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Creating the Border: Defining, Enforcing and Reasserting Physical and Ethnic Borderzone Spaces during the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William & Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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The College of William & Mary August, 2017

APPROVAL PAGE

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Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the creation of space and place in a border region through a historically grounded, multi-scalar approach to spatiality. The work draws upon the pre- and post-contact archaeology of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor, a historically contested waterway where the states of Vermont, and New York meet the Canadian Province of Québec. This is a region that has played host to countless complex cultural interactions between Native American/First Nation groups and Europeans of various cultural and national identities

A tripartite model for multi-scalar study of space and place creation is presented and applied to the political and social history Native and European conflict and comprise. The model stipulates that the construction of space consists of three facets, cognitive, material and social spaces. The interaction between these three aspects of spatial creation allows for places to be constructed and identified as holding cultural significance.

The study is multi-scalar in respect to both scope of analysis and time. In respect to scope, archaeological analyses are undertaken at the region, site and artifact levels. The model is multiscalar in respect to time, examining the topics of study diachronically, tracing the production of space through time. Each temporally specific examination begins with a discussion of pertinent social mores and constructs as they effect the cognitive space created. The archaeological record is then analyzed to ascertain how cognitive spaces are manifest on the landscape. This built environment augmentation to the landscape is referred to as material space. Finally, the social space, consisting of the relationships between active agents and their material space is examined. The model postulates that it is the social space interactions between cognitive and material spaces that allows for the construction of place. The work often engages in critiques of an Anglo-centric bias in American history to offer a more balanced approach to the historical investigation of a complex borderzone.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements		ii
_ist of Tables		iii
List of Figures		iv
Chapter 1.	Introduction	1
Chapter 2.	Theory and Method	22
Chapter 3.	Area of Study	48
Chapter 4.	Sixteenth Century Spatial Relations in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley	77
Chapter 5.	Seventeenth Century Spatial Relations in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley	135
Chapter 6.	Eighteenth Century Spatial Relations in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley	194
Chapter 7.	Concluding Thoughts	301
Appendix A		323
Appendix B		339
Bibliography		343

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LIST OF TABLES

1.	Iroquois Place Names in the Champlain Valley	86
2.	Information on Allan Point	88
3.	Toponyms Compiled by Day	91
4.	Peaks visible from the Summit of Mont Royal	96
5.	Gross Tally of Abenaki Terms Garnered from Laurent 2010 [1884]	98
6.	Chart Correlating to Figure of St. Lawrence Iroquoian Sites	130
7.	Historical References to the Settlement Landscape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley During the Interbellum Years	196
8.	French Vessels Constructed at Saint-Jean During the Seven Years War	268
9.	Rogers Rangers Raids on Fort Saint-Frédéric	290

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Graphic Representation of Diachronic Regional Spatiality.	47
2.	Topographical Map Showing a Rudimentary Relief of the Project Area	49
3.	Map Showing Pertinent Historical and Archaeological Sites	51
4.	Champlain's Woodcut of the Battle of July 30th, 1609	59
5.	Map of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley	69
6.	Map Dating from 1759, showing His Majesty's Fort at Crown Point and outerworks.	75
7.	Map of the Pre-contact Borderzone	79
8.	Map showing the Locations of Iroquois Toponyms	87
9.	Map showing the Locations of Abenaki Toponyms	90
10.	Topographical Map Showing the Diffusion of the Narrower Lake Champlain Valley northward to the Richelieu River Valley and the St. Lawrence Lowlands.	93
11.	View Shed Analysis of the Peaks Visible from Mont Royal	94
12.	View Shed Analysis of the Lake Champlain Richelieu Valley as Visible from Mont Royal	95
13.	Champlain's Rendering of a Huron in Armor circa 1608 – 1615.	97
14.	Map of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley dated 1740	101
15.	Map of the Northeast region taken from Wiseman 2001:16	106
16.	Composite Image of Algonquin and Iroquian Ceramics	111
17.	Late Woodland and Contact Period Projectile Points	113

18. Map Showing Settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley ca. 1535	118
19. Map Showing the Location of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian Political Provinces and Clusters	122
20. Composite Image of St. Lawrence Iroquoian Ceramics Recovered from Vermont	123
21. Map of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian Northern Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Cluster.	124
22. Radio Carbon Dates from the Bohannon Site	126
23. Map of the Locations of St. Lawrence Iroquoian Components in the Northern Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Cluster	130
24. New York Department of Education Interpretive Sign Denoting the location of Champlain's 1609 Battle	140
25. Map Showing the Locations of Mohawk Sites	144
26. Map Showing the Territories Claimed by each of the Native Nations in the Project Area	144
27. A circa 1665 Map Showing the Carignan-Salières Regiment Forts.	146
28. Carte des Forts du Richelieu dressee en 1666 pour la Compagne du Regiment de Carignan-Salière	146
29. Archaeological Sketch Map of Curtain Walls at Fort St. Louis.	147
30. Fort Chambly National Historic Site of Canada Interpreative Map of Archaeological Remains	147
31. A 1938 Aerial Photo of Ilse Sainte-Therese.	149
32. Images of the Post Molds Relating to the Curtain wall of Fort Sainte-Therese, 1665	151

33. Reproduction of the Curtain Wall and Banquette Based on Archaeological Evidence, Fort Sainte-Thérèse.	151
34. Plan View of the Post Molds - Fort Sainte-Thérèse.	152
35. Bernier's Projection of the Outline of Fort Sainte-Thérèse.	153
36. Bernier's Reconstruction Bastions and Measurements of Sainte-Thérèse	154
37. Map of the Projected Location of Fort l'Assomption on the Grounds of Royal Military College-Saint-Jean.	159
38. Map of Fort Richelieu at Sorel Circa 1695	161
39. The Original Castello Plan of New Amsterdam, circa 1660	164
40. Romer Map of Schenectady Circa 1698	166
41. Overlay of Schenectady NY Showing the Supposed Location of the 1664/1691 City Wall	167
42. Nicholas Sanson's map, Le Canada ou Nouvelle France Circa 1656.	169
43. Map Showing D'Avaugour's projected cognitive space of New France's southern border, as well as the material space of 1665-1666 forts constructed by the Carignan-Salières.	175
44. Compiled Satellite Images Showing the Riverine locations of each of the Four Northern Most Carignan-Salières Forts.	177
45. Satellite Image of the location of Fort Sainte-Anne on Isle La Motte, VT.	179
46. Satellite Images of the Middle Three Fortifications showing the Roads Connecting the Sites.	180
47. Highway Sign with the Moniker <i>Autoroute de La Vallee-des-</i>	195

48. Compiled Map of Settlement Sites along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley during the Interbellum	400
Period.	198
49. Vauban Style Schematics	206
50. A Plate from "Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers" First & Folio Edition by Denis Diderot & Jean le Rond d'Alembert.	207
51. Composite Map of french Seigneriues and English Land Grants in the Project Area	218
52. LiDAR image of Crown Point, NY.	219
53. Composite of Seigneurie Map and Google Earth Images Showing 'Long Lot' Signatures	219
54. Snippit from the Map of Lake Champlain by Mr. Anger, Kings Surveyor in 1732, showing 'Maison Lydius'.	222
55. Compiled Map and Satiellite Image of Fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure dated 1731.	233
56. Viewshed Analysis from the Remains of Fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure on Chimney Point, VT.	235
57. Architectual Drawings of the proposed Fort Saint-Frédéric	236
58. Composite Figure Showing Several Image of Fort Saint-Frédéric.	237
59. Photo of Vauban Designed and Constructed Harbor Defense at Tour de Camaret, near Brest, France.	238
60. Inset Image Taken from a 1740 map showing Fort Saint-Frédéric and the Windmill/Redoubt.	239
61. Viewshed Analysis of Approaches to Fort Saint-Frédéric.	240
62. Looking North at Lake Champlain from the Ruins of Fort Saint-Frédéric.	241

63.	Section from the 'Plan of the fort and fortress at Crown Point with their environs.	242
64.	Photo of the Northeast Bastion/Citadel of Fort Saint- Frédéric Taken from the Hull of a Canoe.	244
65.	Map of Fort Saint- Frédéric Created in 1744 for the British Military Interests at Albany	246
66.	Exceprts from 'Plan of the Fort and Fortress at Crown Point with their Environs.	246
67.	Chart of the Estimated Population of the Community Surrounding Fort Saint-Frédéric.	248
68.	Composite Satellite Image Showing Location of the Champlain Bridge, Relative to DAR State Park	250
69.	Carte Depuis la Prairie de la Magdelaine Jusques a la Riviere de Chambly ou est Marque le Chemin de la Prairie a Chambly et le Chemin Projete jusqu' au Dessus du Rapide St. Jean ou Mouille la Barque du Lac Champlain	253
70.	Plan for the Construction of Fort Saint-Jean, 1748.	254
71.	An edited Version of the Plan for the Construction of Fort Saint-Jean, 1748 Showing Excavation Units 40G100N and 40G100M.	256
72.	Image Compiling multiple Drawings for the East (river facing) Facade of Fort Saint-Jean.	258
73.	Photo Showing the Stone Foundations of the Northeast Bastion of the 1748 Fort	259
74.	Two Photos Showing the Remains of the Wooden Curtain Wall related the 1748 Itteration of Saint-Jean	260
75.	Wood Remains Recovered from Excavation Unit 40G100A/E at Saint-Jean	261

76. A Representative Sample of Artifacts Recovered at Fort Saint-Jean	264
77. Schematic plans for his Majesty's Schooner Carlton	268
78. Birch Bark Canoe Remains In-situ	271
79. Birch Bark Artifact After Conservation	273
80. Birch Bark Recovered from 40G100H	273
81. Remains of one of the Shelburne Pond Canoes	276
82. Composite Image of Archaeologically Recovered Bateaux.	278
83. Composite Map of the Borderzone Drawn from Pehr Kalm's Description	282
84. A Rather Inaccurate Map Drawn by Maj.Rogers on one of his Intelligence Gathering Missions	289
85. Excerpt from a Map of the Siege of Fort William Henry.	295
86. Map Showing the French Fortification on Ilse-aux Noix.	297

CHAPTER ONE Introduction

"the world is based on the limit... Heaven and earth are separated by the limit... Everything has a limit" (Bourdieu 1977:124)

Our world is a place defined by borders and boundaries. It is the fundamental human need to classify all aspects of life that has created the social and political institution of borders. These borders permeate our existence. All aspects of our lives can be tied to the placement of boundaries. Personal property, political systems, and ethnic affiliation, among countless other cultural memes, can be delineated by boundary lines. In a seemingly binary system, it is the specific geographic locations where boundaries meet and overlap that create spaces of interest for study. Where there is a confluence and overlay of borders, the social construct of the *borderzone* is created.

I have employed the term *borderzone* to refer to a physical place or 'zone' of interaction between multiple previously distinct peoples. It is a forgone conclusion that the *borderzone* is an arena of conflict. Within this study, the *borderzone* is not considered to be solely the product of lines on a map. Political borders represented by lines on a map only provide a geographic arena, or a playing field, for the construction of the *borderzone* places. The *borderzone* is created by socially constructed space. It is the people on the landscape that construct *borderzone* places. These *borderzone*s exist all over the world. Several of these well-known zones include the West Bank, the Alsace, and the Korean Demilitarized Zone. These *borderzones* have the common thread of existing at the confluence of physical and socially constructed space.

This dissertation addresses issues of historic border interactions, and the social construction of places in the liminal, *borderzone* through the theoretical paradigm of

spatiality. I have devised a model, diachronic regional spatiality, which was designed for tracking the processes of social space creation that lead to the development of contested spaces and places within a landscape. This method is rooted in the work of James Delle (1998), and informed by other influences within landscape archaeology, as well as the broader field of historical archaeology. While Delle employed spatiality to investigate power and modes of production in Jamaican sugar plantations; I employ the model to investigate the existence of these highly contested *borderzone* spaces and places on the edge of the spheres of influence dominated by differing ethnicities and nationalities.

As a case study, I have chosen to explore the *borderzone* within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley (LCRRV). Bounded on the east by the Green Mountains and on the west by the Adirondacks, the greater valley stretches from Fort Chambly in the St. Lawrence Lowlands to Fort William Henry at the south end of Lake George. The *Valley des Forts* has seen the convergence of Abenaki, Mohawk, Saint-Lawrence Iroquoian, Mohican, French, Dutch, British, American and Canadian borders and boundaries for the last 400 plus years. The *borderzone* is, by definition, not a single finite location, but a dynamic space that moves on the landscape within a larger geographic region; a geographic region which straddles the modern United States Canadian border.

As this dissertation deals with both European and the indigenous people within a dynamic space of conflict and compromise, a brief note on nomenclature must be included. The body of this work draws on literature hailing from both the United States and Canada, the indigenous peoples of North America are referred to by the names of their individual nations as well as collectively 'Native Americans' and or 'First Nations'.

Given that both the terms 'Native Americans' and 'First Nations' are colonial contrived

exonyms, implying a cohesive, and homogeneous nature between the individual Native nations of North America when no such cohesive nature existed (Wachal 2000; Gibson 2009). Throughout this dissertation I employ the name of the individual native band and/or nation whenever possible. When speaking in the collective, I employ the more general term Native peoples, to mean any group whose arrival predated the generally accepted dates of European in the LCRRV. I do also employ the terms Native American and First Nations when referring to Native groups that hail from the United States and Canada, respectively. This is done largely for the continuity between this dissertation and the body of anthropological historical literature.

At its core, my dissertation is a regional synthesis, the archaeological investigations I have undertaken at Fort Saint-Jean, Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Québec, serve as the primary point of departure which influences my examination of the social processes of border creation, and historic border interactions of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. During the various phases of historic occupation at the persistent place of Fort Saint-Jean, the role of the site as a border post or border-supporting supply depot changed as various boundaries ebbed and flowed east and west, north and south. Material culture at the site, and throughout the valley, changed with the shifting occupations by European and North American powers.

While the dissertation seemingly focuses on Saint-Jean and other military sites that punctuate the *borderzone*, at the center of the discussion is the social and political construct that exists between the military, domestic, mission and other civilian archaeological remains. An investigation of these social constructs differs greatly from the typical emphasis of military archaeology, which is most concerned with the fortifications themselves, arms and ordinance, and the actual battles (Scott and McFeaters 2011).

The primary objective of this study is to test diachronic regional spatiality as a model for investigating the creation of space and place. The model involves a review of the historical, ethno-historical and archaeological evidence, to examine that nature and extent of the *borderzone* existing between multiple nations and ethnicities. This study is diachronic in nature, investigating several historical events between initial contact and the conquest (*La Conquête*) of Canada by British forces in 1760. When taken collectively, the study offers input into the historical development of the modern *borderzone*.

The Model of Diachronic Regional Spatiality

Diachronic regional spatiality as a tripartite model for examining the creation of space in historical context. I have adapted the model from James Delle's (1998) An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains. Where Delle's tripartite model focused on spatial analysis of social control related to power and the production of capital in a plantation environment; I have employed the model to examine the contest and compromise inherent in the creation of a borderzone. The model consists of three facets of space that are examined individually, and in concert, within a landscape to examine the use of space in complex social processes. The three facets of space are cognitive space, material space and social space. The cognitive space is the mental process by which people interpret and render their surroundings. This rendering can be solely cognitive, as in the creation of a mental map or sense of belonging. The rendering can also be manifest in a written form, a map or description of an area. The material space can be defined as the built environment. This consists of all aspects of the physical space that was created or modified by humans, or the landscape on which individuals interact. 3) The social space is defined as the complex set of spatial relationships that exist between active agents and the material space which they occupy.

To fully trace the impact of the creation of space on social processes, diachronic regional spatiality is multi-scalar in the facets of both time and space. The temporal scale of the approach is manifest by examining several events within their own particular historical and cultural context chronologically. The method is multi-scalar in regards to space as it mandates that researchers examine archaeological remains at the regional, site, and individual artifact, "small finds" level.

Larger Theoretical Perspectives

The theoretical and methodological bases of this dissertation draw on a diverse body of scholarship. To complete this study, I have drawn on the bodies of scholarship of *Anthropology and Archaeology of Frontiers and Borders*, *Conflict Archaeology*, and the *Anthropology of Fear/Security*. The following provides the reader with a brief review of each of these perspectives as well as defines the niche filled by this work in the larger bodies of literature.

Borders and Frontiers

Border Anthropology

Borders and frontiers have been topics of continuing discussion in the scholarly work of geographers, economists, political scientists, anthropologists and archaeologists for some time (For example: Holdich 1916; Turner 1920; Pounds 1951; Jones 1959; Lattimore 1962; Barth 1969,1994; Lefferts 1977; Wishart 1977; Axtell 1981; Cook 1981; Deagan 1985; Paynter 1985; Farnsworth 1989; Sahlins 1990; Cordell and Yannie 1991; Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba 1991; White 1991; Whittaker 1994; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Hill 1996; Castronovo 1997; Hinderaker 1997; Lugo 1997; Michaelsen 1997; Faragher 1998; Stark 1998; Adelman and Aron 1999; Schubert 1999; Burley 2000; Richter 2001; Hinderaker and Mancall 2003; Aron 2005; Rodseth 2005; Diener and

Hagen 2010; Zartman 2010; Manore 2011). Within the field of anthropology there are two distinct groups of border literature, one in cultural anthropology (Alvarez 1995, 1999; Lugo 1997; Zartman 2010) and one in archaeology (Green and Perlman 1985; Hodder 1985; Paynter 1985; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Aron 2005; Parker 2006). *The Anthropology of Borderlands* is defined as the study of the set of practices defined and determined by the US/Mexican border that is characterized by conflict, contradiction material and ideational (Alvarez 1995:448). This work has been undertaken by both historical and contemporary anthropologists. In both cases, the work is indivisibly tied to the history, historiography, and social mores of the US/Mexican border. My work fits within the definition of a 'set of practices determined by a border that is characterized by conflict, contradiction material and ideational'. Yet, it is focused on the US/Canadian border. Entering these discussions would drive the field to expand focus to include the social and political entanglements of the past that created the modern US/Canadian border.

The current socio-political climate regarding the reinforcement of fences and construction of a border wall will no doubt spur additional interest in anthropological investigation of the Mexican-American border. Additionally, this interest in a southern wall prompted a Canadian joke about the construction of a border wall between the US and Canada to keep out liberal American refugees fleeing north (Massell 2017). Recent American policies aimed at foreign nationals living in the United States, have frightened individuals fearing for their safety and legal status into walking north into Canada, in pursuit of political asylum (Hopkins 2017; Massell 2017). This influx of asylum seekers to Canada has driven the Canadian Customs and Immigration Union to call for increased security along the United States border. In January 2017, 382 people made asylum claims at a single entry point on the direct route between Montreal and New York City.

During the week of 26 February– 4 March 2017, 200 individuals entered illegally through the same port (Hopkins 2017). The border crossing in question, Saint Bernard-de-LaColle port, is dear to me personally. This is the port through which my grandmother emigrated to the United States as a child, and one of the crossings which I travel through to undertake my research at Fort Saint-Jean.

United States Customs and Immigration officials along the US - Canadian Border in Northern Vermont and New York have been under media scrutiny lately as well. In February, two instances of Canadian citizens of Middle-Eastern descent being barred entry into the US made national news. In both cases, the individuals denied entry held valid Canadian passports. At the Derby Line, VT (Interstate 91) port of entry, a Canadian college track runner of Egyptian descent was denied entry. This student was traveling with his team from the University of Sherbrooke, QC, to attend a meet in Boston. His Canadian passport was valid until 2022 (CNN-WCAX 2017). At the Highgate Springs, VT (Interstate 89) port of entry, a family of Canadian citizens of Moroccan descent traveling to Burlington, VT to purchase toys for their child recovering from chemotherapy were denied entry for no readily identifiable purpose (Dumont 2017). The increased attention to the Northern border and emigration issues will no doubt foster further investigation of border anthropology along the US-Canadian border. My dissertation will find a niche in this emerging body of literature.

The Archaeology of Frontier and Borders

Archaeological literature has long been engaged in the discussion of borders.

Many of the archaeological studies of frontiers and boundaries are informed by the colonialist perspective of core periphery relationships between the frontier and the metropol (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:471). In their *Annual Review of Anthropology* article, *Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Prospective*, Lightfoot and Martinez

(1995:471) identify three problems with the core periphery colonialist models of territorial expansion and boundary maintenance. 'These problems are (a) insular models of cultural change that treat frontiers as passive recipients of core innovations, (b) the reliance on macro skills analysis employed in frontier research, and (c) the expectation of sharp frontier boundaries visible in material culture. Not truly a traditional review article, Lightfoot and Martinez spend the balance of the piece reconceptualizing frontiers as zones of cross-cutting social networks, a model largely influenced by their work on fur trade posts in western North America (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 474). My application of diachronic regional spatiality follows the Lightfoot and Martinez (1995: 474) suggestion that frontiers should be considered zones of crosscutting social networks significant to the study of culture change. The authors identify archaeologists as being in the 'inevitable position to examine culture contact situations using diachronic, multiscalar or approaches, allowing us to examine diverse colonial and indigenous peoples before, during, and after their encounters in multiple frontier and homeland contexts' (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 474). By examining what I have termed borderzones as places constructed by cognitive, material and social spaces, I have been able to operationalize a diachronic multi-scalar approach examining colonial and indigenous people in a 'frontier' setting.

It is worth noting that in addition to the body of work which engages in critical discussion and evaluation of the frontier model, there are numerous examples of scholarship in the fields of historical archaeology and history that employ the terms border, frontier, borderlands, periphery etc. without critically engaging with the terms (Mandell 1996; Hinderaker and Mancall 2003; Stagg 2003; Peyser and Brandão 2008 for example). These works employ each of the terms in a variety of ways, but most frequently they are simply employing the terms as a geographic reference in their

particular time or region of study. One example of this is Mandell's (1996) work, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth Century Eastern Massachusetts*. This piece and others use frontier to denote the 'edge of civilization', beyond which exists either nothingness or some outer darkness. A modern critical reading of this source implies a pejorative of Native peoples, many of whom live beyond the aforementioned frontiers. In several instances, frontier imagery is still being used by historians in the vein of Frederick Jackson Turner's manifest destiny model.

Conflict Archaeologies

Since the archaeological basis of my research is centered on the forts of Champlain/Richelieu River Valley and the surrounding military and civilian sites in the *Valley des Forts*, a discussion of my position within the field of military archaeologies is warranted. Throughout the dissertation, but most notably in Chapter Six, I limit the discussion of military action on the creation of *borderzones* in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, yet due to the archaeological evidence available, I'm forced to employ information derived from military archaeological sites.

The pre-occupation with violence in the archaeological record has been noted by gendered post-modern reflections on the practice of archaeology to have been a result of the masculine identities of archaeologists (Tanner 1981; Conkey and Spector 1984; Wylie 1996, 1997). Most notable, and nearly comical, examples of this pre-occupation with conflict and violence tied to the masculinity of the practicing archeologist include the Killer Ape theory first proliferated by Raymond Dart (1953) in the 1950s. In historical archaeology, conflict archaeology has become a dynamic area of investigation (Scott and McFeaters 2011:104). In addition to scholarly work in prehistoric archaeology and paleoanthropology, the popular culture of violence may have had a greater influence on conflict archaeology. An example of this popular culture seepage is the seemingly

spaghetti western inspired interpretations of bottle shattering bar brawls outside of the Wetherburn Tavern in Colonial Williamsburg (Noel Hume 1968, 1969).

While archaeologists have long busied themselves with studies of sites associated with warfare and violence, the proliferation of multiple terms for military-related archaeology is a recent development. Archaeologists have typically engaged in new periods of study by first examining military artifacts and architecture (Schofield 2005:13). In recent years, the terms *Archaeology of Conflict Sites*, *Archaeology of War* (Gould 1983), *Archaeology of Warfare* (Arkush and Allen 2006) *Archaeology of Wars and Violence* (Carmen 1997; Armit et al. 2006), *Battlefield Archaeology* (Snow 1981; Freeman and Pollard 2001; Conlin and Russell 2006; Scott et al. 2007; Altizer 2008), *The Archaeology of Forts and Battlefields* (Starbuck 2011), *Combat Archaeology* (Schofield 2005), *Conflict Archaeology* (Schofield et al. 2002; Scott and McFeaters 2011; Carmen 2013) and *Forensic Archaeology* (Morse et al.1983; Sigler-Eisenberg 1985; Hunter 1994; Hoshower 1998) have all been used to describe new and ongoing excavations with varying degrees of military focus. For the purpose of this work I employ the collective term of *conflict archaeologies* to encompass all of the above terms.

Where does this work fit within the scope of conflict archaeology?
The pre-occupation of conflict archaeologies is especially prevalent in the geotemporal region of 17th and 18th century New France/New England. In the literature review of the Society of Historical Archaeology publication, 'The Archaeology of French Colonial North America English/French Edition' author and editor of that volume, Greg Waselkov (1997: 27) cites a fascination with military sites as one of the three principle tacks of the early archaeological investigation of French colonization in North America. This fascination with military sites seems to have been manifested through archaeological investigation at the sites of forts in New England and New France.

In this dissertation, I employ archaeological data collected in and around both military and domestic sites to address questions on the wide-ranging discussion of colonial encounters in New France and New England. While it is accurate that this dissertation is largely based on the analysis of military sites, the research questions I have chosen to investigate should not be interpreted as solely of conventional military importance. My dissertation is not alone in this focus. When one critically examines the archaeological knowledge produced through archaeology at fort sites throughout North America, a segment of the body of literature does not directly examine military conflict. One notable example of this is the work of Michael Nassaney, and his colleagues and students as Fort St. Joseph, in Niles, MI (Cremin and Nassaney 2003; Becker 2004; Giordano and Nassaney 2004; Brandão and Nassaney 2006, 2008; Nassaney et al. 2007, 2012; Nassaney 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2016; Nassaney and Brandão 2009; Malischke 2009; Martinez 2009; Beaupré 2010, 2011; Carvalhes 2011; Kerr 2012; Nassaney et al. 2007; 2012; Berliner and Nassaney 2015; Hearns 2015; Nassaney and Martin 2017). This literature represents both scholarly and grey literature, and has focused on a number of wide-ranging topics of varying anthropological significance. These topics include métissage/ethnogenesis and/or identity formation (Becker 2004: Malischke 2009; Nassaney 2008b, 2011, 2012; Nassaney and Brandão 2009); the role of religion on and around this frontier outpost (Brandão and Nassaney 2008; Beaupré 2010, 2011); food ways in the form of both zooarchaeological and paleo-botanical studies (Cremin and Nassaney 2003; Becker 2004; Martinez 2009; Hearns 2015; Nassaney and Martin 2017); personal adornment studies (Giordano 2005; Malischke, 2009; Kerr 2012;) and craft production and economic studies (Giordano 2005; Beaupré 2010; Nassaney et al. 2007; 2012); site in relation to the Great Lakes fur trade (Nassaney 2015;) and the high profile role of public interaction at the site (Berliner and

Nassaney 2015; Nassaney 2008c; 2015). It is clear that the archaeology of colonial sites can offer much more than a discussion of the numerous wars in which the European colonial powers played a key role. These works typify an anthropologically-focused archaeological approach to colonial period historic sites.

The *borderzone* is a social and political construct and while the border fortifications are a facet of the *borderzone*, they are but one aspect of the larger issues being addressed. Consequently, at prima facie inspection my research is based on military sites, but it does not fall into the categories of *Archaeology of War*, *Archaeology of Wars and Violence*, *Battlefield Archaeology*, *or Combat Archaeology*. While I am uncomfortable to attribute this work to any of the above terms, this dissertation clearly falls under the umbrella of Conflict Archaeology. The *borderzone* is, by definition, a contested space, or a zone of *conflict* and compromise. *Conflict archaeology* appears to be the only term within the group of military related archaeologies that applies to my research.

Anthropology of Fear and the Construction of the Space of Safety

An aspect of my consideration of the *borderzone* is the role fear and security play in the creation of both finite borders and their surround buffer/*borderzone*s. A review of the literature denotes that the archaeology of colonialism and fear go hand-in-hand, yet the study of fear as a motivator for material and social change, and social reproduction is an underdeveloped body of literature. The Anthropology of Fear, termed *sociophobics* by David Scruton in his edited volume by the same name, has not made an indelible mark on the wider discipline. Scruton (1986: ix) noted that, 'sociophobics is a neologism. I hope it will be a useful one, but that is something the learned community must decide'. Considering the dearth of *sociophobics* literature, I believe the academy has spoken.

While sociophobics is not a household term, fear has been a long-standing topic

within anthropology. When explicitly examined it is most frequently couched within the *Anthropology of Emotion* literature (Shweder and LeVine 1984; Lutz and White 1986; Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990; Leavitt 1996; Beatty 2013, 2014; Fleisher and Norman 2016). A critical examination of fear as a motivator is a valuable currency within a discussion of complex social processes of the *borderzone*.

Anthropologist Mary Douglas (1966:5) long ago observed that fear is essentially concerned with boundaries and the transgression of boundaries. Douglas (1966) examined the boundaries separating insiders and outsiders, allies and strangers, the clean and unclean, purity and danger, as the underlying relationship of order to disorder. The boundaries and borders of this dissertation, as defined earlier in this chapter are more literal that those being discussed by Douglas. August Carbonella (2009) employed Mary Douglas as a springboard, defining the antithesis of structures of fear as spaces of hope. I instead employ Mary Douglas's definition of fear as the transgression of boundaries and relate it directly to the bounded nature of a specific, socially constructed safe place, within specific places along the *borderzone* landscape. This shift between hope being the antithesis of fear and safety or security being the antithesis of fear also brings the anthropology of security into the discussion.

Following the events of September 11th, 2001, the world changed (Lipschutz 2009; Goldstein 2010; Dalby 2011). The mechanics of world borders and American borders particularly, made a drastic shift. The post-911 world drew attention to global security and thus, the Anthropology of Security. Daniel M Goldstein (2010) and numerous respondents have mused on the topic of security and rights in the post-9/11 world, laboring to create a critical anthropology of security. Goldstein (2010:490) notes that, 'scholars of international relations typically locate security and the ability to create it within the state, and indeed, any understanding of security must consider both the role of

the state as a security-making entity and the importance of "security" for legitimizing the state'. Security by this definition falls solely to the matters of military affairs, the defense of the state being a single most important factor in defining a threat as security-related (Goldstein 2010:489). This 'traditionalist' view is seemingly drawn directly from the pervasive theme of fear in the works of Thomas Hobbes, who famously identified the provision of security as the basic function of the state. For Hobbes, 'fear was the catalyst motivating the formation of not only the state but of a collective moral ethos of which all citizens partook' (Goldstein 2010:490). The remainder of Goldstein's (2010) argument follows the critical examination of 'security' and 'security talk' as means for removing the individual rights of citizens in Latin America and thus making direct comparisons to security discourse within the United States. Thankfully, he does this without citing the cliché attributed to Benjamin Franklin, "Those who surrender freedom for security will not have, nor do they deserve, either one." While the discussion of the removal of rights is not central to the argument which I make throughout this dissertation, a central concern of my work is an objective 'security' as the antithesis of fear. When security is placed in juxtaposition with the Mary Douglas definition of fear caused by the transgression of boundaries, this pairing plays well into my discussion of the borderzone.

I am far from the only archaeologist investigating questions related to security in zones of culture contact. Archaeologists working in the American Southeast, including John Collier, Craig Sheldon, Greg Waselkov and Cameron Wesson have discussed fear as a motivator for social change among Native American groups after the Spanish arrived in the region (Wesson 2012). Wesson (2012:7) characterizes many archaeological examinations of fear being colonialist in nature, stating,

'Much has been written about the nature of indigenous fear in the face of European civilization but far less scrutiny has been applied to the examination of

the fear that permeated the colonizers conscious and unconscious mind's eye. Contemporary understanding of historical colonialism and archaeological context is made all the weaker for continuing to perpetuate visions of colonies occupied by dutiful Royal subjects acting in perfect conformity with traditions of propriety expected by their colonial administrators in European capitals, and going to sleep each night in the setting apparently without any concern that they were commonly outnumbered by the colonized 1000 to 1'

Wesson then calls for an examination of interaction between European colonizers and Native peoples where the structures of fear are understood as permeating these exchanges from the perspective of all parties (Wesson 2012:8).

In summation, I have utilized pre-existing anthropological investigations of fear to identify fear as a motivator of space and place creation within the *borderzone*. I have attempted to answer Wesson's (2012:8) call to analyze fear felt by the Europeans within zones of culture contact. Utilizing the "traditionalist" view of security as relating directly to military matters of the state, I posit the sparse European settlements within the *borderzone* as places of safety and security bounded by the social space of colonial agents' interactions with their material space. Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter Six, Mary Douglas's understanding of fear as a transgression of borders plays an integral role in unraveling the cognitive space of the 18th-century *borderzone*, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley

Looking Ahead

The topic of my research centers on the study of borderlands. Specifically, I investigate the placement of cultural, ethnic and national borders through the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Valley (LCRRV) during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The overall theme for examination is how the territorial *borderzone* of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley influenced the social practices and thinking of the occupants, how different categories of people (Abenaki, American, British, English-Canadian, French, French-Canadien, Mohawk, and Saint-Lawrence Iroquoian) negotiated and manipulated

the borders differently. This discussion is separated by temporal phase to better analyze the variables of the timeline, as the formation of borders is historically dependent.

Temporally specific questions are examined chronologically beginning with Chapter Four. Chapters Two and Three provide the reader with required background information.

Chapter Two offers the reader an in-depth discussion of my model for the investigation of spatiality. The chapter addresses the influences that led to the creation of diachronic regional spatiality, the specific research methods involved, and the theoretical background necessary to defend each method chosen. Chapter Three defines the project area (LCRRV) geographically and offers a brief historical outline of the same. This chapter is little more than an expanded timeline, listing the watershed events that took place in the specific geographic area. Throughout the dissertation, I make more than a passing reference to the fact that the majority of research related to this specific region is dependent upon military interaction. Therefore, the content of Chapter Three, being heavy on military conflict, is apparently hypocritical. However, it is vital that the reader has an understanding of the broader historic political situation in which the study takes place. The clear majority of authors creating the historical narrative relevant to the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley are members of the "traditional history school'. This school of thought is dependent upon a historical narrative of political events, as opposed to the 'annals school' which favored broader aspects of past societies. Considering the body of literature with which I must work, informing my readers of the traditional historical narrative is a necessity.

As this study is diachronic in nature and temporally multi-scalar, these chapters Four, Five and Six follow my specific research questions and are organized chronologically. My application of the model of diachronic regional spatiality begins with the late 16th and 17th centuries. Chapter Four examines the Lake Champlain Richelieu

River Valley during the Late Woodland and Protohistoric periods of history, circa 1500-1609. The current narrative of pre-contact Native American/First Nations history along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River corridor describes the littoral system as a literal border. According to this narrative, the Western Abenaki, an Algonquin speaking people, occupied the eastern shore and the Mohawk Nation, of the Five Nations Iroquois, occupied the western shore. Chapter Four fully examines this border claim in light of ethnohistorical, linguistic, and archaeological evidence. Specific questions examined include, what can the archaeology of the Terminal Woodland Period and Protohistoric period tell is about pre-contact *borderzones*? Was the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley home to additional Native American/First Nations ethnicities? Is the use of this waterway as contested *borderzone* a European invention and product of European social memes?

The ethnohistorical and linguistic evidence offer insight into the cognitive space viewpoints of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley by Mohawk, Abenaki and other Native peoples. The archaeological evidence, offers material space correlates, and provides information from which one can infer social space implications. Most notably, archaeology and primary documents dating to the ethnographic present indicate the LCRRV may have been home to at least two additional First Nations ethnicities. Chapter Four concludes with an argument for a pre-contact/Protohistoric view of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley as a *borderzone*, a space of constant conflict and compromise, as opposed to a landmark denoting a hard and fast border line between two independent Native peoples.

Chapter Five examines the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley during the latter protohistoric and early colonial periods. During the 17th century, the valley became a space contested between European as well as Native American/First Nations powers.

With the arrival of the French Carignan-Salières Regiment and the Dutch East Indian Company in the Hudson and southern Lake Champlain Valleys, colonization and militarization of the project area began in earnest. Based on historical and limited archaeological evidence, the chapter examines the initial cognitive division of space by cartographers, followed by the material manifestation in the construction of forts and settlements within the valley. On the north end of the valley, the five French forts discussed include Fort Richelieu at Sorel, Fort Saint-Louis at Chambly (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989), Fort Saint-Thérèse (Bernier 2011), Fort l'Assomption at Saint-Jean (Bernier 2013; Beaupre 2013a, 2015a, 2015b) and Fort Sainte-Anne on Isle Motte, Vermont (Desany 2006a, 2006b). Dutch sites discussed include Fort Orange and its associated village of Beverwijck, in what would become Albany, New York and Lydius Trading Post in what would become Fort Edward, New York (Huey 1974, 1984, 1988, 1991, 1995, 2005). In the spirit of continuing the diachronic study, the chapter examines the creation of space through the placement of 17th century fortifications and mission communities on the landscape relative to the Native American created social spatial divisions within the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Valley discussed in Chapter Four. Chapter Five asks what role European on European conflicts played in the 17th century borderzone creation. The chapter closes with the discussion of the affects the 17th century *borderzone* had on the settlement of the region during 18th century.

Chapter Six proves to be the largest and most in-depth analysis of borderzone space creation in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. The chapter begins with a virtual landscape I compiled by citing historical references of French settlement in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. The existence and indeed, thriving nature of these multiple French settlements is counter to the established historical narrative which indicates French civilian involvement in the

southern end of Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was ephemeral at best (Pell 1990 [1935]; Leckie 1999; Chartrand 2000, 2013; Coffin et al.2005; Nester2008; Peebles et al. 2009; Bellico 2010; Laramie 2012a, 2012b; Travers 2015).

Once the historiographic baseline is established, the chapter moves to an examination of three underlying 18th century social constructs that are foundational to the cognitive space and led to the manifestation of material space on the landscape. The first of these social constructs are the French ideologies relating to natural borders, les limites naturelles and frontières naturelles, (Labbe 1646, 1652; Sorel 1885; Dainville 1940; Pound 1951; Sahlins 1990). Both les limites naturelles and frontières naturelles, relate to the ways in which the French demarcated their political space on the European continent. This dissertation marks the first time these theories have been applied to French holdings in North America. The second of these social constructs is positional warfare. More a military strategy than social meme, positional warfare relates directly to the division of cognitive space and manifestation of the material space of settlements. Thus, the social space created by the interaction between material and cognitive spaces. The strategy of positional warfare encompasses the concepts of a military post, its supply, maintenance, and development of civilian settlement around said installation (Fisher and Huey 2013: 186; Lynn 2013:72). The French strategy of positional warfare was deeply embedded in the ideology of 18th century European society being a holdover from the Middle Ages (Vauban 1968; Fisher and Huey 2013). Positions, or the placements of fortifications, were largely influenced by the previously discussed theories of *limites naturelles*, and frontières naturelles. The most noteworthy advocate for positional warfare is the famed French military engineer and architect, Sebastian de Vauban. Vauban's codification of defensive strategy drove not only French military engineering, but the military

engineering of all Europe and European colonies. The third and final social construct discussed was that of the seigneurial system; the 18th century French manifestation of the feudal system (Harris 1966:3; Grenier 2005, 2007, 2012; Senécal 2009; Gagne 2016). At the dawn of the 17th century, when settlement of New France began in earnest, the seigneurial system was a well-established system of *noblesse* controlled spatial division in France. The axiom central to French feudalism, "no land without a seigneur," formed the basis for the system of land distribution in New France. The specific division of land into seigneuries, and lands granted to individuals, into long and narrow rectangles gave the seigneurial system its nickname of 'long lot agriculture'.

The chapter then goes on to discuss how each of these social constructs affected cognitive, material and social spaces at the regional, site, and artifact level. One example of this influence can be seen in the direct manifestation of the seigneurial system on the landscape. While the French farmers may be long gone from the south end of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, the 'long lots' can still be seen on satellite photos. In an attempt to move away from the military centered discussion of space creation, I focused the 18th-century discussion on a period between the end of King Williams War and prior to the beginning of the Seven Years War. By examining this "interbellum' period, a time when open hostilities in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River corridor were minimal, I was able to access the effect of civilian settlement on the landscape. Citing the lack of archaeological corroboration to the virtual historical landscape discussed above, I examine space creation at two sites with which I'm intimately associated, the ruins and environs of Fort Saint-Frederic and Chimney Point at the southern end of Lake Champlain and the site of Fort Saint-Jean, Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Québec.

At prima facie inspection, the establishment of an agrarian community, complete with women and children thriving at Fort Saint-Frederic, mere miles from the front lines on the eve of the Seven Years War seems quite enigmatic. By employing the archaeological record, primary source documentation and secondary historical sources, the chapter infers reasons for this community's existence, describing the development of a 'safe social space' that was created. This 'safe space' reinforced by *les limites naturelles* of inland mountainous borders which they shared with their Abenaki neighbors *and 'frontières naturelles* of Lake Champlain and Lake George, the cognitive space defended by an imposing fortification, and a littoral environment cupped in a valley and protected by interconnected visual and auditory landscapes, the socially constructed 'safe space' thrived for a limited time. The chapter ends with a discussion of how the safe social space was relatively easily shattered by the realities of guerrilla and siege tactics of the Seven Years War.

The final chapter, Chapter Seven, consists of a synthesis of the dissertation, and a discussion of themes related to the *borderzone* inferred from the diachronic comparison discussion of each of the previous three chapters. Specific topics discussed include whether the themes of border creation that track through the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries still hold credence in the modern socio-political climate? Are there persistent places of note that hold cultural value through time? Do the social constructs of the colonial period have any bearing on spatial division and border creation in the 21st century? In the post-911 world, globalization has been defined by the easy circulation of goods, yet it has placed increased constraints on the mobility of people.

CHAPTER TWO Theory and Method

The theoretical and methodological bases of this dissertation draw on a diverse body of scholarship. The following chapter informs the reader of my theoretical and methodological scheme for examining *borderzone* interaction. The chapter begins with a series of border related definitions vital for the remainder of the study. The topic shifts to a discussion of the inspiration for my spatial analysis in the work of James Delle (1998, 2014). The balance of the chapter is devoted to a full explanation of diachronic regional spatiality, my methodology for examining the *borderzone*.

Definitions

Before continuing with the discussion, I feel that it is important to define the specific terms I employ in my larger discussion of border theory and the processes delineating the interaction spheres of nation/states. In the discussion of border theory, the most concise set of definitions has been recorded by archaeologist Bradley J. Parker (2006). While Parker's specific archaeological examples are drawn largely from his work in the Middle East, the terms he employs are valuable in this discussion of French, Dutch, British, Mohawk, Abenaki, Mohican and Saint Lawrence Iroquoian interaction in the multi-layered, multi-temporal borderzone. Throughout my dissertation, I use the term borderzone in a way similar to Thompson and Lamar's (1981:7) use of the word 'frontier', to refer to a physical space or 'zone' of interaction between two previously distinct peoples. I have abandoned the term frontier in view of its problematic associations with Frederick Jackson Turner's (1920) manifest destiny laden work. The abandonment of 'frontier' has proven difficult, considering I work in a region with two official languages. While the abandonment of the term frontier in English is a quite simple epistemological choice, it is more complicated in French. The word *frontière* is the

term in common use within Québec parlance referring to a physical border. This use of the word *frontière* can be noticed by the most casual of observers while approaching any modern border crossing. Additionally, the word *frontière* is used in the French translation of the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), *Agence des services frontaliers du Canada (ASFC)*.

I have chosen the term *borderzone* primarily for its elasticity. I define *borderzone* to allow for a fluid understanding of a dynamic border space that expands and contracts. While a *borderzone* exists as a physical space, the size and location of this space may be in a state of flux. I employ the singular term *border* as a linear dividing line, fixed on the landscape and intended to mark the division of political and/or administrative units (Parker 2006:79). It is important to note that a border may be an agreed upon geographic location, or a geographic location perceived by one or more peoples existing within a *borderzone*. Considering these definitions, *borderzones* can often be seen as highly contested areas that envelope the physical space on either side of a real or perceived *border*. It is this specific quality of the *borderzone* that is at the heart of this studies use of the concept.

Middle Range Theory - Operationalizing our Understanding of the Past

It is generally understood in archaeology today that past human behavior and beliefs are not 'discovered' by archaeologists, but rather archaeology endeavors to infer past behavior with varying degrees of probability (Trigger 2006:508). It is through my own model for spatial relations, when examined with respect to diachronic historical interpretation, that I infer the construction of a *borderzone* by numerous historic agents. The model I have employed is not entirely of my own design.

James Delle's Model of Spatiality

To operationalize the creation of this *borderzone*, I have chosen to employ a theoretical model based on the work of James Delle (1998). In his monograph, An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains, Delle (1998) creates a model that is the archaeological manifestation of the Production of Space theoretical framework set forth by French social theorist Henri Lefebvre. Delle's tripartite model, influenced heavily by Soja (1989), Werlen (1993) and Lefebvre (1991), consists of material space, social space and cognitive space (Delle 1998: 38). Delle defines material space as the built environment. It consists of all aspects of the physical space created or modified by humans (Delle 1998: 38). Social space is defined as the complex set of spatial relationships that exist between people and the material space. These relationships can be experienced at either the individual or cultural level (Delle 1998: 39). Three definitions are offered for cognitive space, all of which relate to mental images of space (Delle 1998:39). The concept binding these three 'qualities' or facets of space together into a holistic experience is known as spatiality (Delle 1998: 38-39). This tripartite system is the basis for my approach to understanding the creation, implementation and maintenance of the borderzone. Although Delle's tripartite model, and specifically his application of Lefebvre's (1991) Production of Space theory to a study of Jamaican coffee plantations, has inspired my approach to conceptualizing the borderzone, there are several facets of Delle's theoretical framework that I have altered. These facets include the manifestation of material space and its relation to landscape, spatial scale and temporal scale, and the inclusion of multi-vocality. I have noted each of the similarities and differences between Delle's model and mine as I outline what diachronic regional spatiality is and how it functions.

Diachronic Regional Spatiality Is...

'One should always use the archaeological record as a point of departure in conducting historical archaeological research' (Deetz 1993: 158). This statement made by Deetz is vital to the undertaking of anthropological historical archaeology. An archaeologist must use the archaeological record as a basis for the discussion of broader anthropological questions. While the goal of the research may hold a lofty rung upon the ladder of inference, the statements made must be firmly grounded in archaeological evidence. My investigation of space through the Diachronic Regional Spatiality model therefore must be grounded in archaeology. The following methods are each employed to manifest the theoretical model outlined above. Each of the methods are used to perform numerous analyses of material, social and cognitive space.

<u>Diachronic Regional Spatiality is Concerned with Space, Place and Landscape</u>

The body of archaeological literature concerned with space, place, and landscape is massive and ever-growing (Binford 1982, 1992; Cosgrove 1984, 1985; 1993; Jackson 1984; Pred 1984, 1990; Crumley and Marquardt 1990; Deetz 1990; Ingold 1993, 2010; Tilley 1994, Lekson 1996; Aston 1997; Feinman 1999; Knapp and Ashmore1999; Bradley 2000; Anschuetz et al. 2001; Philips 2003; Gallivan 2007; Hicks et al. 2007; Lloera 2007; Branton 2009; Muraca et al. 2011; Snead 2011 among many others). It is beyond my purpose here to offer a review of this literature, which could take volumes in and of itself. The purpose of this section concerning my use of space, place, and landscape is to inform the reader where my work lies within this larger body of literature and, more importantly, what aspects of the literature have informed my methodology of diachronic regional spatiality.

Landscape archaeology is defined by Branton (2009:51) as a 'framework for modeling the ways that people in the past conceptualize, organize, and manipulated their environments and the ways that those places have shaped their occupant's behaviors and identities.' In his review of landscape approaches in historical archaeology, Branton (2009:51-52) goes on to state that 'landscapes are bounded spaces in which human behaviors occur' and 'space and place are the building blocks of landscape theory and provide important vocabulary for landscape analysis'. Following these statements, landscape archaeology should be considered the parent framework for my investigation of spatiality. While I do believe they are inseparably linked, each term (landscape, space, and place) deserves a specific definition and discussion relating to how they are employed within my tripartite spatial analyses.

Delle (1998:39) credits Soja (1989) with the use of the term spatiality as the concept that binds the three facets of space into a holistic experience. 'Spatiality encompasses all three aspects of the congruent whole: all three exist simultaneously and together create a material, cognitive, and social space and process' (Delle 1998:39). This is clearly a direct outgrowth of Lefebvre's comments in which he states, "each living body is space and has its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space" (Lefebvre 1991: 169-70). While the idea of the construction of space is relatively young in the scope of human investigation of the past, archeologist have begun to take spatial relations for granted. Statements such as, 'today, understanding the reciprocity through which space constructs individual's and how these individuals in turn construct space is vital to making sense of past behavior on archaeological sites' have become commonplace in archaeological literature (Muraca et al. 2011:4). While I do share the sentiment that individuals construct space, and space constructs individuals, I do not wish to take the multiple aspects of this holistic experience for granted.

In the tripartite model I have devised, each of the three spaces, material, cognitive and social space, draw from different influences. Delle (1998:38) defined material space as synonymous with David Harvey's (1982:233) "built environment".

Delle (1998:38) follows Harvey in saying the built environment is constructed by humans and is therefore comprised of the values embedded in the physical landscape. He further asserts that a reading of the physical landscape can inform the archaeologist on the past modes of production and indicate past social processes. Therefore, change in the material space can be read to indicate a change in modes of productions and a shift in social meaning (Delle 1998:38-39).

Generally, I employ material space in a similar way to that outlined by Delle (1998:38-39). I do believe the material space can be partially defined as the built environment. However, Delle does not account for a natural, or pre-human terraforming material space. I therefore, define material space more in line with Branton's (2009:51) definition of landscape archaeology as concerned 'with both the natural and human built environment.' Material space needs to be considered an amalgamation of the built environment definition provided by Harvey through Delle and a notion of space taken from Enlightenment thinkers. Throughout the dissertation, I have used the term raw material space in the way that the works of Descartes, Newton, Locke and Kant thought of theoretical space as simultaneously defined as neutral and vacant, "a tabula rasa onto which the particularities of culture and history come to be inscribed, with place as the presumed result' (Casey 1996:14; 1997:133-196). Active human agents, whether they be of European or North American descent choose particular raw material spaces within a landscape to augment and alter to create their own built environments, or complete material spaces and places. The choices of which particular raw material spaces are

chosen for augmentation is culturally dependent. This more holistic view of material space to include the built and natural environment also owes deference to the work of Lewis (1999) and Bradley (2000).

Delle (1998:39) defined the second facet of his tripartite model, cognitive space, as consisting of three distinct aspects. First, Delle defines cognitive space 'as the mental process by which people interpret social and material spaces'. The second definition follows closely after Lefebvre (1991:40) as 'the process of cognitively defining and interpreting space'. Third, 'the concept of cognitive space also defines the process of rendering space as a globe, map, atlas, or a verbal or written description of space; in short, a symbolic representation of the world or part of it." This third definition of cognitive space is the one which I have chosen to focus on throughout my work. I see cognitive space as encompassing the idealization of material space. In the dissertation, I examine such idealizations as maps, architects and engineer's blueprints and sketches, military orders, descriptions of material space in treaties, Additionally, I include the prescribed outlines of spatial division created by social mores and constructs such as positional warfare, the seigneurial system, topographical border markers etc. as indictors of cognitive space. Delle (1998) also seems to favor this third definition of cognitive space. In his work, he compares the imagined spaces of theoretical Jamaican sugar plantations with their material space counterparts uncovered through archaeological excavation. Similar work can also be seen in formal garden spaces and other smallscale landscape studies which compare the ideal with the real (Leone 1984, 1988; Tarlow 2005; Casella 2001, 2008, 2010).

Delle (1998:38-39) defined the third facet of his tripartite model, social space, to refer to spatial relationships that exist between people within a material space as well as the relationship between people and their material space. Social space is therefore

analogous to Ingold's idea of the 'dwelling perspective' in the landscape (Ingold 1993: 153). Social space, in this usage, is a crucial component of landscape approaches in archaeology as it describes the interrelationship between a place and the human behaviors that occur within it (Branton 2009:51). The social space exists through the manifestation of cognitive space on raw material space, to create the built environment of material space and thus the *place* of the *borderzone*. These social relationships are at the heart of my investigation of the creation of the *borderzone*. Additionally, throughout the dissertation, I used the terms *safe space*, *safe social space* or *social space of safety*. These terms refer to an association between the socially constructed space and the anthropology of fear, discussed previously.

The final term that warrants discussion in this particular section is that of place. While place is an extraordinarily common term, many have found it profoundly difficult to define (Branton 2009:52). Returning to our previous discussion of the Enlightenment thinkers; the works of Descartes, Newton, Locke, and Kant, *place* was distilled to a series of constructed relationships within the tabula rasa of "space" (Casey 1996, 1997; Boroughs 2007). Within the realm of archaeology, place has emerged as an important concept. Archaeologists have acknowledged that locations take on variably significant roles within arenas of social, economic, and political action (Ashmore 2002:1176). This deference to place is due in no small part to Lewis Binford's article, "the archaeology of place" (1982). In Binford's work, place acquired a sociopolitical aspect to archaeologists interested in the structure and organization of past social organizations. Binford mandated that for the archaeologist "to understand the organization of past cultural systems one must understand the organizational relations among *places* which were differentially used during the operation of past systems" (Binford 1982:5). Inherit in Binford's definition of place is the culturally constructed value added to a specific

geographic point. This added value gives a geographic location the significance of a *place*. Branton (2009:52) describes place in reference to the common human tendency to attach cultural meaning to discrete locations. This definition ties directly back to Lefebvre (1991:101) who states, socially produced space 'implies actual or potential assembly at a single point, or around that point'. Lefebvre refers to such a point in terms of centrality. I believe *place* is the best term for this phenomenon.

In sum, numerous places can exist within a raw material space, the raw material space being the landscape on which human behaviors occur (Branton 2009:51).

Throughout this dissertation, the term *place* is identified as a specific geographic location, within the landscape, that holds cultural value due to the construction of spatiality. Additionally, in diachronic regional spatiality, I identify several places as persistent places following Schlanger (1992:92) definition of, 'a place that is used repeatedly during a long-term occupation of the region'

To gain access to an understanding of socially constructed spaces and places on the landscape, I utilize two specific research methods throughout the dissertation. These research methods are rudimentary GIS analysis and a phenomenological approach to landscape.

GIS (Geographic Information Systems).

The use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) first appeared in the 1970s and has only gained in popularity within archaeology. This increased popularity is due mostly to the availability and affordability of the necessary technology since the 1990s. Considering that this dissertation takes the form of a regional synthesis of *borderzone* creation and variations, a primary GIS analysis of settlement in the project area was a necessary step. The initial analysis of cognitive space, as indicated by historic maps, is further bolstered by the ultra-accurate plan view maps possible through the combination

of aerial and satellite photographs with laser measured topographical calculations. Considering the importance of physical markers in the French school of geographic thought (Adelman and Aron 1999:814), the GIS staple of viewshed analysis of landmarks, pathways, and waterways can aid the approximation of 16th, 17th, and 18th century perspectives of the *borderzone* landscape.

Experiencing the Landscape First hand (Dwelling in the Landscape)
While the analysis of historic maps is bolstered by the ultra-accurate plan views
of settlement landscapes available to modern archaeologists, the historic peoples that
are a focus of this study did not have the benefit of these technological advancements.
Vital to understanding the 16th, 17th, and 18th century British, Dutch, French and Native
perspective in the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Valley is the experiencing the valley
the way the people of the past did, via the water. From the 17th through the 19th
centuries, no major land route existed in the project area. Much of movement of people
and materials was via the waterway. In the summer of 2011, I received several small
research grants to perform a phenomenological landscape survey of the Lake
Champlain Richelieu River Valley.

I paddled the 114 miles of this corridor, making observations and taking numerous photos (Beaupré 2013b). From the hull of a canoe, I had an opportunity to experience the landscape just as it would have been experienced by the Native American/First Nations peoples and first European settlers to the region. The borderzone is a discussion of perceived space. A perception is, by definition, subjective. The study of subjective topics in archaeology is an outgrowth of post-processual methodologies of the 1980s that attempted to analyze human subjectivity (Johnson 2012: 207). My use of the phenomenological approach to landscape archaeology was centered on a maritime landscape, or as I have termed them 'aquascapes'. This is by no

means the first study to investigate waterways using the landscape model (Kirch 2002; Phillips 2003; Forsythe 2007; Rainbird 2007), to my knowledge it is the first to examine inland riparian and littoral environments.

The choice of employing phenomenological landscape study as a facet of my larger research plan aligns with Tim Ingold's (2010) view that for an anthropologist to make use of landscape study, he must bring knowledge to bear that is born of immediate experience. Ingold's (1993) method of 'dwelling' within the landscape is vital to the understanding of both the social and cognitive spaces. There is a tradition in geographical research that we are all cartographers in our daily lives, and that we use our bodies as surveyor's instruments, to collect sensory input. We cognitively process that sensory data into a map that we carry with us, a mental map (Ingold 2010: S134). From the information on past perspective of the landscape gained from viewshed analysis, combined with phenomenological research, one can get closer to the perceived understanding of landscape, or spatiality, held by the 16th, 17th and 18th century inhabitants of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley.

Diachronic Regional Spatiality is Multi-Scalar in Approach

Proper historical archaeological research must be scalable and therefore multi-scaler in scope (Nassaney 1997). There are several reasons for the necessity of multi-scalar research, yet there is one that resonates most profoundly with my examination of spatial definition and enforcement of the *borderzone*. One must engage in a multi-scalar approach to examine hetero vs. homogenous social change. When examining complex social processes, what appears to be homogeneous at one scale, may appear heterogeneous at another (Nassaney 1997). If this dissertation was to examine the

creation of space and place in a single scale, the idiosyncrasies and heterogeneity of the borderzone would doubtless be unidentifiable.

The body of my work functions on a multi-scalar model in two distinct scopes, space and time. I intentionally tread lightly here, I do not mean to entangle my examination of space and spatiality with Minkowski space-time (Minkowski 1908). I believe that the examination of spatiality must be in the Euclidean, or three-dimensional space perspective, with time considered as a distinct fourth dimension. Most archaeological inquiries are indeed reliant on basic Euclidean space time framework models. For traditional archaeology, discerning the 'where and when' of events was the primary task (Renfrew and Bahn 2008:175). This 'where and when' is particularly important when tracing the origins of a technology, ceramic tradition or horizon. My work does not follow the space-time block model of artifact distribution (Deetz 1967:55-57). On the contrary, I am tracking the creation of a social space of the *borderzone* in its multiple manifestations in multiple specific locations in a region through the axis of time. Following the primary tenant that anthropological archaeology must be comparative, a multiscalar approach examining multiple scales of 'when's and where's' or times and places, is vital in inferring past human complex social processes (Nassaney 1997).

Multi-Scalar Approach Regarding Time

To properly chart the spatial production of the *borderzone*, time must become a factor. It is through this multi-scalar approach to time that I have been able to tease out the social process of space construction in the *borderzone*. This thinking is therefore in line with the work of Doreen Massey (2005). I have designed my model for investigating *borderzone* interaction as diachronic. I use the term diachronic pertaining to phenomena as they occur or change over a period of time; in other words, a chronological perspective (Shearer and Ashmore 1993:612) Therefore, my model for a temporal multi-scalar approach can be related to Little and Shackel's (1989) work. Little and Shackle

examine the development of English table ways and dining etiquette employing a temporal multi-scalar examination, consisting of both short and long-term context, to track the change of dining as a facet of social control. In their analysis, Little and Shackel borrow from Fernand Braudel's (1980[1949]) French annals school division of history into three scales. Braudel terms these three scales individual time, social time, and geological time.

My analysis of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley *borderzone* is organized into chapters by what Braudel would refer to as individual time, and social time. Individual time is understood as the history of the event; social time is concerned with groups or groupings over time span longer than events (Little and Shackel 1989:496). I organized this dissertation on a chronological progression of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley region where each analysis chapter is equal to a social time frame consisting of several individual times. These individual times are determined by events. I have identified the events under examination in light of Marshall Sahlins (1991:42) definition of events as being determined as such within the terms provided by their cultural structure.

Chapter Four of this dissertation examines the social time frame of pre-contact, as well as the individual time frames represented by the arrival of two successive European explorers, Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain. The arrival of these explorers within the project area are determined as events, as opposed to uneventful happenings, as they violated expectations created by Native American cultural structures (Sewall 2000:199). Chapter Five examines the social time frame of the 17th century, while focusing on the individual time frame represented by the Carignan-Salières Regiment constructing the string of five forts. Chapter Six examines the social time of the 18th century, while focusing in on the individual time frame of the interbellum

period between 1731-1755. When the three analytical chapters are examined together, they represent Braudel's geographic time, or *long durée* examination of the entirety of French imperial control of North America.

In this work, I implement multiple series of tripartite analyses, each series tied to a specific moment in the habitation of the Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Valley. The data gathered can then be strung together to create a long-term view of the *borderzone*. By altering spatial scale and elapsed time, I am more able to clearly examine the social processes that gave rise to the modern understanding of the border.

Delle's (1998) model, by comparison, does not cover anywhere near as broad a time frame. Delle's study centers on the use of space to elicit specific social responses of the exploited labor population as driven by class-conscious capitalists in a Jamaican sugar plantation (Delle 1998: 36-37). While Delle compares pre-emancipation and post-emancipation construction of space, his study is largely synchronic. He does not adequately address the fact that the process of spatiality is temporally dependent. The entire process of the interaction of material space, social space, and cognitive space takes place in particular moments in linear time. It is important to note that Delle (2014) does approach the examination of the coffee plantations diachronically in his later work. However, this diachronic examination is manifested through Marxist views of labor and production, and not one of space creation (Delle: 2014). This dissertation is explicitly diachronic in nature, tracing the ebb and flow of political borders and the corresponding borderzone through the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, as they work to shape the identities that meet in the modern borderzone.

Multi-Scalar Approach Regarding Space
Proper historical archaeological inquiry should be multi-scalar relative to space.

The reason for this is simple. When archaeologists recover data that indicate a process

of social change and/or social reproduction, the causes of this social change may lie at the individual, site, regional, national, and/or global scale (Crumley 1995: xii; Nassaney 1997). Without a multi-scalar understanding of the area in question, causality can be lost. Within this dissertation's ascribed parent field of landscape archaeology, it has been noted that the units of spatial examination of landscape may be as small as a single household or as large as an empire (Branton 2009:51). To properly follow the processes of *borderzone* creation, one must examine the archaeological evidence at the regional, site and individual artifact level. In formulating diachronic regional spatiality, I have shifted my perspective from a primarily site level analysis, as was performed by Delle, to a multi-scalar approach.

Regional Level Analyses

At prima facie inspection, a review of the current literature in archaeology reveals that scholarship can be divided between site-focused and region-focused studies (Kantner 2008:38). The origin of the regional approach in American archaeology is attributed to Julian Steward's research in the 1930s (Parsons 1972: 128). In his landmark investigations of societies in the Southwest and Great Basin areas of the United States, Steward (1937) developed an ecological approach that explicitly considered the relationship between environment, human population, and the resulting patterns of regional settlement. Gordon R. Willey's work combined aerial photography, with architectural observations, and regional maps of site distributions to reconstruct sociopolitical organization across regions (Kantner 2008:38). By the mid-20th century, archaeological practice had adapted to the point where archaeological survey was no longer performed exclusively to identify sites for excavation. Practitioners of the cultural historical approach sought to identify patterns of sites across a region as an important source of information about past societies (Anschuetz et al. 2001: 168-170; Kantner

2008: 38-39). In the 1970s and 80s regional analysis became an influential part of archaeological research and since that time, the line between site-focused and region-focused has become increasingly blurry (Kantner 2008:37-38). Many recent examples of archaeological scholarship have employed a regional model without defining the parameters of what constitutes a region. The reason for this may simply be that regional synthesis has been such a ubiquitously engrained aspect of American archaeology for the last 50 years, or that regional synthesis has become increasingly driven by as well as dependent upon increasingly powerful computer technology such as GIS systems (Kantner 2008:41).

For the purposes of my examination of the creation of the borderzone, I have adopted the definition of region set forth by Kantner (2008:41), as 'spaces for which meaningful relationships can be defined between human past behavior, material signatures and the varied dynamic physical and social context in which human activity occurred'. I believe this definition suits my purposes for three easily identifiable reasons. First, researchers within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley are like those in other parts of the world who have two frequently defined regions of interest only indirectly and rely on modern constraints to their research such as currents political boundaries (Kantner 2008:41). I note numerous times throughout this dissertation that previous historical and archaeological research efforts have been incorrectly divided by the modern US Canadian border. This modern border runs perpendicular to the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley region, which I have defined as my entire unit of study. Second, by recognizing the definition of a region as dynamic, it allows for the region to be defined by the activities of humans within the past. The space of the borderzone underwent temporally dependent shifts in size and shape over the period of study. Those shifts relate to spatiality, defined as the amalgamation of the tripartite system of

material, social and cognitive space. By addressing issues of scale relating to both time and space, the *borderzone* can be examined as a space in a state of flux, expanding, contracting and relocating throughout the period of study. Each individual analysis chapter within this dissertation examines Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley at varying spatial scope. Additionally, the placement, and relative size of the *borderzone*, moves within the region. This temporally dependent definition of *borderzone* placement and scope can be likened to the application of Marshall Sahlins (1991:42) definition of events being determined within the terms provided by their cultural structure, discussed in the multi-scalar approach to time section above.

Site Level Analyses -

The mid-scale analytical unit within my method is that of the archaeological site. Traditionally, the site has been the unit of interest of archaeologists (Kantner 2008:44). Sites are generically defined as spatial clusters of artifacts, and archaeological features indicating where humans have occupied the landscape (Shearer and Ashmore 1993:116). Walter W Taylor's (1948) watershed publication, *A Study of Archaeology*, stressed the importance of both inter-and intra-site analyses in his conjunctive approach to archaeological investigation. Taylor also maintains archaeology focus on the major task of synthesizing material culture from a site relative to each time period which a site is occupied (Trigger 2006:369). In this way, Taylor's description of the archaeological method bridges the gap between temporal and spatial analysis, while focusing on site level investigations.

