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# ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE FORKS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, WINNIPEG: MITIGATION OF THE NORTH POINT DEVELOPMENT

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#### INTRODUCTION

Archaeological investigations were undertaken at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers in the summer of 1988 to mitigate the effect of development associated with creation of the Forks National Historic Site. The first substantial archaeological investigation of this area, conducted in 1984 by the Canadian Parks Service (Priess et al. 1986), recognized its archaeological potential. These investigations added considerable time depth for the precontact period to the already known history of the fur trade and the beginnings of the city of Winnipeg. The investigations also established that precontact remains could likely appear anywhere along the riverbanks. The area's archaeological potential and a concern for protecting the resources were included in discussions on the design of developments for the park. The park was to commemorate the history of this location from the earliest precontact time up to the present.

Ideally a development design should provide the necessary site interpretation and facilities while having a minimal impact on archaeological resources. Initially such a design appeared to have been achieved but a shift in location of development of the North Point interpretive node (due to legal and jurisdictional requirements) substantially increased the impact on the riverbank and the possibility of disturbance of archaeological remains.

Machine excavation of the riverbank in January 1988, in preparation for construction of an interpretive facility and pedestrian ramp, eventually began exposing strata which contained signs of cultural activity (Fig. 2). From the numerous cultural deposits seen in the profile and an awareness of the amount of machine excavation required to complete preparation of the area, it was determined that completion of the original design would have a major impact on an area of potentially major archaeological significance. Work was consequently stopped and discussions begun to find a solution which would satisfy all parties.

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Various options were considered. Relocation or redesign of the facility were both eventually rejected. It would not have been possible to guarantee that excavation of any adjacent part of the riverbank would avoid disturbing archaeological resources. Relocation would result in a less desirable traffic pattern and would have removed the facility somewhat from the immediate area of the junction of the two rivers — the area seen as most critical for interpretation of the site. Redesigning could also destroy the integrity and aesthetics of the original design.

It was finally decided that construction of the pedestrian ramp should proceed as designed. However, in accordance with Parks mandate and policy to protect cultural resources, archaeological investigations would first be undertaken to mitigate the impact of construction activities.

## **Project Parameters**

A number of management decisions and Program commitments predetermined the location, extent, scheduling and other logistic constraints for the project. Given this, we attempted to develop a project which would get the most information in as much of the impact area as possible within the time available, but without compromising archaeological standards (Adams 1988, Lunn 1988).

Location of the investigations would be on the line of the pedestrian ramp (Fig. 1, 3, 4); an area roughly 30 m by 4 m. Depth would be as required by the ramp slope; as much as 3.5 m at one end. In addition, the width of the area was extended to create a site which would be safe to work in for both the archaeology and construction crews. The total volume of soil to be moved was initially estimated to be approximately 400 cubic metres. Only a small portion of this volume was considered culturally sterile and thus removable by machine. It was also a management preference that archaeology be completed in one season to minimize the delay in park completion and opening. It was hoped construction could resume immediately after completion of archaeology and be completed by late fall or early winter.

## **Project Design**

To accommodate the time frame and volume of excavation, a major project was proposed. A four-month field season was considered the minimum to accomplish the task. Overall direction came from a project manager with daily supervision provided by two assistant archaeologists who each supervised two site supervisors. The excavations were carried out by 13 field workers (later increased to 15). Once excavation had been in progress for at least a few weeks, a laboratory operation was begun so artifacts could be processed as the excavations progressed. The intention was to have all provenience, excavation record and artifact information entered into the regional archaeology database for management and research purposes.

The project was not done in isolation. Previous work had been done in the area and no doubt future archaeology will be done on Parks property. As well, archaeology had been conducted by the Universities of Manitoba and Winnipeg joint field school on adjacent property administered by the Forks Renewal Corporation.

Prior to the beginning of any fieldwork this season it was decided among the Canadian Parks Service, the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch (responsible for administration of the provincial heritage legislation which applied to all non-federal property at the Forks), and the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature that provenience and artifact data would be recorded in a manner compatible with the CHIN coding format developed by the museum. By doing so, data from the different projects could be retrieved in a like manner. It was also decided that the entire Forks area would use a single survey reference system so that all excavations would have comparable grid references.

