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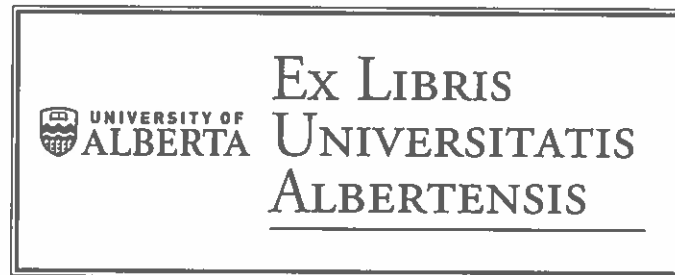
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This issue of the *Quarterly* is intended to give a preview of *Provisions*, the third volume of the *Encyclopedia of Trade Goods*, which is scheduled for publication in 2014. A short excerpt from each chapter is herein presented.

FRONT COVER *Plains Indian Girl with Melon* painted by Friedrich Richard Petri in Texas about 1852. Courtesy of Texas Memorial Museum.

BACK COVER *Camp Fire, Preparing the Evening Meal* by Alfred Jacob Miller, 1858-60. Courtesy © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 37.1940.4.

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This photograph, probably taken at Moose Fort in 1902, shows the employees and their families having New Year's Day dinner in the quarters of Hudson's Bay Company factor A. A. Chesterfield. Courtesy Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

Feasts: How Much Did They Eat?

At Alexander Henry's Pembina post between September 1807 and June 1, 1808, the 17 men, 10 women, 14 children, and four dogs who lived there, plus occasional visiting Indians, consumed 112 bison cows weighing 45,000 pounds; 35 bulls weighing 18,000 pounds (all meat; no bones or hides); three red deer (elk); five bears; four beavers; three swans; 12 geese; 36 ducks; 1,150 fish; 775 sturgeon weighing 50 to 150 pounds each (used primarily to feed the visiting Indians); 410 pounds of tallow and 140 pounds of dried meat, along with 325 bushels of potatoes and some other vegetables from the post garden.¹ This represents an estimated six pounds of meat per day for each man, woman, and child, plus some major portion of the roughly 60,000 pounds of fish, not to mention the spuds!

When and where available, deer, caribou, elk, and moose formed an important source of protein. In the late nineteenth century HBC trader Martin Hunter recorded, "I knew a young Indian personally whose mother had been left a widow with a large family. He was the eldest of the children, and that summer began to strut about the post in fine clothes and mix with the men of the tribe. This is one of the traits that shows itself before matrimony is contemplated. The killing of many moose was sure to follow these signs. That young boy actually killed to his own gun ninety moose.

1. Francis Haines, *The Buffalo* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1970), 124-25.

Averaging the butchered meat of each moose at the low estimate of 600 pounds, we have a gross weight of 54,000 pounds of good, wholesome food."²

If meat, either fresh or dried, were not available, salted ducks and geese were put up in barrels, especially at the northern Canadian posts. Below Lake Winnipeg and east to Ontario, the rabbit was the staple food; Hunter said a family ate an average of twenty a day, but the diet of rabbit provided little in the way of energy or "vitality."³ W. Cornwallis King wrote that in his early days he was the gunner who brought down passenger pigeons for the mess at Fort Garry. He received a shilling per bushel of birds, the same price paid, incidentally, to the settlers for wild hazel nuts.⁴

Grain: Corn as Emergency Ration

In 1669-70 John Lederer searched for an easy passage across the southern Appalachians. He wrote that he used nocado or rockahominy for rations. "Instead of Bread, I used the meal of parched Mayz, i. e. Indian Wheat; which when I eat, I seasoned with a little Salt. This is both more portable and strengthening than Biscuit, and will suffer no mouldiness by any weather. For other provisions, you may securely trust to your Gun."⁵ Another traveler before the French and Indian War stated; "We dined on parched meal, which is some of the best *Indian's* travelling provision. We had of it 2 bags, each a gallon, from the Indians at Onondago. The preparation is thus: They take the corn and parch it in hot ashes till it becomes brown, then clean it, pound it in a mortar and sift it; this powder is mixt with sugar. About 1 qr. Of a pint, diluted in a pint of water, is a hearty travelling dinner, when 100 miles from any habitation."⁶