The primary methodological snag with site level analysis in archaeology is the identification of the boundaries or edges of an archaeological site. This definition of a site poses similar problems to the definition of an archaeological region discussed above (Kantner 2008:44). Yet, dissimilar to the identification of archaeological regions, the problem with identifying the boundaries of an archaeological site is more common in pre-contact archaeology. Historical

archaeologists have the benefits of documents to aid in the delineation of sites based on the cultural association of the material remains. Additionally, as a researcher performing a regional synthesis of previously excavated archaeology, I have the benefit of examining sites that have already been delineated and issued site numbers in various state and provincial systems. For example, when examining the persistent place of Crown Point, NY and Chimney Point, VT at the foot of Lake Champlain in Chapter Six, I examine the multiple archaeological sites where the contexts are directly related, as one archaeological district. The chapter analyzes this archaeological district as a single data point within the region. In Chapter Four, I also employ the archaeological district or cluster of sites strategy for discussing St. Lawrence Iroquoians as defined by James Pendergast (1991, 1998a).

Artifacts Level Analyses – Small Finds
To complete the triad of scale, I employ the analysis of selected small finds
recovered during my work at Fort Saint-Jean as well as select other previously
excavated sites throughout the Valley. Critical analysis of small finds can bolster
arguments of both the social and material spaces of the borderzone. For the purpose of
this dissertation, I define small finds as artifacts which are distinctive when compared
with artifacts that are common, relative to the particular historical contexts. The choice to
designate an artifact a small find is akin to Marshall Sahlins (1991:42) distinction of an
event from an uneventful happening. Each is determined in light of their cultural and
historical structure. My philosophy for grounding artifact analysis in historical
documentation come back to the words of James Deetz (1977:130) 'To apply strictly
formal classificatory methods to this material and ignore historical data is like trying to
reinvent the incandescent bulb by candlelight while ignoring the light switch at one's
elbow'

My take on small finds analysis is rooted in the work of James Deetz (1968 and 1977). In his chapter of Betty Meggers (1968) edited volume, *Anthropological Archaeology in the Americas*, Deetz asserted that historical archaeology was suited for testing theories about relations between human behavior and material culture (Deetz 1968:121). Numerous practitioners have done a great deal of research on small finds within historical archaeology, most notably among these are Carolyn White (2005), Mary Beaudry (2006), Diana Loren and Mary Beaudry (2006).

The multi-scalar nature of this dissertation relies on attention to small finds, as well as regional analyses, to access the complex social process of border creation. The archaeology undertaken at Fort Saint-Jean and Fort Saint-Frédéric have yielded a variety of interesting artifacts, such as fragments of a birch bark canoe, marine hardware and British ceramics in French wartime contexts (Beaupre 2011, 2013a, 2013b; Huey 2009, 2010). These small finds, when correctly identified and correlated to primary and secondary historical sources, can offer a wealth of information on social processes (White 2009; Muraca et al.2011:6).

<u>Diachronic Regional Spatiality is Informed by Documentary Evidence</u>

A critique common to the practice of historical archaeology is a tendency to use written records only to supply information that cannot be extracted from the archaeological data and inversely to employ archaeological data only to fill gaps in the written record. This vein of thinking can prevent historical and archaeological data from being studied independently of one another, using methods appropriate to each discipline (Trigger 2006:504). This critique has driven the current generation of historical archaeologists to diversify and seek training in proper historical, as well as

archaeological methods. In the documentary research vital to my methodology, I have followed two primary tenants.

First, historical archaeology must be grounded in proper historical research (Nassaney 1997). A historical archaeologist must be fully aware of the specific history of the context in which he's excavating. It is not enough to be excavating sites from a period when there are recorded documents, the archaeologist must have an intimate knowledge of these documents. Classical archaeologist lan Morris has argued that due to the ambiguity of meaning of material culture, it is only through written text and oral traditions that archaeologists can directly access all but the simplest and most generic ideas of the past (Morris 1994:45-46). I find a deep understanding of the primary and secondary historical documents of the specific time period and geographic location of the area in question is the best way for an archaeologist to infer past behavior. "Given the complexity and particularity of economic, social and ideological interaction, any analysis must be historically contextualized. Tension, and the resolution of tension in society, cannot be understood except in terms of its specific historic trajectory" (Bender 1985:53-54). In other words, the archaeologist must be deferent to the premise that prior conditions influence the nature and scope of societal change (Nassaney 1997).

Second, while the historical record is available, the archaeologist must be willing to work independent of documents and make conclusions seemingly contrary to the documentary record. Historical archaeology is suitable for testing theories about relations between human behavior material culture not recorded in documentary evidence (Deetz 1968:121). The comparison between the archaeological and documentary record is vital to the more complex understanding of the human past. As texts become more abundant, archaeology becomes more crucial as a basis for making complex and subtle conclusions that utilize both historical and archaeological data

(Morris 1994:45). In a comparison between archaeological and documentary records, a willingness to challenge established historical narratives and the subsequent metanarratives can lead archaeologists to a more democratic version of our collective human past. This is especially true when the established historical narratives are biased, as is the case with the Anglo-centric historical narrative prevalent in New England.

In his work on coffee plantations Delle (1998:108-112) compared the archaeologically identified placement of coffee plantations on the landscape to the ideal models of the time. Delle was accessing the cognitive space of what a plantation should be from the historical record and comparing that to the material spaces accessed through the archaeological record. Delle's motive in this was to discuss power and expressed social control of the enslaved population. In this dissertation, I have employed the archaeological and historical records in concert to understand the construction of the *borderzone*. This has included the comparison of border forts and settlements on the landscape as compared to the ideal models set forth by cartographic presentations of borders and social mores in each period under study. An example of these 17th and 18th century mores is the proscribed fortification plans set forth by renown French military architect and engineer Sébastien Le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban.

I admit that the heavy reliance on documentary evidence opens my work up to the critique of being historically particularistic and I am in danger of relegating archaeology to the status of the age-old pejorative of the handmaiden to history (Hume 1964). However, as critical analysis of the written record is a cornerstone of historical archaeology, documentary research is vital in understanding the spheres of *social* and *cognitive space* in any given region at any given time. The Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Valley has a great deal to offer in terms of documentary evidence. The documentary evidence in the region consists of the records of imperial policy, treaties,

and the notes of treaty delegates, maps, captive narratives, military orders, and personal journals. I have consulted a great number of these documents to gain as complete a picture as possible of the *borderzone*. By addressing the *borderzone* through the historical literature, this dissertation offers information to augment the narratives of borders broadly, and the borders of New France specifically. A major critique of historically particularism is that it is anti-theoretical, lacking applicability to multiple world cultures through universal theories. While diachronic regional spatiality is deeply historically rooted, the method can be applied to the construction of space in nearly any historical archaeological context. The development of such a theory is far from historically particularistic.

<u>Diachronic Regional Spatiality is Multi-vocal and Collaborative</u>

A cornerstone of post-processual archaeology has been its attention to multi-vocality, and the empowerment of minority interpretations of the archaeological record (Trigger 2006:471). This work is multi-vocal in that it draws on various perspectives, including those of descendant communities, both Native American/First Nations and European in origin. Additionally, while in the process of researching and writing my dissertation, I also reached out to numerous stakeholders through public presentations. This type of collaboration has been recently termed archaeologies of virtue. My use of this term is due to the influence asserted on my work by Dr. Michelle Lelièvre (2017:80). Lelièvre (2017:80) credits the term as being an adaptation of the term 'bureaucracies of virtue' (Jacob and Riles 2007, Shannon 2007:230). 'Bureaucracies of virtue' are identified as entities that declare their ethical commitments and engage in and regulating the "right" ways in which to work with people (Shannon 2007:230). As a graduate student, I had the benefit of studying under several archaeologists and anthropologists

that have been formative in my understanding of the ethical commitment inherent in a researcher collaborating with numerous stakeholders. The topic of my dissertation deals with the interaction of numerous groups that can be identified as subalterns in the discussion of the history of the region. In my research of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, stakeholders have included Native peoples, European descendent populations, and other individuals whom value historic preservation in this region.

The term 'indigenous archaeology' has been employed to identify interpretations of past events that are viewed in the light of both historical and Native supernatural significance (Trigger 2006:42-43). The explanation of landscapes in light of indigenous archaeology has been employed previously (Meeks and Ferrara Meeks 1996:21; Hamann 2002; Gallivan 2007). It is in the vein of these archaeologists, that I have included historical references to supernatural significance of the Native American landscape into my discussion in the creation of borders. I have accessed these indigenous viewpoints through published resources (Day 1971, 1973, 1977, 1981; Calloway 1990, 1992 Wiseman 2001, 2009; Moody 2011) as well as information gathered from personal interaction with various members of the Native American/First Nations community.

Beginning with my role on the Vermont Commission for Native American Affairs, I have worked with representatives from several State of Vermont recognized Abenaki bands as well as self-identified independent Native people throughout the region. I was the first anthropologist to serve on the commission, and without the guidance of my advisor, Dr. Kathleen Bragdon, I would have not succeeded in this role. This entrée into the community has given me access to Native thoughts and feelings on *borderzone* existence. Members of the Abenaki Community self-selected to offer information, comments and concerns about my work, as well as other archaeologist's research, in an

attempt to add color to my opinions. While most my conversations with these individuals may not be cited directly in this work, they have informed my opinion of the project area during the Pre-contact period as well as Abenaki, and Mohawk interactions with European peoples in the borderzone. Additionally, my dissertation includes discussions of the Mohawk Nation of New York, and their thoughts on the borderzone as discussed in the work of anthropologist Audra Simpson (2014) and others. Discussions of Native folklore as well as direct input from the dependent extant on the landscape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley has helped me to flesh-out the discussions of precontact constructions of cognitive space. While my work addresses the issues of the borderzone in the colonial era, it is vital to consider Native opinions in the postmodern world of anthropological inquiry. The consideration, and treatment of Native peoples as valuable voices and as collaborators in my research is not a trait for which I nor my instructors and advisers can take direct credit. Collaborative public archaeologies and collaborative indigenous archaeologies have been pioneered by other archaeologists (Little 2002; Little and Shackle 2007's and Nassaney and Levine 2009, among many others).

My work with descendent populations does not consist solely of Native peoples. The traditionally underrepresented French and French-Canadian descendent population of northern Vermont, northern New York and Québec qualify as subalterns in the Anglocentric historical narrative of New England. I have developed a firm belief that input from multiple descendant communities is vital when working in any archaeological contexts. It is indeed my position within the Franco-American, or Québécois descendent population of northern Vermont, that gave rise to my original interest in this topic. In addition to my role as a member of the French colonial descendant community, I have partnered with Québec researchers to investigate questions of border creation. I have

endeavored throughout my career in archaeology to bridge the gaps between the Francophone researchers of Québec and Anglophone researchers in New England. This work began while studying at Western Michigan University when I was introduced to my committee member and Fort Saint-Jean Archaeology Project Director, Dr. Réginald Auger in 2007. With the commencement of my research at Fort Saint-Jean, I became actively involved in this cross-border discussion.

Diachronic Regional Spatiality in Review

Diachronic regional spatiality is a method for tracking the processes of social space creation processes that lead to the development of contested spaces and places within a landscape (Figure 1). This method is rooted in the work of James Delle (1998), and informed by many other influences within landscape archaeology and historical archaeology as a whole. By definition, diachronic regional spatiality is temporally and spatially multi-scalar. It is based upon information gathered from the archaeological record at the region, site and artifact level. It is integrated with in-depth historical research relating to period social morays as well as the historical documentation particular to each archaeological site of investigation. It is informed by various methods of landscape archaeology including phenomenology and GIS. Diachronic regional spatiality is multi-vocal in nature, giving credence to Native American cosmologies and oral history in concert with all their data, to form the most comprehensive and clear investigation of contested space.

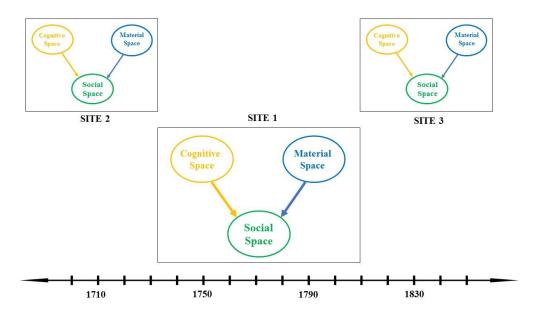


Figure 1 Graphic representation of diachronic regional spatiality.

CHAPTER THREE Area of Study

. This chapter defines the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley project area in finite geographic and historiographic terms. The chapter serves as an expanded timeline, offering the reader basic background information regarding the historical events that took place within the project area. It is necessary for the reader to have this basic understanding before being launched into an in-depth analysis of space construction in the Pre-contact, Protohistoric and Colonial periods in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley.

Natural and Human Environments

Definition of Project Area:

The project area I have defined for investigation consists of the Lake
Champlain/Richelieu River Valley (Figure 2). The Lake Champlain/Hudson Valley, or
Champlain lowlands, make up the southern portion of the project area. The Lake
Champlain Valley is bounded on the west by the Adirondack Mountains of New York,
and bounded on the east by the Green Mountains of Vermont. The Adirondacks are a
product of the Grenville geological event approximately 1.3 billion years ago. The
Grenville event took place in the late Precambrian era thus making the Adirondacks the
oldest mountains on the continent (Sherman et al. 2004:2). The Green Mountains are
only slightly younger, forming out of a succession of continental plate collisions and
proceedings beginning at approximately the same time. The force of collision caused the
earth between the Adirondacks and Green Mountains to snap along a fault line, where
Lake Champlain now lies (Sherman et al. 2004:2-4). The most recent shaping of the
Lake Champlain Valley landscape was caused by the advance and retreat of the



Figure 2 Topographical map showing a rudimentary relief of the project area. Sources- Google Maps

13,500 years BP. The receding ice and glacial melt left behind a large body of water, known to geologists as Lake Vermont (Peebles et al. 2009:7). Lake Vermont had a water level 400 to 700 feet higher than present the Lake Champlain and covered a significant portion of the modern State of Vermont (Haviland and Power 1994: 18). Approximately 13,000 years ago, the glacial ice dam separating Lake Vermont and saline St. Lawrence Seaway broke, transforming Lake Vermont into the Champlain Sea. This marine sea lasted for nearly 3,500 years and teamed with whales, seals, walrus and many other oceangoing species (Peebles et al. 2009:7). The recovery of numerous marine

mammal fossils in the project area supports this geological theory (Harington 1977). By approximately 10,200 BP, the salinity of the Champlain Sea dropped sharply when glacial rebound reversed the flow of the Richelieu River and cut off the Atlantic Ocean from the Lake Champlain basin (Haviland and Power 1994: 19). Lake Champlain and its outlet Richelieu River have been in their current freshwater state for the last 9000 years

(Peebles et al.2009:7; Haviland and Power 1994:17 – 19).

The northern section of the project area follows the Richelieu River as it flows north out of Lake Champlain and toward the St. Lawrence River. Almost immediately north of the modern US/Canadian border at the northern end of Lake Champlain, the topography changes drastically. While within the Lake Champlain Valley, mountains are constantly visible, bounding the Valley, east and west. In stark contrast, the Richelieu River cuts across the large open tabular planes of the St. Lawrence Lowlands. Few mountains exist in these lowlands. The St. Lawrence Lowlands is itself a wide river valley, a product of the recession of the Quaternary Glaciation (Elson 2010). Geologically, the Lake Champlain Valley is a 130 km southward extending arm of the St. Lawrence Lowlands (Elson 2010).

History of the Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Valley

"Given the complexity and particularity of economic, social and ideological interaction, any analysis must be historically contextualized. Tension, and the resolution of tension in society, cannot be understood except in terms of its specific historic trajectory" (Bender 1985:53-54)

The Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Valley has been a contested borderland throughout history (Bellico 2010; Haviland and Power 1994: 224; Laramie 2012a, 2012b; Peebles et al. 2009; Petersen et al.2003; Starbuck 1999). The following section offers a brief history of the project area. As a facet of my methodology, pertinent historical events are discussed later in much greater detail, the purpose of the historical outline below is merely to give the reader a baseline of major historical sites and events in the project area (Figure 3). As I mention in the introduction, I refer to the project area as the Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Valley, the project area fluctuates in size and is further bounded by varying degrees of settlement and human manipulation of the landscape at different periods of time. It is vital in the pursuit of indigenous archaeology to

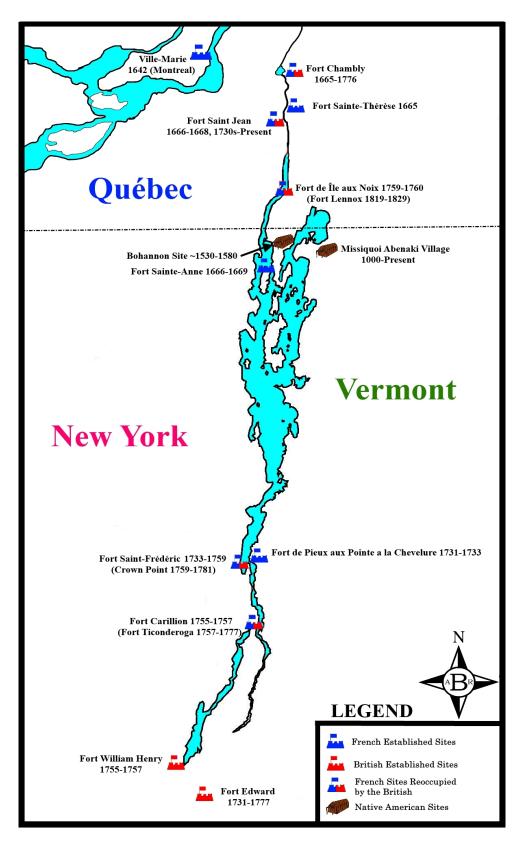


Figure 3 Map showing pertinent historical and archaeological sites in the project area.

acknowledge, understand, and integrate multiple viewpoints. It is with this imperative at the forefront that I begin a discussion of the project area history not with European colonization, or an archaeological understanding of the Native past, but with the local Native American mythological perspective.

The Ojihozo Creation Story

In a creation myth attributed to the local Abenaki people the Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Valley plays a prominent role. A mythical being by the name of Ojihozo is said to have created Lake Champlain (Day 1998 [1971]:121-122; Haviland and Power 1994:192-194; Peebles et al. 2009:6). The name Ojihozo is translated to, 'the one gathering himself together", or "the one who makes himself". The body of the myth continues as follows, once the creator, Tabaldak, finished creating the earth and the heavens, he dusted his hands upon the soil. It was from that dust that Ojihozo created himself. At first, he created only a head, body, and arms. He tried to stand, but with no legs, he flailed pushing up the earth into what we call the Green Mountains, on the eastern side of Lake Champlain and the Adirondacks on the western shore. Still unable to stand, he stretched his arms to the mountain tops and dug his fingers into the soil, gouging out the valleys and rivers that flow from the mountains. Ojihozo then used the earth beneath his fingernails to create legs and feet for himself. When he finally was able to stand, he left a great crevasse in the earth. That crater was filled by the waters flowing from the newly formed rivers, becoming a lake, Bitawbagok, the waters between (Day 1998 [1971]:121; Haviland and Power 1994:192-194, Peebles et al. 2009:6). It wasn't until the arrival of French explorer Samuel de Champlain, that this great lake would take its current name.

The Ojihozo story continues to state that after he created the Abenaki to people the landscape, Ojihozo himself was so taken with the place that he had created, he decided to stay there for all eternity. Ojihozo transformed himself into a small island off Burlington Harbor, where he sits to this day. To the Abenaki population, the island is known as Ojihozo. On European maps of the region the feature appears listed as Dunder Rock. Abenaki people had been known to take offerings out to the monolith as recently as the 1940s (Day 1998 [1971]:121).

Anthropological Input on Native Settlement

Archaeological research indicates the first human habitation of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley took place prior to 12,000 BP (Peebles et al. 2009:4). Known as the Paleoindian archaeological culture, these people arrived in the wake of glacial recession. While the occupation of the Paleoindian people overlapped with the existence of the Champlain Sea, there is little archaeological data to indicate exploitation of large marine food sources (Peebles et al. 2009:7 – 8). Archaeological data from numerous Paleoindian sites in the region indicates the primary modes of subsistence were hunting megafauna such as mastodon, mammoth and moose - elk, as well as herds of caribou, with Clovis-like fluted projectile points (Haviland and Power 1994:17 – 37). Archaeological evidence for the Paleoindian culture dissipates as environmental changes render their primary prey animals extinct, or necessitate the prey animal's migration North to tundra (Haviland and Power 1994:36 – 38). Current archaeological thought indicates that the people remained, and adapted to the new environment by changing their modes of subsistence (Haviland and Power 1994:37). Archaeologists have tracked habitation of the project area from the Paleoindian period, through the Archaic and Woodland periods. Archaeological remains dating to the Protohistoric and

colonial periods in the project area include artifacts diagnostic of Algonquin (Abenaki), Iroquois (Mohawk), Mohican and St. Lawrence Iroquoian peoples. The most notable archaeological sites relating to the historic period Native American occupation of the project area include the Bohannon Site in Alburgh, VT, the Missisquoi Village Site in Swanton, VT and the Shelburne Pond Site (Perkins 1873:4; Moorhead 1917; Petersen et al.1985; Heckenberger et al.1990; Haviland and Power 1994).

European False Starts

While the generally accepted historical narrative stipulates that the first European to set foot in the Lake Champlain Valley was Samuel de Champlain in 1609, local folklore and pseudo-archaeology offer some competing dates for European arrival.

These are the type of tall tale discussed by folklorists such as Vermont's own, Joseph A. Citro (1994, 2005) and popular authors such as those that penned the *Weird US* series, Mark Moran and Mark Sceurman. None of these stories hold credit among mainstream historians or archaeologists, however they are an interesting caveat to the history of the Valley and warrant mentioning.

The first of these stories is a tale common to New England, that of Phoenicians, Druids or Bronze Age Celts that settled the coastal and interior waterways. Proponents of this theory point to artefactual evidence in the form of stone chambers, megalithic constructions, mounds, and cysts that dot the New England landscape. The most notable of these megalithic constructions being that of "America's Stonehenge", located in Salem, New Hampshire (Citro 2005:34 – 51). An outspoken advocate for Vermont settlement by Bronze Age Europeans was Dr. Warren Cook during his tenure at Castleton State College (Citro 1994: 217 – 219). Arguments by the late Dr. Cook were bolstered by the fact that he held a PhD in history from Yale University (Cook 1960).

Vermont'. In addition to his work on possible Bronze Age settlement, Dr. Cook is known for his castigation of the North American scientific community for their neglect of serious discourse on the topic of Bigfoot. The combination of a fervent belief in both the arrival of Bronze Age Celts in New England and the possible academic driven extinction of Bigfoot rendered Dr. Cook's arguments suspect at best. As mentioned above, most archaeologists feel that these constructions are the work of Native American/ First Nations peoples, or early colonial settlers in the 17th and 18th centuries (Neudorfer 1980).

The second of these folklore driven tales of pre-French arrival in the region is driven by a colloquial account of an artifact recovered in Swanton, Vermont. The story goes that on a December day in 1853, two laborers were removing sand from the bank of the Missisquoi River. Approximately eight inches beneath the ground surface and embedded in a sturdy piece of sod, they recovered a lead tube measuring five inches in length. The laborers, Orlando Green and P.R. Ripley opened the tube recovering a piece of paper. Written upon the paper was the following message,

'This is the Solme day I must now die this is the 90th day since we left the Ship all are Perished and on the Banks of this River I die to, farewelle may future posteretye know our end'

the note was signed Johne Greye and dated 29 November 1564 (Citro 1994: 215-217).

Numerous historians have examined this story beginning soon after the notes discovery. Rev. John B Perry of Swanton suggested that the note was the last will of a member of Sir Martin Frobisher's expedition to find the Northwest Passage. Frobisher is said to have put five men ashore. However, the Frobisher expedition did not take place until 1576, making the note's date 12 years too early (Citro 1994:216). Several other expeditions to North America sailed along the New England coast. Giovanni de Verrazzano sailed the coast of Maine in 1524. His voyage gave rise to the myth of the

Kingdom of Norumbega, on the Penobscot River (Morison 1971: 464) Verrazzano's expedition was a full 40 years ahead of the date on Johne Graye's note. Verrazzano was followed quickly by Estavan Gomez, sailing for Spain in 1525 (Morison 1971: 326). While the temporal factor is off, an additional point is that neither voyage is likely to have had a member with an Anglo name such as Johne Greye.

The period between 1575 and 1600 is one where the record of English voyaging is a series of 'glorious failures' (Morison 1971:497). No Englishman is thought to have sailed into the St. Lawrence or the Hudson Rivers, the two waterways that would allow access to Lake Champlain and the Missisquoi river. An Englishman by the name of David Ingram is said to have reached the mythical Norumbega on the Penobscot River in October 1567. Ingram and two companions were reportedly marooned on the coast of Florida and walked by Indian trail all the way to the modern Maine coast (Morison 1971:467). Ingram described a city on the coast of Maine which was half-mile long and boasted streets broader than London. The residents of this city were bedecked with hoops and plates of gold (Morison 1971:467- 469). While this account clearly fed the Norumbega legend, its veracity is obviously suspect. Jacques Cartier was the next adventurer in the vicinity of the project area, traveling to the St. Lawrence River in the 1530s.

Again, the date on the document does not coincide with any of Jacques Cartier's three expeditions, and again, a French expedition is unlikely to have a member by the name of Johne Greye. It is possible that Johne Greye belonged to some other recorded expedition, perhaps he was a solitary English fisherman on a Basque boat. It is much more likely that the Johne Greye document is a hoax. What does exist is a record of the Johne Greye note being gifted to the Vermont Historical Society. However, the original document and lead tube have since disappeared. A facsimile of the paper has been

maintained by the Highgate, Vermont town library. With the loss of the original document, it is highly unlikely that the story will ever be authenticated.

The Voyages of Jacques Cartier (1535-1541)

The first historically definitive European to view the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was Jacques Cartier (Bassett 1967:3). While on his second voyage to the New World, Cartier arrived at the First Nations village of Hochelaga, located within the present-day city of Montréal (Morison 1971:410-416; Pendergast and Trigger 1972). On 2 October 1535, he climbed Mont Royal and viewed the fertile valley and its cascading river, the river that would come to be known as the Richelieu (Cartier 2003 [1535]; Morison 1971:410-416). Cartier's guides on this journey, as well as on his second trip to Hochelaga on 11 September 1541, were members of the archaeological culture known as St. Lawrence Iroquoians (Pendergast 1998a, 1998b; Morison 1971:440-441). During the 16th century the St. Lawrence Iroquoians dominated the St. Lawrence River landscape. Their prominence in the region was fleeting however, having disappeared from both Québec City and Montréal prior to Champlain's arrival in 1608 (Tremblay 2006). The identity of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian people is a topic of much debate among archaeologists and historians (Pendergast 1998a, 1998b; Wiseman 2001; Petersen et al. 2004; Tremblay 2006).

Champlain on Champlain (1609)

All subsequent Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley history discussed is laced with one primary trope. This trope is the alliance between the French and Algonquin speaking peoples of the region. This alliance leads to the almost constantly tenuous relations, and often open hostility between the French and the perennial Algonquin adversaries, the Iroquois.

From the relative comfort of his habitation at Québec in the winter of 1608-1609,

Samuel de Champlain realized that the major threat to the colony of New France was the incessant warfare between the First Nations of the region (Fischer 2008:255). Unbeknownst to Champlain, the Iroquois would remain a political, economic and military threat for the entire duration of French colonial involvement in the region, and beyond. In his discussion of Champlain's Indian policy, noted Québec ethnographer Bruce Trigger writes, 'in historical times, all neighborhood tribes either were at war or treatied with one another' (Trigger 1971:1986). To combat Native infighting, Champlain forged multiple alliances with the local Montagnais, Algonquin and Huron peoples. As these alliances strengthened in the spring of 1609, Champlain concluded peace could not be achieved without a decisive military action against the Mohawk (Fischer 2008:255 – 257). The first legitimate claim to European exploration into the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley is as a byproduct of this Algonquin French allied military campaign against the Mohawk.

On 18 June 1609, Champlain left Québec City with 20 Frenchmen in his shallop, and headed upstream. From the St. Lawrence River, the expedition turned south into the Richelieu. Upon reaching the future location of Fort Saint-Jean, rapids hindered the progress of the small keelboat. Champlain sent the boat and most of his men back to Québec. He and two French volunteers continued, portaging around the rapids with his 60 Algonquin allies in their birch bark canoes (Fischer 2008:261 – 263). This was the first instance that a European set foot at Saint-Jean, Québec (Beaupré 2015).

On 14 July,1609, Champlain and his party reached where the Richelieu River originates, the lake that now bears Champlain's name. The First Nations paddlers began to slow their pace as they entered the Lake. The reason for this slowing was while the expedition had been traveling at night to avoid detection; a full moon now appeared, effectively rendering the covert nature of the expedition moved (Champlain 1967 [1632]:162; Fischer 2008:263-265).

With the disappearance of the bright moon, the expedition continued southward and on 30 July 1609, met a war party of Mohawk at the south end of Lake Champlain. During the ensuing battle, Samuel de Champlain and his two French companions opened fire with their arquebuses. Two Mohawks chiefs fell and a third was mortally wounded by the opening volley of musket fire (Champlain 1967 [1635]:163-164; Fischer 2008:269) (Figure 4). This military action accomplished two things, 1) the Mohawk were introduced to French firearms, changing the face of warfare in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley (Wiseman 2009) and, 2) the previously un-tested alliance between of the French and Algonquins have now been assured in battle (Trigger 1971; Fischer 2008:270). This alliance forged on a summer day in 1609 would remain strong for the ensuing century and a half of French Imperial influence in the region.

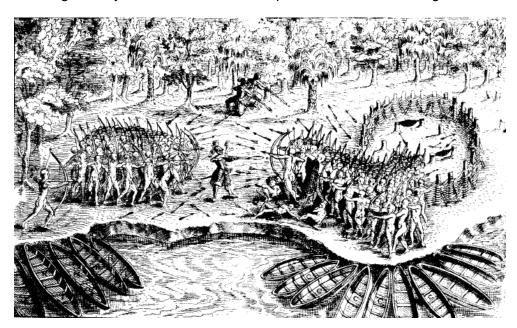


Figure 4 Champlain's woodcut of the battle of July 30th, 1609 showing the battle between Champlain and his Algonquin allies and a Mohawk war party. Source: Samuel de Champlain, The Voyages of 1608-1610. Original Narratives of Early American History. W. L. Grant, editor. Charles Scribner and Sons, New York.

The Half Moon Arrives (1609)

By coincidence, French Imperial involvement in the project area arrived with Samuel de Champlain from the North, the influence a second European power in the

region arrived the same summer, with Henry Hudson from the south (Fischer 2008:270). On the second of his three voyages to the New World in search of the Northwest Passage, English navigator Henry Hudson sailed for the Dutch East India Company and the United Netherlands. On 11 September 1609, Hudson ascended the river that now bears his name. On 22 September, Hudson's flagship, the *Halve Maen* (Half-Moon) reached the location of the modern City of Albany. Hudson claimed the area for the United Netherlands (Hunter 2007:230 – 235, Laramie 2012a:54 – 55).

Interestingly, pop history appears to harbor some confusion around the first settlement of Albany. Several Wikipedia pages, accessed in June 2016, including "Albany", "Castle Island", and "Fort Nassau" include discussion of the geographic feature known as Castle Island located in the center of the Hudson River at Albany. These Wikipedia pages, and several other popular history sources including interpretive panels in the region, cite that the Dutch named this isle, Castle Island, due to their discovery of a pre-existing French fort, or Château constructed on the island in 1540 (McErleane 2014). Historian Stephen T. McErleane traced this erroneous fact to a mid-19th century pseudo-history, A.J. Weise's 1884 book, The Discoveries of America to the Year 1525 (McErleane 2014). Weise's argument melds this French settlement of Albany with the Norumbega legend. Citing the Journal of Jean Alfonse, French explorer, Weise confuses the description of the Penobscot River, with the Hudson. Alfonse was present on Cartier and Roberval's expeditions in the mid-16th century and he chronicled French exploration and limited settlement on the coast of Maine and throughout the St. Lawrence Valley (Morison 1971: 464). What is most intriguing about this revisionist pseudo-history, is that Robert Juet, crewmate and chronicler of Henry Hudson's expedition makes no mention of a 'French castle' at Albany. Currently, there is no solid historical or archaeological evidence that indicates Albany was settled by the French prior to

Hudson's arrival. New Netherland Research Center Director Charles Gehring has surmised, the most likely origin of the name Castle Island is not a French chateau, but the palisaded Iroquois villages for which the Dutch used the word *kasteel* (McErleane 2014). Regardless of the confusion surrounding initial European involvement in the region, Albany would become a Dutch and later British stronghold which pressed against the border region of the Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Valley.

Early Missionary Activity in the Project Area (1615-1650s)

Historical records indicate the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was devoid of European exploration or settlement between Samuel de Champlain's 1609 expedition and the establishment of Fort Sainte-Anne, with the exception of the itinerant presence of Jesuit missionaries. Catholic religious orders came to the New World with the primary goal of converting the entire continent to French Catholicism (Axtell 1985:38). In the years between 1615 and 1700, this objective was undertaken through itinerant missionaries sent by the Society of Jesus and other orders (Jaenen 1976; Axtell 1985:38). One Catholic history of the United States mentions the first such visit to the 'Hills between St. Albans Vermont and Lake Champlain' by an unnamed Franciscan missionary who performed the first Christian burial in what would become the State of Vermont in the summer of 1615 (Miller 2006:20-21). Another missionary, Jesuit Father Isaac Jogues, was traveling through the valley on a return trip from Huron country, and was captured by a Mohawk war party in 1636. After enduring torture, he was later emancipated with the help of the Dutch at Fort Orange. In 1644, he returned yet again to the Lake Champlain Valley, and was captured and later beheaded by the Bear Clan of the Mohawk Nation on 18 October (Goldstein 1969:69, 75-76; Farmer 2004:274 – 275). In Catholic dogma, Joque's murder earned him a place as one of the recognized martyrs of North America, Les martyrs canadiens (Fisher 2001; Farmer 2004:274 – 275). From

an ethnohistorical standpoint, Jogue's death at the hands of the Mohawk is a singular example of French involvement in pre-existing Abenaki/Algonquin and Mohawk/Iroquois relations.

<u>Dutch Settlement of the Hudson Valley (1614-1670s)</u>

Dutch settlement along the upper Hudson Valley began soon after Hudson's original voyage. In 1614, a post named Fort Nassau was constructed on an island within the river, and independent Mohawk-Dutch trade in furs began in earnest (Laramie 2012a: 54). Placement of the fort on a low island in the flood prone Hudson River proved to be a poor choice. Flooding would become a reoccurring theme of Dutch settlement along the Hudson. In the spring of 1617, Fort Nassau was so badly damaged by rising waters that its occupants were forced to abandon the structure and build a new trading post on the west bank of the river (Laramie 2012a: 54). By 1621, the potential for profit had attracted the Dutch West India Company, whom supplanted the initial small independent traders. In 1624, The Dutch West India Company, constructed a new fortification and christened it Fort Orange, in honor of the House of Orange, ruling family of the Netherlands (Huey 1974:106). Fort Orange was built rather expediently and remained a "wretched log fort" until a severe flood in the spring of 1648 (Fernow 1883:92-93; Jameson 1909:261 as cited in Huey 1974:106). When the waters receded, Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General of New Netherland, oversaw extensive repairs, rebuilding much of the site in stone (Fernow 1883:92 93 as cited in Huey 1974:106). The fort was again damaged by flooding in 1654.

In addition to the continuing cycle of building and flooding, the Dutch West India Company presence in the area, attracted 'illegal' independent traders who began to build homes in and around Fort Orange. Settlers began to arrive as well, beginning with

Frenchman Jan Labatie who constructed the first brewery at Fort Orange in 1647 (Munsell 1853:55-56). The village immediately outside the fort was laid out by the company in 1652 became known as Beverwijck (Huey 1991:327). The area around Fort Orange and Beverwijck fell within the Dutch patroonship of Rensselaerswyck which was granted to the Rensselaer family in 1630 (Huey 1991:327). The Dutch footprint was ever expanding, with Rensselaerswyck boasting a number of farmsteads and mills in the 1650s. The settlements of Wiltwyck and Schenectady were granted by Stuyvesant 1658 and 1661 respectively (Huey 2005:109).

These riverine communities flourished with the added security of peaceful relations with the Mohawk which had been assured by Dutch-Mohawk Treaty of 1643 (Merwick 1996a:187). The colony of New Netherland was short-lived however, falling to the English in 1664 (Huey 1991:328). After a brief resurgence of Dutch control in 1673, the colony became a permanent English possession in 1674 (Merwick 1996b:489). The Dutch Mohawk Treaty laid the groundwork for amiable relations between the Mohawk and the new English proprietors of Fort Orange. The English changed the name of the combined settlement of Fort Orange and Beverwijck to Albany (Merwick 1996a:187).

Beaver Wars

While peace prevailed between the Dutch and Mohawk in the southern extreme of the project area, the Iroquois focused their offensives toward the French and their Huron allies in the *Pays D'en Haut* (Goldstein 1969). In a series of conflicts known as the 'Iroquois Wars', or more colloquially as the 'Beaver Wars', Iroquois warriors fought for control of the fur trade between the French in the St. Lawrence Valley and the Native groups Canadian interior (Goldstein 1969; Eccles 1974, 1987, 1990; Brandão 1997, 2003).

Many of the conflicts during the 'Beaver Wars' took place along the waterways of the Great Lakes, yet it was the attacks on the St. Lawrence Valley by Iroquois bands that are of direct interest in this dissertation. Iroquois bands would attack, destroying villages, and farms. In 1647, a band of Iroquois destroyed the original iteration of Fort Richelieu near the modern city of Sorel, Québec (Coolidge 1999[1938]:30; Merwick 1996a:186).

New France Invests in Defense - Forts of the Carignan- Salières Regiment

(1665-1666)

The fear of Iroquois raiding parties whipped the colony of New France into a frenzy (Coolidge 1999[1938]:30). On the heels of the French allied Huron's near extinction at the hands of the Iroquois, the *Carignan-Salières* regiment arrived in Québec. The first professional soldiers in New France, the *Carignan-Salières* built a string of five forts along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley in 1665 and 1666 (Thwaites 1888-1911 [50]:153-183, Verney 1991). The northernmost fort was a reconstruction of the Iroquois destroyed Fort Richelieu, followed by Fort Saint-Louis in Chambly, Fort Sainte-Thérèse, Fort l'Assomption at Saint-Jean with a southern terminus at Fort Sainte-Anne on Isle La Motte, Vermont. The French were within their self-determined territorial boundaries, having claimed as far south as the Mohawk River, yet the regiment clearly stopped short. *Fort Saint-Anne* is located approximately 237 km north-northeast of the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers.

The forts of 1665-1666 were built to establish a French foothold in the south of New France and to serve as forward bases to launch attacks on the Mohawk in 1666 and 1667 (Verney 1991). A tentative peace, agreed upon between the Iroquois and French in July 1667, rendered the Carignan-Salières forts superfluous (Verney 1991:90-91). The length of time each of the forts were occupied was not overtly recorded; the general consensus is that forts Saint-Jean, Sainte-Anne and Sainte-Thérèse fell into

disuse and abandonment by 1690 (Cloutier 2011: 11; Bernier 2011; Desany 2006a:54). The northernmost forts, Richelieu and Saint-Louis, both remained symbols of French security, yet fell into disrepair, as settlement blossomed along the St. Lawrence and northern Richelieu rivers (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989:10-11). Both remaining forts underwent renovations, in 1691 and 1693 respectively, as peace in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor was yet again put on hold (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989:10-11).

King William's War (1689-1697)

Following a brief 20-year period of peace in the valley, the first of four European wars would spill over into North America (Leamon 1996:341). King William's War was the North American manifestation of the War of the League of Augsburg, in which an alliance of European states, including England, attempted to check French expansion (Leamon 1996:341). This was also the first conflict to follow the typical trope of colonial northeastern North American warfare, a French force allied with First Nations against an English force allied with Native Americans (Leamon 1996:341). While armed conflict ranged from attacks on French and British settlements along the coasts of Maine and Nova Scotia, it's the conflicts along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley that are of interest here.

Numerous raids and full-scale assaults took place, back and forth across the valley in the years between 1689 and 1697 (Leamon 1996:341-354). The first of these attacks occurred on the night of 25-26 July 1689, when a force of nearly 1,500 Iroquois warriors attacked the small farming community of Lachine, just south of Montréal. By the time the attackers retreated at dawn, the raid had left 24 French settlers dead and 56 of the villages 77 homes destroyed (Gossman 1996a:359). The raid on Lachine, and the several other less successful raids of outlying settlements that followed, caused the populace of New France to yet again return to a state of fear and anxiety. In an attempt

to assuage the demoralization of his citizens, Governor Frontenac negotiated in a successful peace with the Iroquois (Gossman 1996a:359).

In reprisal for the numerous English and allied Iroquois attacks, the French organized a three-pronged assault force to strike at the northern frontiers of the English colonies. One prong of this battle plan called for a French and allied Iroquois attack on the Hudson Valley. Dissuaded by the presence of Albany's garrison the Iroquois persuaded expedition leader, Jacques LeMoyne de Sainte-Helene, to turn his sights on Schenectady. Early in the morning hours of 8 February 1690, Sainte-Helene and 200 French and Iroquois marched through the unguarded gates of Schenectady killing 60 people and taking 27 captives. Although English losses were heavy, the French and their Iroquois allies left 20 Mohawks who lived in the village of Schenectady unhurt (Gossman 1996b:672 – 673). The raid on Schenectady succeeded in alarming the British settlements and a learning in the future assaults as well as spurring the British to take offensive with their own series of attacks (Gossman 1996b:672 – 673).

Fearful of French forces employing the Lake Champlain waterway to yet again attack English settlement in the Mohawk Valley, the British Governor of New York sent Captain Jacobus de Warm, a Dutchman, from Albany to what is now Chimney Point, Vermont. Captain de Warm and his men built a small, temporary, stone defense, where he, 20 Mohawks, and 17 English soldiers stayed the remainder of the winter (Peebles et al.2009:25). The following summer, a force of 29 Anglo-Dutch settlers and hundred and 20 Indians under the command of Capt. John Schuler traveled up Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River, marching on La Prairie on 13 August 1690. Schuler's group managed to slay six Frenchmen, take 19 captives, shoot 150 head of cattle, and burn 16 houses and barns (Gossman 1996a:365).

On 1 August 1691, the English yet again returned to attack La Prarie, this time being turned back by a force of over 800 French and their Algonquin speaking (Abenaki) allies who were lying in wait outside Fort Saint-Louis at Chambly (Gossman 1996d: 365 - 366). Following the conclusion of King William's War in Europe with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, hostilities ceased in the North American frontier (Eccles 1974:130 – 131). While the European powers ceased hostilities, the Treaty of Ryswick did not address issues of Iroquois sovereignty. Both French and English claimed the Iroquois territory in their respective colonies. An accord was finally reached between the French and Iroquois Nations in the form of the Great Peace of Montréal in 1701. Per this treaty, the Five Nations Iroquois were bound to remain neutral in any future conflict between France and England (Havard et al.2001). This was a great victory for New France, and a terrible blow to the territory of New York which could no longer rely on their Iroquois allies to stem the tide of French expansion along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River corridor (Eccles 1974:130).

Due in no small part to the Great Peace of Montréal, the next colonial war, Queen Anne's War, remained quiet in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley (Farrell 1996:613-617). Queen Anne's War was the North American manifestation of the War of Spanish Succession, in which an Anglo-centric European alliance fought to prevent the union of France and Spain (Farrell 1996:613). While the actual combat of Queen Anne's war affected the St. Lawrence Richelieu River Valley little, the resolution of the War of Spanish Succession would set the stage for the coming Seven Years War.

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713)

France and England signed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, ending the War of Spanish Succession and settling many property and boundary issues in both Europe and the "New World". In Europe, the French and Spanish Crowns remained separate;

Spain granted Gibraltar and Minorca to Britain. In the New World, France granted Hudson Bay, Acadia (the coast of Maine) and the majority of Newfoundland to England (Farrell 1996:617). France also retained Cape Breton Island and Isle Saint-Jean [Prince Edward Island] (Childress 1996:756). The French retained fishing rights to the north shore of Newfoundland from Pointe Riche to Cape Bonavista. The region gained the monikers, 'The French Shore' and 'The Treaty Shore' (Brière 1983, 1997; Hiller 1991, 1996). In Champlain Valley, France recognized the Iroquois Nations as "subjects" of Britain (Farrell 1996:617). Interestingly, while the Iroquois were a subject of discussion, they were not represented at the Treaty negotiations.

While the recognition of the Iroquois as under British control implies the Iroquois homeland as British territory, boundaries in the Lake Champlain region were vaguely drawn and poorly understood by all signatories (Farrell 1996:617; Miquelon 2010). Subsequent researchers indicate that the Treaty of Utrecht delineated the border English territory and New France was settled upon as Split Rock, near what is now Westport, New York (Figure 5) (Peebles et al. 2009). Article 15 of the treaty was actually somewhat ambiguous (Miquelon 2010). It was this ambiguity that allowed the French to expand yet again, moving toward the southern they had claimed in the 17th century. The Treaty of Utrecht did usher in a period of uneasy peace between New England and New France; the treaty did not remove the fundamental issues of conflict on the northern colonial frontier. Within a decade of the declaration of peace between England and France, the Abenaki were at war with New England. This conflict was known alternately as Dummer's War, Grey Lock's War, Father Rascle's War and Lovewell's War, each name representing a chief combatant or instigator of conflict. The conflict did not develop into a full-scale "French and Indian war", however it consisted of a characteristic pattern

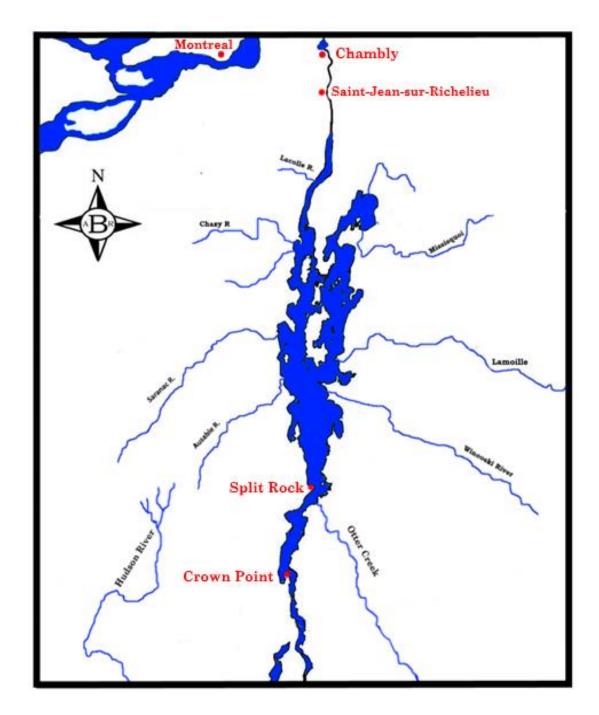


Figure 5 Map of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley showing the locations of Montreal, Chambly, Split Rock and Crown Point.

of guerrilla warfare. Abenaki war parties raided frontier settlements in English territory, while the English launched retaliatory expeditions into Indian country. The majority this conflict took place on the borders between Massachusetts and New Hampshire and

Abenaki country. However, throughout the conflict, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was used by the Abenaki to access the English settlements and retreat home. (Calloway 1996:183 - 184; 1990:113 - 142). Throughout this conflict the French, the colony of New York and the Iroquois all watched from the sidelines (Calloway 1996: 184).

French Expansion South (1731-1759)

Following the end of the War of Spanish Succession, France took advantage of the 'ambiguous concession' outlined in the Treaty of Utrecht and sought to expand its holdings to the south (Miquelon 2010). In September 1731, French forces constructed a wooden stockade, 'fort de pieux' on Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, a narrow point at the south end of Lake Champlain (Peebles et al. 2009). This was the second European post constructed at this location, the first being the English stockade constructed in 1690 under de Worm. For the French, the establishment of this fort was the simplest way to control the lake and gain greater control of the lucrative North American fur trade (Huey 1990, 2009). In 1733, the fortification was moved across the narrows to the western shore of Lake Champlain. The new fort was constructed of stone and christened Fort Saint-Frédéric (Huey 2009, 2010). The seigneurie surrounding the fort was settled in the early 1730s and occupied through the war (Peebles et al. 2009).

During King George's War (War of Austrian Succession), the third European-based conflict between France and England to spill over into North America, the French expanded their military foothold across North America. The fortress at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, Fort Gaspereaux in Nova Scotia, Fort Niagara, New York and Fort Toulouse in Alabama were all reoccupied, strengthened, and/or rebuilt (Purvis 1996:686). Many new fortifications were added as well including Fort Beauséjour in

Nova Scotia, Fort La Présentation in New York and several others (Purvis 1996:686). The Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was quiet during King George's War. The English had planned an attack against Fort Saint-Frédéric, a plan which relied heavily on Mohawk involvement. The Mohawk convinced the English that given their inferior numbers, such an attack would be foolhardy (Horton 1996:337). Regardless of a lack of combat, the French became aware of how their southern frontier with New York was poorly defended. (Horton 1996:335). Additionally, the French settlers at Fort Saint-Frédéric, fearing an English reprisal that would never come, evacuated their lands (Calloway 1990:154). Prior to the close of King George's War in 1748, the Champlain Valley was used as a launching point for attacks on New England (Calloway 1990:154).

In the late 1740s and early 1750s, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley of the military industrial complex underwent an expansion and reinvigoration that had taken place elsewhere a decade previous. This expansion began slowly. In the late 1730s, a village had been founded at Saint-Jean, the site of the 1666 Fort l'Assomption.

Consisting of warehouses, a single barracks building and a bakery, established at the last rapids between Lake Champlain and Montréal. The newly reestablished village served as a depot to resupply the forts to the south (Beaupre 2015). Further downstream, in 1741 and 1742, French governor ordered hangers built to store small ships and boats at the site of the abandoned 1665 Fort Sainte-Thérèse (Bernier 2012: 40 - 57).

In 1748, the depot at Saint-Jean was chosen as the site for a new fortification. Fort Saint-Jean was built to better defend the supply depot complex essential to the defensive positions farther south. Designed by French military engineer Chaussegros

de Léry fils, the new fort consisted of a square palisade marked by four corner bastions. Three buildings from the previous village site, including the bakery and commandant's house, were relocated inside the new fort (Beaupré 2013a; Cloutier 2011:12-14). Similarly, Fort Sainte-Thérèse was rebuilt in 1747 (Bernier 2012:56). The first clash of the Seven Years War cemented the French interest in further fortifying the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor.

In October 1755, a force of some 2000 men began the construction of a fort at the foot of Lake Champlain. The fort was originally christened Vaudreuil, after the then Governor-General of New France, but it was eventually given the name Carillon, a French term referring to the 'chime of bells'. Carillon was chosen to invoke the sound of the waterfalls between Lake George and Lake Champlain (Pell 1990 [1935]: 19). Given the proximity of Carillon to the border with New England, construction was under constant surveillance by English spies and informants (Pell 1990 [1935]: 19). Toward the end of the war, a shipyard was developed at Fort Saint-Jean to supply the French forces with the warships necessary for the control of the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Corridor (Cloutier 2011:14). Throughout the Seven Years War, forts Chambly, Sainte-Thérèse and Saint-Jean, would serve as vital military depots, supplying the frontline forts Saint-Frédéric and Carillion (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989:12; Steele 1990:39).

<u>Lake George Comes into Play (1755)</u>

As a result of the great military debacle known as Braddock's Defeat, where French forces routed the English army under Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock on the banks of the Monongahela River; the French came into possession of English battle plans for a combined English and Native American attack on Fort Saint-Frédéric. In a preemptive strike, French commander at Fort Saint-Frédéric, Baron Jean-Armand de Dieskau, led a force of 1400 French, Canadians and Indians southward. On 8 September 1755,

Dieskau clashed with a northbound force of 1000 English colonists and some 200 Mohawks on the shores of Lake George. The resulting Battle of Lake George would see Dieskau surrender (Murphy 1996:361 – 363). The Battle of Lake George made it clear to English, French, Iroquois, and Abenaki combatants that Lake George would come into play as a vital battleground in the ensuing French and Indian War.

British March North - English Military Build-up on Lake George (1755-1759)

Following the Battle of Lake George, the British expanded the military footprint along their northern border. While the French claimed the southern end of Lake Champlain through the construction of Fort Carillon, the British established posts at the foot of Lake George that same fall. Construction of Fort William Henry, the northern most British post in Lake Champlain Corridor at the time, was built between September and November 1755 (Steele 1990:57 – 77; Clark 1996:797).

In a move, symmetrical to the French positions to the north, Sir William Johnson not only created new forward bases, but repaired and reconstructed rear echelon posts as well. In 1755, he ordered the construction of a stockade around his home on the Mohawk River. Fort Johnson was augmented by the addition of cannon in 1756 and two blockhouses, each to hold 40 men, in 1758 (Gossman 1996e:325). Fort Edward, New York has been a persistent place in the history of the region. First known as the 'Great Carrying Place' on the upper Hudson River, Fort Nicolson was constructed at the site in 1709 and abandoned at the close of Queen Anne's War in 1713. A fortified trading post, Fort Lydius, was built nearby by John Henry Lydius in 1731, and destroyed in 1745 by a combined French and Abenaki force. Fort Edward was built on the location of Fort Lydius in 1755 as a supply depot between Albany and the forward bases of the borderzone (Gossman 1996f:191; Starbuck 2004:13-21). The final iteration of Fort Edward proper, on the east bank of the Hudson, when combined with the numerous

barracks, blockhouses and fortifications on Rogers Island, took the shape of a great 'Forest Citadel' (Murphy 1996:362; Starbuck 2010:6-11; 2004:13-21; 1999: 54-82).

Rogers Island was the headquarters of the Rogers' Rangers between 1755 and 1759. It was in camp on Rogers Island that Maj. Robert Rogers penned the *Rules of Ranging* that were that standing order for engaging in forest warfare (Appendix A) (Starbuck 1999:55-56). In the 1750s, the 'Forest Citadel' of Fort Edward and surrounding defensive works held a population equivalent to the third largest city in the British colonies (Starbuck 1999:56). In the fall of 1755, Fort Edward and the forward base at Fort William Henry were further connected by a 14-mile Road (Gossman 1996f:190).

The majority of conflict in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor during the Seven Years War would take place in the approximately 86 km between Fort Edward and Fort Saint-Frédéric. These conflicts included the Siege of Fort William Henry (1757), fictionalized in James Fennimore Cooper's *The Last of Mohicans* (Starbuck 2014, 2002), the ill-fated British assault on Fort Carillon in 1758 (Pell 1990 [1935]), the Battles on Snowshoes between French forces and the infamous Rogers Rangers in the winters of 1757 and 1758 (Marokus 1996:706-707), numerous skirmishes and raids launched by French, British and Native forces, and finally the successful capture and renaming of Carillon as Fort Ticonderoga in 1759. The fall of Carillon led to the collapse of the French line, the auto-destruction of Fort Saint-Frédéric, and the short-lived refortification of Ilse-aux-Noix, Saint-Jean and Chambly before the ultimate French surrender of the New World (Charbonneau 1994: 15-62; Castonguay 1975:41-55).

British North America (1759-)

After the conquest of New France by the British, Royal Engineers set out to create a series of forts that met their needs. A mere 10 days after the French destruction of Saint-Frédéric, British General Amherst ordered the construction of a new fort, 300 yards

inland of the former French post (Coffin et al. 2005:153). General Amherst, known to be fascinated by engineering, made Crown Point a priority, canceling the construction of the stone Fort George on Lake George to funnel resources to his 'pet project' (Bellico 2010:205; Coffin et al. 2005:153; MacLeod 1996:797). His Majesty's Fort at Crown Point was constructed of earth, stone and wood. When completed, it was the largest fort ever built by the British in North America (Figure 6). When the fort itself was combined with several large outer works, the site covered 3 ½ mi.² and cost the crown the equivalent of 10 million in 2005 dollars (Coffin et al. 2005:153).



Figure 6 Map dating from 1759, showing His Majesty's Fort at Crown Point and outerworks. To the northeast of the ramparts of Crown Point, the remains of Fort Saint-Frédéric. Source: Plan of the fort and fortress at Crown Point with their environs. With the disposition of the English Army under the comm. of Genl. Amherst encamp'd there 1759. [Map] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71002321/

Crown Point was the exception to the rule regarding new construction of forts by the British. The strategic importance of numerous fortifications along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor became nil once the conquest of Canada was complete (Charbonneau 1994:63). However, tensions would soon rise between Britain

and her former colonies that would become the United States (Charbonneau 1994:64 – 65). As early as 1767 the Governor of Canada, Guy Carlton identified defensive infrastructure that was in need of major repairs or replacement (Charbonneau 1994:64 – 65). This list included Crown Point, Ticonderoga and Fort William Henry, all three of which would fall to the colonial militia before the Declaration of Independence was signed.

The previous pages have given the reader the bare minimum of a historical background required to grasp a passing understanding of the underlying events that have given rise to political realities of the 16th through 18th centuries in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. In order to properly apply my methodology of diachronic regional spatiality, pertinent historic events merely outlined above will be examined in detail in the following three chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR Sixteenth Century Spatial Relations in the LCRRV

The Socio-Political Climate of 17th century Canada

The historical narrative of Northern New England native history indicates that the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley has long served as the border or dividing line between the two most prominent Native American/First Nations culture and language groups (Day 1998 [1971]:119-120). The modern culture groups in question are the Haudenosaunee or Five Nations Iroquois, specifically the Mohawk Nation, and the Western Abenaki, an Algonquin speaking people. This absolute nature of this border differentiation has not gone unchallenged. Research indicates that at least two additional Native groups, the St.-Lawrence Iroquoians and the Mohicans were active agents in the pre-contact *borderzone*.

The same document that offers our initial ethnographic record of the Lake Champlain Valley, the record of Samuel de Champlain's 1609 voyage on the Lake that would come to bear his name, draws the accepted Abenaki-Iroquois *borderzone* distinction into question. Champlain comments that his guides informed him the mountains to the east of the lake were occupied by the Iroquois (Champlain 1967 [1632]:162). Champlain's comments have been the topic of much discussion in the literature (Calloway 1990: 57 - 59; Haviland and Power 1994: 3; Foster and Cowan 1998:21; Day 1998 [1971]: 117 - 118, 122; 1998 [1973]: 144; Wiseman 2001, 2009; Petersen et al. 2004). Irrespective of Champlain's comments, the division of the Valley along an east/west riparian border dictates the cognitive space of the Lake Champlain Valley. The Iroquois people, represented by the Mohawk Nation, the "keepers of the eastern door", claim their homeland in what is now the modern State of New York and western Québec, on the west shore of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River. The

Abenaki, inhabit the modern State of Vermont, on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain (Figure 7). However, the establishment of this narrative of spatial division demands further investigation. This chapter examines the *borderzone* of pre-contact cognitive, material and social spaces in the Champlain Valley, utilizing ethnographic, archaeological, linguistic and oral historical sources. The actual Late Woodland period and Protohistoric Period *borderzone* was more complex and nuanced than the binary border that the current historical narrative indicates.

For the purpose of clarification, is important for the reader to note that the Late Woodland period in the northeastern United States and southeastern Canada begins at approximately 1000 CE. The termination of the Late Woodland period depends on the point of European contact. Within the project area the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, the Late Woodland period terminates with the arrival of Samuel de Champlain in 1609 (Haviland and Power 1999: 133-204). My use of the term protohistoric follows after Wesson and Rees (2002:1-2) as the period of time between initial Native-European contact and production of detailed historical documents during the colonial period.

The Players in the Pre-contact Borderzone

The two primary linguistic culture groups of the Northeast, Iroquois and Algonquin are often defined in their seemingly stark juxtaposition to one another. Aside from the differences in root languages, these group differ in many aspects of culture. These cultural aspects include economic strategies, social organization and stylistic variation of material culture (MacNeish 1952; McCarthy and Newman 1961; Snow 1976,1984,1994; Calloway 1990; Haviland and Power 1994; Wiseman 2001; Brandão 2003; Kapches 2007; Kerber 2007; Kuhn 2007). The Iroquois are often presented in introductory text

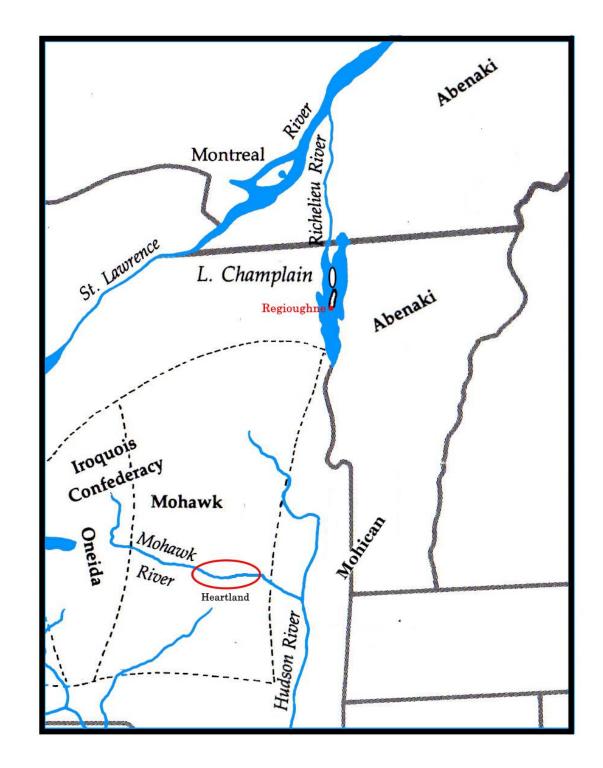


Figure 7 Map of the pre-contact borderzone showing perceived Mohawk, Abenaki and Mohican territories.

and survey volumes as the quintessential exemplars of Native Northeastern North America (Dincauze and Hasenstab 1987:67-87).

The Five Nations Iroquois Peoples included the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Mohawk. During the Late Woodland (AD 1000-1534) and Protohistoric periods (AD 1534-1610), these peoples were either sedentary or semi-sedentary maize horticulturalists, living in palisaded villages or towns. Their social organization was based upon a clan system expressed in matrilineal kinship and matrilocal habitation of longhouses (Morgan 1969 [1851]: 60; Dincauze and Hasenstab 1987:67; Kapches 2007:176;). Haudenosaunee, the peoples' name for themselves, is translated as, 'people of the longhouse", thus distinguishing themselves from their non-Iroquois speaking, hunting and foraging neighbors the "tree eaters" (Wiseman 2001:6). The Iroquois peoples were involved heavily in raiding warfare, most notably during the 17th century "Beaver Wars". This series of small conflicts saw the Iroquois league systematically all but exterminated the Huron people, one of the League's few Iroquois language speaking neighbors (Brandão 1997, 2003; Eid 1996: 317-319; Goldstein 1969).

During the Late Woodland period, the Algonquin speaking peoples to the north and east of the Iroquois predominantly relied upon a hunter gatherers economic structure (Day 1998 [1953]: 45; Dincauze and Hasenstab 1995:68; Haviland and Power 1994). The Algonquin speaking Abenaki peoples located to the east of the Iroquois practiced limited horticulture, raising maize, legumes, and squash to supplement their diet (Day 1998 [1953]: 45; Haviland and Power 1994:143). Archaeological evidence from the Donahue site on the shores of Lake Champlain indicates habitation in the spring to plant corn and in the fall to harvest corn and collect tree nuts. Ethno-botanical and zooarchaeological remains typical of summer habitation are conspicuously absent

(Bumstead 1980; Haviland and Power 1994:145). This has led archaeologists to believe that while they grew corn in mid-summer, the inhabitants of the Donahue site traveled mid-summer to exploit other economic resources. These Abenaki people did not live in nucleated semi-permanent settlements, but instead moved their villages throughout their territory within a seasonal round, following food resources (Haviland and Power 1994:133- 143).

The cultural differentiations discussed above, that are based on language group, are admittedly slightly reductionist. There have been ethnohistorical and archaeological examples of certain bands that do not conform to the generalizations above. The Western Abenaki did not function as a singular tribe, the family band was the basic unit of social organization (Calloway 1990:10). As such, the choices made by each Abenaki band are more likely to enigmatically effect the archaeological record, as opposed to a tribe who were subject to more rigid social norms, such as the Iroquois (Brandão 1997, 2003). During the Protohistoric and Colonial periods, the presence of diagnostic Iroquois longhouse type structures at archaeological sites within attributed Abenaki territory have been claimed by Abenaki descendent populations to belong to the Abenaki people (Ellen R. Cowie 2016, elec. comm). Scholars have a history of varying opinions on whether these structures indicate Iroquois or Abenaki cultural presence (Haviland and Power 1994: 153, 174-179; Jamison 2005, 2007; Wiseman 2001; Petersen et al. 2004; Moody 2011). Additionally, pottery sherds collected in the Missisquoi basin, along with samples excavated from multiple sites within Vermont have been identified as Iroquoian in origin (Ellen R. Cowie 2016, elec. comm.; Haviland and Power 1994:153). Most recently, a data recovery excavation along State Route 78 in Swanton, VT has returned the archaeological signature of over 7,000 years of occupation. While the final report on this site is yet unpublished, I have been informed that the Woodland period

occupation of this site yielded multiple examples of Iroquoian pottery types (Ellen R. Cowie 2016, elec. comm.) This fact is politically troublesome, as Swanton, VT is identified as the past and current epicenter of the Abenaki homeland in Vermont. The cultural difference between these two historically adversarial Native American nations is at the heart of past and current debates of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley borderzone.

Additionally, as was discussed in Chapter Three, the Abenaki believe that a certain monolith in Burlington Bay is the physical manifestation of the culture hero/demigod Ojihozo. Ethnographic records indicate that Abenaki people would give offerings of tobacco to this small island. This practice is recorded until about 1940 (Day 1978 [1998]:121; Haviland and Power 1994: 193). The association of the Abenaki people with this monolith constitutes a mythologically grounded tie to the landscape of the project area.