Although the area to be investigated was dictated by construction impact rather than any particular research issues or previous knowledge or archaeological remains, it was felt that a num-

ber of research questions could still be addressed by the investigations. The 1984 research proposal was aimed at the examination of selected areas to evaluate, record and collect a representative sample of archaeological resources present (Priess et al. 1986: 251). To that end, several historic features, believed to be a part of Fort Gibraltar II (or at least fur trade related) and a series of nine prehistoric occupations were uncovered in the vicinity of the North Point. The 1988 investigations continued along similar lines of site identification. For the historic period, research interests focused on a number of questions relating primarily to the fur trade period. These included: 1) verification of the site as Fort Gibraltar II; 2) identification of building phases (i.e., relocation of Fort Douglas structures to Fort Gibraltar II and later additions to Fort Garry); and, 3) identification of specific features including those discovered in 1984. It might also be possible to find evidence of historical uses both prior to and after Fort Gibraltar II, such as the immigration sheds, earlier fur trade sites and early historic native sites. One interesting aspects was the transition of the Forks site from a North West Company trading and provisioning post (Fort Gibraltar II) to a Hudson's Bay Company post (Fort Garry). The material culture data could be considered in light of this transition.

For the prehistoric period, in view of the results of the 1984 excavations, it seemed likely that this site might be highly significant. It was stratified with a number of separated components, all appearing to belong to the same Blackduck complex. This provided a rare opportunity to examine a single complex and its development through an extended period of time.

Research objectives focused on those aspects of culture history and culture process which would be reflected in a deeply stratified site (e.g., Fig. 5). Questions related to the dating of each occupation layer and comparisons among layers in terms of continuity versus change through time in resource procurement, settlement (relative duration or intensity of occupations), and technological and stylistic change (especially in ceramics).

#### BACKGROUND

#### **Prehistoric Setting**

History of the site during the precontact period is largely unknown. Excavations elsewhere in Manitoba, however, provide some general comparative information. Human populations possibly moved into southwestern Manitoba about 11 000 years ago as the glaciers receded and plant and animal communities became established (Pettipas 1983). These first occupants were probably nomadic hunters and gatherers using large mammals such as bison. Only one projectile point fragment associated with cultures of this period has been found in the Red River Valley, at St. Norbert south of Winnipeg.

During the Altithermal period, when temperatures rose, the plains may have been dry enough to be abandoned by human and animal populations. During the period from 4000 to 3000 B.C. populations adapted to environmental changes, brought about by the Altithermal, moved into Manitoba, possibly from the southeast. These people, and others who followed, exploited a wide resource base. On a seasonal basis people hunted bison using traps, fished and gathered plant foods.

Ceramics were introduced into Manitoba about A.D. 1 by people from the east. These were adapted to a broadly based boreal forest lifestyle which included hunting a variety of large and small mammals, fishing, and gathering plant foods. At the same time, bison hunting had again become a prime economic endeavour on the plains. Other investigations in the Red River Valley, such as at Lockport and St. Agathe, have shown that plains and boreal adapted cultures were present at various times during the past two thousand years (summary adapted from Priess, Nieuwhof and Ebell 1986: 2).

The excavations in 1984 were the first to located any definite evidence of precontact human occupation at the Forks although it had been speculated that such occupation would have taken place. European accounts of stopping at the Forks included mention of native groups camped

there. It was considered likely that such camping had probably been taking place for centuries because of the importance of this location in the river transportation system of Western Canada and its value for resource harvesting. The evidence found in 1984 all related to the Blackduck culture and provided radiocarbon dates as early as A.D. 700. Excavations conducted elsewhere in the Forks area during 1988 also encountered evidence for an Archaic culture presence of possibly 3 000 years ago (S. Kroker: pers. com.).

### **Historic Documentation**

The general sequence of occupation of the Forks area by Europeans, beginning with LaV-erendrye in the 1730s, is known through available documentation. The summary which follows is taken from Guinn (1980a, 1980b). The North Point specifically does not appear to have played a major role during the 18th century. Fort Rouge, the first establishment built at the Forks, probably stood on the south bank of the Assiniboine (an area now known as the South Point). Later during the 18th century other fur traders wintered in the area of the Forks on several occasions, but these occupations apparently did not leave any buildings of substance and the location of their establishments is not known.