William Byrd II wrote admiringly of the Indians' ability to bear hunger. "They can Subsist Several days upon a little Rockahominy, which is parcht Indian Corn reduc'd to powder. This they moisten in the hollow of their Hands with a little water, and 'tis hardly credible how small a Quantity of it will Support them."⁷ Forty years later, John Long noted that "those who are acquainted with the nature of roving in the woods in time of war, know the necessity of travelling light, and particularly on an Indian scout, as the Savages seldom take anything but a small quantity of Indian corn and maple sugar, which, after beating the corn between two stones, they mix with water, and on this they subsist."⁸ John Bradbury, who ascended the Missouri with Wilson Price Hunt's Astorians in 1811, told of the party "busily employed in preparing for their departure, by parching and grinding corn, mixing it with sugar, and putting it in bags."⁹

2. Martin Hunter, *Canadian Wilds* (Columbus, Ohio: A. R. Harding, 1935), 43-44.

3. *Ibid.*, 66.

4. Mary Weekes and William Cornwallis King, *Trader King, as told to Mary Weekes* (Toronto: School Aris and Textbook Publishing Company, Ltd., 1949), 30.

5. John Lederer, *The Discoveries of John Lederer* (Ann Arbor: Readex Microprint, 1966), 25.

6. John Bartram, Lewis Evans, and Conrad Weiser, *A Journey from Pennsylvania to Onondaga in 1743* (Barre: Imprint Society, 1973), 84-5.

7. William K. Boyd, ed., *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), 202.

8. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., in *Early Western Travels, J. Long's Voyages and Travels* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1904), vol. 2, 56.

9. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., in *Early Western Travels, Bradbury's Travels* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark, 1904-1907), vol. 5, 171.



First Nations person making bannock at Treaty Payments, Lansdowns house, Ontario, 1942. Courtesy of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta.

Bread, Ship's Biscuit, and Hard Tack: The Pub at Fort William

The fur trade was exceedingly class conscious, drawing sharp lines of distinction between officer and employee. At Grand Portage, the rendezvous point for the North West Company's eastern and western canoe brigades, the dining table in the Great Hall was regularly provisioned with "bread, salt pork, beef, hams, fish, and venison, butter, peas, Indian corn, potatoes, tea, spirits, wine, etc., and plenty of milk, for which purpose several milch cows are constantly kept . . . The canoe-men . . . have no other [food] here, or in the voyage, than Indian corn and melted fat."¹⁰

Twenty years later, however, Gabriel Franchère noted that at Fort William, the North West Company supply base near the western end of Lake Superior that replaced Grand Portage, each arriving traveler was treated to a loaf of white bread, half a pound of butter, and a gill of rum. The voyageurs named the fort's tavern *la Cantine salope* ("the bitch canteen").¹¹ Later, Franchère recorded that on departing the fort, his canoe received a ham, tea, sugar, and a twenty-five pound sack of flour. Someone forgot to include knives, forks, kettle, and so forth, so they mixed water in the bag

10. Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1793* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle & Co. Inc., 1971), 46.

11. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, Franchère's Voyage to Northwest Coast* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), vol. 6, 387.

with the flour to make cakes which they baked on flat stones around the campfire.¹² Time apparently brought improvements and maturity of attitude toward the workers.

Fruits: Preserving Lime Juice

In 1696 the HBC shipped supplies to the Bay, including two barrels of unidentified fruit. In 1725 Richard Staunton at HBC's Albany Fort placed an extensive order for foodstuffs. He asked for a cask of prunes, a hundredweight of currants, four hundredweight of Smyrna raisins, a hundredweight of sundried raisins, and an unspecified quantity of lime juice. Phyn & Ellice shipped ten gallons of "pure, Fresh & good lime juice" to Illinois in 1769. That year the firm also shipped dried currants, prunes, figs and raisins to the same place.

