as the result of cultural practices as well. Women of Indigenous ancestry would lovingly sew moose hides into moccasins, mittens, and other winter clothing, often decorating them with bead work. Indeed, consumption is communicative. The act of consumption creates, affirms, and upholds cultural and occupational identities.[49] Still, identity and material culture are connected to a sense of place. Cultural reasons for consumption and environmental reasons for consumption are not mutually exclusive. Cultural and occupational identities within Edmonton House were bound to a specific place, and the objects which were available there.[50] However, the environment was

[48] HBCA B.60/d/41-42.
[49] Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 3.
[50] Helen Berry, "Regional Identity and Material Culture," In *History and Material Culture* edited by Karen Harvey (New York: Routledge, 2009), 140.

not the only aspect of life which made consumption important to fur trade society. The significance of consumption at Edmonton House, was also influenced by social factors such as country of origin and occupation.[51]

The Hudson's Bay Company took note the place of birth of their employees to some extent. The accounts of the winter 1823-24 list the origins of their servants in the same books. The other accounts have the national origin and occupation listed separately. From the listings it is obvious that Edmonton House was far from an ethnically homogenous place. Cultural tensions and difference were a constant reality within the confines of any fur trading fort, and these cultural tensions were often negotiated by choices in consumption. Certain fashions of costumes or other goods could emphasise or obscure cultural positions within a fur trade fort. In short, Edmonton House was a cosmopolitan community composed of personnel who came from vastly distant regions of the world.

The HBC generally hired from three regions. In 1815, the HBC hired employees from the British Isles as well as people who were born in the country. Orkney men were deemed by the HBC to be suitable for life in the fur trade. Orcadian recruits grew up in a culture which was accustomed to leaving their home for extended periods of time. Although the Orkney Islands were viewed as remote and isolated by the HBC, Orcadians had a tradition of participating in international work. Therefore, leaving to work for a few years on a different continent would have been considered normal in most Orcadian parishes during the 19th century. Orkney men had their own reasons for leaving their home to work in the fur trade. Most notable of these reasons was the desire to secure material profits. While working for the HBC was hard work, the

[51] DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic,* 209.

material dividends were proven to be worth it. Orcadians often returned home with enough money and goods to support a family and a farm.[52]

Servants of Scottish ancestry were also common at Edmonton House. The winter account of 1823-4 contains seven men who were born in Scotland, some of whom were employed by the North-West Company before the merger.[53] The presence of Irish men, however, was less ordinary. This may in part be due to the perception that the Irish were indolent, drunk, and aggressive.[54] Englishmen when they do appear in the Edmonton House accounts were typically the men who occupied the managerial positions within the fur trade post. Even so, their presence was somewhat rare with the exception of 1815 when both the chief factor and clerk were English.[55] Labourers from London, for example, proved to be a poor fit for fort life. Accordingly, few English labourers were hired.[56]

Those who were born in the country were deemed fit for work in fur trade forts. Servants of mixed ancestry were a mainstay of the *en derouine* system of trade. The sons of fur traders' country of origin were recorded as the "HBC" and later as "Indian territory" and were employed in a variety of positions.[57] Later in their lives it was also common for those born in the HBC to hold accounts as freemen. The freemen accounts are distinct from those of employees as they only record the debts owed to the company. Any purchases which were paid for at the time would not be written on the pages of the servant debt book. As such, any commentary on

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[52] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company,* 68-69.
[53] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1821-26,* 364. Allan McDougald for example was born in Scotland and joined the NWC around 1816. The merger does not appear to have affected his career path.
[54] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company,* 67.
[55] HBCA B.60/d/6-42.
[56] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 65-66.
[57] Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Correspondence and Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 76-78.

freemen consumption is incomplete at its best. That being said, most accounts of servants are incomplete as well, albeit in slightly different ways.[58]

Canadians do not appear on the 1815 account lists, as the HBC hardly recruited Canadians prior to 1821.[59] The summer of 1823 account is the first of this sample where Canadian servants appear.[60] This injection of Canadian servants occurred as a result of the 1821 merger of the HBC and the NWC, the latter of which was a predominantly Canadian enterprise. Entering the fur trade in some capacity was a central part of many Canadians' lived experience in the early 19th century. In this period a Canadian could generally be defined as a Francophone, Catholic peasant living in North America. This would exclude those who were living in lower Canada who were Anglophone Protestants.[61] It is well documented that the NWC and HBC were in violent competition with one another in the years leading to the merger of 1821.[62] It appears that this conflict was maintained for a few years after these men were ordered to work together. In 1821, Anthony Feistel in the Edmonton house journal made it clear that Canadian servants and HBC servants still held a grudge against one another. Feistel argued that it was best to keep both parties as far from each other as possible. Consequently, Canadian servants preferred to live in the old NWC post rather than live in the old Edmonton House.[63] The level of proximity and tensions along the banks of the North Saskatchewan River after 1821 would have produced an environment conducive to asserting one's cultural position.

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[58]Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1821-26*, xciii- xcv.
[59] HBCA B.60/d/6.
[60]HBCA B.60/d/14.
[61] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company,* 75-6.
[62] Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Correspondence and Reports 1806-1821*, 241-2. On April 1st 1815, Francis Heron recorded a conflict between two parties of traders one from the NWC lead by Peter Ogdon and an HBC party lead by James Ross. The conflict began with jeering and moved into trading blows. The conflict finally escalated to the drawing of guns, however, no one was shot and killed that day.
[63] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals* 1821-26, 22.

In this situation it is evident that there were differences between the consumption patterns of different groups based on country of origin. In 1815, Edmonton House was a much more culturally homogenous place. Generally speaking, European servants purchased many more goods than country born servants in that year.[64] Table 1.5 illustrates that European servants had a much greater appetite for consumables such as sugar, rum and tobacco than country born servants. Additionally, European servants purchased more ready-made clothing such as, trousers and shoes. However, shirts and hats were purchased by nearly everyone. The margin of difference in terms of cloth is much less dramatic. European servants on average purchased 12 ½ yards of cloth, where as country born servants purchased 16 ½ yards per servant. In terms of shot and powder, European servants out purchased their counterparts. Yet, country born servants purchased on average many more knives. As a whole, there was no large difference between European and country born servants. This is not surprising considering that many of the fathers of country born servants were European servants in the same company.

In the 1823-4 summer and winter accounts this pattern does not change, even with the introduction of Canadian servants though European servants continue to purchase in greater quantities. That being said, for the most part European and Canadian servants purchased the same goods. The exception is capots and shawls, of which European servants bought none. As well, freeman accounts include fewer goods. Yet, this is likely a function of the way these accounts were organised. Table 1.6 only lists those goods that freemen owed money for, rather than the totality of the goods purchased, as it was normal for freemen to purchase goods with the furs and provisions they brought in. It is difficult to make strong arguments about the nature of

[64] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1806-21*, 78-79. Country-born is the title given to the children of fur traders and native women. During this period the Edmonton House journals do not use the term "Métis", instead the terms "country born" or "half-breed" were more common. The Edmonton Accounts record the "HBC", or "Indian territory" as the country of origin for these servants.

country born purchases as only 1 such servant held an account during the summer, and only 3 held accounts during the winter. Still, it appears that country born servants were quite frugal, especially during the winter.

By 1832-3 Canadians had become the most significant purchasers at Edmonton House. Europeans were still avid customers, and the amount they purchased did not decrease noticeably. Moreover, servants born in the country continued to be careful with what they spent their money on, with the exception of tobacco. In the summer of 1832 Francois Lucier jr alone purchased 9 ½ lbs, and 6 carrots of tobacco. Freemen continued similar trends but purchased more needles and cloth than in years previous. Canadians appear to have increased the amount of goods they bought significantly. This change is most evident when considering the large increase in the amount of cloth purchased by Canadian servants. Interestingly, the amount of cloth purchased by Freeman servants also dramatically increases. This change marks an important shift in the consumer culture on the banks of the North Saskatchewan. Clothing in particular was a medium where one could communicate information about one's group identity.[65] This is because cloth is flexible, in that it can be made into many different things.

Some articles, in particular, would have embodied what was understood as cultural costume. These items demand further investigation. One such item appears to be the capot. The capot is synonymous with the aesthetic of the fur trader. Upon closer inspection the capot can be understood as the choice winter dress of the Canadian. A capot in its most basic form was a cloak with an attached hood. From this, different materials and cuts could be incorporated.

[65] Sherry Farrell Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together: Clothing, Decorative Arts and the Expression of Métis and Half-Breed Identity* (PhD diss: The University of Manitoba, 2004), 14. This change in pattern requires further analysis, and thus will be the focus of the third chapter.

Capots came in a variety of colours: white, grey and blue being the most common.[66] There is a marked absence of capots in the servant accounts of 1815. In 1816, James Bird recorded in his yearly report that the Canadians employed by the HBC were accustomed to purchasing articles such as the capot since these were available in the NWC. Bird requested that some be made as they would surely be purchased.[67] The capot, and its meanings, were bound to the material desires of Canadian servants. Tables 1.10 through 1.12 outline who purchased capots in a given year based on their country of origin. As noted earlier, no capots were purchased in 1815 and only one individual purchased a capot in the winter of 1832-3, therefore no tables were constructed for these years.

Figure 5. Hampden C. B. Moody, "Winter Costume at Fort Garry," 1847. This sketch portrays winter costume at Lower Fort Gerry during the winter of 1843. The character in the center is wearing a capot. Source: Library and Archives Canada.

[66] Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together,* 78-82.
[67] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1806-1821*, 439.

Figure 6. Cornelius Krieghoff, "The River Road," 1855. This painting of Habitants on a horse sled illustrates the winter wear of Canadians. The front and middle characters are wearing capots. Source: National Gallery of Canada.

Table 1.10 Capot Consumption According to Country of Origin in the Summer of 1823

Region of Origin	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Capots	The Number of Capots Purchased
Canada	14	3	3
HBC	1	1	1
Ireland	1	0	0
Orkney	4	0	0
Scotland	6	0	0
Freeman	7	0	0
Totals	33	4	4
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1823, HBCA B.60/d/14.			

Table 1.11 Capot Consumption According to Country of Origin in the Winter of 1823-4			
Region of Origin	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Capot	The Number of Different Types of Capots Purchased
Canada	27	2	2
HBC	3	1	1
Ireland	2	0	0
Orkney	5	1	1
Scotland	7	0	0
Freeman	9	0	0
Europe	4	2	2
Totals	57	6	6
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1823-24, HBCA B.60/d/15.			

Table 1.12 Capot Consumption According to Country of Origin in the Summer of 1832			
Region of Origin	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Capots	The Number of Capots Purchased
Canada	14	11	16
Europe	4	3	4
Indian territory	4	4	6
Orkney	3	1	1
Scotland	1	0	0
Undefined	2	2	2
Totals	28	21	29
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/41- 42. In the winter only 1 man purchase a capot Thomas Firth, an Orkney steersman.			

In 1823-24 it appears that the consumption of capots was quite meagre. This, however, is not an indication of how many capots an individual owned in that year. For example, there is evidence which suggests that Canadian servants continued to acquire capots in their contract equipments, as it was only engagements after 1823 which had relinquished their entitlement to such goods.[68] This might explain why by 1832 the quantity of capots purchased exceeds the number of accounts. Another striking pattern is that during 1823-24, the capot was favoured mainly by the Canadians working at Edmonton House. Yet, by the summer of 1832 capots were purchased by nearly every cultural group. Still, Canadians, purchased the majority of capots. This pattern may be indicative of a consolidation of taste, a decade after the merger. The change in the consumption of capots raises an important point about the flexibility of consumption. Individual consumption patterns might have changed as Canadians and Europeans became acclimated to each other. A certain level of material solidarity may have proven useful in reducing tensions since the cultural influence of the Canadians would have been stronger at this time, because they comprised the majority of the population at Edmonton House by 1832.[69]

Clothing is not the only indicator of cultural consumption. Items which are ingested are also deeply rooted in culture. What is ingested is contingent on a conglomerate of cultural factors. These include, but are not limited to, the environment, ethnicity, and the occupation of an individual. Food stuffs are very indicative because they are so relational. That is to say that food is often at the nexus of inter-human relationships. Therefore, in a space of colonial contact,

[68] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 91-92.
[69] Michael Payne, *Daily Life on the Hudson's Bay 1714 to 1870: A social history of York Factory and Churchill* (PhD diss: Carleton University, 1989), 100. In 1830 over 40% of the HBC workforce came from the Canadas, making them the largest demographic.

such as the north-west plains, food is central to cultural exchange as well as cultural competition.[70] In this light, tea is of particular interest.

Tea, by the 18th and 19th centuries had become a domestic ritual in Britain, and elsewhere. The ritual of tea drinking was understood in those circles and at that time to have cultural and class implications. After all, tea was a central component of a respectable diet. The display of respectable behaviour was important to individuals who wanted to assert their ethnic or class worth.[71] Although this model is the English model, tea does appear on servant and officers' accounts. Because of this cultural baggage, tea is worthy of examination. Tables 1.13 to 1.16 represents the patterns of tea consumption based on each account book examined, with the exception of the winter of 1832-33 when no tea was purchased.

Table 1.13 Tea Consumption According to Country of Origin in 1815

Region of origin	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Tea	Total Weight of the Tea Purchased
England	2	1	2 ¼ lb
HBC	3	0	0 lb
Orkney	15	1	½ lb
Scotland	3	1	1 ½ lb
Shetland	2	0	0 lb
Undefined	2	0	0 lb
Totals	27	4	4 ¼ lb
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, HBCA B.60/d/6.			

[70] Ronda L. Brulotte, and Michael A. Di Giovine, "Introduction: Food and Foodways as Cultural Heritage," in *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*, Ed. Brulotte, Ronda L., and Michael A. Di Giovine (Farnham: Routledge, 2014), 10-11.

[71] Woodruff D. Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace: Tea, Sugar, and Imperialism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23:2 (1992), 275-276. The prevalence of respectability is inseparable from the rise of a middling class in England. Because gentility was a concrete hereditary social status, the rising middling class embraced the concept of respectability in order to display social standing and moral worth

Table 1.14 Tea Consumption According to Country of Origin in the Summer of 1823			
Region of Origin	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Tea	Total Weight of the Tea Purchased
Canada	14	0	0 lb
HBC	1	0	0 lb
Ireland	1	1	1 lb
Orkney	4	2	1 ½ lb
Scotland	6	4	5 ¼ lb
Freeman	7	1	2 lb
Totals	33	8	9 ¾ lb
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1823, HBCA B.60/d/14.			

Table 1.15 Tea Consumption According to Country of Origin in the Winter of 1823-4			
Region of Origin	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Tea	Total Weight of the Tea Purchased
Canada	25	2	8 lb
HBC	3	1	4 lb
Ireland	2	0	0 lb
Orkney	5	0	0 lb
Scotland	7	1	4 lb
Freeman	9	0	0 lb
Undefined	6	0	0 lb
Totals	57	4	16 lb
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1823-24, HBCA B.60/d/15.			

Table 1.16 Tea Consumption According to Region of Country of Origin in the Summer of 1832			
Region of Origin	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Tea	Total Weight of the Tea Purchased
Canada	14	9	21 lb
Europe	4	4	12 lb
Indian territory	4	1	2 lb
Orkney	3	3	8 lb
Scotland	1	1	3 lb
Undefined	2	1	1 lb
Totals	28	19	47lb
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1832, HBCA B.60/d/41.			

In 1815, the only accounts which contain tea are those which belong to individuals from the British Isles. It is also noteworthy that the quantity of tea purchased, four and a quarter pounds, is not necessarily remarkable. Still, it is clear that there is a trend based on the country of origin at this time. Again, in the summer of 1823 no Canadian purchases tea. Still, this does not suggest that these individuals did not drink tea. The tea listed in these tables is tea which was brought inland by the HBC, and subsequently purchased by servants. It is unclear if before 1823 tea was a part of servant equipments. The 1823 Northern Council meeting minutes indicates that guides and interpreters were entitled to tea as a part of their contract.[72] Evidence for tea in contracts before then is elusive. That said in 1815, for example, over 40 pounds of tea were at Edmonton House, and only four and a quarter pounds were purchased. Therefore, tea was available, and it may well have been a gratuity. Still, the presence of tea within debt accounts indicates that the consumption of tea of select individuals extended over and above standard rations of tea.[73]

[72] Harvey Fleming, ed. *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land 1821-31,* 57.
[73] HBCA B.60/d/6.

The tea of the HBC originated from China, and there were three district varieties available; Hyson, a kind of green tea typically perceived as inferior, Singlo, a fine green tea, and most commonly by 1823, Congou, a designation which encompassed all Chinese black teas regardless of their district of origin.[74] In addition to this local tea brews would have been quite common. Those with wives, most likely enjoyed local herbal teas which were not only in abundance but much less expensive.[75] In 1815 and 1823-24, it appears that country born servants did not have the same appetite for Chinese tea as other servants, with the exception of one freeman James Hughes Jr. who was the son of long time NWC Bourgeois James Hughes and a Cree woman whose name has not survived in the historical record. It is entirely possible that Hughes, learned his taste for tea from his father.[76] By the winter of 1823-24 the quantity of tea which was purchased increased, while the number of individuals purchasing tea decreased. The country of origin of those who consumed tea that winter is different than the evidence in the summer accounts for that year. It is only when examining the occupations of those who purchased tea that winter, that the patterns become clearer.

By the summer of 1832 both the quantity of tea purchased, and diversity of people purchasing tea increases. This provides evidence that the taste for tea had crossed ethnic boundaries and had become commonplace. Taste, certainly was a factor. Still, economic factors including the termination of contract equipments, or an increase in the supply of tea may have also affected the patterns of consumption. Nevertheless, tea was more common, and the result

[74] James A. Hanson, *Encyclopedia of Trade Goods, volume 6: Provisions of the Fur Trade* (Nebraska: Museum of the Fur Trade, 2017), 143-145

[75] David E. Young, Robert Dale Rogers, and Russell Willier, *A Cree Healer and His Medicine Bundle: Revelations of Indigenous Wisdom: Healing Plants, Practices, and Stories* (Berkeley, California: North Atlantic Books, 2015), N.P.

[76] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals, 1806-21,* 354.

was a decrease in the distinctions of consumption based on country of origin. Nevertheless, distinctions based on occupation persisted.

A central contributor to this consolidation of consumption was likely the corporate control over which goods were available, but this was not the only factor. This consolidation might have occurred because of the cosmopolitan nature of a fur trade fort. The origins of the men and women at these forts were vastly different and Edmonton House was a diverse community. Indeed, fur traders have commonly been understood as occupying a hybrid space.[77] Although fur trade society was not an equal blend of Indigenous, European and Euro-Canadian culture, fur trade society was a culture that was distinct from any of these categories. It was a culture not formed on racial or ethnic lines alone, but a society formed by a shared cultural experience. A central theme of that experience was material culture, as cross-cultural encounters rely on communication through both words and objects.[78]

Superimposed on these cross-cultural conditions was a society which was extremely hierarchical. The HBC used the paternalistic framework of military hierarchies. Within this vertical hierarchy, officers were the patriarchs who held the most material and social power. Interwoven with this vertical hierarchy was a horizontal organisation based on ethnicity.[79] In a fur trade fort such as Edmonton House, status divisions were not concrete. Indeed, ethnicity does not provide an explanation for all instances where power was negotiated.[80] Officers and

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[77] Elizabeth Vibert, *Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 8-9. Vibert argues that fur traders occupied a liminal space, meaning that traders underwent a shift in their ideological heritage. Vibert stresses that more than furs were exchanged. Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 14, Podruchny uses liminal space in a similar but different sense. Podruchny understands liminal not to mean a threshold between cultures, rather an entirely distinct and separate cultural space. Put together, these definitions consider fur trade society as a hybrid culture.

