

2006

Enshrining the Past: Archaeology, History and Memory at Fort St Anne, Isle La Motte, Vermont

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<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-5rdk-4r65>

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ENSHRINING THE PAST
ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND MEMORY AT FORT ST. ANNE,
ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

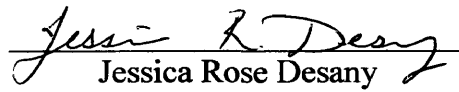
In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

By Jessica Rose Desany
2006

APPROVAL SHEET

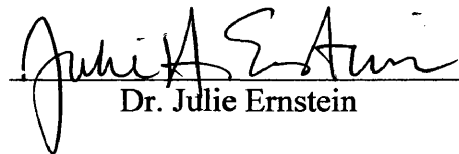
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts


Jessica Rose Desany

Approved by the Committee, May 2006


Dr. Kathleen Bragdon, Chair


Dr. Martin Gallivan


Dr. Julie Ernstein

For my Parents,

Without whose love and support I could never have accomplished this

And to

Dr. Marjory Power.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express her deep appreciation to Dr. Kathleen Bragdon for her patience and guidance through this investigation and to David Schafer and John Crock for all their understanding, encouragement and support; Martha Pinello for teaching me so much and our numerous discussions; Charles Brooks for encouragement, technical support, photography, and mapping assistance; The author is also grateful to Dr. Kathleen Bragdon, John Crock, Carol Grosky, Joanne Desany and Tilly Laskey for their careful reading and criticism of this manuscript.

The writer would also like to thank the following people and organizations for their assistance in research: Elizabeth Scott at the St. Michael's College Archives; Reverend Maurice Boucher; the staff at the Vermont Historical Society Library; the staff of St. Anne's Shrine, Tori Cranner and the Peabody Museum at Andover, Massachusetts; Gloria and Bob Mcewen of the Isle La Motte Historical Society; Giovanna Peebles, Vermont State Archaeologist; Tom Jamison; Mary Dupré; The Consulting Archaeology Program at the University of Vermont; The Bailey-Howe Library at the University of Vermont; The Tozzer Library at Harvard; and to Dr. James Axtell.

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ABSTRACT

Fort St. Anne, constructed by French colonists in 1666 on present-day Sandy Point, Isle La Motte, Vermont, is among the early European settlements in the United States and the site of the first archaeological excavation in Vermont, yet it lies unrecognized today by scholars and the public alike. The reasons the site lay forgotten can be understood through the history of its collective memory that stems from various groups struggle for political control of the history of the site and, to a further extent, the region as a whole. Collective memory is used by cultures to create group cohesion and a legitimization often through the memory of place.

In the late nineteenth century, the Fort's connection with the French Catholic past was used by the Catholic Diocese to legitimize and strengthen the Church's place in northern Vermont. Archaeological excavation of the fort by a Diocese priest in 1895-1896 helped to further eclipse the sites military history association in the popular consciousness. In promoting and exploiting the religious history of the site, the Diocese caused the military and earlier Native American history of the site to be lost to Vermont's collective memory. In addition, the French and Native American histories were further overlooked by a state trying to place itself within a National identity by emphasizing its English roots.

ENSHRINING THE PAST

ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND MEMORY AT FORT ST. ANNE,
ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT

INTRODUCTION

The site of Fort St. Anne on Sandy Point, Isle La Motte provides a study of collective memory that reaches into the history of Vermont, the United States, Canada, France and the Catholic Church. Though the site is one of the earliest colonial sites in the nation it has been largely forgotten by historians and members of the surrounding community alike. The early colonial memory of the site lives on through the scant remains and mentions in local books and pamphlets. Why were the Native American and French colonial inhabitants of this area ignored in Vermont history and why was this site, one of the earliest European sites in North America, forgotten, while sites like Jamestown and Plymouth Colony were preserved, celebrated and remembered for centuries? The forgotten memory can be explained by the use of the site by cultures/groups as a way to bring further cohesion to that group. In creating one history through this lens, other groups become excluded from the landscape.

The collective memory of a site (e.g. what is remembered and what is forgotten in a groups memory of the history of a site or event) can be used to understand the current use of the site. It can also be used to understand past cultures use of landscape and place in association with that group's collective memory of the area. Theories of collective memory address the way in which a group or culture remembers past events and how it become represented to the group that stake a claim to it.

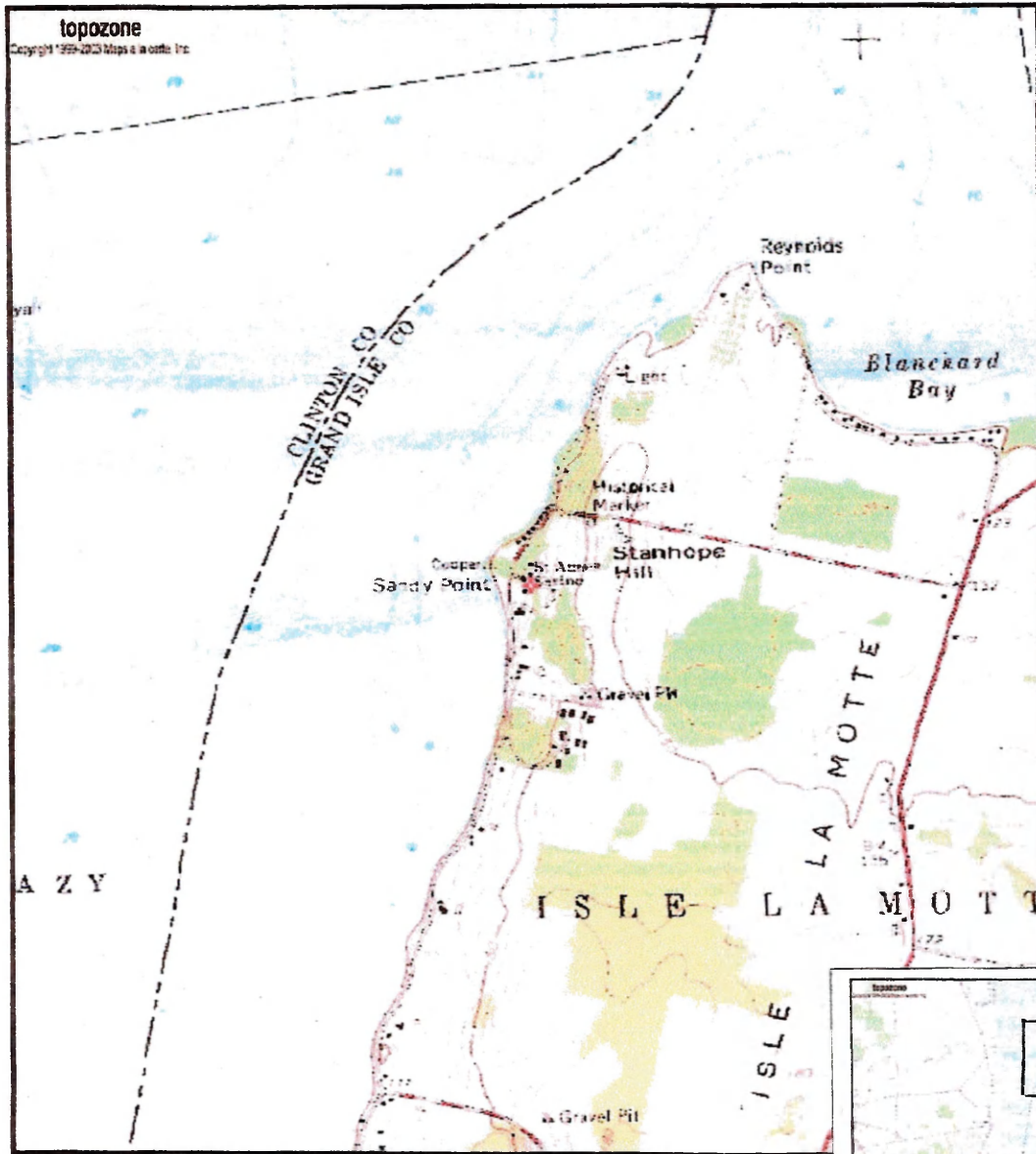
Isle La Motte lies at the northern end of Lake Champlain, an ancient borderland at the intersections of cultures and history. Archaeological evidence indicates that Native Americans were present on the point since at least since the late Archaic Period (4000-1000 B.C.) through to the early contact period.

The first known European settlement on the point occurred in 1666 when the French erected a fort on the shore of the point to protect their trade interests from the Iroquois. In the intervening years, the point served as a camp ground and stop-over for persons engaged in many of the battles waged along the lake between English, French and American troops.

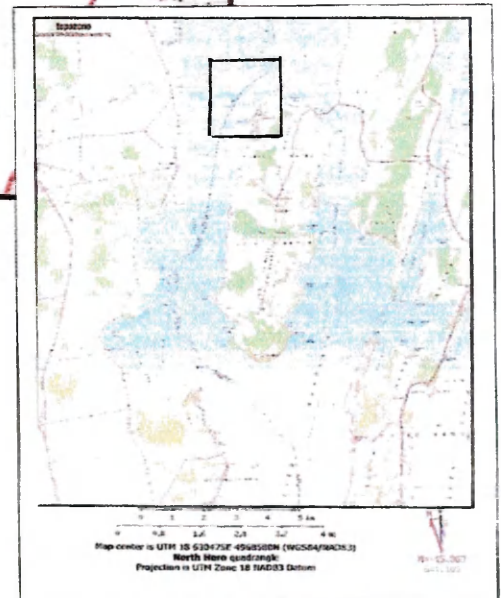
In the late nineteenth century, the Catholic Church clung to the early French history of the site as a way to legitimize its early existence in the region. The shrine, located on the border of Vermont and Canada, served as a link for Catholics, and in particular, French Canadians on both sides of the border. For decades priests came from Quebec to conduct masses that were often delivered in French and English, reconnecting the site with its French past.

In order to understand the reasons behind this, and why in subsequent years the French and Native American history of the site was forgotten by all but the church, it is important to look at the collective memory of the broader region as a whole.

FIGURE 1
 TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF SANDY POINT, ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT



0 0.3 0.6 0.9 1.2 1.5 km
 0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 1 mi
 Map center is UTM 18 630478E 4973155N (WGS84/NAD83)
Rouses Point quadrangle
 Projection is UTM Zone 18 NAD83 Datum



Colonialism, nationalism and group identity all converge in the remembered past of the Point and continue to impact the present history and interpretation of the land. The site, however, sits largely forgotten and is known by many in the area simply as a Catholic shrine. The collective memory of the site recounts the Catholic past to the area with little mention of the fort or Native American past. To understand why the earliest colonial site in Vermont has been forgotten, it is necessary to look at the complex history and struggle for control of the collective and collective memory of the island, Vermont, and even the nation.

Amateur archaeological excavations in the late nineteenth century became one of the main ways in which the present collective memory of Sandy Point was shaped. Archaeological investigations can play a crucial role in reviving the history and collective memory of a landscape by recreating and/or revealing the way a group or culture remembers the past of an area, in other words, the collective memory of place.

During the summers of 1895 and 1896, Father Joseph Kerlidou excavated the ruins of the Fort St. Anne to promote the shrine's early history as well as in hopes of confirming the site of the Catholic Church within the fort to further emphasize the religious connection to the past. These excavations were used by the Diocese to reinvigorate the sites past while allowing them to redirect the history of the site to their needs.

The Diocese presents the site to visitors in terms of its Catholic associations, largely ignoring the military and prehistoric histories of the site. This paper will look at the varied history of the site through archaeological excavations, historic accounts and contemporary writings as a way to understand the various cultural groups that have and

continue to interact at the site. Through these sources it will become possible to reconstruct most of what has been retained and what has been selectively forgotten to the collective memory of Sandy Point. It will also show how these resources, themselves, become used in the struggle for collective memory of the site.

Literature Review

The largely forgotten memory of French sites in the United States extends beyond just Vermont. Below is a general summary of studies of other French sites in North America that will illustrate how Fort St. Anne compares to other French sites. While numerous studies have been conducted on nearly all aspects of English colonial sites in North America, French colonial studies have been less numerous. The majority of archaeological studies of French sites has been centered in Quebec and along the Great Lake regions, south to Alabama; areas where French settlements were the most populace, with a few additional studies of sites in Maine and along the Canadian coast. It was not until the 1970s that serious studies were published on French sites. Many contemporary studies of French colonial sites are currently focusing on the colonization in the Caribbean, Africa and Asia.

In 1997 The Society for Historical Archaeology published the most comprehensive listing of French Colonial publications to date in "The Archaeology of French Colonial North America," edited by Gregory A. Waselkov.¹ This volume provides a valuable resource for French colonial studies by including all of the known archaeological and archaeologically related studies from North America and a few in other regions of the world as well.

¹ Gregory Waselkov, editor, "The Archaeology of French Colonial North America," *Guide to Historical Archaeology Literature* 5 (1997).

The majority of archaeological studies on French colonial sites in North America have focused primarily on trading posts and fort sites. Thematic studies of these sites have looked at defense tactics, Native American and French relations; and various aspects of the fur trade. Studies of colonization, borderlands and artifact analysis are still relatively few for French sites in North America. In addition to the relative little amount of published studies, Canadian studies on these subjects have often been written in French, and therefore, limited accessibility to many English speaking archaeologists within the United States. However, there has been a real effort to publish articles and some books in both English and French.

The history of French colonization in North America has been discussed as early as the nineteenth century when Francis Parkman wrote numerous books on the history of New France and *The Jesuit Relations* which were translated for publication.² *The Jesuit Relations* is a compiled series of letters sent to France by Jesuit missionaries in New France from the seventeenth through the early eighteenth century providing important, if somewhat biased, accounts of life in the colony.³ The next major contribution to studies of French colonies came from Eccles in the 1970's who wrote numerous books on aspects of French colonial history. A few historians and archaeologists have written comprehensive overviews of French colonization in North America including: *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered* by Bruce Trigger;⁴ and *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730* by James Pritchard.⁵

² Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1867).

³ Reuben Gold Thwaites, trans., *The Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland: The Imperial Press, 1899).

⁴ Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

⁵ James Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Major contributions to colonialism within the United States include excavations at Fort Toulouse and Old Mobile, Alabama. Research from these excavations address topics of French and Native American interactions, architecture, in depth artifact analyses, status and trade.⁶ Research on excavations at Old Mobile, Alabama by Gregory A. Waselkov, looks at the physical and social dimensions from excavations, including trade with Native Americans and the Spanish.⁷

In addition to Old Mobile, the Fortress at Louisbourg has also provided numerous research publications pertaining to French colonization through archaeology. Artifact studies such as John V.N. Dunton French Ceramics of the eighteenth Century Found in New France provides a comprehensive overview of French ceramics that are typically found on colonial French sites throughout North America.⁸

The role of trade has been a major topic for archaeological sites in the Great Lakes region as well. The major research in this region has come from excavations at Fort Michilimackinac. Archaeological studies at this site include the important study of foodways at the fort that revealed the soldiers were consuming a large percentage of native foods supplemented by French supplies. This has provided the basis for diet studies at French colonial site since.

Recent studies on French fortifications in this region include excavations at Fort St. Joseph in southwestern Michigan.⁹ Preliminary archaeological work on this site has focused on the uses of technology as ways of understanding sites prior to excavations.

⁶ Gregory Waselkov, "The Archaeology of French Colonial North America".

⁷ Gregory Waselkov, "The Archaeology of French Colonial North America".

⁸ John V.N. Dunton, "French Ceramics of the Eighteenth Century Found in New France," *New Cashiers de la Cermaique, du Verre et des Arts du Feu* 48-49 (1971).

⁹ Nassaney et al., "The Identification of Colonial Fort St. Joseph," *Michigan Journal of Field Archaeology* 309 (2002-2004).

The most comprehensive archaeological study of French colonial forts in New England has been conducted at Fort Pentagoet in Castine, Maine by Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner in 1987.¹⁰ Faulkner and Faulkner looked at life on the Acadian Frontier through artifacts that denoted status among those inhabiting the fort.

One of the few comprehensive studies on French colonial defense was written by Cryille G elinas in his 1983 *The Role of Fort Chambly in the Development of New France, 1665-1760*.¹¹

Few researchers have looked at the Richelieu River forts constructed during the mid to late seventeenth century. Many of these forts were compromised by later construction built on top of the original fort structure. As a consequence, only brief details of this time period are found archaeologically. Other fort studies in Canada include structures and sites from the early seventeenth century, such as Champlain's Habitation site, or the early eighteenth century.

Jack Verney's *The Good Regiment: The Carignan-Sali eres Regiment in Canada, 1665-1668* provides the most comprehensive history of the regiment that was responsible for constructing the Fort St. Anne and three other forts along the Richelieu River.¹² Verney looks at the history and social lives of the soldiers and their commanders though he leaves out any mention of interactions with Native Americans except for brief mentions as their battle companions.

¹⁰ Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet, 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier* (Augusta: The Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1987).

¹¹ Cryille G elinas, *The Role of Fort Chambly in the Development of New France, 1665-1760* (Quebec: Parks Canada, 1983).

¹² Jack Verney, *The Good Regiment: The Carignan-Sali eres Regiment in Canada, 1665-1668* (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

In *The Soldier off Duty* by François Miville-Deschênes provides an introductory look at the lives and artifacts associated with soldiers living in French Canadian forts during the seventeenth century.¹³ This booklet gives a cursory description of the daily activities and objects of a soldier through archaeological and documentary resources.

French Studies in Vermont

There have been no serious studies of French sites in Vermont, though settlements existed into the eighteenth century. Most of the literature on the history of Vermont focuses on the region from the time of the Revolutionary War forward, looking at the history of English and American settlers. There are a few scholars who have tried to bring other times and cultures, namely Native American, into the history of the region now known as Vermont, including James Petersen, Fred Wiseman, Colin Calloway, Marjory Power and Bill Haviland.

Studies of French colonists in Vermont are few, with additional brief mentions of the early French settlements within general histories of Vermont. In 1999 Guy Omeron Coolidge wrote *French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759*.¹⁴ Omeron provides the only overview of the French in the Champlain Valley region. However, his work relies mainly on land transactions and the history of French colonial land ownership in the Champlain Valley of New York and Vermont. An unpublished

¹³ François Miville-Deschênes, *The Soldier off Duty* (Quebec: Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Environment Canada, 1987).

¹⁴ Guy Omeron Coolidge, *French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759* (Fleischmanns: Purple Mountain Press, 1999).

paper by Jean Sbardellati entitled *French Activities in Vermont, 1609-1760*, also briefly addresses the location of French colonists in Vermont through land deeds.¹⁵

Fort St. Anne is the only known early contact period site within the State of Vermont, making it an important cultural resource for the area. The Fort is one of the few French fort sites that had not been rebuilt, or built over, since its abandonment in the late seventeenth century. In addition, its relatively short existence allows for the study of Colonial Canada within a specific window of time. The Fort was constructed during an important transition period in the history of the French colony of Canada. Fort St. Anne played a strategic role in the colonies change from the Company of One Hundred rule to that of the King of France. Part of this transition included the colonies change from commercial activities into a settlement with a focus on agrarian practices.

The history of Fort St. Anne is usually imbedded in the history of Isle La Motte and/or the early history of Vermont. These histories only briefly mention the fort and usually retell information found in *The Jesuit Relations*.¹⁶ In addition to the brief histories, Dr. Marjory Power wrote an unpublished paper on the French Faience in a possible preparation for further excavations on the fort site in 1977 entitled *French Faience in the New World Archaeological*.¹⁷

To date, Reverend Joseph Kerlidou compiled the most comprehensive history of the area relying heavily on seventeenth century documents pertaining to the fort. His work has subsequently formed the basis for all other histories of the site, especially

¹⁵ Jean Sbardellati, *French Activities in Vermont, 1609-1760* (Unpublished manuscript for Public Archaeology to Giovanna Neudorfer, May 24, 1977).

¹⁶ Flenley ; Joseph M. Kerlidou, unpublished manuscript (Burlington: St. Michael's Archives, n.d.);

¹⁷ Marjory Power, *French Faience in the New World Archaeological Context* (unpublished manuscript prepared for NEH summer seminar for college teachers Historic Archaeology of Colonial America, Dr. Charles H. Fairbanks, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, 1977).

concerning the size of the fort and the theory that the fort was burnt by the soldiers when they abandoned it. Walter Crockett, who in 1909 wrote *A History of Lake Champlain, A record of more Than Three Centuries, 1609-1936*, describes a brief history of the site that includes results from Kerlidou's excavations; however he does not credit Kerlidou as being the excavator. This has subsequently lead later researchers to mistakenly name Crockett as the excavator of the Fort.¹⁸

Fort St. Anne's location as the furthest outpost to the colony and location along a major Native American and colonial trade route could provide important insight to Native American/French interactions on the fringe of the colony. The fort could also provide information for studies of frontiers and borderlands.

¹⁸ Walter Crockett, *A History of Lake Champlain, A Record of more Than Three Centuries, 1609-1936* (Burlington: McAILIFFE Paper Publishers, 1909).

CHAPTER 1

PREHISTORIC CONTEXT

The histories of the Fort St. Anne and St. Anne's Shrine are closely intertwined with the collective memory of the area. The following chapters discuss the prehistoric and historic occupations of Sandy Point, starting with the first settlers to the region 9,000 years ago. Through archaeology and oral tradition, the long prehistory of Native Americans on and around the area of Sandy Point becomes clear. This rich prehistory further illustrates that it is not only the French military history of the site that has become lost to the collective memory of the site, but that of Native American occupation as well.

Environmental Setting

The history of Sandy Point is closely tied into the geography of the region. Isle La Motte in particular, and Vermont as a whole, are part of a lake-forest belt extending from the west of the Great Lakes eastward across southern Canada and the northern United States. The Green Mountains run through the center of Vermont with lowlands lying to the east and west. The western border of Vermont is formed by the waters of Lake Champlain which separate Vermont from New York. This region exhibits a

relatively cold and humid climate with seasonal variation between warm summers and cold winters.¹⁹

Isle La Motte lies within the northern section of Lake Champlain in the Champlain lowlands, in a region known as the Champlain Valley. The Champlain Lowlands consists of the "...northwestern part of Vermont, running from north to south for 160 km (100 mi) and ranges from 16-24 km (10-15 mi) in width, between Lake Champlain in the west and the Green Mountains in the east."²⁰ Lake Champlain was underneath the Laurentide ice about 18,000 years ago until around 12000 B.C. As the ice melted, it drained into the Champlain Valley creating a water-filled region, called Lake Vermont, which was 400 to 700 feet higher than the present Lake Champlain. With the glacial recession, land formerly depressed by the weight of the glacier rose, releasing Lake Vermont's waters. By ca. 9300 B.C. the land had risen enough to prevent the entry of tidal waters from the north, leaving Lake Champlain, the sixth largest body of fresh water in the United States, in its wake, and allowed for the first human populations to enter into Vermont.²¹

Flowing north, the lake receives the waters of Lake George at Ticonderoga and discharges into the St. Lawrence River in Canada through the Richelieu River.²² On average, the lake rises and falls four to six feet during the year with waters attaining their greatest height in May and gradually falling until September.²³ The lake receives water

¹⁹ William Haviland and Marjory Power, *The Original Vermonters* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1994).

