

Frontier Colonization of the Saline Creek Valley

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In 1985 the University of Missouri–Columbia (UMC) initiated a multidisciplinary project in the Saline Creek Valley in Ste. Genevieve County, eastern Missouri, incorporating archaeological survey and testing with archival research. The primary objective of the project was to construct a model of the land-use patterns adopted by Euro-American populations who settled in the Saline Creek Valley (fig. 11-1) from ca. 1720 to 1840 and to examine locational choices made by early settlers. Research specifically focused on settlement distribution and expansion within the Saline Valley, status and ethnicity of valley residents, and commercial organization and development in the immediate region. Discussion here primarily centers on settlement-related issues, because archaeological and documentary data pertaining to status patterning, ethnic origins, and commercial history are still under analysis.

Archival data have been drawn from substantial holdings in archives located in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, Missouri; Chester, Illinois; and Seville, Spain. Those holdings thoroughly document the administrative and bureaucratic history of the region during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as such shed considerable light on Euro-American land-use patterns and material culture in the Saline Creek Valley. Archaeological remains within the region are equally impressive. The Saline Creek Valley is primarily an agricultural region and has experienced little commercial or residential development since the mid-nineteenth century. As a result, numerous minimally disturbed sites and archaeological features dating to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are present and can provide substantial information.

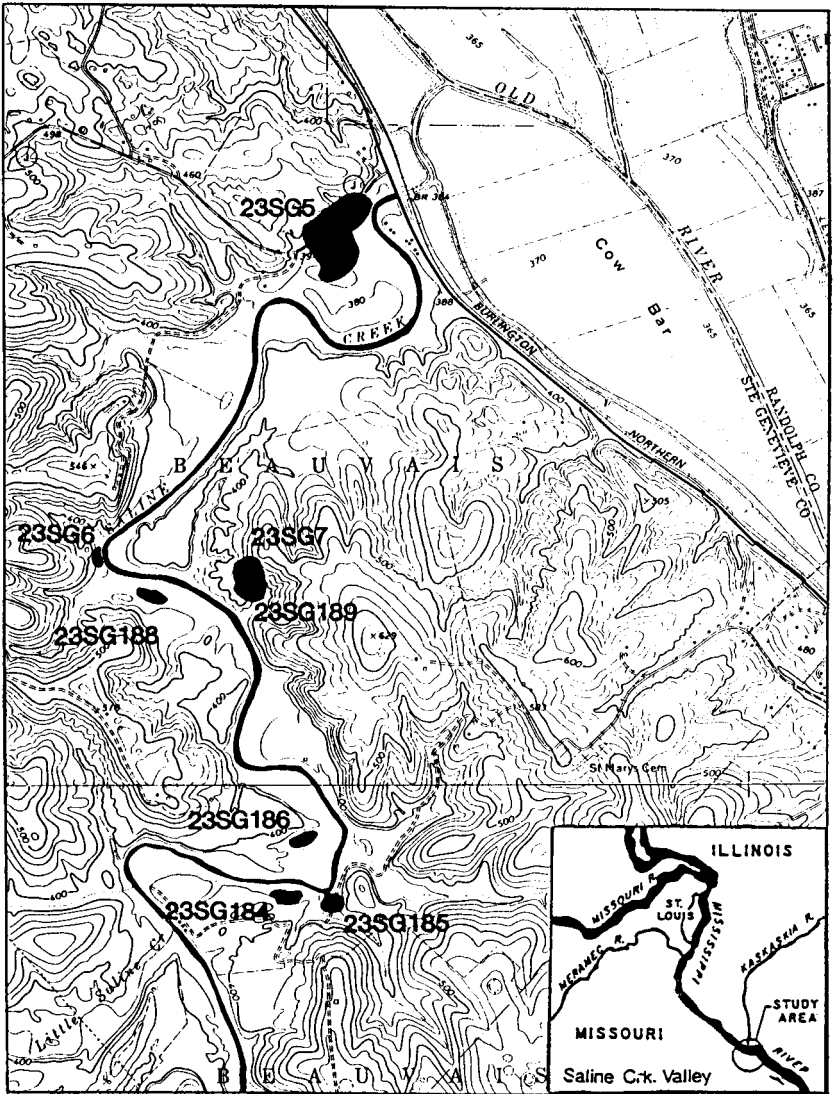


Figure 11-1. Map of the Lower Saline Creek Locality Showing Sites Mentioned in the Text

Documentary History of the Saline

During archival research connected with the Ste. Genevieve Social History Project, undertaken jointly by several departments at UMC,

and with the Archaeology of the Saline Creek Valley Project, the UMC Anthropology Department, myriad documents concerning the Saline Valley were located in French, Spanish, and American archives. Records indicate the Saline was an important source of salt for Euro-Americans as early as the 1690s. Dense scatters of shell-tempered aboriginal vessels (St. Mary's Plain, Saline Fabric Impressed, and Saline Plain [Keslin 1964]), commonly referred to as salt pans or evaporation vessels, at four large sites in the Saline Valley (23-SG-5, 23-SG-6, 23-SG-7, and 23-SG-189 [Keslin's (1964) Cornucopia site, originally listed as 23-STG-112]) attest to long-term use of salt by prehistoric groups ca. A.D. 900–1300 (see fig. 11-1).

Two recently discovered maps, one dated 1686 and the other 1797–98, illustrate a Euro-American settlement at the confluence of the Mississippi River and Saline Creek. The 1686 Senex map (located in the Churchill Memorial Library in Fulton, Missouri), labeled in French but drawn in England, documents the presence of some type of Euro-American occupation seventeen years prior to the founding of Kaskaskia directly north of the Mississippi-Saline confluence (Giraud 1953:50–55). The 1797–98 map was prepared by the French cartographer Nicolas de Finiels, and the portion shown here (fig. 11-2) illustrates a sizable settlement with at least eleven structures at the confluence of Saline Creek and the Mississippi River (the Grande Saline community) and three additional structures located up the Saline Valley (the Petite Saline community). On the map, household compounds are represented by rectangles within enclosures. The latter map is of special importance, as a 200–page report was prepared by Nicolas de Finiels to accompany the map in 1803 (see Ekberg and Foley 1989). The report describes area commerce, farming, Indian trade, lead mining, and salt manufacturing associated with the Ste. Genevieve area.

Although maps represent an important data source, numerous early French colonial documents contain information pertinent to the Saline Valley and attest to its local importance in regional trade and commerce. Current research indicates that during the 1720s and 1730s, several prominent local families operated salt works on the Saline, possibly in conjunction with hog-butchering and processing operations (Price 1986).

