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David R. Starbuck, Editor
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Cover Photograph

An "in-progress" view of excavation at a 1750s' merchant's house on the Hudson River in Fort Edward, NY, underneath a large tree stump at the southwest corner of the cellar, with work essentially completed.

Editorial

The 2019 *Bulletin* contains general submissions that cover many aspects of archaeology throughout our state. These include a study of the faunal remains at the most successful Dutch farm in New Netherland (Pipes); a study of the Van Schaick family and their efforts to hold onto their privileged position on Van Schaick Island in Cohoes (Lucas, O’Connell and Winchell-Sweeney); a report on what happened to the remains of a British sloop that was sunk near Fort William Henry in 1757 (Zarzynski); a fascinating analysis of Native American copper beads found in Jefferson County (Abel, Bradley, Vavrsek and Anderson); a study of burial practices in the cemetery at Fort William Henry (Ellsworth); and a short case study on why it is sometimes useful to return for “One More Season,” featuring a sutling house in Fort Edward (Starbuck). Hopefully there is something for everyone in this *Bulletin*!

We also include an obituary for Ralph Solecki, written by Ed Curtin, that generates wonderful insights into a man who was truly one of the most senior and respected archaeologists in our field. Nearly all of us grew up reading about — and admiring — Ralph’s major discoveries in Shanidar Cave in Iraq, but his research in New York State over the years was just as significant, and it is a delight to learn more about his local research and publications.

We are always eager to share with you the results of archaeological research in our state, and we urge everyone to seriously consider submitting to us all of your best articles on New York State archaeology!

David R. Starbuck

Analysis and Interpretation of the Van Curler Faunal Assemblage*

Marie-Lorraine Pipes, Zooarchaeologist Consultant
and Lewis Henry Morgan Chapter, NYSAA

Faunal remains are an excellent source of primary data that inform about foodways and dietary traditions, social interactions, animal husbandry practices, socioeconomics, and daily praxis. During the 1971-1974 excavations conducted by Paul Huey at the Schuyler Flatts site, a large assemblage, attributed to the household of Arendt van Curler, was recovered which included faunal remains. The Flatts farm was established in 1643 by Van Curler and was considered to be the largest and most successful Dutch farm in New Netherland. As an agricultural concern, it may be posited that the faunal assemblage will differ in some ways from urban deposits, such as those from Beverwyck and New Amsterdam, where regulations restricted where and by whom livestock were butchered and how discards were disposed of. The faunal assemblage from the Van Curler household can be described and compared to other seventeenth century Dutch faunal assemblages in the New Netherland colony.

Introduction

The Flatts farm, established in 1643 by Van Curler, was part of the patroonship of Rensselaerwyck, owned by Killiaen van Rensselaer who resided in the Netherlands (Figure 1). A cluster of houses sprang up around Fort Orange which within a few years became the village of Beverwyck and was eventually renamed Albany by the English (Venema 2003). Arendt van Curler was the patroon's grand-nephew and commissary for the colony. Van Curler settled his household at the Flatts along with a staff which helped run the farm. The site was a rural location, situated four miles north of Fort Orange on the west side of the Hudson River. The Van Curler faunal assemblage provides information about food remains from a high-status household living on the frontier. Not only does it reflect traditional Dutch foodways, it also reveals the incorporation of locally available wildlife resources into the diet and the importance of trade with Native Americans for meat.

While much is known about Dutch diet in the Netherlands, there are few Dutch period archaeological deposits from New Netherland. For that reason alone, information obtained from any excavated site represents a building block of knowledge enhancing our understanding of life in the colony. The primary focus of this article is on the Van Curler faunal

assemblage. Aside from the Van Curler assemblage, Dutch faunal assemblages exist from other sites in the Albany region and Manhattan which may serve to contextualize its significance. The comparative sites considered here include Fort Orange (Huey 1988, 1998a), DASNY, Schuyler Flatts (Huey 1974, Huey 1998b), the Brickmaker's yard (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2005), and the Illegal Trader's Hut (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2002) in the Albany region, and the Stadt Huys and Broad Street sites in Manhattan (Pipes 2002, 2005, 2006, n.d., in press; Haskell Greenfield 1989; Balkwill and Cumbaa 1988). The data from these sites differ in contexts and association. Some deposits are assigned to specific upper class Dutch households such as Dr. Kierstede at Broad Street, while others such as those from Stadt Huys are aggregated deposits, meaning they were combined and represent more than one family. However, all of the deposits are viable comparative data dating to the same time period and culture regardless of the scale of community they represent. The data from sites in Beverwyck, Fort Orange, and New Amsterdam provide a comparative framework for understanding its significance. Each site is unique, the deposits generated by individuals and households.

Historic records of inventories and sales of livestock reveal that the colonists in Rensselaerswyck relied heavily on supplies from New Amsterdam to supplement the crops and livestock they raised (Van Laer 1908, 1937). However, the supply line was unpredictable at various times of the year due to factors beyond the colonists' control, such as inclement weather. The arrival of supplies was affected in winter by the freezing of the Hudson River and during the spring thaw at times resulting in *freshets*, or ice flows and flooding that caused loss to life and property (Van Rensselaer in Van Laer 1932:398). While shops eventually appeared in the village of Beverwyck, no public market was instituted during the Dutch tenure. To complement food stores, colonists grew their own foods, hunted, and traded with Native Americans to meet their needs. In New Amsterdam, locally available wildlife were quickly impacted by over-harvesting, causing populations to crash (Balkwill and Cumbaa 1988). Historical records suggest that Native Americans continued to bring venison and fish to the markets of New Amsterdam (De Voe 1862:71), but the archaeological data from New York City excavations at the Stadt Huys and the Broad Financial Center sites do not support that conclusion (Rothschild et al. 1987; Grossman 1985).

*This article was peer reviewed. We are grateful to the reviewers for their helpful input.

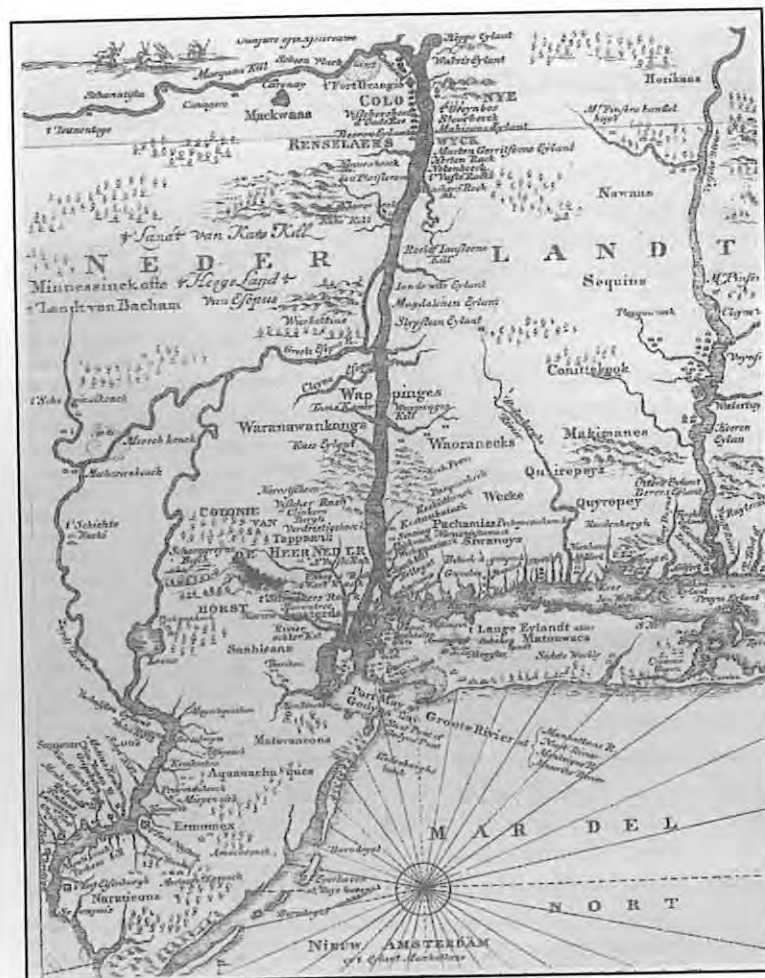


Figure 1. Adapted from Adrian Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656.

Dutch Dietary Traditions

As in all market-based societies, Dutch dietary consumption practices were influenced by socioeconomic status. The seventeenth century was the Golden Age of Dutch culture in the Netherlands (Schama 1987). In the Netherlands, upper-class Dutch people were able to afford a wide variety of meats, fish, and fowl; less well-to-do and poorer Dutch people ate less meat and more dairy products, as well as vegetable-based foods (Rose 2002). While lower socioeconomic classes potentially supplemented their diet through other activities, such as fishing and oystering, in urban settings most people were not able to do so. In assessing faunal assemblages, therefore, the volume of faunal deposits and diversity of species are potentially indicators of socioeconomic status and site specialization. Wealthier people could afford to buy more food and to diversify their diets, whereas less well-to-do people were less able to provide as much food or as varied.

Much of what is known about Dutch diet comes from recipe books, store ledgers, inventories, public records, and genre paintings. Genre paintings especially bring to life foods

consumed by upper class Dutch. Painters such as Vermeer and Steen illustrated scenes of daily life, showing people of varying social status in household settings, surrounded by their material culture, and foods (Blankert and van Meegeren 1981; Chapman et al. 1996). They reveal that upper-class Dutch enjoyed a wide variety of wild animal foods in addition to domesticated livestock and poultry (Janowitz 1993). These diets included a wide diversity of fish, wild birds, and game mammals, as well as shellfish, dairy products, bread, vegetables, and grain gruels (Janowitz 1993). The Dutch consumed many kinds of smoked and salted meats, whereas fresh meat was only seasonally available in the fall when livestock were slaughtered (Rose 1989).

Journals and letters written by Dutch colonists and visitors provide eye-witness accounts of Dutch diet in New Netherland. In particular, the writings of Adriaen van der Donck are well known. In describing the colonists' diet in New Netherland, Van der Donck said that they consumed a wide variety of wild foods including deer, bear, beaver, fish, and fowl. Venison was an important source of meat which he noted was obtained through trade with tribal peoples and by hunting (Snow et al. 1996:104-130). Others have also noted that deer meat was traded seasonally when Native Americans came to the settlement to sell pelts during winter (DeVoe 1862:15). Colonists also went into the woods and traded with Native Americans (Venema 2003).

The colonists in the Albany area had greater opportunities, as well as a longer period of time to incorporate local foods such as venison, turkey, fish,

corn, and other produce into their dietary practices than did those in New Amsterdam. They had better relations with Native Americans which facilitated trade. The periodic delays in obtaining supplies at times from New Amsterdam increased their dependence on local resources. They also had a smaller population tapping into local wildlife resources and as farmers were able to provide for themselves.

In contrast, relations between the Dutch in New Amsterdam and local tribal peoples were often too strained for productive trade (Jacobs 2015; Meuwese 2011). While the area around New Amsterdam was rich in wildlife diversity and density, species were too heavily harvested which caused a reduction in densities over the seventeenth century (Balkwill and Cumbaa 1988). However, New Amsterdam was better situated to take advantage of trade up and down the Atlantic coast and was first in line to receive food staples and vital supplies from the Netherlands and other colonies (Meuwese 2011; Folkerts 2010). New Amsterdam, was larger in size than Rensselaerswyck, and with its greater population and surrounding communities, was a true urban center. A series of markets sprang up in the space between Fort Amsterdam and the West India Company's warehouses, which eventually lead to construction

of a market building (De Voë 1862). Residents could purchase food supplies as opposed to having to rear and manage livestock. Peter Stuyvesant, the last governor of New Netherland, was responsible for instituting market regulations, locations, and days and times. In 1652, a few years after his arrival, he established a market day as well as an annual *kermis*, which was a fair that ran August 24th to September 3rd (De Voë 1862:29). Initially market day was Monday, but due to Sunday religious obligations of "slaughter farmers" it was changed in 1656 to Saturdays (De Voë 1862:28-29, 36). In 1658 a covered market was built with butcher stalls wherein fresh meats were to be sold from 20 October to 30 November. Thomas DeVoe states that "Indians" traded pelts of many mammals as well as venison and fowl in winter and fish in summer in the markets of New Amsterdam (DeVoe 1962:33-34).