The HBC purchased orange and lime juice from Charles Woodman, 1820-46, and lime juice from L. Rose in 1875.¹³ The British Navy purchased Sicilian lemon juice with 10 percent alcohol added for preservation. It was served daily; a ten-man mess received 10 ounces of juice mixed with 120 ounces of water and 10 ounces of sugar.¹⁴ Lemon juice had a much higher concentration of vitamin C than lime juice, but it came mostly from foreign suppliers, whereas limes were grown in British possessions. Lauchlan Rose developed his preserved lime cocktail in the British West Indies about 1860; it did not contain alcohol. By 1895 all British merchant and naval vessels were required to issue a daily one-ounce ration of lemon or lime juice.¹⁵

Sweeteners: Honey as a Trade Item

Prince Maximilian wrote in his journal, "Though the bee was not known in America till it was introduced by the Europeans, it is now spread over the whole continent. The Indians are said to call it 'the white man's fly.' It is now common far up the Missouri, where the honey is eagerly sought for by both Whites and Indians."¹⁶ Maximilian noted that he and his party were running out of both coffee and sugar, so his weak coffee was being sweetened with honey, of which he had twenty pounds.¹⁷

Honey and beeswax naturally became articles of trade. In 1774 William Bartram wrote that honey and wax were two commodities traded by the Seminoles to the whites for clothing and utensils.¹⁸ Baynton, Wharton & Morgan was buying beeswax in the period 1767-69 at its trading posts and stores in the Illinois country.¹⁹ Before the Revolutionary War beeswax was being exported commercially from Philadelphia and Savannah, Georgia.

12. *Ibid.*, 393.

13. *Research Bulletin No. 94*. (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1978), 33.

14. Robert White Stephens, *On the Stowage of Ships and their Cargoes* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1858), 510.

15. Sue Shephard, *Pickled, Potted and Canned: How the Art and Science of Food Preserving Changed the World*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 210-11.

16. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Maximilian's Prince of Wied's Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834*, 32. Vols. *Early Western Travels 1748-1846* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966), vol. 23, 110.

17. *Ibid.*, vol. 24, 109-10.

18. Mark Van Doren, ed., *Travels of William Bartram*. (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 182.

19. Ted Franklin Belue, "Indian Influenced Woodsmen of the Cane," *The Book of Buckskinning 7* (Texarkana: Scurlock Publishing Company, 1995), 24.

At J. W. Johnson's trading post near Burlington, Iowa, in March 1809, the Indian customers traded \$141 worth of beeswax and tallow.²⁰ A Missouri pioneer wrote in 1816 of the Shawnees and Delawares coming into St. Genevieve each fall with ponies laden with summer deer skins, honey, and bear's oil.²¹ The Indians were more anxious to sell the wax and it was easier to store and transport than honey. The U.S. Office of Indian Trade purchased wax regularly at its factories, paying as much as 39 cents a pound for it at Chicago in 1809.²² In 1810 Choctaw House alone shipped 1,515 lbs. of beeswax to the Georgetown office of the agency. In 1821 the USOIT at Sulphur Fork had 25 ½ gallons of honey on hand, purchased from local Indians.²³ By 1822 U.S. exports of bee's wax had reached a quarter of a million pounds.²⁴

White frontiersmen generally seemed to be proficient at bee hunting in all parts of the country, some of them did it for sport or for a welcome change in diet. Others did it for profit to supplement trapping or ginseng digging. A few hunted bees as a profession. In his book, *The Prairie*, James Fenimore Cooper introduces as one of his characters a young man who hunted bees instead of trapping. He carried a small tin container full of honey on a cord around his neck, probably to use for bait.²⁵

Washington Irving wrote at length about the bee hunting activities of a band of irregular rangers who accompanied him and Commissioner Ellsworth on a trip west from Fort Gibson in 1832. The group cut down some twenty bee trees around the first campsite.²⁶ Irving noted parties of professional bee hunters in western Missouri; they lived off the land and sold their harvest of up to a hundred gallons for 37 cents a gallon.²⁷ In 1836 a settler saw seventy-five barrels of wild honey; it was worth 25 to 36 cents a gallon at that time. The usual price was around 25 cents and the wax, made into cakes called "Yellow Boys," was used as frontier money at 5 cents a pound. Beeswax and furs were generally "the sole currency in a barter economy."²⁸

During his trip west with Sir William Drummond Stewart in 1837, Alfred Jacob Miller painted a bee hunter at work. It depicts a frontiersman running past a prairie dog village as he tracks a bee to its hive. Even the prairie, with its abundance of summer flowers, encouraged the occupation of the honey bee.

