Communities on the Move: Practice and Mobility in the late Eighteenth-Century Western Great Lakes Fur Trade

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Amélie Allard

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Dedication

For my family: I couldn't have done it without your love, constant and unconditional encouragement and support, or without those countless hours spent chatting on Skype so that I wouldn't feel too far away from home. Thank you to my parents for supporting me even in the darkest moments, and for having transmitted to me your values and passion for history. Thank you.

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Abstract

This dissertation elaborates a framework for interpreting the archaeological site of Réaume's Leaf River Post, a late eighteenth-century fur trading post in Central Minnesota. It examines the construction of social relationships and community in relation to place both within the site and across the broader fur trade landscape of the Western Great Lakes. I consider the ways in which Euro-Canadian fur traders made sense of an unfamiliar landscape by producing a familiar social space (or places) while on the move. Firstly, they did so through daily practices that are recoverable archaeologically, such as foodways and architecture. Together, such activities served to produce a particular lived space, which also created a stage for the enactment of shared practices. I argue that the transmission of practical knowledge from old timers to newcomers, or sometimes from Native people to traders, worked to create a unique community of practice that revolved around fur trading. Given the mobility associated with this lifestyle, I further argue that mobility not only impacted the materiality of the posts in a particular way, but was in fact part of those shared practices that helped foster a sense of 'groupness'. This community formation process involves operations of both differentiation and inclusion, which often worked simultaneously and along different layers of identity (social status, ethnicity, experience, etc.).

Secondly, place-making and community formation processes also work at the power-laden level of the imagination, representation and discourse, which produce the 'conceived space'. Here I use for evidence a number of journals and memoirs written by fur traders who operated in our region of interest in the late eighteenth century or the turn of the nineteenth century. These narratives offer valuable insight into the ways in which traders created a particular geographic imaginary through their movement across, and engagement with, the landscape and the people inhabiting it. They turned the unfamiliar landscape into familiar places through stories, food procurement strategies, place-names, mapmaking and references to 'home.'

My overall objective is to demonstrate how tensions emerged between colonial ideals of sedentary life and the need and desire for mobility, and that the practices and imaginaries of the fur traders in fact embodied these tensions. When considering these issues, Réaume's Leaf River Post reflects this ambivalence.

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1. INTRODUCTION

> "I left michipicoton the 29 of June [1821], and I reached the sault [Ste. Marie], the 6th of July, where I have settled, if it pleases God, for the rest of my days; so that after having voyaged for forty-and-odd years on the stormy sea of this world, I may strive with all my might, during the days that are left me, to reach the shore of the Blessed Eternity" – (MPHC 1909: 619).

So wrote French Canadian Jean Baptiste Perrault approximately ten years after his retirement from a life of fur trading in the Western Great Lakes. Perrault's life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century fur trade was, like that of many others, characterized by constant movement on rivers and across portages, strife over food, difficult terrain and rough winters. It was characterized by the creation and maintenance of social relations with Native trading partners, the Anishinaabeg-Ojibway, and fellow fur traders. While the commerce and trade of furs and food was for many Euro-Canadian traders but the means to the end of making a profit and returning rich to their towns of eastern Canada (Birk 1993; Devine 2004: 35), for many – especially those born in the few settlements outside of St. Lawrence River valley such as Michilimackinac or Green Bay – it was part of a long-lasting family business. The lives of such men came to revolve around their occupation as fur trader and the practices and social relations associated with it (e.g. Sleeper-Smith 2001).

In the 1790s, trading for furs in the North American interior involved an ensemble of practices that arose both from an emergent, spontaneous moment of interactions between people of differing cultural backgrounds, as well as from a set of practices that had been established, contested, refined, altered and polished through generations of encounters. By the late eighteenth century, fur trading operated occasionally through independent traders, but mostly through powerful merchant companies, which operated under a strict hierarchy of personnel. At the top of the hierarchy were the Anglo-Scot bourgeois, or the shareholders, who generally resided in Montreal and oversaw the

functioning of the trade. Goods destined for trade, such as blankets, adornment items, brass kettles, hunting gear, and so on, were carried from Montreal to depots in the interior by a seasonal brigade of laborers in charge of manning the goods-loaded canoes. Once safely arrived at the regional depot, the goods were divided among a number of wintering partners who spent the winter in the interior with a few voyageurs to trade directly with local indigenous groups. Native men and women – most commonly groups of Anishinaabe-Ojibway – integrated the winter trade post into their seasonal rounds, stopping by in the fall to obtain goods on credit. Over the winter and spring, company clerks or the person in charge of the post sent his traders to live with those Native trading partners in the hopes that they would bring back furs and food to the post as a payment for the goods traded in the fall.

It is my argument that the practices that made up this particular fur trading lifestyle, such as constant mobility, foodways, architecture, languages, and vulnerabilities

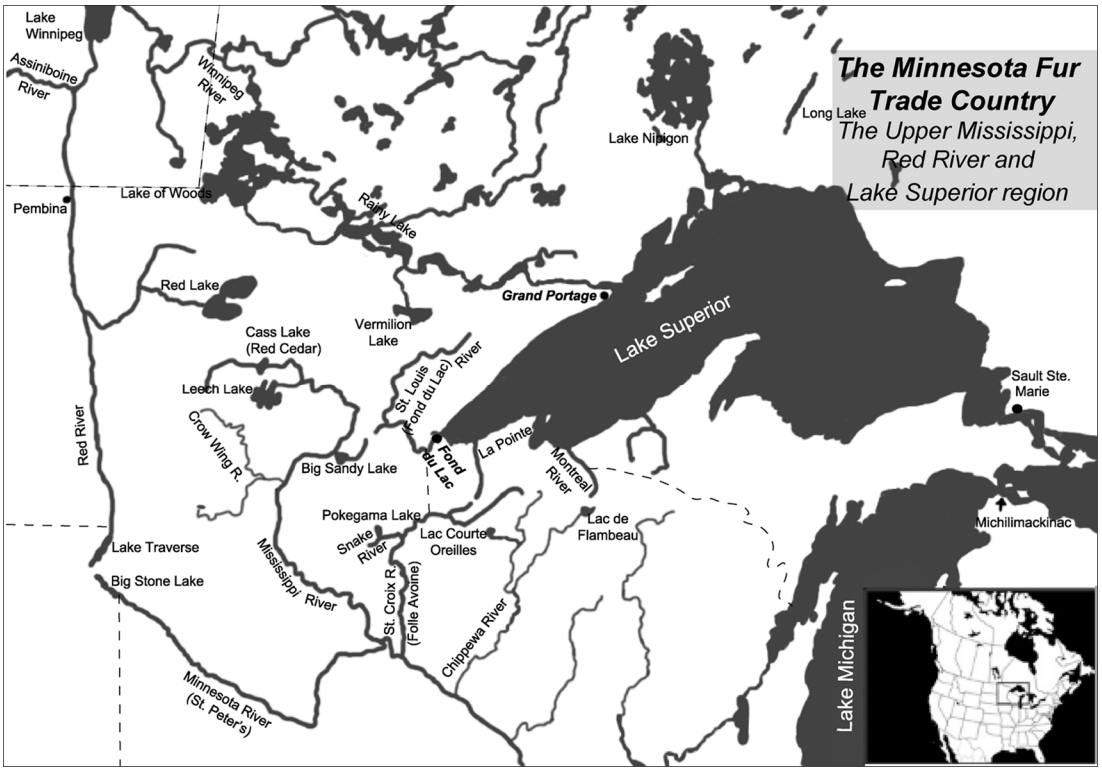

Figure 1. Map of the Western Great Lakes region showing some of the most commonly traveled rivers and lakes (adapted from B. White 1987).

associated with matters of survival in rough environments, created a sense of shared experience (habitus, to use Bourdieu's term) across otherwise disparate groups of people. Being involved in the fur trade as a life commitment came to express a sense of belonging to what Anderson would call an "imagined community" (2006 [1983]) whose members connected through common materiality and social practices. This social formation was not hermetically bounded or eternally harmonious; on the contrary, it was rather fraught with contention and unequal power relations often expressed along lines of ethnicity and class.

While a common sense of belonging may not have been shared by all who participated in the fur trade, notions of 'community' as dynamic and recursively emerging from relations and practice have inspired me to use the term as a heuristic device to represent a sense of 'groupness' that fluidly emerged and morphed through social relations, practice and encounters with the landscape. The latter not only encompassed rough terrain, waterways, snow and ice, but also the stories that were embedded in particular places, and the animals that were hunted daily, and sometimes conjured in times of scarcity (e.g. Nelson in Laura and Peers 2002: 153). In understanding fur trade society as a community, I do not mean to downplay or disregard the role of violence, racialization, and class and ethnic inequalities of the colonial encounter, but rather aim to understand the dynamics of such 'othering' processes in tension with the commonalities that allowed a sense of shared identity, in spite of the boundaries drawn around other social categories such as race and ethnicity.

Indeed, this study above all aims to understand the unfolding of these broad processes of differentiation and collective identification that often work simultaneously and which are commonly associated with colonial encounters. Using archaeological and historical examples, it addresses the question of how structured space, landscape and daily practice articulate colonial identification and differentiation processes within the context of the mobility associated with the fur trade of the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Western Great Lakes (figure 1). Through the examination of archaeological remains recovered from Réaume's Leaf River Post (21WD15) and comparison with those of other similar sites, it argues that shared experiences, discourses

and materiality created a particular "fur trade society" (Mann 2003) among participants in the fur trade, but also that this social formation constituted a "community on the move" whose relationship to place stemmed in part from mobility across the river world of the Western Great Lakes. These daily and mobile practices served as a conduit for place-making in sometimes unfamiliar physical and social landscapes.

My objectives are twofold: first, to illustrate how archaeological remains associated with daily practices such as the use of space, built environment (or all human-made architectural features or buildings), and foodways provide insight into the idiosyncratic production of the "lived space" in a context of politicized mobility; secondly, using the ethnohistorical record pertaining to the late eighteenth-century fur trade, I aim to demonstrate how space is not only lived but also "conceived" and imagined. Through some aspects of food-procurement, story-telling, mapmaking, and ideas of home, members of this community of practice transformed their geographic imaginaries, turning the unfamiliar into the familiar. In both these realms of space production, place-making is closely entangled with the broader identification processes of affiliation to a group. Indeed the relationship between senses of identity and senses of place is a recursive one, as we will see in the later chapters.

In order to address these issues, I investigate the following questions: how did daily practices – spatial practices such as foodways and the built environment – actualize particular places and geographic imaginaries, while also allowing the enactment of a community of practice? How did such processes impact social relations, particularly power relations, within fur trade society, that is among men of various European ethnicities, their Native trading partners, and métis men and women? How did mobility impact the materiality of fur trade society, knowing that this lifestyle also held negative connotations in the eyes of colonial officials? And how did it impact the interconnected processes of place-making and identification to a community of practice? Lastly, how did places such as Réaume's Leaf River trading post, other posts, waterways, portages, interconnect with each other socially, materially and geographically as they were integrated into a fur trade landscape? I argue that at various scales of analysis daily practices such as foodways, architecture, and their material expressions embody tensions

representative of the processes of differentiation and community-affiliation, as well as those at the intersection of colonial agendas of sedentary colonization and mobility.

1) Identity and Community

It has been increasingly accepted in the social sciences that personal and collective identification is a complex operation that is not only temporally situated and socially nuanced, but also multi-layered and multi-scalar, created at the intersection of gender, occupation, age, status, ethnicity, and class (Casella and Fowler 2005: 2; Insoll 2007: 14; Meskell 2007: 24). Following Voss (2008) I therefore use the notion of 'identity' not as a fixed category, but as *identification*, or as a process that is multi-layered and always in the making. In addition to the various labels commonly used to discuss identity, I suggest that the notion of 'place' – or spaces imbued with meaning through movement, imagination, memory and social connections – may also add a dimension to senses of belonging and exclusion.

When discussing the creation and maintenance of group identities, the recent emphasis on practice as the locus for community-making "contrasts with some older characterizations of community that saw it as the natural outcome of people living together" (Harris 2013: 174), or as spatially bounded groups. Rather, emphasis on practice creates a concept of community that is much more dynamic and that incorporates "both real and imagined aspects" while often operating at multiple scales (Harris 2013: 174). As Lave and Wenger (1991) argue, the term "community" does not have to necessarily imply a "well-defined, identifiable group, or socially visible boundaries" (1991: 98). Rather, they put forth the notion of "community of practice" as anchored in the learning process of a particular practice or profession; here, community represents "a set of relations among persons, activities, the world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1991: 98), which all define situated possibilities for learning. They further suggest that "all individuals have multiple, varied ways of being located in fields of participation defined by a community. These locations change as part of an individual's learning trajectories, developing social identities, and forms of membership" (Sassaman and Rudolphi 2001: 408). More importantly for the construction of a group consciousness, through learning

"persons are transformed into practitioners, newcomers into old-timers, whose changing knowledge, skill and discourse, are part of a developing identity – in short a member of a community of practice" (Lave and Wenger 1991: 122). The fluidity of this community experience suggests ways in which shared practices may link people across other kinds of group boundaries such as gender, race or ethnicity (Harris 2013: 174).

This notion is particularly useful when considering the archaeological problem of "invisibility" of certain groups in pluralistic and colonial contexts, namely groups whose material traces may be obscured by those of the colonizers or those in power. While in the Western Great Lakes Indigenous groups such as the Ojibway and Dakota were actually in a position of power both politically and demographically (e.g. Witgen 2012), their use of European-made technology poses a challenge when it comes to recognizing their presence archaeologically. According to Silliman (2004; 2010), this "problem of teasing apart the entangled or shared spaces and material culture of Indigenous people, colonists, and those at the interstices," can be addressed through labor relations (Silliman 2010: 34). I adopt a similar point of view when using "communities of practice" as an analytical framework to examine occupational identities and the ways in which Indigenous peoples as well as Euro-Canadians were incorporated into this community. This is particularly relevant for my understanding of foodways. Indeed, as will be demonstrated in the chapters making up Part III, documentary sources show that Indigenous peoples were crucial to the fur traders' use of space as well as their learning to acquire foodstuff efficiently, and it is thus important not to let their material invisibility channel our interpretations (e.g. Silliman 2004: 5).

Using occupation as the basis for groupness in this context thus permits me to go beyond the study of ethnic identity, which is often difficult to recognize archaeologically without essentializing material culture, and to therefore broaden my view of identity formation to a multilayered and dynamic process that encompasses occupation and practices of place-making *in addition* to ethnicity, socio-economic status, gender, age, and so on. For instance, the masters of the trade, often called "bourgeois," may not have identified or associated directly with the lower-class laborers, and even less so with their Native trading partners, yet they still identified with a particular fur trade "culture," as is

illustrated by the creation of the exclusive Montreal Beaver Club, whose membership was restricted to North West Company (NWC) bourgeois who had spent at least one winter in the interior or *pays d'en haut* (Podruchny 2006: 144).

My view of fur trade laborers as a community also draws from the concept of ethnogenesis – or the emergence or reconfiguration of cultural identities in moments when previous kinds of identification become less relevant (Voss 2008: 1) – which has been of particular importance to the historiography of fur trade social relations. Many cholars (Brown 1980; Devine 2004; Mann 2003; Van Kirk 1980) have shown that a particular 'fur trade society' was born from the common marital unions between Native women and fur traders of European descent, creating an important metis population that in some areas came to define a politically distinct identity. Devine (2004) has further suggested that bonds of kinship and friendship, which was not only central to Indigenous social relations, but also to French and Euro-Canadians, created a particular pattern of community building, strengthened by the fur trade. This eventually formed "the basis for a distinct and uniquely Canadian society, built on common origins and shared experiences of survival" (Devine 2004: 45). More specifically, Rob Mann, in his study of ethnic segmentation within this fur trade society, defined the latter as a "pluralistic formation made up of Native American, *Canadien* [men of French descent] and Métis persons, who all maintained separate ethnic identities but together created 'fur-trade-society'" (Mann 2003: 3).

In this study, I consider that the fur trade society members who were part of the 'occupational community' I am describing were first and foremost the men of European or mixed descent whom, according to their engagement with various companies or other merchants, spent most of their lives wintering in the interior and occasionally occupied privileged positions such as clerk or interpreter, and less commonly bourgeois. Most of them were of French descent: some were born in the St. Lawrence River valley parishes and came to be identified by the British as *Canadiens*, while others originated from other former French settlements outside of Canada such as Green Bay, Detroit, or Michilimackinac. Those who lived in the interior were referred to as *hivernants* or *Gens du Nord* (winterer or northmen), or sometimes *négociants* (freemen) when they managed

to become autonomous 'entrepreneurs' (Devine 2004).

To acquire the skills and contacts necessary to become freemen, traders needed to live in the interior for long periods of time as well as make more long-term commitments (Devine 2004: 200). The winterers who were successful in maintaining good relations with their Indigenous kin were "better able to remain outside the direct employment of a trading company and establish themselves as independent traders" (Devine 2004: 201). The permanency, for lack of a better word, of this position within fur trade society contrasted with those of the voyageurs who left the trade at the end of their contracts, or those who made up the Montreal brigades. The latter were specifically hired for short-term seasonal work to paddle the trading goods from Montreal to depots in the interior such as Grand Portage and return with the pelts collected over the previous winter (Podruchny 2006). Conversely, voyageurs and clerks who wintered in the interior usually engaged themselves for longer contracts (three to five years) and often renewed them after they were up. *Hivernants* and freemen also frequently created '*Sociétés'* (Companies) amongst themselves by pooling their resources and sharing the profits. Winterers in the interior, even when working for competing companies, all knew each other, occasionally visited each other's posts, shared tea or a meal, exchanged letters, tips, goods, favors and gossip, and sometimes traveled together back to the regional depots—which over all supports the conceptualization of this social formation as a community. As one trader said: "when People meet in this Country as it is so seldom not a moment is to be lost, but improved by keeping up an agreeable conversation, and in smoking the sociable pipe" (in Gilman 1992: 22).

The winterers' Indigenous wives and trading partners, most often part of Anishinaabeg-Ojibway bands, constantly moved in and out of this occupational community in a more punctual fashion, usually following their seasonal rounds. Witgen (2012) has successfully demonstrated that fur trading in the eighteenth century was but one facet of Anishinaabeg life, and was certainly not the most important one for all individuals at all times. In other words, as Gilman has stated "traders, who thought of themselves as the central figures of the frontier, rarely realized how unimportant their existence was to the Indian community" (Gilman 1992: 93), especially "when inter-tribal

conflicts of much deeper history existed" (Hayes 2014: 6). Nevertheless, the Ojibway and other Indigenous groups were essential to the creation and maintenance of the practices that came to characterize the fur trade, as they had for centuries dictated the diplomatic protocols and materials that came to be associated with the exchange. This had taken place within that virtual and physical space that White (1991) and Witgen (2012) refer to as the middle ground, a place for mutual invention and alliance-making. Thus, the participation of Indigenous peoples in this community was sporadic and punctuated, though no less meaningful in terms of social relations and kinship alliances. I would argue that, when in this particular space, Indigenous women and men – and especially those who had established kinship alliances with the traders – were also staking a place (albeit a contested one) in this community and critically shaping the place of the traders within it.

2) Mobility

For many, a life in the fur trade meant constantly moving across vast landscapes, and never truly settling down until their retirement, as Perrault's introducing quote conveys. This practice of almost constant mobility was for many fur traders central to their occupation and their place within the community. Following Tim Creswell (2006; 2010), I understand mobility as the social construction of movement, its meaning and its politics. It encompasses an empirical reality through physical movement and practice – in both the routinized everyday sense of the word, and as an embodied way of being in the world – but also *ideas* about mobility conveyed through representational strategies (2006: 3; 2010: 20). It goes without saying that mobility is not new to human experience, and neither is the study of mobile groups in archaeology (Beaudry and Parno 2013); however what makes this study of mobility particular is the colonial context of its unfolding and the related tension between imperial or colonial ideals of sedentary colonization, and mobility as both facilitating and resisting those ideals. After all, mobility, especially that of Native groups, has always been problematic for colonial agendas that preferred static and clearly bounded social and geographical units (Witgen 2007; 2012; also Devine 2004). Yet it is also important to place this mobility into its proper context: as Warren (2014) points out, "seventeenth and eighteenth-century North America was an

increasingly pluralistic world in which migration was commonplace," in particular for Indigenous peoples (Warren 2014: 20). This project thus affords a line of inquiry for understanding contexts, which like the fur trade in the remote areas of the interior, involve the displacement or movement of people but which do not align easily with diaspora models that emphasize a retained independence from the host society and an explicit tie to the homeland (e.g. Stein 2002).

In northern North America, mobility played an integral role in the creation of colonial identities, both during the French regime and after. Morissoneau (1983) argues that the experience of mobility became "part of the [*Canadien*] culture" at first through necessity because of activities that required or supported travel, such as the fur trade, that were both encouraged and condemned by authorities (Morissoneau 1983: 21). According to Morissoneau, "French Canadians regarded the [Interior] as a region that would free them from social constraints and the routine of sedentary life," as well as allow them to make a profit rapidly (1983: 17). In the early days of the fur trade, it was seen by French officials as a lucrative and effective instrument of diplomacy, "but the authorities underestimated the appeal of [Indigenous] life and in time became dissatisfied with the detrimental impact of the trade on social order in the colony" (Devine 2004: 36). Indeed, in a society where traditional Christian values and family relations were inextricably tied to work and accumulation of property, ideals of marriage, children and a sedentary life were constantly promoted (Devine 2004: 36). The adoption of Indigenous customs was tolerated, but "rarely achieved any degree of social respectability or acceptance in the eyes of the authorities" (Devine 2004: 36). The clergy, in particular, reinforced the notion that attachment to land would allow *Canadiens* to learn the true value of freedom, which required ownership of the soil (Morissoneau 1983: 25). For Jesuit missionaries, mobility "represented a lack of restraint deemed incompatible with a life of Christian discipline. The wandering life evoked images of vagabonds, lost souls, all people who remained outside or at the margins of ordered Christian society" (Leavelle 2009: 926). This attitude was one that the English shared and, after 1763, "colonial elites had to be content to categorize *Canadiens* as a ready pool of manual laborers who presumably "lurked" about with no permanent homes," which only served to reinforce ethnic segmentation (Mann

2008: 322) The French Canadian mobile lifeway may have been one of those "indianized" practices described by Mann (2003) that eventually led British bourgeois and officials to regard them with the same condescension as they did Indians.

While Morissoneau argues that "a tradition of sedentary life did not take hold as deeply as the tradition in mobility" (Morissoneau 1983: 22), I would suggest that it is rather the very tension between colonial ideals of settlement, and the appeal and mercantilist necessity for a mobile population, that was so particular to this context, even under the British regime. Importantly, Morissoneau brings up the centrality of family ties in maintaining this collective identity as "a people without borders": "the true locus of this continuity is more temporal than spatial: it is the family; a homeland writ small, a moveable homeland, and it provides a basis for solidarity" (Morissoneau 1983: 28). After 1763 when Britain took governance over Canada, this "culture of mobility" persisted, as "migration [had become] part of a well-established practice of out-migration as a response to economic and social pressures in overcrowded *Canadien* communities" (Devine 2004: 58). The decrease in available lands meant that the younger men were required to leave the parish to live elsewhere, which often led them to sign up as voyageurs (Devine 2004: 58).

A similar argument for the continuity of this mobility and family networks for the period following the British acquisition of Canada was articulated by Englebert (2008). He argued that after 1763 "imperial politics did not always or immediately alter existing societies" (2008: 63); rather, "French settlements continued as before, tied together by a commercial system of traders and merchants traveling along the waterways of North America to form what was in essence a French River World" (Englebert 2008: 63). While I find the term "French River World" problematic because it underestimates the importance of Native people's participation and maintenance of this river world, the significant aspect of Englebert's argument is that "traders freely crossed geopolitical boundaries and journeyed on major waterways," allowing the creation of a "mental map of the river world, where a culture of mobility formed and maintained a very real transnational community" (Englebert 2008: 66). In this community, waterways comprised the "symbolic lifeblood that tied individuals, families, and communities"

(Englebert 2008: 66). Fur trading companies such as the NWC, "became part of the system that supported the French River World" (Englebert 2008: 73).

The concept of mobility and its association to fur trade society is thus not unique to the present project, but is a recurring theme in fur trade historiography. However the challenging aspect of this notion is how to approach it in terms of place-making and identity archaeologically, especially with regards to the tension between colonial ideals of sedentary ways of life and mobility. One of the goals of this study is investigate how this tension may be expressed materially through practices such as foodways and the built environment, and discursively through journals and narratives.

3) An Archaeology of Place: Framework and Datasets

In order to address the issues and questions described above, I use in this study a multi-scalar archaeology of place that takes into consideration the role of daily practices in materializing senses of place and commonality brought on by a shared lifestyle, including mobility as a form of place-making. This archaeology of place considers both the tensions inherent in colonial processes of 'othering' and social affiliation, as well as those between colonial ideals of settlement and the need and desire for mobility.

Place-making can be achieved through a variety of daily practices, each adding or reproducing connections with others and with the landscape. In our context of interest, practices that serve to produce the "lived" and "conceived" spaces (e.g. Lefebvre 1991) include foodways, in particular procurement and discard of foodstuff, and the social relations surrounding them; the built environment; discursive representations of space (such as maps, texts, stories); and mobility. While definitions of 'place' vary, this study considers place as the "location of intersections of particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interrelations, of influence and movements" (Massey 1995: 59), as well as possibilities for a multilocatedness of self, that is a self that can be simultaneously local and non-local (Bender 2001; Lilley 2007). I consider the concept of place-making to be analogous to Henri Lefebvre's (1991) triadic notion of social space production, according to which space is simultaneously produced as lived, conceived and perceived. The present study will focus on the "lived" and "conceived" aspects of space production. Landscape, on the other hand, comprises the broader scale of the network of places,

including their inherent social relations, paths and topographical features.

The main goal of elaborating this approach is to provide a framework to interpret the archaeological site known as Réaume's Leaf River Post (21WD15), a late eighteenth-century trading post located in Central Minnesota, and situate the site within its broader social, historical and physical landscape. This archaeological site, excavated over three seasons (2011-2013) as an archaeology field-school, is historically associated with the 1792 wintering activities of a fur trader named Joseph Réaume.

As chapter 4 will describe in more details, the site appears as a European-style settlement, with up to four collapsed fireplaces lined with stone, wood and daub; at least two buildings (one store house and one building serving as living/sleeping quarters); a stockade wall and two bastions. The post appears to have been destroyed by fire as charred wood is ubiquitous in all excavated units, including the stockade wall, and does not appear to have been reoccupied beyond that one winter. Aside from architectural hardware, the material culture is mostly associated with European-made items destined to the trade with Native people, such as personal adornments and hunting gear. Faunal remains are ubiquitous and provide one set of data to examine social relations and their associated practices, in particular those surrounding foodways. In this place-based analytical framework, I consider foodways and the built environment as part of those practices that constitute and shape the lived space and the social relations that constitute it, and in turn how these social relations and practices shape collective identity.

My interest goes beyond the material aspect of foodways and architecture as spatial practices, but also includes the representational and discursive construction of these facets of daily life as an important aspect of place-making and identification. In order to understand the construction of the conceived space through discourses, I rely on some of the other lines of evidence at my disposal, namely documentary sources (journals, diaries, narratives, maps). Specifically, I rely on journals and memoirs by George Nelson (Peers and Schenck 2002), Michel Curot (WHC 1911) – both clerks for the XY company at the turn of the nineteenth century, lifetime voyageur Jean Baptiste Perrault (Cormier 1978; MPHC 1909), and to a lesser extent François Victoire Malhiot (Worthington 2010) and others. Through their written testimonies and stories, fur traders created geographic

imaginaries and social spaces, especially in the recounting of stories as well as engaging with both the landscape (traveling, map-making) and the people inhabiting it.

My approach to this aspect of place-making draws from linguistic pragmatics, inspired by the work of Michael Silverstein (1976) and the use of Peircian semiotics by anthropologists, and the notion that documents may be approached "as past speech acts, analyzable not only in terms of what they say, but also how they say it" (Cipolla 2012: 72). Historians and archaeologists have mostly looked at such written sources as a way to access ethnographic information, especially as a source of knowledge about Native people's customs (B. White 1987). With the exception of a few scholars, very few authors have looked at the sources, and especially those titled as 'narratives' and 'reminiscences' for what they are: that is a specific form of history writing, with its own system of knowledge production and representation, and particularly as a specific way to engage with the 'Other'. Those narratives are places for colonial representations to emerge and be fashioned, which can later be used in broader historical narratives. Moreover, such writings, often framed within the deeply-rooted dichotomy of civilization/savagery, set in motion the creation of a new stereotype of the voyageur that still captures the imagination. As such, the critical analysis of these narratives makes up my historiographical approach to the fur trade history.

Secondly, the critical analysis of documentary sources is fundamental to a better understanding of historical archaeological contexts (Galloway 1991), and in this case will offer complementary tools to comprehend and describe the different ways in which members of fur trade society conceptualized and negotiated competing ways of imagining space and place, and in doing so, created a particular imaginary that became part of the place-making process linking their sense of collective identity to place and landscape. The goal is ultimately to combine these multiple lines of evidence – daily practice through archaeological remains, and the making of representational space through documentary sources – in order to create a multiscalar analysis that considers spatial practices (lived space) and representations (conceived space) at local and regional scales.

a. Comparative Sites Overview

In an effort to contextualize Réaume's Leaf River Post as part of an ensemble of places making up the fur trade landscape, here is a brief overview of some of the relevant archaeological research in the Western Great Lakes, most specifically that of six archaeologically known trade posts which will provide more in-depth comparative insights in the following chapters. The following pages propose a set of variables that I believe will affect the materiality and associated practices at these various posts, and that will serve as a baseline for comparison for both architectural and food-related practices.

The places that I will draw from to highlight the regional scope of this community include the following archaeological sites (figure 2): 21MO20 on the Little Elk River, Little Round Hill (21WD16), Sayer's Snake River Post (21PN11) – all located in present-day Minnesota – as well as the Forts at Folle Avoine on the Yellow River (47BT26), in present-day Wisconsin. The study also considers to a lesser extent Fort St. Joseph (20BE23) (Michigan), and the François House (FhNa-3), an independent eighteenth-century trading post in Rupert's Land on the Saskatchewan River (today Canada). While some of these posts present defensive features such as palisade walls, with the exception of Fort St. Joseph I do not consider them as "forts" per se since they were never occupied by military forces. The reason these sites were chosen for comparison is threefold: first their location in the hinterland of the Western Great Lakes area affords a comparative baseline; second, the period of their occupation, spanning the second half of the eighteenth-century and the first decade of the nineteenth century, offers a short-term diachronic view of practices and their transmission through time; and third (and perhaps most importantly) they have been studied archaeologically and have published, accessible data. Putting these sites together additionally serves to demonstrate how different places, including Réaume's, were interconnected through shared practices and mobility at a broader regional scale, and how as such they created a particular fur trade landscape. The use of comparative sites in this study thus permits not only to broaden the scope of study beyond the Réaume site to multiple scales of analysis, but also to show how these sites provide different contexts in which to understand fur trade society as a community on the move.

The archaeological data recovered from these sites offer comparative architectural and food-related materials for the interpretation of Réaume's Leaf River Post. Using these sites as part of a comparative framework provides me with a set of variables for understanding idiosyncratic *versus* shared practices, including a baseline for assessing the impact of mobility on posts' materiality, for instance in using Fort St. Joseph as an example of a more permanent, multiple-year occupation. Indeed, during the late eighteenth-century fur trade in the Western Great Lakes and interior, the materiality of trade posts appears to have varied according to a series of factors, including whether the trader in charge was independent or more company-oriented, site function (administrative center, settlement, short-term wintering post, military outpost), the intended duration of occupation, distance from administrative centers and regional depots, environmental settings, ethnic composition, and the level and nature of interaction with native groups (Martin 1991; 2008).

For instance, I expect that whether the person in charge was associated with a big company the likes of the North West Company (NWC) or an independent trader may have affected the materiality of a trade post. At one end of the spectrum are posts that fall within the range of corporate affiliation whose operation fell onto company clerks and hired voyageurs. As Hamilton has demonstrated (1990), posts associated with the NWC and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) tended to follow specific designs, such as a U-shaped or barrack-style layout of structures, which also allowed more obvious corporate statements of power and social inequality among the members of the company. This hierarchical pattern is discernable at Sayer's fort on the Snake River (Mn) (21PN11) (figure 2), where in 1804-1805 NWC agent John Sayer ordered the building of a trading post, which also served as his winter residence in the hinterland (Birk 1989).

Another useful example of a company-based post is that of the NWC located on the Yellow River in today Wisconsin (47BT26) (figure 2), approximately 100 km from the Snake River Post. This locality was jointly utilized by the NWC and XYC (The New North West Company) between 1802 and 1804 during the height of competition between the two Montreal-based firms. According to Michel Curot, clerk at the XYC post, both

John Sayer and Joseph Réaume briefly visited the NWC post on the Yellow River (WHC 1911).

Figure 2. Google earth images of the comparative sites' location. The top image shows the location of all sites, the bottom image is a close-up of the location of the Minnesota and Wisconsin sites. (Image: Google, Landsat and NOAA).

As for the XYC post, its occupation was short-lived: “threats of attack from Dakota Indians forced the XYC to pull down their building and move it within the protective palisades of the NWC post” (Hamilton 1990: 109). These events and other activities conducted at these posts are described in great detail in both George Nelson’s (Peers and Schenck 2002) and Michel Curot’s (WHC 1911) accounts, as both men were consecutively stationed at the XYC post.

Within company trade posts, site function – in itself related to its distance from administrative centers – was clearly one of the major variables affecting a trade post’s materiality, including its built environment and food remains. For example, in his study of non-verbal expressions of social inequality in the NWC and HBC, Scott Hamilton (1990, 2000) differentiates three major categories of trade posts whose different functions affect their archaeological interpretation: large administrative headquarters, regional headquarters, and short-term wintering posts. The function and importance of each of these trade-post types is reflected in the size, layout and range of facilities (Hamilton 2000: 232). With regards to the built environment, Hamilton has found that administrative headquarters were “large, permanently occupied and offered the most elaborate range of facilities and comforts,” particularly for senior officers and shareholders (Hamilton 2000: 232). Their goal was to fulfill administration and re-supply functions and trade was but of marginal importance (Hamilton 2000: 234). The NWC headquarters at Grand Portage, and later Fort William, represent such posts. Regional headquarters, on the other hand, are the “center of the trade, administration, and industry in each regional hinterland” (Hamilton 2000” 232). They fulfill a variety of functions, including trade and the storage of goods, furs and foodstuffs, providing winter residence for personnel, and include the presence of specialized workers such as blacksmiths, carpenters and so on. They represent the center of supply for small satellite outposts (Hamilton 2000: 236).

While not directly associated with the NWC, Fort St. Joseph (20BE23) in present-day Michigan (figure 2) may be considered a good example of a regional depot. This fort, located along the St. Joseph River, was a mission-garrison-trading post that served as a “hub of commercial, military and religious activity for local Native populations and

European powers for almost a century (1691-1781)" (Nassaney 2008: 297). In 1753, the fort consisted of 15 houses and a prison, and "the number seems to have remained constant over the next two decades" (Nassaney et al. 2007: 6). The archaeological site comprises "evidence of two European-style structures, several pit features and undisturbed artifact deposits" (Nassaney et al. 2007: 4). Despite its distant location, this trade post is of interest to us in that its intended permanency and the presence of soldiers and missionaries, in addition to colonists and traders, provide a stark contrast with some of the other posts, including Réaume's.

Lastly, short-term wintering posts, of greater interest to us, were "characteristically small, only seasonally occupied and served solely trade functions" (Hamilton 2000: 232). These posts were generally used only during the winter trade season, abandoned during the frost-free season, and were used only for a few years. According to Hamilton,

> "there appears to have been a gradation of wintering posts. At one end of the continuum were posts which were little more than small log huts or "log tents" designed for one winter's use. Some posts were used for one or two years duration and might consist of a single row house divided into a series of compartments. The most elaborate type of wintering post might contain several buildings encircled by stockades. These posts were designed for only a short occupation, to be supplanted by new posts depending upon the level of competition" (Hamilton 1990: 106).

While evidence at Réaume's challenges the correlation between the duration of occupation and the degree of elaboration as is suggested by Hamilton (see chapter 4), his statement does highlight the degree of variation amongst wintering posts. Beyond the local idiosyncrasies, according to Birk "a good wintering site" needed to possess the natural materials necessary to build, be well drained and defensible, and more importantly be located adjacent to navigable waterways in an area occupied by friendly and cooperative Native groups (Birk 1999a: 20). The presence of the latter was essential to the success of the trading endeavor, so that wintering posts were generally located "near the hunting grounds of the tribe with whom they traded," creating small hamlets "housing 1-4 traders with their native wives and voyageurs, *engagés* and possibly domestic servants" (Mann 2003: 124; also Hamilton 2000: 237).

At the other end of the spectrum are sites where an independent trader (or freeman) was in charge. In such cases, it is expected that the sites show more flexibility in terms of layout and materiality than those established through the purview of larger companies. This factor also tends to correlate with the ethnic affiliation of the person in charge; in the historical record, freemen, or traders working independently from companies, tend to bear French surnames, suggesting men of French Canadian or mixed descent. On the other hand, Hamilton (1990; 2000; also Mann 2003) has shown that their counterparts within the NWC had fewer opportunities for upholding positions of authority than men of British descent.

The site known as Little Round Hill (21WD16) (figure 2) provides an example of a site potentially occupied by an independent trader. The site is located at the confluence of the Partridge and Crow Wing Rivers in Central Minnesota, approximately 12 to 13 miles downstream of Réaume's Leaf River Post. In his accounts, William Warren (1994 [1885]: 275) relates that "Eshke-bug-e-coshe, the old chieftain of the [Ojibway band of] Pillagers…was present at a trading house located at the confluence of Partridge, or Pe-na River, with the Crow Wing, when it was attacked by a large party of Dakotas." The Pillager chieftain noted that the trader, known only as Ah-wish-to-yah (the Blacksmith), was French, and that he traveled with "several" *coureurs-des-bois* and ten to fifteen Ojibway hunters and their families. In 1992, archaeologist Douglas Birk suggested that the Little Round Hill site might be related to this occupation, and the site was excavated by Dr. Katherine Hayes and University of Minnesota students in 2009 and 2010. The analysis of these datasets confirm an eighteenth-century occupation in relation to the fur trade, which suggests that it might be more or less contemporaneous with Joseph Réaume's post on the Leaf River, highlighting the relevance of a comparison (Hayes 2014). Interestingly, from a comparative point of view, this site stands apart from the others in this study with its lack of substantial architecture and palisade. Rather, the site shows evidence of pit-style dwelling depressions and an activity area centered between the dwellings, which comprises a hearth feature, a large and diverse number of artifacts, including faunal materials, lithic debris and Euro-trade items such as musket balls, glass beads, pipe fragments and a small number of imported ceramic sherds (Hayes 2014). In

support of Warren's account of this post as that of an independent trader, Hayes (2014) has argued that, whereas barely-used English gunflints were discarded at Réaume's, the heavily used gunflints found at Little Round Hill rather suggest a lack of access to fresh trade goods and to a constant supplier that a more company-oriented trader would have had access to.

As we will see in chapter 2, being a freeman was not necessarily an unchanging or well-defined state; freemen also commonly formed temporary association with other wintering partners, as was likely the case with Réaume when he took part in the 1792 trading and exploration enterprise down the Mississippi River. A similar case is that of François Leblanc, partnered with the Scot merchant James Finlay who held an independent trading house in Rupert's Land, which was monopolized by the HBC at the time (Kehoe 2000: 173). The site of his 1773 trading post is known as François' House (FhNa-3) and is located on the Saskatchewan River in Canada (now Saskatchewan) (figure 2). François Leblanc "was not only without formal education, he was openly of the same social status as the men he commended, [and] exhibited neither fear nor distrust of his Indian visitors" (Kehoe 2000: 174). Kehoe (2000) thus proposes that Le Blanc's operation differed substantially from HBC policy, and that this tension is particularly reflected in the material culture and architecture of the buildings, whose characteristics will be addressed more comprehensively in chapter 5. Leblanc's informal attitude towards his men rings familiar when considering Réaume's reputation, which makes a comparison between the two sites all the more interesting. I propose in chapter 5 that at both François' House and at Réaume's the materiality suggests an "in-betweenness" (neither properly company-oriented, neither totally independent), which provides evidence of tensions between ideals of corporate hierarchy and power and a need to assert independence from such constraints.

Lastly, archaeological examples of posts established before the advent of the NWC's monopoly South of the Great Lakes at the turn of the eighteenth century provide an additional line of evidence to understand the workings of the fur trade without corporate constraints of a strict social hierarchy. The site known as 21MO20 (Mn) (figure 2), an intense but short-lived French occupation on the Little Elk River in Central

Minnesota dating from 1752-1753, provides such an example. Birk (1991) believes the site to be associated with Joseph de la Marque (la Malgue) sieur de Marin, "a noted explorer and officer in the French colonial regular troops" (Birk 1991: 253) whose influential trade position in Green Bay allowed him to pursue an extension of French influence to the Mississippi Headwaters and attempt to rally Western Indians against Anglo-American influence (Birk 1991: 255). The site of MO20 consists of three buildings, including what the authors call a "Bourgeois House," and provides an earlier example of fur trade practices under the French regime in the area, thus adding a diachronic scale to this study.

Needless to say, these variables (association with a company, duration of occupation, etc.) that may have affected a site's materiality and aspect, also extend to food-related practices. Martin (1991, 2008), for example, has found some regional differences in Western Great Lakes French food preferences: "remote outposts with small French civilian and military populations were more dependent on the fur trade and on animal food resources that could be obtained from the local environment as well as from the larger local populations," whereas settlements with a larger population had higher number of domesticates (Martin 1991: 197).

Other studies show that ethnic affiliation also affected dietary preferences: French and British foodways held major differences, especially in the differential importance accorded to wild and domesticated resources. At Michilimackinac, for instance, French-period households tended to rely more on wild resources than the later British households, which showed more variation from one household to another, as well as a higher proportion of domestic species (Scott 2001; 2007). Past studies such as those mentioned above tend to be comprehensive and synthetizing analyses in either a diachronic framework that examines the changes in foodways in time, generally from the French to British regimes, or sweeping reviews of French foodways across one or multiple regions (Martin 1991; 2008; Scott 2007). These studies offer a broad picture of what is currently known of foodways associated with the French presence in the interior of North America as well as the changes observed when the British took over the governance of Canada and many of its forts and trade posts. However such a study

appears to be lacking for foodways associated with the British trade endeavors of the second half of the eighteenth century in the Western Great Lakes. Chapter 6 offers some starting points for such an undertaking and thus aims to fill that gap.

These sites are useful illustrations of the changing variables potentially affecting a post's practices and a site's materiality. These aspects and their role in the making of a fur trade landscape – a network of places where traders created a shared community of practice – and the impact of a mobile lifestyle on posts' materiality will be addressed more comprehensively in the chapters making up Part II.

4) Fur Trade: Historiography and Relationship to Colonialism

The questions and issues that I raise in this dissertation demonstrate that the often-held assumptions that the fur trade is a perfectly well-understood phenomenon no longer holding relevance for scholarly inquiries is erroneous. Rather, the need for questioning what we think we know about the past is made more and more urgent by present issues concerning identity-making in a postcolonial world, especially in a world where mobility and uprootedness become avenues for developing new senses of belonging and of identity at an increased rate. Archaeologically, this line of questioning is particularly important for the study of contexts which, like the fur trade in the remote areas of the interior, do not align easily with typical models of settler colonialism, usually associated with imperial implementation of colonization and subjugation of colonized populations. Here, following Hayes (2015) and others (see Cipolla and Hayes 2015) I understand colonialism as "a process in which colonizing or settling populations exploit local resources, especially land and labor, but critically also impose new systems of social and economic order" (Hayes 2015: 55).

Whether the fur trade phenomenon is an example of colonialism has been subject to much debate within fur trade historiography over the years. In the early 1980s, for example, scholars such as Gerald Vizenor (1984) and Harold Hickerson (1973; 1982) argued that the fur trade embodied a true colonial endeavor because it trapped Native peoples and their labor relations into an exploitative system and altered their relationships to their spiritual world, especially that of animals: "the fur trade and other colonial

interests interposed economic anomalies between the intuitive rhythms of woodland life and the equipoise of the Anishinaabeg spiritual world" (Vizenor 1984: 23). Ethnologist Harold Hickerson borrowed a Marxist point of view to convey a similar idea: "the Indian trappers were locked into an exploitative system in which Europeans, controlling the supply of commodities upon which the Indians had come to rely, also controlled the prices of fur required to obtain those commodities" (Hickerson 1973: 24). He argued that the fur trade had a devastating impact on prior communal means of production and created a system of exploitative labor (1973). More than an alienation of labor, "the fur trade, which commonly exploited Indian peoples and depleted their resources in the most ruthless way, forced them into increasingly smaller productive units," which eventually led to the collapse of communal norms and the importance of the clan as a marker of identity (1973: 28-29) – an idea that has since been contested (e.g. Bohaker 2010). In considering this question, the question of power is crucial, as Hickerson's association between exploitative labor and colonialism is founded on unequal relations of power that are created under an exploitative economic system.

Associated with this notion of the fur trade as a colonial endeavor is an understanding of "the fur trade" as a uniform, powerful force that for centuries drove intercultural encounters (Birk 1991: 238; Mann 2003: 146). Such interpretations draw from early historiographical trends such as Harold Innis' 'staple' thesis (Innis [1930] 1999) that tended to portray this phenomenon as *the* fur trade, an all-encompassing, sweepingly single experience based in European economic pursuit (Birk 1991: 238). Typical of this view was a definition of the fur trade as "an exchange of furs and skins for manufactured goods and foodstuffs between Native sellers and European buyers, together with the related trading of furs between Native trappers and middlemen before they reached European trading stations" (Trigger 1987: 5). While such a description is valid in European and economic terms, what is more problematic is the ways in which scholars following an economic definition of the process also tended to examine colonial identities under the lens of the acculturation model, where the adoption of so-called "superior" European technology by Native Americans was considered an inevitable process that led to the loss of an Indian identity and way of life. This approach not only tended to

"exaggerate the "pre-market" nature of pre-colonial America" (Du Val 2006: 77), but also further implied that Native people were passive, static and without a historical dimension (Ehrhardt 2005: 13; Loren 2008: 5-6). Such an approach to 'the fur trade' has had harsh consequences on the politics of representation of American Indians, as well as leaving limited space for understanding the processes of differentiation and mutual invention characteristic of some colonial encounters. That being said, "important distinctions must be drawn between French and Anglo-American occupation of the Great Lakes, particularly after 1790 when the growth of powerful monopolies ended the rise of French-speaking men to positions of influence in the trade, creating both a caste system based on ethnicity and sharp division of status and wealth" (Peterson 1985: 42). Nevertheless, the practices established in the middle ground, to use Richard White's (1991) term, by the French and their trading partners continued to represent an important avenue for intercultural interaction far into the nineteenth century and overall lasted until the advancement of US settler colonialism in the interior (Peterson 1985: 42).

Yet, as many scholars have argued, "the fur trade was never simply a trade for goods: it also involved ritualized ceremonies and protocols with political and social implications," (Podruchny 2006: 260; also R. White 1991; B. White 1987), and nor was the power uniformly in Europeans' hands. With the publication of his book *The Middle Ground* in 1991, Richard White was one of the first North American historians to go beyond the economic model of the fur trade and challenge imperialist top-down histories in his efforts to include Native Americans as participating historical actors instead of passive victims of western economic forces and colonization. Arguing that an economic model was inadequate for understanding this historical moment, White rather aimed to conceptualize the fur trade as deeply embedded in social relations between the French and the Anishinaabeg, both of whom were willing to compromise to serve their respective interests (1991: 94). He developed the concept of the "middle ground," a simultaneously physical and virtual place of accommodation and common (mis)understanding between Whites and Indigenous, as well as a process of mutual invention that was the product of everyday life and formal diplomatic relationships (White 1991: 50-2). Such accommodation was possible, White argued, because of the

rough balance of power and mutual need particular to the fur trade (White 1991: xv; 2009: 307).

Conversely, French historian Gilles Havard, in his book *Empire et métissage* (2003), maintained that by arguing that the balance of power was on relatively equal footing during the early years of trade, White ignored the process of conquest and colonial relations that were already in motion even then (Havard 2003: 15). Rather, Havard highlights the particular place of the *Pays d'en Haut* within the French empire and examines the process of 'colonization on the margins' of Empire whereby two spaces of sovereignty were intertwined through the numerous networks of trade posts (Havard 2003: 16). Havard put the emphasis on the idea of the "*colonisation sans peuplement*" (colonization without settlement) that was at the heart of the fur trade and dictated the power relations in the *Pays d'en Haut*, creating a tension between the French colony's ideals of conquest and the practical reality of their reliance on their Native partners and their kin networks. This tension, which remained after the British took governance of Canada in 1763, is in a way at the heart of my study of Réaume's Leaf River Post. However, I differ from Havard in my view of the extent to which trading posts served as instruments of colonization. Havard argues that, by intending to use the empire to their advantage, Indigenous people's voluntary participation in the process of alliance-making so characteristic of the "middle ground" also meant that they acquiesced to the process of imperial integration (2003: 776). One of the main problems with this conceptualization of trade posts as networks of imperialism is that trading posts at "the margin of empire," to use Havard's terms, most commonly eluded imperial control. In fact imperial policies that concerned the *Pays d'en Haut* were contested and ambivalent, and many officials, including Jesuit missionaries, identified the fur trade as a drain through which good French laborers were sucked and scattered into the wilderness.

While not denying that both the French and British had imperial agendas embedded within their colonial policies and trading agendas, I rather argue that, in this particular context, social relations and especially power relations, emerged in face-to-face interactions rather than through overarching imperial policies of colonization. After all, "traders were not colonists"; most intended to return to their homeland (Brown 1980: xi)

and “they did not seek to conquer the Indian, to take his land or change his way of life” (Van Kirk 1980: 9), quite the opposite. In fact, trading companies and officials did not wish trade laborers such as voyageurs to settle because “settlement conflicted with the trading and fur extraction purposes” (Brown 1980: xi). Therefore, “some historians now argue that rather than paving the way for the white settlement frontier, the traditional Indian fur trade required a space, labor force and process that actually made it antithetical to settlement” (Birk 1993: 91). As Carolyn Podruchny (2006) has suggested, “although they preceded the waves of European colonists…, voyageurs do not fit a regular pattern of contact. …Voyageurs represent a time of possibility, when the pattern of colonization was not inevitable or inexorable” (Podruchny 2006: 308).

Beyond the diplomatic, there were the day-to-day interactions, which often included sexual and marital relations between Indigenous women and men of European descent. This latter aspect has been discussed in detail by scholars such as Jennifer Brown (1980), Sylvia Van Kirk (1980), Jacqueline Peterson (1985) and more recently Susan Sleeper-Smith (2001) and Heather Devine (2004). Their seminal contribution brought to light the important role of Native women in maintaining the social relations necessary for peaceful and profitable encounters between their kin and fur traders of European descent, as well as their role in creating and maintaining a novel “fur trade society” through their children of mixed descent (e.g. Peterson 1985). Following this, most scholars now agree that the Western Great Lakes saw the emergence of a distinct society (Mann 2003: 3; also Devine 2004; Havard 2003; Peterson 1985: 39; White 1991).

In addition to a recognition that this multi-faceted phenomenon involved more than an exchange of goods, there has also been a tendency in the recent years to understand fur trade ventures as a multi-scalar process in which the global, the local, and the interactions in-between are connected through a back and forth between these different scales. The focus on local interactions (interestingly though perhaps not surprisingly usually described by archaeologists) has shown that there was never “one” fur trade (Birk 1999: ix; also Hamilton 1990), but rather multiple different kinds of colonial and multi-ethnic interactions for which fur trading was but one conduit. While this is the case, local interactions can and should be linked to the broader colonial processes in considering for

example, that the high wine distributed to Indigenous hunters as a part of the gift-giving tradition came from Caribbean enslaved labor.

Additionally, contrary to Vizenor's and Hickerson's views, the fur trade has also recently become the locus for understanding indigenous autonomy and agency: relationships created through trade "gave power to certain Indian nations as potential enemies and allies, and they achieved a central position in interstate politics" through their "willful participation and extensive diplomatic efforts to exploit unusual opportunities and maintain their own autonomy" (Cornell 1988: 12, 14; also Witgen 2012). In fact, until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Native groups around the Great Lakes outnumbered people of European descent (Witgen 2012: 216), and played an integral role in controlling the fur trade and fostering competition between different traders and companies (Holzkamm 1986: 9-10; Ray 1974; 2009: 336). Michael Witgen argues in his book *An Infinity of Nations* (2012) that throughout the colonial period the Great Lakes and western interior regions of North America remained an indigenous space, despite imperial claims that asserted otherwise. This overwhelmingly indigenous social and physical landscape was home to several groups, including Athinuwick (Cree), Ottawa, Ojibway, Menominee, Potawatomie and Nipissing north of the Great Lakes; Dakota, Mesquakie (Fox), Winnebago, Miami and Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) south and east of the Lakes (Gilman 1992: 23). During most of the eighteenth century, Dakota and Anishinaabeg (and in our area of interest the Ojibway in particular) peoples stood as the dominant military and economic powers in the region (Witgen 2012: 6). While there was considerable variation between various Anishinaabe groups, "feelings of collective unity came from shared language – *Anishinaabemowin* – and traditions and a common worldview" (Birk 1993: 13). More than their language, they recognized each other as fellow human beings through kinship ties – though not necessarily biological ones – and through communities identified by village location and a particular clan (*doodem*) identity (Witgen 2012: 59).

Witgen endorses Richard White's idea of the middle ground as a space where ritual exchanges of goods were negotiated according to the logic and language of alliance between the French and their Native partners. The fur trade was thus the nexus through

which alliances could be articulated, obligations reciprocated, basically the process by which the world of the middle ground was "brought to life" (Witgen 2012: 132). However this middle ground was not permanently in place and did not over-determine all the social relations in the area. In fact, as I will discuss further in chapter 2, Native social formations and identities were fluid, and their ability to "shape-shift" socially and politically "made them elusive targets for empires that wanted to exercise control over easily identifiable, politically subordinated Native social units" (Witgen 2012: 113). Witgen's work illustrates that while power relations were acting on interactions between various groups, they were not unilinear, nor always in equilibrium; rather the history of the Great Lakes should be understood as the entanglement of the Atlantic world with the Native New World in which the preexisting complex and shifting politics of alliance also incorporated Europeans, and that this process never led to political subordination for Indigenous peoples.

In my approach to the context of the late eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes, I draw from these recent historiographical developments in considering how power relations emerged in face-to-face interactions, and that, although the fur trade had definite colonial outcomes (such as policies of racialization and marginalization of Indigenous peoples), it does not quite follow the typical notion of settler colonialism usually characterized by the "asymmetrical encounter" (Cornell 2015: 99) associated with imperial implementation of colonization and subjugation of colonized populations. As Ferris argues "in the Great Lakes, colonialism did not manifest itself until late in the eighteenth century, and then peripherally, spreading as a revising set of dispositions manifest both as intangible concepts and as real impacts experienced in the every day" (Ferris 2009: 27). In other words, "colonialism did not fully emerge until the colonial state really began to ignore the autonomy of Aboriginal nations through the callous and indifferent acts of transforming the region into a world of and for the colonizer" (Ferris 2009: 28). Therefore, I understand fur trading as a part of dynamic and broader colonial processes "necessitating continual adjustment to [both local and global] shifting political, social and economic conditions" (Birk 1993:3), but also as a conduit for the creation of particular practices and social relations. Following Birk (1991; 1993; 1999), I thus view

the fur trade of the late eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes as "the sum of its [participants'] activities, interrelationships and exchange" as well as far-flung and complex cultural interactions (Birk 1999: ix).

5) Chapter overview

The study is divided into multiple chapters: Part I offers a contextualization for the project. First is a description of the historical period under study (chapter 2), followed by a detailed summary of the theoretical influences behind the proposed place-based framework (chapter 3). For clarity's sake, I have separated the lived from the conceived spaces into two different sections since their understanding stem from differing lines of evidence; daily practices that can be recovered archaeologically for the former, and conceptualizations through the written word and representations for the latter. Part II therefore focuses on the creation of a community of practice through aspects of the "lived space." Chapter 4 details the archaeological investigations conducted at Réaume's Leaf River Post over the 2011-2013 seasons, which provides the baseline for understanding both the lived space at this particular post and its place within the broader fur trade landscape. Following the analysis, chapter 5 proposes a comparative study of the built environment across the various sites mentioned above. Chapter 6 examines the faunal remains at Réaume's and at the other sites and considers the shared and contested aspects of food-related practices. The comparative analysis of these two components will serve to illustrate the construction of a community of practice at the level of the lived space. In addition to highlighting those daily practices that produce the "lived space," these chapters also consider the impact of mobility on them and their role in fostering senses of community.

Part III considers the creation of a community of practice through aspects of the "conceived space," or the ways in which members of the community made the unfamiliar familiar through story-telling, discursive aspects of food procurement, the use and representation of space and ideas of home. Based on the ethnohistorical record, this section comprises first of an introductory critical assessment of the sources and their relevance for the themes of this study (chapter 7); an assessment of the ways in which the

architecture as well as the movement across – and use and representation of – space contribute to the geographic imaginary associated with the fur trade landscape (chapter 8); and an investigation of the impact of particular foodways on the traders' geographic imaginary (in particular hunting) and social relations (chapter 9). The conclusion (chapter 10) combines the different lines of evidence and summarizes how they were used to answer the issues of community-formation and place-making in the mobile context of the late eighteenth-century fur trade.

PART I: CONTEXTUALIZATION

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF "MIDDLE GROUND" PRACTICES

The fur trade as a "fully developed inter-cultural exchange system" (Birk 1993: 82) did not suddenly emerge as such, but rather evolved through years of complex and dynamic encounters, both friendly and hostile, between groups of European and Native peoples whose worlds became increasingly entangled (e.g. Birk 1993; Witgen 2012). Practices developed around the fur trade changed over time and across space, yet the retaining of particular practices, such as the creation of kinship relations between men of European descent and their Native trading partners through marriage and exchange, and the growing need for mobility for fur traders, came to create a sense of commonality through which fur traders could build a sense of identity. The following pages describe some of the historical events and processes that have shaped the context in which the assumed 1792 occupation on the Leaf River by fur trade Joseph Réaume took place. This contextualization is necessary for the interpretations of the archaeological site as a place where social relations were built around fur trading operations, but also where place was actualized (made) through daily practices and interactions. Such practices arose from both an emergent, spontaneous moment of a particular set of interactions, and from a set of practices that had been established, contested, refined, altered and polished through generations of encounters.

1) The Anishinaabe world entangled

Birk has pointed out that "it is common practice among white historians to speak of the Ojibway as though their history was something that happened only in relationship to Europeans and as if the Ojibway did not exist until they were found, identified, or "validated" by outsiders" (Birk 1993: 9). In an attempt to avoid such a problematic tendency, whenever possible I use the preferred terms Anishinaabe (Anishinaabeg, plural), Ojibway and Dakota, over Algonquian, Chippewa/Saulteux and Sioux respectively; or over any other designations that represent European categorizations of Indigenous groups. While there was considerable variation between various Anishinaabe groups, "feelings of collective unity came from shared language – *Anishinaabemowin* – and traditions and a common worldview" (Birk 1993: 13). More than their language, they recognized each other as fellow human beings through kinship ties – though not necessarily biological ones – and through communities identified by village location and a particular clan (*doodem*) identity (Witgen 2012: 59). Villages, generally occupied during the summer, were "recognized as home bases" but were often left for the winter when villages split into smaller groups (Tanner 1987: 5). The *doodem* (or *nindoodem*) was of fundamental importance for self-identification. In fact, "in the Great Lakes region, kinship, political affiliation, and personal identity – categories viewed as being separate in western patterns of thought – are incorporated by the Anishinaabe into one: the *nindoodem* identity, which is also the mechanism through which people negotiated their claims to specific places" (Bohaker 2010: 94). Because clan names came from origin stories, "together language and narratives of origin shaped social practices and constructed a relationship between people and landscape" (Bohaker 2010: 98). Bohaker (2010) suggests that telling origin stories to Europeans, such as missionaries and traders, might have served to "remind them exactly who had the authority to regulate access to the land and resources. In doing so, they reinforced the connection between clan and place" (2010: 99).

A smaller unit of identification for Anishinaabeg is what is anthropologically described as "bands", or groups of related households. Historically those "were formed around kinship or charismatic leadership and ranged in size from 20 to 400 members or

more" (Birk 1993: 13). As with other units of identification, bands were fluid, with its membership expanding and contracting in direct relation to the seasonal subsistence cycles. In winter, for example, a father and his married sons and sons in law would move to isolated areas to carry out their hunting (Devine 2004: 102). "Authority was always fluid and depended on the abilities of the chiefs to command respect through their generosity, accomplishments in war and their ability to channel spiritual power" (Bohaker 2010: 106; also Birk 1993: 13).

Witgen has described Anishinaabe view of the social world in the seventeenth century as rooted in a long-held distinction between *meyaagizid* (foreigner, outsider) and *inawemaagen* (relative, insider). Because landscape and place represents a landscape of relationships, this concept of *inawemaagen* influenced the Anishinaabe negotiation of place and belonging as well as the social relationships making it up (Witgen 2012: 33). The fluidity of their communities and the seasonal movement associated with the harvesting of various resources "required a relation to land that was not fixed; the landscape was created by relations between people, and place was not created as a possession, but resulted from the recognition of mutual rights, obligations, responsibilities shared by *inawegaamen* living within a resource base" (Witgen 2012: 42). On the other hand, *meyaagizid* or strangers were considered potentially hostile until alliances could be made. For example, Witgen has suggested that the French word for Dakota – Sioux – came from the Anishinaabe word *Na-towe-ssiwak*, meaning 'foreign people,' which held an antagonistic connotation (Witgen 2012: 59). This landscape of relationships, which Witgen refers to as *Anishinaabewaki*, also coincided with the range of Anishinaabe influence and hunting territories, as well as a land west of Canada the French called the *Pays d'en Haut* (Upper Country). For Anishinaabeg, this social and geographical world was produced through kinship alliances, which offered a mechanism to transform outsiders into insiders (Witgen 2012: 113).

