Carolyn Podruchny, "Festivities, Fortitude, and Fraternalism: Fur Trade Masculinity and the Beaver Club, 1785-1827." In *New Faces in the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference,* edited by William C. Wicken, Jo-Anne Fiske and Susan Sleeper-Smith, 31-52. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1998.

In 1785, wealthy fur trade merchants in Montreal founded the Beaver Club, an elite dining club restricted to men who had wintered in the North American interior, often referred to as "Indian Country." Although the Beaver Club existed along side other dining and entertainment clubs in Montreal, it was unique in its membership, *raison d'être*, and rituals. The club was initiated to provide a forum for retired merchants in which to reminisce about the risky and adventurous days of fur trading, and a forum for young fur traders to enter Montreal's bourgeois society.[i] The initial membership of nineteen expanded to a peak of fifty-five, as the club met regularly until 1804. Following a three-year suspension dinners were then resumed. It probably began to decline after the merger between the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, when the business centre of the fur trade moved from Montreal to Hudson Bay. Evidence shows that members continued to meet until 1824, when the Club ended. Efforts to resurrect the Club in 1827 were unsuccessful.

The Beaver Club a well-known institution of the Montreal fur trade. Many scholars have glorified the exclusive fraternity and the extravagant style of the dinners, and idealized the strength of the men who wintered in "Indian Country". Although mention of the Beaver Club is widespread, details are few, and its treatment is uncritical, romantic, celebratory, and lacking in historical context.[ii] This chapter explores the social meaning of the Beaver Club for its members and for wider Montreal society. The Club should be seen as a variant of men's club typical of the North Atlantic world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Fraternal association provided a forum for men to establish business connections, share ideas, and to construct and cement a common culture of shared values and social ideals. One of the most important of these ideals was the respectable man. Club rules and rituals defined the substance and boundaries of respectable behaviour. The Beaver Club was distinct from many fraternal associations because it embodied a fascination with the "wild" and "savage". Men who had braved the unknown, encountering what they thought were strange, exotic and potentially menacing natives, and surviving the rigors and dangers of travel by canoe, came together in Montreal to remember and honor their rugged adventures in the North American interior. In some ways fur trade merchants appropriated the "rugged" and "wild". Although they did not actually share the physical experiences of their laborers or the atives with whom they traded, they pretended to have done so in their reminiscences. At the same time members forged a bourgeois civility, which excluded women and the working class. In the privacy of the club, the fur traders could enjoy acting in a rough manner while upholding their respectable reputations to the outside world. In some ways the divergent ideals of respectability and rowdiness reflected a transition from an earlier fur trade society dominated by rough and ready traders whose claims to status and power came solely from their success in the trade, to a later society dominated by a professional, mostly English and Anglican, elite, who brought urban middle class ideals to their management of the fur trade.

I. Bourgeois Men's Clubs

Montreal was a mercantile city which relied on the fur trade and international import-exports for its economic survival until 1821. It served as the financial heart for a large part of the fur trade in North America. After 1770 its local economy became more vigorous with a growing population and diversification of economic interests.[iii] Although Montreal and Quebec City constituted the major urban centers of the Canadian colonies, their populations in the mid-eighteenth century only reached five thousand, less than half the size of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, the largest cities in the Thirteen Colonies.[iv] Montreal's middle class, which included businessmen, liberal professionals, and colonial officials, were the beneficiaries of the post-Conquest economic growth. Within this group the merchant bourgeoisie increased in number, diversity and power. Fur trade merchants' prestige and influence were especially strong. This group of more than one hundred men made fast fortunes in the fur trade, bought property, gained political power, and became a part of the governing class of the colony. Partners in Montreal fur trade firms were commonly referred to as bourgeois. The dozen or so large companies began to pool resources in the early 1770s and eventually merged into the North West Company in 1784.[v]

As Montreal flourished, clubs became important institutions for urban sociability. Increasing affluence and leisure time among merchants led to the growth and popularity of clubs that provided organized forums for social entertainment, fellowship, and business networking. Similar patterns existed in eighteenth-century England where voluntary organizations fostered a new sense of social order in towns, promoted urban advancement, were committed to intellectual innovation and social improvement, transmitted new ideas, and contributed to public vitality. Clubs played significant social and cultural roles in the transition from a preindustrial order to a modernizing industrial society by promoting social division based on class and wealth rather than rank and status, and by stressing harmony and order within the middle class.[vi] In eighteenth-century America, fraternities, such as the Freemasons, accompanied the growth of market relations and towns. Clubs forged patronage relationships, which formed the primary means of survival and advancement in the eighteenth-century business world. Merchants relied heavily upon the reputation and ties of trust provided by clubs.[vii] In Montreal, sodalities, such as the Beaver Club, helped to cement the bonds between members of the bourgeois class, provided vehicles for business and social bonding, and instilled values which helped shape their attitudes and behavior.

The Beaver Club dinners were part of a large continuum of vigorous socializing among fur traders and Montreal's bourgeoisie. Men and women entertained regularly, and one of the most popular activities was dining. In December 1797, Colonel George Landmann had not been in Montreal for more than twenty-four hours when he had received invitations to dine for the next ten days from army officers, government officials, and merchants. His descriptions of feasting and hard drinking extended to parties held by fur traders before spring fur brigades set out.[viii] Montreal businessman and fur trader Joseph Frobisher's dining diary from 1806 to 1810 illustrates his participation in the broad circuit of dining and parties among Montreal's social elite. Even though Frobisher was not in the best health, he frequently dined out or entertained in his home every night of the week.[ix] Although men and women frequently dined together, fraternization among men was formalized in clubs and associations, such as the Beaver Club. Other men's dining clubs that formed part of the pattern of socializing among Montreal's bourgeoisie included the Brothers in Law Club, which, like the Beaver Club, allowed members of the same occupation to meet in a convivial setting. This exclusive group of Montreal lawyers

met several times a year to dine, between 1827 and 1833.[x] Others included the Bachelors' Club, the Montreal Hunt Club, and the exclusive Montreal Fire Club, to which many Beaver Club members belonged.[xi]

