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Those Beyond the Walls: An Archaeological Examination of Michilimackinac's Extramural Domestic Settlement, 1760-1781

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THOSE BEYOND THE WALLS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF
MICHILIMACKINAC'S EXTRAMURAL DOMESTIC
SETTLEMENT, 1760-1781

by

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THOSE BEYOND THE WALLS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF MICHILIMACKINAC'S EXTRAMURAL DOMESTIC SETTLEMENT, 1760-1781

James Cain Dunnigan, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 2020

Ideal for both the French and British, the location of Fort Michilimackinac was selected to serve as a key entrepôt for European goods from the colonized east coast to be traded for furs from the Upper Country. The diverse population that formed around Michilimackinac included French and British soldiers, traders, craftsmen, and their families, as well as large seasonal populations of Native Americans. While the Fort's interior continues to be vigorously examined, little focus has been directed to the larger, multicultural village that emerged outside the fort's walls in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Excavations from 1970-1973, conducted by Lyle Stone, attempted to explore this external settlement and uncovered three rowhouses. Drawing from the archaeological assemblage recovered during those excavations, a clearer picture of the lasting French presence, and subsequent civilian British establishment in the region emerges. In this study, analysis is conducted on the ceramic and personal adornment assemblage collected by Stone during the four-year mitigation project (1970-1973). The goal of this thesis is to determine the socioeconomic and ethnic identities of the occupants of the extramural settlement at Fort Michilimackinac in the latter half of the 1770s, and the role they played in the development of communities in the Upper Country.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since 1959, the continuous archaeological investigations at Fort Michilimackinac have shaped our understanding of colonial life on the frontier of the Great Lakes region. French, English, Native populations, and *métis* have all been well documented in the region through written sources and the archaeological record (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2008; Stone 1973, 1974; Williams and Shapiro 1982). Excavations within the palisade walls of Fort Michilimackinac consistently produce new information and insight into the complexity of life and the far-reaching effects of the fur trade and the colonial enterprise on the North American frontier (Brown 2004; Evans 2001, 2013; Kerr 2012; Widder 2013).

The location of Fort Michilimackinac was selected to serve as a key entrepôt for European goods to be traded for furs from the Upper Country. The diverse population at Michilimackinac included French and British soldiers, traders, craftsmen, and their families, as well as large seasonal populations of Native Americans. This colonial fort served as much more than just a military outpost; it was a thriving frontier trading post with a sizeable civilian community (Armour and Widder 1978; Brown 2004; Evans 2001; Richter 2001; Widder 2013). To better understand life at Fort Michilimackinac, archaeological excavations and historical analysis have been focused on the structures and population inside the stockade. However, not everyone at Michilimackinac lived within its walls. During the summers of 1970-1973, a large external civilian settlement was uncovered to the east of the fort (Stone 1973). The project initially began as a mitigation project prior to the expansion of a visitor parking lot. Once structures were discovered, the project soon shifted to explore the larger, seasonal settlement outside the palisade walls, and uncovered three additional rowhouses (Stone 1973; Williams and Shapiro 1982).

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The excavations reported on the Parking Lot Survey revealed that the three rowhouses were aligned within a larger European urban grid system (Stone 1973). Four field seasons produced 20,000 historical artifacts from three distinct excavation areas (Stone 1973). No thorough analysis has been undertaken of these materials. A later resistivity survey, which was conducted to the west of the Parking Lot Survey, located several additional structures that were believed to have been rowhouses (Williams and Shapiro 1982). Despite the location of additional potential structures, no excavations have occurred.

This village outside the palisade at Michilimackinac can offer insights into the roles of materiality, socioeconomic and ethnic identity, and community organization on the frontier. Additionally, a study of the assemblage recovered by Stone can bring a new perspective to the surrounding colonial landscape of Michilimackinac. This project aims to test his hypothesis that Area A and Area B were initially occupied by French traders in the 1760s, and that Area C was occupied by British traders at some point in the 1770s (Stone 1973). This project will focus on the ceramics and items of personal adornment from the Parking Lot Survey assemblage. These two artifact classes will be most sensitive to the questions I aim to address in examining the socioeconomic and ethnic identity of the external village's inhabitants. Furthermore, I aim to explore the ethnicity and socioeconomic status of the occupants of the external village by comparing these homes and their contents with those within the walls of the fort.

This project is designed to present a more complete interpretation of the 1970–1973 Parking Lot Survey, which has never been fully examined or analyzed. Chapter 2 provides a historical background for the area, from the earliest native inhabitants to the move to Mackinac Island in 1781 after the British military relocated the fort to a more defensible location. Chapter 3 discusses the ways in which socioeconomic status and ethnicity, materiality, and spatial

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organization have been examined in context of the fur trade and colonization in North America. Following this, Chapter 4 describes the 1970 – 1973 excavations conducted by Lyle Stone and the MISPC, while Chapter 5 reviews the methodology implemented in this project. Chapters 6 and 7 provide an analysis of the two types of artifacts used in this project: ceramics and personal adornment, followed by a discussion of inter- and intra-site comparisons (Chapter 8). Finally, Chapter 9 concludes the study and presents support for further study of external settlements.

The archaeological study of Michilimackinac's external settlement allows for an in-depth study of the people who lived on the periphery of a colonial entrepôt. The settlement outside the walls of Michilimackinac allows for a look at domestic and trade life removed from the bounded military space inside the fort. This is an area where a significant population gathered and engaged in the communal and economic development of the Straits in the mid-to-late 1700s (Armour and Widder 1978; Quaife 1928). The community from Michilimackinac is known to have relocated to Mackinac Island and formed the basis for European, and eventually American, expansion and development in the Straits (Armor and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2008; Porter 1984). As such, analysis of this community can reveal more about the early development of the region and its existing historical communities.

The individuals who made their homes outside the walls of the fort were active players in the fur trade and Michilimackinac community and should not be overlooked. The MISPC has done extensive historical and archaeological work inside the walls of the fort over the last 60 years. However, until this project, no significant in-depth analyses of the external village have been conducted. The external village, which was an extension of the community inside the fort, is a component of the history of the Straits that has been ignored. This is also true for most of the study of New France, where the research has focused inside palisaded military outposts and trading

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centers rather than on the communities that formed outside bounded, colonial spaces (Brown 2004; Chartrand 2008, 2010). An examination of the external settlement at Michilimackinac provides a way to explore community formation outside the walls of a military installation like Michilimackinac. This project is the first in depth, typological analysis of Stone's 1970–1973 excavations. As such, while it is a means to study socioeconomic and ethnic identity of the inhabitants of the three structures excavated, this project also aims to encourage future study of additional aspect of colonial life within the external settlement at Fort Michilimackinac.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the eighteenth century, the Great Lakes and the Upper Country were areas of turbulent social, political, and cultural change. The Upper Country initially constituted the majority of France's land holdings west of Montréal, extending deep into the continent (Armour and Widder 1978; Demers 2002; Peyser and Brandão 2008; White 1991; Widder 2013). Situated at the confluence of Lakes Huron and Michigan, the colonial outpost and trading settlement of Michilimackinac served as a major distribution and export center for the fur trade coming out of the Upper Country, as well as for European goods being in shipped from Montréal and Quebec. The strategic location of the Straits of Mackinac had long attracted Native Americans for fishing and trade and continued to draw a mixture of western settlers and traders from the fort's establishment in 1715, until its relocation to nearby Mackinac Island in 1781 (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2008; Stone 1973, 1974). An active military outpost operated by the French and later the British, the fort also held a sizeable civilian population that engaged in the region's profitable fur trade. By the 1760s, after several gradual expansions of the palisade, the finite space within Fort Michilimackinac and a growing population necessitated the establishment of a nearby external settlement for incoming Europeans (Stone 1973: 11).

People have long been drawn to the Straits region. Excavations of the area encompassing modern-day St. Ignace in 1972 revealed widespread evidence of regional human occupation as far back as 9000 B.C.E (Fitting and Fisher 1975). The excavations produced evidence for the large-scale habitation of native populations (mostly seasonal) well into the 17th century (Fitting and Fisher 1975: 72-78). Recognizing the importance of the geographic region, the French established Fort DeBuade in 1689, close to the mission site that had formed in the area in 1671 (Fitting and

Fisher 1975). Fort DeBuade served as a small fortification and trading post for the ever-growing fur trade in the region. However, by 1698 the fort, along with most other forts throughout the Upper Country, was decommissioned by the French government (Armour and Widder 1978; White 1991).

It was not until Fort Michilimackinac was erected across the Straits in 1715 that a permanent trading post was reestablished in the region, reopening the Upper Country and fur trade (Fitting and Fisher 1975; Stone 1975; White 1991). Michilimackinac's strategic position at the confluence of Lakes Huron and Michigan offered direct trade routes to other major centers (e.g. Fort Pontchartrain and Montréal) as well as smaller establishments along the trade routes farther into the interior like Fort St. Joseph. The dense native population in the Straits, especially during the warm summer months, provided a prime location for both a trade entrepôt and a permanent settlement (Armour and Widder 1978; Evans 2001, 2013, Peyser and Brandão 2008; Stone 1975; Widder 1992, 2013). The seasonal gathering of Native Americans in the region served as a magnet for European traders hoping to accumulate wealth in the growing fur trade (Armour and Widder 1978). Within its first thirty years, Michilimackinac was transformed from a small outpost and mission into a thriving military trading community with a large civilian presence (Armour and Widder 1978; Stone 1973, 1975).

From 1715 to 1761 the French enjoyed the lucrative trade at Michilimackinac. Both in 1730 and by 1749, the French were forced to expand the fort's walled perimeter to accommodate a growing population (Armour and Widder 1978; 1, 15, 19; Brown 2004). Not only was a large portion of the Upper Country economically and politically tied to France, but by the middle of the 18th century, a considerable percentage of the population was descended from mixed families (Devens 1986; Sleeper-Smith 2000, 2005; Van Kirk 2002; White 1991). Later called *métis,* the

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multiethnic descendants of these unions were active players in the fur trade and colonial enterprise (Devens 1986; Scott 1991; Sleeper-Smith 2000, 2005; White 1991). The *métis* shared a mixture of their parents' ethnic and cultural heritage (French and Native American), as the French Crown strongly encouraged that births, marriages, and deaths in New France were carried out in accordance to Roman Catholic practices (White 1991). This is further suggested by the detailed description of home ownership in the 1749 Lotbiniére Map (Figure 1), where a sizable population of French and *métis* traders are represented as owning homes throughout the fort. The increasing number of *métis* offspring was widespread throughout the Upper Country; and Michilimackinac, as one of the largest trade centers in the region, soon became home to many seasonal and permanent multiethnic trading families (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2008).
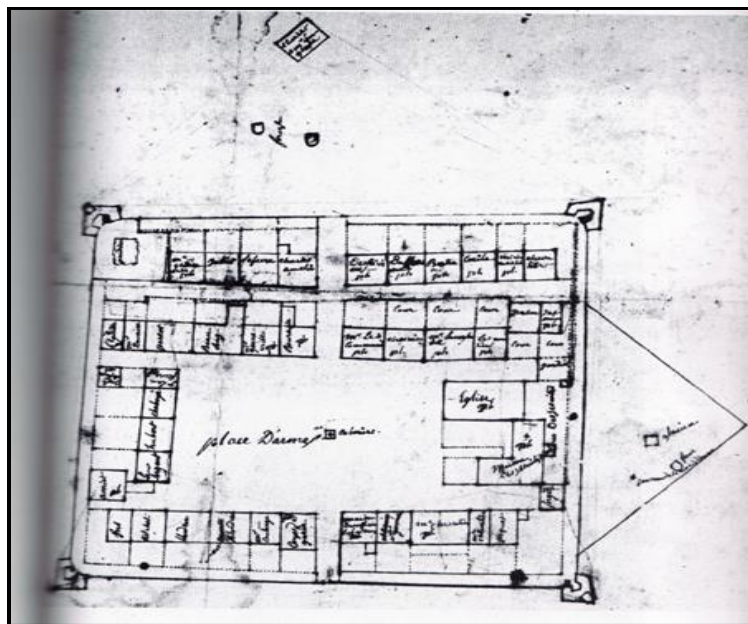
Figure 1. 1749 plan of Fort Michilimackinac highlighting the population of the fort and the location of civilian rowhouses. *Plan of Michilimackinac* (1749) Michel Chartier de Lotbinière, Library and Archives of Canada. Ottawa, ON.

As political and financial tensions mounted in Europe, England and France and their colonial holdings were immersed in the Seven Year's War, which brought about great changes in the colonies of North America (White 1991; Widder 2013). Michilimackinac, along with most all

of France's holdings in Canada and the Upper Country, were surrendered to the British by 1761. By 1763, regions that had initially been part of New France, along with French traders, Jesuit missionaries, and Native Americans occupying these lands, were absorbed into the larger network of British North America (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2001, 2008; Sleeper-Smith 2005; White 1991; Widder 2008, 2013).

While political and economic control of the Straits shifted to the British Empire, the social landscape of the Upper Country became a mixture of ethnicities, religions, and cultures. The long-lasting French presence in the area left its mark. In many ways, French and Native peoples had long enjoyed looser ethnic boundaries throughout the early periods of the French fur trade (Sleeper-Smith 2005; White 1991). The British soon realized that the cultural landscape of the Upper Country was a deeply interwoven network of French traders, Native American inhabitants, and their *métis* children (White 1991). Since future profits would depend on these delicately crafted networks, the British decided to forego the expulsion of all French and their sympathizers (Armour and Widder 1978; MPHC 1886; Peyser and Brandão 2008; White 1991). The 1763 Treaty of Paris granted French colonists the right to remain in the region and operate under British governance, as well as to freely practice their Catholic faith (Armour and Widder 1978; Richter 2001; White 1991; Widder 2008, 2013). Their freedom, however, was closely monitored. Ste. Anne's church at Michilimackinac, for example, came under British control within the palisade walls of the fort. The descendent French and *métis* community, who remained practicing Catholics, retained ownership of their property within the fort walls (Armour and Widder 1978; Stone 1974; Widder 2013).

To accommodate the increased British military presence, rowhouses within the fort were rented from the French and *métis* until a proper barracks was constructed in 1769 (Armour and

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Widder 1978: 11). With a growing influx of seasonal traders and a larger British military presence in the late 1700s space was a premium inside the fort (Armour and Widder 1978; Brown 2004). Because of this, at Michilimackinac, a community formed outside the boundaries of the formal militarized space within the fort after 1760 (Stone 1974; Williams and Shapiro 1982). Proximity to the fort allowed incoming settlers to engage in the colonial enterprise, as well as to network with the arrivals of large seasonal trading parties of Native Americans during the summer months (Armour and Widder 1978).

The stricter trade regulations and monopoly imposed by British regional control generated unrest and resentment from Native Americans who had benefited from looser regulations and substantial gift giving with the French (White 1991; Widder 1992, 2013). Conflict escalated across the Great Lakes as Native Americans rallied under the Ottawa leader Pontiac in 1763 for a full-scale uprising against the British. Fort Michilimackinac, along with other forts such as Ouiatenon and St. Joseph, were captured to restore French trade relations and *Anishinaabe* rule to the region (Armour and Widder 1978; Henry 1966; White 1991; Widder 2013). Pontiac's Uprising did not fully end until 1766 when Pontiac surrendered to Sir William Johnson, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs (Widder 2013). Michilimackinac, however, was regained only a few weeks after it was taken, but not re-garrisoned until 1764 (Widder 2013). The Uprising left a lasting mark on the political and economic relations of the Upper Country, necessitating stricter boundaries and regulations.

The events of Pontiac's Uprising reinforced British colonial paranoia toward their native trading partners. Despite this, the ethnically diverse community at Michilimackinac continued to grow through the 1760s and 1770s and necessitated final expansion of the fort (Figure 2). Some properties inside the fort were still owned by French and *métis* traders throughout the fort's

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occupation due to rights bequeathed under the Treaty of Paris. However, underlying the daily operations at Michilimackinac was the lasting British paranoia of future Native American unrest and rebellion (MPHC 1886; Roberts 1767; Widder 2013). Stricter regulations on entry and trade within the fort have been documented in the years following Pontiac's Uprising (MPHC 1886: 367). The regulations imposed by the British had an adverse effect on trade relations following Pontiac's Uprising. In a 1767 letter to Thomas Gage, trader Benjamin Roberts commented, "the Indians grumble very much about being hindered free Entrance to the Fort & have desired me to have My house & the trade outside" (Roberts 1767). Despite tense relations in the years following Pontiac's Uprising, the fur trade continued flourish (Armour and Widder 1978; Brown 2004; Widder 2013).
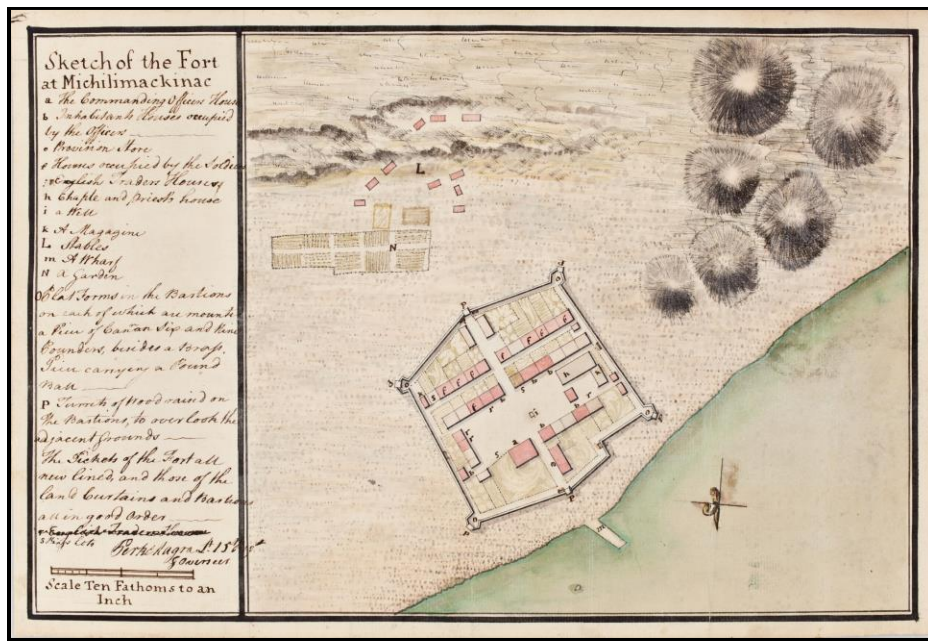
Figure 2. 1765 plan of Fort Michilimackinac. Buildings inside the fort are labeled as either being occupied by civilians or military personnel. External stables and outbuildings are shown to the south of the fort. *Plan of Michilimackinac* (1765) Perkins Magra, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

In the late 1760s and 1770s, the lack of open lots within the fort forced incoming traders to settle outside of the walls (Armour and Widder 1978; Brown 2004). With the large-scale colonial enterprise operating out of Michilimackinac during the summer months, voyageurs,

traders, craftsmen, and the Native populations are known to have settled around the fort on a seasonal basis (Armour and Widder 1978; Quaife 1928; Sinclair 1780). John Askin wrote of the development in 1778, "You would be Surprised to see how this place grows, there is near one hundred houses in the Subarbs, & people are now building tolerable good ones [homes]" (Quaife 1928: 69). The small year-round civilian and military community at Michilimackinac was then overrun in the summer months by "thousands" of traders (Armour and Widder 1978: 19). Descriptions of the growing population do not give explicit numbers of seasonal inhabitants during the heyday of Michilimackinac. Yet the external settlement did become a major feature of the region: "At Old Mackinac the village was very extensive, but the houses were only adapted for summer residence, as there were only two or three Traders who wintered at the Fort. The others were dispersed in the interior in pursuit of the fur trade…" (Doty 1780). Historical records show that only a few families braved the winter months in the Straits; as such only a small year-round civilian population lived within the walls of the fort proper (Armour and Widder 1978). While most families returned to settlements like Detroit or Montréal, some historical sources make mention of civilian inhabits in and around the fort well into late October when travel across the lakes became treacherous (Armour and Widder 1978; Quaife 1928; Sinclair 1780).

The buildings inside the fort, and those discovered outside the walls in the 1970s, were usually constructed in the style of the French. The French had been building homes across North America since their arrival in the early 17th century (Loveland and Nassaney 2017; Moogk 1977). By 1761, building techniques were adapted to cold Canadian winters and made use of the resources available (Loveland and Nassaney 2017; Moogk 1977). Homes, both seasonal and permanent, were major investments in remote areas such as Michilimackinac and functioned on multiple levels as domestic spaces, storage facilities, and businesses (Moogk 1977). Additionally, life beyond the

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walls would have offered different opportunities and experiences for those who settled in the periphery than for those who lived within the walls of a military outpost. Varying access to resources and trade to the relative freedom of a strictly civilian community, have similarly been observed at other trading forts (Mann 2008; Mullaley 2011).

Fort Michilimackinac reached its peak of development by the 1770s and was a well-established trading post with an active British garrison and a multi-ethnic population of civilian traders (Armour and Widder 1978; Evans 2001, 2013; Halchin 1985; Quaife 1928; Stone 1973, 1974; Williams and Shapiro 1982). European traders such as John Askin, Alexander Henry, and the German-Jewish trading partners Ezekiel Solomon and Gershon Levy made their fortunes trading imported goods for furs and resources from the Upper Country (Armour and Widder 1978; Halchin 1985; Heldman 1985; Sleeper-Smith 2005). *Métis* families who lived within the fort, such as the Langlade family, were also active participants in the fur trade. European traders also settled into the community; John Askin spent at least one winter at Michilimackinac (Quaife 1928:145). He also constructed a farm at nearby "three Miles pond" later known as French Farm Lake) in the 1770s (Quaife 1928: 49). At some point in 1778 Askin built "…a new house out of the Fort & intend to make use of it until the present warr is at an end & then I shall change my Quarters, but to where I know not as yet" (Quaife 1928: 145). Michilimackinac was the site of active commercial growth that offered traders like Langlade and Askin a base from which to operate in the Straits.

Additionally, both Charles Langlade and John Askin, as well as many other traders across the Upper Country, retained enslaved persons to work in their business ventures (Armour and Widder 1978; Henry 1966; Quaife 1928; Widder 2013). While a few, such as John Askin, did enslave Africans, most enslaved people in the Upper Country were from various Native American communities across the region and were used as brokers, transporters, and caretakers of European

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investments and business ventures (Demers 2002; Rushforth 2003; Podruchny 1999). Despite the tensions between the British and Native Americans, Native American slavery was practiced in the Straits, well through the occupation of the fort (Armour and Widder 1978; Demers 2002; Henry 1966; Quaife 1928). The settlement at Michilimackinac may very well have contained a contingent of a community of enslaved persons and servants carrying out the business affairs of their masters who lived in the fort (Henry 1966; Podruchny 1999; Quaife 1928; Rushforth 2003; Sinclair 1780).

