“The Congress finds and declares that the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage; [and that] the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people. . . .”

LAKE CHAMPLAIN VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY: 
BRINGING HISTORY HOME

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Samuel de Champlain’s map of New France, 1632.
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Visit the Voyages of Discovery web site at: voyages.vermont.gov
The Chimney Point State Historic Site on the shores of Lake Champlain in Addison, is a bright star in Vermont’s constellation of state-owned historic sites. The Vermont Division for Historic Preservation is the steward of this extraordinary place, one of the most strategic spots on the lake with a history of human habitation going back at least 9,000 years. The narrows here have long been both an easy crossing and potential choke point. Called by the French Pointe à-la-Chevelure, this little piece of geography has seen nearly every layer of human habitation since the first Indigenous inhabitants. It was the site of a small British outpost in 1690 built to watch the French on the lake, a French wooden stockade fort in 1731, a large French domestic settlement from the 1740s to 1759, a post-1765 English and American settlement, Revolutionary War activity, and in the 1780s a tavern that still stands today.

This vantage point is the perfect place to ponder the history of this great lake. The most visible evidence of the historic past in the valley are above-ground archaeological sites or ruins such as the British fort at Crown Point from the French & Indian War period and standing historic structures and buildings. Most of these current buildings date from after the American Revolution, such as the 1795 home of General John Strong, the first English settler in the town of Addison, just up the road from Chimney Point.

But what about the time period just before the Revolution? What exactly happened here and are there any traces left, other than the ruins of Crown Point, that we can see? How did this area relate to the wider world?

It’s amazing to contemplate the past that can come to life just outside our doors at Chimney Point State Historic Site:

--Ancient hunters with their atlatls and spears gathering for a great hunt.
--French and English officers and sailors landing on the beach for the first time.
--Could it be? Yes, it’s 1791, Vermont has just become a state—and Thomas Jefferson and James Madison have come to pay a visit.
--Look, it’s a sailing canal boat, laden with goods headed for market in New York City.

These tantalizing glimpses into the past have whetted the appetites of many inquiring minds, but the big question we asked in this project is “How do these links and threads tie into the bigger events of world history?”

Major anniversaries of historic events are always great times to plan and throw a party. These also are great times to come together to explore the things we’ve always wanted to know about.

In 2006 Chimney Point and the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, with Vermont Public Television (in cooperation with filmmaker Caro Thompson and Broadwing Productions) and the Bixby Memorial Free Library in Vergennes, Vermont, secured a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library
Hundreds gathered along the shores of Lake Champlain at Chimney Point and Crown Point to observe the 1909 Tercentenary pageant commemorating Samuel de Champlain’s 1609 arrival on the lake. Courtesy of Chimney Point State Historic Site.

Services (IMLS) and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a multi-year project. This project, called “Lake Champlain Voyages of Discovery: Bringing History Home,” aimed to study the peoples in this area from just before Samuel de Champlain’s trip in 1609 up to the American Revolution.

We designed a multi-disciplinary approach, using archaeology, public participation and engagement, public programs, scholarly research, film making, publications, educational materials, a small exhibit, and a web site for studying and presenting this information to a wide audience. Together with the many people and organizations involved in the 2009 Champlain Quadricentennial we hope our projects will create a legacy that will endure and enrich our collective appreciation of this area.

Starting from the vantage point of here and now, could we all work together to bring into sharp focus what we sensed so strongly was just waiting to be rediscovered and learned anew? Could we sweep away the mists of time and many layers of dirt to find out what really lies beneath—right in our back yards?

Could we make it clear that history is not just sepia-toned but very much alive and in color? Could we put the people back into our historic landscape?

The IMLS grant program encouraged public broadcasters to work with local museums and libraries to address locally identified life-long learning needs and issues and to improve their communities. We invited many communities to join the project, this voyage of discovery: the local communities, the communities of teachers, students, researchers and scholars of all kinds, the learning community, and Indigenous communities, living representations and embodiments of those who lived here long before Champlain.

Right from the beginning it was clear we live among a great community of life-long learners. Everyone was excited and engaged. People asked the most interesting questions, starting with the first public meeting in June, 2007, at the Bixby Library and continuing through to the end of the grant period in 2009. Who lived here and when? What were their homes like, their farms, their way of life, what did they eat? How did they interact with each other? How did they relate to what was going on elsewhere in the northeast? Back in Europe? How did the Indigenous peoples interact, first, with the European explorers and, later, with the European settlers?

In the summer of 2007 the archaeology component focused on looking for the French past along the lake. A three week, community-based, archaeological study at the DAR State Park in Addison with an archaeology lab at Chimney Point engaged hundreds of people in our voyage of discovery. Our mission of searching for the 18th-century French settlement sites was combined with teaching anyone who was interested about archaeology. While the results differed from the original expectations, it was an enriching experience for all involved. The University of Maine at Farmington Archaeology Research Center (UMF) did a fantastic job with one-on-one and group teaching at the field school. The Vermont State Archaeologist organized a rich and intense learning experience for teachers so they, in turn, could pass knowledge on to their students, creating an
ever broadening ripple. From the time the project started on a Monday morning and continuing for the next three weeks, the stream of volunteers and visitors never let up. The archaeological work raised even more questions and puzzles—most of the artifacts are English rather than French. Why is that? Did the search miss the French sites because their homes were made of wooden logs and their few possessions left little trace on the landscape? We know archaeological remnants of the French settlements are in the area but they have proven difficult to find.

We also wanted to look at the broader area along Lake Champlain in the Vermont towns of Panton, Addison, and Bridport. These contained portions of the French “seigneury,” or plantation, granted by King Louis XV of France to Gilles Hocquart to encourage French settlement. We asked property owners for information on any traces of the past they had found on their land and to allow the UMF archaeologists to work with them on a walkover of their properties. Cellar holes, wells, old apple trees, abandoned roads and lakeshore jetties, and old property lines came to light across the landscape.

Public lectures over the last two years, an all day conference packed with people in September 2008 on relationships between the Indigenous peoples and the early Europeans, and Caro Thompson’s documentary Champlain: The Lake Between continued our collective voyages of discovery. Together we experienced the joy of history and fun of learning as the stories of the broader nation and the continent emerged.

Our aim has been to engage and work with our communities, record their knowledge and make the information available in lasting and meaningful ways. As a result future generations will know and be proud of this history, a history that won’t be forgotten and buried again. If we can know and understand more about a place and the people who shape it, may it lead to confirming or instilling a reverence for this very special place, to the preservation and conservation of its historic and natural resources—and ultimately, to a better understanding of all its peoples. We thank those of you who have been with us for this remarkable journey. You have helped us broaden the circle of knowledge and understanding of our rich history.

Since the arrival of the first inhabitants over 12,000 years ago, the Champlain Valley stands out as an extraordinary place. With its links to the Atlantic Ocean via the Richelieu and St. Lawrence rivers to the north and via the short portage to the Hudson River to the south, it is an ancient and preeminent corridor for travel and trade. Its fertile lands bracketed by beautiful mountains to the east and west, its large and small islands, many sheltered bays and peninsulas, ready and abundant food stuffs and raw materials such as stone for tool making, and easy access to many rivers and valleys define its place as the heart and home of the Western Abenaki to the east and Iroquoian speaking peoples to the north, west and south. The lake, Bitawbagok or "Lake Between" to the Abenaki and Iroquoian speaking peoples, was sacred and also served as a political and linguistic boundary between these nations. Bitawbagok’s special geographic, social, cultural, and natural features assured its role in the late 17th and 18th centuries as a center stage of world history.

In 1609 Samuel de Champlain first set eyes on the lake, beginning an era of political and cultural transformations between the Indigenous inhabitants and the European newcomers. The valley became a place where Europeans, mainly from France and Britain, traded, exchanged knowledge and sometimes lived and inter-married with the Indigenous people whose homelands would become an embattled landscape. Traditional relationships among the valley’s Indigenous people played pivotal roles in this new period’s long-standing rivalry between the French and British. The valley became a battleground, both symbolic and real, and key events in the region forever changed world history. Today’s Vermont and the broader Lake Champlain region were created out of this diverse cultural background, a heritage that continues to reveal new insights about our collective past.

The cultural heritage of the people who lived in the region long before Samuel de Champlain arrived, as the Abenaki say “from time immemorial,” is not widely understood nor is the new era that began in 1609. The Lake Champlain Voyages of Discovery Project has striven to fill these voids, to inspire today’s communities to discover the links between their local history and the dynamic world of the 17th and 18th centuries -- Bringing History Home.
Tonight I would like to tell you all a story aln8ba8dwaiwi.
in the Abenaki language, N’kawachowi k’kezaldambaji.
I hope you will enjoy.

Long ago, in olden times it was, kizi Kchi Niwaskw kizitop alakwsak, after Great Spirit made stars, ta nanip8sat, ta kizos, ta kdahkinna. and night walker (moon), and sun, and your land.

Kchi Niwaskw pakitop wli8tow8ganem meljial, Great Spirit cleaned creation’s hands, ta wli8t8wipagol kebihlap ail ahki and sacred dust fell to earth. T8nl wli8t8wipagol keb8gwasek, ahki m8jap m8tka. Where sacred dust had fallen, earth started to stir.

Niga, wli8t8wipagol pal8p kassiwi, Then, sacred dust came together,

natamabit t8wipagol kizitop nisnol meljial, First dust made two hands, ta niga, epiwi weljial, wli8t8wipagol kizitop and then, with his hands, sacred dust made nisol mpedinal, ta niga, pazgwen mhaga, two arms, and then, one torso, ta pazgwen mdep. and one head.

Kchi Niwaskw namitop wa wskisan8ba awani Great Spirit saw this new man who Wjihozo wli8t8wipagol abid taka from sacred dust shaped himself, sitting there wskijwi ahki ta nadedmawap, “Awani kia?” upon earth and asked, “Who are you?” Kanwa, nda wd’idnop. But nothing he said

Ni, kizi Kchi Niwaskw nadodmawap agma iawda, So, after Great Spirit asked him four times, Kchi Niwaskw gibakannap lawnol pad8gipakwaal. Great Spirit threw down (with hands) four thunder arrows. Nilli pad8gipakwaal tagad8p These thunder arrows struck Wjihozo wakljiwi w’dep. Shaped Himself on his head.

(Note: “8” is not a mistake -- it represents nasal ‘o’ in Abenaki).
The Ojihozo Creation Story

When Tabaldak, the Owner, had finished making things, some of the dust of creation fell from his hands onto the earth. Where it fell, the earth began to shape itself into a torso, a head, shoulders, arms and hands, and hips. Then that earth sat up and said: “I am Ojihozo, the One Gathering Himself Together.” Ojihozo looked around and saw the beauty of the newly created earth. He tried to stand, but he had not yet shaped legs and feet. He pushed very hard to one side, so hard that the earth pushed up into what are now called the Green Mountains. But still he could not stand. So he pushed very hard to the other side and the earth pushed up into the mountains now called the Adirondacks. But still he could not stand. Ojihozo reached out his long arms, all the way to the mountaintop, and pulled hard. His fingers gouged out the channels of all the rivers. But still he could not stand. Ojihozo looked at himself then. He saw that he was still connected to the earth. He did not have legs or feet. Reaching down, he shaped legs and feet for himself. Then he stood. And when he stood, he left behind him a great hole in the earth. The waters flowed in and made the hole into a big lake. It is called Bitawbagok, The Waters Between. You can see the shape of a sitting person, his legs toward the north, if you look at the lake on a map. That is the shape of Ojihozo. After Ojihozo had walked around for a long time, seeing many things, he returned to the beautiful land and the beautiful mountains he had made. He sat down upon a small island and changed himself into stone. He sits there to this day, watching over the land and the mountains. So the story goes.

Condensed from the Abenaki legend as told by Joseph Bruchac

Courtesy of Lake Champlain Basin Program.
The Champlain Valley's Geologic History: Its Effects on Landscapes and People

The Champlain Valley landscape was formed by the advance and retreat of the Laurentide Ice Sheet that covered the region until about 13,500 years ago. At its greatest, the glacier was one and a half miles (2.5 km) thick, moving over the land with a slow tremendous force, carving out valleys and eroding down mountain ranges.

About 20,000 years ago, global climate began a period of rapid warming and glacier melting accelerated. The Champlain Basin filled with Lake Vermont, a large body of water resulting from glacial melt water. Since it was dammed at its north end by the receding glacier, the lake got bigger as the glacier melted. The incalculable weight of the glacial ice compressed the lands beneath it. Lake Vermont seems to have lasted for only a short time. About 13,000 years ago higher ocean levels resulting from glacial melting and the depressed post-glacial land allowed an immense arm of the Atlantic Ocean to flow into the Champlain Basin, replacing Lake Vermont with a marine sea. The Champlain Sea lasted for nearly 3,500 years, to about 9,500 years ago. Four species of whales, seals, walrus, harbor porpoises, and many species of ocean fish lived in this marine sea.

Recent geological research shows evidence of a rapid drop of Champlain Sea salinity by 11,400 to 11,200 years ago. Between about 10,400 years and 9,900 years ago the compressed land rebounded (isostatic uplift), cutting off the link between the Atlantic Ocean and the Champlain Basin. By about 9,000 years ago the lake had evolved to its current fresh and cold water condition.

Naturalist Zadock Thompson’s 1850s drawing of the Charlotte whale skull. Since the 19th century, remains of fossilized whales and other sea mammals have been found in Vermont, New York, Ontario, and Québec. Imagine the surprise, when in 1849, railroad workers in Charlotte, Vermont, found the skeleton of a 12 foot long Beluga whale, nowhere near the ocean! This remarkable find is now on display at the University of Vermont at the Perkins Museum of Geology. Source: The University of Vermont, http://www.uvm.edu/whale/.
Peopling of the Champlain Valley

Until just a few decades ago, it was commonly thought that Indigenous people “were just passing through” Vermont and the Champlain Valley. The myth many Vermonters grew up with perpetuated the notion that very few people settled in the Champlain Valley before Europeans arrived in the 1600s. A generation of activist and vocal Indian communities and the results of scientific archaeological studies confirm that thousands of Native Americans lived in this region for thousands of years. These “original Vermonters” have an ancient, complex and dynamic cultural, social, and political history.

