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Cover Page Footnote

The author would like to acknowledge the contributions made by staff and field crew over the three years of research represented by this summary. It is largely through their interest and commitment that the study was possible. Drafted plans included in this paper were produced by Sue Bazely. Special thanks are due to Dr. Brian Osborne, Queen's University's Geography Department, and Nick Adams, Staff Archaeologists with the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation, for providing critical comments during the production of this paper. Funding for the research at Fort Frontenac has been provided by various agencies within the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, and by the members of the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation. Access to the areas under excavation was kindly provided by the City of Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

THE STRUCTURAL EVOLUTION OF FORT FRONTENAC

W. Bruce Stewart

Fort Frontenac, located at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, in Kingston, Ontario, is among the earliest European sites in the Great Lakes Basin. The post was established in 1673 by Count Frontenac, then Governor of New France, as a means of intercepting furs destined for the Dutch and, later, the English merchants at Albany, New York. As the result of ongoing archaeological and historical research, a comprehensive structural history of the post has been developed. As the archaeological investigations have been restricted to the northwest bastion of the fort, that area will serve as the focus of the present review.

Introduction

Since September 1982, the site of Fort Frontenac, located in Kingston, Ontario, has been the scene of an intensive program of archaeological research. As the earliest European military establishment within the Great Lakes drainage basin, the fort has played an important role in the exploration and exploitation of the western frontier of New France. The present investigations have focused on the northwest bastion and adjacent curtain walls of the fort.

During the 85 years of French occupation at the site, from 1673-1758, the defensive works and interior structures of Fort Frontenac underwent a number of alterations which, to some extent, reflect the changing function of the site relative to the expanding frontier of New France. In this paper, the author will discuss the structural remains exposed during excavations on the site and indicate the direction of future research into Fort Frontenac's place within the history of the frontier.

Archaeology at Fort Frontenac

Fort Frontenac is located in downtown Kingston at the confluence of the Cataraqui

River and Lake Ontario. The site is dominated by the intersection of Ontario and Place d'Armes streets and the present Fort Frontenac—Department of National Defense Complex (FIG. 1). In 1937 (Hagarty 1953) and again in 1953 (Kitching 1953), the military undertook trenching within the present Fort Frontenac complex in order to locate and display various structural components of the fortifications. The present program of archaeological and historical research was initiated in the fall of 1982 with a four-week test excavation (Stewart 1983).

The testing was undertaken to accurately determine the location of the French fortifications and to assess the archaeological potential of the site. The positive results achieved through testing resulted in the development of a proposal for four years of archaeological and historical research on the site. The program was implemented in April 1983 under the sponsorship of the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation.

Because of limitations imposed by the presence of existing streets and buildings, excavation has been restricted to that area of the site located to the west of Ontario Street (FIG. 2). During the 1982 and 1983 field seasons investigations extended over much of the accessible area. While several of the excavation units dealt directly with structural components of the fort, the primary objective was to determine the nature of site development and use beyond the delineation of the fort walls.

In the spring of 1984, the City of Kingston redesigned the Place d'Armes-Ontario Street intersection, providing direct access to the northwest bastion for the purposes of excavation and reconstruction. Investigations in 1984 and 1985 focused on the bastion, the north curtain wall, and adjacent interior structure which had formerly underlain Place d'Armes Street (Stewart 1985).

Analysis of the data recovered from the archaeological and historical investigation of Fort Frontenac is far from complete. It is possible, however, to provide a brief over-

