



The Construction and Dismantling of Fort Pointe-à-la-Chevelure (Chimney Point, West Addison, Vermont), 1731-1735

The control and availability of documentation concerning the French occupation of Chimney Point is now complete enough so that we can with some certainty capture the limits of the geographical site and document the succeeding stages of permanent occupation between 1731 and 1759.

BY JOSEPH-ANDRÉ SENÉCAL

Despite the well-documented work of Guy Omeron Coolidge,¹ uncertainties remained concerning the occupation of Chimney Point between 1730 and 1759. In 1984, the Consulting Archaeology Program at the University of Vermont observed that “one potential source of confusion in all the historical records is the locational term ‘Chimney Point.’ It is not clear what the perceived boundaries of this geographic feature have been over time.”² Contributors to the report confessed that their historical documentation was fatally incomplete: “Unfortunately, primary documents for the earliest European activities at Chimney Point (the British and French military occupations), if they exist at all, will be found in archives in England, Quebec and France. This kind of research, although potentially rewarding, is not presently feasible.”³ Some of this has changed in the last thirty years. The documents missing from the Coolidge files have been identified, their contents have been itemized in catalogues,⁴ and all

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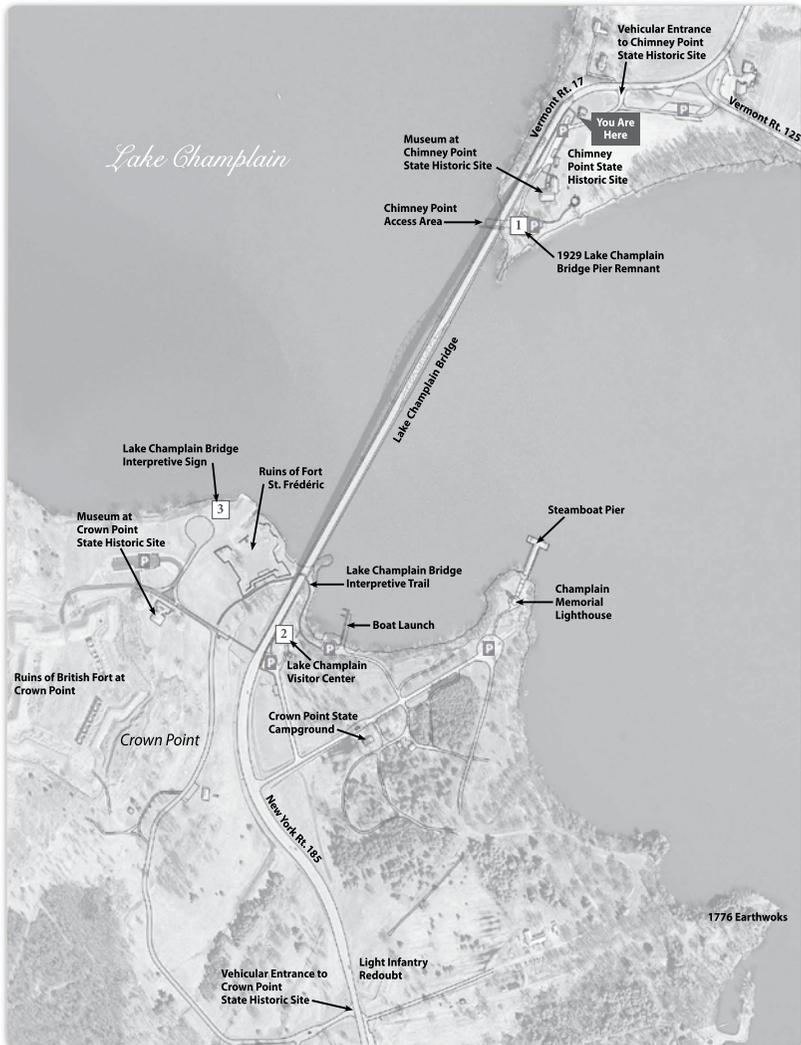


Figure 1. Map of Chimney Point and Crown Point (no date). Courtesy of Chimney Point State Historic Site, State of Vermont Division for Historic Preservation.

materials are readily available, if in French. The documentation is now solid enough so that we can capture, with some certainty, the limits of the geographical site and document the succeeding stages of the French occupation of the point between 1731 and 1759.⁵

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YEN ON HON RA RĀ QWĀ THA
 (THE PLACE WHERE THE SCALPING IS DONE):
*POINTE-À-LA-CHEVELURE*⁶

In the fall of 1731, the French became the first Europeans to occupy permanently the strategic southern terminus of Lake Champlain, a site that the Five Nations had aptly named *Tekyatōn;nyarike*’ (Two Points of Land Coming Together)⁷ or *Ka non do ro*’ (Narrow Portal).⁸ In late summer of that year soldiers built a palisade fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, a point of land in present-day Vermont, known as Chimney Point. Four years later the French moved their installations to the western shore of the narrows and erected Fort Saint-Frédéric, an imposing stone keep bristling with medieval features such as moats, drawbridges, and a machicolated gallery. The English took note and transported the name “Pointe-à-la-Chevelure” to the site of the new fortress. Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, a geographic feature in Vermont, became associated with the western shore of Lake Champlain where Fort Saint-Frédéric rose. The French had invoked the word “chevelure” to mark a site where one or more episodes of scalping had taken place. In doing so, they translated a place name already in use among the Amerindians. The French nomenclature was misappropriated by the Dutch and the British, who translated “chevelure” not as “scalp” but as “crown,” another word associated with hair; thus *Crum Punt* or *Crown Point*. Contemporary men of science took note of the error and sought to correct it. “The point on which Fort Frédéric stands is not, as has been vulgarly imagined, Crown Point; it [Crown Point] is the opposite point, so called by the Dutch Crun (Crūm P^l) Punt, by the French, Pointe à la Chevelure, from a remarkable action of scalping committed there.”⁹ To this day, however, “Crown Point” identifies a peninsula in New York State and the military ruins that can be found there.

For the French, Pointe-à-la-Chevelure was clearly identified with a Vermont landmark. In the eighteenth century, the body of water presently known as Hospital Creek emptied just north of a peninsula jutting out into Lake Champlain. The creek and associated lowlands, which flooded at various times of the year, delineated a piece of land which, seen from above, corresponded, oddly enough, with the outline of a scalp swiftly cut and wrenched from a human head. The earliest maps pin-pointing landforms in the southern area of the lake label the peninsula “Pointe-à-la-Chevelure.” In 1731, the French drew two maps of the emplacement. The site surveyed on “Plan du terrain de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure où est marqué le Fort de pieux construit en 1731”¹⁰ and “Plan du terrain de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure où est marqué le fort de pieux construit en 1731, et, à feuille volante, la redoute proposée”¹¹ identifies,

unmistakably, the peninsula below Hospital Creek. The palisade fort hastily erected in 1731 was named “Fort de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure” after the peninsula. In 1739, the French sent a survey crew to the point. The map, “Survey map of the plots of land in the vicinity of Fort Saint-Frédéric as surveyed by Jean-Eustache de Boisclerc; on which is also indicated the lake depth soundings which he measured in 1739,” identifies the lands known as “Pointe-à-la-Chevelure” and its eastern limit: the periodically submerged lands that are labeled “Le marais [marsh] de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure.”¹² The geographical limits of “Pointe-à-la-Chevelure” (Chimney Point) are well established by textual documents and manuscript maps, at least for the period of occupation by New France.

1731: THE ERECTION OF A FORT AT POINTE-À-LA-CHEVELURE

In 1730, Jean-Louis de La Corne de Chaptes, one of the most respected military commanders and strategists in New France, sent a memoir to the governor of the colony on the urgency of building military installations at the southern end of Lake Champlain:

Given my present role [king’s lieutenant for the administrative unit of Montreal] which I strive to play fittingly, duty obliges me, Sir, to bring to your attention the strategic site known as Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, situated at the head of Lake Champlain. This site is situated roughly half way from Chambly to Orange [Albany, New York]. The site will be found along the narrows separating the said lake from the Grand Marais [Wood’s Creek], a body of water approximately 15 *arpents* [2, 875 feet] wide. At the end of it one finds the place called Petit Sault where the Chicot River cascades downward. The English had a fort constructed on this river in 1709 and they built boats there: the bateaux necessary to transport their troops to this colony. And since the naval force could not proceed to Québec, they abandoned and burnt the said fort. From that site, where the fort stood, one has to portage four *lieues* [approximately 10 miles] to reach the Orange River [the Hudson] which flows from the land of the *Onoyottes* [Oneidas] and through the territory of the *Agniers* [Mohawks]. Ultimately the said river empties into the ocean. Three *lieues* [725 miles], at the most four, from Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, to the right as one proceeds towards New England, one comes upon lac Saint-Sacrement [Lake George] which is approximately [the number has been left blank] *lieues* long and [blank] *lieues* wide. It is at the head of this lake that one portages to reach the Orange River. This is the shortest route to the Mohawks.