The earliest people of the Champlain Valley arrived at least 12,000 years ago, shortly after glacial ice retreated. The world they inhabited, during what archaeologists refer to as the Paleoindian period (from about 10,000 to 7,000 B.C.) was very different than it is now. From 13,000 to about 9,000 years ago the Champlain Basin contained a cold and salty marine sea teeming with ocean fish, whales, and seals. It was a landscape of scattered spruce, fir, birch, and larch trees separated by open grasslands of herbs, willow, sedges, and alder. People hunted migratory caribou and large mammals, such as mammoths and mastodons, and hunted or trapped small mammals and birds like rabbit and waterfowl. They also gathered many varieties of wild plants, nuts and seeds. Current research into the age of the Champlain Sea suggests that the valley’s earliest pioneers probably also hunted whales and seals and caught ocean fish such as cod.

Paleoindian people traveled great distances in small groups to hunt and gather the animals and plants that provided materials necessary for their food, clothing, medicine, and shelter. They used wood, plants, animal hide, and bone to make tools and other necessary items. In the Northeast, archaeologists typically only find objects made of stone, since stone does not decay over time as does organic material. Archaeological discoveries show that the Paleoindians’ tool kit included such stone items as drills, choppers, and scrapers for working hides or wood. Many types of rock, such as quartzite and volcanic rhyolites, were used for tool making, and spear points often were made of a fine-grained stone called “chert,” with outstanding properties for stone tool making. Paleoindians knew the locations of quarries containing excellent quality cherts in many colors and textures from western Vermont to northern Québec, Pennsylvania, western New York, New Hampshire and north central Maine. Chert in appealing shades of red, green, black, gray, tan, and brown, depending on

Written history goes back in time only so far, so traditional Indigenous stories and archaeology help with understanding pre-European times. Archaeologists divide Indigenous history into periods, reflecting important changes in the way people lived. Timelines that break Vermont’s 12,000+ years of Indigenous history into Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland periods imply a static view of what was in reality a dynamic world of people and their cultural, political, technological, and symbolic worlds, marked by continuity and fluidity.
where it was quarried or collected, was highly prized for stone tool use. Paleoindians were involved in extremely sophisticated trading networks across hundreds, if not thousands, of miles, obtaining and exchanging stone for tool making and other materials, as well. The skill and artistry achieved by Paleoindians in making their elegant spear points were largely unsurpassed in subsequent times.

The Archaic period, from about 9,000 to 3,000 years ago (7,000 to 1,000 B.C.), was marked by a warming environment. People adapted the way they lived and the tools they made to take advantage of this new and different landscape. Around 9,000 years ago, the Champlain Sea transitioned to the freshwater lake we know today. The lake and the region’s rivers, streams and ponds provided abundant fish, turtles, small mammals, reptiles, and shellfish. Indigenous people traveled on new transportation routes in canoes. Forests of ash, beech, maple and oak grew in the valley. While larger mammals such as mammoths, musk oxen and caribou became extinct or moved farther north, moose, deer and beaver began to flourish. During what is known as the Hypsithermal period, from about 8,000 to 3,500 years ago, temperatures were, on average, 3 to 5 degrees Fahrenheit warmer than today. Tulip and chestnut trees, as well as other species now found farther south, grew in the valley and across Vermont. Some southern species including the blackgum (black tupelo) tree endure today in small pockets across the lowlands, a vestige of forests past. Indigenous people lived in small family groups that moved seasonally in specific territories to hunt, fish, and gather wild plants. Larger communities came together in the late summer and fall, when foods like nuts were plentiful. Storing food allowed people to stay in one place a little bit longer. The Archaic period Cloverleaf site in Bennington, in southwestern Vermont, is an example of such a site where several families spent the summer and fall months along the Walloomsac River 4,000 years ago. Archaeologists recovered examples of some of the plants available at the time in southwestern Vermont. The community living at this spot roasted large quantities of nuts - acorns, hazelnuts, butternuts, and hickory -- on a large stone roasting platform. They also gathered hog peanut, grapes, and pin cherries from the local area. They harvested hawthorn, bedstraw, and smartweed, possibly for medicinal use. Trees such as ash, birch, hickory, cherry, elm, sycamore, ironwood, pine, and sugar maple provided materials for fuel, baskets and other containers,
What's an Atlatl?
First developed in Europe during the Upper Paleolithic period, over 20,000 years ago, the atlatl, or throwing stick, was likely invented independently by different groups of hunting peoples. It was used by Australian aborigines, Arctic Inuit peoples, and elsewhere throughout the Americas. The atlatl is an “extension” of the hunter’s throwing arm. This shaped stick has a formed handle and a small hook at the tip where the wooden spear was inserted. The throwing stick dramatically increased range and speed of the spear and allowed the hunter to keep out of harm’s way from dangerous prey.

Ground and Flaked Stone Tools
Native Americans used two different but complementary types of stone tools, each made by a specific method of manufacture. Flaked stone tools include spear points, arrowheads, drills and scrapers. These were made from very selective rocks with common, glass-like characteristics, enabling the stone to be fractured in predictable ways. Materials such as chert and quartzite were often used; people traded and traveled long distances to obtain these important materials. Hard hammer stones and softer deer or moose antler “billets” were used to strike the stone and shape the tool into its final form. This process resulted in many chips, or flakes, often the most frequent artifact type found at Indigenous sites. Ground stone tools include gouges, celts, and axes like the one to the right, among many others. They are made from more commonly found, local, metamorphic rocks such as slate, phyllite, and granofels, and are made by a process of shaping through chipping, pecking and then painstaking grinding.

Late Archaic groundstone axe. Courtesy of the University of Maine at Farmington Archaeology Research Center.

The Annual Northeast Open Atlatl Championship at the Chimney Point State Historic Site in Addison, Vermont, provides an opportunity for all to use this traditional weapon. Courtesy of Chimney Point State Historic Site.
Like other Archaic peoples, occupants of the Foote site fashioned woodworking tools from local stone to make axes, gouges, celts, and adzes to build dugout and birch bark canoes, shelters and items such as snow shoes. During the Archaic period, people began making a wide variety of styles of spear points -- short stemmed, long stemmed, corner-notched, side-notched, among many others -- out of assorted stone, including locally available quartzites and cherts.

Technological transformations occurred among Indigenous peoples about 3,000 years ago in Vermont and across the Northeast. Continuing to craft and use wood, bark, and hide containers, they also began making pottery vessels to prepare and store food. Archaeologists mark this cultural milestone as the beginning of the Woodland period. Many extraordinary innovations emerged during this time, including the introduction of the bow and arrow to complement, and eventually replace, the spear as the primary hunting tool. Arrow points, or arrowheads as they are commonly called, were smaller and of different shapes than spear points, with a variety of styles made over the last three thousand years.

Vermont’s Indigenous people began growing maize (corn) around 1,000 years ago (A.D. 1000). Archaeological discoveries in Springfield along the Connecticut River and in Swanton along the Missisquoi River reveal that the cultivation of corn dates to the Late Woodland period. People started to grow beans a few centuries after corn growing became common. The adoption of corn horticulture is associated with changes in settlement and social interactions within and among Indigenous communities. Archaeological evidence suggests that Indigenous people who lived along the major river floodplains of the Champlain Valley were already living a semi-settled lifestyle with the abundance of riverine and lake resources, particularly fish. Growing and storing food allowed people to settle in larger communities for longer periods of the year. Cultivation of corn, beans and squash was supplemented by their diversified diet of wild foods.

Eventually populations increased in the valley and, by the 1500s, large settlements were present along the Connecticut River and in the Champlain Basin, including the Champlain Islands. Beginning with the exploratory voyages of Italian mariner John (Giovanni) Cabot, sailing for the English in 1497 - 1498, and culminating in Samuel de Champlain’s permanent settlements of New France after 1604, the European “discovery” of northeastern North America drastically and forever changed the lives of its Indigenous people. From this point forward along the eastern seaboard and then quickly across the entire continent, Europeans brought new plants, animals, goods, ideas, religions, politics, values and, most significantly, disease and modern warfare practices to the Indigenous population.
French explorer Jacques Cartier arrived in the St. Lawrence River Valley for the first time in 1534. Long before this, the Winooski and Missisquoi bands of the Western Abenaki of northern Lake Champlain lived and died, hunted, fished, gathered wild plants and tended their fields of corn, beans and squash along the shores of Bitawbagok, the “Lake Between,” and the rivers, great and small, that enter the lake.

Two recently studied archaeological sites in northwestern Vermont on or near Lake Champlain reveal fascinating details of Indigenous life just prior to 1609, when Samuel de Champlain visited. Since the late 1990s, archaeologists have been investigating a number of sites on the banks of the Missisquoi River in Swanton, as part of a planned highway improvement. The Missisquoi River has flooded and changed its course many times over the centuries, depositing layers of sediment along its banks. These built up over time, layer upon layer, burying areas where people lived and, over the course of centuries, creating a deep “layer cake” containing many levels of archaeological evidence of past Indigenous history. The lowest levels at the Porcupine and Headquarters sites, at six feet deep, date to about 7,500 years ago, when people lived in small groups, hunting and fishing the Missisquoi delta region. These clusters of artifacts and remnants of fire hearths represent the remains of small groups or families camping along the river. A few campsites dating to the Archaic period were located, but the archaeological deposits show evidence of increasing population throughout the Woodland period, with bigger, more permanent communities as time progressed.

These discoveries reveal how Indigenous people lived and organized themselves across the landscape. Community settlement became larger, transforming from small encampments during the Early Woodland period, to larger, village-based settlements in the Late Woodland period. Pottery fragments, fire hearths, and other cultural features containing plant and animal remains within soil layers reveal that these communities were fishing the river, hunting, and collecting wild rice, a variety of nuts, and other wild plant foods from the Missisquoi delta’s rich environment. A small charred kernel of corn was radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1110, the earliest record of corn cultivation in the Champlain Valley. A similar date was obtained on charred corn from a site on the Connecticut River in Springfield, Vermont.

People harvested large quantities of fish from the river using weirs, nets, and baskets. Catfish, pike, and trout, as well as large sturgeon, were all identified among the archaeological samples.

The plant and animal remains provide a picture of life from season to season. People gathered strawberries, huckleberries, and...
blueberries during summer months and they harvested and processed wild rice, grapes, and nuts, including beechnut, hickory nut and butternut, in the late summer and early fall. In the fall, they harvested corn, beans, and squash, some of which was stored in underground pits for later use. During the winter, the Missisquoi River community trapped muskrats, mink, and beaver when the fur was thickest and hunted white-tailed deer.

The upper-most layers of the Swanton sites contained pottery similar in style to pots crafted by St. Lawrence Iroquoians, a First Nations people living in the St. Lawrence Valley in the 15th and early 16th centuries, mainly in what is now Québec and Ontario. This pottery, with detailed incised decorations on the pots' rims and shoulders demonstrates cultural interactions between the St. Lawrence Iroquoian and Abenaki communities in this region.

The Bohannon archaeological site lies just a few miles from the Swanton sites on the lakeshore across from the mouth of the Missisquoi River in today’s town of Alburg. The late 16th-century pottery styles, a series of nine radiocarbon dates clustering to A.D. 1460-1650, and an absence of European artifacts date the Bohannon site just prior to Samuel de Champlain’s journey to the region. This is the site of a village settlement with at least two to three longhouse structures and associated storage pits and artifacts. Decorated clay pipes and pots are identical to items found at similar village sites along the St. Lawrence River in Québec and strongly suggest that the occupants were indeed St. Lawrence Iroquoians. Archaeologists found hundreds of small round and oval stains, or post molds, in the soil. These subtle and fragile clues are all that is left of the wooden posts driven in the ground as supports for the village’s large communal longhouses. Food remains include a diverse list of mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, and amphibians, reflecting a summer through winter occupation.

The Late Woodland components at the Swanton and Bohannon sites illustrate the complexity of social and political dynamics in the 16th century Lake Champlain region on the eve of Champlain. These sites reveal the area’s rich and complex history but they also pose many questions. Who were these people? What was the relationship between Western Abenaki and St. Lawrence Iroquoian communities? Did Abenaki men marry St. Lawrence Iroquoian women, who
crafted the pottery? Did St. Lawrence Iroquoians seek refuge in northern Lake Champlain and elsewhere in northern New England subsequent to Cartier’s 1535 visit to Hochelega, today’s Montreal? What caused the St. Lawrence Iroquoian populations to abandon the St. Lawrence River Valley by the time Champlain arrived in 1603?

Europeans Explore Lands to the West Across the Ocean

The first European explorers to cross the Atlantic Ocean and land in what is now North America were the Norse people from Scandanavia, sometime around A.D. 1000. Their stay, in the northern tip of what is now Newfoundland, was short, and it would be close to 500 years before other European explorers sailed to this continent.

The impact of this later European exploration across the ocean to North America, between John Cabot’s 1497 journey and the second Virginia colony on Roanoke Island in 1597, was incalculable. The years between brought famous adventurers and map-makers such as Jacques Cartier and Giovanni da Verrazzano, both sailing for the French kings, Englishman Martin Frobisher, and less well known characters such as Gasper de Corte Real. The explorers sought a trade route to Asia to increase trading opportunities and instead discovered lands and waters full of valuable resources such as cod fish, whale and furs, and new people.

Northeastern harbors were already crowded by the early 1500s. Prior to 1600, many anonymous Spanish, French, and English fishermen explored the waters between Labrador and Cape Cod, fishing, mapping the region and trading with the Native communities.

In 1527, English Captain John Rut found ten fishing boats in the harbor at St. John’s, Newfoundland: eight French (from Normandy and Brittany) and two Portuguese. Newfoundland became such a popular “destination” that in 1536, Richard Hore, a London merchant, chartered two ships to carry rich and adventurous Englishmen on a pleasure trip to Newfoundland.

Most of the exploratory voyages ended by 1542. North America was neglected for about a half century after this period,
with the exception of Portuguese and Basque fishermen from northwestern Spain, and Bretons and Normans from the coast of France. While the fisherman and their captains left few written records, they are known to have plied North American waters off the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador for cod and whales soon after 1492 and perhaps earlier.

