Filling the Archeological Void: Saint Lawrence Iroquoians in Alburg, Vermont

by Thomas R. Jamison

Introduction

Samuel de Champlain reported the presence of Native American groups around the north end of Lake Champlain prior to 1609 (Bassett 1967). However, the archeology of Grand Isle County, Vermont, has only been minimally examined. Characteristically for the county, previously identified sites in the town of Alburg are few. Until recently most of the sites identified in the town were found by collectors and have not been confirmed by controlled excavation or placed chronologically or culturally. Almost all are located on points or bays around the lake-side perimeter of the town. This void is beginning to be addressed. The Bohannon Site (VT-GI-26/32) was recently excavated by the University of Vermont and several important sites were identified during preliminary survey for a fire district water project in the Fall of 2004 and during 2005. The fire district project provided an opportunity to examine a broad cross section of topographic and environmental settings for evidence of precontact occupation. Of particular importance, the Bohannon Site and several others, shed light on the presence in the area of the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians, a possibility suggested by James Pendergast (Petersen et al. 2004:88; Pendergast 1993:Figures. 1-3) and elaborated extensively by Jim Petersen (Petersen 1990; Petersen et al. 2004).

Setting

The town of Alburg consists of a long north-south trending peninsula that extends from Canada 18.44 kilometers (11.46 miles) into the northern end of Lake Champlain (Figure 1). At the southern end of the peninsula the lake narrows into the Alburg Passage on the east that runs between Alburg and the town of North Hero and provides access to the outlet of the Missisquoi River and Missisquoi Bay. On the west the Lamotte Passage is formed by Alburg and Isle Lamotte and provides access to the Richelieu River, the outlet of the lake and route to the Saint Lawrence River.

The bedrock that forms the underlying structure of the peninsula is the Stony Point formation consisting of calcareous shale grading upward into argillaceous limestone and some dolomite (Doll et al. 1961). It is a prominent feature especially on the high ridge of the peninsula, frequently forming sharp edges of the topography that look artificial, but are due to the natural trend and cleavage of the shale.

Previous Research

James Pendergast, known for his extensive research on the archeology of the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians, identified as early as 1987 the potential of a cluster of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian occupation in the Champlain Valley based on ceramics from various collections from the area (Petersen et al. 2004:88). Since then, excavations in the Champlain Basin in Québec have identified Saint Lawrence Iroquoian sites along the Pike River and Missisquoi Bay (Blais 1993). The Bilodeau Site (BgFg-1) and the Florent-Gosselin Site (BgFg-6; Figure 1) are located about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) apart with the Bilodeau Site up the Pike River and the Florent-Gosselin Site on the west bank of the mouth of the Pike River on Missisquoi Bay. Excavations by the University of Montreal at both sites encountered Saint Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics and at the Bilodeau Site a pattern of postmolds and features suggest the outline of an oblong structure about 15 meters (49 feet) in length (Blais 1993:Figure 4)

The Bohannon Site (VT-GI-26/32) identified by the University of Vermont in East Alburg on the shore of Lake Champlain across from Swanton (Figure 1) appears to be a village site based on many pit features, some of which may align to identify one or more longhouse structures (Petersen et al. 2004:109). Ceramics recovered at the site include diagnostic Saint Lawrence Iroquoian attributes. A distinctly limited presence of lithic artifacts and the focus of artifacts in the vicinity of features are traits also indicative of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian sites (Petersen et al. 2004:113). In addition, the numerous pit features extending below the plowzone contained extensive floral and faunal remains that have helped to date and interpret the site. AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry) dating suggests the site was occupied approximately AD 1500-1620 (Petersen et al. 2004:110).

