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NEWSLETTER OF THE LONDON CHAPTER ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY



APRIL, 1984

84-4

BETWEEN A SWAMP AND A WET PLACE THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SAVAGE SITE

Mr. Carl Murphy, a McMaster University graduate student, will be presenting this month's talk. Members may recall Carl's intriguing article in KEWA 83-9 describing the ceramic human figurines recovered from his unusual site.

Meeting time is 8:00 P.M. on Thursday, April 12 at the Museum of Indian Archaeology.

Come and learn more of the mysteries of Kent County!

So...let's have another good turnout this month. See you there!

Chapter Executive

Robert Pihl (225-2527)
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encouraged to speak with an executive member at our upcoming meeting.

Final topics of business involved plans for special advertising of Dr. Killan's talk in May and the need for printing more Chapter membership cards. George has suggested that a new and "flashier" design is in order - did you hear that Ian?

SOCIAL REPORT

As mentioned above, this summer's Chapter Picnic has been tentatively scheduled for Saturday, June 9 at Fanshawe Park. The ever more competitive games and the ever popular pot luck supper will be featured! Mark that date on your calendar!

CONFERENCE CALENDAR

March 30 - 31	Second Conference on Prehistoric Chert Exploitation Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
April 18 - 21	Canadian Archaeological Association Seventeenth Annual Meeting Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.
June 9 - 10	Trade Gun Conference Rochester Museum and Science Center
September 19 - 23	Association for Preservation Technology Annual Conference Toronto, Ont.

Ian Kenyon has kindly volunteered the following article which describes some of his most recent research into the temporal placement of early seventeenth century glass bead types:

SAGARD'S "RASSADE ROUGE" OF 1624

Ian Kenyon

INTRODUCTION

Of all northeastern tribes in the early 17th century, the Hurons are the most richly documented. Most notably there are the accounts of Champlain's visit in 1615-16, Sagard's in 1623-24 and many volumes of the Jesuit Relations, which describe in detail their missionary work in Huronia between 1626 and 1650 (in which year the Huron abandoned their homeland). A measure of this documentary wealth is the number of substantial and excellent contributions made to Huron ethnology by such modern scholars as Tooker, Heidenreich, and Trigger. As well, there have been a number of

attempts to identify the locations of particular Huron village sites. Notable here is the massive, somewhat outdated, but still useful study by A.E. Jones (1909), Old Huronia, and more recently Heidenreich's (1971) reassessment of this material, incorporating new archaeological and cartographic information. It would be fair to say that the Huron culture, as recorded in the French accounts, is THE model for the study of early Iroquois society. From this one might also think that Huron archaeology would provide a similar model, which it does to some extent. Yet the promise of Huron archaeology remains unfulfilled, with certain topics still poorly understood, in particular, the dating of trade good assemblages. There are only a few sites that have both good-sized trade good collections and historically well-dated contexts; most importantly, Ste. Marie I, 1639-1649 (Kidd, 1949) and Ste. Marie II, 1649-1650 (Carruthers, 1965). More typical are sites that have large collections but cannot be historically dated with complete confidence, or reasonably closely identified sites with only small collections. Unfortunately, sites have often been excavated simply because they were there rather than to answer specific questions; the result of this piecemeal approach has, of course, been piecemeal results. Adding to these problems is the nature of the historical record itself. Somewhere detailed trade inventories may exist for the early 17th century, but, if so, historians have been slow to locate them. For example, a lengthy volume of documents primarily consisting of economic records of the 1590-1622 period (Le Blant and Baudry, 1967) contains no listing or description of trade goods despite the fact that many of the individuals and companies named therein were actively involved in the New World fur trade. The narratives by Champlain, Sagard and others contain frequent references to trade and to trade goods, but usually these accounts lack specificity. This is understandable, for these men were more concerned with describing the stirring events and unusual customs of new-found lands and peoples than with mundane facts about the particulars of trade goods.