[78] Laura Peers, "'Many Tender Ties': The Shifting Contexts and Meanings of the S BLACK Bag," *World Archaeology*, (1999): 293.

[79] Ibid, 31.

[80] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company,* 12-13.

others who held management positions were encouraged to differentiate themselves from the rest of the working population. As such, it is relevant to make some distinctions when analysing consumption patterns. The chief factor was viewed as the head of the household and the idea of domesticity was especially salient. HBC officers were encouraged to replicate respectable domestic rituals whenever possible, and the domestic ritual of drinking tea was replicated.[81] Tables 1.17 to 1.20 indicate that in the 1815 and 1823-24 accounts, tea consumption patterns were influenced by occupation.

Table 1.17 Tea consumption according to occupation in the summer of 1815

Occupation	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Tea	Total weight of the Tea Purchased
Trader	2	0	0 lb
Accountant	1	1	1 ½ lb
Blacksmith	1	0	0 lb
Boat Builder	1	1	½ lb
Bowman	2	0	0 lb
Chief factor	1	1	2 ¼ lb
Clerk	1	0	0 lb
Cooper	1	0	0 lb
Interpreter	3	0	0 lb
Labourer	3	0	0 lb
Midman	8	0	0 lb
Steersman	1	0	0 lb
Undefined	2	0	0 lb
Totals	27	3	4 ¼ lb
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, HBCA B.60/d/6.			

[81]Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company,* 2-3.

Table 1.18 Tea Consumption According to Occupation in the Summer of 1823			
Occupation	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Tea	Total Weight of the Tea Purchased
Blacksmith	1	0	0 lb
Boat Builder	2	0	0 lb
Bowman	4	2	1 ½ lb
Cooper	1	1	1 ¼ lb
Interpreter	1	1	1 lb
Midman	12	1	1 lb
Steersman	3	2	3 lb
Freeman	7	1	2 lb
Totals	33	8	9 ¾ lb
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1823, HBCA B.60/d/14.			

Table 1.19 Tea Consumption According to Occupation in the Winter of 1823-24			
Occupation	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Tea	Total Weight of the Tea Purchased
Blacksmith	1	0	0 lb
Boat Builder	2	0	0 lb
Bowman	7	0	0 lb
Chief Factor	1	0	0 lb
Chief Trader	3	1	4 lb
Clerk	6	3	12 lb
Cooper	1	0	0 lb
Interpreter	2	0	0 lb
Freeman	9	0	0 lb
Midman	20	0	0 lb
Steersman	5	0	0 lb
Total	57	4	16 lb
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1823-24, HBCA B.60/d/15.			

Table 1.20 Tea Consumption According to Occupation in the Summer of 1832			
Occupation	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Tea	Total Weight of the Tea Purchased
Blacksmith	1	1	2 lb
Boat Builder	1	1	3 lb
Bowman	5	3	6 lb
Trader	1	1	3 lb
Carpenter	1	1	4 lb
Cooper	1	1	2 lb
Freeman	3	1	2 lb
Midman	8	5	10 lb
Postmaster	1	1	7 lb
PAE	1	1	3 lb
Steersman	3	2	4 lb
Undefined	2	1	1 lb
Total	28	19	47 lb
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1832, HBCA B.60/d/41.			

Although not entirely class specific, the pattern of consumption for tea reflects social position. Chief factors and traders, as well as some of the skilled workers appear to have consumed more tea than those in labouring positions. Returning to the example of the freeman James Hughes Junior in the summer of 1823, his taste for tea may have been the result of his Bourgeois father's thirst for this drink. By the summer of 1832, it appears that tea was a common item. However, it is still the two officers who are consuming the most.

Additionally, social distinction was enforced in other ways. On July 1828, the Northern Council meeting stipulated that although guides and interpreters were entitled to tea, they were not allowed to mess with officers. Essentially, guides and interpreters were allowed a gratuity of tea, but, they were not allowed to drink tea with officers. That being said, the extent to which these rules were followed in unclear. In addition to corporate rules about tea consumption, there were other distinctions. For example, the amount of tea that postmaster Colin Fraser was purchasing was distinct from the rest of the fur trade population. During the summer of 1832

Fraser was the only individual at Edmonton House to purchase a set of tea cups and saucers. Therefore, the performance of drinking tea for a man of his position was ostensibly separate from others at the fort. In addition to these cups and saucers other exotic consumable items begin to make an appearance in the Edmonton House accounts. At this time delicacies such as chocolate appear in the accounts of postmaster Colin Fraser, while remaining rare in the accounts of other servants.[82] It is evident that tea and other ingestible items were important for securing and maintaining a certain social position.

Although this pattern of consumption might suggest emulation of officers on the part of servants, this is not the case. Upward mobility in fur trade forts was extremely rare.[83] There were few managerial positions available and the clerical skills required of such positions were rare amongst those who held labouring positions. Although consumption patterns occasionally overlapped, there continued to be a firm distinction between tradesmen, labourers, and the managerial elite. A clear physical distinction existed in these different positions. Officers worked with their minds, while labourers and tradesmen worked with their bodies. This shaped their bodies in different ways.[84] For example, table 1.19 illustrates that the postmaster Colin Fraser owned and wore a capot. Yet, Fraser would have looked very different in his capot than any of the midmen because of their physical condition. Simply put, the visual distinction between classes was a continual reality.

[82] HBCA B.60/d/41.
[83] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 45-50.
[84] Michael Payne, "A Social History of York and Churchill," (PhD dissertation, Carleton University, 1989), 52-53.

Table 1.21 Capot Consumption According to Occupation in the Summer of 1832			
Occupation	Number of Employees with Accounts	Number of Employees Who Purchased Capot	Number of Capots Purchased
Blacksmith	1	0	0
Boat Builder	1	0	0
Bowman	5	5	8
Trader	1	0	0
Carpenter	1	1	1
Cooper	1	0	0
Freeman	3	3	5
Midman	7	7	10
Postmaster	1	1	1
PAE	1	0	0
Steersman	3	2	2
Undefined	2	2	2
Total	28	21	29
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/41.			

Sherry Ferrell Racette, in her thesis on Métis clothing traditions makes the argument that occupational dress was important to those living in fur trade societies. She asserts that occupation placed demands on clothing requiring it to serve functions and to reflect social status.[85] This point is reaffirmed by Michael Payne who has noted that young men who just entered managerial positions were likely to place themselves in debt in order to acquire the material goods necessary for a man of their position.[86] This notion is reflected in the fur trade accounts. For example, in the winter of 1832-33 postmaster Colin Fraser made 51 separate transactions, and 53 in the summer. The next largest number of transactions were made by chief trader John Harriott who made 36 different purchases. To put this in perspective, midman Pierre Girrard only made 15 purchases that winter and 20 in the summer that year, which appears to have been a standard amount for his position. These account books substantiate that consumption was an integral aspect of maintaining social status. Although similar goods were

[85] Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together,* 161.
[86] Michael Payne, "A Social History of York and Churchill," (PhD dissertation, Carleton University, 1989), 25.

purchased by the various classes in a fur trade post, the amount which was purchased was unequal in a way which paralleled the stratification between occupational positions.

The account books of 1815, 1823-4, and 1832-33 indicate that consumption was central to the lives of those living at Edmonton House. Not only was a considerable amount of consumption occurring, but a large variety of goods were available. The number of purchases from the company store increased over time. Similarly, the variety of goods available also increased. This is a consequence of both the changing demand and the changes in the corporate policies of the HBC. Because the HBC had consolidated control over servants they were able to implement more stringent policies on how servants acquired goods. Indeed, many of the changes over time are a result of changes within the management of the HBC. While the HBC changed, the environmental constraints on servants in Edmonton House remained a consistent influence and consumption patterns continued to be shaped by the environment of the North Saskatchewan.

While the general patterns of consumption at Edmonton House are quite similar, there were differences in what was purchased and the total quantity of consumption occurring. In essence, everyone had access to the same goods, from the same places; still, the intensity of consumption was different. These differences stemmed, in large part, from the country of origin of employees. In 1815, and 1823-4 Europeans appear to have purchased more goods than any other group. Yet, by 1832-3 Canadian servants became the most prolific consumers. Another factor which produced differences in consumption was occupation. Consumption aided in maintaining social stratification, and employees in higher ranking positions almost always purchased more goods. Moreover, they often purchased different varieties of goods to help mark

their social distinction. Unlike differences in cultural consumption, the differences in class consumption remain consistent over this period.

Consumption patterns at Edmonton house in the early 19th century were the result of complex factors. Some factors such as the environment and class distinctions remained consistent over time. Other factors such as corporate policy, and country of origin produced more variable consumption patterns. Thus, the following two chapters will analyse the impact of the relationship between the HBC and its servants, and the differences based on country of origin.

Chapter 2

Rum and Tobacco at Edmonton House in the Early 19th Century: Ephemeral Consumption

On the second day of 1822 the men, women and children living in Edmonton House were continuing their celebration of the new year. The ground was covered with snow as it had been snowing for several days previously. The weather was mild but the wind persisted. Within the compound of the fort, people were getting drunk. Anthony Feistel observing the festivities, recorded in the Edmonton House journal that "Rum has furnished our men to day, with an amusement not wholly unprofitable to the Company; as they enjoy themselves much the same as yesterday; but at their own expenses."[87] Although it was never mentioned in that day's entry, the individuals celebrating at the fort surely would have been smoking tobacco as well. The consumption of rum and tobacco was central to fur trade life. In 1815, 235 ¼ pounds of tobacco were purchased by employees at Edmonton House. That same year over 109 gallons of rum were purchased by servants from the Hudson's Bay Company stores. It is clear that these items were desired and consumed in large quantities. Both the demand and consumption of rum and tobacco merits further examination.

The account books at Edmonton House indicate that consumption of these goods was not static over time. Tobacco consumption remained quite high over this period. Still, in the 1823-4 accounts the percentage of the population which purchased tobacco declined from pre-1821 levels before reaching even higher levels by 1832-3. Rum, however, had a much different trajectory. The amount of rum purchased by servants, and officers from the HBC declined steadily over time. These trajectories can be attributed to two factors, an internal factor, related

[87] Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District, Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821-1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 31.

to the demand for these goods. The other possibility is that these patterns were the consequence of an external factor such as changes in the availability of these goods. I argue that the trajectories of the consumption of rum and tobacco are more the result of external factors. That is, the transformation of the HBC's corporate attitudes and practices towards rum and tobacco were a more significant reason for the change in the amount of rum and tobacco purchased over time than fluctuations in demand for these goods over the 18-year period studied here. The merger of 1821 produced an environment where the management of the HBC were able to exert a greater amount of control, and within this context the demand for goods by employees could exert less power over their purchases.

I will begin by explaining theories of value and demand and how they are influenced by the materiality of rum and tobacco. Thereafter I will examine the demand for rum and tobacco from two perspectives. The first considers the reasons why the HBC wanted these goods at Edmonton House, and the second examines what motivated fur traders to purchase these goods. Demand for these goods was deeply influenced by the value of these goods, and the value of these goods was dependent on their context. This context includes the material properties of rum and tobacco, who controlled the supply of rum and tobacco, and who consumed these goods and when.

Theories of value

While it is obvious that demand existed for these products, the nature of this demand requires further analysis. For the purposes of this study, demand should be understood as the motivation for consumption. That is to say, what are the cultural and economic factors which motivate an individual to consume rum or tobacco? Demand is an elusive concept. A satisfactory definition simply does not exist. Yet, some understanding of the term is required

because it is inextricably tied to consumption. Demand in a general sense is dependent on three factors: wealth, taste, and concepts of value.[88] Wealth informs demand, as an individual can only consume what they think they can afford. Likewise, demand for an item is dependent on an appetite for a particular good. There needs to be a taste for a particular good in order for it to be desired. It is imperative to recognise that taste is developed and informed socially. Taste is not a matter of fact - taste is learned. However, some consumption is not consensual. Indeed, sometimes people are forced to consume things. Likewise, often they are forced to abstain from consumption. The context of the fur trade complicates demand, since consumption does not always require consent. That is to say that a taste for a good does not always need to be present in order for consumption to occur. Similarly, demand for a good can persist even if it is not immediately available. An individual, and even a society, can crave a good which is not available because of some external force. As such, a complex understanding of demand is necessary. This final example is the context of the fur trade. It is clear that those living at Edmonton House had a tremendous appetite for consumption. Yet, they could only purchase what was available to them in that space. If, for example, the HBC refused to sell a certain good, fur traders would have to survive without it.[89]

Encompassing the intersection of taste and wealth is the concept of value. Demand is intrinsically tied to discussions of value. In order to conceptualise what the demand for rum and tobacco were, one must understand what possible value these goods embodied. Value, is a concept that is convoluted. It is not entirely monetary, since it can also be emotional. Liquid value, or capital value, refers to a particular aspect of value which relates to the accumulation of

[88] Richard A Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 18.
[89] Mary Douglas and Baron C. Isherwood, "Why people want goods," in *The World of Goods: Towards an anthropology of consumption* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3- 10.

physical wealth. Emotional value, or cultural value, refers to the aspect of value which relates to intangible qualities of a good, such as its importance to social relationships, or rituals. Bear in mind that emotional value and liquid value are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they are both essential to value judgements, and decisions about consumption. Value does not mean any one thing to any one person. Rather value is nebulous in that it can be conscious and unconscious. One might hold a deep emotional value for a good without knowing why it is that one treasures it. Similarly, someone might sell an article at a particular price, having no idea what economic factors contributed to its value. Society informs value, as it is deeply entrenched in meaning attributed to goods. Value, as it relates to consumption is an indication of other social relationships. An example would be the relationship between a consumer and a producer, or employee and an employer. Note that this example is exactly the context of the relationship between fur trade society and the HBC.[90] Employees of the HBC exhibited an emotional value for rum and tobacco, whereas the HBCs' management appreciated the liquid value of these articles.

An essential element of value is the physical properties of an item. Rum and tobacco held a unique value compared to other goods because of their properties. Other articles such as textiles held a degree of enduring liquid value for consumers, as they could maintain some level of monetary and practical value for years. Rum and tobacco were ephemeral in that their ingestion exhausted their material worth. As such, the demand for purchasing these goods extended beyond gaining capital. There was a deep cultural reason for drinking and smoking. In order to understand the demand and value of tobacco and rum from the perspective of its

[90] Mary Douglas and Baron C. Isherwood, "The uses of goods," in *The World of Goods: Towards an anthropology of consumption* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 35 – 47.

consumers, the materiality of these goods needs to be explored. Tobacco and rum are alike and were sometimes used at similar times for the same reasons. Still, these goods were certainly very distinct. As such, their trajectories within fur trade post were different. The value of rum and tobacco and the motivation for consuming them were dependent on who was consuming them and when these goods were being used. Indeed, smoking and drinking was enjoyed by most of the fort population. Moreover, rum and tobacco were an important aspect of rituals of labour and leisure.

Rum and tobacco also share similar historical trajectories. Both goods achieved global popularity through the colonial process. The origins of tobacco can be traced back to Mesoamerica where it was enjoyed almost universally.[91] Likewise, the nations of the northern plains were accustomed to using tobacco before contact with fur traders. The Siksika, for example, were able to grow two varieties of tobacco which could endure the climate of the region.[92] Tobacco was a part of the Indigenous cosmology, and economy long before the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company.[93] Still, after its arrival, the fur trade grafted itself onto these pre-existing networks of trade, becoming the primary source of tobacco and rum on the northern plains. After 1821, access to tobacco on the North Saskatchewan was almost exclusively mediated by the Edmonton House.

Although both goods were produced in large part by slave labour, rum and tobacco had a somewhat different origin. The distillation of rum was a by-product of the European addiction to

[91] Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), 10.
[92] Joseph C. Winter, *Tobacco Use by Native North Americans: Sacred Smoke and Silent Killer* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 20-21.
[93] Ibid, 17.

sugar. Molasses, a natural by-product of the sugar refining processes was distilled into rum.[94] Rum in many ways was the quintessential beverage of the colonial individual. Rum and tobacco filled the sails of thousands of ships and filled the stomachs and lungs of thousands of sailors. By the 17th century Europeans had adopted both tobacco and rum into the rhythms of daily life. By the early 19th century both goods were deeply entrenched in the fur trade way of life.

Most notably, rum and tobacco were dissimilar in the way in which they were ingested. Rum, a liquid, was drunk, and tobacco, a leaf was smoked. The physical properties of these goods are also distinct. Rum, unlike tobacco, has caloric value. Alcohol, especially in regions with food scarcity, was an important source of calories.[95] Rum preserved well, as it did not spoil in the heat of the summer or over long voyages. As such, it was especially important in fur trade forts which occasionally had chronic food shortages due to poor hunts or spoiled food. While tobacco also did not spoil easily, it was not a substitute for food. That being said, smoking is an appetite suppressant. It eased thirst, hunger and fatigue.[96] For these reasons tobacco could be used as a substitute for eating. After a smoke, one might have similar sensations to just having eaten; one's mouth would be filled with flavour, one would not be as hungry, and one would have renewed energy. Still, tobacco would not stave off starvation. Tobacco smoke simply did not have nutritional value. Nevertheless, rum and tobacco consumption did hold similar value to consuming food. For example, William Gladstone, who lived and worked at Edmonton House in

[94] Stuart M., Nisbet, "Early Glasgow Sugar Plantations in the Caribbean," *Scottish Archaeological Journal, no. 1/2: 115* (2009), 129-30.
[95] Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 63.
[96] Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 157.

the 1860s, claimed that being without tobacco was worse than going without food.[97] Indeed, rum and tobacco can realistically be placed in a similar category to food.

Food, tobacco and rum are all ingested. This creates a particular relationship between these goods and the body. After ingestion, food, rum and tobacco became a part of the body and alter it. The most notable example of this phenomenon is the psychotropic properties of these drugs. Because of tobacco's stimulative properties it was widely believed that tobacco increased cognitive function.[98] Rum, however, was viewed as intoxicating. Postmasters continually complained about how drinking led to negligence and indolence.[99] It appears that the perceived effects of rum were the opposite of tobacco. Rum rather than stimulating and increasing cognitive function, made labourers lazier and more defiant. Tobacco was viewed as conducive to work, while rum was viewed as detrimental to productivity. These perceptions of rum are likely more reflective of the opinions of officers. Labourers had a less condescending perspective on rum. Alcohol was an escape from the harsh realities of fur trade life. Rum numbed the enduring dark and cold of winter. It helped to deal with the pressure of sharing confined spaces, and it eased the long hours of harsh manual labour.[100] Rum and tobacco were an essential aspect of the fabric of fort life at Edmonton House. The powerful experiences induced by these psychotropic substances were conducive to creating cultural meanings for these items.

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[97] William S. Gladstone, *The Gladstone Diary: Travels in the Early West* (Lethbridge: Historic Trails Society of Alberta, 1985), 32.
[98] Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 198.
[99] Edith Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1870* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 117-118.
[100] Douglas McCalla, *Consumption Stories: Customer Purchases of Alcohol at an Upper Canadian Country Store In 1808-1809 and 1828-1829* (Sainte-Foy, Quebec: CIEQ, 1999), 2.