Several Beaver Club members and many of their guests became members of the Masonic order, one of the most prestigious and well-connected fraternal associations in the North Atlantic world. Although it drew men from many backgrounds, its character was bourgeois, and like the Beaver Club, it helped its membership forge a bourgeois identity, like the Beaver Club. Sir John Johnson, an Indian department official and member of the legislative council of Lower Canada, was a regular guest at Beaver Club dinners. He was appointed the Masonic Provincial Grand Master for Canada in 1788. His father, Sir William Johnson, a prominent merchant and superintendent of Indian affairs for northern British North America, founded one of the first Masonic lodges in New York in 1766. Beaver Club member William McGillivray became Provincial Grand Master of the District of Montreal. His younger brother, Simon McGillivray, also a Beaver Club member, became a Freemason in 1807 and was appointed provincial grandmaster of Upper Canada in 1822.[xii] Many lodges were founded at fur trade and military posts in the late eighteenth century, such as Michilimackinac, Niagara, Cataraqui, and Mackinaw. As well, colonial military regiments, whose officers regularly attended Beaver Club dinners, were closely tied to early masonic lodges.[xiii] The last meeting of Beaver Club was held at the Masonic Hall Hotel.[xiv] These ties with Freemasonry aided the fur traders in business and politics. Fur trade scholar Heather Devine has found that the rapid success of Scottish Nor'Westers as merchants was due to their entry into Sir William Johnson's political, social, and economic networks. Through patronage, Johnson established close ties with some Scottish emigrés, particularly Simon McTavish.[xv] These ties seemed to persist into the nineteenth century in Montreal, as Sir John Johnson was a regular guest at the Beaver Club.

The club was comprised mainly of men who either worked for or were sympathetic to the North West Company. Members included the most powerful men in the fur trade business, such as Charles-Jean-Baptiste Chaboillez, Maurice Blondeau, Benjamin Frobisher, Joseph Frobisher, Thomas Frobisher, James McGill, John McGill, William McGillivray, Duncan McGillivray, and Roderick McKenzie, as well as some of the most famous explorers of the North American interior, such as Alexander Henry the younger, Alexander MacKenzie and Simon Fraser.[xvi] Some members were less socially prominent, and a few had dubious backgrounds, such as interpreter and trader Joseph-Louis Ainsse, who was accused of plundering at Michilimackinac, who betrayed a commandant, and who embezzled from the Indian Department. American trader Peter Pond, described as violent and unprincipled, was suspected of being involved in the murders of at least three fur traders.[xvii] However, in the context of the Beaver Club, these social differences were often flattened, and suspect backgrounds were ignored in the interests of maintaining a respectable appearance. Fur traders who worked in rival companies, such the XY Company, were not welcome, even if they had been members previously. For example, Alexander McKenzie was elected to the Club in 1795, disappeared from its records while he was a partner of the XY Company, and was re-elected in 1808, four years after the XY Company's dissolution. At the same meeting former XY partner A.N. McLeod was also elected. Another XY Company partner, John Gregory, was initially elected in 1791, but does not reappear in the Beaver Club minutes until 1809.[xviii] Some well-known fur traders, such as David Thompson and Daniel Williams Harmon, never became members, probably because they spent most of their lives in the north west.[xix]

Beaver Club folklore extolled the political and economic power of members. Member

James Hughes recalled the Beaver Club as the "acme of social attainment and the pinnacle of commercial success in Lower Canada," proudly reported distinguished visitors to the club, and hinted that the fur traders controlled affairs of state.[xx] Guests included militia officers, government officials, businessmen, and professionals, such as judges, lawyers, and doctors, and distinguished visitors to Montreal, including John Jacob Astor, Washington Irving and Thomas Moore. The political and economic networks formed between fur trade businessmen, colonial officials, Indian Department administrators, and military officers were encouraged by their regular socializing. Members and guests were often connected through family, as well as through business. For example, the frequent guest Alexander Auldjo was a leader among Montreal businessmen, supporter of the English Party, and member of the Scotch Presbyterian Church. David David, a fur trader, businessman and militia officer who became a Beaver Club member in 1817, was appointed the director of the Bank of Montreal in 1818. Another frequent visitor was John Forsyth, a successful merchant actively involved in improving Montreal's financial infrastructure, a militia officer, and a member of the legislative council.[xxi]

Meetings were held in the off-season of the trade once a fortnight from the first week in December until the second week in April. Beginning at four in the afternoon, dinners often lasted until four in the morning.[xxii] Dinners were held in various Montreal hotels and taverns, such as City Tavern, Richard Dillion's Montreal Hotel, Palmer's Hummums, and Tesseyman's, as was common for private parties, business and political meetings, and gatherings of male friends in the eighteenth century.[xxiii] The passing around of a calumet, or peace pipe, marked the beginning of the Club's formal rituals, which were continued with a speech, or "harangue," made by the evening's president, and formal toasts.[xxiv] Dinner fare included country food, such as braised venison, bread sauce, "Chevreuil des Guides" (stew), venison sausages, wild rice, quail, and partridge "du Vieux Trappeur", served in crested glass and silverware.[xxv] After dinner, the club became more informal, as men began to drink more heavily, sing voyageur songs, and reminisce about the good old fur trading days. Festivities continued until the early morning, with men dancing on the tables, re-enacting canoeing adventures, and breaking numerous bottles and glasses. The approbation of rough and rowdy behaviour, at odds with the urbane civility of other Montreal dining clubs, especially those where women were included, allowed fur traders a private space in which to embrace rugged masculine ideals.

II. Gender, Class and Fraternalism

The Beaver Club was instrumental in developing the gender and class identities of its members. It brought bourgeois men together in an insulated setting and promoted representations of idealized masculinity. Gender formation and class formation were closely associated in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century North Atlantic world. Some scholars, such as British middle class historians Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, argue that class and gender always operate together, and that class always takes a gendered form.[xxvi] As bourgeois men came together in business and fraternal orders, they began to limit the boundaries of their collective identity. The increasing marginalization of women from the world of public commerce after the Conquest extended to their exclusion from fraternal associations, which were often seen as extensions of men's business interests. Bourgeois men also sought to distinguish themselves from other classes. They generally considered the lower orders as their social and economic inferiors

and, despite their aspirations to gentry, they often called the higher orders their moral inferiors.[xxvii] Through fraternal associations, the bourgeois were able to consolidate their class and forge bourgeois harmony.