The Anishinaabe entanglement with Europeans started in earnest in the seventeenth century. In the early years of the French colonial period in northern North America, France was primarily interested in exploring the continent to find the Northwest Passage to Asia as well as compete economically with the other European imperial endeavors. In

so doing, the monarchy developed a mercantilist policy, according to which the colonies were at the service of the mother country. This encouraged the collection of lucrative resources from lands outside of France itself as a means to enrich the state (Havard 2003: 58). It aimed to increase the fiscal power of the monarchy and provide the King with the financial means to compete with other colonial powers on their quests for power and glorification (Havard 2003: 58). For this policy to be profitable in the context of New France, where France claimed vast territories but had low numbers of colonists, the state depended much on the trade with Indigenous peoples – as well as their incorporation into the Empire as nations – and the exploration of interior waterways. For colonials, however, the fur trade provided a steady source of income, especially for non-landowners. According to Devine (2004), "the grassroots fur trade was a community-based, family-oriented enterprise administered at a distance by a succession of powerful trading companies who had been granted monopolies by the King" (2004: 34). Arguably this family-based business continued after the shift of management to British merchants, as family ties and social connections played an important role in upward mobility (Devine 2004). The kinship-based nature of the fur trade thus made sense in more than the Anishinaabe worldview, but also in the Europeans'.

In the seventeenth century, Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) hostilities east and south of the Great Lakes drove a westward movement for a number of eastern Indigenous groups, including the Anishinaabeg-Ojibway. William Warren ([1885] 1984) and others have described the migration of Anishinaabeg, and in particular its Ojibway subset, from the "great eastern salt-water sea" to "assume a new residency and tribal constituency in the area about northern Lake Huron and Sault Ste. Marie" (Birk 1993: 30). From there, they divided their numbers into several groups, each going a different direction farther west (Birk 1993: 30). Ojibway oral tradition states that Ojibway splintered into different groups around the 1670s; the north shore Ojibway came to rely mostly on hunting, fishing and gathering, while south shore Ojibway "hunted, fished and also collected wild rice, and lived in large summer villages" (Gilman 1992: 26).

In 1649 the Wyandot (Huron), who were the appointed middlemen to the French, fell at the hands of Haudenosaunee war parties. The Ojibway became for Europeans the

new "middlemen" in fur trade exchanges with other tribal groups (Birk 1993: 10). Such groups included the Dakota, whose relationship with the French was ambivalent; and this ambivalence was reciprocated. Indeed, recollect Louis Hennepin is one of the only French missionaries known to have traveled to Dakota territory (now in Minnesota) in the late seventeenth century, yet he did not seem intent on proselytizing the Dakota, of whom he claimed to have been captive (see Witgen 2012 for a reinterpretation of Hennepin's narrative). The Mille Lacs region where Hennepin had been held was "apparently too confined, underpopulated and unstable to attract a permanent French post" (Birk 1991: 240). In fact, there is little evidence to suggest the French ever built anything resembling a permanent outpost in the region until the late eighteenth century, despite Nicolas Perrot's attempt to maintain one on Lake Pepin (Witgen 2012). Records show that trading parties sporadically visited the region in the 1690s, however such visits appear to have been short (Birk and Johnson 1992: 219; Witgen 2012: 119). In fact, historical evidence shows that the territories in the Upper Mississippi Valley were crucial to the fur trade, yet the French were never able to fully incorporate the Dakota into their alliance networks (Witgen 2012: 119). Trading with the Dakota was undertaken mostly through unlicensed traders or middlemen from other Native groups, such as the Ojibway (Witgen 2012: 119). Over the next several decades, the Ojibway strove to "maintain this favorable position by preventing direct contact between the French and client tribes" (Gilman 1992: 26).

The situation appears to have been different in the Illinois Country, a region south of the Great Lakes that broadly covered the Mississippi, Wabash, Ohio and Illinois river basins (and their confluences) (identified as "Pays des Ilinois" on figure 3). In the Illinois Country, French settlements were established beginning in the seventeenth century (e.g. Green Bay, 1634; Marquette Mission, 1671; Fort de Buade, 1689; Fort St-Louis, 1683; Cahokia, 1699. Fort St. Joseph, for instance, was a mission-garrison-trading post located along the St. Joseph River in modern-day Michigan that served as a "hub of commercial, military and religious activity for local Native populations and European powers for almost a century (1691-1781)" (Nassaney 2008: 297). The relatively strong military presence in the Illinois Country and along the southern Mississippi Valley was part of Louis XIV's expansion policy that aimed at blocking British expansion and confining the

Figure 3. "Partie Occidentale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada", 1755 map of New France by Jacques Nicolas Bellin. The "Pais des Illinois" region is broadly identified as such in the lower left corner.

English colonies to the Atlantic seaboard (Havard 2003: 783; Podruchny 2006: 21), as well as protecting their Western Indian allies from the Haudenosaunee (Nassaney 2008). However, the imperial and commercial designs of the French monarchy did not include a commitment to settle large numbers of agriculturalists upon lands wealthy in fur-bearing animals. In fact, with the exception of Detroit, Kaskaskia and Cahokia (later St. Louis), the French colonial administration established few farming communities in the Great Lakes Region.

The early customs associated with the fur trade commonly involved Western Great Lakes tribes traveling to the annual trade fairs in Québec and Montréal where they exchanged their furs for European goods (Birk 1993: 82). However Haudenosaunee hostilities, which rendered travel a risky endeavor, in addition to the expansion of the

French sphere of influence across the Great Lakes (Birk 1993: 82), in time relocated the exchange process to the Western Great Lakes, then referred to by the French as the *Pays d'en Haut* (Sleeper-Smith 2001: 12-14). During the intermittent warfare of the seventeenth century, the Great Lakes became increasingly ethnically diverse as eastern groups sought refuge from Haudenosaunee raids, and multi-ethnic bands were formed as a collective response to violence. Conflicts erupted from the struggle to determine the meaning and obligations of family and boundaries of kinship and social space (Witgen 2012: 123), and the trade goods acquired played an increasingly important function in facilitating negotiations and transforming strangers into allies (Sleeper-Smith 2001: 18). The fur trade then arose as a mechanism "to meet the needs of this relationship of obligation and ritual exchange," creating a nexus that facilitated peaceful transfer of goods (Witgen 2012: 124). This change, and the trip that fur traders now had to undertake affected the types of goods that were carried west from Montreal, and soon, the pattern of "Frenchmen transporting goods became firmly established" (Sleeper-Smith 2001: 18). With this came the next phase in trade when traders began to move inland to establish makeshift posts associated with seasonal rounds of Native hunters (Witgen 2012: 313). With the deeply-rooted social practice that readily transformed outsiders into insiders, the Ojibway easily accommodated French fur traders into their existing exchange-based diplomatic and kinship practices (Witgen 2012: 113).

Such practices were anchored in pre-existing principles of gift-giving, especially food sharing, which established reciprocal obligations and thus could be understood as an "investment in long-term goodwill and helped to assure future well-being" (B. White 1987: 230). Extending this practice to fur trading and the alliance-making with outsiders allowed gifts to help "establish a business tie in Ojibway terms – a trusting relationship resulting from a metaphorical kinship – through which trader and Indian overcame the potential hostility of strangers" (B. White 1987: 231). When seeking alliances, an outsider would be required "to demonstrate that he had personal qualities complementary to, but not supplanting those already possessed by existing males. For most Euro-Canadians, such qualities were access to goods and language skills" (Devine 2004: 106). Once admitted through adoption or intermarriage, traders had the advantage of having

relatives to provide protection and assistance in surviving, in exchange for their own contribution to the band's survival (Devine 2004: 107).

Through this reciprocal relationship, French fur traders became increasingly dependent on Anishinaabeg (and in particular Ojibway) for their survival, especially with regards to navigating the waterways and landscape and procuring food (Gilman 1992: 23). Not the least of the Native trading partners' tasks was to harvest and process the pelts so desired by traders. This endeavor in many ways relied on pre-existing practices and skills, such as hunting and trapping animals, making canoes and curing the skins (Birk 1993: 18; Gilman 1992: 23). So, while the fur trade "opened new avenues of cultural and economic florescence, it called mostly for an enhancement or intensification of traditional tasks and skills (Birk 1993: 18-19). That said, the fur trade also involved some changes in the established seasonal hunting cycles: Ojibway involved in the fur trade in time came to modify them to "allow several weeks to devote to trapping or hunting beaver during the late winter/early spring because beaver pelts were at their prime condition then" (Peers and Schenck 2002:148). Otherwise, bands generally devoted this time to hunting deer or other animals to sustain their families over the winter months.

Another way to create alliances were through sexual or marital connections between Indigenous women and men of European descent, which established actual kinship ties and thus opened up indigenous trade networks to a woman's husband. According to Van Kirk (1980), "the norm for sexual relations in fur trade society was not casual, promiscuous encounters, but the development of marital unions which gave rise to distinct family units" (Van Kirk 1980: 4). In time such unions came to be known to Europeans as being "*à la façon du pays*" – or in the way of the country, as most of such unions were not officiated by the Catholic Church clergy. Marriages helped advance trade relations, especially as Indigenous women incorporated their husbands into their communities, and even used the connection to increase their authority (Sleeper-Smith 2001: 5). "The marital and kinship strategies thus transformed trade into a social process and mediated the disruptions inherent in disparate economic systems" (Sleeper-Smith 2001: 4). Moreover, "as long as the mutual relation with kin and community were

maintained, the mixed-blood children of *Canadiens* were considered part of the much larger kinship network originating in French settlements" (Devine 2004: 91).

The common sexual/marital alliances between Native women and European traders, encouraged originally by all parties to foster alliances, as well as the adoption of Native practices related to foodways by men of European descent, became a case of concern for officials in New France. Young men were leaving the St. Lawrence valley *seigneuries* to make a living in the woods with the fur trade, creating a sinkhole for the agricultural economy of the colony. Not only that, but the increasing 'indianization' of Frenchmen inverted on its head the imperial policies of assimilation and Christianization of Indigenous peoples. It became a symptom of degeneration, and missionaries feared that French men would corrupt their conversion efforts with their depraved lifeways (Havard 2003: 327; 534-542). These traders, both French-period *coureurs des bois* and British-period *voyageurs* and *négociants* (freemen), thus occupied a "liminal cultural space: between cultures, on the margins of French Canadian society, on thresholds of Indian society" (Podruchny 2006:15). The traders viewed themselves not as colonists in the strict sense, but more akin to merchants and in some cases ambassadors of peace to better benefit commercial gains. Their "position as a fragment separated from a whole could lead both to a sense of isolation and to a certain feeling of semi-autonomy vis-à-vis the home society; but these men were not necessarily immersed in Indian culture and society to the point that they lost social and cultural independence" (Brown 1980: xvii). In other words, those who 'settled' in the *Pays d'en Haut* were "neither adjunct relative-members of tribal villages nor the standard bearers of European civilization in the wilderness. Increasingly, they stood apart, or more precisely, in between" (Peterson 1985: 41).

2) Politics of Alliance and War

As Witgen has demonstrated, the politics of alliance in the western interior were complex and shifting, including the relationship between the Anishinaabeg-Ojibway of Lake Superior and some Dakota groups. In the late seventeenth century the two powerful social formations entered in a fifty-year long strategic political, social and economic

alliance, destabilizing French alliances in the Great Lakes, especially in creating growing discontent with their allies in the Green Bay region (Witgen 2012: 280). As part of this alliance, the Ojibway were allowed to hunt on Dakota lands west of the St. Croix River and act as middlemen to funnel Dakota furs to French forts (Tanner 1987: 42). However, increasing encroachment of pre-established hunting territories by newly arrived groups from the east, including other Anishinaabeg, meant that the "Dakota, Anishinaabeg and French found themselves entangled in a web of relations that turned increasingly violent" (Witgen 2012: 119). With the cycle of violence and shifting alliances that erupted throughout the conflict known as the "Fox Wars" in the 1730s, the French involvement "spiraled out of control, leaving the French powerless to defend their posts" (Witgen 2012: 119). In retaliation to the killing of one of La Vérendrye's sons by Dakota warriors in 1736, the Ojibway broke their alliance with the Dakota and joined their rivals the Athinuwick (Cree) and Nakoda peoples, disrupting the alliance networks that had permitted the Dakota a more direct access to French goods (Tanner 1987: 43; Witgen 2012: 304).

The Ojibway then "entered an era of aggressive territorial expansion and intertribal war about the head of Lake Superior," and by the mid-nineteenth century, their tribal boundaries encompassed a vast area of the continental interior stretching from Georgian Bay westward to beyond the Red River and Lake Winnipeg (Birk 1993: 10-11). This expansion resulted in the displacement of Dakota populations[1] (Birk 1984: 54), and along with the tensions mentioned above, served to amplify hostilities between Ojibway and Dakota.

This conflict made it difficult for traders to venture into the fur-rich area southwest of Lake Superior, and "redirected the traders to safer, more northerly routes" (Gilman 1992: 38). At the same time, the Ojibway also started to assert their right to control the flow of traffic in the Western Great Lakes, making the trade less a matter of formal negotiations between leaders, as had been the traditions with the French, and more of a

[1] It is worth mentioning that this is the Ojibway narrative of their expansion. Dakota narratives of this process may differ, especially in the importance accorded to their conflicts with Ojibway in explaining their own movement westward (Howell 2015: personal communication).

one-to-one relationship (Gilman 1992: 51). The Ojibway soon established villages along the main trade routes north west of Grand Portage on Lake Superior (Hickerson 1982: 69-70), while the Dakota located their permanent settlements along the west bank of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers (Hickerson 1982: 75). Even as the French Empire dwindled, Anishinaabewaki and Dakota were approaching their "zenith in population increases and territorial expansion" (Witgen 2012: 217).

After the British took governance of Canada in 1763, the trade shifted for colonials into British hands and the logistics of the trade changed as the fur trading companies "sought to remove the middlemen by going directly to the producers" (Wolf 1982: 174). Moreover, the dismantling of the *congé* system established by the French, which had restricted access to the interior, opened the trade to everyone, and "people from Scotland, England and the United States slowly replaced the French Canadian bourgeois," forming loose but larger partnerships to compete against the powerful London-based Hudson's Bay Company to the north (Podruchny 2006: 23; Van Kirk 1980: 2). French Canadians, reputed for both their physical abilities and understanding of indigenous practices and languages, continued to be hired as indentured servants (*engagés*) under contract to perform various tasks, including to paddle the canoes and undertake the day-to-day trade and labors. Furthermore, in the early days of the British regime, many Ojibway bands mistrusted British traders – possibly as a result from Pontiac's revolt in Detroit – and continued to prefer dealing with those of French descent (see Alexander Henry's diary in Bain 1901).

The Dakota-Ojibway conflict that had slowed trade operations west and south of Lake Superior continued to hinder British presence in Minnesota by "barring exploration, missions and long-term forts along the upper reaches of the Mississippi River" (Tanner 1987: 43). In 1774, the passage of the Quebec Act by the British government of Canada established the Mississippi River as a boundary between English and American territory, and once again opened the route to travelers and traders (Gibbon 2006: 10). During this time, a "buffer" zone was created between the "Dakota-dominated grasslands and forested Ojibway strongholds," and this contested zone, also referred to as the 'War-

Road,' was well known and carefully avoided by most traders (Birk 1984: 54). In William Warren's words,

> "The ferocity of the Naud-o-wa-se, or Dakota, who still kept possession of this region of country, battling stoutly for it against the persevering pressure of the Ojibway hunters, was the theme of every lip at Montreal, Mackinaw and Sault Ste. Marie, and deterred many an enterprising trader from proceeding to winter on these dangerous grounds" (Warren [1885] 1984: 280).

This tension is also reflected in the architecture of most of the posts in that 'buffer' region. For instance, Alexander Henry the Younger described how in 1800, fear of the Dakota compelled his party to post sentries and build palisades as soon as the storehouse was complete. Henry had each man cut fifty oak fence posts twelve feet long and arrange them around the post. He remarked that "fear was an excellent overseer, and the work went on with expedition" (in Podruchny 2006: 214). Similarly, in his account of the Cadotte-Réaume party along the Crow Wing River, Warren wrote:

> "discovering here numerous signs of beaver, and it, also being as far as they dare proceed into the country of the fierce and warlike Dakotas, Mons. Cadotte located his winter quarters… Signs of the vicinity of the much dreaded Dakotas being discovered, Cadotte ordered a log fence or wall to be thrown up around his cabin for a defense against any attack which these people, on whose hunting grounds he was encroaching, might think proper to make on him" (Warren [1885] 1984: 282).

The buffer zone that separated Ojibway and Dakota hunting territories also coincided more or less with the transition between the two major biomes of Minnesota: "a mixed pine forest in the northeast and tall grass prairie to the west and south, which also affected the kinds of resources and animals available. In between, cross-cutting the state from northwest to southeast, was a mosaic prairie-forest or parkland transition" (Birk 1993: 65). The boundaries of this area changed but always conformed to the distribution of Ojibway populations and hunting ranges (figure 4) (Birk 1984: 55). Neither Dakota nor Ojibway were politically unified over the region, and the contested zone created a buffer between hostile villages (Hickerson 1982: 85). According to Hickerson, in the 1780s the Dakota Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Sisseton, Yankton and Yanktonai, five of the seven major Dakota divisions, were contesting the Ojibway (Hickerson 1982: 76-77). However this did not deter traders for very long, and by the

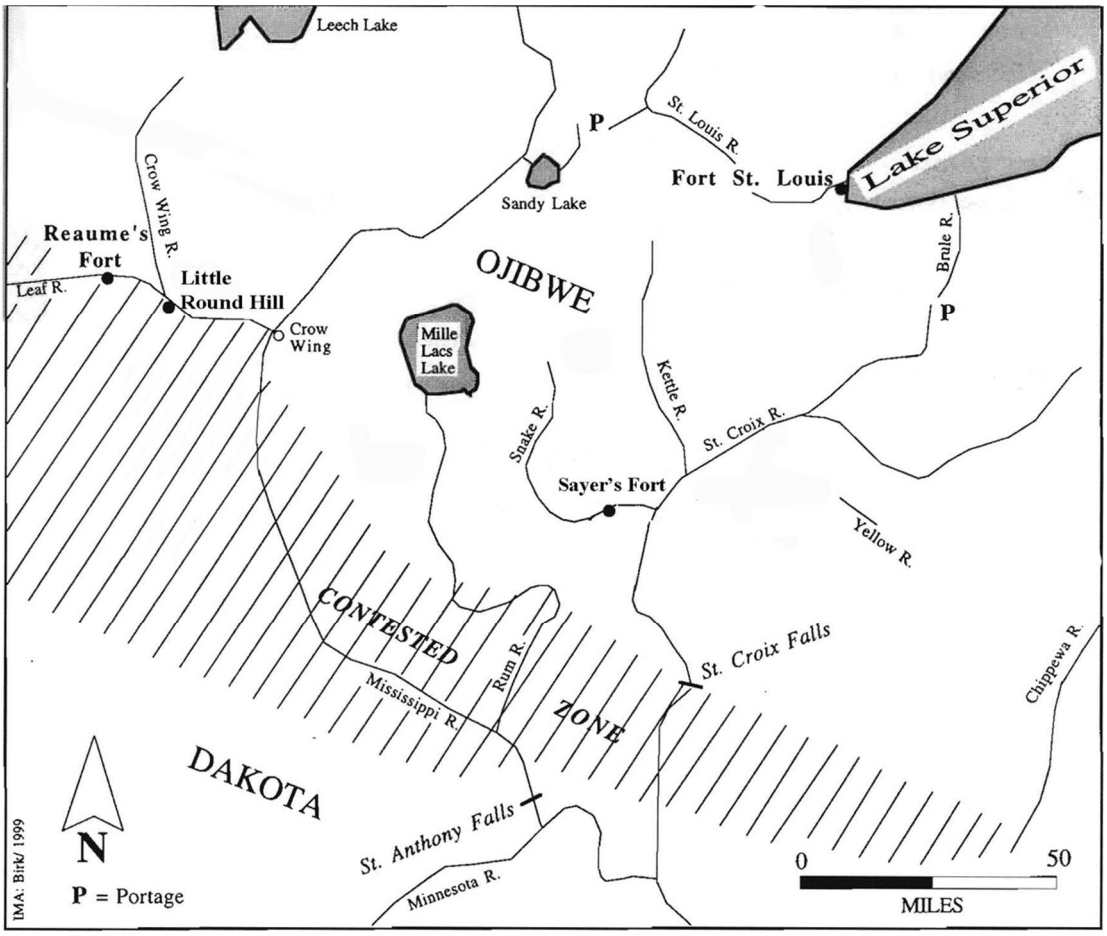

Figure 4. Map showing the approximate boundaries of the contested zone between Ojibway and Dakota (Adapted from Birk 1999a: 121).

time of the American Revolution, they and their Ojibway hunting partners had begun venturing within the Crow Wing locale in Central Minnesota (Birk 2008: 143).

While traders feared the Dakota, most also welcomed the opportunity to trade with them and thereby augment their profits. For example, Jean Baptiste Perrault wrote of the 1788 trade:

> "We saw the Indians often with furs. The land was rich at that time. We were in the midst of the Indians. We could not fail to make a good stroke, more so because the scioux tribe of la feuille [Leaf], who knew that we were on the riviere du cedre rouge [Red Cedar River], were hunting on the upper part of that Branch, stole their Credits and came to trade with us"[2] (MPHC 1909: 547).

[2] "L'on voyait souvent les Sauvages avec de la pelleterie. Les terres pour lors étoient riches. Nous étions dans le centre des Sauvages, nous ne pouvions manquer que de faire un bon coup, d'autant plus que les Scious, gens de la Feuille, sçavoient que nous étions dans la rivière du Cèdre Rouge,

According to Perrault's account, this actually led to some tensions with the traders' Ojibway partners, and eventually led to a Dakota ambush of the Ojibway party. Peace ceremonials between Dakota and Ojibway were often performed with traders as intermediaries so that all could profit from a stable and peaceful political atmosphere, yet none lasted for very long (e.g. MPHC 1909).

3) Fur trade corporations and Joseph Réaume

For fur traders, the Revolutionary war had also created tensions. Since 1763, it had been British policy to hinder American encroachment (Gilman 1992: 59), because of their desire to keep peace with various Native social groups and to not disrupt the profits of the trade (Peterson 1985: 40). However the Revolutionary War and the Treaty of Paris, by which the region south of the Great Lakes, including Detroit and Michilimackinac, was ceded to the United States, threatened British interests, as well as those of fur traders who counted on this policy to make profits (Birk 1984: 55). In practice, the new "US-Canadian border became politically inconsequential because they could not force Native social formations into concrete boundaries" (Witgen 2012: 237), and British military forces and fur traders continued to occupy posts established in earlier times. In a treatise defending their legal right of trade in response to the cessions, some Montreal merchants wrote in a surprisingly enlightened fashion: "The Indians are free and Independent people if ever any on earth were so […] Our running a line of boundary by Treaty conveys no right of Territory without obtaining one from the aboriginal proprietors. We cannot give what is not our own" (MPHC 1895: 407-408). While their declaration is tainted with their own political and economic agendas, they nonetheless had no illusion whatsoever about these indigenous social formations being part of the British empire (or the United States).

The tensions associated with the uncertainty and the cession of lands in the southwest of Lake Superior reinforced the need for consolidation, as numerous traders had been deeply involved in this region, especially under the General Store Company at Michilimackinac (Birk 1984: 55; 1999b: 3). The end of the Revolutionary war thus

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qui chassoient dans le haut de cette branche, voloient leurs crédits et venoient traiter avec nous" (Cormier 1978: 69)

witnessed the rise of various partnerships and companies among traders and Euro-Canadian merchants. In 1785 Isaac Todd founded the General Company of Lake Superior and the South in Mackinac (Birk 1984: 56), which soon eclipsed the General Store in the region (Birk 1999b: 3). Meanwhile, the North West Company (NWC), created by Simon McTavish and his associates in 1779, was established as a "loose partnership of individuals acting together for mutual benefit while maintaining private interests" (Ewen 1986: 15). The conditions of the alliances between wintering partners were flexible and highly influenced by social and familial connections, "causing the company to change with each new agreement period" (Birk 1989: 7).

The NWC had its headquarters in Montreal and outfitted and administered over 115 trading houses between 1779 and 1821. By 1798 it employed 50 clerks, 71 interpreters-clerks, 35 guides, 1120 canoemen (Gilman 1992: 66). Historians agree that the NWC's success was due to their "adopting and developing the modes and personnel of the French fur trade as it existed before 1760" (Morton 1966: 162). For instance there was a continuity of the French policy to "treat Indians with lavish familiarity" and favor relations with Native women to foster and maintain kinship ties (Van Kirk 1980: 13). Moreover, the NWC maintained the importance of gift-giving in trade, both to the natives and to the *engagés* for their loyalty (Birk 1989: 18). However gift-giving practices were quickly transformed into a credit system thereby the traders gave out goods 'on credit' in the fall and collected furs against these debts over the winter (Peers and Schenck 2002: 55). Gifts, usually in the form of alcohol, were used to 'reward' hunters for repaying their debt and to encourage them to maintain a business tie.

According to Gilman, with the rise of increasingly competitive fur trading companies and the devastating smallpox epidemics of 1781-1782, the "trade which in many ways had reached a mutually beneficial balance, began to show signs of exploitation and domination" after 1780 (Gilman 1992: 66). This was true within the companies as well, as they became increasingly hierarchized: at the top of the NWC were the partners – a bourgeois status divided between Montreal agents and wintering partners, who were "in charge of specific regional trade districts and were annually charged costs of operations and supply, cartage for furs and other expenses" (Birk 1984: 51). Lower in

the echelon were gentlemen employees such as clerks, among whom the most experienced were given charge of individual posts. Below clerks were clerk-interpreters – often mixed descent – and lastly the "common laboring men": *engagés,* which included voyageurs or canoemen, generally of French descent (Gilman 1992: 68). Their tasks consisted in the construction and maintenance of the post, trade, quest for food, transport of furs and sometimes mail from one post to another (Podruchny 2006: 204).

This hierarchy led to certain strong social distinctions between the British and the French, where the French Canadians (at the time known to British colonists as *Canadiens*) were relegated to lower ranks as voyageurs, clerks or guides (Brown 1980: 45; Van Kirk 1980: 12). In looking at ethnic segmentation processes in the NWC, Mann has shown that Anglo-Americans "viewed kin relations between French and Algonquians with disdain," often employing discourses of 'civilized' and 'savage' society, which marginalized *Canadiens* and the Native people that made up fur trade society (Mann 2003: 11). In this context of ethnic differentiation, *Canadiens* used once taken-for-granted aspects of *Canadien* folk life (dress, house styles, language) to maintain a distinct identity (Mann 2003: 104). They came to "view themselves as a distinct group, one that members showed pride in belonging to, and one that dominant groups belittled even when they relied on their labor" (Mann 2003: 8). This group was rooted in an occupational identity as traders and/or voyageurs, which was easily recognizable to outsiders and quickly became delineated along lines of ethnicity (Peterson 1985:39). Because of this ethnic segmentation, "the French clerks of the NWC form an interesting group of uncertain social position": they were socially and economically superior to the *engagés* due to their work role and literacy, yet they generally lacked the social connections, kin links and economic power to become senior clerks or gentlemen shareholders (Hamilton 1990: 29).

Nevertheless, increased competition between companies created some opportunities for *Canadiens* who wanted to establish themselves as independent entrepreneurs; these men became known as 'freemen' (*négociants, hivernants*) (Devine 2004: 4). Generally speaking, freemen were "former company *engagés* whom, having established a familial relation *à la façon du pays*, left the control of the trading firm to operate in a broker

capacity among various native bands," which allowed them to achieve a degree of personal and economic autonomy hitherto denied to them as *engagés* (Devine 2004: 4). Freemen directed their efforts "towards maintaining their personal autonomy while at the same time devising ways and means to extract the maximum benefits from the fur trade companies without jeopardizing the business relations" (Devine 2004: 108). It was thus necessary for them "to establish their dominance over the fur trade in the areas where they lived by maintaining familial relations with adjacent Indian bands and with personnel at Euro-Canadian trading companies simultaneously" (Devine 2004: 108). This was best achieved by marrying Indigenous women and securing employment in trading posts, which allowed them to winter with Indigenous bands (Devine 2004: 108). Both the Hudson's Bay Company and NWC tried to gain control over the activities of the freemen so as to neutralize their influence over Native people and to channel their activities to the benefits of the trading companies (Devine 2004: 201).

Despite the fact that the NWC monopolized the trade in the Western Great Lakes (and in particular Minnesota) from 1791 to 1804, this company was only one of many trading companies to have been created during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In fact, the history of the diverse company mergers that occurred during this period is quite complex as traders changed their allegiances often, sometimes partnering without corporate affiliation, sometimes affiliating with larger companies. For instance, in 1789 the General Company collapsed from mismanagement; the Gregory, McLeod & Company merged with the NWC in 1787 (Birk 1984: 56), while in 1791, Sayer founded Messieurs John Sayer & Company du Nord-Ouest but in 1793 merged with the NWC and was placed in charge of the Fond du Lac District (Birk 1984: 57). Some of the founders of the NWC themselves splintered in 1798 because of tensions with Simon McTavish to create the New North West Company, which came to be known as the XY Company after the mark applied to their bales of goods (Ewen 1986: 15). This company became the NWC's most fervent competitor in the Western Great Lakes, adopting the strategy to follow the Nor'Westers wherever they went and establishing rival posts in the immediate vicinity (Ewen 1986: 16). The XY and NWC merged again in 1804, after the death of Simon McTavish.

Similar patterns of shifting allegiances can be seen for individual traders, including Joseph Réaume (also spelled Rheaume, Reyaulm), who could be characterized as a 'freeman' offering his services to various individuals and companies over the course of his career. Little is currently known of him as he has left no known writings of his own despite the fact that he was most likely literate, since we know him to have exchanged letters with some of his partners. Nevertheless, according to Peers and Schenck (2002: 215), there were at least two fur traders in the broader Great Lakes area by this name; one was listed as a trader in Michilimackinac in 1778, while another was born in 1772. The man whose name is associated with the archaeological site is believed to be the elder of these two men, and his trading activities and whereabouts are known via other fur traders' accounts. His genealogy remains nebulous, however according to the Mackinac Register of Baptisms, one Joseph Réaume was baptized by a Jesuit missionary on May 30th, 1757 at Mackinac:

> the "legitimate son of jean Baptiste Reaume, interpreter at la Baye, and of Marie joseph, his wife, born at the wintering place of the mississipi on the 7th of May, 1755. The godfather was Mr. Amiot, Armorer of this post and the godmother Mde. Farley, who signed here" (WHC 1910: 48-49).

If indeed this is the same person mentioned in later accounts (the birth date of 1755 seems plausible), then this suggests that Réaume was not only most likely of mixed descent (being born "at the wintering place") but also connected to the Réaumes of Green Bay ("la Baye"), an important trading family. However this surname is also commonly found in Detroit, Michilimackinac, Ouiantanon, Fort St. Joseph (Sleeper-Smith 2001: 50) and presumably Lower Canada.

Whatever the case, Joseph Réaume is known to have been in the Fond du Lac Superior region in 1779, and in Red Lake in northern Minnesota as early as 1784 (Cormier 1978: 52; Birk 1984; Peers and Schenck 2002: 15). Réaume likely spent the intervening years trading and getting a favorable reputation among the Ojibway – possibly in association with the General Company headed by Isaac Todd and James and John McGill (Birk 1984: 57). Indeed, Réaume's name, as well as his partner Jean Baptiste Cadotte, appear in a memorandum produced by a group of bourgeois in 1786

concerning a plan to negotiate a peace between Dakota and Ojibway to enhance their profits. They wrote:

> "to bring about a peace amongst [warring groups of] Indians, considerable presents will be necessary…that being a Country which rivals the eastern parts…for the goodness and value of the furrs [*sic*] which it produces, the Country too is very extensive that when peace can be brought about, [Indian trappers] go up into that Country and make the most prodigious Hunts" (WHC 1892: 78-81).

They further wrote: "To carry this scheme into execution is thought that several persons must be employed to carry the parcels and distribute the presents – for the Chippeway [Ojibway] Messrs Cadot & Rheum [sic] are proper persons" (WHC 1892: 81). Réaume associated with John Sayer, Jean Baptiste Cadotte and Gabriel Attina dit Laviolette in a

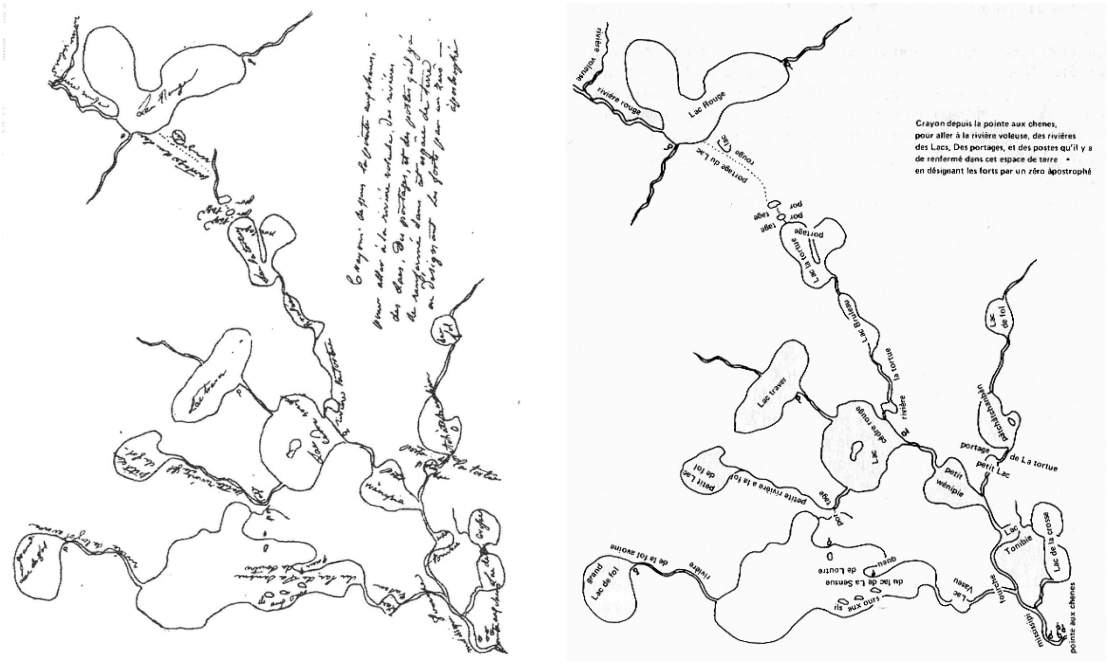


Figure 5. Left: Jean Baptiste Perrault's sketch map of the Mississippi Headwaters to the Red River (MHPC 1909); Right: Cormier's transcription of the same map (Cormier 1978: 79).

one-year partnership in 1789 when he wintered at Upper Rice Lake (MPHC 1909: 555-6) and he is "credited for trying to ameliorate Ojibway and Dakota differences on the Sheyenne River" (in today North Dakota) the same year (Birk 1984: 57), possibly acting out the 1786 aforementioned plan to deliver presents and negotiate a peace. He then entered into one-year partnerships or "wintering companies" with other speculators,

including John Sayer, Jean Baptiste Perrault, Jean Baptiste Cadotte and others, and in 1790 set out to winter "*au lac de la Folle, en côté du lac de la Sangsue vers le lac de la Queue de Loutre*"[3] (Cormier 1978: 78) (figure 5). By 1791, the area north and east of the contested zone was "fairly congested with both Indians and traders whose need for food, leather and furs created a cumulative depletion of game animals" (Birk 1984: 57) and "the Ojibway had greater incentive and means to move into the adjacent contested zone" (Birk 2008: 142). That year, John Sayer founded the "Messieurs John Sayer & Company du Nord-Ouest" (JSC), of which Réaume may have been a silent partner (Birk 1999b: 4).

Jean Baptiste Perrault recounts that, while having tea with Sayer in 1791, the latter told him that he "had sent two outfits inland of the Fond du Lac, that Mr. Cadotte and Mr. Jos. Réaume […] had left, outfitted by Mr. [Alexander] Henry, a Montreal merchant, to also enter & lead the Indians of Leech Lake towards the plains. I gave up the idea of going […]"[4] (Cormier 1978: 85; also Birk 1984: 57; 1999b: 6). In other words, this expedition "was intended to lead the Leech and Sandy Lake Ojibway to contested hunting grounds west of the Crow Wing River" (Birk 1984: 57; 1999b: 6). Warren ([1885] 1984) gives a detailed account of this expedition, and suggests that the Leaf River Post may be associated with this 1791-1792 outfit. He writes:

> "[Jean Baptiste] Cadotte, noted for courage and fearlnessness, easily formed a large party, consisting of traders, "coureurs des bois," trappers and a few Iroquois Indians, who had assumed the habits and learned to perform their labor, of Canadian voyageurs to accompany him on an expedition to these dangerous regions. Besides his own immediate engages [sic] and servitors, the party consisted of the trader Reyaulm and his men: Pickette, Roberts, and Bell, with their men fully equipped for trading and trapping. Altogether they numbered sixty men […]" (Warren [1885] 1984: 280-281).

[3] to Lake of 'la Folle', near Leech Lake towards Otter Tail Lake.

[4] Translated by the author from the French original: "Le même jour mr. Sayer m'avoit arrêté pour prendre le thé chez lui, j'y fus. C'étoit la première année de sa résidence au Sault. Il me dit qu'il avoit fait deux envois dans les terres au Fond du Lac, que mr. Cadotte et mr. Jos. Réaume […] étoient partis équippés de mr. Henry, marchand de Montréal, pour entrer aussi & mener les Sauvages du lac de la Sangsue aux prairies. J'abandonnai le dessein d'y aller […]" (Cormier 1978: 85)

While his sources, which were based on oral accounts, showed a remarkable variability in their memories of this expedition, one report suggested that:

> "They proceeded down the Mississippi to the forks or entry of Crow Wing River, which they ascended, and cold weather overtaking them at the mouth of Leaf River, which empties into the Crow Wing, and discovering there numerous signs of beaver, and it, also being as far as they dare proceed into the country of the fierce and warlike Dakotas, Mons. Cadotte located his winter quarters, and set his men immediately to work in erecting log huts sufficient to hold his whole party and his winter supplies […]" (Warren [1885] 1984: 282).

Warren, himself baffled by the variability in the accounts, proposed that "the party, consisting of several different traders, each with his own equipment of supplies and men, must have separated at Sandy Lake" (Warren [1885] 1984: 288) and wintered in various locations, including in the Crow Wing-Leaf area. The direct association between Joseph Réaume and the Leaf River post comes in a brief mention from his future associate John Hay in 1794 in "Captain McKay's journal," in which he recounts how his party, after going up the Leaf River, "arrived at Reaume's fort a fort built in 1792 when he was stopt by the Sious [sic]" (Quaife 1915: 206-207). Cadotte then would have wintered at the confluence of the Leaf and Crow Wing rivers (Birk 2013: personal communication). However, other sources suggest that in 1792 Réaume was outfitted by John Sayer, through JSC on a profit-sharing basis with NWC to go to Pembina (Birk 1999b: 6). The conflicting dates might be explained by the change of year half-way through a wintering operation. In other words, if we consider Hay's 1792 to represent the latter part of the 1791 outfit sent by Henry, then the Leaf River post would have been occupied during the winter of 1791-1792, and abandoned in the spring once the waterways were freed of ice.

By this time, the richness in pelts of this area attracted the attention of the NWC and the company expanded to include this region and turn it into the Fond du Lac district (Birk 2008: 143). In fact, "historians generally assumed that the Cadotte-Réaume" expedition of 1791-1792 was responsible for inducing the NWC to extend its Southwest operation (Birk 1984: 58). While the southern edge of the district was delineated by the Dakota-Ojibway contested zone, the northern edge was constrained by the vast conifer bog devoid of lakes and relatively poor in game that had replaced the glacial Lake

Agassiz (Birk 1984: 53). The district included the departments of the Mississippi Headwaters, Folle Avoine, Lac Court Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau – the last three being located in today's Wisconsin (Birk 1984: 52) (figure 6).

This area had the advantage of being "rich in surface water, lakes and rivers that interconnect" (Birk 1984: 53), and of encompassing an "uneven distribution of plant and

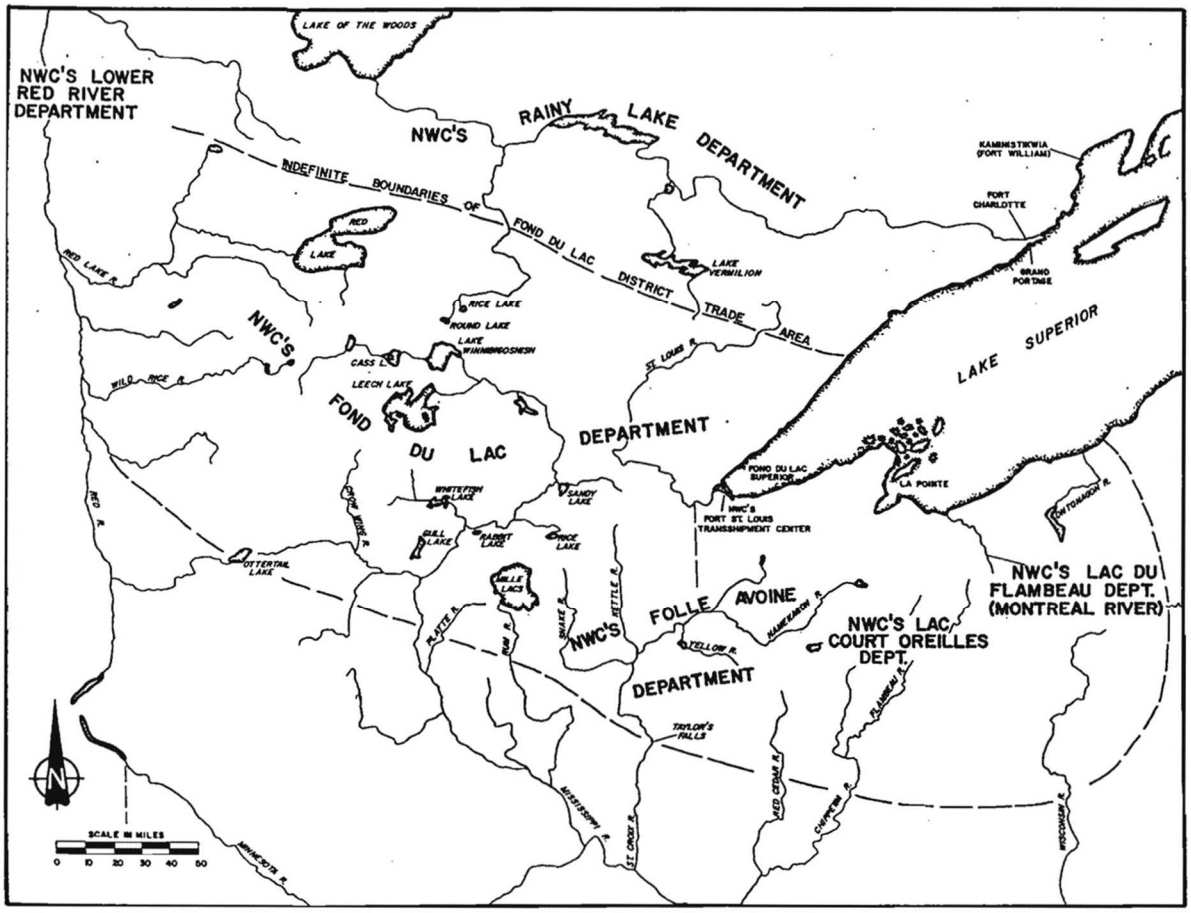


Figure 6. The North West Company Fond du Lac District, with its various trade departments (Birk 1999a).

animal resources" that included the rich mixed forest and prairie-forest transition of the contested zone (Birk 1984: 53-54). In 1802, the Fond du Lac district maintained 12 posts (about 10% of all NWC operations), employed 15 clerk-interpreters and 68 common men (Hamilton 1990: 25, table 2).

After this consolidation, "some of the 'south' traders declared that they would rather renounce their share in the NWC than be restricted" (Birk 1999b: 7). As part of

this decision, Joseph Réaume and Jean Baptiste Cadotte went to winter in the Red and Assiniboine rivers area (today Manitoba), where Réaume had wintered during the mid-1780s at "Mr. Grant's fort" (Cormier 1978: 52). This return arguably allowed him to resume old connections with fur traders of that family, who appear to have been closely associated with the region (e.g. John Macdonell's journal in Wood 1984). During his 1793 stay in the area, NWC trader John Macdonell wrote of a "Réaume" thusly: "Rheaume (Mr. Peter Grant's Guide) came to visit us with his wife along with our Hamelin, yesterday, & returned with the same suite to day" (Wood 1984: 90). While it is unclear whether this is the same Joseph Réaume (particularly because the following year he was not directly associated with Peter Grant but trading independently at Portage La Prairie with others such as John Hay and "LaViolette" (Wood 1984: 114)), it raises the possibility that Réaume might have married *à la façon du pays*, which would actually be far from surprising. This is the only mention of a wife in association with Réaume.

While in this area, one NWC rival, William McKay, complained that he was sent "to Portage La Prairie to take charge of that place as the person there now is so little fit for the Charge that Messr. Reaume and the South traders are carrying all before them" (Wood 1984: 114), thus demonstrating Réaume's reputation as a popular and successful trader among the Anishinaabeg. In addition to this apparent popularity, something of Réaume's character is learned from Mcdonell's observation that he one night "very hospitably ceded…his own Bed & lay upon the floor" (Wood 1984: 138-139) so that "an Indian hunter would be comfortable and might be enticed to trade with him in the morning" (Birk 1984: 27). Despite this apparent goodness of heart, Mcdonell – perhaps because of a competition-induced paranoia – was highly suspicious of Réaume's motives as he wrote: "Watched La Lance & Mr. Rheaume all night least they should go for the skins clandestinely before morning" (Wood 1984: 138-139). Nevertheless, Réaume's good reputation had reached George Nelson a few years later, who described him in his reminiscences as a "an elderly gentleman, humane and peaceable, & strictly consciencious [sic], & and loved & revered by Indians & all who knew him… I never saw him, but from his reputation I loved him" (MHC 1947: 233). And again: "a

respectable & venerable looking old man […] he too was as good & generous a man as ever breathed …" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 84).

Most of the south traders remained competitive in 1795, but the NWC "sought that year and the next to buy out or absorb all of the die-hard independents. Réaume stayed out of the deal, operating as an independent in the Lake Manitoba area" (Birk 1999b: 8; Wood 1984). However Réaume did enter the NWC in 1797, and worked as clerk and interpreter in the Fort Dauphin district near Lake Manitoba. During this time an HBC trader said of him: "I find the Indians of this place is much attached to my neighbour…so that I have little hope, of much Trade this year" (Birk 1984: 27). The following year he took field command of the Folle Avoine Department for the NWC (Birk 1999b: 11). He is mentioned as such in accounts by Michel Curot (WHC 1911) and George Nelson (Peers and Schenck 2002), both clerks for the XY Company on the Yellow River in Wisconsin, who describe his various arrivals and departures as he passed through the area, traveling around various posts, including Sayer's Snake River post. During this time, he is known to have given out large volumes of alcohol to his Indigenous partners, often sparking tensions with them and his men. At one point, the Snake River Ojibway "allegedly robbed Réaume of a keg of rum and for ten days and nights "threatened to kill him, speaking of nothing but Pillage and murder" (Curot in Birk 1984; also WHC 1911). Later, "when a Dakota war party spied Réaume's post on the Snake River in 1803, Réaume replied to Sayer's concerns with confidence that "he was Able to Defend and Guard the packs…as well as his fort, [and] that he did not fear The Sioux" (WHC 1911: 429-432). It thus appears that Réaume's relationship with his Native trading partners was more ambivalent than may be assumed from some of the traders' opinions and was not necessarily characterized by inclusive practices. In fact, I argue in the following chapters that Réaume, like many other traders of his time, occupied a liminal space within fur trade society. His identity was created at times in accordance with and at times against a distinct generalized Indian identity. Such a view hints at the development of a racial consciousness that expanded into all spheres of daily life throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

In 1803, Napoleon Bonaparte sold the entire territory of Louisiana to American President Thomas Jefferson in order to raise funds for his war with England. This purchase not only reinforced the Canada-United States border, but also allotted all of France's territories east of the Mississippi River to the Americans (Wingerd 2010: 73). Coincidentally, Réaume is believed to have retired around 1805, when "an American military force started to make its way up the Mississippi to the NWC's posts, and the Nor'westers released their trade on the south side of Lake Superior to the newly formed Michilimackinac Company" (Birk 1984: 59). In February 1805, when returning from Sayer's fort, Réaume was reported by an Ojibway woman to be walking with great difficulty, "owing to a sore Leg" (Birk 1984: 28). His years in the fur trade, traveling back and forth to various posts and covering great distances on snow, apparently "were not without their price" (Birk 1984: 28).

While the year 1805 does not mean the end of the processes I describe in this project, I choose it as a significant moment that affected the politics and place-making for both Euro-Canadian traders and their Native trading partners, since many either retired, moved north of the border, or enrolled in American-run companies. All of these decisions would have significantly affected the practices and social relationships that had taken place (literally) prior to 1805. For this reason I choose this date as the later temporal boundary of this project.

4) Concluding remarks

This historical background provides some key elements in order to better contextualize Joseph Réaume's occupation on the Leaf River and its place within the broader fur trade landscape. To recapitulate, at the time of his 1792 expedition he was working independently from big fur trade corporations such as the North West Company, even though he was still working in association with other fur traders. The creation of those temporary '*sociétés'* among winterers points to some of the ways in which a community – albeit fluid and contested – was created and maintained, including visits and social calls over breakfast or tea, during which winterers shared news, gossip and made plans for future trading expeditions. With the annual rendezvous every summer,

winterers came to know each other and often took advantage of these relationships to better their chances of making a profit by partnering with one another.

This chapter also highlighted the political and social importance of Indigenous people's presence within this fur trade landscape, especially Anishinaabe groups. In many ways they dictated the practices that came to characterize the fur trade lifestyle at this time and place, including mobility and the creation of social alliances through kinship. However, their role within this community was rarely acknowledged by fur traders; instead their attitudes, including Réaume's, appear to show an ambivalence between inclusion and exclusion. Creating social relationships was promoted for the sake of the trade, but as the following chapters will show, adopting Indian practices was encouraged most commonly when it favorably impacted the traders' survival in an unfamiliar landscape.

The following chapter examines the various theoretical influences behind the archaeology of place framework employed in this study, especially how mobility may be integrated into notions of identification for an archaeological study. It particularly focuses on the ways in which I use the notions of place, space and landscape, as well as the theoretical historiography on notions of identity, practice and communities of practice. Together with this historical background, the following chapter serves as a contextualization for interpreting the archaeological site of Réaume's Leaf River Post and members of fur trade society as a community on the move whose material traces may be understood as integral to place-making practices and community-affiliation processes.

3. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF A COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE: THEORETICAL INFLUENCES

1) Introduction

The theoretical influences that frame my interpretation of the late eighteenth century social world of the Western Great Lakes as a particular "community on the move" are varied. They range from geographical and phenomenological notions of place and space, landscape archaeology, diaspora studies, to French sociological approaches regarding practice and discourse. In order to elucidate how structured space, landscape, daily practice and mobility articulate colonial processes of identification and differentiation in the late eighteenth century Western Great Lakes, it is first important to contextualize and define the various concepts that make up the framework – namely ideas of place (and place-making), landscape, community, and mobility – whose definitions and usages vary across, and sometimes within, disciplines. More importantly, I consider here how these notions interconnect to create an interpretative framework for the study of fur trade society as a community on the move whose connection to place was an important marker of identity, in spite, or maybe because, of the shared experience of mobility.

The recognition of the potential use of the concept of place in archaeology is not new; Lewis Binford for example once called for an archaeology that considered the role of different places in the organization of past systems (in Bowser and Zedeño 2009: 1). However for the purpose of this project I draw from a more recent "archaeology of

place," which pulls away from positivism and rather "seeks to expand upon new ways of anthropological thinking and knowing in order to develop an archaeological method and theory of 'place'" (Bowser 2004: 1). This framework and the theoretical influences behind it ultimately serve to provide an analytical structure for interpreting the faunal remains and architectural components – or what I call aspects of the lived space that are also spatial practices in their own right – at Réaume's Leaf River post in Central Minnesota. The daily enactment of foodways and the built environment, as well as the discursive aspects related to them, play a key role in materializing senses of place and commonality, as well as bringing to the fore the tensions inherent in 'othering' colonial processes that constantly emerge out of needs for both differentiation and belonging. While phenomenological ideas of place-making, or "emplacement" (after Joyce et al. 2009), is most often performed through bodily perceptions and movement in space, the link between individual or group identity and a particular place is generally associated with stability and settlement. However, as this chapter demonstrates, a recent shift in anthropological inquiries has shown that moments of uprootedness and displacement may be just as important in creating senses of identity as settlement can be. The framework that I propose thus also integrates mobility – or a politicized and meaningful form of movement – as a form of place-making that is closely linked to people's association with others and with their surroundings. What is more, it considers some of the tensions that would have arisen for fur traders from a disjuncture between colonial ideals of settlement and the need and desire for mobility associated with the trade.

This chapter is divided in three sections: first, drawing from geographical and anthropological literature, I clarify what I mean by 'place', 'space' and 'landscape'; second, relying on anthropological and historical understanding of place, I highlight the ways in which 'identity' and 'place' are connected through discourse, practice, mobility and materiality. Specifically, using Lefebvre's notion of social space and "conceptual triad" (1991: 33) allows me to add a spatial dimension to the creation and maintenance of communities of practice as understood by Lave and Wenger (1991) and to consider the intersection of materiality, discourse and geographic imaginaries. Lastly, drawing from anthropological studies of uprooted and displaced communities (such as diasporic

communities), I consider mobility, in addition to residence, as a form of place-making linked with the formation of collective identities. Indeed, place-making "is regarded as a central process in identity formation and integral to the construction of the social order, and therefore is well positioned to produce accounts of place-making since it is directly involved in the construction of identity and meanings over the long term" (Preucel and Meskell 2007: 215) and because "the material record of human presence in a place is archaeology's subject matter" (Bowser and Zedeño 2009: 1). Establishing the connections between these concepts underlines fur traders' mobility as a meaningful component of their conceptions of themselves as a group and the material traces they left behind.

2) Space, Place and Landscape: definitions and theoretical trends

The recent popularity of space and place as a thematic thread across the humanities and social sciences stems from the "recognition of space's key role in processes by which people construct their understanding of the world" (Blake 2007: 230). Yet there is little consensus on what these two terms mean; for instance place can be conceptualized as discourse, dwelling, layer of identity, repository of memories, social relations – sometimes all at once – while space is sometimes a neutral abstraction and sometimes an active agent in the constitution of the social order. This section will trace various theoretical trends that have informed these definitions in geography and anthropology in order to contextualize current uses of these terms in archaeology and their application to the interpretation of Réaume's Leaf River Post.

Our current anthropological understandings of place and space arose from a shift in conception that originated with Michel Foucault and Henri Lefebvre's writings in the 1960s and 1970s and their recognition of the importance of space in shaping social processes, identity and actions (Blake 2007: 234). This shift coincided with the rise of "humanistic geography" in the 1980s, which arose as a reaction to the more positivist approaches of New Geography (which in many ways paralleled the New Archaeology) (Preucel and Meskell 2007: 217). This new approach aimed to "recover geographic imagination and human engagement with particular places" (Cosgrove 1984: 33), thereby moving away from the universalizing principles of earlier positivist conceptions of

human-environment interactions. This foregrounded the "spatial turn" usually associated with postmodernism and a new emphasis on constructivism, subjectivity and the experiential (Blake 2007: 234). In cultural geography, this view was pioneered by the work of Yi-Fu Tuan among others, who proposed the now popular idea that 'place' is space endowed with value and meaning (Tuan 1977: 6), or in other words, that place is the "outcome of the social process of valuing space" (Preucel and Meskell 2007: 215). In this view, which was more recently further elaborated by geographer Edward Casey, space is an active component of human activity as it is what allows for places to *become* (Blake 2007: 235; Casey 2001); it represents an encompassing reality that allows for things to be located within (Casey 2001: 404). Conversely, place is an "event" more than a "thing"; the "immediate ambiance of the lived body and its history" (Casey 1996: 26; 2001: 404).

While these definitions draw particularly from phenomenological emphases on experience and perceptions of the body, one of the main critiques of phenomenology is that it tends to universalize experience (Blake 2007: 236). More recent approaches to phenomenology, "rather than focusing on 'human existence,' have attempted to unearth the many ways that place impinges on identity surrounding race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality" (Adams et al. 2001: xix). Influenced by ideas of practice as embedded and constitutive of social space, one such approach draws from neomarxist cultural critiques which, influenced by Foucault's theories of power and feminist studies, focuses on place as a meeting point of various social relations and the geography of struggle and resistance (Feld and Basso 1996: 3-4; e.g. Buttimer 1980; Massey 1995). Doreen Massey for instance has suggested a conceptualization of place defined in terms of nodes of social relations intersecting in particular instances of time and space (1994: 2). For Massey, place is a meeting place, the "location of intersections of particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interrelations, of influence and movements" (Massey 1995: 59). Identity formation of both people and places happens through interconnectedness (Massey 1994: 122), and the relation between place and identity can "be strong, as people identify with 'home places' or feel themselves "outsiders in places primarily claimed by others" (Massey 1995: 2). An important ramification of this view is that it "implies the

existence in the lived world of a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces because social relations of space are experienced differently by different people and groups" (Massey 1994: 3).

In a way akin to Massey, anthropologist Margaret Rodman (1992) emphasized this multilocality and conceptualized places as simultaneously multilocal and multivocal. Multilocality refers to the varying ways of experiencing different places, and has a number of dimensions, including "a reflexive relationship with places," especially when one travels and becomes "keenly aware of contrasts between known and the unfamiliar. In such situations, people often see a new landscape in terms of familiar ones. This is a multilocal way of sorting out meaning" (Rodman 1992: 647). All of these dimensions are predicated on connections, on the interacting presence of different places and different voices in various geographical, anthropological and historical contexts (Rodman 1992: 647). Embedded within the multilocal and multivocal aspect of place is the issue of power, arising from contestation and intervening in the construction of meaning. In sum, as more than a location imbued with multiple meanings and representations, place also includes a particular set of materials and objects that intersect with people and the broader landscape, and materializes such relations in often contested ways (Gieryn 2000; Yeoh and Kong 1996: 53).

If place is defined as the locus where "social relations of everyday life are objectified and naturalized" (Yeoh and Kong 1996: 53), the concept of landscape generally implies a broader lens. For most geographers, landscape refers to "what is seen," "what is looked at from outside" or in other words, landscape is the visual form of place (a definition closer to the original art historical meaning of the word) (Relph 1976: 30). An alternative view is embraced by Richard Schein (1997), according to whom landscape represents a materialization and visualization of discourse. As a material object landscape is still seen in his approach (1997: 662), but it also articulates a series of relatively independent discourses – or "shared meanings which are socially constituted" (Schein 1997: 663). His approach may be considered similar to Massey's view of interconnectedness and multivocality of place, but at the broader lens of the landscape, in other words at the intersection of multiple place-based discourses.

While there are many approaches to landscape in archaeology (Ashmore 2007: 255; Wilkinson 2006: 335), most scholars of this discipline have now shifted away from the "landscape as seen" conceptualization and rather embraced the shift to landscape-as-active pioneered by British phenomenological theorists (Cosgrove 1984; Ingold 1993; Thomas 1993). Here, landscape as a framework of analysis serves as a way of "modeling the ways that people in the past conceptualized, organized and manipulated their environment, and the ways that those places have shaped their occupants' behaviors and identity" (Branton 2009: 51; also Rubertone 1989; Wilkinson 2006). Such phenomenological approaches to landscape are influenced by Heidegger's concept of dwelling, "an engagement which arises through using the world" (in Thomas 1993: 28). For Tim Ingold, for instance, landscape is the "relational context of people's engagement with the world that is in the business of dwelling, wherein each place draws its unique significance" (Ingold 1993: 155). Bodily movement is central to the creation of the landscape-body dialectical relationship, since it is a movement of incorporation, a "movement wherein forms themselves are generated" (Ingold 1993: 157). The relationship between social identities and landscape is recursive: collective and individual identities are formed in part "through patterns of bodily movement that generate knowledge of one's place in the world in one's relation to the social order" (Voss 2008: 148).

Thus place and landscape are commonly conceptualized in similar ways in archaeology, as loci of dialectical human interactions with their surroundings, though at different scales. One major difference however is in landscapes' attribute of constantly being added upon, like a palimpsest of past meanings and experiences that showcases the importance of memory (Low and Lawrence-Zuñiga 2003; Loren 2008; Yi-Fu Tuan 1977; Yeoh and Kong 1996). It is through movement in such landscapes, through the "moving along familiar paths, winding memories and stories around places, that people create a sense of self and belonging" (Bender 2001b: 5; for a discussion of memory-making through bodily movement, see Connerton 1989). Conversely, place is continually "instantiated" through changing social and material interactions. For phenomenologists such as Christopher Tilley and Barbara Bender, "all locales and landscapes are embedded

in social and individual memories, thus human activities become inscribed in the landscape, and every feature becomes familiar place" (Tilley quoted in Wilkinson 2006: 340). Bender adds to this view of landscape the notion that people create their sense of identity through engaging and re-engaging, appropriating, and contesting the sedimented pasts that make up the landscape (Bender 1993: 1; also in Preucel and Meskell 2007: 219). People's being in the world is always historically and spatially contingent, so that landscape is always in process, and potentially conflicted (Bender 2001b: 3; Loren 2008).

