



Fields of Conflict

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*Conflict Archaeologies of Prisoner of War,
Internment & Labor Camps*

**Grey Ghosts: Searching for Confederates at Camp Lawton (9JS1), Georgia,
USA**

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POW Archaeology

The sites of former prisoner of war camps, as well as internment and labor camps, are an increasing area of focus for conflict archaeology. Consisting of populations of people created by war, but who are not at war, they are often microcosms for interrelationships of humans engaged in conflict (Mytum and Carr 2013; Myers et al. 2013; Soleim 2010). And the treatment of prisoners becomes a metric by which each side is judged. Especially for American Civil War POW camps, comparisons between material culture from POW and guard habitations can reveal some key aspects of these liminal experiences of captive/captor and inform present interpretations of these camps and their occupants. And an analysis of the material culture left by both groups can provide insight into how events at the strategic level of warfare caused global and local impacts on their behavior and agency in relation to access to supplies, food, and small luxuries. The sites of former POW camps are transitory, ephemeral, and temporary places, inhabited by actors who occupied a liminal state during warfare—neither civilian, nor combatant, both guards and prisoners experienced the camps in an indeterminate state, engaged and connected to the conflict emotionally, while removed and distanced physically (McNutt 2018; Atwood 2012; Jasinski and Stenvik 2010; Mahoney et al. 2004; Myers and Moshenska 2013). But before we can approach these anthropological questions of power and dominance, control and resistance, a dataset must be gathered for a comparison between captor and captive—the dominant, and the dominated. This includes not just a comparison of their differential access to medicine, food, clothing, and other necessities, which can be read through material culture, but the transformation of the landscape into spaces of control and observation on the part of dominant guards, and spaces of resistance and concealment by the dominated POWs. This paper presents some preliminary results of the Confederate side of the dialectic of dominate and dominated at Camp Lawton (9JS1), a Confederate camp for Union POWs in southeastern Georgia (Figure 1) that was built, occupied, and abandoned between July-November of 1864. It is the focus of an ongoing research project, one aspect of which examines the evidence for landscape transformation as discussed above, following the principles of Panopticonism. These results feedback into the search for and excavation of Confederate areas of occupation. Investigations at Camp Lawton, and ongoing work at other POW camps, such as Johnson's Island, Camp Douglas, and Andersonville, are key for elucidating the evolving development of POW camps in the modern era, as they represent the first widespread attempt at constructing intentionally permanent complexes for housing POWs. Furthermore, they are invaluable heritage sites, which can serve to inform us as to the trajectory of POW treatment, and how guards and POWs interacted in an evolving dialectic of domination and resistance.



Figure 1. Regional Map of Camp Lawton showing State and Federal boundary (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)

Background to POW camps in the American Civil War.

At the wars outbreak in 1861, neither side was prepared for POWs. There was a widespread assumption a brief bloodletting would return the nation to sanity, and the war would end shortly. The outcomes of First Manassas (July 21st, 1861), Wilson's Creek (Trans-Mississippi Theater, August 10th, 1861), and Ball's Bluff (October 21st, 1861), put paid to that old lie (Brant 2016). And flooded North and South with a torrent of wounded, captured soldiers. Both dealt in similarly inefficient ways with logistical issues of housing, feeding, and caring for an influx of thousands of prisoners. The first internment sites were *ad hoc*, utilizing warehouses, jails, asylums, and other large buildings for prisons. Often unsanitary, sweltering in summer, freezing in winter, the number of prisoners rapidly exceeded the carrying capacity. By July 22nd, 1862 an exchange system was established by the Dix Hill Cartel. Initially, this alleviated issues, as men were returned home through a complex valuation system that based on rank (Hesseltine 1998).

By 1863 however, this system collapsed due to the refusal by the Confederacy to treat African-American soldiers as POWs (Grimsley and Simpson 2002, 88–89). Instead, military authorities categorized them, regardless of birth place, as escaped slaves and turned them over to civil jurisdiction. White officers of United States Colored Troops were to be either executed or punished by military courts, per a May 1st, 1863 Confederate Congress resolution (Urwin 2005, 38). In practice, many USCT were refused quarter on the battlefield, though the threat of execution of white officers was checked by threats of Union retribution via execution of Confederate officers or political prisoners in Union custody (Urwin 2005). Prisoner exchanges halted in May 1862 (Bearss et al. 1970).

Consequently, POW numbers increased, with the Confederacy holding around 50,000 prisoners by 1864. They were held in unsecure, teeming facilities, steadily draining Confederate logistics (Brant 2016, 15). Facilities in the north of the Confederacy had a high potential for mass escapes, especially as POW numbers increased. In response, the Confederate government began creating cheap, quickly constructed compounds which utilized log stockades to enclose an area where Union POWs bivouacked. Exposed to heat, cold, and rain, with little consideration of hygiene, and limited access to food and medicine, the log stockades were expedient constructions by a wartime government in a losing war, with each Confederate defeat straining scarce resources (McNutt 2018). Much of the southern prison system soon consisted of these rough internment centers, with Andersonville the most well-known. And indeed, Camp Lawton itself followed a similar plan, albeit with applications of lessons learned at Andersonville.

Thus, Camp Lawton's origins lay in the horrors of Andersonville. In early summer of 1864, John H. Winder (Figure 2), the new commissary general of Confederate prisons, took command of the prison system in Alabama and Georgia. When he arrived at Andersonville as his new duty station, he was disturbed and appalled by the state of the camp and the prisoners. This shock at conditions—over a hundred prisoners were dying a day from disease, overcrowding, bad water, and limited shelter—led Winder to seek a solution by proposing the construction of a new prison camp, larger and better suited to the increasing numbers of Union captives. In July 1864, Winder ordered a reconnaissance to search for sites suitable to establish new prison camps. Like Andersonville, the criteria included access to railways, livestock, timber, a labor force and, unlike Andersonville, access to fresh water.



**Figure 2. Portrait of John H. Winder,
1861**

([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Col._John_Winder.jpg)

File:Col._John_Winder.jpg

Camp Lawton was the consequence. It was situated in Burke County, one of the richest in GA, with abundant food resources, and numerous plantations to provide slave labour via impressment (Derden 2012). The site had a mineral spring that insured fresh water. Access to Andersonville and Savannah was provided by rail service (Figure 3). The Confederacy leased the land for the camp from Caroline Jones, widow, and wealthy plantation owner. Construction started in July of 1864; although not well documented in primary sources, it is likely that most of the construction of the stockade for prisoners and the auxiliary facilities were by enslaved African Americans from plantations that surrounded the prison site. Primary sources are clear that slaves were a regular source of heavy labour for the Confederate army and government, and local accounts suggest approximately 500 slaves performed most of the construction at Camp Lawton, including the stockade itself, the officers' quarters, hospitals, kitchens, and forts (Gibson 2015).

By October, it was a stockade enclosing 42 acres, surrounded by artillery forts, auxiliary buildings, and camps for Confederate guards (Figure 4). By the second week of October, it started receiving the shattered wrecks from Andersonville. Between October and December of 1864, more than 10,000 Union POWs passed through its gates. Despite better water and more spacious plan, Lawton was far from a paradise. Disease, short rations, and lack of shelter wreaked havoc, with more than 700 souls never leaving its gates (Derden 2012).

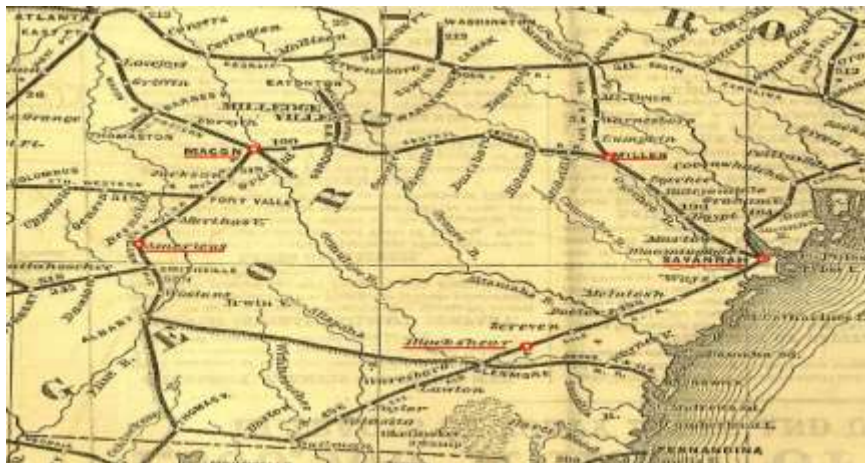


Figure 3. Figure 4. 1870 Map of Atlantic and Gulf Railroad, showing Confederate POW camps.

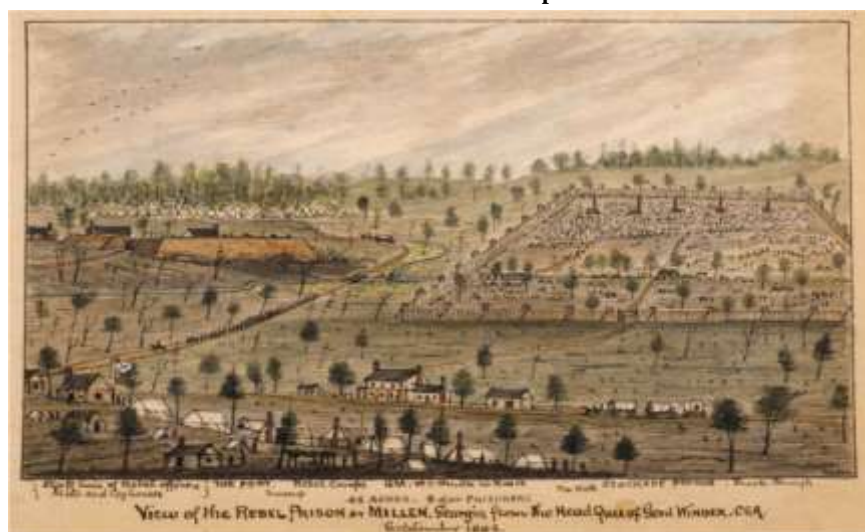


Figure 4.A View of the Prison Camp At Millen (Robert Knox Sneden)
Camp Lawton POW Camp and Current Site

But by December, the entire camp was abandoned, as Sherman's march to the sea from Atlanta confounded expectations and turned towards Savannah via Millen, as opposed to pushing towards Andersonville. When Sherman's lead elements arrived under Col Kilpatrick, his cavalry commander, a few days after the evacuation around November 22nd, they razed the portions of the stockade and camp structures to the ground (Figure 5), along with the Lawton Rail Depot, and the town of Millen (Figure 6). Present day Camp Lawton encompasses portions of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources managed Magnolia Springs State Park and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife managed Bo Ginn National Fish Hatchery. The site itself is divided by Spring Mill Branch. Spring Mill Branch also serves as the property boundary between MSSP and the Bo Ginn National Fish Hatchery.



Figure 5. This image, which appeared in Harper's Weekly in January 1865, shows the massive stockade wall and guard towers at the site (Harper's Weekly, 1865)



Figure 6. Millen Station Ablaze (Harper's Weekly 01/07/1865)

Since 2009, Camp Lawton has been the site of an ongoing cooperative research project between Georgia Southern University, GADNR, and the USFW. As a result, the site has been subjected to a programme of archaeological research, annual training in archaeological methods and techniques for GSU undergraduates and postgraduates (Figure 7), and an ongoing program of public education and outreach (Chapman, 2012). Methodologies that combine geophysical survey, systematic shovel and metal detector testing, as well as traditional test excavation units, have uncovered substantial portions of the archaeological record from the three-month occupation of Camp Lawton by Confederate guards and Union POWs (Chapman, 2012; Brant 2016; Gibson 2015; Morrow 2012).

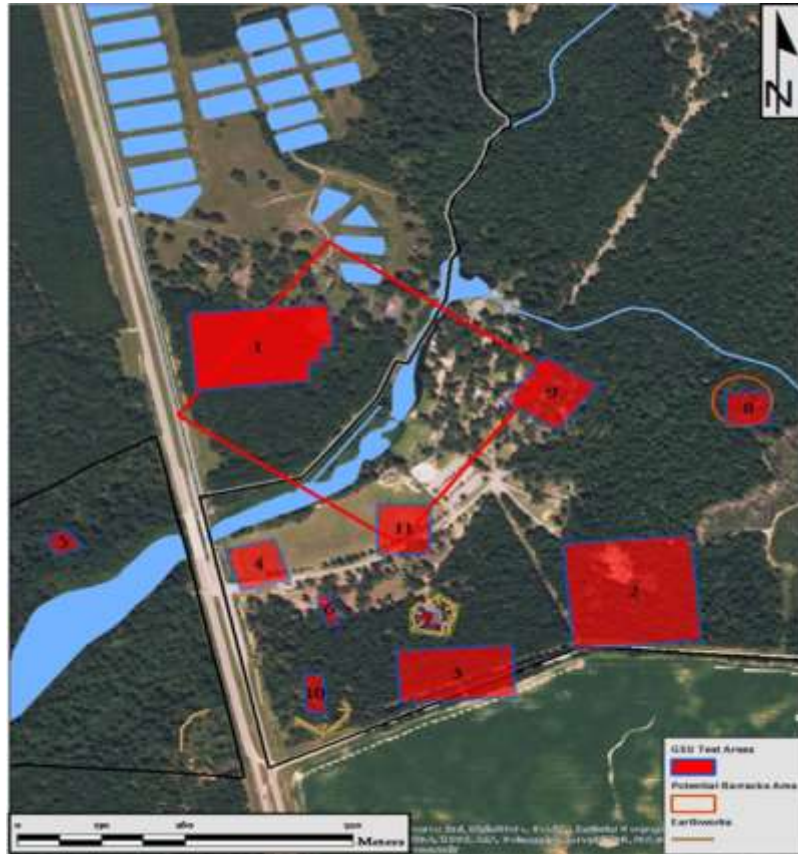


Figure 7. Map of Investigated Areas at 9JS1, 2010-2015 (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)

Highlights of this work have included the discovery of three of the four walls of the stockade. Sections of the stockade trench were identified through GPR survey, and excavated. Burned and unburned post fragments were observed in the feature excavations. Evidence of posts and posts holes showed clear marks of the stockade's construction and appearance. A graduate thesis conducted an analysis of the methods of construction, and concluded that through comparison with other archaeological examples, demonstrated clear evidence of the use of African American slaves as the labor force (Gibson 2015).

Initial work in Test Area 1, in the south-western corner of the stockade, confirmed dense areas of occupation indicated on contemporary water colors (Figure 8), situated amongst brick ovens built for cooking rations for the Union POWs. Further excavations uncovered the ephemeral footprint of a POW shelter—a shallow basin with a hearth constructed out of scavenged bricks from the ovens (Figure 9). Despite this extensive research covering almost a decade, notably the holistic approach of Greene from 2012-2015, there are large lacunas for research at Camp Lawton. One such lacuna is that areas of Confederate occupation, aside from the earthworks themselves, remain unknown, though there are some distinct possibilities. This has fed into several key research goals, one of which is:

- Continue to define the boundaries of Camp Lawton, and its associated structures and ancillary buildings. This includes the stockade itself, other potential loci such as Confederate support facilities, as well as the broader civilian component of the 19th century agrarian community that existed in the broader environment, such as Lawton itself, and Lawton Station.

This paper will present recent research that has begun to address aspects of the above question.

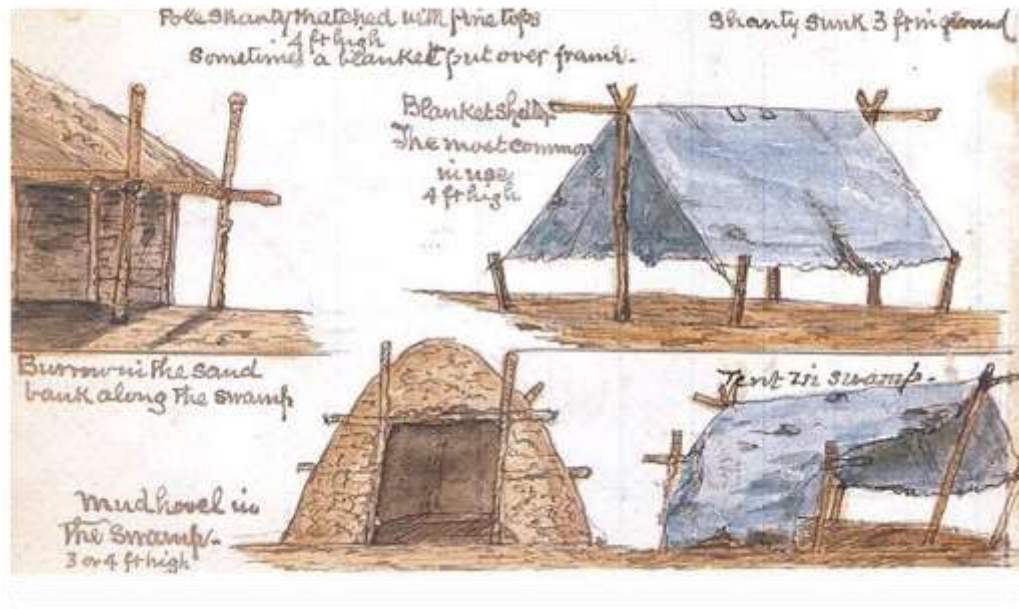


Figure 8. POW Shelters (Robert Knox Sneden)



Figure 9. Excavated POW shebang, Area 1 (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)
Searching for Ghosts: KOCOA and Panopticonism

The Confederate guards at Camp Lawton and Andersonville were troops over and under conscription age (18-45) but were drafted to serve in Georgia State Reserve units. These individuals had no combat experience, and almost no training. Their numbers are uncertain, but by October 15th, 1864 the 1st and 2nd Regiments of the Georgia Reserves were at Camp Lawton, consisting of around 1349 men (United States et al. 1985, VII: 869, 993). Including approximately 50 or so artillerymen who served as gun crews for eleven cannons sent from Andersonville to Camp Lawton, this is an approximate minimum of 1400 guards and artillerymen. However, this may have included elements of, or the entire regiments of the 3rd and 4th Georgia Reserves, as well as detached companies from the 55th Georgia Reserves. Taking the consolidated service record of estimated actual troops, there may have been approximately 8000 Confederate guards at Camp Lawton. To explore the age-old question of treatment of POWs during the American Civil War—whether the shortage of rations, foods, and medicines was intentional, bureaucratic, or a result of universal shortages—we

need to compare the material culture assemblage from the guards to the POWS. Therefore, locating these areas is essential to the research at Camp Lawton.

One of the key theoretical perspectives that underpins research into interment sites is based around Foucault's theories on the control and power held over inmates by guards and authorities (Foucault 1979). Building on the 19th century concepts of panopticonism from Bentham, Foucault argued that discipline and power over inmates revolved around their visibility to authorities. Indeed, "he who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection" (Foucault 1979, 202-203)." Thus, the efficiency of power and domination by authorities over internees is maximized through landscapes and architecture that are structured to heighten and exploit the visibility of the internee throughout their daily movements and behavior. The operative theories of panopticonism thus underpin a swath of the interpretations of POW behavior, especially that of resistance of Union POWS, both symbolic and actual. But this constant visibility was also likely a factor that governed guard behavior and actions. Given the primary sources consistent references to desertion and discipline issues, guards may have been equally as constrained and confined by their external, abstract barriers as POWs were by their internal, physical barriers. These panopticon influences the siting of structures, defenses, and the micro landscape around Camp Lawton can be visualized and interpreted through KOCOIA (McNutt forthcoming).

KOCOIA is a terrain analysis system utilized by the US military to analyze landscapes and topography tactical standpoints (US Army 2008). Its acronym is a mnemonic device, standing for: Key Terrain, Observation, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles, and Avenues of Approach. KOCOIA was first developed as part of the burgeoning discipline of military science just prior to the start of the American Civil War around the middle of the 19th century. Originally developed to enable the effective positioning of artillery and to calculate fields of fire, it was adapted for use as a general tactical tool, since it can be utilized effectively to analyze surrounding terrain to highlight topography of tactical importance. It is now used by the US National Park Service as a tool for researching and interpreting battlefields under its care, and has been applied by Scott to his research on the Indian Wars in Nebraska (Scott and McFeaters 2011; Bleed and Scott 2011). Moreover, it has been used as a predictive model with great success for locating battlefields in periods as diverse as Medieval to the Early Modern (McNutt 2014).

The intense focus of panopticonism on visibility within landscapes and architecture for control, and concealment for resistance of domination and power has obvious and direct links to the very aspects of terrain KOCOIA was constructed to identify. Furthermore, given that KOCOIA arose during the Civil War, it is logical to assume that as a military installation, Camp Lawton's defensive and auxiliary facilities would be situated in adherence to underlying principles of KOCOIA, and linked into the battle pattern of the American Civil War, with its focus on massed riflery, focused and integral artillery support, as well as inter-visibility between areas of the camp.

Consequently, aspects of KOCOIA were used as a predictive model to guide the placement of archaeological investigations. A digital terrain model was created (Figure 10), which included the stockade and extant earthworks. Observation points were added to the artillery emplacements of the forts, and along the stockade wall. And indeed, the KOCOIA results demonstrate that the placement of the earthworks around Camp Lawton were driven by defensive concerns. Examining the aspects of avenues of approach and withdrawal, in conjunction with fields of observation (fire), they were situated with a view towards protecting the camp from any potential Union advance along the historic roads to the north, as well as guarding the withdrawal route for Confederate forces. The observation results echo this, showing a focus not on the stockade itself, but on the landscape AROUND it, including the Lawton depot on the rail line (McNutt forthcoming). Moreover, the KOCOIA analysis has potential answers for the unresolved location of the Confederate areas of occupation. If we assume the earthworks were constructed to guard the camp itself—the affiliated hospitals, officer's barracks, enlisted encampment, and the artillery and supply stores, then the extent

of the observation fields from the forts should overlap with the extent and possible areas of Confederate occupation

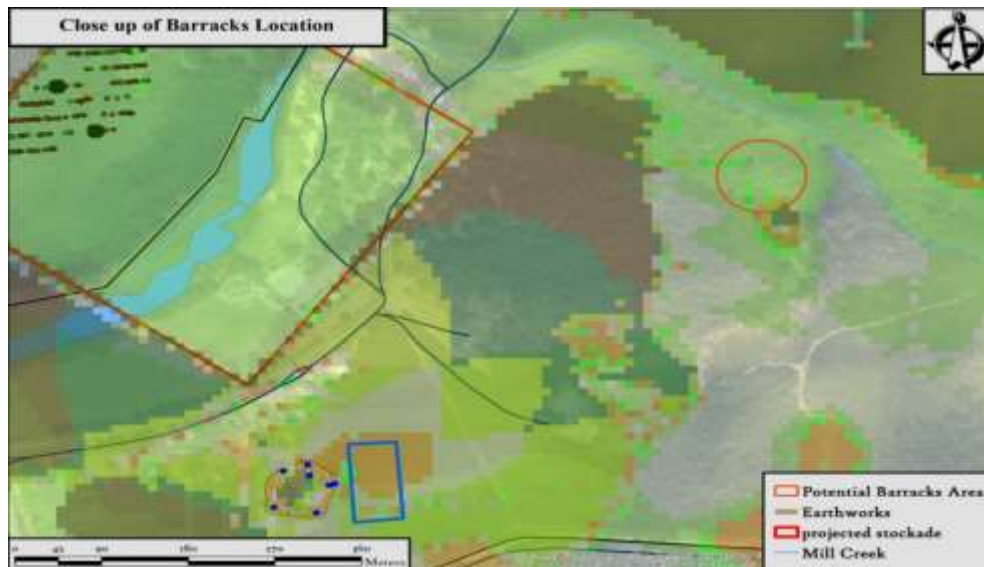


Figure 10. Avenues of Approach bracket the camp—from West to East, Augusta to Savannah highway, and Augusta Savannah rail line (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project).