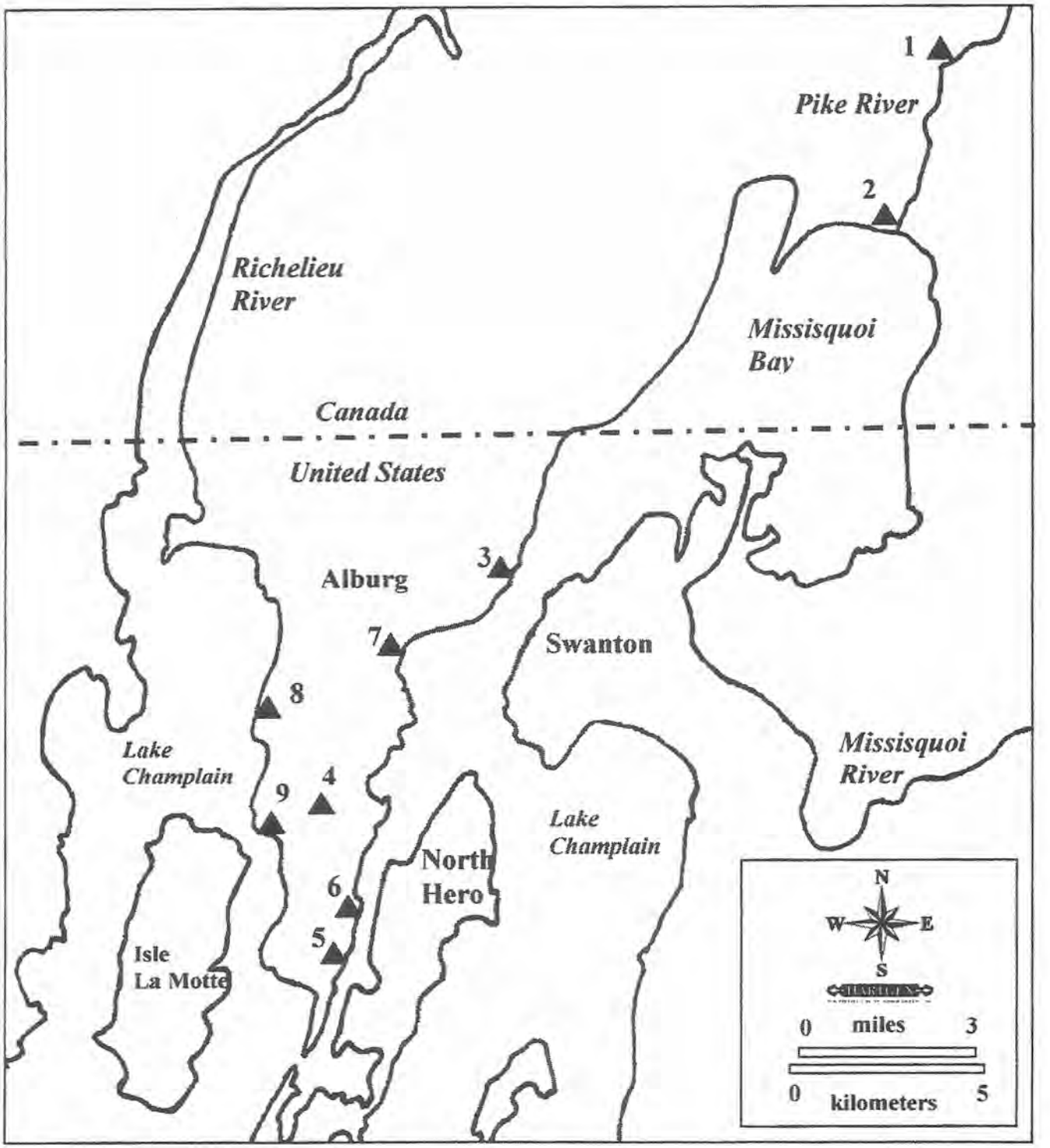

Figure 1. Archeological sites in the Northern Champlain/Missisquoi Region.01 – Bilodeau (BgFg-1), 2 – Florent-Gosselin (BgFg-6), 3 – Bohannon (VT-GI-26/32), 4 – Summit (VT-GI-49), 5 – Passage (VT-GI-50), 6 – Embankment (VT-GI-51), 7 – Ransom Bay (VT-GI-59), 8 – West Shore (VT-GI-60), 9 – South View (VT-GI-63).

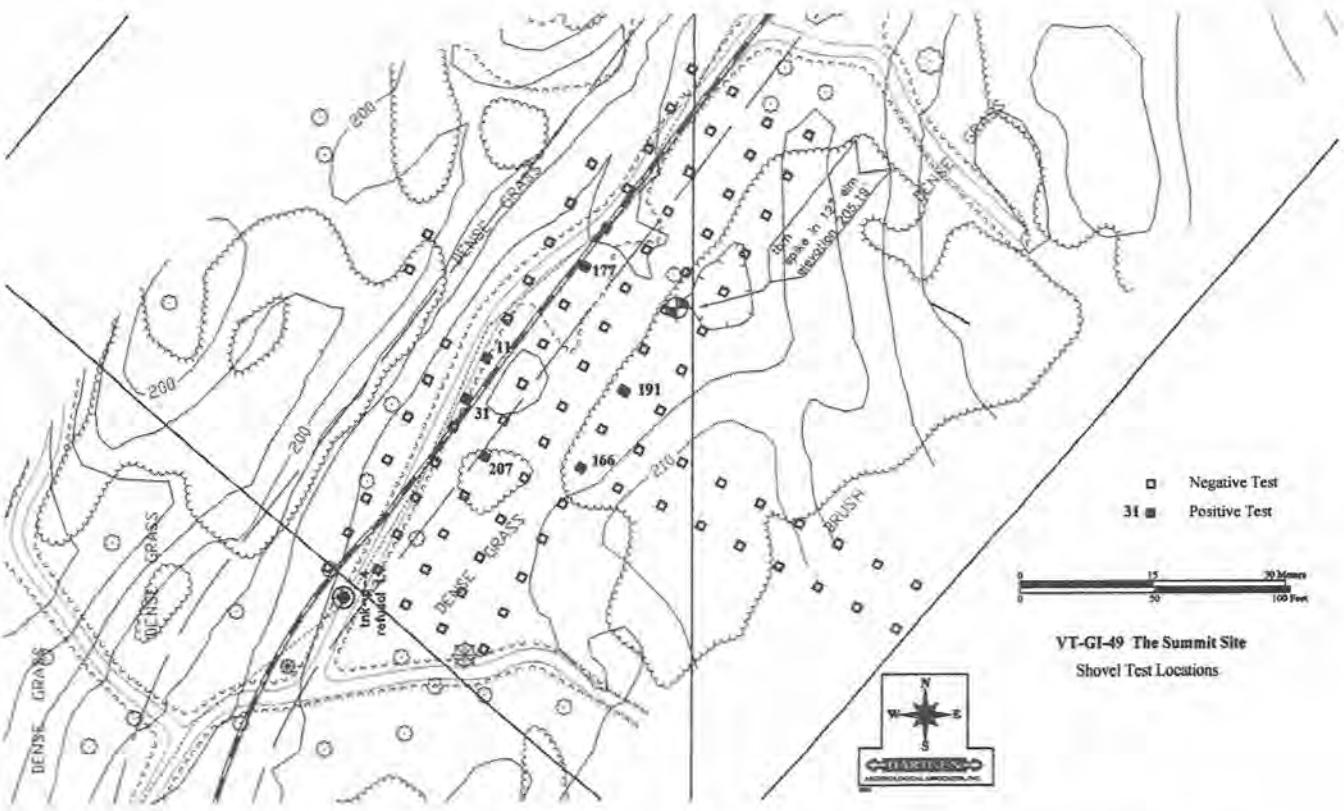

Figure 2. Summit Site (VT-GI-49) – plan of shovel testing (basemap: Phelps Engineering, Inc. 2004).

