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Archaeological Investigations at Kethtippecanunk:

A French and Native Trading Town on the Wabash River

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Introduction

Formal French presence within the present state of Indiana was established in the first decades of the eighteenth century and was concentrated at Fort Ouiatenon (1717), Fort Miamis (1721), and Vincennes (1732). Though the French defeat in the French and Indian War (1754-1763) brought about British rule in this area, the presence of direct British control was short lived. Following Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763, the British removed their garrisons at forts Ouiatenon and Miamis, leaving the former military installations to the French traders and their families (Krauskopf 1955).

By 1778, however, the former Fort Ouiatenon in the central Wabash River valley was in a state of extreme disrepair (Krauskopf 1955:157). It is at this point that the Wea Indian village of Kethtippecanunk seems to have taken its place as the most important regional trading locus. Although the village had been mentioned in historical documents dating back to 1733 (Jones 1988), information suggests that at some point in the 1780s, the French traders shifted their base of operations from the now abandoned (or nearly abandoned) Fort Ouiatenon, to Kethtippecanunk, about 25 km upstream (Tordoff 1983:145;Trubowitz 1992a:256).

Kethtippecanunk, in present day Tippecanoe County, IN, was located at a strategic point near the confluence of the Tippecanoe and Wabash river valleys. The site is situated on the first and second terraces of the Wabash River, lying against the base of the river bluffs, which rise about 12 m above the terrace at this point. As in the eighteenth century, springs issue from the base of the bluff, forming two small ponds.

It was here that a mixed population of French and Native peoples from the Wea, Kickapoo, and other tribes, established a town to act as a regional hub for the fur trade. Kethtippecanunk was described in 1791 as the "most important settlement... in that quarter of the federal territory," suggesting that it was relatively large by frontier standards (American State Papers, Indian Affairs 1832-1834:1:131).

After the Revolutionary War, troubles with the Native peoples of the Wabash brought the infant United States into open conflict with the residents of Kethtippecanunk. Due to an increase in violence that accompanied Euroamerican settlement of the Ohio valley, the U.S. government determined to put a stop to Native depredations and "impress the Indians with a strong conviction of the power of the United States, to inflict that degree of punishment which justice may require" (American State Papers, Indian Affairs 1832-1834:1:129). Accordingly, the U.S. congress gave Brigadier General Charles Scott the authority to raise 900 Kentucky militia to mount a punitive expedition against the Wabash Indians. On June 1, 1791, Scott's militia attacked and burned the Wea, Kickapoo, and Mascouten villages west of present day Lafayette. The following day, 360 men under Lieutenant Colonel James Wilkinson were dispatched to destroy Kethtippecanunk. Wilkinson's troops attacked at dawn, and after a short fight, the residents fled across the Tippecanoe River. The town was subsequently burned.

Unfortunately, the only detailed eyewitness accounts of Kethtippecanunk were written by those engaged in its destruction. According to General Scott's report to Congress:

> many of the inhabitants of this village were French, and lived in a state of civilization; by the books, letters and other documents, found there, it is evident that place is in close connextion with, and dependent upon, [British controlled] Detroit; a large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished [American State Papers, Indian Affairs 1832-1834:1:131].

A report by an anonymous soldier under Wilkinson's command also describes the town.

This town, which contained about 120 houses, 80 of

which were shingle roofed, was immediately burnt and levelled with the ground; the best houses belonged to French traders, whose gardens and improvements round the town were truly delightful, and every thing considered, not a little wonderful; there was a tavern, with cellars, bar, public, and private rooms; and the whole marked a considerable share of order, and no small degree of civilization [Lindley 1916:12].

A third description, that of William Clark (later of the Lewis and Clark Expedition), indicated that plows, carts, and livestock were present at Kethtippecanunk (Draper Manuscripts 1949:63J:141). James Wilkinson and the Kentucky militia returned to Kethtippecanunk two months later to disperse those who had returned, and to destroy the crops that had been replanted (Smith 1882:2:237). Though Native American peoples continued to inhabit the confluence area after the destruction of Kethtippecanunk (Jones 1988), it appears that the town site was not reoccupied.

IPFW Investigations

In 2005 and 2006, the Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne Archaeological Survey (IPFW-AS) conducted archaeological investigations at Kethtippecanunk. The site was recently purchased by the State of Indiana and is now incorporated into Prophetstown State Park. As part of a prairie restoration project, the Kethtippecanunk town site was planted in prairie grass, which should limit further flood-related erosion to the site. Although the archaeological remains of Kethtippecanunk were identified in the 1970s, prior to IPFW's investigations (Strezewski et al. 2006, 2007) archaeological work at the site had been of very short duration and limited scope (Dobbs 1975; Jones 1988; Trubowitz 1992a).

For this reason, when the IPFW investigations began, neither the site's extent nor the location of possible structures had been established. Of those few individuals who had visited the site when it had been plowed, many remarked that areas containing burned material were visible on the surface. It is likely that these burned areas represented the locations of eighteenth century structures. However, due to the restoration of the prairies, these burned areas were no longer visible.

Though at least two previous investigators had made maps of the site's extent (Dobbs 1975; DHPA n.d.), both were made in the absence of any intensive fieldwork, and were considered tentative estimates at best.

Two main methods were used for the initial investigations at the site. The first was an extensive magnetometer survey, both within the previously reported site boundaries and beyond. A magnetometer detects fluctuations in the earth's natural magnetic field that are caused by cultural materials such as fired clay, heated rock, and concentrations of ceramics. Often times, features such as ditches, cellars, and burned structures are visible as well. Magnetometers are especially sensitive to the presence of iron. This property is especially useful when investigating historic period sites where iron nails, tools, and hardware may be present.

Given the reported presence of between 70 and 120 structures at Kethtippecanunk, many of them well-built (Biggs 1977 [1825]:18; Imlay 1916:12), it was likely that the magnetometer would produce favorable results. In two years of investigations, nearly 19 acres were surveyed (Figure 1). Though the resulting maps did not produce clear structural outlines, we were able to identify a number of magnetic anomalies that likely represent the location of eighteenth century traders' houses. These possible structures were identified by the presence of numerous small magnetic objects clustered within a discrete area. These clusters are most likely due to the presence of nails, ceramics, and other magnetically detectable debris. It is likely that the outlines of the actual structures were invisible to the magnetometer due to many years of cultivation and erosion at the site.