Camps and Cabins

This hypothesis is supported by findings from previous field seasons; in 2012, as part of work associated with *Time Team America*, a metal detector survey uncovered fired percussion caps, heel plates, and other military related items in an area east of the stockade. In 2013, this area was targeted for further investigations (Figure 11). Metal detector surveys and traditional gridded excavations revealed a chimney fall, and an assemblage of domestic and military material culture. This included artifacts we would expect to be associated with officers, including the rim from a pistol powder flask, part of a telescope, as well as ceramic sherds and glass fragments. These glass fragments included portions from medicine and wine bottles, as well as a decanter stopper (Figure 12), and two interesting sherds from a stoneware jug. These sherds were molded, with a knight in figural relief, as well as a motif of twining vegetation coupled with geometric designs (Figure 13). The only comparison is an ‘Eglinton jug’, (Figure 14) produced by William Ridgway, Son & Co., in Stoke-on-Trent, North Staffordshire, England (McNutt 2018). They were first manufactured in 1840 to commemorate Lord Eglinton’s ridiculed 1839 reenactment of a Medieval tournament at Eglinton Castle in Scotland, inspired by Sir Walter Scott’s Medieval romanticism. The fascination of southern upper classes with Scott and Medieval romanticism is well documented, indicating that this vessel was a high status, expensive import, and probably a heirloom piece. All of these—the pistol powder flask, wine bottles, and telescope—support an interpretation of this area as a cabin, used by Confederate officers. And the location of the finds falls directly within the viewshed from the fort.

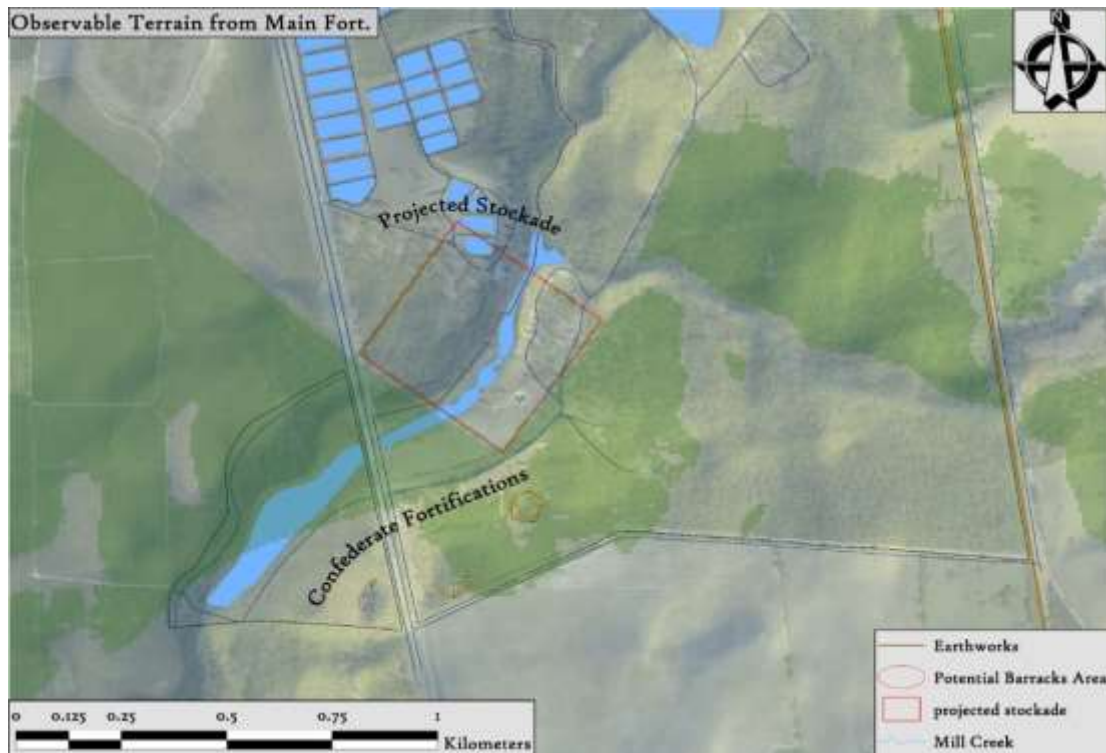


Figure 11. Area of 2013 Investigations of potential barracks (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)



Figure 12. L-R finger ring, contemporary powder flask, distal telescope portion, glass, buttons, and heel tap; and powder flask rim recovered from site (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project).



Figure 13. Sherds from Eglinton jug found in Area 8: bottom-base sherd. Top-body sherd. (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)



Figure 14. William Ridgway, Son & Co Eglinton Jug. Overall view, detail of body, base rim, and base mark
<http://www.seekersantiques.com/products/238>

Moreover, 2017 provided further confirmation, with a metal detector survey conducted in the spring next to Fort Lawton itself. This locus was chosen for its proximity to the fort, as well its position in the landscape between the potential officer barracks to the east, and visible terrain from the earthworks location; its proximity to the stockade, and the inter-visibility between the locations.

Focused on finding evidence of Confederate loci, systematic metal detector surveys were conducted using VLF detectors in an area east of the earthworks of Fort Lawton. Two 50x50m grids were established oriented magnetic north. Each grid was subdivided into N-S transects 2 meters wide. Labelled Grid 1 and Grid 2, they shared the same southern and northern boundary, respectively (Figure 25). The west and east boundaries of each grid were flagged every 10 meters running N-S, and each transect line was flagged every ten meters N-S, establishing visible lanes. Named grids and numbered transects maintained provenience information in the event of loss of GPS data or field maps, and allowed for piece-plotting by pull tape from transect and grid boundaries for potential diagnostic artifacts or encountered features (McNutt 2018). Grids were swept bi-directionally with detectors set to no discrimination, and every hit was flagged and excavated. No hits were dug beyond the plow zone. Each hit was recorded by submeter accurate differential GPS, and the results plotted and analyzed in GIS software (Figure 15).

Concentrations of period artifacts from the spring were excavated during the summer field school. Two 2x2 m units were placed over clusters of machine cut nails, and one was placed over a cluster of cut nails and a handmade brick fragment (McNutt 2018). Each unit was tied into the existing metal detector grids, with the SW corner of Grid 1 already labelled as N1000E1000. All units were excavated in 10cm arbitrary levels. Unit N984E1012 was placed over the brick fragment recovered during spring field work. Midway through level III, a dark grayish tan stain appeared in the SW quarter of the unit. Cleaning and further excavation exposed a trapezoidal feature, with a small extension to the east. Labelled Feature 2, it was excavated fully to a depth of 25cms below level III and appeared to be a hearth/fire pit that showed evidence of repeated burning and cleaning. (McNutt 2018).

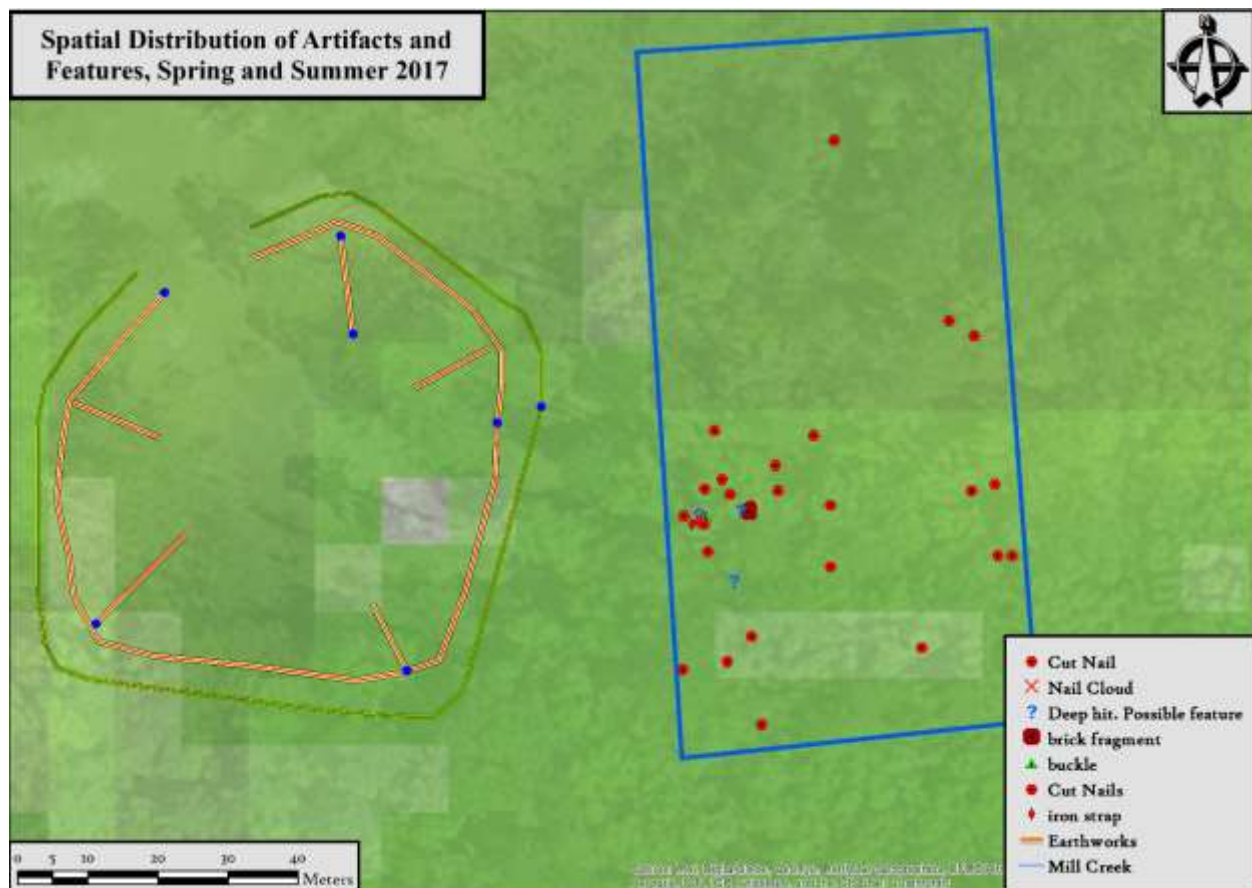


Figure 15. Area of investigations for Spring and Summer field schools, 2017. Showing metal detector grid and artifact clusters (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project).

The closest parallel for the shape is a Dakota fire pit, with the extension a draft tunnel for oxygen intake for the main hearth. There is a parallel to this feature at Camp Lawton from the 1864 stockade in Florence, South Carolina (Avery et al. 2008). Excavation at Florence in 2006 focused on the Confederate guard quarters, during which Feature 95 was investigated. It was 2.26 meters long by 2.22 meters wide, and interpreted as a cabin, inside which was a human internment. While the excavators note there was no hearth or fire pit visible, excavation of the human interment uncovered a pit outline in the SW quadrant, with burnt animal bones, cut nails, and charcoal fragments within (Avery et al. 2008, 74–75, 238). The shape of this pit is a close parallel to the one at Camp Lawton, perhaps indicative of a shared cultural practice of heating winter quarters (McNutt 2018).

Unit N981E1004 was placed on top of a cluster of machine-cut nails recovered during the spring metal detecting survey. Artifacts began to show in Level II, with small numbers of machine cut nails, and some brick fragments. The southern half, closest to the south wall, had an E-W linear stain of darker yellowish-brown soil, with patches of dark brown soil in the interior. Progressing into Level III, this resolved into a builder's trench with three interior post holes (Feature 1). There was potentially a fourth posthole but the feature was truncated by plowing, and a V shaped fire break ditch that bisected the unit from S to N. The builder's trench was bisected along its entire length, and showed further evidence of truncation; all three post holes reached a maximum of 10cms in depth below the feature in Level III (Figure 16). However, despite the truncation, it was clear one post was larger in diameter, and one post was squared in shape (McNutt forthcoming).

Unit N980E1010 was opened four meters east of N981E1004, to see if Feature 1 extended eastward. As with the two units discussed above, artifact numbers were low, but consisted of period artifacts such as machine cut nails, brick rubble, small fragments of historic glass, and ferrous tin alloyed metal scraps. As excavations reached level IV, there was no evidence of any extension of Feature 1 in the unit. Thus, the nature of Feature 1 is yet uncertain. It may be a builder's trench, truncated by CCC activity and works on the trails and earthworks. A second possibility, though unlikely given the size of the posts, is that Feature 1 represents a trench for the construction of a shade arbor (Figure 17). Future excavations will be expanded north and south in the area, to examine it in more detail, and hopefully obtain a better picture of its purpose (McNutt 2018). However, while Feature 1 was not present in N980E1010, a large curvilinear stain of darker yellow brown sand that covered almost the entire unit appeared at Level IV, with a potential post in the SE corner of the unit, and a second post three quarters of the way N along the east edge of the unit. This proved to be the major portion of a deep, basin-like curvilinear pit (Figure 18), similar in size and shape to features at the Florence stockade, and Feature 2 (a shebang) in Area 1 at Camp Lawton, and examples from other excavated camps



Figure 16. N981E1004, Feature 1, builder's trench. Looking south after bisection. Showing post holes pre-excavation (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)

(Balicki 2011; Bentz and Kim 1993). Both post holes were inclined at slight angles towards each other and were deep set. Designated Feature 3, it is likely this is representative of a Confederate tent or lean-to structure of some kind, with an A-frame entrance and a subsurface floor. Likely, this A-frame would have had a roof pole running from the entrance onto the ground, then be covered with either canvas, or pine boughs and branches (McNutt 2018). Artifacts in the 2017 locus were low, with clusters of cut nails, a nipple cleaner (Figure 19) for clearing the channel of a percussion fired rifle which is certainly from the Confederate occupation, mid-19th century buckles, and a backband strap from horse tack, which was mid-19th century in date, potentially from an artillery harness, though from a logging harness is equally possible.

Figure 17. Shade arbors used by Officers of the 4th New Jersey Infantry
(<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/524423>)



Figure 18. N980E1010, Feature 3. Subsurface pit, likely for a Confederate tent or lean-to.
Post excavation, looking south (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project).



Figure 19. Nipple Cleaner from 2017 Survey (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)

Further evidence of Confederate activity surfaced in spring of 2018. MSSP was relocating some walking trails to preserve the earthwork fort and redan. As part of this process, GSU Archaeology performed mitigation prior to ground disturbance. The new trail route was swept bi-directionally in passes using VLF detectors set to no discrimination. The area covered exceeded the footprint of the trail by a meter on either side, for complete coverage. 10 machine-cut nails were recovered, and a possible trace hook from a splinter bar—potentially from an artillery limber, though as with previous finds of horse tack, this is impossible to tie to the Civil War occupation. More interesting was the recovery of a cast iron skillet handle, deliberately shortened at the proximal end, and fragmented from the pan (Figure 20). It was uncovered in direct association with a possible hearth feature during the metal detector survey, at the eastern end of the redan (Figure 21). Typologically, it dates to the 1860s in form and handle shape (Tyler 2013). And there is an interesting link with the few records that survived from Confederate reserve regiments.

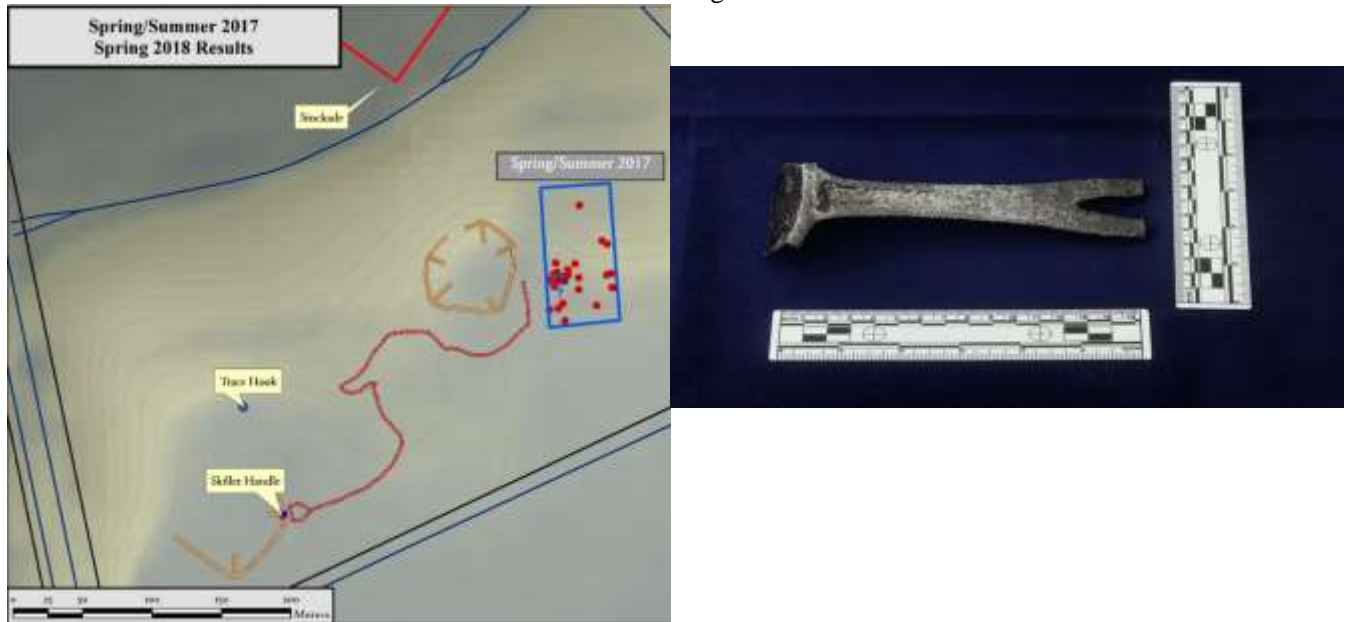


Figure 20. Skillet find spot from 2018 (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)

On 6 May of 1864, Captain G. W. Austin, Co. F, with the 1st Georgia Reserves requested 6 tents, 5 camp kettles, 12 mess pans, 5 axes and handles, 2 picks, 4 water buckets. And 4 skillets with lids (Figure 22) (Austin 1864). The 1st Georgia Reserves were certainly shifted from Andersonville to Camp Lawton, with the letters of H.C. Harris, a 17-year-old private from Co A of the same regiment one of the few sources of



Figure 21. Skillet from 2018 survey (Camp Lawton Archaeological Project)

correspondence we have from Confederate guards (National Park Service, n.d.; Derden 2012).

While the requisition form was received and signed by a quartermaster, this does not mean Austin's company received the items. Nevertheless, it is an intriguing correlation, especially given the modified handle. The intention behind the modification was possibly to lighten weight and shorten length enough to fit into a haversack or blanket roll. It suggests, access to equipment, shelters, and necessary camp items were possibly available for requisitioning by company commanders, though what level their requests were met is uncertain. While tents might imply that there would be no need for structures such as the pit feature excavated in 2017, given the extremely cold winter of 1863, tents received may have been modified for use with improvised structures such as the pit structure at Camp Lawton, to retain heat in a subterranean dwelling. This vernacular architecture is present at other winter camps, both Confederate and Union. Furthermore, it seems likely that smaller items could be successfully obtained.

FORM NO. 40.--SPECIAL REQUISITION.

For Capt Austin's Co Reserves.

6th May 1864

6 Tents.
5 Camp Kettles.
12 Mef Pans.
5 Axes & Handles.
2 Picks
4 Skillets & Lids
4 Water Buckets.

I certify that the above requisition is correct, and that the articles specified are absolutely requisite for the public service, rendered so by the following circumstances:

Capt J. M. Johnston, Quartermaster Confederate States Army, will issue the articles specified in the above requisition.

By Command of Brig Gen Lucius J. Garbutt, Commanding.

Miss H. Hill
Capt & C. S. A.

Received at Atlanta Ga. the 6 day of May 1864 of J. M. Johnston, Quartermaster C. S. Army.

Six Tents - five Camp Kettles - twelve Mef Pans - 5 Axes & Handles - two picks - four Skillets & Lids & four Water Buckets.

Figure 22. Requisition form, Capt. Austin (National Archives)

Conclusions

The picture of the Confederate guard is one of limited evidence but reflects a more sympathetic representation. If the locus investigated in 2017 is the norm for how Confederate enlisted were living, it would suggest that their shelters were little better than those of POWs. However, they were built with access to materials, and potentially constructed by slave labor, with apparent access to requisition essential items. In

contrast, the only group that seems richly supplied at Camp Lawton were officers, with imported stoneware jugs and glass decanters, in an actual structure. Ultimately, the nature of the Confederate experience is too indistinct to discuss in detail, though finds like the skillet add to our picture of the Confederate supply chain, and hint at the control of access to such essential tools by Confederate forces, as the only cooking utensils yet found in the POW area are ad hoc pans fashioned from canteens.

This is the ongoing goal of the next several field seasons at Camp Lawton; to shine more light onto the past, and onto the narratives of groups that occupied a transitory place in time and space, a world with conscript guards and volunteer prisoners. There will be limits to this, as can be seen above. Archaeology is at times an imperfect tool to address such complex issues, but it is still the best tool for addressing these issues. This is especially true for conflict archaeology; our sites exist as moments frozen in time, with timescales of hours, weeks, and months, as opposed to the centuries of other sites. As such, conflict archaeology as a subdiscipline is exceptionally positioned to explore these dynamic issues of human behavior on the battlefield, in the camp site, and at the siege site. Indeed, conflict archaeology should seek to expand further beyond battlefields, to encompass all areas of conflict in the past, as our perspective is uniquely suited to explore physical, social, and abstract conflict and their ramifications and impacts on the trajectories of history on the regional, national, and global level. We are uniquely suited, to paraphrase Orser, to dig locally, but think globally.

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Archaeological Investigations of a Civil War Prison Camp Site (9PR26) at Blackshear, Georgia Colin Partridge¹

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INTRODUCTION

Late in 1864, as a Union army under General William T. Sherman marched through Georgia on its way to Savannah, thousands of Union prisoners of war (POWs) being held in central Georgia were forced to relocate to avoid recapture. The infamous stockade prisons of Andersonville and Camp Lawton were abandoned, and the prisoners moved to new confines in South Carolina and across southern Georgia. One of these makeshift prison camps was located in what is now Pierce County, Georgia outside the town of Blackshear. Blackshear prison was occupied by approximately 5,000 Union POWs and several hundred Confederate guards from the end of November through mid-December 1864.

Blackshear prison camp, archaeological site 9PR26, is situated along the banks of a small branch of the Alabama River. The creek is fed by a natural spring located to the north of the site. Long rumored by the inhabitants of Blackshear to be the location of the Civil War era camp, the site was visited by the Georgia Southern Department of Sociology and Anthropology in 2013 (Wood et al. 2017). The primary goal of the early site visits was to determine the location of the camp and assess the integrity of the archaeological remains. Current and projected fieldwork of the Blackshear archaeology project focus on continuing to delineate the site to determine its boundaries. Systematic metal detecting survey will reveal the extent and integrity of the site within the designated property. Knowledge gained from the results will influence the preservation of the site for future research and interpretation.

Research goals of the current fieldwork, being conducted by graduate students of the Georgia Southern Department of Sociology and Anthropology, will be dependent on the delineation of the site and include:

- Determining the layout of the camp and why this particular site was chosen either for military, prison, or basic camp needs.
- What was the spatial proximity between the prisoners and the guards and is there a clear boundary present in the archaeological record?
- Do these results indicate a change in the prisoner/guard dynamic compared to the time spent at Camp Lawton and other Georgia prisons?