These many voyagers brought back to Europe detailed maps, drawings and verbal reports of where they went, what they saw and the new people they encountered. They also returned with many new goods, including furs, tobacco and maize. In 1501, Portuguese sailor Gaspar de Corte Real kidnapped 57 Beothuk, an Indigenous people of Newfoundland. Although he and his ship later disappeared and were never seen again, the Native people were brought to the King of Portugal in Lisbon as proof of the trip. Thus began the enslavement and brutal treatment of America’s Indigenous people.

Samuel de Champlain’s attitudes towards the Native people he encountered a century later were strongly shaped by the atrocities he witnessed by the Spanish in the Caribbean. He vowed never to treat Native people in such a manner but rather to behave in a respectful and honorable way.

In 1534, seventy-four years before Champlain reached the Champlain Valley, French explorer Jacques Cartier made his first voyage to northeastern North America sailing west to the northern tip of Newfoundland, a well-known landmark to Viking and European voyagers, and then into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He encountered his first Native people, Micmacs in canoes, in Chaleur Bay, south of today’s Gaspe Peninsula. After initial unwarranted fears, the Frenchmen and the Indigenous people engaged in brisk trade: broiled seal meat in exchange for hatchets, knives, beads, and other goods. The Frenchmen also purchased used furs, which they ended up much preferring to new ones, perhaps because they were softer and silkier.

Cartier made a very important contact: he met a large party of St. Lawrence Iroquoians in 40 canoes who were mackerel fishing from the upriver village of Stadacona, now Québec City, led by their chief Donnaconna. On his second voyage of exploration in 1535, Cartier sailed way up La Grand Riviere, the great St. Lawrence River, to Chief Donnaconna’s agricultural village of Stadacona, and to the St. Lawrence Iroquoian village of Hochelaga, today’s Montreal.

Between Cartier’s explorations from 1534 to 1541, and Samuel de Champlain’s geographic and cultural voyages from 1603 to 1608, Indigenous people in the Champlain Basin region were introduced to European trade goods and ideas in most cases without having met a European. In fact, as early as 1534, Cartier’s first exploratory year, archaeological evidence confirms that items such as copper pots and iron axes had already arrived in the Mohawk Valley between the Adirondack and Catskill mountains, just west of the Champlain Valley.
Samuel de Champlain Finds His Passion in the New World

At the turn of the 17th century, the fur trade in the St. Lawrence Valley was a lucrative business for an enterprising and well-connected French man. Samuel de Champlain was neither wealthy nor titled and he did not own a ship. However, he was highly respected at the French Court and beyond for his courageous voyages within the Spanish Empire (in the West Indies and Central America), for his knowledge of new world Indigenous people gleaned from those travels, for his respectful and liberal political and religious views, and for his skill as a cartographer, geographer, and recorder of new places and people. Champlain’s personal friendship with King Henri IV was also an important asset.

A small, enterprising and visionary expedition, sponsored by a new group of investors who had friends in the American fur trade, set sail in a small flotilla for the St. Lawrence in March 1603. The longest boat was 90 feet with a capacity of 120 to 150 tons. Champlain was on board, essentially as a tourist but a well-traveled one with a passion for seeing new places and people. He held a letter from King Henri IV directing the leaders of the expedition to give him all the freedom and help he needed as he explored the new country. The group included two Indigenous guides who were returning home after several years in France at the King’s Court. The expedition’s main goals were to develop good relationships with the Native people, explore the country, and identify potential sites for the proposed colony of New France.

Champlain called the St. Lawrence “the River of Canada”; he was awed by its size and, in fact, thunderstruck by a great many things he saw. In one detailed account, he recorded an eye-opening experience in 1603 with the Indigenous people at the fur trading village of Tadoussac, nearly 300 miles -- one week’s sail -- up the St. Lawrence River from Anticosti Island. The groups’ arrival at Tadoussac coincided with an assembly of as

“La terra de Hochelaga nella Nova Francia,” a 1556 drawing of the stockaded village of Hochelaga (present-day Montreal) on the St. Lawrence River, by Italian geographer Giovanni Battista Ramusio. One of the first European maps to detail a North American settlement, at bottom, left center, it records the meeting of Cartier with this community. Source: National Library of Canada.

Historic documents, including the journals of explorers like Champlain and letters by Catholic missionaries, such as the Jesuits, illuminate these complicated times. However, these documents were also written by the same Europeans who, directly or indirectly, played center stage in the catastrophic consequences of contact. Native American oral history and the less biased archaeological record also must be examined to obtain a more complete picture of the events that shaped relations during the contact and colonial periods.
many as a thousand people, with more than two hundred large canoes, in the midst of a major political, social, cultural, and economic meeting. Leaders from Native nations as far south as the Penobscot River in Maine and as far northwest as the Ottawa River converged in May of 1603 to trade, strengthen alliances, and discuss their mutual problem: their Iroquois enemies. Vermont Abenaki scholar Frederick Matthew Wiseman describes it as a “continental-scale alliance of sovereign Native nations.” The days that Champlain spent at Tadoussac observing and learning about Indigenous cultures and world-view changed the history of North America. The incipient French-Indian relationships forged in those few days would ultimately bring Champlain to the big and beautiful lake that would later bear his name.

In September 1603, Samuel de Champlain returned to France with a journal full of astounding information and drawings of his observations on his first exploration into the interior of northeastern North America. Perhaps drafted over the rapid 15-day voyage from the Grand Banks (south of today’s Newfoundland) to the French port city of LeHavre, Champlain’s book on his extraordinary experiences with new lands, seasons, plants, and animals was published in Paris within two months of his return home. His story focused on the new people he had met and learned from, thus, he, or his publisher, titled the book “Des Sauvages, ou, Voyages de Samuel Champlain, de Brouage, fait en la France nouvelle, l’an mil fix cens trois.” In Champlain’s time “Sauvage” referred to wild forest creatures, and Champlain used the word to describe people who lived in the forest.

Champlain’s long established promise to help the St. Lawrence nations in their wars with the Iroquois brought him to the falls at Chambly, on today’s Richelieu River, in early July 1609. Contrary to what Indigenous people had told him, his shallop could not run the falls. With two willing men, Champlain left most of his men by their small boat and portaged the falls with the Native people, their canoes, and bags. In his typical fashion, Champlain wrote detailed descriptions of the Indigenous ways of life, how they built wigwams and made camp enroute towards Iroquois country. He was enchanted by the lake. Champlain’s detailed observations of the local flora and fauna provide a remarkable environmental record of the Champlain Valley 400 years ago.

Although some of the most recent scholarship concludes that the battle between Champlain and his Montagnais, Algonquin, and Huron allies against the Mohawks (Iroquois) took place on “Sandy Beach” on the Ticonderoga peninsula, others argue that the confrontation took place at Crown Point. Champlain, to his amazement, dreamed about the battle site the night before the battle. It was a structured affair with specific fighting protocols. Champlain and the northern Indians arrived in light and nimble birch bark canoes; the Mohawks came in heavy, elm bark canoes, possibly dugouts. Champlain broke the normal fighting custom by bringing to the fight several light and deadly arquebuse à rouet.
The next day we entered the lake, which is of great extent, say eighty or a hundred leagues long, where I saw four fine islands, ten, twelve, and fifteen leagues long, which were formerly inhabited by the savages, like the River of the Iroquois; but they have been abandoned since the wars of the savages with one another prevail. There are also many rivers falling into the lake, bordered by many fine trees of the same kinds as those we have in France, with many vines finer than any I have seen in any other place; also many chestnut-trees on the border of this lake, which I had not seen before. There is also a great abundance of fish, of many varieties: among others, one called by the savages of the country Chaousarou, which varies in length, the largest being, as the people told me, eight or ten feet long. I saw some five feet long, which were as large as my thigh; the head being as big as my two fists, with a snout two feet and a half long, and a double row of very sharp and dangerous teeth. Its body is, in shape, much like that of a pike; but it is armed with scales so strong that a poniard could not pierce them. Its color is silver-gray. The extremity of its snout is like that of a swine. This fish makes war upon all others in the lakes and rivers. It also possesses remarkable dexterity, as these people informed me, which is exhibited in the following manner. When it wants to capture birds, it swims in among the rushes, or reeds, which are found on the banks of the lake in several places, where it puts its snout out of water and keeps perfectly still: so that, when the birds come and light on its snout, supposing it to be only the stump of a tree, it adroitly closes it, which it had kept ajar, and pulls the birds by the feet down under water. The savages gave me the head of one of them, of which they make great account, saying that, when they have the headache, they bleed themselves with the teeth of this fish on the spot where they suffer pain, when it suddenly passes away. Source: Voyages of Samuel de Champlain- vol. 2; translated by Charles P. Otis. Accessed from www.gutenberg.org.
Early fisheries practiced fish preservation through salting of the cod fish, an activity that fishermen performed on their boats, while later in the 16th century, dry processing methods brought European fishermen on land. This new practice increased face-to-face contact with Indigenous people, their lands and their animal furs: marten, lynx, fox, moose, otter, and of utmost importance, the beaver.

The fur trade spanned several centuries, beginning in the 16th century and culminating in the early-mid 19th century. Shifting alliances among Indigenous communities, traders, and foreign governments reveal a complex and dynamic web of relationships with English, French and Dutch traders vying for control of the fur trade throughout northeastern North America. Champlain established himself as a primary player representing France in this commerce and negotiated trading relationships with key Native communities. The St. Lawrence River and its headwaters in Lake Ontario along with the other Great Lakes to the west were a vital area for animal furs, with the St. Lawrence River as a primary conduit for the export of furs to Europe. The Champlain Valley and its Indigenous people lay at the nexus of this extensive trade network.

Long-standing hostilities among the Abenaki and other Native communities in the Northeast with the Iroquois (Five Nations – Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Mohawk) were further complicated by the competition for access to and control of furs. Repeated Iroquois incursions into the St. Lawrence River Valley and beyond prompted an ever-growing alliance among three key Native communities and the French. Samuel de Champlain was a central figure in this unique partnership with the Huron (occupying the north shore of Lake Ontario), the Algonquin (occupying the Ottawa Valley regions and areas north of the St. Lawrence River to the St. Maurice River), and the Montagnais (today’s Innu, located north of the St. Lawrence and generally east of the St. Maurice River). The powerful yet uneasy French-Native alliance helped control Mohawk raids on the St. Lawrence and the fur trade in general. This trading monopoly may have been the first in a series designed to stabilize and organize what would otherwise be uncontrolled, and thus less profitable, commerce with too many competing players. The alliance also benefited Native communities in the Champlain Valley who brought furs to trading centers on the St. Lawrence River at Tadoussac (at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and Saguenay rivers) and later to
Champlain’s 1612 map of New France merged his earlier map of the New England coast with his later explorations of the St. Lawrence Valley, resulting in this large, ornate map with ethnographic and botanical drawings. Source: Osher Map Library, University of Southern Maine.
other trading posts in the vast, dynamic, and sophisticated trading network.

While Champlain, with support from France, sought to control trade on the St. Lawrence River, beginning in 1608, the Dutch established early trade networks on the Hudson River. The United New Netherland Company constructed Fort Nassau in 1614 near modern day Albany. In 1624 the Dutch West India Company built the short-lived but heavily fortified trading complex at Fort Orange, on the west bank of the Hudson River near Albany. While Fort Orange attracted Mohawk and other Iroquois fur traders, the Dutch failed in their attempts to lure Montagnais and other northern tribes to the Hudson Valley via Lake Champlain. The north had the most desirable furs, but the Mohawks successfully controlled the southern trading routes and kept them out.

With the French to the north, the Dutch to the west, and the English pushing up the Connecticut River Valley, the fur trade changed many everyday activities for the Native communities in the Champlain Valley. Native peoples exchanged furs for a whole new set of material items. Knives and axes made out of iron replaced similar native stone tools. Copper kettles, glass beads, sewing needles, and thimbles were sought by Native peoples and used and modified within their own craft traditions. Iron, copper and glass fit well within their material world perhaps due to the connections to their own materials – glass beads caught the light like quartz crystals, copper was known to Native peoples of North America for thousands of years and Native craftsmen “cold worked” European copper, as they had in the past.

One item of trade had a particularly deadly impact. The firearm transformed intertribal warfare from encounters in which warriors were protected with wooden armor and wielded stone weapons to much more deadly conflicts. Europeans did not trade guns to Native peoples routinely until the 1630-40s, but by then guns were used by European traders as a major incentive to induce the Indians to trade.

European fashions among the nobility and middle classes shifted from feathers to furs, especially for hat manufacture. The beaver pelt offered the best felting fur of all animal furs and, thus, the fur trade flourished in North America. Source: Library and Archives Canada.
Guns were used for more than just attracting trading alliances. The French Jesuits demanded that French traders exchange guns only with those individuals who had converted to Christianity.

The material world of Native communities was transformed in a matter of a few generations. Native craftsmen and women ultimately lost traditional skills of stone tool and pottery making with the adoption of European iron and copper wares. Maintaining traditional craft skills was difficult in light of the dramatic effects of population loss, availability of European goods, and social conflict that lead to decades of turmoil in the region. For some Native communities, participation in the fur trade disrupted their traditional ways of getting food, placing them at further risk and continued reliance on other Native communities and Europeans for their survival.

The exchanges brought about by the fur trade went far beyond North American animal furs and European trade goods. Knowledge, language, ideas, favors, and food were some of the tangible and intangible exchanges forming a complicated web of interaction between Native people and Europeans. Europeans learned and borrowed many aspects of Native life, which greatly aided in their survival.

A late 19th-century Frederic Remington drawing of a French trapper, also called “coureur de bois” or “woods runner.” Such reconstruction of 17th-century clothing, personal adornment, accessories and tools provides a powerful visual record of peoples lives in this little known period of Champlain Basin history. Courtesy of Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming.

European trade goods included Venetian glass beads. Courtesy of the University of Maine at Farmington Archaeology Research Center.
Native foods, clothing, use of snowshoes and canoes for transportation, and the intimacies of the environment from medicinal plants to ancient trade routes allowed Europeans to survive in a world unknown to them. For Native communities in the Champlain Valley, their world would be forever intertwined with the impacts of disease, the fur trade and firearms.