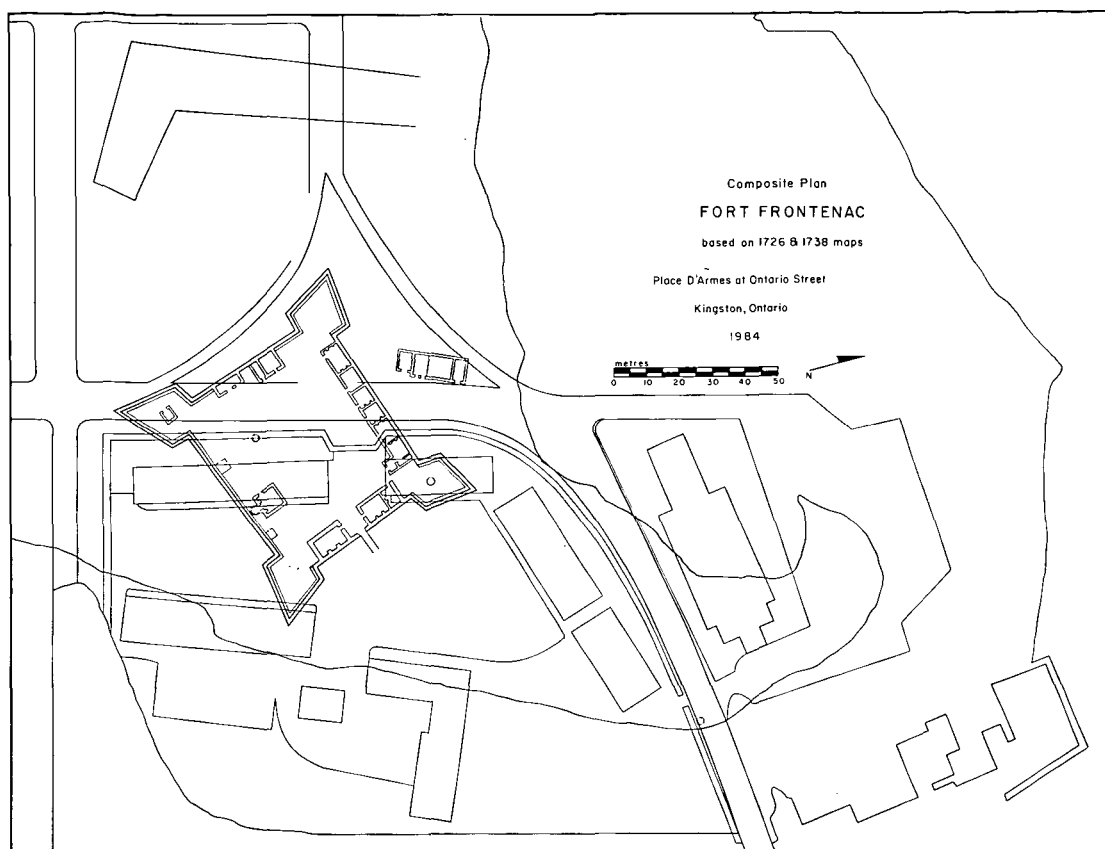


Figure 1. Composite plan of Fort Frontenac, Kingston, Ontario, depicting the Fort (1726-1738) and the present configuration of streets and buildings.

view of the archaeological data relevant to the development of the fort during the French period (1673-1758). Because of the preliminary state of the analysis, this overview will deal primarily with structural evidence, with only limited reference to the artifact assemblage.

The periods of frontier development relevant to the study of Fort Frontenac are: the Fur Trade Frontier, 1663-1700; the Imperial Frontier, 1700-1750; and the Military Frontier, 1748-1760 (Eccles 1969).

The Fur Trade Frontier (1663-1700)

In 1663 Louis XIV appointed Colbert to the post of *Ministre de Marine*, where, among his other responsibilities, he took over direction of the French colonies in

North America. Colbert was strongly opposed to the westward expansion of New France and sought to diversify the colony's economy while concentrating its population along the banks of the St. Lawrence River (Eccles 1969: 104). Despite the official policy, and in part because of some of its ramifications, westward expansion was supported by the local representatives of the Crown and justified in terms of exploration, military necessity, and missionary activities.

The westward expansion of New France continued even more aggressively under the direction of the *Compte de Frontenac*, appointed Governor of the Colony in 1672. Frontenac's motives for pursuing the westward expansion of the colony have been the subject of numerous debates (Eccles 1959:

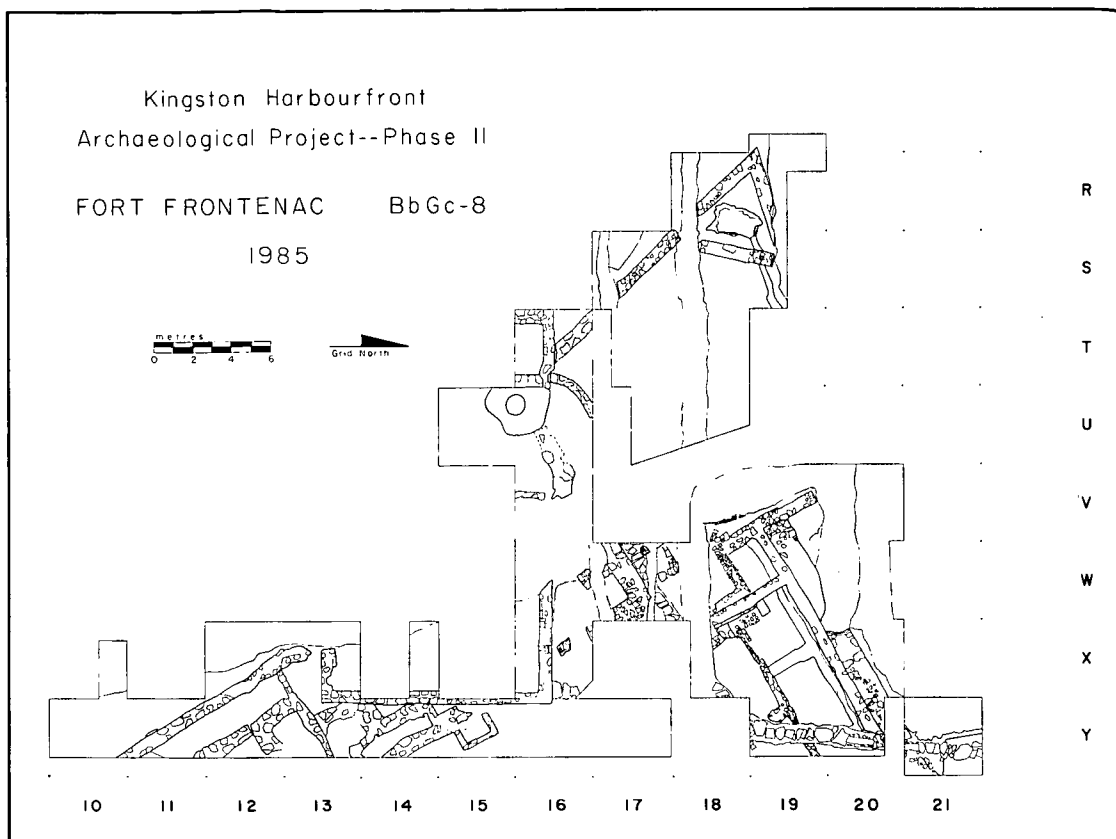


Figure 2. Composite site plan of Fort Frontenac, detailing structural elements exposed within the area of the northwest bastion, 1982-1985.