Correspondence between Killiaen van Rensselaer, the Patroon, and Van Curler, his commissary, show that settlers arriving in Rensselaerswyck had their primary needs supplied by the patroon (Van Laer 1927). In addition, goods could be bought or traded for at Fort Orange. In 1652

Stuyvesant made the village of Beverwyck a free town, no longer under the jurisdiction of the *patroon*, placing it under his administration. Still, Beverwyck, unlike New Amsterdam, was not a market town. Instead, goods continued to be made available through the fort and shopkeepers who provided various foods and goods such as beer, wine, and bread. Native Americans came to the town bringing foods and furs which they traded directly with residents. Native Americans also traded with storekeepers, in particular bakers (Venema 2003:287).

The Archaeological Context of Schuyler Flatts; the Van Curler House Site

The Schuyler Flatts farm was located near the northern frontier of the Van Rensselaer patroonship, about four miles north of Fort Orange (Figure 1). The site was investigated archaeologically by Paul Huey of the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, when commercial development threatened the site in the early 1970s (Huey 1998b). At the time of excavation, the site was already known to historians and archaeologists. As a historic property, it was known to have been home to members of several important Albany area families

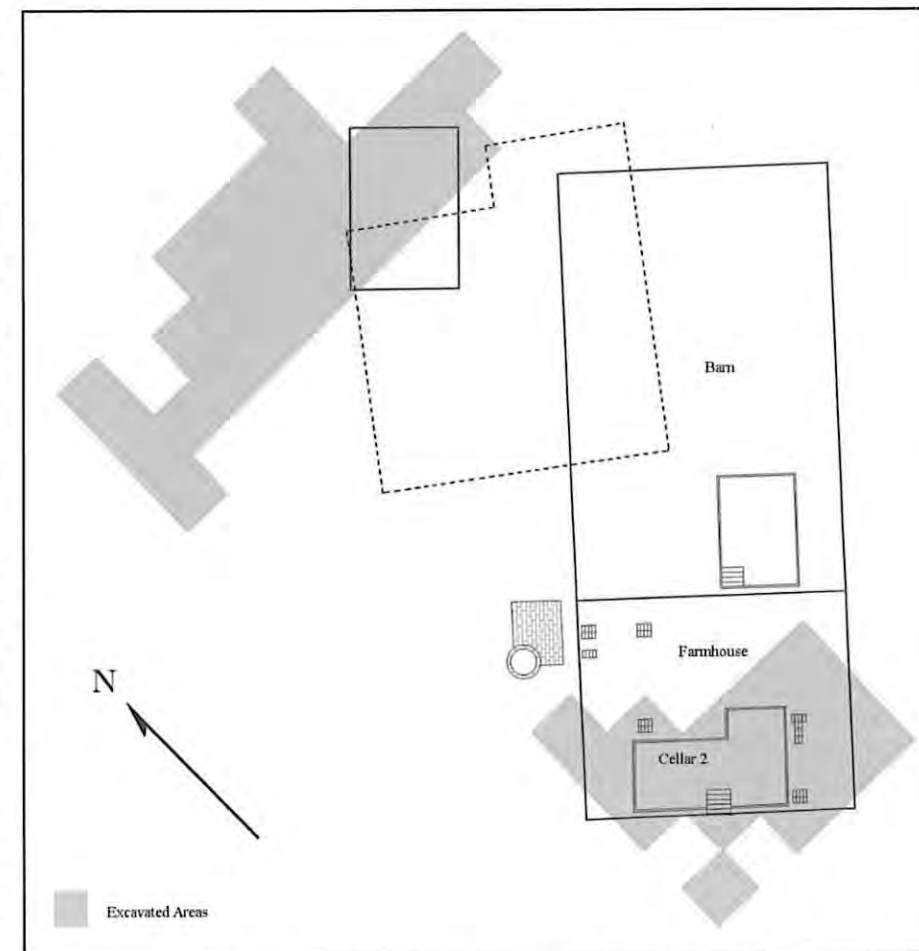


Figure 2. The Arent van Curler Farmhouse, Barn, and Cellar 2. Shaded areas indicate excavation units (Courtesy of Paul Huey).

through marriage, including the Van Curlers, Van Rensselaers, and Schuylers. In recognition of its historic and cultural significance, the Schuyler Flatts archaeological district was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1993 (Huey 1998a). The site received its designation not only because of its history, but also because of its prehistoric occupations which span over 6000 years. In 2005, through a collaborative effort between the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation and the State University of New York at Brockport College, the author and her students analyzed the collection as part of a course in zooarchaeology. The data from that analysis form the basis of this article.

Excavations revealed the foundations of several structures (Figure 2). These were identified based on descriptions found in a letter written by Van Curler to the patroon in 1643 (Van Laer 1927:18-29). The structures included a house for carpenters, Van Curler's farmhouse and barn containing two separate cellars, and a stable for horses. Several deposits were excavated containing a wide variety of household and architectural artifacts, and large concentrations of faunal remains (Huey 1987, 1998a). The faunal deposits were associated with the south cellar, referred to herein as Cellar #2 (Figure 3). It is thought

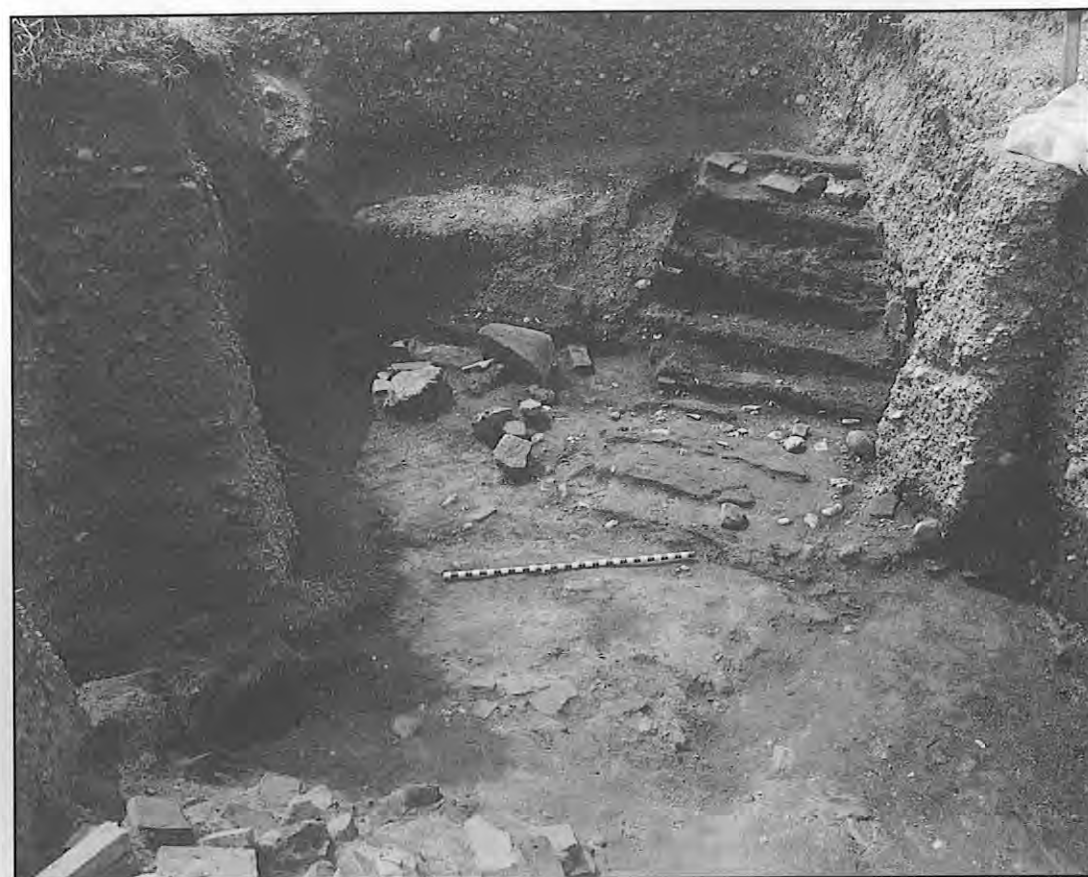


Figure 3.
Interior of Cellar 2
(Courtesy of
Paul Huey).

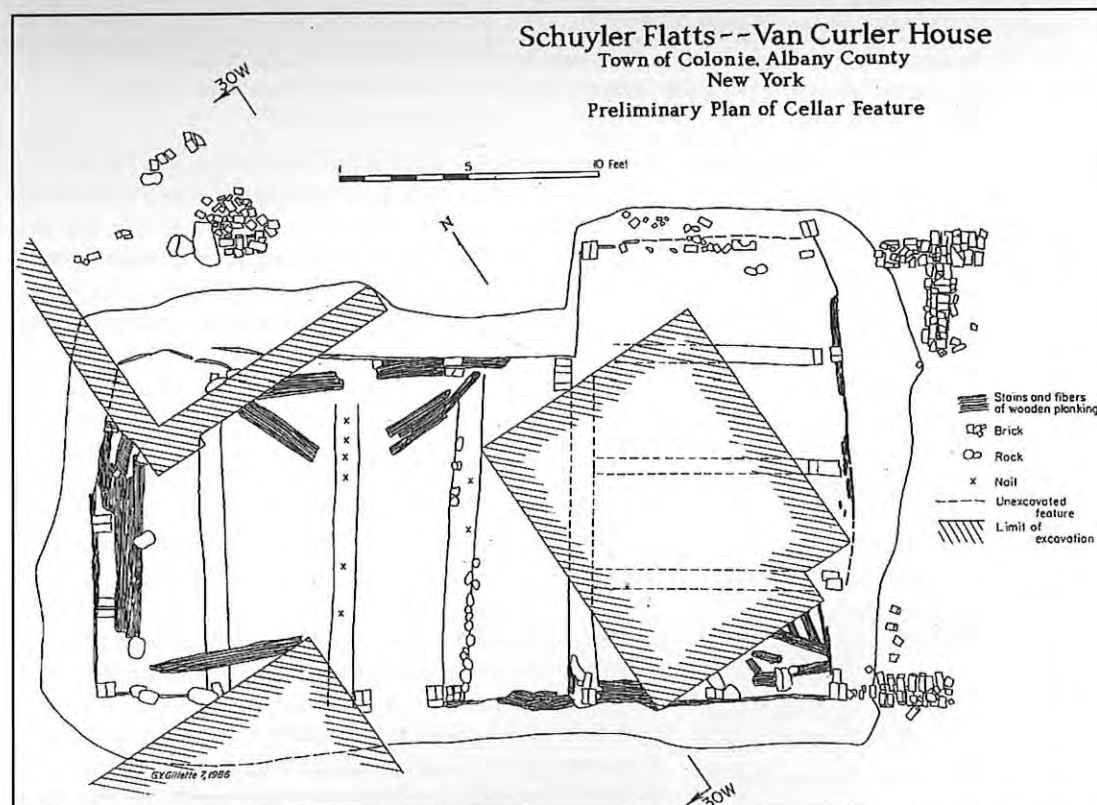


Figure 4. Planview
of the Cellar Hole
(Courtesy of
Paul Huey).

this was the farmhouse structure described by Van Curler to his uncle in 1643. It measured 120 feet long by 28 feet wide; 40 feet of the length was for use as a dwelling and was built over a cellar 20 feet by 28 feet. The remaining 80 feet in length was for use as a barn (Van Laer 1927:28).