Archaeological evidence recovered from the Richelieu Valley and northern shores of Lake Champlain indicate a third culture inhabited the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley in the latter years of the Late Woodland period. St. Lawrence Iroquoians have been identified by anthropologists as the people that met Jacques Cartier at Hochelaga (Montréal) and Stadacona (Québec City). Historical linguists have identified these people as speaking an Iroquoian language. This determination has been made based on two separate vocabulary lists recorded by Cartier (Hoffman 1955, 1961; Lounsbury 1978) Archaeological evidence indicates that members of this culture settled in what has been termed northern Lake Champlain/Pike River cluster during the Late Woodland and Protohistoric periods (Petersen 1998; Petersen and Toney 2000; Chapdelaine 2004:67; Petersen et al. 2004; Tremblay 2006).

The fourth Native American group that has claimed a portion of the Lake

Champlain Richelieu River Valley is the Mohican Nation. The Mohican are said to be the

Native people whom met Hudson on his voyage in 1609 (Starbuck 2002:93).

Archaeology further indicates that the Mohican population was largely gone by the time

European settlement of the Upper Hudson region began in earnest, in the late 1600s

(Starbuck 2002:94-95; 2004:2, 11-12). During the Late Woodland, Protohistoric and

Colonial periods, Iroquoian as well as Mohican associated artifacts have been recovered

on Lake George as well as in the New York Capital Region (Starbuck 2002:93-94). The

Mohican are indelibly associated with the Colonial period in the southern end of the

project area due to the Last of the Mohicans novel, movies and cultural phenomena

(Starbuck 2002:93). Mohican claimed territory on the fringe of my defined project area,

as well as their relatively short occupation of the region indicates they are not a major

player in the construction of the borderzone.

Linguistic Evidence of the Borderzone

There are two sources that are of paramount importance when discussing the linguistic evidence for a pre-contact Native *borderzone* in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. Interestingly, while each of these two authors examined toponyms in the Champlain Valley, one perspective examines Iroquois language, while the other examines expressions of the Abenaki language. Yale ethnographer and linguistic anthropologist Floyd Lounsbury (1960) examined Iroquois place names of the Champlain Valley, and renowned Algonquin linguistic scholar Gordon M. Day (1998 [1981]) examined Abenaki place names in the Champlain Valley. The binary nature of this linguistic evidence is no doubt due to the historical evidence available relating to only two of the four pre-contact peoples of the *borderzone*.

Toponyms have been a topic of enduring study within the field of linguistic anthropology. Some of the most notable examples of this work being that of Keith Basso (1983, 1988), James Kari (1989), Cruikshank (1981) and Thomas Thornton (1997). Similar to many other toponyms centric studies Lounsbury (1960) and Day (1998 [1981]) are largely descriptive with minimal interpretive information.

To test the existence of the pre-contact *borderzone*, I have chosen to employ these sources to examine the use of toponyms as a symbolic link to landscape of both the Abenaki and Iroquois peoples in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. By identifying the density of place names relative to the purported homeland cultural landscapes of each native group, we can gain an understanding of the cognitive space or homeland occupied by each group. As has been noted by Hunn (1994, 1996:4-5), the overall toponymic density of languages in their home ranges reflect the intensity of landuse or familiarity with geographic features and provide significant support for theories of cognitive processing. While this dissertation does not measure toponympic density in terms of number of names per square mile as is the common approach (Hunter 1996:5), I have instead chosen a more gross approach measuring presence and absence of specific recorded toponyms in each native groups' language, relative to their purported homeland on either side of the *borderzone*.

I employ this methodology fully aware that it is by no means uncontroversial. A gross examination of toponyms in this manner assumes a comparably equitable survival rate of geographic toponyms on each side of Lake Champlain. Also, the temporal origin of each of the toponyms can be called in question, which can result in a skewed understanding of each group's respective homeland (Day 1998 [1977]).

<u>Iroquois Place Names in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley</u>

As an aspect of the Sesquarcentennial celebration of Samuel de Champlain's arrival on Lake Champlain, the 'New York-Vermont Interstate Commission' was founded and a report written on the history and ecology of Lake Champlain basin. As a portion of that report, Floyd G. Lounsbury penned a chapter entitled Iroquois Place-names in the Champlain Valley. In his work, Lounsbury (1960) employs two primary sources, both cartographic in nature. Lounsbury reports on the Iroquois toponyms recorded by agents of the British Crown on Gov. Powell's Map (1755) and Lord Amherst's Map (1762). While both sources are dated to the 18th century, they offer the best ethnographic record of Iroquois toponyms available. Lounsbury additionally cites multiple secondary sources which have utilized these primary source documents, as well as other documents, to report on Iroquois toponyms in the region (1960:27). Lounsbury analyzes terms for eight geographic features in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, recording not only the historic terms, but relating them to his understanding of modern Mohawk. These toponyms are recorded in Table 1 and their locations are represented in Figure 8. From an examination of the geographic locations of these toponyms, it can be quickly discerned that the placement of Iroquois language terms for geographic location are heavily centered on the western shore of Lake Champlain. Furthermore, Lounsbury makes direct reference to the toponymic tie to the Lake Champlain borderzone, reporting on two toponyms for Lake Champlain, Canieadare'-quaron translated as 'the Lake that is the Gate to the Country' and Caniaderi-Guarunte, 'The Mouth of Door of the Country' (Lounsbury 1960:35-36). Both terms align with numerous primary and subsequent secondary historical sources that identify Lake Champlain as an access point to Iroquois territory. "Lake of the Iroquois," as entered on earlier maps, does not mean that when Champlain visited in 1609 it was owned by the Iroquois, but rather it was the route from

Modern English Name	Lake Champlain	Lake George	Ticonderoga	South Bay Lake Champlain	Crown Point	Chimney Point	Cumberland Head
17th / 18th Century French	Lac Champlain	Lac du St. Sacrament	Pointe a Carillion	Grand Marais (Great Marsh)		Pointe a la Chevelure	Cap Scononton
Governor Pownall's Map (1755)	Canieadare'- quaront	Canieadarochte'	Tieconderoga	Tieronderaquegon	Tek'ya- doughniyariga	Tek'ya- doughniyariga	
Translation	the Lake that is the Gate to the Country	Tail of the Lake	the Conflux of Two Rivers	Collection of Waters	Two points of Land standing opposite from one another	Two points of Land standing opposite from one another	'Deer' translated by Beauchamp from Lery
Lord Amherst's Map (1762)	Caniaderi- Guarunte	Caniad-er-oit	Cheonderoga	Ond-eri-gue-gon	Tek-ya-dough- nigarige	Tek-ya-dough- nigarige	Pt. Aquinonton / Cumberland Pt.
Translation	The Mouth of Door of the Country	Tail of the Lake	Three Rivers	The Conflux of Waters	Two Points opposite to each other	Two Points opposite to each other	
Modern Mohawk Term	Kanyatarakw á:roñte'	Kanyá:taro'-kte'	Tekoñtaró:keñ		tekyatôñ:nyarike'		oskeñnóñ.toñ′
Translation	The Bulge in the Waterway	Where the Waterway comes to an end	It is at the junction of two waterways				Deer

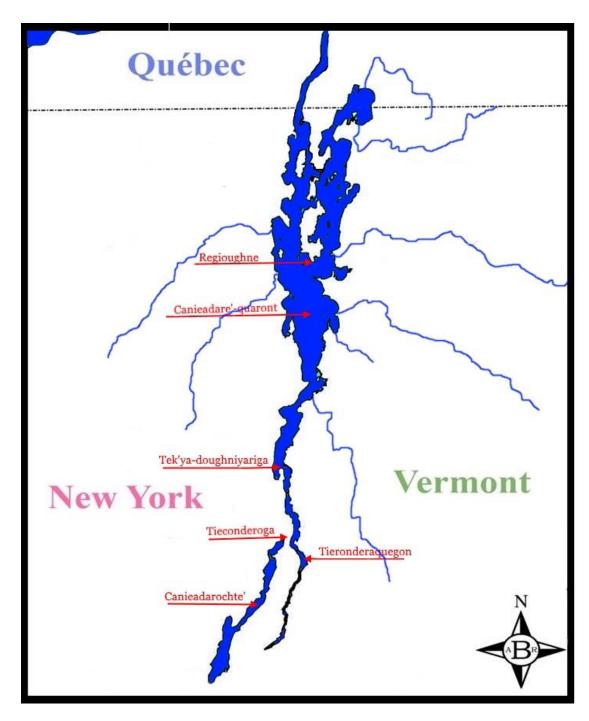


Figure 8 Map showing the locations of Iroquois toponyms on the landscape as compiled by Lounsbury (1960).

Quebeck to Iroquois country' (Ruttenberg 1906:72 as cited in Lounsbury 1961:37). Additionally, Lounsbury cites earlier work by Beauchamp whom quotes Sir William Johnston as saying the Mohawks claimed "from Regioghne to Oswedgatche" (Lounsbury 1960:60 – 61). Regioghne, being Johnson's 18th century English phonetic spelling of a promontory now known as Allan Point, the southern tip of Grand Isle, the southern-most island in Lake Champlain (Figures 7 and 8, Table 2). While Johnson's delineation of Mohawk territory is admittedly from the 1750s. The placement of Iroquois toponyms in the West bank of Lake Champlain offers a line of evidence that this territory was historically under Mohawk control. Additionally, Lounsbury's secondhand quote attributed to Sir William Johnson, marks the southwestern boundary of Mohawk territory. Given the 18th century origin of this comment, it may be difficult to apply said boundary to the pre-contact landscape. It does still offer valuable information regarding Oswedgatche as an important 18th century marker.

Admittedly, Lounsbury's work only examines a sample of all Iroquois toponyms in the region. Lounsbury himself stated that he chose the terms from historic example that were 'solvable' relative to his understanding of the modern Mohawk language (Lounsbury 1960:66).

Table 2 Information on Allan Point-

Modern English Name	17th / 18th Century French	Sir W. Johnson		Modern Mohawk Term	Translation
Allan Point	Rocher Rodziou	Regioghne	Rock Rogeo	1. Rotsí:yo 2. Rots:'yo	 He has good fish He is a coward

Abenaki Place Names in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley

The second major resource for analyzing toponyms in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, is an essay by renowned anthropologist Gordon Day. Day noted that while Lounsbury had addressed the issue of Iroquois names, his work deserved an Abenaki counterpart (Day 1998 [1981]:229). Day's essay, *Abenaki Place Names in the Champlain Valley*, was first published in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* in 1981. In his article, Day addresses the toponyms of 23 geographic features, only four of which lie solely on the western shore of Lake Champlain (Table 3 and Figure 9). The mere geographic location of toponyms in the Valley, Abenaki on the eastern shore, and Iroquois on the western shore offer strong indication of homelands as noted by Hunn (1994, 1996:4-5) among others. Additionally, analysis of individual toponyms offers strong evidence for the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley as the border between Iroquois and Abenaki.

Day (1998 [1981]:239 – 241) takes a relatively in-depth look at several historic toponyms for Lake Champlain. He traces multiple recorded terms for the Lake finally settling on the modern Abenaki spelling *bitawbágók*. Day further identifies the root word of *bitawbágók* as *bitaw* which carries the classic meaning of "between in any spatial sense" (Day 1998 [1981]:240). Ethnographic records therefore indicate that Lake Champlain was known as *Bitawbagok*, the waters between. The lake between, but the Lake between what? Lake Champlain lies in the center of the valley, a valley delineated by the Adirondack Mountains on the west and the Green Mountains on the east. So, does 'the lake between' refer to the Lake between the mountains? or the lake between the people? Modern secondary sources differ on this interpretation.

Gordon Day (1998 [1981]:240) himself cites a knowledge of the historical situation and restates the historical narrative mentioning that the 'lake between' implies the lake

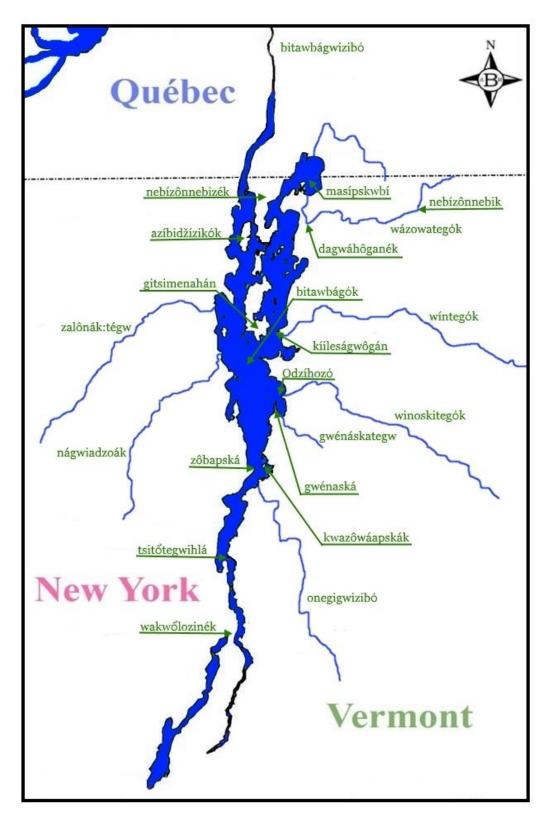


Figure 9 Map showing the locations of Abenaki toponyms on the landscape as compiled by Day (1998 [1981]).

Table 3 Toponyms compiled by Gordon Day (1998 [1981]).

Modern Name	Abenaki	Translation
Lake Champlain	bitawbágók	the waters between
Richelieu River	bitawbágwizibó	the river between
	masisóliantégw	Sorel River
	magwáizibó	Iroquois River
Grand Isle	gitsimenahán	Big Island
Isle La Motte	azíbidžízikók	a little sheep dropping
Highgate Springs	nebízônnebik	at the medicine water
Alburg Springs	nebízônnebizék	at little medicine water
Missisquoi Bay	masípskwbí	Flint water
Missisquoi River	wázowategók	at the river which turns back
Swanton Falls	dagwáhôganék	at the mill
Sandbar State		
Park	kíileságwôgán	land bridge
Lamoille River	wíntegók	bone marrow
Saranac River	zalônák:tégw	Sumac Tree River
Ausable River	nágwiadzoák	underground river
	papaquanetuck	cranberry river
Winooski	winoskí / winoskík	Onion land
Winooski River	winostegók/winoskitegók	onion river/onion land river
Dunder Rock	Odzíhozó	Transformer god
Shelburne Point	gwénaská	The long point
La Platte River	gwénáskategw	Long point stream
Split Rock	zôbapská	the through rock
	sizikwáimenahán	Rattlesnake Island
Thompsons Point	kwazôwáapskák	at the extended rock
Otter Creek	onegigwizibó	Otter River
Ticonderoga	wakwổlozinék	at the fort
	tsitőtegwihlá	the waterway continues
Crown Point	tsitőtegwihlá	the waterway continues

between the Abenaki and the Iroquois. Day (1998 [1981]:240) further states that this is an appropriate geographic interpretation as the Abenaki lived on the eastern shore and the Mohawk on the western. The Lake Champlain Maritime Museum has taken the opposite stance in its published materials, stating, 'Some Native Americans called Lake Champlain "Bitawbagok", an Abenaki word meaning the "lake between" the Adirondacks

and the Green Mountains.' (LCMM 4). Other sources leave the interpretation up to the reader, simply stating the translation of the waters between (Peebles et al. 2009: 4; Wiseman 2001). Moving to the north end of the valley, Day reports on three toponyms for the Richelieu River. The first of which, bitawbágwizibó, directly relates to the word for Lake Champlain discussed above. Bitawbágwizibó being derived from the general root word bitaw- and can be translated as 'the river between' (1998:238[1981]). It is in the use of the same root word, bitaw- to refer to both Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River undermines the explanation offered by some that the "lake between" refers to a spatial location between the Adirondack and Green Mountains (LCMM 4). As I observed during the phenomenological survey of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, the topography changes immediately upon crossing the modern US Canadian border. As can be seen from a topographical map of the area, Lake Champlain Valley widens and diffuses into the larger St. Lawrence lowlands. Effectively mountains disappear from the landscape (Figure 10). This leads one to believe that bitaw, in toponyms for the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, refers directly to the spatial representation of peoples, Abenaki and Iroquois.

The second term for the Richelieu River, *magwáizibó* is translated as "Iroquois River". Indeed, the documentary connection between the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley and the Iroquois in goes all the way back to the first European in the interior of North America. On Jacque Cartier's visit to the St. Lawrence Iroquoian village of Hochelaga in 1534, his chronicle recorded this event on the island of Montréal.

brought us to the toppe of the foresaid mountaine, which we named Mount Roiall...as we were on the toppe of it, we might discerne and plainly see thirtie leagues about...there are many hilles to be seene running West and East...on the South, amongst and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleasant as possibly can be seene... middest of those fieldes we saw the river further up a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath beene seene and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discerne, going South- west along three faire and round mountaines that

wee sawe, as we judged about fifteene leagues from us. Those which brought us thither tolde and shewed us, that in the sayd river there were three Falls of water more ... said River, and that there be Agouionda... They gave us also to understande that those Agouionda doe continually warre one against another, but because we did not understand them well, we could not perceive how farre it was to that Countrey. (Cartier 2003 [1535]: 63)

In this case passage, Cartier describes the 'fair and pleasant country' boasting a river. This passage is often cited as the first description of Vermont by Europeans (Bassett 1975:3; Haviland and Power 1994:203; Peebles et al. 2009:12). For those aware of the local landscape, it may seem difficult to believe that Cartier could see Vermont from the relatively low elevation of Mont Royal Summit, 233 m or 764 ft. above sea level. However, modern geographic information systems can prove without a doubt that the topography of the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valleys are such that the latter is visible from the summit.

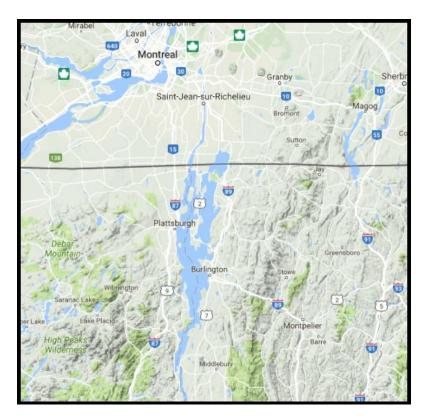


Figure 10 Topographical map showing the diffusion of the narrower Lake Champlain valley northward to the Richelieu River valley and the St. Lawrence Lowlands.

Assuming Cartier's eyesight was 20/20 and it was a clear day, a simple view shed analysis enables one to ascertain the landscape he would have been able to see (Figures 11 and 12). From the summit of Mont Royal, peaks within the modern Province of Québec as well as the States of Vermont and New York are visible (Table 4). The lettered icons on Figure 12 correlate to the mountain peaks recorded in Table 4. As shown in the figures, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley creates a clear line of sight to the south. Furthermore, the "three such falls" in the river, mentioned by Cartier, most likely refer to the three sets of rapids along the Richelieu River which would become the locations of three Carignan-Salières forts, discussed in Chapter 5.

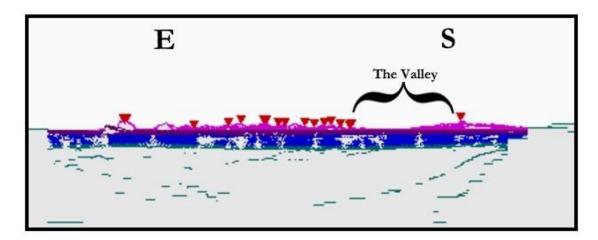


Figure 11 View shed analysis of the peaks visible from the summit of Mont Royal. Source: http://www.heywhatsthat.com/?view=K86IFDL2

Most importantly in the passage from Cartier's journal above, is the reference to the people whose homeland is located upstream. Referred to by Cartier's St. Lawrence Iroquoian guides as the *Agouionda* people, these people are almost certainly the Mohawk Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy. Aside from their location of their homeland on the south end of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, as mentioned by Cartier's guides, the guides go on to describe the armor worn by this distant people, "they shewed us the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and

wood, finely and cunningly wrought togither." (Cartier 2003 [1535]: 63-64). Cartier's description of the *Agouionda* armor is remarkably like the armor of Mohawk warriors described by Champlain during his battle on the western shore of Lake Champlain in 1609.

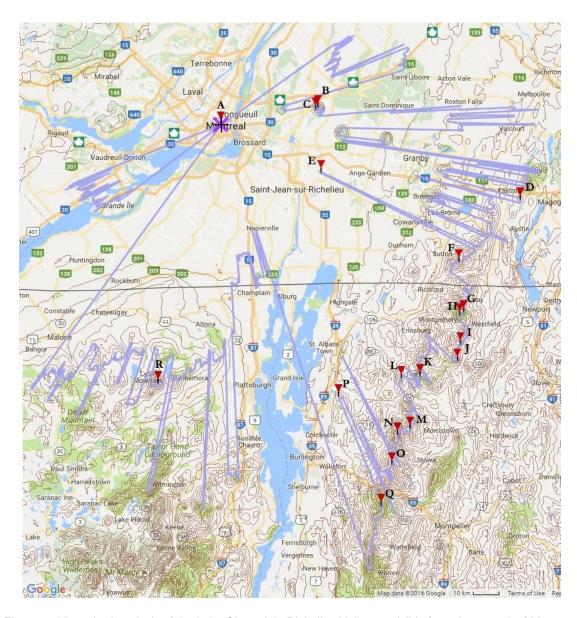


Figure 12 View shed analysis of the Lake Champlain Richelieu Valley as visible from the summit of Mont Royal. Source: http://www.heywhatsthat.com/?view=K86IFDL2

Table 4 Peaks Visible from the Summit of Mont Royal.

	Bearing				
Key	True	Magnetic	Peak	Distance	Elevation
Α			Mont Royal	0 miles	764 ft
В	80°	95°	Colline Sunrise	21 miles	1280 ft
С	81°	96°	Le Pain de Sucre	20 miles	906 ft
D	104°	119°	Mont Chagnon	66 miles	2001 ft
E	115°	130°	Mont Saint-Grégoire	24 miles	823 ft
F	120°	135°	Sommet Rond	59 miles	3156 ft
G	127°	142°	Jay Peak	65 miles	3766 ft
Н	128°	143°	Big Jay	65 miles	3658 ft
1	132°	147°	Haystack Mountain	70 miles	3025 ft
J	135°	150°	Belvidere Mountain	71 miles	3340 ft
K	141°	156°	Laraway Mountain	69 miles	2723 ft
L	144°	159°	Fletcher Mountain	67 miles	2110 ft
М	148°	163°	Madonna Peak	77 miles	3638ft
N	150°	165°	Mount Mansfield	76 miles	4386 ft
0	153°	168°	Bolton Mountain	82 miles	3684 ft
Р	156°	171°	Georgia Mountain	63 miles	1414 ft
Q	157°	172°	Camels Hump	89 miles	4065 ft
R	194°	209°	Lyon Mountain	57 miles	3829 ft

"The Iroquois were greatly astonished that two men had been so quickly killed, although they were equipped with armor woven from cotton thread, and with wood which was proof against their arrows." (Champlain 1967 [1632]:6).

Additionally, the Jesuit priest and chronicler Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix recorded a similar description of Iroquois armor,

when they attacked and entrenchment, they covered their whole body with a small, light boards. Some have a sort of cuirass or breastplate of small pliable rings very neatly worked" (Charlevoix 1966 [1766]: 649).

Champlain's own drawing of a Native American in what appears to be slatted wood and textile armor offers a pictorial rendering of the descriptions above (Figure 13). It is generally accepted by scholars that the *Agouionda* people cited by Cartier and the Iroquois encountered by Champlain in 1609 were one in the same members of the Mohawk Nation. (Fischer 2008 254 – 274; Lounsbury 1960; Haviland and Power 1994:181 – 182).

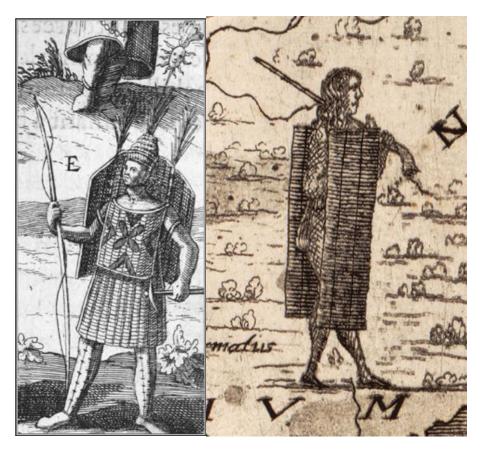


Figure 13 Left: Champlain's own artistic rendering of the Huron and armor circa 1608 – 1615. Original image mage owned by the Library of Congress, reproduced here from Fisher 2008:268. Right: Image of Iroquois warrior in armor from the map Novae Franciae Accurata Delineatio, a map dated 1657 by Francesco Giuseppe Bressani 1612-1672. Accessed from the Library of Congress https://lccn.loc.gov/00561829.

Further Toponym References

The Abenaki and English Dialogues, the text that touts itself as the first ever published vocabulary and the Abenaki language, offers additional evidence for a precontact Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley borderzone. Compiled and published in 1884 by Abenaki Chief Joseph Laurent, the vocabulary includes a section entitled "names of cities, towns, villages, rivers, countries, nations & C., & C.". With the exclusion of terms for individuals from a number of European nations, the list of toponyms is overwhelmingly geographically centered upon traditional Abenaki territory. The list includes terms for political and geographic features in eastern Québec, and the modern

states of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine (Laurent 1884:51-54). The list does include seven references to people and political bodies within traditional Iroquois territory; the modern state of New York, the western reaches of the modern province Quebec and eastern edge of Ontario (Table 5).

Table 5 Gross Tally of Abenaki Terms Garnered from Laurent 2010 [1884]

	Political Features Cities/Towns	People	Geographic Features Rivers/Lakes/Mountai ns	Total
East of the LC/RR Valley (Abenaki Terr.)	18	12	16	46
West of the LC/RR Valley (Iroquois Terr.)	4	3	0	7

Of the seven terms for places within Iroquois territory that Laurent lists; two, Plattsburg and Saratoga, were the names of important 19th century industrial centers. The name for Ottawa, the capital of Canada, was listed. The final geographic term listed is *Kaanawagi*, the Abenaki word for Kahnawake, the Mohawk Reserve on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, opposite Montreal Quebec. Canada.

Further support of this Lake Champlain Richelieu River borderzone existing in prehistory can be seen in popular culture. A number of the works by Native American author and educator Joseph Bruchac include a discussion of Iroquois/Abenaki animosity and interaction along the Lake Champlain, bitawbágók (Bruchac 2002; 2010). Most notable is Bruchac's (2010) aptly named 10,000 BC period novel, The Waters Between. While strictly works of historical fiction, Bruchac's contribution to the literature supports a strong belief among the modern Abenaki people that the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley has represented the Iroquois/Abenaki border zone since time immemorial.

<u>Critical Review of Linguistic Evidence</u>

From the linguistic evidence presented above, it would appear that prior to contact, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley represented a binary border. The Abenaki cognitive, material and social spaces on the eastern shore and the Iroquois on the western shore. A critical review of the data can offer a more nuanced view of the *borderzone*. Indeed, other researchers have advised anthropologists to be cautious regarding the use of ethnolinguistic data to identify pre-contact boundaries (Day 1998 [1977]; Fiedel 1987). The binary distinction of the Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River waterway as a border may be a simplification which overlooks several factors.

The first of those factors is the effect or the colonial period political realities on our understanding of the pre-contact ethnolinguistic borders. Many toponyms discussed above illustrate this close relationship between the French and their Algonquin speaking Abenaki allies. For example, the third Abenaki term for the Richelieu River recorded by Gordon Day (1998:237), *masisóliantégw*, translates to the "Sorel River". Sorel being the name of a 17th century French settlement that's name is derived from an officer of the Carignan-Salières Regiment. The close relation between Abenaki toponyms and their French language counterparts can call into question which term originated first. In a situation, reminiscent of the proverbial chicken and the egg, do the Abenaki and Iroquois toponyms communicate the cognitive, material and social spaces of each respective Native group pre-contact? or do the Native toponyms communicate space claimed and controlled by one of the Native's respective European allies during the 18th century? The above discussion on space as defined by toponyms has implied the former, yet some Native toponyms discussed by Day (1998) and Lounsbury (1961) indicate the latter.

An important note in this discussion of toponyms is the temporal association of the primary sources under examination. Much like the Iroquois toponyms discussed by Lounsbury (1961), Day cites the majority his primary source documents as 18th century maps and various 19th century documents. This could indicate that the borders seemingly created and perhaps enforced using toponyms may be a construction of the later post-contact and colonial periods. There is further evidence for the post-contact origin of toponyms in the term for Swanton Falls, a topographical feature on the Missisquoi River.

The banks of the Missisquoi River are often cited, both historically and currently as the seat of power of the Western Abenaki people (Perkins 1873:4; Moorhead 1917; Day 1998 [1971], 1998 [1973], 1998 [1978]; Calloway 1990; Heckenberger et al.1990; Haviland and Power 1994; Wiseman 2001). In the colonial period, records indicate Abenaki people traveling from Missisquoi to Fort Saint-Frederic to trade and access the services of the Chaplain (Haviland and Power 1994:232-234). Archaeological investigation in the Missisquoi Valley further indicates near constant occupation at several sites from the Archaic period to the present day. Day reports the toponym for Swanton Falls as *dagwáhôganék*, literally translated as 'at the grinding implements' or 'at the mill'. The French built a sawmill at Swanton Falls in 1748 or 1749 that was burned by the British in 1757 (Haviland and Power 1994: 236). Remains of the mill are yet to be recovered archaeologically. While this toponym maybe further evidence of the close relationship between the French and their Abenaki allies as discussed above, it may also indicate that Swanton Falls were not indeed named by the Abenaki until the 18th century, or at the very least, the name was changed in the 18th century.

While the Swanton Falls example clearly indicates an 18th century origin for the toponym, there are other examples that are a bit more ambiguous. One such toponym of ambiguous origin is recorded on a 1740 map of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley (Figure 14). On the east bank, one of the three primary rivers that enters Lake Champlain is the Lamoille River. Lamoille can be interpreted as a 19th and 20th century English bastardization of the 18th century French, *Ia Moelle. La Moelle* translates into

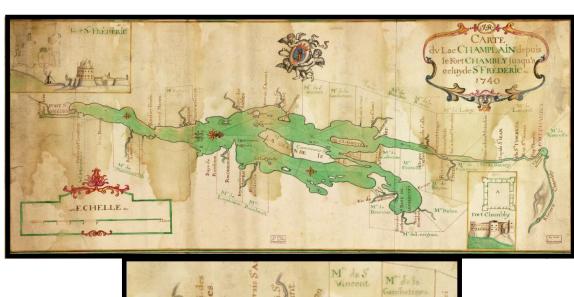




Figure 14 Map of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley dated 1740. Below: An enlargement of that same map showing the Rivière La Moelle. Source: Carte du Lac Champlain depuis le Fort Chambly jusqu'a celuyde St. Fréderic. 1740. [Map] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2008626932/.

English as 'bone marrow'. The Abenaki toponym for this feature is wintegók, which translates to 'bone marrow river' (Day 1981 [1998]: 247 – 248). To add to the confusion, there are also two local legends popular among Anglophone Vermonters relating to the origin of the term Lamoille. The first relates to a mistake in transcription by which a 19th century cartographer neglected to cross the "t's" and the Rivière La Motte, a name of a French officer in the Carignan-Salières Regiment and subsequent name sake of Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain, became Lamoille. This lacks any concrete evidence, however considering no 18th century French map currently in existence list this feature as the river La Motte. The second tale also involves the mistake in transcription. This version is recorded by 19th century historian Edward Kendall (1809 3: 274 – 275) and later discussed and dismissed by Day (1998 [1981]: 247). In this version, the original French name of the Lamoille River was La Mouëtte referring to seagulls. Subsequent versions claim Samuel de Champlain named the river himself during his 1609 trip, claiming he discovered the river by following the gulls that flocked there (Jeffrey 2013). This information is completely false as an in-depth reading of Champlain's travel journals does mention La Mouëtte or seabirds, but only in reference to them being a favorite food of the alligator gar (Champlain 1907 [1635]: 162). Regardless, both versions of this tale again involve a cartographer or map engraver forgetting to cross the "t's". I believe it is safe to assume that both tales are erroneous and Lamoille is indeed an English bastardization of the French La Moelle. However, the question remains, did the French adopt La Moelle from the Abenaki wintegók, or vice versa.

A second factor that the linguistic evidence arguemnet has over looked is multilingulaism. In a border region, there is a recognized propensity for multi-linguicism. At the risk of over stretching ethnographic analogy, the comparison can be made between the multiple Native cultures in the pre-contact *borderzone* and modern Anglo-

Franco border communities. Many individuals in the modern Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley *borderzone* have at least a limited understanding of the other language relative to necessities such as acquisition of food, beverage and the ability to get and received directions, directions which often include landmarks. Landmarks are labeled by toponyms.

The linguistic evidence discussed above also fails to address the at least two other Native groups which held a place in the Late Woodland and early Protohistoric periods in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, the Mohican and St. Lawrence Iroquoians. The lack linguistic evidence for the St. Lawrence Iroquoians is both understandable and ironic. It is understandable that there is no recorded linguistic evidence as the St. Lawrence Iroquoian people are believed to have disappeared between the voyages of Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain. The lack of linguistic evidence is ironic, considering that the St. Lawrence Iroquoians are largely an archaeological culture, yet as discussed above, they have been delignated by limited linguistic evidence (Hoffman 1955, 1961; Lounsbury 1978, 1978b; Pendergast 1998a).

What is a clear take-away from the linguistic evidence discussion is that Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River should not be interpreted as a hard-line border, or a strict interpretation of the waters between. The linguistic evidence should instead be interpreted as indicating a *borderzone*, a physical space or 'zone' of interaction between multiple previously distinct peoples, a place where cultures meet and mingle.

Archaeological Evidence of Pre-contact Borderzone

When examining the archaeological signature of Native peoples, prehistoric archaeologists are often bounded by modern Euro-American geopolitical borders.

Because much of prehistoric archaeology is pursued within modern state boundaries, it

can be difficult to separate those boundaries from the borders separating major linguistic and cultural groups in the past. A prime example of this is the work of renowned New York state archaeologist William Ritchie (1961, 1965, 1997 [1971]) it stands to reason as a New York state archaeologist, his research related directly to archaeological remains found within the State of New York. Similarly, research undertaken by archaeologists at the University of Vermont including William Haviland and Marjorie Power (1994), as well as James B. Petersen (1979, 1980, 1991), and the work of the University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program under the direction of Peter Thomas (Petersen et al. 1988), and now John Crock (Mandel et al. 2000) tend to be focused on archaeological remains discovered within Vermont. That having been said, these sources offer information on the Iroquois people of New York and the Abenaki of Vermont respectively. More recently, archaeological evidence of the Mohican and St. Lawrence Iroquoians can be interpreted to contributed to a more nuanced version understanding of the pre-contact *borderzone*.

Archaeological Evidence of Abenaki Origins and Late Woodland Territory

Archaeological research has been undertaken on each of the Five Nations
Iroquois of New York State and Ontario, as well as the Western Abenaki of Vermont.
These archaeological investigations provide geographically bounded interpretations of the Abenaki and Iroquois ethnic groups. Within the State of Vermont, Abenaki tribal historian and Arizona State University trained archaeologist Dr. Frederick Wiseman, tacitly employs archaeological data in his works (Wiseman 2001, 2009). While a trained archaeologist himself, Wiseman cites an Abenaki distrust of archaeology. Most notably saying in his *Autohistory of the Abenaki Nation*,

"an excavation destroys the traces of the earth of our old ones and consigns their spirits to the museum shelf or printed page. Our elders believe this disrespectful at

best, genocidal at worst. Luckily, almost all modern professional archaeology is of Abenaki sites menaced by stream erosion or by road and utility construction, although some would say it is better to be destroyed by the backhoe than to lie in a museum!" (Wiseman 2001:5 –6)

Conversely, in the same text, Wiseman uses archaeological data together with ethnohistory, geology and paleoclimatology to unfold a story of Abenaki origins in the State of Vermont which relies heavily on mythology in a liberal application of the ethnohistorical approach.

"...the Abenaki people, have been in Wôbanakiki, our land, since the Frost monsters withdrew thousands of years ago... 16,000 winters ago, the ice, perhaps with Koluscap's help, relented. The mile-high glaciers, flesh of the White Bear, stop their advance and began to melt"

(Wiseman 2001:13-16)

Wiseman also employs Abenaki language toponyms for archaeological sites while making note of early Paleo-Indian bastions of what he describes as Abenaki habitations in the region (Wiseman 2001: 19). For example, he refers to the noted Paleo-Indian period Vail Site in Northern Maine as Magolibo (Figure 15).

Regardless of a perceived animosity between archaeologists and the Abenaki people described by Wiseman (2001:5-6), archaeologists working within Vermont have often labored to avoid offending the descendent populations of the Abenaki people whom they study (Haviland and Power 1994; Petersen 1997; Peebles et al. 2006;). The most comprehensive archaeological study of the Abenaki people within Vermont is the seminal work, *The Original Vermonters: Native Inhabitants, Past and Present*, a monograph of Vermont Native history and archaeology by the University of Vermont anthropology professors William Haviland and Marjorie Power (1994). To both communicate all relevant archaeological data accurately, and not offend descendent populations, Haviland and Power (1994) do not explicitly discuss ethnogenesis of the Abenaki people. They merely offer a brief discussion of Algonquin language differentiation across the United States, before moving directly to a discussion of the first

Native American habitation in the area during the Paleo-Indian period, after the recession of the ice shelf, circa 12,500 BP (Haviland and Power 1994:2-19).

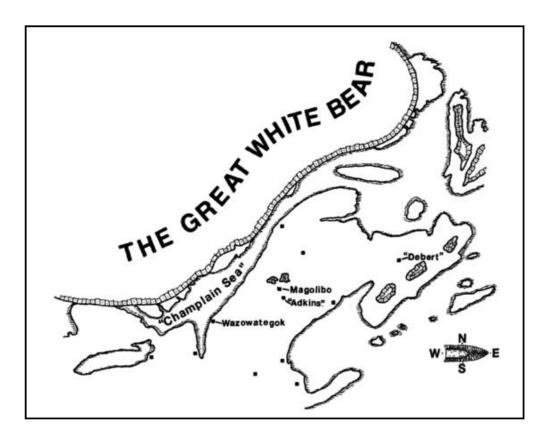


Figure 15 Map of the Northeast region taken from Wiseman 2001:16, Figure 2. The map exemplifies Wiseman's spin on the ethnohistorical approach, combining Abenaki mythology with paleo-climatology, geology and archaeology, showing the Great White Bear (Laurentide Ice Sheet) and Magolibo (Vail Site).

Haviland and Power's work was clearly designed to avoid the criticism of those who hold a firm belief that the individuals who reside in Vermont today are directly descended from those who were first set down in the Champlain Valley by the creator (Day 1971 [1998]:121-123; Peebles et al. 2009:6; Nate Willard 2011, pers. comm.), or the more progressive belief that the modern Abenaki population is directly descended from small nomadic bands of hunter gatherer people whom followed mega fauna to the shores of the Champlain Sea (Wiseman 2001:14 – 25). It is also important to note that Haviland and Power were drafting their seminal text in the political climate immediately

following an extended struggle between the University of Vermont and then Abenaki Chief, Homer Saint-Francis, during which Chief St. Francis threatened to burn down the anthropology department if certain Abenaki artifacts were not returned to his people (Trzepacz 2001). When anthropologists Haviland and Power took the stance to not discuss multiple migrations of people into Vermont, they effectively created a narrative of in-situ ethnogenesis of the Abenaki people. While they do discuss changes in climate, food acquisition, and technology throughout their text, they never imply that any cultural changes are due to immigration.

Scholars engaged in Abenaki or Wabenaki issues elsewhere in New England seem to discount the very existence of Abenaki within Vermont. Harald E. L. Prins and Bunny McBride (2007) when preparing their ethnographic overview of the Wabenaki peoples for Acadia National Park, make the following statement,

"...the traditional Wabanaki homeland, a vast region stretching from Newfoundland to the Merrimac River valley...Western Wabanakis, semi-sedentary villagers who survived not only on hunting, fishing and gathering, but also on growing corn, squash and beans in large gardens near their villages located between the Kennebec and Merrimac River valleys."

(Prins and McBride 2007:1)

This definition places the Western Abenaki Homeland firmly within the modern States of Maine and New Hampshire. Excluding Vermont from the Abenaki homeland stands in stark juxtaposition to contemporary scholars of the Abenaki people who refer to the historical and extant groups within Québec and Vermont as Western Abenaki (Calloway 1990, Day 1998, Haviland and Power 1994; Wiseman 2001 among others). Colin Calloway cites archaeological and historical sources when he traces the late Woodland and Protohistoric Abenaki peoples stating,

"By 1600, the Western Abenakis inhabited the region from Lake Champlain on the west to the White Mountains on the east, and from southern Québec to the Vermont-Massachusetts border. The Sokokis and Cowasucks on the Connecticut River, the Missisquoi and other bands on the shores of Lake Champlain, the

Pennacooks and Winnipesaukees of the upper Merrimac, and the Pigwackets of the Maine-New Hampshire border were all Western Abenakis..."

(Calloway 1990:7)

The historical and archaeological discussion of origins and traditional homeland of the Mohawk has a more nuanced past (MacNeish 1952; McCarthy and Newman 1961; Snow 1984, 1985, 1991, 1996a, 1996; Pendergast 1997; Lenig 2013). The impetus of this discussion can be drawn back to one of the founding fathers of anthropological research in northeastern North America. Henry Louis Morgan's research in the 1840s was the initial catalyst to draw scholarly attention to the Five Nations Iroquois.

Subsequent anthropologists and archaeologists, most notedly William Ritchie (1969) in his seminal work, *the Archaeology of New York State*, and the work of Dean Snow and his colleagues (Snow and Starna 1980, 1989; Snow 1984, 1985, 1991, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b; Baumann et al. 1992; Starna and Funk 1994) have focused on the Iroquois in the Northeast.

<u>Archaeological Evidence of Mohawk Origins and Late Woodland Territory</u>

This section of my dissertation is not meant to be a review all Iroquois archaeological and anthropological literature, nor even all the Mohawk literature. Both bodies of work are far too large for my purpose. This task is accomplished far better by many specialists in pre-and post-contact Iroquois archaeology (Bradley 1979, 1987; Snow and Starna 1980; Jordan 2002, 2008; Kerber 2007, Snow 1994, 1995b; among many others) In defining the pre-contact *borderzone*, the facts of paramount importance are the origins of the "people of the eastern door" and their homelands physical location at the point of contact.

The origins and differentiation of each of the Five Nations of Iroquois peoples has been a long-discussed topic in prehistoric archaeology. The theories for origins of the Mohawk, and indeed all other Iroquois, can be broken into two distinct camps, those that

believe the Iroquois culture evolved elsewhere and moved to New York, and those that favor in-situ cultural development. The initial theory for the social differentiation necessary to create the Iroquois Nations noted at time of contact was devised by former New York State archaeologist Arthur C. Parker. Parker (1922) clung tenaciously to the idea that the Iroquois were relative newcomers to New York having supplanted the Algonquin people whom had lived there previously (Parker 1922:70 – 73 as cited in Lenig 2000:58). Parker employed archaeologically recovered ceramics to devise and defend this theory. He noted that "Algonquin-ware" a ceramic type characterized by plain vessels with a thickened lip predated the "Iroquois-ware", a more technically advanced and extensively decorated form of pottery, displaying high decorated lips and cordwrapped paddling, or serrated stamping (Figure 16). Parker surmised that sometime between 1550 and 1600 A.D. the Algonquin plain pottery makers were displaced by Iroquois invaders, the makers of the more technically superior pots found on Protohistoric and historic period archaeological sites (Parker 1922:70 – 73 as cited in Lenig 2000). Most archaeologists have abandoned this theory in favor of the more recent in-situ theory, however, Starna and Funk (1994) and Dean Snow (1995) did revisit the "invasion hypothesis" while addressing critical questions with the widely accepted in-situ theory (Lenig 2000:58-59).

It was again the study of Iroquoian pottery that gave rise to the second theory of Five Nations origins, the in-situ theory of development. While a graduate student at University of Michigan, Richard S. MacNeish focused his doctoral research on the research problem of how archaeologists could distinguish each Iroquoian group from material culture. After subsequent collaborations with New York State archaeologist William Ritchie, MacNeish published his *Iroquoian Pottery Types* (1952) in which he uses the direct historical approach to trace the development of each Iroquois nation to

proto-Iroquoian groups of the Owasco culture (Lenig 2000: 59). The Owasco are an archaeologically identified culture identified by their distinctive pottery style (McCarthy and Neuman 1961:12-13). They inhabited much of New York State of the early Late Woodland period and are believed to have develop into to each of the distinctive Iroquois Nations between 1100 and 1200 CE (McCarthy and Neuman 1961:12-13; Lenig 2000: 68). While the finer points of the in-situ theory are topic of continuing discussion (Lenig 2000, Snow 1984: 241-257; Snow 1995; Starna and Funk 1994), and it has been criticized since the 1960s as being oversimplified (Lenig 2000; Richie 1961), the in-situ theory remains the predominantly accepted model. It should be noted that ceramic analysis is a method that continues to be used in the discussion of Iroquois social boundaries (Guindon 2009; Brumbach 2011; Hart and Engelbrecht 2012; Hart et al. 2016; among others). The traditionally accepted Mohawk homeland is the second point vital to discussion in this dissertation. Directly tied to the development of the in-situ theory, both the Oak Hill and Chance Horizon models directly relate to the development of the Mohawk homeland (Lenig 1960, 1965, 1979; Richie 1952). The geographic area of the traditional Mohawk homeland is so universally accepted to include the area of Montgomery County as well as the contiguous portion of Herkimer County in eastern New York (Lenig 2000; 2013; Snow 1995:1).

The most comprehensive catalog of archaeological sites within the Mohawk homeland was compiled by Dean Snow (1995). The catalog was the major outcome of a joint research project between Snow and his former student, William Starna, both noted researchers of the Iroquois world employed by schools in the State University of New York system (Lenig 2013: Snow 1995: xxiii). The catalog includes all 131 known and registered prehistoric and historic Mohawk sites located prior to publication (Snow 1995).



Figure 16 Left; Artists rendition of typical late woodland period Algonquin-ware pot. Right: Artists rendition of typical late woodland period Iroquoian-ware pot. Image created after Wilbur 1996:41.

Snow (1995:1) is clear to state that to be considered a Mohawk site, each site is bound spatially and temporally. To be included in each site must be located in the core homeland believed to postdate 900 CE, the general accepted date of Mohawk ethnogenesis (Snow 1995:1). Since the publication of this seminal volume, the number of data points of known Mohawk sites has more than doubled (Lenig 2010:55). In 2002, the donation of a private artifact collection was made to the New York State Museum in Albany. The Swart Collection's associated records indicate the artifacts were recovered from 140 previously unregistered archaeological components spanning the Late Woodland through Late Historic periods and the Mohawk Valley (Lenig 2010:55). This additional evidence only bolsters the existing hypothesis that Montgomery County in the Mohawk Valley was indeed the homeland of the pre-and post-contact Mohawk people.

The basic differentiation between Iroquois and Abenaki material culture at any one point in the pre-contact past can be extremely difficult. This close association of material

culture is no doubt one of the reasons for confusion regarding the placement, or even the existence of borders between these independent nations. Independent nations who differ greatly socio-linguistically. As was discussed above, the timeframe for this differentiation of culture is still in dispute. However, the similarities of material culture continue up into the Protohistoric period, by which point, even the most conservative of scholars agree that the Abenaki and Mohawk nations were very real and separate entities.

For example, the appearance of the Levanna type of projectile point is dated to the transition into the Late Woodland period, circa 900 C.E. The Levanna point increased in popularity, becoming the principal Late Woodland point in both New York and Vermont by around 1350 CE (Richie 1971 [1997]:31 - 32). This fact can be interpreted one of two ways. Either the Levanna point is a wide spread technology, crossing cultural barriers, making it a non-diagnostic artifact when discussing ethnicity in the Late Woodland and Contact periods. The other option is that the spread of the Levanna Point is indicative of the home range of a single culture. By comparison, the Madison point is said to evolve from larger Levanna Points and has been interpreted as more typical of an Iroquois projectile point (Haviland and Power 1994:134; Richie 1971 [1997]:31 – 32). Haviland and Power (1994:134) note the relative rarity of the Madison point in Vermont. They go on to associate this relative scarcity of Madison Points in Vermont as offering archaeological evidence of traditional Abenaki territory on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain (Haviland and Power 1994:134) (Figure 17). The discovery of Iroquois diagnostic Madison points in Vermont speaks to the existence of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley *borderzone* as opposed to a finite border.

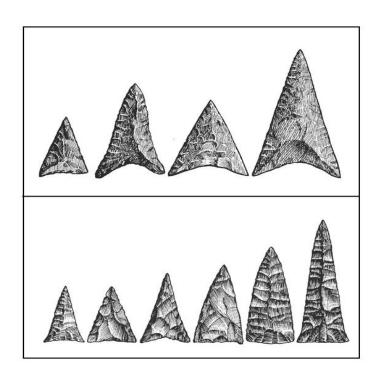


Figure 17 Image showing Late woodland and contact period projectile points; Levanna above and Madsion below. After George R Bradford, accessed at http://www.archaeowiki.com/_

In relation to architecture, the diagnostic material culture line can again be muddled. Stereotypically, Algonquin peoples reside in round wigwams. This is opposed to the longhouses inhabited by their Iroquois neighbors and adversaries (Dincauze and Hasenstab 1987:67; Kapches 1994, 2007; Morgan 1969 [1851]: 60). Archaeological data and analysis of Western Abenaki social organization indicate longhouses within traditional Abenaki territory as well (Haviland and Power 1994:174 – 177; Wiseman 2001:84 – 85; John Crock 2015, Pers. Comm.; Ellen R. Cowie 2016, elec. comm.).

The most reliable diagnostic artifact differentiation can be seen in the ceramics of Algonquin and Iroquois and peoples (Allan 1988; Brumbach 1975, 1995; Chilton 1998, 1999; MacNeish 1952; Petersen 1997; Petersen et al. 2004; Petersen and Toney 2000). As discussed above, typical Algonquin ceramics are described as less technically advanced, globular or spherical jars lacking detail decoration. Iroquois ware pots boasted fabric paddled bodies and decorated high collared rims (Haviland and Power

1994:133-151) (Figure 16). Indeed, MacNeish (1952) based his initial in situ model of Iroquois ethnogenesis on the traits seen within ceramics.

Mohicans in the Borderzone

The third Native American nation that have been historically and archaeologically identified as has present in the pre-contact Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley borderzone are the Mohicans. Recorded alternately as Mohican and Mahican, archaeological evidence indicates this group arrived in the region near the end of the Late Woodland period (Starbuck 2002:93). The Mohican people claimed a homeland in what would become the capital region of New York State. It is believed that the Mohican were the people met by Henry Hudson on his voyage up the Hudson River in 1609 (Starbuck 2002:93; Starna 2013: xii). Hudson's chronicler, Robert Juet recorded the interaction in these words,

'The people of the Countrey came not aboord till no one: but when they came, and saw the Sauages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the after-noone they came aboord, and brought tobacco, and more beades, and gaue them to our Master, and made an Oration, and shewed him all the country round about.' (Juet 2006[1609];592).

Not long after Hudson's departure, the Mohicans entered a tumultuous time in their history (Starna 2013: xii). Archaeology indicates that the Mohican population was decimated by the time European settlement of the Upper Hudson region began in earnest, in the late 1600s (Starbuck 2002:94-95; 2004:2, 11-12). The population drop has been attributed to disease and warfare. It has been estimated that as much as a 91% population perished between 1600 and 1700 (Snow and Starna 1989; Snow 1991). The decline in numbers in the 17th and 18th centuries caused the Mohicans to move into refugee communities, such as Stockbridge, Massachusetts which they founded in 1734. The void left by the Mohican population was filled by the Mohawk (Starbuck 2002:94).

During the Late Woodland, Protohistoric and Colonial periods, Iroquoian as well as Mohican associated artifacts have been recovered on the shores of Lake George as well as in the New York Capital Region (Starbuck 2002:93-94). The Mohicans allied themselves with the British Crown and supplied warriors to the British cause. Mohican warriors were present at the Siege of Fort William Henry and Roger's Rangers attack on the Abenaki at Saint-Francis, Québec as well as numerous other engagements (Starbuck 2002: xi, xii, 94-95). The Mohican are indelibly associated with the colonial period in the southern end of my project area due to the Last of the Mohicans book, movies and cultural phenomena (Starbuck 2002:93).

The overall impact of the Mohican people on the history of New York State has been a topic of debate. The generally accepted historical narrative is that the Mohicans played a relatively minor role in the history of the Hudson valley before a number of factors including war and diseased led to them being supplanted in the region by the Mohawk (Starna 2010, 2013; Starbuck 2002: xi-xii). In her 2009 monograph, Shirley Dunn established the premise that the Mohicans had made history in New York State, but were largely overshadowed by the Mohawk. In his review of this work and subsequent rebuttal to Dunn's response of the review, noted historian William Starna questioned Dunn's methods historical methods, and accused her of skewing history to the point of altering reality (Dunn 2010; Starna 2010a, 2010b). Regardless of their perceived role in the history of the region, the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of the Mohican Nation is federally recognized. While their current reservation is in the State of Wisconsin, a product of 19th century Native removal, the Mohican continue to claim their traditional homeland to include the southern end of Lake Champlain and the Lake George region of New York. The Mohican remain active agents in the preservation of archaeological remains in New York's Capital Region (Starbuck 2004:11-12; Crowe

2012). More recent disagreements have taken place between the Stockbridge-Munsee and various Vermont State recognized Abenaki bands, concerning archaeological resources in the southwestern two counties of Vermont. Mohican claimed territory is on the fringe of my defined project area, as well as their relatively short occupation of the region indicates they are not a major player in the construction of the *borderzone*. Regardless of this supposed ephemeral nature of the Mohican people within the project area, the Mohawk and Mohican conflict and later Mohican Allied British and French conflict are vital pieces of the complex web of protohistoric Lake Champlain Richelieu River *borderzone*.

'The St.-Lawrence Iroquoian Problem'

The overwhelming body of archaeological and linguistic data indicate during the Late Woodland period, a cognitive *borderzone* existed between the Abenaki of the eastern shore of Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor and the Mohawk of the western shore of the same. This statement is made with the caveat of some ongoing discussions about the exact locations of ancestral homelands, most notably whether the Mohawk Nation ever occupied Vermont as first suggested by Samuel de Champlain (1635[1907]: 165) and continuously discussed and refuted (Haviland and Power 1994:3 Day 1971 [1998]:118) or supported (Petersen et al. 1998; Pendergast 1990; Jamison 2005, 2007) by historians and archaeologists. Archaeology has substantially complicated the existence of any clear-cut boundaries between the Iroquois and Algonquin populations within the *borderzone*.

Archaeological investigations over the last 50 years have yielded some enigmatic remains throughout not only the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, but also the St. Lawrence River Valley, and into the eastern Great Lakes. These remains have been identified as belonging to the archaeological culture of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians

(Petersen 1990; Jamison 2005, 2007; Mandel et al. 2000; Petersen and Toney 2000; Tremblay 2006). The discovery of St. Lawrence Iroquoian remains on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain, and within the Champlain Islands and Mohawk Country (Kuhn et al. 1993) have posed as a direct challenge to the above discussed dichotomous delineation of *bitawbágók* and *bitawbágwizibó* as the border between the Abenaki and Mohawk nation of the Haudenosaunee. The "St. Lawrence Iroquoian Problem" in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley has been a topic of great discussion among archaeologists, ethnohistorians, and Native American activists and advocates for some time (Dawson 1860; Pendergast and Trigger 1972; Brumbach 1975, Pendergast 1975, 1991, 1997, 1998; Chapdelaine 1990, 1992, 1993; Petersen 1990; Jamison 2005, 2007; Mandel et al. 2000; Petersen and Toney 2000; Tremblay 2006).

Who are the SLI

When Jacques Cartier first sailed up the St. Lawrence River and into the heart of what is now known as the Province of Québec, he met a distinct group of Native people, living within multiple villages, along the course of the river (Figure 18). While not identified as such at the time, these people are known by the modern ethnonym, St. Lawrence Iroquoians.

During his three voyages in 1534, 1535-1536 and 1541-1542, Cartier recorded interactions with two major villages (Tremblay 2006:30). The first of which was at *Stadacona*, in area known to the First Nations as "Canada", near present-day Québec City; and the other at the village of *Hochelaga*, near present-day Montréal. While Cartier recorded the names and approximate locations of several other villages, it is at *Hochelaga* and *Stadacona* that his most well-documented interactions took place (Figure 18).

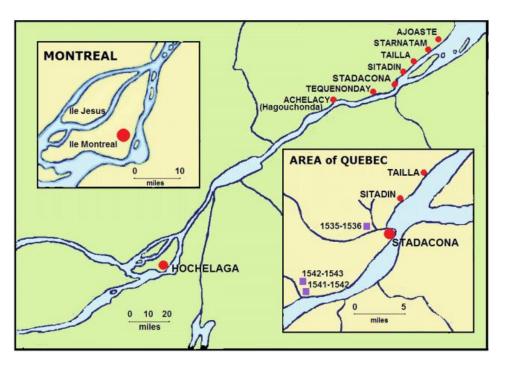


Figure 18 Map showing settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley ca. 1535 (European newcomer encampments shown as purple squares). After H.W. Castner, map, "Approximate location of Iroquoian villages mentioned in the texts of Cartier's Voyages," in Bruce G. Trigger. Source: https://hallnjean4.wordpress.com/

In his journals, Cartier describes a thriving population consisting of multiple villages along the St. Lawrence River. Cartier described the Hochelagans and Stadaconans as living walled villages of bark cover longhouses, and subsisting primarily on corn (Cartier 2003 [1535]). On Sunday, 3 October 1535 Cartier, a small group of French officers and sailors; and several First Nations people visited the settlement of Hochelaga near the present-day city of Montréal. In the published account of his travels, Cartier describes Hochelaga in the following manner.

The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse above. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly joyned togither after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It

hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Over it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelve, or fifteene broad, built all of wood, covered over with the barke of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunning joyned togither. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middest of every one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common togither: then doe the husbands, wives and children each one retire themselves to their chambers. They have also on the top of their houses certaine gar- rets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: (Cartier 2003 [1535]: 59)

This description of the Native American village encounter clearly fits within the archaeologically diagnostic archetype of that of an Iroquois village (Brandão 2003; Kapches 1994, 2007; Morgan 1969 [1851]: 60; Tremblay 2006).

While the above quote is merely a passage from Cartier's larger document, the passage represents the best description of the 16th century First Nations in the region. As one would assume, ethnographic data on these people is limited, consisting of Cartier's account and as well as descriptions in the travel accounts of Cartier's contemporaries, Jean- Françoise de La Roche de Roberval, and Roberval's pilot, Jean Alphonse (1904). Additionally, Franciscan historian and cosmographer, Andre Thevet described the land and people of North America without ever having gone there. However, Thevet did speak at length with two First Nations captives Cartier brought back to Brittany (Thevet 1558 as cited in Tremblay 2006).

However, by the time Samuel de Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence in the first decade of the 17th century, all trace of the people encountered by Cartier had vanished (Petersen et al.2004:96). This ominous disappearance of the Hochelagans, Stadaconans and seemingly all members of their ethnic group has led to much debate among historians, archaeologists and ethnolinguists (Pendergast 1997).

Ancient People with a New Name

Scholars have long examined the records left behind by Cartier and others in an attempt to identify the ethnicity of the First Nations people Cartier encountered (Pendergast 1997). Scholars have alternately identified these individuals as members of the Five Nations Iroquois, typically Mohawk and or Onondaga, or even 'Onondaga – Oneida', or the fellow Iroquoian language speaking, Huron people (MacNeish 1952:60-64; Ritchie 1963; Wittenberg 1936:121 as cited in Petersen et al. 2004). Additionally, these individuals have been identified as 'Laurentian Iroquois' (Hewitt 1907; Lounsbury 1961), the Native American suggested 'Laurentian Nadoueks' (Wiseman 2001:62) and finally the now preferred term in most academic writings on the topic, the St. Lawrence Iroquoians (Pendergast and Trigger 1972).

The description of Cartier's Hochelagans and Stadaconans alone did not provide enough information for anthropologists and archaeologists to delineate these people from their contemporary Iroquois counterparts. While with his Hochelagan and Stadaconan hosts, Cartier recorded two separate vocabulary lists. It was in the hands of linguistic anthropologists that Cartier's vocabularies were used to delineate the St.

Lawrence Iroquoian ethnic identity (Tremblay 2006:35). Historical linguistics undertaken by Lounsbury (1960, 1978) and Hoffman (1955, 1961) suggested that the language recorded by Cartier belonged to the Iroquoian language group, and differed from any language known in the 17th century. Admittedly, this delineation of the "St. Lawrence Iroquoian language" is based on two lexicons totaling just 54 entries, yet it stands as the linguistic evidence for an archaeological culture (Tremblay 2006:35).

The St. Lawrence Iroquoian culture is most distinctively identified by diagnostic ceramics within the archaeological context (Jamieson 2000, 2007; Petersen and Toney 2000; Tremblay 2006:82-87). The diagnostic markers of St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery

include well demarcated collars of different heights decorated complex motives of incised lines and chevrons. These motifs may include 'reed punctate', the 'corn ear motif' which consists of vertical protuberances running from top of the collar to the bottom boasting horizontal or oblique cross-hatches resembling ears of corn, and the "ladder motif" consisting of a series of short lines between two parallel incisions resembling the rungs of a ladder (Tremblay 2006:82-87). These motifs in pottery, combined with Iroquoian style longhouse structures, and effigy tobacco pipes in a finite context dating to between 1300 and 1550 A.D. comprise the diagnostic archaeological signature of St. Lawrence Iroquoian people (Tremblay 2006).

The archaeological signature of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians is spread along the St. Lawrence River and its major tributaries, from the eastern extreme in the present-day capital region around Québec City, to the western extreme on the eastern shores of Lake Ontario (Pendergast 1991, 1998a; Petersen 1990). By combining archaeological data from village sites and isolated finds, researchers have characterized a broad portion of the cultural geography of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians. Borrowing terminology from Jacque Cartier's original discussion of political organization of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians into villages and provinces, modern archaeologists have defined three primary provinces of St. Lawrence Iroquoian political hegemony, as well as three clusters of cultural material (Pendergast 1991, 1998a; Chapdelaine 2004:67; Tremblay 2006:112 – 113). One such cluster exists at the southern terminus of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian culture and is identified as the northern Lake Champlain/Pike River Cluster or Northern Champlain Richelieu River Cluster (Petersen 1998; Petersen and Toney 2000; Chapdelaine 2004:67; Petersen et al. 2004; Ellen R. Cowie 2016, elec. comm.) (Figure 19). It is the existence of this cluster of St. Lawrence Iroquoian remains that figures most prominently in this dissertation.

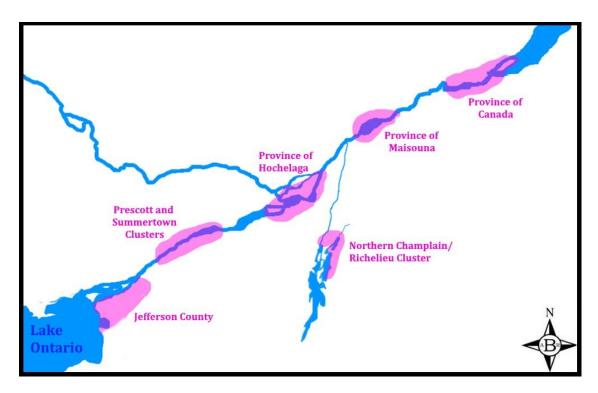


Figure 19 map showing the location of each of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian political provinces and clusters as suggested by Pendergast and others, After Tremblay 2006: 113.

St. Lawrence Iroquoians within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley

In the collections of the Fleming Museum at the University of Vermont, there are three nearly complete ceramic jars recovered from Western Vermont. These jars were discovered within the first half of the 19th century and it has been suggested that these three artifacts were the impetus for James Pendergast to first postulate the existence of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River cluster of St. Lawrence Iroquoian culture (Petersen et al. 2004:91-92). These three artifacts are known as the Colchester jar, and the Bolton jars, number one and number two (Petersen and Toney 2000; Petersen et al. 2004) (Figure 20). These artifacts were initially identified by Charles C. Willoughby (1909) as belonging to his 'Iroquoian' category of ceramic as opposed to his 'Later Algonquian' category (Petersen et al. 2004:93). This identification of the three artifacts found within

Abenaki territory as belonging to the Iroquoian ceramic tradition almost certainly seemed innocuous when originally made in the 19th century. However, the Iroquoian attribution of these ceramics has persisted within the professional community and in the modern political climate of the post 1970s Abenaki revitalization, the existence of Iroquoian artifacts inside the presumed Abenaki homeland challenges the cognitive space claimed by the Abenaki people.



Figure 20 Composite image of St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics recovered from Vermont. Left: The Colchester jar, Center: Bolton jar #1, Right: Bolton jar #2. After Petersen et al. 2004.

After the possibility of St. Lawrence Iroquoian remains located within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley became openly discussed in the pertinent literature, more archaeological remains recovered within the project area were associated with the St. Lawrence Iroquoian culture (Chapdelaine and Blais 1993; Chapdelaine et al. 1996; Mandel et al. 2000; Petersen et al. 2003; Jamison 2005, 2007; Cowie forthcoming) (Figure 21).