Coffe, Tea, and Chocolate: How Much Tea Can You Drink?

The northern Indians loved tea. It was usually a part of the regular rations for Hudson's Bay workers. In 1856 Alexander Ross had this to say: "Tea is now nearly as common in the Indian camp as in the settlement; but the half-breeds surpass everything yet heard of in the article of tea-drinking. In a small camp last winter, among the buffalo, there were thirty-eight adults, men and women, and

forty-six children; and this small community, in the course of seven months, with the addition of a few Indians, consumed the enormous quantity of 3,528 pounds of tea! Equal to forty-two pounds a head, young and old."²⁹



Good Medicine Indian with Bottle and Spoon by Seth Eastman, 1840s. Present location unknown.

Spirits: Fur Trade Cocktails

"Bumbo" was the name given a mixture of rum, water, sugar, and nutmeg that was popular at eighteenth century HBC posts.³⁰

20. Daniel L. McKinley, "The White Man's Fly," *Missouri Historical Review* 58 (July 1964): 446.
 21. Louis Houck, *A History Of Missouri*. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, 1908), 1-231
 22. Ora Brooks Peak, *A History Of the United States Indian Factory System 1795-1822*. (Denver 1954), 135.
 23. Inventory December 31, 1821, Sulfur Fork Factory, Records of the US Office of Indian Trade, NARA.
 24. James A. Hanson, "The Bee Hunter," *MFTQ* 15, (Winter 1979), 1.
 25. James Fenimore Cooper, *Works of J. Fenimore Cooper*. (New York 1892), 2-228.
 26. Washington Irving, *A Tour Of The Prairies*. (Norman, Oklahoma 1956), 50-54.
 27. McKinley, "The White Man's Fly," 447.
 28. *Ibid.*, 449.

29. Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement*. (London, 1856, See reprint: Rutland, Vermont, 1972), 204.
 30. Peter C. Neuman, *The Company of Adventurers*. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penquin Books Ltd., 1985), 163.

Meat, Fish, and Fowl: Canned Goods

Nicholas Appert, a French chef and restaurateur, is generally given credit for inventing the vacuum process used in canning and food preservation. He accomplished this in 1812. As a topic for future research, there are references to tinned beef being purchased by the overland Astorians in Montreal in 1810.³⁷ This, of course, anticipates Appert's work and seems to be too early, since the first English canning factory did not open until 1813, and the first American factory was opened in Boston in 1817 by Englishman William Underwood (famous later for potted meat). However, there are earlier references to the Dutch sealing foods in tin cases. In the seventeenth century they supplied ship's biscuit in closed metal containers, and in the 1770s Englishmen fighting in Dutch Surinam described "eating roast beef packed in dripping [grease] in soldered airtight tinplate containers that had been sent out from the Netherlands." A contemporary source tells of Dutch fishermen packing prepared salmon in "tin boxes" and pouring over them a layer of melted butter to exclude air.³⁸

Beer and Wine: "Pretty Bottled Porter, Indeed!"

Porter, also called stout or brown stout, is a fermented beverage made of malted barley or other grain, yeast, hops, and water. Stout originally referred to a heavier variety of porter, extensively brewed in London and Dublin, but by 1900 all porters were referred to as stout. Porter originated in London in 1722. Taverns mixed two or three beverages: beer, ale, and "two-penny," but porter combined the taste of all three, and so was called "entire." Because laborers and porters drank it, it became known as porter. Stout was a name to indicate it was a desirable malt beverage for invalids and convalescents.

Porter's slightly burnt, bitter taste and dark brown color are due to its being brewed from high-dried malt, or from roasted malt if the color pale or amber is desired. The heavier stouts are vatted or stored until mature, up to a year and more, while light or draught Porter is aged for only six to eight weeks.³⁹ In 1845 it generally contained only 4 percent alcohol.⁴⁰

Porter differs from beer in that the malt from which it is brewed is highly dried. Willich offered an 1804 recipe that included malt, licorice root, treacle, hops, ginger and capsicum, along with other additives. It had laxative properties and, if bottled, it acquired "a high flavor, and is much esteemed, especially, after having made a sea-voyage. A similar effect will result from sending such liquor to a considerable distance by land carriage."⁴¹