Drawing from these notions, landscape is understood here as a network of meaningful places that materialize the interaction between things, people and location, or in other words, as the broader scale of interconnected places, including their inherent social relations, materiality and topographical features. As Zedeño and Bowser (2009) have suggested, "place usually stands at the juncture of one or more socially constructed and sometimes conflicting landscapes" (2009: 9), and it is therefore important to consider one place's "connection to other places and layout its articulation within the broader landscape" (Zedeño and Bowser 2009: 6).

3) The Production of social space: discourse and imaginaries

Places and landscapes are not merely lived and experienced through bodily movement, they are also created through practice, conceived, and perceived in different ways by humans. In the following section, I consider the notion of practice, including communities of practice, and Henri Lefebvre's notion of social space as an analogue to our understanding of place. This focus on practice and social space provides a link between place-making and identity formation processes that goes beyond kinesthetic experience, and considers imaginaries and discourses as additional emplacement techniques. Joyce and colleagues (2009) define 'emplacement' as a "body of structured and coordinated place-making actions that developed from shared cosmologies and geographies among interacting communities" (Joyce et al. 2009: 60).

In considering the "active role of space, as knowledge and action, in the existing mode of production" (Lefebvre 1991: 11), Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre argues that capitalism influences practical matters relating to space and its organization (1991: 9). However, the strength of Lefebvre's project is in its applicability beyond the study of

capitalism per se. Lefebvre defines "social space" in a way somewhat analogous to our definition of place detailed above:

> "social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including networks, pathways, which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such objects are thus not only things but also relations; social labour transforms them, rearranging their positions within spatio-temporal configuration without necessarily affecting their materiality" (Lefebvre 1991: 77).

In elaborating a framework that bridged various kinds of space, Lefebvre means to "expose the actual production of space" as a process imbued with unequal power relations (1991: 16). In his articulation of the "threefold dialectic of space," which he hoped would create a "theoretical unity between physical, mental and social fields" (1991: 11), Lefebvre distinguishes different realms that together produce social space, namely spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces.

Spatial practice refers to the perceived space, the production and reproduction of space through practice, which involves "continual appropriation and re-affirmation of the world as structured according to existing socio-spatial arrangements" (in Shields 1991: 52). It "embraces the production and reproduction, and the particular relations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation" (Lefebvre 1991: 33). Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion, which implies a guaranteed level of competence and specific level of performance (Lefebvre 1991: 33). This aspect is particularly important in the formation of a community of practice. Spatial practices are embedded within a dialectical interaction: "social space is itself the outcome of past actions, but is also what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others" (Lefebvre 1991: 38). Representations of space, or the discursive and conceived space, refer to "forms of knowledge and hidden ideological content of codes and effects of a given understanding of space" (Shields 1991: 54). Lastly, the space of representation, the lived space, represents the "abstract space of the social imaginary" (Shields 1991: 54). It is "directly lived" and corresponds to the space of the inhabitants, one that is dominated, passively experienced; overall the "space that the imagination seeks to change" (Lefebvre 1991: 39). This latter aspect is also associated with art, resistance and

alternative discourses of space (Shields 1991: 54). "Space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and action," in addition to being a means of control and power (Lefebvre 1991: 26). My interpretation of Réaume's Leaf River Post in the following chapters draws heavily from Lefebvre's understanding of social space and the different components that make it up. I am particularly interested in the ways in which daily practices, many of which can be recovered archaeologically, work to produce the lived and perceived space, while narratives serve to produce the conceived space of the imagination.

Moreover, in a way akin to Michel de Certeau (1984), Lefebvre suggests that the "forces which engendered this space now seek, but fail to master it completely" (Lefebvre 1991: 26), which creates contestation and resistance. The value of this approach to archaeology is Lefebvre's consideration of materiality in the production of space. He suggested we move from a study of "things in space" to the production of space itself: "things and discourse testify to the production of space: the historical and its consequences, the 'diachronic, the etymology of location in the sense of what happened at a particular spot or place and thereby changed it – all of this becomes inscribed in space, so that space is both a process and product" (Lefebvre 1991: 37). Buildings and architecture, for instance, "effect a brutal condensation of social relations" (Lefebvre 1991: 77), or in other words, materializes them. In considering the relationship between place and identity, objects and their power to connect places and peoples therefore should not be underestimated: "Belonging, or a growing familiarity with space, … means maintaining a series of spaces that are created again and again in certain ways, and are filled with the appropriate objects for specific kinds of behaviors" (Pocius 1991: 25). A sense of belonging then is both social and spatial: it is made through obligations within a shared space (Pocius 1991: 25).

a. Place-making through practice

Lefebvre's ideas have been influential in many scholarly debates, especially those regarding the intersections of practice and resistance (e.g. De Certeau 1984), the dialectics of social reproduction (e.g. Bourdieu 1977, Giddens 1984), and even Tim

Creswell's definition of mobility as made up of practice, imagination and discourse. Firstly, De Certeau's (1984) elaboration of a theory of practice considers in particular the contested aspects of space and emphasizes "ways of operating" –that is the modes of operation that "make explicit the system of operational combination, which also compose a 'culture'" (1984: xi) – and more particularly those "tactics of the weak" that transgress the order imposed by those in positions of power. De Certeau articulates these ways of operating, including spatial practices such as walking, through the metaphor of the speech act: "walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language" (De Certeau 1984: 97). Just as speech effects an appropriation of the language, walking is a process of appropriation of the topographical system; secondly, walking acts as "a spatial acting-out of place," or an actualization of place through movement; and thirdly, walking implies the creation and maintenance of relations among differentiated positions (De Certeau 1984: 97-98). "If a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g. by a place in which one can move) and interdictions, then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities," thereby transforming spatial signifiers into something else (De Certeau 1984: 98). In addition to bodily movement as meaningful 'enunciations,' De Certeau also highlights the importance of narratives, stories and place-naming as spatial practices, which produce "geographies of actions" and "organize places though the displacements they 'describe'" (De Certeau 1984: 116). Spatial practices such as movement work to inscribe meaning onto the landscape in often-unintended ways, in "affirming, suspecting, trying out, transgressing or respecting the trajectories it speaks" (De Certeau 1984: 99).

The second aspect that links Lefebvre to other French sociologists is the idea of social reproduction through dialectical interactions between society and action, which has been more famously elaborated by social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Anthony Giddens (1984). At a basic level, these theories suggest that "settlement, subsistence activities as everyday practices, reflect decision-making strategies defined and negotiated around socially constrained options – or dispositions – informed by knowing the past, experiencing the present, and assuming the future" (Ferris 2009: 28). Approaches to daily practice are commonly used by archaeologists as a compelling way to link material remains – the remains of day-to-day and routinized ways of doing things

– with questions of identity and social reproduction and change. Archaeologists Lightfoot and colleagues (1998) for instance, argue that "it is through daily practices – how space is structured, how mundane domestic tasks are conducted, how refuse is disposed of – that people both organize and make sense of their lives" (Lightfoot et al. 1998: 201). The relationship between theories of practice and the process of identity formation asserts itself through its reciprocal nature; it is through social practice that individuals encounter others on which to base their relational identity, or the self that is created through the observation of similarities and differences with others, while self-ascribed identity and membership to a group will influence social practices.

Bourdieu's compelling concept of habitus is often used as a concrete way to link the archaeological remains of daily practices, such as the built environment, and everyday spatial practices through bodily movement, place and identity (Erickson 2009: 205). Bourdieu's theory of practice is based on the discursive relationship between agents' practical knowledge of the world, acquired through movement and inculcation, and the conditions that render this knowledge possible (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu uses the notion of *habitus*, or a "system of durable, transposable dispositions" to describe this often unconscious knowledge of the world (Bourdieu 1977: 72). Those predispositions to act in a certain manner both shape and are shaped by the conditions of a particular environment, and are constantly enacted and embodied in social practice (Jones 2007: 49). Practice is not completely determined by antecedent conditions, but it is not totally free either; the habitus produces practices within its own limiting principles while adjusting to particular situations, so that an agent's actions in the social world are "regulated improvisation" (Bourdieu 1977: 73, 78). The homogeneity in habitus, which derives from a homogeneity in social conditions, is what "causes practices to be immediately intelligible and taken for granted" (Bourdieu 1977: 80), so that shared habitual dispositions provide the basis for the recognition of common interest and constitute the basis for the recognition of cultural affinities and differences on which group membership is founded (Jones 2007:49). The 'taken for granted' or apparent self-evidence of the rules and practices of the social world, to which Bourdieu refers as *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977: 164), can be fractured in times of political crisis or in contexts of cultural encounter (Bourdieu 1977: 168), which leaves

room for a reflexive mode of perception and allows agents the alternative to make a change in their reproduction of cultural tradition (Bourdieu 1977: 164; Jones 2007: 49). In time, the re-enactment and adoption of novel practices may lead to their internalization and become part of the structured dispositions of the habitus (Jones 2007: 49) and in turn become self-evident.

Alternatively, Giddens (1984) elaborated structuration theory, a similarly oriented, post-structuralist approach to social reproduction where space and spatial practices play an integral part. His theory of structuration emphasizes the knowledgeability of actors – that is, they act with intention – through their daily activities, as well as the role of unintended consequences in social reproduction. Knowledgeability is "founded less upon discursive than practical consciousness" and "is not incidental to the persistent patterning of social life but is integral to it" (Giddens 1984: 26). Giddens, through his concept of 'duality of structure,' goes beyond the dichotomy of agency and structure and, in a way akin to Bourdieu, argues that "the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize. Structure is not 'external' to individuals: as memory traces, and as instantiated in social practices, it is in a certain sense more 'internal' than exterior to their activities" (Giddens 1984: 25). In other words, "in reproducing structural properties, agents also reproduce the conditions that make such action possible. Structure has no existence independent of the knowledge that agents have about what they do in their day-to-day activity" (Giddens 1984: 26). Social structures – or the generative rules and power relations that shape and are shaped by human action – both constrain and enable action and emerge out of practices (Pred 1984: 281). "To model structuration, archaeologists need to consider both the agency of actors (individual or collective) and the constraints of the structures within which they act, and which they transform and reproduce through their actions" (Joyce 2004: 5).

These notions of practice as a connecting node between identity and society are at the root of Lave and Wenger's "communities of practice," which is a useful concept for understanding the ways identities and sense of belonging are created around particular occupations and the practices associated with them, as is the case of the fur traders. Lave

and Wenger's project starts first and foremost with learning processes, which, by taking place in a participation framework, represent not only a way of *knowing* the world, but also of *being* in the world (1991: 14; 24). It is through participation in a community of practitioners that newcomers learn and master specific knowledge and skills, and in so doing become part of a community of practice (1991: 29). For Lave and Wenger, a community of practice "is a set of relations among persons, activities, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice" (1991: 98). Practice, community and identity thus become interconnected: "there are multiple, varied, more or less engaged ways of being located in the fields of participation defined by a community. […] Changing location, and perspectives are part of actors' learning trajectories, developing identities and forms of membership" (1991: 36). Moreover, practices and knowledge are part of a "broader system of relations in which they have meaning, and these systems of relations arise out of and are reproduced and developed within social communities" (1991: 53). Following Bourdieu's notion of "regulated improvisation", "learning implies becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled by those systems of relations" (Lave and Wenger 1991: 53). A community of practice's ability to reproduce itself is linked to a training process and changing relations between newcomers and old-timers, which is potentially contested because of the impossibility of a perfect transfer or assimilation of practice (1991: 47). "The social structure of this practice, its power relations, and its conditions for legitimacy define possibilities for learning" (1991: 98). While Lave and Wenger's notion is highly useful for understanding the fur trade community as linked through its members' occupation as fur traders, I suggest that its value is heightened when incorporated to Lefebvre's understanding of spatial relations and place-making: communities are not merely social relations forged by learning processes, they are social relations in space, actualizing specific places through their materiality and representations.

b. Practices of the 'lived space': foodways and the built environment in archaeology

In Part II, I examine the material expressions of the lived space of the fur trade

through the study of archaeological remains. The 'lived space'[5] refers to ways in which place, and by extension the landscape, is made meaningful through dwelling – in the phenomenological sense – and everyday practices. Practices associated with the built environment (building, clearing, digging, etc.) as well as foodways (procurement, consumption, discarding practices) are particularly useful to an archaeological analysis of identity and place-making as the practices associated with both leave material traces that are potentially recovered archaeologically (architectural features and faunal remains respectively). As such they offer the tools necessary for understanding the production of the lived space at the post, where the shared practices that turned the unfamiliar into the familiar – that is to say, that make places – also served to the creation of a community of practice according to Lave and Wenger's definition (1991). As part of those practices that are often repeated, both the built environment and food-related practices serve to materialize and actualize places by their inherent materiality and engagement with the world. What materials to use for building, finding something to eat, cutting wood for fuel, building a palisade wall to keep someone out and create a safe haven in an unfamiliar landscape: all of these decisions happen at the interconnection between particular social relations, materiality and imagination. Moreover, placing Réaume's daily practices within a broader landscape highlights the ways in which certain practices were at times shared, at times contested, in other words served to create and maintain a community of practice.

Luckily, both the built environment (architectural features and other human-made features such as refuse areas) and food-related practices are commonly linked to identity-making in archaeological literature. Both aspects have long been of interest to archaeologists because of their inherent materiality. In historical archaeology their relationship to questions of identity formation and social (re)production is relatively recent.

In terms of the theoretical link between identification processes and architecture, early studies tended to focus on domestic spaces and were informed by structuralism and the concept of 'folk housing' that assumed that "the form of folk houses simply sprang

[5] My definition of 'lived space' diverges slightly from Lefebvre's in that it conflates what he refers to as "spatial practices " *and* "representational spaces," or the perceived space.

forth from unconscious templates in the minds of their builders" (Mann 2008: 326). In his seminal archaeological study of worldview change in New England, James Deetz for instance argued that "the form of a house can be a strong reflection of the needs and minds of those who built it; in addition, it shapes and directs their behavior" (Deetz 1996: 126). Anthropologist Amos Rapoport's (1969) semiotic views on the built environment also greatly influenced archaeological studies of architecture. Rapoport perceived folk housing as a form of nonverbal communication that operated through the fixed features (walls, foundations, doors), semi-fixed (furniture, curtains, plants, gardens) and moveable (artifacts) aspects of the built environment, arguing that each encoded specific messages or meanings (Monks 1992: 38). Such frameworks present a useful avenue for the study of architectural remains and have been used to understand fur trade power relations in several archaeological studies. For instance, Gregory Monks (1992) was influenced by Rappaport's understanding of nonverbal communication in his attempt to understand the changes in fort architecture and layout at Upper Fort Garry, the administration center for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Red River settlement during the nineteenth century. He argued that the changes in the fort architecture reflected the Company's constant "efforts to express and continually reinforce by means of architectural symbolism its dominant economic and social position within the settlement" (Monks 1992: 37). Similarly, Scott Hamilton's (1990) comprehensive comparative study of power relations in fur trade companies relies in part on the differences in spatial organization at several HBC and NWC fur trade posts in the interior. He has shown that the layout of the forts, their size, the materials used for specific buildings, and their intended usages (as regional depots, military outpost, small trade house, etc.) all played to reinforce differential ideals of power, both between the companies' ranking officers and their subordinates, but also between the British imperial force and the local Indigenous groups.

Beyond these examples, most scholars now tend to shy away from strictly structuralist interpretations, rather focusing on the dialectical processes of social (re)production and identification, for example through the integration of ideas of structuration and daily practice. This conception is increasingly common in architectural studies of the fur trade period in the Western Great Lakes, in particular in the exploration

of ethnogenesis and ethnic differentiation processes. Rob Mann (2003; 2008), for example, has examined processes of ethnic differentiation within fur trade society in which the house, as a product of daily practice, became "perhaps the most important and visible material symbols of the *Canadien* fur trade identity system" (Mann 2003: 128). He argued that the *Canadien* methods of house construction became "invested with meanings that both produced and naturalized *Canadien* fur trade identity" (Mann 2008: 326).

Thus, in the fur trade context scholars have used architecture and the built environment as a means of emphasizing ethnic differentiation and in some cases explore questions of status and power statements. In most cases, such fur-trade related studies also emphasize continuity of practices over innovation and an underlying implication that architecture equates with permanence and fixity. However we need to keep in mind that architecture can be both a force of stability and of cultural change, depending on the context (Rodning 2010: 187), especially when conceptualized, following Giddens, as "socially produced and actively constituted by people who inhabit them" and as embodying the power inherent in the social production of place (Voss 2008: 173). In the following chapters, I draw from these various studies to understand not only how spatial organization at Réaume's Leaf River Post embodies power relations and a potential sense of belonging through shared practices, but also consider how mobility may have impacted the built environment and the social relations that emerged from and through spatial organization.

The relationship between food and identity is also well established in archaeological literature, especially when it comes to the analysis of faunal remains. The importance of food in present and past daily lives (and in scholarly debates) rests partly in food's dual nature: on one hand, food is a basic and constant physiological need that is fundamental to human beings' survival, while also being significant as a cultural symbol, as a means of communicating and embodying social relations (Dietler 2007: 223; Hastorf and Weismantel 2007: 308; Murcott 1983: 1; Pearson 2003: 1). As people eat they literally become what they eat, which constructs both the person and food as the ultimate attempt to control the body, the mind, and ultimately identity (Fischler 1988: 280).

Moreover, the choice of what foods are considered edible or tasteful is the result of a complex negotiation among three competing considerations: consumer identity (social and personal), matters of convenience (price, skill, availability), and to a lesser extent a sense of responsibility or an awareness of the consequences of what we eat (Belasco 2008). Eating habits are thus more than mere intake of fuel; they are culturally-learned practices and the results of inculcated codes of conduct, which, at the cultural scale, influence how a society produces, prepares and distributes the food needed to sustain the human body (Bryant et al. 2003: 87; Murcott 1983: 1). Learning how food is obtained, who prepares it, where, when and with whom it is shared can therefore provide valuable insight into past social relations (Farb and Armelagos 1980: 4).

Whereas most fur trade scholars have worked on ways in which food expresses specific and separate dimensions of identity such as gender, socio-economic status and ethnicity, the focus of this study is on how, in addition to fulfilling bodily needs, foodways as derived from the faunal remains also served the dual purpose of providing a conduit for the emergence of colonial relations and othering processes while simultaneously reinforcing social ties through learning processes that turned newcomers into practitioners. It considers how, through both these processes, food worked to integrate disparate groups of people into a particular community of practice that revolved around fur trading.

At the most basic level, the process of inclusion is based on the principle that "people eating similar food are deemed trustworthy, good, familiar and safe, whereas people eating unusual food can provoke a sense of distrust, suspicion and even disgust" (Scholliers 2001: 8). The absorption of food "incorporates the eater into a culinary system and therefore into a group which practices it" (Fischler 1988: 281), much like the learning of specific practices create communities of practice. On the other hand, food-related practices can also serve to reinforce difference and create social boundaries, which was particularly true in the eighteenth-century fur trade context, as we will see in chapter 9. An important question to consider is also how mobility may have impacted food's ability to bring people together in this context. After all, the link between identity, food and place is usually associated with culinary traditions rooted in a specific

geographic location. So what happens to food's ability to foster a sense of belonging in contexts of uprootedness? Chapter 6 hopes to open up avenues to answer this question.

4) Place-making through mobility

Lefebvre's triad of spaces also parallel the theoretical foundations for Tim Creswell's understanding of mobility, which considers how mobilities animate landscapes and places, and are inseparable from particular materialities (Merriman et al. 2008: 192). Mobility, in this case, is a social product that does not exist in an abstract world but rather a meaningful world of social space and social time (Creswell 2006: 5). As historically contingent processes, mobilities intersect and interact into "constellations of mobilities" – historically and geographically specific formations of physical movements, narratives and representations about mobility and the embodied practice of movement (Creswell 2010: 17-18; also 2006: 3). For instance, "the formalization of the process of travel may take place for reasons that have little to do with movement itself, for example in an effort to control or subvert other ways of travel" (Snead 2009: 43). Mobilities are thus political and potentially contested (Creswell 2010: 20). As mentioned in more detail in the introduction, the mobility associated with a fur trade lifestyle was often associated with quick profit and freedom from agricultural work, yet it also was embedded in particular imperial politics that projected an ambivalent attitude towards the indianization of fur traders and ideals of colonization.

While movement is intrinsic to phenomenological understandings of bodily perceptions, mobility (as understood by Creswell as a politicized, meaningful form of movement) has had little attention in archaeological inquiries about identity (also Bender 2001a: 75). That being said, recent anthropological critiques have increasingly shifted their attention from notions of place as the locus of rootedness and stability to moments of uprootedness, displacement, migration, transnationalism and the spaces in between, including diaspora. James Clifford (1992), for instance, has emphasized the importance of not only dwelling-in-residing but also in dwelling-as-traveling (Clifford 1992: 108). Along the same lines, Bassu has argued that we need to "address both the moving and static in narratives of identity, because while home may become deterritorialized, in many cases a sense of territorial and social rootedness continue to give people ontological

security in a world of perceived movement" (Bassu 2001: 336). Similarly, Warren (2014), in his study of recent Shawnee history – itself characterized by almost constant mobility and travel – challenges the notion that American Indian identities necessarily always emanate from the land itself (2014: 23). He disputes the common association of migration with a loss of identity and instead argues that "some tribes survived without maintaining a claim to any particular spot of land," rather carrying with them a historical consciousness of their homeland and how it had shaped their sense of themselves as a people (Warren 2014: 8; 59).

Barbara Bender, in her call for the recognition of 'landscapes-on-the-move' (2001a), additionally argued that archaeologists need to follow this shift in anthropological inquiries and "think about the experience of place and landscape for those on the move" and the ways that people relate to unfamiliar worlds (Bender 2001b: 10). Bender's approach to landscapes-on-the-move suggests that 'displaced' people find ways of becoming part of the place they arrived at, and while this new world may be undernourished by memory, the accumulation of experience of movement and encounters through the landscape will eventually allow for reconciliation and for a sense of belonging (Bender 2001a: 82-3). It is thus important to "recognize and analyze the creative tensions between local and global, the familiar and the unfamiliar, being-at-home which is never as secure as it seems and being-on-the-move which nevertheless always involves a degree of being in place" (Bender 2001a: 85). This experience is multilocal because "the present being 'at home' is predicated on an earlier and different sense of place and belonging" (Bender 2001a: 82).

As a recently developed branch of landscape archaeology, the archaeology of movement provides a step towards an understanding of landscapes on the move in arguing that places and the paths connecting them are equally important and constitutive of each other in the creation of the broader landscape (Ingold 1993: 167). Exploring the relations of paths to movement, memory and landscape formation, this framework examines the material culture of roads and paths as part of a social approach to landscape (Gibson 2007: 61-2). More relevant to the framework elaborated for this study, the archaeology of movement considers the connection of movement with identity:

"migration rarely replaces an old homeland with a new one, rather it contributes to the expansion of rootedness by allowing people to incorporate a whole new landscape learning experience" (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003: 68). Movement, and especially its politicized form (i.e. mobility), thus allows the creation of strong attachments and stable relations, because through the repetition and everyday use, they define the confines of used space, and the behaviors allowed in those spaces (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003: 65). The archaeology of movement as both a framework and a topic of study moreover illustrates that "movement is a multiscalar process, linking multiple spatial scales, with broad-reaching socio-material implications" (Beaudry and Parno 2013: 3). This multi-scalar conceptualization is thus useful in linking individual places within a broader landscape, as well as in understanding the relationship between a particular landscape and different overlapping, contesting ones.

Parallel to the notions associated with the archaeology of movement, the shift in anthropological queries to borderlands, displacement and especially diaspora are useful in considering the fur trade society context and the mobility associated with the lifestyle. The point here is not to argue whether or not fur trade society was diasporic, but rather show how diaspora studies as a framework to understand movement is useful because it "is about creating and maintaining identity in communities dispersed across space and amongst other people," and holds an interest in how, through the processes of hybridity, some groups of people can be local and non-local at the same time (Lilley 2007: 287). Diaspora as a framework "for analyzing the economic, political and cultural modalities of historically specific forms of migrancy" (Brah 1996: 16) can provide some useful insights into understanding "the specific process of community formation" (Butler 2001: 194) that links place and community as a collective form of identity. Axel (2004) for instance understands diaspora as a globally mobile category of identification, as a process productive of disparate temporalities, displacements and subjects (Axel 2004: 27). Inherent in the concept of diaspora is the spreading of individuals across space from a homeland, but Axel contests this essentializing idea: rather, the context of diaspora is not a "structural index of place, authenticity and origin, but a process of displacement and temporalization" (Axel 2004: 46). Articulating a similar critique, Brah uses the concept

of ‘diaspora space’ as a space inhabited not only by diasporic subjects but equally by those who are constructed and represented as ‘indigenous’. As such, the concept of ‘diaspora space’ “foregrounds the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of ‘staying put’” (Brah 1996: 16). More importantly, it recognizes that “diasporic identities are at once local and global: they are networks of transnational identifications encompassing imagined and encountered communities” (Brah 1996: 196) and suggests the possibility for simultaneous multi-placedness of home and sentiments of rootedness. (Brah 1996: 197). Diasporic individuals are thus “people who belong to more than one world, speak more than one language (literally and metaphorically), inhabit more than one identity – they have learned to negotiate and translate between cultures. They speak from the ‘in-between’” (Hall 1995: 206). Gilman has argued that some winterers “formed a new blend so thorough that they came to feel out of place in their boyhood culture. To these men, the fur trade was a way of life, a family tradition, and adopted culture” (Gilman 1992: 62). Therefore, I argue that members of the fur trade community, while not diasporic in a strict sense, are representative of such complex “in-betweenness” by their multilingualism, practices and abilities (also Peterson 1985: 41).

Diaspora models emphasize the discursive aspect of shared identity, which makes it challenging for archaeological research that has no accompanying written documents. However, the analysis of fur traders’ journals and diaries, in addition to archaeological remains, provide a more comprehensive understanding of community formation processes and the creation of geographic imaginaries. For Brah, “it is at the confluence of narrativity that ‘diasporic community’ is differently imagined under different historical circumstances. By this I mean that the identity of the diasporic imagined community is far from fixed or pre-given; it is constituted within the crucible of materiality of everyday life, in the everyday stories we tell ourselves individually and collectively” (Brah 1996: 183).

In my analysis of journals and narratives, certain aspects of discourse have proved particularly relevant to my understanding of othering processes around food (chapter 9) and spatial relations (chapter 8), but also in highlighting the relationship between place-making and identity, such as the notion of home, homesickness and the fear of getting

lost. Brah (1996) has explored the notion of home in her discussion of diaspora and argues that the image of 'home' is the

> "site of everyday lived experience. It is a discourse of locality, the place where feelings of rootedness ensue from the mundane and the unexpected of daily practice. Home connotes our networks of family, kin, friends, colleagues and various other significant others. It signifies the social and psychic geography of space that is experienced in terms of neighborhood or a home town. That is, a community 'imagined' in most part through daily encounter. This 'home' is a place with which we remain intimate even in moments of intense alienation from it" (Brah 1996: 4).

She asks the question, "when does a location become home?" This is an interesting question to ask of the fur traders' journals, in which George Nelson (Peers and Schenck 2002) for instance, uses the term 'home' to refer both to his place of birth and the trade post he temporarily inhabited. It thus becomes important to consider that "the lived experience and spatial imaginaries of people living in [displacement situations] often revolve around…the intersection of home, memory, identity and belonging" (Blunt 2007: 689). The sense of rootedness that one sometimes feel towards a particular place "is essentially subconscious: it means that people have come to identify themselves with a particular locality, to feel that it is their home" (Tuan 1977: 194). Therefore, examining the ways in which fur traders imagine notions of 'home,' or their anxieties when faced with a lack thereof (when lost in an unfamiliar landscape, for instance) may bring to the fore some of the tensions associated with place-making through mobility. This may also be highlighted when discussing food procurement, and especially hunting and trapping, as spatial practices that both forced fur traders to venture into unfamiliar spaces (social, physical and imaginary) – turning the unfamiliar into the familiar – and demanded that they acquire particular sets of skills that would not necessarily have been useful had they not joined the trade.

5) Concluding remarks

Each of the frameworks examined here include some useful concepts for the consideration of mobility and of fur trade society as a community on the move, in particular with regards to the investigation of the materiality of mobility and the tensions inherent in the fur trade lifestyle.

Theories of practice are particularly compelling in archaeology as they emphasize

the everyday practices that are the results of repetition, and are therefore the types of practices that leave a trace in the ground. Moreover, it provides a link between spatial practices, group identity, and social (re)production. Drawing from theories of practice, Lave and Wenger's notion of community of practice and emphasis on learning processes provide a framework to understand social relations and identification in terms other than ethnicity, but rather in terms of a shared occupation. Learning from others – old-timers and Indigenous trading partners alike – played an important role in the reproduction of the fur trade community and in some ways served to reinforce a common sense of belonging through an ensemble of practices that came to be associated distinctively with fur trading. Leaning was also important for the built environment, as traditions and the growth of a particular folk-type of construction was transmitted from one generation of fur trade to another through embodied learning and practice. Secondly, Lave and Wenger's notion is also useful in that it considers how the transmission process is never perfect and often contested, so that in the process of becoming part of the community, individuals become new persons in a process similar to ethnogenesis.

While Lave and Wenger's notion of community of practice is highly useful for understanding the fur trade community as linked through its members' occupation as fur traders, I further suggest that incorporating Lefebvre's threefold dialectic of space to this conception adds an important spatial dimension to the creation and maintenance of communities of practice. Communities are not merely social relations forged on learning processes, they are social relations in space, actualizing specific places through their materiality and representations.

Phenomenology and the archaeology of movement provide frameworks that conceptualize the possibility of 'dwelling as wandering' (Casey 1993) and the experience of rootedness through movement. In moving across familiar or unfamiliar landscapes, feelings of rootedness become expanded to encompass new experiences that add and interconnect with previous ideas of home and belonging. This idea of multilocality or "multi-placedness of home" (Brah 1996) is particularly important here, as it allows us to interrogate how these feelings are integrated into ideas of collective identity – particularly in the ways that traders made sense of new landscapes or dealt with the disquieting

feelings of getting lost. Lastly, diaspora studies, while focusing on discourse, still provide some useful insight into the ways that people on the move may be simultaneously local and non-local, creating new identities that simultaneously negotiate this expanded sense of rootedness and uprootedness of unfamiliar landscapes.

In combining these notions, I frame my understanding of Réaume's Leaf River Post by integrating notions of mobility as involved in the identification process. Archaeologically, the study of food-related practices (in particular meat procurement, consumption and discard) and the built environment provide a dataset for understanding the ways in which daily practices serve to actualize and/or reflect complex and sometimes contentious social relations and spatialities (the 'lived space'). Fur trade archaeology also has the advantage of having access to written documents, and these, especially fur traders' journals, will provide another line of evidence for place-making at the level of discourse and story-telling (the 'conceived space'). For fur traders, the seasonal mobility and the use of waterways as the main mode of movement across the landscape would have been part of the unique lifestyles that connected members of fur trade societies together into a community. Places – as trade posts, particular waterways, or portages – were all interconnected through social interactions and daily practice to the broader landscape through which fur traders moved.

PART II:
COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE THROUGH THE PRODUCTION OF THE LIVED SPACE

4. RÉAUME'S LEAF RIVER POST: A FUR TRADE PLACE

The archaeology of the fur trade in the Western Great Lakes and interior has a relatively long history in Canada and the United States, with a peak in interest during the second half of the twentieth century. In Minnesota, fur trade-related sites are best documented along the Canadian border, an area often called the 'Voyageurs' Highway.' In other areas of the state, however, such as Central Minnesota where Réaume's Leaf River Post is located, the inner workings of the fur trade are less well-documented as sites tend to elude archaeologists. Contrary to the Illinois Country and Lower Louisiana where French forts, missions and towns were established as part of Louis XIV's expansion policy, Minnesota never had a strong military or missionary presence, under neither the French nor British regimes. This aspect of the region's history, in particular the lack of interest from imperial powers to implement permanent settlements, the local and sporadically hostile politics between Dakota and Ojibway groups, and the fast-moving pace of changing understandings between trading partners, complicates the archaeology and interpretation of the region. Nevertheless, a number of sites have been surveyed and excavated since the 1970s, mostly through the work of state agencies. These sites are relatively few in numbers, which highlights the significance of the current project in analyzing Réaume's Leaf River Post and its place within this archaeological landscape.

The chapters making up this section aim to understand both the idiosyncratic production of the lived space at particular posts as well as the creation of a community of practice at a broader scale, that of the landscape. While 'place' represents the "location of intersections of particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interrelations, of influence and movements" (Massey 1995: 59), the notion of 'landscape' comprises the broader scale of the network of interconnected places, including their inherent social relations, paths and topographical features. In our context of interest, I suggest that the interconnection of various "lived spaces" such as portages, other posts and rivers, as well as traders' movement between or on them, served to create a particular fur trade landscape. In order to understand this process, and in order to place Réaume's Leaf River Post within the landscape – a landscape created by a community on the move – the following chapters will rely partly on a comparison of Réaume's post with known archaeological remains of various trade posts in the Western Great Lakes, in particular Minnesota and Wisconsin. It is thus appropriate to first discuss Réaume's Leaf River post, to which I now turn.

1) Réaume's Leaf River Post: Site History and Overview

The Réaume's Leaf River Post archaeological site is located in modern Central Minnesota on a wooded terrace overlooking the Leaf River, a few miles northwest of its confluence with the Crow Wing River (figure 8). The site is believed to represent fur trader Joseph Réaume's wintering activities in the area during the winter of 1792. While it is difficult to ascertain whether the site actually represents this particular occupation, the archaeological evidence certainly does not refute the hypothesis. In fact, the artifactual assemblage seems to correlate with a late eighteenth-century occupation, supporting the association between the site and Joseph Réaume's activities. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this association stems in particular from a brief mention from fur trader John Hay in 1794 in "Captain McKay's journal" in which he recounts how his party, after going up the Leaf River, "arrived at Reaume's fort a fort built in 1792 when he was stopt by the Sious [sic]" (Quaife 1915: 206-207). Aside from this brief mention in

the historical documents, not much is historically known of the occupation of the post or of the activities that took place there, as Réaume left no known writings of his own.

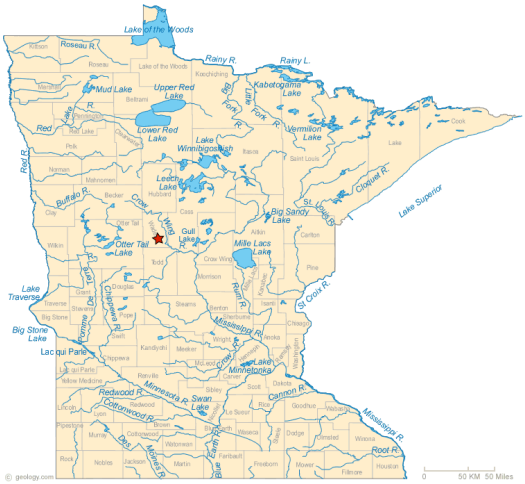


Figure 7. Map of the current Minnesota state borders and major water sources, with the approximate location of Réaume's Leaf River Post (red star). Adapted from geology.com.

Figure 8. Google map satellite image of the site's location on the Leaf River. (Map data: 2016 Google).

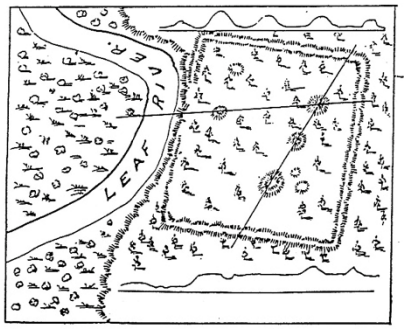


Figure 9. Garrison's sketch, reproduced in Winchell's *Aborigines of Minnesota* (1911).

After the 1790s the location of Réaume's winter camp appears to have fallen into oblivion until 1881. That year O.E. Garrison, a state surveyor and geologist, reported to the Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota to having examined "an old fortification" that he had discovered and surveyed in 1869 on the Leaf River. He included a sketch (figure 9) and further wrote: "I think these are the sites of a winter camp of one of the early explorers of this region" (Garrison 1881: 176). According to Winchell (1911), archaeologist Jacob Brower took an interest and visited the location of Garrison's survey in 1901, describing it as

> "a ditch forming two sides of an irregular triangle, the open side facing south toward Leaf River, with diamond-shaped excavations at the two extremities. Within the triangle he discerned a "pit" and several graves that were covered by boulders brought from a distance. From this he judged the defence was erected during the war between the Ojibwa and the Sioux" (Winchell 1911: 323).

The site was not documented again until the early 1970s, when Douglas Birk and Douglas George, both archaeologists for the Minnesota Historical Society, visited the site in 1972 while undertaking a state-wide survey of archaeological sites. After an extensive survey of both the site and documentary sources, it was suggested that the site may in fact correspond to the location of Joseph Réaume's post. In the initial National Register Nomination for the site that Zeik and George (1973) drafted, they noted the presence of "a two-sided ditched stockade line, two probable landing areas, as well as one depression in the wall of the stockade line that may indicate a bastion." They also noted the unevenness of the surface, suggesting abundant depressions. Lastly, they suggested that the accumulations of rocks were not graves, as Bower had proposed, but rather indicated the presence of now collapsed fireplaces (Zeik and George 1973). Over the following decades, Birk and other members of his team returned to the property multiple times to undertake more detailed surface surveys and sketch maps. In 1999, they undertook a remote sensing survey at the site consisting of electrical resistance and magnetic field gradient surveys, which was successful in identifying a number of anomalies (Maki and Jones 1999). The magnetometry survey in particular revealed interesting patterns for the presence of heated sediments and/or iron (figure 10).

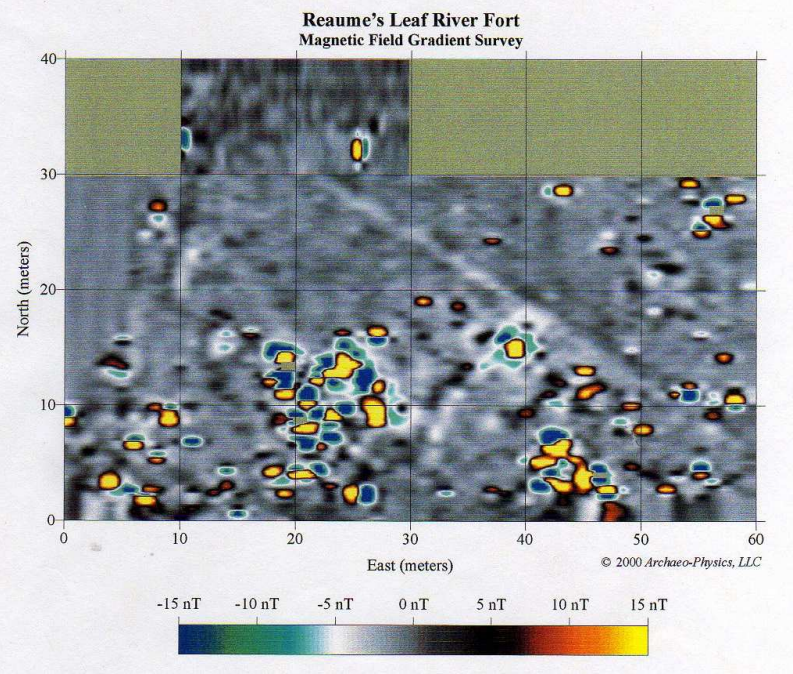


Figure 10. Magnetic Field Gradient Survey Results (Maki and Jones 1999).

Beyond these surveys, the site was not excavated until the summer of 2011, Dr. Katherine Hayes and myself conducted a field school designed to introduce undergraduate students to archaeological research. The goals of the first season were to identify and investigate the surface features that Birk and his team had described, including the four stone piles, two ditches interpreted as palisade walls, and various pits and depressions scattered across the surface within the palisade. A shovel-test pit survey was also conducted in the area outside the boundaries of the palisade. When I returned with a different cohort of undergraduate students in 2012, the goals were to get more insight into the layout of the buildings within the palisade, as well as investigate the presence of a second bastion on the eastern side of the site. Moreover, a chemical survey conducted by Dr. Katherine Hayes analyzing elemental composition of soils brought to the fore certain areas rich in phosphorous soils (Hayes 2013), which were also tested. I returned once more the following year, this time to conduct a new remote sensing survey using resistivity at higher resolutions and Ground Penetrating Radar in the hopes of finding clearer evidence for building walls. Following the survey, a small crew of student volunteers undertook a two-week data recovery excavation. The following pages present the results from the three-year archaeological investigation at the site, including features and areas of interest, macrobotanical results, and basic interpretations. This analysis serves as a baseline for understanding the production of the lived space through daily practices at Réaume's Leaf River Post specifically, and, by placing the site within a larger regional scale, for illustrating the production of a fur trade landscape.

2) Methods and Results

Réaume's Leaf River Post is located in an area that geologically corresponds to glacial outwash plain, which leaves "the soils excessively drained due to the high sand and gravel content, though excavations have shown that there are pockets of clay onsite also" (Hayes 2013: 3195). To borrow Hayes' words, "sitting atop a relatively high bank of the Leaf River, the sand and gravel substrate has been subjected to some erosion, but the bulk of the site is on level ground, not impacted by either erosion, flooding [or plowing]" (Hayes 2013: 3195).

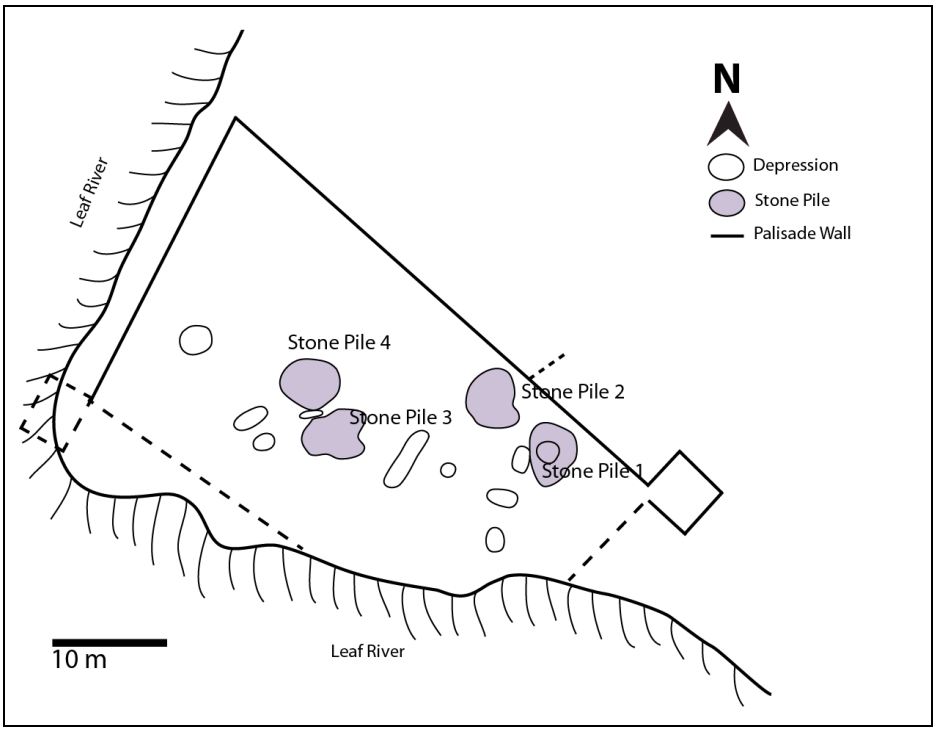


Figure 11. Joseph Réaume's Leaf River Post (21WD15) site map, representing some of the surface features.

Overall, 26 excavation units (48 m^2)[6] and over 100 shovel test pits were investigated over the three seasons of fieldwork. Excavation units (figure 11) varied in size (1x1m, 2x2m) and included some trenches (1x2m, 1x3m or 1x4m). As the occupation layers were relatively shallow within the silty loam A horizon, most excavations did not go deeper than three or four aribtrary levels into the commonly sterile B horizon (approximately 50 to 60 cm below the surface). Depth measurements recorded for maps and notes were taken from individual datum points, all set 10cm above the ground surface. In order to increase our chances of recovering small objects such as trade beads and small faunal remains, we systematically used a 1/8 inch screen, and collected soil samples from features for both wet screening and flotation. Shovel test pits were typically 50cm x 50cm pits going on average 60cm deep (until they reached sterile glacial till).

[6] Which corresponds to approximately 4% of the estimated site's surface area (about 1350 m^2).

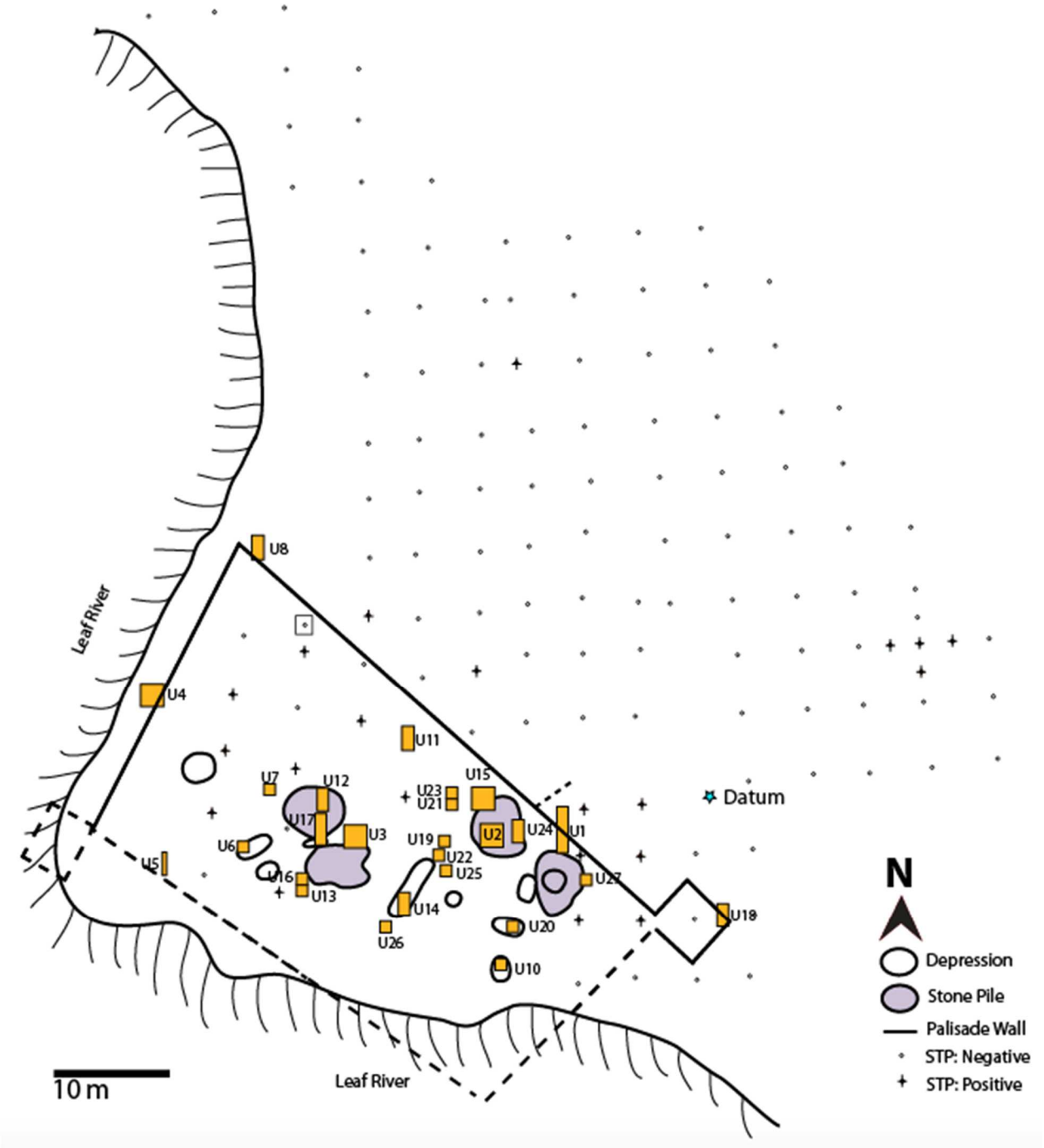


Figure 12. Réaume's Leaf River Post site map with excavation units and shovel test pits.

The shovel test pits (figure 12) conducted outside the boundaries of the palisade wall yielded few positive results, with the exception of some more recent material found in the eastern area, and along the trail to the northwest. These pits contained artifacts such as nails and bottle glass, probably from a squatter's farm that was "allegedly just east of the fort site in the 1890s" (Birk 1999b). Aside from these, all of the other positive test pits clustered around the area of the fort site itself and contained material contemporaneous with that found within the palisade walls; 12 pits contained faunal remains, 1 contained a trade bead, and 2, just west of the main datum, yielded refined earthenware fragments, which represent 2 of the total 3 fragments or refined earthenware recovered from the site.

Over the three seasons, the main focus of the excavations focused on identifying the various surface features, with a particular emphasis on the four stone piles (refer to figure 11), which Birk had identified as collapsed chimneys and/or middens. The units in or around the stone piles yielded varying results. Stone piles 1 and 3 were only partially excavated and yielded little information on their function, with few artifacts but high evidence of burnt wood. No hearth features were found, which may suggest that these two stone piles represent the architectural debris of the neighboring stone piles, numbers 2 and 4, both confirmed to be collapsed chimneys (figure 13). Indeed, the latter each yielded a high number of artifacts and faunal remains, and more tellingly, contained hearth features. The middle area of each mound was characterized by layers of ash and heated earth, lined with a perpendicular arrangement of stones. Both hearth features had a similar orientation and included thick layers of ash, often incrusted with calcined faunal remains. Even though Stone Pile 4 was previously dug into by local collectors, most of the feature was intact (incidentally, Stone Pile 1 also showed evidence of disturbance associated with pot-hunting). Since one of our goals was to determine the layout of the structure(s) within the palisade wall, we investigated the areas surrounding both of these zones with multiple units (for Stone Pile 2: units 2, 15, 24, 19, 21, 22, 23; for Stone Pile 4: units 12, 17, 7).

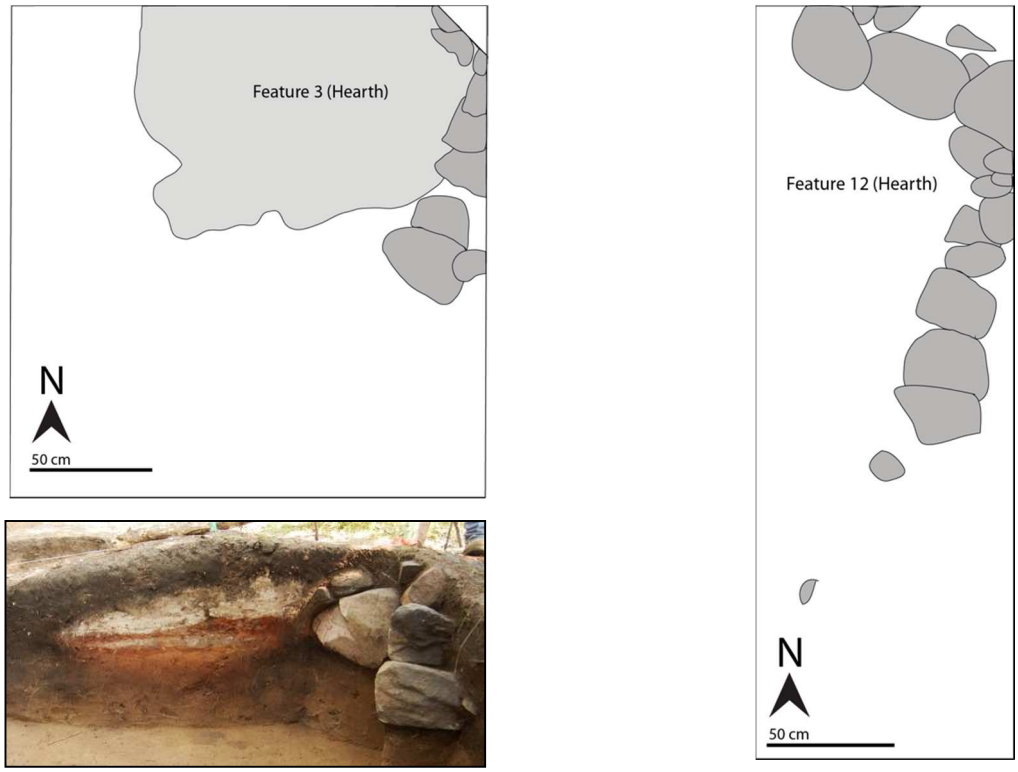


Figure 13. Réaume's Leaf River Post's hearth features. Top left is a plan map of the hearth feature in Unit 2 (Stone Pile 2); Bottom left is a profile picture of the North and east walls of the same; Right is a map of the hearth feature in Unit 17 (Stone Pile 4).

a. First Hearth Feature: Stone Pile 2 - Unit 2 and surrounding area

Unit 2, located on the northern half of Stone Pile 2, has been of particular importance as it yielded the majority of artifacts (see artifact distribution table, table 1) as well as a high proportion of faunal remains. The latter is not entirely surprising as bones seemed to have been commonly, perhaps seasonally, discarded into the fire, creating an accumulation of highly fragmented remains within the feature.

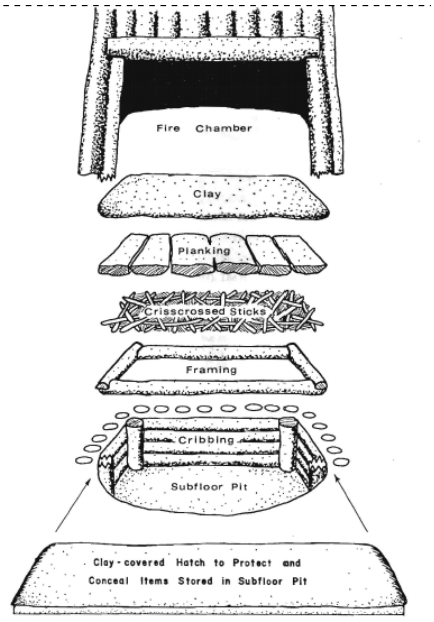


Figure 14. A hypothetical exploded view of a fireplace from Sayer's Fort (21PN11), showing all of the structural elements described or suggested by archaeologist Leland Cooper. (Birk 1999a: 44).

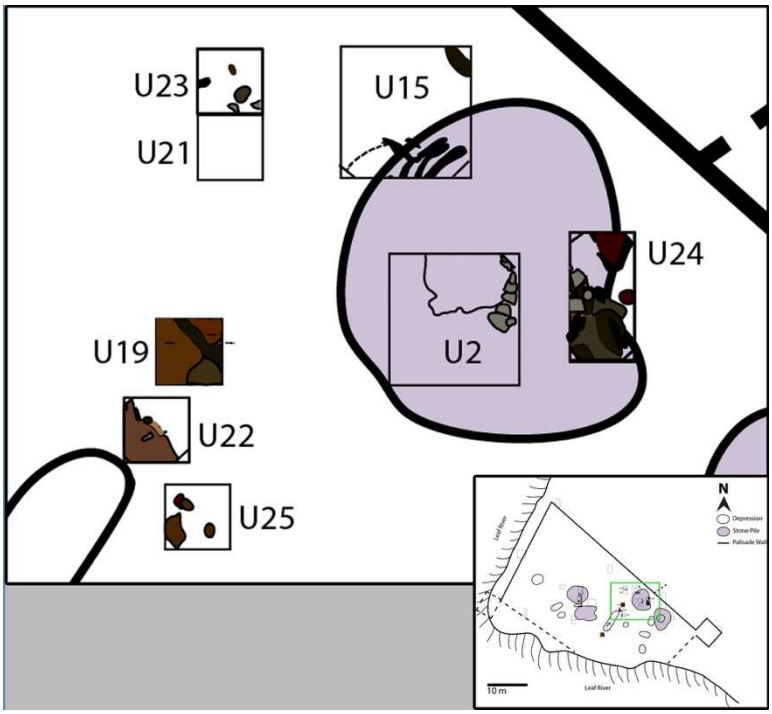


Figure 15. Close-up of Unit 2 and surrounding units showing recorded features.

The architectural remains of the fireplaces suggest they might have been built in a way similar to those documented for Sayer's Fort (Birk 1999a), as illustrated in figure 14.

Réaume's chimneys show one major difference, however, and that is in the relative importance of rocks in framing the fire chamber. It does appear that at Réaume's stones played an important part in supporting or laying the base of the chimneys, even though stones are relatively rare in the immediate vicinity of the site. George Nelson, clerk for the XY company in 1802, described post chimneys thus: "The chimney in one side of the house, part of stone, when handy, but most commonly of earth made into mortar & wrapped in grass" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 58), suggesting that the use of the stones was preferred when the material was available, though not necessary. The shape of the stone-lined Unit 2 hearth and possible evidence for a wall trench and postholes in surrounding units suggest that the fireplace must have butted against or formed part of a wall, or possibly a corner. "Corner fireplaces were sometimes used in trading houses, particularly in small rooms, because they took less space" (Birk 1999a: 39).

Figure 16. Unit 19 color patterns.

Figure 17. Unit 22 color patterns and possible postholes.

Figure 18. Unit 24, representing the possible NE corner of the Stone Pile 2 construction.

Figure 19. Possible post mold, Unit 23.

Each of the surrounding units revealed features of interest (figure 15), but with the lack of stone foundations and recognizable postholes to facilitate the identification of building walls, the evidence remains ambiguous as to the ways in which each unit and

associated features relate to each other. For example, Unit 19, located southwest of Unit 2, yielded some remarkable soil color patterns, with a marked difference between the NE corner and the rest of the unit (figure 16). Four gunflints and a number of wound trade beads were recovered, but very few animal bone fragments. Given the evidence, this unit could represent the southern boundary to the building associated with the Stone Pile 2 hearth feature. Possibly associated with Unit 19 is Unit 22 (figure 17), which not only revealed a depression filled with burnt materials in the southwest corner, but also two possible postholes running in the same orientation as the "line" in Unit 19. Unit 25, strategically placed to hopefully follow that line, did not provide any useful information on whether these possible postholes continued.

Unit 24, located east of Unit 2 may represent the NE corner of the building, with soil and burnt wood patterns suggesting a perpendicular angle (figure 18). On the other side of Unit 2, Units 21 and 23 seem to represent an association and possible continuation of the building associated with the Stone Pile 2 hearth feature. Unit 23 (figure 19), in particular revealed a feature characterized by stones and burnt materials that may represent a post mold at deeper layers.

Unit 15, like unit 2, yielded a high number of artifacts (Table 1), which is not all surprising given its close proximity to the broader stone pile area. Furthermore, the unit yielded some well preserved burnt wood, most of the logs probably fallen from the palisade wall, as well as a deep trench running in a loose east-west direction (figure 20). This trench might suggest a builder's trench to accommodate wall posts.

Figure 20. Unit 15; left: University of Minnesota student Sarah Koenig unearthing preserved wooden posts; Right: profile sketch of Unit 15's south wall.

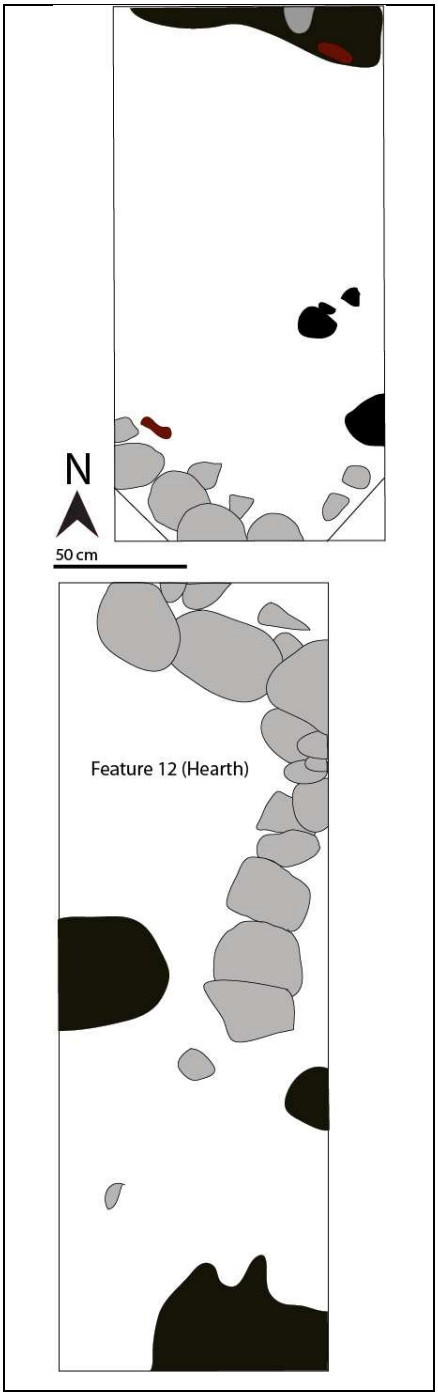


Figure 21. Plan maps of Units 12 (top) and 17 (bottom), showing the orientation of the Stone Pile 4 hearth feature.

b. Second hearth feature: Stone Pile 4 - Units 12, 17 and 3

In order to test Stone Pile 4, two excavation units creating a N-S trench across the rise of the stone pile were investigated. These two trenches, Units 12 and 17 respectively, allowed us to get a section view of the entire stone pile, including the hearth feature (figure 21).