Women were excluded from most fraternal associations for various reasons. One of the key components to middle class constructions of femininity and masculinity was the division between the public sphere, the realm of rational activity, market forces and production, and the private sphere, the realm of morality, emotion, and reproduction. Although men and women moved in both these spheres, men appropriated the former, while women dominated the latter.[xxviii] The subsequent marginalization of women in the public sphere contributed to the exclusion of women from club meetings, as fraternal associations were frequently associated with men's trade and business. Like many other men's clubs, Beaver Club meetings were held in taverns, where few middle-class women ventured. Hall argues that taverns were increasingly defined as inappropriate settings for women who wished to maintain their gentility, as temperance movements became an important component of the evangelical project to raise the moral tone of society.[xxix] Other scholars suggest that the absence of women was important to the process of forging masculinity. Mark Carnes's study of fraternal associations in Victorian America argues that their rituals provided solace and psychological guidance, away from women, for a young man's passage from the maternal affection of childhood to manhood.[xxx] In the all-male atmosphere men could practice distinctive social behaviors, such as smoking, swearing, gambling, and drinking, with little interruption. In her work on American mariners, Margaret Creighton asserts that these masculine activities were not meant to make the men more appealing to women; rather, they made them more acceptable to other men.[xxxi] Men were subject to gender expectations generated by both sexes. Away from women, men could focus on themselves, cultivate their own desires and identities, and escape the pressures of women's expectations. In the Beaver Club, fur traders were able to revere their lives in the North American interior, where, away from their Euro-American wives and mothers, they pursued their aspirations for rugged adventure.

Fur trade laborers, such as voyageurs, interpreters, and guides, were almost never included in Beaver Club festivities. The social organization of the Montreal fur trade firmly divided partners from low-ranked workers.[xxxii] In the mid-eighteenth century, some men were able to rise from the rank of worker to manager, but by the time of the emergence of the North West Company in the 1780s, the hierarchy was firmly in place. Older fur traders counseled young clerks to be obedient and polite to superiors, to be self-important when out in the field, and to hold themselves apart from their laborers to command respect and submission.[xxxiii] However, bourgeois attitudes to lower orders could be complex and contradictory, especially for fur traders who had lived and worked alongside their labor force in an isolated and dangerous setting. Many fur trade bourgeois admired voyageurs for their strength and skill, and established relationships with them built on trust and interdependence. At the same time most fur trade bourgeois considered voyageurs to be thoughtless, irrational, and rude.[xxxiv] Club rituals imitating voyageurs helped the bourgeois to distance themselves from their workers. The romanticization of voyageurs' activities cast them as exotic curiosities. At the same time, bourgeois appropriated voyageurs' experiences in the fur trade. Bourgeois reminisced about paddling canoes and running through rapids, even though this was the work of the voyageurs. The bourgeois did not risk their lives in rapids and portages, carry back-breaking packs, paddle at outrageous speeds, nor survive on minimal food, as did the voyageurs. Rather, bourgeois directed crews, managed accounts, distributed food, and had better rations than their voyageurs. Both the distancing from and

imitation of voyageurs reflected a code of ethics which applauded rugged behaviour of the bourgeois in the right settings.

Most eighteenth and nineteenth-century bourgeois admired upper orders, and cherished noble values such as courage, loyalty, prowess in combat, and gallantry in love.[xxxv] This admiration was not unproblematic, as the bourgeois found aristocratic behaviour often at odds with many of their notions of respectability and honour. Nonetheless, members of higher social orders were not excluded from the Beaver Club. The desire to achieve the status of a gentleman inspired in the fur trade bourgeois a fascination for nobility and aristocracy. Although many Anglophone merchants were hostile to the old seigneurial order, they were nonetheless influenced by it. Military service, purchasing noble titles, and acquiring property were common ways that the bourgeoisie could associate themselves with nobility and aspire to gentry.[xxxvi] Fur trade bourgeois usually procured their own crest and motto, which were important signifiers of membership in the gentry.

Within the Beaver Club, members honoured nobility, such as the Duke of Kent, Lord Selkirk, and Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of Canada, by inviting them to Club dinners.[xxxvii] Aristocratic association was a common theme in Beaver Club folklore. For example, at an 1894 auction Brian Hughes was delighted to buy his grandfather's snuffbox bearing the inscription: "The Earl of Dalhousie to James Hughes, Esq., in remembrance of the Beaver Club, May 24, 1824."[xxxviii] Beaver Club members also tried to imitate nobles through lavish spending and material accoutrements. Hughes relates his grandfather's memories of Beaver Club members richly adorned with their medals, ruffles, gold lace, gold-clasped garters, and silver-buckled shoes. Club dinners occurred in stately settings, with servants and luxuries. Members often displayed their wealth through hospitality to their peers and to visitors.[xxxix] When travelling through Montreal in the early nineteenth century, John Lambert describes how the Nor'Westers' lavish displays of hospitality inspired both jealous resentment and "interested deference" in nonmembers.[xl]

Status anxiety may have been behind the merchants' desire to cultivate a strong noble demeanour. One British visitor in 1820, Edward Talbot, cautioned his readers about the vanity and lack of refinement of the newly rich merchants in Montreal, originally servants or mechanics "of low origin and scanty acquirements" who made fortunes in the fur trade. Talbot was appalled by the aristocratic pretensions of this group, but grudgingly admitted that some members of the North West Company belonged to the highest class in Montreal society.[xli]

Despite their affinity for the aristocracy, bourgeois values also reflected the struggles of a vigourous urban elite to establish independent claims to power and status. Davidoff and Hall assert that the British middle class challenge to aristocratic hegemony was based on their claim to moral superiority.[xlii] Robert Nye has found that the French bourgeois were preoccupied with moral discipline, inner values, and control of reproduction and sex to carefully regulate inheritance strategies.[xliii] Many similarities can be found with the fur trade bourgeois, who earned their position through hard work, careful planning, and merit. One of the Club's medals was inscribed with the motto "Industry and Perseverance", which emphasized the efforts of men rather than their birthright.[xliv] Loyalty and commitment were also important ideals to Club fraternity, as members were expected to attend the meetings if in town, and forbidden from hosting parties or accepting other invitations on Club days.[xlv] Like other bourgeois, the fur traders were encouraged to marry within their social group. For example, John Forsyth married the daughter of prominent Quebec merchant Charles Grant; Joseph Frobisher married the daughter of Jean-Baptiste Jobert and niece of Charles-Jean-Baptiste Chaboillez, founding

members of the Beaver Club; Simon McTavish married the daughter of Chaboillez; and William McGillivray married the daughter of Beaver Club member Sir John McDonald of Garth.[xlvi] However, many of the Northwest Company bourgeois married Native or mixed blood women, especially after spending many years in the interior. These marriages were often strategies for building trading alliances and surviving in the bush.[xlvii] Some, such as McGillivray, abandoned their country wives when they left the interior to become merchants in Montreal.[xlviii]

In the Beaver Club gender and class divisions came into sharp relief, as membership was explicitly restricted to bourgeois men. However, the Club was less selective of ethnicity and religion. Of the nineteen initial Beaver Club members, eight were French Canadian, six were Scottish, three were English and two were American.[xlix] Although Scots came to dominate the Montreal fur trade and the Beaver Club, a French Canadian presence persisted.[l] The inclusion of a variety of ethnicities and religious affiliations reflected the composition of people involved in the Montreal business and fur trade world. The fraternal rituals of the Club help to smooth over tension arising from ethnic and religious difference. Hall suggests that clubs and voluntary associations in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain gave their members of a sense of collective identity, which helped unite men of different religious backgrounds, trades, and classes.[li] The same was probably true of the Beaver Club, which helped smooth ethnic and religious differences between its members.