If we were to command Pointe-à-la-Chevelure we would block the English should they wish to invade, and we would be in a position to attack them when they least expect it. Should they anticipate our move to occupy it [Pointe-à-la-Chevelure] we could never show ourselves on Lake Champlain except as a military presence and, what would be of great consequence, we would have to wage war with a

large army. Whereas, if we were occupying the site, we could harass them with small parties as we did from 1689 to 1699, when we were at war with the English and the Iroquois.

The population of the colony at that time was not what it has become. Now that we are beginning to dispose of a larger force we can establish a solid military post there and grant land concessions along Lake Champlain. It is absolutely necessary that we control those parts. And should we fail to do so, the English would not fall asleep. We have to believe that they already cast their eyes on the site. Are they not preparing to adopt the same strategy that they used at *Choueguen* [Oswego]? First they located some settlers among the *Agniers* [Mohawks]; then they located others among the *Onoyottes* [Oneidas]; and they laid a road to facilitate the portage from the Orange River [Hudson] to *lac de Techeroguen ou des Onoyottes* [Lake Oneida]. From the outlet of this lake one can easily reach the Choueguen River by canoe. The English have thus insinuated themselves little by little by sending traders in small numbers each year and, surreptitiously, in this manner, when we least expected it, they established a military force openly. They are now a permanent force on Lake Ontario. As you know, Monsieur, they are forming a solid establishment: they are erecting houses. We can predict that soon a town will rise. Though we enjoy profound peace, we must be on our guard. They take advantage of this season [the period of peace] to occupy the country and gain over the Indians by supplying them with goods at a bargain. I had the honor to inform you a few days ago that I knew for certain that the King of England had granted Lake Champlain to the children of sieur Pitré Sault [Peter Schuyler], well-known resident of Orange. The English, ambitious that he is to invade the land of others, will indubitably exploit this moment. He will surely do something underhanded to camp himself at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure if we do nothing to stop him.¹³

La Corne de Chaptes was sufficiently alarmed about the English forays in the Lake Champlain sector that soon after, on October 11, 1730, he wrote directly to France, to Frédéric Maurepas, minister for the colonies. After restating his argument, La Corne added:

Our general has assigned to the site a detachment of twenty soldiers and one officer. The latter is relieved every month since the opening of the lake under the pretext of patrolling for contraband activity. He will remain until the lake freezes. I hope, *Monseigneur*, that you will give your utmost attention to this dossier. It is of major consequence for this colony. You will understand that my interest in the matter is strictly for the good of the service.¹⁴

Four days later, on October 15, Beauharnois would forward the La Corne memoir to his minister, along with the following letter:

I have the honor to send you the enclosed memoir concerning the presentation which Monsieur de La Corne, royal lieutenant at Montreal, made to me concerning the advantages of establishing

ourselves on Lake Champlain, at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, and the importance of checking the designs of the English on the site, designs which we can infer from the trading which, I have been informed, a few Dutchmen from Orange carry on there with the Natives. This has caused me to send one officer there this year along with thirty soldiers, with the order of driving them out if they were to be found at the site. The officers, who were there on an alternating schedule, did not find such Dutchmen. Perhaps they stayed away having been informed that we were occupying the site. I will continue to make sure that they do not take possession of the site until I have been honored with your orders.¹⁵

Maurepas duly informed Louis XV of these developments, transmitting the entire dossier and his recommendation to follow the suggestion of De La Corne. On February 5, 1731, the minister advised Louis XV that it seemed proper to order the construction of a stockade fort, until a more solid one could be erected, to place such a garrison in it as Monsieur de Beauharnois would deem fit, and to concede lands to such settlers as would request them. His Majesty wrote in the margin: "Fine." On May 18, Maurepas sent a letter to Beauharnois, recapitulating his [Beauharnois'] initial argument and adding that "the intention of His Majesty is that a stockade fort be constructed at that site in anticipation of the construction of a more solid structure; that le Sieur de Beauharnois send a garrison as he deems fit."¹⁶

Beauharnois dispatched Lieutenant Étienne Roberth [sic] de La Morandière, assistant royal engineer for the government of Montreal, to act as site surveyor during the construction of the fort. In his official annual report for 1731, De La Morandière noted: "Accounting of the days I spent to draw the plans and oversee the construction of Fort Pointe-à-la-Chevelure: On August 16 I left Montreal to make my way to have a fort built at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure. I returned on November 20; for a total of 121 days."¹⁷ On October 12, Beauharnois had written to his minister:

Les Sieurs Beauharnois and Hocquart had no sooner received the orders of the King for the construction of a stockade fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure than they sent to the site le Sieur de Lafresnière [Zacharie Hertel de la Fresnière (c. 1665-1752)], an energetic, vigilant and very well-briefed officer, along with a detachment of soldiers and workmen to build it. He has informed us that [the fort] is nearly completed. Le Sieur de Beauharnois has identified le Sieur Hertel de Moncours [Pierre (1687-1739)] along with le Sieur de Rouville [Jean-Baptiste François Hertel (1708-1771)] to command the 20 men who will make up the garrison of this fort during the winter. He will increase the number by ten in the spring.¹⁸

In a memoir of Louis XV to Beauharnois and Hocquart, dated April

22, 1732, the king mentioned his approval of the governor's appointment of Hertel de Moncours and Hertel de Rouville to command the garrison of twenty men. He also approved raising that number to thirty in 1732.¹⁹

The fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure operated from October-November 1731 to the late summer of 1735—barely four years. In the summer of 1735, the structures were taken down and the usable lumber was transported to the new installations at Crown Point. We have no details concerning the dismantling of the stockade and the three buildings. Did the workers dig up every post of the stockade? Did they salvage every piece of the three buildings? To this day, the site (the east abutment of the Lake Champlain Bridge and the general emplacement of the Barnes Tavern) hides the cemetery, the shallow foundations of the buildings, the base of at least five fireplaces, the deposits in the latrine(s), and the post holes and soil outlines of the trench of the palisade. The ground at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure was severely disturbed by several occupations. Most of the remains were compacted under the weight of the eastern abutment of the 1929 Champlain Bridge. We also note the installation of the domain of the Seigneurie of Hocquart (1740-1759); the presence of the forces of Amherst, who gave the site its definitive name, Chimney Point; the Barnes Tavern with its ferry landing; the installations of a second ferry plying between Barnes Landing and the town of Westport, New York; and, tragically, the abutment of the new bridge inaugurated in 2011.

1731-1735: THE MILITARY INSTALLATIONS

Two architectural drawings detailing the site and dimensions of Fort Pointe-à-la-Chevelure were made: The Rocbert de La Morandière map, “Plan du terrain de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure où est marqué le Fort de pieux construit en 1731,” and the Chaussegros de Léry map, “Plan du terrain de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure où est marqué le fort de pieux construit en 1731 et à feuille volante le projet de la redoute proposée. 25 octobre 1731.” The original of the Chaussegros de Léry map is held by the French Centre des Archives nationales d’outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence.²⁰ The Rocbert de La Morandière survey plan is lost. It was last seen in February 1889, when L. P. [Louis] Vallerand made a copy of it. This facsimile of the Rocbert de La Morandière map, the so-called Vallerand map, came down to us in a circuitous way. A copy of it surfaced in 1938, when Coolidge inserted it in *The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley*.²¹ The Vallerand map should be used for scientific work dealing with Fort Pointe-à-la-Chevelure for it identifies the scale adopted by Rocbert de La Morandière to draw his blueprints. For

archaeologists and historians, it is the key to locating the exact emplacement of the fort and the three buildings within it.

The Vallerand map shows that a palisade with corner bastions was built above the flood level, with the main building (headquarters, kitchen, stores, chapel, chaplain's quarters) situated between the location of the present Barnes Tavern museum complex and the northern limit of the Champlain Bridge abutment. The two forward buildings, the bakery (north) and the guard house [barracks] (south), would have been located near the abutment of the new (2011) bridge, with part or all of the bakery situated underneath the bridge span. The fort's gate was reached from a narrow incline that corresponds, more or less, with the contemporary gravel road leading to the boat landing maintained by the State of Vermont. If the shoreline as drawn by Roberth de La Morandière is accurate, the head of the point was much narrower, in both width and length, in 1731.