By the 1740s (but probably earlier) there were strong ties between French exploitation of the Ozark Highland lead deposits and the Saline area. Price notes that Antoine de Gruys Verloins was granted the privilege of continued exploration for lead deposits in the Ozarks. He also held the French concession for the Saline region and in 1752

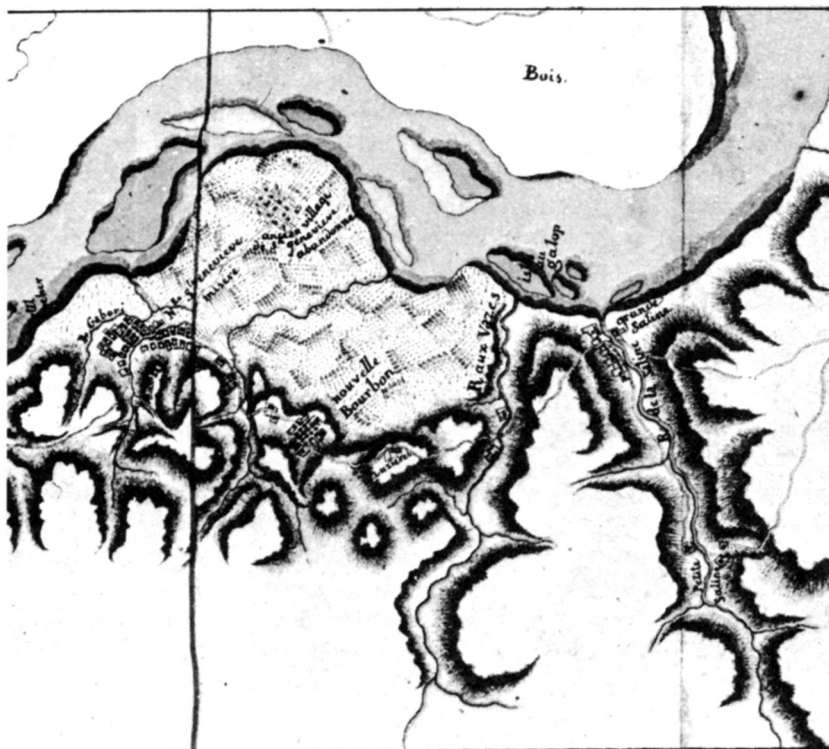


Figure 11-2. Detail of the De Finiels Map Showing the Ste. Genevieve Region: Settlements are depicted at the mouth of Saline Creek (the Grande Saline community) and upstream (Petite Saline community). Source: after Ekberg 1985:437

gained acceptance of salt as a legitimate medium of exchange (Raïmond Quenel, Etienne Govreau, and Marie Louise Quenel to de Gruys Verloins, sale of property, 8 February 1752, Kaskaskia Manuscripts [KM 52:2:8:1], Office of Randolph County Clerk, Chester, Illinois). Price suggests this event marked an important change in ownership and exploitation of the salt springs in the Saline Valley. Other mediums of exchange such as flour and furs were risky, as was Louisiane's colonial currency, which was plagued by speculation, irregularities, and excesses (Pease and Jenison 1940:746-77, 858-59). Salt production, relatively unhampered by any of these factors, offered an attractive alternative. In addition, since only a limited number of individuals could exploit the resource at any one time, supply could be

controlled and a steady rate of exchange maintained. Thus by controlling the concession at the Saline, de Gruys Verloins virtually acted as mint and banker in the Illinois Country, with little fear that his credit rating would drop, and capitalized on the complementary nature of seasonal lead-mining and salt-production operations (Price 1986).

Documents dating from the period 1750–90 provide significant insights into the development of the Saline and transactions that were carried out. Many documents tie landholdings or salt production to prominent residents of the area. Examples include a sale of property at the Saline by Jean Lagrange to Daniel Blouin (24 May 1766, KM 66:5:24:1); the 1782 estate inventory of François Vallé and Marianne Billeron (St. Louis Archives, Missouri Historical Society [MHS], St. Louis, and the microfilm collection of these archives—C3636—located in the Joint Collection, Western Historical Manuscripts—State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, Columbia [hereafter SGA]); and the sale of the Saline by Datchurut to Peyroux (11 December 1787, Mines Collection, SGA 386). Information contained in the records offers insights into material wealth and ethnic identity of persons connected with salt production and agricultural pursuits. In part these documents provide information and descriptions of residential structures and other buildings along the creek and describe land sales, litigations, and contracts pertaining to the Saline locale. Importantly, documents also list and describe portions of the physical nature of the salt works (e.g., the number of employees, kettles, and pumps and furnace size and number). Illustrative examples include the sale of items related to salt making by de Grandpre to de Gruys Verloins (KM 44:2:17:1) and an agreement between François Vallé, Bernard Lauhé, Henry Carpentier, and Joseph Tellier for the operation of a pump at the Saline (21 August 1776, Mines Collection, SGA 386).

By 1786 salt from the Saline Valley was attracting commercial interest outside the region. In that year fifteen volunteers from Harrod's Company in north-central Kentucky visited the works to purchase salt (James 1912:69–70). Although ownership and control of the Saline remained in French hands throughout the colonial period, by 1780 Anglo-Americans began to dominate the labor force operating the Saline and necessary subsidiary industries. The names of Anglo-Americans abound in the SGA Litigation Collections and in the Land Petition Papers Collection, MHS (e.g., coopers, wainwrights, and carpenters). The best source, however, is the 1797 census of New Bourbon and its dependencies, which lists among the forty-one adult white

males residing at the Saline three French, three Canadians, two Creoles, twenty-nine Americans, one Scot, and three Irishmen. Of those involved in salt production, eight are listed as American, and two are identified as being Irish. Other occupations listed in the census include farmer, day laborer, hunter, blacksmith, iron merchant, gunsmith, carpenter, and cooper (Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2365, folio 345, Archivo General de Indias [AGI], Seville, Spain).

By 1800 the population in the Saline community apparently was predominately Anglo-American in ethnic origin, and considerable trade had developed with the Cumberland Valley in Tennessee (Alvord 1922:359). By the late 1790s Anglo-American interests in the Saline were dominating French salt production. Anglo-American ideals of free trade and maximization of resources were at odds with the corporate French mentality, which stressed production control and the creation of monopolies to regulate the value of a commodity (see Mousnier 1970; Sewell 1982). A marked rise in litigations (see SGA) concerning the Saline from 1797 to the end of the colonial period suggests that trade and ethnic conflict were accentuated by the early nineteenth century.

To this point we have treated the Saline Valley as a single entity, although documents and cartographic sources, primary among which is the 1797–98 de Finiels map, identify two primary salt-production/occupation loci: the Grande, or Vieux, Saline, located at the Mississippi confluence, and the Petite Saline, located approximately three kilometers upstream from the confluence (see fig. 11-2). Although the Grande Saline community appears to have been the primary production area, the contribution to the production of salt by the Petite Saline community cannot be ignored. Based on archaeological survey and documentary research, two potential locations for the Petite Saline community have been identified (see below).