²⁰ Thomas et al., "Windows to the Past: Archaeological Excavations at the Grand Isle Fish Hatchery, Grand Isle, Vermont," Report No. 115 (Burlington The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program, 1992).

²¹ Haviland and Power, 19.

²² Peter S. Palmer, *History of Lake Champlain, 1609-1814* (Harrison: Harbor Hill Books, 1983).

²³ Palmer, 4.

from Otter Creek, the Lamoille, Missisquoi and Winooski rivers in Vermont and the Ausable, Chazy, La Chute and Saranac rivers in New York.

In terms of resources important to humans, these rivers support sturgeon, salmon, perch, pickerel, catfish, bass, turtle, and otter among other species. The wetlands extending along the edge of the lake and rivers attract muskrat, beaver, and numerous species of fowl in addition to vegetation that provided material for mats, baskets and cordage to prehistoric populations in the region.²⁴ The rich diversity of this region provided sustenance for peoples on and near Isle La Motte well into the Contact Period (ca. A.D. 1600).

Along the northern end of Lake Champlain, near the border with Canada, are four large islands; South Hero, North Hero, Grand Isle and Isle La Motte. Collectively they form the County of Grand Isle. Isle La Motte is the smallest of these islands at roughly 18 sq mi with a stretch of marshland running through its center. The deepest channel in the lake is to the west of the island. The southwest section of the island is composed of marble that has been quarried since the eighteenth century and limestone that contains fossils from the Chazy Reef, the oldest known coral reef in the world.

Paleoindians Periods ca. 9000-7000 B.C.

The earliest settlers in this region were Paleoindians, peoples who lived in semi-nomadic groups of hunters and gatherers. William Haviland and Marjory Power speculate that when the Paleoindians arrived in Vermont, they likely came by the major river

²⁴ Haviland and Power, 1.

valleys in the region, starting a pattern of travel along waterways that would continue in this region through the nineteenth century.²⁵

It is generally acknowledged that Paleoindians traveled long distances within seasonal patterns of migration in pursuit of game and raw materials for tool production. The most temporally diagnostic tool in the Paleoindian toolkit is the fluted point, a type of spear point that features the removal of a long channel flake. Lithic materials associated with Paleoindian sites in Vermont have origins from as far away as Labrador, Maine, New Hampshire, central New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, indicating long distance trade networks and/or seasonal migration.

Archaeological evidence indicates that Paleoindians first settled in Vermont at the end of the last Ice Age (9000-8000 B.C.) after the glaciers had retreated and barren tundra turned into park-tundra of spruce, fir and birch, which supported populations of mastodons, woolly mammoths and large herds of caribou. Thirty Paleoindian sites have been identified in Vermont. In the Champlain Valley alone, sites have been identified in Burlington, Colchester, Highgate, Milton, St. Albans, Ferrisburg and Swanton, Vermont as well as at Fort Ticonderoga, New York.²⁶ A single fluted point was found on Grand Isle and may indicate a Paleoindian presence in Grand Isle County as early as 8500 B.C. However, there is speculation as to the origin of the point which may have been brought in with fill from another, unknown area.²⁷

²⁵ Haviland and Power, 30.

²⁶ Charles Knight and Francis W. Robinson, "A Report of the Archaeological Phase I Site Identification Survey of the Northern and Southern Portions of the Proposed Knight Point State Park Project, North Hero, Grand Isle County, Vermont," The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program 386 (2005): 6.

²⁷ Haviland and Power, 19, 25; Robert A. Sloma and Peter A. Thomas, "Phase I Archaeological Site Identification Survey, Water Treatment Facility, Grand Isle, Vermont," The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program 156 (1995): 12.

Archaic Periods ca. 7000-1000 B.C.

The Archaic period is subdivided into three sub periods. Each is addressed below.

Early Archaic

Around 7000-5500 B.C. the climate in the Champlain Valley began to warm, providing a climate ideal for the growth of hardwood trees in the region. The abundance of these trees created a forest cover which supported a wide range of plants and animals which, in turn, helped support an increase in human population size.

Most Early Archaic sites are identified by the presence of the “small, bifurcated base or side-notched spear points, known as Swanton corner-notched points, which were used for hunting”.²⁸ Two sites that date to this period in Vermont are the John’s Bridge site in Swanton and the Historic Building site (VT-RU-264) located in Wallingford, Vermont.

Middle Archaic

Middle Archaic sites (5500-4000 B.C.) in Vermont, though rare, indicate cultural occupation at the region by Native Americans. Recent excavations along the Missisquoi River in Swanton, Vermont have produced the first Middle Archaic Period occupation found within a datable stratified context.²⁹

²⁸ Peter A. Thomas and Francis W. Robinson, *John’s Bridge Site* (Burlington: The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program, 1980).

²⁹ Petersen et al., “Archaeological Investigations in the Shelburne Pond Locality, Chittenden County, Vermont,” *Annals of the Carnegie Museum* 54, No. 3 (1985).

Late Archaic

During the Late Archaic period (4000-1000 B.C.), a continued warming climate further increased food resources in the region. This contributed to an increase in human populations. Residential and activity sites from this period have been found throughout Vermont and often feature numerous woodworking tools that may have been used to construct dug-out canoes. Artifacts from the Late Archaic period indicate a wide range of exchange networks for materials from as far away as Arctic Canada, the upper Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico.³⁰

Two Late Archaic sites have recently been identified in Grand Isle: VT-GI-18 and VT-GI-19. VT-GI-18 has been identified as an apparent residential hunting base dating roughly to 2400-2800 B.C.³¹ VT-GI-19 is believed to have been a repeatedly used, non-residential site dating from 2800-1800 B.C.³²

The Passage Site, located at the southern end of the Alburg Peninsula in 2004, was identified as also dating to this period.³³ The most notable artifacts from this site include an adze and a red slate point that date to ca. 4050-850 B.C.³⁴ A Late Woodland component was also identified at this site and is discussed in the Late Woodland section below. In 1962 a Glacial Kame cemetery (ca. 900 B.C.) was discovered in a gravel pit on Isle La Motte, known as the Isle La Motte Site. The Glacial Kame culture entered

³⁰ Haviland and Power, 49-59.

³¹ Robert A. Sloma and Peter Thomas, *Phase I Archaeological Site Identification Survey, Water Treatment Facility, Grand Isle, Vermont*. Report No. 156 (Burlington: The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program, 1995).

³² Sloma and Thomas, 1.

³³ Thomas R. Jamison, "Filling the Archaeological Void: Saint Lawrence Iroquoians in Alburg, Vermont," *Journal of Vermont Archaeology* 6 (2005): 4-5.

³⁴ Jamison, 7.

Vermont from the north and west via the St. Lawrence and Richelieu rivers between circa 1600 and 1000 B.C.³⁵

Archaeological excavations conducted by Warren K. Moorehead in 1917 indicate that there was an early Late Archaic presence at Sandy Point. In particular, a pecked and ground stone adze uncovered by Warren K. Moorhead on the point is diagnostic to this time period (Figure 2).³⁶

FIGURE 2
PECKED AND GROUND STONE ADZE



(Collection of Robert S. Peabody Museum at Andover, Massachusetts, artifact # 58529)

Woodland Period (1000 B.C. – A.D. 1600)

The Woodland period, like the Archaic period, is subdivided into three sub periods.

These periods are addressed below.

Early Woodland

The Early Woodland Period (1000-100 B.C.) is distinguished by the introduction of pottery and the use of the bow and arrow for the first time in Vermont. Much of the

³⁵ Haviland and Power, 74.

³⁶ John G. Crock Personal Communication to author, April 6, 2006.

information for this time periods comes from cemetery sites. For example, the Boucher site in Highgate is one of the few sites dating to this period that has been identified in Vermont.³⁷ Habitation sites are unknown, however and it seems more an issue of archaeology sampling than a lack of resident population during this time.

Middle Woodland

During the Middle Woodland period (100 B.C. – A.D. 1050) people in Vermont traveled between mountain and valley habitats to exploit the resources available in both environments. The Winooski site, located along the banks of the Winooski River, is the most well documented site from this period in Vermont. The site contains a stratified sequence of occupations.³⁸ In 2005 a Middle Woodland site (VT-GI-47) was identified in North Hero, another island located in Grand Isle County.³⁹ The Phase I excavation of this site suggests that the site, which dates to ca. 100-200 B.C., may represent a single occupation base camp or a number of occupations ranging over many decades.⁴⁰

During his excavation of Fort St. Anne on Sandy Point, Reverend Joseph Kerlidou described finding prehistoric pottery and projectile points among the French colonial artifacts. Much of the pottery described likely dates from the Middle Woodland period. In his notes Kerlidou wrote of finding “a great quantity of blue stones with which the Indians tipped their arrows and some broken arrow heads”.⁴¹ It is possible that the “blue stone” he refers to is a rhyolite or black chert stone identified from a few of the

³⁷ Michael J. Heckenberger et al., “Early Woodland Mortuary Ceremonialism in the Far Northeast: A View from the Boucher Cememtery,” *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 18 (1990): 109-144.

³⁸ Petersen, James B., *The Middle Woodland Ceramics of the Winooski Site, A.D. 1-1000*. Report No. 11. (Burlington: The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program, 1980).

³⁹ Knight and Robinson, 7.

⁴⁰ Knight and Robinson, 26.

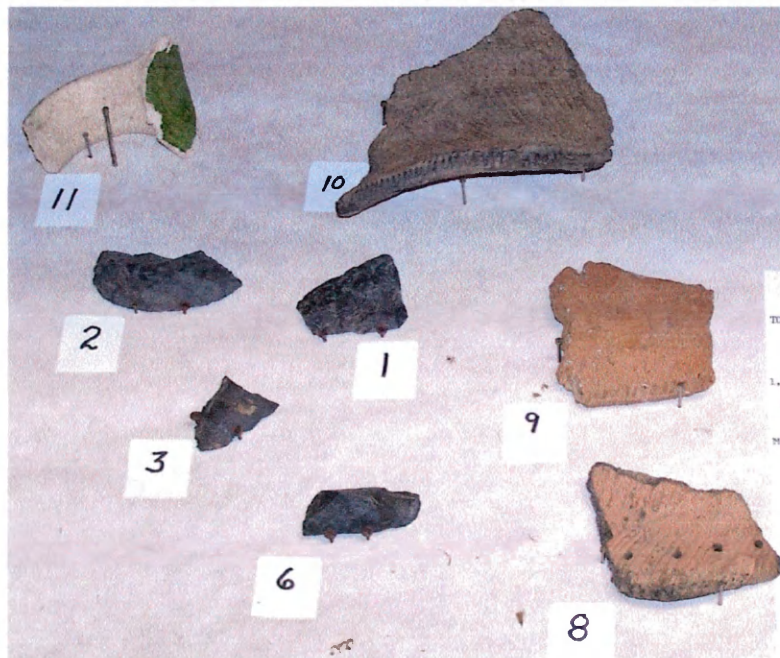
⁴¹ Kerlidou, unpublished manuscript, 29.

artifacts currently on display at St. Anne's Shrine. In addition to the points, Kerlidou also describes having found "Indian pottery" everywhere he dug.⁴² An article in a local newspaper reporting on Kerlidou's excavations adds additional evidence that Sandy Point contained a major Native American site. The article mentions the "...many arrowheads that [were] found whenever certain nearby fields are plowed".⁴³

Among the remaining artifacts currently on display at St. Anne's Shrine are three Middle Woodland pottery sherds, three black chert biface fragments and a chert scraper minimally dating from A.D. 800-1000 (Figure 3).

Excavations by Warren K. Moorehead in 1917 on Sandy Point also unearthed a large number of pottery sherds as well as a bone fishhook, long bones, projectile points and scrapers all of which are now housed at the Peabody Museum Andover (Figures 4-6).

FIGURE 3
PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS AT ST. ANNE'S SHRINE



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005)

⁴² Kerlidou, unpublished manuscript, 29.

⁴³ "Relics of Fort St. Anne," Burlington Free Press, September 16, 1895.

FIGURE 4
EARLY MIDDLE WOODLAND PERIOD, CA. 100 B.C. – A.D. 300 PSEUDO-
SCALLOPED PARTIALLY RECONSTRUCTED VESSEL (CP3)



(# 58738, 76/R104, Collection of The Robert S. Peabody Museum at Andover,
Massachusetts)

FIGURE 5
BONE FISH HOOK, INDETERMINATE AGE



(# 58570, Collection of The Robert S. Peabody Museum at Andover, Massachusetts)

FIGURE 6
BIFACES/PROJECTILE POINTS



(# 58726 and 58730, Collection of The Robert S. Peabody Museum at Andover, Massachusetts)

In reference to these excavations Moorehead writes:

[Bishop Rice] permitted us to dig up to within ten meters of the shrine itself. In the sand, at a depth ranging from ten centimeters to one meter, much broken pottery was discovered from which we may be able partially to restore some vessels. While the pottery in the upper layers appeared to be later but not Iroquoian in character, the lower layers contained fragments of vessels of the pointed base type, the archaic Algonkian form. The amount of debris left by the Indians at this place would suggest that, with the possible exception of Colchester Point, the Isle La Motte shrine marks the largest Indian site upon Lake Champlain.⁴⁴

E. O. Sugden, Moorehead's assistant during these excavations recorded that, in addition to the pottery fragments, they also uncovered several flint points.⁴⁵ Sugden also notes their excavations on the nearby land of Mr. Stanship where they uncovered fire pits containing shell and fragments of pottery.⁴⁶ Moorehead also excavated at nearby Reynold's Point near Sandy Point, uncovering even more fragments of pottery and projectile points.

Though the two trays of sherds excavated by Moorehead on Isle La Motte at the Robert S. Peabody Museum at Andover were not fully analyzed, one large reconstructed fragment with pseudo-scallop shell decoration was identified as being attributable to the Early Middle Woodland Period, ca. 100 B.C – A.D. 300 (see Figure 3).⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Warren K. Moorehead, *A Report on the Archaeology of Maine* (Andover: The Andover Press, 1922).

⁴⁵ E. O. Sugden, Personal Diary, (Montpelier: on file at the Vermont State Historic Preservation Office, 1917).

⁴⁶ Sugden, 9-10.

⁴⁷ John G. Crock, personal communication to author, April 6, 2006.

Late Woodland

The Late Woodland Period (A.D. 1050-1600) in Vermont is characterized by the introduction of agriculture with the cultivation of corn, beans and squash, to supplement seasonal cycles of fishing, hunting and gathering. Archaeological evidence indicates that by A.D. 1100 these harvested crops were being stored in pits beneath small houses.⁴⁸ By A.D. 1450 there is evidence of corn cultivation having been practiced in the Champlain Valley at the Winooski Intervale as well as at the Bohannon site in Alburg.⁴⁹ Settlements from this period are located along Vermont's major river valleys, suggesting the use of waterways for travel.⁵⁰

In the northwestern portion of the state, in the area of present-day Grand Isle County, the St. Lawrence Iroquoians may have lived in or at least heavily visited the area prior to and during the early Contact Period. Historic accounts in conjunction with archaeology suggest that the St. Lawrence Iroquoians inhabited the region around Montreal and Quebec City, but their range may have extended into what is now the Franklin and Grand Isle County portions of Vermont, and perhaps even farther south prior to European contact.⁵¹

St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery has been identified at several sites in the northwestern corner of Vermont providing additional evidence of Iroquoian influence or settlement in this area. One site in Alburg, known as the Bohannon site (VT-GI-26 and

⁴⁸ Heckenberger et al., "Early Woodland Period Mortuary Ceremonialism in the Far Northeast: A View from Boucher Cemetery," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 18 (1990): 109-144.

⁴⁹ James F. Pendergast, "Native Encounters with Europeans in the Sixteenth Century in the Region Now Known as Vermont," *Vermont History* (1990).

⁵⁰ Haviland and Power, 150-151.

⁵¹ James B. Petersen et al., "St. Lawrence Iroquoians in Northern New England: Pendergast was "Right" and More," *A Passion for the Past: Papers in Honour of James F. Pendergast*, Mercury Series, Archaeology Paper 164 (2004): 96, 108.

VT-GI-32), contained at least two longhouses, a dwelling style common among the Iroquois dating to the Late Woodland (A.D. 1300-1600) and/or early Contact period (A.D. 1600-1700).⁵² Among the artifacts found at this site was a possible turtle-head effigy made of pottery.⁵³ According to records by Father Kerlidou "...a stone carved in the shape of a tortoise head with holes for the eyes and mouth" was also discovered on the nearby Fort St. Anne site in 1896.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the St. Anne artifact is now lost and no known image of it exists.

Another Late Woodland/early Contact Period site has recently been located in Alburg known as the Passage site (VT-GI-50). Based on the site's location on a high ridge Jamison suggests that it was located in a "defensive posture".⁵⁵

The Passage site is located along the southern edge of the same peninsula as the Summit site, which also has been dated to the late Middle Woodland to early Late Woodland period (ca. A.D. 600-1300). In addition to ceramic deposits, the passage site also contains a human burial.⁵⁶

The archaeological evidence uncovered at these sites support Pendergast's theory that the St. Lawrence Iroquois were visiting and utilizing portions of northwestern Vermont during the late precontact-early contact periods, though the Western Abenakis were also apparently present.⁵⁷

⁵² John G. Crock, personal communication to author, April 6, 2006.

⁵³ Geoffrey Mandel e al., "Phase I Site Identification and Phase II Site Evaluation for Alburg-Swanton BRF 036-1(1) Bridge Replacement, Alburg, Grand Isle County, Vermont," The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program 264 (2000): 4.

⁵⁴ Marcel G. Guttin, *St. Anne of Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain: An Historical and Religious Sketch* (Burlington: Free Press Printing Company, 1916).

⁵⁵ Jamison, 6.

⁵⁶ Jamison, 7.

⁵⁷ Haviland and Power, 157; Jamison, 5.

Pre-contact Period

At the time of contact, the forests in northern Vermont abounded with beech, yellow birch, and maple.⁵⁸ Unlike the forests in the southern part of New England which were ‘open’ and ‘park-like’ in areas, the forests in northern New England (the present - day interior of New Hampshire and Vermont) were more dense and less open as suggested by early accounts of soldiers having to clear paths through the woods to get from fort to fort along the Champlain-Richelieu route.⁵⁹

Abenaki

By 1600, the Western Abenakis inhabited a region from Lake Champlain on the west to the White Mountains on the east, and from southern Quebec to the Vermont-Massachusetts border. Major Abenaki village sites were located along the lower reaches of the Otter Creek, the Winooski, Lamoille and Missisquoi rivers and on Grand Isle.⁶⁰

Western Abenaki villages were made up of several long, rectangular houses constructed of bark over a pole frame and round, dome-shaped sweat lodges. Houses were spread out along rivers near crop fields.⁶¹ Haviland and Power estimate that there was an average of 1000 people per major village.⁶²

The Abenaki followed a pattern of seasonal migration based on subsistence strategies that lasted into the historic period.⁶³ During the winter months, the Abenakis

⁵⁸ William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

⁵⁹ Cronon, 26.

⁶⁰ Gordan Day, *In Search of New England's Native Past* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

⁶¹ Haviland and Power, 158-159.

⁶² Haviland and Power, 159.

⁶³ Colin G. Calloway, “Green Mountain Diaspora: Indian Population Movements in Vermont, c. 1600-1800,” *Vermont History* 54, no. 4 (1986).

would stay in their villages until February, when everyone but the old and infirm left the village for their upland hunting territories which were defined by core systems of trails related to watercourses.⁶⁴ In the center of these territories was a tributary to a larger river such as the Connecticut or the Missisquoi. During the summer months, the Abenaki stayed near their villages, though some would set up camps along the shores of lakes and ponds. Summer was also a time to visit and trade with peoples some distance away.

Family units and family bands were the functioning unit of the Abenaki, coming together in communities seasonally⁶⁵. They had emblematic animal totemism, with no known food restrictions and no evidence of descent from such groups as being necessary for membership.⁶⁶ Family bands were the sovereign units of the Abenaki, having the power to decide and act on cases of serious issues, like murder. Each family band included among its members someone who was a shaman. It was the shaman's job to protect the band from certain kinds of crime.⁶⁷

By the early seventeenth century the Abenakis consisted of several different groups who would occasionally enter into loose political alliances.⁶⁸ Population totals for this period have been estimated at 10,000 people inhabiting present-day Vermont and New Hampshire, with 4200 of those in the Champlain Valley alone.⁶⁹ However, by the

⁶⁴ Haviland and Power, 161.

⁶⁵ Colin Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration and the Survival of an Indian People*, (Norman: The Civilization of The American Indian Series, University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Haviland and Power, 174.

⁶⁶ Haviland and Power, 179.

⁶⁷ Haviland and Power, 198.

⁶⁸ Haviland and Power, 156.

⁶⁹ Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration and the Survival of an Indian People*, 7, 10, 39.

middle of the seventeenth century these numbers had been drastically reduced due mainly to the introduction of European diseases.⁷⁰

Iroquois

Around AD 1000 the Owasco woodland culture developed in the present day New York area. This culture created a way of life that would “still prevail in Iroquoia during the period of early contact with Europeans”.⁷¹ Characteristics of this culture included the cultivation of maize, beans and squash, mortuary rituals that consisted of immediate burial with personal belongings rather than grave offerings, and a cessation of previously active systems of long distance trade. According to Richter, “in its place emerged greatly intensified warfare among communities”, from which, he infers, “a continual cycle of feuding made them very difficult to stop, and they took on a life of their own”.⁷² This feuding resulted in fewer, but larger, more complex communities over the next 500 years.⁷³ “In the sixteenth century, as a final wave of village consolidations occurred, the speakers of the first five of these languages coalesced as the original members of the Iroquois League”.⁷⁴

Originally, the Iroquoian Nation was made up of five villages that all spoke a related language in upstate New York between the Mohawk and Genessee River Valley. The five Nations, collectively referred to as ‘The Long House’, consisted of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onodagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and in the early eighteenth century

⁷⁰ Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont*, 39.

⁷¹ Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

⁷² Richter, 14-15.

⁷³ Richter, 15.

⁷⁴ Richter, 15.

were joined by the Tuscaroras. Archaeological evidence suggests through homiginized material cultural remains that peace between these previously warring clans occurred sometime in the late fifteenth century.⁷⁵ Villages, however, remained fortified even after the Five Nations formed an alliance.⁷⁶

Richter estimates the total Iroquoian population to have been between twenty and thirty thousand.⁷⁷ Iroquoian towns were composed of as many as two thousand people and were the “most densely settled places in Europe or native Northeast before the nineteenth century”.⁷⁸

Most towns were heavily fortified and located on “defensible hilltops a mile or two back in the forest” and not along exposed waterways.⁷⁹ Fortifications enclosed between two to 16 acres within which was “anywhere from thirty to 150 structures, the majority of which were longhouses”.⁸⁰ Iroquoian economics was a type of capitalism in which the aim was not to accumulate goods, but to be in a position to provide them to others.⁸¹ Economy and status were determined by those that were able to give the most as opposed to forms of buying and selling.⁸² This created a community structured around reciprocity and kinship ties.