The excavation of Cellar #2 uncovered a six-foot-deep cellar hole with a set of steps descending into the building as if through a bulkhead (Figure 3). The cellar walls were lined with wood planks, while the floor beams upon which planks had been laid were well-preserved (Figure 4). This style of cellar was encountered during excavations at other sites in the Albany area including Fort Orange and the LaGrange-Oliver site and appears to have been a traditional Dutch building construction (Huey 1987, 1998a). Most faunal remains were recovered from a large midden located on the outside of the cellar. It appears that the structure was abandoned after it became unstable and the cellar hole filled after its collapse. While some artifacts dated to the 1660s, most were somewhat earlier in time. The greatest densities of faunal refuse were recovered from units placed along the northwest wall and outside corner of the cellar hole. A small concentration was found in units along the southeast wall where the presence of support piers suggested there had been a porch, or portico, or an extension. Much of the recovered faunal remains had slumped into the cellar and was found in-between the cellar wall and collapsed wood planks. The great majority of bone is primarily composed of household dietary refuse. Because the variation in bone densities across excavation units did not appear to be significant, and as the faunal refuse is thought to have been generated by the same household, analysis that follows treats all the faunal remains as a single unit of consideration.

Description of Schuyler Flatts Faunal Assemblage

The faunal assemblage was in an excellent state of preservation, facilitating the identification of species, skeletal elements, and bone modifications. The faunal assemblage was composed of a wide range of species, consisting of a minimum of 39 bird, mammal, fish, and reptile species (Table 1). Mammal and fish bones were more abundant than bird, while reptiles and amphibians were quite low in frequency (Figure 5). The majority of mammal remains were identified by species, whereas fish remains were mostly unidentified due to high frequencies of spines and rays, which are skeletal elements difficult to assign to a species. Birds were identifiable, but their counts were low relative to fish and mammal. It may be that there are taphonomic issues that impacted preservation. No eggshell was recovered. In the description that follows three types of quantifications are used: the Total Number of bone Fragments (TNF), the Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU), and the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI). The Total Number of bone Fragments is a crude count of all fragments assigned to a class of animals or a species. The MNU count is a reduced or adjusted bone count based on the number of actual skeletal

elements represented based on mendable fragments. For example, a crushed deer femur consisting of four bone fragments would be tallied as four fragments (TNF) and would receive an adjusted count of 1 MNU, or 1 femur. The MNI or Minimum Number of Individuals, is used to count the number of animals represented for a species. This was often done by evaluating the range of paired and unpaired elements, age-at-death information, such as dental patterns and epiphyseal fusion, as well as stature, and in some instances sex; for example, a deer skull with antlers.

Table 1. List of identified species

Class	Species	Latin Name
Bird	Chicken	<i>Gallus gallus</i>
	Duck	<i>Anser sp.</i>
	Goose	<i>Anas sp.</i>
	Passenger Pigeon	<i>Ectopistes migratorius</i>
	Turkey	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>
	Turkey Vulture	<i>Cathartes aura</i>
Mammal	Bear	<i>Ursus americanus</i>
	Beaver	<i>Castor canadensis</i>
	Cat	<i>Felis domesticus</i>
	Cattle	<i>Bos taurus</i>
	Chipmunk (Eastern)	<i>Tamias striatus</i>
	Dog	<i>Canis familiaris</i>
	Eastern Grey Squirrel	<i>Sciurus carolinensis</i>
	Elk	<i>Cervus canadensis</i>
	Fox	<i>Vulpes sp.</i>
	Goat	<i>Capra hircus</i>
	Horse	<i>Equus caballus</i>
	Mouse	<i>Mus sp.</i>
	Pig	<i>Sus domesticus</i>
	Rabbit	<i>Oryctolagus cuniculus</i>
	Raccoon	<i>Procyon lotor</i>
	Rat	<i>Rattus sp.</i>
	Sheep	<i>Ovis aries</i>
	White-Tailed Deer	<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>
	Woodchuck	<i>Marmota monax</i>
Fish	Bass sp.	<i>Ambloplites</i>
	Catfish	<i>Ictaluridae</i>
	Freshwater Drum	<i>Aplodinotus grunniens</i>
	Yellow Perch	<i>Perca flavens</i>
	Rock Bass	<i>Ambloplites rupestris</i>
	Smallmouth Bass	<i>Micropterus dolomieu</i>
	Striped Bass	<i>Morone saxatilis</i>
	Sturgeon	<i>Acipenseridae</i>
	Walleye Pike	<i>Sander vitreus</i>
Reptile	Snake	<i>Serpentes</i>
	Snapping Turtle	<i>Chelydra serpentina</i>
Amphibian	Toad	<i>Bufo sp.</i>

Table 2. Sheep, Pig, Cattle and Deer Summary of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) by Age Group.

Age Group	Cattle MNI	Pig MNI	Sheep MNI	Deer MNI
Juvenile	3	3	2	1
Subadult	3	10	2	1
Subadult/Adult	-	6	-	10
Adult	5	1	3	3
Senile	2	-	1	1
	13	20	8	16



Figure 5. Class relative percent based on Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU), all deposits from in and around the cellar.



Figure 6. Flatts dog mandible (top) compared with a modern mid-size dog.

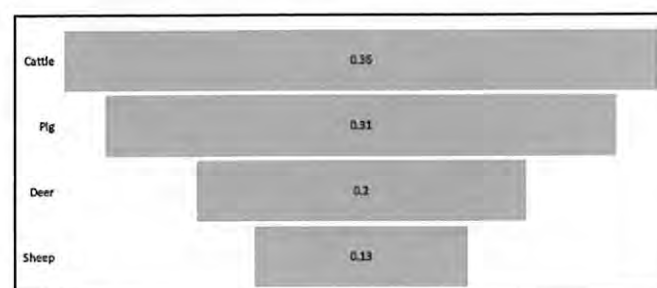


Figure 7. Relative percent of large bodied mammals, Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU), all deposits from in and around the cellar.

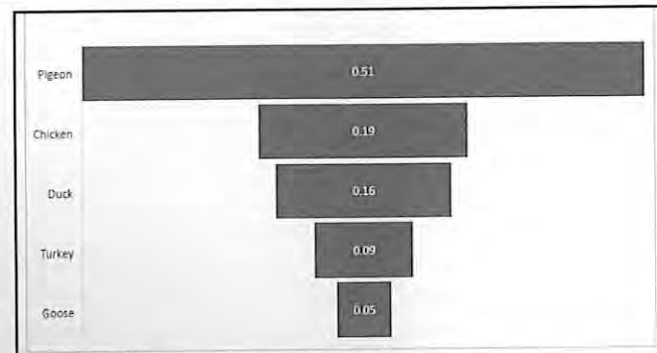


Figure 8. Bird relative frequencies based on Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU), all deposits from in and around the cellar.

Mammals

Mammal remains included both domesticated and non-domesticated species. Domesticated species included cat, dog, horse, goat, cattle, sheep, and pig. Only cattle, sheep and pig were present in high frequencies. Cat, dog, horse, and goat were infrequent and represented by a limited range of skeletal elements. There were at least three cats represented by two adults and a juvenile. One of the adults was arthritic, suggesting an aged individual. There was at least one dog represented by a mandible, incisors, and a foot bone from a subadult. The mandible was short and heavy-set, pointing to a robust breed of dog. The size and robustness of the mandible indicates it may have been from a mastiff (Figure 6). It is documented that Van Curler kept mastiffs at the farm for protection and that they were vicious; one of them severely injured Father Jogues when he escaped captors at the Flatts (Jogues 1643-1645, in Jamison 1908:247). The small number of cat and dog bones suggests that their remains were treated differently than other animal refuse, possibly buried as opposed to thrown into the midden. Horse remains were represented by a single shed incisor aged at 2 ½ years or more. The absence of horse remains is interesting because Van Curler was known to have specialized in horse breeding. In 1651 he is listed as having 10 horses (Van Laer 1908:738). A cultural bias against eating horses may explain the lack of horse bones. Despite great difficulties experienced by the colonists, they do not appear to have eaten their horses, only doing so in periods of extreme hunger and stress

(Klooster 2016:135). Their remains were disposed of differently than other domesticated mammals. Goat was also rare. One individual found at the site was represented by an articulated hind foot and a mandible from a very old individual, its teeth heavily plaque and worn. The mandible was chopped, indicating the removal of the tongue for consumption, whereas the foot joint was unmodified. Tongues of large domesticated mammals including cattle, sheep and pigs were commonly eaten until very recent times. They were often stewed and smoked (Rose 1989:64, 90).

Cattle

Most butchered specimens belonged to cattle, sheep, and pig (Figure 7). These three domesticated species, along with deer, were the most important sources of meat at Schuyler Flatts. Cattle was the most frequent mammal species though pig was also quite abundant. There was a minimum of thirteen cattle in the assemblage. Cattle ages ranged from juvenile to senior (Table 2). Mature individuals were most common. The smaller numbers of immature individuals may represent the culling of males from the herd, though high infant mortality rates likely affected the herd and may be reflected therein (Abbott 2016). Differences in size and stature were observed which signaled different sexes. Only two horn cores were recovered, meaning that most cattle were either hornless or polled. Regardless of age or sex, all cattle were processed in similar fashion. The heads were removed and processed for the tongue, brains, and facial tissues. The carcasses were bisected and cut into major muscle groups. Rib cuts were the most frequent followed by shanks (Table 3). The limbs were processed into large joints of meat. Hindquarter cuts were more abundant than forequarter cuts. Stew meats were obtained from the lower limbs and the spinal column. Foot elements were well-represented.

Pig

Pig bones were not as frequent as cattle bones, but more individuals were indicated. There was a minimum of twenty individuals (Figure 7). Most pigs were killed between the ages of 1 and 1½ years, though a few immature pigs and at least one mature pig were also represented (Table 2). Prior to refrigeration it was common to slaughter pigs as sub-adults, typically during the late fall (Rose 1989). It was the only time of the year that fresh pork was available. The bulk of the meat as well as the organs were preserved using a variety of methods, namely pickling, salting, and smoking (Rose 1989:89-91). Most pig skeletal elements were represented, but they varied in frequency. Because the full range of pig body parts was represented, it is evident that pigs were raised, slaughtered, and consumed at the Flatts. Even so, some body parts were far more abundant than others, making it clear that preserved meats, such as hams, were imported to the farm as well. Hams were extremely abundant, representing 56% of all cuts (Table 4). The Boston butt, which comes from the upper forelimb, was the most

plentiful type of ham. Hams from the butt and upper hind leg (the shank) were also present.

Sheep

Sheep were the least frequent of all large-bodied mammals, including deer (Figure 7). There was a minimum of eight sheep represented (Table 2). Immature and mature individuals were equally represented which means that both lamb and mutton were consumed. Sheep meat cuts were represented unequally distributed (Table 5). Based on heads and mandibles there were a minimum of four individuals indicated. The mandibles exhibited butcher marks, indicating the tongues had been removed. The number of butt-end leg roasts reveals a minimum of eight individuals. There were very few neck vertebrae or other spinal column cuts. The rack and loin chops tend to be the most desired of all mutton and lamb cuts, but they were virtually absent. There was a preponderance of shanks and feet elements. The uneven representation of body parts may indicate that mutton and lamb meat cuts were shared with other people, sold, or perhaps only certain parts reserved for consumption at the farm. One of the roles of farms is to provision non-farming households. The people living in the village as well as taverns would have been a prime market for meats.

White-tail Deer

Deer was the third most abundant mammal species in the assemblage (Figure 7). There was a minimum of sixteen individuals, most of which were subadults, though there were a couple of immature and mature individuals (Table 2). The predominance of subadults suggests a deliberate hunting strategy was in operation, most likely by Native Americans. This is suggested by a preponderance of hindquarters in the assemblage (Table 6). There were few skulls, though mandibles were common, once again pointing to tongue extraction. Feet were fairly abundant but were too few to account for 16 individuals. This suggests feet were removed from haunches of venison that were brought to the farm for trade. Vertebrae were also infrequent. Shoulder cuts were better represented. The most abundant cuts, however, were from the hindquarter. The data suggest that a small portion of the deer component may have resulted from localized hunting, but most of the remains represent haunches of venison (Figure 13).