A considerable amount of timber was needed to fire the salt furnaces, and by 1787 salt production at the Grande Saline had increased to the point that the then-principal landowner, Henri Peyroux, petitioned Spanish officials for additional land to ensure sufficient timber for the “great consumption of the Saline” (American State Papers 1860, 7:804–5). This concession, which enclosed 7,760 arpents (one arpent is roughly equivalent to 0.85 acre), extended a considerable distance to the north and west of the Grande Saline community (surveyors’ maps of Peyroux’s concession, one in Amoureux-Bolduc Papers, MHS; another in *Mapas y Planos de Florida y Luisiana*, no. 197, AGI; cover letter for latter map, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2365, folio 523, AGI). As the tempo of salt production increased during the

1790s, even that vast tract of timber was depleted. Apparently Peyroux sold off small plots of land to Anglo-Americans employed at the Saline (e.g., sale of property, Henri Peyroux to Anthony Blainey and William McCan, 27 January 1798, SGA 63). Information concerning these small landholdings is limited and reveals few details about the owners and their activities. By 1787 wood had become so scarce that at least one other individual involved in salt production at the Grande Saline was forced to petition for additional land farther up the Saline. Jean Baptiste Pratte claimed a grant of 7,056 arpents from which he procured wood to fire his salt works. By the late 1790s the salt trade had become so lucrative that extraction began at a second salt spring—commonly referred to as the Petite Saline.

Results of archaeological work undertaken in 1987 indicate that Euro-American occupation along Saline Creek was tied to resource extraction (e.g., salt production). At least two sites, depicted on the de Finiels map in the Aux Vases River Valley, just north of the Saline Valley, may represent maple-sugar production locales, as documentary sources indicate the Aux Vases Valley as the predominant sugar-producing area, although some was processed in the Saline Valley as well (see fig. 11-2). Maple sugaring appears to have flourished beginning during the 1790s, possibly as a result of an increase in maple-sap production resulting from cooler temperatures associated with the Neoboreal climatic episode. Many illustrative references occur in the Missouri State Archives (Jefferson City), Land Confirmed Claims, Minute Books (e.g., Minute Book 1:315–17, 225, 318, 349).

Despite competition from other salt-production enterprises after the 1790s, production along the Saline continued unabated into the 1830s, in part because of its favorable location on a major transportation route (Denman 1979). Another factor that contributed to continued production at the Saline was that between 1804 and 1830 the Saline was controlled by Pierre Menard, a wealthy Kaskaskia merchant and Indian agent. In partnership with the influential Vallé family of Ste. Genevieve, Menard used salt as one of the cornerstones of his trade with the Shawnee and Delaware. (Correspondence between 1819 and 1833 found in the Pierre Menard Papers [Illinois State Archives, Springfield] offers abundant proof of the nature and scope of the Indian trade with regard to the partnership of Menard and Vallé. Ledgers from the same collection offer further proof of this. Additional papers that pertain to the firm of Menard and Vallé are located in the Chicago Historical Society.) Gradually, as the tribes moved west and other salt-production operations in Missouri and Illinois boomed,

extraction along the Saline ceased, and the thriving community at the Grande Saline was abandoned.

An Archaeological Perspective on the Saline Creek Valley

In 1985 UMC initiated a program of archaeological field reconnaissance and testing in the Saline Valley (see fig. 11-1). Our primary goal during year one was to survey and test an area—the Kreilich site (23-SG-5)—thought to contain the remains of the earliest French occupation in the valley. The 1986 field season focused on excavation of a residential feature identified at the site the previous year. In 1987 intensive surface reconnaissance of 1,500 acres along the lower portion of the Saline Creek Valley was undertaken to develop baseline data on land-use history in the drainage. During the course of the survey, nineteen previously recorded sites were revisited, and thirty-one new sites were identified and recorded (sixteen prehistoric, eight historic, and seven multicomponent [prehistoric-historic]).

THE KREILICH SITE (23-SG-5)

Archaeological work at the Kreilich site was designed to examine three locales on the site: an area containing a series of salt furnaces and ash piles (labeled Areas I–III in figure 11-3), an area just southeast of the furnaces (labeled Area IV in figure 11-3), and an area that was thought to contain potential residential features based on configurations noted on the de Finiels map (labeled Area V in figure 11-3).

Areas I–III

Three salt furnaces were identified to the west of the salt spring depicted in figure 11-3, one of which was excavated partially in 1985 to examine its design and construction. However, it is impossible at this time to determine whether or not the three furnaces were contemporaneous, due to the paucity of diagnostic artifacts in the deposits and the fact that heavy vegetation precluded testing the other identified furnaces.

The rectangular furnace measured 8.2 meters east-west by 6.4 meters north-south. The limestone walls of the feature had collapsed and at the time of excavation averaged a little less than one meter high. The south and east walls of the furnace were exposed during the excavation (fig. 11-4); the south wall averaged 1.1 meters wide and the west wall 0.65 meters. Although the north wall was not exposed completely, the north and south walls appear to have been

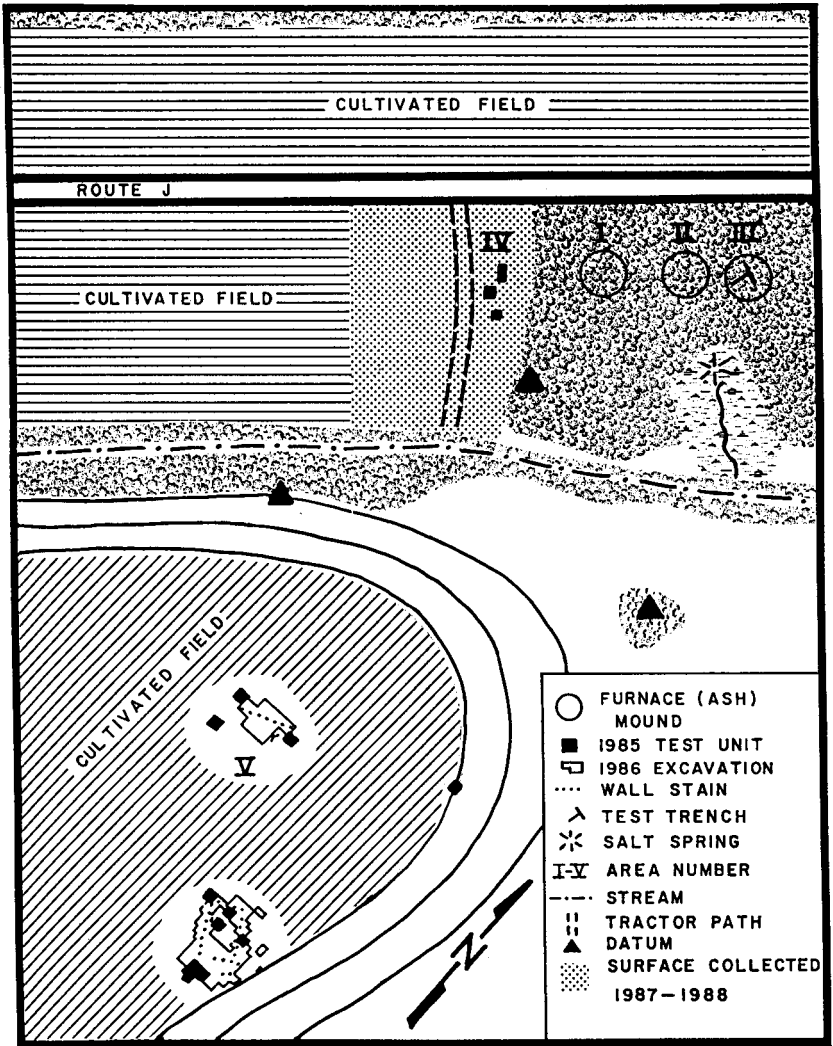


Figure 11-3. Locations of Archaeological Work at the Kreilich Site (23-SG-5)

designed and constructed to have greater widths than the east and west walls.