European Diseases and the Destruction of Indigenous Societies

It is painful and difficult to convey the enormity of cultural change and destruction resulting from Columbus’ first trip to the “New” World. From 1501 on, dozens of explorers, whalers, fishermen, traders, and, later, colonizers and settlers brought with them diseases that wreaked havoc on people with no immunities to smallpox, influenza, tuberculosis, dysentery, and other Old World diseases. It is estimated that New England’s Indigenous populations plummeted by 94% over 300 years. A pandemic in 1616–1622 in coastal New England destroyed nearly all of the Indigenous population. Some scholars believe that the arrival of European families with children accelerated the spread of childhood diseases. A recent study suggests that the destruction of Indian populations between 1500 and 1750 resulted in a dramatic reforestation of the Americas. Cultivated fields were rapidly replaced by forests, precipitating a period of global cooling known as the Little Ice Age.

The value of furs was established on the basis of the prices paid by the trading companies. In 1665, the pelts were traded between coureurs des bois (“woods runners”) and Native people based on the following schedule:
1 white Normandy blanket: 6 beavers
1 gun: 6 beavers
1 Iroquois-style blanket: 3 beavers
1 medium capot (twilled coat): 2 beavers
1 barrel of corn: 6 beavers
1 ratine blanket: 4 beavers
1 small capot (twilled coat): 1 beaver

Source: National Archives of Canada.
Early French Settlement in the Champlain Valley

Lake Champlain was a vital transportation corridor used by both Indigenous people and Europeans for trade, social engagement, and military and diplomatic activities. In spite of this, early French settlement in the Champlain Valley after Champlain’s trip in 1609 was slow to develop. French colonies along the St. Lawrence River waterway began taking root soon after Jacques Cartier’s 1534 discovery that the region was rich in fur resources, but territorial conflicts among Indian nations, intensified by the fur trade, made European colonizing less attractive farther south. Convincing people to migrate from France, or even from Montreal or Québec, to settle in this remote wilderness was difficult. The first French settlements in the area were military forts and trading posts such as those at the mouths of the Winooski River and Otter Creek.

Early French immigrants after Champlain’s voyages in the early 1600s were soldiers sent by the king to secure the lands claimed by France - adventurers and entrepreneurs who came to make their fortunes as fur traders, or missionaries who came to establish the Church and to convert Native people. All early settlements were largely occupied by men, with very few women to help settle New France.

In the early seventeenth century, Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River were a main north-south trade route. By mid-century this route was in the direct line of conflict, as Algonquians and their French allies vied with the Iroquois for control of the fur trade. King Louis XIV sent almost 1,200 Carignan-Salières Regiment soldiers to New France in 1665 to curb the intensifying Iroquois attacks. In 1666 French Captain Pierre de la Motte and soldiers from the Carignan-Salières Regiment constructed the short-lived Fort St. Anne on Isle La Motte, the northernmost of the Lake Champlain islands, close to where the lake empties into the Richelieu River near the Québec border. It was the last of a chain of forts along the Richelieu and upper Champlain Valley built to protect trade routes and as defense against the British and Iroquois. Until it was deserted after 1668, the French conducted raids from Fort St. Anne into Iroquois territory.

Between 1663 and 1673, over 750 courageous girls and women of marriageable age made the perilous journey across the Atlantic as part of an ambitious campaign to settle the lands claimed by King Louis XIV. The king’s treasury paid for their passage to encourage marriage, thus they became known as the “filles du roi” (daughters of the king). Most were granted a dowry and a small hope chest, which contained items such as “1 head dress, 1 taffeta handkerchief, 1 pair of shoe ribbons, 100 sewing needles, 1 comb, 1 spool of white thread, 1 pair of stockings, 1 pair of gloves, 1 pair of scissors, 2 knives, 1,000 pins, 1 bonnet, 4 lace braids and 2 livres in silver money.” Upon arrival in Canada, they were provided clothing appropriate for the climate. Most were quickly married, and their success in producing large families resulted in these pioneers being credited today as the “Mothers of Canada.” Many Franco Americans today can trace their ancestry to these brave women. Locally the Bodette family from Addison trace their lineage to fille du roi Marie Grandin, who at the age of nineteen sailed to Québec from Orléans, France. In 1670 Marie married Jean Baudet from Poitou, France, who, at the age of fourteen, came to Canada in 1664.
The British also had a keen interest in the Champlain Valley’s central location and key role in the fur trade and appreciated its location as the major artery into New France. The enormous amount of contraband fur funneled through Lake Champlain to Albany continually reminded them of the riches and opportunities to the north. On March 26, 1690, representatives of the British governor of New York sent Captain Jacobus de Warm, a Dutchman from Albany, N.Y., up to what is now Chimney Point in Addison, Vermont, to “keep good watch by day and by night ... and whenever you perceive or meet any French or their Indians from Canada you shall endeavor to despoil, plunder and do them all injury as enemies, according to the usage of war.” They also were asked to build bark canoes, “to be used should necessity require.” Many historians believe de Warm built a small, probably temporary, stone defense at Chimney Point. With 20 Mohawks and 17 soldiers de Warm stayed there for about a month.

The Treaty of Utrecht was a keystone event in the history of the Champlain Valley. Signed in 1711 by France and England, it settled many property and boundary issues in Europe and the “New World.” In the Lake Champlain region, an imaginary line between Split Rock, near modern-day Westport, New York, and Basin Harbor in Ferrisburgh, Vermont, served as the boundary between English territory and New France. With Lake Champlain as the region’s major throughway, whoever controlled the lake, controlled the region.

In 1731 the governor of New France, the Marquis de Beauharnois, was informed that the English to the south had plans to establish themselves on Lake Champlain. In a bold and strategic move, the Governor ordered a fort be constructed at what the French called “Pointe-à-la Chevelure,” today’s Chimney Point in Addison, Vermont.

To the French, the narrow strait between today’s Chimney Point and Crown Point was the head of Lake Champlain. The proposed new fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure would “close on the English the road to the French settlements, and enable (the French) to fall on them when they least expect it.” King Louis XV, writing to Marquis de Beauharnois several times in the spring of 1731, approved the plan, desiring “that a stockade fort be erected at that place, until a stronger one can be constructed.” This project allowed the French to control the lake with fewer soldiers and “harass” the English with “small parties.” If the English gained this foothold on the way to New France, the French could “never show ourselves on Lake Champlain except with open force, nor make war against them except with a large army.” His Majesty, the King of France, also encouraged making “grants there to the farmers who demand land.” The British were deeply angered when they learned about the pending construction of the fort since this would hamper their travel on the lake, and they felt its construction was a violation of the Treaty of Utrecht.

1731 plan of the fort de pieux at Pointe-à-la Chevelure. Source: French National Archives, Centre des archives d’outre-mer.
In April 1731 the French hired Étienne Rocbert de Morandière, the garde-magasin du roi in Montreal (“keeper of the King’s storehouse”), to oversee the construction of a wooden stockade of posts, known as a fort de pieux. Thought to have measured about 100 feet by 100 feet, this little fortification may have been designed by military engineer and army officer Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry, who drew several plans for the fort. Extensive supplies from the King’s store in Montreal were shipped approximately 228 kilometers (141 miles) up the lake by bateaux and canoe to the site to build and outfit the fort and feed the soldiers. The stockade walls encircled buildings for the commandant, a chaplain, and the guard, as well as a kitchen, bakery, and storehouse. During the first winter of 1731-32, twenty soldiers were garrisoned there although the fort was big enough to service thirty soldiers. Archival documents reveal that in 1732 liturgical vestments were sent for a priest and to fully equip a chapel. The establishment of the fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure was the start of long-term French settlement of the Champlain Valley.

With the construction of the temporary stockaded fort on the east side of the lake in 1731, plans were made later that year for a much larger, more substantial and permanent stone redoubt to be built. Materials were collected for the new stone redoubt, a massive fortified tower, to be built on Crown Point across from Chimney Point, and construction began in late 1734 or early 1735. By September 1735, there were plans not only for the redoubt but also for a bastioned fort connected to it. The redoubt and the fort each had a drawbridge over a moat at the entrance, and access to the redoubt was through the fort. Known initially as Fort Beauharnois, the new fort was located at the lake shore at the northern end of the Crown Point peninsula.

By 1737 the new fort was largely complete, and it was renamed Fort Saint-Frédéric in honor of Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas. Controlling smuggling remained the fort’s priority, and the officers in the fort were rewarded with the full value of any goods seized. Also in 1737, farming settlements were proposed for both sides of the lake; the north half of the Crown Point peninsula was reserved for the King. A windmill, barn, stable, and cow shed in which livestock were kept for hauling firewood were built within range of the new fort’s cannon.
To the left are 1731 and 1732 inventories of supplies for the new fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure (Chimney Point, Vermont). An English translation of the 1732 French inventory includes:

*Summary Statement of the Supplies, Munitions, Merchandise and Implements Furnished by the King’s Store at Montreal, during the year 1732, towards the Upkeep of a Fort at Pointe à la Chevelure, of the Gentleman Officers and the Troops Posted There* ([?] means it cannot be deciphered)

1 gross plus 4 of Matches @ 3 pounds per gross
100 [?]
4 [Paddles?] @ 10 deniers each
500 Sewing Needles @ 40 deniers per hundred
4 ounces of Wash Blue @ 23 deniers, 6 sous per pound
1 [? of Starch ?]

*Implements for the Chapel*
2 Liturgical Shoulder Aprons
2 Albs [a white, floor length robe, long sleeve Chaplain’s robe]
1 Stole
1 Maniple [arm stole]
1 Chalice Veil
1 Patina Envelope [the round dish upon which the priest deposits the host, it is inserted in a lined burse or envelope when not used during mass. At the end of the Post Council of Trento Mass Rite, the priest covers the chalice with the veil to form a pyramid, places the patina in the stiff burse, and covers the veil with the stiff burse]
1 Silver Box to hold the Holy Oil [similar to a round pill or snuff box for the ceremony of Extreme Unction, weighing 2 ounces]
2 Flasks [for the water and wine at mass]
1 Hand Basin [to catch the water used to purify the hands of the celebrant at the Lavabo Rite of the mass]
1 Square bonnet [prescribed Post-Trento head gear for entrance and exit of the celebrant at mass. Black with 1/8 of a circle flare surmounting the pinched four corners, it usually includes a black pom-pom in the middle]

Source: Library and Archives Canada.
By the late 1600s, France was a leader in making flat glass for window panes and mirrors. These panes of glass were wafer-thin. The glass factories packed their products in barrels of molasses made in the West Indies and shipped to Europe. The thick consistency of molasses was perfect for the prevention of breakage on the rough ocean journey from France to New France, and then on the trip from the King’s store in Montreal to southern Lake Champlain. After the glass was removed, the molasses could be used for cooking.

When Jean-Baptiste LaForest of Chambly, Canada, was hired to transport supplies by bateaux and canoe from the King’s store in Montreal to build and stock the new French fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure (Chimney Point) in 1731, one entry on the inventory was 20 panes of glass. The next year he brought 200 more panes of window glass.

While the fort at Chimney Point and the later Fort St. Frédéric across the lake had window glass, the houses built by the French settlers and soldiers who had completed their duty “had no glass in their windows,” observed Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm, who traveled through the area in 1749. Window openings might have been covered with oiled paper or skins. Thin glass fragments found in the cellar of the c. 1785 Chimney Point tavern and buried in the ground at the Chimney Point State Historic Site in Addison likely came from the 1731 French fort.

The 1732 inventory of supplies brought from the King’s store in Montreal to the fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure lists a small bell called a “clochette.” This type of altar bell was rung at important points in the Catholic mass. The brass bell to the left, which measures about 2 by 3 inches, was found in the Chimney Point area by a property owner. Could it be a “clochette”!? Courtesy of Kevin Cosgrove.

Plans of the new fort and redoubt at St. Frédéric. Done at Québec, 30 October 1737 [by] Chaussegros de Léry. Source: French National Archives, Centre des archives d’outre-mer.
In 1731, the King’s men in New France moved their line of defence along the Lake Champlain-Richelieu fluvial corridor from Fort Saint-Louis at Chambly to Pointe-à-la-Chevelure at the southern end of Lake Champlain. Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, the French for “Scalp Point” (the English mistakenly translated as “Crown Point”), identified the entrance to the strategic narrows at the southern end of Lake Champlain, the area known today as West Addison, Vermont, and Crown Point, New York. In late summer of 1731 the French hastily built a palisade fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure. Four years later, in 1735, they began to construct (1735-1737) a more permanent outpost, Fort Saint-Frédéric: an imposing stone fortress bristling with medieval features such as a moat and a machicolated tower. The eastern abutment of the modern Champlain Bridge sits squarely on the site of the 1731 French fort while the western end of the bridge lands immediately south of Fort Saint-Frédéric, the stone fortress which replaced the palisade structure erected on the Vermont side of the narrows.

The place “Pointe-à-la-Chevelure,” today’s Chimney Point, is associated with an agricultural settlement as well as a military outpost. From the onset of their occupation of the site, the French had planned to install settlers in the vicinity of the fort. Soldiers from the French Marine Troops stationed at Fort Saint-Frédéric were encouraged to marry and husband nearby plots of land. Civilians from the Saint Lawrence Valley were enticed to the site. For the first four years of colonization at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, from 1740 to 1743, the entire area—the west shore (the present-day Crown Point peninsula north of Put’s Creek) and the east shore (the plots surveyed north and south of the King’s Woodlot at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure proper, site of the first fort)—was administered as a single unit. The plots occupied before 1743 were all part of the royal domaine and, consequently, the seigneur of the Pointe-à-la-Chevelure settlement was the French king, Louis XV himself. With the granting of a seigneurie, similar to a plantation, to Gilles Hocquart in 1743, enlarged in 1745, the settlement known as Pointe-à-la-Chevelure was divided into two administrative units: a western shore Domaine du Roy (New York State) which continued to belong directly to the King of France, and an eastern shore seigneurie (Vermont) known as the Seigneurie de Hocquart (after the grantee, Intendant Gilles Hocquart).

The plots of land that a seigneur (a land concession owner) granted were known as rotures. The standard shape of a roture was an elongated rectangle, the average length-to-width ratio being one to ten. At Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, the standard roture was three acres wide and forty acres long. These lots were laid in the typical pattern of the rang found along the St Lawrence River Valley, and near French-settled Detroit, Michigan, and New Orleans, Louisiana. The narrow faces of the rotures were aligned along a body of water (Lake Champlain, the Mississippi, etc.) so that all settlers would have direct access to a water road. This pattern survived in Vermont and can still be discerned in maps of Addison and Bridport dating from the 1850s. It is also visible in modern day parcel maps.