Beyond these goals, this research will aid in the understanding of the Civil War and the role of POW camps in the history of that conflict. The project will also connect the regional history of South Georgia to the national narrative of the Civil War.

Historical Background

During the American Civil War, fought between the United States and the Confederate States of America 1861-1865, as many as 410,000 soldiers were captured on the battlefield and incarcerated behind enemy lines (Speer 1997, xiv). Early in the war prisoners captured during battle were paroled in the field until a formal system of prisoner exchange was established, modeled after a method used during The War of 1812. Known as the Dix-Hill Cartel, this system allowed captured prisoners to be paroled back home and reentered into the army after they had been exchanged with a prisoner from the other side. Prisoners taken in the first years of the war could expect to be exchanged within a few weeks of being captured. Either side held no more than a few thousand prisoners at a time (Bush 2011, Hesseltine 1930, Speer 1997).

By the spring of 1863, the system of prisoner exchange began to break down. The Union was deploying African American units into the field, and the Confederacy refused to treat these soldiers the same as white POWs. Instead, the Confederacy declared that they would enslave any captured African American troops and execute their commanding officers. The Union, therefore, refused to return any Confederate soldiers they captured, effectively ending the exchange process in the summer of 1863 (Hesseltine 1930, 115).

As the war continued, the Confederacy reorganized the prison system and placed General John H. Winder in charge of constructing large, enclosed encampments well behind the battlefield. By placing the stockades at rural train depots in southern Georgia, prisoners would be isolated from civilian populations and in unfamiliar territory deterring possible escape (Davis 2003). The prisons would also theoretically be well supplied as Georgia was considered the breadbasket of the Confederacy. The first stockade prison, constructed in February 1864, was placed at Anderson station outside of Americus, Georgia and would become known as Andersonville. The stockades were designed with exterior guard towers set along the top perimeter at regular intervals and manned by armed guards day and night. The presence of these towers and lack of shelter within the stockades left the prisoners exposed to the elements and the constant surveillance of the guards. Artillery positions were placed around the camps, and protected the stockade and auxiliary facilities from outside attack but also made it possible to fire on the prisoners inside. Twenty feet from the stockade wall inside the prison was a barrier known as the deadline. If a prisoner crossed this line, intentionally or otherwise, they would be fired upon.

Originally designed to hold as many as 10,000 prisoners the total population at Andersonville would swell to over 30,000 during the summer months of 1864, leading to high mortality rates among the POWs. Overcrowding, a lack of supplies, and rampant disease led to the deaths of approximately 12,000 prisoners. In response, General Winder ordered a new stockade to be constructed outside of Millen, Georgia to alleviate the overcrowding. Incorporating the same prison architecture and defense characteristics employed at Andersonville, Camp Lawton was opened in October 1864. The stockade enclosed 42 acres, twice the area of Andersonville. A natural spring running through the center of the camp provided fresh water, but problems in acquiring adequate rations for the POWs continued. As many as 10,000 prisoners were transferred to the new prison via Savannah but their stay would be cut short as General Sherman and his Union army, which had occupied Atlanta in September, began their ‘march to the sea.’

Without knowing the exact destination of Sherman’s army, the Confederates were forced to evacuate the prisoners from Andersonville and Camp Lawton. As described in the historical accounts, this was a period of massive confusion exacerbated by Union cavalry raids on Confederate lines of transportation and communication (Davenport 1977, Hosmer 1896, Lightcap 1902, McElroy 1879). Camp Lawton was abandoned in late November 1864, and the POWs were moved to Savannah by rail. The Confederate guard forces then used the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad to travel from Savannah to Thomasville in the hopes of avoiding recapture. The plan was to eventually relocate the prisoners to Alabama or South Carolina depending on which railroads had not been cut by Union forces.

Along the way, the Confederate guard under the command of Colonel Henry Forno stopped at Blackshear Station and proceeded to march a host of prisoners into the woods outside of town to establish a temporary camp by the banks of a small stream. According to a communication from Colonel Forno to General Winder dated December 7, 1864, he was unable to locate the General for almost two weeks and was operating without direct orders when Blackshear was initially established (Forno 1899). Forno states that 5,000 prisoners were at the camp along with two regiments of reserve infantry and several companies of Georgia state militia.

Blackshear prison has been categorized as an open area or barren ground prison where POWs were concentrated in a specific location and surrounded by a guard detail. With the lack of any stockade, sentry towers, or artillery fortifications the camp did not provide the same security and level of containment as the prisons at Andersonville and Camp Lawton. The historical accounts refer to the existence of a deadline as well as watch fires being lit around the camp at night to prevent escape (Smith 1892, 257, Vaughter 1880, 150). Surveillance would have been limited, and the interactions between guards and prisoners increased due to

close physical proximity. This type of prison was most frequently used by Confederate forces late in the war when large groups of POWs were being transferred from various locations across the South. Other sites of this nature include Camp Sorghum in Columbia, South Carolina, Camp Verde near San Antonio, Texas, and Bell Isle located in the James River outside Richmond, Virginia. While these sites exhibit similar characteristics of an open area prison, each is uniquely adapted to the local landscape to provide an effective encampment for the guards while maintaining control over the prisoners (DePratter et al. 2011, Speer 1997, Thoms 2004).

From the POW perspective, Blackshear represented a welcome change of pace. Francis Hosmer of the 4th Vermont Volunteer Infantry recalls that “Blackshear has always seemed like an oasis in the memory of those perilous times. Here we were far removed from all apparent danger and the guards were more humane” (Hosmer 1896, 47). Another prisoner simply stated, “I was glad to be out [of the stockade]...” (Davenport 1977, 195). However, not everything about the prisoner’s situation changed for the better. George M. Shearer of the 17th Iowa Infantry recorded the following entry in his diary on December 8, 1864, while in camp at Blackshear: “Our rations at this camp consists in corn meal- Beef and molasses and occasionally a little rice we get enough to keep the fire of life burning, but not enough to satisfy the appetite nor quench hunger” (Shearer 1864, 126). The weather was cold and wet, and despite being outside prison walls, the POWs were left to construct their crude shelters, known as ‘shebangs’, from fallen tree limbs, blankets, or coats they had in their possession. Although it is unclear if existing structures were present during the occupation, these rudimentary shelters are described as being erected by the prisoners upon arrival and subsequently burned when the camp is evacuated. By the time Col. Forno’s communication was written he had received orders to advance to Thomasville, GA and began moving prisoners down the rail line in that direction. The camp was evacuated entirely around the 11th of December 1864 and burned (Forno 1899, Long 1886, 121). Many of the prisoners would continue their journey from Thomasville and arrive back at the Andersonville stockade on Christmas day later that year. The war ended in April 1865, and those who remained in prison were exchanged around that time.

Archeology at Blackshear

Preliminary investigations, conducted by Georgia Southern University in 2013, included shovel testing and metal detecting of a 100m by 160m grid located on the crest of the hill overlooking the site (see figure 1). This location was chosen based on research of historical accounts as well local historians that claim a portion of this area was the location of a Civil War era cemetery for Union POWs. Shovel tests pits (STPs) were excavated at 20m intervals, and the metal detecting survey consisted of single transects placed to the west of each north-south running STP transect. The width of each metal detecting transect is estimated to be one meter. Excavations uncovered several period artifacts including two U.S. general service buttons, a railroad spike, and a .64 caliber musket ball (see figure 2). The munitions are consistent with a buck and ball load for .69 caliber smoothbore muskets. These older model weapons were made more effective at close range by loading multiple projectiles and could have been utilized by Georgia state militia and reserve regiments as newer rifled muskets were sent to troops on the front (Avery and Garrow 2008). Five 1m x 1m test units were opened up on areas of artifact concentration resulting in the location of burned features which were not interpreted as being associated with the camp. The project area was also mapped using high-resolution terrestrial LiDAR, which would provide a detailed topographic base layer for sitemaps and information on surrounding cultural features of the landscape (Wood et al. 2017).



Figure 1: Blackshear Prison sitemap



Figure 2: Civil War period artifacts recovered in 2013

In 2014 the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation listed the Blackshear Prison site as one of its historic “Places in Peril” due to the property being privately owned and unprotected by development. In response, Pierce County encouraged archaeologists to return to the site in the summer of 2017 to aid in the interpretation of the site with a goal towards preservation (Williams 2017). Three grid blocks were established further downhill and closer to the stream (see figure 1). These areas were surveyed using a different and more optimized metal detecting method designed to target the remains associated with the camp. Based on the 2013 fieldwork results and additional research it has been determined that metal detecting is the preferred method for surveying this and other 19th century military sites, due to the assumption that most of the artifacts associated with those sites are metallic (Balicki 2011, Espenshade et al. 2011). This project will follow a methodology influenced by The Georgia Council of Professional Archaeologists (GCPA) Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Survey as well as other tested methods for battlefield and military camp survey across various time periods and geographic locations (Fox 1993, McNutt 2016).

The grid blocks were surveyed at 10m intervals with an average 2m metal detector swing width. Each transect was marked to aid the detectorists in maintaining their respective lines. The detectorists walked each transect bi-directionally, flagging any hits as they went. No discrimination was used on the metal detectors to

identify any possible signatures associated with historical occupation, including potential nail clouds or fence lines. After each transect was completed, the researchers went back and excavated each flagged signal. The dirt was screened through ¼" mesh, and the shovel test dug until the original metal find was located. All recovered artifacts of archaeological significance were collected, had their provenience recorded, and the location documented using a Trimble decimeter GPS unit. The corners of each grid were also recorded with a GPS unit. Several period artifacts were recovered, including .32 caliber buckshot and a harmonica reed (see figure 3), but the true extent of the site remains unknown (Blackshear excavation Archive 2017). Once again the munitions are consistent with a .64 caliber buck and ball load for a smoothbore musket.



Figure 3: Civil War period artifacts recovered in 2017

The current fieldwork will focus on further delineating the site and identifying its boundaries using the methods outlined for the 2017 fieldwork. The systematic metal detector survey method consists of 10m x 50m transects arrayed in grid blocks across the remainder of the property boundary. This survey strategy is designed to provide a representative sample of the artifacts present across the site. 50m by 50m grids will be established across the site adjacent to one another to maintain accurate spacing (see figure 4 for sample grid).



Figure 4: Sitemap with 50m x 50m grid overlay, numbered blocks represent current fieldwork areas

The metal detectors that will be used in the upcoming phase of fieldwork include the Garrett AT Pro and the White Spectra V3i. All are VLF (Very Low Frequency) detectors with double-D wound coils. Both are capable of a depth penetration of +20cmbs. Students trained in the use of these detectors at previous field schools will be the primary operators. The grid blocks will be placed adjacent to one another starting from the areas previously surveyed and working towards the south-west boundary of the site. Analysis of the artifact distribution will focus on identifying how the camp was organized; such as the location of prisoner and guard occupation areas and potential features including privies, picket posts, and watch fires.

DISCUSSION

Immediately following the war one of the more controversial topics was the treatment of prisoners by both sides during the conflict. In the North, Union veterans published accounts of their internment which was used as evidence to the cruelty of the Confederacy's leadership. Meanwhile, those in the South claimed that while unable to provide adequate supplies to Union POWs, Union authorities were more than capable of preventing the deaths of thousands of Confederate POWs in northern prisons. Historians have since managed to provide a more objective view of Civil War prisons and their legacies (Cloyd 2010, Derden 2012, Futch 1968, Hesseltine 1930, 1972, Speer 1997). However, a reliance on the historical accounts alone provides only a portion of the real lived experiences at these camps.

Archaeology becomes an integral part in understanding the events surrounding Civil War prisons, particularly in South Georgia during 1864 where primary source material becomes limited in the historical record. The field of conflict archaeology has expanded in recent years beyond battlefields and into new areas where conflict had an impact. One of these areas is the archaeology of confinement, specifically that of prisoner of war camps. Archaeologists are working to better understand how these camps operated and evolved as conflict grew more expansive. Some theories of confinement that are being explored include the effect of conceptual boundaries within prisons and how different populations designated space (Myers 2008). This concept relates to the physical camp layout for which there were specific methods during the Civil War for establishing military camps that have unique archaeological signatures (Balicki 2011).

The American Civil War represents a new stage of confinement with the construction of what one historian has called America's concentration camps (Speer 1997, xiv). Investigations at Johnsons Island (Bush 2011), Andersonville (Prentice and Mathison 1989, Prentice and Prentice 1990), and Camp Lawton (Chapman 2012, McNutt 2016) look to better understand how the war resulted in the creation of these sites and what effect the camps had on the lived experiences of the people who occupied them. The primary significance of this study is that it will expand on the understanding of this particular resource in Blackshear, GA. Pierce County and local stakeholders with the Pierce County Historical Society are dedicated to the preservation and continual excavation and interpretation of the site and are currently considering the potential these activities will have in encouraging heritage tourism. Within this context, Pierce County has expressed an ongoing commitment to the preservation of the entire site. This will require an accurate delineation of the site's boundaries and an assessment of its integrity.

From a research standpoint, the delineation of this site will help to better understand the historic landscape the camp occupied and why Colonel Forno and his men may have chosen this location. Knowing how the site was laid out will enable one to better visualize the area while referencing the historical documents. It will also allow researchers to begin to understand how this site compares to other Civil War prisons, and potentially start to delve deeper into those anthropological questions raised above, about dynamics between guards and POWs at an almost atypical site, in a chaotic period where normal boundaries and strictures may have been loosened.

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Heritage Tourism and Archaeological Education of a Civil War POW site.

Rhianna Bennett

Civil War and American Memory

Landscapes of conflict tend to be popular destinations under tourism and education through commemoration, especially in the United States. Preservation of battlefields and cemeteries help to memorialize the conflict, leading to such sites becoming a popular aspect of heritage tourism for continued education. In 2010, 31% of American travelers reported interest in visiting a Civil War related site, which also led to increased expenditures in lodging, gas, food, and recreation (Civil War Trust 2012). Andersonville, a National Historic Site and home to the National Prisoner of War (POW) Museum, cites \$9.2 Million in economic benefit to surrounding communities (Mays 2016). Andersonville and other Civil War related sites serve to reflect that the Civil War has “never receded into the remote past in American life” (Fahs and Waugh 2004: 1). The Confederate flag, monuments, holidays, and reasons for the rebellion remain hotly debated topics even over 150 years after the war’s end. With the unwavering (yet sometimes contentious) interest in Civil War sites and history, the outreach and education of the landscape and history are paramount.

Battlefield and cemetery landscapes often hold patriotic remembrance and are tended to and cared for by heritage groups (McNutt 2018: 150). How do Prisoner of War camps fit into this memorialization? Within aspects of POW sites, one must confront the reality of the often-romanticized version of the Civil War. This paper will focus on the development of public outreach within the Union POW site of Camp Lawton, found in 2005. The discovery led to a collaborative project between the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services (USFWS), Georgia Department of Natural Resources (GADNR), and Georgia Southern University. The Camp Lawton Archaeological Project conducts archaeological research with equal goals of outreach and education.

Outreach and education fall under the purview of a relatively new (within the last twenty or thirty years) subdiscipline called public archaeology. Public archaeology examines the production and consumption of archaeological commodities by the greater public (Moshenska 2009: 47). What is archaeology without the public? Since its antiquarian beginnings, the field of archaeology has sought to share its findings with the general public, and over the years have developed and refined methods of reaching a variety of audiences.

This paper seeks to utilize Camp Lawton as a case study in which we explore techniques, impacts, and responses of different methods of public outreach in presenting information about the Civil War and Prisoner-of-War sites. How can POW and conflict sites present its history and archaeological knowledge to the public? What is being learned and how is archaeology an important part of it?

Camp Lawton

Construction of Camp Lawton began in the summer of 1864 and prisoners entered its gates in October. The prison encompassed 42 acres, almost double the size of Camp Sumter, or Andersonville. Camp Lawton was called the “world’s largest prison” by General Winder, due to its acreage, not the prison population size (Derden 2012). A 15ft stockade wall made from local pine surrounded the prison. On the outside of the stockade was an earthen fortification overlooking the prison as well as support facilities such as guard barracks, kitchens, a hospital, and officer quarters.

While it was originally built to hold around 30,000 prisoners, Camp Lawton is thought to have only held around 10,000 at its peak. This was due to the prison having a very short occupation of only six weeks. In anticipation for Sherman’s March to the Sea, the prison was abandoned around November 25, 1864 as the town of Millen, and Camp Lawton was known to be one of Sherman’s targets. Confederate soldiers evacuated the prison by placing the Union prisoners on trains to be sent to other POW camps in the southeast including Florence, Savannah, Blackshear, Thomasville, and even back to Andersonville. When Sherman’s men came to

Camp Lawton and found it to be empty, they burned the remaining stockade and nearby train depot to the ground.

In the decades that followed, Camp Lawton's exact location was lost. Though only occupied for six weeks over one hundred and fifty years ago, there are lifetimes of archaeological research to be conducted. This is in large part to much of the site being unknowingly preserved. In 1939, the land was purchased by Jenkins County in order to create a state or national park. The construction of the park was completed by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). In 1948, parcels of the park were transferred to the federal government in the establishment of the Bo Ginn National Fish Hatchery (USFWS 2010). This meant that Camp Lawton was protected under state and federal law before metal detecting became a popular tool of artifact hunting. This protection of the Civil War site meant "the find was significant because the site, previously unidentified and thus un plundered, yielded an unusually rich cache of artifacts left by prisoners and their guards" (Inscoe 2004: 141). As it is located in a state park, the stewardship of the site helps to stimulate the local economy as well as educate visitors on internment and POW experiences during the Civil War.

Methods of Engagement

In 2009, the GADNR and USFWS formed mutual partnerships with GSU to conduct archaeological investigations of Camp Lawton for a regular program of archaeology, research, and public education. Museum exhibits, public days, social media, K-12 and STEM outreach help to promote and educate the public on the archaeology and history of the site since 2005. The next few sections break down these methods to discuss their application, ease of use, utility, and impact.

Museums

Museums have long been a reliable source for archaeology education. Exhibits are designed to be accessible by the public and facilitate learning in a personal and informal way to visitors of all age and interest levels. For the Camp Lawton Archaeological Project, museum exhibits have been effective, long-term outlets of continued education. There are currently two locations presenting exhibits on the history and archaeology of Camp Lawton: Magnolia Springs State Park and the Georgia Southern University Museum.

Magnolia Springs State Park features an on-site museum (Figure 1) for the purpose of educating visitors on the change and uses in the landscape over time at the park, such as its CCC creation in the 1940s. However, a large portion of the museum is devoted to the POW camp that was situated within its boundaries during the winter of 1864. The seeks to explore prisoner's experiences through documented evidence, including a makeshift shebang, or tent, that prisoners would have used for shelter, while displaying archaeological artifacts uncovered over the last decade. The intended audience is kept fairly general, as the exhibit is situated within a public park. School trips, families, history buffs, visitors of all ages and interest levels can explore the Magnolia Springs History Center to learn more about the land's use over time from prison to park.



Figure 1. Magnolia Spring State Park Museum.

The Georgia Southern Museum, located on the university's campus, holds three main exhibit halls. The museum features a permanent exhibit on the Natural History of Georgia, an annually rotating exhibit on a point of cultural history within Georgia, and an "Archaeology of Camp Lawton" exhibit that focuses strictly on the excavations, artifacts, and findings from the POW site (Figure 2). Built in 2010, the Camp Lawton exhibit was originally intended to be part of an annual rotation but due to extensive popularity by visitors, the exhibit was kept on a permanent basis (Georgia Southern University 2010). The museum is visited by both K-12 and university students, local and non-local visitors, professionals, and more. This exhibit helps to promote not only the findings from our archaeological excavations but the department and university itself.



Figure 2. Portion of Camp Lawton exhibit at the Georgia Southern University Museum.

Each of these exhibits was built for general audiences but with different themes represented through Camp Lawton. The Georgia Southern University Museum maintains a strict focus on the role of archaeology in helping to learn more about Civil War history, conflict, and internment sites. The Magnolia Springs History Center exhibit seeks to provide visitors with a feel of stepping through time and experiencing what Union

POWs went through during their time within the park's boundaries. While it utilizes archaeological knowledge, the park's exhibit focuses on the human experience.

The exhibits are a permanent to semi-permanent staple of education for the public. While they take a lot of time to prepare texts and select artifacts, they generally do not need a tour guide or archaeologist on hand to explain, leaving it as a very self-guided avenue of outreach. As long as texts are kept up to date with new research, and artifacts are kept in safe conditions, museum exhibits are a relatively hands-off area of public outreach that can be utilized by archaeologists.



Figure 3. Sign upon entrance into Jenkins County, Georgia, erected in 2014.

Public Days and Recreation Tourism

Many archaeological sites are protected by governmental or private interest groups in order to preserve and/or present the site for public consumption. Historic and cultural sites become valuable resources of revenue for local communities, specifically “in Georgia, tourism is the state’s second largest industry and heritage tourism is its fastest-growing segment” (Georgia Historic Preservation Division 2010). Tourism revenue includes visitation to the site, gas, lodging, meals, and more.

An example can be found in Andersonville National Historic site, home to the National POW Museum. The National Park Service (NPS) found that in 2016 the heritage tourism of the site provided an additional \$9.2 million in revenue for the town. The superintendent of the park, Charles Sellars, stated that “National park tourism is a significant driver in the national economy, returning \$10 for every \$1 invested in the National Park Service, and it’s a big factor in our local economy as well” (NPS 2016). The investment of preserving and developing appropriate outreach methods at a site can create a viable symbiotic community relationship.

The discovery of Camp Lawton sparked a sense of renewal within the small town of Millen, Georgia. Jenkins County and the seat, Millen, houses Magnolia Springs State Park. Jenkins County is labeled as Tier 1, or a majority of inhabitants lying below the poverty line. According to Shelby Herrin (2015), the city deemed heritage tourism based on its Civil War history as a major tool to improve economic growth in the county. In 2014, new signs were constructed at the entrance into Jenkins County citing it as the “Home to Camp Lawton” (Figure 4). What was likely not a positive experience for either side during 1864, the site has become a symbol of heritage to the town in which it was situated. McNutt states that “the landscapes of conflict, areas of memorialization, and symbols and materials, have actively and intentionally been linked inextricably to the creation of identities, and indeed, created pasts as touchstones and pilgrimage sites” (2018: 144). The interpretation of Civil War history through archaeologists and historians is extremely important in ground-truthing a perspective of history that is often romanticized or skewed, especially following recent events (Dubenko 2017; Rogers 2015). Camp Lawton, much like Andersonville and other Civil War related historic sites, act as touchstones to the past for visitors and have established an identity within the community around it.

Public days during fieldwork have long been integral to Camp Lawton’s outreach. While every excavation is open to the public, official public days are held at least two to three times each field season, and

at least once a semester. The public days offer a chance for visitors to observe excavations, ask questions, and even try their hand at archaeology. During official public day events, we include manned booths (Figure 4) to provide information on what archaeology is, how it helped to discover Camp Lawton, what was found, how it adds to our understanding of the Civil War, and more.



Figure 4. Public Day tabling booths and guided tours.

Though not Camp Lawton, another form of Public Day outreach includes providing booths at related events. Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) participated in the annual re-enactment event of the Battle of Olustee. They state that many will come up to the booth asking what archaeology has to do with the Civil War and this particular battlefield, with the response that “archaeology is one of the main reasons we know that the battle took place on this piece of land” (FPAN 2015). Archaeology helps to ground-truth the historical, written evidence with artifacts and features.

Social Media

Social media platforms provide a new, digital world of outreach for archaeologists to share their findings with a much bigger, broader audience. Websites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram have allowed Camp Lawton research to be shared with at least 3,000 people around the world.

