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DOCUMENTARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS IN THE WESTERN GREAT LAKES REGION

presented by

Dean Lloyd Anderson

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Major professor

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DOCUMENTARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS IN THE WESTERN GREAT LAKES REGION

By

Dean Lloyd Anderson

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1992

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ABSTRACT

DOCUMENTARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON
EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS IN THE WESTERN GREAT LAKES REGION

By

Dean Lloyd Anderson

The development of the fur trade in eastern North America presented Indian peoples with new social, political and economic conditions. The most tangible element of the trade, however, was the introduction of European technology. The adoption of European goods was an important aspect of the adaptive response of native peoples to the encroachment of Europeans and to the development of the fur trade. Understanding the adoption of European goods by Indian peoples is important to understanding the way the fur trade affected native societies.

Historical archaeology has played a part in investigating the introduction of European trade goods into Indian societies. It is suggested, however, that greater attention to documentary data can extend the contribution of historical archaeology. Importantly, the archaeological record and the documentary record have different characteristics which allow them to provide different insights into research questions. This study suggests that the use of documentary data in archaeological research is crucial to achieving an understanding of the flow of European goods into Indian societies.

This study makes use of archaeological and documentary data to examine the flow of European goods into the western Great Lakes region during the French period. An archaeological perspective on trade goods is constructed using data from several French period sites. A documentary

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perspective is obtained through the analysis of an extensive body of business documents that record the flow of goods through the French trade system.

The documentary data are important in revealing that perishable goods, especially clothing and textiles, were primary elements of the trade. In addition, the archaeological data document aspects of the trade that are not apparent in the documentary record. Further, although the two data sets present varying views of the trade, they also exhibit consistency that lends support to the identification of patterns of Indian trade for European goods. This study suggests ways that patterns in the flow of European goods into the western Great Lakes region provide insight into issues such as women's roles in the trade and the impact of European goods on native subsistence.

To my par
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To my parents who always believed it would get done; to Peg who worked with me and helped make sure that it got done; and to Nate whose presence helped keep it all in perspective.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Through the course of producing this dissertation, I was aided, influenced, and encouraged by family, friends, and colleagues. I want to first thank the members of my dissertation committee who guided the project to completion. Dr. Charles E. Cleland served as chair of my committee and provided direction and advice through each stage of the process. Working with Dr. Cleland gave me not only the opportunity to share in his considerable knowledge of the fur trade and of the interaction between Euroamericans and native peoples in the Great Lakes region, but it also gave me the opportunity to be involved in other projects related to my research which proved very useful in stimulating new thinking about my own work. I also want to thank the other members of my committee - Dr. William A. Lovis Jr., Dr. Kenneth E. Lewis, Dr. Lawrence H. Robbins, and Dr. Richard White - for their intellectual guidance, for their unfailing encouragement, and importantly, for their patience. In addition, as the College of Social Science representative for my dissertation defense, Dr. Gordon Stewart offered insightful comments on my work.

I want to thank my friend and fellow Minnesotan Doug Birk for the influence he had upon my dissertation work. Conversations with Doug were important in my early efforts to formulate my research topic. Also, he directed me to the Montreal Merchants' Records as a source of data on

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the French period fur trade. Beyond this, however, Doug has an uncommon dedication to research and an infectious enthusiasm for ideas. Discussions with Doug never failed to rekindle my interest in my own research and in the fur trade in general.

I am indebted to the Minnesota Historical Society for aiding my research in a number of ways. The Society was instrumental in locating the Montreal Merchants' Records and in helping to make them accessible for research. Further, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Society sponsored the Montreal Merchants' Records Project which did a great deal of work with the documents. The late Robert C. Wheeler, who was Associate Director of the Society at that time, was the driving force behind the project. When I talked with Bob about my interest in the Montreal Merchants' Records data, he was enthusiastically supportive of my work and he went out of his way to help me become familiar with the records as well as with the information compiled by the Montreal Merchants' Records Project. Bob was clearly pleased to see the work the Project had done being put to use and I truly regret that he did not get to see the finished dissertation.

A major part of the Minnesota Historical Society's Montreal Merchants' Records Project was the work of Marie Gerin-Lajoie. She made an initial evaluation of the records, translated and transcribed portions of the records, compiled an extensive card file on the kinds of information available in the records, and produced a manuscript report on fur trade canoes using data from the records. I want to acknowledge the importance that Gerin-Lajoie's path-breaking work with the Montreal

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Merchants' Records had for my own research. My work builds upon, and in fact to a considerable extent was made possible by, Gerin-Lajoie's work.

The Minnesota Historical Society also provided me with a grant that enabled me to have the voluminous Montreal Merchants' Records Project card files microfilmed, making them more accessible for my research. Former Director of the Society, Russell Fridley made this grant possible and I would like to thank him for his help.

Both my family and my wife's family have been constant sources of support during my dissertation work. To be a part of two such close-knit families is a blessing under any circumstances but during stressful and anxious times, which dissertation writing can certainly produce, it is especially important. I want to thank my parents Lloyd and Marjorie Anderson, my wife's parents Ted and Marylou Uland, my brother and sister, my brothers-in-law and my sisters-in-law, and my nieces and nephews for their interest in my work and for their encouragement. Their good humor and the good times we have together have been so important in buoying the spirits of Peg and I and in providing a welcome distraction from the constant pressure of the dissertation.

I would also like to thank a number of friends who discussed my work with me, commiserated about the trials of dissertation writing, and generally were patient listeners. These include Dave Barondess, Margaret Barondess, Mark Branstner, Sue Branstner, Katie Eagan, Mark Esarey, Mike Hambacher, Peggy Holman, Terry Martin, Brian Mavis, Kim McBride, Stephen McBride, Jim McClurken, Russ Skowronek, Bev Smith, and

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Keith Widder. I would also like to thank Sue Iversen, the former head of the Microforms department at the Michigan State University library, who was a great help to me in the use of the microfilm collection.

Last, and especially, I want to thank my wife Peggy Anderson. Peg helped me in countless ways in the actual production of this dissertation, from organizing and entering computer data to designing and producing maps and tables to discussing and criticizing some of the central ideas. But more than that, she endured a long and difficult process, which, had it not been for her patience and help, might never have been completed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the pioneering work on the North American fur trade by Francis Parkman and Frederick Jackson Turner in the late nineteenth century, the trade has been predominately conceptualized as a Euro-American institution. For the most part, historians and other writers have primarily perceived the trade as the initial, path-breaking incursion of Euro-American influence into the interior of eastern North America. It follows that scholarly treatment of the trade has emphasized the exploits of Euro-american traders and that interpretation of the trade has emphasized its role as the vanguard of Euro-american settlement (Turner 1970), as the extension of the European economic system into North America (Innis 1970), and as a succession of Euro-American commercial enterprises and business mergers.

In this view of the fur trade, Indian peoples have been conspicuous by their absence. Over the past two decades, however, a different perspective on the trade has been emerging. A number of recent studies have disputed the conventional wisdom that Indian peoples were powerless victims of the trade who were caught up and swept along in a tide of Euroamerican enterprise (Francis and Morantz 1983; Krech 1984; Lohse 1988; Ray 1974; Yerbury 1986). Instead, these studies have demonstrated that native peoples were active participants in the trade who endeavored

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to shape the trade according to their cultural values and use the trade to pursue their own cultural interests.

In the complex exchange relationship that developed between Indians and Europeans, native peoples were confronted with new social, political, and economic circumstances and opportunities. Certainly among the most tangible of the new conditions engendered by the fur trade was the introduction of European manufactured goods. Contrary to the popular perception that Indian peoples were smitten by the irresistable appeal of obviously superior European goods, it has been shown that native peoples critically evaluated European products and appropriated those that met their needs and interests. Indian peoples were not passive recipients of European goods but were aggressive, discriminating consumers.

The issue that this study addresses is, how did native peoples respond to the availability of European goods? What aspects of European technology did Indian peoples adopt and how did they incorporate those materials into native technological systems? The study proceeds by asking several basic questions: what types of European goods did Indian peoples seek to obtain, what patterns in Indian acquisition of trade goods can be identified, and what can the investigation of patterns of Indian adoption of European goods tell us about Indian adaptation to the fur trade?

The question of what elements of European technology Indian peoples sought to obtain in the trade may seem like a simple one. It may also

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seem that it is a question that is already well-understood, since there is considerable discussion in the fur trade literature of the types of trade goods that Indian peoples acquired. It is the premise of this study, however, that the flow of European goods into Indian societies is not well-understood. It is suggested that the issue of Indian adoption of European technology is an important one and that it holds implications for understanding the way that Indian peoples adapted to the conditions of the fur trade.

This study is concerned with the contribution of historical archaeological research to the question of the flow of European goods through the fur trade system into Indian societies. While archaeological data recovered from historical period Indian sites have clearly had a bearing on this issue, it is suggested that the historical archaeological perspective could be developed much further. On one hand, archaeological data have been important in documenting the kinds of goods that Indian peoples acquired. On the other hand, archaeological observations have been instrumental in the development of a certain perception of the flow of European goods into Indian societies. Stated briefly, this perception is that the flow of goods into Indian societies was dominated by metal implements and glass beads.

The fundamental concern here is not really so much for the validity of this perception, although that is certainly at issue. Rather, the concern is for the way the perception arose, and more importantly, for ways the perception can be refined. First, this perception of the flow of goods is not precisely articulated. Instead, it is expressed in

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occasional comments scattered through the archaeological literature.

For example, with regard to glass beads:

> ". . . one article in particular - the glass trade bead - produced in one locality, has become in the eyes of historians and students of the American Indian, the denominator of the fur trade (Woodward 1970:15)."
>
> "Glass beads were a very important medium of exchange in the fur trade (Quimby 1966b:65)."

and with regard to metal implements:

> Huron traders were primarily interested in obtaining metal cutting tools. In particular, they wanted knives of all sizes, awls, axes, and iron arrowheads. The first three items were found in great abundance on archaeological sites of the historical period (Garrad 1969; Latta 1971) [Trigger 1985:209].
>
> Brass kettles were marvelous things indeed. Once introduced into a community, their superiority over the traditional clay cooking pots ensured that there was no voluntary turning back from their use (Mason 1981:378).

This seems to be because the perception does not derive from a systematic examination of archaeological data. It seems, instead, to be an impression based upon accumulated observations of archaeological evidence. Second, and more importantly, there has also been relatively little effort to systematically examine documentary data regarding the flow of goods into Indian societies. The archaeological view of the flow of goods is shaped by the relative frequencies of types of trade goods in the archaeological record. Thus, the huge numbers of glass beads and the predominance of metal goods on Indian sites leads to this

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perception of the flow of goods. Again, this does not mean that the perception is invalid. But, archaeologists know that the way the archaeological record is formed has a bearing on the information it provides and they are keenly aware of the fact that the archaeological record is biased and incomplete. But in historical archaeology, archaeologists also have access to the documentary record which, while it has its own limitations, contains different kinds of information than does the archaeological record. Documentary data may reveal the role of perishable goods in the trade or offer a perspective on glass beads that does not depend upon sheer numbers. The purpose of this study is to undertake a systematic examination of archaeological and documentary data in an effort to achieve an understanding of the flow of European goods into Indian societies. It is suggested that the understanding of this process will allow inferences to be made about the way native peoples adapted to the fur trade.

The Documentary Record in Historical Archaeology

Historical archaeologists are in general agreement that access to the documentary record as a second source of data is the distinguishing feature of their field (Deagan 1982:153). Of course, all archaeological research makes use of sources of data other than the archaeological record. Ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, and experimental archaeology are sources of data that are an integral part of archaeological inquiry. These sources of information are based upon observations that are made in the present. These observations are then linked to archaeological data in order to make inferences about the past. In the case of

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historical archaeology, however, the relationship between the archaeological record and the documentary record is different. The documentary record was created contemporaneously with the archaeological record. As a result, the documentary record, like the archaeological record, is a product of past behavior and it provides another body of data which can be used to address archaeological questions.

Clearly, the documentary record is important to the capabilities of historical archaeology. Still, one of the characteristics of the field has been the struggle to develop fruitful ways of incorporating documentary data into archaeological research (Leone 1977; Deagan 1988; Beaudry 1988) Too often, documentary data have only been used in unnecessarily limited ways, such as for artifact identification or to provide historical background.

As historical archaeologists have endeavored to define the role of the documentary record in historical archaeology, they have become increasingly aware of the relationship between archaeological and documentary data. Today, historical archaeologists stress the fact that the archaeological and documentary records are independent sets of data (Deagan 1988; Leone and Potter 1988). Clearly, these two records sets were created by different people for different purposes and they are the result of very different sets of formation processes (Leone and Crosby 1987:399).

The recognition of this relationship is central to the role of the documentary record in historical archaeology. The key to the

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differences between the archaeological and documentary records is not that those differences make one record or the other a more complete or a more accurate record of the past. What it does mean is that they record different behaviors and different contexts and that they contain different types of information. Consequently, access to both the archaeological and the documentary records provides historical archaeology with two independent and complimentary avenues by which to address questions about the past.

The use of documentary data in this study takes advantage of the fact that a material record of human behavior, similar to the archaeological record, is also present in the documentary record. This material record exists in the form of account books, probate records, tax records, bills of sale, and other similar types of documents. Such documents contain itemized lists of materials which provide, in much the same way that archaeological data do, a basis for a quantitative search for patterns (Beaudry 1988).

The French Period in the Western Great Lakes Region

The specific spatial and temporal parameters within which this study examines the flow of European goods into Indian societies is the French period in the western Great Lakes region (see Figure 1). While it is difficult to place a firm date on the beginning of the French period in the region, the study concerns the period from ca. 1640-1760. Part of the impetus for focusing on the flow of trade goods into the western Great Lakes region before 1760 is the fact that it is not well

Figure 1 The Western Great Lakes Region

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understood. By comparison, there have been a number of studies that have investigated the flow of goods into subarctic Indian societies to the north of the western Great Lakes region (Ray 1974; Morantz 1980). In that area, the Hudson's Bay Company was the principal supplier of goods and the vast records of the HBC have served as a valuable source of data on Indian trading habits.

There is no body of documentary records for the French period trade in the western Great Lakes region that is as extensive and as continuous as the HBC records. There are, however, business records for the French period trade which contain important data for the investigation of the flow of goods through the trade system. Another part of the reason for investigating the French period in the western Great Lakes region was in order to introduce an important body of documentary data into the archaeological study of historical period Indian peoples in that region. The documentary data used in this study is a collection of business records that is commonly known as the Montreal Merchants Records (hereafter referred to as the MMR). The MMR collection consists primarily of accounting records kept by various merchants in Montreal during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As part of their business, the merchants sold trade goods and supplies to fur traders preparing to travel to posts in the interior. Consequently, the invoices in the account books contain lengthy lists of European goods purchased for trade. Most of the invoices record shipments of goods to posts in the western Great Lakes region during the latter part of the French period, from 1715-1760.

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These data are used to construct a documentary perspective on the flow of trade goods into the western Great Lakes region during the French period. An archaeological perspective on the acquisition of European goods by Indian peoples is also developed using data from reports of excavations at French period Indian sites in the region. The two data sets present different perspectives on the flow of goods through the system. A comparative examination of the archaeological and documentary records helps clarify the information each has to offer.

Contributions of the Study

This dissertation makes several contributions to the study of historical period Indian societies. First, this study presents an important body of new data on European trade goods in the French fur trade. Second, it demonstrates the importance of the use of the documentary record in historical archaeology. In particular, it emphasizes the respective strengths and weaknesses of the two data sets and the complementary roles they play in historical archaeological research. And third, this study suggests ways in which an understanding of Indian adoption of European trade goods can further our understanding of Indian adaptation in the fur trade.

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CHAPTER 2

THE FRENCH PERIOD FUR TRADE: 1600-1760

In addressing the issue of Indian acquisition of trade goods, it is useful to first examine the development of the French period fur trade and the introduction of trade goods in the western Great Lakes region. This can be done by tracing the historical course of expansion of the French trade system into the interior and by reviewing the archaeological evidence for the presence of trade goods in the western Lakes country.

One of the important factors in the expansion of the French fur trade was a gradual change that occurred in the logistics of the trade. This change was a shift from a system in which intertribal trade carried out the distribution of European goods to a system based on French travel into the interior and direct trade with Indian peoples. It is suggested that this gradual logistical shift provides a useful way in which to describe the expansion of the trade. On this basis, the French fur trade can be broken down into three periods: the Early period, 1600-1650; the Transitional period, 1650-1715; and the Expansion period, 1715-1760. This breakdown of the expansion of the trade provides a framework within which the spread of the French fur trade and of European goods into the western Great Lakes area can be examined. While the identification of these discrete periods imposes artificially sharp

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divisions in the gradual process of change in the trade, the boundary dates do have validity as critical junctures in the transformation of the trade system, as will be discussed with respect to each period.

The Early Phase 1600-1650

Indian peoples in northeastern North America first began to acquire European manufactured goods as a result of European exploitation of the fisheries of the Atlantic coastal waters. By early in the 1500's, French, Portugese, and Basque fishermen were harvesting cod in the Grand Banks and other areas for import to their home countries. The crews of the fishing vessels occasionally made landfalls in order to dry their catch, hunt, gather firewood, or collect fresh water. These trips ashore produced opportunities for native peoples to obtain European implements either through trade, theft, or by scavenging campsites or shipwrecks (Dickinson 1987:29; Harris and Matthews 1987:56; Mason 1981:373). By the time Jacque Cartier sailed into the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534, the way the Indian peoples he encountered openly expressed interest in bartering for European goods made it clear that they had dealt with Europeans before (Eccles 1974a:12-13). For most of the 16th century, French expeditions to North America continued to be for the purpose of fishing or to search for a passage to the Orient, not to trade for furs. As a result, contact with explorers and fishermen was the primary source of European goods for Indian peoples of the coastal regions of the northeast. Through such intermittant contact, Indian peoples succeeded in acquiring European materials only sporadically through opportunistic trading and it is unlikely that large

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quantities of European goods made their way into Indian societies.

During most of the sixteenth century, furs appear to have been a relatively unimportant commodity to the French since they made no concerted effort to tap the supply of fur in North America. In the latter part of the century, however, clothing fashions in Europe began to emphasize the use of fur. In particular, the gentleman's beaver hat became a virtual sartorial requirement. This fueled a sharp increase in the demand for the rich fur resources in the New World. With this new demand, trading for fur became an explicit goal of French expeditions to northeastern North America. Turgeon's (1986) research with notorial records in Bordeaux, France indicates that up until ca. 1580, contracts filed for expeditions to North America were for the purpose of importing fish. But around 1580, the first contracts appeared for expeditions that were specifically intended for the purpose of trading for furs. The rise in demand for furs on the European markets launched the purposeful and concerted Indian-European trade relationship we recognize as the fur trade.

The 1600-1650 period was the first stage in the French effort to expand the fur trade in northeastern North America. From the beginning of the trade at around 1580 until the turn of the century, the trade was a seasonal, ship-based enterprise (Harris and Matthews 1987:47, 84). Trading vessels spent the summer months in the Gulf of St. Lawrence area and in the lower St. Lawrence river valley - regions with which the French were familiar from previous explorations - and then returned to France in the fall. At the turn of the century, French interest in the

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fur trade was on the rise, but it was apparent that the logistics of annual, trans-Atlantic travel severely constrained their ability to expand the trade. It became apparent that in order to more fully exploit the trade, it would be necessary to establish year-round trading bases in the New World. With the construction of a wintering post at Tadoussac in 1600, the movement to establish a more continous presence began. Shortly afterward, in 1608, Champlain founded a permanent settlement at Quebec to serve as a base for fur trade operations in the St. Lawrence valley. Over the course of the first half of the century, the French sought to solidify their position in the St. Lawrence valley. Three Rivers was established in 1634 and Montreal was founded in 1642, two more settlements that became important trade centers (Kellogg 1968:101). By 1650, the settlements in the St. Lawrence valley gave the French a foundation from which to pursue the fur trade in the northeast.

As the French established trading stations along the St. Lawrence, the system of trade that characterized the Early period emerged. The small contingent of French traders in the St. Lawrence valley at this time did not have the logistical capability to carry the trade to the Indians. Instead, the execution of the fur trade depended upon establishing trading partnerships with Indian groups who would collect furs and bring them to the St. Lawrence settlements. Essentially, the French sought to enter into Indian trading systems. The key partnership around which the Early period trade was organized was between the French and the Huron and the Algonquian allies of the Huron. However, as the French became participants in native trade systems, they were also subject to native control of those systems. For their part, the French would have

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preferred to engage in as many trading partnerships as possible (Trigger 1985:182). However, the Huron, along with the Nipissing and the Algonquins who were trading directly with the French, wanted to protect their positions and exclude others from engaging in direct trade. This meant not only preventing other groups from reaching the French, but also stopping the French from contacting other native groups. As Heidenreich (1976) points out, the Huron and their allies saw to it that no French traders operated west of Lachine and that no Neutral, Petun, Ottawa, or Ojibwa was allowed to travel to the French trading stations in the St. Lawrence valley.

With the French ensconsed on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the fur trade of the Early period was carried out through intertribal trade networks. The Huron and their allies would gather furs through trade with other Indian groups. They would then transport the furs to the French settlements and exchange them for trade goods. Some of those trade goods could then be used to trade for another supply of furs. In this manner, European goods entered native trade networks and were distributed far from the St. Lawrence valley to remotely-located native groups. It was this system of intertribal trade centered on the French-Huron alliance that was in effect during the 1600-1650 period in the western Great Lakes region.

In turning to the western Great Lakes region specifically, it was noted previously that the Early period was defined in order to consider the earliest effects of the fur trade in this region. The key concern in this study with regard to the Early period is the extent to which

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European goods began to flow into the western country. Although it is clear that the fur trade had some impact on the western Lakes area during the Early period, at this point it is necessary to state that the introduction of trade goods to this region during the Early period should perhaps be considered more hypothesis than fact. The timing of the first arrival of trade goods in the region is still open to question and conclusive evidence on this matter has proven elusive. While there is documentary evidence that suggests that European goods reached the region during this period, there has been very little archaeological data recovered to support that suggestion.

Since control over the fur trade, and thus control over access to trade goods, was in the hands of the Huron and their allies during the 1600-1650 period, it is unlikely that any significant amount of trade goods were brought into the western Great lakes region either by French traders or through native trading trips to the St. Lawrence valley. Documentary sources record only a handfull of incursions by the French into the western Lakes area during the Early period. Etienne Brule, a young Frenchman who was perhaps the first European to visit the western country, was brought into the region around the year 1620 by the Huron Indians with whom he was living (Kellogg 1968:58-60; Butterfield 1974:105-108; Quimby 1966b:3). Brule had been sent by Champlain in 1612 to live among the Hurons in order to learn their language and their customs so that he could serve as an interpreter in the future. Jean Nicolet was sent west in 1634 by Champlain to continue the search for the western sea and to make contact with distant Indian groups who might be recruited as allies and trading partners for the French (Johnson

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1971:6-7; Kellogg 1968). In this effort, Nicolet traveled to Green Bay in Lake Michigan where he struck an alliance with the Winnebago. In 1641, two Jesuit Fathers, Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, made a brief visit to Sault Ste. Marie (Kellogg 1968:88-89; Johnson 1971:15). After attending a Huron-Algonkin feast of the dead ceremony on the northern shore of Lake Huron, the Jesuits were escorted to the Sault by a group of Chippewa who had invited the Jesuits to visit their homeland.

These few episodes of French travel into the western Great Lakes region indicate that this was a time of initial exploration of the area and that the French were not yet making trading expeditions to the west. No doubt there were other unrecorded trips made by Frenchman into the region between 1600 and 1650. But based upon the nature of the documented excursions, it seems unlikely that French traders brought any appreciable quantity of European goods to the Indian peoples in the western country during this early period.

Given the logistics of the trade at this time, however, it is possible that western Great Lakes Indians made the lengthy canoe journey to the French settlements on the St. Lawrence and traded their furs directly to the French. Eccles (1974a:31) states that in the summer of 1623 a group of western Indians traveled to Quebec to trade. When they arrived, they complained that they had been harassed and robbed by the Huron and their allies who wanted to prevent them from going to Quebec. Although it is unclear whether or not these "western Indians" came from west of Lake Huron, it does indicate that Indians who lived beyond the Huron made the trip to the St. Lawrence to trade. It is certainly possible that

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western Great Lakes Indians obtained European goods during the Early period through occasional trips to the French colony.

The chief argument for the introduction of European goods into the western Great Lakes region during the Early phase is the likelihood that they arrived via intertribal trade. In his book, Huronia, Heidenreich (1971) outlines the intertribal trade connections that could have carried European goods to native peoples residing in the western Lakes area. The Ottawa and the Nipissing appear to have had trade connections with Siouan peoples in the Green bay region and with Algonquian groups along the eastern and northeastern shores of Lake Superior. Both of these groups had access to European goods, the Nipissing through direct trade with the French and the Ottawa through trade with the Huron. Huron pottery recovered archaeologically on the northeastern shore of Lake Superior also suggests direct Huron contact with peoples of that region.

More recently, Heidenreich's argument for the trading of European goods through intertribal channels into the western Great Lakes region has been presented graphically in the Historical Atlas of Canada (Harris and Matthews 1987). Plate 35 presents a series of three maps that depict the distribution of European goods in northeastern North America between 1600 and 1648. The maps also indicate the frequency of trade goods in different parts of the area during that period ranging from absent, infrequent, or common. The first map suggests that between 1600-1620, European goods were present but infrequent along the northeastern shore of Lake Superior, around the eastern end of Lake Superior, and in the

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Green Bay region. The second map suggests that between 1620-1640, trade goods had become common along the north shore of Lake Huron and in the Sault Ste. Marie region, and that they were present but infrequent around Lake Nipigon. The third map indicates that between 1640-1648, European goods were common around the entire eastern end of Lake Superior and were still infrequent around Lake Nipigon and in the Green Bay region. In summary, Heidenreich suggests that European goods were first traded into parts of the western country between 1600-1620 and that by 1650, such goods were common at the eastern end of Lake Superior.

The interesting counterpoint to this argument is the lack of archaeological data to support it. One is hard-pressed to find an example of European trade goods in a solidly-dated, pre-1650 archaeological context in the Great Lakes region west of Lake Huron. This might indicate a lack of archaeological research in those areas most likely to produce such evidence or it may suggest difficulty in recognizing or isolating the specific data needed to identify such deposits. But it also may indicate a paucity of European goods in the region before 1650.

Only two sites have been reported in the western Great Lakes area which are thought to date to the 1600-1650 period. One of these is the Dumaw Creek site (Figure 2), a terminal Late Woodland site located on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Quimby (1966a) argues that the site was occupied up until the turn of the 17th century, and perhaps as late as 1620.

Figure 2 Early Phase Indian Sites

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However, no European goods were recovered from the site. If the dating of the site is accurate, it lies on the very threshold of the Early period which may account for the lack of European goods. Also, the Dumaw Creek site is not located in those areas identified by Heidenreich in which trade goods might be expected to occur during the Early phase. Given its early date and its location, the lack of trade goods at Dumaw Creek is not unexpected, and it lends support to the argument that European goods were not yet generally available early in the 17th century.

The other site is the only site in the western Great Lakes region with deposits which have been dated to the Early French period that have produced European goods. That is the Rock Island II site located at the mouth of Green Bay (Figure 2). Mason (1986) argues that the deposits at the site represent four components: a Potawatomi occupation sometime between 1641-1650/51, a Huron-Petun-Ottawa occupation from 1650/51-1653, a second Potawatomi occupation from ca. 1670-1730, and an Ottawa occupation from 1760-1770.

The two earliest components at the Rock Island II site are considered together here to represent the end of the 1600-1650 period. The 1650/51-1653 component is included with the earlier component even though it technically belongs to the Transitional period, 1650-1715. As we shall see in the discussion of the 1650-1715 period, aside from the Rock Island II 1650/51-1653 component, the 1650-1715 period is represented by sites that date no earlier than 1670. The 1650/51-1653 component is more usefully considered as a short temporal extension of

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It is worth noting that the dating of these components is based mainly upon ethnohistorical data, not temporally sensitive artifact typologies. The archaeological deposits were correlated with the documented occupations, primarily using native-made ceramics. Having assigned dates to the archaeological deposits in this manner, Mason (1986:212) states that, "No incongruities with the comparative archaeological record of historic Indian sites elsewhere emerged to cast doubt on these identifications." In light of this, a comment on the glass beads recovered from these two components is in order.