A more permanent establishment was not set up until the early 19th century when the North West Company built Fort Gibraltar. This fort, located on the west bank of the Red River several hundred metres downstream from the junction, stood until 1816 when it was destroyed by a combined force of Selkirk Settlers and the Hudson's Bay Company. A second Fort Gibraltar was begun in 1817, this time right at the junction (the areas now known as the North Point). This fort became the headquarters for Red River in 1821 when the North West and Hudson's Bay companies amalgamated. At that time it was also renamed Fort Garry. Fort Garry continued to serve the Hudson's Bay Company as a major post until 1835 when the construction of Upper Fort Garry was begun, some 300 metres upstream on the north bank of the Assiniboine. Fort Garry continued to serve as a supplementary facility for company and settlement needs. Its end may have come with the flood of 1852.

Other Hudson's Bay Company developments continued in the area after the mid-19th century as an industrial complex was established. Construction included a mill, warehouse and grain elevator. However, the development of Winnipeg was taking place primarily to the north of the Forks and thus the property at the junction of the two rivers remained only partially developed.

Ultimately the Forks area became the location for development of railway facilities in the 1880s. It remained a railway yard until the 1980s when much of the property was identified for redevelopment and creation of a national historic park.

## Physical Setting

Present-day and historic data on the vegetation, topography and geology of the Forks are presented by Guinn (1980b: 14) and Kelly, Mallory and Richards (1979: 6-10). In terms of the archaeology project, important physical characteristics of the site were: flooding history, riverbank erosion and alterations to the landscape during the railway period.

The flooding history of the site begins with the end of glacial Lake Agassiz and the establishment of drainage to Hudson Bay. Drilling of test holes indicates that the accumulation of flood deposits exceeds eight metres in some areas near the present riverbank and may exceed 11 metres in areas further removed from the bank.

Kelly, Mallory and Richards (1979: 26-28) refer to several historical accounts of erosion at the site. Two of these are of particular interest to Fort Gibraltar II/Fort Garry:

Shortly after ...[1849] the river encroaching, the southwestern bastion was undermined. One day an eye-witness saw that the dragon on the top of the wind vane was pointing at an angle of 60° rather than 90°; but the weight of the heavy log bastion

enabled it to right itself, and it was not carried away (Bryce in Kelly, Mallory and Richards: 1979: 27).

Shortly after 1870,

There plainly to be seen very near to the edge of the bank, were recognizable hollows representing cellars, and the mixture of semi-calcined limestone, remains of chimneys, and while at that time we were rather hazy on the subject of the history of Fort Garry, it was clear to us that buildings of some kind had been on that ground, although it was also evident that almost the whole area of the enclosure that had once been there had disappeared into the river through the washing away and crumbling in of the banks. Steel ... drew to my attention several much decayed human bones and one skull close to the waters edge, which had apparently rolled down from near the general ground level of the bank through undermining by heavy spring flood (Bell in Kelly, Mallory and Richards: 1979: 27). [It is not certain at this time if the remains found by Bell and Steele are those of Fort Gibraltar I or II or possibly an earlier fur trade site.]

Alterations due to railway activities were the subject of considerable speculation prior to the beginning of excavations. It was felt by some that much filling had taken place and the pre-railway remains were buried under several metres of cinders or gravel. Excavations in 1984 had determined that fill deposits almost two metres deep were present in some areas but elsewhere these deposits were less than half a metre thick. It was also realized that there had been railway dumping over the edge of the riverbank, resulting in relocation of the bank edge. Railway fill up to five metres in depth was discovered in such areas.

#### FIELD METHODS

#### Provenience System

A one-metre square grid, aligned along the axis of the ramp way, divided the excavation area into individual units. The east/west axis of the grid was given operation numbers and the north/south axis was given sub-operation letters. These designations were assigned at the beginning of excavations so that each unit would automatically have an operation and sub-operation reference. Lot numbers were used for vertical and additional horizontal control within each metre-square unit.