Between 1768 and 1774, Phyn & Ellice shipped three tierces of porter to Illinois. In Michigan, fur trader John Long told of hiring two soldiers to roll a hogshead of bottled porter from his post to the fort. Long had removed the beer and had hidden two Indian girls inside in order to smuggle them into the garrison. However, the hogshead escaped the men rolling it; it hit a tree and the head flew off, exposing the females. The commanding officer smiled and remarked, "Pretty bottled porter, indeed!" The girls ran away in confusion.⁴²

Eggnog cocktails were served to the mountain men visiting Santa Fe during the days of the Mexican Republic. They could have been made either from New Mexican brandy, called Pass whiskey, or the whiskey distilled from wheat that was made by emigrant Americans.

Punch, the name originating from the Hindi word for five, referring to a total of five ingredients, was popularly served to officers at trading posts. Prince Maximilian mentions James Hamilton providing it at Fort Union: "We, therefore, enjoyed the evening with Mr. Hamilton, by the fireside, over a glass of punch, which beverage was our daily refreshment during our four week's stay at Fort Union."³¹

Peach brandy was sometimes mixed with honey to make an even sweeter drink, and in western Pennsylvania, cider brandy (apple brandy or apple jack, as it was known in New Jersey where much of it was made) was mixed with whiskey to make a libation known as Half & Half.

Sir William Drummond Stewart describes mint juleps at the rendezvous; they contained whiskey, water, sugar, and mint. In 1839 Captain Marryat wrote that the julep was correctly made from a dozen sprigs of mint, a spoonful of white sugar, and two equal parts of peach and grape brandies.

Hailstorms were a libation mentioned that same year by William Augustus Murray, popular in the South and West and described by him as containing madeira or claret, French brandy, lime or lemon, ice, sugar, and fresh mint.³²

Athol brose, mentioned in North West Company records, is made from oatmeal, water, honey, and Scotch whisky. According to legend, the drink is named for the 1st Earl of Atholl, who quashed a Highland rebellion in 1475 by filling the rebel leader's well with the mixture, which intoxicated him, making him easily captured. The recipe for Athol brose follows: stir cold water into oatmeal and mix to a paste. Set aside for an hour and then strain through a sieve, pressing out as much liquid as possible. Discard the oatmeal. Blend honey into the oatmeal liquid, put it in a quart jar, and fill with Scotch whisky. Shake before using.³³

Bitters was a polite excuse to drink for health reasons; it contained high levels of alcohol with a variety of natural flavorings and extracts, but was sold as a nontaxed medicine; it was killed by the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and the 1919 Volstead Act.

Shrub is a West Indian drink, made from lime or lemon juice, fruit rinds, sugar, water, and spirits. Rum is most often used.³⁴ Here are three early nineteenth century recipes for shrub: "To 70 parts rum, brandy, or whiskey, add seven parts each lemon juice and orange juice. Add one part each orange and lemon peel, then add 100 parts sugar dissolved in 130 parts water. Let it stand until fine." And, "shrub, a compound liquor, is made of ardent spirits, orange juice, and sugar . . . one pint of the best coniac brandy requires to be diluted with the expressed and filtered juice of four or six China oranges, and half a pound of refined sugar...[A third recipe is to] take of fourth proof rum, three gallons, add thereto the outer rinds of six Seville or sour oranges, and of six lemons, and let these infuse for one or two days, then add three gallons of water, five pounds of sugar, and of sweet orange juice, three quarts; when well mixed and settled, fine with a gill or half-pint of milk, and rack off for use."³⁵ In 1822 St. Louis ordered from Astor quarter casks of Shrub.³⁶

31. Thwaites, *Maximilian's Travels*, vol. 23, 196.

32. Charles Augustus Murray, *Travels in North America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839), vol. 1, 57.

33. Wikipedia; Free encyclopedia; "Atholl brose."

34. Artemas Ward, *The Grocer's Encyclopedia* (New York: Stationer's Hall, 1911), 566.

35. A. F. M. Willich, *The Domestic Encyclopaedia or a Dictionary of Facts* (Philadelphia: Robert Carr, 1803), 497.

36. Ledger B p. 3, Pratte & Chouteau Accounts, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

37. Clay Landry, "John Reed's Journal—Clerk to the Overland Astorians," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 43 (Fall-Winter 2007), 12.