While there are written references of the external village, there is no known plan or image to show its extent. The only physical representation is a military map of Fort Michilimackinac drawn between 1766 and 1769 that noted structures outside the walls of the fort, and a notation in the key describes "houses belonging to traders with out the fort" (Figure 3). These appear as a jumble of small buildings located some distance from the fort's eastern walls along the shoreline. Askin's rough estimate of "near one hundred homes" (Quaife 1928: 69) seems rather large, yet the size is hinted at by other observers. Arent DePeyster briefly contemplated moving the church to the village, which "…has become a considerable place…" (MPHC 1886: 367). DePeyster's statement suggests that there was a significant population of practicing Catholics living outside the walls to warrant his brief consideration of moving the church from within the fort to a location in the external village.

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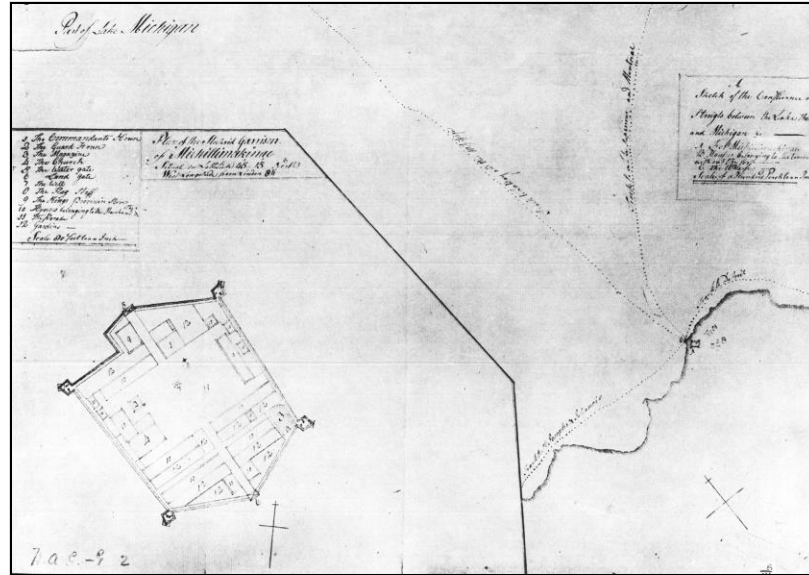
Figure 3. Plan of Fort Michilimackinac created between 1766 and 1769. The "suburb" is noted to the east of the fort along the coastline as "homes belonging to French Traders with out the fort." 1766-1769? Kew, London.

Upon arriving to the fort in October of 1779, Patrick Sinclair became the last commanding officer at Michilimackinac. After assuming command, he began preparations to relocate the fort and settlement to Mackinac Island due to revolutionary unrest on the frontier (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2008; MPHC 1886) As commander of the fort, he also assumed jurisdiction over the external village. Stated in his initial regulations upon arriving at Michilimackinac in October were:

Oct. 28th 1779 – Ordered that chimneys in the village be swept once in each week

& kept in good repair. 'That no fire shall be made in houses without chimneys, and

in the Streets.

Horse racing the streets prohibited. Water buckets reqd.

The Inhabitants & Bourgeois in the Suburbs are to forbid their engages or domestics

or servants to throw any sweepings, feathers or nastiness in the streets of the suburb.

(Sinclair, 1779)

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These regulations suggest that the inhabitants were engaging in domestic activities (i.e. fires for cooking and heating) late into the season and that enough structures were clustered together to warrant the apprehension of potential, disastrous, chimney fires. They also suggest that the external population was large enough to warrant regulation and supervision by the local British military. Sinclair was not alone in addressing recreational activities like horse racing happening in the village outside the walls. In 1771 surgeon's mate Daniel Morison had observed a horse race that took place in the "streets of the village" (Morison 1960: 35). The village appears to have also served as a center for recreational activities, removed from direct military surveillance within the fort (Armor and Widder 1978; Morison 1960; Sinclair 1780). Sinclair mentioned the village again several times in 1780. He wrote of assisting 8th Regiment Captain Mompesson in securing accommodation, that "- he did not like the houses in the Fort – but he would look at some of the houses without and he pitched on the Interpreters…. He then chose the Fort the scene I have just described to you." (Sinclair 1780). He also worked with the established traders to organize the move to the island. He wrote, "I request that you will give notice to all persons having families by Indian women that I expect to meet at some place in the village as early as possible to choose two men out of the number for the purpose of examining & finding out a [mss ill.] convenient situation on the island…" (Sinclair 1780). Whatever the actual number of the external and civilian inhabitants, it appears that Sinclair was forced to administrate over a sizeable, ethnically mixed, population.

Michilimackinac was dismantled by the British and moved to nearby Mackinac Island from 1779 to 1781. The island offered higher elevation and better defense from revolutionary American forces, as well as a much more desirable harbor. Most buildings on the mainland were dismantled and relocated to the island while others were torn down and destroyed by the garrison (Armour

and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2008; Porter 1984). The removal of all structures on mainland the forced population to move with the fort and vacate the mainland or to leave the region (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2008). Personal homes were included in the move (Porter 1984). To continue trading in the region, traders inside and outside the fort would have been forced to move with the garrison to the island. This caused some resentment from the civilian traders from both the internal and external communities at Michilimackinac. In 1780 six traders appealed to Sinclair:

> "The great disadvantage that will arise to us from the removal is the loss of our homes which have cost us very dear, from the enormous wages we are obliged to give Labourers in this country. These houses when pulled to pieces will not be worth transporting although at present they answer all the purposes of our trade, full as well as houses of more real value.
>
> -John Mcnamara, Benjamin Lyon, Henry Bostwick, David McCree, Wm. Dugan, Mattw Lessey (MPHC 1886: 557)

Building on the frontier, seasonal or permanent, was clearly a major investment. Relocation to the island, while advantageous for the military, posed economic hardships for the inhabitants. In response, Sinclair facilitated the move of the civilian contingent as well. He wrote, "…They are removing their Houses, and giving every assistance I can desire of them. In return and in order to ease them as much as possible, I have filled up the Spanish Boat… to transport their materials" (Sinclair 1780).

Upon relocation to nearby Mackinac Island in 1781, a spatial separation between military and civilian life. By 1790 the village had grown considerably. Captain David William Smith's plan (c. 1790) (Figure 4) shows a large plotted and palisaded community spanning the shoreline of the bay, like those found in other French Canadian towns such as Detroit and Montréal (Dunnigan 2008;

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Sleeper-Smith 2005; Smith 1790). This is also the first formal depiction of a community outside the walls of any of the fort's iterations. As there are no images, plans, or register of the households of Michilimackinac's external village, the early village represented in Smith's plan provides a historical context and continuation of the community once it moved to Mackinac Island after 1781 (Figure 4). However, the new, stone fort on the island did not include the civilian residential areas as had Michilimackinac, nor was the church located inside the walls (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2008). Instead, separate civilian precincts were established on the flat land along the southern shoreline of the island while the military established the new fort on the bluff overlooking the town and the strait.
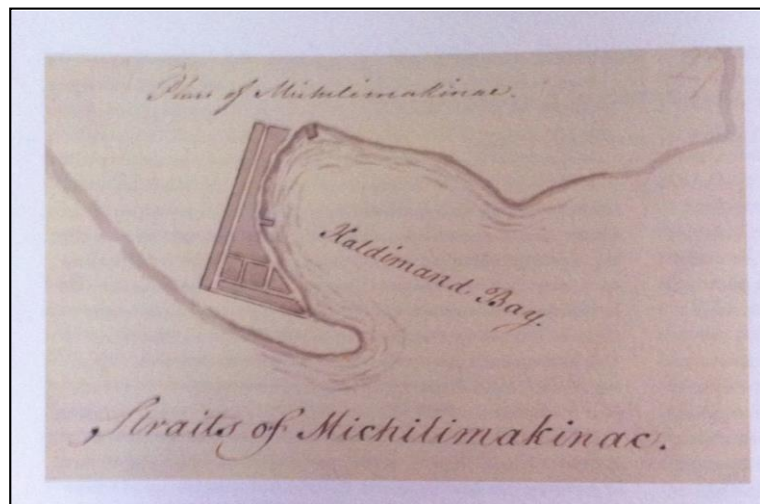
Figure 4. Layout of the newly established, palisaded, civilian village on Mackinac Island. Fort Mackinac is in the northern corner of the village (not shown). *Plan of Michilimackinac* (1790) Special Collections, Genealogy of Maps Centre, Toronto Public Library, ON.

Military protection, trade opportunities, and access to the church moved along with the fort to the island after 1781 (Armour and Widder 1978; Sinclair 1780). The more formalized boundaries within the island village were not entirely welcomed by the traders and merchants who had experienced the economic and cultural freedom of the unfortified external village on the mainland (Dunnigan 2008; MPHC 1886). Yet, as commercial, religious, and domestic activities

were now all located in a formal European setting on Mackinac Island, the external community had little choice but to desert the mainland and follow the fort. The households in the newly settled town on Mackinac Island in 1781 were known to contain families of mixed British, French, Native, *métis,* and even German lineage (Dunnigan 2008; Sleeper-Smith 2000, 2005). The region continued to develop and the population grew, as by 1799 Father Gabriel Richard, S.S. reported a population of around 1,300 inhabitants between Mackinac and L'Arbre Croche (Boynton 1996: 49).

The tip of the Lower Peninsula remained abandoned until 1870 when a refueling dock was established (Ranville and Campbell 1976: 12). Fortunately, the area encompassing the site of Fort Michilimackinac was left undisturbed (Stone 1973). The same cannot be said for the external village, which fanned out from the fort's eastern flank. The construction of Mackinaw City, as well as major engineering works such as the Mackinac Bridge and I-75, disturbed much of the site (Stone 1973; Williams and Shapiro 1982). In 1959, the Mackinac Island State Park Commission (MISPC) and Michigan State University began to excavate Fort Michilimackinac. Since the initial excavations, an overwhelming amount of archaeological and historical data have been discovered about both the architectural appearance of the fort and daily life (Brown 2004; Evans 2013; Stone 1974). While the archaeology has focused on the internal remains of the fort and its' relationship to the greater colonial enterprise, there have been few attempts to fully analyze the external village and its role on the colonial frontier. Despite the continued archaeology at Fort Michilimackinac the external village has not been fully utilized as a potential study site for community formation on the colonial frontier. This project is designed to target specific data sets (ceramics and personal adornment) from Stone's 1970–1973 excavations and validate the external village's importance at Michilimackinac from the 1760s to the 1780s.

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CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

The history of the fur trade in North America is vast, complex, and intricately connected to its numerous colonial and indigenous players (Nassaney 2017; White 1991; Widder 2013). The colonial enterprise in the Upper Country and Great Lakes region has been the focus of much in the way of historical, anthropological, and archaeological work, driving new interpretations about the intricacy of the fur trade. Academic investigations have covered just about every topic imaginable, providing a rich sample from which this project draws (Armour and Widder 1978; Brown 2004; Chartrand 2008, 2010; Demers 2002; Devens 1986; Eccles 1990; Evans 2013; Kerr 2012; Mann 2008; Moogk 1977; Moussette 2002; Nassaney 2008; Richter 2001; Widder 2013; White 1991).

Historical scholarship and archaeological investigations across Canada, the Midwest, and even the Southeast continue to redefine and explore the complexity of the fur trade, Native relations, and the establishment of trading communities on the frontier (Evans 2001; Halchin 1985; Heldman 1983; Kerr 2012; Nassaney 1999; Mann 2008; Mullaley 2011; Waselkov 2005). The majority of the work presented in this literature review centers around the Upper Country. Related scholarship on the fur trade of other regions (the Southeast and British Columbia) has also been included in this literature review (Mullaney 2011; Waselkov 2005). This chapter will focus on the literature of two main themes: colonization and identity in the Upper Country and the archaeological study of material culture (specifically ceramics and personal adornment).

Displays of Identity in New France

"Identity" is a blanket term that has long been a major focus of anthropologists, archaeologist, and historians (Geertz 1973; Sleeper-Smith 2000; Van Kirk 2002; White 1991). As

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a research theme, identity is not limited solely to one's ethnicity, but rather is a multifaceted concept operating on many layers such as gender and religion (Geertz 1973). Identity encompasses many dimensions of human culture, such as ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, and kinship (Eccles 1990; Nassaney 1999, 2008; Mann 2008; Ritcher 2001; Rodgers and Wilson 1993; Van Kirk 2002; White 1991). The French, British, Native Americans, and *métis* were all active players in the ever-shifting politics of the Upper Country (Armour and Widder 1978; Eccles 1990; Nassaney 1999, 2008; Mann 2008 Richter 2001; Rodgers and Wilson 1993). While ethnicity was a key factor in the workings of the fur trade, other aspects such as socioeconomic status, religion, and gender (to name a few) were equally as central to communities and trade (Belmessous 2005; Mann 2008; Nassaney 2008; Sleeper-Smith 2000; White 1991). This project focuses on two main themes of identity: ethnicity and socioeconomic status.

Ethnic identity in the Upper Country did not fall into a simple dichotomy of European or Native American (Armour and Widder 1978; Henry 1966; Widder 1992). Ethnic, religious, and cultural identity were important factors in the daily operations of trading forts where civilian and military populations overlapped as people from very different backgrounds began to form multiethnic communities (Brown 2004; Chartrand 2008, 2010; Heldman 1993; Reck 2004; Rodgers and Wilson 1993; White 1991). These identity factors were crucial to these close-knit communities in the Upper Country as the fur trade expanded. Archaeologists of the colonial Upper Country have examined how one's socioeconomic status not only determined the activities one could engage in, but also may have constrained where people could live and trade (Heldman 1985, 1993; Mullaley 2001; Van Kirk 2002).

Perhaps the most well-known work on the complexity of identity of the social landscape of New France is Richard White's (1991) oft-cited *The Middle Ground.* One of the first to consider

the exceptional balance required to maintain the delicate peace in New France, White examined what he defined as the "middle ground" between Native Americans and Europeans. This "middle ground" was not a strict physical location, but instead a much deeper socio-cultural concept of cultural, religious, and economic balance that existed between the French and Native Americans (White 1991: 50-53). The middle ground operated on the basis that neither the French nor Native Americans could gain their ends through force alone, creating the need for both parties to rely on complex negotiation across cultural lines (White 1991: 52). The French colonial model in New France allowed for many French and *métis* traders to accrue wealth and influence at places like Michilimackinac (Tracey 1979; White 1991). The arrival of the British in the 1760s disrupted this delicate system. Diplomacy and a newly reinvented, and very different, middle ground would not come about until after the events of Pontiac's Uprising (White 1991: 270). However, the French who remained in the region retained beneficial trade options, and continued to succeed economically through the end of the 1700s (Armour and Widder 1978; Devens 1986; Richter 2001; Widder 2008, 2013).

The kin networks of these *métis* families were rooted deeply in surviving French Catholicism and surviving matrilineal Native American traditions, creating lasting, tightknit communities across the Straits and Upper Country (Sleeper-Smith 2000; Widder 1992). Many of the French and *métis* traders had become powerful and successful traders (Armour and Widder 1978; Richter 2001; White 1991; Widder 1992). Scholars have begun to examine the cultural and religious blending that occurred in colonial communities across the Upper Country (Belmessous 2005; Devens 1986; Kerr 2012; Loveland 2017; Van Kirk 2002). For example, Carol Devens (1986) suggests that during the colonial period across New France, native women's traditional roles shifted, as the fur trade demanded increased production of goods *métis* women became active

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players in both the fur trade and fur trade communities across the frontier (Devens 1986: 472). These production-based households allowed traders to amass wealth, power, and influence in these colonial communities (Armour and Widder 1978; Devens 1986). Likewise, missions and trading posts facilitated the encouragement of sedentary settlements at these entrepôts, allowing for the creation of more complex *métis* communities as Europeans penetrated deeper into the interior of the continent (Devens 1986: 474). Traders, regardless of their ethnic or religious identity, had the ability to rise in society through their trade networks and increased wealth (Armour and Widder 1978; Tracey 1979; Widder 1992).

Material culture allows for the physical expression of a variety of identity themes. Some scholars have suggested that material representations of identity, while individually important to the individual, may not always be represented in the archaeological record due to the overwhelming influx of colonial goods (Kerr 2012; Quimby1978; Tracey 1979; Van Kirk 2002). This is true in the case of the Upper County, where surplus British adornment items flooded into the region as trade goods used by Native and *métis* traders (Kerr 2012; Quimby 1978; Tracey 1979). People may have used, traded, and worn what was available and cheap over traditional cultural goods. Military regulated trading outposts (such as Fort Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph), missions, and civilian trading settlements all served as physical locations where middle ground interactions took place in day-to-day exchanges (Armour and Widder 1978; Chartrand 2010; White 1991; Widder 2013). While not totally disregarded, ethnicity and religious identity did not prevent one from engaging in trade on the frontier (Tracey 1979; Widder 1992, 2013) One's socioeconomic status, however, was crucial to the daily workings of the traders and civilians of the fur trade.

Other scholars have argued that, in some colonial communities, efforts were made to preserve ethnic identity markers (Mann 2008; Podruchny 1999; Reck 2004; Waselkov 2005). In Indiana's Wabash River Valley, for example, Robert Mann argues that the retention of traditional architectural styles, like *poteaux-en-terre,* allowed those of French descent to retain markers of cultural identity even under British control in the latter half of the 1700s (Mann 2008: 328). His work in Indiana examined the architectural style of the *Canadien* traders living along the Wabash River (Mann 2008: 330-333). Mann argues that the French *Canadiens* and *métis* in the Wabash River Valley were able to retain distinct cultural aspects in terms of their homes and goods while also adopting new traditions and *identities* of the incoming British (Mann 2008: 333-334). Waselkov's work on the identity politics and archaeology of Old Mobile in Alabama has also suggested that French identity was presented through architecture and the material record (2005). Architectural styles served as key ethnic identifiers within French communities on the frontier in response to the acquisition of French territory by the British after the 1760s (Moogk 1977; Waselkov 2005). Similar studies at homes inside Fort Michilimackinac have corroborated the idea that architecture was used a deliberate means of displaying French identity in a British space (Reck 2004).

The majority of civilian homes across the Upper Country and New France were erected in the *poteaux-en-terre* (post-in-ground) style due to its economic value and easy construction techniques (Loveland 2017; Loveland and Nassaney 2017; Moogk 1977). The *poteaux-sur-sole* (or post-on-sill) style was a more labor-intensive technique which required skilled craftsmanship, and was usually less common on the frontier of New France and associated with wealth and permanence (Moogk 1977: 23). Traders across the region were profiting from the lucrative fur trade, yet chose to retain their traditional architectural styles to represent their ethnic identity while

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under the political and economic influence of the newly arrived British (Mann 2008; Moogk 1977; Mullaley 2011; Reck 2004; Widder 1992). Reflections of this pattern, while present in the architecture, are well documented by the historical remains of colonial materials such as ceramics and personal adornment.

Materiality on the Frontier

Socioeconomic and ethnic identities are expressed in material remains. Studies of material culture have allowed archaeologists to develop theories and methods for interpreting diverse assemblages (Deetz 1996; Paynter 2000; Sussman 2000). Many scholars have used ceramics and personal adornment to further explore the history of New France through the archaeological record (Evans 2001, 2013; Hauser 1983; Halchin 1985; Heldman 1983, 1985; Kerr 2012; Miller 1980, 1984; Miller and Stone 1970; Reck 2004; Stone 1974; Quimby 1978; White 2008). Literature addressing the two artifact classes used in this project is essential to addressing the socioeconomic identity of occupants of domestic spaces, as well as greater trends on the frontier of New France.

Colonial Ceramics

Colonial ceramics have been well documented though intensive archaeological work across the Americas. The most influential work on ceramics for this project was conducted by Miller and Stone (1970). Working through each class of ceramic found, Miller and Stone presented a detailed typological classification system of colonial ceramics. Traders' homes which have been excavated at Fort Michilimackinac have displayed a wide array of colonial ceramics (Evans 2001, Halchin 1985, Heldman 1983, 1985, 1993; Stone 1974). Quantitative and temporal trends of these ceramic categories have been used by archaeologists to posit aspects of socioeconomic and ethnic

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identity through analysis (Halchin 1985; Heldman 1985, 1993; Miller and Stone 1970; Reck 2004; Sussman 2000).

While the qualitative economic scaling and ranking of ceramics can allow for indication of socioeconomic status, the identification of ceramics first and foremost can serve as temporal markers for sites (Miller 1980; Miller and Stone 1970; South 1978; Sussman 2000). The styles and types of ceramics found are key to offering temporal clues as to the possible ranges of occupation at sites such as the external village, where the exact period of occupation is nebulous. By associating type, style, and chronology of ceramics, such as Miller and Stone did, definitive date ranges for an archaeological assemblage can established. The ceramics that have been found across historic sites in New France reveal patterns of use and popularity through time. Lynne Susseman's work (2000) enforces the need to treat sherds as active data points for establishing temporality of a site instead of just being treated as objects of study (Sussman 2000: 96). The presence of several ceramic types, produced over several decades, may often be attributed to prolonged occupation of a site (Sussman 2000).

Some scholars have focused on statistical trends for archaeological assemblages. Stanley South (1978) created a statistical system to understand patterning in colonial sites that is still cited by archaeologists (Evans 2001; Halchin 1985; Heldman 1983, 1985; Kerr 2012; Mullaley 2011). Additionally, George Miller's work on economic scaling of artifacts (1980) has proven vital for this project. Scaling the status of ceramics based on economic values can create a method through which to better examine a site (Miller 1980: 1, 38). Chinese export porcelain, creamware, and white saltglazed stoneware cost much more than tin-glazed earthenware and brown stoneware (Miller 1980; Miller and Stone 1970). Historical ceramics from across the globe have been documented at colonial centers in colonial North America; from English made creamware and

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Delftware to imported Chinese porcelain (Arcangeli 2015; Miller and Stone 1970; Shorter 2002).
Archaeologically, deposits of varying economic levels of ceramic sherds represent access to materials, as well as the occupant's socioeconomic status (Miller 1980; Miller and Stone 1970; South 1978; Stone 1970; Sussman 2000).