Beads tend to be one of the best chronological indicators on historical period sites. Of the 88 artifacts of European origin from the two components, 49 of them were glass beads. Chevron beads and tubular beads are present in the assemblage. According to Quimby (1966b), both of these bead types are diagnostic of the period 1610-1670. Interestingly, however, there are also wire-wound beads present. Although wire-wound beads occur in pre-1670 contexts on sites in the New York area (Wray 1983; Karklins 1983), the occurence of such beads tends to post-date 1700 in the western Great Lakes region. No wire-wound beads were recovered from the Marquette Mission site (1670-1701), the Lasanen site (1670-1705), or the Gros Cap site (1670-1705). The occurence of wire-wound beads in the early components at Rock Island suggests the presence of this bead type in the area fifty years earlier than previous evidence has indicated. The implications of this are

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uncertain. It may be evidence that wire-wound beads were present in the western Lakes country earlier than the data from other sites suggest. But it may also suggest that caution should be exercised in accepting the ethnohistorically-derived dating of these components.

Clearly, evidence pertaining to the availability of European goods in the western Great Lakes region during the 1600-1650 period is in short supply. During this period, the trade was still centered in its cradle of development - the St. Lawrence river valley - and the western country was on the fringes of the sphere of influence of the developing trade. Precisely when during the period trade goods first came into the western country is unknown. The lack of trade goods at the Dumaw Creek site suggests that they were at least uncommon if not absent up until ca. 1620. The Rock Island data, if the dating is accurate, suggest that even at the end of the period, European materials were rather scarce.

The 1650 ending date for the Early phase of French period trade coincides with the destruction of the Huron tribe by their Iroquoian enemies. This event was the culmination of long-standing hostilities between the two groups. In the winter of 1649-50, the Iroquois mounted a major military campaign against the Huron. The Huron villages in southern Ontario were destroyed and their inhabitants were scattered. Many Huron were captured and adopted into the Iroquois tribe, others fled to the west and took refuge with other groups. Over the next several years, the Iroquois attacked and dispersed the Neutral and the Erie and continued to pursue refugee groups of Huron. Life in the western country was violently disrupted as Indian peoples abandoned

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Iroquois hostilities displaced populations throughout the Great Lakes region as Indian peoples abandoned their homelands and fled west seeking safe haven from the Iroquois. These disruptions, along with the destruction of the French-Huron trade system, threw the French period fur trade into disarray for several years.

The Transitional Phase 1650-1715

The dispersal of the Huron did not end intertribal trade as an important component of the French period fur trade. As the Iroquois threat subsided in the 1650's and the trade resumed, the Ottawa replaced the Huron as the primary trading partners of the French. For at least part of the 1650-1715 period, European goods flowed into the western Great Lakes region through restructured French-Indian trade connections. At the same time, however, the logistics of the trade were changing. French traders were beginning to venture into the interior, establish trading posts, and conduct trade directly with Indian peoples in their own territories.

At the end of the 1650's the first recorded trading expeditions by the French into the western Great Lakes region took place. This pioneering effort is generally attributed to Radisson and Groseilliers who apparently made two trips into the region during the late 1650's and early 1660's. Difficulties with Radisson's journal have resulted in considerable debate over precisely when these trips took place and where

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the traders went. There seems to be less controversy, however, over the second of their two trips. This expedition probably took place from 1658-1660. During this time Radisson and Groseilliers traveled to the western end of Lake Superior and into Sioux (Dakota) country in what is now Minnesota. In 1660 the traders returned to Montreal accompanied by some sixty Indian canoes carrying a great wealth of furs. The journey of Radisson and Groseilliers and others like them into the western country confirmed the presence of rich fur resources in that region and drew attention to the considerable returns to be gained by extending the fur trade in the west.

These early trading ventures, along with the reduction of Iroquois interference, opened the way for French traders to carry the trade into the western country themselves. In an effort to prevent a rush into the interior, strict prohibitions were placed upon trade conducted outside of the St. Lawrence settlements unless permission was granted by the government (Eccles 1974a:105; Kellogg 1968:111). Such restrictions proved to be unsuccessful in preventing illegal traders, or <u>coureurs de bois</u>, from forging into the western country to seek the profits of the trade. Unable to stem the flow of illegal traders into the west, in 1681 the government of New France revised its policy and initiated a licensing system for trade in the interior. Each year, twenty-five licenses would be issued, each license permitting a trader to take a canoe of trade goods and three men into the interior. This strategy, however, still did not deter the activities of the <u>coureurs de bois</u>. Between the efforts of licensed and unlicensed traders alike, trading posts sprang up around the western Great Lakes region. With French

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traders and trade goods so close at hand, the necessity for the Ottawa and other Indian groups to make trading voyages to Montreal declined. By around 1680, the intertribal trade system was in decline as a source of supply of trade goods to the western Great Lakes area. As a result, the focus of trading activity was shifting from the St. Lawrence settlements to the emerging network of trading posts in the western country (Eccles 1974a:112). Figure 3 illustrates French posts in the western Great Lakes region during the 1650-1715 period. A number of these posts, such as Fort Miami, Fort Trempealeau, Fort L'Huiller, and Duluth's Fort St Joseph were very short lived, falling out of use after only two or three years.

Archaeological evidence suggests that European goods became much more readily available in the western Great Lakes region during the Transitional phase. A number of historical period Indian sites or components dating to this period have been excavated, all of which have produced trade goods (Figure 4).

The archaeological evidence from these sites suggests that European goods were readily available in the western Great Lakes region during the Transitional phase. At several of the sites listed, European implements dominate the archaeological assemblages. This is not to say that traditional native technology is not still in evidence; native implements continue to occur on Indian sites of the Transitional phase. But it appears that Indian access to trade goods increased markedly during this period.

Figure 3 Transitional Phase Outposts

Figure 4 Transitional Phase Indian Sites

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Late in the seventeenth century, the supply of beaver produced by the fur trade outdistanced the market for it. In 1696 the Governor General of New France was forced to close the trade in the western country, allowing only Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph to remain open in the western Great Lakes region in order to maintain relations with Indian allies (Rich 1967:66). The establishment of Detroit a few years later in 1701 drew much of the Indian population of the Straits of Mackinac region to the new post, resulting in the abandonment of Michilimackinac. At the same time, war in Europe between France and England was also waged between their respective colonies in North America. Just a few years after the end of King William's War in 1697 hostilities were renewed with the start of Queen Anne's War in 1702. These conflicts also contributed to turmoil in the French fur trade during this period, especially the English threat to make inroads into the trade in the western country and shift the focus of the trade from Montreal to Albany.

In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht brought Queen Anne's War to a close. Even more important for the fur trade, however, was the fact that in 1714 the vast backlog of beaver fur that had forced the closing of western posts was found to have rotted in the warehouses. With this sudden drop in supply, the demand for beaver fur rose sharply. This development breathed new life into the fur trade in the western Great Lakes area. The restrictions on the trade were lifted and the push into the interior began anew.

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Expansion Phase 1715-1760

The Treaty of Utrecht affirmed British claim to the lands adjacent to Hudson's Bay and, perhaps more critical for the French, proclaimed the western Great Lakes region an area of free trade, open to the British as well as to the French. The post-war threat the British presented to French trade loomed large. English control of Hudson's Bay threatened to siphon off the northern trade. In the lower Great Lakes region and in the Ohio valley, the Iroquois-English alliance was drawing trade from the Ottawa and the Ojibwa. Lower prices charged for trade goods by the British were a strong lure for trade, and some English wares, especially textiles, seemed to have an edge in quality over French goods.

The French responded to the English threat with an aggressive move to both re-establish and expand the trade in the western country. Michilimackinac was reopened on the southern side of the Straits of Mackinac as a major trade depot, giving the French an important base of operations in the interior. Other posts were also reopened and garrisoned and more new posts were constructed. The important post at Green Bay was re-established in 1717 in an effort to resume the lucrative trade with the Dakota. The Fox, however, traditional enemies of the Dakota, prevented the French from going to the Dakota to trade and successfully hindered French expansion of the trade to the west. This precipitated a series of wars with the Fox which finally resulted in their defeat in the mid-1730's, opening the way once again for the Green Bay - Dakota trade. To the north, the LaVerendrye family pressed French exploration and trade northwest of Lake Superior. They

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established Fort St. Pierre on the Rainy River, Fort St. Charles on Lake-of-the-Woods, and by 1740, had built Fort Bourbon on the northwest shore of Lake Winnipeg. The LaVerendrye explorations penetrated the hinterlands of the Hudson's Bay Company trade and put the French in a position to intercept Indians who might otherwise go to the Bay. By the mid-1750's, on the eve of the war that would wrest control of the trade away from them, the French had a firm grasp on the trade in the western counry.

In countering the English threat to the trade, the Expansion phase marked the florescence of the French-Indian trade system in the western Great Lakes region. With the reopening of some Transitional phase posts and the establishment of new posts, an extensive logistical network connected by a water-borne system of canoe supply stretched across the western country (Figure 5). Unlike many of the short term Transitional phase posts, these posts were more permanent establishments and many of them remained in operation through the end of the French period. Intertribal trade, as a vehicle of supply of trade goods, was reduced to relative insignificance by the expansion of the French system. Although intertribal hostilities caused disruptions in the trade, archaeological evidence from Expansion phase Indian sites (Figure 6) indicates that the system of French posts provided Indian peoples of the western Great Lakes region with ready access to European goods.

Figure 5 Expansion Phase Outposts

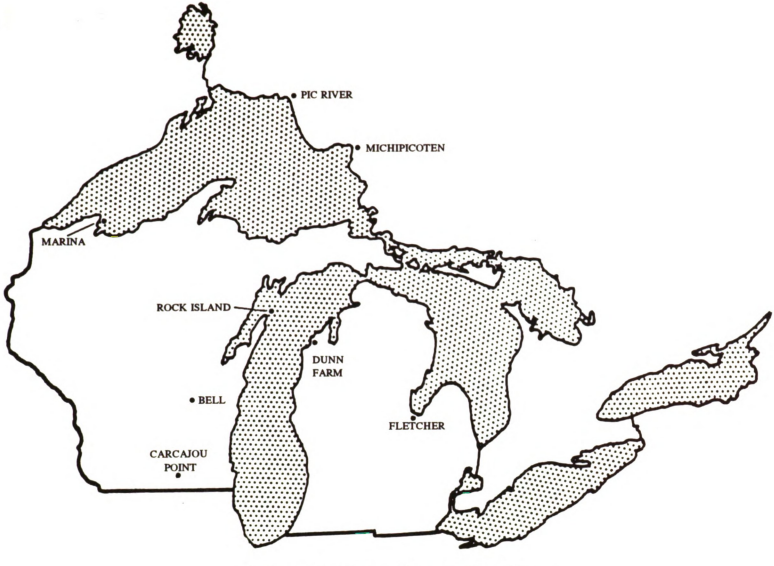

Figure 6 Expansion Phase Indian Sites

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The methodological key to an historical archaeological approach to investigating the flow of European goods into Indian societies is to examine both archaeological and documentary data. Because the two records were created in different ways, have different characteristics and different strengths and weaknesses, it is expected that they would represent the flow of goods differently. In order to arrive at a secure understanding of the flow of goods, an examination of both data sets is necessary.

From an operational standpoint, the flow of goods is considered to have two properties: the range of types of goods for which Indian peoples traded, and the variability in trade for different types of goods. It is expected that trade in different types of goods varied. The needs and interests of Indian peoples introduced patterns of variability into the trade for different types of goods. These patterns could be expressed in a number of ways, such as differences in the quantities of goods traded, differences in the rate of frequency at which they were traded, differences in expenditure, and so on. In other words, the flow of goods into Indian societies can be thought of as producing an inventory of goods, and those goods have attributes that are a result of the variability in trade.

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Inventory models of the flow of European goods through the trade system and into Indian societies can be obtained from both the archaeological and the documentary record. Inventory models derived from each record can provide information about the inventory of goods obtained by Indian peoples. The archaeological and documentary data sets are, however, very different. The inventories recorded by each were created in different ways, and as a result, they differ in the manner in which they inform on the body of goods obtained by Indian peoples. The question that must be considered then, is how do the archaeological and documentary records provide information on the range of goods traded and on the variability in the trade for different goods?

To examine the ways that archaeological inventories and documentary inventories relate to the flow of goods into Indian societies, it is useful to think of trade goods as having a life history which began with their manufacture and continued, at least potentially, to their inclusion in the archaeological record. Thinking of trade goods in terms of a life history allows us to look at the way the body of goods acquired by Indian peoples was created and then to examine the way that archaeological and documentary inventories pertain to it.

One way of doing this is by constructing a simple flow model of the life history of trade goods. A schematic representation of the model is presented in Figure 7. The model suggests the sequence of processes through which trade goods passed. Documentary inventories are a product of certain of these proceses and archaeological inventories are a product of certain of these processes. This model is based loosely on

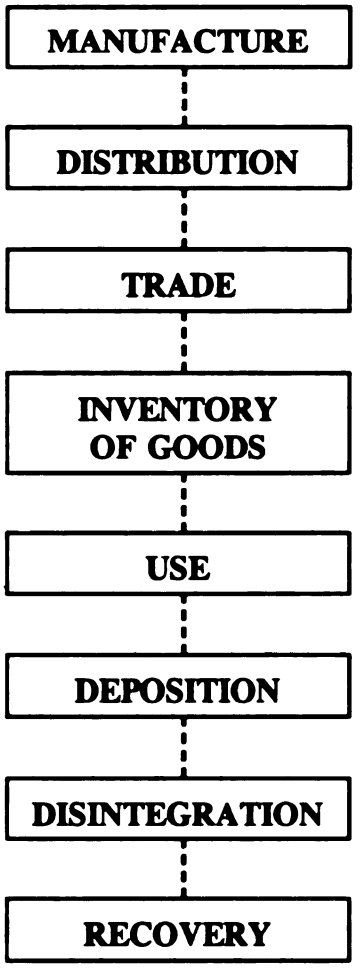

Figure 7 Flow Model for Trade Goods

Schiffer's (1972) model of the flow of durable goods through human societies. Further, discussion of the model draws upon Schiffer's work with the flow of material things through cultural systems and with the processes that create the archaeological record (e.g. 1976; 1987).

Documentary Inventories

As Figure 7 illustrates, the life history of trade goods began with their manufacture, which for most goods took place in either Europe or in Canada. From the manufacturers, trade goods were funneled into the hands of distributors. The primary distributors were merchants located mainly in Montreal and Quebec City (Igartua 1974; Dechene 1974b). Through the merchants, trade goods were distributed to people who actually made contact with Indians. These people were mainly traders, military personnel, and missionaries. Indian peoples then obtained goods from any or all of these sources. The end result of this acquisitive process was the body of European goods that entered native societies.

It was in the course of these processes of the life history of trade goods - manufacture, distribution and trade - that documentary inventories were produced. During these processes, trade goods were moving through the trade system in the hands of Europeans. Since the recording of inventories required a European writer, the greatest likelihood of inventories being created was during these processes. Further, the business of the fur trade, which was conducive to the recording of inventories, was conducted during these processes.

Manufacturers may have inventoried goods shipped to distributors. Distributors may have inventoried goods kept in their stores and warehouses. They may also have inventoried sales of goods. Traders, military personnel, and missionaries may have inventoried the goods traded or given to Indian peoples.

It is possible that inventories of trade goods were recorded after the goods were in Indian hands. All that was necessary was a European observer to record the goods. However, the documentary record of trade goods in Indian societies is different from the purposeful, systematically recorded inventories that appear in business records. Documentary references to goods in Indian societies usually involve the mention of only a few types of goods by European observers who were more intent upon compiling a general description of native life (e.g. Kalm 1972; Hennepin 1974). Detailed, extensive inventories were recorded as part of the business of the trade, which continued to the point when the goods passed from European hands into Indian hands.

Several observations about documentary inventories may be made from the flow model. Documentary inventories were created as a result of processes leading to, and including, the passage of goods into Indian hands. This means that only those documentary inventories that record the process of goods changing hands reflect what Indians actually acquired. Inventories created before that point must be recognized as a pool of goods from which Indian peoples obtained materials. The body of goods obtained by Indian peoples was not necessarily a subset of the documentary record of the flow of goods since it is possible that not

all goods were recorded and that not all recorded goods were traded.

On the other hand, this also means that documentary inventories were created before the impact upon trade goods of the processes of use, deposition, disintegration and recovery. This means that the record of the range of trade goods and the record of the quantitative relationships between trade goods in documentary inventories have not been affected by these processes. Further, the quantitative relationshps between goods may be expressed in terms of a number of variables, including quantity, rate of frequency traded, and expenditure.

It is also clear that documentary inventories were created with respect to different processes, by different people, for different purposes. It is expected that different inventories may have recorded different types of goods. Further, documentary inventories may not provide a record of all types of goods from all sources of supply. As a result, a specific inventory, or even a collection of inventories, could not be assumed to provide a complete record of the inventory of goods obtained by Indian peoples.

Archaeological Inventories

Whereas documentary inventories are a product of the processes that led to the creation of the body of goods obtained by Indian peoples, archaeological inventories were formed by a series of processes that transformed the body of goods obtained by Indian peoples.

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Once trade goods entered Indian societies, they passed through the processes of use and deposition. Use may have involved not only initial use, but also reuse, as in the case of using an item for another purpose (secondary use) or re-working an item for use for another purpose (recycling). At the end of the use process, goods were subjected to the process of deposition. Schiffer (1987) describes several different forms of deposition including discard, loss, ritual caches, treatment of the dead, and abandonment. Functionally different sites often exhibit different forms of deposition. Functionally different sites, then, may produce different assemblages of artifacts.

While in archaeological context, trade goods were subject to processes of disturbance and deterioration which could further alter the assemblage of goods. Finally, the recovery techniques of archaeological excavation might affect the probability of recovery of certain types of goods. The combined effect of these processes resulted in the formation of archaeological inventories of trade goods.

Unlike documentary inventories, archaeological inventories are derived from the bodies of goods that entered Indian societies. Archaeological inventories, therefore, may record types of trade goods obtained that do not appear in documentary inventories. However, the overriding aspect of the archaeological record with regard to the flow of goods is that several processes intervene between the inventories of goods Indian peoples acquired and the formation of archaeological inventories. These processes have the potential to constrain the ability of the archaeological record to represent the flow of goods.

Most conspicuously, the representation of the range of goods would be affected by the process of deterioration. Certain types of goods may be removed from the archaeological inventory. Beyond that, all of the processes subsequent to Trade may affect the quantitative relationships between goods that the archaeological record displays. Variability between types of goods that survive archaeologically is expressed in terms of relative quantity. Quantitative relationships between types of goods observed archaeologically may be much more a representation of processes of use, deposition, deterioration and recovery than a representation of the quantitative relationships produced by the acquisition of goods.

Clearly, we would expect archaeological and documentary inventories of trade goods to be different. This review of the way the two records were formed allows us to state expectations about how the way each of the would represent the flow of goods through the French trade system. Because both documentary and archaeological inventories are created through diverse processes, it is expected that different types of sites and different types of documents may record different inventories of goods. Having said that, it is also possible to state several expectations which refer generally to archaeological and documentary inventories. First, it is expected that a more complete record of perishable goods will be provided by documentary inventories. The documentary record should provide an indication of the extent to which the process of deterioration affects the archaeological representation of the flow of goods. Second, it is expected that the archaeological record includes goods that were not recorded in documentary inventories.

The archaeological record should suggest the extent to which goods were obtained that do not appear in documentary inventories. Third, it is expected that a clearer picture of variability in trade for different types of goods can be obtained from documentary inventories. Although documentary inventories may not record precisely what was traded, the quantitative relationships between goods have not been affected by subsequent processes. Further, documentary inventories may allow variability to be examined on the basis of different attributes. Therefore, it is expected that documentary inventories will present a more secure view of variabilty in the trade for different goods.

CHAPTER 4

THE DOCUMENTARY DATA: THE MONTREAL MERCHANTS' RECORDS

This study was undertaken with the intention of using a collection of business records known as the Montreal Merchants' Records (hereafter referred to as the MMR) as the main source of data in generating a documentary inventory of European trade goods. These documents contain extensive information on the flow of trade goods into the western Great Lakes region during the French period. It was understood, however, that other types of documents might record information on trade goods that these documents do not. Different inventories of goods may have moved through other channels, such as missionaries or military personnel. Consequently, other documentary inventories were examined for potential use as documentary data.

The first thing that was discovered is that it is difficult to find inventories for the French period trade in the western Great Lakes region. Several lists were located, however, in various sources, including the Jesuit Relations (e.g. vol.66, pp.26-31), Cadillac's papers (MPHS vol.34, pp.272-275; vol.33, pp.522-525), and the Wisconsin Historical Collections (Vol.16, pp.400-407). Making use of these lists, however, posed a problem. These lists are not solely lists of trade goods which is also the case with the MMR inventories. They include supplies, equipment, provisions, personal items, and so forth. As will

be described later, one of the foremost analytical tasks with the MMR was the segregation of the trade goods in the invoices. This could be done with the MMR because they contain a large number of inventories which could be analyzed for patterns that helped separate trade goods from non-trade goods. However, in the case of individual, isolated lists of goods such as those mentioned above, this approach could not be used. It was apparent that confidently identifying trade goods in these lists would be a precarious task.

The Montreal merchants were a key link in the French trade system and they were the principal source of supply for trade goods (Igartua 1974; Dechene 1974b). There is evidence to suggest that merchants were the source of European goods for several different contingents who supplied native peoples in the western Great Lakes region. In 1720, Moniere (M847, vol 1, pp.146 and 158) credited the account of two missionaries at Michilimackinac for furs. He also debited their account for the purchase of several articles. In this invoice, the materials purchased were not trade goods, but the fact that missionaries did business with Moniere suggests that they may have acquired European trade items from him as well.

The merchants also supplied trade goods to military personnel. To be more precise, it was actually a matter of the merchants supplying trade goods to military personnel who were also, or perhaps who were really, traders. Part of the responsibility of the commanders at French posts was to maintain trade and keep Indian allies supplied with European goods (Eccles 1974b). An appointment as post commandant carried with it

the license for trade at the post (Eccles 1974a; 1984). So French officers occupied a dual role as both military personnel and as traders. Further, the money that could be made in the trade suggests that the post commandants were traders first and military officers second (Eccles 1974a; 1984). The MMR indicate that the merchants entered into trading partnerships with French officers who were commanding and trading at French posts. Moniere, for example, sold large invoices of goods over a number of years to Paul Marin, the commandant at the post at Green Bay.

In sum, the MMR presented the best opportunity from an analytical standpoint to compile a documentary inventory of trade goods that flowed through the French system into the western Great Lakes region. Further, the MMR have the advantage of offering a body of data that is regional in scope and which has an element of time depth that allows a consideration of the French period. In addition, it is also quite possible that the inventories of goods sold by the merchants substantially represent the flow of goods into the region. For these reasons, the study relies upon the MMR as a documentary source of inventories of trade goods.

Background

In 1966 the Minnesota Historical Society retained Marie Gerin-Lajoie, a French-Canadian researcher, to search Canadian repositories for manuscript material on the French period fur trade. In the basement of the Chateau de Ramezay, a museum in Montreal, Gerin-Lajoie discovered a collection of documents made up of business records of several different

Montreal merchants who were in business during the eighteenth century. These merchants, like many of the merchants in Montreal, were engaged in the fur trade (Dechene 1974b; Igartua 1974). They sold trade goods and supplies to fur traders who were preparing to depart for trading posts in the interior. The merchants recorded the sale of these materials in invoices in their account books. In itemized detail, the invoices describe the types and quantities of trade goods purchased and shipped by the traders. These invoices, which represent an extensive record of the European goods that flowed through the French trade system, form the basis for this study.

The Montreal Merchants' Records, as the collection is commonly known (MMR Project Files 1971-1975), include thirty-six individual volumes. These volumes were microfilmed by the Public Archives of Canada (PAC) in Ottawa who retain the master negative. The original documents, which are owned by the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal, are on permanent loan to the PAC. In 1983, the Michigan State University (MSU) library obtained copies of the microfilm. Those copies were used in doing the research for this study. A brief word is necessary here regarding the way the MMR documents will be cited in this study.

Although the collection is often referred to as the Montreal Merchants' Records, this is not a formal title (MMR Project Files 1971-1975). In fact, copies of the microfilm of the records have been cataloged under different titles at different repositories. The copies of the microfilm used for this research were cataloged by the MSU library under the title, "Account Books of Eighteenth Century Merchants of Montreal." The

records will be cited in the text of this study by merchant with the appropriate roll numbers, volume titles, and page numbers. Further, although the MSU library assigned roll numbers (Nos.1-9) to their copies of the microfilm, the rolls are also labeled with the PAC catalog numbers (M847 - M853, M869, M1005). The copies of the film held by the Minnesota Historical Society are also labeled with the PAC roll numbers. In order to make it easier to trace the references made to the MMR in this study for other researchers who may be consulting copies of the microfilm other than those held by the MSU library, the PAC catalog numbers will be used in citing the MMR documents.

The MMR collection includes records from six Montreal merchant businesses. Two of these sets of records extend over the operation of the business by both father and son. These are the records of Alexis Lemoine Moniere and his son Alexis-Pierre, and the records of Pierre Guy and his son Pierre. One set of records represents a partnership of two brothers: Louis-Francois and Jacques Hervieux. The remaining three sets of records are those of individual merchants: Etienne Auge, Louis Carignant, and Magnan (first name unknown).

The temporal extent and the volume of records in the collection for the different merchants varies considerably as illustrated in Table 1. Clearly, however, the collection is dominated by the Moniere family records. The Moniere records extend over a period of fifty-one years and are by far the most voluminous records in the MMR collection. Moniere was a "merchant-outfitter" whose business was heavily fur trade-oriented (Dechene 1974a:379). The elder Moniere opened his store

Table 1 Merchants Represented in the Montreal Merchants' Records

Merchant	Beginning and Ending Date of Records	Approximate Number of Pages
Moniere	1712-1768	5539
Guy	1735-1811	1682
Auge	1765-1791	1043
Magnan	1768-1783	257
Carignant	1772-1783	248
Hervieux	1742-1773	202

in Montreal in 1715 (ibid). The business grew slowly during the 1720's and then appears to have enjoyed its greatest success during the 1730's and 1740's. The number of fur trade invoices in their account books declined dramatically in the 1750's, perhaps due in part to the death of Moniere senior, although his son continued the business even after the conquest of Canada by the British in 1760. The Moniere records are the main source of fur trade data in the MMR collection.

The Spatial and Temporal Dimensions of the MMR

The MMR collection has considerable time depth. The earliest records date to the second decade of the eighteenth century (Moniere, M847, vol.1, p.1) and the latest records date to the second decade of the nineteenth century (Guy, M1005, Livre No.2, pp.1-27). Thus, the records span approximately a one hundred-year period which includes most of the eighteenth century. Within this range, however, the documents have a somewhat more restricted temporal emphasis. Most of collection pertains

to the pre-1760 French period portion of the eighteenth century. This is largely due to the fact that the extensive Moniere records are mainly French period records.

The geographical dimension of the MMR is a function of the trading post locations to which the merchants shipped goods. The merchants supplied goods for posts over a wide geographical range, from the Ohio River (Moniere, M849, vol.8, p.417), to Lake Nipigon (Moniere, M848, vol 4, pp.168-73), to the Illinois country (Moniere, M848, vol. 4, pp.759-63). However, most of the French period shipments were to posts in the western Great Lakes region (see Figure 1).

The spatial and temporal emphasis on the French period in the western Great Lakes region makes the MMR an important source of data for this study. Detailed business records such as these are relatively rare for the French trade. This type of documentation for the fur trade is found mainly in records of the British trade such as the Hudson's Bay Company records and the Northwest Company records or in records of the American trade such as the American Fur Company records. Thus, the MMR data are especially critical for examining the flow of goods through the French system.

The Fur Trade Invoices

The fur trade invoices in the MMR contain an itemized record of the trade goods that fur traders purchased from the merchants. These invoices are the source of a variety of information about the trade

goods that flowed through the system to native peoples in the interior. To illustrate the the types of data the invoices contain, Figure 8 presents two sample pages from an invoice for goods to be shipped to Nipigon in 1733 (Moniere, M848, vol.4, pp.324, 326). The first sample page is the first page of the invoice. It illustrates the listing of goods by bale and shows the types of goods that were packed in bales. The second sample page is the third page of the invoice. It shows the listing of goods by crate and provides an illustration of the types of goods that were packed in crates. The date appears at the head of the invoice including the day, month, and year. Next, a brief statement appears in which the purchaser of the goods is identified. Usually this statement also names the trading post to which the goods were shipped, although in this example it does not. In spite of this, it is clear that these goods were sent to Nipigon. On the same day that the merchant sold goods to Marin, he also recorded an invoice for the sale of goods to La Bonbarde, Marin's engage, in which he specified that La Bonbarde was traveling to Nipigon (Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.321).