South Alburg Fire District #2 Phase IB Survey

In November and December 2004 and throughout the 2005 field season, Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. conducted Phase IB archeological reconnaissance survey for the proposed South Alburg Fire District #2. The project is sponsored by the fire district to provide water service to the southern part of the town. Water lines are proposed along the side of many roads and an access road, water pipe alignment and storage tank are proposed for a low ridge in the southern part of the peninsula. Testing to date has encountered 17 precontact and historic archeological sites. Four of the precontact sites appear eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The remaining sites need more examination to make that determination or are not eligible based on disturbance. Descriptions of six precontact sites identified during the survey are presented below.

The Summit Site (VT-GI-49)

The most striking example of a site in a different setting than known precontact sites is the Summit Site. This site was identified during testing of the original proposed location of the water storage tank and access road (Figure 1). The testing was conducted on the high ridge that forms the high point of the Alburg peninsula at about 62.5 meters (205 feet) above mean sea level. The site is located on a narrow level portion of the ridge. To the east the topography becomes more broken and undulating rising up for a short distance before dropping off and to the west it drops off immediately (Figure 2). This site is unusual with no other site matching its remoteness from travel routes and its defensive potential.

The Summit Site was initially encountered in one shovel test of a transect excavated at 10-meter (33-foot) intervals along the route of the access road. Shovel Test 11 encountered several fragments of pottery and some animal bone fragments in Level 1, immediately under the sod (Figure 3). The pottery fragments are from a vessel with a short collar decorated with oblique incising along the exterior, the interior and cross hatching along the top of the squared off vessel rim (Figure 4). Smaller

Figure 3. Summit Site (VT-GI-49), Test 11, Level 1, incised thickened lip rim sherds, exterior (Lanorie Crossed).

Figure 4. Summit Site (VT-GI-49), Test 11, Level 1, incised thickened lip rim sherds, view of cross hatching on the top of the flattened rim (Lanorie Crossed).

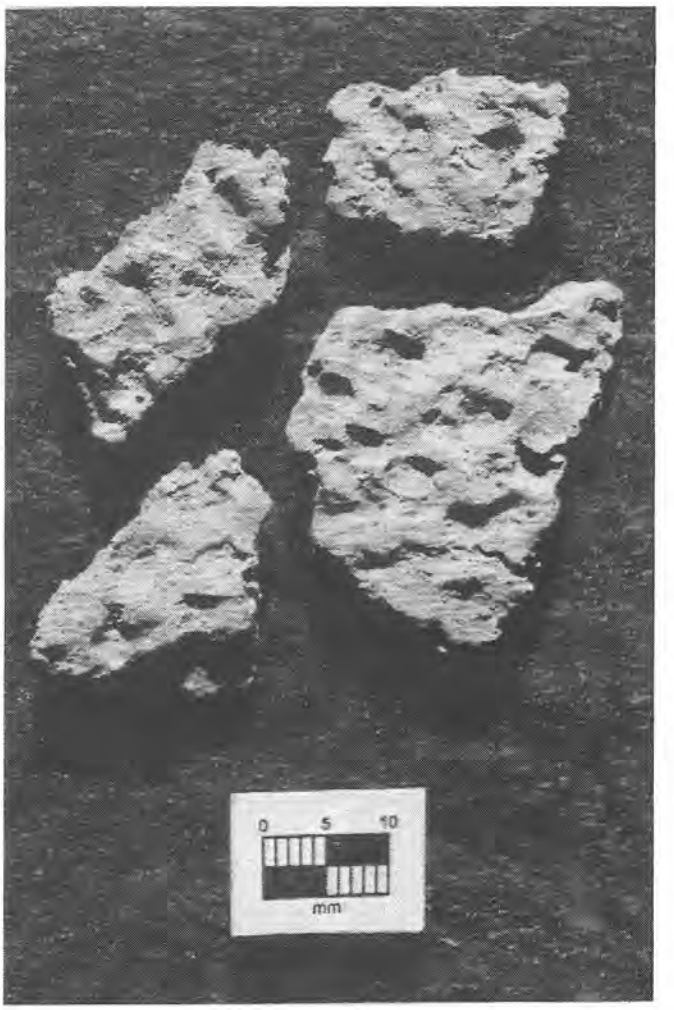

Figure 5. Summit Site (VT-GI-49), Test 11, Level 1, check stamped body sherds, perhaps from the same vessel as the Lanorie Crossed sherds in Figures 3 and 4.

body sherds, possibly from the same vessel, exhibit a check stamped decoration that spalled off (Figure 5). The bone found in the test consists of a few small, unburned fragments that appear to be of deer vertebrae.

Confirmation tests were excavated at 5-meter intervals around Test 11 and one, Test 31, excavated 5 meters to the southwest, encountered additional pottery of a smaller vessel but with similar rim decoration accomplished through a combination of incising and cord-wrapped stick impression (Figure 6). Although applied through different techniques, the design is similar to the vessel in Test 11, with crosshatching on the top of the squared rim.