While the popularity and use of ceramic styles changed over time, reflections of socioeconomic status through ceramic assemblages did not. This is especially true with the arrival of the British in the Upper Country after the 1760s (Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). Chinese porcelain remained a highly valuable trade commodity and status, and has been documented throughout trading centers across colonial Americas (Le Corbellier and Frelinghuysen 2003; Heldman 1985; Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). Research has shown that earlier high-status French styles, such as Rouen and French faience began to fall out of favor in place of later styles like white saltglazed stoneware and creamware (Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). Heldman, when discussing French Farm Lake, argued that creamware was indicative of wealth and privilege on the frontier (Heldman 1983: 51). These changes were not immediate, but were trends based on economic availability and access as trade routes became more established (Miller 1980; Miller and Stone 1970; Shorter 2002). Additionally, styles such as Chinese porcelain and French Rouen were not being produced in North America, instead they were shipped from European and Asian production centers as luxury consumer commodities (Arcangeli 2015; Miller and Stone 1970). Other styles of designer ceramics (unique pieces and styles produced by specific artists or workshops) began to appear in the mid 1700s with the evolution of English porcelain manufacturing (Miller 1984; Miller and Stone 1970). Designer styles such as Whieldon Wedgwood began to appear as high-status pieces across the colonies and England (Miller 1980, 1984; Miller and Stone 1970). Finally, pewter was a common material type for expensive dining

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ware and was used at Michilimackinac (Martin 1989; Stone 1974). However, as it does not shatter like ceramic, pewter is less frequently noted in the archaeological record (Martin 1989; Stone 1974).

Mid-status ceramics were much more ubiquitous and readily available to consumers (Archangeli 2015; Miller 1980). Initially, French styles like faience served as mid-status consumer goods, both available for trade and personal use until the mid-1700s (Arcangeli 2015; Miller and Stone 1970). Stoneware, a thicker bodied ceramic type, allowed for multiple uses in a domestic setting. Appearing in a variety of design styles, stoneware vessels were available throughout the colonial period (Miller and Stone 1970). French faience was replaced by English and Dutch style Delftwares when the British became more established in the interior of the continent (Evans 2001; Halchin 1985; Heldman 1985; Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). Creamware, a relatively common style of early whiteware, was developed around the 1760s (Miller 1980; Miller and Stone 1970). The popularity of creamware began to replace French faience soon after its introduction (Miller and Stone 1970). Creamware has often been considered a mid-status ceramic by archaeologists (Heldman 1985; Miller and Stone 1970). However, some archaeologists have identified creamware as a high-status ceramic style by factoring in its relative newness to the colonial market by the late 1760s (Heldman 1985). This project concurs with Heldman's theory, and considers creamware a high-status ceramic type due to its newness in the archaeological record in relation to the temporal setting of the external village.

The most basic type of ceramic available to consumers were plain earthenwares, often used as storage containers (Arcangeli 2015; Evans 2001; Halchin 1985, Heldman 1985; Miller 1980 Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1973, 1974). These styles of ceramics were produced both in Europe and several locations in North America, such as Quebec and Montréal, and were sold in a variety

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of styles ranging from colorful glazes to plain unglazed vessels (Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). These colored earthenwares were usually tin-glazed (Miller and Stone 1970). Finally, the most accessible and affordable dining wares in the colonial world were made of wood (Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). However, wooden dishes are not often found archaeologically as preservation of historic wood requires very specific soil conditions (Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). The use of wooden dining ware may account for the scarcity of ceramic sherds at some colonial frontier sites where ceramic dinning wares were not easily accessible (Miller and Stone 1970).

Personal Adornment

Personal adornment can allow archaeologists to ascertain the sorts of accessories and clothing worn by the inhabitants of historic sites (Deetz 1977; Kerr 2012; Quimby 1978; White 2008). Items of personal adornment include buttons, buckles, and cufflinks; items that traders and civilians living in and around the fort would have worn on their persons. The wide variance of artifacts encompassed within this category has allowed for diverse archaeological studies to delve into issues of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, and religion at many colonial sites in New France (Evans 2001; Halchin 1985; Heldman 1983; Kerr 2012; Scott 1991; White 2008). These artifact classes have been used as data points for similar studies of colonial trading forts such as Fort St. Joseph and Fort Michilimackinac (Hauser 1983; Kerr 2012; Stone 1974).

Recent studies in personal adornment have presented this artifact class as useful markers for ethnicity and status (Kerr 2012; White 2008). Ian Kerr's work on personal adornment at Fort St. Joseph provided much of the background and methodology for addressing personal adornment. He argues that personal adornment offers a look at complex identity politics in New France and can serve as a key to identifying ethnicity (Kerr 2012: 95-97). Additionally, Kerr directly created

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a comparison between the types of personal adornment found at Fort Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph (Kerr 2012). Along with Kerr's analysis, Carolyn White's work on personal adornment provided much of the background research (White 2008, 2009). White examined the relationship between status and identity at colonial sites in New England (2008), and provided a well-developed analysis of the artifact class (White 2008, 2009). The typology set forth by Lyle Stone (1974) for Fort Michilimackinac provided much needed artefactual background for the personal adornment examined in this study. Likewise, scholarly research by Jennie Lindbergh (1999) and by Suzanne Spencer-Wood (2010) was used to understand the relationship between artifacts of personal adornment and gender. Women were equally active participants on the colonial frontier, however they are represented far less in the archaeological record (Sleeper Smith 2002; Spencer-Wood 2010; Van Kirk 2002). Some items of personal adornment can be easily assigned to a gender, while buttons and buckles can be far more nebulous (Lindbergh 1999). Scholars have noted that overall buttons were less common in women's clothing – instead pins were often used to fasten apparel – and thus the majority of recovered buttons can be assigned to male occupants (Lindbergh 1999; Spencer-Wood 2010; Stone 1974).

Higher socioeconomic status of individuals has been well established in quality of material and/or way they dressed and how they personally fashioned themselves (Kerr 2012; Lindbergh 1999; Quimby 1978; Stone 1974; White 2008). Three specific types of personal adornment are of importance to this study: buttons, buckles, and cufflinks. While items such as these were often traded (Kerr 2012; Stone 1974), they were also items that have been well documented to be worn by those engaging in trade, craft, and domestic activities (Dunnigan 1973; Kerr 2012; Lindbergh 1999; Quimby 1978; Stone 1974). It is not surprising that the most frequent category of artifacts recovered and studied would be buttons, as they are easy to lose and were used on many different

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articles of clothing on the colonial frontier (Deetz 1977; Kerr 2012; Stone 1974; White 2008). Finally, Dunnigan's 1973 study of military buttons also provided an analysis of button typology and historical background for the various British regiments in the Straits during the British occupation of Michilimackinac.

Buckles and cufflinks have also been the subject of archaeological research (Kerr 2012). While less frequently recovered than buttons, buckles were another form of fastener for men and women's apparel such as shoes, breeches, and belts (Kerr 2012; Spencer-Wood 2010; White 2009). These were usually crafted from available alloys such as iron and brass (Stone 1974; White 2009). Brass, silver, and pewter were more expensive alloys compared to iron, and thus present some indication of wealth when found in colonial assemblages (Stone 1974; White 2009). Cufflinks were utilized as fashion pieces which could be plain, decorated/embossed, or set with glass insets and crafted in pairs (Stone 1974). Glass paste insets were incorporated into jewelry such as rings and cufflinks throughout the 17th and 18th centuries to imitate precious and semi-precious gems (White 2008: 31). Research has suggested that portraying the aspect of wealth allowed traders to showcase their socioeconomic status without bringing potentially irreplaceable items out to frontier (White 2008). However, personal adornment crafted from valuable raw materials (e.g. silver, gold, pewter) or finely worked and detailed adornment pieces can be distinguished as high-status objects that were direct expressions of socioeconomic status (Kerr 2012; White 2008). Bone was a ubiquitous raw material that could be used for low-status adornment or as a backing or base for other martials (e.g. cloth) (Stone 1974). Iron was often used for easily affordable goods (Stone 1974).

Summary

The focus of this literature review has been to present some of the copious works related to socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and materiality in relation to the greater fur trade enterprise in the Upper Country. The variety of literature discussed above offers a varied background of modern scholarly work that has informed this study. The artifacts collected from the Parking Lot Survey remain the only data sets to emerge in context from the external village since 1973. Because of the lack of archaeological analysis of Stone's 1970-1973 excavations, this project will seek to incorporate a wider series of historical, theoretical, and archaeological approaches to accomplish its goals.

While the majority of this thesis draws from work conducted on (or around) Fort Michilimackinac, it also draws from contemporary locations such as Fort St. Joseph and settlements across the continent like Old Mobile. Investigations into identity and socioeconomic status have continued to contribute to the larger framework of New France and the Upper Country (Evans 2001; Halchin 1985; Kerr 2012; Loveland 2017; Mann 2008; Moussette 2002; Nassaney 1999, 2008, 2019). As illustrated above, the diverse styles of ceramics and personal adornment found at colonial sites has allowed scholars to examine a variety of aspects of colonial life (Arcangeli 2015; Halchin 1985, Heldman 1985; Miller and Stone 1970; Spencer-Wood 2010; Stone 1974; White 2008, 2009). Finally, recent archaeological analyses of personal adornment (Kerr 2012; White 2008, 2009) have suggested identity markers are present in the archaeological record of New France. Examinations of the external village at Fort Michilimackinac draw heavily from the literature discussed in this chapter for both the methodology and analysis presented below.

CHAPTER IV

ARCHAEOLOGY INVESTIGATIONS OUTSIDE FORT MICHILIMACKINAC

The ongoing archaeological excavations at Michilimackinac have, since 1959, enabled the Mackinac Island State Park Commission (MISPC) to recreate and interpret life inside the fort as a reconstruction and living history museum. The numerous archaeological projects conducted in the past 60 years have revealed much of the internal area of the fort and have guided the reconstruction and interpretation project. The commission has made the majority of these reports available to the public though its *Archaeological Completion Report Series.* These reports cover a range of topics, from gunflints to craft industries, as well as detailed excavation reports for the various structures within the fort. However, apart from one report by J. Mark Williams and Gary Shapiro published in 1982, none of the commission's *Completion Reports* contain any in-depth discussion of the external village at Michilimackinac.

The excavations of the external village began in 1970 and continued through 1973 and were conducted by Lyle Stone and the MISPC. In 1970 excavations began in anticipation of the expansion of the parking lot and visitor's center (Stone 1973:1). This was conducted with the goal of ensuring proper recording and recovery of potential sites by the MISPC. The areas of investigation were located approximately 675' east of the palisade, along the shoreline of Lake Michigan next to the modern-day parking lot (see Appendix B: Figure B-1) (Stone 1973: 1). The area of Stone's archaeological excavation was heavily disturbed by many modern features: gas, sewer, and water mains, a children's play fort, toilets, and a utility shed (Stone 1973: 4; Williams and Shapiro 1982: 73-78). Stone and his team soon discovered three structures, identified as "rowhouses," within the construction area. Around 20,000 artifacts were recovered, and multiple structural features were identified (Stone 1973). The three designated areas of Stone's excavation

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(Areas A, B, and C) all revealed evidence of colonial structures, features, and colonial artifacts. In his 1973 report, Stone does not offer a detailed analysis of artifacts recovered from these three areas. Instead, his report focuses on the architectural remains of the buildings uncovered, which were similar in style to the *poteaux-en-terre* style rowhouses inside the fort (Stone 1973).
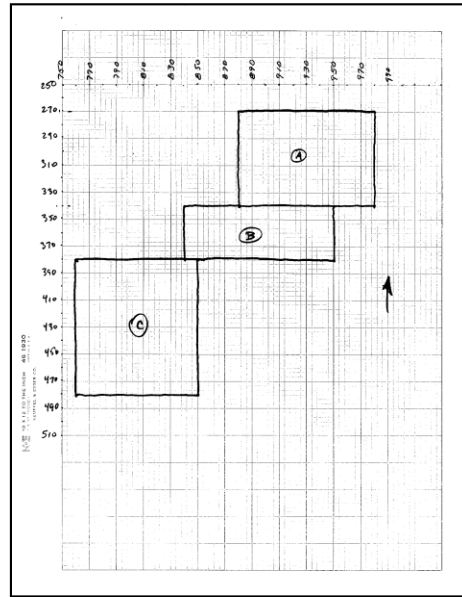
Figure 5. Map of Stone's Parking Lot Survey showing bounded area of Area A, B, and C in relation to MISPC's gridded system. (1974) Mackinac State Historic Parks, Michigan MI.

The bulk of the 1973 report discusses the structural finds of the three areas excavated in terms of the potential for reconstruction and interpretation. Each of these areas (designated Area A, B, and C) were centered on three specific structures found in a gridded, north/south alignment (Figure 5) (Stone 1973). Archaeological practices at Michilimackinac (and other projects conducted by the MISPC) have remained relatively consistent since 1959. There are many consistencies in methodology between the original Michigan State University excavations that began in 1959 to the most current excavations of House E of the Southeast Rowhouse. The original grid system is still intact and used in projects, as is the typology that Lyle Stone created for the fort (Stone 1974). Units were excavated in 10'x10' cubes, at 3" arbitrary levels (Stone 1973: 4). Moreover, the report indicated that Area A and Area C were very well preserved, and Stone

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recommended future excavation around these two areas and the reconstruction of these homes due to the excellent preservation of architectural remains (Stone 1973: 12). Stone surmised that the three areas were constructed in what appears to be an urban, gridded pattern (Stone 1973: 11), which was later corroborated by Williams and Shapiro's work in 1980 (Williams and Shapiro 1982). Stone expanded on this further, concluded that the grid system allowed for the demarcation of property lines, perhaps governed by the fort authorities (Stone 1973: 11).

The field catalog for 1970-1973 (MISPC 1970 – 1974) provides a detailed list of what artifacts were recovered from which units in the survey. Stone states that the 1970-1973 excavation consisted of 109 10'x10' units, covering approximately 10,900 square feet (Stone 1973: 2). It should also be noted that while each excavation area consisted of 10'x10' excavation units, the three excavation areas were not uniform in the size and shape of their site boundaries. This is reflected in disparities of artifact counts between the three assemblages presented in the subsequent chapters. The boundaries of the three areas were as follows: Area A 7000 ft^2; Area B 4400 ft^2; Area C 9000 ft^2. While Area C was the largest excavation area, it produced only 7.7% of the total assemblage of ceramics. This was due, in part, to the tight focus of excavation around the small structure and minimal archaeological investigation of the entire excavation area (Stone 1973).

Stone's (1973) interim report of twelve pages contains few details and interpretations. No official maps were included, nor were there any in-depth analysis of the assemblage or detailed photographic records of the remains. Most of the artifacts recovered from the Parking Lot Survey appear to be predominately domestic and craft artifacts: ceramics, beads, hinges, bottle fragments, personal adornments, and tools (Stone 1973). The report suggests that Stone intended to follow up with a complete analysis of the assemblage as well as "an extensive documentary research program" that never occurred (Stone 1973: 12). In addition to advising in-depth analysis of the

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1970-73 assemblage, Stone suggested that due to the rich nature of the excavation areas future excavations should be undertaken nearby (Stone 1973: 1-2, 11-12).

Area A appears to have been the major focus for Stone and his team. This may be in part due to the excellent preservation of architectural remains, and the sharp structural boundaries uncovered. Stone suggested that Area A appeared predominantly French, and dated it to somewhere between 1750-1760 (Stone 1973: 8). Unlike the other two areas within the bounds of excavation, a detailed map of the structure was created after the excavations were completed. This plan view, however, grossly misdated the structure to 1665 (See Appendix B: Figure B-4). Area B was heavily damaged prior to excavation, leaving much of the structure incomplete. Area A and Area B share a boundary of the 340 grid-line as well, making certain artifact associations difficult. Stone had little to say of Area B in his report, only briefly discussing the damage to the site and the scant architectural remains he and his team uncovered (Stone 1973: 8-9). He argued that: "Any additional comments on this area would be little more than speculation" (Stone 1973: 9). As such, he did not suggest a possible date for the structure, nor anything about the inhabitants. Removed a bit from the previous two excavation areas, Area C produced the final structure of the Parking Lot Survey. Stone's report focuses heavily on Area C, due in part to the preservation of the structure and additional finds within the limit of excavation of Area C (Stone 1973: 9-11). Like Area B, Area C was heavily damaged by modern activities, however a complete structure measuring 36' 6" long by 24' 9" wide was uncovered (Stone 1973: 10). The rectangular structure in Area C contained at least two rooms, floorboards, two fireplaces at either end of the building, and was attributed to a post-1760 occupation (Stone 1973: 10). Additionally, a prehistoric Middle Woodland component of Area C included a fire pit and a cache of prehistoric tools and pottery

(Stone 1973: 11). Due to Stone's initial classification of these artifacts as prehistoric, they have been excluded from this study.

One publication from the MISPC's *Archaeological Completion Report Series* does address aspects of the 1970-1973 excavations. Mark Williams and Gary Shapiro (1982) discussed the archaeological history of the area outside the fort's eastern wall. The MISPC contracted with Williams and Shapiro from the University of Georgia to conduct remote sensing to locate additional structures associated with the external village (Williams and Shapiro 1982: 1). Using soil resistivity, Williams and Shapiro attempted to find anomalies in the soil where additional structures could likely be found. Rotted wood and other organic deposits retain moisture better than sand and stone (the subsoil at Michilimackinac), allowing the resistivity sensor to reveal areas where potential remains of structures are located below the surface (Williams and Shapiro 1982: 13). Three maps used in their report detailing the survey area and its relation to the 1970-73 excavation area are included in Appendix B.

Williams and Shapiro conducted their survey within the area of the park between the eastern wall of the fort and the Colonial Michilimackinac Visitor's Center parking lot, close to the 1970-73 excavation site (Appendix B: Figure B-1) The survey explored the area directly west of the 1970-73 excavation area. Williams and Shapiro utilized the same grid system used in the Parking Lot Survey and inside the fort to cordon off a large area to survey (See Appendix B: Figure B-2 and B-3). However, instead of the standard 10'x10' units used across the park, 60' x 60' units were used to cover a greater area. These revealed 400 resistance values per square (Williams and Shapiro 1982: 14). The instruments revealed three major anomalies across the test area, suggesting cultural features and possibly structures. These anomalies aligned in the same northwest-southeast orientation as the structures found by Stone (Williams and Shapiro 1981: 22). The anomalies

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discovered by the resistivity survey suggested a continuation of the external village to the west of the 1970 – 1973 survey area (see Appendix B: Figure B-2 and B-3).

The information presented by Lyle Stone's report and the resistivity survey comprises all the known archaeological information regarding the external village. Minimal archaeological excavations in such a large area with no previous artifact analysis provide challenges for this project. The few historical sources that do discuss the settlement outside the walls are vague in most descriptions of size and population. Development of Mackinaw City prevents any thorough, future archaeological investigations. The assemblage from the 1970-73 excavations remains the only existing data for a detailed study of the external village. This project will use the data provided to test Stone's initial hypothesis regarding the ethnicity of occupants and the age of the settlement.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this project is to examine the ceramic and personal adornment artifacts found within the Parking Lot Survey assemblage to establish the ethnicity of the occupants and the age of the settlement. My research will explore the external settlement and ascertain the differences and similarities between the socioeconomic status of those who lived outside the fort's walls and within. A site from inside the fort (Solomon-Levy House) and another, external site two miles south (French Farm Lake) were selected as comparative sites to test the age and ethnicity of the structures of the Parking Lot Survey. The Solomon-Levy House was occupied by two wealthy non-British (German Jewish) traders living inside the fort during the British occupation. Prior to the 1760s it was home to a French and *métis* family (Halchin 1985). Conversely, French Farm Lake was a British farm complex established outside the fort toward the end of the occupational period. This project was designed to test Stone's hypothesis that the structures found within the Parking Lot Survey agree with Stone's hypotheses that they were occupied at specific dates and that they were inhabited by civilian traders of European descent (Stone 1973: 11).

To center this project on socioeconomic identity and ethnicity, I focused this investigation on two main classes of artifacts: ceramics and personal adornment. Archaeological investigations have shown that European imports are known to have been used by both Europeans and Native Americans across the Upper Country during the fur trade. All ceramic types found in the selected study areas were included. Unidentified sherds were included in the total sherd count to illustrate distribution and quantity but were not used for analysis. I have narrowed my study of personal adornment to buttons, buckles, and cufflinks; items that traders and civilians living in and around the fort would have worn on their persons. These artifacts are larger items of personal adornment,

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which negate the methodological differences amongst the various study areas. Collection methods at MISPC have changed over the years, and after the Parking Lot Survey was conducted, MISPC adopted the method of water-screening. This accounts for fewer smaller artifacts – seed beads, straight pins, lead shot, and other small pieces of personal adornment– being recovered from the Parking Lot Survey excavations as compared with those sites surveyed in the fort (the Solomon-Levy House) after the water screening method was adopted.

After the excavation, artifacts were assigned an accession number, and incorporated into the commission's larger archaeological collection. The collection is accessible to researchers and students, and is housed in the Petersen Research Center at the MISPC offices in Mackinaw City, Michigan. The artifacts from all three excavation areas were entered into MISPC's collections database by staff. As the excavations of the Parking Lot Survey were conducted simultaneously, the catalog numbers for Area A, B, and C are amalgamated into one continuous sequence: MS2.5332 – MS2.6402. The typology used for ceramics in this project follows the typology set forth by Miller and Stone (1970) for Michilimackinac and MISPC's current typological system. Similarly, the typology of personal adornment follows the MISPC's current system, which was established for the entire collection by Lyle Stone (1974).

As all three areas were sequenced together as one continuous block, each artifact had to be individually assigned to one of the three excavation areas. This was done by evaluating the 1970-1973 artifact catalog and identifying the location of each unit within Stone's three exaction areas. Accession numbers were compared to the field catalogue from 1970-1973 to allow for proper distinction. Of the 653 sherds recovered, only 23 (3.5%) could not be confidently assigned to a specific area. These sherds were either lacking adequate provenience or lay on the narrow border between Area A and Area B along the 340 line of the fort's grid. A cache of low-fired earthenware

was recovered near Area C; this was attributed to Late Woodland period seasonal habitation of the region (Stone 1973: 11). Due to the cache's temporal dissonance from the period of study, they were not incorporated into the project.