The main body of the invoice follows, listing all of the goods, supplies, and services provided by the merchant to the trader. The listing of materials in the invoices was often organized according to packaging units, such as bales and crates as shown in Figure 8. This was by no means, however, always the case; the internal organization of the invoices varied markedly. Also, one cannot necessarily assume that all of the materials packed in the bales and crates were trade goods. The problem of identifying trade goods in the invoices will be discussed at length later.

Figure 8 Invoice Excerpts: Nipigon 1733

June 13, 1733

Debit Mr. Marin [for Nipigon], sent to him per his letter, to his account and at his risk. Namely:

		Unit Price	Total Price
No.1	One Bale:		
18	pair large sleeves	3.05.00	40.10.00
26 3/4	yards blue woolen cloth = 16 6/9 ells	7.10.00	128.08.05
2	lbs. red wool yarn	4.10.00	9.00.00
12	men's shirts	3.05.00	39.00.00
2	cradle blankets	5.00.00	10.00.00
32	lbs. Poitoux thread	0.55.00	88.00.00
2	3 ell capotes	10.10.00	21.00.00
2	2 point blankets	8.00.00	16.00.00
1 1/2	ells linen	0.45.00	3.07.06
			355.05.11
No.2	One Bale:		
18	ells red woolen cloth	7.10.00	135.00.00
18	[pair] large sleeves	3.05.00	40.10.00
4	lbs. small glass beads	0.40.00	8.00.00
3	capotes of 4 ells	14.00.00	42.00.00
1	capote of 3 ells		10.10.00
3	capotes of 2 1/2 ells	8.15.00	26.05.00
3	capotes of 1 ell	3.10.00	10.10.00
3	capotes of 2 ells	7.00.00	21.00.00
2	2 point blankets	8.00.00	16.00.00
1 1/2	ells linen	0.45.00	3.07.06
			313.02.06
No.3	One Bale:		
17	ells blue woolen cloth	7.10.00	127.10.00
12	pair medium sleeves	0.45.00	27.00.00
4	lbs. small glass beads	0.40.00	8.00.00
12	women's shirts	0.55.00	33.00.00
5	cradle blankets	5.00.00	25.00.00
3	capotes of 1 1/2 ells	5.05.00	15.15.00
28	lbs. of Poitoux thread	0.55.00	77.00.00
3	capotes of 3 1/2 ells	12.05.00	36.15.00
12	pair garters	0.15.00	9.00.00
4	2 point blankets	8.00.00	32.00.00
1 1/2	ells linen	0.45.00	3.07.06
			394.07.06
(Moniere, M848, Journal No.3, p.324)			1062.15.11

Figure 8 (cont'd.)

No.7 One Bale:

16 3/4	ells blue woolen cloth	7.10.00	125.05.00
3	pieces English style gartering		18.00.00
7	fine Rouen shirts	8.00.00	56.00.00
4	2 pt. blankets	8.00.00	32.00.00
1	tapabord cap		2.10.00
10 1/2	lbs. white, olive-shaped glass beads	0.45.00	23.12.06
7	capotes of 4 ells	14.00.00	98.00.00
2	capotes of 3 ells	10.10.00	21.00.00
1 1/2	ells linen	0.45.00	3.07.06
			379.15.00

No.8 One Crate:

15	Biscayan axes	0.40.00	30.00.00
15	tomahawks	0.30.00	22.10.00
300	gunflints	0.20.00	3.00.00
2	doz. butcher knives	4.05.00	8.10.00
6	doz. large, horn-handled knives	0.50.00	15.00.00
1	gross awls		4.10.00
2	doz. firesteels from Holland	4.00.00	8.00.00
3	doz. medium sized knives	0.40.00	6.00.00
4	doz. medium sized knives	0.40.00	8.00.00
2	doz. gunworms	0.20.00	2.00.00
3 1/4	lbs. soap	0.20.00	3.05.00
	the crate		1.10.00
			112.05.00

No.9 One Crate:

15	Biscayan axes	0.40.00	30.00.00
12	ice chisels	0.30.00	18.00.00
300	gunflints	0.20.00	3.00.00
12	hoes	0.15.00	12.00.00
500	needles	0.20.00	5.00.00
6	doz. long knives	0.50.00	15.00.00
6	doz. small knives	0.40.00	12.00.00
2	doz. medium butcher knives	4.05.00	8.10.00
2	doz. combs	0.30.00	3.00.00
3 1/4	lbs. soap	0.20.00	3.05.00
12	round tin mirrors		3.00.00
2	doz. firesteels		8.00.00
3	gimlets	0.10.00	3.00.00
1	crate		1.10.00
			125.05.00

(Moniere, M848, Journal No.3, p.326) 2742.04.03

Although the invoice entries are fairly concise, they often qualify items on the basis of type, size, color, material, or place of manufacture. Commonly, the descriptive terms distinguish between items of different price, such as different sizes and styles of knives and different sizes of capotes. Each entry records the quantity of the item purchased and the unit of measure in which it was sold. Cost of the items is usually recorded in terms of both the unit price of each item and the total cost for the amount of the item purchased. All of the price information in the account books is recorded in the French-Canadian monetary system of the period consisting of livres, sols, and deniers (20 sols equal 1 livre; 12 deniers equal 1 sol). When monetary figures are given, whether in tables or in the text, they are rounded to the nearest livre.

The Outfits

The fur trade invoices in the MMR are scattered throughout the account books interspersed among postings for the sale of merchandise to local citizens. Identifying and organizing the fur trade invoices presented a problem because of the variability in the invoices. Some invoices are extemely long and are easily recognizable in the pages of the account books because of their length. In these cases, trade goods and supplies were purchased by a trader in one large transaction resulting in a single invoice that might continue for several pages. In some instances, though, a trader made more than one purchase, perhaps over a period of several days, resulting in two or more invoices. Sometimes a posting for the purchase of just a few items would follow a main invoice

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suggesting the addition of goods that were forgotten or added as an after-thought. In addition, the size of the fur trade invoices varies markedly. This is because the volume of business varied that the merchants did with different traders. Moniere, for example, appears to have been the main supplier for some of the traders to whom he sold goods. Other traders, however, purchased only a few items from Moniere. It is clear in the account books that traders sometimes purchased goods from more than one merchant. For example, in the heading for an invoice for Green Bay in 1741, Moniere states that the merchandise listed was part of an order to be filled by himself and by Mr. Prudhomme, another merchant (Moniere, M849, vol.8, p.234). Consequently, the size of an invoice might depend in part upon whether that merchant was the trader's main supplier. Invoices for the purchase of materials by the traders' engages also appear. Most of the items in these invoices seem to have been for personal use but a few items were purchased in large enough quantities to suggest that they were intended for trade. And finally, some invoices for the sale of materials to be shipped to a trading post contain no trade goods; they are composed solely of supplies and provisions.

Because of the variability in the invoices in the account books, the concept of an "outfit" is used in this study to organize the invoices. As the term is used here, an outfit consists of the trade goods and supplies shipped to a specific location by a trader or by a partnership of traders within a calendar year, whether the goods are listed in one invoice or in several. In this way, a number of invoices could be consolidated, including those for the purchase of materials by the

trader's engages. This also means that a single small invoice was designated as an outfit if it was the only one posted for a specific trader and a specific location during that calendar year. In so doing, the presence of trade goods in a single invoice was the prerequisite for identifying it as an outfit; a lone invoice that was made up entirely of supplies or personal items was not considered an outfit. It is important to point out that the identification of an an assemblage of goods as an outfit carries no implications about the size of that group of goods. An outfit may be represented by the purchase of a few items or by the purchase of several thousand livres worth of goods.

The following examples will help clarify the way invoices were organized into outfits. In 1739 the merchant Moniere posted two invoices, one on August 14th and one on September 7th, in which he debited Mr. Marin for goods to be taken to Green Bay (Moniere, M848, Vol.8, pp.108, 117). These two invoices are treated as one outfit taken to Green Bay by Marin in 1739. In 1735, Moniere posted three invoices in June for the purchase of goods to be taken to Michipicoten by the partnership of Marin and Douville. In the same month, Moniere also posted invoices for each of three of Marin and Douville's engages (Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.582-596). All six of these invoices are considered as one outfit taken to Michipicoten by Marin and Douville in 1735. In 1736 Moniere recorded two relatively small invoices for Michilimackinac. One of these was for purchases by Louis Traversis (Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.764) and the other was for purchases by an individual named Lengevin (Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.818). Each of these invoices was designated as a separate outfit for Michilimackinac in 1736.

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A total of eighty-three outfits shipped to the western Great Lakes region before 1760 were identified in the MMR account books. These outfits were distributed among nine trading posts: Green Bay, Michilimackinac, Detroit, Ouiatenon, Michipicoten, Rainy Lake, the Sioux post, Nipigon, and St. Joseph. Thirteen of the outfits were excluded from the study. Among these were the five outfits that were sent to St. Joseph in southwestern Michigan. The St. Joseph outfits are all very small. The largest single year expenditure represented was 500 livres in 1732, and the total value of all five outfits was only 790 livres. Other posts also had years in which the total expenditure for trade goods was 500 livres or less, but all of the other eight posts had at least one year in which the outfits totalled over 3000 livres. Further, the smallest total expenditure for all outfits among the other eight posts is that of the single year for Michipicoten which is still over 3500 livres. Because the outfitting for St. Joseph in the MMR is so much more limited than for the other posts, it was deemed unlikely that the outfits provided a comparable representation of the goods shipped to that post. For this reason, the St. Joseph outfits were not included in the study.

Seven other outfits were omitted from the study because their destinations could not be attributed to specific trading posts. The invoices for three of these outfits windicated only that the trader was going "with the Winnebago" (e.g. Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.911). The destination of the other four outfits was given as "the western sea" (e.g. Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.270). The actual destination of the latter outfits could have been any of several different posts in the

region north and west of Lake Superior (Eccles 1974a:144). Finally, one outfit shipped to Ouiatenon was not used because prices were not recorded for most of the goods listed. This invoice was composed mainly of goods that were supplied by a different merchant so the pricing information had been omitted.

With the exclusion of thirteen of the eighty-three outfits, a total of seventy outfits were used in the study. With the exception of the one Ouiatenon outfit that was excluded, these seventy outfits represent all of the outfits identified for the remaining eight posts, including extremely small outfits. Table 2 gives the years in which outfits were taken to each post and the number of outfits taken in each year. Table 3 indicates the expenditure in livres for trade goods for each of the years that outfits went to the different posts. Because the size of the outfits varied so much, the expenditure for trade goods for each year at the posts provides a basis for comparison of the volume of goods shipped to each post.

The vast majority of the outfits used in the study were taken from the Moniere family records. Sixty-six of the seventy outfits are from their account books. Five outfits were taken from the Guy records and one outfit was taken from the Hervieux records. The Guy records and the Hervieux records in the MMR are both much smaller collections of documents than are the Moniere records. The Guy family records suggest that much of their business entailed the sale of general merchandise to the local population. They also served as fur trade outfitters but this does not seem to have been the focus of their business. The quantity of

Table 2 Outfits Per Year

	Green Bay	Rainy Lake	Detroit	Sioux Post	Michilimack.	Ouiatenon	Nipigon	Michipicot.	Totals
1715			1						1
1721			4			1			5
1724	1		1						2
1725	1				1				2
1731			1	2		5			8
1732			2	2	1		1		6
1733				3			1		4
1734			1		1		1		3
1735								1	1
1736			2	1	2	2			7
1737			2						2
1738						1			1
1739	1				2	1			4
1740	1				1				2
1741	1	1							2
1742	2	1							3
1743	2	1							3
1744	1	1			1				3
1745	1	1			1				3
1746		1			3				4
1747	1				1				2
1748	1								1
1758			1						1
Totals	13	6	15	8	14	10	3	1	70

Table 3 Expenditure in Livres for Trade Goods Per Year

	Green Bay	Rainy Lake	Detroit	Sioux Post	Michilimack.	Ouiatenon	Nipigon	Michipicot.	Totals
1715			1808						1808
1721			919			552			1471
1724	8931		4057						12,988
1725	8356				4108				12,464
1731			297	5008		10,050			15,355
1732			4006	3372	46		3143		10,567
1733				7802			3412		11,214
1734			965		3378		4540		8883
1735								3516	3516
1736			940	5183	361	1389			7873
1737			385						385
1738						455			455
1739	3702				1128	31			4861
1740	8516				1726				10,242
1741	9994	8445							18,439
1742	9671	7222							16,893
1743	6497	6742							13,239
1744	7775	3275			804				11,854
1745	5069	3033			1367				9469
1746		1961			3760				5721
1747	20,629				1659				22,288
1748	10,365								10,365
1758			12,496						12,496
Totals	99,505	30,678	25,873	21,365	18,337	12,477	11,095	3516	222,846

the Hervieux records in the MMR is even more limited than that of the Guy records and they contain relatively few trade outfits. Further, the fur trade invoices in both the Guy and the Hervieux records were less useful for this study in that the destinations for the outfits were recorded less regularly than in the Moniere records.

The earliest outfit taken from the MMR is from the year 1715, the latest outfit is from 1758. A temporal breakdown of the seventy outfits by decade from 1715 to the end of the French period in 1760 is given in Table 4.

Table 4 Temporal Distribution of Outfits

1715-1719	1720-1729	1730-1739	1740-1749	1750-1759
1	9	36	23	1

The MMR do not contain trade outfits for every year for the period 1715-1760. This is due in part to the fact that there are some gaps in the records. The most conspicuous and unfortunate of these is Moniere's missing Journal No.2 which presumably covered the years 1726-1731. The frequency of French period trade outfits in the MMR is also a function of the trajectory of the Moniere business. Moniere recorded relatively few trade outfits from 1715 to 1730. But as the business grew in the 1730's and 1740's, the frequency of fur trade invoices increased.

By the same token, outfits for each post do not appear with regularity

in the account books. Different posts tend to appear sporadically, and the number and size of the outfits shipped to different posts in a given year varied considerably. This is because the trader clientle of the merchants fluctuated from year to year. Each year, the merchants did business with different traders who were operating at different posts. Consequently, outfits for the different posts occur with varying frequency and varying regularity in the account books. Further, as mentioned previously, the merchants did a greater volume of business with some traders than with others. As a result, the size of the outfits varied enormously. For example, if a trader bought all or most of his goods from Moniere, the outfit might involve an expenditure of several thousand livres. But if a trader purchased most of his goods from another merchant and bought only a few incidental items from Moniere, the outfit might total only a few hundred livres or even less. To clarify the diversity among the outfits used in the study, the following paragraphs provide a brief discussion of the outfits for each of the posts.

Green Bay Outfits

The outfits for Green Bay comprise the most extensive record of goods shipped to any one of the eight posts in the western Great Lakes area. The pattern of sales to Green Bay traders reveals that Moniere had a strong association with the trade at that post, especially during the 1740's. The account books indicate that In 1724 and 1725, Moniere outfitted the partnership of Clignancour and Mogras (Moniere, M847, vol.1, p.431, 485). In 1739, Moniere sold goods to Marin (Paul Marin de

La Malgue [Eccles 1974b:431]) (Moniere, M849, vol.8, p. 108). In the years 1740-1742, Moniere supplied the partnership of Marin, Quesnal, and St. Germain (Moniere, M849, vol.8, p.177; p.234, p.292, 308). In 1743-1745, he outfitted the partnership of St. Onge and Leduc (Moniere, M849, vol.8, pp.355, 406, 445). And in 1747 and 1748, Moniere sold goods to the partnership of Clignacour and St. Onge (Moniere, M849, vol. 8, pp.514, 534). The size of the outfits in these transactions was substantial. The smallest yearly expenditure, which occured in 1739, was still over 3000 livres. In the 1740 outfit, Moniere debited Marin for 1250 livres for half of the lease for the Green Bay post (Moniere, M849, vol.8, p.187). This suggests that Moniere held the lease for the post which would explain the large volume of sales.

Michilimackinac Outifts

In contrast to the situation with Green Bay, the MMR merchants did not do a large volume of business with traders headed for Michilimackinac. Although there are a number of outfits for Michilimackinac in the account books, most of them are relatively small. The largest single year sale volume for the post was 4108 livres in 1725 (see Table 3). Also, the account books do not indicate a pattern of business with the same traders or partnership of traders at Michilimackinac. With the exception of Antoine Despains, who bought goods for three consecutive years from 1744-1746 (Moniere, M849, vol.8, pp.403, 448, 477, 482, 518), virtually all the other outfits were purchased by different individuals. The 1739 outfits for Michilimackinac were sold by Pierre Guy; one of the 1746 outfits was sold by the Hervieux brothers.

Detroit Outfits

The group of outfits for Detroit in the account books is similar to that of Michilimackinac in that they are fairly numerous but are not especially large. Only the year 1758 produced a particularly large volume of sales: approximately 12,500 livres (see Table 3). The Detroit outfits also show no pattern of business with the same traders. Both of the 1736 outfits and one of the 1737 outfits were sold by Pierre Guy.

Ouiatenon Outifts

The shipment of goods to Ouiatenon is most strongly represented for a single year: 1731. In that year, five outfits totalling over 10,000 livres worth of trade goods were sold for shipment to the post. Most of the large volume of goods for 1731 was the product of a single outfit which represented an investment of approximately 7000 livres. This outfit was taken to Ouiatenon by Fauchee, Carignan, and Jervais (Moniere, M848, vol.4, pp.38, 44). The other four outfits were relatively small, the largest of them, which was purchased by an individual named Lacrois, totaled just over 1450 livres (Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.36). The purchasers of the other three outfits were the partnership of Grignon, Parant, and Chapaux (Moniere, M848, vol.4, pp. 78, 85, 87), the partnership of J. Grignon and Mersier (Moniere, M848, vol.4, pp.79, 86), and Joseph Morent (Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.80). The yearly expenditure totals for trade goods for the other four years are considerably less than that for 1731, especially 1739 which is represented by only 31.10.00 worth of trade goods.

Sioux Post Outfits

The outfits for the Sioux post represent a substantial volume of goods shipped to this post for each of four years during the 1730's. Two partnerships purchased goods for the Sioux post from Moniere in 1731, 1732, and 1733. These were the partnerships of Lanouette and Joliette (Moniere, M848, vol.4, pp.45, 205, 347), and Porneuf and St. Onge (Moniere, M848, vol.4, pp.49, 208, 350). The 1736 outfit was purchased by the partnership of J. Giasson and Lebeau (Moniere, M848, vol.4, p.774).

Nipigon Outfits

The Nipigon outfits represent three years of fairly consistent volumes of goods shipped to that post. All of the outfits for Nipigon in the MMR were taken by an individual named Marin (Moniere, M848, vol.4, pp.168, 321-324, 424,439). This was probably Claude Marin de La Perriere, the half brother of Paul Marin who was trading at Green Bay during the 1730's and 1740's (Armour 1974:432).

Michipicoten Outfit

Trade goods shipped to Michipicoten are represented in the MMR by one moderately-sized outfit for 1735. This outfit was taken by the partnership of Claude Marin and De Quindre Douville (Moniere, M848, vol.4, pp.582, 590-593, 596). This is the same Claude Marin who took outfits to Nipigon in 1732, 1733, and 1734.

Rainy Lake Outifts

Six outfits for Rainy Lake appear in the MMR, one each year from 1741 to 1746. The 1741 outfit was quite large, totaling 8445 livres in trade goods. Although the size of the outfits decreased each year after that, the 1746 outfit - the smallest of the six - was still fairly substantial, totaling 1961 livres in trade goods. The 1741 Rainy Lake outfit was taken by the partnership of Jean Giasson and Louis Chappeau (Moniere, M849, vol8, pp.230, 238, 251). The 1742 and 1743 outfits were purchased by Jean Giasson and his brother Jacques (Moniere, M849, vol.8, pp.288, 299, 351). The 1744, 1745, and 1746 outfits were taken to the post by the partnership of Pierre and Charles Boyer and Charles Lulie Chevallier (Moniere, M849, vol.8, pp.398, 450, 478).

The MMR Invoices and the Flow of Goods into Indian Societies

It is clear that the MMR invoices contain a great deal of information about trade goods. But further discussion is necessary of the way the MMR relate to the flow of goods into Indian societies. The MMR are not specifically a record of goods obtained by Indian peoples. They are not a record of the actual exchange of commodities between Indians and Europeans. Instead, the MMR invoices record the purchase of goods by European traders from European merchants. How, then, is the flow of goods into Indian societies represented in the documents? The key, it is suggested, lies in taking an ethnohistorical view of the documents. Ethnohistory involves the study of non-literate peoples through documentary data recorded by outside observers. The objective of

ethnohistorical research is to discover the way cultural views of non-literate peoples are represented in documentary sources (Trigger 1985:164). Taking this approach to the MMR, it is argued that while they do not present an exact record of the goods Indians obtained, they do present a record of goods intended for trade. Or to put it another way, they provide a record of the goods that the European trader anticipated would be traded. It is argued that the anticipated trade recorded in the invoices was probably a reliable approximation of actual trade, especially in terms of general patterns of trade. It is suggested that the composition of trade outfits was a function of the knowledge and experience of the trader concerning his Indian customers' interests and desires. Thus, Indian trading patterns implicitly shaped the composition of the outfits and those patterns are reflected in the outfits.

This view is based upon the argument that the trade was a sophisticated exchange relationship in which both Indian and European traders were knowledgeable about one another. Of particular concern here are the actions of the European trader and the trader's understanding of Indian interests in European goods. It is suggested that as profit-motivated businessmen, European traders were responsive to the demands of their Indian trading partners. There is evidence in the fur trade literature that Indian peoples developed well-defined sets of interests in trade goods and that European traders found it difficult to induce them to trade for other goods (Rich 1960:49; Ray and Freeman 1978:225-26). Further, Indians aggressively expressed their demands regarding European goods. Ray (1980) presents a good example of this in his discussion of

the interaction between subarctic Indian peoples and the Hudson's Bay Company. Factors at the HBC posts reported to the company in England that the Indians were exceedingly demanding about the types of goods they wanted and the level of quality they expected in the goods. They were constantly criticizing the goods offered in trade, complaining that, for example, the guns were not made to specifications that would ensure their reliability under harsh subarctic winter conditions. The Hudson's Bay Company, for their part, tried to respond to the Indians' complaints and the committee in London encouraged the factors at the posts to inform them of the types of goods that were especially desired by the Indians. Ray notes, for example, that the company endeavored to replace the English tobacco they were shipping to the posts with Brazil tobacco for which the Indians expressed a preference.

Clearly, for the European trader, an essential part of successfully pursuing the fur trade was to be responsive to Indian interests. On this basis, it is expected that traders in the MMR account books assembled their outfits based upon their knowledge of their Indian customers. This is not to sugggest that European traders could anticipate precisely what Indian peoples would purchase. It is not expected that every item in every invoice was traded or that European traders could predict every change in the needs and desires of their Indian customers. But it is expected that the general patterns that emerge from the invoices are a reflection of patterns in Indian trading for European goods. For the purposes of this study, the MMR are assumed to reflect patterns in the flow of goods into Indian societies. It should be noted that this argument assumes that for the most part, the

goods which the traders needed for their outfits were generally available to them. While recognizing that there undoubtedly were fluctuations in the availability of goods from time to time, it is assumed that the general patterns in the flow of goods into the interior posts were shaped predominately by Indian demand and not by the vagaries of supply.

CHAPTER 5

ORGANIZATION OF THE DOCUMENTARY DATA

Translation and Transcription of the Invoices

The first step in preparing the data for analysis was the translation and transcription of the invoices. This task presented a formidable challenge on several fronts. The general problem was one of deciphering eighteenth-century French fur trade terminology. Contributing to this was the fact that a number of different individuals recorded the invoices in the various account books so the style and the quality of handwriting varies considerably. Further, the recorders took a rather nonchalant approach to spelling; many different variations were used and sometimes the same word was spelled differently on the same page. Add to this the fact that the ink tended to bleed through the pages making the script even more difficult to make out and the picture is complete.

Translation of the invoices was essentially made possible by previous work done with the documents during a project sponsored by the Minnesota Historical Society. The Montreal Merchants' Records project, conducted from 1971-1975, focused on the fur trade-related information in the MMR. In the course of the project, Marie Gerin-Lajoie translated a number of the invoices and compiled a voluminous card file on trade goods and other information in the MMR (MMR Project Files 1971-1975).

Gerin-Lajoie's work, especially her translations, was the primary tool used in translating other invoices in the documents. Since there is a great deal of repitition of vocabulary in the invoices, Gerin-Lajoie's translations could be used as a guide in translating other invoices.

As the invoice entries were translated, they were transcribed in their entirety, including quantities, units of measure, and prices recorded. In the course of transcribing the data, several types of adjustments were made in recording the cost information. First, errors in arithmetic made by the merchants in determining charges and in adding up the total cost of an invoice were encountered from time to time. These errors were assumed to be unintentional since they resulted in both under-charging and over-charging. Sometimes the mistakes were noticed and a correction was made at the end of the invoice. In the interest of obtaining an accurate picture of the cost of the individual types of trade goods and of the total cost of the invoices, mathematical errors were corrected in transcription.

Second, some invoices did not include cost information for all the items recorded. At times, an isolated item appeared without a price, or in some cases, several items were listed without prices. The latter situation occurred in instances where a trader bought goods from more than one merchant but one of those merchants assembled the goods for shipment. For example, in 1739 Moniere recorded an invoice for Mr. Marin for Green Bay in which several items included in the crates and bales are listed without prices and are labeled "furnished by Mr. Marin" (Moniere, M849 Vol.8, pp.108-114). Apparently these items were

purchased elsewhere but then packaged with the goods bought from Moniere. In cases where no price was given for an entry in an invoice, the price was estimated. If possible, a price recorded for the same item elsewhere in the outfit was used for the estimate. If not, prices for the same item recorded in the same year, or as near to that year as possible, were used to arrive at an estimated price.

Third, a number of invoices include clothing made locally in Montreal. In some cases, the cost of the clothing was not listed for the finished pieces but for the materials and labor that went into making them. Rather than giving a price for 25 trade shirts, the cost of the cloth, the trim, the thread, and the labor to sew them was itemized in the invoice. In these cases, the costs for the labor and the materials were used to arrive at an estimated cost for the articles of clothing.

Finally, in some invoices, the merchants added profit margin into the cost. Sometimes this was done at the end of the invoice; other times it was added just to certain sections of the invoice. In the interest of obtaining the true cost of the trade goods, when profit margin was charged, it was figured into the cost of individual entries.

Isolating the Trade Goods

Although the outfits purchased by the traders were generally composed mainly of goods intended for trade to Indians, they also included a variety of non-trade items. Frequently, various kinds of supplies and equipment for the trip into the interior and for the stay at the post

were part of the outfit. For example, canoe gear and the materials needed to repair canoes were commonly listed in the invoices. These included poles to lay in the bottom of the canoe to support cargo, sponge to bail the canoe, and bark, gum, and spruce root to make repairs. On some occasions, even the canoes were purchased through the merchant. Camping gear for the trip was also invoiced, such as bark to construct temporary huts, an axe, a large cooking kettle, and sometimes tents. Provisions such as pork, flour, peas, and biscuit, along with wine and brandy were also purchased by the trader. Occasionally items were listed that were purchased by the trader to be given to the engages. These were usually articles of clothing or pieces of cloth but sometimes combs, knives or even guns were purchased for the engages. In a few of the invoices, some of the non-trade good materials were specifically identified. Canoe gear and equipment for the trip were listed under the heading, "Furnished for the canoes" (Moniere, M849, vol.8, p.358, 409). Provisions were identified as "Food and drink for the engages" (Moniere, M849, vol.8, pp.237, 294). And items purchased for the engages were listed as "For the men" or were listed under the names of specific individuals (Moniere, M849, vol.8, pp.112-113, 183). In many of the invoices, however, such non-trade items were not explicitly identified.

In addition, a number of items appear in the invoices that may or may not have been intended for trade to Indians. Examples of these include playing cards, crystal drinking glasses, spelling books, soap, and shoes. Many of these types of items were probably intended for use by Euro-Americans, but at least some of them may have been trade items.

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Since this study focuses upon trade goods obtained by Indians, one of the primary tasks in organizing the data was to segregate the trade good entries from the non-trade good entries in the invoices. To do this, each entry in the invoices was designated as either trade goods (for trade to Indians) or as supplies (for use by Euro-Americans). Three criteria were used to make the designations: 1) archaeological and documentary evidence, 2) the location of the entry in the invoice, and 3) the quantity of the item recorded in the entry. All three criteria did not necessarily apply to each entry, but usually a combination of at least two of the criteria played a part in making a designation.