The discovery of the Bohannon site (VT-GI-26/32) in Alburgh, Vermont by the University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program during a contract investigation for a proposed highway bridge project is foremost among these St. Lawrence Iroquoian

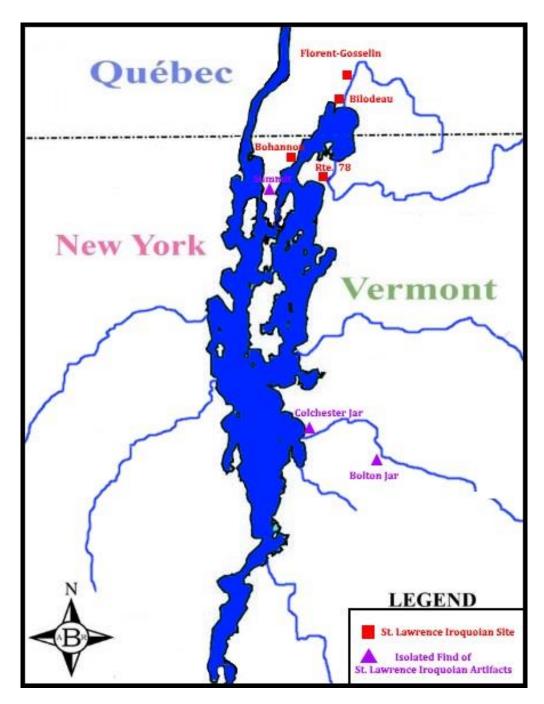


Figure 21 map showing the locations of St. Lawrence Iroquoian habitation sites and isolated finds associated with the Northern Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Cluster.

sites within Vermont (Petersen et al. 2003: 109). While a final report on the Phase 3 investigation of the project has yet to be produced, preliminary results have been reported in the Phase 1 & 2 site evaluation report (Mandel et al. 2000) and in an early

2000's summary article of St. Lawrence Iroquoian archaeology in Vermont (Petersen et al. 2003). The Bohannon site is a single component of St. Lawrence Iroquoian occupation with a midpoint reliable carbon date of circa A.D. 1452 to A.D. 1620 (Petersen et al. 2003:110) (Figure 22). Excavation at the site yielded numerous examples of St. Lawrence Iroquoian attributed "corn ear motif" and number of longhouse structures ascertainable from post molds. Intriguingly, no stockade wall as was typical of St. Lawrence Iroquoian villages, and described by Cartier and others, was present (John Crock, 2016 pers. Comm.).

Following the excavation of the Bohannon site, another cultural resource management archaeologist Thomas R Jamison (2005, 2007) linked his discovery of several Late Woodland and Contact period archaeological sites in the immediate vicinity of Bohannon to the St. Lawrence Iroquoian culture as well. A review of archaeological analysis has also caused scholars to question whether ceramics recovered from sites within Vermont and originally identified as Iroquois in origin, are in fact St. Lawrence Iroquoian (Haviland and Power 1994:153). Most recently, Northeast Archaeological Research Center (NEARC), under the direction of Dr. Ellie Cowie, engaged in a multiseason Phase 3 excavation associated with the widening of Route 78 and the Missisquoi National Wildlife Refuge. While the final report is still forthcoming, Dr. Cowie shared some preliminary results via email, stating that while the ceramics analysis is ongoing.

"there are a handful of Late Woodland vessels that date to the time between ca. A.D. 1200-1400 that I would argue are examples of St Lawrence Iroquoian ceramic and include for example a lug fragment from a St. Lawrence vessel, a pretty good section of another vessel that looks proto St Lawrence. Interestingly, the occupations along the Rt. 78 project date represent the Early Woodland, Middle Woodland and the Late Woodland perhaps until about 1400-1500 A.D. It does not have anything like what was found at the Bohannon site in terms of the common "corn" motif decorated ceramics or radiocarbon dates as late as Bohannon." (Ellen R. Cowie 2016, elec. comm.)

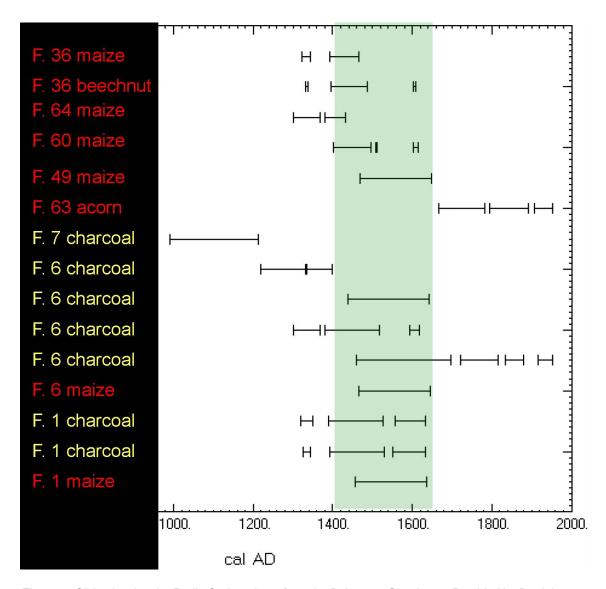


Figure 22 Slide showing the Radio Carbon dates from the Bohannon Site. Image Provided by Dr. John Crock, University of Vermont Consulting Archaeology Program.

As enigmatic as the appearance of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian people is, their subsequent disappearance is equally mysterious. St. Lawrence Iroquoian communities of Hochelaga and Stadacona were extent during Cartier's voyages in 1534 and again in 1543, yet had completely disappeared by the time Samuel de Champlain's founded Québec City in 1608 (Tremblay 2006:118). Archaeological evidence, including radiocarbon dates from the Bohannon site discussed above, indicate the St. Lawrence Iroquoian people may have survived elsewhere into the early years of the 17th century.

Many hypotheses for their disappearance from the archaeological and historical record exists including the possibility of disease inadvertently introduced by Cartier (Tremblay 2006: 119), warfare with neighboring groups (Day 1998[1971]; Tremblay 2006:119; Kuhn 2007) or possible adoption and diffusion into neighboring groups (Pendergast 1998Tremblay 2006: 124-125).

Interpretations of St. Lawrence Iroquoian Remains in the Valley

Archaeologists working on the issue of St. Lawrence Iroquoian settlement in the Lake Champlain Valley have offered interesting insights into the possible meanings of these remains. The first conclusion that has been drawn, is that circa 1450 A.D. to 1620 A.D. there was a thriving St. Lawrence Iroquoian community in and around what has been termed the Northern Champlain Richelieu Cluster (Petersen et al. 2003; Jamieson 2000, 2003; Chapdelaine and Blais 1990; Chapdelaine et al. 1996; Petersen 1990; Petersen and Toney 2000). Some researchers have employed evidence of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian people in the Lake Champlain basin in the early 17th century to verify Samuel de Champlain statement that the eastern shore of Lake Champlain was indeed inhabited by Iroquois, as Champlain's guides indicated. These Iroquois were not the Mohawk that Champlain would battle a few days later, but St. Lawrence Iroquoian people living in the northern reaches of Lake Champlain (Day 1998 [1971]:117-118; Petersen et al. 2003: 88,115; Jamieson 2005:9).

Many individuals in the Abenaki community have spoken out against the theory of St. Lawrence Iroquoian settlement in Vermont. These individuals include activist John Moody (Per. Communication), and St. Francis Sokoki Band tribal historian Dr. Frederick Wiseman. One primary avenue for discrediting the St. Lawrence Iroquoian hypothesis lies in a critique of the ethnolinguistic examination of Cartier's two lexicons. Mr. Moody,

among others, has taken the stance that the 54 words included on Cartier's lists are no basis for the definition of an archaeological culture. Moody cites linguistic borrowing from neighboring Iroquois tribes as the primary explanation for why the Hochelagans and Stadaconans have been identified as Iroquoian as opposed to Abenaki.

Dr. Frederick Wiseman, former director of the humanities program at Johnson State College, chooses to instead take aim at the archaeological interpretations of St. Lawrence Iroquoian remains. In his monograph, the Voice of the Dawn: an Autohistory of the Abenaki Nation, Dr. Frederick Wiseman (1991:98, 2000:63 - 65) directly challenges the work of many archaeologists, and historical linguists, by stating that the St. Lawrence Iroquoian people are a fictitious construct, the work of post-World War II era archaeologists. He states that he can draw numerous connections between the "purported" St. Lawrence Iroquoian culture and the Abenaki people through pottery styles as well as explain the enigmatic pottery through ritual exchange trade and political intermarriage (Wiseman 2001:64). Wiseman completes his argument by defiantly stating that was described as St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery, including the Colchester Jar, are of Abenaki design and construction, making the appellation, 'the St. Lawrence Iroquoians R us!' (Wiseman 2001:65). The motivation of Wiseman's concern can be seen in a statement in a chapter of an edited volume in which he states, 'This [Iroquoian] nomenclature carries profound moral implications when it fosters beliefs that deny the rights of a native people to their homeland and their ancestral way of life' (Wiseman 1991:98, as cited in Petersen et al. 2004:97). Wiseman is clearly driven by a concern that the existence of St. Lawrence Iroquoian remains within traditional Abenaki lands could adversely affect the rights of present-day Abenaki people of Vermont.

Mainstream pre-contact archaeologists, often disinterested and/or divorced from modern politics, have responded to Wiseman with sometimes flippant retorts such as

'it seems unlikely that *all* past authors [on the subject of St. Lawrence Iroquoians] missed the full implications of these early finds and other evidence as well' (Petersen et al. 2004:97).

The final interpretation of St. Lawrence Iroquoian remains recovered in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley offers an explanation acceptable to Abenaki activists and archaeologists alike, as well as fitting the narrative of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual borderzone. This interpretation is unpublished, yet has been developed by the late Dr. James B Petersen and Dr. John Crock, and their collaborators throughout the region. The interpretation centers on the Bohannon site and subsequent archaeological remains discussed by Jamison (2005, 2007) all on the Alburgh Peninsula and Lake Champlain Islands as consisting of a St. Lawrence Iroquoian refugee community within the borderzone (Figure 23 and Table 6). This theory is supported by several pieces of evidence. First, the radiocarbon dates provided by samples taken from the Bohannon indicate this St. Lawrence Iroquoian village was occupied after Jacques Cartier arrived in Hochelaga. The theory postulates that St. Lawrence Iroquoians, escaping either persecution or disease, were allowed to live on the Alburgh peninsula and the Champlain Islands in the center of bitawbágók, as a compromise. Second, by nature of its location in the center of the 'lake between', neither Abenaki nor Mohawk established cognitive, material or social spaces would have been violated by the St. Lawrence Iroquoian presence of the Bohannon site.

Third, the single component St. Lawrence Iroquoian occupation indicated at both the Bohannon site (Petersen et al. 2003: 110) and isolated finds/sites recorded by Jamieson (2000, 2005) could both be employed to indicate this type of itinerant community. These sites were occupied for relatively short period of time, all being

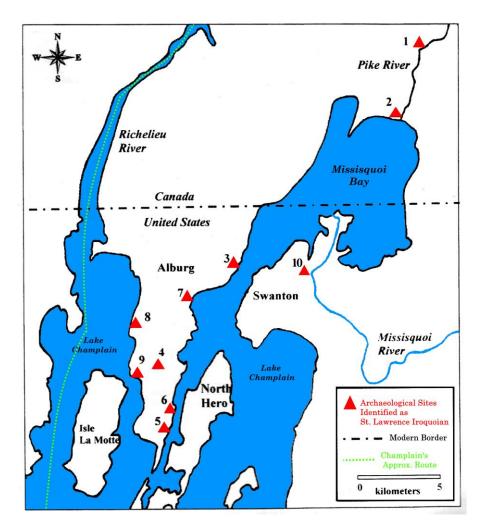


Figure 23 Map showing the locations of St. Lawrence Iroquoian components in the Northern Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Cluster. After Jamison 2005:2.

Table 6 Chart Correlating to Figure of St. Lawrence Iroquoian Sites

Map Index Number	Site Name	Site Number	
1	Bilodeau	BgFg-1	
2	Florent-Gosselin	BgFg-6	
3	Bohannon	VT-GI-26/32	
4	Summit	VT-GI-49	
5	Passage	VT-GI-50	
6	Embarkment	VT-Gi-51	
7	Ransom Bay	VT-GI-59	
8	West Shore	VT-GI-60	
9	South View	VT-GI-63	
10	Route 78	VT-GI-??	

founded and abandoned within the Late Woodland period (Jamison 2005: Petersen et al.2004:110). Fourth, archaeology at the Bohannon site offers no indication of a stockade wall (John Crock 2016, pers. Comm.). The prevalence of stockade walls around St. Lawrence Iroquoian villages was recorded both ethnographically (Cartier 2003 [1535]: 59) and archaeologically (Pendergast 1990; Tremblay 2006:23-28), nor was the village located in a raw material space that was protected by natural barriers, another strategy employed by St. Lawrence Iroquoians (Pendergast 1990:20). The lack of strategic location or built defenses indicates a social space of safety. The Saint-Lawrence did not appear to feel the need to hide behind fortifications. Five, this theory allows for an explanation of Samuel de Champlain's comments about the eastern shore of Lake Champlain being home to Iroquois (Petersen et al. 2004).

When arriving on Lake Champlain in the summer of 1609, Champlain's guides paddled him along the western shore of the lake.

"Continuing our course over this lake on the western side, I noticed, while observing the country, some very high mountains on the eastern side, on the top of which there was snow. I made inquiry of the savages whether these localities were inhabited, when they told me that the Iroquois dwelt there..." (Champlain 2003[1635]:162)

As mentioned above, this passage has been much discussed by scholars (Calloway 1990: 57 - 59; Haviland and Power 1994:3; Day 1998 [1971]: 117 - 118, 122; 1998 [1973]: 144; Foster and Cowan 1998:21; Wiseman 2001, 2009; Petersen et al. 2004; among others). Many excuses have been used to explain away Champlain's statements and respect the cognitive space established by the Abenaki. These excuses include Champlain being confused on the cardinal directions, Champlain's misunderstanding or mistranslation of his Algonquin guides comments, and erroneous information supplied by the Algonquin guides to Champlain. However, if one does not think of the 'Iroquois' mentioned by Champlain as the Mohawk, but instead accepts that the 'Iroquois' spoken

of by Champlain's guides are the archaeological culture known as the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, Champlain statement be correct. As shown on figure 23, if Champlain was indeed traveling down the western extremes of the Lake he would have looked East to see the low ridge on the Alburgh Peninsula. As I learn from my phenomenological examinations of aquascapes on the Lake, when one is in the hull of a canoe near the western shore of Lake Champlain and looks East the low ridge on Alburgh blends into the Green Mountains beyond. Champlain does comment that he does not see any of these Iroquoian people who inhabit the eastern shore. Granted, this may be anecdotal evidence, but no yet recovered St. Lawrence Iroquoian site from the Alburgh Peninsula would be visible from the western littoral aquascape. Finally, Champlain's Algonquin guides delineate between the Iroquois on the east shore of Lake Champlain, and the Algonquin's Iroquois enemies whom they encounter near what is now Ticonderoga, New York (Champlain 2003[1635]:162-163). Archaeological evidence from Mohawk Country, in New York further indicates the coexistence of Mohawk and Saint-Lawrence Iroquoian peoples in the region (Kuhn et al. 1993). This is a distinction that would no-doubt the accurate if the 'Iroquois' of the eastern shore of Lake Champlain were an undefended St. Lawrence Iroquoian refugee community as represented by the Bohannon site.

Conclusions

The evidence presented above provides probable cause for the serious researcher to doubt the currently accepted historical narrative that Vermont was the exclusive realm of the Abenaki and New York was the exclusive realm of the Five Nation Iroquois. The interpretation of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River waterway as a hard and fast border is a relatively recent in the historiography of the northeastern North America. This is the case despite that historians have long recognized that Indian lands

were without 'metes and bounds', that is, measured, linear boundaries (Starna 2013:261). Prior to the 1950s, there was a long-standing belief among scholars that precontact Vermont was a no-man's land, a hunting territory disputed between the Algonquin peoples of Québec and 'the powerful Iroquois Federation' of New York (Haviland and Power 1994:2). This 'empty Vermont' theory was then confuted by archaeologists and historians due partially to the increase in archaeological research due to historic preservation law and partially due to the cognitive space claimed by the Abenaki during their culture revitalization within Vermont.

As presented above, archaeological and linguistic data indicate that prior to contact, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River waterway was not a strict border, but a complex cognitive, material and social space of a *borderzone*. The majority of toponyms Abenaki toponyms are recorded to be associated with landmarks in Vermont and the majority of Iroquois toponyms are associated with New York. This would seem to indicate the pre-contact cognitive space and place occupied by each group. This line of evidence does not allow for the consideration of the *borderzone* of as a multi-lingual environment, or the possible 18th century origins for the toponyms in question.

Archaeological evidence allows for an even more nuanced interpretation of the material space of the *borderzone*.

The Protohistoric period archaeological evidence indicates the homeland of the Mohawk people was along the Mohawk River in west of the modern city of Schenectady in eastern New York State (Snow 1995:1; Lenig 2000; 2013). Archaeology also supports Abenaki habitation of Vermont in the protohistoric. However, archaeological evidence also indicates Mohawk interaction and perhaps habitation east of Lake Champlain. In addition to the two groups that the historical narrative favor, ethnohistorical as well as archaeological evidence indicates two additional groups held positions within the Pre-

contact and Protohistoric borderzone. The Mohicans were the people that met Henry Hudson on his first voyage to what would become Albany, NY in 1609. They were later supplanted by the Iroquois as the people of the southwestern extreme of the project area, yet the Mohican were still a player in the Protohistoric borderzone. Finally, the Northern Lake Champlain/Pike River Cluster of the St. Lawrence Iroquoian archaeological culture during the Late Woodland and Protohistoric periods (Petersen 1998; Petersen and Toney 2000; Chapdelaine 2004:67; Petersen et al. 2004). Numerous archaeological sites on the Alburgh peninsula, Lake Champlain Islands, northeastern shore of the lake in Missisquoi Bay and on its tributary Pike River in the modern province of Québec have yielded diagnostic artifacts of this extinct culture. Beyond isolated finds, the Bohannon site, and possibility others, display the distinct markers of St. Lawrence Iroquoian village sites. These villages indicate that a segment of project area was the cognitive, material and social space of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians. The statement that the Iroquois lived on the western shore of Lake Champlain and the Abenaki lived on the eastern shore is a statement that is generally true, but a full review of available data indicate that the pre-contact borderzone was a complex and contested place, were cognitive, material and social spaces of multiple peoples overlapped.

CHAPTER FIVE Seventeenth Century Spatial Relations in the LCRRV

After Samuel De Champlain's initial voyage into the Champlain Valley in 1609, there is a relative dearth of European involvement and interaction in the region. The exception to this can be seen in the travels of itinerant Jesuit missionaries, Father Isaac Jogues, among others (Coolidge 1999 [1938]:28). However, by the mid-17th century, the larger geopolitical landscape of Dutch, British, Iroquois, Abenaki, and French interaction in the surrounding regions would soon bring Imperial clash and conflict in views of cognitive space to the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. The following chapter addresses the 17th century *borderzone* between the colonies of New Netherland, as well as the claimed territory several Native peoples. The chapter begins with an overview of the socio-political situation at the time. The discussion moves to a brief review of relevant French, Dutch and Native archaeology in the region and the chapter concludes with a discussion of how the history and archaeology can be used in concert to examine the cognitive, material and social spaces of the 17th century *borderzone*.

The Socio-Political Climate of 17th century Canada

Iroquois raids on the settlements of the region of Canada were common occurrences in the early to mid-17th century (Eccles 1990). It is important to note that throughout this chapter I employ the term Canada in its 17th century definition. The French and subsequently English word Canada, is derived from the Iroquoian word *Kanata*, meaning village. It was Jacques Cartier who, during his 16th century voyages, first used the word Canada to refer to the St. Lawrence River Valley (See 2001:30). The term Canada is used in French documents to refer to French possessions that would today be within the boundaries of the province of Québec, the eastern extremes of the Province of Ontario, and the northern sections of the states of Vermont and New York

(Verney 1991: 3, 187 - 188). This definition of Canada is placed in juxtaposition to the 17th century use of the term New France, which refers to all the French holdings in North America (Verney 1991:187 - 88).

Contestation for control of the fur trade in Canada had been at the core of conflict in the region (Eccles 1990:30-63). By the mid-17th century, The Nations of the Iroquois League had a fierce reputation (Coolidge 1999 [1938]:24). The French had been observers of the Iroquois genocide of the Huron people during the conflict referred to as the "Beaver wars" (Brandão 1997, 2003). There were numerous French casualties in this native on native conflict, including the missions of Sainte-Marie-Among-the-Huron and subsequent French settlement on Christian Island (Kidd 1949; Jury 1954; Tummon and Gray 1995). Access to trade competition from the Dutch settlements in New Netherland, along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, combined with the political reality of French-Huron-Algonquin alliance, drove Iroquois raiding parties to turned their sights on the St. Lawrence Valley (Eccles 1990:60). Fort Richelieu, a crude palisade garrisoned with militia, which had served as a symbol of protection, a cognitive, and material space of safety along the St. Lawrence since its construction 1641, had been burned by the Iroquois early in 1646 (Coolidge 1999 [1938]:22).

A mid-summer 1664 temporary truce between the Iroquois and the French led the former to request the establishment of a mission in the Finger Lakes region of the modern state of New York (Connors et al.1980: ix-xii). The mission was short-lived however, as renewed hostility with the Iroquois led to the French abandonment of Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaha early in the morning of 20 March 1658 (Connors et al.1980: xii). The contestation for control over an area perceived by the French to be their sovereign territory continued, yet the colony, under the trade monopoly of *Compagnie de la Nouvelle France*, lacked professional soldiers. This era, fraught with

conflict gave rise to one of Québec's most notable folk heroes.

French settler Adam Dollard des Ormeaux arrived at Ville Marie on the island of Montreal in 1658. Described in the Jesuit Relations as 'a man of accomplishments and generalship', Dollard 'held some commands in the armies of France'. Apparently, being an accomplished soldier, Dollard was appointed, 'garrison commander of the fort of Ville-Marie' (Vachon 1979 [1966]).

In the spring of 1660, due to discontent with the Iroquois attacks that were hampering the fur trade and threatening the success of French colonization. Dollard decided to take offensive action. The exact nature of Dollard's 1660 expedition is uncertain; however, most historians believe that Dollard set out to conduct *la petite guerre* or ambush/raid against the Iroquois. The goal of such an attack being to at least delay, or perhaps entirely avoid, an incipient attack on the settlement of Ville-Marie (Vachon 1979 [1966]).

In late April, Dollard, accompanied by seventeen Frenchmen, forty Huron, and four Algonquin allies, arrived near present-day Carillon, Québec. To fortify their position in enemy territory, the expedition settled its troops at an abandoned Algonquin built palisaded village (*Vachon 1979 [1966]*). Vastly outnumbered by the Iroquois, Dollard and his companions died at the Battle of Long Sault, somewhere between 9 May and 12 May 1660. Canadian historian WJ Eccles (1990:60) makes note that the Dollard raid was but one of many interactions between the Iroquois and Canadians. The near constant state of warfare of the Iroquois had a profound influence on the settlers, who quickly adopted the term *habitants*, to discern themselves from common French peasants. The Canadian *habitants* were forced to 'employ Iroquois tactics to combat the Iroquois, acquired some of the Indian's values, such as a contempt for danger, incredible fortitude, savage ferocity, and lack of compassion for the enemy' (Eccles 1990:60 – 61).

By 1663, the raids had spread fear throughout the entire colony. The *Compagnie de la Nouvelle France*, filed for bankruptcy and surrendered the colony to the Crown due, in no small part, to the near constant guerrilla warfare with the Iroquois (Eccles 1990:58 - 59). Despite the fervor of Canadian *Habitants* in battle, these settlers were outnumbered and out soldiered by the Iroquois. On the eve of his departure as the final company governor of New France, Baron Pierre Dubois D'Avaugour appealed to the Crown to send a force of regular soldiers to quell the Iroquois (Eccles 1990:58-59; Coolidge 1999 [1938]: 22).

King Louis XIV approved the plea for aid and sent companies of the decorated Carignan-Salières Regiment to Canada. Official word soon arrived to Bishop Laval, the Vicar Apostolic of New France that 'his Majesty has resolved to send a good Regiment of infantry to Canada at the end of this year or in the month of February next, in order to destroy these barbarians completely.' (J.-B. Colbert to Mgr. de Laval, 18 March 1664, archives to séminaire du Québec, lettres, carton n, no. 14. As cited in Verney 1991:3). The first four companies of the Carignan-Salières Regiment arrived in Québec on 19 April 1665 (Verney 1991:3). It was these individuals that would make the greatest impact on the landscape, creating the five forts, the first French fortifications in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. It is through examination of the planning, construction, and use of these edifices that one can gain an understanding of the 17th century division of space within the valley. It was these five complexes, working in concert with both native and Dutch settlements along the valley that created the material space 17th century *borderzone*. The French, Dutch and Native agents within this material space created the social space of the 17th century *borderzone*.

17th Century Archaeology of the Valley

The following section offers a brief summary of the archaeology relating to 17th century settlement in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. It is vital that the reader has a basic knowledge of the archaeology of both French and Dutch settlement, to properly understand the creation of the *borderzone*.

Archaeology of the 'Great man', Samuel De Champlain

In his now dated literature review of French colonial archaeology in North America, Dr. Gregory Waselkov (1997:12) notes that each endeavor into the archaeology of New France has followed one of three tracks: 1) the search for "great men", 2) a fascination with military sites (i.e. forts), or 3) a strong interest in Native American sites that contain definitively French artifacts. Samuel de Champlain is perhaps first among these great men. The personage of Samuel de Champlain has been the focus of numerous documentary and archaeological research projects (Pickney 1938; Pell 1940; Hadlock 1954; Cote 1992; as cited in Waselkov 1997:12; see also more recent works Cote 2000; Fishcher 2008; Pendry 2012). Additionally, there has yet been the yet fruitless search for the tomb of Champlain (Waselkov 1997:12). 'La tombe de Champlain' is so ubiquitous a cultural trope among archaeologists in Québec, that a reference to it has appeared in the form of a joke on the t-shirts issued to archaeology students at Université Laval.

As I am drafting this dissertation, no archaeological evidence of Samuel de Champlain has been recovered in the Lake Champlain/Richelieu River Corridor. Given the short period of time Champlain spent in the region, this fact is as to be expected. However, since Champlain's first interaction with the Mohawk on Lake Champlain held lasting political and military significance, the specific geographic location where the event took place continues to be a point of contestation among researchers. Not surprisingly, proponents of numerous sites defend their own hypotheses, hoping to tap

into the cache of this 'great man of history'. The location of the battle between Champlain and his Algonquin allies and forces of the Mohawk Nation was described in Champlain's journal merely as, "at the end of a point on the west shore." (Champlain 1967 [1632]:4).

There are two primary contenders for this location, are persistent places in the project area, both are the sites of later French and subsequent British military installations, and thus current historic sites/museums. Crown Point State Historic Site, and Fort Ticonderoga Museum both claim to be the possible location of Champlain's 1609 battle (Figure 24).



Figure 24 New York Department of Education interpretive sign denoting a possible location of Champlain's 1609 altercation with a band of Iroquois.

While the governing bodies at both sites are attempting to access the Heritage tourism dynamic of Samuel the Champlain, it is more than likely that the actual site of this battle may never be discovered. This fascination with 'great man' archaeology is not

isolated to Samuel de Champlain. The years following Waselkov's 1997 publication saw one of the largest, and best funded archaeological projects in Québec to date. The excavation at Cap Rouge outside Québec City, was focused on discovering the first French 'colony' in Canada. Charlesbourg-Royal / France Roy, occupied in the Winter of 1541 – 43 (Côté 2009; Fiset and Samson 2009). This site is associated with the personage of Jacques Cartier, yet another 'great man' in the history of Canada. Additionally, the focus on early contact and settler societies has continued to be a pervasive topic throughout historical archaeology of North America as a whole.

Archaeology of Jesuit Activities

Historical documentation tells us that in between Champlain's initial voyage in 1609, and the arrival of the Carignan-Salières Regiment in 1665, the St. Lawrence Richelieu River Valley was primarily utilized by Iroquois traveling to both trade and make war on the French in the St. Lawrence Valley. Additionally, the valley was used by Jesuit missionaries, including the ill-fated Father Isaac Jogues, traveling south to proselytize to the Iroquois people (Eccles 1974, 1990; Farmer 2004:274). These transits across the valley have left little archaeological signature. The exception to this rule can be seen in the archaeological remains of one mission village west of the Lake Champlain Hudson corridor, on the shores of Lake Onondaga (Conners et al. 1980). Additionally, numerous religious material objects have been recovered at 17th century Iroquoian sites in central and Western New York. While both examples of these archaeological remains lie outside of my project area, their existence is hard evidence of travel through the Lake Champlain Richelieu River corridor during the years between 1609 and 1665.

The Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaha Mission was founded on 17 July 1646 at the behest of the Iroquois. While in a temporary truce with the French, they requested the establishment of a mission (Connors et al. 1980: ix-xii). Designed and constructed in a

manner like that of Sainte Marie among the Huron (1639 – 1649), Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaha was occupied by the French from the summer of 1657 through 20 March 1658. Amid rumors of impending warfare between the Iroquois "hosts" and the French priests and Donné at the mission, the Jesuits held a feast on the night of 19 - 20 March 1658. While the Iroquois were recovering from the celebration, the French quietly carried boats and canoes to the lakeshore, loaded them and began the paddle east and north along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor, arriving in Québec City one month later (Connors et al. 1980: xi-xii).

In the Summer of 1974 and the spring of 1979 archaeologists employed by the Onondaga County Parks and Recreation Department recovered the remains of the mission in the form of structural stone relating to bastions or possible rock reinforcement of a wooden wall, lens of ash and charcoal relating to the fort's destruction, and numerous French artifacts dated to the 17th century (Connors et al.1980).

The second body of archaeological remains that relate to French use of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River corridor consist of French manufactured objects recovered from 17th century Iroquois sites. The work of Kurt Jordan among the Seneca (Jordan 2002, 2008; Herlich 2008), James Bradley among the Onondaga (Bradley 1979, 1987), Dean Snow among the Mohawk (Baumann et al. 2003; Snow and Starna 2009; Snow 1995) among many others, record numerous French manufactured goods including those displaying religious iconography. While some archaeologists postulate that religious paraphernalia (crosses, crucifixes, and religious medallions) such as have been recovered from Iroquois sites signifies nothing more than a history of trade between Catholic French and Native peoples (Beauchamp 1903; Herrick 1958; Bradley 1979; Connors et al. 1980; 1987; Garrad 1994; Hamilton 1995; Moussette 2001; Jordon 2002; Herlich 2008). Others believe that these objects deserve some special treatment as

objects that hold a deeper religious meaning (Kidd 1949; Jury and Jury 1954; Stone 1974; Fitzgerald 1982; Lennox 1984; Rinehart 1990, 1994; Fitzgerald et al. 1994; Waselkov 1999; Kent 2001; Evans 2003; Bruseth and Turner 2005; Beaupré 2011). Irrespective of sacred or secular significance, these artifacts signify an array of active agents traversing the multi-ethnic Lake Champlain Richelieu River *Borderzone* during the 17th century, regardless of a lack of European settlement in the region.

Contact Period Native Archaeology

The ethnohistory and archaeology of the Contact period in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley is discussed extensively in Chapter Four of this dissertation. I will not repeat the debate here. However, it is important to note that archaeologists working in eastern New York State have labored to produce a thorough archaeological inventory of Contact period sites with the Mohawk homeland (Figure 25). I have included a map from Dean Snow's (1995) archaeological inventory of the Mohawk Valley to illustrate this point.

Building upon historic contexts, the Mohawk Nation extant in the 21st century, claims all eastern New York State as their homeland (Simpson 2014). This territorial claim is based in no small part to the geographic locations claimed by the Mohawk Nation at ethnographic present. Among researchers of Native North America there is little disagreement that by the mid-17th century, the Mohawk nation, or 'keepers of the eastern door' were indigenous to eastern New York State (Figure 26).

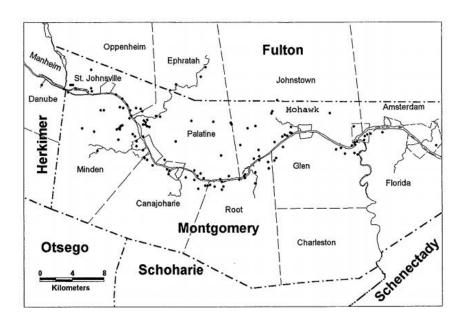


Figure 25 Map reproduced from Snow (1995:3) showing the locations of 'late' or contact period Mohawk sites in the Nations homeland along the Mohawk River.



Figure 26 Map adapted from Graymont (1988:60) showing the territories claimed by each of the Native Nations in the project area.

The Archaeology of the Carignan-Salières Regiment

The archaeology of the Carignan-Salières period in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley is somewhat limited. Of the five forts constructed between the spring of 1665 and the fall of 1666, only two, Fort St. Louis at Chambly, and Fort Saint-Thérèse, have been positively identified and excavated by professional archaeologists (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989; Bernier 2011). Two historical maps of the region, dating circa the mid-17th century, have survived. The first map, dated 1665, was published in the Jesuit Relations volume 49 and shows the northernmost three forts, both on the landscape, and an enlarged detail (Figure 27). The second map, dates from the following year and shows all five forts on the landscape, yet only offers the three northernmost forts in detail (Figure 28).

Fort St. Louis at Chambly

Fort St. Louis at Chambly was the first Carignan-Salières Regiment fort to be identified archaeologically. Situated on the west bank of the Richelieu River, about 20 kilometers southeast of the Montreal, the archaeological traces of Fort Saint-Louis are located within the footprint of the later 18th century Fort Chambly. The remains of Fort Saint-Louis consist of a series of post molds that were recovered during a Parks Canada excavation in the mid-1970s. This series of post molds and associated construction ditches are believed to be related to the palisade of the 1665 Fort (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989: 33-35). Actually, two sets of fortification remains were recovered. Archaeologists believe they relate to both the 1665 initial construction and the later 1693 refit of the curtain wall (Figures 29 and 30). However, archaeologists were unable to determine which remains related to which construction event (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989: 35). These archaeological investigations also determined that most of the 17th century remains were destroyed during subsequent 18th century construction at the site

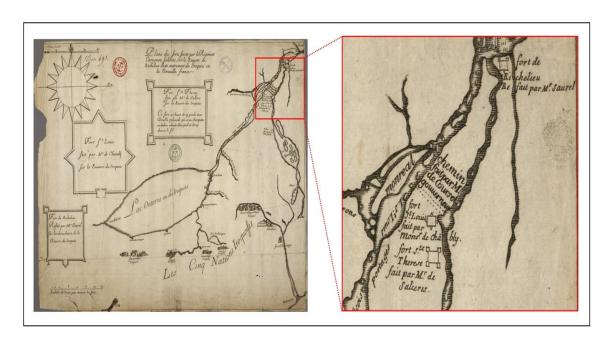


Figure 27. A map dating from 1665 showing the first three Carignan-Salières regiment forts. Right, an enlargement of portion of the map showing Fort Richelieu, Fort Saint-Louis (Chambly) and Fort Saint-Thérèse. Source: In the collection of the ort Saint-Jean Museum, Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, QC.

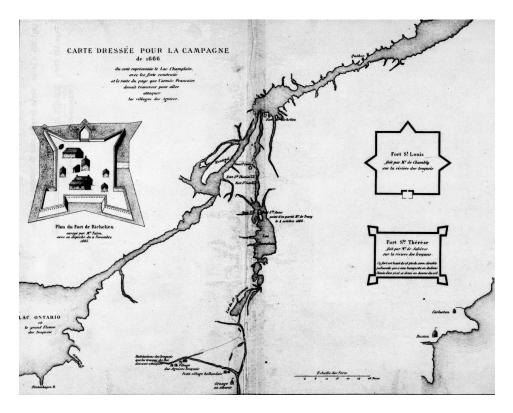


Figure 28 Map titled Carte des forts du Richelieu dressee en 1666 pour la compagne du Regiment de Carignan-Salière, 1666. The image shows the five forts constructed by the Carignan-Salières as well as the Mohawk and Dutch/English settlement on the Hudson River.

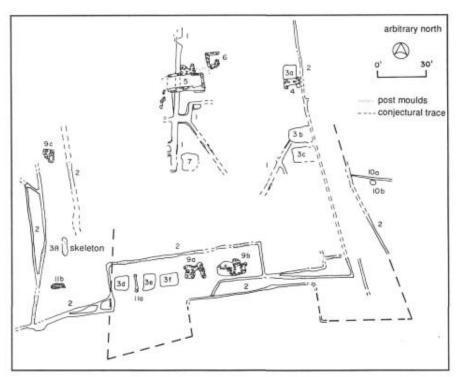


Figure 29 Archaeological sketch map showing the remains of the two 17th century curtain walls recovered at Fort St. Louis on the ground of the Fort Chambly National Historic Site of Canada. Image originally appeared as Figure 18 in Beaudet and Cloutier 1989:34.

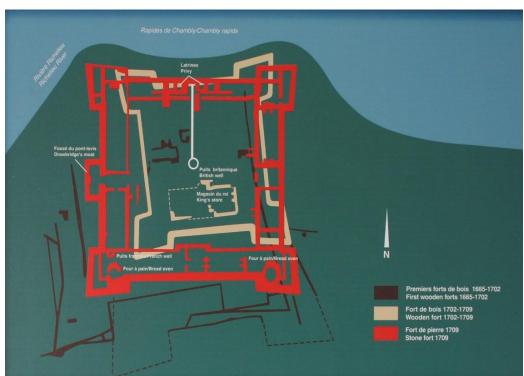


Figure 30 Representation of the above map designed for public consumption as a portion of the exhibits at Fort Chambly National Historic Site of Canada. Image adapted from a photo taken by the author.

(Beaudet and Cloutier 1989: 37). Yet, the 17th century components that do remain seem to contradict historical sources.

It is believed that one of the curtains walls corresponds to the palisade of 1665, while the other belongs to a fort which may have been built in 1693, when Frontenac decided to refurbish forts Saint-Louis and Richelieu. The two archaeologically recovered traces differ somewhat in size. The more westerly remains measure 208 French feet from one bastion point to the other, whereas the corresponding measurement for the more easterly traces is about 195 feet (Beaudet and Clouiter 1989:33-35). Intriguingly, neither of these projected fort diameters correspond to the historically recorded 144 ft. While the details may be obscured, what is clear is that the 17th century fort has been positively identified through archaeological excavation.

Archaeology of Fort Sainte-Thérèse

Fort Sainte-Thérèse was constructed by a company of the Carignan-Salières
Regiment, under the direct command of the Marquis de Salières, between the midAugust and mid October 1665 (Verney 1991: 28-32). Due to its construction, late in the
fall, Fort Sainte-Thérèse was the last Carignan-Salières fort built in 1665. The
rediscovery of Fort Sainte-Thérèse is a textbook example of community partnership in
21st century archaeology. Interest in recovering the material remains of the 1665 fort, as
well as the 18th century iteration of the site, began as early as the 1920s (Bernier
2011:10). While many members of the local community had an interest in the site, and
inklings as to where it might lie, community involvement at the turn of the 21st century
spurred local historian Réal Fortin (2003) to publish a hypothesis on the site's exact
location. His hypothesis suggested the remains of the fort could be located on Parks
Canada property, within the limits of the Chambly Canal National Historic Site of Canada
(Bernier 2011:10). Parks Canada then made the location of Fort Sainte-Thérèse one of
its policy priorities in the management of the canal national historic site. With funding

from the local *Haut-Richelieu Historical Society*, Parks Canada historians and archaeologists were able to perform the background research necessary to locate the footprints of the fort bastion on a 1938 aerial photo (Figure 31). Subsequent Parks Canada excavations at the site collaborated with the municipality of Carignan, Quebec, Historical Society of the Seigneurie de Chambly and a new organization Friends of Fort Sainte-Thérèse, founded in 2007 (Bernier 2011:11).



Figure 31 A 1938 aerial photo of Ilse Sainte-Therese, showing the earthernwork remains of Fort Saint-Therese. Reproduced from Bernier (2011: figure 2). Emphasis original.

Archaeological monitoring to create an interpretive trail was performed in the summer of 2008, while public archaeological excavations with Parks Canada archaeologists at the helm, were held as *Archéo-Québec* (Québec Archaeology Month) activities. Finally, a full-scale excavation under the direction of Parks Canada

archaeologist Maggie Bernier was held in the summer of 2011. Bernier's (2011) field report, *Approvisionner une armée et commander un portage Vestiges du fort Sainte-Thérèse*, reflects all archaeological discoveries made from 2007 to 2011 and is considered the authority on the site. The archaeological investigations at the Fort Sainte-Thérèse National Historic Site of Canada recovered the remains of the initial 1665 Fort, as well as the later 1747 and 1760 iterations of the site (Bernier 2011:12). The primary discussion of the site in this chapter only addresses the 1665 remains.

In several archaeological sub-operations, multiple series of post molds and associated construction trenches were recovered (Figure 32). Through stratigraphic and artefactual analysis Bernier interpreted these post and trench features as relating to the 1665 curtain wall (Bernier 2011: 21 – 28). In numerous locations, the line of post molds and associated construction trench were shadowed by a second line of posts on the fort interior (Figure 33).

Through a review of the primary source documents, Bernier noted that the reported construction style of Fort Saint-Thérèse was delineated on both the 1665 and 1666 maps. Within the fort outline both documents post the following passage,

'Ce fort est haut 25 pieds avec double palissasde qui a une banquette en dedans enlevee d'en pied et demy dessus le sol.'

This passage translates as 'This fort is 25 feet high with a double palisade, on the interior a walkway is suspended one foot and a half above the ground.' Bernier's reconstruction of the fort walls takes this description into account. She thusly has interpreted the shadowing interior line of posts as the supports for the 'bankette', or suspended walkway (Figures 33 and 34).

Both historical and archaeological evidence indicate that Fort Sainte-Thérèse was originally placed on the west bank of the Richelieu River (Bernier 2011; Fortin 2003). However, the construction of the Chambly Canal in the 19th century effected the flow of



Figure 32 Images of the post molds and associated construction trench relating to the Curtain wall of the 1665 Fort Sainte-Therese. Reproduced from Bernier (2011, Figure 15).

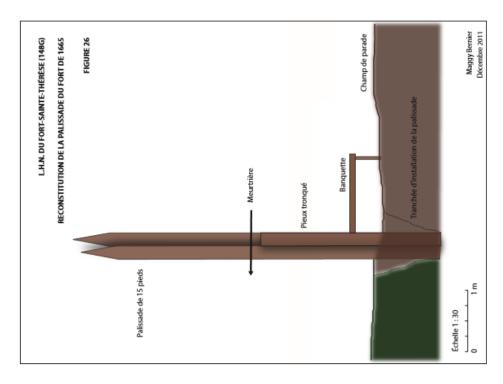


Figure 33 Bernier's reproduction of the curtain wall and banquette based on archaeological evidence. Reproduced from Bernier (2011: Figure 26).

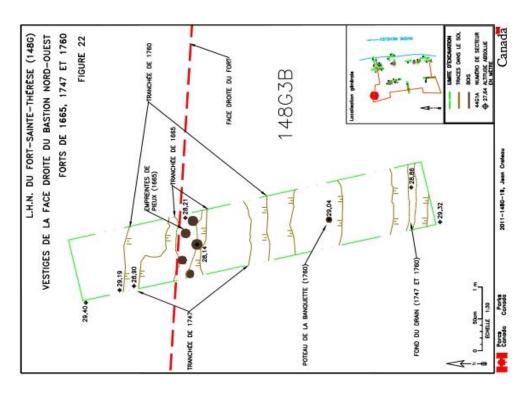


Figure 34 Bernier's digital draft of a plan view showing the post molds interpreted as the curtain wall and the isolated posts believed to relate to the bank at support. Reproduced from Bernier (2011: Figure 22)

the river, increasing erosion on the western bank and effectively destroying the entire eastern flank of the fort.

This destruction is clearly seen in both the aerial photo and archaeology informed projected wall placement (Figures 31, 35 and 36). Surprisingly, given that the western flank of the fort land protected land, a portion of the Chambly canal right-of-way, the remainder of the fort has been well preserved. Archaeological investigation at the site enabled Bernier to infer the length of the west curtain wall, the size of the bastions relative to the curtain walls, and the location of the fort gates (Bernier 2011:34, 161). Bernier's work further indicates that while the general shape of the fort may be similar to what is represented on both the 1665 and 1666 maps, the ratio of bastion size to length of curtain wall differs. Yet, the overall size of the fort as 144 French ft.², recorded in the Jesuit Relations, cannot be accurately measured, due to the 19th century destruction of

the eastern flank. Bernier uses simple symmetry of the projected fort measurements to confirm the Jesuit information (Bernier 2011:35). Since the only other fort from the period recovered archaeologically, Fort Saint-Louis, is not symmetrical, this confirmation of Jesuit information is suspect.

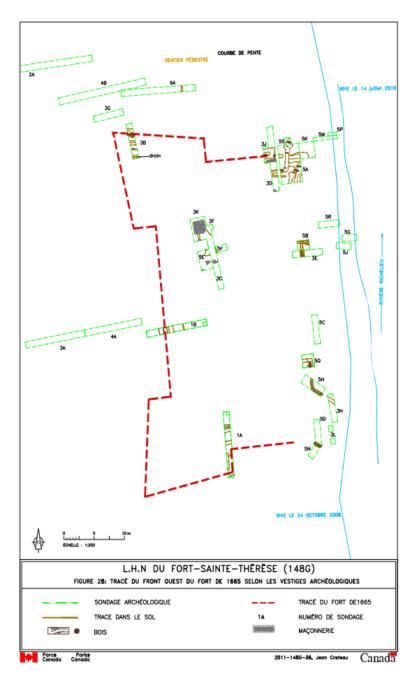


Figure 35 Bernier's projection of the outline of Fort Sainte-Thérèse. Reproduced from Bernier (2011; Figure 28).

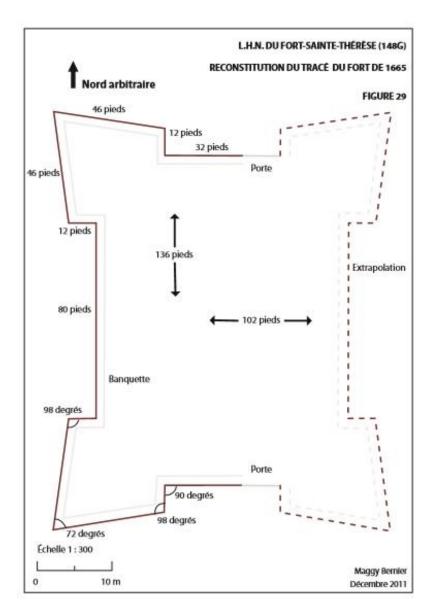


Figure 36 Another image of Bernier's reconstruction showing the angles of curtain walls and bastions and measurements of the fort as indicated by archaeological investigation (Bernier 2011 figure 29).

Fort Sainte-Anne- Isle La Motte

Fort Sainte-Anne, on Isle La Motte, in Vermont, was completed on the feast day of Sainte-Anne, 26 July 1666. Fort Sainte-Anne was the fifth fort constructed, and located furthest south, in the northern reaches of Lake Champlain (Verney 1991:32-33). The Catholic Church selected the site for a shrine to Sainte-Anne in the late 19th century. The Archdiocese of Burlington, Vermont wished to commemorate the site as the location that

mass was first performed within the modern state of Vermont (Coolidge 1999 [1938]: 30). It is unclear, however, who performed that first mass and when it was performed. Historical documentation shows that a mass of celebration was performed at the site by M. Dubois, Chaplain of the Carignan-Salières Regiment or upon the fort's completion, as was customary. Yet, it is possible that Father Raffeix, a member of the Winter Campaign of 1666, celebrated mass at the site on the return journey from Schenectady (Coolidge 1999 [1938]: 30). A Catholic history of the United States cites yet another individual, Father Dollier de Cassion, S.S. as the first celebrant, and further notes that Fort Saint-Anne was visited by Bishop Laval, the first visit by a Catholic Bishop to a site in what would become the United States in 1667 (Miller 2006:20-21). Unfortunately, neither of these vignettes are accompanied by documentary sources. Regardless, the designation as a Catholic Shrine has hindered modern archaeology at the site.

Interestingly, avocational archaeology at the site was first performed by a Catholic priest, Father Joseph Kerlidou, who uncovered the remains of the fort while establishing the Stations of the Cross at the shrine in the summers of 1895 and 1896 (Desany 2006b:40). Little had been published on the archaeology of the site until the topic was taken up by Jessica Desany, then a master's student in the Anthropology Department at the College of William and Mary.

Desany's thesis on the topic of Fort Sainte-Anne, was completed in 2006 and was later truncated and published in the 2006 volume the Journal of Vermont Archaeology. Taken together these two pieces comprise the authority on the history and archaeology of Fort Saint-Anne. While both pieces offer quality information on Fort Saint Anne itself, there are several glaring historical errors relating to the larger scheme of French settlement in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. Not the least of these errors is the complete omission of Fort l'Assomption at Saint-Jean, the Carignan-Salières fort in

closest proximity to Fort Saint-Anne, and the only other fort constructed in New France in 1666. In fact, Desany refers to the five forts constructed by the Regiment, as 'The Four Forts' (Desany 2006b:41).

Despite this large historical error, Desany's work is of consequence largely because she was able to gain access to Kerlidou's unpublished excavation notes in which the priest makes several cogent observations discussing the excavation of several 'mounds of dirt' revealing stone foundations and a layer of ash and charred boards (Desany 2006a: 57-72,168). Some of the information offered by Desany had been previously reported in Coolidge (1999 [1938]), yet Coolidge had lacked proper citation for the opinions of said information.

From Desany's work, it is clear Kerlidou had performed a review of historical literature and at least had access to the description of Fort Richelieu, noting Sainte-Anne was approximately 96 feet wide, approximately the same length as Fort Richelieu, though he goes on to state, '... its precise length cannot be ascertained, since the Lake has eaten up one of its [Western] extremities' (Kerlidou 1895:67 as cited in Desany 2006b:45). Unfortunately, most artifacts recovered during the excavation have subsequently been lost. The few artifacts that remain are preserved within the collection of the shrine.

As stated above, it is likely that the western extreme of the fort has been lost to erosion, yet it is plausible that some of the remains of the eastern flank survived Kerlidou's 19th century methodology and could offer valuable information about the 17th century and the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. In recent years, culture resource management permit compliance archaeology, associated with expanding the facilities on the shrine property, has been undertaken (Hartgen 2011). The footprints of

these projects were spatially separated from the purported fort site and yielded no 17th century artifacts.

The policies of the diocese do not allow for academic research archaeology at the purported fort site. The fact that archaeology of the site is not readily available is a mixed blessing. While it may not be possible to gain access to the information now, the archaeologically sensitive sediments are currently being preserved, and they will perhaps be accessible to future researchers.

Fort l'Assomption at Saint-Jean

Fort l'Assomption, Saint Jean-sur-Richelieu, Québec, is the only one of the five Carignan-Salières forts that survives as a military base to this day. The site is home to the *Royal Military College, Saint-Jean (CMR-SJ)*, an installation analogous to a government operated military school within the United States, such as The United States Military Academy at West Point. Due to the role of the site in numerous historical events, from the Carignan-Salières through the establishment of the CMR-SJ, the site has been recognized as a National Historic Site of Canada (LHNC). In relation to construction and development, the designation of both the National Historic Site and an active military base can be quite contradictory. Since initial exploratory and salvage archaeological investigations took place under the direction of Parks Canada in the summer of 1981, the site has played host to numerous cultural resource management projects (Vincell 2016). These projects have taken the form both of monitoring and salvage excavations to mitigate loss to historical and archaeological resources.

Additionally, the resident museum at the site, a nonprofit owned and operated by the College Alumni Association, received an archaeological research grant from the Canadian Department of National Defense (DND), History and Heritage (H&H) Directorate in the fall of 2009. The museum contacted Laval University to engage in a research partnership. The museum would supply the grant funding and historical

consultation and Laval would supply the archaeologists, in the form of academics, and graduate and undergraduate field school students, to perform the archaeological investigations. The ensuing project, the first of its kind, was to last for five years, field seasons 2010 through 2014. In the summer of 2013, the DND being satisfied with the project progress, extended research funding for a further three years - Summers 2015 through 2017. In the summer of 2011, I was brought on by Laval Professor and Project Director Dr. Réginald Auger to serve as project field scientific director and have served in that role since.

One of the primary research goals of the Laval/*Musée Fort Saint-Jean* partnership, at the project's inception, was to locate the yet archaeologically unidentified remains of the Carignan-Salières Fort of 1666 (Cloutier 2011:127). In my role as project field director, and primary archaeological data analyst, I first recovered what I believed to be wood remains relating to the 1666 fort (Beaupre 2013). Exceptional preservation conditions allowed the survival of wood remains, however diagnostic artifacts were not forthcoming. These early interpretations of 17th century remains later proved incorrect. The wood remains recovered are now believed to relate to the second French fort on the site dating to 1748 (Beaupre 2014). Other possible 17th century remains have been recovered at the site, however.

While engaged in an archaeological salvage project related to the destruction of the former museum building on the grounds of the CMR Saint Jean, contract archaeologist Maggie Bernier recovered what she believed to be a 1.5 m long section of the 1666 curtain wall (Bernier 2013). Bernier connected her findings with reports of wood remains in a previously investigated environmental testing borehole, to superimpose a hypothetical outline of *Fort l'Assomption*, onto a modern map of the site (Figure 37). To further corroborate these interpretations the Laval field school, under my direction,

searched in vain to locate similar remains of the 1666 habitation (Beaupré 2016; Naud and Jetté 2017; Ndour and Guérette 2017) In the summer of 2016, the project steering committee decided to re-excavate the environmental borehole in question to locate the reported wood remains. No remains of the wood that Bernier hypothesized belonged to the 1666 Fort could be recovered.

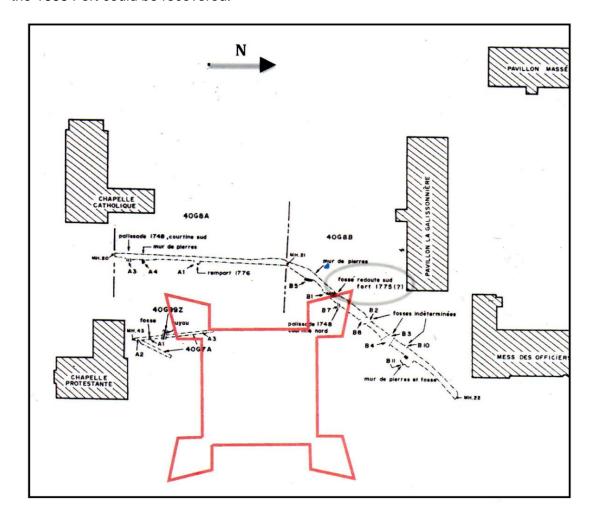


Figure 37 Map of Bernier's projected location of Fort l'Assomption on the grounds of Royal Military College-Saint-Jean. Image adapted from Bernier (2013: Figure 12).

It was determined at the close of the 2016 season that either Bernier was lucky enough to recover the only surviving vestiges of the 1666 Fort, or the construction trench she recovered is not associated with the 1666 curtain wall (Ndour and Guérette 2017). This

revelation leaves little data for spatial interpretation beyond what is offered by historical documents.

Fort Richelieu at Sorel

Fort Richelieu, located in the present-day city of Sorel, was the only one of the string of five forts that had been occupied prior to the Carignan-Salières Regiment's arrival. Fort Richelieu was originally constructed in 1641 by a settler militia force under the command of Charles Huault de Montmagny. The fort was named in honor of Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister to Louis XIII and founding member of the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France. Due to clashes with the Iroquois, the fort was burned by a raiding party in 1647 (Eccles 1990, Coolidge 1999[1938]:30). For the intermediate seven years, the fort has served as a symbol of safety for local settlers. In 1665, a company of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, under the command of Captain Pierre de Saurel, rebuilt the fort (Verney 1991:27-28). The fort was later renovated and expanded in 1691. Aside from the 1665 and 1666 maps mentioned above (Figures 27 and 28), one image of Fort Richelieu remains. The image is found on a map dating to the late 17th century renovation of the site (Figure 38). Similar to the late 17th century work at Fort Saint-Louis, a comparison of the images of Fort Richelieu 1665 and Fort Richelieu 1691 indicates that the two edifices existed in the same footprint. Archaeologists have yet to positively identify the remains of Fort Richelieu. Most researchers believe the site lies underneath the modern city of Sorel, Québec and may have been destroyed by subsequent construction. However, interest in a project to recover the site remains among a group of local contact period archaeologists (Geneviève Trevould, pers. comm.). The lasting imprint of Fort Richelieu on the area may simply be semantic. The modern city of Sorel-Tracy, Quebec takes its name from Capt. Saurel who, after he commanded the reconstruction of the fort in 1665, began farming the area in 1667, and was granted the surrounding lands as a seigneury in 1672 (Verney 1991:120).



Figure 38 Map of Fort de Richelieu at Sorel. The plan is dated Sorel fort built in 1695, after the 1691 renovation and refurbishment of the site. (ANOM DAFCAOM03_03DFC0492C01_H)

New Netherland Archaeology: the Dutch Construction of the Borderzone

The colony of New Netherland, which existed from Hudson's voyage in 1609 until the colony was taken by the English in 1664, occupied the littoral and riparian land holdings from the Connecticut to Delaware Rivers. The northern most Dutch settlements in North America relocated along the Hudson River, known by the Dutch as the 'North River'. During the mid to late 17th century the settlements included 1) the Dutch West India Company post, Fort Orange, and its surrounding illegal village of Beverwijck, which would become Albany under British rule (Huey 2005; 1991:327). 2) The farmsteads and hamlets within the Dutch patroon ship of Rensselaerswyck granted to the Rensselaer family in 1630. Rensselaerswyck was located around the modern capital region of Albany, New York (Huey 1991:327). 3) the village of Schenectady, granted by Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Director-General of the colony of New Netherland, and established next to an existing Mohawk Village, skahnéhtati, in 1661. (Huey 2005:109). The following is a brief discussion of the archaeological investigation of the Dutch New Netherlands in the Hudson Valley. It was along the Hudson that Dutch settlement ventured the furthest north in North America (Weeks 2012:288). This northward push of settlement created the borderzone between New Netherland and New France along the Lake Champlain Corridor.

The first Dutch involvement in my prescribed project area came at the hands of Henry Hudson himself, in 1609. As is mentioned above, archaeological evidence of single isolated events is often fleeting. Indeed, the archaeological record may not preserve remains relating to a specific moment in time. Just as archaeological evidence of Samuel de Champlain's visit to Lake Champlain, Henry Hudson and the *Half Moon* have met a similar fate. It is not surprising that no archaeological evidence of Hudson's relatively short voyage has been recovered. Additionally, the pseudo-historical tale of the

first Dutch fort in the northern Hudson Valley being constructed on the site of the previous French château, the ruins of which were supposedly located on Castle Island is not supported by any archaeological of primary historical evidence (McErleane 2014). While the French château is more than likely a product of a 19th century historian's overactive imagination, the first Dutch settlement, Fort Nassau, constructed in 1614, is historical fact. Historical documents tell us that Fort Nassau had been built in a flood plain and was washed away in a flood the spring of 1617 (Weeks 2012: 288). Any remains of Fort Nassau have long since been destroyed by both the N-transforms of the Hudson River and the C-transforms of the last 400 years of construction that gave birth to the modern capital of New York State. This area is today probably the most heavily and extensively developed area in North America (Huey 2005:96). Regarding the protection of Dutch North American sites, Paul Huey, a retired New York State Archaeologist and specialist in New Netherlands, made this statement,

"An archaeological site from the New Netherland that is bulldozed and destroyed without first being carefully excavated and recorded by historical archaeologists is like a volume of 17th century Dutch documents that is burned without first being transcribed and translated, and much has already been irretrievably lost."

(Huey 2005: 96).

Fortunately, cultural resource management laws of the latter half of the twentieth century have stemmed the tide of destruction. Given the high degree of development in this geographic area, most archaeological research relating to the colony has been undertaken as cultural resource management projects, directly relating to state and Federal [section 106] permitting processes.

The oldest Dutch archaeological remains in the Hudson Valley relate to Fort
Orange, (Huey 1974,1991, 2005). Built in 1624 by the Dutch West India Company, Fort
Orange was located on the west bank of the Hudson River, within the boundaries of
what is now Albany, New York. The survival of archaeological remains in of Fort Orange

is no doubt due to the simple fact that when the English captured Dutch Fort Orange, the English moved the fort to a completely new location within the modern city of Albany, thus escaping intensive development at the time (Huey1991).

Fort Orange's contemporary, Fort Amsterdam in Manhattan, did not share this fate however. Fort Amsterdam included the laying out of streets nearby which became New York (Figure 39). Indeed, the modern course of Wall Street follows the Dutch wall created around the colony of New Amsterdam and Broadway and is located on the site of the Dutch street here, a fact that was included in the American history based adventure drama, National Treasure.

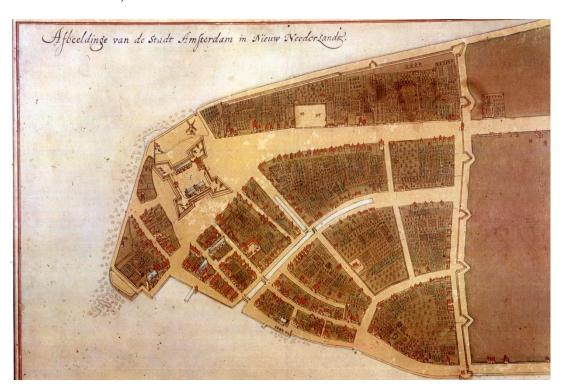


Figure 39 The original Castello Plan, dated 1660, is the earliest known plan of New Amsterdam, and the only one dating from the Dutch period. Source: New York Public Library, Digital Gallery. Digital ID: 54682, Digital Record ID: 118555.

In his exhaustive documentary and archaeological research on the colony of New Netherland, Dr. Paul Huey places the construction of Fort Orange within the initial phase of the colony's infrastructure development (Huey 1991:327). Fort Orange [1624] and its

contemporary installation New Amsterdam [1626] represent the placement of trading posts constructed by the Dutch West India Company, installations designed merely for resource extraction. It was the second phase of development, circa late 1640s – early 1650s when the Dutch began a construction and settlement boom that became vital in constructing the *borderzone* (Huey 1991:329).

In the area of Fort Orange, the most noted construction and the second phase of frontier development of New Netherland was the illegal village of Beverwijck. By 1652 over 100 illegal houses had grown up on the north side of the fort. Infrastructural development in the Hudson Valley beginning as early as the 1790s and continuing to the present day have yielded a varied degree of archaeological data relating to the early Dutch settlement of Albany. While a monograph style archaeological synthesis of the colony has yet to be published, through his numerous works Huey has created a virtual inventory of Dutch history and archaeology along the "North River" (Huey 1974, 1984, 1991, 1995, 2005).

Most notable among these sites is that of Schenectady. Founded in 1661, the site plays prominently in Dutch, Mohawk, English, and French interactions in the *borderzone* region. Watershed events include the Carignan-Salières attack on Mohawk villages in the winter of 1665, and the French raid on Schenectady during King William's War in 1690. In May 1997, excavations in Schenectady revealed remains of a stockade line dating perhaps to as early as 1664 and before 1690. Test trenches on Front Street located stockade remains at a depth of 1 to 2 feet below the modern street level (Hartgen 1997 as cited in Huey 2005:102). One 17th century map of Schenectady has been located by researchers (Figure 40). This map clearly shows the curtainwall uncovered by Hartgen.

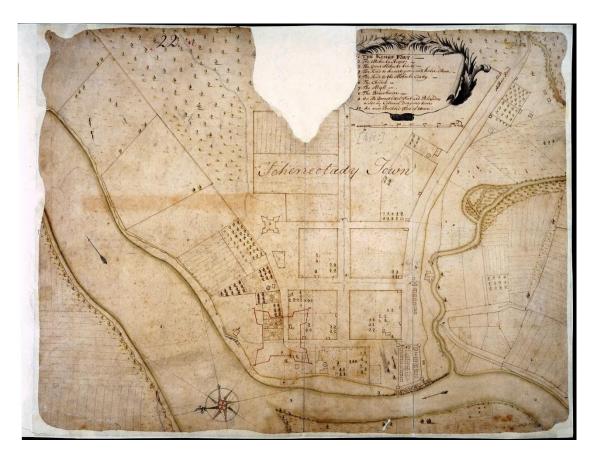


Figure 40 Romer Map dated 1698 shows the original Dutch wall along Ferry St. (numbered 9). Notice the small bastion at the northeast corner of the wall. Image Courtesy of Dr. L. Basa, Community Archaeology Program, Schenectady Community College.

Archaeological investigation into the earliest settlements of Schenectady and has continued under the auspices of the Community Archaeology Program at Schenectady Community College, under the direction of Louise A. Basa (Louise A Basa pers. comm.). Dr. Basa has built upon the initial CRM work undertaken by Hartgen in the late 1990s and has recovered several 17th century deposits directly relating to the curtainwall of Schenectady. Working with my colleague, Dr. Basa I have produced the Google Earth overlay map included (Figure 41).

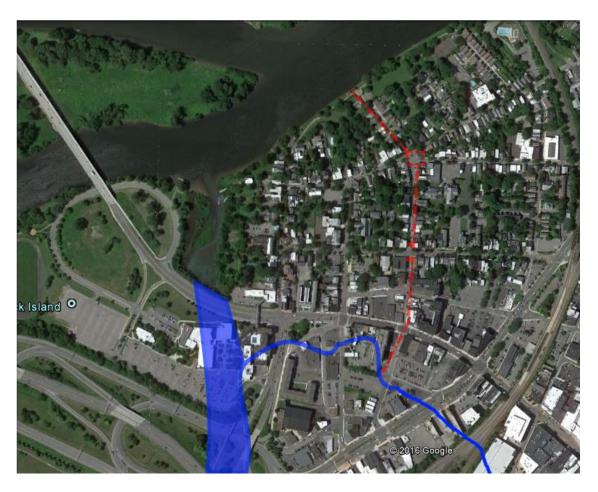


Figure 41 Overlay of Schenectady NY showing the supposed location of the 1664/1691 Curtain wall. Produced in partnership with Dr. L. Basa, Community Archaeology Program, Schenectady Community College.