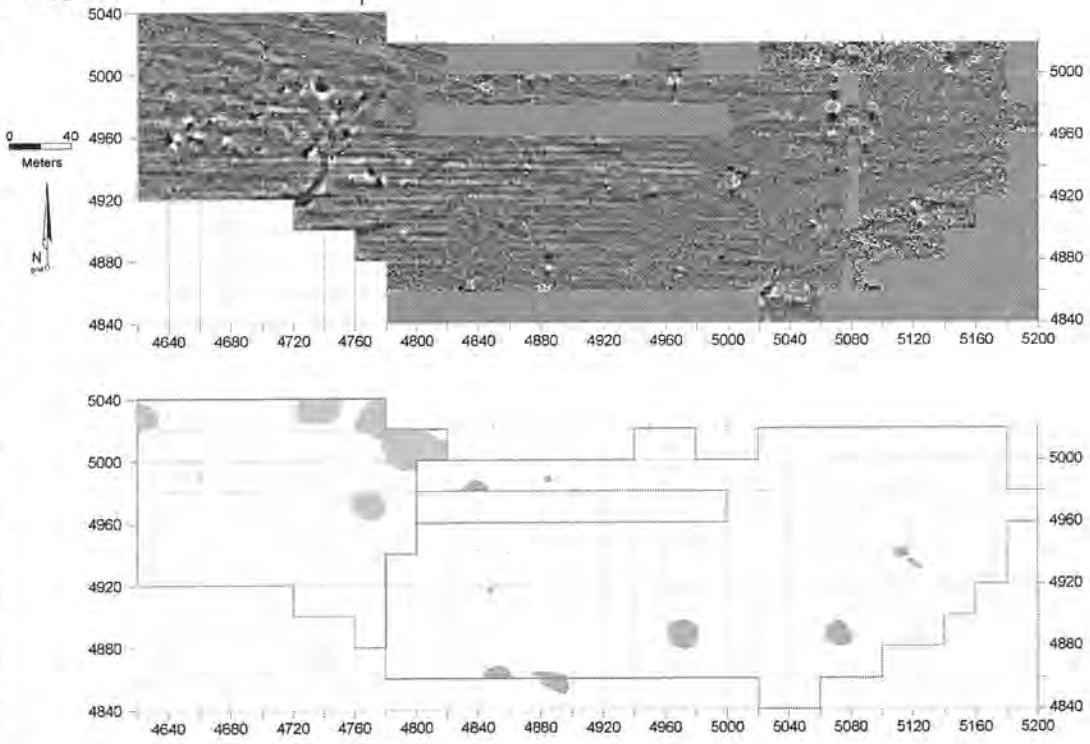

Figure 1. Map showing magnetic survey results at Kethtippecanunk (top) and potential traders' structures located (bottom).

Possible structures were identified in two main areas. The first lies along the northwestern edge of the site, close to the base of the bluffs, on top of a sandy ridge. The area along the base of the bluff is high in elevation and lies in close proximity to two freshwater springs. One of the possible structures

was identified along the extreme northwestern edge of our survey area, which suggests that additional structures may be identified if the magnetic survey were to be continued to the west. A second group of possible structures was noted at the southern edge of the site, overlooking a low swale that lies directly to the south. In general, probable structures correspond to areas of higher elevation.

The second method used to investigate the site's extents was shovel probing. A total of 299 small, shovel-sized holes were dug at 20-meter intervals over the entire site. The soil from each of the test probes was passed through a ¼" screen to recover any artifacts present. Although the shovel probe survey did not result in the recovery of large quantities of eighteenth century materials, several concentrations of artifacts were identified. Notably, these overlapped to a large extent with the structures identified via magnetometry, providing a second line of evidence for locating Kethtippecanunk-related occupations.

In summer 2006, three excavation blocks were opened up at the site to test those areas thought to have higher probability for locating Kethtippecanunk-related remains (see Strezewski et al. 2007). Two of the three blocks were situated near the northern edge of the site, near the base of the bluffs. One of the two (Block 3) revealed the presence of three prehistoric pit features, all containing relatively few artifacts. The second, Block 2, produced a large quantity of eighteenth century remains. However, examination of the soil profile revealed that these had been deposited as a result of erosion from a slightly higher elevation. At this point, it is unclear if undisturbed artifacts are still present in this area of the site.

The largest of the three blocks (Block 1) revealed considerable quantities of eighteenth century artifacts as well as intact features related to the occupation of Kethtippecanunk. Block 1 was 65 m^2 (Figure 2). For the most part, this area had been chosen for excavation based upon the presence of a large complex anomaly that was initially thought to be the remains of collapsed chimney.

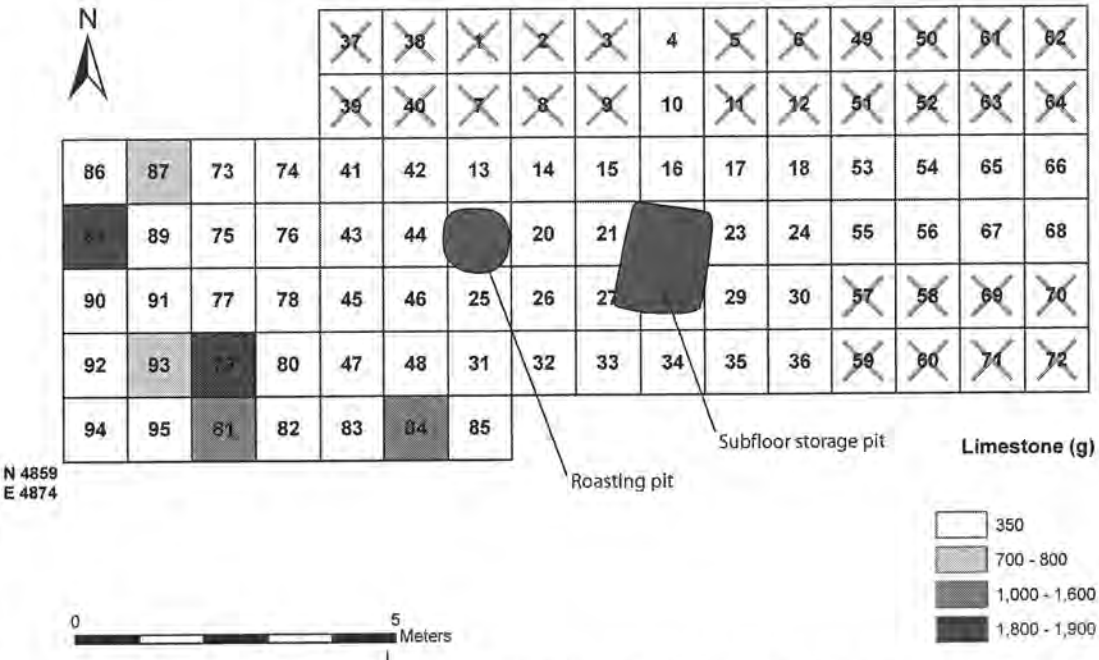

Figure 2. Map of Block 1 showing the location of limestone fragments and intact features that were identified.

Though the majority of the artifacts in Block 1 had been disturbed by repeated plowing over 175 years, two intact eighteenth century features were identified, both of which accounted for the large magnetic anomaly. The first was a very large pit lined with wood charcoal and filled with approximately 680 kg of large, fire-cracked river cobbles. Based on ethnohistoric evidence, this feature likely represents a Native-style tuber roasting pit (Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:187; Margry 1876-1886:2). LaSalle described similar pits among the seventeenth century Illiniwek. He remarked that "they make a hole in the earth where they put a bed of rocks reddened in the fire, then one of leaves, one of macopin [the water lily tuber], one of reddened rocks, and so on up to the top, which they cover with earth and leave their roots inside to sweat for two or three days, after which they boil them and eat them alone or with oil" (Margry 1876-1886:2). Roasting pits, albeit on a much smaller scale than the one identified at Kethtippecanunk, have been noted at other historic period Native sites in the Midwest (Berkson 1992:168, 182; Brown 1961:26, Brown and O'Brien 1990:197; Brown 1975:15). Analysis of the charred plant materials from within the pit does not provide much information on the type of material that was being roasted. The contents included copious amounts of charred red oak wood and a few corn kernels (Bush 2007). The presence of white clay pipe fragments, glass, and metal artifacts indicate its clear association with the occupation of Kethtippecanunk.