The Beaver Club was characterized by an odd tension between its efforts to promote harmony and a collective bourgeois identity, and its hierarchical nature. The ideal of egalitarianism was manifested in the Club's organizational structure. Each member had an equal vote in electing new members, deciding on fines for those who had broken Club rules, and in other Club affairs. Also, members took turns rotating as President, Vice President and Cork of Club, enforcing general equality without challenging the structure of hierarchy.[lii] The privacy of the Club probably contributed to the spirit of egalitarianism. Members felt the privilege of belonging, being set apart from the rest of society, and sharing in secrets from the outside world.[liii]

Exclusivity expressed in numerical limits helped to maintain social hierarchy. Initially the Beaver Club began with nineteen men, but was expanded to forty with eight honourary members by 1807, to fifty and ten honourary members in 1815, and by 1816 the limit was fifty-five members and ten honourary members.[liv] Only men who received a unanimous vote and met the Club requirements could join. Bourgeois respectability required wealth and leisure, as the men were expected to dedicate time and money to Club. Members had to purchase a gold medal recording the date of their first winter spent in the interior and were fined if they broke Club rules, such as failing to attend a dinner if they were in Montreal, not wearing their medals to the dinners, and forgetting to notify the secretary of guests they intended to bring to dinner.[lv] Members were required to pay for their dinners even if they did not attend Club meetings, and were only excused from the fee if they were ill.[lvi] Social pressure to drink large amounts of alcohol at the meetings was high and men had to pay for their drinks.[lvii]

The Club also served to distinguish fur traders from other bourgeoisie. The condition that men had to winter in the interior to join the Club verified the candidate's strength and fortitude. Within the Club, members were differentiated from guests by their medals, which served as a common marker to identify the members as a group. Private dinners which excluded guests were held at the beginning of every year to plan the year's events.[lviii] Only members had voting privileges and each was provided with a printed book of the Club's mandate, the rules and regulations, and membership list.[lix]

The Club's formal five toasts reflected the tension between the ideals of an emerging urban bourgeoisie, and those of an older rough and ready fur trade society. The first toast, "the mother of all the saints", paid respect to the church, while toasts to the King and the fur trade honoured the state and commerce. The rules and regulations did not indicate allegiance to any specific church, and members ranged from Roman Catholics to Presbyterians to Anglicans. The toast to "the mother all the saints", probably the Virgin Mary, may have been a convenient way to acknowledge the importance of religion without restricting devotion to a single church. At the same time, the toast may have paid homage to an earlier fur trade world dominated by Roman Catholicism. In the toast to "voyageurs, wives and children" the fur traders venerated themselves and the institution of the family. It is unclear whether the toast to "voyageurs, wives and children" referred to the fur traders themselves and their families, or to those the fur traders considered their dependents, that is, their workers, wives and children. Finally, the last toast, to absent members, could be seen as a tribute to fraternity and brotherly love. By acknowledging these values through ritual toasts, fur traders reinforced bourgeois standards of virtue among themselves and taught them to young clerks, as the Club served to initiate young fur traders, and bring those who had spent years in the North American interior back into respectable society.[lx] Formal toasting was a way to draw the group together to participate in a unified activity, sharing similar sentiments about religion, occupation, and masculinity that were different from that of the larger society. Perhaps the jovial and convivial atmosphere allowed these men to reassert older values while recognizing their contradiction within a changing world.

Two Beaver Club members, Simon Fraser and John McDonald of Garth, wrote a memorandum in 1859, near the end of their lives, which captured the spirit of fur traders' masculine ideals:

> We are the last of the old N[orth]. W[est]. Partners. We have known one another for many years. Which of the two survives the other we know not. We are both aged, we have lived in mutual esteem and fellowship, we have done our duty in the stations allotted us without fear, or reproach. We have braved many dangers, we have run many risks. We cannot accuse one another of any thing mean & dirty through life, nor done any disagreeable actions, nor wrong to others. We have been feared, loved & respected by natives. We have kept our men under subordination. We have thus lived long lives. We have both crossed this continent, we have explored many new points, we have met many new Tribes, we have run our Race, & as this is probably the last time we meet on earth, we part as we have lived in sincere friendship & mutual good will.[lxi]

III. The Gentleman and the Wild Man

The fur trade bourgeois differed from other North Atlantic bourgeois in their masculine ideals and in their struggles to attain respectable status. As merchants, the fur traders often worked independently of social hierarchies and were open to a wide variety of cultures.[lxii] Merchants have been described as adventurers, gamblers who took risks for which they expected a high return.[lxiii] The fur trade brought them into the midst of the wild, where they experienced first-hand the wonders of exotic people and places. Fur traders struggled to manage their fascination with the wild and savage, while operating within an urban context of respectability. They cultivated respectability and patriotism in order to secure business contacts, and also were

subject to the exigencies of their class. Yet, the rough skills learned by the fur traders in their perilous adventures were a source of pride, and they helped to create a distinction between "refined" women and "rough" men in an urban context.

The fur traders thus constructed their own particular type of masculinity, combining bourgeois ideals of respectability with their rugged and wondrous fur trade experiences. These two impulses were not dichotomous nor necessarily in conflict, as strength was important to respectability and honour. The Beaver Club became a safe and private forum for honouring coarse and rude behaviour, such as excessive drinking and carousing, not acceptable for bourgeois men in public settings. At the same time, gentility was represented in the Club's stately settings, formal rituals, and illustrious assembly. Visitors, such as Landmann, commented on the wild feasting and hard drinking that went on during Club dinners, and yet gratefully recalled the "greatest civilities" he received from Club members.[lxiv] But while the Club helped fur traders to reconcile their desires to be both rough and gentle, it also served to emphasize boundaries between civilized bourgeois society on the one hand, and on the other the savage bush society of voyageurs, country wives, and Natives.

