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EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS FROM THE UTZ SITE AND THE SEARCH FOR FORT ORLEANS

by
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DISCOVERY OF THE MISSOURI RIVER

Credit for discovery of the Missouri River by literate men is universally given to two Frenchmen, Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet who, descending the Mississippi in the year 1673, passed its mouth about the end of the month of June. Marquette, in his journal, wrote:

We were rowing peacefully in clear, calm water when we heard the noise of a rapids into which we were about to fall. I have never seen anything so frightening, a confusion of entire huge trees, of branches, of floating clods of earth, rushed from the mouth of the Pekitanoui [Missouri] River with such force that we could not pass without grave danger. The agitation was such that the water was all muddy and could never be clean. Pekitanoui is a river which comes, quite far away, from the northwest to discharge itself into the Mississippi. Many Indian villages are placed along this river and I hope, by its means, to make the discovery of the Vermeille Sea or of California.

The explorers, accompanied by five guides and rowers had left Fort St. Ignace, on the north shore of the straits of Michilimackinac some 3 weeks earlier, with the charge of General Talon, organizer of the expedition,

...to discover the sea to the south through the country of the Mascoutins [Prairie Potawatomi] and the great river which they call the Messipi [Mississippi].

Marquette, about June 24, recorded a visit to villages of the Peoria and Moingwena in present-day Iowa, and noted that the Indians were "wearing French cloth". From their guides and from the Illinois Indians, Marquette and Jolliet learned what, later, they were to record about the geography of the Missouri River and the locations of the various Indian tribes living along its course. Proceeding down the Mississippi, some days later, below the mouth of the Ohio, other Indians (name on map unrecognized) were visited, were observed to have guns, knives, and hatchets, who wore garments of cloth, and who carried their gunpowder in small bottles of thick glass (Coffin 1907: 57-61). Near the mouth of the Arkansas, another Indian village (probably Mitchigamia) was encountered, and farther down, a village of the Arkansas located on the east bank opposite the mouth of the river of the same name. The Arkansas informed the explorers that hostiles armed with guns occupied the



aboriginal prototypes for these forms existed in bone (cylindrical tubes) and antler (socketed projectile points) it would presumably have been a relatively simple and expectable thing for the Indians to reproduce familiar forms in a new medium. One of these adaptations, the brass cone, would have involved a change in function as well but, perhaps, this too was not a difficult transition. The triangular pendants, wire bracelets and strap rings made from scrap brass are also common examples of secondary use of metal made in Europe and traded to the Indians in different form. Again, there are aboriginal prototypes both in form and function, but made of native materials. Also, early traders who distributed the undeniably European artifacts may well have been agents in diffusion of the ideas represented by native adaptations.

Gun Flints and Lead Balls

There are four French type spall gunflints in the Millard collection which were said to have come from the Utz site. However, they were obtained from a person whose name has been forgotten and Mr. Millard did not vouch for their authenticity. Similarly, there are five lead balls of about .25 to .50 caliber which are not adequately authenticated. The Gumbo Point site also produced gun flints but no other gun parts (Chapman 1959: 48 and Fig. 37).

Another important class of trade item, the glass beads, is represented at the site. The beads are discussed in the following pages.

Glass Beads (Fig. 15 c-p)

There are 258 specimens comprising 16 varieties of glass trade beads from the Utz site.

Davis (1972: 68) points out that no one has been successful in devising a universal, standardized classification system for glass beads. He then goes on to discuss the relative merits of the systems put forth by Beck (1928), Van der Sleen (1967) and Kidd and Kidd (1970). Harris and Harris (1967) and others have devoted considerable time and effort to bead studies, as well. There is no point in an extensive review of these various efforts in the present context, for our numbers of Utz site beads are relatively very small and the varieties not at all complicated.

Bead terminology differs somewhat from one researcher to another, and the physical attributes chosen as significant do also. For example, the type of perforation is usually disregarded (Davis 1972: 75). However, both terminology and bead attributes regarded as significant are generally about the same in these studies and in general use; sufficiently so, that one can employ descriptive terms freely without following one or the other classification systems.