On our Camp Lawton Facebook page, posts are educational and/or promotional of our research, department, as well as conflict, Southeastern, and general archaeological findings. Figure 5 features an example of a popular educational post outlining a previous graduate student’s thesis topic on the construction methods of the stockade wall. Other popular posts within our Facebook page relate to historical events coinciding with Camp Lawton’s occupation (also known as ‘On This Day’ or OTD posts), or personalized update posts on ongoing excavations, publications, and events. When looking at the popularity of our posts, sharing from similar organizations such as Andersonville Historic Site’s page, Fort Pulaski National Monument, or other Civil War-related postings do not make nearly an impact or reach as many people as personalized, Camp Lawton focused posts.

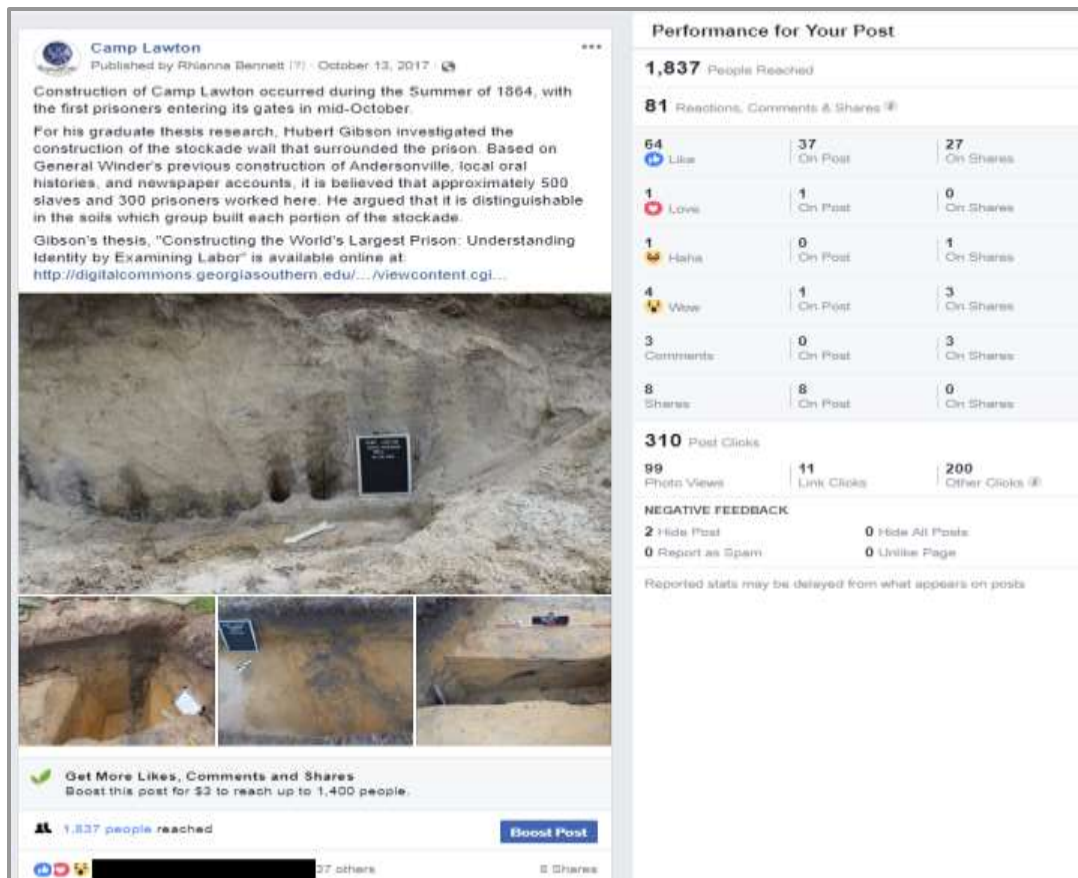


Figure 5. Educational post on Camp Lawton Facebook page, posted October 13, 2017.

Developing and writing these posts require setting aside time to create and schedule posts. Posts can be collaborated on with other colleagues to create the perfect post. As imagined, field seasons are the easiest spans of time to consistently check in with social media pages, as those already interested in archaeology love to see it in action! It is when field season is over that posts often turn to research-based insights. In terms of learning when to post, marketing research goes into incredible detail of when to gain the most traction (York 2018). Looking to other disciplines such as Marketing and Journalism could help improve archaeological outreach tactics for social media.

K-12 and STEM

Due to archaeology's mysterious and exciting reputation, many archaeological educators can use it to their advantage during educational outreach. While learning about ancient cultures and artifacts, students are introduced to sections of geography, mathematics, and science. It is a highly interdisciplinary field utilizing scientific methods in order to learn more about humanity (Moe et al. 2002: 110). For teachers, this provides an opportunity to meet a wide variety of standards in one succinct activity or lesson. For archaeologists, it allows us to educate a new generation on archaeological heritage in the hopes of deterring looting or vandalism of cultural and historical sites. Moe et al. suggest archaeology can also be integral in teaching character developments, particularly within burgeoning and young adults.

My greater thesis research involves examining the current relationship between K-12 education and archaeology within the state of Georgia, and my work as Camp Lawton graduate assistant has helped to inform and enrich my research on a first-person basis. I have helped in multiple K-12 STEM and College Career events with both the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the Georgia Southern University

Museum to educate students from fourth to ninth grade on Civil War history and archaeology through the example of Camp Lawton.

These lectures included mostly middle and high school students that stated an interest in archaeology (some school events let children choose ahead of time which discipline they wanted to see). For the department, my lectures leaned towards a very general introduction to what anthropology is as well as the technology used to conduct research. For the Museum, lectures were geared specifically towards how archaeology aided in the discovery, research, and our current understanding of Camp Lawton. During many of these lectures, teachers are often surprised at how often I linked the discipline of archaeology to what they were currently learning in history, mathematics, or science courses.

Within Georgia education, Grade Eight explores Georgia from Late Mississippian Native Americans and European Contact to the 1996 Olympics (Georgia Department of Education 2018). Within these very broad standards, the Civil War and Andersonville are discussed. Specifically, students are to analyze the impact of the Civil War in Georgia, with specific mention of Andersonville.

CONCLUSIONS

In each of these outreach methods, the discipline of archaeology and the history of the Civil War and internment sites are introduced to a variety of audiences with different foci and outcomes. These methods are used to inform the public on the Civil War, Prisoners-of-War, archaeology, and much more. These events are still closely tied to American identity and molded memory. Through multiple methods of outreach, engagement at all interest and age levels are met.

Weeks (2003) discussed the growth of Gettysburg from a place of conflict and death to a national park and tourist ground. Just like Gettysburg, Camp Lawton and other Civil War sites act as “both a site of commemoration and an object of commerce, and the evolution of both memory and tourism” (Weeks 2003: 4). The continued interpretations (and re-interpretations) of sites through archaeological research mold American memory through the affected landscapes, and the present interpretations of them. Camp Lawton provides a unique and significant perspective with its preservation and attachment to many threads of the Civil War story, such as Andersonville, Sherman’s march, and more (McNutt 2017). Because of this, exploring the methods and success of outreach is integral to the success of our program. Many aspects of archaeological research rely on public funding, meaning that we must share our research with the world in hopes that they will see its importance to our everyday society. This is not just an aspect solely within conflict sites, but it is one that can be handily developed to help demonstrate the importance of heritage tourism, proper management, and interpretations of history for the future.

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The Ancient Conflict Landscape of Kalkriese (Varian Disaster 9 CE): New Insights into the Course of the Battle and the Post-Battle Processes

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1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE CONFLICT LANDSCAPE

Archaeological investigations started between the Kalkrieser Berg and the Great Bog north of Osnabrück in northwestern Germany in 1987. Since then, it became obvious that at least part of the battle between the Romans and Germanic tribesmen in 9 CE – the Varian Disaster or the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest, well known from ancient written sources¹ – had been discovered. It was at the “Oberesch” site, in the center of the battle area, that most of the Roman military objects², a Germanic rampart built as an ambush against the Romans, and pits with bones of the dead Roman soldiers – probably remains of the burial activities of the Roman commander Germanicus (15 CE) – were found (Figure 1). For many years, the Kalkriese research project focused on this site which seems to be the main place of the clashes: The distribution of Roman military equipment reveals the large variety of processes that took place after the actual battle was over. Based upon this, we could develop an explanatory framework for the creation of the archaeological record which we observe today. Body-stripping and the plundering and scrapping of Roman military equipment as well as the public display of the booty by the victorious Germanic warriors were significant factors in these processes.³

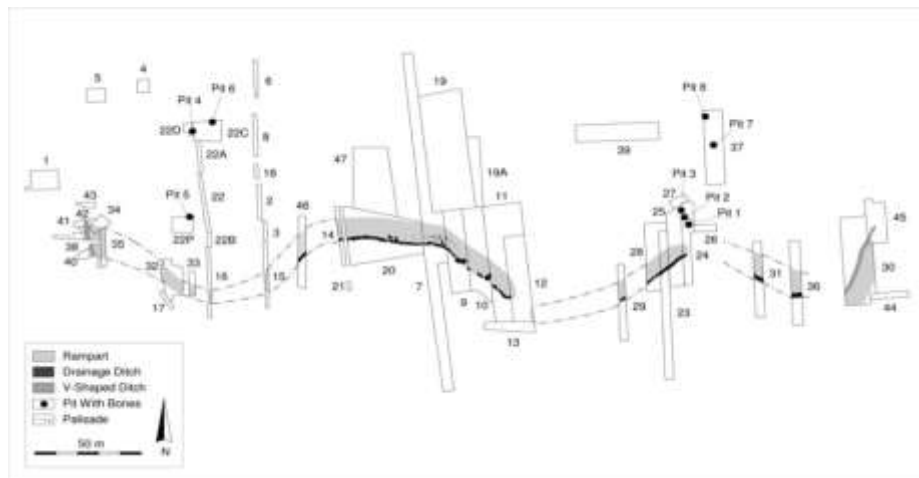


Figure 1: The “Oberesch” site at Kalkriese

¹ Tacitus, *Annals* I, 60-62; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 56, 18-23.

² More than 5000 fragments of equipment of fighting troops and the baggage train and a few hundred Roman coins.

³ For detailed information see Grosskopf, Rost, and Wilbers-Rost 2012; Rost 2009; Rost and Wilbers-Rost 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016; Wilbers-Rost 2009.

However, field surveys with metal detectors, test trenches, and excavations in the vicinity of the Oberesch site indicate that the distribution of Roman finds covers an area of about 30 km² (Figure 2). Obviously, the fighting was not concentrated combat nor static warfare, but rather a sequence of more or less massive attacks on a Roman army on the march: a battle in a defile. Using the favorable conditions of the natural as well as the cultural landscape, the Germanic warriors seem to have been successful in using constant guerilla attacks to beat a well-equipped and technologically superior opponent.

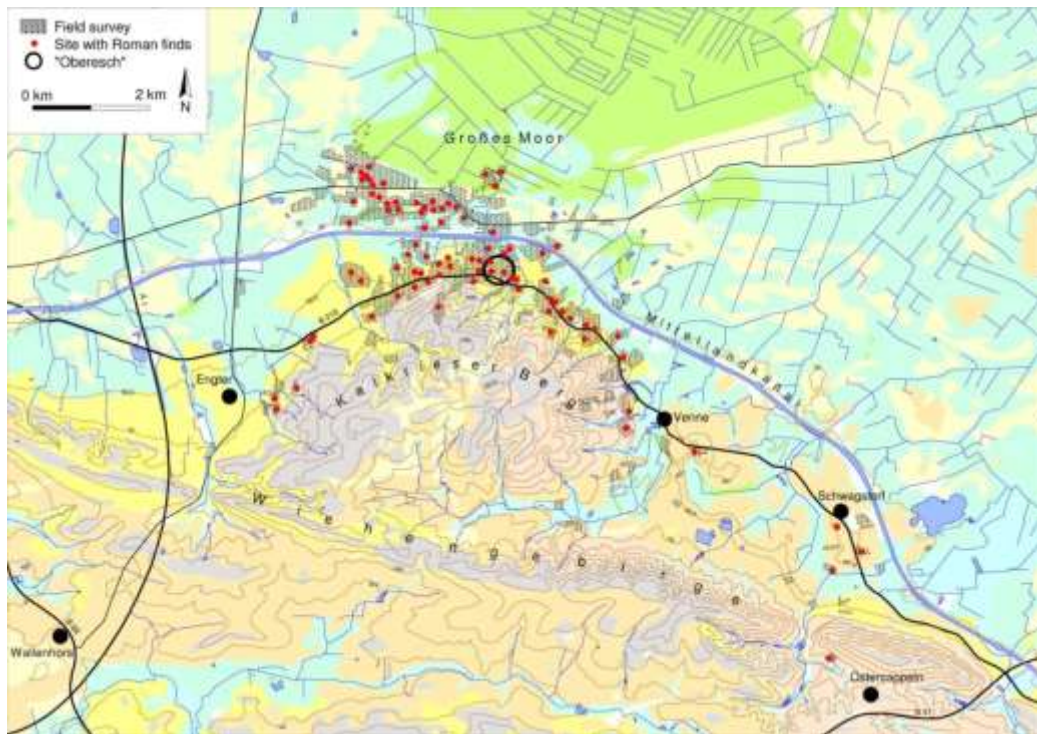


Figure 2: Study area of Kalkriese

A look at the topography shows that the battle area was strategically and tactically well-chosen: In the north, the bog stretches for kilometers, while in the south, the Wiehen Hills with the Kalkrieser Berg stand in front. Without artificial paths, both natural environments make it near impossible to be crossed by a large army with a baggage train. Between hill and bog there is a constriction of less than two kilometers, but this bottleneck is characterized by wet sandy soil. Therefore, only a narrow zone with dry sand at the slope of the hill and a dry sandy zone at the southern edge of the bog could have been used as a transport route.

Soon after the start of the project, these basic conditions became obvious, and the question arose as to the possibility that the Roman army might have moved forward on both dry zones in two parallel columns. Even an integration of the top of the Kalkrieser Berg into the strategy of the assaulting Germanic warriors was taken into account. However, for the estimation of the circumstances under which the combat took place, it is necessary to know to what extent the indigenous population actually used and cultivated the different natural spaces.

Until just a few years ago, the state of knowledge about settlement history in the research area, especially concerning the beginning of the Common Era, i.e., the time of the military conflict between Romans and the Germanic tribes, was meager. The thick layer of “Plaggenesch” (Figure 3), grass sod used as a fertilizer in the fields of the Kalkriese region for many centuries, is a main handicap for systematic field surveys because it covers the old surface. This means little success for the registration of prehistoric sites by such prospection methods.



Figure 3: Kalkriese-Oberesch, the rampart is covered by a thick layer of turf

Together with the excavations at the Oberesch site, digs were also undertaken in the 1990s at other sites with Roman military objects (Harnecker and Tolksdorf-Lienemann 2004). On the one hand, the existence of further Germanic fortifications should be examined; while on the other hand, an overview over the quantity and quality of the find material and an idea of the extension of the battle area should be achieved. Indeed, no further fortification was found, but apart from Roman finds, traces of Germanic settlements were discovered repeatedly. They helped improve our knowledge about the indigenous settlement so far that the basis was created for a new research focus. Since 2011, the investigation of the vast battle area as a “Conflict Landscape” has come to the fore of current archaeological activities⁴.

Palaeobotanical analyses have not yielded precise clues regarding local settlement development during the time which is of particular interest, the decades around the Varian Battle, and archaeological traces of roads from that time, which were more or less unsurfaced paths, cannot be expected. Therefore, the determination of prehistoric settlements is the best opportunity to clarify the improvement of the cultural landscape in which the battle took place.

By field surveys alone, we may not have found all contemporary settlements, but sites known today allow for specific statements⁵. Pottery from that time⁶, with typically thickened and faceted rims, helps date the settlements quite well. Settlements with pottery from the transition period indicate that there was a rather broad concentration of farmsteads or hamlets along the slope of the Kalkrieser Berg (Figure 4). There, the dry, sandy soil was perfectly usable for agriculture, nearby creeks guaranteed fresh water, and wet areas to the north were favorable for cattle breeding. On top of the hill there are no hints of Germanic settlements; this area may have been used for wood pasture. At the edge of the bog, though there was a dry sandy zone, no indications of Germanic settlements were found. It can be assumed that no path network existed in this area which the Romans could use, and the only passage was across the indigenous transport routes that connected the Germanic settlements along the slope of the Kalkrieser Berg.

⁴ From 2011 until 2013 the project (excavations and analyses of the archaeological material) was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation). The authors were responsible for the digs and the interpretation of finds and features.

⁵ Unfortunately, burials have not yet been found in this area. Because of the burial customs – cremation and deposition of bones and ashes often simply in pits – the discovery of graveyards of that time is difficult.

⁶ The transition period between the Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman Iron Age (about 40 BCE until 20 CE).

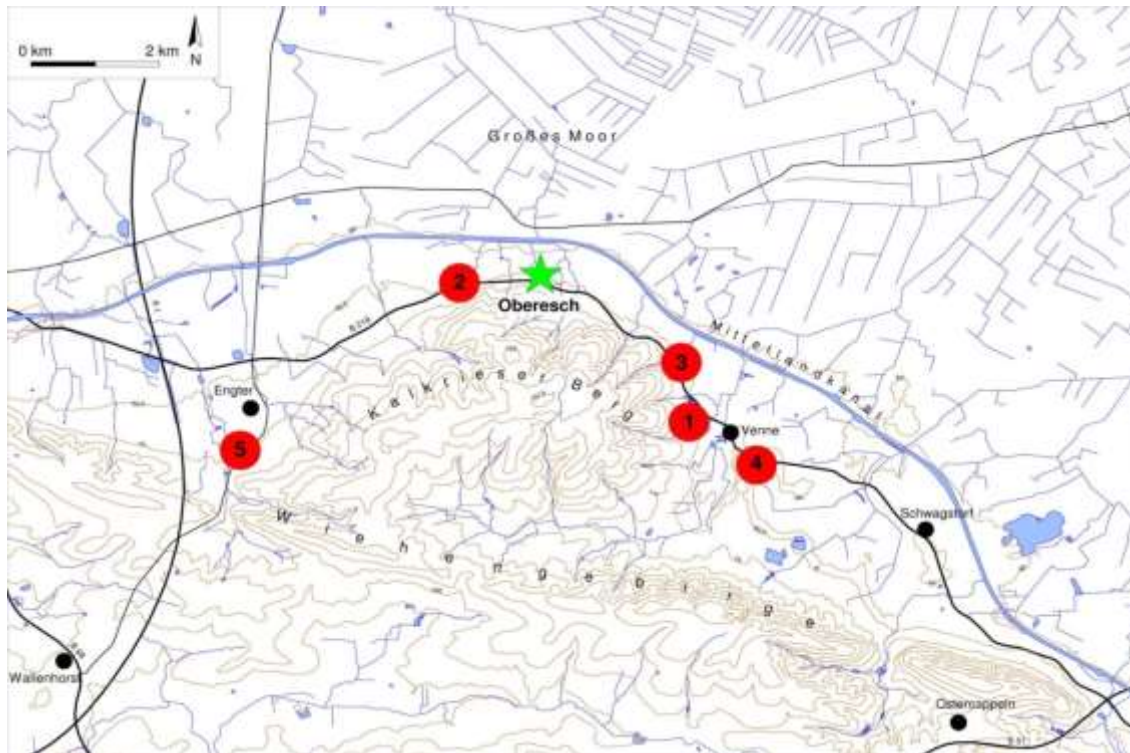


Figure 4: Battle area of Kalkriese with Germanic settlements.
(1: Venne-Vorwalde, 2: Kalkriese-Dröge)

At some of the Germanic settlements near Venne, situated about four kilometers east of the Oberesch site, we observe a distance of about 1.5 km to one another. Regarding agricultural areas, we get a picture of settlement clusters merging into one another. For the area west of the Oberesch site, we may assume that the density of settlements was not much different from that in the eastern region. In any case, at least at the slope of the hill, the battle area of Kalkriese was a rather intensely settled zone, developed by Germanic infrastructure, but not an impenetrable forest.

Two Germanic settlements were investigated during recent years: Venne-Vorwalde and Kalkriese-Dröge (No. 1 and 2 on Figure 4). Many fragments of Germanic pottery, postholes of byre-dwellings and storage houses, storage pits and small pit houses were excavated. They indicate small groups of farmsteads or hamlets, the typical form of settlements in northwestern Germany during the time of interest. The Kalkriese-Dröge settlement (No. 2) was especially of importance because of the discovery of nearly 150 Roman military objects and coins there (Figure 5). During initial digs at the Dröge site in the 1990s, the Roman finds had led to the idea that those items were brought to the settlement as booty from the battlefield (Harnecker and Tolksdorf-Lienemann 2004, 123). For the investigation of a conflict landscape, however, it is important to know if the objects from the fighting remained in their original position or if they were relocated by succeeding processes such as looting or transport of the booty; with the new excavations, this question should be clarified. In mapping



Figure 5: Some of the Roman objects found at the site Kalkriese-Dröge

all of the artifacts from this site, one realizes that they are distributed across the whole settlement and probably beyond it, with most of them in the old surface (Figure 6). They have obviously not been concentrated in a hoard, from a craftsman for example. In addition, many of the finds are small and not very valuable, such as an iron crest holder, gaming stones, or iron nails. The coins, too, are scattered widely, which is hard to understand when we take into account that the indigenous population did not use coins for payment, but only as raw material for the production of their own equipment. The find inventory resembles the finds from the main site of the Kalkriese area, the Oberesch site. Therefore, we interpret them as the remains of clashes at that site rather than as booty taken there from other zones of the conflict landscape.⁷

Other sites in the battle area, especially east of the Oberesch, provided fewer Roman finds. For example, at the settlement of Venne-Vorwalde (Number 1 on Figure 4), only four copper coins and three hobnails can be defined as Roman objects from Augustan times. They verify the interpretation mentioned before. If inhabitants of indigenous settlements east and west of the Oberesch site had joined in looting after the battle, they should have participated to an equal extent in the booty. This should be reflected in the finds from the settlements. However, if we take the finds from the settlements as remains from the fighting and the subsequent plundering, the smaller number of Roman artifacts in settlements east of the Oberesch site – i.e., the area of approach of the Roman army – becomes understandable. There, the Roman troops were still able to care for their wounded soldiers whom they took along in the baggage train together with their equipment. Accordingly, less of their equipment was left at the sites where they had fought. With the collapse of the Roman troops at main sites like the Oberesch (Rost and Wilbers-Rost 2012, 3-4, 15; 2015, 641), the Romans could no longer care for their wounded, so the bodies were left to the arbitrariness of the winners.

⁷ Due to the lack of funerary objects and also of war booty sacrifices, there is no chance to get any indications for where the spoils from the battlefield remained.