GLASS BEADS AS DATING TOOLS

Of all categories of trade goods glass beads are probably the single **most useful** dating tool. They are relatively plentiful on sites, occur in a wide variety of styles, and seemingly display rapid changes through time. For the Ontario Iroquois there is a reasonably good seriation of trade beads, with 3 distinct periods being identified (Kenyon and Kenyon, 1982; Fitzgerald, 1983). In question, however, are the calendrical dates that should be assigned to these periods.

The first period is only known from three Ontario sites, all burial components-Kleinburg, Snyder and Carton. A similar collection has been obtained from the burials at the Seneca Adams site (Wray, 1982). The assemblages found on these sites are rather diverse, the beads coming in a variety of shapes, colours and sizes. This stands somewhat in contrast with the assemblages characteristic of the later two periods where there are only a few dominant bead shapes and colours, despite a plethora of minor types. Possibly the heterogeneity of early bead assemblages is a byproduct of the free and unregulated trade that existed in New France before the establishment of a monopoly in 1599. It may be that the rival Norman, Breton, Basque and Rochelle fur traders each had somewhat differing trade kits, obtained from different suppliers.

The second period is typified by a monotonous and predictable assemblage consisting primarily of dark blue or white beads of tubular, oval, and, less frequently, round shapes. At least 19 Ontario sites, 4 of them Huron, can be assigned to this period. It is Period II that is represented at the well-known Warminster site, which has been identified as Cahiague, a Huron village visited by Champlain in 1615-16.

It is tempting to associate the introduction of this assemblage with the early fur trade monopolies, especially those of the 1600-1608 era, since the characteristic white tubular beads dominate at the Ste. Croix Island site (Bradley, 1982), which represents the 1604-1605 wintering post of the de Monts company.

The third period, found on at least 36 Ontario sites, is dominated by round and tubular beads, usually of either red or light blue glass. The fortified Jesuit missions of Ste. Marie I (1639-1649) and Ste. Marie II (1649-1650) have Period III glass bead assemblages. Quantitative analysis of Period III assemblages suggests some time trends within this period (Kenyon and Fitzgerald, 1984).

THE RED SHIFT

A major difference between Period II and III occurs with respect to the dominant colours of the two assemblages. This is clearly indicated in the histograms displaying the frequencies of primary colours in 6 Ontario bead assemblages, 3 representing "typical" Period II sites and 3 Period III collections (Figure 1): the blue and white dominance of the earlier sites standing in sharp contrast with the red and blue of the later ones.

What caused such a sudden shift in the bead assemblages and at what time did this occur? Kenyon and Kenyon (1982) have speculated that this may have happened between 1615 and 1625 when the Huron became increasingly important in the New France fur trade and also at a time when Champlain, some Recollect priests, and fur traders lived among them, learning something of Huron culture and values. Perhaps as a result of this experience -- and what follows is pure conjecture -- trading kits were introduced that would appeal directly to the Hurons, especially beads of valued colours like red. In contrast, the earlier trade kit, containing principally the blue and white beads, may have been directed more at the coastal and St. Lawrence valley Algonquian peoples, such as the Montagnais and Micmac.

Fitzgerald (1982;1983) places the colour shift at a slightly later date, ca. 1628-1632. His line of argumentation is better reasoned than the Kenyon and Kenyon conjecture, but nonetheless still relies on indirect evidence. Fitzgerald notes that between 1620 and 1627 the St. Lawrence fur trade monopoly was held by de Caen, who was based in the Normand port of Rouen. However, in 1627, the French Crown revoked the de Caen monopoly and replaced it with the "Company of One Hundred Associates". Unlike the de Caen company, the new company was composed mostly of Parisians, and, at the instigation of Cardinal Richelieu, it had a policy of excluding Protestants, who previously had played a significant role in the New World trade (for example, G. de Caen himself and de Monts, the holder of the 1604-1608 monopoly, were both Protestants). Although the Hundred Associates was formed in 1627 it did not actively trade in the upper St. Lawrence until 1633, for during the intervening years the English, led by the Kirke brothers, had temporary control of the St. Lawrence. With the domination of the Hundred Associates, Fitzgerald proposes that the trade good assemblages should change, since the Rouen and other coastal suppliers would have been replaced by Parisian ones. According to this view the differences between the Period II and III bead assemblages is then a reflection of this change in suppliers.