Other Non-domesticated Mammals

A wide range of wild or non-domesticated mammal species was recovered. Identified species were chipmunk, mouse, rat, woodchuck, rabbit, squirrel, raccoon, beaver, elk, and bear. In general, wild species were uncommon and present in low frequencies. It is possible that some of these, especially rat and mouse, were intrusive to the midden. Regardless, all of the species were characterized by few skeletal elements, some exhibiting butcher marks, and frequently consisting of cranial

Table 3. Summary of beef meat cuts, based on Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU).

Butcher Cut	Retail Cut	Type of Cut	Rank Value*	Quality	MNU	Rel%
Chuck	Chuck	Roast	5	Medium	12	
	Arm	Roast	6	Medium	7	
	Neck	Grind	8	Low	24	
	Fore-shank	Stew	9	Medium	9	
		Subtotal			52	.22
Loin	Loin	Steak	1	High	21	
		Subtotal			21	.09
Rib	Prime rib	Steak	2	High	22	
	Short rib	Stew	6	Medium	38	
	Brisket	Stew	7	Low	1	
					61	.26
Round	Sirloin	Roast	2	High	9	
	Round	Roast	2	High	15	
	Rump	Roast	4	Medium	3	
	Hind-shank	Stew	9	Low	26	
		Subtotal			53	.23
Other	Head	Processed Cut	9	Low	12	
	Jaw		9		19	
	Foot		0		14	
		Subtotal			45	.20
Total Beef Cuts					232	1.00

* The value of a meat cut is based on qualities like tenderness, taste and volume; 1 is the highest and 0 the lowest.

Table 4. Summary of pork meat cuts, based on Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU).

Butcher Cut	Retail Cut	Type of Cut	Rank Value*	Quality	MNU	Rel%
Whole	Whole piglet	Roast	1	High	1	
		Subtotal			1	.01
Neck	Neck	Stew/ Grind	3	Medium	10	
		Subtotal			10	.08
Ham	Butt-ham	Ham	1	High	8	
	Shank ham	Ham	4	Medium	21	
		Subtotal			29	.24
Loin	Rib-end	Chop	2	High	10	
		Chop	2	High	1	
		Subtotal			11	.09
Shoulder	Boston butt	Ham	3	Medium	18	
	Picnic ham	Ham	4	Medium	20	
		Subtotal			38	.31
Other	Head	Processed Cut	6	Low	11	
	Jaw	Processed Cut	6	Low	10	
	Hock	Stew	6	Low	3	
	Trotter	Stew	6	Low	8	
		Subtotal			32	.27
Total Pork Cuts					121	1.00

* The value of a meat cut is based on qualities like tenderness, taste and volume; 1 is the highest and 6 the lowest.

Table 5. Summary of lamb/mutton meat cuts, based on Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU).

Butcher Cut	Retail Cut	Type of Cut	Rank Value	Quality	MNU	Rel%
Shoulder	Neck	Stew/grind	6	Low	5	
	Fore-shank	Stew	7	Low	15	
	Chuck	Roast	4	Medium	10	
		Subtotal			30	.35
Bracelet	Rack	Chop	1	High	1	
		Subtotal			1	.01
Leg	Butt-end	Roast	4	Medium	16	
	Shank-end	Roast	3	High	9	
	Hind-shank	Stew	7	Low	3	
		Subtotal			28	.32
Loin	Loin	Chop	1	High	4	
		Subtotal			4	.05
Other	Head	Processed Cut	7	Low	3	
	Jaws	Processed Cut	7	Low	7	
	Foot	Trimming waste	0	None	14	
		Subtotal			24	.28
Total Mutton Cuts					87	1.00

Table 6. Summary of venison meat cuts, based on Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU).

Butcher Cut	Retail Cut	Type of Cut	Rank Value	Quality	MNU	Rel%
Shoulder	Neck	Stew/grind	6	Low	3	
	Chuck	Roast	4	Medium	12	
	Fore-shank	Stew	7	Low	14	
		Subtotal			29	.20
Leg	Butt-end	Roast	4	Medium	27	
	Shank-end	Roast	3	High	29	
	Hind-shank	Stew	7	Low	14	
		Subtotal			70	.49
Loin	Loin	Chop	1	High	9	
					9	.06
Other	Head	Processed Cut	7	Low	2	
	Jaws	Processed Cut	7	Low	6	
	Foot	Trimming waste	0	None	28	
		Subtotal			36	.25
Total Venison Cuts					144	1.00

Table 7. Minimum Number of non-domesticated Individuals (MNI) and Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU).

Species	MNI	MNU
Bear	2	22
Beaver	1	3
Chipmunk	2	8
Elk	1	1
Fox	2	10
Mouse	1	6
Rabbit	1	1
Raccoon	1	8
Rat	1	17
Squirrel	1	11
Woodchuck	2	11

Table 8. Fish Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI)

Species	MNI
Bass sp.	5
Catfish	3
Freshwater Drum	1
Pike	1
Rock Bass	2
Smallmouth Bass	1
Striped Bass	6
Sturgeon	2
Walleye	1
Yellow Perch	2
Unidentified Fish	24

Table 9. List of Identified Species from Seventeenth Century New Amsterdam Sites.
Number of Identified Specimens (NISP*).

These are aggregated deposits rather than specific household deposits.

Class/Species	Broad Street Financial Center ¹		Stadt Huys ²
	1640-1680 NISP	1680-1720 NISP	1624-1700 NISP
Mammal			
Beaver	1	-	-
Cat	-	-	13
Cattle	12	42	564
Deer	2	4	16
Dog	-	2	14
Sheep	7	26	334
Pig	4	35	334
Rabbit	-	2	3
Rat	-	21	16
Squirrel	-	-	4
Small Mammal	1	3	-
Medium/Large Mammal	23	78	-
Bird			
Bobwhite	-	-	2
Chicken	10	49	204
Duck	2	3	14
Gallinaceous Bird	-	2	-
Goose	1	1	14
Grouse	-	-	1
Gull	-	1	-
Kittiwake	-	-	1
Knot	-	-	1
Owl	-	-	1
Passenger Pigeon	-	-	6
Robin	-	-	1
Turkey	-	6	7
Whistling Swan	-	-	1
Unidentified Bird	90	94	-
Reptile			
Unidentified Turtle	-	1	6
Fish			
American Shad	-	-	45
Atlantic Cod	-	-	19
Atlantic Mackerel	-	-	1
Atlantic Salmon	-	-	1
Black Seabass	-	-	1
Scup	-	-	2
Sheepshead	-	-	307
Summer Flounder	-	-	2
Striped Bass	-	-	93
Sturgeon	-	-	5
Tautog	-	-	25
Weakfish	-	-	2
White Perch	-	-	4
Unidentified Fish	No Data	No data	-
TOTAL NISP	153	370	2069

¹ Greenfield in Grossman 1985² Rothschild and Balkwill 1993

*NISP a bone measure similar to TNF

Table 10. List of Identified Species from Seventeenth Century Albany Sites.

Class/Species	DEC Headquarters Trader's Hut ¹		Quackenbush Garage ²		Ft. Orange ³	
	TNF	MNU	TNF	MNU	TNF	MNU
Mammal						
Black Bear	1	1	2	2	3	3
Cat	-	-	-	-	1	1
Cattle	35	13	89	39	184	129
Chipmunk	-	-	1	1	-	-
Deer	23	17	18	16	464	250
Dog	3	2	-	-	2	2
Horse	2	2	-	-	-	-
Mink	-	-	-	-	3	3
Mouse	-	-	-	-	1	1
Otter	-	-	-	-	8	3
Pig	7	5	49	38	174	116
Raccoon	-	-	2	2	2	2
Rat sp.	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sheep	1	1	37	25	63	50
Squirrel	-	-	-	-	1	1
Subtotal TNF/MNU	72	41	198	123	907	562
Bird						
Blue-winged Teal	-	-	5	4	-	-
Chicken	-	-	23	17	10	10
Duck sp.	2	2	33	20	35	26
Goose sp.	-	-	2	2	33	29
Passenger Pigeon	-	-	3	3	25	21
Turkey	-	-	1	1	10	10
Subtotal TNF/MNU	2	2	67	47	113	96
Fish						
Bass sp.	-	-	4	2	-	-
Catfish	5	3	1	1	2	2
Cod	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perch sp.	-	-	10	10	-	-
Rock Bass	-	-	23	23	-	-
Smallmouth Bass	-	-	-	-	1	1
Striped Bas	-	-	6	3	2	2
Sturgeon	2	1	-	-	40	11
Walleye Pike	-	-	17	17	-	-
Yellow Perch	-	-	6	5	-	-
Subtotal TNF/MNU	7	4	67	61	45	16
Reptile						
Soft-shell Turtle	-	-	-	-	-	-
Subtotal TNF/MNU	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL TNF/MNU	81	47	332	231	1065	674

¹ Pipes in Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2002² Pipes in Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2005³ Pipes 2006

and foot elements. Most of these species were represented by one to two individuals (Table 7). Because of the limited range of skeletal elements and their deposition in a household refuse midden, it is possible that most of these resulted from the processing of pelts.

Identified species constituted about one-third of the assemblage. A much larger portion of the mammal bone was classified as small, medium, and large. These data reveal that a large volume of bone has been lost due to post-depositional factors. A wide range of skeletal remains is represented in all three general mammal categories, including the head, spinal column, rib, shoulder, butt, limbs, and feet.

Birds

Bird species were also grouped by non-domesticated and domesticated species. Except for turkey vulture, all identified bird species represented food remains. As carrion birds, it is unlikely that people would eat them except in desperation, which was not the case at the Flatts farm. Non-domesticated birds consisted of wild turkey, turkey vulture, and passenger pigeon (Table 1). Turkey vulture was indicated by a single wing element. It is possible that the wing represents household use of its feathers; upper class Dutch often wore hats with feathers (Chapman et al. 1996:46, 52-53, 55-56.) Pigeon was the most frequent bird species identified, representing 51 percent of all birds (Figure 5). Pigeon remains were most likely passenger pigeon. Historic accounts speak of the passenger pigeon as having been extremely abundant in the Northeast during colonial times and note that it was a very popular food (De Voe 1862:19; Herrmann and Woods 2019). There were at least nine individuals, most of which were adults except for one juvenile. These individuals were represented by the breast, wing, thigh, leg, and a few feet. No heads or necks, and only a few backs, were recovered. Turkey was classified as a non-domesticated bird because it does not appear in local farm inventories while other species do, such as duck and goose, though these two were also hunted (Van Laer 1908:25). Turkey was infrequent and represented by two individuals, both of which were adults.

One turkey ulna was polished and may have been a tool. Domesticated bird species were chicken, duck and goose. Though wild ducks and geese were locally available, it is assumed these remains were domesticated because they appear in the Bowier and Van Renssenlaer letters (Van Laer 1908:35, 212, 374). Chicken was the most common of the three bird species, but none were well represented (Figure 5). There were at least three chickens, two ducks and one goose. All were adults except for a juvenile chicken. Its presence is an indicator that chickens were raised at the farm. The minimum number of birds appears low because it was calculated based on the total number of paired elements in the entire assemblage. However, bird remains were dispersed throughout a wide area at the site. It is likely that bird remains represent many more individuals. A less conservative estimate calculated on the pres-

ence of paired elements in each excavation unit results in the following minimum numbers of individuals (MNI): pigeon - 19 MNI, turkey - 7 MNI, chicken - 15 MNI, duck - 7 MNI, and goose - 6 MNI. Even with this adjustment, the number of birds remains low.

Many bird specimens were not identifiable by species. Within this group body parts included the skull, rib, breast, wing, back, thigh, leg, and foot. A few of these bones exhibited pathologies. Some long bones had medullary bone, indicating the presence of egg-laying females. The presence of an unknown large bird was signaled by the presence of two wing elements that could not be identified by species.