Because of the relatively small number of beads from the Utz site, a simple

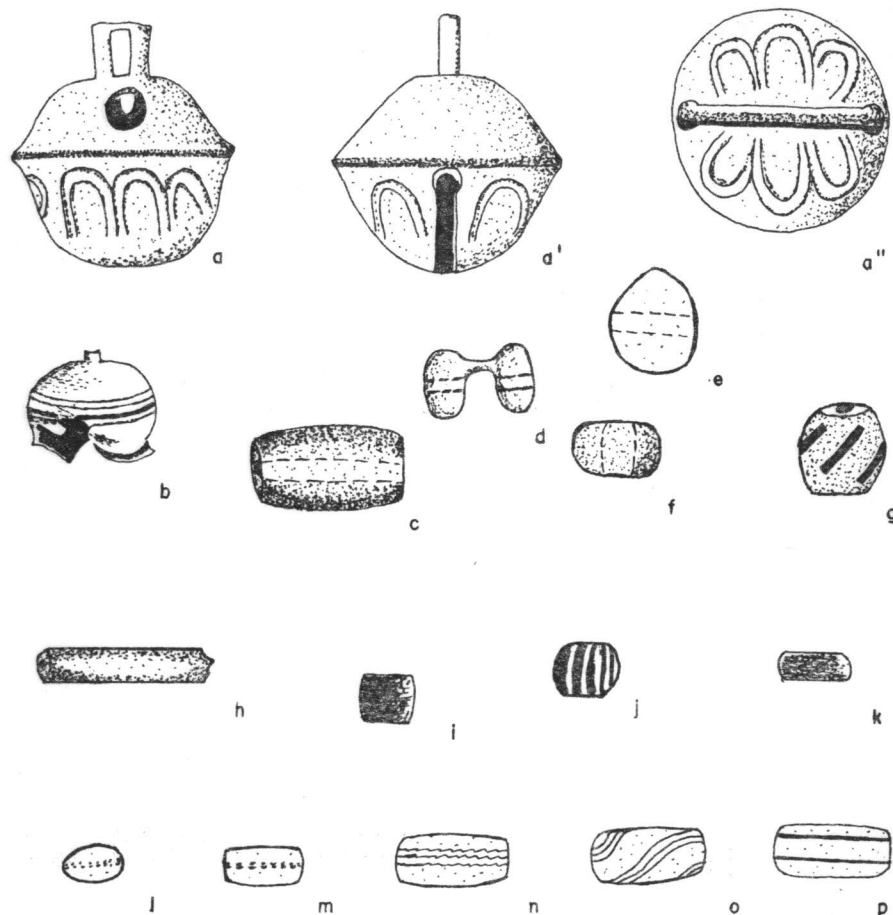


FIGURE 15. Brass Bells and Glass Beads; a-a'': Redding type sleigh bell with Iron Clapper (a-front view, a'-side view, a''-underside); b: "flushloop" hawk bell with iron clapper; c: bead variety 2; d: bead variety 1—"stalked specimens"; e: bead varieties 1 and 5; f: bead varieties 3 and 4; g: bead variety 6; h: bead variety 7; i: bead varieties 8 and 10; j: bead variety 9; k: bead variety 11; l: bead variety 12; m: bead variety 13; n-p: bead variety 14. Varieties 8, 10, 12, 13 and 14 were drawn actual size; Varieties 1, 2, 5, and 6 were drawn twice actual size; bead variety 9 was drawn $\frac{4}{5}$ actual size; bead variety 11 was drawn four times actual size; bead varieties 3 and 4 were drawn five times actual size. Figure Reduced 26%.

classification based upon the common attributes of shape, size, color and method of manufacture seemed to be satisfactory. It is probable that method of manufacture and basic shape would outweigh other attributes in the more useful bead classifications. Basic colors are, of course, important but distinctions made on the basis of hue gradations might well be misleading because the microenvironment may change the hue and because the manufacturers very probably did not demand close tolerances in the different batches of glass. This is difficult, even today, with our advanced scientific techniques. How much more so it must have been in times past when the crafts were far more in the class of arts than of sciences. Similarly, in the matter of size, the drawn beads could hardly have been matched precisely because of the nature of the drawing and tumbling techniques. In mandrel wound specimens size distinctions are probably more significant; again because the nature of the technique would allow for closer tolerances.