In 1739 lots were surveyed and marked by “Sieur Dufresne, Surveyor at Montréal” (Jean-Baptiste Janvrin Dufresne de la Chesnaie) and a grist mill was completed in 1740 at Fort Saint-Frédéric. The
windmill along with the miller’s house, both built at the King’s expense, stood to the southeast of the fort, on the present-day Crown Point peninsula, where the Champlain Monument rises. Soon after the completion of the gristmill, a necessity if farmers were to be enticed, Hocquart personally oversaw the recruitment of the first settlers who arrived in the fall of 1740.

In April 1743 Louis XV conceded lands on the Vermont shore of the settlement to Gilles Hocquart. The land grant to the faithful intendant was substantially enlarged in 1745. In its final dimensions, as of April 1, 1745, the Seigneurie de Hocquart occupied an area of some 115,000 acres, a vast quadrangle which today would include much of Addison County, Vermont. Very few of these 115,000 acres were ever settled, but the shore line of Lake Champlain was surveyed in the form of ninety elongated lots (sixty on the Vermont shore and thirty on the Crown Point peninsula, south of the military installations). The sixty *rotures* on the Vermont shore were evenly distributed north and south of the seigneurial domain of Gilles Hocquart, which took up the mainland at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure proper. Two communities were thus created: the Royal Domain, on the western side, growing southward from Fort Saint-Frédéric; and the Seigneurie de Hocquart, on the eastern side of the lake, extending northward and southward from the actual landmark known as Pointe-à-la-Chevelure. Over the next fifteen years, most lots were granted to some sixty farmers-to-be. The settlers on the Seigneurie of Hocquart benefited from more fertile soil but lacked direct land access to the gristmill and other essential services such as the blacksmith shop, the King’s Store and the bakery housed at Fort Saint-Frédéric on the opposite lake shore.

Adopting a conservative method, we can posit that more than half (perhaps as many as two-thirds) of the ninety surveyed lots at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure were occupied (more were granted than occupied) before the destruction of the settlement by the British in 1759.

The following table shows an initial impetus (1740-1746); a static situation in 1747 and 1748—the period associated with King George’s War (1746-1748); a marked resumption of the settlement drive in the

*French map of land in the vicinity of Fort St. Frederic showing rotures, land devoted to the king, and fields reserved for timber and firewood for the garrison. Drawn in 1739 by Boisclerc, a French surveyor. Source: French National Archives, Centre des archives d’outre-mer.*
peaceful interlude 1749-1755; followed by a decline brought about by the final chapter of the French and Indian wars.

From 1740 to 1745, the population of Pointe-à-la-Chevelure grew steadily. If we exclude the military officers, the non-domiciled soldiers, and civilian employees who resided at the fortress, the permanent population of Pointe-à-la-Chevelure grew from a total of fifteen in the fall of 1740 to fifty-one in 1745. The civil registers confirm the stability of the population, despite the perils of war between 1745 and 1749. We find continued mention of almost all the households appearing in the birth, marriage and burial records of Fort Saint Frédéric between 1741 and 1744. Most of the settlers were soldiers who remained stationed at the fort during periods of imminent invasion. While many held ranks such as sergeants, few were as old as Swedish traveler Peter Kalm reports: “Before the last war a great many French families, especially old soldiers, settled there.” Even though the French and the British signed a peace treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle in the

### Estimated size of the population of Pointe-à-la-Chevelure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>1748</td>
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<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Map showing French land grants. Courtesy of the Vermont Historical Society, from Guy Coolidge files.
fall of 1748, safety did not fully return to the Champlain Valley until the middle of 1749, too late into that year to fully resume an ambitious settlement drive. Still, the register of Fort Saint-Frédéric for 1749 accounts for several arrivals. The new families of 1749 harbingered a dramatic resumption of the settlement drive. The Governor and the Intendant at Québec had refined plans for such an initiative and, in September 1749, they took measures to resume an aggressive campaign of colonization. The intendant’s delegate in Montréal instructed his representative at Fort Saint-Frédéric, Jean-Baptiste de Colonges, to grant as many plots as there were takers. On September 19, 1749, Colonges, Royal Store Keeper and Scrivener, granted some seventeen *rotures* on the western shore and another five on the eastern shore, all neatly numbered and identified with reference to the cadastral map drafted ten years before (see Boisclerc’s map on p. 30).

While on a fact-finding mission at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure in August 1751, the Royal Engineer Franquet observed that “houses are cropping up slowly in the surroundings of Fort Saint-Frédéric. One can find no more than nineteen [houses] on the west side, and twenty on the east side.” The tally of Franquet, thirty-nine dwellings, is corroborated by the census that Jean-Victor Varin de La Marre, a delegate of the Intendant, conducted a few months later, in the fall of 1751. Varin counted forty-two dwellings and a settler population of 114. The Varin Census confirms the reliability of the registers of Fort Saint-Frédéric as a crude measure of the rise and fall of the settlers’ population.

Pointe-à-la-Chevelure continued to grow until the first rumors of war in late 1755. During the last period (1756-1759), times of war that saw extreme savagery on both sides, the French population of Pointe-à-la-Chevelure was terrorized by Roger’s Rangers who scalped soldiers and civilian farmers alike, burned houses and farm buildings, and decimated herds. Many families fled to the relative safety of the Richelieu settlements or further north, to the Saint Lawrence heartland. However, the registers and other documents show that many of the inhabitants of Hochquart and the King’s Domain at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure continued to raise crops and husband their animals. It is those crops and those cattle that Rogers and his soldiers of fortune burned and killed, those civilians that the rangers terrified and murdered.

The fort registers of the last four years, 1756-1759, speak to a steady decline as families were evacuated and heads of households were called to active duty. Remarkably, during the final years, when American guerrillas scalped and plundered, the cycle of life continued. Children born at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure reached adulthood and were married there, often to soldiers who had come to protect them. Mothers-in-law deeded their homes and fields to sons-in-law under arms, dispatched to Fort Carillon (the French fort built 12 miles south of Fort Saint-Frédéric) and other frontiers of uncertainty and death.

By 1758, year of the battle of Carillon (also known as the battle of Ticonderoga), Pointe-à-la-Chevelure had become part of a major war theater, the transit point and corridor for the movement of thousands of men under arms. Guerilla warfare intensified, and soldiers and civilians were killed within sight of Fort Saint-Frédéric. Under such conditions, we can assume that many of the remaining inhabitants left as early as 1758, well before the final evacuation in the last days of July 1759. In the

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**French General Louis-Joseph de Montcalm wrote in his journal October 1758:**

On the 8th M. de Levis came back from Fort Saint-Frédéric. He found there 950 Canadians and this detachment has a good reputation, almost all voyageurs. They are easily recognized because of their features, their height and the fact that all of them have tattooed on their bodies the picture of some plant or animal, a long and painful operations. The design is etched by piercing the skin with a needle and is printed by burning gun powder in the lines pierced. Among the High Country Indians one would not be called a man if he didn’t have himself tattooed.

*From François Gaston Duc de Lévis, Journal du Marquis de Montcalm durant ses Campagnes en Canada de 1756 à 1759, in Abbé H.R. Casgrain, (ed.) Collection des manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis, 12 Vols. (Québec: Imprimerie Demers & Frères, 1895).*
registers for 1758, one notes a sharp drop in baptisms, the lead indicator of growth in the settlement. Many of the family names which had appeared continuously until then vanish.

The most poignant display of the settlers’ attachment to their homes at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure may have been their attempt to be repatriated in the early months of 1760, two seasons after Amherst’s occupation of the Champlain Valley. Settlers returning to their home after the debacle of the Plains of Abraham in Québec were detained by the British at Ile-aux-Noix and Chambly. Those who could be identified as enlisted French soldiers were escorted to New York or Québec, where they were forced to board ships destined for Europe. A few soldiers, some accompanied by their wives and children, never reached port, and died on unseaworthy vessels commandeered by the British at Québec. Among the many passengers who drowned in the Gulf of Saint-Lawrence, we recognize Antoine François Grassier [Grassiaux] dit Vadeboncoeur from the de Lusignan Company, Pierre Joseph Girard dit Lajeunesse of the La Reine Regiment, and Jean Philippe Garnot dit Brindamour, sergeant of the LaValtrie Company. All these men had married in New France and, with their wives and children, all claimed by the sea, they had made their home and invested their dreams at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure.

The Life of a French Settler

Settlers received basic implements to clear their land and begin growing crops. They were supplied with a cow, a plow and seeds. In a letter to the King, dated October 27, 1741, Hocquart assures the King that his settlers are receiving a plow. We can be certain that if the settlers did receive the massive, cumbersome plows of 18th-century France, they did not use them before most stumps had vanished from the initial clearings which were gained at the price of Herculean efforts. Such backbreaking work took four to five years to clear less than five square acres. During those first seasons, and well after, the settlers would have used broad hoes to cultivate. Until the newcomer could clear enough land to grow his own food, he and his family could count on the procurement officer and the King’s baker at Fort Saint Frédéric who were both instructed to furnish the settlers with meat and a prodigious amount of bread. It is because of these extraordinary inducements, paid for by Louis XV, the “Beloved,” that the Royal Intendant at Québec could attract settlers to the remote confines of Lake Champlain.

As soon as he arrived (for the garrisoned soldier: as soon as he received a plot of land, a roture), the settler began to clear his land. First he felled small trees that were fifteen to twenty feet tall. With this lumber, he erected a primitive post and plank hut with the posts, the poteaux or pieux debouts, buried vertically into the ground. These maisons en pieux (poteaux) debouts, fifteen-by-twenty feet single room abodes, had no foundations, a dirt floor and a roof made of overlapping planks. In most cases the chimneys were constructed of sticks and mud or some other materials such as moss or straw that served as bousillage. The hearth that could be fashioned by the average settler was no more than an assembly of slate slabs. This first dwelling would serve as a stable-barn when a second, sturdier house was ready. This second house, a French equivalent of the log cabin, was not much roomier than the first shelter. It was assembled from poteaux en coulisse, squared logs that were held together in a
tendon-mortise assembly so that the ends could lock into corners and other vertical posts resting on horizontal plates.

After four or five weeks devoted to building a first house the settler was able to move his family into their new quarters. In late June or early July, the settler, let us name him Louis Cointat after one of the first four settlers, began to clear the front of his roture, attacking no more than one-half acre at a time. Having felled all the trees in the selected area, Cointat pulled out trunks of less than one foot in diameter, leaving larger stumps to rot, a process that would take four or five years. By mid-fall the new censitaire (the holder of a roture was called a censitaire) was ready to loosen the soil of his cleared one acre for spring planting. During his first winter at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, the farmer would cut another acre of trees. In each succeeding year he would conquer, under ideal conditions, no more than two acres from the forest.

Let us look at the domain of Louis Cointat, in the fall of 1758, the family’s last autumn at the seigneurie of Hocquart (Addison, Vermont). Diagonally across from Fort Saint Frédéric and its imposing stone windmill, on the spot where the first palisade fort was built in 1731, stands the farm of the seigneur, Gilles Hocquart. The seigneurial domain, on the site of the present day Chimney Point State Historic Site Museum grounds, is leased to a farmer. Stretching north and south from this focal point, we discover twenty-five to thirty houses en pieux debouts and a few made from poteaux en coulisse. Approximately sixty of the ninety lots surveyed in 1739 are occupied. On the Vermont shore, elongated fields stretch out eastward toward the forest. Cointat’s establishment, just north of the seigneurial domain, is one of the oldest and most prosperous looking. However, even after seventeen years of intensive clearing and husbandry, Cointat’s farm incorporates no more than fifteen acres of arable land, including the acres reserved for pasture. The front of Cointat’s roture is occupied by the farm’s buildings: nearest the shore, the family’s house; to the northeast, various small, low-roofed outbuildings and a lean-to attached to a barn-stable, an expansion of the original maison en pieux-debouts. Closing the domestic rectangle, to the south lies a small garden dominated by peas. Behind the domestic enclave of the family lies a patchwork of cultivated fields, pastures and woodlots. In the future Cointat hopes to follow a two-course rotation on his field (a cycle he learned from his father) but because of the demands of the fort’s garrison for flour and the initial high seed-to-yield ratio of one-to-ten, he does not rotate his arable fields nor does he fertilize them. In 1755, when the seed-to-yield ration of his oldest wheat field dropped to one-to-three,
he simply converted the space into meadowland. Cointat’s crop is 80% wheat. Peas, consumed by the family, make up another 10%. The rest is devoted to raising oats for Cointat’s two horses and, in some cases, a small harvest of buckwheat. The farmer’s wheat is planted in early May and the harvest is in early September. Approximately half of the cleared land is not planted and nearly all of this untilled ground is occupied by meadows on which Cointat harvests hay and clover for winter fodder.

Before entering the farmer’s house, let us take a look at the garden tended by his wife and children. We observe the growth of all sorts of peas and beans, one of the three ingredients in the daily diet of the family, the other two being wheat (bread) and salt pork. We can also admire onions, leeks, turnips and carrots, squashes and pumpkins as well as cucumbers. The small orchard is made up entirely of apples, the small Fameuses still grown in the valley and known as Chimney apples. In the vicinity we can also pick quinces and several types of berries. Most of Cointat’s food is homegrown. The family complements their fare of bread, peas and pork (lard salé, lard fumé) with some poultry, vegetables and fruits from the garden and, occasionally, fish and game from the wilds. The family is nearly self-sufficient relying on the supply schooner from Saint-Jean on the Richelieu (a trans-shipment point for goods from Montreal) for salt, pepper and spices (cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon) and olive oil. In the summer and fall Cointat drinks spruce beer. On rare occasion he may purchase a bottle of Spanish or Bordeaux wine. From the fort store he can also purchase guildeve, a white gin from Holland.