Some of the most interesting aspects of the Beaver Club were the formal and informal ceremonies of the meetings. The solemn rituals instilled meaning in the Club's ideals, while the revelry provided a place and time in which to cement fraternal bonds. Rituals and ceremonial occasions can be seen as sites of struggles between competing representations, serving as markers for collective identity.[lxv] The dominant impulse in the rituals was a romanticization of the fur trade, which emphasized its importance in the men's lives, but also eased anxiety about the lack of fit between fur trade life and urban bourgeois society.

The tension between the fur traders' desire to be refined and rash found expression in the structure of Club meetings. The dinners began formally, following specified rituals, but then developed into wild and reckless parties. The fixed scheduling of Club dinners contributed to the formal atmosphere. Formality was also expressed in codes of dress. At Club functions members were obliged to wear their medals on blue ribbons or black ribbons to honour a member's deaths.[lxvi] The dinner itself reflected a tension between the savage and the civil. Country food, such as wild rice and venison, was served in crested glass and silverware in stately settings.[lxvii] After the formal rituals of Club dinners, informal socializing and frolicking could begin. A defined social space was an important part of the fraternal process because it was a time to solidify bonds and express brotherly love and harmony. Conversations must have often turned to business, deals discussed, and strategies developed.[lxviii] However, the time for play at the dinners was also a time in which to turn tables, reverse meanings, poke at the social order expressed in the rituals and rules of the Club. One of the most frequently mentioned amusements was the singing of voyageur songs, such as "La claire Fontaine" and "En roulant ma boule".[lxix] Hughes's stories include an account of the men arranging themselves on the floor and imitating the vigourous paddling of a canoe and mounting wine kegs to "shoot the rapids" from the table to the floor.[lxx] Beaver Club rules ensured that every member could drink as he pleased after the toasts had gone around, firmly dividing the formal ritual from informal play.[lxxi] In winter 1797 Landmann described in detail a wild Club party: initially all men consumed a bottle of wine during the dinner, but after the married men retired, leaving the bachelors to "drink to their health", the party really began in "right earnest and true highland style", which involved war-whoops, singing, heavy drinking, breaking plates and glasses, and dancing on the tables. Landmann estimated that 120 bottles of wine had been consumed at the dinner by about twenty men.[lxxii]

In the eighteenth century, consumption of alcohol was considered a gratifying and convivial activity and accompanied almost every social occasion. In the Beaver Club it contributed to the building of trust and friendships.[lxxiii] Lambert felt that the wild abandon of the fur traders' spending and celebrating was well deserved considering the rigours and risks of fur trading.[lxxiv] Perhaps many of the members considered the wild celebrating a necessary release from the tension and discomfort of their experiences in the bush. Hughes also recounted that retired fur traders tried to recreate the "untrammelled license" which they enjoyed in the wilderness.[lxxv] Club dinners provided a safe social space for licensed wildness and drinking closely associated with release. Holding one's liquor was a source of pride. At one party Landmann admired Alexander Mackenzie and McGillivray for being the only two men remaining in their seats when everyone else had passed out.[lxxvi] Excessive drinking could have been a demonstration of wealth. Lambert hints that the North West Company bourgeois aroused the jealousy and resentment of Montreal society for their lavish spending, and incredible hospitality, which was meant to display wealth.[lxxvii]

However, disapproval of excessive drunkenness in public, and especially alcoholism, led the bourgeois to confine heavy drinking and wild abandon to an appropriate context. In a letter to John Askin, Alexander Henry inquired if he enjoyed his visit to the Beaver Club, where he no doubt joined in the merriment of drink, and a few paragraphs later criticized a late colleague for excessive drinking.[lxxviii] In the late eighteenth century public drunkenness and swearing were increasingly condemned.[lxxix] Serious drinking was recognized as a social ill, and associated with poverty, misery, disease, and death.[lxxx] Beaver Club members may have been especially cautious to define a framed time and place for their wild abandon.

Within the Club dinners, some rituals especially captured the tension in fur traders' attitudes towards their bush experiences. Passing around a calumet, or peace pipe, marked the beginning of the Club's formal rituals.[lxxxi] Common to many Native cultures, peace pipes often marked the beginning of conferences or treaties, and paid tribute to spirits.[lxxxii] Although the fur traders probably appreciated the solemn and sacred nature of the calumet, a greater appeal must have lain in the exotic aspects of adopting Native traditions. Traveller John Palmer noted that Indian manners, customs and language, especially war whoops, were closely imitated at Club dinners.[lxxxiii] The attitude of the fur traders towards Natives was complex and often contradictory. Fur traders lived with Natives, often married them, depended on them for survival, and traded with them. Respect and common understanding existed in the relationship. Yet, to the fur traders, Natives were savage creatures of the wild, both appealing and dangerous. The tradition of many traders "going Native", and many of the bourgeois marriages to Native women, created a particular anxiety for the bourgeois to distance themselves from Native influences in a respectable urban environment. Fur traders were fascinated with the savage, and the safe and constricted atmosphere of the club allowed them a place and time to explore and revel in savagery, while maintaining a respectable distance. Ritualizing Native customs may have provided a way for the bourgeois to both dissociate and honour them. Also, exotic rituals instilled romance in fraternal orders, and spoke to the desire for spiritualism. Passing the peace pipe around must have underscored the values of brotherly love and fraternity as Beaver Club rules refer to the calumet as the "usual emblem of Peace".[lxxxiv]

A significant aspect to fraternal bonding among the members was reminiscing about fur trade experiences, an activity which was so highly valued it was part of the mandate published in the members' Club rules.[lxxxv] In reminiscing, the men asserted claims to valour and strength, and were affirmed by each other as tough men. Recounting experiences renewed links of friendship

and camaraderie.[lxxxvi] Reminiscing allowed members to recast their fur trade memories by highlighting acceptable aspects of that life, such as the manly honour of completing difficult journeys, while silencing others, such as abandoned country wives and families. Yet, at the same time it may have allowed many to mourn their country families and friends, and their lost youth.