Variety 1. By far the most numerous is the globular or oblate spheroidal, translucent "robin's egg" blue. It ranges from 4 mm to 9 mm in diameter. Occasionally, it is rather lopsided, and there may be a short, rounded sprue of glass near the bore. One specimen in the group consists of two 5 mm diameter flattened beads connected by a stalk 2.5 mm long and about .5 mm in diameter. Total length of both beads and stalk is 10 mm. Obviously, this specimen did not incur very spirited use (Figure 15, d).

The lopsidedness was probably the result of poor quality control during the manufacture of globular beads and the tumbling process. Tumbling was the term applied to the procedure in which short, cylindrical tubes, or "canes" of glass were covered and their bores filled with ashes and sand in an iron container, then continuously shaken or "tumbled" while enough heat was applied to render the tubes plastic again and cause them to assume an approximately globular shape. It appears that too much heat caused the glass in some of the Utz site specimens to melt and begin to flow, resulting in irregular shapes.

The specimens with sprues and, particularly, the two connected by a solid stalk of glass evidently were made by a process known as the "blown glass" method. Murray (1964: 17) quoted in Davis (1972: 66) noted this process resulted in a "connected chain of beads, broken apart after being removed from the mold". The bores of these connected beads are exactly aligned and are the same diameter. Davis observed, further (1972: 67) that this type of bead has rarely been found in North American sites.

Several specimens of Variety 1 have eroded considerably, with resultant pitting of the surface and a general porosity extending for a certain depth into the glass. This porosity changes the hue of the bead, which ranges from the basic blue to a pale, greenish blue. Variety 1 occurs with burials, particularly, but also in refuse pits and on the surface of the site. There are 171 specimens in all collections studied (Figure 15, e).

Variety 2. These are blue, translucent, elongate spheroidal beads. The size

ranges from 12.5 x 7.5 x 2.5 mm to 8.0 x 4.5 x 1.5 mm. They were drawn and tumbled. They have been affected relatively little by weathering. One specimen alone shows iridescence and numerous minute surface pits. There are 11 specimens (Fig. 15, c).

Variety 3. This is a small, opaque, aquamarine, doughnut shaped bead. The dimensions are 3 x 2 x 0.5 mm. They were finished by tumbling. There are two specimens (Fig. 15, f).

Variety 4. This is a translucent blue, doughnut shaped bead drawn and finished by tumbling. Air bubbles are apparent. The dimensions are 3 x 1.5 x 0.5 mm. There is one specimen (Fig. 15, f).

Variety 5. This bead is opaque white and spheroidal in shape. Because of its nacreous luster, it rather resembles a pearl. There are six specimens—five from the Millard collection and one from the Taylor collection. Average dimensions are 6 x 5 x 0.5 mm. Drawn and finished by tumbling (Fig. 15, e).

Variety 6. This is similar to Variety 1 in shape and in its basic blue color but it has opaque, dark red, diagonal, unconnected stripes. These are only on the body of the bead and do not extend to the bore. The stripe is on the surface and has been applied as a separate strip. There is only one specimen and its dimensions are 8 x 7 x 1 mm. It is a compound bead finished by tumbling. Van Buskirk collection (Fig. 15, g).

Variety 7. A single specimen of a tubular (cane) bead is deep blue and translucent. It is slightly iridescent. One end is tool cut and the other is broken. Dimensions are 14 x 3 x 0.5 mm. Van Buskirk collection (Fig. 15, h).

Variety 8. Two specimens. It is oblate spheroidal or barrel shaped and is a brilliant translucent blue. The dimensions range from 9 x 8 x 2.5 mm to 6 x 6 x 1 mm. Drawn and finished by tumbling. These were surface finds from the Millard collection (Fig. 15, i).

