

**Crafting Culture at Fort St. Joseph:
An Archaeological Investigation of Labor Organization on the Colonial Frontier**

A Master's Thesis Proposal Submitted to the
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Introduction

Broadly defined, archaeology is the study of past human behavior through the material objects that have been left behind. For the historical archaeologist, this study includes analysis of both the documentary and archaeological records. Using both archival and artifactual evidence as two independent means of inquiry about the past, with each enhancing the meaning and legitimacy of the other, a more complete picture of the past can be inferred (Cleland 2001; Leone and Potter 1988). Artifacts serve as active symbols in revealing a person's or group's identity in culture contact situations (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:11). Diachronic studies on culture contact conducted on the frontier can provide information on the interaction and changing relationships that existed between Native and colonial peoples before, during, and after contact (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:12). Material objects take on new meanings in culture contact situations, as they undergo cultural transformations and serve new purposes (Lightfoot 1995). Archaeology plays a pivotal role in identifying the diverse interactions that existed for the otherwise poorly documented histories of indigenous peoples. Unlike documentary evidence, which is often biased and written from a dominant single point of view, material objects are more representative of the choices and actions that people made in their daily lives and reflect the beliefs and practices of the larger community to which these people belonged. These objects are a source of symbolic information about their makers and users (Nassaney 2003:6). Moreover, people who "are without history" (Wolf 1982) and are not (or miss) represented in the documentary record, are represented through the material objects that they left behind. These objects can give insight into many avenues of past cultures' beliefs, practices, and ideologies.

From its very beginning, historical archaeology has been inexorably linked with colonial studies, which focus on how European's responded to their new and unfamiliar surroundings upon contact (Orser 1996:58-59). As a way of studying acculturation, many researchers typically concentrated on the impact of European colonialism on Native peoples and how Native societies were transformed by European influence and dominance (Rubertone 1989:33). However, by viewing colonialism as a "mutualist endeavor" (Orser 1996:64), historical archaeology can analyze the impact of culture contact and change and the influence which each society had on the other. By analyzing changes in form and contextual use, material culture can give insight into various social relationships that existed between the Natives and Europeans (Nassaney 2003). As reflections of their makers and users, artifacts are "rooted in historical and sociocultural conditions and processes" (Jones 1993:182). As such, artifacts may serve as evidence of Native and European contact. The introduction of European manufactured goods to Natives altered aspects of Native life after contact (Lightfoot 1995). The degree of this impact on Natives and Europeans throughout different regions of North America is the subject of much debate (Nassaney and Johnson 2000). Prior to European contact, Native archaeological assemblages lacked European introduced materials such as metal, glass beads, and copper kettles. Post-contact archaeological assemblages of the 17th and 18th centuries demonstrate the influence that European goods had on Native populations (Quimby 1966). The study of post-contact artifacts is significant in evaluating specific cultural transformations that were taking place and how "new cultural traits were adopted, modified, and created to fit within the underlying ideological structure of both non-European and European peoples" (Lightfoot 1995:206). One area of particular

interest where culture contact and interaction has been addressed is the North American fur trade. The North American fur trade linked people and regions economically and politically by European mercantile expansion (Wolf 1982). Material culture can serve as a mechanism to understand the Native-European sociocultural and economic relationships that existed on the colonial frontier. This is relevant to my study because it is now argued that the fur trade involved a series of compromises, whereby French colonists adopted Native values and customs at least as much, and perhaps even more, than the Native peoples incorporated French colonists' ideas and practices (Anderson 1991, 1994; White 1991:50).

Analyzing items of material culture that are associated with European and Native use can demonstrate the influence that each culture had on the other. In order to do this it must be understood that various forms of trade objects took on different meanings depending on the social contexts in which they were used (Nassaney and Johnson 2000). Often material objects were traded to Natives in their completeness (such as axes or kettles) in exchange for raw materials (such as furs or fish) (Nassaney and Johnson 2000:14). Previous interpretations of the impact of European contact placed the Native populations as passive recipients to European dominance (Anderson 1991). Until the 1950s, anthropologists and historians viewed assimilation as the only possible outcome for Native Americans during the contact period (McLaren 1996). Early archaeological studies focused on the changes in artifacts types and how these changes demonstrated Natives becoming acculturated to European lifeways (Nassaney and Johnson 2000:8). However, over the past twenty or so years, a new paradigm for viewing Native peoples in the fur trade has emerged. Previously, Native peoples have been portrayed as minor

characters, playing limited roles in the conduct of trade (Anderson 1994:93). Though, it can now be demonstrated that Native peoples were not passive recipients of European goods, but rather active and aggressive participants in the fur trade, who sought to shape the trade according to their own interests and cultural values (Anderson 1994; White 1991; Van Kirk 1980). This new paradigm demonstrates how Natives transformed and incorporated imported European goods into their own traditional ideological systems, encoding these objects with new ideological and symbolic meanings (Nassaney and Cremin 2003; Nassaney and Johnson 2000).