To create a system for economic scaling, data was drawn from Miller and Stone's ceramic analysis for Michilimackinac (Miller 1980; Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1975). Drawing from these works, sherds were grouped in to high-, mid-, or low status based on several factors such as geographic region of origin, and material value (Table 1). High-status ceramics included those imported from specific regions (e.g. China, the Rouen Valley, and Germany) and specific makers of expensive sets (Whieldonware). Additionally, creamware was included in the high-status category as it had only recently become available on the market in Europe by 1762 – and even later in colonial trade centers (Heldman 1983). By the end of the 1760's creamware began to appear in the Americas. Mid-status ceramic types were classified as types that were widely available and imported but required more skill in manufacturing than low-status earthenwares. Mid-status ceramics include styles imported from England and France (Table 1). Low-status ceramics were identified as those types with minimal decoration and that required only the most basic manufacturing to produce (Table 1). The majority of low-status ceramics were used for food storage (Miller and Stone 1970).

Table 1. Ceramics Economically Scaled.

High-Status Ceramics	Mid-Status Ceramics	Low-Status Ceramics
Chinese Blue and White Porcelain	Polychrome English Delftware	Blue/White Tin-glazed Earthenware
Chinese White Porcelain	Blue/White English Delftware	Unidentified Blue/White Tin-glazed Earthenware
Chinese Polychrome Porcelain	Powder-Blue English Delftware	Unglazed Redware
English Creamware	White English Delftware	Green Glazed Earthenware
English Porcelain	Burnt/ Unidentified English Delftware	Yellow/Green Earthenware
English Worchester Porcelain	French Faience	Yellow Glazed Earthenware
French Rouen	Polychrome Faience	Brown Glazed Earthenware
Rhenishware	Hand-Painted Black Saltglazed Stoneware	Brown/Green Glazed Earthenware
Polychrome Saltglazed Stoneware	Polychrome Stoneware	Brown/White Mottled Earthenware
Scratch Blue	Slip-decorated Earthenware	Unglazed Redware
Whieldon Wedgwood		Brown Stoneware
Whieldon Tortoise-Shell		Unidentified Coarse Earthenware
White Saltglazed Stoneware		

After ceramic sherds from the Parking Lot Survey, French Farm Lake, and the Solomon-Levy House were examined and sorted per the MISPC's established typological categories, the frequencies of these artifacts were recorded. These typological categories were established through a grant to the MISPC in the early 2010's to standardize the established MISPC archaeological ceramic collection. It should also be mentioned that the following data reflects ceramics found only at sites incorporated in this study; it does not reflect the massive ceramic diversity of the entirety of sites at Fort Michilimackinac (Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1975).

I classified select personal adornment items present in the assemblage related to socioeconomic status and ethnic identity, and contrasted them to what was found in a well-studied, single home within the fort (House C). These artifacts were assigned to specific excavation areas using the same method as for the ceramic sherds. As "personal adornment" is an umbrella term that can be applied to many artifacts, I have limited this analysis to items most likely to be personally worn by those engaging in activities within the external village: buttons, buckles and

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cufflinks. The artifacts were then broken down by type within each category by raw material (e.g. "cufflinks" were separated into "iron cufflinks", "pewter cufflinks", and "brass/silver" cufflinks). As with ceramics, buttons, buckles, and cufflinks were analyzed and sorted from high- to low-status. The styles and materials of these artifacts were used to identify aspects of socioeconomic status and ethnicity in this study.

Once the artifacts were grouped into high-, mid-, and low-status categories based on raw material type, they were analyzed in relation to the three rowhouses found within the Parking Lot Survey. An Excel sheet was generated to compare the percentage of each type of ceramic and personal adornment against the site as whole (Chapter 6 and 7). This revealed the frequencies of ceramic groupings for each structure, allowing them to be examined individually and compared against each other. The same method was applied to the assemblages of House C inside the fort and French Farm Lake to create a data set for comparison against that of the Parking Lot Survey (Chapter 8). The data from the three study areas were then compared with each other. To account for the structure size and architectural style of the study areas Area A and Area B were compared to House C (part of a larger rowhouse complex), while Area C (a freestanding structure) was compared with the small farm at French Farm Lake.

Examinations at other, contemporary sites, have offered similar methods for interpreting identity formation through material remains, as noted in the literature review (Kerr 2012; Mann 2008; Nassaney 1999, 2008). The material culture of the external village can reveal much about life beyond the walls and expand our understanding of community formation on the frontier. The material culture of the external village provides the best way to understand the development of domestic life within a space outside of direct military control, but within the larger enterprise of the European fur trade.

CERAMIC ANALYSIS OF THE PARKING LOT SURVEY

The Parking Lot Survey Assemblage

While perhaps not the largest assemblage found through any of MISPC's excavations, the Parking Lot Survey produced a wide array of colonial artifacts. From the 20,000 artifacts recovered, 653 ceramic sherds were identified and represented 23 distinct types. All three excavation areas contained a diverse assemblage of ceramics. Of the whole collection, 96.5% of the sherds were assigned to one of the three excavation areas. The remaining 3.5% of sherds with unknown provenance were included in the following analysis to a limited degree, but were not used in the overall comparison with House C inside the fort or French Farm Lake (Chapter 8).

Due to modern disturbances, most problematic site was Area B. As such, it produced only partial evidence of the southern and western walls, although separate rooms were noted to have existed (Stone 1973: 8-9). Stone also noted that despite the damages to the structure, this area was the most complicated of the three, showing signs of modification and extensions beyond the limit of excavation to the west (Stone 1973: 8). The heavy damage to Area B's structure creates a problem in fully differentiating the origin of artifacts found along the 340 grid-line, due to the proximity of the two structures and the uncertainty about the location and angle of the northern wall of Area B. The mixed deposits accounted for 3.5% (23 sherds) of the ceramics recovered from the survey.

Ceramic Assemblage and Economic Scaling

The Parking Lot Survey consisted of 23 different types of colonial ceramics. While all three excavation areas produced a ceramic assemblage distinct to each structure, there was a

disparity in the deposit size between each area (Table 2). Area A produced 424 ceramic sherds, accounting for 64.9% of the total ceramics present in the assemblage for the entire Parking Lot Survey. Making up 23.9% (156 sherds) of the ceramic assemblage, the ceramics from Area B illustrates a wide assortment of at least 18 types of colonial ceramics. Despite the presence of the well-preserved structure, Area C produced the fewest ceramic sherds of all three areas: 50 sherds, accounting for 7.7% of the entire assemblage. These three assemblages were scaled into three categories of economic values: high-, mid-, and low-status, and compared against each other (Table 1, Table 2).

Table 2. Shed Count and Percentage by Site.

Site	Count	Percentage per Excavation Area	Percentage of Excavation Area to Total Assemblage
Area A	*424*	*100%*	*64.9%*
High-Status	285	67.2%	-
Mid-Status	83	19.6%	-
Low-Status	56	13.2%	-
Area B	**156**	**100%**	**23.9%**
High-Status	65	41.7%	-
Mid-Status	46	29.5%	-
Low-Status	45	28.8%	-
Area C	**50**	**100%**	**7.7%**
High-Status	34	61.6%	-
Mid-Status	11	23.7%	-
Low-Status	5	14.6%	-
Unidentified	**23**	**100%**	**3.5%**
Total	**653**	**-**	**100.0%**

High status ceramics were the most diverse artifact class present in the Parking Lot Survey, with 10 unique types. Mid-status ceramics mostly contained varieties of English Delftware and stoneware, with 7 entries. Finally, low-status ceramics were represented by an array of earthenware and utilitarian brown stoneware, totaling 6 entries. The data were entered? into a larger matrix for the full Parking Lot Survey (See Appendix A: Table A-1) from which the following analysis draws.

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Analysis Area A

Ceramics located within the boundaries of the Area A excavation displays the greatest variation of colonial types and styles and types for the survey area. Of the 23 types of ceramics recovered from the entire project, 21 appear in the Area A assemblage totaling 424 sherds (64.9%). High-status ceramics were the most prevalent, comprising 67.2% of the site's assemblage. Area A's ceramic diversity also displays the greatest ceramic variety of the three excavation areas, as well as the greatest spread of geographical origin. High-status Chinese export porcelain was recovered in great quantities and represents 71.3% of the total blue/white porcelain and 50.0% of the total polychrome porcelain found throughout the Parking Lot Survey. Likewise, Area A contains 100% of the Rhenishware and Scratch Blue Stoneware found throughout the whole survey. Only one sherd of Rhenishware, which was imported and manufactured from the Rhineland of Germany (Miller and Stone 1970), was recovered throughout the whole survey.

High-status and mid-status English-made ceramics, such as Whieldon Wedgwood, Creamware, and English Delftware account for 40.0% of the Area A assemblage. It should also be noted that, contrasting the enormous quantity of Chinese export porcelain (21.9%), English-made porcelain only makes up 0.9% of the total assemblage (5 sherds total). The vast difference between the frequency of these two ceramic types indicates access to higher quality, foreign goods imported from China rather than cheaper English imitations (Miller and Stone 1970). Chinese Porcelain has been noted at several sites at Michilimackinac – many of the internal homes belonging to military officers and traders that have been excavated have produced ceramics of this type. This is especially true for many of the homes in the Southeast Rowhouse (Evans 2001; Halchin 1983; Heldman 1985; Miller and Stone 1970). However, such a high frequency of export porcelain would

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indicate that the traders living in the external village (or at least in the house in Area A) were able to offer high-value items as part of their trade wares.

Delftware is a common find for early/mid-18th century homes in the region and could be used both for trade and personal domestic activities (Miller and Stone 1970). Delftware accounts for 87.9% of the mid-level ceramics present. While French-style faience is only 0.09% of the mid-status ceramics found in Area A, the faience sherds recovered from Area A represent 72.7% of the total faience found in the Parking Lot Survey. Very few explicitly French style ceramics were recovered in the Parking Lot Survey. The French style ceramics found in Area A may suggest an earlier occupation, or that an open trade network with French traders was still operating in the region in the mid-1760s and 1770s.

Low-status, basic utilitarian wares, such as redware and simple glazed earthenwares were recovered in Area A. The small number of low-status ceramic sherds present in the Area A assemblage (13.2%) sharply contrasts the quantity of high-status ceramics sherds (67.2%) found within the same excavation area. Yet, while the sherd count is low, over half (52.6%) of the tin-glazed earthenware recovered from the entire Parking Lot Survey was recovered from Area A. Tin-glazed earthenware was a popular ceramic style in the mid-1700s (Miller and Stone 1970), further suggesting a possibly early occupation of the structure of Area A. Just under half (ranging from 48.8% to 37.5%) of earthenware styles were found in this excavation area as well. The prevalence of low-status ceramics suggests that the inhabitants of Area A were storing and preserving various foodstuffs within the structure. This may imply long-term or year-round occupation of Area A. Yellow/green glazed and yellow glazed earthenware account for the totality of these styles in Area A, but only three sherds were found between the two types, skewing the data.

The display of such a wide access to imported trade goods of higher value, suggests that the inhabitants of Area A were engaged in the trade of high-status ceramics. The high frequency later, English-made ceramics runs counter to Stone's initial interpretation that a French trader may have been occupying the structure of Area A (Stone 1974: 8). However, the mixture of French and English ceramics may be representative of later period of occupation by a French trader when English made ceramics were more readily available and desired.

Analysis of Area B

Despite the extensive damage to this area of the external village, Area B produced the second highest number of ceramic sherds for the survey (156 sherds). The sherd count in Area B represents 23.9% of the total ceramic sherds found in the Parking Lot Survey. The four most common types of ceramics within the Area B assemblage are creamware (20.5%), Delftware (18.6%), tin-glazed earthenware (16.6%), and Chinese porcelain (9.6%). While the most numerous ceramic type within Area B, creamware only represents 22.9% of the total found within the Parking Lot Survey. Blue/White Chinese export porcelain of Area B accounts for 13.0% of the total blue/white export porcelain found within the Parking Lot Survey. One sherd of Whieldon Wedgwood was also recovered from Area B, accounting for 50% of this type found across the Parking Lot Survey.

Area B has much less of a disparity between all three types of ceramics. High-status ceramics only account for 41.7% of total ceramics found within the excavation area. Mid-status (29.5%) and low-status (28.8%) ceramics made up the majority of the assemblage of Area B (58.3%). English-made Delftware is present in a wide array of styles and is the most common mid-status ceramic (91.3%). However, two French typologies are also present in statistically significant

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quantities. High-status French Rouen was exclusively found within the bounds of Area B, and 27.3% of the Parking Lot Survey's Faience is represented.

The most prevalent low-status ceramics were blue/white tin-glazed earthenware and brown glazed earthenware. The relatively small disparity between low-, medium-, high-status ceramics is only noted in the Area B assemblage. Comparatively similar quantiles of utilitarian sherds and imported high- and mid-status ceramics suggest the inhabitant had access to a geographically varied trade network. This may also reflect the extensive disturbance of Area B, and the accidental incorporation of sherds from Area A into the assemblage (Stone 1973). Even with the damage and skewed data of Area B, a trend for imported, high-status ceramics is noticeable. Both English and French-made ceramics are statistically frequent when viewed across the whole assemblage of the Parking Lot Survey.

Analysis of Area C

Area C has the smallest assemblage of the three areas and accounts for 7.7% of the total Parking Lot Survey. The significantly smaller ceramic sherd count in comparison to Area A and B may be in part due to the fact that the structure in Area C is significantly smaller than those in Area A and B. It should be noted the structure in Area C was the most well preserved and was fully excavated (Stone 1973). However, despite the small assemblage, some trends are noticeable. High-status ceramics account for 49.5% of the Area C assemblage. Chinese blue and white porcelain accounts for a significant portion of the Area C assemblage: 28.1% (12.2% of the typology for the total survey). Creamware remains one of the most common types as well, accounting for 18.0% of Area C's assemblage. The same is true for white English Delftware (10.0%). The percentage of white saltglazed stoneware (11.7%) from Area C is relatively small compared to export porcelain and creamware, which make up 88.3% of high-status ceramics.

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High-status ceramics represent the largest of the three status types of ceramics. Of the ceramics recovered 68.0% were designated as high-status ceramics. While mid-level ceramics were recovered, the sherd count was less than half those of high-status designation. All mid-status sherds were some form of English Delftware and represented some of the smallest percentages across the entire Parking Lot Survey. Low-status ceramics were even fewer (7 sherds accounting for 10.0%). No unique styles of detailed utilitarian ceramic styles (such as yellow glazed earthenware or scratch blue stoneware) were recovered from the site. The lack of utilitarian low-status ceramics may suggest that the structure in Area C was a seasonal home where domestic activities like food storage weren't occurring. High-status white saltglazed stone ware only represented 4.3% of the typology found throughout the Parking Lot Survey.

The smaller size of the structure may indicate a single occupant or family living in the Area C structure. Even with such a small sample, the ceramics from Area C reveal access to several high-status ceramics. Chinese porcelain (which accounts for the largest sherd count of the assemblage), various styles of English Delftware, and higher frequencies of creamware all lend support to Stone's suggestion that the occupants of Area C were British, and possibly high or middle-status traders. Supporting this further is the absence of French style ceramics found throughout the rest of the Parking Lot Survey such as French Rouen and faience.

Summary

The ceramic sherds recovered from the Parking Lot Survey represent a diverse collection of mid-to-late 1700s ceramic types. All excavation areas produced a number of ceramic sherds from all three economic values (see Table 1). While the overall totals of each type differ, ceramic sherds from all three areas fell within the "high-status" category. All three structures revealed an overwhelming inclination toward high-status goods. From the data set, a trend is visible that the

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lowest frequencies were that of more utilitarian ceramics (mostly low-status), while high-status ceramics were among the most common ceramics recovered.

Table 3. Economic Scaling of Parking Lot Survey.

Economic Scale	Area A	Area A	Area B	Area B	Area C	Area C	Un-ID	Un-ID
High-Status Ceramics	285	67.2%	65	41.7%	34	68.0%	12	52.2%
Mid-Status Ceramics	83	19.6%	46	29.5%	11	22.0%	4	17.4%
Low-Status Ceramics	56	13.2%	45	28.8%	5	10.0%	7	30.4%
Total	424	100.0%	156	100.0%	50	100.0%	23	100.0%

Analysis of the ceramics from the three areas supports Stone's initial hypothesis for the dates of the structures. The occupants of Area A and Area B appear to have been predominately French, while Area C appears to be predominately British. The styles and types recovered from the Parking Lot Survey have all been well recorded at other sites at Michilimackinac (Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). The representation of colonial ceramics from the Parking Lot Survey reveals an assemblage diverse in type, style, geographic origin, and economic level. Analysis of ceramic sherds and items of personal adornment suggest a rich, multiethnic community with permanent and seasonal homes was established outside the walls of the fort. In Chapter 8 these data will be used for intra-site comparisons of these assemblages. In addition, these data will also be used for an inter-site comparison of Area A and B to a site within the fort, and Area C to a nearby, external site.

CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Adornment artifacts can reveal much about the individuals living within any space – especially in terms of socioeconomic status and ethnicity (Hauser 1983; Kerr 2012; Scott 1991; White 2008, 2009). Many artifacts within this category have been documented as both items that were traded regularly throughout the Upper Country and worn by the occupants of trading forts and communities (Armour and Widder 1978; Kerr 2012; Scott 1991; White 2008; White 1991). This project, as noted in Chapter 5, has reduced the general scope of personal adornment to three categories: buttons, cufflinks, and buckles. Some artifacts were excluded due to small size (e.g. pins), other larger styles were not included due to their well-documented use as trade goods (e.g. rings) (Hauser 1983; Kerr 2012; White 2008, 2009). Artifacts from the three selected categories were recovered from all three excavation areas of the Parking Lot Survey, totaling 143 objects (See Appendix A: Table A-4).

Personal adornment allows for another lens through which to examine the socioeconomic and ethnic identity of the inhabitants of the external village. The types of personal adornment recovered display a variety of civilian styles, which support Stone's observation that very few military-related artifacts were found in the Parking Lot Survey (Stone 1973: 11). While the overwhelming majority of the artifacts included in this analysis were associated with civilians, nine military buttons were recovered during the excavation. These were included within the "button" category and incorporated in this analysis. The 143 personal adornment objects recovered from all three excavation areas represent a sample of colonial makes and styles found at Michilimackinac and across New France (Kerr 2012; Stone 1974; White 2009).

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Analysis of Area A

Again, as with ceramics, Area A produced the largest sample of articles of personal adornment. Of the 143 artifacts, 96 (64.4%) were recovered from Area A (Table 3). Area A also had the greatest typological variation of all areas, except for the "button" category of items of personal adornment.

Table 4. Personal Adornment of Area A.

Artifact Type	Area A	Percentage of Type	Percentage of Type Total
Cufflinks:	*11*		*12.1%*
Brass and Silver Cufflinks	8	72.7%	
Pewter Cufflinks	2	18.2%	
Paste Cufflink Insets	1	9.1%	
Buttons:	*59*		*64.8%*
Iron Civilian Buttons	1	1.7%	
Brass Civilian Buttons	24	40.7%	
Pewter Civilian Buttons	5	8.5%	
Bone Buttons	23	39.0%	
Pewter Military Buttons	6	10.2%	
Buckles:	*21*		*23.1%*
Iron Buckles	9	42.9%	
Non-Ferrous Buckles	12	57.1%	
Total Personal Adornment	96		100%

The most notable types within Area A include the high percentage of brass and silver cufflinks and non-ferrous buckles. Additionally, the high rate of non-ferrous buckles suggests that the inhabitants of Area A were able to outwardly display their wealth and status, even on the frontier (Kerr 2012). It should be noted, however, that while many higher-status items are found within the boundary of Area A, bone buttons make up a large percentage of the "button" category (39.0%), similar to the total count of brass buttons. Bone was a ubiquitous material and buttons were manufactured at the fort (Stone 1974). Bone buttons could be left plain or be used as the backing for cloth or ferrous and non-ferrous metal facings (Kerr 2012; Lindbergh 1999; Stone 1974). Several of the cufflinks recovered from Area A were inset with high-status glass-paste

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decorations, but only two loose insets were recovered from the entire parking lot survey. One was found in Area A, while the other was in Area C. The lack of loose insets recovered may simply be a result of excavations with only ¼" mesh screens in the field and minimal water-screening.

Additionally, six military buttons are present in the assemblage from Area A. Three of the pewter military buttons are attributed to the King's 8th, the final regiment stationed at Fort Michilimackinac from 1779 until the entire fort moved over to Mackinac Island in 1781 (Armour and Widder 1978; Evans 2001; Stone 1973, 1974). While these pewter military buttons account for 10.2% of the total button percentage, their presence within Area A most likely does not correspond to occupation, as these were attributed to the 1779-1781 dismantling of the area (Stone 1973). Stone did acknowledge that, apart from a handful of buttons, no military-related artifacts were found in the excavation areas. This may suggest that some of the external homes were moved over to the island with the fort and church; or at the very least the garrison was responsible for the total demolition of all standing structures along the shore by the end of 1781.

Analysis of Area B

The modern disturbances to Area B severely hampered Stone's analysis and prevented any conclusive interpretation of the site. The ceramic assemblage of Area B, however, revealed a wide variety of ceramic types found throughout New France and the Upper Country. Like the ceramic assemblage, the total assemblage of personal adornment was significantly lower than that of Area A. Only 34 artifacts were recovered, accounting for 22.8% of the total (Table 4). While there were significantly fewer artifacts in many of the types of personal adornment, there was comparable diversity.

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Table 5. Personal Adornment of Area B.

Artifact Type	Area B	Percentage of Type	Percentage of Type Total
Cufflinks:	*3*		*8.8%*
Brass and Silver Cufflinks	3	100%	
Buttons:	*21*		*61.8%*
Brass Civilian Buttons	12	57.1%	
Pewter Civilian Buttons	1	4.8%	
Bone Buttons	5	23.8%	
Shell Buttons	1	4.8%	
Pewter Military Buttons	2	9.5%	
Buckles:	*10*		*29.4%*
Iron Buckles	3	30.0%	
Non-Ferrous Buckles	7	60.0%	
Total Personal Adornment	34		100%

A wide variety of buttons are represented in the Area B assemblage (Table 4), ranging from high-status (pewter) to low-status (iron/bone) materials. Additionally, significantly fewer bone buttons were recovered from Area B than Area A. Military buttons are still present in the assemblage as well. One of the two pewter military button is stamped with the insignia of the 26th Regiment, which was not stationed at Michilimackinac. This is not a singular occurrence, archaeologically, at Michilimackinac, as soldiers from various regiments were shuffled as needed. They often kept parts of their old uniforms until the garrison was resupplied (Dunnigan 1973; Stone 1974). The most unusual button from Area B, however, is the singular shell button. It is the only shell button found within the Parking Lot Survey, and, to date, the only shell button found anywhere within a site at Colonial Michilimackinac (Stone 1974). Shell buttons, like bone buttons, could be made from locally available materials rather than purchased (Stone 1974). Shell, unlike bone, has a natural luster (referred to as mother-of-pearl) which made for much flashier pieces of adornment that were likely not used as button-backs (Lindbergh 1999). Additionally, these buttons were handmade (often locally) from prehistoric times through the mid-19th century (Lindbergh 1999), suggesting a higher status material type than bone or iron. Finally, several buckles and

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buckles fragments of both iron and non-ferrous metal were recovered. The majority of these buckles were non-ferrous (60%), and perhaps were physical displays of wealth worn by the inhabitants of Area B.