As previously mentioned, the feature was previously dug into through local metal detecting activities, however most of the feature remained intact and the disturbance did not go very deep. The hearth feature was very similar in both orientation and size to its counterpart from Stone Pile 2, with layers of ash incrusted with calcined bone, and heated earth. In addition to the high number of faunal remains, a number of uncommon objects were recovered from Unit 12: 1 brass button, 3 pieces of worked wood, of which 1 may be checker piece fragment, a number of white ball clay smoking pipe fragments and 1 nail. Unit 17 yielded additional nails, 1 knife blade, 33 trade beads and additional pipe fragments, as well a great quantity of daub and charcoal. The northern edge of Unit 12 was characterized by a dark line of soil mixed with daub, bone and charcoal (figure 21). This may represent the northern wall, or a division wall of the building associated with the Unit 17 hearth feature. Unit 3, tested in 2011, cut through Stone Pile 3 on its

northern side; however yielded little information aside from many burnt logs, 2 bottle glass fragments, pipe fragments and 1 gunflint. Most of these items were recovered in the NW corner of the unit, and is more likely associated with Stone Pile 4.

c. Palisade wall

Figure 22. Photograph showing the charred wooden posts recovered across the NE-SW running ditch, in Unit 4.

Figure 23. Students excavating the Eastern bastion corner in Unit 18, recognizable by the charred linear stains, which included some badly preserved wood.

Another potential component of the site that the excavations aimed to investigate was a palisade wall. Indeed, as Garrison, Brower and Birk had all noted in their observations, the post appeared to be bounded by two ditches visible on the surface running almost perpendicular to each other, creating a triangular enclosure that ended near the riverbank's edges. In order to test the hypothesis that these trenches represented the remains of a palisade wall, two units were opened across the visible ditches (units 1 and 4), as well as one unit in the supposed location of the wall's NW corner (unit 8). All three units yielded evidence of burnt wood posts, identified as pine (*Pinus sp*.) (see Bowes 2013) aligned in the direction of the supposed walls, confirming the presence of a palisade at the site (figure 22).

Birk has previously suggested the stockade could have originally been a rectangular enclosure, with a bastion at two opposite sides, in a design similar to that of other contemporaneous palisaded posts in the area, such as Sayer's Fort (Birk 1999a). This

was confirmed in 2012 with the excavation of Unit 18, which revealed one of the eastern bastion corners (figure 23). Evidence for a third or fourth wall to close a rectangular enclosure was not found archaeologically; nevertheless geophysical surveys – and in particular GPR data – suggest that they in fact existed in the past (figure 24) (Jones 2013: personal communication). The major portion of these walls appears to have been destroyed in time as the riverbank eroded away.

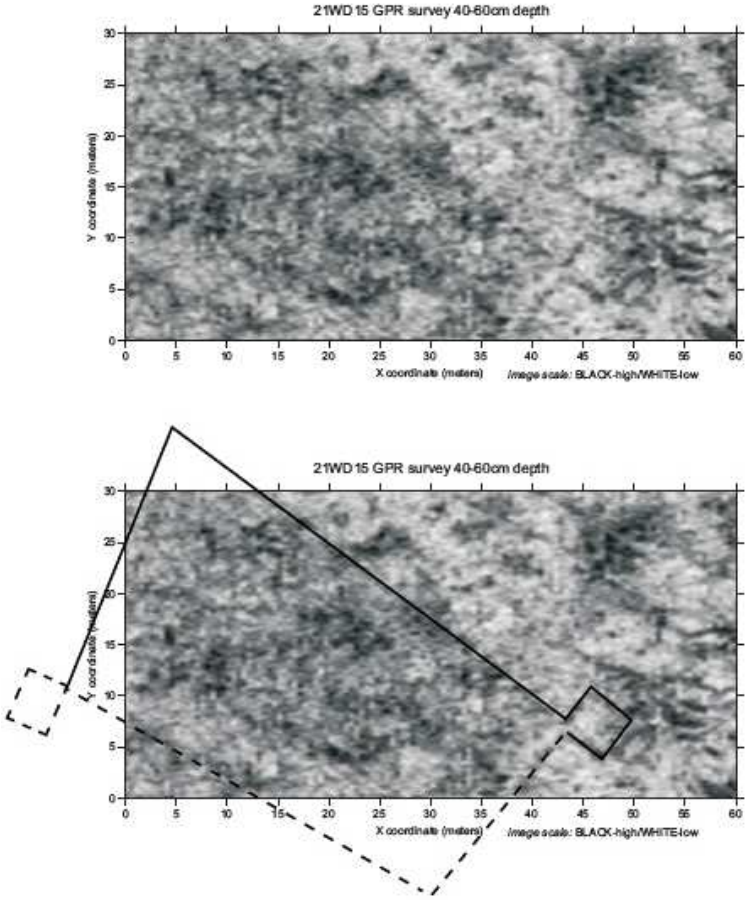


Figure 24. Ground Penetrating Radar maps (Jones 2014) suggesting the presence of a third and fourth wall.

d. Refuse area

Figure 25. Shallow bone layer in Unit 13.

Another area of interest was brought to our attention through Dr. Hayes's chemical survey. The latter aimed to establish the utility of XRF technology in detecting subsurface features through an analysis of the elemental composition of archaeological layers and sediments (Hayes 2013). The survey revealed a high phospherous zone adjacent and south of Stone Piles 3 and 4, which we tested through three excavation units (6, 13, 16) placed across the series of pits and bumps that characterized this area. The excavations showed that the phospherous content of the soils was due to a high density of faunal remains and possibly other organic materials. Unit 13, in particular, revealed a shallow layer littered with raw bones (figure 25) along the western side of the unit, probably the result of a few specific butchering events. This scatter continued, though in lesser intensity in the eastern side of the adjacent unit 16, which was located on a east-west bump. This slight rise in the surface may have resulted from the excavation of a digger's trench at the time of the post's construction that would have served to insert the sills necessary to the erection of the building associated with the Stone Pile 4 hearth feature. Unit 16 also had a feature filled with ash, daub and faunal remains along its eastern wall and in the NE corner (figure 26), which may correspond to a deeper trash pit. Unit 6 yielded a high density of bones as well, but the depression took the shape of a trash pit

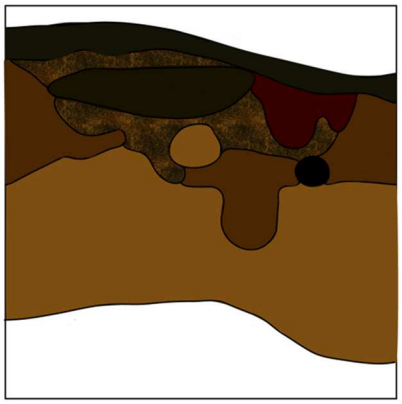


Figure 26. Profile sketch of the eastern wall of Unit 16, showing the disturbed stratigraphy and a possible trash pit and posthole.

instead of a surface scatter such as the one present in Unit 13. In the unit 6 pit were found some artifacts, such as a finger ring, trade beads and a smoking pipe fragment.

e. Other Units of interest : Units 14 and 26, 10

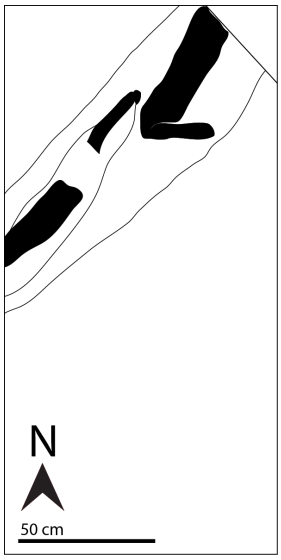


Figure 27. Unit 14 : Outline of the ditch and charred wooden posts.

Other units of interest include units 14 an 26, as well as unit 10. Unit 14 yielded some burnt wood, laid down at the bottom of an elongated ditch, running NE-SW (figure 27). This feature was characterized by a lack of artifacts and the presence of a small concentration of Cervid skeletal remains, including cranial features and foot bones. However it remains unclear whether this ditch is human made; the pieces of wood might have fallen into a natural ditch during the fire event. It has also been argued that it served as a drain since it follows the natural slope of the terrace. That said, the pieces of wood may also represent a bottom sill for the construction of a structure, though the lack of stones in the immediate area make that unlikely. Unit 26 was located 4 meters south of Unit 14 and aimed to determine whether the burnt wood alignment persisted southward. The results are inconclusive, as the unit did present a darker stain usually representative of burnt wood, however the unit also had high evidence of bioturbation, which rendered its interpretation difficult (figure 28). That said, the line created by the dark stain in the soil may represent another wall feature.

Figure 28. Color patterns in the sediments of Unit 26, representing a possible connection to the Unit 14 linear ditch.

Unit 10 was located within a depression visible on the surface in order to get a sense of what such depressions consist. Interestingly, this unit yielded no artifacts, but contained several bone fragments, including possible black bear (*Ursus americanus*) vertebrae within layer of dark soil mottled with charcoal bits.

f. Evidence of older and more recent components

Units 5 and 11 were sterile of materials dating to the 1ate eighteenth-century occupation of the site, however both units yielded evidence of a prior occupation by local indigenous groups. Such evidence includes pieces of coarse, plain pottery (figure 29) as well as lithic debitage and flakes. These materials were also recovered in smaller numbers in other units, and were usually found in the transitional layers between the A and B horizons, immediately below the trade post occupation layers.

Figure 29. Plain pottery fragments probably representing an prior occupation of the site.

There also appears to be evidence of more modern disturbance at the site, likely in association with the aforementioned undocumented squatter's farm that was "allegedly just east of the fort site in the 1890s" (Birk 1999b). Barbed and chicken wire was found in relative abundance in unit 20, while other evidence such as clear glass, wire nails and miscellaneous metal fragments were scattered through various units (see table 1 for artifact distribution). Moreover, pot-hunting activities at the site disturbed some of the features, including Stone Pile 1 and the hearth feature in Stone Pile 4. Luckily, some of the artifacts collected through these activities are now curated at the Wadena County Historical Society Museum (figure 30). They include some well-preserved metal items, some of which are particularly noteworthy: two metal projectile points, one shoe buckle, a moose cut out of a metal sheet, a hide scraper and a pewter spoon. However, as these artifacts lack specific provenience information, they are not included in the artifact distribution tables. The display case also includes an artist rendering of the trade post of unknown origin.

Figure 30. Artifacts from metal detecting activities on display at the Wadena County Historical Society Museum, Wadena (MN). Photos by the author.

g. Site dating through artifact manufacturing history

The material culture (table 1) recovered from the 2011-2013 excavations[7] at Réaume's site makes up a relatively small collection. It consists primarily of European-made items destined to the trade with Native people, such as personal adornments and hunting gear. Architectural hardware such as nails, window glass and hinges are also

[7] The artifact and faunal assemblages were donated by the landowner to the Wadena County Historical Society museum in Wadena (Mn) for curation and display.

present on the site, as well as smoking pipes, knives, bottle glass and others (see table 1 for complete list and distribution). Noteworthy of mention is the almost complete absence of European-made ceramics; only 3 small fragments of refined earthenware were recovered and thus could not provide any useful chronological information. For in addition to providing insights into daily life and trade at the post, artifacts may also be used to provide a date range for the occupation. While few items were recovered that could be assigned a useful date range, none contradict the possibility of the occupation dating to the late eighteenth century. On the contrary, most seem to point to a 1750-1805 time range for the occupation.

Trade beads, for example, are present in much greater numbers after the last quarter of the eighteenth-century and into the early nineteenth century than they are in earlier periods, and therefore are not particularly diagnostic for our period of interest (Gibbon 2006: 25). That said, white opaque wire wound beads with a barrel form (figure 31) are also present at Grand Portage (c.1780-1803) (Gibbon 2006: 26) and within the 1725-1775 assemblage at Fort Michilimackinac (Hayes 2014: 25). Moreover Quimby (1966) notes that the small "seed" embroidery beads were more popular in the later pre-American trade (1760-1820) as desire for pendant beads was displaced by the influx of silver adornment items" (Quimby 1966: 87-89).

Figure 31. Sample of wire wound beads – barrel shaped, and "seed" embroidery beads (Unit 17, context 317).

Flints used for flintlock guns were recovered at the site (n=9) and have been identified as gunspalls of English manufacture (figure 32). The significance of this identification lies in the differences in historical gunflint manufacture in France and England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Starting in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, French gunflint makers introduced a flint making process by cutting up long flakes rather than knapping individual spalls from a prepared core (Hamilton 1980: 141). However, the French apparently kept this technique secret until about 1780, when the English finally managed to learn the process (Hamilton 1980: 141). Before then, the English produced only spall-type flints. English flake-type gunflints produced from a blade tend to have diagnostic features (such as a demi-cone) (Barnes 1980) that gunspalls do not possess, and vice versa. The presence of gunspalls at Réaume's (rather than flake-type flints) therefore suggests that the site predates the widespread adoption of the flake-type technique by English manufacturers around 1795.

Figure 32. Examples of gunflints (from left to right: Unit 3; Unit 15, context 270; two examples from Unit 19, context 389)

The presence of a brass button (figure 33) also suggests an eighteenth-century time of occupation. Indeed, the button's manufacturing technique, that is to say cast with the face and loop as a single piece, appears to have "phased out by about 1750" (Hayes 2014: 25). The relatively early date of this item may be explained by curation, "recycling" or reuse of metal items.

Figure 33. Brass button, front (left) and back (right). Unit 17, context 211.

The nail assemblage, made up entirely of hand-wrought or cut, hand-headed nails, provides a time-range consistent with the rest of the Réaume artifact types. Generally speaking hand-wrought nails are not particularly useful dating tools, for they were used from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. However, at least four specimens matched Wells' (1998) "type 1" classification, which suggests a 1731-1805 time range. Moreover, while many nails in the assemblage may be machine-cut nails, whose production started around 1790, the heads were all individually hand-hammered into shape. This is significant as the production of machine-headed nails became established only by 1815 (Gibbon 2006: 26). Overall, then, the nail assemblage suggests an occupation dating to 1730-1815, with an emphasis on the late eighteenth-century.

Smoking pipes have been used for chronological purposes in some cases, however at Réaume's the dating information derived from white ball clay smoking pipes is once more rather broad. Complete bowls are rare (n=1) and only four specimens present decorative attributes, including the widespread initials "TD" (figure 34). The "TD" letters appear as raised on one spur and incised into two bowl fragments. "TD pipes" are sometimes associated with manufacturer Thomas Dormer (1748-1770). However there are many variants of this mark, which suggests some widespread plagiarism that decades later turned into a popular symbolic decorative element that did not relate to the initials of the manufacturer (Bradley 2000: 112; Walker 1983: 36-37). TD-pipes were popular well into the 20th century, and therefore do not provide much dating information (http://odysseysvirtualmuseum.com/products/Clay-Tobacco-Pipe-%252d-TD-Style.html; last visited July 12 2015). That said, Ivor Noël Hume (1969) suggests that the location of maker's marks and other initials on the pipe are chronologically relevant, as the "heel-

flanking initials as well as the [marks bounded by] circles went right on through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (Hume 1969: 305). The fourth marked specimen has part of a stamped mark or decoration visible on the bowl, however the fragmentation of this piece makes it unreadable. Lastly, one relatively complete pipe bears a close resemblance to Hume's "type 16," for which the peak in popularity dates between 1730 and 1790 (Hume 1969: 303).

Figure 34. White clay pipes showing a trader's mark or decoration. From left to right: Plain pipe bowl with spur, "Type 16" in Hume's (1969) typology 1760-1790 (Unit 2, context 304); Bowl fragment bearing an incised "D" letter (Unit 27, context 502); Spur bearing the initials "TD" (Unit 2, context 164); Marked/decorated bowl fragment (Unit 15, context 240).

Brooches similar to those recovered from Réaume (figure 35) were also present in the 1760-1780 assemblage of the British occupation at Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974:135). They consist of a ring with an attached, movable tongue, which were "fastened to cloth or hair as ornaments and were commonly dispersed as trade goods" (Stone 1974: 135).

Figure 35. Brooches (Left: Unit 15, context 348; Right: "tongue" from a brooch, Unit 15, context 260).

Lastly, silver cross pendants like the one recovered from Réaume (figure 36) were also recovered from John Sayer's Snake River Post. While there were a number of silversmiths producing items for trade in London active from 1763 to 1905 (Quimby 1966: 197), at Sayer's Post they are described as having been manufactured by Montreal silversmith Robert Cruickshank, who was one of the few silversmiths in Montreal making items destined for trade. According to Quimby (1966), "various documentary records show that Cruickshank's period of productivity in Montreal lasted from about 1779 to 1806" (1966: 198).

Figure 36. Silver cross. Left: Unit 15, context 240; Right: Silver crosses on display at the North West Company Fur Trade Post Museum near Pine City (Mn) (Sayer's Snake River Post). Photo by the author, July 2012.

Overall, the artifactual assemblage points to a date of occupation between 1750 and ca.1795, which, although a rather broad date-range, is not incoherent with the 1792-1793 date of occupation suggested in the documentary records.

3) Macrobotanical Analysis and Results

In order to better understand the traders' use of their immediate surroundings for food and other activities, samples of soil (generally two-liter bags) were collected for macrobotanical analysis, which allows the identification of seeds and wood from archaeological sites. At Réaume's, the 90 or so samples collected represent data from 18

units and multiple features across the site. Volunteer students and myself processed the samples through flotation at the University of Minnesota. The seeds and wood recovered from the light – and occasionally heavy – fractions were then sent to Jessica Bowes at Syracuse University for identification and macrobotanical analysis following standard paleoethnobotanical procedure, that is to say identification and count of seeds and wood fragments using low microscopy and reference collections (Pearsall 1989). The following thus summarizes the results as described in the full report (see Bowes 2013).

The charring of botanical remains is an important factor in considering whether the remains collected are contemporaneous with the archaeological layers, since "charred botanical remains are often remnants of human activity and are more diagnostic of cultural action over uncharred seeds (Bowes 2013: 4; also Asch et al. 1972: 12; Miller 1989: 50). Given the high quantity of burned material at Réaume's, the odds of recovering charred botanicals from the occupation were thus favorable. However, with a total of 481 charred seeds recovered, the results represent a low number of seeds with minimum diversity, with just 18 different taxa present across the whole site (Bowes 2013: 5). The majority of seeds are indicative of local wild plants (Bowes 2013: 5).

Present in these samples were wild fruits such as cherry (*Prunus* sp.), blackberry or raspberry (*Rubus* sp.), apple (*Malus* sp.), and blueberry (*Vaccinum* sp.), as well as weedy species such as sedge (*Carex* sp.), plantain (*Plantago* sp.), and knotweed (*Polygonum* sp.). Identified nutshell was limited to one type, hazelnut (*Corylus* sp.). Spruce (*Picea* sp.) and Mountain-ash (*Sorbus* sp.) tree seeds were also recovered, although no spruce wood was identified, and several seeds could only be identified to family (Bowes 2013: 5-6). These also include grasses that belong to the Poaceae family, beans that belong to the Fabaceae family and sedge that belong to the Cyperaceae family (Bowes 2013: 6). The seasonality of these species, spring through the end of summer, may suggest that it corresponds to the time of their charring, which likely occurred when the rest of the site burnt. Therefore we may suggest that the post did not burn in winter, but probably during late spring or summer.

According to Bowes (2013), "a conservative interpretation is that the charred botanicals present are likely indicative of the local environment, and perhaps indicate

some foodways, however are not plentiful enough to appropriately demonstrate the plant portion of the diet for the occupants of this site" (Bowes 2013: 9). That said, the absence of plant remains does not necessarily equate with a lack of plants in the diet, but seems "a preservation issue rather than one of a limited diet" (Bowes 2013: 10).

We should also consider the use of plants for activities other than sustenance, such as their use as fuel and building material. The wood analysis from 41 samples yielded interesting results with regards to determining its possible use. Different woods burn differently and softwoods, including pine, are generally considered inefficient fuel sources. Hardwoods are the preferred fuel source, and "since hardwood was present at the site, we can discern that occupants had access to hardwoods (like oak and ash) for fuel" (Bowes 2013: 8).

However the majority of wood by count and weight recovered across the site was pine (*Pinus* sp.), which is a primary building material and would have made sturdy timber for structures. Fur trade construction methods included the use of hand hewn vertical timbers set either directly in the ground (*poteaux-en-terre* or *pieux en terre*), which would require digging a trench or post-holes to anchor timbers at regular intervals; or pegged into a horizontal wooden sill (*poteaux-sur-sole*) which in turn was set either in the ground or on a stone foundation (Babson 1968: 19; Mann 2003: 128; 2008: 325; Gums 2002: 20; Wonders 1979: 196). Pine would have been an excellent wood for such architectural endeavors. All sampled logs and posts from the palisade wall also were either entirely pine (*Pinus* sp.) or a combination of pine, softwood, and unidentifiable, suggesting the preferred use of pine for the palisade wall as well.

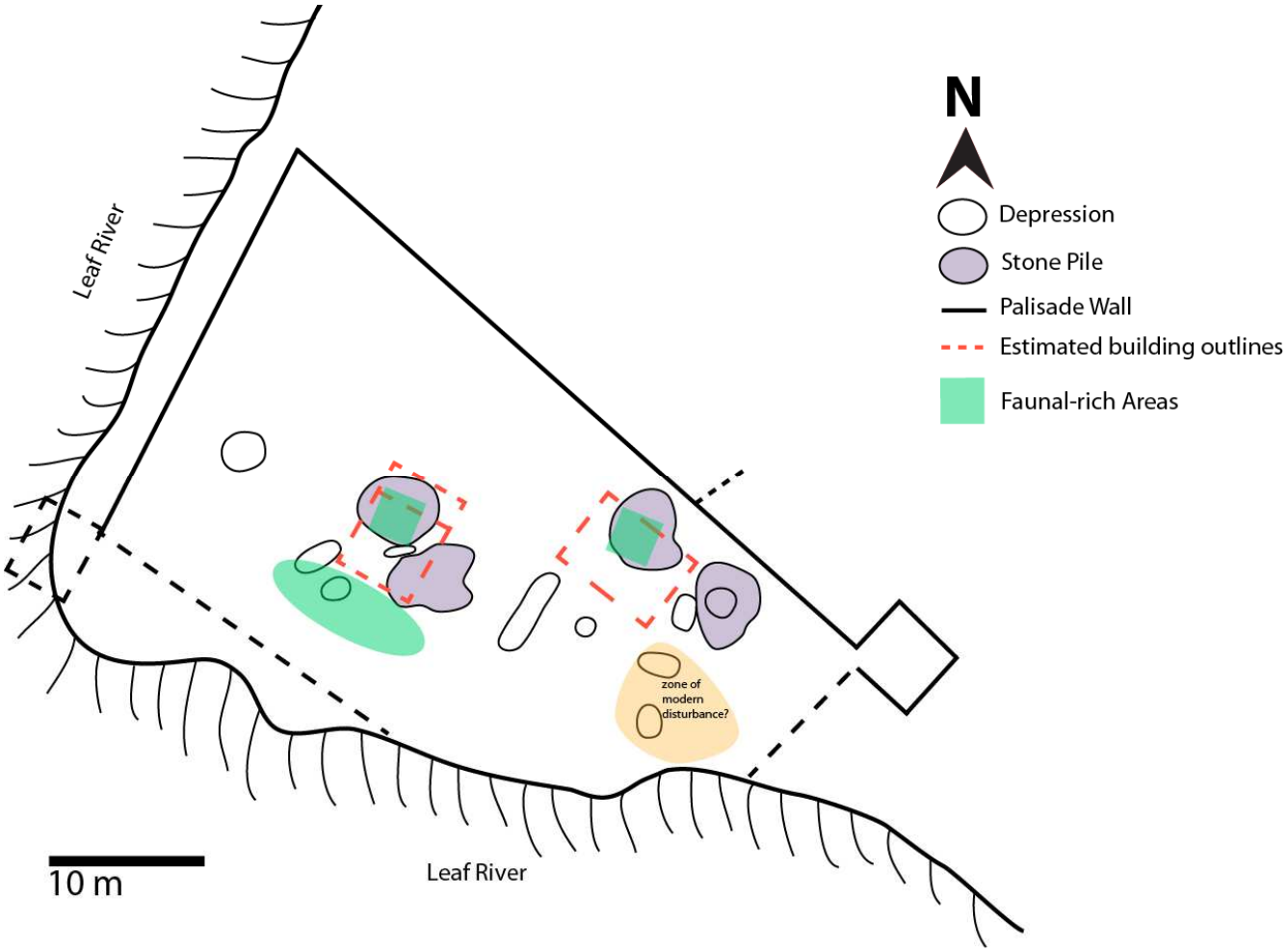


Figure 37. Site map showing estimated building outlines and faunal-rich areas in green.

4) Site organization

While it is possible that Réaume's Leaf River Post was constructed barrack-style (like Sayer's Fort on the Snake River, for instance), the lack of alignment between the fireplaces make this unlikely. Rather, the limited architectural and material evidence gathered at the site thus far suggests that the post consisted of at least two different buildings, each associated with a fireplace (figure 37). Given the amount and nature of the artifacts recovered from the easternmost fireplace (Stone Pile 2), I suggest that this was the location of the trade house, where trade goods would have been kept and

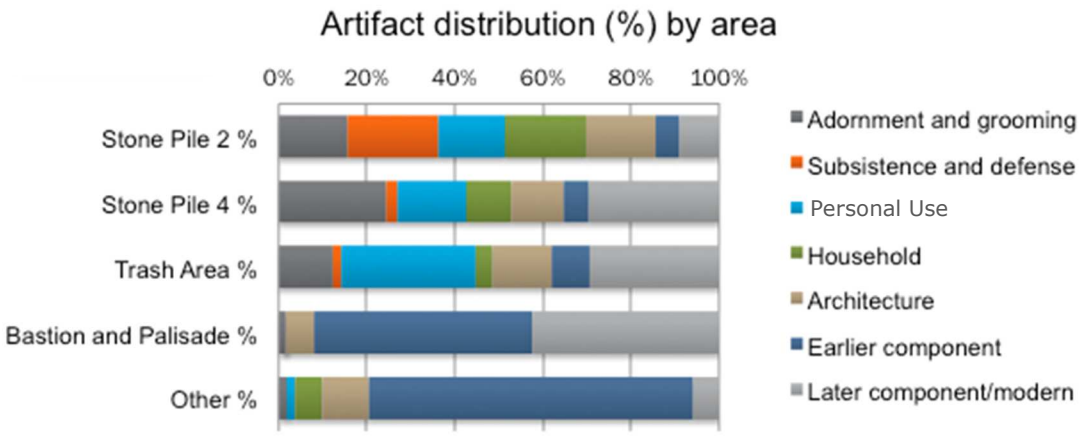


Figure 38. Distribution of artifacts recovered by category and area in percent.

exchanged. Following the layout of other trade posts in the region, the person in charge would have had his quarters nearby to keep an eye on the merchandise. On the other hand, I suggest that the building associated with the westernmost fireplace (Stone Pile 4) was the crew's living quarters. Artifact distribution (figure 38) supports this division of space, as most objects designed for trade, particularly personal adornment items such as earbobs, trade beads, tinkling cones, finger rings, brooches, and silver crosses, were found in higher density in the units in and surrounding Stone Pile 2. Conversely, objects designed for personal use or entertainment, such as buttons and one possible checker piece (figure 38) were recovered only around Stone Pile 4, particularly in Units 12 and 17. Objects that could have been traded as well as used by the crew include knives and hunting gear such as gun flints, lead shots and musket balls, and were recovered in all areas of the site. Clay pipes were also of use to all parties. Indeed, Mann (2004) has

argued that tobacco pipes and the practice of smoking embodied more than leisure for Euro-Canadian fur traders as the activity and the material culture associated with it was also closely entangled within fur trade labor practices. Stopping a voyage for smoking (*poses*) was a common affair, and Mann (2004) has argued that the demand for such poses afforded voyageurs a way to counter the authority of the clerks or bourgeois. Smoking thus became intertwined within the power relations characteristic of fur trade labor practices.

While no clear evidence was uncovered, the presence of a third building is possible given the common U-shaped design of NWC posts (Hamilton 1990). Based on the 1999 magnetometry results, such a building may have been located in the southeast portion of the enclosure, where a concentration of metal or igneous rock was made visible. However, this area also corresponds to the location where chicken wire was recovered in 2012 (figure 37), which may have skewed the 1999 magnetometry readings.

There is little evidence suggesting that this post would have been occupied for more than one season. In fact, the only potential evidence that points to reconstruction comes from the 2013 GPR survey, which seems to suggest multiple construction episodes for the palisade wall and its eastern bastion, as its size changes at different depths (Jones 2013). That said, this variation may also be explained by the construction of inner and outer partitions, or as evidence of a builder's trench. Therefore it does appear that this post was occupied only for one winter. Given the relative small amount of artifacts on the site, it also appears that when Spring came and the rivers broke free of ice, the traders left the post, taking everything with them except for broken or lost pieces.

When thinking back to the variables affecting the materiality of trade posts, especially with regards to the affiliation of the person in charge, Réaume's Leaf River Post fall in the middle of the spectrum of possibilities and illustrates the work of an independent trader but whose associations with other wintering partners demand a more company-oriented framework of practice. The latter aspects are particularly visible in some of the architectural components, especially the stone-lined fireplaces, the palisade wall as well as some aspects of material culture.

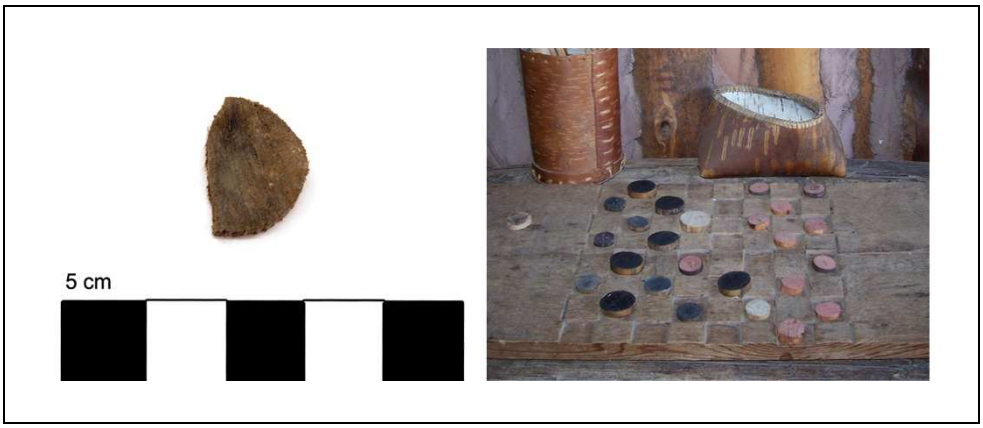


Figure 39. Left: possible checker piece (Unit 17, context 284). Right: Checker board on display at the North West Company Fur Trade Post museum, near Pine City (Mn) (Sayer's Snake River post). Photo by the author, July 2012.

Table 1. Artifact distribution (specimen count) by unit and shovel test pits.

Artifact category	Artifact type / Unit number	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	T2ST3	T2ST3	T2 ST3 (E. radial)	T2ST3 (S.	T-2STO	T-2ST-1	T0 ST0	T18ST7	T17ST7	T7ST3	T26ST10	T-1STO	T2 ST5
*Architecture**	Nail	0	19	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Window glass	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Hinge	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	**0**	**29**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Household	Ceramics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Bottle glass	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Misd glass	1	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Kettle part	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Knife	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Worked bone	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	**1**	**37**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**
Adornment and grooming	Shoe buckle	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Brooch	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Button	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Silver cross	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Earbob	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Finger ring	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pocket knife/Razor	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Tinkling cone	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Trade beads	3	78	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	5	1	37	1	33	7	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
	TOTAL	**3**	**83**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**6**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**40**	**1**	**33**	**7**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**
Personal Use	Pipe	0	40	1	0	0	4	0	0	3	9	1	3	0	4	1	0	0	4	3	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
	Checker piece	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	**0**	**40**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**9**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**

Table 1. continued

Artifact Category	Artifact type / Unit number	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	T2ST3 (W. radial)	T2ST3	T2 ST3 (E. radial)	T2ST3 (S. radial)	T-2STO	T-2ST-1	T0 ST0	T18ST7	T17ST7	T7ST3	T26ST10	T-1STO	T2 ST5
Subsistence and Defense	Gun part	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Gunflint	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Gunflint debitage	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Musket balls	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lead shot	2	62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Strike-a-light	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	**3**	**72**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**11**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Unidentified	Misc metal	1	28	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unknown	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	**2**	**29**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**6**	**3**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Earlier component	Pottery	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lithics (debitage)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lithics (Flake)	1	9	3	1	10	0	0	9	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Lithics (Preform)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	TOTAL	**1**	**12**	**3**	**1**	**10**	**1**	**1**	**29**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Modern	Clear glass	1	6	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Bottle glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Barbed and chicken wire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Metal	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Nail	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Rubber	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	**3**	**6**	**6**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	TOTAL	***13***	***307***	***16***	***4***	***11***	***15***	***2***	***29***	***6***	***15***	***2***	***60***	***10***	***46***	***14***	***5***	***1***	***7***	***11***	***4***	***5***	***1***	***3***	***1***	***1***	***1***	***1***	***1***	***1***	***2***	***1***	***2***	***1***	***1***	***5***	***1***

5) Concluding remarks

The archaeological remains associated with Réaume's 1792 winter encampment offer interesting insight into how its occupants, as members of a community of practice fashioned around their work in the fur trade, produced space through their daily activities. It is through their quotidian practices of building and maintaining architectural features, moving around the camp, perhaps venturing beyond the palisade wall in their quest for food and pelts, and trading with their Native partners, that members of Réaume's expedition created a sense of place, making a "home" in an overall unfamiliar landscape. The following chapters will show that these place-making practices were not unique to Réaume's crew, but were shared across the broader community of practice that the fur trade society created. A comparative study of foodways, architectural features and use of space across a variety of sites in the Western Great Lakes will highlight the role of daily practices in the production of lived spaces, and further help place Réaume's Leaf River Post within a broader dynamic and sometimes contested fur trade landscape.

5. THE LIVED SPACE THROUGH ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICES AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

1) Introduction

The link between architectural practices and identification processes have long been of interest to archaeologists, as I have discussed in more details chapter 3. The construction of buildings with a designated function, the choice of materials used, the procurement of such materials, all serve to not only produce a lived space that affects behaviors, but the shared aspects of some of those practices also help create a community of practice that in this particular case revolved around fur trading as an occupation. In the context under study, the transmission of knowledge of "how to do things" occurred in the field, where old timers, or those who had spent time as long-term *engagés* or freemen in the interior, taught – consciously or by example – newcomers. In time, such particular and embodied practices may have become routinized or become part of the habitus of the practitioners, to use Bourdieu's term (1977) and just become "the way of doing things" (also Mann 2003). According to Lave and Wenger (1991), the transmission of knowledge from old-timers to newcomers is central to the reproduction of the community of practitioners. Moreover, as much as the built environment may be "an unconscious

expression of what participants tacitly accepted as appropriate and comprehensible," (Hamilton 2000: 218) that is to say part of their *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977), it may also become "an expression of conscious strategies to reinforce … hierarchy" (Hamilton 2000: 218). As such, architectural practices that play a role in the production of place and a community of practice also play a role at other levels of identification, especially those linked to power relations and the reification of class boundaries (also Lefebvre 1991).

The goal of this chapter is to highlight the different ways in which architectural practices may serve to produce both the lived space at various posts and a community of practice at a larger scale. Here I use a comparative framework to allow a better understanding of Réaume's Leaf River post and its place within the late eighteenth-century fur trade landscape. This chapter draws heavily from Hamilton's (1990; 2000) comprehensive study of social inequality within fur trade corporations, and considers how some of the variables mentioned previously (the affiliation of the person in charge, the post's function, intended duration of occupation, etc.) affect trade posts' materiality. Specifically, it considers how the variables affect the number of documented structures and overall layout of the post, the size of the post, the presence of a palisade wall and bastions and the construction techniques. Pushing the analysis further, I then turn to the presence of nonverbal statements of power or status-differentiation, especially in considering a posts' inner organization and division, refuse disposal, and to a lesser extent material culture distribution. Lastly, drawing from Fort St. Joseph as an example of a "permanent" outpost, I consider how mobility affects the materiality of occupations whose intended duration was shorter.

To summarize, I consider here that regional examples of corporate trade posts include John Sayer's Snake River Post (NWC) and the Fort Folle Avoine on the Yellow River (NWC) – both sites were part of NWC's Fond du Lac District. Independent traders' posts are illustrated by François' House on the Saskatchewan River, and to some extent MO20 as the occupation predates the NWC's monopoly in the area. Little Round Hill, as we will see, is unique and provides an alternative example of place-making practices within the fur trade landscape. Fort St. Joseph is used here as somewhat of an outlier providing an example of a permanent, regional headquarter. Réaume's Leaf River Post, I

argue, occupies a kind of 'in-between' place on this spectrum: it corresponds to a temporary wintering outpost in the hinterland with a freeman in charge (Réaume had wintering partners and was outfitted by an important merchant for this expedition, but was not working for any big company at this time). That being the case, one would expect Réaume's Post to follow other independent sites in the area such as Little Round Hill, and MO20. However, while some aspects may be shared, Réaume's presents a stark contrast with Little Round Hill and rather resembles François' House and sites more closely associated with corporations with a stricter sense of hierarchy.

2) Spatial organization: layout, size and palisades

Fur trade companies such as the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company were characterized in part by hierarchically organized chains of command: "the top of these command structures consisted of shareholders who directed field officers who, in turn, commanded a range of tradesmen and laborers" (Hamilton 2000: 220). This hierarchy was also materialized and reinforced through the different types of outposts, as Hamilton (1990; 2000) has shown. He differentiates three major categories of trade posts that relate particularly to their function and the ranking of their personnel: large administrative headquarters, regional headquarters, and short-term wintering posts. "The function and importance of each of these trade-post types is reflected in the size, layout and range of facilities" (Hamilton 2000: 232).

In his comprehensive study of NWC and HBC post designs, Hamilton (1990) discerns two basic patterns in eighteenth-century trade posts' layout: some present a layout with a central courtyard flanked by a single row house, or two parallel row houses, while a second pattern suggests a central courtyard flanked by a U-shaped arrangement of structures. While these patterns may be found at all types of trade posts, the size of the enclosure, the number of buildings and the size of the courtyard may vary according to the type of post; in other words, headquarters or regional depots where shareholders and higher-ranked officers stayed or visited will tend to be bigger, have a higher number of buildings and a larger courtyard, whereas wintering outposts "were of singularly simple construction, often consisting of little more than crudely built log houses[…] and consisted of only one or two structures" (Hamilton 2000: 237).

The floor plans of some of the trade posts used in the present study illustrate the two patterns described by Hamilton. For instance, both John Sayer's Snake River post and François' House use a variation of the row house layout with multiple inner divisions. Sayer's Snake River Post (figure 40) presents a row house with six rooms and four fireplaces. Interestingly, "historical accounts show that many British-era posts in Fond du Lac district were little more than one or 2 rooms often built under adverse conditions, but at Sayer's, the bourgeois "built commodiously," and the resulting post was large by the standards of temporary forts," no doubt due to Sayer's rank within the NWC (Birk 1999a: 119). Indeed Birk proposes that the post represented "the domain of a NWC partner who used the rather imposing size of the fort and of his allotted space within as symbols of his rank and authority" (Birk 2004: 32). A palisade encloses an "area of approximately 500 square meters, with a building of 115 square meters. Two diagonally placed bastions were also present" (Hamilton 1990: 108). Of interest is also the fact that "postmolds within the bastion itself hint that the South bastion may have been furnished with an interior platform" (Birk 1999a: 31).

François' House, a post established by James Finlay and François Leblanc under the nose of the HBC, is also estimated to have followed a row house pattern. In 1773, an HBC officer described the house as

> "a long square … half of it is appropriated to the use of a kitchen; the other half used as a trading room and bedroom with a loft above, the whole length of the building where He lay his furs; also three small log houses, the Men's apartments; the whole enclosed with ten feet [3 meters] Stockades, forming a square of about twenty yards [18 meters]" (in Kehoe 2000: 174),

which corresponds to about 324 square meters. According to Kehoe (2000), the building was a rectangle of 18.3 x 6.7 m. Inside, the "Master's House" closest to the riverbank formed the west end of the post rectangle and measured 6.7 x 4 m; next to this house was a square cabin of 5.8 m, which allowed a narrow courtyard 1.2 meters wide between it and the south stockade wall. The third cabin formed the east end of the post rectangle, and measured 6.7 x 4 m (Kehoe 2000: 177) (figure 41).

On the other hand, the NWC Folle Avoine wintering post on the Yellow River uses a design that is closer to the U-shaped pattern of NWC regional depots (figure 42). It

consisted of “three small buildings enclosed within a palisade equipped with two bastions” (Hamilton 1990: 109). As a wintering outpost, it was relatively small with “a total floor space of approximately 90 square meters and a stockade area of about 230 square meters (Hamilton 1990: 109). “The buildings at Yellow River were arranged along the long axis of the palisades, forming two parallel rows of structures. However the compound was so crowded that there was little area to form a central courtyard” (Hamilton 1990: 109).

The mid-eighteenth century French post 21MO20 on the Little Elk River, associated with sieur Joseph de Marin (Birk 1991) offers a conceptualization of fur trade posts before the NWC’s monopoly south and west of Lake Superior. From a diachronic point of view, the post’s layout bears interesting resemblances to later ones (figure 43), especially in the number of structures and, as we will see later, in the construction techniques. This suggests that the practical knowledge that was transmitted within the community of practice may have originated early on during the French-era of the fur trade. Indeed, the post sat on a low riverside terrace and consisted of three houses associated with trash middens (Martin and Birk 2000). The North structure was the largest of the three, measuring 8 x 14 m, and had two fireplaces and three storage pits. Because of its size, elevated location and associated material culture, the North structure was tentatively christened the “Bourgeois House” (Martin and Birk 2000: 2). The central structure was a small cabin measuring 5 x 7.5 m with two rooms. The south structure’s size is approximately equivalent or slightly larger than the central room. The total floor room thus approximates 190 square meters. Interestingly, the post did not appear to have a palisade wall enclosing the structures.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Réaume’s Leaf River Post’s layout is not well understood from the limited excavations undertaken from 2011 to 2013 (figure 44). However the orientation of the two known fireplaces points to at least two buildings forming two parallel rows of structures, much like the Yellow River NWC post. The relative huge size of the estimated palisaded enclosure (48 x 28 meters, or 1344 square meters), more than twice the size of Sayer’s on the Snake River, points to the likely presence of a third or even fourth building, even though their archaeological traces have

eluded us (though they are present in the mysterious artist's rendering of the post found at the Wadena County Historical Society). However it is also possible that the site had only two buildings, and that the "empty" space of the resulting courtyard was used for other activities, including storage, the drying of game meat in scaffolds, canoe construction, possibly temporary shelters used by Indigenous trading partners (though no strong evidence was found of such an occupation) and so on. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the palisaded enclosure is unusually large when compared to other wintering outposts of the time. Additionally, the apparent change in the Eastern bastion size as suggested by GPR data may point to the presence of an interior platform within the bastion, as was the case at Sayer's Snake River Post. In terms of layout, then, it appears that Réaume's Leaf River Post most likely followed the patterns observed at other posts, rather than that illustrated by Little Round Hill.

Indeed Little Round Hill (figure 45) stands as an outlier in the layout of the occupation and construction techniques with its lack of substantial architecture, indoor stone fireplaces and palisade wall. As Hayes describes in her report (2014), the site rather shows evidence of pit-style dwelling depressions and an activity area centered between the dwellings, which comprises a hearth feature (Hayes 2014). The evidence thus suggests that "the Blacksmith," a trader of French descent associated with this occupation, lived according to his Native trading partners' lifestyle rather than using Euro-Canadian conceptualizations of space.

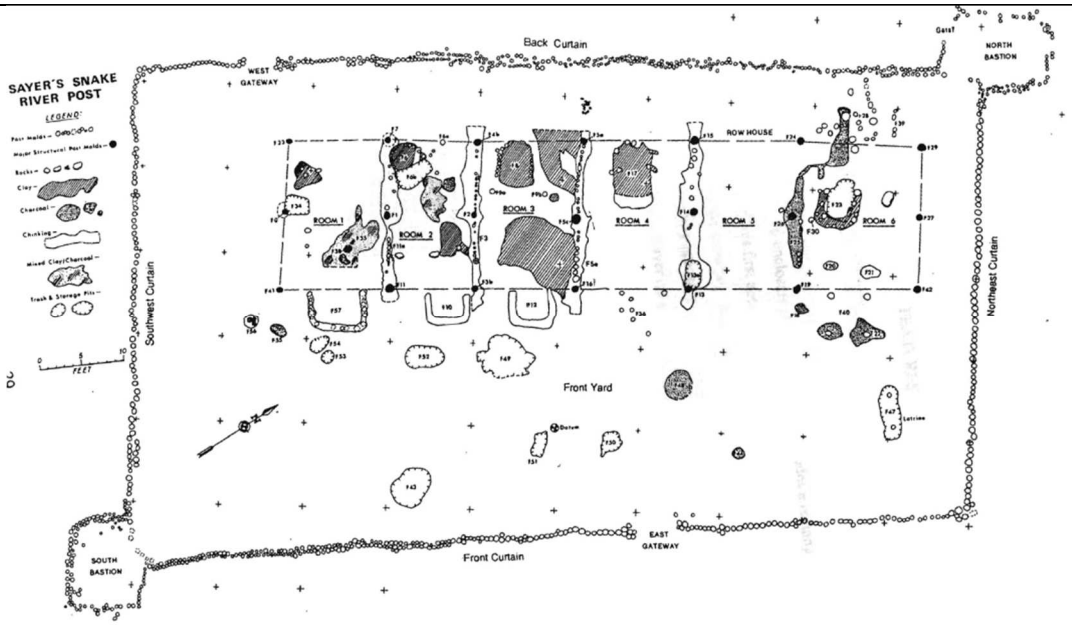
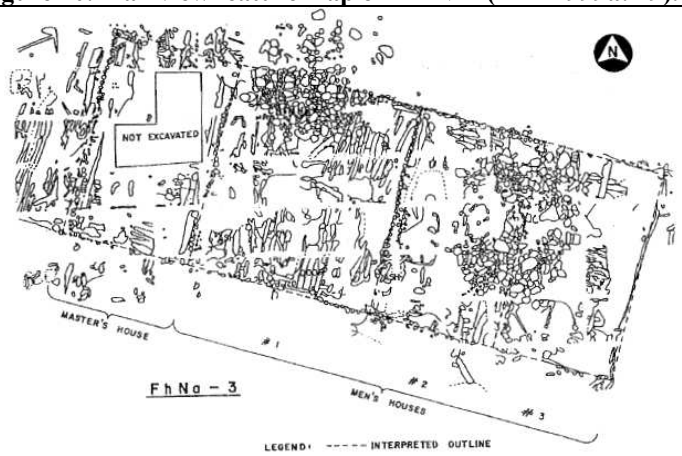


Figure 40. Plan view feature map of 21PN11 (Birk 1999a: 29).



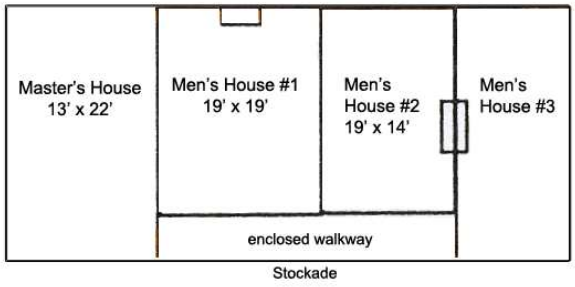


Figure 41. Plan view of FhNa-3 and a hypothesized aerial view of François' House as it may have appeard in ca. 1773 (adapted from Kehoe 2000 : 178).

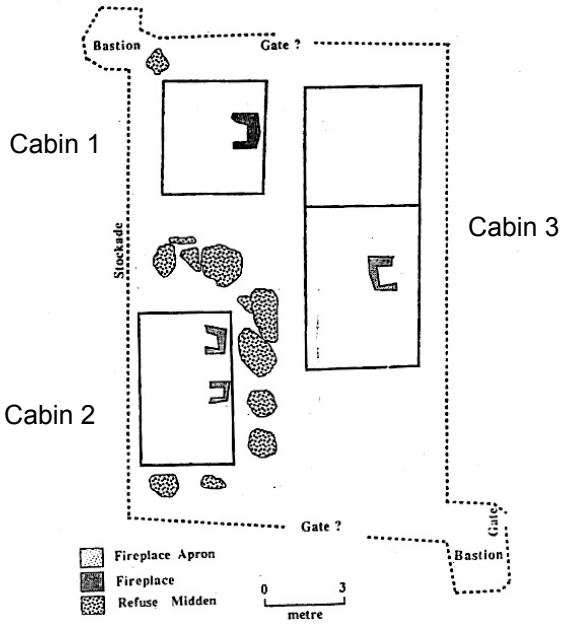


Figure 42. Archaeological sketch of the NWC post on the Yellow River (Hamilton 1990 : 111).

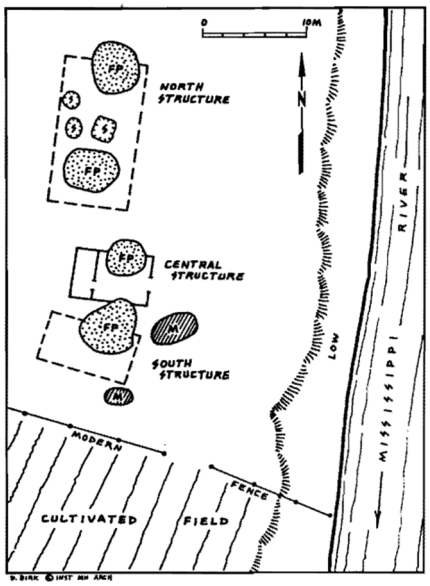


Figure 43. Plan view feature map of 21MO20 (Birk 1991: 248)

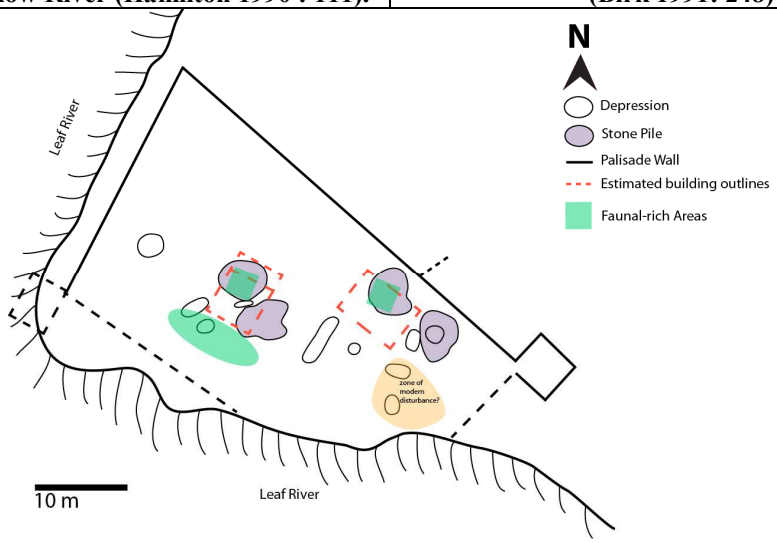


Figure 44. Plan view of archaeological features at Réaume's Leaf River Post, including estimated building outlines of the two known structures.

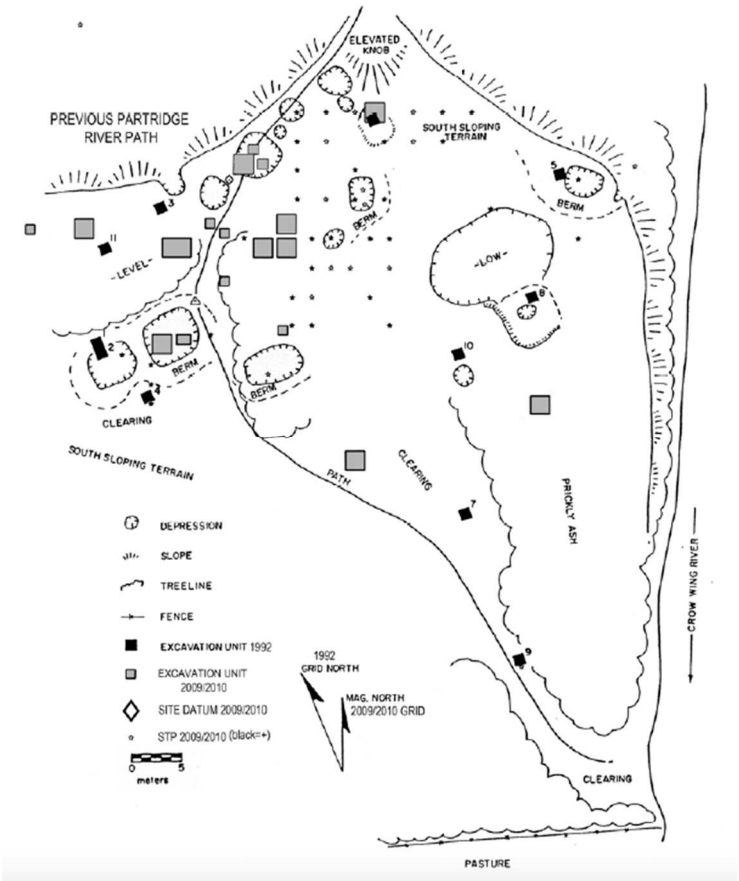


Figure 45. Little Round Hill site map with excavation units and shovel test pits indicated (from Hayes 2014 : p. 47)

a. Construction techniques

Methods commonly used in the construction of fur trade posts included the use of hand hewn vertical timbers set either directly in the ground (*poteaux-en-terre* or *pieux en terre*), which required digging a trench or post-holes to anchor timbers at regular intervals; or pegged into a horizontal wooden sill (*poteaux-sur-sole*) which in turn was set either in the ground or on a stone foundation (Babson 1968: 19; Mann 2003: 128; 2008: 325; Gums 2002: 20; Wonders 1979: 196). A variation of this technique employed a mortise and tenon system of timber framing commonly referred to as *pièce-sur-pièce* construction in which "vertical posts at the corners and at intermediate points along the walls were slotted above their side faces to accommodate tapered ends of horizontal timbers, and squared logs were laid horizontally to meet at the rabbeted corner and served

as crossties“ (Wonders 1979: 196; Babson 1968: 20). North West Company fur trade posts were often associated with this construction technique (Garth 1947) and Wonders goes as far as stating that “fur traders carried the *pièce-sur-pièce* construction westward” (1979: 198). In each of the construction techniques, interstices between the timbers were filled with *pierrotage* (gravel and mortar mixture) or *bouzillage* (mud and clay sometimes mixed with straw or animal hair) (Mann 2003: 129).

Archaeological investigations at the various sites used for comparison in this study suggest that the majority did not use stone foundations and rather used a mix of the techniques mentioned above. At the NWC Yellow River post, for instance, vertical pickets were used for certain walls (front and back) while the posts-on-sill technique was apparently used for the longer sides’ walls (Hamilton 1990: 109). At François’ House all of the walls appear to have been built using a post-in-ground technique: “the first cabin made of spruce logs laid horizontally upon sleepers between, entrenched upright corner posts, with one upright post midway along each of the longer walls” (Kehoe 2000: 175). Interestingly, these construction techniques were also used at Fort St. Joseph (mix of posts-in-ground and posts-on-sill) (Nassaney et al. 2007: 11) and MO20 (Martin and Birk 2000). The latter, much like the other posts under investigation, used a mix of vertical pickets for the north and south walls of the Central structure, while the east and west walls were posts-in-ground (Martin and Birk 2000: 3). Meanwhile at Sayer’s Snake River Post evidence of postholes, post molds and builders’ trench suggest that the main walls were built using a mix of either poteaux-en-terre or pièce-sur-pièce technique while vertical pickets were used for the inner partitions (Birk 1999a).

The lack of stone foundations at Réaume’s, along with the lack of regular posthole evidence, and the occasional presence of a possible builders’ trench suggest that the buildings were probably pine constructions using the post-in-ground technique, with upright logs planted into the ground at regular intervals and horizontal logs placed in-between the vertical ones. The presence of grassy imprints in daub samples suggests that the interstices were filled with *bouzillage*, a mix of clay and grassy materials. Aside from some window glass recovered from the site and architectural hardware (e.g. nails and hinges), the materials used for the construction were local. Interestingly, few stones are

present on and in the vicinity of the river terrace where the site is located. However they were found in surprising numbers in the chimney falls, suggesting that the inhabitants of the post scouted the area and went to the trouble of carrying stones back to the campsite, even though, according to Nelson (Peers and Schenck 2002) stones were not necessary to the construction of a fireplace.

The construction techniques that traders tended to use are commonly associated with the seventeenth and eighteenth-century French presence in North America (Nassaney 2008: 304; also Mazrim 2011) and according to Mann, were used so often that they came be closely associated with a particular *Canadien* identity (Mann 2003; 2008). Since most *engagés* – especially the work force that would have been in charge of such construction – were not educated, it is likely that the knowledge of these techniques was not the result of a formal education, but rather of knowledge transmission on the spot, from old-timers to newcomers. It thus appears that the shared practices of construction techniques was part of those everyday practices that served to create and maintain a community of practitioners, one that traders across the fur trade landscape could relate to and recognize as familiar and incidentally that Native groups would potentially recognize as Euro-Canadian. Moreover, by constructing structures in a familiar way with a familiar design served to produce a particular kind of social space, one that created the expectation of certain behaviors and enacted social boundaries.

3) Power relations and status markers

a. Spatial segregation: architectural and material culture evidence

Hamilton (2000) has shown that even in the smallest of NWC's wintering outposts, "spatial segregation served to reinforce social differentiation between the junior officer and laborers, even if they jointly cohabited a small log house" (Hamilton 2000: 253). He argued that "although shared hardships might instill comradery, junior officers still represented the command hierarchy, and were expected to carry out its orders and maintain discipline" (Hamilton 2000: 244). As others have shown (e.g. Mann 2003; 2008; Birk 1999a) unequal power relations were quite common in fur trade society. However this in no way undermines the idea of their creating a community of practice,

quite the contrary. Indeed, assertions of group boundaries work at multiple levels, and unequal power relations only add to the complexity of community formation processes as they serve to reify, challenge and contest whom may be part of it, and in what capacity.

As Hamilton suggests (1990; 2000), spatial organization and segregation may have been a particularly powerful nonverbal way of reinforcing unequal power relations. In the case of small wintering outposts, the person in charge may communicate status through subtle means, such as the procurement of exotic foods and drinks, distinctive clothing, and of interest to us, spatial segregation - or in our case a separate sleeping room and access to more privacy (Hamilton 2000: 254). At Sayer's Snake River Post, for instance, the distribution of material culture, in particular window glass, and overall arrangements of the shop and fireplaces suggest segregation by rank (Birk 1999a), which is also supported by the historical record (see Birk 1984). The presence of window glass, for instance, is significant in a context where mobility and the canoe-and-portage mode of transportation puts logistical constraints on what kinds of materials were deemed transportable. Window glass, being remarkably fragile, would require prodigious care, which suggests that only people of certain status and wealth could afford taking such an item to the interior.

The presence of a bourgeois of John Sayer's rank had a great impact on the inner division of the post. According to Birk (2004), "Sayer controlled four of the six rooms in the row house [the shop, the store, his dwelling, a bedroom], including more than half the living space and three of the four fireplaces" (Birk 2004: 32) (figure 46). On the other hand, his voyageurs occupied the two remaining rooms, cramped together in a much smaller space, one of which does not appear to have been heated. Additionally, Birk (1999a) explains the odd location of one of the fireplaces – centrally located with the open side of the firebox facing towards the back wall of the house – with the idea of a trade room divided by a counter, which would mean that the "man tending the shop [the clerk] was in the warmest part of the house" (Birk 1999a; also Hamilton 1990: 108). This strange orientation of the fireplace is also found in one of the buildings at the NWC Yellow River post, which was also labeled as the storehouse (Hamilton 1990: 110).

The NWC Yellow River outpost appears to follow similar patterns of ranked spatial organization. The person in charge during the occupation, a trader by the name of La Prairie (WHC 1911) would have occupied an apartment behind the storehouse, while John Sayer and his family would make use of a separate building when visiting the post. Ewen (1986) argues that due to the distribution of status-related artifacts such as pearlware, stoneware and glass fragments, it is likely that the Sayer contingent would have occupied the larger cabin (Cabin 2 on figure 42), while the smaller cabin (Cabin 1) is tentatively associated with the voyageurs. Cabin 3 exhibits the same fireplace disposition as the one at the Snake River Post, suggesting a counter. This cabin is by far the largest and probably acted as the storehouse, trading room and quarters for the clerk, La Prairie (Ewen 1986: 24). The segregation by rank and differential access to privacy thus therefore appears to have reinforced even at this small wintering outpost.

François' House presents an interesting case with regards to the enactment of unequal power relations. According to Kehoe (2000), it stood in "direct defiance of the Anglo-dominated HBC" not only because of its presence within an HBC-controlled area, but also because of François' association with his men: "class distinctions separating officers from hired men were ignored and native customers of the post were treated with neither fear nor distrust" (Mann 2008: 328). François "was not only without formal education, he was openly of the same social status as the men he commended" (Kehoe 2000: 174). However differentiation was still present in the layout of the structure with a separate apartment for François and his family (he married into the country), creating a sense of authority and unequal power relations. The rest of the men would have had to share living quarters. According to Kehoe, ethnic differentiation existed at François' House as well, since "the traders, both the Canadian and the European-born, eschewed Indian artifacts, whether utilitarian or ornamental" and rather appeared "committed to the technology familiar from their childhood" (Kehoe 2000: 179). Indeed objects that Kehoe classifies as "utilitarian Indigenous artifacts" (i.e. sherds, knife) clustered just adjacent to the post walls, which she explains by the presence of the traders' indigenous wives. The presence of the objects' European-made analogues suggests, according to Kehoe, that the

traders chose to use the items they were familiar with rather than use ones of Indigenous manufacture that would perform the same tasks.