Variety 9. Three beads of this kind were associated with a burial found in 1969 on SA2-C. It is oblate spheroidal, translucent blue with 10 dull white stripes which run in vertical fashion from one eye to the opposite. It is a compound bead finished by tumbling. Dimensions are 6.5 by 8.5 x 2 mm (Fig. 15, j).

Variety 10. There are three specimens of an oblate, spheroidal, dark purple, translucent bead. One of these occurred with a partial burial uncovered on SA2-C in 1968. The others were surface finds. The smallest is 6 mm in diameter and the eye measures 1.5 mm. The others are approximately the same (Fig. 15, i).

Variety 11. There is one specimen of a tiny blue, doughnut shaped bead. It is 3 x 1 x 0.5 mm. It is similar to Variety 3 except for color difference. (Fig. 15, k).

Variety 12. This is opaque white and oval in form. There are two specimens from the Millard collection. Dimensions of the larger are 10 x 8 x 1.5 mm. The color is identical to no. 5 (Fig. 15, l).

Variety 13. This is practically identical to variety 12 in color but is elongate spheroidal in shape, with a very slight constriction near mid-point. There are six specimens which average 13 x 8 x 2 mm. (Fig. 15, m).

Variety 14. This is one of three similar kinds which differ only in the number and placement of stripes. They are grouped together for descriptive purposes. They are all a very light grayish blue or off-white. They are elongate spheroidal in shape. Two have three sets of three dark blue, wavy stripes parallel with the long axis. One has three sets of three stripes similar to the others except they are spirally arranged with respect to the long axis. Another has four sets of one dark blue stripe. Average size is 19 x 8 x 2.5 mm. They are compound beads finished by tumbling. All four are from the Millard collection and were collected from the surface (Fig. 15, n-p).

Variety 15. This is a tiny, lustrous, white seed bead. There is only one specimen. It is identical to the kind found on later historic Missouri and Osage Indian sites in the area (Millard collection, not figured).

Variety 16. This single specimen is the only transparent bead in the inventory. It was found on the surface of the site, and is in the collections of the Lyman Research Center. The color is a very light blue and it is practically globular in shape. The glass contains numerous air bubbles. It is 7 mm in diameter. Not figured.

Discussion

It is generally held that the vast majority of glass beads found in archaeological and ethnological contexts in North America were manufactured on the island of Murano, part of Venice, in Italy. Glass has been manufactured there since before the 11th century and undoubtedly, the reputation built for Venetian glass is richly deserved. There were, however, at least a small percentage of trade beads made in Holland and Bohemia in the 17th century, and in England in the 19th century. Even a few of the Upper Plains Indians themselves rarely melted trade beads and reformed them into shapes that better suited their fancies.

Van der Sleen (1967: 108-112) paraphrased in Davis (1972: 78-79) discussed Dutch glass making of the early 17th century in Amsterdam, and pointed out that Venetian glass makers had been smuggled out of Venice to Holland, where their methods were copied, including those used in bead production. According to Albert Gerin-Lajoie of Parks Canada, traders in the 17th century, ordered Venetian beads through Dutch suppliers (Gerin-Lajoie, personal communication). In the 15th century, Venice also exported glass tubes to Bohemia where the native glass workers formed them into beads, then sold them back to the Venetians for distribution in the overseas trade. It was not until the beginning of the 19th century, however, that Bohemia entered the bead trade by themselves (Van der Sleen 1967: 114) paraphrased in Davis (1972: 80).

