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## Acadian Maine in Archaeological Perspective

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# Acadian Maine in Archaeological Perspective

## **Cover Page Footnote**

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## ACADIAN MAINE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Alaric Faulkner and Gretchen Faulkner

*Recent excavations at Fort Pentagoet and Saint-Castin's Habitation have shown physical evidence of three separate 17th-century Acadian occupations near the mouth of the Penobscot River in mid-coastal Maine. From 1635 to 1654, Fort Pentagoet defended private commercial interests of Charles d'Aulnay against English enemies and French rivals. From 1670 until its destruction by the Dutch in 1674, the fort served as military headquarters for the administration of all Acadia under governors Grandfontaine and Chambly. During the last quarter of the century, French authority was reestablished within a nearby Indian village at the habitation of Jean Vincent de Saint-Castin. The archaeological record for these French occupations shows three distinct strategies for defense, maintenance, supply, foodways, and interaction with the aboriginal population. Entrepreneur, soldier, or frontiersman, the leader in each case established a settlement unlike any of its New England counterparts.*

The remarkably varied 17th-century beginnings of Acadia are represented in a number of archaeological sites along the coasts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Maine. Most familiar are two sites that were excavated in the 1960s: Sainte Croix on the Maine-New Brunswick border (Gruber 1972; Cotter 1978), and Fort La Tour in St. John, New Brunswick (Barka 1965). Sainte Croix was the site of an unsuccessful attempt by De Monts and Champlain to settle at Dochet's Island in the St. Croix River, and lasted only through the winter of 1604-1605, when the starving company removed to Port Royal, Nova Scotia. Fort La Tour was a fortified settlement established by Charles de La Tour on a point of land at the mouth of the St. John River and lasted from 1631 until its destruction in 1645. To these pioneering efforts in Acadian archaeology can be added considerable new information from related sites recently excavated along the

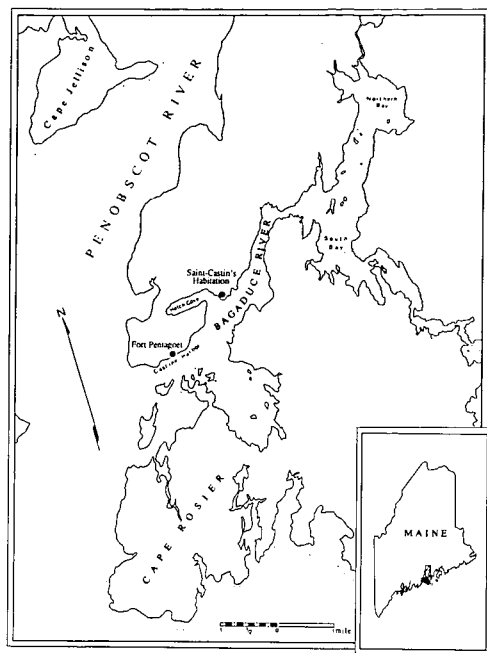


Figure 1. Map of Castine Harbor at the confluence of the Bagaduce River and Penobscot Bay in mid-coastal Maine, showing the locations of the ruins of Fort Pentagoet and Saint-Castin's Habitation.

coast of Maine—information that reveals the variety of settlement strategies employed by the French in attempting to settle Acadia.

During the last five years, a team of archaeologists from the University of Maine at Orono has studied two major 17th-century settlements on the Anglo-Acadian frontier: Fort Pentagoet and Saint-Castin's Habitation. These sites represent three distinct French occupations established by settlers with very different backgrounds, goals, and strategies. The earlier two occupations occur at Fort Pentagoet at the junction of the Bagaduce River and Penobscot Bay, while the third is Saint-Castin's Habitation, situated about a mile and a half further up the Bagaduce River (FIG. 1).

From 1635 to 1654, French entrepreneurs Charles d'Aulnay and an unknown successor defended their private commercial interests in Maine in the relative safety of Fort

Pentagoet. In 1654, Acadia was taken under orders from Cromwell, and the fort remained nominally under English control for the next 16 years, although there is no clear evidence for an English occupation during this period. From 1670, when Acadia was returned to the French, until the destruction of the fort by a Dutch privateer in 1674, Pentagoet served as the military headquarters for the administration of all Acadia under the governors Grandfontaine and Chambly. From ca. 1677 to ca. 1700, Jean Vincent de Saint-Castin, a former ensign at Pentagoet, reestablished French authority nearby at a small habitation that formed the nucleus of a new French and Indian village.

#### **Pentagoet I**

Pentagoet I (1635-1654) was the first major period of French settlement at the mouth of the Bagaduce. Fort Pentagoet was one of many French investments that blossomed after Acadia was formally ceded to France in 1632 as a condition of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. It was built on the site of a trading post operated for the Plymouth colonists from 1629 to 1635. Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, a French nobleman and entrepreneur, appropriated this outpost in 1635 and began construction of Pentagoet to defend his local commercial interests. D'Aulnay managed several other ventures in Acadia, ranging from a mill in the vicinity of Fort Pentagoet and a homestead on the Saint George River to the settlements of Port Royal and La Hève on the other side of the Gulf of Maine (Brown 1966: 505). Fort Pentagoet, however, was his major outpost on the frontier with New England. From these southwestern headquarters, d'Aulnay controlled the fur trade along the Penobscot and fishing in the vicinity of Penobscot Bay. These operations were financed and supplied through Emmanuel LeBorgne, a La Rochelle banker-merchant, who eventually came to Acadia in 1648 to repurchase d'Aulnay's holdings and who succeeded d'Aulnay at his death in 1650.

Fort Pentagoet, small only by later standards, represented a tremendous investment on this remote frontier. The compound, half of which has been excavated, was about 24 meters square. Within the curtains, six buildings were ultimately constructed (FIG. 2). The oldest structure (Structure 7) stood alone on the eastern side of the fort, opposite the entrance. Apparently of "charpente" or timber-framed construction placed on a stone foundation, it seems to have been the only structure at Pentagoet with glass windows and is thought to have been d'Aulnay's own residence. A small wattle-and-daub chapel and belfry (Structure 5) spanned the entranceway. The rest of the buildings, however, were made of coursed-slate masonry laid up in a clay loam and were incorporated into the curtain wall. These included the Dwelling (Structure 1), the Workshop/Officers' Quarters complex (Structure 2), the Magazine (Structure 3), and the Guard House (Structure 4). Of these the Magazine (Structure 3) and possibly the Officers' Quarters (Structure 2.1) were two stories in height, while the Dwelling was a split-level two-story design. When it was seized by the English in 1654, Pentagoet was manned by a contingent of 18 male employees (Drake 1875: 75-76).

D'Aulnay was just one of a half-dozen or so ambitious noblemen and merchants in Acadia who engaged in such ventures. One of these entrepreneurs was d'Aulnay's chief competitor, ultimately his arch enemy, Charles de la Tour (MacDonald 1983; Reid 1981). La Tour's headquarters at this time were at Fort Sainte Marie, popularly known as Fort La Tour, at Portland Point in Saint John, New Brunswick—a site excavated in 1963 by Norman Barka. The fort was built by La Tour in 1631 and was destroyed by d'Aulnay in 1645. Its footprint is comparable to Pentagoet in size, although the structures and defenses were all of wood, and the site is not as well preserved. The Fort La Tour assemblage, therefore, comes from a context that closely parallels Pentagoet I and invites comparison.

