

Fort Edward Street
Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment
HRP A2022NS013



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In late 2021, the West Hants Regional Municipality retained Northeast Archaeological Research Inc. to conduct a Phase 1 Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment of two contiguous properties at 36 and 65 Fort Edward Street, Windsor, for the purpose of evaluating their archaeological potential.

Our study examined recorded archaeological sites in the Maritime Archaeological Resource Inventory (MARI), published histories, aerial photography, and archival records (cartographic and documentary) from local, national, and international repositories. A pedestrian survey was conducted on 12 February 2022 to examine surface conditions and collect survey points to assist in georeferencing historical maps.

Our assessment concludes that these properties very likely contain archaeological resources associated with Mi'kmaw, Acadian, and British activities dating from the early colonial period and possibly earlier. This meeting point of major rivers and terminus of major portage routes linking the Fundy system to the Atlantic coast was long inhabited by the Mi'kmaq and their ancestors. By the mid-18th century, the Mi'kmaq regularly frequented a trading post (or truckhouse) adjacent to the properties in question. It was one of only six posts in the region that functioned as part of the 1760-61 Treaties of Peace and Friendship between the Mi'kmaq and the British Crown.

In 1722, the Acadians built a parish church just uphill from the two properties. The British demolished it to make way for Fort Edward in 1750. Between 1755 and 1763, Fort Edward functioned as a prison for hundreds of Acadians caught up in the deportations.

Significant fort infrastructure was located outside the ramparts and 18th century maps indicate that some of these structures stood in the properties in question. The two properties are part of the viewplanes Parks Canada identifies as essential to the commemorative integrity of Fort Edward National Historic Site. From 1765 and up to recent times, the two properties were the site of the Windsor Agricultural Fair, Canada's oldest, which was designated a national historic event by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1935.

Construction on these properties in the 20th century has likely impacted the integrity of some archaeological resources, but material cultural evidence is almost certainly still present, some in secondary contexts.

Based on these findings, it is recommended that any future construction activities on these properties be subject to a thorough Phase 2 Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment, including engagement with the Mi'kmaw and Acadian communities. Viewplanes essential to Fort Edward's commemorative integrity should be respected. The phase 2 archaeological assessment would benefit from archaeological geophysical prospection, subsurface testing, and monitoring of mechanical excavations.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In late 2021, the West Hants Regional Municipality retained Northeast Archaeological Research Inc. to conduct a Phase 1 Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment of two contiguous properties, 36 and 65 Fort Edward Street, in Windsor (**Figure 1**). This assessment finds that the properties very likely contain significant archaeological resources relating to Mi'kmaw, Acadian, and Anglo-American communities and traditions. This report describes investigations conducted under Category C Heritage Research Permit A2022NS013 and is formatted according to reporting procedures prescribed by the Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture, Tourism, and Heritage.¹



Figure 1: Study area location map. The two properties in question are enclosed by the dashed yellow lines. SOURCE: Google Earth, February 2016.

¹ Reporting Procedures, Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment (Category C): <https://cch.novascotia.ca/sites/default/files/inline/documents/archaeologicalresourceimpactassessmentnc.pdf>

2.0 DEVELOPMENT AREA

Biophysically, the development area is part of the Carboniferous Lowlands Theme Region (511 Windsor Lowlands) (Davis and Browne 1996, 2:10). Surficial geology maps place Fort Edward Hill in a silty till plain (ground moraine) whose topography is characterized as “[f]lat to rolling, [with] few surface boulders,” and in which the till is “thick enough to mask bedrock undulations.” These materials, furthermore, “generally provide the best agricultural land in the province, moderate drainage and stoniness; [and] moderate to good buffering capacity for acid rain because of transported calcareous bedrock components” (Stea, Conley, and Brown 1992). As we will see, this soil’s ability to support agriculture contributes directly to a major aspect of the study area’s heritage significance. The underlying bedrock consists of Windsor Series rock (limestone, gypsum, shale, and sandstone) associated with the Mississippian, or early Carboniferous, period (Cann, Hilchey, and Smith 1954, 8–9).

2.1 Indigenous presence

The Windsor area is situated in the traditional Mi’kmaw district of *Sipekne’katik* (Sable and Francis 2012, 21). Historic period Mi’kmaw inhabitants referred to the Avon River estuary as *Pesikik* (“to flow splitwise”), referencing the confluence of the Avon and St. Croix rivers, each of which connected to major portage routes linking the Minas Basin and greater Fundy system to the Atlantic Coast.²

There is no direct archaeological evidence of ancient human activity in Fort Edward’s immediate neighbourhood recorded in the Maritime Archaeological Resource Inventory (MARI), but this almost certainly reflects the incomplete coverage and/or lack of archaeological surveys rather than the extent of the actual archaeological resource.³ In other words, the absence of evidence in this case is certainly not evidence of absence.

A major Indigenous village dating mainly to the Maritime Woodland Period has been identified at St. Croix (BfDa-01) (Deal 2016, 91). This well-studied site has in fact revealed artifacts spanning 3000 years, encompassing the Late Archaic, Maritime Woodland, Proto-historic, and early historic periods, making it one of the most long-lived Indigenous habitation sites in the region. It is also a rare example of a site possessing well-dated contexts and abundant palaeobotanical evidence, allowing important inferences to be drawn about the local ecology and foodways (Deal 2016, 121–25; Milner 2014).

² Mi’kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas, <https://placenames.mapdev.ca/>

³ As we will see below, there is antiquarian testimony of at least one Mi’kmaw cemetery near Fort Edward Hill, but the sites in question have not been registered in the MARI.

Less well-preserved Indigenous sites and isolated finds have been recorded at the head of tide on the Avon River, at BfDb-09 and BfDb-22 respectively, the latter suggesting an Archaic presence. Further Archaic evidence has been traced on the upper reaches of the West Branch Avon River (BfDb-03) and at the source of the Avon at Falls Lake and Mockingbird Lake, where a complex of Indigenous sites spanning the Archaic and Maritime Woodland period is recorded (e.g. BfDb-12-18, 20-21).

Although Parks Canada's archaeological excavations at Fort Edward have not revealed material cultural evidence of Mi'kmaw sites⁴ (e.g. Ferguson 1987), only a small area has been excavated to date and it is focused mainly on the ground enclosed by the 1750 British fort. At a minimum, the MARI evidence demonstrates that the upper reaches of the rivers converging at Windsor sustained settlement by the Mi'kmaq and their ancestors for millennia. Passing this way countless times, their habitual movements through the landscape in part explain the British government's desire to militarize Pesikik in the mid-18th century. We will return below to the subject of historic period Mi'kmaw activity at Fort Edward Hill and its vicinity.

2.2 French presence

In the 1680s, French farming families from Port-Royal began moving to the Minas Basin area (Les Mines), their activities at Pesikik beginning with Étienne Rivet and Marie Comeau, who settled across the Avon River near Mount Denson (Fowler 2001; 2006b). Within a decade or so, immigrants were dyking the tidal marshes along each of the major rivers in this district (Duncanson 1983; Clark 1968; R.-G. LeBlanc 2005). The Acadians, in keeping with their generally positive relations with the Mi'kmaq, retained the Mi'kmaw place name, which appears in colonial-era documents in French and English as Pigiguit, Pisiquid, and Pisiquit. Colonial records from the French regime demonstrate that the Mi'kmaw presence at Pesikik persisted after the arrival of the Acadians. The 1687-88 census of Gargas, for example, which was almost certainly incomplete, counts 50 Mi'kmaq among the 114 French inhabitants of Les Mines (Morse 1935, 145-49). The symbology of a 1737 map suggests wigwams at Pesikik (**Figure 2**), while a 1748 account of the country notes that 300-400 Mi'kmaq make the journey from the Atlantic coast to see the French priest at Pesikik.⁵ By this time, there were two Acadian parish churches in the district: Sainte-Famille at Falmouth, established in 1698, and Notre-Dame-de-L'Assomption at Fort Edward Hill, established in 1722 (Bujold 2004, 68-71).

⁴ Robert Ferguson, Parks Canada Archaeologist (retired), personal communication 24 January, 2022.

⁵ Anon. 1748. "Mémoire sur l'Acadie," Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM), COL C11D 10, p.3.



Figure 2: Detail of a 1737 map of Acadie appearing to show wigwams in the Pesiktk area. The portage route connecting Pesiktk to Kjiptuk (the great harbour), the future site of Halifax, is labelled as a *chemin*. It was an Acadian drove road at this time. At lower right. SOURCE: Anon. 1737. "Carte de la coste du N[ord] et du S[ud] de l'Arcadie et de l'île St Jean," Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), département Cartes et plans, GE SH 18 PF 132 DIV 2 P 13/1. A cruder and perhaps slightly older version of this map exists, and it shows similar symbology: Anon. 1737. "Carte des côtes de l'Acadie, Iles Royale, St Jean..." BNF, département Cartes et plans, GE SH 18 PF 132 DIV 2 P 13.

An ecclesiastical summary census of the French population of Pesiktk counts 150 families in 1731.⁶ The population reportedly exceeded 1600 in 1737 but appears to have dropped sharply after the founding of Halifax in 1749, when perhaps as much as half of the Acadian population departed for new settlements in French controlled territory (R.-G. LeBlanc 2005, 170–71; Johnston 2004, 67). The inhabitants no doubt found the British military presence challenging, particularly after 1750, when Charles Lawrence established Fort Edward on the site of the parish church of Notre-Dame-de-L'Assomption (Fowler and Ferguson 2010). The British deported 981 Acadians from Pesiktk in 1755, using Fort Edward as a base of operations and a prison (R.-G. LeBlanc 2005, 171).

⁶ Anon. 1731. "État de l'Acadie pour le gouvernement ecclésiastique," ANOM, COL C11A 107, pp. 235-236.

There is no evidence of colonial-era French domestic activity on Fort Edward Hill. Pesikik is relatively well mapped in the 18th century, and abundant cartographic and documentary evidence places the village sites elsewhere (Fowler 2001). Some of these sites have been explored archaeologically (Deal 2001; Fowler 2005; 2006b; 2006a; 2013; Preston 1991). **Figure 3** summarizes most of the known locations of Acadian hamlets in the area. Although imperfect⁷, the evidence is sufficiently complete to probably discount Fort Edward Hill as a site of intensive domestic activity.⁸ As noted above, however, the hill was the site of the parish church of Notre-Dame-de-L'Assomption.

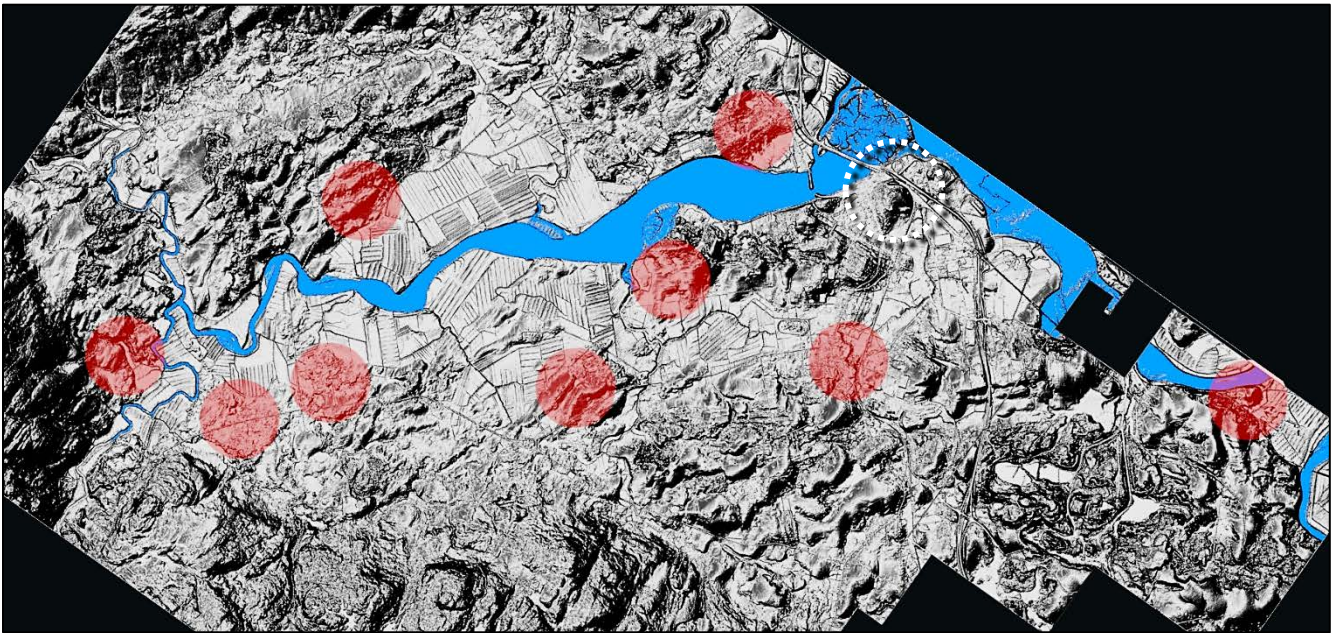


Figure 3: Map of most of the known pre-Deportation Acadian hamlet sites near Fort Edward as derived from historical and archaeological evidence and plotted on 2018 LiDAR hillshade. Fort Edward is highlighted by a dashed white circle at upper right. SOURCE: Province of Nova Scotia.

While the establishment of a British garrison at Fort Edward in 1750 certainly upset the status quo, it also brought opportunities. The troops required provisions and firewood, and colonial records contain many references to Acadians supplying these needs before 1755. Edward Cornwallis hired Acadian labourers to cut a road from Halifax to Pesikik in late 1749 (Halifax's Windsor Street is its terminus) (Akins 1895, 19; MacKenzie 2002, 175), and by approximately 1752 Joshua Mauger, a Jersey-born merchant, shipowner, and eventual politician, had established a

⁷ This is the subject of an upcoming research publication (Fowler in prep.)

⁸ However, it should be noted that most of the mapping allowing us to plot pre-Deportation Acadian villages post-dates the establishment of Fort Edward in 1750, which may have erased some features of the Acadian landscape.

trading post – or truckhouse⁹ – on the slope next to Fort Edward (Chard 1979) (**Figure 4**). Mauger traded in slaves and in Caribbean sugar and was already the official victualler to the Royal Navy in Nova Scotia by this time; the appearance of his truckhouse at Fort Edward coincides with the establishment of his rum distillery in the Halifax suburbs (Chard 1979). The soldiers' thirst for rum was unquenchable, and Mauger was nothing if not enterprising.



Figure 4: British officer John Hamilton painted this view of Fort Edward from the west in 1753. The truckhouse complex is shown as a palisaded enclosure at left (circled). SOURCE: "View of Fort Edward on the Piziquid River, Nova Scotia." Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Acc. No. 1996-361-3.

The truckhouse also catered to Acadian and Mi'kmaw clients and was administered by Isaac Deschamps, an English immigrant thought to be of Swiss heritage, after about 1754. When Mauger departed Nova Scotia for England in 1760, Governor Lawrence brought Deschamps into government employment (**Figure 5**). The Fort Edward truckhouse from this period played an official role as part of the Crown's treaty obligations to the Mi'kmaq (Wicken 2002, 198–200).¹⁰

⁹ Truck, from the French *troquer*, meaning to shop, barter, exchange, derives from the medieval Latin *trocare*. In 18th century British America, the term truckhouse denoted "a store-house for trading with Indians; also, any storage building." *Oxford English Dictionary*.

¹⁰ Treaty scholarship and jurisprudence treat this subject extensively, for the truckhouse provisions inform questions today surrounding Mi'kmaw access to markets, for example in the moderate livelihood fishery.