In all probability, the identity of specific colonial powers in pre-1750 trade bead distribution is of secondary importance since the most active countries in North American empire were France, Spain, and England—none of whom manufactured trade beads, in the early years. Differences in bead variety frequencies from place to place are likely much more functions of time involving style changes by manufacturers and the different trade routes used, rather than factors peculiar to the particular colonial power doing the trading. The probability exists, however, that other significant variables were present; the colonials may have found certain varieties of beads were received with greater favor by the Southern Indians than by those in the north or northeast. The importance of color symbolism among different tribes, fad shifts, and probably unsuspected cultural factors no doubt influenced their preferences. Even in the absence of well defined preferences among the Indians, one could still reasonably posit selectivity on the part of the companies ordering the beads and with the traders themselves. Availability of certain styles at the time orders were filled may also have played a part—particularly if customers specified only “mixed varieties.”

Pursuance of these hypotheses and speculations is beyond the scope of this paper; rather we have followed the working assumption that greater reliability in temporal placement may be achieved from inter-site comparisons and consideration of the style range and quantities of trade beads.

Comparisons

Table 3 indicates the extent of similarity of beads from various sites, to those at Utz. All sites considered, except Gilbert, have been dated by their proximity and apparent relationship to documented colonial outposts. Glass beads were numerous at the Gumbo Point Oneota Site and were mostly small, white “seed” beads (Chapman 1959: 48-54). Only one of this type occurred at Utz.

Considerable correspondence in bead varieties at Utz is found with those from several Natchitoches Indian villages dating in the range of 1714-1803 in Louisiana (Gregory and Webb, 1965: 15-44). The initial date was based on the establishment of the French post at Natchitoches, the first west of the Mississippi in the Louisiana Purchase area, and the terminal date upon the westward movement of the Natchitoches about 1803. Individual villages of the Natchitoches were not identified and the kinds of artifacts which seem to be very sensitive as chronological indicators were largely lacking. Beads were not so considered by Gregory and Webb. In some instances, other artifacts of greater dating reliability were referred to more specifically, thus at the Fish Hatchery site (16NA9) a bracelet made from a musket butt plate was dated 1725. Two sites—Los Adaes and Colfax Ferry, were bracketed by the dates 1787 until 1805-10. It is significant that no beads from either of these post-1787 sites can be compared favorably with those from the Utz site (Table 4).

**TABLE 4
BEAD VARIETY COMPARISONS**

Site	Utz Site Bead Variety															Total Bead Count	Total Compared
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
Utz (trading era)	201	11	2	1	6	1	1	2	3	3	1	2	6	4	1	258	--
*Wayland-Smith										1						50	1
*Thurston	1	170														335	171
*Marshall					1			1								6	2
*Clark								1								26+	1
*Lemery	2	1				3										1843	6
Quimby's Middle Historic Sites	x				x			x						x		many	four kinds
*Shepardson	1	1														1604	2
Zimmerman	3					1				71						76	75
Flynn	26															26	26
*Whitney					4											84	29
+ Fish Hatchery	3				95					60	142	79				668	379
+ Southern Compress	5	1								9	7					320	22
+ Lawton					1			16	1							56	20
+ Wilkinson	2	1														14	3
Gilbert (3rd ¼ 18th cent.)	2	33				10										3,453	48
+ Colfax Ferry																42,000	none
+ Los Adaes																65	none
Guebert	1	55	-	2	27	-	1	2	-	7	5	69	2	29	918	2,480	1118
Michilimackinac								4	1			3		20			28

x present

* Oneida Iroquois sites

+ Natchitoches sites

Several similarities may be seen to beads from the Gilbert site in northeastern Texas. The site was occupied mainly during the third quarter of the 18th century (Jelks, ed., 1967: 244). The French, operating out of Louisiana, were undoubtedly the agents for distribution of the European goods. In view of the large number of beads from Gilbert, there would seem to be a very low correlation with Utz even though there are six varieties that are comparable. Utz Variety 1 is not among these.

In New York, trade bead sequences are available for a number of sites of the Oneida Iroquois ranging from 1585 to 1745 (Pratt, 1961). The Dutch and English, as well as the French, were involved in the trade in this area. Terminal dates of all except two of these sites are earlier than the beginning of French contacts at Utz (ca. 1680). Perhaps expectably, we find that there are fewer instances of correspondence with pre-1680 sites than with those centering about the years 1690-1700. In sites dating prior to 1685 there are only two similar cases involving varieties 1 and 2 which comprise 71% of the Utz bead inventory.