The cultural meanings imbued in rum and tobacco are related to value judgements. Like value, the cultural significance of rum and tobacco are highly subjective. In the context of the fur trade, there was a difference between the understanding of rum and tobacco according to the management of the HBC and the understandings of these goods according to the servants at Edmonton House. The result of these differences was a negotiation about how available these goods should be. Before 1821, employees, and Indigenous traders had considerable power over these negotiations, because this was a time where alternative markets existed. After the merger of the Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay Company the power over the negotiation between consumer and retailer transformed. During the post-merger period the HBC held much more control. Subsequently the HBC management's understanding of rum and tobacco became increasingly important in shaping the consumption patterns of these goods. Understanding how the perspectives of HBC management and labour differ helps explain why the rum and tobacco consumption changed between 1815 and 1833.

Patterns of consumption

Table 2.1 The Percentage of Accounts Which Contain of Rum and Tobacco					
	1815	1823 summer	1823-4 winter	1832-3 summer	1832-3 winter
% of population who purchased rum	92.6%	37.5%	43%	32.1%	37.5%
% of population who purchased tobacco	92.6%	50%	66.6%	100%	78.1%
Total quantity of rum purchased	109 2/3 gal.	15 ½ gal.	9 7/16 gal.	16 ¼ gal.	3 13/16 gal.
Total quantity of tobacco purchased	235 ¼ lbs	43 1/3 lbs 3 carrots	97 11/12 6 1/3 carrots	103 lbs, 171 carrots	84 lbs 14 carrots

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.
These totals include freemen account which only include items purchased on credit. For the summer of 1823 there are 9 accounts which appear within the ledger but did not purchase a single article. For this table I did not count them when calculating percentages as this would have skewed the numbers.

Carrots of tobacco were a type of tobacco package. A carrot could vary between three to five pounds, see figure 7.

A large percentage of the population in Edmonton House purchased rum and tobacco, though it is important to bear mind that purchasing is not directly equated to consumption. While the HBC remained the largest source of rum and tobacco at Edmonton House, purchasing these items was not the only way that they were available. For example, the goods available through contract equipments are not present on table 2.1. As such these numbers are not a total representation of consumption. Rather than patterns of consumption, these tables are an indication of purchasing patterns. While not comprehensive, Table 2.1 gives a strong indication of how popular rum and tobacco were. For the years studied, it appears that 1815 was the year that rum was the most available through company stores. Note that 1815 is the only sample from before the merger. The amount of liquor present in 1815 was a consequence of the competition

between the North-West Company, and the HBC. During the height of this competition liquor flowed freely in hopes of securing trade and labour. Although tobacco was generally purchased in consistent quantities, the 1823-4 accounts indicate that the amount of people purchasing tobacco decreased. Yet by 1832-3 everyone purchased tobacco. Thus, tobacco consumption did not increase steadily over time. The number of employees purchasing tobacco in 1823-4, however, is complex, because servants were likely receiving unrecorded gratuitous tobacco. As such, considering tangential evidence such as pipes helps illuminate the patterns of tobacco consumption.

Table 2.2 Pattern of Pipe Consumption

Year	**1815**	**1823 summer**	**1823-4 winter**	**1832-3 summer**	**1832-3 winter**
Number of pipes purchased	21	130	12	240	28
% of population who purchased pipes	18.5%	18.2%	12.2%	60.1%	9.3%
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815,1823-24,1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.					

Pipes can be an indicator of tobacco consumption. This is because tobacco was often consumed by smoking it in a pipe. Therefore, the pattern of pipe purchases can help illustrate the trajectory of tobacco consumption. 1832 is the year in which the most pipes were purchased. This is congruent with the pattern of tobacco purchased. Yet, in 1823 pipes do not follow the same pattern as tobacco. The number of pipes purchased increases dramatically from 1815. Table 2.2 suggests that in the 1823-4 accounts the demand for tobacco related paraphernalia persisted despite a decrease in the amount of tobacco purchased. This may have been due to the fact that by 1823, pipes were not as durable, but it appears that not every person at Edmonton House needed to buy pipes every year. In the summer of that year 130 pipes were

purchased by 6 people, which equates to 21 pipes per account. During the summer of 1832, 240 pipes were listed on 17 accounts, averaging 17 pipes per account. This purchasing strategy could well be attributed to the expectation of breakage, but might also attributed to gifting as pipes made excellent gifts. It is possible that servants purchased more pipes than they needed to help purchase social capital.

Contrary to tobacco, the total quantity of rum bought continually decreases throughout this period of study, but the total amount of rum consumed remains obscured as rum was an aspect of labourer's rations throughout this period. Still, there is evidence that the total amount of rum consumed at Edmonton House decreased over time, and there is evidence that the amount of choice available between different rums decreased as well.

In 1815 two varieties of rum were available for consumption: Jamaica rum and Leeward Island rum.[101] Moreover, other varieties of alcohol also appeared: wine and porter. In the summer of 1823, both Jamaica rum, and Leeward Island rum were the only options present.[102] Nevertheless, rum from the Caribbean was the most desirable.[103] By the fall of 1823 accounts list either Leeward Island rum, rum distilled, or rum reduced. [104] In 1832-3 only one option remained, Demerara rum, which was likely produced in Guyana.[105] As such, 1815 offered the largest variety of choice for liquor, while 1832 offered the least choice.[106]

[101] HBCA B.60/d/6.
[102] HBCA B.60/d/14.
[103] James A. Hanson, *Encyclopedia of Trade Goods, volume 6: Provisions of the Fur Trade* (Nebraska: Museum of the Fur Trade. 2017), 169.
[104] HBCA B.60/d/15.
[105] HBCA B.60/d/42.
[106] HBCA B.60/d/6-42.

Tobacco follows a different pattern altogether. In 1815 the only choice was "tobacco".[107] By the summer of 1823 there was a choice between a carrot of tobacco, Irish roll tobacco, and Irish twist tobacco.[108] "Roll" or "twist" tobacco was a versatile commodity. These were typically ropes of tobacco, the end of which could be broken off to be smoked, chewed or snorted.[109] Carrots of tobacco were a type of tobacco package. A carrot could vary between three to five pounds. Carrots were a convenient way to carry tobacco inland. Carrots of tobacco were particularly popular amongst northern plains peoples.[110] In the winter of 1832-3, the additional option of plug tobacco became available.[111] Plugs were another method of preservation which could also be smoked or chewed.[112] As time passed, the number of different options for tobacco increased. This again is congruent with the increase in consumption over time, with the exception of 1823-4.[113]

Figure 7. "Carrot of Tobacco," The Museum of the Fur Trade
http://www.furtrade.org/museum-collections/provisions/

[107] HBCA B.60/d/6.
[108] HBCA B.60/d/14-15.
[109] Hanson, *Encyclopedia of Trade Goods, volume 6,* 365-6.
[110] Ibid, 370-2.
[111] HBCA B.60/d/42.
[112] Hanson, *Encyclopedia of Trade Goods, volume 6*, 387-9.
[113] HBCA B.60/d/ 6-42.

Perspective of the Hudson's Bay Company

The Hudson's Bay Company held the belief that profit was the most important aspect of the trade. As such, the economic understandings of the value of rum and tobacco took precedence. Simply put, the HBC wanted rum and tobacco at fur trade forts because it made them money. Rum and tobacco held important positions within the fur trade. Ceremonies of trade often began with the gifting of rum and tobacco to Indigenous bands. Failure to provide these gifts was costly. Before the merger of 1821, Native traders would visit rival posts if they were not gifted tobacco and rum. In 1815, chief trader James Bird remarked that "one half of the whole quantity traded is purchased with tobacco".[114] Likewise, the success of trade on the North Saskatchewan was dependent on the presence of drink. In 1827, George Simpson asserted that no trade with the Blackfoot would be possible without liquor, since without the gifting of rum the Blackfoot would trade with the Americans.[115] Rum and tobacco were not only traded with local Indigenous populations, but they also sold it to servants, as indicated by Table 2.1. Thus, tobacco and rum were a legitimate source of revenue for the HBC. Tobacco especially was viewed as an important trade commodity. There is little indication that smoking was perceived as a vice. The HBC's management's perception of rum, however, is much more ambivalent. Rum was a legitimate source of income, but after 1821 the trade of liquor to Natives was viewed as being morally debilitating.

Anthony Feistel's observation illustrates this contested meaning: "Rum has furnished our men to day, with an amusement not wholly unprofitable to the Company." In essence he is

[114] Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Correspondence and Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 322.
[115] George Simpson's Report for 1827, HBCA D.4/90.

alluding to the fact that drinking and amusement had the potential to be "unprofitable to the Company." Still, it was at least agreeable that they were drinking "at their own expenses." It is clear that the HBC was glad to take their servants' money for rum. George Simpson remarked in his 1820 Athabasca journal "if we had sufficient quantity of rum this season 3/4ths of their (the servants') wages would be expended."[116] Simpson recognised that rum had the ability to "lighten the pockets" of servants. Still, he did not hold a positive perception of drinking. In an 1820 letter to Joseph Grill, Simpson remarked "a drunkard you are aware is an object of contempt even in the eyes of the savage race".[117] Nevertheless, Simpson was aware of the importance of rum to a successful enterprise. Rum was an important aspect of the servant master relationship.

On the 2nd of January, 1821 Simpson wrote: "Our people have been intoxicated all day and very troublesome, it is however necessary to humour them at present as I am anxious to renew their engagements without delay."[118] Thus rum was an integral part of the system of rewards and punishments between master and servant. Indeed, the relationship between master and servant was characterised by a mutual obligation.[119] For example, on special occasions tobacco and a dram of rum were expected. One particular special occasion was the renewal of a contract.[120] Simpson's journal passage noted above indicates that he was acutely aware of how important rum was to securing labour. More or less, it was expected that masters would offer servants a *regale* which was a treat of food, rum or tobacco.[121] These *regales* were often found

[116] E.E. Rich (ed.), *Simpson's Athabasca* (London: Champlain Society, 1938), 137.
[117] Ibid, 70-1.
[118] Ibid., 205.
[119] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 22.
[120] Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 38.
[121] Ibid, 149.

at the center of rituals signifying the relationship between officer and labourer. Contracts are perhaps the most obvious example of this relationship. Still, other rituals were performed. One such ritual was the lob stick or May pole. When traveling by river, it was not uncommon to pass a series of trees whose limbs had been removed. It was a long-standing tradition of fur traders to produce May poles or lobsticks in honour of their master. This tradition did not come without obligation on behalf of the master who was then expected to offer the members of his crew a treat. Failure to meet this obligation was costly, as the absence of reward often lead to insubordination.[122] As such, rum in some circumstances was a useful tool for social control. Tobacco, also held these properties. It was a highly desired commodity, and tobacco, may have been preferred by the management as it did not possess some of the negative qualities found in rum.

While rum could signify the mutual obligation between master and servant, it also could embody the tensions between these two groups. At times, rum was argued to be a stimulant which inspired work. It was perhaps more usual for liquor to be a source of dissidence. Masters were acutely aware that ceremonies involving drinking were important when fur traders arrived at or left from posts. Yet drinking was also a way for employees to ignore their responsibilities to the HBC. Edith Burley argues that drunkenness was one of the most common offenses at fur trade posts. Drunkenness was viewed as an instigator for neglect of duty.[123] The Northern committee especially agreed that drinking should be reduced. In 1823 the Northern Committee increased the cost of these items in order to reduce the abuse of spirituous liquors.[124] Increasing the cost of rum had an acute effect on the purchasing of this item. This is because demand is an

[122] Ibid, 134-142.
[123] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 131.
[124] Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1940), 61.

intersection of wealth and taste. If rum became too expensive, consumers abstained from paying for it, even though they might still have a taste for liquor. It appears that efforts to reduce the use and abuse of liquor were successful to some degree. In conjunction with the decrease in percentage of the population purchasing rum, the total quantity of rum present at Edmonton House also decreased over time. At the end of the 1814 trade year, Edmonton House possessed, 1130 ¾ gallons of Jamaica rum in addition to 489 ½ gallons of Leeward Island rum. By 1823 Edmonton House only invoiced 250 gallons of rum in total. It is important to remember that the potency of these liquors is not necessarily the same. Still, it is apparent that a staggering decrease in volume of liquor shipped to Edmonton House occurred between 1815 and 1823.[125]

The intensity of this change is not entirely contingent on the relationship between labourers and the company. The fur trade after 1821 involved a restructuring of the relationship between the HBC and its employees, and the relationship between fur trading posts and local indigenous populations. This transformation can be construed as a transition of power over the trade from Native bands to the new monopoly of the HBC. In essence, after 1821, the HBC could exert more control over the trade. Consequently, traditions such as the gifting, and trade of rum to Native traders could receive more scrutiny. The London directors believed that reformation of native habits was necessary. This "reformation" was characterised by a change in policy towards selling spirits to First Nations. The London Committee viewed the consumption of alcohol by Natives as morally reprehensible. Therefore, as early as 1822 the HBC enacted policies which reduced the volume of liquor traded and gifted inland.[126] There, however, was no

[125] HBCA B.60/ d/ 6 and d/15.
[126] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1821-1826,* lii-liv.

immediate change. By 1824 the Northern Council was still forming policy for the discontinuation of sale of liquor to natives.

> That the Indians be treated with lenity and forbearance and every mild and conciliatory means resorted to, for to encourage industry, repress vice and inculcate morality, and that the use of Spirituous Liquors be gradually discontinued.[127]

The ability of the HBC to reduce the trade in spirits depended on the legitimacy of their monopoly. In regions where the HBC traded exclusively, such as the Athabasca district, the HBC was able to reduce the trade of rum. On the plains, where they competed with American traders, the HBC continued to rely on rum to secure trade especially provisions. The total quantity of rum available in Edmonton House could never be reduced to zero. It is noteworthy that the Northern Council did not discuss a decrease in the sale of rum to servants, with the exception of the increase in sale price. Indeed, it is likely that servants were only impacted indirectly by the context of the trade since less rum was available, and it t is unclear if the HBC wanted to eliminate rum from the diet of its servants. Nevertheless, the consequence remained the same, the total volume of rum sold in 1823-4 and 1832-3 decreased dramatically.

The same rhetoric by the Northern Council and London Committee does not exist for tobacco. Certainly, tobacco served similar purposes as rum, especially in rituals involving the relationship between master and servant. Tobacco was especially important to contract equipments. After 1823, midmen were entitled to 3 pounds of tobacco as a part of their contract, while steersmen were entitled to 9 pounds. This is an indication that tobacco did not hold many of the same negative qualities perceived of rum. There is no evidence that the management of the HBC wanted to reduce the amount of tobacco consumed. Likewise, there is no indication that the London Committee wanted to discontinue the trade of tobacco to First Nations. While

[127] Fleming,*Minutes of Council,* 90.

differences in management attitudes towards rum and tobacco are obvious, the relationship between labourers and these goods is somewhat more elusive. Still it is obvious that these goods held different values in the minds of employees.

The perspective of servants

The opinion of labourers on the subject of rum and tobacco varied greatly from that of their employers. Rum and tobacco were not necessarily purchased for their liquid value, rather rum and tobacco held emotional value. Rum and tobacco, to labourers, had a legitimate place in the world of labour and leisure. While the consumption of alcohol was frowned upon by management, they could not entirely eliminate it because servants of the HBC saw nothing wrong with drinking.[128] However true this may be, the point remains that employees were acutely aware that the management of the HBC did not necessarily approve of the drinking habit of employees. It is important to understand that the employees of the HBC came from diverse backgrounds. Therefore, their opinions on the subject were equally as diverse.

Table 2.3 Edmonton House population by Country of Origin

	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	23	3	--
1823 summer	14	11	1	7
1823-4 winter*	27	18	3	9
1832 summer	14	8	1	3
1832-3 winter	14	9	2	3

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.
*includes bow river expedition and some Rocky Mountain House Numbers.

[128] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 135.

Table 2.4 Number of Accounts Which contain Rum According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	21	2	--
1823 summer	4	5	0	0
1823-4 winter*	12	12	0	1
1832 summer	5	3	0	2
1832-3 winter	7	4	0	1
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42. *includes bow river expedition and some Rocky Mountain House Numbers.				

Table 2.5 Rum Consumption According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	102 7/16 gal.	3 ¾ gal.	--
1823 summer	3 4/7 gal.	5 7/12 gal.	0	0
1823-4 winter	3 3/4 gal.	5 9/16 gal.	0	1/8 gal.
1832 summer	11 ¼ gal.	3 gal.	0	3 ¼ gal.
1832-3 winter	1 5/8 gal 2 ½ pints	1 ¼ gal., ½ pint	0	3 ½ pints
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.				

It appears that buying rum was a shared practice amongst cultural groups. That being said, the amount of rum purchased by country-born servants decreased over time, and in 1832-3 no country-born servant purchased spirits. Still, no more than two country-born servants worked in the post at this time. The reduction of total consumption over time for country-born servants was dramatic. Still, it is reflective of the over-arching change during the early 19th century. Those servants who were born in the county purchased the least amount of liquor. The motivations of these employees are unclear. However, the HBC management had a highly racialized opinion on the use of liquor, it is possible that these opinions had implications of the

purchase of liquor by country born servants.[129] Decisions about consumption are the result of internal factors such as a decrease in demand as well as external factors such as attempting to maintain respectability in the eyes of your employer.

There is no evidence that the demand for rum and other spirits from HBC employees declined. It is more likely that it was the policy and practices of the HBC which lead to the reduction of rum consumption. The ability of servants to consume rum is predicated on their ability to procure this liquid. Rum, for all intents and purposes, was a monopolised good. The HBC controlled the flow of rum into the territory and as such, they had substantial control over their employees' consumption. The way in which the HBC reduced employee consumption of rum was by restricting the amount of rum available at posts, and by increasing the price. This produced a culture of consumption which was distorted by corporate desires. The practices of the HBC were felt universally in the fur trade fort and therefore the experience of consumption by those living there was similar in many ways. That being said, there are small differences in the patterns of consumption.

In 1815 and 1823-4 more Europeans bought rum on average than any other group. By 1832-3 there is only a small difference between Europeans, Freemen and Canadians. Europeans came from a culture in which drinking was a normal daily occurrence. In England, drinking was primarily an exercise in quenching thirst. Beer was viewed a safe alternative to city water.[130] In working class circles, drinking was perceived as a source of extra energy and confidence. Moreover, drinking was a component in ceremonies of becoming a man.[131] In pre-industrial

[129] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1821-26,* 157.
[130] Brian Harrison, *Drink and Victorians: the temperance question in England 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), 38.
[131] Ibid, 40.

England, drinking was a normal part of labour. This was in large part due to the normal work cycles, and the intensity of work varied greatly. Some days, or weeks, were busier than others. The negative connotations of drinking and labour were emphasised by an industrial mindset, of highly structured work days, and labour expectations.[132] It is important to note that Orcadians, who comprised the largest portion of the European demographic came from what was essentially a pre-industrial society. As such, their expectations and attitudes towards drinking and work would have been in stark contrast to the conceptions of their employers. Simply put, drinking to Europeans was a normal part of everyday life, not only during labour, but also in times of leisure. Although the total amount of rum which was available for purchase decreased over time, it appears that European servants purchased as much rum as they could.