In an effort to get some sense of the boundaries of the site, a second round of testing was conducted. These tests extended in transects out from Tests 11 and 31 to the southeast, northeast and southwest (Figure 2). Tests 177 and 191 each encountered one small, undecorated pottery sherd. Both tests were located about 17 meters (56 feet) to the northeast of Test 11. In addition, Test 166 encountered a thin lens of charcoal at the base of the A horizon and Test 207 encountered a reddened subsoil on one side of the test. No artifacts were found in association with either deposit, but they may represent precontact features.

The Passage Site (VT-GI-50)

The Passage Site is located along the west side of Poor

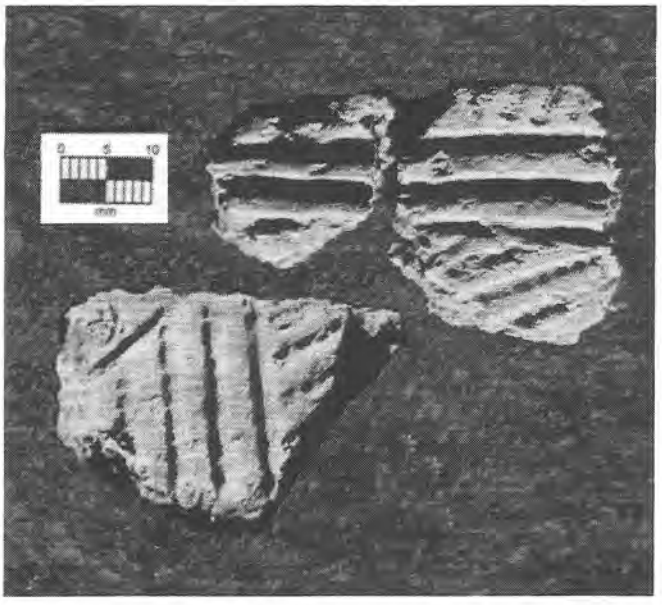

Figure 6. Summit Site (VT-GI-49), Test 31, Level 1, incised and cord-wrapped stick impressed decorated rim sherds. Note the rim sherds share a flattened cross hatched lip with the pottery from Test 11.

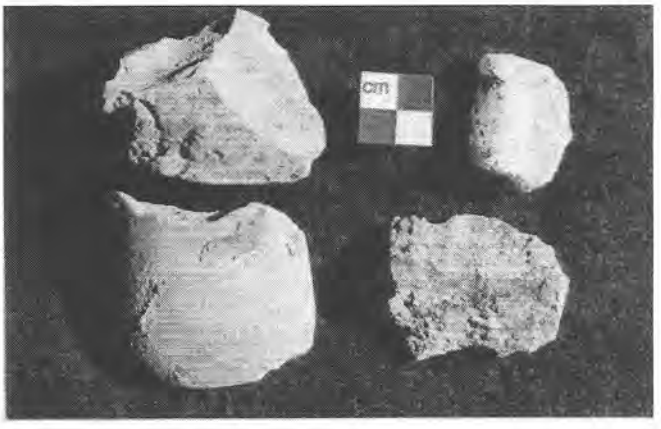

Figure 7.Passage Site (VT-GI-50), Test 53, Level 1, tool fragments including the bit to an adze (lower left) and several expedient tools.

Farm Road at the southern end of the peninsula overlooking the Alburg Passage that divides Alburg from North Hero (Figure 1). In this location shovel tests were excavated at 10-meter (33-foot) intervals in a transect at the top edge of the roadside ditch furthest from the road. Four tests encountered precontact materials. Test 52 encountered a small chert flake in the A horizon. Test 53

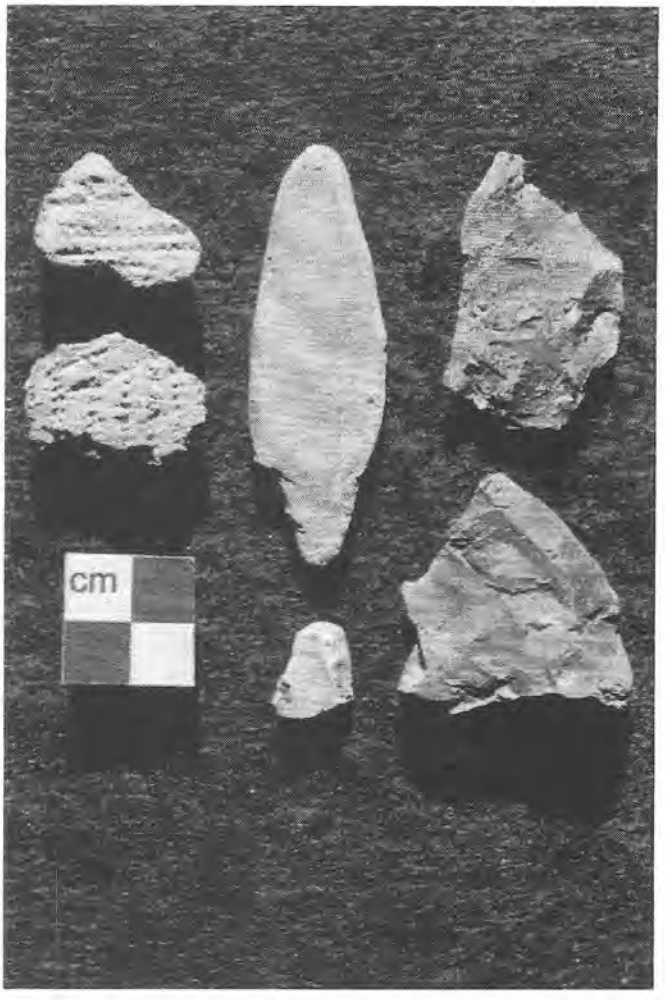

Figure 8. Passage Site (VT-GI-50), Test 55, Level 3, cord-wrapped stick impressed pottery, red slate projectile point, calcined bone fragment, chert flakes.

encountered the bit of a ground stone adze and several expedient tools in the A horizon (Figure 7). Test 56 encountered a fragment of a rough chert biface in the A horizon.