206-207; Preston 1972: 54). Frontenac himself claimed to have the interests of the colony in mind (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 108-114), while those opposed to his policies suggested that he was seeking personal gain by illegally participating in the fur trade (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 131-132). Whatever his motives, one of the first actions was the establishment of Fort Frontenac on the eastern end of Lake Ontario.

In the summer of 1673, Frontenac undertook his first of many voyages into the western frontier of the French colony (Pritchard 1973). The stated purpose of his voyage was to provide a show of strength to the Iroquois, who posed a threat to France's role in the lucrative fur trade.

On the advice of La Salle, his trusted counsel, Frontenac met with representatives

of the Iroquois Nations at the mouth of the Cataraqui River. While Frontenac sought to overpower the Iroquois with words and gifts, his men were busily involved in the construction of a fortified post at Cataraqui. The original fortification consisted of a log palisade within which were constructed two 46-ft-long buildings located on opposite sides of the enclosure and a 20-ft-long building. The smallest of the structures was described as a storehouse for provisions and ammunition. Supplies sufficient to sustain 30 men for one year were sent up river from Montreal to the fort. Among the supplies were cows, pigs, and poultry, which were kept as a source of fresh meat for the garrison. To the west and south of the fort, an additional 20 arpents (6.84 ha) of land was cleared to provide land suitable for cultivation (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 113).

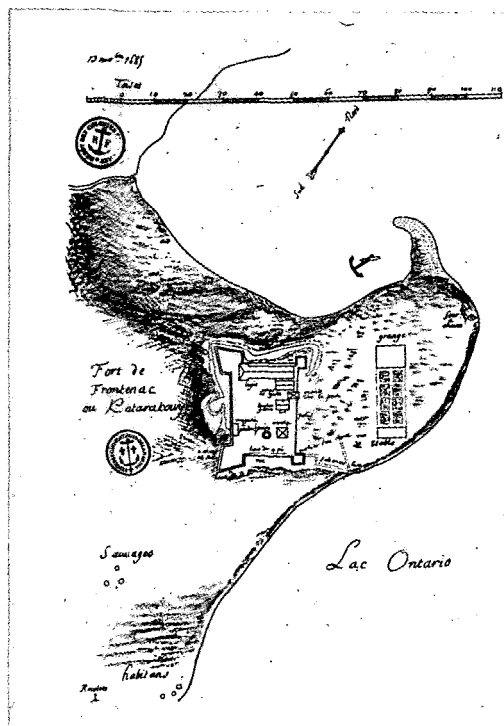


Figure 3. "Fort de Frontenac ou Katarakouy," 1685. Archives Nationales, section Outre-Mer, Depot des fortifications des colonies, Amerique septentrionale. 552c. Paris. Copy held by the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. National Map Collection No. 4755.

Although little information has survived with regard to the nature of the original fortification, it should be safe to assume that structurally it was not a substantial complex. Completion of the complex in less than one week, and the fact that it was rebuilt two years later, suggests that its structures were temporary in nature and built primarily to assert French presence on Lake Ontario.

No structural evidence has yet been recovered that can be related to this initial fortification constructed by Frontenac in July 1673. Considering the construction techniques, it is possible that all structural evidence of this period has been destroyed by subsequent development.

In 1675 La Salle was granted the fort and adjacent lands as his *seigneurie* (feudal landholding) (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 119-120). La Salle immediately took up his post and began to initiate programs that would have long-term effects not only upon Fort Frontenac, but also on the exploration and development of much of North America.

One of La Salle's first undertakings was to replace the palisade that had been built hastily by Frontenac with a more substantial and functional construction. La Salle's fortification, according to a ca. 1679 description, consisted of a rampart with four bastions that had been faced with masonry revetments (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 128).

A more detailed description of the fort has come down to us from a letter written in 1682 that reports the fort to have been square in shape with four bastions, each of which was 15 *toises* (the modern equivalent is 97.5 ft) from curtain wall to curtain wall (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 128). A portion of the fortification was constructed of limestone, with the remaining sides of the fort enclosed by a palisade.

The incomplete and inconsistent nature of several written accounts describing the early structural development of Fort Frontenac tend to be rather confusing and misleading. A 1685 plan of the fortifications and its environs, however, helps to clarify the situation (FIG. 3).

The fort, as depicted on the 1685 plan, was a combination of log palisade and masonry construction. The western curtain wall and the two associated bastions were constructed of limestone to a height of 12 ft. The other three curtain walls were constructed of log palisade, although the plan indicated that a four-ft-high foundation wall existed for the southern curtain wall and the southeast bastion. The existing bastions associated with the palisade wall are depicted as having been of masonry. A notation on the plan states that these two bastions were constructed with a mortar made without lime. This would correspond to the earliest description of La Salle's fortification. Within

the fort were six structures including a barracks, a guardhouse, a powder magazine, a mill, a bakery, and a sentry-box at the gate. Also found within the fort was a well, which had been mentioned in earlier descriptions. On the point east of the fort were a lime kiln, a barn, a cow shed, and a garden area. South of the fort, along the lake shore, was an Indian village and, just beyond that, a cluster of cottages for inhabitants and a Recollet mission or chapel. The depiction of an anchor in the area of Cataraqui Bay indicates the location of the French harbor.