Reminiscing was an essential method in teaching and revering the masculine values of strength, courage, fortitude, and perseverance gained in fur trade experience. A poem presented to the Club by John Johnston on 19 November 1814 described the pleasure of meeting together with the wanderers of Canada's wide domain, "to recount the toils and perils past". While urging the members to participate in the War of 1812 to protect the fur trade, the poem complimented fur traders on their force, skill, and "manly heart", and lauded their brave suffering in difficult situations.[lxxxvii] Military service was valued because it provided evidence of a man's courage and honour. Fur traders reminded each other to protect their honour, avoid imposition, and to always defend themselves when attacked. Not only was strength in action highly valued, but also strength in rhetoric. One clerk congratulated another for his force and elegance with words and manly roughness with his argument in his letters.[lxxxviii] The motto of the Club, "fortitude in distress", clearly indicated the primacy of the masculine ideals of ruggedness, might, and courage. The mandate of the Club proudly asserted that all initial members had been fur traders from an early age, referring to them as "voyageurs".[lxxxix] Members even considered changing the name to the "Voyageur Club".[xc]

There was no clear definition of the term "voyageur". It was used for all hardy travellers, and yet often the term referred only to French Canadian fur trade labourers. Regardless of the bourgeois' use of language, their attitudes towards fur trade workers was no less ambiguous than their attitudes towards Natives. The Beaver Club toast to "voyageurs, wives and children" may have been another example of the bourgeois trying to mimic their workers by calling themselves voyageurs. By singing voyageurs songs, and by re-enacting canoeing, fur traders could identify with voyageur toughness and rugged risk-taking masculinity, while they distanced themselves from their men in the everyday world. At the same time, the bourgeois appropriated the voyageurs' experiences and culture, as they revered the activities and adventures of their workers, in which the bourgeois did not participate.

IV. Conclusions

Fur traders were different from other elite men in Montreal. Their experience in the fur trade was foreign to respectable urban society and not easily forgotten by the fur traders. Their rough ways formed in bush society were both a source of anxiety and a source of pride. The Beaver Club provided them with a forum in which to make sense of their past experiences, cast them in a positive light, and assert their particular brand of the ideal man, which required fur trade experience to fulfil. At the same time, the Beaver Club was primarily a respectable men's dining club, where Montreal's bourgeois society met to forge business alliances, exchange information, share ideas, and cement social ties. Although the Club allowed members to indulge in idealization of the savage and an older rough and ready fur trade world, the respectable man remained the dominant ideal.

Within the Club, secluded from women, the lower orders, and especially Natives, Montreal's bourgeois men could focus on themselves, cultivate their own desires and identities, and affirm their values. Men could honour strength, courage, and perseverance, all acceptable

aspects of bourgeois masculinity, but they could also venerate risk-taking, the spirit of adventure, and taste for the exotic, qualities which boarded on the rough and uncouth. The privacy of the Cub allowed the fur traders to indulge in rough behaviour, while protecting their respectable reputations. These masculine ideals also brought the distinction between rough men and refined women in greater relief. The secluded fraternal setting, where men shared their memories and emotions, could not be confused with the domestic sphere, which was the domain of women.

Notes

i I use the term "bourgeois" in this paper sometimes to refer to the emerging middle class. However, in the Montreal fur trade merchants and managers were referred to as "bourgeois". Although most of the fur trade bourgeois were part of Montreal's bourgeoisie, the terms have distinct meanings.

ii For examples see Lynn Hetherington, "Canada's First Social Club", The University Magazine, Vol. IX, (April 1910, 296-305), 297 and Robert Watson, "The First Beaver Club", The Beaver, (December 1931, 334-37), 335. Many works on fur trade and Montreal history cite frequently George Bryce, The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company including that of the French Traders of the North-West, XY, and Astor Fur Companies, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900) and Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson: The Makers of Canada, (Toronto: Morang & Co., Limited, 1910); Clifford P. Wilson, "The Beaver Club", The Beaver, (March 1936), 19-24, 64; Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence, (Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1956), 27; Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, The North West Company, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957) and McGillivray: Lord of the Northwest, (Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1962). An exception is provided by Lawrence J. Burpee, who does not cite his evidence, but discusses primary and secondary sources within the text. Lawrence J. Burpee, "The Beaver Club", Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, (1924): 73-91. Another exception is Jennifer Brown, whose brief mention of the Beaver Club describes its role of easing the transition of fur traders back into community life after long absences in the interior. Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 44.

iii Louise Dechêne, "La Croissance de Montréal au XVIIIe Siècle", Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 27, No. 2, (septembre 1973, 163-79), 167; Jean-Paul Bernard, Paul-André Linteau and Jean-Claude Robert, "La Structure professionnelle de Montréal en 1825", Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 30, No. 3, (decembre 1976, 383-415), 390-91. Fernand Ouellet argues that the Montreal fur trade began to decline as early as 1803, but admits that "Even in decline, the famous fur trade would continue to exert a considerable influence on certain elements of society." Fernand Ouellet, Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850, (Ottawa: Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, 1980), 181-82, 186.

iv David T. Ruddel, Québec City, 1765-1832, (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1987), 23.

v Fernand Ouellet, Lower Canada 1791-1840, Social Change and Nationalism, translated by Patricia Claxton, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 38-39, 63, and Economy, Class,

& Nation in Quebec: Interpretive Essays, edited and translated by Jacques A. Barbier, (Toronto: Copp, Clark, Pitman, 1991), 79-80; and Brown, Strangers in Blood, 35-36 . See also Creighton, who describes the political programme of the Montreal merchants, in Empire of the St. Lawrence, 23, 35-55.

vi Peter Clark "Sociability and Urbanity: Clubs and Societies in the Eighteenth Century City", The Eighth H. J. Dyos Memorial Lecture, (Leicester: University of Leicester, Victoria Studies Centre, 1986), 17-19, 23.

vii Steven Conrad Bullock, "The Ancient and Honorable Society: Freemasonry in America, 1730-1830", Ph.D. Thesis, (Brown University, 1986), 5, 78, and 84.

viii George Landmann, Adventures and Recollections of Colonel Landmann, Late of the Corps of Royal Engineers, (London: Colburn and Co., 1852), 232-33, 295-96. Roderick McKenzie describes how the extravagant rituals and wild carousing of the Beaver Club carried over to Fort William's annual Rendezvous. Ottawa, National Archives of Canada, Masson Collection, Miscellaneous Papers, MG19 C1, Volume 44, microfilm reel #C-15639, "Notes By Roderick McKenzie on books read by him...", Part One, n.d. pages 11-19; Charles Bert Reed also describes the parties at Fort William in Masters of the Wilderness, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1914), 70-71. Reed's article on the Beaver Club is almost entirely a quotation of Brian Hughes describing the stories he was told by his grandfather, James Hughes, who was a Beaver Club member. Burpee is sceptical about much of the information provided by Hughes because many of the particulars are inconsistent with other historical sources. Burpee, "The Beaver Club", 89-90.