The archives related to the construction of the fort yield little information about the size or the composition of the building crew. We know that a detail of soldiers and non-military craftsmen worked under the supervision of a military contractor, Lieutenant Zacharie-François-Hertel de la Fresnière: "Les Sieurs Beauharnois and Hocquart had no sooner received the orders of the King for the construction of a stockade fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure than they sent to the site le Sieur de Lafresnière ... *along with a detachment of soldiers and workmen to build it* [my emphasis]."²² Based on the inventory of tools shipped to Pointe-à-la-Chevelure by the king's storekeeper in Montréal, we can surmise that the crew of craftsmen included one or more carpenters (perhaps, *charpentiers* [framing] and *menuisiers* [finishing]) and possibly, one mason and one blacksmith.²³ In all, the essentials of the installation would have been completed in little more than seventy-five days. The master of the works, Étienne Roberth de La Morandière, directed the operations from around August 25 to November 5.²⁴ Assuming that no preparatory work was done before the arrival of Hertel de la Fresnière and Roberth de La Morandière, the crew cleared a space of approximately 1.2 acres, dug over 900 feet of trenches and at least three larder (storage) pits, constructed and erected over 550 feet of palisade, and prepared and assembled the lumber for three roofed structures: some 325 feet (length) of exterior walls. All this was done by a work party that most likely did not exceed eighty-six men.²⁵

If we consult the Vallerand map we can ascertain that the crew constructed a parallelogram stockade measuring approximately 122 feet by 122 feet.²⁶ Each of the four *courtines* (the straight side sections of a palisade) extended approximately 51 feet. Although the *courtines* were

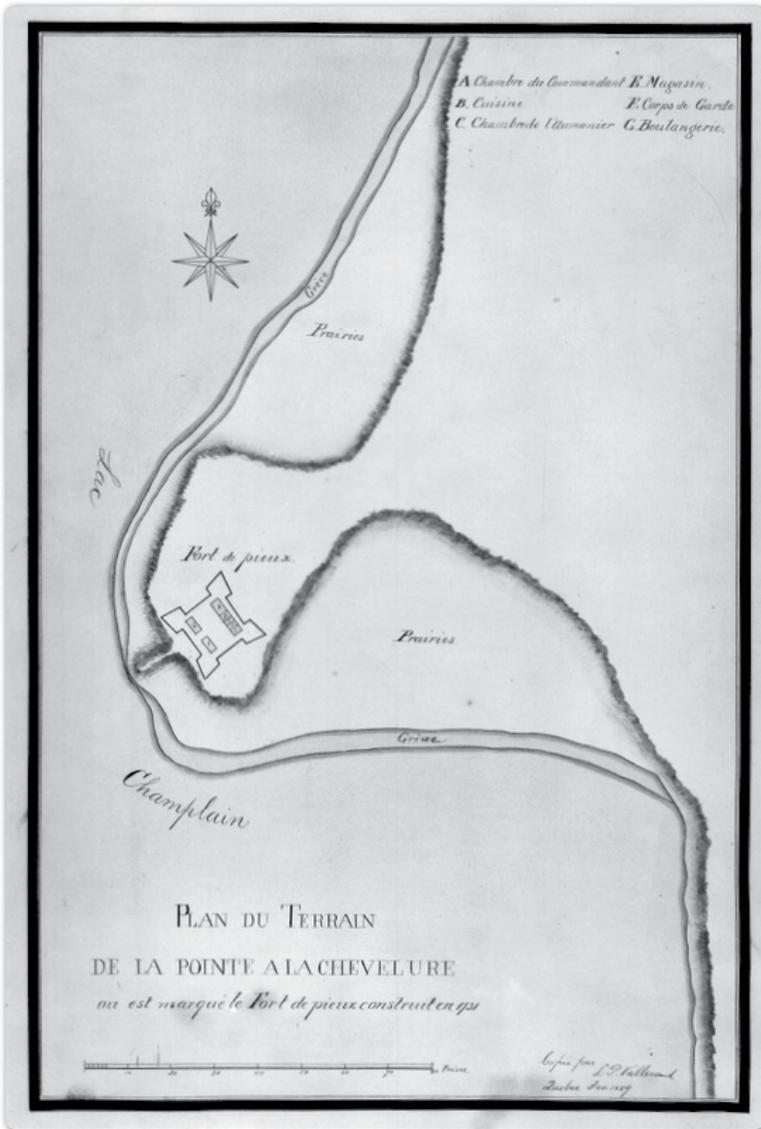


Figure 2. "The Vallerand Map." Robert de La Morandière, "Plan du terrain de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure où est marqué le Fort de pieux construit en 1731," Copied by L. P. Vallerand, Québec, February 1889. Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, BANq/Collection initiale : P600, S4, SS2, D964. Used by permission of Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Quebec City, Canada.

of equal length, the perimeter was a rhomboid, the unequal length of the sides residing in the corner bastions whose throats measured from approximately 19 to 25.5 feet. The shape of the parallelogram was no doubt dictated by the ground limitations of the terrain.

As positioned by Roberth de La Morandière, the fort would have commanded the field of fire in every direction, provided that a space of 200 feet (more than the maximum effective range of musket fire) had been cleared all the way to the start of the rise of the Champlain Bridge abutment. The work of land clearing would have been facilitated by the presence of marshes and prairies to the northwest and southeast. Parts of the southeast prairies have survived to this day. Peculiarities of the terrain were exploited. To the southwest, the most likely landing area of an enemy rowing from Ticonderoga, the slope inclines sharply enough toward the top of the point to provide a natural glacis. The southern approaches benefited from medium to steep slopes and a sharp drop (southeastern corner): a rocky outcrop (now integrated in the cellar of Barnes Tavern) whose contour is impossible to reconstruct without removing existing structures. The vulnerable sector was in front of the northeastern walls of the fort, where the enemy could advance on level ground after emerging from the outskirts of the forest.

We have no other documents that might yield further information about the stockade. However, we know many details about Fort de la Galette, also known as Fort de la Présentation (Ogdensburg, New York), where Roberth de La Morandière erected similar palisades. We can also consult a precious water color of that installation, painted by Thomas Davies in 1760.²⁷ By matching the information in a letter of De La Morandière and the Davies view, we can hazard a few more details about the walls of Fort de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, all in reference to the dimensions of Fort de la Présentation (de la Galette). In his letter, the assistant engineer specified “four straight walls of cedar posts with a length of twelve feet above ground.”²⁸ If we convert the French *pieds* into American feet, we can translate the passage as follows: “four palisade walls . . . standing nearly 13 feet above ground.” The vertical logs of the stockade at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure would have measured a minimum of 16 feet in length and about one foot in diameter. Some 13 feet of the 16 feet would have projected above ground. The vertical stakes were probably embedded in a cribbed trench. A similar foundation was dug and constructed when the second log palisade at Chambly was built in 1702. One will note that the structure was similar in dimensions to Fort Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, that the perimeter of the Chambly palisade matches the general outline of

the Lake Champlain fort, and that the size and situation of the three buildings inside the stockade also match. Gisèle Piédalue, the author of the final excavation report for the second fort (1702-1709) at Chambly writes:

The construction technique differed markedly from the one adopted for the first fort. The construction trenches measured approximately 3 feet in width and 3 feet in depth, measuring from the natural soil surface. . . . One vertical side of the southern trench showed traces of timber laid horizontally and held in place by vertical pieces. This would suggest a complex assembly of vertical and horizontal pieces constructed to support the vertical members of the palisade.²⁹

The work crew at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure had the implements to assemble a crib.³⁰ If such an anchoring system was not used, we can refer to the palisade of the first wooden fort at Chambly (1665-1702). The archaeological evidence revealed a shallow trench (width: 1 foot; depth: 1 ½ foot). The Beudet-Cloutier site report posits that the vertical stakes were secured at the top by a retaining system that included roping and horizontal retainers made of lumber.³¹ Similar clues were

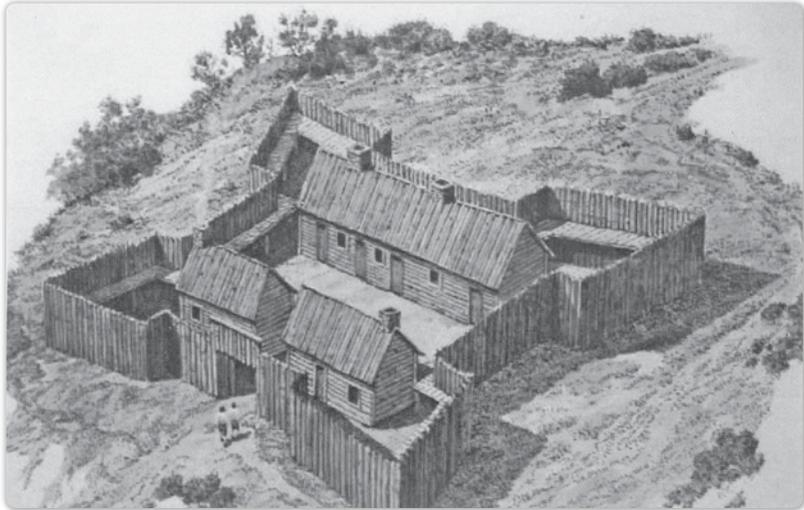


Figure 3. Len F. Tantillo, "Fort de pieux at Chimney Point" (1986). Courtesy of Crown Point State Historic Site, Crown Point, N.Y., New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. This artist's rendition of Fort Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, 1731-1735, offers an accurate rendering of the dimensions and emplacement of the stockade perimeter and the three buildings. Details (number, emplacement, dimensions) of the doors, windows, and chimneys are inaccurate.

unearthed in the La Prairie excavations of the fort built between 1687 and 1689, and modified several times between 1705 and 1744.³²

We can only speculate about an elevated platform from which the defenders could have fired their muskets and the six rear-loaded breech swivel guns, the artillery transported to the site.³³ We can reason that four of these guns were installed in the bastions, with mounts for the other two dispersed along the *courtines*. Depending on the development of an enemy's attack, the swivel guns needed to be moved around quickly from one wall to the other. A double door of unknown dimensions (it had to allow the passage of a team of horses) would have been installed on the western wall.³⁴