Space and the Colonial Frontier -

With the amassed documentary and archaeological data, one can critically analyze the archival and archaeological records to gain an understanding of how individual and collective colonial agents in the 17th century *borderzone* expressed their understanding of space. The following analysis starts at the regional scale before moving on to discuss the *borderzone* creation as the site level. First, I examine how the region was represented on maps and in written documents, indicating a top-down view of regional politics. The major question for interpretation being how this cognitive spatial viewpoint affected the material space placement of the Carignan-Salières forts on the landscape.

A number of Nicholas Sanson's maps, dated 1650, 1656, 1670 indicates clear borders between the colonies of New France, New Netherland and New England (Figure 42). While the proportions and overall shape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley is somewhat skewed in this representation, what is abundantly clear is the division between the colonies. On the map, the borders of the three colonies meet at the southern end of the valley, near the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers. This map is clearly a representation of cognitive space as understood by non-residential French regime governmental officials. Indeed, the map was created in France with no firsthand knowledge obtained by the cartographer. Nicholas Sanson, Royal Geographer to Kings Louis XIII and XIV, and commonly known as the 'Father of French Cartography', never set foot in the North American continent. Sanson worked from the accounts of Jesuit Missionaries, French fur trappers, and the Jesuit Relations, as well as the work of previous cartographers, to create this representation (Coolidge 1999 [1938]:14; Baynton-Williams 2008:46 – 47). The numerous maps respond to treaty lines drawn in Europe reflected little of the lived experience of material, social and cognitive spaces in the borderzone.

While the lines on the map represent the French cognitive space of *Nouvelle France*, *Nouvelle Hollande* and *Nouvelle Angleterre*, the realities of the social space of the *borderzone* in this region are quite disparate. Indeed, the same Jesuit Relations which Samson employed to draw his maps, indicate 17th century French control over the region that would become New York state was nonexistent. In a discussion of the Carignan-Salières Regiment's arrival and subsequent placement of forts, one Jesuit chronicler quips, "As we occupy the Northern part of New France, and the Iroquois the Southern" (Thwaites 1911 [49]:257).

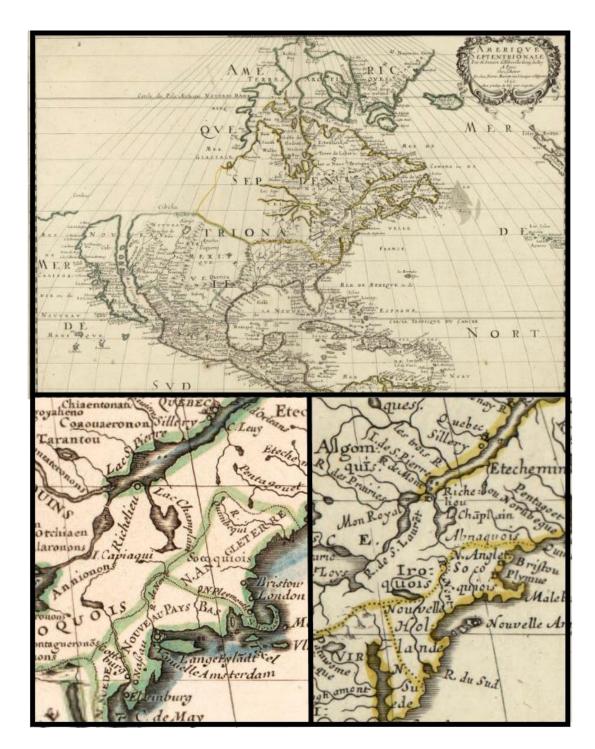


Figure 42 A sample of Nicholas Sanson's maps. Above: Amérique septentrionale map dated 1650. Bottom Left: Enlargement of Amérique septentrionale divisée en ses principales parties, ou sont distingués les vns des autres les estats suivant qu'ils appartiennent presentemet aux François, Castillans, Anglois, Suedois, Danois, Hollandois, tirée des relations de toutes ces nations dated 1674. Bottom Right: Le Canada, ou Nouvele France, & c dated 1656. I have enlarged both insets to show the Dutch-French- English borderzone at the foot of Lake Champlain. Notice the inclusion of Fort Richelieu and of tribal names on all maps.

•

The contraction inherent in these two sources is the first of many contradictions in the cognitive spatial orientation of the southern border of New France. The cognitive space representation of New France existing to the Mohawk River was the prevailing thought at Versailles. The individuals within New France, members of both military and religious entities whom were physically constructing and augmenting the material space through building forts and settlements and subsequently interacting within the social space of the *borderzone* in 1665-1666, were faced with a very different reality.

For the settlers of Canada, the cognitive space of the *borderzone* existed along the south shore of the St. Lawrence River. While it was generally known that the home villages of the hostile Iroquois were a great distance to the south, near the Dutch settlements along the Mohawk River, the intervening land mass was where the 'Woods were alive' and from where raiding parties emerged (Thwaites 1911 [49]:257). Contact period archaeological findings corroborate this understanding, placing the 17th century homeland of the Mohawk Nation along the Mohawk River in modern New York State (Baumann et al. 2003; Snow 1994, 1995b, 1996b) (Figures 25 and 26). These differing realities of a continental cognitive spatiality and the reality of 17th century *borderzone* social space can further be represented through a comparison of initial plans and actual placement of the Carignan-Salières forts.

Locations of Edify within the 17th Century Borderzone

Gross Fort Placement-

The historical narrative tells us that the primary purpose of the five 17th century forts in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was to counteract the offensive action perpetrated by the Iroquois upon the French and French allied Algonquin settlements in the St. Lawrence River Valley (Roy and Malchelosse 1928; Coolidge 1999 [1938]; Verney 1991; Chartrand 2008:26; Leckie 2012). Indeed, many documents of the time

referred to what we now know as the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, as the Iroquois River and Iroquois Lake. As discussed in Chapter Four, this designation should not be seen as signifying ownership of the waterways by the Iroquois, but the chosen approach to the St. Lawrence Valley taken by many Iroquois commerce and war parties (Verney 1991:21). Historian Jack Verney (1991:21) further states the French should have referred to the Richelieu as the Mohawk River as opposed to the more general term of Iroquois, since the route was utilized mostly by the Mohawk member Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy during the mid-17th century. This is a fact again supported by several linguists as mentioned in Chapter Four (Lounsbury 1960:23). Additionally, during the period which the Carignan-Salières forts were constructed, the French had met with representatives of the Oneida and Onondaga nations who also spoke for the Seneca and Cayuga nations negotiating a tentative piece in November 1665 (Thwaites 1911 [49]:179, [50]:127-131). By the Fall of 1665, the only Iroquois Nation still at odds with the French were their closest neighbors, the Mohawk (Verney 1991:19, 39).

Regardless of the semantic use of the term 'Iroquois', it was clear to the settlers in Canada that the Iroquois controlled the southern extent of their colony. Additionally, Dutch settlement in the upper Hudson Valley was a fact of which the French crown was aware (JR 49:257). The Dutch presence on the politically defined southern border of New France as shown on Sanson's 1656 maps, as well as the 1665 and 1666 maps, was a security concern to French imperial control of the region (Figures 27, 28 and 42). The French and Dutch spent the 17th century vying for access to furs harvested from the area that would become the modern state of New York and province of Ontario (Eccles 1990; Weeks 2012). Indeed, a great deal of economic exchange took place in the borderzone. Dutch settler presence in the upper Hudson River Valley was a concern to

French supremacy in the region, as the French felt their cognitive space encroached upon.

Following the brief peace during the summer of 1658, the number of attacks on French settlements increased. The *habitants* fear of annihilation at the hands of Iroquois raiders spread throughout the colony, Governor of New France, Baron Pierre Dubois D'Avaugour, outlined a plan for reprisal (Coolidge 1999 [1938]; Laramie 2012). In a 4 August, 1663 letter to the *Ministère de la Marine*, D'Avaugour suggested building three fortresses. The first to be placed on the foundations of Fort Richelieu. The second, "on the same River where the Dutch have built a wretched redoubt, which they call Fort Orange", and a third between the two at the foot of Lake Champlain (lettre Baron d'Avaugour au Ministre Coolidge 1999 [1938]:22). This was the first suggestion of an organized defensive system in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. When the Carignan-Salières Regiment arrived two years later, they constructed a total of five forts along the valley.

By the time the Carignan-Salières Regiment arrived however, many political changes in the colony had taken place. D'Avaugour was no longer the Governor of New France, nor did the position 'Governor of New France' even exist. In late 1663, the charter of the *Compagnie de la Nouvelle France* had been revoked and New France had become a Crown colony. On 19 November, 1663 Marquis Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy was named 'Lieut. Gen. in all the lands of our obedience situated in North and South America and in the islands of America.' (Vachon 1969: xv– xxv; Eccles 1990:65). This position made Tracy responsible for all military issues in the colony, including relations with First Nations, and the maintenance of law and order (Eccles 1990:71 -72).

It was the Marquis de Tracy, along with his subordinate Marquis Henri de Chastelard de Salières, Colonel in Command of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, whom would operationalize D'Avaugour's original plan. As soon as the first companies arrived in Québec City, Tracy ordered construction of forts to deny the Mohawks access to the St. Lawrence Valley. Tracy believed denying access the St. Lawrence Valley could be accomplished by closing off the Mohawk's chosen route, the Richelieu River (Verney 1991: 21). When examining the material space created by the fort construction versus the cognitive space exemplified by D'Avaugour plan, there are facets of spatiality that warrant discussion.

The first issue of space inherent in the gross placement of forts is found in the contradiction between the cognitive notion of fort placement first suggested by D'Avaugour in 1663 versus the material space created by the actual fort placement undertaken in 1665 – 1666 (Figure 43) As mentioned above, D'Avaugour's plan for three forts was overly ambitious given the sociopolitical situation the time. D'Avaugour's would-be defensive line was stretched over approximately 450 km of river, lake and portage that lacked little, if any, French settlement. An additional 450 km supply line would be impossible to defend at a time when the Colony of New France consisted of just three major settlements Montréal, Trois-Rivere, and Québec City. These three settlements stretched over approximately 260 km of the St. Lawrence River and boasted a population of only 4219 individuals (Trudel 1995:67).

As the Jesuits note, the adversarial Native nations of the Iroquois Confederacy controlled the greater portion of this area. It appears that D'Avaugour's cognitive spatial view of the *borderzone* was more akin to that represented on Nicholas Sanson's map (Figures 42 and 43). By placing the southernmost of the three forts along the Hudson, D'Avaugour would have placed a permanent French settlement at the southern extreme

of claimed territory. This move would have shrunk the 17th century unsettled *borderzone* to a small area between the northern most Dutch settlements, the eastern bounds of the Mohawk nation, and his newly militarily controlled the southern boundary of New France. The reality of the social space of the *borderzone* experienced by the Carignan-Salières Regiment was quite disparate from D'Avaugour's cognitive view.

When construction began, Tracy, Salières and their company commanders, faced a raw material space of the borderland that was desperate from the cognitive space envisioned by D'Avaugour. The one facet of both D'Avaugour's plan and the constructed material space was that of Fort Richelieu. The second fort envisioned by D'Avaugour was not constructed until the mid-18 century, and the fort for this to the south, the French fort on the Hudson, was never constructed. As described in the Jesuit Relations and recovered in archaeological excavations, the Carignan-Salières constructed five forts in two years. The northernmost three, Fort Richelieu, Fort Saint-Louis, and Fort Sainte-Thérèse, were constructed in the summer of 1665. The remaining two, Fort l'Assomption and Fort Sainte-Anne were constructed in the summer of 1666 (Thwaites 1911 [49]: 253-257, Verney 1991). Four of these forts were constructed along the Richelieu River, and the fifth in the northern reaches of Lake Champlain. The southern-most four forts of the string all existed within the space between D'Avaugour's proposed first and second forts (Figure 43). Clearly D'Avaugour's and Tracy's views of what was achievable along the southern borderzone of New France were quite disparate.

Individual Fort Site Selection

When analyzing the individual placement of each of the five fortifications, an immediate pattern can be seen. This pattern offers a window into how the cognitive understanding of the raw material space for each fort was chosen. Both documentary and

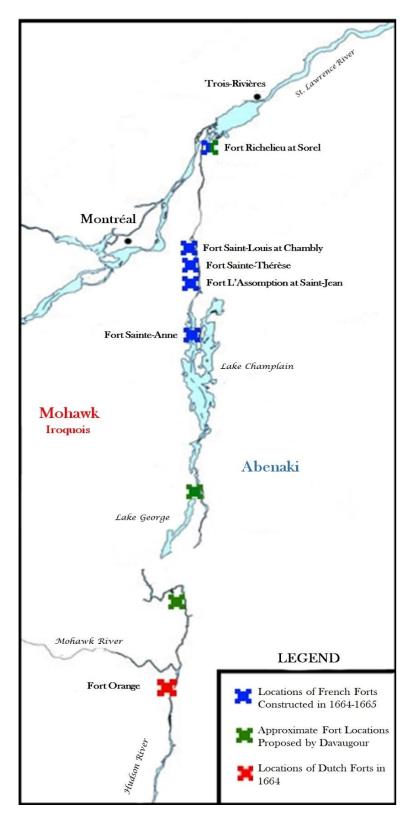


Figure 43 Map showing D'Avaugour's projected cognitive space of New France's southern border, as well as the material space of 1665-1666 forts constructed by the Carignan-Salières.

archaeological evidence indicates that Fort Saint-Louis, and Fort Sainte-Thérèse were placed on the banks of the Richelieu River at locations where the rapids hindered navigation (Thwaites 1911 [49]: 251 - 253; Beaudet and Cloutier 1983; Bernier 2011). While there is currently no irrefutable archaeological evidence for the exact locations of Fort Richelieu and Fort l'Assomption, historical documentation indicates these site locations follow the pattern. Modern satellite imagery can best be used to indicate these hazards to riparian navigation (Figure 44). While the creation of the Chambly canal and 350 years of cultural and natural transformations on the landscape may have altered the flow of the Richelieu River, these historically noted rapids are still visible.

While the exact placement of Fort Richelieu had been chosen by its initial construction team in 1641, the officers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment selected the locations of the additional four emplacements. The choice to place three of these four forts at the site of rapids is no doubt a product of the officer's education in soldiering. Soldiers and political philosophers alike have debated the use of forts and fortified positions since at least the time of the ancient Greeks (Duffy 2006:19). Common 17th century European military knowledge would have included the fact that a skillful defender could derive much profit from combining properties of a fortification and riverine barriers, such as rapids (Duffy 2006:24). These theories of natural borders were pervasive in 17th century Europe (Labbe 1646, 1652; Sahlins 1990). In an environment where most cargo and troops were moved via waterways, it likely occurred to the officers that controlling places impassable by watercraft would increase the effectiveness of any wilderness fortification. It appears the officers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment were indeed attempting to use, to the best of their ability, European cognitive divisions of space, and spatial control to transform the raw material space of the Richelieu River Valley into a complete material and social space of the borderzone that could be



Figure 44 A compiled image of satellite images showing the riverine locations of each of the four northern most Carignan-Salières forts. The locations of, Fort Saint-Louis, and Fort Sainte-Thérèse, have been verified archaeologically.

controlled with relatively few colonial troops.

As a side note, volume 49 of the Jesuit Relations which discusses the placement of the first three Carignan-Salières forts, makes a factual error in stating, 'From this third fort of Sainte-Thérèse there is ready access to Lake Champlain, without encountering any rapids to check a boat's progress.' In actuality, the rapids just north of the supposed location of Fort l'Assomption at Saint-Jean are the final hindrance to navigation prior to reaching Lake Champlain. The location for Fort l'Assomption at the Saint-Jean rapids was selected by Salières himself when on a routine reconnaissance south along the Richelieu River he undertook during the construction of Fort Sainte-Thérèse on 9

October 1665 (Verney 1991:33). Salières had benefited from both local Canadian settler militia volunteers and friendly First Nations people who had accompanied him from Québec. (Thwaites 1911 [49]:237, 253, [50]:183). Without either group, Salières would have had a great degree of difficulty navigating the wilderness (Verney 1991:30).

The final Carignan-Salières fort, Fort Sainte-Anne does not conform to the riverine navigational hindrance convention of the northern four forts in the string. The site for Fort Sainte-Anne was selected on a peninsula projecting into Lake Champlain, on an island known today as Isle La Motte, after the Captain Pierre La Motte de Saint-Paul, whom was in command of the fort construction (Desany 2006a, 2006b; Verney 1991:167). This selection had been made during a six-day expedition south from Sainte-Thérèse made by a combined French and Algonquin force in October 1665 (Verney 1991:33). In addition to the tacitly strategic position of forts and an on a peninsula into the lake, the location for Fort Sainte-Anne is noted as being chosen by the French because of its use as a gathering place for Native peoples. Both Abenaki and Iroquois often camped on the peninsula; it had been well known to missionaries traveling up and down the lake since the time of Father Jogues in the 1640s (Coolidge 1999[1939]:28-29). Like its four sister fortifications, Fort Sainte-Anne was built directly along the water line. This placement along the water, on a peninsula, while allowing for a greater than 180° view shed of the western portion of Lake Champlain, and the western shore, the site is entirely blind to the eastern islands and eastern shore of the lake (Figure 45). This observation was made during my phenomenological landscape survey of French sites along Lake Champlain, in the summer of 2013. The fort was built so close to the modern water line that it is currently believed the western extremes of the site have been lost to erosion (Desany 2006a, 2006b). This is similar to Fort Sainte-Thérèse's eastern segments which have been lost to the Richelieu (Bernier 2011). What is most notable is

that while associated topography does not allow for the four northern forts to be built on high ground, Ilse La Motte's glacially deposited granite highlands would allow for a position of greater strategic value. If the fort had been placed on the high ground, both sides of the island could be seen.



Figure 45 Satellite image of the location of Fort Sainte-Anne on Isle, La Motte, VT.

One final interesting point remains regarding the spatial orientation of the Carignan-Salières forts. The three forts that lie at the geographic center of the string of five, Fort Saint-Louis, Fort Sainte-Thérèse, and Fort l'Assomption, were each connected by a road (Figure 46). It was recorded in the historical documentation that for the construction season of 1665 considered complete, a road needed to be cut from Fort Saint-Louis at Chambly to the newly constructed Fort Sainte-Thérèse (Verney 1991: 23-36). Additionally, a trail was cut from Fort Saint-Louis to the south shore of the St. Lawrence, opposite Montréal (Verney 1991: 34). The trail between Fort Saint Louis and Fort Sainte Thérèse followed the shores of the Richelieu River for approximately 8 km. The trail between Fort Saint Louis and Montréal was cut through approximately 16 km of forest and marsh (Memories of Marquis de Salières as cited by Verney 1991: 34).

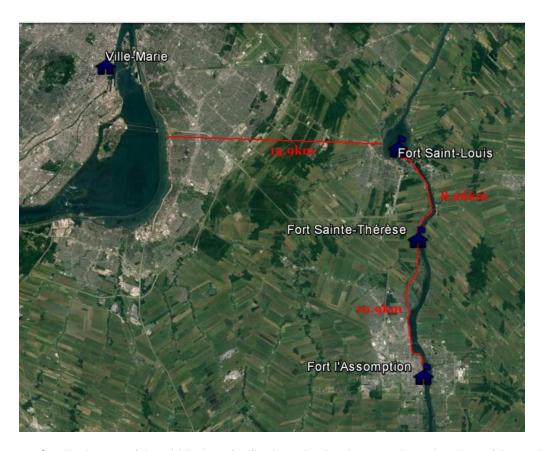


Figure 46 Satellite images of the middle three fortifications showing the approximate locations of the roads connecting each site.

After the construction of Fort l'Assomption, in the early spring of 1666, the road was extended from Sainte-Thérèse southward along the west bank of the Richelieu to Saint-Jean.

There are several points about the construction of this trail that warrant discussion. First, the choice to construct a trail overland from Chambly to Montréal across territory unsettled by the French. On prima facie inspection, this trail is merely a shortcut. During the mid-17th century, most French settlement in Canada was along the St. Lawrence River. Per the census of 1666, the population of the greater region of Montréal was just 625 individuals. Montréal was second largest population center at the time; Québec was the largest which numbered 2158 individuals (Trudel 1995:49). If access could be had to Fort Saint-Louis at Chambly in a single day's march overland from the colony second

largest settlement, this would've been beneficial to the troops stationed there.

Zooarchaeological data from the 17th century contexts at Fort Saint-Louis indicate that the soldiers were fed mainly beef and pork, which was probably salted, as well as mutton and domestic poultry from time to time (Walker and Cumbaa 1982: 5). It is a known fact that there was no reliable means of preserving the meat of sheep and poultry in the 17th century, meaning sheep and poultry had to be eaten fresh. Beaudet and Cloutier (1989:35-36) go on to state that the Carignan-Salières soldiers had 'neither the time, space nor means to raise these animals and that they must have been able to obtain them from neighboring settlements.' By neighboring settlements, they must mean farmsteads on the South Shore the St. Lawrence that could be accessed via this crosscountry road. No French settlements existed in the region immediately surrounding Fort Saint-Louis in 1665.

Generally, supplies could be stored in Montréal and reach Chambly overland quicker than traveling via the Richelieu River from Sorel. The decision to cut a road overland through areas that were not yet settled, still speaks to the cognitive understanding of space on the South Shore of the St. Lawrence on the part of the Carignan-Salières officers. While the area was clearly traveled by Iroquois war parties, it was still well known to the French settlers of the region, and not considered Terra incognita, as was the area south and west of Lake Champlain, as discussed above.

Second, the proximity of the three forts in the center of the string is also intriguing. The short distances between Montréal and Chambly, Chambly and Sainte Thérèse, and Sainte Thérèse and Saint-Jean is mentioned several times in historical documents (as cited in Verney 1991). The exact placement of Saint-Louis, Sainte-Thérèse, and Fort l'Assomption along the Richelieu River has been cited as due to the inevitable rapids at each location. Yet, their proximity also allows for overland travel along cut roads to be

easily completed within one day. These short distances became important when troops traveled fort to fort in the winter of 1665. The forts at Sorel, and Isle La Motte at the north and south extremes of the string respectively, do not benefit from connecting roads or a distance that allows for travel within a single day. Troops traveling from Fort Richelieu to Fort Saint-Louis, or Fort l'Assomption to Saint-Anne would require at least a one-night bivouac outside the protective walls of the fort.

Fort Shape and Construction

When defining a the mid-17th century French frontier, an examination of the design and construction of the material space of the five Carignan-Salières forts is vital.

However, limited historical and archaeological data has made this challenging. There is graphic representation of three of the five forts, dating to the period of construction (Figure 24). This map, dated 1665 was indeed drawn prior to the construction of Fort l'Assomption and Fort Sainte-Anne. On the 1666 map, icons representing Fort l'Assomption and Saint-Anne are present, their outlines are not reproduced as with the three northernmost forts (Figure 25). Archaeological data adds to the confusion of the fort shape discussion. Just two of the Carignan-Salières forts have been recovered archaeologically to a significant degree to warrant meaningful discussion regarding actual fort shape, versus the historically recorded shape of each installation.

Archaeological excavations at Fort Saint- Louis indicated contradiction between historical documentation and the material space constructed.

Per the written description in the historical documentation, the palisade fort built by Jacques de Chambly in 1665,

[&]quot;... formed a square, 144 feet on each side. Three of the sides had a redan, while the fourth side contained a door protected by an enclosed entryway... Inside the enclosure was "a house and, all around it, huts for the soldiers" (Gelinas 1983: 11).

The enlargements of the fort outline on the left margin of both the 1665 and 1666 maps show Saint-Louis as a square fort, presenting three triangular redans on one each on the north, east and south sides, while west flank presented the fort gate. Additionally, the above-mentioned maps and historical documents indicate that the gate was protected by a tambour (Figures 26 and 27). (Gelinas 1983 [1977]: 11). Yet, a close inspection of the 1665 map shows that the fort in place on the landscape is a square fort with four redans, one on each side, and no tambour (Figure 26). While the documentary evidence offers one view of the site, the archaeological data offer a different perspective on shape of the first fort. The principal archaeological features associated with this period consist of segments of ditches corresponding to two different palisades (Figure 29 and 30). The fortification walls appear to have identical traces, both being bastioned enclosures. There is no sign of the redans, nor the tambour which should be present along the south curtain wall (Beaudet and Cloutier 1989: 35). Inversely, the archaeology performed by Parks Canada at Fort Saint-Thérèse, indicates the manifested material space of the fortification is similar, if not identical, to what was historically recorded (Bernier 2011). Bernier placed excavation units transacting the supposed fortification line on both bastions and curtain walls (Figure 35 and 36). These units yielded post mold remains along the projected fort outline, confirming the size and shape of the 17th century Fort Sainte-Thérèse (Bernier 2011).

The remaining three sites lack sufficient archaeology to make legitimate conclusions on the nature of the 1665-1666 constructions. During Bernier's investigations of Fort l'Assomption's remains on the grounds of the Fort Saint-Jean National Historic Site of Canada, Bernier created overlay maps indicating the placement of the 17th fort on the modern landscape (Bernier 2013) (Figure 37). Bernier's interpretations were later proven incorrect by the Université Laval excavations under my

direction (Ndour and Guérette 2017). While my team was able to disprove Bernier's theory, no positive information as to the location of the 1666 fortifications has yet been discovered.

In relation to the size and shape of Fort Sainte-Anne, Desany (2006a, 2006b) cites Father Kerlidou's 19th century work noting the fort was approximately 96 feet wide, approximately the same length as Fort Richelieu. Kerlidou goes on to state, '... its precise length cannot be ascertained, since the water the Lake has eaten up one of its [western] extremities' (Kerlidou 1895:67 as cited in Desany 2006b:45). Guy Omeron Coolidge, a 20th century historian of the French in the Champlain Valley, adds a conjectural description of Fort Sainte-Anne based on the above descriptions of Richelieu and subsequent avocational archaeology performed by visitors to the site in the late 19th century. Coolidge (1999[1938]:30-31) describes Fort Sainte-Anne as being 144 feet long by 96 feet wide with an interior walk raised about a foot and a half above the ground connecting four bastions, one at each corner. Coolidge further cites an article by David Reed in Hemenway's Vermont Gazetteer, describing the fort consisting of 14 stone mounds covered with earth and sod. Additionally, the foundations of several buildings had been uncovered, some measuring 12 x 16' others by 16 x 32' (Coolidge 1999[1938]:30-31). The lack of modern archaeological excavations at Fort Sainte-Anne, due to the site being preserved as a Catholic shrine in ownership of the archdiocese of Burlington, has precluded any confirmation of this data. Finally, no determination can be made regarding the actual size nor shape of Fort Richelieu, as it has not been identified archaeologically.

The question remains as to what all this information tells us about the material construction of the *borderzone*. Per European convention at the time, once a site had been selected for the construction of the fort, the initiative lay with the senior engineer on

site. The engineer would draw plans and draft a memorandum to explain the shape and specifications of the new fortification (Duffy 2006). The engineer would 'choose a line of the curtain wall as a basis for the front of the fortification and buildup the corresponding bastions around angles formed by the meeting of the curtains and the adjacent fronts' (Duffy 2006:33). This convention for the construction of fortifications hinges on combat engineers. When examining the regimental rolls, it becomes clear that the Carignan-Salières Regiment arrived without any engineers to spearhead construction efforts (Trudel 1995: 321-371; Verney 1991: 145-185).

While the officers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment no doubt had some form of education in the placement and construction of fortifications, it is clear they had not had any practical experience in such things (Verney 1991:29). Moreover, a standing regiment, such as the Carignan-Salières would not have needed to construct such wilderness forts when stationed in France (Verney 1991:30) Thus, the regiment arrived in Canada without the required expertise or tools necessary to complete the tasks (Verney 1991: 31,129-144). The purported changes in shape from fort to fort seems to indicate that the constructions represent what each of the company captains thought a fort should look like. Each officer carried with him a cognitive spatial representation that they attempted to manifest in the material space.

Whether one examines the purported fort shapes, or the actual forms as reconstructed through archaeology, neither meet the 17th century conventions of fort construction. A fortification was to amplify the defensive nature of the raw material space chosen for its construction (Duffy 2006). This was not the case with the Carignan-Salières forts. Most notable is the fact that at the very time when the great French military engineer, Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, Seigneur de Vauban was constructing some of the fortifications for which he was most known, there is nothing to

suggest that any of the Richelieu Valley forts owed much to Vauban's theories of fortification (Verney 1991:29).

All available archaeological and historical data indicate the forts were just stockade walls within which the soldiers stationed could feel some sort of relative safety. The "safety" of the fort was a social construct, a social space created by the active agents working within the material space of the fort wall. This social space of safety stands juxtaposed to the fear of feeling exposed in the unmodified material space of the *borderzone*.

Dutch and English Hudson Valley Space in the *Borderzone*

While much of my work does investigate the creation of the *borderzone* from the northern perspective, that of the French settlement in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, it is vital to discuss the role that Dutch and subsequent English settlement in the upper reaches of the Hudson Valley affected this *borderzone*. When comparing Dutch/English and French settlement within the *borderzone*, a comparison must immediately be made regarding both the types and quantities of settlement created by each European power. The immediate glaring contrast regarding construction and augmentation of material space that gives rise to the French-Dutch *borderzone* is that while the French constructed a series of five forts, military sites designed by soldiers, the Dutch constructed villages, farmsteads designed by civilians. This contradiction is exemplified in the discussion of archaeology of each of the colonies above.

Historian of Daniel Weeks describes the 17th century Dutch settlement thus,

'Fort Orange extended Dutch military power further into the hinterlands, but it was also a place of civilian settlement. This settlement was by any account rather rustic, consisting of the fort and some bark covered huts. No sooner had the Dutch settled themselves than the Iroquois of different tribes, along with the Mahicans and the Ottawa, came to pledge peace and establish trade, bringing presents of beaver pelts and other skins ... '(Weeks 2012 288).

As intimated by Weeks, the root of the differentiation between Dutch and French styles of Colony building can be traced back to the style in which each engaged in trade. The French settled the St. Lawrence Valley in the early 17th century, at a time when few permanent First Nation villages existed in the region. The St. Lawrence Iroquoian villages of Stadacona and Hochelaga at Québec and Montréal were both abandoned when Champlain arrived in 1608 (Champlain 1632; Tremblay 2006). The French forged alliances with Algonquin speaking peoples and began trading with both Algonquin speaking and Iroquois and speaking peoples. Up through the mid-17th century, the French engaged in a hands-off approach, by which First Nations peoples traveled to Québec, Trois-Rivières, Montréal to trade with the French. (Eccles 1974:12 -59). This Native travel to Québec is recorded in the history of Fort Sainte-Thérèse, by which the first visitors to the post were an Algonquin trading party on their way to Montréal (Thwaites 1911 [49]:255). The French would not open the western fur trade until after the fall of Huronia and the conclusion of the 'Beaver wars' (Eccles 1990; Brandão 1997, 2003).

The Dutch, by comparison, nucleated civilian settlement around the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, within the homeland of their trading partners, the Mohawk. Following the Dutch-Mohawk Treaty of 1643, representatives of the Dutch West India Company and the Mohawk Nation had openly traded furs for European goods including firearms (Verney 1991:41; Merwick 1996:186 - 87). Dutch traders traveled to the Mohawk villages as readily as the Dutch traveled to Fort Orange. The settlement of Schenectady founded in 1662 was a Dutch settlement built directly adjacent to the Mohawk village (Huey 2005:102). When New Netherland fell to the English in 1664, the English built upon the Dutch-Mohawk Treaty, cementing an alliance with the Mohawk, and subsequent

remaining Iroquois nations, that would last over a century and a half (Eccles 1974:59; Merwick 1996:187).

The result of this differentiation in settlement styles were that the Dutch settled all the way up to their claimed border along the Mohawk River, while the closest the French ever came to settling along their political border on the Mohawk River, was Fort Saint-Anne, the southernmost of the paltry sting of five forts. With the Dutch settlements in English control by 1664, the establishment of fortifications on Isle La Motte, no matter how insignificant they may seem now, did not pass unnoticed in the English colonies. Governor Winthrop of Connecticut sent spies to Lake Champlain to collect intelligence on French activity, and an active correspondence between the governors of Fort Orange and New France was carried out. (Coolidge 1999[1938]: 31). By the Fall of 1665, the unsettled borderzone encompassed all territory north of the Mohawk River and south of Fort Sainte-Thérèse. The three forts extant in 1665 were little more than outposts in a vast borderzone, between the Mohawk homeland, the French settlements along the Saint-Lawrence and the newly English northern reaches of New Netherland. The final player in this border interaction is the Mohawk Nation whom, given their proximity to the French and Dutch settlements, and Dutch supplied weaponry, had been able to control trading practices and successfully prevent the flow of furs to the St. Lawrence from competing First Nations (Verney 1991:41). Regardless of the French and Dutch settlement in the project area, it is clear from archaeological and historical evidence that the borderzone was a place of interaction where the Mohawk and Abenaki were active players. The borderzone truly belonged to no one regardless of European cognitive spatial ideas.

The Winter Campaign of 1666

In the winter of 1665, following the construction of the Fort Richelieu, Fort Saint-Louis and Fort Sainte-Thérèse, the newly appointed Governor of New France, Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle, decided to launch a mid-winter campaign against the villages of the Mohawk. The approximate path taken by the expedition is scribed on the 1666 map (Figure 28). Eager to exert French supremacy over the Mohawk, Courcelle underestimated two variables in the strategic equation of wilderness combat in Canada. The first being the severity of winters along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor, and the second being the indifference of Algonquin allies toward rigid time schedules (Verney 1991:41). The singular event of the Winter 1666 expedition can be examined to typify actions and events within the social space the *borderzone*.

Undeterred by the advice of both Canadian *Habitants*, and friendly Algonquin's in Québec, Courcelle insisted on making winter war against the Mohawk villages in modern New York State. Courcelle began by mustering troops at Montréal. On the march along the overland road between the south shore of Montréal and Fort Saint-Louis at Chambly it became blatantly obvious his troops were underequipped for winter warfare. All combatants, but the few Canadian militia volunteers, lacked proper winter clothing and snowshoes. Resting the first evening at Fort Saint-Louis, Courcelle replaced those troops whom were already stricken with hypothermia from the company garrisoned at the fort. The Algonquin guides whom were to meet with the expedition at Fort Saint-Louis were delayed, and Courcelle decided to continue without them. After one more day on the trail, the expedition reached Fort Sainte-Thérèse, again replenishing troops and attempting to scrounge winter supplies. Once the troops left Sainte-Thérèse, the expedition entered the *borderzone*. The safe social spaces of the forts were behind them, 'Ahead lay no more friendly outpost where reinforcements could be had, and

where the wounds of the trail could be licked, only snow-covered, frozen lake and dark forest fringing's shoreline where and even the trees run friendly, offering as they did cover for an ambush' (Verney 1991:49). Not only was the safety of the forts behind, lacking Algonquin guides, no members of the expedition had first-hand knowledge of the landscape ahead. Outside of French material and social space, the frailty of the European cognitive claimed space was experienced. While the entire trip was to take place within the lands claimed as Nouvelle France, the social space of New France experienced by the habitants did not extend far beyond the hamlets of the St. Lawrence (Verney 1991).

After spending a week lost on the portage between the southern extent of Lake George and the Mohawk Valley, the troops, now devoid of food, arrived in the newly English, ethnically Dutch village of Schenectady. Those that were capable of combat did attack a nearby a small cluster of cabins on the outskirts of Schenectady. Finding only women and children, the half-crazed troops murdered two women before attracting the attention of a group of Mohawk warriors whom were within the walls of a nearby settlement of Schenectady. The resulting battle ended in the death of four Mohawk, one French officer, five soldiers, and one Canadian volunteer (Verney 1991:50-51). Following several small skirmishes, the Canadian expedition turned North, heading through the borderzone, back toward the relative safe spaces of their fortifications along the Richelieu. They were met at the southern shores of Lake George by their Algonquin guides whom were at home in the region. The entirety of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was Algonquin social space. The Algonquins shepherd the wayward expedition home, providing venison along the way. Without the intervention of these Algonquin guides, it is likely more members of the expedition would have perished. Of note here is that even in 1666, the cliché of the drunken Indian was already wellestablished in Canada. Both chroniclers of the expedition, make the judgment statements, 'Algonquins who were delayed by the bottle' and 'the Algonquins, 30 in number whose drunkenness had detained them on the road.' (Thwaites 1911 [50]:183, Verney 1991:48). Of the 500 men on the campaign as many as 400 lay along the trail, the majority struck down by hypothermia and starvation. The extreme minority died at the hands of the Mohawk (Verney 1991:52).

Courcelle still declared this expedition a victory, yet at extraordinary costs. While attempting to exert social control over the *borderzone*, the French reach clearly exceeded his grasp. The ensuing nearly 300 km between Sainte-Thérèse and Schenectady was not a space over which the French had any social control. Clearly the fragile Carignan-Salières forts were but the only constructed material spaces over which the French had a social space relationship.

Conclusions

While not on the scale originally envisioned by D'Avaugour, the Carignan-Salières forts did effectively push the social space of the boundary of New France to the south. By constructing these five forts, French forces could extend 'a comfort zone' or the 'cognitive safe space' of their homeland. While few explorers and Jesuit missionaries had previously traveled the Richelieu River, and cartographers and Royal warrant claimed the territory of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley as New France. No permanent French habitations, nor even the lived experience of the settlers of the St. Lawrence Valley extended south along the Richelieu. The construction of the material space of the five forts turned the cognitive space of the southern reaches of New France into a social space where French and Native agents interacted.

Historical documents have long indicated that the five forts constructed by the Carignan-Salières regiment were constructed to defend the colony of New France from

Iroquois attack, in other words they were built as defensive structures. However, the placement of the forts, their construction, and use indicate offensive, as opposed to defensive spaces. These five small forts were forward bases, designed as supply depots and staging areas, establishing a foothold from which to explore the southern reaches of Canada.

The construction of the Carignan-Salières forts did not only extend the southern border of New France, but it reinforced the existing borderzone between the Mohawk of the Iroquois Confederacy and the French Allied, Algonquin speaking, Abenaki people. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley has long served as a borderzone between multiple Native peoples. Though documents may indicate that Carignan-Salières forts were constructed to defend the delicate settlements of New France along the St. Lawrence. They should not be remembered for this purpose. It should be remembered for the second purpose. Archaeological and historical evidence when interpreted through spatial analysis indicate that the Carignan-Salières forts established French presence in the landscape, as symbols of permanence in the valley. It could be argued that Tracy's Richelieu Valley forts served little defensive purpose. Any Mohawk war party, intent upon attacking the settlements along the St. Lawrence, would simply portage around these small posts. Each fort lacked civilian settlement or associated First Nation villages that would have aided in protecting the landscape and creating a social space of French control. These forts were instead offense of the nature acting as advance posts to launch attacks to the south.

Additionally, construction of the Carignan-Salières forts is the first time in North

American politics that a European-based power, reinforced and defended an extent

Native American *borderzone*. With the construction of this string of forts the French

reaffirmed their military association with Algonquin speaking peoples begun by Samuel

de Champlain on the shores of the Lake the bears his name. The construction of these forts doubled down on French involvement in a Native on Native conflict.

In the later years of the 17th and the first years of the 18th century, the forts of the Carignan-Salières regiment fell into disrepair and abandonment. The Great Peace of 1701 between the French and Iroquois rendered these forward offensive posts superfluous. By the close of the first quarter of the 18th century, the need for French spatial control of their southern border was once again felt by colonial administrators. As the control of the North American colonies was called into question, the French returned to the Lake Champlain Richelieu Valley *borderzone*.

CHAPTER SIX Eighteenth Century Spatial Relations in the LCRRV

The 18th century in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, and in the larger northeast region, consisted almost entirely of oscillating periods of warfare and peace. The dawn of the century saw the completion of the Beaver Wars (1641-1701), followed by Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), Greylock's War (1722 - 1727), King George's War (1744 - 1748), the Seven Years War (1754 - 1763) and the American Revolution (1775-1783). During some of these conflicts, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was merely a corridor of passage. An example of this use of the valley merely for transportation is as a route to move captives following the Deerfield Raid of 1704 (Haefeli and Sweeney 2006:98). Given the near constant state of warfare, my discussion of borders in this region could be dominated by military conflict. This has indeed been the trend in many histories and archaeological studies of the project area (Castongauy 1975; Pell 1990 [1935]; Steele 1990; Charbonneau 1994; Leckie 1999; Chartrand 2000, 2013; Coffin et al. 2005; Nester 2008; Huey 2009, 2010; Palmer 2009; Bellico 2010; Laramie 2012a, 2012b; Fisher and Huey 2013; Travers 2015; Senécal 2016). After all, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley is known as the Vallée Des Forts a name implemented by Parks Canada to invoke the military history of the region (Figure 47).

Yet, the most intriguing discussion of the *borderzone* can take place when one examines the timeframe between wars. A time of settlement and compromise and interaction in the Lake Champlain Valley, a time where one can analyze the manifestation space exercised by settlers and supply networks, not the space created by swooping movements of large European armies. This chapter examines the spatiality of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley *borderzone* during a finite individual time between the establishment of the first French fort and village complex on Crown Point in

1731 and the escalation of hostilities in the valley following Braddock's defeat in 1755. I have termed this time frame the interbellum period in the LCRRV (Figure 48).



Figure 47 Highway sign showing the moniker Autoroute de La Vallee-des-forts. Photo courtesy of the author.

The Spatial Reality of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley – 1731-1755

The first task that must be tackled when attempting to examine the creation and use of cognitive, material and social space of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley in the interbellum years is to define the footprint of the *borderzone* during the period in question. As with the majority of this dissertation, my focus for this chapter is on the settlement by French, English and Native peoples. Yet again, as discussed in earlier chapters, I am up against a historical narrative, which indicates the project area was barely settled, if inhabited at all, prior to the British conquest of the continent. Through a review of primary source historical documents as well as the limited archaeological record, I have constructed a virtual human landscape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor during the interbellum years. The following table and map indicate the approximate locations of each historical and archaeological feature within the *borderzone* (Table 7 and Figure 48). These individual events should also be examined in concert with the discussion of cognitive division of space along the land

Table 7 Historical References to the Settlement Landscape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley during the Interbellum Period

during the Interbellum Period							
	Date	Chronicler	Notes	Source			
Α	Oct. 8,	Phineas	"we went five miles up the Hudson River [from Albany]	Calloway			
_	1749	Stevens	and lodged at a Dutch House."	1992:24			
В	June	Pehr Kalm	" About 6 miles from Albany in a countryman's	Kalm 2003			
	21,		cottage. On the west side of the river, we saw several	[1772]:111			
	1749		houses, one after another, inhabited by the				
			descendants of the first Dutch settlers, who lived by cultivating the ground."				
С	Oct. 9,	Phineas	"proceeded with our Canoes 11 miles, to a Dutch	Calloway			
C	1749	Stevens	house, rebuilt since the war"	1992:24			
D	Nov.	Phineas	"Col Lydius House, carrying place at wood creek"	Calloway			
	26,	Stevens	Cor Lydius Flouse, carrying place at wood creek	1992:26-27			
	1749	Otovono		1002.20 27			
Е	Oct.	Pehr Kalm	"I shall call the part of Canada a wilderness which lies	Kalm 1964			
_	22,	T OIII TAIIII	between the French Farms at Fort Saint-Frédéric and	[1770]:588			
	1749		Fort Nicholson on the Hudson River, where Mr. Lydius	,			
			and other Englishmen have their farms.'				
F	June	Pehr Kalm	"Fort Ann Lies on the western side of Woodcreek.	Kalm 2003			
	28-29,		But at the conclusion of the war, being burnt by the	[1772]:129-136			
	1749		English in 1711"				
G	July 1,	Pehr Kalm	Grand Marais - "It seldom happensthat the French	Kalm 2003			
	1749		go this road to Albany; for they commonly passed over	[1772]:182			
			the Lake St. Sacrament, or, as the English call it, Lake				
			George, which is the nearer and better road"				
Н	Oct.	Phineas	"This day on the side of lake St. Sacrament Wigwams	Calloway			
	14,	Stevens	of St. Francois Indians, who appeared friendly, and	1992:24			
	1749		one of my old acquaintances presented me with two				
			wild geese				
	Oct.	Phineas	"October 15, sailed 12 miles unsaid Lake-came to a	Calloway			
	15,	Stevens	wigwam of French Mohawks; they being of	1992:24			
	1749		acquaintance of our conductors, could go no further				
J	Cont	Robert	this day."	Hough 1002:61			
J	Sept.		Sawmill, bridge and barracks complex at Carillon Falls on the La Chute River between Lake Champlain and	Hough 1883:61- 62			
	9-10, 1756	Rogers	Lake George- constructed 1755	02			
	1750		Lake George- constructed 1755				
K	May	Phineas	"Came to the French settlements, 3 miles south of	Calloway			
	19,	Stevens	crown point. Lodged in a French house."	1992:32			
	1752	0.070110	Ciomi ponta 20agoa in a 1 tonom neaso.	1002.02			
L	1731-		Fort Saint-Frédéric				
	1759						
	~Sept.	Nehemiah	"Both French and Indians, were very thick by the	Calloway 1992:4			
	18,	How	waterside The fort is large, built with stone and				
	1745		line The third loft, where was the captain's chamber				
	Nov.	Phineas	"Crown Point, it is a large stone fort, I judge 12 to 14	Calloway			
	14,	Stevens	rods squarethe citadel within said fort, it is four	1992:26			
	1749		stories highThe commandant lives on the third				
			storyIn his room, I saw 110 small arms, 50 fixed with				
			bayonets, and about 50 pistols "				
M	May	Phineas	"We set off from the fort at six afternoon in a large	Calloway			
	22,	Stevens	bateau accompanied by a French officer and five	1992:32			
	1752		soldiers; came about 2 miles, and lodged on the east				
			side of the lake in a French house"				

N	Oct. 17, 1749	Pehr Kalm	"The greater part of the land about the Lake has already been donated by the King to certain families of the gentry; The land about Fort Saint-Frédéric is said to belong to the king still, although it is to a great extent inhabited."	Kalm 1964 [1770]:576
0	~Sept. 20, 1745	Nehemiah How	" soon after came to a schooner at anchor. We went on board her, and the French treated us very civilly"	Calloway 1992:5
P	Nov. 9, 1749	Phineas Stevens	"turned up a stream on the west side of the lake, about one mile, where there was an officer with near 100 men cutting ship timber. The Officer had a comfortable house-the men barracks to live in. Here we lodged."	Calloway 1992:26
Q	Oct. 15, 1749	Pehr Kalm	"in the evening we put up for the night just north of the Ausable River. This river is clearly indicated on the map, but has been given no-name. It is on the western side of the lake, right opposite Valcore Island."	Kalm 1964 [1770]:568
R	May 24, 1752	Phineas Stevens	"Brought us insight of Fort La Motte Which brought us to the South end of the above said island, in sight of a number of French houses"	Calloway 1992:33
		Pehr Kalm	"There formerly was a wooden fort, or redoubt, on the eastern side of the lake, near the watersideThe French built it to prevent the incursions of the Indians over this lake"	
S	May 24, 1752	Phineas Stevens	"We turned to the west shore we cross the bay 3 miles to a French house and lodged."	Calloway 1992:33
Т	July 20, 1749	Pehr Kalm	"When we were yet ten French miles from fort St. John, we saw some houses on the western side of the lake, in which the French had lived before the last war, and which they then abandonedthey now returned to them again. These were the first houses and settlements which we saw after we had left those about fort St. Frédéric."	Kalm 2003 [1772]: 212-213
-	July 20, 1749	Pehr Kalm	A windmill, built of stone, stands on the eastern side of the lake at a projecting piece of ground. Some Frenchman lived near it; but they left when the war broke out, and are not yet come back to it.	Kalm 2003 [1772]:213
	Oct. 14, 1749	Pehr Kalm	"We stopped for the night a little south of the windmill, still on the western side of the lake. They reckon that it is about 10 leagues [30 English miles] from this place to St. Jean"	Kalm 1964 [1770]:563
	Nov. 9, 1749	Phineas Stevens	"at the emptying of the Lake into Shamblee river there is a wind-mill, built of stone; it stands on the east side of the water, and several houses on both sides built before the war, but one inhabited at present"	Calloway 1992:26
V	1744		Missisquoi Mission chapel built in Alburgh	Haviland and Power 1994:234
W	1744- 1749		Mission at Missisquoi, Father Etienne Lauverjat in residence 1744-1748 (1749)	Day 1998 [1973]:143
X	1748 or 1749-		The Sawmill at Swanton was planned in 1745 and probably built in 1748 or early 1749.	Day 1971
Y	May 25, 1752	Phineas Stevens	"Came 15 miles, and stopped at a French house on the east side, just above an island. Below said island it is called Chamblee River. Here we refreshed ourselves"	Calloway 1992:33
Z	1730s - 1759		Fort Saint-Jean	
	Oct. 26, 1749	Phineas Stevens	" At St. John's, on Shamblee river A large Fort, mostly of timber,. At St. John's is the place where they load their vessels in order to supply crown point"	Calloway 1992:24

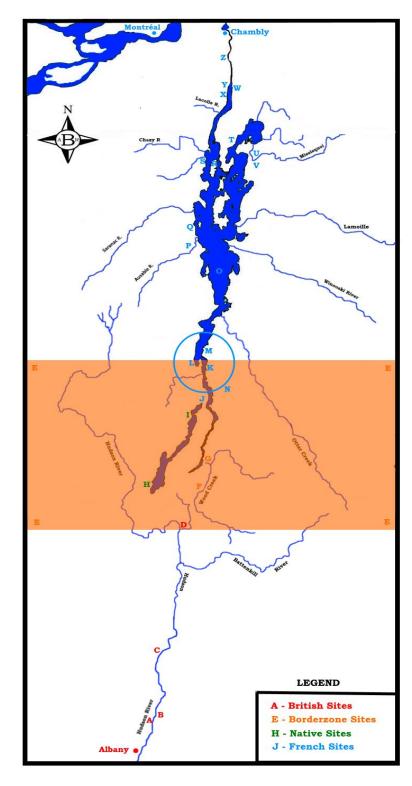


Figure 48 Compiled map showing historical and archaeological settlement sites along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley during the interbellum period.

grants discussed later in the chapter. This virtual historical landscape enables us to examine how inhabitants of the valley interacted with each of these sites [material space] to create the social space of safety indicated by French settlement in the LCRRV borderzone. Unfortunately, archaeological evidence of these communities is sparse (Appendix A). The analysis is therefore focused on the sites where archaeological evidence is present, the communities around Fort Saint-Frederic and Fort Saint-Jean. The remainder of this chapter examines these cognitive, material and social spaces by first unpacking the driving forces that created the *borderzone* during this crucial interbellum period.

Driving Principles of Cognitive Spatial Division

As discussed in previous chapters, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley had already been established as a contested *borderzone* by Native peoples, and reaffirmed by the European powers. At the dawn of the 18th century, French and English colonial powers were now well aware of the value of this waterway to the fur trade. Following the Great Peace with the Iroquois Nations in 1701, the majority of the string of French military installations constructed by the Carignan-Salières Regiment were abandoned. The military expeditions of the final decade the 17th century had proven to the French that their strategy of forts alone to protect their border with New England and New York was inadequate (Verney 1991). Moving forward, the European powers in Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley employed a different approach. This approach directly related to the geopolitical system of 18th century Europe.

When examining the creation of cognitive space, the first aspect of spatiality to be examined in 18th century New France, there are three facets of French social thought that need to be discussed. These social memes are natural borders, positional warfare, and the seigneurial system. The first of these memes, 'les limites naturelles', was

mentioned tacitly in Chapter Five during the discussion of the placement of the Carignan-Salières forts along the Richelieu River, will receive a more in-depth discussion here.

I 'les limites naturelles' and 'frontières naturelles',

The French cultural meme of natural borders is comprised of two distinct ideas with a vital linguistic and political distinctions that trace their roots to the 13th century. The term *Les limites naturelles* proper is based in the French word *limites*, which translates to boundaries. A boundary in medieval French parlance was used similarly to the way I have discussed this dissertation's use of the word border, a linear line of separation between two political jurisdictions or territories. The term *frontières naturelles* employs the French word *frontières*. In historic geographic usage, *frontières* "stood face to" an enemy. This military frontier, stood to represent imperial expansion and a zonal defense, a valuable facet of positional warfare (Febvre 1983: 208-11; Sahlins 1990:1425-1426). There can be some inherent confusion here as in 21st century Québécois parlance, *frontière* is the word used to refer to the modern American Canadian border.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, Jesuit geographers and historians diffused their philosophies of natural borders and frontiers into the classrooms of France. Jesuit teachers extolled the divine providence of 'les limites naturelles' and 'frontières naturelles', the notion that the natural or heavenly anointed limits or boundaries of a nation state were marked out on the landscape (Dainville 1940; Labbe 1646, 1652; Sahlins 1990:1425). Considering the dissemination of these theories in Jesuit education, and the propensity of New France's colonial elites to have benefited from a Jesuit education, it is most likely colonial officials were indoctrinated in these theories at a very young age (Greer 2003:46, 101).

Intriguingly, when employing the "doctrine" of natural frontiers, modern historians have largely limited their discussion of *les limites naturelles*, and *frontières naturelles* to the borders and frontiers of France proper, that of France's European holdings. These natural limits in question, or geographic boundaries of the modern country of France, include the Atlantic Ocean, the Rhine River, the Alps, and the Pyrenees mountains (Sorel 1885; Pound 1951; Sahlins 1990). The symbolic nature of *frontières naturelles* was not lost on 18th century individuals, as Louis XIV expressed on the accession of his grandson to the throne of Spain in 1700, '*ll n'y a plus de Pyrénées'* (the Pyrenees cease to exist) (Voltaire 1874:374). With this simple statement, Louis XIV is divorcing the *frontières naturelles* or adversarial aspect from the geographical southern border *Les limites naturelles*, of France. The European reliance on natural borders can further be seen as a model for state creation in the French negotiation and signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 (Lynn 2013:14). The treaty establishing many of France's borders that would be held until the German invasion at the start of World War I.

Up to and through the Second World War, the idea of France's natural frontiers was commonplace in French history textbooks and scholarly inquiry into Old Regime and Revolutionary France (Sahlins 1990: 1425). Indeed, this idea has remained commonplace in the American education system, as it was how I was taught to identify the boundaries of France in my seventh-grade French language course. Most historians of France today follow French historian Gaston Zeller in dismissing the "doctrine" of natural frontiers as a teleological reading of French history, accounting for French expansionism (Zeller 1933:305-333, 1936:115-131 as cited in Sahlins 1990:1425). This heavy critique originates in the inapplicability of the model at multiple scales. While it is generally accepted that the *Les limites naturelles* doctrine applies, the strict use of natural borders does not apply on the smaller scale, when dealing with divisions of

prefectures, duchies and seigneuries (Sahlins 1989; 28--29, 54-59). Other researchers do continue to accept the application of *les limites naturelles* on the gross level of France's territorial holdings in Europe. While it may be teleological in nature, the theory does still apply (Sahlins 1990:1425).

In his 1990 article, University of California Berkeley historian Pehr Sahlins challenged the blanket dismissal of 'les limites naturelles doctrine'. While Sahlins (1990) only addresses France's European holdings, I believe some of the points he raises are applicable to the New World. Sahlins (1990:1424) makes note of the distinction he feels is vital; that is the distinction between a model FOR and a model OF identity (emphasis mine). Sahlins further notes that he borrows this idea directly from Clifford Geertz (1973:93-94), denoting that les limites naturelles can be seen as a system of symbols acting as a **model OF** existing 17th and 18th century French ideas of the French state. As a model FOR French identity, it formed part of a constitutive myth of the state at a time when Louis XIV is credited with extoling, 'L'État, c'est moi'. Natural frontiers appeared as one element within the shifting configuration of symbols and images of an ideal unity. This unity of language, common history, and culture was expressed through the delimitation of a common landscape (Sahlins 1990:1424). Sahlins (1990) article argues that the symbolic construction of French national identity employing les limites naturelles as both model OF and model FOR state building was used as justification for 17th and 18th century French foreign policy regarding conflict with the Spanish Netherlands. Indeed, 17th and 18th century statesmen, diplomats, administrators, military officials, historians, and geographers all invoked the idea of natural frontiers as a defining feature of France's geography and history (Sorel 1885; Pound 1951; Sahlins 1990:1424).

l argue that one should see 'les limites naturelles' and especially frontières naturelles as not only applying to the models OF and FOR the French state within Europe, but also as a basis for the cognitive space identified and delimited by French people in the North American borderzone. It is a commonly cited trope that colonial entities seek to impose the most perfect form of their home nation on to the landscape of the colonized territory (see Given 2004). Furthermore, the original use of les limites naturelles doctrine is traced to Cardinal Richelieu and a simple idea that 'La politique fraçaise avait été dessinéçe par la géographie.' Cardinal Richelieu was a prominent figure in the founding of New France. His policies had a lasting effect on the colony, including the push to expand French possessions in Canada (Eccles 1990:27 – 29). While acknowledging the accepted critique of the natural limit theory, I believe that when one applies the paradigm to the French colonies in the New World, some interesting connections can be made.

II Positional Warfare

The second facet of 18th century French social thought that warrants discussion is positional warfare. Positional warfare is a military strategy that relates directly to the division of cognitive space and manifestation of the material space of settlements and thusly the social space created by the interaction between material and cognitive spaces. In my research, I have found that modern historians and archaeologists often confuse a military strategy with a military tactic. For the purpose of my discussion of the 18th century *borderzone*, I have adopted definitions outlined by French General André Beaufre (1965). *Military strategy*, broadly speaking is the planning and general direction of operations to meet an overall political or military objective. *Tactics*, are short-term decisions employed within a larger military strategy. Tactics include movement of troops.

deployment of certain weapons on the field of battle, and posture taken by troops in battle i.e. guerrilla warfare.

The strategy of positional warfare, encompasses the concepts of establishing a military post, its supply, maintenance, and development of settlement around said installation (Fisher and Huey 2013: 186; Lynn 2013:72). Positional warfare was deeply embedded in the ideology of 17th century European society, being a holdover from the Middle Ages. Positions, or placements of fortifications, were largely influenced by the previously discussed theories of *limites naturelles*, and *frontières naturelles*. Within this European theory of cognitive spatial reality, fortifications were vehicles to augment the raw material space of the borderzone. European Kings, including Louis XIV and Louis XV, preferred the strategy of positional warfare, largely due to the garrisoning of forts being cheaper and safer than supporting large, trained field armies (Vauban 1968; Fisher and Huey 2013:186). Especially attractive to Louis XIV was that fortresses and sieges could be commanded at a great distance by an "armchair warrior", a position he greatly enjoyed from within his *Guerue de cabinet* (Lynn 2013:71).

During the 18th century, positional warfare was the cornerstone of French foreign policy. Fortresses, in both Europe and North America, anchored cognitive space in material space, acting as stone-faced sentinels, guarding the land of their masters and denying it to his enemies. Implied in this statement of a fortresses' ability to bar a path to the enemy, was its promise to provide an open path to friendly forces (Lynn 2013:71-72). Forts at strategic positions such as rapids and mountain passes provided cognitive and social spaces of safety. Fortresses not only guarded supply routes, they also served as storehouses, protecting the Royal magazines of provisions required to sustain French troops and civilians (Lynn 2013:71-72).

European reliance on positional warfare reached its zenith during the late 17th and early 18th centuries due largely to the great French military engineer Sebastian le Prestre de Vauban (Vauban 1968; Bloomfield 1971; Hanson 1972; Lynn 2013: 73). The son of a lesser French noble family, Vauban enjoyed a long military career and was personally responsible for drafting plans for over 160 new forts and for overseeing, in whole or in part, the strengthening of over 140 more fortified positions (Hansen 1972:7; Lynn 2013:72). He was no great warrior, relishing neither conquest nor combat, yet he lends his name to a defensive strategy for fort construction, and personifies 18th century French desire for a strong fortified border system (Lynn 2013:72).

While the Vauban style of construction became synonymous with 18th century fortification, Vauban himself provided little independent invention to this defensive system. Instead, Vauban compiled and codified various 17th century practices into a single plan of attack and defense (Hansen 1972:7). Vauban published several treatises on the design of fortresses that could withstand bombardment by 17th and 18th century heavy artillery. The Vauban style of architecture can be boiled down to three principles of fortification. The first principle was borrowed from 17th century Italian architecture and mandated that a fortification consisted of a low, thick-wall surrounded by a deep ditch (Duffy 2006:34, 47; Lynn 2013:73). The oblique angles of defensive walls rising-up from the earth would resist destructive force of round shot and provide a site for defensive artillery to keep attackers at a distance (Hanson 1972:7; Duffy 2006:34; Lynn 2013:73). The second principle mandated that the fortification included angled bastions and outer works. The angled approaches allowed defenders to sweep the defensive ditches in front of any wall with both musket and cannon fire to deny attackers any shelter. Previous round or square bastions had allowed dead zones where defending fire could not reach attackers (Duffy 2006; Lynn 2013:73) (Figures 49 and 50). This 'no dead zone' design required specific calculations of complex geometry in the drawing and construction of both the bastions and ditches (Duffy 2006:34, 42 – 50, 114). The third and final characteristic of the Vauban artillery fortresses was the contouring of surrounding terrain to expose attackers to the maximum possible volume of defending fire (Lynn 2013:73). The most notable facet of defense was the profile of the fort wall and ditches, which should be viewed as one construction as opposed to two separate entities (Figures 49 and 50).

By surrounding the fort with a low ramp of earth, called a *glacis*, attacking infantry were offered no cover. Perhaps more importantly, all but the most upper portion of the low fort walls were shielded from artillery fire (Hansen 1972:7). The overall result of all Vauban's efforts was the construction of an artificial battlefield, a material space for combat with the best possible advantage provided to the defender.

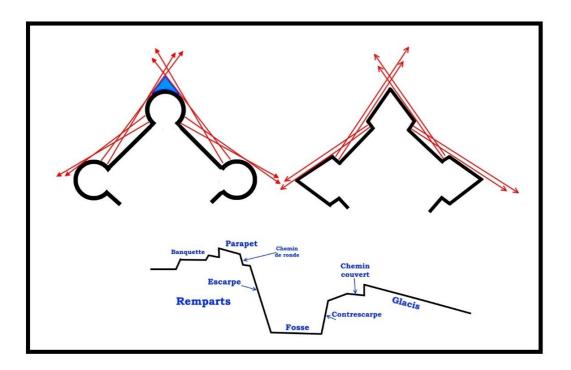
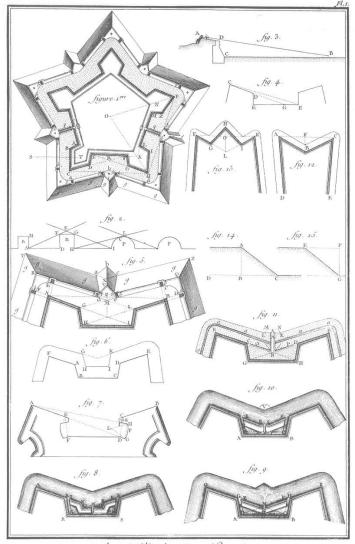


Figure 49 Composite image showing Above: Vauban's second principle of angular bastions to remove 'dead zones' (shown in blue) where an attacking enemy could seek refuge from direct fire. Below: a cross section of a fortification ditch as prescribed by Vauban.



Art Militaire, Fortification.

Figure 50 A plate from the engraving by Robert Bénard included in the 1762 publication of "Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers" First & Folio Edition by Denis Diderot & Jean le Rond d'Alembert. Accessed online at http://www.elke-rehder.de/Antiquariat/arts-militaires.htm

In its European manifestation, the act of establishing a fortified position and holding it forced the opposing army to perform a costly siege (Lynn 2013:74). Generally, in North America, the topography, or raw material space, and expansive *borderzone* presented obstacles to establishing a quality military supply chain necessary to hold siege. Thick forests and extended supply lines prevented large armies and heavy

pieces of field artillery from playing an active role in warfare. In the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, the French used their strengths in military engineering to establish impressive stone Vauban style forts. Additionally, the ease of supply chain management, from Montréal or Chambly to Saint-Jean and down the waterway to the southern end of Lake Champlain, was a cornerstone of their manifestation of positional warfare. As will be discussed more fully at the end of the chapter, the French also relied on the inability of the British to navigate large armies and heavy siege arms through the forests and portages of the Hudson Valley, as a major aspect of their positional warfare strategy.

III The Seigneurial System

In the 18th century, the French feudal system had been effectively transported to New France (Harris 1966:3; Grenier 2005, 2007, 2012; Senécal 2009; Gagne 2016). The seigneurial system, as feudalism was known in New France, was the system of land division by which the King would grant a seigneur (or lord) a tract of land, known as a seigneury. At an early stage in the colonization of Canada, the St. Lawrence Valley had been divided into these large tract seigneuries. The Crown typically granted lands to nobles, ecclesiastical bodies or other favored individuals (Greer 2003:37). Each seigneury included several kilometers of waterfront property. Seigneuries were divided by parallel boundary lines running from the river or other waterfront into the depths of the forest (Greer 2003:37). The seigneurs in turn would grant smaller tracts of land, known as rotures, to their tenants (Harris 1966; Senécal 2009: 29). The standard shape for a roture was an elongated rectangle, with an average width to length ratio of 1 to 10. The typical pattern of which these rotures were laid out was known as a rang, where the narrow face of each rotures was aligned with a waterway to give each farmers family access to the water 'road' (Senécal 2009: 29). Later, as the colony expanded, a second

tier of *rotures* would be added. The *rotures* in the second tier would not have access to the waterfront, a road would be created to separate the first and second tiers as well as facilitate transport for farmers in the second tier (Harris 1966). Due to its shape, division of land is often referred to colloquially as long-lot agriculture.

Each seigneur owed the Crown taxes on the seigneury; in turn, the seigneur collected rent from his tenants (Greer 2003:37 – 38). Upon accepting the seigneury, the Seigneur accepted responsibility for recruiting settlers and providing vital infrastructure, such as a gristmill and chapel (Harris 1966:112; Senécal 2009: 29-30). In France, the settler tenants would be known as *censitaire*; in New France however, tenants preferred the term *habitant*. The word *habitant* appeared in the colonies earliest years, as a grassroots response on the part of the Canadian settlers due to their sensitivity to the pejorative appellation *censitaire*, a French term synonymous with peasant (Harris 1966: viii; Eccles 1990 60-61). Indeed, seigneurs in neither France nor New France owned the tenants residing on their lands, they were not serfs in the medieval fashion (Greer 2003:40). Personally free, yet subject to economic exploitation, *habitants* cleared and farmed their *rotures* blanketed in their economic self-sufficiency, and physically self-contained households (Harris 1966: viii; Greer 2003:34 – 40). This self-affirming identifier *habitant* persists in the nickname given to the Montréal Canadiens hockey team, the *Habs*.