Excavation was done according to recognizable stratigraphy rather than arbitrary levels. District soil layers as well as localized soil changes within layers were assigned separate lot numbers as were samples (e.g., soil for flotation, charcoal, or other analytical samples).

It was recognized at the outset that the tracing of natural or cultural layers across the 30 m long grid would be a major concern. To this end, the correlation of lot numbers between adjacent units and inclusion of lot correlations on profile drawings was a key priority during the field season. The correlation of visible stratigraphy with a depositional event sequence (identification of site formation processes) was not concluded until after excavations were completed.

#### **Excavation Method**

Prior to the crew's arrival on site, the area was cleared of railway overburden using a back-hoe. The mechanized removal was monitored by the project's supervisory staff. As noted above, the horizontal and vertical extent of excavation was governed by the requirement to mitigate the effects of construction rather than by "pure" research goals. One the hand this meant there was no opportunity to test for and locate site perimeters while on the other hand the option was available to concentrate on opening a large block, which would allow detailed spatial analysis of up to 200 square metres within each occupation layer.

Three alternative methods of excavation were considered: block, checkerboard and horizon. The block method was eventually chosen since it would allow the crew to work in units larger than a one-metre square and to see occupation levels on a broader scale. It also allowed people to become relatively familiar with their own areas by concentrating their efforts in a smaller area. Plan and profile drawing would also be easier and better controlled. However, it would not provide a uniform look at each occupation level since an entire level would not be exposed at the same time. The synthesis of each level would be achieved only later during analysis of the field records.

In the excavation, the size of blocks varied but usually began with a six or eight square metre area and then expanded as necessary. Sterile flood deposits between occupation levels were removed by shovel and selective screening while the occupation levels were either shovel shaved or trowelled. All features, ceramics, lithics and larger bones were plotted on a plan before removal. Furthermore, features were completely described and photographed.

A major problem encountered in recording the prehistoric levels was that of maintaining adequate horizontal control of artifact recoveries without significantly reducing the pace of excavation. To resolve this problem, each metre square of cultural component was further divided into 16 equal-sized sub-units and the recovered artifacts were recorded according to these sub-units. This provided horizontal control down to 25 cm square units which were considered adequate for site descriptions. Additional control came through the excavation of features as separate lots.

Sampling

Soil samples were taken routinely and large flotation samples were collected from each feature. On occasion portions of a cultural stratum were also removed for flotation. Radiocarbon samples representing virtually every occupation level and some non-cultural strata were also collected. Excavators were careful to collect all fauna, including large samples of fish scales; charcoal, unidentified substances; soil discolorations; ochre and wood for future identification and analysis.

**Laboratory Procedures** 

All collected materials were immediately sent to a project laboratory for further processing. Priorities for conservation, special storage requirements and inventory procedures were set during an initial assessment. Recoveries were then cleaned and sorted for computerized inventory. Using "Analysis" as the database for inventory, a new coding system was set up for this site. The coding system was designed for rapid data entry, to facilitate management of a large artifact collection, and for compatibility with the CHIN coding formats used by the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

The assemblage was divided into 18 classes, based on general types of material and frequency of recovery, so all artifacts within a class would have a very limited range of attribute choices. A series of nine attribute fields were defined to apply to each class to record basic aspects such as material, condition, functional name, portion extant and marks and to permit cross-class analysis. As analysis proceeds, more detailed information can be added to the collections database.

A separate database was set up for provenience information for sorting excavated lots into stratigraphic sequence and relating them to cultural and natural features encountered during excavation. Ultimately the two databases were amalgamated so artifact data can be retrieved by excavation lot or unit, by association with features, by occupation layer or by flood event.

#### **EXCAVATION RESULTS**

The original intent of the project was to excavate all of the area to be disturbed by construction activities. This was not achieved but over 90 per cent of endangered cultural deposits were removed. The remainder was excavated by machine at the recommencement of construction in October. These activities were monitored by an archaeologist but no cultural features or significant artifact deposits were observed.

Some deposits could also be excavated by machine by the archaeologists. Below the fur trade and late prehistoric occupation deposits there was a series of flood deposits, often more than half a metre thick, containing no definable occupation floors. These layers were excavated by hand in most units but eventually it was decided no significant information would be lost if the remainder was excavated by machine. A total of about 26 cubic metres was removed by machine at a saving of 50 person days of hand labour.