The Vallerand map shows three major buildings crowded inside the palisade: a main structure to house the commandant's quarters ("A: *Chambre du commandant*"), the kitchen ("B: *Cuisine*"), the chaplain's quarters ("C: *Chambre de l'aumonier*"), the chapel ("D: *Chapelle*"), and the storeroom ("E: *Magasin*"); a second building which probably housed all the soldiers ("F: *Corps de garde*"); and a third, dedicated to the bakery ("G: *Boulangerie*"). The floor area of the main building measured approximately 16 x 60 feet, 9 inches. The two other structures had identical dimensions: 12 feet, 9 inches x 25 feet, 6 inches.³⁵

The commandant's quarters were larger than the other four spaces in the main building: 16 x 19 feet. The kitchen and the storeroom each measured 16 x 12 feet, 9 inches. The other two spaces in the main building, the chaplain's quarters and the chapel, each measured 16 x 7 feet, 9 inches. It is possible that the arsenal (11 muskets, 11 bayonets, 14 pre-loaded chambers for the 6 breech-loading swivel guns)³⁶ was stored in the commandant's quarters along with supplies that he was tacitly allowed to sell to his troop: "*eau-de-vie*" (brandy stored in casks); "*tabac du pays*" (tobacco braided on dispensing sticks), and other *douceurs* and *rafraîchissements* (decks of cards, dice, pipes). According to the 1731 inventory, the kitchen would have contained little equipment: 4 kettles, 4 cauldrons, 1 gridiron, 2 frying pans, 1 tripod, 1 pair of pincers. The implements would have been permanently set up in or near the fireplace.³⁷ Some of the available floor space would have been occupied, probably, by a table where the cook could cut meat, prepare condiments, and measure basic ingredients such as butter, brown sugar, flour, molasses, cooking lard, and olive oil. Underneath, in the middle of the room, the ground would have had been excavated so that a storage space could be prepared. A similar storage pit probably existed under the storeroom floor. Much of the wall space in the storeroom would have been covered by various locking cabinets. Both rooms would have been furnished with an attic where dry supplies could be stored. A simi-

lar three-level arrangement would have been found in the bakery, where the floor space (12 feet, 9 inches x 25 feet, 6 inches) had to accommodate the oven which had an ovoid shape: 5 x 7 feet, 6 inches (inside measurements); a work table to prepare and store the loaves; and a hutch where the rising dough would have been stored. One also has to allow for the work space required for the help who would spend the better part of the day grinding grain with the portable grinding wheels furnished with a hand mechanism.³⁸ The wage ledger for 1734 mentions “a baker.”³⁹ We know that, in 1737, Marie-Anne Texier [Tessier], the wife of Sergeant Jean-Baptiste Prud’homme dit Sansquartier, baked the bread while a soldier, Jean-Baptiste Lafoy dit Laframboise, kneaded the dough and probably ground the flour.⁴⁰ The soldiers, sleeping three to a bunk in the corps-de-garde, were cramped and deprived of private space. The same was true of everyone else, save the commandant and the chaplain.

The three buildings were probably *pièce-sur-pièce* constructions resting on a perimeter of shallow, dry stone foundations. This stone base would have been two to three feet high with approximately two feet reaching into the ground. Such *pièce-sur-pièce* structures would not have rested on an adequate base to provide insulation from frost or full structural stability for load distribution. Logs would have been squared with axes and adzes and a frame built on a bed of dry stones by laying a sill and erecting corner posts and other uprights measured for doors and small windows. This skeleton would have been filled with *pièces* upon *pièces*. The *pièces*, hewn logs, were sometimes dressed on all four sides, but often they were squared only on the two horizontal surfaces that came into contact. With two faces dressed flat, each beam could be bedded with maximum contact with the previous course of wood, thereby reducing the amount of fill (*bousillage*) to be used. Builders of *pièce-sur-pièce* relied on such vertical corner post frameworks for structural stability. In this assembly scheme, known as *poteaux à coulisse*, the logs to be laid horizontally were set between four corner posts and other vertical squared members (*poteaux*) inserted every five to eight feet and on the vertical sides of door or window apertures. The horizontal pieces were stabilized with a tenon-and-groove system. The vertical pieces were slotted to receive the tongued horizontal timber. These outside walls were constructed of logs ten to twelve inches in diameter. Whenever possible the *pièces* were hewed from cedar, the preferred wood species. Ash and hemlock could also be dressed as building lumber in the absence of cedar that grew straight and tall enough to yield a trunk eight to ten feet in length and of a constant diameter of ten to twelve inches. The ideal lumber would have been free of large branches.

Local historians of the nineteenth century refer to the existence of

French “cellar holes” in the Chimney Point area.⁴¹ We do not have detailed descriptions of these archaeological features. Unfortunately the English word “cellar” provides a dangerous referent to excavations which the French would identify as “fosses” rather than “caves” [cellars]. Such shallow storage sites, related to wilderness “caches,” are properly designated by the excavation teams of Fort Chambly. They are identified as *fosses d’entreposage*.⁴² No structures at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure were built over full foundations, with a cellar that would have reached below the frost line. Living quarters were equipped with *fosses d’entreposage*, larder pits accessible by a trap in the floor. The buildings were furnished with wooden floors that were laid on the earth: without the benefit of a full or half cellar. The “fosses” themselves could be lined with logs, planks, or woven branches (similar to the wall of a military gambion). Their floor was often lined with flat stones and other material to buffer the humidity of the ground.

With the exception of the storeroom, each space was furnished with a fireplace with hearth, back, and sides (jambs) of dry stones. It is likely that the unique stove was installed in the storeroom, where temperature control was an issue twenty-four hours a day. Whenever possible, the fireplaces were butted. The back and sides were constructed of stones selected and dressed so that they could be piled one on top of the other on a bed of clay mud. The lintels were most likely constructed of wood and chamfered to increase the draft as much as possible. The hearths were bordered with stone fenders to keep the coals from cascading to the wooden floor. Little is known about the height or width of such fireplaces. The front opening had to be as high as possible so that the occupants of the room could benefit from the heat radiating from the back of the fireplace. The larger the reflecting back surface, the more heat projected into the room. It is likely that the kitchen fireplace had the most generous dimensions, crowded as it was with cooking vessels (small kettles with feet, various frying surfaces: grills or pans set up on tripods). The large kettles, implements used at almost every meal, would have been suspended by trammels or iron hooks from lug poles in the chimney. The chimneys were little more than tapering throats, frameworks of wood interlaced with pliable branches and covered with wattle and daub. They would have extended two to three feet above the roofs.⁴³

We have indirect evidence that each of the seven inhabited spaces connected to the outside directly. The 1731 inventory of sent hardware enumerates seven sets of door hinges and seven mid-size locks.⁴⁴ Thirty window panes were sent in 1731. Most of these were probably reserved for the window of the kitchen and another small aperture in the store-

room. In both spaces, a maximum of illumination was required during the day. In 1732, 200 more glass panes arrived. Apertures that had been covered with animal skins rubbed with animal fat could now be fitted with glass windows.⁴⁵

To complete an inventory of structures on the site we have to consider the set-up of more fragile, smaller constructions earmarked for storage or exterior operations. Some of these structures would have been for seasonal use, such as a summer baking oven. The fort population included two horses (three after 1732). They were left to roam outside the palisade but some sort of structure was necessary to store their supplies and equipment (including logging sleighs and skidding harnesses). Two wheelbarrows had to be sheltered from the elements along with a shaving horse. The blacksmith needed a designated area to set up the essentials of a forge. We have little information about the storage of gunpowder. The barrels were most likely kept in a separate structure.

The installation changed very little during the four years of the fort's existence. We note, in the second, third, and fourth year, the delivery of small improvements such as a second wood stove, bricks for the bakery oven, shingles for the roofs, and a steel frame for the door of a gunpowder storage site.⁴⁶ The count of several items shipped from Montreal rose dramatically in 1734-1735. This increase in inventory, mostly containers, can be interpreted as the early delivery of moving supplies for the transfer of operations to the Crown Point peninsula across the narrows.

1735: THE TRANSFER OF THE MILITARY FACILITIES TO CROWN POINT, NEW YORK

As soon as the French had erected the palisade fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, the governor and the intendant began to lobby for the construction of a stone fortress. In a letter dated November 14, 1731, Beauharnois and Hocquart reminded Maurepas that all had agreed that a wooden fort was a temporary solution. Referring to the minister's own comment that such a fort would do until the king ordered a more solid installation, the governor and the intendant couched their opening salvo in the conditional tense:

In consultation with Monsieur de Léry we have examined the different projects which we could propose to you for this establishment. None seemed more suitable to us than to build a machicolated redoubt according to the plan which we are including; this, as much for the security of the post as for the need to avoid the considerable expenses which would have had to be made to build a full-fledged fortress.⁴⁷

It is these blueprints, dated "25 octobre 1731" and titled "Plans, élévations et profil d'une redoute à Machecoulis," *prepared for the Chim-*

ney Point site (“proposée à faire à la Pointe à la Chevelure”), which the French Archives d’outre-mer hold.⁴⁸ The document, shows an octagonal redoubt surrounded by a moat or a dry ditch (the label “fossé” is not clear). A covered way (*chemin couvert*) surrounds the entire square *fossé* and what appears to be a sort of scarp, a narrow terre-plein (a flat ground topping a rampart) fronted by a palisade. The elevation drawing shows that this terre-plein would have been raised above ground. The drawing also reveals a classic palisade à la Vauban: a row of large pointed stakes with a 3-inch gap between each stake. This palisade was to be planted between the terre-plein and the glacis (the slope from the level ground to the crest of the covered way), which De Léry labeled “esplanade.” The glacis is interrupted to allow for a single entrance (lake side) at ground level. The outside gate is made of stakes. The dimensions of this installation would have been substantial.⁴⁹ The cost of construction was calculated by the royal engineer at 54,000 French livres, a preposterous underestimate. It is important to note that Chaussegros de Léry had not traveled to the site and that his drawing and successive blueprints were based upon information supplied by the 1731 survey of Roberth de La Morandière.