Both d'Aulnay and La Tour were supplied

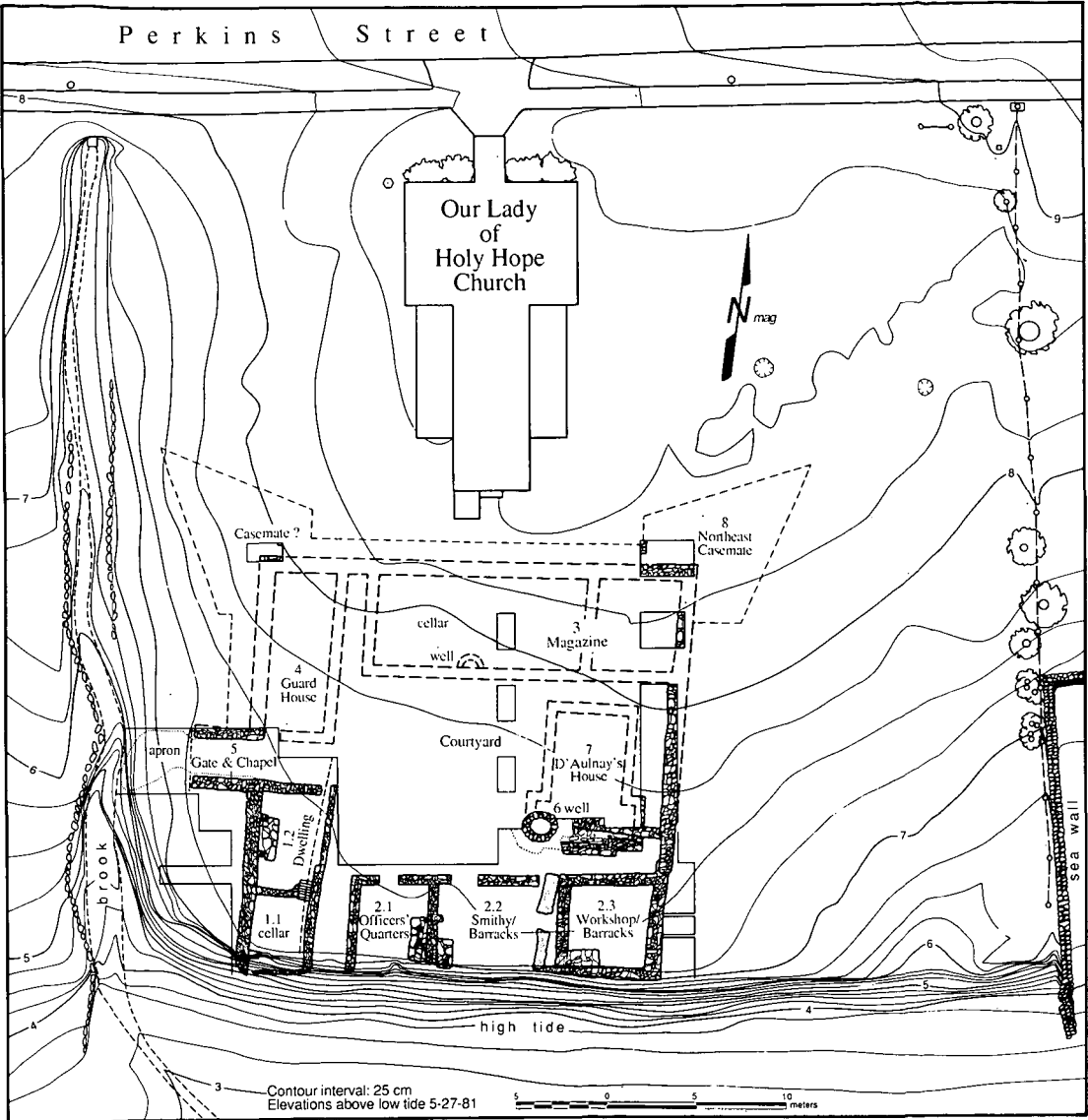


Figure 2. University of Maine excavations at Fort Pentagoet, 1981-1984. Except for Structures 7 and 8, which are known only from archaeological evidence, all buildings have been named according to descriptions of the fort made in 1670-1671. Dotted lines indicate features and structures known from contemporary plans and confirmed by ground-penetrating radar or test excavation.

through the port of La Rochelle, d'Aulnay by his creditor Emmanuel Leborgne and La Tour through various merchants including David Lomeron, Samuel Georges, and Guillaume Desjardins (Brown 1966: 504; Delafosse 1951: 473). These backers supplied both manpower—usually indentured artisans such as stonemasons, joiners, and ar-

morers as well as common laborers—and merchandise to the Acadian frontier (Debien 1952). Consequently the imported materials at Fort La Tour and Pentagoet are distinct not only from nearby sites in New England, but also from certain early French sites such as Champlain's Habitation in Québec and the Sainte Croix colony, which were origi-

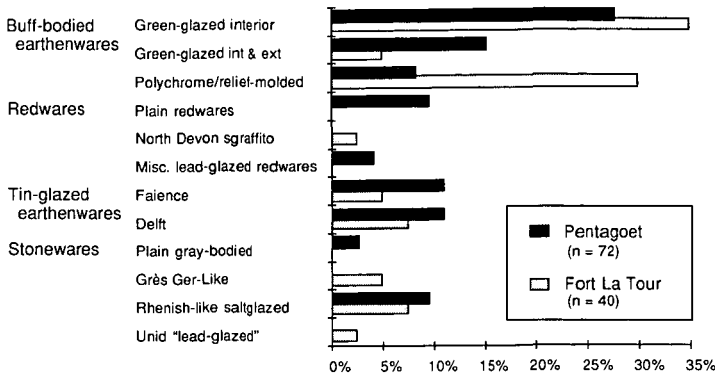


Figure 3. Relative frequencies of 17th-century ceramic types at Fort Pentagoet and Fort La Tour in Saint John, New Brunswick, based on minimum vessel counts.

nally supplied through the Norman port of Honfleur.

The ceramic assemblages reflect the high degree of similarity of Fort La Tour and Pentagoet I (FIG. 3). With few exceptions, the collections are made up of either products from the Saintonge region, the hinterland of La Rochelle, or are products derived indirectly from the wine trade between La Rochelle and the Low Countries. Both assemblages are dominated by buff-bodied, green-glazed earthen storage vessels from Saintonge. These include strap-handled storage jars and pots glazed on the interior or the rim only, as well as apothecary jars and sundry tableware (FIG. 4). The two sites also contain comparable amounts of stoneware: Frechen bartmanns or "Bellarmine" bottles, and gray- or beige-bodied, sprig-molded jugs—either Westerwald or Walloon products. Similar blue-on-white Delft plates and plain faience serving vessels are found, and a few unusual pieces are duplicated at the two locations, including a zoomorphic handle apparently belonging to a faience sauce boat (FIG. 5e). Significantly, both French assemblages lack specialized dairy wares, especially the redwares and slip-wares associated with contemporary English sites.

Many artifacts from Pentagoet I and Fort La Tour were derived from the Low Countries. Those ceramics not from the Saintonge appear to have come through Dutch channels, as might be expected considering the

trade pattern at La Rochelle. Leborgne, who supplied d'Aulnay, invested heavily in the wine trade with Flanders and the Baltic, among other locations (Delafosse 1951: 471). The three bartmann medallions found at Pentagoet bear certain coats of arms that are rare on English sites but frequently circulated in the Dutch trading sphere: the House of Nassau, the City of Cologne, and the City of Amsterdam (FIG. 6). All these medallions have been recovered from the cargoes of Dutch merchantmen that sank during the early decades of the 17th century (Stanbury n.d.; van der Pijl-Ketel 1982: 246). Likewise, the standard gray-bodied Westerwald tankards and jugs that occur so frequently on English sites are replaced at Pentagoet with a beige-bodied variant, possibly a competing Walloon product. This trade connection with the Low Countries extends to firearms at Pentagoet, all of which appear to have been of Dutch design (Faulkner 1986). At Fort La Tour, moreover, there is an unusually high proportion of ornate, molded, tobacco pipestems characteristic of the Netherlands, a few of which are duplicated at Pentagoet (Barka 1965: 450-451).