Native-European interaction has been studied through material culture in various disciplines including personal adornment (Brain 1979; Kidd and Kidd 1970; Smith 2002; Stone 1974; Walthall and Brown 2001), ceramics (Cordell 2002; Johnson 2000) and mortuary studies (Nassaney 2003). By studying items relating to craft production and exchange, this study will analyze and demonstrate the way in which Europeans and Natives in the western Great Lakes region transformed and incorporated each other's material culture into their own respective culture and customs. This cultural invention of a common, mutual world is what historian Richard White has described as "the middle ground" (White 1991:50). White proposes that a new set of common conventions were the outgrowth of each side's attempts to apply its own cultural expectations in new contexts (White 1991:52). The middle ground was a figurative place that Natives and Europeans met in order to accommodate each others cultural values and needs (White 1991:50). The adoption of each other's beliefs and practices between the Natives and French can be recognized through the material culture that has been left behind. Objects such as copper and brass kettles were popular trade and gift items amongst the Natives.

Besides being used for their intended utilitarian household functions such as cooking, kettles played a major role in craft production (Morand 1994; Turgeon 1997). As they wore down they were cut up and readapted for new uses, such as tinkling cones and projectile points. Extensive amounts of scrap metal and slag found at French colonial contact sites, i.e. Fort Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph, are an indication of on site production (Morand 1994). The notion of reuse and repair seen archaeologically illustrates an alternative method for acquiring goods, beyond the boundaries of the fur trade (Morand 1994). Modifications made to European introduced goods to form new material objects are an indication of how Natives were incorporating and transforming European goods into their own cultural identities. This suggests that new material objects were being integrated into existing Native cultural traditions, rather than the Natives adopting new and imposing cultural values and transformations (Miller and Hamell 1986). By examining material items that pertain to craft production, an awareness that the Europeans and Natives adopted each other's values and customs in their daily lives begins to emerge (White 1991).

The early focus of French colonial archaeological studies has predominately revolved around the search for Great Men, forts and battlefields, and Native American responses to French colonization (Waselkov 1997:12). Cultural interaction and change between the French and Natives has been examined through the changing forms of material culture (Brain 1979; Morand 1994). To understand the meanings behind these materials, we must first understand how particular objects were used by the culture that produced and introduced them (the French) as well as the culture that acquired them (the Natives) (Turgeon 1997). By tracing the "transcultural movement" (Turgeon 1997:610)

of an object through time, such as a copper kettle, it should be possible to discover how Europeans and Natives adopted each others' goods, thus encoding these objects with new altered meanings. The effects of culture contact in the transformation of the French and Native cultures can be exhibited through studies conducted on the fur trade. By examining locally produced items of material culture, such as tinkling cones, rolled rivets, scrap metal, and projectile points, this study will demonstrate the sociocultural significance of on-site craft production that existed at Fort St. Joseph. The goal of this research is to understand how craft production was organized and also what was being produced at Fort St. Joseph. I will accomplish this goal by tracing the production of tinkling cones at Fort St. Joseph from their origin as copper kettles and by comparing this production to similar activities at Fort Michilimackinac.

Erected in 1691, in what is now southwest Michigan, Fort St. Joseph was strategically built along the St. Joseph River and was the gateway to the southern Great Lakes region. For many years, Fort St. Joseph was at the center of French-Indian interaction. Before the French and Indian War (1755-1762) ended, the French garrison was withdrawn, leaving only a dozen people behind who supported themselves through trade and interaction with the Natives (Ballard 1973; Idle 2003). Fort St. Joseph provides an avenue to examine the impact of culture contact and the changing relationships that existed on the colonial frontier during the fur trade. By utilizing multiple forms of evidence, this study will examine the middle ground by analyzing how the fur trade was a mechanism by which Europeans were transformed by their encounter with Native peoples.