Louis XV and Maurepas were averse to De Léry’s proposal. Beauharnois and Hocquart pleaded with their superiors to reconsider. Versailles reiterated its opposition to the engineer’s blueprints and Maurepas transmitted the king’s strong suggestion to build a regular fort.⁵⁰ On October 1, 1733, Beauharnois and Hocquart expressed their disappointment to Maurepas and announced that De Léry had completed blueprints for “a standard little fort” (“un petit fort régulier”).⁵¹ On October 14, 1733, they transmitted the new blueprints for the “petit fort régulier,” underlining a second time their disappointment: “His Majesty had seemed to approve the construction of a machicolated redoubt at Pointe-a-la-Chevelure....But since He believes that a standard small stone fortress would be more appropriate, we have ordered the plans [for such a fort] from the Sieur de Léry.”⁵² The blueprints, dated October 1, 1733, show that the proposed structure was anything but small.⁵³

Sometime between November 1733 and the fall of 1734, the King changed his mind and approved the construction of a redoubt on the Vermont shore, based on the blueprints submitted on November 14, 1731. This crucial letter is now lost. However, a follow-up letter, cyphered, from Beauharnois and Hocquart, corroborates that such an order was given by Versailles. On October 7, 1734, Beauharnois and Hocquart assured their minister that measures had been taken to open a construction site at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure.⁵⁴ On December 27, 1734,

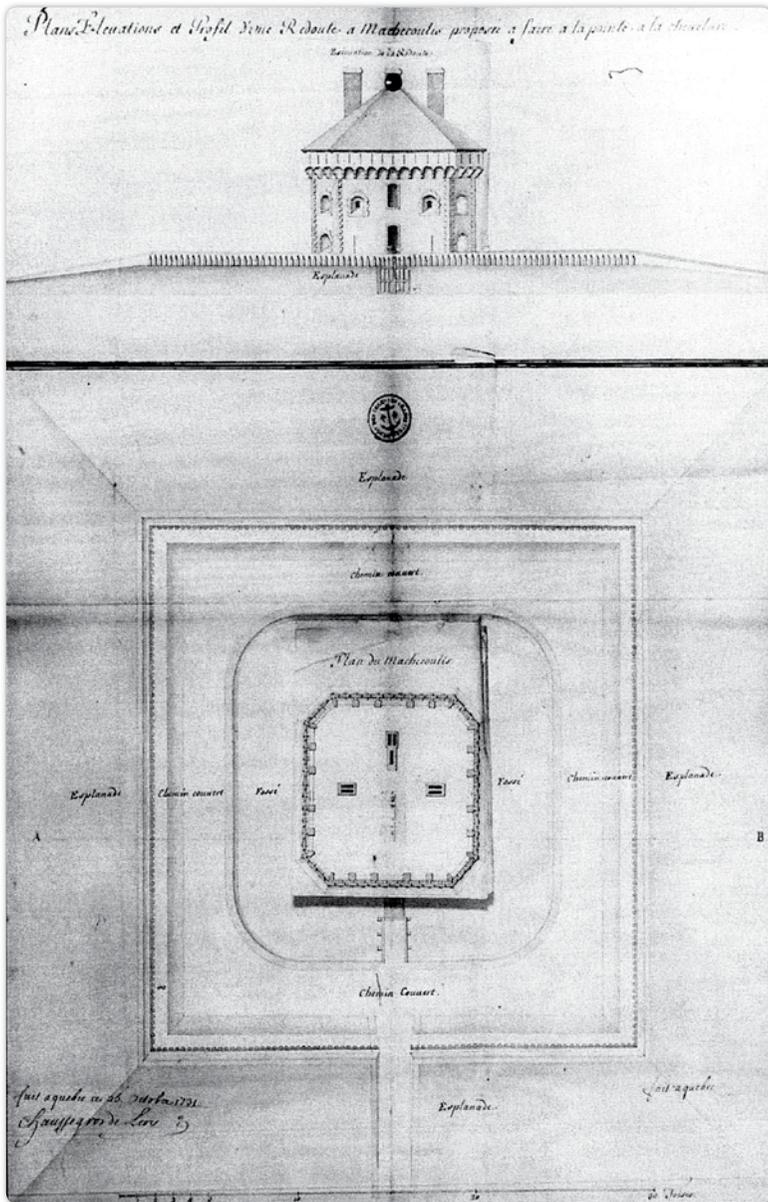


Figure 4. Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry. *Plans, élévations et profil d'une redoute à machicoulis à faire à la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure. 25 octobre, 1731. France, Archives nationales d'outre-mer. Cote 03DFC506B.*

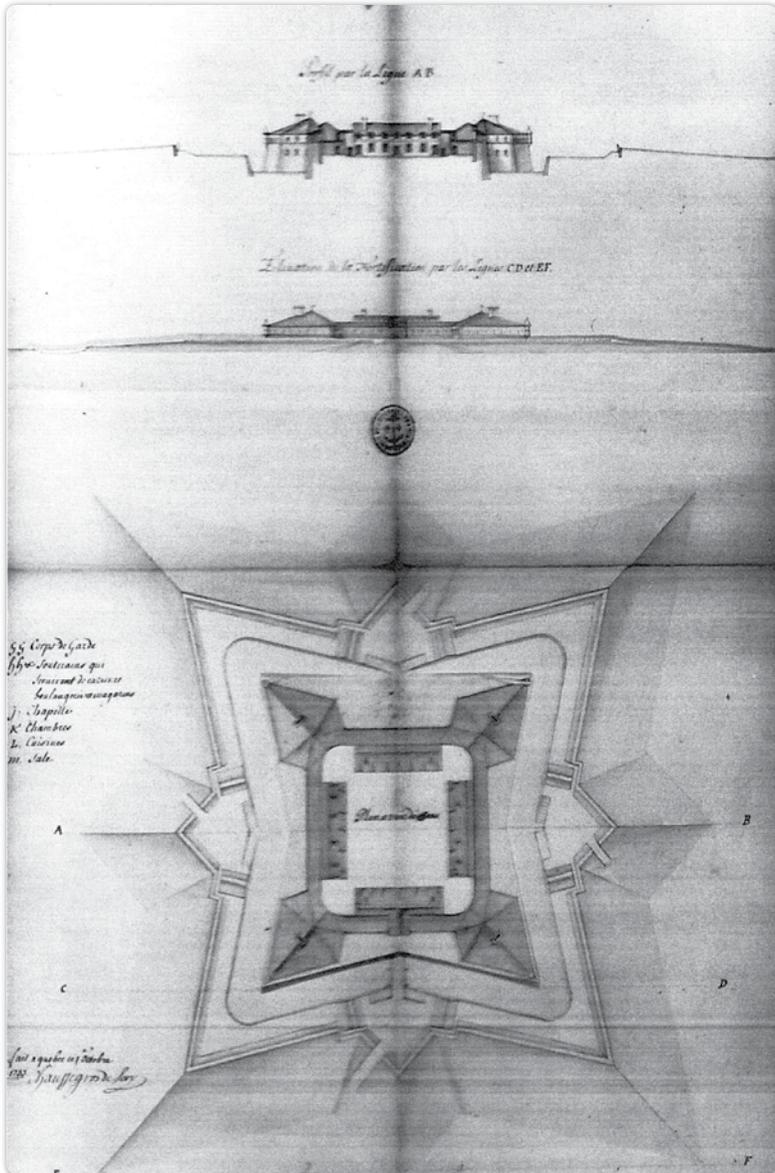


Figure 5. Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry. *Plans, élévations et profil d'un petit fort proposé à faire à la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure. 1^{er} octobre, 1733.* France, Archives nationales d'outre-mer. Cote 03DFC507B.

the royal administrators in Québec informed the king that De Léry had taken “all the necessary measures” to begin work “on the *machicolated redoubt* to be erected at *Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* [my emphasis]: “This fall workers were dispatched to the site to prepare materials [lumber and lime] so as to be ready to build as soon as feasible this coming spring.”⁵⁵