Fish

Fish were extremely abundant and highly varied (Figure 7). All identified species were freshwater fish (Table 1). According to Van der Donck, Megapolensis, and several others who left written accounts, fish were an important food source for Native Americans as well as the Dutch (Jameson 1909; Recht 1997). Within the faunal assemblage, the most common fish elements were gill, fin, and ray bones. Only a small number of vertebrae were recovered, 40 in all. While striped bass was the most frequent species identified, sturgeon represented the most meat. The size of recovered sturgeon scutes indicated the individuals were quite large. The scutes measured over four inches in breadth. One of these fish was estimated to have been at least ten feet in length! Body part distributions indicated that most of the remains were processing waste. Based on chop marks on some fish skull bones, it is evident that the heads and fins were generally removed prior to cooking. But there were some burned skull and fin bones which also indicated that some fish were cooked whole. The lack of vertebrae is of interest. It is possible that they were consumed by scavengers or that they were compromised by the cooking process and disintegrated more quickly than uncooked bones.

Amphibians

Amphibians were represented by two partial toads and reptiles by a snapping turtle and an unidentified snake. The snapping turtle elements consisted of enormous carapace segments which indicate an individual measuring over three feet in length.

Summary

The faunal analysis revealed much about animal husbandry, butcher patterns, dietary traditions, and trade practices of the Van Curler household. A wide variety of mammal, bird, fish, and reptile species was consumed. Mammal and fish species provided most of the flesh consumed, though birds were also commonly eaten. Cattle, sheep, pig, and deer were the most commonly eaten species. Animal husbandry practices were focused on rearing cattle, sheep, and pigs; each of these species

provided different kinds of resources. Animal consumption and exploitation patterns at the farm followed a set pattern. Cattle and sheep were reared for multiple reasons including milk, wool, labor, and meat, whereas pigs were raised for meat. Considered together, these livestock species were part of a well-integrated farm. Though horses were also raised, the archaeological record revealed almost no trace of them.

The ages at which cattle, sheep, and pigs were slaughtered varied according to their functions. Cattle were generally slaughtered as adults. However, there were several immature animals slaughtered as well. They may have been intentionally slaughtered as neonates if they were males. The predominance of older cattle probably reflects an emphasis on dairying. Dairy products were very important in the Dutch dietary tradition (Barnes and Rose 2002; Janowitz 1993; Rose 1989). Two oxen were also identified, indicating draft animals. Sheep were slaughtered as adults and younger. It is possible that the lambs were deliberately slaughtered, but they may also have died of natural causes, though in either case, all were consumed. Sheep are difficult to rear in forested environments and harsh climates, being better adapted to drier climates and open grassland (Ryder 2007). Sheep were raised for wool as well as for meat and possibly for milk. Culling of herds usually involves removal of older adults whose fleeces are declining. Pigs were generally slaughtered as subadults. They were mainly a source of meat, although they also likely functioned as garbage disposers. Pork was eaten as preserved and fresh meat. The presence of a high number of hams suggests that preserved meats were brought to the farm as a food commodity. Deer were probably not hunted on a regular basis. Historical accounts reveal that the Dutch were "invited" to hunt, which suggests that Native Americans controlled access to deer herds (Van den Bogaert in Snow et al. 1996:3). The presence of a high frequency of haunches suggests that venison was an important trade commodity exchanged at the Flatts by Native Americans for goods or services.

Butcher patterns were similar for all of the large mammals (Table 9). The skulls and mandibles were processed for the removal of organ meats and facial tissue. The carcasses were split and the limbs cut into large joints of meat. The lack of vertebrae suggests a couple of explanations. It is possible they were fed to the dogs. But it is also possible that sides or quarters of carcasses were obtained from other farmers in the area. Any animal that died or had to be put down was consumed. A large animal could not be consumed by a small group of people nor could it be preserved in hot weather. So, it is likely that people shared meat when a large animal was slaughtered. Large joints of meat serve as a reminder that many people shared the same meals even if they ate them in different places and at different times. Like cattle and sheep, domesticated birds were important for meat as well as for eggs and feathers. Fish were probably obtained by dropping a line in the river, use of weirs and nets, or through trade with Native Americans.

Discussion

The significance of the van Curler faunal assemblage is best understood by comparison with other New Netherland faunal assemblages. As a collective, the sites in Albany and Manhattan represent complementary sets of information on dietary traditions in New Netherland as well as economic and subsistence strategies by specific households living in different locations and settings. Though they differ in size, site type, and exact depositional date, the sites are similar in that they all date to the seventeenth century and are mainly associated with high-status Dutch households.

Late seventeenth century archaeological remains associated with the Dutch were found in lower Manhattan at the Broad Street and Stadt Huys sites which at the time were located in the urban center of New Amsterdam. Site excavations yielded deposits from the backyard areas of upper-class Dutch households. These deposits were composed of domesticated and non-domesticated faunal remains (Table 9). Domesticated mammal species dominated the deposits. Pig and cattle were the most frequent species, whereas deer was present in very low frequencies (Greenfield 1989; Balkwill and Cumbaa 1988; Rothschild 1990). As was the case at the Flatts, the faunal deposits show that dietary practices relied primarily on domesticated animals supplemented by a great variety of wild fowl and fish. Unlike the Flatts, New Amsterdam was a coastal port city and had greater access to diverse food resources (Meuwese 2011). While venison was indicated, it was not a primary source of meat, unlike the situation at the Flatts.

Three sites in downtown Albany yielded Dutch deposits dating to the mid-seventeenth century, including Fort Orange (Huey 1998a), DEC Headquarters (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2002), and Quackenbush Garage (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2005). The Albany assemblages revealed a greater exploitation of wild mammals. There were also higher frequencies of deer relative to pig and cattle than the New York City deposits (Table 10). In New York deer was present in very low numbers in all deposits, whereas it was common in Albany. In the Albany area venison continued to be an important source of meat for a longer period of time. Like households in New Amsterdam, households at Fort Orange and in Beverwyck relied primarily on domesticated livestock and fowl but supplemented their diet more with wild foods such as venison, turkey, and fish. It is documented that many of these were obtained through trade with Native Americans (Barnes and Rose 2002:1-2, 23; Venema 2003:176-180). In this way their assemblages are more like that at the Flatts. The major difference between the Albany (Fort Orange and Beverwyck) deposits and the Flatts is in the size of the assemblages. The deposits from the fort and the urban lots are much smaller in size. The difference in volume therefore may be an indication that the Flatts deposits were generated by more than just the people living in the Van Curler household. This would not be surprising as Schuyler Flatts was more than a farm. It was a trade destination and gathering place for Native Amer-

icans and other visitors which may account for the size of the assemblage as well. As such, the number of people served was great. In comparison the Beverwyck and New Amsterdam deposits were generated by fewer people and were much smaller in size. In addition, those households may have eaten out more often such as at friends, church events, other social gatherings, and public eateries.

In conclusion, the available archaeological data sets generally support the information obtained through documentary sources. Broadly speaking, they share many similarities, revealing that all settlements, New Amsterdam, Beverwyck and the Flatts, relied heavily on both domesticated and non-domesticated species for food. In New Amsterdam, social and environmental factors resulted in less dependence on Native Americans for dietary support and an increasing trade with other colonies along the eastern seaboard as well as the development of local fisheries and markets. In comparison, the colonists in the Albany region benefitted from trade with Native Americans due to peaceful social relations, which also permitted local farms to become established and develop the ability to meet their dietary needs. The Van Curler faunal assemblage differed from all others in terms of its size and extensive diversity. The faunal assemblage consisted of locally raised domesticated animals, imported and locally preserved meats such as hams, hunted and fished wildlife, and traded animal foods and pelts. The Flatts farm was much more than just a farm. Van Curler was the chief agent of the patroon, not only engaging with Native Americans in trade but also acting as a political agent. As the patroon's representative he negotiated with Native Americans on behalf of many Europeans as well as in deal-making, situations in which food no doubt played an important role.

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One Family's Struggle to Maintain its Privileged Heritage at Van Schaick Island, Cohoes, New York: 1760-1852

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Van Schaick Mansion, located on Van Schaick Island in Cohoes, New York, was constructed sometime during the 1750s and was the homestead of the Van Schaick family until the 1830s. The Van Schaick family tenure on the island between 1760 and 1852 is interpreted as a series of crises that interrupted periods of relative stability. During this time the family enjoyed the privileged life of landlords drawing off rents from the large Half Moon patent taken from the Mahican/Mohican Indians in 1664, as well as other acquired properties. Several deaths between 1815 and 1830, and the Van Schaick hold on the island as a central home place, began to crumble as the fifth generation cashed out on the island homestead. Enslaved Africans served the Van Schaick, tending to the maintenance of the house, garden, and grounds. There were no people of color living on the island by 1830 as the labor force was shifted to white wage laborers. Primary historical documentation, coupled with archaeological data recovered by the New York State Museum in 2017 and 2018, illustrates the Van Schaick family's conception of the island as a home place and base for their privileged position, and also how the lives of the African-Americans who lived in the house are entirely muted in this primary record.

Introduction

Van Schaick Mansion has long been misunderstood. Its historical significance is most often linked to the American Revolution, as the site where the battle of Saratoga was planned in 1777 and briefly as the New York State Capital under governor George Clinton from August 22 to 25, 1777 (Masten 1877:32). The proposed construction date is listed as ranging from the 1730s, based on Anthony van Schaick's 1737 will, to 1762 (Masten 1877:24; Van Schaick Papers 1737). Recent historical research and architectural analyses indicate a construction date during the 1750s (Kirk 2009). Getting the dates and the facts correct is only part of the reconfigure. More importantly, the significance of the house and grounds needs to be reconsidered. Ultimately the story of Van Schaick Mansion hinges on a discourse about origins and heritage claims.

Two claims on the island's heritage are prominent. First, the Stock-Bridge Munsee Mohican Tribe views the island

"Quahemesicostaken" as part of their ancestral homeland. The second claim suggests the significance of the site comes from its links to the Euro-colonial historical trajectory of the United States. This latter claim privileges a brief moment in time made possible by the Van Schaick family ownership of the island. Heritage was no longer grounded in the traditional sense coming directly from family lineage, but rather based on the modern accumulation and expression of wealth (Lowenthal 1998:62). What is lost in this discourse on heritage is the place of labor, and enslaved labor in particular, in the historical narrative. If nostalgia's construction of historical narrative tells it like it wasn't, then pitting one heritage claim against another will not create a better understanding of the island's past. If instead, the historical trajectory of Van Schaick mansion, Van Schaick Island, and the Van Schaick family is understood through the lens of white privilege, then a more complete understanding of the current historical moment is possible.

In 2016, the New York State Museum's (NYSM) Research and Collections Division began an archaeological study of the Van Schaick Mansion property located on Van Schaick Island in Cohoes, New York (Figure 1). The house and grounds are currently owned and managed by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). In 2015, the DAR asked the NYSM to help them better understand the history and archaeology of the property including the enslaved people owned by the Van Schaick family. The findings of this project will help the DAR more accurately interpret the property and expand the historical narrative to include those people of color who were on the island throughout the Van Schaick ownership.