Some historical context is needed to understand this development and its heritage significance.

As White has shown in his study of the French Empire in the Great Lakes region, the French state lacked the power necessary to impose its will in North America. It therefore sought to achieve its political aims instead through a complex network of alliances with Indigenous peoples. These alliances followed the logics, metaphors, and customs of the country more than European norms. Political influence in the Indigenous context was partly a function of largesse. Governor de Beauharnois and Intendant Hocquart explained it in a 1730 letter to a home government that perennially griped about the expense: "You know, Monseigneur, that all the [Indigenous] nations of Canada regard the governor as their father, which in consequence, following their ideas, he ought at all times to give them what they need to feed themselves, clothe themselves, and to hunt" (White 1991, 180). A similar system developed in the Atlantic region, where in the early 18th century Louisbourg became the main source of diplomatic gifts and trade goods. Many historians with justification see Louisbourg's final capture by Anglo-American forces in 1758 as having consequently dealt a severe blow to the Mi'kmaw economy (Dickason 1971; MacFarlane 1938; Upton 1979, 57; Reid 2004, 678).

The Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1752, negotiated by Chief Jean-Baptiste Cope and Nova Scotia Governor Thomas Peregrine Hopson, was the first of its kind in our region with a truckhouse provision, and it is an early sign of a Mi'kmaw community's effort to establish economic stability independent of the imperial French cause. The British agreed by this treaty to build a truckhouse at Shubenacadie (Akins 1869, 673), but the rapid return of hostilities appears to have prevented its construction. Informal trade at Mauger's private truckhouse at Pesikik may have fulfilled this function intermittently until peace was formally reestablished in 1760.

The treaties of 1760-61 finally established a lasting peace between the Mi'kmaq and the British Crown. With the French Empire in North America essentially eliminated, Mi'kmaw leaders now saw regulated access to the British market as an

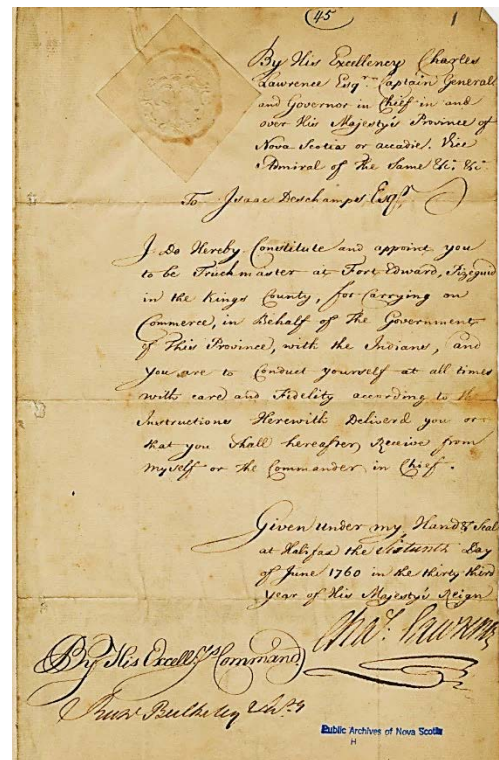


Figure 5: Commission appointing Isaac Deschamps truckmaster at Fort Edward, "for Carrying on Commerce, in Behalf of the Government of this Province, with the Indians." NSA, MG 1 vol. 258 no. 1.

essential part of their community's economic wellbeing; thus, it became a condition for peace. The Cope-Hopson truckhouse provision from the 1752 Treaty reappeared in an elaborated form as British officials committed to establishing a network of government-regulated truckhouses across the region. Six were set up in total, each overseen by a government-appointed truckmaster (Hutton 1983, 65).¹¹ ***The Fort Edward truckhouse and Isaac Deschamps's role there are consequently a significant – if generally forgotten – element of the Treaty relationship between the Mi'kmaq and the British Crown.***

Deschamps was an intelligent observer, and we are fortunate that many of his papers survive in the Nova Scotia Archives and the British Library. They have considerable ethnohistorical value and illuminate many aspects of early colonial life that are otherwise unattested.¹² He maintained a careful record of Acadian prisoners held at Fort Edward through the Seven Years' War, for example, who he appears to have assisted in provisioning.¹³ Underscoring the significance of his role as truckmaster in the treaty context, in 1763 he also left a valuable record of Mi'kmaq families whose "Summer Residence is in the neighbourhood on the River Piziquid and Gaspero." Their names are presented in **Table 1**.

¹¹ These included Henry Green at Fort Frederick on the Saint John River; Philip Knaught (Knaut) and A.D. Widerholt at Lunenburg; William Nevil Woseley at the Eastern Battery (Dartmouth); and Erasmus James Philips at Annapolis Royal. Another post was established at Chignecto (Lewis n.d.). In 1760, Moses Delesdernier, another Swiss immigrant, was also licensed as a truckmaster at Fort Edward (Cuthbertson 1983); Eaton states he held this post since 1757 (1915, 93).

¹² His comments on Acadian agriculture, which he observed first-hand, is a good example. "Copy of a paper written by Chief Justice Isaac Deschamps on the cultivation of the Land in Nova Scotia by the Acadian French Inhabitants – written about 1785." NSA, MG 15 vol. 2 no. 43.

¹³ There are several such lists. This example from 1762 numbers 320 individuals: "List of French prisoners at Fort Edward, Windsor, Nova Scotia with the number in each family and numbers victualled." NSA, MG 1, vol. 258 no. 20, pp. 110-113.

Table 1: Mi'kmaq in the Vicinity of Fort Edward, 1763

"Indian Tribe of Amquaret now hunting between Cornwallis and the River between the two places on the Annapolis Road and there Summer Residence is in the neighbourhood on the River Piziquid and Gaspero."

Captain	<i>Joseph Bernard</i>	1 boy, 1 girl
	<i>Pierre Bernard</i>	
	Barth ^y Amquaret	2 boys
	Barth ^y Amquaret	Sen ^r [?]
	Pierre Amquaret	
	Paul Amquaret	
	Philippe Amquaret	2 boys, 1 girl
	<i>Joseph Dugas</i>	
	<i>Francois Michel</i>	1 girl
	Simon Amquaret	
	Blaize Amquaret	
	Jean Argoumatine	1 boy, 2 girls
	Joseph Argoumatine	
	<i>Jos. Denis</i>	

"Tribe of Nocout now hunting on Kenecoot River in the Township of Newport, Summer residence there also."

Captain	Joseph Nocout	1 boy, 1 girl
	Bartholemew Nocout	2 boys, 3 girls
	Thomas Nocout	1 boy
	Paul Segoua/Segona	1 boy
	Paul Biskerone	1 boy, 2 girls
	Francois Segoua/Segona	
	Janvier Nocout	
	Francois Nocout	1 boy, 2 girls
	Claude Nocout	
	Charles Nocout	
	Rene Nocout	
	Jacques Nocout	
	Lewis Nocout	
	Chas Segona	
	Michel Thoma	
	Joseph Thoma	
	Philippe Nocout	
	<i>Louis Michel</i>	

SOURCE: Isaac Deschamps Papers (1750-1800), NSA MG 1 Vol. 258 No. 8, 20 December 1763, p. 20.

2.3 Anglo-American presence

The 1755 Deportation of the Acadians brought significant changes to Pesiktk. The British policy of population replacement introduced New England immigrants to the area (commonly called Planters in the language of the day), and Falmouth and Newport Townships were established in 1760 (Duncanson 1983; Gwyn 2010; Duncanson 1985; Longley 1961).

While the new townships were created primarily for immigrant families, much of the land on the south side of the Avon River was set aside for the British elite in Halifax (Loomer 1996, 59–61). This area became known as the Councillor's Grant (**Figure 6**), and it was by this process that several planners and perpetrators of the 1755 Deportation subsequently reaped the spoils. This has fed the notion – especially amplified in francophone historiography – that the Acadian removal was a naked land grab.¹⁴

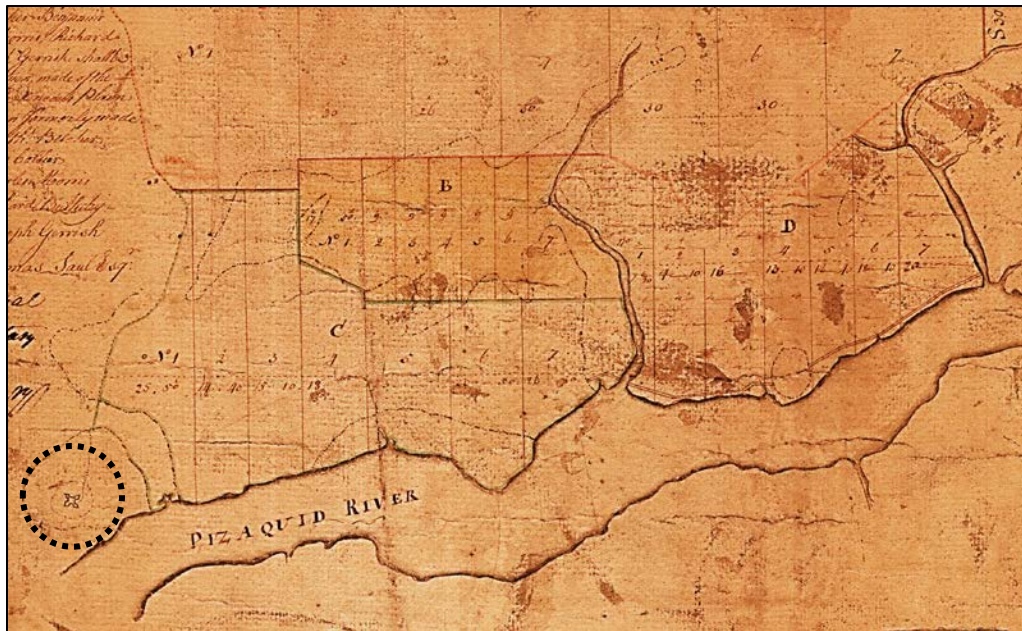


Figure 6: Detail of part of the Councillors' Grant of former Acadian lands at Pesiktk (north at bottom, Fort Edward circled at lower left). The proprietors named are Jonathan Belcher, John Collier, Charles Morris, Richard Bulkeley, Joseph Gerrish, and John Cunningham (for Thomas Saul). Collier and Belcher were on the Executive Council that decided to deport the Acadians in 1755, while the latter, in his role as Chief Justice, rendered an opinion verifying the policy's legality. Charles Morris, though not a councillor in 1755, strongly advocated the deportation policy and was one of its principal planners (Johnston and Kerr 2004, 49; Faragher 2005, 520). SOURCE: Anon. 19 August 1761. Untitled. Nova Scotia Crown Land Information Management Centre (CLIMC), Hants County Portfolio no. 16.

¹⁴ The appropriation of Acadian lands by government officials drew opprobrium even in the 18th century. Based on the testimony he received, the Reverend Dr. Andrew Brown condemned the councilmen-grantees for profiting off "the share they had taken in the expulsion of the French inhabitants" (Brown 1819, 96). This state of affairs was not at all unique to Pesiktk (Fowler 2012).

Nova Scotia's governor and council resolved to reorganize and incorporate this area as the Township of Windsor in late 1764, its ties to the metropolitan elite emphasized by its initial inclusion in the County of Halifax. A public market was declared to be held every Tuesday on "Fort Hill, where Fort Edward now stands," and public fairs were established on the third Tuesday of May and third Tuesday of October each year (Murdoch 1866, 2:444). The by now well-established truckhouse on Fort Edward Hill had clearly made this location a logical commercial hub for the area, and the annual fair – now the Windsor Exhibition – would continue to be held on the hill, *in the study area*, well into the 20th century.

Fort Edward remained a military post throughout this period, declining in importance during times of peace, and hastily refurbished in wartime. The fort was strengthened at the beginning of the American Revolution, for instance, and again during the War of 1812 (Tulloch n.d.). During the former conflict, it was garrisoned by a detachment of the 84th Regiment of Foot (Highlanders), under the command of Capt. Allan Macdonald, whose wife, Flora MacDonald (**Figure 7**), is well known for her role in spirited away Prince Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie) after the collapse of the Second Jacobite Rebellion in Scotland in 1746.¹⁵ Touring Windsor with her husband, the Lieutenant-Governor, shortly after the War of 1812 had been declared, Lady Sherbrooke found Fort Edward once again "in a dilapidated state..." (Haliburton 2011, 69). According to a report on the fort's condition that year, even the blockhouse – today the only surviving fort building – was in bad repair, and not the "smallest vestige" of the powder magazine, formerly located in the southeast bastion, could be discerned.¹⁶



Figure 7: Flora MacDonald (1722-1790), painted by Allan Ramsay in 1749, shortly after her release from the Tower of London for her role in the Second Jacobite Rebellion. Perhaps she was unrepentant, for the white rose in her hair is a Jacobite symbol. SOURCE: Ashmolean Museum, WA1960.76.

A report on ordnance land in 1856 revealed that only the blockhouse, officers' quarters, one soldiers' barracks, and a provision store remained.¹⁷ Although these

¹⁵ Many of the members of the 84th Regiment became settlers in Hants County at the conclusion of the war, and members of the Fort Edward garrison were granted land in Douglas Township (Duncanson 1989)

¹⁶ LAC 1812 "Major Crawford's report on the State of Fort Edward, Windsor, Nova Scotia" LAC, R2513-540-5-E. Volume/box number: 20.

¹⁷ National Archives (UK), W.O. 55, v1558, part 6, Report on ordnance lands, 1856, f 84.

four building appear on an 1879 map of the town of Windsor (**Figure 8**), the store house and soldiers' barracks would soon be demolished.