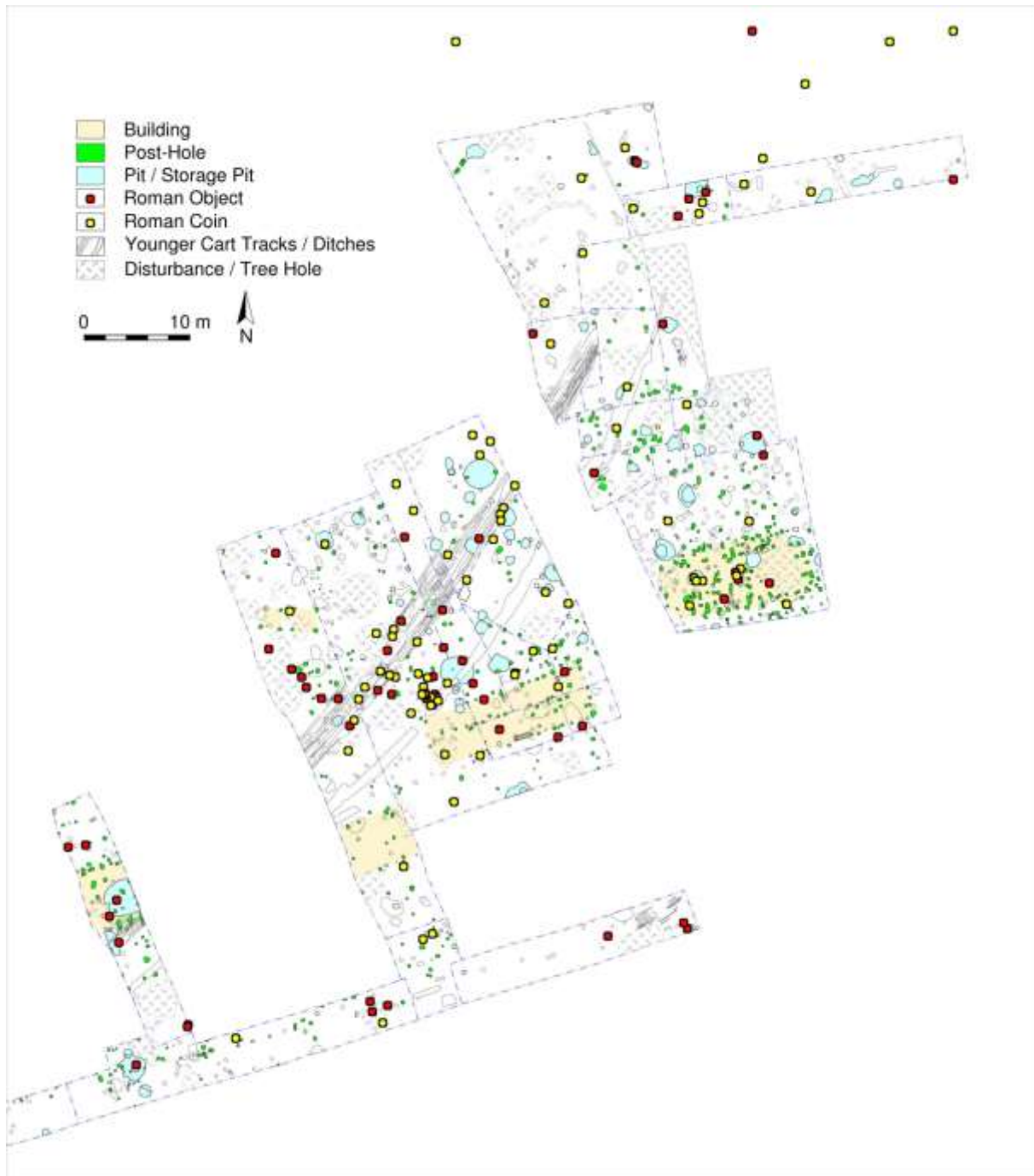


Figure 6: Kalkriese-Dröge: Settlement structures and distribution of Roman finds

This procedure, including body-stripping, produced a large amount of fragments of Roman military equipment (Grosskopf, Rost, and Wilbers-Rost 2012, 103; Rost and Wilbers-Rost 2014, 502-3). West of the Oberesch site, in zones of last skirmishes and escape, more finds than in the east remained, as we can see at the Dröge site, because of signs of disintegration since the Romans did not control the situation any longer.

A look at the Roman finds in the different sections of the battle area provides further insight into the course of the battle. East of the Oberesch site, mainly coins and brooches, but only a few items of military equipment have been discovered. An explanation may be that field packs of the Roman troops were left behind

there when guerilla attacks by the Germanic tribesmen forced marching units to prepare for fighting. Among other things, this baggage contained bronze vessels which were valuable booty. The baggage was plundered by the victorious tribesmen after the battle had ended. While the vessels could easily be collected whole, the tribesmen probably checked the leather bags of the soldiers by shaking them out. The bags contained small items such as coins, fibulae, and knives, and it is likely that some of these objects were overlooked when they fell into the grass.

At the Oberesch site, the large amount of coins and brooches as an indication of field packs may be explained by the idea that some of the Roman units were still quite intact when they reached this place. The large number of such finds at the Dröge site, however, needs another explanation. After the devastating fighting at the Oberesch, one should actually not expect larger units with field packs in the western section of the battle area. Therefore, we must ask whether at Dröge – and perhaps also at the Oberesch site – different phases of combat can be grasped: In an early phase, the Germanic tribesmen might have simultaneously attacked the marching Roman units, which were still intact, at different places, urging them to prepare for combat readiness. This would mean that the fighting did not start with an attack at the head of the army at the Oberesch site. Presumably, the Germanic warriors let parts of the army pass rather unmolested at the main site and attacked them further west. If so, we would have a hint at the strategy of the Germanic warriors by archaeological means.

A few fragments of weapons and other equipment suggest that there was also a later phase at the Dröge site in which the legionaries were involved in skirmishes resulting in heavy losses. However, the amount of finds is much less than at the Oberesch; the fighting was most likely less intense. The rareness of pieces that indicate body-stripping and scrapping at Dröge is striking – processes which are obvious at the Oberesch. Perhaps fewer Romans were killed at the Dröge site; when the Germanic warriors controlled the situation in this area and could afford to take prisoners, more were captured. Perhaps the captives had to transport their equipment themselves, certainly without sharp weapons, to central places such as the Oberesch. There, this equipment was included in the display of weapons as well as the subsequent scrapping and the distribution of the booty among the tribes that had participated in the battle.

The sites with Roman finds in the area under investigation show that the Roman troops must have primarily followed the routes between the settlements along the slope of the hill. Just east and northeast of the Oberesch site, where the army collapsed, a few Roman military objects indicate that some Roman soldiers attempted to cross the wet plain to reach the sandy zone at the edge of the bog. We may interpret this as zones of flight and succeeding skirmishes. Near the Dröge site, parts of the legions not only tried to escape to the west, but to cross the wet area and escape to the northwest. Several coin hoards and other valuable objects such as the silver scabbard of a sword were found there. Presumably, Roman soldiers hid them in the wet and muddy ground when they realized that they could not escape their enemies. However, a few silver sheets that were crumpled or folded several times indicate a further event, in this case one that followed on the battle: the transport of booty that had been scrapped at the Oberesch site by the Germanic tribesmen. Perhaps some small paths normally used by the indigenous population for cattle drives were used by Roman soldiers who tried to escape as well as by Germanic warriors from areas north of Kalkriese who had participated in the battle and went home with their booty; they might have lost some objects during the transport of the booty on bad trails which Roman soldiers had previously passed on the run.

In interpreting the events of the battle in the conflict landscape, we must reflect on how the fighting might have affected the life of the indigenous people. Though we cannot say for certain which Germanic settlements were really contemporary to the battle since the dating of pottery is not exact enough, fighting in a settlement is conceivable. This was not necessarily combined with the abandonment of a settlement however. Visualizing the circumstances of the Varian Disaster, we can imagine that the consequences for the civilians were probably limited. The fighting took place in autumn, after the harvest, and the place for the ambush and the moment of the assault could be arranged in detail some time before. Thus, the settlers could easily leave the region that would be hit during the battle. They could retreat with their possessions including foodstuffs, cattle, and seeds, for instance, to areas on top of the Kalkrieser Berg. In the event that houses were demolished during

the battle, the inhabitants would have been able to restore them at least provisionally before winter. There are no traces of an interruption in settlement in the first decades CE. At most of the places inhabited during the transition period, we also found indications for use in the early Roman Iron Age, this means in the first century CE.

2. THE CONFLICT LANDSCAPE AND THE ANCIENT WRITTEN SOURCES

The archaeological finds and features help reconstruct the ancient conflict landscape at Kalkriese. With the report by Tacitus (Annals 1, 60-62) about the visit of the Roman commander Germanicus at the Varus battlefield six years after the disaster, we at least have a short written source which can be correlated with the Kalkriese battlefield. It is a more or less contemporary description of the ancient conflict landscape.⁸ However, there are discrepancies between both types of sources which are sometimes used as arguments that the archaeologically proven battlefield cannot be identical to that in the historical tradition. Based on the archaeological features, however, we must question what we can really deduce from the literary sources.

First, we must take into account that there are many allusions in the description of Germanicus' visit at the Varus battlefield – phrasings which Tacitus had adopted especially from Virgil. We cannot always decide if they are just allusions, or if they are intended to impart additional meaning.⁹ For instance, the “bleaching bones in the plain” Tacitus mentioned in his description¹⁰ are certainly a *topos*, the terms also known in other ancient contexts, for example Virgil's Aeneid (12.35-6),¹¹ with a tradition until Ammianus Marcellinus in the 4. Century CE (Kelly 2008, 16-18). Nevertheless, in the case of Kalkriese there must have been bones of the dead legionaries lying on the surface for some years. This is what the bad condition of bone fragments buried in eight bone pits (Figure 7), mass graves, clearly indicates (Grosskopf, Rost, and Wilbers-Rost 2012).

However, the parallels among Tacitus' description of the Varus Battlefield and Virgil's Aeneid are much more numerous (Baxter 1972, 254-6). Further examples are the phrasing *casus bellorum* in the context of Germanicus' decision to visit the battlefield which has a parallel in the Aeneid 12,32f., the combination of *vallum* and *fossa* when Tacitus describes a second marching camp which we find twice in the Aeneid (9, 142-3 and 9, 505-6), and also the characterization *humili fossa* which Virgil uses in one case when he describes the erection of a camp by Aeneas (Aeneid 7, 157). The image of the *antefixa ora*, the skulls affixed to the trees, refers to the Aeneid (8, 196f.) as well, and the use of *vulnus ... adactum* when Tacitus points to the first wound of Varus, also appears in the Aeneid (10, 850), in the context of the mourning for the dead Lausus. With the phrasing *superbiam inluserit* for the mockery of the Roman standards by the victorious Germanic tribesmen he lastly takes up a similar wording in the Aeneid (9, 634). Even the phrasing *fragmina telorum* (Tacitus Annals 1, 61.3) for the



Figure 7: Kalkriese-Oberesch, bone pit No. 5

⁸ Tacitus wrote the Annals about 100 years after the Varian Disaster. - Coulston (2005, 28) emphasized Tacitus' account of the Varus battlefield as a prime example of an ancient description of a conflict landscape.

⁹ There is an intense discussion among philologists about allusions and imitations in Tacitus' texts (for example Baxter 1971; 1972; Woodman 1998, especially chapters 5 and 12).

¹⁰ Tacitus Annals 1, 61.2: *medio campi albentia ossa*.

¹¹ Virgil Aeneid 12, 36: *campique ingentes omnibus albet*.

weapon debris lying around on the Varus battlefield turns up in the Aeneid in quite a similar way (12, 741: *fulva respendent fragmina harena*), so that the question arises as to how literal the description may be taken.¹²

These parallels indicate that Tacitus' information about Germanicus' visit at the Varus battlefield cannot be regarded as a detailed and individual factual report. An aspect that has not yet been discussed in this context before is the *tumulus* (grave mound) which according to Tacitus¹³ Germanicus' troops erected at the battlefield in 15 CE. Such a grave mound would have been a striking feature in the ancient conflict landscape. However, no hint of a mound has been found yet, and we must be aware that the widely distributed bone pits cannot have been covered by a single mound. Can the erection of a mound really be deduced from Tacitus' information? The combination of *tumulus* and *caespes* for the erection of a mound from turf can also be found in the Aeneid: Andromache is mourning her dead husband Hector at a mound – in this case a cenotaph¹⁴ – which was accompanied by two altars. Such wordings may open up the perspective that from the erection of a *tumulus* from turf we cannot automatically deduce a large grave mound. It may just be an illustration of the activities of the commander, Germanicus, who had a central point for the mourners erected while the bones of the fallen soldiers were deposited in pits in the vicinity. Furthermore, the so-called *tumulus* was destroyed by the Germanic tribesmen shortly after its erection as Tacitus reports (Tacitus Annals 2, 7.2-3). If the Romans had built it for a real burial, they would certainly not have accepted a violation of graves. More likely, they would have rebuilt it like an also-destroyed monument for Commander Drusus that had been erected some years before in another Germanic region (ibid.).

3. CONCLUSION

The archaeological research at the battlefield of Kalkriese during the last 30 years indicates that the Oberesch site is only one – though probably the main – site in a large battle area. The comparison of the finds from the Oberesch with those from other sites in this region allows, in combination with information about the landscape and the indigenous settlements and infrastructure, an interpretation of the course of the battle to be more detailed. Summarizing the above mentioned aspects, the Kalkriese battlefield can be taken as a case study for conflict archaeology. It shows the necessity for critical examination of the archaeological sources because post-battle processes such as plundering and the handling of booty had a crucial impact on the distribution of the remains on the battlefield¹⁵. In addition, historical written sources must be critically proven. Both types of sources used in combination may bring us a bit closer to the former reality, even in the case of battlefields and landscapes of conflict.

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¹² Apart from that, this wording has launched a discussion about the question in how far one may find weapon debris on a battlefield which, according to the archaeological features, has been looted. Actually most of the Roman finds discovered at Kalkriese are small fragments. During Germanicus' visit six years after the battle, however, the battlefield where the looting had primarily concentrated on metal (Rost and Wilbers-Rost 2012) must have appeared quite different from today: in 15 CE organic parts of the military equipment, for example from wooden shields, should have been visible on the surface as noticeable remains of Roman weapons. Thus, from the archaeological and source-critical point of view, the archaeological remains would not contradict the literary sources.

¹³ Tacitus Annals 1, 62.1: *primum exstruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit*.

¹⁴ Virgil Aeneid 3, 303-5: ... *Andromache manisque vocabat Hectorum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespitem inanem et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverant aras*.

¹⁵ In this context, a comparison between Kalkriese and other asymmetric conflicts, for example, some of the battlegrounds of the Pequot War in New England, could be very inspiring. The distribution of finds from the withdrawal of the English to their ships at Thames River Harbor after the destruction of Mistick Fort (1637) could especially provide new insights into post-battle processes (cf. the papers of Kevin McBride and David Naumec about the Pequot War at the Fields of Conflict Conference 2018).

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The Lusitanian Wars, a faceless conflict from the Archaeology of the 2nd century BC

Luis Berrocal-Rangel

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, the Roman legions were fighting in Southern Spain against the Iberian tribes of *Turdetani* and *Oretani*, who have been supporters of the Carthaginian armies during the Second Punic War, between 218 to 201 BC (Hourcade, 2008). Defeated Carthage and the most famous general, Hannibal, Rome focussed his imperial interest in the wealthy Iberia, a rich land full of silver and copper ores (Harrison, 1988). Then after occupying the Carthaginian towns of Southeast Spain, they advanced through Andalusia towards the Atlantic territory of Spain and Portugal.

In this way, Roman legions collided with Celtiberian and Lusitanian peoples, warrior tribes who served as main mercenary troops in the Carthaginian army, first, and in the Iberian forces, later (Curchin, 2014).

Then, two Celtiberian wars were held: between the 181 – 179 BC, the first one, and 154 – 133, the second one, this very-well known in European Ancient History by the siege of the Celtic *oppidum* of *Numantia* (Dobson, 2008; Jimeno, 2005). They were fought in the Ebro and Douro rivers, along the Northern Spanish plateau, by the praetor of a new Roman province, the *Hispania Citerior*, which was located in the north-eastern territory of Iberia.

At the same time, the praetor of the other Roman province, the *Hispania Ulterior*, was conquering the southern territory of Andalusia and advancing through the Atlantic territories of Celtic and Lusitanian tribes, nowadays in western Spain (Extremadura region) and Portugal (Alentejo region).

Although the Lusitanian wars were a series of resistance conflicts between indigenous Celtic peoples and the Roman legions from 194 to 59 BC, when Julius Caesar finished with the last Lusitanian rebels in the Peniche isle (Fabião, 1993, pp.223-224; Dando-Collins, 2011, pp. 61-63), scholars usually only speak of one Lusitanian War, that was held by Rome against the leader *Viriathus*, the most important chief of a *Lusitanian* coalition, compound by the Lusitanians, the Vettones and the Celts tribes who inhabited Western Iberia during the Late Iron Age (Almagro-Gorbea, 2014; Berrocal-Rangel, 2017). This war was developed between 150 and 134 BC, when Rome defeated and killed *Viriathus* by treason. I want to emphasize that before this end, *Viriathus* has been able to conquest a great part of the Rome territory in Iberia, including the Roman capital, *Corduba* (Córdoba, Spain) – (Figure 1). After these goals, the praetor proposed a shameful agreement, then ratified by the Roman Senate, and *Viriathus* was declared “*amicus populi Romani*” and a strong ally of Rome. Therefore, in the History of Rome, the Lusitanian War, or the *Viriathus* War, was a real and important event, even when the name *Viriathus* could be a generic term for “chief”. In fact, this name means “who wears the *viria*” and *viria*, or *viriola*, are the Celtic terms for torcs, according to *Plinius* the Elder (*NH XXXIII*, 39), such as *Torquatus* is in Latin. As the torc was an ethnic and prestige symbol, later adopted by the Roman centurions (Fèugere, 1993, pp. 63 & 68), it would be possible that the word *Viriathus* was a nickname, although so many Roman and Greek ancient writers wrote about *Viriathus* that it is not logical to doubt about his historic existence (García Moreno, 1998; Sánchez-Moreno, 2006).

In any case, archaeological remains from the Lusitanian Wars are very bad known, scanty and doubtful (Berrocal-Rangel, 1997; 2017). Traditionally, this lack of knowledge is explained with the nature of these conflicts, where the “guerrilla” warfare is supposed to be the main strategy of the Lusitanians. However, we believe that this view undervalues these conflicts, at least during their picks under *Viriathus*’ leadership. The Lusitanian conquest of the Guadalquivir river and the Roman capital of *Corduba* can only be explained by an attrition warfare, a kind of Fabian war, where the successful strategy was avoiding assaults and frontal battles in favour of continuous skirmishes and guerrilla acts for weakening the enemy until demand the peace (Dunningan, 2003, p.517).

The Lusitanian Wars, a Mythical Conflict?

Strabo, a Greek geographer and anthropologist of the 1st century BC, described the Lusitanian troops as a light infantry. He took a rich description of Polybius, who lived in Spain during at the time of *Viriathus*: “At any rate, the Lusitanians, it is said, are given to laying ambush, given to spying out, are quick, nimble, and good at deploying troops. They have a small shield, two feet in diameter, concave in front, and suspended from the shoulder by means of thongs (for it has neither arm-rings or handles). Beside these shields they have a dirk or a butcher’s knife. Most of them wear linen cuirasses; a few wear chain-wrought cuirasses and helmets with three crests, but the rest wear helmets made of sinews. The foot-soldiers wear greaves also, and each soldier has several javelins; and some also make use of spears, and the spear have bronze heads” (*Geog.* III, 3, 6: The Loeb Classical Library).

According to this description, Lusitanian Wars were seen as a series of “guerrilla conflicts” but they were really an example of manoeuvre warfare: Lusitanian warriors were believed to be masters in shocking and suddenly breaking the heavy and low movements of the pre-Marian Roman legions (Keppie, 2002; Goldsworthy, 2003). By this way, few assaults to the *oppida* were reported and less sieges until *Viriathus* reached his peak, when he conquered the Roman town of *Corduba*, and occupied the great majority of the rich Iberian towns under Roman rule, along the current region of Andalusia. But, even then, this domain was short and left few well-identified archaeological remains in these important sites, towns with a prolonged life from Prehistory to nowadays.

Therefore, archaeologists have to face up to an “ethereal” war, full of mythical and legendary stories. Without the authority of main figures of the Roman and Greek History, such as Polybius or Appian, it would be possible to believe that this fiery war was an invention of the Roman propaganda.

Our methodological proposal is to look for testimonies in “minor” incidents of these conflicts, those that were supported by good stratigraphies and architectural studies rather than by “historical” and great events in the main towns. Therefore, we pay attention to destruction, fires and abandons of small *oppida* and hillforts, such as Capote (Berrocal-Rangel, 2007) o Cerro de la Cruz (Quesada, Muñiz & López Flores, 2014), or to the founding of new ones, especially when these show new architectural patterns, such as Hornachuelos or El Pedrosillo (Rodríguez Díaz, 2003; Gorges, Morillo, Rodríguez & Martín, 2009) that were dated along the 2nd century BC.

But, archaeologically, this century is problematic because their remains are hidden under the layers of the 1st century BC, just two or three generations later but quite different in a social and technological sense. The deep hole of the Roman Civil Wars from the 80 to 49 BC (Sertorian, first, later Caesar against Pompeius) is responsible for an enormous difficulty, the disguise of earlier settlements by later ones, a constant in all the scenes of the Lusitanian Wars. Therefore, double or triple occupations in the archaeological record of sites, such as Cáceres el Viejo (Cáceres, Spain), Monte da Nora (Terrugem, Portugal), or the towers of the Alentejo and La Serena regions are good examples of difficult stratigraphic readings (Teichner & Schierl., 2009; Alarcão, Carvalho & Gonçalves, 2010; Gradim, Grabherr, Kainrath, & Teichner, 2014; Mayoral et al. 2014). Frequently, the layers from the Caesar Civil War are confused with those from the Sertorian Civil War, only twenty years earlier. And so, in the cyclopean tower of Híjovejo (La Serena, Spain), two Roman republican phases are identified, from the two main civil wars, but pottery and metals are so similar that only by architectural reforms is easy to distinguish them. This Roman Republican tower could inherit one older, from the Lusitanian Wars, because this building is related with a spring that rises in this place, and for that reason the tower was built with enormous granite blocks and three carved shields over the access to the spring, two Iberian round shield (*caetra*) and one oval big Celtic shield (*scutum*) – (Ortiz & Rodríguez 2004, p.86). In the same way, the rampart of the hillfort of Capote shows a fire and total destruction in the middle of the 2nd century BC, probably after the *Viriathus* war, but the settlement was not abandoned (Berrocal-Rangel, 2007). Even, from this moment to the Sertorian Civil War, fifty years later, the hillfort was densely occupied and then, at the 76 BC, suddenly abandoned with weapons, tools and common remains, deposited in “siege warehouses.”

Discussion: The Archeology of the Lusitanians... Looking for a Genuine Testimony

If the Lusitanian Wars look like an “ethereal” conflict, it is because they were the oldest in an age of changes, where the later Roman civil wars of the 1st century BC were played by formal Mediterranean armies. In these conflicts, there were sieges, assaults and field battles that leaves many more remains than the manoeuvre warfare of the Lusitanian Wars (Berrocal-Rangel, 1997 & 2008; Hourcade, 2008).

With the purpose of distinguishing older remains from those of the 1st Century BC Civil Wars, we are developing a combined study of stratigraphy records, artistic manifestations, architectonic remains and apps like GIS software and LiDAR scanning. In this way, it is possible to deepen into the identification of the Lusitanian wars.

Our first approach has been the Archaeology of the Late Iron Age in the West of the Iberian Peninsula, territories that were inhabited by Lusitanians, Celts and Vettones, the tribes who fought against the advancing Roman legions along this 2nd century BC. And, in fact, our first conclusion is the irregular knowledge about all of these, being the archaeological record about the Vettones very rich while the Lusitanian is very scanty.

The Lusitanian Archaeology and Epigraphy is so poor that there is an old and controversial dispute about where these tribes were located. We prefer the traditional adscription to the lands between the low basins or Tagus and Douro rivers (Guerra, 1998; Alarcão, 2001). In this territory, there are rich *oppida* along the Atlantic coasts, like *Aeminum* (Coimbra, Portugal), open to the Mediterranean transitions, while the inland small hillforts were isolated and backward in comparison to the first ones. Anyway, inland and coastal settlements show a homogeneous ethnical background in Toponymy, Anthroponomy and Theonymy that can be related with an only Late Iron Age people (Salinas, 2012). But, when we look for the reflection of this background in the Archaeology, the sentence of a young Portuguese archaeologist is conclusive: “an entity almost abstract and impossible of defining in the material remains is that currently called Lusitanians” (Santos, 2009, p.181).