The Van Schaick archaeological survey was undertaken as part of the Slavery in the Hudson River Valley project that aims to build a better understanding of Slavery in the Capital Region through archaeological research. Two broad goals driving the research program are to: 1) understand the physical dimensions of slavery as it existed between 1750 and 1827, and 2) explore the aftermath and consequences of slavery to 1850. A subsequent research area focuses on how African-American slaves were spatially segregated from the free population. For example, how common were slave quarters or outer kitchens in the region? One way to get at this question is by looking at the largest slaveholding households where an

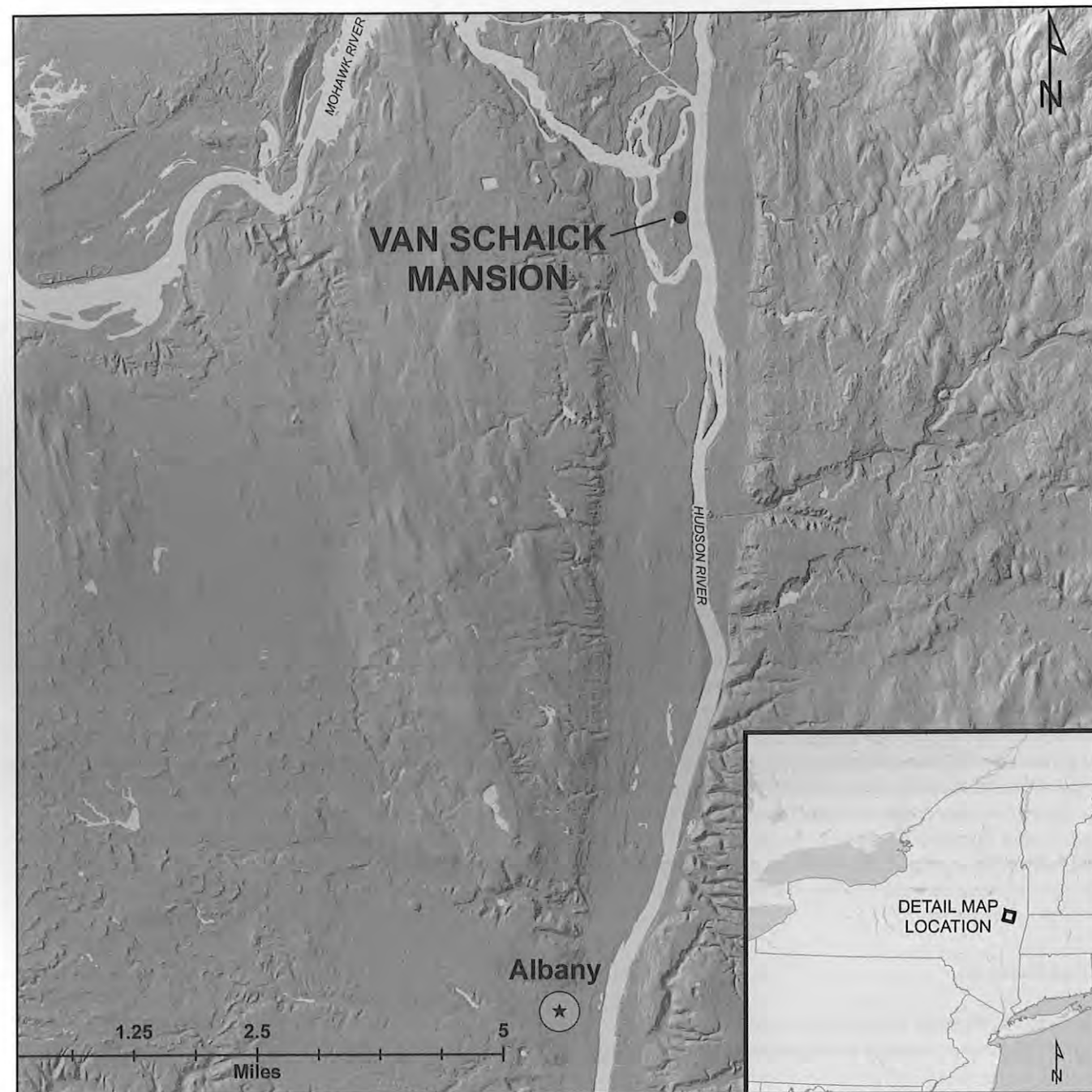


Figure 1. Location of Van Schaick Mansion, Cohoes, N.Y. Map by Susan Winchell-Sweeney.

archaeological signature of racial segregation might be most visible. With six enslaved people living on the island in 1790, Van Schaick Mansion offered the type of landscape where a quarter or outer kitchen might be warranted. Are remnants of these buildings located on the small parcel of land owned by the DAR? If so, what could these material remains tell us about slavery and the lives of the enslaved on Van Schaick Island?

We also wanted to understand the Van Schaick family as active participants in slavery during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Did they segregate the landscape and spaces within the house according to race? Also, how were

white privilege and economic wealth used to ground the heritage of the island with the Van Schaick family? The massive volume of family papers when coupled with the archaeological record provides a wealth of information about the lives of the Van Schaick family but almost nothing about the African-Americans who were held in bondage. This absence demonstrates how suppressing the acknowledgment of the enslaved population, and masking a participation in slavery, was a tool for signaling their privileged status.

Archaeology at Van Schaick Mansion

The first archaeological excavations at Van Schaick mansion were undertaken by Hartgen and Associates (HA) between 2003 and 2006. These archaeological excavations were part of an annual community outreach archaeological children's camp administered by HA in collaboration with several historical sites around Albany. A total of 31, 1x1-meter test units were excavated during these camps. Additional Phase 1B compliance excavations were also completed by Hartgen in 2009 prior to replacing the rear stairs of the mansion (Kirk 2009). The compliance and camp units yielded "very few diagnostic materials from the eighteenth century" (Kirk 2009:1). The current NYSM project consulted HA's primary field documentation during the survey planning. The highest concentrations of artifacts were recovered from the yard south of the house and this is also an area where an 1830s map shows the possible location of an outbuilding (Figure 2). No features were encountered in any of the HA excavations.

Magnetometer (MAG), ground penetrating radar (GPR), and resistivity surveys were completed in the fall of 2016 to locate potential foundations of outbuildings and other features associated with the historic development of the property. Promising geophysical anomalies were targeted for archaeological testing. The south yard, west yard, and cemetery areas all contained possible subsurface historic features based on the geophysical survey. Excavation units were placed in each of

these areas to assess the built environment and material culture choices made by residents of the mansion between 1760 and 1852. The summary results of these excavations are incorporated in each subsequent section of this article as they relate to the most salient moments in the history of the Van Schaick house.

Van Schaick Beginnings: Anthony G. and Christina van Schaick, 1760-1782

Itamonet, Ahemameth, and Kishocama relinquished the Mahican/Mohican island called Quahemesicostaken to Phillip Schuyler and Goosen Gerritse van Schaick in 1664 as part of a region-wide land grab beginning shortly after the Patroonship of Rensselaerswijck was established in 1629 (Kirk and Lusier n.d.; Fernow 1881:387). The island was included in an expansive patent named Halfmoon located north of the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers. Phillip Schuyler conveyed his portion of the patent to Van Schaick in 1674, and the descendants of Goosen Gerritse van Schaick lived on the island as the family "homestead" until the early 1830s (Table 1). During this time, the family was sustained off rents from the Halfmoon patent and other landholdings, illustrating the Van Schaick's role as members of the small group of elite Dutch families who controlled the political economy of Albany during the eighteenth century.

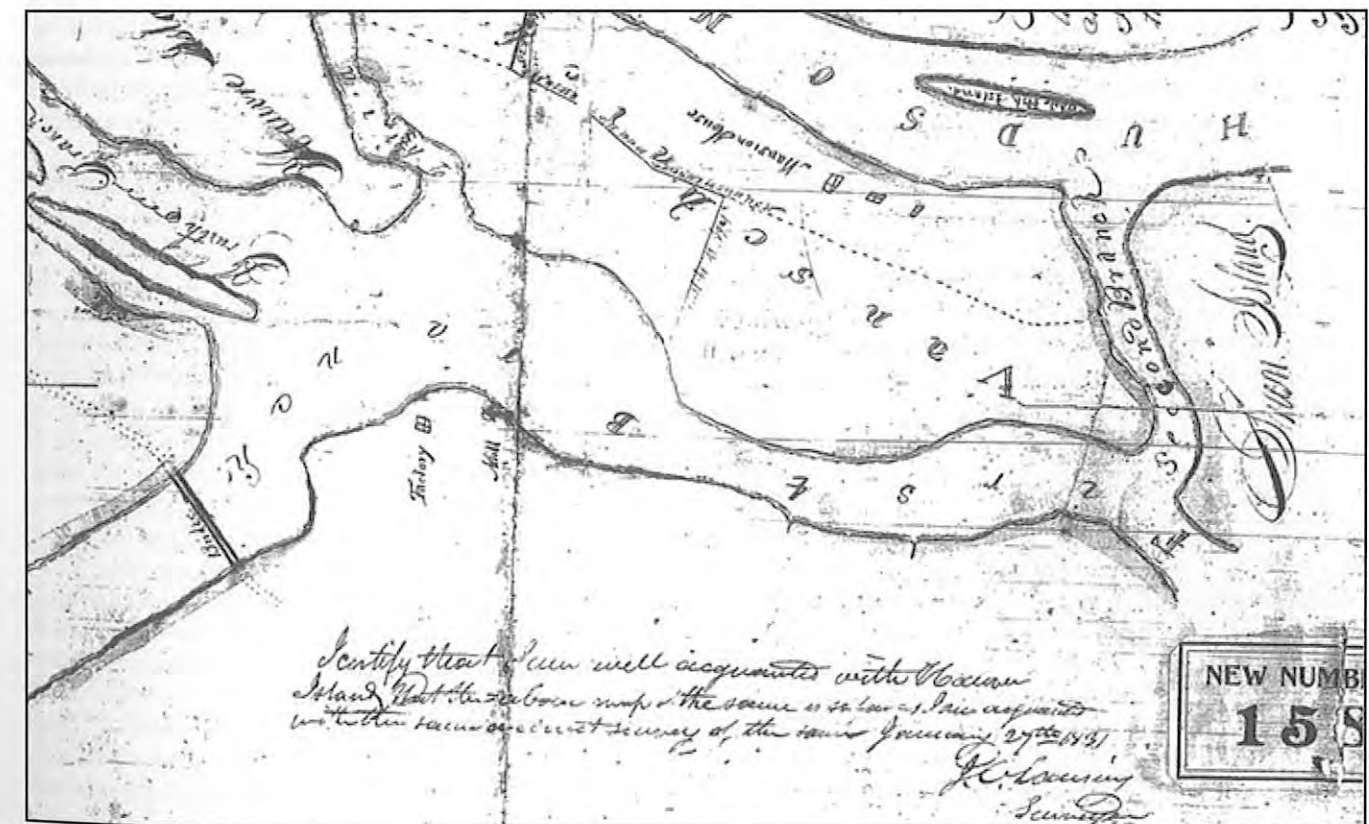


Figure 2. 1831 map of Van Schaick, Hauvre, and Platt Islands Showing the Mansion and Outbuildings. Source: Albany County Hall of Records, Albany, N.Y.

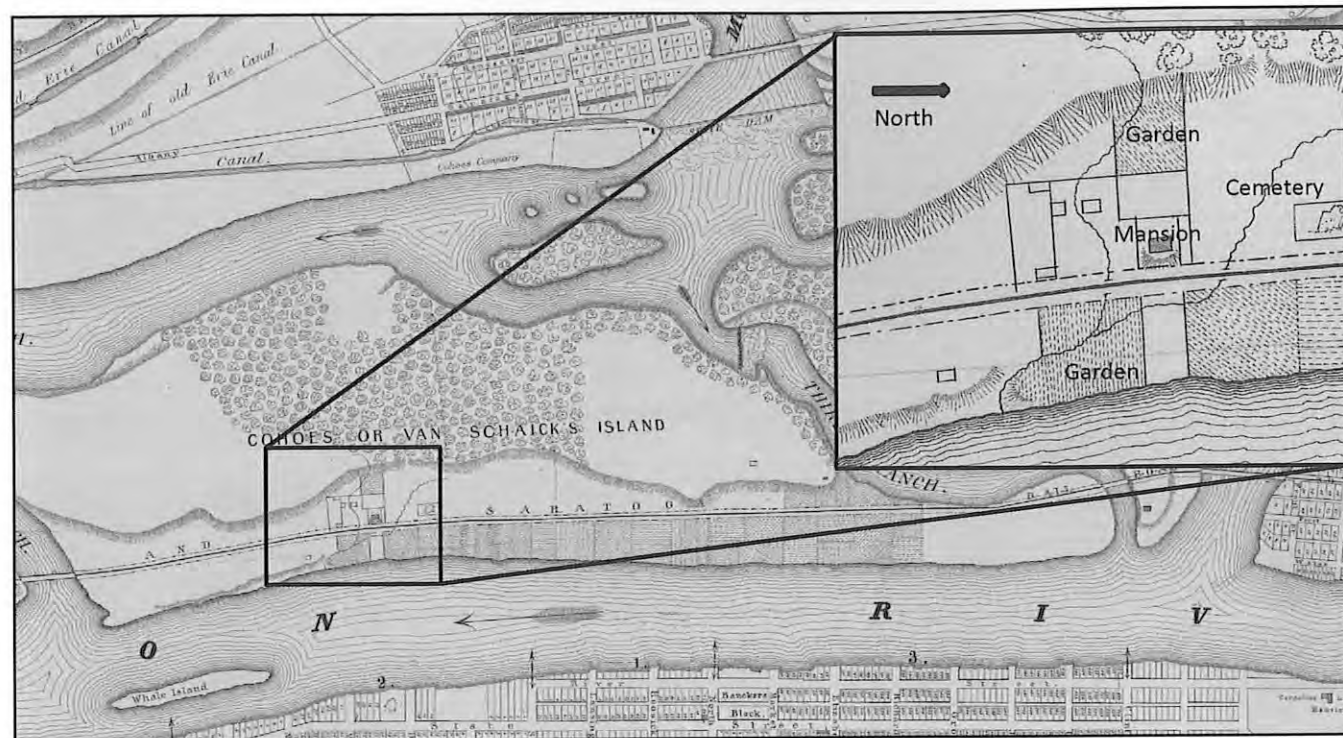


Figure 3. 1843 Map of the Confluence of the Hudson & Mohawk Rivers with the villages and Islands.
L. Bliss Bookseller, Lansingburgh, N.Y.