The other Kethtippecanunk-related feature was a square, flat-bottomed pit that has been interpreted as a probable subfloor storage pit (Figure 3). The pit was filled with large amounts of burned chinking, wood, and ash resulting from the collapse of the structure that once overlay it. Other artifacts present in the pit include a number of white clay pipes, case bottle fragments, a scissor-style candle snuffer, and a silver-rimmed burning glass. One of the most unusual artifacts from this pit was a stone pipe manufactured in the style of a European-style white clay pipe. Stone pipes are usually associated with use by Native Americans and seldom made to imitate European styles (Trubowitz 1992b).

Figure 3. Photograph of Feature 3, a probable subfloor storage pit.

Charred plant remains were also recovered from the subfloor storage pit. Most notable was the presence of large quantities of camas root, also known as wild hyacinth (Bush 2007). The wild hyacinth, which grows in low, wet areas, produces an edible root that was cooked in roasting pits, similar to that found only a few feet away. It is quite possible that the hyacinth roots were being stored below the structure for later roasting in the adjacent pit.

The Trader's Structure

Although no walls, trenches, or postholes were identified that might indicate the construction method used for this structure, the large quantities of hand-wrought nails, chinking, window glass, and other debris, clearly indicate that it was substantial. The archaeological materials recovered, in and of themselves, give few indications as to the type of structure, and unfortunately, besides the presence of shingled roofs, none of the extant firsthand accounts of Kethtippecanunk mentions the technique used in the construction of the traders' houses. Since most of the named individuals at Kethtippecanunk were of French descent (Biggs 1977[1825]; Quaife 1921:330-331), it is assumed that these individuals built their trading houses in the French style. This assumption has a great deal of evidence to back it up, as the ethnic French of the Midcontinent continued to construct their houses and other buildings in the traditional manner into the early nineteenth century (Ekberg 1996; Mann 2008).

It may be notable, however, in what we did *not* find during our investigations in Block 1. Though ample evidence for one or more structures was present within the block, no wall trenches were identified. This suggests that the structure may not have been of *poteaux-en-terre* construction. Although there was a fair amount of erosion noted within and around Block 1, the walls of *poteaux-en-terre* structures were typically set in trenches that were approximately two to three feet deep (Maygarden 2006:216) and presumably would have been identifiable even in an eroded portion of the site.

Based on the available evidence, it is possible that the Kethtippecanunk structure may have been of *pièces-sur-pièces* construction. Such structures consisted of a wooden frame of squared vertical timbers with horizontal beams inserted in between the vertical posts (Moogk 1975:30). Unlike the Illinois country, in which *poteaux-en-terre* construction dominated, *pièces-sur-pièces* construction seems to have been more common in portions of Canada, including Montreal, the Detroit area, and those areas culturally and economically connected with Detroit (Au 1991, 1995; Mann 2008; Moogk 1977:29-30). Kethtippecanunk, falling under Detroit's sphere of influence, falls into this category.

This structural type has been identified as another site in the central Wabash River valley, the early nineteenth century Zachariah Cicott trading post in nearby Warren County, Indiana (Mann 2008). Documentary and archaeological evidence indicate that Cicott contracted with a craftsman in Vincennes to have a house prefabricated and shipped upriver by pirogue and re-assembled upon a limestone foundation (Mann 2008). Like the Cicott trading post, the structures at Kethtippecanunk could have been prefabricated at Vincennes, though it is perhaps more likely that they were manufactured on site.

Though there is no direct evidence for a *pièces-sur-pièces* structure in Block 1 at Kethtippecanunk, the location of limestone fragments within the plowzone suggests the possibility of a foundation. The largest amount of limestone (by weight) was found in the western portion of the block, running in a northwest-southeast direction. In was noted in the lab that many of these limestone fragments appear to have been dressed and may therefore represent portions of a highly disturbed house foundation.

Very little limestone was found near the subfloor pit. This suggests that a second structure may have been located in the center of Block 1, situated over the pit. The absence of limestone in this area suggests that this structure may not have had a foundation. The distribution of burned chinking in Block 1, in fact, supports the possibility of two structures, as two main concentrations of chinking were identified in the plow zone. The first is located on the western portion of the block. The amount of chinking drops off to the east but again rises, with a second high spot centered over the subfloor pit. We can safely assume that the rock-filled roasting pit lay outside of a structure and interestingly it lies in an area with relatively little chinking. Other artifact types also show this bimodal distribution, supporting the possibility of two structures in Block 1 (see Strezewski et al. 2007:69-84). The distribution of flat glass, rose head nails, and ceramics, in particular, indicate two areas of higher artifact density separated by an area with fewer material remains. In the absence of evidence for a stone chimney, it is likely that the structure or structures in Block 1 most likely had chimneys made of wattle and daub.

Who Lived/Worked in this Structure?

Investigations in Block 1 have also provided indications that this household may have consisted of one or more mixed-blood individuals. It is well known that many of the so-called "French" traders were married to Native women and had mixed-blood families or were of mixed blood themselves. John Filson, for example, visited Vincennes in 1785, and remarked: "numbers of the (French) inhabitants live as Savages in some respects and many are intermarried with them" (Bond 1923:328). Overall, the assemblage from Block 1 provides a mixed bag of evidence, something to be expected in a *métis* household with a cultural identity that was neither wholly European nor Native (Peterson 1981; Sleeper-Smith 2001).

Indications of a mixed-cultural household include the placement of a large Native-style roasting pit in an area with large quantities of European manufactured goods. Another possible indication of a Native identity for some of the structure's inhabitants is the very low relative frequency of European-made ceramics (i.e., tin-glazed earthenware and creamware) in Block 1, despite the presence of other domestic debris such as forks and kettle fragments. Contemporary Native American sites in the region typically show very low frequencies of European-made ceramics, suggesting that they were shunned in favor of traditional wooden vessels (Berkson 1992; Trubowitz 1992a:252; Wagner et al. 2001:131). The density of European ceramics in Block 1 is very low (1.52 fragments per m^2) when compared to that of Block 2 (22.71 fragments per m^2) at the northern edge of the site. Other fired clay artifacts such as white clay pipes were found in similar frequencies in the two blocks, however, suggesting that the differences between the two areas are meaningful. It is possible that the person in question was the spouse of a trader who was ethnically Native and was uncomfortable with the use of these vessels for food preparation and serving.

One other possible indicator of a cross-cultural identity for the Block 1 household is the presence of a stone pipe that was manufactured in the style of a Euroamerican white clay pipe. Though Native peoples used European-style clay pipes for recreational smoking, they continued to manufacture and use various types of Native-style stone pipes for ritualistic use of tobacco (Mann 2004). The Kethtippecanunk pipe then, might be conceived as a mixture of European and Native smoking customs (Trubowitz 1992b), possibly by someone who was familiar with both traditions.

Finally, it is likely that one of the male residents of the structure held a more European cultural identity. This assertion is confirmed by the recovery of Masonic artifacts in Block 1. The first is a fob seal impressed with the Masonic coat-of-arms of the Premier Grand Lodge of England (Figure 4) (see Strezewski et al. 2006:Figures 6.9 and 6.10, 138-140). The second Masonic artifact, a fragment of a white clay "TD" pipe bowl with a Masonic compass, was recovered from the roasting pit. Freemasonry was an institution that was fully within the European cultural sphere and it is unlikely that any Native individuals were members.