Unlike the Abenaki, the Iroquois practiced slash and burn (i.e. swidden) horticulture and town locations moved every 12 to 20 years after soils and firewood sources were depleted leaving deforested areas around each village.⁸³ This required vast

⁷⁵ Richter, 31.

⁷⁶ Richter, 31.

⁷⁷ Richter, 17.

⁷⁸ Richter, 17.

⁷⁹ Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (New York: Corinth Books, 1969); Richter, 17.

⁸⁰ Richter, 18.

⁸¹ Richter, 22.

⁸² Richter, 22.

⁸³ Richter, 23.

expanses of land in order to support the large Iroquoian population. “Iroquois groups, therefore, required an extensive homeland that at any given time encompassed a current town and its associated hamlets...”⁸⁴

The Iroquois were involved with small-scale trade for mainly spiritual goods, but were able to provide all other necessities themselves. This self sufficiency meant that they did not need large scale trade relationships with others or even among themselves, unlike the Hurons who held trade relations with the Algonquian-speaking northern neighbors. This, according to Richter, explains the isolation the Iroquois had from their neighbors. “The lack of any need for large-scale trade helps explain not just the isolationism of Five Nations villages from each other and outsiders but their wars with such sixteenth-century neighbors as the Hurons, the Susquehannocks, the Algonquins, and the St. Lawrence Iroquois”.⁸⁵ Since trade was seen as a reciprocal relationship, Richter further argues, the lack of trade “could easily lead to a presumption of hostility”.⁸⁶

The Iroquois followed a cultural pattern known as the ‘mourning wars’. In essence, when an Iroquois was killed, the female relations of the deceased could ask their male kin to capture the guilty person or a substitute enemy. Richter notes “The target of mourning-war campaign was usually a people traditionally defined as enemies. Neither they, nor anyone else, need necessarily be held directly responsible for the death that provoked the attack, though most often the foes could be made to bear the blame”.⁸⁷ Once captured the women could decide whether the captive would be killed as

⁸⁴ Richter, 23.

⁸⁵ Richter, 28-29.

⁸⁶ Richter, 29.

⁸⁷ Richter, 33.

consolation for their kin's death, or adopted into their family through a practice referred to as the 'Requickening' ceremony. In the Requickening ceremony a captured enemy was officially adopted into the victim's family serving to replace the lost loved one, thus assuring social continuity of the power of the lineage, clan and village.⁸⁸ During the Requickening ceremony "the deceased's name, and with it the social role and duties it represented, was transferred to a successor".⁸⁹ This form of re-strengthening of the community was often done through warfare where the taking of prisoners was just as important as killing the enemy or capturing their territory.

The need to replace lost loved ones along with the need for more territory contributed to the Iroquoian's reputation for warfare with their neighbors. Warfare among the Iroquois became more prominent as they became more reliant on horticulture to sustain their population, which in turn, led to a need for more land. Furthermore, warfare promoted group cohesion while demonstrating their superiority over their enemies.⁹⁰

Bruce Trigger also speculates that as hunting decreased, warfare became a means to male prestige.⁹¹ With the increased reliance on horticulture, hunting was no longer as important for sustenance and therefore its importance to male status declined. This decrease in hunting was filled in with warfare as a way in which young men could raise their status and, therefore, raise their chances for an advantageous marriage based on their success in battle.⁹²

⁸⁸ Morgan, 342; Richter, 32.

⁸⁹ Richter, 32.

⁹⁰ Richter, 36.

⁹¹ Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered* (Kingstone: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

⁹² Richter, 36.

The disappearance in the late sixteenth century of the St. Lawrence Iroquois left territory that was filled by the Algonquins, Montagnais, and the Hurons, all of whom were at war with the Iroquois. This population shift intensified hostilities between these warring groups.⁹³

At the turn of the seventeenth century Iroquoian access to wampum and other shell beads was halted. They were being cut off from trade sources by hostile groups located between them and the European traders. Only the Mohawks along the Hudson River remained in contact with Dutch traders through amicable relations with the Mahicans.⁹⁴ The lack of trade access also meant that while the enemies of the Iroquois had access to firearms, the Iroquois did not. This development changed the way the Iroquois conducted war.

The reluctance to incur battle fatalities led the Iroquois to change their tactics to small-scale raids and ambushes.⁹⁵ The lack of access to firearms also resulted in the selection of mourning-war targets having been selected on the basis of possession of valuable goods to pillage.⁹⁶ The opening of trade with the Dutch at Fort Orange opened access to trade goods for the Iroquois, but the Iroquois were now left with a shortage of furs to trade for them.⁹⁷ By the early seventeenth century fighting between the Mohawks and their northern neighbors occurred along the junction of the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence rivers where the Mohawk would wait to attack Algonquin and Huron traders on their way back from trading with the French at Quebec.⁹⁸

⁹³ Richter, 53.

⁹⁴ Richter, 54.

⁹⁵ Richter, 55.

⁹⁶ Richter, 55.

⁹⁷ Richter, 55.

⁹⁸ Richter, 55.

These wars merged into a single conflict pitting the Five Nations against “virtually every Indian people in the northeast”.⁹⁹ In 1661-1662 the Iroquois went on raids from Virginia to the Upper Mississippi and even to the Algonquins of the subarctic. Mohawks were among the earliest in the region to gain a large number of guns by 1643, and this led to the further involvement of the gun-possessing French in the Indian conflicts.¹⁰⁰ Between 1608 and 1666 only 153 French lost their lives in conflicts with the Iroquois confederacy. Richter claims the toll was not higher because “Iroquois had more important foes and no motive to obliterate the French” and therefore targeted other native peoples for mourning war captives in order to fill the places of the growing number of dead.¹⁰¹

Iroquoian raids to the east “...gave the Champlain lowland the character of a frontier region and gave rise to folk traditions of Vermont as a no-man’s land and the scene of bloody conflicts between Iroquois and Abenaki warriors”.¹⁰²

Isle La Motte at the Time of Contact

Situated along the major trade and raid route from Quebec to New York, Isle La Motte was at the border of Iroquois and Abenaki homelands, which were separated by the waters of Lake Champlain. Of the five groups that made up the Iroquoian confederacy, the Mohawk were closest geographically to the Abenaki and New France, inhabiting the area along the west shores of Lake Champlain.

⁹⁹ Richter, 62.

¹⁰⁰ Richter, 62-64.

¹⁰¹ Richter, 64-65.

¹⁰² Calloway, “Green Mountain Diaspora,”.

While archaeological evidence shows that Native Americans clearly inhabited the region for millennia, early European accounts provide additional, if somewhat subjective, information regarding the inhabitants of Isle La Motte during the contact period. In his journal, Samuel Champlain wrote that the island was uninhabited at the time of his passing through the area, but noted that tribes did travel there to hunt. He was also told that the island belonged to the Iroquois.¹⁰³

Later descriptions of the island in *The Jesuit Relations* suggest that the island was a meeting or trade place for the Abenaki, Huron and Mohawk Indians. The French colonists were told that these groups camped frequently on the island because of its convenient location along the major trade and warring route that passed through Lake Champlain.¹⁰⁴ Reports of an iron projectile point found on Sandy Point may provide evidence that Native Americans were present on the site during the time of contact, perhaps prior to or during the French settlement at Fort St. Anne.

Despite this rich history, the Native American presence on Sandy Point is all but forgotten as will be further discussed below.

The European arrival to the region brought some drastic changes, especially in the reduction of Native American populations in the region. The introduction of European diseases and weapons drastically reduced the populations of both Abenaki and Iroquois, creating an imbalance in their social and political traditions. The loss of Iroquoian populations creating a greater need for prisoners to fill in for lost members intensifying the need for mourning wars. As discussed in the following chapter, the alliances between the French and the Abenaki also further increased the hostilities between the Abenaki and

¹⁰³ Joseph M. Kerlidou, *St. Anne of Isle LaMotte in Lake Champlain: Its History, Rules of Confraternity, Prayers, Novena to St. Anne* (Alburt: Free Press Association, 1895).

¹⁰⁴ Kerlidou, *St. Anne of Isle LaMotte in Lake Champlain*, 63.

the Iroquois during the contact period. It is into this highly charged scene that the first French colonists arrived in the Champlain Valley.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF FORT ST. ANNE

The arrival of the first Europeans in the region brought the first written accounts of Sandy Point. Prior to the arrival of the first European explorer in the Champlain Valley, European trade goods and diseases had made their way to Native Americans in the region from the eastern seaboard. Jacques Cartier reached the St. Lawrence River in 1534 and in the following two years proceeded as far as Montreal, which he had named.¹⁰⁵ In 1604-1605 a permanent settlement was established in Acadia (present day Maine and eastern Quebec), and Samuel Champlain established Quebec in 1604.¹⁰⁶ In 1609 Samuel Champlain became the first European to enter the Champlain Valley and Lake Champlain, both of which now bear his name. During his travels into Lake Champlain, it is believed that he and his native guides spent a night on Isle La Motte, reportedly a popular campsite among Native Americans at the time.¹⁰⁷

Shortly after Champlain's arrival to the region, the French began to establish trade among the Huron and Abenaki. Champlain formed an alliance with the Abenaki upon his arrival in the region. As part of this alliance, Champlain joined an Abenaki war party and shot and killed an Iroquois leader in the ensuing battle, an act that would set the stage for French and Iroquois relations for decades to come.

¹⁰⁵ Cornelius J. Jaenan, "French Expansion in North America," *History Teacher* 35 (2001): 155.

¹⁰⁶ Jaenan, 156.

¹⁰⁷ Colin G. Calloway, "The Conquest of Vermont: Vermont's Indian Troubles in Context," *Vermont History* 52, No. 3 (1984): 173; Cronon, 66.

The Fur Trade and Religion in Canada

The fur trade in North America began in the sixteenth century when European fishermen first began to trade for fur along the shores of the east coast of North America. The success of this trade allowed them to take over supplying beaver and other fur from dwindling Siberian supplies to meet the increasing demands of Europe fashions.¹⁰⁸

As exploration in North America increased, as early as 1534 James Cartier, a Frenchman, discovered that the richest source of furs in North America was in the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes region.¹⁰⁹ This discovery led to the establishment of French colonies in the St. Lawrence region in order to capitalize on this trade.

In the early seventeenth century, European trade increased in North America leading to the establishment of trading posts by competing European markets: the French established Quebec in 1608; the Dutch began trade in 1612 in the Hudson River Valley and later in the Connecticut Valley, built a trade center at Fort Orange in 1624 in present-day Albany, New York; and the English established the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay trading posts in Massachusetts in 1623 and 1630, respectively.¹¹⁰ The main trade route for all of these settlements from the St. Lawrence region was through the north-south corridor that included the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain. During the early fur trade years, the area along the St. Lawrence and Richelieu rivers-Lake Champlain

¹⁰⁸ Chris Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 500 BC to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (New York: Oxford University, 1994).

¹⁰⁹ Cronon, 92; Haviland and Power, 212; Perry H. Merrill, *Vermont Under Four Flags: A History of the Green Mountain State 1635-1975* (Montpelier: published by the author, 1975); Steele, 59-60.

¹¹⁰ Gosden, 285; Haviland and Power, 212.

corridor became the site of the most intensive competition for dominance in the market by Europeans and Natives.¹¹¹

French colonization in North America was also largely focused on religious conversion of Native Americans to Catholicism. Many of the early colonists were Jesuit priests who attached themselves to traders to gain access to native communities in hopes of creating converts.

This intensive contact with Europeans shifted native economies from subsistence to commercial activities and altered traditional trade networks. This, in turn, increased warfare among the regional tribes, particularly among the Huron, Abenaki and Iroquois who were traditional enemies dating back to at least A.D. 1570. The conflict between these groups intensified not only from the pressures of competition in the fur trade during contact, but also because of their increased involvement in the disputes between the French and English.¹¹²

As early as 1570 the Mohawk were looking to gain a foothold on the European trade in the St. Lawrence region. In order to accomplish this they had to dominate the Abenaki, Hurons, and St. Lawrence Iroquois who were along the ancient trade route then used to transport furs along Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River.¹¹³ This competition eventually led to the destruction of the St. Lawrence Iroquois by late sixteenth century. The abandoned territory led to further hostilities between the warring

¹¹¹ Richter, 55.

¹¹² Haviland and Power, 219.

¹¹³ James F. Pendergast, "Native Encounters with Europeans in the Sixteenth Century in the Region Now Known as Vermont," *Vermont History* (1990):119-120.

Algonquian, Montagnais and Huron tribes who all wanted to claim the newly emptied land.¹¹⁴

The French-Abenaki alliance that started with Champlain, forced the Iroquois to seek other European colonists for trade, which they found with the Dutch at Fort Orange in 1624 and later with the English who took over Fort Orange in 1664 and renamed it Albany.¹¹⁵

Prior to the construction of Fort St. Anne, trade wars between Native and European powers were reaching their climax. Relations between the Dutch and Iroquois became tense in the 1660s as long-standing trade arrangements were breaking down.¹¹⁶ This caused further tension for the Iroquois to whom any disruption in the supply of firearms and other trade goods became” doubly important because by the early 1660s the Iroquois had lost their former weapons advantage over their native foes”.¹¹⁷

By the mid-seventeenth century the French had established missionaries, forts and towns throughout present-day Quebec, the region which had been under the Company of One Hundred since 1608. By this time, the French had become reliant on trade coming through the Richelieu River-Lake Champlain waterway. Because this route was so well used by traders and raiders alike, it became the scene of many attacks. When Iroquois access to furs became limited in the 1660s, they increased raids on Abenaki trading parties carrying loads of fur to ensure their continued trade relations with Europeans.¹¹⁸

In addition to the Iroquois attacks, the French colony in Canada faced food shortages and a lack of reinforcements from France which caused the colony to go into

¹¹⁴ Richter, 53.

¹¹⁵ Steele, 23, 119.

¹¹⁶ Richter, 98.

¹¹⁷ Richter, 98.

¹¹⁸ Calloway, “The Western Abenakis of Vermont,” 72-73.

decline by the mid-seventeenth century. Understanding that the colonist's safety was essential for the growth of New France, in 1663, two years after his reign began, King Louis XIV took control of Canada from the defunct Company of One Hundred.¹¹⁹

As part of his efforts to revitalize New France, King Louis XIV assigned Minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert to organize the colony along military lines.¹²⁰ King Louis XIV realized the potential for wealth that could be obtained from the fur trade if he was able to secure the routes and traders from attack. As part of this plan, Colbert, the French minister of finance, aimed to create a population in Canada that was self-sufficient in foodstuff, large enough to defend the colony and provide a market for French goods, and able to produce a wide range of commodities to send to France.¹²¹

In June 1665, as a response to pleas for more troops in Canada to secure trade routes and settlements from the Iroquois, Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle, Sieur de Courcelles, governor of New France, and intendant Jean Talon arrived in Canada with the first expedition of royal troops to the area.¹²² With them, on six separate ships came nearly 1,200 French regulars, most of whom were from the company of Carignan-Salières Regiment, the first French regiment to be entirely armed with flintlock muskets.¹²³ The regiment was comprised of 20 companies each with a captain, a

¹¹⁹ W. J. Eccles, *France in America* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1973); Jack Verney, *The Good Regiment: The Carignan-Salieres Regiment in Canada, 1665-1668* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

¹²⁰ Eccles, 68; Steele, 73.

¹²¹ Trigger, 283.

¹²² Calloway, "The Western Abenakis of Vermont," 73; Thwaites, 189, 213.

¹²³ Verney, 7, 15, 16.

lieutenant, an ensign and 50 enlisted men including two drummers, a fife player, and a surgeon.¹²⁴

The Carignan-Salières Regiment was formed in 1658, and served under the command of Lieutenant-General Alexandre de Prouville, marquis de Tracy and an officer in the French army, who was appointed Lieutenant-General to all of the French colonies in North and South America in 1663.¹²⁵ The marquis de Tracy was ordered to Quebec to put an end to the Iroquoian hostilities and secure the colonies' position.¹²⁶

Upon the arrival of these troops, members of the Huron and Abenaki tribes presented gifts to Monsieur de Tracy expressing their continued alliance with the French against the Iroquois.¹²⁷ The arrival of 1,200 troops in Canada created a large social shift in the demographics of the population.¹²⁸ Not only did they increase the population in Quebec by 40%, they also created a much larger military presence than was there previously.¹²⁹

The Four Forts

As part of his new campaign to secure the colony in New France, M. de Tracy ordered the Captains of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, M.M. de Sorel, de Chambly, and de Salières, to build forts that would form bases from which soldiers could protect the trade routes against Iroquoian raids and increase the show of military presence in the region.

¹²⁴ Verney, 7.

¹²⁵ Crockett, 23; Eccles, 62; Steele, 73; Thwaites, 217; Verney, 7, 15, 16.

¹²⁶ Crockett, 23; Thwaites, 217-225.

¹²⁷ Eccles, 66; Thwaites, 231-237.

¹²⁸ Verney, 57.

¹²⁹ Steele, 74.

Geography played an important role in defining the location of these four forts. Surrounded by natural barriers, the entrance into Quebec was limited to only three gates: the lower St. Lawrence, the Richelieu-Lake Champlain waterway, and the upper St. Lawrence-Lake Ontario route.¹³⁰ The waters of Lake Champlain discharged into the Richelieu River and then into the St. Lawrence River, creating a natural north-south route which was further reinforced by the Green Mountains to the east and the Adirondack Mountains to the west (Figure 7). This route was used by the Abenaki, Iroquois, Huron, French and English for both trade and raids between Boston, New York, and Quebec.¹³¹ In fact, the route which ran from “Lake Champlain, up the Winooski River to the Connecticut River and the English settlements was traveled so frequently by Indian war parties – and in reverse by their white captives – that it became known as simply ‘the Indian Road’”.¹³²

When M. de Tracy arrived in New France, the closest known Iroquois tribes to Canada were located at the end of Lake Champlain, with two or three villages near the Dutch at Fort Orange.¹³³ These geographic factors dictated the logical areas for protecting New France as the southern border along the major trade route on the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain. With this in mind, soldiers were sent to the mouth of the Richelieu River to identify positions in which to build a series of forts “...which were deemed absolutely necessary, both for maintaining open communication and the

¹³⁰ Steele, 134.

¹³¹ Calloway, “The Conquest of Vermont,” 162; Palmer, 3.

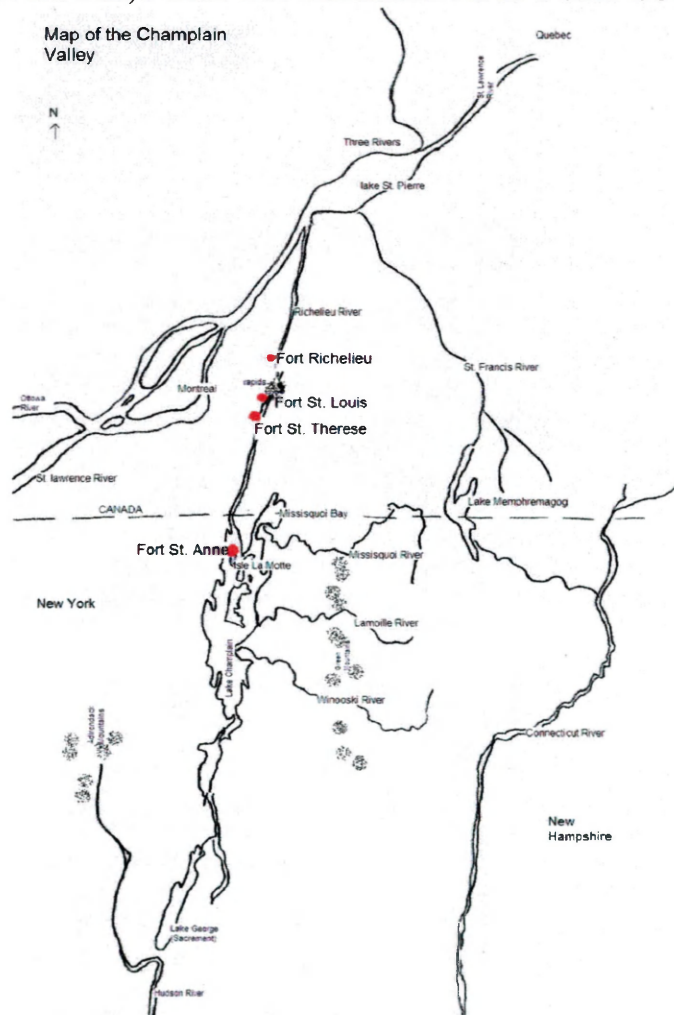
¹³² Calloway, “The Conquest of Vermont,” 163.

¹³³ Thwaites, 257.

freedom of traffic, and also for serving as magazines for the troops, and places of refuge for sick and wounded soldiers”.¹³⁴

The first task given to the regiment was to reconstruct the then abandoned Fort Richelieu, located at the mouth of the Richelieu River (Figure 8). Fort St. Louis, which was erected “seventeen leagues”, or roughly 51 miles, further upriver at the

FIGURE 7
MAP OF ST. LAWRENCE VALLEY DEPICTING THE RICHELIEU RIVER-LAKE CHAMPLAIN TRADE ROUTE WITH THE LOCATIONS FORT RICHELIEU, FORT ST. LOUIS, FORT ST. THÉRÈSE AND FORT ST. ANNE



(J. Desany, 2005)

¹³⁴ Thwaites, 253.