The earliest structural remains identified to date through archaeological excavations belong to the 1675 fortifications constructed by La Salle. A trench (FIG. 2, Units 19W, 19X, 20X, and 20Y) containing the fragmentary remains of ten wooden pales bore evidence of the north wall of La Salle's wooden palisade. Because of the shallow depth of soil cover, the trench had been excavated some 0.20-0.30 m into the surface strata of bedrock. The west end of the trench butted up against a masonry wall that has been tentatively identified as part of the small square stone bastion built by La Salle (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 128). This section of the 1675 bastion was subsequently incorporated into the larger bastion constructed ca. 1680. Immediately south of the palisade wall were the limestone foundation walls of the *logis* or dwelling (FIG. 3). Two different construction techniques were indicated in the masonry remains of the *logis*. The foundation for the western end of the structure (Unit 18W) was laid directly on bedrock using irregular slabs of stone bonded with a lime mortar. The long, narrow section of the structure (Units 18X, 19X, and 19Y) was laid on a less stable footing. Here the foundation consisted of small slabs of limestone laid vertically, without mortar, in the clay subsoil. It has not as yet been determined what implications the two styles of foundations may have had for the nature of the superstructure which rested upon them.

A desire to further strengthen France's position on Lake Ontario led to the complete rebuilding of the fortifications, section by

section, between ca. 1680 and 1688. The wooden palisade was replaced with masonry walls of locally-quarried limestone, bonded with a lime mortar. The first sections of the fortification to be rebuilt were those facing inland, away from the lake: the west curtain wall and the southwest and northwest bastions. Excavation has exposed those sections of the west curtain wall (FIG. 2, Units 11Y, 12X, 12Y, and 13X) and the northwest bastion (Units 16T, 17S, 18R, and 19R) which were situated to the west of Ontario Street. The foundations, represented by the bottom four to 10 courses (0.45-0.90 m) of masonry, were an average of 0.70 m in width and laid directly on bedrock. Immediately adjacent to the interior face of the walls were natural deposits of undisturbed subsoil. On the exterior, the subsoil had been removed during construction of the wall. The builder's trench may have been backfilled following construction, but was eventually incorporated into a defensive trench that extended around the northern and western sides of the fort (FIG. 3). Although significant sections of the fortifications have been destroyed through the recent placement of utility lines, the form and size of the bastion and adjacent curtain wall can still be accurately interpreted.

When viewed in chronological sequence, and allowing for a certain degree of embellishment, it is possible to develop a clearer perspective on the structural evolution of Fort Frontenac based on pertinent historical documentation. While not specifically stated in the early documents, the curtain walls of La Salle's original fortification appear to have consisted of a log palisade. It was only after completion of the palisade fort in 1677 that construction of the more substantial masonry curtain wall and bastions was undertaken (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 128). Subsequent descriptions of the fort seemed to stress either the log palisade or the masonry wall, failing to indicate the ongoing transformation of the fort from wood to stone.

In 1686, Governor Denonville ordered the log palisade that formed the north wall of

the fort to be replaced with a masonry wall (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 159). The close association of the palisade wall with the main barracks structure inside the fort posed a threat to the security of the complex should a fire be set against the palisade. Remains of this wall (FIG. 2, Units 19W, 19X, 19Y, and 20Y) were located immediately north of the palisade trench discussed previously. Despite being built approximately six years after the west curtain wall and north-west bastion, the north curtain was very similar in dimensions and masonry style. Stratigraphic evidence from the area of the masonry and log curtain walls suggests that the palisade was left standing at least throughout the initial stages of masonry construction.

In a communiqué dated August 25, 1687, Denonville indicated that the following summer the simple masonry walls surrounding the post at Cataraqui would be completed (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 164). Thus by the summer of 1688, the fortification had taken on the overall configuration which was to remain unaltered throughout the French period.

Fort Frontenac was the first in a series of outposts erected during the expansion of French military and trading activities on the frontier in the closing decades of the 17th century. This expansion brought the French into direct conflict with various native groups. No group was more openly hostile to the spread of French activities than were the Iroquois. In 1689, the Iroquois mounted raids against the settlements along the Saint Lawrence River, inflicting such heavy casualties that the western frontier was all but abandoned. The garrison at Fort Frontenac was recalled that year, and orders were given that the fort should be destroyed to prevent its use by either the Iroquois or the English (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 176-179).

Frontenac, who had been reappointed as Governor of New France, attempted to have the orders for Fort Frontenac's destruction reversed, but the force sent by him to Cataraqui was too late to prevent the execution of

the original orders (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 182). A scouting party sent to the fort in the spring of 1690, however, found that the destruction had not been as complete as was originally reported (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 184). The timber buildings within the fortifications had been burned to the ground, but only five minor breaches had been made in the walls. Archaeological evidence of the conflagration, a deposit of ash and charcoal, was exposed within the foundations of the 1675 *logis* (FIG. 2, Unit 19Y). Unfortunately, construction of a limestone sewer in the early 19th century destroyed much of the deposit.