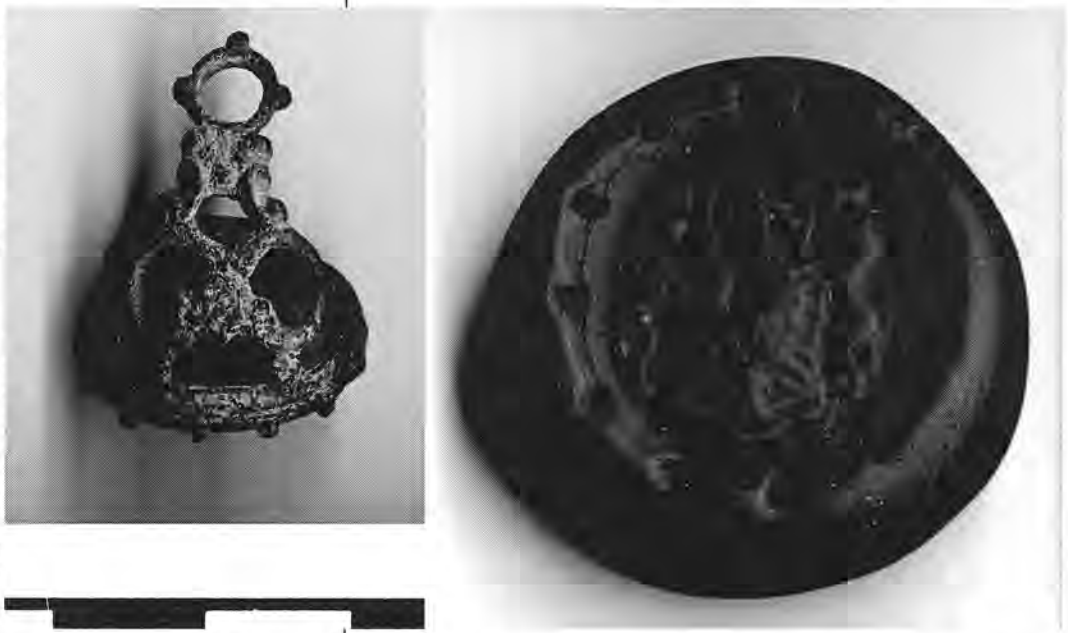

Figure 4. Fob seal (left) and impression showing the Premier Grand Lodge of England coat-of-arms (right).

Though both French and British Freemasons were resident in Detroit prior to 1764, it was not until that year that a lodge was established. This first lodge met in the blockhouse of Fort Detroit. Other early lodges include the Harmony and Zion lodges in Detroit, and the St. John's Lodge on Mackinac Island. All these early lodges were sponsored by the Premier

Grand Lodge of England (Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Michigan 2007).

Though it is unknown to which local lodge our resident belonged, if any, it is significant that he was likely affiliated with the Masonic faction loyal to the Premier Grand Lodge of England—the so-called "Moderns." During the Revolutionary War, most of the Modern lodges were made up of Loyalists, whereas most of the rebellious colonists were followers of another rival faction—the "Ancients" (Bullock 1996). The fact that a resident of Kethtippecanunk was a member of one of the Modern lodges is not surprising, considering that the French and British traders resident there were, in part, acting on the part of the British cause in the Old Northwest.

Town Layout

Kethtippecanunk is an important site for studies of acculturation because it represents a multi-ethnic habitation site, rather than an exclusively Native or French settlement (Trubowitz 1992a:257). Given the multi-ethnic nature of the town, one question that arises is: was the town laid out in a Native or more European style? Typically, structures within Native villages were scattered irregularly along a river (Callender 1978:682). One Miami village on the Eel River, for example, reportedly extended for three miles (Dillon 1859:268). French villages, on the other hand, were typically more nucleated settlements, often with streets laid out (Briggs 1985:73-76; Gums and Witty 2000:126; Peterson 1949:5-9).

Given the data currently available, this question cannot be answered with any certainty. Archaeological investigations have provided evidence for the locations of the structures built and occupied by the French traders, and so far, it seems that the trader's houses were spaced out across the landscape, occupying the areas of highest elevation. It is possible that these may resemble the "small rural estates" that were typical for colonial Ste. Genevieve (Ekberg 1996:284-285). Ethnic French inhabitants of the town lived on relatively large lots nearly an acre in size, and surrounded by a picket fence. Along with the house, the owners often erected outbuildings such as a barn, corncrib, and bake oven on the property (Ekberg 1996:284-285). Although Kethtippecanunk, as a trading town, likely had a different flavor from that of Ste. Genevieve, which was primarily agricultural, it is possible that this basic French idea of how to lay out a village was adhered to here as well.

William Clark's journal account of the attack on Kethtippecanunk indicates that "the town was stocaded [sic]" (Draper Manuscripts 1949:63J:141). However, other, more lengthy descriptions of the attack (American State Papers 1832-1834:1:131-132; Imlay 1916:11) do not mention this detail. One would think that if the entire town were surrounded by a stockade, the commander of the attack, James Wilkinson, would have mentioned it. It seems likely, therefore, that this "stocade" may have been a high puncheon fence surrounding one or more structures in the town, rather than a palisade, per se. Such fences were a common feature in eighteenth century settlements. Mention is made, for example of a stockade that was constructed around two buildings that were part of a contemporary traders' town on the Glaize (Tanner 1978:25-26). The first building was a supply depot for the British Indian Agent, Alexander McKee, while the second was the trading house of James Girty (Tanner 1978:25-26). Enclosing one or more structures with a palisade wall was also a common French practice (Brackenridge 1868:21; Ekberg 1996:285; Peterson 1949:8) and was noted at nearby Vincennes as late as 1796 (Gentilcore 1957:291). These walls were built to provide a measure of defense and to keep out wandering livestock. Though one or more stockade fences may have been built at Kethtippecanunk for just such a purpose, no definitive evidence for their location was encountered during the IPFW investigations.

Though the French traders' presence has been sufficiently documented at Kethtippecanunk, we cannot yet say much about the location of the Wea and Kickapoo inhabitants. Native peoples and traders lived in separate but adjacent villages at contemporary settlements at Miamitown and the Glaize (Tanner 1978:29) and it is therefore possible that the Wea and Kickapoo were situated somewhere nearby-perhaps not in the area we have identified as Kethtippecanunk. Evidence also suggests that the Wea and Kickapoo residents likely resided in traditional Native dwellings. In northern Indiana and northeastern Illinois, for example, early nineteenth century Potawatomi summer villages consisted of longhouse and wigwam-style structures built of saplings, bark, and reed mats (Matson 1872:29-30). The archaeological signature of ephemeral wigwam-style dwellings would likely be very light and difficult to detect.

In addition, Native peoples would likely have had fewer material possessions and many household items were of perishable materials that would not have survived to the present. The possessions of Coo-coo-chee, a Mohawk woman living among the Miami and Shawnee at the Glaize in 1792, consisted of:

> a large brass kettle for washing and sugar making; a deep, close-covered, copper hominy kettle; a few knives, tin cups, pewter and horn spoons, sieves, wooden bowls, and baskets of various sizes; a hominy block, and four beds and bedding comprising each a few deerskins and two blankets; so that, altogether, her circumstances were considered quite comfortable [Quaife 1917:86-87].

Of the items from the previous description, only the kettles, knives, tin cups, and pewter spoons would be expected to survive to the present.