The furnace was constructed of rough-dressed limestone blocks varying in size and shape (fig. 11-5). Decomposed mortar used to

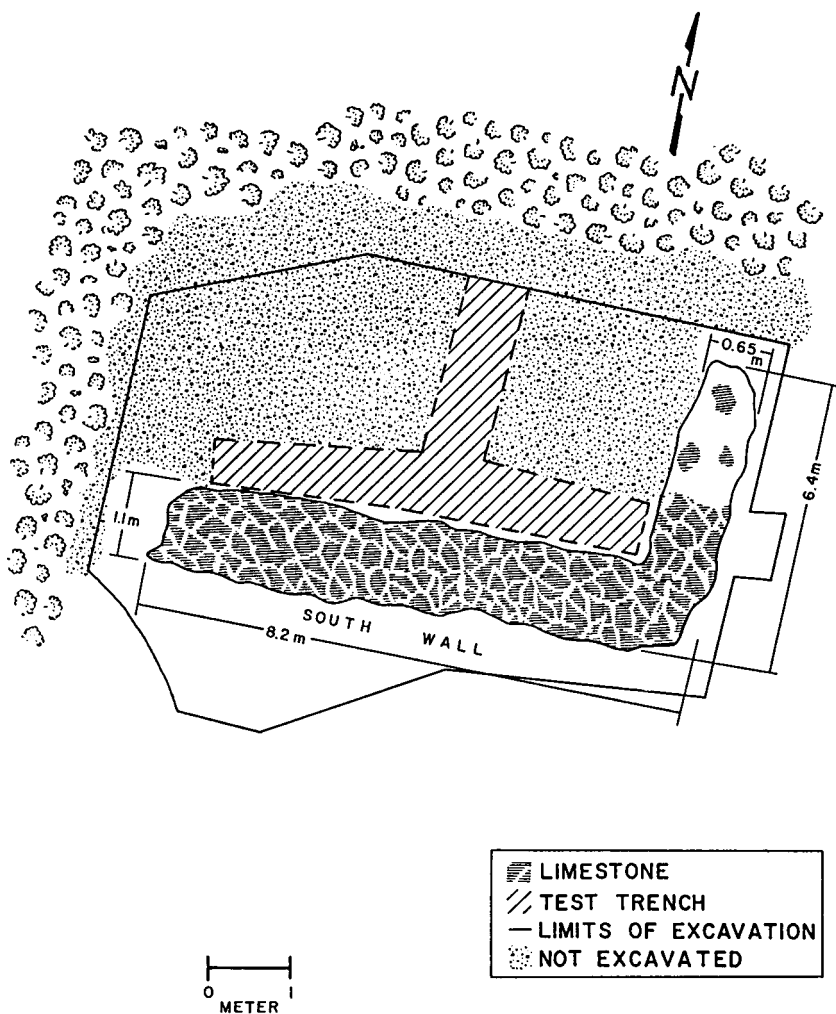


Figure 11-4. Plan View of South and East Walls of Partially Excavated Furnace (Area III) at 23-SG-5

cement the limestone blocks in place was identified in situ. After exposing the south and east walls, two trenches were placed in the interior of the furnace. One trench was oriented to parallel the south wall, and the other trench was positioned at the midline of the furnace and spanned its width (see fig. 11-4). Trenches were hand excavated

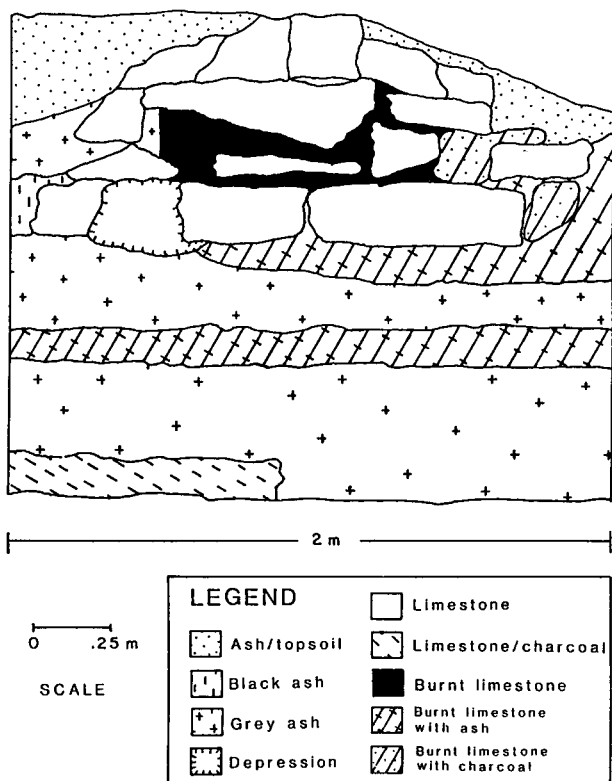


Figure 11-5. Profile of 1.5-meter Section of South Wall of Furnace Showing Limestone Construction (23-SG-5)

to a depth of one meter, although the deposits extended deeper. Cast-iron kettle fragments recovered from the interior of the furnace were the only Euro-American-manufactured materials found. Kettles used in the furnaces no doubt experienced metal fatigue due to intense heat, resulting in metal fracture.

To understand the design and construction sequence of the furnace, a one-meter by two-meter unit was excavated to a depth of 1.8 meters—the base of the exterior of the east wall. The resulting stratigraphic profile indicates at least four episodes of rebuilding or repair in the construction history of the furnace (fig. 11-6): two along the south wall and four along the east wall. The sequence contains alternating layers of fire-cracked limestone rubble and a mixture of ash and soil.