The lower deposits of the area being investigated were found to contain little or not cultural material. Consequently, although it was not possible to excavate to the bottom of the area to be impacted, testing established that few if any cultural deposits were present at this level. It cannot, however, be assumed that cultural deposits are not present at even greater depths. Archaeological excavations and construction monitoring elsewhere in the Forks area (beyond Parks property) revealed cultural deposits in soil layers which contained no cultural material in our excavations. These other investigations also located cultural deposits in soil layers below the level of our excavations, in one instance including Archaic period material (S. Kroker: pers. com.).

The artifacts have been entered into an electronic database and an initial sort using categories based on Sprague (1981) has been developed (Table 1). Of the more than 87 000 items, almost 55 000 are faunal material and and another 9 000 are various types of samples. Where possible the items have been assigned to either a native or fur trade association but only the "Total" column lists all items for any one category.

#### **Historic Features**

The historic and protohistoric periods appear to be divided into seven major components. All seven were seldom present in a single unit. The uppermost is railway fill, removed by machine and largely unrecorded. No major features were present in this material. It appears to be fill from levelling or disposal activities. Below this is a seldom-seen post-fur-trade horizon of mixed soils and artifacts. Next there are three layers (2 to 5 cm thick) relating to the late 18th to mid-19th century period. These three layers are sometimes separated by 2 to 5 cm thick artifact-bearing flood deposits.

Referring to the 1820 Rindisbacher illustration and the 1847 Finlay illustration (Guinn 1980b; Figs. 11, 15), we speculated that a number of historic remains associated with Fort Gibraltar II could be located in the area of the ramp way. A consideration of the cellar excavated in 1984 suggested it could indicate the location of the large dwelling house (or Factor's residence) and consequently it was felt some predictions could be made about other historical features likely to be encountered this season. These features included the south wall of the house and parts of the palisade. The features would be represented either by wooden remnants, possibly even indicating Red River frame construction, or by concentrations of chinking or other building related materials.

The results were substantially less than what was anticipated. The location of Fort Gibraltar II is not in dispute. Its general location is shown on several historic sketches. However, the present excavations, combined with those of 1984 as well as those of other agencies in 1988, provide only a very limited glimpse of the fort: three trash-filled pits and two cribbed cellars. The hoped for palisade has not yet materialized to provide an indication of the fort's perimeter and to serve as a guide to further excavations.

The principal fur trade period features uncovered in 1988 were the south wall of the cribbed cellar first discovered in 1984 plus two large rectangular pits (up to 3.5 m across) of unknown function. The pits are located within 15 m of the cribbed cellar and all three features are roughly aligned along the riverbank — the cellar is between and slightly inland from the pits. A stratigraphic relationship between the pits and cellar has not been established. The pits are too shallow to have been cellars and their fill layers probably represent deposition after original function of the pits was discontinued.

One of the pits contained a number of complete and partial animal skeletons (e.g. Fig. 6), probably all domestic species. These remains may reflect activities related to the Hudson's Bay Company experimental farm that operated between 1837 and 1841 (Guinn 1980b: 68-69).

Additional features of the 19th century include the remains of several open campfires; a shallow, circular, bone-filled pit (about 1.5 m across); ash dumps; a track-like feature and several artifact concentrations. Some of these may represent small transient camps associated with the fur trade.

Plotting of the fur trade period occupation was complicated by the presence of construction features probably associated with railway activities of the last century. These include a system of deeply-laid footings, consisting of heavy posts set on sleepers. An assortment of smaller features include a posthole complex along the east edge of the 1988 excavations, concrete anchors for support cables, and a variety of small pits and dump deposits. Whether any of these can be associated with the immigration sheds of 1872 to 1885 is not yet clear.

Artifacts: Although materials such as chinking were fairly abundant and localized, there is a general lack of accumulated sheet debris one would expect within a trading post. Building materials tend to cluster in and around the two pit features but it is unclear whether this pattern indicates an association with a building or simply that the pits also served as trash dumps.