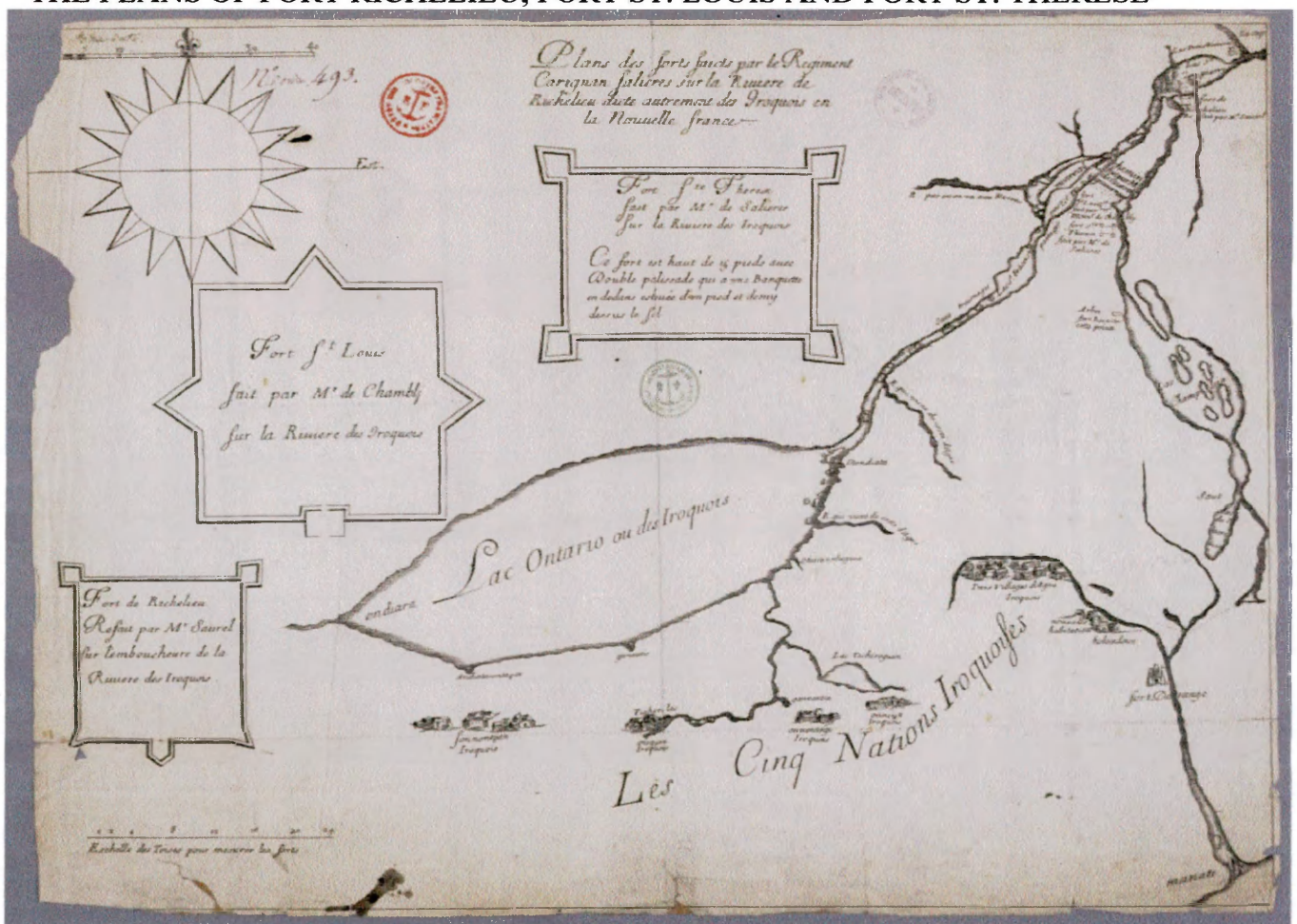
FIGURE 8
FORT RICHELIEU AND ENVIRONS



(Centre des archives d'outre-mer, France)

foot of Richelieu Rapids, was the second fort completed by the Regiment in the summer of 1665. That same year, a third fort named Fort St. Thérèse, was built three leagues (nine miles) above the same rapids, so that the three forts provided protection along the length of the Richelieu River (Figure 9).¹³⁵

FIGURE 9
MAP OF RICHELIEU RIVER AND LAKE ONTARIO WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PLANS OF FORT RICHELIEU, FORT ST. LOUIS AND FORT ST. THERESE



(Centre des archives d'outre-mer, France)

¹³⁵ Thwaites, 265-267.

In addition to these three forts, a fourth fort was planned as the furthest southern outpost in order to “command those regions and whence reported sorties can be made against the enemy, if the latter [Iroquois] refuses to come to terms”.¹³⁶

In the fall of 1665 “Monsieur de Salières had caused a boat to be built at the fort of [S]te. Therese, and had sent 18 or 20 men to explore the entrance of lake champellein [sic]” in order to choose a site for this fourth fort.¹³⁷ During the next six days Jean-Baptiste le Gardeur de Repentigny, soldiers, and a convoy of ten Indian canoes explored for six days reaching the northern tip of Lake Champlain, a distance of roughly 20 km. They chose “the sandy point on the north shore of the ‘first island,’” known today as Sandy Point, Isle La Motte, for the position of the fourth and final fort (see Figure 1).¹³⁸ This last fort was to be the first line of defense protecting the interior French forts and their settlements along the Richelieu River to the north.

Sandy Point protrudes along the west side of the main north-south water route traveled on Lake Champlain from Quebec to Boston or New York (Figure 10). By the mid-seventeenth century Sandy Point was well known to French Jesuit missionaries who often traveled or were taken as captives along the Richelieu River-Lake Champlain route. In August of 1642, as prisoners of the Iroquois, Father Isaac Jogues, S.J., Father Rene Goupil, William Couture and 20 Huron Indians spent a night on the island.¹³⁹ The prior knowledge of the island from accounts by Champlain and Jesuits (mentioned previously), as well as its familiarity to native peoples and its strategic location along Lake Champlain as part of the major north-south trade route, made Sandy Point a logical

¹³⁶ Thwaites, 255.

¹³⁷ Thwaites, 173.

¹³⁸ Allen L. Stratton, *History of the Town of Isle La Motte, Vermont: An Account of the Discovery, Settlement, and Interesting and Remarkable Events* (Barre: Northernlights Studio Press, 1984); Verney, 33.

¹³⁹ Stratton, 3.

spot for the construction of this last fort. The geographical features at Sandy Point provided an area where the fort could be located on the shore with a commanding view of the Lake from north to south (see Figures 1, 6 and 10). The site also contains two elevated terraces above the shore directly behind Sandy Point, a convenient natural defensive feature also seen at Fort Pentagoet and at Champlain's Second Habitation site.¹⁴⁰ With winter approaching, construction on the final fort could not begin until the following spring.¹⁴¹

FIGURE 10
TIP OF SANDY POINT LOOKING NORTH



Note New York in the distance (J. Desany, 2005)

The following year, Pierre de St. Paul, Sieur de la Motte (or Mothe) captain of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, was sent to lead the construction of the fourth fort on Sandy Point (Thwaites 1899:141, 320). Captain M. de la Motte and 300 men, including his company of Carignan-Salières Regimentals, completed construction of the fort on July

¹⁴⁰ Faulkner and Faulkner, 111.

¹⁴¹ Stratton, 4; Thwaites, 255.

20, 1666 and held the dedication to St. Anne on July 26, 1666, when the fort officially became known as Fort St. Anne (Crockett 1909:20; Thwaites 1899:).

Peace

The construction of three of the four forts, the increase in the number of French troops in conjunction with the disruption of trade with the Dutch, led three of the Five Nations of Iroquois to make peace with New France by the end of 1665.¹⁴² By early 1666, the Mohawk and Oneidas also negotiated for peace, however, at about the same time, another group of Mohawk captured a small party of French officers. The attack on the soldiers who were hunting and fishing near Fort St. Anne left two to seven French colonists dead, including two officers and the regimental quarter master, Chamot.¹⁴³ The attackers carried off four prisoners, including Lieutenant Louis de Chancy de Lerole, M. de Tracy's cousin. This attack prompted M. de Tracy to order M. de Courcelle to mount a retaliatory campaign against the Iroquois in October of 1666.¹⁴⁴

Captain Sorel was ordered to lead 300 soldiers on a mission into Mohawk country. Shortly after the party left for its mission, it was met by a group of Mohawk who apologized for their raid and returned the French captives. This meeting resulted in peace negotiations between the two groups at which time the Iroquois agreed to become French allies. This treaty was broken when, once again, the Iroquois went on the attack.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Richter, 103; Steele, 74; Thwaites, 179.

¹⁴³ Thwaites, 139; Verney, 61.

¹⁴⁴ Palmer, 27-29; Thwaites, 179; Verney, 61.

¹⁴⁵ Crockett, 23; Thwaites, 139.

In the middle of September, 600 soldiers from Montreal, Trois-Rivières, Quebec and the outlying forts gathered at Fort St. Anne.¹⁴⁶ This expedition of 600 Carignan-Salières regiment soldiers, about 600 Canadian volunteers and roughly one-hundred Algonquin and Huron warriors set out to attack the Iroquois hoping to put an end to the hostilities and finally secure trade in the region.¹⁴⁷ On October 1 de Courcelle left the fort with 400 men and was followed two days later by M. de Tracy and another group of soldiers. On October 7, Captains Sorel, Berther, and Chambly followed as the rear guard of the expedition.¹⁴⁸

Though the troops' supplies failed before they reached their first destination, they continued on. However, the Mohawk had been pre-warned of the attacks and had abandoned their villages. Even this did not deter the expedition which went on to burn Mohawk villages, destroy their supplies, and take anyone left behind as prisoners.¹⁴⁹ The expedition returned by early November, and though not a complete success, helped lead to peace with the Mohawk for the next twenty years.

In August, a ship brought news that France had declared war on England.¹⁵⁰ In 1666 Tracy was ordered by the King to return flintlocks to the naval arsenal at La Rochelle because of the war with England. While flintlocks were returned from Trois-Rivière and Quebec Talon, Tracy did not return the weapons that were in Montreal and at the Richelieu-Lake Champlain forts. Instead, he wanted to be sure of peace with the Mohawks before he let them go, for there was still fear of attack among those in the

¹⁴⁶ Crockett, 24; Thwaites, 141.

¹⁴⁷ Verney, 72.

¹⁴⁸ Crockett, 25.

¹⁴⁹ Thwaites, 141-143.

¹⁵⁰ Verney, 62.

forts.¹⁵¹ This fear of attack made the soldiers reluctant to venture far from their bases, a result that brought devastating effects to Fort St. Anne.

Soldiers at Fort St. Anne, unlike those at Forts Richelieu and Saint-Louis, had not had time to develop farming outside of its base in order to provide an additional food source. Therefore, they relied entirely on food sent from the St. Lawrence settlements. However, Fort St. Anne was difficult to travel to and could only be provisioned with ease during the months of May and June.¹⁵² These problems were compounded by the fact that Tracy had planned to abandon the fort in the fall of 1666 and had not sent supplies earlier, thinking the fort would be abandoned before the winter set in.¹⁵³ The unsuccessful attack on the abandoned Iroquois villages, however, required the fort to remain open for fear of Iroquois attack. By the time this decision was made, it was too late to adequately supply the fort with provisions for the winter. These factors merged, leaving the soldiers at Fort St. Anne only bread and bacon to eat, “whilst even their bread was bad as their flour had been damaged on the voyage”.¹⁵⁴ Added to the lack of food, the one cask of vinegar had sprung a leak and their supply of brandy had been diluted with seawater by Soldiers on the voyage over from France.¹⁵⁵

The lack of nutrients caused scurvy to break out among the sixty men of the Lamotte Company of the Carignan-Salières Regiment and the La Durantaye Company of the Chambellé Regiment garrisoned at Fort St. Anne (Appendix A). Captain Lamotte de Saint-Paul appealed to Montreal to send additional supplies and priests to minister the

¹⁵¹ Verney, 85.

¹⁵² Verney, 86-87.

¹⁵³ Ralph Flenley, trans., *History of Montreal 1640-1672 From the French of Dollier de Casson* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1928).

¹⁵⁴ Flenley, 317.

¹⁵⁵ Flenley, 317.

sick and dying at the fort.¹⁵⁶ In response, Francis Dollier de Casson, a newly arrived French Jesuit Missionary, traveled to Fort St. Anne on snowshoes in the winter of 1666 with a reluctant escort of soldiers.¹⁵⁷

When de Casson arrived at the fort, he found that 40 of the 60 soldiers in the fort were ill with scurvy and were confined to their rooms.¹⁵⁸ Before Casson arrived, two soldiers had died and another 11 succumbed after his arrival before the outbreak was halted.¹⁵⁹ De Casson appealed to Montreal for supplies and was sent food to be strictly distributed under his care. De Casson, along with the help of a surgeon named Forestier who was also sent from Montreal, was able to improve the soldiers' conditions enough for groups of the ill to be sent to Montreal to be further treated. The groups of ill going to and groups of cured returning from Montreal created a regular convoy of soldiers between Fort St. Anne and Montreal over the next three months.¹⁶⁰ Decasson wrote that in order to prevent getting sick himself, he took to running in the space between the bastions of Fort St. Anne.

In April of that spring, a group of Iroquois were spotted approaching the fort. Believing they were under attack "...large fires were lighted in all the huts in order to make them think there were people everywhere..." and "...all the doors of the huts were shut so that they might believe they were all full" in an effort to mask the sick and the reduced numbers of soldiers in the fort.¹⁶¹ However, the approaching group turned out

¹⁵⁶ Verney, 87.

¹⁵⁷ Flenley, 313-315.

¹⁵⁸ Flenley, 317-319.

¹⁵⁹ Flenley, 317, 321.

¹⁶⁰ Flenley, 317-319.

¹⁶¹ Flenley, 323; Verney, 89.

to be led by a familiar ally who was traveling to Montreal for peace and therefore posed no threat.¹⁶²

Abandonment

In July 1667 final peace negotiations took place, finally allowing French traders and missionaries much desired access to Iroquois villages.¹⁶³ With this new peace, the protections of all of the Richelieu-Champlain corridor forts were no longer needed. In order to keep an adequate defense with the least amount of military presence and expense, Tracy proposed that the Richelieu Valley forts be consolidated to only Forts Richelieu and Saint-Louis. These two forts were already well on their way to self sufficiency and could easily be expanded by encouraging settlement within their vicinity. The growth of these forts would also eventually allow for the other three southerly forts, including Fort St. Anne, to be abandoned.¹⁶⁴

After a year of peace, “almost the entire extent of the shores of our River St. Lawrence” was settled by French colonists.¹⁶⁵ Fort St. Anne also continued to provide a stopping point for Jesuit missionaries on their way to and from their missions. Jesuit missionaries like Father Fremin, Pierron, and Bruyas rested at the fort while on their way to create missions with the Iroquois in 1667.¹⁶⁶

In his history of Fort Saint Anne, Rev. Joseph M. Kerlidou speculates that “[b]efore leaving the fort the soldiers burnt all the palisades and the barracks; they also took with them everything that could be carried, and which might be of use somewhere

¹⁶² Flenley, 323.

¹⁶³ Verney, 90.

¹⁶⁴ Verney, 91.

¹⁶⁵ Thwaites, 167.

¹⁶⁶ Thwaites, 83, 179, 215, 275.

else”, though where he inferred this information from is unknown.¹⁶⁷ During his excavations of the fort site in 1894-5, Kerlidou did uncover numerous burned boards and ash at the site, which may be evidence that the site was, indeed, burned.¹⁶⁸

Exactly how long the fort was in operation is still unknown, though references to the fort after 1668 are non-existent in the *Jesuit Relations*. Fort St. Anne was likely abandoned before any of the other forts, due to its isolated location as the farthest outpost from the French colony. Some historians suggest that the fort was likely “deserted” in 1670, the same year Captain de La Motte became governor of Montreal.¹⁶⁹ There is documented evidence that the fort was definitely abandoned by 1690. According to New York Colonial Documents from 1690, the western Iroquois were to meet at Fort St. Anne, on Isle La Motte, ‘an abandoned French work’ on Lake Champlain”.¹⁷⁰

French and English Settlement on Isle La Motte

Sandy Point likely continued to be a camping spot for many travelers and soldiers between the English colony and Canada. Native Americans almost certainly were still in the area. The first land transaction at Sandy Point post-dating the abandonment of the fort, occurred on April 10, 1733 when the whole of Isle La Motte was granted to Lord Peau, Governor of the City and Citadel of Quebec with two and a half leagues of land on the Richelieu and Chazy Rivers.¹⁷¹ The next land transaction involving the island took place in 1752 when the island was granted to Lord Bedon, Counciller to the Superior Council of Quebec, who, shortly thereafter, passed the land on to Lord de Beaujeu.

¹⁶⁷ Kerlidou, “St. Anne of Isle La Motte,” 9.

¹⁶⁸ Kerlidou, “St. Anne of Isle La Motte,” 29.

¹⁶⁹ Crockett, 28; Kerlidou, “St. Anne of Isle La Motte,” 9; Stratton, 5.

¹⁷⁰ Crockett, 29; Guttin, 21-23.

¹⁷¹ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 5.

The Treaty of Peace after the French and Indian War (1754-1763) saw the removal of French colonists from Acadia and also a movement of French colonists leaving the Champlain Valley between 1755 and 1758.¹⁷²

In 1779 Isle La Motte received a Vermont Charter after a mistake in measuring the latitudinal position of the island had incorrectly placed it in Canada. In 1785 Ebenezer Hyde, Enoch Hall, and William Blanchard became the first English to settle on the island.

In 1892 part of the site of the fort was sold by Henry H. Hill to the Catholic Diocese of Burlington for \$66.00. By the spring of 1893 a chapel was constructed and the location became a Shrine to Catholic pilgrims. The shrine included religious artifacts brought from Europe which were believed able to cure the sick. The first year that the shrine was officially opened and received 1500 people on the first pilgrimage to Sandy Point.¹⁷³

After much debate, the Diocese was able to purchase the remaining section of Sandy Point on September 30, 1895 from Mr. and Mrs. Connelly. The Diocese landholdings on Sandy Point then totaled 428 ft. In the spring of 1900 the Diocese purchased the remaining 14-15 acres of Mr. Connelly's property, including his house and barn for \$1800.¹⁷⁴

The shine flourished in the early twentieth century, receiving thousands of pilgrims annually arriving on steamer ships and later by automobile (Figure 11). The number of visitors drastically decreased during WWI when the shortage of coal along

¹⁷² Sbardellati, 4.

¹⁷³ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 9-12.

¹⁷⁴ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 39.

with economic constraints forced the steam ships to cease making stops to Isle La Motte.¹⁷⁵

It was during the early year of the shrine that the present collective memory of the site was formed. The location as the site of the French Fort was the main reason the Diocese

FIGURE 11
PILGRIMS ATTENDING MASS AT ST. ANNE'S SHRINE



(M. Boucher, 1960)

purchased the lands of Sandy Point. Their subsequent use and interpretations of the Point would inform future memories of the area. This use and how it affected the collective memory of the Point will be outlined in the following chapters, beginning with Kerlidou's excavations in the late nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁵ Maurice Boucher, personal communication to author, March 22, 2006.

CHAPTER 3

RECONSTRUCTING THE FORT RUINS: ARCHAEOLOGY AT SANDY POINT

Archaeology in and of itself plays a vital role in the collective memory of a site. Publicity drawn from an excavation can be used to reinvigorate the forgotten history of an area and/or reinforce an already remembered history of a landscape. The publicity drawn from excavation was used by St. Anne's Shrine as early as 1895 in order to bring awareness to the site. Archaeological excavations on Sandy Point were used by the Shrine to promote and to emphasize the early Roman Catholic history of the area.

Father Joseph Kerlidou

While artifacts, especially prehistoric, had long been collected in farm fields throughout Vermont, archaeological excavations at Fort St. Anne were the first in the state and among the earliest in the United States. This chapter will attempt to reconstruct the excavations at Sandy Point to illustrate how the site was reinterpreted by Kerlidou and the Catholic Diocese to meet the needs of the Church.

Through the years these excavations have been largely forgotten and those who recall the memory in various histories have poorly understood them. Contrary to later accounts, it was Reverend Joseph Kerlidou, the Director of St. Anne's Shrine from 1892-1898, and not Walter Crockett, who excavated the ruins of Fort St. Anne. Kerlidou, a

priest assigned to create the Shrine at Sandy Point, excavated the ruins of the fort in the summers of 1895 and 1896 (Figure 12).

Kerlidou began excavations of the site with the hopes of locating the position of the first church on the site as well as to bring attention to the shrine. Though his excavations would by no means meet the standards used by professional archaeologists today, Kerlidou did leave recorded observations of his excavations, albeit brief. In his notes, Kerlidou described the location of each mound he excavated and an abridged list of associated artifacts found within each of the mounds. Though detailed analysis of the fort is not possible from Kerlidou's notes alone, general information about the site can be gleaned from his notes and the few remaining artifacts from the site when used in comparisons to other French contact sites in Canada and throughout the United States.

FIGURE 12
REVEREND JOSEPH KERLIDOU



(Saint Michaels College Archives, Burlington, Vermont)

1895 Excavations

In the summer of 1895 Kerlidou began excavating in an area where he noted “several flat stones embedded in the soil”.¹⁷⁶ Based on his notes describing the site as having been near the area where he erected a large cross in conjunction with early postcard images depicting the site of the cross, the excavation was likely located in the center of the western section of Sandy Point (Figures 13 and 14). At this spot, Kerlidou

FIGURE 13
POSTCARD OF HISTORIC CROSS ON SANDY POINT, ISLE LA MOTTE

St-Ann's Pilgrimage, Isle la Motte (Vt.)



The Cross of the Lake Champlain

Postcard image showing location of cross which Kerlidou noted as being erected near the location of the cellar he excavated in 1895 on Sandy Point, Isle La Motte. View looking west towards Lake Champlain (University of Vermont, Special Collections).

¹⁷⁶ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 25.

FIGURE 14
SECOND POSTCARD IMAGE OF HISTORIC CROSS ON SANDY POINT, ISLE LA
MOTTE



Large cross on western edge of Sandy Point, view looking west towards Lake Champlain
(Vermont History Library Collections, Barre, Vermont).

uncovered a 12 x 9 ft cellar that was five feet deep and “carefully built without mortar”.¹⁷⁷ Kerlidou’s work represents the first recorded history and archaeology conducted in Vermont.

Unfortunately, most of the artifacts from his excavations of this area were given away or are now lost, so interpretations must be based on Kerlidou’s notes and a newspaper article reporting on the excavations.¹⁷⁸ In his notes, Kerlidou described having found six knives and forks, two small solid silver spoons, a great quantity of broken dishes of different shapes and colors, a buckle, buttons, pins and a frying pan.¹⁷⁹ A newspaper article written in September of that year gives additional artifact descriptions which include “knives and forks with wooden handles, several pieces of blue

¹⁷⁷ “Relics of Fort St. Anne,” Burlington Free Press, September 16, 1895; Kerlidou, unpublished notes.

¹⁷⁸ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 26.

¹⁷⁹ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 26.

and white pottery, fragments of brown glazed and other pottery, metal buttons, an iron bolt to a door, an iron spear point, part of a musket, a glass bottle, an iron cooking dish and other articles”.¹⁸⁰

Based on this brief description of artifacts, it is difficult to accurately date the artifacts or the cellar from which they were apparently excavated. Artifacts unearthed from the cellar fill appear to date mainly to the seventeenth century; however, some of the artifacts may be from later occupations. Even without being able to precisely date the cellar, the presence of forks is a strong temporal indicator. Forks were not used by the French or English before the last quarter of the seventeenth century.¹⁸¹ This is close to the time of the fort occupation, but may be late enough to indicate a later date of deposition, especially since Kerlidou did not mention finding forks anywhere else on the site. At Fort Pentagoet, as well as at Champlain’s Habitation site, the cutlery assemblage consisted of all knives, no remains of forks or spoons were found” (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:239). Eating with fingers was “...fashionable in the French court” where the main utensils were knives and spoons.¹⁸²

Since there is only a partial listing of what Kerlidou uncovered with no precise provenience to the artifacts (e.g. location inside or outside the cellar, or depth of recovery) it may be possible that the cellar dates to the fort period, especially given the fact that Kerlidou found the same type of ceramics in the cellar as at his later excavations around the present location of Station of the Cross Number Eight. However, it is possible that the fill dates to a later period, or at least part of the fill, as indicated by the presence of forks and frying pans. It is also possible that the cellar is not related to the fort at all.

¹⁸⁰ “Relics of Fort St. Anne,” Burlington Free Press, September 16, 1895.

¹⁸¹ Faulkner and Faulkner, 239.