Social distinctions of rank appear to have mattered to the previous generations of French traders as well, as is exemplified by MO20. According to Martin and Birk (2000), the size, elevated location and artifacts (e.g. window glass, faience, shoe buckle frame) of the North structure suggest an association with higher ranked-individuals (Martin and Birk 2000: 2). Conversely, absence of window glass and ceramics in the central and south structure suggests that inhabitants were of low status (Martin and Birk 2000: 3). This is not entirely surprising given the title of 'sieur' (an honorary title associated with 'seigneuries' in use until the French Revolution) of Joseph Marin. The French, as well as the British, respected strict class boundaries between the aristocracy (or those of noble blood) and commoners, apparently even in the most remote locations. This brings to the fore that for French Canadians the observance of strict class boundaries was not a novelty that came with the British governance of Canada; however what differed after 1763 was the rhetoric and social practices of British officials that relegated French Canadians to a lower status (see Mann 2003).

At Réaume's the spatial organization is not well understood. Even so, few elements suggest a particular spatial segregation based on rank or even ethnicity. The only clues come from the small amount of window glass as well as the few fragments of refined earthenware (both items deemed luxurious by Martin and Birk (2000)) recovered from the location of the probable trade house. The recovery of items associated with entertainment, such as possible checker pieces, and as well as personal utility (button, gun flints, tobacco pipes) around Stone Pile 4 points to this building corresponding the men's living quarters, suggesting a possible segregation. The significance of tobacco pipes for *Canadien* identities and labor practices as argued by Mann (2004) lends further credence to this interpretation. If Réaume's post followed the tradition observed in other trade posts of the area, the person in charge would have had his sleeping quarters nearest the trade room and "shared the apartment with the more valuable commodities in a bid to prevent theft" (Hamilton 1990: 230), while the rest of the crew would have had their

shared sleeping quarters further away from the trade house. The archaeological at Réaume's Leaf River Post seems to point in that direction.

b. Control of Movement

One way of asserting authority is through the control of movement; who is allowed to go where and when may become a subtle but no less important way of imposing one's authority over others. Here I find my inspiration in De Certeau (1984) among others. De Certeau argues that "if a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g. by a place in which one can move) and interdictions, then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities," thereby transforming spatial signifiers into something else (De Certeau 1984: 98). In his particular case, he demonstrates that walking may become a "tactic of the weak" when it is done against the way it was intended. Secondly, the concept of spatiality as applied by Delle (1998) in his study of power relations at a Jamaican coffee plantation is useful here because it implies that material spaces will be designed and created with the intention of introducing specific behaviors, and that these behaviors in turn are designed to create or perpetuate a set of social relations of productions (Delle 1998: 40). Using this concept, he demonstrates how certain spatial organizations that facilitate control and discipline also contribute to the maintenance of unequal power relations.

In the case of our trade posts, I have already shown that some were designed to accommodate spatial segregation through inner divisions, thereby reinforcing unequal power relations. However the intended paths of circulation, entryways and the presence of a palisade wall also contribute to the control of movement. The best examples come from Sayer's Fort on the Snake River. Indeed, Birk has described (1999a; 2004) how Sayer, as a man of significant rank within the NWC (or at least he considered himself so), also controlled movement within his fort. For instance, Birk suggests that the location of Sayer's dwelling allowed him to monitor the comings and goings of persons through the front gate (2004: 32) (figure 46). More than that, the location of latrines in the northern area of the yard – located almost directly in front of the shop –would have visitors circulate near the latrines to enter the shop, which, Birk suggests, "may be further

evidence of a conscious ploy or a symbolic gesture to discourage loitering among his clientele" (Birk 1999a: 67).

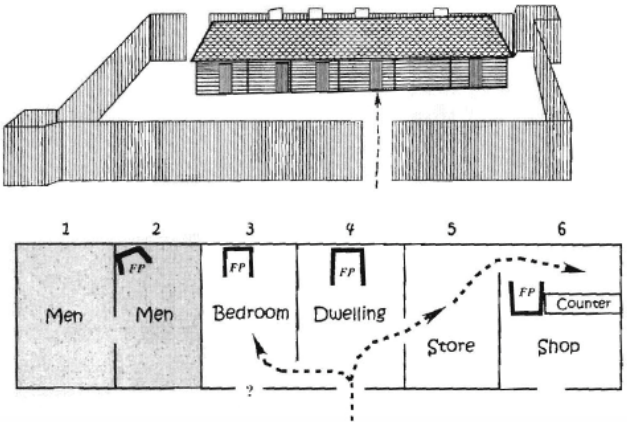


Figure 46. Drawing and aerial view of Sayer's Fort on the Snake River showing the spatial organization of the row house and Sayer's line of sight on the gate (adapted from Birk 2004: 32)

Practically speaking, a palisade wall works to keep wild animals at bay and provide windbreak (Birk 1999a: 32). However the main objective in building a palisade is usually defensive. In fact, the three sites in this study enclosed within a stockade wall (Sayer's, Folle Avoine, Réaume's) were also located in the contested zone between Ojibway and Dakota hunting territories. Fear of a Dakota attack seems constant in Curot's and Nelson's diaries from their time at Folle Avoine (WHC 1911; Peers and Schenck 2002). In fact, on the Yellow River threats of attack from Dakota warriors forced the XYC traders to seek refuge within the bigger NWC enclosure (Hamilton 1990: 109).

John Hay's brief mention of Réaume's post in McKay's journal also makes an enigmatic reference to Dakota threats in the area, when saying that Réaume's fort was built in 1792 "when he was stopped by the [Dakota]" (Quaife 1915). Did Hay mean that threats of Dakota hostilities prevented Réaume from pushing deeper into the contested zone, i.e. that the Dakota presence would have convinced him not to go further, or that the post was under actual threats from the Dakota? It has been suggested that the Dakota may have actually been the ones to set fire to Réaume's post. While the presence of charred materials all over the site does indicate important fire damage, the relatively

small quantity of objects left behind does not point to a hurried departure caused by an attack, but rather points to the traders abandoning the post in the spring, as was typical, and taking with them items of value while leaving behind lost or broken items. Fire may have been set upon their departure (which was a common military strategy to keep enemies from taking hold of a strategic position), or most likely was simply the result of a wild fire. The seasonality of many of the charred macrobotanical remains seems to suggest a late spring or summer fire.

In addition to protecting against potentially hostile strangers, Birk suggests that a stockade wall may also serve to monitor allied Native partners since, at Sayer's post on the Snake River, "Ojibway sometimes plundered or threatened their traders, or might lay mock 'siege,'" usually to demand alcohol (Birk 1999a: 32). Moreover, as will be discussed in great details in another chapter (chapter 9), tensions between the person in charge and the voyageurs sometimes instilled fear in the clerks' minds that the laborers would pilfer or steal from the storeroom. Control, as a form of authority, thus worked at different levels; to monitor allies, both within and without the post, and potentially hostile strangers. The presence of palisade walls at most sites in this area reflects an atmosphere of hostility to be sure, but their presence also suggests a meaning that goes beyond the purely defensive: the palisade also worked to establish and reinforce social boundaries, especially in the case of the NWC, whose palisades were also symbols of British imperialism and control (Birk 1999a: 32; also Hamilton 2000): a clear and visible statement of power in the midst of an altogether Native landscape.

Palisaded posts generally had two entry gates, though their locations varied. In the case of Sayer's Post on the Snake River, one gate faced the river, while the other was placed on the opposite wall, facing inland. At the NWC Yellow River post, archaeological reports do not mention the orientation of the post with regards to the river, however the reconstructed post places the gates at the two far ends of the palisade, none directly facing the river. Rivers, as the major routes within the fur trade landscape, would play an important role in constraining or facilitating movement. During the winter, most rivers would freeze, hindering water traffic and making long journeys across the landscape more difficult. However come spring the rivers opened up again, allowing for

the flow of traffic to resume, bringing sometimes allies, sometimes hostiles. In the cases where palisades were present, bastions were diagonally positioned with the purpose of monitoring both the water and inland travelers, illustrating rivers as important places within the fur trade landscape.

At Réaume's the palisade wall appears to follow the pattern observed at Sayer's Snake River Post, with one bastion directly overlooking the river and another on the opposite end facing inland. There, the terrace is relatively high and one needs to climb a rather steep slope in order to get down to the river or up to the terrace. This makes the location of this site even more defensible. In his sketches and plans of the site (figure 47), Birk identified possible landing areas along the edge of the terrace where canoes could have been carried upwards to the post. If that is the case, then it is likely that a gate would also have faced the river, as we see at Sayer's Snake River post (i.e. where the westernmost landing area is located). A possible footpath that appears on the GPR data also suggests that a second gate may have been present on the NE curtain of the palisade, leading inland, which is consistent with the pattern observed at other posts.

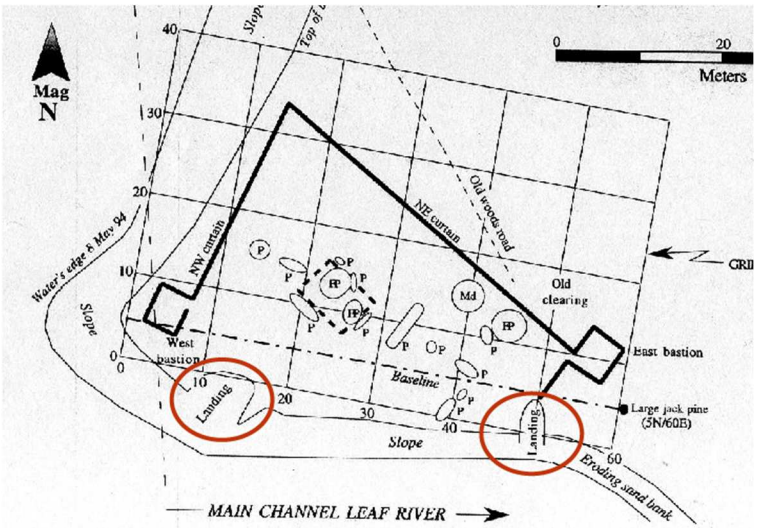


Figure 47. A portion of Birk's sketch of Réaume's Leaf River Post, highlighting the two possible landing areas. (From Birk's unpublished "The Réaume Files")

There is also a possibility (albeit a remote one) that the post was never fully enclosed, as archaeological evidence has yet to ascertain the presence of a third or fourth wall. This presents an interesting possibility, in which the height of the terrace and the steepness of the slope would have been deemed necessary defensive attributes. This would have meant leaving the post's riverside open to river travelers. If that were the case, then Réaume's could represent another example of the pattern observed by Hamilton according to which smaller posts, which generally tend to be more vulnerable to hostilities, would present a more welcoming and open architecture in order to invite trading partners. Indeed, Hamilton notes that in general, "where the greatest risk was apparent from potentially dangerous customers and competitors, we observe the most open and welcoming architecture and social stance" (Hamilton 2000: 249), whereas palisade walls and imposing structures at regional depots where hostilities were not particularly expected, represents "a deliberate attempt to reinforce the social hierarchy and the primacy of the officer ranks, with the laborers being the primary recipients of the visual symbolism" (Hamilton 2000: 249). He concludes that "in general, the more open and welcoming architecture of the wintering posts is consistent with the "trade post as buffer zone" orientation" (Hamilton 1990: 134). The lack of a palisade at MO20 may be a good example of this idea. With the end of the Dakota-Anishinaabeg alliance during the 1730s, the location of Marin's post would have been well within the contested zone, so that the lack of defensive features is surprising. It is possible that, in this particular case at least, the lack of a palisade wall was meant to signal openness and invite Native groups to create alliances. A similar situation is found at Little Round Hill, which is all the more interesting given the orally-transmitted accounts of a battle between the Ojibway and Dakota at this location (Warren 1984). Hayes suggests that the "occupants likely regarded the features of the landscape, including the riverbanks themselves, as reliable defense. The occupants of this site appear, in their general lack of defensiveness, to have belonged there, perhaps assured by their place within a broader network of kin and allies despite the ethnic diversity we tend to assume was significant" (Hayes 2015: 67).

c. Refuse disposal

In his comprehensive study of fur trade post layouts, Hamilton (2000) has found that the ways in which refuse is discarded may also be linked to statements of social status (Hamilton 2000). Indeed, following Pyszczyk's (1978) discussion of several major posts located along the Saskatchewan River, Hamilton correlates the presence of ranked individuals and intended duration of stay with the former's findings that major refuse middens were generally removed from the buildings, and in some cases, were located outside the stockaded compound (Hamilton 1990: 23). When posts sheltered ranked individuals and were expected to be active for several years, "refuse was systematically collected and disposed of in "low visibility" locales, or at least away from the major living areas" (Hamilton 1990: 230). On the other hand, "the small wintering stations suggest quite different standards of sanitation and strategies of refuse disposal," where "refuse was allowed to accumulate on or under the floors of the structures, in disused sub-floor storage pits, and in pits and sheet middens adjacent to the buildings" (Hamilton 1990: 231). He proposes that such is the case because "wintering outposts generally had a very short seasonal use life, [therefore] the accumulation of refuse within the cramped compounds was probably not of practical concern for any of the inhabitants" (Hamilton 2000: 265), as opposed to regional headquarters, where cleanliness was apparently associated with gentlemanly behavior. Interestingly, Hamilton also points out that at wintering posts distinctions in standards of cleanliness are apparent between the quarters of the officer and the laborers (Hamilton 1990: 231), reinforcing the idea that segregation of the ranks was still present even in the crowded wintering posts (Hamilton 1990: 132).

This pattern of relative cleanliness or lack thereof is illustrated by a number of refuse pits surrounding two of the main buildings at the NWC Yellow River post. These pits are in very close proximity to the cabins, in particular to the walls of Cabin 2, forming a stark contrast to the comparatively neat layout and refuse disposal pattern described by Pyszczyk (1978) for regional headquarters along the Saskatchewan River (Hamilton 1990: 109). Sayer's occasional presence at this post would suggest a differential level of cleanliness between buildings, however such does not appear to be the case. In fact, Sayer's Snake River post presents a similar paradox; while Sayer

considered himself a bourgeois and a man of high rank within the NWC, the eight refuse pits "encountered through excavation are indiscriminately scattered around the open courtyard in front of the building, with several more located within the structure", which is more typical of smaller wintering outpost (Hamilton 1990: 108). Apparently John Sayer did not share the same standards of cleanliness of other bourgeois and officers in other areas.

François' House presents another interesting case, where there is no evidence of a large trash pit. Rather, "a good deal of small trash was deposited in ash probably swept out of the hearths, and larger trash may have been tossed over the terrace edge" into the river (Kehoe 2000: 177). Given the site's location on the Saskatchewan River, where Pyszczyk (1978) remarked the pattern mentioned above, could it be that cleanliness standards may have also varied according to region? It is difficult to ascertain, but the apparent cleanliness at the site is noteworthy given the relatively low status of François Leblanc compared to HBC officers in the area.

At MO20, repetitive dumping of refuse in selected areas resulted in the formation of trash piles outside the cabins, some as much as one foot in depth (Martin and Birk 2000: 5). There is also a sheet midden of debris dominated by bone refuse spread over the whole site area between the cabins as well as along the riverbank fronting the cabins" (Martin and Birk 2000: 5). The hearth feature, together with two large ash dumps and the sheet middens provided about 20% of the faunal assemblage recovered from the excavations inside and adjacent to the central structure (Martin and Birk 2000: 3). In his 2000 preliminary analysis, Martin (Martin and Birk 2000: 4) concluded that the fireplace was being used to incinerate refuse, which may signal winter behavior: "if the fort was a winter base camp, the smell of food waste may not have been a problem. However throwing bones into the fireplace was probably handier and would have retained more inside heat than discarding the bones outdoors" (Martin and Birk 2000: 5).

This hypothesis holds for most of the posts here, including Réaume's. There, trash deposits, most often in the form of faunal remains but also small and/or broken artifacts, were found almost in every unit but more heavily in the hearth features of stone piles 2 and 4. Much like MO20, we know from the ash layers recovered from the hearth features

that much of the food remains was thrown into the fire as a means of disposal. Highly burnt and fragmented animal bones were also recovered in other areas, suggesting that the hearths were occasionally emptied outdoors. Moreover, the analysis of faunal remains' distribution brings to the fore another major refuse area, located just south of the "men's house" (Stone Pile 4), where raw and burnt bones are indiscriminately scattered in sheet middens and shallow pits. It appears as though the occupants of that building literally opened the door and threw the trash outside and occasionally butchered animals in the area (see chapter 6 for more details on this).

This appears to have been the standard at other types of sites as well, for at Little Round Hill the discarding of trash appears to also be linked to hearths and firepit features. Indeed, while some trash (usually in the form of calcined animal bone) was recovered in association with what is believed to be pit-dwellings, most of the trash deposits were recovered from the central "activity area" in association with hearth features and firepits (Hayes 2014: 19). It is therefore likely that fire was the main means of trash disposal at the site.

When considering patterns of refuse disposal, the sites under study do not appear to quite follow the patterns observed by Hamilton (1990; 2000), with the exception of François' House, which also represents an outlier in its own right given the relatively low status of the people in charge. Therefore refuse disposal at these particular sites does not necessarily suggest particular rank-related practices. Rather, I would argue that the commonality of discarding practices through fire and indiscriminate broadcast is part of those shared practices across the area's fur trade society that in a way allowed practitioners to enact a community of practice in the fur trade landscape. Occupying trade posts in areas where winters can be brutally cold may have influenced the ways in which daily activities were performed, including trash disposal, and in turn affected the way that the landscape was lived and created. Moreover, the spread of trash outside the buildings and into the courtyards would have created likely paths within the post, thereby affecting movement, and most likely pointing to an indoor daily life during the winter months. Thus the discarding practices served to create a particular lived space that traders across the landscape would recognize as familiar.

Overall Réaume's Leaf River Post provides an 'in-between' place within the fur trade landscape; while the person in charge was not associated directly with a corporation, Réaume appears to have deemed necessary to make some statements about his authority. By enacting architectural practices that were in use in the area, Réaume and his crew made particular statements about the visibility of his post within the fur trade landscape, which, it is worth repeating, was overwhelmingly Native at this time. The huge rectangle of the palisade wall, bastions, likely segregation by rank within the compound, all speak to Réaume's following "the way of doing things" that he observed and no doubt enacted elsewhere, thereby reinforcing his authority over his men and local Native populations. The discard of almost new gun flints also adds to the Réaume paradox in suggesting that he and his crew did not have the flintknapping knowledge required to resharpen used flints – while evidence of heavy reuse has been documented for gun flints at Little Round Hill (Hayes 2014).

On the other hand, we know from his reputation that Réaume had particular aptitudes at dealing with his Native partners, making it appear as if, like François Leblanc, he considered himself their equal rather than their superior. Réaume, much like François Leblanc, thus provides an interesting paradox that the archaeology has yet to elucidate. Nonetheless, this paradox provides a compelling element to my suggestion that some traders, in particular independent ones, and the material remains that they left behind embodied tensions between the need to reinforce social boundaries and the need to have good relationships with their Native traders, or between social differentiation and the creation of a sense of belonging.

Overall then, we can say that a form of place-making occurred at all of these sites through spatial organization and certain practices like construction techniques and refuse disposal. The decision-making process in choosing a site, clearing it, building it, choice regarding the size and whether to erect a palisade or not, all served towards the production of the lived space, sometimes in ways that reinforced hierarchies and differentiation. As Kehoe argues, at François' House "the post itself, [with] rectangular entrenched buildings forming a stockade on a cleared plantation, dramatically contrasted with the Native people's round movable tipis placed in natural openings in the parkland

landscape" (Kehoe 2000: 184) and made a clear statement about social boundaries. Despite this, or because of this negotiation of boundaries, which appears to have been common to all posts, the shared aspects of certain practices illustrate participation in a community of practice. In other words, these practices were learned and negotiated as they were enacted, and their intersection with social relationships and environment created unique places that affected their outcome and performance.

4) Impact of mobility on architectural practices

Another particularity of the lifestyle associated with fur trading in the Western Great Lakes is the degree of mobility that the traders engaged in. Indeed, as I have discussed in further details in chapter 2, the organization of the brigades and their seasonal timing was such that the men wintering in the hinterland were expected to meet their fellow traders and voyageurs at a regional depot (such as Grand Portage) in the summer, gather their outfit and travel hinterland at the end of the summer or the beginning of the fall, winter in the interior to do business with local Native groups, and return to the rendezvous point in the late spring or early summer. This seasonal pattern created a highly mobile workforce that in most cases never truly "settled" in the area they traveled. This aspect of the lifestyle adds an interesting complexity to the ways in which spaces and places, and by extension communities, were produced and enacted. Here I am particularly interested in the ways in which mobility may have affected the materiality of the trade posts under study. I propose that the material remains associated with the spatial organization of the posts embody a tension between colonial ideals of settlement and the need for mobility necessary to maintain a lucrative enterprise. As a side note, an interesting aspect that differentiates the NWC from the HBC is that the former established their posts near Native camps and sent its traders *en dérouine*, that is to say to visit and live among Native groups for a given amount of time, while the HBC generally had Native hunters come to them. While it would be interesting to compare how this difference would have affected the materiality of their respective posts, it is beyond the purview of the present study to undertake such a comparison.

Fort St. Joseph, a mission-garrison-trade post occupied during both the French and British regimes, provides an illustration of what a more permanent outpost in the hinterland may have looked like. While the documentary record offers a great deal of information on some of the events that occurred there, the socio-spatial organization is not understood so fully. However we know that in 1753 there were fifteen houses, and "the number seems to have remained constant over the next two decades" (Nassaney et al. 2007: 6). The outpost also had specialized buildings including a prison and a blacksmith shop. As a more permanent outpost, it is fitting that it should have such a large quantity of structures, and indeed it is to be expected. As I have mentioned above, it is also likely that the construction techniques particular to this time period and area were in the process of becoming almost routinized, or just the way of doing things. As a settlement per se, therefore, Fort St. Joseph differs from the other outposts mostly in its size and degree of specialized activities such as blacksmithing, as well as the sheer quantity of artifacts of all kinds, including those associated with domestic activities (see Nassaney et al. 2007). Details about the discarding of trash are not available, however it would be interesting to see whether they tend towards higher standards of cleanliness. I also propose that the difference between a more permanent settlement such as this one and temporary ones in the Minnesota-Wisconsin area will be found in the foodways, which will be addressed in the following chapter.

At the other end of the spectrum it would make sense that camps designed for mobility would have few buildings, and would be built hurriedly with the use of local materials. In fact, a place like Little Round Hill, with pit-dwellings perhaps built in a wigwam-like fashion would represent an ideal mobile camp, quickly built and quickly dismantled. Yet none of the other wintering stations described above have followed this pattern, perhaps due to a desire for social differentiation between Euro-Canadians and their Native partners. As Kehoe has pointed out, "even an old trader like François Leblanc" who married into the country and lacked rank or a formal education preferred objects of European manufacture to those of indigenous origins (Kehoe 2000: 180). Thus we see at the intersection of a desire for social differentiation and a need for mobility a sort of compromise, in particular with the construction techniques described above.

Indeed, all of them – vertical pickets, posts-in-ground, pièce-sur-pièce, etc. – were remarkably expedient: it took Sayer's men about three weeks to build the entire row house, while it took another two to complete the stockade walls (Birk 2004: 29-30; also Birk 1984; 1999a). They used local materials such as wood and clay that were readily available to them, accelerating the process. Interestingly, Fort St. Joseph was built using the same construction techniques as other posts in the Great Lakes region, suggesting that they had compelling attributes beyond that of being expedient. In fact this adds to the hypothesis that such construction techniques were becoming part of the 'dispositions' of fur trade society.

The ephemerality of occupation may also have played a role in the discarding practices described above; since the posts were not intended for long-term occupation, it mattered little that debris and trash accumulated in the courtyard, especially since it would not particularly affect the hygiene and health of the occupants over the winter.

The material remains associated with architecture and spatial organization at Réaume's Leaf River Post appear to embody, like at the other posts, a tension between mobility and the colonial ideals of settlement, i.e. the need to make statements of Euro-Canadian authority with rectangular structures surrounded by a huge enclosure. Some posts, especially those associated with the NWC even had flagstaffs, reinforcing even more the statement of authority of the company and by extension of the British. Of course, as Witgen (2012) has articulated, this authority was most likely only in the minds of the traders, perhaps even restricted to the higher-ranked individuals who might entertain aggrandizing ideas about themselves. Nevertheless, the presence of such substantial structures suggests an adherence to some of the colonial ideals of settlement. An added example comes from the stone-lined fireplaces at Réaume's; indeed as I mentioned previously stones are not common in the direct vicinity of the site, yet the traders nonetheless went to the trouble of fetching some from another locale and of carrying them back to camp, even though stones were not necessary to the construction of fireplaces. This highlights the motivation that the traders had in building a substantial structure and in turning an unfamiliar area into something that they could recognize and identify with as part of their customs or lifestyles. Considering all this, then, I propose

that sites such as Réaume's embody the tension between colonial ideals of settlement and a need and desire for mobility that were necessary to the lucrative enterprise.

5) Concluding remarks

Broadly speaking, we can surmise that the enactment of architectural practices and decisions regarding layout, size, the presence of defensive structures, etc. played a central role in the production of the lived space within posts and place-making. Inhabiting – or dwelling, to use the phenomenological term – these spaces served to actualize the intersections of bodies, objects, social relations and topographical features: in other words make places. This form of emplacement (after Joyce et al. 2009) also occurred through embodied movement within and across various spaces, a movement which was potentially deployed by those who conceptualized the space to assert authority and enact unequal power relations. Post size, spatial segregation and differential access to privacy appear to have been important nonverbal ways for persons of status to control movement and monitor activities of those considered of lower ranks. The presence of a palisade wall at some posts further supports this idea, in that it allowed traders to monitor both river and land travelers. The enactment of unequal power relations, as well as various shared architectural practices among most of the posts, also points to the community-formation processes that require both differentiation and a sense of shared affiliation for the creation of social boundaries and decisions regarding who is part of this community and in what capacity. In fact, the enactment of unequal power relations reflects this process of negotiation that is constantly involved in the making of internally recognizable social formations.

The following chapter uses a similar comparative framework and continues this line of questioning, however it uses a different dataset: faunal remains. Through the analysis and comparison of the animal bones recovered from these various sites as well as some examples from documentary records, I consider how food-related practices also worked to the creation of a community of practice while also producing the lived space through particular spatial practices.

6. THE LIVED SPACE THROUGH FOOD-RELATED PRACTICES

1) Introduction

In the late eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes, food-related practices had a considerable impact on the ways in which place and its inherent social relations were produced, maintained and negotiated. Fear of starvation during the winter months, and the traders' heavy reliance on their Native trading partners for food provisioning, created a particular stage for both the drawing of social boundaries and the establishment of friendly relationships. Many fur trade scholars have highlighted the ways in which food expresses specific and separate dimensions of identity such as socio-economic status (e.g. Ewen 1986) and ethnicity (e.g. Becker 2004; Cleland 1970; Martin 1991; Scott 2007). In considering food-related activities as part of daily, spatial practices, the goal of this chapter is to add to this corpus in, first, examining the ways in which food and foodways serve to communicate or make statements about an additional scale of identity, namely that of those participating in the fur trading community of practice; and second in considering how these practices worked in place-making or in producing a particular 'lived space' (e.g. Lefebvre 1991).

With regards to the relationship between food and identification processes, I argue that it works simultaneously through the two interconnected processes of social differentiation and affiliation through commensality (or the act of consuming food and/or drinks as a group in order to solidify social ties) (also Allard 2015). These two processes

are closely intertwined: a social "unification happens because commensality first allows for the limits of the group to be redrawn, and its internal hierarchies to be restored and redefined" (Grignon 2001: 24). Through these processes, social differentiation creates a "we" that both brings people together and differentiates them from others. What is eaten, how it is procured as well as the preparation of meals, can provide a conduit for individuals' membership to a group (while being excluded from others) and in this way assert their social identity (Farb and Armelagos 1980: 6; Hastorf and Weismantel 2007: 318).

In our context of interest, in addition to being closely interconnected with personal and group identification, much of the food-related knowledge and practices enacted in the hinterland were transmitted in the field, consciously or through observation of old timers. This transmission of knowledge about particular aspects of foodways, like that of architectural practices, turned newcomers into practitioners and fostered a sense of belonging based on shared practices. However the transmission of knowledge about food, and in particular food procurement, differed from other practical realms in that the knowledge most often came from the traders' Indigenous wives and/or male Native trading partners. This reliance, I argue here and in later chapters, became part of the mobile lifestyle associated with a community of practice revolving around fur trading. In addition to providing an understanding of daily life and place-making, questions related to foodways also afford an avenue for considering the central role that Native people played in creating the community of practice, if not in participating in it.

In this chapter, I focus on the material component of these questions through a comparative examination of the foodways at Réaume's with that of the various sites mentioned in the previous chapters, namely Little Round Hill, Sayer's Snake River Post, the NWC and XY posts on the Yellow River, 21Mo20 and to a lesser extent Fort St. Joseph. Unfortunately a faunal analysis of François' House on the Saskatchewan River in Canada does not appear to have been undertaken (or at least published), so the site will not be part of this section. Specifically, I consider what archaeological studies of faunal remains can tell us about the foodways (meat procurement, preparation and cooking practices) and their role in place-making as well as in fostering a sense of belonging

based on commonalities across the fur trade landscape. It is important to note that the present comparison is based on published data, and incidentally that not all published data are presented in the same way (for example not all studies have detailed analyses of spatial distribution or Minimum Number of Individuals). Also, it is relevant to note that while the use of plant materials was no doubt a very important aspect of fur traders' diet and daily life, in particular local plants like wild rice and corn, paleoethnobotanical studies at the sites under study have not been as fruitful or as consistently undertaken as that of faunal remains, so that the following discussion is logistically restrained to the latter.

Because the popular association between food and place is generally made through a conflation of culinary tradition with a specific geographic location, it is also important to consider here how mobility and uprootedness impacted, altered or defined food's ability to bring people together in the fur trade context. Of course, the choices and practices enacted by the fur trading community of practice were in many ways highly contingent upon logistics, in particular the need for mobility and the constraints related to the canoe-and-portage mode of transportation. In fact, archaeological foodways studies across the Western Great Lakes have shown that the location and relative remoteness of the hinterland posts affected access to some foods, in particular livestock (Scott 2007; Cleland 1970; Martin 1991). However dietary preferences and practices were not determined by logistics alone; taste and predispositions based on other aspects of identity such as ethnicity, socio-economic status and even place, also played a part. I also propose that some food-related practices necessary to a mobile lifestyle such as hunting were made even more meaningful to place-making and a sense of community as it forced traders to venture off the beaten path and thereby making a place where practices were recognized as safe and familiar. Therefore food-related practices may reflect a tension between ideals of settlement (as related to a more permanent home) and the need for mobility.

In considering food-related activities as part of those daily, spatial practices that worked to create a particular 'lived space' (e.g. Lefebvre 1991), this chapter is in three sections: the first details the methods and results of the Réaume's Leaf River Post faunal

analysis; the second considers the role of food-related practices in the creation of a lived space and as part of daily practices that turned traders into a community of practitioners; and the third focuses on the impact of mobility on foodways and the power of food to bring people together.

2) Faunal Analysis Methods and Results: Foodways at Réaume's Leaf River Post

The analysis of the Réaume's Leaf River Post faunal remains started with the careful on-site recovery of bone specimens. The soil from excavation units was systematically passed through 1/8-inch mesh screens, and one half of all features was processed through flotation for the recovery of small bones, objects and macro-botanical remains. Samples were also taken from feature contexts for wet-screening, which also allowed the recovery of smaller refuse, such as trade beads or small bones. Laboratory and statistical analyses of the faunal remains were done in accordance with general zooarchaeological recording protocols (Reitz and Wing 1999; Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984). These began with the recording of the elements represented, taxonomic identifications, specimen counts, bone surface modifications and traces left by taphonomic agents, anatomical features of age, and specimen weight (Reitz and Wing 1999: 147). In order to identify the different taxa in the assemblage, various reference books were used (Hillson 1986; 1992; Gilbert 1990; Reitz and Wing 1999) but most of the identification was achieved by comparing the archaeological specimens with the University of Minnesota's zooarchaeological comparative collection (including the Bell Museum's birds and mammals collections). Following Landon (1996), when a specimen could not be identified to a species or genus, a broader taxonomic category was used, in which case the identification was made to the family or to animal size-range.

In order to address the different activities that are implied in the concept of foodways, such as procurement, preparation, cooking, disposal and so on, analyses related to the relative frequency of specimens in the assemblage were carried out. The number of identified specimens (from now on NISP), refers to a basic count of specimens for a given taxonomic category and is generally used to infer the relative importance of a species in an assemblage, and as a basis for other calculations (Reitz and Wing 1999).

Many factors can affect the NISP. For instance, it does not take into account that animals do not all have the same number of bones in their skeletons, and high levels of fragmentation of certain specimens will over-represent their taxon's importance in the assemblage (Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984: 25). Cultural practices related to transportation, butchering, cooking and disposal, as well as non-human taphonomic agents also impact the specimen count by destroying or dispersing material (Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984: 64; Reitz and Wing 1999: 192). For this reason, zooarchaeologists usually use the specimen count in conjunction with other analyses, such as skeletal part frequency and minimum number of individuals (MNI) (Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984; Reitz and Wing 1999). The analysis of skeletal part frequency can provide information on how butchering may have impacted the assemblage as well as preferences in cuts of meat, help distinguish the role of the animal in the assemblage and possibly determine whether the animals were killed on site or procured in smaller portions elsewhere (Reitz and Wing 1999: 203). For the purpose of this study, the MNI of each species was calculated using the most highly-represented body part and took into account side, cross-mending specimens, and age estimates.

All in all, at Réaume's over 25 000 specimens of animal bones were collected and analyzed, of which a little over 8000 (about 30%) could be identified to family, genus and/or species (see table 2 for the complete taxonomic representation). Faunal remains were distributed unevenly all across the site (figure 48), but were particularly prevalent in certain areas, including a surface trash area South of the buildings which yielded 32% of the total assemblage and 39% of the NISP (see figure 49 for a list of the units making up each area). This area was characterized by a higher incidence of raw bone and a shallow scatter of well-preserved Cervid bone, including moose (figure 50). Additionally, highly fragmented pieces of calcined bone were recovered in great quantities in the two known fireplaces (Stone pile 2 and Stone pile 4), which together made up 60,5% of the faunal assemblage and 53% of the NISP. Excavation units located on the ditch indicative of the palisade wall and shovel test pits excavated within the estimated boundaries of the enclosure yielded but a small quantity of bones, whereas those conducted outside the palisade yielded almost none. Lastly, about 3% of the total assemblage (5% of the NISP)

were scattered in various units across the site.

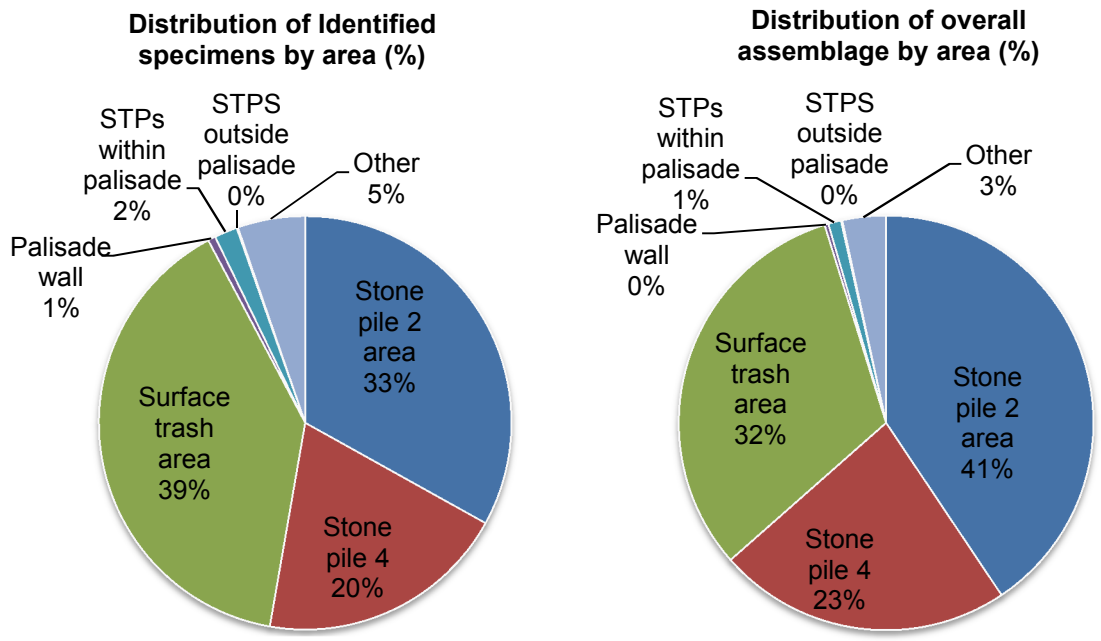


Figure 48. Graphs showing the distribution of faunal remains across various areas at Réaume's Leaf River Post. Left represents the distribution of Identified specimens, while Right shows the distribution of the entire assemblage, including unidentified specimens.

Area	Units
Surface Trash Area	6, 13, 16
Stone Pile 2 (Fireplace)	2, 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
Stone Pile 4 (Fireplace)	3, 12, 17, 7
Palisade Wall	1, 4, 18
Other	10, 14, 20, 26, 27, 5, 11

Figure 49. List of units making up each area or structures at Réaume's Leaf River Post.

a. Taphonomy

Many authors agree that it is important to take a critical view of the factors that influence bone preservation in order to distinguish human and cultural activities from non-human forces, as well as to understand the depositional sequence of the assemblage on the site (Landon 1996: 33; Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984: 8; Reitz and Wing 1999: 110). Observations of bone modifications are represented in figure 51. Evidence of burning and calcination is present on more than 90% of the assemblage, which is not all that

surprising considering that about 53% of all specimens were recovered from the two identified collapsed fireplaces. However, this type of modification has also impacted the identification process, as 94,7% of Indeterminate Vertebrates (or unidentified specimens) showed signs of burning. Indeed, the burning of the bones is partly responsible for their fragmentation and shrinking, which renders them more difficult to identify to specific taxonomic categories (Landon 2002: 355; Reitz and Wing 1999: 133). However, the purposeful fragmentation of bones by human agents, especially leg and foot bones, can also be related to a desire to access the fat and nutrients from the marrow in broth making, in which case "the smaller the fragment, the more grease that is rendered within a given time span" (Pavao-Zuckerman 2011: 13). The breakage of bone to access the marrow is usually associated with "blunt-force blows or crushing and hacking marks as well as green bone fractures" (Pavao-Zuckerman 2011: 10), which are common on long bone specimens in the assemblage. It is thus likely that in the case of Réaume's Leaf River Post, the burning and fragmentation of bones was related to both food preparation in accessing bone marrow, and the deposition of bone refuse in fires or hearths as a means of disposal (Landon 2002: 355). This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that most mammals (81,5%) and birds (85,7%) showed evidence of burning (figure 52).

Figure 50. Shallow bone layer in Unit 13.

Taphonomic factor	% of specimens affected
Burning	90,2
Weathering	4,7
Butchery	0,8
Rodent gnawing	0,09
Carnivore gnawing	0,06

Figure 51. Incidence in percent of bone surface modifications by taphonomic factors from the Réaume faunal assemblage.

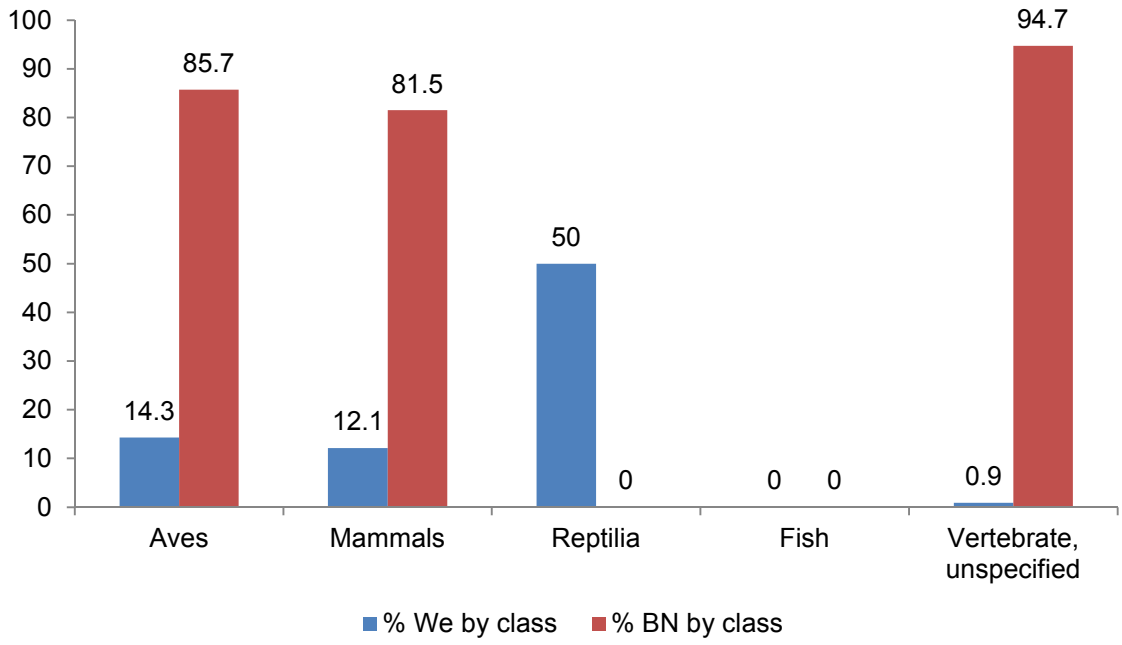


Figure 52. Relative Frequency of Weathering (we) and Burning (bn) Incidences by class from the Réaume faunal assemblage.

Weathering had a minimal impact in the identification process, as only 4,7% of the faunal remains showed various stages of weathering, though all classes were affected (figure 52) with the exception of fish. Weathering occurs when bones are left in open areas that are subjected to the force of the elements, particularly to alternations between wet and dry and hot and cold conditions (Reitz and Wing 1999: 139). The changes of seasons that characterize the Minnesota climate could thus have an impact on unprotected bones. However, the fact that only a small portion of bones shows signs of weathering suggests that most of the bones that were not thrown into the fire for disposal were redeposited in a mostly protected or covered area, most likely in shallow trash pits. The distribution of bones with a higher rate of weathering (more than 30%) also correlates with areas further away from the two main collapsed fireplaces (Units 5, 10, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26), indicating an outdoors indeterminate broadcast discarding technique. The low incidence of rodent (0,09%) and carnivore (0,06%) gnawing may be explained by seasonality and architectural choices respectively. Indeed, the palisade wall enclosing the post would have kept most carnivores away, while rodents would have been a minimal

problem during the winter months.

Lastly, bone modifications related to butchering practices also showed in small numbers on the bones (0,8%), and were found exclusively on mammal bones. Butchery marks are examined in further details later in this chapter, but it may be relevant to note at this point that burning and weathering may have made some butchery marks disappear, or render the cause of other marks, especially cuts and scrapes, ambiguous.

Table 2. Taxonomic representation from the Réaume Leaf River Post faunal assemblage.

Mammals	Common Name	NISP	% by class	MNI	Wgt (g)	Wgt %
Alces alces	Moose	2	0,02	1	50,5	0,62
C.f. *Alces alces*		1	0,01		11	0,14
Cervus canadensis		55	0,63	1	573,8	7,03
C.f. Cervus canadensis	Elk	9	0,1		20	0,25
Cervidae	Cervid	310	3,56	NA	1013,2	12,42
C.f. Cervidae		18	0,21		23	0,28
Large mammal, unspecified		119	1,37	NA	350,7	4,3
Medium to large, unspecified		118	1,36	NA	106,8	1,31
Odocoileus virginianus	White-tailed deer	359	4,13	6	1956,6	24,02
C.f. *Odocoileus virginianus*		36	0,41		34,6	0,42
Ursus americanus	Black bear	9	0,1	1	97,8	1,2
C.f. *Ursus americanus*		6	0,07		94,1	1,15
Medium mammal, unspecified		79	0,91	NA	105,42	1,29
Small to medium, unspecified		11	0,13	NA	10,1	0,12
Castor canadensis	Beaver	32	0,37	2	65,2	0,8
C.f. *Castor canadensis*		6	0,07		5,4	0,07
Erethizontidae	Porcupine	2	0,02	1	0,02	0
Lepus sp.	Hare	1	0,01	1	2,7	0,03
Lynx rufus	Bobcat	2	0,02	1	11,3	0,14
C.f. *Lynx rufus*		1	0,01		3,2	0,04
Mustelidae				2		
C.f. *Taxidea taxus*	Badger	1	0,01	1	0,2	0
C.f. *Martes pennanti*	Fisher	3	0,03	1	1,8	0,02
Vulpes vulpes		1	0,01	1	0,3	0
C.f. *Vulpes vulpes*		1	0,01		1,4	0,02
Ondatra zibethicus	Muskrat	4	0,05	1	0,4	0
C.f. *Ondatra zibethicus*		1	0,01		0,9	0,01
Procyon lotor	Raccoon	3	0,03	1	1,3	0,02
Micromammal (Rodentia)		12	0,13	NA	0,9	0,01
C.f. Micromammal		1	0,01		0	0
Muridae	Mice/rat	3	0,03	NA	0,3	0
Muritae	Mouse	1	0,01	1	0,1	0
Rattus sp.	Rat	23	0,26	1	1	0,01
Sciuridae	Squirrel	2	0,02	1	0,4	0
Small mammal, unspecified		55	0,63	NA	15	0,18
Mammal, Unspecified		7416	85,21	NA	3597,6	44,1
TOTAL		**8703**	**99,96**		**8157,04**	**100**

Table 2. Continued

Taxon	Common Name	NISP	% by class	MNI	Wgt (g)	Wgt %
BIRD						
Anatidae	Duck family	2	3,8	1	0,2	1
C.f. Anatidae		1	1,9		0,2	1
Branta canadensis	Canadian Goose	1	1,9	1	0,5	4
Corvidae	Crow family	2	3,8	1	0	0
Phasianidae	e.g. Grouse	2	3,8	1	0,6	5
C.f. Phasianidae		1	1,9		0,3	3
Bird, unspecified		43	82,9	NA	9,6	86
TOTAL		**52**	**100**		**11,4**	**100**
AMPHIBIAN, unspecified		3	100	1	0	0
FISH, unspecified		9	100	1	0	0
TURTLE						
Testudines		1	50	1	0,6	18,8
C.f. Testudines		1	50		2,6	81,2
VERTEBRATE, unspecified		17089	NA		2500	NA
TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE		**25859**			**10671,9**	

b. Taxonomic representation

A total of 25 859 specimens make up the overall faunal remain assemblage at Réaume's Leaf River Post (table 2), 66,1% of which could not be identified to any categories more specific than Indeterminate Vertebrate because of high levels of fragmentation or other factors discussed above. The rest of the assemblage was identified to class, genus and/or species, and in the case of some of the mammalian bones to animal size. Mammals, with a total count of 8703 specimens, make up 99% of the identified assemblage and are dominated by Cervids (9% of the NISP), as well as fragments of unspecified Cervids, medium and large mammals. The majority of the bones belonging to size categories correspond to cranial, rib, vertebral and long bone shaft fragments that lacked diagnostic features and therefore could not be identified to a specific species. However, it is likely that those identified to a large mammal category belonged to cervids such as Elk and/or Moose.

White-Tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) bones make up about 4,5% of the mammalian assemblage and represent a minimum of 6 individuals (at least 1 juvenile, 2 sub-adults and 2 adults), and the highest proportion of the assemblage weight (24,4%). According to Hickerson (1982) and documentary sources, deer were present in relatively

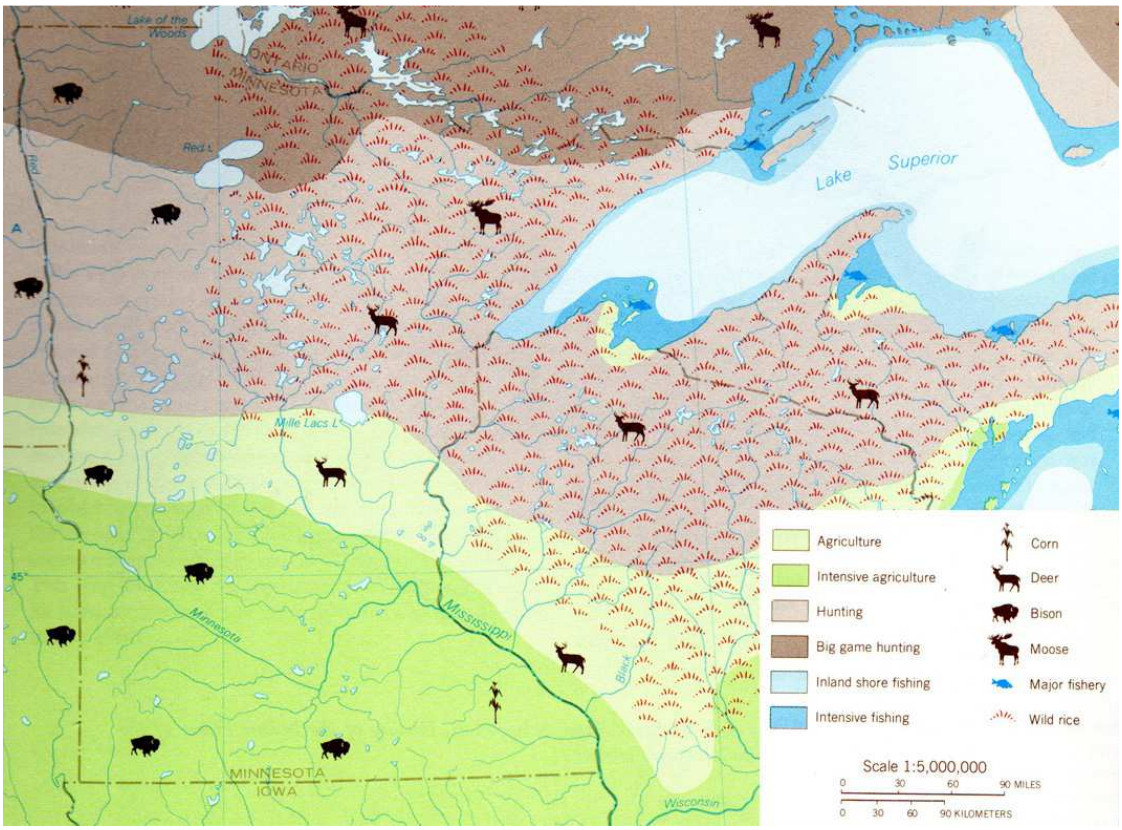


Figure 53. Distribution of major game resources (adapted from Tanner 1987).

high density in the contested area (1982: 114) – which was part of the transitional zone between prairie and boreal forest to the Northeast – as deer prefer open forest habitats and a winter cover of white cedar and coniferous trees (figure 53) (Hickerson 1982: 111).

Deer was thus the focus of attention for Ojibway hunters, especially during winter trapping (Hickerson 1982: 108). Elk, however, as a grazing animal generally prefers prairie and open areas, but was still found in the contested zone, though historical mentions of them are rare (Hickerson 1982: 108). At the site, less than 1% of the mammalian assemblage was identified as Elk (*Cervus canadensis*), and the specimens represent a minimum of 1 individual. Lastly, 3 specimens were tentatively identified as

Moose (*Alces alces*), though they could also represent elk specimens. These specimens came overwhelmingly from the surface trash area and probably represent a punctual butchering event. As a broad category, cervids were recovered from all areas of the site, especially the surface trash area South of the buildings and the two fireplaces (Figure 54).

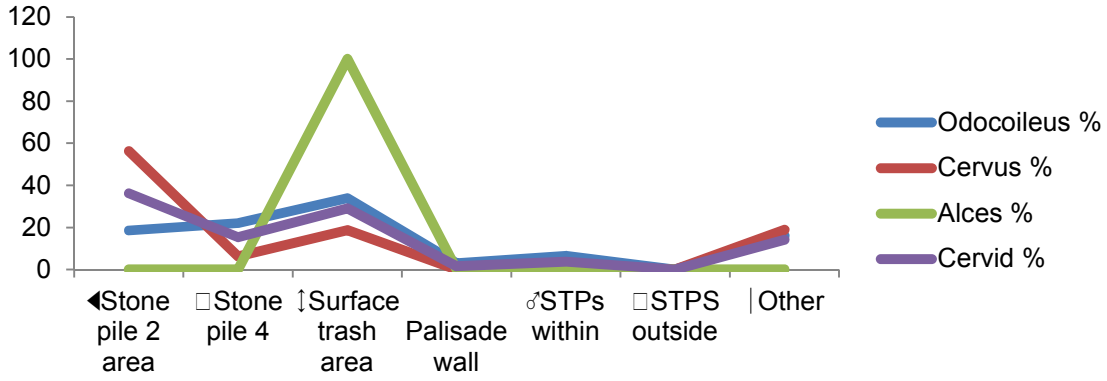


Figure 54. Réaume's Leaf River Post Identified Cervid genera distribution by area. The "Cervid" category represents specimens that could not be identified to a specific genus.

The unspecified medium mammal category, which probably corresponds to deer, black bear and/or large canids and felids, makes up 0,9% of the mammalian assemblages, and may therefore skew the relative frequency for those animals, but does not affect the MNI. Other mammalian bones present in the assemblage correspond to black bear (15 specimens), beaver (38 specimens), and other small mammals that live primarily on streams in woods and prairie such as muskrats (Hickerson 1982: 111). Other mammals probably represent animals killed for their fur (as opposed to their meat) (Winterhalder 1980: 875) and include Mustelids like fishers and badgers, lynx and bobcat. Present in small numbers are also small rodents (squirrels and mice/rats), and porcupine. A "small mammals" category was also used for those bones that could not be positively identified. Overall, large mammals, when including unspecified cervids, make up 39,9% of the identified mammal bones, medium mammals (deer, bear and unspecified medium mammals) 38%, and small mammals 12%. The medium-large category make up 9,2%, while the small-medium category makes up for less than 1% of the mammalian assemblage.

Birds, with 52 identified specimens, make up 0,2% of the identified assemblage.

Identified specimens correspond to Ducks, 1 Canada Goose, 1 member of the crow family, and Phasianidae, possibly from local species of grouse such as Sharp-Tailed Grouse (*Tympanuchus* sp.). The majority of the bird bones (82,3%) remain unspecified because of fragmentation or lack of diagnostic features. Interestingly, 85,7% of bird bones showed evidence of burning or calcination and were recovered from the fireplace in the Stone Pile 2 area (81%), suggesting that these birds were consumed and discarded with other food refuse. Some bird specimens were also recovered in smaller quantities in the surface trash area (15%).

The reptile assemblage is comprised of two turtle bones from an unidentified species: one carapace and one shell fragment that both came from the Stone Pile 2 area. The amphibian class is represented by a small number of specimens belonging to either frogs or toads. While it is possible that they were eaten, it is more likely that they came to the site by non-anthropic means. Only one fish vertebra was recovered at Réaume's site from the top soil layer pointing to a recent and most likely non-anthropic event. That said, a small number (n = 8) of possible fish scales were also recovered in flotation samples from selected features.

c. Butchery Marks

Butchery marks in the Réaume faunal assemblage were found solely on mammalian bones, by a representation of 2%. Butchery patterns are directly related to the slaughter and processing of the carcass for consumption or disposal. While the anatomy of the animals places some constraints on the way that the carcass is prepared, butchering is also a cultural practice influenced by meat preferences and experience (Landon 1996: 58). Butchery marks were present in greater numbers on Cervid specimens, however they were also present in smaller numbers on bear, beaver and fox specimens. The small number of butchery marks in general and the lack of butchery marks on other small mammals may be due to fire-induced bone surface modification, which may prevent their

recognition. This does not necessarily mean that those animals were not skinned on site, or even consumed as there might not have been the need to butcher them into smaller portions in order to cook them. Moreover, certain methods of cooking, such as boiling, also reduce the number of butchery marks on bones (Landon 1996: 94).

Three types of butchery marks were recorded for the Réaume assemblage: cut marks (straight and narrow incised lines), chop marks (small wedges of bone removed), and shear marks (in cases where the bone was chopped through) (Landon 1996: 59). Spiral fractures, indicative of purposeful bone breakage, were not recorded consistently, however they were commonly observed on long bones by the author.

Butchery marks were present on 12% of White-Tailed deer bones and on most elements with the exception of the cervical and caudal vertebrae, scapulae, tibiae and

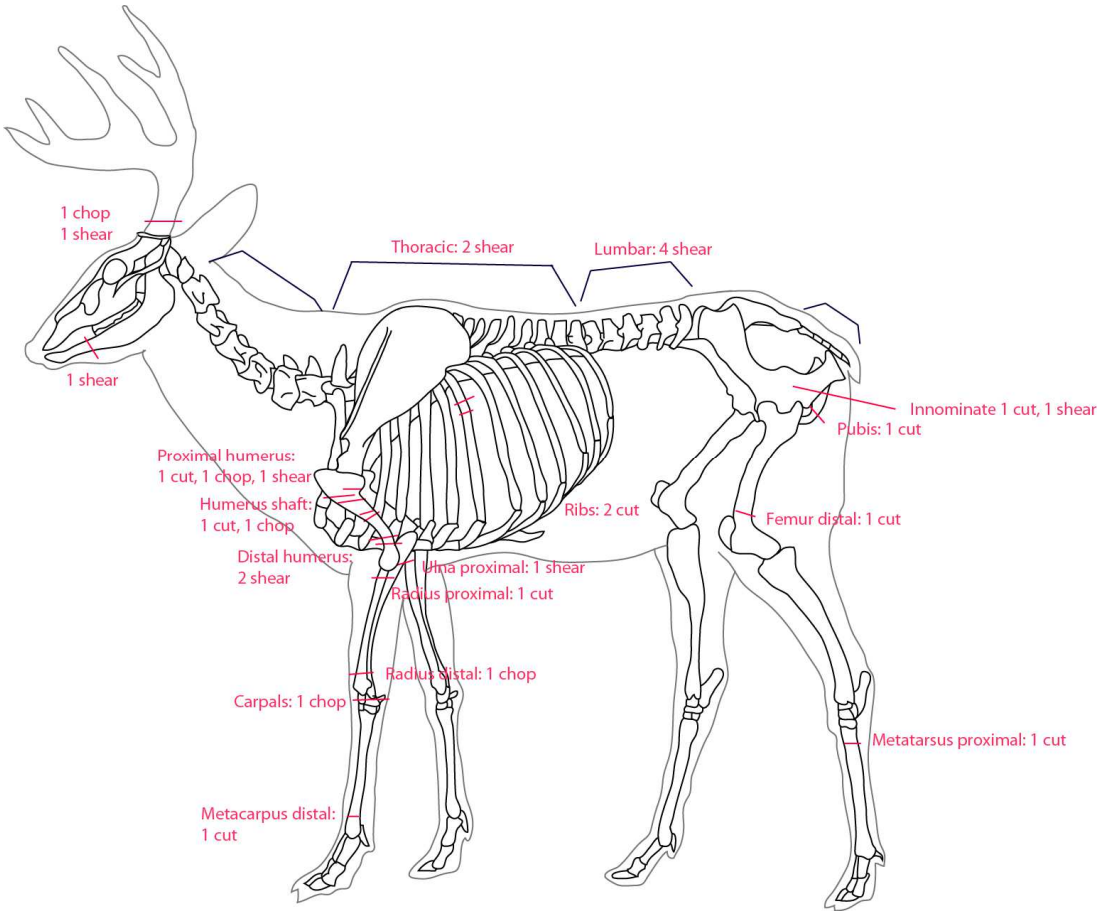


Figure 55. General location and frequency of each occurrence of butchery marks and their type on identified *Odocoileus virginianus* bone specimens from Réaume's Leaf River post.

phalanges. Figure 55 shows the general location and frequency of each occurrence of butchery marks and their type.

In contrast, when considering all butchery marks recorded for all cervids (figure 56), butchery marks are present on all elements, with the exception of the maxilla and phalanges. It thus appears that all stages of butchery are represented on cervid bones; from the initial slaughter and skinning, to the first major division of the carcass into specific portions, and to the final division before or during consumption (Landon 1996: 58-9). Hide processing leaves behind diagnostic skinning marks, such as small cut marks where the skin attaches close to the underlying skeleton, at the distal mandible, premaxilla, phalanges and metapodials (Pavao-Zuckerman 2011: 11). Thus, the cut marks present on Cervid metapodials, carpals and tarsals are suggestive of the skinning process.

Chop and shear marks along the vertebral column and pelvis suggest the longitudinal splitting of the carcass, whereas chop, shear and cut marks on the ribs suggest the removal of the rib slab. The primary disarticulation is also represented with chop and shear marks at the shoulder, ankle, hip and knee joints. Chop and shear marks on the distal end of the scapula and proximal end of the humerus suggest the former's disarticulation from the latter. Similarly, the shear and chop marks on the distal end of humeri suggest that they were disarticulated from the radii-ulnae, which also bore evidence of shear marks at both their proximal and distal ends. The same pattern occurs for the hindlimbs, as one chop mark on the ischium and cut marks on the pubis suggest a disarticulation of the femur, or a division of the innominate bone after the femur was removed. Shear marks on proximal metapodials may also be indicative of disarticulation. Evidence of the carcass being divided into smaller portions is also evident, first with perpendicular cuts across the vertebral column, further marks possibly left by the division of the rib slab into two or three sections, and a chop mark on the humerus shaft that suggests its division into smaller portions. Cut marks on the pelvis and other leg bones are also indicative of division into smaller portions or cuts resulting from meat removal. Also, cuts on a femur shaft suggest that they were done when the meat was cut off the bone for cooking or consumption, and the chopping of unidentifiable long bones and metapodials in mid-shaft suggest getting access to the marrow (Landon 1996: 72-91).