There may be some evidence of the transition from Fort Gibraltar II to Fort Garry following amalgamation of the two fur trade companies. Some of the artifacts indicate an eastern supply source rather than an overseas one. These "Canadian" goods include a fragment of a French-style strap hinge, a piece of unmarked trade silver and a small cluster of shell beads (wampum). A bale seal attributed to McTavish Fraser (or McTavish Frobisher), both associated with the North West Company, was found in 1984 (Ebell and Priess 1986: 87).

The presence of large quantities of trade beads and items such as metal projectile points and straight pins (some apparently bent into fishhooks) reflect the presence of native occupants in or around the post. The tight clustering of many of the beads, a concentration of lead shot and the presence of unused gun flints suggests primary refuse (lost or abandoned items). This impression is reinforced by the presence of small, scattered, unprepared hearths, indicating short-term transient occupation.

#### Prehistoric Features

Using only the experience from 1984 and the observations made of the exposed profile in the winter of 1987-88, we made a few generalizations about expected results (Adams 1988). We considered it likely there would be from six to 12 prehistoric occupations and one or two protohistoric horizons. None of the occupation zones are thick and all appeared to represent a single season or short period of use. The deposits would probably be convoluted and discontinuous as a result of successive flooding events. However, they all appeared to be well separated by sterile soils.

Fire hearths were the most commonly recorded feature in 1984 but at least one level had an as yet unidentified feature consisting of postholes. Several layers had concentrations of fish bone that could be considered features. In several horizons most of the ceramics mended. The recovery of lithic or bone tools had been minimal.

The prehistoric context of the 1988 sample is still relatively unanalyzed but at the moment it appears to consist of at least eight cultural horizons. The uppermost is possibly a prehistoric or

protohistoric living floor mixed with the lowest historic occupation. Whether this layer demonstrates continuous occupation from the prehistoric to the historic period or is the result of a single protohistoric or historic native camp is not known. The second level is a sparsely occupied, very late prehistoric horizon which appears to have very few features but does contain some ceramic sherds which may be related to Sandy Lake Ware. The third level is just above a major flood deposit. It contains very little but has an *in situ* projectile point and is the only level to contain basin to conical-shaped prepared hearths.

There are five known cultural living floors below the major flood deposit, all related to one or more Blackduck occupations. Each has its own character and distinctive attributes but in general each had a mixture of fish and large mammal bones; shallow, unprepared hearths; very sparse lithic material; Blackduck style ceramics and very thin soil development. Each appears to represent a very short time period, possibly a single season.

Correlation of the 1988 and 1984 occupations has been unexpectedly difficult. Stratigraphic correlations are limited by natural and cultural disturbances that interrupt soil profiles at critical points. An additional factor is the gradual variation of natural strata. Hoped for mends between ceramics from the two excavations have also not materialized. The 1984 ceramics mended very well but unfortunately the 1988 ceramics are in relatively poor condition and the proportion of sherds which mend is much lower. Exhaustive comparisons have identified only a single mend between 1984 and 1988 ceramics and unfortunately one of the contexts is disturbed.

Samples: Fourteen charcoal samples have yielded radiocarbon dates ranging from 500 to 1560 BP. The most recent of these is from just above the possible Sandy Lake level and more than half are from Blackduck levels. Faunal remains have been submitted for identification. Bone fragments and fish scales from the single most abundant class of recoveries and include remains of all sizes of mammals, birds, fish, mollusks and amphibians. Some of these remains no doubt represent natural inhabitants of the riverbank rather than sources of human food. Condition of faunal remains varied widely within the site, dependent partly on species and body part, the manner of processing before disposal, and the water retention characteristics of the encasing soils. Such variable preservation restricts the potential amount of quantitative analysis but detailed information on resource diversity and seasonality is anticipated for most occupation layers.

A few carbonized plant remains were collected in the field and more were found in preliminary processing of a small number of flotation samples (C.T. Shay: pers. com.). The relative amounts of floral remains vary widely in the samples examined so far but the factors responsible for this situation have not yet been determined. Flotation of the remaining soil samples, however, appears warranted.