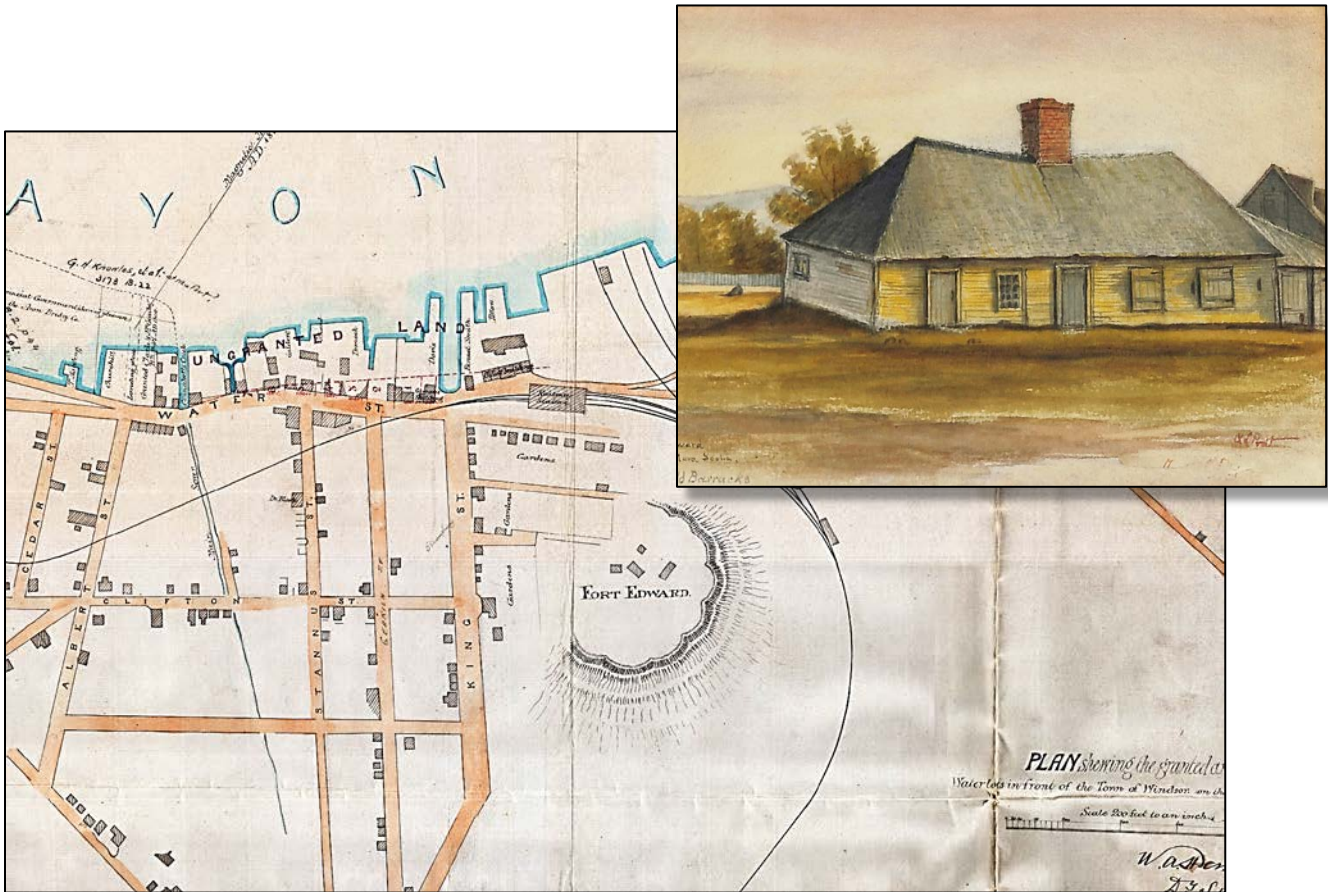


Figure 8: Detail of a map showing the Town of Windsor and four standing buildings at Fort Edward in 1879. North at upper right. Inset: Watercolour of the old soldiers' barracks painted ca. 1880 by Annie L. Pratt. The north-facing gable end of the provision store can be seen at right, behind the soldiers' barracks. This may be the only extant image of the latter building. SOURCE: W.A. Hendry and D.Y. Sw... 1879. "Plan shewing the granted and ungranted Water lots in front of the Town of Windsor on the Avon River." CLIMC, Hants Portfolio no. 026; Nova Scotia Museum.

In 1903, the grounds were leased to the Windsor Golf Club and the officers' quarters were used as a club house. The lease was revoked during WWI, when the fort was used as a training area for troops, at which time the officers' quarters functioned as a quarantine hospital (Tulloch n.d.: 9). Among the soldiers stationed here were the men of the Jewish Legion, including David Ben-Gurion, who would later become Israel's first prime minister (Beanlands 2014). The officers' quarters survived until 1922, when they were destroyed by fire (**Figure 9**). The golf course lease was renewed before and after WWII and was finally terminated in 1973 (Tulloch n.d., 10).



Figure 9: The burning of the 18th century officers' quarters in progress (top); and the building in ruins (bottom) in 1923. SOURCE: NSA, Photographic Collection; NSA, Photographic Collection Acc. No. 7586.

3.0 STUDY AREA

The study area consists of two contiguous properties (PIDs 45059805 and 45059797) at 36 and 65 Fort Edward Street (**Figure 10**). The foregoing discussion highlights the pertinent historical and archaeological context, and the following sections examine the archaeological potential and heritage value of these properties.

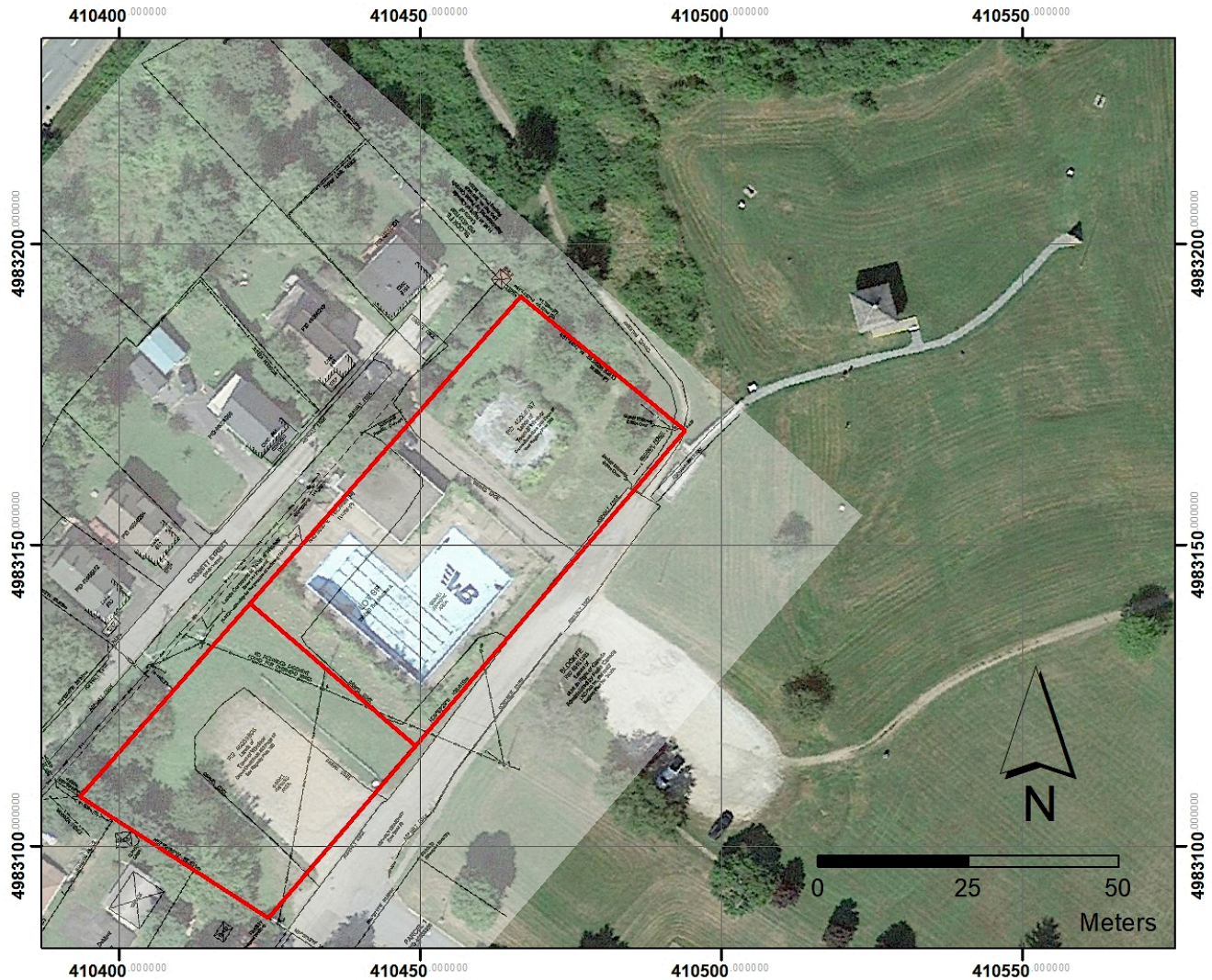


Figure 10: The study area (outlined) as indicated by a new survey plan dated 15 February 2022. The smaller of the two contiguous properties is PID 45059805 and the larger is PID45059797. SOURCE: West Hants Regional Municipality and Google Earth 2015.

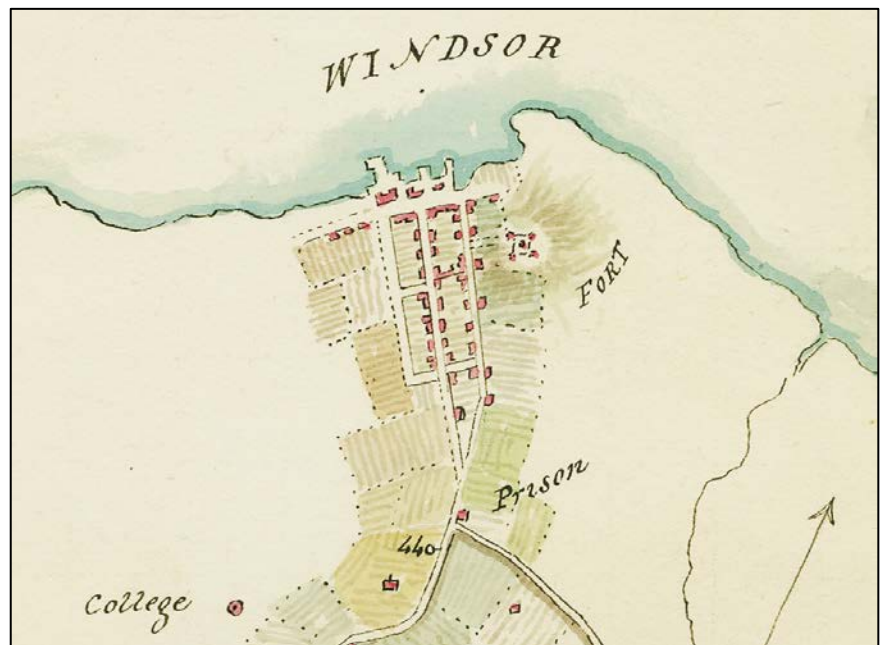
The study area occupies part of the space between the British fort on the hilltop and the planned settlement of Windsor that developed below it to the west (**Figure 11**). Eighteenth century Windsor, in this context, may be recognize as an

offshoot of Fort Edward and its associated truckhouse, which had before the arrival of the New England Planters in 1760 constituted a regional demographic, military, and commercial centre.

This historical relationship between Fort Edward and Windsor is perhaps not very much appreciated today, but it is a Nova Scotian example of an ancient settlement pattern. In the Roman period in Western Europe, for instance, civilian communities often took root outside the gates of permanent military installations (e.g. Mattingly 2006, 170–72). Their residents, attracted and then sustained by imperial coin, supplied the garrisons with goods and services. Long after the soldiers had gone, the civilian settlements remained. Many of Europe's great cities owe their origins to this process, though in Nova Scotia perhaps the closest example is Annapolis Royal, which also grew up alongside the timber and turf, star-shaped fort now known as Fort Anne.

Fort Edward's proximity to the town it spawned has methodological significance for the present investigation because Windsor's durable street grid – and particularly the intersections, which have generally not moved since the mid-18th century – facilitates the georeferencing of colonial-era maps, an essential process for plotting archaeological features in and around the study area.

Figure 11: Fort Edward and Windsor in the Regency period, showing the relationship between Fort Edward and the town that grew up at its feet. Methodologically, the resilience of the town's street pattern offers ground control points (the intersections) for georeferencing old maps. SOURCE: John Elliott Woolford 1817-18, "Surveys of the Roads from Halifax to Windsor and from Halifax to Truro." Sheet 10: Mile 44: Windsor. NSA Map Collection: 15.1.



4.0 METHODOLOGY

The evidence presented in this report was gathered and collated through a straight historical methodology, relying on cartographic and documentary resources in Canada, the United States, and France. Additional information was gleaned from archaeological site reports, the MARI, aerial photographs, and published literature. A pedestrian survey was conducted on February 12, 2022, to assess surface conditions and gather survey points to assist in the process of georeferencing historical maps and plans.



Figure 12: Detail of a map of Windsor in 1829. This map's scale is too small to be of use in this analysis. SOURCE: William Mackay 1834. "The Great Map of Nova Scotia." NSA Map Collection: The Great Map C 14.

Historical mapping plays an important role in the analysis that follows. Fort Edward and its environs have been mapped many times over the centuries, but not all of these maps are useful for our purposes (consider the small-scale rendering in Figures 6 and 11, above), or the early 19th century map in **Figure 12**, at left. Fortunately, several larger-scale plans survive. Georeferencing these maps in a Geographic Information System (GIS) with the assistance of ground control points, such as the intersections of nearby streets, Fort Edward's bastions, and the blockhouse itself (which has not moved since 1750), allows map features of archaeological interest to be plotted on the modern

landscape with reasonable accuracy (Chapman 2006; Rumsey and Williams 2002).¹⁸

Mapping and aerial photography was scanned and processed in GIMP 2.10.24 and ArcMap 10.6.1 software. Base mapping for the GIS at a scale of 1:10,000, was obtained from the online DataLocator service provided by the Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources.¹⁹ Historical aerial photography was obtained from the National Air Photo Library in Ottawa, and raw LiDAR data (.laz files) were downloaded from the Province of Nova Scotia's Elevation Explorer website.²⁰

¹⁸ The accuracy with which these features can be plotted on the modern surface is difficult to determine without archaeological validation (i.e. excavation), as errors in the manuscript maps cannot be quantified independently. Root Mean Square (RMS) errors in the georeferenced historical maps and aerial photos generally range between 1.7 to 4.1 metres.

¹⁹ Datalocator <https://gis8.nsgc.gov.ns.ca/DataLocatorASP/main.html>

²⁰ Elevation Explorer <https://nsgi.novascotia.ca/datalocator/elevation/>

LiDAR data (**Figure 13**) were processed using Surfer 23 by Golden Software to create digital bare earth models, allowing variations in relief to be quantified.

Background information concerning traditional Mi'kmaw land use and cultural memory was requested from the Archaeological Research Office of the KMKNO on January 18, 2022.

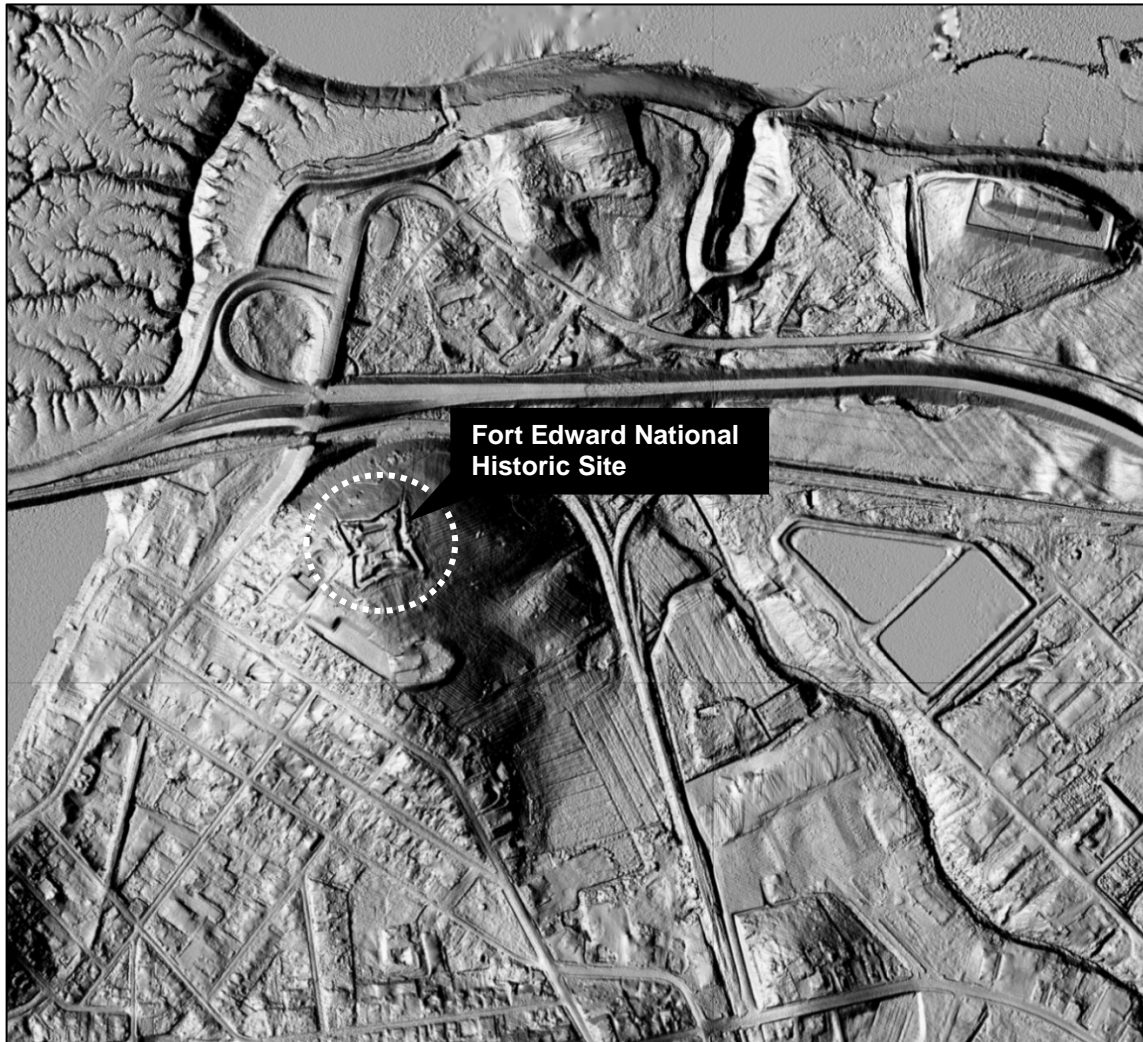


Figure 13: Bare earth LiDAR hillshade model of the confluence of the Avon and St. Croix rivers showing Fort Edward (circled). LiDAR data allows minor variations in relief to be measured, facilitating archaeological site prospection. SOURCE: Province of Nova Scotia (2011).