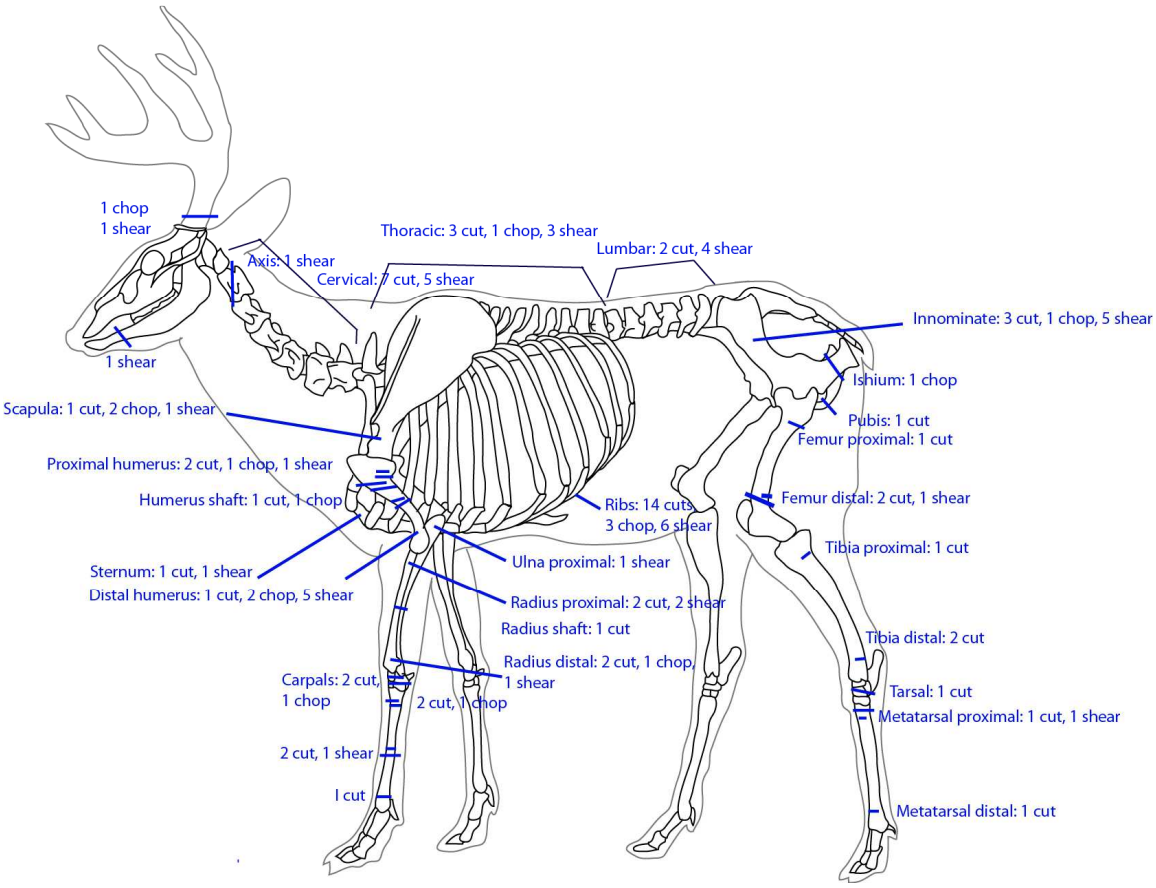


Figure 56. General location and frequency of each occurrence of butchery marks and their type on all specimens belonging to the Cervidae family from Réaume's Leaf River Post.

3) Comparative foodways: Community of practice through common food-related practices

The faunal analysis from Réaume's Leaf River Post provides some hints as to how certain food-related practices were enacted at the post, thereby also enacting the lived space and, through connections beyond the post, creating a unique fur trade landscape that encompassed social relations with Ojibway groups, animals and topographical features such as rivers. This section considers how foodways, or meat procurement, eating and cooking[8], served to create a set of practices particular to this community of practitioners, starting with the decision-making process (or perhaps lack thereof) involved in what types of food were consumed.

[8] The disposal of food waste is also generally considered as part of "foodways," however since the topic was covered in the previous chapter, it would be redundant to have it addressed here.

The variables that impacted architectural practices, such as site function, affiliation with a company or status as a freeman, as well as a desire for status and ethnic differentiation remain of interest here. However I expect that the remoteness of the location of most of posts under study, and the traders' reliance on their Native partners for food, will take precedence over other variables, such as site function and affiliation with a company. Indeed, with the exception of Fort St. Joseph, the sites used for comparison are all more or less small, temporary wintering outposts without military personnel, suggesting commonality and a shared reliance on local wild resources with limited or no access to livestock. Indeed, in his study of French and British foodways at Fort Michilimackinac, Cleland (1970) has found that the presence of military personnel under the British increased lines of communication, which facilitated a greater access to domestic and imported foods (Cleland 1970: 17). On the other hand, the earlier French occupation focused on trade and proselytizing, and was less reliant on domestic species than the British. The nature of the trade posts under study as relatively small, wintering outposts and the absence of military personnel therefore point to similarities in food-related practices regardless of corporate affiliation.

On the other hand, sites associated with big companies such as Sayer's post on the Snake River and the NWC and XY posts on the Yellow River, where the person in charge was usually considered of some standing and where hierarchies were constantly enacted, are expected to have more evidence of status differentiation than those under the purview of a freeman. However this depends upon the question of whom exactly was in charge of food matters; the man in charge or the voyageurs who were responsible for food provisioning? I expect that if food matters were placed in the hands of the person in charge, sites affiliated with corporations and occupied by individuals of higher status (Snake and Yellow Rivers) to have a higher tendency for prized and individualized portions of meat, suggesting table manners associated with aristocratic etiquettes and status differentiation. On the other hand, if food matters were relegated to those of inferior rank within the hierarchy, then differential status may not be so starkly recognized. That said, the absence of markers of difference would not necessarily mean that status was not performed in other forms.

Ethnic differentiation is potentially more difficult to ascertain through the archaeological record without essentializing certain tastes or practices. However there is plenty of evidence for such differentiation and the ways in which certain food-related practices were thought of in the documentary records. For this reason this particular topic will be more fully addressed in chapter 9. That said, according to Cleland (1970), the French at Michilimackinac appear to have consumed more local animals (than domesticates) and enjoyed a greater variety in animal resources, including a variety of birds, and more mammals and less fish than their British counterparts (Cleland 1970: 9). Given what we know of French and British dietary preferences, we would therefore expect the food procurement at Réaume's Leaf River Post, most likely occupied by men of French descent, to follow the pattern associated with small French temporary settlements and other local wintering camps such as MO20 and Little Round Hill, with a heavy reliance on local animals, including deer and waterfowl.

In such a case, provisioning of the posts would have most likely followed Anishinaabeg practices of hunting, trapping and gathering (and trading). We know from documentary records that, while learning some Indigenous hunting practices and skills was prized – in fact bourgeois "wished to be independent of Aboriginal people and thus urged their voyageurs to learn to hunt effectively" (Podruchny 2006: 236) – traders still heavily relied on Indigenous people for food and for transmitting the knowledge necessary to procure it for themselves. In fact, Indigenous people (both men and women) bringing food to trade posts as a payment for their credit was a common affair during the late winter and spring.

Sharing, and in particular the sharing of food, was a deeply-rooted ethos in Ojibway tradition, so that individuals commonly gave food to all comers. "Redistribution of food through sharing and gift-giving was a means by which the Ojibway could [establish relationships] and survive in times of want" (Birk 1993: 38; also Gilman 1992: 73). This is further exemplified by this excerpt from Nelson:

> "A few days after, we came to a place where were two families of Indians. They had killed a moose dear [sic] & the men went out with them to help carrying it home. They at last returned, cooked some & we set down to eat. I found it excellent though it had only been passed thro' the water. […] This

> was the first time I head to eat meat alone, without vegetables or bread" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 48).

Bruce White (1987) argues that a mode of exchange based on reciprocal gift-giving and credit "help[ed] establish a business tie in Ojibway terms – a trusting relationship resulting from a metaphorical kinship – through which trader and Indian overcame the potential hostility of strangers" (B. White 1987: 231). Fictive and not-so-fictive kinships were thus closely entangled with commercial alliances.

Indigenous women were an integral part of this kinship and reciprocity system, as many bourgeois, clerks and voyageurs married Indigenous women. These women often played important roles in the trade and in food provisioning, as they were the ones to manage agriculture and maple sugar production, harvest wild rice, and snared small game (Murphy 2000: 25; Podruchny 2006: 119; Van Kirk 1980: 57-8). "They also butchered the game, processed the furs, and provided moccasins and portable foods for men's missions of diplomacy, war, hunting or trade" (Murphy 2000: 25).

These examples suggest that a similar pattern of food provisioning at Réaume's Leaf River post and the other sites under study may have occurred. In our area of interest, the traders most commonly dealt and formed alliances with the southwestern Ojibway and other Anishinaabe groups. At this time the Ojibway were "seminomadic forest dwellers who placed a primary emphasis on hunting, fishing and gathering for their subsistence. Some, living in more stable settlements, practiced limited corn agriculture, but most engaged in the exploitation of wild rice" (Birk 1993: 11, also Warren 1984: 97). Where that was the case, women were in charge of planting the fields of corn and harvesting the crops (Murphy 2000: 23). Whether practicing agriculture or not, Ojibway "scheduled their time to coincide with the periods of greatest productivity or vulnerability of certain food" (Birk 1993: 31). In a somewhat nostalgic account of Ojibway subsistence practices at La Pointe island (Shagawaumikong) in the years preceding the arrival of French traders in the area, Warren (1984) describes them thus:

> "every stream which emptied into the lake, abounded in beaver, otter, and muskrat, and the fish which swam in its clear water could not be surpassed in quality or quantity in any other spot on earth. They manufactured their nets of the inner bark of the bass and cedar trees, and from the fibres of the nettle. They made think knives from the rib bones

> of the moose and buffalo… With ingeniously made traps and dead-falls, they caught the wily beaver, whose flesh was their most dainty food, and whose skins made them warm blankets. To catch the moose and larger animals, they built long and gradually narrowing inclosures of branches, wherein they would first drive and then kill them, one after another, with their barbed arrows. They also caught them in nooses made of tough hide and hung from a strong bent tree, over the road that these animals commonly travelled to feed, or find water. Bear they caught in dead-falls, which were so unfailing that they have retained their use to this day, in preference to the steel traps of the pale faces" (Warren 1984: 97-98).

Additionally, with regards to winter hunting, Wickman (n.d.), in his historicization of snow and winter landscape for the Wabanaki of Northeastern America, has shown that in Northeastern Native groups winter was considered a time of abundance, for "snowy forested areas" facilitated trapping, which "relied in part on the signs of animal activity" visible on the snow cover. "Indigenous people were adept at reading the snowpack, and considered every sign within its specific context, connecting these observations to complex bodies of knowledge about the activities of animals" (Wickman n.d.). The latter included large game such as deer, elk and moose, but also smaller mammals such as martens, hares, lynx, and porcupines. In fact, Wickman suggests that "porcupine meat was similar to moose meat in representing a thriving winter way of life outside the de facto boundaries of the colonies" (Wickman n.d.).

In sum I propose that expected similarities in foodways across the various sites used for comparison highlight a shared set of practices – many of them learned from Native men and women – that served to not only create a lived space locally, but also reinforced the boundaries of a community of practice that revolved around fur trading, in spite of status or ethnic differentiation. Moreover, this study adds to the growing corpus of data demonstrating that fur traders who traveled to the Western Great Lakes came to enact a particular set of food-related practices that also worked to create the particular lived space (or places) of the fur trade landscape.

a. Choice of animals for consumption

Réaume's overall assemblage is similar to others found in the area in terms of variety (table 3) such as Sayer's Fort on the Snake River (Birk 1999a), Little Round Hill

(Hayes 2014) and both the XY and NWC posts on the Yellow River (in Ewen 1986). At these sites White-tailed deer dominates the assemblage with at least 9 individuals at both Sayer's post and Little Round Hill, 18 individuals at the NWC post on the Yellow River, and 3 at its direct competitor's post (table 3). Bear bones are also well represented in these assemblages, with at least 3 individuals at Sayer's, and one at Little Round Hill. While the MNIs were not calculated for the bear specimens at the Yellow River posts, Ewen (1986) mentions that bear was present at both sites and in higher numbers at the NWC post. Beaver is also well represented at all sites with the exception of Little Round Hill: at least 7 individuals were identified at Sayer's, 6 at the NWC post and 1 at the XY post. Beavers were trapped both for fur and meat - the tail in particular was often considered a delicacy for certain Indigenous groups (Ewen 1986). Also present in these assemblages are hares, woodchuck, raccoon, muskrat, porcupine, marten, fisher, badger, which overall parallels the findings at Réaume's in both variety and quantity. A Bovidae specimen, likely *Bison bison,* was an interesting find recovered from Sayer's Fort on the Snake River that suggests trading networks that extended beyond the woodland to the prairies.

While numbers were not readily available for Mo20, the site's faunal assemblage follows a similar pattern (Martin and Birk 2000) with one difference: that is a higher importance accorded to beaver by count than white-tailed deer, elk and other mammals. This importance accorded to beaver is remarkable given the earlier date of occupation for Mo20 (ca. 1750) and its association with Frenchmen. Indeed, Elizabeth Scott has suggested that, at Michilimackinac, French households accorded a higher importance to beaver meat in their diet than the British households (Scott 2001; 2007). At the time of occupation of MO20, this preference for beaver was supported by higher and more readily accessible populations. Overhunting of beavers and other fur-bearing animals often forced traders to move their endeavors to new areas where populations were not yet depleted. Indeed, such concerns and the hope of finding a richer hunting territory in the contested zone appears to have been on the reasons compelling Cadotte and Réaume's expedition down the Mississippi River. Moreover, the presence of beaver bones at MO20 and other sites suggests that skinning took place there, as opposed to where they were

caught or a hunting camp. Whether Native peoples or the voyageurs performed the task of skinning and preparing the pelts is unknown, however it does raise the possibility of Native peoples' presence at the post and their involvement with the traders there. Conversely the absence of identified beaver at Little Round Hill is surprising given its material and historical association with trade activities. This absence may be explained by differential identification of bone specimens, especially since fire-induced fragmentation characterizes the Little Round Hill assemblage, the processing of beaver hides and meat elsewhere or lack of interest or access. Given Little Round Hill's association with a French independent trader, this differential hunting of beavers seems to suggest that ethnic dietary preferences was not always an important factor in the types of animals consumed.

Taxon	LRH NISP	LRH MNI	XY Y.R. NISP	XY Y.R. MNI	NWC Y.R. NISP	NWC Y.R. MNI	Sayer's S.R. MNI	Réaume NISP	Réaume MNI
White-Tailed Deer	266	9	94	3	586	18	9	395	6
Elk	5	1	0	-	0	-	0	64	1
Moose	0	0	0	-	0	-	0	3	1
Cervid, unspecified	39	5	20	-	438	-	-	328	-
Bear	3	1	3	-	11	-	3	15	1
Raccoon	2	1	0	-	18	-	1	3	-
Porcupine	2	1	0	-	0	-	1	2	1
Rodent	2	1	0	-	0	-	0	42	-
Canidae	2	1	0	-	0	-	-	2	1 (fox)
Carnivore, unspecified	3		0	-	0	-	-	-	-
Hare	1	1	0	-	0	-	1	1	1
Woodchuck	1	1	0	-	0	-	1	0	0
Muskrat	0	0	0	-	23	-	2	4	1
Beaver	0	0	12	1	91	6	7	38	2
Mink	0	0	0	-	1	-	-	0	0
Marten	0	0	0	-	1	-	1	0	0
Fisher	0	0	1	-	20	-	1	3	1
Badger	0	0	1	-	0	-	1	1	1
River Otter	0	0	0	-	29	-	0	0	0
Lynx	0	0	0	-	3	-	0	3	1
Birds	12	n/a	42	-	540	-	78	53	4
Turtle	2	1	0	-	13	-	2	2	2
Fish	n/a	n/a	3	-	450	-	2	9	1

Table 3. Comparative table of NISP and MNI for each taxonomic category when available for Little Round Hill (LRH), the XY post on the Yellow River (XY Y.R.), the NWC fort on the Yellow River (NWC Y.R.), Sayer's fort on the Snake River (Sayer's S.R.) and Réaume's Leaf River Post.

It is also interesting to consider the sheer numbers of NISP and MNIs associated with some of these posts, especially the NWC post on the Yellow River. Comparing numbers may be risky given issues of differential preservation and recovery, especially since the number of occupants for each post is not always known, and the higher numbers may represent an accumulation of refuse over multiple-year occupations. However, it is also possible that the tendency for high numbers of individuals for white-tailed deer at the Snake River post and the NWC's post on the Yellow River are meaningful of an affiliation with corporations and are the result of the NWC's success in their trading endeavors (i.e. had many Native partners to bring them food). NWC traders had several procurement strategies and they were commonly encouraged to 'court' the Ojibway's sense of reciprocity with gifts, especially alcohol (Birk 1999a: 99). Alternatively, clerks often sent their men *en dérouine* to visit with local indigenous households and return with food and sometimes pelts (Birk 1999a: 100). Both of these strategies may have been used at these posts, resulting in the recovered assemblage. Whatever the case, the traders of the NWC appear to have been quite successful and, according to Ewen (1986), more so than their XY counterparts, as I will detail below.

The presence of birds also brings forth comparative value in terms of access and dietary preferences. Indeed, at the NWC's posts on the Snake and Yellow Rivers the avian material recovered has an impressive amount of specimens (with at least 78 individuals for the latter) and variety (see Birk 1999a: 152). While details were not offered for the Yellow River NWC post, at Sayer's it is composed "primarily of leg and wing bones, though a few breasts, backs and vertebrae are included," which is suggestive of particular preparation techniques that removes and discards the legs and wings (Birk 1999a: 152). Interestingly, no such pattern was detected for the Réaume assemblage, which yielded all parts of the bird skeleton with the exception of cranial bones. The absence of the skull elements may be the result of differential preservation and difficulty in identification. At MO20, an impressive bird assemblage was also recovered, primarily from various species of waterfowl, including various species of ducks as well as swan and Canada goose (Martin and Birk 2000: 3-4).

Réaume's assemblage, though not quite as spectacular as those, thus suggests that

waterfowl and other birds were consumed, especially since many of the specimens were recovered from the collapsed fireplaces. Wickman (n.d.) has pointed out that birds were easier to hunt in the early winter because of the trails that they left in the snow, which made them easier to find. Moreover, Birk hints that while hunting big game was usually reserved to members of an Ojibway clan or family, there were apparently no such constraints on bird hunting as many of Sayer's voyageurs constantly hunted waterfowl and other migratory birds (Birk 1993: 51). Unfortunately taxonomic representation for bird bones was not available for the other sites. Nevertheless, the data that we do have shows an interesting similarity between the MO20 bird assemblage and that of later occupations at the NWC posts of the Fond du Lac district and Réaume's. This suggests that the choice of consuming waterfowl and other birds was the result of the transmission of knowledge and practices that had its root with the French fur trade and the influence Indigenous peoples had on them. Moreover, since the majority of the voyageurs at the NWC and XY posts were of French descent, the presence of birds at these sites may parallel Cleland's findings at Michilimackinac where the French households showed a preference for deer and waterfowl.

The relative absence of fish at Réaume's may be surprising given the adjacent presence of the Leaf River and their ubiquity in contemporaneous fur traders journals – in particular those relating the events on the Yellow River as detailed by Michel Curot and George Nelson. The importance of fish in the diet especially stands out in Curot's accounts of his year at the XY post: in every one of his daily entries, he takes note of whom went to check the fish nets, how many fish were caught, and in some cases what species of fish (WHC 1911). He also takes careful note when *no* fish were taken, which occurred regularly during the winter times. This appears to have been of great concern to Curot, because it usually meant relying on Indigenous people's hunting and willingness to share when they struggled to find sustenance themselves.

Despite this prevalence of fish in documentary sources and archaeologically at the NWC post (450 specimens), archaeological data from other sites are more similar to Réaume's assemblage. At MO20 fish remains were rare (but did include white sucker, redhorse and northern pike) (Martin and Birk 2000; also Scott 2007: 250), and so were

they at Sayer's Snake River post (MNI = 2 individuals) (Birk 1999a: 152). While it is possible that the scarcity of fish relates to differential preservation, such was not the case at MO20, where the entirety of the excavated soil was water screened (Birk 2013: personal communication). Rather, it was suggested that this scarcity was due to the season of the occupation, as fish spawn during the spring and the fall, and not in winter (Martin and Birk 2000; Scott 2007: 250). However data from the NWC post on the Yellow River suggest that seasonality was not necessarily a constraint for successful fishing, so that other factors may have played a part in the decision-making process, such as dietary preferences. According to Elizabeth Vibert (2010) and Hamilton (1990: 237), British traders valued red meat over fish, as they considered the latter inferior (Vibert 2010: 128). Paradoxically, the comparative studies of French and British foodways at Michilimackinac (Cleland 1970) suggest that British households consumed more fish than the French households. This could represent a case where the careful negotiation between dietary preferences and taste was overwhelmed by logistical constraints. Indeed, "in the boreal forest or in times of scarcity, even fish were eagerly sought and consumed" (Hamilton 1990: 238).

In sum, it appears that corporate affiliation did not impact the animals that were hunted and consumed as they all relied on local sources for meat. I suggest that this is a result of the location of posts in the hinterland and the traders' reliance on their trading partners, so that perhaps the choice of what animals to eat, especially the mammals, was not so much the traders' as it was the Native men and women's who brought them food. For traders in the Western Great Lakes, choice of what animals to hunt, trap and consume was a constant negotiation between logistical constraints, i.e. what was locally available and provided by Ojibway hunters, and what traders desired to eat based on their predispositions and preferences. In fact, I suggest that faunal remains at Réaume's and other places embody this negotiation. For instance, the overall domination of white-tailed deer and other cervids as well as the common occurrence of waterfowl in the sites' assemblages suggests not only that these animals were available and often killed by Ojibway hunters and possibly traders, but also that they were recognized by traders as familiar and edible. Indeed, the existing comparative studies from Michlimackinac show

that a taste for wild game and its recognition may be related to historical ethnic affiliation. Elizabeth Scott (2007) suggests that French Canadians particularly embraced wild species because the historical association between wild game and the aristocracy in France had restricted accessibility to those of high status. However such restrictions no longer applied in New France, while the value of wild game remained (Scott 2007: 244). Over time then, the consumption of wild game became part of acceptable and valued foodways, and deer as a familiar food item.

The nature of the animals that traders consumed and the negotiation between logistical constraints and dietary preferences were aspects that characterized the lifestyle associated with fur trading in the Western Great Lakes. What foods one consumed, how it was procured, prepared, consumed, and even discarded, all served to create a particular lived space where food-related practices were negotiated, taught from an old-timer to a newcomer, contested, and enacted. The next sections consider particular aspects of food-related practices such as food procurement, cooking and eating practices and their role in the creation of the lived space as well as a community of practice.

b. Food procurement: Reliance on trading partners and hunting

Carolyn Podruchny (2006) has shown that food procurement came to represent an important factor in dictating social hierarchies and relationships in the voyageur world. For instance, inexperienced summer laborers, "Pork Eaters" (*Mangeurs de lard*) were signified by the very provisions they ate, provisions which they did not procure for themselves but which were given to them as part of their contract. Such labels served to differentiate inexperienced laborers from experienced fur traders who took pride in their reliance on wild game. Fur traders thus came to associate hunting skills and the mastery of tasks that were originally associated with Indigenous people – such as manning a canoe across rapids – with masculinity and virility. She argued that "access to food was important in being tough and brave in precarious situations" (Podruchny 2006: 69). Indeed, hunting animals could lead to diminished animal populations and severe food shortages, and "harvesting food resources required specialized skills that could be challenging to men accustomed to farming in a fertile river valley," as most of the

voyageurs were (Podruchny 2006: 234). Thus differential skills served not only as a way of defining who belonged by differentiating between newcomers and old timers but also to define each trader's position within the hierarchy.

Given the agricultural background of many traders and voyageurs, most had to learn to survive in different ways, oftentimes learning new provisioning skills based on Native-style techniques of hunting and cooking (Podruchny 2006: 119-120). For instance, the practice of caching, learned from Indigenous peoples, allowed traders to preserve food in hiding places along well-traveled routes, which "often constituted important resources to travelers" (Podruchny 2006: 120). Michel Curot for instance writes that "He had solemnly promised Smith to go The river au serpent to get wild rice, saying that the savages there had Cached a Great deal" (WHC 1911: 410), or in another instance: "Smith went with Boisvert to the Grande river to look for The rice that his wife had cached" (WHC 1911: 421). In these cases the traders explicitly used Anishinaabeg caches, illustrating that the ideal of sharing that many indigenous groups valued was also apparently also part of fur trade provisioning practices. There are also instances when the traders themselves cached certain items, and not only food.

Hunting wild game was also a valuable skill to learn as good hunters were sought after, regardless of their ethnicity. Documentary sources show that there was a concern for nutritional and diverse diets, especially when it came to the nutritive value of wild rice (Birk 1999: 102): "[Wild rice] is a pleasant food, but, though nourishing, is not fit for a man who works hard" (George Nelson in Peers and Schenck 2002: 57). Therefore meat procurement was an important aspect of daily life at the wintering posts. The presence of musket balls (n= 6, between .56 and .59 inches diameter) at Réaume's support the importance of hunting gear as trade items. Balls of this size were generally intended for use in the N.W. fusils which had a nominal bore of .58 inches (Hamilton 1980: 129). Shots (n= 75) were also recovered in relatively great numbers, pointing to the importance of small game and bird hunting.

While the traders appear to have done some of their own hunting, their subsistence came primarily from the local Ojibway population (Ewen 1986: 17; also Podruchny 2006). Indeed, the Ojibway "allowed some *engagés*, mostly of metis extraction, to

indulge in actual hunting," however the Ojibway and Dakota's rights of access to hunt in particular territories generally excluded non-Indians (Birk 1993: 51). According to Birk (1993), "the sanctions were not without variance, and Sayer's party, for example, was able to engage in netting fish and sport shooting for migratory waterfowl" (Birk 1993: 51). This may suggest that one is more likely to find birds and fish at posts where voyageurs were involved in the provisioning, as was the case at the NWC posts on the Snake and Yellow rivers, where clerks recorded the voyageurs' provisioning activities. Réaume's Leaf River Post being located in the buffer area between Dakota and Ojibway hunting grounds, there hunting rights would not have been clearly defined by either party. In fact, Hickerson suggests that hunting in the contested zone "was carried on, not only by bands of Dakota and [Ojibway], but also at various times by Menomini who held a position of neutrality, and were given permission to exploit the contested sectory" (Hickerson 1982: 111). According to Hickerson, "Menomini exploitation, although involving some hunting, and even harvesting of maple sugar, was chiefly trapping for the fur trade – they were always in direct association with a trading post established for the purpose of dealing with them alone" (Hickerson 1982: 111). With this ambivalence, we can wonder whether Réaume's crew also participated in hunting expeditions.

Documentary sources seem to suggest that men of higher rank, such as clerks and bourgeois, rarely did so as their mandate was to protect the goods, manage the books and dispatch their men *en dérouine* during the winter. As Ewen writes, "Curot's journal is filled with references of trading European goods for meat and wild rice and few references of his men actually hunting" (Ewen 1986: 17). In his study of Sayer's Snake River fort and its associated diary, Birk (1999a) estimated the economic threshold – or the distance/cost vs. reward – that fur traders were willing to reach when looking for resources. He estimated that two hours travel time translated into a distance of about 4-5 miles. Within that range, traders could perform activities such as fishing, fowling and sugaring, however hunting expeditions would require more time and effort, which is why clerks dispatched their men to go *en dérouine* for longer periods of time (Birk 1999a: 104-106). This estimate seems reasonable given the following account by Perrault:

"L'aile du Bec de scie came to Camp near us, that is to say, about Two miles

> distant from the fort, and brought me several things. He slept there. the Next Morning I visited the traps where I took a pretty good fox. Before reaching it I saw the track of a moose which crossed the path. It Was fresh from the night before. I returned to the house, and I sent for L'aile du Bec de Scie. He came immediately and I told him about it. He took my musket and set out at once. He had not been gone twenty minutes when were heard a gun shot. He came back a moment after with the tongue of the animal. I sent him to find the men. He gave me the entire animal and I paid him with a 2 ½ point blanket. This kept us well supplied the rest of the winter until the Indians came in March" (MPHC 1909: 563).

Sending men *en dérouine* was a particularly common provisioning strategy. Perrault, for instance, relates how "we sent the three men who came back the day after their departure loaded with venison and bear-meat, Saying that they found at their camp 14 Deer and a whole bear [provided by la Merde d'Aigle]. We were delighted at that, for we could hardly have held out till spring on the provisions we had" (MPHC 1909: 553). Additionally, body part representation for deer at Sayer's Fort on the Snake River shows high proportions of leg bones, and low proportions of ribs and vertebrae. Birk has suggested that this differential representation is due to "specialized procurement and

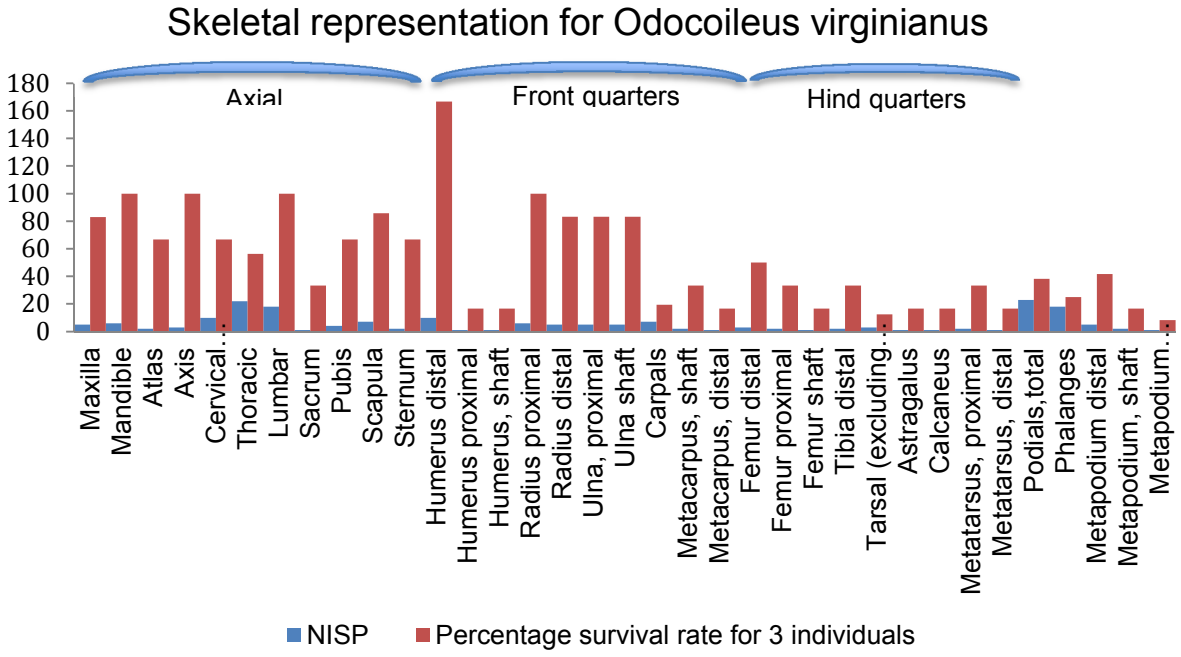


Figure 57. Réaume's Leaf River Post Skeletal representation for *Odocoileus virginianus* showing both NISP (count) and percentage survival rate when assuming the presence of 3 complete carcasses.

butchering techniques" of specific hunters, which favored shoulder cuts and hams, therefore emphasizing the role of Indigenous hunters in the actual hunting of game animals (Birk 1999a: 108; 151).

While it is unlikely that the situation would have been any different at Réaume's, it does not remove the possibility of at least some of the men venturing near the post on hunting expeditions. These men would probably accompany Ojibway hunting parties (rather than venturing on their own), especially given the potential hostility in the environs and the ambivalence regarding hunting rights.

One way to assess hunting responsibilities at Réaume's Leaf River Post is by looking at body part representation of deer and other cervids as a proxy for estimating whether animals were processed on-site (more likely if they were killed near the post) or if they were brought to the site in portioned cuts of meat. My goal here is not to argue for an ethnic division of labor, since determining who did the hunting is extremely difficult, and would defeat the purpose of this chapter, which is to consider identification at a broader level than that of ethnicity and food procurement strategies as something that brought disparate groups of people into a community of practice. Nevertheless, as Birk states, "big-game kills were often processed in the field … Fresh, frozen or dried meats might then accumulate at satellite hunting camps to later reach the trading house as ill-defined "pieces" or "loads", while "game killed near the fort might arrive there in one piece" (Birk 1999a: 81). Thus the body part representation of White-Tailed Deer (figure 57) may provide some clues as to the importance of butchering on site, especially when combined with butchery mark analysis, and suggest whether members of Réaume's party (regardless of their ethnicity) ventured beyond the post to acquire meat.

First, the presence of cranial fragments, teeth, and foot bones – elements that are commonly discarded in the very first stages of field dressing – suggests that some butchering, and possibly skinning, occurred on site. Secondly, the determination of the Minimum Number of Individuals for Deer suggests that at least 6 different individuals are present on site. Moreover, the identification process has led me to suspect that the remains probably include 3 complete carcasses, since many of the elements considered for MNI gave a result of 3 (including the axis, teeth and mandibles, the radius and ulna,

and the femur) with the exception of the humerus (which yielded the highest incidence with at least 6 individuals), and the tibia and atlas, which both rendered an MNI of 2. When taking this pattern into account, it is possible to note an over-representation of the shoulder and an under-representation of the hindquarter, which implies that at least some of the meat was brought to the site in discrete cuts (shoulders). This assessment is also supported by the butchery marks, which are indicative of an apportionment of meat cuts, especially along the ribs and upper limbs. Conversely, the evidence also suggests that in some other cases all stages of butchering happened on site, implying that animals were killed closer to the site, and possibly acquired by the members of Réaume's party through trade *en dérouine* or hunting. This pattern does seem to support the hypothesis that, while some butchering happened on site, there is also strong evidence suggesting that meat was brought to the site in discrete cuts, in particular the shoulders of deer. The pattern of overrepresentation of shoulders and underrepresentation of the hindquarters – which are often considered the best cuts of meat – may illustrate a case where Native trading partners brought deer shoulders to the post as a way to pay off their credit, while they kept the best cuts, the hindquarters, for themselves and their families.

Food provisioning was thus an important aspect of daily life at Réaume's as well as at other places in the fur trade landscape. The shared aspects of the strategies that traders used for food provisioning, including relying on their Native trading partners and Indigenous wives as well as possibly venturing outside the post to fish, fowl and occasionally hunt, were learned on the spot and not only transmitted from old timers to newcomers, but also from Indigenous people to their non-Indian kin. This once again reinforces the notion of a community of practice, which, through shared knowledge and ways of doing things, brought disparate groups of people into a community of practitioners. Yet, as we will see in chapter 9, the involvement of Native peoples within this community was rarely acknowledged by traders, and in fact their rhetoric around food seems to suggest a desire for differentiation.

c. Cooking and Eating: Table manners and status statements

Other food-related practices may also have played a role in the constitution of a community of practice as well as the power relations entangled in this process.

Differentiation through food-related practices is potentially visible archaeologically through an examination of status-related items, such as the presence of luxury tableware, delicacy food items and/or differential distribution of the best cuts of meat[9] (Ewen 1986: 17).

Firstly, the tableware used for eating was sometimes suggestive of status; Birk has argued that ceramic and glass tableware in particular (as opposed to organic materials such as wood, faunal by-product or copper-alloyed) were at this time associated with high-ranking personnel (Birk 1999a: 113). For instance, at MO20 Birk (1991) has related the presence of French faience with a person of higher rank, probably Joseph sieur de Marin. A similar case could be made for Sayer's presence at the NWC posts of the Fond du Lac district, which is associated with a variety of luxury items, such as refined earthenware for the consumption of food as well as tea (Birk 1999a). George Nelson enumerates the kitchen utensils in his possession: "Our kitchen utensils, i.e. mine, were a small Campl or Tin Kettle, I would take a small tin Kettle for my tea. one plate, Knife, fork & Spoon, & a tin Pan, perhaps, when favoured" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 60). As a clerk, Nelson was a member of the higher echelons of the hierarchy, and thus had access to items (such as tea or a tin pan) that men of lower ranks may not have had access to. At Réaume's unfortunately, very few ceramic vessels and utensils were recovered, with the exception of two small fragments of refined earthenware and one pewter spoon (the latter being part of the assemblage recovered with metal detectors), making it difficult to relate such items to status differentiation. However their presence and the recovery of the ceramic pieces near the estimated location of the trade house may point to some status differentiation. Conversely, their almost complete absence may point to Réaume *not* using access to such luxury items as a means of enhancing his status among his fellow traders and Native trading partners.

In his study of hierarchy at the forts Folle Avoine's, Ewen (1986) considered whether food remains could provide information on status-based differences in dietary

[9] The information necessary for the assessment of differential distribution of the best cuts of meat (i.e. spatial distribution of cervid elements) was not available for sites other than the NWC and XY posts on the Yellow River (in Ewen 1986).

preferences and access to food. He proposes that higher status should be reflected in the food refuse of the posts in the following ways: more "delicacy" items, and a higher proportion of the preferred portions of deer (Ewen 1986: 17). The two Yellow River posts (NWC and XY) were built very near each other so as to enhance competition and put pressure on the NWC. Through a careful analysis of the faunal assemblage at both sites, Ewen (1986) has shown that the NWC had "higher standards of frontier living, and more and better quality meat than its competitor the XY" (Ewen 1986: 21). He found more evidence for delicacy items at the NWC post than its XY counterpart as well as a higher ratio of higher-grade meat (Ewen 1986: 21). This, he argues, is related to the NWC's greater influence over the local Indians, resulting in a better quality and quantity of food (Ewen 1986: 17).

According to Ewen, a "delicacy" refers to scarce items prized for taste rather than nutritive qualities (Ewen 1986: 19). In the eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes, such delicacies apparently included beaver meat and tail, which were particularly high in fat, as well as internal organs such as hearts and livers that unfortunately do not leave archaeological traces (Ewen 1986: 17). These were particularly prized by Indigenous groups as highly valuable food items (Ewen 1986). The presence of beaver bones from most of the sites under study, including Réaume, thus points to the traders at least having access to such items – in other words, the whole animal was brought to the site, further implying that the pelts were not necessarily always brought to them already processed. At Réaume's beavers are represented mostly through specimens of crania, teeth and mandibles (n = 20) as well as appendicular elements (n=10). Considering that several beaver bones had been subjected to fire (n = 23, about 70% of beaver specimens) and that several showed evidence of butchery (n = 7), I propose that beavers were hunted both for their pelts and for their meat. While no tail bones (caudal vertebrae) were recovered which would have hinted to the consumption of the 'prized' tail, the spatial distribution[10] of the beaver bone specimens provides an interesting pattern, especially when compared

[10] In looking at spatial distribution of faunal remains, I work under the assumption that foodstuff were most often discarded near the location of their consumption.

to the distribution of other small mammals at the site (figure 58). Indeed, the majority of the beaver bones were recovered from the area near the estimated location of the trading house and Réaume's proposed quarters (Stone Pile 2 area in graph), while only a small percentage of bones were recovered near the crew's living quarters (Stone pile 4 and surface trash area in graph). Even though this distribution may represent differing activity areas, it may also suggest that beaver was consumed more often by the persons living near the trading house, possibly as a delicacy item. This dietary preference may have been used to enhance status of the person consuming them, particularly in the eyes of his Native traders. Conversely, other small mammals, which had lesser appeal as a delicacy, were more evenly distributed and therefore most likely consumed without distinction of rank.

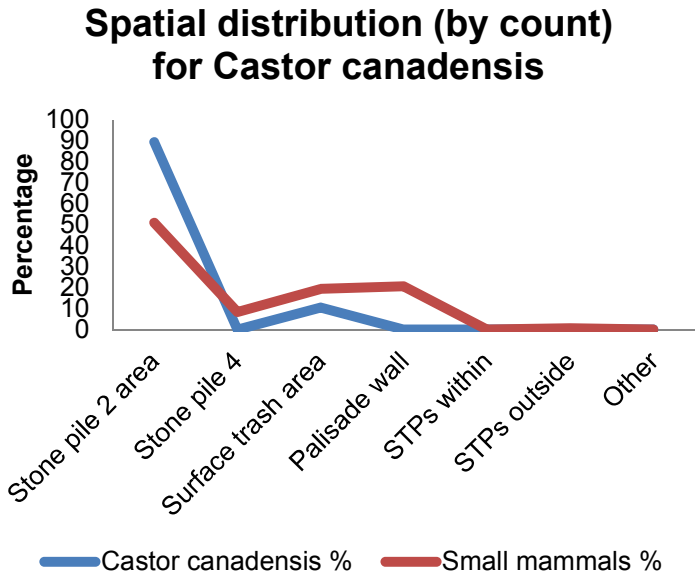
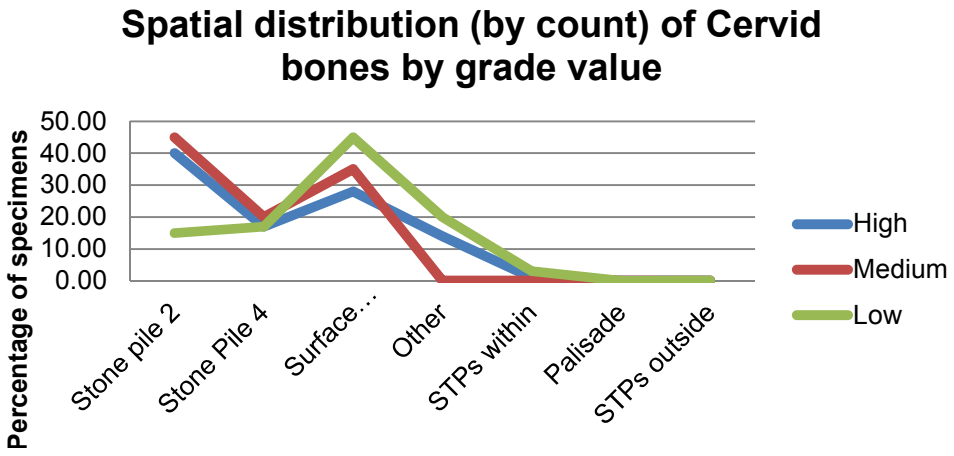


Figure 58. Relative distribution of beaver (*Castor canadensis*) bone specimens and other small mammals at Réaume's Leaf River Post.

The second aspect that may be associated with a display of hierarchized access to food lies in a differential distribution of preferred cuts of meat, especially of deer and other cervids. According to Ewen (1986), the most prized cervid skeletal elements are the hump or backstrap (the filet mignon of beef) (Ewen 1986: 21). Therefore bones associated with the highest grade of meat are the vertebral column, upper leg bones,

shoulder (scapula), and pelvic girdle. Medium grade meat bones comprise the lower leg bones, skull, mandible, ribs, and sternum, while the lowest meat value are found in the face bones, tail and feet (Ewen 1986: 21).

At Réaume's, a study of the relative distribution of elements associated with each grade value (figure 59) suggests that most of the elements associated with high and medium grade meat cuts were recovered near the trading house, while the elements with the least value were recovered primarily from the crew's living quarters. Again, while this distribution may simply be the result of specific activity areas (for instance the recovery of an almost complete cervid skeleton in the surface trash area suggests that this area served as a butchering zone in at least one instance), it may also reflect differential access to preferred cuts of meat. In which case, Réaume would have benefitted more often of the best cuts of meat than the rest of his crew.



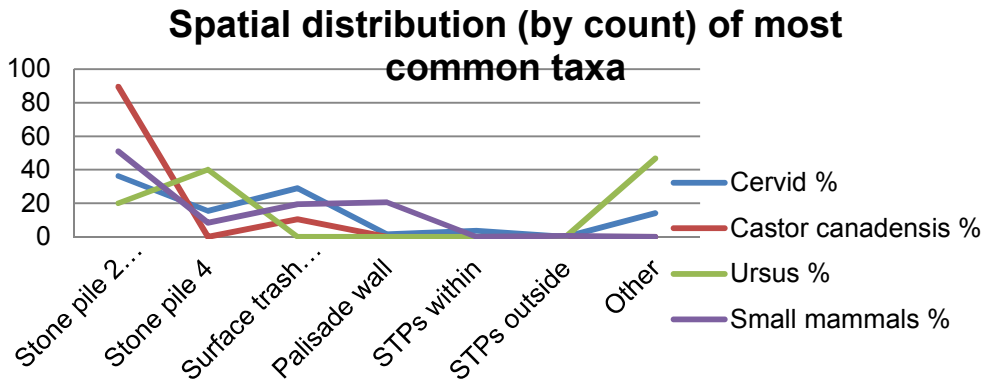


Figure 59. Spatial distribution (by count) of cervid bones by grade value (top) and most common taxa (bottom) at Réaume's Leaf River Post.

Cooking and eating practices may also potentially be used as a means of enhancing one's status. We know from documentary records that traders generally had two meals a day: breakfast and an evening meal (Birk 1999a: 113). Most men apparently knew how to prepare food, including local items, as is illustrated by Curot's account: "I set out and arrived towards eleven O clock […] The Men had Cooked their Corn" (WHC 1911: 401). While most men would have been expected to cook for themselves (Birk 1999a: 113), which could be surprising given the sexual division of labor in Lower Canada at the time, it does appear that the task was reserved for certain individuals, perhaps because they were better at it or simply because the clerk or bourgeois had designated them to the task. For instance, as a clerk Michel Curot appears to have relied mostly on his men to cook for him. In an instance when one of his men threatened to leave, Curot told him that "I had no more rice than would last Tomorrow and the day After, that he caught Very few fish for us to live on […], Telling him again that I was afraid of fasting too much, that I would be in want also during his absence, that I could not live on air for that time" (WHC 1911: 452), clearly indicating his dependence. The preparation of food was thus of much concern, and this particular skill (or lack thereof) may have also have been a status marker that differentiated different people within fur trade society.

Another aspect of eating and cooking practices concerns whether the meals were prepared for group consumption or in individualized portions. Deetz (1996) argued that a

rising occurrence of individual plates during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in North America was linked to a change in attitude, which valued individualism over "corporate emphasis" (Deetz 1996: 85). In other words, it is especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that French and British members of the higher class (and gradually the lower classes) adopted table etiquettes that valued multiple-coursed meals as well as individualized portions rather than group consumption from a common dish (http://placeroyale.archeoquebec.com/changer-de-regime/). The apportionment of meat cuts for individualized consumption at trade posts would thus reflect an attempt at emulating dining practices associated with "gentlemanly" table manners. Such table manners would particularly serve as a means of differentiation from the Indigenous long-valued custom of food-sharing from a "common pot" (Brooks: 2008). I propose that we would see more apportioned cuts of meat if the man in charge was also responsible for cooking, and conversely, that voyageurs having no such concern it is likely that they would prepare food for group consumption if they were responsible of cooking, especially as it is more overall more convenient.

Documentary and faunal evidence from Sayer's Fort on the Snake River seems to suggest the latter, as "large pieces of meat (haunches and shoulders) and bone fragmentation, suggest that meat was seldom apportioned in cuts that might be cooked or served individually – but were most likely hacked for group consumption" (Birk 1999a: 113). This is particularly interesting given Sayer's position as a man of rank and social standing, and may suggest that his men were responsible for cooking and preparing cuts of meat. At Réaume's Leaf River Post, some butchery marks, especially cut marks on front and hind limbs, may be indicative of a division of the meat into smaller cuts, such as shoulder and chuck roasts, chops and spare ribs. Whether these represent individualized portions is difficult to ascertain, however they likely point to cooking techniques such as boiling or roasting that does not require meat to be apportioned individually. On the other hand, the relative under-representation of the hind limbs may suggest that haunches and steaks, though less common at the site, were prepared and reserved for those of higher rank.

It thus appears that in most cases group consumption was still in vogue in the late

eighteenth-century fur trade community of practice. Practically speaking, cooking for group consumption may have been more practical given the remoteness of these posts; we know from documentary sources and archaeological work that cooking techniques generally involved spit or grill roasting of fish and game, as well as boiled "one-pot" meals such as soups and stews (Birk 1999a: 113). Such cooking would have been most easily done through the materials available to voyageurs such as brass kettles, which were commonly used by both fur traders and their Native trading partners[11] (Woolworth and Birk 1975: 59). Soups and stews prepared in this fashion could be flavored with herbs and marrow fat from bone. The influence on group consumption, rather than stemming from European table manners, may have come from Ojibway cooking and eating practices, including placing a high value on food-sharing. As I mentioned before, sharing, and in particular the sharing of food, was a deeply-rooted ethos in Ojibway tradition, so that individuals commonly gave food to all comers. "Redistribution of food through sharing and gift-giving was a means by which the Ojibway could [establish relationships] and survive in times of want" (Birk 1993: 38; also Gilman 1992: 73). Group consumption at these posts may thus reflect similar concerns and the power of commensality in bringing people together.

[11] However it has also been well documented that many Indigenous people re-purposed the brass from the kettle into other items such as personal adornment (e.g. Hayes 2014; Turgeon 1997; Van Dongen 1996)).

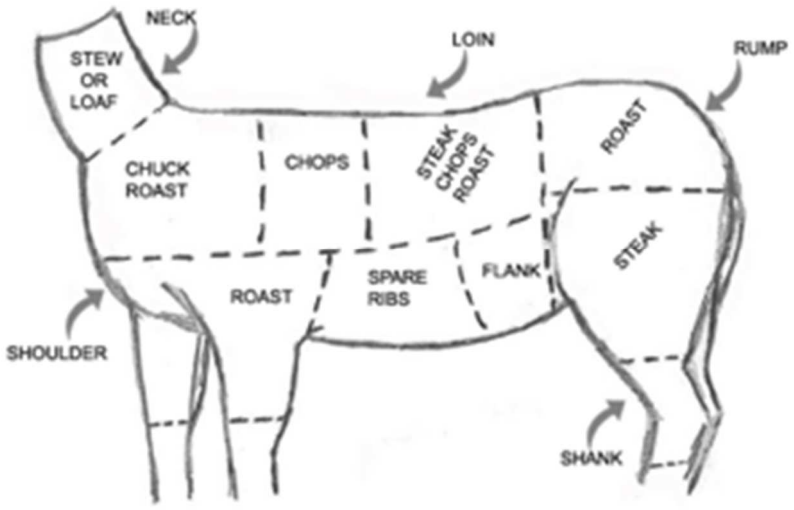


Figure 60. Deer meat cuts. http://peachorcharddeerprocessing.com/pfacts.html. Accessed June 7th 2016.

Additionally, at Réaume's Leaf River Post and Little Round Hill in particular, the high degree of fragmentation of mammalian bones may also point to another important food-related practice: access to fat. Indeed, the fragmentation may be the result of breakage to access the marrow, which could have been used for both broth making and grease manufacture (Pavao-Zuckerman 2011). "Low utility" elements, especially "limb extremities (e.g., metapodials, podials, and phalanges) contain bone grease and fatty tissue that can be rendered by boiling the fragmented specimens" (Pavao-Zuckerman 2011: 16). The practice of bone fragmentation for access to the marrow and grease was common among North American Native peoples as animal fat was used in storage and seasoning of dried meat and could be obtained in units like kegs, cakes and bladders (Birk 1999: 108). Bear fat was used not only to preserve or flavor meats, but also served as hair or body lotion and to repel mosquitoes (Birk 1999a: 108). Wickman (n.d.) argues that for the Wabanaki of Northeastern North America, "animal fats were especially important to survival in a season when people ate large amounts of game meat that in excess could produce protein poisoning." Therefore, finding such a degree of bone fragmentation at Réaume's may represent another incidence of Indigenous influence on the traders' foodways and the activities that served to produce the lived space.

It is also worth mentioning that food storage, as a food-related practice, also may have played a part in the creation of the lived space. Storage practices varied from place to place and techniques included scaffolds (Perrault describes this as "mettre la viande en échafaud" (Cormier 1978: 50)), caches, and storerooms (Birk 1999a: 107). Sun and smoke drying was apparently the most common meat preservation technique (Birk 1999a: 107). I suggest that a portion of the "empty" space within the enclosure at Réaume's Leaf River Post would have been used for such activities, in particular scaffolding of meat for preservation purposes.

All of these food-related practices not only have a spatial component that, through their enactment, helped turn the unfamiliar into the familiar, but they also worked to create the lived space at these different posts. The constant negotiation between logistical constraints and particular food cravings created the stage for the enactment of particular social relations, which were deeply embedded in day-to-day tasks. In many ways, access to food (and lack thereof) dictated the ways in which social relations were established and contested, and in which status and rank was enacted. In this regard Réaume's once more appears to follow the patterns associated with those of the NWC rather than a place like Little Round Hill. Unfortunately, since spatial distribution of the best cuts of meat were not available for Little Round Hill, which I consider a representative example of a site occupied by an independent trader, the assessment that corporations are more likely to have status-related differences than that of independent traders is inconclusive. Nevertheless, Réaume's Leaf River Post, as a particular place in the fur trade landscape, once more appears as a paradox between the need to have successful and friendly dealing with his Native partners (which he did, if we consider the relative quantity and variety of animals they had access to for consumption), and the need for status differentiation. When it comes to ethnic differentiation between his crew and his Native partners, however, the boundaries appear much more fluid, perhaps nonexistent, since the majority of the food-related practices mentioned above were shared and probably learned from their Native trading partners. Places such as trade posts in the remote areas of the Western Great Lakes and their associated practices thus embodied the tensions between colonial ideals of hierarchy and the power of food to solidify social ties.

4) Mobility

Another aspect to consider with regards to the creation of social relations through food is how mobility and uprootedness impacted, altered or defined food's ability to bring people together in the fur trade context. To do so I now turn to Fort St. Joseph and other French settlements in the Illinois Country as examples of more "permanent" occupations to compare with the more temporary occupations at Réaume's and other sites. As I mentioned before, the need for mobility was one of the major factors putting logistical constraints on what foods members of this community on the move could rely on.

The most obvious difference lies in the presence and absence of domesticated animals, which highly correlates with logistical constraints. In his study of French foodways in the Illinois Country, Martin (1991, 2008) has found that "remote outposts … were more dependent on the fur trade and on animal food resources that could be obtained from the local environment," whereas settlements with a larger population had higher number of domesticates (Martin 1991: 197; also Cleland 1970). For instance, Fort de Chartres, considered a large regional distribution center that also hosted a military garrison, yielded 31% of domesticated animals (cattle, pig, chicken), but also deer, bear and a high number of birds (Martin 1991: 192). In contrast, the French outpost of Fort Ouiatenon (in the Wabash River Valley), considered a local distribution center, yielded a wide variety of mammals, birds, turtles and mussels, with an emphasis on White-Tailed deer, waterfowl and wild turkey. However less than 7% of the site's assemblage belonged to domesticated livestock (Martin 1991: 191).

At Fort St. Joseph, also considered a local distribution center, foodways studies have pointed to more local exploitation than "neighboring" agricultural communities such as Cahokia and Fort de Chartres (Becker 2004). Here, white-tailed deer dominates the assemblage over domesticates, though domesticates are present. According to Becker (2004), this suggests that the consumption of food at the Fort was not used by Europeans to maintain social distance from Indigenous groups, but rather highlights the necessity to establish relations with them (Becker 2004: 55-56). Thus the pattern of domestic vs. wild

was not “solely due to difference in availability of domestic species. Colonists at rural forts could have obtained domestic species while people at large forts could have hunted” (Becker 2004: 67). The presence or absence of domesticates at more “permanent” locations therefore does not appear to be strictly determined by logistical constraints and access to such foodstuff, but also to dietary preferences and other social factors. Nevertheless, it is likely that logistical constraints had a higher impact on temporary wintering stations considering how costly (in time, money and risk of the animals not making it) it would have been to bring livestock and other domesticates in the interior. Indeed, the results at all sites under study support this assumption as no domesticates were recovered at any of the sites. Because settling agricultural communities was not a priority for the early British presence in Canada, mobility - in addition to traders' reliance on their Native trading partners - became an even more important factor in the way food was procured.

The second aspect to consider is the impact of mobility on food’s ability to foster a sense of community. Indeed, the popular association between food and place is generally made through a conflation of culinary tradition with a specific geographic location and/or ethnic group, particularly in diaspora studies. I propose that mobility does not automatically negate the power of food as a means of solidifying social ties, quite the opposite. Taking into account theories of structuration, we may surmise that through the process of constant production and reproduction of social relations via practices, foreign food and habits have the potential of being incorporated into routinized and pre-existing practices through their daily consumption and/or gradual insertion (Dietler 2007: 224).

Moreover, uprootedness or being in an unfamiliar environment, like living in a multiethnic context, provides individuals with an alternative set of ways of thinking about food and diet, so that in face of new possibilities people can choose to adopt some of the alien food-related practices (Bryant et al. 2003: 235). In the late eighteenth-century fur trade context, it is through the ways in which those choices were reproduced throughout the community over time and across space (through processes of learning) that I believe the certain aspects of foodways, such as fur traders’ reliance on Indigenous people for food, came to be representative of the lifestyle. The shared uncertainties, fears of

starvation, dealings with Native trading partners and Indigenous wives, and other food-related practices all served to foster a sense of belonging among the practitioners in spite of – or because – of the need for mobility.

5) Concluding remarks

With an assemblage that resembles more that of the NWC posts on the Yellow and Snake Rivers, Réaume thus provides a paradox similar to that brought to fore by architectural practices. Indeed it provides a compelling element to my suggestion that some traders and the material remains that they left behind embodied tensions between the need to reinforce social boundaries and the need to have good relationships with their Native traders, or between social differentiation and the creation of a sense of belonging. The present comparative study suggests that site function and the related remoteness of the location (regional and military depots tend to have more central locations) had a considerable impact on foodways in that it prompted traders and winterers to rely on their Indigenous partners for food and to invest in social relationships with them. On the other hand, affiliation to a company does not seem to have impacted the types of animals chosen, but may have affected the quantity and variety of animals, especially if the company employees were especially successful at their trading endeavors. Status differentiation may also have impacted food-related practices, however since the voyageurs were generally in charge of food procurement and cooking, this differentiation is not always discernable through faunal remains. That said, the evidence at Réaume's Leaf River Post does seem to suggest that the person in charge had access to the best cuts of meat and possibly to delicacy items such as beaver meat. Dietary preferences based on ethnicity are difficult to ascertain, however the presence of deer and waterfowl and the relative lack of fish may be related to French Canadian tastes and predispositions to recognize such items as valuable and familiar.

Like architectural practices, the transmission of knowledge about food-related practices of food procurement, eating and cooking occurred in the field, and oftentimes between Indigenous people and their allied traders. This transmission of knowledge and the reproduction of daily tasks together served to create a particular community of

practice. This community was often contested and had potential for the enactment of power relations. Additionally, food-related practices were also place-making practices that served to create the 'lived space' and, through a mobile lifestyle that took traders across vast distances, created a particular fur trade landscape.

PART III
COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE THROUGH THE PRODUCTION OF CONCEIVED SPACE

7. NARRATIVES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the previous chapters, I have shown the different ways in which questions of place-making and identification could be drawn from the archaeological materials associated with fur traders' activities in the Western Great Lakes. Through their daily engagement with each other and the material world around them, they literally made places, turning an unfamiliar space into something they recognized and potentially identified with as part of shared practices. These processes of community formation and place-making, however, do not merely operate through bodily practices, but are also imagined and represented in "inscribing" practices (after Connerton 1989) such as documentary sources and representations. In the following chapters, I rely on this particular line of evidence and use fur traders' journals and narratives as a means of painting a more comprehensive picture of the ways in which place and community were also imagined, conceived and represented at the intersection of discursive and daily practices. Here my approach is one based in critical theory, which is "concerned with the production of knowledge and how this knowledge is historically situated" (Lyons 2013: 1). Critical theory emphasizes the recognition that "all research enterprises are inescapably embedded in a social context that must be considered and treated as part of

the research question" (Lyons 2013: 1). While I am acutely aware of this process (and how, for instance, my own uprootedness as a graduate student has affected my interest in this topic), in the following chapters my analytical lens is aimed at the critical assessment of the fur traders' writings as a form of history writing per se, with its own system of knowledge production and representation, and particularly as a specific way to engage with the 'Other'. Those narratives are places for colonial representations to emerge and be fashioned, which can later be used in broader historical narratives such as those involved in nationalistic rhetoric. Moreover, such writings set in motion the creation of a new stereotype of the voyageur that still captures the imagination to this day. It is then crucial to critically assess the history-writing process and the ways in which particular narratives are made relevant to historical discourses. Indeed, in trying to understand the relationship between narratives and history, I approach the fur trade narratives as a genre of literature that borders the boundary between history and fiction, but yet that is continually brought into the realm of historical discourse as truth.