38. Shephard, *Pickled, Potted and Canned*, 256.

39. *Ibid.*, 595.

40. *Cincinnati Miscellany*, April 1845, 240.

41. Willich, *The Domestic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, 315-16.

42. Thwaites, *J. Long's Voyages*, vol. 2, 179-81.



Fort Nisqually garden at the end of the season in 2005.

Horticulture: Vegetables, Gardens, Orchards, and Seed Sharing: Superkale

An ancient, hardy plant known as a “wild cabbage,” it has been common in English gardens since Medieval times. Kale was referred to as cole, collert, coleworth or colewort in early fur trade records. The name and the plant also evolved into collards by the late eighteenth century. Full of minerals and vitamins, kale was an important food for cattle, chickens, and humans. It thrives in adverse, cold climates. Some kales are so hardy that the plants seem impervious to freezing and can be harvested in winter. Non-curly kale is apparently the closest to the original plant.⁴³

In 1693 the HBC London Committee advised York Fort, “we have sent you some Cole seed used chiefly in the East Country and is a very wholesome Pottherb and very good against the Scurvey boyled with your salt meat it makes it more fresh and wholesome, this Cole seed must be planted in the spring of the year when the wether begins to be warme on a bank side near the South under a

43. Jack Staub, *75 Exciting Vegetables for Your Garden* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2005), 119, 74, 176.

shelter of some walke pales or hedge . . . You must transplant them when growne up neare a foot high . . . att a foot Distance they will ripen and be fit for use.”⁴⁴

Livestock, Dairy Products and Slaves: Russian Animals for the Aleuts

The Russians in Alaska introduced animal husbandry to the natives. At Sitka there were some cattle, and they gave good milk and cream. On Unalaska Island the Russian cattle did remarkably well on lush native grass; the milk was excellent and the meat tender and delicate.⁴⁵ However, other Russian introductions of Old World animals did not go as well. To lessen the risk of famine caused by sea otter hunting during fishing season, the Russians introduced livestock to the Aleuts. The results were bad; the cattle, confined at night to fish drying sheds, knocked down the fish and trampled them. The hogs rooted up the gardens, and the goats leaped upon the summer tents of the natives. The meat from both hogs and chickens tasted of fish guts and shellfish that both consumed.⁴⁶

Medicines: Medical Kits for the Medicine Men

Andrew Graham stated that important Indian medicine men along with the trading captains were “taken singly with their wives into a room where they are given a red leather trunk with a few simple medicines such as powders of sulphur, bark, liquorice, camphorated spirit, white ointment, and basilicon, with a bit of diachylon plaster. The use of everything is explained, and the women are bid to remember, and indeed their memories are very tenacious. A picture is generally put up with the things, for it is held in great reverence and thought to add to the efficacy of the remedies.”⁴⁷

The concept of the medicine chest persisted to the end of the HBC trading posts. Trader W. Cornwallis King remembered the medicine chest furnished his York Boat brigade. “The medicine chest, equipped according to the formula of the Company’s doctor in London, contained:

- 2 pounds of Epsom salts (crystals)
- 1 dozen purgative powders
- 1 dozen vomits (in little packets)
- 1 small spirits smelling salts
- ½ dozen bottles pain-killer (medium size) [undoubtedly Perry Davis’ Painkiller]
- 1 or two rolls sticking plaster
- A lancet
- A pair of forceps.

There was a book of instructions with these drugs, but none of the men, not even the guide, could read them. However, they knew the doses of everything by heart.”⁴⁸

44. E. E. Rich, ed., *Hudson’s Bay Copy Booke of Letters Commissions Instructions Outward 1688–1696* (London: Hudson’s Bay Company Record Society, 1957), 199–200.

45. William H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1870), 448.

46. *Ibid.*, 449–50.

47. Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, ‘Give Us Good Measure,’ *An Economic Analysis of Relations between the Indians and the Hudson’s Bay Company before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 59.