Literature Review

Material Analysis and Culture Contact

Archaeology has the unique task of providing a tangible, material approach to studying past people and their cultures (Dunham 2000). As such, a major goal in archaeology is to construct an accurate interpretation of various aspects of past cultures' beliefs, practices, and ideologies through the material objects that they left behind. Historical archaeologists have embraced this goal by combining the archaeological record with the historical record. Although material culture is commonly associated with artifacts, historical archaeology and related disciplines, such as ethnohistory, recognize artifactual and documentary records as tangible "symbols" which are subject to various forms of interpretation (Nassaney and Johnson 2000:4). Furthermore, by combining multiple lines of evidence, a wider spectrum of interpretation can be opened, thereby expanding the scope and increasing the potential of historical inquiry.

In the 1980s archaeology and historical archaeology in particular, began to question and challenge the "new" or processual archaeology which was primarily quantitatively orientated. The post-processual archaeology emphasized the meaning behind material culture. Out of this arose a method concerned with qualitative and symbolic meaning (Shackel and Little 1992). This methodology emerged in reaction to a discipline that dehumanized archaeology. In an effort to understand the sociocultural system that existed at Fort St. Joseph, material culture can be used to interpret the beliefs, values, ideas and attitudes of individuals and their respective cultures (Conkey and Spector 1984; Shackel and Little 1992).

Combining archaeological evidence with other historical literature and documents allows for wider avenues of historical interpretation. Artifacts are the traditional source of information that archaeologists rely on to interpret the past (Mrozowski et al. 1996). Material objects are the direct products of the people who made, used, and discarded them. As such, material objects can represent even the most mundane activities in daily life. However, it has been demonstrated that by drawing on multiple sources of evidence as independent lines of inquiry, different interpretations can be incorporated which can either “support, refute, or modify one’s proposed interpretation” (Lightfoot 1995:205). Integrating archaeological and historiographic methods strengthens one’s historical interpretation (Spores 1980:579). This can be seen through studies conducted on the fur trade during European contact in the 18th century western Great Lakes region.

Various studies of culture interaction and change have been conducted in the context of the fur trade (Quimby 1966; Sleeper-Smith 2002; Van Kirk 1980; White 1991). An important focus in examining culture contact and subsequently culture change, is understanding how Natives and Europeans reacted to one another in diverse culture contact situations. Previous studies limited themselves to a one-sided perception of colonialism as a transfer of ideas and objects from Europeans to non-Europeans (Rubertone 1989). These studies focus on the impact that Europeans had on Native peoples (Quimby 1966). For example, Quimby’s (1966) early work on the western Great Lakes region focused on Native sites associated with European artifacts to measure the “effectiveness” (Orser 1996:61) of acculturation and colonization (Quimby 1966). Quimby proposed that the greater frequencies of European artifacts being collected from Native occupied sites meant that there was likely a greater degree of cultural change and

transformation being experienced by the Natives. Similarly, Fitting (1976) developed a numerical index to express the efficiency of European tools. This index suggested that Native peoples would need to adopt European lifeways, thus making them more like European colonists (Fitting 1976). In this view of the fur trade, Native peoples are portrayed as minor characters who had limited roles in the conduct of trade (Anderson 1994:93). Thus, Natives are perceived as passive victims of European dominance.

More recent interpretations of culture contact in the western Great Lakes region have come to recognize the complexities and dynamics of the fur trade. Recent studies have challenged the dominant perception of Natives as passive recipients to European dominance (Anderson 1994). Such studies emphasize that the fur trade involved a series of cultural compromises in which Native and French values and customs were selectively and consciously chosen in order to accommodate each others needs (White 1991).

Canadian theorist and historian, Sylvia Van Kirk, in *Many Tender Ties* (1980), analyzed how the fur trade was not merely an economic activity, but also a complex social and cultural endeavor that fostered mutual dependencies between Natives and European traders (Van Kirk 1980). As a result, “a unique society emerged which derived from both Indian and European customs and technology” (Van Kirk 1980:3). Van Kirk demonstrates the importance in understanding both the male and female roles within a society. She postulated that in order to understand the dynamics of social change one must take into account the interactions between the men and women.

Historian Richard White in *The Middle Ground* (1991) focuses on seventeenth century Native-European contact in the Great Lakes region. For White the “middle ground” as he labels it, refers to a dynamic process of ongoing change and adaptations

across cultures (White 1991). White's premise is that contact between the Natives and Europeans during the fur trade was a mutual endeavor with particular cultural accommodations taking place in the common interests of both parties (White 1991:50). This common, mutual world is the middle ground --- a place between cultures where accommodation results in cultural change (White 1991:x). Each culture accommodated the other because of mutual needs and dependencies.