ix Ottawa, National Archives of Canada, McTavish, Frobisher & Company Collection, MG19 A5, Volume 4, Journal of Joseph Frobisher, 1806-1810.

x Montreal, McCord Museum of Canadian History Archives, M21413, Brothers in Law Society of Montreal Minute Book, 1827-33.

xi The Bachelor's Club was listed frequently in the Journal of Joseph Frobisher and mentioned in a letter from James Caldwell, Montreal, to Simon McTavish, New York Coffee House in London, 5 December 1792. Montreal, McGill Rare Books, MS 431/1, Simon McTavish Correspondence, 1792-1800. The Montreal Hunt Club was formed in 1826, with Beaver Club member John Forsyth as its first president. Marcel Caya, ed., Guide to Archival Resources at McGill University, Vol. 3, (Montreal: McGill University Archives, 1985), 294. Many Beaver Club members belonged to the Montreal Fire Club, which operated between 1786 and 1814, with a membership limit of fourteen. It was formed to provide mutual assistance in case of fire, as well as convivial association. Montreal, McGill Rare Books, MS 437, Montreal Fire Club Minute Book, 1786-1814. Some of the clubs seemed to be class based, and not exclusive to men. In the late 1790s, Isaac Weld describes a club of Montreal's "principal inhabitants," both men and women, which met once a week or fortnight to dine. Isaac Weld, Jun., Travels Through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797, 4th Edition, 2 Vols., (London: John Stockdale, 1807), Vol. 1, 315.

xii A.J.B. Milborne, Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec, 1759-1959, (Knowlton, QC: P.D.D.G.M. G.L.Q., 1960), 40, 67-68; J. Lawrence Runnalls, "Simon McGillivray 1783-1840", The Papers of the Canadian Masonic Research Association, Vol. 3, (Hamilton: The 44th Meeting of the Association of The Heritage Lodge, No. 73, A.F. & A.M., G.R.C., 1966), 1487-89.

xiii John E. Taylor, "Freemasonry in Old Canada and the War of 1812-15", The Papers of the Canadian Masonic Research Association, Vol. 2, (Toronto: The 23th Meeting of the Association,

A.F. & A.M., G.R.C., 1958), 783, 787; A.J.B. Milborne, "The Murals in the Memorial Hall, Montreal Masonic Memorial Temple", The Papers of the Canadian Masonic Research Association, Vol. 1, (Montreal: The 8th Meeting of the Association, A.F. & A.M., G.R.C., 1953), 255-257.

xiv Montreal, McCord Museum of Canadian History Archives, M14449, Beaver Club Minute Book, 1807-27, Original, 3 February 1827, 120. Photostats and typescripts can also be obtained at McGill Rare Books and the National Archives of Canada.

xv Heather Devine, "Roots in the Mohawk Valley: Sir William Johnson's Legacy in the North West Company", In Fur Trade Revisited; Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991, edited by Jennifer S. H. Brown and others, (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1994: 217-242), 228-30. Also see Brown, Strangers in Blood, 36-38.

xvi It is difficult to determine whether Simon McTavish, general director of the Northwest Company, was a member of the Beaver Club. His name does not appear in the Minute Book, but he is listed as a member since 1792 in the 1819 issue of the Rules and Regulations of the Beaver Club: Instituted in 1785, (Montreal: W. Gray, 1819), McCord Museum of Canadian History Archives, M144450, (the name "De Rocheblave" is written on the front cover), 10. Some scholars assert that fur traders disliked McTavish so much that they never invited him to join, or that "the Marquis" himself refused to meet his colleagues on an equal footing in the Club. Burpee, "The Beaver Club", 74-75.

xvii David A. Armour, "Ainsse (Ainse, Hains, Hins), Joseph-Louis (Louis-Joseph)", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 5, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 7-9; Barry M. Gough, "Pond, Peter", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 5, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 681-86.

xviii Beaver Club Minute Book, 4, 26, 47.

xix This is suggested by Burpee, "The Beaver Club", 75.

xx Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 75, 77, 79, and 80.

xxi Gerald J. J. Tulchinsky, "Auldjo, Alexander", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 6, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 18-20; Elinor Kyte Senior, "David, David", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 6, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 179-81; Gerald J. J. Tulchinsky, "Forsyth, John", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 7, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 309-11. This is the same John Forsyth mentioned in note nine as the first president of the Montreal Hunt Club. Bruce Wilson describes the overlap between military, fur trade and colonial government careers on the Niagara peninsula between 1776 and 1812. Bruce G. Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton: A Study of Wealth and Influence in Early Upper Canada, 1776-1812, (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1983), 12-13.

xxii Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 69.

xxiii Thomas Brennan, Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 8; Kym Rice, Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers, (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1983), 88.

xxiv Rules and Regulations, 3; Beaver Club Minute Book, 2.

xxv For an example of a Beaver Club menu see Jehane Benoît, "Wintering Dishes", Canadian Collector, (May/ June 1985): 25-27. For mention of Beaver Club glass and silverware see Watson, "The First Beaver Club", 337.

xxvi

Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 13, 30.

xxvii Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, 18-23. Also see Robert A. Nye, Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour in Modern France, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 8, 31-33.

xxviii Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, 13, 25, 29.

xxix Catherine Hall, White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History, (New York: Routledge, 1992), 158.

xxx Mark C. Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 14.

xxxi Margaret S. Creighton, "American Mariners and the Rites of Manhood, 1830-1870", in Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour, edited by Colin Howell and Richard J. Twomey, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1991, 132- 63), 147.

xxxii Brown, Strangers in Blood, 35, 47-48.

xxxiii Toronto, Archives of Ontario, George Gordon Papers, MU 1146, G. Moffatt, Fort William to George Gordon, Monontagué, 25 July 1809.

xxxiv For example, see W. Kaye Lamb, ed., Sixteen Years in Indian Country: The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon, 1800-1816, (Toronto: The MacMillam Company of Canada Limited, 1957), 197-98.

xxxv Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, 18; Nye, Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour, 32.

xxxvi Ouellet, Economy, Class, & Nation, 62, 80, 94-95, 109.

xxxvii Campbell, The Northwest Company, 130, 140; "Incidents, Deaths, &c." Canadian Magazine, No. XI, Vol. II, (14 May 1824), 473.

xxxviii Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 57-58.

xxxix Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 68, 75.