Archaeological and Documentary Evidence

The first consideration was whether there was archaeological or documentary evidence to suggest that an item was a trade good. From an archaeological standpoint, if reported instances of the recovery of an item from French period Indians sites were found, it was considered evidence for designating the item a trade good. Preferably, such evidence came from sites in the western Great Lakes area (Quimby 1966b; Cleland 1971; Nern and Cleland 1974; Wittry 1963; Mainfort 1979; Mason 1986; Branstner 1984, 1985, 1986; Salzer and Birmingham 1981), but sites in other regions were consulted as well (Good 1972; Bradley 1987; Gibson 1980; Brown 1975). Similarly, the appearance of an item on French period trade lists in documentary sources was also taken as evidence for trade good status. Comparative lists specifically applicable to the western Great Lakes region are rare so lists for Hudson's Bay Company posts (Ray and Freeman 1978; Heidenreich and Ray 1976) and lists of

goods for the Illinois country were examined (Pease and Werner 1934).

Location of an Entry in the Invoice

The position of an entry in the invoice was often a factor in designating an item as a trade good or as a supply. If the entry appeared in a list of goods whose purpose was specifically identified, such as those mentioned earlier, the designation was obvious. But there was also a tendency in the invoices, whether the specific purpose of some goods was identified or not, to group supplies and personal items together. The common pattern was for trade goods to be listed first in the invoice and for non-trade materials to follow. Thus, if an entry appeared in the latter part of an invoice surrounded by materials that were apparently supplies, it suggested that the entry in question was also a supply. By the same token, an entry appearing at the beginning of an invoice was more likely a trade good. The listing of goods by bales and by crates was virtually always done at the very beginning of the invoice. The contents of the bales and crates were heavily dominated by trade goods. If an entry was listed as part of the goods packed in a bale or in a crate, it suggested that the entry was a trade good. The inclusion of an item in a bale or crate was not, however, indisputable evidence that it was a trade good. For example, a bale shipped to Green Bay in 1725 contained such probable trade goods as: 42 tomahawks, 300 gunflints, 144 awls, and nine pounds of glass beads. However, the same bale also contained several items that were probably supplies, namely: one half-pound of sulpher, one half-pound of alum, two sticks of sealing wax, and 200 flooring nails. Consequently, the

presence of an item in a bale or crate was not taken as a definitive indication of its status as a trade good.

Quantity of an Item

In some cases, the quantity of an item was also a clue in identifying it as a trade good. As a very general rule, trade goods tended to be purchased in large quantities. Again, this was not a hard and fast guideline. Vermilion, for example, a trade good that was included in most outfits, was often purchased in quantities of one pound or less. The purchase of large amounts of an item, however, especially in a number of different outfits, suggests that the item was intended for trade.

Designating the items in the invoices as trade goods or as supplies presented essentially two problems. The first problem was with those goods that are commonly recognized as trade goods because of archaeological or documentary evidence to that effect. In most cases, designating these items as trade goods or as supplies was not difficult. The problem encountered in the invoices with these materials was the question of whether a specific entry was a trade good or a supply. Two examples will help illustrate the problem and the manner in which these determinations were made. In an outfit for the Sioux post in 1731, axes were packed in three different crates. Twelve axes were placed in crate No.1, eleven steel-edged axes and one Biscayan axe were placed in crate No.2, and ten steel-edged axes and fourteen Biscayan axes were placed in crate No.3. The fact that axes were a common trade good is

well-documented in both the archaeological record and in the written record. Since these axes were packed in crates listed at the beginning of the invoice in lots of one or two dozen, they were designated as trade goods. Near the end of this same invoice, another entry for "1 axe, middle size," appears. This axe was listed among a group of materials that included a canoe, one kettle with a cover, and bark for hutting. Since this was a single axe that was listed with what were apparently supplies for the trip, it was designated as a supply.

In an outfit taken to Rainy Lake in 1743, the Giasson brothers purchased 59 capotes of different sizes. These capotes were all made of Dourgne cloth and were listed at the beginning of the outfit. Capotes were long coats or cloaks, usually with hoods. They appear commonly among the trade goods in the MMR invoices, along with other types of clothing. Ten blue capotes were recorded in a list of merchandise shipped to the Illinois country in 1688 (Pease and Werner 1934). These 59 capotes were designated as trade goods. Later in the same invoice, two large capotes made of Cadis cloth were listed. Along with these capotes, two pairs of breeches, two pairs of stockings, and two hats were recorded. The two capotes and the other clothing articles were judged to be personal items which the brothers bought for themselves, so they were designated as supplies.

The second problem was with those items in the invoices that are not commonly recognized as trade goods. These are items for which documentary or archaeological evidence regarding their status as trade goods is lacking or inconclusive. To evaluate these items, the criteria

of location in the invoice and quantity had to be relied upon. Because these types of goods were not common in the invoices, there were fewer of these designations to make, but they were also more difficult. Although items such as playing cards, soap, and nails are not thought of as trade goods the way axes, kettles, and knives are, it would be remiss to dismiss the possibility out-of-hand that they could be trade goods. In fact, the careful evaluation of these entries in the invoices presents an opportunity to contribute to our understanding of the types of European goods obtained by Indian peoples. Still, a conservative approach to the designation of these items was taken. Intuitively, many of these items seem more likely to have been intended for use by Whites than as trade goods for Indians.

The appearance of files and rasps in the invoices represents an example of this problem. These items were designated as trade goods but with some reservations. The main reason behind the decision to consider them as trade goods was the fact that files were traded by the Hudson's Bay Company during the French period (Ray and Freeman 1978:128, 130). However, files and rasps are not common in the MMR invoices and when they do appear, it is not in great numbers, nor does their position in the invoices tend to suggest strongly whether they are trade goods or supplies. But perhaps of more concern is the fact that archaeological evidence for files at French period Indian sites in the western country is extremely rare. No files or file fragments are reported from the Guebert site (Good 1972), from the Lasanen site (Cleland 1971), or from the Bell site (Wittry 1963). One file fragment has been recovered from French period deposits at the Marquette Mission site (Branstner:

personal communication). Four triangular file fragments were reported from the Fletcher site, the dating of which spans the end of the French period and the beginning of the British period (Mainfort 1979). A single file fragment is also reported from Rock Island (Mason 1986), but it is unclear whether it was associated with French period deposits or with later deposits. On the other hand, 37 files were reported by Stone (1974:298) from excavations at Michilimackinac. He suggests that the specimens date to the period from 1740-1780 and that they were primarily of French use. The archaeological evidence, then, raises the possibility that files were transported to posts during the French period but that they were primarily for European use and were not commonly traded to Indians.

Another item that represented an interesting problem in the identification of trade goods was playing cards. Decks of playing cards are not one of those items that are commonly understood to be trade goods. Yet playing cards appeared in at least one outfit for each of the eight posts under consideration, and in some cases they occurred in several outfits. Quantities varied markedly, ranging from two decks taken in an outfit to Detroit in 1737 to 48 decks in an outfit taken to Green Bay in 1724. Sometimes playing cards were packed in a bale with textiles and dry goods but there is a tendency for them to be listed among supplies in the invoices. It is also worth noting that in a British period bill of lading for goods sent to Michilimackinac in 1777, playing cards were included in eight different bales for a total of 84 decks of cards (Armour and Widder 1978). If cards were traded to Indians, to what purpose did Indians put them? Were they used as gaming

pieces or were they perhaps used for decorative purposes? No mention of Indian use of playing cards has been found in the ethnohistorical literature. Further, the archaeological record offers no assistance in this problem since playing cards would not be preserved archaeologically. Taking all of these circumstances into account, playing cards were designated as a supply. It was decided that they were taken primarily for the use of the traders and their emplyees as well as for other Whites living at the posts. Of course, some decks of cards may have been traded to Indians and pending further evidence, it is believed that the possibility that cards were primarily a trade good is still open.

The inventory model of trade goods compiled from the MMR invoices is presented in Appendix A. The inventory illustrates the numerous different varieties of goods that were traded. The data are presented in an informal item-type-variety system which is used simply as a descriptive format. The trade item is listed in the left-hand column and attributes of the item are listed under the headings: Type, Variety, Subvariety 1, and Subvariety 2. Inasmuch as possible, these headings were used to designate certain categories of attributes. Attributes of style, material, and shape were included under Type. Attributes of size, gender association, and weight were included under Variety. Color and use were recorded under Subvariety 1 and special purpose and origin were recorded under Subvariety 2. Appendix B provides a glossary which defines the terminology used in the inventory.

In actual application in the study, only the Item level designations in

the inventory are used. In other words, as with the archaeological data, all types of knives are subsumed under the category "knife." This was necessary in order to make the data more manageable and to facilitate comparison with the archaeological data.

CHAPTER 6

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

An archaeological inventory model of the flow of European goods into Indian societies in the western Great Lakes region during the French period can be constructed from inventories of goods recovered from French period Indian sites in the region. In making use of the available data to compile an archaeological representation of trade goods, two factors were considered. First, an effort was made to include those sites which have produced the largest assemblages of goods so that most of the archaeological sample of goods for the region would be included. Second, the possibility that different types of goods may occur on different types of sites had to be taken into account. To address this possibility, data on trade goods were collected from both burial sites and habitation sites. Then, after the data from the sites were compiled and organized, the question of whether different types of goods occur on different types of sites is examined.

The burial sites from which inventories of European goods were taken include the Lasanen site, the Gros Cap site and the Fletcher site. The habitation sites from which assemblages were taken include the Rock Island II site, the Marquette Mission site, the Bell site, the Summer Island III site, the Dunn Farm Plateau site, and the O'Neill site (Figure 9). These are all sites from which the data on trade goods have

Figure 9 Archaeological Site Sample

been described so that the data are in a readily useable form. This chapter describes the process of compiling an inventory of trade goods from each of the sites.

A brief description of each site from which data were drawn is given below. Following each site name, the source or sources from which artifact data from the site were compiled are cited. In addition, the locational and temporal information for the sites and components is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5 Archaeological Sites: Dates and Locations

Fletcher	1750-1765	Saginaw Bay region, MI.
Bell	1715-1730	South-central WI.
Dunn Farm Plateau	1699-1725	Northwestern MI.
O'Neill	1670-1760	Northwestern MI.
Lasanen	1670-1705	Straits of Mackinac, MI.
Gros Cap	1670-1705	Straits of Mackinac, MI.
Marquette Mission	1670-1705	Straits of Mackinac, MI.
Summer Island	1650-1700	Northwestern Lake Michigan
Rock Island	1642-1730	Northwestern Lake Michigan

Rock Island II Site (Mason 1986)

The Rock Island site is located on the southwestern shore of Rock

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Island, one of the group of islands that stretches across the mouth of Green Bay in the northwest portion of Lake Michigan. Mason argues that the site is the location of an ethnohistorically-known sequence of occupations by aboriginal groups. The dating and interpretation of the archaeological deposits at the site are based upon the correlation of those deposits with the ethnohistorically-recorded occupations.

Subsequently, Mason identifies and discusses four components at the site: a post-1641, pre-1650/51 Potawatomi occupation; a 1650/51-1653 Huron-Petun-Ottawa occupation; a 1670-1730 Potawatomi occupation; and a 1760-1770 Ottawa occupation. Data from the first three occupations are used in this study. The 1760-1770 Ottawa occupation is a British period occupation and no data from that component were used.

Marquette Mission Site (Stone 1972; Fitting 1976, 1980; Branstner 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987)

The Marquette Mission site is located in the city of St. Ignace, Michigan which lies on the north side of the Straits of Mackinac along the Lake Huron shore. Although the name suggests that this is a European site, it refers to a Huron-Ottawa village site occupied from 1671-1701 (Branstner 1984). The village was associated with a mission that was established by Father Jacques Marquette in 1671, thus the somewhat confusing application of the mission name to the aboriginal site. While Marquette's mission probably was in the immediate vicinity of the Huron-Ottawa village, its location has never been conclusively determined (Branstner, in press).

Gros Cap Cemetery Site (Nern and Cleland 1974)

The Gros Cap site is located on the outskirts of St. Ignace, Michigan not far from the Marquette Mission site. The report by Nern and Cleland describes the Greenlees collection which is made up of artifacts recovered from the site over a period of years. The collection is comprised mainly of French period artifacts dating to the 1670-1705 period.

Lasanen Site (Cleland 1971)

The Lasanen site is an aboriginal cemetery also located in St. Ignace, Michigan. The site dates to the 1670-1705 period, making it contemporary with the Marquette Mission site and the Gros Cap site. The dating of the cemetery may be even more circumscribed if it is indeed, as Cleland (Ibid.) suggests, the site of the burial ceremony witnessed by Cadillac between 1694 and 1697.

Summer Island III Site (Brose 1970)

Summer Island is northern-most in the group of islands in Lake Michigan that stretches between the Door peninsula of Wisconsin and the Garden peninsula of Michigan. The Summer Island site is located on the northeast side of the island. Brose identified a protohistoric component at the site which he suggests dates to the 1650-1700 period.

Bell Site (Wittry 1963)

The Bell site is located in east-central Wisconsin on the south shore of Big Lake Butte des Morts. Wittry argues that the site was a Fox village occupied from 1680-1730. It has also been argued by others, however, that the European artifacts from the site date to the latter portion of the occupation period. Stone (1971:84) suggests that the bead assemblage from the Bell site is not indicative of a late seventeeth century occupation but is much more compatible with an early eighteenth century occupation. Cleland (1972:207) also suggests that French influence at the site probably post-dates 1716.

Dunn Farm Plateau Site (Brose 1983)

The Dunn Farm Plateau site is located in the northwestern portion of the lower peninsula of Michigan near the Lake Michigan shore. Brose recovered a small amount of European material from the site. He suggests that the site represents an occupation by a single extended family sometime during the period 1699-1725.

Fletcher Site (Mainfort 1979)

The Fletcher site is a multicomponent site located on the banks of the Saginaw River in Bay City, Michigan. The aspect of the site that is of concern here is the French-British period cemetery which produced an extensive assemblage of European materials interred with the burials as grave goods. Mainfort suggests that the use of the cemetery began

sometime between 1740 and 1750 and continued until 1765 or slightly thereafter (1979:283). In a subsequent publication, he suggests that the dating for the site is 1750-1765 (1985:558). Although the dates for the cemetery extend into the British period, most of the years during which it was in use fall into the French period, so the decision was made to use the data from the site.

O'Neill Site (Lovis 1973)

The O'Neill site is located in extreme northwestern lower Michigan on the shore of Lake Michigan. The site is predominantly a Late Woodland site that was occupied during the summer months by small, transient groups. The occurrence of a small number of trade goods attests to a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century occupation of the site.

Compiling the Data

One of the problems in compiling archaeological data for comparison with the MMR data was in attempting to achieve as much temporal compatability between the two sets of data as possible. It may be noted in the descriptions of the sites, and in Table 5, that the sites do not all have some degree of temporal correspondence with the 1715-1760 period represented in the MMR data. The ideal situation, of course, would be to have archaeological data from sites whose occupations overlapped as precisely as possible with the temporal period circumscribed by the documentary data. In the world of archaeological data, however, this is an unrealistic expectation. In fact, there are very few French period

Indian sites in the western Great Lakes region from which archaeological data are available whose occupations overlap even in part with the 1715-1760 period. Only the Bell site, the Dunn Farm Plateau site, the 1670-1730 component of the Rock Island site, and the Fletcher site have occupation spans which overlap with the 1715-1760 period. Further, some of the larger samples of archaeological materials from French period sites in the region are from sites that pre-date the 1715-1760 period, as in the case of the Marquette Mission site. In order to include as many of the major collections of French period archaeological material from the region as possible, assemblages from the entire span of the French period were incorporated into the study.

The archaeological data were collected by compiling an inventory of the quantities of European goods present at each of the sites. One of the problems this presents is the question of which materials should be considered trade goods and which should not. Although there is a shared understanding of what is meant when the term "trade goods" is used in the literature, it is not a precise term that defines a specific body of materials. In fact, a number of types of European products occur on Indian sites that probably should not be considered trade goods. In initially recording the European materials from the sites, the question of trade good status was ignored. All materials of European origin were recorded.

In most cases, identifying European goods is obvious, but with some materials it is not as clear-cut. In the literature, the question of European or Indian manufacture has been raised with regard to Micmac

pipes, catlinite artifacts, shell wampum beads, and other types of shell beads. The dilemma arises from the fact that these items were manufactured using metal tools, especially drills. But of course, Indian peoples could have obtained metal drills from Europeans and thus could have manufactured these items themselves.

Ultimately, the decision was made to consider all of these items as European-made goods. While sensitive to the fact that attributing the manufacture of these items to Europeans might be considered a patronizing or even racist position to take, it can be justified. There are a number of instances in the literature in which researchers who have worked with these materials have expressed the opinion that these items were predominantly of European manufacture. For example, Nern and Cleland (1974) comment that while some catlinite items were undoubtedly made by Indian peoples, most were probably made by Europeans. Good (1972) notes that there is evidence that Micmac pipes were made at Michilimackinac suggesting the European origin of that pipe style. Stone (1971) argues that the uniformity of the shell wampum beads from the Lasanen site indicates that they are of European manufacture. Further, it is significant that there are no reports of metal drills in the artifact assemblages from any French period aboriginal sites in the western Great Lakes region. Metal drills have been recovered, however, from French-period European sites such as Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974).

Although it is likely that Micmac pipes, catlinite items, and shell beads were made by both Europeans and Indians, it would be difficult to

divide any one of these types of materials into European-made and Indian-made groups within an artifact assemblage. Instead, in order to be consistent, it is necessary to consider all of the artifacts in each category as either European-made or Indian-made. Based on the evidence discussed above, the decision was made to treat these items as European-made goods.

Having made these determinations, an inventory of European-made materials was compiled for each of the sites. It is not necessarily the case, however, that all European-made materials should be considered trade goods. Consequently, some modification of the site inventories was done to produce inventories that contained only those goods considered to be trade goods.

First, some materials were deleted from the inventories. A number of items of European construction hardware were recovered from the sites. While it is possible that such items were traded as curiosities or to be used for raw material, it is unlikely that these were standard trade goods. Further, at both the Marquette Mission site (Fitting 1976) and at the Rock Island site (Mason 1986), there is evidence that European structures which could have been the source of the hardware were located on the sites. As a result, all of the building hardware was deleted from the inventories. In addition, bale seals were also deleted from the inventories. Bale seals were attached to packages of trade goods but were not themselves a trade good (Adams 1989).

A number of items appear in the inventories that are the result of

recycling European-made goods. That is, an object obtained in trade was altered or reformed to create a different object. The most common examples of this are the numerous different kinds of items made from kettle brass, such as tinkling cones, projectile points, and ornaments. These recycled items were not trade goods, rather, they represent the trade good from which they were recycled. Since the purpose here is to investigate trade goods, recycled items were treated as representing the goods from which they were made. Thus, brass items that were probably derived from kettles were inventoried as recycled kettle brass. Similarly, ornaments cut from silver bracelets were inventoried as recycled bracelet silver.

Finally, some consolidation of the data in the archaeological inventories was done. This was necessary because the archaeological inventories and the MMR invoices often do not contain comparable levels of information about trade goods. As a result, the goods recorded in each data set are generally comparable at the "item" level of discrimination but it is frequently not possible to compare goods at the "type" level. For example, a knife recovered from archaeological deposits may be identified as a clasp knife with a hawk bill-shaped blade. In the account invoices, however, knives may be described as "bizallion" or "siamese" and it is not always possible to distinguish clasp knives from sheath knives much less determine blade shape. Similarly, glass beads recovered archaeologically can be identified according to size, shape, color, and method of manufacture. In the account invoices, the description of beads is often minimal. Size is sometimes indicated but only in terms of large, small, or very small and

color is only occasionally recorded. In many cases, the descriptive detail achievable with archaeological materials is simply not available in the account books. For this reason, the goods in the inventories are distinguished only as different items but varieties of an item are not distinguished. All varieties of knives were subsumed under the item "knife" and all glass beads were subsumed under the item "glass bead." The one exception to this is the fact that all beads other than glass beads (shell, catlinite, metal) were recorded simply as "beads."

Organizing the data in this way focused attention upon the different functional kinds of goods that occur in each data set. Further, dealing with the goods on only an item level made the volume of data more manageable. To try and accommodate varieties of goods in the documentary data alone would have meant attempting to deal with hundreds and hundreds of varieties.

With the completion of these modifications, a list of trade goods was produced for each of the sites. The individual lists of goods for each site are presented in Tables 6-14. The individual site inventories were then combined to produce an archaeological inventory model of trade goods in the western Great Lakes region during the French period. This inventory is presented in Appendix C. This inventory model is used for comparison with the documentary inventory model.

After the inventories of trade goods from the sites were completed, a comparison was made of the combined inventory from the burial sites and the combined inventory from the habitation sites. This was done to

Table 6 Trade Goods from the Rock Island Site 1642-1730

Item	Quantity
1. awl	12
2. ax	8
3. bead	73
4. bell	4
5. bottle glass	134
6. bracelet	12
7. braid	
8. brooch	17
9. buckle	1
10. ceramic sherd	17
11. comb	2
12. copper mail	
13. cross	1
14. disc	11
15. earring	1
16. effigy	4
17. file	1
18. finger ring	31
19. firesteel	9
20. fishhook	7
21. glass bead	1289
22. gun part	16
23. gunflint	181
24. hawkbell	2
25. iron, recycled	2
26. jew's harp	1
27. kettle part	373
28. recycled kettle brass	157
29. knife	76
30. medallion	1
31. mirror glass	51
32. pendant	5
33. pipe	25
34. projectile point	2
35. scissors	1
36. shot	31
37. thimble	1
38. wire fragment	17

Table 7 Trade Goods from the Summer Island Site 1650-1700

Item	Quantity
1. awl	3
2. bead	18
3. finger ring	1
4. fishhook	1
5. glass bead	49
6. gunflint	1
7. hawkbell	1
8. kettle part	1
9. recycled kettle brass	9
10. knife	2
11. musketball	3
12. needle	1
13. thimble	1
14. wire fragment	1

Table 8 Trade Goods from the Marquette Mission Site 1670-1705

Item	Quantity
1. awl	69
2. ax	3
3. bead	872
4. bottle	1
5. bottle glass	99
6. bracelet	4
7. buckle	2
8. button	5
9. ceramic sherd	6
10. chisel	1
11. clothing eye	1
12. copper mail	
13. crucifix	8
14. dagger	2
15. die	1
16. disc	3
17. dividers	1
18. effigy	9
19. ember tongs	1
20. finger ring	79
21. firesteel	12
22. fishhook	14
23. glass bead	6126
24. gun part	26
25. gunflint	143
26. harpoon	2
27. hawkbell	17
28. ice chisel	1
29. iron, recycled	8
30. kettle	1
31. kettle part	748
32. recycled kettle brass	558
33. knife	96
34. medallion	2
35. musketball	14
36. needle	73
37. pendant	79
38. pin	20
39. pipe	38
40. projectile point	16
41. punch	2
42. shot	157
43. sinker	6
44. sword	4
45. thimble	1
46. vermilion	
47. wire fragment	154

Table 9 Trade Goods from the Gros Cap Site 1670-1705

Item	Quantity
1. awl	2
2. ax	2
3. bead	24
4. bowl	1
5. bracelet	2
6. braid	
7. comb	2
8. copper mail	
9. dividers	1
10. effigy	8
11. finger ring	10
12. firesteel	1
13. fork	2
14. glass bead	890
15. gorget	1
16. gun part	1
17. gunflint	5
18. hair puller	5
19. hawkbell	24
20. kettle part	4
21. recycled kettle brass	124
22. knife	9
23. needle	1
24. pendant	8
25. pipe	2
26. projectile point	1
27. runtee	3

Table 10 Trade Goods from the Lasanen Site 1670-1705

Item	Quantity
1. awl	4
2. bead	14,435
3. box	1
4. bracelet	2
5. button	47
6. cloth	
7. comb	1
8. copper mail	
9. cross	1
10. effigy	3
11. ember tongs	1
12. finger ring	28
13. firesteel	2
14. glass bead	7213
15. gorget	1
16. graphite	
17. gunflint	8
18. harpoon	1
19. hawkbell	8
20. recycled kettle brass	26
21. knife	24
22. medallion	3
23. pail	1
24. pendant	4
25. pipe	3
26. projectile point	1
27. runtee	10
28. scissors	1
29. sword	1

Table 11 Trade Goods from the O'Neill Site ca. 1670-1760

Item	Quantity
1. earring	1
2. glass bead	4
3. gunflint	3
4. recycled kettle brass	3
5. knife	2

Table 12 Trade Goods from the Dunn Farm Plateau Site 1699-1725

Item	Quantity
1. bead	22
2. brooch	1
3. button	2
4. finger ring	1
5. glass bead	206
6. gunflint	1
7. kettle part	2
8. recycled kettle brass	2
9. pot	1
10. projectile point	1
11. shot	7

Table 13 Trade Goods from the Bell Site 1715-1730

Item	Quantity
1. awl	14
2. ax	4
3. bead	9
4. bottle glass	2
5. bracelet	1
6. braid	
7. button	1
8. finger ring	8
9. firesteel	1
10. glass bead	123
11. gun part	5
12. gunflint	9
13. hawkbell	3
14. hoe	1
15. jew's harp	1
16. kettle part	161
17. recycled kettled brass	49
18. knife	23
19. mirror glass	5
20. musketball	1
21. needle	3
22. pipe	3
23. thimble	1

Table 14 Trade Goods from the Fletcher Site 1750-1765

Item	Quantity	Item	Quantity
1. armband	11	32. harpoon	1
2. awl	16	33. hawkbell	46
3. ax	8	34. headband	1
4. bead	1128	35. ice creeper	1
5. bell	6	36. kettle	37
6. bottle	4	37. recycled kettle brass	311
7. bowl	4	38. knife	65
8. bracelet	44	39. ladle	1
9. recycled bracelet silver	29	40. locket	1
10. brooch	46	41. mattock	1
11. button	6	42. medallion	1
12. chest hardware	8	43. mirror glass	7
13. cloth		44. mug	1
14. comb	3	45. pendant	3
15. cross	21	46. pike	5
16. crucifix	1	47. pipe	14
17. cup	3	48. pipe tomahawk	1
18. earring	18	49. pistol	1
19. effigy	1	50. pot hook	5
20. finger ring	75	51. projectile point	1
21. firesteel	50	52. razor	3
22. fishhook	1	53. scissors	6
23. fork	1	54. scraper	2
24. glass bead	54,242	55. spontoon	1
25. gorget	4	56. spoon	6
26. gouge	6	57. sword	1
27. gun	2	58. tankard	1
28. gun part	12	59. thimble	17
29. gunflint	46	60. trap	1
30. hair puller	10	61. vermilion	
31. hairpipe	3		

determine whether different inventories of goods occur on burial sites and habitation sites. This comparison is presented in Table 15. All of the types of goods recovered from all of the archaeological sites are listed. Then, the presence or absence of each type of good at burial sites and at habitation sites is indicated. In this way, Table 15 identifies types of goods that appear only at burial sites, types of goods that appear only at habitation sites, and types of goods that appear at both burial and habitation sites. It is apparent that there is a substantial number of types of goods that occur at only one type of site or the other. Thirty-two types of goods, or thirty-five percent, appear only on burial sites. Twenty types of goods, or twenty-two percent, appear only on habitation sites. Thirty-nine types of goods, or forty-three percent, appear on both types of sites. Clearly, there are substantial contrasts in the inventories of goods from burial sites and habitation sites. This comparison demonstrates the importance of including inventories of goods from both burial sites and habitation sites in any attempt to compile an archaeological inventory of goods for the region.

Table 15 Presence/Absence for Burial and Habitation Sites

Item	Burial Sites	Habitation Sites
armband	X	
awl	X	X
ax	X	X
bead	X	X
bell	X	X
bottle	X	X
bottle glass		X
bowl	X	
box	X	
bracelet	X	X
recycled bracelet silver	X	
braid	X	X
brooch	X	X
buckle		X
button	X	X
ceramic sherd		X
chest hardware	X	
chisel		X
cloth	X	
clothing eye		X
comb	X	X
copper mail	X	X
cross	X	X
crucifix	X	X
cup	X	
dagger		X
die		X
disc		X
dividers	X	X
earring	X	X
effigy	X	X
ember tongs	X	X
file		X
finger ring	X	X
firesteel	X	X
fishhook	X	X
fork	X	
glass bead	X	X
gorget	X	
gouge	X	
graphite	X	
gun	X	
gun part	X	X
gunflint	X	X
hair puller	X	
hairpipe	X	
harpoon	X	X
hawkbell	X	X
headband	X	
hoe		X
ice chisel		X
ice creeper	X	
iron, recycled		X
jew's harp		X
kettle	X	X
kettle part	X	X
recycled kettle brass	X	X
knife	X	X
ladle	X	
locket	X	
mattock	X	
medallion	X	X
mirror glass	X	X
mug	X	
musketball		X
needle	X	X
pail	X	
pendant	X	X
pike	X	
pin		X
pipe	X	X
pipe tomahawk	X	
pistol	X	
pot		X
pot hook	X	
projectile point	X	X
punch		X
razor	X	
runtee	X	
scissors	X	X
scraper	X	
shot		X
sinker		X
spontoon	X	
spoon	X	
sword	X	X
tankard	X	
thimble	X	X
trap	X	
vermilion	X	X
wire fragment		X

Number of items appearing only on Burial Sites: 32
Number of items appearing only on Habitation Sites: 20
Number of items appearing on Burial and Habitation sites: 39

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CHAPTER 7

COMPARISON OF THE INVENTORY MODELS

This chapter examines the way the archaeological and the documentary inventory models represent the flow of goods into the western Great Lakes region during the French period. Much of the analysis is done on the basis of functional categories rather than on the basis of individual types of goods. Dealing with the large number of individual types of goods is cumbersome, but more importantly, it is a less informative and less satisfying way of looking at the data. In an effort to identify the activities represented by the types of goods and to understand the purposes for which Indian peoples saw European goods as being useful, the types of goods were organized into functional categories.