Now, it is true that the majority of the 100 assoicates were Parisians, however, most of them were either hatters, "noble hommes" or the equivalents of civil servants;

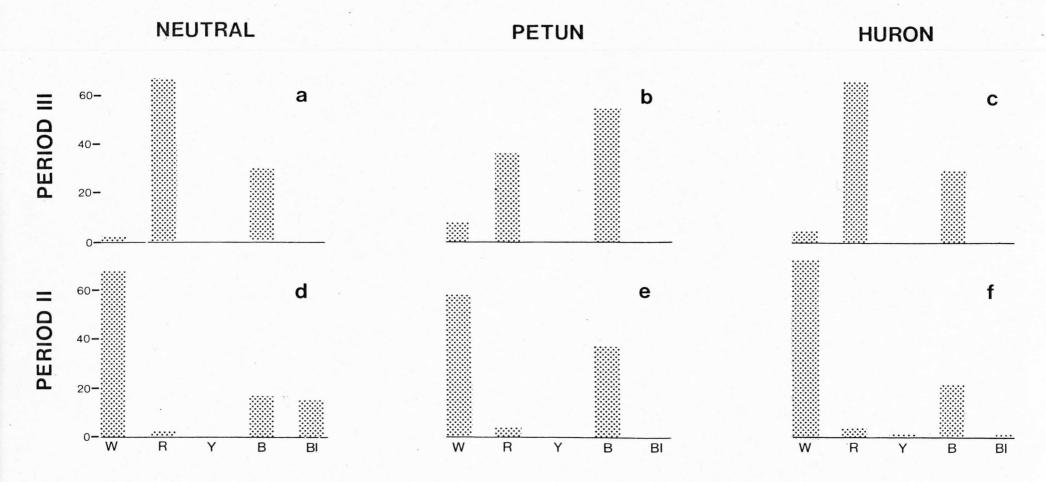


Figure 1: THE RED SHIFT, the changing colour spectrum of glass trade beads from early (Period II) to late (Period III). Primary colour abbreviations: W, white; R, red; Y, yellow; B, blue; Bl, black. Note: all figures are percentages, with polychrome beads counted as fractions; "rose wine" beads counted as black. Sites: a, Dwyer (Fitzgerald, 1982); b, Campbell-Kelly (Garrad, 1978; 1982); c, Train (own notes); d, Shaver Hill (Fitzgerald, 1982); e, Melville (Garrad, 1978; 1982); f, Warminster (Sykes, 1983).

that is, most appear to have been either gentlemen investors or hatters who desired an assured and inexpensive supply of beaver felt (Trudel, 1979:415-43 provides a list of the associates, their occupations and place of residence). Yet despite the dominance of Paris, a number of Rouenese, mostly "marchands", were part of the company. Of note here was the Rosée family, the father Jean being one of the original associates, his son, also named Jean, continuing the family connection after inheriting his father's share sometime before 1642. By the early 1650's, the younger Rosee had formed a partnership with another Rouenese merchant, Toussaint Guernet, this company taking an active role in New World commerce. Of significance here is that it was from Toussaint Guernet of Rouen that in 1677 the Abbé Tronson placed an order for glass beads (presumably Guernet was not the bead manufacturer but likely acted as a jobber). Tronson's order (Pritchard, 1973:67) was for large red and black beads intermixed with a few striped ones-exactly matching the bead types found on Iroquois sites of the 1670's and 1680's, as for example, at the Seneca village of Boughton Hill (Wray, 1982). The relationships among Guernet, Rosée, and the Hundred Associates suggests that even in the 1630's Rouen may have been the source of many of the glass beads traded in New France. In this connection it must be noted that Normandy, Rouen in particular, was one of the French centres of glass manufacture, although the extent to which it was involved in supplying glass beads for the fur trade is uncertain. Kenneth Kidd has written that:

...it would be surprising not if beads of French manufacture were traded to the New World but if they were not so traded. The fact that Normandy, whence the greater portion of the Canadian settlers came, was one of the major centres for the final processing of beads seems to suggest that there was in that province a good market for them. What better market than that afforded by the constant stream of adventurers and businessmen with interests in the New World? (Kidd, 1979: 31-32).