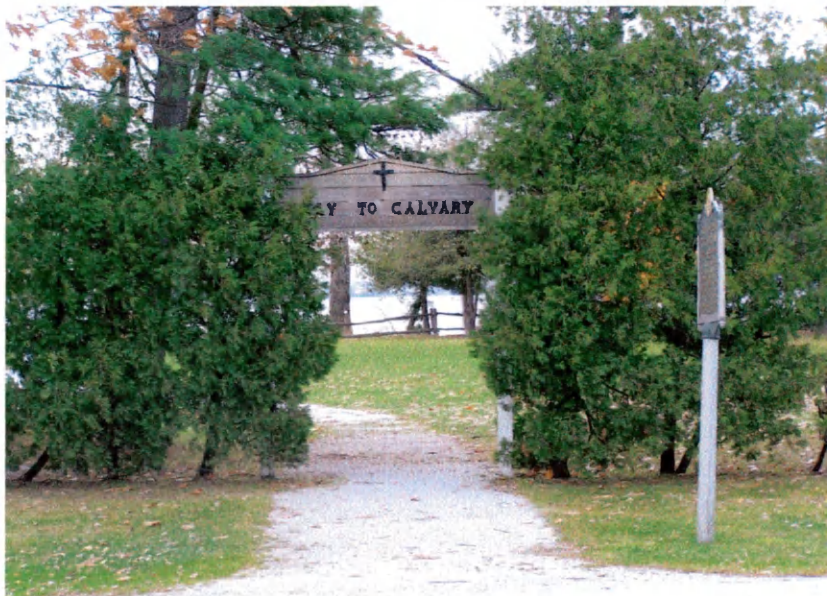
¹⁸² Faulkner and Faulkner, 239.

This is unlikely, however, as historic maps do not indicate a building structure of any kind on Sandy Point. If some or all of the fill is from a later time period, it may be related to a nearby farm habitation or to travelers and/or campers at the Point in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

1896 Excavations

The following year Kerlidou continued excavating the remaining thirteen mounded ruins on Sandy Point. The positions of the mounds are marked today by the Stations of the Cross in the Way of the Calvary forming a roughly circular shape in the center of the tip of Sandy Point (Figures 15, 16, 17, and 18). In his notes, Kerlidou described what was uncovered in reference to the numbered positions of these thirteen Stations. Each station is marked with a numbered cross depicting the events leading up to the crucifixion of Jesus. The present numbers assigned to each cross do not appear

FIGURE 15
ENTRANCE TO STATIONS OF THE CROSS



(J. Desany, 2005)

FIGURE 16
 MAP SHOWING THE LOCATIONS OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS ON
 SANDY POINT, ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT.

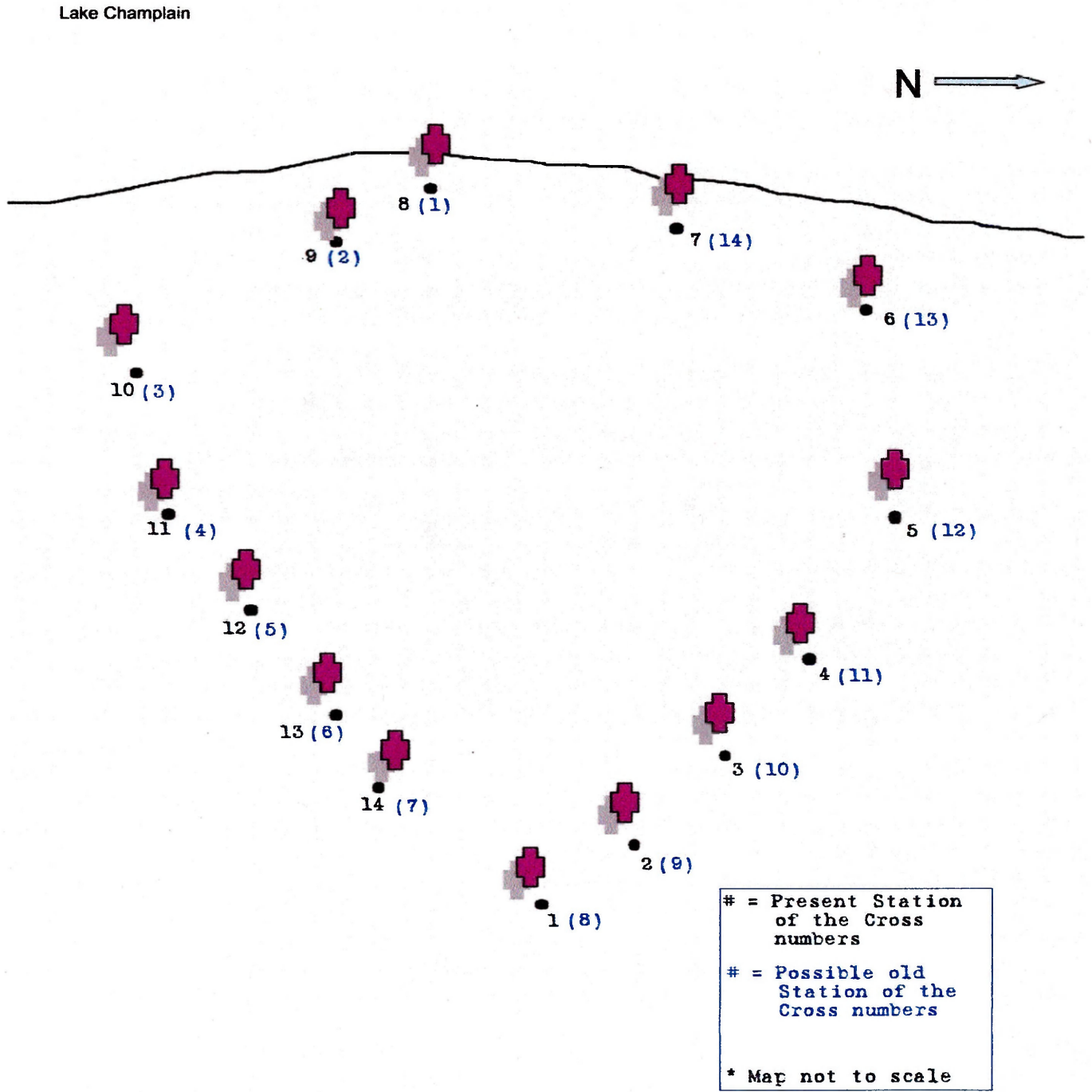


FIGURE 17
POSTCARD IMAGE OF SANDY POINT, ISLE LA MOTTE, C. 1897



Image of the newly created Stations of the Cross at St. Anne's Shrine, Sandy Point, Isle La Motte, Vermont. View facing west towards Lake Champlain (Saint Michael's College Archives, Burlington, Vermont).

FIGURE 18
SANDY POINT, ISLE LA MOTTE, 2005



Stations of the Cross in the summer of 2005, Sandy Point, Isle La Motte, Vermont. View facing west towards Lake Champlain (J. Desany, 2005).

to match the numbers as recorded by Kerlidou. This becomes apparent when trying to recreate the positions according to his notes in which he gives some references to the cardinal directions in addition to Station numbers near each mound that he excavated. Changes to the structure of the crosses captured in photos over the past century add evidence to a possible change in their numerical ordering as well. Photographs of the stations over the past century show changes to the structure of the bases of the crosses as well as different plaques on the crosses themselves (Figure 19). In trying to recreate their order from Kerlidou's notes, it appears that the original order of the Stations placed Cross No. 1 at the central west area of the point, close to the shore and therefore, the dock where early visitors would depart from ships that regularly made stops at the Shrine. Once vehicle travel became more prominent in the early twentieth century, the stations were likely changed to accommodate the new orientation of visitors' arrivals. Therefore, the first station was likely repositioned to the central eastern section of the point, close to the road, instead of its previous orientation along the shore. This eastern orientation continues to mark the present entrance to the Stations of the Cross. In both placements, the numbering followed a counterclockwise direction. The discussions of artifacts and features uncovered by Kerlidou will be referenced using the early locations of each Station of the Cross as they were described in Kerlidou's notes since the correlation of past to present cross locations is uncertain.

Under each mound, Kerlidou discovered remains of stone foundations, fireplaces and ash. He even located what he described as the fort's palisade and the remains of charred cedar posts found 1.5 feet in the ground on the west side as well as at the southwest corner, though it is unclear whether he was referring to the corner of the

FIGURE 19
IMAGES OF INDIVIDUAL CROSSES FROM THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS AT
ST. ANNE'S SHRINE, ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT



Upper left (C. Paquette, 2004); upper right (St. Michael's College Archives); lower left (M. Boucher, 1970); lower right (J. Desany, 2005).

bastions or the palisade in his notes.¹⁸³ Kerlidou also described finding bastions along the south side of the fort, two feet below the surface, in addition to traces of bastions along the northwest side.¹⁸⁴ Palisades constructed at Fort St. Louis and Fort St. Thérèse, contemporary with the construction of Fort St. Anne, measured 4-5 m high and were built by setting large logs upright into a trench that was subsequently filled in.¹⁸⁵ It is likely that a similar process was used to construct the palisade at Fort St. Anne.

The Plan of the Fort

No known illustration of Fort St. Anne exists, although illustrations of the other three forts built during this period by Carignan-Salières soldiers were included in the Jesuit relations (see Figure 9). Illustrations of the other forts clearly indicate that each was built in a slightly different configuration. Unfortunately, this introduces further uncertainty when trying to determine the shape and layout of Fort St. Anne.

Fort St. Anne was built in the heart of the frontier and in the path of hostile territory frequently traveled by the Iroquois. Because of its position in a remote location, it may not have been built as completely or as precisely as the other forts on the Richelieu River. In addition to the hostile surroundings, the soldiers were not equipped with the proper tools for fort construction. Fort St. Anne may have been more of a “field fortification”, a term described by Andre Charbonneau as a fort “...erected during a period of active warfare...” where “...geometric regularity...are not the primary concerns

¹⁸³ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 5, 30.

¹⁸⁴ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 29-30.

¹⁸⁵ Verney, 30.

of an engineer...”.¹⁸⁶ Jack Verney in *The Good Regiment*, suggests that even though some of the senior officers may have been familiar with popular military engineering at the time and the information was not practical in the wilderness. The “...type of materials available on the site, the shortage of skilled workers, and the need for all possible haste determined the forms the structures would take”.¹⁸⁷

Based on measurements taken during his excavations Kerlidou speculates that Fort St. Anne was ninety-six feet wide [as was Fort Richelieu] “...but its precise length cannot be ascertained, since the water of the lake has eaten up one of its extremities [the western edge]”.¹⁸⁸ Other, later accounts of the size of the fort appear to follow estimates given by Kerlidou based on his excavations of the fort in 1896.¹⁸⁹

The only known account describing the fort comes from Dollier de Casson who lived at the fort during the scurvy outbreak in 1666. In *A History of Montreal*, Dollier de Casson describes how he ran for exercise in the space between the bastions because his room was “...such a tiny hole, so narrow and so dark, that the sunlight never reached it, and so low that he was quite unable to stand up in it”.¹⁹⁰ The average height for a ground floor room in Place Royale, Quebec in the seventeenth century was 2.10 meters (7 ft) and may suggest a maximum height for rooms within Fort St. Anne.¹⁹¹ According to descriptions of other French military sites, soldiers’ rooms at Fort St. Anne were likely simple as was common for soldiers’ quarters during the late seventeenth to early

¹⁸⁶ Andre Charbonneau, trans., *The Fortifications of Ile aux Noix* (Canadian Heritage Parks Canada, 1994).

¹⁸⁷ Verney 1991:29)

¹⁸⁸ Kerlidou, unpublished notes

¹⁸⁹ Crockett, 29; J. E. Kaufmann and H.W. Kauffman, *Fortress America: the Forts that Defended America 1600 to Present* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2004).

¹⁹⁰ Flenley, 321.

¹⁹¹ Gillian Damilano, *Place Royale: Its Houses and their Occupants* (Serie Place Royale, Minstere des Affaires Culturelles, 1976; Flenley, 3.

eighteenth centuries. Most rooms at this time were furnished with a table with straight back chairs or benches, chest, bed with straw mattress, wool blankets, wooden plates, earthenware and brass and iron kettles.¹⁹²

Additional descriptions from De Casson also indicate that under pressure of attack from a group of Iroquois "...large fires were lighted in all the huts..." suggesting multiple huts within the fort that had at least one fireplace each, a feature common with most forts of the time since each soldier had a right to one fireplace per sleeping room.¹⁹³

Construction Material

Descriptions of stone foundations at the Fort St. Anne site suggest Fort St. Anne was likely a wooden fort built on a stone foundation. The remains of this stone foundation were used by Kerlidou to support the bases of the Stations of the Cross as seen in early images of the crosses (see Figure 19). Though not as traditional as stone construction, wooden construction was also well known in French architecture of this period. French colonists constructed wooden structures using *pieux en terre* or *poteaux en terre* (post-in-ground) and *poteaux sur sole* (post on sill) techniques in the early colonial period. *Poteaux sur sole* involves mortising wall uprights into horizontal wooden sills.¹⁹⁴ One structure uncovered at Pentagoet was a timber-framed construction

¹⁹² Miville-Deschênes, 46; Daniel H. Thomas, *Fort Toulouse: The French Outpost at the Alabamas on the Coosa* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1989).

¹⁹³ Flenley, 323.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas, xvii-xviii.

on a stone foundation.¹⁹⁵ In the years around 1667-1668, the houses in Quebec were one level and constructed of wood and had a cellar, an attic and a stone chimney.¹⁹⁶

The evidence of ash and wooden beams described by Kerlidou during his excavations, as well as a lack of specificity describing the amount of stone one would need to build an entire fort collectively suggest that the main part of the fort was constructed of wood. In addition to the abundance of wood in the area, wooden structures would take less time to build than the time it would have taken to quarry stones and lay them into large structures. Though stone construction is the traditional construction technique in French architecture, there are many examples of wooden French forts in North America.¹⁹⁷ Contemporary accounts and archeological evidence at Place Royale indicate that “almost every species of tree was used” to construct houses.¹⁹⁸ The same is likely true of fort construction which relied on speedy construction using local materials close at hand.

Stones that were used in the construction of the fort were believed to have come from a quarry located roughly three miles to the south of the fort, known today as the Fisk Quarry (Figure 20).¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Faulkner and Faulkner, 2.

¹⁹⁶ Damilano, 12.

¹⁹⁷ Gélinas, 4-5.

¹⁹⁸ Damilano, 36.

¹⁹⁹ Victor R. Rolando, *200 Years of Soot and Sweat: The History and Archaeology of Vermont's Iron, Charcoal and Lime Industries* (Burlington: Vermont Archaeological Society, 1992).

FIGURE 20
FISK QUARRY, ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT



(C. Brooks, 2005)

In addition to the use of wood and stone, mortar was an important material in fort construction. The outside walls of wooden buildings were often coated with *Bouzillage* or baked clay daub, a type of mortar, varying from a thin coating to a two cm thick coating.²⁰⁰ Interior walls were always plastered.²⁰¹ At Fort Pentagoet 22 cm long spikes were found in the Officer's Quarters in vertical rows driven into the masonry to hold large furring strips to which laths were fastened. The lathe was then covered with a daub plaster daub. When Pentagoet was later burned, the daub turned red like fired bricks.²⁰² This may explain the red and white bricks mentioned by Rev. Kerlidou in his report of excavations at Fort St. Anne.

An early lime kiln, known as the Fisk Point Lime Kilns site (VT-GI-27), was constructed roughly three miles south of the fort, somewhere near the present-day Fisk

²⁰⁰ Damilano, 41; Nassaney et al., 317.

²⁰¹ Damilano, 41.

²⁰² Faulkner and Faulkner, 90.

Point.²⁰³ It is believed that the French soldiers used the Chazy limestone at this site to produce the lime that was needed to create mortar for the construction of Fort St.

Anne.²⁰⁴ Nineteenth and twentieth century accounts suggest that the kiln may have been in operation as early as 1664, two years prior to the construction of the fort. However, no contemporary accounts mention the kiln, and it is unlikely that a settlement was located in this hostile area without soldiers or fort protection. As mentioned previously, it wasn't until after the forts along the Richelieu River were well established that settlements began to appear nearby.

Further details about the architecture and life of soldiers at Fort St. Anne can be derived from the remaining fort artifacts in the collections of St. Anne's Shrine.

²⁰³ Rolando, 216, 231.

²⁰⁴ Rolando, 216, 231.

CHAPTER 4

ARTIFACTS

According to oral accounts and written accounts, the original objects from the 1896 excavations were on display at the shrine since they were first excavated. Over the years, especially when the shrine was receiving thousands of pilgrims annually and the artifacts were out in the open and in such places as the public restroom, the artifacts from the original excavation disappeared. Even now that the objects are locked in a case, they are still being lost to those wishing to possess a piece of the past (Appendix C). Detailed descriptions of features and, where possible, analysis of the artifacts excavated from Sandy Point by Kerlidou are discussed below.

Architectural Features

Kerlidou recorded his observations on various architectural features he encountered while excavating on Sandy Point and often speculated on their function.

Fireplaces

Kerlidou uncovered stone fireplaces under eight of the 14 mounds he excavated. The large numbers of fireplaces may be attributed to the frigid winters but also by convention of the soldiers' right to one fireplace per sleeping room.²⁰⁵

Though little detail was recorded about the appearance of the "fireplaces" uncovered by Kerlidou at Fort St. Anne, they likely were H-shaped since Kerlidou often

²⁰⁵ Miville-Deschênes, 43.

described them in pairs using terms such as west half or the east half.²⁰⁶ The H-shaped fireplace was a common French architectural feature and found at almost all other French fort sites in North America. French architecture at the time commonly incorporated fireplaces into the walls or partitions of buildings.²⁰⁷ At Fort Toulouse, building interiors were divided by two partition walls creating three rooms which were heated by H-shaped brick fireplaces in the partitions.

The first chimneys in the colony were often too small to meet the demands of Canada's cold climate and were prone to catching fire.²⁰⁸ The diameters were soon increased to remedy this problem.²⁰⁹ In both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fireplaces often had a stone arch that was filled in with about 3 cm thickness of brick which could be replaced when they became weakened by the heat.²¹⁰ The fireplace unearthed near Station Five of the Stations of the Cross was the only one that contained brick (see Figure 16).²¹¹

Possible Oven

Kerlidou described a brick oven in an area of four walls located near the Station of the Cross 4 (see Figure 16). Though previously looted and further fragmented by a tree growing through its center, this mound revealed a 10 ft deep brick structure that contained red and white brick fragments as well as glazed bricks. Dome-shaped ovens made of clay and sticks on raised platforms are the most common type of oven found at

²⁰⁶ Kerlidou, unpublished notes.

²⁰⁷ Faulkner and Faulkner, 89; Nassaney et. el., 317.

²⁰⁸ Damilano, 26.

²⁰⁹ Damilano, 26.

²¹⁰ Damilano, 36.

²¹¹ Kerlidou, unpublished notes.

French colonial sites.²¹² The only bricks found at the Fort Pentagoet site were brick bats set in the middle of the hearth of the Officer's Quarters. Faulkner and Faulkner speculate that they may be "a special cooking surface or a repair".²¹³ Evidence of brick making was also uncovered at Fort Toulouse.²¹⁴

There is a possibility that the "glazed brick" referred to by Kerlidou were in fact glazed redware fragments which, though not as common as on English sites, are known from French colonials sites. Kerlidou notes that he left the bricks in this mound to show the height. It is unclear from Kerlidou's notes whether this feature was in fact an oven or some other type of structure. As noted with the initial cellar excavation, it is also possible that this structure is not related to the fort period. The large amount of brick and the possible redware sherds may be clues that this feature was instead part of an eighteenth or nineteenth century structure.

Smithy

Archaeologists at Fort Pentagoet uncovered a smithy/workshop/Officers' Quarters around which was deposited slag and refuse. The smithy at Fort Pentagoet was partially-roofed structure 1.4 m x 1.2 m deep, similar to one excavated at Sainte Marie.²¹⁵ It is likely that Fort St. Anne also had a smithy/workshop area since the soldiers came with few tools and would be required to make most of what they needed. The recovery of bar lead by Kerlidou further suggests that the soldiers were, if nothing else, melting the lead to make their own shot. Other descriptions from Kerlidou's excavation that may relate to

²¹² Thomas, xix.

²¹³ Faulkner and Faulkner, 90.

²¹⁴ Thomas, xix.

²¹⁵ Faulkner and Faulkner, 136.

the smithy include “iron pieces” and “copper pieces”.²¹⁶ These metal fragments along with the bar lead came from a mound near Station of the Cross 13 indicating that this location may have been the possible site of the smithy (see Figure 16). Additional listings of tools, chisels and “trimmings” were described from the mound located near Station of the Cross 2 (present-day Station X), which may be another possible location for the smithy (see Figure 16). Both of these mounds were located along the west shore of the point.

Other

Kerlidou mentions having failed to find the well at Fort St. Anne. It is not known whether the fort had a well, or more likely, if water was taken drawn from the lake only a few feet distant. Also not discovered during excavations by Kerlidou or Moorehead were the burials of the 11 soldiers who had died of scurvy during the winter of 1666. Though no written account mentions where the bodies were buried, it is likely that they were buried somewhere in the vicinity of the fort.

Artifact Identification

Walking along the shores of Sandy Point today one only finds the occasional glass or small brick fragment though previous visitors to the site often found much more. An account from 1859 describes John W. Strong having collected artifacts near the ruins of Fort St. Anne where he is said to have found prehistoric artifacts both on the shore and in the water by the fort site as well as pistol and musket balls, two French military

²¹⁶ Kerlidou, unpublished notes.

buttons, two gunflints and a fifteenth century coin.²¹⁷ The present location of these artifacts is unknown.

Artifacts from Kerlidou's excavation at the Fort St. Anne site have been lost, given away and/or stolen in the intervening decades. For most of the Shrine's history, the objects remained out in the open, in bathroom facilities of the heavily visited site or tucked away in boxes the attic and in storage spaces below stairs. A fire in May of 1963 may have destroyed any remaining boxes. Today, only 36 artifacts remain insecurely locked in an old wooden case in the basement of the recently constructed (1993) food court building. Of these 36 items, seven are prehistoric and only nine likely date to the fort occupation period. The artifacts from the present shrine collection are described by functional categories below. Artifacts that have become lost have been identified based on the limited descriptions recorded by Kerlidou and a general assumption that they date to the time Fort St. Anne was occupied.

Architecture

The most common artifact type noted by Kerlidou was architectural remains. These artifacts and features are described based on broad categories of function.

Nails

Kerlidou describes encountering numerous nails almost everywhere he excavated, however, only six nails possibly from the 1895-96 excavations remain among the

²¹⁷ Samuel Swift, *Statistical and Historical Account of the County of Addison, Vermont* (Middlebury: Copeland, 1859).

collections at the shrine -- all without proper context (Figure 21). The nails in the collection include five wrought iron nails and one cut iron nail. One nail is curved, a common form for nails used in doors throughout English sites excavated along the coast of New Hampshire (Figure 22).

FIGURE 21
REMAINING NAIL ARTIFACTS AT ST. ANNE'S SHRINE



Cut nail is in bottom right corner of image (Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont)

FIGURE 22
WROUGHT IRON NAIL, POSSIBLY FROM A DOOR



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont).