Test 55 encountered precontact materials 34 centimeters (13.4 inches) below the surface. These materials included chert flakes, a Late Archaic red slate narrow-stemmed projectile point, a fragment of calcined bone, fire cracked rock and cord-wrapped stick impressed pottery (Figure 8). In addition, at about 40 centimeters (15.75 inches) below the surface the test encountered an adult human burial. Test 55 exposed the top of the cranium and several phalanges of a hand resting against the skull. The outline of the burial pit was visible extending away from the roadside ditch and a stone

capping the burial at the shoulder was partly exposed. The burial appears to be oriented with the head towards the southeast and the body extending to the northwest. Once the bones were determined to be human, Scott Dillon of the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation contacted Abenaki Chief April Rushlow in nearby Swanton. All of the skeletal material was left in place and the burial was precisely located according to local landmarks. The artifacts in Test 55 are not associated with the burial, but are present as part of the surrounding site deposits. In particular, the fine preservation of the bones suggests a Late Woodland date for the burial while the pottery, according to Jim Petersen, is late Middle Woodland to early Late Woodland, c. AD 600-1300 and the adze and red slate point are diagnostic of the Late Archaic period, c. 4050 to 850 BC (Petersen 2004). Therefore, the Passage Site is a multi-component occupation, part of a local sequence leading to the occupation of the Summit and Bohannon sites that can be defined as more work is done in the area.

The overall topography of the Passage Site slopes gently down to the road that interrupts the natural slope. Based on shovel tests on the opposite side of the road, the original stratigraphy continues under the road and the site deposits may also extend to the top of the bank. To avoid disturbance to the site the waterline will be placed by directional bore well under the site deposits.

The Embankment Site (VT-GI-51)

The Embankment Site is located along the west side of Poor Farm Road close to the Route 2 bridge connecting to North Hero (Figure 1). Two precontact chert flakes and fire cracked rock were found in two shovel tests at the base of the embankment of Poor Farm Road. The flakes are light brown in color and of fine texture, similar to chert from the Midwest and may have been traded into the area (Burke 2005). The lack of diagnostic artifacts prevents dating of the site at this time.

The Ransom Bay Site (VT-GI-59)

The Ransom Bay Site is located along Ransom Bay on the eastern side of the Alburg peninsula (Figure 1). Shovel testing at this location encountered artifacts in four tests placed in a transect at 5-meter (16.4-foot) intervals.

In Test 836, pottery, fire cracked rock, mussel shell, charcoal and window glass were found in Level 1 to 36 centimeters (14 inches). Test 838 was excavated about 5 meters (16.4 feet) east of 836 and encountered one pottery fragment along with a modified stone. Five meters (16.4 feet) on either side of these two tests Tests 837 and 839 each encountered fire cracked rock. Thus, the extent of the site appears to be about 15 or 20 meters (49 or 66 feet) east to west in this location. A break in the topography to the west of this area suggests a possible site boundary and to the east is a road and a small area adjacent to the lake where the site may extend. The north to south extent is unknown. All the artifacts were found in Level 1, ranging in depth from 20 to 36 centimeters (8 to 14 inches) from the surface. The inclusion of historic artifacts at the site indicates some disturbance in the area, but it appears minimal.

The small size of the pottery sherds recovered from the site makes precise attribution difficult but some preliminary characterization can be made. In Test 836, decorated fragments include a small fragment with horizontal incised lines above a notched border, possibly at the base of the collar of the vessel, and a check stamped body sherd (Figure 9). Two other sherds in that test may be fragments of a pipe stem and a pipe bowl. The bowl fragment is consistent with the ringed decoration of a variety of pipe forms (Pendergast 1989:53). The one pottery fragment from Test 838 includes an oblique incised or stamped design along the exterior of the rim with small paired notches on the interior and exterior of the lip (Figure 10). Three punctates are present below the obilique lines. These ceramics are too small to place in existing typologies. However, they are consistent with Saint Lawrence Iroquoian ceramic types identified by MacNeish (1952), Clermont et al. (1983) and Petersen et al. (2004) including zoned incising with parallel lines, notched elements bordering the incising, punctates below a diagonally incised rim and check stamp decoration on the body.

The West Shore Site (VT-GI-60)

The West Shore Site is located along West Shore Road slightly north of Mud Point (Figure 1). The site is at the southeast corner of a small point that sticks out into the lake. In this location Shovel Test 664 encountered one undecorated precontact pottery fragment in Level 1 within 25 centimeters (10 inches) of the surface. Further tests (STP 681 and 682) were excavated at 5-meter (16.4-foot) intervals to the north and south and did not encounter additional artifacts. At a later date we returned to try to define the site boundaries and excavated Test 1214 at the edge of West Shore Road to assess the disturbance caused by the road and Tests 1215 and 1216 were excavated about 2.5 meters (8 feet) west of Test 664 to see if the site deposits extended in that direction.