It is time to enter the house. The interior of Cointat’s home is dusty and plunged in semi-darkness. Some light radiates from the small fall fire in the hearth and the few small windows are covered with oiled paper or transparent animal hide (replaced in the cold months by wooden shutters). The floor is made of packed dirt except for a trap door, some three square feet, that leads to a cellar of similar dimension in the center of the floor. The cellar is lined with stones without mortar and the ground is tamped with straw. This is where the family stores various

The Fameuse, Chimney, or Snow Apple

The French introduced the Fameuse apple to the Chimney Point area after 1731. They were grown in the St. Lawrence Valley since the early 1600s. The Fameuse, likely Vermont’s first cultivated apple tree, is one of the few apple varieties that breed true to seed. It is not known if those in the Chimney Point area were grown from seeds or seedlings. Some Catholic priests knew how to graft trees by inserting twigs or “scions” from the desired tree onto a sturdy root stock. As the French settled along Lake Champlain and out to the Great Lakes it would have been easy for them to carry Fameuse seeds and start new trees. The Fameuse, with snow white flesh and red or red-streaked skin, has a delicious taste for eating, cooking, and cider. The variety became known as the Chimney apple—after its Chimney Point source—or Snow apple. In 1851 Chauncey Goodrich of Burlington, Vermont, wrote that hundreds of barrels of Fameuse apples were sold each year in that city alone. Samuel Swift, in his 1859 History of Addison County, observed that in the Chimney Point area, “Old apple trees and plum trees, planted by them (the French) are still standing.”

A severe freeze in the winter of 1917-18 killed many old apple trees in the Champlain Valley. Any remaining Fameuse apple trees may have died then. In the early 2000s several Addison County, Vermont, residents report having old Fameuse apple trees, remnants of former orchards or old farms. Apple-eating wild animals such as deer may have spread Fameuse apple seeds in the woods or hedgerows, planting new trees that await discovery and identification. Apple experts believe the Fameuse may be a parent of the highly popular McIntosh apple.
liquids and perhaps butter and other staples in ceramic jars. The interior of the house is too small to accommodate bedrooms and other walled divisions. The 300 to 350 square feet of floor space must accommodate the hearth, 24 to 36 square feet, various storage chests, 36 to 72 square feet, and the master bed, another 36 square feet. More than one third of the floor space is occupied by essential furniture or the heating-cooking area. The family of seven lives the long winter in the remaining space where one rarely finds chairs or a table or beds for most of the family members. Small children can crawl into a very low attic where they have to share room with sacks of walnuts and various milled grain. The bed of the children consists of a paillasse, a sack stuffed with straw and insulated from the dirt floor with a prélart, a mat often made of animal hide. To keep warm in the winter each family member is supplied with a copious quantity of hides (moose, bear, deer). All of this material is rolled up during the day and stored against the walls. Cointat’s mattress may rest on a rope crib and be equipped with a ciel and curtains. For illumination, the family relies on becs-à-corbeaux (crow’s beaks) which burn oil or fat. Candles, expensive items, are reserved for tin lanterns which are used outside the house (see illustration, following page).

Most of Cointat’s possessions will leave little behind for the archaeologist. Almost all the implements are made of wood, textile or animal hide. The eating inventory includes a green glazed ceramic known as Saintonge ware and other coarse containers daubed with brownish colors. Metals include the few nails found in the house structure (for the roof, the door and the window shutters mainly), the becs-a-corbeaux, various cooking implements such as copper pots and the usual ironware of colonial kitchens, the metal parts of guns and gunflints and implements such as scythes, axes and the tips of various implements such as shovels. The horses and the oxen are shod.

The material life of the settlers at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure might seem primitive, even harsh when compared with our modern life or the pious images which historians give us of life in the thirteen colonies. But in reaching such an appraisal we fail to consider that very few people in the eighteenth century wore the dresses that museums like Williamsburg put on display. Artists conscripted to give life to the Pilgrims or national heroes such as Ethan Allen or Daniel Boone deliver images that fail completely to resurrect the past. Life for the average person at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure - or Fort No. 4 on the Connecticut River -- was harsh, swift and dominated by basic needs. We need to remember that the living conditions of the censitaire at the Seigneurie de Hocquart or the Domaine du Roy were quite superior to what their counterparts experienced in the province of Normandy or Anjou.
Upon returning to Sweden after visiting the Champlain Valley in the mid 1700s, Peter Kalm wrote in his *Travels in North America*:

“Bedbugs (*Cimex lectularius*) are very plentiful in this part of the world..... I have against my will been sorely tormented by them in many places, both among Englishmen and Frenchmen, but I do not remember having seen any among the Indians, during my stay at Fort Frederic [Crown Point]. The commander there, Mr. de Lusignan, told me that none of the Illinois or other Indians of the western parts of North America knew anything of these vermin. And he added, that he could with certainty say this from his own experience, having been among them a great deal. Yet I cannot determine whether bedbugs were first brought over by the Europeans, or whether they were in the country originally.”

Left, a crow’s beak oil lamp, or becs-à-corbeaux, found at the Mount Independence Revolutionary War fortification in Orwell, Vermont. These oil lamps were commonly used to provide light; the bowls were filled with oil, the “beak” held the burning wick. An upright handle attached to the other end of the bowl was fastened to a wall, as depicted above right. Courtesy of Mount Independence State Historic Site.
The French realized that Fort Saint Frédéric was in eminent danger if the English captured French Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga. Carillon fell to the large English army under General Jeffery Amherst at the end of July, in 1759. The retreating French fled northward, blowing up Fort St. Frédéric on the way out and abandoning their fortifications.

The English took control of a large southwestern swath of New France following the French retreat to Canada. Amherst immediately ordered construction of new forts on top of or next to the ruins of Fort Carillon and Fort St. Frédéric. The English called their forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, respectively.

Amherst also ordered the completion of the military road across Vermont that connected Crown Point to Fort No. 4 on the Connecticut River at what is now Charlestown, New Hampshire. The Crown Point Military Road cut the first significant land trail across Vermont, although in general it followed already existing trade routes and warpaths.

As the British surged towards the heart of New France in 1759, the French settlers evacuated their farms, taking everything they could with them, even their stoves, and destroying all that could be of use to the enemy. Some sources say they may have burned their own homes knowing they would not be returning. In 1859 Vermont historian Samuel Swift wrote, “In the year 1759 ... before he [Amherst] reached Crown Point, the French garrison had burnt their forts on both sides and abandoned them. The settlers also in the neighborhood retreated with the army, and thus ended the French settlement in the County of Addison.” An alternative version of events has it that the English and their Native allies burned the French homes after their retreat. Either way, only cellar holes and chimneys were left standing, hence the name, “Chimney Point.”
By 1761 New Hampshire Governor Benning Wentworth began making grants for town charters on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain, setting the stage for colonial conflict among New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont’s leadership, all vying for control of the region. The British and French signed the Treaty of Paris in 1763, ending their hostilities; by that year Wentworth had granted charters for fifteen towns in what would become Addison County, Vermont.

English settlers from Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire moved into this part of Vermont via 18th century highways: Lake Champlain, Otter Creek, the Winooski River, or overland on the Crown Point Road. Some of the new residents had served in the military during the French and Indian War and were already familiar with the area, drawn to it in part since the land was already cleared and cultivated by the earlier French farmers. The English used a similar system of land division, including the long, skinny “spaghetti” type lots along the lake. Frequently they set up house where French homes once stood, to take advantage of existing cellars, and maybe standing chimneys, and surrounding cleared land. Many of these new settlers were American, born under English rule, their lives culturally and politically dynamic as they went from settling a colonial frontier to establishing a new democracy in an independent nation.

Proprietors of the new towns around Lake Champlain were required to lay out villages and clear the land within certain time frames. Overlapping grants from the governors of New York and New Hampshire led to land squabbles as new settlers sometimes found their land had already been claimed by others.

Benjamin Kellogg, a soldier who hunted deer for the English garrison at Crown Point, promoted the new Lake Champlain shore settlements to prospective settlers from Connecticut. In 1764 Connecticut resident John Strong, a French and Indian War veteran, accompanied Kellogg on his deer hunt to Lake Champlain. He observed an area containing “deer licks,” a sign of good grazing land, and decided to settle there. Around Chimney Point, Strong and his fellow settlers found mature French apple and plum trees, as well as the old French cellar holes.

In the following spring of 1765, John Strong moved to the Lake Champlain shore with his wife Agnes and three children to settle the land. In the mid-1800s, a grandson of John Strong, Judge John W. Strong, related stories his fabled grandparents told him as a child that provide clues about the location and character of the Strong family homestead. His grandparents described their first home as “a log house around an old French Chimney, near

Lotting map of the towns of Addison and Panton, Vermont, reveals that the French seigneuries were probably a basis for the lotting of towns. Unknown date - likely pre-1800s. Courtesy of Raymond Bodette.
the lake.” They also shared with him that another early settler from Connecticut, David Vallence, “in a similar manner, converted the remains of another French hut into a tenement [house].”

Nineteenth-century Vermont historian Abby Hemenway, to whom Judge Strong also told family stories, wrote in 1860: “John Strong concluded to build him a house there. This, with the help of Kellogg and the other three men he did, selecting the foundation of an old French house (cellar and chimneys) as the site.” It made sense to establish new farms where old ones once stood.

John and Agnes Strong are known as the first settlers under English rule in Addison, although Agnes’s name is seldom mentioned in this iconic story. Their fourth son, John Jr., was the first child of English descent born in Addison, in 1766. The life of this pioneering family inextricably links both past and present as their Addison cabin was the site of the Lake Champlain Voyages of Discovery archaeology project in 2007.

Environmental and social conditions around the Strong cabin were rugged, and additional settlement efforts proceeded slowly. The ever essential sawmill was constructed at the Otter Creek Falls in Vergennes in 1764, and another was built in Shoreham. Neither lasted long and most early houses were built of logs with bark floors.

In 1766 sixteen other Connecticut men attempted to clear land in Addison and Middlebury, but most returned home, not to try again until 1773. Were their wives and children with them? It’s not known since history books were generally as silent about women and children as they were about Native Americans and African Americans.

The plaque at one of the cellar holes at the DAR State Park in Addison, Vermont, reads: Site of Captain John Strong Cabin Built 1765 on Site of One of French Houses of Hacquort [sic]. John Jr. 1st English Child Born in Addison County 1766 ... Courtesy of William J. Costello.
As the settlers cleared more fields and planted crops, many were fascinated by their discoveries of Native American stone tools of all kinds, pottery fragments, flakes and chips from tool making, stone fire hearths, tilled land along some streams, copper and stones not native to the area, all evidence of a much more ancient past.

A Bear Story
In this account from historian Abby Maria Hemenway’s Gazetteer, (Vol. 1, 1867, reprinted in H. P. Smith’s 1886 History of Addison County), John Strong and his neighbor Mr. Smalley were crossing Lake Champlain by canoe, from Chimney Point, Vermont, to Neviah, New York, sometime between 1766 and 1777.

They saw something swimming in the water, which they at once supposed to be a deer, and gave chase. As they drew near, they found, instead of a deer, it was an enormous black bear that they were pursuing. This was a different affair, and a consultation was held. They had nothing but an axe, but they had too much pluck to back out, so it was planned that Smalley was to get into the wake of the bear, and run the canoe bows on, whilst Strong, standing in the bow with the axe, was to knock Bruin on the head. But ‘the best laid scheme of mice and men, gang aft agley.’ Smalley brought the boat up in good style, and Strong, with all the force of a man used to felling the giants of the forest, struck the bear full on the head. The bear minded it no more than if it had been a walking-stick instead of an axe, but instantly turning, placed both forepaws on the side of the boat and upset it, turning both the men into the lake. The bear, instead of following them, crawled up on to the bottom of the boat, and took possession, quietly seating himself, and looking on with great gravity, whilst the men were floundering in the water. Smalley, who was not a very good swimmer, seeing the bear so quiet, thought he might hold on by one end of the boat, until it should float ashore; but no, Bruin would have none of their company; and they were obliged, each with an oar under his arms to sustain him, to make the best of their way to Sandy Point, the nearest shore. From here they had to go around the head of Bullwagga Bay, and north as far as Port Henry, where they found their boat, minus their axe and other baggage, and were very glad to come off so well.

The Lake Champlain region lay in the path of war as the American Revolution got under way in the early 1770s. The British and Americans were enemies this time. Living here became dangerous, and many settlers moved south to the places from which they had originally come. Revolutionary forces, including Ethan Allen, the Green Mountain Boys, Benedict Arnold, and Seth Warner, captured the English forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point with little resistance, a prelude to an unsuccessful assault on Canada. The English fortifications at Crown Point hosted the retreating American army. Across the lake near Chimney Point in Addison they built a hospital on Hospital Creek to help control a smallpox epidemic. In July 1776 the American Northern Army began building extensive fortifications on Lake Champlain at Mount Independence, in Orwell, Vermont, across from Fort Ticonderoga in New York, to defend New England and points south against a British attack from Canada. Anticipating reprisal, the Americans constructed America’s first naval fleet in Whitehall, New York, with Benedict Arnold in command. In October 1776, Arnold confronted the English at Valcour Island and was defeated in a remarkable naval battle. Arnold was able to slip away with the remains of his fleet, scuttling his own flagship Congress in Arnold’s Bay in Panton, Vermont, and escaping to Crown Point with the aid of local farmer and political activist Peter Ferris and his son, Squire.

British Lt. General John Burgoyne pushed south on the lake in the summer of 1777. The American forces withdrew from Mount Independence and Fort Ticonderoga, some of them fighting a successful American rear guard action at Hubbardton, Vermont, on July 7, 1777, the only Revolutionary War battle fought on Vermont soil. The next day in Windsor, Vermont, on the Connecticut River, delegates ratified the Vermont Constitution. The territory claimed by both New Hampshire and New York became the Republic of Vermont. The few settlers who remained in the region suffered great hardships, with men being taken prisoner and sent to Canada, properties plundered and burned. A British raid in November
1778 destroyed much that was still standing. Settlements began anew when peace returned to the valley in 1783,—this time in the United States of America.

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**The Archaeology of an 18th-Century Homestead**

Archaeology is a powerful discipline that provides short and long-term perspectives about the past and contributes much to our knowledge and understanding of history. Archaeology is an imperfect science because the information excavated from the ground is an incomplete and often altered record of past human activities. This complex record can be interpreted in multiple ways by archaeologists with different backgrounds, points of view, and goals. The archaeology of Native American and African American cultures, in particular, requires involving descendent communities to help interpret evidence about the past and to provide knowledgeable and alternative perspectives. In spite of its limitations, archaeology fills gaps left by archival records, and about our collective past before written records. It gives a voice to people living in the past who did not write or were not written about by others.