These archaeological records indicate that the French at Pentagoet I and Fort La Tour did not depend on New England for the supply of most durable goods. Contemporary documents frequently record trade between the English and French in Maine, however, suggesting that the economies of the frontier

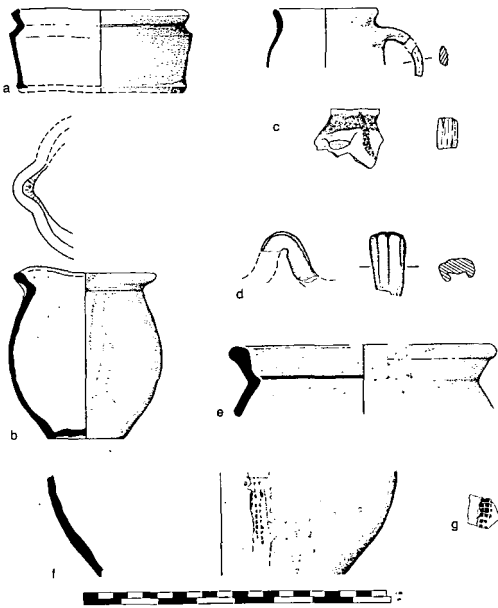


Figure 4. Green-glazed and polychrome ceramics from Pentagoet I (1635-1654). All pieces shown have similar counterparts at Fort La Tour: a, Saintonge apothecary jar, green-glazed inside; b, small pot with pinched spout, with brownish green glaze on the interior only; c, Saintonge polychrome cup or mug painted green, blue, and brown on a clear yellowish background; d, green glazed rim loop from a bowl or chafing dish; e, jar rim, green-glazed on interior only; f-g, applied banding in relief, rouletted in imitation of rope carrying straps, an occasional decoration on green-glazed storage jars.

were ruled by expedience rather than by political allegiance. D'Aulnay, for example, is known to have been in debt to Abraham Shurt, a merchant at Pemaquid, and to have commissioned English ships to supply him with merchandise for trade (Hosmer 1908: 178; Mass. Archives 1643: 477a). This illicit trade certainly included victuals, powder, and shot (Morison 1952: 279) and perhaps other non-durable goods such as textiles and leather goods.

Some of the supplies imported by d'Aulnay and La Tour bespeak a lifestyle that seems extravagant and incongruous in a frontier setting when viewed from a modern perspective but were taken for granted as a

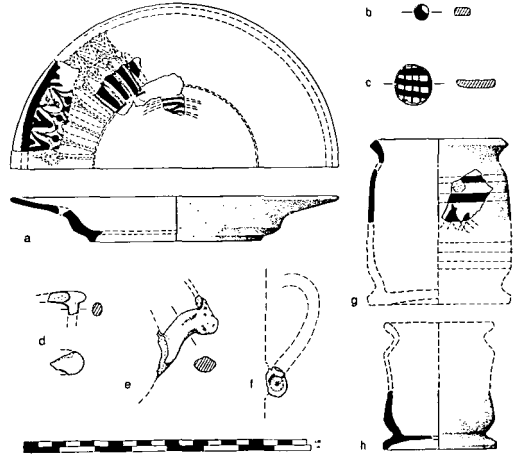


Figure 5. Faience and delftware, Pentagoet I (1635-1654): a, blue-on-white delft plate with tulip motif; b-c, blue-on-white gaming tokens made from spiderweb-pattern delft plates; d-f, plain, pink-bodied faience handles; g, blue-on-white delftware albarello-form drug pot, early 17th-century waisted albarello form.

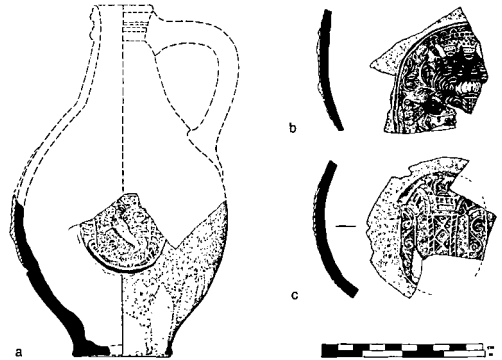


Figure 6. Medallions from Frechen bartmanns or "Bellarmine" showing various coats of arms popular in the Dutch trading sphere, Pentagoet I: a, pear-shaped jug with a rampant lion probably representing the House of Nassau; b, triple coronet of the coat of arms of Cologne, accented with a dark splotch of cobalt blue; c, coat of arms of Amsterdam.

prerequisite for maintaining social position in the 17th century. One of these was relief-molded polychrome pottery, tableware imitative of products of the renowned 16th-

century potter-artist Bernard Palissy. These elegant ceramics, with their molded masks and relief ornamentation, painted in blue, green, and brown on a pale yellow background, were manufactured up river from La Rochelle in villages near Saintes, such as Ecoyeux and La-Chapelle-des-Pots. Following the wine trade, such products were successfully marketed throughout northwest Europe in the 16th and mid-17th centuries (Chapelot 1975: 119-121). Their significance here lies not so much in their elegance or cost as in their functions. Both d'Aulnay and La Tour had chafing dishes to keep their platters of food warm (FIG. 7) and miniature barrel costrels to serve liquor at the table. Blue-on-white delftware plates, probably of Dutch origin, were also found on both sites, although they may have been kept only for display, as the glaze on the Pentagoet specimens shows no signs of knife scratches from use. All this formality seems out of place in frontier circumstances which demanded little more than a barrel top as an eating surface—a scene familiar in contemporary genre paintings.

The apparent incongruity of high fashion on the frontier is illustrated further at Pentagoet by items of dress found in refuse immediately surrounding Structure 7 (FIG. 8). This was the supposed d'Aulnay residence, identified, in part, by devices common to the Aulnay crest represented on a brass badge found in the refuse (Massignon 1963: 496, 500-501). A clip and buckles represent an épée sling and baldric, although there is no evidence from the armorer's refuse that swords saw regular use as weapons. They were, rather, hallmarks of noble dress, civilian or military, and were not to be worn by commoners (Goubert 1973: 162). Similarly, the absence of farrier's refuse and horse furniture in the smithy remains assures that there was no horse traffic along this intricate coastline. Nevertheless, a broken spur buckle, unmistakable in form, was recovered just outside d'Aulnay's doorway. A fancy brass clasp hook embossed with a tulip design probably connected a man's doublet to his breeches (cf. Noël Hume 1982: 85).

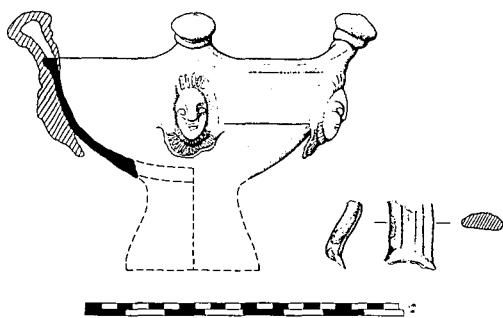


Figure 7. Relief-molded polychrome chafing dish made in the Saintonge region of southwestern France, from Pentagoet. The vessel is green-glazed on the interior and on the supporting knobs, while the exterior is coated with a clear yellowish glaze. The masks are accented with blue and brown. A strap handle, believed to attach between the base and the body of this specimen, is illustrated separately.

Gold braid, which in Virginia was reserved by law for the governor, his council, and heads of hundreds (Noël Hume 1982: 60), appeared in this midden, as did ornamental braid belting, braided buttons, and a fragment of a satin ribbon. Surely, therefore, the clothing worn regularly on the frontier included some surprisingly formal attire.

The luxury items associated with these early settlements apparently reflect the obligations of the *gens d'épée* to uphold their noble lifestyle (Goubert 1973: 166). This applied equally in civilian life as in the military, where the commissioned ranks were reserved for nobility. One of their key duties was to avoid derogation at all costs, and these trappings were among the many prerequisites to acting one's social station during the *ancien régime*. The uncanny resemblance of the two collections, moreover, illustrates the common background, tastes, and supply sources shared by d'Aulnay and La Tour, which, coupled with their common ambitions, fueled their great rivalry.