A HUNDRED LITTLE TUBES

Perhaps one of the most specific historical references to glass beads occurs in the Jesuit Relations for 1653-54, which describes a series of gifts the French made to an Iroquois delegation. Among the gifts were a "hundred little tubes or pipes of red glass, which constitute the diamonds of the country....cents petits tuyaux ou canons de verre rouge qui sont les diamas du pais (Thwaites, 1896-1901, 41: 110-11)."

This description is nicely matched by the glass bead assemblages found on mid-17th century sites, where indeed many of the beads are red tubes, as for example at Ste. Marie I (1639-49) and, in New York, at the Onondaga Lot 18 site, which has suggested dates of 1650-55 (Bradley, 1976).

This passage also illustrates a significant feature of the French language; namely, that there was no single word which was the equivalent of the English "bead". In 17th French documents there are at least 5 words commonly used to denote "bead": rassade, canon, tuyau, patinotre, and grain. This semantic complexity of French may be significant in that the identification of the precise denotations of these words may permit a more refined understanding of glass bead varieties.

It would take a far better linguist than myself to disentangle the various uses and meanings of these words. Some of the differences may be indicative of the physical properties of beads -- their material, size, shape and colour -- but some distinctions may be dialectical or idiosyncratic. Some writers only ever seem to use one word. For example, Champlain (Biggar, 1922-1936) and the writer(s) of Cartier's narratives (Biggar, 1924) use only the word patenostre. Strictly speaking patenostre denotes rosary beads, and it is so rendered in the english translation of Champlain. However, the context makes it clear that neither Champlain nor Cartier were using patenostre in this strict sense but rather were using it in a looser way. In the Jesuit Relation account of 1653-54 given above, the words tuyau and canon were used, both of which have the connotation of tube or tubular; hence the writer of the passage uses both words as if synonyms, perhaps realizing that his readers were not equally familiar with both words. Grain is seemingly restricted to shell beads: e.g. "grains de pourceleine -- beads of shell".

SAGARD VISITS THE SORCERERS

Another passage describing glass beads occurs in an earlier account; namely, that of Sagard, a Recollect missionary. The Recollects had started their missionary work among the Huron in 1615-16, when Father Joseph LeCaron wintered in Huronia. Sagard came to New France in June of 1623, arriving in Huronia by August. He left the Country of the Hurons about May of 1624, reaching Quebec in July, and then travelling on to France. He never returned to the New World. Although Sagard's stay was brief and his missionary efforts of limited success, his fame today rests on his writings: he was the only Recollect working in the 1620's who left an extensive account of his experiences in New France. Sagard's narrative of his 1623-24 trip, Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons, was first published in 1632. This volume not only describes Sagard's activities in New France but also includes an excellent description of Huron culture (with a few borrowings from Champlain). Sagard reworked this account, rewriting certain passages, and inserting additional material on New France, the result being published in 1636 as *Histoire du Canada*. Added to the 1632 volume was a Huron dictionary and phrase book (the first and last to appear in typeset form), which for some reason was not reprinted in the Champlain Society edition of 1939, but fortunately included in the Tross (1866) edition of Histoire du Canada.

The passage of Sagard most relevant here occurs not in his sections on the Huron but rather in his account of the return trip to Quebec. In 1624, accompanied by a party of Hurons, Sagard entered Lake Nipissing stopping at a settlement of Nipissing Indians, who were known to the French as the Epicerinys or Sorcerers. There Sagard attempted to barter for some food:

nous traittasmes des Epicerinys un morceau d'Esturgeon, pour un petit cousteau fermant que je leur donnay: car leur ayant voulu donner de la rassade rouge en eschange, ils n'en firent aucun estat, au contraire de toutes les autres Nations, qui sont plus d'estat des rouges que des autres.