Hardware

Two brass hardware pieces, possibly architectural, are included in the shrine collection (Figure 23), although it uncertain whether these pieces were found during

Kerlidou's excavations. The artifacts are ornate cast iron hardware pieces, one of which has "A. Kenrick & Sons" incised on the back (Figure 24). Archibald Kenrick and Sons was an iron foundry that was founded in West Bromwich, England in 1791 by Archibald Kenrick and continues in operation in this same location today. The company made household objects, hardware and other items through the early twentieth century.²¹⁸ If these artifacts were uncovered during Kerlidou's excavations they are not associated with the fort period occupation based on their date of manufacture. The only hardware artifacts listed in Kerlidou's notes include an iron hinge, a lock, and a key, none of which matches these two hardware pieces. The popularity of this company in the nineteenth century may indicate that these pieces were part of an original shrine structure.

FIGURE 23
ARCHITECTURAL HARDWARE PIECES



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont)

²¹⁸ www.culturalmodes.norfolk.gov.uk.

FIGURE 24
DETAIL OF “KENRICK AND SONS” MAKER’S MARK



(Collection of St. Anne’s Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont)

Armament

One of the largest categories listed by Kerlidou is that of armament. At least seven mounds contained artifacts relating to this grouping among the ruins of Fort St. Anne, including cannon pieces, cannon balls, lead shot, sword fragments, gun fragments, and gunflints.

Iron Projectile Point

A single mention of an iron projectile point was made in the excavations by Kerlidou. Iron projectile points were used by many Native American groups after European contact. The iron was often obtained in trade and quickly replaced stone used for projectile points.

Swords

One fragment of a brass sword guard was uncovered at the site (Figure 25). Sword fragments have been found at many contact period French military sites, including

at Fort Pentagoet and Fort Chambly.²¹⁹ Swords were only used by the elite in colonial Canada as a symbol of status, and not as a weapon. Faulkner and Faulkner describe the elite at several Acadian archaeological sites including Pentagoet, Fort St. Pierre and Fort La Tour, as "dressing the part of cavaliers...the Acadian elite wore rapiers at their sides and spurs at their heels".²²⁰

FIGURE 25
SWORD GUARD



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont)

Ammunition

Descriptions of cannon balls, musket balls and bar lead were also listed as being uncovered at Sandy Point by Kerlidou, providing strong evidence that the early fort was located at this site.²²¹ In addition, the pistol and musket balls, two French military buttons and two gunflints reportedly found by Strong on the site lend credence to the assertion that the point was a military site as well.²²² The present location of these artifacts is unknown.

²¹⁹ Faulkner and Faulkner, 88; Miville-Deschênes, 78.

²²⁰ Faulkner and Faulkner, 88.

²²¹ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 28.

²²² Swift, 31.

Gunflints

Though no gunflints remain from Kerlidou's excavations, they would likely have been a light caramel color, known as blond flint. Blond flint is native to France and was used by French and English colonists, and, later by Americans into the Revolutionary period for gunflints and ship ballast due to its superior quality.²²³ Blond French gunflints are common from the middle of the seventeenth century on French and Native American sites.²²⁴

Ceramics

Apart from nails, ceramics were the most abundant type of artifact found at Fort St. Anne according to Kerlidou's notes. Kerlidou described finding pottery fragments everywhere he dug.

Saintonge-Type

One of the diagnostically French colonial artifacts remaining in the collections of the Shrine is a type of coarse, buff-colored earthenware produced in the Saintonge region of France, known as Saintonge-type (Figure 26). Saintonge-type ceramics are unique to French colonial sites throughout North America and the Caribbean.

²²³ Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).

²²⁴ Faulkner and Faulkner, 83.

FIGURE 26
A SAINTOGNE STRAP HANDLE SHERD EXCAVATED FROM SANDY POINT,
ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT



Left: view showing interior green glaze. Right: View showing exterior incised linear design (Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont).

Saintogne potteries began producing fine tablewares in France during the 14th century.²²⁵ By the seventeenth century, production changed to coarse undecorated or glazed wares used for food preparation and consumption for the popular market as seen in the artifact from Fort St. Anne.²²⁶ The demand grew for these utilitarian wares in widening markets in the French colonies of Quebec, Louisiana, and the Caribbean Islands.²²⁷

Strap handled storage jars and pots with interior glaze only, such as the sherd from Fort St. Anne, were dominant at Fort Pentagoet.²²⁸ The single remaining handle fragment in the Shrine collection may be from a storage vessel or jug, such as the one

²²⁵ Elizabeth Musgrave, "Pottery Production and Proto-Industrialization: Continuity and Change in the Rural Ceramics Industries of the Saintonge Region, France, 1250-1800," *Rural History* 9 No. 1 (1998): 2-3, 6.

²²⁶ Musgrave, 6.

²²⁷ Musgrave, 6-7.

²²⁸ Faulkner and Faulkner, 4.

found at the “Maison Perthuis” site in de Place-Royale in Quebec.²²⁹ It is also interesting to note that during the seventeenth century, most of the immigrants to Canada were from the Saintogne, Normandy and a few other French provinces.²³⁰

Tin-glazed earthenware

Kerlidou describes excavating blue pottery at Fort St. Anne. It is unclear what ceramic type this may have been, but it may be the same as the “blue and white porcelain” sherds referred to in an article describing Kerlidou’s excavations of the cellar.²³¹ If the pieces were blue and white, it is possible the ceramic pieces were fragments of Tin-glazed enamel. This ware type is found at nearly all French colonial fort and habitation sites in North America and was likely present at Fort St. Anne as well; though without the actual sherds it is impossible to know for certain.²³²

Tin-glazed earthenwares were first made by Islamic potters in the Mediterranean and eventually the technique spread to France, Spain, Portugal, Holland and England. The French produced tin-glazed earthenware, referred to as Faience, in Rouen as early as 1530.²³³ Faience was produced into dishes, platters, chamber pots, cisterns, flowerpots as well as many other vessel forms. French colonists purchased faience from merchants in Paris, Rouen, La Rochelle, Bordeaux and other centers.²³⁴

²²⁹ Camille LaPointe, *Tresors et Secrets de Place-Royale: Aperçu de la Collection Archeologique* (Quebec: Les Publications du Quebec, 1998).

²³⁰ Damilano, 24.

²³¹ “Relics of Fort St. Anne,” Burlington Free Press, September 16, 1895.

²³² Faulkner and Faulkner, 7.

²³³ Power, 4

²³⁴ Power, 4

Ironstone

An almost complete Ironstone cup with a hand painted image of the seal of the Champlain Transportation Company is among the collections of St. Anne's Shrine, though it is unrelated to the Fort period (Figure 27). The Champlain Transportation Company began transport on Lake Champlain in 1826 and continues to operate ferries on the Lake today. The steamships *Maquam*, *Reindeer* and the *Ticonderoga* all carried pilgrims to St. Anne's Shrine from its opening in 1893 until WWI when the shortage of coal and economic constraints forced the steamers to stop coming to the island (Figure 28).²³⁵ This cup was likely left at the site by one of the pilgrims who came to visit the Shrine during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. The decoration on the cup is the seal of the Champlain Transportation Company and depicts two sailors holding oars on either side of a ship sailing above an anchor atop a banner that reads "Champlain Transportation Company" (see Figure 27).

FIGURE 27
IRONSTONE CUP WITH OVER-GLAZE HAND PAINTED DESIGN OF THE SEAL
OF THE CHAMPLAIN TRANSPORTATION COMPANY



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont)

²³⁵ Kerlidou, unpublished notes; William Goss, "Devotion to Saint Anne in the Diocese of Burlington," *Vermont Catholic Tribune*, Friday, July 21, 1978: 5.

FIGURE 28
POSTCARD IMAGE OF THE STEAMSHIP *TICONDEROGA* AT SANDY POINT,
ISLE LA MOTTE



(Collection of the Vermont History Library, Barre, Vermont)

Whiteware

Another non-fort occupation ceramic among the collections of St. Anne's Shrine is an almost complete whiteware saucer (Figure 29). The saucer has polychrome sponge and annular decoration. It is un whether this saucer was found during excavations of the Fort site or from a later date. The saucer may be part of what Kerlidou referred to as a "great quantity of broken dishes of different shapes and colors" uncovered in the cellar excavations of 1895.²³⁶ If this ceramic was among the artifacts in the cellar, it would date at least part of the fill, if not the cellar to the mid nineteenth century. Like other artifacts discussed above, this object may also be related to a nearby farmhouse site or early nineteenth century visitation to the site.

²³⁶ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 26.

FIGURE 29
WHITEWARE SAUCER



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont)

Foodways

Evidence of what the soldiers ate and/or what earlier or contemporary Native Americans at the site were eating may have been uncovered by Kerlidou during his excavations. In the course of his excavation Kerlidou describes unearthing bones and a jawbone among the ash and ruins of the fort, but these are now lost. Descriptions of the scurvy outbreak at Fort St. Anne help provide clues to the poor subsistence of the soldiers. The account of Father Dollier de Caisson indicates that the fort relied heavily on supplies from Montreal for such things as rum, flour, prunes, bread, bacon and vinegar. Other accounts in the Jesuit Relations, however, mention the soldiers and missionaries having relied on Native American guides to provide local wildlife and plant foods for their various excursions and war parties. Food remains from other French colonial sites, such as those at Fort Pentagoet and Fort Michilimackinac (1715), indicate

that wild game “significantly contributed” to the diet of many French colonists.²³⁷ The long bones and jaw bone unearthed by Kerlidou may indicate wild game additions to the diet of the soldiers at the fort, but this is little more than speculation in the absence of the actual bones for analysis. The bones could just as easily date to a later occupation at the site.

Utensils

Kerlidou uncovered what he described as a brass tablespoon and a copper mixing spoon near Station 12 East (see Figure 16). Spoons are uncommon on French colonial sites according to Faulkner and Faulkner, who speculate that the majority of colonial spoons were made of wood.²³⁸ “In seventeenth-century France only the relatively wealthy are said to have had metal spoons, and these were generally made of pewter...”.²³⁹ The current location of these spoons is unknown and therefore no date or analysis can be provided.

Additionally, two silver spoons, one with an inscription of “L. Case”, were reportedly uncovered in the cellar. The present location of these artifacts is likewise unknown.

One pewter bowl or cup and one brass ladle are also among the remaining collections at the Shrine (Figure 30). Though the date is unknown, they appear to date to the fort occupation.

²³⁷ Faulkner and Faulkner, 15.

²³⁸ Faulkner and Faulkner, 15-16.

²³⁹ Faulkner and Faulkner, 239.

FIGURE 30
PEWTER AND BRASS LARGE SPOONS OR BOWLS



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont)

Two two-tined forks were recovered from the cellar excavations of 1895 (Figure 31). Two forks, one still bearing its bone handle, remain in the collection of the Shrine and may be the ones listed by Kerlidou as having come from the cellar excavation. A newspaper article describing the cellar excavations noted two forks with “wood” handles. It is likely that the bone handles common to these utensils were mistakenly identified as wood. These forks are common on sites dating after the last quarter of the seventeenth century and are present until the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁴⁰

FIGURE 31
TWO-TINED FORKS



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005)

²⁴⁰ Noël Hume, 180.

A single utensil handle was found at the site of the fort (Figure 32). The date and type of utensil is unknown.

FIGURE 32
UTENSIL HANDLE



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005)

In addition to the forks, a wide iron blade with a missing handle, identified by Jim Duncan as a machete blade, was also excavated from the site of the fort (Appendix C; Figure 33). Kerlidou records finding "blades" near Stations of the Cross 2 and 6 (see Figure 16). The date and function of this artifact is unknown.

FIGURE 33
IRON BLADE



(St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005)

Personal

A surprisingly wide range of personal objects was uncovered and described by Kerlidou during his excavations at Fort St. Anne. Unfortunately, like most other artifacts from the site, all of these artifacts with the exception of one pewter button. The artifacts described by Kerlidou indicate that the site contained evidence of the personal activities

of the soldiers based at the fort. The discovery of tobacco pipes, sewing implements, and figurines hints at the individual lives that occupied the fort more than 300 years ago.

Dice

One of the most remarkable artifacts relating to leisure time at the fort was a single bone die found at Station of the Cross 12 East and recorded by Kerlidou (see Figure 16). Dice are not unusual at French colonial fort sites. Bone dice with drilled numbers have been found at the site of Fort St. Louis and three dice were uncovered at Fort Michilimackinac (1715).²⁴¹ The presence of dice suggests that soldiers spent their leisure time playing games and possibly gambling at Fort St. Anne. The present location of this artifact is unknown.

Sewing

The presence of a thimble and scissors at the site may represent the tools soldiers were given to make their own repairs. The location of the mound which held the scissors is unknown, though Kerlidou notes the thimble as having been uncovered at Station 12 East (see Figure 16). Scissors and thimbles are also common to other seventeenth and early eighteenth French military sites.²⁴² Thimbles are also common to contact period North American sites as trade items, possibly suggesting trade at Fort St. Anne. The present location of these objects is unknown.

In addition to the scissors and thimble, six pins were listed as having come from the 1895 cellar excavation. Since the date of the cellar and/or cellar fill is unclear, it

²⁴¹ Miville-Deschênes, 82.

²⁴² Miville-Deschênes, 41; Noël Hume, 254-255, 267-269.

cannot be confirmed that the pins date to the fort period. Pins are common artifacts found at many New England sites from the colonial period through to the nineteenth century.²⁴³

Buttons

Three buttons were excavated from the cellar site in 1895. No description of the buttons has been found. However, a single pewter button is among the collections housed at the St. Anne Shrine and may be one of the three recorded as having come from the cellar (Figure 34). The button has a drilled turret shank back with no apparent decoration on its face. Cast pewter buttons date back to the eleventh century in London.²⁴⁴

FIGURE 34
PEWTER BUTTON



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005)

²⁴³ Noël Hume, 254.

²⁴⁴ Warren K. Tice, *Dating Buttons: A Chronology of Button Types, Makers, Retailers and Their Backmarks* (Essex Junction: published by author, 2003).

Figurines

A “well wrought horse”, a carved bone turtle head and a “[l]ittle porcelain statuete [sic] of a soldier with head and one of the legs broken” were all uncovered at Station of the Cross 12 and Station of the Cross 12 East (see Figure 16).²⁴⁵ No reference to similar artifacts has yet been identified at other French sites, and it is not known whether these were personal effects of the soldiers or used in trade with Native Americans. It also is not known if the carved bone turtle head is attributable to the soldiers, to Native Americans at the fort, or to Native Americans at the site prior to the fort occupation. The present location of these objects is unknown.

Adornment

It is likely that a “little copper ring with a heart” excavated from Station of the Cross 12 was what is referred to as a Jesuit ring (see Figure 16).²⁴⁶ Jesuit rings were frequently used by Jesuit missionaries for trade with Native Americans during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²⁴⁷ These rings, made of brass, had a variety of embossed or imprinted images on them. One common motif was that of a heart. Chronologies and typologies have been attempted in order to date these rings, but without the actual ring for analysis, the exact type of Jesuit ring cannot be determined.²⁴⁸ The present location of this object is unknown.

Two red beads, referred to as rosary beads by Kerlidou, were also excavated from the fort site near Station of the Cross 2 North (see Figure 16). These beads may be trade

²⁴⁵ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 28.

²⁴⁶ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 28.

²⁴⁷ John A. Walthall, “Stylistic and Temporal Analysis of Jesuit Rings in the Illinois Country,” *Illinois Archaeology* 5 (1993): 498-507.

²⁴⁸ Walthall, 498-507.

beads, but like the ring above, without the actual beads, such an attribution is futile. However, the presence of beads may signify evidence of Native American trade at the site.

Calumet and Pipe stems

What is identified by Kerlidou as a Calumet pipe was uncovered at Station of the Cross 12 East (see Figure 16). If this artifact was a type of calumet, or Native American pipe, it indicates the presence of Native Americans at the site or at least trade with Native Americans. However, it is also possible that the pipe dates to an earlier pre-European occupation of the site.

Pipes, often made from white-ball clay, were popular in England by the 1570s. Pipe stem fragments are commonly found at English, French and Dutch sites from the colonial period through to 1900.²⁴⁹ No pipes or calumets remain in the collections of the Shrine. The present location of these objects is unknown.

Coins

Two coins uncovered by Kerlidou further attest to the French presence on Sandy Point while providing insight into the economics of the colony. Both coins were excavated around Station of the Cross 2 (see Figure 16). The coins, a copper coin with a fleur de lis and a gold coin inscribed “LXIII Roi de Fre de NA 1656,” represent the change in the system of exchange in Colonial Canada that came with Carignan-Salières Regiment.²⁵⁰ Prior to the regiment’s arrival, the colony acted on a barter system of

²⁴⁹ Noël Hume, 296-312.

²⁵⁰ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 28; Verney, 56.

exchange for goods and services. However, the large amount of cash that came to the colonies with the regiment, represented by coins such as these helped transform the earlier French barter system in the colony to a system dependent on hard currency. Verney states that the payroll in 1666 alone was more than 150,000 livres.²⁵¹ Unfortunately, the present location of the coins found by Kerlidou is unknown.

Tools

An important aspect of the functioning of colonial French forts was their ability to produce and fix their own tools and weapons. Ship lists of the Carignan-Salières regiments' supplies record only a small supply of tools that the soldiers would have brought from France. This inventory was supplemented by on-site manufacture of tools once they arrived in Canada for use in both fort construction and crop cultivation.²⁵² In order to accomplish the production of metal tools, forts often had blacksmiths who were skilled at forging, gunsmithing and gunspall manufacture, such as was seen at Fort Pentagoet.²⁵³ Among the artifacts described by Kerlidou is a lead bar found at Station of the Cross 13 (see Figure 16). This bar lead may be evidence of possible gunspall manufacture at the fort.²⁵⁴ The present location of this object is unknown.

²⁵¹ Verney, 56.

²⁵² Verney, 30-31.

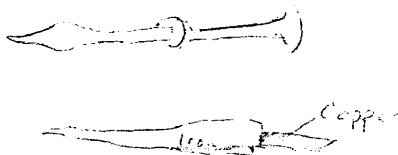
²⁵³ Faulkner and Faulkner, 135.

²⁵⁴ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, XX.

Chisels

Further evidence to manufacturing at the fort site includes the discovery of pieces of a chisel and “gold chisel parts” and a possible soldering tool from the fort site.²⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the two remaining tools among the collections of St. Anne’s Shrine were stolen from the Shrine during the summer of 2005 before analysis could be done or images could be taken. The tools appeared to have been soldering irons, one made by a sheet of iron wrapped around a rough copper rod and the other made of pewter, which likely date to the period of the fort occupation (Figure 35).

FIGURE 35
SKETCH OF AWL AND SOLDERING TOOL



Quick sketch of possible awl and soldering tool excavated from Sandy Point, Isle La Motte, Vermont. Artifacts were stolen from the Shrine during the summer of 2005 (J. Desany, 2005).

Axes

Axes were a common European trade item with the Native Americans. The ordinary axe and the pipe tomahawk were the two main types of trade axes and were manufactured by French, English and Dutch.²⁵⁶ Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the shape of axes changed in manufacture and shape.²⁵⁷ Two axes were uncovered at Sandy Point by Kerlidou from Stations of the Cross 10 and 12 (see

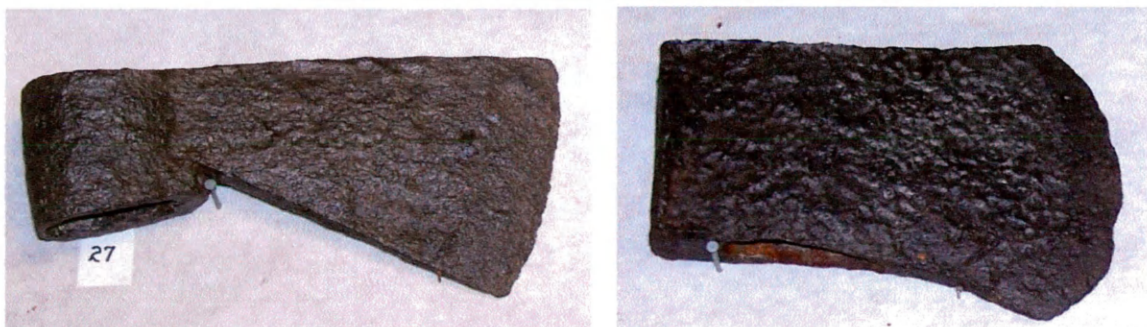
²⁵⁵ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 29.

²⁵⁶ Bouchard, “Les Haches de Traite au Domaine du Roi,” *Gazette* 9, no. 1 (1976): 40.

²⁵⁷ Bouchard, 40.

Figure 16). One axe excavated from Fort St. Anne matches form 'A' of Russell Bouchard's trade axe typology dating from 1608-1760 and was likely made in France (Figure 36).²⁵⁸ This axe may contain a maker's mark, but the pitting from corrosion has made it indistinguishable. The other axe type does not appear to match any of the forms outlined in Bouchard's typology and may date to a later period.

FIGURE 36
AXES RECOVERED FROM SANDY POINT



The axe to the left matches Form 'A' of Bouchard's axe typology. The date of the axe to the right is unknown. (Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005).

Hooks

Four iron hooks are also part of the collections currently housed at the shrine. Among these is a double fish hook attached to an iron linked chain fragment (Figure 37). The date of this object is unknown.

²⁵⁸ Bouchard, 41.

FIGURE 37
FISHHOOK



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005)

A second hook is likely an early twentieth century ice hook, used to remove blocks of ice from the lake used to refrigerate food during the period before modern refrigeration. This hook still contains the wooden handle and it is unknown if this hook was found during excavations by Kerlidou or added to the collection at a later period. Given the late date, it is likely that the hook was used by the historic period residents of the shrine or from a nearby farmhouse occupation.

The function of the remaining two hand wrought hooks and an L-shaped iron tool are unknown (Figure 38).

FIGURE 38
UNIDENTIFIED HOOKS



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005)

Chain

During landscaping activities in the summer of 2005, ground crews uncovered a hand wrought iron, square-linked chain in the vicinity of Sandy Point, near the site of the fort (Figure 39). The date and function of the chain is unknown and no other similar chains have yet been identified.

FIGURE 39
UNIDENTIFIED CHAIN



(Collection of St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte, Vermont) (C. Brooks, 2005)

Pitchfork

An iron pitchfork head is among the collections of objects at the Shrine. Like the ice hook mentioned above, it is unknown whether this artifact was recovered during Kerlidou's excavations. The pitchfork likely dates to the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries and likely related to the nearby farm occupation or to early Shrine activity.

The loss of the large number of artifacts from St. Anne's Shrine collections further attests to the Shrine's lack of concern for the remnants of the site's military history and Native American prehistory.

Later Excavations

In the decades since Kerlidou excavated the ruins of Fort St. Anne, only two other excavations have been conducted on Sandy Point: Moorehead's excavations in 1917 (described in the Prehistoric section of this thesis) and archaeological testing conducted by the University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program (UVM CAP) in 1993.

The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program Excavations

In 1993, prior to the construction of an assembly hall, septic system, and parking area, the University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program (UVM CAP) conducted a partial Phase I site identification survey at the shrine (Site VT-GI-1). The excavations were located 10-30 ft above Sandy Point and 400-600 ft west of the point along the second higher terrace. Seven 50 x 50 cm test pits were excavated within the building footprint and a total of 12 test pits were excavated in the two leach field areas. All test pits were devoid of cultural artifacts.²⁵⁹ The limited excavations were restricted to areas to be disturbed by new construction and did not allow for a full Phase I archaeological survey of the site. As a result the boundaries and extent of the fort site and its earlier Native American components remain unknown. The negative results of all test pits, however, indicate that the fort and earlier prehistoric occupations do not extend to the second terrace above Sandy Point.