Artifacts: Preliminary analysis of artifacts has established that the frequency of ceramics, lithics and bone varies from low to almost nil. The total count and stylistic range of pottery vessels has been augmented by the 1988 sample although separation and identification of individual vessels is hampered by poor condition of the sherds. It appears vessels are represented by a small number of fragments, suggesting extensive post-depositional scattering. The lithic sample, though meagre, appears to show significant variation in the distribution of local versus exotic raw material types within and between occupation floors. Lithic types range from Swan River, Selkirk and Hudson Bay Lowland certs to surprisingly high proportions of Knife River flint in a few locations. Other materials, yet to be identified, are present in small amounts. Another example of exotic material is a single rolled, sheet-copper bead from one of the Blackduck occupations. Bone tools are extremely rare and restricted to the uppermost occupation levels. An unexpected find was what appeared to be an *in situ* bone stake (Fig. 7).

#### **FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS**

At this time development of the Forks National Historic Site has been completed and further threats to archaeological resources are not anticipated. Information gained from two seasons of excavation and analysis have been incorporated into on-site displays and interpretations. Further archaeology will not be required for resource protection but more work is being proposed in the form of a public archaeology program, to provide both an on-site attraction as well as another interpretive device.

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CATEGORY	FUR TRADE	NATIVE	TOTAL
PERSONAL		1 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	
- Clothing/Adornment	564	1	651
- Grooming/Medical	5		11
- Recreation	233	6	415
- Tools/Accessories	3	77	84
DOMESTIC			
- Furnishings			12
- Furniture			5
- Portable Power/Lighting			558
- Sanitation			80
- Information/Communication			30
- Sewing - Food Remains			54523
- Food Preparation/Serving	1	1147	1455
- Food Packaging/Storing	_		8
ARCHITECTURE			
- Materials			12161
- Hardware	4		8
- Fasteners		3	2741
TRANSPORTATION			
- Railroad			231
- Automobile			24
- Draught			] 3
- Boat			3
COMMERCE/INDUSTRY			
- Agriculture		4.5	1 2
- Hunting/Fishing	18	12	1814
- Trapping			
- Woodworking	16		17
- Metalworking	10	503	503
- Stoneworking - Fur Trade	7	203	
- rui ilade	,		j
UTILITIES			
UNCLASSIFIED			
- Packaging	5		669
- Fasteners			42
- Unidentified			236
SAMPLES			913
TOTAL			8767

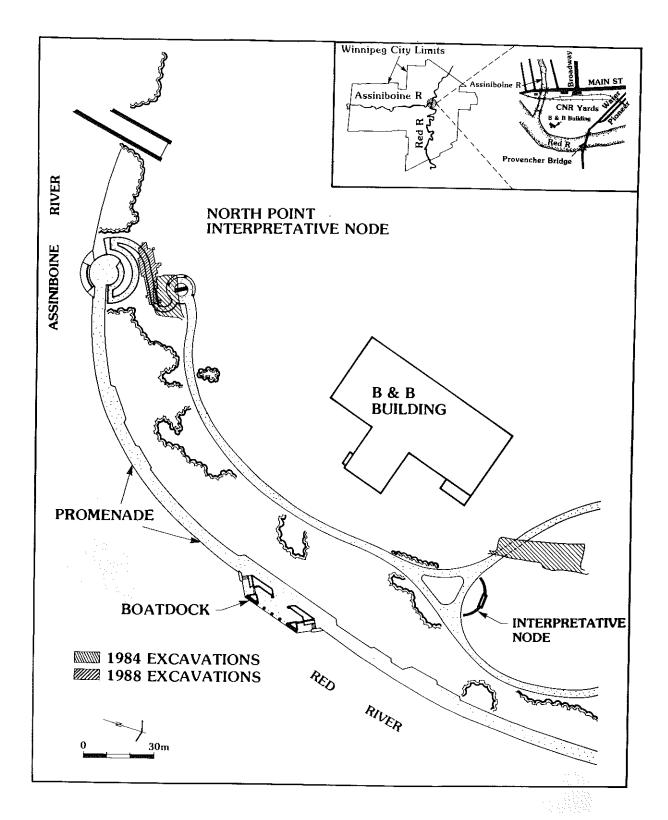


Figure 1. Location of excavations (including 1984 excavations) and pedestrian ramp. (Drawn by D. Elrick.)