Variety 1 is apparently the same bead as the one referred to by Witthoft as "early blue", in eastern North America. "When it [early blue] is predominant—even in small number—the date is close to 1600" (1966a: 205-209). Witthoft stated further that, "Only the early blue—the commonest and cheapest bead type—was passed on into the interior by the native fur trade" (1966a: 206). It is, of course, questionable how far into the interior they were passed on and how rapidly this diffusion took place.

It is difficult to be certain that comparisons of bead types, using descriptions and illustrations only, are accurate. Witthoft's "early blue" certainly seems to be the same bead as Utz Variety 1. If so, Witthoft's statement "...the date is close to 1600", should be amended to read "close to 1700" with respect to the specimens from Utz.

It is interesting that 130 beads of this variety occurred with two adult burials in the same portion of the site. Eleven other burials were excavated nearby but only one was accompanied by glass trade beads—none of which were Variety 1.

Quimby (1966: 87, Fig. 17) illustrates beads which are characteristic of the Middle Historic period, 1670-1760 that appear to be identical to Utz site varieties 9 (row 1, no. 2); 14 (row 1, no. 4; row 3, no. 5); 1 (row 2, no. 7), and 5 (row 5, no. 1). Quimby's illustrations apparently are of beads from several sites together, including the Fatherland Site (1682-1715) in Mississippi; Old Fort Albany (1680-1715) in Ontario, Canada and Fort St. Joseph (1780-1781) near Niles, Michigan. Description of bead varieties from these sites separately are given, but counts are not. Neither are the descriptions matched with the illustrations, a fact which makes specific comparisons difficult.

Trade beads were present at the Zimmerman site on the Illinois River at Starved Rock and were associated with the Danner and Historic Heally

complexes (Brown, ed., 1961: 60-62). The dates (1680-1691) coincide with the approximate beginnings of trade contacts at the Utz Site.

The Guebert site, in southwestern Illinois, was occupied by the Kaskaskia Indians, an Illinoian group, from 1719 until 1774 (Good 1972: 93). Thus, the initial occupation date corresponds closely with the terminal date for the Utz site. There were 2480 beads in the Guebert site collections. The similarity in bead varieties is very high, there being only three found at Utz which are not duplicated at Guebert. These are variety 6 (Fig. 12 g), variety 3 (Fig. 12 f) and variety 9 (Fig. 12 j).

However, there is little comparison in terms of percentage relationships. Varieties 1 and 2, which comprise 71% of Utz site beads, are represented by 56 specimens comprising only about 2.7% of the Guebert beads. Variety 15 at Utz is represented by only one specimen but is one of the most numerous at Guebert.

It has been noted elsewhere that sites not corresponding chronologically with Utz have a generally low correspondence with it in bead varieties. Yet, the initial date of the Guebert occupation is somewhat later than the terminal date of Utz. It may be significant that the Kaskaskias and the Missouris were on the same direct trade route, being served by the same suppliers—indeed, possibly, even by the same individuals in some instances. This undoubtedly was a positive factor in the high degree of similarity in bead varieties at Guebert and Utz. Percentages are not so easily explained.

In northeastern Iowa, the Flynn cemetery Oneota site (Bray, 1961) was thought to relate to the protohistoric Iowa Indians and to date from about 1690 to 1710. During this time span, historic trade objects, including beads, were available to both the Iowa and Missouri. The period of 20 years was the longest time overlap with Utz of any site during the trading era. It is, perhaps, not surprising, then, that there are similarities between the two sites. However, the Flynn site was a cemetery only, and there was only one kind of glass bead, Utz variety 1, that occurred in the material available for study. Other kinds may have been recovered from the site, because it is known to have been frequented by collectors during its brief existence after discovery by road-building crews. Also, a limited excavation was conducted by Dr. Reynold Ruppe, then of the State University of Iowa. As far as is known, his finds were not published.