Fortunately, recent excavations are providing new and astonishing achievements. At the site of Sabugal Velho, a single univallate wall was built in the beginning of the Second Iron Age (4th century BC), with a ditch and an outer low dump (Osorio & Pernadas, 2011, p.228). The settlement shows square-plan houses and common pottery, but also red-painted wheel-made ceramics that seems from the Southern Peninsula, the Iberian lands of the *Baetis* river (Guadalquivir river), pointing interesting relationships between the scenes of the Lusitanian Wars. However, these Western populations did not leave necropolises, because probably the funerary ritual was to drop the corpses to the rivers, and Archaeology provides few good evidences about the weaponry of the Lusitanian warriors.

Anyway, the discovery of thousands of engravings, from Palaeolithic to modern times, in the Archaeological Park of Foz Côa (Portugal), includes some Iron Age figures, most of them warriors in fight (Luís, 2009). Between isolated representation of riders and weapons, there are a few numbers of scenes, as the hunting composition of Vale da Casa (Baptista, 1983-1984, est. IV) or the *monomachia* at the Vermelhosa nº 3 rock (Luís, 2009, pp.221-222). In this engraving, two infantrymen are confronted, with heavy spears and javelins, wearing corselet armours and greaves, probably made of vegetal fibres such as linen or wool. One of the warrior wear a Celtic sword, hanging from the belt. In this sense, the discovery of several sites with warrior figures that were engraving over slate slabs is being a constant feature during the last years. There are very interesting cases from Crestelos hillfort (Figuereido et al., 2016) and, mainly, from the close hillfort of Castelinho de Felgar (Torre de Moncorvo, Portugal: Santos et al., 2012). Both sites are roughly located in the northern border of the Lusitanians, and both were occupied along the Iron Age and first times of the Roman presence in the region. At Castelinhos de Felgar, a good stratigraphy has proven the construction of a univallate rampart at the beginning of the Iron Age. This wall was re-built several times until the Roman presence in this region, during the 1st century BC. At the end of this time, the rampart was destroyed and the ditches, filled. In the ditch nº 2, these closed layers provided more than five hundred of engravings slabs, representing warriors, infantrymen and riders, weapons, horses, deer and boars (Santos et al., 2012, pp.173-

177; Neves & Figueiredo, 2015). The archaeologists defend the Iron Age date of these engravings, that were dump into the ditch after the Roman conquered of the fortress, in a massive act of destruction of the indigenous defences.

Therefore, Archaeology ratifies the picture about the Lusitanian warriors that Greek and Roman writers have transmitted: small hillforts, unsuited to a minimum defence against a Roman legionary unit; and light cavalry and infantrymen, that matched with descriptions of *Polybius* and *Caius Lucilius*. This Roman writer *Lucilius* (180-102 BC) fought in the contemporary Celtiberian Wars, and left us other interesting description about the Lusitanian manner of presenting battle: “that their head was tossed about, theirs forelocks floated about on high, let loose upon their foreheads, as was their manner.” (*Sat.* v.321-322, The Loeb Classical Library). And we can see these floating forelocks over heads with “bird shapes,” as it was common in the Celtic Art, in the quoted scene of Vermelhosa rock nº 3, and also in some stamped pottery from the *oppidum* of Badajoz (Spain) – (Berrocal-Rangel, 1997, pp.126-127).

However, the Lusitanian Wars were fought not only by *Lusitani*. In fact, *Viriathus* was born south to the Tagus River, in territory of the Celts (*Celtici*, *Keltikoi*), as professor García Moreno proposed long time ago, according to a text of *Paulus Orosius* (*Hist.* 4,21.10) – (García Moreno, 1988, pp.375-377), and to the proper nickname origin.

Celts and Vettones occupied the southern and eastern lands of the *Viriathus* dominions. Although both tribes were between the Hispano-Celtic peoples, they shared language, believes and customs, there were great differences between them.

About the Celts, we know that these tribes also lived in small hillfort, strong fortified, as the case of Castrejón de Capote (Extremadura, Spain). In this very well-preserved fortress, we could identify an important shrine, located in the centre of the village, that was destroyed at 152 BC, when the Romans conquered by assault the close Celtic *oppidum*, *Nertobriga* (Extremadura, Spain). This destruction was recorded in the ramparts of Capote, that were burned (Berrocal-Rangel, 2007). Years later, the village was re-occupied by Celts and Celtiberians under the *Viriathus* rule and, over the old ramparts they drove old Celtic swords, as it was the custom between the Celts from the Gaul (Roure et al., 2017; Garcia, 2014, p.122; Brunaux & Lambot, 1987, pp.41-43).

But we do not have many other archaeological references to the Lusitanian Wars between this Celtic territory. There are sites such as El Pedrosillo, proposed as a Roman aestival camp, but excavations have been very limited and have provided few remains with a simple stratigraphy (Gorges et al., 2009). In this way, a short number of cremation necropolises have been considered for the relatively abundant weaponry that these graves provide: swords like Iberian *falcatas* and Celtic La Tène blades, or Celtiberian daggers and *fibulae*, show a “multi-ethnic” panorama that fits very well with the nature of the Lusitanian troops. Even, Prof. Fabião suggested that these strange necropolises, composed by few graves and in a region where there are no other cemeteries during the Second Iron Age, are testimonies of the presence of mercenaries, as he expounded from the remains of the necropolis of Herdade das Casas and Monte da Cadeira (Fabião, 1998, p.391; Mataloto, Williams & Roque, 2012, p.24).

Vettones were the third main tribe in the Lusitanian band. They were located over the eastern *Viriathus*’ territory, in the Spanish plateau and they were quite different from Lusitanians and Celts. In fact, this tribe of the Vettones were well set up over this land from Late Bronze Age and they built big fortress, *oppida*, with ramparts, ditches and “chevaux-de-frise” (Álvarez-Sanchís, 2003; 2011; Ruiz-Zapatero & Álvarez-Sanchís, 2011; Arqueología Vettona, 2008). Also, by a strong Celtiberian influence, the eastern Vettones had huge cremation necropolises where the weaponry is really plentiful: swords, spears, round and oval shields, horses tacks (bits, bridles...) and, even, wonderful bronze helmets with crests (Almagro-Gorbea & Lorrio, 2005; Graells, Lorrio & Quesada, 2014). Although, that panorama could reflect the Lusitanian best warriors, the stratigraphical evidence shows that these graves are earlier, one century or two before the Roman

Conquest of the region (Álvarez-Sanchís, 2007, p.238). By the middle of the 2nd century BC, when *Viriathus* ruled the Vettones, necropolises were scanty in number and graves, and the presence of weapons is peculiar.

Anyway, at this time, the huge defensive ramparts of the vettones were in use and they could allow defending a less-mobile war, a conventional warfare with assaults and sieges. However, a quick sight over the capacity of the Vettones fortifications throw a conclusive result: they were quite inefficient against any Roman legion.

In fact, just before the arrival of the Romans, Vettones abandoned some of the strongest *oppida* and founded others, bigger and, specially, in higher locations. These were the cases of Las Cogotas and La Mesa de Miranda, in favour of a new great settlement, the *oppidum* of Ulaca. Leading-up to the ancient Gauls defensive movements against Caesar at the middle of the 1st century BC, the Vettones looked for inaccessible locations for the new *oppida*, then called “oppida refuges” (Gruel & Buchsenschutz, 2015, p.310). However, this strategy was not successful in the 2nd century BC, as it was not in the 1st century BC in *Galia* and Northern *Hispania*, where the Roman legions had the victory by the annihilation of the enemy forces after siege, by suicide or starving to death.

In some cases, these oppida tried to improve their rudimentary architectonic techniques, including timber-laced walls and lineal plans with squarer towers. This is the case of La Mesa de Miranda a medium-big settlement, with two univallate traditional enclosures, dated from the 5th century to the 3rd century BC. At the end of the 2nd century BC, their inhabitants tried to build a third rampart, quite different in plan and materials (Álvarez-Sanchís, 2007, p.238). In fact, the plan of this new wall shows sharp-cornered layout, with small gates and a timber-laced entrance, that is very reminiscent of Roman and Mediterranean fortifications. This entrance is a novelty in the defensive Architecture of the Vettones, closing a stretch of 60 metres wide by a lineal structure, a gatehouse with two towers in each end. This building has to reach a considerable height, because it was built over a solid foundation of granite cyclopean stones. These stones show the marks of big horizontal timbers, and the holes of other vertical timbers. Therefore, this gatehouse was built with a technique similar to the *murus gallicus* in *Galia* (Ralston, 2007, pp.81-83; Fichtl, 2010). This fact is not a surprise because the plan seems to replicate a type of Roman camp entrance, known as *titulum* (Reddé, 1995, pp.349-356). Besides, according to the rule of *Hyginus Gromaticus* in *De Munitionibus castrorum* (Campbell, 2018), this type of gates had to be so wide as the protected entrance, such as 60 feet¹⁶, although in La Mesa de Miranda has 180 feet, which is a significant proportion. All of these data allow to defend a late date, contemporary to the conflicts of the Conquest.

One last testimony of the Lusitanian Wars came from a remote hillfort, located in the core of the *Viriathus* territory, El Castillejo de La Orden (Alcántara, Spain) – (Martín, 2004, p.264). This small fort is in an “earth of nobody,” because it could be Lusitanian as well as Vetton or Celt and, in this way, the site looks like other border hillforts as Yecla de Yeltes (Salamanca, Spain). A simple univallate wall defends the village, with a bigger gathering of defences in the main entrances, such as another gatehouse (Ongil, 1988, figure 1).

¹⁶ *Quibus latitudo dari debeat ad minimum pedum quinque; altum pedes tres. Regressis pedibus exterius sexaginta per latitudinem portarum similiter fossa fiet, quod propter brevitatem titulum cognominatum est. 50. Vallum loco suspectiori extrui debet cespite aut lapide, saxo sive caemento. Sufficit latum pedes VIII, altum pedes VI; et lorica parva fit similiter ante portas, ut titulum ad fossam, ad vallum. Causa instructionis sanctum est cognominatum (De Munit cas 49-50 LOEB):* They [ditches] should be at least 5ft wide and 3ft deep. A similar ditch should be dug 60ft in front of the gateway, and the same width as the gate. Because of its shortness, it is known as a *titulum*. 50. In less secure places a rampart of turf, stone, or rubble should be thrown up. 8ft wide and 6ft wide will suffice, and a little parapet. There should also be a rampart before the gates along the *titulum* as along the ditches; because of the construction it is known as “sanctum” (Gilliver, 1993, p. 243).

The visual control of a nearby way is expanded into few kilometres north, where the path crosses the Tagus River and where, two centuries later, the Romans will build an impressive bridge, the tallest preserved in the Roman World (Liz, 1999). Therefore, this modest hillfort was a strategic place and, probably, this fact justifies the find of a bronze inscription dated in the 104 BC (López, Sánchez & García, 1984, p.55; García Moreno, 1987, p.67; also, Hoyos, 1990).

This bronze describes the surrendering of the tribe SEANO[...] to the Roman Republic, thirty years after the death of *Viriathus*. In this text, Praetor *Lucius Cesi* gave back to the Seano[nse] prisoners and horses, and, also, he allowed them the use of all their tools and equipment, including weapons, and the preservation of ramparts, states and laws, just as they were before the surrender... (López Melero, Sánchez & García, 1987, p.266). As François Cadiou remembers this type of *deditio* in the Republican Rome was a capitulation that bound the winner to observe the conditions of the agreement (2008, pp.73-75).

Therefore, this small piece of epigraphy testifies a quite ordinary act, not a surrender with “Capitol letters” between *Viriathus* and the *Senatus Populusque Romanorum*, what proves that the war was not finished with the death of the Lusitanian leader, but it extended into the 1st century BC, just as the Roman writers informed us.

CONCLUSION

The Roman conquest of Western Iberia has left few remains between the archaeological record of the tribes and sites involved in these wars. This fact could be explained by an unconventional conflict between a state force, as the Republican Rome was, and an irregular force of Celtic tribes who lived in a mountainous country. And this explanation would be enough if the historical figure of *Viriathus* did not go into scene.

Between Roman writers, there was no doubt about the real existence of this personage, even when his name seems like a nickname, with the Celtic meaning of “chief” (who wear the *viria*, or *viriola*, symbol of power and chieftom). Therefore, it is surprising the scanty real testimony of a conflict that lasted more than a century and have its peak at 138 BC, when *Viriathus* led the Roman Senate to a shameful treaty of peace. Following to the Roman writers, a traditional view explained these conflicts as a war of guerrillas, an irregular warfare, where the mobility of the troops and the absence of frontal battles, assaults and sieges were the main characteristics.

Archaeological remains endorse this explanation, because some assaults of small hillforts have been identified by excavations, in sites such as Capote, Cerro de la Cruz, Castillejo de la Orden or Castelhino de Felgar. But they seem to have been common actions that would never leave any record in the big history of the Roman Army. Also, the funerary and household remains between Lusitanians, Vettones and Celt necropolises and fortresses show the use of a light weaponry, mainly composed by javelins, spears and light shields, as it is characteristic of the light infantry. Then, how a “guerrilla” warfare was capable of conquest all the southern Spain to the Romans, including its capital, *Corduba*? The only answer is that these conflicts have been undervalued. At least, under *Viriathus*’ leadership, the Lusitanian wars were an example of an attrition warfare, with a successful strategy that avoids assaults and battles in favour of continuous skirmishes and guerrilla acts. These, and other external causes, forced Rome to accept a treaty that it would be broken soon after, by treason, when the Roman general *Quintus Servilius Caepio* bribed the Lusitanian ambassadors to kill *Viriathus* while he was sleeping. There were not honours for the victorious general in Rome but they won the war.

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The Social Significance of Weapons -- Taking Chinese Bronze Weapons As an Example

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Zuozhuan (左传Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals by Zuo Qiuming): The 13th Year of Cheng said: “The great event of a state lies in sacrifices and campaigns.” (国之大事，在祀与戎). Therefore, bronze, the most advanced material at that time, is used for sacrifices and campaigns. As the material fact of wars, bronze weapons indicate the military force and will of a state and convey social, political, and military messages. Currently, ancient Chinese bronze weapons are unearthed from tombs where an imagined world is constructed for the dead. This paper analyzes ancient social modalities, funeral and social customs, cultural traditions and material exchanges among people living in different areas through bronze weapons and their companies from tomb sites that are not damaged by looters.

Social Hierarchy Reflected from Bronze Weapons

Functionally, Chinese bronze weapons can be divided into weapons of destruction and defense weapons. The former are classified as melee weapons like yuè (钺a large and axe-shaped weapon in ancient China), gē (戈dagger), spear, jǐ (戟halberd), sword, and dāo (刀 broadsword) and ranged weapons which are mainly jiàn zú (箭 arrowhead). The later are consisted of zhòu (胄helmet), armor, and shield, which are made of leather.

Under the political systems in Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, people in different level is granted with bronze weapons which differ in type, quantity, size, and quality unless someone was specially cited for his distinguished service in a battle. Ceremonial weapons like yuè, dà dāo (large broadsword) (大刀), and jǐ are for the nobilities above middle class only. (Figure 1). Specially, pairs of yuè and sets of dà dāo are discovered from tombs in Shang dynasty while pairs of jǐ in Western Zhou dynasty.



Figure1: Ceremonial Bronze Weapons

1. yuè (ID: 76AXTM5:799. Whole Length: 39.5 cm, Edge Width: 37.5 cm, Weight: 9 kg)

2. yuè (ID: M27:815, LiangDai Village. Whole Length: 23.5 cm, Width: 13.2 cm)

3. jǐ (ID: M172:1. Lengthwise: 23.5cm, Aid length: 21cm)

4. dāo (ID: M54:88, Eastern site of Huayuan Village.

Quantity: three items in a set. Whole length: 44.2 cm, Width: 3 cm)

5. dāo (ID: CM230, Forestry Vocational School of Luoyang. Length: 26 cm, Width: 9.7 cm. Quantity: 1 set with 2 same items.

Bronze weapons of Xia dynasty are seldom discovered, but the unearthed ones show that bronze weapons are given to nobilities strictly (table 1). In Erlitou site, we found a pair of yuè and gē in a middle-sized tomb

numbered 75VKM3(Du Jinpeng & Xu Hong 2005). And the only discovered bronze yuè (ID: 2000YLIII C:1)(Du Jinpeng & Xu Hong 2005) was found in a middle-sized tomb too. No bronze weapons are found in small-sized tombs at present.

Table 1 Statistics of Burial Weapons of Shang and Zhou Dynasties

| Dynasty | No. | Burial Bronze Weapons | Identity | Reference |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--|--|
| Late Shang Dynasty | Yin Dynasty ruins 2001HDM54 | yuè: 7, dǎo:7, gē:73, máo: 78, zú:881 | High-ranking nobles | <i>Report on the Excavations at Huayuanzhuang Locus East in Anyang</i> |
| | Yin Dynasty ruins ALM9 | gē: 6, máo: 5, zú: 1 | Middle-ranking nobles | <i>Huaxia ARchaeology</i> 1997 (2) |
| | Yin Dynasty ruins AGM294 | gē: 3, máo: 2 | Low-ranking nobles | <i>Acta Archaeologica Sinica</i> 1979 (1) |
| | Guo Village M45 | gē: 2, zú:1 | Civilians | <i>Acta Archaeologica Sinica</i> 1979 (1) |
| Middle of Western Zhou Dynasty | Zhangjiapo M170 | yuè: 2, gē: 2, zú:1, shield decoration, jiǎ:1 | High-ranking nobles | <i>Western Zhou Cemetery at Zhangjiapo</i> |
| | ShaolingyuanM2 80 | gē: 2, short sword: 1, shield decoration | Low-ranking nobles | <i>The Western Zhou tombs at Shaolingyuan.</i> |
| | ShaolingyuanM2 24 | gē: 1 | Civilians | <i>The Western Zhou tombs at Shaolingyuan.</i> |
| Eastern Zhou Dynasty | Guó state M2001 | gē: 15, máo: 5, zú:255, shield decoration: 21 | Feudal lords | <i>The Guo State Tombs in Sanmenxia</i> |
| | Guó state M1706 | gē: 2, máo: 2, zú: 52, stone gē: 39 | Ministers | <i>The Western Zhou tombs at Shaolingyuan.</i> |
| | Guó state M1705 | gē: 1, máo: 1, jiàn: 1,zú:15, stone gē: 8, bone zú: 10, jiǎ robe (甲袍) | Yuan shi (a social stratum in ancient China, between senior officials and the common people) | <i>The Western Zhou tombs at Shaolingyuan.</i> |
| | Guó state M1634 | zú: 1, stone gē: 5 | Shi | <i>The Western Zhou tombs at Shaolingyuan.</i> |
| | Guó state M1654 | stone gē: 2 | Civilians | <i>The Western Zhou tombs at Shaolingyuan.</i> |

The type and quantity of bronze weapons were increasing in Shang dynasty and reached its high in the late. Over 1,200 items of high-quality bronze weapons, including yuè, gē, spear, leathered armor, sheild, and zhòu are founded from the tomb of the King of the Shang dynasty. In addition, thousands of bronze weapons like yuè, large broadsword, gē, máo, and zú are discovered from tombs of senior generals, and fine paired yuè and broadsword set are unearthed as well. Dozens of bronze weapons are uncovered from tombs of medium-leveled generals and only one item of yuè was founded. In the meantime, only several bronze weapons like gē, máo, and zú are discovered from tombs of low-leveled generals. As for ordinary soldier tombs, only one or two items of gē, máo, and zú are unearthed. (table 1)

This phenomenon also appears in Western Zhou dynasty but not so obvious. No bronze weapons are founded from of the King of the Western Zhou dynasty. Over 120 items of bronze weapons including yuè, jǐ, gē, máo, jiàn, zú, zhòu, jiǎ, and dùn are uncovered from tombs of feudal lords. Nearly two dozens of bronze weapons like gē, short sword, and dùn are unearthed from tombs of middle-and-high leveled nobles while only dozens of short swords and dùn are discovered from low-leveled nobles. For ordinary civilians, only one item of gē or short sword are unearthed. (table 1)

In Eastern Zhou dynasty, bronze weapons are commonly used for campaigns in central China, and little bronze weapons like gē, máo, jiàn, and zú are buried in tombs. No bronze weapons are founded from of the King of the Western Zhou dynasty. Dozens of bronze weapons like gē, máo, jiàn, and zú are uncovered from tombs of feudal lords. Less than ten items of bronze weapons like gē, máo, jiàn, and zú are unearthed from tombs of middle-and-high leveled nobles while only one or two items of such bronze weapons are discovered from low-leveled nobles. Generally, no bronze weapons are unearthed from tombs of ordinary civilians. (table 1)

Funerary Bronze Weapons

Funerary bronze weapons refer to objects buried with the dead, written in Chinese “明器”.

Compared with practical objects, funerary bronze weapons are always light in weight, small in size, blurry in sculpture, poor in quality and high lead content. In Chinese bronze age, the kinds of funerary bronze weapons are gē, spear, yuè, and large broadsword.

In late Shang dynasty, funerary bronze weapons, such as gē, spear, yuè, and large broadsword, emerge. However, gē in this period is not finely made and bears much lead or is made of lead purely. Such funerary bronze weapons are commonly founded from tombs of middle-and-low levels.



Figure 2 Funerary Bronze Weapons of Shang Dynasty 76AXTM5:1010 and 1619

By the middle of Western Zhou dynasty, funerary bronze weapons, mainly gē, are small in size and poor in quality. Such bronze funerary weapons are founded from tombs of the high barbarian nobilities, petty nobilities, and even ordinary civilians (Mao Hongdong 2011).

In Eastern Zhou dynasty, funerary bronze weapons are commonly founded from tombs of soldiers and ordinary civilians.

In Spring and Autumn period, a small amount of gē are used for funerary bronze weapons.

In Warring States period, gē and jiàn are mainly used for funerary bronze weapons because gē is light in weight and jiàn is small in size. The type of funerary bronze weapons is closely in relation to the identity of the tomb owner (Nie Zhuohui 2014).

Funerary bronze weapons are mainly buried with middle-and-low leveled nobles. With limited budget, cheaper lead is used to replace tin, and to produce such weapons. The Book of Rites: the First Part of Tan Gong said: “Funerary bronze items refer to objects used for funeral ceremony only.” The Book of Rites: the Second Part of Tan Gong said: “Those who uses funerary bronze weapons for funeral ceremony is funeral experts, however, such weapons are used for ceremony only and cannot be used for battles.”

Funerary bronze weapons founded in tombs of high barbarian nobles represent the Ideal of Heaven and Ghost at that time, however, anti-Heaven and Ghost ideal arose in late Shang dynasty.

Hui Bing (the destruction of weapons) Custom

In China's Bronze Age, bronze weapons are bent and broke before burying, which is called "Hui Bing" (毁兵). The destructed weapons are mainly attack armament, including practical weapons like jade gē, pottery gē, and lead gē and funerary weapons (figure 3). (Guo Yanli 2014)

In late Shang dynasty, bent and broken funeral weapons are founded from middle and small-sized tombs in Zhou Yuan area and Eastern Central China. Moreover, in Western Zhou dynasty, "Hui Bing" custom is also popular in Zhou Cultural Districts, such as boundary of Shaanxi and Gansu province, eastern seashore, the Yangtze River, and foot of Yanshan mountain. (Zhang Mingdong 2005) And the destructed weapons are mainly gē, máo, jǐ, yuè, jiàn and zú. While "Hui Bing" custom is less popular from early Western Zhou dynasty to late Western Zhou dynasty, such weapons are uncovered from individual tombs only. In Western Zhou dynasty, although "Hui Bing" custom is not popular anymore, some bent and broken funeral weapons are still founded in middle and small-sized tombs.