48. King and Weckes, *Trader King*, 40.

Condiments and Soap: Castile

Castile soap is also called Marseilles soap and is made from olive oil. In the HBC, it was popular as “Cast Steel Soap;” users thought it was the best because cast steel represented the best material for tools. “The soap was in great demand.”⁴⁹ Castile soap, also known as olive oil soap, Marseilles soap, Spanish soap, and Venetian soap is very mild and capable of being used to wash wounds. Some of it is green from the chlorophyll in the olive oil. Milled soap is fine toilet soap in which good-quality common soap is chipped and dried, then flattened into sheets or ribbons, colored, perfumed, milled again, and finally pressed or molded into a finished bar. Brown Windsor soap derives its color from being reboiled and aged. Often it is colored artificially. In 1835 the American Fur Company’s Northern Outfit at Michilimackinac ordered two thousand pounds of brown soap.⁵⁰

Tobacco: Cigars

Cigars were introduced to the British during the French and Indian War when its troops captured Cuba. Many officers maintained the cigar smoking habit. Cabanas, a Havana brand dating to 1795, was a popular American import. Cigar-making received an impetus during the Peninsular campaigns of the Napoleonic Wars when British soldiers adopted the cigarros of the Spanish populace.

American colonial troops had also served in Cuba, and cigar smoking proved to be a convenient way to use tobacco. Thomas Woods noted in backwoods Indiana: “We saw some children setting off to school; one boy came to the cabin to light his segar, that he might take a whiff going along to school. The men smoke segars, and many of the women (at least the married ones) pipes; we frequently saw women nursing their children with pipes in their mouths.”⁵¹

American cigars were first packed in barrels of several thousand. Early cigar boxes were made of cedar and branded or “top-marked” with a Spanish name.⁵² In the 1830s segars became cigars in America.

Among the varieties developed were the thin, pencil-diameter “short sixes,” also called “two-fers” because they were priced at two for a penny. Long nines were simply a longer version of the same thing. Cheroots were the cheapest cigar, cut square at both ends. “Supers” were like modern cigars, but given a twist at each end to keep the wrapper leaves from unrolling rather than gluing them. “The cigar proper—contrasted with cheroot, toby, or . . . tobacco stick—has an outer wrapper, an inner binder, and a filler blended from two or more types of leaf.”⁵³ Coronas are straight cigars 5 ½ inches long. Half Coronas are 3 ½ inches in length, and Double Coronas, 7 ½ inches. Wrapper leaf color extends from Claro, the lightest, through Colorado, medium, to Maduro, the darkest.⁵⁴ Various Havana qualities included flor (the best), followed by bueno and superior. Types included concha (short and thick); Espanado (tied with red and yellow ribbons; partagos (long); and regalos,

49. H. M. S. Cotter, “A Fur Trade Glossary,” *The Beaver* (September 1941): 37.

50. Reel 2, Shipment to Michilimackinac, June, 1835 (American Fur Co. Papers, New-York Historical Society).

51. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., in *Early Western Travels, English Prairie*, vol. 5, 247.

52. Robert K. Heimann, *Tobacco and Americans* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), 95.

53. *Ibid.*, 97.

54. Alfred Dunhill, *The Gentle Art of Smoking* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1954), 120–22.



“The Tobacco Plantation” was the title page of the 1788 publication, *The Federalist* by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. It was a collection of essays, that even today are considered, the foremost commentary on the US Constitution. Courtesy of the New York Public Library, Arents Collection.

large and finely made, and highly prized. A professional Cuban cigar roller could produce from 200 to 400 cigars per day.⁵⁵

Havana cigars, first brought from Cuba by Massachusetts general Israel Putnam in 1762, were imported at 100 million a year in 1849, along with Havana tobacco for domestic cigar manufacture. By 1844 American-made cigars with Havana filler were being made in Baltimore. They sold for \$16 a thousand, as opposed to \$3 a thousand for those with domestic filler.⁵⁶ Cigar makers in the US called their product made entirely from Cuban tobacco “Clear Spanish,” and with Cuban filler only, “half Spanish.”⁵⁷ Cigar wrapper leaves were colored with a stain derived from walnut hulls soaked in alcohol. Cigar filler was placed in molds for seven or eight hours, then wrapped in a wrapper as finish.⁵⁸

55. P. H. Felker, *The Grocer’s Manual* (New York: American Grocers Publishing Association, 1878), 59.

56. Joseph Clark Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938), 95–96.

57. Heimann, *Tobacco and Americans*, 88.

58. James B. Lutterman, *Tobacco Manufacturer’s Manual: a vade-mecum for the Allied Industries* (London: James B. Lutterman), 45, 113.