Culture contact within the frontier landscape spawned dramatic changes in order to survive. Located in the interior of the Great Lakes region in what is now southwest Michigan was Fort St. Joseph. As a local trade outpost, similar to Fort Quiatenon of the Wabash Valley (Anderson 1991; Tordoff 1983), Fort St. Joseph was the site of French, then British, and Native cultural interface. Applying White's (1991) theoretical framework to the study of Fort St. Joseph, combined with other perspectives of culture contact, a new approach to viewing culture contact at Fort St. Joseph emerges. It is here that culture contact can be viewed as a two-way process with each society having an influence on the other (Sleeper-Smith 2001).

Eric Wolf's (1982) introduction of the anthropological notion of the "world system" highlighted the need to examine the economic and the political forces behind the interaction of European and Native American cultures, and the changes that resulted from this interaction. Changes in the social and political structures can be identified through the archaeological record. Jules Prown (1993) defines material culture as the study of material to understand culture, to discover beliefs -- the values, ideas, assumptions, and attitudes -- of a particular community or society at any given time. The underlying premise is that human made objects (artifacts) express (consciously or unconsciously) the

beliefs of the individuals who commissioned, fabricated, purchased or used them, and by extension the beliefs of the larger society to which these individuals belonged (Prown 1993:1)

Craft Production and Copper Kettles

Miller and Hamell (1986) propose that Natives involved in trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not consider European copper as something new. Instead, Miller and Hamell believe that Natives assimilated imported copper goods into their own traditional ideological systems (Miller and Hamell 1986:315). Therefore, it is important to understand early trade relations in the fact that Native trade goods were valuable, not for their uniqueness, but for their similarity to Native goods. The Natives incorporated these materials into their own culture and customs, creating ceremonial objects that possessed ideological and symbolic meaning. During the seventeenth century, as European goods became widely available, both the French and Natives would participate in craft activities by taking scrap metal from a brass or copper kettle, cut it up and roll it into a cone as an ornament for adornment. Understanding the cultural practices that relate to craft production in the context of Native-European interaction is a goal of this research.

Early material culture studies conducted on culture interaction and change have focused on objects of European origin found in Native contexts. The prevailing concept was that European objects were integrated into and transformed Native life (Turgeon 1997:2). Turgeon (1997) conducted a study on the multiple lives of a copper kettle by following its transcultural movement to find how it was used in shaping peoples'

identities (Turgeon 1997:9). Turgeon used the copper kettle to identify “the uses made of an object in the culture of origin, to reconstruct its transcultural pathway, and to uncover the new uses to which it was put by the receiving culture” (Turgeon 1997:4). Turgeon demonstrates that by viewing the multiple histories of a copper kettle through time, allows for the discovery of the redefinitions and altered meanings that are encoded through this material culture (Turgeon 1998:610).

In the last thirty years there have been many studies on the life of a copper kettle. For example, Martin (1975) conducted an ethnohistorical study on the *Four Lives of a Micmac Copper Pot*, in which he looked at the object for its varying functions, such as a container for food, as burial furniture, and as a way of identifying interaction and changing relationships between cultures (Martin 1975). More recently, Moreau (1998) examines the “traditions and cultural transformations” that can be exhibited through copper kettles and Jesuit rings from 17th century Native occupied archaeological sites. Moreau suggests that the contribution of new material goods “testifies more for a process of integration into existing Native cultural tradition, than for transformations of behavior and cultural values” (Moreau 1998:8).

In order to recognize the process of cultural transformation, Lightfoot (1995) proposes that a diachronic “contextual” approach be employed to examine the “ideological structure of people in prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic contexts” (Lightfoot 1995:207). By employing the contextual relationship of artifacts through the organizational and use of space over time, inferences can be made in evaluating the degree of cultural transformations that were taking place in households and communities (Lightfoot 1995:207).