The nature of potential impacts to the study area is not yet known as the municipality intends this ARIA to provide a high-level scan of archaeological resource potential. The land has not yet been sold and construction activities by a potential buyer have yet to be formalized.

5.0 RESOURCE INVENTORY

Four major themes or traditions are associated with potential archaeological resources in the study area. In chronological order, they are:

- The Acadian Parish Church of Notre-Dame-de-L'Assomption;
- Fort Edward and its associated infrastructure;
- The truckhouse; and
- The Agricultural Fair

Each is now examined in sequence.

5.1 The Acadian Parish Church of Notre-Dame-de-L'Assomption

The Acadian parish church, established in 1722, was demolished by British forces in June of 1750 during Fort Edward's construction. Joshua Winslow records explicitly that Acadian labourers "pulled down the mass house and levelled our block house and laid out the ground for a fort" (Webster 1936, 16).²¹ A ripple of reaction appears in French records where, in describing Pesiktk in 1753, it is said that "les Anglais y ont fait bâtir un fort dans le lieu même ou était autrefois une Eglise sous le titre de l'Assomption" (Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu 1890, 72).²²

In 1997, Parks Canada archaeologists conducted cultural resource management excavations beneath the blockhouse floor and exposed a layer of charcoal and burnt daub slighted by the trench into which the blockhouse foundation had been laid (Fowler and Ferguson 2010, 70–72) (**Figure 14**). Given the prevalence of daub in pre-Deportation Acadian architecture (Crépeau and Christianson 1995), including its association with what appear to be the archaeological remains of the parish church of St-Charles-des-Mines at Grand-Pré National Historic Site (Fowler



Figure 14: Archaeological features beneath the blockhouse floor excavated by Parks Canada archaeologists in 1997 and likely associated with the parish church of Notre-Dame-de-L'Assomption. SOURCE: Parks Canada.

²¹ Loomer states that "In the British period, a building at Fort Edward was used as a Mass house for the Acadians after their chapel had burned, apparently about 1752. There is no other indication of a Mass house on Fort Edward [hill?]" (1996, 40). The first statement is unreferenced and therefore difficult to assess, while the second appears to be false.

²² Translation: The English built a fort there in the same place where the church of L'Assomption previously stood.

2020), it is very likely that this layer belongs to the Acadian church.

Our program of magnetic susceptibility survey at Fort Edward in 2014 sought to map archaeological features inside the fort, including the probable remains of the Acadian church. The results clearly demonstrate that 18th century architectural remains survive here, and that magnetic susceptibility is a viable method for mapping these features in high resolution. They also suggest a roughly rectangular building was partly superimposed by the blockhouse (**Figure 15**), located approximately 30m from the northern end of the study area (Fowler, Beanlands, and Ferguson 2016).

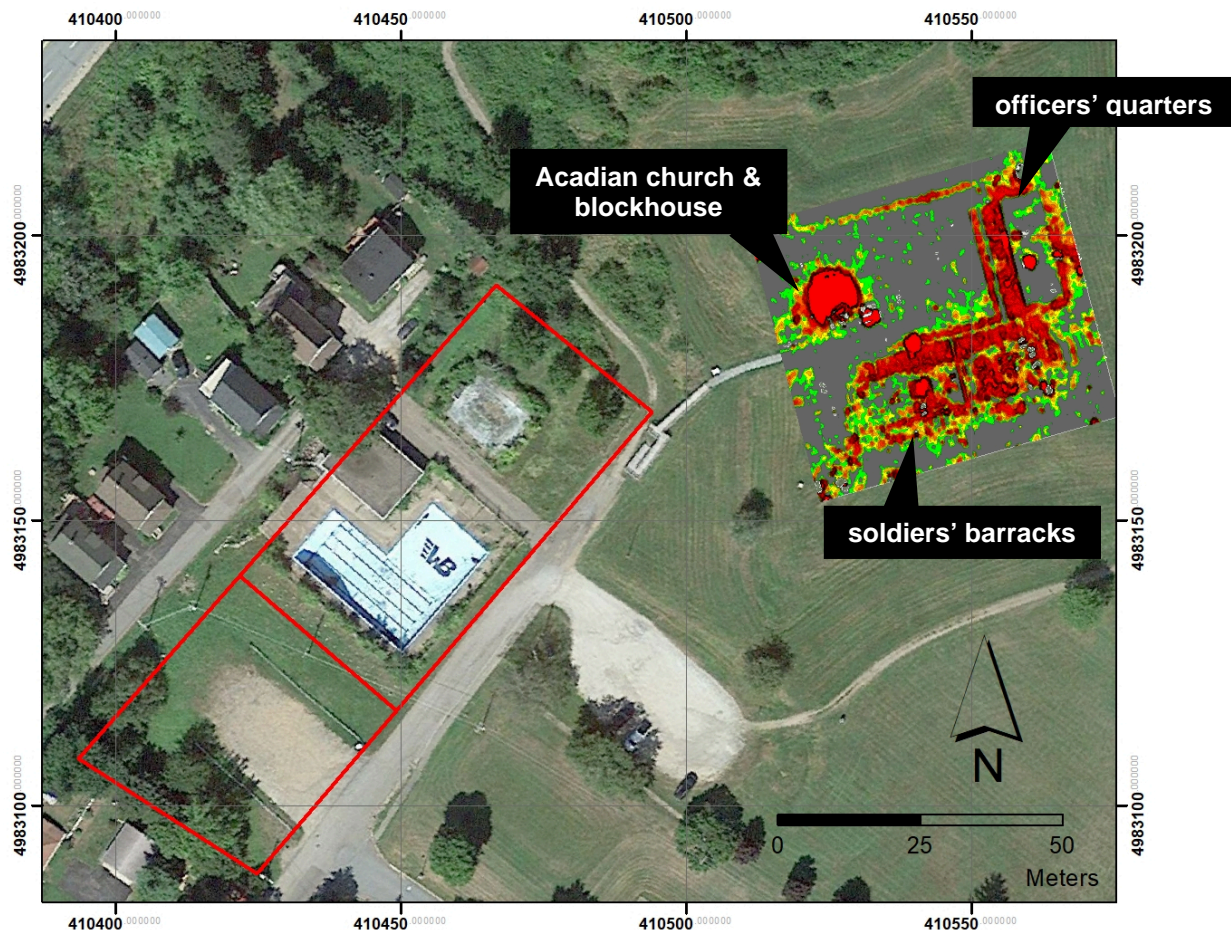


Figure 15: Magnetic susceptibility map of the interior of Fort Edward showing the vanished soldiers' barracks, officers' quarters, and, extending from beneath the blockhouse, the remains of what may be the Acadian parish church of Notre-Dame-de-L'Assomption, approximately 30m from the northern edge of the study area (outlined in red). SOURCE: Google Earth 2015.

It is difficult to clearly determine the boundary of the Acadian ecclesiastical site at this stage. The remains of the church appear to have been located, but if there was a priest's house nearby, its location is not yet known. Such a dwelling was

present at nearby St-Charles-des-Mines at Grand-Pré (e.g. Winslow 1883, 71) and at the mother parish of St-Jean-Baptiste at Port-Royal (**Figure 16**).



Figure 16: Detail of a 1686 map of Port-Royal (Annapolis Royal) showing a priest's house, cemetery, and other landscape features around the Church of St-Jean-Baptiste. The Church of Notre-Dame at Pesiktk may have had a similar "ecclesiastical landscape" setting. SOURCE: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE SH 18 PF 133 DIV 8 P 2.

The precise location of the Acadian cemetery is also something of an open question. Colonial-era maps and documents, as well as antiquarian and later sources, reference a cemetery on a small marsh island north of Fort Edward Hill, bordering the river (Hind 1889, 2; Loomer 1996, 39; Shand 1979, 7).²³ Several 18th century documents and maps offer supportive evidence. For example, it appears as "Burying Island" on a 1762-63 map of land grants at Pesiktk.²⁴ Hind's statement that this was an Acadian cemetery has been perpetuated by later writers but is conjectural. The area in question (**Figure 17**) is located approximately 350m from the site of the parish church – a uniquely long distance from a church in the context of known Acadian ecclesiastical sites²⁵ – and is separated by a tidal

marsh that would have flooded twice daily in the pre-Deportation period, complicating ritual access.²⁶ While the "Burying Island" may have been the Acadian parish cemetery (insufficient evidence exists at present to test this hypothesis, and the area has been significantly transformed by both natural and cultural processes), it is perhaps more likely to have been a Mi'kmaw cemetery, as its situation in the landscape matches that of other documented Mi'kmaw cemeteries at marsh islands near river mouths in the southern Minas Basin (e.g. BgDb-6 at Avonport (Whitehead 1993, 73) and Starr's Point (Herbin 1911, 16). If this is so, then it raises a serious possibility that the Acadian cemetery may be somewhere nearer the church, at a location yet to be identified on Fort Edward Hill.

²³ E.g. Charles Morris. "A Plan of Lands in the Township of Windsor in the County of Halifax..." NSA V7 230 Windsor, Nova Scotia.

²⁴ Anon. n.d. [1762-63]. "A Plan of Part of the Lands Belonging to the Honourable Richard Buckley Esq." CLIMC Hants County Portfolio no. 14. Although undated, this map must have been drawn in 1762-63 based on the career timelines of the officeholders listed on the document.

²⁵ The Acadian cemetery at Grand-Pré is approximately 30m from the parish church (Fowler 2020); the distance between the parish church and cemetery at Port-Royal (Annapolis Royal) is about the same.

²⁶ Hind (1889, 17) seems to suggest the Acadians had dyked this area, but of this we are uncertain.

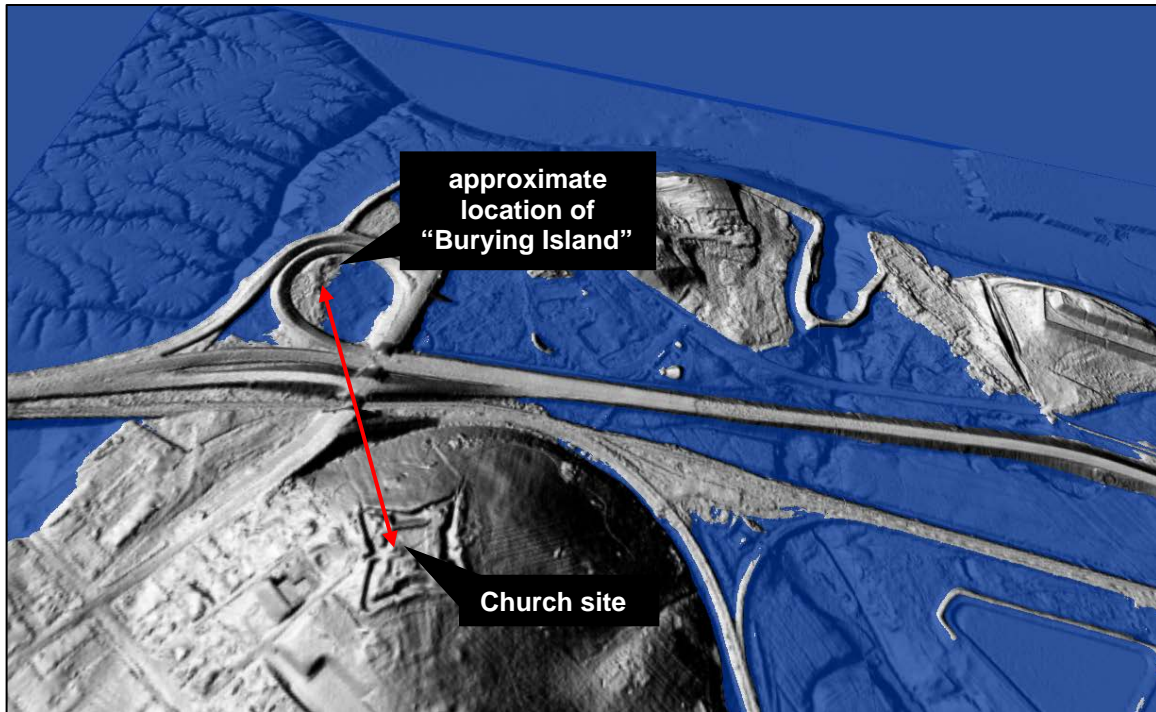


Figure 17: 3D LiDAR model with simulated tidal flooding showing the ca. 350m distance separating the known Acadian church site from the “Burying Island” identified by Henry Youle Hind as the parish cemetery. The distance seems too great for this to have been an Acadian cemetery. This area appears recently to have been substantially altered by the Highway 101 twinning project. SOURCE: Province of Nova Scotia (2011).

Another antiquarian tradition rooted in Hind’s scholarship places a Catholic mission and Mi’kmaw cemetery at Curry’s Corner, near the intersection of King Street and Highway 14:

Many Indian dead were brought here from afar, and there are those now living in Windsor who have heard their fathers describe the solemnities of an Indian’s burial in this ancient place of sepulture . . . [D]uring recent years, the pick, the spade and the plough have again and again turned up bones and skulls and memorials of love, or bitter, but hopeless, strife (Hind 1889, 2).

Hind’s account describes bodies “swathed in long rolls of birch bark...” (Hind 1889, 2), while an earlier description of the discovery mentions human remains associated with woolen garments, clay tobacco pipes, and coffins fastened with copper nails (Anon. 1886), dating the site to the colonial era.

An Acadian hamlet is known to have stood in this location. Hind refers to it as “Landryville”, but period maps associate it with the Trahan family.²⁷ Whoever lived there, the association raises the possibility that this cemetery may have been Acadian, perhaps a successor to that on Fort Edward Hill. If so, like other Acadian cemeteries, this one may well have served the Mi’kmaw community as well. Hind places a “mission chapel” here “within 100 yards” of the unmarked cemetery (also Loomer 1996, 270–71).²⁸

At present, uncertainties surrounding the chronologies and cultural associations of the “Burying Island” and Curry’s Corner cemeteries complicate the archaeological resource inventory on Fort Edward Hill as it relates to the Acadian church. Is there a missing Acadian cemetery somewhere on Fort Edward Hill? Indeed, there is at least one well-attested but unmarked cemetery on its slopes.