Drinking was also a normal aspect of the Canadian lifeways, as drink permeated all aspects of life from celebrations to the mundane. For example, in 19th century Upper Canada whiskey was often served to the family, including the children at breakfast.[133] Indeed, there is little evidence to suggest that rum was a gendered item. Women and men drank along with their children. For example, teething toddlers might be offered a nip of spirits to soothe their crying. These attitudes towards drink were likely shared by Europeans. As such, one should assume that the liquor purchased by servants was also served to the women and children of that family. While the amount of rum on Canadian accounts is low in 1823-4 and 1832-3, it is safe to assume that before the merger Canadians consumed similar amounts of liquor as Europeans did in the 1815 account. There is no remarkable change in the amount of rum purchased between 1823-4

[132] Ibid, 41
[133] Douglas McCalla, *Consumption Stories: Customer Purchases of Alcohol at an Upper Canadian Country Store In 1808-1809 and 1828-1829* (Sainte-Foy, Quebec: CIEQ, 1999) 2-3.

and 1832-3. This indicates that demand over this period might not have changed all of that dramatically.

Freemen knew and enjoyed rum without a doubt. On the 6th of October 1825, John Rowand claimed that Baptiste Prunoe liked rum above all else. There is evidence that rum was a normal and enjoyable part of freeman life. For example, on the 1st of October 1823, a large group of the freeman hunters for Edmonton House received liquor as part of their payment. Duncan Finlayson remarked that they "Kept drinking and Singing like Indians over their cups for the best part of the night".[134] Freemen accounts do not include every gallon of rum consumed. As Finlayson records, freemen often procured liquor as part of their payments. What appears on freemen accounts is how much money they owed to the HBC. Table 2.3 illustrates that the amount of money owed for rum increased over time. Another interesting meaning in Finlayson's quote is singing. Drinking was conducive to singing and dancing, and thus to sociability.

Drinking rum at its very essence was a social activity. Drinking was something that friends and family did together. Sharing a dram was an essential aspect of sharing friendship.[135] For example, drinking was significant during rituals of arrival and departure. Often times when leaving a post to go deep into Native territory or leaving Edmonton House for York factory, liquor was consumed. Leaving was a heartfelt goodbye knowing the dangers of traveling on the rivers or living in a post. Indeed, when an individual left, it was uncertain whether or not they would be seen again. Additionally, there was a distinct possibility that a boatman could drown in the river. For example, in 1815 Patrick Welsh held an account at Edmonton House. That year he drowned in the river. On his account was half a gallon of Jamaica rum. One has to wonder if

[134] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1821-26,* 113.
[135] Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World*, 230.

he drank during a ritual of farewell the night before what would be his final journey.[136] Arrival at a new post also entailed a celebration. Rather than a tearful goodbye, arrival was a warm welcome where new and familiar faces were seen for the first time in months. During these celebrations, liquor flowed freely, and singing and dancing were common. Celebrations of arrival were a way to greet old friends and potentially make new ones.[137]

Celebration was a common motivation for consuming rum. The most notable celebrations were New Year's and Christmas. On these days especially, drinking, singing and dancing were enjoyed by the fort population. On New Year's Day it was not uncommon for smaller posts to come to Edmonton House for the festivities, as a gift of rum was offered to servants on the first day of the year. For example, in 1826 each servant was given a pint of rum.[138] However, the following day, families had to purchase their own spirits and the most popular day to purchase rum in the winter of 1823-4 accounts was the 2nd of January.[139] This makes sense since New Year's was an extraordinary festival which lasted multiple days. During this celebration fur traders and their families would dress in their finest clothes and would dance and sing and feast for days on end.[140] There does not appear to be much change in this practice over time. It was a carnival where servants and their families enjoyed freedom from work and subordination.

While drinking could bring people together, it sometimes also led to conflict. On November 10th, 1823, a group of European servants from Norway House received a dram of rum at Edmonton House. According to Richard Grant, the result of this drink was a fight between the

[136] HBCA B.60/d/6.
[137] Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World,* 171.
[138] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals1821-26,* 221.
[139] HBCA B.60/ d/15 and d/42.
[140] Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World*, 174-5.

Canadian servants of Edmonton House and these Europeans.[141] These occurrences, especially in the years directly after the merger, were quite common. However, not all fist fights were negative. Many boxing matches were held for sport. Still, there was potential for real and sometimes fatal quarrels between servants. The management of the HBC did not want this conflict. Rather, the HBC wanted order and control. Rum and drunkenness were in opposition to this order. After all, servants could use drunkenness as an act of dissidence. [142]

As noted earlier, tobacco consumption contrasts to the trajectory of rum consumption for several reasons. Tobacco was a useful tool of control for the HBC, as it was well suited as a *régale*. This is because the demand for tobacco among servants was so high. As such, it was used as an incentive to sign contracts, and as a gift on special occasions such as Christmas and New Year's. Moreover, tobacco was a substantial source of profit for the HBC. According to servants, tobacco also possessed psychotropic properties. Like rum, tobacco was enjoyed almost universally amongst cultural groups.

Table 2.6 Number of Accounts Which Contain Tobacco According to Country of Origin

	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	21	2	--
1823 summer	4	7	1	1
1823-4 winter*	20	14	2	2
1832 summer	14	8	1	3
1832-3 winter	12	7	2	2

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.
*includes bow river expedition and some Rocky Mountain House Numbers.

[141] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1821-26*, 63.
[142] Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 131-9.

Table 2.7 Tobacco Consumption According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	212 ½ lbs	22 ¼ lbs	--
1823 summer	14 ¼ lbs	41 1/8 lbs	0 lbs	3 ¼ lbs
1823-4 winter	46 1/6 lbs, 2 carrots	37 ¾ lbs, 4 2/3 carrots	½ lbs	7 lbs
1832 summer	42 5/8 lbs, 89 carrots	50 3/16 lbs, 40 carrots	9 ½ lbs, 6 carrots	9 13/16 lbs, 18 carrots
1832-3 winter	35 lbs, 3 carrots	20 ½ lbs, 3 carrots	10 ½ lbs 2 carrots	2 ½ lbs, 1 carrot
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.				

Taken as a whole the year 1823-4 is somewhat of an anomaly, as the total volume of tobacco purchased at Edmonton House decreased. It is unclear whether or not this figure is related to the total consumption. Because tobacco could be a *régale* as well as a part of equipments, and it is likely that servants smoked much more tobacco than Table 2.7 indicates. As well, by 1832-3 the HBC was actively trying to discontinue gratuitous tobacco. This might explain why the total percentage of the population purchasing tobacco in 1832-3 increased to one hundred percent. This was different than the consumption of rum not because the demand for tobacco was greater than rum, but because of the HBC's policies and practices. In 1815 these two items appeared on an almost identical number of accounts. This difference in trajectory, as already noted, is more readily explained by difference in attitudes towards these goods by the management of the HBC.

Sociability, was central to the value of tobacco. Taking a break from work to smoke was something that servants did together. Whether it was a break during a long voyage, or a break from shoveling snow, smoking was a social activity. Furthermore, smoking was an important part of leisure, it accompanied other activities, such as playing cards. Indeed, smoking was an

enjoyable pastime. Tobacco contrasts from the sociability of rum in that it was much less conducive to conflict. There is no indication that HBC management believed that tobacco lead to indolence, negligence or violence.

Tobacco also was a part of the cosmology of fur trade life. Tobacco had a legitimate place in the spirituality of fur traders. Before entering Native territory, voyageurs would offer a piece of tobacco to the river to ask for safe passage. This ritual was a custom of the country. It was a representation of the very real anxieties of voyageurs that this voyage might be their last.[143] Tobacco also had another important role during a long voyage. Stopping for a pipe of tobacco was entrenched in fur trade life to such a degree that measurements of distance were calculated by the number of pipes smoked.[144] It is clear that smoking was an important part of fur trade life, not only for work and leisure, but also to help understand the world around them.

Conclusion

Consumption at Edmonton House did undergo change between 1815 and 1833 and the purchasing or rum and tobacco illustrate these changes. As the HBC increased its control over trade after 1821, the management of the company was able to exert greater control over the consumption patterns of their employees. Indeed, the HBC always wanted to gain profit from the appetites of its employees. That said, the management of the HBC also wanted control. Goods like rum and tobacco were useful for consolidating control over its servants because they were so highly sought after. Servants did have some control over their consumption patterns. Still, external forces such as the physical location of Edmonton house and the corporate attitudes

[143] Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World*, 63.
[144] Ibid, 124.

of the HBC worked in concert to shape the consumption of rum and tobacco. The spatial distance from alternative markets for rum and tobacco forced servants to purchase these goods from the company store. Consequently, by 1833 the HBC was able to sell as much rum and tobacco as they saw fit, regardless of how much servants craved a wee dram and a smoke. The culture of consumption at Edmonton House was one which was regulated by the corporate structure of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Chapter 3

Contextualising Cloth Consumption Patterns at Edmonton House in the Early 19th century

Interwoven into the very fabric of consumption patterns at Edmonton House between 1815 and 1832-3 is the purchase of textiles. This chapter will analyse how the patterns of cloth consumption at Edmonton House changed between 1815 and 1832-3. This period was volatile in that the nature of the trade was reorganised. Likewise, the pattern of textile purchases was dynamic. The sale of cloth to servants did not steadily increase or decrease over time. Instead, the amount of cloth bought in 1823 decreased dramatically from 1815, and by the summer of 1832 the total amount of cloth purchased nearly doubled the totals of 1815. This pattern is reflective of broader social changes at Edmonton House. Often, changes in consumption patterns are related to broader social changes. In order to make sense of these patterns of consumption, the theoretical and historical context of cloth and Edmonton House needs to be understood. The servant accounts will also be scrutinised in order to test the hypothesis of whether the increase in cloth consumption by 1832-3 was in any way related to an increase in opportunities to live on the plains outside of fur trade posts.

The primary theoretical consideration relevant to this chapter is the conceptualisation that all consumption is meaningful. That is to say that all purchases of cloth were done for a reason.[145] In 1815, John Moar did not purchase a ½ yard of red cord cloth, 6 yards of blue cord cloth and 3 yards of stripped aurora cloth by accident. Likewise, the fact that Moar bought an additional 1 yard of vittery, 2 yards of duffle and 2 ½ yards of flannel was certainly not a mistake. Every one of these textiles were purchased with purpose.[146] The assumption that all

[145] Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 184.
[146] Edmonton House Accounts, 1815 and 1823-24, HBCA B.60/d/6 and d/15.

consumption is meaningful is useful for understanding the contents of HBC servant account books. The meanings associated with the act of consumption, however are often elusive. Still, when analysing the context of consumption in concert with total quantity of purchasing, some clarity is achieved. It is important to understand that the meanings associated with consumption are not fixed. Rather, the meaning imbued in an object, such as a few yards of stroud, are deeply influenced by the context of consumption. As the context of consumption changes, so too do the meanings and purposes of purchasing cloth. This concept is most easily understood when examining the influence of environmental contexts. For example, moving to different climates changes meanings associated with an article of clothing. Mittens are likely a novelty in New Mexico, whereas on the North Saskatchewan they are a necessity. That said, the environmental context of the Edmonton House did not change thus it is likely that it was larger social changes impacted consumption patterns.

The purpose of purchasing cloth generally falls into the broad categories of utility or luxury. This distinction however, is not always useful. Conversations about the utility of cloth, for example, are not always appropriate. Certainly, the demand for cloth was related to universal needs such as the need to insulate one's body. Nevertheless, the utility of purchasing goods is not always directly related to physical needs. The accumulation of capital, both physical and social, can be considered useful. Thus, the distinction between luxury and utility breaks down as these concepts are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, something of a luxury can have a perceived and real beneficial impact on an individual's life. This in turn makes discussions about changes in wants versus needs in relation to textile consumption less pertinent. The line of distinction

between a want and a need as it relates to cloth and clothing is simply too vague to be useful.[147] The idea that some consumption is superfluous is not conducive to a greater understanding of cloth and how it is related to life in the fur trade. Instead, I will consider all cloth consumption meaningful and valuable to some degree. Value, however, is not a fixed concept, it depends on an object's context. In some contexts, textiles are more valuable; in other they are less valuable. By analysing servant accounts in light of their context, one can appreciate how cloth consumption reflected broader social change on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River.[148]

Cloth existed within a similar context to other articles found at Edmonton House. That means textiles were subject to the same environmental and corporate influences as other goods. Between 1815 and 1832-3 there were no dramatic climatic changes, thus changes in the amount of fabric bought were likely not due to this factor. Still, there were some changes to the physical space of Edmonton House. After 1821, the trade network for textiles at Edmonton House was dominated by the nominal monopoly of the HBC. As such, the HBC could exert greater control over the trade of textiles by 1823 than it could in 1815. Consequently, the injection of cloth into the physical space the North Saskatchewan River was characterised by the Hudson's Bay Company's corporate practices. The HBC's policy towards cloth particularly did not change dramatically after 1815, and one can assume that the HBC always wanted to sell as much cloth as possible. Unlike rum, the sale of cloth was uninhibited because the HBC had no moral reservations about the sale of fabric. That being said, cloth was similar to rum in that after 1821

[147] Mary Douglas and Baron C. Isherwood, "Why people want goods," in *The World of Goods: Towards an anthropology of consumption* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3- 10.
[148] Karine Dannehl, "Object biographies: from production to consumption," In *History and Material Culture,* edited by Karen Harvey (New York: Routledge, 2009), 125-6.

the HBC had a nominal monopoly over the trade networks which brought these goods inland. As such, the HBC's policies need to be analysed in order to make sense of the patterns of purchase.

The HBC did not comment on the sale of cloth in great detail in their Edmonton House journals. In the September of 1815, James Bird noted that servants expressed a demand for "calicoes, fine cloth, corduroys and cloathes of almost every description."[149] This passage indicates that an appetite for cloth and clothes clearly existed in 1815. Indeed, the importance of textiles to the fur trade cannot be understated. Clothing was highly desirable for both local Indigenous populations and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. Servants in 1815 purchased over 344 yards of cloth, spread between 27 accounts, averaging over 12 yards of fabric per servant. This in combination with Bird's passage illustrates that servants in 1815 valued textiles highly. After all, fabric was not cheap.[150]

The corporate policy of the HBC towards the sale of cloth did not undergo extensive changes between 1815 and 1832-3, though some change did occur. One notable change was the policy toward gratuitous cloth. In 1822, the Council of the Northern Department decided that servant wages were calculated to be sufficient without equipments, or any allowance for the same.[151] However, in regard to the Canadians particularly, it was considered "necessary for the Chief Factors and Chief Traders to see that the men provide themselves with a proper stock of clothing to enable them to do their work before going inland."[152] By the winter of 1823-4, it is likely that traders could rely on acquiring fabric, and clothes through their contract. It is

[149] Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Correspondence and Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 316.
[150] Edmonton House Accounts 1815, HBCA B.60/d/6. For example, in 1815 the Orcadian midman William Gibson purchased 12 ¾ yards of cloth costing him more than 4£, 1/5 of that year's wages.
[151] Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1940), 261. Equipments consisted of: "Blanket 3 pts. 1 Do. 2 ½ pts., 2 yds. Strouds, 2 Cotton Shirts and 9lbs. Tobacco for Boutes and M-men the same except a deduction of 3 lb. Tobacco."
[152] Ibid, 306.

difficult to address whether or not an average servant acquired more cloth and clothing than they outright purchased from the company store.

Another change in policy in the year following the merger was the price of cloth. In 1822, the HBC postulated that

> The people will naturally expect a reduction of the extravagant wages, given during the opposition, and they will be the easier reconciled to this and to the loss of the equipments when they find the prices for articles from the Stores so much reduced.[153]

Although the HBC reduced the price of goods, and attempted to end contract equipments, in 1823-4 the HBC did not see an increase in the amount of sales from 1815. This is likely proof that in 1823-4 servants still expected and received gratuitous cloth. That being said, a conclusive assessment of the frequency and quantity of these transactions remains somewhat obscured. What is known for a fact is that the amount of cloth purchased in 1823-4 is less than it was in 1815. By 1832-3, these policies appear to have taken hold since the amount of cloth bought nearly doubles that of 1815. Still, the 1823-4 totals for cloth purchases remain to be explained.[154]

After 1821 the HBC believed that they had too many employees because of the merger of the NWC labour force with the HBC labour force. The consequence of this was a policy that enacted a large-scale reduction of fort populations.[155] The hundreds of servants who were dismissed were let go either because of their performance, or because of the size of their families. While dismissals based on performance is self-explanatory, the relationship between

[153] Ibid, 306.
[154] Edmonton House Accounts 1815-1833. HBCA B.60/ d/ 6- 42.
[155] Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District, Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821-1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), xxxi.

family life and the HBC requires further analysis. The HBC had been subsidising families because servants could not afford to pay for the clothes and provisions their families needed. The policies which allowed for feeding and clothing families was a result of the pre-merger era where fierce competition rendered such actions necessary in order to maintain a competent workforce. After the merger, the HBC no longer saw fit to pay for "women and children", and made efforts to eliminate the excess costs associated with large families in fur trade forts. This policy was by no means immediately effective. In the summer of 1823 George Simpson reported that a great decrease in cost had already taken place by dismissing men with large families and that charging servants for the upkeep of their family should be "delayed at present."[156]

By the summer of 1824 the HBC began to stipulate in their contracts that men needed to be sure that they could furnish their family before they were married. The Council of the Northern Department stipulated:

> That no Officer or Servant in the company's service be hereafter allowed to take a woman without binding himself down to such reasonable provision for the maintenance of the woman and children as on a fair and equitable principle may be considered necessary not only during their residence in this country but after their departure hence and that all those whose engagements expire and who retire from the service leaving children in the country be required to make such provision for the same as circumstances call for and their means permit, and that all those desirous of withdrawing their children from the country be allowed every facility and encouragement for that purpose.[157]

In light of this change in policy it is evident that accounts in 1832-3 existed within a different context than the 1823-4 accounts. In addition to this, by 1832-3 the policy of equipments had been almost entirely eliminated. Therefore, by 1832-3 servants were expected to purchase more

[156] Ibid, xxxiv-xxxv
[157] Fleming, *Minutes of Council,* 94-5, 129.

cloth and clothing for their families than they had in in 1823-4. This helps explain the changes in part. Still, there are some other contextual changes which affect the sale of cloth to servants.

After 1821, new opportunities for fur trade families began to appear on the northwest plains and in other regions such as lac Ste. Anne. This changed the context for fur traders in relation to their ability to maintain family bonds and remain in the country. The mass dismissal of families in 1821 was coupled with new economic opportunities outside of forts. This was, by and large, characterised by the opportunity for servants to settle at Red River following their time in the fur trade. Moreover, an economic niche as food suppliers for prairie forts allowed retired or fired servants to pursue a life as freemen. This change in the context of the fur trade transformed the relationship between servants and textiles. The exact relationship between purchasing patterns and transformations in the context of the fur trade is not entirely clear, but one can assume that the congruence in transformations were not coincidental. After all people purchased goods for a purpose. The relationship between servants and textiles can be defined by the way in which these textiles were procured and the way in which textiles were used. Cloth could be an aspect of contracts, or purchased outright. The amount of cloth included in contracts would have a great impact on how much cloth was purchased from the store.

Additionally, the way in which textiles were used would have an impact on consumption patterns of textiles. Generally speaking, textiles could be used in two distinct ways. They could be worn, they could be sold, or they could be gifted. This in turn is related to the value of these goods. When cloth was sewn and worn it was utilitarian, yet it was also related to emotional value. When cloth was traded or gifted it embodied liquid value. Bear in mind that these two are not in opposition. Rather, the emotional and liquid value of cloth were used in concert though one could take precedence over the other. The way in which these goods were acquired and used

needs to be engaged with in order to understand the patterns of textile purchases at Edmonton House.

Table 3.1 The Percentage of Accounts which Contain Purchases of Textiles

	1815	1823 summer	1823-4 winter	1832-3 summer	1832-3 winter
Number of accounts	27	22 (33) *	57	28	32
% of population who purchased Cloth	100% (27)	86.6% (19)	45.6% (26)	100% (28)	50% (16)
Total quantity of Cloth purchased	344 3/8 yds	207 ¼ yds	42 5/8 yds	543 ¼ yds	52 13/24 yds

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.