The analysis of Area B suggests that, while significantly fewer artifacts were recovered, the varied assemblage highlights the wealth and high socioeconomic status of the inhabitants of Area B. These individuals had access to a wide array of personal adornments, ranging from the most basic materials available on the frontier like bone to high-quality alloys. The cufflink category contains only high-status cufflinks made of brass and silver. Given the complicated nature of Area B, the small collection of personal adornment is vital to making any sense of the inhabitant's lives. Military buttons may, like those in Area A, suggest that this section of the neighborhood was moved over with the fort or intentionally destroyed by 1781 by the military. A diversity of buttons suggests craft activities may have been conducted inside. While the assemblage is diverse in terms of the make and styles, the artifacts do no reveal any markers for ethnic identify. The only items specifically tied to ethnicity are the two British military buttons found within the Area B assemblage.

Analysis of Area C

The final area of the Parking Lot Survey, Area C, produced the fewest number of artifacts. This remains consistent with the pattern noted from the ceramics in the area. Only nine artifacts were recovered from Area C (Table 5). While this only accounted for 6.0% of all personal adornment from the Parking Lot Survey, the data does reflect patterns consistent with the two other areas of excavation. The minimal presence of artifacts of personal adornment may be, in part, due to the relatively small size of the structure found in Area C. The small building may have only housed a single family as opposed to the other two larger rowhouses found in Areas A and B. If

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that is indeed the case, then Area C may reflect a single household structure outside the fort's walls.

Table 6. Personal Adornment of Area C.

Artifact Type	Area C	Percentage of Type	Percentage of Type Total
Cufflinks:	*2*		*22.2%*
Brass and Silver Cufflinks	1	50.0%	
Paste Cufflink Insets	1	50.0%	
Buttons:	*6*		*66.7%*
Brass Civilian Buttons	3	50.0%	
Bone Buttons	2	33.3%	
Pewter Military Buttons	1	16.7%	
Buckles:	*1*		11.1%
Non-Ferrous Buckles	1	100.0%	
Total Personal Adornment	9		100%

As with Areas A and B, the most common category of personal adornment found were buttons. However, unlike the two previous excavation areas, Area C shows the least diversity of sample size and artifact type. Only six buttons were recovered, four were civilian buttons and two were military. Bone buttons are common artifacts associated with civilian life at Michilimackinac (Stone 1974). One King's 8th pewter military button was recovered as well, following the pattern first noted in Area A. The presence of specific regiments of British military buttons within the assemblage supports Stone's hypothesis the building was occupied as early as late 1760s, and may suggest that this structure was still standing well into the end of the 1770s. Again, this may be an indication of the military's involvement in the demolition/relocation of structures from the mainland in 1781.

As noted above, only two glass-paste cufflinks were recovered from all three areas. Area C produced a singular glass-paste inset, unassociated with the other cufflink recovered. One inlaid brass cufflink was also recovered from Area C. Additionally, only one brass buckle was recovered from the excavation of Area C. The scarcity of items of personal adornment recovered from Area

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C is distinct from the other two excavation sites, as only nine total items are present in the assemblage. However, this trend does remain consistent with the low frequency of ceramics (as noted in Chapter 6), reflecting the smaller size of the structure inside Area C.

An in-depth analysis of Area C is difficult, given the small assemblage. Yet, the few artifacts that are present represent an array of types and materials, including several inlaid cufflinks which were intended as a representation of wealth and status, and thus a higher socioeconomic status. Colored glass inlays could be used in lieu of, or as imitations for, precious stones (Stone 1974). The one buckle found was non-ferrous, and 50% of the buttons were brass. No identifiable ethnic markers were present among the items of personal adornment, barring the British military button most likely related to the relocation and demolition of the fort. Regardless of their ethnicity, the inhabitants of Area C had access to high-status goods which could have been worn on their persons as displays of wealth and status.

Summary

The types of personal adornment found within the Parking Lot Survey display a wide variety of materials and styles common across the colonial Upper Great Lakes. The recovery of cufflinks and buckles is most likely the result of these articles being broken or lost during the daily occupation of these structures. Many of the items recovered could be considered high-status items and suggest that the individuals living outside the fort's walls were of higher socioeconomic standing. In fact, it appears that traders of at least some wealth were constructing homes and trading spaces outside the walls of the fort.

It should be noted again that all three excavation areas produced some percentage of military buttons. The military buttons found within the Parking Lot Survey assemblage are unique, as they are they only items explicitly tied to ethnically and nationality. The majority of these were

associated with the King's 8th Regiment of Foot. While not unusual for a military outpost, the distinct lack of any other military artifacts (e.g., musket balls, gun parts) is highly suggestive of a domestic settlement (Stone 1973). As the final garrison stationed at Michilimackinac, the men of the King's 8th were tasked with the demolition and relocation of the fort and surrounding structures (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 1973, 2008; Porter 1984; Stone 1973, 1974). Thus, it seems highly likely that the military dismantled the community outside the walls to Mackinac Island during the relocation from 1779 to 1781. After making substantial investments in the trade at Michilimackinac, these same traders may have been among those who emigrated to the island in 1781 (MPHC 1886: 557).

CHAPTER VIII

INTRA- AND INNER-SITE COMPARISON

Intra-Site Comparison: Ceramics of Areas A, B, and C

The Parking Lot Survey produced a wide array of ceramic sherds and items of personal adornment. While there are similarities between the three excavation areas, each is a distinct site. There are similarities and differences between Areas A, B, and C in terms of artifact distribution, quality, and quantity, as well as wider over-arching patterns that shed some light on what life was like beyond the fort's walls. In terms of structure size, Areas A and B are roughly similar, consisting of multi-room rowhouses. The large size of these two structures and occupation may account for the higher frequency of both ceramic sherds and artifact count. Area C, which was a significantly smaller structure, consistently produced the fewest number of artifacts and sherds. While the count for Area C is small, it still offers a comparative point for the Parking Lot Survey and may be the most accurate representation of a single household in the external village rather than a larger rowhouse complex. While further excavations of the external village are unlikely, the framework provided by the excavations of Area A, B, and C offer a glimpse into what life outside the fort's walls might have looked like.

All three areas produced a sizable assortment of ceramics, many of which highlight trade access and the wealth of the inhabitants at Michilimackinac. The variety of high-, mid-, and low status ceramics present in the Parking Lot assemblage mirrors the assemblages of most of the homes within the fort (Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). However, when compared by economically scaling the artifacts per the typology established in Chapter 5, a pattern begins to emerge (Figure 6). All three areas display a high percentage of high-status ceramics. However, both Area A and Area C had a significantly higher percentage of high-status ceramics compared

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to the other two categories. Area B was unique among the three as it had relatively equal distribution amongst all three categories.

Figure 6. Parking Lot Survey Ceramics Economically Scaled.
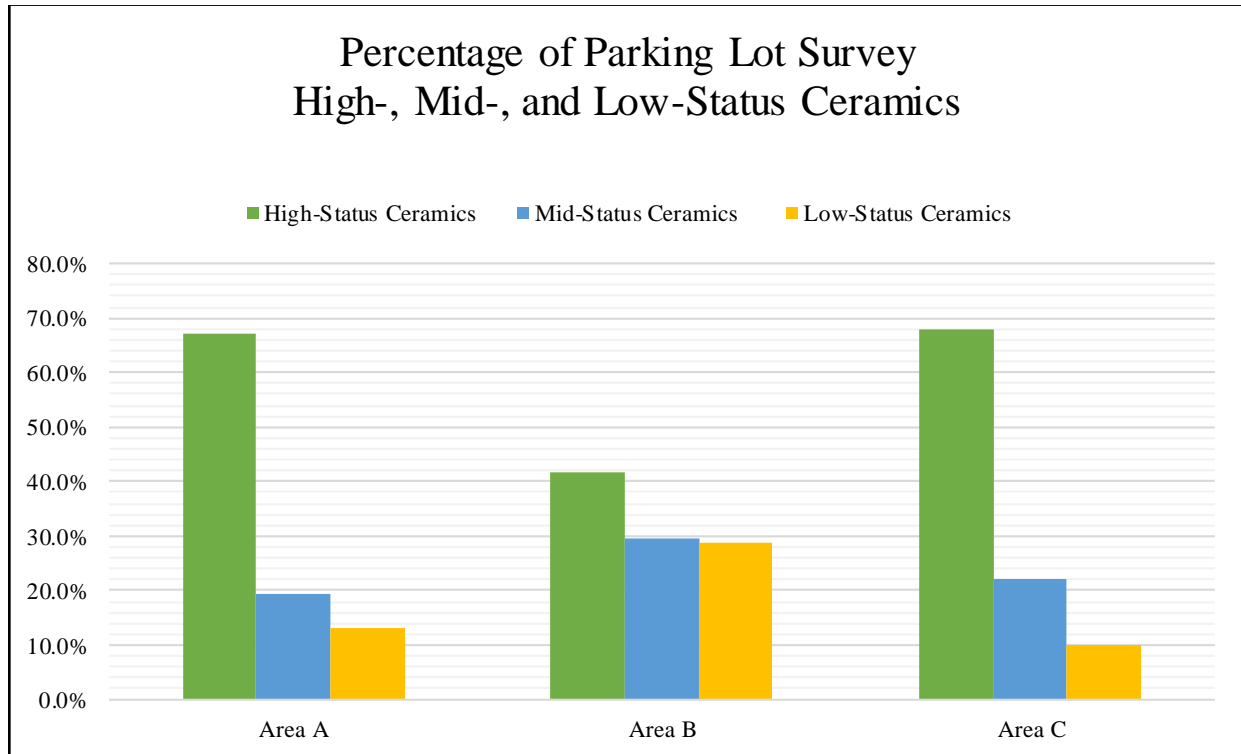
While the disparity between the quantity of the assemblage of Area A to both Area B and C is considerable, aggregated by percentage the data represents consistent trends. However, while the quantitative differences between the three areas is vast, the typological differences are less so. The same general pattern is evident in the higher frequency of ceramic type: the same people are using the same styles to varying degrees. Ceramics stored in the collections by the MISPC have separated the ceramics from the Parking Lot Survey, and every other MISPC excavation, by type. The Parking Lot Survey represents a total of 23 distinct types, ranging from English creamware to French faience.

Figure 7. Percentage of High-status Ceramics by Type.
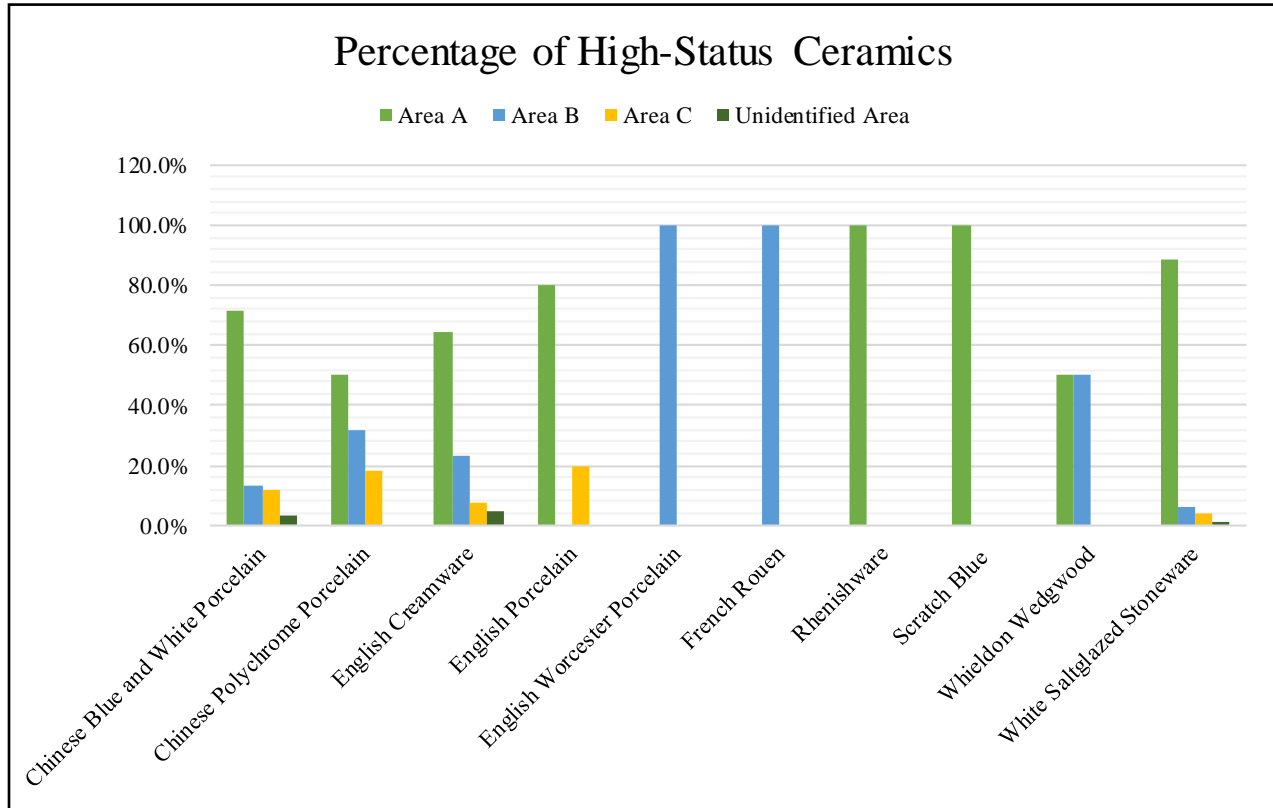
The overwhelming majority of the high-status ceramics recovered from the Parking Lot Survey fall into three main types: Chinese blue and white export porcelain, creamware, and white saltglazed stoneware (Figure 7). All three of these types display notably high frequencies in all three excavation areas (See Appendix A: Table A-1). Given its small assemblage, Area C's percentages are rather low; yet they illustrate the similar trend in frequencies of the three major ceramic types. Several outliers are noticeable amongst the high-status ceramics being exclusively found in only one of the excavation areas. Area A produced the only Rhenishware and scratch blue stoneware. Likewise, Area B exclusives were noted to be English Worcester porcelain and French Rouen. Likewise, the high-quality ceramic types, such as Whieldon Wedgwood only account for 2 sherds out of the entire 654 sherds (0.3%). These specific types, given such a low frequency of sherds, possibly represent personal sets owned by the inhabitants and not part of their general trade

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wares. Such large quantities of Chinese blue and white porcelain (17.6% of the entire assemblage) suggest that the inhabitants of these three areas were heavily invested in their trade networks throughout the colonial enterprise.

Similar trends occur in the mid- and low-status ceramics as well. A wide array of different Delftware styles is present amongst the mid-status ceramics, accounting for an overwhelming majority of the class (Figure 8). Combined, all styles of English Delftware account for 19.3% of the entire ceramic assemblage from the Parking Lot Survey.

Figure 8. Percentage of Mid-Status Ceramics by Type.
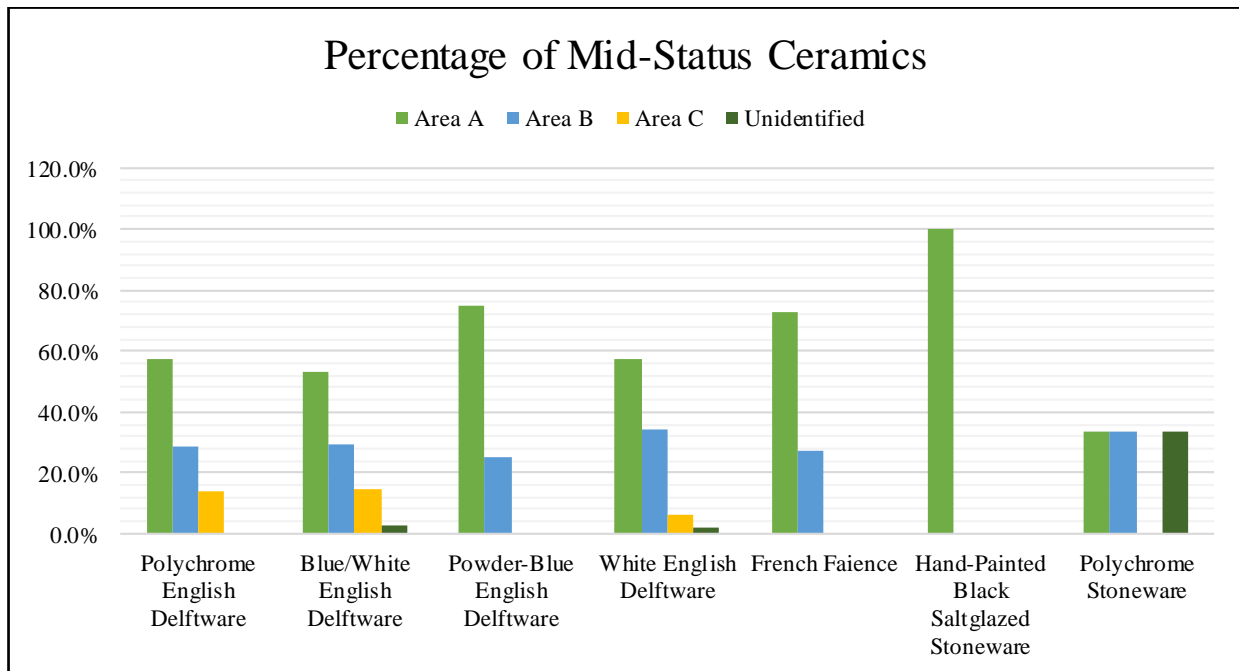
Owing to their ubiquity in the colonial landscape, the mid-status ceramics have fewer outliers than either the high- or low-status ceramics. Only one exclusive type, hand-painted black saltglazed stoneware, is present (Area A). However, Area C provides a differing trend in regards to mid-status ceramics. While they account for 22.0% of Area C's assemblage, the mid-status ceramics are exclusively English Delftware. No French faience or stoneware was noted. French

faience, which was later replaced by Delftwares at Michilimackinac after 1761 (Miller and Stone 1970), is represented by only 11 total sherds in the entire Parking Lot Survey. Given the absence of French faience, the data seems to suggest a later occupational date for Area C than the other two structures.

Low-status ceramics were represented by both the fewest number of sherds and fewest ceramic types (Figure 9). Contrasting the trends in the high- and mid-status ceramic the trends for the low-status types were not at all consistent across the excavation areas.

Figure 9. Percentage of Low-status Ceramics by Type.
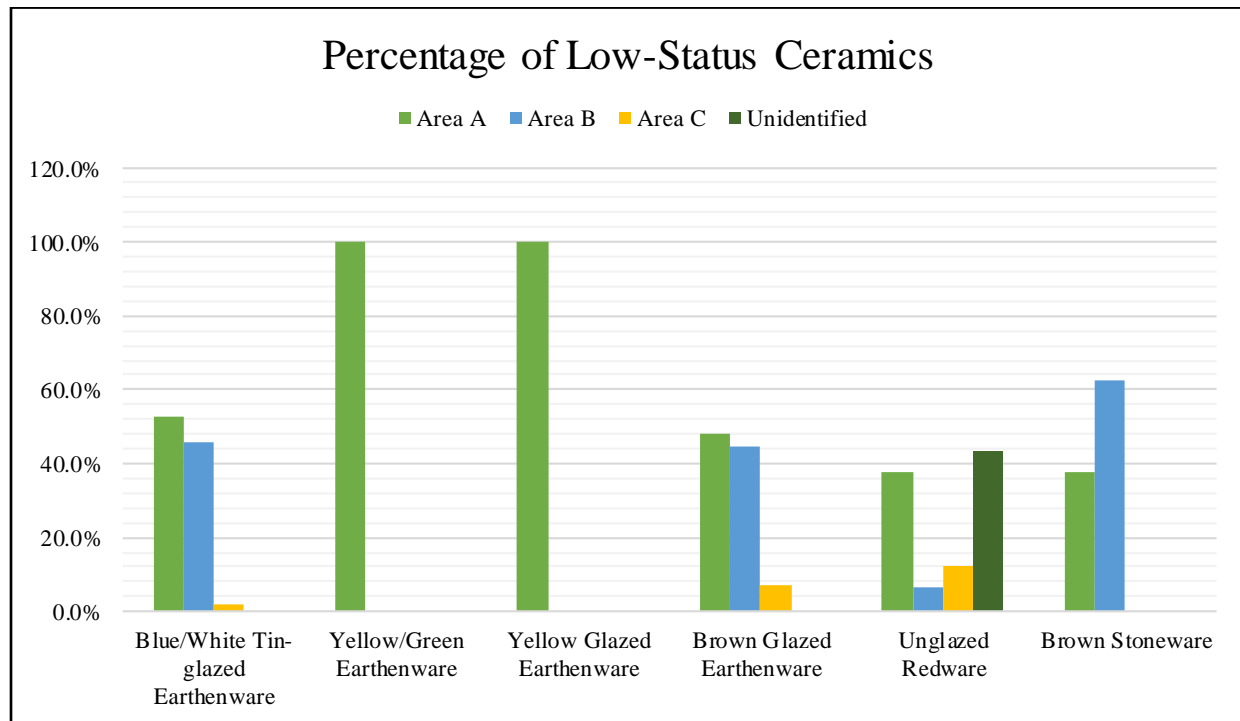
Blue/white tin-glazed earthenware, brown glazed earthenware, and redware were the only three low-status ceramic types to be found in all three areas. All three areas produced sherds of basic utilitarian ware (redware), a ceramic type often attributed to basic domestic operations (Miller and Stone 1970). It should also be noted that variations in the glaze color of the

earthenwares recovered is almost as diverse as the types of Delftware. Area A had the greatest diversity amongst glazed earthenware ceramics: 50.0% of the total low-status earthenwares for the entire survey area. Following a pattern noted with the mid-status ceramics, Area C only produced ceramics in three low-status categories and did not produce any low-status stoneware.