In July 1695, a force of 700 men was dispatched to Fort Frontenac to reconstruct and reoccupy the site (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 189). The mixed force of soldiers, habitants, and Indians involved themselves with the cutting of timber suitable for the reconstruction of barracks and other structures and the repair of the walls. Time did not permit the production of lime, so the masonry walls were repaired with old mortar which was crushed for reuse and mixed with clay (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 193-194).

The peace between the French and the Iroquois was short lived, for as soon as the Iroquois were able to stockpile supplies they once again initiated their attacks against the French colony. In retaliation, a force of some 3,000 men was sent in 1696 against the Onondaga living on the south shore of Lake Ontario (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 195-196). The force rested at Fort Frontenac for a short period, where they were put to work cutting and carrying firewood and other materials needed for the ongoing repair and reconstruction of the fortifications. During the military campaign, masons and carpenters left at the fort by Frontenac were able to erect a structure 12 ft high adjacent to the north curtain wall. Although the account is not clear, the archaeological evidence indicates that the building was constructed of masonry and laid out in such a way as to utilize the curtain wall as its fourth wall (FIG. 2, Units

18W and 19W). Although built in the same location as the earlier logis, it did not make use of its foundations. Structural evidence of the building included a fireplace base and chimney pad incorporated into the western wall and a small section of an interior partition wall. The building, in use until approximately 1816, housed a multitude of activity areas for both the French and the British, including a chapel, officers' quarters, a bakehouse, and a magazine for provisions.

The Imperial Frontier (1700-1750)

In response to mounting political and military pressures in Europe associated with the issue of the Spanish succession, the French King was forced to significantly alter his intentions for the development of the western frontier. In order to prepare for renewed hostilities with England, France sought to strengthen its hold in North America by establishing a series of military posts along the Mississippi River from the Gulf Coast to the Great Lakes (Eccles 1969: 130). The *coureurs de bois* (illegal traders) who had formerly been considered bandits and rogues were now seen to be the means by which the French could quickly and inexpensively extend their presence and control over the Louisiana territory.

As a result of the Ministry's edicts of 1696, trade at Fort Frontenac had been strictly prohibited (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 198). By 1701, however, the King recognized the value of Fort Frontenac as a trading post whose function it could be to draw the Iroquois away from the English, and align them with the French (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 203). While trade was once again legalized at Fort Frontenac, the fort failed to regain the position of prominence that it had occupied during the days of La Salle:

With the trading post maintained at Michilimackinac and the building of forts at Detroit, Niagara, and Toronto, with the establishment of settlement on the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Mississippi rivers, and with the

gradual development of Louisiana, the stone bastions of Cataraqui now lodged only a small garrison to guard a magazine on the supply route to the upper country (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 66).

In conjunction with its primary function as a supply base or *entrepôt*, Fort Frontenac continued to share in the local trade along the shores of Lake Ontario.

The primary sources of data on the structural development of the fort from this period are plans. Two plans are dated to this period, the 1726 "Plan de Fort" (FIG. 5), and the 1738 "Plan du Fort Frontenac" (FIG. 6). A third undated plan, "Plan de Fort Frontenac ou Cataracouy," may date to ca. 1720 (FIG. 4). The basic layout of the fortifications and the interior structures is common to the three plans. Only minor variations and changes in the functions of various structures are indicated. The largest building within the fort was located adjacent to the north curtain wall. It contained quarters for the commandant, officers, priest, and trader, and a chapel. The 1726 and 1738 plans indicate two structures built against the west curtain wall, one of which is labeled as the trader's store house.

The 1726 and 1738 plans provide a more detailed depiction of the fortifications than the ca. 1720 plan. The plans of later date both show a *guerite*, or sentry-box, at the salient angle of each bastion. The 1726 plan indicated the presence of a platform or scaffold running along the inside of the south wall and the southern walls of the two associated bastions. The platform would have been necessary to provide access to the loopholes in the walls. The 1738 plan portrays the extension of the scaffolding around the entire fort, except for areas where structures had been built immediately against the curtain walls.

Determining structural development from the three plans is complicated somewhat by the fact that one of the plans is undated. Certain changes, however, are observable and significant. The gradual development of the defensive system can be seen particularly in the extension of the scaffold or

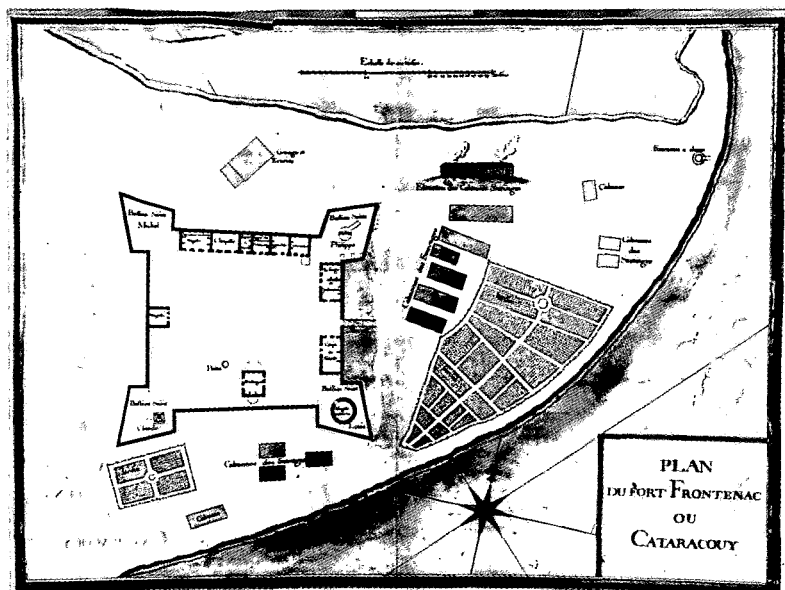


Figure 4. "Plan de Fort Frontenac ou Cataracouy," 1720. Edward E. Ayre Collection in the Newbury Library, Chicago, IL. Copy held by the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. National Map Collection No. C15989.