When Chaussegros de Léry finally repaired to *Pointe-à-la-Chevelure*, in the spring of 1735, he realized that the terrain at Chimney Point could not accommodate his plans for a redoubt. He quickly improvised, combined the two plans that had been under discussion during the previous two years, and selected a new site on the western (New York) shore of the narrows. In the end, De Léry oversaw the erection of a redoubt, a machicolated tower defended by a sizable curtain wall of clay mounds, a defective *terre-plein* held in place by a fragile, poorly-constructed stone veneer. Through his privileged direct access to Maurepas, De Léry would write: “I have deposited with Monsieur le marquis de Beauharnois and Monsieur Hocquart the plans and elevations of the new fort and machicolated keep at *Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* [Crown Point, New York]. I was unable to execute the initial project: the terrain [at Chimney Point, Vermont] did not lend itself to it.”⁵⁶

Two days earlier, on October 28, 1735, Beauharnois and Hocquart had provided Maurepas with a more detailed report. Chaussegros de Léry had to improvise:

He did not find, as he had hoped for and been ordered to, a suitable terrain [at Chimney Point] where he could dig a moat [around a redoubt] equipped with a covered way. Because of this he was forced to devise a new plan which brought him to position the redoubt on a stone outcrop, at the water's edge, *on the western shore* [my emphasis], vis-à-vis the old fort. Other than this rock outcrop, he did not find a suitable site to seat his work on solid ground in the vicinity of the *Pointe* [De Léry tested both shores of the *Pointe-à-la-Chevelure* area]. He took soundings which revealed that everywhere else he would not reach a firm base above a depth of 25 to 30 *pieds* [approximately 26.5 to 32 feet]. If the first project had been executed, the foundations would have cost as much as the works now rising from the selected site. Instead of the ditch and covered way which were to encircle the redoubt, he had a defensive wall erected to a height of 20 *pieds* [approximately 21 feet, 8 inches]: the perimeter of a fort with four bastions, one of which widens to accommodate the redoubt which defends the interior space of the fort, the narrows of the river and the low surrounding ground. The terrain allowed for a moat and a drawbridge along the *courtine* [one of the straight lengths of the rampart] where the entrance gate is found. The blueprints which we are including will allow you to appreciate, Monseigneur, the advantages of these works: a combination of a fort and a redoubt whose construction costs shall not exceed the sum budgeted [will not cost more than the projected cost of the initial project].⁵⁷

After three years of construction, 1735-1737, the installations were pronounced “dans leur perfection,” a latinized French phrase to express completion and satisfaction.⁵⁸ It would be many years before the intendant would account for all the expenses related to the construction of Fort Saint-Frédéric, including the perennial repairs and “improvements” (many of which De Léry had drawn as constructed on the plans he subsequently drew in 1737).

1735: THE DISMANTLING OF FORT POINTE-À-LA-CHEVELURE

The fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure operated from November 1731 to 1735, barely four years. In the summer of 1735, all the structures were dismantled and the usable lumber was transported to the new installations at Crown Point.⁵⁹ Why was Fort de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure dismantled and carried away? We can entertain three answers. Perhaps all three are correct.

In times of conflict, the stockade could have been occupied by invading troops and transformed into a launch site for the storming of Fort Saint-Frédéric.

Much of the lumber (cedar, pine) could be recycled at the new installations where the carpenters would have to build storage buildings, a stable, a barn, and a warehouse for farm implements, including several sleighs, at least one cart, and a very cumbersome plow with wheels. Some of the lumber, including the boards cut with pit saws, could be used by the construction crew to build dead works for the erection of stone arches, etc.

The royal intendant had made plans to request the transfer of the royal domain on the Vermont shore as a *seigneurie*. The would-be *seigneur*, Gilles Hocquart, had already selected the land for his manorial domain: the very spot where the stockade fort had stood. It was important for the intendant to show that the site was “free and clear” of installations paid for from the royal purse. He would defray the cost of his own house and farm buildings. He had already reaped a great profit: Most of the Chimney Point peninsula had been cleared of standing timber and it was ready to be converted into a productive agricultural exploitation managed by tenant farmers.

Hocquart petitioned his sovereign for the grant in 1740.⁶⁰ The official papers were a formality. (The *seigneurie* was officially granted and registered in 1743.)⁶¹ As soon as a stone windmill was completed (at the king’s expense) in 1740, a must if settlers were to come, Hocquart took steps to develop his domain by recruiting tenant farmers who would build a house and a barn-stable, and begin to cultivate the expanse of land we know as Chimney Point.

It is quite unlikely that Hocquart's tenant was instructed to burn his buildings in 1759 or before. Local tradition ascribes the destruction of the farm to Iroquois warriors whom the British could not control. We have no evidence to support such rumors. Despite the notation "French Village. Abandonned" or "Settlements. Abandonned" inscribed on maps associated with the French and Indian War,⁶² the only reliable evidence of the fate of Hocquart's domain is the Thomas Davies's drawing, "A South View of the New Fortress at Crown Point, with the Camp Commanded by Major General Amherst in the Year 1759." It incorporates a panorama of Pointe-à-la-Chevelure. We can plainly see the solitary chimney, all that remains of the house and other structures built by Hocquart's tenants. The lone, mournful chimney and the cleared land all around it contrast sharply with the dense forest at the eastern edge of the peninsula.

Pointe-à-la-Chevelure had become *Chimney Point*.⁶³

NOTES

¹ Guy Omeron Coolidge, *The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1938), [Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society; new series, vol. 6, no. 3]. A second, enlarged edition (with a biographical index) was published in 1989: (Mamaroneck, N.Y.: Harbor Hill Books). The quotes are from the second edition.

² Peter Thomas, "Chimney Point Tavern State Property. National Register Archaeological Evaluation" (Burlington, Vt.: Consulting Archaeology Program, University of Vermont, [1985?], 5. [Unpublished material].

³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴ Almost all of the original documents are held by the French government in their Archives nationales d'outre-mer located in Aix-en-Provence. Their search engines, IREL (texts) and ULYSSE (images) are user-friendly. Also, most of the relevant documents can be identified and retrieved online by consulting MIKAN, the latest online access to the collections of the National Archives of Canada. Some documents are stored in PISTARD, the direct access to the collections of the Archives Nationales du Québec. Quality of scanned texts and images varies. One caveat: For French colonial archival material catalogued in MIKAN the search engine works best if one navigates in French. For example: the original annotated catalogs of the National Archives (Ottawa) were composed by the esteemed Michel Desrosiers, before the advent of the computer. They were incorporated into ArchiviaNet and most recently, into MIKAN. Some material, frozen in ArchiviaNet, is accessed with difficulty (which rises exponentially when conducting a search in English: the annotations of Desrosiers were not translated).

⁵ Fort Pointe-à-la-Chevelure stood on the site from 1731 to 1735. From late 1735 to 1740, as part of the *Domaine Royal*, the point was left vacant. From June 1740 to June 1746, as the farm of the domain of the *Seigneurie de Hocquart*, the point was occupied by a tenant family: Joseph Robert dit Lafontaine, his wife, Charlotte Taupier (Taubié), and their four bachelor sons: Louis, Joseph, Jean-Baptiste, Pierre. From June 1746 to 1749, the point was farmed by a second tenant family: Jean-Baptiste Lafoy dit Laframboise, his wife, Charlotte Durbois, and their children: Charlotte, Jean-Baptiste, Jacques, Geneviève, and Nicolas. We do not have the tenant contracts for the period 1750-1759.

⁶ See Floyd G. Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-names in the Champlain Valley* (Albany: University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1960), 57-58. [Reprinted from the Report of the New-York Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Basin. Legislative Document 9: 23-56. 1960]. Two place names appearing on maps informed by the French presence at the site are also noted by Pierre Philippe Potier: "Te iatond8iarii: [=] Pointe-à-la-Chevelure ou fort St-Frédéric." See *Les écrits de Pierre Potier*, Robert Toupin, comp. (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1996), 232, 264.

⁷ See Lounsbury, *Iroquois Place-names in the Champlain Valley*, 58-59. See also John C. Huden, "Iroquois Place-Names in Vermont," *Vermont History*, 25: 1 (January 1957): 71.

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⁸ Beauchamp places the site associated with this name in the area further north: “Ka-non-do’-ro was a place between Crown Point and Corlear’s Bay, which was visited by Capt. John Schuyler, August 16, 1690. It was some miles north of the former and W. L. Stone placed it at Westport, but it seems to have been on the west shore a little north of Split Rock.” See *Aboriginal Place Names of New York* (Albany: New York State Education Department, 1909), 71. [Bulletin 108 of the New York State Museum].

⁹ Thomas Pownall, *A Typographical Description of the Dominions of the United States of America*, Lois Mulkearn, ed. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949), 49-50.

¹⁰ The original of the Roberet de La Morandière’s map is lost. Several reliable copies were made. One of them appears in Coolidge, *The French Occupation*, 117.

¹¹ This map, a reworking of the Roberet de La Morandière map, is from the hand of Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry. The original can be consulted at Aix-en-Provence: Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 54, folios 346-346v.

¹² See “Plan des terres des environs du fort Saint-Frédéric marquées par Jean-Eustache Lanouillier de Boisclerc sur laquelle carte sont aussi rapportées les sondes qu’il a observées. 1739.” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 126.