Maintenance on a "technomic" level—the day-to-day operation of this frontier fort—shows more practical adaptations to frontier living. The extraordinary measures required to maintain the outpost in the face of infrequent supplies are clearly reflected in



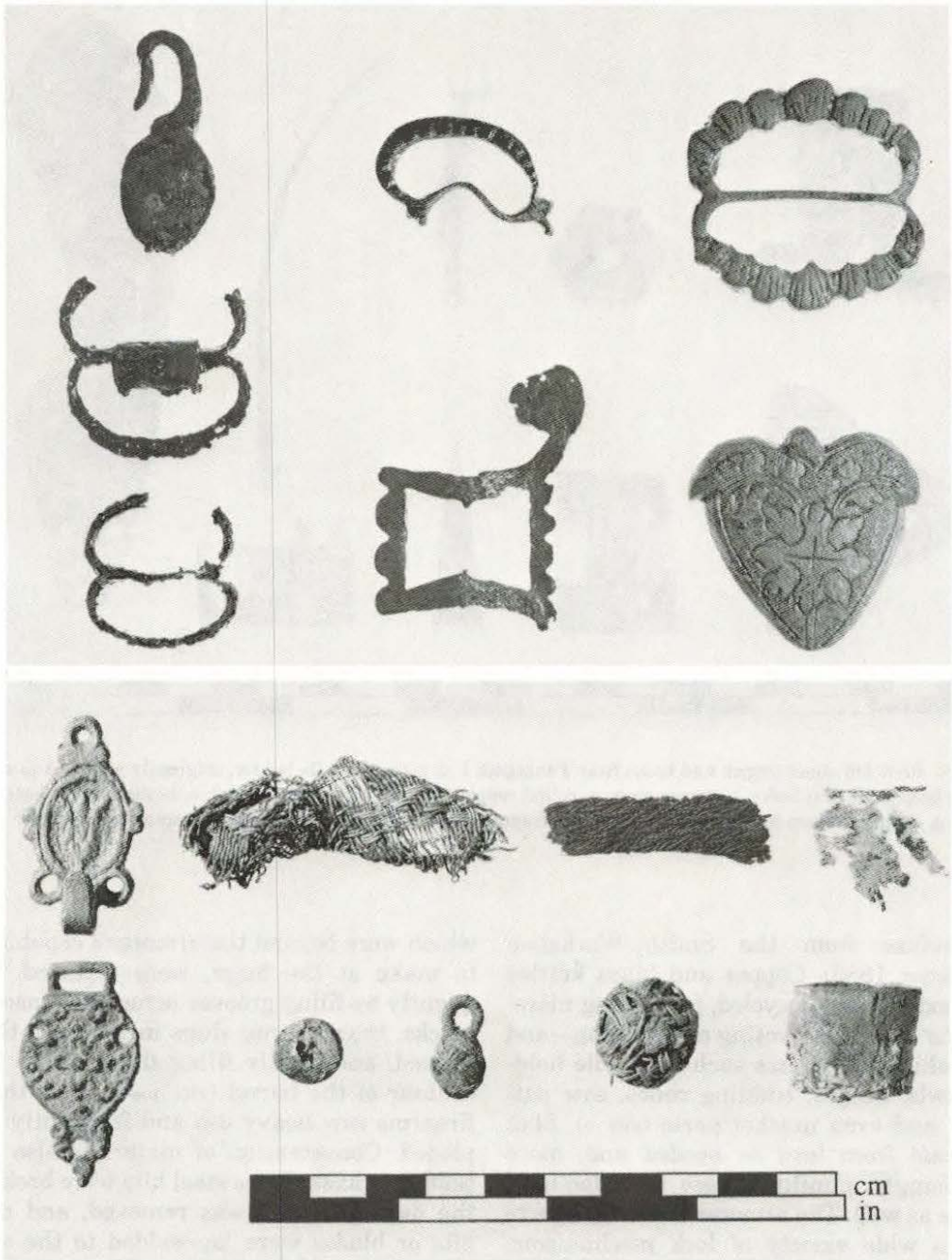


Figure 8. Formal dress remains from Pentagoet I: a-c, hook and buckles from an épée sling; d-e, baldric buckles; f, fragmentary "butterfly" spur buckle; g, cast brass badge with staple fastening on the back, bearing the cross and oak leaf motif of the Aulnay crest; h-i, clothing hook embossed with a tulip motif, shown with a rose-embossed counterpart from the English Clarke and Lake Company site; j, gold braid; k, braided belting, probably from an épée sling; l, satin ribbon fragment; m, hemispherical silver button (back); n, braided "frog" or small button; o-p, braided button and the lead thimble in which it was found.



Figure 9. Recycled sheet copper and brass from Pentagoet I: a, copper candle holder, originally attached to a wooden base with iron tacks; b, copper rove; c, rolled copper rivet; d, rolled copper awl; e, brass musket butt plate; f-g, copper hinges; h, brass tinkling cone; i, fragment of a copper pattern for a champion-toothed saw blade.

the refuse from the Smithy/Workshop (Faulkner 1986). Copper and brass kettles were extensively recycled, furnishing materials for repairs—riveting and brazing—and for making new items such as candle holders, awls, hinges, tinkling cones, saw patterns, and even musket parts (FIG. 9). Shot was cast from lead as needed and, more surprisingly, gunflints were manufactured on site as well. The armorer scavenged parts from a wide variety of lock mechanisms, principally snaphaunces and wheel locks, refitting parts as best he could to keep the remaining pieces in working order. Those heavily wearing parts he could not recycle, particularly sears, gun cocks, and breech plugs, he made from scratch at the forge and finished with files (FIG. 10). Gun barrels,

which were beyond the armorer's capability to make at the forge, were repaired frequently by filing grooves across the nascent cracks, brazing iron slugs in the slots thus formed, and finally filing the slugs to the contour of the barrel (FIG. 10e-f). Still, these firearms saw heavy use and frequently exploded. Conservation of materials also extended to axes, for as steel bits were broken, the damaged area was removed, and new bits or blades were lap-welded to the axe. Conversely, if the eye was sprung or broken, it was cut off and discarded, the blade salvaged, and a new eye fitted to it.

This Pentagoet I subsistence pattern, which emphasized self-sufficiency and making do with available resources, was reflected in diet as well. The faunal remains





Figure 10. Firearms maintenance and axe repair: a-c, horizontally acting sears, key wearing parts of gunlock mechanisms, in various stages of manufacture; d, unfinished gun cock, with a finished upper jaw fitted in place for illustration; e, iron slug coated with brass; f, pistol barrel that has been repaired by brazing three separate iron slugs across a crack; g, complete axe with steel bit insert; h-i, sprung and broken axe eyes; j, broken axe bit; k, salvaged axe blade with steel bit. All axe fragments have been cut off by the smith using the anvil hardy (a stationery, chisel-like attachment that fits into the anvil).

contain at least 40% domesticates by element count, predominantly swine, sheep, and cattle. The majority of animal remains, however, is composed of bear, seal, goose, duck, cod, and striped bass and shows that the garrison relied heavily on locally available mammals, fowl, and fish. Many of these ingredients are mentioned as part of a feast provided for Isaac de Rasily, Governor General of Acadia, by Nicolas Denys, another of d'Aulnay's competitors. The meat of the acorn-fed bear of Pentagoet was specifically praised by Denys, who pronounced it "very delicate and white as that of veal" (Ganong 1908: 154, 109). Two bear skulls recovered were neatly cleaved in half along the sagittal axis. While this butchering practice

may have been merely a convenient method for extracting the brains, it is also possible that it represents an elegant presentation of the bear's head, served in profile, on a platter.

### Pentagoet III

The second period of French occupation at Pentagoet began with the return of the site to the French in 1670 after 16 years of English control, during which time the fort apparently saw little use. Acadia, now administered through Québec, was reopened for colonization. Following on the heels of major investment in New France in the 1660s, however, the resettlement plans in