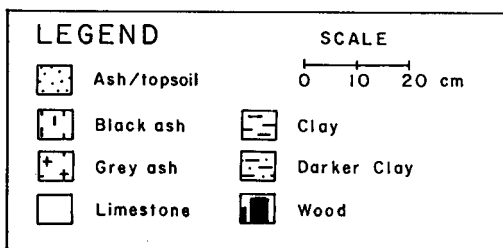
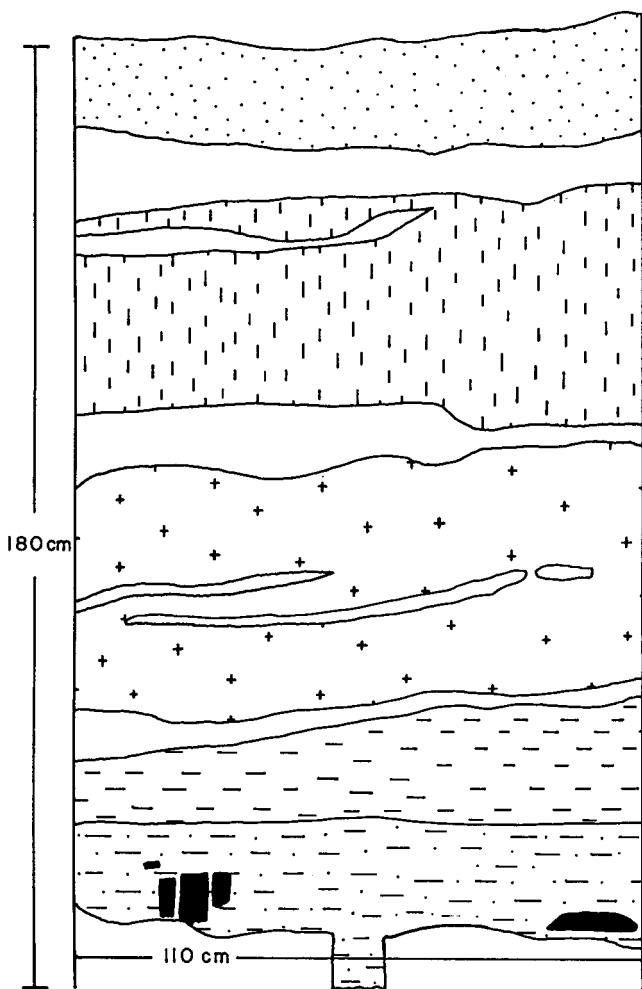


Figure 11-6. Profile of East Wall of Furnace Showing Construction Sequence (23-SG-5)

It appears that the lower courses of the limestone walls deteriorated from heat stress, as they were fractured more extensively than the upper courses were. As this deterioration proceeded, the furnace walls became structurally unsound. Then, intact blocks were removed and a cap of ash and soil mixture was placed over the fire-cracked rubble to prepare a new, level foundation. The wall then was rebuilt on top of the repaired foundation.

Area IV

Area IV (fig. 11-3) is located approximately thirty meters west of the furnace complex. Surface collection in the area yielded large quantities of musket balls, gangmolds, and lead spall. Placement of four test units was based on areas of highest surface artifact density. One unit contained a single burial with associated historic grave goods (a Micmac pipe and three silver tinklers). The remaining three units contained numerous artifacts associated with lead processing (e.g., musket balls and spall).

Analysis of recovered Euro-American cultural materials indicates that the lead-processing area was in use during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Temporally diagnostic ceramics include creamwares and early pearlwares. However, shovel testing in Area IV in 1987 recovered four types of French faience—Normandy Plain, Normandy Blue on White, Brittany Blue on White, and Rouen Plain—indicating that occupation and use of the area may have begun as early as the first half of the eighteenth century (Walthall 1991).

Area V

Area V (fig. 11-3) is on a small knoll located approximately forty meters southwest of the salt spring and furnace complex (Areas I–III) on the south side of a wooded east-west-trending drainage. Cultural debris was scattered across a cultivated field encompassing approximately two hectares of the knoll, which rises three or four meters above the present floodplain. As mentioned earlier, the de Finiels map depicts a small community of approximately eleven structures and enclosures, some of which appear to have been on the knoll.

Initial archaeological work included piece-plotting surface materials and limited testing to identify artifact concentrations representing possible structural features related to the early settlement of the salt-spring locale. Four high-density concentrations of Euro-American artifacts (mainly ceramics and metal) were mapped (fig. 11-7). Ceramics collected included undecorated and handpainted creamwares, edge-decorated and handpainted pearlwares, salt-glaze stonewares, Chinese

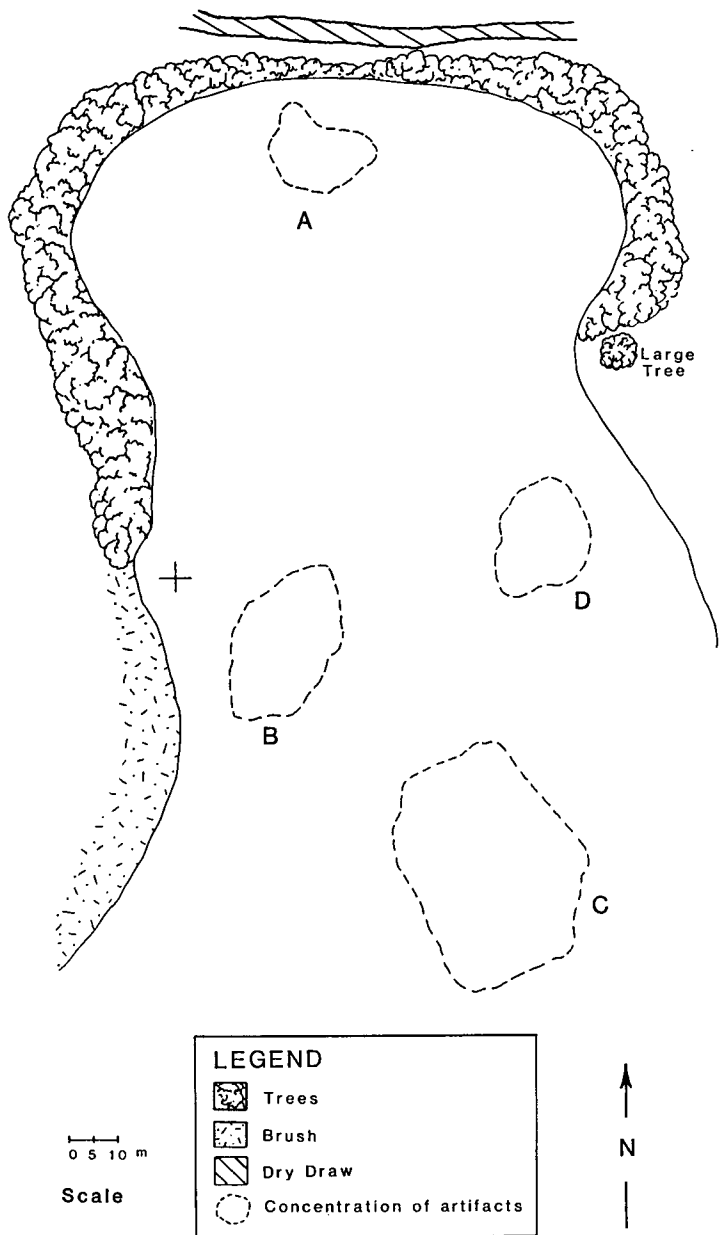


Figure 11-7. Locations of Surface Artifact Concentrations Defined in Area V (23-SG-5)

export porcelain, and small amounts of faience. The artifacts suggest that the knoll was occupied most intensively from approximately 1750 to 1820.

In 1985 four two-meter-square units were placed in Concentration B and seven in Concentration C. Two subplowzone archaeological features were identified in Concentration C: a deposit of rough-cut limestone blocks and a builder's trench/linear feature.