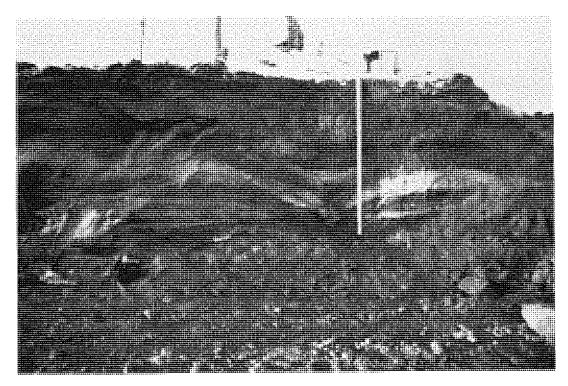


Figure 2. Profile as exposed by machine excavation in January 1988. (Photo by P.J. Priess.)

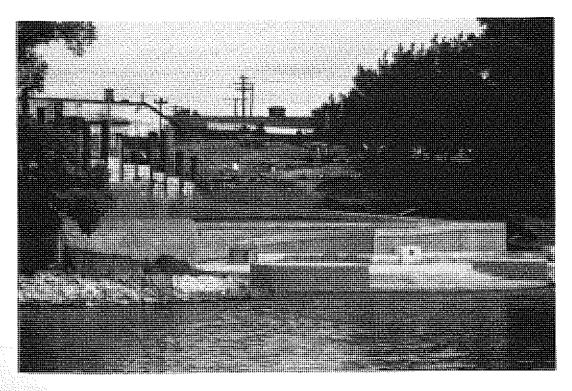


Figure 3. Partially completed ramp and archaeological excavations in progress (excavations are behind steel and wood retaining wall). (Photo by M.A. Tisdale.)



Figure 4. General view of excavations in progress. Part of site has been covered by a shelter. (Photo by M.A. Tisdale.)

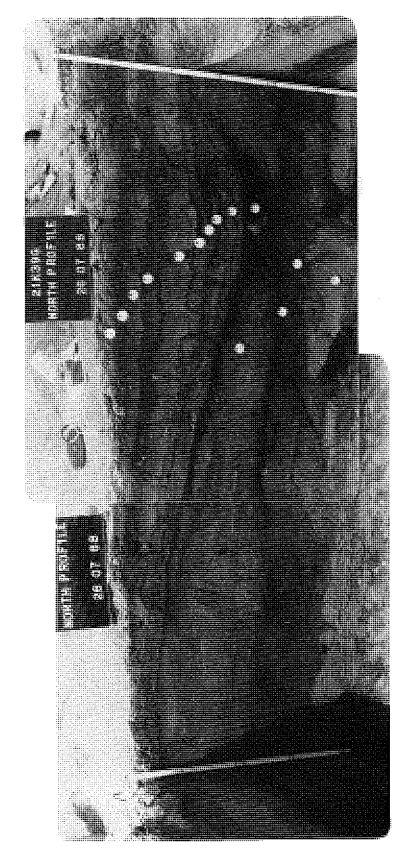


Figure 5. North profile of 21K38G and 21K39G, as an example of typical stratigraphy encountered during excavations. (Photos by P. Nieuwhof.)

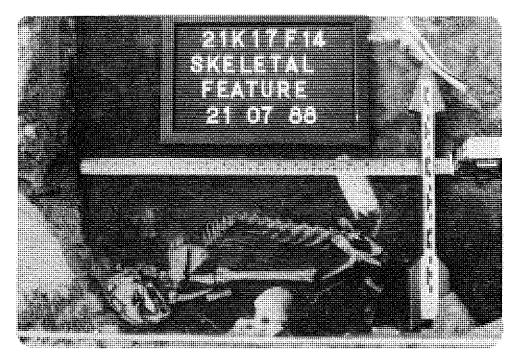


Figure 6. Feline skeleton, in situ, in historic pit fill. (Photo by E. Simonds.)



Figure 7. Deteriorated bone stake in north profile of 21K31G. (Photo by P. Nieuwhof.)

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