5.2 Fort Edward

Fort Edward’s archaeological resources extend beyond the footprint of its ramparts (Tulloch n.d., 3), and this fact is clearly demonstrated by early maps. Wight’s 1757 plan, for example (**Figure 18**), which is the earliest large-scale map of Fort Edward, depicts a number of structures on the western slope in or near the study area, including hay yards, the commanding officer’s stable, bullock houses, and “Soldiers Hutts,” the latter of which, the cartographer admits in his legend, “should be nearer the Glacis.”

A 1779 plan also shows activity in and around the study area (**Figure 19**). One building stands squarely in the northernmost of the two lots on Fort Edward Street, while another straddles the property line next to today’s Cobbett Street. A third building can be seen in what is today the national historic site parking lot, beyond which the officers’ garden occupies an area measuring approximately 1650 square metres (ca. 1.7ha or 0.4 acres).

²⁷ E.g. Charles Morris. 1755. “A Chart of the Sea Coasts of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia.” British Library (BL) Maps K.Top.119.58; Charles Morris. 1755. “A Chart of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia.” BL Maps.K.Top.119.57.

²⁸ Hind, Henry Youle. 1889. “Inquiries Into the History of the Acadian District of Pisiqid.” Halifax: Nova Scotia Historical Society. NSA MG 100 vol. 256 no. 19.

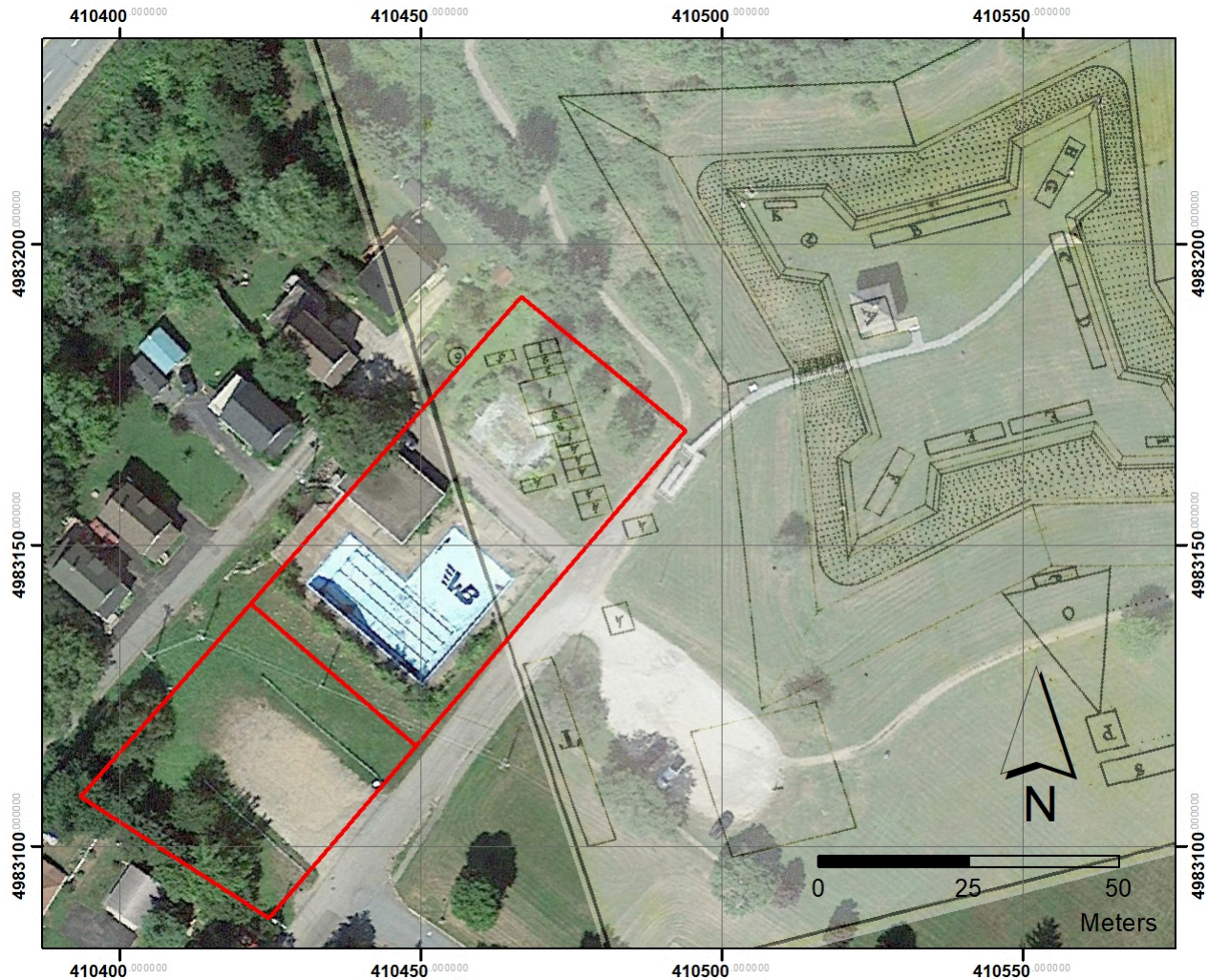


Figure 18: Georeferenced 1757 plan of Fort Edward showing military infrastructure in the study area. These include hay yards, the commandant's stable, bullock houses, and soldiers' huts. SOURCE: Edward Wight. 1757. "An Exact ground Plan of Fort Edward at Pesaquid taken from a survey and Laid down by a scale of 60 feet to an inch." William L. Clements Library, Brun Add. 240.

These maps strongly suggest the presence of archaeological resources associated with Fort Edward in the northernmost of the two properties comprising the study area.

The other major extramural site of archaeological interest and sensitivity associated with Fort Edward is the garrison cemetery, which, being unmarked, has been lost. It is the final resting place of an unknown number of soldiers who died while stationed at the fort, and it also holds the remains of many civilians.²⁹

²⁹ A record in the collection of the West Hants Historical Society lists 19 individuals – apparently all civilians – buried at Fort Edward between 1777 and 1794. Anon. n.d. "Windsor Burials at Fort Edward."

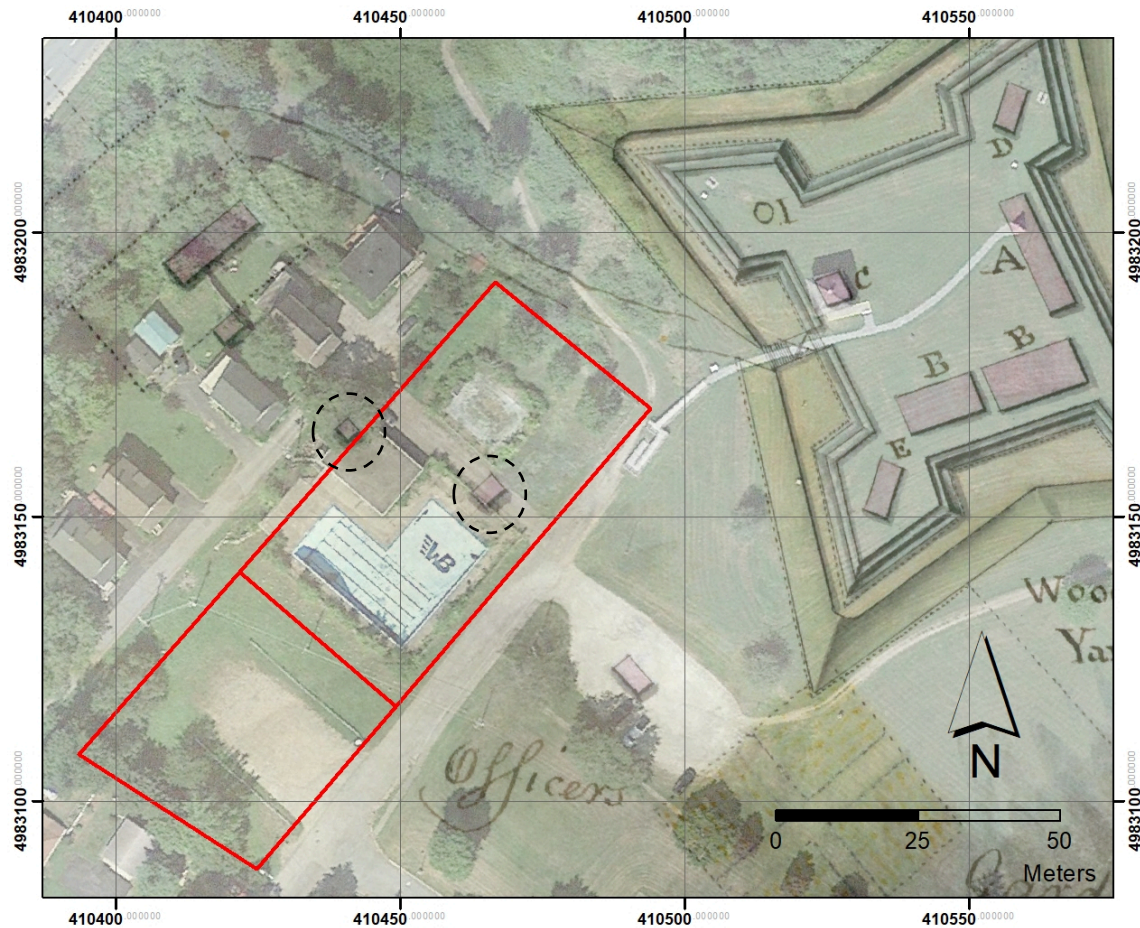


Figure 19: Georeferenced 1779 plan of Fort Edward showing buildings in the study area (circled). SOURCE: W. Spry. 1779. "A Plan of Fort Edward in Nova Scotia." William L. Clements Library 8398.

The garrison cemetery attracted the interest of antiquarians in the 19th century, and Hind, for example, refers to "the grand old willows which partly enfold the old military burial ground" on Fort Edward Hill (Hind 1889, 18). These trees were drawn and photographed many times during this era (e.g. **Figure 20**). Fortunately, a 1929 oblique aerial photograph captures their location in the landscape before they disappeared, allowing the cemetery's general location to be determined with the aid of GIS.

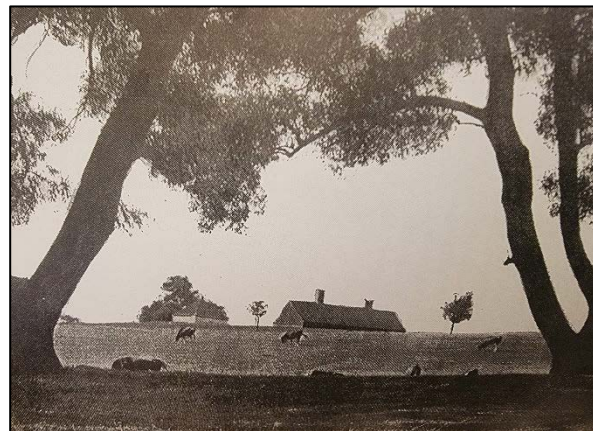


Figure 20: Site of the garrison cemetery and associated willows shown in an old photograph. The blockhouse and officers' quarters can be seen in the distance, suggesting a location downslope and to the east-southeast (Loomer 1996, 5).

Figure 21 shows the probable site of the garrison cemetery, and further research with the aid of LiDAR evidence will certainly clarify this picture.

This subject requires further analysis, but preliminary findings place the garrison cemetery well outside the study area, on the opposite side of Fort Edward Hill. This is perhaps doubly relevant in the context of this ARIA because the garrison cemetery may occupy the site of the older Acadian parish cemetery. The reasons for the uncertainty surrounding the Acadian cemetery's location are outlined above, as is Fort Edward and Windsor's similarity to Fort Anne and Annapolis Royal. At Fort Anne, the British garrison and townspeople reused the Acadian cemetery, and the same pattern may have been followed here at Fort Edward.

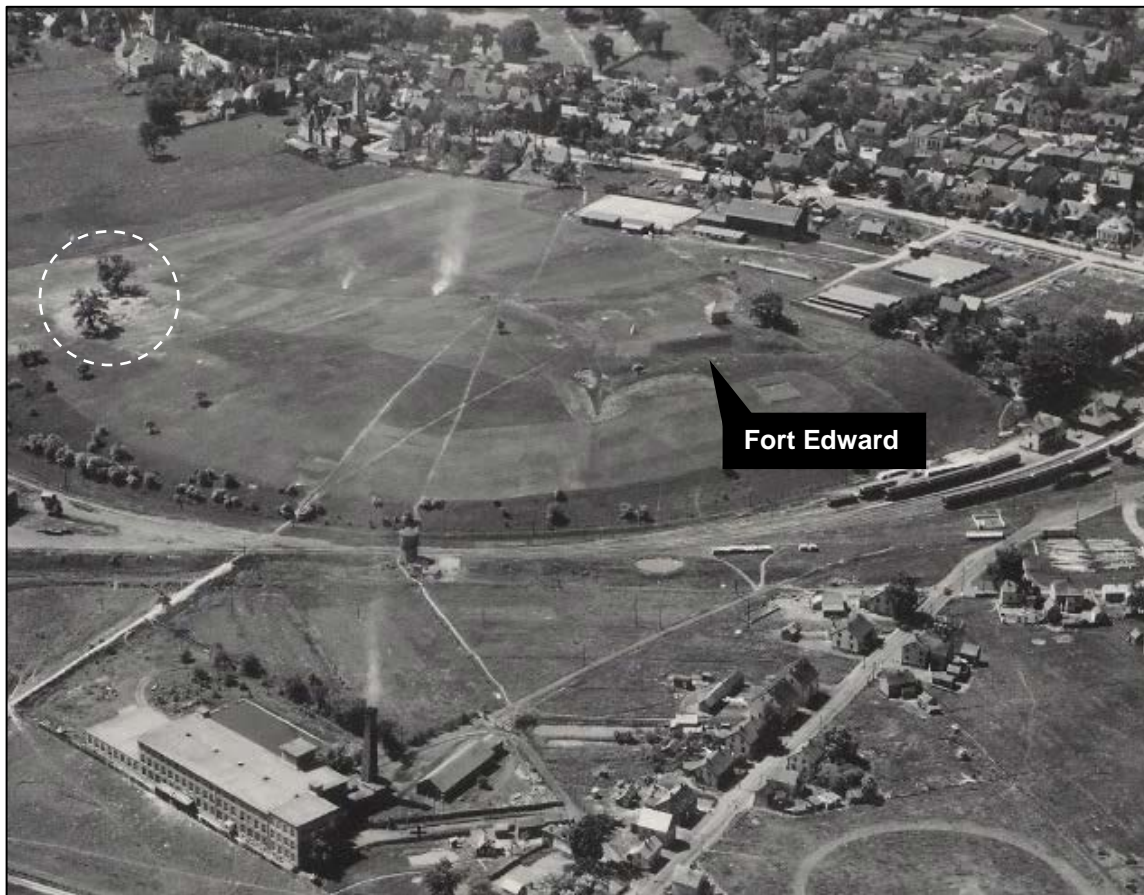


Figure 21: A 1929 aerial photo showing the old willow trees associated with the cemetery. SOURCE: National Air Photo Library (NAPL) A1236-83.

5.3 The Truckhouse

The truckhouse has attracted scholarly interest for some time (Loomer 1996, 15, 46, 62; Shand 1979, 12). An archaeological survey in 1989 recorded a site, BfDa-04, The Loomer Site, at what was thought to be its location, at the foot of Fort Edward Hill along Water Street. According to the MARI, however, artifacts collected here date from the late 19th to early 20th centuries.