Concentration B. Although four units excavated in 1985 produced no evidence of structures in Concentration B, surface artifact density suggested some type of intense activity at the location. Excavations in 1986 exposed a linear, dark stain at the plowzone-subsoil interface. The dark brown to black feature was oriented roughly east-west across the knoll and a 2.9 meter segment was exposed (fig. 11-8). The U-shaped trench averaged 24 centimeters in depth and 22 centimeters in width. Along the length of the feature were postmolds spaced at uneven intervals and occurring on both sides of the trench. The one

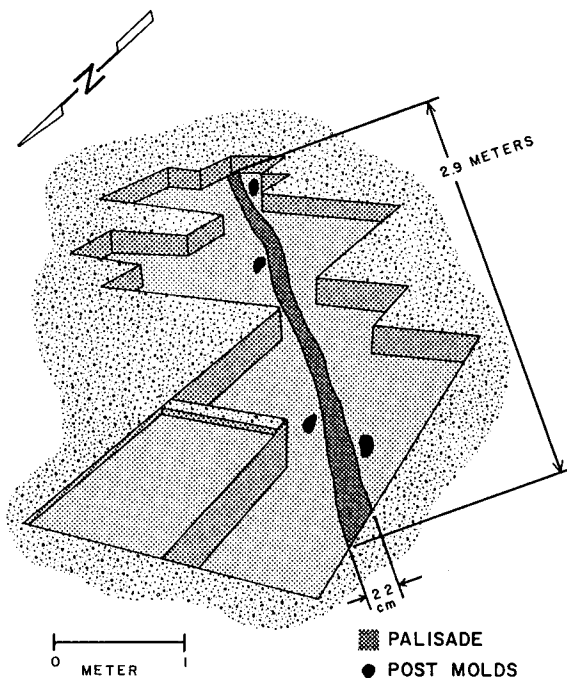


Figure 11-8. Plan View of Palisade Located in Concentration B (23-SG-5)

excavated postmold was 52 centimeters deep (from the ground surface) and 31 centimeters in diameter.

Historical descriptions of early French colonial houses discuss palisades or fences surrounding house lots (Brackenridge 1868; Peterson 1949a). Although the excavations in Concentration B were limited, the evidence suggests that the linear feature may be the remains of a palisade trench. The circular postmolds located on either side of the linear stain appear to have contained supporting posts for the palisade.

Concentration C. Major work undertaken during 1986 was the excavation of a rectilinear *poteaux en terre* feature in the southern portion of Area V (fig. 11-3). The northern trench was 6.6 meters long, averaged 53 centimeters wide (fig. 11-9), and extended an average of 37 centimeters below the base of the plowzone. Two major artifact classes were recovered from the fill of the wall trench. Hand-forged nails were located along the midline of the north wall, approximately 10 centimeters below the plowzone-subsoil interface. Several small

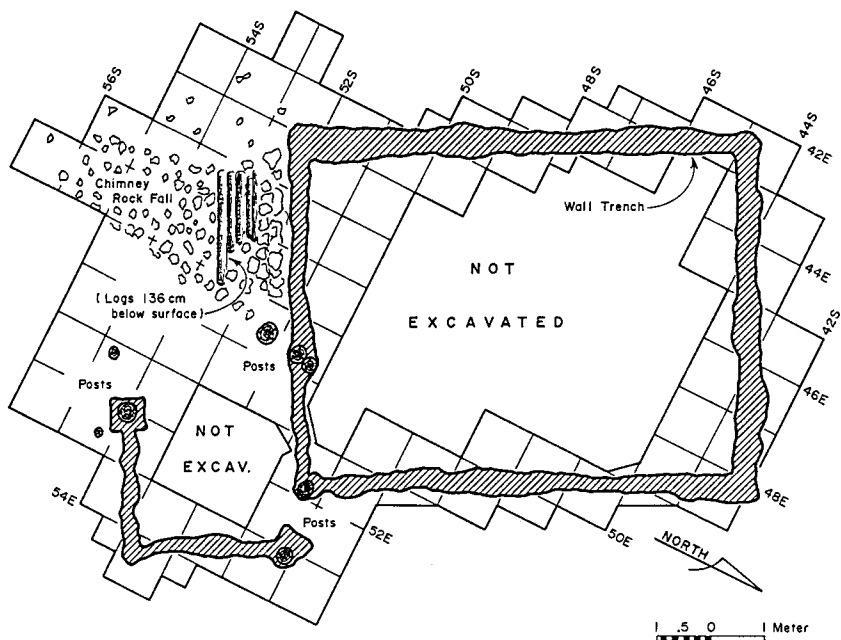


Figure 11-9. Plan View of *Poteaux en Terre* Structure Excavated in Concentration C (23-SG-5)

pieces of limestone (10–15 centimeters long) were found near the base of the trench. The circular arrangement of several pieces of limestone suggests they may have been placed along the base of posts to assure the uprights remained vertical. This configuration suggests the feature represents a builder's trench for a *poteaux en terre* structure.

A series of two-meter-square units was excavated to expose the east and west wall trenches. The west wall trench was 8.7 meters long, averaged 47 centimeters wide, and extended an average of 37 centimeters below the base of the plowzone. Several clusters of irregular-shaped pieces of limestone were found positioned along the base of the west wall trench, which terminated at the southern end of the structure under limestone chimney-fall rubble (fig. 11-9). The east wall trench of the structure was 8.6 meters long, averaged 36 centimeters wide, and extended an average of 29 centimeters below the plowzone base. A large slab of limestone found at the base of the wall trench at the juncture of the eastern and southern walls probably functioned as a brace for the corner of the structure.

An enigmatic feature associated with the structure was an L-shaped wall trench paralleling the southeast corner of the main structure (fig. 11-9). The apex of the lower arm of the "L" is one meter due east of the southeast corner of the main structure and extends 3.5 meters to the south, where it turns west for 3.2 meters, approximately one meter from the south wall. Two large postmolds were found at either end of the feature, and several creamware sherds were recovered from the bottom of the feature.

Defining the south wall of the main structure was difficult, as fireplace and chimney-fall rubble along and in the south end of the structure obscured the feature. The southeast corner of the structure was defined easily, as was 3.6 meters of the east portion of the south wall. Dark organic soils from the apparent fireplace and cellar area (discussed below) partially obscured the remaining portion of the wall trench. However, the majority of the south wall was visible and has been reproduced in figure 11-9. Test trenching of the cellar feature later revealed the size and configuration of the wall trench in profile. Based on the portion of the south wall trench excavated, the width of the trench averaged 39 centimeters, with an average depth of 37 centimeters. Estimated length of the wall is considered to be the same as the north wall trench, 6.6 meters. Limestone rubble and a large area of dark, organically stained soil were encountered, suggesting that the fireplace and chimney were located at the end of the feature. The chimney and fireplace appear to have collapsed to the west, parallel to the south wall of the structure.

Below the rubble, outside the southwest corner of the structure, a large cowbell, the base of a large cauldron, and several hundred fragments of animal and bird bone were recovered. The faunal assemblage includes the remains of cow, pig, horse, goat, deer, wild turkey, mallard duck, and rat. Domestic pig represents the largest part of the assemblage, and butchering marks are present on cow and pig elements. Almost all pig elements identified belonged to animals killed at about two years of age.