Yet, the narratives provide perspectives that differ from broader historical narratives gained from official or colonial sources in that they emphasize the scale of daily life and day-to-day interactions. This latter aspect is particularly useful in addressing the constant negotiation of 'othering' processes based on ethnicity or rank. This process of 'othering' is especially relevant since in contexts of colonial encounters, socially constructed groups and individuals will not only draw social boundaries based on difference and commonality, but will also "evoke geographic imaginations in very different – and competing ways" (Adams et al. 2001: xx). Consequently, I also use these journals for the examination of the ways in which fur traders produced the "conceived space" at the intersection of imagination, representation and discourse. This introductory chapter first offers some details on the narratives I use in this study: the authors, their intended audience, and the archival location of each document. Secondly, I provide more details on my historiographical approach to these documents as a form of history-writing, which underlines the analysis covered in the following chapters. Lastly, I introduce the following chapters in reviewing Lefebvre's idea of the 'conceived space' and the similar historical concept of "geographic imaginary". I draw from these concepts in my

examination of the role of narratives in fur traders' place-making and community-formation processes in chapters 8 and 9.

1) Historical sources

In the following chapters, I rely on journals, diaries and memoirs by George Nelson (Peers and Schenck 2002), Michel Curot (WHC 1911; also Worthington 2010b) – both clerks for the XY company at the turn of the nineteenth century –, lifetime voyageur Jean Baptiste Perrault (Cormier 1978; MPHC 1909), and to a lesser extent NWC clerk François Victoire Malhiot (Worthington 2010a) and others. The following description of each of these authors aims to better contextualize the production of the documents.

George Nelson was native of William Henry (now known as Sorel) a town "about fifty miles down the St. Lawrence River from Montreal" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 4). His parents were "Loyalists whose families had moved to the Montreal area from New York during the American Revolution" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 5). In March 1802, at the age of 16, he signed a five-year contract with the XY Company, the NWC's most direct competitor. "George's choice of career was certainly influenced by his boyish feelings of adventure and romance associated with the fur trade, for which Sorel was a major recruiting center" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 5). Nelson's accounts of his year 1802-1804 as an apprentice clerk on the Yellow River used in this study were actually compiled years later, around 1836 (Peers and Schenck 2002: 4). Contrary to other journals intended for company partners, Nelson's motivations for writing his 1836 reminiscences are more personal:

> "It is proper I should state that I do not write with the view of publishing it; nor is it for the use of my relatives […]. Why then, do I write? First, it is to while away some moments and dissipate some thoughts of melancholy that frequently oppress me. Secondly: to retrace at leisure my past and chequered life: to recall as many of its incidents as I can: to thank & bless God for his affectionate care of me through some particularly, of the scenes: to lament, bewail, & be ashamed from my heart & soul, of those numerous sallies of – folly - ? aye, more than follies; not crimes of blood indeed, thank God, though too often very near it, but of bitter pangs I so often caused, particularly to two who deserved very different treatment at my hands…. Thirdly, as I intend to "try" to have this preserved, so that some one, I hope of my relatives, years to come, may fall upon it & from sheer curiosity may turn over the leaves & see how people fared, & what they had to contend

with “in those days” (Peers and Shenck 2002: 31).

With regards to the types of information that were complied, Nelson does not have the same restraints as traders who wrote for the eyes of their employers, which afforded him more leeway for including anecdotes and personal impressions.

Michel Curot’s personal biography is not understood as well as Nelson’s, however we know that at the time he wrote his journal he was in the employ of the XY company as a clerk and was put in charge of the Yellow River XY post in 1803 (one year after Nelson’s occupation of the same). He wrote specifically for the benefit of the XY partners, whom, like those of the NWC, required their clerks to keep track of business transactions. According to Worthington (2010b), “he was partly educated and wrote a good legible hand” (Worthington 2010b: ii). The original French manuscript of Michel Curot’s *Journal, 1803-1804* is in the Masson Collection, Public Archives of Canada, R2155-0-7-E, Volume 2. An edited English language version was published in 1911 as “A Wisconsin Fur Trader’s Journal, 1803-1804” in the Collections of the State of Historical Society of Wisconsin (WHC), Volume XX, and more recently reprinted in Worthington’s (2010b) “Fur trade reprints”.

Jean Baptiste Perrault’s account is a narrative of the 40 years or so he spent working – or rather *living* – in the fur trade (MPHC 1909). Perrault came from a French Canadian bourgeois merchant family (Cormier 1978: 11). His father kept a shop in Louiseville (Qc), which probably held some connections to the fur trade since he had many business relations with Montreal outfitters (Cormier 1978: 12). Perrault engaged himself in the fur trade after finishing his studies at the Seminary and throughout his life worked for multiple firms, including the NWC between 1793 and 1817 and then the HBC until 1821, the year of the NWC-HBC fusion. He also married into the country and took his wife and nine children with him back to Lower Canada when he retired that year. He was prompted to produce his narrative by Henry Schoolcraft around 1830 when they met at Sault Ste. Marie, years after his retirement. The original was written in French and included multiple sketch maps. Schoolcraft translated the first part of the manuscript and included it in his *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1853). In 1905 historian John Sharpless Fox ‘rediscovered’ the manuscript in the Schoolcraft papers at

the Smithsonian Institute, and translated and published it in its entirety in the 1909-1910 edition of the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (MPHC), XXXVII. The original French manuscript, which was also published in Cormier (1978), is now in the archives at the Library of Congress.

François Victoire Malhiot (1776-1840) was also a French Canadian who, at fifteen years old became "an articled clerk for the North West Company" (Worthington 2010a: iii). After spending multiple years in the Red River and Assiniboine NWC departments, he was appointed in 1804 to take charge of a post to the south of Lake Superior. Malhiot's diary, made available by Worthington (2010a), was addressed to the partners of the NWC and details his activities in the Lac du Flambeau (Wi) area that year. Worthington's volume brings together the French and British language versions of Malhiot's journal, which were first printed in 1889 and 1910 respectively.

Unfortunately, writings from Joseph Réaume's hand – if they exist – have yet to be recovered, even though Réaume was most likely literate as we know from other clerks' journals (e.g. Curot's in WHC 1911) that he often corresponded with other partners through letters. However, as chapter 2 has shown, his name appears in many of his colleagues' writings, including Curot, Nelson and Perrault. That being so, I work with the assumption that, Réaume being a part of this community, the conceptions and relationships that these men shared as part of a community of practice are relevant to the examination of the fur trade community on the move more broadly and Réaume's Leaf River Post's place within the Western Great Lakes fur trade landscape.

My reasons for choosing these particular journals are two-fold: first many of these narratives overlap in time, space and people, supporting the idea of this group of laborers as a community. While working in the area that covered mostly Wisconsin and Minnesota at the same period, these men – including Joseph Réaume – all knew each other if not personally, than at least by name. For instance, Curot records his thoughts of various people and his sometimes difficult dealings with particular contentious voyageurs under his command. Incidentally, Nelson also experienced difficulties with these particular men, which were heightened in his case by differences in language (English vs French) and religion (Protestant vs Catholic). While Perrault did not have the same

experience, he spent most of the 1790's in our region of interest, particularly in the area south of Lake superior (Prairie-du-Chien, Green Bay) and in present-day Minnesota (particularly Sandy Lake and Fond du Lac) and knew many of the traders that appear in other journals (for instance he mentions the Cadotte/Réaume expedition- see chapter 2), making him a part of this particular community. Malhiot's journal deals with a slightly different – but still relevant – area (Lac au Flambeau, Wi), and for this reason will be less of a focus in the present study. However some of his attitudes are noteworthy and work to provide additional support to my arguments.

Secondly, these particular traders were remarkably literary in their writing, providing opinions and thoughts on various subjects, and did so in a narrative form (as opposed to dry, daily entries strictly about business transactions). As such they provide invaluable insight into their own perspectives, as well as the people and places with which they interacted.

Additionally, the retrospective aspect of both Nelson's and Perrault's accounts adds another dimension to their writing, namely that they include multiple stories and anecdotes, especially with regards to their interactions with Native people. Reminiscing is a powerful tool for place-making and for people to relate to unfamiliar worlds. A second aspect that connects these two particular narratives is the period of their production in the 1830s. This period saw the emergence of nationalistic and patriotic feelings in Canada (and arguably in the United States as well), and reflects a moment in historiography when certain aspects of the past were glorified, such as the fur trade, or forgotten, such as the existence of slavery in Canada (Trudel 2004). Benedict Anderson has shown that nationalism and nation-building generally involve the invention of a "national" past through the appropriation of specific historical narratives set in linear 'empty time' (Anderson 1983). There seemed to be a great need for such historical narratives around the mid-19th century; Henry Schoolcraft himself (though American) wrote that Perrault's narrative draws its importance from its relation "to a period of our North West history in which we are very deficient… they supply the long lapse intervening between … 1763, up to the beginning of 1820, when our government began to turn its attention to this neglected portion of our public domain" (MHPC 1909: 508).

This suggests that the sudden governmental attention to history was closely associated with broader trends of the rise of the 'public domains' –nation-states– and the appropriation of the past as part of its discourse.

2) Narratives as history-making

Scholarship on the intersection of memory, narratives and history tends to regard the narrative as a form of active engagement with one's memories, a reordering of thoughts that allows one to make sense of one's experiences. In his analysis on the practice of academic history-writing, Hayden White has argued that history is ultimately a discourse of the real, and that it is the narrative form and its aura of objectivity that will lend history that sense of the real. He writes that "in order for an account of events, to count as a proper history… the events must be not only registered within the chronological framework … but narrated as well" (H. White 1987: 5). It is this 'illusion of standing freely above history' that gives it the aura of truth and objectivity necessary to formal history writing. For instance, the amount of detail in Perrault's narrative prompted the first text's editor to suggest that it was remarkably detailed and accurate for a text that stemmed almost only from memory (MPHC 1909: 512). This historian's surprise at Perrault's accuracy and the idea that the written word is more reliable than memory is not surprising; in fact it is through the characterization of Perrault's narrative as 'accurate' and remarkably detailed that historians move it into the realm of history and away from individual memory and/or fiction. This serves to provide Perrault's narrative with a sense of the real necessary to the construction of historical truths.

Yet despite the authority given to the written record over memory by historians, George Nelson's *Reminiscences* illustrate the power of memory in engaging with one's past and in the creation of a historical present. In fact, Nelson is acutely aware of this need for authenticity when he writes: "Things I have known and seen personally may be relied on as rigid truth, but what I have been told, the stories, fables, and things of that sort … must be taken for what they are worth: I merely relate, I do not endorse" (MHS 1967: 4-5). This statement allows him to position himself as both a reliable witness

through his lived experience, and distance himself from any responsibilities over hearsay stories or events associated with supernatural forces.

So, in choosing to include and dare I say *remember* specific stories that appear as relevant to them the traders participated in a 'cultural and temporal montage,' collating together events and stories, but doing so in a coherent order, and thus respecting the traditional format of storytelling and narration. Despite the obvious subjectivity behind the creation of a narrative, because the anecdote is the register for the unexpected, it also "allows for personal experience to be shaped into larger tale of history" (Greenblatt 1991: 3), to be recognized as real experience that others may relate to, and therefore be coopted by nationalistic history-writing. What is important here is that memories tell us more about "the stakes held by individuals and institutions in what the past means" than anything else (Sturken 2001: 34). This resonates also with Michael Taussig's point that what is recorded is the "experience of the lived present" (Taussig 2006: 63).

The lived present for Nelson was a nostalgic moment; when he felt the need to record dying ways of life, not only those of the Indians (thereby reinforcing the trope of the vanishing Indian, I might add) but also those of the fur traders. Nostalgia, sentimentality and a romantic construction of the past all go hand in hand; in fact Mary-Louise Pratt (2008) also recognized these themes embedded within the structure of travel narratives in vogue at the time. The narratives thus become a place for colonial representations of 'the other,' especially with regards to indigenous people, to be fashioned and expressed. What is interesting about these 'othering' processes is their ambivalence; as the following chapters will demonstrate, they work at multiple levels simultaneously, in a back and forth movement between friendliness and differentiation, between men of different European ancestry, as in between Indigenous and Euro-Canadians. This ambivalence is rather typical of the fur trade othering processes, yet depending on the historiographical context, certain aspects will be overlooked or "forgotten" in the broader narratives.

In analyses of travel narratives, the construction of 'the other' associated with processes of identification and rejection, wonder and disgust, is often a topic of enquiry (Pratt 2008; Greenblatt 1991). Nowhere is this 'othering' process better illustrated than in

cases of first impressions, when the traders first encounter and interact with the other, or in moments of misunderstanding. Nelson's memories of his impressions of Indians are both amusing and colonial. For example:

> "One of [the Indians] drew a very pointed knife out of his leggings to cut his tobacco. I cannot describe my consternation and horror, my whole frame shuddered! … Who but a savage, a barbarian, a murderer would ever think of putting a knife in such a place; and such a knife too! and am I to live amongst such people? My heart quaked. I became quite faint. But the people comforted me by saying he was a good indian, & would do no harm!" (MHS 1947: 8-9)

Nelson's consternation here is more that of an impressionable teenager, but this was one of his first encounters with Indigenous people, and his use of the 'savage' and 'barbarian' tropes are particularly striking in that they are common throughout the Americas, indeed they had been part of the colonial discourse relegating the Native peoples of the Americas to an inferior category of humans, if not nations, for centuries. This 'othering' process of emphasizing difference is also visible in moments of shock and anger, as is expressed in the following excerpt:

> "…When some words ensued, the son, a chap about my own age, fell upon his mother and beat her, striking with his fist and kicking her in the face and body! How I was astonished! A son striking his mother! Kicking her in the face and body!!! I was enraged, and finding the men, nor even the father would interfere, I was proceeding to give him a sound drubbing but the men [traders] would not allow me" (MHS 1947: 148).

Nelson is abundantly clear here about what feelings this incident evoked: astonishment, fear, anger at this violence within a family. It indirectly reinforces the 'othering' process through which Nelson implicitly compares this young Indigenous man's behavior to the ways 'civilized' sons should act towards their mothers (and potentially all women). Perrault also found himself in a situation of anger at some of the violence exhibited by a group of Potawomis and the treatment of their prisoners:

> "They had taken three scalps, and they brought with them a woman, one of her sons about 17 years of age, and another little one of about three years, whom she was carrying … I saw one of The Savages who was provided with three cords take the three scalps, and having hung them up separately on the wall, make a sign to the woman and her children to arise and to come and dance before the scalps of her husband; and to the two children, who were with her, to dance before their father, and their brother and sister. The scene was pathetic; to behold the lamentations of these three innocent persons. We were all filled with

> indignation; for not content with forcing them to dance, they struck them each in turn, dancing with them. After they desisted, Mr. Trottier was so angry that he forced them to leave his house the following day" (MHPC 1909: 517).

This kind of behavior clearly offended many of the traders, who often found themselves helpless to intervene in a potentially dangerous situation. More than that, however, this reaction to certain Native practices became embedded in the colonial discourse about blood-thirsty Indians and the 'barbarism' of their warfare. In general, there has been nothing original about the traders' points of view on Native people. In fact, it is very much as though their impressions were informed by prior knowledge or hearsay about what to expect.

On the other hand, such colonial language is equally counterbalanced by stories of friendship and alliances, which was in the end the most common type of social relations between traders and their Native partners.

> "I soon became the object of [Indians'] attention. They gathered round me, spoke kindly, laughed with me and tapped me friendly on the shoulders and head. But I understood nothing what they said. … I never felt the least fear, yet their appearance, manners and ways, struck me powerfully. They were the first I had seen in numbers and at their homes. … They look fierce and were so. Strait as arrows, their motions and their eyes showed plainly, how frequently these faculties must have been brought to the test" (George Nelson in MHS 1947: 149-150).

This ambivalent rhetoric of friendliness and contention is omnipresent in other fur traders' journals. Yet Canadian official historical discourses tend to put the emphasis on the good and friendly relations between Euro-Canadians and native peoples, and "forget" about the many tensions and processes of differentiation that were at work. This rhetoric of productive multiculturalism is usually done in implicit (or explicit) comparison with the United States' policies of assimilation and racism and aims to show how much more benevolent (the term usually used is paternalism) Euro-Canadians were towards 'their' Native peoples. Yet many Canadians forget that the fur trade had definite colonial consequences on Native peoples, and that discrimination against Native peoples today is as much a part of Canadian life as it is in the United States. It is merely another aspect of the forgotten past.

3) The production of the 'conceived space' or place-making through discourses and representations

The critical approach that I am taking with regards to the documentary sources underlines my approach to the rest of the chapters, which focus on the narratives as a complementary line of evidence for the examination of the production of social spaces and community. In his elaboration of a paradigm that would "construct a theoretical unity between the fields of the physical, mental and social", Henri Lefebvre's project was to expose the production of social space and thereby reveal the underlying unequal power relations (Lefebvre 1991: 11). He proposed to do so through the bridging of the three realms of space that made up his conceptual triad: spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space) and representational spaces (lived space). Whereas the perceived space is produced through an association between daily reality and the landscape, or spatial practices (Lefebvre 1991: 38), the 'lived space' is associated with the space as "directly lived and passively experienced, or the space that the imagination seeks to change," the space of resistance and symbolism (Lefebvre 1991: 39). Lastly, the conceived space refers to the conceptualized space, the dominant space, "an abstract space that also plays a part in social and political practice" (Lefebvre 1991: 41). In his view, the interaction between these various components of social space brought to light the unequal labor relations that characterized capitalist societies.

While I draw heavily from Lefebvre's triadic conceptualization of social space, in the previous chapters I have understood the 'lived space' as a conflation of what Lefebvre refers to as the 'perceived' and 'lived' spaces, since the practices I examined through archaeological data can both actively produce social relations (often unequal and contested) and be performed in a routinized, more passive fashion – oftentimes simultaneously. This conflation is not so beyond Lefebvre's own intentions, since he argued that the "three realms should be interconnected so that the subject may move from one to another without confusion" (Lefebvre 1991: 40). For clarity's sake, I have also separated the lived from the conceived spaces into two different sections since their understanding stem from differing lines of evidence; daily practices that can be recovered

archaeologically for the former, and conceptualizations through the written word and representations for the latter.

In doing so I find inspiration in James Delle's study of coffee plantations in Jamaica (1998), which provides a useful example of a historical-archaeological approach that looks at both representation and the material production of social space. In this study, Delle focuses on the spaces of colonial production on coffee plantations, illustrating how British elites accelerated their attempts to "reorganize the spaces of production in order to reorganize the relations of production, thus to secure and maintain their position of socioeconomic dominance" (Delle 1998: 3). Specifically, Delle follows Lefebvre and others in his conception of 'spatialities' as constituted of three interrelated realms of space: material (empirically measurable and includes the built environment), social (set of relations that define a person's spatial relations with other people and with material space), and cognitive (imaginary and representational) (Delle 1998: 37-40). Following Soja, Delle argues that 'spatiality' – much like Creswell's mobility – encompasses all three levels as a whole. It further implies that material spaces will be designed and created with the intention of introducing specific behaviors, and that these behaviors in turn are designed to create or perpetuate a set of social relations of productions (Delle 1998: 40). Delle also considers spatialities of control and resistance and examines the ways that the planning and enacting of spatial relations contributed to the maintenance of unequal social relations.

My approach to the Réaume project, while not strictly constrained to unequal power relations, thus follows similar goals in using a framework that combines both the material and discursive production of space. It is worth repeating that I consider the production of social space as closely entangled with community-formation processes: the drawing of physical and imaginary boundaries around a group sets up the stage for defining who belongs and who does not. In other words, rhetoric of difference works just as effectively in creating spatial and social segregation as building a palisade wall, and both happen in a specific place, at the intersection of particular people, things and environment. As Massey and Jess (1995) point out, the "relationship [of place] with

personal identity can be strong, as people identify with "home places" or feel themselves outsiders in places primarily claimed by others" (Massey and Jess 1995: 2).

Since I have covered the topic of the creation of a community of practice through the lived space in the previous section, the following chapters will deal with the creation of a community of practice through representations and conceptualization of place – with all of its inherent social relations. Indeed, my interest goes beyond the material aspect of architecture and foodways as spatial practices so that here I consider the representational and discursive construction of these facets of daily life as an important aspect of place-making and identification. As Gieryn (2000) has pointed out, "the making of places – identifying, designating, building, designing, using, interpreting, remembering – may be examined with regards to … perceptions and attributions by ordinary people who experience and make places" (Gieryn 2000: 468).

In the field of history, a concept similar to that of "conceived space" has recently been referred to as "geographic imaginary" or the ways in which "knowledge of social and physical landscapes and geography is negotiated" (Scott 2009: 5). Indeed, historians and anthropologists have increasingly argued that ideas of place, or the conceptualization and creation of a geographic imaginary, and the meaning that are assigned to some places play a key role in conceptualizations of the self or of the community to which one belongs. This approach has influenced historical understanding of place-making and the study of the dialectical relationship between place and identity in narratives and stories.

For instance, in his seminal study of the relationship between identity, language and place for the Western Apaches, Basso (1996) highlights the way that significant places, modes of behavior, history and identity all intersect through story-telling. Through a language analysis of place-names and their integration within landscapes and stories, Basso demonstrates how stories, each embedded in specific places on the landscape, serve to remind individuals about ideals of behavior and shared practices that together represent what it means to be Apache. Because these stories and places are such an integral part of the Apache's sense of community, they play an equally integral part in their sense of identity. For Basso, place-making is about remembering and imagining: "what is remembered about a particular place – including verbal accounts – guides and

constrains how it will be imagined by delimiting a field of workable possibilities" (Basso 1996: 5-6). "Senses of place," writes Basso (1996), "also partake of culture, of shared "bodies of knowledge" with which persons and whole communities render their places meaningful and endow them with social importance" (1996: xiv).

Likewise, through their written testimonies and stories, fur traders of the late eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes created geographic imaginaries and social spaces, especially in the recounting of stories and through an engagement with the landscape (traveling, map-making) and the people inhabiting it. As Bender (2001a) argues when considering the relationship between mobility and place-making, "arriving is important, but so are the stories woven around the traveling" (2001a: 84).

In this project, narratives and journals offer complementary tools to comprehend and describe the different ways in which members of fur trade society conceptualized and negotiated competing ways of imagining space and place, and in so doing, created a particular imaginary that became part of the lifestyle associated with this community of practice.

8. THE CREATION OF A COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE: GEOGRAPHIC IMAGINARY, HOME AND DISCOURSES

> "How do people deal with part-familiar or the unknown? Walking along seasonal pathways, a person part-knows the way, part-knows that each time of return there will be change and unfamiliarity; part fears, part-revels in the chance encounters, the possible adventures"
>
> (Barbara Bender 2001a: 84)

1) Introduction

The creation of a geographic imaginary, or what I refer to as making the unfamiliar familiar, represents in itself a place-making practice that occurs at the intersection of the imagination, discourse and movement. As Lefebvre (1991) has pointed out, discourse and actions, or representational strategies and practice, are closely entangled in the creation of social space and will at times overlap and at times expose a rupture or an ambivalence that marks a difference between thought and action. In the previous chapters, I have highlighted such tensions, in particular those between colonial ideals of hierarchized categories and a sense of belonging that a shared lifestyle may have fostered. To do so I have looked at how daily practices, recovered through archaeological data, served the dual purpose of creating both place – the 'lived space' – at various posts, and a community of practitioners based on their occupation as fur traders. However place-making, or making the unfamiliar familiar, also encompasses spatialities (or the social constitution and discursive aspects of space) which occurs at the level of imagination,

representational strategies and discourse. In this chapter, I use fur traders' journals and narratives as a line of inquiry to examine the role of imagination and discourse in place-making and in the paradoxes associated with the position of traders as in-between, simultaneously local and non-local. Through their daily entries or narratives, members of the fur trade community made the unfamiliar familiar in various ways: by addressing issues of lodgings, home and finding one's way across unknown landscapes, by relating stories that gave meaning to particular places on the landscape, such as portages, and, in the case of Perrault, through mapmaking. All of these representational practices served to not only create the 'conceived space' but also played a role in the ways that social and power relations were negotiated. Indeed, architecture and maps are particularly powerful "technologies of power" (Bender 2001b) through which places – with all of the social relations they encompass – are imagined, enacted and potentially contested.

2) Building a Home Away from Home

Architectural practices, as we saw in the previous chapters, can embody particular and contested meanings. In addition to providing shelter, architecture – or the built environment more broadly – also serves to create the 'lived space,' and through knowledge transmission of building techniques, enhanced its role in the creation and maintenance of a community of practice. As Casey points out (1993), "in creating built places, we transform not only the local landscape but ourselves as subjects: body subjects become fabricating agents" (Casey 1993: 111). More importantly for this chapter, built places "exceed their own construction by giving rise to familiarity and reverie alike" – imagination and memory (Casey 1993: 178).

a. Describing lodgings

Indeed, fur traders' descriptions of post architecture and the decision-making process involved in the construction of lodgings are important aspects of place-making. When traders and their crew arrived in the area they were sent to in order to establish a post and make connections with local Indian groups, the first step in the place-making process was to find a suitable location to build, and some of our authors wrote about this

process in their journals or memoirs. While the search for such a location is in itself a step in making the unfamiliar familiar – looking for particular advantageous features such as near-by water and Indian villages, for instance – the decision-making process is also tainted by experience and *a priori* expectations (or geographic imaginary) of a what a "good" location entails. Such expectations were most commonly the result of accumulated experience by old timers who knew what to look for. Nelson enumerates some of the important criteria when searching for a wintering site: "we remained here several days before they could decide upon the place where to build; for, where the wood or locality suited, there was no clay, and we required this article to build our chimneys and plaster our houses. At last they fixed upon a place, in a pinery on a beautiful small river below us" (Peers and Shenck 2002: 57).

Nearby water for better access, wood for construction and fuel, Indian encampments close by to enhance one's chances of a good trading season and making a profit; all seem common-sensical decisions, but in fact were the result of accumulated experience and knowledge that were transmitted from old timers to newcomers over time. Nelson's use of 'they' as a pronoun describing those in charge of the decision-making process excludes himself, even though he was technically in a position of authority as a clerk. As a newcomer in the fur trade community however, he was expected to rely on the knowledge of others who had more experience than he, that is to say the voyageurs who were technically under his supervision. In addition to providing an example of knowledge transmission on the spot from old timers to newcomers, this excerpt thus also reveals some of the underlying power dynamics at play when one in a position of authority was considered as a newcomer by old timers. It is likely that this situation did not play in Nelson's favor when it came to asserting his authority over men older and of more experience such as the ones he refers to as Savoyard and Smith.

Michel Curot, another clerk of little experience, endured similar difficulties with those specific voyageurs. When Dakota hunters were spotted in the Yellow River area, Curot justified accepting John Sayer's offer to go stay within the palisaded NWC compound by complaining that

> "If I could have built the fort last autumn [it would not have been necessary to move], but I could not, my men were unwilling, making the objection that proper wood was too far, and that three men were not enough to build a fort … Too much kindness with certain men will never succeed in getting anything done, while on the other hand with too much harshness, one only repels them, and that causes disputes and quarrels that one often does not mean to evoke" (WHC 1911: 445-446).

Voyageurs' acts of active resistance, such as refusing to build a palisade, speak once more to the power dynamics and reveals the ways in which authority was not passively accepted and taken for granted, but constantly negotiated. Moreover, the voyageurs' argument that "wood was too far" provides an example of how mobility and the need for reconnaissance in unfamiliar areas impacted spatialities and affected the decision-making process with regards to finding a suitable location. While it is not entirely clear who chose this particular spot in the instance Curot is describing, it is probable that the decision was made to settle there because of the NWC's presence nearby and the XY company's central objectives of impeding on its competitors' profits. Whatever the case, journals' descriptive passages that relate to the use of space provide a valuable illustration of the ways in which place was used by the voyageurs to assert their resistance (or, as old timers, their authority). Nelson's position of authority did not exempt him from the labor of construction of the buildings: "Such was the method, my first years, of Building. an axe to each man, with a hoe that served as occasion might require, for an adze, 25 nails for the Door & window & sometimes an augur, completed the amount of our tools!" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 60).

The description of lodgings may point to a more typical rhetoric of difference and distanciation as well, for example between British men and French Canadians at François' House in Saskatchewan. Matthew Cocking, a visitor to François' House, uses a rhetoric that conflates architecture with an inferior social identity in his description of the house: "built log to log; half of it is appropriated to the use of a kitchen; the other half used as a trading room and bedroom, … I believe François hath about twenty men, all French Canadians… He is an old ignorant Frenchman; I do not think he keeps a proper distance from his men; they coming into his apartment and talking with him as one of themselves" (in Kehoe 2000: 174). Cocking's statement intimates that the use of space,

and in particular differential access to privacy, is an important signifier of rank, using his own spatiality and *a priori* notions of status-based spatial segregation to draw social boundaries (around both education or rank and ethnicity) and relegate François to an inferior social category (also Kehoe 2000; Mann 2003).

Authority and the ways in which use of space justified or asserted it, as well as the ways in which it was used for contestation, was therefore a prevalent theme in the journals and speaks to the types of concerns that distressed those who produced the documents, i.e. those who expected their authority to be respected and accepted. Tensions between rank-based classifications of individuals and those based on experience and knowledge were part of the daily negotiations of social relations.

b. The materiality of fear

Beyond their association with power relations and rhetoric of difference, descriptions of lodgings and architectural features provide additional input into the ways in which "dwelling [is] constructed as to allow repeated return and possess a certain felt familiarity" (Casey 1993: 115-116). Creating familiarity is crucial to place-making. In Connerton's words (2009), "no longer knowing my way round the paths and landmarks … would be a defamiliarisation that would shake my very being. For familiar places are appropriated by my lived body that has, as Merleau-Ponty said, a knowledge bred of familiarity that give us a sense of emplacement" (Connerton 2009: 33). Familiarity for fur traders appears to have been of importance not only for emplacement, but also because it implied creating a place of safety. For instance, after a detailed description of the construction of the post buildings[12], Nelson goes on to say: "Though thus roughly and

[12] "We did not make palaces – ours was about 16 or 18 feet long, made thus: We build up the two sides, to the height required, say five & a half, or perhaps six feet. These are secured by two stakes at each end, as a common rail fence, & braced by a good strong stick, the whole breadth of the house, & notched at each end, to lay on the two sides, to prevent their moving. Then two trenches wherein to plant the ends upright, & of the same size as the sides. Two strong posts in the middle, to receive a ridge pole, two & a half or 3 feet higher than the sides, so that the roof, which consists of straight poles or split slabs, may have sufficient slope for the water to run off. An opening is left at one end; that part below the cross stick or beam for a door, & that above for a window. … The whole is well plastered, the Shop only out-side, as some of it will fall & dirty our furs or spoil our grease, meat, &c. but the house is plastered on both sides, inside & out. The joints between the roofing is also plastered; carefully covered about a foot thick with grass which

rudely constructed, we soon get accustomed, and when we have enough to eat we feel comfortable; for, here as every where else, we live in anticipation of better times" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 59). The familiarity of a built shelter such as the trade posts in the hinterland allowed the members of the community to create a haven of relative safety – literally (a shelter) and figuratively (a *familiar* kind of shelter) – in unfamiliar surroundings. This was of particular importance in the contested zone of Central Minnesota and Wisconsin where the fear of Dakota attacks (legitimate or not) was a constant concern and played into the use of space by members of the fur trade community. Perrault, for instance, writes:

> "It took us considerable time to reach there on account of the numerous portages, among which was that of Lac rouge, which had 25 poses, and it was dangerous besides on account of the hostiles. It was absolutely necessary to traverse the war trails which lay between the country of the sauteux [Ojibway] from that of the scioux [Dakota]. We were in constant dread, till we reached the riviere à l'eau Claire…" (MPHC 1909: 575).

This fear, moreover, had a tangible impact on the traders' use of space through the construction of a palisade wall, which we also addressed in the previous chapters. In the following passage Nelson describes the impact of fear on his crew's use of space:

> "From the simplicity of the construction, & the season of the year, we always haste to put ourselves under Shelter. The NWCo, also soon finished theirs, which they surrounded with stockades, bout ten feet out of ground, with two Bastions, loop holes &c. in case of an attack from the Sioux, whose visit we had more than ordinary reasons to apprehend" (Peers and Schenck 2002:61).

The NWC's construction of a palisade wall – which also serves as a semantic distinction between a "fort" and a "house" in Curot's account – and Nelson's mention of impending Dakota attacks both work to reinforce the sense of safety that such a construction brings to the traders' minds, and the danger emitted from the unknown. Both Nelson and Curot wintered at a XY company "house" that lacked such defensive structures, and their fear and anxieties were thus closely tied to place and the materiality of walls (or lack thereof).

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we cut with our knives, & four or five inches of ground thrown on to prevent its being blown off" … The chimney in one side of the house, part of stone, when handy, but most commonly of earth made into mortar & wrapped in grass. The doors of slabs, split with the axe & then Squared down. The floors, when good wood to rive [split] cannot be had is squared from trees & then dubbed off with an adze, when we have one, if none, then with the hoe, which we sharpen with the files, for we cannot take in grind stones" (in Peers and Schenck 2002: 58-59).

This fear also reinforced a rhetoric of difference that created a distance between the traders and the Dakota, who were made implicitly more "barbaric" than the Ojibway people they dealt with on a daily basis. When it came to "familiar" Indians and their presence at the post overnight, hospitality was rather the norm, as "we [Nelson and his men] give them a few beaver or bear skins & they lay on the floor" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 58-59). Such actions shifted the boundaries of the social order just enough as to account for the Native trading partners' role within the community. It may be worth repeating here that Joseph Réaume, much like François Leblanc, was also known to occasionally challenge the social boundaries between traders and their Native trading partners, for example when he one night "very hospitably ceded…his own Bed & lay upon the floor" (McDonnell in Wood 1984: 138-139) so that "an Indian hunter would be comfortable and might be enticed to trade with him in the morning" (Birk 1984: 27). Granting access to the post to Indians – in a way a symbolic gesture of inclusion – was nonetheless strange enough in Nelson's imagination for him to write about it.

In fact, building and the use of space was also contingent upon the traders' Native trading partners and the location of their villages or winter camps, so that traders were often required to move along according to Anishinaabe patterns of movement:

> "Being now time & free of most part of our Indians we begin to build a house & shop all adjoining for this winter; because the Indians make their fall hunt far below here where we must absolutely pass the fall near them & come up this winter by Campments as the indians dare not remain there on account of their enemies being so near at all times particularly in the spring" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 116)

The possibility (real or imaginary) of attacks by hostile Native groups notwithstanding, the travelling life of fur traders was nonetheless ripe with danger. Traders especially feared drowning in dangerous rapids, or getting lost and dying of cold and hunger. The association between fear of death and unfamiliar places remained a powerful rhetoric in fur traders' accounts, which indirectly served to enhance their own sense of resourcefulness and courage and in turn may have enhanced a sense of camaraderie based on shared experiences and difficulties. The following excerpt from George Nelson speaks to such anxieties:

> "One unfortunate creature [trader] being very lame from a bruised heel (une

> foulure) could not reach the canoe in time [escaping from the Iroquois]. Ten days after, a party returned from Montreal to see after him. After much research they found him dead, "in a hole he had himself dug out with a paddle"! He died from hunger disease and fright. Some say the body was not yet quite cold" (Peers and Schenk 2002: 10).

However, while accidents seemed relatively common, death itself might not have been, given that traders, including Nelson and Perrault, chose to tell such stories – which were incidentally based on hear-say – as part of unusual events that left deep impressions on their memory. Moreover, we could perhaps argue that constant reference to starvation and death by drowning reflected broader anxieties for these men, who in a lot of ways measured themselves against others in terms of their courage, resourcefulness and ability to survive. This was perhaps their way of enhancing their own value by showing that they themselves survived, while instances of death and danger were a constant menace and others less fortunate did not make it. However, as Heidi Scott points out, the "struggle for survival cannot be reduced to a mere discursive strategy," as it also reflects the "intensity with which the landscape was experienced" (Scott 2009: 162).

c. Finding one's way and Fear of getting lost

The interplay between a sense of danger and the unfamiliar is tightly connected to the traders' fear of getting lost. Basso writes that a sense of place is often taken for granted "until we are deprived of these attachments and find ourselves adrift, literally dislocated, in unfamiliar surroundings, we do not comprehend"; "on these unnerving occasions, sense of place may assert itself in pressing and powerful ways, and its often subtle components – as subtle perhaps, as absent smells, or not enough visible sky – come surging into awareness" (Basso 1996: xiii). In an anecdote describing getting lost while returning from a *dérouine*, Nelson illustrates how, as Basso writes, "when attachments are threatened, we may feel threatened as well" (Basso 1996: xiv).

> "We halted two or three times after long walks, to rest a little; finally as it was getting dark, we had to encamp. We were lost! We had nothing to eat, for the little meat we had left we left at the canoe: it is not worth while to embarrass ourselves with it, as we would soon get home. [The next morning], … we fell upon two tracks, quite fresh! we followed smartly to overtake them. In a few minutes we came to our fire we had so lately left! Smith was furious. Off we set again, and at furthest half an hour after we again came to our fire! Smith was humbled…. Off we set again, and walked, and walked and walked. We

> came upon a high sand bank. "what is this? where are we?" all of a sudden as one just awoke from his sleep, "oh I know now where we are: this is river La Coquille, and we have been quite near home." We turned back and for some time actually retraced our steps. We soon after got home. My job was full indeed, but I doubt if I thanked God, so extremely thoughtless was I." (Peers and Schenck 2002: 68).

This fear of getting lost was of course of concern to those who were required to move across the landscape for *dérouines* or other endeavors (such as the quest for food as we will see in the following chapter), however clerks were also concerned for the safety of their men – though it is unclear whether such concerns emerged at least partly from more selfish reasons, in other words, from the clerk's dependence on his men for his own survival. One of Curot's entries reads like this:

> "Thursday, 23, Friday 24th. Yesterday the weather was very dark all day, and threatened snow. I am very uneasy about Boisvert and Connor. It is now nineteen days since they left for the fond du Lac, expecting that it would take twelve days to make the trip. They carried one fawn-skin of rice almost full of provisions to the fond du Lac. I wish I could find some savages to send with Smith. I don't know what to think, whether they are lost either going or returning. The trail ought to be marked by the men who came Last autumn" (WHC 1911: 443).

In the case of the traders, it did not appear to matter whether they were seasoned practitioners or not: fear of getting lost, a feeling at the intersection of imagination and intuition, was a powerful force that constrained their movements across the landscape, and further enhanced their dependence upon their Native trading partners. This latter aspect is important, as it implies that, in a way, Indians controlled the traders' movements across the landscape though their guidance and roads. In the following excerpt from Nelson, Indian roads helped in finding one's way, creating a line of relative safety and familiarity that cut through unfamiliar landscapes.

> "Finding the people were rather a long time absent, I took their 'road.' "It is a good road, but as you are not accustomed to these things yet, you had perhaps better not go" [said another trader]. However I went. The road was discoverable by the falling leaves being "here & there" disturbed, from the feet hooking into a root or rotten stick, turning them up and every 2 or 300 yards a branch broken. … Such are Indian roads, & many hundred miles have I travelled upon them, with no other indications; but custom and a little attention to the course or direction of the route, render travelling upon them, comparatively sure" (Peers and Schenck 2002:48-49).

It is also worth mentioning that, while vulnerable to weather changes (i.e. winds, snow fall, snowmelt), snowshoe trails created by Indigenous peoples or even fur traders "marking" the road, would have been quite visible in the wintertime, and likely facilitated communication and/or hunting along these trails (Wickman, n.d.).

Drawing from proponents of an archaeology of movement (Beaudry and Parno 2013: 3; Snead 2009; Gibson 2006; Tilley 1994), I regard places and the paths connecting them as equally important and constitutive of each other in the creation of the broader landscape (Ingold 1993: 167). As places, trails are liminal zones that interweave familiar associations with the possibility of something entirely new and unpredictable (Snead 2009: 46). Zedeño and Stoffle (2003) put forth a similar point in arguing that pathways (including trails, roads, waterways, portages) should be regarded as a central integrative feature in the development of human landscapes, as they play primary roles in opening unfamiliar lands, organizing the ways in which humans use and modify nature, and the way they are used as political tools of resource control among mobile and transhumant societies. Rootedness here is a "process whereby individuals or groups develop relationships of interdependence with places and resources" so that pathways become the "material manifestations of specific interactions in spatial networks that connect people to places, resources and objects" (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003: 61). As Casey (1993) points out, "a beginning-place and an end-place may stand out as the most conspicuous parts of a journey, but the in-between places are just as interesting, diverse, otherness of immediate place" (Casey 1993: 275). The fact that the paths on which traders relied for movement were created and maintained for the most part by their Native trading partners and their kin suggests that the traders' geographic imaginary was closely tied to that the Indians' and, yet their view of the landscape was much more restricted and was mostly confined to the familiar. This is moreover additional evidence pointing to ambivalent attitudes towards Native peoples and the adoption of some of their ways that at times were conciliatory – especially when concerning the traders' survival – and at times derogatory.

Portages, as a particular kind of roads or trails, were also important features of the fur trade landscape. They held strategic value in trade and politics; building trade posts

on ancient portages, for instance, carried strong messages of ideological and political control, especially since many portages also had cosmological meanings for some Native groups (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003: 64). Interestingly, Doug Birk has argued that the location of Réaume's Leaf River Post is at one end of such a portage (figure 60), a trail that connected the Cat and Wing Rivers and opened the way towards the Crow Wing River and Leech Lake (Birk 1999b).

This further suggests that places such as Réaume's Post and others were closely interconnected through mobility and the movement that rivers and portages facilitated. Portages in particular left long-lasting imprints on the minds of fur traders and this is well illustrated by the close attention they are paid to in the narratives. "Portages are anticipated, and once traveled they linger on the mind," writes Birk (2007), "they have names and reputations that reflect conditions, impressions and experiences. Portages can influence exchange networks, settlement patterns, procurement activities, and spiritual connections to the land" (Birk 2007: 10). They are places where "people have adapted to, manipulated or succumbed to physical environments; they might serve as meeting places, trading stations, settlements, camps, cemeteries and other purposes (Birk 2007: 11). For these

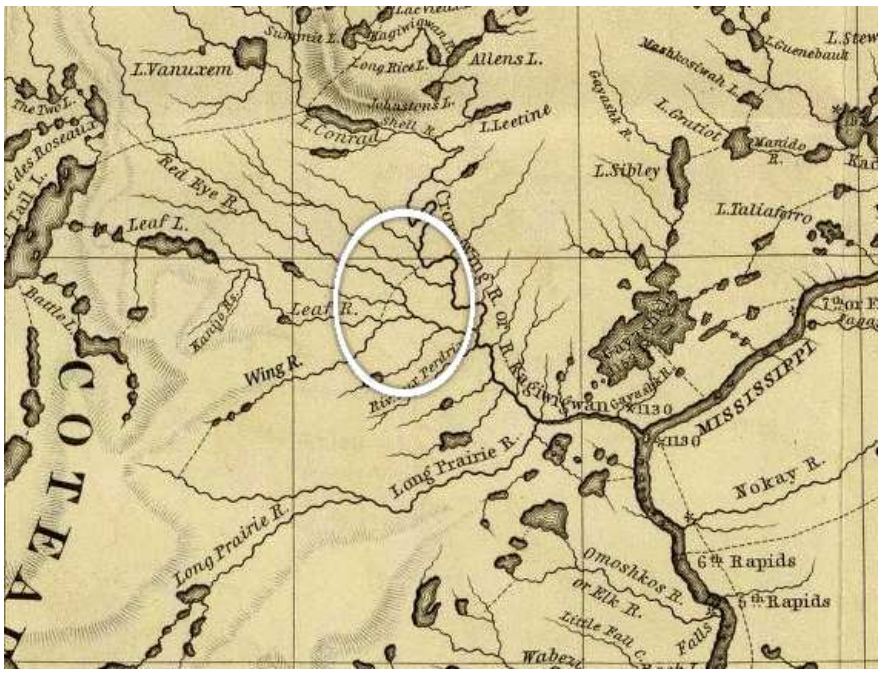

Figure 60. Close-up of Joseph Nicollet's *Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River,* 1843, showing the Cat-Wing Rivers portage.

reasons, portages, in themselves pathways connecting places on the fur trade landscape, were often times the focus of anecdotes, especially for Nelson and Perrault. When recollecting stories about their travels, portages feature prominently in their imagination.

Nelson himself recognizes this aspect of portages in writing "Not a few of them the theme of legends, stories & tales of adventures, accidents & miracles, &tc" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 38). In their edition of Nelson's reminiscences, Peers and Schenck (2002) mention that Nelson's recounting some of the legends that developed around portages and other natural phenomena became common to "voyageur folk culture. Some of these probably incorporate aspects of Native legends associated with the specific places or of French Canadian folklore; others built on actual events" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 37; note 19). Perrault provides an example of the importance of portages in this process of creating a sense of shared experience, or a "voyageur folk culture," through story-telling, which Basso (1996) tells us, is central to conferring meaning to familiar or unfamiliar places, or in other words, to place-making.

> "[One of the traders] wintered at the portage de la tortue. It was so called because in the days of [the Indians'] fathers, it had been their oracle, which they came to consult. For the turtle moved, and always kept its head toward the enemy, which warned them to be on their guard; but some years before I passed there it had ceased to be an oracle"[13] (MHPC 1909: 533-535).

In addition to story-telling, where imagination, discourse and place intersect, the naming of places and remembering place-names through stories is also one of the ways in which traders turned the unfamiliar into the familiar and created a sense of shared experience. According to Basso (1996), "place-names are arguably the most charged and richly evocative of all linguistic symbols" (Basso 1996: 76). They are so powerful because, as De Certeau writes, "… These names make themselves available to the diverse meanings given them by passers-by; they detach themselves from the places they were supposed to define and serve as imaginary meeting points on itineraries which, as metaphors, they determine for reasons that are foreign to their original value but may be

[13] "Il est nommé ainsi parce que c'étoit du tems de leurs pères un oracle pour eux, qu'ils alloient consulter. Car la tortue se mouvoit & avoit toujours la tête du côté des ennemis, ce qui les avertissoit de se tenir sur leurs gardes; mais quelques années avant que je passasse là, elle ne rendoit aucun oracle" (Cormier 1978: 52)

recognized or not by passers-by" (De Certeau 1987: 104). In other words, they are not only associated with story-telling and memory, but also represent power-laden symbols with a particular relationship to place and one's relationship with that place. In the fur traders' journals, some of the stories that the teller recounts are linked to place-naming events (such as the one above, about the Portage de la Tortue). In such cases, according to Connerton (2009), "place-names can be more than markers and delimiters of place, more than tokens used to mark out and negotiate positions in social interaction … they can summon up an immense range of associations, about history, events, persons, social activities" (Connerton 2009: 10-13). Curot's description of one particular rapid illustrates this point: "The last rapid which is the shortest but the strongest on the River Brûlée they call the rapide à Vassal, so named because that gentleman when he entered this country could not mount it without making the Portage, which is very short" (WHC 1911: 405). Not only is naming a power-laden way of appropriating space, but in such cases, as Basso (1996) argues, stories that are embedded in specific places on the landscape also serve to remind individuals about shared practices that together foster a sense of belonging. For Basso, place-making is about remembering and imagining: "what is remembered about a particular place – including verbal accounts – guides and constrains how it will be imagined by delimiting a field of workable possibilities" (Basso 1996: 5-6).

Storytelling about specific rivers, rapids and portages – in particular the choice of which story to tell – reveals the importance of those pathways that link various places into a broader fur trade landscape. Through storytelling they are made familiar, recognizable, as they connect places on the landscape. More than that, they are made representable, and as such incorporated into the production of the conceived space.

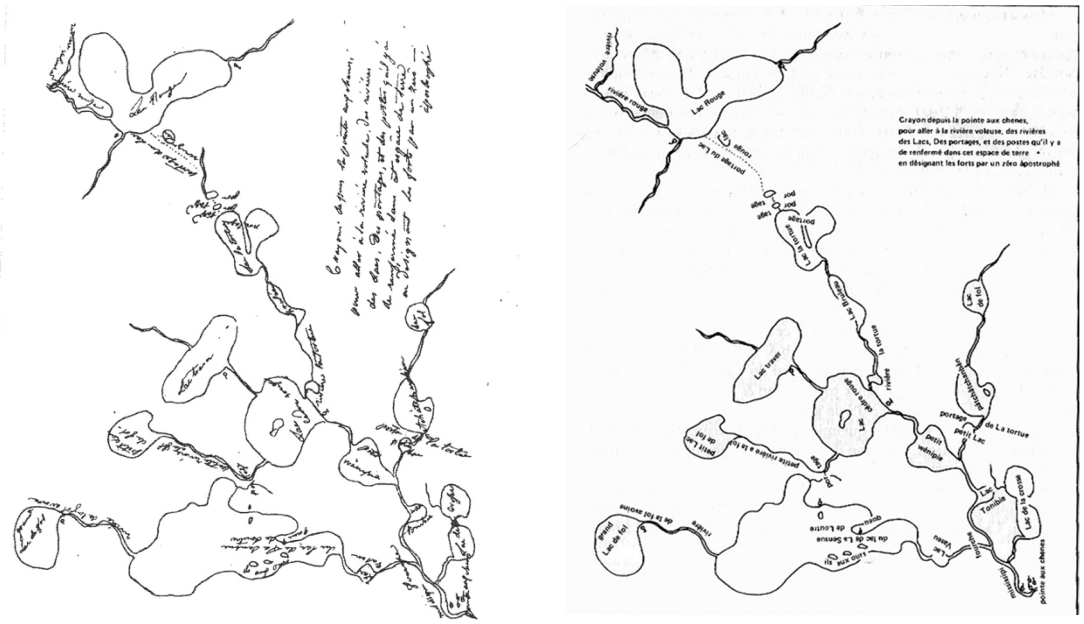

Figure 61. One of Perrault's map (left), and edited version (right) detailing the source of the Mississippi River to the Red River, Minnesota (Cormier 1979). The legend translates as: "Sketch from la pointe aux chênes to go to rivière voleuse, with rivers, lakes, portages and posts within this land, designating forts with a 0'."

d. Mapmaking

Mapmaking provides a representational means of producing the 'conceived space' or the conceptual aspect of place-making. Jean Baptiste Perrault included a number of sketch maps in his narrative (figure 61) detailing various areas he became familiar with throughout his career in the fur trade.

Maps are fascinating representations that broadly-speaking aim to "apprehend space as quantity, in terms of relations of distance, and to produce an accurate model of a space outside our sensory reach (Biggs 1999: 378; Harley 1989:4; Jacob 1996: 192; Wood 2010:15). Maps also have a discursive aspect to them: they are active, constitutive and "implicated in creating the reality that they presume to reveal" (Craib 2000: 13; Wood 2010: 39). Moreover, the act of ordering when making a map potentially represents an act of power – power to classify and organize, in other words, to appropriate space (Harley 1988a: 300). This power stems in part from the physicality of the map, which helps give substance to the knowledge of those involved in its production

or use (Petto 2007: 3). Moreover, the aura of objectivity, which arose with the advance of scientific discourses about empiricism and accuracy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, also increasingly gave maps a sense of objectivity (Petto 2007: 1). Impersonal scientific epistemologies served in cartography to desocialize the territory and foster notions of socially empty spaces where space became more important than place (Harley 1988a: 303; 1988b: 65).

That said, Perrault's goals in making the maps were probably more pragmatic; while he no doubt used his own scientific notions gained from a seminary education in the production of his detailed sketches, he held little interest in representing borders or labeling Indigenous groups – which were common appropriation tools used in the production of official colonial maps. Rather, in highlighting trade routes, portages and rapids, he is transmitting information he believes valuable to the potential readers of his manuscript. The act of representation may be considered as a power-laden activity, however here my point concerns the way in which his act of representation of space allows him to produce the 'conceived space' in material form, to combine his lifelong conceptual knowledge about those particular places with the lived experiences of his travels. As a form of summarization of his experience in particular areas of the fur trade landscape, his sketches embody his geographic imaginary, which appears to draw heavily from his *a priori* knowledge of cartography and its associated format of representation. The process by which he applied this knowledge to his lived experience is an example *par excellence* of place-making, or the production of the conceived space.

Moreover, it is probable that much of his knowledge as represented in the map came from allied Indigenous people, who held considerable knowledge of the terrain, waterways and coasts far beyond areas that were directly experienced by the Euro-Canadian traders (Lewis 1998a: 2). In fact, it was common practice for cartographers, especially those commissioned by officials, to rely on Native informants. When speech was inadequate to describe distance or space, they relied on graphics and drew maps in the sand, on bark or deerskin (Lewis 1998b: 11; Waselkov 1989: 292), drawing from their own pictographic traditions (Lewis 1998a: 2). Nelson in fact mentions such "Indian maps" and their usefulness:

> "I have a thousand times wondered at [the Indians'] ingenuity of conveying, and their sagacity at discovering by means of the coarse, rough but expressive hieroglyphs what they want to know or be known. A man must be very stupid indeed who cannot go by their charts. They are so clear, concise and expressive. I have myself frequently gone upon these maps drawn on my floor or hearth, or a piece of bark & yet, strange to say, sometimes at a loss to find my way back!..." (Peers and Schenck 2002: 121).

This description is made even more remarkable when considering Nelson's last sentence about the maps' restricted usefulness to one particular direction. This may suggest a different perspective, such as a processual description dependent upon direction, which loses some of its usefulness beyond a one-way trip (Katherine Hayes, personal communication). When it came to mapmaking, as in the traders' reliance on Native roads, the conceived space was thus closely tied to Indigenous people's knowledge. However, Anishinaabeg spatialities were embedded in "networks of social relations as well as different sorts of activities" that "reflected root epistemologies structuring all parts of their cultural and material lives" (Saler and Podruchny 2010: 290; 293). Traders' geographic imaginaries, on the other hand, while relying on Indigenous knowledge, appear to have focused less on the networks of social relations and more on features in the landscape; otherwise Perrault's sketches may have included more information about the location of Native camps and the relationships between them. That said, the inclusion of trade posts within his maps suggests that the social relations were still relevant within the community of fur traders, and that they were closely tied to familiar places and the movement between them.

While in other, more official, circumstances Western and Indigenous epistemologies created the stage for competing or parallel imaginaries (e.g. Leavelle 2004, Witgen 2012), in this case the "in-betweenness" of the fur traders and their ambivalent attitudes towards their Native trading partners appears to have made them more welcoming of Indian knowledge and conceptions and even embracing them, especially in matters of survival. It is also easy to imagine how some of the Native people who shared their knowledge may have steered the traders in the direction they wanted them to go, thereby controlling their movements and making their mobility part of the politics of place. This could illustrate what Richard White meant with his concept of the

"middle ground," or a virtual and physical space of common (mis)understanding (White 1991) that worked to further all sides' interests. In these particular instants, in specific places, Native peoples shared part of their knowledge in a way that was advantageous to them and for the Euro-Canadian traders, and did so on their own terms. However as Europeans created social and commercial alliances with Indigenous peoples, "they gave shape to new local geographies that, while built on prior Aboriginal ideas of territoriality, also were distinct from them, which produced a fur trade territoriality" (Saler and Podruchny 2010: 293).

Though mapmaking, like through storytelling, Perrault uses that knowledge and imbues the spaces of his experience with meaning, turning them into places on the fur trade landscape. That place-making process, as I have argued throughout, is closely interwoven with the creation of a sense of identity. These conceptual place-making practices appear to have been shared by most traders – though maps do not appear to be very common, or at least preserved – which once again suggests the production of a community of practice that relied on shared knowledge and conceptions, themselves influenced by their Indigenous trading partners. The images depicted in the maps were deeply embedded within a society that was both experienced and imagined, embodying both reality and imagination.

3) Home and homesickness

One of the interweaving arguments throughout this project is that place-making is closely tied with identification processes. As Casey (1993) points out, "we tend to identify ourselves by – and with – the places in which we reside" (Casey 1993: 120). That said, an important point that Zedeño and Stoffle (2003) and others (e.g. Bender 2001a; Brah 1996) have underscored in linking movement with identity is that "migration rarely replaces an old homeland with a new one, rather it contributes to the expansion of rootedness by allowing people to incorporate a whole new landscape learning experience" (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003: 68). Movement and mobility thus allow the creation of strong attachments and stable relations, because through the repetition and everyday use, they define the confines of used space, and the behaviors allowed in those

spaces (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003: 65).

This chapter's goal of understanding place-making through mobility confers a particular relevance to the notion of 'home'. Definitions of home vary; for Hurdley (2013) "home is not simply a comfortable idea, but rather a constant process of home-making" that intertwines an affective, nostalgic dimension with place (Hurdley 2013: 7; 12). In other words, home "is imbued with cultural, social and affective meanings that hold a special place in the individual and popular imagination, memory and everyday life" (Hurdley 2013: 13). Geographer Edward Casey rather understands home as "not physical locations but situations for living" that is closely tied to memory and actualizations of places (Casey 1993: 300). For him, "home coming" represents the creation of a new place and remembering place at once (Casey 1993: 291). What these definitions have in common is the relationship between place, affect and memory, yet as Avtar Brah (1996) argues, 'home' is more: it is also closely linked to community.

> Home is the "site of everyday lived experience. It is a discourse of locality, the place where feelings of rootedness ensue from the mundane and the unexpected of daily practice. Home connotes our networks of family, kin, friends, colleagues and various other significant others." (Brah 1996: 4). "The question of home, therefore, is intrinsically linked with the way in the which processes of inclusion and exclusion operate and are subjectively experienced under given circumstances. It is centrally about our political and personal struggles over the social regulation of 'belonging'" (Brah 1996: 192).

Brah asks the question "when does location become home?" (Brah 1993: 193). George Nelson is most expressive when it comes to relating the feelings of loneliness and homesickness that he experienced as a newcomer, but also about the process by which 'home' came to take a dual meaning for him. In the following excerpt, Nelson reminisces of the first few nights he spent away from 'home,' his place of origin, his parents' house:

> "At night – Had to make my own bed, on a wet beach, only a linen tent to cover me, my heart filled again. "My father, my mother!"… Old campainers, men inured to this way of life; children who have been reared in the streets, will never heed such things; but one who has had anything in the shape of a home, cannot but feel his loneliness; & if he has any thing of affection in him, especially if young, & has never left home, - that heart will often fill at night, when in bed" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 35).

Even though being part of a community of practice with "old campainers," as he writes, was of little help for Nelson in times such as these, shared and repeated practices and the

creation and maintenance of social relations eventually became part of the process by which home became tied to more than one place and Nelson himself became both local and non-local at once:

> "By this time I began to accustom myself to the ways. That heaviness of heart peculiar to youth when they leave home for the first time began to wear away, and finding myself a free, an irresponsible agent, entirely master of my own will & actions, I soon began to "run riot" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 35).

> "I became more naturalized and gradually (in the course of the years) I became quite reconciled. The Indians took great pity upon me. One of them adopted me as his son, and told his own son, a lad about my age to consider me as his brother and to treat me so, and he did indeed the very few times we happened to meet after this" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 150).

In time, the trade post became 'home' for Nelson: "the next morning we scampered off in the first rate style and early in the afternoon got home" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 226), or in another instance, "We remained with the Indians, travelling up & down 'till the beginning of Dec^{r} that we returned home" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 133). Other traders appear to have shared similar views as well. Both Perrault's and Curot's original French accounts use the word '*maison'* (house) or the expression '*aux environs de chez nous'* (Cormier 1978: 43), which could translate respectively as 'home' and 'near our home.' In time, then, the practices that were enacted and learned, and the social relations that were established, created a particular geographic imaginary for Nelson and others that included the trade post as one "home" among others. Furthermore, as Brah (1996) argues, "The multi-placedness of home in the diasporic imaginary does not mean that diasporian subjectivity is 'rootless'. … Processes of diasporic identity formation are examplars *par excellence* of the claim that identity is always plural, and in process" (Brah 1996: 197).

This illustrates how "the lived experience and spatial imaginaries of people living in [displacement situations] often revolve around…the intersection of home, memory, identity and belonging" (Blunt 2007: 689). The sense of rootedness that one sometimes feel towards a particular place "is essentially subconscious: it means that people have come to identify themselves with a particular locality, to feel that it is their home" (Tuan 1977: 194). This experience is multilocal because "the present being 'at home' is predicated on an earlier and different sense of place and belonging" (Bender 2001a: 82).

Architectural practices, stories that link experience to memory and places on the landscape (such as portages), and even mapmaking, offer an interesting avenue for understanding place-making and its role in creating a sense of belonging. Therefore, examining the ways in which fur traders imagine notions of 'home,' or their anxieties when faced with a lack thereof (when lost in an unfamiliar landscape, for instance) brings to the fore some of the tensions associated with place-making through mobility.

4) Concluding Remarks

As I have argued throughout, in the western Great Lakes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fur trade and the social relations and practices associated with it gave rise to a particular fur trade landscape and spatiality. "Interaction brought competing geographies into encounter and efforts to enact these visions in space actually altered the landscape, producing complex geographies of encounters, which rely on the notion of multiple, diverse and often shifting layers of geographic interpretations" (Leavelle 2004: 914). As they inhabited and traveled across Indian homelands, "traders formed familiar Europeanized safe spaces for themselves in the face of demographic dominance and cultural differences" (Saler and Podruchny 2010: 296). To borrow Voss' words: "they grafted themselves onto the land, and the reproduction and transformation of social identity became entangled with the production and transformation of place" (Voss 2008: 147).

Place-making occurred at the discursive and representational levels through the traders' writings in various ways. In describing lodgings and the use of space, they not only made the physical practice of building part of their conceptualization of social space, but they also revealed power dynamics that were at play when it came to the decision-making process between old timers and newcomers, and clerks and voyageurs. The social relations as they were enacted in these particular cases illustrate how community-formation processes are deeply embedded or embodied in the production of both the lived and conceived space. Journals and memoirs also highlight the close relationship between safety and familiar places or between fear and the unknown, and its importance in the creation of a geographic imaginary: fear of Dakota attacks, fear of getting lost – these

were powerful, sometimes imaginary, constraints on access and movement across unknown areas, thereby influencing the traders' mobility within specific areas and the broader fur trade landscape. Fear also required traders to create a geographic imaginary that relied on Indigenous knowledge and guidance, which illustrates the ambivalent attitude that traders had with regards to their Native trading partners. This ambivalence is made more obvious in discourses about food, and so will feature more prominently in the following chapter. Additionally, storytelling and mapmaking further served to make the unfamiliar familiar by appropriating space and imbuing it with meaning.