Goosen Gerittse van Schaick constructed a dwelling on the island sometime between 1665 and his death in 1679. The house and property were willed to his son Anthony, and his widow Annetie remained in the house until remarrying in 1682. Anthony and his wife Maria (Vanderpoel) moved into the house on the island and lived there until his death in 1737. Anthony's will provides several clues about the original dwelling house, family cemetery, and date of the current standing structure (Van Schaick Papers 1737).

Anthony divided the island into two halves. The northern half including the original dwelling house was bequeathed to his son Anthony Jr. and his wife Anna (Cuyler) and the southern half to his grandson Anthony G. van Schaick (son of Goosen). The will also stipulated that the property was to remain in the family in perpetuity and that a plot of land 15 feet square was to be marked off in the orchard for the family cemetery. The division of the property started 40 to 45 yards to the south of Anthony Sr's house by the river. This was most likely the same house constructed by Goosen sometime before 1679. Archaeological testing by Hartgen and Associates north of the Van Schaick Mansion may have uncovered the remnants of this early dwelling (Luscier 2013). Preliminary analyses indicate an occupation beginning in the seventeenth and lasting well into the eighteenth century (Luscier 2013).

It appears that Anthony van Schaick Jr. lived in the late seventeenth century dwelling until his death in 1759. If Anthony Jr. had constructed a new dwelling on the island, it would have been after his father's death in 1737 and before his wife Anna's death in 1741. This seems highly unlikely. The most plausible scenario is that the Van Schaick Mansion was built by Antho-

ny G. Van Schaick after he inherited the southern half of the island from his grandfather. If this is the case, the most likely time period would have been after he married Catherine van Schaick in 1751 (Robison and Bartlett 1919:265). Catherine was the daughter of Anthony Jr. and thus when Anthony Jr. died, the island properties were consolidated under Anthony G. and Christina van Schaick.

The Van Schaicks, like all other wealthy Albanian families, relied on enslaved labor to maintain their estates. There is very little historical evidence of the enslaved people who lived at the house on Van Schaick Island between 1760 and 1827. The only sources are the numbers from the census and inventories. There is no mention of slaves on the island in any of the extensive collections of Van Schaick family papers other than some wills and inventories. These references to slaves are usually nonspecific, such as Anthony Sr. instructing the executors of his will to distribute all of his slaves and other personal property to his children (Van Schaick Family Papers 1737). There is one reference to a woman named Mary who was purchased by Anthony Sr. in 1736 (VSPC 1736). Slaves are never mentioned as being rented out in any of the financial records or manumission records of those individuals directly related to the island. There are other slave sales documented in the family papers, but these slaves were owned by Van Schaick family members not living on the island (Van Schaick-Peebles Papers [VSPP] 1721, 1762; VSPC 1758, 1787). Family records indicate that the farm was managed by hired workers who perhaps organized the enslaved labor force. It is telling that the last line of Christina Van Schaick's Inventory lists 3 slaves valued \$350 (VSPP 1810). These enslaved people were instrumental

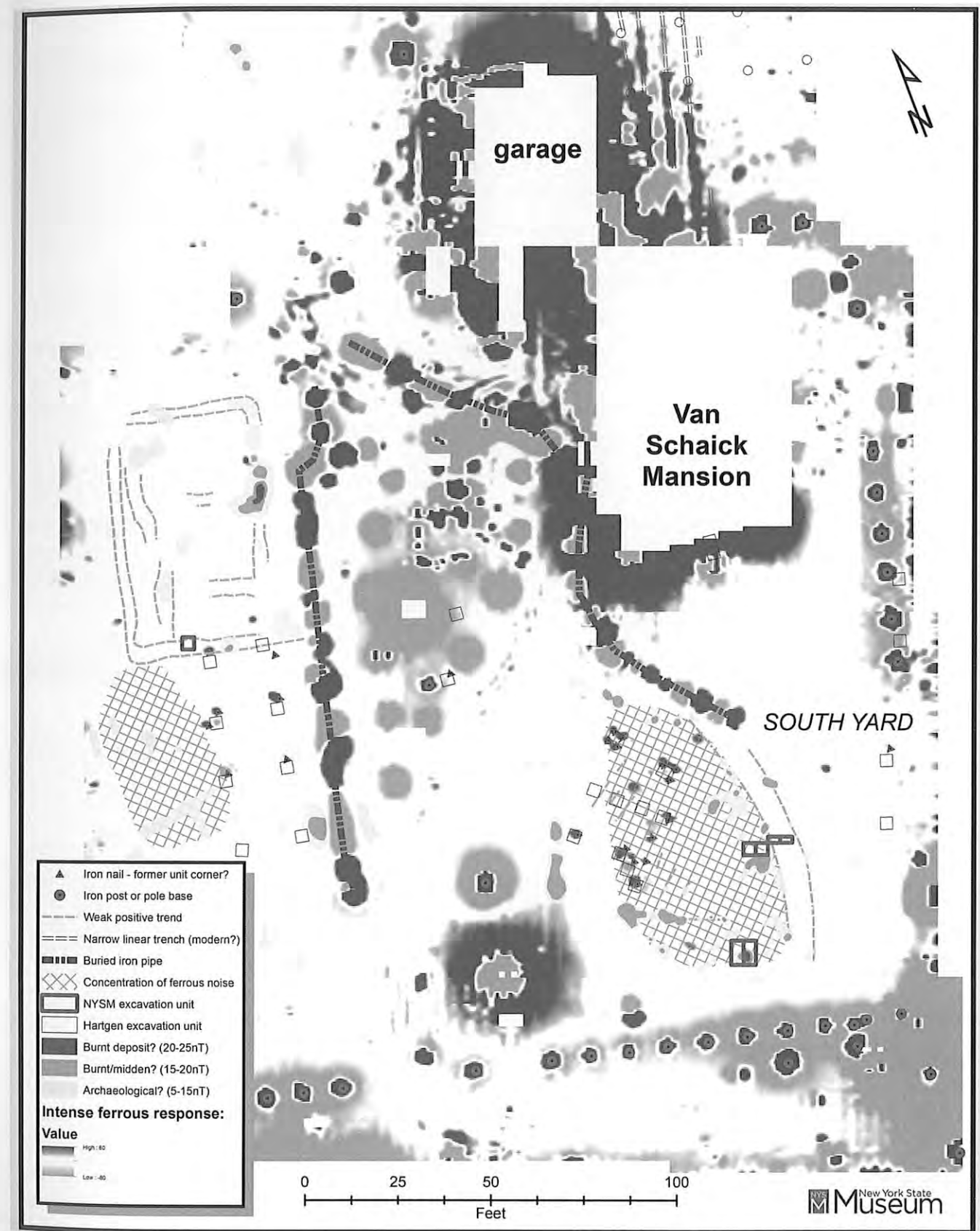


Figure 4. Location of Excavation Units in the South Yard of the Van Schaick Mansion. Map by Susan Winchell-Sweeney.



Figure 5. Photo of Brick Bats and Limestone Uncovered in the South Yard of the House.

in maintaining the house and island and yet were relegated to nameless obscurity at the end of the document.

The care and maintenance of the family garden was one task that was clearly important to the homestead. John Clark was paid for periods lasting between one day and two weeks for work on the farm between 1772 and 1781 (Van Schaick Family Papers 1661-1863 [VSF], 1787). Clark was employed to mow grass in the orchard, harvest peas and corn, shear sheep, and other general farm chores. He was also paid for "building a fence and digging in the garden." Slaves likely worked in the garden as well, but no mention of this activity was found. This garden was mentioned by various members of the Van Schaick family over the years and was probably located along the river just to the southeast of the house (Figure 3). Gardening for the post-Revolutionary War generations would be heavily influenced by American gentleman gardeners such as Thomas Jefferson.

Archaeology and Origins, 1760-1782

Archaeological excavations south of the house (Figure 4) provided the best material evidence of earliest occupation of the Van Schaick house. Excavations in 2017 and 2018 suggest that

the bricks used to construct the house were fired on site. A strong magnetometer anomaly was located during the 2016 geophysical survey and uncovered with a 2x2 meter excavation in the summer of 2018. A concentration of brick wasters and partially fired brick was uncovered at the base of the unit (Figure 5). Numerous chunks of burned limestone were also uncovered within this brick concentration and perhaps used in the production of mortar.

The construction site of the house was carefully chosen. First, the house was built just south of the seventeenth century structure located by the river (Luscier 2013). This extended the Van Schaick homestead that also included the orchard and the riverside vegetable gardens. Second, the house was constructed on an outcrop of shale bedrock lying just to the north of a small drainage ditch. The shale bedrock was broken up to make a level platform for the house, and archaeological testing confirmed that much of the waste material from this leveling was deposited on the south side of the house to form a ramp for hoisting goods up and into the second floor window. The pulley system and outline of the large window are still present today (Figure 6). At the same time, this bedrock surface made an excellent floor base for the interior basement. Excavations in the west rear addition of the house suggest that the bedrock served as a floor for this addition before the raised

wooden floor was added in the mid-nineteenth century (Figure 7). Finally, this location was also strategic in that water was channeled away from the house down the ravine to the south. Flood damage that did occur was likely minimized by the bedrock foundation and the massive stone spread footer that serves as a wall for the basement.

Artifacts recovered from the south yard excavations provide a final archaeological clue about the lives of the Van Schaick family before the Revolution. All seven of the excavation units in the south yard contained artifacts dating from the 1760s through the early nineteenth century. These artifacts were recovered from a layer of silt lying directly above bedrock (Figure 8). This area was a low point near an east/west running drainage and likely prone to flooding. None of the artifacts from the silt layer pre-date the 1750s and only a few sherds of black transfer-printed white ware were recovered. However, there are very few artifacts that link the pre-1780 household to the archaeological record beyond a few diagnostic ceramics. In fact, potentially pre-1780 ceramics, such as white salt-glazed stoneware and tin-glazed earthen wares, make up about 7% of the entire ceramic assemblage. Some of this absence may be explained by the 30 pewter "plates and dishes" listed in Christina's 1810 inventory (VSPP 1810). The small total number of ceramics recovered from this sheet deposit suggests that the south yard was not a primary area for refuse disposal during the entirety of the Van Schaick family occupation.

Struggle to Maintain the "Homestead," 1782-1830

When Anthony G. van Schaick died in 1782, his will stipulated that ownership of the island was to be transferred to his wife Christina, then to their daughter Anna, wife of John G. van Schaick, and finally to their grandson Anthony van Schaick. This succession made the younger Anthony the fourth and final Anthony van Schaick to inherit the property (Table 1).