A dark brown, rectangular stain measuring 3.2 meters north-south by 3.3 meters east-west was defined below the chimney/fireplace rubble. The stain was located adjacent and parallel to the south wall trench, slightly offset to the west of center. Test excavations and soil probing indicated a depth of 1.4 meters for the feature and fill consisting of rubble and artifacts. Two one-meter-wide trenches were excavated to bisect the feature on the north-south and east-west axes. Feature fill consisted of limestone rubble, historic ceramics, brass buttons, bones, plaster, gun parts, a spoon, and metal.

A floor of parallel cedar poles positioned in a checkerboard fashion (fig. 11-10) was encountered at the base of the feature. Seven poles were oriented along a southeast-northwest axis, and three poles were positioned below the seven (as supports) and were oriented southwest to northeast. This rectangular pit feature appears to represent a small, floored cellar. It was constructed adjacent and parallel to the south wall of the structure and appeared to undercut slightly the southern wall trench. The cedar beams probably served as a rudimentary floor for keeping stored items off the dirt floor.

Martin's (1985:79) discussion of structure 1 at the Mill Creek site in Michigan is informative regarding cellar construction in *poteaux en terre* structures. He reports the presence of a shallow cellar that extended 5 ft beneath the floor of one room of the structure. The cellar measured 14 feet by 9 feet and contained a large volume of fill. This description generally conforms to the cellar partially excavated in Area V, although the cellar at 23-SG-5 was smaller in all dimensions.

Although wraparound porches, or galleries, are common elements of French architecture, test excavations placed outside of the rectangular builder's trench failed to locate any evidence of attached architectural features.

The ceramic assemblage recovered from surface collections and excavations in area V exhibits the greatest variation of any subarea assemblage from 23-SG-5. Included in the assemblage are examples of undecorated, handpainted, and bat-printed creamwares; underglaze blue transfer-printed, handpainted, and blue and green shell-

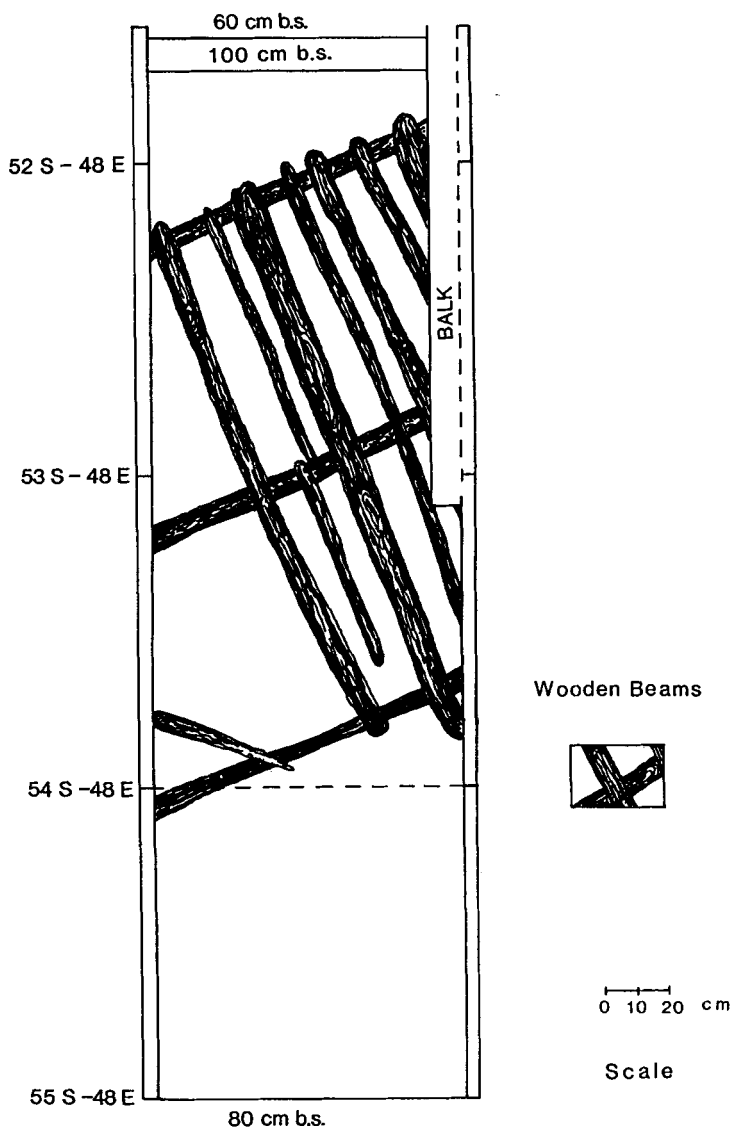


Figure 11-10. Plan View of Cedar Logs Positioned at Base of Probable Cellar at the Southern End of the *Poteaux en Terre* Structure (23-SG-5)

edge (rococo and scalloped) pearlwares; Chinese export porcelain; Jackfield; and undecorated faience (fig. 11-11). The presence of these ceramics indicates a date range for the *poteaux en terre* structure between ca. 1775 and 1810.

OTHER SITES IN THE LOWER SALINE VALLEY

Other sites examined in the lower Saline Valley include salt furnaces, residential areas, possible maple-sugar production sites, and combi-

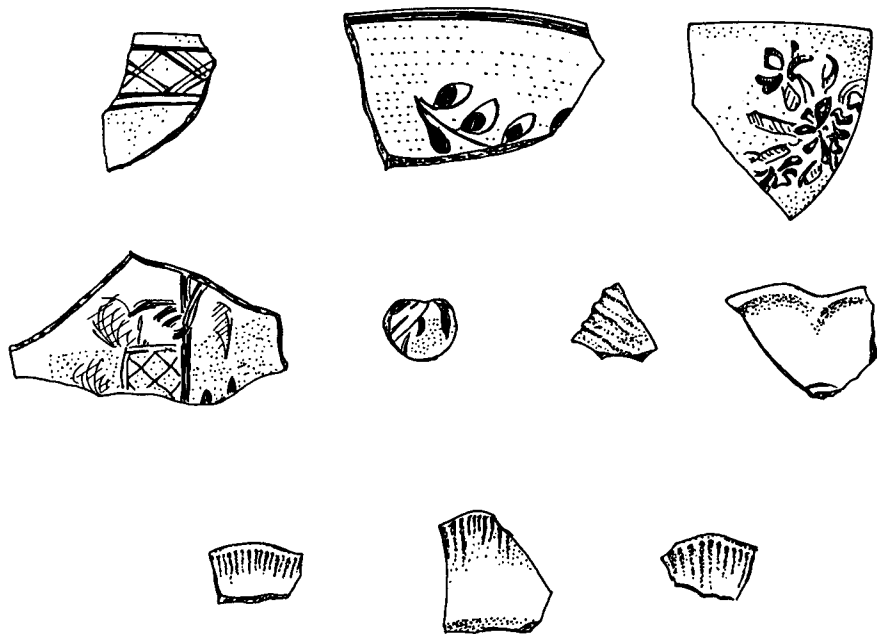


Figure 11-11. Ceramic Sherds from 1985-86 Excavations at 23-SG-5: *top*, cobalt-blue handpainted underglaze decoration in oriental style, bowl-rim interior, pearlware; cobalt blue handpainted underglaze decoration in oriental style, saucer-rim interior, pearlware; blue, red, green, yellow, and brown handpainted overglaze floral decoration, cup-rim exterior, creamware; *middle*, green and brown handpainted overglaze enamel decoration in oriental style, interior plate-base sherd, creamware; gaming piece made from plate sherd with reddish-brown handpainted overglaze enamel decoration on interior, creamware; press-molded teapot-spout fragment, creamware; plate with molded rim, "Royal" pattern interior, creamware; *bottom*, green "rococo"-style, shell-edge plate rim, interior pearlware; two blue "rococo"-style, shell-edge plate rims, interior, pearlware.