These place-making discursive or representational practices are closely tied to identity and community-formation processes, as the traders used them as a way of anchoring their shared experiences in specific places and of highlighting similar ways of conceiving space and the social relations that they encompass.

9. THE CREATION OF A COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE: FOOD AND DISCOURSES

Chapter 6 described how certain food-related practices such as procurement, cooking, and eating served to create a community of practice through their commonality across various places on the fur trade landscape. Emerging from these daily practices, whose knowledge was not only learned from old timers to newcomers, but also from Indigenous people to men of European or mixed descent, was a common lifestyle that brought this mobile community together into a sense of belonging based on shared occupation. However the social relations and process of "emplacement" (after Joyce et al. 2009) that revolve around those practices are also created at the abstract level of imagination, rhetoric and discourse, through ideas about food. As Elizabeth Vibert argues, "those who study the ways in which Europeans constructed their own identities [in colonial contexts] have not paid sufficient attention to the power of European discourses about food" (Vibert 2010: 119-120). Paraphrasing anthropologist Sidney Mintz, Vibert observes that "it is only because so many of us in the West are so well fed and have never known intense hunger that we too easily forget the astonishing, at times even terrifying importance of food and eating" (Mintz 1996: 4; Vibert 2010: 120).

Indeed, food was a ubiquitous concern for traders who wintered in areas far from the colonial centers: this is obvious from the more or less standardized format of their journals and the type of information considered important enough to note. This included the date, weather, dealings with Indigenous peoples, strange or uncommon events, and food: what foodstuffs they had received/purchased from Indigenous peoples, what they

themselves had hunted or caught, and their anxiety when they had nothing to eat.

In this chapter I am especially interested in examining the role that traders' ideas and anxieties about food played in the processes of inclusion and exclusion characteristic of colonial encounters and community formation. Food-related rhetoric, I argue in the first part of this chapter, brings to life tensions between colonial ideals of ethnic and class difference, and the need to survive and belong to a given community. Secondly, I am interested in how this community worked as a community *on the move*, since the traders' almost constant mobility across the fur trade landscape created a situation of uprootedness in which newcomers were forced to find ways of turning the unfamiliar into the familiar, making them both local and non-local simultaneously. Such ways encompassed food procurement as a particular spatial practice that required traders to venture beyond the safety of a given place, itself made safe through the creation of a familiar 'lived space' as described in the chapters of "Part II." Second, the association between certain food items or practices and nostalgic sentiments about 'home' brings to the fore the affect of being in an unfamiliar place, sometimes in compelling feelings of homesickness and at times in finding comfort in similitudes between unfamiliar ways and the way 'we do it at home.' Lastly, certain aspects of the creation of a fur trade landscape, such as the traders' reliance on their Indigenous trading partners for food and the spatial practice of hunting may have altered the traders' relationship with animals. The latter, as living beings, were part of the dynamic landscape that traders created through their travels, writings and practices.

1) Food-related rhetoric and processes of inclusion and exclusion: the making of a community

The relationship between food and identity is convincingly conveyed through Fishler's principle of incorporation (1988), or the action by which "we send a food across the frontier between the world and the self, between 'outside' and 'inside' our body" (Fischler 1988: 279). As we have seen, what is eaten, as well as the procurement and consumption of meals, can provide a conduit for individuals' membership to a group (while being excluded from others) and in this way assert a sense of belonging to a given community (Farb and Armelagos 1980: 6; Hastorf and Weismantel 2007: 318). Also

inherent in colonial and multiethnic relationships is the process of social differentiation, which creates a "we" that both brings people together and differentiates them from others (also Vibert 2010: 121). In contexts such as that of the late eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes, where social relations were at times fashioned around colonial ideas of difference and unequal power relations, food represents the "ultimate locus of identity, conformity and resistance," since even those who appear powerless exercise choices in food preparation and consumption (Smith 2006: 480). The relationships negotiated around food, the rhetoric of difference, and the anxieties about food that seep through fur traders' writings represent some of the ways in which social discourse was entangled with inclusion and exclusion processes associated with the formation of this community.

a. Establishing social relations: kinship and food-sharing

Because food tends to bring people together, it can be used as means to solidify social ties, build and maintain relationships and promote common interests (Bryant et al. 2003: 191). In anthropology, this concept goes back to Mauss who, through his theory of reciprocity and gift-exchange, focused on how food was used to develop social relationships of exchange and alliance between various individuals, and ultimately to bind them together in a relationship of mutual participation and unity (in Meigs 1988: 351). As we have seen, this reciprocity was also prevalent in the world of the eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes, where food-sharing and other practices played an important role in establishing and maintaining friendly relations, oftentimes on Ojibway terms. Shared foodways not only served to produce the 'lived space' but also a shared sense of belonging based on a trader's occupation and participation in the community of practice. Commensality and food-sharing thus potentially worked as a "means to activate and tighten internal solidarity, by first allowing for the limits of the group to be redrawn, and its internal hierarchies to be restored and redefined" (Grignon 2001: 24).

As mentioned in chapter 6, despite the fact that bourgeois encouraged their voyageurs to learn to procure and prepare food themselves, traders still heavily relied on their Native trading partners and/or wives for food (Podruchny 2006: 236). An explicit example of this comes from George Nelson, who stated: "…we are now to travel to our

house; & to depend upon the Indians for our subsistence; for we have no provisions more than aforementioned except a bag of pounded dry meat" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 141). Jean Baptiste Perrault also exemplifies this reliance as he writes that "About midnight le Brechet arrived who gave me half an elk, and the next day la grosse martre arrived bringing a moose also. They came with their families, not to camp, but for a drinking bout. […] The savages continued to come in day by day, and we swam in meat" (MPHC 1909: 524). In fact, Indigenous people (both men and women) bringing food to trade posts as a payment for their credit was a common affair during the late winter and spring, and most entries in Curot's journal relates who brought him what types of food, detailing quantity and what he gave them in return (usually diluted Rum):

> "I got from Le Petit Loup two fawn-skins of wild rice and one avola and a sack full of rice, for this I paid a small Calico shirt, and gave him a small keg of diluted Rum. From the Grand Mâle [I got] a Beaver for Eight Strings of Beads. The latter being a chief, he ought according to Smith's report to have a Coat. I had no rest until after I had promised to give him a Keg of Mixed Rum, which I did The Next morning. Le Petit Loup went with Savoiard deer hunting but they killed nothing" (WHC 1911: 409).

Bruce White (1987) argues that gifts could "help establish a business tie in Ojibway terms – a trusting relationship resulting from a metaphorical kinship – through which trader and Indian overcame the potential hostility of strangers" (White 1987: 231). Fictive and not-so-fictive kinships were thus closely entangled with commercial alliances. There are also moments of friendship that, without being written in the language of kinship, still speak to reciprocal ideals: "It was la grosse martre, who was hunting deer for Mr. Kay and Mr. Harris […] We were very glad to see him for we were taking a poor route. He said to me "comrade, follow me." […] He had just killed [a deer]. He cut it up and we divided it. We cooked it a little farther on and we slept there" (MPHC 1909: 522).

As we saw previously, Indigenous women were also an integral part of this kinship and reciprocity system, as many bourgeois, clerks and voyageurs married Indigenous women *à la façon du pays* (in the ways of the country). These women often played important roles in the trade and in food provisioning (Podruchny 2006: 119; Van Kirk 1980: 57-8). Several of Curot's men had Indigenous wives, and they actively

participated in the provisioning: “I got from Savoyard’s wife a cake of Fat belong to her mother for which I paid a Two pt. Blanket” (WHC 1911: 423). Curot also sometimes mentions his men’s wives cooking for them: “Savoyard’s wife Cooked on a Grill some fish For the voyage, they Speared 42” (WHC 1911: 465). Perrault also frequently mentions kinship relationships, often in association with food provisioning: “the brother-in-law of mr. Harris arrived […] [he] had killed a bear near the house. He gave me the tongue and the heart, and asked me and my man to go with him to carry it. I paid him in rum” (MPHC 1909: 524). Interestingly, alcohol is ubiquitous in such dealings, and Bruce White has argued that alcohol was rarely given on credit, as was the case for most material items which were then paid off throughout the winter or spring, but rather as a gift and an incentive for Indigenous hunters to pay off their debts by bringing them food and pelts (B. White 1987: 233-236).

However traders seemed to dislike Indigenous people’s “drinking bouts,” as Perrault calls it, as it often led to conflict and on rare occasions violence. Perrault recounts how some of the traders acted with regards to the Indians’ drinking: “Rattié, one of the men, came to tell me that Mr. Harris was drinking with the Indians. I went to politely reprimand him, but what reason to draw from a drunken man?” Rattié, insulted by this behavior, added: “Since you will drink with Indians, I am going to the other side of the river” (Cormier 1978: 49). The adoption of certain Indigenous practices and friendly relations with them, including drinking with them, therefore was not universally understood as acceptable behavior. This emphasizes the traders’ ambivalence when it came to the inclusion of Native peoples into their community and the adoption of Indian practices; hunting, caching and other practices borrowed from Indigenous peoples (including their geographical knowledge, as we saw previously) were deemed acceptable, if not encouraged in order to survive, while others were considered a degradation and therefore not to be adopted or emulated. This ambivalence is at the heart of the traders’ rhetoric when it comes to the ethnic ‘Other’ and suggests a tension between colonial ideals of difference and a desire and perhaps attraction for the freedom associated with an Anishinaabe lifestyle.

b. Othering processes: Exclusion and Difference

Thus despite the kinship-based system of trade and alliance that the traders had established with Indigenous groups and individuals around food practices, certain traders' language still reflects ambivalence and the 'othering' process emphasizing difference. As Earle argued, "Europeans [often] looked with disdain on many of the things eaten by Amerindians," and nowhere is this more explicit than in the notion of cannibalism, the example *par excellence* of the inability to distinguish between what is edible and what is not, thus a sure sign of barbarism (Earle 2010: 703). The rhetoric of cannibalism was still occasionally in use even in the late eighteenth-century. As a note to Perrault's manuscript, Schoolcraft himself addressed this common occurrence: "tales of cannibalism are current among the northern voyageurs," says Schoolcraft, "who are generally more intent on raising the fears or wonder of their auditors, than scrupulous [of the facts they related]" (MHPC 1909: 524, note). Perrault, for instance, writes: "As we had to be constantly on the lookout for savages[14], who were still *anthropophagous*, I caught up my gun, and peering through the branches, I saw a savage. It was the one who had been our guide" (MPHC 1909: 524, emphasis mine). Interestingly, here Perrault talks of cannibalism specifically in relation to a group of Indians who were still considered hostile (the Dakota, as it were) to European traders and their Ojibway allies, which suggests that the Other in this case remains specific to the unknown, and it clearly distinguishes these "barbarian" Indigenous groups from more familiar ones.

Yet the othering process sometimes did include Ojibway partners, and this process of differentiation is particularly evident in moments of disgust. Voekel argues that "disgust and embarrassment are physical reactions: the body serves as a repository for the principles of a cultural order, in effect a memory in which are lodged the organizing principles of a regime" (Voekel 1992: 199). As a visceral bodily reaction, disgust is particularly of interest as it speaks to individuals' attitudes to certain foods as well as

[14] While the term "savage" may seem to add to the rhetoric of difference and race, originally the French term "Sauvage" referred to "people living in the forest" and did not appear to reflect as much of a racial prejudice as the term seems to suggest. Such was probably still the case in the eighteenth century, though it is difficult to ascertain. In fact, Worthingon (2010a; 2010b) translated the French "Sauvage" into "Indian" so as to avoid confusion in that regard.

their *a priori* ideals and imaginaries, especially those that relate to the civilization/barbarism trope still quite common by the late eighteenth century and beyond. The conflation of bodily responses to food with cultural expectations, Pamela Voekel (1992) argues, is why differences in body and hygiene joined elite rhetoric in certain colonial contexts as a means of policing cultural boundaries and creating and reinforcing bodily difference. George Nelson is the most vocal in terms of his opinions of certain Indigenous practices that he found revolting. For example, "[the Indian's] son had killed a crow, they plucked, cooked, and ate it! – "Carrion, barbarians, to eat carrion!" I thought it horrid" (MHS 1947: 148). There is no doubt a little exaggeration in Nelson's reaction, but his explicit disgust nevertheless speaks to Nelson's attitudes to certain foods as well as his *a priori* idea of what "civilized" and "barbarian" foodways should be. Clearly, carrion birds and such were not deemed edible in Nelson's imaginary.

Nelson also had similar reactions to the voyageurs' cooking techniques, highlighting the fact that the othering process worked at different levels simultaneously. Nelson, as a Protestant Anglophone, appears to have entertained tense relationships with some voyageurs of French descent in the group. In his analysis of fur trade society, Rob Mann (2003; 2008) has shown that there was a process of ethnic segmentation within fur trade companies, whereby men of French descent, who often occupied the lower ranks of the society, were belittled by the dominant group (Anglo-Americans/Canadians). He argues that the latter viewed kin relations between French and Anishinaabeg with disdain, and that this segmentation allowed for the marginalization of men of French descent through a discourse of 'civil' and 'savage' that blurred the distinction between Indigenous people and French Canadians, but amplified the difference between Anglo-Americans and the rest (Mann 2003: 11). This ethnic tension and sometimes disdain is particularly notable in Nelson: "With little management [of provisions] we would have been well. But it is not easy to keep the [French] Canadians from pilfering" (MHS 1947: 7). There is also an occurrence in which Nelson finds himself disgusted by the way one of his men – he makes sure to note that he is son of a scotch soldier and a Canadian woman – dressed and cooked a duck, saying "this procedure shocked me terribly. He then broiled the entrails of the duck on the coals & eat them himself! "O, what a barbarian!

what a hog! Am I to become like that!" My heart swelled almost to bursting point with disgust, indignation, horror and grief" (MHS 1947: 145). Here Nelson is not so much horrified by what is eaten, as was the case for his reaction to Ojibway foodways I mentioned above, but rather on how it was prepared. Foods that Nelson considered edible within his given habitus or predisposition then could also evoke negative reactions when its cooking or preparation did not meet his standards. In fur trade society, then, ethnicity and status were closely linked, and "partners and midlevel personnel often aspired to be more refined in their dining habits than *engagés*" (Birk 1999a: 112). This is further exemplified by Malhiot:

> "I will not undertake the portage today because these men from the interior ask a day's rest. How weak they are! I gave each of them a drink of shrub, two double handfuls of flour, and two pounds of pork and they began to eat with such avidity that I was twice obliged to take the dish away from them […]" (Worthington 2010: 4-5).

Malhiot's scorn for the men in his employ – while not ethnically based in this case – is striking in this passage, where his language further adds to the segmentation by implicitly comparing his men's behavior with that of dogs or other animals.

c. Fear of starvation and Power Relations

Reliance on Native people's hunting and desire to trade fostered uncertainty about their reliability, and meant that hunger and the fear of starvation were omnipresent in fur traders' journals and narratives. Indeed, starvation was no doubt a real threat during winter times, and there are some instances of individuals finding fellow traders dead from hunger and cold (see Nelson in MHS 1947: 10). Starvation as a trope is well known for its use by Indigenous peoples; many authors have commented on Indigenous people's use of the language of pity and starvation within the kinship language of political alliance, which emphasized Indigenous' expression of themselves as children to their French or British father (see Havard 2003; White 1991: 104-119; B. White 1987). In a linguistic analysis specific to tropes of starvation, Black-Rodgers has found that Indigenous people used such language in three types of colonial contexts: literal, in case of a literal lack of food; technical as a fur-trade message that fur supplies were low because food had been scarce; and manipulative, which usually occurred in "speech events such as greetings,

jokes and other ritual routines" (Black-Rodgers 1986: 354). In the journals under study, the first, and particularly the second aspects of this phenomenon seem to occur most frequently. For example, Curot writes: "He says that the Savages are very Hungry that for three Days they have had nothing to eat except strips of wood" (1911: 435), or "I asked [Le Vieux Mauvais Oiseau] if he came to look for The French. He said no, that the savages hadn't killed anything, that he was Hungry, and that a few ducks and geese that he killed from Time to Time had kept them alive" (WHC 1911: 415). In this context Indigenous people using the trope of starvation in Curot's journal tend to follow what Black-Rogers calls the 'technical' context, in which speaking of starvation also implicitly refers to the impossibility to give food away and pay off their debts with pelts. In reading the journals, it becomes evident that this trope also commonly underlined an implicit request for liquor, which traders were generally inclined to give to maintain good trading relationships.

However, the trope of starvation is also quite common among the traders themselves, and may reflect broader anxieties about hunger and survival, as well as serve as means to express "class" tensions. The best examples of the former come from Perrault:

> "We had very few provisions by that time, but I expected relief very soon; but it did not come. For the savages were scattered from one side to another and were a long time in getting together, so that we were reduced a second time to starvation. Lauson became so feeble that he could hardly raise himself […]" (MHPC 1909: 523-524).

With regards to the second, or tensions related to status differentiation, we see some cases of voyageurs challenging the clerk's authority when provisions ran low and hunger and anxieties about starvation rose. This is best evidenced through Curot's almost daily dealings with two of his men, Savoyard and Smith (who incidentally also appear in Nelson's journal). Tensions arose mostly when Curot made the decision to ration the provisions or refused to give extra portions, in which case the voyageurs challenged the clerk in different ways. Verbal displays of discontent were common; after refusing to give Smith some wild rice, Smith replied: "Since you are so fond of your rice, go to H---- with it!" (WHC 1911: 452). Another threat was that of eating the pelts – the bread and

butter of fur traders: "I told Savoyard to dry some fish […] I don't Need to dry any Fish, [Savoyard replied,] It is not Good enough to eat without Fat that you have not Given us. I prefer to eat *La pituelle*[15] and if that does not sustain me sufficiently I will eat the Skins of the Packs as long as there are any" (WHC 1911:457-458). This threat of eating the pelts was apparently so often repeated that Curot actually feared that they would carry it out. Another common challenge of the clerk's authority was expressed through threats of leaving the camp and joining another trader: "Having observed that there were certain murmurs among the men who had no Wives, that the provisions were going Very fast, I Determined to put them all on rations spite of The threats of Savoyard and Smith that they would Leave, if I did not have provisions to give Them" (WHC 1911: 427). Similarly, François Victoire Malhiot tells us of more tales relating to power struggles over food:

> "27th Friday. Our people from Lac du Flambeau […] arrived here at six o'clock yesterday evening with their baggage […]. They are thin and emaciated like real skeletons. They say they were more ill-treated than ever by Gauthier [a clerk]; that half the time they had nothing to eat, while he never passed a single day without having a good meal […]" (Worthington 2010: 2-3).

In spite of Malhiot's apparent empathy for his men, he himself often spoke derisively and with less-than-subtle sarcasm of his men's abilities to provide food: "At last we have caught five carp and a Masquinongé [both fishes] in our nets this morning; but Gauthier had to stay out all night with Beaulieu, my Montreal man. They killed four partridges. Miracle!!!" (Worthington 2010:6-7).

While power relations emerged and were contested through food there are also many examples of sharing, especially for special occasions. On Christmas day for example Curot "gave David some flour to make Pancakes. I gave him also a taste of Rum As a treat, or Christmas Feast, as he would not be here on that day" (WHC 1911: 432). The relationship between the clerks and the voyageurs was thus very often tense – a true example of power and active resistance – but it was also one of reciprocity, in which the

[15] According to Nelson, "pituelle" refers to herbs which are "pretty good [for] eating when cooked in good meat liquor or with soupe, otherwise it is no relish." He mentions having boiled them in a small kettle for preparation (Peers and Schenck 2002: 169).

voyageurs provided the food, and the clerks and bourgeois provided management of the provisions as well as protection.

All of these examples demonstrate that food was central to the fur trade enterprise and the social relations that were negotiated. Traders had to not only acquire new skills and procure food, but also fight and negotiate the bodily function of hunger. This and the fear of starvation were of great concern to these individuals, and in many ways dictated the way that they interacted with each other, as well as with their Native partners. Hunger and fear of starvation are visceral feelings, and in the context of the fur trade became a powerful impetus for the construction and contestations of social relationships. Disgust is also a powerful bodily response, and Nelson has expressed it with regards to both Indigenous practices and French Canadian's cooking techniques or hygiene. His strong reaction also underlies familiar discourses about 'civilized' and 'barbarian' and the ways in which food consumption is tightly connected to ideas that certain things are good to eat (civilized), while others are disgusting (barbaric). While the trope of starvation has been well documented in Indigenous rhetoric of the fur trade, it is also quite common among the traders themselves, and may reflect deeper anxieties about hunger and survival, and possibly a deeper anxiety about having to become Native in order to survive. We can thus surmise that the fur trade community, such as it was, did not go uncontested but was constantly remade through processes of inclusion and exclusion. Ultimately however, its members could rally over shared foodways and a sense that they experienced struggles for survival in similar ways.

2) Foodways as spatial practices: Creating a community on the move

I have shown through this study that food possesses the power to not only foster a sense of belonging through common practices, but also to materialize othering processes and challenge and reinforce the boundaries of belonging and exclusion, especially those that emerge out of colonial or multiethnic encounters. While these ideas are now well accepted in the anthropological community, one aspect that has been mostly absent from such discussion is the spatial dimension of food, both through practice and through an association with home – a specific geographic location, a place. In this section I consider

how food-related discourses work in place-making processes in the mobile context of the late eighteenth-century fur trade. In popular culture, the link between identity, food and place is usually associated with culinary traditions rooted in a specific geographic location, for instance with the notion of "ethnic foods". An important question to consider, therefore, is how a context of mobility and uprootedness may have impacted food's ability to bring people together and foster that sense of community that place-based culinary traditions may produce.

a. Quest for food: venturing into the unfamiliar

As detailed previously, fur traders in the Western Great Lakes and interior tended to depend on local products, especially those who wintered in the interior and who had but a small quantity of provisions provided for them. The quest for food occupied traders everyday but was particularly challenging in the winter months, when "hunting and travel were made difficult and food stores decreased" (Birk 1999a: 96). Thus, while depending on "local resources lessened labor, food and freight cost, it exposed traders to risks" (Birk 1999a: 94). This was especially the case when local Indigenous groups failed to supply provisions in exchange for goods or alcohol, which traders relied upon, and they were forced to look for food themselves, either through hunting or going *en dérouine*.

As I mentioned in 7, hunting was not an activity that voyageurs undertook on their own very often, however some of them did so. For example, one of Curot's entries mentions that "Savoyard killed a deer that he put in the store. To appease him I bought the skin for a 1 pt. blanket" (WHC 1911: 428), suggesting that at least some men were competent hunters. More frequently, however, voyageurs were sent *en dérouine*, that is to stay and live with a particular Ojibway band or family for a given period of time. Such actions by clerks are extremely common in journals, and may be exemplified by the following excerpts from Curot's journal:

> "Ouaisza asked me for a man to go with him to find le Razeur's band and stay there until the winter. I asked David if he wished to go and he said yes. Savoyard would have been glad to go there with his wife, if she had been here, he could not without some one to dress skins; she had been with her mother since the 24th of the last Month. Since Smith was not here Savoyard did not wish to work at the house, saying that he is going with the savages in order to be sure of provision, that there is every probability that those who

> stay with me will be obliged to starve to the last extremity" (WHC 1911: 412-413).
>
> "Thursday 6, Friday 7. David left this morning with Ouaisza and Le Petit Mâle and his wife to go and Camp at the other end of Lake Jaune, where he could set traps for Beaver and Otter and also hunt deer" (WHC 1911: 413).

This common practice of sending men to live with their Native partners and kin made traders venture into sometimes unfamiliar spaces (social, physical and imaginary), which turned the unfamiliar into something familiar, common, and shared. When in unfamiliar landscapes, traders would rely on their Indigenous partners as guides: "Saturday 22nd. David and Boisvert arrived this morning bringing Sixty two Plus, seven muskrats, and seven pieces of meat. David brought a little savage with him to serve as Guide in other Drouines [Dérouines]" (WHC 1911: 416)

Moreover, caching, as a practice borrowed from Indigenous groups to store foodstuff in strategic places, provided an additional way for traders to venture beyond the post. "Sunday 6. Smith went with Boisvert to the Grande River to look for the rice that his wife had cached, and brought a deer that a wolf had strangled the day before" (WHC 1911: 421).

In addition to going *en dérouine,* the mobile lifestyle also meant that traders occasionally traveled from one post to another for various reasons: deliver messages or letters, get food or goods from other posts, and so on. In such cases, they had to find ways to survive, sometimes in the absence of Indigenous guides to show the way and help with the procurement of food. Perrault recounts several of such travels, where fear of starvation forced him to forage for food in an unfamiliar place. He writes, for example, of a time when his entire party

> "… started at all hazards to go into the interior with only what we had left, which consisted in all of a sack of flour, a keg of butter, and one of sugar - provisions for himself only [Mr. Kay]. His party was composed of 14 men, his sauvagesse [Indian woman], himself and me – making in all 17 persons – and nothing to eat! … The day after over six inches of snow fell, leaving us with very few provisions to live on, and the season far advanced. But there was no way to retreat. … It took us eleven days to go from there to portage de la prairie amidst snow and ice, with nothing to eat. We lived on the Seed-pods of the wild rose, and the sap of trees. I placed the goods en cache, with two small canoes … at the entrance to the portage de la prairie, and I made a lodge with an oilcloth near the small Lac de la puise on the portage. There we lived several

> days on some small tolibies (small whitefish) but they were soon exhausted. As the ice thickened we were obliged to have recourse to the roots of the flag, which we boiled. It was necessary to search for it at the head of the little lake, in the mire of a swamp covered with snow. This resource failed us and we were compelled to quit the place" (Cormier 1978: 39).

This is a great example of how various aspects of daily life served towards place-making, such as foraging for food, building shelter, traveling over difficult terrain, and caching goods. All of these actions, including food procurement strategies such as hunting and sending men *en dérouine* created the conditions for emplacement to occur, or in other words for allowing the men to become familiar with perhaps unfamiliar physical and social landscapes and thus creating a particular sense of place, and not necessarily a positive one. Through such practices and discourses as those detailed above, a relationship between place-making and identity formation processes that goes beyond kinesthetic experience is created and re-created through a community of practice.

b. Relationship with animals

I would now like to turn to the ways in which procurement strategies, and especially hunting, may have also involved a particular relationship between humans and animals that would have differed from the one Euro-Canadians were used to in an agricultural, "settled" context. Animals, as biological organisms, also have agency in influencing human actions, especially given their presence in the physical and imagined landscape (Soderberg and Immich 2010). After all, "humans use animals to create themselves, others and 'the Other'", and "since animals are living organisms for at least part of their interactions with humans, they possess agency and, perhaps more importantly, they maintain connections to the physical environment in ways that most material culture does not" (Soderberg and Immich 2010: 100).

In general terms, animals held a particular place in the Anishinaabe-Ojibway world, "both in a practical and spiritual sense, as they relied on animals for food, clothing and tools as well as knowledge" (Birk 1993: 34). Anishinaabeg-Ojibway "believed that animals allowed themselves to be killed so that their human kin could survive […]. The animals too could conspire against a hunter if a species was offended by the ill treatment

of their kind" (Birk 1993: 34). As Birk states,

> "It is perhaps […] looking at how people relate religiously or philosophically to their natural surroundings that shows the greatest fundamental difference between European and tribal peoples during the era of global exploration and colonization. In a nutshell, Europeans, armed with Biblical guidance, often sought to subdue and claim the natural world and its creatures, while Native Americans usually saw themselves as an integral part of nature and a kin to animals, on which they relied on for food and clothing" (Birk 1993: 28).

That said, it is unclear whether the intensification of particular food-related practices brought on by the fur trade economy altered some Native groups' views. Calvin Martin for instance asserts that "diseases ruptured the sacred apposition between animals and the tribes, making possible a radical departure from traditional attitudes towards animals" (cited in Vizenor 1984: 21; Martin 1978: 54). Vizenor agrees, suggesting that "the fur trade and other colonial interests interposed economic anomalies between the intuitive rhythms of woodland life and the equipoise of the Anishinaabeg spiritual world" (Vizenor 1984: 23). However, the ethnohistorical evidence provided in this chapter rather points to a continued spiritual component in the ways in which some Ojibway groups conceived of animals, for instance in performing conjuring rituals and recounting stories that entangled the spiritual with animals (see below). Moreover, Martin (1978) suggests that, whether or not animals retained the same place in Ojibway cosmology in post-Columbian times, "there was clearly a spiritual dimension to the Canadian fur trade" (1978: 51). With regards to the overkilling of some species like the beaver in some areas, he argues that hunter-gatherers "would normally have refrained from [overhunting] furbearers and other wildlife for fear of retaliation from offended game spirit" (Martin 1978: 52). However, increased exposure to disease, which were then associated with malevolent wildlife, would have removed the traditional sanctions against overkilling certain animals (Martin 1978: 52).

Whether that is the case or not, I would like to consider hunting as a particular spatial practice that suggests a distinctive kind of relationship between humans and animals. Willerslev (2007) has argued that tracking and hunting requires "the hunter to identify with his prey and attempt to ascertain its mode of perception" (2007: 84). In this process is involved what he refers to as a "double-negation": "the person is not the species he is

imitating, but he is also not not that species" (Willerslev 2007: 95). Thus "the manipulating power that is present in hunters' imitation of prey rests in their dual capacity to incorporate its 'otherness' while in some profound sense remaining the same" (2007: 96). "The hunter needs to be aware not only of the prey animal but also of himself being aware of the prey to make sure that his perspective is neither hunter or animal but somewhere in between and both at once" (2007: 97). Hunting, then as a social action, may be "mechanism of generating identities" (Sykes 2005: 73).

While it remains unclear whether members of Réaume's party engaged in hunting expeditions themselves, we know that voyageurs at other places (Snake River, Yellow River) occasionally engaged in some hunting. In order to hunt effectively, they would most likely have had to adopt a mindset similar to what Willerslev is describing, and perhaps even borrowing some aspect of the Anishinaabeg's view of animals. For instance, another piece of evidence indicative of a change in some fur traders' relationship with animals towards a more spiritual engagement, arguably following Anishinaabe-Ojibway traditions, relates to conjuring of animals in order to increase the likelihood of a good hunt. This practice was commonly performed by Ojibway hunters according to Nelson: "Our Indians frequently conjured, i.e. prayed & sang, & laid out all their most powerful nostrums, to kill bears" (Peers and Schenck 2002:145). While Nelson does not appear to have participated himself, he nevertheless "[gave] some tobacco to the Commis & one of his brothers an old man to make their medicine or prayers to kill something – particularly bears for there are by very few other animals here. It seems that they are not much listened to for they have not yet killed anything" (Peers and Schenck 2002:143). In the rest of this anecdote, however, Nelson points out that when a particular Ojibway man, Le Bougon, tries it, the conjuring works and they kill a bear the next day, much to Nelson's wonder (Peers and Schenck 2002:145).

Perrault also chose to write about the ways in which certain animals and their behaviors are associated with supernatural forces. The following anecdote is particularly striking in considering how certain traders adhered to or borrowed from Indigenous stories and engaged on a spiritual level with animals.

> "The evening before our departure from la bay, two of mr. Labatte's men, in crossing the river in a wooden canoe saw a sturgeon leap up suddenly near them. It fell into the canoe, and one of them slew it to stop its struggles; the man was named Father Bernier. When they returned and related what had happened, the savages who were there said it was a great misfortune for him that he had taken it; that he certainly would die within a short time; that similar things had happened which were verified to the letter; that it was a bad omen for him. Several French-men who were present, said it was foolish to put faith in what the savages said, for they were full of superstition: - "let us cook it, and eat it." So they made a feast of it." … the next day…. "the canoe of Mr. Labatte's brother-in-law was opposite the man who had taken the sturgeon; he was resting on his oar, the Indian musket lying across his canoe behind him, when the butt of the gun touched the large canoe. It went off, and hit Bernier in the left side. Although the force of the shot was great, he remained seated, but in a moment he fell, crying out and dying. We all marveled at such an incident, and were unable to understand it" (MPHC 1909: 526).

Dogs also present an interesting case, as members of fur trade society seem to have used them as pets (for lack of a better word). For instance, Perrault recounts how after his party found the body of a drowning victim named Patterson, "his dog [was] crouched beside them on the beach. When we undertook to remove them from the beach, the dog interfered. It was necessary to strike him in order to approach them" (MPHC 1909: 540-541). In another instance, the uneasy behavior of a dog affected Nelson and his party's decision-making process, thereby enacting its agency :

> "A small dog that had followed us was frequently barking, scenting, scraching [sic] the ground & showing all the Symptoms those dogs do when an enemy is near, we concluded of course that some scouters must be in the vicinity. We took the alarm. We consulted. We concluded that, as the Scioux [sic] very frequently visited; nay, sometimes hunted in these very woods with their families; the unexpected departure of those we were in quest of, […] & the uneasiness of the dog, it would be most prudent for us to sheer off too" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 71).

Given the almost symbiotic relationship between dogs and humans recorded in these accounts, it is therefore not surprising to find Nelson outraged at finding his comrades eating dogs in times of scarcity:

> "We suffered a great deal for want of food. At Fon du Lac they bought a large fat dog of the N.W. which they eat – I could but merely taste it from the disgust, & surely not from any Delicacy, real or pretended; for these 2 years had cured me of those whims and caprices. I had to gather more leaves and roots for my supper!" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 168).

In sum, the search for food and reliance on animals in ways that occasionally went

beyond food procurement created an arena where traders could become fully immersed into a sometimes unfamiliar physical and social landscape. Animals came to play a key role in the way the landscape was experienced, perceived and conceived.

c. Ideas of Home through Food

"Home" is often defined "as imbued with cultural, social and affective meanings that hold a special place in the individual and popular imagination, memory and everyday life" (Hurdley 2013: 13). Given the common affective association between food and 'home', "adamant and deeply rooted cultural assumptions about what constitutes good and proper food underpinned the writings of many [traders]" (Vibert 2010: 125). When ideals of food hygiene or taste were not met in practice – or in other words when the conceived space didn't match the perceived space – it sometimes led to sentiments of homesickness, or a feeling of displacement that worked as a counter narrative to community building through food. Indeed, food and memory are closely intertwined, and when "filtered through a lens of nostalgia, such memories become a way of preserving identity now perceived to be endangered by migration, mobility, and suburban mass culture" (Belasco 2008: 27). Studies of diasporic populations suggest that "those who leave their homeland may be especially attached to traditional practice of consumption […] (Vibert 2010: 125). For instance, Nelson illustrates this point remarkably well when he describes how "[Indians] had some deer meat hanging upon the trees. It looked so much like mutton I longed for some – it also gave me a longing for home" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 55). He also described some of his attitudes to trying unfamiliar foodstuff or food items that were prepared differently from the way they would have been back in Quebec. For instance,

> "A few days after, we came to a place where were two families of Indians. They had killed a moose dear [sic] & the men went out with them to help carrying it home. They at last returned, cooked some & we set down to eat. This was the first time I head to eat meat alone, without vegetables or bread. I found it excellent though it had only been passed thro' the water" (Peers and Schenck 2002: 48).

Nelson's willingness to try moose meat is interesting here, as it suggests that, contrary to the consumption of dogs, his *a priori* dispositions allowed him to recognize

moose as familiar, or similar enough to other food items that he already deemed safe, such as deer or domesticated livestock. In such a case his pre-conceived ideals regarding food left room for his turning something new into something familiar.

3) Concluding remarks

From the learning and use of food-related practices that relied on Indigenous people's skills and knowledge emerged new traditions and practices that came to be particularly associated with the fur trade lifestyle, drawing up the flexible boundaries of this community of practice as a community on the move. Drawing from Bourdieu (1977) I suggest that uprootedness, like colonial encounters, may bring a break in doxic decisions and offer new possibilities for new traditions and geographic imaginaries. At the same time that these new traditions emerged through interactions with new environments and various social groups, fur traders simultaneously carried with them ideals of culinary traditions that resonated with ideas of home. When ideals of food hygiene or taste were not met in practice – or in other words when the conceived space didn't match the perceived space – it sometimes led to sentiments of homesickness, or a feeling of displacement that worked as a counter narrative to community building through food. Not only did frictions between conceived ideals regarding food and physical experiences create tensions in the way place-making may have occurred through food, tensions in the way food was lived and experienced daily created an arena for resistance and the emergence of unequal power relations, as detailed above.

In sum, food served the dual role of reinforcing ideas of home through homesickness, and emplacement within the fur trade physical and social landscape. Indeed, the mobility associated with the context made the procurement of food a particular spatial practice that allowed the fur traders to develop a new sense of place in a previously unfamiliar landscape, making it possible for fur traders' identities to be simultaneously local and non-local, carrying with them notions of home as placed in multiple locations, and not just their place of origin.

10. CONCLUSION

In my elaboration of a framework to interpret Réaume's Leaf River Post within its regional context of the late eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes, my goal was to address two broad and interconnected questions: the first one concerned the process of identification to a group through various practices, including both daily and discursive ones. Here I drew from Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of community of practice, which considers the central role of knowledge transmission from old timers to newcomers in the training of a particular occupation, enabling the enactment of shared practices among practitioners. The creation of a sense of belonging to a particular group through shared practices and values, however, is never uncontested. Rather, it often appears in multiethnic or colonial contexts to operate in tandem with a process of othering based on a rhetoric of difference and the creation and enactment of unequal power relations. The two processes, affiliation and differentiation, potentially occur simultaneously and thereby reinforce each other and the social boundaries that are being set (e.g. Grignon 2001). In my investigation of how this process worked in the case of the eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes, I was particularly interested in the ways in which men of European or mixed descent negotiated these operations of inclusion and exclusion to create a community of practice based on their occupation as fur traders. The social boundaries that were enacted and imagined were fluid and negotiated at multiple

levels: not only along lines of status and experience, but also of ethnicity, especially when it came to the relationships with their Native trading partners and/or Indigenous wives.

The second issue that I wanted to address in this study is related to place-making, or the production of social spaces. One of the main goals here was to challenge the (increasingly contested) notion that place-making can only occur through the creation of stable "roots" in a given location or land. Rather, following Creswell's concept of mobility as the political, socially meaningful aspect of movement (Creswell 2006: 16), I argued that it can play an equally important role in place-making as does a sedentary lifestyle. The notion of a particular "home" or even "homeland," while important to the identification process, is a fluid concept, and in fact has the potential to become located in multiple places at once (e.g. Rodman 1992; Bender 2001a; Brah 1996). Consequently, people on the move carry imaginaries and embodiments of multiple home places with them as they turn unfamiliar space into familiar places. I further argued that, for fur traders mobility came to be closely associated with other practices that, because they were shared and experienced in similar ways, were part of a unique lifestyle that served to create and maintain a sense of "groupness".

That being said, the politics of mobility in the late eighteenth-century Western Great Lakes were not without contention and had to be negotiated as well, for a mobile lifestyle was not necessarily part of colonial ideals of sedentary colonization. According to Creswell, mobility has been represented in different ways at different points in time: "mobility has been figured as adventure, tedium, education, freedom, modern, threatening" (Creswell 2010: 19). On one hand, fur traders appear to have been attracted to the fur trade lifestyle because of the adventure and freedom associated with it. George Nelson, for instance, admits to having engaged himself as an apprentice clerk partly because of the stories he heard in his hometown of Sorel, which was an important fur-trade recruiting center (Peers and Schenck 2002). The stories that Nelson would have heard are likely to have romanticized the life of fur traders and emphasized the freedom, adventure and prowess associated with survival in a rough and unfamiliar environment away from agricultural centers. This sentiment of shared struggles and survival was

powerful enough for NWC Bourgeois to create the "Montreal Beaver Club," which was restricted to bourgeois or clerks who had wintered in the hinterland – which incidentally further supports the sense of belonging to a fur trade "culture" that this study was hoping to unpack.

On the other hand, officials, especially French officials and missionaries, had held ambivalent attitudes from the start about the fact that a large portion of the potential agricultural work force chose to scamper about in the woods with the Indians – or worse, *becoming* Indian – even though it was necessary in order for the trade to be profitable for the mercantilist policies of the French monarchy. Similarly, mobility as a lifestyle was later deployed in British officials' rhetoric of segmentation (see Mann 2008: 322), which denigrated mobility and associated it with the figure of the feudal vagabond, a mobile subject of the 15th-century Europe. As Creswell explains: "By the late 16th century, English feudal order was being rapidly undone as the population grew and agriculture became more efficient, needing less bodily labor ... People were homeless and economically marginal. … These new "masterless men" were considered extremely threatening because they did not appear to be part of any recognizable form of order. Their mobility made them ineligible" (Creswell 2006: 12). Importantly, a similar disparaging attitude was deployed by colonial officials when it concerned Indigenous peoples (Witgen 2012); their mobility made them elusive imperial targets that refused to be boxed into a definite, bounded social category, and this made their incorporation into an imperial design challenging. Witgen argues that because of this shape-shifting, colonial authorities devised other ways of incorporating native groups into an "illusionary" empire, namely through representational strategies such as maps (Witgen 2007; 2012). But to return to our fur traders, as a consequence of the negotiating of these various aspects of the politics of mobility – freedom and adventure vs. the contemptuous image of the landless (and potentially soul-less) vagabonds –tensions emerged between colonial ideals of sedentary life and the need and desire for mobility. It has been one of the objectives of this study to demonstrate that the practices and imaginaries of the fur traders in fact embodied these tensions, between a need to claim an identity starkly different from that of the Indians, while at the same time adopting multiple Indigenous

practices (and potentially values?) in order to survive and perhaps facilitate the creation and maintenance of social and commercial alliances with their Native trading partners.

The historical and archaeological study of Réaume's Leaf River post and other sites from the same period and geographical area such as Little Round Hill, Sayer's Snake River Post, the NWC and XYC posts on the Yellow River, 21MO20, François' House and Fort St. Joseph, has provided remarkable insight into these issues, especially when these sites are taken as complementary places that together made up a particular kind of fur trade landscape that traders both created through their movement and practices and which in turn also shaped and constrained their place-making. Using a comparative approach to these sites more specifically allowed me to consider how different variables may have affected the materiality of these posts, in particular with regards to a trader's corporate affiliation or independent status, the function of a post and the relative remoteness of its location, and intended duration of the occupation.

In sum, I have found that, with respect to architectural practices, the association of a trader with a corporation such as the NWC or XYC appears to have had a strong impact on the overall layout of a post, including the need for status-based segregation and differential access to privacy. The results from Réaume's Leaf River Post were somewhat unexpectedly closer in appearance to those of corporate posts (e.g. Forts Folle Avoine, Sayer's Snake River post) than independent ones such as Little Round Hill. On the other hand, when it came to food-related practices, corporate affiliation appears to have had a lesser impact – except perhaps in the quantity of food remains recovered, which were higher at the NWC post on the Yellow River – than the remoteness of the location. This suggests that, when it came to food procurement, all traders in the hinterland, independent or not, relied heavily, if not exclusively, on local resources and their Native trading partners' hunting skills and willingness to share. The faunal analysis from Réaume's Leaf River Post suggests that it was no exception to this pattern.

1) The project's research questions

a. Community formation through the lived and conceived spaces

Some of the specific questions that I asked in order to address the issues discussed

above are the following: how did daily practices – spatial practices such as foodways and the built environment – actualize particular places and geographic imaginaries, while also allowing the enactment of a community of practice? And secondly, because the two questions are closely interrelated, how did such processes impact social relations, particularly power relations, within fur trade society, that is among men of various European ethnicities and their Native trading partners?

My approach to this set of questions draws in part from theories of practice and Lave and Wenger's "community of practice" as mentioned above, but also from Henri Lefebvre's (1991) emphasis on the production of social spaces, especially the notions of lived and conceived spaces, since communities of practice and the social relationships associated with them do not appear in a spatial vacuum but are closely tied to particular places. I argue that members of the fur trade community experienced the landscape in a particular, vivid, way and that this experience was portrayed and negotiated through both their practical engagement with the landscape and discursively. The creation of a geographic imaginary, or the "conceived space," represents in itself a place-making practice that occurs at the intersection of the imagination, discourse and movement. While I separated Lefebvre's different realms of discourse and action for clarity, representational strategies and practice are closely entangled and should thus be examined for potential overlap as well as for ruptures that alternatively point to unequal power relations (e.g. Lefebvre 1991), tensions and ambivalence.

By looking at the daily practices performed in relation to architecture and food at Réaume's Leaf River Post and other sites related in time and space, my goal was twofold. First, I wanted to demonstrate that such practices served to create a "lived space" particular to a trade post experience through their performances at the intersection of social relations, material objects and topographical features. The execution of the daily practices related to food and architecture was an efficient conduit for not only the transmission of shared practical knowledge "on the spot" characteristic of communities of practice, but also for the negotiation of social boundaries and unequal power relations.

With regards to architectural practices, for instance, shared construction techniques point to a form of informal teaching and knowledge transmission particular to

communities of practice, which also served to highlight commonalities across disparate groups of people, turning particular construction techniques into "the way of doing things" for fur trade practitioners. I put forth a similar interpretation with regards to food-related practices. The traders' reliance on Native peoples for food also extended to having to learn different hunting or storing strategies, such as caching foodstuffs or scaffolding meat for drying purposes, from both their Native trading partners and old timers. Cooking was also most likely learned "on the spot" especially considering the sexually-based division of labor in *Canadien* society where women were generally in charge of the kitchen. The journals also inform us that, not only did certain men know how to cook and indeed were expected to do so for their clerk or bourgeois, but also that they knew how to cook food items from Indigenous origins such as corn and wild rice. All of these practices that were learned from observation of old timers or Native peoples came to be representative of this particular lifestyle, and in turn served to create a community of practice that traders could associate with even if a sense of belonging was not verbally expressed. The shared experiences and sometimes struggles and hardships associated with dangerous rapids or rough winters no doubt installed a sense of camaraderie among the practitioners.

On the other hand, other aspects of daily practices such as spatial segregation, differential access to privacy and to the best cuts of meat, and the presence of palisade walls to name but a few, point to the enactment of unequal power relations both within the community and as a way to delimit boundaries intended to distinguish insiders from outsiders. These, I argue, are representative of the second aspect of community building, which relies on processes of differentiation and/or 'othering' that work to establish firmer social and physical boundaries around a given group. Colonial ideals based on difference and *a priori* assumptions about 'the Other' played an important role in the creation of a fur trade community of practice, perhaps more so than the concept of the "middle ground" would suggest. As Heidi Scott has pointed out, "the construction of colonial geographical knowledge [and I add to that colonial social relations] was based as much on local context as on shared cultural assumptions" (2009: 4).

Certain aspects of discourse provide an insightful way for understanding this, in

particular with regards to the creation of a geographic imaginary and processes of inclusion and exclusion through food-related rhetoric. Nelson's expressions of disgust when confronted with Indigenous or even French Canadian cooking techniques, for instance, are remarkable illustrations of this operation. His attitude shows that, first of all, a priori assumptions and tastes are made vividly conscious when confronted to other possibilities; and second that the differentiation process worked at multiple levels simultaneously, along lines of both ethnicity (British, *Canadien*, Indian) as well as status. Of particular interest to me were instances when status-based expectations from persons in charge encountered resistance from lower-status men of more experience, or old timers. George Nelson and Michel Curot, for example, both clerks of relative little experience, were constantly targeted and "picked on" by lower-status old timers, challenging their expectations about authoritative power and the ways in which power relations should have worked. What we see instead in such cases is a constant negotiation of power between experienced laborers on one hand, and newcomers in a position of authority on the other. Such power dynamics oftentimes revolved around food (or lack thereof) and anxieties surrounding potential starvation.

The creation of other means of asserting authority was thus necessary for the men in charge, especially for traders associated with a corporation that worked under a strict hierarchy of personnel (see Hamilton 1990; 2000). Preferential access to privacy, cleaner quarters, and potentially access to the best cuts of meat all served to assert the authority of the person in charge in more or less subtle ways, regardless of their experience or ethnicity. The creation of physical boundaries was also crucial to the enactment of hierarchy: boundaries being "one means of organizing social space, [and] part of the process of place-making, an enormous amount of effort may go into constructing a sense of identity within these bounded areas" (Massey and Jess 1995: 68). This need for physical boundaries also reflected an attempt at differentiation (or physical and social distancing) from Indians as well, especially in posts where palisade walls were erected. While not denying the defensive purpose of such constructions, stockade walls are also powerful statements of power as they clearly indicate a separation between who lives within and who lives without, and further allow for the control of movement, itself an

important factor influencing power dynamics.

This raises the issue of power relations between traders and their Native trading partners. I hope that this study, and the chapters that centered around food and the creation of geographic imaginaries in particular, has successfully demonstrated the political and social importance of Indigenous people's presence within the fur trade landscape, especially Anishinaabe groups. It is worth repeating that, in many ways, Anishinaabe dictated the practices that came to characterize the fur trade lifestyle at this time and place, including mobility, food procurement, and the creation of social alliances through kinship. Traders relied almost exclusively on their punctual participation in the trade for food procurement, but also for travel. The fear of getting lost and dying of cold and hunger is a recurrent theme in the traders' journals and was thus central to their geographic imaginary and the ways in which they experienced the landscape. Indigenous guides and – Nelson tells us – maps and roads, were crucial for both survival and for turning the unfamiliar into a familiar place. Anishinaabe trading partners therefore wielded considerable power over the movement of traders across their hunting territories and, unbeknownst to the traders, probably constrained it in a manner that best fit their own needs or desires. This relationship is responsible for the ephemerality of Euro-Canadian posts in the interior and illustrates the power dynamics that in some ways ran contrary to what would be expected in colonial situations. In Hayes' words: "Rather than take this ephemerality as a marker of the precarious balance of indigenous lifeways under colonial conditions, it may be seen as the precarious nature of Euro-American lifeways under indigenous conditions" (Hayes 2015: 64).

However, the role of Native peoples within this community was rarely acknowledged by fur traders; instead their attitudes, including Réaume's, appear to illustrate conflicting feelings between inclusiveness and difference. Creating social relationships was favored for the sake of the trade, but adopting Indian practices was encouraged only when it favorably impacted the traders' survival in an unfamiliar landscape. Lived and conceived spaces embodied such tensions between colonial ideals (expressed as the physical representation of colonial power and/or certain *a priori* assumptions or attitudes present in fur traders' journals) and what happens on the ground,

making traders inhabitants of an 'in-between' space, the particular space in which the community of practice is enabled and enacted. Members of the fur trade community, like diasporic individuals, were "people who belonged to more than one world, spoke more than one language (literally and metaphorically), inhabited more than one identity – they have learned to negotiate and translate between cultures. They speak from the 'in-between'" (Hall 1995: 206; also Peterson 1985: 41). When adopting certain Indigenous practices that appealed to them, be it for survival purposes or for other reasons, I follow Witgen in suggesting that they were engaging in the performance of a middle ground, albeit a contested one. I agree with Hayes (20015) that the traders' "success in this landscape was dependent upon being incorporated into the local" (Hayes 2015: 64). This is not to say that colonial processes were not in the works, or that power relations did not exist, but rather that the fur trade allowed for the performance of particular practices and engagement with Indigenous customs (and vice versa) in a way that was acceptable to all trading parties, regardless of their ethnicities or reasons for doing so. Yet, no matter how many Indigenous practices or customs the traders adopted, it was still deemed necessary for traders, including independent ones like Joseph Réaume or François Leblanc who held a favorable reputation when it came to their dealings with Native trading partners, to make nonverbal statements of difference. One of the most visible ways of doing so was through architectural practices, in particular in using New France folk construction techniques, including some stone masonry, rectangular-shaped buildings and bastioned palisades. The combination of these architectural practices mark a stark contrast with the more ephemeral wigwam styles of lodgings that Anishinaabe favored for an efficient seasonal mobility.

These processes of inclusion and exclusion in sum played a crucial role in the definition of the community of practice as experienced by fur traders. All of the new skills that they had to learn served to create a distinct set of practices associated with the fur trade, practices which reinforced a sense of belonging to the community in Lave and Wenger's sense. In such communities, "the following and transmission of ritual rules both rely upon and foster communal knowledge through observational learning and more discursive instances of teaching and learning" (Owoc 2005: 262).

b. The impact of mobility

The second set of questions that I aimed to examine in this study relate to the formation of a community *on the move*. How did mobility impact the materiality of fur trade society, considering that this lifestyle also held negative connotations in the eyes of colonial officials? And how did it impact the interconnected processes of place-making and identification to a community of practice? If we go back to the definition of 'mobility' as offered by Tim Creswell, it is important to remember that it "involves a fragile entanglement of physical movement, representations (that give movement shared meaning), and practices" (Creswell 2010: 18). Thus the mobility associated with the fur trade lifestyle I am describing held political and social significance. Following Bender (2001a) in challenging the "assumption that movement creates a dislocation between people and landscape" (2001a: 78), I suggest that, on the contrary, daily practices and narratives offer an insightful perspective on aspects of place-making, in particular how thoughts on architecture and the use of, and movement across, space in general terms play a role in turning the unfamiliar into the familiar. Furthermore, I suggest that daily practices and narratives embody some of the tensions between colonial agendas of sedentary colonization and the need for mobility.

In order to assess how mobility may have impacted the materiality of fur trade places, I use examples of more permanent posts such as Fort St. Joseph as examples of what one would expect for a long-term occupation in terms of construction techniques, size, layout, and food resources. When examining architectural practices, for instance, construction techniques and layout appeared to be similar regardless of the duration of occupation. One of the major differences however appeared in the size of the posts – regional headquarters and depots such as St. Joseph had more buildings, including a blacksmith and a prison, and sometimes individual houses for traders or soldiers. On the other hand, temporary wintering outposts were generally smaller, with one to three buildings, sometimes within a rectangular enclosure. Réaume appears to follow this second pattern, although its enclosure is much larger relative to other wintering posts of the region. Why this is the case remains a mystery – for example we found no evidence of post holes or any other features that would point to the presence of wigwams within

the enclosure. That said there are many trade post activities that do not leave strong archaeological evidence, such as canoe making or scaffolding meat.

My main point in considering the impact of mobility of the community of practice, however, was that a tension emerges between colonial ideals and mobility through a kind of compromise between expedient construction techniques commonly used, such as *pieux-en-terre* and variations of this technique, and the need or desire for a colonial symbols of power through the built environment. Such statements – a palisade wall, a flagstaff, rectangular buildings with some stone masonry – clearly state "we are here," amidst an overwhelmingly Native landscape.

This tension is not as clear in the foodways as reconstructed from faunal remains, although it is central to food-related rhetoric. The most important difference observed between foodways at permanent sites and those at temporary wintering outpost is the presence of livestock, especially in military forts such as St. Joseph, or even Michilimackinac, that harbored military personnel as well as colonists. In such cases, the greater communication routes also afforded the possibility of bringing in some livestock from colonial centers. The mobility associated with smaller outposts and the logistical constraints that are associated with the canoe-and-portage mode of transportation, on the other hand, forced traders to rely on Indigenous peoples for food procurement and local knowledge about food sources. The rhetoric of difference associated with food is thus closely tied to mobility and perhaps to an anxiety about having to become native in order to survive – while simultaneously resisting this process in an effort to challenge the rhetoric of segmentation that British officials used to denigrate *Canadiens* and relegate them to an inferior social category (Mann 2008).

Let me now turn to the second question, which relates to the connection between mobility, place-making and community affiliation. Here I considered land travel (for instance to deliver letters to other trade posts) as well as some food procurement strategies such as hunting and sending men *en dérouine*, as spatial practices that required traders to navigate unfamiliar spaces. While river ways were relatively well known to traders by the late eighteenth-century, land roads were less so. In winter, when the rivers froze and constrained canoe travel, traders were required to travel on foot, using

snowshoes when necessary. Through this process of "emplacement" (after Joyce et al. 2009), which occurred at the intersection of bodily movement and imagination, traders learned to recognize and make sense of unfamiliar landscapes. This operation of place-making may be closely tied to affect, which then resonates with notions of 'home.'

As evidenced by Nelson's mental process of making a "home away from home," in time the practices that were enacted and learned, and the social relations that were established, created a particular geographic imaginary for Nelson and others that included the trade post as one "home" among others. As Brah (1996) argues, "The multi-placedness of home in the diasporic imaginary does not mean that diasporian subjectivity is 'rootless'. … Processes of diasporic identity formation are exemplars *par excellence* of the claim that identity is always plural, and in process" (Brah 1996: 197). An important point that Zedeño and Stoffle (2003) and others (e.g. Bender 2001a; Brah 1996)) have underscored in linking movement with identity is that "migration rarely replaces an old homeland with a new one, rather it contributes to the expansion of rootedness by allowing people to incorporate a whole new landscape learning experience" (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003: 68). Movement and mobility thus allow the creation of strong attachments and stable relations, because through the repetition and everyday use, they define the confines of used space, and the behaviors allowed in those spaces (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003: 65). The sense of rootedness that one sometimes feel towards a particular place "is essentially subconscious: it means that people have come to identify themselves with a particular locality, to feel that it is their home" (Tuan 1977: 194). This experience is multilocal because "the present being 'at home' is predicated on an earlier and different sense of place and belonging" (Bender 2001a: 82). Moreover, this place-making practice may be linked to identities in that its experience is shared: "There is a type of experience recognizable only to those who have walked through a particular building, or street, or district. Only they have lived it. To 'live' an artifact is to appropriate it" (Connerton 2009: 32). Architectural practices, stories that link experience to memory and places on the landscape (such as portages), and even mapmaking, offer an insight into place-making and its role in creating a sense of belonging. Therefore, examining the ways in which fur traders imagine notions of 'home,' or their anxieties when faced with a lack

thereof (when lost in an unfamiliar landscape, for instance) has brought to the fore some of the tensions associated with place-making through mobility.

Considering food procurement strategies as spatial practices offer some more evidence in support of this point. “Food serves to ground body-place-memory in the way immigrants live and re-imagine their cultural histories in consecutive ‘homes’, manifesting their movements through neighborhoods, cities, and countries” (Marte 2007: 261-262). When attitudes to certain foodstuffs are imbued with affect, for instance nostalgia, the link between food and ideas of home emerges in powerful ways. The sense of longing that Nelson expressed sometimes when thinking about food from home illustrates this point. At other times, this affective component of food allowed traders to reconcile different geographic imaginaries, especially when similarity brought on familiarity. I am thinking for example of Nelson’s willingness to eat moose – meat similar to deer and even cattle, which were part of his habitus, for lack of a better word – as opposed to the possibility of eating dog meat, which evoked in Nelson a strong feeling of disgust.

So, how does mobility affect food’s ability to bring people together or reinforce a sense of shared values? Drawing from Bourdieu (1977) I suggest that uprootedness, like colonial encounters, may bring a break in doxic decisions and offer new possibilities for new traditions and geographic imaginaries. From the learning and use of food-related practices that relied on Indigenous people’s skills and knowledge emerged new traditions and practices that came to be particularly associated with the fur trade lifestyle, drawing up the flexible boundaries of this community of practice as a community on the move. At the same time that these new traditions emerged through interactions with new environments and various social groups, fur traders simultaneously carried with them ideals of culinary traditions that resonated with ideas of home. When ideals of food hygiene or taste were not met in practice – or in other words when the conceived space didn’t match the lived space – it sometimes led to sentiments of homesickness, or a feeling of displacement that worked as a counter narrative to community building through food. Not only did frictions between conceived ideals regarding food and physical experiences create tensions in the way place-making may have occurred through food,

tensions in the way food was lived and experienced daily created an arena for resistance and the emergence of unequal power relations, as detailed above.

In sum, spatial practices around architecture and food served the dual role of reinforcing ideas of home, and emplacement within the fur trade physical and social landscape. Indeed, the mobility associated with the context made the procurement of food and other travels particular spatial practices that allowed the fur traders to develop a new sense of place in a previously unfamiliar landscape, making it possible for fur traders' identities to be simultaneously local and non-local, carrying with them notions of home as placed in multiple locations, and not just their place of origin.

2) Future research

Overall, I hope that this study has provided some insight into the questions that I put forth in elaborating a framework for interpreting Réaume's Leaf River post. In thinking about future research, I hope that some of these results will serve as a springboard for other studies, for example in elaborating new and innovative ways of thinking about fur trade archaeology and thereby demonstrating its continued relevance. One gap that could be addressed in the future corresponds to the lack of a comprehensive comparative study of British-era foodways in the Interior. While diachronic or regional studies of French foodways have been undertaken (e.g. Scott 2007; Martin 1991; 2008), similar works are less common for the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries. Moreover, issues regarding community-formation in populations for whom mobility have political or social significance find their relevance in today's world, which is witnessing transnationalism and mobility at a global, unprecedented scale. Questions such as the ones I posed should thus be applied to other mobile groups of the recent past, such as immigrants, diasporic communities or populations forcefully removed from a given location. In all of these situations, people will make sense of their new world through their negotiation of the home they left behind but which they potentially carry with them through their ideas, attitudes, cravings and practices.

Lastly, integrating sites associated more directly with Ojibway or Dakota occupations in this fur trade landscape would add another comparative dimension to this

project, which would allow for a more comprehensive picture of the creation of the fur trade landscape, in particular in the role of Ojibway groups in shaping and/or controlling it. While I hoped to convey the importance of the Dakota and Ojibway groups in the daily life of the fur traders in the interior based on the data that was available to me, their presence and domination of the fur trade landscape would, I believe, be made even more obvious if such sites could be integrated into a project like this one. It became increasingly obvious to me that this was beyond the scope of this particular project, but I hope that future researchers take this project that one step further.

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