¹³ See “Lettre de Monsieur de La Corne à Beauharnois. Octobre 1730,” Archives Nationales du Canada. Transcriptions: Nouvelle France. Correspondance officielle, vol. 12, 2606-2608.

¹⁴ See “Lettre de Monsieur de La Corne au ministre. 11 octobre 1730,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 53, folios 363-363v.

¹⁵ See “Lettre de Beauharnois au ministre. 15 octobre 1730,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 5, folios 213-213v.

¹⁶ See “Mémoire du roi à Messieurs de Beauharnois et Hocquart. 8 mai, 1731,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Lettres envoyées, série B, vol. 55. The text is quoted in Pierre-Georges Roy, *Hommes et choses du Fort Saint-Frédéric* (Montréal: Éditions des Dix, 1946), 14.

¹⁷ See Etienne Roberet de La Morandière, “Etat des journées que j’ay employé pour tracer et construire le fort de la pointe a la Chevelure ... 8 novembre 1731,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 54, folio 327.

¹⁸ See “Extrait de la Réponse en datte du 10⁸^{bre} [octobre] 1731, faite par Messieurs de Beauharnois et Hocquart, Gouverneur général et Intendant en Canada, au Mémoire du Roy datté du 8 may de la dite année,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 54, folio 134.

¹⁹ See “Mémoire du Roy aux Sieurs Marquis de Beauharnois gouverneur et lieutenant général et Hocquart intendant de la nouvelle France. Versailles, le 22 Avril 1732,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Lettres envoyées, vol. 57, folio 659.

²⁰ See note 11.

²¹ Coolidge, *The French Occupation*, 117. The Coolidge reproduction can be traced back to the Vallerand map. Several copies of the map had been made, including a tracing that is held by the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères in Quebec City. This copy can be easily identified since it includes the note “Restauré par M. P. M. O’Leary ptre” [Restored by Monsieur Peter Michael O’Leary, prêtre]. The O’Leary copy was traced or photographed several times. The National Archives in Ottawa obtained a copy from the Quebec Provincial Archives who also own the original Vallerand drawing. Later, the copy of the Séminaire’s tracing was photographed, perhaps at the request of Judge Barnes, and the negative was mislabeled “P.M. O’Leary. Fct [fecit] or Pst [?]” instead of “ptre” (priest). It is this last document that Judge Barnes obtained from the Archives in Ottawa, not Quebec City. (Only the Ottawa copy and the Barnes reproduction of it display the error “P.M. O’Leary *Pst* or *Fct*”). The note supplied by Barnes [“Copy of the original in the Archives of the Prov. of Quebec. P.M. O’Leary. *Pst* or *Fct*.”] and traced by Coolidge (“Tracing of a photograph owed by the Hon. M. F. Barnes”) as a “Copy of the original in the Archives of the Prov. of Quebec. P M O’Leary. Fct” is enigmatic since we cannot define what “original” refers to.

²² See “Extrait de la Réponse en datte du 10⁸^{bre} [octobre] 1731, faite par Messieurs de Beauharnois et Hocquart, Gouverneur général et Intendant en Canada, au Mémoire du Roy datté du 8 may de la dite année,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 54, folio 134.

²³ The tools delivered from the King’s Stores in Montréal to the Pointe-à-la-Chevelure site included land clearing and earth moving implements (68 axes [including 50 felling axes], 86 pick-axes, 25 hatchets-adzes, 20 shovels, 4 sickles, 2 scythes, and one single-sheave running block for hoisting timber); carpenter equipment (3 squares, 1 compass, 2 carpenter’s line markers, 5 chisels, 1 shaving horse and 1 draw knife, 1 hammer, 3 crosscut saws and 1 pit saw, 1 bit brace and 2 drill bits, 4 augers, 6 planes [rabbet; plow; jack]); mason tools (2 chisels and 1 punch); and the basic implements for a blacksmith. Several tools (axes, squares, sledgehammer, etc.) fall into the multi-purpose, multi-trade category. See “Recapitulation des vivres, munitions, marchandises et ustencilles fournis des magasins du Roy a Montreal a commencer du 21 aoust 1731 jusqu’a la fin de la dite

année pour l'établissement de la bâtisse d'un fort de pieux et des bastiments nécessaire pour loger une garnison et Messieurs les officiers a la pointe a la Chevelure sur le lac Champlain. 10 Juillet, 1734." France, Archives nationales d'outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 62, folio 173-177.

²⁴ De La Morandière left Montréal on August 16 and returned on November 20 (see note 17). We must allow for (subtract) the number of days it took (twice: to and from) to make the water journey down the Saint Lawrence to Sorel, up the Richelieu to Chambly and beyond (3 portages), and at least three days on Lake Champlain. Our subtracted allowance for travel is very conservative and based on other calendars found in documents such as the journal of Louis Franquet or Peter Kalm.

²⁵ See the minutes of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs for September 25, 1731: "Mssrs. Johannis Evertse Wendel and Issaac Kip being yesterday arrived from Canada, etc., say that in their going up thither they found the French employed in erecting a fort at the Crown Point on the South end of Corlaar's Lake near the carrying place above Sorahtogue, in which work was 80 odd men concern'd which at their return they found completed and inclosed with stokadoes, and likewise they have finished a house of 40 ft. and were busy to erect two more who design to strengthen the same by inclosing it with a stone wall next spring as the aforesaid gentlemen were credibly informed in Canada, etc." The minutes are catalogued as "1731. Item 478.iii." in Great Britain, Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Preserved in ... the Public Record Office ...* [Vol. 38]: *America and West Indies, 1731*. Cecil Headlam and Arthur Percival Newton, eds. (London: H.M.S.O., 1938), 333. The 1731 inventory of supplies delivered to Pointe-à-la-Chevelure mentions 86 pick axes (folio 175). The number is precise: not 80, not 85: 86. Did the work crew number 86 men? Were the carpenters and other craftsmen conscripted to do some land clearing? Did the work force include the twenty soldiers already guarding the site? Was an allowance made for lost or broken tools? At any rate, we can quote "86" as an extreme of the scale.

²⁶ Our measurements are based on the following values and conversion of the scale provided by Robcrt de La Morandière. The scale is in French *toises*. We assume that 1 *toise* is equal to 6 French *pieds* and that the *piéd* converts into 12.789 American inches.

²⁷ The McCord Museum of Montreal holds the Davies watercolor: "A View of Fort La Galette 1760." It can be downloaded from their website.

²⁸ "Quatre courtines de pieux de cèdres de douze piéds hors terre." See "Lettre de l'ingénieur Robcrt de La Morandière au ministre. 4 octobre 1750." France, Archives nationales d'outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 96, folio 210v. One will note that, unlike Fort de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure, the four corners of La Présentation are blockhouses; not bastions. The vertical measurement is valid only for the palisade walls.

²⁹ See Gisèle Piédalue, "Dossier sur l'évolution structurale du Fort Chambly d'après les données archéologiques" (Québec : Service Canadien des Parcs, 1979), 34. [Manuscrit classé].

³⁰ Twenty metal-tipped wood shovels, 15 pick axes (*pics*), 25 grubbing hoes/choppers (*pioches azes*), 86 picks-mattocks (*pioches*), and a single-sheave running block for a gin pole [*roue de fer pour poulie de grue*]. See "Recapitulation des vivres, munitions, marchandises...1731," France, Archives nationales d'outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 62, folios 173-177.

³¹ See Pierre Beaudet and Céline Cloutier, *Les témoins archéologiques du fort Chambly* (Ottawa : Lieux et Parcs Historiques Nationaux, Service des Parcs, Environnement Canada, 1989), 35.

³² See Josiane Jacob, "La palissade du village de La Prairie en Nouvelle-France (1667-1779) : étude des vestiges archéologiques et des témoins historiques" (Québec: mémoire de maîtrise (M.A.), Université Laval, 2004); and ARKÉOS Inc., *Fouilles archéologiques dans le secteur du bastion nord-est de la palissade de La Prairie: site BiFi-15. Arrondissement historique du Vieux-La Prairie. Plan de gestion des ressources archéologiques, 2* (Québec et Ville de La Prairie: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec, 1998).

³³ The "Récapitulation des vivres, marchandises ...1731," folio 175, mentions 6 back breech-loading swivel guns ("6 pierriers de fer"); their accessories: folio 174 itemizes 6 pin keys to secure the cylinder inserts; 6 rings and back caps ("6 clefs pour pierriers; 6 cercles; 6 plattes bandes pour idem"). The shipment also includes (folio 173) 14 pre-loaded munition cylinders ("14 boetes de pierriers") [a canister with a handle, containing the powder and ammunition to be fired by the gun. It was inserted in the back breech of the weapon].

³⁴ The 1731 inventory of iron hardware shipped to the site includes two large door pivots with a base ("2 crapaudines"), fixed pins of forged iron on which heavy doors could swing, and two pivots for the upper part of the doors ("2 pivots pour porte"). Lateral strap hinges fixed to the doors would have been inserted into the *crapaudines* and the *pivots*. The straps were probably forged on site by a blacksmith.

³⁵ We derive these dimensions with reference to the Vallerand map and the scale provided by Robcrt de La Morandière. On the De La Morandière site plan [Vallerand map], the purpose of

Room D is not identified. However, on the De Léry map (see note 11), the room is labelled “Chapelle.”