Archaeology is best known for digging - that's the part that most captures the imagination, the act of “discovering” the past. In reality, excavating is a small part of the complicated process of archaeology. Research into written records, such as journals and diaries, census records and deeds, published histories, historic maps and photographs; recording oral histories from knowledgeable community members; cataloging and analyzing the excavated information, from pottery to animal and plant remains; doing comparative analysis of other archaeological studies and artifact collections; writing and documenting the findings; and creating engaging exhibits are all essential aspects of “doing” archaeology.

At the scenic DAR State Park on the shore of Lake Champlain in Addison, Vermont, 19th- and 20th-century habitation and recreational use overlays evidence of earlier occupations by Native Americans, French, English, and Americans. The Lake Champlain shore in Addison County is littered with evidence of the first European settlers who lived and farmed in the area around Chimney Point and Crown Point, including dozens of mysterious cellar holes. Two such cellar holes in today’s DAR State Park have sparked the imagination of local residents for the past two
centuries and, more recently, of curious park visitors. Were they former dwelling sites occupied by the French from 1740 to 1759? Or, were they the remains, as many thought, of English dwellings built after 1759 when the French settlers pulled up their roots and fled north to French communities on the Richelieu and St. Lawrence rivers? Some local historians felt certain that at least one of the cellar holes was the Strong family homestead. Were the cellar holes the physical evidence of even later American homes, or a combination of all of these occupations?

The Lake Champlain Voyages of Discovery: Bringing History Home project investigated the two visible cellar holes within the DAR State Park through a community-based archaeology program. The sites were chosen for study because they were known locally to date from the 18th century, are easily accessible, state-owned, and have a large body of rumored but unsubstantiated history. A rich historical narrative of 18th-century French, English and American settlers in the Champlain Valley lies buried just below the surface of the ground. For three weeks in the summer of 2007 an enthusiastic band of professional archaeologists, avocational archaeologists, educators, students, families, park neighbors and nearby property owners, and many volunteers from near and far gathered on the shores of Lake Champlain to contribute their skill, time, ideas and energy to this ambitious undertaking.

The two cellar holes at the DAR State Park appear as circular depressions, encircled on three sides by an earthen berm. The cellar walls are collapsed, the concavities filled with building rubble such as brick, stones, glass and nails, as well as household trash including ceramic sherds, animal bones, and miscellaneous items discussed below. The foundation depressions lie at the edge of a steeply sloped bluff rising about 12 meters (40 feet) above the lake, and are about 100 meters (328 feet) apart.

Cellar 1, formally designated by the state as site VT-AD-424 in the Vermont Archaeological Inventory, lies 30 meters (98 feet) east of the present-day, eroding bluff above the lake. The plaque erected by the Vermont State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1976 commemorates this cellar hole as the “Site of Captain John Strong Cabin, Built in 1765 on Site of One of French Houses of Hacquort [sic].” Roughly rectangular in shape and measuring about 6 meters x 8 meters (20 feet x 26 feet), the cellar is located near the park pavilion area in a grassy, sloping lawn. What Lies Beneath, the movie starring Harrison Ford and Michelle Pfeiffer, was filmed on this spot in 2000.

**HOLLYWOOD DOES ARCHAEOLOGY:** The first professional archaeological study at the DAR State Park was sponsored by a Hollywood film studio! In 2000 Steven Spielberg’s Dreamworks filmed What Lies Beneath, starring Harrison Ford (who many may know as fictional archaeologist Indiana Jones) and Michelle Pfeiffer, in the park’s pavilion area. The movie required building two different house sets and dismantling (and later rebuilding) the pavilion, thereby disturbing parts of the archaeological site. Dreamworks paid for archaeological studies at one of the 18th-century cellar holes to comply with Vermont state laws involving disturbance of archaeological sites on state lands. Artifacts from “the dig” dated to the late 18th- to 19th-century, placing them in the context of the British or American occupation.
Cellar 2, designated VT-AD-423 in the Vermont Archaeological Inventory, lies to the south of Cellar 1, adjacent to a wooded trail and on the bank about 20 meters (66 feet) east of the eroding lakeshore. It measures about 8 meters x 7 meters (26 feet x 23 feet).

Meticulous archaeological methods and intensive recovery techniques, including excavating by 10 centimeter levels and screening all soils, revealed clues about those who lived here. An area covering a total of 27 square meters was slowly excavated inside, around, and near the two cellar holes. Small, 50 cm (about 20 in) square test pits were excavated and served as windows into areas in between the cellar holes, possible locations of hidden outbuildings and landscape features such as gardens and walkways. Testing extended from the early Scow Ferry Road, at the southern boundary of the park, north to the area of a footpath to the lake, a distance of approximately 250 meters (820 feet) along the high bluff of the lake shore. The well-worn path perhaps was established by the French pioneers.
Over a hundred people of all ages and walks of life spent more than 1,200 hours volunteering during the three weeks of archaeology for the Lake Champlain Voyages of Discovery: Bringing History Home project. Professional archaeologists from the Archaeology Research Center at the University of Maine at Farmington directed an enthusiastic “orchestra” of teacher participants, and volunteers. Several hundred others visited “the dig” and learned about the process of archaeology.

Unraveling History From What We Find in the Ground

Most of the material items, or artifacts, recovered by the collective archaeology team all related to household debris and centuries-old garbage dating from the English or American settlement era, from 1760 to at least the 1840s. The French occupation of the locale was invisible in the archaeological evidence although a few artifacts attest to earlier Native American occupations of the area.

A Big Story Pieced Together from Fragments

Archaeologists pay close attention to the broken ceramics (pottery) discovered in archaeological sites since they are useful time-markers to help understand a site’s age or span of use. Ceramics can be very distinctive as to time and place of their manufacture. Since certain types of pottery were made only in certain periods of time, ceramics provide clues for when people occupied a household. They also reveal whether the occupants were completely self-sufficient, making their own pots with local clays or doing without, or if they were connected to a larger market economy in which they purchased factory-made ceramics from England or elsewhere abroad. If the family participated in regional, national, or even international markets, ceramic sherds offer clues about their tastes and what they could afford to purchase. Like most other archaeological materials recovered from the silent ground, ceramic sherds are challenging to study. Are the fragments of a broken platter a beloved family heirloom, in the family for 50 years or more? Or do they just represent an everyday, broken dish tossed out with yesterday’s rubbish? For example, farmers and settlers throughout New
France used ceramics brought by ship from Québec City or Montreal and then transported by canoes and bateaux to the Pointe-à-la-Chevelure and Fort St. Frédéric area. However, English homesteads along the Addison lakeshore by way of illegal trade. Records reveal that one of the people who ran the store at the fort engaged in illegal trade with “Indians” bringing in goods from Boston.

Sometimes ceramics reveal ethnic and social information about the household but interpreting the family’s background and history solely based on ceramics is often misleading. Multiple interpretations always need to be considered when analyzing artifacts from a site. As excavation of the cellar holes at the DAR State Park proceeded, archaeologists paid close attention to the pottery fragments for clues about where they came from and who used them. The lack of French ceramics played a significant role in interpreting the age of the cellar hole sites as post-dating French occupation. For example, Saintonge slipware, a distinctive, green, lead glazed ceramic common in 18th-century New France, was absent at the DAR State Park sites.

From about 1600 to 1800, European settlers imported large quantities of tin-enameded earthenwares. This ware is known in France as “faïence,” and in England and Holland as “delfware.” Only four tin-enameded wares were recovered from the sites, all from Cellar 1, and one of these bears resemblance to the French wares, while the other three can’t be conclusively attributed to French, English or Dutch pottery. The lack of faïence is also a clue since 18th century French settlement sites typically have substantially more faïence.

Almost all ceramics excavated at the DAR State Park sites date from just after the 1759 French abandonment of Lake Champlain up to the 1840s; nearly all are unquestionably English or American made. The earliest ceramics from the sites are most likely several small, black glazed, refined, probable “Jackfield” redware sherds from England, produced between 1740 and 1780. During this time, ceramics in most households

The little educational building at the Chimney Point State Historic Site served as the project archaeology laboratory, hosting artifact washing sessions as well as discussions on lab methods, artifacts, sites, Native American occupations, and history in general.
in the area consisted of imported lead-glazed and tin-enamedled earthenwares used primarily for tableware and locally made coarse redware and stoneware for everyday use and food preparation.

By around 1760, English potters, notably those in the Staffordshire district, were producing white-bodied refined earthenwares called creamware and, a few years later, pearlware. These ceramics, meant to compete with more expensive oriental porcelains, were popular in America from around 1780 to 1840. The DAR State Park cellar hole sites contained both creamware and pearlware in relatively high numbers. Whiteware and ironstone ceramic types reflect the continued desire by potters to achieve a white ceramic closely matching porcelain, and they are common after the 1820s. Only a few of these later ceramics were collected from the DAR State Park excavations. The relative lack of later ceramics suggests that occupation and/or dumping at the cellar holes did not go too far past the 1820s.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, Americans favored English white-bodied earthenware ceramics for the dining table, for tea time, and for chamber pots. These wares were brought by merchants into the frontier from coastal ports such as Boston and New York or from Montreal and Québec along the St. Lawrence Seaway. This ceramic preference prevailed as well at the DAR State Park sites where excavations recovered large numbers of refined table and tea wares imported from England. In addition to these ceramics, the residents at the DAR sites bought locally available, inexpensive redware and a few stoneware and yellow ware vessels for food preparation.

French Saintonge ceramic sherds from a French settlement in Nova Scotia. “This coarse earthenware generally has a white to pinkish body, with a copper-green glaze and dates to the 18th century. Made in France, the glaze on this ceramic is often described as ‘apple’ green. The common vessel types are mixing bowls, tripod cooking pots, flagons, skillets, mugs, colanders, storage jars and jugs. This pottery is most frequently found on French colonial and Acadian sites rather than English colonial sites, although it was widely exported.” Courtesy of the Department of Anthropology, Saint Mary’s University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Four small sherds of tin-enamedled ceramics, above left, were recovered from the vicinity of Cellar 1 at the DAR State Park and include one similar to faience from the French occupations at Fort Ticonderoga. The pitcher in the middle is an example of 18th-century French “Rouen” faience. Courtesy of the Polk Museum of Art. The plates on the left are English delft. Courtesy of Gardiner Houlgate, Bath Auction Rooms, Ltd.
storage or preparation, including milk pans, jars, jugs, and crocks.

What stories do these ceramics tell? It’s apparent that these late 18\textsuperscript{th}- and early 19\textsuperscript{th}-century Addison County settlers kept up with the trends of the time even though they lived in what was to them a remote, wilderness settlement, far from any bustling marketplaces. They purchased the popular, and sometimes colorfully decorated, white-bodied earthenwares that were then coming out of England, including plates, teacups, saucers and bowls. If they could not afford the more expensive oriental porcelain, they acquired the next best things: creamware and pearlware.

The generation of settlers who lived on the shores of Lake Champlain during this era were at the vanguard of change, from British colonists to American citizens. The transition from a “subsistence” economy - living off the land, satisfying most needs by the sweat of one’s brow, making cloth for clothing, and crafting household goods by hand - to an economy where families could buy the various things they needed, happened in one generation. The women who lived where the cellar holes are today would surely have welcomed “niceties” such as English teaware into their country homes as a sign of personal status and taste.

How and where did they get their imported ceramic wares and other goods? During the later 1700s, refined ceramics and other household goods filtered in from several more distant commerce centers. Lake Champlain continued to be a nexus of trade and commerce as it grew to be an even more major transportation route, linking the St. Lawrence Seaway to the Hudson River Valley. From the east, routes from Boston led to the Crown Point Road from Charlestown, New Hampshire, across Vermont and thence to Chimney Point. The Connecticut River was also accessed by this road and with the construction of the Bellows Fall Canal in 1803 allowed trade to flow from the Connecticut Valley and points south.

People obtained what they could not make at home through trade or barter, and itinerant peddlers also made their way from one rural settlement to another, bringing goods to homes along the way. As the economy in Vermont grew after the Revolution, small store buildings, like the one established at Chimney Point, provided an outlet for goods such as ceramics. Local potters made redware and stoneware vessels that they likely sold out of their shops.
Stoneware, redware and yellowware found at the DAR State Park sites represent locally made utilitarian ceramics. It is known that from 1790 to 1797 Moses Bradley, one of the earliest recorded Vermont potters, was making redware at nearby Chimney Point. Farther south, the Norton pottery started in Bennington in 1793 and it was soon a thriving redware and stoneware works. Both stoneware and redware could also have been obtained in Middlebury and Burlington in the early 1800s. Other small redware potters, who often produced bricks as well, likely existed in the area, producing practical and inexpensive jugs and milkpans for a local market throughout the 19th century.

Table Talk

Site investigations unearthed other food-related household goods, including various utensils for cooking and eating (cutlery). Styles and materials used for handles, tines (or prongs), bowls, and knife blades offer clues to their age and to how people set their tables according to standards of that era. For example, although forks were used for serving food, they were not common as eating implements until the late 1600s; matching forks and knives were not widespread until the early 1700s. Comparative analysis of the cutlery from the DAR State Park sites with other regional 18th-century French collections suggests it is not French. While some utensils may date closer to the mid-18th century, most are likely attributable to later in the 18th century. Although not found at the sites, “fine” cutlery pieces made of silver and semiprecious stone, mother-of-pearl or ivory may have been used by the families but most likely would have been treated as prized possessions and therefore not thrown away when broken.

What’s For Dinner?

Archaeologists study many different kinds of materials, including animal bones, for clues to understanding the past. The most abundant material collected from the DAR State Park sites, excluding fragments of brick and mortar, were thousands of fragmentary animal bones from in and around the cellar holes. Dr. Frances Stewart, a Canadian zooarchaeologist who specializes in identifying the tiniest fragments of bone, analyzed the animal bone (faunal) specimens. Understanding what kinds of animals were available to the people living here answers questions about diet, animal husbandry, hunting practices, seasons of occupation, and may sometimes offer clues about people’s ethnicity and social status. Zooarchaeology, combined with data from other artifacts,
Contributions to a more complete picture of what life was like for those who lived before us.