Until recently, John Hamilton's painting (Figure 4, above) provided the best locational evidence for the truckhouse. Wight's 1757 plan, however, also shows it (**Figure 22**), albeit at the wrong location.

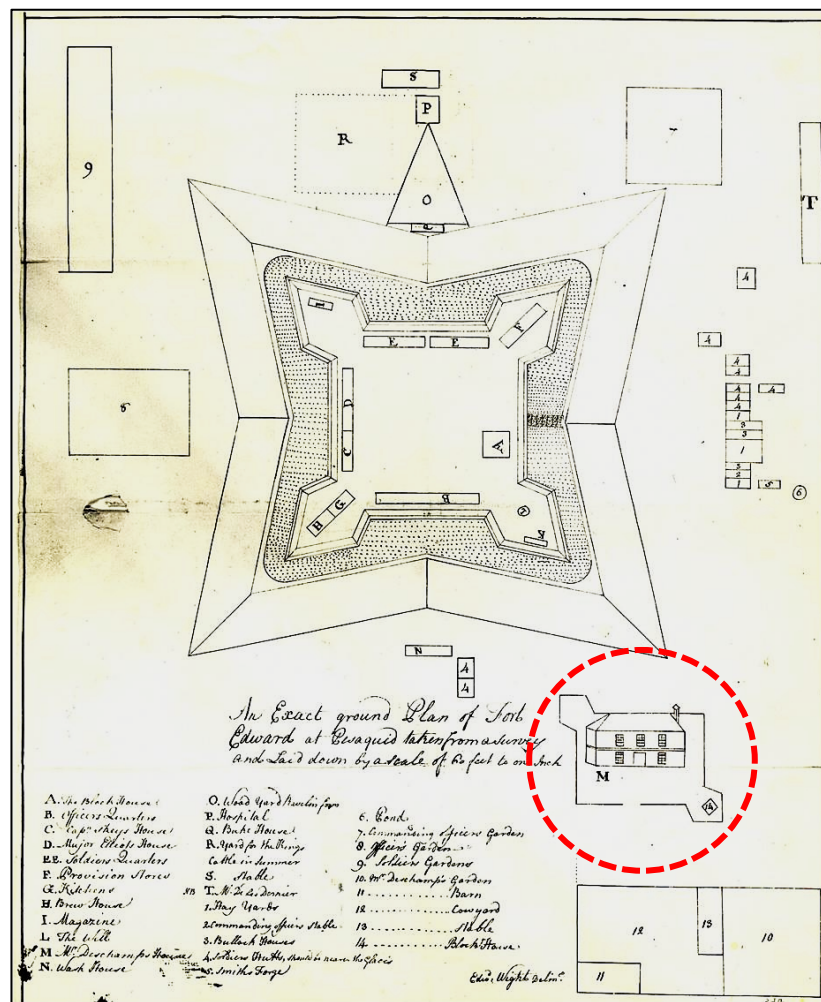


Figure 22: Edward Wight's 1757 plan of Fort Edward appearing to show the truckhouse compound occupying a position roughly in line with the fort's western bastions (North is at the bottom of the map). The actual location as proved by more carefully surveyed cadastral maps is more to the west, and likely just off the righthand side of Wight's page. Perhaps, lacking room, he just nudged it over slightly. SOURCE: Edward Wight. 1757. "An Exact ground Plan of Fort Edward at Pesauquid taken from a survey and Laid down by a scale of 60 feet to an inch." William L. Clements Library, Brun Add. 240.

Archival maps of better quality allow us to determine the location of the truckhouse with confidence. It was located across Cobbett Street to the northwest of the study area, on land that has since the 19th century been subdivided into residences (**Figure 23**).

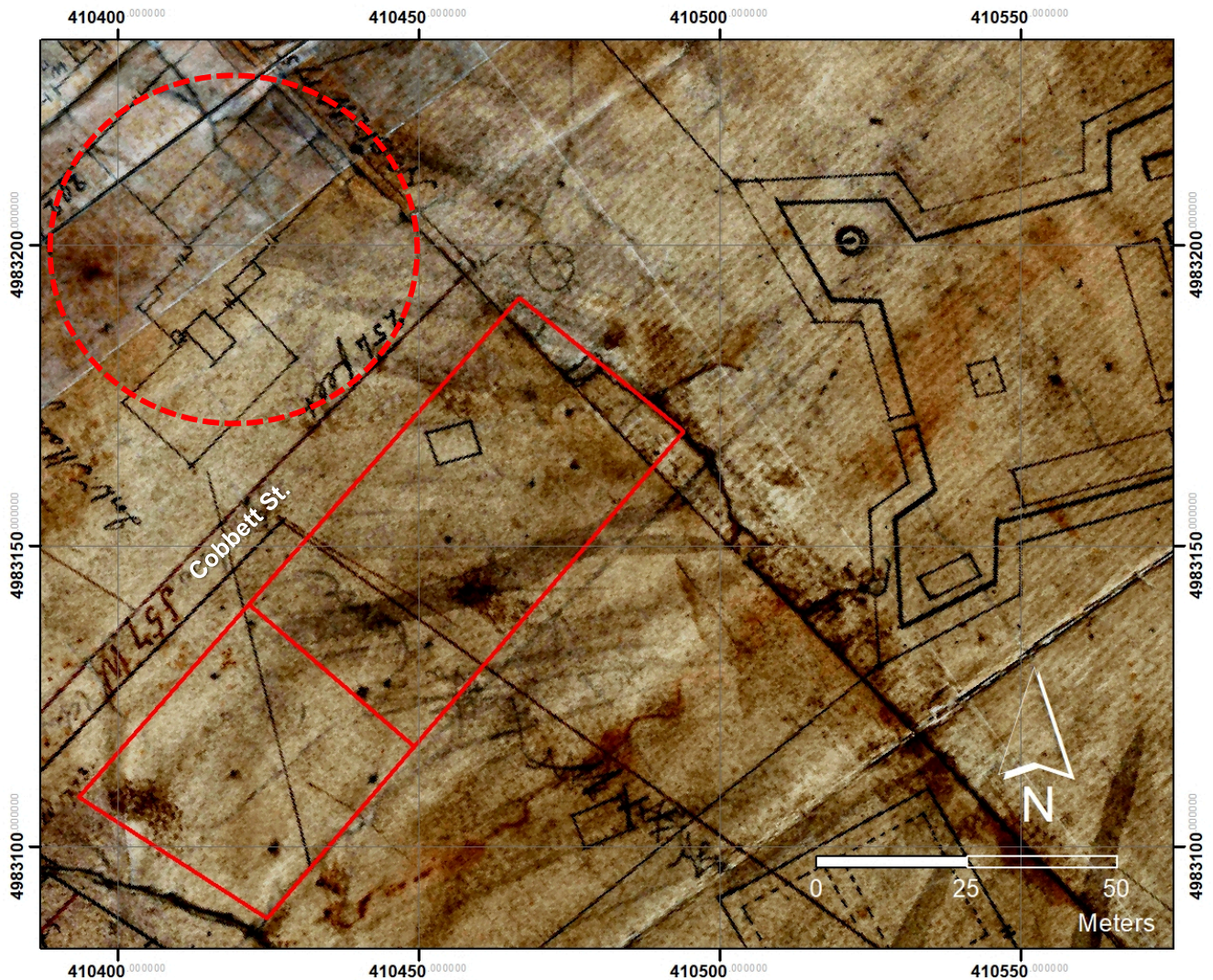


Figure 23: A cadastral plan showing the location of the truckhouse (circled) in reference to Fort Edward and the study area (outlined). The site is presently across Cobbett Street. This map is undated but contextual clues place it in perhaps the 1760s. As in Figure 19, above, which shows the 1779 map of Fort Edward, we see a building unambiguously placed in the study area.

5.4 The Agricultural Fair

The study area was a market centre through the later 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries, for it was here that the previously mentioned agricultural fair was held. Period maps – and especially fire insurance plans – depict infrastructure relating to

the fair at this location (**Figure 24**).³⁰ By early 20th century, the “Exhibition Grounds” contained many buildings and other architectural features, including: five rows of horse stalls and an equal number of livestock stalls to the north of a judging ring. The judging ring and an associated building are located roughly where the Parks Canada parking lot stands today, and a large armoury stood on what is still Department of National Defence property to the south. The latter building served as a barracks and mess for part of the Jewish Legion, whose members trained at Fort Edward during WWI (Beanlands 2014).

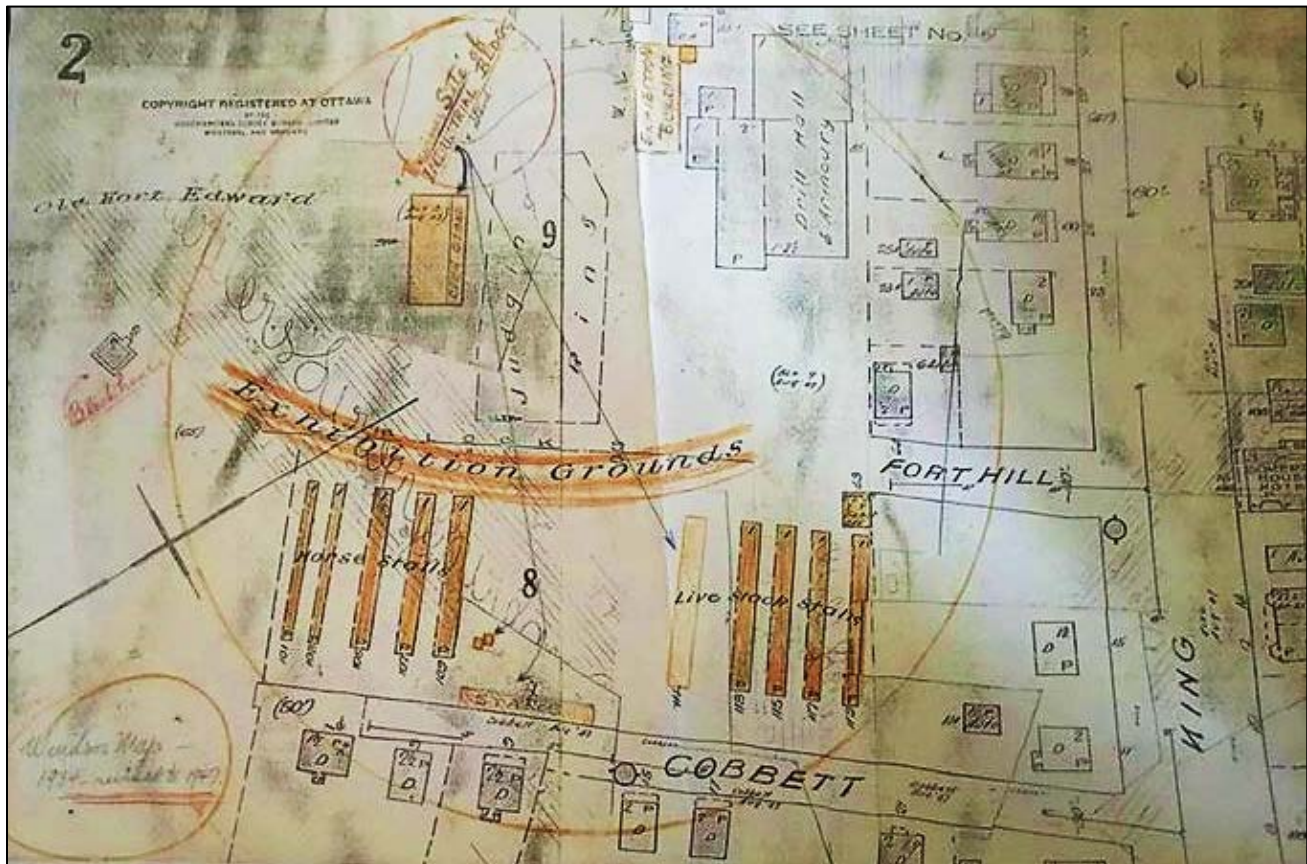


Figure 24: A 1934 (revised 1947) fire insurance plan showing the “Exhibition Grounds” in the study area. SOURCE: West Hants Historical Society.

Many of these structures appear on the earliest aerial photographs of Windsor (**Figure 25**). These photographs supplement the evidence from fire insurance plans and allow architectural features to be plotted with confidence with the aid of GIS (**Figure 26**). These structures were removed when the Windsor Exhibition relocated to its present location, and in 1967 the Town of Windsor established the Windsor Centennial Pool in their place.

³⁰ I was unable to obtain a scanned version of this map from the West Hants Historical Society to georeference, and the fire insurance plans in the Nova Scotia Archives (1899 and 1914) did not depict any of this infrastructure.

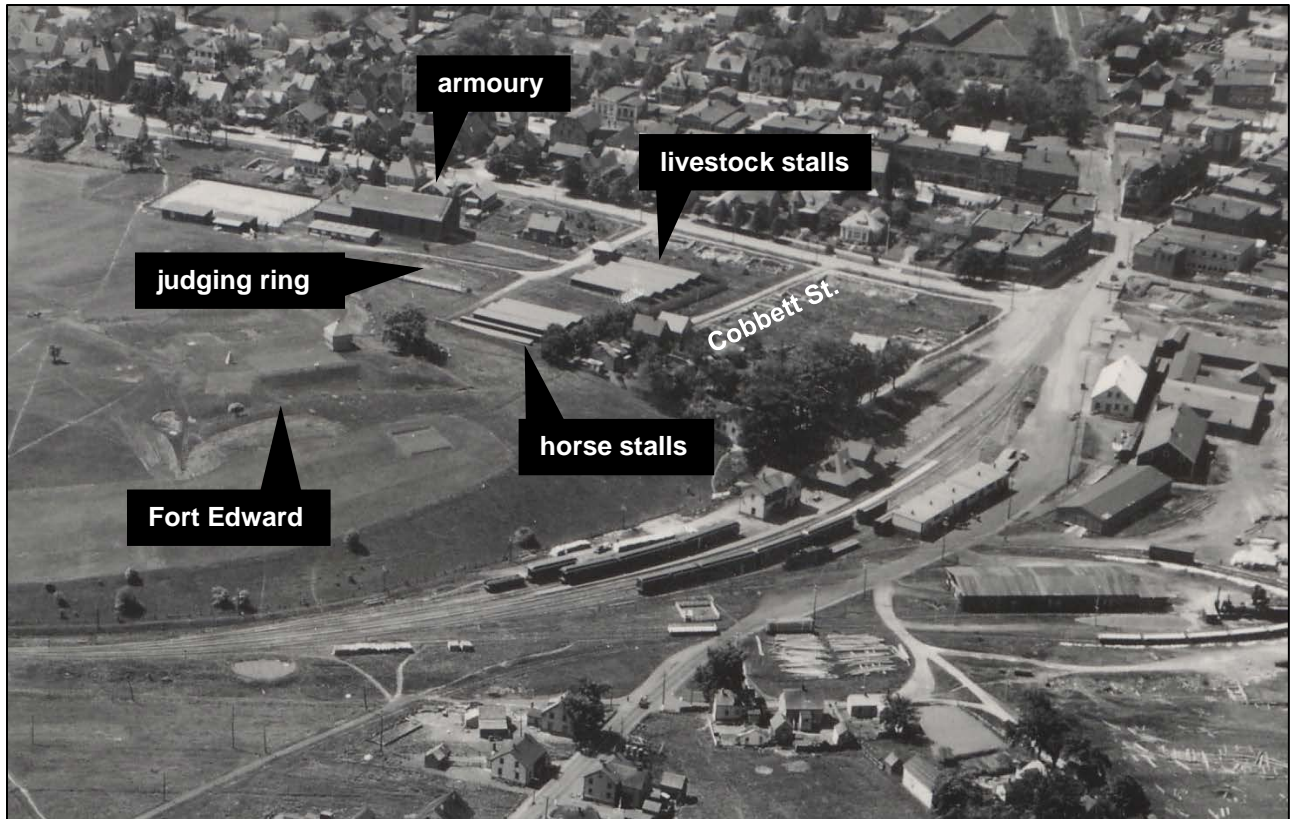


Figure 25: Fort Edward and the Exhibition Grounds from the north. SOURCE: NAPL A1236-83.