xl John Lambert, Travels Through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the years 1806, 1807, & 1808. To Which are Added, Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of Some of the Leading Characters in the United States, 2 Vols., (London: C. Cradock and W. Joy, 1814, 2nd ed., first published in 1813), 295-96, 524.

xli Edward Allen Talbot, Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour through Part of the United States of America in the Year 1823, 2 Vols., (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 282-84. John Duncan also criticizes the Montreal bourgeoisie for their deficiency in enterprise and public spirit. John M. Duncan, Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819, 2 Vols., (Glasgow: Wardlaw and Cunninghame, 1823), Vol. 2, 156-57.

xlii Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, 18-20, 30.

xliii Nye, Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour, 32-34.

xliv Hetherington, "Canada's First Social Club", 298.

xlv Beaver Club Minute Book, 2; Rules and Regulations, 5.

xlvi Tulchinsky, "Forsyth", 311; Fernand Ouellet, "Frobisher, Joseph", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 5, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983, 331-34), 333 and "McTavish, Simon", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 5, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983, 560-67), 566; Campbell, McGillivray, 111.

xlvii Brown, Strangers in Blood, 81-110; Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, 28-52.

xlviii Campbell, McGillivray, 68; Brown, Strangers in Blood, 90; Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, 50.

xlix Beaver Club Minute Book, 3.
l For example, F.A. Larocque and J.M. Lamothe were elected in 1815 and Dominique Ducharme attended the last meeting in 1827. Beaver Club Minute Book, 94, 112, 121.
li Hall, White, Male and Middle Class, 157.
lii Beaver Club Minute Book, 1-2; Rules and Regulations, 5-6. For an example of "other club affairs," in the controversy over changing the name to the Voyageur Club, each man had an equal vote. Beaver Club Minute Book, 28 September 1807, 7.
liii Bullock found the same with the freemasons. Although the organization kept its work and rituals secret, they participated visibly in public life and believed they were working towards a public, rather than a private, good, and they demanded public honour. Bullock, "The Ancient and Honorable Society", 4-5.
liv Beaver Club Minute Book, 1, 90, 113; Rules and Regulations, 5.
lv Rules and Regulations, 3-6. Hetherington discusses three surviving medals at the Chateau de Ramezay in Montreal and at the Library of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, as well as some plate and snuff boxes privately owned. Hetherington, "Canada's First Social Club", 298. Watson mentions that cups and silver plate bearing the mark of the Beaver Club were put up at auctions throughout the country. Watson, "The First Beaver Club", 337. Also, a picture of a gold brooch of a beaver, said to be worn by wives of Beaver Club members, appears in "The HBC Packet", The Beaver, (December 1933), 5-6.
lvi For an example of a member charged for a dinner he did not attend, see Beaver Club Minute Book, 21 January 1809, 32. For an example of a member excused from dinner fees because of illness see Beaver Club Minute Book, 53, 82.
lvii See the accounts listed at the end of every dinner in the Minute Book.
lviii For example, see the first meeting of the years 1815/16 and 1816/17, Beaver Club Minute Book, 97-98, 113.
lix Rules and Regulations, 4.
lx Rules and Regulations, 3.
lxi Montreal, McCord Museum of Canadian History Archives, M18638, Memorandum recording the meeting of Simon Fraser and John McDonald of Garth, the last two surviving partners of the North West Company, 1 August 1859, Original. Published in W. Kaye Lamb, ed. The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser, 1806-1808, (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1960), 271.
lxii Brown, Strangers in Blood, 2-3.
lxiii Wilson, The Enterprises of Robert Hamilton, 12, 20-21.
lxiv Landmann, Adventures and Recollections, 233-34.
lxv Nye, Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour, 10-11.
lxvi Beaver Club Minute Book, 1-2; Rules and Regulations, 5.
lxvii Benoît, "Wintering Dishes", 25-27; Watson, "The First Beaver Club", 337.
lxviii Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 68.
lxix Rules and Regulations, 3; Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 68.
lxx Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 68.
lxxi Beaver Club Minute Book, 1; Rules and Regulations, 6.
lxxii Landmann, Adventures and Recollections, 234, 238.
lxxiii Rice, Early American Taverns, 98. Bullock found that for Masons convivial drinking and conversation were very important for specific expressions of brotherly love and fraternity,

Bullock, "The Ancient and Honorable Society", 62.

lxxiv Lambert, Travels Through Canada, 295.

lxxv Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 65.

lxxvi Landmann, Adventures and Recollections, 296; Rice, Early American Taverns, 98.

lxxvii Lambert, Travels Through Canada, 295-96; 524. Clark found that in 18th century English clubs conspicuous consumption and excess were an essential ingredient of club sociability, Clark, "Sociability and Urbanity", 20.

lxxviii Alexander Henry, Montreal to John Askin, Strathbane, 9 May 1815, Milo M. Quaife, ed., The John Askin Papers, Vol. 2, 1796-1820, (Detroit: Detroit Library Commission, 1928-31, 781-83).

lxxix Clark, "Sociability and Urbanity", 21.

lxxx Rice, Early American Taverns, 101.

lxxxi Rules and Regulations, 3.

lxxxii Basil Johnston, Ojibwa Ceremonies, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 33, 160.

lxxxiii John Palmer, Journal of Travels in the United States of America and in Lower Canada, Performed in the Year 1817; Containing Particulars Relating to the Prices of Land and Provisions, Remarks on the Country and the People, Interesting Anecdotes, and an Account of the Commerce, Trade, and Present State of Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Albany, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Lexington, Quebec, Montreal, &c., (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1818), 216-17.

lxxxiv Other bourgeois fraternities also imitated native culture, the obvious being the Improved Order of the Red Men, established in the United States in 1834. Carnes describes in detail the Order's rituals and language inspired by native culture, such as sachems invoking the "Great Spirit of the Universe" and pale face warriors fearlessly facing death. Unfortunately Carnes's only explanation for why native culture was chosen as a model for the fraternity is that the men who were transforming America into an urban, industrial society desired to re-create a primitive past. Mark C. Carnes, "Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual", in Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America, edited by Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990: 37-52), 39-45.

lxxxv Rules and Regulations, 3.

lxxxvi Reed, Masters of the Wilderness, 69.

lxxxvii Beaver Club Minute Book, 83.

lxxxviii Frederick Goedike, Aguiwang to George Gordon, Michipicoten, 29 October 1811, George Gordon Papers.

lxxxix Rules and Regulations, 1.

xc Beaver Club Minute Book, 28 September 1807, 6-7.