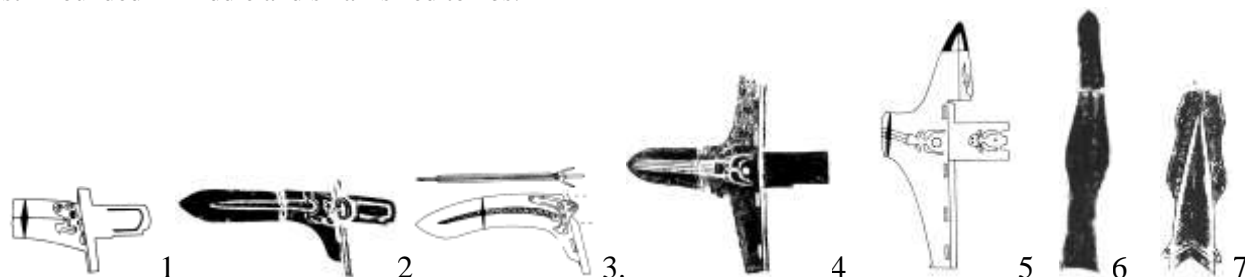


Figure 3 Destructed Weapons of North Kiln Tombs

1.M20:21; 2.M14:1; 3.M66:3; 4.M172:1; 5.M5:17; 6.M155:14-5; 7.M141:16

"Hui Bing" custom originated from people of Zhou, prevailed over areas with the spread of Zhou culture, and influenced the funerary custom of people of Qin and Chu. Therefore, the custom is cultural identity of Zhou. The reasons why people of Zhou bent and broke weapons differ among related scholars. Some consider that "Hui Bing" custom is to lay devils through meditation (Guo Baojun 1936), to stop a military action or to prohibit violence. (Jing Zhongwei 2006) Some hold that the custom is to display battle achievement and wealth. (Luoyang Municipal 1999) Others propose that the custom is to confuse civilians, to praise lǐ (rite) and grant mercy. (Tang Jiahong 1992) The author believes that people of Shang and Zhou dynasties regard weapons as inauspicious objects¹⁷. However, weapons concern too much with the entire peace of a state and cannot be ignored or devalued, so the people of Zhou deliberately bend or broke weapons into blocks and bury them with the dead to remove fatefulness.

¹⁷ Lao Zi, said: "Fine weapons are none the less ill-omened things. People despise them, therefore, those who in possession of the Tao do not depend on them. That is why, among people of good birth, in peace the left-hand side is the place honor. But in war, this is reversed and the right-hand side is the place of honor. Weapons are ill-omened things, which the superior man should not depend on. When he has no choice but to use them, the best attitude is to retain tranquil and peaceful. The quietist, even when he conquers, does not regard weapons as lovely things. For to think them lovely means to delight in them, and to delight in them means to delight in the slaughter of men. And he who delights in the slaughter of men will never get what he looks for out of those that dwell under heaven. Thus in happy events, the left-hand side is the place of honor, in grief and mourning, the right-hand is the place of honor. The lieutenant general stands on the left, while the supreme general stands on the right, which is arranged on the rites of mourning. A host that has slain men is received with grief and mourning; He that has conquered in battles is received with rites of mourning." (《老子》第三十一篇云“夫兵者，不祥之器，物或恶之，故有道者不处。君子居则贵左，用兵则贵右。兵者不祥之器，非君子之器，不得已而用之，恬淡为上。胜而不美，而美之者，是乐杀人。夫乐杀人者，则不可得志于天下矣。吉事尚左，凶事尚右；偏将军居左，上将军居右。言以丧礼处之。杀人之众，以悲哀莅之；战胜，以丧礼处之。”)

Exchange Between Central China and Surrounding Areas

Bronze weapons in Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties are influenced by cultural tradition, geographical condition, manufacturing technique, and copper material to form local cultural characters. But exchanges among areas never stop.

Weapons like gē, fǔ yuè, and zú of king's land in Xia dynasty prevail over other areas, therefore, exchanges among king's land and non-king's land are not close.

In Shang and Western Zhou dynasty, weapon system is already formed in king's land, and Shang Zhou cultural district follow the system strictly. Unlike this, weapon system in non-king's land enjoys its own character. (Figure 4)

In this context, exchanges between king's land and Shang Zhou cultural district are much more frequent than that between non-Shang or Zhou cultural districts and Shang and Zhou cultural districts. Besides, exchanges between Shang and Zhou cultural districts and non-Shang or Zhou cultural districts and exchanges among non-Shang or Zhou cultural districts are mutually influenced. And exchanges among Shang and Zhou cultural districts are rare. (Figure 4)

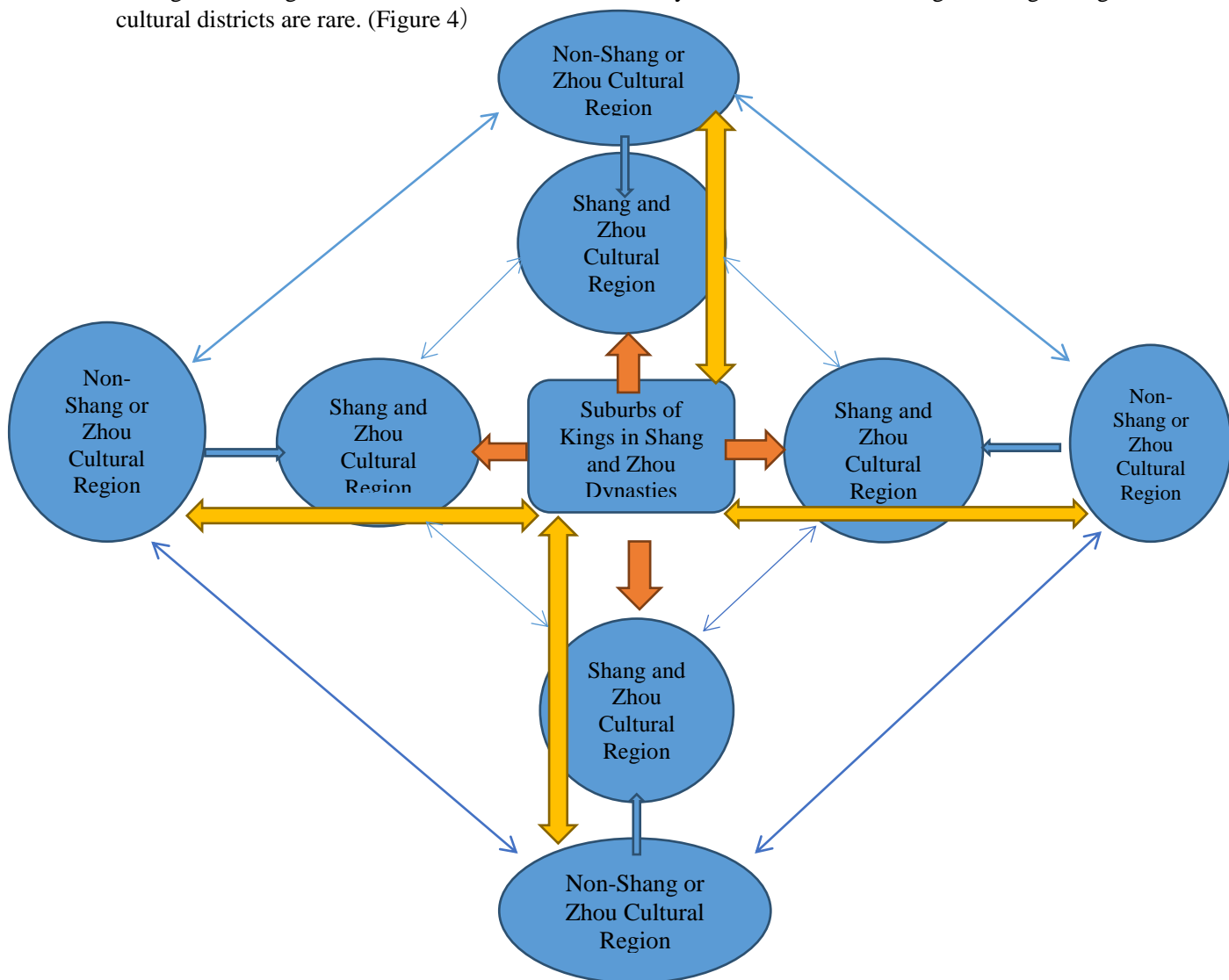


Figure 4 :Bronze Weapons Regional Exchange of Shang and Zhou Dynasty: arrows with different intensity corresponds to exchange frequency

In Eastern Zhou dynasty, weapons in Central China inherit the tradition of Western Zhou dynasty, while weapons are granted with distinguished characters in perimeter and various weapons styles, such as Qin style, North prairie style, Qilu style, Wuyue style, Chu style, and Bashu style are generated. All the weapon styles interconnect with each other, and weapons in Central China are not dominant. (Figure 5)

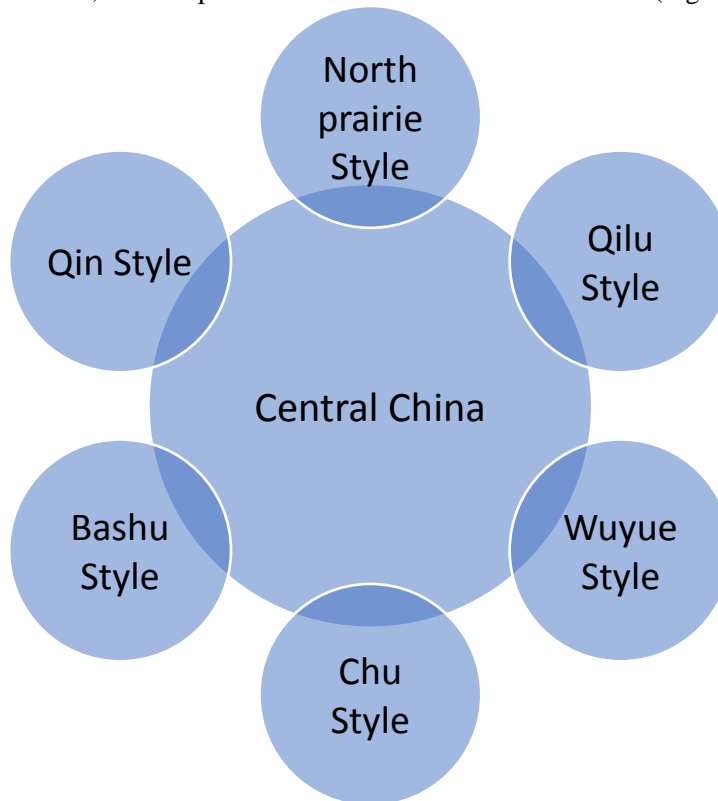


Figure 5: Bronze Weapons Regional Exchange of Eastern Zhou

CONCLUSION

As a civilization symbol of Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, bronze weapons were given political meaning and social significance as well as the military value.

Based on tomb discoveries, people in different class is buried with diverse weapons various in quality, size, and set. And ceremonial weapons such as yuè, large broadsword, and jǐ are used as a common phenomenon.

In Zhou dynasty, funerary weapons and “Hui Bing” custom exist, which is related to the financial situation and the ideology against Heaven and Ghost at that time.

The type and style of weapons in Central China are unified while the style of surrounding areas varies a lot due to geographical environment, cultural tradition, and etiquette system recognition.

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Conflict on Two Continents: Archaeology and the Culture History of frontier New France

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INTRODUCTION

The period of New France in North America temporally coincides with the latter years of the European early modern period (circa AD1600-1765). 19th & 20th century historians constructed narratives focused on broad themes of the period, using cultural and historical information gleaned from primary documents such as journals, memoirs, French administrative and colonial correspondence, as well as early modern period maps and drawings. Archaeologists have, in turn, used those narratives as an historical backdrop for interpreting past events, sociohistorical contexts and cultural lifeways at sites of the 17th & 18th centuries.

This is also true in the Great Lakes and Midwest region. Highly respected and regarded 19th & 20th century historical narratives provide the underlying basis for our understanding of the sociocultural and historic contexts of the region at the time. These grand narratives consist largely of translations, interpretations and editorial commentary on primary source materials (Reuben Gold Thwaites' commentary on the Jesuit Relations; Father Hennepin's recount of LaSalle's journeys on the Mississippi River; Emma Blair's commentary on Nicholas Perrot and Bacqueville de la Potherie's journals; Louise Kellogg's commentary on the History of Wisconsin). A significant portion of my dissertation (Naunapper 2007) relied heavily upon these sources for historical contexts and for interpretation of archaeological assemblages recovered from regional sites ranging from late prehistory through the middle to late historic period.

A great deal of research has been done since 2007 in the areas of Atlantic history, global history, colonialism, imperialism and indigenous studies. After completing the dissertation project, I began researching the early modern world as a global temporal phenomenon (Gerritsen 2016:530), which has led towards development of a more comprehensive and robust historical context for the history and archaeology of the Fox Wars. Shifting the historic context towards the transnational impacts of early modern period imperialism (particularly the Absolutism of Louis the XIV's reign in France) enhances our understanding of the historical placement of the Fox Wars in New France in their greater global context.

The Bell Site (47Wn9), located on the Fox River passageway in what is now central Wisconsin, has been identified as the archaeological signature of a village designated on Chaussegros deLery's (military engineer to King Louis the XIV) map of 1730 as the "Grand Village des Renards." (Figure 1)

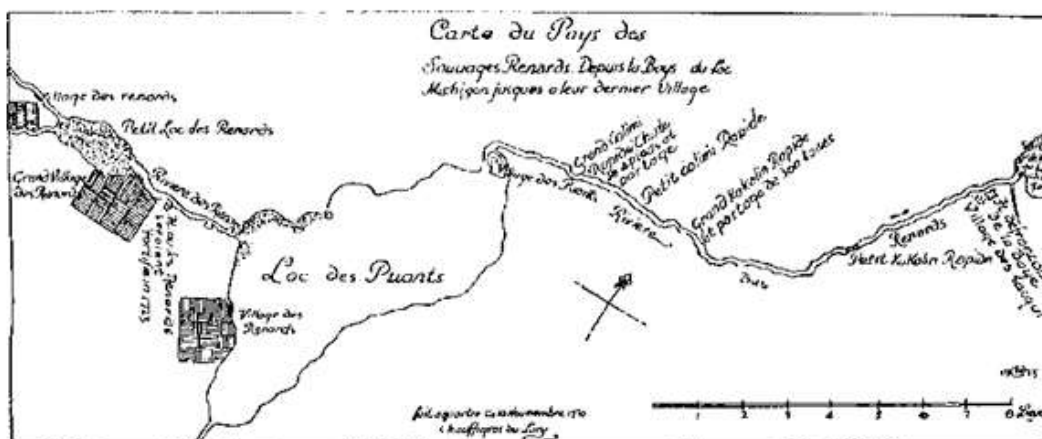


Figure 1: 1730 de Lery Map (from Kellogg 1925)

This site was the location of a 1730 battle between the French military and their allies against the Fox Indians or Les Sauvages Renards during the Fox Wars (AD1716-1737). Historically, the interpretation has been that Les Renards was a singular indigenous cultural unit (Howell 2008:121) that gained the ire of the administration of New France: however, more detailed research into the culture history of the period suggest that Les Renards was not necessarily a singular ethnic, nor even solely an indigenous, cultural entity. A slaveholdings document of French settlers in Detroit after 1712 list eleven “renards” and six “outagamies”, suggesting distinct cultural entities. An historian’s later interpretation of the document describes the two as belonging to the same cultural group (Demers 2003:170). To further complicate matters, archaeologists and ethnohistorians use names such as Mesquakie and Meskwaki (attributed to 20th century tribal groups) in their narratives describing history of the 17th and 18th centuries. My recent historical research suggests that this Les Renards group may have been a proto metis, French-Indian community that, by pooling knowledge and resources of both French and indigenous origins, was able to outsmart the French administration by successfully controlling the fur trade in what is now central Wisconsin.

The subfield of conflict archaeology developed out of earlier investigations in battlefield research and the archaeology of World Wars 1 and 2 (Reymans and Fernandez Gotz 2018:2-3) and the field has now expanded to include conflict and battle on a wider variety of archaeological site types and temporal periods. As a theoretical frame of reference, conflict archaeology provides an excellent platform from which to consider the Bell Site and other historically and archaeologically documented sites associated with the Fox Wars. As a research paradigm, Reymans and Fernandez Gotz (2018:3-5) outline a number of methodological approaches used to study conflict sites, each method having its own particular strengths and aims, and in this paper, I will be drawing upon two of those methods listed: the study of fortifications and the use of historical evidence.

Fox Wars—History and Archaeological Investigations

History

Synopsis of the Current Historical Narrative of the Fox Wars

Disputes arising out of the fur trade were at the root of the Fox Wars (Berthrong 1974:96), a series of military expeditions organized by the French government to curtail the Fox (or Renards’) control of the fur trade on the Fox River Passageway in what is now central Wisconsin. In 1696, France had revoked all North American fur trading licenses called *congés* (Kaye 1977:114), because the European market had become glutted with furs. Due to an ongoing fur trade rivalry with the English positioned on Hudson’s Bay to the north, French officials began to fear that Indian trappers would begin trading with English rivals since the French had revoked the *congés* and reduced trade (Kaye 1977:114). Because they were afraid of losing their native allies to English fur traders, the French began enticing tribes to organize in the near vicinity of their administrative centers, in order to monitor their trading activities (Behm 2005:36; Berthrong 1974:92). After signing the Great Peace of Montreal in 1701, which ensured peace between the Five Nations Iroquois and their enemies (Edmunds 1978:24; Havard 2001:46), the Fox and many other tribal groups relocated into southwestern Michigan near the Mission at St. Joseph and near Detroit.

Events that set the Fox Wars in motion began with inter-tribal warfare in southwestern Michigan (Berthrong 1974:95-96). In the spring of 1712, a combined group of Ottawa and Potawatomi attacked and killed a Mascouten group, because of their rumored alliance with the Fox, Iroquois, and English fur traders (1974:96). Later that spring, a combined alliance of Fox, Mascouten and Kickapoo set out to attack Detroit (Balesi 1992:155; Berthrong 1974:96) and combined with other tribal groups, open conflict ensued (Behm 2005:36). The battles raged on for thirteen days, after which a majority of the Fox and their allies were killed, the few survivors retreating to their kin among the Seneca before returning to their Wisconsin villages (Balesi 1992:156; Behm 2005:3-36).

Conflicts initiated by the Fox Wars instigated geographical relocation of Indian groups back towards the western Great Lakes to escape raging battles (Berthrong 1974:96). Fearing counter attacks from the Fox and their allies, Potawatomi and Ottawa allied with the French were given military protection, under the provision that they relocate to the vicinity of one of the French forts (Balesi 1992:156; Berthrong 1974:96). Although the battle at Detroit in 1712 began as a primarily Indian battle, it led to several subsequent battles between the French and Fox (Kaye 1977:142). The Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713, wherein France surrendered its control over the Hudson Bay region to the British: because the treaty recognized the Iroquois as British subjects, French officials feared the Iroquois might establish themselves among allies in the western Great Lakes (Behm 2005:37). To prevent such a takeover, the French re-established military-commercial fur trade posts, such as Michilimacinac and La Baye on the upper Great Lakes (Behm 2005:37; Kaye 1977:142).

By 1714, the French understood that a more powerful military involvement was necessary to gain control over the Fox monopoly of trade (Behm 2005:37) and thus sent out the first of two expeditions to eastern Wisconsin in 1716 (and 1728) (Kaye 1977:142). The first French expedition, intended for the summer of 1715, set out from Montreal in the early summer of 1716 (Behm 2008:25). It was a large campaign, directed by Louis de La Porte de Louvigny, consisting of circa 800 troops (Balesi 1992:157; Behm 2005:37). In the first battle waged in what is now Wisconsin that used European battle technology, Louvigny and his forces utilized two brass cannons, a brass grenade mortar, grenades, grenade fuses and lead balls with gunpowder to seize the fortified Grand Village des Renards, now known to archaeologists as the Bell Site. After three days of battle, the Renards surrendered to French forces, agreeing that in order to remain in their Wisconsin villages, they would need to allow free flow of the French trade along the Fox River passageway (Behm 2008:26).

A delegation of Indian chiefs was sent to French governor Vaudreuil in 1719, to establish peaceful relations between the French, Fox and Potawatomi (Balesi 1992:159), but the agreement to a peaceful resumption of the fur trade did not last long. The Fox had been establishing alliances with Indian groups throughout the Midwest and south along the Mississippi River (Behm 2005:39) and throughout the 1720s, these conflicts were at the center of French-Indian relations (Berthrong 1974:100). After a battle with the Illinois Confederacy near present day Chicago, the Fox gained control over the Illinois-Chicago river routes (Behm 2005:39) and also forged attacks on Indian groups as far south as the French settlements at Cahokia and Fort de Chartres (Balesi 1992:162). The French were aware of the Fox's continued attempts to interrupt trade since de Louvigny's campaign, and they were successful in recruiting Indian allies who had been traditional enemies of the Fox to attack their villages (Behm 2005:39). The Fox also continued to threaten alliances by trading with the English (Tanner 1987:42), which ultimately lead to the second phase of military campaigns in the Fox Wars (Behm 2005:39; Edmunds 1978:35; Kaye 1977:142).

Due to the Fox's relentless desire to control trade, the second French expedition sent out in 1728 under Marchand de Lignery, but was not as successful as the campaign of de Louvigny (Behm 2005:39; Kaye 1977:142). The Fox had heard news about the impending campaign and abandoned their villages ahead of time (Tanner 1987:42) and when he discovered the villages empty, de Lignery burned the settlements and agricultural fields, retreating to Detroit with his regiment and the garrison from Fort La Baye (Behm 2005:40).

By 1730, the Fox had rebuilt their villages on the Fox River and were again asserting their control of the Fox-Wisconsin trade route (Behm 2005:40). By this final stage of the Fox Wars, the Fox had fought almost all other nearby native groups at one time or another (Kaye 1977:143), alienating themselves from former allies (Balesi 1992:166). Once again, a combined force of French and Indian allies was sent out in 1730 under Lieutenant Nicolas Antoine Coulon de Villers in an attempt to achieve Fox surrender (Behm 2005:40). Upon arrival in Wisconsin, de Villers found the Fox villages abandoned, thus ordered them to be destroyed along with all agricultural fields and food stores (Behm 2005:40).

The displaced Fox were encountered by a party of the Illinois Confederacy in central Illinois, while enroute to some of their kinsmen in New York. De Villers' army soon caught up with them on the prairie and with combined allied forces, fought the Battle of the Fox Fort in 1730 in what is now central Illinois (Behm 2005:40). Three extant French military accounts of this siege concur on the chronology. Four distinct French

maps detail the fort plan and battlefield layout (Stelle and Hargrave 2013:23) (Figure 2). The French siege on the fort was, “plagued with internal intrigues, shifting sympathies and intertribal conflicts” (Stelle 1992:270). On the final night of the siege, a harsh storm caused the French allied forces to abandon their posts, providing an opportunity for the Fox to escape their encampment. However, the French military caught up with them on the prairie later: reportedly, few Fox survived this battle and those that did, returned intermittently to their former villages in central Wisconsin (Behm 2005:41-42).