This is not to say that thus far, the Native peoples of Kethtippecanunk have been archaeologically invisible. The assemblage from the site indicates the clear presence of both Native peoples and the traders who lived in their midst. Picking apart the two assemblages, however, is a difficult task. With few exceptions, by the end of the eighteenth century, there was a great deal of Native/non-Native overlap in material culture as Native peoples largely abandoned much of their traditional material culture in favor of more efficient European manufactured goods such as metal tools and cooking pots (Wagner et al. 2001). Readily identifiable artifacts of native manufacture were most often those for which a European

analog was not available–including items such as stone pipes, tinkling cones, and copper/brass arrow points. All of these items were found in various contexts at Kethtippecanunk.

The Economics of Kethtippecanunk

Kethtippecanunk was destroyed immediately prior to a fundamental change in the relationship between Native and non-Native peoples in the lower Great Lakes. It was at this time that a transition was looming on the horizon–a transition away from one of non-directed culture contact, involving ethnic French and British traders who, to a large extent, incorporated themselves into Native societies without a desire to fundamentally transform the Natives' way of life. Though the traders and the Natives each had their own agendas and were trying to manipulate the economic interactions to their advantage, neither group dominated the terms of exchange.

Following American consolidation of control of the Old Northwest in 1794, this situation changed dramatically, as the nature of the cultural and economic interaction began to be dictated to Native peoples (Wagner 2006). No longer were trade relations and alliances valued. Native Americans were now to be pacified so that the greater American agenda could proceed unheeded. This was an arrangement that was without precedent in the previous 125 years of European-Native interaction in the Great Lakes.

Overall, the Kethtippecanunk assemblage is important as it represents the waning days of the fur trade way of life. After the defeat of the Natives in 1794 at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, it was little more than a generation before the fur trade economy was cast aside and nearly all the Native peoples of the Wabash were removed to the west.

The process of exchange within the fur trade economy was fundamentally different for the two parties involved–the professional traders and the Native Americans. Native peoples saw the act of trading skins for manufactured goods within the framework of a traditional kin-based exchange of gifts. In this way of understanding exchange, social bonds were created through the establishment of fictive kinships with particular traders. In some cases, these kin relations were more than fictive, as French traders often intermarried with Native women (Sleeper-Smith 2001). These arrangements provided valuable inroads into Native kin groups and accompanying economic opportunities that resulted (Sleeper-Smith 2001:16; Wagner 1998:433). With the de-emphasis of the profit motive in favor of a kin-based mode of production (at least from the Native point of view), a "straightforward domination" of the local village by the market economy did not occur (Mann 2004:169). Trade had been, to a large extent, conducted on their terms.

From the point of view of the traders (and their suppliers in Detroit), the situation in the Wabash Valley was a different one. By 1791, the region was in an ambiguous political position and the future of the fur trade was in doubt. Prices for furs were low and many of the Detroit-based merchants who were supplying trade goods were in financial dire straits (Quaife 1928:226, 235, 253, 273, 426, 480). One supplier in Detroit, John Askin, remarked in 1793: "the Indian Trade alone in its present State affords a poor livelyhood for any person" (Quaife 1928:480). This is coupled with the fact that American efforts to bring the area under their control made continued British presence in the region far from certain. Overall, there seems to have been very little incentive for British-backed traders to invest large sums of money in the continuance of this enterprise.

Contemporary accounts suggest that many of the merchants were primarily concerned with the effect that the unrest had on the fur trade. Available documents indicate continued friendly business contacts between traders and suppliers located within the American- and British-controlled territories of Vincennes and Detroit, respectively (Biggs 1977 [1825]:21; Quaife 1921; Quaife 1928:228, 275). Profit was key and the political troubles were treated as a nuisance. William Burnett, who was trading in the Kankakee River valley in 1791, summed up the frustration over the political situation:

> there is no appearance of doing anything here this year, as fear keeps the Indians from hunting. They continually imagine that the Americans are coming upon them. Add to this we have more traders here this year than last. I wintered in the Kinkeki this year myself, again–, This cursed war that subsists between the Americans and Indians does us more hurt in this country than is generally imagined [Cunningham 1967:47-48].

This was clearly an uncertain and potentially volatile situation, both for the Native peoples of the region as well as those engaged in the fur trade business. Under these ambiguous conditions, archaeological evidence supports the contemporary descriptions of Kethtippecanunk as a substantial settlement marked by continued investment of capital despite the uncertain future of the fur trade way of life. Materials such as window glass and large quantities of nails were recovered across the site, supporting the description of the town as having "no small degree of civilization" (Imlay 1916:12). Building materials were likely brought up the river from Vincennes or down from Detroit, no mean feat considering that Kethtippecanunk was a frontier settlement at some distance from the main supply sources. Clearly, the evidence from Kethtippecanunk suggests that the traders did not believe that the conflicts between the Americans and British-backed natives would result in the destruction of their town and ultimately the fur trade economy as a whole.

Though operating to some degree outside of a market-based mode of production, many Native villages involved in the fur trade were relatively affluent nonetheless (Sleeper-Smith 2001:5). Both the documentary and archaeological evidence indicate that the Native and French residents of Kethtippecanunk had reaped the benefits of participation in the fur trade enterprise. William Clark, in fact, remarked in his journal of the Scott expedition that "these Indians appear to be wealthy" (Draper Manuscripts 1949:63J:141).

Although it is difficult to gain a detailed understanding of the availability of trade goods during the 1790s, documentary sources suggest that there is little reason to believe that

political unrest limited the traders' ability to acquire the items they needed for the Indian trade. One indication of this is the gunflints found at the site. All of the non-Native gunflints were manufactured from dark gray English Brandon flint, which was not extensively exported until the 1790s (Kenmotsu 1990:95). Their presence at Kethtippecanunk indicates that they arrived at the site not soon before its destruction. In addition, a very low frequency of locally made gunflints suggests that an ample supply of imported ones was available via the traders. Other items such as silver brooches, crosses, and earrings have been recovered from the site (Jones 1988:394), indicating that the flow of non-essential items of adornment likely continued unabated as well.

Documentary evidence further suggests that the economic pursuits of the Kethtippecanunk residents were not confined simply to the fur trade. William Clark's journal of the attack hints that they were also engaging in European-style farming. Clark noted the presence of corn in large quantities, as well as bear's oil, kettles, plows, salt, cattle, and hogs (Draper Manuscripts 1949:63J:141). Cattle, and hogs, in particular, are rare in historic period Native assemblages from Indiana and Illinois. Although the Kickapoo, Miami, Potawatomi, and others were surely familiar with domesticated livestock through contact with whites, they seem to have made little effort to acquire them for their own use, preferring to hunt wild animals for their protein needs (Martin 2001:162-163).

The possible presence of European-style farming and animal husbandry at Kethtippecanunk is not surprising, as many fur trade communities were also successful agricultural operations by the time of the American Revolution. Corn and maple sugar, in addition to furs, were shipped from the outlying settlements to places like Detroit (Sleeper-Smith 2001:70). This market-based agriculture provided an "economic safety network" for the community (Sleeper-Smith 2001:74). For many of the traders who were married to Native women, this arrangement worked out nicely. Native notions of gender roles dictated that gardening was to be done by women. While the men engaged in the fur trade, women could also contribute to the material wealth of the household by raising crops (Sleeper-Smith 2001:75-76). Documentary accounts suggest that corn was abundant at Kethtippecanunk. William Clark mentions, for example, that 1000 bushels were destroyed in the attack (Draper Manuscripts 1949:63J:141), while Wilkinson's report indicates the presence of 200 acres of corn at Kethtippecanunk (Imlay 1916:14). A variety of crops was being grown at Vincennes in the 1770s, including corn, wheat, tobacco, hops, and fruits (Hutchins 1778:29) and it is possible that similar crops were present at Kethtippecanunk as well. Thus far, however, the only food crop we have identified archaeologically is corn.