Temporally, all three areas and status types offer insight into the occupational period of the structures. English creamware was noted in significant quantities in all three areas. Creamware did not become a common commodity until the mid-1760s, when it eventually began to replace Delftware and white saltglazed stoneware as the common ceramic used in domestic activities and trading (Miller and Stone 1970: 42). The high counts of creamware in all three locations, relative to each site's respective total count, suggests that the occupation of these three areas continued into the 1770s. Lower counts of white saltglazed stoneware, and higher counts of creamware in Areas B and C may suggest later occupation. The opposite is true for Area A, where white saltglazed stoneware accounts for 88.3% of the sherds recovered during the excavations. This supports Stone's initial interpretation that Area A was occupied as early as the late 1750s by French traders (Stone 1973: 8).

That is not to say that the inhabitants of Areas B and C did not incorporate white saltglazed stoneware into their domestic use or trade activities. Small counts are found at both locations. Delftware has been found throughout the majority of excavations at Michilimackinac, the majority of which was manufactured in England (Miller and Stone 1970: 26). The results of a ceramic analysis of the external village revealed a fair number of Delftware sherds, ranging in colour and styles (Figure 9). However, the overwhelming majority of these sherds fall into one of two categories: white or blue/white. In fact, only seven total polychrome delftware sherds were found during the excavations.

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Areas A and B, however, both have exclusive ceramic types unique to their assemblage, and represent 92% and 75% of the total ceramic variation for the entire Parking Lot Survey (Figure 7, Figure 8, Figure 9). The greatest number of exclusive ceramic types is five, belonging to Area A. These types include scratch blue stoneware, black hand-painted saltglazed stoneware, Rhenishware, and both yellow and yellow/green glazed earthenware. Area B has only two exclusive types: English Worcester porcelain and French Rouen. Area C, with only 50 sherds total, does not have any ceramics unique to that structure. Only 50% of the total ceramic variations are represented in the Area C assemblage. These exclusive ceramic sherds reveal that while all three areas appear to have had access to certain utilitarian and trade styles of ceramics, their ceramic assemblages are diverse reflecting differing trade networks, access to goods, and perhaps occupational periods. What is overwhelmingly clear, however, is that all three excavation areas had access to many types of high-status ceramics (Figure 7).

Intra-site Comparison: Personal Adornment of Area A, Area B, and Area C

The variations between the households of Areas A, B, and C are not only limited to ceramics. As discussed in Chapter 7, the personal adornment of all three areas reveals that while certain similarities occur, each excavation area was a unique domestic space. Each excavation area produced its own unique pattern of artifacts from personal adornment. As with the ceramic assemblage, a disparity appears between the 143 artifacts from Areas A, B, and C (Figure 10, also see Appendix A: Table A-4). As with ceramics, a portion of these artifacts could not be assigned an area designation, however this number is relatively small – nine artifacts total. These were ultimately excluded from the comparison.

Artifacts from all three categories appear in each excavation area, and unlike ceramics, the assemblages are slightly closer to one another in terms of frequencies. The three areas share many

of the same categories of buttons, buckles, and cufflinks – albeit at lower count totals for Area B and Area C (Figure 10). The greatest diversity for the personal adornment artifacts comes from the "button" category. Seven total types of buttons were recovered from the 1970-1973 excavations. While they share different count totals, Area A and Area B both produced representatives for six of the button types. Area C only produced three button types – all but one of which were common civilian types found across Michilimackinac.

Figure 10. Personal Adornment Area A, B, & C.
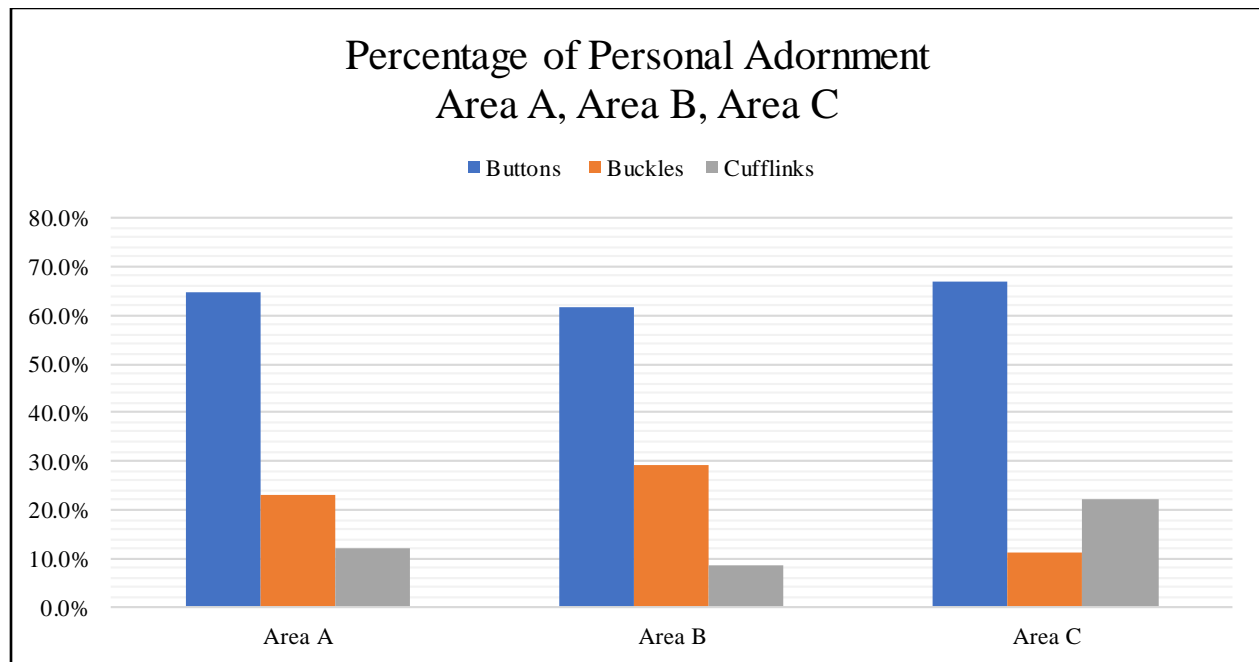
Military buttons were discovered at all three locations. Five of the pewter military buttons were associated with the King's 8th and may have been lost during the demolition of the fort and surrounding suburbs from 1779 – 1781. One other identifiable button is associated with the 26th regiment. However, due to the proximity of the external village to the fort, it is possible soldiers from the garrison may have engaged in various activities within the village (Morison 1960). Historical sources comment on activities, such as horse racing, gambling, and drinking, occurring

outside the walls and in the village (Armour and Widder 1978; Morison 1960; Sinclair 1780). Earlier accounts of military and civilian life inside the fort, by Daniel Morison, provide reports of horse racing at Michilimackinac (Morison 1960: 35). Since the internal area of the fort was too small to host any sort of larger horse race, these activities must have occurred in, or nearby, the streets of the external village.

Additionally, buckles and cufflinks, like buttons, were sometimes traded to native peoples (White 2008: 25-29). While only 16 cufflinks and cufflink insets were recovered, they reflect higher status (adornment goods) with glass insets and made from higher cost alloys such as silver. Finally, of the 36 buckles recovered from the Parking Lot Survey, 24 (64%) were crafted from non-ferrous materials such as brass or plated with gold gilt. The paucity of iron buckles, buttons, and cufflinks suggests that those living within this area of the external village had access to more expensive alloys available for adornment.

Each of Stone's excavation areas have their own patterns and assemblages, and their own challenges for interpretation. However, they are similar in the fact that the personal adornment recovered from all three sites shows that the occupants possessed higher quality goods for the period and region. Likewise, the wide variation of ceramics suggests that the community living outside the walls was engaged in the lucrative trading opportunities that the Straits region offered. The assemblages from Area A and Area B suggest that these structures might have been spaces where both trade and domestic activities occurred. Even with the heavy modern disruption, Area B produced more than double the assemblage of Area C. What is most puzzling about Area C is that while it did produce higher status items of personal adornment and a wide variety of ceramics, the counts are very small. Stone noted that while there was modern disruption, a complete (albeit smaller) structure was uncovered. With such a small, but diverse, assemblage, it may be that Area

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C reflects a single domestic space within the village, where less intensive trading activities occurred.

Stone's initial hypothesis stated that civilian traders were occupying the buildings found in the Parking Lot Survey from at the 1760s until the 1780s. He inferred a French Trader occupied Area A and a British Trader occupied Area C (Stone 1973). Area B was heavily disturbed but displayed evidence of a space used in the latter half of the 1700s. The types of personal adornment recovered from the Parking Lot Survey corroborate Stone's hypothesis that wealthy traders were making use of the three structures he uncovered (Stone 1973). Ceramic analysis agrees with his analysis of Area C and suggests that Area A was occupied well into the 1770s. Additionally, the analysis and intra-site comparison provides some evidence that Area B was occupied sometime between the mid-1760s until the late 1770s. All three excavation areas suggest that the inhabitants of the external village of Michilimackinac were members of a community with wide access to high-, mid-, and low-status trade goods.

<div align="center">Inter-Site Comparisons</div>

Comparison of Areas A and B to House C of the Southeast Rowhouse

Due to the length and size of the Area A, Stone suggested that the nearly-complete structure uncovered was a multi-room rowhouse (Stone 1973:6-8). While heavily damaged, Area B also appeared to be a rowhouse of considerable length (Stone 1973: 8-9). As highlighted by the ceramic assemblages, both areas resemble other domestic and trading spaces dating from between 1760-1781. Excavations of multi-unit rowhouses have occurred at several locations within the fort by the MISPC Archaeology Department. As discussed in Chapter 3 and 5, the internal site chosen for this project was House C of the Southeast Rowhouse. The site is better known today as the Solomon-Levy House for the Jewish-German traders living at Michilimackinac during the British

period. Trading inside a British fort, Solomon and Levy adhered to British customs and regulations in regard to trading licenses and, as demonstrated by the archaeology, similar goods as their English neighbors and contemporaries (Halchin 1985; Heldman 1985). The site was excavated as a singular household and has been one of the most studied areas inside the fort (Halchin 1985; Heldman 1985, 1993).

Multiple homes of the Southeast Rowhouse have been excavated at various times (and, indeed, continue to be excavated to this day). The area encompassing House C was fully excavated from 1983 to 1985 by the MISPC. The excavation techniques used by the park are constantly changing to adapt to new technologies and methods. As such, a more detailed recovery of artifacts was carried out during the House C excavation than at the Parking Lot Survey ten years earlier. Positioned in the middle of the rowhouse complex, House C of the Southeast rowhouse was roughly 35' long by 25' wide – roughly the same size as the structure found in Area C. House C has a long, well-documented history as a space utilized for trading and domestic activities (Halchin 1985).

With 29 distinct ceramic types, the ceramic assemblage of House C is slightly more varied that the assemblage of Area A (21 distinct types) and Area B (16 distinct types). House C contained a diverse ceramic assemblage of 460 sherds and served as an internal comparative site to the two rowhouses of Area A and Area B. The ceramic sherds from House C were economically scaled in the same fashion as those in the Parking Lot Survey (See Figure 11 and Appendix A: Table A-2) Additionally, unlike the ceramic assemblage from the Parking Lot Survey, only 0.2% (9 sherds) could not be typologically identified. Most of the ceramic types missing from the ceramic typology of Area A and B were color variations of glazed earthenware. The House C assemblage also

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included what were area-exclusive ceramics from both Area A and Area B in the Parking Lot

Survey: scratch blue stoneware (0.7%) and French Rouen (0.4%).

Figure 11. Comparison of Economic Scaling of House C to Area A and Area B.
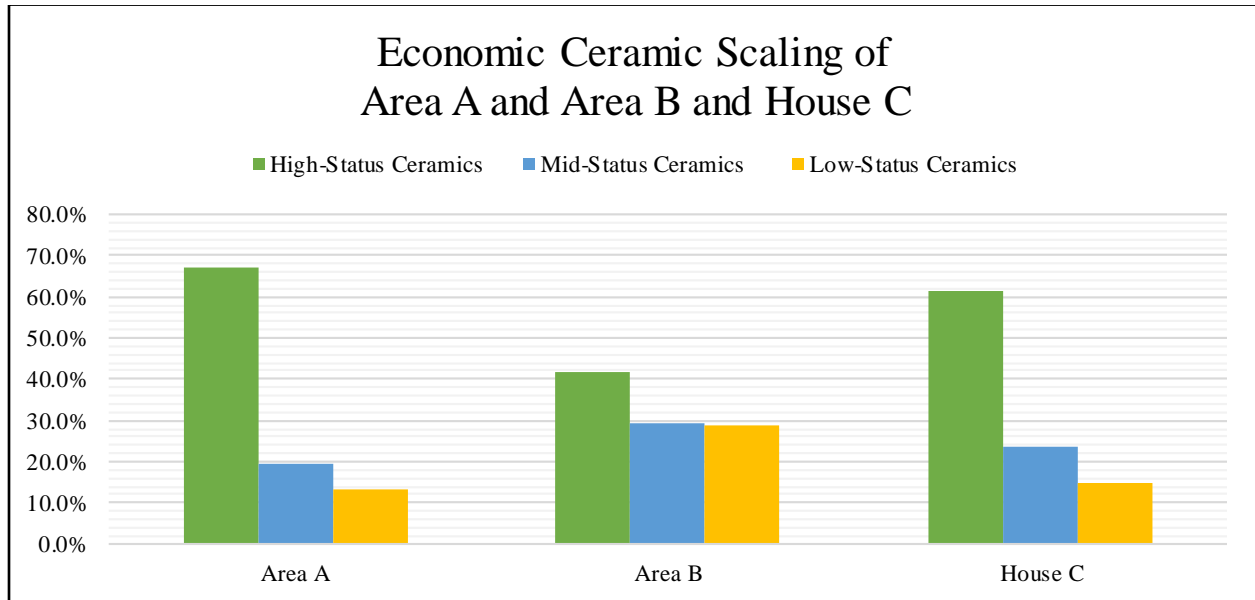
There is little typological difference between the ceramic assemblages of Area A, Area B,

and House C. All three excavation areas had similar ceramic styles present. This is further reflected

in the similarity of economic scaling between House C and Area A. Both excavation areas had

high-status ceramics account for over 60% of their assemblages. The general trend in mid- and

low-status ceramics is similar as well, reflecting commonality of goods being traded at

Michilimackinac. House C and Area A share the most commonality in terms of typology as well:

with the highest sherd counts of blue/white Chinese porcelain, white saltglazed stoneware, and

creamware (Figure 12). All three ceramic types are composed of high sherd counts for both areas,

but it should be noted that, comparatively, the greatest number of sherds were recovered from Area

A – owing to the larger assemblage size.

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Figure 12. High-status Ceramics Distribution by Percentage.
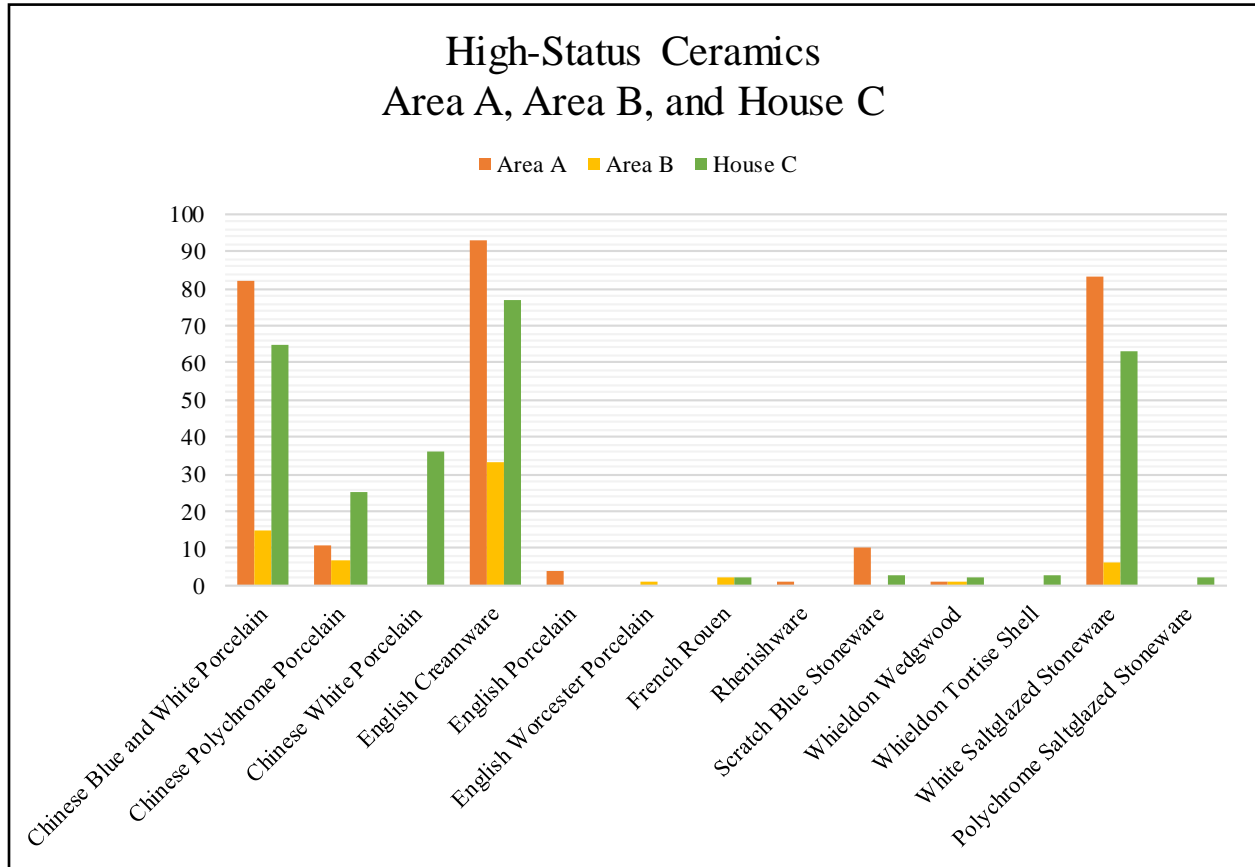
Delftware was another commonality between the assemblages. Yet, a stark difference in style can be noticed between Area A and House C (Figure 13). In general, a greater variation of Delftware styles is present throughout House C's ceramic assemblage than the Parking Lot Survey. House C has a large assortment of blue/white delftware sherds (51.4%) and significantly fewer plain white English Delftware sherds (17.8%). Area A is roughly the opposite, with higher sherd counts of white English Delftware (57.8%) and fewer blue/white (21.7%) and powder-blue (3.6%) delft sherds. Decorated Delftware is less common for all sites in the Parking Lot Survey. Plain white English Delftware was much more common in both Area A and Area B. This, compounded with the high counts of creamware, suggests that the majority of trade and domestic activities of Area A did not fully develop until the later part of the 1760s.

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Figure 13. Mid-status Ceramics Distribution by Percentage.
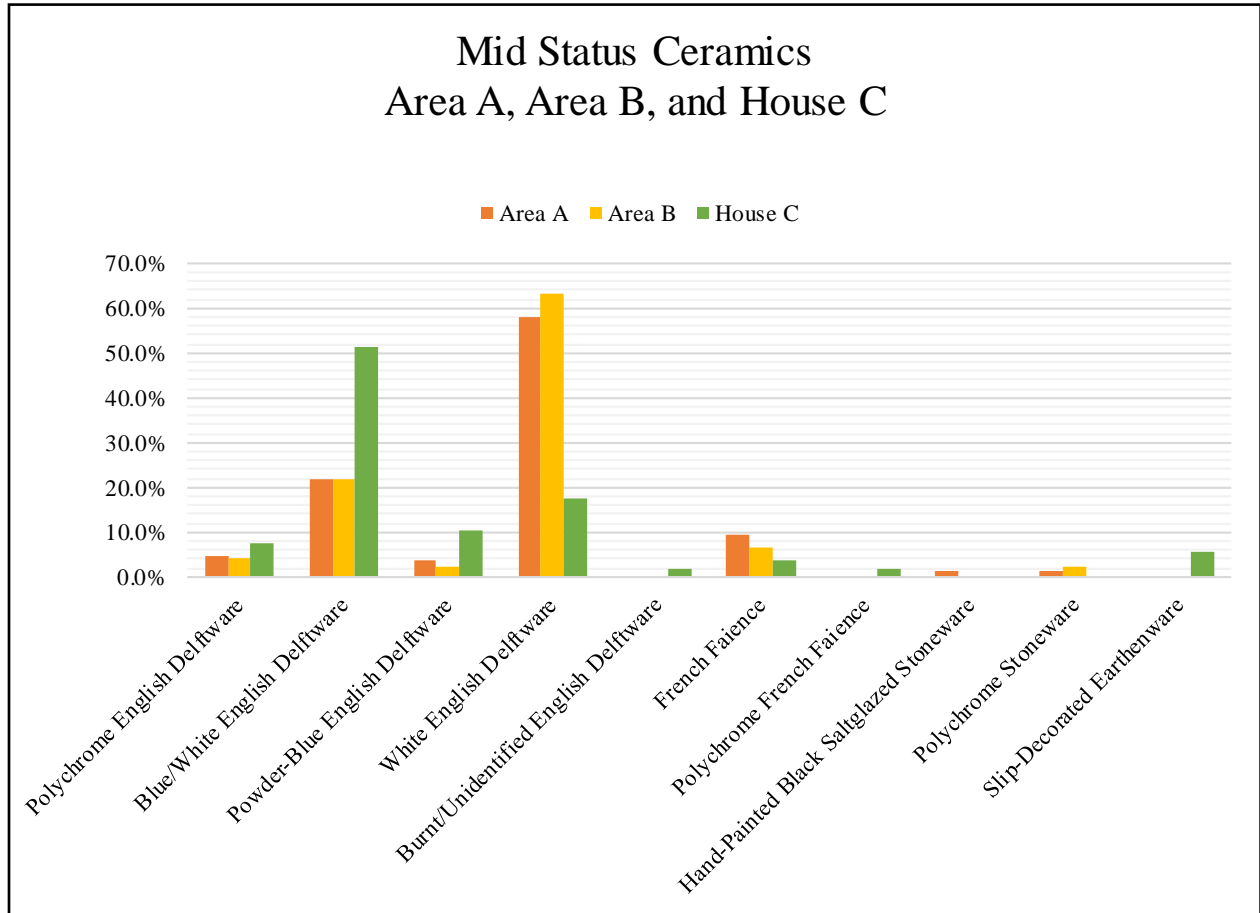
The small sherd counts of Area B make comparison to House C and Area A a little more difficult. Area B and House C are the only two to have two French Rouen sherds each present in their assemblages – explicitly French style ceramics. These sherds, which are infrequently found across Michilimackinac, may be indicative of French inhabitants in Area B, or of multifaceted trade ocuring across the Upper Country during the British Period (Miller and Stone 1970: 38). Additionally, the most common type among House C, Area A, and Area B excavations is blue/white tin-glazed earthenware. Surprisingly, all three areas produced between 26 – 30 sherds each. This pattern is continued with brown glazed earthenware (10 – 13 sherds) and brown

stoneware (3 – 5 sherds). The utilitarian wares of House C are much more diverse than those of Area A and Area B, yet all three areas produced low sherd counts in these types (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Low-status Ceramics Distribution by Percentage.