At the dawn of the 17th century, when settlement of New France began in earnest, the seigneurial system was a well-established system of *noblesse* controlled spatial division in France. The axiom central to French feudalism, "no land without a seigneur," formed the basis for the system of land distribution in New France (Harris 1966:3). Examining the cognitive and subsequent material division of space along the lines of division between seigneuries, it is clear the government of France sought to

structure property relations as to foster the emergence of a landed elite (Greer 2003:37). By dividing property in the same manner it was in France, colonial elite endeavored to keep the habitant in their place as settlers and the 'worker bees' of the colonial machine.

Spatial Division of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley in the mid-18th century

Regional Analysis

The limited historical scholarship of French involvement in the Champlain Valley is largely focused on military action (Castongauy 1975; Pell 1990 [1935]; Steele 1990; Charbonneau 1994; Leckie 1999; Chartrand 2000, 2013; Coffin et al.2005; Nester2008; Huey 2009, 2010; Palmer 2009; Bellico 2010; Laramie 2012a, 2012b; Fisher and Huey 2013; Travers 2015; Senécal 2016 among others). The agricultural settlement of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley by the French colonists is addressed in a few select sources (Coolidge 1999 [1934]; Peebles et al. 2009; Gagne 2016). Again, these sources almost exclusively address the settlement directly around Fort Saint-Frédéric. While the flashy nature of military history and archaeology have drawn a great deal of attention, it is the discussion of cognitive space created by settlement and civilian agriculture that is the unsung story of the *borderzone*.

The metanarrative of French colonial history in northern Vermont and New York is that the area was never truly settled, and therefore French involvement was largely ephemeral and relegated to military action during the colonial wars. As has been stated, this dissertation argues contrary to the point above. Clearly, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was not settled by the French to the same extent that the St. Lawrence, but there were several small thriving communities. Prior to settlement

however, the cognitive space of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley had to be divided.

Settlement would not have been possible without a scope of cognitive space related directly to land division. In previous chapters, I have addressed cognitive space through analysis of maps discerning the separation of colonies. The remainder of this section on spatial division at the regional level is addressed through the cognitive space division of land claims set out by the Treaty of Utrecht, the division of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley into seigneuries and English land grants, one man's observation of cognitive space between colonies referring directly to *Les Limite Naturelles* and *frontières naturelles* cultural memes, and, finally, the limited role traditional archaeological excavation has played in understanding the division of the valley.

The Treaty of Utrecht

France and England signed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1711, ending the War of Spanish Succession (Farrell 1996:617). The document attempted to settle many of the property and boundary disputes in both Europe and the "New World", with varying results. In Europe, the French and Spanish Crowns remained separate and Spain granted Gibraltar and Minorca to Britain. In the New World, France granted Hudson Bay, Acadia (the coast of Maine) and the majority of Newfoundland to England (Farrell 1996:617). France retained Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island (Childress 1996:756). In Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, boundaries were not so clear-cut (Miguelon 2010).

The major outcome of this treaty directly relevant to my project area, is that France formally recognized the Iroquois Nation as "subjects" of Britain (Farrell 1996:617). As the name of the treaty indicates, negotiations took place in Utrecht, a province in what was

then the Dutch Republic of Netherland. Not surprisingly, and in true Eurocentric fashion, while the Iroquois were a subject of discussion they were not represented at the Treaty negotiations.

While the recognition of the Iroquois as under British control implies the Iroquois homeland as British territory, boundaries in the Lake Champlain region were vaguely drawn and poorly understood by all signatories (Farrell 1996:617; Miquelon 2010). Specifically, Article 15 of the treaty directly relates to the division of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley along ethnic lines, French, English and Iroquois. This is a departure from colonial treaties which generally draw borders along longitudinal lines or geographic or landmark related lines. At the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, French and English settlements in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River - Hudson River Corridor remained far apart, while land claims overlapped (Nester 2008:29).

The ambiguity of defining imperial borders along ethnic lines of claimed territory has no doubt lead to erroneous statements made by subsequent researchers. The historical narrative of French involvement in the Lake Champlain Valley indicates that the Treaty of Utrecht delineated the border English territory and New France was settled upon as Split Rock, in what is now Westport, New York (Coolidge 1999 [1938]: 81; Peebles et al. 2009; Bellico 2010:22; Fisher and Huey 2013:177). Each of these sources, among others, indicate that while the boundary was set at Split Rock, the French never accepted this boundary. The erroneous placement of the border between New France and New England at Split Rock is no doubt a product of Mohawks claimed territory 'from Regioghne to Oswedgatche' (Lounsbury 1960:60 – 61). As discussed in Chapter Four, Lounsbury (1960) cited Beauchamp (1983) who relies on Sir William Johnston's delineation of Mohawk territory in the 1750s.

University of Saskatchewan emeritus professor of history Dale Miquelon published an in-depth examination of Article 15 in the summer 2010 issue of William and Mary Quarterly. Miquelon's (2010) analysis of the article traces its evolution through six different iterations before the final wording was determined. The initial British proposal was centered on trade and the subsequent borders created, stating,

'the subjects of France inhabitants of Canadie, and others, will abstain in future from porting the reciprocal trade between the subjects of Great Britain, and the natives of the Countries of America as also from troubling, the five Nations, or Indian Cantons, or others, who were under obedience to, or in friendship to Great Britain' (Miquelon 2010:461, 483).

While the British seemed concerned with trade in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor, Miquelon asserts that in the initial French plan, the North American interior remains an area of uncertain mercantilist value as there was, "no political conceptualization of the New York frontier...with its many nations and conflicting interests" (Miquelon 2010:469). Yet, once the question had been raised, French plenipotentiaries began to be concerned with trade and boundaries that would be drawn in the valley, recording in their notes that, 'we find a several difficulties in accepting all the names of places...' necessary to draw a boundary between the separate spheres of influence British and French (Miquelon 2010:469-470).

In the evolution of Article 15, both parties offered specific geographic references to where a boundary should exist between British and French holdings in North America, these boundaries were never agreed upon (Miquelon 2010:469) Neither party could let the boundary negotiations over French and British spheres of influence drag on, and therefore endanger peace (Miquelon 2010:470). The final text of Article 15 reads,

"the inhabitants of Canada and other subjects of France will not molest in future the five Nations or cantons of Indians subject to Great Britain, nor the other nations of America friends to that crown. In like manner the subjects of Great Britain will behave peacefully toward the American subjects or friends of France. And both sides will enjoy a full liberty to maintain relations for the good of trade, such that

with the same liberty the inhabitants of these nations will be able to visit the English and French colonies for the reciprocal advantage of trade with me there any molestation nor obstruction from one side or the other. In addition the commissioners will determine exactly and clearly those who will be or ought to be considered subjects and friends of Great Britain or France".

The ultimate resolution is that the ambiguity of boundaries obfuscated in Article 15 allowed the multi-ethnic borderzone of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley to continue. The French could legally expand yet again, moving toward the southern boundary of New France claimed in the 17th century. The creation of a treaty is both a model of and model for the cognitive space of a particular area. Diplomats and signatories entered treaty negotiation with specific ideas on the territories that they wished to retain for their own Crown. By purposely avoiding the physical drawing of border lines on a map, the French had extended cognitive space of New France to include all of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. At the document signing in 1713 the social space negotiated between French habitants and the material space of New France, did not yet include Lake Champlain. The initial step represented by the treaty enabled the cognitive, and later material, division of the valley into seigneuries, paving the way for resource extraction and settlement. When fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure was established, the British erroneously believed this post was in violation of the 1713 treaty (Peebles et al. 2009:25, Laramie 2012:144). The ambassador to Versailles from the Court of St. James, the Earl of Waldegrave, filed a formal complaint, calling for the removal of the fort immediately (Laramie 2012:144). These claims were legally unfounded and ignored by the French Crown (Peebles 2009:25; Laramie 2012:144; Fisher and Huey 2013). The commission to determine the exact boundaries mentioned in Article 15 was not established until after the 1748 Aix-la-Chapelle treaty, which marked the end of the War of Austrian Succession. English and French commissioners sat deadlocked over the border for years, asserting each of these claims were unacceptable. These claims would not be resolved until the conclusion of the Seven Years War (Nester 2008:30).

Seigneuries and Land Grants:

The Cognitive and Material Space of the Borderzone

The early days of the 18th century saw the division of the Lake Champlain

Richelieu River Valley with the creation of seigneuries (Harris 1966; Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 85-86). As was discussed initially in Chapter Five, and above, the most expedient and efficient way to express cognitive space is with a stroke of a pen upon a map. On 20 May,1676, the King Louis XIV signed and ordinance pertaining to seigneuries along the St. Lawrence, the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain. The first land grants along the Richelieu were made in 1694. These initial grants were largely symbolic, lacked any settlement, and were subsequently reclaimed by the Crown by ordinance of 6 July 1711 (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 87). It was not until after the ambiguous concession of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley to New France in Article 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht, as discussed above, that the division of seigneuries and settlement of the Lake Champlain Valley began. The lands along Lake Champlain were divided into seigneuries through the interbellum period and division was complete by the outbreak of the Seven Years War (Coolidge 1999[1934]: 85 – 88) (Figure 51).

The construction the wooden *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* in 1731 and its subsequent replacement by the stone *Fort Saint-Frédéric* in 1733 preceded the concession and settlement of seigneuries along Lake Champlain (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 88). Between 1733 and 1737 the shoreline of Lake Champlain was divided into seigneuries granted to colonial elite including the Intendant Hocquart, and decorated French Marine officer Mr. Paul Louis d'Asmard esquire, Seigneur de Lusignan. De Lusignan was granted the seigneury of Missisquoi while he was serving as the Commandant of Fort St. Joseph, located a thousand miles away in the modern state of

Michigan (Pare and Quaife 1926:216). In 1741, Beauharois and Hocquart were forced to promulgate the King's ordinance of 6 July, 1711 and restore 16 seigneuries spread along the Richelieu and Lake Champlain to the King on the grounds of the failure of the grantees to have developed the lands (Harris 1966:36; Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 90). After filing protests with the Crown regarding the inability to locate *habitants* willing to clear and farm the land, many seigneuries were re-granted to their original seigneurs, or other individuals interested in settling the territory (Harris 1966:38 Peebles et al. 2009:29-30).

By revoking seigneuries and re-granting them, there is no doubt the French colonial elite, acting under the auspices of the Crown, valued the social space created by settlement within the material space of Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. While 18th century agents did not use these terms of cognitive, material, and social space, they clearly valued the construction of settlements and their relation to positional warfare along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River *borderzone*. 'Boots on the ground' provided labor necessary to create capital for the colony and military might in the form of settler militias.

I argue the social space created by the manipulation of the material landscape and settlement is what creates the safe space of the colony. While the material remains of logging and farming have long since faded away, cultivation of arable land in the French seigneurial style of long lot agriculture is still visible the modern satellite imagery (Figures 52 and 53). While concrete evidence in terms of archaeologically recovered materials are lacking, the manipulation of the material space of the landscape into *rotures* is visible on lands that were once the Hocquart, Beaujeu and Livaudiére seigneuries 250+ years after their *habitant* were forced from the valley in 1759.

The southern end of the project area was also divided through the granting of land (Figure 51). The issuance of land grants in New England took a slightly different

form. The feudal system had been abolished in England with the passage of *The Tenures Abolition Act 1660* (Perrins 2000). The English still issued land grants in the colonies to single proprietary owners (Greer 2003:39). Tracts of land at the southern extent of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley *borderzone* had indeed been granted first by the Dutch and later by the English administrators of the colony of New York (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 82-85). These grants extended the 17th century border between the colonies at the headwaters of the Hudson discussed in Chapter Four (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 14-15). Beginning in the late 17th century, Dutch - English merchants began to build trading posts at junctions of waterways such as Schuylerville where the Battenkill and Hudson meet, on the Saratoga Patent. Most notably, numerous iterations of the fort and trading post were located at 'the great carrying place', the location is now known as Fort Edward, New York (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 83; Starbuck 2004:13).

"The great carrying place", now known as Fort Edward, New York is one of the persistent places the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley *borderzone*. The first recorded military expedition through the area was that led by Gen. Fitz John Winthrop in 1690. The same expedition would construct the first English Fort at Crown Point (Starbuck 2004: xii). In 1709, a General Francis Nicholson ordered the construction of the first fort at the great carrying place (Starbuck 2004: xii). Fort Nicholson, a simple stockade erected protect storehouses and log huts and to facilitate the construction of a road to Fort Ann, was built in 1711 (Starbuck 2004:13). Fort Nicholson was then abandoned shortly after the destruction of Fort Ann (Starbuck 2004: xii; McCarty 2013). The next iteration of a fortified position at the site was constructed by John Henry Lydius, an Albany fur trader of Dutch decent (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 83 – 84; Calloway 1990:137; Bielinski 2007; McCarthy 2013).

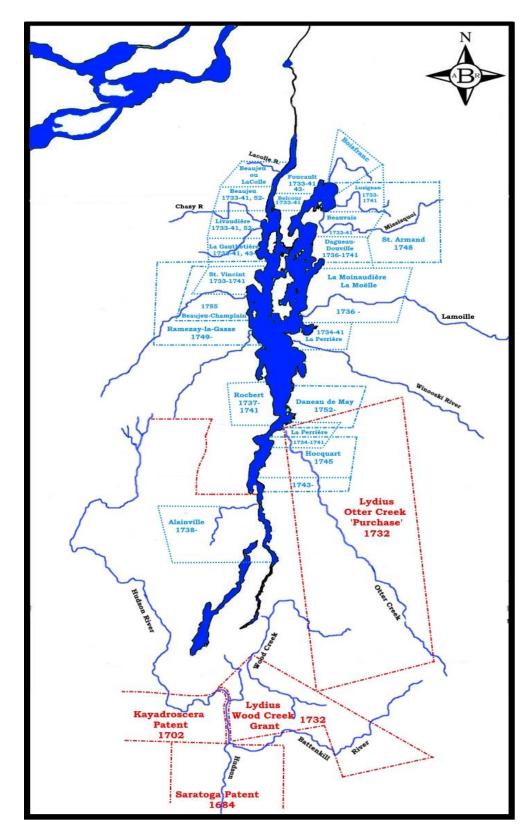


Figure 51 Composite map the author created based on numerous examples seen in Coolidge 1999[1938], Coolidge's Notes in the collections of the Vermont Historical Society.

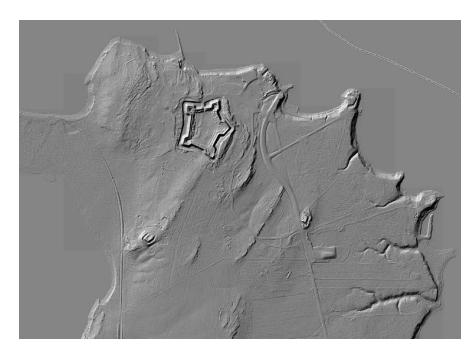


Figure 52 LiDAR image of Crown Point, NY. The large fort feature visible is the British fort at Crown Point, the smaller French fort is seen northeast of the British. The signatures of long lot agriculture are visible in the bottom right of the photo. LiDAR image courtesy of Vermont Agency of Transportation.

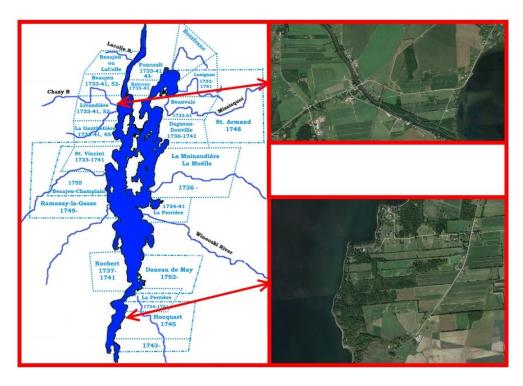


Figure 53 Composite figure of Seigneurie map and Google Earth images showing long lot signatures in Panton, VT and Coopersville, NY.

In 1731, Lydius constructed a stockade surrounding a trading house at the 'great carrying place'. He claimed the land under title granted to the Rev. Dellius of Albany in 1696, his maternal uncle (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 84; Starbuck 2004:13). Lydius's motives were of an economic and not military in nature. The placement of his trading post at the site was not only due to its location at the confluence of two rivers, but also its strategic position in existing trade routes between the English and French trading centers at Albany and Montréal respectively, and almost exactly halfway between the Albany and Fort Saint-Frédéric (Calloway 1990:137; Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 84). Illegal trade traffic had been traveling through the region for some time. English allied Mohawk had been north traveling over the portage at the 'great carrying place' to meet French fur buyers at the head of Lake Champlain, while Abenaki from St. Francis also engaged in the flourishing trade between Montréal and Albany (Calloway 1990:137; Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 83-84). Lydius was no stranger to trade in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor, having intimate knowledge of both Native and French customs (Coolidge 1999) [1934]: 84). He had originally settled in Montréal in the late 1720s, marrying a woman of mixed French and Native decent in 1729 (Bielinski 2007). After years of successful trade between Albany and Montréal, his aggressive trading policies and free movement in the underpopulated areas of New France and through the borderzone drew suspicion from colonial authorities. He was subsequently accused of espionage and exiled from New France in 1730, as a result of his espionage charge or the comte de Maupras's merchant immigration ban (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 84; Prichard 2004:191-193; Bielinski 2007).

In the years of relative peace between 1731 and 1744, Lydius's trade interests flourished in the *borderzone*. In 1732, English authorities granted him the so-called 'Wood Creek Tract', including the land on which he established his trading post

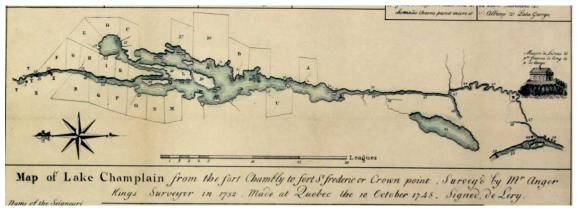
(Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 84). 'Fort Lydius' would expand throughout his tenure to include a sawmill, storehouses and a number of cabins for his employees (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 84). A sketch of the palisaded storehouse and icons representing the remainder of the complex were included in a survey made by a Frenchman named Anger in 1732 (McCarthy 2013) (Figure 54).

His relationship with local Native groups and prosperous trade led to two members of the Caughnawaga Nation making a public offer to Massachusetts Governor Jonathan Belcher that Lydius should take charge of a large grant around the Otter Creek, discharging the Native people of their debt to him. That same year Lydius made a dubious claim that he had been granted the 'Otter Creek Purchase' by the Mohawk in exchange for teaching them to read 'and other services'. As the French had constructed Fort Saint-Frédéric contemporaneously, and the New York authorities refused to recognize Lydius's title to the 'Otter Creek Purchase', he made no attempt to settle the area (Calloway 1990:137; Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 84; Bielinski 2007).

Lydius was not a full-time resident of his trading post complex, instead choosing to winter at his family home in Albany. He was in Albany in November 1745, when a group of French and French allied warriors attacked and burned his upper Hudson Valley settlement (Calloway 1990:137; Bielinski 2007). After the fall of Fort Lydius, the primary focus of edifices at 'the great carrying place' returned to military pursuits. General George Lyman began construction of the next post in September 1755. When Gen. Sir William Johnson arrived on site a month later the name of Fort Lyman was changed to Fort Edward, in honor of Edward Augustus, Duke of York and Albany. Fort Edward was the first Vauban style fortification built at the site, and would remain the primary stronghold of British military in the Hudson River Lake Champlain Richelieu

River Corridor throughout the Seven Years War (Gossman 1996:190; Murphy 1996:362; Starbuck 2004: xii, 13).

The overlapping French and British claims of the southern end of the Lake
Champlain Richelieu Hudson River Valley were a reoccurring theme. The 17th century
claims outlined in Chapter Five, followed by the ambiguities of the Treaty of Utrecht, and
overlapping land grants, resulted in overlapping cognitive spaces seen in the
cartography as well. These conflicts in cognitive spaces are the root of the contested



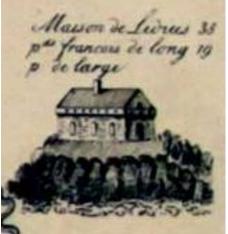


Figure 54 Top: Graphic section of the Map of Lake Champlain by Mr. Anger, Kings Surveyor in 1732, made at Quebec the 10 October 1748, Signed De Lery- Left: Enlargement of the portion of the map showing 'Maison Lydius', or Fort Lydius.

borderzone space. During the interbellum period, the division of the LCRRV borderzone moved from the realm of cognitive space into the realms of

material and social space. This first social space interaction is seen in the *les limites* naturelles border between Native peoples and the French.

Kalm's Observations of the les limites naturelles and frontières naturelles
As can be ascertained from an analysis of the seigneurial concession map, 'les
limites naturelles' did not play a direct role in the division of seigneuries along the Lake
Champlain Richelieu River Valley. Seigneurie lines were drawn irrespective of rivers,
mountain ranges, etc. Disregard for natural borders at the seigneury level seems to
coincide with Zeller's (1933:305-333, 1936:115-131) arguments regarding the
inapplicability of les limites naturelles on a small scale. However, the division of
cognitive, material, and social spaces between New England and New France was
indeed well identified by natural limits, by the middle decades of the 18th century. On his
travels through the valley, both northward and southward, Kalm makes note of the
'natural' division of space.

"On both sides of the lake are high chains of mountains, with the difference which I have before observed, that on the eastern shore is a low piece of ground covered with vast forest, extending between 12 and 18 miles, after which the mountains began; and the country behind them belongs to New England. This chain consists of high mountains which are to be considered as the boundary between the French and English possessions in this part of North America." (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 210)

"On the eastern side of Lake are seen in the distance high mountains which separate Canada from New England. – The Abenaki Indians who wander about in these woods on the border are the Englishman's worst enemy." (Kalm 1964 [1770]:575)

In the two passages above Kalm makes mention of three facets of the landscape, namely the lake, forest, and the mountains, all of which relate directly to the creation of boundaries. The lake (Lake Champlain Richelieu River Waterway) is implied to be the center of the section of New France, the vital main artery on which the region adheres. The mountains are an active feature of '*les limites naturelles*' in the creation of the cognitive space of New France in the Lake Champlain Valley. Further reading of 17th century French texts offer indications of the intrinsic value of mountains in the *les limites naturelles* model for nation building. The Jesuit Father Jean Francois's *Science of*

Geography (1652), stresses how mountains functioned "as very strong walls and ramparts between kingdoms, sufficient to stop the progress of a conqueror and the armies of an enemy..."

Additionally, within the *frontières naturelles* border between New England and New France along the Green Mountains described by Kalm, is an inherent *les limites naturelles* between the French and their Abenaki allies, as well as a *frontières naturelles* between New England and the Abenaki. These overlapping borders create a *borderzone* in the forests of the Green Mountains. Kalm's description of this *borderzone* marks the intersection between French, English, and Abenaki spatiality, while also giving deference to the Abenaki control of the *borderzone* region. Abenaki control of this Green Mountain *borderzone* is further supported by archaeological toponymic evidence discussed in Chapter Four.

The Abenaki presence in the Green Mountain *borderzone* between New England and New France gave the French an added level of safety related to the spaces between themselves and the British colonies. Not only were New France and New England separated by mountains 'strong walls and ramparts between' by recognizing that their Abenaki allies were also situated between themselves and their *frontières naturelles* with the British, the French could add to their cognitive space of safety. The Abenaki-controlled Green Mountains provided a border to New France guarded by 'the Englishman's worst enemy' (Kalm 1964 [1770]: 575). Indeed, the French seems to acquiesce begrudgingly to a level of Abenaki activity that the French considered uncouth at best. The French at Fort Saint-Frédéric saw a great number of Abenaki-captured English travel through on their way to Abenaki villages on the St. Lawrence. This movement of prisoners took place in the interbellum years when the English and French were not technically at war (Calloway 1992). Numerous captive narratives indicate how

the French were complacent in this movement of prisoners. Yet, the soldiers, priests and civilians alike at Fort Saint-Frédéric are noted for being hospitable, offering food, clothing accommodations and, when necessary, physical protection to English captives and non-French European travelers (Kalm 1964 [1770]: 543, 579; 2003[1772]:209; Calloway 1992: 4-5, 24).

While the above argument gives credence to and supports the application of *les limites naturelles* in the cognitive and therefore social spatial division of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, one cannot discount the ease of communication offered by the limiting the colonies holdings with visible landmarks. The purpose of Pehr Kalm's travel journal is to communicate his experiences in North America. Offering geographic landmarks to denote Imperial holdings offers an ease of communication to both the reader in Europe, as well as anyone utilizing Kalm's journal as a guide to their own travels in North America. One could argue that Kalm's description of, 'high mountains" as the boundary between French and English holdings in North America are analogous to someone describing the United States as occupying the space between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The themes of the geological and geographic separation of territory between New France and New England has also been cited as one of the determining factors in the eventual schism of British North America into Canada and the United States (Hornsby 2005).

Regional Historical Archaeology

Prior to this dissertation, there has been no effort to create a cross-border analysis of both French and British colonial archaeology of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor. As has been discussed previously, an analysis of regional history and archaeology irrespective of the modern border has not been completed largely due to the academic and linguistic (Francophone or Anglophone) isolationism

along the 45th parallel. Historians have completed limited regional analyses, on their respective sides of the modern US Canadian border. American sources have included efforts by Bellico (2010), Coolidge (1999 [1934]), Laramie (2012a), among many others. While these historical sources make an effort at regionality, they offer only a tacit discussion of events that take place north of the border. Additionally, they overwhelmingly refer to the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor, simply as the Hudson - Lake Champlain Corridor. Intriguingly however, the Hudson - Lake Champlain Corridor seems to terminate in Montréal without any discussion of the 85+ kilometers and numerous archaeological sites and historical events extent between the modern US-Canadian border and the Old Port of Montréal. Unfortunately, the situation is similar when looking south from Canada. Historical syntheses of this region are less common on the Canadian side of the border. One exception is a comprehensive guide book of contact through 19th century history of the Richelieu River Valley compiled by Québec historian André Charbonneau (Charbonneau et al. 2012). Charbonneau's (2012) work was funded by Parks Canada however, and therefore truly bounded by modern borders. While not a published source for dissemination, the interpretive panels recently overhauled at the Fort Saint-Jean Museum, on the grounds of the Royal Military College-Saint-Jean, do tie regional history together across the modern border by showcasing the role of Fort Saint-Jean itself in 18th century borderzone interactions. But this is an exception to the current approach to interpretation of the borderzone by both provincial and federal heritage programs in Canada.

Within the field of North American historical archaeology, there is a movement to examine French colonial involvement in the New World irrespective of the modern US Canadian border, seen, most notably, in the work of Gregory Waselkov beginning in the 1990s (1997). Waselkov's reach across the border has continued through his

partnership with Laval University's Marcel Moussette, which has culminated in the publication of their, *Archéologie de l'Amérique Coloniale Française (2013)*, a comprehensive inventory of French colonial archaeological sites in both modern countries of United States and Canada. Intriguingly, this book was first scheduled to be published in English and French and while a Québec press has produced the publication, no American press has yet published the English language version.

The most notable archaeological work with a focus of analyzing the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor on the regional level is David Starbuck's monograph, The Great War Path: British Military sites from Albany to Crown Point (1999). While Starbuck does provide an interesting overview of 18th century British sites along southern end of the Lake Champlain Corridor, he fails to include the five British military sites directly across the border in Québec which, if added to Starbuck's work, would comprise a real regional synthesis. Starbuck is not alone in allowing the border to be a barrier to synthesis. Former Vermont state archaeologist Giovanna Peebles led a team to produce a popular publication on the role of the French in the Lake Champlain Valley to mark the quadricentennial of Samuel de Champlain's arrival in Vermont (Peebles et al. 2009). Rather than providing an overview of all French involvement along the Lake Champlain Corridor, Peebles and her team concentrated solely on Chimney Point, VT, the location of the Hocquart seigneury associated with Fort Saint-Frédéric. Peebles offers little in terms of comparing the history and archaeology of Chimney Point area to analogous sites in Canada. Other volumes also perpetuate the lack of internationalism. The 2013 edited volume, the Archaeology of French and Indian War Frontier Forts, examines the history and archaeology of 11 Seven Years War period fortifications, but only one is situated on territory currently claimed by the Nation of Canada. Not

surprisingly, this installation, Fort Frontenac is in Ontario, an Anglophone province (Babits and Gandulla 2013).

The archaeology of French colonial settlement in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley on the southern side of the modern US Canadian border has been limited. This is no doubt due to a bias historical narrative, as was discussed above (Appendix A). The exception to this rule revolves around the remains of Fort Saint-Frédéric and its predecessor fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure. The archaeological remains of each of these installations lies within a state park and is therefore protected. Fort Saint-Frédéric within the New York Crown Point State Historic Site, and fort de pieux à Pointeà-la-Chevelure lies within the Vermont Chimney Point State Historic Site. Chimney Point State Historic site also houses the Vermont Museum of French and Native American Culture. Archaeological work in both parks has been primarily focused on the military installations (Fisher 1991; Feister 1999; Fisher and Huey 2013). The exception is one documented effort to recover the remains of French settlement on the east (Vermont) shore of Lake Champlain near fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure on the grounds of the DAR State Park in West Addison, Vermont (Peebles et al. 2009). This effort was unsuccessful (Peebles et al. 2009:45). The archaeology undertaken on the New York side of the Lake has enjoyed a more robust publication record (Hamilton 1970, Feister 1984, 1999; Fisher 1985, 1991, 1995; Huey 2009, 2010). The only archaeology addressing largely civilian habitation is that of Paul Huey's (2009, 2010) investigation of the British/French village south of Fort Saint-Frédéric. The one major archaeological investigation of fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure was undertaken as a section 106 permit clearing project for the reconstruction of the Champlain Bridge. No report has yet been published on this excavation. A recent article appeared in the Journal of Vermont

History by noted French historian of the region, and emeritus University of Vermont literature professor Andre Senécal (2016). The article examines the original construction and subsequent destruction of *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure*. Senécal (2016: 121, 125, 128-129) makes numerous erroneous statements regarding the archaeology of the site. These mistaken statements are not surprising, considering the archaeology is yet unpublished.

Archaeology of the French colonial period in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley on the north side of the modern United States Canadian border has been much more developed (Beaudet and Cloutier 1983; Piédalue 1983; Cloutier 2011; Bernier 2011, 2013; Beaupré 2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2016; Vincell 2016 among others). The existence of a strong Québec nationalist identity has lent a great deal of support to those undertaking the archaeology of the French past in Canada and Québec specifically. These references do not often cite sources from the United States.

Analyzing the Space of the Borderzone at the Site Level

Given the relative dearth of archaeological evidence for the 18th century civilian French landscape mentioned above, the in-depth archaeological examination of specific sites during this period is driven by archaeological data available. The primary archaeological districts that I will employ to discuss spatiality in the 18th century borderzone are the fort/village complex at Crown Point, NY and Chimney Point, VT, and the archaeological remains of the 1730s-1757 supply depot at Fort Saint-Jean. I have first-hand knowledge of the archaeological excavations at both sites. I have been the scientific director for the Université Laval excavations at Fort Saint-Jean for the excavation seasons 2010-2017 inclusive. During my tenure, the scientific orientation of excavation as well as the day-to-day direction of the site have been almost solely within my purview. Looking to the south, I was employed by the archaeological contractor

during the excavation of the *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure. Fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* and its accompanying *Hocquart Seigneurie* were the first permanent 18th century French settlement at the southern end of Lake Champlain (report forthcoming).

18th Century Costumes and Immigration Station

From its very inception, the establishment of fortifications at the base of Lake Champlain were a negotiation between the existing landscape (raw material space) and the French expression of cognitive space on the landscape to create the complete material space of *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* and *Fort Saint-Frédéric*. The narrows in Lake Champlain, at Chimney Point, VT and Crown Point, NY, has been one of the persistent places of regional history. As mentioned in previous chapters, it is a possible location of Samuel de Champlain's altercation with the Mohawk, it was an initial planned location for one of the Carignan-Salières forts in 1665-1666, and the site of a small British fort in the winter of 1690. It can be inferred from the data that the 18th century cognitive space of New France included this promontory.

In the early 1730s the Governor of New France, the Marquis de Beauharnois and the colony's Intendant Gilles Hocquart, had a meeting of the minds regarding the Lake Champlain Valley. Beauharnois, as Governor, was responsible for security of the colony. By 1731, Beauharnois had been informed that the British had plans to establish a fort at the foot of Lake Champlain (Eccles 1990:130; Peebles et al.2009:29). Such a post would pose a threat to the safety of the colony. Beauharnois surmised that not only would a French fort deter English involvement in the region simply through its existence (Positional Warfare), the installation would allow the French to control the lake with fewer soldiers and enable the French to 'harass' the English. The new fort would allow French troops to fall upon British their *borderzone* settlements of Fort Edward and Fort Ann

without warning (Peebles 2009:25). Hocquart, as Intendant, was responsible for the economic well-being of the colony. Hocquart was subservient to the French Minister of the Marine, Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maupras. Maupras had made it his own personal mission to stop all commerce with the English colonies, governing trade and for bidding foreign merchants from living in Canada (Prichard 2004:192). As discussed above, John Lydius had already felt Maupras's wrath. It became clear to Hocquart that some sort of installation was needed to cease illicit trade between New France and New England. Additionally, Hocquart had begun a shipbuilding enterprise in Québec. The forest immediately surrounding Québec City lacked the tall pine timber required for shipbuilding (Eccles 1990:130). In 1730, Hocquart suggested the construction of a village, on a seigneury controlled directly by the Crown, to facilitate the harvest of timber on Lake Champlain (Harris 1966: 108; Eccles 1990:130). It was determined that both the security and economic needs of the colony could be served by the establishment of a fort at the foot of the Lake.

The exact location for construction was suggested to Gov. Beauharnois by a distinguished officer of the troops of the Marine, Jean-Louis de la Corne, who had visited the site on several occasions (Laramie 2012:143). In April 1731, the construction of *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* began on what is now known as Chimney Point in the town of West Addison, Vermont (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 88; Peebles et al.2009:26). From its inception, *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* was to be a temporary fix (Laramie 2012:144; Fisher and Huey 2013:177). The sense of urgency among French officials regarding the British expansion north into the *borderzone* called for a stopgap measure. King Louis XV, writing to the governor several times in the spring of 1731, approved the plan, desiring "that a stockade be erected at the place until a stronger one can be constructed." (As quoted in Peebles et al. 2009:25). The fort contained buildings for the

Commandant, barracks for soldiers, a kitchen, bakery, storehouse and a chapel and rectory complex. While the fort itself may have been ephemeral, the institutions established were designed to be long-lasting. This installation and its successor, Fort Saint-Frederic, would serve as a border post, analogous to the modern border crossing. Historical documents indicate individuals were forced to stop and show written documentation, in the form of passports, to be permitted to cross out of or into New France (Kalm 1964[1770]: 543). The windows of this post were outfitted with glass, the panes of which were sent to the *borderzone* site at great expense (Senécal 2016: 120-129). In 1732, liturgical vestments to fully equip a chapel, provisions which indicate a planned permanent ecumenical presence for not only the French soldiers, but colonists and native converts as well. Baptismal records beginning in 1732 corroborate this assertion of a vibrant multiethnic parish at Fort Saint-Frédéric (Haviland and Power 1994: 233-235; Day 1998 [1973]:143-144).

Historical conjecture indicates *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* measured just 100 by 100 feet or 1000 square feet (Peebles at all 2009:26; Laramie 2012:144).

The surviving maps dating to 1731 and subsequent artist's rendition of the site indicates a square fort boasting oblique angled rhomboid bastions constructed in the Vauban style (Figure 55). Strategic overlays of historic maps on modern satellite imagery indicates most this original post may have been destroyed by the construction of the first

Champlain Bridge in the early 20th century (Figure 55). Indeed, this was the impression left on historians prior to the section 106 archaeological project undertaken to construct the replacement Champlain Bridge in the first decade of the 21st century. The subsequent required section 106 excavation undertaken for the Vermont Department of Transportation recovered the remains of stone features that may have belonged to one of the structures within the fort, or perhaps a later 18th century habitation. A full

discussion of the archaeological evidence site will not be possible until a site report is published.

If the historical documents in archaeology are indeed correct, the placement of fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, would have been highly strategic. Provided the area around the fort walls were cleared of forest and vegetal obstruction to distance of 200 feet [more than the maximum effective musket and swivel guns range in 1731], the fort would have commanded the field of fire in every direction (Senécal 2016:124). Moreover, the position of the fort on a promontory allowed for a full field-of-view stretching miles. This point is further proven by a line of sight/viewshed landscape analysis performed as a portion of my phenomenological survey of the Lake Champlain Valley in 2011 (Beaupré 2013b). Fort occupants could see north along Lake Champlain toward the homeland of the St. Lawrence Valley, as well as south toward the *Grand Marais*, Lake George, and into the *borderzone* between New England and New France, the direction from which malicious British forces would approach (Figure 56).

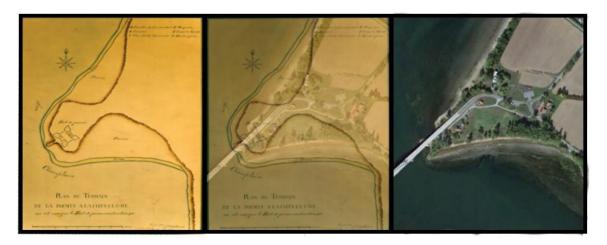


Figure 55 Left: Map of fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure dated 1731. Right: Modern satellite, Google Earth image of Chimney Point, VT. Center: An overlay of the two images.

The placement of fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure on Chimney Point would seem to meet the goals of Beauharnois and Hocquart, as well as the model for cognitive spatial division along the lines of positional warfare as discussed above. Yet, the fort was intended to be temporary only. Louis XV, intent on ignoring the complaint from British plenipotentiary, Earl Waldegrave, ordered the senior military architect of New France, Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry, to draw up plans for the permanent fort at the site. As was typical of Vauban's prescribed procedure for establishing forts, multiple sets of plans were drawn before a final schematic was agreed upon (Duffy 2006:33; Senécal 2016) (Figures 57 and 58). De Léry's initial proposal called for a Vauban style redoubt as opposed to a typical fort. A single machicolated tower comprised the entirety of the stone construction. The tower was to be surrounded by a Vauban prescribed rampart and fossé including a chemin couvert, glacis and stockade wall (Senécal 2016:130) (Figure 57). The initial plan was not well received by the Crown or the Minister of the Marine, as both expressed interest in the construction of a standard Vauban style fort "un petite fort régulier" (Senécal 2016:130). De Léry drew up a second set of plans for a standard Vauban fort, low walls, and a complete rampart profile as discussed above. In short, a fort much more akin to Fort Carillon (at Ticonderoga) which would be constructed in 1755 (Senécal 2016:131-133) (Figure 57). It was not until de Léry himself set foot at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure that he determined the landscape, or raw material space, at Chimney Point could not accommodate either of his plans. He quickly improvised combining the two plans and selecting a new site on the western shore of the narrows on what is now Crown Point (Senécal 2016: 131-133). The fort would become known as Saint-Frédéric, named after the Minister of the Marine French Minister of the Marine, Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maupras. The constructed edifice

consisted of a central redoubt or Citadel, four stories tall boasting stonewalls 10 to 12 inches thick (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 207; Fisher and Huey 2013:178-179) (Figure 58).

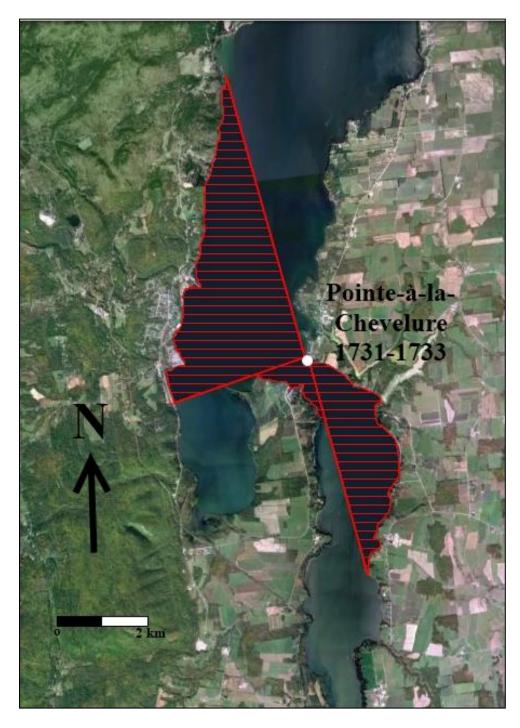


Figure 56 Viewshed analysis from the remains of fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure on Chimney Point, VT. Image after Beaupré 2013

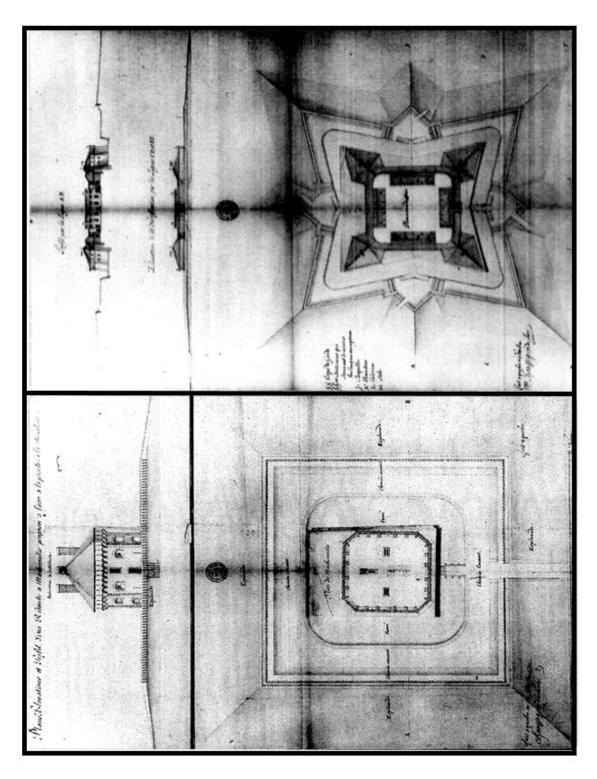


Figure 57 Bottom: Initial drawing of the proposed Fort Saint-Frédéric by French military architect Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry. This image is of a Vauban style redoubt. Top: Architect Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry's drawing in response to criticism from the crown to build "un petite fort régulier" at Crown Point. Both images sourced from Coolidge collection in the archives of the Vermont State Historical Society.

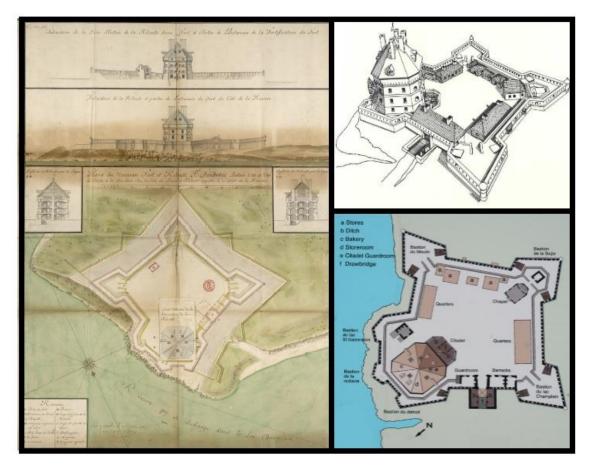


Figure 58 Composite image of Fort Saint-Frédéric. Left: The final plans for the construction of the fort as drawn by French military architect Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry in 1733. Right: Top An artist's reconstruction of Fort Saint-Frédéric, image courtesy of New York Department of Parks and Recreation, Crown Point State Historic Site. Left Bottom: Schematic drawing of the fort's interior taken from interpretive panel at Crown Point State Historic Site.

The citadel mounted a defense of 20 cannon and held a dungeon, armory, powder magazine, commandant's quarters, and officer's barracks. The outer works were square and contained corner bastions, with the citadel located in the northeast corner. The curtain walls were built to withstand musket and small artillery fire only. Storerooms, a gatehouse, guard rooms and a chapel/rectory complex were built with the fort walls (Fisher and Huey 2013:178-179). Two small moats, transected by drawbridges, prevented direct enemy access through both the outer wall and the door to the citadel. The design of Fort Saint-Frédéric, including the central redoubt and multiple

drawbridges, is clearly based upon a Vauban constructed harbor defense *Tour de Camare*t, near Brest, France (Fisher and Huey 2013:178-179) (Figure 59).



Figure 59 Vauban designed and constructed harbor defense is at Tour de Camaret, near Brest, France. Notice the similarities between this fortification and the final plans and construction of Fort Saint- Frederic. Source: http://www.blaye.fr/patrimoine-touristique/reseau-vauban---portraits-de-ville/camaret-sur-mer-29/.

Fort Saint-Frédéric itself was deemed complete, "dans leur perfection," in 1737. During the construction phase, the buildings inside *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure*, had been dismantled and the lumber reused inside the new fort. The stockade on Chimney Point was dismantled for fear it would be used by invading troops in times of conflict (Senécal 2016:134). The completion of the fort did not signify the completion of the complex, however. Additional infrastructure was required, namely stables, barns, a stone windmill to grind grain and a Miller's house were completed at the expense of the King in 1740 (Figure 60). In addition to grinding the *habitant* grain, the windmill functioned as a separate defensible redoubt armed with between four and six canons (Fisher and Huey 2013:181).

Secondary histories of the area state that the completion of the fort itself opened the area to the division of seigneuries (Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 88-89 Peebles et al. 2009:26; Laramie 2012:146-148; Senécal 2016:134). This statement in of itself, is not completely true. These historians should instead be stating that the completion of the fort led to settlement in the area. While this may seem like a semantic difference, the inherent meaning of this shift in verbiage can be exploited to understand the construction of space in and around Fort Saint-Frédéric.



Figure 60 Inset image from a 1740 map showing Fort Saint- Frédéric in the foreground and the windmill/redoubt in the background. Original Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2008626932/. (Accessed Feb. 10, 2017.)

As mentioned above, the mitigation between the landscape and French reliance on Vauban architecture and positional warfare had already led to a change in venue. Due to 'construction and soil concerns', Fort Saint-Frédéric was placed on the west bank, opposite its predecessor on the east bank. Both 18th century observers and 21st century archaeologists have noted that by placing Fort Saint-Frédéric on this rocky promontory looking north, French military architects had lost a great deal of strategic

advantage (Fisher and Huey 2013). The edited volume chapter, 'Style Wars in the Wilderness: the Colonial Forts at Crown Point' by Fisher and Huey (2013) examines this very idea. The article identifies number of fatal flaws both in the engineering and upkeep of the site which would've made it susceptible to enemy attack (Fisher and Huey 2013). These concerns included weak and crumbling outer walls that would not withstand artillery fire, nearby rocky promontories taller than the fort walls offering attackers easy access to lob projectiles over the walls, and poor lines of sight concerning the approaches to the site (Kalm 2003 [1772]:207-209; Fisher and Huey 2013). A viewshed analysis of the site confirms 18th century observations of poor visibility at the site (Figures 61 and 62).



Figure 61 Viewshed analysis of approaches to Fort Saint-Frédéric. Based on Google Earth images, augmented by the author.



Figure 62 View north, up Lake Champlain from the ruins of Fort Saint-Frédéric. Photo courtesy of the author.

Even when the height of the four-story citadel is taken into account, topography hinders Fort Saint-Frédéric's view southward, making it essentially blind to an enemy advancing from New England. This issue was mitigated using the windmill, located on a peninsula into the lake, as a standalone armed redoubt (Fisher and Huey 2013:181-182). This mitigation is best explained in the words of Pehr Kalm on his visit to Fort Saint-Frédéric in 1749.

"Within one or two musket shots of the east of the fort, is a windmill built of stone, with very thick walls, and most of the flour which is wanted to supply the fort is ground here. This windmill is so contrived as to serve the purpose of a redoubt at the top of it are five or six small pieces of cannon. During the last war there was a number of soldiers quartered in the mill, because they could from thence look a great way up the river and observe whether the English boats approached; which could not be done from the fort itself, and which was a matter of great consequence as the English might (if this guard had not been placed here) have gone in their little boats close under the Western shore of the river and the hills would have prevented their being seen from the fort. Therefore, the fort ought to have been built on the spot where the mill stands, and all those who have come to see it are immediately struck with the absurdity of its situation. If it had been erected in the place in the mill, it would have commanded the river, and prevented the approach of the enemy; and a small ditch cut through the loose

limestone, from the river (which comes out of the Lake St. Sacrament) to Lake Champlain, would have surrounded the fort with flowing water, because it would have been situated on the extremity of the neck of land. In the case the fort would always have been sufficiently supplied with fresh water, and at a distance from the high rocks which surrounded it in its present situation." (Kalm 2003 [1772]:208-209)

The windmill was so strategically placed that though the stone building had been destroyed, its location was subsequently used as a redoubt by British forces in 1759 (Figure 63). Kalm was undoubtedly unaware that the 'extremity of the neck of land' would not have been considered a suitable location for the entirety of the fort, considering the mitigation in plans that had taken place between de Léry and colonial officials (Senécal 2016: 131-133).



Figure 63 Section from the 'Plan of the fort and fortress at Crown Point with their environs. With the disposition of the English Army under the command of Genl. Amherst encamp'd there 1759' showing the foundations of the French windmill, on the peninsula to the right, being reused as an artillery redoubt. Original Retrieved from the Library of Congress,

https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71002321/. (Accessed Feb 11, 2017.)

Kalm and others, including French colonial military officials, expressed concern regarding the strategic weaknesses of the site and the fort, as constructed (Fisher and Huey 2013:182-190). Fisher and Huey (2013:190) conclude that Fort Saint-Frédéric is indicative of European positional warfare, demonstrating the French belief that a territorial claim, through occupation without concern for an enemy siege artillery. I would

like to push this point a bit further. I argue the existence of Fort Saint-Frédéric is a symbol, a focal point of a safe social space on the edge of the *borderzone*.

Fort Saint-Frédéric was never truly designed to withstand siege warfare, heavy guns or a large standing army (Fisher and Huey 2013). The fort was designed to be impressive. De Léry's initial design (Figure 57) and final construction (Figure 58) both centered around a central four-story tower/keep. The tower faced to the north, toward the 'home' of the St. Lawrence Valley. As one approached Fort Saint- Frédéric from the north via Lake Champlain, the route taken by arriving settlers, one would have been in awe. It would appear that a castle of a Loire Valley had been transported to a rocky shore in the Lake Champlain Valley. When experiencing the landscape first hand through my phenomenological survey, even with the fort in ruins, when looking up from the water line, one cannot help but be impressed (Figure 64). To a settler, there could be no clearer indication that this was a safe space to build a home, under the protective guns of a massive stone tower. The common habitant would not have had the military or architectural knowledge to challenge the construction of the fort, as was done by contemporary military officials and 21st century archaeologists (Kalm 2003 [1772]:208-209; Fisher and Huey 2013:182). Fort Saint-Frédéric was a cognitive and material manipulation of the raw material space. It represented a social space of safety, regardless of the lack of material safe space. In this way, it was similar to the Carignan-Salières forts. All of these edifices were symbolic social spaces of safety. My spatial analysis indicates these sites did not provide concrete material spaces of safety.

Perhaps equally as vital to the civilian population as the fort itself was the windmill. Constructed at the King's expense in 1737, the mill served both a practical and symbolic purpose. From a practical standpoint, the mill not only was available as a stand-alone redoubt looking south from the fort, it served its primary purpose of grinding

grain. A mill to grind the grain grown was an invaluable portion of infrastructure required to attract agrarian settlers (Harris 1966:112; Peebles et al.2009:30). Considering the King was the seigneur of the land directly south of Fort Saint-Frédéric, the King funded the construction of the mill. The mill's symbolic purpose fell within the social sphere of positional warfare. In addition to the military presence, positional warfare relied on territorial expansion as represented by civilian occupation of a particular material space. The stone windmill physically demonstrated the French occupation extended to the civilian sphere, not just a military garrison (Fisher and Huey 2013:189).



Figure 64 Photo looking up at the northeast bastion/citadel of Fort Saint- Frédéric taken from the hull of a canoe. When complete the citadel would have risen of further 50 feet above the extent ruins, totaling nearly 80 feet above the waterline.

In the years following the completion of Fort Saint-Frédéric, settlement around the fort began in earnest. Intendant Hocquart personally oversaw the recruitment of the first settlers who arrived in the fall of 1740. True to the initial plan, the King retained ownership of the lands on the western shore of Lake Champlain. While originally

retained as a woodlot for the fort, by April 1743 Louis XV had granted the lands on the eastern shore, on which *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure*, had once stood to the intendant himself (Peebles et al. 2009:29). With the Intendant establishing his own seigneury on the eastern side of Lake, two communities were thus created. The Royal Domain was on the west side [Crown Point, New York], and Hocquart seigneury on the east [Chimney Point, Vermont] (Peebles et al. 2009:30).

While French colonial habitation of the Champlain Valley is largely written out of Anglo-centric histories of New England and New York, documentary as well as archaeological evidence indicate a thriving habitant population at the south end of Lake Champlain. Narratives of captives traveling through Saint-Frédéric have left us vivid descriptions of the fort as well as the civilian population, "both Indians and French were very thick by the waterside" (Calloway 1992:4). A historical map of the fort, drawn for the British military interests at Albany by Native Americans visitors to Saint-Frédéric, shows the civilian farmsteads outside of the military installation (Figure 65). After the conquest, British military charts of the Crown Point area display numerous icons of small homes labeled 'French Settlements Deserted' (Figure 66). Intriguingly, associated with these deserted French settlements icons there appear to be distinct rows of trees. It is possible these icons represent orchards planted by the French settlers. Historical documents indicate that following initial settlement in 1731, the French planted orchards of a variety of apple known as the Fameuse, or Snow Apple (Peebles et al.2009:35. Jacobson 2014:156-157). While French settlement in the Lake Champlain Valley did not survive the Seven Years War, the *Fameuse* did. This little apple became a staple in the 19th century orchards of the Lake Champlain and Richelieu River Valleys (Jacobson 2014:156).

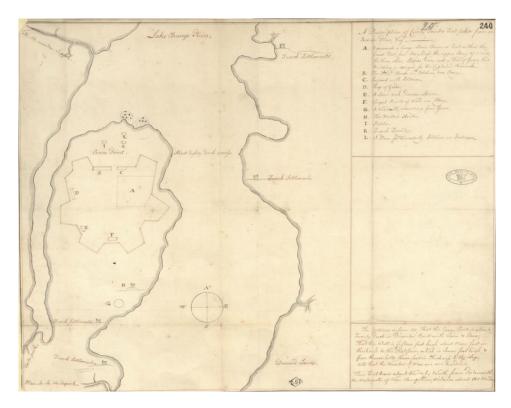


Figure 65 Map created in 1744 for the British military interests at Albany from descriptions of the Fort at Crown Point mde by members of the local Native population in the employ of the British army. Notice the numberous French settlements, including one in what appears to be the local of DAR State Park.

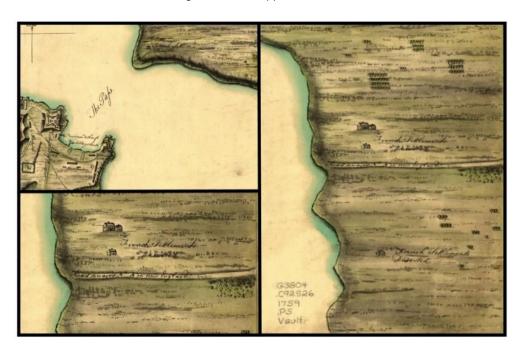


Figure 66 Exceprts 'Plan of the fort and fortress at Crown Point with their environs. With the disposition of the English Army under the command of Genl. Amherst encamp'd there 1759' showing the Deserted French Settlements. Original Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71002321/. (Accessed Feb 11, 2017.)

Population estimates made by Historian André Senécal, based on documentary evidence including correspondence, census and ecumenical records, indicate a vibrant population in the two seigneuries surrounding Fort Saint-Frédéric during the interbellum years. The population estimates clearly indicate that following King George's War, and prior to the start of the Seven Years' War, the population at the site boomed (Figure 67). While King George's War remained relatively quiet on the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley *borderzone*, safety, or the cognitive space of safety did not return until the middle of 1749. When traveling through in July 1749, Pehr Kalm makes the comment, that

"before the last war a great many French families, especially old soldiers, have settled there; but the king obliged them to go on to Canada, or to settle close to the fort, and to lie in it at night. A great number of them returned at this time, and it is thought that about 40 or 50 families would go to settle there this autumn" (Kalm 1964 [1770]:208).

Historical records corroborate Kalm's assertions indicating that 17 new *rotures* in the Royal Domain were granted to *habitants* in the fall of 1749 (Peebles et al.2009:32).

While on an inspection tour in August 1751, a French Royal engineer counted 19 houses on the west side of the lake and 20 on the east side totaling 39 dwellings altogether (Peebles et al.2009:32). A census taken of the Royal Domain that same year has also survived. In 1751, the seigneury on the west shore of Lake Champlain was inhabited by the garrison as well as 19 men and 14 women, along with 12 boys (unmarried men) and 14 girls (unmarried women) above the age of 18, and two children under 18 years old (Huey 2009:2). This population included men, women, and children further indicating a social space of safety created by the material space/built environment and cognitive spaces of the fort and surrounding farmsteads.

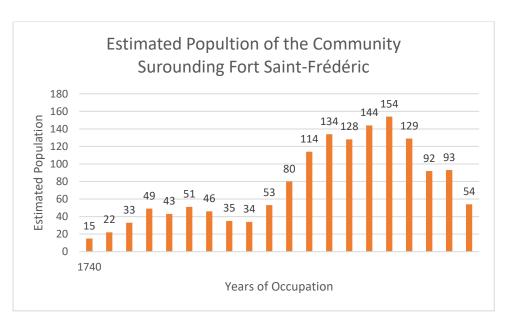


Figure 67 Chart of the estimated population of the community surrounding Fort Saint-Frédéric.

This evidence, as well as the clandestine intelligence gathered by Rogers Rangers, discussed later, indicates that during the interbellum, a of vibrant community existed in the around Fort Saint-Frédéric. In the spirit of setting the record straight, and finally examining French colonial habitations in the Lake Champlain Valley, Vermont state archaeologist Giovanna Peebles led a team to investigate local folklore claims that the Daughters of the American Revolution State Park, located just north of Chimney Point in West Addison, Vermont was the location of French settler cabins occupied contemporaneously to Fort Saint-Frédéric (Figure 68). While Peebles team was able to recover artifacts indicative of English settlement, as well as English style cellar cabin holes, they concluded, "French occupation of the locale was invisible in the archaeological evidence" (Peebles et al.2009:45).

One of my objectives when I undertook my phenomenological survey of French settlement in Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley from the hull of my canoe, in the summer 2014 was to evaluate the above conclusions reached by Peebles regarding the absence of French settlement in the region. Though my evidence would not be based

on excavation, it would incorporate other evidence of what the documents so clearly indicate was the case. Traveling the length of the project area from Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga northward, I made sure to include DAR State Park as a stop. Prior to beginning the trip, I performed basic viewshed analysis, where I determined that one could not see even the highest spires of Fort Saint-Frédéric from the supposedly location of French settler cabins. Inversely, topography hindered the view of the French settler cabins from Fort Saint- Frédéric (Figures 61 and 69). Line of sight being crucial to viewshed analysis, I quickly surmised that while the actual edifices could not be seen one from another, smoke rising from the chimneys of settler cabins would certainly be seen from Fort Saint-Frédéric. I found it difficult to believe that a social space of safety could be created without a subject having a direct perceptual connection to the cognitive symbol of safety, the material space of Fort Saint- Frédéric. I began to believe that perhaps the French would not have felt safe settling in this area, outside of Fort Saint-Frederic's viewshed and thus Peebles and her colleagues (2009:45) were correct to conclude that no French settlement was present at the site.

As the sun set, and my fire burned low, I climbed inside my sleeping bag with this conundrum playing in my head. A silence fell over the landscape, at irregular intervals I began to hear a noise which I quickly identified as the hum and clank of 18 wheeled trucks traveling over the deck plates of the Champlain Bridge. The Champlain Bridge crosses Lake Champlain traveling directly over the archaeological site of *fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* in Vermont and passing within feet of the remains of *Fort Saint-Frédéric* in New York. I immediately began to think of the material space/landscape of the region not in terms of line of sight, but as an auditory landscape. In this narrow passage in the valley, sound bounced off *les limites naturelle* of the Green Mountains, reverberated on the Adirondacks and was amplified by the water it crossed. I realized



Figure 68 DAR State Park houses the remains of two supposed French cabins dating from the occupation of Fort Saint-Frédéric. Interestingly, the cabins would have been out of site of the Fort and vice-versa. However, the project proved auditory contact was still possible. Notice the Champlain Bridge, crossing the lake over the sites of Fort Saint-Frédéric, NY and fort de pieux à Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, VT

18th century settlers did not need to see Fort Saint-Frédéric, they could hear the goingson throughout the valley. A single musket shot, not to mention a cannon report from the fort would have drawn the attention of any settler in the area.

Rereading Pehr Kalm's account of his arrival at *Fort Saint- Frédéric*, Kalm (1964 [1770]: 580-581) notes,

"Before we reach the shores the soldiers accompanying me gave their customer a salute with their muskets after which they called *vive la roi*! ... As soon as we reached the shore and stepped out of the boat, they gave a salute of five or six guns from the fortress."

The thunderous auditory aspect of this greeting is unmistakable. This greeting would have made of all settlers in and around Fort Saint-Frédéric aware of noteworthy events in the community. This one simple aspect of my phenomenological research made the entire trip worthwhile. I was able to discern an aspect of the lived experience in the past it was indiscernible from satellite imagery, viewshed analyses or the lab-based analysis

of archaeological resources. I had collected evidence that corraboated Ingold (2010) view that for an anthropologist to make use of landscape study, he must bring knowledge to bear that is born of immediate experience. Through phenomenological evidence I was able to support the claim that the material space of Fort Saint-Frédéric and the surrounding community, when taken in concert with the cognitive space, created a safe social space of a community at the edge of the 18th century interbellum borderzone.

<u>The Vital Role of Supply – Fort Saint-Jean and the Borderzone</u>

As discussed above, political and military strategy of positional warfare depended heavily upon the role of supply and provisions to be allocated to each border post (Lynn 2013:72,74). During the late 1740s and early 1750s, the role of supply depot had been assigned to Saint-Jean, a post at the northern end of Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley project area (Gelinas 1983: 40; Cloutier 2011: 12-13). The following section moves the discussion from the frontline interbellum *borderzone* community at Fort Saint-Frédéric, to its supporting post on the edge of the *borderzone* at Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu. This approach does bypass several sites/communities that are recorded historically but lack corroborating archaeological evidence, as mentioned in the initial pages of this chapter (see also Appendix A).

Supply Line Village - Approvisionnement du Fort Saint-Frédéric
Beginning with the construction of the first fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure in 1731,
supplying this far-flung post become a concern of the colonial administrators of New
France. The supply lines between the King's stores in and Chambly and the fledgling
settlement at the foot of Lake Champlain had become too far separated. With the need
to transport goods far to the south, the re-establishment of an instillation at the persistent
place of the rapids of Saint-Jean became a necessity. At some point between 1731 and

1748, a village was constructed at Saint-Jean. The village consisted on a bakery, commanders house and numerous warehouses to store provisions after they traveled via river or road from Chambly or via road from Montréal. This supply depot village most likely was not established until after 1744, as the village does not appear on the 1744 map of the area (Figure 69). The village does appear on the 1748 map of the site (Figure 70) as well as in documentary evidence of the period (Cloutier 2011:12-14). It can be defiantly stated that the village existed when Fort Saint-Jean was constructed in 1748.

Currently, the information regarding the period of occupation at Fort Saint-Jean known as *Approvisionnement du Fort Saint-Frédéric*, or the supply depot period, is gleaned as solely from documentary evidence. During the seven years of academic excavation at Fort Saint-Jean, and the numerous mitigation excavations that have taken place at the site since the 1980s, no definitive archaeological evidence of this period has been recovered (Beaupré 2013, 2015a, 2015b, Vincell 2016; Guerette and Ndour 2017).

The 1748 schematic plan for fort construction further indicates that three of these buildings, and commandant's house, storehouse and bakery were relocated inside the Fort once it was constructed (Figure 70). The movement of these buildings is further supported by Pehr Kalm's description of Fort Saint-Jean recorded in the late summer of (Kalm 2003[1772]:215-216). The European-style buildings, shown on the 1748 de Léry plan sport rectangular footprints and center ridgeline, are integrated into a setting which includes multiple Quonset hut shaped dwellings, possibly indicating First Nations longhouse structures. The working Parks Canada interpretation of Fort Saint-Jean at the time did not allow for the existence of Native habitation at the site during the middle decades of the 18th century (Beaupré 2015:17-18).



Figure 69 The map, Carte depuis la prairie de la Magdelaine jusques a la riviere de Chambly ou est marque le chemin de la prairie a Chambly et le chemin projete jusqu' au dessus du rapide St. Jean ou mouille la barque du Lac Champlain;" attributed to de Lery 1744 shows the roads needed to circumnavigate the rapids at Saint-Jean, and an icon for the barque de Champlain in the bottom right corner of the enlarged image.

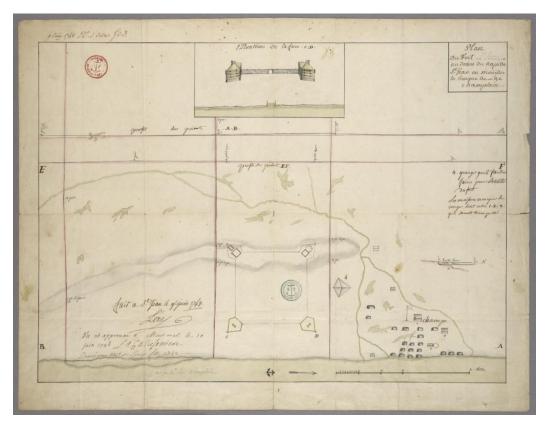


Figure 70 Plan for the construction of the 1748 Fort Saint-Jean. The map is signed by the senior military architect of New France, Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry.