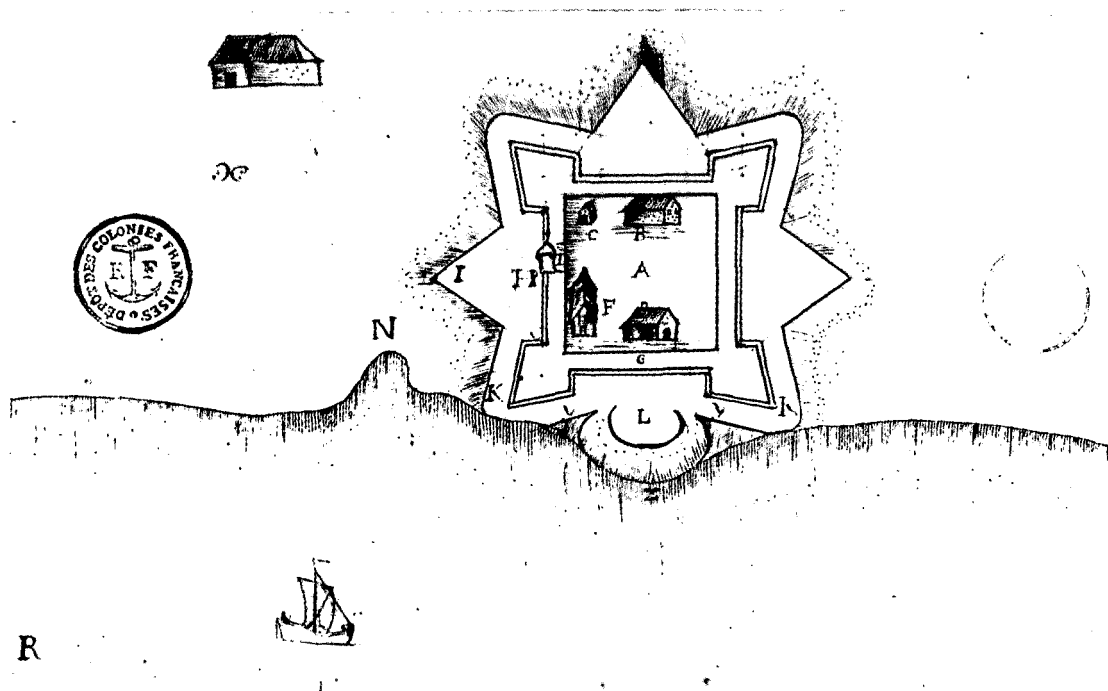


Figure 11. Plan of Fort Pentagoet, November 12, 1670 (National Archives, Paris). Original lettering identifications, for which no key survives, include: A, parade ground; B, two-story magazine with a cellar; C, guard house; D, a chapel over the Fort's entrance; H, small redoubt in front of the fort; F, dwelling; G, house for workmen and soldiers (formerly a smith and workshop); X, shed for livestock.

Acadia were backed with little royal funding. The region was placed successively under the governorship of two members of the recently disbanded regiment of Carignan Salières: Grandfontaine (1670-1673) and Chambly (1673-1674). In order to defend against English incursions, Louis XIV selected Pentagoet as the seat of this military government (Collections des Manuscrits 1883: 191-194). Pentagoet III lasted just four years, until the fort was "levell'd w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> ground" by Dutch pirates in 1674 (Baxter 1907: 29).

The new era saw extensive repairs, renovations, and rearming of the obsolescent fort, but in order not to provoke the English there was little expansion of the defenses, as can be seen by comparing successive plans of the fort (FIGS. 11, 12). D'Aulnay's residence was now long gone, destroyed perhaps in the English takeover of 1654. Behind it the east

curtain, apparently a sod earthworks in Pentagoet I, was now completed in masonry. The former two-room workshop, fully enclosed and remodelled, served as a one-room barracks. Here, above the smithy refuse of earlier times, was found a sparse collection of personal items (combs, pins, and needles) associated with hasp locks and eye-and-staple hinges from wooden chests.

The refuse in the cellar kitchen of Structure I, now apparently the governor's residence, shows a shift in diet that nearly excludes locally-available mammals, replacing them with cattle, pig, and to a lesser extent sheep and, incredibly, domestic cats (Spiess 1984). Geese and ducks were common, and small birds were present in great abundance, perhaps served as pigeon soup as featured in Denys' menu (Ganong 1908: 154). Fish, principally cod, striped bass, and sturgeon, remained an important part of the

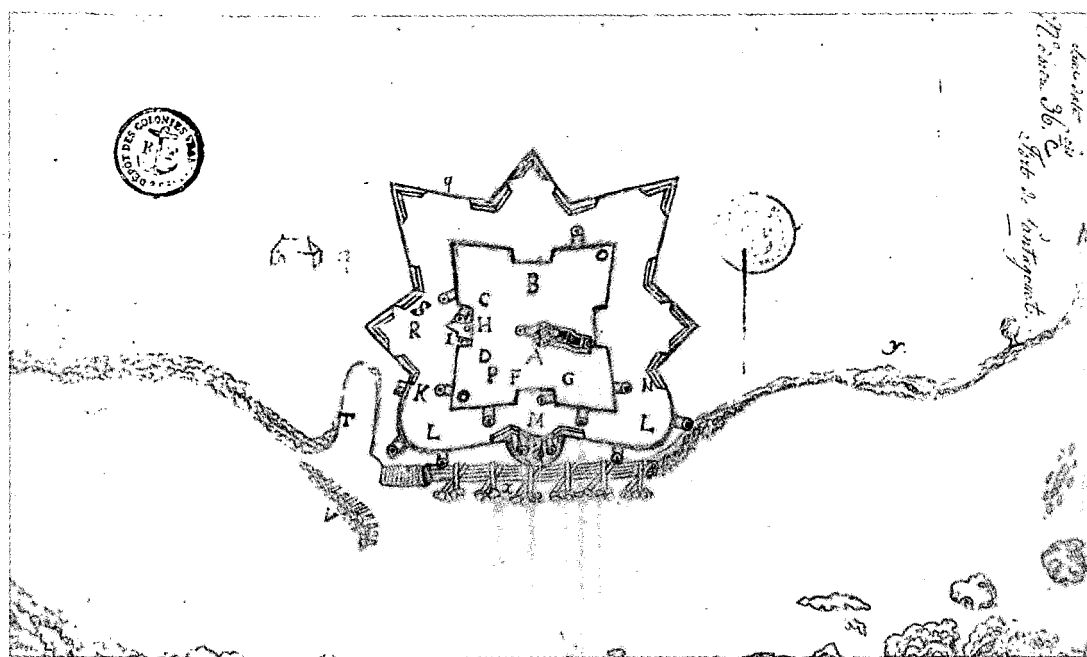


Figure 12. Pencil sketch done by Governor Grandfontaine of Pentagoet, ca. 1671 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). Grandfontaine's sense of proportion and artistic ability were somewhat limited, but the efforts of his refurbishing of the fort are reflected in the key that accompanies the original sketch. (Transcribed and translated from the original by Alaric Faulkner.)

A, The fort's plaza [parade ground] which is about twenty-five paces square; B, The magazine which is about thirty paces long and fifteen broad; C, The guard house which is about fifteen paces long and ten broad; D, A living quarters on the other side of the guard house of comparable length and breadth, and above which two structures there is a small chapel and a bell which makes a roof for the entrance to the gate; F, A Barracks for the officers, 15 paces long and ten broad; g, Another barracks of similar length and breadth for the workmen and soldiers; h, The entrance to the fort; I, The entrance to a small redoubt which is in front of the gate.; K, The gate of the envelope; L, Two platforms each having two pieces which take eight pound balls.; M, Another platform with sod fraises [retaining walls] and embrasures where there are three pieces, two of eight [pounds] and one of three.; N, Some small parapets at the re-entrant angles and at the flanking angles of the envelope.; O, Two lookouts standing on the two angles of the bastions; P, The steps for climbing onto the rampart; Q, The palisades around the envelope; R, An oven [forge?] and a shed in front of the gate; S, A deep channel to keep water during hot weather; T, A cove for keeping small boats; U, Pilings to impede the flow of sea water; X, A sea wall to impede the demolition of the earth supporting the envelope and platforms; Y, An Eminence which commands the fort.; Z, The spring which is the best and most useful on the island

diet (Carlson 1983). Overall, however, this is more the diet to be expected of displaced and periodically starving Frenchmen than the fare of Acadian pioneers living off the fruits of the land.