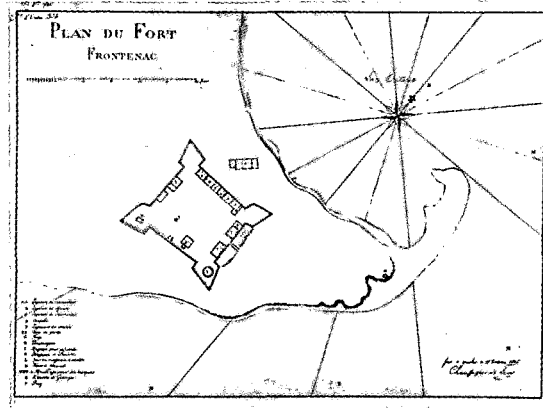


Figure 5. "Plan du Fort Frontenac," 1726. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. National Map Collection No. 4987.

platform around the interior of the walls. Likewise, the addition of structures and the changing use-patterns indicate adaptations of the limited space within the fort to varying needs.

While the plans provide the bulk of the data on the structural development of the fort, written documents provide further detail on the condition of the fortifications and on some of the changes and alterations that were made. According to two letters written in 1742 by the Governor and *L'Intendant* (Quartermaster) of New France (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 227), the fort was in

need of repairs to the curtain walls. Minor repairs were undertaken that year, but the carpenter at the post was primarily involved with finishing the gun platforms being constructed within the bastion. Two years later, deLery visited the fort and found the fortifications to be in good repair (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 231). During his stay at Fort Frontenac, deLery directed the opening of additional loopholes in the walls and the construction of an open palisade outside the fort to prevent direct access to the base of the walls.

Structural development along the west curtain wall occurred at a somewhat later date than it did along the north curtain wall. The ca. 1720 plan (FIG. 4) depicts a squarish *magasin* or storehouse adjacent to the west curtain wall. By 1726 (FIG. 5), this structure had been expanded by the addition of a rectangular appendage to the south. Excavations adjacent to the west curtain wall exposed the southeast corner of the original storehouse and much of the rectangular addition (FIG. 2, Units 13X, 13Y, and 14Y). The foundation walls of both the original structure and the addition were dry-laid, formed from irregular slabs of local limestone. The storehouse and its appendage, which may have been little more than a lean-to, were built directly against the west curtain, in-