**Identifications and Interpretation**

The faunal remains from Cellar 2 on this historic site indicate that the people who discarded their refuse here were practicing a mixed farming economy. They apparently raised pigs, sheep, cows, chickens, and some turkeys too. Pig remains out-numbered all other mammalian remains, and so it can be concluded that pork was the meat consumed most frequently. This is likely because pigs reach their adult weights quickly over one warm weather season. It is more profitable to slaughter them in the fall than to feed them through the winter months. The same sort of reasoning can explain the larger number of sheep/goat remains than cow. However, both these beasts are important for more than their meat with sheep giving wool and cows providing milk. Likely some pigs were kept over the winter for breeding purposes whereas a higher proportion of the sheep flock and the cows would be housed and fed over the winter because of the valuable secondary products they provided.

Like the mammal remains, probably only a few turkeys would have been kept after Christmas dinner whereas the chickens would be more useful to keep alive due to their egg production. Although the evidence suggests that the farm could have provided most of its own meat, it is also apparent that these people supplemented their domestic food sources with considerable fishing and a little duck hunting. Atlantic salmon, bullhead, perch, pike and drum could be taken from local rivers, streams and lakes. While the freshwater clams would have been locally available, an oyster must have come initially from the ocean or shallow areas of rivers running into the ocean.

Apparently, food refuse was not generally burnt to get rid of it and only infrequently was too much heat applied when cooking. Most of the burnt specimens did experience high or prolonged heating, but these were less than six percent of the total sample.

The lack of canine chewing marks on the bones, with one exception, suggests that either there were not many dogs at
Turning to the fish remains, there is an over-abundance of skull bones in the sample for all of the fish but most noticeably for the bullhead and perch. This distribution suggests that the fish were not butchered where they were caught but rather were brought home intact to have their heads removed there. Secondly, the fish remains suggest that whole heads were likely thrown out in the garbage. The fact that bones from different parts of the skull, including very small bones, were represented supports this conclusion. In addition, there were a number of fish scales in the faunal collection, which supports the idea that the fish were scaled at home rather than where they were caught. Finally, in addition to fishing, occasionally freshwater clams and even frogs might have been gathered to add variety to the meat diet.

Faunal remains recovered from Cellar 1 were less numerous than those recovered from Cellar 2, but there are some interesting differences between the two faunal samples. Like the faunal indications from Cellar 2, it appears that the people who discarded their refuse here were also practicing a mixed farming economy. They raised pigs and sheep and apparently used horse power to assist in their work. It is possible that the dog they kept was a working dog too, but it might also have been a family pet. Sadly, a kitten might not have been so appreciated. It might have died accidentally but it might likely have been an extra, not wanted around the house or even in the barn. Surprisingly, from this faunal sample, which is admittedly not a very large one, there is no evidence for cows or domestic poultry which is unusual considering the date of the site and the ubiquity of such animals on most farms.

For both the sheep and the cow specimens with cut marks, there is a concentration of bones found from the shoulder area. However, the numbers are too few to make much out of this evidence. Considering the elements by body parts, it is evident that all parts of the bodies for both these species were represented. This suggests that the animals were butchered locally and that all parts might have been consumed locally too rather than particular cuts being sold for consumption away from the farmstead. However, for both species, the fore limb counts were slightly higher than the hind limb totals, and since the hindquarters are the meatiest areas, perhaps these prime roasts were not consumed locally as often as other parts of the animals.

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From the relative numbers of animals identified to the different species, it appears that these people relied primarily on the fast growing pigs for their meat protein. That the horse bones were primarily from the neck region suggests that it was buried here, and there is no evidence of butchering or burning of these remains. Thus, it is likely that this animal was not eaten although without the rest of the “buried” skeleton, if indeed it was buried here, it is conceivable that the horse was consumed. It would be interesting to dig more of the area around where these horse bones were found to see if they are isolated or rather if more of the skeleton is close by. If they are isolated and were found disarticulated, then the disposal of these neck bones by themselves suggests food refuse. If the horse was eaten, then this in turn suggests that this was an Acadian farmstead as opposed to an English one because, in general, the French ate horsemeat whereas the English did not.

Biting the Bullet
Cast lead shot, musket balls, and three small gunflints are the only artifacts related to weaponry from these sites. When the flintlock gun was introduced in 1600s, the gunflint industry grew, and both France and England produced large quantities of gunflints during the 1700s and early part of the 1800s. They were commonly traded between various Euroamerican groups making it hard to determine who used them, but the raw material and shapes can provide clues as to where they originated. Two of the gunflints from the DAR State Park sites are gray to black flint and are likely British; one of these is a spall type, the other is too worn to determine if it is a spall or wedge type. The other gunflint, also too worn to determine its original shape, is honey or blonde-colored and probably of French origin. All of the flints are well used with worn-down shapes. At least three of the lead shot were cast by pouring molten lead into a form. Two musket balls have teeth marks - are these marks evidence of “biting the bullet” during a medical procedure to keep the patient from screaming out in pain?

A Penny For Your Thoughts
On the very first morning of the archaeology field school, volunteers working in a test pit near Cellar 1 excitedly discovered an extremely worn, faintly marked copper coin. The images and dates on the coin are unreadable, but a knowledgeable volunteer identified it as quite possibly a Georgius Rex Britannia halfpenny from 1717 or 1718, and others thought it could be a Hibernia Voce Populi halfpenny minted in 1760 (and deceptively stamped “1700”), or even a 1780s Vermont Auctori. Although uncommon on brass or copper alloy coins, this coin may have been “clipped,” or notched, sometimes done for personal gain or to make change.

Obverse and reverse views of coins. Above, left: Tantalizing but very worn coin recovered from Cellar 1, possibly like the ones in the middle and far right. Middle: example of a 1787 Vermont Auctori coin. Courtesy of Richard Gross. Right: example of a 1717 Georgius Rex Britannia Halfpenny. Courtesy of Spink and Son, Ltd.
Excavations at the DAR State Park sites recovered other personal items such as tobacco pipe fragments, both stems and bowls, all made of a white kaolin clay. Used in various ways by America’s Native people for thousands of years, tobacco use by Europeans became widespread soon after they came to North America. Clay tobacco pipe industries flourished in England and the Netherlands from the 1600s into the 1800s, and during those years many pipes were exported to North America as relatively few were made there. Such pipes had small bowls with long stems, and their styles changed over time, helping archaeologists date sites where they are found in large numbers. Socially, women, men, and even children occasionally smoked until the second half of the 19th century, and as pipes were very fragile and often broke, they are a common item on archaeological sites dating to that time. Their numbers lessen during the 1800s, when tobacco smoking became associated more with the working class, and women’s smoking was especially frowned upon.

Although nothing made of cloth or leather for clothing was found in part because such items do not usually last in the ground, other items related to personal clothing were unearthed from the sites. They include two bone buttons, fourteen metal buttons (two of which are sleeve buttons), several clothing fasteners, and a buckle. The metal buttons were made in America or England during the very late 18th and early 19th centuries; none are of French manufacture. A single brass sewing thimble was also recovered. Thimbles as well as needles are quite common on sites from this period.

Every archaeological site has one or many artifacts and aspects that are simply mysteries, leaving investigators perplexed and wondering, “What is it? Why is it here? What purpose did it serve? How old is it? Who made it? Who used it and for what?” An unusual artifact recovered from the Cellar 2 area appears to be a broken fragment of a small stone bowl or vessel, possibly steatite or soapstone, in a European style rather than a traditional Native American style. We presently have no answers to the many questions posed by this singular artifact.
Shelter From the Storm

The excavations focused around the two cellar holes that were once overlain with one- or two-story timber frame houses. So it is not surprising that the archaeological studies at the DAR State Park unearthed thousands of fragments of brick, mortar, plaster, window glass, and nails representing episodes of building construction, repair, and abandonment. Some building-related artifacts, including machine cut nails (post-1790) and pink tinted plaster, reveal that these homes were likely built in the late 1700s or early 1800s. Window glass was abundant and found in many pieces, but generally very small, mostly very thin, and with some exhibiting characteristics often seen in older glass, such as chemical weathering or “glass disease.”

What Did the Archaeology at the DAR State Park Reveal?

Detailed archival documentation pertaining to the Hocquart Seigneurie pointed to the rich and special archaeological potential of mid-18th century lakeshore sites in the towns of Panton, Addison, and Bridport. These records breathe life into the buried stories of several hundred French families who settled this lakeshore from about 1740 to 1759, when they were chased away by the British. Research seems conclusive that a French pioneer family, perhaps the Cointats, occupied the lot or roture within which today’s DAR State Park is located. Did the Cointat family build and live in one of the homes visible to us now as cellar holes at the DAR State Park? Or were the cellars the remains of post-1759 British, or American, settlements, as some local historians believed?

The archaeological investigations revealed little of the early French pioneers who settled in this locale but provided indisputable evidence that an English family or two, likely John and Agnes Strong, lived on these homesteads in the 1760s.

“Negative” evidence is an integral part of archaeology: what are we NOT finding and why are we not finding it? Did the Strongs occupy the abandoned and burned-out shells of French homes after carefully cleaning out the detritus of the earlier occupants? Is it possible that the French took such care with their belongings when they abandoned their homes in 1759 that they left no archaeological evidence behind? Or, as suspected, did the excavations simply miss the French settlement sites, much like the childhood Battleship game in which sometimes you had a hit, often times a miss?

Archival research into the nature of material culture in 18th-century New France and the character of early French frontier architecture provides an alternative scenario about the archaeological evidence at the DAR State Park. Houses constructed of wooden posts set in the ground with a modest chimney leave limited evidence in the soil for future archaeologists. Archival records that researchers use to document a family’s personal possessions in frontier New France tell a tale of people with basic material comforts, mostly made of wood, fabric and fiber, and bone that would leave little evidence for the archaeologist. Special tools and heirlooms would have been prized and were probably not left behind when they dashed north in 1759. In this explanation, the “invisibility” of the French sites at the DAR State Park is similar to that of Native American sites in which most evidence of people’s complex lives left no traces.

Samples of artifacts from the DAR State Park sites that are related to buildings include, top left: machine cut and wrought nails, brick and window glass.
in the ground. The degree of shore erosion along the DAR State Park shoreline offers yet another explanation for the absence of French archaeological evidence: the French settlement sites may have eroded into the lake. The present-day cellar holes now lie close to the shore -- how far from the shore were they 200 years ago?

The brief, three-week archaeological investigations at the DAR State Park in 2007 provided tantalizing clues about English-American settlements on the Vermont frontier. It showed the potential for archaeology to fill in details about the lives of Addison County’s early European settlers. The archaeology resulted in more questions than answers about the location and character of French settlement sites. There is no doubt that early 18th-century French homestead sites and other landscape features exist along the lake in Addison County. They just need to be found. The archaeology at the DAR State Park also provided the opportunity to talk with dozens of landowners who offered information about 18th- and 19th-century cellars and historic landscape features (such as wells, roads, and wharves) on their lands. Finding the ephemeral remains of New France in Addison County will require more intensive testing along the lakeshore in many more locations. More research on the extent of lakeshore erosion and its potential effects on the 18th-century French homesteads is also necessary.

Perhaps the greatest value of the archaeological study at the DAR State Park was promoting a greater awareness of this area’s Native American and early French settlements. The hundreds of people who directly and indirectly participated in the Voyages project now see the Addison County lakeshore with different eyes. These shore lands are historically precious places, laden with as-yet-undiscovered archaeological sites that can reveal many stories of human history spanning thousands of years. Working together we can discover and document these sites and strive to protect them as special and fragile survivors of our unique history.

“When the French soldiers and settlers departed, they left no physical traces of their one hundred and fifty years of occupation other than the mute and deserted ruins of their homes and military posts, surrounded by the cultivated fields which represent civilization. They did leave, however, reminders of their life in this region which have endured even to our own day. The names of La Moelle, Valcour, Grand Isle, Isle La Motte, and many others ring in our ears, permanent traces of French occupation ... After the Treaty of 1783, ... a re-immigration began; the French from Canada came back little by little ...” from “The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759”, by Guy Omeron Coolidge, 3rd edition © Purple Mountain Press, 1999. Today, about 142,000 of the 621,270 people living in Vermont have French ancestry.

PLACES TO VISIT

Abenaki and Native American history and Vermont Archaeology:
Abenaki Tribal Museum and Cultural Center, Swanton, Vermont.
www.abenakination.org/tribalmuseum.html  (802) 868-2559

Ndakinna Cultural Center & Museum, East Montpelier, Vermont.
www.ndakinna.org  (802) 224-1055

Chimney Point State Historic Site, Addison, Vermont.
www.HistoricVermont.org/chimneypoint  (802) 759-2412

www.uvm.edu/~fleming  (802) 656-0750

French and English colonial history and the American Revolution in the Lake Champlain Valley region:
Chimney Point State Historic Site, Addison, Vermont.
www.HistoricVermont.org/chimneypoint  (802) 759-2412

www.nysparks.com/sites/  (518) 597-3666

DAR State Park, Addison, Vermont.
www.vtstateparks.com/htm/dar.cfm  (802) 759-2354

Mount Independence State Historic Site, Orwell, Vermont.
www.HistoricVermont.org/mountindependence  (802) 948-2000

Hubbardton Battlefield State Historic Site, Hubbardton, Vermont.
www.HistoricVermont.org/hubbardton  (802) 273-2282

Visit the Voyages of Discovery web site at: voyages.vermont.gov
Since the arrival of the first inhabitants over 10,000 years ago, the Champlain Valley has stood out as an extraordinary place. With its links to the Atlantic Ocean via the Richelieu and St. Lawrence rivers to the north and via the Hudson River to the south, it is an ancient corridor for travel and trade. In 1609 Samuel de Champlain first set eyes on the lake beginning an era of political and cultural transformations.

The cultural heritage of the people who lived in the region long before Samuel de Champlain arrived, as the Abenaki say “from time immemorial,” is not widely understood, nor is the new era that began in 1609. The Lake Champlain Voyages of Discovery Project has worked to fill these voids and to inspire today’s communities to discover the links between their local history and the dynamic world of the 17th and 18th centuries—Bringing History Home.