First, the range of types of goods traded is examined as represented by each of the two inventory models. Then, functional categories are defined and the two inventories are examined to see if they record different functional categories of goods. Finally, in an effort to understand the differential emphasis that Indian peoples placed on European goods, a detailed investigation is made of the way each of the inventories portrays variability in the trade for different functional categories of goods.

The Range of Types of Goods Traded

Table 16 presents an alphabetical listing of the documentary inventory of goods. Table 17 presents an alphabetical listing of the archaeological inventory of goods. The most striking aspect of the two inventories is the degree of contrast in the types of goods they contain. Each inventory contains approximately as many types of goods that are exclusive to that inventory as it does types of goods that are common with the other inventory. To look at the differences between the inventories, lists of the goods exclusive to each inventory were compiled. For both inventories, the list of exclusive goods includes every item that does not specifically appear on the other inventory. In other words, for these lists, items that could be considered to represent one another, such as a clothing eye in the archaeological inventory and articles of clothing in the documentary inventory, were still placed upon the lists of exclusive goods. The question of archaeological correlates of goods in the documentary inventory will be discussed further in a later section.

Out of a total of eighty-six types of goods in the documentary inventory, forty-two, or forty-nine percent, do not appear in the archaeological inventory. Table 18 lists the types of goods exclusive to the documentary inventory. The appearance of most of the types of goods on this list can be attributed to the fact that the materials in the documentary inventory are not subject to the processes of deterioration that affect the archaeological record. In Table 18, the goods are organized into perishable and durable groups in order to

Table 16 Documentary Inventory of Goods

1. adze
2. awl
3. ax
4. azure
5. bayonet
6. bead
7. bell
8. black lead
9. blanket
10. brandy
11. breeches
12. brooch
13. brush
14. buckle
15. button
16. cap
17. capote
18. cloth
19. comb
20. dagger
21. dart
22. dress
23. dress suit
24. fan
25. file
26. finger ring
27. firesteel
28. fishhook
29. fishing line
30. fork
31. garter
32. gartering
33. glass bead
34. glove
35. gown
36. gun
37. gunflint
38. gunpowder
39. gunsheath
40. gunworm
41. hair puller
42. handkerchief
43. hat
44. hawk bell
45. hoe
46. ice chisel
47. jew's harp
48. kettle
49. knife
50. laces
51. ladle
52. legging
53. mantelet
54. mirror
55. mitten
56. musketball
57. necklace
58. needle
59. net
60. pickaxe
61. pin
62. pipe
63. pistol
64. powder horn
65. rasp
66. runtee
67. scarf
68. scissors
69. shawl
70. shirt
71. shoe
72. shot
73. sleeve
74. spoon
75. stocking
76. thimble
77. thread
78. tobacco
79. tomahawk
80. trim
81. tuque
82. verdigris
83. vermilion
84. wine
85. wire
86. yarn

1. ar
2. aw
3. ax
4. be
5. be
6. bo
7. bo
8. bo
9. bo
10. br
11. re
12. br
13. bv
14. br
15. b
16. c
17. c
18. c
19. c
20. c
21. c
22. c
23. c
24. c
25. c
26. c
27. c
28. c
29. c
30. e
31. e
32. e
33. f
34. f
35. f
36. f
37. f
38. g
39. g
40. g
41. g
42. g
43. g
44. g
45. h
46. h

Table 17 Archaeological Inventory of Goods

1. armband
2. awl
3. ax
4. bead
5. bell
6. bottle
7. bottle glass
8. bowl
9. box
10. bracelet
11. recycled bracelet silver
12. braid
13. brooch
14. buckle
15. button
16. ceramic sherd
17. chest hardware
18. chisel
19. cloth
20. clothing eye
21. comb
22. copper mail
23. cross
24. crucifix
25. cup
26. dagger
27. die
28. disc
29. dividers
30. earring
31. effigy
32. ember tongs
33. file
34. finger ring
35. firesteel
36. fishhook
37. fork
38. glass bead
39. gorget
40. gouge
41. graphite
42. gun
43. gun part
44. gunflint
45. hair puller
46. hairpipe
47. harpoon
48. hawkbell
49. headband
50. hoe
51. ice chisel
52. ice creeper
53. iron, recycled
54. jew's harp
55. kettle
56. kettle part
57. recycled kettle brass
58. knife
59. ladle
60. locket
61. mattock
62. medallion
63. mirror glass
64. mug
65. musketball
66. needle
67. pail
68. pendant
69. pike
70. pin
71. pipe
72. pipe tomahawk
73. pistol
74. pot
75. pot hook
76. projectile point
77. punch
78. razor
79. runtee
80. scissors
81. scraper
82. shot
83. sinker
84. spontoon
85. spoon
86. sword
87. tankard
88. thimble
89. trap
90. vermilion
91. wire fragment

Table 18 Goods Exclusive to the Documentary Inventory

PERISHABLE

	Item	Quantity	
1.	azure	3	lb.
2.	blanket	2,499	
3.	brandy	1,709	gallon
4.	breeches	42	
5.	cap	237	
6.	capote	1,441	
7.	dress	12	
8.	dress suit	6	
9.	fishing line	39	lb.
10.	garter	262	pair
11.	gartering	263	piece
12.	glove	56	pair
13.	gown	17	
14.	gunpowder	14,966	lb.
15.	gun sheath	221	
16.	handkerchief	50	
17.	hat	92	
18.	laces	24	
19.	legging	817	pair
20.	mantelet	378	
21.	mitten	22	pair
22.	net	1	
		206	fathom
23.	scarf	6	
24.	shawl	12	
25.	shirt	3,874	
26.	sleeve	1,621	pair
27.	stocking	128	pair
28.	thread	1,078	lb.
		745	skein
		4	bundle
29.	tobacco	6,316	lb.
30.	tuque	5	
31.	verdigris	10	lb.
32.	wine	712	gallon
33.	yarn	264	lb.

DURABLE

	Item	Quantity	
1.	adze	10	
2.	bayonet	78	
3.	brush	12	
4.	fan	10	
5.	gunworm	2,671	
6.	necklace	288	
7.	powder horn	4	
8.	rasp	39	
9.	shoe	125	pair

illustrate the predominance of perishable items. Fans and brushes were included as durable items because they may have had bone handles which could survive archaeologically. Shoes were also placed with the durable goods because they may have had metal buckles or eyelets. It is also possible, however, that these goods would be more appropriately placed in the perishable category. Further, while bayonets are not listed in the archaeological inventory, swords are. It is possible that some archaeologically recovered sword fragments actually represent bayonets. Also, files and rasps appear in the documentary inventory but only files appear in the archaeological inventory. The inclusion of rasps in the list of goods exclusive to the documentary inventory may be mainly a matter of a semantic distinction that is not commonly made in archaeological assemblages. It may be that the list of durable goods exclusive to the documentary record could be even shorter which would emphasize the importance of perishability even more as the factor that accounts for most of the goods that appear in the documentary inventory but not in the archaeological inventory.

Thirty-three of the types of goods exclusive to the documentary inventory can be considered perishable items and nine types can be considered durable goods. The most conspicuous feature of the list is the number of clothing and textile items; twenty-five of the thirty-three perishable items are clothing or textile goods. This suggests that the representation of the importance of this category of goods may be seriously affected by the preservation bias of the archaeological record.

Of the ninety-one types of goods in the archaeological inventory, forty-two types, or forty-six percent, do not appear in the documentary inventory. Table 19 lists the goods exclusive to the archaeological record. This list of goods is more difficult to explain than the corresponding list for the documentary record. Unlike the situation with the documentary record, there does not seem to be a single, predominating factor that accounts for most of the goods that are exclusive to the archaeological record.

The list includes five types of goods made of trade silver: armbands, bracelets, earrings, gorgets, and headbands. All of the silver items were recovered from the Fletcher site. As noted in the discussions of the individual sites, the Fletcher site is the latest of the sites from which data were taken. The period during which the cemetery was in use - from approximately 1750 to 1765 - extends through the close of the French period, which ended in 1760, and into the beginning of the British period. Trade silver was principally a British period trade good and is diagnostic of the post-1760 era (Quimby 1966b:91). The appearance of silver articles in the archaeological inventory and not in the documentary inventory may be due in part to temporal disparity between the two data sets. Most of the MMR data are pre-1750. It is possible that the silver items from the Fletcher site post-date 1760 and are associated with the last few years of the use of cemetery. But some trade silver does appear in French period archaeological deposits. It may be that traders acquired silver items directly from the craftsman rather than from merchants which would preclude the appearance of silver in the MMR invoices.

Table 19 Goods Exclusive to the Archaeological Inventory

Item	Quantity
1. armband	11
2. bottle	5
3. bottle glass	235
4. bowl	5
5. box	1
6. bracelet	65
7. recycled bracelet silver	29
8. ceramic sherd	23
9. chest hardware	8
10. chisel	1
11. clothing eye	1
12. copper mail	
13. cross	23
14. crucifix	9
15. cup	3
16. die	1
17. disc	14
18. dividers	2
19. earring	20
20. effigy	25
21. ember tongs	2
22. gorget	6
23. gouge	6
24. hair pipe	3
25. harpoon	4
26. headband	1
27. ice creeper	1
28. iron, recycled	10
29. locket	1
30. medallion	7
31. mug	1
32. pail	1
33. pendant	99
34. pike	5
35. pipe tomahawk	1
36. pot	1
37. pot hook	5
38. punch	2
39. razor	3
40. scraper	2
41. sinker	6
42. spontoon	1
43. sword	6
44. tankard	1
45. trap	1

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Three types of goods listed in Table 19 - crosses, crucifixes, and medallions - were associated with religious influence and were probably obtained from missionaries. These goods were apparently obtained from sources other than the merchants. The effigies, gorgets, and pendants that appear in the list are goods that were made from materials known to Indian peoples in North America, especially catlinite and shell. These items, however, were probably manufactured by Europeans and, since they do not appear in the documentary inventory, they apparently were not goods that were shipped by the Montreal suppliers. Most of the items in this category are effigies and pendants made of catlinite. Based on their absence in the MMR invoices, it is possible that the production of catlinite items for trade developed as a kind of cottage industry at the trading posts. This would have saved shipping catlinite all the way to Montreal to be worked when the posts were much closer to the source of the stone in southwestern Minnesota.

There does not seem to be a common element among the remainder of the materials that helps explain their presence exclusively in the archaeological inventory. Many of the items included in this category occur in small quantities which suggests that they were not commonly obtained by native peoples. Ceramics, for example, are among the most abundant materials found on European sites, but their absence in the documentary inventory and the recovery of only twenty-three sherds from the aboriginal sites, is strong evidence that Indian peoples had little interest in obtaining European ceramics.

It is likely, however, that some of these small-quantity items were

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shipped to the western country as trade goods. But it is also possible that a number of these items were originally personal posessions of French traders or soldiers and that Indian peoples obtained them as gifts or through opportunistic trade. For example, the use of pikes as symbols of rank was discontinued by the French military in 1758. The presence of these items on late French period Indian sites may have been the result of the French military either trading or giving their stock of obsolete pikes to native peoples (Brain 1979:158). The fact that the Fletcher site is the only site in the sample at which pikes were found, and that it is the only site that dates to the end of the French period, fits well with this interpretation.

In summary, the list of goods exclusive to the archaeological record suggests that there was a substantial number of types of goods obtained by Indian peoples that did not come from the main merchant suppliers in Montreal. Many of these items occur in small numbers which suggests that they were probably novelties rather than stock trade items. Further, many of these goods are probably evidence of opportunistic trade that went on between Indians and Europeans. The catlinite and shell items also suggest that goods manufactured from traditional materials were produced for the trade and that these items may have been made at the posts rather than in Montreal.

Defining Functional Categories

Functional categories were defined in the following manner. First, the types of goods in both the archaeological and the documentary

inventories were combined and the duplicates from the two inventories were deleted. This produced a single, comprehensive inventory of goods from the two data sets. This total inventory consisted of one hundred and thirty types of trade goods. This list was then used in identifying functional categories. In this way, categories were defined without specific reference to one inventory or the other.

In attributing function, it was assumed that the goods were used for the purposes intended by the European manufacturers of the goods. The primary objective in the identification of categories was to create a valid representation of the functional diversity in the inventory. This resulted in the definition of the following fourteen categories: Clothing, Hunting, Cooking and Eating, Drinking, Tobacco Use, Weapons, Woodworking, Adornment, Grooming, Digging/Cultivation, Fishing, Maintenance, Storage, and Amusements.

The process of organizing materials into categories always forces certain choices to be made. One of the problems encountered in assigning goods to categories was the question of whether firearms should be included in the Hunting category or in the Weapons category. The assumption was made that firearms were probably used more routinely for hunting and were used as weapons more sporadically, so they were included in the Hunting category.

A comment is also necessary regarding bottles and bottle glass in the Drinking category. Certainly these items belong in this category, but it is unlikely that they are good archaeological correlates for alcohol

consumption. In the MMR invoices, alcohol was virtually always packaged in kegs. Only rarely are bottles of liquor mentioned and these seem to have been for the personal use of the trader. This puts the validity of bottle glass as an archaeological correlate for the trade in alcohol in question. Bottle glass may represent a minor aspect of the trade in alcohol such as occasions when a trader bartered some of his personal stock. Based upon the MMR evidence for the use of kegs, it would seem that barrel hoops might be a more likely correlate of alcohol. Barrel hoops, however, are not reported on French period Indian sites in the western Great Lakes region. It is possible that they occur in archaeological assemblages but are unrecognizable as anything but scrap metal.

Presence/Absence of Categories in Each Inventory

Once the categories were defined, the types of goods in each inventory were organized according to the categories. Then, the categories were examined to see if any of them were made up solely of goods exclusive to the archaeological inventory or solely of goods exclusive to the documentary inventory. If functional categories exclusive to one inventory or the other were present, it would suggest that different activities were represented by the two inventories.

Table 20 lists the archaeological inventory of goods according to functional category and Table 21 lists the documentary inventory of goods according to functional category. Interestingly, there is only one category that is present in one of the inventories but not the

Table 20 Trade Goods by Functional Category: Archaeological Inventory

ADORNMENT	CLOTHING	COOKING & EATING	GROOMING	HUNTING	WEAPONS	WOODWORKING
armband	awl	bowl	comb	gun	dagger	ax
bead	braid	ceramic	hair puller	gun part	pike	chisel
bell	buckle	cup	mirror	gunflint	pistol	dividers
bracelet	button	ember tongs	razor	ice chisel	spontoon	gouge
brooch	cloth	firesteel		musketball	sword	punch
copper mail	clothing eye	fork	4	projectile point		
cross	ice creeper	kettle		shot	5	5
crucifix	needle	kettle brass		trap		
disc	pin	kettle part		wire		
earring	scissors	knife				
effigy	scraper	ladle		9		
finger ring	thimble	mug				
glassbead		pail				
gorget	12	pot				
graphite		pot hook				
hair pipe		recycled iron				
hawkbell		spoon				
headband		tankard				
locket						
medallion		16				
pendant						
reused silver						
runtee						
vermilion						
24						

AMUSEMENTS	DIGGING & CULTIVATION	DRINKING	FISHING	MAINTENANCE	STORAGE	TOBACCO USE
die	hoe	bottle	fishhook	file	box	pipe
jew's harp	mattock	bottle glass	harpoon		chest hardware	pipe tomahawk
			sinker	1		
2	2	2			2	2
			3			

Table 21 Trade Goods by Functional Category: Documentary Inventory

ADORNMENT	CLOTHING	COOKING & EATING	GROOMING	HUNTING	WEAPONS	WOODWORKING
azure	awl	firesteel	brush	dart	bayonet	adze
bead	blanket	fork	comb	gun	dagger	ax
bell	breeches	kettle	hair puller	gunflint	pistol	
black lead	buckle	knife	mirror	gunpowder	tomahawk	2
brooch	button	ladle		gunsheath		
finger ring	cap	spoon	4	gunworm	4	
glassbead	capote			ice chisel		
hawkbell	cloth	6		musketball		
necklace	dress			powder horn		
rumtee	dress suit			shot		
verdigris	garter			wire		
vermilion	gartering					
	glove			11		
12	gown					
	handkerchief					
	hat					
	laces					
	legging					
	mantelet					
	mitten					
	needle					
	pin					
	scarf					
	scissors					
	shawl					
	shoe	DIGGING &				
AMUSEMENTS	shirt	CULTIVATION	DRINKING	FISHING	MAINTENANCE	TOBACCO USE
fan	sleeve	hoe	brandy	fishhook	file	pipe
jew's harp	stocking	pickaxe	wine	fishing line	rasp	tobacco
	thimble			net		
2	thread	2	2		2	2
	trim			3		
	taque					
	yarn					
	34					

other; this is the Storage category which contains only archaeological inventory goods. It is worth noting that this single, unshared category is a minor category of goods. The Storage category is comprised of a single metal box from the Lasanen site and eight pieces of chest hardware from the Fletcher site. Small chests called cassettes appear in the MMR invoices but they are sold to traders for their personal use. The existence of the Storage category may be a product of the occasional trading of personal items to Indian peoples. In general, however, the presence/ absence comparison of functional categories indicates that although each inventory contains a number of types of goods that are exclusive to it, the two inventories are very consistent in the range of activities that they represent.

Variability in Trade

The archaeological and documentary inventories each provide a picture of the way Indian consumption of the functional categories of goods varied. What patterns of variation does each inventory indicate among the categories of goods and how do they compare?

Addressing this question is not as straight-forward as it might seem. This is because variation is expressed in the two inventories in ways that are not necessarily directly comparable. As a result, variation in the inventories is looked at in several ways. First, the relative number of types of goods in the functional categories is compared between the inventories. Then, quantities of goods in functional categories is considered. Difficulties with quantities in the

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documentary inventory leads to a comparison between quantities in the archaeological inventory and trader expenditure in the documentary inventory. Next relative frequency of trade among categories is examined. Finally, the archaeological representation of categories of goods at burial sites versus habitation sites is considered.

Numbers of Types of Goods in Functional Categories

Looking at the relative size of the categories based upon the number of types of goods they contain, many of the corresponding categories are quite similar between the two inventories. In terms of the fourteen categories that the two inventories represent, ten of them contain either an identical number of types of goods or have a difference between them of one or two types of goods. In the Woodworking category, there is a difference of three types of goods between the two inventories. This leaves three categories which have more substantial contrasts in the number of types of goods they contain: Adornment, Clothing, and Cooking and Eating. Overall, however, the inventories display considerable agreement in the way categories are represented by the number of types of goods they contain.

The Adornment category and the Cooking and Eating category are both larger in the archaeological inventory than in the documentary inventory. The Adornment category is the largest category in the archaeological inventory. In the documentary inventory, the Adornment category is one of the larger categories but it contains only half the number of types of goods as the archaeological Adornment category.

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Cooking and Eating is the second largest archaeological category and it contains well over twice the number of types of goods that appear in the documentary Cooking and Eating category.

Obviously, the archaeological Adornment category and the Cooking and Eating category contain items which the corresponding categories in the documentary inventory do not. And by the same token, the documentary Clothing category contains items which the archaeological Clothing category does not. This is illustrated in Tables 22 and 23 which show the goods exclusive to each inventory arranged in functional categories. The documentary Clothing category in Table 23 is comprised of perishable clothing and textile items. Table 22 demonstrates that it was mainly Adornment items and Cooking and Eating items that were obtained through channels other than the main supply system from Montreal.

The Clothing category in the documentary inventory is nearly three times larger than the Clothing category in the archaeological inventory. As was seen in the list of goods exclusive to the documentary inventory (Table 18), this is due to the presence of numerous perishable clothing and textile items which do not appear in the archaeological inventory. The disparity in the Clothing category is the most striking contrast between the two inventories. Not only are there numerous types of goods in the documentary inventory Clothing category, but Table 18 indicates that many of these goods were large quantity items. In the archaeological record, on the other hand, clothing remains such as buttons, buckles, clothing eyes, and textile fragments occur in small quantities (Table 19). The archaeological evidence suggests that

Table 22 Trade Goods Exclusive to the Archaeological Inventory by Functional Category

Table 22 Trade Goods Exclusive to the Archaeological Inventory by Functional Category

ADORNMENT	CLOTHING	COOKING & EATING	GROOMING	HUNTING	WEAPONS	WOODWORKING
armband	clothing eye	bowl	razor	trap	pike	chisel
bracelet	ice creeper	ceramic			spontoon	dividers
copper mail	scraper	cup	1	1	sword	gouge
cross		ember tongs				punch
crucifix	3	mug			3	
disc		pail				4
earring		pot				
effigy		pot hook				
gorget		recycled iron				
hair pipe		tankard				
headband						
locket		10				
medallion						
pendant						
reused silver						
15						

AMUSEMENTS	DIGGING & CULTIVATION	DRINKING	FISHING	MAINTENANCE	STORAGE	TOBACCO USE
die		bottle	harpoon		box	pipe tomahawk
		bottle glass	sinker		chest hardware	
1						1
		2	2		2	

Table 23 Trade Goods Exclusive to the Documentary Inventory by Functional Category

Table 23 Trade Goods Exclusive to the Documentary Inventory by Functional Category

ADORNMENT	CLOTHING	COOKING & EATING	GROOMING	HUNTING	WEAPONS	WOODWORKING
azure	blanket		brush	gunpowder	bayonet	adze
necklace	breeches			gunsheath		
verdigris	cap		1	gunworm	1	1
	capote			powder horn		
3	dress					
	dress suit			4		
	garter					
	gartering					
	glove					
	gown					
	handkerchief					
	hat					
	laces					
	legging					
	mantelet					
	mitten					
	scarf	DIGGING & CULTIVATION				
AMUSEMENTS	shawl		DRINKING	FISHING	MAINTENANCE	TOBACCO USE
fan	shoe		brandy	fishing line	rasp	tobacco
	shirt		wine	net		
1	sleeve				1	1
	stocking		2	2		
	thread					
	tuque					
	yarn					
	25					

buttons and other materials that could serve as archaeological correlates were little used in making trade clothing. As a result, these goods have very low archaeological visibility.

Quantities of Goods

Next, an attempt was made to compare quantities of goods in the two inventories. Table 24 lists the quantities of goods in the archaeological inventory. Except for a few items which are indicated only as present, quantities of goods are measured are by count. This allows the goods to be listed in ranked order according to quantity. Table 25 lists the quantities of goods in the documentary record. In this case, rank ordering goods according to quantity presents a problem because the goods are measured in several different units. Arranging pounds of gunpowder, gallons of wine, and number of awls in ranked order is not feasible. However, in order to generate a list generally comparative to the archaeological list, the documentary inventory goods are listed in ranked order according to their numerical quantity value regardless of the unit in which they were measured.

The multiple units of measure in the documentary inventory prevent a systematic comparison of functional categories on the basis of quantities of goods. Total quantities of goods in each category can be computed for the archaeological inventory but not for the documentary inventory. Still, the relative quantities of goods in the two inventories is certainly of archaeological interest. Consequently, Table 26 compares quantities of goods in the archaeological and

Table 24 Archaeological Inventory: Quantities of Goods

	Item	Quantity
1.	glass bead	70,142
2.	bead	16,581
3.	kettle	38
4.	kettle part	1289
5.	recycled kettle brass	1239
6.	gunflint	397
7.	knife	297
8.	bottle	5
9.	bottle glass	235
10.	finger ring	233
11.	shot	195
12.	wire frag.	172
13.	awl	120
14.	hawkbell	101
15.	pendant	99
16.	pipe	85
17.	needle	78
18.	firesteel	75
19.	bracelet	65
20.	recycled bracelet silver	29
21.	brooch	64
22.	mirror glass	63
23.	button	61
24.	gun part	60
25.	ax	25
26:	effigy	25
27.	ceramic sherd	23
28.	cross	23
29.	fishhook	23
30.	projectile point	22
31.	thimble	21
32.	earring	20
33.	pin	20
34.	musketball	18
35.	hair puller	15
36.	disc	14
37.	runtee	13
38.	armband	11
39.	bell	10
40.	iron, recycled	10
41.	crucifix	9
42.	comb	8
43.	scissors	8
44.	chest hardware	8
45.	medallion	7
46.	gorget	6
47.	gouge	6
48.	sinker	6
49.	spoon	6
50.	sword	6
51.	bowl	5
52.	pike	5
53.	pot hook	5
54.	harpoon	4
55.	buckle	3
56.	cup	3
57.	fork	3
58.	hairpipe	3
59.	razor	3
60.	dagger	2
61.	dividers	2
62.	gun	2
63.	jew's harp	2
64.	punch	2
65.	scraper	2
66.	ember tongs	2
67.	box	1
68.	chisel	1
69.	die	1
70.	clothing eye	1
71.	file	1
72.	headband	1
73.	hoe	1
74.	ice chisel	1
75.	ice creeper	1
76.	ladle	1
77.	locket	1
78.	mattock	1
79.	mug	1
80.	pail	1
81.	pipe tomahawk	1
82.	pistol	1
83.	pot	1
84.	spontoon	1
85.	tankard	1
86.	trap	1
87.	braid	
88.	cloth	
89.	copper mail	
90.	graphite	
91.	vermilion	

Table 25 Documentary Inventory: Quantities of Goods

	Item	Quantity			Item	Quantity	
1.	gunflint	41,640		43.	gun	238	
2.	knife	28,390		44.	cap	237	
3.	needle	26,934		45.	scissors	235	
4.	pin	15,072		46.	fishhook	225	
5.	gunpowder	14,966	lb.			1	bundle
6.	cloth	13,384	ell	47.	gunsheath	221	
7.	shot	12,920	lb.	48.	net	206	fathom
8.	finger ring	9,004				1	
9.	awl	8,426		49.	thimble	200	
10.	musketball	6,851	lb.	50.	handkerchief	198	
11.	tobacco	6,316	lb.	51.	dagger	186	
12.	hawk bell	3,924		52.	dart	153	
		85	bundle	53.	wire	135	lb.
13.	shirt	3,874		54.	stocking	128	pair
14.	bead	3,185		55.	shoe	125	pair
15.	gunworm	2,671		56.	hat	92	
16.	blanket	2,499		57.	file	80	
17.	firesteel	2,220				7	bundle
18.	comb	2,028		58.	jew's harp	79	
19.	kettle	1,975	lb.	59.	bayonet	78	
		34		60.	glove	56	pair
20.	brandy	1,709	gallon	61.	breeches	42	
21.	sleeve	1,621	pair	62.	fishing line	39	lb.
22.	mirror	1,562		63.	hair puller	38	lb.
23.	ax	1,509		64.	fork	30	
24.	capote	1,441		65.	pickaxe	26	
25.	tomahawk	1,304		66.	laces	24	
26.	thread	1,078	lb.	67.	mitten	22	
		745	skein	68.	pistol	20	
		4	bundle	69.	gown	17	
27.	legging	817	pair	70.	brush	12	
28.	glass bead	725	lb.	71.	dress	12	
		288		72.	shawl	12	
29.	wine	712	gallon	73.	spoon	12	
30.	pipe	654		74.	adze	10	
31.	vermilion	505	lb.	75.	fan	10	
32.	ice chisel	426		76.	verdigris	10	lb.
33.	button	388		77.	rasp	9	
34.	mantelet	378				6	bundle
35.	hoe	366		78.	bell	6	
36.	trim	317	ell	79.	dress suit	6	
		135	piece	80.	scarf	6	
		4	lb.	81.	tuque	5	
		1	carton	82.	powder horn	4	
37.	necklace	288		83.	azure	3	lb.
38.	buckle	284		84.	ladle	1	
39.	runtee	264		85.	brooch	1	
40.	yarn	264	lb.			1	bundle
41.	gartering	263	piece	86.	black lead	1	lb.
42.	garter	262	pair				

Table 26 Comparison of Quantities in Functional Categories between Archaeological and Documentary Inventories

ADORNMENT	archaeol	documentary	
armband	11		
azure		3	lb.
bead	16,581	3,185	
bell	10	6	
bracelet	65		
brooch	64	51	
copper mail	P		
cross	23		
crucifix	9		
disc	14		
earring	20		
effigy	25		
finger ring	233	9,004	
glassbead	70,142	3,423,603	
gorget	6		
graphite/black lead	P	1	lb.
hair pipe	3		
hawkbell	101	7,980	
headband	1		
locket	1		
medallion	7		
necklace		288	
pendant	99		
reused silver	29		
runtee	13	264	
verdigris		10	lb.
vermilion	P	505	lb.