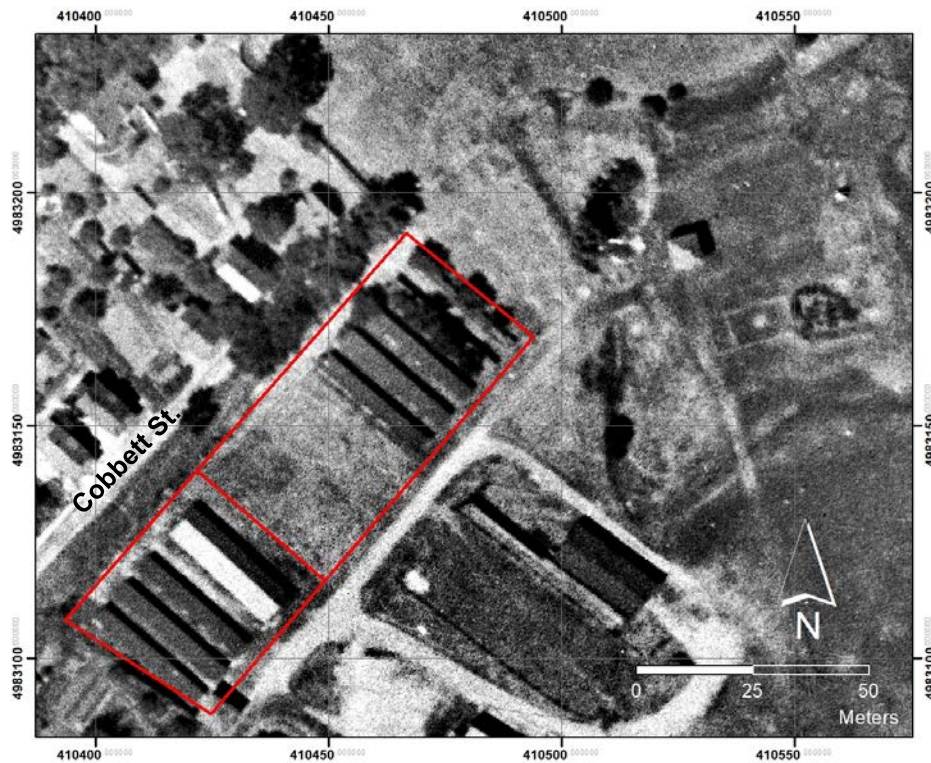


Figure 26: A 1945 aerial photograph of Fort Edward georeferenced to the modern landscape showing the exhibition grounds and nearby buildings. SOURCE: NAPL A8725-013.

6.0 RESOURCE EVALUATION

The approach to resource evaluation favoured here is grounded in the literature of archaeological (e.g. Green and Doershuk 1998; Tainter and Lucas 1983) and critical heritage studies (e.g. Harrison 2010). It is attentive to plural and even divergent regimes of value in assessing heritage objects and places, while emphasizing the inherent value of research potential and knowledge creation.

The key findings are as follows:

6.1 Extramural fort features and the historic place

Documented and potential archaeological resources in the study area have direct relevance to the commemorative integrity of Fort Edward National Historic Site; Parks Canada identifies viewplanes from the fort as critical to the site's commemorative integrity.

As the study area is adjacent to Fort Edward National Historic Site, and historical maps show associated 18th century structures in the study area, a consideration of the significance of these likely archaeological features begins with the rationale underpinning Fort Edward's commemoration. Interestingly, these reasons were not clearly stated by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada when it initially proposed Fort Edward as a national historic site in 1919. The board addressed this oversight in the 1990s, however, by deciding that the designation should "commemorate [Fort Edward's] role in the struggle for predominance in North America, 1750-1812" (Marineau 1998, 6).

Parks Canada identifies several distinct cultural resources supporting Fort Edward's commemorative integrity; in other words, "those resources that were instrumental in, or integral to, the designation of national significance." Not surprisingly, the 1750 blockhouse and the surviving ramparts are counted among these features. However, the primary cultural resource listed in the national historic site's Commemorative Integrity Statement is the *historic place* itself, defined as consisting of both "the lands within the boundaries of Fort Edward National Historic Site and its viewplanes toward the Avon and St. Croix rivers," the latter of which, "give tangible evidence of the reasons for the establishment of the fort at the confluence of the rivers" (Marineau 1998, 7). The statement goes on to observe that protecting the site's Level 1 cultural resources – among which the historic place and viewplanes are of critical importance – is key to ensuring Fort Edward's commemorative integrity "is not impaired or under threat" (Marineau 1998, 7–8).

6.2 Elevated heritage significance via a network of national historic sites and events

Documented and potential archaeological resources both in and adjacent to the study area have high heritage significance in reference to a local network of national historic sites and designated events of national historic significance.

Resource evaluation in this case takes further meaning by the study area's connection to Grand-Pré National Historic Site and The Landscape of Grand Pré World Heritage Site. The latter's basis for inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List rests on the following criteria:

Criterion (v): The cultural landscape of Grand Pré bears exceptional testimony to a traditional farming settlement created in the 17th century by the Acadians in a coastal zone with tides that are among the highest in the world. The polderisation used traditional techniques of dykes, aboiteaux and a drainage network, as well as a community-based management system still in use today. The resultant rich alluvial soil enabled continuous and sustainable agricultural development.

Criterion (vi): Grand Pré is the iconic place of remembrance of the Acadian diaspora, dispersed by the Grand Dérangement, in the second half of the 18th century. Its polder landscape and archaeological remains are testimony to the values of a culture of pioneers able to create their own territory, whilst living in harmony with the native Mi'kmaq people. Its memorial constructions form the centre of the symbolic re-appropriation of the land of their origins by the Acadians, in the 20th century, in a spirit of peace and cultural sharing with the English-speaking community.³¹

Grand-Pré National Historic Site's designation is justified because:

- it was a centre of Acadian activity from 1682 to 1755;
- it commemorates the Deportation of the Acadians, which occurred at Grand-Pré in 1755; and
- it commemorates the strong attachment that remains to this day among Acadians throughout the world to this area, the heart of their ancestral homeland and symbol of the ties which unite them (Parks Canada 2012, 7).

³¹ UNESCO Committee Decisions, 36 Com 8B.27, Cultural Properties - Landscape of Grand Pré (Canada) <http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/4798>

Although geographical separate, Fort Edward and Grand-Pré are closely linked historically and through modern heritage and tourism. Both sites occupy estuarine settings and have histories of Indigenous and Acadian settlement and intermingling. Their narratives are particularly tightly bound by the 1755 Deportation of the Acadians, a designated event of national historic significance. Lieut.-Col. John Winslow, whose capture and deportation of the Acadians from Grand-Pré inspired Longfellow's *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie* (and the subsequent memorial acts culminating in the creation of Grand-Pré National Historic Site and The Landscape of Grand Pré UNESCO World Heritage Site), actually began his campaign against Acadian civilians in the Minas Basin at Fort Edward. It was to Fort Edward that he and his soldiers were initially sent from Chignecto in August 1755. Only after arriving did he receive further orders to base his operations at Grand-Pré (Winslow 1884, 241–43).

Isaac Deschamps, the Fort Edward truckmaster, spoke French fluently and facilitated communication between British officials, the garrison, and the Acadians throughout the middle years of the 18th century. In 1755, he translated the infamous Deportation Order into French. The documents read on September 5th to the assembled Acadian men and boys by John Winslow at Grand-Pré (**Figure 27**), and by Alexander Murray at Fort Edward were, according to Winslow himself, “put into French” by Isaac Deschamps (Winslow 1883, 90).

Figure 27: Historical reconstruction artwork depicting John Winslow reading the Deportation Order to Acadians at the parish church in Grand-Pré on September 5, 1755. A similar scene took place at Fort Edward at the same time. Both texts were translated into French by truckmaster Isaac Deschamps. SOURCE: Claude Picard 1986. “The Deportation Order.” Parks Canada.



6.3 A Pre-Deportation Acadian religious site

The pre-Deportation Acadian church of Notre-Dame-de-L'Assomption has been documented and archaeologically attested approximately 35m from the study area.

The study area is thus part of an as-yet poorly understood ecclesiastical site, whose archaeological resource inventory has yet to be properly studied. While there is good reason to place the associated cemetery outside the study area, the boundaries of the church site and the locations of its architectural and landscape features (e.g. priest's house) have yet to be determined.

The Acadian diaspora is a population exhibiting a high degree of interest in heritage and genealogy. The presence of a church site at this location represents a significant cultural resource and a potential driver of additional visitation to Fort Edward National Historic Site.

6.4 A Mi'kmaw Treaty site

The truckhouse was an important site of interaction between the Mi'kmaq and the British, and in 1760 it became a formal part of the Treaty relationship.

The Fort Edward truckhouse borders the study area to the northwest and is one of six such posts established in the region as part of the British Crown's commitments to the Mi'kmaq through the Treaties of Peace and Friendship of 1760-61. None of these other sites is commemorated. In a time of reconciliation, the presence of the truckhouse and its associated archaeological features adjacent to – and perhaps partly in – the study area represents a highly significant and valuable cultural resource.

6.5. The site of Canada's oldest agricultural fair

The study area occupies part of the grounds upon which Canada's oldest agricultural fair was held since 1765. The fair continues to operate at another location, constituting an authentic and community-based example of living heritage.

The market and agricultural fair grew out of the pre-existing commercial relationships between the British, Acadians, and Mi'kmaq at Fort Edward Hill. Abundant evidence places 19th and early 20th century fair infrastructure in the study area (**Figure 28**). The fair continues to exist today in the form of the popular Windsor Exhibition, which has since relocated to another site. Being the oldest event of its kind in Canada, the Windsor Agricultural Fair has been designated as an event of national historic significance.



Figure 28: Historical scenes from the agricultural fair. Top: the festival atmosphere, 1947; middle: horse teams in the judging ring, 1940; bottom: a sign of continuity of practice? Mi'kmaw participants with wigwam on a parade float going up Fort Edward Street, 1935. SOURCES: West Hants Historical Society: 28.7.07.83, 92.843, 12.7.23.10.

6.6 Potential economic benefits of heritage resource mobilization

While cultural value is often sufficient to justify the conservation of heritage resources, it is important to recognize that heritage resources can also drive significant economic activity.

Recent decades have seen the establishment and consolidation of a ‘heritage industry’ (Lowenthal 1985). A significant component of the broader tourism industry, the heritage industry articulates with a range of public- and private-sector organizations including art galleries, museum, and historic sites. The heritage sector also supports and is supported by workers in a variety of fields, ranging from heritage professionals (conservators, curators, interpreters, planners, researchers) to workers in the food, hospitality, and retail sectors. The United Nations notes that the tourism industry has outpaced global economic growth for the nine consecutive years prior to the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic, and in 2019 was valued at \$3.5 trillion (USD), accounting for 4% of world GDP (United Nations World Tourism Organization 2021, 5). Tourism Nova Scotia estimates the value of overall provincial tourism revenue in 2019 to be \$2.64 billion (CDN) (Tourism Nova Scotia 2022).

The most recent published data on visitation at Fort Edward demonstrates the extent to which visitation patterns correspond to the historical narrative and heritage site linkages outlined above.³² “When asked what other locations and attractions the respondent had visited or was planning to visit that day, 37% indicated Grand-Pré NHS, and 28 % and 26% respectively indicated Port-Royal and Fort Anne.” Visitor motivations included experiencing “a new place/local people/explore (33%), to explore family ancestry, heritage, and landmarks (30%), and to observe/learn at their own pace (20%)” (Parks Canada 2016, 10).

The archaeological resources here and nearby could potentially attract large numbers of visitors who are already exploring the related network of heritage sites linked to Highway 101. Annual Averaged Daily Traffic (AADT) volume westbound on Highway 101 between Exits 5A and 6 at Windsor equalled 7,965 vehicles between 2015 and 2019, or approximately 2,900,000 vehicles per year (Nova Scotia Department of Transportation and Infrastructure Renewal 2021, 109). And while the volume of traffic on Highway 101 is gradually increasing, visitation at Fort Edward has declined from “approximately 3,000 visitors in the year 2000 to 1,100 in 2015” (Parks Canada 2016, 11). If more creativity and effort were devoted to mobilizing the extraordinary heritage resources outlined here, the broader community might benefit significantly, both culturally and financially.

³² 2009-10 data revealed that “80% of visitors are Canadian and 13% American. Of the Canadian audience, 32% are from Nova Scotia (21% of respondents were on a day-trip from Halifax), 17% from Ontario, and the remainder from the rest of Canada” (Parks Canada 2016, 10).

7.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Taken in its entirety, the evidence gathered to date shows that the study area, though it may be legally defined as two distinct and separate properties, remains nevertheless part of the archaeological landscape and heritage environment of Fort Edward National Historic Site of Canada:

- A pre-Deportation Acadian parish church stood approximately 30m north of the study area. Although there is reason to place the Acadian cemetery elsewhere, this ecclesiastical site is not well evidenced and its proximity to the study area raises the need for archaeological vigilance.
- The study area's proximity to Fort Edward also implicates it in considerations of the fort's views of the Avon River, which Parks Canada states are essential to the national historic site's commemorative integrity.
- Several 18th century maps place buildings and other extramural architectural features associated with Fort Edward unambiguously within the study area.
- The Mauger-Deschamps truckhouse, a significant site in Windsor's commercial heritage and a locus at which part of the Treaty relationship between the British Crown and the Mi'kmaq was fulfilled, was adjacent to the study area, across Cobbett Street. Some of the activities centered on the truckhouse may have "spilled over" to the study area, and indeed the best 18th century map of the truckhouse places an unidentified building in the study area.
- Aerial photographs and mapping show structures associated with the Windsor Agricultural Fair, a designated event of national historical significance, unambiguously within the study area.

Potential archaeological features associated with structures depicted on historical maps and aerial photographs are plotted in **Figure 29**. All of the structures noted on historical maps and aerial photographs are located outside the footprint of the large swimming pool built in the 1960s. It is noteworthy that the legend on Edward Wight's 1757 map of Fort Edward indicates the "Soldiers Hutts should be nearer the Glacis." How much nearer cannot be known, but it is likely that at least some of the structures he drew were located in the study area.