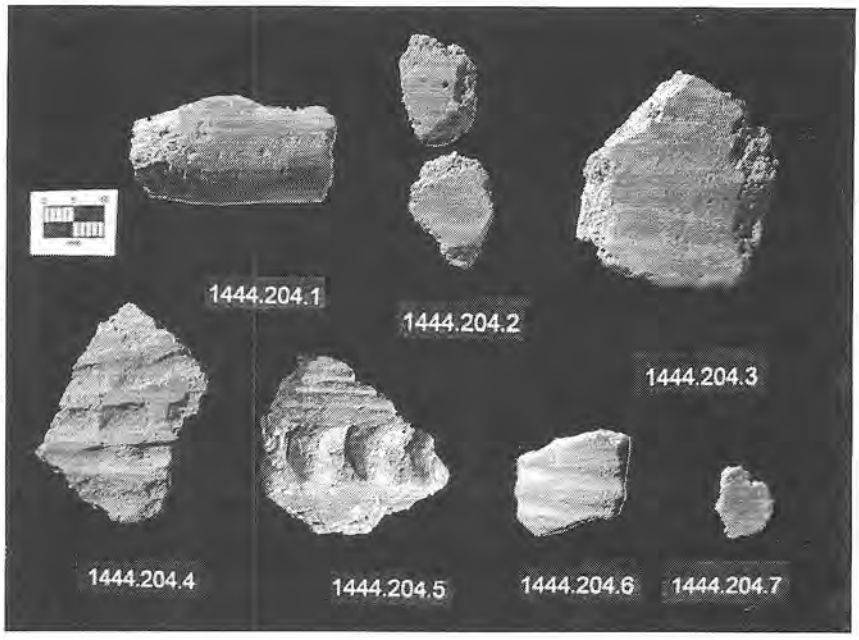

Figure 9. Ransom Bay Site (VT-GI-59), Test 836, Level 1, top: possible pipe stem fragment, undecorated sherds; bottom: check stamped shed, incised and notched sherd, possible ringed pipe bowl fragment, undecorated sherd.

None of these tests encountered precontact artifacts. Test 1214 excavated at the edge of pavement encountered 17 centimeters (6.75 inches) of silty sand, underlain by 13 centimeters (5 inches) of shale road fill and 26 centimeters (10.25 inches) of clean sand before hitting the natural clay subsoil at 56 centimeters (22 inches). There was no sign of the dark brown clayey silt that forms the A horizon in the surrounding tests. Finally, a 1- by 1-meter (3.3- by 3.3-foot) unit was excavated with Test 664 forming the southwest corner. One small undecorated pottery fragment was encountered at about 15 centimeters (6 inches) below the surface in the A horizon of the unit, about 10 centimeters (4 inches) above the subsoil. No additional artifacts were encountered.

The density of artifacts encountered at the West Shore Site appears to be less than at other precontact sites encountered around Alburg. However, the characteristics of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian sites must be taken into account. They are typically characterized by widely distributed artifact concentrations with broad areas of open space free of artifacts. The West Shore Site could be such a situation with the sherds in Test 664 and Unit 1 being set apart from other deposits. It is also possible that the pottery derives from the occupation of the site by another group such as the Abenaki or proto-Abenaki. Further analysis of the pottery may help in that determination. It is possible that the small point of land across the road from the testing that is now occupied by two houses may contain more deposits associated with the site. Judging by Test 1214 it appears the road construction in this vicinity has removed the A horizon containing most of the site deposits. It is possible there

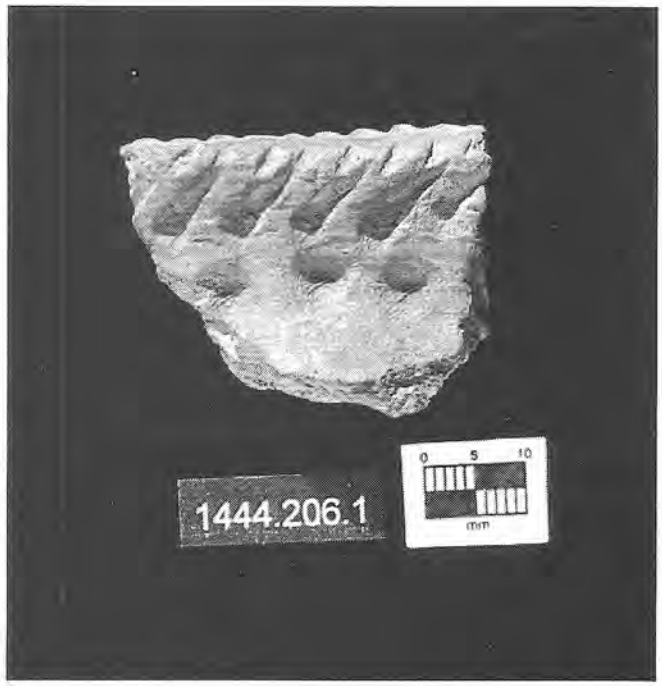

Figure 10. Ransom Bay Site (VT-GI-59), Test 838, Level 1 stamped lip rim sherd with punctates below the rim.

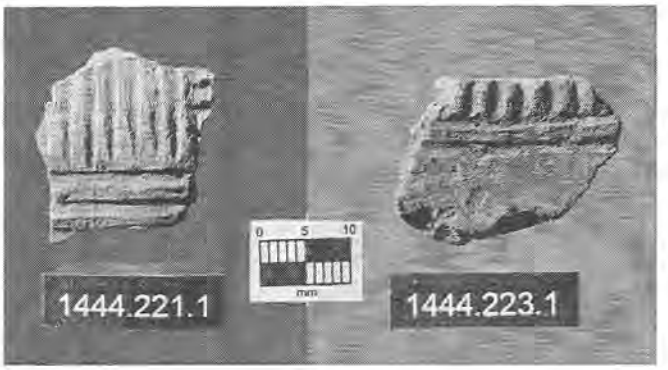

Figure 11. South View Site (VT-GI-63), left: Test 1092, Level 2, zoned incised sherd, right: Test 1094, Level 1, incised rim sherd (possibly Salem Mixed).

could be remains of truncated features in the subsoil under the road.