CLOTHING	archaeol	documentary	
awl	120	8,426	
blanket		2,499	
braid/trim	P	317	ell
		135	piece
		4	lb.
		1	carton
breeches		42	
buckle	3	284	
button	61	388	
cap		237	
capote		1,441	
cloth	P	13,384	ell
clothing eye	1		
dress		12	
dress suit		6	
garter		262	pair
gartering		263	piece
glove		56	pair
gown		17	
handkerchief		198	
hat		92	

CLOTHING Cont.	archaeol	documentary	
ice creeper	1		
laces		24	
legging		817	pair
mantelet		378	
mitten		22	
needle	78	26,934	
pin	20	15,072	
scarf		6	
scissors	8	235	
scraper	2		
shawl		12	
shoe		125	pair
shirt		3,874	
sleeve		1,621	pair
stocking		128	pair
thimble	21	200	
thread		1,078	lb.
		745	skein
		4	bundle
toque		5	
yarn		264	lb.

Table 26 (cont'd.)

AMUSEMENTS	archaeol	documentary
die	1	
fan		10
jew's harp	2	79
DIGGING & CULTIVATION		
hoe	1	366
mattock/pickaxe	1	26
DRINKING		
bottle	5	
bottle glass	235	
brandy		1,709 gallon
wine		712 gallon
FISHING		
fishhook	23	325
fishing line		39 lb.
harpoon	4	
net		206 fathom
		1
sinker	6	
GROOMING		
brush		12
comb	8	2,028
hair puller	15	2,097
mirror	63	1,562
razor	3	

COOKING & EATING	archaeol	documentary
bowl	5	
ceramic	23	
cup	3	
ember tongs	2	
firesteel	75	2,220
fork	3	30
kettle	38	643
kettle brass	1239	
kettle part	1289	
knife	297	28,390
ladle	1	1
mug	1	
pail	1	
pot	1	
pot hook	5	
recycled iron	10	
spoon	6	12
tankard	1	
HUNTING		
gun	2	238
gun part	60	
gunflint	397	41,640
gunpowder		14,966 lb.
gunsheath		221
gunworm		2,671
ice chisel	1	426
musketball	18	191,828
powder horn		4
projectile pt./dart	22	153
shot	195	10,465,200
trap	1	
wire	172	135 lb.

MAINTENANCE	archaeol	documentary
file	1	115
rasp		39
STORAGE		
box	1	
chest hardware	8	
TOBACCO USE		
pipe	85	654
pipe tomahawk	1	
tobacco		6,316 lb.
WEAPONS		
bayonet		78
dagger	2	186
pike	5	
pistol	1	20
spontoon	1	
sword	6	
tomahawk		1,304
WOODWORKING		
adze		10
ax	25	1,509
chisel	1	
dividers	2	
gouge	6	
punch	2	

documentary inventories according to functional categories. All types of goods from both inventories are listed in each category. Then the quantity of the item in each inventory is listed. In listing quantities in Table 26, however, adjustments were made in some of the quantity values for goods in the documentary inventory. The problem that the documentary inventory presents is that there are several types of goods that could be quantified by count, but in the MMR invoices, they were quantified in some other unit of measure. These goods include glass beads, kettles, shot, hawkbells, needles, pins, musketballs, hair pullers, files, rasps, and brooches. It would be much more informative for the sake of comparison with the archaeological inventory if these goods were quantified by count. Toward this end, the quantities given for these goods in the MMR invoices were converted into estimates of quantities by count. Brief descriptions follow of how the estimated quantities were determined. The original unit of measure used in the MMR invoices is indicated in parentheses in the heading for each description. In addition, Table 27 summarizes the information on the conversion of quantities. It lists the goods for which conversions were done, the units of measure in which they were originally quantified in the invoices, and the estimated count calculated for the unit of measure.

Glass Beads (livres, or French pounds)

An estimate of the number of glass beads per livre was obtained by weighing a sample of beads recovered from the Fletcher site. (The French pound or livre of the period equalled 489.41 grams [Ross

Table 27 Quantity Estimates

Item	Estimated Quantities
Brooches	1 bundle = 50 brooches
Files & Rasps	1 bundle = 5 files or rasps
Fishhooks	1 bundle = 100 fishhooks
Glass Beads	1 livre = 4,721 beads
Hair Pullers	1 livre = 55 hair pullers
Hawkbells	1 bundle = 48 bells
Kettles	average kettle weight (AKW) = 3.5 lbs. total livres divided by AKW = # of kettles
Musketballs	1 livre = 28 musketballs
Needles	1 packet = 250 needles
Pins	1 paper = 500 pins
Shot	1 livre = 810 shot

1983:58]; a rounded off equivalent of 489.5 grams was used in these calculations.) The biggest problem in making this estimate is that beads varied so much in size. Yet the MMR invoices gave no precise size description of beads. Oftentimes, no indication of size was given, or at best, beads were sometimes described using terms such as "large" or "very small." Consequently, a sample of 50 seed beads and nine different types of necklace beads were weighed. The estimated number of seed beads per livre and the estimated number of necklace beads per livre were then averaged and that figure was used to convert all invoice entries for livres of beads into numbers of beads. The sample of 50 seed beads weighed 2.7 grams. This resulted in an estimate of 9065 beads per livre. The nine necklace beads ranged from 1.0 grams to 2.4 grams. This produced a mean weight of 1.3 grams which results in an estimate of 377 beads per livre. Averaging the figure for seed beads and the figure for necklace beads produces an estimate of 4721 beads per livre.

Kettles (livres)

The problem in converting livres of kettles into numbers of kettles is in determining the size of an average kettle. Traders reported that Indians preferred smaller kettles which were easier to handle, but what was meant by "smaller" is not clear. Wheeler et al. (1975) describe a nested set of seventeen brass kettles recovered from the Granite River in northern Minnesota. The kettles were still largely intact so that relatively accurate dimensions, volumes, and weights could be determined. The kettles are not of French period vintage; the authors

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suggest they were manufactured in the latter part of the eighteenth century or even the early part of the nineteenth century. Still, this group of kettles provides an unusual opportunity to determine an average kettle size from a range of kettles. Table 1 in Appendix three of their report lists the seventeen kettles and their attributes. The median kettle in the distribution weighs three pounds, eight ounces. In the authors' comments they do not indicate that this kettle was in a partially deteriorated condition as they do for some of the kettles. The weight of this kettle was used as an estimate for the weight of an average kettle and this figure was then used to convert livres of kettles in the invoices into numbers of kettles.

Shot (livres)

The problem with converting livres of shot to numbers of shot is similar to that with beads: shot came in a number of different sizes. To arrive at an estimate of the average number of shot per livre, a sample of shot from the archaeological materials recovered from Fort Ouiatenon was weighed. Fort Ouiatenon was located in northwestern Indiana. It was established by the French in 1717, taken over by the British in 1760, and abandoned in 1791. Five samples of shot of different sizes were weighed. The largest shot produced an estimate of 377 shot per livre. The smallest size produced an estimate of 1127 shot per livre. The mean for the five samples was 810 shot per livre. This figure was used to convert livres of shot into numbers of shot.

Musketballs (livres)

Hamilton (1980:128) reports that the standard French trade gun bores were 32 and 28 calibre. The calibre value refers to the size of the musketball the weapon fired based upon the number of balls per livre (Ibid.:125). The more conservative figure - 28 balls to the livre - was used to convert livres of musketballs to numbers of musketballs.

Pins (papers)

Gerin-Lajoie (MMR Project Files 1971-1975) notes that according to contemporary sources, papers of pins in the eighteenth century usually contained 500 pins. This figure was used to estimate numbers of pins.

Needles (packets)

An invoice in the MMR recorded by Pierre Guy (M851, vol. 18, p. 175) in 1743 contains an entry for ten packets of needles for a total of 2500 needles. This indicates that there were 250 needles in a packet. This figure was used to estimate numbers of needles.

Hawkbells (bundles)

In the MMR invoices, hawkbells were sometimes sold by numbers of bells and sometimes by the bundle. An average number of bells per bundle was calculated by first determining the average cost of individual bells of different sizes and then dividing the cost of the bundles by that

figure. This produced an average number of 54 bells per bundle. When hawkbells were not listed by the bundle, however, they were virtually always sold by the dozen. There is a difference of only six bells between the calculated number of bells per bundle and four dozen bells per bundle. Consequently, a bundle of hawkbells was estimated to contain four dozen bells.

Files and Rasps (bundles)

An estimate of the number of files or rasps per bundle was determined in the same way that it was for hawkbells. Invoice entries that listed numbers of files or rasps were used to calculate an average price for an individual file or rasp. The price of a bundle was then divided by this figure. This produced an estimate of five files or rasps in a bundle.

Hair Pullers (livres)

To arrive at an estimate of the number of hair pullers per livre, a sample of six hair pullers from the Fletcher site was weighed. The sample produced a range in weight from 7.7 grams to 11.9 grams. Based on these weights, the corresponding range in estimated numbers of hair pullers per livre was 41 to 76. The mean value was 55. This figure was used to convert livres of hair pullers into numbers of hair pullers.

Fishhooks (bundles)

The number of fishhooks per bundle was estimated in the same way that it was done for files, rasps, and hawkbells. An average price per individual fishhook was determined using invoice entries in which a specified quantity of fishhooks were listed. This price was then used to determine the number of fishhooks in a bundle. This produced an estimate of 100 fishhooks per bundle.

Brooches (bundle)

No information could be found that could help determine an estimate of the number of brooches in a bundle. Brooches are, very roughly, similar to hawkbells in size. An estimate of 54 hawkbells per bundle was originally calculated which was then revised to 48 or four dozen. On this less than ideal basis, brooches were estimated at 50 per bundle. Only one bundle of brooches appears in the MMR invoices so the use of this estimate has a minor impact on the quantitative relationship between types of goods.

An examination of Table 26 reveals some interesting contrasts. For example, in the documentary inventory, shot and musketballs are two of the three largest quantity figures in the inventory. Yet in the archaeological inventory, shot, and especially musketballs, are not among the goods with the largest quantity values. While further comparison of quantities cannot be done with the functional categories, comparison of quantities of individual types of goods which occur in

both inventories can be carried out. There are forty-three types of goods that are present in both inventories. Table 28 presents a comparison of the goods common to each inventory. In the left-hand column, the goods from the archaeological inventory are listed in ranked order according to quantity. In the right-hand column, the goods from the documentary inventory are listed in ranked order according to quantity. Those types of goods for which estimated quantities are given are indicated.

Some of the items in the group of common goods had to be omitted from further comparison. Several items in the archaeological inventory which are not quantified were deleted. This included braid/trim, cloth, graphite/black lead, and vermilion. In addition, wire is quantified as fragments in the archaeological inventory and it is quantified by weight in the documentary inventory. Since there is no reasonable way to convert pounds of wire into fragments of wire, it was also deleted.

Difference of Proportions Test

Obviously, the magnitude of the quantities in the two groups are very different. But, the quantities of the goods in each group may represent similar proportions of the total quantity of their respective group. To examine this possibility, the percentage that each type of good represents of the total for its group was calculated. The percentage that each type of good represents in its respective inventory is given in Table 29 in the Documentary Percentage column and in the Archaeological percentage column. In the case of shot, glass beads, and

Table 28 Comparison of Goods Common to the Archaeological and Documentary Inventories

	Archaeological Inventory		Documentary Inventory	
1.	glass bead	70,142	shot	10,465,200 *
2.	bead	16,581	glass bead	3,423,603 *
3.	kettle	38	musketball	191,828 *
	kettle part	1,289	gunflint	41,640
	recycled kettle brass	1,239	knife	28,390
4.	gunflint	397	needle	26,934 *
5.	knife	297	pin	15,072 *
6.	finger ring	233	finger ring	9,004
7.	shot	195	awl	8,426
8.	awl	120	hawk bell	7,980 *
9.	hawk bell	101	bead	3,185
10.	pipe	85	ax & tomahawk	2,813
11.	needle	78	firesteel	2,220
12.	firesteel	75	hair puller	2,097 *
13.	brooch	64	comb	2,028
14.	mirror glass	63	mirror glass	1,562
15.	gun & gun part	62	pipe	654
16.	button	61	kettle	643 *
17.	ax	25	ice chisel	426
18.	fishhook	23	button	388
19.	projectile point	22	hoe	366
20.	thimble	21	fishhook	325 *
21.	pin	20	buckle	284
22.	musketball	18	runtee	264
23.	hair puller	15	gun	238
24.	runtee	13	scissors	235
25.	bell	10	thimble	200
26.	comb	8	dagger	186
27.	scissors	8	dart (projectile point)	153
28.	spoon	6	file	115 *
29.	buckle	3	jew's harp	79
30.	fork	3	brooch	51 *
31.	dagger	2	fork	30
32.	jew's harp	2	pickaxe (mattock)	26
33.	file	1	pistol	20
34.	hoe	1	spoon	12
35.	ice chisel	1	bell	6
36.	ladle	1	ladle	1
37.	mattock	1	trim (braid)	
38.	pistol	1	cloth	
39.	braid		black lead (graphite)	
40.	cloth		vermilion	
41.	graphite		wire	
42.	vermilion			
43.	wire			

* estimated quantity

Table 29 Difference of Proportions Test: Archaeological vs. Documentary Goods

ITEM	ARCH OBSERVED	ARCH %	DOC OBSERVED	DOC %	TEST STATISTIC	DECISION
awl	120	.1352	8426	.0592	9.25	reject null
ax	25	.0281	2813	.0198	1.75	fail to reject
bead	16,581	18.6809	3185	.0224	1493.88	reject null
bell	10	.0113	6	.00004	33.03	reject null
brooch	64	.0721	51	.0004	76.28	reject null
buckle	3	.0034	284	.0020	.93	fail to reject
button	61	.0687	388	.0027	35.11	reject null
comb	8	.0090	2028	.0142	-1.30	fail to reject
dagger	2	.0023	186	.0013	.83	fail to reject
projectile pt./dart	22	.0248	153	.0011	20.26	reject null
file	1	.0011	115	.0008	.03	fail to reject
finger ring	233	.2625	9004	.0632	23.34	reject null
firesteel	75	.0845	2220	.0156	16.17	reject null
fishhook	23	.0259	325	.0023	14.30	reject null
fork	3	.0034	30	.0002	2.24	reject null
glass bead	70,142	79.0252	3,423,603	24.0488	380.25	reject null
gun/gun part	62	.0699	238	.0017	34.58	reject null
gunflint	397	.4473	41,640	.2925	8.50	reject null
hair puller	15	.0169	2097	.0147	.54	fail to reject
hawkbell	101	.1134	7980	.0561	7.17	reject null
hoe	1	.0011	366	.0026	-.88	fail to reject
ice chisel	1	.0011	426	.0030	-1.04	fail to reject
jew's harp	2	.0023	79	.0006	2.18	reject null
knife	297	.3346	28,390	.1994	8.98	reject null
ladle	1	.0011	1	.000007	9.94	reject null
mattock/pickaxe	1	.0011	26	.00018	2.14	reject null
mirror	63	.0710	1562	.0110	16.76	reject null
musketball	18	.0203	191,828	1.3475	-34.29	reject null
needle	78	.0879	26,934	.1892	-6.94	reject null
pipe	85	.0958	654	.0046	37.84	reject null
pin	20	.0225	15,072	.1059	-7.64	reject null
pistol	1	.0011	20	.00014	2.5263	reject null
runtee	13	.0146	264	.0019	8.64	reject null
scissors	8	.0090	235	.0017	5.29	reject null
shot	195	.2197	10,465,200	73.5120	-490.64	reject null
spoon	6	.0068	12	.00008	19.20	reject null
thimble	21	.0237	200	.0014	17.02	reject null

beads, there are dramatic contrasts in the percentage of the total that these goods represent in the two groups. But for many of the other types of goods on the lists, the similarity or contrast in the proportions they represent is less clear. To test whether the proportions represented by the goods in one inventory are significantly different from those in the other inventory, a difference of proportions test can be used (Blalock 1979). The null hypothesis for the test states that there is no significant difference between the proportion of total quantity that a given type of good represents in the documentary group and the proportion of total quantity it represents in the archaeological group. Table 29 gives the quantity of each item in each group and the percentage of total quantity that each item in each group represents. Then the computed test statistic for the difference of proportions test is given. To attain a 95% confidence level, the test statistic must be greater than -1.96 or less than 1.96. The Decision column in Table 29 indicates whether or not the null hypothesis could be rejected. Failure to reject the null hypothesis indicates that there is no significant difference between the proportion of total quantity represented by a given type of good in the documentary group versus the proportion it represents in the archaeological group.

Table 29 indicates that only eight of the thirty-seven types of goods represent similar proportions of total quantity in the two groups. The difference of proportions test demonstrates that, in terms of quantity, variation among types of goods is substantially different in the two inventories. A contributing factor in this outcome may be the fact that, in each group, a very small number of types of goods comprises a

very high proportion of the total quantity for the group. In the documentary inventory group, shot, glass beads, and musketballs make up 99% of the total number of goods. In the archaeological inventory group, glass beads and beads make up 98% of the total. This results in the other goods in the groups having very small proportional values.

Difference in Rank Test

Although the difference of proportions test indicates a substantial contrast in the proportions represented by quantities of goods in the two inventories, Table 28 reveals that, on an impressionistic basis, many types of goods occupy a similar position in the ranked order list for each inventory. The validity of this impression can be tested using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (Hammond and McCullagh 1980). The null hypothesis for the test states that there is no relationship between the ranked order list of goods from the archaeological inventory and the ranked order list of goods from the documentary inventory. A coefficient value of zero would indicate no relationship between the two ranked order lists; a coefficient value of +1 would indicate perfect agreement between the lists. The coefficient value computed for the two lists is .736. This indicates a positive correlation between the ranked order of goods in the two lists and allows the null hypothesis to be rejected. The difference in rank test demonstrates that although the quantities of goods in the two inventories are not proportionately similar, the ranked order of goods based on magnitude of quantity is similar.in spite of the contrasts between the two lists indicated by the difference of proportions test, they are statistically similar in terms

of ranked order based on relative magnitude of quantity.

Although the rank correlation test indicates that the ranked order lists from the two inventories are generally similar, it is the contrasts between the two lists that are especially interesting. In the documentary inventory, three of the top four items are firearms-related goods: shot, musketballs, and gunflints. Shot is far and away the most numerous item in the documentary list, out-numbering even glass beads three to one. Musketballs are third on the list and gunflints are fourth. In the archaeological list, however, of these three types of goods, only gunflints appear among the top four goods, ranking in fourth position. Gunflints out-number both shot, which is in seventh position, and musketballs, which fall all the way to twenty-second position. One would expect that far larger numbers of shot and musketballs would be expended than gunflints in the use of firearms and thus larger numbers of those items would be traded. In use, however, musketballs and shot were distributed over the landscape while gunflints could be saved and used with firesteels once they were no longer serviceable for firearms. This would produce a greater likelihood that gunflints would be recovered archaeologically. Further, the size differential between gunflints and shot especially, but also between gunflints and musketballs, is sufficient that if recovery techniques designed to retrieve small objects were not used in excavation, it would select against the recovery of shot and musketballs. The documentary list indicates that shot and musketballs were indeed obtained in much larger numbers than gunflints, which in turn indicates that shot and musketballs are markedly under-represented in archaeological

assemblages.

The fact that shot outnumbers glass beads by a wide margin in the documentary inventory is also eye-opening from an archaeological standpoint. In the archaeological inventory, beads are far and away the most numerous item, which is commonly the case on historical period Indian sites. Clearly, both of these items were traded in large numbers. They are also both small items that would be susceptible to loss. Yet beads are found on sites by the thousands while there are less than 200 pieces of shot in the archaeological inventory. The striking contrast in the relationship between shot and beads in the documentary inventory versus the relationship between shot and beads in the archaeological inventory is a matter of use and deposition. Shot was an expendable item that was distributed far and wide during use. Beadwork, on the other hand, was done in a domestic setting making the likelihood of archaeological recovery of lost beads fairly high. The inclusion of beads in burials also contributed to the probability of archaeological recovery.

Trader Expenditure

Although the numerous kinds of units in which quantity was measured in the MMR invoices created problems with comparison, the invoices do quantify goods in another unit of measurement that is common to all types of goods. That unit of measurement is trader expenditure. In each entry in the invoices, the cost of the goods was recorded in livres, sols, and deniers. All types of goods in the documentary

inventory, then, can be quantified on the basis of the amount the trader invested in them. Trader expenditure for goods recorded in the MMR offers a comparative view of goods that moved through the trade system.

Total trader expenditure for each type of good was computed from the entries in each invoice. Then, the percentage of total expenditure represented by each type of trade good was calculated. These figures are presented in Table 30. These percentage figures could then be summed for all types of goods in each functional category to determine the percentage of expenditure represented by each category. The relationships between categories indicated by the percentage of trader expenditure was then compared to the relationships between categories indicated by percentage of trade good quantity in the archaeological inventory. This comparison is shown in Table 31. Clearly, the main difference between these views of the flow of goods through the system is the contrast between the Clothing category and the Adornment category. The archaeological inventory is heavily dominated by the Adornment category which is, of course, a function of the huge numbers of beads recovered archaeologically. The documentary inventory, on the other hand, suggests the strong importance of the Clothing category. This reflects the heavy expenditure on the part of the trader for finished clothing as well as for bolt cloth and the implements and accessories that went into making clothing.

Although the categories commanding the largest frequency percentage in the two inventories are different, how do the two inventories compare overall in the representation of the categories? To address this

Table 30 Percentage of Total Expenditure

	Item	% of Expend.		Item	% of Expend.
1.	cloth	29.0606	44.	awl	.1241
2.	blanket	10.3871	45.	pipe	.0920
3.	gunpowder	9.3172	46.	gunworm	.0908
4.	capote	6.5363	47.	breeches	.0902
5.	shirt	5.7687	48.	pistol	.0826
6.	brandy	3.8906	49.	dress suit	.0807
7.	kettle	3.0453	50.	dart	.0801
8.	shot	2.7843	51.	garter	.0774
9.	gun	2.4427	52.	scissors	.0770
10.	knife	2.4425	53.	runtee	.0747
11.	mantelet	2.1770	54.	buckle	.0651
12.	sleeve	2.1330	55.	pin	.0579
13.	vermilion	2.0972	56.	hair puller	.0533
14.	legging	1.8834	57.	file	.0453
15.	tobacco	1.7476	58.	bayonet	.0431
16.	ax	1.6833	59.	gown	.0431
17.	musketball	1.4543	60.	dress	.0366
18.	tomahawk	1.0010	61.	glove	.0357
19.	thread	.9659	62.	button	.0320
20.	wine	.9526	63.	pickaxe	.0289
21.	glass bead	.6468	64.	fishing line	.0217
22.	trim	.6099	65.	adze	.0215
23.	gartering	.5220	66.	net	.0197
24.	yarn	.5042	67.	shawl	.0191
25.	mirror	.4581	68.	verdigris	.0180
26.	stocking	.4020	69.	mitten	.0162
27.	cap	.3377	70.	rasp	.0135
28.	ice chisel	.3032	71.	scarf	.0130
29.	necklace	.2768	72.	thimble	.0119
30.	shoe	.2761	73.	jew's harp	.0103
31.	hawk bell	.2535	74.	tuque	.0096
32.	comb	.2410	75.	fishhook	.0050
33.	wire	.2295	76.	fork	.0042
34.	hat	.2012	77.	bell	.0040
35.	dagger	.1924	78.	azure	.0038
36.	finger ring	.1907	79.	laces	.0036
37.	needle	.1898	80.	fan	.0028
38.	bead	.1629	81.	powder horn	.0027
39.	gunsheath	.1592	82.	spoon	.0027
40.	firesteel	.1533	83.	brooch	.0012
41.	gunflint	.1395	84.	black lead	.0011
42.	handkerchief	.1366	85.	brush	.0011
43.	hoe	.1251	86.	ladle	.0007

Table 31 Comparison of Documentary Expenditure and Archaeological Quantity

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY	Percentage of Expenditure: Documentary	Percentage of Quantity: Archaeological
CLOTHING	62.85%	.34%
HUNTING	17.00%	.94%
COOKING & EATING	5.65%	3.30%
DRINKING	4.84%	.26%
ADORNMENT	3.73%	94.90%
TOBACCO USE	1.84%	.09%
WOODWORKING	1.70%	.04%
WEAPONS	1.32%	.02%
GROOMING	.75%	.10%
DIGGING & CULTIVATION	.15%	.002%
MAINTENANCE	.06%	.001%
FISHING	.05%	.04%
AMUSEMENTS	.01%	.003%
STORAGE		.01%

question, Spearman's rank correlation coefficient can be used to test the similarity in the ranked order of categories for the two inventories. The coefficient value obtained is .814, indicating a strong positive correlation between the two ranked order lists. This indicates that in spite of the differences between the Adornment and Clothing categories, there is a great deal of similarity in the way the two inventories represent the relationships between the categories.

Rate of Frequency

The MMR provide an opportunity to examine whether some types of goods were traded on a more frequent basis than others. If a given type of good was traded on a very frequent basis, this would be reflected in the MMR invoices by the fact that the trader purchased it frequently. By the same token, a type of good that was traded only occasionally would be purchased less frequently.

The logistical cycle of re-supplying the interior posts generally took place on a yearly basis. Fresh goods and supplies were taken into the interior during the warm weather months each year. The precise temporal control provided by the dated MMR invoices allows a view of the year-to-year shipment of goods to the posts. Using this information, the frequency at which goods were traded can be measured according to the number of years they were shipped to the posts.

Looking back at Table 2, we can see that forty-nine single year shipments of goods were recorded for the eight posts. This means that

the rate of frequency at which a given type of trade good was shipped into the western Great Lakes region could be measured on a scale from one to forty-nine.

The question that can be posed, then, is: how were the different types of goods distributed across the range of frequencies? A frequency value was determined for each type of trade good by counting the number of years it was shipped to the posts. For example, axes were shipped to Green Bay in eleven out of eleven years, to Nipigon in three out of three years, to the Sioux post in four out of four years, to Rainy Lake six out of six years, to Detroit in three out of nine years, to Michipicoten in one out of one year, to Ouiatenon in three out of five years, and to Michilimackinac in four out of ten years. The frequency value for axes, then, is thirty-five, which is the number of years out of the possible forty-nine in which they were shipped to the eight posts. In this manner, frequency values were calculated for all eighty-six types of goods.

The next question was, how could frequency be expressed for a whole category rather than for an individual type of good? We can think of the inventory of goods as having a possible total frequency value. If all types of goods had been shipped every year, then the total possible frequency value is the product of the number of types of goods multiplied by the total number of years (86 x 49 = 2214). Of course, all types of goods were not shipped every year, so an actual total frequency value for the inventory can be obtained by totaling the actual frequency values for all types of goods (1543). A frequency value for each

functional category can be obtained, then, by totaling the frequency values for each type of good in each category. This figure can be expressed as a percentage of total frequency by dividing it by the total actual frequency value for the inventory. For example, the total of the frequency values for all goods in the Clothing category is 616. Dividing this by the total actual frequency value (1543) and multiplying by 100 produces a frequency percentage of 39.9%. In this way, the relative frequency of trade represented by categories could be compared. The percentage frequencies are listed in Table 32.

For purposes of comparison, the rate of frequency at which goods were traded cannot be measured archaeologically. But the frequency at which types of goods appear on sites can be measured. While this does not measure rate of frequency in the way that was done with the documentary data, it does provide a basis for comparison between the two inventories.

A frequency percentage value was obtained for the functional categories in the same way that it was done for the documentary data. First, a frequency value was determined for each type of good based upon the number of sites at which it occurred. These values were summed to produce a total frequency value for the inventory. Then, the sum of the frequency values for the goods in each category was divided by the total frequency value. This produced a frequency percentage value for each category.

Table 32 presents the frequency percentage values for the categories.