In the summer of 2011, my team and I made a valiant effort to recover the archaeological remains of the Saint-Jean supply depot, circa 1731-1747 (Beaupré 2015a:17-22). I placed two excavation units in the area of the supply depot. These units had two primary purposes. The first excavation unit, 40G100M placed to locate one of the European style buildings not relocated inside the fort walls, labeled on the 1748 plan as *Maison de barque de Champlain*. The second excavation unit, 40G100N was placed to locate one of the Quonset hut shaped, possible Native dwellings in the village site. The placement of these units was determined through two different methods, both of which rely on the accuracy of an 18th century map. The 1748 map of the site was overlaid onto the modern satellite image of the site employing archaeologically recovered features and 18th century earthworks that remain visible on the landscape as

anchor points. The gross indication of unit placement was further corroborated by a second method.

The second method employed the distance and delineation between the target features presented on the 1748 map. The scale of the map was recorded in the ancient French measurement systems of *toise*. The *toise* was utilized as both a measurement of distance and unit of area. On the 1748 map, the *toise* was being used to measure distance. The *toise* unit of length was originally introduced in AD 790 and represented the distance between the fingertips of a man with outstretched arms, equivalent in origin to the English fathom. Its length is considered equal to 6 ancient *pieds* or 6.395 modern feet. The conversion rate between the modern meter and the ancient *toise* is 1.949 to 1 (Ross 1983:77). The 1748 map showed the distance between the southernmost point of the east flank of the northeast bastion and the southeast corner of the *maison bark de Champlain* was approximately 33 *toise* or 64.35 meters (Figure 71).

This distance was taped out along a compass bearing of 20° and the northeast corner of sub-operation M was identified as a point on the landscape. The 1748 map showed the distance between the southernmost point of the east flank of the northeast bastion and the possible Native house feature was approximately 50 *toise* or 97.4518 meters. The northwest corner of sub-operation N was placed at this point on the landscape (Beaupré 2015a:18-22). Unfortunately, neither unit yielded evidence of the French and Native village dating to the supply depot period (Figure 71). Further excavation in the purported area of the warehouses and dwellings of the *Approvisionnement du Fort Saint-Frédéric* period at Fort St. Jean has not yielded any further evidence. The lack of preservation of the specific period of occupation, 1731-1748 is most likely due to the construction of a French, and later British shipyards in the same footprint.

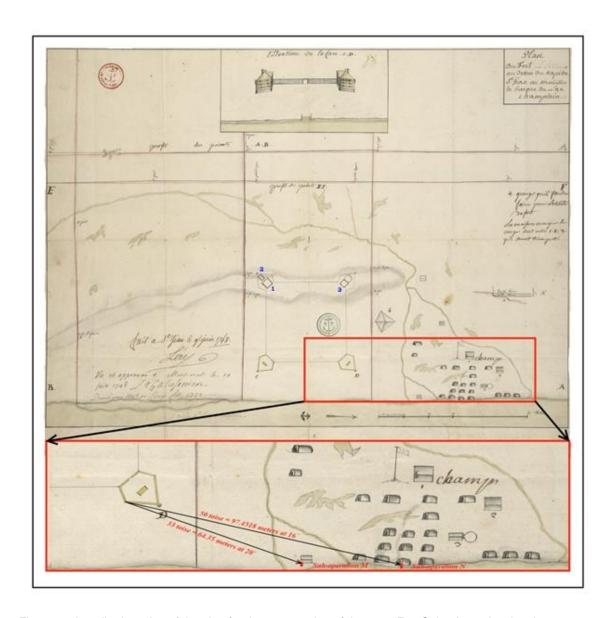


Figure 71 An edited version of the plan for the construction of the 1748 Fort Saint-Jean showing the measurements taken to locate excavation units 40G100N and 40G100M.

Fort Saint-Jean 1748-1755

While King George's War, the North American manifestation of the War of Spanish Succession, raged throughout the continent, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor remained relatively quiet. In 1747, the French became aware that leaders in New England had plans to attack Fort Saint-Frédéric, yet these plans remained 'rumors crossing the frontier' (Horton 1996:337). The French took note of these rumors,

however, and became aware of the fragility of their long supply line between Québec, Montréal, the fortified post at Chambly, the small village at Saint-Jean, and Fort Saint-Frédéric, the colonial government order French military engineer Chaussegros de Léry fils to draw up plans and construct a new fortification at Saint-Jean. The new Fort Saint-Jean would enclose and protect the provisions housed at the site (Cloutier 2011:12-14). From Pehr Kalm (2003 [1772]: 215-216) as well as the 1748 plans for the fort, we know that once constructed, numerous buildings from the village were transported within the fort, as discussed above.

Many schematic plans of the 1748 fort are still in existence and have been beneficial to archaeologists in interpreting remains recovered (Figure 70 and 72). These historical maps and images are further bolstered by descriptions left behind by Pehr Kalm (1964 [1770]:558, and 2003 [1772]: 215-216) and internal French military documents. However, in my experience working at the site, Parks Canada archaeologists often cautiously rely on historical documentation while making interpretations. They often endeavor to marry the archaeological record with the historical maps and plans, as opposed to interpreting the physical remains recovered in the archaeological record irrespective of the documents.

The large edifice of the 1748 fort has been a focus of archaeology at the National Historic Site of Canada, Fort Saint-Jean since professional excavation began at the site in the 1980s (Piédalue 1982, 1983; Beaupré 2013, 2015a, 2015b; Naud and Jetté 2017; Ndour and Guérette 2017). Excavations under the supervision of Giséle Piédalue (1982, 1983) in 1981-1983 uncovered the remains of the northeast bastion stone foundations, as well as what she believed to be transactions of the 1748 curtain walls (Figure 73). In 2009, the Université Laval-administered archaeological field school uncovered a section

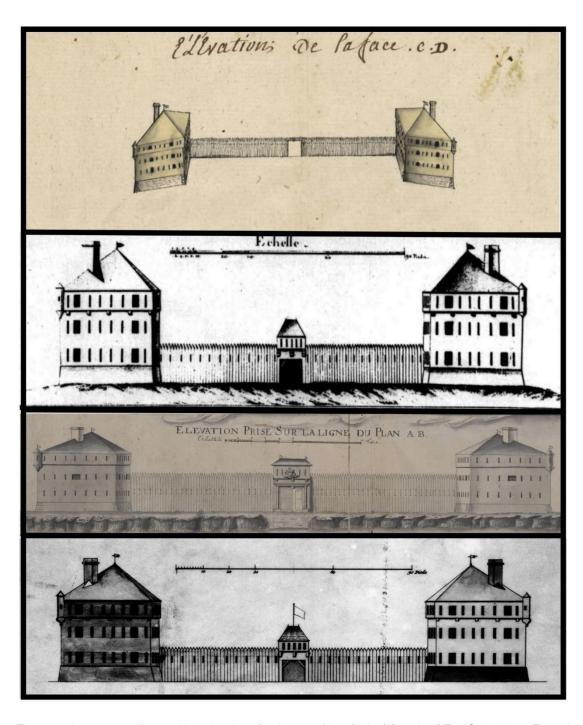


Figure 72 Image compiling multiple drawings for the east (river facing) facade of Fort Saint-Jean. From the top down the images are taken from plans dating 1748, 1750, 1750, and 1752. Original images courtesy of the Fort Saint-Jean Museum.

of the 1748 curtain wall associated with the northwest bastion (Beaupré 2013:58-59, 103, 107) (Figure 74). In the fall of 2015, a cultural resource management excavation undertaken as a portion of a larger soil mitigation project uncovered a section of wall believed to represent the south flank of the southwest bastion (Gelé 2016) (Figure 74).



Figure 73 Photo showing the stone foundations of the northeast bastion of the 1748 Fort uncovered during the parks Canada excavations in the 1980s. Photo courtesy of Fort Saint-Jean Museum.

Preservation conditions vary widely throughout the site. Excavation units mere meters apart proved to yield wood remains in varying stages of deterioration. In sub-operation unit 40G100D my team uncovered the remains of the stockade wall of the northwest bastion of the 1748 Fort (Beaupré 2013:58-59, 106-107, 109). In the soil



Figure 74 Two photo showing the remains of the wooden curtain wall related the 1748 Fort. Left: a segment of the Northwest bastion recovered by the University Laval field school excavations in 2010. Right: a portion of the south flank of the Southwest bastion recovered by the CRM firm Archéotec in the late summer and fall of 2015. Photo after Gelé 2016:35.

matrix, the wood remains consisted only of large post mold stains (Figure 74). This preservation condition is similar to what was uncovered by Piédalue and her CRM team in the southwest bastion in the fall of 2015 (Figure 74).

On the opposite spectrum of the preservation conditions at the site 40G100A/E/H yielded a surprising degree of preservation due to both in anaerobic clay soil and constant dampness provided by permeation of the water table at a depth where 18th century remains were housed. Remains of the 1748 wood stockade were recovered in a

near pristine state. Unfortunately, these wood remains were not located in situ, but indicate destruction of the 1748 stockade and backfilling of the defensive trench surrounding the fort (Figure 75). The levels using structural wood remains were capped with almost 2 m of mortar covered stone rubble believed to belong to the stone portions of the gatehouse, and or the remains of the stone foundations of the southeast bastion of the 1748 Fort (Beaupré 2015a).



Figure 75 Left: Remains of a cell and upright post recovered in excavation unit 40G100A/E by the Laval University Field school team in 2010. Right a large sample of a Thuya being removed from excavation subunit 40G100A by a Laval University student in 2009.

The large structural wood remains were determined to be the arborvitae species of tree. While not actually a member of the cedar family, the arborvitae is known colloquially in the border towns of Vermont and New York as North American White Cedar. In Québec, it is referred to by its proper genus name of Thuya. I refer to the wood remains as structural largely based on the size of each individual log or post (upwards of

20 to 30 cm in diameter) and inclusion of large 18th century wrought iron framing. When describing Fort Saint-Jean, Kalm (1964 [1770]: 558, 2003 [1772]: 215), being the ever-observant botanist, records the fort's stockade was constructed of Thuya log ranging in size from 12 to 15 inches in diameter.

The archaeology and historical record seem to indicate that my team recovered the remains of a stockade wall in two locations throughout the site. We undoubtedly have the French to thank for choosing to construct Fort St. Jean [1748] out of Thuya, the 'best wood for keeping from petrifaction', for his last the test of time over 250 years. Historical documentation tells us that the placement of Fort Saint-Jean, 1748 was driven by the location of the rapids that hindered navigation between Chambly and Lake Champlain. The fort was built at the confluence of the roads from the south shore of Montréal and from Chambly, originally constructed by the Carignan-Salières Regiment in 1666. When the supply depot was built in the area sometime between 1731 and 1744, the de facto location for the fort had been chosen. Other than its association with the rapids, this location offers very little strategic advantage. Similar to its prior iteration in 1666, Fort Saint-Jean 1748 was but a point on the landscape that could be easily circumnavigated if one simply left the riverside. The fort was placed directly on the bank of the river, some 6 feet above the waterline as can be seen in the drawings above (Figure 72). Located at a relatively straight section of river, the fort had a limited viewshed. Unlike her sister fort to the south, the ground surrounding Fort Saint-Jean was largely unoccupied though the river valley was noted for fertile soil (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 215-216). Fort Saint-Jean was designed as not only a fortified storehouse, but also an installation to protect a surrounding community and "cover the country around it" (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 215). This lack of habitants meant a lack of community. It would appear that viewshed be given more weight than it was at Fort Saint-Frédéric,

considering an auditory alert system would be useless without a surrounding community.

Intriguingly, Kalm does not mention the same auditory reception at Saint-Jean he received at Fort Saint-Frédéric.

Regardless of the strategic weakness of the fort, it served its purpose. Fort Saint-Jean was little more than a stockaded magazine to protect provisions in transit to the borderzone post at Saint-Frédéric and its surrounding communities, as well as the settlements of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor in-between. In addition to supplying the needs of borderzone installations, individuals traveling through the area on official business could draw on the King's stores at Saint-Jean. Goods were the currency of the frontier, and while accounts were keep relative to the cost of goods, specie seldom exchanged hands (Nassaney 2015:21- 25). Missionaries and government officials often traveled with trade goods supplied by the Crown. The goods were to be exchanged with Native peoples for food and services such, as guiding or transport (Kalm 1964 [1770]: 562; Frégault 1968:105; Eccles 1989:29; Beaupré 2010). While traveling through, Kalm (1964 [1770]: 562) withdrew two pounds of gunpowder, eight pounds of lead shot, knives and brandy 'to be given to the natives...in return for game which they have'. While archaeologists at the site have not yet discovered a King storehouse feature, we have discovered archaeological remains of several items that would be considered supplies during the 18th century. Archaeology at Fort Saint-Jean has yielded numerous bottles, pounds of musket balls and lead seals, identifying tags commonly placed on bundles of goods for transportation (Figure 76).

All evidence indicates that during the period in question, Fort Saint-Jean served almost exclusively as a cog in the supply line to guard provisions. As has been discussed, this supply line concern was paramount in positional warfare. The benefits

inherent in the construction of Saint-Jean are solely focused on the *borderzone* post at Fort Saint-Frédéric.



Figure 76 a representative sample of artifacts recovered at Fort St. Jean that could be considered supplies vital to the civilian and military installations south of Fort St. Jean. Top: one example of the French bottle, dozens of which have been recovered from the site. Below Left: a representative sample of musket balls of varying calibers, dozens of which have been recovered. Below right: a lead bale seal attached to bundles of supplies.

Indeed, while history informs us that the fort was designed to protect a surrounding countryside, no one lived in this countryside. Furthermore, Kalm (2003 [1772]: 215) tells us that while Fort Saint-Jean took 200 men to construct, during the period under study, it was occupied by a handful of individuals 'a governor, a commissary, a baker, and six soldiers to take care of the Fort and buildings and to superintend the provisions which are being carried to this place.' Fort Saint-Jean did not

need to hold a defendable position, it was not a post that was designed to be defended. In the interbellum period, Saint-Jean was far behind the French lines within the cognitive, material and social spaces of New France and thus held a safe position. While the material space of Fort Saint-Frédéric needed intentional manipulation to communicate a safe social space to the civilian inhabitants, Saint-Jean had no such concerns. The lacking a civilian community to serve the role of settlement with the scheme of positional warfare, and militia when required, the strength of the post at Saint-Jean came from its place within the aguascape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley.

<u>Aquascape</u>

The final aspect of the regional analysis is the role of the waterway itself in the creation of the borderzone. The Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor was truly a highway of French and Native navigators (Laramie 2012b:2). The aquatic highway that connected supply depots like Fort Saint-Jean to forward borderzone posts, such as Fort Saint-Frédéric, were vital to the creation of a social space of safety in the borderzone. When examining the space of Lake Champlain Richelieu River borderzone, I had the opportunity to travel by canoe from Fort Ticonderoga, north along Lake Champlain to the mouth of the Richelieu. As discussed above, during this exercise, I applied a phenomenological approach to landscape, observing the aquascapes from the hull of a canoe. Paddling site to site, I was struck by several thoughts related the creation of the social space, or interaction between people and the material space that created a feeling of safety for the French within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley during the interval of years being discussed. First among these thoughts was the interconnected nature of the valley along the access of the waterway. The social space created by a web of historical and archaeological sites connected on the threads the aquascapes is reminiscent to Paul Rainbird's (2007) suggestion that archaeologists move away from a

discussion of the archaeology of islands, and move toward a 'archaeology of the sea'.

Rainbird's proposed theoretical shift takes the stance that islands should not be considered separated by water, but connected by it. He stresses the interconnectedness of the aquatic highway between islands. Rainbird's discussion is centered on the islands of the Caribbean, I believe his thoughts, and those of Irwin (1992) and Kirsch (2000:238-243) referring to the pre-contact seafarers of Polynesia, can be applied to an examination of archaeological sites in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley.

Other archaeologists investigating the LCRRV have focused merely on one archaeological site within this aquascape. This dissertation stresses the connected nature of multiple sites, most notably the persistent places of Fort Saint-Jean and Fort Saint-Frédéric. The aquascape between the forward post at Fort Saint-Frédéric and its supply depot at Fort Saint-Jean is the underlying creator of the social space of safety in the *borderzone*. The vital nature of the waterway was not lost on French colonial officials in the interbelllum period who noted that once Fort Saint-Jean was constructed in 1748, the colony was fully connected via the aquascape leading to the claim that if need be, Fort Saint-Frédéric to be reinforced from Montréal in less than 48 hours (Letter Gallissonniere et Bigot to Ministre 26 September 1748).

Barque de Champlain

The majority of large scale freight transport of troops, furs, wood, vital supplies and pay-loads for garrisons at the outposts of Lake Champlain, and other miscellaneous goods for the inhabitants of the valley between forts Saint-Jean and Saint-Frédéric in the years between 1731 and 1755 took place on at least one sailing vessel (Calloway 1992:5, 24-25; Kalm 2003[1772]: 212-214; Peebles et al.2009:34; Beaupré 2011, 2015aa, 2015b; Cloutier 2011; Laramie 2012a, 2012b). The plan to construct a vessel large enough to be classified as a ship was first broached by Governor of New France, Charles Beauharnois in a letter to the French Minister of the Marine on 13 October 1735.

Beauharnois suggested the possibility of constructing a vessel which would expedite the transport of materials needed to finish Fort Saint-Frédéric, but also 'greatly facilitate the transport of provisions and munitions necessary for the Garrison' (Beauharnois as cited in Laramie 2012b:3). The question as to when and where the ship was constructed is of ongoing discussion between historians and archaeologists (Beaupré 2011, 2015aa, 2015b, Cloutier 2011; Laramie 2012a, 2012b). What is known is that in the fall of 1741, sufficient soundings had been made of the Richelieu River to discern it was navigable by a keeled sailing vessel (Laramie 2012b:3). The vessel made her maiden voyage somewhere between the summer of 1742 and 1744. A map dated to approximate 1744 shows an icon of the ship and the infrastructure of roads needed to transport goods around the falls at Saint-Jean to a dock (de Lery 1744) (Figure 69). Throughout historical records, this vessel is referred to as a barque, a yacht and a goélette (schooner), the consensus is that the vessel was a two-mastered schooner equipped with oars to handle tricky confines, a crew of six, armed with four swivel guns and displacing 30 to 40 tons (Laramie 2012b:3). While no detailed image of the barque de Champlain survives, we can assume it resembled the British schooner Carlton built at Saint-Jean in the 1770s (Figure 77). Numerous travel journals mention the schooner, its role in the transportation of materials and orders, the hospitality of her captain and crew and her role as the supreme naval power in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor (Calloway 1992:4-5, 24-25; Kalm 2003 [1772]: 212-214,).

Unfortunately, archaeology does not offer any evidence to aid in the debate regarding the barque/schooner of Lake Champlain. The remains of only one French 18th century sailing vessel have been recovered from the depths of Lake Champlain.

Discovered in 1983 when the now defunct Champlain Maritime Society surveyed the bottom of the Lake Champlain between Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga and the American

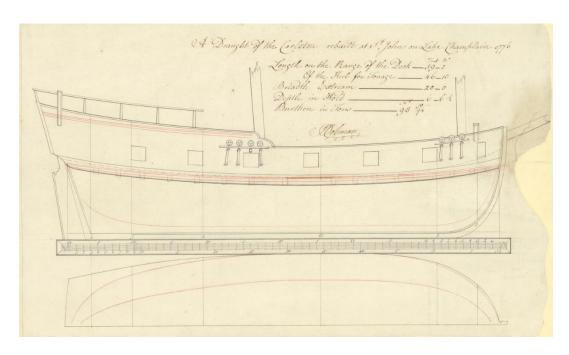


Figure 77 Schematic plans for his Majesty's schooner Carlton, constructed at St. Jean in the 1770s. While no plans or images of the French schooner (barque de Champlain) survive, the Carlton is an adequate guess of the form of the French vessel. Plans of the schooner Carlton courtesy of Fort Saint-Jean Museum.

Fort at Mount Independence, she was designated Hull #1. She is believed to be a French colonial vessel who was renamed after her capture by the British in 1759 (Cohn 1985; Kane et al. 2007). Hull #1 could represent the *barque de Champlain* or several French vessels constructed in Montcalm's shipyard at Saint-Jean (Table 8).

Table 8 A Sample of French Vessels Constructed at Saint-Jean During the Seven Years War

Christened	Vessel Type	Guns	Year of Construction
Vigilante	Schooner	10	1757
Musquelongy	Sloop	8	1759
Brochette	Sloop	8	1759
Esturgeon	Sloop	8	1759
Waggon	Sloop	NA	1759
Grand Diable	Radeau	NA	1759

Other Vessels in on the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor The supply barque or schooner was far from the only vessel plying the waters of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor. Numerous classes of vessels connected the French and Native settlements between the supply depot at Fort Saint-Jean and the borderzone complex in and around Fort Saint-Frédéric. First person accounts by Neremiah How, Phineas Stevens and Pehr Kalm during the interbellum period mention a plethora of French military, French civilian, escorted English, Abenaki and Iroquois traffic (Kalm 1964 [1770]:563, 579; Calloway 1992:1– 44). Additionally, while the schooner and possible other sailing vessels discussed above were hemmed in by the rapids at Fort Saint-Jean in the north, the falls at Carillon in the southwest and the South Bay of Lake Champlain, known as le Grand Marais or the Great Marsh to the French, in the southeast; smaller vessels could traverse the two navigable water routes through the borderzone between New England and New France. That southwestern water route between the colonies involved a portage around the falls at Carillon, to Lake George and the Hudson. The southeastern route was through the Great Marsh and a short portage to Wood Creek and to the Hudson at Fort Edward (Crisman 1996:130).

The vessels cruising up and down the corridor included bateaux, dug-out canoes and bark canoes (Petersen et al.1985; Crisman 1996; Kalm 2003 [1772]: 84, 104, 108, 129-132, 192; Beaupré 2015). While at Fort Saint-Frédéric, Pehr Kalm (2003 [1772]:192) penned the following,

"July 10th, 1749 - the boats which are here made use of are of three kinds.1. bark boats, made of the bark of trees, and of ribs, of wood 2. Canoes, consisting of a single piece of wood, hollowed out... 3. The third kind of boats are Bateaux."

Bark Boats (Canoes)

Bark canoes, referred to a bark boats by Kalm, are perhaps the most immediately recognizable and identifiable North American watercraft (Beauchamp 1905; Kent 1997; Adney and Chappelle 2007). The two most celebrated types of bark canoes

are those made of elm bark and birch bark. Kalm chronicles the construction and use of bark canoes of elm, the material of choice for the Iroquois people, at both Albany and Fort Saint-Frédéric (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 129-132, 192). Birch bark was the canoe building medium favored by the Algonquin speaking people of the project area, such as the Abenaki of Vermont (Haviland and Power 1994:170). Other 18th century French observers state the Iroquois occasionally use birchbark canoes that were acquired from their neighbors via barter or capture. Indeed, secondary historical sources indicate, albeit in a reductionist fashion, that the Iroquois constructed their canoes of elm bark while the Canadian Algonquin constructed their canoes out of birch bark (Beauchamp 1905:144; Adney and Chappelle 2007: 213).

Given the delicate nature and of the entirely biodegradable bark canoe, to my knowledge, no archaeological evidence of elm bark canoes, datable to the 18th century, have yet been recovered in scientific excavation. Indeed, any artifact constructed of bark is a rarity in the archaeological record of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River corridor. However, in the summer of 2012, my team at Fort Saint- Jean Archaeological Project recovered several large fragments of birch bark (Beaupré 2015b: 17-18). The preservation of these artifacts was exceptional due to their placement in a thick, damp, anaerobic clay soil substrate layer. The clay layer remained damp and anaerobic due to its location below the current level of the river and nearby water table has appeared to keep the organic materials at a near constant moisture level for the last few hundred years. One of these bark fragments displayed cleared indications of anthropogenic activity (Figure 78).

The bark feature in questions was composed of two overlapping sheets of white birch bark. Each of the two sheets of bark was perforated with a regular diamond shaped tool in a zig-zag pattern (Figure 78). Furthermore, the bark had been scored in

order for the craftsman to plan the placement of the perforations. The perforations in the two pieces align exactly, leading us to believe they were once sewed together, though all remains of any thread that might have connected them has since deteriorated away.



Figure 78 Birch Bark remains in situ. The direction of the trowel blade indicates north A close-up of the bark artifact seam shows the regular perforations and the lateral scoring indicating planning of hole placement.

Three of the four sides of the artifact show signs of a clean cut, perhaps with a knife. The southern-most edge of the feature was cut in a convex curve. Further inspection of this edge in the laboratory setting revealed that it two was perforated with congruent sized holes, though these perforations did not seem to be placed regularly along any axis. The bark was removed from the unit and placed in a specially built crate, lined with damp towels in an attempt to keep the artifact at the same relative humidity from which it had been recovered.

The bark was then transported to the archaeological laboratory of the Québec Department of Culture for conservation. When recovered, the artifact measured 86 by 61 cm with a thickness of approximately 50mm. Deterioration was subsequently halted by preservation technicians, the freeze-drying process employed for preservation did cause some slight changes in overall dimensions and did effect the overall appearance of the artifact (Figure 79).

Associated artifacts within this anaerobic layer of clay included six glass bottles of French, British, and indeterminate origin as well as several musket balls of both French and British origin, varying in circumference from 1.6cm to 1.8cm (Gallup and Shaffer 1992). Given the extreme depth of the level relative to other excavation areas on the site, it is believed that all of area two was recovered from the bottom of the defensive trench constructed around the south bastion of the 1748 French fort (Figure 80). Much of this trench was backfilled soon after the British occupied the site to enable the construction of the south redoubt. However, a portion of the 'old French ditch' was reintegrated into the south redoubt defenses. Association between the bark and numerous French artifacts including bottles, musket balls, etc., indicates that the archaeological feature in question may be that portion of reused trench.



Figure 79 Image showing the bark artifact after conservation at the Centre du Conservation du Québec.



Figure 80 One of the numerous fragments of Birch bark recovered from 40 G 100 H showing its close.

The birch bark artifact is clearly a portion of a larger construction, however specific form of said construction has not been definitively determined. The three most common uses for birch bark as recorded by ethnographic sources are for food collection baskets, cooking containers and watercraft (Poling 2000:21). With the introduction of European sourced trade copper and iron pots and kettles, birch bark fell out of favor as cooking vessels for the Native peoples of New England and New France (Anderson 1994; Nassaney 2015:92-93). While it has not been conclusively determined that this artifact is a portion of a bark watercraft, it is as strong possibility (Beaupré 2013b; 2015b: 17-18). If it is indeed the remains of a bark canoe, it would be the only example yet uncovered in North America. The bark feature clearly does not represent the entirety of a canoe. Birch bark canoes had a reputation for being fragile, needing repairs ranging from re-stitching and re-gumming of seams to the replacement of entire sections of hull (Adney and Chappelle 2007: 24, 213). It has been postulated that the birch bark feature may represent a large patch discarded with common trash in the defensive ditch during or soon after the French regime. This finding would further correspond with the clean-cut edges and stitching perforations of the feature (Beaupré 2013; 2015b:19-20). I believe this artifact recovered from 18th century context of Fort Saint-Jean is indeed the remains of a birch bark canoe. This is a unique find for the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, and indeed, North America.

Dugout Canoes

Dugout canoes comprised the second class of vessel traveling up and down the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. In his travel journal, Pehr Kalm (2003 [1772]:84) refers to these dugouts simply as canoes, fashioned out of white pine. He goes on to state, "the canoes ... are made of a single piece of wood, hollowed out; they are sharp on both ends and as... broad as the thickness of the wood will allow". He also mentions

them often traveling in flotillas along with sailing ships (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 84). Kalm (2003 [1772]:84, 203) mentions the construction and use of dugout canoes at both Albany and Fort Saint-Frédéric. This is corroborated by secondary historical sources that indicate, albeit in an again reductionist fashion, that the most common canoe constructed and used from Albany to the seacoast was the dugout, though it was used in New England as well (Beauchamp 1905:144).

From reading his journals, it does not seem Kalm was fond of the dugout canoe. He considered it as an acceptable form of transportation only when bateaux and bark boats were unavailable (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 108). This disfavor of the canoe is likely due to his comments regarding the comparatively slow speed of paddling versus rowing, and the unsteady nature of the craft, remarking "they would be more liable to be overset, as one could not keep the equilibrium so well" (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 84).

Regardless of Pehr Kalm's personal preference the dugout canoe was very popular among Native peoples in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River corridor. Archaeological evidence indicates the dugout canoe has been used by the Native people of Vermont to New York since at least the Late archaic period, circa 4000 BC-1000 BC or about 6000 to 3000 years ago (Haviland and Power 1994: 52-53). Dugout canoes remained a staple of Abenaki transportation through the contact and colonial periods. A cooperative effort between the Vermont Archaeological Society, the University of Vermont Department of Anthropology and the Vermont Division of Historic Preservation recovered three near-complete dugout canoes from beneath the waves of Shelburne Pond, in 1978 (Figure 81). Radiocarbon testing indicates the canoes date 1510 ± 60 and AD 1530 ± 60 well within the Late to Terminal Woodland periods (Petersen et al.1985: 36-37; Haviland and Power 1994:146,165). Like the canoes described by Kalm, the Shelburne Pond canoes were dug out of a single log of white

pine (Haviland and Power 1994:165). The Shelburne Pond canoes are not isolated examples, similar archaeological samples having been recovered from nearby Silver Lake, Joe's Pond, as well as other sites in the Lake Champlain and Connecticut River Valleys (Haviland and Power 1994:165). The seemingly careful treatment of the Shelburne Pond dugouts suggests the parking of canoes on the bottom of lakes and ponds may have been an aspect of late Woodland Period life (Haviland and Power 1994:146). Kalm and others have recorded the practice of stashing canoes underwater during the contact and colonial periods as well (Kalm 2003 [1772]:125, 185; Haviland and Power 1994:146).



Figure 81 Remains of one of the Shelburne Pond canoes on display at the Vermont Archaeological Heritage Center. Photo courtesy of the Vermont Division of Historic Preservation, Archaeological Heritage Center.

Bateaux

Referred to in primary source documents as well as modern histories and archaeologies as Bateau(x), batteau plat, Batoes, batues, the bateau is a type of flat-bottomed boat well known in North America for its roles in 17th and 18th century colonies of New France and New England (Dagneau 2004:281). A vessel of nearly entirely New World invention, as Kalm makes mention he had never seen a vessel such

as this in European waters (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 85; Crisman 1996:130). Bateaux were sturdy flat bottomed, double-ended vessel with high gunnels amidships, averaging three to four fathoms (5.5 to 7.3 m) in length Kalm (2003 [1772]: 84). Archaeological and primary historical accounts indicate sizes varied (Dagneau 2004, Crisman 1996;130-131, Kalm 2003 [1772]: 84, 192). A composite design of oak bottom for strength and spruce or pine sides to decreased weight over hardwood, the bateau was clearly designed for travel on the lakes and rivers of North America (Crisman 1996:130; Kalm 2003[1772]: 84, 192). The white oak hull protected the vessel from rigorous crossings of riverine shallows and rapids, the high gunnels amidships allowed her to absorb the high wind and waves of open water, and the spruce or pine flanks made her light enough for overland portages (Crisman 1996:130; Kalm 2003[1772]: 84, 192).

Archaeological examples of the bateau have been recovered in three distinct locations in and around the project area. In the summer of 1960, sport divers discovered a small fleet of partially buried bateau hulls at the southern end of Lake George, very near to the site of Fort William Henry (Figure 82). While souvenir-hunters did damage the remains prior to their removal from the lakebed, in 1985, archaeologists documented and photographed the wrecks that are currently in the collections of the Adirondack Museum and the New York State Museum (Crisman 1996:130-133). The Lake George bateau that was the most complete measured 31 feet stem to stern (10.1 m) in overall length. Given the associated cargo of 13-inch mortar bombs, the small fleet of bateau are believed to date to the occupation of Fort William Henry, 1755-1757, or perhaps a later British expedition to the vicinity in 1758 (Crisman 1996:132-133, 136-137). Historical documents indicate that the 1758 expedition purposely sunk/cached several bateaux for later retrieval (Crisman 1996:137). The hulls of at least one of the recovered Lake George bateau indicated holes had been drilled through the sides and bottom and

the boats were lying in rows on the bottom of the Lake laden with heavy rocks as evidence of intentional scuttling rather than accidental sinking (Crisman 1996:137). This caching of boats seems to mirror the treatment of dugouts discussed above.

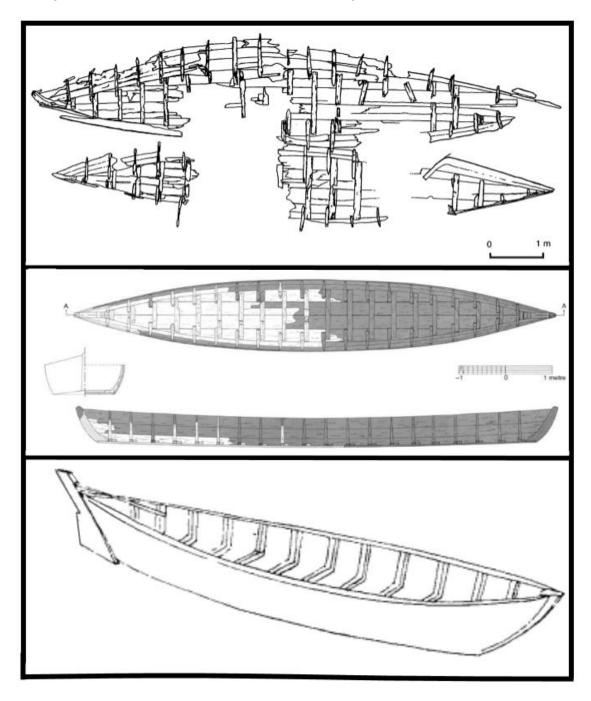


Figure 82 Composite image of archaeologically recovered bateaux. Top: Quebec City bateaux 2 and 3 - after Dagneau 2004:284. Middle: Reconstructed Quebec City bateaux 4 after Dagneau 2004:285, Bottom: Artists reconstruction of Ile-aux-Noix bateau – after Lee 1981:48.

In the summers of 1978 and 1979, the Committee for the Underwater

Archaeology and History of Québec undertook an inventory of the waters directly around the fortifications on Ilse-Aux-Noix, in the Richelieu River. In the course of this inventory, the team recovered the remains of what they believed may have been a French built bateau dating from the period of 1760, when Ilse-Aux-Noix was the furthest south French border post, and one of the few French strongholds following the fall of Québec (Lepine 1981). The condition of the wreck was such that only limited information is available. What remains of the wreck led investigators to believe it was a French bateau sunk by intense British from British artillery in 1760 (Lepine 1981:49).

Finally, during the fall and winter of 1984-85 and several bateaux were discovered in the construction of the Québec Museum of civilization in Québec City's lower town. Five nearly complete hulls were located directly adjacent and partially beneath the foundation of a house built in 1752 and are believed to have been built in 1751 (Crisman 1996:132-133, Dageau 2004). The bateaux averaged 33 feet or 10 m in length, similar to the Lake George bateaux; also similar were the construction techniques used to build both the Lake George and Québec City bateaux (Crisman 1996:137). Intriguingly, both the Québec City and Lake George examples were larger than the 5.5 to 7.3 m bateau described as typical by Pehr Kalm in 1749 (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 84). However, when describing the 3 to 4 fathom average bateau length, Kalm is describing bateau in Albany (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 84). When he arrives at Fort Saint-Frédéric, he states, 'They [the batteax] are always made very large here, and employed for large cargoes.' (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 192).

Within the realm of experimental archaeology, the first vessel reconstructed by the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum was an 18th century bateau replica. Based on the measurements and construction style of the archaeologically recovered Lake George bateau, the *Perseverance* has been offering a living history interpretation of the colonial period vessel since 1987 (Crisman 1996:130-131).

Defending the Aquascape

The ease of watercraft travel between the borderzone post at Fort Sant-Frédéric and the supply post at Fort Saint-Jean was a great boon to the efforts of French colonization in the Lake Champlain valley. However, if one party could use the waterways for nation building, another player in the borderzone could just as easily use the waterway to the detriment of others. The French were aware of their vulnerability to a water-born enemy. The borderzone between Fort Edward and Fort Saint-Frédéric was traversed by two relatively easily accessible water routes, the southwest route over Lake George and southeast route over Wood Creek mentioned above. The French favored travel over Lake George (Kalm 2003[1772]:181). This may be due to the shallow nature of the Great Marsh and Wood Creek, which would hinder travel by the large bateau, observes at Fort Saint-Frédéric (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 131,192). Due to the lack of their patrols on the southeast route through the Great Marsh to Wood Creek, the French effectively blocked this waterway by felling trees across the creek above and below the waterline (Kalm 2003[1772]:138-139,142). The intention was that fragile bark canoes would be irreparably damaged and be unable to carry English or Native would be invaders of the borderzone. These downed logs were a rudimentary form of aquatic chevaux-de-frise.

The Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley aquascapes serve not only as a trade and supply route but serve to construct cognitive space of this portion of New

France. The territory north of Fort Saint-Frédéric during the interbellum period was France. The coast line between the supply depot at Saint-Jean in the forward post at Fort Saint-Frédéric was dotted with minute settlements supplied by the schooner (*Barque de Champlain*) and numerous other small vessels. This regular boat traffic enabled the settlers of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley to feel blanketed within the safe social space. Fort Saint-Jean was occupied minimally as it served its purpose as a supply depot and was located far behind enemy lines. The safe social space in reliance on the protected supply line within the paradigm of positional warfare led the then Governor of New France to extol that when Fort Saint-Jean came into service in 1748, the stronghold closed the last gap between Montréal and St. Frédéric leading to the claim that if need be Fort Saint-Frédéric to be reinforced in less than 48 hours. (letter Gallissonniere et Bigot to Ministre 26 September 1748).

Personal Impressions of the Borderzone

While purely based in documentary evidence, the role of the social space of the *borderzone* in the late 1740s can further be examined through two entries made in the travel journal of Swedish Naturalist, Pehr Kalm. While leaving French Canada, and making the return trip to the British Colonies, Kalm makes this journal entry on 22 October 1749.

"I shall call the part of Canada a wilderness which lies between the French Farms at Fort Saint-Frédéric and Fort Nicholson on the Hudson River, where Mr. Lydius and other Englishmen have their farms. Not a human being lives in these waste regions and no Indian villages are found here. It is a land still left to wild animals, birds, etc." (Kalm 1964[1770]:588)

In the quote above, Kalm speaks of the area I have identified as the pre-Seven Years War *borderzone*, with a sense of trepidation (Figure 83). Travel through this area twice during his journey across North America, first in the summer and then during the height of autumn, as indicated by the date above. When he traveled through the

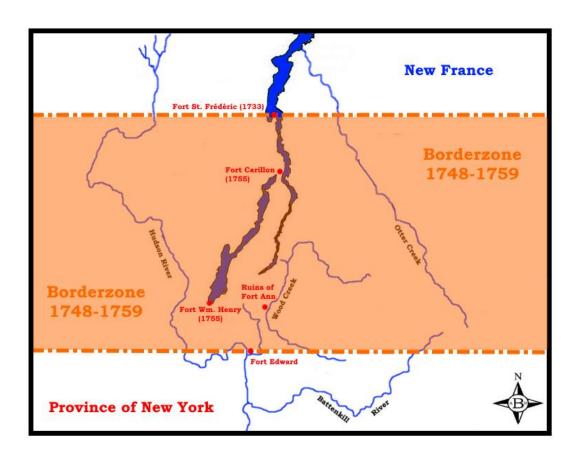


Figure 83 Composite map of the borderzone created by the author from Pehr Kalm's description of the 'wilderness' between the safe spaces between Fort Edward and Fort Saint-Frédéric.

borderzone in summer, 30 June - 2 July 1749, Kalm took the route along Wood Creek from Fort Nicholson to Fort Ann. North of Fort Ann, Wood Creek becomes increasing swampy as it entered South Bay of Lake Champlain (Kalm 138-143, 181). South Bay is known for its shallow depths and paludal ecosystem. Kalm mention that the Dutch in Albany refer to this area as the Drowned Lands, or *De verdronkene Landed* (Kalm 2003 [1772]:181). French maps of the 18th century refer to South Bay as the Great Marsh, *Ie Grand Marais*. During his journey, northward through the drowned lands *borderzone*, Kalm makes mention of the desolate nature of the area. He further makes mention of the hand of divine providence in encountering a party of French soldiers on this journey. The French were traveling with a group of English dignitaries as protection against a group of

Abenaki's out to avenge a death in the family that took place during the recently ended Queen Anne's War. Kalm makes mention of the fear that gripped him and his party. If they had been mistaken as Englishmen by the Abenaki war party, they surely would have been killed (Kalm 1964 [1770]: 139). His fears were proven not unfounded when within the safe social space of Fort Saint-Frédéric, Kalm observes that very war party returning (Kalm 1964 [1770]: 187).

When traveling southward through the *borderzone* a few short months later, Kalm further voices his fear of the contested *borderzone*.

"Tales of Horror. During the evenings my companions were busy telling one another how they had gone forth in the last war to attack the English; how they had had Indians along and how they had beaten to death the enemy and scalped him. They also told how the natives often scalped the enemy while he was still alive; how they did the same thing with prisoners who were too weak to follow them, and of other gruesome deeds which it was horrible for me to listen to in these wildernesses, where the forest were now full of Indians who today might be at peace with one another and tomorrow at war; killing and beating to death whomever they could steal upon. A little while ago there was a crackling sound in the woods just as if someone had walked or approached slowly in order to steal from us. Almost everyone arose to see what was the matter, but no one heard anything more. It was said that he had just been talking about scalping and that we could suffer the same fate before we were aware of it. The long autumn nights are rather terrifying in these vast wildernesses. May God be with us!"

(Kalm 1964 [1770]:590)

When analyzing Kalm's comments in relation to the ideas of cognitive space to which I ascribe, I find it fascinating that he, himself, defines the *borderzone* as a 'wilderness', or 'waste region' devoid of human inhabitants, even 'Indians' These comments are particularly surprising since in the same breath in which he marks this land as empty, he expresses fear of attack by Natives in this 'wilderness' area (Kalm 1964[1770]:588-590). Kalm's account of his travels in North America is replete with inconsistency as he reveals his fears and biases through the number of voices in which he speaks.

His anxieties intensified after he left the social space identified as the 'French

Farms at Fort Saint-Frédéric'. Kalm had mentioned on several occasions that he felt quite comfortable, and welcomed by the French officers, soldiers, civilians and local Native people alike. It appears that once he left that 'safe zone' that is created by the social space of the border settlement of Fort Saint-Frédéric, Kalm expressed a fear of his surroundings. His comments on this short trip between the French safe social space in and around Fort Saint-Frédéric and its English counterpart at Fort Edward.

Kalm's use of the term 'wilderness' is at the heart of this discussion. He defined the space I have termed the borderzone, between the safe social spaces of the Dutch/British Village at the persistent place of Fort Edward and the French village at Fort Saint-Frédéric, in juxtaposition to either of those safe space locations. He spoke of this area within the common 18th century trope of fear of the wilderness. This definition of this raw material space as the wilderness indeed supports my conclusion about a borderzone which is a cognitive space as well as a material one. From the 21st century standpoint, the area described by Kalm's wilderness and devoid of life, is no different topographically, nor environmentally from either the environs of Fort Saint-Frédéric or Fort Edward. What Kalm was observing was not a stark differentiation in raw material space, but a differentiation in social space. The social spaces of safety at Fort Edward and Fort Saint-Frédéric bookend an area without manipulation of the landscape or raw material space by Europeans. When, Kalm left an area he felt was within a cognitive safe space created by European manipulation of the material space, he described this lack of safe social space as wilderness. Again, from an objective 21st century standpoint, what is fascinating is that the cognitive space of safety created by the aguascape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley north of Fort Saint-Frédéric and south of Fort Saint-Jean, is no more French controlled or objectively safe than the borderzone wilderness.

Smuggling in the borderzone – Spatial Analysis of the Artifact Level

Intriguingly, while Kalm sees the *borderzone* as wilderness, he also makes mention of individuals traveling through the borderzone. Most notably, these travelers through the borderzone were Abenaki, Mohawk, French and English individuals engaged in smuggling. The smuggling or illicit trade to the local Native American populations of brandy was a well-known societal scourge by the early years of the 18th century (Rushforth 2013:49-65). As mentioned briefly above, one of the primary reasons for establishing Fort Saint-Frédéric as a *borderzone* stronghold was to curb smuggling, or illicit or illegal trade between Albany and Montréal. Documentary and archaeological evidence both indicate that the illicit trade between Canada and the English colonies continued despite the presence of the fort at the foot of Lake Champlain (Kalm 1964 [1770]: 598; Huey 2010; Fisher and Huey 2013:90).

On his travels through the *borderzone* in 1749, Kalm mentions encountering Phineas Stevens, emissary to Canada appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to negotiate for the release of New England captives. This dissertation relies heavily on the accounts of both Kalm and Stevens, whose travel through the *borderzone* during the same period results in their crossing paths on several occasions (Kalm 1964 [1770]: 568, 598; Calloway 1992:22-44). When they meet in the *borderzone* between Fort Saint-Frédéric and the Lydius Trading Post complex at Fort Edward, Kalm accuses Stevens and his companions of smuggling goods for Albany merchants

"When we had gone half the distance [to the English territory] we met a couple of Englishmen who came from Boston and had been sent to Québec on prisoner's behalf...Merchants in Albany who carried on questionable business with those in Montréal, took advantage of this opportunity to send a lot of forbidden wares to Canada in exchange for which they were to receive the skins of beaver and other animals." (Kalm 1964 [1770]: 598)

This illegal trade was the purpose for the establishment of the Lydius trading post

complex at the site of Fort Edward (Calloway 1990:137; Coolidge 1999 [1934]: 83-84). The English were not the only party complicit in the illegal trade. In 1752, one French colonial official, while on an inspection tour of Fort Saint-Frédéric made note that the Commandant's wife had her own private store within the walls of the fort (Huey 2010:3). The store sold 'all kinds of goods, even those that are prohibited, which she obtained from New England by means of the Indians.' (Huey 2010:3 citing Franquet).

Recent interpretations of archaeological evidence from domestic structures outside of the walls of Fort Saint-Frédéric draw attention to the nature of this illegal trade (Huey 2009, 2010). A number of house foundations in an area of the Crown Point State Historic Site known as the "village site" had previously been identified as Britishoccupied domestic structures from the post-conquest/pre-revolutionary period 1759-1775 (Huey 2010:2). In-depth analysis undertaken by Paul Huey and his team from the Archaeology Unit of the Bureau of historic sites, indicates this area was originally the location of the pre-1759 French village, and was reused by the British post-conquest. Levels of occupation previously thought to have been British based on assemblage content, namely deep yellow creamware, and English wine bottle fragments, could represent French occupation. Artifacts originating from the English do not necessarily indicate habitation by the British, but might represent goods smuggled from Albany via the Lydius trading post by French and Native smugglers (Huey 2010:2). Huey suggests that perhaps high-quality English white salt glazed stoneware, delft, fine lead glass stemware and other goods were more readily available via illicit trade than the existing supply lines from France, via Montréal, Fort Saint-Jean and the barque de Champlain.

Historical and archaeological evidence both seem to suggest that Fort Saint-Frédéric was built as a border post, largely to curtail illicit trade between Albany and Montréal (Peebles et al.2009: 26). Perhaps individuals at this *borderzone* outpost were taking advantage of their location far from the social control the metropol. Historical documentation indicates that the officers at Fort Saint-Frédéric were rewarded with a full value of any goods seized from illegal traffickers (Peebles et al.2009: 26). Perhaps the goods recovered archaeologically by Huey in the French occupation layers were these seized goods. Perhaps the officers of Fort Saint- Frédéric allowed the illicit trade to continue in exchange for kickbacks of casual material goods. Regardless of the mechanism of how the British goods ended up in French context, what is clear is that goods did flow through the *borderzone* 'wilderness'. Irrespective of Crown laws, the borderzone remained a place of compromise, a place where laws and rules were fluid.

A French raiding party from Fort Saint-Frédéric is credited with burning the Lydius complex at Fort Edward in November 1745, in an effort to stop illegal trade through the *borderzone* (Calloway 1990:137; Bielinski 2007). This may be a *borderzone* interaction best characterized by a famous movie quote, "I'm shocked, shocked to find that gambling is going on in here!"

The Fall of the Seven Year Borderzone

The arrival of the Seven Years War in earnest, in the years between 1756 and 1759 saw the collapse of the Fort Saint-Frédéric settlement due in part to two specific military tactics which undermined the 'safe' social space created by the French in this isolated border settlement. These two tactics are guerrilla warfare and the large-scale siege. Both tactics are the antithesis to positional warfare, a strategy which had enabled the initial creation of the safe social space in and around Fort Saint-Frédéric.

Terrorism in the borderzone

In the 18th century, guerrilla warfare was not a new tactic in North American conflict. Since first contact, Native peoples and Europeans alike have engaged in what Europeans would refer to as irregular tactics. Guerrilla war is a stratagem of pounce and

withdraw, or hit and run (Leckie 1999:102; Laramie 2012:111). The use of guerilla warfare (La petite guerre) was also becoming popular in the European manifestation of the Seven Years War (Picaud-Monnerat 2010; Anklam 2012; Füssel 2012). In North America, French and British alike would rely on their Native allies to undertake typical guerrilla style activities including raiding supply depots, ambushing patrols and pickets etc. (Anderson 2000: 11-22; Travers 2015). In the mid-1750s the British forces in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley lacked sufficient Native allies to engage in this form of combat. Colonial officer Robert Rogers, a Massachusetts Colony born son of Irish immigrants, spent much of the Seven Years War leading his infamous Rogers Rangers, an irregular unit that was designed to replace these absent Native allies (Anderson 2000:188). Irregular units, in both French and British camps, engaged in guerrilla warfare, yet Maj. Robert Rogers and his men lowered the savagery bar during woodlands warfare in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. Maj. Rogers was referred to as "the White Devil" by the Abenaki, due to his particularly brutal tactics (Calloway 1990:175 – 179; Haviland and Power 1994: 235 – 237; Bruchac 2002; Brumwell 2006; Travers 2015:58).

At the height of fighting in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley between 1755 and 1759, Roberts recorded no fewer than 26 raids and intelligence gathering missions against military and civilian targets at Fort Carillon and Fort Saint-Frédéric (Table 9). We, as historians and archaeologists, have detailed accounts of these guerrilla actions due in large part to Rogers own published journals and reports made to superior officers. In these documents, Rogers chronicles each encounter, making notes of casualties and damages inflicted (Hough 1883). During the war years, the French population in the *borderzone* was terrorized by Rogers and his irregular troops who captured, killed and scalped soldiers and civilian alike, both men and women (Hough

1883; Peebles et al. 2009:32). Rogers recorded burning houses and barns and decimating herds of livestock (Peebles et al.2009:32; Travers 2015:58). Through these years of raid and intelligence gathering reconnaissance missions along Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, Rogers continued his indefatigable quest to perfect ranging skills and woodlands warfare (Anderson 2000:188) (Figure 84). By Rogers' own account of his actions (Hough 1883), and the Rules of Ranging he produced (Appendix B), a student of the modern global climate would recognize that Rogers crossed the line between guerrilla warfare and terrorist tactics.

The Oxford English Dictionary (1996:652) defines a *guerrilla* as, 'a member of a small independently acting group taking part in irregular fighting, especially against larger regular forces.' And thus, *guerrilla warfare* as 'fighting by or with guerrillas'.

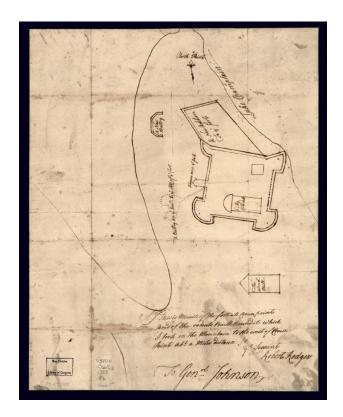


Figure 84 A rather inaccurate map drawn by Rogers on one of his intelligence gathering missions to Fort Saint-Frédéric Rogers, R. & Johnson, W. (1755) [Sir: This is minuts of the fort at Crown Point and of the redouts built round it; which I took on the mountain to the west of Crown Point abt. a miles distance]. [Map] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/73691808/.

Table 9 Rogers Rangers Raids on Fort Saint-Frédéric

Date	Purpose	Casualties/Damages/Notes	Ref. Pg.
Sept. 24, 1755	Reconnaissance	Sneaks through Indian camp, past centuries into village	28
Oct. 14, 1755	Prisoner Acquisition	One Frenchman killed and scalped - Single French soldier killed and scalped in plain view of the fort	34-35
Feb. 2, 1756	Reconnaissance - Ambush	Fired village houses and barns-burning wheat and hay stores, killed 50 head of cattle	43-44
Mar. 5, 1756	Reconnaissance	Seeking information on French village six miles north of Crown Point	44
Mar. 17, 1756	Ambush	Set ambush for farmers to tend cattle and clean wheat - in absence, burned houses and barns on bay west of fort	44-45
May 5, 1756	Ambush	Set Ambush in village on east side of Lake - no one appeared for capture- killed 23 head of cattle, ate tongues	47-48
Aug.6-7, 1756	Ambush/Raid	Set ambush in burned-out village south of fort -discovered by French .5 mile south of fort, killed upwards 40 head of cattle	23
Aug.29, 1756	Prisoner Acquisition/Intel	Captured Farmer (<u>2 year</u> resident of Crown Point), his wife and 14yo daughter, acquired intelligence	59
Sept. 9-10, 1756	Reconnaissance	Reconnoiter small village south of Fort Carillon; blockhouse and sawmill at the falls between lakes. Gathered estimates of French strength	61-63
Oct. 27, 1756	Prisoner Acquisition/Intel	Captured French sentry 'cutting his breeches and coat from him, that be might march with the greater ease and expedition.'	63-64
Jan. 21, 1757	Prisoner Acquisition/Intel	Ambushed supply train traveling St. Frederic to Carillon. Took seven prisoners, three sleds and six horses	29
Jan. 21-22, 1757	Battle/Ambushed	Battle on Snowshoes - Rogers ambushed by French Regulars, Canadian Militia and Ottawa-Rogers suffered 26 casualties; Murdered his French captives to expedite retreat	67-74
Fall-Winter 1757	Patrol	we were continually employed in patrolling the woods between this fort (Edward) and Ticonderoga'	80
Dec. 23, 1757	Prisoner Acquisition/Intel	Captured Sergeant of the French Marine <u>putside</u> Carillon, Captured French civilian hunting-gathered intelligence from both 'on examination' Killed French cattle, burned wood supply outside of fort.	87-88
Mar. 13, 1758	Reconnaissance	Battle on Snowshoes 1758 - French had intel on Rangers movements, Ambushed company of 180 Rangers, 120 Ranger casualties, Rogers narrowly escaped.	90-113
Spring 1758	Reconnaissance	"These scouts, being often relieved, were kept out pretty constantly, in order to discover any parties of the enemy that might sally out towards our forts or frontiers*	111
May 4-5, 1758	Reconnaissance	"The 4th we marched north-by-east all day, and encamped at night three miles from Crown Point Fort. The 5th we killed one Frenchman, and took three prisoners"	113
June 12, 1758	Reconnaissance	Gather intelligence on strength of French at Carillon	115
June 22, 1758 - Noon	Reconnaissance	Reconnaissance of French Sawmill at Carillon Falls - Killed several French soldiers.	118a
July 8, 1758	Battle	Battle of Fort Carillon - The battle was the bloodiest of the war. French losses were about 400, while more than 2,000 were British.	118-121
Aug. 20, 1758	Reconnaissance	"I was employed in various other excursions towards the enemy's forts and frontiers, and in pursuit of their flying parties till the campaign for this year ended, and our army retired to winter-quarters."	124
Mar. 6, 1759	Reconnaissance	Ambushed French wood cutting party across from Carillon (40 in number), "took several prisoners, and destroyed most of the party as they were retreating to the fort."	130
June, 1759	Reconnaissance	"I sent out several parties to the French forts, who from time to time discovered the situation of the enemy, and brought satisfactory intelligence."	135
July 21, 1759	Ambush	Ambushed workers at sawmills on Carillon Falls, "took several prisoners, killed other and put the remainder to flight"	136
July 26–27, 1759	Battle	Battle of Ticonderoga - Carillon falls to British under siege guns commanded Amherst - French retreated north under cover of darkness through the south village.	136-140

While 'terrorist is listed as a synonym of guerrilla, the same volume makes the important distinction of defining a terrorist as, 'a person who uses or favors violent and intimidating methods of coercing a government or community' (OED 1996:652, 1580). By these definitions, Rogers actions of attacking the communities associated with borderzone forts in an attempt to not only gather intelligence on the strength of the enemy forces by kidnapping and interrogating civilians and military personnel, but also destroying civilian property and food resources in an effort to weaken border positions, Rogers is engaging in terrorist actions. Any discussion of guerrilla tactics versus terrorism will no doubt include the common English axiom, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". In the examples outlined in Table 9, as a student of history it is difficult to defend Rogers' actions as freedom fighting. While this chapter of my dissertation is on the topic of the years surrounding the Seven Years War, arguably the first true global war; in a discussion of guerrilla warfare and terrorists, it's difficult to not make direct ties to current events in world politics. In his work, The Tyranny of Clichés, American conservative columnist Jonah Goldberg (2012:5) quips, "It is simply absurd to contend that because people may argue over who is or is not a terrorist that it is therefore impossible to make meaningful distinctions between terrorists and freedom fighters." While Goldberg is writing in reference to the 21st century political situation between the Middle East and the United States, such distinctions between common warfare and the psychological impacts of terrorist action are vital in understanding of social space and human interaction in the borderzone.

Over the course of his 26 plus raids, Rogers killed over 100 head of cattle, and repeatedly burned barns containing wheat and hay storage in an attempt to starve out the settlement, soldiers and civilians alike (Hough 1883: 43-44, 44-45, 47-48, 57; Travers 2015:58). Rogers and his men targeted civilian hostages on no fewer than five

occasions. On 29 August 1756 they captured a farmer, his wife and daughter pressing them for information before transporting them to Albany for ransoming (Hough 1883: 59). Both instances are terrorist actions as they target communities and civilian populations.

Hostages that survived Rogers captivity were considered lucky, as he is known to have killed those he captured to expedite his retreat south (Hough 1883: 34- 35, 63-64, 67, 113, 118a, 130, 136). Finally, perhaps his most grievous terrorist action was recorded by Rogers himself in a report addressed to Gen. Johnson and dated 22 October 1755 (Hough 1883:34). In this report, Rogers states,

"Found a good place to ambush within sixty rods of the fort, ...and there we lay till about ten o'clock. Observed several canoes passing up and down the lake, and sundry men that went out to work about their secular affairs, and judged the whole that was in the fort to be about five hundred. At length, a Frenchman came out of the fort towards us, with his gun, and came within fifteen rods of where we lay. Then I with another man ran up to him, to capture him- we killed him, and took his scalp, in plain sight of the fort"

I submit to the reader here, is it no less of a terrorist action to scalp a man in plain sight of 500 of the villages inhabitants, combatants and noncombatants alike, then for ISIL to behead an enemy combatant and post video of that beheading on the internet for the world to see. Unlike the capture of a farmer cutting wood far from the relative safety of the village (Hough 1883: 59), or the capture of a lone civilian hunting game south of the fort (Hough 1883:87-88), the murder and scalping outlined above are far more damaging to the social space of safety created by the *borderzone* settlement at Fort Saint-Frédéric. As discussed at length above, the border forts were a symbol of safety. The social space created by the villager's interaction with the material space of the fort in the village created a safe place for soldiers and civilians alike to inhabit and thrive. While raids, such as those described above may have been commonplace, and executed in support of both British and French forces, the psychological impact of *la petite guerre* or guerrilla warfare on colonists is unmistakable. By heinously murdering

and scalping a man within sight of the fort and village, Rogers Rangers terrorized the public and tore at the fabric of the community, shattering their safe social space.

Indeed, census records, and personal accounts of the *borderzone* communities indicate that many families fled to the relative safety of the Richelieu settlements for further north, to the St. Lawrence heartland. Throughout the periods of sporadic combat leading up to the Seven Years War, the population of the communities around Fort Saint-Frédéric specifically, ebbed and flowed. Even in the face of Rogers terrorist actions and the threat of the enemy stronghold at Fort Edward being just 60 miles to the south, documents show that many of the inhabitants of the seigneuries and King's domain at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure continued to rise to raise crops and husband their animals until they were ordered north following the fall of Fort Carillon on 27 July 1759 (Peebles et al.2009:35). Rogers' tactics were considered brutal even by his contemporaries and were often cited as a counterexample to the decorum expected of 18th century officers and gentlemen (Travers 2015:58).

Siege Warfare

The threat of full scale siege warfare brought an end to the 'safe' social space of the French Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. As mentioned above in the discussion of the material space of Fort Saint-Frédéric as so eloquently outlined by Fisher and Huey, the edifice of Fort Saint-Frédéric was largely symbolic. The strategic weakness of this position was mentioned by numerous French officials and travelers in the region. Yet, Saint-Frédéric stood reminiscent of a Loire Valley château, constructed in a hybrid Vauban style, as a symbol of French control in the region. Its position on a rocky promontory and its remote location contributing to the unlikeness of ever needing

to withstand full-scale siege against heavy guns, Fort Saint-Frédéric served its purpose well until 1758.

Fort Saint-Frédéric was never laid siege to itself. Siege warfare was brought to the project area in earnest at the hands of the French in August 1757. In the final years of conflict between England and France for control of the North American colonies, the nature of war on the frontier made a marked shift. North American warfare had become a hybrid of European field battles, where regular regiments made assaults on fortified lines, and traditional Native American tactics where units of Rangers and Native allies engaged in *petit guerre*. Additionally, the irregular units of Rangers and Native peoples took up the role of European cavalry on the flanks large battle movements as mounted troops were impractical in wilderness warfare. (Nester 2008:34 – 36) The Marquis de Montcalm himself made mention of this,

"the nature of war in this colony has totally changed. Formerly the Canadians thought they were making war when they went on raids resembling hunting parties – now we have formal operations; formally the Indians were the basis of things, now they are only auxiliaries. We now need other views, other principles, I say this; but the old principles remain" (Montcalm to Le Normand April 12, 1759)

Montcalm's sentiment was further supported by his aid-de-camp, Louis de Bougainville, "now wars established here in a European basis. Projects for the campaign, for armies, for artillery, for sieges, for battles is no longer a matter of making a raid, but of conquering or being conquered." (Hamilton 1964:252).

In the latter stages of the Seven Years War, sieges in North America were nearly indistinguishable from those in Europe (Nester 2008:34). The Marquis de Montcalm utilized approaches, trenches dug for safety and concealment, and heavy artillery to bring the surrender of Fort William Henry in 1757 (Anderson 2000: 185- 201; Starbuck 2002, 2014) (Figure 85). In the summer of 1758, the British returned the favor, when General James Abercrombie commanded a full-scale attack on Fort Carillon, the French

borderzone post closest to the English, a mere 24 km to the south of Fort Saint-Frédéric. In the early days of July 1758, Abercrombie commanded an army of some 17,000 men, the largest army ever assembled in North America at that time (Chartrand 2000: 30). After skirmishing their way north from the British borderzone post of Fort William Henry on Lake George, Abercrombie confronted an entrenched French army under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm on 6 July 1758.

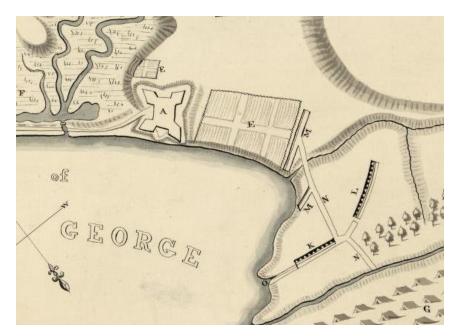


Figure 85 Excerpt from a map of the siege of Fort William Henry. The French heavy artillery approaches and emplacements are labeled K, L, M and N. Adapted from Bruff, J. G. (1845) A plan of Fort William Henry, and the intrenched camp of the English;-with the camps of the French. [Map] Retrieved from the Library of Congress.

Fort Carillon was constructed as a near textbook example of Vauban style low walled frontier fort, surrounded by outer works and entrenchments, enabling it to withstand Abercrombie's assault (Pell 1990 [1935]; Chartrand 2000). While Montcalm commanded a state-of-the-art installation, he lacked the stockpiles of supplies necessary for a long siege yet Abercrombie, fearing the arrival of French reinforcements from Forts Saint-Frédéric, the city of Montréal via Fort Saint-Jean and the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor. On 8 July Abercrombie ordered a full-frontal assault being

heartily beaten back by the entrenched French (Coffin et al.2005:135 - 136). While unsuccessful, such an attack was unprecedented in the Seven Years War and marked the beginning of the end for French supremacy positional warfare in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley.

The British Army would return to Fort Carillon the following summer. General Jeffrey Amherst led 9000 men supported by 51 pieces of heavy artillery. The British laid siege to Carillon. The French kept up a near continuous cannonade, as the British dug trenches to move the heavy mortars and howitzers within range of the fort walls (Coffin et al. 2005:136). The French commander of the fort, General Bourlamaque, realized that he would soon be starved out by Amherst's siege and staged a two-pronged retreat. On 26 July 1759, Bourlamaque secretly redeployed most his troops to Fort Saint-Frédéric, leaving a Captain Hebecourt with a garrison of 400 men to barrage the British. When Amherst was within 600 yards of the fort walls, Hebecourt and his men set charges in the powder magazine, loaded boats and sailed north to Saint-Frédéric. The explosion's resulting fire burned for three days (Pell 1990 [1935]: 47). Aware that his Fort Saint-Frédéric could not withstand Amherst's siege guns, Bourlamaque ordered the evacuation of the fort and village on July 31, 1759. Prior to his retreat, Bourlamague set charges in Fort Saint-Frédéric's powder magazine and thus had single-handedly ordered the destruction of both French border strongholds. The French did redeploy to a new set of defensive works on Ilse Aux Noir in the Richelieu (Pell 1990 [1935]: 47; Charbonneau 1994:18 - 20) (Figure 86).