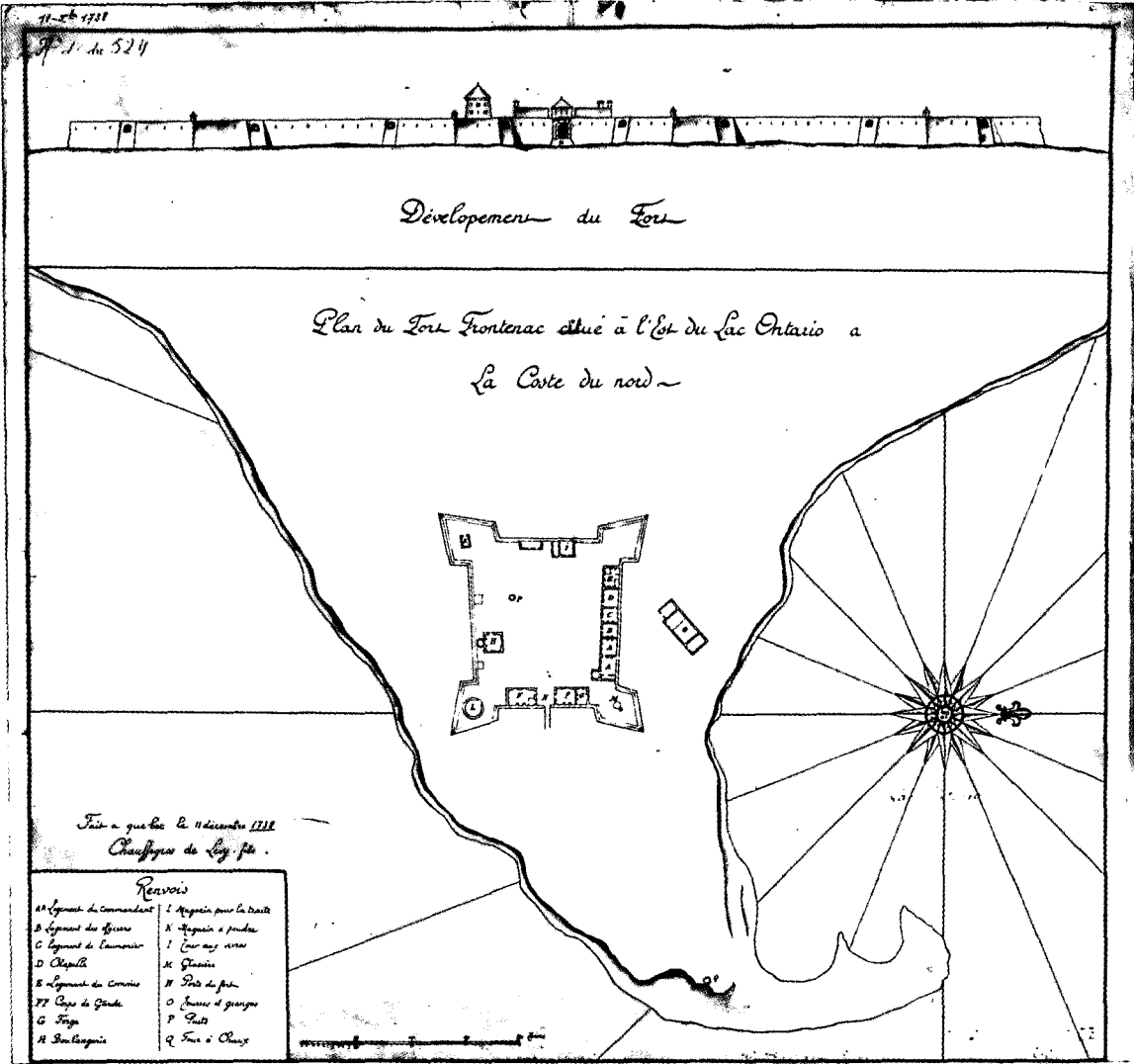


Figure 6. "Plan du Fort Frontenac situé à l'Est du Lac Ontario à la Costs du Nord," 1738. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. National Map Collection No. C16225.

corporating it as one of the foundation walls. Within the storehouse, the subsoil had been removed to the surface of bedrock, to provide a storage area below floor level. Unfortunately, development during the 19th century brought about the destruction of much of the trader's storehouse. Careful excavation within the area of sub-floor storage provided only a meager collection of trade beads and forged nails.

During the 1730s and early 1740s a major surge in trading activities occurred on the frontier. Competition between the French

and the British was stiff in the region of the lower lakes. Prices were kept artificially low by the French in order to maintain good relations with their Indian allies (Eccles 1983: 355). The War of the Austrian succession (1744-1748) caused a dramatic shortage in trade goods on the frontier and brought about the end of what had been a period of prosperity. Many of the trade licenses, including that held by the French Company of the Indies for Fort Frontenac, were turned back to the Crown as being unprofitable (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 231). Fol-

lowing the cessation of hostilities, trade goods were abundant once more, and by 1749 a new lessee was found to take over the commercial interests at Fort Frontenac (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 246).

The Military Frontier (1748-1760)

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed in 1748, brought a temporary peace to Europe and North America. France was experiencing increased pressure on the frontier from Anglo-American traders who gained control over the fur trade in the Ohio Valley (Eccles 1969: 157). Many of the Anglo-American traders were also involved in land speculation, anticipating the opening of the Ohio River Valley to permanent settlement. The French were forced to undertake strong military action in order to maintain their claim to the area.

The rising conflict in the Ohio River Valley brought about an increased level of military activity on the Lower Great Lakes, as troops and supplies passed through the region:

Once again Fort Frontenac was to play a role of paramount importance as a magazine and shipyard, as an arsenal for all the French posts guarding the ill-defined frontiers of the west, and as naval and military base for operations on the Upper St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 71).

In preparation for the spread of hostilities beyond the Ohio, a detachment of 70 soldiers was sent to Fort Frontenac in the spring of 1753, as escort for a flotilla of 80 whaleboats loaded with munitions and supplies. Orders were also given for the construction at the fort of three additional barks to be used in the transportation of goods on the lake and in defense of the posts (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 71).

The growing need for additional barrack space resulted in the construction of a barracks building along the west curtain wall, ca. 1754. While the building was not clearly depicted on French plans, a 1758 sketch of the fort titled "Vue de Frontenac ou Kataracoui" does indicate the existence of a

sizable structure running along the interior of the west curtain wall (FIG. 7). Construction of the barracks necessitated the demolition of the trader's storehouse, further indicating a shift in the nature of the fort's role from being primarily an entrepôt to fulfilling a stronger military function. Additional buildings were constructed outside the fort proper, as increased military activity on the lakes made it necessary to expand the fort's storage capacity. The 1758 British plan (FIG. 8) indicates the presence of the barracks, but the overall orientation of the plan is so skewed that it is not a reliable source for details.

Excavations in the area adjacent to the west curtain wall revealed the northern end (FIG. 2, Unit 17W) and central portions of the barracks building (Units 12Y, 13Y, 14Y, 15Y, and 16X). Exposure of the limestone foundations indicates that the barracks building was approximately 5.2 m wide and situated approximately 1.5 m from the curtain wall. The length of the building could not be determined. The masonry base of a fireplace was exposed within the barracks (Units 13Y and 14Y), approximately 16 m south of the northern end of the structure. A small area of flagstones found within the northeast corner of the structure (Unit 17W) may indicate the original level and nature of the flooring.

The building survived the 25-year period of abandonment that followed the 1758 defeat of the French garrison. In 1783 the fort and the barracks were reoccupied by the British. A plan of the fort drawn by the British in 1784 (Preston 1959: 89) depicts the French barracks and confirms the location of the centrally-located fireplace found during excavation.