The South View Site (VT-GI-63)

The South View Site is located slightly south of the Route 129 bridge connecting Alburg to Isle La Motte (Figure 1). The site was identified in four tests at 10-meter (33-foot) intervals along a transect perpendicular to Route 129 and the lake. Tests 1092, 1093, 1094, and 1095 each encountered precontact material, thus suggesting a north to south dimension of about 40 meters (131 feet). Test 1092, closest to the lake, encountered one incised sherd and a fragment of fire cracked rock in Level 2, a very dark gray silt below a brown silty sand fill. Although too small to type, the sherd is typical of zoned incised designs made by the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians (Figure 11). Test 1093 was excavated 10 meters (33 feet) to the north and encountered the same stratigraphy with two fragments of calcined bone in the A horizon. Test 1094 was excavated another 10 meters (33 feet) to the north of Test 1093. This location is slightly lower in elevation, located off of the raised landform where the first two tests were located. Here what was the buried A horizon is at the surface and one decorated rim sherd was found along with some undecorated pottery fragments and calcined bone. The

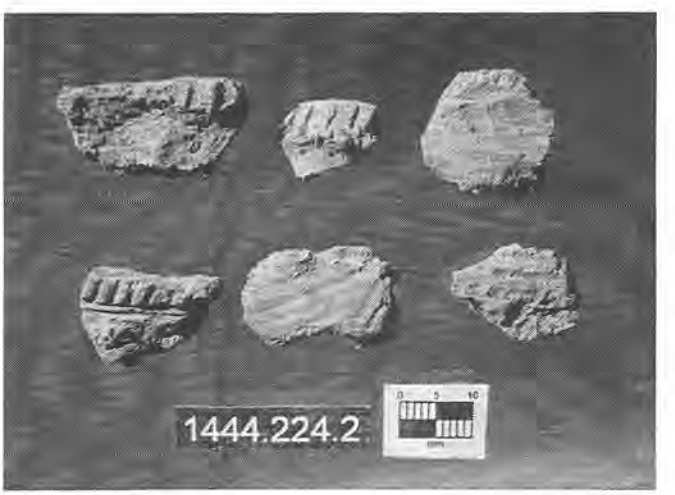

Figure 12. South View Site (VT-GI-63), Test 1095, Level 2, decorated ceramics. Note pipe bowl fragment in the upper center.

Figure 13. South View Site (VT-GI-63), Test 1095, Level 2, undecorated pipe stem.

decorated sherd is flat and may, therefore, be a fragment of a straight sided castellation of a Saint Lawrence Iroquoian vessel. Although too small for certain identification, it may be a Salem Mixed Collar type (Diamond 2006; Krievs 2006; Kuhn 2006). Test 1095 was excavated an additional 10 meters (33 feet) to the north of Test 1094 and also encountered the A horizon at the surface, although it was divided into two levels due to a dense 14-centimeter (5.5-inch) thick root mat at the surface. Under the roots the same dark brown silty loam was encountered and contained five small fragments of decorated pottery, a decorated pipe bowl fragment (Figure 12), a stem to a smoking pipe (Figure 13), several undecorated pottery fragments, calcined and burned bone, fire cracked rock and crumbly quartz pebbles that may be a source of temper.

The decorated pottery fragments represent several different decorative techniques including incising, light impressions and dentate stamped impressions. The fragments are consistent with Saint Lawrence Iroquoian pottery documented by MacNeish (1952), Clermont et al. (1983) and Petersen et al. (2004). The pipe bowl fragment and stem appear to be Saint Lawrence Iroquoian in origin.

Interpretation

The sites identified in Alburg provide a beginning point for developing of a regional definition of precontact occupation that can be added to any information from other sites or collections in the area. Jim Petersen visited the project in the fall of 2004 and examined the artifacts from the Summit and Passage Sites. Beginning with the Passage Site, a Late Archaic (c. 4050 to 850 BC) occupation is suggested by the adze fragment and the red slate point (Petersen 2004). This occupation may be contemporaneous with the Late Archaic site VT-GI-18 identified by UVM CAP on the west shore of Grand Isle in 1989 (UVM CAP 1992). The later pottery found at the Passage Site identifies a late Middle Woodland to early Late Woodland, c. AD 600-1300 occupation (Petersen 2004), probably including the burial.

Petersen identified the Summit Site pottery as Saint Lawrence Iroquoian in design (Petersen 2004). The incising and check stamped designs on the Test 11 sherds are diagnostic of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian and probably date to about AD 1400. The sherds from Test 31 exhibit a combination of zoned incising and cord-wrapped stick impressed decoration, again probably Saint Lawrence Iroquoian, possibly contemporary with the Test 11 vessel. It is interesting to note that although the two different vessels identified were very different in size and technique of decoration, they share the cross hatched decoration on the top of flattened vessel rims, possibly indicating uniform cultural identity and time period.

The identification of the Summit Site as Saint Lawrence Iroquoian is also supported by negative evidence. Although 90 tests were excavated at 5-meter (16.4-foot) intervals in fairly close proximity to the positive tests, no lithic artifacts were encountered (Figure 2). This lack of lithic debitage and tools is found to be characteristic of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian sites where bone tools often form a higher percentage of the tool assemblage than stone. That was the case at the Bohannon site where the site was identified based on ceramics with very few lithics present (Mandel et al. 2001). This pattern has also been noted on other Saint Lawrence Iroquoian sites in southern Quebec (Clermont and Gagné 2004:80) and elsewhere.