The study of colonial forts can exhibit the cross-cultural exchange and interaction that existed between the Natives and Europeans during the North American fur trade. For example, Morand (1994) has compiled a complete analysis of craft production at Fort Michilimackinac. Craft industries, defined as “non-agricultural activities producing surplus goods beyond the producing household’s needs” (Morand 1994:i), can give insight into the social and cultural make up of colonial life on the frontier. One of her major conclusions is that there were no independent craftsmen or women at Michilimackinac. Craft activities, such as the production of tinkling cones, was done by trader’s families in order to supplement their income. Reuse and repair were common survival activities on the frontier. One area of particular interest is to identify where certain craft activity areas were situated. For example, was the process of cutting up scrap metal from kettles in the production of tinkling cones taking place in segregated locations of the site, or was it taking place throughout the site? Morand (1994) concludes that no real clusters of tinkling cones were found at Fort Michilimackinac, thus inferring that they were widely used, and perhaps widely made (Morand 1994:27). An objective of this study is to see if similar inferences can be made about Fort St. Joseph’s organizational patterns of craft production. More so, by identifying how craft production was organized, the material culture will provide insight into the daily lives of the *habitants* who once occupied Fort St. Joseph. This will be one of the first studies to truly analyze *in situ* material objects from Fort St. Joseph. As such, it will contribute to studies pertaining to culture contact, culture change, the fur trade, material culture, and French colonial archaeology.

Methods

In order to construct a more representative and complete picture of an historical process, historical archaeology finds it imperative to consult multiple lines of evidence. By collecting material objects in a systematic fashion, archaeologists are able to make holistic observations and interpretations by way of inter-intra site comparison. For example, archaeological investigations have been ongoing at Fort Michilimackinac since 1959, making it the longest ongoing excavation project in North America (Heldman 1991; Morand 1994; Stone 1974). By comparing the artifacts collected from the 2002 field season from Fort St. Joseph with other French colonial sites, such as Fort Michilimackinac, a more complete perspective of production and exchange in daily life at Fort St. Joseph can be inferred.

This study will examine archaeological evidence and historical documents and resources that pertain to French colonial studies, culture contact, Native sites occupied during the French period (for example Rock Island) (Mason 1986), and various aspects of identifying and interpreting material culture. The primary objective of this research is to identify how craft production was organized at Fort St. Joseph. One way to do this is by focusing on the production of tinkling cones. Tinkling cones are brass or copper cone-shaped objects that were attached to different parts of clothing or garments for personal adornment. One of the objectives of this study will be to compare the tinkling cones from such sites at Michilimackinac, with the tinkling cones in this study from Fort St. Joseph. This study will compare the tinkling cones collected from the 2002 field season at Fort St. Joseph with the tinkling cones that are currently located at the Fort St. Joseph Museum in Niles, Michigan. Early 20th century unsystematic collecting by researchers in

search of Fort St. Joseph accumulated more than 100,000 colonial artifacts that have been attributed to Fort St. Joseph and the surrounding localities. Currently, the Fort St. Joseph Museum has the greatest percentage of artifacts attributed to this area and is available for comparative research. For this study I will identify specific attributes of the tinkling cones in order to classify similarities and differences that may exist. This will be done by compiling a database using Microsoft Access software, to answer certain questions. For example, Stone (1974) used three variables to classify tinkling cones: (1) length, (2) sheet brass thickness, and (3) presence or absence of leather attachment (Stone 1974:133). Stone found that metric comparisons between tinkling cones from Michilimackinac and other contact sites indicate a standard size range was common regardless of time or location of manufacture (Stone 1974:133). Morand states that on an average tinkling cones from Michilimackinac range from a half inch to one and a quarter inches (Morand 1994:26). From these observations I expect that the tinkling cones under study here, will parallel those of related sites. While I will employ Stone's three variables, I will also look for additional patterns. For example what are diameters of the tops and bottom of the cones? Are there any particular crimping patterns on the ends? Is there any evidence of how these tinkling cones were cut? Were they being cut using scissors or by folding the metal until severed? By comparing the edges of various tinkling cones, these questions may be addressed. Due to the superfluous amount of scrap metal with cut marks collected from the 2002 field season, it is expected that many of the edges of the tinkling cones will be jagged or at least show signs of a cutting implement being used. According to Stone (1974) and Morand (1994), no immediate clusters of tinkling cones were identified, thus inferring that tinkling cones were widely produced and worn by many French, British,

and Native peoples. If tinkling cones are being produced by many people and no real standardization in form has been found, then the tinkling cones attributed to the locality of Fort St. Joseph should vary just as the ones from Michilimackinac and other frontier sites? This would imply that the similar cultural practices were taking place throughout the region. Ultimately this study will demonstrate the changing relationships and cross-cultural exchanges that existed between the French and Natives. It will also address the primary objective of how craft production was organized at Fort St. Joseph.