(Sagard, 1939: 395)

We obtained from the Epicerinys a piece of sturgeon in trade for a small clasp-knife which I gave them, for when we tried to give them red glass beads in exchange they took no interest in them, quite unlike all the other tribes, which make more of the red beads than of other kinds.

(Sagard, 1939: 249-50)

Sagard also included this passage in his *Histoire du Canada*, although it was slightly reworded:

je traictay un morceau d'esturgeon pour un petit cousteau fermant, car ils ne firent point estat de rassade rouge, qui est celle que toutes les autres Nations estimoient principalement.

(Sagard, 1866: 729)

I traded for a piece of sturgeon with a small clasp-knife, since they not at all value red glass beads, which all the other tribes especially esteem.

AN EYE FOR BEADS

There are a number of significant aspects in the above account. One is Sagard's word for bead, rassade. As suggested before, the semantic domain of the various French words for bead are somewhat uncertain. In the Grand Voyage, Sagard uses two words, rassade and patinotre. In reference to glass beads or possible glass beads, rassade occurs 6 times in Grand Voyage and patinotre twice. In one passage they occur together, suggesting that Sagard made a lexical distinction between them: les Rassades, Patinotres et autre bagatelles que les Francois leur traitent (Sagard, 1939: 344; see also Sagard, 1866: 345), The other occurrence of patinotre is worthy of mention. In his discussion of dress and ornamentation Sagard (1939: 145, 345) notes that a tribe that he knows about (not the Huron) hang from their noses a "very large blue bead" ("une assez grosse Patinotre bleuë"), a passage that is repeated twice with slightly different wordings in the Histoire (Sagard, 1866: 194, 348). Although the identity of the tribe is not stated, the practice of using such nose ornaments is a well-known trait of the Ottawas (Kinietz, 1965: 234-35), Champlain even illustrating an Ottawa warrior with a large oval bead hanging from his nose. The large blue bead mentioned by Sagard possibly refers to "star" or "chevron" beads, which are present in small numbers on many early 17th century sites.

Sagard's distinction between patinotre and rassade may have been based, possibly, on structure, perhaps patinotre referring to multicoloured beads and rassade to monochrome ones. Or maybe the difference was in size. Regardless of period most early to mid 17th century beads found on Ontario sites are of a fairly small diameter, usually from 3 to 7 mm. Patinotre may refer to slightly larger beads, like star beads

which range from the 3-7 mm diameter class up to egg-sized specimens over 20 mm in diameter. The round bone/ivory rosary beads occurring on mid-century sites have diameters in the vicinity of 7 mm to 12 mm.

Perhaps of significance is that in the text of the *Grand Voyage*. Sagard never uses *canon* or *tuyau*, which are the words found in the 1653-54 account. This may suggest the possibility that Sagard's *rassades* were not of the correct shape to be properly described as *canon* or *tuyau*; that is, the beads he was referring to may have been round rather than tubular. Curiously, in his dictionary the word *canon* is used several times, more often, in fact, than either *rassade* or *patinotre*:

FRENCH	HURON
Canons de verre	Anontatsé
Canons de pourceleine	Einsta
Rassade	Acoinna
Pour mettre, pour serrer	
des canons (se sont des longues	
patinotres a se parer)	Anontatsehoirhousta
be parely	\ Outerousta