Williams Biggs's 1788 account of his captivity at Kethtippecanunk suggests that wheat may have also been grown on the site, as there was a resident baker within the town (Biggs 1825 [1977]:18). The wheat used to bake bread could have also been imported from elsewhere, perhaps from Vincennes, but it could have easily been grown on site as well. Biggs's account also gives an idea of the typical meals served at Kethtippecanunk: "I had plenty to eat while I remained with the baker–good light bread, bacon and sandy-hill crains, boiled in leyed corn, which made a very good soup" (Biggs 1825 [1977]:21).

One interesting, but slightly confusing, excerpt from William Clark's journal may give further insight into farming practices at Kethtippecanunk. Clark noted "a quantity of bears oil kettles ploughs carts ploughs." The last portion of this sentence, "carts ploughs," may simply be the omission of a comma; however, this may also be a reference to French-style wheeled plows that were used by ethnic French farmers in the region. In the late eighteenth century, similar plows were used in the Illinois Country (Ekberg 1996:128, 135) and at Fort St. Joseph in southwest Michigan (Sleeper-Smith 2001:77). Trader William Burnett, who was active in the Kankakee Valley in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was growing wheat for trade and specifically asked for a French-style plow in a written request for agricultural equipment (Cunningham 1967:34).

Conclusion

Though the two field seasons at Kethtippecanunk have accomplished much in terms of the basic understanding of the extent and nature of the settlement, much work still needs to be done before a thorough appreciation of this important but under-documented site is possible. Future research questions include: 1) further delineation of the settlement extent and layout, 2) investigation into the subsistence practices of the French and Native inhabitants of the site, with special attention paid to the domestic plants and animals that may have been present, and 3) identification of intact Native American features, which would provide evidence for the location of Native versus French habitation areas.

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The Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Project: 2007 Field Season

By Erin Claussen and Meghan Cook, Department of Anthropology, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5306. Email: erinclaussen@yahoo.com, meghan.cook@wmich.edu

[A version of this report will be published in the current research section of the Society for Historical Archaeology's newsletter. Spring 2008 vol. 41(1).]

Excavations at the site of the 18th century mission, garrison, and trading post complex of Fort St. Joseph (20BE23) in Niles, MI resumed for five weeks in May and June 2007 under the auspices of the Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Project directed by Michael Nassaney. Erin Claussen and Meghan Cook served as teaching assistants. As in previous years, numerous volunteers as well as the City of Niles and the Fort St. Joseph Museum collaborated with Western Michigan University (WMU) archaeological field school students and staff on all aspects of the project.

The field season began at the Lyne site (20BE10), which is located roughly 200 meters south of the site of Fort St. Joseph. This location provided WMU field school students the opportunity to become familiar with archaeological field and lab procedures before moving on to excavations at the fort site. A major goal of excavations here is to determine if the Lyne site occupation is contemporaneous with the fort site. Evidence of an 18th century presence in this area of the site has thus far been ephemeral, consisting of mainly isolated artifacts including a gun flint, several pieces of copper alloy scrap, an 18th century button, a fragment of a hand blown glass bottle, and a piece of trade silver modified into a decorative ornament. This past season we also uncovered two clusters of smudge pits for tanning hides, containing large amounts of carbonized corncobs. Subsequent sorting of flotation samples has yielded a glass bead in association, suggesting that the pits post-date European contact. A sample of maize has been submitted for radiocarbon dating to verify their 18th century chronological placement.

Midway through the field season we returned to the fort site. Installation of the necessary drainage system, employed to lower the ground water table to allow excavations to cultural deposits, was the first order of business. Excavation units were then laid out adjacent to features uncovered in 2006 including a fireplace, a sheet midden, and a possible stone foundation, with the goal of learning more about the extent of these features. In the case of the architectural remains, the objective was to determine the size, orientation, and construction methods of associated structures and to obtain a larger artifact assemblage from which to infer the activities and the identities of the structures' inhabitants. Though time constraints did not allow excavation below the plow zone in all opened excavation units, more of the 2006 fireplace was revealed including a portion of its hearth, and oxidized soil to one side of the suspected foundation led to its reinterpretation as another fireplace. By the close of the 2007 field season, the project's efforts had added to the growing understanding of the physical layout of the fort and resulted in hundreds of artifacts attributable to the fort's predominantly French and Indian occupation from 1691 to 1781.

The field season included a public education and outreach component as well, as has become a tradition since 2002, through week-long archaeology summer camps made available to area high school students, continuing education adults, and teachers who are trained in field and laboratory procedures and take part in excavations. (Barbara J. Ziegenweide, a CFCS member, participated in the dig and describes her experience elsewhere in this issue of *Le Journal*.) Campers engaged in classroom activities in the morning, where they learned about the fort's history, its material culture, and the field of archaeology, then moved to the field in the afternoon to apply what they had learned. University students cemented their own new knowledge through teaching, as they worked side by side with the summer campers.

Field work culminated in a two-day open house in which the community was treated to lectures, demonstrations by historical re-enactors, period music, an outdoor museum including informational panels and artifact displays, and the opportunity to view ongoing excavations and meet archaeologists face-to-face, all with the purpose of bringing the history, culture, and archaeology of Fort St. Joseph to life. Approximately 2,000 visitors attended the event, which was organized with the help of WMU students, staff, and volunteers from the local community. The project was recently recognized for its Outstanding Educational Program with a 2007 State History Award presented by The Historical Society of Michigan.

Over the past year, graduate and undergraduate students and staff have represented the project at the Niles Apple Fest, Michigan Archaeology Day (Lansing), and Support the Fort Education Days (Niles). They have also presented the results of their research on the project at several professional conferences including the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, the Midwest Archaeological Conference, the Midwest Historical Archaeology Conference, the Conference on Michigan Archaeology, and the Conference on Historic and Underwater Archaeology in Albuquerque. This May we will present a symposium summarizing 10 years of the project at the upcoming French Colonial Historical Society meeting in Québec. Continued fieldwork will take place this summer and our annual Open House is scheduled for Saturday and Sunday, July 26th and 27th. We invite you to visit and learn more about French colonial archaeology in the western Great Lakes. More information about the program can be found at: http://www.ci.niles.mi.us/Community/FortStJosephMuseum/ArcheologicalDig.htm.

Seeing is Believing: Experiencing History Firsthand

By Barbara J. Ziegenweide, CFCS Member and participant in the 2007 Fort St. Joseph archaeological summer camp program in Niles, MI.

Shortly after graduating from high school, I started missing those history lessons and resumed reading history, as time permitted. The exasperating part of reading history is that we read the printed word, but at the same time we lack a personal grasp of history unless there is some kind of a personal experience associated with it. When my children were young we took them to many National Park sites in the United States, which gave me a greater familiarity with different historical figures.

In 1995, the chosen state for our family vacation was Ohio. We visited all the National Park sites we could possibly fit in one week of fast-paced travel. We drove south of Cleveland to Mentor, Ohio, to the home of the 20th President of the United States, James A. Garfield, a National Historic Site. As we arrived at Lawnfield, Garfield's home, we found the gates closed. We saw someone riding a lawn mover and were contemplating how we were going to get our National Park Passports stamped. The person riding the lawn mower came up to the entrance and introduced himself as the great grandson of President Garfield. I couldn't believe my ears! As any good mother not wanting her children to miss the moment, I made my kids get out of the car and greet him, which they did in proper behavior. Mr. Garfield proceeded to point out to us from where we were standing on the lawn the room he had occupied as a lad, the library, and other places in the house. This brief encounter with Mr. Garfield probably lasted all of five or ten minutes, but it left a life long impression.