Table 32 Comparison of Documentary Frequency and Archaeological Frequency

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY	Frequency of Trade %: Documentary	Frequency of Occurence %: Archaeological
CLOTHING	39.9%	13.7%
HUNTING	18.1%	12.5%
ADORNMENT	10.6%	32.9%
COOKING & EATING	7.5%	19.2%
GROOMING	5.3%	3.9%
DRINKING	4.6%	2.0%
TOBACCO USE	4.2%	2.7%
WEAPONS	3.3%	2.7%
WOODWORKING	2.5%	3.9%
DIGGING & CULTIVATION	1.6%	.8%
MAINTENANCE	1.2%	.4%
FISHING	.58%	3.1%
AMUSEMENTS	.52%	1.2%
STORAGE		.8%

These may be compared with the frequency percentage values for the documentary inventory. The archaeological inventory indicates that Adornment category goods occur most frequently at sites, while the documentary inventory indicates that Clothing category goods were traded most frequently. The predominance of the Clothing category in the documentary inventory and the predominance of the Adornment category in the archaeological inventory is consistent with the results of the previous comparison of quantity in the archaeological inventory with expenditure in the documentary inventory.

Here too, a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient test was conducted to examine the overall similarity or contrast between the way the categories are represented by each inventory. The test produced a coefficient value of .794, indicating a positive correlation between the two ranked order lists of categories. As with the comparison between documentary expenditure and archaeological quantity, the two inventories display considerable agreement in the representation of the relationships between the categories.

Burial Sites vs. Habitation Sites

In Chapter 6, it was demonstrated that some types of goods in the archaeological inventory occur exclusively on either burial sites or habitation sites. The question that needs to be addressed is whether the inventories from burial sites and habitation sites are significantly different in the way they represent functional categories of goods. And further, is there a different relationship between the documentary

inventory and the burial site inventory or between the documentary inventory and the habitation site inventory than there is between the documentary inventory and the archaeological inventory as a whole?

Let us look first at the way the burial site inventory compares to the habitation site inventory in representing the functional categories. This comparison was carried out similar to the way the comparisons described above between the archaeological and the documentary inventories were carried out. First, the two inventories were compared on the basis of the percentage of quantities of goods in functional categories. The percentage figures are presented in Table 33. Then a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient test was performed to compare the degree of agreement between the ranked order of categories for each invetory. This produced a test value of .785, indicating a positive correlation between the two lists of categories.

The same procedure was carried out to compare the two inventories on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of functional categories of goods on sites. Frequency percentages were obtained in the same way described above for the archaeological inventory as a whole. These figures are presented in Table 34. Then, the ranked order of the categories was compared using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient. The coefficient value that resulted is .739 indicating a positive correlation between the two ranked order lists.

These comparisons suggest that at least in terms of the way the functional categories are represented, there is a substantial degree of

Table 33 Comparison of Habitation and Burial Sites: Quantities of Goods

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE ON HABITATION SITES	PERCENTAGE ON BURIAL SITES
ADORNMENT	70.86%	98.80%
COOKING & EATING	18.07%	.86%
HUNTING	6.15%	.10%
DRINKING	1.84%	.005%
CLOTHING	1.65%	.13%
TOBACCO USE	.51%	.03%
GROOMING	.45%	.04%
FISHING	.23%	.004%
WOODWORKING	.15%	.02%
WEAPONS	.05%	.01%
AMUSEMENTS	.02%	
DIGGING & CULTIVATION	.007%	.001%
MAINTENANCE	.007%	
STORAGE		.01%

Table 34 Comparison of Habitation and Burial Sites: Frequency of Goods

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE ON HABITATION SITES	PERCENTAGE ON BURIAL SITES
ADORNMENT	29.71%	36.75%
COOKING & EATING	18.84%	19.66%
HUNTING	15.94%	8.55%
CLOTHING	15.22%	11.97%
WOODWORKING	4.35%	3.42%
FISHING	3.62%	2.56%
DRINKING	2.90%	.85%
GROOMING	2.17%	5.98%
TOBACCO USE	2.17%	3.42%
AMUSEMENTS	2.17%	
WEAPONS	1.45%	4.27%
DIGGING & CULTIVATION	.72%	.85%
MAINTENANCE	.72%	
STORAGE		1.71%

concordance between the burial and the habitation inventories. This would lead one to suspect that using an archaeological inventory of goods taken either exclusively from burial sites or exclusively from habitation sites would not make a substantial difference in the comparison of functional categories of goods from archaeological and documentary inventories. This prospect can be tested by making the same comparisons between the burial site inventory and the documentary inventory and between the habitation site inventory and the documentary inventory as were made between the archaeological inventory as a whole and the documentary inventory. This comparison was set up in much the same way as the comparison between the total archaeological inventory and the documentary inventory. For the sake of economy, the reader is referred to the description of that comparison as a guide to the way this comparison was carried out. Suffice it to say here that the burial site inventory and the documentary inventory were compared in two ways. First, the documentary inventory categories ranked according to expenditure for goods were compared to the burial site inventory categories ranked according to quantity of goods. Then, the documentary inventory categories ranked according to rate of frequency of trade were compared to the burial site inventory categories ranked according to frequency of occurrence of goods on sites. The same set of comparisons were also conducted between the habitation site inventory and the documentary inventory.

As in the other comparisons, the similarity of the ranked order lists was examined using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient. The comparison of documentary inventory categories ranked by expenditure

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with habitation site inventory categories ranked by quantities of goods produced a correlation coefficient value of .836. The comparison of documentary inventory categories ranked by rate of frequency at which goods were traded with habitation site inventory categories ranked by the frequency of occurrence of goods on sites produced a coefficient value of .726. The comparison of documentary inventory categories ranked by expenditure with burial site inventory categories ranked by quantities of goods produced a coefficient value of .739. The comparison of documentary inventory categories ranked by rate of frequency at which goods were traded with burial site inventory categories ranked by frequency of occurrence of goods on sites produced a coefficient value of .810. All of the coefficient values indicate a positive correlation between the archaeological inventories of both kinds and the documentary inventory. The analysis demonstrates that on the basis of ranked ordering of functional categories, the degree of similarity between the archaeological and documentary inventories is not significantly altered if the archaeological inventory is composed either exclusively of data from burial sites or exclusively of data from habitation sites. The analysis suggests, in other words, that the two types of sites record similar relationships between functional categories of goods. Implications of the patterned relationships among functional categories observed in archaeological and documentary data for understanding Indian adaptation to the fur trade are considered in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeological research on historical period Indian sites has contributed to our understanding of the adoption of European trade goods by Indian peoples. It is argued, however, that a clear picture cannot emerge without examining documentary data in conjunction with archaeological data. Importantly, the two data sets present different perspectives on trade goods and offer different information. This study emphasizes examining the way that both archaeological and documentary data represent the flow of goods through the trade system into the western Great Lakes region during the French period.

Although the archaeological literature makes reference to the flow of European goods into Indian societies, this mainly takes the form of occasioanl comments and observations. An archaeological perspective on the issue has not been articulated in detail. One of the objectives of this study was to systematically examine archaeological data regarding trade goods in the western Great Lakes region. The archaeological perspective could then be examined in relation to documentary data.

An important element of the approach used in this study is that the archaeological and documentary inventories of trade goods were examined on the basis of functional categories of goods. Using functional

categories allows numerous individual types of goods to be organized into a more informative framework and also helps clarify the range of purposes for which trade goods were used.

Interestingly, although the archaeological and documentary inventories each include a substantial number of types of goods which the other inventory does not, the differences in types of goods did not require markedly different sets of functional categories to be constructed. The two data sets could be accommodated by virtually the same set of categories; only one category was created that did not contain goods from both inventories. The differences between the inventories are not a matter of the representation of completely different categories. Instead, the differences are a matter of the way the inventories represent the categories.

The main contrast in the archaeological and documentary inventories is the representation of the Clothing category. The documentary inventory suggests that clothing and textiles were primary goods in the trade. The archaeological inventory, however, does not impart the same importance to the Clothing category. The discrepancy between the two inventories is a matter of preservation bias in the archaeological record. Clothing related artifacts do appear in the archaeological inventory and even cloth is present in the archaeological record. But these materials do not convey the importance of cloth in the trade suggested by the documentary inventory.

It was stated at the beginning of the study that one of the expectations

of the documentary record was that it would provide a record of perishable goods that the archaeological record would not. This is an obvious expectation, but it is important that the documentary record can make explicit statements about the effects of preservation bias. In this case, this is clearly a very important role of the documentary record. It reveals that perishable goods in general, and cloth and clothing in particular, were mainstays of the trade. Perishable goods, by virtue of their need for replenishment, generated more constant demand. The trade in cloth and clothing, and other perishable commodities, was, to a considerable extent, the impetus that drove the fur trade.

In contrast to the emphasis on the Clothing category indicated by the documentary inventory, the archaeological data indicate a primary emphasis on the Adornment category. An important factor in the archaeological emphasis on Adornment is the huge numbers of beads that are found on Indian sites. On the basis of sheer numbers, beads commonly account for a very high percentage of the total number of artifacts in any given assemblage.

Beads are not the only factor involved, however. The archaeological Adornment category includes more types of items than the documentary Adornment category. The archaeological record documents the fact that Adornment items were obtained through sources other than the merchant-trader supply system. What is more, Adornment items were the single most numerous type of items obtained through other sources. Of the forty-five types of goods that are exclusive to the archaeological

inventory, more of those goods are Adornment items than any other type.

The archaeological inventory suggests the importance of Adornment items in the trade. This perspective is certainly influenced by the huge numbers of beads recovered from archaeological sites. It might be argued that this factor causes the archaeological perspective to exaggerate the importance of the category. However, as was discussed above, numbers of beads is not the only aspect of the archaeological inventory that points to the importance of the Adornment category. Importantly, the archaeological record documents numerous types of adornment items that do not appear in the MMR invoices. Thus the archaeological inventory provides a view of the importance of adornment items that is not conveyed by the documentary inventory.

Although the archaeological and documentary inventories present varying views of the emphasis on the Clothing and Adornment categories, it is equally important that the two inventories display general consistency in the overall representation of the relationships between the categories. The examination of the ranked order listings of categories for the two inventories indicated that the inventories were in substantial agreement concerning the relative emphasis on categories. In other words, both inventories were generally in agreement about which categories were major categories and which categories were minor categories.

Referring back to the ranked order listings of categories for both inventories, it can be suggested that the Clothing, Hunting, Adornment,

and Cooking and Eating categories tend to be the top four categories. Storage, Maintenance, and Amusements tend to be among the last four categories. In the documentary inventory, Fishing is the other category among the last four. In the archaeological inventory, Digging and Cultivation is the other category among the last four. Grooming, Drinking, Woodworking, Tobacco Use, and Weapons tend to be the middle group of categories, joined by Digging and Cultivation in the documentary inventory, and by Fishing in the archaeological inventory.

The consistency in the relationships among the categories indicated by both inventories suggests patterns in the way Indian peoples traded for different types of European goods. These patterns, it is suggested, have implications for understanding Indian adoption of European technology and the impact it had upon native societies.

Cloth and Clothing

The most striking result of the analysis is the strong emphasis on cloth and clothing across the region. The MMR data suggest that these categories were a major focus of native trading. This observation has implications for understanding the part that native women played in the fur trade. Access to ready-made clothing, bolt cloth and blankets, along with iron awls, pins, needles, and thread probably reduced the amount of time and labor that women had to invest in the production of clothing. It seems likely that women probably had considerable input into the decision about the types of goods to be obtained in trade. Further, the savings in time and labor could have been reinvested in the

production of clothing in the form of time spent adorning articles of attire with beadwork. Or it could have been invested in endeavors associated with the fur trade, such as the processing of pelts or the production of other trade commodities such as garden produce. If the trade in clothing and textiles reduced the domestic labor requirements for women and allowed them to become more involved in activities related to the trade, it may have had an important impact on women's roles in historical period Indian societies.

Subsistence

The main impact of European trade goods upon native subsistence appears to have been the use of firearms in hunting. The strong emphasis on the Hunting category translates into a strong emphasis on the firearms complex which dominates that category. Of course, the extent to which firearms were used as weapons is, of course, a factor in interpreting the emphasis on this category. Firearms were included in the Hunting category rather than the Weapons category based on the assumption that they were more routinely used as hunting tools. There is little evidence in the archaeological and documentary inventories that can shed light on this question. In the MMR invoices, shot commands more expenditure than musketballs which might suggest an emphasis on hunting over warfare, especially small game hunting, but this is speculative. It may also be noted that other European weaponry was not a major category of trade.

It is interesting to note, however, that other than the use of firearms

in hunting, European goods appear to have played a minor role in subsistence pursuits. One might have expected that cultivating tools such as hoes may have been a popular trade item in the more southerly reaches of the western Great Lakes region, or that fishing implements would have been commonly traded in the more northerly part of the region. While both fishing gear and cultivating tools do appear in the invoices, they are minor trade goods. Although it must be pointed out that thread in the invoices was included in the Clothing category and it is quite possible that at least some of the thread was used for making nets. On the whole, however, it appears that with the exception of firearms, Indian peoples made relatively little use of European technology in subsistence pursuits.

Essentials vs. Non-Essentials

The evidence also suggests that there was generally an emphasis on what might be considered essential materials over non-essential materials. Clothing, Hunting, and Cooking and Eating were clearly among the major categories of goods, along with Adornment which is the exception to the pattern. These categories predominated over what might be considered non-essential categories such as Grooming, Drinking, and Tobacco Use.

In conclusion, this study makes important contributions on two levels. First, it contributes to our understanding of the way native peoples in the western Great Lakes region responded to, and participated in, the fur trade. It does not lend support to the commonly-held perception that for Indian peoples, the fur trade was an increasingly imperative

quest for European metal goods upon which they were rapidly becoming dependent. Rather, it suggests that while metal implements were certainly part of the trade, Indian peoples were interested in a variety of European commodities. Further, by looking at trade goods in terms of functional categories, it allows us to go beyond the view that "Indians were interested in metal goods" and look more specifically at the types of activities that were represented by the body of goods that Indian peoples sought to obtain.

And second, a more general consequence of the research is that it demonstrates the importance of taking advantage of the documentary record in historical archaeology. It is often the case in historical archaeology that we use the archaeological record but neglect the use of the documentary record. It is also the case, of course, that the archaeological record provides information regarding the consumption of European goods by Indian peoples. But an important strength of historical archaeology is the opportunity to examine both records and take advantage of the complementary information they provide.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Documentary Inventory of Trade Goods

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
adze	flat	0	0	0
adze	round	0	0	0
awl	0	0	0	0
awl	canoe	0	0	0
awl	straight	0	0	0
ax	0	0	0	0
ax	0	0	0	local
ax	0	0	0	steel.edge.local
ax	0	large	0	0
ax	0	medium	0	0
ax	biscayan	0	0	0
ax	biscayan	large	0	0
ax	duty	0	0	0
ax	duty	medium	0	0
ax	iron	0	0	steel.edge
ax	iron	large	0	steel.edge
ax	iron	small	0	steel.edge
ax	trade	0	0	0
ax	trade	medium	0	0
azure	0	0	0	0
bayonet	0	0	0	0
bayonet	0	0	0	w/scabbard
bayonet	dagger.style	0	0	0
bayonet	fine	0	0	0
bead	shell	0	tubular	0
bead	shell	finger.long	tubular	0
bead	shell	long	tubular	0
bead	wampum	0	black.white	0
bell	0	small	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
black.lead	0	0	0	0
blanket	0	0	white	0
blanket	1.5.pt.	0	0	0
blanket	1.pt.	0	0	0
blanket	2.5.pt.	0	0	0
blanket	2.pt.	0	0	0
blanket	3.pt.	0	0	0
blanket	4.pt.	0	0	0
blanket	8.pt.	0	green	0
blanket	cradle	0	0	0
blanket	woolen	0	blue	0
brandy	0	0	0	0
brandy	0	0	0	mix.wine
breeches	0	0	0	0
breeches	cadis	0	0	Aignan
breeches	camelot	0	red	0
breeches	cotton	0	0	local
breeches	cotton	0	0	trimmed.local
breeches	cotton	5/4.wide	0	0
breeches	cotton	5/4.wide	0	local
breeches	cotton	5/4.wide	0	trimmed.local
breeches	cotton.linen	5/4.wide	0	local
breeches	morlaix	0	0	trimmed.local
brooch	0	0	0	0
brooch	silver	0	0	0
brush	hair	0	0	0
buckle	0	0	0	0
buckle	0	man's	0	0
buckle	0	woman's	0	0
buckle	belt	woman's	0	0
buckle	iron	0	0	0
buckle	shoe	0	0	0
buckle	similor	man's	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
buckle	similor	woman's	0	0
buckle	steel	0	0	0
buckle	steel	man's	0	0
buckle	steel	man's	polished	0
buckle	tombac	0	0	0
buckle	tombac	woman's	0	0
button	0	sleeve	0	0
button	gauze.covered	0	0	0
button	goat's.hair	0	0	0
button	hair	0	0	0
button	pewter	sleeve	0	0
button	silver	0	0	on.tape
button	similor	sleeve	0	0
button	tombac	0	0	0
cap	0	0	red	0
cap	0	0	scarlet	0
cap	0	junior	scarlet	plain
cap	cotton	0	0	0
cap	Segovia	0	0	0
cap	Segovia	man's	0	0
cap	Segovia	man's	0	lined
cap	tapabord	0	0	0
cap	tapabord.molton	0	carise.lined	local
cap	tapabord.molton	0	carise.lined	trimmed.local
cap	tapabord.woolen	0	0	trimmed.local
capote	0	0	0	0
capote	0	0	0	trimmed
capote	0	1.ells	0	0
capote	0	1.ells	0	trimmed
capote	0	1.25.ells	0	0
capote	0	1.5.ells	0	0
capote	0	2.ells	0	0
capote	0	2.5.ells	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
capote	0	3.ells	0	0
capote	0	3.5.ells	0	0
capote	0	4.ells	0	0
capote	0	4.ells.large	0	0
capote	0	large	0	0
capote	0	man's	0	0
capote	0	small	0	0
capote	0	woman's	0	0
capote	cadis	5.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	cadis	5.125.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	1.ells	0	local
capote	dourgne	1.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	1.ells	colored	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	1.ells	purple	local
capote	dourgne	1.ells	white	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	1.25.ells	0	local
capote	dourgne	1.5.ells	0	local
capote	dourgne	1.5.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	1.5.ells	colored	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	1.5.ells	purple	local
capote	dourgne	1.5.ells	purple	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	2.ells	0	local
capote	dourgne	2.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	2.ells	colored	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	2.ells	purple	local
capote	dourgne	2.5.ells	0	local
capote	dourgne	2.5.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	2.5.ells	colored	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	2.5.ells	purple	local
capote	dourgne	3.ells	0	local
capote	dourgne	3.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	3.ells	purple	local
capote	dourgne	3.5.ells	0	local

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
capote	dourgne	3.5.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	3.5.ells	blue.brown	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	3.5.ells	colored	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	3.5.ells	purple	local
capote	dourgne	3.5.ells	white	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	3.75.ells	0	hooded.local
capote	dourgne	3.75.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	4.ells	0	local
capote	dourgne	4.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	4.ells	colored	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	4.ells	purple	local
capote	dourgne	4.ells	purple	trimmed.local
capote	dourgne	4.ells	white	local
capote	dourgne	4.ells	white	trimmed.local
capote	mazamet	0	0	trimmed
capote	mazamet	3.5.ells	0	local
capote	mazamet	5.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	mazamet	5.5.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	mazamet	medium	0	trimmed.local
capote	molton	1.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	molton	1.5.ells	purple	trimmed.local
capote	molton	2.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	molton	2.ells	purple	trimmed.local
capote	molton	2.5.ells	purple	trimmed.local
capote	molton	3.ells	white	local
capote	molton	3.2.ells	white	hooded.local
capote	molton	3.5.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	molton	3.5.ells	purple	trimmed.local
capote	molton	4.ells	0	trimmed.local
capote	woolen	small	0	trimmed.local
cloth	bark	0	0	silken
cloth	batiste	0	0	0
cloth	batiste	0	0	checkered

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
cloth	bazin	0	0	0
cloth	bazin	0	0	striped
cloth	beaufort	0	0	0
cloth	bon.teint	0	0	0
cloth	brin	0	0	0
cloth	cadis	0	0	0
cloth	cadis	0	0	Aignan
cloth	cadis	0	0	woolen
cloth	cadis	0	black	0
cloth	calmande	0	0	0
cloth	calmande	0	0	fine
cloth	calmande	0	0	flowered
cloth	calmande	0	0	striped
cloth	calmande	0	black	0
cloth	calmande	0	lively.colors	0
cloth	camelot	0	0	striped
cloth	carise	0	0	0
cloth	cotton	0	0	0
cloth	cotton	1/2.wide	0	fine
cloth	cotton	3/4.wide	0	0
cloth	cotton	5/4.wide	0	0
cloth	cotton	7/8.wide	0	0
cloth	damask	0	0	0
cloth	dourgne	0	0	0
cloth	dourgne	0	blue	0
cloth	dourgne	0	purple	0
cloth	dourgne	0	red	0
cloth	dourgne	wide	0	0
cloth	drugget	0	0	flowered
cloth	flannel	0	0	0
cloth	frieze	0	blue	0
cloth	gauze	0	0	flowered
cloth	gauze	0	black	spotted

Appendix A (Cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
cloth	gauze	0	white	plain
cloth	gingham	0	0	0
cloth	grass.linen	0	0	0
cloth	linen	0	0	0
cloth	linen	0	0	Laval
cloth	linen	0	0	Lyon
cloth	linen	0	0	Paris
cloth	linen	0	0	Rouen
cloth	linen	0	0	St.Jean
cloth	linen	0	grey	Cholet
cloth	linen	0	pink	Germany
cloth	linen	0	yellow	0
cloth	linen	0	yellow	Cholet
cloth	linen	2/3.wide	0	St.Jean
cloth	linen	3/4.wide	0	fine
cloth	mazamet	0	0	0
cloth	mazamet	0	blue	0
cloth	melis	0	0	0
cloth	molton	0	0	0
cloth	molton	0	blue	0
cloth	molton	0	blue	Bayette
cloth	molton	0	blue	Bourg
cloth	molton	0	blue	fine
cloth	molton	0	purple	0
cloth	molton	0	purple	fine
cloth	molton	0	red	0
cloth	molton	0	red	Bayette
cloth	molton	0	red	Bourg
cloth	molton	0	red	fine
cloth	molton	0	white	0
cloth	molton	0	white	Bayette
cloth	molton	0	white	Bourg
cloth	morlaix	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
cloth	morlaix	2/3.wide	0	0
cloth	morlaix	3/4.wide	0	fine
cloth	morlaix.linen	0	0	0
cloth	morlaix.linen	1/2.wide	0	0
cloth	morlaix.linen	2/3.wide	0	0
cloth	morlaix.linen	wide	0	0
cloth	muslin	0	0	0
cloth	muslin	3/4.wide	0	0
cloth	muslin	5/4.wide	0	0
cloth	muslin	5/4.wide	0	clear
cloth	muslin	7/8.wide	0	clear
cloth	pinchina	0	0	all.wool
cloth	revesche	0	blue	0
cloth	revesche	0	white	0
cloth	satin	0	0	0
cloth	satinet	0	0	0
cloth	serge	0	0	0
cloth	serge	0	brown	0
cloth	short.nap	0	0	Maroc
cloth	taffeta	0	0	0
cloth	trade.linen	1/2.wide	0	0
cloth	trade.linen	2/3.wide	0	0
cloth	trade.linen	wide	0	0
cloth	woolen	0	0	0
cloth	woolen	0	0	Bureau
cloth	woolen	0	0	England
cloth	woolen	0	0	England?
cloth	woolen	0	blue	0
cloth	woolen	0	blue	Bureau
cloth	woolen	0	blue	England
cloth	woolen	0	blue	England?
cloth	woolen	0	blue	France
cloth	woolen	0	blue	Holland

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
cloth	woolen	0	red	0
cloth	woolen	0	red	Bureau
cloth	woolen	0	red	England
cloth	woolen	0	red	England?
cloth	woolen	0	red	France
cloth	woolen	0	red	Holland
cloth	woolen	0	red/blue	0
comb	0	0	0	0
comb	0	fine.tooth	0	0
comb	0	large	0	0
comb	0	small	0	0
comb	boxwood	0	0	0
comb	boxwood	fine.tooth	0	0
comb	boxwood	large	0	0
comb	boxwood	large.No.1	0	0
comb	boxwood	No.1	0	0
comb	boxwood	No.2	0	0
comb	boxwood	No.3	0	0
comb	boxwood	No.4	0	0
comb	horn	0	0	0
comb	horn	0	wig	0
comb	horn	fine.tooth	0	0
comb	ivory	0	0	0
comb	trade	0	0	0
comb	wooden	0	0	0
dagger	0	0	0	0
dagger	0	0	0	Campeau
dagger	0	0	0	Lacombe
dagger	0	large	0	0
dagger	decorated	0	0	0
dagger	flat	0	0	0
dagger	sheath	0	0	0
dagger	Sioux.style	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
dart	0	0	0	0
dart	0	large	0	0
dart	0	small	0	0
dart	beaver	0	0	0
dart	beaver	0	0	Sioux.style
dart	raccoon	0	0	0
dart	sturgeon	0	0	0
dress	0	0	0	0
dress	0	girl's	0	0
dress.suit	woolen	0	0	trimmed.local
dress.suit	woolen	0	blue	0
fan	0	0	0	0
file	0	0	0	0
file	0	0	0	Germany
file	0	0	0	Holland
file	0	large	0	0
file	0	medium	0	0
file	0	small	0	0
file	assorted	small	0	0
file	bastard	0	0	0
file	bastard	small	0	0
file	dead	0	0	0
file	flat	0	0	0
file	half.round	0	0	0
file	rat.tail	0	0	0
file	triangular	0	0	0
finger.ring	0	0	0	0
finger.ring	0	0	0	3.diamond
finger.ring	0	large	0	0
finger.ring	gilt	0	0	0
finger.ring	silver	0	0	diamond
finger.ring	silver	0	engagement	0
finger.ring	w/large.seal	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
finger.ring	w/seal	0	0	0
firesteel	0	0	0	0
firesteel	0	0	0	Holland
firesteel	0	0	polished	0
firesteel	0	0	polished	Holland
firesteel	0	No.6	0	0
firesteel	common	0	0	0
firesteel	oval	0	0	0
firesteel	round	0	0	0
fishhook	0	0	0	0
fishhook	barbed	0	0	0
fishing.line	0	0	0	0
fishing.line	sturgeon	0	0	0
fork	table	0	0	0
fork	table	0	steel	0
garter	0	0	0	0
garter	0	large	0	with.buckles
garter	silk.grenade	0	0	0
garter	tape.a.l'aumone	0	0	local
garter	woolen	0	0	0
gartering	0	0	0	0
gartering	0	0	0	Bordeaux
gartering	0	0	0	England
gartering	0	0	0	France
gartering	0	0	0	Holland
gartering	0	0	0	Rouen
gartering	0	0	flowered	Holland
gartering	0	wide	0	0
gartering	English.style	0	0	0
gartering	fine	0	0	0
gartering	new.style	0	0	0
glass.bead	0	0	0	0
glass.bead	0	0	agate	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
glass.bead	0	0	blue.white	0
glass.bead	0	0	milky.white	0
glass.bead	0	large	0	0
glass.bead	0	small	0	0
glass.bead	0	small	blue	0
glass.bead	0	small	blue.white	0
glass.bead	0	small	green	0
glass.bead	0	small	white	0
glass.bead	0	very.small	0	0
glass.bead	0	very.small	white	0
glass.bead	garnet	0	0	mock
glass.bead	imitation.wampum	0	white	0
glass.bead	olive.shaped	0	milky.white	0
glass.bead	olive.shaped	0	white	0
glove	0	woman's	0	Blois
glove	0	woman's	white	0
glove	fine	man's	0	0
glove	fine	woman's	0	0
glove	menotte	woman's	white	0
glove	siamese	man's	0	0
gown	calmande	infant	bright	local
gown	calmande	infant	pale	local
gun	0	0	0	0
gun	0	0	0	brass.hardware
gun	0	0	0	fancy.hardware
gun	0	0	0	Tulle
gun	0	0	0	w/sheath
gun	0	3.5.feet	0	semi.fancy.hard
gun	0	3.feet	0	semi.fancy.hard
gun	0	4.5.feet	lacquered	0
gun	0	4.feet	0	0
gun	0	long	0	0
gun	0	long	0	silver.hardware