Conclusion

The present integrity of the prehistoric and historic fort sites is unknown, though likely they are both substantially disturbed. From as early as the early nineteenth century the site was looted by curious visitors to Sandy Point. Though small mounds remain around some of the Stations of the Cross, according to Kerlidou's notes, these have all been excavated. In addition to the disturbance to the mounds, the rough perimeter of the presumed fort location has also been disturbed by numerous tree plantings on Sandy

²⁵⁹ Nora Sheehan and Peter A. Thomas, *Phase I Site Identification Survey St. Anne's Shrine, Isle La Motte Assembly Hall, Septic System and Parking Area Act 250 #6G0476*, Report No. 133 (Burlington: The University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program, 1993).

Point over the years. The original plantings of cedar trees were placed by Kerlidou to mark what he believed to have been the outline of the fort based on his excavations. He also planted pine trees within the fort as seen in the early postcard of the site taken shortly after the trees had been planted (see Figure 17). Prior to the tree plantings, Kerlidou dug an artesian well in the center of the fort area in 1893 for the pilgrims who came to the shrine (Figure 40). This well has subsequently been filled in or covered over. Further excavations by Moorehead did not extend into the area of the fort, but reached to within 10 meters of the presumed fort location, digging into further remains of the prehistoric site or sites. Negative excavations by UVM CAP provide evidence that neither the fort nor any prehistoric sites extend up to the second terrace at Sandy Point.

FIGURE 40
POSTCARD IMAGE OF ARTESIAN WELL, VIEW LOOKING EAST



Note one Station of the Cross in the trees to the right of the entranceway (University of Vermont, Special Collections, Burlington, Vermont).

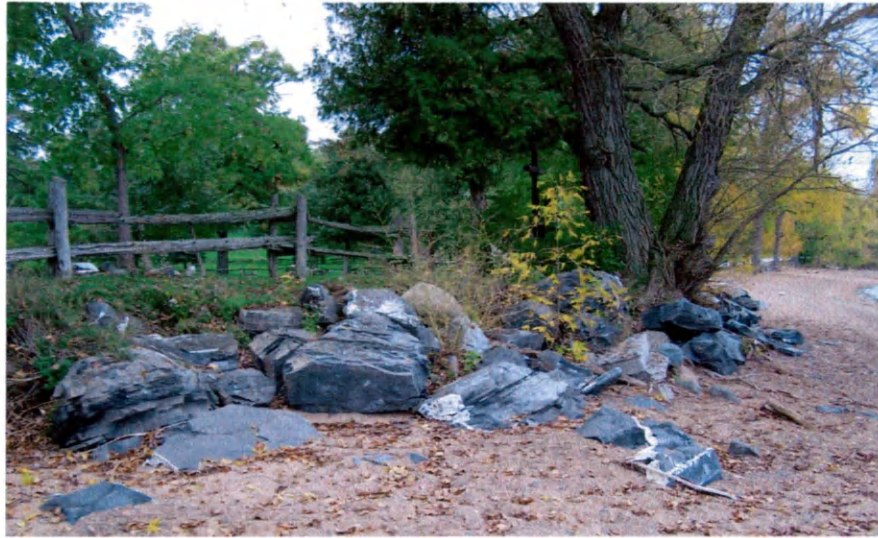
Nature also has played a role in exposing the ruins of the fort. Arthur Henry Hill noted that the “high water in the spring a few years later [after the excavations] washed away nearly 100 feet from the end of Sandy Point and nothing but a pile of stones on a sandy beach remained of one of these old cellar walls, 9 x 13 ft inside and 4 ft deep”.²⁶⁰ W. Max Reid, a visitor to the site in 1910, noted that at the causeway where they landed “[t]he surf had evidently encroached upon the sandy soil to a considerable extent, as evidenced by the ruined stone foundation walls of two small buildings on the sandy beach”.²⁶¹ Reid also noted that “[t]he rear of each station [of the cross] is backed up with a section of the old entrenchment, the intervening part having been removed to the level of the first terrace. To the east and southeast, however, the walls and bastions seem to be of the original height and well preserved; the embrasures for the small cannon being distinctly marked”.²⁶² The remains of the walls, bastions and embrasures are no longer visible at the site. Large rocks are currently placed along the shore edge of the area of the fort to prevent further erosion (Figure 41).

²⁶⁰ Arthur Henry Hill, *Isle La Motte, Vermont A History* (Alburg: Published by the Isle LA Motte Historical Society, 1993).

²⁶¹ Max W. Reid, “Early Churches in the Champlain Valley: Interesting Facts About Famous St. Anne on Isle La Motte, To the Editor of the Free Press,” *Burlington Free Press*, November 28, 1910.

²⁶² Reid, W. Max. “Early Churches in the Champlain Valley: Interesting Facts About the Famous St. Anne on Isle La Motte, To the Editor of the Free Press,” *The Burlington Free Press*, November 28, 1910.

FIGURE 41
ROCKS ALONG ERODED EDGE OF SANDY POINT



Though crude, late nineteenth century excavations at Sandy Point, Isle La Motte, indicate that the area is the site of the 1666 French Fort St. Anne. Though only nine artifacts that date to the period remain in the collection from these excavations, the additional descriptions of artifacts found at the site are common to other French colonial sites in North America. Artifacts such as the dice, the early French coins in addition to the amount of weapons found and the written accounts describing the site as the fort by nineteenth century visitors help lend further credence to the point having been the location of Fort St. Anne.

Later historic artifacts in the collection of the Shrine indicate a late eighteenth to early nineteenth century occupation of the site that may be related to a nearby farm occupation or from travelers who may have camped on Sandy Point. Additional objects in the collection of St. Anne's Shrine may not be from excavations at the point, but instead may relate to objects saved or recovered from the area prior to Kerlidou's excavations.

As evident from the remaining artifacts excavated by both Kerlidou and Moorehead, a substantial prehistoric component was also present at Sandy Point. Artifacts from these excavations indicate that there were minimally a late Archaic Period and Middle Woodland occupations on the point. Based on notes by Kerldiou, Moorehead and Strong, it seems likely that at least one of these prehistoric components was located near the shore and, possibly, in the water off of Sandy Point. Kerlidou's notes indicate that most of the prehistoric artifacts were located near the western edge of the point, near the shore line (Appendix B). Both Strong and Moorehead indicate that they located prehistoric artifacts in the sand along the shore and, at least in Strong's case, in the water itself.

CHAPTER 5

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AT SANDY POINT

As seen through the artifacts and excavations of the fort ruins, Sandy Point has had a long history with many different cultures. Why were many of these early inhabitants to the area ignored in Vermont history and why was this site, one of the earliest European sites in North America, forgotten, while sites like Jamestown and Plymouth Plantation were celebrated and remembered for centuries? This chapter will address the possible reasons for the forgotten histories of Sandy Point.

The site of Fort St. Anne at Isle La Motte provides a study of collective memory that encompasses not only the history of Vermont, but that of the United States, Canada, the Roman Catholic Church, and cultures at borderlands throughout the world. Though the site is one of the earliest colonial sites in the nation it has been largely forgotten by historians and members of the surrounding community alike. Through the purchase, exploitation and excavation of the site, the church used the collective memory of the fort to legitimize its early existence in the region. In order to understand the underlying reasons and why the history of the site was forgotten in subsequent years by all but the church, it is important to look to the collective memory of the broader region as a whole.

The Theory of Collective memory

Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs was at the forefront of the study of collective memory. Halbwachs was interested in the way in which memory is intertwined with ideas and images, not only for the individual, but for society and groups within a society.²⁶³ Halbwachs suggests that an individual remembers the past through a framework of collective memory so that various groups within a society are able to reconstruct their past. However, in the act of reconstruction, the past becomes distorted.²⁶⁴ Halbwachs also states that “As soon as each person and each historical fact has permeated [collective] memory, it is transposed into a teaching, a notion, or a symbol and takes on a meaning. It becomes an element of the society’s system of ideas”.²⁶⁵ In this way, collective memory studies see memories as not being primarily about revisiting the past, but about the ways in which individuals and groups define the present and manage their future within meaningful, yet shifting, contexts. Therefore, the control of memory and objects of memory becomes an important component of power.²⁶⁶

The study of collective memory looks not only at what is remembered, but also at what is forgotten and why. Forgotten memories play as important a role in the creation and use of collective memory as does what is remembered. Remembering and/or forgetting aspects of the past can serve to unite groups. The need for people to be in limited groups “tends to erase from memory all that might separate individuals, or that might distance groups from each other. It is also why society, in each period, rearranges

²⁶³ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective memory* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1992).

²⁶⁴ Halbwach, 182.

²⁶⁵ Halbwach, 188.

²⁶⁶ Katina T. Lillios, “The Engraved Slate Plaques of Southwest Iberia,” *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).

its recollections in such a way as to adjust them to the variable conditions of its equilibrium”.²⁶⁷

Archaeology and Collective memory

Numerous books by sociologists and psychologists have addressed the idea of collective memory. It is only in the past decade, however, that the field of archaeology has begun to use these concepts to look at the past in new ways, specifically for ideas of place and power associated within archaeological sites. In contrast to history, collective memory “... is a current of continuous thought whose continuity is not at all artificial, for it retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive”.²⁶⁸ By looking at what was retained from their past, collective memory serves to inform scholars of the present needs of groups while addressing their history. This idea can help archaeologists understand complex social meanings retained about and within sites.

Archaeologists not only look at the present collective memory of a site, but try to understand how the concept may have been used by past cultures and how it may be inferred from archaeological remains. Collective memory has been used as far back as prehistoric times and by all cultures from the Egyptians to the Romans as a way to create group identity and/or gain legitimacy and political power.

Two archaeologists at the forefront of the collective memory of sites are Ruth Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock. Van Dyke and Alcock argue that “Like us, past peoples

²⁶⁷ Halbwach, 182-183.

²⁶⁸ Halbwachs, 80.

observed and interpreted traces of more distant pasts to serve the needs and interests of their present lives”.²⁶⁹ It is this insight that is most important to the field of archaeology. Though, as Van Dyke explains, the archaeological reconstruction of memory is easier in the historic period than in the prehistoric period where it is often derived, in part, from ethnographic analogy and oral traditions.

Alcock and Van Dyke define collective memory as “the construction of a collective notion (not an individual belief) about the way things were in the past”.²⁷⁰ Because of the political power associated with collective memory, regions where differing cultures and social groups coexist best illustrate concepts of how collective memory can be used to construct and influence politics, validate ownership, and promote shared group identity and cohesion. Memory can be remembered differently between each group that participates in the event or by those with some other stake in the memory of the place creating numerous social memories evolving around one place or event, both forgotten and retained. Materials of memory must be constantly reworked to cope with changing priorities, changing national boundaries and/or changing social or ethnic compositions as will be illustrated at the site of Fort St. Anne below.²⁷¹

Van Dyke and Alcock have broken collective memory into two categories, inscribed and incorporated: “Inscribed memory is manifested in materially visible commemorative activities such as the construction of monuments, whereas incorporated memory lends itself to oblitative or fleeting acts that leave few archaeological

²⁶⁹ Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock, “Archaeologies of Memory: An Introduction,” *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).

²⁷⁰ Van Dyke and Alcock, 2.

²⁷¹ Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, ed., “Transforming Memory,” *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory* (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2003).

traces”.²⁷² They further divide the way social memories are constructed and observed into four broad categories of materially accessible media, ritual behaviors, narratives, objects and representations, and places.²⁷³ The collective memory at Isle La Motte contains aspects of all of these concepts as used by the Church and other groups staking for a claim to the area.

Isle La Motte was at the border of competing colonial powers: the Abenaki to the east, the English to the south, the French to the north, the Iroquois to the west; and the Dutch, for a time, to the southwest. Even today, the island is at the border of New York, Vermont and Canada. Of all the various groups involved in the history of Sandy Point, the current memory of the site lies in its French religious past, rather than in its Native American or military past. Today, the site and all its history are largely forgotten, even within the borders of Vermont.

Memory as Identity

The study of collective memory can illuminate how the history of Fort St. Anne became forgotten by all but the Catholic Diocese in Burlington, Vermont. Indeed, it is almost impossible to look at the history of Fort St. Anne without also looking at the collective memory of the area. The current memory, or lack thereof, of Fort St. Anne is connected to what was forgotten in the larger context of Vermont history and in an even broader sense, the history of the nation. Studies of Native American-European relations, frontiers, borderlands and colonialism are present in the history of Vermont, yet, despite the wealth of possibilities, relatively few scholars have written about this area at the time of contact and its role in the history of New England and the New World. This may be

²⁷² Van Dyke and Alcock, 4.

²⁷³ Van Dyke and Alcock, 4.

because of a lack of information and number of sites as compared to Massachusetts or other colonial New England areas. It may also have to do with the French role in the history of Vermont as will be discussed later. One scholar of Vermont history summarizes it as follows: “General studies of Indian-European conflict tend to ignore the struggles waged in the Vermont region; local accounts run the alternative risk of losing a sense of the larger picture”.²⁷⁴ One way the lack of colonial history in Vermont can be understood is by looking at how the social history of the region and the nation inform the regions identity and landscape today. This can best be understood by looking at the history and collective memory of Vermont and the United States during the last century.

The creation of national identity through the creation of a national memory is one of the most common controls on collective memory.²⁷⁵ A national memory can be used to create a sense of community within the populace and therefore lends a stronger sense of cohesion to individuals and groups comprising the nation. “In nationalistic movements and in achieved nation states alike, the appeal to memory articulates the narrative of the nationalist past, and enjoins its subject to recognize and own it”.²⁷⁶ National memory, described by archaeologists Hodgkin and Radstone, is “...a geography of belonging, an identity forged in a specific landscape, inseparable from it”.²⁷⁷ Collective memory can symbolically smooth over ruptures, creating the appearance of a seamless whole, an important concept used to create National and/or group identity.²⁷⁸ It

²⁷⁴ Calloway, “The Conquest of Vermont,” 161.

²⁷⁵ Olga Klimko, “Fur Trade Archaeology in Western Canada: Who is Digging up the Forts?,” *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies*, ed. Tim Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²⁷⁶ Hodgkin and Radstone, 169.

²⁷⁷ Hodgkin and Radstone, 169.

²⁷⁸ Van Dyke and Alcock, 3.

is in trying to create a seamless whole that parts of the past of a site may be selectively forgotten from collective memory.

The lack of scholarship on the early colonial history of Vermont can be interpreted as a commentary on the attitudes of those who recorded Vermont's past during the mid-1800s to the present. In the mid-nineteenth century, Vermont historians were trying to establish a collective memory of Vermont as part of the national identity of America. Specifically, Vermont as a member of the Union had helped secure the founding of the United States of America. Though, looking outside of Vermont, very little is mentioned of Vermont's (or the section of New York that would later become Vermont's) role at any period, either Revolutionary or colonial. In creating a national identity, the Yankee inhabitants of Vermont, descendents of English settlers who did not move into the region until the mid-eighteenth century, selectively negated its French and Abenaki past to further assert their claim on the area in order to create a cohesive identity.

In order to promote this past, the earlier histories of the Native American and French pasts were ignored and the exploits of the rebellious English colonists during the Revolutionary war were glorified. As a consequence, most Vermont history books look at the history of Vermont from the American Revolution, forward.

It is this struggle with identity that James Davie Butler, a Professor at Norwich University during the mid-nineteenth century, recognized as being intertwined with memory. In his 1846 booklet titled "Deficiencies in Our History: An Address Delivered Before the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society at Montpelier," Butler discussed the then present state of Vermont history as follows:

Fellow Citizens of Vermont:

The life of old nations is memory. In the Old World travelers daily behold great events and the scenes of them – not only commemorated by monuments, but canonized by chapels and altars.

Young nations live in *hope* rather than in memory. (While pressing forward to those things which are before, they forget those which are behind.) This truth finds many exemplifications in our history... The papers of our first and most memorable Governor were sold to a pedlar with paper *rags*. The *cannon* taken (in defense of our frontier) at Bennington lie unclaimed in Washington. The *maps*, captured at the same place, were used as curtains until all, save one, perished... Properly speaking we have no *rostrum*. A rostrum is a speaker's stand begirt with memorials of vanquished foes.²⁷⁹

These opening lines by Butler show that much of Vermont's State material history was already dispersed and lost to time by those focusing on the future and the creation of a nation. In this address, Butler sent out a plea for historians and the people of Vermont to save their history in hopes of creating a solid and substantiated national identity through material remembrances. Butler also expressed a desire for Vermont to distinguish itself from New York and create stronger bonds with its New England associations from the past.²⁸⁰

In his need to create a national past identity with English roots, Butler goes on to discuss the "controversy of Vermont with New York" which he feels has "never been described as its merits...demand." He argues that the "struggle was not merely about the price of land, but a conflict between New England and New York principles -- those of the Puritan and the Patroon -- between our township system, with local elections and

²⁷⁹ James Davis Butler, *Deficiencies in Our History: An Address Delivered Before the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society, At Montpelier, October 16, 1846* (Montpelier: Eastman and Danforth, 1846).

²⁸⁰ Butler, 5.

taxes, and New York centralization.²⁸¹ This address is important for another reason too. It shows that Vermont, even during the mid-1800s, still saw itself as a borderland at the edge of New England.

Butler recognized the importance of the past for national and state identity and tried to place Vermont's connection with the rest of New England in opposition to that of New York. It was important for him to distinguish Vermont from the non-New England New York. It is, therefore, interesting to note within this context that to this day, an old ballot box from early town meetings is on display at the Isle La Motte Historical Society, a symbol of New England town meetings associated with the region's patriotic past.

In his hope to create a past connected with the formation of the nation, Butler overlooks the lively and enduring history of Vermont from Paleoindian times to the early settlers of Vermont. It was not a part of his agenda. His focus, like so many of his contemporaries, is on Vermont and its part in the early nation, illustrating the use of objects and memory for political purposes and identity.

Native Americans, in the eyes of Butler, had little to do with creating national identity. In fact, up until the 1970s some school textbooks stated that Indians never lived in Vermont.²⁸² Even today, there is contention between the Vermont state government and local Abenaki peoples, though recent State recognition to the Abenaki represents long overdue acknowledgement of their presence within what is now Vermont in the past and the present. Prior to the recent bill signed by Governor Jim Douglas on May 3, 2006, the state had long refused to accept that Abenakis lived in Vermont continuously since the seventeenth century. The fight to control this collective memory is going strong. At

²⁸¹ Butler, 6.

²⁸² Haviland and Power, 2.

a recent archaeology meeting, Dr. Fred Wisemen, a professor at Johnson State College, and Abenaki, demonstrated his efforts to create the most technologically advanced media that will get the word out about the Abenaki's continuous presence in Vermont. Through the use of temporally diagnostic artifacts and modern media Wisemen is hoping to reestablish the collective memory of Vermont to include native presence and to help overturn the erroneous textbooks of the last century. This example illustrates the use of memory to legitimize a group's identity but also shows the way memory is used politically and how it is variable between groups. This variable history is brought into focus between the Abenaki and Vermont archaeological communities whose collective memory includes the continuous existence of Abenakis in Vermont; whereas the state's collective memory does not. As Butler had noted: "let us leave our history to be written by foreigners and it will be the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted".²⁸³

Like the Abenaki, the French connection to Vermont's past is largely forgotten. The French past does not serve the national interest. Only the anniversary of the discovery of Lake Champlain by Samuel de Champlain is commemorated, and that has historically been done mainly to generate tourist revenues. The history of St. Anne was only, if ever, briefly mentioned in Vermont history books from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries, most notably in pamphlets and travel brochures trying to lure tourists to the state. Little serious scholarship has ever been published on the subject of Fort St. Anne, and what little has been is fraught with errors.

Further evidence of Vermont's desire to be separated from its French past can be seen in the history of the name of Isle La Motte. The island was chartered as Isle La Motte in 1789, in remembrance of Captain La Motte, the French colonist in charge of the

²⁸³ Butler, 26.

construction of Fort St. Anne. However, in 1802 Isle La Motte was officially renamed the Vineyard. The official records do not cite a reason for this change although one researcher noted that there was a vineyard on the island at the time and the name may have been assigned with the hopes of promoting viticulture. Another suggestion for the change appears in the *Gazeteer* that notes “the people of the island are generally of English and Scottish descent,” suggesting that the former name was too French and too closely associated with the French history of the island for the newer English settlers.²⁸⁴ Whatever the reason, the name of the island was changed back to Isle La Motte in 1830. Guttin writes of the change: “Indeed that much at least is owed to the memory of the gallant Frenchman, to whose achievements are due the glory and fame which make this beautiful gem of nature, conspicuous among the many historical landmarks of America”.²⁸⁵ Even if the name change had nothing to do with denial of its French heritage, the collective memory is now linked to this possibility as seen through the speculation of the writer in the *Gazeteer*. It is within this context that the history of Fort St. Anne was lost to collective memory, except for a few travelers to the area who saw the physical remains and ruins of the fort.

Place

Memory associated with place is the most concrete reminder of a group’s past.

Halbwachs further contends that memories have no concrete meaning and will only

²⁸⁴ Hamilton Child, *Gazeteer and Business Directory of Franklin and Grand Isle Counties, Vermont for 1882-1883* (Syracuse: Journal Office, 1883).

²⁸⁵ Guttin, 14.

persist when connected with time and space.²⁸⁶ Battlefields are a prime example of the association of memory with place. Hutton claims that “In remembering, we locate, or localize, images of the past in specific places,” places like battlefields or burial grounds. A battlefield is just an empty field that is remembered by those directly involved in its history, it is only when it is sectioned off and made into a memorial that it forges a shared connection to the past that can be carried on through the generations. Such settings provide us with our places of memory which further legitimates and reinforces social ideas and relationships.²⁸⁷ Whichever groups “owns” or interprets a site controls the collective memory of that site, so that at sites of contended history, the ownership of the site becomes essential to group identity and power.

The connection of place with remembrances of the past has been an arena of contention between groups at Sandy Point and surrounding communities, starting with the first landing by Samuel de Champlain in Vermont. Isle La Motte had already placed the event of Champlain’s landing within its collective memory through commemorative events such as the reenacting of the landing of Champlain on Sandy Point. The event of Champlain’s landing on the island was commemorated in 1909 by pageants complete with a visit by President Theodore Roosevelt, Civil and religious leaders from Vermont and New York, and representatives from England and France (Figure 42).²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Halbwachs, 84.

²⁸⁷ Hutton, Patrick H., *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993); Van Dyke and Alcock, 5.

²⁸⁸ Guttin, 18.