With the retreat of troops to Ilse aux Noix, the *borderzone* shifted north. Since the construction of *fort de Pieux à Point-à-la-Chevelure* in 1731, the territory of New France is firmly included all of Lake Champlain. In the course of mere days, the border and *borderzone* moved over 100 km north. The French retreat north invited the same

borderzone interaction now centered around Ilse aux Noix and Fort Saint-Jean. Rogers Rangers terrorized the countryside, capturing and interrogating settlers around Saint-Jean in September 1759 and cutting the essential supply line between Chambly,

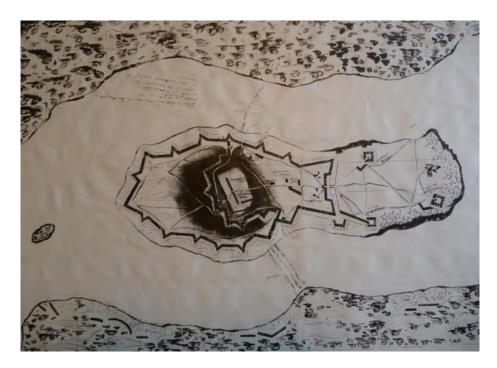


Figure 86 Map showing the French fortification on Ilse-aux Noix. After Charbonneau (1994).

Saint-Jean and Ilse aux Noix before attacking the remaining garrison there in May 1760 (Hough 1886:139, 159; Charbonneau 1994:19-21).

The small French stronghold on Ilse aux Noix survived after the fall of Québec, it was captured by the advancing British Army under Brig. Gen. William Haviland prior to his attack on Montréal (Charbonneau 1994:19-20). Montcalm ordered Fort Saint-Jean destroyed along with its accompanying shipyard in the fall of 1760. The fall of French border posts at Carillon, Saint-Frédéric, Ilse aux Noix and Saint-Jean brought an end to the French strategy of positional warfare in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley and more broadly, North America.

Conclusions

Through the previous in-depth discussion of the rise and fall of the Lake

Champlain Richelieu River Valley *borderzone* during the 18th century we can ascertain the strength of social spaces created by people working within their impression of a place (cognitive space) and their built environment (material space). A colony had labored to create a safe social space on the edge of the *borderzone* consisting of a symbolic fortified position at Fort Saint-Frédéric, facing the cognitive 'frontières naturelles defined spaces of the great marsh and the Green Mountains, and enlivened with hundreds of settlers who had endured the terrorist actions of petite guerre. This safe social space on the edge seemingly fell to an advancing army in a matter of days. A safe social space in the *borderzone* that took literally the majority of the century to create, through the actions of politicians and settlers appeared to have been crushed. The retreat of the French north from Fort Saint-Frédéric set the tone for the next two centuries of the treatment of French civilians in Canada. There was hope, however, symbolized by the last stronghold in the valley-at Ilse-aux-Noix.

When examining the construction, and fall of the community of Fort Saint-Frédéric on the edge of New France, one can liken the 'safe social space' crated to the 'security theater' for which the United States Transportation Security Agency is much criticized in the post 9-11 world. The term 'security theater' was coined by computer security specialist and writer Bruce Schneier to refer to the post 9-11 policy that were largely 'window dressing' lacking in any actual security substance. The question Schneier raises is whether the security theater does anything to deter terrorists, or whether it keeps up appearances for the citizens under protection (Schneier 2003). In the case of the community at Saint-Frédéric, security theater appears to have helped to create a safe social space, until the increased incidents of *petit guerre* and the arrival of

actual siege warfare shattered the safe space. As the French retreated from the valley in 1759, they were forced to destroy their fort, their own homes, their symbols of safety. The name Chimney Point, Vermont remains as a toponym derived from a quip made by a member of Amherst's advancing army. All that was left of the burned-out French homes on the east shore of Lake Champlain were the chimneys (Peebles et al. 2009:25).

In 1758, the French philosopher Voltaire quipped "You know that these two nations are at war about a few acres of snow somewhere around Canada, and that they are spending on this beautiful war more than all Canada is worth." Voltaire's comments were based solely on the economic value of the colony to France and discounted the strong social spaces created by a people's interaction with their environment. The French *habitants* who called the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley home had been displaced from their homes by wars previously, and had returned to start again. These ebbs and flows in settlement are indeed recorded in the community population estimates (Figure 67). Perhaps the most poignant display of the lasting impression of the safe social space and the habitant settler's attachment to their homes at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure may have been their attempt to be repatriated in the early months of 1760 (Peebles et al.2009:33). These ethnically French people were now British subjects. Not yet protected by the Québec act of 1774 which would ensure French civil law would remain, these wayward habitants were indeed people without a country. Attempting to move back to their homes at the foot of Lake Champlain they were intercepted by the British Army at Chambly at Ilse-aux-Noir. If the British could prove they had been combatants during the Seven Years War they were escorted to New York or Québec and forced to board deportation ships bound for Europe (Peebles et al.2009:33). This was not a difficult task as the majority of settlers would serve in the militia during a time

of war. Those that were sent back to Europe were forced into the world of *Voltaire* and a French populace whose cognitive view saw the country these *habitants* had labored to create as nothing more than 'quelques arpents de neige vers le Canada.' While the material remains of logging and farming have long since faded away, cultivation of arable land in the French seigneurial style of long lot agriculture is still visible the modern satellite imagery (Figures 65, 66 and Appendix A). Concrete evidence in terms of archaeological recovered materials are yet to be discovered (Appendix A). However, the manipulation of the material space of the landscape into *rotures* is visible on lands that were once the Hocquart, Beaujeu and Livaudiére seigneuries some 250+ years after their *habitants* were forced from the valley.

CHAPTER SEVEN Concluding Thoughts

"independence rooted in local land ownership and local government, seems to have remained the chief objective of northern New Englanders to this day..." (Mosher 1997: 42)

This dissertation began with a premise, drawn from historical literature, that the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was a contested region from pre-contact through the 18th century. This statement is oft made by historians in direct reference to military conflict in the valley (Palmer 2009 [1889]; Calloway 1990, 1991, 1992; Haviland and Power 1999; Leckie 1999; Starbuck 1999, 2002, 2004, 2010, 2014; Wiseman 2001, 2009; Coffin et al. 2005; Laramie 2012a, 2012b). This dissertation has utilized the military and civilian history of the project area to examine the complex nature of the contested region in relation to space and spatial creation. At the onset, the primary objective of this study was to test diachronic regional spatiality as a model for investigating the creation of space and place in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. As the project progressed, it became clear that the question at the heart of this discussion was deeper. While history has termed this specific landscape a contested region fraught with military conflict, then why did governments and individuals choose this place to build settlements and establish communities? If military conflict was indeed the driving force of human habitation in the region, why did settlers of multiple ethnicities build anything beyond military installations?

One interpretation of this causality, as mentioned in the quotation above, is a regionally specific enigmatic spirit of independence, rooted in local ownership and local rule. While I believe this 'independent spirit' is a facet of the causality, this explanation relies too much on post American Revolution republicanism. That fierce independent

spirit references an Anglo-American-centric historical narrative that has been pervasive in the region. An examination of this contested *borderzone* through the model of diachronic regional spatiality, clearly indicates the causality for the persistent nature of settlement and military involvement is more complex than the movements of armies and strategic positioning of fortifications on the natural landscape. The construction of a social safe space must be considered as a facet of the causality for the persistent nature of settlement and conflict in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley.

To Recap

This dissertation has utilized the model of diachronic regional spatiality to move toward an understanding of the existence of this highly contested *borderzone* in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. This tripartite model consists of cognitive, material and social spaces. Taken in concert, the three aspects of the model are employed to access complex social processes. The model is also diachronic, employing the Braudel (1980[1949]), French annals school, three stage approach to time.

The current a priori historical narrative of the project area prior to European contact favored an interpretation of Lake Champlain ('bitawbágók') and the Richelieu River ('bitawbágwizibó') as an aquascape borderzone between the Iroquois on the western shore and the Abenaki on the eastern shore. In a critical exploration of the historical and archaeological records, employing my model of spatiality, Chapter Four indicated that the pre-contact interaction sphere of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley borderzone was much more complex. The pre-contract borderzone consisted of at least four major native groups. These groups that occupied the project area directly prior to contact are the Mohawk, the Mohicans, St. Lawrence Iroquoians and the Abenaki. However, it is problematic to view the Abenaki within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley as one political organization. The Western Abenaki peoples did

not operate as a single political unit, or 'tribe'. The family band was the basic unit of the Abenaki social organization (Calloway 1990:10). During the Protohistoric and Colonial periods, numerous Abenaki family bands occupied the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley and Green Mountains, and were referred to as the Abenaki, Abnaki, Abenaqui, Oubenaqui, Missisquoi, Mazipskoik, Misiskuoi, Wabanki, Cowasuck, Koasek, Koas, as well as many other monikers (Calloway 1990:8-10). While many of these names no doubt refers to the same group of individuals, the political sovereignty expressed by each family band within the Abenaki language group should not be understated. While during the Late Woodland and Protohistoric periods, the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley was a contested *borderzone*, the actual situation was much more nuanced than the current politically informed historical narrative would imply.

In recent years, the federally recognized Mohawk Nation and numerous Vermont State recognized Abenaki bands have made concerted political efforts to enforce the historical narrative of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley as a concrete border between the two language groups. The ways which recognized tribes choose to defend an essentialist view of border distinction is undoubtedly a product of the socio-political climate in the region. The State of New York is currently home to eight federally recognized tribes. Vermont, by comparison, has no resident federally recognized groups, but has four state recognized bands. Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter Four, the western portion of the southwestern most counties in Vermont are claimed by the federally recognized Stockbridge Munsee Band of Mohicans. The process of tribal recognition by federal and state governments has dominated the political activities of Native American groups in the region during the third quarter of the 20th century and the first few decades of the 21st century (Haviland and Power 1994; Wiseman 2001; Moody 2011).

The criteria for recognition by both the federal government, 'BIA recognition'; and recognition by the State of Vermont, have references to the necessity for historic and modern tribes to inhabit a specific geographic area (25 CFR Part 83.7b; (VT. Stat. Ann. tit. 9A, § 853). The explicit tie between identity and geographic delineation made by the above legislation has had a profound effect on Native groups in Abenaki country and elsewhere (Asch 1984; Oswalt 2009:462 - 474).

I am far from disinterested in the ethno-political plight of descendent populations of the Mohawk, Abenaki, and Mohican. However, the data gathered throughout my dissertation research, when examined through my spatial model, indicates that 'the waters between' designation of both Lake Champlain and Richelieu River were more generalizations than hard and fast borders during the Protohistoric period. Linguistic evidence accessed through toponym analysis indicates a greater number of toponyms of Mohawk origin in New York State ('traditional' Iroquois territory) and a greater number of Abenaki derived toponyms in Vermont ('traditional' Abenaki territory). While seeming to support Lake Champlain as a border between ethnolinguistic groups, this evidence does not account for a meeting of cultures in a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic borderzone environment.

Archaeological evidence has also been interpreted to indicate a multi-ethnic Lake Champlain *borderzone*. Ceramic evidence in the form of Iroquoian specific pottery forms and decorative motifs are more prevalent in New York State, the archaeologically defined home of the Mohawk (Snow 1995). However, examples of Iroquoian type ceramics have been recovered in Vermont, on traditional Abenaki homelands. Beyond ceramics, archaeological signatures of Abenaki and Iroquois during the Terminal Woodland and Protohistoric periods do not differentiate to a great degree. This lack of

material signature to be recovered by archaeologists perhaps obscures the *borderzone* in the archaeological record. Additionally, archaeological and ethnographic evidence indicates that Henry Hudson was met on his 1609 by the Mohican peoples, yet due to warfare and disease, the Mohican all but disappeared by 1650 (Snow 1980; Starbuck 2002:93). The void in the human landscape of the southern edge of the *borderzone* was largely filled by the Mohawk prior to significant European involvement in the region. The final player in the Late Woodland and Protohistoric *borderzone* was the possible existence of a population of St. Lawrence Iroquoian people in the northern end of Lake Champlain (Jamieson 2000, 2007; Chapdelaine and Blais 1993; Chapdelaine et al. 1996; Mandel et al. 2000; Petersen et al. 2003). Intriguingly, St. Lawrence Iroquoian archaeological signature is temporally limited to circa 1400-1600AD and largely confined to the Champlain Islands. The presence of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians in the center of the 'lake between' perhaps indicates a community of refugees allowed to live within the no man's land of the *borderzone*. All this data, taken in concert supports a multi-ethnic borderzone of conflict and compromise.

As the dissertation moved forward through the chronological organization of my spatial argument, Chapter Five addressed the social time of the 17th century. Within this mid-temporal range examination were two individual times. The first individual time frame consisted of the early 17th century Jesuit exploration and mission establishment in the project area. Through the application of the tripartite model on historical, and admittedly limited archaeological evidence, it is clear that spatial differentiation between French Jesuits and the Mohawk was a one-sided proposition. The itinerant missionary activity undertaken by Father Isaac Jogues and establishment of the mission of Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaha were failed attempts by French Jesuits to establish a political and religious foothold within what was clearly Mohawk territory. Indeed, the 17th century

French cognitive space of New France did not include the Mohawk territory in what would become the State of New York. As was quipped by one Jesuit, "As we occupy the Northern part of New France, and the Iroquois the Southern" (Thwaites 1911 [49]:257). The establishment of a mission within this Mohawk territory was the metaphorical 'bridge too far'. Without a command of the cognitive space, the French Jesuits had no hope of establishing a safe social space in which to inhabit. While the Jesuits and their *donné* may indeed have constructed a walled mission, without a social space of safety spawned by a cognitive spatial control of the region, this fledging French settlement was doomed to fail.

The arrival of the Carignan-Salières regiment shifted the focus of French involvement in the region. The Baron Pierre Dubois D'Avaugour's plan for the construction of French forts along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor accomplished three tasks, 1) expansion of the colony of New France to the south, 2) establishing French control of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River waterway, a veritable highway of its time and 3) reinforcement of the existing Lake Champlain Richelieu River borderzone established by Native peoples.

D'Avaugour's initial plan utilized and expanded the cognitive space of the colony, extending New France out of the St. Lawrence and all the way to the Hudson River.

D'Avaugour's plan was overly ambitious. The constructed material space of the string of five forts, only reached half the distance initially planned. Modern scientific archaeological excavations have conclusively identified two of the five forts, while the location of a third is inferred from 19th century excavations as well as documentary evidence (Beaudet and Cloutier 1983; Desany 2006a, 2006b; Bernier 2011). While not fully identified archaeologically, the material space of the Carignan-Salières Regiment's five forts can still be examined. As the regiment pushed south in the summers of 1665

and 1666, the safe space of New France extended with them. The construction of Fort Saint-Louis at Chambly under a day's march southeast of Montréal, Fort Sainte-Thérèse under a day's march/paddle south of Fort Saint-Louis, and Fort Saint-Jean under a day's march west of Montréal and under a day's march/paddle south of Fort Saint-Thérèse, further stressed the interconnected nature of a material space of forts and roads that created a safe social space on the edge of New France. Furthermore, these forts were offensive, not defensive in nature. The use of the string of forts to launch assaults against the Mohawk and Mohawk allied Dutch and British in the winter of 1665, as well as 25 years later in 1690, further stressed that extension of France's influence along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor.

The string of five forts not only extended French settlement southward, it also served to control the Richelieu River waterway. The Richelieu River, also known as the Iroquois River, had been the primary route for Mohawk warriors to access the underdefended French settlements of the St. Lawrence Valley. The seigneurial system and its material spatial manifestation, 'long lot agriculture', created a landscape that lacked nucleated villages. Each isolated homestead, defended only by the hunting arms wielded by its *habitants*, became a soft spot for Iroquois attack. By constructing the five forts at a series of rapid defined chokepoints along the Richelieu River and at a location of social significance to Native peoples at the northern end of Lake Champlain, the Mohawk were denied easy access to this waterway.

The third task accomplished by the construction of the string of five forts was the continued French interjection into a native-on-native conflict within the aquascape of a contested *borderzone*. As was discussed in Chapter Four, Samuel de Champlain's choice to involve himself in an Algonquin/Iroquois, native-on-native conflict shaped France's policy toward these groups for further 200 years. The construction of the five

Carignan-Salières forts was a reinforcement of that existing, albeit complex, 'bitawbágók' and 'bitawbágwizibó', 'water between' borderzone. The often-traveled French communication and supply lines fort-to-fort, along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Corridor delineated the existing border between the British Allied Mohawk on the western shore and French allied Abenaki on the eastern shore. Reinforcing this border aided in the creation of social spaces of safety and thusly, safe places for the French allied Abenaki villages at Missisquoi and St. Francis as well as countless other Abenaki enclaves east of 'the waters between'.

As we move to the 18th century, settlement by peoples of European descent increased within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. With increased settlement, came increased tension, and increased conflict that would eventually lead to the collapse of the French safe space in the valley. The final blow would come at the hands of an advancing British Army in 1759. Chapter Six examined the enigmatic existence of the civilian community within the *borderzone* during the tumultuous mid-18th century. By examining the mid-scale social time frame of the 18th century through an individual time scale of what I termed the interbellum years, I was able to apply the tripartite model of spatial division to better explain the creation of the safe village space.

Between King George's War (1744-1748), and the first years of the Seven Years War (1754-1763), a thriving community existed on both sides of Lake Champlain at the Straits of Crown Point. This was a true *borderzone* community, located on New France's edge of the zone of interaction between the British colonies of New York and New England. Historical and archaeological evidence indicate that a community boasting upwards of 50 families farmed and made a home a handful of miles from their perennial enemies, the British and Mohawk Nations. Under constant threat of attack, the cognitive, and material spaces came together to create a social space of safety. The fledgling

community was under-protected by Fort Saint-Frédéric, and lacking any effective defenses, and yet was ensconced in a safe social space of their own creation.

To explain the enigmatic existence of the settlement, I began by exploring the parent social constructs which influenced the creation of the cognitive space along the southern borderzone of New France. Colonists in the vicinity of Fort Saint-Frédéric drew upon the 18th century social and military constructs of positional warfare, the seigneurial system, and the frontière naturelles, to manufacture a cognitive space of New France that included the Straits of Crown Point. Once the schematic of cognitive space had been created, the tenets of seigneurial system, positional warfare and frontières naturelles guided the soldiers and habitants to shape raw material space through the construction of the settlement at Fort Saint-Frédéric. The new augmented material space, when grounded in the cognitive space of the settlement, created a social space of safety. Several facets contributed to that safe social space. The Green Mountains, on the east flank of the settlement, provided a frontières naturelles between New France and the English settlements in the Connecticut River Valley and further east on the Maine coast. The Green Mountains were also recognized as a Les limites naturelles with the French allied Abenaki people whom inhabited the territory that has now become Vermont. The insulation of an allied people to the east further contributed to the construction of a safe place. The Abenaki people served as a figurative buffer between the French and their British advisories. The aquascape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River provided an aquatic highway between the communities surrounding Fort Saint-Frédéric, the several disparately spaced French and allied Abenaki communities historically identified as being present on both shores of Lake Champlain and the support supply depot at Fort Saint-Jean. While Fort Saint-Frédéric itself lacked the proper engineering to adequately defend the community, the firmly held French

belief that siege warfare was an impossibility in the North America interior contributed to this cognitive and social safe space.

While social spaces were not within his vocabulary, 18th century Swedish traveler and chronicler Peter Kalm commented on the safe spaces created by both Fort Saint-Frédéric and her counterpart *borderzone* village now known as Fort Edward, New York,

"I shall call the part of Canada a wilderness which lies between the French Farms at Fort Saint-Frédéric and Fort Nicholson on the Hudson River, where Mr. Lydius and other Englishmen have their farms. Not a human being lives in these waste regions..." (Kalm 1964[1770]:588).

Where Kalm uses the term "wilderness", I have employed the term *borderzone*. This mid-18th century *borderzone* was owned by no one, crossed by few, and feared by many. The pre-conquest safe social space of New France extended from the settlements of Montréal and Québec along the St. Lawrence down Lake Champlain, but it ended at Fort Saint-Frédéric.

The safe French social space of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley came into question with the arrival of focused *petite guerre* terrorist actions at the hands of Rogers Rangers between 1755 and 1759. The numerous raids in which the Rangers burned barns and homes, killed livestock, kidnapped and murdered settlers caused the population of the civilian community at Fort Saint-Frédéric to dwindle (Table 9). The final evacuation and arson of civilian settlements was ordered after Fort Carillon was besieged and fell to the advancing British Army under Gen. Jeffrey Amherst in July 1759. The cognitive space and deep personal tie to the landscape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley remained in the memories of some settlers who attempted to return to their lands in valley after victory had been declared by the British in 1760.

The long durée implications -

Each of the three analysis chapters, Chapter Four, Chapter Five, and Chapter Six, addressed the construction of space in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley in respect to Braudel's individual and social times. Chapter Four offered a pre-contact background. It informed the reader of the complex social relations relative to space creation in the Lake Champlain Valley prior to European contact and during the ethnographic present as recorded by Jacques Cartier, and Samuel de Champlain. Chapter Five addressed the individual times related to the construction of Dutch settlement in the Hudson Valley as well as the Carignan-Salière regiments string of five forts along the Richelieu River. Chapter Six followed the individual time frame of French agrarian settlement in the Champlain Valley (1731-1755), prior to the British military takeover of the region. When the three analytical chapters are examined in concert, they represent Braudel's geographic time, or *long durée* examination of the entirety of French imperial control of North America.

When looking at the body of evidence collectively, certain patterns emerge. First is the notion of persistent places. I employ the term persistent places following Schlanger (1992:92) definition of, 'a place that is used repeatedly during a long-term occupation of the region'. Throughout the dissertation, I have examined spatial relations related to several historical events that have taken place at certain places on the landscape. Several these historical events take place at the same places. From the hardline historical viewpoint, these places have been a location of numerous historical events due to their military strategic value. Forts Saint-Jean, Sainte-Thérèse and Chambly were constructed at rapids, while Forts Carillon/Ticonderoga, Saint-Frédéric and Sainte-Anne were constructed at choke points along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River waterway. Strategic military value may have been a contributing factor to the

placement of each of these forts and their accompanying settlements, yet it should not be seen as the only factor. Only one of these installations, Fort Carillon/Ticonderoga was properly employed in a defensive manner as stipulated by the rules of fortifications set down by Sebastian de Vauban. However, each of these locations held strategic social importance above and beyond placement of their ramparts and curtain walls. The sites were chosen due to socially constructed significance, such as spaces of safety.

Furthermore, I would consider the entire Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley region a persistent place. This waterway was a contested *borderzone* prior to European contact, and remained so through the late 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries and even now, the site of illicit border crossings due to the oppressive immigration policies of the early days of 2017.

The notion of the persistent nature or a collective historical memory of French colonial settlement in Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley is not widely accepted. At a recent conference on the Franco-American connections between Québec and New England, one of the few archaeologists in the audience asked a question of a panel of historians whom have distinguished themselves as scholars of 19th century French-Canadien immigration to the United States. The archaeologist asked if any of the historians believed that an earlier 17th and 18th century French settlement within Vermont and New York had any effect on immigrants who settled in the northeastern United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The panels unanimous response was that no, immigration to the United States from Québec was purely an economic consideration. The panel further mentioned that French-Canadien immigrants were largely uneducated and would be unaware of their own history. This response struck me as rather pejorative. Being a product of the French-Canadien diaspora, I do not contest that French-Canadien immigrants were largely uneducated. I'm aware from census

records that two of my own great-grandfathers were illiterate when they arrived in Massachusetts at the turn of the 20th century. Yet, the premise that because individuals are uneducated they are unaware of their own history discounts the role oral history plays in cultural continuance. French-Canadien folklore is replete with references to historical characters and events which act as mnemonic devices for individuals whom lacked formal education. While the evidence is purely anecdotal, oral history within my own family speaks of a strong tie to the lands Beauprés settled within Québec and elsewhere.

Intriguingly, historians have no issue with toponymic or other cultural survival associations between the modern social space of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley and its historical French ties. The names Carillon Falls, Crown Point, Chimney Point, Point au Fer, Windmill Point and indeed Vermont itself all have strong ties to the French settlement of the valley. French settlement which, according to the dominant historical narrative, was ephemeral at best. Historical documents indicate that following initial settlement in 1731, the French planted orchards of a variety of apple known as the *Fameuse*, or Snow Apple (Peebles et al.2009:35. Jacobson 2014:156-157). While French settlement in the Lake Champlain Valley did not survive the Seven Years War, the Fameuse did, becoming a staple in the 19th century orchards of the Lake Champlain and Richelieu River Valleys (Jacobson 2004:156). I find it fascinating that an apple variety is given preference over people in the historical record.

A secondary outcome of long durée investigation of the *borderzone* is the ability to extrapolate upon 17th and 18th century understanding of the *borderzone* and apply it to the current border situation. Comparisons can, and should, go far beyond the superficial interpretations of Fort Saint-Frédéric as a passport checking border station, analogous to any port of entry on a major highway today. By attempting to bridge the gap between

the cultural and archaeological views and methods of border study, comparisons between historical situation and the current one can be made quite easily. As I mentioned briefly in Chapters Two and Six, the late 20th and early 21st century sociopolitical climate toward immigration and border protection relate directly back to the borderzone as a space of alternating contestation and compromise. Isolationist immigration policies have led foreign nationals living in the United States, frightened for their safety and legal status, to walk north into Canada, in pursuit of political asylum (Hopkins 2017; Massell 2017). This influx of asylum seekers to Canada has the Canadian border officer's union to call for increased security along the United States border. In January 2017 alone, 382 people made asylum claims at a single entry point on the direct route between Montreal and New York City. The week of 26 February through 4 March 2017 a further 200 entered illegally through the same port (Hopkins 2017). While those fleeing the United States have increased, a number of cases where Canadians of certain ethnic backgrounds being denied entry to the United States by have attracted international attention (Dumont 2017; CNN-WCAX 2017). These border interaction issues have been polarizing among both the American and Canadian publics. Indeed, the *borderzone* can be seen as a hyper-nationalistic space through the 17th, 18th, 19th and into the 20th and 21st centuries.

The Province of Québec has long been known for its nationalistic movements. Québec nationalism was most famously addressed by an American scholar in Richard Handler's (1988) *Nationalism and the Politics and Culture of Québec*. Handler and others have traced late 20th and early 21st century Québec nationalism to the mid-20th century draft riots, language riots and influence of writing and actions by personages such as Henri Bourassa, Maurice Richard, René Lévesque and Pierre Vallières. This political movement that came to be known as the birth of Québec nationalism was

ensconced in, and now often viewed as inextricable from, the separatist movement of the 1960s. I argue, the definition of group identities in juxtaposition to one another within the *borderzone* of the 17th- 19th centuries are at the heart of the creation of multiple ethnic identities and the creation of nationalism. Many scholars state that the French Revolution gave birth to nationalism in Europe (e.g. Hobsbawm 2012; Llobera 1994). Yet, it is clear from the interactions of the 17th, 18th and into the 19th centuries in the Lake Champlain/Richelieu River *borderzone* that gave birth to the modern ethnicities of American, English-Canadian and French-Canadien. As such, an understanding of the historical nature of border existence and the ties between location and ethnicity is invaluable in negotiating modern border politics.

When the American political climate moves the focus away from individuals of Middle Eastern or Latin American descent crossing the modern US borders within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, the liminal *borderzone* an area of contestation and compromise remains for several nationalities and ethnicities. The modern nations of the United States and Canada as well as the ethnic groups of French-Canadiens, English-Canadians, New Yorkers, Vermonters, Nulhegan and Missisquoi Abenaki, the Mohican, and Mohawk Nation all meet in this multinational and multiethnic space. The ancestors of any of these ethnic groups could have been the creators, owners and/or manipulators of artifacts recovered at within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley.

Avenues for Future Research (What's Next)

While in the process of undertaking my dissertation research and drafting the document, I began to think about the possibilities of expanding the scope of the study. This dissertation, along with the previous body of literature, have proven that an archaeological application of a tripartite model for the examination of spatiality in viable. In the following section, I briefly outline possible expansions of the existing project as

well as other possible outlets for my model of diachronic regional spatiality.

Future Avenues of Research within the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley

The limited nature of archaeological research directly related to French settlement within the Lake Champlain Valley and the southern Richelieu River Valley is a glaring inadequacy in the archaeological record of New York and northern New England. As has been discussed throughout the dissertation, there have been four primary archaeological sites identified as centers of French colonial habitation in the southern Lake Champlain Valley. Those sites are, Fort Saint-Anne, Fort Carillon/Fort Ticonderoga, Fort Saint-Frédéric, and fort de pieux au Point-à-la-Chevelure/the French settlement at Chimney Point. Of these four sites, only Fort Saint-Frédéric and Fort Carillon have been irrefutably identified. This identification is no doubt due to the remains of both sites being still physically visible above ground level. Yet, archaeological data recovered from the four sites is inadequate at best. Fort de pieux au Point-à-la-Chevelure/the French settlement at Chimney Point was perhaps identified by a section 106 excavation related to the reconstruction of the Champlain Bridge. However, this work is yet unpublished. The location of Fort Sainte-Anne on Isle Motte, Vermont is inferred from the placement of Ste. Anne's Shrine and the excavation by avocational archaeologists Father Kerlidou in the late 19th century (Desany 2006a, 2006b). Neither the fort, nor its associated features, including the cemetery, have been positively identified by modern archaeology. Historical archaeological research of the Champlain Valley would be well served by further excavation.

As was discussed in Chapter Six, historical documentation indicates numerous French sites within the project area that have not yet been identified archaeologically (Table 7). A truncated list of these possible sites includes the French settlement and windmill on the aptly named Windmill Point in Alburgh, Vermont; the French mill at

Swanton Falls (dagwáhôganék); the mill, blockhouse, and bridge complex at Carillon Falls in Ticonderoga, New York; and the remains of the Livaudière/Ste. Peau Seigneury in Coopersville, New York. In addition to these previously unidentified sites, expanded archaeological research at Fort Carillon/Ticonderoga may yield the remains of the 1755-1759 French village at the site. Further investigation of Fort Saint-Frédéric may yield remains of the windmill and miller's house. These domestic/economic structures at both fort sites were no doubt discounted as uninteresting by archaeologists and public historians who have been focused on strictly military histories and archaeologies. A more complete list of these prospective archaeological sites, as well as supporting documentation for their existence in the form of period maps and modern satellite imagery are included in this dissertation as Appendix A. A spatial analysis of French involvement in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley would be further bolstered by additional archaeological data.

Additionally, framing this dissertation as a diachronic study that concludes with the fall of French Canada in 1759/1760 was largely an arbitrary decision. The persistent place of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley has continued to be a contested borderzone right up until the modern day. In the late 18th century the same French and British forts were reused by British and American forces in the political and military clash for American independence. The established border between the fledgling United States of America and British North America transected the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley, like the French/British border before it. Following the delineation of new borders, the American Revolution, loyalist migrations, French-Canadian American refugee communities, smuggling related to the Embargo Act of 1807, the War of 1812, the Lower Canadian Rebellion (*la Guerre des patriotes*), the Industrial Revolution, the American Civil War, migrations of French-Canadians to New England, the establishment of *Petit*

Canadas, and La Survivance were all transnational processes that led to individuals constructing various cognitive, material, and social spaces in the project region. The survivors of these processes and their descendants were thus shaped by the spatiality of this persistent region in the history of North America. This dissertation could be further expanded by taking another century or two of regional history into account.

Future Avenues of Research Elsewhere

The tripartite model of diachronic regional spatiality has merit to be applied to contested landscapes outside of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. In the process of research for this dissertation, I identified two additional borderzones of interest to me. Both regions would benefit from application of diachronic regional spatiality. Both borderzones were created by the ambiguity of treaties between Euro-American powers. Ambiguities left in the 1783 Treaty of Paris and reaffirmed in the 1813 Treaty of Ghent, led to the creation of two independent republics, akin to modern microstates, and a little known 'war' (Doan 1997; Findlen 2002; Le Duc 1947). With boundaries left unclear between British North America and the states of Maine and New Hampshire, settlers in each state founded their own fledgling republics. The short-lived Republic of Madawaska (1827) was sandwiched between Maine and New Brunswick. The second independent nation, the Republic of Indian Stream (1832 - 1835), was located at the headwaters of the Connecticut River along the modern New Hampshire-Québec border (Doan 1997; Findlen 2002). The Aroostook 'War' (1838-1839), more a political disagreement than war, as militia units were called out but never engaged in combat, was 'fought' over farming, lumbering and milling rights in the Madawaska River Basin of the Maine New Brunswick border (Carroll 1997; Le Duc 1947). All three of these disputes were officially put to rest when the United States and Britain signed the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 (Roberts 2002:160). Both the Madawaska and

Indian Stream Republics would be prime sites for archaeological examination using this tripartite model of spatiality. Specifically, I believe the comparative study of regional settlement patterns of farmsteads and lumber camps both within and outside the borders of each republic could offer an intriguing discussion of *borderzone* theory. Renown Vermont author Howard Frank Mosher made note of the stark geographic, cultural and economic differences between the New Hampshire and Québec along the border in the region once known as the Republic of Indian Stream (Mosher 1997:41-42). It would be fascinating to determine if those differences existed in the time of the republic. Beyond a discussion of border theory, the archaeological investigation of these border communities could also offer insight into the social meme of rural independence, which has become pervasive in recent days.

Diachronic Regional Spatiality in Retrospect

This dissertation project began is an outgrowth of my research interest and experience in French colonial archaeology and the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. In addition to numerous smaller projects, I have spent six years as the primary academic field archaeologist at Fort Saint-Jean, penning numerous reports and immersing myself in the history and archaeology of the region. I was introduced to James Delle's (1998) tripartite model of spatial construction by my mentor Dr. Marley R. Brown III. I adopted Delle's model, augmenting it to include a multi-scalar facet to both temporal and physical dimensions, and slight augmentation the understanding of material space. I then applied this diachronic regional spatiality model to the highly-contested landscape of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley. I have been, and continue to be deeply interested in the way in which not only military action, but also civilian settlement took shape in this region.

I found great utility in the use of this spatial model to understand social processes across the landscape. The notion of the cognitive space being both the mental image of how a human landscape should be manifest, but also how one represents the landscape in two-dimensional form on maps and charts. These documents allow the archaeologist a brief window into the a priori cognitive space of the past individuals and collective population one is studying. Then moving to a consideration of the material space. I defined material space to include both the naturally existing (raw material space) and built environment. The physical 'shovel in the dirt' field archaeology', as well as interpretations of standing structures and their placement within an existing natural landscape, allow the archaeologist access to how his subjects shaped and were shaped by their physical environment. Here is also the opportunity to apply a phenomenological approach to a landscape understanding of the past. To use Tim Ingold's term, one must 'dwell within the landscape', and occupy the physical space occupied by one's historical subjects. My experiences paddling the Lake Champlain Richelieu River waterway, as well as visiting numerous archaeological sites within the region, has given me a depth of understanding that an armchair archaeologist lacks.

It is then through considering the social space as a product of a combination of material and cognitive spaces, to create an environment in which individual agents live, that the researcher can gain the closest possible understanding to a past societies manifestation on the landscape. To understand the decisions a person has made in the past and thus how those decisions are reflected in the archaeological record, one must understand the individual and groups relations to the landscape that they shaped and by which they were shaped.

In critique, I would admit the model of diachronic regional spatiality requires a great deal of historical research and indeed mastery of the historical record to properly

be applied. In the modern academic landscape of historical archaeology, I feel that few practicing archaeologists spend the time required to master the historical background. Those that do take the time to properly couch their archaeological findings within the historical narratives and metanarratives are accused of being historically particularistic and open themselves to the age-old accusation of archaeology performing as the handmaiden to history. I would agree that a historical archaeologist must understand the particulars of the historical period in which he/she is working in order to say anything of value regarding a past society. However, one must not be hemmed in by historical documents. Historical documents and archaeological evidence must work in concert in this model, or any model, of historical archaeology that wishes to offer a multidisciplinary, democratic, global and systemic, critical and reflexive, emancipatory and empowering view of our shared past (Nassaney 1997).

While this dissertation has taken the time to discuss the construction of space in the past, and the effect of the space construction on the modern *borderzone*, I feel it prudent to add a concluding thought. In, The *Production of Space*, the work by social theorist Henri Lefebvre on which I have based my theoretical understanding of space, a poignant statement is made on which I have yet to comment. Lefebvre (1991:71) remarks, "along with God, nature is dying". In this statement, he is referring to the fetishized world market and the political sphere made absolute by the exchange economy. As a conservationist and advocate for the phenomenological approach to landscape archaeology, I have ruminated on the simple statement. As is obvious from the work above, my interpretation of 17th and 18th century productions of space hinges on the ability for the modern archaeologists to physically visit the locations of past settlements and examine the landscape firsthand. The progression of time and the production of new spaces and places constantly threatens the phenomenological

approach. One must examine the landscape critically, accounting for changes in human space production and the natural taphonomic processes. Schiffer's C transforms and N transforms are constant concerns when analyzing a landscape. Yet, the phenomenological approach that I attest is vital to understanding the social and cognitive spaces of the past, can easily be rendered impossible given the unchecked destruction of nature at the hands of capitalism.

APPENDIX A

Possible French Colonial Archaeological Sites in the LCRRV

As has been mentioned numerous times within this dissertation, the archaeological record of French habitation in the Lake Champlain Valley, most notably south of the modern United States Canadian border is sparse. Again, as mentioned throughout the document, this lack of archaeological evidence is due largely to an anglocentric bias in historical and archaeological investigations of the modern United States. There have been limited exceptions to this rule.

As a facet of the sesquicentennial celebration of Samuel de Champlain's 'discovery' of Lake Champlain in 1609, a group of archaeologists under the direction of then Vermont state archaeologist Giovanna Peebles undertook an archaeological excavation within the Daughters of the American Revolution State Park, in West Addison Vermont. The park lies within the footprint of the area believed to have been settled by the French. Unfortunately, this excavation yielded little to no archaeological evidence of French occupation (Peebles et al. 2009:45). Additionally, archaeological investigations under the auspices of a Section 106 permit for the construction of the Champlain Bridge, recovered a number of artifacts that may be associated to the French colonial occupation of Chimney Point, *la Pointe à la Chevelure*. The report on this excavation is forthcoming.

Throughout the research for this dissertation, I have come across numerous references to French colonial habitation sites in the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley have not been investigated archaeologically. This appendix consists of a compilation of such data which leads the reader toward an archaeological sensitivity study of French colonial sites in the southern end of the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley (Figure 87). These sites are addressed from south to north. Appendix A outlines

the information I have compiled over the course of my dissertation research.

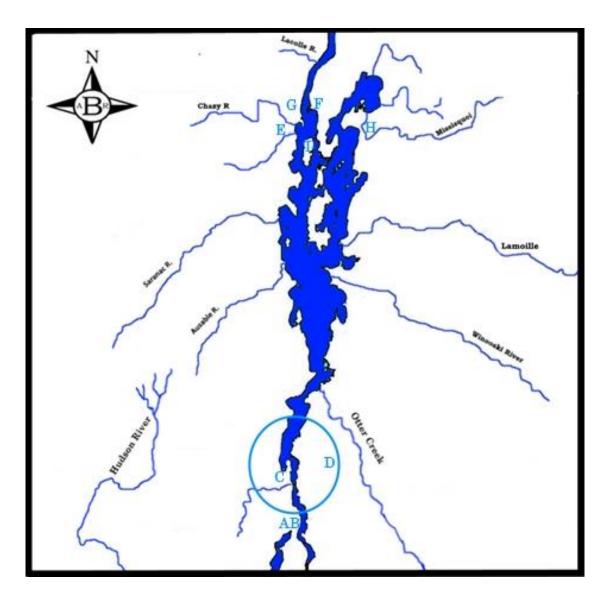


Figure 87 Compiled map showing historical and archaeological settlement sites along the Lake Champlain Richelieu River Valley during the interbellum period.

A. Blockhouse, Bridge and Barracks Complex La Chute River Falls Ticonderoga, NY

- Constructed in 1755-1756 (Figure 88).
- Located on the portage between Lake George and Lake Champlain in the Alainville Seigneurie.
- Sawmill to mill lumber for military complex a Fort Carillon to the east.
- Maj. R. Rogers description of the site from 9 Sept 1756.
 - "that the French were "-building a small fort at head of the falls on the "east-side of the lake; that he also discovered their "guard to the westward, and imagined both consisted of 500 men." I returned, after finding the French were engaged in building a saw-mill at the lower end of the falls" (Hough 1883:61-62).
- Rogers reconnoiters mill complex again 24 Dec 1757 (Hough 1883:81).
- Attacked by the Rangers as a facet of the 22 June 1758 attempt to take Fort Carillon (Hough 1883:89).
- Mills complex taken by Rogers and his men 27 July 1759 coinciding with the fall of Fort Carillon (Hough 1883:138-139).
- Strong possibility that subsequent 18th century British and American occupation destroyed French remains.
- 19th Century mill activity may have also removed French archaeological signature
- Currently a City Park, Bicentennial Park, Ticonderoga, NY.

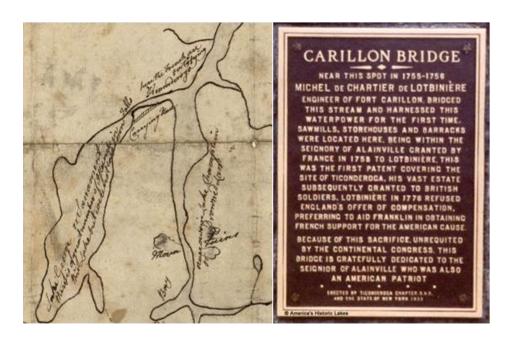


Figure 88 Left: A 1755 map credited to General Baron Jean-Armand Dieskau, showing the location of the Carillon Falls between Lake George and Lake Champlain, the site of the mill and bridge complex. Map retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/73691807/. Left: State Historic marker sign at approximate location of complex. Source: Americas Historic Lakes http://www.historiclakes.org/contents.htm



Figure 89 Modern satellite image of La Chute River Falls. Currently a city park, subsequent development on around the La Chute River may have destroyed any 18th century archaeological remains.

B. French village at Fort Carillon Fort Ticonderoga Museum Grounds Ticonderoga, NY

- Identified at the 'Lower Village' on period maps (Figure 89).
- Constructed and occupied during French habitation of Fort Carillon/Ticonderoga 1755-1759.
- Archaeology at the museum has been centered on the fort itself and the battle field to the northwest.
- Village consisted of barracks, warehouse, barns, etc.
- Later occupied by British and American Forces.
- A number of buildings can be seen in the 1758 (French) and 1777 (American) maps below (Figure 90).

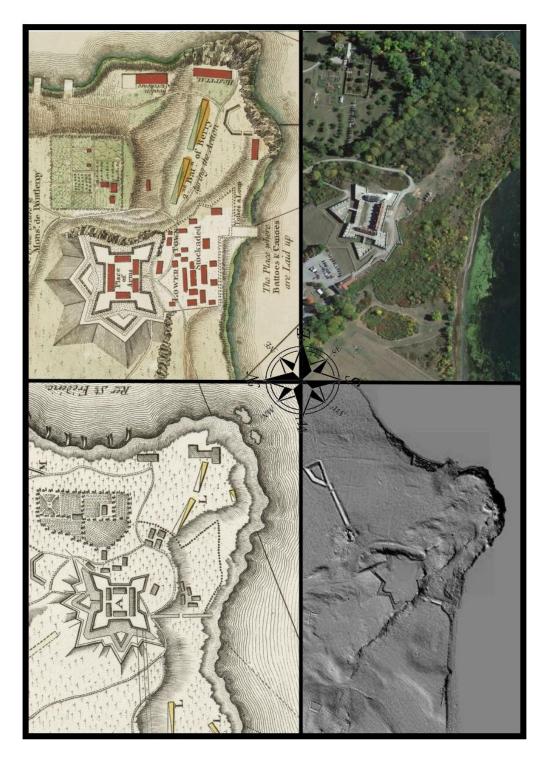


Figure 90 Top left: Snippet from a 1758 Therbu & Coentgen credited map retrieved from the Library of Congress.. Top right: Snippet from a 1777 map of Ticonderoga with the old and new lines and batteries, retrieved from the Library of Congress, Bottom left: LiDAR image of the site, courtesy of Vermont Department of Transportation Archaeology Office. Bottom right: modern satellite image of the site, retrieved from google earth.

C. Mill and Millers House

Fort Saint-Frederic Complex Crown Point State Historic Site Crown Point, NY

- Constructed at the expense of the King Louis XV in 1739-1740.
- The mill served both **practical** and **symbolic** purposes to the military and civilian inhabitants of the area (Figures 91, 92, 93, 94).

Practical Purposes

- o Built as an incentive/vital infrastructure to draw *habitants* to the village.
- Habitants paid rent on lands in form of grain milled at the site.
- Habitant was further changed for milling service by paying a banalité at the cost of one sack out of every 14 ground at the mill (Greer 2003:38).
- The mill was a stand-alone redoubt looking south from the fort.
- "Within one or two musket shots of the east of the fort, is a windmill built of stone, with very thick walls, and most of the flour which is wanted to supply the fort is ground here. This windmill is so contrived as to serve the purpose of a redoubt at the top of it are five or six small pieces of cannon. During the last war there was a number of soldiers quartered in the mill, because they could from thence look a great way up the river and observe whether the English boats approached; which could not be done from the fort itself, and which was a matter of great consequence as the English might (if this guard had not been placed here) have gone in their little boats close under the Western shore of the river and the hills would have prevented their being seen from the fort. Therefore, the fort ought to have been built on the spot where the mill stands, and all those who have come to see it are immediately struck with the absurdity of its situation. If it had been erected in the place in the mill, it would have commanded the river, and prevented the approach of the enemy; and a small ditch cut through the loose limestone, from the river (which comes out of the Lake St. Sacrament) to Lake Champlain, would have surrounded the fort with flowing water, because it would have been situated on the extremity of the neck of land. In the case the fort would always have been sufficiently supplied with fresh water, and at a distance from the high rocks which surrounded it in its present situation." (Kalm 2003 [1772]:208-209)
- The windmill was so strategically placed that though the stone building had been destroyed, its location was subsequently used as a redoubt by British forces in 1759.

Symbolic Purpose

 Within sphere of positional warfare. stone windmill physically demonstrated the French occupation extended to the civilian sphere, not just a military garrison (Fisher and Huey 2013:189).

- Mill and House burned by French on retreat in 1759
 - o Area reused for a redoubt by British Army.
 - o 19th century lighthouse built at the site.
- Subsequent development may have destroyed all 18th century French remains
 - o Extent of preservation unknown until archaeological tested.

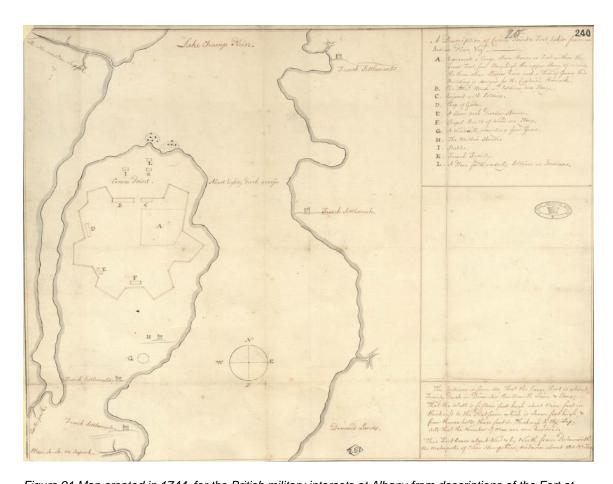


Figure 91 Map created in 1744 for the British military interests at Albany from descriptions of the Fort at Crown Point mde by members of the local Native population in the employ of the British army. Notice the mill and millers house on the eastern edge of the Crown Point penesula. The mill and house are shown as letters G and H.

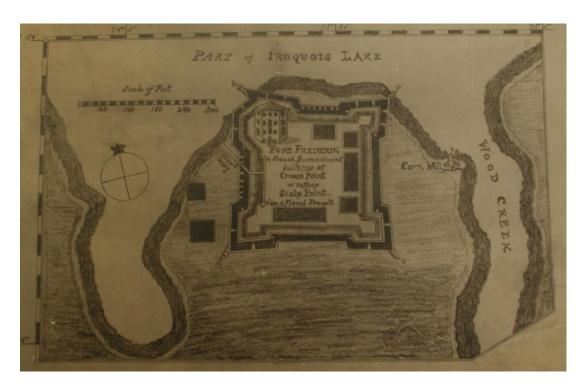


Figure 92 Hand drawn copy of British reconnaissance map of Fort Saint-Frederic. Notice the placement of the 'corn mill' on the west shore of Lake Champlain, labeled here as Wood Creek. Attributed to Thomas Jeffery, Royal Geographer to the Prince of Wales 1755 - original in NH State museum, Copy in the Coolidge collection VT Historical Society



Figure 93 Section from the 'Plan of the fort and fortress at Crown Point with their environs. With the disposition of the English Army under the command of Genl. Amherst encamp'd there 1759' showing the foundations of the French windmill, on the peninsula to the right, being reused as an artillery redoubt. Original Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71002321/. (Accessed Feb 11, 2017.)



Figure 94 Modern satellite image of the purported location of the French mill. The 19th century Samuel de Champlain Monument/lighthouse is seen extent of the site. Source: Google Earth.

D. Settlements Around Fort Saint-Frederic Essex County, NY

Addison County, VT

- Rotures of two seigneuries, one in NY (Domain du Roi) and one in Vermont (Hocquart Seigneurie) divided and occupied, 1730-1759.
 - "The greater part of the land about the Lake has already been donated by the King to certain families of the gentry; The land about Fort Saint-Frédéric is said to belong to the king still, although it is to a great extent inhabited." Peter Kalm – 17 Oct.1749 – (Kalm 1964 [1770]:576).
- Historical maps show settlement locations (Figures 94 98).
- "...Came to the French settlements, 3 miles south of crown point. Lodged in a French house." Phineas Stevens – 19 May 1752 – (Calloway 1992:32).
 - "We set off from the fort at six afternoon in a large bateau accompanied by a French officer and five soldiers; came about 2 miles, and lodged on the east

side of the lake in a French house." Phineas Stevens – 22 May 1752 - (Calloway 1992:32).

- Chimney Point named after remains of French settlement burned out in face of advancing British.
- Botanical Evidence of Settlement
 - French planted orchards of Fameuse, or Snow Apple. Apple orchards.
 survived the even Years War, became a staple in the 19th century.
 - o orchards in the region (Peebles et al. 2009:35. Jacobson 2014:156-157).
 - o Grapes on the shore offer possible evidence of vineyards (Figure 97).
- Roture boundaries perhaps influenced early American property lines.
- Signatures of Rotures seen in satellite photos (Figure 98).
- Excavations to mark the quadricentennial of Samuel de Champlain's arrival in 1609 failed to locate/authenticate archaeological remains of the settlements within the confines of DAR State Park, VT (Peebles et al.2009).

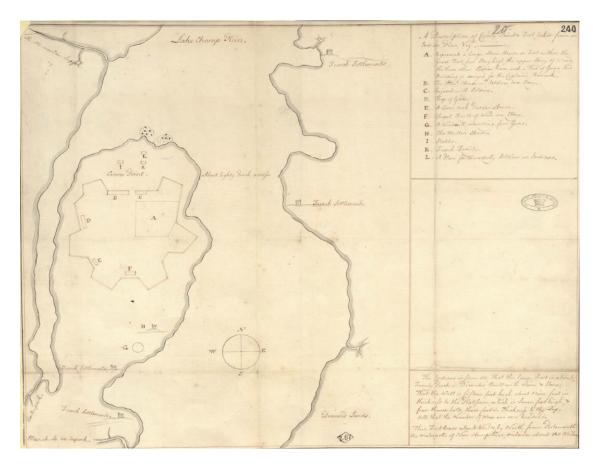


Figure 95 Map created in 1744 for the British military interests at Albany from descriptions of the Fort at Crown Point mde by members of the local Native population in the employ of the British army. Notice the numberous French settlements, including one in what appears to be the local of DAR State Park.



Figure 96 Exceprts 'Plan of the fort and fortress at Crown Point with their environs. With the disposition of the English Army under the command of Genl. Amherst encamp'd there 1759' showing the Deserted French Settlements. Original Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71002321/. (Accessed Feb 11, 2017.)



Figure 97 Grape vines still grow in DAR State Park, West Addison, VT in what was once the Hocquart seigneurie.



Figure 98 Satellite photo showing the rotures still evident on the landscape. This photo is north of Chimney Point in West Addison, VT, which was the Hocquart Seigneurie during the French regime.

North End of Lake Champlain

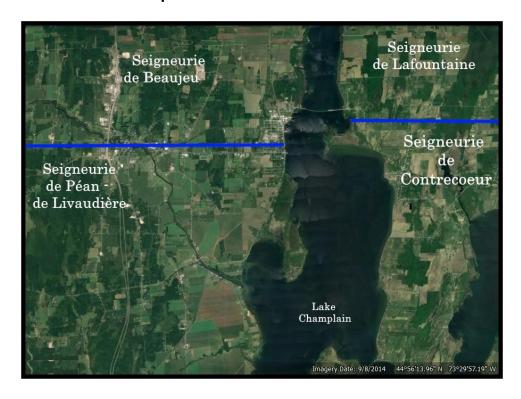


Figure 99 Satellite image augemented to show the approximate locations of 18th century Frengh seigneuries at the north end of Lake Champlain.

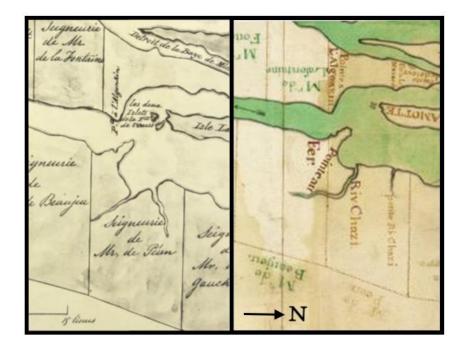


Figure 100 Snippets from two historical maps showing the seigneuries at the North end of the lake.

E. Village in Livaudière Seigneurie

On the Chazy River Coopersville, NY

- Act of Concession to Sieur Hugues-Jacques Péan, Sieur de Livaudière, 10 April 1733
- Reverted to Crown 1741, Act of Concession reissued 1752.
- "When we were yet ten French miles from fort St. John, we saw some houses on the western side of the lake, in which the French had lived before the last war, and which they then abandoned...they now returned to them again. These were the first houses and settlements which we saw after we had left those about Fort Saint-Frédéric." Peter Kalm 20 July 1749 (Kalm 2003 [1772]: 212-213).
- "We turned to the west shore... we cross the bay 3 miles to a French house and lodged." Phineas Stevens 24 May 1752 (Calloway 1992:33).
- Continental Congress designated this area to resettle French-Canadiens who fought for the United States in the Revolution (Arneson 1964).
- Satellite Image indicates rotures along the Chazy River in Coppersville, NY (Figure 101).



Figure 101 Satellite Image showing what appear to be rotures along the Chazy River in Copperville, NY

F. Seigneurie de Contrecoeur

Wind Mill Point Alburgh, VT

- Act of concession 1733.
- Reverted to Crown 1741, Act of concession reissued 1751.
- "A windmill, built of stone, stands on the eastern side of the lake at a projecting piece of ground. Some Frenchman lived near it; but they left when the war broke out, and are not yet come back to it." Peter Kalm 20 July 1749 (Kalm 2003 [1772]:213).
- "at the emptying of the Lake into Shamblee river there is a wind-mill, built of stone; it stands on the east side of the water, and several houses on both sides built before the war, but one inhabited at present" Phineas Stevens – 9 Nov. 1749 (Calloway 1992:26).
- Toponym of Windmill Point remains, long after French Windmill is gone (Figure 102).
- Point home to a 19th century lighthouse, perhaps built on the ruins of the windmill.

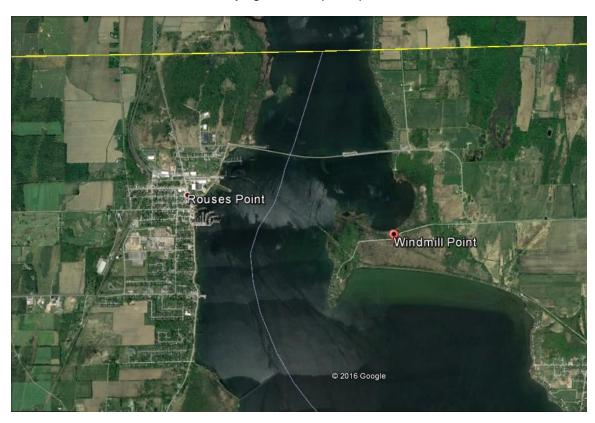


Figure 102 Satellite of the North end of Lake Champlain showing the locations of Windmill Point, VT and Rouse's Point, NY.

G. Seigneurie de Beaujeu

Rouses Point, NY

- Act of Concession to Sieur Louis Liénard de Beaujeu 9 April 1733.
- Reverted to Crown 1741, Act of concession reissued to original Sieur's son 1752.
- "We stopped for the night a little south of the windmill, still on the western side of the lake. They reckon that it is about 10 leagues [30 English miles] from this place to St. Jean" Peter Kalm 14 Oct.1749 (Kalm 1964 [1770]:563).
- Jacques Rouse settled here in 1752.
- Deed of Sale to Gabriel Christie 14 Aug 1765.
- Continental congress designated this part of area to resettle French-Canadiens who fought for the United States in the Revolution (Arneson 1964).
- Likely all French remains destroyed by later American development.

APPENDIX B

Rules of Ranging

Maj. Robert Rogers

The 28 "Rules of Ranging" are a series of rules and guidelines originally created by Major Robert Rogers in 1757 while in camp on Rogers Island. The Rules of Ranging were intended to serve as a manual on guerrilla warfare for Rogers' Ranger company, a 600-plus man unit which first saw action in The Seven Years War.

- I. All Rangers are to be subject to the rules and articles of war; to appear at roll-call every evening on their own parade, equipped, with a fire-lock, sixty rounds of powder and ball, and a hatchet, at which time an officer from each company is to inspect the same, to see they are in order, so aa to be ready on any emergency to march at a minute's warning; and before they are dismissed the necessary guards are to be draughted, and scouts for the next day appointed.
- II. Whenever you are ordered out to the enemies forts or frontier discoveries, if your number be small, march in a single file, keeping at such a distance from each other as to prevent one shot from killing two men, sending one man, or more, forward, and the like on each side, at the distance of twenty yards from the main body, if the ground you march over will admit of it, to give the signal to the officer of the approach of an enemy, and of their number, &c.
- III. If you march over marshes or soft ground, change your position, and march abreast of each other, to prevent the enemy from tracking you, (as they would do if you marched in a single file) till you get over such ground, and then resume your former order, and march till it is quite dark before you encamp, which do, if possible, on a piece of ground that may afford your centries the advantage of seeing or hearing the enemy at some considerable distance, keeping one half of your whole party awake alternately through the night.
- IV. Some time before you come to the place you would reconnoitre, make a stand, and send one or two men, in whom you can confide, to look out the best ground for making your observations.
- V. If you have the good fortune to take any prisoners, keep them separate, till they are examined, and in your return take a different rout from that in which you went out, that you may the better discover any party in your rear, and have an opportunity, if their strength be superior to yours, to alter your course, or disperse, as circumstance may require.
- VI. If you march in a large body of three or four hundred, with a design to attack the enemy, divide your party into three columns, each headed by a proper officer, and let these columns march in single files, the columns to the right and left keeping at twenty yards distance or more from that of the center, if the ground will admit, and let proper guards be kept in the front and rear, and suitable flanking parties at a due distance as before directed, with orders to halt on all eminences, to take a view of the surrounding ground, to prevent your being ambuscaded, and to notify the approach or retreat of the enemy, that proper dispositions may be made for attacking, defending, &c. And if the enemy approach in your front on level ground, form a front of your three columns or main body with the advanced guard, keeping out your flanking parties, as if you were marching under the command of trusty officers, to prevent the enemy from

- pressing hard on either of your wings, or surrounding you, which is the usual method of the savages, if their number will admit of it, and be careful likewise to support and strengthen your rear guard.
- VII. If you are obliged to receive the enemy's fire, fall, or squat down, till it is over. then rise and discharge at them. If their main body is equal to yours, extend yourselves occasionally; but if superior, be careful to support and strengthen your flanking. parties, to make them equal with theirs, that if possible you may repulse them to their main body, in which case push upon them with the greatest resolution, with equal force in each flank and in the centre, observing to keep at a due distance from each other, and advance from tree to tree, with one half of the party before the other ten or twelve yards. If the enemy push upon you, let your front fire and fall down, and then let your rear advance thro' them and do the like, by which time those who before were in front will be ready to discharge again, and repeat the same alternately, u occasion shall require; by this means you will keep up such a constant fire, that the enemy will not be able easily to break your order, or gain your ground.
- VIII. If you oblige the enemy to retreat, be careful, in your pursuit of them, to keep out your flanking parties, and prevent them from gaining eminences, or rising grounds, in which case they would perhaps be able to rally and repulse you in their turn.
- IX. If you are obliged to retreat, let the front of your whole party fire and fall back, till the rear hath done the same, making for the best ground you can; by this means you will oblige the enemy to pursue you, if they do it at all, in the face of a constant fire.
- X. If the enemy is so superior that you are in danger of being surrounded by them, let the whole body disperse, and every one take a different road to the place of rendezvous appointed for that evening, which must every morning be altered and fixed for the evening ensuing, in order to bring the whole party, or as many of them as possible together, after any separation that may happen in the day; but if you should happen to be actually surrounded, form yourselves into a square, or, if in the woods, a circle is best, and, if possible, make a stand till the darkness of night favours your escape.
- XI. If your rear is attacked, the main body and flankers must face about to the right or left, as occasion shall require, and form themselves to oppose the enemy, as before directed; and the same method must be observed, if attacked in either of your flanks, by which means you will always make a rear of one of your flank guards.
- XII. If you determine to rally after a retreat, in order to make a fresh stand against the enemy, by all means endeavor to do it on the most rising ground you can come at, which will give you greatly the advantage in point of situation, and enable you to repulse superior numbers.
- XIII. In general, when pushed upon by the enemy, reserve your fire till they approach very near, which will then put them into the greater surprise and consternation, and give you an opportunity of rushing upon them with your hatchets and cutlasses to the better advantage
- XIV. When you encamp at night, fix your centries in such a manner as not to be relieved from the main body till morning, profound secrecy and silence being often of the last importance in these cases. Each centry, therefore, should consist of six men, two of whom must be constantly alert, and when relieved by their fellows, it should be done without noise; and in case those on duty see or

- hear any thins which alarms them, they are not to speak, but one of them is silently to retreat, and acquaint the commanding officer thereof, that proper dispositions may be made; and all occasional centries should be fixed in like manner
- XV. At the first dawn of day, awake your whole detachment; that being the time when the savages chuse to fall upon their enemies, you should by all means be in readiness to receive them.
- XVI. If the enemy should be discovered by your detachments in the morning, and their numbers are superior to yours, and victory doubtful, you should not attack them till the evening, as then they will not now your number, and if you are repulsed, your retreat will be fathered by the darkness of the night.
- XVII. Before you leave your encampment, send out small parties scout round it, to see if there be any appearance or track of an enemy that might have been near you during the night.
- XVIII. When you atop for refreshment, chuse some spring or rivulet you can, and dispose your party so as not to be surprised, posting proper guards and centries at a due distance, and let a small party way the path you came in, lest the enemy should be pursuing
 - XIX. If, in your return, you have to cross rivers, avoid the usual fords as much as possible, lest the enemy should have discovered, and is waiting there expecting you
 - XX. If you have to pass by lakes, keep at some distance from the edge of the water, lest, in case of an ambuscade or an attack from the enemy, when in that situation, your retreat should be cut off.
- XXI. If the enemy pursue your rear, take a circle till you come to our own tracks, and there form an ambush to receive them, and give them the first fire.
- XXII. When you return from a scout, and come near our forts, void the usual roads, and avenues thereto, lest the enemy should have headed you, and lay in ambush to receive you, when almost exhausted with fatigues.
- XXIII. When you pursue any party that has been near our fort or encampments, follow not directly in their tracks, lest you should be discovered by their rear-guards, who, at such a time, would be most alert; but endeavor, by a different route to head and meet them in some narrow pass, or lay in ambush to receive them when and where they least expect it.
- XXIV. If you are to embark in canoes, battoes, or otherwise, by water, choose the evening for the time of your embarkation, as you will then have the whole night before you, to pass undiscovered by any parties of the enemy, on hills, or other places, which command a prospect of the lake or river you are upon.
- XXV. In paddling or rowing, give orders that the boat or canoe next the sternmost, wait for her, and the third for the second, and the fourth for the third, and so on, to prevent separation, and that you may be ready to assist each other on any emergency.
- XXVI. Appoint one man in each boat to look out for fires, on the adjacent shores, from the numbers and size of which you may form some judgment of the number that kindled them, and whether you are able to attack them or not.
- XXVII. If you find the enemy encamped near the banks of a river or lake, which you imagine they will attempt to cross for their security upon being attacked, leave a detachment of your party on the opposite shore to receive them, while, with the remainder, you surprise them, having them between you and the lake or river.

XXVIII. If you cannot satisfy yourself as to the enemy's number and strength, from their fire, conceal your boats at some distance, and ascertain their number by a reconnoitering party, when they embark, or march, in the morning, marking the course they steer, when you may pursue, ambush, and attack them, or let them pass, as prudence shall direct you. In general, however, that you may not be discovered by the enemy upon the lakes and rivers at a great distance, it is safest to lay by, with your boats and party concealed all day, without noise or shew; and to pursue your intended route by night; and whether you go by land or water, give out parole and countersigns, in order to know one another in the dark, and likewise appoint a station every man to repair to, in case of any accident that may separate you.

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