The material culture of Pentagoet III exhibited little extravagance. Glassware included some fine matching pieces made in the Venetian style with writhen stems and inflated, gadrooned knobs (FIG. 13), but judging from their appearance in genre paintings and in current excavations outside the

Louvre in Paris, they appear to have been rather commonplace items (Barrera 1985 personal communication). In general, domestic items were plain and utilitarian. Closed forms from southwestern France continued to dominate the ceramics, consisting principally of storage and food-preparation jars and pots glazed only about the rims to keep covers from sticking. The green-glazed jars were joined by a new round-bottomed, double-handled cooking pot or "marmite," buff in paste with a clear lead glaze about

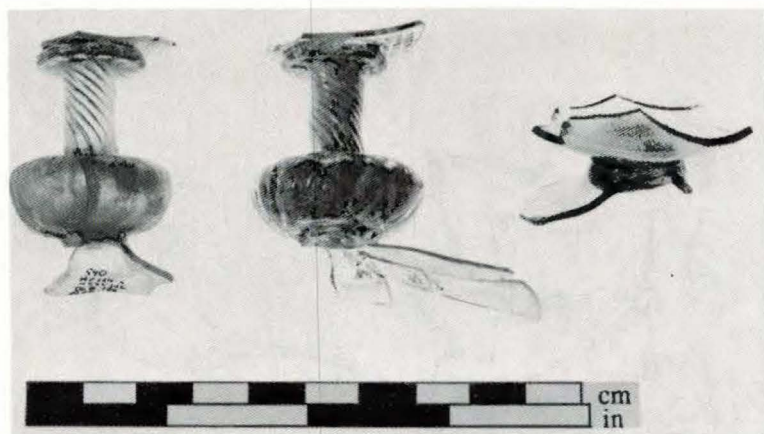


Figure 13. Glassware from Pentagoet III (1670-1674): a-b, matching inflated knops with written stems, Venetian style, from the Officers' Quarters (2.1) and Dwelling (1.1), respectively; c, snifter-like drinking glass from the Dwelling (1.1).

the rim (FIG. 14). Gone were Saintonge polychrome chafing dishes and miniature barrels, replaced by simpler forms of tableware, glazed bright green on inside and outside surfaces. No ceramic plates or chargers were present, but sherds of ornamental delftware plates, apparently from Pentagoet I, were recycled to make colorful disk-shaped gaming tokens (FIG. 5b-c).

Supply of manufactured goods remained restricted principally to France and included items ultimately derived from the Low Countries through indirect trade. After 1650, the French importation of English goods was strictly banned. Nevertheless they form a noteworthy minority of the Pentagoet III assemblage. A few isolated redware sherds are probably of English origin, as is a single, large, gravel-tempered jar from North Devon. Ten tobacco pipes from Pentagoet III contexts bear the well known mark "PE," of Phillip Edwards I, a Bristol pipe maker at work ca. 1650-ca. 1669 (Walker 1977: 1420; Oswald 1975: 152). There are, however, nearly five times as many embossed "huntress and crusader" pipes of Dutch origin in the collection (Oswald 1975: 117-118, fig. 22 no. 14; Camp 1975: 57, 59, 78; Camp 1982: 24, 33, fig. 4). Cloth seals include one from the county of Essex that presumably marked English woollens and one from Haarlem, originally attached to 19½ ells of Dutch linen. Gunflints

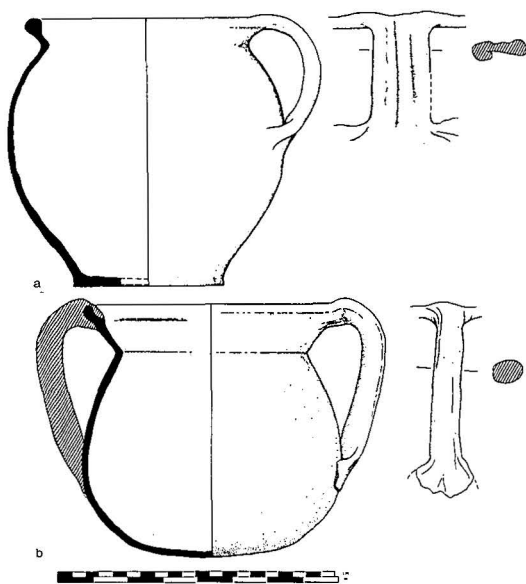


Figure 14. Dominant storage and food preparation forms from Pentagoet III (1670-1674). Both are buff-bodied and glazed on the interior rim only, except for spatters and excess glaze puddled in the interior: a, green-glazed jar; b, yellow-glazed, round-bottomed, double-handled cooking pot or "marmite."

are all of the later French blade type and were apparently imported. Coinage, in addition to a brass Louis XIV "double tournois," includes a copper "falus" minted in Surat, India, during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707), last of the Mogul shahs. The latter coin shows a connection, however



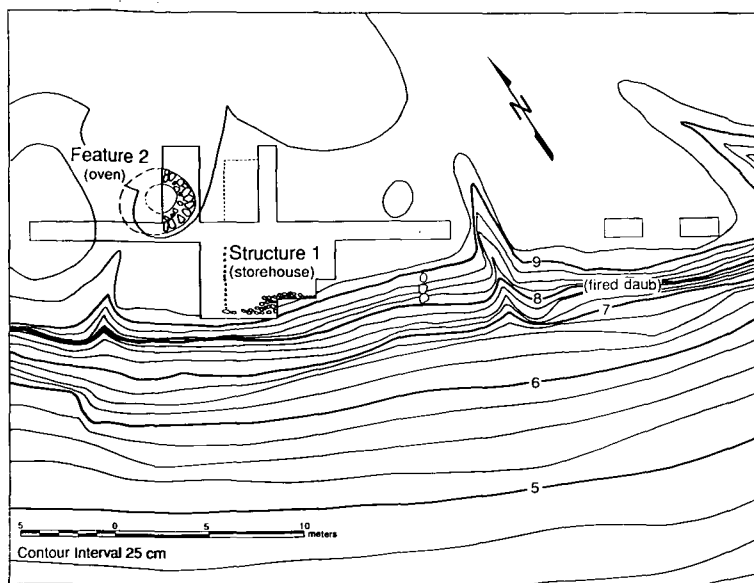


Figure 15. Excavation plan 1983-1984, at Saint-Castin's Habitation, ME-084-8, showing Structure 1, an outbuilding or warehouse, and Feature 2, a circular stone oven.

remote, of Pentagoet III personnel and the contemporary French East India trade.

### The Habitation of Saint-Castin

After Pentagoet was destroyed, a former ensign at the fort who had already established himself as a trader initiated a new type of settlement (Le Blant 1934: 157-160). Jean Vincent de Saint-Castin, later Baron de Saint-Castin, returned to the area some time after 1677 and set up a trading post within a village of 160 Etchemin Indians—two European buildings within a settlement of 32 wigwams (Morse 1935: 149, 151). This settlement appears on three maps drafted independently in the 1680s and 1690s, the recent reassessment of which led to the archaeological identification of the site.

Two brief seasons of preliminary excavation have located a storehouse indicated by scattered fieldstone footings associated with great quantities of lead shot and related supplies (FIG. 15). Also exposed nearby was the rubble of an isolated circular stone oven, of a general type still in use in Québec (Boily and Blanchette 1979). A similar structure has recently been excavated at an early 18th-century Acadian site in Bellisle, Nova Scotia, although in this case the oven was

attached to the back of a house (Christianson 1984a, 1984b). The search continues for Saint-Castin's dwelling as well as for a forge, the presence of which is indicated by slag eroding from a section of the bank. It is clear even at this early stage of investigation, however, that the architecture consisted of relatively impermanent frame buildings set on a course or two of fieldstone footings lying directly on the ground surface. No defensive works have been found as yet, although some sort of palisade is expected in areas not already claimed by erosion.

Coming principally from within and around the storehouse, more than 80% of the artifact assemblage is made up of tobacco pipes, musketballs, and shot (FIG. 16). The marked tobacco pipes were exclusively English, the products of William Evans and Lluellin Evans, Bristol pipe makers at work after 1660 and 1661, respectively (Oswald 1975: 152). The musketballs and cast shot were found in linear arrangements where kegs had apparently been spilled and their contents had fallen between the floor boards of the storehouse. Cast ingots of raw lead, some of them chopped into smaller pieces, together with sprue and tongs, testify to the manufacture of the shot at the site (FIG. 17).

Blonde gunflints of both spall and blade types were apparently imported.

Unfortunately, the faunal refuse at Saint-Castin's Habitation is at this point too sparse to make meaningful statements about diet. Nevertheless, the small collection of domestic refuse, consisting of only 32 ceramic sherds and 31 bottle glass fragments, appears to differ significantly from that of Pentagoet (FIG. 18). A mere two sherds of green-glazed French earthenware were found, and English redwares were absent. Instead, ceramics are principally fragments of Dutch or English delftware and bartmann or "Bellarmine" jugs of unknown manufacture. A sprig-molded jug is of gray stoneware (unlike the beige variant from Pentagoet I) and is clearly an early Rhenish product from the Westerwald. Utilitarian earthenwares were surprisingly rare, and although the case is not compelling, this suggests that aboriginal techniques for some kinds of food storage may have replaced European methods at the Habitation. The bottle glass, principally small fragments of dark green wine bottles and case bottles, may represent trade through English connections rather than French. Indeed, one cargo of Saint-Castin's wine and other merchandise was confiscated by the English in 1686 as "contraband" that supposedly came from an English merchant (Le Blant 1934: 131-132). Taken together with the overwhelming evidence of the supply of English tobacco pipes, the domestic materials suggest that Saint-Castin was indeed guilty of trade with New England, as was repeatedly alleged by his fellow countrymen. These detractors considered his actions ignoble and even treasonous (Le Blant 1934: 71, 82-83).