Low-Status Ceramics
Area A, Area B, House C
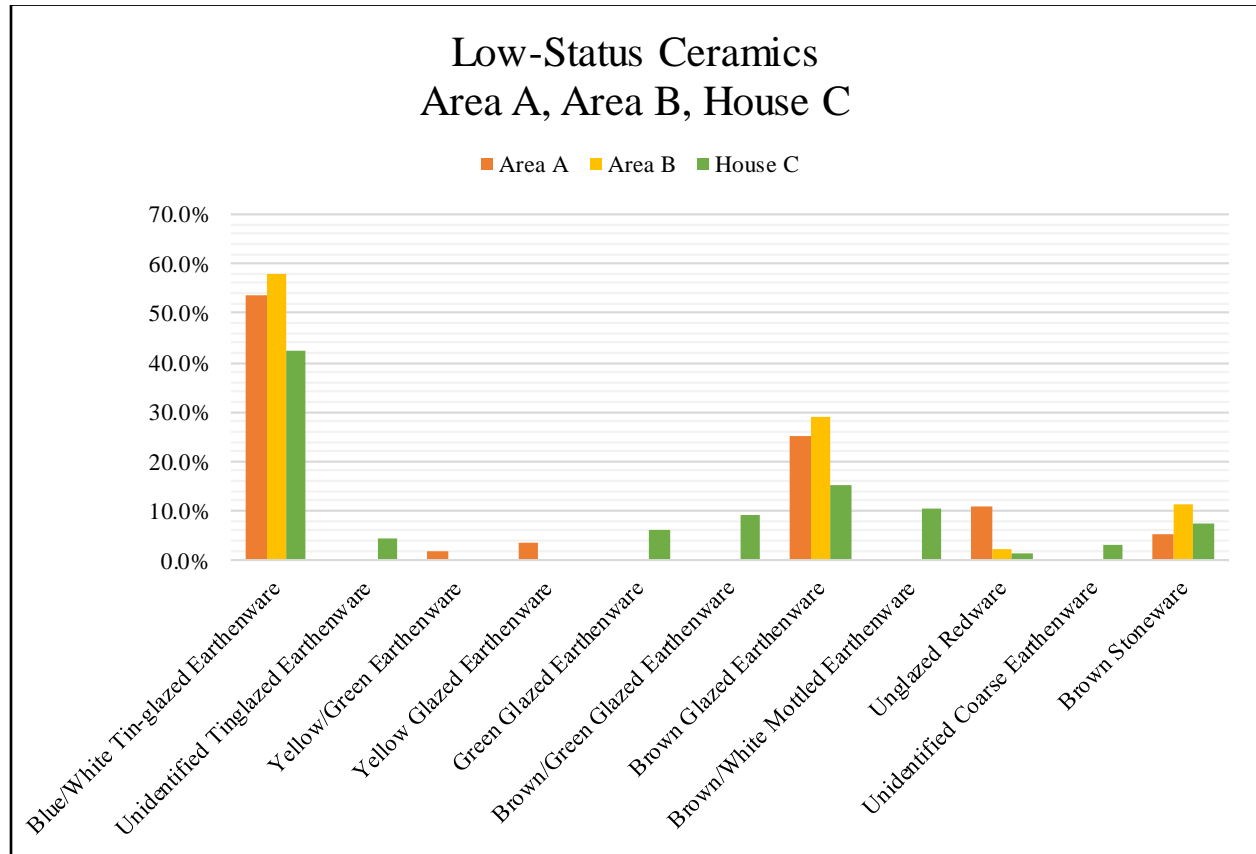
Summary

The ceramic assemblages of Area A and Area B display similar trends to those seen in House C. While some slight differences are noted in the styles found and frequencies of types, the trends are comparable between sites. The detailed archeological work on House C has revealed much about the lives of its various occupants (Halchin 1985). This in-depth study does not exist for the Parking Lot Survey. Yet, comparisons of House C with Area A and B, as well as ceramic analysis of these sites, reveal that the occupants of Area A and Area B had access to a wide array

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of ceramics. The similarities between the assemblages inside and outside the fort appear to suggest that the inhabitants of at least Area A and Area B were engaging in trading activities and were able to access a diverse collection of ceramic products. Even with the complexity of the Area B excavations, these patterns in the frequencies of specific types are visible. Living outside the walls does not appear to have restricted trading activities, nor were the location of these homes a result of low socioeconomic status.

Comparison of Area C to French Farm Lake

As Area C encompasses what was likely a free-standing, small private home, it can be more easily compared with a similar external home in proximity to Michilimackinac: Askin's farm at French Farm Lake. The excavations at French Farm Lake were conducted from 1981 to 1982 about three miles south of Fort Michilimackinac. These excavations uncovered several structures and produced a small assemblage (Heldman 1983). The farm at French Farm Lake was established sometime around 1774, yielding a selection of produce to supplement Askin's already increasing trading presence (Heldman 1983: 11-12). During the two years of excavation, 102 ceramic sherds were recovered, representing seven types (See Appendix A: Table A-3). At 85.3%, the overwhelming majority of the ceramics were English creamware. Small counts of white saltglazed stoneware and polychrome stoneware were recovered as well; together these account for 8.9% of the assemblage. One sherd of Chinese blue/white porcelain was recovered, as well as one stoneware sherd believed to have been part of an amphora or storage container attributed to a contemporary Spanish olive oil amphora (Heldman 1983: 51). Additionally, the lack of any Delftware from the site and the overwhelming presence of creamware corresponds to the farm's establishment at some point in the 1770s.

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Figure 15. Economic Scaling of Ceramics from Area C and French Farm Lake.
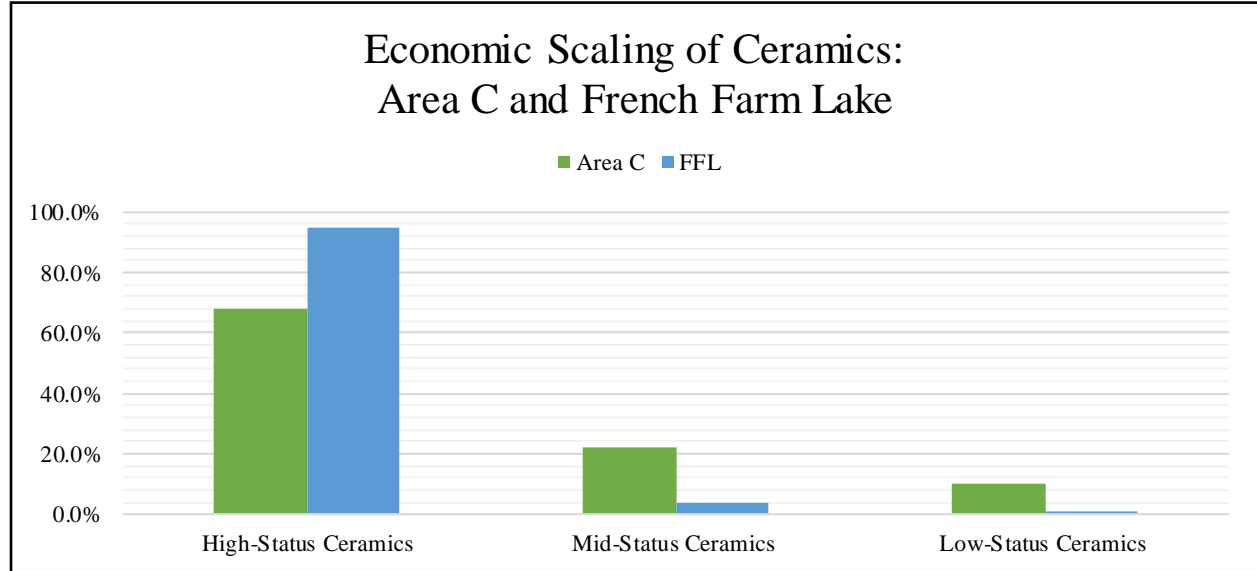
While the French Farm Lake ceramic assemblage is twice as large as that of Area C's, it offers a comparative insight into what external homes around Michilimackinac may have looked like (Figure 15). Area C is a much more diverse site. The presence of personal adornment and ceramic sherds lead Stone to believe that the freestanding structure of Area C was a home (Stone 1973). Compared to the economic typologies established for this project, Area C and French Farm Lake follow a consistent trend where high-status goods are the overwhelming majority. The largest disparity between the two sites is the overwhelming presence of creamware at French Farm Lake. Creamware accounts for 91.8% of French Farm Lake's assemblage, with only one sherd of Chinese porcelain and seven sherds of white saltglazed stoneware accounting for the remaining 3.3% of the high-status ceramics. Area C only produced ten creamware sherds (22.0% of its assemblage). Yet, even with a lower sherd count, 68.0% of the assemblage registered as high-status. Finally, the largest percentage of Area C's ceramic assemblage was Chinese blue/white porcelain (14 sherds accounting for 28.0%). The second most common type found in the

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assemblage was white saltglazed stoneware, accounting for 6.9%. Both types were nearly absent from the French Farm Lake assemblage.

Unlike French Farm Lake, three styles of Delftware are present in Area C's assemblage; the most common being white English Delftware and blue/white English Delftware. Perhaps owing to a later occupational date, Delftware is totally absent from French Farm Lake. Interestingly, the Farm only had one sherd of low-status ceramic (unglazed earthenware), while Area C's assemblage contained 10.0% of low-status earthenware. Both French Farm Lake and Area C had generally low counts of utilitarian wares. Area C also had more unique ceramic signatures, such as blue/white tin-glazed earthenware. Even at very low counts, the dates associated with ceramics such tin-glazed earthenware and English Delftware suggest that Area C's occupation was established before the 1770s, perhaps as early as the early 1760s (Heldman 1983; Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974).

Table 7. Comparison of Area C to French Farm Lake sherd count and percentage.

High-Status Ceramics	Area C	Area C	FFL	FFL
Chinese Blue and White Porcelain	14	41.2%	1	1.0%
Chinese Polychrome Porcelain	4	11.8%	-	-
English Creamware	11	32.4%	89	91.8%
English Porcelain	1	2.9%	-	-
White Saltglazed Stoneware	4	11.8%	7	7.2%
Total	34	**100.0%**	97	**100.0%**
Mid-Status Ceramics	**Area C**	**Percent**	**FFL**	**Percent**
Polychrome English Delftware	1	9.1%	-	-
Blue/White English Delftware	5	45.5%	-	-
White English Delftware	5	45.5%	-	-
Stoneware	-	-	1	25.0%
Polychrome Stoneware	-	-	3	75.0%
Total	11	**100.0%**	4	**100.0%**
Low-Status Ceramics	**Area C**	**Percent**	**FFL**	**Percent**
Blue/White Tin-glazed Earthenware	1	20.0%	-	-
Brown Glazed Earthenware	2	40.0%	-	-
Unglazed Redware	2	40.0%	1	100.0%
Total	5	**100.0%**	1	**100.0%**

Area C, while producing the fewest ceramic variations out of the entire Parking Lot Survey shows greater diversity of ceramic types than French Farm Lake (Table 6). The disproportion between the creamware is huge. The wealth of the Askin Farm is evident in the nearly exclusive use of creamware. The small instance of Chinese porcelain is also indicative of a wealthy domestic space. Given the lack of trade goods recovered from French Farm Lake (Heldman 1983), the Chinese porcelain recovered was most likely for personal use rather than trade in the context of the farm. Area C, while a small house, thus appears to be an individual home where trade activities were taking place. The higher percent of Chinese porcelain and creamware in the assemblage (like Area A and B) create a strong argument that these were not destitute traders living outside the fort's walls.

Summary

French Farm Lake and the structure in Area C are both individual domestic structures. The assemblages from both are similar and reflect changes in consumer goods in the latter half of the 1700s. Newly imported creamware and Chinese export porcelain are noted in both assemblages. The purpose of French Farm Lake is known to be as part of Askin's farming venture in the Straits (Heldman 1983). The farm was outfitted by Askin and maintained by his employees and slaves (Heldman 1983). The diversity of the Area C ceramic assemblage also suggests a wider date range of occupation than at French Farm Lake. The assemblages suggest that Area C may have been occupied by wealthy traders living and exploiting opportunities for trade beyond the restrictive military-controlled trade happening inside fort.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to determine who occupied the village, and when. Stone's 1970-1973 excavations initiated an archaeological study of the external community; however, no thorough analysis has been conducted on any aspect of the excavations since the project was concluded in 1973. Limited historical sources and minimal archaeological investigations have left the external village veiled in obscurity. While the 1980 resistivity survey expanded the known extent of the village, it remains the only investigation into the Parking Lot Survey since Stone's excavation. As such, the extramural village at Michilimackinac is an untapped resource for the study of community, identity, and trade of civilian fur trading communities in the Upper Country.

The analysis of ceramics and personal adornment presented in this thesis (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) supports Stone's initial hypotheses for the occupation dates of the structures excavated in the Parking Lot Survey. In his report, Lyle Stone suggested occupational dates for the structures but did no additional in-depth artifact analysis to support his claims. This project has aimed to test his hypothesis that Area A and Area B were initially occupied by French traders in the 1760s, and that Area C was occupied by British traders at some point in the 1770s (Stone 1973). However, examination of Area A and Area B suggests that the occupation of these structures continued into the British period and that the occupants were using British style ceramics as they became more prevalent in the region. From the archaeological and historical data, the structures in all three excavation areas were occupied before or during the early 1770s through the relocation of the fort by 1781.

The community within Fort Michilimackinac has been the subject of much study and interpretation since 1959. French, British, and *métis* inhabitants occupied homes over the 66 years

the fort on the mainland was occupied. As the regional trade increased and the population grew inside the fort, so did the population outside the walls –especially during the busy summer months in the 1760s and 1770s (Armour and Widder 1978). The analysis of both the ceramics and items of personal adornment suggest that the people living outside the walls of the fort were not relegated there due to their low socioeconomic status. The diversity and quality of the assemblages suggest that this was a community of wealthy traders who exploited Michilimackinac's potential as a link in the greater trade networks across New France and the Upper Country. The variety in the ceramic assemblages of all three excavation areas reveals that these individuals were deeply entrenched in a much larger colonial trade network, spanning the distance from Michilimackinac through Montréal and Quebec to Europe and beyond to China.

One of the most interesting aspects of all three of Stone's excavation areas is the prevalence of Chinese export porcelain and English creamware in the assemblages. Chinese export porcelain appears in higher frequencies in all three excavation areas than at the domestic-agricultural site at French Farm Lake. Porcelain and creamware are the most prevalent ceramic types in the Area C assemblage. Even in Area B, blue and white Chinese porcelain makes a significant percentage of the total high-status assemblage (see Appendix A: Table A-1) indicating it was most likely used in domestic activities at French Farm Lake. Trends like this were noted inside the fort, as in the case of House C (see Appendix A: Table A-2). But at external domestic settlements like French Farm Lake, likely operated by Askin's staff and slaves, Chinese porcelain is almost entirely absent (see Appendix A: Table A-3) (Heldman 1983). Traded throughout the 18th century at Michilimackinac, the prevalence of Chinese export porcelain suggests that the people living in the three areas had well-established trading connections with merchants in Montréal or Quebec. This

is known to be the case for the traders inside the fort; especially during the British period (Armour and Widder 1978; Evans 2001; Halchin 1985; Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974).

The other important indicator of higher socioeconomic status is the high frequency of creamware. Creamware did not become common at Michilimackinac until the 1770s (Heldman 1983; Miller and Stone 1970; Stone 1974). All three areas produced a high percentage of creamware, indicating that these sites were occupied into the 1770s, most likely until the final demolition of the fort in 1781. Creamware has been noted at nearly every household in and around the fort, eventually replacing Delftware and white saltglazed stoneware (Heldman 1983:49). The ceramic sherds from French Farm Lake are almost exclusively creamware, suggesting that creamware was used daily for domestic activities by those overseeing Askin's enterprises (see Table 6). High counts of creamware are also seen throughout British occupied areas inside the fort (Evans 2001; Halchin 1983), as well as the external village (see Appendix A: Table A-1).

This analysis of the assemblage from the Parking Lot Survey presented in this thesis has illustrated what the external village looked like in terms of materiality, socioeconomic status, and ethnic identity. From the ceramics and personal adornment items found within the Parking Lot Survey, a clearer understanding of the occupation of the external village begins to emerge. Analysis of ceramic sherds and items of personal adornment suggest a rich, multiethnic community with permanent and seasonal homes was established outside the walls of the fort. The occupants of Area A and Area B appear to have been predominately French, while Area C appears to be predominately British.

Stone, in his initial report, suggested that Area A was established somewhere between the 1750s to 1760s (Stone 1973: 8). High counts of Delftware and white saltglazed stoneware in Area A support this interpretation. Historically, Delftware and white saltglazed stoneware began to fall

out of favor in the 1770s and were replaced by the more fashionable creamware (Heldman 1985: 49; Miller and Stone 1970). However, sherds of both types are found at all three sites and can be invaluable in dating the sites. However, the high prevalence of creamware suggests that occupation of Area A began in the 1760s, continuing through the late 1770s, perhaps by the original French traders. However, as had been noted in previous analysis of homes inside the fort with multiple ethnic occupation periods, this may suggest that at some point after the late 1760s British traders were occupying the home once used by French traders.

Area C was thought to have been a British household, established at some point in the later 1760s or early 1770s (Stone 1973: 10). Stone's hypothesis is supported by high percentages of creamware sherds and significantly lower counts of Delftware and white saltglazed stoneware present in the assemblage of Area C. Area C, due to its size, small assemblage, and architectural design appears to resemble a single occupancy structure from the mid-1770s rather than an earlier rowhouse (Stone 1973: 9-11). Stone never attempted to determine a date range of the occupants of Area B. As noted in Chapters 6 and 8, the ceramic patterning of Area B resembles that of Area A, albeit at a much lower frequency. From these data, it appears that Area B was likely established around the same time as Area A, around the late 1750s or early 1760s and occupied until after 1769 (see Figure 2 and Figure 3). As Area B follows similar trends of Area A, and has several ceramic styles associated with the French at Michilimackinac, the area most likely was established and occupied by French or *métis* traders. Even with the heavy damage to the structure in Area B, details of the occupants can be extrapolated from the assemblages.

The external village at Michilimackinac is an important site not only for Michilimackinac, but for the archaeology and history of the fur trade. The dynamic, multifaceted community of the fort and its external village, composed of British, French, Native Americans, and *métis,* was an

active participant in the expanding colonial enterprise across the Great Lakes and Upper Country. From the frequency of high-status ceramics present in the assemblage, the community that lived outside the walls does not appear to have been composed of poor traders relegated to the fringes of the community unlike other fur trading communities (Mullaley 2011). As White (1991) has noted, issues of ethnicity, colonial power, and socioeconomic status were constantly at play in the colonial Upper Country throughout the colonial enterprise. While space inside the fort was too limited to accommodate the increase of traders in the region, the flat shoreline east of the fort allowed these incoming traders from settlements like Detroit and Montréal a place to establish themselves. Mixed trading families had financial, commercial, and kinship ties to trading centers across the Upper Country (Armour and Widder 1978; Widder 2013; White 1991). These trade networks connected Michilimackinac to other communities, such as Fort St. Joseph and Detroit, and facilitated the colonization and development of the region (Armour and Widder 1978; Dunnigan 2001, 2008; Widder 2013).

The proximity to the fort granted traders the benefits of a military trading post and access to a religious center without the direct governance those inside the fort may have received. When the fort moved to the island in 1781, inhabitants of the external village likely moved as well to continue their businesses within the established trading community (Dunnigan 2008; MPHC 1880; Porter 1984; Sinclair 1780). This would account for the rapid development of a village along the island's shore, as noted by Captain David William Smith's 1790 plan of Mackinac Island (See Figure 4), where a bounded village appears along the shore (Dunnigan 2008: 69-70). The growing population may have also included traders who were evacuated from Fort St. Joseph in the 1780s (Brandão and Nassaney 2006; Loveland 2017).

It stands to reason that as Fort Michilimackinac was a regional center of trade, traders who were living in and around the fort would have moved with it to continue business in the region. The presence of King's 8th buttons at all three excavation areas lends further support to this notion as the regiment was responsible for the demolition and relocation of the fort to prevent the advance and assault of colonial insurgents (Armour and Widder 1978; Brown 2004; Evans 2001; Halchin 1985; Heldman 1983; Stone 1974). This military mandate included the demolition, and perhaps relocation, of standing structures along the shoreline outside the fort (Armour and Widder 1978). Traders wishing to stay in business in the region were encouraged to move with the fort to Mackinac Island (Dunnigan 2008; MPHC 1886; Porter 1984). Thus, the history of the external village is not only important in the context of Michilimackinac, but also to the early development and history of Mackinac Island and of the region after the 1780s.

Archaeology at Michilimackinac is referred to as the longest ongoing archaeological project in the United States. Excavations conducted by the MISPC have continued since 1959 and have no clear end in sight. With only two-thirds of the fort fully excavated and reconstructed, MISPC has a long way to go until a fully reconstructed Michilimackinac stands on its historical footprint. As no maps exist of the external village, we do not know either the population size or the number of buildings. Stone's 1970-1973 excavations began as mitigation work to capture the archaeology before improvements to the park were made. In doing so, he revealed the complex footprint of part of a much larger historical community. The 1980 soil resistivity survey only added to the much larger scope of potential archaeology at the park, revealing several potential hotspots for historical structures. During the first half of the 20th century several buildings and structures disrupted portions of the park's ground (Williams and Shapiro 1982). Currently, however, the grounds from the eastern wall of the fort to the Visitor's Center remain relatively empty, protecting

what other historical sites might be present just below the surface. One informational plaque and the *Archaeology Completion Report Series* offer visitors to Michilimackinac some insight into the external village at the fort, but no significant in-depth studies have yet been conducted until this project.