These totals include freemen accounts which only include items purchased on credit. *For the summer of 1823 there are 9 accounts which appear within the ledger but did not purchase a single article. For this table I did not count them when calculating percentage, as these would have skewed the numbers.

Table 3.1 indicates that in 1823 the total quantity of cloth purchased decreased. Additionally, the percentage of the population which had cloth on their accounts diminished. A decline in purchases of cloth during 1823 reflects the social upheaval of this period, although major changes in the composition of fort life had already occurred. The immediate legacy of these changes was still taking shape. Table 3.1 indicates that a legacy of the 1821 merger was a decrease in purchases of cloth. The motivation for this change is unclear. It is a possibility that servants received more gratuities during this period. This, however, is difficult to track. We know for sure that some cloth was included in the 1822 definition of equipments. Still the amount of fabric provided for families from the HBC is unknown. What is also elusive is

whether or not the desire for fabrics transformed between 1815 and 1823, or if the value of textiles may have undergone some change.

Table 3.2 Varieties of Cloth Purchased 1815-33

1815	1823-24	1832-33
Baize (1 ½ Yds)	Calico (20 yds)	Coating (10 1/6 yds)
Calico (45 ¼ yds)	Cloth (4 yds)	Corduroy (19 yds)
Cloth* (189 5/8 yds)	Corduroy (4 yds)	Cotton (266 1/2 yds)
Cotton (6 7/8 yds)	Cotton (70 ½ yds)	Duffle (20 5/6 yds)
Corduroy (8 ½ yds)	Duffle (1 1/12 yds)	Flannel (44 1/2 yds)
Duckraven (7 ½ yds)	Flannel (16 yds)	Furniture cotton (½ yd)
Duffle (9 yds)	Furniture cotton chintz (3 yds)	Gauze (2 1/3 yds)
Flannel (37 ¼ yds)	Gauze (2 yds)	Gurrah (4 yds)
Gauze (1 ½ yds)	Holland (2 yds)	Huckaback (1 yd)
Molton (7 3/4 yds)	Irish Linen (7 yds)	Mixed cloth (3 yds)
Serge (13 yds)	List cloth (2 yds)	Second cloth (55 2/3 yds)
	Osuabrugh (7 yds)	Silk (¼ yd)
	Second Cloth (12 ¾ yds)	Skech (2 ¾ yds)
	Stroud common (59 5/12 yds)	Stroud common (17 11/12 yds)
	Stroud HB (40 3/10 yds)	Stroud HB (120 7/8 yds)
		Tartan (7 ½ yds)
		Test cloth (19 yds)

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.

Table 3.2 illustrates that the variety of cloth purchased between 1815 and 1823-4 increased. In 1832-3 the total variety of cloth increased again. This pattern indicates that over time more and different kinds of cloth were available to servants. Still, in 1823-4 the lower purchase totals compared to the higher availability in options raises some questions about the value of cloth during this period. Table 3.2 gives evidence that cloth remained desirable even

though the total quantity of cloth purchased decreased. However, table 3.1 indicates that the amount of purchased cloth decreased. This information within the context of the trade indicates that families were important factors in determining how much cloth was purchased.

The men who joined the HBC considered the accumulation of profit a motivation for joining the fur trade in the first place.[158] Making money, or acquiring wealth, was often a central reason for traveling to Edmonton House for work. Of course, there are a myriad of other motivations for such a decision. Still, it is important to understand that wealth accumulation was important to fur traders. Michael Payne argues that fur traders had the opportunity to gain an appreciable profit from their time in the industry.[159] This does not mean that servants wanted to save all of their wages. Rather it means that if they spent their money judiciously, they had the opportunity to leave the fur trade relatively wealthy. Surrendering one's earnings for an article of clothing, for example, was thus based on a value judgement. Were the advantages of owning such an article worth its price? Dressing well was very important to fur traders, just as dressing their wives and children well was a source of pride. That being said, buying cloth, or clothing before 1821, was less likely to be viewed as an investment. This is because few traders decided to retire inland. Instead, many fur traders only lived at Edmonton House temporarily.[160] It appears that the merger of 1821 had a profound impact both on the ability to retire inland and on the value of cloth in the fur trade. In order to understand the nuances of this change, further examination of value as it related to cloth will be helpful.

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[158] Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 20. Carolyn Podruchny argues that acquiring extra money was a primary motivation for young Canadian men to join the fur trade.

[159] Michael Payne, "Labour at Lower Fort Garry: an animation history," (1990), 26.

[160] Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers *in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 66-67.

Purchasing textiles, had emotional value. Indeed, the desire to dress oneself extended beyond dressing appropriately for winter. The meanings imbued in this value were subject to societal understandings of the object and value. Textiles are articles which are saturated with cultural meaning. This is in large part a function of the materiality of fabric as cloth is an inherently flexible item. This means that a portion of fabric can be manipulated easily into a variety of forms. As such, when cloth is sewed and worn, it is communicative. Indeed, clothing is reflective of those who wear it. Because cloth is so malleable it is distinct from other items which were available to fur traders and their families. Fabric held a value which was unique compared to other goods because it could take many different forms. Sewn textiles could be personalised and communicate cultural meanings. In this sense what cloth was sewn into, or what fashion clothing became, is important when discussing the value of cloth.[161] This presents a challenge as it is difficult to assess what fur traders and their families looked like.

Wearing something that communicated cultural identity translated into emotional value. That being said, clothing is flexible in that it is easily changed or adopted. Expressive clothing choices can be temporary. In fur trade contexts this was often the case. It was prudent for new traders to adopt the fashion traditions of a fur trade post in order to assimilate into the broader culture of that region.[162] Still, when a fur trader left that context his fashion sensibility changed as he returned to Europe or Canada. As traders found opportunities to stay inland they were less

[161] Beverly Lemire, *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society: Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010), 10-15. The meanings associated with textiles are elusive. However, they can be dissected using the theoretical framework of fashion. Fashion broadly defined is the desire to conform to a style which is contingent on a specific culture, regardless of class, region or age. Fashion could accurately be used to define any combination of purposeful interactions with material culture. Fashion should not be thought of exclusively as an internal force. Fashion is an ideological apparatus which exerts power. It has the ability to shape economies, cultures and societies. Fashion acts both on the level of the individual and the collective. In short fashion is what both gives an object meaning and the way in which an object expresses meaning.

[162] White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians,* 209-210.

likely to abandon the Edmonton House esthetic. This could well explain the broader change from 1815 to 1832-3.

The decline in amount of cloth purchased in 1823-4 can be explained in part by changes in the relationships between fur traders and their wives. In 1815, marriages were by and large temporary. Still, within the amount of time servants remained inland, they were often able to produce large families. As such, servants in 1815 required ample amounts of cloth and clothing to dress themselves as well as their families. Marriages *à la façon du pays* were common in fur trade contexts in 1815 as well as 1832-3.

In 1815, servants dressed their families according to their relationship with them, that is to say temporarily. Purchasing cloth or clothing to dress one's wife and children was not a long-term investment. Instead, it was the temporary cost of having a wife and children while living inland. This assertion is consistent with broader fur trade consumption patterns. Table 3.1 indicates that in 1815 every servant purchased cloth. This was because servants needed to dress themselves and their families. The total quantity of cloth purchased in 1815 indicates that no servant purchased more cloth then they thought necessary. Cloth in this period was not purchased to be brought home. Indeed, why would an Orkney man spend his money on cloth inland, only to carry it back to his home, when he could realise his wages and buy cloth at home. Rather, in 1815 the fabric purchased outside of immediate climatic necessity was purchased to fulfil emotional needs such as self representation.

In 1823-4 the context of family life was different from that of 1815. Given that large families were targeted in the labour cuts at Edmonton House, those who remained at Edmonton House in 1823-4 were likely to have smaller or no families at all in comparison to the servants of 1815. This would help explain why the amount of cloth decreased as the number the amount of

people who needed to be clothed at Edmonton House had decreased. The context in which families lived also explains why the total variety of cloth available does not decrease. Servants continued to desire textiles in 1823-4, yet it was not prudent for them to purchase more than their immediate needs.

When comparing the number of women and children at Edmonton House in 1823-4 with the number of women in Edmonton House in 1833, there is evidence that there were more and larger families in the later periods. In 1823-4 there were 19 women and 36 children recorded as living in the post.[163] By 1833, that total increased to 25 women and 85 children. Unfortunately, no accurate number exists for 1815. Still, the change in number of women and children at Edmonton House is parallel with the amount of cloth sold. The number of families at the fort impacts the amount of cloth purchased in two ways. Most obviously, the more people in a family the more goods needed to be purchased to accommodate that family. The second reason is related to the social structure at Edmonton House.

The women at Edmonton House were the predominant clothing manufacturers.[164] It was their skilled labour which produced clothing for their families as well as for the trade. The July the 27th entry in the Edmonton House journal of 1832 explained that the women at the fort were employed making two chief's coats. Although this is the only example of such a task recorded, it is likely that more of such activities occurred without acknowledgement.[165] In 1822, George Simpson wrote a letter to the London Committee stating that women should do the needle work when preparing clothes for men's equipments.[166] However, Edmonton House did occasionally

[163] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1821-26,* 175-6. Edmonton House Journal 1832-33, HBCA B.60/a/27.
[164] Payne, "Labour at Lower Fort Garry: an animation history," 33.
[165] HBCA B.60/a/27.
[166] Fleming, *Minutes of Council,* 378.

employ a tailor. Still, there were no tailors employed during the years which are being examined in this chapter. As such, it can be assumed that the sewn clothing at Edmonton House was a product of women's labour, especially in regard to the clothing sewn from purchased cloth.

The significance of the labour applied to this cloth is that the labour force was of Indigenous ancestry. That is to say that Indigenous clothing production techniques and garment forms were applied to global fabric, needles and thread. The result of this was a fashion which was unique to that time and place.[167] This clothing was inherently a hybrid style, a collision of European and Native forms. From a practical standpoint, servants of the HBC adopted this clothing tradition because these clothes were available. Moreover, this clothing was well suited for the climate.[168] Another pragmatic reason for adopting this clothing tradition was that living in Native territory placed demands on clothing to reflect social status. In order to look like a respectable trader to a chief, a trader would have to adhere to that chief's standard of respectability. There would also have been pressure on new servants to adopt local fashions.[169] That being said, adopting local fashion did not require abandoning previously held values and culture. Rather, adopting local fashion was a result of external pressure related to the specific social, or environmental pressures of a particular space. More often than not before 1821, these adoptions of dress were temporary, and abandoned as soon as servants' contracts expired.[170] Servants at Edmonton House adopted a hybrid style only when convenient. Similarly, the women living at Edmonton House were likely to adopt this hybrid style. Women employed

[167] Sherry Farrell Racette, *Sewing Ourselves Together: Clothing, Decorative Arts and the Expression of Métis and Half-Breed Identity* (PhD diss: The University of Manitoba, 2004), 63.
[168] Ibid, 69.
[169] Ibid, 161-2.
[170] Ibid, 86.

technical skills learned from their mothers and grandmothers. Women in the fur trade were dressed almost entirely in fur trade goods. [171]

In the post-merger period, HBC servants and their families were more likely to remain in the country rather than returning to Europe or Canada.[172] The effect of this family stability was a stability in fashion. Now that families at Edmonton House were more likely to remain inland, servants were more likely to permanently adopt local clothing traditions. This helps explain why by 1832-3 when the amount of cloth purchased doubled the total for 1815 (see table 3.1). Moreover table 3.3 illustrates that the number of articles associated with the production of clothing also increased dramatically.[173] Needles, thread, buttons and beads also increased between 1815 and 1832-3 but did not follow the exact pattern as cloth and skins. That said, all goods associated with clothing production were purchased in the largest quantities during the summer of 1832.

Inextricably tied to discussions about textile consumption is an analysis of clothing purchased from HBC stores. Clothing, like cloth had earlier been included in contract equipments. That being said, servants continued to purchase clothes from the company stores. Table 3.4 illustrates the purchases of clothing was common in 1832-3. However, clothing in the 1823-4 account books, especially shirts and trousers, did not decrease in the same ways that textiles did. This suggests that clothing production from cloth was reduced, whereas servants still clothed themselves similar to how they had before the merger.

[171] Ibid, 86.
[172] Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 199-201.
[173] Edmonton House Accounts, 1815-1833. HBCA B.60/d/ 6-42. Interestingly the trajectory of skins is very similar to that of cloth.

Table 3.3 Purchase Patterns for Items Related to Clothing Production

	1815	1823 summer	1823-4 winter	1832-3 summer	1832-3 winter
Number of accounts	27	24 (33) *	57	28	32
Needles	106	259	--	965	30
Thread	4 15/16 lbs	5 7/18 lbs 2 oz	3/8 lbs	18 lbs, 10 oz	5/8 lbs
Thimbles	--	2	--	6	6 (1 person)
Awls	--	--	2	--	12
Beads	2 lbs	10 ½ lbs	7 9/16 lbs	24 lbs, 12 bundles, 4 Necklaces	8 5/8lbs 3 bundles
Bells	10	1 lbs	1 lbs	6 doz	--
Buttons	29 doz	9 doz	1 doz	18 doz	1 doz
Cloth	344 3/8 yds	207 ¼ yds	42 5/8 yds	543 ¼ yds	52 13/24 yds
Skins	56	--	104	--	141 1/2

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.

These totals include freemen accounts which only include items purchased on credit. *For the summer of 1823 there are 9 accounts which appear within the ledger but did not purchase a single article.

Table 3.4 Number of Accounts Containing Items Related to Clothing Production

	1815	1823 summer	1823-4 winter	1832-3 summer	1832-3 winter
Number of accounts	27	24 (33) *	57	28	32
Belts	--	2	--	24	6
Capots	--	4	6	29	1
Handkerchiefs	41	36	6	117	3
Hats	27	24	--	11	4
Shawls	11	11	1	49	4
Shirts	48	52	14	124	4
Shoes	13	4	--	8	30
Trousers	10	22	2	32	1
Vests	--	3	--	9	2

Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.

These totals include freemen accounts which only include items purchased on credit. *For the summer of 1823 there are 9 accounts which appear within the ledger but did not purchase a single article.

This analysis begs the question, were there differences in the amount of cloth and clothing purchased based on country of origin? It appears there were some correlations on this account. For example, Canadian and Freeman purchases changed the most dramatically over time. The amount of cloth, needles and shirts purchased by Canadian servants increased between 1823-4 and 1832-3. By 1832-3 Canadians had become the largest consumers for these goods. Freeman purchases of cloth and needles similarly increased dramatically by 1832, but any correlations about freeman consumption must be tentative given that freemen accounts only record debts and not goods which were acquired through trade.[174]

[174] Similarly, country born servants also purchase increasingly more goods. Nevertheless, one should be hesitant to exaggerate this evidence, since the sample for country born servants in 1823-4 and 1832-3 is so small.

Europeans did purchase more clothing and clothing in 1832-3 than in 1823-4. However, they purchased much less than their Canadian counterparts. This indicates that Europeans did not value cloth in the same way as Canadians. It is also possible they had fewer and smaller families. This is consistent with the assumption that cloth purchases increase with opportunities to remain inland and size of family. There is evidence that Europeans, especially Orcadians, were the least likely to remain in the country once their contracts expired. Of course, exceptions to this do exist. Still, the evidence that cloth was purchased in larger quantities by servants remaining inland is compelling.[175]

Table 3.5 Edmonton House Population According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	23	3	--
1823 summer	14	11	1	7
1823-4 winter*	27	18	3	9
1832 summer	14	8	1	3
1832-3 winter	14	9	2	3
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42. *includes Bow River expedition and some Rocky Mountain House numbers.				

Table 3.6 Cloth Purchased According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	290 1/8 yd	49 3/8 yds	--
1823 summer	76 yds	107 ½ yds	13 yds	11 yds
1823-4 winter	6 1/2 yds	20 11/12 yds	0 yds	10 3/8 yds
1832 summer	274 ¼ yds	150 5/12 yds	25 yds	52 yds
1832-3 winter	14 1/6 yds	19 5/12 yds	11 1/6 yds	1 yds
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.				

[175] Edmonton House Journals 1815-33. HBCA B.60/ d/ 6-42.

Table 3.7 Needles Purchased According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	101	5	--
1823 summer	142	101	30	25
1823-4 winter	--	--	--	--
1832 summer	535	230	60	170
1832-3 winter	6	0	0	0
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.				

Table 3.8 Trousers Purchased According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	7	0	--
1823 summer	8	11	1	1
1823-4 winter	1	1	0	0
1832 summer	16	8	1	4
1832-3 winter	0	1	0	0
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.				

Table 3.9 Shirts Purchased According to Country of Origin				
	Canadian	European	HBC	Freeman
1815	--	40	7	--
1823 summer	21	37	0	5
1823-4 winter	5	4	1	5
1832 summer	69	35	3	18
1832-3 winter	0	4	0	0
Source: Edmonton House Accounts 1815, 1823-24, 1832-33, HBCA B.60/d/6 - 42.				

It is difficult to determine what the clothing at Edmonton House looked like. Still, some fur trade fashions were recorded in the paintings of Peter Rindisbacher and Paul Kane. These examples illustrate what freeman and Métis dress would have looked like after 1821. Although tracing changes in the typology of fashion for servants at Edmonton House is outside of the scope of this research, these examples do bring to life what the trajectory of textiles and clothing at Edmonton House could have been. If you examine the shawl of the woman on the right of figure 8, you will notice the intricacy of the design. Indeed, the cloth available was often patterned and brilliantly coloured. Additionally, the beadwork on the coat of the man is an excellent example of the ability of bead work to express patterns. Figure 9, a portrait of Francois Lucier junior by Paul Kane in 1847 indicates which items could be made from cloth.[176] The strap on the powder horn, as well as bag are both examples of the variety of articles which could be produced using company goods.

[176] Francois Lucier junior held an account at Edmonton House for 1823-4 and 1832-3. An example of two of these accounts are in appendix III.

Figure 8. Peter Rindisbacher, "A Métis man and his two wives," 1825-1826. Source: Library and Archives Canada.

Figure 9. Paul Kane, Francois Lucie, a Cree Half-Breed Guide, 1847. Source: Stark Museum of Art, http://collections.starkculturalvenues.org

Wearing clothing was certainly a source of cultural and individual expression and pride. Still, the value of cloth and clothing extends well beyond personal adornment. Cloth and clothing hold liquid value. This means that both textiles and clothes could be traded, gifted or recycled in informal markets. An informal market is one which is not legally sanctioned meaning that it exists outside of laws or regulation. This does not mean that the informal market is fundamentally illegal. Rather informal markets exist outside of government or state ambitions.[177]

There is some indication that such a market was common at Edmonton House. There is, however, a lack of quantifiable evidence. Nevertheless, qualitative evidence suggests that informal markets did exist.[178] First, is the concern given to private trade from HBC management. George Simpson for example believed that 99% of traders were thieves.[179] While some informal trade was approved of by the HBC, such as trade for horses and dogs, most was deeply frowned upon, as the HBC did not want furs siphoned off through alternative markets.