The use of the word canon in the dictionary but nowhere in the text of Grand Voyage adds support to the common belief that Sagard was not the sole author of the dictionary (see Robinson in Sagard, 1939: xlv-xlvii), and that he had borrowed a considerable part of it from someone who had spent more time studying the Huron language than had Sagard. It is certain that the Recollect Joseph Le Caron, who had first laboured among the Hurons in 1615-16, had at that time compiled a "pretty correct dictionary" (Le Clerq, 1881: 106). Le Caron wintered with the Hurons in 1623-24, as did Sagard, and continued his linguistic studies, adding to it grammatical rules and principles. This last work was presented to the King in 1625 but is apparently now lost (Le Clerq 1881: 249). It is likely that Sagard had access to Le Caron's work during his stay among the Huron, adapting it to his own ends. Sagard was certainly not above borrowing the words of others as the Grand Voyage contains a few passages lifted from the writings of Champlain and Lescarbot. Possibly, then, the use of canon in the dictionary is not Sagard's but rather Le Caron's. This difference in usage may be dialectical or idiosyncratic, but it may also represent actual differences in the objects they were observing. Le Caron's linguistic work started 8 years before Sagard's arrival, and it is entirely possible that canon referred to a bead style rapidly dropping out of favour by 1623-24. Of note in the Huron dictionary is the parenthetical explanation of canons -- they are long patinotres. Aside from the words for shell beads, at least two Huron words are given for beads: acoinna and anontatsé. The Jesuit Relations of 1639 notes that the Huron word for bead (rassade) was the same as their word for "eye", and indeed Sagard's dictionary gives acoinna as the Huron word for yeux. For round and circular beads this eye/bead metaphor is appropriate, the bead's line hole appearing much like the pupil of an eye. Here one is reminded of certain stone and clay pipes where beads are in fact used to represent eyes; for example, the shell discoidal beads used as eyes in a Neutral owl effigy (Tuck, 1978: 333); Charles Wray has collected some clay pipes from Seneca sites where round glass beads, line hole placed outwards, are used as the eyes in effigies. But if Acoinna/eye/rassade forms one set of meanings, what of Anontatse/canon with no eye metaphor? Perhaps once again it may be suggested that the reference is to beads that are not round and not eye-like; namely tubes.

Although the evidence is far from clear, Sagard's rassade may refer then to beads that are not large (not patinotres) and round (they are not canon or tuyau).

BEWARE A FRENCHMAN BEARING GIFTS

Another point of interest in the Sagard passage is the reaction of the Nipissings to the red beads. Sagard was rather surprised by their rejection, for "all the other tribes" highly valued these beads. Of course, by "all the other" Sagard must have been referring to those peoples that he knew best, the Huron and the Ottawa. This indicates that the Great Lakes trade in red beads was well established by 1624. Why did the Nipissings refuse the red beads? Is it simply that they did not value the colour red as did the Hurons? This seems unlikely as the Nipissings are known to have used red paint in their rock art, like other northern tribes, and they even had their own red ochre quarry (Conway, personal communication). Was it that they did not like red beads? If they did not, then this hardly explains the presence of red glass beads at the Frank Bay site on Lake Nipissing, a site which has been attributed to the Nipissings. Unfortunately the 17th century sequence at Frank Bay is difficult to disentangle, since trade goods spanning almost the entire century have been recovered from the site (Brizinski, 1980). One component is seemingly represented by a series of tubular and oval blue or white beads (Period II) and a much later one by a group of large pea-sized red and black beads, typical of the 1670's and 1680's (in fact a good match for the 1677 glass bead order discussed previously). Perhaps the Nipissings' attitude to red beads had changed in the 50 or so years between Sagard's visit and the appearance of red glass beads at Frank Bay.

There is, however, another possibility: that the Nipissings of Sagard's time, rather than not valuing red glass beads, greatly esteemed them, but, as with many other such valued objects, they were regarded as having magical properties, being filled with power, both good and evil. Bear in mind that one of the names for the Nipissings was the "Sorcerers"; they were a people who both practiced and feared witchcraft. Perhaps to them red glass beads were both valued and dangerous, dangerous at least when proffered by someone they could only have perceived as being a French sorcerer, Sagard himself. Unfortunately, the answer to the apparent Nipissing avoidance of red glass beads (or alternatively to the avoidance of French sorcerers bearing dangerous gifts) can only be answered by the construction of a detailed trade good sequence for this tribe -- and this simply does not exist at the present time.

RED DIAMONDS

But if the Nipissings were unwilling to accept Sagard's red beads, it is clear that by implication others were anxious to do so. Indeed, so popular were the red beads among the Iroquois that in the 1650's, as we have seen, the French described the red tubes as the "diamonds of the country". Of significance here is that red glass beads are far more common in the 17th century Great Lakes trade than they are in the Southeastern United States, as Smith and Good (1982) have demonstrated.