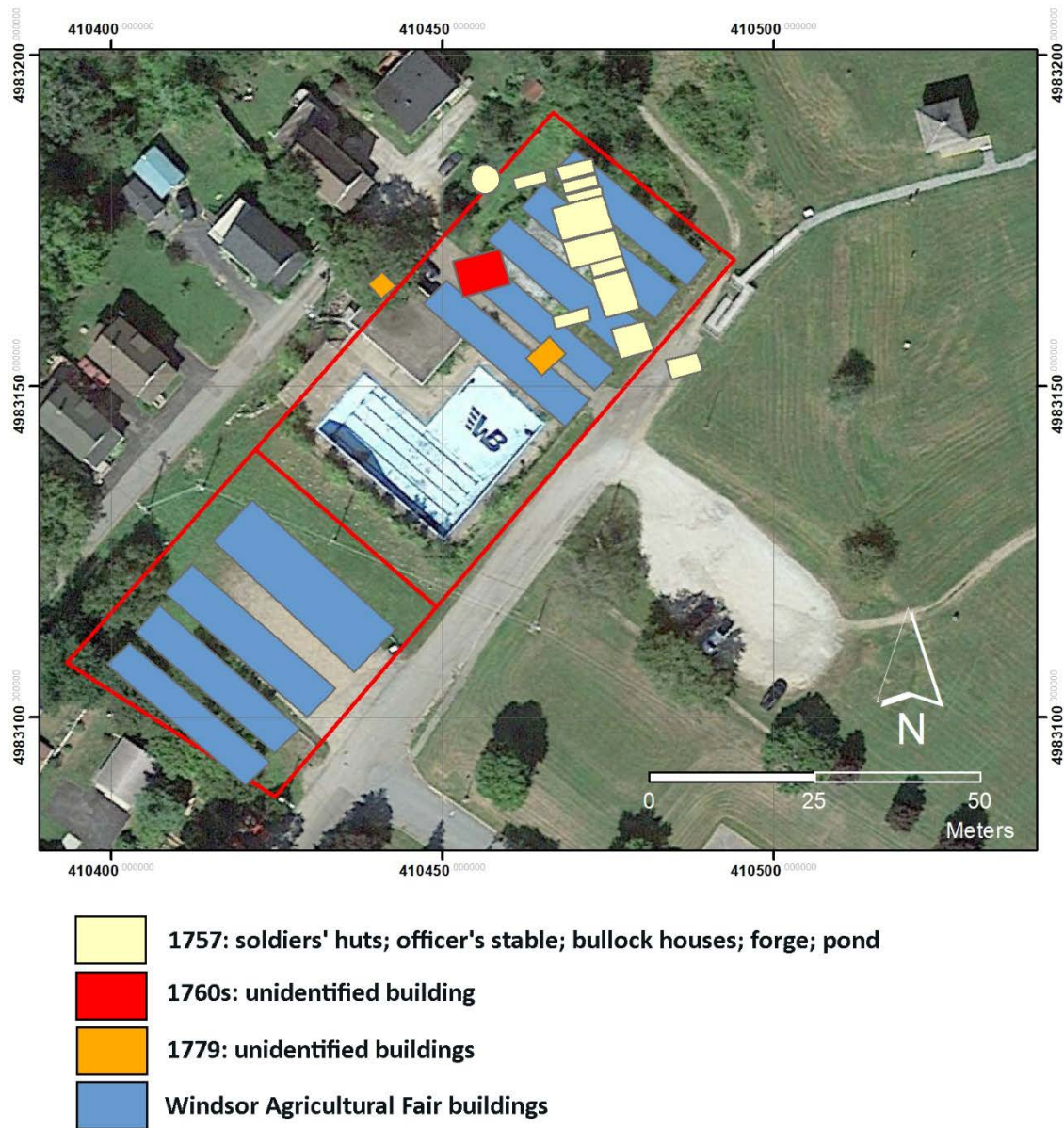


Figure 29: Archaeological potential map showing the locations of former structures identified using historical maps and aerial photographs. SOURCE: Google Earth 2015.

The integrity of these and related features is difficult to ascertain without geophysical prospection and archaeological test excavation. The study area has been significantly altered in recent decades by grading, the excavation of the pool, and the installation of associated infrastructure. In November 2019 the site was capped with imported fill.³³ LiDAR data offers some assistance in quantifying these

³³ M. Philipps to J. Fowler, 19 February 2022.

impacts (**Figure 30**).³⁴ It appears likely that material excavated from the pool in the 1960s was cast up to form berms on the west, south, and east sides of the pool. The upslope – or roughly north – side appears essentially flush with the (previously graded?) surface. ***Based on the evidence consulted to date, it appears the construction of the large swimming pool in the 1960s did not likely directly impact any of the anticipated archaeological features.***

In general, the northernmost of the two properties (PID 45059797), which is also the closer of the two to Fort Edward, appears to contain the most and earliest archaeological evidence associated with Fort Edward and perhaps the truckhouse. This area appears to have been graded, but we do not know when. It may have happened in the early colonial period, in which case early archaeological features are more likely to survive in primary context. If grading took place later, for example in the Victorian period, as part of renovations of the fairgrounds, then the earlier archaeological remains in the upslope part of the property are likely to have been negatively impacted. The more substantial buildings shown on the 1760s and 1770s maps, on the other hand, may well have received a protective blanket of sediment, enhancing their likelihood of survival to present times. If any of these buildings had cellars, wells, or privies, then these are even more likely to remain intact because of their greater depth. As loss traps, they may contain valuable archaeological deposits.

In conclusion, it should not be assumed that previous construction activities at the site, though appearing heavily disruptive, actually destroyed much of the archaeology. Contrary to appearances, significant archaeological deposits might actually survive relatively intact.

³⁴ Two sets of provincial LiDAR data are available. The first, flown in 2011 (months and days unknown) with a pulse spacing of 0.67, was collected with a REIGL Q680i. The second was collected in the summer of 2019 with a pulse spacing of 0.32 using a REIGL VQ1560i and Q780.

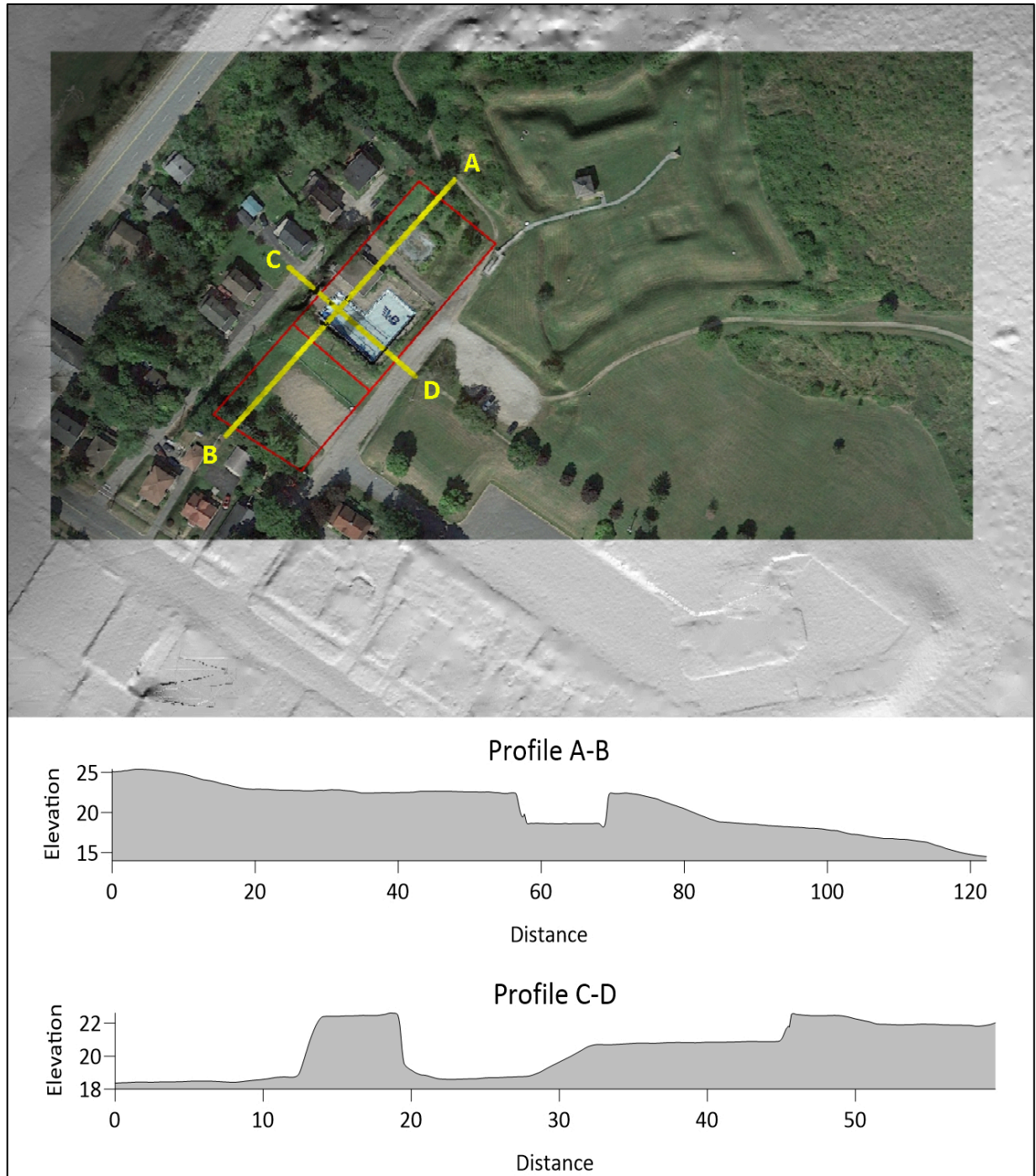


Figure 30: LiDAR data of the study area (outlined in red) and its surroundings with profiles indicating variations in relief arising from previous construction activities. Scale in metres; north at top. SOURCES: Province of Nova Scotia 2019 and Google Earth 2015.

8.0 INTERPRETATION

The primary purpose of this exercise is to assess the archaeological potential of the two properties comprising the study area. As detailed above, there is strong evidence of a range of historical activities in and adjacent to the study area, and compelling evidence that many of these activities left archaeological deposits. Despite past construction activities, there is good reason to expect that at least some of the archaeological resources inventoried here may be well preserved. Other objects and features are likely in secondary contexts. The conclusions and recommendations articulated in the next section reflect these facts and inferences, along with the considerable significance and untapped heritage resource development potential of Fort Edward National Historic Site.

Although visitation has declined in recent years, “[m]any people in the community of Windsor – area residents, members of the West Hants Historical Society, town councilors, and staff, among others – have a strong interest in the future of Fort Edward National Historic Site” and “see Fort Edward as a valuable community asset” (Parks Canada 2016, 35). Parks Canada’s most recent management plan articulates two key strategies for increasing visitation at Fort Edward National Historic Site. The first aims to *inspire the discovery of Fort Edward NHS* by:

- improving the quality of pre-trip information;
- working with others to enhance connections with “a network of national historic sites in the region;” and
- enhance visitors’ opportunities “to experience the Fort Edward view-plane and grounds.”

The second strategy aims to cultivate *shared stewardship* over Fort Edward NHS and aims to transform the site into a *community gathering place* by:

- involving “area residents, the Mi’kmaq, partners, and stakeholders” in protecting Fort Edward’s cultural resources and heritage values; and
- encouraging “area residents, the Mi’kmaq, partners, and stakeholders” to use Fort Edward NHS as a community gathering place (Parks Canada 2016, 35–36).

One is struck by the depth and richness of the heritage resources in and around Fort Edward, by their enormous potential for mobilization, and by their sadly neglected state at present.

9.0 EVALUATION OF RESEARCH

This ARIA relies on standard historical archaeological and empirical landscape archaeological methods and was informed by highly resolved and thorough cartographic, photographic, and ethnohistorical data. The MARI was consulted in order to characterize the study area's archaeological context, particularly in relation to Indigenous sites. To this end, feedback was also elicited from the Mi'kmaq Rights Initiative's Archaeology Research Division.³⁵

An extensive corpus of archival mapping was consulted, and these sources were georeferenced and collated with modern LiDAR evidence to help model archaeological potential. The exercise revealed that, not surprisingly, historical maps frequently exhibit measurement errors in addition to other distortions and omissions. These have been controlled by comparing and collating maps, and by comparing map evidence to independent sources such as land records (deeds), written documents, art, and historical photography whenever possible.

Considerations of archaeological significance and heritage value accounted for varied traditions and sought input from Parks Canada, specialists in local history and heritage, and members of Acadian and Mi'kmaq communities.

Field reconnaissance on 12 February was hampered by the presence of snow, which obstructed vision, but the site has been capped with fill and is unlikely to reveal significant visual evidence in its present state.

10.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Several conclusions and recommendations arise from this study. They range from general considerations pertaining to the value and potential communal benefit of the heritage resource, to specific steps that should be taken to safeguard archaeological resources in the event of future construction.

10.1 General Conclusions and Recommendations

As a cultural asset, the property at the centre of this ARIA – like Fort Edward more generally – represents a potentially very significant heritage resource for the West Hants Regional Municipality. This potential is perhaps not widely recognized because the site's enormously rich and multifaceted history is not very well known. Nor has this site found the kinds of champions who have advanced the cause of heritage development elsewhere along the floor of the Annapolis Valley.

³⁵ J. Fowler to T. Jacobson, 18 January, 2022; T. Jacobson to J. Fowler, 02 February 2022.

Fort Anne, which, as we have seen, is something of a sister site to Fort Edward, was the very first site designated in Canada's national historic sites system in 1917. But this development, which today anchors Annapolis Royal's heritage infrastructure and economy, was nearly doomed by local businessmen who wanted to level to fort's ramparts for commercial development. Heritage activists fought to rescue it from destruction through the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and again in the 1970s, when the town fell on hard times and a plan was again floated to level to fort to build housing (Moody 2014, 214, 303).

Across the Annapolis River, Port-Royal National Historic Site's prominence owes much to its association with the heroic career of Samuel de Champlain, the Father of New France. The Port-Royal Habitation reconstruction began with a small group of passionate heritage advocates lead by Harriet Taber Richardson and Loftus Morton Fortier, who attracted the support of local and international politicians and other leaders (including the governors of Massachusetts and Virginia, the American ambassador to Canada, and the President of Harvard University). They raised significant funds through private donations before the project was adopted and completed by the Canadian federal government in the 1930s (Schmeisser 2001, 4–12).

Grand-Pré National Historic Site, meanwhile, though stewarded by Parks Canada, is a cultural treasure of the Acadian people, who have played a significant part in its development and management for over a hundred years. An Acadian descendant, John Frederic Herbin, in 1907 bought the land that would become the heart of the national historic site and world heritage site, and the funds to build the iconic memorial church in 1924 were raised by donations from Acadians across Canada and the United States (Fowler and Noël 2017, 53; B. LeBlanc 2003, 121). Each of these sites has enjoyed, and continues to benefit from, an active constituency of promoters both outside and inside the official heritage system. *In each case, community members and local governments made the crucial investments of time and money to initiate heritage resource development projects that were subsequently adopted and reinforced by federal investment.*

Fort Edward, meanwhile, despite extraordinary and varied heritage resources, has been comparatively neglected, to the detriment of the local culture and economy.

A period of reflection and meaningful dialogue with partner organizations, especially Parks Canada, and local and descendant communities (e.g. Mi'kmaq, Acadian), seems warranted in determining the best future course of action with respect to these properties.

10.2 Archaeological Heritage Mitigation During Future Construction

Should construction take place on the properties in question, it is recommended that:

1. The entire study area be subject to a Phase 2 ARIA in advance, with the exception of the deepest portions of the former swimming pool footprint. The Phase 2 assessment should include:
 - a. Sub-surface testing and possibly geophysical prospection to assess the nature of archaeological deposits and soil disturbance; and
 - b. Special attention focused on the areas where 18th century maps show buildings (see Figure 29, above). Although this area has been artificially terraced, the impact of terracing on archaeological resources has not necessarily been destructive, and even archaeological materials in secondary context can have value.
2. Any future constructions planned for these properties should respect Fort Edward's viewplane of the Avon River, which Parks Canada identifies as essential to maintaining the site's sense of historic place and commemorative integrity.

Despite these precautions, should mechanical excavation encounter archaeological evidence, it is recommended that contractors temporarily pause the work and contact John Cormier, Coordinator of Special Places at the Nova Scotia Department of Communities, Culture, Tourism and Heritage: (902) 424-6475 and/or john.cormier@novascotia.ca.

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