It is unclear exactly which goods were informally traded. Also, it is uncertain which parties were involved. There is only one mention of a servant from Edmonton House getting caught in this time period. Still, this should not suggest that informal trade only occurred once. On the 13th of December 1819, John Green, while hunting for meat was caught trading for furs informally. Francis Heron recorded that Green exclaimed "damn the contracts… the man is a

[177] Alan Smart and Filippo M. Zerilli, "Extralegality," In *A Companion to Urban Anthropology* (Chichester, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 226-229.
[178] Gerhard Ens, "The Political Economy of the "Private Trade" on the Hudson Bay: The Example of Moose Factory, 1741 -1744," In *Le Castor Fair Tout: Selected Papers of the 5th North American Fur Trade Conference,* 1985 edited by Bruce G. Trigger et al (Montreal, 1987), 397- 401
[179] Edith Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1870* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 52.

fool who won't make a little money for himself" before he cut the buttons from his coat to trade for a martin fur.[180]

On the banks of the North Saskatchewan articles such as cloth, beads or buttons were as good as gold. This was because they were portable and durable. A handkerchief, for example, could easily be carried and concealed. Moreover, it could be worn, sometimes for months before being used as currency in a trade for something else. Bear in mind that not all informal exchanges were trade. A gifting economy likely existed at Edmonton House. Networks of gifting to friends and relatives would be quite common. Furthermore, this economy was not entirely dominated by textiles. Other portable durable goods such as pipes would have been gifted and traded freely.

What these goods were exchanged for is obscured in the historical record. It is clear that some goods such as furs would have been acquired. Still, other goods such as clothing articles made in the country would have been highly desirable, and the sale of these items had the potential to be quite profitable. For example, in 1827 the Council of the Northern Department noted:

> That no Servant or others retiring therefrom be permitted to embark beyond 20 pairs Indian Shoes or two Dressed Skins and that all such property be subject to search and examination at such places along the communication as may be deemed expedient and where any wilful contravention or evasion of such regulation is satisfactorily detected the same to subject the property to seizure and confiscation accordingly.[181]

For servants intending on remaining inland, possessing items with liquid value was imperative. The accumulation of trade goods was the accumulation of wealth. Freemen, or those who intended on going free, needed items with liquid value so that they could trade with local bands

[180] Binnema and Ens, *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals 1806-21*, 373.
[181] Fleming, *Minutes of Council,* 191-92.

and other free families. This suggestion is supported by the pattern of cloth consumption. As the potential to remain inland increased, the need for items which held liquid value also rose. Thus, the sale of cloth and other trade goods increased dramatically by 1832-3.

1832-3 represents a time when servants of the HBC were participating in a corporate consumerist society. The contents of servants' accounts indicate that a substantial amount of goods were purchased over time. In 1815 a considerable number of textiles were purchased. Still, this likely would not have extended beyond the immediate requirements of living inland. By 1823-4 the number of textiles purchased decreased, but the number of items associated with clothing production or clothing sold remained the same or increased slightly. This was a result of changes in the composition of the personnel in the trading post and other aspects of the trade. By 1832-3 the purchase of all these goods increased to numbers that nearly doubled the 1815 totals. This indicates that the emotional and liquid value of cloth and clothing had risen to levels unseen before 1832-3. Fur traders were always consumers, but the amount of cloth and clothing purchased in 1832-3 indicates that fur trade society had become increasingly consumeristic. The result of this was a blossoming of hybrid dress and local cultural expression.

Conclusion

By 1832 the servants living at Edmonton House were much different consumers than those who were living there only 17 years previously. The most notable change between 1815 and 1832-3 was the vast increase in the variety of goods available. Additionally, the servants of the HBC had become increasingly dependent on the company stores for their supply of goods. The servants at Edmonton House were always consumers and, indeed, the consumption of material goods should be considered as an omnipresent phenomenon. That being said, the servant debt accounts illustrate that the intensity with which consumption occurred was at its greatest during this period in the summer of 1832. This was by and large a function of the larger societal changes which were occurring in at this time. As opportunities to remain in the country after retirement increased after 1821, so did the amount of goods purchased.

The account books of servant's debts at Edmonton House are a very useful tool for contextualising the material culture present within a fur trade fort. The servant's debt accounts are an avenue through which information about the sensory experiences of HBC employees can be gleaned. Servants purchases tell us a great deal about how fur traders engaged with global markets, and how global goods illuminated the broader societal changes which occurred. Transformations in the context of the fur trade shaped the changes in the consumption patterns of servants on the northwest plains. In the years leading to 1821, a market for consumer goods existed at Edmonton House, but by 1833 the number of global goods servants bought from the HBC increased significantly.

The culture of consumption and the changes between 1815 and 1833were influenced by four factors. The environmental context, the corporate context, the cultural context, and the class

context. The climate on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River made goods such as blankets and animal hides important for servants to purchase. The physical location of Edmonton House was isolated from European trade networks; thus, servants were dependent on the HBC to purchase global goods since alternative trade networks were relatively sparse. This became especially true in the years after 1821 when the HBC had little competition from other trading companies. The HBC's corporate policy, especially towards contract equipments, is also important to consider. As the HBC cut back on offering gratuitous goods as an aspect of contracts, the number of goods servants purchased from the company store increased. There were some cultural differences in consumption based on country of origin. For example, Canadian servants were often inclined to purchase more cloth and clothing than Europeans. Still, there were only small differences as all groups of people depended on their goods from the same source. The class differences in consumption reflect the wage differences between officers and servants. It is unsurprising that officers purchased many more goods than servants did. Nevertheless, officers and servants had access to the same goods, therefore it was not rare to see similar items being purchased.

After the merger of 1821 the HBC was able to mobilise a larger amount of power than it had previously exercised in the 18th century. Central to their mobilisation of power was the control which the HBC was able to exert over the supply of goods to servants. One example of these changes was the decrease in the amount of rum imported and traded in the country and by extension sold to servants. While the amount of other goods purchased increased between 1815 and 1832, Rum was the only good which decreased dramatically. This was a consequence of the HBCs policy towards the supply of spirituous liquors inland. This indicates that the HBC was able to exert control over the behavior of its employees by mediating the supply of goods. That

being said, when given the opportunity to sell other goods for profit the HBC did not restrict access to goods. Tobacco sales for example increase in 1832 to nearly double the amount of tobacco purchased in 1815.

With the reorganisation of the trade other changes occurred. For example, the amount of clothing and textiles purchased, especially by Canadians and freemen, increased. This was a function of the changes in the opportunities for servants to remain inland after their engagement with the HBC ended. These opportunities, such as going "free", allowed families to remain together. The consequence was a large increase in the amount of cloth, clothing production materials, and clothing, purchased. The shift in the context of the fur trade allowed for changes in the value of goods. That is to say that an increase in the amount of goods purchased is an indication that the value of the goods purchased also increased. For example, the cultural significance of dressing one's self and family amplified as families became larger and remained together. Also, the material worth of goods escalated as informal economies developed larger networks.

Material culture is essential to understand the fur trade. The value of goods in these markets reflect the values of the people who purchase them. As such, consumption mirrored larger societal changes. The 19th century was a volatile period in the history of the northwest plains, by studying consumption and material culture a greater understanding of the changes which occurred during this period can be achieved. In particular, consumption patterns between 1815 and 1833 can illuminate the impact of global trade networks on changing family formations, the ability to live in the region after retirement from the HBC and the ethnogenesis of the Métis. Each of these transformations had a parallel in changes to the material culture of the fur trade and this thesis has attempted to illustrate some of these interconnections.

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Appendix I – A Listing of Goods on Hand, Edmonton House 1823-24

Edmonton Accounts 1823 & 24, B.60/d/15

To Sundries Rem[g] on Hand and forming part of the Saskatchewan Inventory 1[st] June 1823

To	Augers Shell assorted	No.	8	1/4	-/10/8	
	Beads Agate of Colors	bun	27	2/1 ½	2/17/5	
	Beads Barley Corn Colors	bun	13 ½	1/4	-/16/8	
	Beads China Com[n]	bun	3	1/4	-/4/-	
	Beads Com[n] of Colors	lbs	67	1/2 ½	4/-/11	
	Beads Enamelled Strip[d]	lbs	3/4	6	-/-/4	
	Beads Stock Garnet	bun	10	9	-/7/7	
	Beads Wampum Strip[d]	lbs	5	1/4	-/6/8	
	Beads Wampum White	lbs	2 ¼	2/	-/4/6	
	Bells hawk	Gw:	4 1/8	11/	2/5/5	
	Bells horse large	doz	5 ¼	5/	1/6/3	
	Bells Open Small	doz	4	1/6	-/6/-	
	Blankets 3 pts Striped	pr	1	17/6	-/17/6	
	Blankets 3 pts plain	pr	2 ½	16/	2/-/-	
	Blankets 2 ½ pts plain	pr	11	12/6	6/17/6	
	Blankets 2 pts plain	pr	8 ½	8/9	3/14/4	
	Blankets 1 ½ pts plain	pr	22 ½	7/	7/17/6	
	Boxes ??? Japan	doz	1 1/12	4/	-/4/4	
	Boxes ??? Japan Wt B.G.	doz	1/4	2/3	-/3/9	
	Bridles Snaffle	No	1/4	15/	1/-/-	
	Buttons Y.M. Coat	Gw:	1 1/6	4/9	-/5/7	
	Buttons Y.M. Breast	Gw:	1/4	2/3	-/-/7	
	Buttons pewter Coat	Gw:	1 39/144	3/	-/3/9	
	Buttons pewter Vest	Gw:	6 2/3	1/6	-/10/-	
	Buttons plated Coat	Gw:	1/3	4/9		
		CARRIED FORWARD			**£ 37/2/9**	**[fo. 6]**
To	Caps Jockey Boys	No	3	1/1	-/3/3	
	Capots Blue List Cloth	No	1	17/-	-/17/6	
	Capots 4 Ells	No	4	12/3	2/9/-	
	Capots 3 ½	No	13	10/3	6/13/3	
	Capots 3	No	12	8/6	5//2/-	
	Capots 2 ½	No	2	7/3	-/14/6	
	Capots 2	No	2	6/3	-/12/6	
	Capots 1 ½	No	5	4/10	1/4/2	
	Chisels firmers assorted	doz	1/6	11/-	-/1/10	
	Cloth Green Grass	yd	1 ½	11/-	-/16/6	
	Cloth Scarlet Second	yd	1 ½	7/-	-/10/6	
	Coats Surtout brown cloth	No	1	45/-	2/5/-	
	Coats Chiefs laced	No	1	27/-	1/7/-	
	Combs Horn large	doz	4 ¾	4/6	1/1/4	
	Combs Horn Small	doz	16	3/6	2/16/-	

	Combs Ivory	doz	1 5/12	6/-	-/11/4	
	Cotton printed fine	yd	1	1/7	-/1/7	
	Cotton printed comn	yd	2	1/4	-/2/8	
	Cotton Striped comn	yd	13 ½	1/4	-/18/-	
	Cotton Wick	lbs	1	2/4	-/2/4	
	Dags Hand large	doz	1/3	30/	-/10/-	
	Dags Hand small	doz	2 ¾	13/	1/15/9	
	Dags Eyed	doz	¾	20/	-/15/-	
	Drill bow & drills	No	1	26/	1/6/-	
	Drawers Grey Comn	pr	13	2/6	1/12/6	
	Duffle white	yd	19	4/7	4/7/1	
	Feathers colo Cock	doz	2 2/3	30/	4/-/-	
	Feathers Foxtail large	doz	1 5/6	84/	7/14/-	
	Feathers Hat circle Scarlet	No	4	14/	2/16/-	
	Ferrets Italian assorted	Gw	1/30	24/	-/-/10	
		CARRIED FORWARD			**£ 90/9/8**	**[fo. 6d]**
To	Files 8 Inches flat bastard	doz	1 ¾	5/4	-/9/4	
	Files 9 Inches flat bastard	doz	½	6/9	-/3/4	
	Files 10 Inches flat bastard	doz	8 ¾	8/2	3/11/6	
	Files 12 Inches flat bastard	doz	½	12/	-/6/-	
	Files 14 Inches flat bastard	doz	½	17/	-/8/6	
	Files 9 Inches ½ Round	doz	1/12	9/6	-/-/9	
	Files 10 Inches Smoothg	doz	1/6	12/	-/2/-	
	Cross Cut Saw	doz	2/3	8/6	-/5/8	
	Pit Saw	doz	1/6	7/3	-/1/3	
	Rasps	doz	1/12	8/6	-/-/8	
	Warding	doz	¼	2/1	-/-/6	
	Flags Indian Small	No	1	6d	-/-/6	
	Flints per Gun	C	10	1/1	-/10/10	
	Garters Broad Scarlet	Gw	11/120	26/	-/2/4	
	Garters London Scotch	Gw	2/3	15/6	-/10/4	
	Garters Silk Lace	Gw	1/12	38/	-/3/2	
	Gimblets assorted	doz	¼	10d	-/-/2	
	Glasses looking book	doz	1 ¾	4/3	-/7/4	
	Glasses paper cased	doz	4 1/12	2/6	-/10/3	
	Glasses per Window	p	4	4 ¼ d	-/1/5	
	Gouges assorted	No	1	11d	-/-/11	
	Guns Comn trading	No	37	24/	44//8/-	
	Guns Worms wire	Gw	1/6	2/	-/-/4	
	Handks Cotn Bandana	doz	¼	11/9	-//2/11	
	Handks Cotn Fancy Romals	doz	½	11/9	-/5/11	
	Handks Cotn Red Turkey	doz	1/6	16/6	-/2/9	
	Handks Cotn Red & White	doz	1/12	21/	-/1/9	
	Handks Cotn & Silk soosee	doz	1/3	24/	-/8/-	
	Handks Silk Imi Bandana	ps	2/7	28/7	-/8/2	
	Handks Silk Black large	doz	1/3	38/	-/12/8	
		CARRIED FORWARD			**£144/16/11**	**[Fo. 7]**

To	Hats Mens Comn Wool	No	1	3/6	-/3/6	
	Hats Chiefs laced	No	1	4/6	-/4/6	
	Hats Childrens Comn	No	2	3/5	-/6/10	
	Hats Cords & tassols tinsel	No	2	6d	-/1/-	
	Hooks Cod	C	1/10	5/11	-/-/7	
	Horns powder	No	1	1/6	-/1/6	
	Jackets drab Cord:	No	4	8/9	1/15/-	
	Jackets olive Cord:	No	10	8/9	4/7/6	
	Kettles Copr Camp	lbs	54 ½	2/7	7/-/10	
	Kettles Copr Open	lbs	110	3/1	16/19/2	
	Knives Crooked	doz	1/3	3/	-/1/-	
	Knives Clasp #2	doz	8 1/3	4/6	1/17/6	
	Knives Pen	doz	1/12	14/	-/1/2	
	Knives Roach	doz	10 ¾	2/10	1/17/6	
	Knives Yew	doz	52 ½	4/6	11/16/3	
	Knives & forks	doz	½	7/6	-/3/9	
	Lace tinsel	yd	71	1/	3/11/-	
	Lock Stock	No	1	2/6	-/2/6	
	Molton of Ceylon	yd	10 ¾	2/2	1/3/4	
	Mugs earthen Ware	No	2	2d	-/-/4	
	Needles brown thread	M	82/1000	2/6	-/-/3	
	Needles Quilting	M	270/1000	6/3	-/1/8	
	Needles White Chapel	M	56/1000	5/	-/-/3	
	Nets 5 ½ In: M	No	2	25/	2/10/-	
	Pans tin No. 1	No	1	7d	-/-/7	
	Pans tin No. 2	No	1	9d	-/-/9	
	Pans tin No. 3	No	1	11d	-/-/11	
	Pepper black	lbs	3	10d	-/2/6	
	Plane Hand	No	1	6/	-/6/-	
	Plates tin flat	doz	1/6	16/	-/2/8	
		CARRIED FORWARD			**£199/10/2**	**[Fo. 7d]**
To	Pots Japaned 1 pint	No	4	1/2	-/4/8	
	Pots Japaned ¼ & 1/8	No	6	8d	-/4/-	
	Razors Comn	doz	½	7/1	-/3/6	
	Ribbon 6d	ps	½	8/1	-/4/1	
	Ribbon 9d	ps	2/3	12/	-/8/-	
	Rings finger B.M.	Gw:	3 ½	2/6	-/8/9	
	Salt Petre	lbs	2 ½	1/	-/2/6	
	Saw Tenon	No	1	6/6	-/6/6	
	Scissors Women	doz	1	2/9	-/2/9	
	Scythes	No	2	4/2 ½	-/8/5	
	Sheeting brown	yd	2 ½	1/1	-/2/8	
	Shirts Mens Cotton Comn	No	3	2/8	-/8/-	
	Shirts Mens Linen ruffled	No	1	3/10	-/3/10	
	Shirts Boys printed Cotton	No	13	2/4	1/10/4	
	Shirts Childrens	No	1	1/9	-/1/9	

	Shirts Youths	No	6	3/2		-/19/-	
	Shoes Mens bound	pr	3	4/3		-/12/9	
	Shields brass large	No	3	61/		9/3/-	
	Solder soft	lbs	3 ¼	9d		-/2/5	
	Spoons tea Iron tinned	doz	1/3	2/3		-/-/9	
	Stones Scythe	No	2	3d		-/-/6	
	Strouds HB corded Blue	ps	3 81/88	131/6		25/15/6	
	Strouds HB corded Green	ps	1 7/44	150/4		8/14/3	
	Strouds HB corded Red	ps	4 11/22	146/8		33/3/4	
	Strouds HB plain Blue	ps	3 61/88	122/ ¾		22/10/10	
	Strouds HB plain Red	ps	4 15/22	117/8 ½		27/11/1	
	Strouds HB plain White	ps	9/22	105/		2/7/-	
	Strouds Embossed	yd	2	8/4 ½		-/16/9	
	Strouds Comn Red	ps	5/22	96/8		1/1/11	
	Swans down	yd	4 7/8	¾		-/16/3	
		CARRIED FORWARD				**£338/5/3**	**[Fo. 8]**
To	Thread Coloured	lb	7/8	3/		-/2/8	
	Thread White	lb	¾	4/2		-/3/1	
	Tin	sheets	7	4d		-/2/4	
	Trousers Blue Cloth comn	pr	7	5/9		2/-/3	
	Trousers Ratteen	pr	10	10/3		5/2/6	
	Trousers Shooting duck pr	11	3/2		1/14/10		
	Trunk Red leather	No	1	5/		-/5/-	
	Twine No 1	Skeins	27	2/		2/14/-	
	Twine No 5 & 6	Skeins	6 2/3	2/6		-/16/8	
	Twine No 9	Skeins	12	3/6		2/2/-	
	Twine 3 cord net thread	lb	3 ¾	2/9		-/10/4	
	Varnish	Gal	3/16	30/		-/5/7	
	Vermillion	lb	16	3/		2/8/-	
	Waistcoats Scarlet Comn	No	2	6/		-//12/-	
	Wire Brass Collar	lb	7 ½	1/6		-/11/3	
	Wire Brass Snaring	lb	2 ½	1/9		-/4/4	
	Wire Iron pinning	lb	1 ¼	4 ¼ d		-/-/6	
						£358/-/7	
	Advance 33 1/3 per cent					119/6/10	
						£477/7/5	
	25 per cent					119/6/10	
							£596/14/3

Goods from Canada

To	Belts Worsted No 1	No	38	5/9		10/18/6	
	Belts Worsted No 2	No	21	7/6		7/17/6	
	Belts Worsted No 3	No	53	10/		26/10/-	
	Belts Worsted No 4	No	22	12/6		13/15/-	
		CARRIED FORWARD				**£78/14/8**	**£596/14/3**