Tinkling cones have been collected from virtually all colonial frontier sites (Mason 1986; Morand 1994; Walthall and Brown 2001; Waselkov 1997). Stone (1974) indicates that at the time of research there had been 1125 tinkling cones collected from Michilimackinac. Morand (1994) indicates that in the first year alone there were 192 tinkling cones collected. Although tinkling cones are so frequently collected from European and Native contact sites, it is interesting that tinkling cones never appear in the trade inventories (Morand 1994:26). This is because tinkling cones were locally produced using the raw material from copper kettles. For Native and French cultures, kettles went beyond their utilitarian function and served as material for many aspects of craft production. Surplus goods were either used in daily life within the confines of the fort or were traded to other surrounding populations. Copper and brass were not imported as sheets, but rather as kettles (Morand 1994:26). As kettles wore out they were patched using a process in which holes were punched and sealed with locally produced rolled rivets. Archaeological evidence from Fort St. Joseph and Fort Michilimackinac has yielded all the stages of manufacture in the form of scrap metal with cut marks, kettle lugs, rolled rivets, and kettle patches. This type of evidence facilitates inter-site

comparison. By comparing evidence of craft production from other sites, it will be interesting to see if similar methods of craft production were being employed in southwest Michigan at Fort St. Joseph. Furthermore, artifacts associated with craft production, such as tinkling cones, are examples of how Europeans and Natives were using imported trade items and readopting them for their own personal, ornamental and symbolic purposes. By examining the multiple lives of a copper kettle, this analysis will demonstrate how Natives and Europeans adapted material culture for incorporation into their own respective beliefs and ideologies. Fort St. Joseph provides an avenue to examine the impact of culture contact and the changing relationships that existed on the colonial frontier during the fur trade. Analyzing the transcultural movement of a copper kettle to a tinkling cone can provide insight into the complex sociocultural system that existed in and around Fort St. Joseph. Furthermore, it is expected that the need to adopt goods beyond the fur trade can demonstrate how Europeans and Natives imposed their alternative values and customs on each other in their daily lives (White 1991).

Schedule

October – December, 2003

- Prepare first draft of thesis-1st Thesis Committee Meeting
- Complete Literature Review Chapter for final paper Anthropology 609

Early January

- Present “Crafting Culture at Fort St. Joseph” at the annual Society for Historical Archaeology conference, St. Louis, Missouri.
- 2nd Thesis Committee Meeting

Late January – Early February

- 3rd Thesis Committee Meeting
- Submit Thesis for Final Revision
- Oral Defense of Thesis

Summary

Using material culture as a mechanism to identify past cultures' beliefs, practices, and ideologies, this study will demonstrate the complex relationship that existed between the Europeans and the Natives. Viewing culture contact as a two-way process with each culture accommodating the other because of mutual needs and dependencies (White 1991), this study will use material culture to illustrate the impact of culture contact and change and the influence that each society had on the other. It is my expectation that by analyzing artifacts associated with craft production, such as tinkling cones, this study will demonstrate the way in which Europeans and Natives in the western Great Lakes region transformed and incorporated each other's material culture into their own respective culture and customs. By tracing the "transcultural movement" (Turgeon 1997:610) of an object through time, such as a copper kettle, it should be possible to discover how Europeans and Natives adopted each others' goods, thus encoding these objects with new altered meanings.

Fort St. Joseph was a local trading post that had a very diverse population of Frenchmen, Natives, and then later the *Metis* (Sleeper-Smith 2001). As such, it provides an avenue to examine the impact of culture contact and the changing relationships that existed on the colonial frontier during the fur trade. The goal of this research is to understand how craft production was organized and also what was being produced at Fort St. Joseph. I will accomplish this goal by tracing the production of tinkling cones at Fort St. Joseph from their origin as copper kettles and by comparing this production to similar activities at Fort Michilimackinac. Ultimately this study will demonstrate the changing relationships and cross-cultural exchanges that existed between the French and Natives.

Furthermore, it is expected that the need to adopt goods beyond the fur trade can demonstrate how Europeans and Natives imposed their alternative values and customs on each other in their daily lives (White 1991).

Thesis Outline

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- Classification of attributes of tinkling cones

- Inter-site comparison

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(VI) Conclusions

- Material Culture studies and methodology

- Conclusions of how craft production was organized at Fort St. Joseph

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