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
gun	fancy	0	0	silver.hardware
gun	fancy	long	0	silver.hardware
gun	fine	0	0	0
gun	fine	4.5.feet	0	0
gun	fowling	0	0	semi.fancy.hard
gun	Thiollier	0	0	0
gun	w/anchor.mark	0	0	0
gun	w/anchor.mark	0	bronzed	0
gun	w/anchor.mark	long	0	0
gun	w/dbl.anchor.mark	0	0	0
gun	w/dbl.anchor.mark	0	bronzed	0
gun	w/dbl.anchor.mark	long	0	0
gunflint	0	0	0	0
gunpowder	0	0	0	0
gunpowder	0	0	0	Bureau
gunpowder	0	0	0	Company.Indes
gunsheath	0	0	0	0
gunsheath	0	large	0	local
gunsheath	carise	0	0	0
gunsheath	carise	0	0	local
gunsheath	dourgne	0	0	0
gunsheath	dourgne	0	0	local
gunsheath	dourgne	very.large	0	local
gunsheath	flannel	0	0	local
gunworm	0	0	0	0
gunworm	0	large	0	0
gunworm	socketed	0	0	0
gunworm	strong	0	0	0
hair.puller	0	0	0	0
hair.puller	brass.wire	0	0	0
hair.puller	brass.wire	0	0	dalton
hair.puller	brass.wire	large	0	0
handkerchief	0	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
handkerchief	0	0	0	India
handkerchief	0	large	0	0
handkerchief	0	large	0	India
handkerchief	0	medium	0	India
handkerchief	0	pocket	0	0
handkerchief	0	pocket.large	0	0
handkerchief	0	small	0	0
handkerchief	cotton	0	0	0
handkerchief	cotton	0	0	India
handkerchief	cotton	large	0	0
handkerchief	cotton	small	0	0
handkerchief	silk	0	0	0
hat	0	0	0	0
hat	0	0	0	trimmed.local
hat	Caudebec	0	0	0
hat	Caudebec	0	0	trimmed.local
hat	Dauphine	0	0	trimmed.local
hat	half.beaver	0	0	0
hawk.bell	0	0	0	0
hawk.bell	0	extra.large	0	0
hawk.bell	0	large	0	0
hawk.bell	0	medium	0	0
hawk.bell	0	small	0	0
hoe	0	0	0	0
hoe	0	large	0	0
hoe	0	medium	0	0
ice.chisel	0	0	0	0
ice.chisel	strong	0	0	0
jew's.harp	0	0	0	0
jew's.harp	brass	0	0	0
kettle	0	0	0	0
kettle	0	0	0	Holland
kettle	0	7.25.lbs	0	covered

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
kettle	0	8.25.lbs	0	0
kettle	0	16.75.lbs	0	Holland
kettle	0	20.75.lbs	0	covered
kettle	0	26.lbs	0	covered
kettle	0	30.25.lbs	0	covered
kettle	0	31.5.lbs	0	covered
kettle	0	34.5.lbs	0	covered
kettle	0	46.5.lbs	0	covered
kettle	0	a.la.douz	0	0
kettle	0	a.la.douz	0	Holland
kettle	0	large	0	Holland
kettle	0	small	0	0
kettle	0	small	0	Holland
kettle	a.pot	25.5.lbs	0	covered
kettle	brass	0	0	0
kettle	English.style	0	0	0
kettle	English.style	0	0	Holland
kettle	red	0	0	0
kettle	round	0	0	0
kettle	round	small	0	10.piece
knife	0	0	0	0
knife	0	0	0	d'ermine
knife	0	0	0	Dauphine
knife	0	0	0	horn.handle
knife	0	0	0	wood.handle
knife	0	large	0	horn.handle
knife	0	large	0	wood.handle
knife	0	long	0	0
knife	0	medium	0	0
knife	0	small	0	0
knife	0	small	0	horn.handle
knife	0	small	0	wood.handle
knife	bizaillon	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
knife	bizaillon	0	0	round.tip
knife	bizaillon	large	0	0
knife	bizaillon	medium	0	0
knife	bizaillon	small	0	0
knife	butcher	0	0	0
knife	butcher	large	0	0
knife	butcher	medium	0	0
knife	butcher	small	0	0
knife	cartouche	0	0	0
knife	cartouche	0	0	w/sheath
knife	case	0	0	0
knife	crooked	0	0	0
knife	crooked	fine	0	0
knife	crooked	small	0	0
knife	flatin	0	0	0
knife	new.style	0	0	0
knife	pen	0	0	0
knife	pocket	0	0	0
knife	pocket	0	0	steel.trim
knife	siamese	0	0	0
knife	siamese	0	0	round.tip
knife	siamese	large	0	0
knife	siamese	large	0	pointed.tip
knife	siamese	large	0	round.tip
knife	siamese	large	0	w/horn.handle
knife	siamese	medium	0	0
knife	siamese	medium	0	pointed.tip
knife	siamese	medium	0	round.tip
knife	siamese	medium	0	w/horn.handle
knife	siamese	small	0	0
knife	siamese	small	0	w/horn.handle
knife	table	0	0	0
knife	teste.de.chien	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
knife	with.5.rivets	0	0	0
knife	yellow	small	0	0
laces	silk	0	0	0
laces	string	0	0	0
ladle	0	0	0	0
legging	dourgne	0	blue.purple	trimmed.local
legging	molton	0	0	trimmed.local
legging	molton	0	blue	0
legging	molton	0	blue	trimmed.local
legging	molton	0	blue.purple	trimmed.local
legging	molton	0	colored	trimmed.local
legging	molton	0	purple	local
legging	molton	0	purple	trimmed.local
legging	molton	0	purple.white	trimmed.local
legging	molton	0	white	trimmed.local
mantelet	0	0	0	0
mantelet	calmande	0	0	0
mantelet	calmande	0	0	local
mantelet	calmande	0	carise.lined	0
mantelet	calmande	0	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	0	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	1.5.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	1.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	2.5.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	2.5.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	2.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	3.5.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	3.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande	3.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	1.25.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	1.5.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	1.5.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	1.ells	carise.lined	local

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
mantelet	calmande.bright	1.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	2.5.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	2.5.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	2.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	2.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	3.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright	3.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.bright.unev	2.625.ells	flannel.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.pale	1.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.pale	2.5.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.pale	2.ells	carise.lined	local
mantelet	calmande.pale	2.ells	flannel.lined	local
mirror	0	0	0	0
mirror	0	0	0	gilt.frame
mirror	0	0	0	lacquered
mirror	0	0	0	shagreen
mirror	0	0	0	w/frame
mirror	0	0	gifts	0
mirror	0	0	red	Moroccan.leather
mirror	0	large	0	0
mirror	0	large	0	lacquered
mirror	0	large	0	shagreen
mirror	0	large	0	w/frame
mirror	0	large	red.covered	0
mirror	0	medium	0	w/frame
mirror	0	medium	red.covered	0
mirror	0	No.12	0	lacquer.frame
mirror	0	No.17	0	lacquer.frame
mirror	0	No.5	0	lacquer.frame
mirror	0	No.6	0	lacquer.frame
mirror	0	No.8	0	w/frame
mirror	0	small	0	0
mirror	0	small	0	lacquered

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
mirror	0	small	red.covered	0
mirror	closeable	0	0	0
mirror	closeable	0	0	D'ermine
mirror	closeable	0	arab.style	0
mirror	closeable	small	0	0
mirror	dressing	0	0	0
mirror	dressing	0	red.covered	0
mirror	dressing	large	0	0
mirror	dressing	No.8	0	0
mirror	dressing	small	0	0
mirror	folding	large	0	0
mirror	folding	medium	0	0
mirror	tin	0	0	0
mirror	tin	0	red.covered	0
mirror	tin	0	round	0
mirror	tin	small	red.covered	0
mirror	tin	small	round	0
mitten	0	0	0	0
mitten	0	0	0	trimmed
musketball	0	0	0	0
necklace	0	0	0	0
necklace	jet	0	black	0
necklace	pearl	0	0	0
necklace	pearl.large	0	0	0
necklace	shell	0	triangular	0
needle	0	0	0	0
needle	0	0	0	Paris
needle	0	large	0	0
needle	0	small	0	0
needle	packing	0	0	0
needle	packing	0	0	flat
needle	packing	8.inch	0	0
needle	packing	in.3/4	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
needle	packing	large	0	0
needle	packing	medium	0	0
needle	packing	small	0	0
needle	sewing	0	0	0
needle	trade	0	0	0
net	Poitou.thread	6.1bs	0	local
net	thread	2.1bs	0	0
pickaxe	0	0	0	0
pickaxe	0	large	0	0
pickaxe	0	medium	0	0
pickaxe	0	small	0	0
pin	0	0	0	0
pin	0	large	0	0
pin	0	No.10	0	0
pin	0	No.12	0	0
pin	0	No.14	0	0
pin	0	small	0	0
pipe	calumet	0	0	0
pipe	calumet	0	0	common
pipe	calumet	0	0	engraved
pipe	calumet	0	0	Gibeau
pipe	pipe	0	0	0
pistol	0	0	0	0
pistol	pocket	0	0	0
pistol	saddle	0	0	0
powder.horn	0	0	0	0
rasp	0	0	0	0
rasp	0	0	0	Germany
rasp	wood	0	0	0
runtee	shell	0	0	0
scarf	grenadine	long	black	0
scarf	silk	long	0	0
scarf	silk	long	black	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
scissors	0	0	0	0
scissors	0	0	0	du.7
scissors	0	0	0	trompette
scissors	0	large	0	0
scissors	fine	0	0	0
scissors	incision	0	0	0
scissors	seamstress	0	0	du.7
shawl	0	0	0	0
shawl	silk	0	0	0
shawl	silk	0	0	lined
shirt	0	0	0	0
shirt	0	1/2.wide	0	0
shirt	0	2/3.wide	0	0
shirt	0	boy's	0	0
shirt	0	first.age	0	0
shirt	0	man's	0	0
shirt	0	man's.large	0	0
shirt	0	man's.medium	0	0
shirt	0	small	0	0
shirt	0	woman's	0	0
shirt	cotton	0	0	0
shirt	cotton	0	0	local
shirt	cotton	1.3.ells	0	trimmed.local
shirt	cotton	1/2.wide	0	local
shirt	cotton	1/4.wide	0	local
shirt	cotton	2.2.ells	0	local
shirt	cotton	3/4.wide	0	local
shirt	cotton	5/4.wide	0	local
shirt	cotton	5/4.wide	0	trimmed.local
shirt	cotton	man's	0	trimmed.local
shirt	cotton	medium	0	local
shirt	gingham	0	0	local
shirt	grass.linen	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
shirt	grass.linen	0	0	local
shirt	linen	0	checkered	local
shirt	Lyon.linen	1/2.wide	0	local
shirt	Lyon.linen	2/3.wide	0	local
shirt	Lyon.linen	batarde	0	local
shirt	Lyon.linen	first.age	0	local
shirt	Lyon.linen	man's	0	local
shirt	Lyon.linen	woman's	0	local
shirt	morlaix	0	0	0
shirt	morlaix	0	0	trimmed
shirt	morlaix	0	0	trimmed.local
shirt	morlaix	2.5.ells	0	trimmed.local
shirt	morlaix	2/3.wide	0	trimmed.local
shirt	morlaix	batarde	0	local
shirt	morlaix	man's	0	trimmed.local
shirt	morlaix	woman's	0	trimmed.local
shirt	Rouen.linen	0	0	0
shirt	Rouen.linen	0	0	fine
shirt	Rouen.linen	0	service	0
shirt	Rouen.linen	small	0	0
shirt	trade.linen	0	0	St.Jean.local
shirt	trade.linen	1/2.wide	0	0
shirt	trade.linen	1/2.wide	0	local
shirt	trade.linen	2/3.wide	0	0
shirt	trade.linen	2/3.wide	0	local
shirt	trade.linen	2/3.wide	0	St.Jean.local
shirt	trade.linen	batarde	0	local
shirt	trade.linen	first.age	0	local
shirt	trade.linen	man's	0	local
shirt	trade.linen	woman's	0	0
shirt	trade.linen	woman's	0	local
shirt	trade.linen	woman's	0	trimmed.local
shoe	0	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
shoe	0	0	0	embroidered
shoe	0	0	0	France
shoe	0	0	lined	0
shoe	0	lady's	0	0
shoe	0	woman's	0	0
shoe	0	woman's	black	0
shoe	beaver	0	0	embroidered
shoe	beaver	0	0	plain
shoe	pump	0	0	0
shoe	pump	small	0	0
shoe	slipper	0	0	0
shoe	slipper	woman's	0	0
shoe	square.toed	0	0	0
shoe	walking	small	0	0
shot	0	0	0	0
shot	0	0	0	Bureau
shot	0	large	0	0
shot	beaver	0	0	0
shot	bustard	0	0	0
shot	duck	0	0	0
shot	dust	0	0	0
shot	molded	0	0	0
shot	pigeon	0	0	0
shot	royal	0	0	0
sleeve	0	0	0	0
sleeve	0	large	0	0
sleeve	0	large	red	0
sleeve	0	medium	0	0
sleeve	0	medium	red	0
sleeve	0	small	0	0
sleeve	dourgne	medium	0	local
sleeve	dourgne	medium	0	trimmed.local
sleeve	dourgne	medium	blue.purple	trimmed.local

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
sleeve	dourgne	medium	colored	trimmed.local
sleeve	dourgne	small	0	local
sleeve	dourgne	small	0	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	0	0	0
sleeve	molton	0	purple	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	0	red	0
sleeve	molton	large	0	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	large	blue	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	large	colored	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	large	purple	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	large	purple.white	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	large	red	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	large	red.blue	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	large	red.blue.purple	local
sleeve	molton	medium	0	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	medium	blue	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	small	0	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	small	blue	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	small	blue.purple	local
sleeve	molton	small	colored	trimmed.local
sleeve	molton	small	purple	trimmed.local
sleeve	woolen	0	0	0
sleeve	woolen	large	0	trimmed.local
sleeve	woolen	large	red	trimmed.local
spoon	metal.alloy	0	0	0
spoon	pewter	0	0	0
stocking	0	0	0	Bourgogne
stocking	0	0	0	St.Maixent
stocking	0	man's	0	Bourgogne
stocking	0	man's	0	St.Maixent
stocking	0	woman's	0	St.Maixent
stocking	0	woman's	0	wool.clocked
stocking	2.ply	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
stocking	3.ply	man's	0	0
stocking	4.ply	0	0	0
stocking	4.ply	man's	0	0
stocking	fine	0	0	0
stocking	fine	0	0	Paris
stocking	fine	child's	0	0
stocking	fine	woman's	0	0
stocking	fine	woman's	pink	0
stocking	silk	0	0	0
stocking	silk	man's	0	0
stocking	silk	man's	0	England
stocking	silk	woman's	0	0
stocking	silk	woman's	0	Paris
stocking	woolen	0	0	0
stocking	woolen	0	yellow	0
stocking	woolen	man's	0	0
stocking	woolen	woman's	0	0
stocking	woolen	woman's	black	0
stocking	woolen	woman's	pink	0
thimble	0	0	0	0
thread	0	0	0	0
thread	0	0	0	Epinay
thread	0	0	0	Holland
thread	0	0	0	Jedoin
thread	0	0	0	Poitou
thread	0	0	0	Rennes
thread	0	0	brown	Rennes
thread	0	0	white	Rennes
thread	fine	0	0	0
thread	net	0	0	0
thread	silk	0	0	0
thread	silk	0	black	0
thread	untwisted	0	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
tobacco	0	0	0	0
tobacco	dark.colored	0	0	0
tobacco	light.colored	0	0	0
tomahawk	0	0	0	0
tomahawk	0	small	0	0
tomahawk	dagger	0	0	0
tomahawk	dagger	0	0	Campeau
tomahawk	dagger	0	0	Lapromenade
trim	blanket.tape	0	0	0
trim	braid	0	0	0
trim	braid	0	false.silver	0
trim	false.silver	0	0	0
trim	false.silver	narrow	0	fine
trim	false.silver	wide	0	0
trim	frieze.edging	0	0	0
trim	joining.tape	0	0	0
trim	lace	0	0	0
trim	lace	0	0	crown
trim	lace	0	0	strong
trim	lace	0	silver	0
trim	lace	No.10	0	0
trim	lace	No.8.9	0	0
trim	lace	wide	0	0
trim	ribbon	0	0	0
trim	ribbon	0	0	old.fashioned
trim	ribbon	0	black	0
trim	ribbon	0	blue	0
trim	ribbon	0	red	0
trim	ribbon	large	black	0
trim	ribbon	narrow	0	0
trim	ribbon	No.3.5	0	0
trim	ribbon	No.5	0	0
trim	ribbon	small	blue	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
trim	ribbon	very.wide	black	0
trim	ribbon	wide	black	0
trim	silk.edging	0	0	0
trim	silk.edging	0	green	0
trim	silk.edging	0	red	0
trim	silk.tape	0	0	0
trim	silk.tape	No.2	0	0
trim	silk.tape	No.3	0	0
trim	tape	0	0	Holland
trim	tape	0	brown	0
trim	tape	30.thread	0	0
trim	tape	a.l'aumone	0	0
trim	tape	fine	0	Holland
tuque	0	0	0	0
tuque	woolen	0	red	0
verdigris	0	0	0	0
vermilion	0	0	0	0
vermilion	coarse	0	0	0
vermilion	fine	0	0	0
vermilion	mock	0	0	0
vermilion	sanguine	0	0	0
wine	0	0	0	0
wine	0	0	0	Bordeaux
wine	old	0	0	0
wine	old	0	0	Bordeaux
wine	red	0	0	0
wine	white	0	0	0
wire	0	large	0	dalton
wire	brass	0	0	0
wire	brass	0	0	dalton
wire	brass	0	necklace	0
wire	brass	fine	0	dalton
wire	brass	large	0	0

Appendix A (cont'd.)

Item	Type	Variety	Subvar1	Subvar2
wire	brass	large	0	dalton
wire	brass	small	0	0
wire	iron	0	0	0
yarn	cotton	0	0	0
yarn	goat's.hair	fine	0	0
yarn	wool	0	0	0
yarn	wool	0	assorted	0
yarn	wool	0	red	0

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF TERMS FOR DOCUMENTARY INVENTORY

Aignan - a city in the province of Gascony in southwestern France. Cadis cloth from this city has a sheared or curled nap with more of the latter.

anchor mark - a mark on a gun lock plate representing the Government (Navy Board) stamp of approval. Some examples bear double marks. Anchor marked lock plates have been found archaeologically at Michilimackinac and Ouiatenon.

a l'aumone - a white thread woven into bands.

azure - a blue pigment.

bark cloth - a fabric made in the East Indies from the long hemp-like filaments of a tree's bark.

batarde - a clothing size; probably child's or young adult's.

batiste - cambric fabric. Named after the originator, Baptiste Chambray.

bayette - a woolen cloth from Colchester, Essex County, England.

bazin - bombasin, an all-cotton fabric; plain with a pile nap on one side or striped without a pile nap. May have wide or narrow stripes.

beaufort - a type of linen.

biscayan -originally a type of ax imported from the Province of Biscay, Spain. By the late seventeenth century, the term probably refers only to a shape. Shape unknown.

bizaillon - probably a cutler's mark. Jean Bizaillon, a cutler from St.Etienne, used his name for a maker's mark.

black lead - a pigment like white lead and red lead, used as a body paint.

Blois - a city in the province of Orleans in north central France.

bon teint - a fabric dyed with first quality hues for strong color fast results.

Bourg - a city in the province of Burgundy in east central France.

APPENDIX B (cont'd.)

Bourgogne - an historic region in east central France.

brin - a plain-weave, strong linen from Brittany, Champagne, and Spain. Possibly made from hemp.

butcher knife - a long case knife with a wooden handle.

Bureau - the warehouses of the Bureau of the Company of des Indes.

cadis - a twilled woolen cloth, usually dyed exceptionally bright with brazilwood (red).

calmande -a twilled, warp-face, woolen cloth, sometimes with a silk or goat's hair warp. Dyed in all colors, and very glossy. Patterns include flowered bands, stripes, and waves. Reputed to wear well.

camelot -a goat's hair cloth commonly from Brussels, Holland, and Amiens,France. The Amiens' fabric could also be of partial silk mixture. Some cloth was striped.

Campeau - a Montreal area blacksmith hired by Moniere to produce a variety of metal goods.

capote - a long loose coat; some with hoods and a few with cuffs.

carise -a coarse woolen cloth, called Kersey. This may be from England; some cloth also produced in France.

cartouche - a style of case knife, often including a sheath. Possibly with a cartouche mark on the handle.

Caudebec - a style of felt hat that could be made from any of the following: wool, goat's hair or swan's down. Style declined through English competition.

Cholet -a city in the province of Anjou in west central France.

La Compagnie des Indes - a company granted monopoly rights for beaver trade by the King of France.

Dalton - Dalton-in-Furness, England; a Lancaster ironworks and foundries' city.

damask - a firm, lustrous, reversible, figured fabric made of various fibers.

Dauphine - an historic region in southwestern France (see hat).

dauphine - a dolphin; possibly a maker's mark for the cutler Brunat from Moulins (see knife).

APPENDIX B (cont'd.)

dourgne -a woolen cloth in red, blue, or purple.

a la douzaine - by the dozen; probably corresponds to the English "nested."

dress suit - a complete suit of clothes in the French style. Often of woolen cloth, lined and trimmed.

drugget - a woolen cloth from England and Reims, France. Like linsey-woolsey. Commonly with blue and black stripes.

du 7 - probably a cutler's mark using the number '7.'

duty ax - a larger and sturdier style of ax.

ell - one English yard equalled 7/9 ths of a French ell.

Epinay - a type of white flax thread from Lille in Flanders.

d'ermine - an ermine. Various emblems with ermines were used by cutlers as maker's marks. e.g. Pierre Pernot, fils. Possibly used by cutlers on various items: knives, mirrors, scissors, etc.

false silver - wire which is spun and drawn and then incorporated into woven goods such as braid. False silver braid was recovered archaeologically at Tunica.

first age - a clothing size; probably for infants or small children.

flatin - a type of clasp knife named after Denis Flatin, the inventor of the folding knife.

frieze - a strong, tight, woolen cloth from Colchester, Essex County, England. Has a pile surface of uncut looped wool.

gartering - a decorative tape used on garments or for garters.

Gibeau - Etienne Gibeau, a Montreal area woodworker hired by Moniere.

grenade - a 2-ply silk thread made from fine quality silk from Granada, Spain. Often used for sewing and fringes.

grenadine - made of silk grenade thread.

half-beaver - made of beaver and vicuna mixed.

Jedoin - unknown term. Possibly a thread manufactured in one of Nicolas Gedoyn's abbeys.

jet - a dense black coal that takes a high polish and is used for jewelry.

APPENDIX B (cont'd.)

Lacombe - Jean Lacombe, Jr.; a Montreal area blacksmith hired by Moniere to produce a variety of metal goods.

Lapromenade - Jacques Lapromenade; a Montreal area blacksmith hired by Moniere to produce a variety of metal goods.

Laval - a city in the province of Maine in northwestern France.

Lyon - a city in the province of Lyonnais in south central France.

mantelet - a short cape; usually lined.

Maroc -Morocco. The short nap cloth mentioned may be from Morocco, or may be a cloth made to resemble a common cloth from Morocco.

mazamet - a twilled woolen cloth, often in blue, red, or brown. Also a city in the province of Languedoc in southern France.

melis - a strong, tightly-woven, hemp linen; often used for sails and packing cloth.

menotte - a short glove with open fingers.

molton -a twilled woolen cloth with an uncut looped pile on one side; with green or blue selvedges.

morlaix - a white, bleached linen. Also a city in the province of Brittany in northwestern France.

No. 1 or 2 - designations for sizes. For combs, No. 1 indicates 4.5 inches long; and No. 2 indicates 5 inches long.

pinchina -an untwilled woolen cloth which is heavy and strong. May be of French or Spanish wool.

Poitou - an historic province in central France on the Bay of Biscay. Thread from this region is made from hemp.

a pot - possibly indicates kettles made of a 2-quart volume.

red kettle - "chaudiere rouge." May be a shortened entry for "cuivre rouge" indicating a copper kettle.

Rennes - a city in the province of Brittany in northwestern France. Thread from this region may be white or colored. It was made in all sizes and was used exclusively for sewing.

revesche - an untwilled, heavy woolen cloth with a long looped pile. Woven in white and then dyed in all colors.

Rouen - a city in the province of Normandy in northern France.

APPENDIX B (cont'd.)

runtee - a shell disk with two parallel holes made with a fine drill through the long section of the disk.

sanguine - a red pigment which may correspond to Moniere's 'mock' vermilion.

Segovia - a cap made in France from fine wool from Segovia, Spain.

serge -a twilled woolen cloth dyed with basswood or walnuts or in a sky-blue color.

shagreen - a leather with a granular surface, prepared from the skins of various animals. May be dyed in any color, but red was more expensive.

shell -translations for shell items mentioned in the MMR:

"collier a fleche de porselaine"	- shell necklace with triangular ornaments
"grain de porceline"	- wampum bead
"noyeaux de porselaine"	- tubular shell bead
"noyeaux long du digit"	- finger long tubular shell bead
"noyeaux rond de porceline"	- runtee
"rassade facon de porcelaine"	- imitation wampum glass bead

With the exception of imitation wampum glass beads, examples of all other styles of shell items have been archaeologically recovered from Lasanen.

shot - types of shot are listed in decreasing order of size: wild goose, duck, pigeon, royal, half-royal.

siamese - type of clasp knife with a wooden handle.

similor - pinchbeck; an alloy of zinc and copper used as imitation gold.

St. Jean - a city in France.

St. Maixent - a city in the province of Poitou in west central France.

taffeta - a fine light silk; very tightly woven with an extremely high lustre.

tapabord - an old style of deerstalker cap.

teste de chien - probably a maker's mark; "the dog's head."

Thiollier - one of the Thioller brothers; gunsmiths at the manufacture of arms at St. Etienne en Forez.

tombac - an alloy of copper and zinc, resembling gold.

trade linen - equivalent of the English "garlix."

APPENDIX B (cont'd.)

trompette - probably a cutler's mark. Francois Veillard from Chatellerault registered his mark as the trumpet in 1701.

Tulle - an arms manufacturing center in the province of Limousin in south central France.

verdigris - a green paint pigment; exclusively from the province of Languedoc, France.

vermilion - ground cinnabar, imported from France.

APPENDIX C

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

ITEM	TYPE	VARIETY
armband	silver	
awl		
ax		
bead	brass	
bead	catlinite	
bead	ivory	
bead	pewter	
bead	rosary	
bead	shell	
bead	shell	wampum
bell	brass	
bell	brass	clapper
bell	table	
bottle		
bottle	glass fragments	
bowl	pewter	
box	iron	
bracelet		
bracelet brass		
bracelet	iron	
bracelet	silver	
recycled bracelet silver	bangle	
braid	false gold	
brooch		
brooch	silver	
buckle		
buckle	shoe	
button		
button	brass	
ceramic sherd		
chest hardware	iron	
chisel		
cloth		
comb		
comb	ivory	
copper mail		
cross		
cross	pewter	
cross	silver	
crucifix		
crucifix	corpora	
cup	pewter	
dagger		
die		
disc	catlinite	

APPENDIX C (cont'd.)

ITEM	TYPE	VARIETY
disc	lead	
dividers (compass)		
earring		
effigy	catlinite	
effigy	shell	
ember tongs		
clothing eye		
file		
finger ring		
finger ring	brass	
finger ring	catlinite	
finger ring	iron	
firesteel		
fishhook		
fork		
glass bead		
gorget	shell	
gorget	silver	
gouge		
graphite		
gun		
gun part		
gun part	barrel	
gunflint		
hair puller		
hairpipe		
harpoon		
hawkbell		
headband	silver	
hoe		
ice chisel		
ice creeper		
jew's harp		
kettle		
kettle part		
recycled kettle brass	band	
recycled kettle brass	diamond	
recycled kettle brass	disc	
recycled kettle brass	pendant	
recycled kettle brass	projectile point	
recycled kettle brass	saw blade	
recycled kettle brass	scoop	
recycled kettle brass	tinkling cone	
recycled kettle brass	trapezoid	
recycled kettle brass	triangle	
recycled kettle brass	tube	
knife		
ladle		

APPENDIX C (cont'd.)

ITEM	TYPE	VARIETY
locket		
mattock		
medallion	religious	
medallion	silver	
mirror		
mirror	glass fragments	
mug	pewter	
musketball		
needle		
pail		
pendant	catlinite	
pendant	glass	
pendant	lead	
pendant	metal	
pendant	shell	
pike		
pin		
pipe	brass	bowl lid
pipe	catlinite	
pipe	effigy	
pipe	Micmac	
pipe	pewter	stem
pipe	white clay	
pipe	white clay	stem
pipe tomahawk		
pistol		
pot	iron	
pot hook		
projectile point	iron	
projectile point	spear	
punch		
razor		
recycled iron	tinkling cone	
runtee	shell	
scissors		
scraper	hide	
shot		
sinker	lead	
spike		
spontoon		
spoon		
sword		
tankard		
thimble		
trap		
vermilion		
wire		
wire	brass	
wire	iron	

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