	Advance 25 per cent				19/13/8	
						£98/8/4

Stationary

To	Books parchment 2 Quire		No	1	10/2	-/10/2	

Silver Works

To	Bands arm large		No	2	25/	2/10/-	
	Crosses		No	1	3d	-/-/3	
	Wheels Ear		pr	4	1/6	-/6/-	

Medicines

To	Alum		lb	½	5d	-/-/2	
	Aquaqfoilis	per ½	pt	4	1/6	-/6/-	
	Borax		lb	1/16	4/	-/-/3	
	Brimstone Roll		lb	1 ¼	3 ½d	-/-/4	
	Cantharaolis		Oz	½	9d	-/-/4	
	Essences		doz	1/12	9/3	-/-/9	
	Hartshorn Spirits of		lb	1/8	1/8	-/-/3	
	Ipecucuanhu Powder		lb	1/8	25/4	-/3/2	
	Julap Powder		lb	1/16		-/-/7	
	Lancets fine		No	1	2/	-/2/-	
	Lavender Spirits of		lb	1/8	7/4	-/-/11	
	Lead extracts of		lb	1/8		-/-/3	
	Lead Sugar of		lb	1/32		-/-/1	
	Lints White		lb	1/16	5/6	-/2/9	
	Magnesia		lb	1/16	5/4	-/-/4	
	Ointments Baselican		lb	¼	2/3	-/-/7	
	Ointments Mercurial		lb	2	6/4	-/12/8	
	Ointments Saturnine		lb	¼	3/	-/-/9	
	Ointments Turner's Cerate		lb	1	2/8	-/2/8	
			CARRIED FORWARD			**£5/1/3**	**£695/2/7**

[Fo. 9]

To	Peppermint essence		lb	1/16	21/	-/1/4	
	Plaster Adhesive		lb	7/8	1/6	-/1/4	
	Plaster Blistering		lb	¼	8/2	-/2/1	
	Percipitate Red		lb	1/16		-/-/9	
	Rhubarb powder		lb	¼	16/	-/4/-	
	Rosin Yellow		lb	1		-/-/3	
	Syringe pewter		No	1	1/	-/1/-	
	Turlington Balsam		lb	1/16	12/	-/-/9	
	Thereac		box	¼	1/8	-/-/5	
	Vitriol Blue		lb	3/16	1/	-/-/2	
						_____	
						5/13/4	

	33 1/3 per cent				1/17/9	
					7/11/1	
	25 per cent				1/17/9	
						9/8/10
To	Axes Round Head large	No	9	2/5 ¼	1/1/11	
	Axes Round Head Half	No	44	2/7	5/13/8	
	Axes Round Head Small	No	1	1/5	-/1//5	
	Axes Square Head: large	No	17	3/9	3/3/9	
	Axes Square Head Half	No	11	2/1	1/12/11	
	Iron Bar flat	Cwt	0.1.26	13/	-/6/3	
	Steel Blister	Cwt	1.0.4	67/9	3/10/2	
	Trenches Broad	No	6	1/6	-/9/-	
	Trenches Narrow	No	6	1/6	-/9/-	
					15/8/1	
	33 1/3 per cent				5/6/-	
					21/4/1	
	75 per cent				15/18/1	
						37/2/2
To	Gunpowder	kegs	54	58/	15/4/6	
	CARRIED FORWARD				£15/4/6	741/13/7 [9d]
	ADVANCE 33 1/3				per cent	5/1/6
					20/6/-	
	43 ¾ per cent				8/17/7	
						29/3/7
To	Rum Distilled	Gals	250	4/9	59/7/6	
	High Wines	Kegs	6	44/6	13/7/-	
					72/14/6	
	33 1/3 per cent				24/4/10	
					96/19/4	
	133 ¾ per cent				129/13/10	
						226/13/2
To	Shot low India	cwt	5.2.11	32/	8/19/2	
	Shot B.B.	cwt	0.2.7	29/	-/16/4	
					9/15/6	
	33 1/3 per cent				3/5/2	

						13/-/8	
			91 ¼ per cent			11/17/10	
							24/18/6
To	Tobacco Twist		lb	1097	2/6	137/2/6	
			33 1/3 per cent			45/14/2	
						182/16/8	
						107/8/4	
							290/5/-
Unsaleable Articles							
To	Gun Cocks & jaws Rough		doz	5 1/3	3/6	-/18/8	
	Gun Guards Iron Rough		doz	3	1/	-/3/-	
	Gun Hammers Rough		doz	5 7/12	6/	1/13/6	
	Gun Lock Nails Rough		doz	4	1/	-/4/-	
	Gun Loops Rough		doz	5 ¾	1/	-/5/9	
	Gun Plates hub brass		doz	2/3	17/	-/11/4	
			CARRIED FORWARD			3/16/3	1312/13/10
							[10]
	Gun Plates Lock & Side	Wu:	doz	6 1/6	7/-	2/3/2	
	Gun Pipes	Wu:	doz	4 2/3	4/-	-/18/8	
	Gun Springs Humⁿ	Wu:	doz	3 2/3	6/-	1/2/-	
	Gun Springs Main	Wu:	doz	1 5/6	6/-	-/11/-	
	Gun Springs Seer	Wu:	doz	3 1/3	1/-	-/3/4	
	Gun Luggers	Wu:	doz	1	3/6	-/3/6	
	Gun Tumblers	Wu:	doz	8 1/12	2/-	-/16/2	9/14/1
Articles Made in the Country							
To	Awls Indian		doz	24	6ᵈ	-/16/2	
	Steels Fire		doz	7	2/-	-14/-	1/6/-
Country Produce							
To	Boats New Large		No.		600/		
	Horses		No.	26	20/-	26/-/-	
	Salt		bush:	4 ½	10/-	2/5/-	
							[10d}

Appendix II – Servants in the Saskatchewan District 1823-24

(Edmonton Accounts 1823 & 24 B. 60/d/15)

No.	Name	Age	Country	Capacity	Residence 1822-1823	Residence 1823-1824
1	Deschambault, Geo:	26	Canada	Clerk	Edmonton	Edmonton
2	Everard, Francis	26	Ireland	Midman	"	"
3	Finlayson, Duncan	28	Scotland	Clerk	"	"
4	Firth, Thomas	26	Orkney	Steersmen	"	"
5	LaRivé, Hyacinth	27	Canada	Bowsmen	Bow River	"
6	Mcdonald, Donald	28	Scotland	Steersmen	Edmonton	"
7	McDougald, Allan	26	"	Midman	"	"
8	McKay, Charles	27	"	Interpreter	Bow River	"
9	McKay, James	26	"	Steersmen	"	"
10	McKenzie, Charles	24	"	Bowsmen	Edmonton	"
11	Mowat, James	26	"	Cooper	"	"
12	Ross, George	26	Orkney	Bowsmen	Mountain	"
13	Rowand, John	36	Canada	Chief Factor	Bow River	"
14	Small, Patrick	34	Hudson's Bay	Clerk + Trader	Edmonton	"
15	Spence, John	25	Orkney	Boat builder	Cumberland	"
16	Spence, Peter	30	"	Bowsmen	Edmonton	"
17	Valle, Augustine	45	Canada	Steersmen	"	"
18	Wilson Robert	24	Orkney	Boat builder	"	"
	Fisher, Henry			Clerk		Rainy Lake
	Grant, Richard			Do		YF (York Factory)
	Heron, Francis			Do		Athabasca
	Macmillan, James			Chief Trader		Montreal
	Ogden, Peter Skeen			Do Do		Columbia River
	Robertson, Collin			Chief Factor		Norway House
	Gibson, Hugh			Freeman		
	Hugh, James			Do		
	LaCombe, Aug					
	Ward, John Jr.					
	The Effects Jos Boudrie					

No.	Name	Contract Expires	Years in Country	Wages £	Credit Transfers	Book Debts	Debt Transfers
1	Deschambault, Geo:	June 1826	6	20		4/11/8	
2	Everard, Francis	June 1825	12	20		6/17/10	
3	Finlayson, Duncan	June 1825	9	100		4/1/4	
4	Firth, Thomas	June 1826	9	24		4/13/5	
5	LaRivé, Hyacinth	June 1824	7	20		1/16/9	
6	Mcdonald, Donald	June 1825	11	25		1/19/1	
7	McDougald, Allan	June 1824	7	20		5/11/1	
8	McKay, Charles	June 1824	8	30		1/17/-	
9	McKay, James	June 1825	8	22		4/19/1	
10	McKenzie, Charles	June 1824	8	20		6/14/7	
11	Mowat, James	June 1826	3	30		6/12/6	
12	Ross, George	June 1824	8	20		3/1/6	
13	Rowand, John		20			4/1/1	
14	Small, Patrick	June 1825	20	100		1/18/3	
15	Spence, John	June 1825	4	30		3/3/4	
16	Spence, Peter	June 1825	12	20		3/19/11	
17	Valle, Augustine	June 1826	26	25		2/12/1	
18	Wilson Robert	June 1825	4	30		5/-/4	
				£556		**73/11/10**	
	Fisher, Henry					1/6/8	
	Grant, Richard					-/18/9	
	Heron, Francis					2/7/2	
	Macmillan, James					1/6/4	
	Ogden, Peter Skeen					4/19/8	
	Robertson, Collin					3/19/2	
	Gibson, Hugh					4/7/6	
	Hugh, James					1/9/13	
	LaCombe, Aug					-/10/10	
	Ward, John Jr.					3/1/5	
	The Effects of Joseph Boudrie					-/8/5	

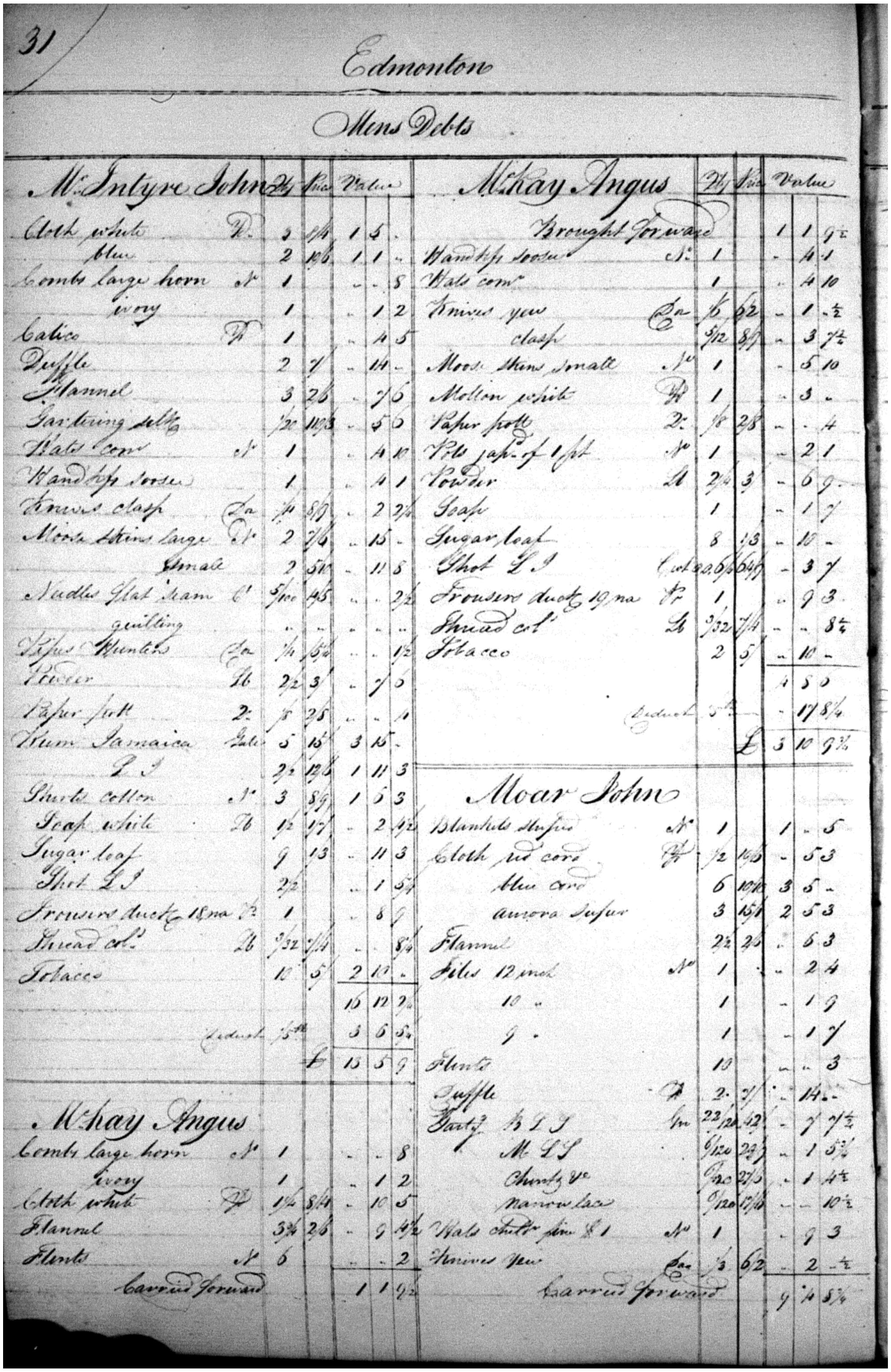
No.	Name	Age	Country	Capacity	Residence 1822-1823	Residence 1823-1824
1	Beauvais, Rene	41	Canada	Midman	Mountain	Edmonton
2	Berrard, Louis		"	"	Edmonton	"
3	Briband, Simon		"	Bowsmen	"	"
4	Delorme, Am^{ble} Fa:	36	"	"	"	
5	Duford, Charles	28	"	Midman	Bow River	"
6	Gagnion, Joseph	42	"	"	Mountain	"
7	Gendron, Francios	26	"	"	"	"
8	Glaude, Bazil	30	"	Black smith	Edmonton	"
9	Gaubin, Joseph	25	"	Midman	Bow River	"
10	LaDouceur, Joseph	44	"	"	Edmonton	"
11	LaPlante, Louis		"	Steersmen	"	"
12	Landrie, Charles	26	"	Midman	Bow River	"
13	LePine, Joseph	27	"	Bowsmen	"	"
14	Lucier, Francois Sen	65	"	Midman	Mountain	"
15	Lucier, Francois Jun		Hud: Bay	"	"	"
16	Marças, Louis		Canada	"	Edmonton	"
17	Mallette, Joseph B.	42	"	"	Bow River	"
18	Primeau, Joseph fils		Hud: Bay	"	"	"
19	Robert, Martin	26	Canada	"	"	"
20	Robideau, Augustin	39	"	"	"	"
21	Salois, Joseph	24	"	"	"	"
22	Tarangyarala, J.B.		"	Bowsmen	"	"
23	Touron, Joseph	24	"	Midman	"	"
24	Vandalle, Pierre		"	"	Edmonton	"
25	Welch, John	27	Ireland	Interpreter	Bow River	"
	Daniel, Pierre dit Cock					Carlton

No.	Name	Contract Expires	Deduction old Debt & Gratuities	Wages Livres	Years in Country	Credit Transfers Livres	Book Debt Livres	Debit Transfers
1	Beauvais, Rene	1824		600	25		238.15	36
2	Berrard, Louis	1824		900			43.10	
3	Briband, Simon	1824		1200			90	
4	Delorme, Am^{ble}	1824		1200	20	360		
5	Duford, Charles	1824		800	9		197	49
6	Gagnion, Joseph	1826		600	23		85	
7	Gendron, Francios	1825		600	8		80.12	
8	Glaude, Bazil			800		252	40.10	Died Jan. 25, 1824
9	Gaubin, Joseph	1825	200 livres	700	6		203.10	
10	LaDouceur, Joseph	1824		600	25		70	
11	LaPlante, Louis	1825		800			75	
12	Landrie, Charles	1825		600	4		132	
13	LePine, Joseph	1824		800	6		474.10	22
14	Lucier, Francois Sen	1824		600	41		150	
15	Lucier, Francois Jun	1825		600			228.15	
16	Marças, Louis	1824		600			77.12	
17	Mallette, Joseph B.	1824	200 livres	700	9		120.12	
18	Primeau, Joseph fils	1825		600			280	
19	Robert, Martin	1824		800	6		545	18
20	Robideau, Augustin	1824		900	8		222	
21	Salois, Joseph	1824	200 livres	700	8		225	
22	Tarangyarala, J.B.	1825		800			168	
23	Touron, Joseph	1825		900	4		150	112
24	Vandalle, Pierre	1825		600			58.10	
25	Welch, John	1824		800	9		255.19	
			600	18,700		612	4219.15	

	Daniel, Pierre dit Cock							

	Name	Wages Livres	Gratuities Livres	Credit Transfers Livres	Book Debt Livres
	Amount Brought Forward	18, 700	600	612	4219.15
Freemen	Antione Dunord				57
	Baptiste LaFramboise		769.13		
	Joseph LaFramboise				738.16
	J.B. Dupuis				100
	Morice Piccard				
		18,700	**1369 .13**	**612**	**5115 .- 11**

Appendix III – Facsimile Pages of Selected Servant debt accounts



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Edmonton

Mens Debts

McIntyre John

Item		Qty	Price	£	s	d
Cloth white	Yd.	3	8/4	1	5	.
blue		2	10/6	1	1	-
Combs large horn	No	1		-	-	8
ivory		1		-	1	2
Calico	Yd	1		-	4	5
Duffle		2	7/	-	14	-
Flannel		3	2/6	-	7	6
Gartering silk		1/20	110/3	-	5	6
Hats com.	No	1		-	4	10
Handkfs.		1		-	4	1
Knives clasp	Do	1/4	8/9	-	2	2¼
Moose skins large	No	2	7/6	-	15	-
small		2	5/10	-	11	8
Needles glas seam	C	5/100	4/5	-	-	2½
quilting		..	..	..	..	..
Pipes Hunters	Do	1/4	1/6	..	..	1½
Powder	lb	2½	3/	-	7	6
Paper pott	Q.	1/8	2/8	-	-	4
Rum Jamaica	Gals	5	15/	3	15	-
L. I.		2½	12/6	1	11	3
Shirts cotton	No	3	8/9	1	6	3
Soap white	lb	1½	1/7	-	2	4½
Sugar loaf		9	1/3	-	11	3
Shot L. I.		2½		-	1	5¼
Trousers duck 18 no	Pr	1		-	8	9
Thread col.	lb	3/32	7/4	-		8¼
Tobacco		10	5/	2	10	-
				16	12	2¼
	Deduct 5th			3	6	5¼
			£	13	5	9

McKay Angus

Item		Qty	Price	£	s	d
Combs large horn	No	1		-	-	8
ivory		1		-	1	2
Cloth white	Yd	1¼	8/4	-	10	5
Flannel		3¾	2/6	-	9	4½
Flints	No	6		-	-	2
Carried forward				1	1	9½