Although evidence of the Indian presence at the Habitation is modest in the areas examined so far, it is significantly greater than at Pentagoet. There are 58 round, drawn, glass beads in the assemblage, principally types IIa37 (aqua blue) and IIa14 (white) (Kidd and Kidd 1974: 56). The size of this collection is impressive only when compared to the full-scale excavation of Fort

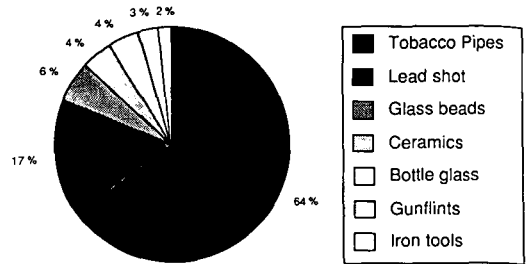


Figure 16. Proportional makeup of the artifact inventory at Saint-Castin's Habitation (ca. 1677-ca. 1690). Some 770 catalogued entries have been included, representing all artifacts except wrought iron nails, material samples, faunal remains, and prehistoric items. Shot, often inventoried in large clusters, is considerably underrepresented here.

Pentagoet which produced just 21 beads from all occupations, most of which were type IIa37 (aqua blue) and larger type IIa46 (blue). The beads from Saint-Castin's Habitation, moreover, were found in association with at least four tobacco pipestem fragments 3 to 4 cm long which have been rounded at the ends. These pipe fragments also served as beads, for the thin thread on which they were strung has cut deep grooves into the walls of the bore holes. Here beads were not merely trading stock, as was surely the case at Pentagoet, but were also evidence for the Indian occupation of which the Habitation formed the nucleus.

### French-English Contrasts

Like most 17th-century ventures in Maine, both French and English, Pentagoet and Saint-Castin's Habitation alike show evidence of rapid and usually catastrophic abandonment. This is clearly represented in the distribution of pipestem bore diameters for Fort Pentagoet and Saint-Castin's Habitation versus two English settlements: the Clarke and Lake Company post and the Damariscove Island cod-fishing station (FIG. 19). All of these distributions are skewed right, terminating abruptly on the left side where the latest pipes are represented. Note that the distribution from Saint-Castin's





Figure 17. Remnants of shot manufacture at Saint-Castin's Habitation: a, lead ingot; b, lead ingot fragment, apparently chopped with an axe; c, broken iron tongs; d, sprue; e-g, typical cast shot.

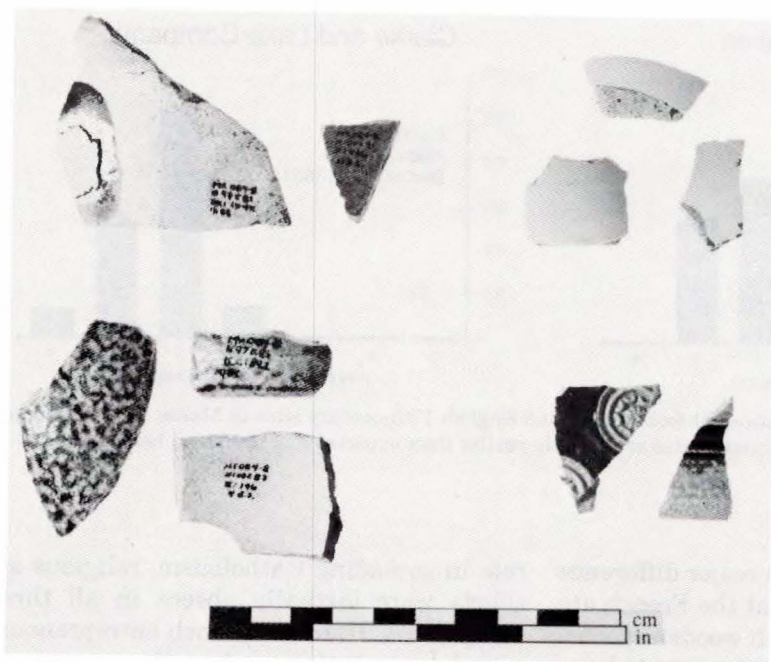


Figure 18. Ceramic sample from Saint-Castin's Habitation: a, green-glazed, buff-bodied Saintonge earthenware; b, plain delftware; c, brown stoneware bartmann fragments; d, rosettes from an early Westerwald gray stoneware jug.

Habitation is offset one bore size larger than the rest, indicating a later occupation. Pentagoet was destroyed in 1674, and English Maine was all but abandoned two years later during the Indian uprising commonly termed King Philip's War. Saint-Castin's Habitation, however, perpetuated French settlement in Maine through the last quarter of the 17th century, precisely that period of Indian wars during which New England was struggling to regain a foothold in its eastern lands.

A miscellany of additional threads of negative and positive evidence links these French settlements and often distinguishes them from their English counterparts in Maine. Their significance, however, is not always clear.

Although knives are fairly common utensils, there is a curious absence of spoons in all French occupations. Yet the metal spoon is the predominant eating utensil on contemporary English sites in Maine (Camp 1975: 47, 66, 69; Baker 1985: 35-37). Per-

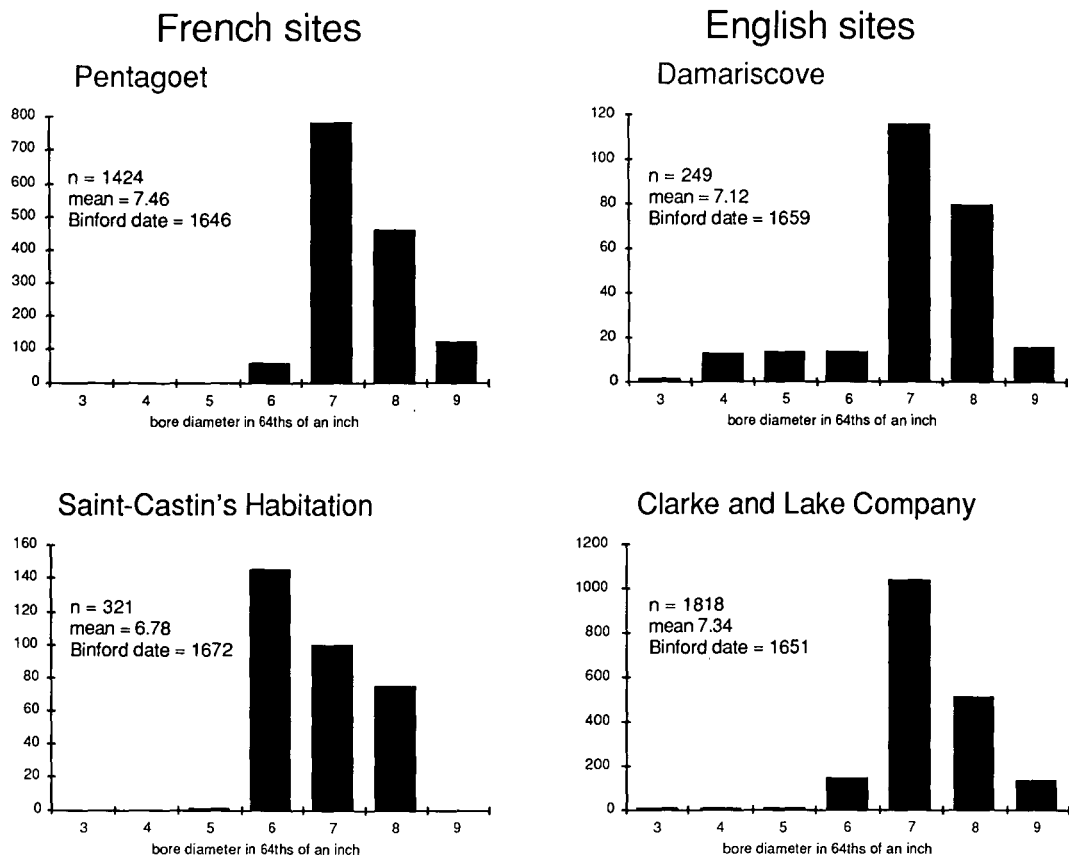


Figure 19. Pipestem bore distributions at four French and English 17th-century sites in Maine. As often occurs for sites of this period, Binford formula dates are slightly earlier than expected and are listed here only for reference as relative dates.

haps this does not signify a major difference in foodways, but merely that the French ate their soups and potages with wooden spoons.