I had a similar experience when I participated in a "Nature of Leadership" trek with the newly formed Venturing Division of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America in 2001 in the interior of Alaska. I was a female chaperone for the high school-aged female Venture Scouts. The trek consisted of wilderness canoeing and camping for eight days on the Yukon River in the historic "Gold Rush" territory of Alaska. As we canoed and changed campsites daily on the Yukon River amidst the breathtaking, pristine wilderness of Alaska, I acquired the "feeling" of what it would have been like to be an early explorer. Seeing an American bald eagle soaring in rapturous splendor and wondering what the next bend in the river held actually brought this sense to fruition in me.

My latest historical adventure was in 2004–2006 as I followed the historical reenactments of the National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial in the central United States. I had the wonderful opportunity of meeting descendants of William Clark, John Colter, Patrick Gass, among others. It was very interesting to talk to the family descendants of the original Lewis & Clark expedition and to hear their individual stories. These three travel experiences helped me grasp history in a way that I had never experienced it previously.

The archaeological study of an historic area can lead students, adults, and historians to grasp history in a very tangible way. The process of uncovering layers of sediment in relation to a datum point brought theory and practice together for me on the banks of the St. Joseph River in Niles, Michigan, in June, 2007, where Western Michigan University (WMU) held their annual student and adult camper field school in conjunction with their summer archaeological field school. WMU is now in its fifth year of archaeological excavation and research at the site of Fort St. Joseph, which was a major outpost in the fur trade from 169 -1781. Participating in the adult camper field school was a unique experience that allowed me to work alongside the laboratory coordinator, public outreach coordinator, three teaching assistants, and 12 WMU students. It was refreshing to utilize algebraic theory in establishing our 1 x 1 m excavation units. I also learned new terminology that only archaeologists use, like the baulks that we didn't excavate in order to stabilize the corners of our excavation squares. Our mornings began with lectures, discussions on the previous night's reading assignment, vocabulary, and visual presentations. The afternoons consisted of daily on-site unit tours and progression in our individual units. It took some patience on the part of the campers as they were excavating through the different soil horizons or layers. The different layers resulted, no doubt, from cultural and natural processes that we learned about. Every small object needs to be scrutinized through the dry-screening process, as small glass beads from the era of Fort St. Joseph may be uncovered. Wet screening and flotation processes are also utilized for minute particles. In the world of dirt, no stone can be left unturned. The adult camper field school satisfied my goal of learning the archaeological process in conjunction with real hands-on experience. The real gratification of the week came from watching the college students discover artifacts ranging from honey-colored French gunflints (that were as in tact as the day they were used) to a trigger from a musket to carbonized corncobs likely grown by the Indians. The earth is a treasure trove, waiting for us to take a moment to look inside to reveal its long-held secrets about the past.

Book Review

Le Passage du Détroit: 300 ans de présence francophone (Passages: Three Centuries of Francophone Presence at Detroit). Working Papers in the Humanities 11. MARCEL BENETEAU, ed., University of Windsor. Humanities Research Group. Windsor, Ontario, Canada, 2003. xxi + 348 pp., figures, tables, and bibliography. CAN $24.95 - available through The Humanities Research Group office or from The Bookstore (University of Windsor), ISBN 0-9689624-1-6.

Reviewed by Arnaud Balvay, Independent historian, Paris, France (abalvay@aol.com)

In 2001, Detroit celebrated the tri-centennial of its foundation by Antoine Lamothe-Cadillac. For the occasion, the University of Windsor organized a symposium bringing together several specialists in the history of the area. The book, *Le Passage du Détroit*, gathers together the papers presented at that meeting. Edited by Marcel Bénéteau, whom CFCS members had the opportunity to meet and listen to during the last meeting in Lafayette, Indiana, this collection consists of sixteen articles in French and five in English. The publication is divided into six parts that focus on the area of Detroit. They include toponomy and legends; its settlement; linguistics; cultural heritage; economy; and a concluding section of the issue of the survival of the French culture within an Americanized world.

The object of this work is not to present the history of Detroit, but to show the cultural characteristics of the area. One could sum up by saying that each of the articles is micro-history with the French-speaking community of the Detroit area being

Editor's Note

Beginning with this issue of *Le Journal* I will try to feature regularly a new column called Sources and Resources that will provide access to print and on-line information of potential interest to the readership. I welcome your submissions. One evolving data set on French colonial history and culture is the archaeological record, a primary source often waiting to be uncovered and interpreted. In this issue we learn about recent investigations of the mixed French and Indian community of Kethtippecanunk on the Wabash River in Indiana. The materials from the site underscore the close economic and social relationships the French established with their Native allies. Work on similar sites in the Midwest, such as Fort St. Joseph in Niles, Michigan, raises interesting questions about how the people who settled these places identified themselves in different social contexts. It suggests the malleability of the French and the ways in which they adopted new forms of material culture and accommodated themselves to changing social, political, and economic circumstances in the mid-continent, much as did the Indians with whom they interacted. Perhaps a lasting legacy of the French in North America is their willingness to tolerate, and indeed often embrace, other different cultures—a lesson well worth considering in the fractious and contentious world in which we live.

Michael Nassaney

the main theme. It is obvious that each reader will like some articles more than others according to one's interests, but more importantly, this book provides a clear introduction into each topic, which allows the reader to branch out to learn more. For example, I particularly liked Karen Marrero's contribution about the historiography of Detroit, showing how 19th-century historians such as Burton did all they could to give Lamothe-Cadillac the most favorable treatment, ignoring more minor characters, who were nevertheless very important in the development process of the French settlement. These historians integrated this (his)story into the American myth of manifest destiny. But I also discovered that I have an interest in linguistics thanks to Robert Vézina, who shares his investigations on the origins of the word "*la drouine*."

One of the important questions raised, essentially in the last part of *Le Passage du Détroit*, is that of the survival of the French cultural heritage. Dennis Au's article is particularly interesting because he argues that despite the disappearance of the French language in the American part of the Detroit area, "French culture (...) is not dead or gone." Nonetheless, the fact remains that the survival of French cultural identity in the Detroit area shows through on every page whether through the toponomy, the folklore or the legends, which gives the book its own particular unity.

Report on the Annual Meeting & Conference Center for French Colonial Studies West Lafayette, Indiana, November 2-3, 2007

By Ralph Naveaux
Member, Board of Directors

The Center for French Colonial Studies is dedicated to encouraging and disseminating research on the French colonial and early settlement periods in the Midwest and Mississippi Valley. The kickoff for the 2007 meeting was a reception with period folksongs and an impressive display of artifacts from Fort Ouiatenon.

The first speaker was Rick Jones, the Indiana State Archaeologist, who gave a powerpoint tour of early French and *métis* sites, including Bennac village, the Bailly homestead at Indiana Dunes State Park, Kekionga at Fort Wayne, the Richardville / Lafontaine house at the Forks of the Wabash, Cicott Park, and the *poteaux-sur-sole* Brouillet house in Vincennes.