Fort Michilimackinac was occupied by the French from about 1715 to 1761, and by the British from 1761 to 1781 (Stone 1974: 1). The initial occupation at Michilimackinac was about the same time as the abandonment of the Utz site. Only four of the Utz bead varieties (Nos. 7, 8, 12 and 14) were duplicated at Michilimackinac. None of these were the dominant forms at Utz, and only one (No. 14) was fairly numerous (20 specimens). Thus, it is seen that the similarity to Utz in bead variety is low.

In contrast to Michilimackinac, the Guebert site, with a similar occupational time span, has far greater similarities to Utz. This may indicate

differences in bead inventories among traders of the Lakes country as compared with those entering the Mississippi-Missouri valleys from the south. The Bourgmond expedition must have passed the Kaskaskia village (Guebert site) in 1723, as must have supply boats from New Orleans on their way to the French post, Fort Chartres, on the Illinois, and to the Indian villages up the Missouri.

Thus, it is seen that, as we approach the contact period at Utz (1682-1712), both instances and quantities of bead similarities increase with respect to variety 1.

Other varieties at Utz which are represented by 4 or more specimens are numbers 2, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. Similarities here concentrate among those sites with initial dates not earlier than 1710, notably the Natchitoches sites and Guebert.

Whatever other significance may be attached to these comparisons three things seem to stand out: (1) the closer the sites are in time to the contact period at Utz the greater number of instances of similarity and the greater correspondence with the main bead variety; (2) the site most similar in general cultural content (Flynn) is the one showing the greatest degree of correspondence with the main bead variety and (3) those sites with initial occupations post-dating the abandonment of the Utz site show relatively little or no similarity at all in the bead varieties. One exception to this is Guebert, a site on the same direct trade route as Utz.

These observations seem to indicate that bead styles changed rather rapidly, especially after about 1750; that the geographic location of sites had little to do with the relative quantities of beads among the varieties received; that cultural affinity during the same time period (Flynn-Utz) positively affected bead preferences and that the greater the absolute number of beads from a site having an initial date prior to 1750 the greater the likelihood of one or more instances of similarity.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A total of 991 items of European origin were registered from the Utz site. These items, from four collections, included 714 of brass; 258 glass beads; 9 pieces of iron; five lead shot and four French type gun flints. The shot and flints are suspected to be intrusive, or the result of accidental mixture. All except seven specimens of the brass, with the probable exception of objects made from brass wire, were native-made from scrap and most were ornamental in nature. The reverse was true of the iron group, in which all except three were European made and utilitarian in nature.

Some of the native-made tools and weapons were copies of prototypes conceived and executed in stone and bone, while others appear to be copies of traditional European forms. The bulk of the brass cones have aboriginal

prototypes in form but not in assumed usage.

The inventory is generally similar to those reported from contact sites in the vicinities of various forts established by Europeans. The relative percentages of specific trade items and, to a certain extent, the kinds of such items vary from place to place. This is true probably because of the selectivity exercised by collectors; the lack of attempts to secure random samples in any case; the confinement of data to burial goods in some instances and numerous other equally or more significant variables.

Perhaps the most significant observation is the fact that European trade goods constitute only a tiny fraction of the total cultural content at the Utz site. It is obvious from this that European trade had not yet made a great impact on the aboriginal material culture. It would seem to follow that the terminal date of occupation at the Utz site is prior to the establishment of Fort Orleans rather than coincidental with its abandonment.

Implicit in this conclusion is the assumption that the ratio of trade goods to aboriginal goods immediately and rapidly increased among those peoples directly influenced by the establishment of trading posts near them. Further, the historical data strongly support the identification of Gumbo Point or an, as yet, undiscovered Oneota site as the Missouri village attended by Bourgmond in 1714 and, again, in 1723-1724.

The time of first trade contacts among the Oneota at the Utz site is less certain but if we are to assume direct trade it could hardly have been much prior to 1682 when the French began their serious penetration of the Illinois country. Finally, the actual site of Fort Orleans remains unverified although it has probably been approximately located.

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