The limited ceramic collections from the Ransom Bay Site and the South View Site also exhibit classic Saint Lawrence Iroquoian attributes (Diamond 2006; Krievs 2006; Kuhn 2006). At the Ransom Bay Site the notched and incised sherd and the check stamped sherd are typical of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian vessels (Figure 9). The sherd encountered in Test 838 is characterized as a thickened lip form that includes incising and notching along the lip and punctates under the lip (Figure 10). Although this sherd is unusual, it has classic Saint Lawrence Iroquoian attributes. The fragmentary nature of the ceramics from these sites does not allow for a chronological or typological placement of the ceramics, but they clearly fit into a sequence of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian occupation of the area.

The Bohannon Site appears to be a late, possibly contact period, occupation (Petersen et al. 2004:110). The estimation of the Summit site ceramics dating to AD 1400 adds support to Pendergast's contention (highlighted by Petersen et al. 2004:115) that Saint Lawrence Iroquoians were at least visiting and utilizing portions of northwestern Vermont during an extended period, not just as refugees or captives during the late precontact-early contact periods.

With such a small amount of excavation to date the nature of the Summit site is unclear. The presence of the pottery in four locations and possible features seems to indicate something more complex than a one time camp or special use site. However, the high ridge location is unusual. It would seem to suggest a defensive posture or other special use. The distance from water sources contradicts Pendergast's observation that many Saint Lawrence Iroquoian villages are located next to wetlands where, he hypothesized, they obtained dead poles for use in building defensive palisades. Instead, the site falls into his category of sites where natural obstacles were integrated into defenses (Pendergast 1990:20), in this case an angular ridgeline location.

The site as currently defined is limited to a narrow level portion of the northwestern edge of the ridge bounded on the northwest by an approximately 2.5-meter (8.2-foot) drop and to the southeast by a slight undulating rise that then drops down about 2 meters (6.6 feet) approximately 27 meters (88.6 feet) to the southeast. The extremely shallow bedrock over most of the site would most likely prohibit construction of a

substantial palisade, therefore, the occupants probably relied on distance from traveled routes and topography for protection. In fact, Champlain's description of the Native American presence in the Champlain Islands in 1609 is applicable. He had been told about earlier wars and suggested a motive for the local population to have abandoned the shorelines, "They withdraw as deep into the land as possible, to avoid surprise attacks." (Bassett 1967:3-4). The potential for long distance observation of the countryside from the Summit Site vantage point was probably limited during the Late Woodland by forest cover. The location of the Bohannon Site is an exception to Champlain's characterization of contact period Native American settlement patterns, however.

In trying to draw correlations between the Summit Site and other Saint Lawrence Iroquoian sites, we consulted MacNeish's 1952 study of Iroquois pottery and found the closest resemblance of the Test 11 pottery (Figures 3 and 4) to be with his Lanorie Crossed ceramic type defined from materials excavated at Lanoraie in the 1930s (MacNeish 1952:64). Excavations there by the University of Montreal in the 1970s provide more controlled data and analysis, including reconstruction of vessels and the floor plan to a long house (Clermont et al. 1983). Of particular interest for the present discussion are two reconstructed vessels illustrated in their report (Clermont et al. 1983:105-106). These vessels are decorated similarly to the pottery at the Summit Site with combinations of dentate and cord-wrapped stick impressions and incising with the body of the vessels impressed with check stamped designs. Lanorie Crossed pottery has also been identified in low frequencies at 15th- and 16th-century Saint Lawrence Iroquoian sites in Jefferson County, New York (Engelbrecht 2004) and at 17th-century Mohawk sites in central New York (Kuhn 2004).

Lanoraie makes sense as a correlate for the Summit Site and other Vermont materials since it is located close to the outlet of the Richelieu River making a relatively easily traveled corridor between the two areas. However, in a study attempting to define regional provinces of Saint Lawrence Iroquoian occupation, Chapdelaine groups the Champlain/Missisquoi area sites in his Hochelaga province located to the west based on pottery attributes while Lanoraie and the Mandeville Site at the outlet of the Richelieu River are grouped with his Maisouna province to the east (Chapdelaine 2004:68). Chapdelaine identifies the corn ear motif on ceramic vessels as being an attribute typical of the sites in the Hochelaga province (Chapdelaine 2004:70). Therefore, it makes sense for the Bohannon Site with vessels sporting the corn ear motif (Petersen et al. 2004:111) to be included in the Hochelaga province, but perhaps earlier, when the Summit Site was occupied (according to Petersen c. AD 1400), the area was more aligned to the east. Chapdelaine rightly stresses the tenuous nature of chronologies and affiliations developed from ceramic typologies and attributes (Chapdelaine 2004:68-69). The need for detailed controlled excavation at numerous sites is highlighted by the few tantalizing clues obtained from each site examined in the South Alburg Fire District #2 survey. Only when such studies are conducted can we begin to place the Champlain Basin in a regional context of precontact occupation.

Conclusion

The preliminary definition of the sites identified during the South Alburg Fire District #2 survey has contributed to our understanding of the archeology of northern Lake Champlain and indicates the great archeological potential of this little known region of the Champlain Islands. In particular, the Summit Site, the Ransom Bay Site, and the South View Site punctuate the work at the Bohannon site and add to our understanding of the Saint Lawrence Iroquoian presence in the area. However, all need to be placed as segments of a local continuum of occupation that is beginning to be defined and set in the broader regional context.

Acknowledgements

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