Marcel Bénéteau of the *Université de Sudbury* talked about the Midwestern French dialect, or *français de la frontière*, using as an example, the 1765-66 journal of Charles André Barthe, a prominent merchant who left Detroit for the Wabash with 2 canoes of trade goods. Not the swiftest of travelers (it took him 3 nights to reach the River Raisin, and he got lost in Maumee Bay), he filled his journal with terse comments about the comings and goings of various people, interspersed with dreams about the family he left behind. Nonetheless, he made liberal use of certain words found only in the Midwest - words like *caille* (meadow lark); *batture* (a gravelly or sandy beach); *perdrix* (bob-white); and *jalap* (morning glory). Other words were common to the fur trade: *paquet* (bale of furs); *pichou* (lynx); *chat* (raccoon); and *peau rouge* (white-tailed deer). The last remnant of Detroit River French is still spoken on the Canadian side of the Detroit River and along the eastern shores of *Lac St-Clair*.

Michael Strezewski (University of Southern Indiana) listed the recent archaeological excavations at Kethtippecanunk, a French and Wea trading town on the Wabash, which grew to prominence during the 1780s after the decline of nearby Fort Ouiatenon. Described as a civilized village of up to 120 substantial *pièce-sur-pièce* cabins, it was destroyed by the Kentucky militia in 1791. The house construction implies Kethtippecanunk was influenced more by British held Detroit and the northern fur traders, rather than by Louisiana and the Illinois country.

Carl Ekberg (Illinois State University) discussed the institution of slavery among the Illinois French. The importation of slaves into the Illinois country began in 1720 and was prohibited in 1731, but birth rates were high and mortality low, so the number of slaves continued to grow through the rest of the century at the same rate as the general population. The *code noir* gave some personal rights and protections under both the French and Spanish régimes, so

families could not be split up. Slaves could testify in court and even sue their masters. Most slaves were married, and newborns were baptized. Some whites came into the territory as indentured servants, but slaves were always black or Native American. Regardless of status, the different races mixed socially and in business. It was possible to earn extra money and purchase one's freedom, especially under the Spanish.

René Chartrand, former Chief Curator for Parks Canada, described the French forts and garrisons dispersed throughout the vast frontier from Quebec to the Rocky Mountains. There was no official national flag, but forts and ships generally flew the royal white ensign of the Bourbons. Therefore, until the 19th century, it was customary for enemies to raise a white flag to surrender specifically *to* the French, while they, in turn, waived flags, handkerchiefs, and anything white to indicate their determination to fight on. When the fortunes of war did require they surrender, French troops were supposed to raise a red flag instead of a white one.

Reveille came early, with assembly and inspection at 7 am. Drill and duty assignments occupied the morning hours. Guard duty was served in 4 to 6 hour shifts, with sentries being relieved every 2 hours. Sentinels often walked a *chemin de ronde* outside of the fort wall. Lunch came at noon; dinner at 6 pm. Seven men would usually "mess" together and share a single cooking pot. Afternoons were often free for the soldiers to trade or take outside jobs. Retreat was held at dark between 8 or 9 pm.

Troops were paid every 3 months with notes of credit. They received 108 *livres* each year, but, once deductions were taken for food, clothing, etc., the soldier actually ended up with about 15 *livres*. Outside jobs, however, could add up to an extra *livre* per day.

Uniforms were kept for garrison and parades, except for the blue waistcoat, which was often worn on campaign, when troops dressed like Canadians from the waist up and Indians from the waist down. There was also a blue military capote worn for winter campaigns, with lace added for the officers. Service was generally for 2 or 3 years, although soldiers could remain enlisted in the garrison for 20 years or more if they so desired.

Some websites recommended by Mr. Chartrand are: www.cmhg.gc.ca for the Canadian military gateway; www.military-historians.org for the Company of Military Historians; www.biographi.ca for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography; and www.collectionscanada.ca for the Library & Archives of Canada.

Other conference highlights included a traditional luncheon with *tourtières* and snow apples from the River Raisin country and a banquet featuring bison steaks and a performance of French folk songs. There was also a post-conference guided tour of the archaeological sites of Fort Ouiatenon and Kethtippecanunk.

Next year's conference will be held October 24-25, 2008, in Lafayette, Louisiana. For further information on the Center for French Colonial Studies and its activities, visit their website at cfcs@noctrl.edu.

Announcements

The Old Mines Area Historical Society, Inc. *(Societe Historique de la Region de la Vieille Mine)* will hold its 2008 French Heritage Seminar and Annual Meeting in Fertile, MO, April 5-6. For further information contact Vicki Puronen (636-394-8543).

The French Colonial Historical Society will hold its 2008 Annual Meeting on May 14-18, in Quebec City. Several symposia will be devoted to the study of Natives and French in North America, included a session entitled: "Ten Years of Archaeology at Fort St. Joseph: A French Colonial Mission-Garrison-Trading Post Complex in the North American Interior." Go to www.frenchcolonial.org for more information.

Quebec City will celebrate the 400th anniversary of its founding during 2008. For details of the celebration go to the following official web site: http://www.monquebec2008.com/MonQuebec2008/?lang=en-ca

The Center for French Colonial Studies 2008 conference will be held from October 24-25 in Lafayette, LA and will feature the following presenters:

Arnaud Balvay, "The Natchez and the French: A Failed Encounter."

Ray Brassieur will compare the 20th-century ethnogenesis of French identity in the Midwest and in Louisiana—as seen through the fieldwork of Joseph Medard Carriere.

Emily Clark will explore the intersections and gaps between 18th century French educational ideals and priorities and educational initiatives in the Mississippi Valley.

Carl Ekberg, "Power, Sex, and Race in Colonial St. Louis."

Sources and Resources

Mary Moyars-Johnson (mamoyars@indy.net) notes that the *Dictionnaire genealogique des familles canadiennes* (Genealogical Dictionary of Canadian Families) by Abbe Cyprien Tanguay, often referred to as the Dictionnaire Tanguay, is a 7-volume set containing genealogical information (births, deaths, marriages) for French-Canadian families in Quebec from 1608 to around 1760. It is available on-line for free through Bibliotheque et Archives nationales at: http://bibnum2.banq.qc.ca/bna/dicoGenealogie/

The Drouin Collection of Records contains the names of 37 million people compiled from church records in Québec, Ontario, and other U.S. French regions from the late 1600s to the 1940s. It includes the "Repertoire alphabetique des marriages des Canadiens-Francais, 1760 - 1935 (Blue Drouin)". It is now available on-line at Ancestry as "Quebec Vital Records (lists spans 1621 - 1967)" A "world membership" is required for access but can be purchased by the month.

The Census Tables for the French Colony of Louisiana from 1699 through 1732 are also available on line from Ancestry. Only a U.S. membership is required for access.

Michael McCafferty (mmccaffe@indiana.edu), an Algonquian linguist in the Department of Second Language Studies at Indiana University, has recently completed a book entitled *Native American Place-Names of Indiana* soon to be published by University of Illinois Press. In tracing the roots of Indiana place names, McCafferty focuses on those created and used by local Native Americans. Drawing from new sources that include three eighteenth century Miami-Illinois dictionaries, he documents the various languages used to describe landmarks essential to fur traders in *Les Pays d'en Haut*. Impeccably researched, this study details who created each name, as well as when, where, how, and why they were used. The result is a detailed linguistic history of lakes, streams, and sites of what became Indiana. Each entry includes native language forms, translations, and pronunciation guides, offering fresh historical insight into the state.

Membership Form

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