The popularity of Mexican or Spanish cigars soared among Americans during the Mexican War, followed by the impetus of the California gold rush. Cigar smoking escalated dramatically until the twentieth century.

Shoestring tobacco, raised in Pennsylvania, was flavored and made into cigars called stogies, named for the Conestoga freight wagon.⁵⁹ A stogie has one tapered end, intended for insertion in the mouth. As cigar making in New England took hold after the Revolution, broadleaved "Sweet Scented" Maryland tobacco was developed as Connecticut seedleaf to use as wrappers. It replaced the old Shoestring variety except in the cheaper products.

In 1822 the Western Department of the American Fur Company ordered two "Half boxes" of Spanish segars at \$19, packed in a trunk and then wrapped with matting for \$3 more.⁶⁰ Minnesota trader Joseph Rolette ordered a thousand Spanish cigars from the American Fur Company's Western Department in 1827. The cost was \$11.25.

Maximilian noted that "the tobacco which Fur Company sells to them, to mix with their leaves or bark, is strong, dark, clammy, and black, and is in twists, six or eight inches long . . . The Tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars."⁶¹ However, the Sauk Indians had willingly accepted Maximilian's gift of cigars to secure their friendship the previous year.

Appendix: Some Fur Trade Measurement Terms

MACCARON: The term macaroon is a deviant spelling of maccaron and derives from the French for a small cake or biscuit. Its meaning is a mixture or medley. In fur trade usage it indicated similar sized containers (usually small) of rum, brandy, molasses, fruit, vinegar, etc., laced together in groups, usually of four, to facilitate their being portaged or intended for a single delivery. "The chief factor's portion was one maccaron of biscuit, tea, chocolate, salted tongues, butter, and flour. The clerks got half a maccaron, and each might take what he preferred of the four beverages."⁶²

BRASSE: The method of selling or giving it is described in a narrative of Pierre de Boucherville where he tells of giving a "brasse" of tobacco to a Kickapoo chief in 1728. A length of rope tobacco was measured and cut off the roll. A brasse was about 5.3 English feet but in practice traders simply measured it off between the hands with arms outstretched to either side.⁶³

MADE BEAVER: Originally the value of a beaver skin, used to reckon all other fur prices as equivalents, and the prices for goods offered in exchange. As the price of beaver fluctuated from time to time and place to place, the made beaver became an arbitrary accounting tool for reckoning values. Usually it represented about fifty cents. Thus a beaver skin might be worth 20 made beaver (\$10) or even more on the books.

59. Heimann, *Tobacco and Americans*, 86.

60. Book B, 8, Roll 1, Chouteau Accounts, Chouteau-Maffitt Collection, MHS.

61. Thwaites, *Maximilians Travels*, vol. 23, 12, 274.

62. H. J. Moberly, *When Fur was King* (Dent: Toronto, 1929), 82.

63. Relation of the adventures of Monsiur de Boucherville quoted in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 17 (Madison, WI, 1906), 41.



Eskimos receiving their rations at a Hudson's Bay Trading Post. Courtesy *The Beaver*, June 1941.

Book Reviews

Books marked with an asterisk are available from the museum. Prices shown include member discount and shipping.

**Obstinate Hope: The Western Expeditions of Nathaniel J. Wyeth. Volume One: 1832-1833.* Jim Hardee, ed. Museum of the Mountain Man, Pinedale, WY, 2013. \$24.95.

Nathaniel J. Wyeth was one of those visionary entrepreneurs who regarded most fur traders as ignorant and grasping boobs who would succumb to his business savvy and his charm. He had become imbued with the idea of developing the economic potential of the West, whether it might be through salmon harvesting, agriculture, or fur production by hiring white trappers or trading with the Indians.

Wyeth also had an autocratic niggardliness in his dealings with subordinates; he recruited a faithful band of brothers to march into the West, but the men were independent Bostonians and in short order his cadre of volunteers employees unraveled and he lost all of his followers, most of his equipment, and a substantial part of his investment. Having spent the first trip reconnoitering, we leave him at the end of this book, reconnoitering for his eventual return and financial triumph.