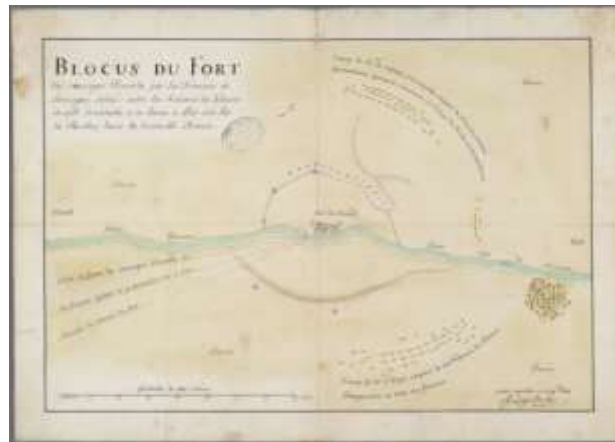


Figure 2: Blocus du Fort, Fox Fort AD1730 (from [http://virtual.parkland.edu/stelle1/en/center for social research/1 a meskwaki%20web/ml6.htm](http://virtual.parkland.edu/stelle1/en/center%20for%20social%20research/1%20a%20meskwaki%20web/ml6.htm))

Balesi contends that it is difficult to fully comprehend the complex nature of the Fox Wars (Balesi 1992:170). Native warfare and continually shifting alliances made it difficult for French officials to determine the best manner to promulgate policy, especially as they were faced with the hundreds of people (of myriad cultural backgrounds) being murdered on the frontier because of these conflicts. Moreover, the French were in effect powerless to prevent Indian allies from taking what they believed to be legitimate revenge upon their enemies (Balesi 1992:170).

Newly available historic information, in conjunction with archaeological evidence, may provide the key components to support a reinterpretation of the culture historical context of the Fox Wars, toward a focus on transnational conflict as exhibited at the Grand Village of the Renards/Bell Site and 1730 Fox Fort/Arrowsmith Site in central Illinois.

Archaeological Investigations

Reconstructing the history and events of the Great Lakes' Fox Wars (AD1716-1737) involves an interpretive interplay between data from the historic record and archaeological evidence. The Bell site is proposed as the location of the 1716 & 1728 battles between the French and Fox at the Grand Village of the Renards in Wisconsin. The Arrowsmith Site is proposed as the location of the 1730 battle between the same players at the fort of the Sauvages Renards (Fox Fort) in Illinois. Although a potential location has been proposed, no archaeological site has been definitively located for the final battle of the wars between the French and the allied Fox and Sauk in Iowa in 1737 (Howell 2008:128), for which there is very little historical information.

Bell Site Wisconsin (AD1680-1730)

The Bell Site (47Wn9) is located on a high bank on the south end of Big Lake Butte des Morts in the town of Algoma, Winnebago County, Wisconsin (Behm 1997:13; Quimby 1966:118; Wittry 1963:3). Bell is located along what has been called the Fox River Passageway: a riverine environment resulting from the intersection of the Fox and Wolf Rivers, connecting Lakes Poygan, Winneconne, Big Lake Buttes des Morts, Winnebago, Little Lake Buttes des Morts, and eventually Green Bay (Behm 1998:139), placing it at a strategic advantage point for trade and defense along the river route (Behm 1992:14). The site was first reported in 1911

the discovery of five burials containing trade goods diagnostic of the fur trade and has been collected by avocational archaeologists since 1958 (Behm 1993:26).

Wittry Excavations

The first professional excavations at the Bell Site were under direction of Dr. Warren Wittry in the summer of 1959 (Wittry 1963:2). Wittry's investigations (Figure 3), published in *The Wisconsin Archeologist*, document the three weeks of excavations at the site, and provide an analysis of materials recovered during the project as well as results of floral and faunal analyses (Wittry 1963). The 1959 excavations identified two palisade lines, 76 storage/refuse pits, numerous post molds and a vast array of artifact classes (of both aboriginal and European origin). Postmolds were oriented in both linear and circular patterns, suggesting house walls, but time constraints prevented the complete exposure of the extents of these patterns. Previous work done at the site by avocationalist Ostberg documented additional refuse pits and a rectangular pattern of postmolds lying to the south of Wittry's excavations.

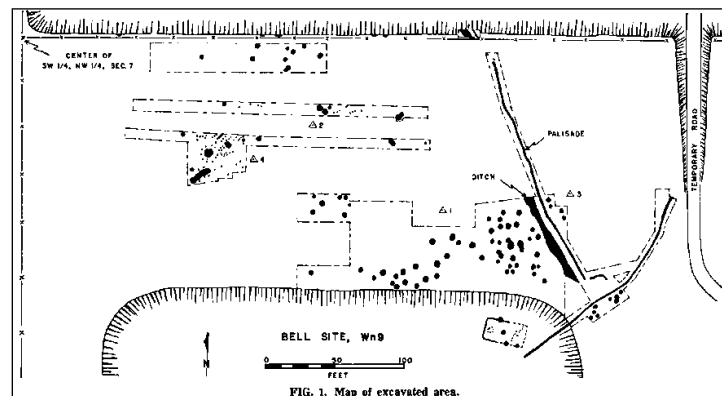


Figure 3: Wittry Excavation Map (from Wittry 1963)

One indigenous burial was recovered during Wittry's excavations, found in a bell-shaped cache pit.

Wittry classified 1,312 ceramic sherds from feature contexts at the Bell Site into two predominant, grit tempered wares, complemented by a smaller percentage of shell tempered and unidentifiable sherd types. The two major grit tempered types are designated as Bell Type I and Bell Type II: Bell I ceramics (now named *Buttes des Morts Ware*, Behm 2008:43) and Bell Type II ceramics (now named *Algoma Modified Lip*, Naunapper 2010:161) (Wittry 1963:23-26).

Based upon the diagnostic material culture and feature patterning on the site, in conjunction with the use of ethnohistoric information, Wittry argued that the Bell Site was very likely the former location of a fortified village of the Fox tribe. Perhaps the most convincing evidence recovered in support of Wittry's claim includes recovery of three grenade fragments (which would have been shot from a canon mortar), musket parts and lead balls, all likely used in the military campaign against the fortified Fox village (1963:34-46).

Based on ethnohistoric data, Wittry proposed that the Fox Indians most likely maintained the greatest presence on site, thus the Fox were the makers of the Bell Type I ceramic ware. Further, since Bell Type II ceramics compose a small minority of the ceramic assemblage (13%), they represent a minority ethnic population at the village of "possibly Sauk, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, or Mascoutin" although he cautioned readers about the ambiguity in drawing correlations between ethnic groups and ceramic types (1963:26, 55). Wittry's analysis and conclusions would later be used by other archaeologists as a precedent for their work in assigning ethnic affiliation of indigenous ceramics (Quimby 1966:117).

Behm Excavations

In 1989, Dr. Jeffery Behm of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh (UWO) initiated salvage investigations to determine site boundaries and mitigate the effects of a proposed commercial development that

threatened the Bell site (Figure 4). Behm conducted summer field schools for six seasons at the site, substantially increasing the volume and breadth of data available. Behm has published and presented widely on his excavations and continued analyses of Bell site materials (Behm 1991-2008). Numerous researchers, students and avocational archaeologists have completed research projects focusing on materials recovered from UWO excavations, including: preliminary and formal ceramic analyses, European weapons, faunal analysis, GIS and site patterning, jesuit ring analyses, historic period flintlocks, historic trade goods, pottery pipes and trade bead analyses (Behm 2008:35). Due to the extensive volume and diversity of materials recovered, as well as budgetary constraints, a fully comprehensive artifact and site analysis has yet to be completed (2008:47).

Pedestrian survey and shovel testing in 1990 demonstrated that, although a great extent of the Bell Site had been destroyed during gravel mining operations, a significant amount of intact deposits did remain on site. The 1990 field season identified portions of palisade trench, and its patterning suggested that the heart of the village was destroyed in the gravel pit operations. Testing during the 1992 and 1993 field seasons identified 16 subsurface features located in the central portion of the site. Stockade trenches were identified in several areas and several pits, post molds and one human burial were identified (Behm 1993:2).

In 1994, construction activities began on the property encompassing the site and in 1996, 499 test units were excavated, yielding portions of two stockade trenches and 25 additional subsurface features. In 1997, excavation of 74 units yielded one additional subsurface feature. In another area of the site, heavy equipment was provided by the commercial developer to strip the plowzone, revealing 196 subsurface features, 18 of which were aboriginal human burials. One hundred fifty of these features were excavated by season's end, and the remaining 46 features were excavated the following field season. The 1998 field season was the end of UWO salvage excavations at the Bell Site, with nearly 400 subsurface features excavated.

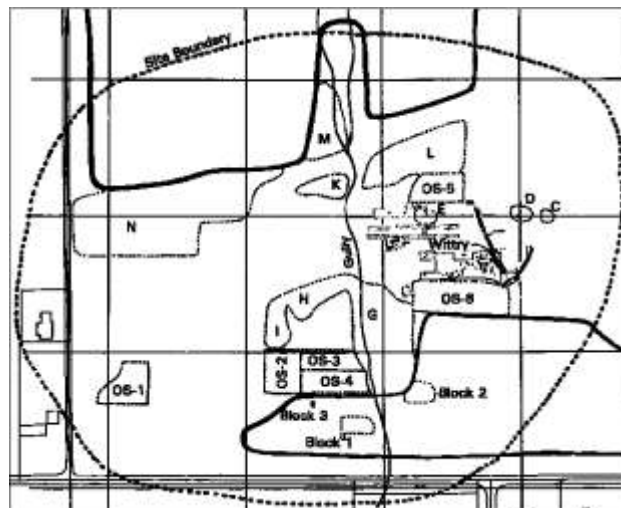


Figure 4: Map of UWO Bell Site Investigations (from Behm 1993)

In sum, the UWO excavations identified at least 12 additional sections of stockade trench, likely associated with multiple building episodes that correspond to the series of battlesieges at the fortified village (Behm 2008:35). Indigenous artifact types recovered include: triangular stone arrowheads, stone knives and scrapers, antler tools and ornaments, bone harpoon heads and awls, marine shell pendants and beads, and pipestone pendants and beads (2008:46-47). Artifact types of European manufacture include: copper and brass tinkling cones, hair pipes and bracelets, folded sheet metal lugs, glass trade beads, jesuit rings, musket parts, French gunflints and steel knife blades (2008:47-60). As the former director of the Regional Archaeology Center for Central Wisconsin, Behm also has curated a number of avocationalists' artifact collections in-house that further support the wide diversity of artifact types recovered from the site (2008:70).

Arrowsmith Site Illinois (AD 1730)

Stelle Investigations

The Arrowsmith Site (11ML6) was initially excavated by amateur archaeologists in the early 1930s (Stelle 1992:277). Although variety of materials were recovered from these excavations (lead balls, arrowheads, charcoal bullets, gun barrel), the poor quality of the field reports and lack of provenience data rendered made reconstructing the battle site difficult at best (1992:278). A series of more systematic investigations began in the late 1980s and early 1990s, including: an infrared aerial survey, uncontrolled surface collections, controlled surface collections, shovel probe survey, metal detector survey and test excavations (Figure 5) (1992:279-280).

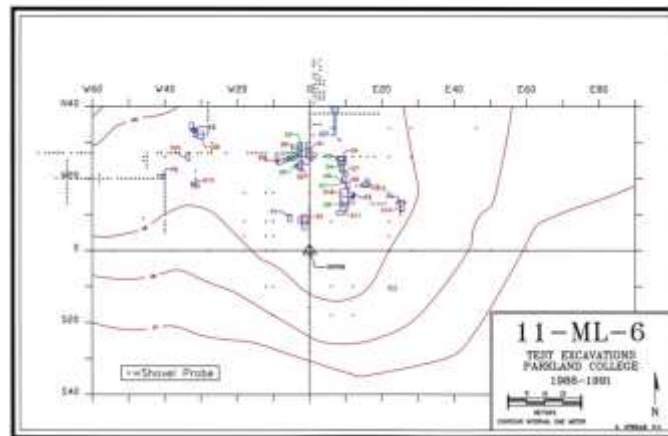


Figure 5: Fox Fort Excavations and Features (from Stelle 1992)http://virtual.parkland.edu/lstelle1/len/center_for_social_research/Fox_Fort/idotfx.htm

The infrared survey did not produce significant results, however, survey and excavation yielded 7 subterranean structures with 5 connecting ditches along with a variety of artifact types, a majority of which could be considered as materials associated with a battle (Stelle 1992:297). The artifact assemblage consisted of: hafted bifaces, Madison triangular projectile points, gunflints, hammerstones, a catlinite pipe bowl, Bell Type 1 ceramics, glass beads, brass objects and lead objects (including musket balls). Stelle concludes that, from the artifactual evidence, French presence at the site could not be proven due to the lack of diagnostically French materials: however, diagnostic glass trade beads date to a suggested range of AD1716-1731. In addition, Bell Type 1 ceramics (diagnostic of the Middle Historic Period at the Bell Site) indicate the presence of an indigenous component, perhaps representing the Fox/Meskwaki (1992:299).

Stelle noted that the 1992 publication presented preliminary findings on the field investigations and subsequently, published an additional site report with updated analyses (Stelle 2008).

In sum, at least 15 semi subterranean structures were identified, 13 of which showed evidence of having covered roofs. Some were connected by substantially sized ditches (2008:92), all of which aligns very closely with deLery's 1730 map and description of the architectural features of the fort. No formal evidence of an exterior fort wall or its geometry was recovered during the investigations, although archaeological evidence suggests the geographic extent of the site aligns well with one of the French descriptions of the fort's size (2008:92). Overall, the site architectural features were very distinctive and unique, and correspond well with the French accounts of battle site. Further, material culture evidence reveals a predominance of war related materials, and artifact counts are updated although type categories remain consistent. As with his preliminary findings, Stelle concluded that the site had an indigenous component (Meskwaki), but evidence of French presence remains inconclusive (2008:96). Of interesting note, Stelle argued that perhaps one of the reasons French presence cannot be confirmed on the basis of material culture evidence is that, "of these men (the

attacking force of French military), the majority were irregulars (*habitant* or *coureurs de bois*) sharing heavily in the material culture of Native American society especially under field conditions” (2008:96).

Bell & Arrowsmith site investigations—comments

Investigations of the Bell and Arrowsmith sites successfully tie archaeological evidence to historic accounts of two battles fought during the Fox Wars. Artifacts associated with warfare (of both indigenous and European origin) have been recovered from both sites, providing clear evidence that at least one function of both sites was as a battleground. Moreover, Bell Type 1 ceramics (diagnostic of the Middle Historic Period Fox) recovered at both sites suggests the presence of the Fox, further supporting that these were battle sites during the Fox Wars. Mixed material culture artifact assemblages at both sites indicate culture contact of some type between indigenous populations and European populations: trade goods at the Bell site are characteristically of French trade origin (with some British items present), whereas items of European manufacture recovered from the Arrowsmith site prove inconclusive as to being of French or English origin.

Culture history during the conflict-oriented Fox Wars

Historical data are important to the interpretation of conflict sites in two ways: first, in reconstructing a specific battlefield site on the landscape and second, in placing specific battle sites into their supra-regional historical context (Reymans and Fernandez Gotz 2018:5-6). To better contextualize the battle sites of the Fox Wars, cultural and historical evidence on a global or “transnational” scale is necessary in order to adequately account for the complexity of conflict occurring in both France and the New World during the early modern period. This information provides components of the necessary “middle range theory” mentioned by Reymans and Fernandez Gotz (2018:5). Historical evidence regarding the social, cultural and political history of France provides insight into those cultural elements that were displaced into the colonial settlements, colonial forts and frontier communities of New France that are currently missing from the historical narrative that archaeologists use. My focus here is on the cultural composition of the frontier communities in Indian country, and how they may be reflected in archaeological signatures at sites like Bell and Arrowsmith.

Historians, anthropologists and archaeologists alike have utilized Richard White’s (1991) middle ground concept to understand post-contact relations. White’s analysis of the cooperative nature of French-Indian relations suggests a blending and reinvention of cultures, borne out of “mutual and creative (sociocultural) misunderstandings” (White 2006:9). The middle ground was a unique situation, in contrast to that which aboriginal groups had with other European powers. To the Spanish, British and Americans, major goals included conquering and assimilation of indigenous groups, whereas the French model was closer to one of accommodation. White concedes that because of his use of the ethnographic present to explain past cultures, it may suffer from the bias of assumed cultural continuity (White 1991: xiv).

More recently, scholars have begun to question the validity of the middle ground as an accurate reflection of the French-Indian contact era (Bohaker 2006; Gitlin 2010:10; Witgen 2012). While these ethnohistoric analyses of French-Indian culture contact are from the perspective of aboriginal cultural resistance in response to the influences of colonialism, my approach is to add yet another layer of complexity to the cultural context, and to tell a new story (Peterson 2012) about French influence in and on Indian villages and the origins of a proto-metis fur trade community on the frontier.

The Fox Wars were fueled by conflicts arising out of the fur trade, however, indigenous groups were not the only people on the frontier who were unhappy with the ever changing fur trade policies of New France. Another segment of the population of that time is rarely, if ever, acknowledged in historical narratives for their potential role in influencing trade, alliances and changes in French policy by the French administration, namely the French *coureurs des bois*, or illegal traders. The conflict associated with these wars, as with the earlier related Beaver Wars further east, were between the French crown, the administration of New France and the malcontents of the fur trade in North America: the new world manifestation of an early modern period conflict on two continents. Thus, it is not possible to fully comprehend the context of the contact and early historic archaeological periods of the Great Lakes region without an understanding of the greater context within which New France in North America operated in relation to the mother country.

Recent investigations of Bell & Arrowsmith sites

Recently, archaeologists have revised documentation of the community plan and spatial layout of the Bell Site, using AutoCad and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to house and analyze intrasite feature distribution and artifact data (Walder, Ngandali and Behm 2015). Building upon an earlier GIS developed for the site (Snell 2005), the team created a new overview plan map using known archaeological features that represent portions of stockade lines. From this, the authors interpolated potential palisade lines for each of three successive palisade building episodes corresponding to the various sieges of the Grand Village of the Renards, which is an important step toward more empirical analyses of intrasite feature distribution.

Geophysical surveys of the Arrowsmith site were conducted in 2004-2005 to locate subsurface anomalies associated with the fort's outer walls and French military's defenses (Stelle and Hargrave 2013:29). A magnetic gradiometer was used to survey the site area for anomalies associated with surface or shallow buried metal deposits or deposits often resulting from burning (2013:30). Results of the survey showed strong correlations between linear anomalies and some of the details provided on early modern maps of battle site features (2013:31). Results of the magnetometer survey were overlain on one of the four known early modern French military maps that document the sieges (2013:31-36). The geophysical survey anomalies correspond exceptionally well to the details about outer walls, structures and connecting ditches, french military encampments and trenches provided in one of the maps (called the *irregular plan* by the authors, named *Carte du Fort* by the unnamed French cartographer, 2013:32). The geophysical survey located portions of the trenches that were part of the fort's outer wall, evidence of a footing trench possibly associated with a parapet and portions of earthworks potentially representative of attackers' earthworks (2013:41). These findings fill previous gaps in empirical evidence from the, making a much stronger case to support Arrowsmith as the site of the 1730 Fox Fort.

Discussion and Conclusions

Archaeologically, the classification framework used in the Midwest and Great Lakes for this temporal period consists of a structure that includes French colonial habitation sites, French colonial forts and Indian villages. Thus, the Bell Site has been considered to be an Indian village, since it's neither considered a French settlement nor a fort and since the historic record provides data about the group called Les Renards that has been assumed to be indigenous. If we consider the possibility of a multi ethnic, mixed blood community inhabiting the site, however, it makes sense that a mixed material culture assemblage would be representative of French presence, not just trade in French items by an indigenous population.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the conflict and battle sites of this period, perhaps, is our understanding of the nature of the fortifications involved. Some fortifications of the northeast during the 17th & 18th centuries, called "Indian forts" share striking similarity to European fort layouts, used as a military strategy during times of increasingly competitive warfare (Curry 2008). Interestingly, some of these "Indian forts" were in fact designed and built by Europeans themselves, and inhabited either by indigenous or ethnically mixed communities (Curry 2008:14). French cartographers to Louis the XIV were clearly communicating very specific details about the battles on their maps: however, contemporary interpretations of what those mapmakers are communicating vary widely. Rene Chartrand has published widely on the forts of New France and New Spain, which include images of early modern maps of fortification styles and layouts (Chartrand 2011, 2010, 2008, 2005). My impression is that there exists a very sketchy line between native and French-inspired forts designs during this period. Although more substantial forts based on French design would surely have been built of stone, smaller scale forts of the same design would have been made with local materials available (Stelle and Hargave 2013:42), especially if those fort builders were French or had knowledge of French fort design.

For example, in the deLery map of 1730, 'Carte du Pays des Sauvages renards' (Figure 6), the map depicts three Les Renards villages in Wisconsin, situated on the banks of rivers or lakes, each one surrounded by planted fields. Also, a fort is depicted, east of the Grand Village along the Fox River. Behm believes that one of the two villages other than the Grand Village and the fort site are currently submerged under Big Lake Butte des Morts, after the Fox River passageway was dammed in the early 1900s (Behm 1993:15). Wittry

mentions the fort as “where the Fox were fortified in 1723” (Wittry 1962:45), likely from information on this map. Behm mentions the fort in a UWO site report and suggests a possible location that should be investigated archaeologically in the future (Behm 1993:15-16). Note that de Lery depicts this as a French style fort, square in shape with bastions on all four corners (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Close-up of 1730 de Lery Map (from Kellogg 1925) showing fort plan

Investigating the Arrowsmith site, Stelle and Hargrave (2013:24-30) use a series of five available French maps in their analyses of the site layout and the geophysical survey: Blocus du Fort Des Sauvages Renards & Plan du Fort des Sauvages Renards, (dated November 10, 1730); Fort Des Renards, trapezoid (date unknown), Sauvages renards, Attaques dans leur forme par les (dated September 1730); and Carte de Fort ou des renards (dated March 26, 1731).

The authors devote significant and interesting discussion about interpretation of early modern period cartography, claiming French cartographers portray a Eurocentric bias and potential political agenda in their maps (2013: 41). From an empirical perspective, the outline of the irregular plan map is squared, although the authors claim it is not geometric in shape (2013:27). Geophysical anomalies correlate with the squared outline of the irregular plan map (2013:32,36). While Stelle and Hargrave’s interpretation has merit, I offer the example of an Indian Fort plan in the northeast during this time period. Fort Hunter in New York, dating to 1711-1720, is named an ‘Indian fort’ (possibly Mohawk) but clearly reflects the layout of a European fort: square in planview with four blockhouses (Curry 2008:14). Most intriguing, notes about the fort in Curry’s publication reveal the fort was designed by Dutch engineer Col. Redknap, and built by Dutch carpenters.

De Lery’s Plan du Fort des Sauvages Renards provides a detailed sketch of the type of housing witnessed during the French siege on “A fortified Fox Town in 1730” (Chartrand 2010:29) and is complementary to the Blocus de Fort drawing mentioned earlier. The drawing and associated narrative explain detail of subterranean huts connected by ditches, and covered with timber framed lean-to type structures. De Lery describes the layout of the town and its fortifications in detail, and Chartrand (2010:29) notes that “It featured curtained walls made of earth reinforced with logs, bastions and a moat. All these features borrowed from European military architecture. A-frame log huts covered with earth and grass that made them fireproof. Under the buildings was an elaborate system of tunnels that linked them all together: the fortifications impressed the king’s engineer who made an illustrated report of it.”

In sum, while both Bell and Arrowsmith are clearly battle site locations of the Fox Wars of New France, continued research of the culture history of New France will provide insight into exactly who Les Renards were and why they were adversaries of New France.

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