FIGURE 42
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT ST. ANNE'S SHRINE, 1909



(Saint Michael's College Archives, Burlington, Vermont)

In 1959, the 350th anniversary of the discovery of Lake Champlain was celebrated with the recreation of Samuel de Champlain's voyage into the Lake, starting in St. John's, Quebec and traveling to destinations along the shores of Lake Champlain, including Isle La Motte.²⁸⁹ This reenactment included non-Native people costumed as Native American guides in canoes accompanying a figure representing Samuel de Champlain (Figure 43). In addition to the reenactment of the landing on Isle La Motte, the event included a celebration of a Pontifical High Mass, symbolically connecting Roman Catholicism to the event and reminding the attendees that Champlain was a man of Catholic faith. It was at this celebration that a plaque commemorating the landing of Champlain was unveiled at Sandy Point as well (Figure 44).²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ State of New York Legislative Document No. 82:12.

²⁹⁰ State of New York Legislative Document No. 82:12.

FIGURE 43
RE-ENACTMENT OF SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN EXPLORING LAKE CHAMPLAIN,
1959



(State of New York Legislative Document No. 82, 60)

FIGURE 44
UNVEILING OF HISTORIC MARKER AT SANDY POINT, ISLE LA MOTTE,
VERMONT



(State of New York Legislative Document No. 82, 209)

Today this plaque has been replaced by a romanticized statue on Sandy Point commemorating the European discovery of the lake. The monument is located just feet away from the fort site and depicts a standing Samuel de Champlain flanked by seated Native Americans (Figure 45). The history of this statue, in itself, illustrates the contention between groups trying to ‘own’ collective memory. From the Native American perspective, and that of a few historians, the diminished role of the native figures in the statue does not represent the large role they played in the event. But this was not the only debate surrounding the statue and its dedication. The debate over the location of the

FIGURE 45
STATUE OF SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN, SANDY POINT, ISLE LA MOTTE



(J. Desany, 2005)

statue was also quite politically charged because wherever the statue would reside would hold a claim to the memory of this event in history. For many years the location of where the statue should reside was fought over by groups on and off the island. The statue became a charged image that recalls the collective memory of the event.

In 1916 the statue was placed a short distance from Fort St. Frederick on Crown Point, New York, despite efforts by others, like New York Senator Henry W. Hill and Guttin, to have it placed on Isle La Motte.²⁹¹ Guttin states that “its presence would have graced our shores and through it, Isle La Motte would have become an important landmark in North America”.²⁹² Vermont scholars have gone to great lengths to prove that Sandy Point on Isle La Motte is, indeed, where Champlain landed. Guttin further states that God willed it otherwise “...and Isle La Motte, free from secular intrusion, will preserve its religious character”.²⁹³ In 1959 Father Pinard succeeded in convincing the state to move the Champlain statue to Isle La Motte where it resides today.²⁹⁴ In July 5 of that same year the landing of Champlain was reenacted as described above.²⁹⁵

Through collective memory, the landing of Samuel Champlain on Isle La Motte lives on. In the 1980s a Montreal Catholic Youth group spending the summer at St. Anne’s Shrine and built a float depicting Champlain’s travels on Lake Champlain for a local Fourth of July Parade, further imprinting the event in the collective memory of the area (Figure 46).

²⁹¹ Guttin, 19.

²⁹² Guttin, 19.

²⁹³ Guttin, 18.

²⁹⁴ Joseph M. Kerlidou et al., *Ilse La Motte in Lake Champlain* (Burlington: Pamphlet in Special Collections at the University of Vermont, 1976).

²⁹⁵ Kerlidou, *Ilse La Motte in Lake Champlain*, 33.

FIGURE 46
MONTREAL CATHOLIC YOUTH CORP DRESSED AS SAMUEL DE
CHAMPLAIN, A JESUIT MISSIONARY AND NATIVE AMERICANS IN FORTH
OF JULY PARADE FLOAT, ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT



(M. Boucher, c. 1980)

Though at a glance it may seem like a small matter, the location of the statue would greatly influence collective memory of where this European explorer first stepped on Vermont soil. With the 400th anniversary of this landing approaching, plans are well underway to celebrate this event, and a historical plaque has recently been added to the site to further commemorate the landing. These events will help to further reassert the early French Catholic presence on Sandy Point and hopefully the Native American presence in the region as well.

Collective memory

As seen in the use of memory as a means for asserting National identity, memory can also be used to create, maintain and legitimize cultural memory, especially when associated with a specific landscape or place. Collective memory serves to bring

cohesion to a group through the remembered struggles and triumphs of those cultures' pasts. The history of Sandy Point has been used by various groups to create a place for both cultural and religious cohesion. In the late nineteenth century the Catholic Diocese believed that owning the site of Fort St. Anne would help to revitalize the collective memory of the early presence of Catholics in the state and, therefore, further legitimize the Catholic religion and in turn bolster its following.

When the Catholic Diocese of Burlington purchased the ruins of Fort St. Anne between 1892 and 1900, the history of the area was already well known to the church. In 1833, Louis de Goesbriand, the Bishop of the Burlington's Catholic Diocese and a native of France, was consecrated Bishop of Burlington, which encompassed the entire state of Vermont.²⁹⁶ The history of the first Catholics at Isle La Motte fascinated the new Bishop who soon published a pamphlet devoted to St. Anne.

In 1871, De Goesbriand instated Bishop Rappe as a missionary to Isle La Motte. Rappe was also familiar with the French and Catholic history of the island and was said to have often regaled his parishioners with accounts of stories to those in his parish that he had researched in the *Jesuit Relations* regarding Fort St. Anne and the many missionaries who had been on the island throughout the seventeenth century.²⁹⁷

Prior to the creation of St. Anne's Shrine, Father Kerlidou was instructed to research and publish an account of the history of Fort St. Anne in order to raise funds to purchase the site of the fort. It was the express purpose of the Diocese to purchase the fort ruins so that it might acquire the site of the first Catholic mass and possibly the earliest church in Vermont. In his publication on the history of the area, Kerlidou

²⁹⁶ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 6.

²⁹⁷ Kerlidou, unpublished notes.

reinforced the Catholic association with the site, bringing it back to 1609 and Samuel de Champlain. Kerlidou wrote: “It was here on this isle, and probably at Point St. Anne, that a Christian trod the soil of Vermont for the first time”.²⁹⁸ The booklet also recounted and exploited the history of two tortured French missionaries who “stained this soil” with their blood while passing through the island as captives of the Iroquois. The Diocese further reasoned that most French forts of the time contained a church and therefore, it is likely that Fort St. Anne contained a church within its walls, especially considering the high ranking bishops who had visited the fort while it was active. This, according to Kerlidou, would make Sandy Point the site of the first Catholic sermon (if not church) in Vermont.²⁹⁹

The interest in early Roman Catholic claims to the land is not only seen in the Diocese of Burlington, however. During the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries there was a religious fervor throughout New England. Church revivals and new religions, like that of the the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints (i.e. the Mormons) appeared throughout Vermont. By reviving the collective memory of the early role played by Roman Catholicism in the state, De Goesbriand may have been trying to strengthen the Catholic community by creating a place in history for their religion for more than 200 years, thereby securing the legitimization of the religion through its presence on the land. It is interesting to note that the site of Fort Pentagoet in Maine was also purchased by the Catholic Church. In 1921 Bishop Walsh of the Diocese of Portland purchased that fort site “realizing the historic significance of the

²⁹⁸ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 1.

²⁹⁹ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 1; Kerlidou, “St. Anne of Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain, 70.

property...”.³⁰⁰ Like St. Anne’s Shrine, the church at the site of Fort Pentagoet was named Our Lady of Holy Hope “...after its supposed antecedent, a Capuchin Mission at Pentagoet”.³⁰¹ Today a church lies just beyond the ruins of the fort, similar to the situation at Fort St. Anne.

The idea of Catholics owning the land, however, did not please everyone. In an article written in a New York paper, Protestants openly opposed the sale of the land to Catholics. The fight for the souls of Vermonters was being waged around the land at Sandy Point. In 1871 Rappe wrote about a recent visit he had to Isle La Motte: “Long deprived of the aides of religion, the Catholics of this little isle were in truly deplorable condition but after a few missions, they were around from their moral apathy and soon astounded the Protestants by their zeal and especially temperance...”³⁰² Rappe went on to mention that the good results “...weakened the prejudices against our Holy Church...”.³⁰³ The dispute with the Protestants may have ended by 1895 when a Protestant minister of Isle La Motte visited the site of the cellar excavations and was given artifacts by Kerlidou.³⁰⁴

The tussle over the right to the land was revived, decades later, in 1949, over the debate centered on the erection of a state historical marker on the site of the fort. Once again, the local press was used as a forum for voicing disapproval. In July of 1949, *The Burlington Free Press* contained an article about errors on a historic marker on which the Vermont Historical Society claimed that they had mistakenly attributed the first mass said on the site to the Jesuits instead of the Sulpicians (referring to a recorded history by Fr.

³⁰⁰ Faulkner and Faulkner, 41.

³⁰¹ Faulkner and Faulkner, 41.

³⁰² Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 7.

³⁰³ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 7.

³⁰⁴ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 26.

Dollier de Casson, a Sulpician, who came to nurse the sick from Montreal in the winter of 1666-67). However, this was debated by the Diocese and the sign continues to attribute the celebration of the first mass on the island to the Jesuits (Figure 47).

FIGURE 47
HISTORIC MARKER AT SANDY POINT, ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT



(C. Brooks, 2005)

French-Canadians

Not only was religion undergoing revival, but in the late nineteenth century there was a revival of French Canadian culture in Quebec as well. Vermont likely experienced part of this revival given its close proximity to the Quebec border and the number of French Canadian immigrants within the state. In the 1890s some 500,000 French Canadians immigrated to the United States.³⁰⁵ Not only was the history of the Catholic Church emphasized on Isle la Motte, but also its early connection with French Canadian

³⁰⁵ Ralph Sarkonak, "A Brief Chronology of French Canada, 1534-1982," *Yale French Studies* 65 (1983): 277.

history was equally emphasized. The history of French Canadian culture is closely intertwined with that of the Roman Catholic Church, and both were stressed at the shrine. French Canadian culture traditionally held the priest as the guide or patriarch of the family. The church served as the central authority and was often consulted in family affairs and often played an important role in the daily lives of French Canadians.

Many masses were celebrated by French Canadian priests at St. Anne's Shrine, and from 1885-1886 Father Goudreau of Clarenceville, Canada, ministered the missions at Isle La Motte and Alburg.³⁰⁶ In addition to French Canadian priests, Kerlidou records events at the shrine in which men from a nearby quarry gave stone for steps leading to a cross on the Point. He identifies the men as "all Catholic Canadians" as if to emphasize the particular meaningful connection the shrine held for this group.³⁰⁷

Like the reenactment of the landing of Champlain discussed above, other forms of commemoration were held at the shrine. Pilgrimages were the most prevalent, often attracting thousands from Vermont and its bordering neighbors. Other events included the celebration of the completion of the fort 1966 and the annual commemoration of St. Anne on her feast day, which was first celebrated in 1666 upon the completion of the fort. Through the continued pilgrimage and brochures produced about the shrine, the Catholic and French history of the site remained active in the collective memory of this select group. However, it contained a particularly heavy emphasis on the Catholic identity of the fort's history.

³⁰⁶ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 8.

³⁰⁷ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 9.

Archaeology as Collective Memory

Commemorative places, the most abundant aspect of collective memory at Sandy Point, are spaces that have been inscribed with meaning, usually as a result of some past event or attachment. The archaeology at Sandy Point was used by the Catholic Diocese to create a commemorative place based on the presence of Roman Catholics in the area since the seventeenth century.

As discussed above, the most important aspect of the shrine to the Diocese in the early years was the actual site of Fort St. Anne. The Church was interested in this aspect of the site's history and consciously associated it with this landscape. The site of the fort was a central point in the shrine. Kerlidou's excavations of the site helped to re-identify the land and reinforce the history of the site, staking further claim to the Catholic connection with the land. In addition, Kerlidou attributed the discovery of the cellar he later excavated to "...spread the knowledge of the Shrine".³⁰⁸ His excavations attracted local media attention and brought members of other religious institutions to visit the area. One of Kerlidou's main goals was to find the church that may have been at the fort which, if found, would have further substantiated the Diocese's claim to the area. Though no mention was made of having found an altar in Kerlidou's earlier notes, in a 1916 pamphlet produced for St. Anne's Shrine, Kerlidou wrote about the excavations he performed 20 years earlier: "...not very far below could be found the stone of the ruined altar side by side with the relics of the broken hearth".³⁰⁹ By focusing on the church presence at the fort, this statement served to further assert Catholic rights to the land while detracting from the past military importance of the site.

³⁰⁸ Kerlidou, unpublished notes, 26.

³⁰⁹ Guttin 1916:15

The most deliberate and tangible attempt by the Diocese to claim the site as a Catholic space was in the placing of the Stations of the Cross on Sandy Point. The Stations of the Cross is a commemorative ritual site in which a series of crosses laid out on the landscape serve to represent the thirteen events leading up to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Catholic pilgrims follow the Stations to remember, reenact and pay respects to these events, stopping to pray at each one. At St. Anne's Shrine, the Diocese set the position of these Stations in correlation to all, save one, of the positions of the mounded ruins of Fort St. Anne. This action further recasts the history of the site. The ruins became a sacred site encribed with religious symbolism, altering the form and association of this landscape and place from colonial secular history to a sacred religious site. The Diocese both figuratively and literally reclaimed the fort.

From the beginning, the shrine was a place where Catholics came to be cured. The shrine also housed religious objects that were important to the Diocese and pilgrims to the site. Annual masses were said commemorating the completion of the fort on the feast of St. Anne, but the artifacts excavated from the fort site, however, were pilfered and lost to time, revealing the modest interest afforded the Shrine's material history. The loss of this component of the site's early history continues today and has resulted in the loss of many of the original artifacts, both prehistoric and historic, from Sandy Point and its earlier occupations.

Even today, the few remaining artifacts are housed in what appears to be an original cabinet that was used after the artifacts had been removed from open display (Figure 48). The cabinet has only a small padlock to secure these irreplaceable prehistoric and the early colonial artifacts from the region. Its present location in the

basement further betrays the Shrine's attitude towards the point's archaeological past. The transformation from a military and Native site to that of a Catholic religious site is clearly stated and marked on landscape of Sandy Point, as noted by the Stations of the Cross above, and through the religious signage around the Point.

FIGURE 48
ARTIFACT CABINET AT ST. ANNE'S SHRINE, ISLE LA MOTTE, VERMONT



Note the empty space on the middle shelf, left of center, where the two objects stolen during the summer of 2005 were kept (C. Brooks, 2005).

There is a sign that greets visitors who enter Sandy Point that reads: “Please keep in mind this is a place of worship, we ask that you wear proper attire in and around the chapel, Stations of the Cross and Grottos. Thank You!”.

FIGURE 49
SIGN AT ENTRANCE TO STATIONS OF THE CROSS



Collective memory of the site is slowly being erased from the face of this small island, though plans for a 400th anniversary of the landing of Samuel de Champlain on the shores of Sandy Point, may once again, reinvigorate select aspects of the site’s history. As noted by Faulkner and Faulkner in regard to Fort Pentagoet: “Although the fort has been all but forgotten in a region which celebrates its Yankee heritage, its archaeological record shows that not all spoils belong to the victor”.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Faulkner and Faulkner, 1.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The history and archaeology of Fort St. Anne provide a study in how collective memory is selectively used by groups to remember or forget components of a sites history in order to reaffirm their identity and claims. The site of Fort St. Anne is among the early European settlements in New England, yet it lies unrecognized today by scholars and the public alike. Today, the site is known first and foremost as a Catholic shrine. The reasons the archaeological, Native American, French and military history of the site lies forgotten can be understood through an examination of the struggle for political control of the history of the site and, to a further extent, the region as a whole.

Sandy Point's position on the border of states, countries, and ethnic groups make its collective memory ever changing and continually contested. The connection to the French Catholic past was used by the Burlington Catholic Diocese in the late nineteenth century to legitimize and strengthen their place in northern Vermont. These same connections may have served to cause aspects of the military and early history of the site to have been overlooked. The excavation of the fort by a Diocese priest, Father Kerlidou, who was looking for evidence of the first church in Vermont, only helped to further distance the military past of the site from the long term collective memory. These same connections may have served to cause the site to be overlooked by a state trying to situate itself within a

national identity based in English roots by focusing on the state's role in the Revolutionary war.

Though still largely understudied, analysis of the remaining artifacts from the area reveal French and early Native American presence on Sandy Point. The site is among the few early French forts that were abandoned after a short duration and is part of one of the most important transitional periods in the settlement of French Canada. Additional archaeological work would greatly enhance this knowledge, though much of the area may have been subsequently disturbed. As archaeology was used by the Diocese to revive the Catholic connection to the land, archaeology may once serve as a useful vehicle by which again be the tool with which this important site and its multiple stories and (pre)histories are revitalized.

APPENDIX A

PARTIAL LIST OF SOLDIERS AT FORT ST. ANNE

Lamotte Company Carignan-Salières Regiment

Captain: Pierre Lamotte de Saint-Paul
Lieutenant: Philippe Dufresnoy Carion
Ensign: Paul de Morel
Soldiers: Michel Grouvillet de La Motte
René Le Meunier (La Ramée)
Etienne Pasquier
Isaac Pasquier
Eustache Prévost (La Fleur)
Jean René
Jean de Roy

La Durantaye Company (Detached from the Chambellé Regiment)

Captain: Olivier Morel de La Durantaye
Lieutenant: de Saint-Aubert
Ensign: de L'Aubert
Soldiers: Mathurin Duchéron (Des Lauriers)
Jean-Pierre Forgues (Mont-Rouge)
(La Musique)
Michel Malet

(Derived from Verney 1991 Appendix B, p. 162, 167)

APPENDIX B

ARTIFACT LIST C. 1896

List of artifacts associated with the original Station of the Cross location as recorded by Kerlidou during excavations of Fort St. Anne from 1895 to 1896 (Derived from notes and writings of Kerlidou n.d. and Guttin 1916).

Station 1 + 2

Pottery
Blues stones and points

Station 2 North

2 Red rosary beads

Station 2

Nails
Chisel
Bones
Coins
Blades
Gold chisel parts
Trimmings
Neck of bottle shaped like screw

Station 3 and/or 4

Nails
Fishhook
Jug or bottle
Lid of pitcher

Station 5

Bones
Cannon pieces
Guns
Nails
Clay pipe
Iron fragment

Station 6

Nails
Blades

Station 7

Large Key
Iron pieces
Nails

Station 8

Nails

Dishes like those in the cellar

Station 9

Iron hinge
Cannon piece
Guns
Rifle trigger

Station 9 South

Porcelain soldier figurine

Station 10

Nails
Axe
1 Cannon ball

Station 11

Pottery

Station 12

Copper or brass ring
Wrought horse (horse roughly carved out of bone)
Nails

Station 12 East

Brass table spoon
Copper spoon
Dishes
Nails
Jawbone
Carved bone turtle head
Dice
Calumet
18 Cannon balls
Axe
Thimble
18 Bullets

Station 13

Wrought nails
Iron pieces

Copper pieces

1 cannon ball
50 musket balls
Bar lead, partially melted
Gunflints

Station 14

Nails
French pottery
Indian pottery

Other Artifacts without Specified Locations

Large bits of glass
1 Lock
1 Ring
Carpenter's tools
Kettle
100 balls of different sizes

Cellar Hole

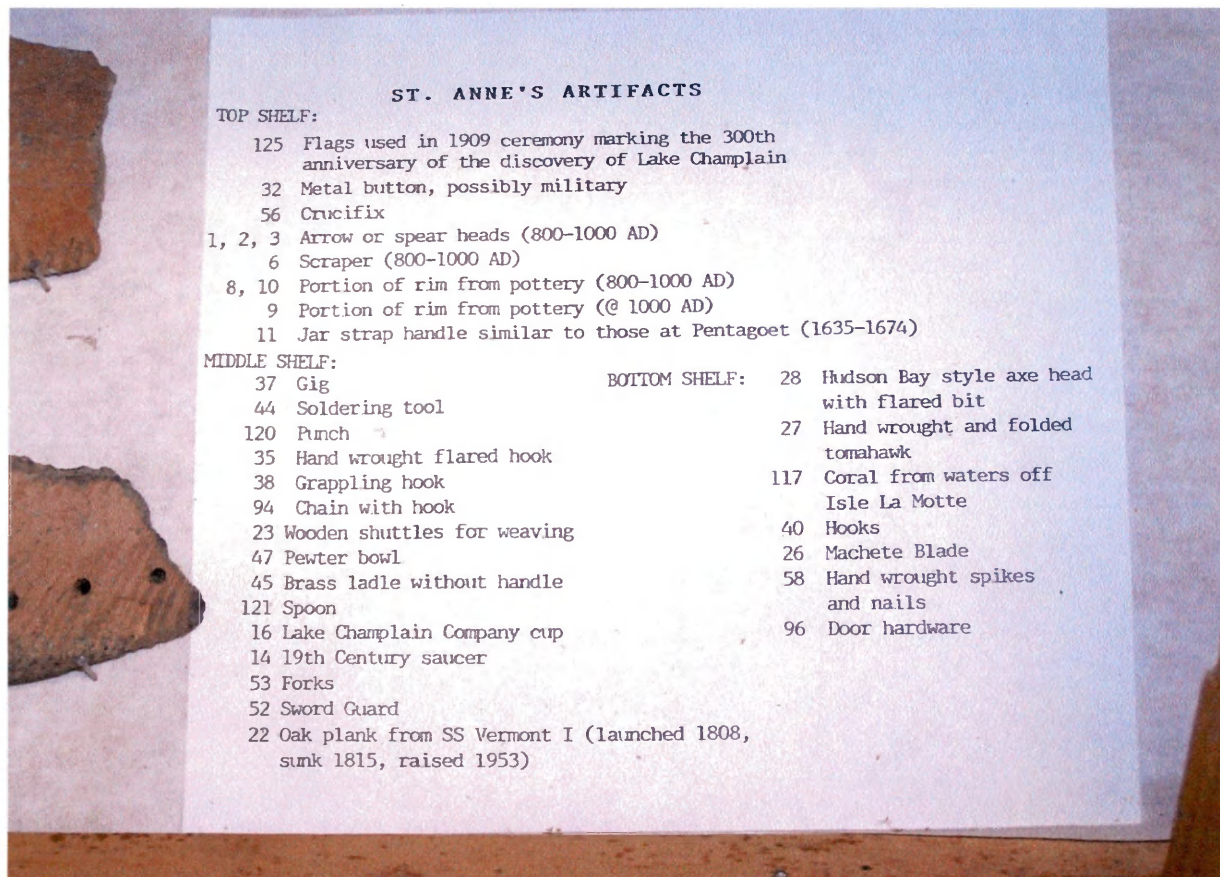
Dagger
Several knives
Several forks
Pottery of different shapes and colors
3 buttons
6 pins
1 buckle
Iron Kitchenware
1 Frying pan
2 silver spoons

APPENDIX C

CURRENT ARTIFACT LIST

Below is an image of the list of artifacts as numbered and identified by Jim Duncan included in the case of artifacts at St. Anne's Shrine (Note that objects #44 and #120 were stolen during the summer of 2005) (Personal Communication sandy to Desany, July 2005).

The location of the original list of artifacts, if it exists, is unknown. According to the numbers assigned to the objects, it appears that when the artifacts were identified, there were at least 125 objects known to have once constituted the collection.



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