nations thereof. Site 23-SG-184 is a salt-production area lacking associated residential or other activity-oriented features and is characterized by a scatter of limestone and iron-kettle fragments. The site was cleared in this century for cultivation, and two field piles containing limestone slabs and kettle fragments are located on the edge of the field. The site may be associated with site 23-SG-185, a possible occupation located to the east and across a small drainage from 23-SG-184. Ceramics, predominantly of English manufacture (e.g., creamwares, blue transfer-printed and handpainted pearlwares), date 23-SG-185 to approximately 1790–1820. A metal drill bit dating from the mid-1700s was also recovered, suggesting a possible earlier date for an occupation. These two sites may represent isolated structures depicted on the de Finiels map (fig. 11-2).

A possible salt furnace or maple-sugar production site (23-SG-186) is located to the north of site 23-SG-185, across Saline Creek. The site dates to approximately 1795–1840. The site was identified on the basis of a small scatter of kettle fragments, shell-edge ceramics (scalloped rim), glass, brickbats, and small limestone fragments located on the surface of a large, dark organic stain. Unlike other salt-furnace sites in the valley, there are no large, semidressed limestone slabs on the site, nor are there any field piles along the margins of the cultivated field.

A small site (23-SG-188) containing depressions, stone foundations, and a single salt furnace appears to represent a short-term salt-production site. Although the ceramics (handpainted and blue shell-edge pearlwares, undecorated and handpainted creamwares, and Chinese export porcelain) predominantly date from ca. 1790–1810, a document in the Ste. Genevieve archives almost certainly refers to the site. The document records a sheriff's sale of "a certain tract of land containing 60 arpen[t]s . . . on Saline Creek in the same district adjoining the Upper Saline" (4 March 1811, Land Record Book, pp. 119–20, SGA). The following features are listed: a salt well, a "good" dwelling house, kitchen, counting house, and stone spring house. Archaeological features on the site include a salt furnace, two stone foundations, three depressions, and a rock alignment with associated depression.

Another site representing early exploitation and occupation of the valley is 23-SG-7, the Cole site. Originally reported by Keslin (1964) as the Cole site and the Fortnight site, the two sites represent a continuous scatter of historic materials and features relating to the production of salt and associated residential activities. Numerous surface features are present in four distinct areas. Keslin's Fortnight site

(23-SG-7, Area A) exhibits stone-chimney fall, a rock alignment, and a high-density surface scatter of historic materials. The area is on a plateau above an area containing nine furnaces, ash piles, and associated features (sixteen total features). Ceramics, metal fragments, kettle fragments, and limestone slabs occur in high frequencies across the site. A single fragment of British delftware (tin-glazed earthenware), dating from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, was collected from the plateau. Most of the other ceramics from the site are lead-glazed refined earthenwares of English origin that date from the 1790s to the 1820s. The assemblage includes undecorated and handpainted creamwares; handpainted, transfer-printed, and edge-decorated pearlwares; and Chinese export porcelain.

The Cole/Fortnight site represents one potential location of the Petite Saline community referred to in documentary sources. The de Finiels map depicts a configuration of three isolated households on the upper Saline with an identification of the "Petite Saline" nearby (fig. 11-2). Considering their location vis-à-vis one another, sites 23-SG-184, 23-SG-185, and 23-SG-186 may represent the three isolated structures labeled "Petite Saline" on the de Finiels map. However, documentary sources suggest that the Petite Saline designation represents a much larger community than that containing the three isolated sites. The Cole site may, in fact, represent this community, or a major part of it, as it is much larger and contains a much higher frequency and diversity of cultural materials. When the road system depicted on the de Finiels map is compared with the road system depicted on a 1922 USGS topographic map, the three isolated structures appear to best fit the location of the community. We believe the Petite Saline community referred to in documentary sources represents a dispersed, conglomerate community below the forks of the Saline rather than a single, closely knit community.

Summary

To date, our investigation has indicated that there is no single attribute that clearly differentiates a French colonial archaeological site from a structurally similar site of different ethnic origin. Simply put, we have been unable to discover an archaeological signature for French colonial sites in the Saline Creek Valley. Where a French architectural style can be identified, such as at site 23-SG-5, a predominance of English-made ceramics exists. Where a French household pattern is depicted on the de Finiels map at the location of one of the sites that may comprise the Petite Saline "community" (23-SG-185), English

ceramics and a French gunflint were recovered together in the same excavation unit, at the same level. It is our contention that faience is not necessarily an indication of French ethnicity, nor does French architectural style make a site French. Shovel testing and surface collection to the north, west, south, and northwest of the metal-working area at 23-SG-5 (fig. 11-3) produced more faience than did any other area in the valley. That particular area of the site holds promise for investigating early French occupation of the Grande Saline community.

It is our opinion, based on the limited investigation to date, that settlement patterns in the Saline Valley differ from those in areas immediately surrounding the towns of Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve. In particular, we see land use and settlement of the valley as having been tied to the exploitation of specific, often seasonally exploited resources (e.g., salt and sugar maples) and not simply to agricultural pursuits.

It could be argued that settlement and land use were influenced by the issuance of two major land grants in the lower valley, which precluded the establishment of small freeholds. However, our assessment based on documentary evidence is that Peyroux's control over his land grant was minimal. A 1798 land-concession document (4 February 1798, Land Concession, 1759-1805, folder 86, SGA) is instructive regarding land acquisition for the express purpose of maximizing extraction of resources. The translated summary of the document reads:

[Etienne Bolduc and Louis Bolduc, brothers] having wife, children, and slaves . . . desire to establish each his own habitation on a place safe from the floods, and suitable for the cultivation of various produce needed for the livelihood of their families all year-round and particularly feed for their animals during the winter. They located two tracts [on the south fork of the Saline], quite close to each other and *suitable for different purposes*. . . [T]he said grants will enable them to establish themselves there and cultivate the land which will be suitable; as well as advantageous, for the grazing of their animals; the manufacturing of sugar from the syrup found in the maples here [emphasis added].

In summary, settlement and resource-extraction patterns in the lower Saline Valley appear to have been more functionally related than ethnically determined. Thus, even though the area was settled by a multiethnic population, material-culture differences may have become blurred at an early date due to the fact that settlers, whether French or English, were exploiting the same resources with probably very similar technologies. Another factor is that at least by the latter

part of the eighteenth century, the British appear to have been the primary suppliers of ceramic and metal goods.

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