The final test of Fort Frontenac's strength came in late August of 1758. Colonel Bradstreet led a force of some 3,000 men in an attack on Fort Frontenac, capturing the fort after a siege that lasted less than three days (Kyte 1940). The British and Colonial troops took possession of Fort Frontenac and its 110 occupants on August 27 and immediately began to remove or destroy the vast quantity of goods stored within the fort

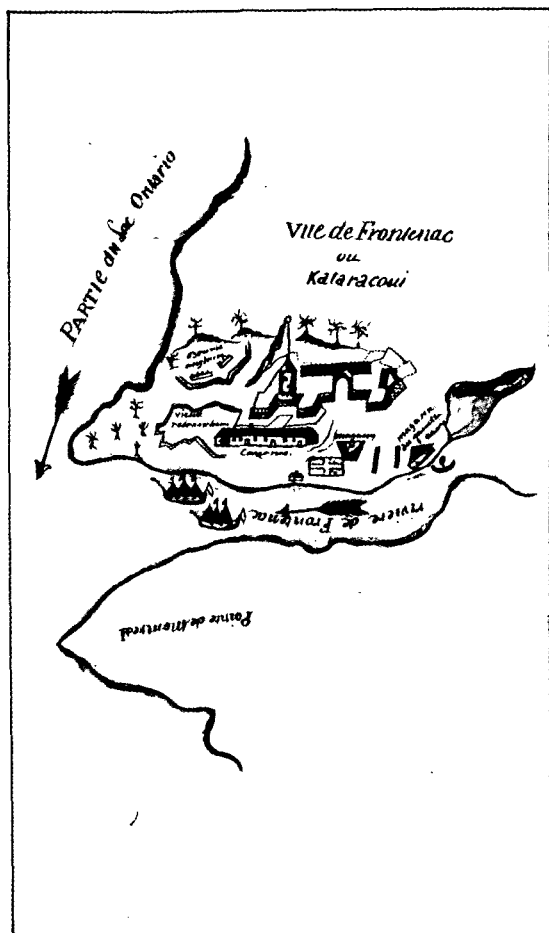


Figure 7. "Vue de Frontenac ou Kataracoui," 1758. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. National Map Collection No. 16333.

(Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 262-265). The fort itself was not occupied by the British, instead it was ransacked and abandoned (Preston and Lamontagne 1958: 262). The various accounts of the capture fail to add significant detail to our knowledge of the fort and its structures already drawn from the French plans and documents, the British being more interested in the goods and supplies captured.

Trading activities on the frontier were essentially brought to an end in the summer of 1758 with the fall of Fort Frontenac. It was not the loss of the fortification that heralded the end of the western frontier, rather, it was the double blow of lost trade

goods and supplies destined for the western posts and a severing of the crucial link with the Saint Lawrence.

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper has been to review the archaeological evidence of Fort Frontenac's development during approximately 85 years of French occupation. Analysis of these data is in its preliminary stages. At present the focus is on the interpretation and integration of the structural remains and artifacts recovered through excavation.

A number of significant documents dealing with Fort Frontenac have been published by Preston and Lamontagne. This has proven to be an invaluable source of historical data on the structural, economic, and political development of the fort. Additional research is currently underway that will greatly expand the documentary sources available on Fort Frontenac.

The changing nature of the frontier had a direct impact upon the development and function of the post at Cataracoui. It is anticipated that distinctions in functional groupings, as well as in temporal distribution, will be recognizable within the assemblage and provide a clearer indication of functional alterations made to the fort.

Furthermore, it is anticipated that our investigations will provide greater insight into the overall role played by Fort Frontenac in the expansion and exploitation of New France's western frontier. In order to better evaluate this impact, an objective comparison will be made between the military and commercial functions of the post with other contemporary sites.

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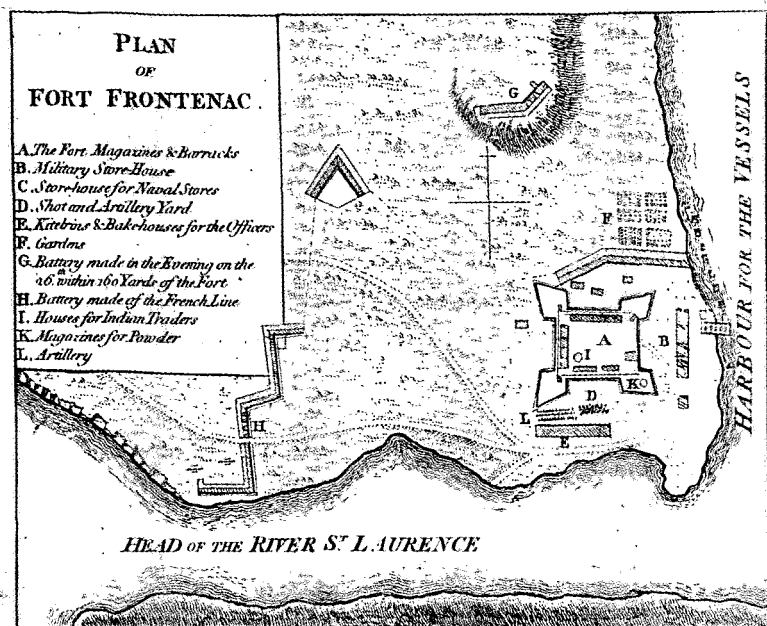


Figure 8. "Plan of Fort Frontenac," 1758. Ontario Department of Public Records and Archives, Toronto, Canada.

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