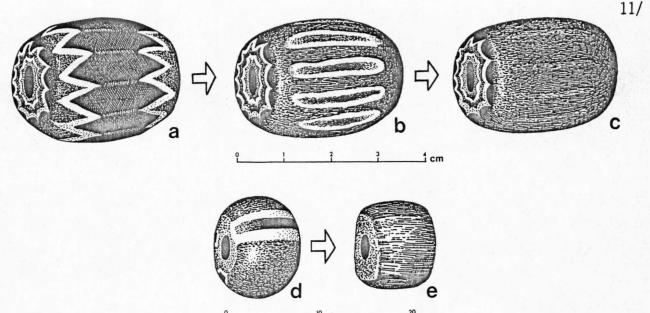


Figure 2: Modification sequences of glass beads having underlying red layers: a, b, c, "star" or "chevron" beads (types III k & m); d & e, red round beads with blue-in-white stripes (type IIbb1).

Some measure of the Ontario Iroquoian's obsession with red can be seen in their modification and reworking of glass trade beads. It is well-known that large star beads are sometimes ground to reveal their underlying red layer. Star beads typically have 7 layers: the four innermost layers are thin, consisting of alternating bands of transparent and opaque white glass. This core is covered by a thick layer of red glass, then opaque white, and finally blue. Usually the star beads found in Ontario have been made from tubes, which have about six factory-produced facets at each end revealing the underlying "starry" white and red glass layers at the ends; however, the visually dominant colour is still the outer layer of blue. Figure 2 illustrates the modification sequence, from the original factory made bead (Fig. 2a), to a bead with its outer blue layer partly removed to produce what appears as a redbodied bead with blue and white stripes (Fig. 2b) and finally to a bead ground so heavily that it is basically just a red tube (Fig. 2c). Similar treatment is sometimes accorded to round red beads with 3 blue-in-white stripes (IIbb1; Fig. 2d). These are usually modified so that only the three stripes are ground off, resulting in a solid red bead of roughly triangular shape (Fig. 2e).

I have already shown (Fig. 1) that beads containing red are not common on the Period II sites. Those few that do occur are very rarely solid red, typically they are star beads or red-bodied beads with stripes (e.g. IIIk, m; IIbb1; IIIbb3). Now, it is during Period II that this practice of modifying beads seems to first occur. For example, at the Shaver Hill cemetery (Fitzgerald, 1982) and in the Period II graves at the Grimsby Cemetery (W. Kenyon, 1982) are large star beads ground down to their red layer. It seems that although at this time it was principally blue and white beads that were being traded to the Ontario Iroquois, it was the red ones that were truly valued, to the extent that offending blue and white layers would be physically removed from otherwise red beads. Even in Period III, when red beads were being traded in considerable numbers, this practice continued.

CONCLUSION

The significance of the Sagard description of his encounter with the Nipissing in 1624 is that it provides a relatively early date for the common use of red glass trade beads in the French trade. As we have seen, there is a shift from a blue-and-white to a red-and-blue bead assemblage. The Sagard account suggests that his shift must have occurred before 1624. The absence of red beads at the Ste. Croix Island settlement of 1604-05 and the presence there of the characteristic Period II white tubes indicates that this colour shift took place after 1605. If one can accept the Warminster site as the Huron village of Cahiague then dates for this colour shift can be narrowed even further. As shown in Figure 1, the glass beads from Warminster are predominantly of the blue and white (Period II) variety. Now, Cahiague was the village visited by Champlain in 1615-16 and, according to Sagard (1939: 92), this village was abandoned by 1623, the community splitting into two separate villages.

In the early 17th century a major change in the colour palette of glass bead assemblages occurred in the Great Lakes trade. The available evidence indicates that this red shift probably took place sometime between 1605 and 1624, and, if the historical identification of the Warminster site is correct, between 1616 and 1624.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Discussions with Thor Conway, Bill Fitzgerald, Bill Fox, Jamie Hunter and Gary Warrick have considerably clarified my thinking; nonetheless, I am responsible for any bonehead statements.

Thomas Kenyon drew figure 2: Thanks Dad!

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