If the village did span the length of the shoreline, only a fraction of it has been adequately examined. The three excavation areas of the external village have revealed that the inhabitants had created domestic and trade spaces beyond the fort's walls. Just as each home inside the fort illuminates the lives of specific inhabitants and activities, so too does the external village. The development of modern-day Mackinaw City, the Mackinac Bridge, and I-75 have severely limited any potential for further excavations to the south and east of Stone's excavation areas. The same could not be said for grounds between the fort and the 1970-1973 excavation areas. These areas are relatively well preserved and revealed potential anomalies ideal for future study (see Appendix B: Figure B-2 and B-3) (Williams and Shapiro 1980). It is recommended that additional archaeological investigations of the external village eventually be undertaken. Stone's 1973 report suggested the need for architectural reconstructions. Further research could reveal if the socioeconomic status of the occupants of Areas A, B, and C is unique or other areas follow a similar trend. Do the assemblages and structures change closer to fort's walls? How far from the wall does the village begin? Is the grid pattern noted by Stone and Williams and Shapiro a defining characteristic of the entire village?

Only a fraction of the site was excavated in the 1970s, leaving room for additional archaeological investigations. Future investigations into the Parking Lot Survey can help to continue to our understanding of life outside a colonial fort and the development of the Upper Country (e.g. architecture, craft industries, diet, etc.). The analysis of ceramic and personal

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adornment data presented here has provided a likely date of occupation and defined the ethnic identity of the village's inhabitants. The inhabitants were a mixture of French (Area A) and British (Area B and C) traders operating outside the wall of the fort from the late 1760s until 1781 when they moved to Mackinac Island after the demolition of the fort. The continued archaeology of Fort Michilimackinac has provided archaeologists and historians with a rich source of data for research into the fur trade. The same can be true for the external village. Future investigations of the external village can continue to expand upon what life outside the walls may have looked like and how the European military and civilian traders along with Native Americans and the *métis* came together at Fort Michilimackinac.

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Table A-1. Total Parking Lot Survey Sherd Count by Type.

High-Status Ceramics	Area A	Area A	Area B	Area B	Area C	Area C	UnID	UnID	Total
Chinese Blue and White Porcelain	82	71.3%	15	13.0%	14	12.2%	4	3.5%	115
Chinese Polychrome Porcelain	11	50.0%	7	31.8%	4	18.2%	-	-	22
English Creamware	93	64.6%	33	22.9%	11	7.6%	7	4.9%	144
English Porcelain	4	80.0%	-	-	1	20.0%	-	-	5
English Worcester Porcelain	-	-	1	100.0%	-	-	-	-	1
French Rouen	-	-	2	100.0%	-	-	-	-	2
Rhenishware	1	100.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Scratch Blue	10	100.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Whieldon Wedgwood	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	-	-	-	-	2
White Saltglazed Stoneware	83	88.3%	6	6.4%	4	4.3%	1	1.1%	94
Total	285		65		34		12		396
Mid-Status Ceramics	Area A	Area A	Area B	Area B	Area C	Area C	UnID	UnID	Total
Polychrome English Delftware	4	57.1%	2	28.6%	1	14.3%	-	-	7
Blue/White English Delftware	18	52.9%	10	29.4%	5	14.7%	1	2.9%	34
Powder-Blue English Delftware	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	-	-	-	-	4
White English Delftware	48	57.1%	29	34.5%	5	6.0%	2	2.4%	84
French Faience	8	72.7%	3	27.3%	-	-	-	-	11
Hand-Painted Black Saltglazed Stoneware	1	100.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Polychrome Stoneware	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	-	-	1	33.3%	3
Total	83		46		11		4		144
Low-Status Ceramics	Area A	Area A	Area B	Area B	Area C	Area C	UnID	UnID	Total
Blue/White Tin-glazed Earthenware	30	52.6%	26	45.6%	1	1.8%	-	-	57
Yellow/Green Earthenware	1	100.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yellow Glazed Earthenware	2	100.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Brown Glazed Earthenware	14	48.3%	13	44.8%	2	6.9%	-	-	29
Unglazed Redware	6	37.5%	1	6.3%	2	12.5%	7	43.8%	16
Brown Stoneware	3	37.5%	5	62.5%	-	-	-	-	8
Total	56		45		5		7		113

Table A-2.Total Solomon Levey House (House C) Sherd Count by Type.

Rowhouse C Ceramics		
High-Status Ceramics	**Sherd Count**	**Percent**
Chinese Blue and White Porcelain	65	14.1%
Chinese White Porcelain	36	7.8%
Chinese Polychrome Porcelain	25	5.4%
English Creamware	77	16.7%
French Rouen	2	0.4%
Polychrome Saltglazed Stoneware	2	0.4%
Scratch Blue Stoneware	3	0.7%
Whieldon Wedgwood	2	0.4%
Whieldon Tortoise-Shell	3	0.7%
White Saltglazed Stoneware	63	13.7%
Total	278	
Mid-Status Ceramics	**Sherd Count**	**Percentage**
Polychrome English Delftware	8	1.7%
Blue/White English Delftware	55	12.0%
Powdered-Blue English Delftware	11	2.4%
White English Delftware	19	4.1%
Burnt/Unidentified English Delftware	2	0.4%
French Faience	4	0.9%
Polychrome French Faience	2	0.4%
Slip-Decorated Earthenware	6	1.3%
Total	107	23.3%
Low-Status Ceramics	**Sherd Count**	**Percentage**
Blue/White Tin-glazed Earthenware	28	6.1%
Unidentified Tin-glazed Earthenware	3	0.7%
Brown Stoneware	5	1.1%
Green Glazed Earthenware	4	0.9%
Brown/Green Glazed Earthenware	6	1.3%
Brown Glazed Earthenware	10	2.2%
Brown/White Mottled Earthenware	7	1.5%
Unglazed Redware	1	0.2%
Unidentified Coarse Earthenware	2	0.4%
Total	66	14.3%

Table A-3. Total French Farm Lake Sherd Count by Type.

High-Status Ceramics	Sherd Count	Percent
Chinese Porcelain	1	1.0%
Creamware	89	87.3%
White Saltglazed Stoneware	7	6.9%
	97	
Mid-Status Ceramics	**Sherd Count**	**Percentage**
Polychrome Stoneware	3	2.9%
Stoneware	1	1.0%
	4	
Low-Status Ceramics	**Sherd Count**	**Percentage**
Redware	1	1.0%
	1	
Total	102	100.0%

Table A-4. Total Number of Personal Adornment by Excavation Area.

| Cufflinks	Area A	Area B	Area C	Unidentified
Brass and Silver Cufflinks	8	3	1	-
Pewter Cufflinks	2	-	-	-
Paste Cufflink Insets	1	-	1	-
Buttons	**Area A**	**Area B**	**Area C**	**Unidentified**
Iron Civilian Buttons	1	-	-	1
Brass Civilian Buttons	24	12	3	2
Pewter Civilian Buttons	5	1	-	1
Bone Buttons	23	5	2	-
Shell Buttons	-	1	-	-
Military Buttons	6	2	1	1
Buttons	**Area A**	**Area B**	**Area C**	**Unidentified**
Iron Buckles	9	3	-	1
Non-Ferrous Buckles	12	7	1	3
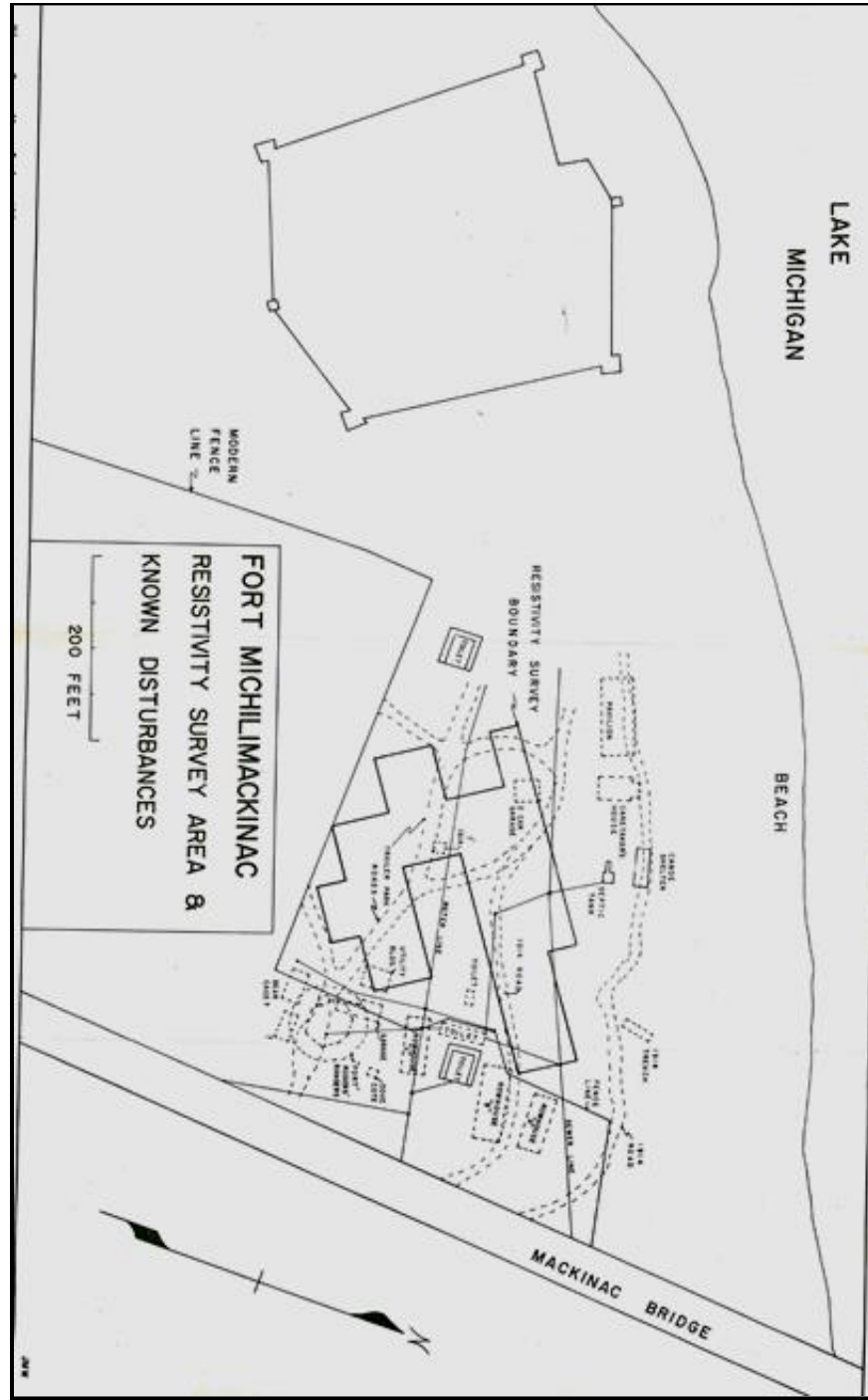
Figure B-1. Site plan of William's and Shapiro's soil resistivity survey.
(The 1970-1973 excavation area is plotted on the eastern edge of the map)
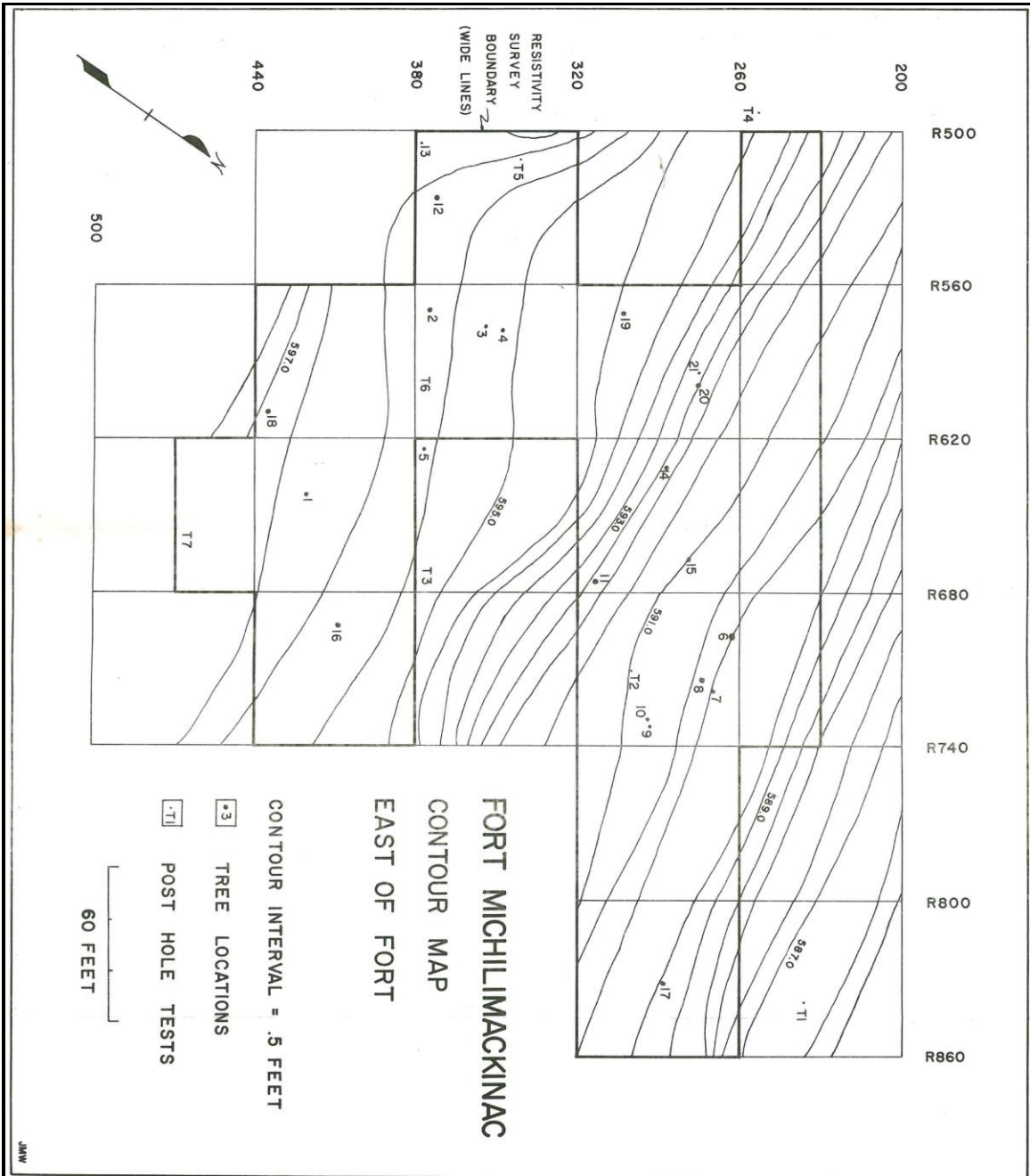Williams and Shapiro 1982, Figure 3.

Figure B-2. Contour Map of the 1980 resistivity survey
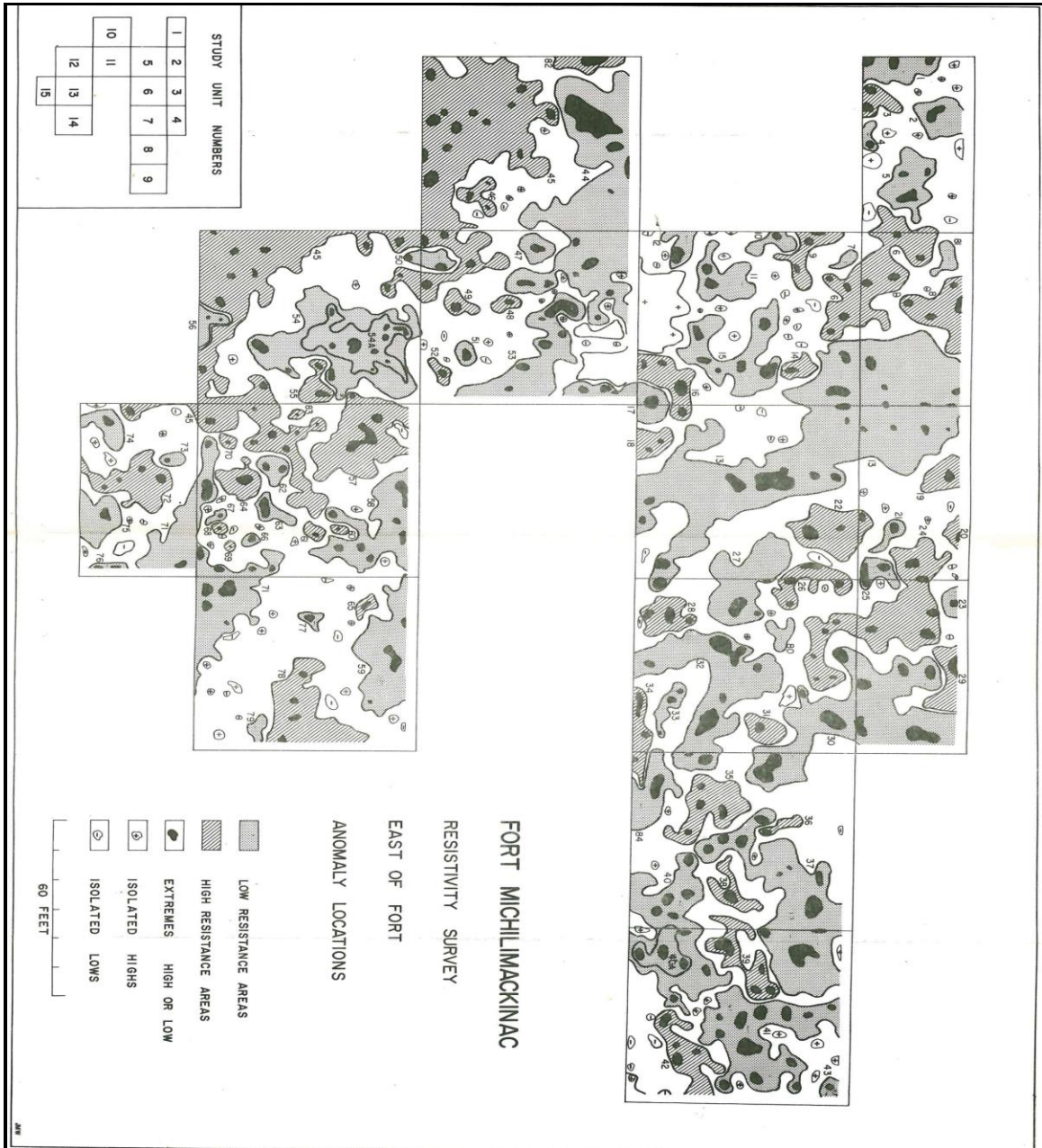Williams and Shapiro 1982, Figure 5.

Figure B-3. Resistivity survey map displaying the location of anomalies
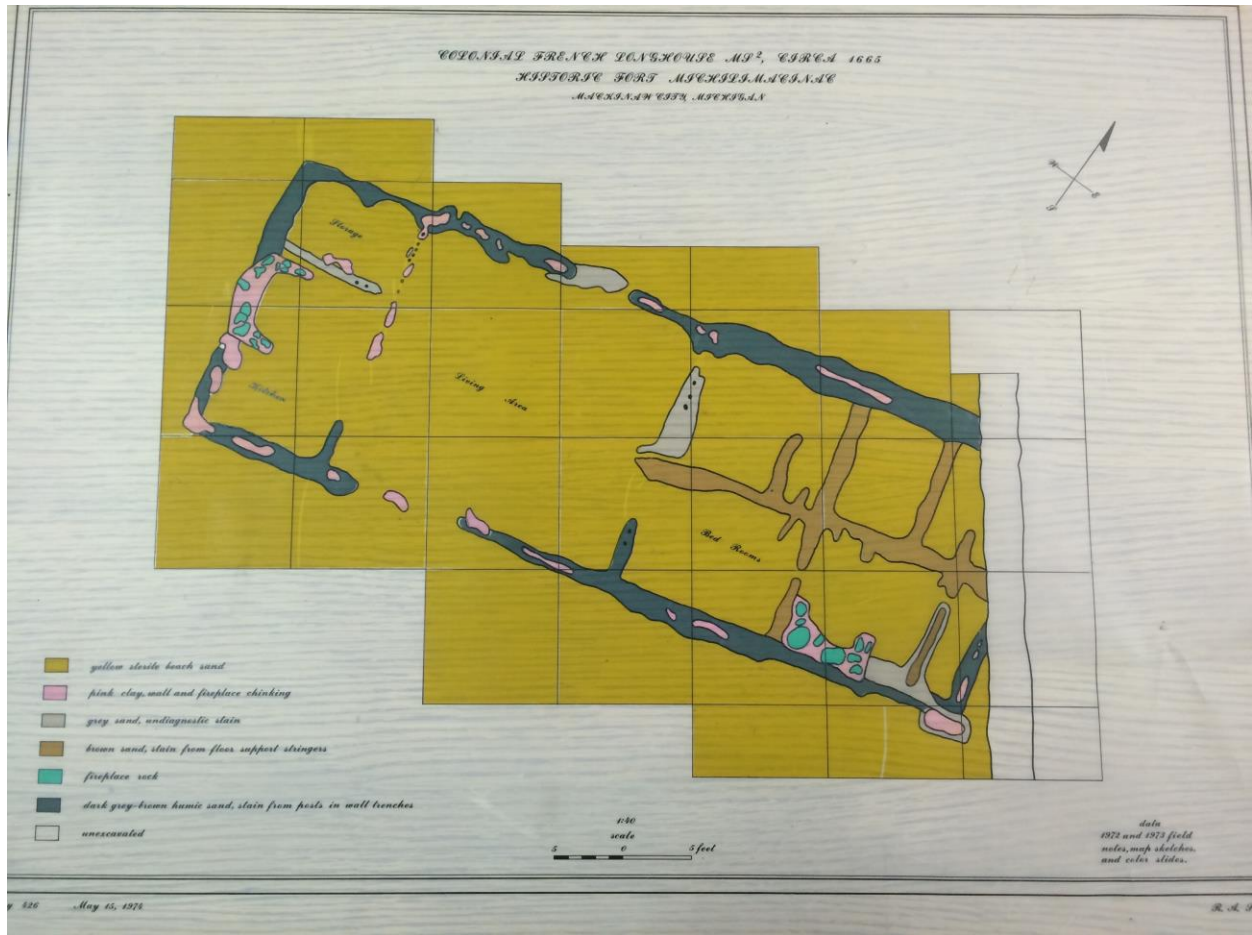Williams and Shapiro 1980, Figure 24.

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Figure B-4. Plan of the structure excavated in 1972-1973 in Area A. R.A. Sambrook 1974.