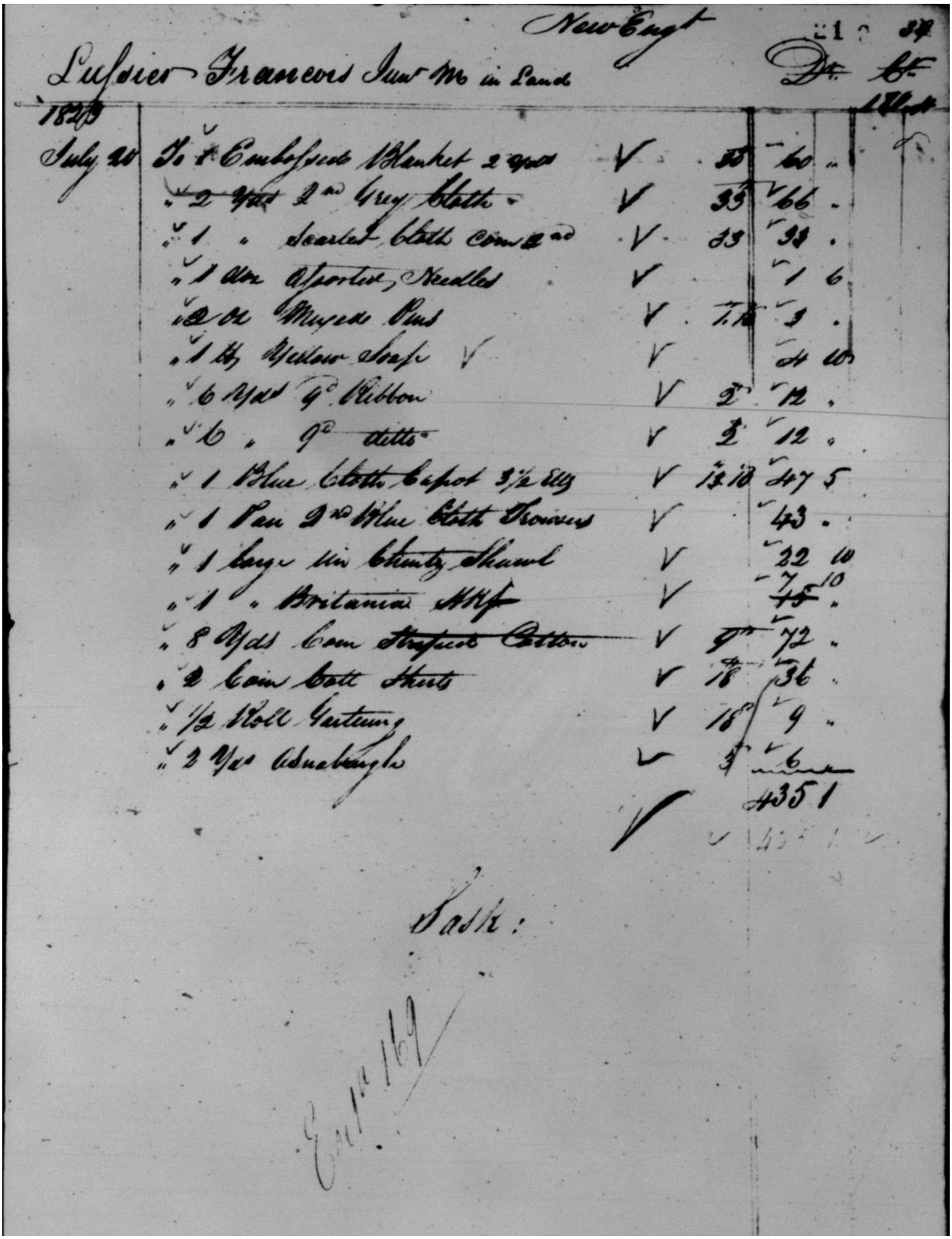
McKay Angus

Item		Qty	Price	£	s	d
Brought forward				1	1	9½
Handkfs.	No	1		-	4	1
Hats com.		1		-	4	10
Knives yew	Do	1/6	6/2	-	1	-½
clasp		5/12	8/9	-	3	7½
Moose skins small	No	1		-	5	10
Molton white	Yd	1		-	3	-
Paper pott	Q.	1/8	2/8	-	-	4
Pots japd. of 1 pt	No	1		-	2	1
Powder	lb	2¼	3/	-	6	9
Soap		1		-	1	7
Sugar loaf		8	1/3	-	10	-
Shot L. I.	Cwt	2.6/6	64/	-	3	7
Trousers duck 19 no	Pr	1		-	9	3
Thread col.	lb	3/32	7/4	-	-	8¼
Tobacco		2	5/	-	10	-
				4	8	6
	Deduct 5th			-	17	8¼
			£	3	10	9¾

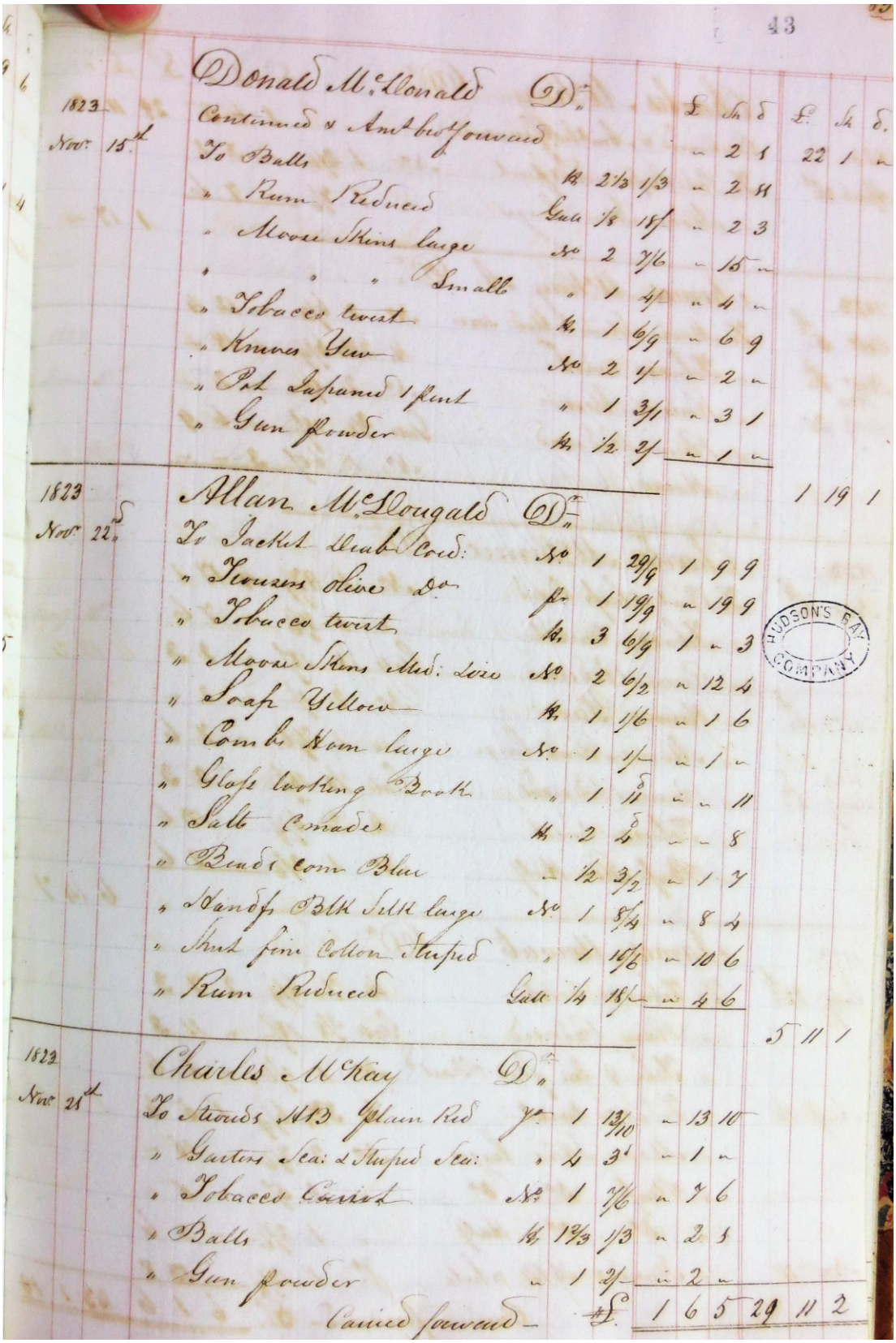
Moar John

Item		Qty	Price	£	s	d
Blankets super	No	1		1	-	5
Cloth red cord	Yd	½	10/6	-	5	3
blue cord		6	10/10	3	5	-
aurora super		3	15/1	2	5	3
Flannel		2½	2/6	.	6	3
Files 12 inch	No	1		-	2	4
10 "		1		-	1	9
9 "		1		-	1	7
Flints		10		-	-	3
Duffle	Yd	2	7/	-	14	-
Gartg. R. L. I.	Gr	22/120	42/	-	7	7½
M. L. I.		6/120	23/	-	1	5¼
Chintz &c		9/120	27/	-	1	4½
narrow lace		9/120	17/	-	-	10½
Hats child. fine No 1	No	1		-	9	3
Knives yew	Do	1/3	6/2	-	2	-½
Carried forward				9	4	8¼

Edmonton House Account, 1815. HBCA B.60/d/6.



Edmonton House Account, 1823. HBCA B.60/d/14.



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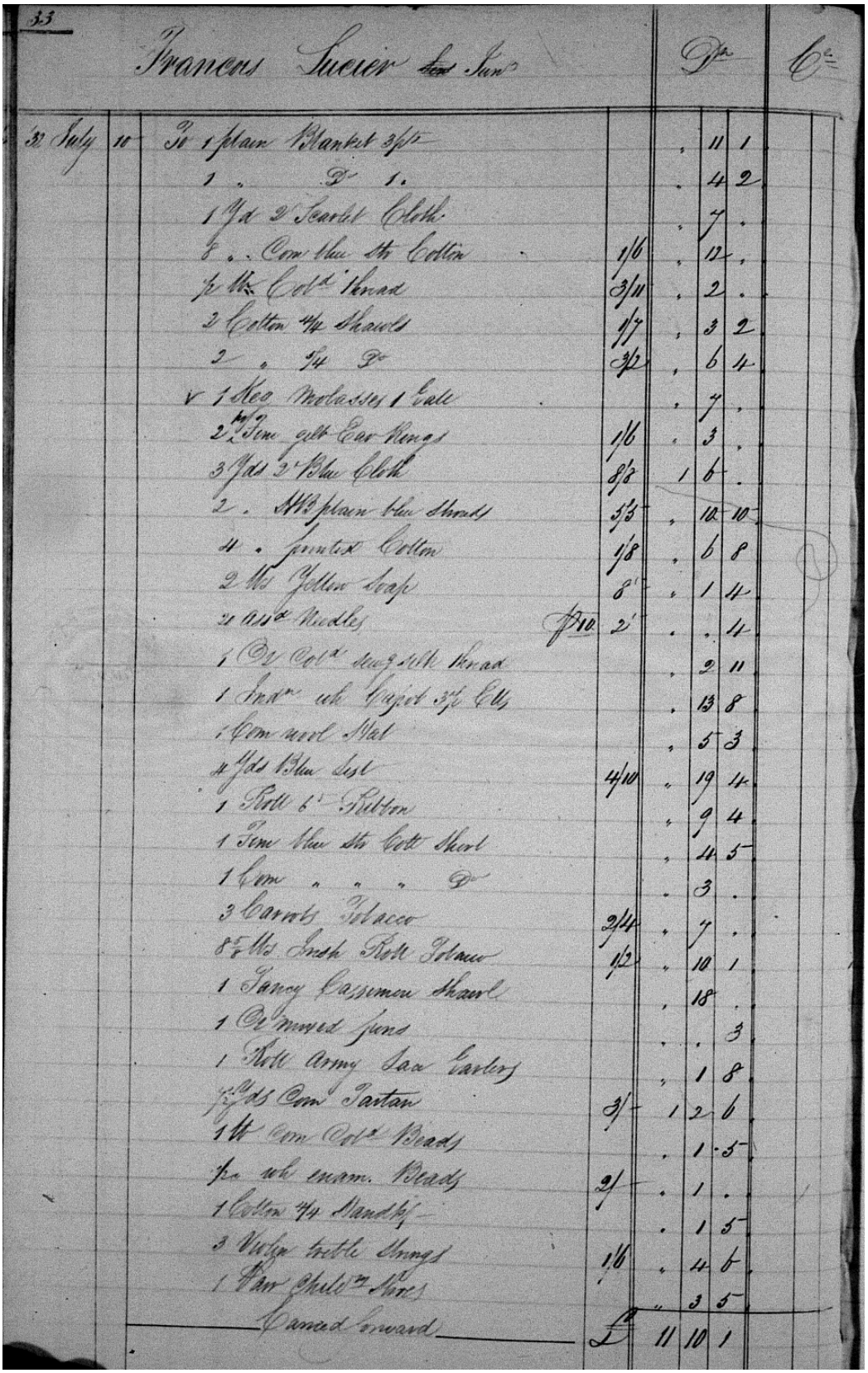
Donald McDonald Dr.

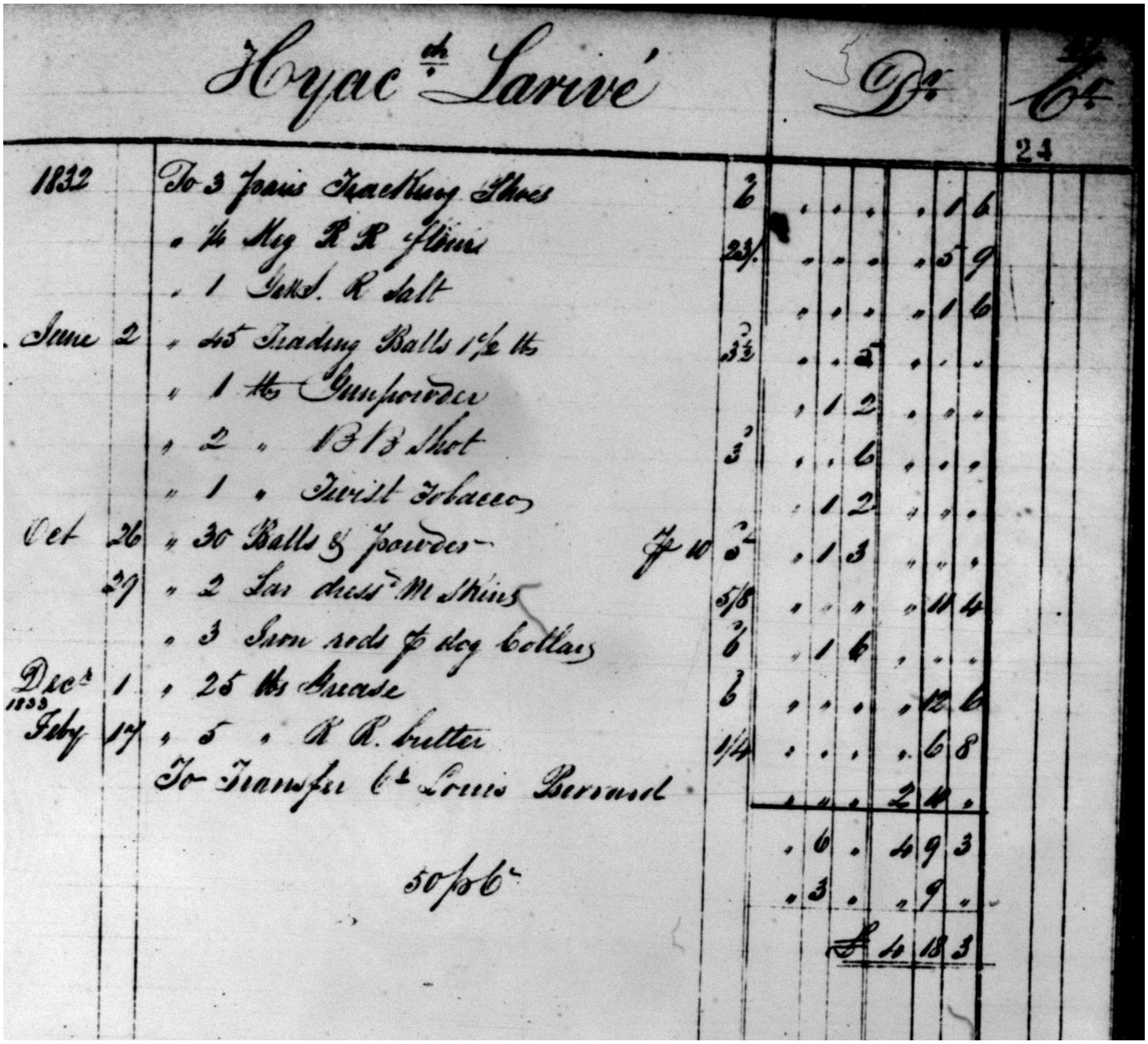
1823					£	Sh.	d.	£	Sh.	d.
	Continued & Amt brought forward									
Nov. 15	To Balls	lb	2½	1/3	–	2	1	22	1	–
	" Rum Reduced	Gall	1/8	18/	–	2	11			
	" Moose Skins large	No	2	7/6	–	15	–			
	" " " Small	"	1	4/	–	4	–			
	" Tobacco twist	lb	1	6/9	–	6	9			
	" Knives Gun	No	2	1/	–	2	–			
	" Pt Japand 1 pint	"	1	3/1	–	3	1			
	" Gun Powder	lb	½	2/	–	1	–			
1823	Allan McDougald Dr.							1	19	1
Nov. 22	To Jacket Blue Cord:	No	1	29/9	1	9	9			
	" Trowsers Olive do	pr	1	19/9	–	19	9			
	" Tobacco twist	lb	3	6/9	1	–	3			
	" Moose Skins Mid: Size	No	2	6/2	–	12	4			
	" Soap Yellow	lb	1	1/6	–	1	6			
	" Comb Horn large	No	1	1/	–	1	–			
	" Glass looking Booth	"	1	11	–	–	11			
	" Salts Cmades	lb	2	4	–	–	8			
	" Beads com Blue	"	½	3/2	–	1	7			
	" Handfs Blk Silk large	No	1	8/4	–	8	4			
	" Shirt fine Cotton Striped	"	1	15/6	–	10	6			
	" Rum Reduced	Gall	1/4	18/	–	4	6			
1823	Charles McKay Dr.							5	11	1
Nov. 25	To Strouds Mid Blue Red	yd	1	13/10	–	13	10			
	" Garters Sea: & Striped Sea:	"	4	3/	–	1	–			
	" Tobacco Carrot	No	1	7/6	–	7	6			
	" Balls	lb	1⅓	1/3	–	2	1			
	" Gun powder	"	1	2/	–	2	–			
	Carried forward			£	1	6	5	29	11	2

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Edmonton House Account, 1823-4. HBCA B.60/d/15.



Edmonton House Account, 1832. HBCA B.60/d/41.



Hyacth Larivé — Dr — Cr

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1832		To 3 pairs Tracking Shoes	2/6	.	.	.	.	1	6
		. ¼ Keg R R Flour	23/	.	.	.	.	5	9
		. 1 Galls. R Salt		.	.	.	.	1	6
June	2	. 45 Trading Balls 1½ lbs	3½	.	.	5	.	.	.
		. 1 lb Gunpowder		.	1	2	.	.	.
		. 2 . B/B Shot	3	.	.	6	.	.	.
		. 1 . Twist Tobacco		.	1	2	.	.	.
Oct	26	. 30 Balls & powder ℔ 10	5d	.	1	3	.	.	.
	29	. 2 Lar dress'd M Skins	5/8	.	.	.	.	11	4
		. 3 Iron rods ℔ dog Collars	6	.	1	6	.	.	.
Decr	1	. 25 lbs Grease	6	.	.	.	.	12	6
1833 Feby	17	. 5 . R.R. butter	1/4	.	.	.	.	6	8
		To Transfer Cr Louis Bernard		.	.	.	2	11	.
				.	6	.	4	9	3
		50 pc		.	3	.	.	9	.
						£	4	18	3

Edmonton House Account, 1832-3. HBCA B.60/d/42.