Also none of the occupations seem to have been furnished with armor, polearms, or similar surplus medieval weaponry, suggesting that the provision of such ineffective armament was a quirk of the financial backers of English settlement in Virginia and New England and does not extend to Acadia. Firearms, however, particularly concealable pistols, saw especially heavy service and were repaired often. Surely their use must have extended beyond hunting and sport, but to what purpose, offensive or defensive?

Another surprise is that while the French are generally credited with a missionary

role in spreading Catholicism, religious artifacts were virtually absent in all three occupations. Here the French entrepreneurs may have relied more heavily on economics—the supply of firearms, powder, and shot and the extension of credit—than on the fear of God to control the Indians. Surface collections indicate, however, that by 1648 a Capuchin mission was in operation a few hundred meters west of Fort Pentagoet. A copper sheet commemorating the laying of a foundation for the mission was recovered in 1863 (Wheeler 1896: 81), and in 1984 a seal bearing the inscription “IHS” (Jesus, savior of mankind) was uncovered. Unfortunately, no documentation has been discovered that would clarify the relationship of

this mission to d'Aulnay's fort or indicate its duration.

### Conclusions

The three occupations presented are not strictly comparable as none of the assemblages is complete. The domestic refuse expected at Saint-Castin's Habitation is missing, for example, while the contents of the warehouse or magazine at Fort Pentagoet are presumed to have been lost in the course of 19th-century pot hunting. Evidence for maintenance and repair is abundant in Pentagoet I, while the corresponding work areas for Pentagoet III and Saint-Castin's Habitation have only been partially defined. Furthermore, the 55 years or so spanned by these occupations saw many changes in fashion and custom as chafing dishes went out of style and the Saintonge potters ceased the production of polychrome export products. Still there emerges a pattern of three distinct strategies for exploiting this "cosmopolitan" frontier—a frontier still very much dependent on its European sources and in existence to extract fish, fur, and timber for European markets (Lewis 1984: 16-18).

The construction and operation of Fort Pentagoet, under the private entrepreneurship of d'Aulnay, represents capital investment in a central stronghold quite unlike anything produced by the Puritans of Massachusetts. Governor William Bradford of Plymouth summed up the situation well, noting that "To the Great danger of the English, who lye open and unfortified, living upon husbandrie . . . [the French are] closed up in their forts, well fortified, and live upon trade, in good security" (Morison 1952: 279). Such small, compact forts kept overhead low, and at Pentagoet this strategy permitted a handful of employees to monopolize fishing and trading along the Penobscot. Control was sufficiently effective to allow d'Aulnay to engage in shipbuilding and to build a farmstead and a mill several miles beyond the limits of the fort.

The Pentagoet I compound was a European stronghold which was strictly insulated from

the surrounding aboriginal population and which catered to d'Aulnay's personal comforts. D'Aulnay, unlike the later Baron de Saint-Castin, did not fit the stereotype of a French frontiersman: a figure who is absorbed by his new surroundings, adopting the habits and accoutrements of the native population. The ceramics, clothing, and other trappings of French nobility seem as incongruous as the ritual in later centuries of the tea ceremony popularly identified with British officers and gentlemen on the frontier. Maintenance of social position was as important to d'Aulnay as the physical maintenance of the settlement. Nevertheless, both the diet of native foodstuffs and the competence demonstrated in repairing and recycling equipment show a determined effort toward self-sufficiency—a thoroughly practical commitment to permanent settlement.

The second French occupation, under the military governorships of Grandfontaine and Chambly, was brief. Pentagoet III was cut short at an early developmental stage when the French had just regained control of the trading houses along the Penobscot. Under the direction from Colbert, the governors placed emphasis on rebuilding and rearming the fort; the ultimate objective of settling the area with soldier-farmers was never realized. By comparison, the adaptation to frontier living during this second occupation appears to have been less flexible than during the first, with less emphasis placed on self-sufficiency. Foodstuffs were overwhelmingly European domesticates, and the garrison of prospective soldier-settlers demanded European grains for their nascent farmsteads around Pentagoet (RAPQ 1931: 163). Whether they were ill-prepared or simply inflexible, the garrison was beset by famine in 1672. The starvation diet appears to be reflected by the presence of domestic cat and small birds in the food remains. That winter several of the company were sent to Port Royal until additional provisions could be procured from Québec (Collection des Manuscrits 1883: 224; Brown 1966: 63).

Saint-Castin's approach, settling within an Indian village and taking an Indian wife,

was unconventional, if not innovative. Although he was actually commissioned with the task of gaining the allegiance of the Indians, his strategy was to most of his contemporaries and superiors scandalous, particularly as it involved frequent movement between temporary settlements and trading directly with the English, with no establishment of a permanent European community. Yet as "*captain des sauvages*" he achieved a most effective relationship with the native population, and as a businessman it was Saint-Castin who was most successful. His example was followed by his sons and many others and was perpetuated to good effect through the first decades of the 18th century. Archaeologically, the impermanence of structures, the reliance on English supply sources, and the integration of French and Indian settlement has already been demonstrated, setting Saint-Castin's Habitation apart from Pentagoet. What remains of key interest for future work is the organization of the Indian community of which the Habitation was a central component.

It is apparent that none of these three settlement strategies parallels the contemporary agricultural settlement of southern New England, characterized by Deetz (1977: 36-37) as the transplantation and subsequent differentiation of the yeoman's lifestyle. Life at Pentagoet and Saint-Castin's Habitation was no mirror of the overwhelmingly rural peasant society of France during the *ancien régime* (Goubert 1973: 53, 153). Farming tools here are few, and specialized dairy utensils are absent, as would be predicted from Governor Bradford's assessment of the minor role played by agriculture in this particular region of Acadia. Lifeways represented here differed fundamentally from those in rural France. Whatever the difficulties of the frontier, for example, the diet of the transplanted peasant or craftsman in southwestern Acadia clearly was not limited to grain products, as has been generally portrayed for France. The iron and steel products which came from the forge as well as the very coal which fueled it shows access to a wider set of raw materials than

the "wood and wicker" fabric of French peasant society (Goubert 1973: 53-56). This departure from the Old World prototype must be largely a result of the functional specialization of these commercial outposts and may not obtain at certain Acadian farming settlements, particularly Port Royal.

These establishments, moreover, must also have offered their settlers relief from at least some of the strictures of French society. The French nobility was deeply rooted in rural life. With few exceptions, they were prohibited from engaging in manufacturing, manual activity, or retail (and in some cases wholesale) business, which severely limited their ability to maintain and augment an estate (Goubert 1973: 153, 163, 166). On the Acadian frontier, the noble entrepreneur had ample opportunity to engage in the respectable and potentially profitable commerce offered by fishing and the fur trade.

In the final analysis, all three settlement strategies that the French employed to settle southwestern Acadia during the 17th century were failures. Throughout the period, Pentagoet, the furthest French outpost, remained underpopulated and became increasingly vulnerable to attack. As France's interest in its Acadian possessions waned during the last quarter of the 17th century, Saint-Castin found himself an isolated representative of French authority, berated for conducting necessary trade with the English. All but abandoned by the French government, he remained allied with the native population. To the English, Saint-Castin appeared to be the chief instigator and perpetrator of Indian hostilities against their settlements and bore the brunt of their retaliation. The situation did not improve in the following generation as Saint-Castin's half-Indian sons carried on as *captaines des sauvages*. After years of intermittent conflict, unable to defend and maintain the colony, France ceded Acadia to the English in 1713.

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