³⁶ We assume that, in addition to the 11 muskets, each soldier had his own fusil, a bayonet, the necessary utensils, etc.

³⁷ See “Récapitulation des vivres, marchandises ... 1731,” folios 173-176v.

³⁸ The 1731 inventory includes a pair of small grinding wheels with their iron handle (“2 meules a moudre avec une manivelle de fer”). See “Récapitulation des vivres, marchandises ... 1731,” folio 175.

³⁹ See “Etat de la dépense faite pour l’entretien du fort de la Pointe à la Chevelure pendant l’Année mil sept cents trente-quatre y compris les gages des employés ainsi qu’il ensuit. 20 mars 1736,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 66, folio 52.

⁴⁰ For 1737: “Pour les gages d’une boulangère: 120 livres.” And under “Dépenses” (non-budgeted costs) rather than “Gages” (budgeted salaries): “A Laframboise, soldat, pour gages pendant 4 mois qu’il a été employé a remüer les farines a raison de 10 livres. Scavoir: 40 livres.” See “Etat de la dépense faite pour l’entretien du fort de St frederic pendant l’année 1737 y compris les gages des employés au dit fort ainsi qu’il ensuit. 4 septembre, 1738,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 70, folio 54.

⁴¹ See, for example, John Strong, “Addison” *Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer: A Historical Magazine*, Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., 1 (July 4, 1860). With reference to Chimney Point he notes, on page 3, “the remains of old cellar and gardens still to be seen [which] show a more thickly settled street than occupies it now.” Alluding to the Kellogg homestead he singles out his ancestor, John Strong, who helped James Kellogg build his house: “This, with the help of Kellogg and the other three men [Zadock Everest, David Vallance, and an unnamed settler], he did, selecting the foundations of an old French house (cellar and chimney) as the site” (p. 4). Or Samuel Swift who, in his *Statistical and Historical Account of the County of Addison* (Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury Historical Society, 1859), provides more information: “The cellars and other remains of numerous huts were found afterwards by the English settlers, scattered over the whole tract, and many of them are still seen there. On the Strong farm were four, on the Vallance farm three or four, and on others two or three. The buildings of the French settlers were burnt the next year after their retreat, by the Mohawks” (p. 45).

⁴² See the photo documentation of Beaudet and Cloutier, *Les témoins archéologiques du fort Chambly*, 34 and 38.

⁴³ See Marcel Moussette, *Le chauffage domestique au Canada des origines à l’industrialisation* (Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 1983).

⁴⁴ Folio 176 mentions “7 moyennes serrures”; folio 175, “14 paires de pantures avec leur gons”: 7 mid-size locks and 14 pairs of hinges with their pin. See “Récapitulation des vivres, marchandises ... 1731.”

⁴⁵ “30 carreaux de verre.” See *ibid*, folios 174v. “200 carreaux de verre.” See “Récapitulation de ce qui a été fourni ... 1732,” folio 168v.

⁴⁶ See *Ibid.*, folios 167-167v (supplies for the chapel), folio 169v (wheels for a cart; utensils for the breech guns). “Récapitulation des provisions tirées en 1733 des magasins du roi à Montréal pour le fort de la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure et sa garnison. 10 juillet 1734,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 62, folio 161 (200 bricks); folio 162 (a top iron plate for a stove); folio 163 (metal sheets [probably for stove pipes]). “État des munitions, marchandises et ustensiles délivrés des magasins du roi à Montréal en 1734. 20 mars 1736,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 66, folio 55v (50 ceramic tiles ; 30 bricks ; 50 glass panes ; one door for the gunpowder room).

⁴⁷ See “Lettre de Beauharnois et Hocquart au ministre. 14 novembre 1731,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 54, folios 338v-339.

⁴⁸ See “Plans, élévations et profil d’une redoute à machecoulis proposée à faire à la Pointe à la Chevelure. Fait à Québec ce 25 octobre 1731.” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 66, folio 55v. The blueprints are available on ULYSSE: FR ANOM 03DFCS07B*. They are signed “Chaussegros de Léry.” On the verso: “Included with the letter of M. de Beauharnois et Hocquart dated November 14, 1731 [“du 14 9bre 1731”].”

⁴⁹ From the external edge of one *esplanade* to the opposite edge [N-S or E-W], the fortifications and their approaches would have measured a full 43 *toises*: 275 English feet. The machicolated redoubt, octagonal in shape, would have measured 10 *toises* or 63.945 English feet at its widest width and length. Measuring northward from the southwestern corner of the Barnes Tavern verandah, the works planned by the engineer would have extended well past the northeastern corner of the storage building now on the site. Running northwestward it would have straddled half the length of the earthen bank of the Champlain Bridge.

⁵⁰ See “Le comte de Maurepas, président du Conseil de la Marine, à MM. De Beauharnois et Hocquart. 14 avril, 1733,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Lettres envoyées, vol. 58, folio 423

⁵¹ See “Lettre de Beauharnois et Hocquart au ministre. 1 octobre 1733,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 59, folios 67-67v.

⁵² “Lettre de Beauharnois et Hocquart au ministre. 14 octobre 1733,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 59, folios 204-204v.

⁵³ See “Plans, élévations et profil d’un petit fort proposé à faire à la Pointe à la Chevelure. Fait à Québec ce 1^{er} octobre 1733. Chaussegros de Léry.” The Archives nationales d’outre-mer hold the original: DFC, Amérique Septentrionale, 507 B. The drawing incorporates three flaps. The image, with no additional images for the flaps (*retombes*), can be found on ULYSSE: FRANOM 03DFC507B*. The Library and Archives Canada entry, MIKAN 4169912, provides no images.

⁵⁴ See “Lettre de Beauharnois et Hocquart au ministre. 7 octobre 1734,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 61. Quoted in Roy, *Hommes et choses*, 32.

⁵⁵ See “Lettre de Beauharnois et Hocquart au ministre. 27 décembre, 1734.” Quoted in Roy, *Hommes et choses*, 32.

⁵⁶ See “Lettre de Chaussegros de Léry au ministre. 30 octobre 1735,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 64, folios 259-259v.

⁵⁷ See “Lettre de Beauharnois et Hocquart au ministre. 28 octobre 1735,” Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 63, folios 206v-207, 210v-211.

⁵⁸ On November 8, 1737, Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote: “We are sending you the blueprints: floor plan; cut away view; and elevation view. Since the initial project of a stand-alone keep with a covered way to the shore could not be executed (the terrain does not lend itself to such a plan), we were obliged to enclose the keep in a fort, and the excess cost will appear as part of the general cost overrun which you will notice and which we will not be able to account for this year.” Quoted in Roy, *Hommes et choses*, 37.

⁵⁹ In the accounting of the financial outlays for the construction of Fort Saint-Frédéric we find the following line items for 1735, under the heading “Workers by the day”:

“Various carpenters for the number of days required to demolish the old fort: 145 [French] livres.

Various soldiers employed the said year [1735] to transport by boat the debris of the old fort: 115 livres.”

See “Bordereau de la dépense générale faite pour et à l’occasion de la construction du fort et de la redoute de Saint-Frédéric, construit à la Pointe-à-la-Chevelure en 1735, 1736 et 1737. 17 septembre 1738,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Correspondance générale: Canada, vol. 70, folio 39v.

⁶⁰ See “Lettre de Hocquart au ministre. 3 octobre 1740,” France, Archives nationales d’outre-mer. Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies: état civil et recensements, vol. 462, folios 320-321v.

⁶¹ The documentation for the act of concession will be found in Coolidge, *The French Occupation*, 95.

⁶² In particular, see the manuscript map, “A Description of Crown Point & Fort Taken from an Indian Plan, Viz 6,” dated 1744. A note on the map indicates that it was received on May 9, 1744, as an attachment to a letter from Governor Wentworth. At Chimney Point and north (Pointe de Montréal), one notes the symbol for dwellings and the label “French settlements.” London: Public Record Office, CO700/New York/19.BP153. The Library of Congress holds another map (1759?) titled “Plan of the Fort and Fortress at Crown Point with their Environs.” Several sites on the eastern shore are clearly identified with building symbols and the notation “French settlements. Deserted.” Library of Congress: G3804.C92S26 1759 .P5 Vault.

⁶³ For an excellent reproduction of the Davies view, see Jan Albers, *Hands on the Land: A History of the Vermont Landscape* (Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 2000), 75. The original, in the collection of the Earl of Derby for many years, was purchased by the Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum in 1953: (M53.189.1). See also the manuscript map, “Crown Point Deserted by the French” (late 1759 or 1760) where the word “Chimney” as a site label appears for the first time. In the upper left of the manuscript, one reads “Eastern Shoar” and just below, next to what appears to be a rough sketch of a lone chimney, “Chimney Meadow.” The map is held by the Newberry Library: VAULT folio Ayer 183 M2 1772 ms map 6. It is one of six that were inserted in a to-be-bound copy of Thomas Mante’s *The History of the Late War in North America and the Island of the West Indies* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1772). This map, one of six collected by Alexander Colquhoun, was inserted following p. 204.