Christina and 6 slaves were living on the island in 1790 while her daughter Anna and John G. Van Schaick were living in a house in Albany's 1st ward with 2 slaves (US Census 1790). John G. and Anna moved in with Christina by 1800, possibly as a result of John's deteriorating mental state that rendered him "incapable of transacting business in consequence of mental illness" as early as the late 1780s (Wendell 1873:378). This left Christina and Anna to manage the affairs at the property until Anna's death in 1815.

Christina's tenure over the management of the farm and household brought stability. Children, siblings, and cousins were all paid out of the estate for various goods, services, or direct cash lent. There is ample evidence in the family archives of how the wealth of the estate was distributed, especially during the early nineteenth century. These distributions, when combined with recorded purchases, express a sense of the family's lifestyle.

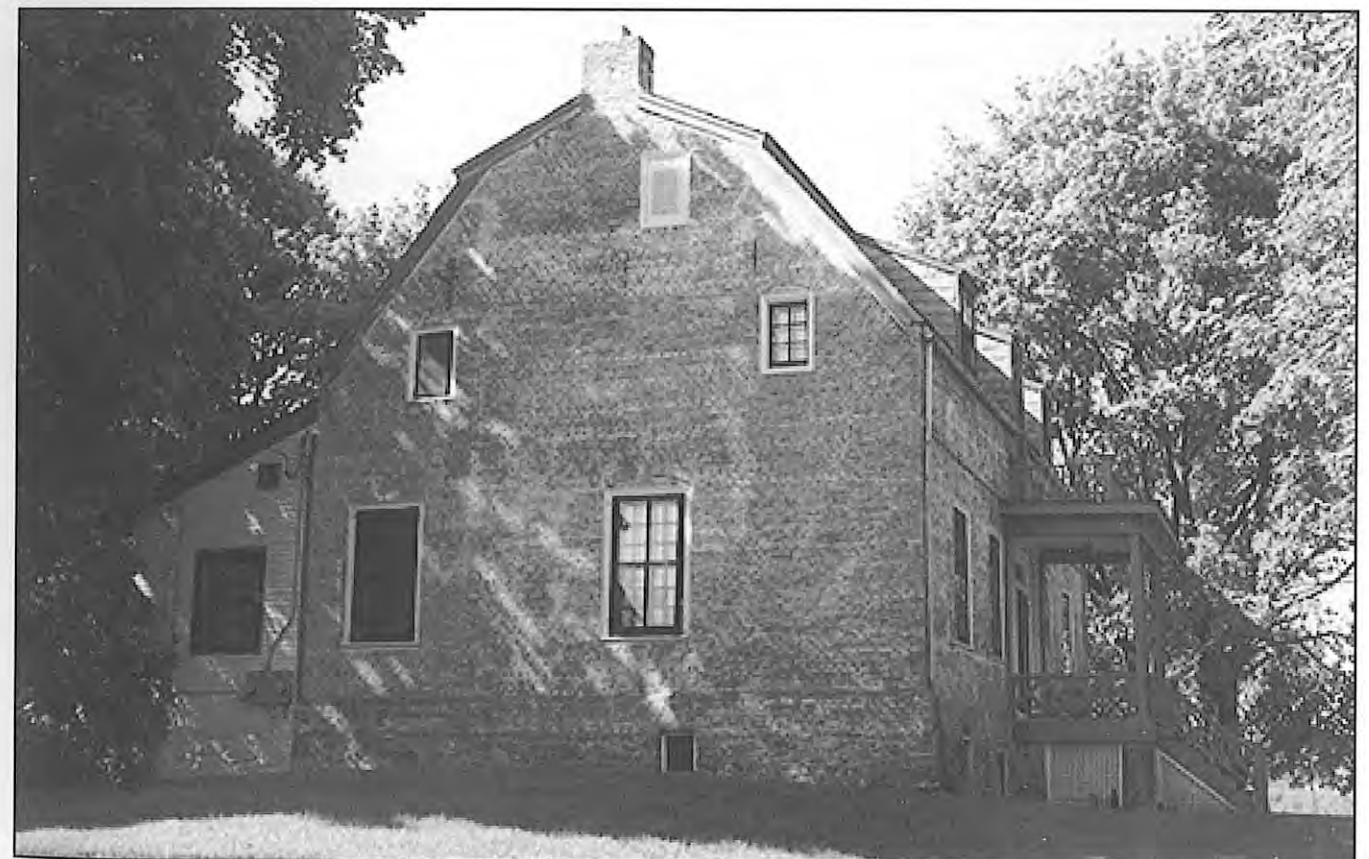


Figure 6. Photo of the South Façade of the Mansion Showing the Remnants of the Top Floor Pulley.

Table 1. Van Schaick Ownership of the Island and Dwellings, 1665-1852

Owners	Years	Number of years	Relation to Previous Owners	Property	Comments
Goosen Garritse van Schaick and Phillip Schuyler	1665-1674	9	NA	Island	
Goosen Garritse van Schaick Geertie (Brants Peelen, ?-1657) and Annetje (Lievens 1657-ca. 1679)	1674-1679	5	NA	Island and Original house by the river	
Anthony van Schaick, Sr. and Maria (Vanderpoel)	1680-1737	57	Son of Goosen Garritse	Island and Original house by the river	
Anthony van Schaick Jr.	1737-1759	22	Son of Anthony Sr.	North half of the Island and Original house by the river	
Anthony G. van Schaick and Christina (Van Schaick)	1737-1759	22	Son of Goosen, Grandson of Anthony Jr., Daughter of Anthony Jr.	South half of the Island	Constructed the standing brick house around 1760
Anthony G. van Schaick and Christina (Van Schaick)	1759-1782	23	Son of	Entire Island	
Schaick and Christina (Van Schaick)			Goosen, Grandson of Anthony Jr., Daughter of Anthony Jr.	with dwellings	
Christina van Schaick	1782-1809	27	Daughter of Anthony Jr.	Entire Island with dwellings	
Anna van Schaick and John G van Schaick	1809-1815	6	Daughter of Christina and Son of Wessel van Schaick	Entire Island with dwellings	Anna and John were cousins
Anthony	1815	0	Son of Anna and John G.	Entire Island with dwellings	Inherited the Dwelling and Island but relinquished to his siblings
Wessel, Maria, Christina, Gerard, Henry	1815-1823	8	Siblings of Anthony, Children of Anna and John G.	Entire Island with dwellings	
Henry van Schaick	1823-1829	6	Siblings of Wessel, Maria, Christina	North half of the Island	
Gerard van Schaick and Arraminta (Platt)	1823-1830	7	Siblings of Wessel, Maria, Christina	South half of the Island and House	Gerard's first wife and mother to their children, died 1822.
Anna and Catherine van Schaick	1829-1845	16	Children of Henry and Sally	North half of the Island	
Eliza, Albert, and Gerard van Schaick	1830-1852	22	Children of Gerard and Elizabeth	South half of the Island and House	
Catherine and William Baldwin	1845-1875	30	Daughter of Henry	North half of the Island	

A variety of payments were recorded in an account book dating from 1805-1807 (Van Schaick-Baldwin Papers [VSB] 1805). The family retained a "washer woman" who was paid various amounts up to \$4 to launder the family's clothing. Most of the payments went to family members. If we take Christina, Anna, and John G. Van Schaick's brother Gerritt as examples, it is clear that cash lent and payments made to others are the most substantial payouts (Table 2). One difference between the two households is that Gerritt, who lived in Albany, was much more reliant on purchasing fruits, vegetables, and meats than Anna and Christina who could procure these foods from the gardens and orchard on the island. Christina also administered the sale of a variety of produce from the farm. One account from 1800-1801 lists eggs, butter, corn, oats, and turkeys as the most numerous commodities (VSB 1801). Corn and hay were the most lucrative commodities produced by the farm. A sizable herd of 25 sheep would have produced considerable wool for market as well (VSPP 1810). This capital intake was dwarfed by the tremendous rents taken in by the family. When Christina died in 1809, at least 103 renters were in arrears on their rents dating as early as 1767 (VSPP 1810). The collection of rents continued unabated following Christina's death.

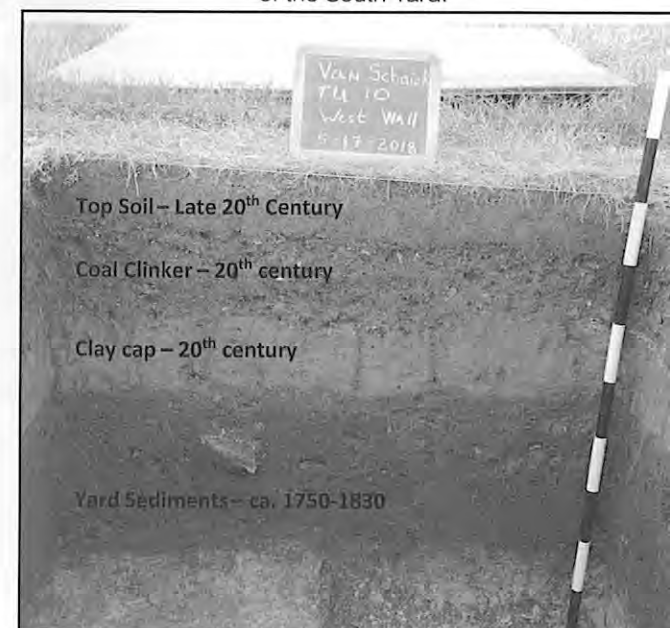
The leadership of the family was disrupted with the deaths of Christina (1809) and Anna (1815). Anna and John G. van Schaick had eight children: Wessel (b.1776), Anthony (b.1779), Maria Peebles (b.1782), Augustus (b.1788), John Jr. (b.1789), Christina Holme (b.1790), Gerard (b. 1792), and Henry (b.1795). Gerard van Schaick appears to have been the first to take control of the family finances in 1816, ensuring that cash advances were distributed to his siblings and payments rendered to others outside the family until 1826 (VSF 1815). During this ten-year period the estate brought in \$8,805.43, primarily from rents, mortgages, and bonds while distributing \$8577.61, mostly to the children of John G. and Anna.

Years of managing the Van Schaick property rents established an efficient system of revenue distribution while the siblings sorted out the disposition of the island and other real estate. Augustus and John Jr. had already passed by 1815, and with Anthony's death in 1822, the remaining five siblings received an equal 1/5 of the entire estate. The total value of the real estate was estimated at just over \$19,000, leaving a share of roughly \$3,800 to each sibling (VSF n.d.).



Figure 7 (Above). Exposed Bedrock Beneath the Wooden Floor of the Rear Addition. Sleepers and Brick Sill Showing.

Figure 8 (Below). Profile Photo Showing the Stratigraphy of the South Yard.



The island was reconfigured following Anthony's death. Gerard purchased Wessel and Christina's shares while Henry purchased Maria's interest in the property (Albany Co. Land Records Book [ALR] 1823, 26: 393, 455, 457). By agreement, Gerard received the southern portion and Henry retained the

northern 2/5ths of the island (ALR 1824, 27: 73). The only thing remaining was the disposition of the 12.7 acres of land comprising the house, gardens, and outbuildings. Gerard purchased Henry's 2/5 interest in the "homestead" in 1823 for \$680 (VSB 1823). Unfortunately, tragedy struck at the same time as these transactions when Gerard's wife Elizabeth died, leaving their three small children motherless. Gerard married Arraminta Platt in 1824 and began to manage the home place. Gerard and Henry represented the sixth generation of the Van Schaick family to live on the island. During this time, the family remained thoroughly rooted in the seventeenth century Dutch gentry that controlled Albany for 300 years. But after the American Revolution, the family was decidedly not "Dutch." By 1800, the Van Schaick and other families in the area had not only embraced those founding fathers like Washington, who had once stayed at the house, but also English sensibilities, practices, and material culture.

Gerard was 34 and Henry 31 when the estate was finally settled and it appeared that the future of the island under Van Schaick control was once again secure. Unfortunately for the Van Schaick family, all did not unfold as planned. Within a few short years both of these individuals would be gone, leaving Maria Peebles as the only surviving sibling. These events would leave the disposition of the island unsettled for two decades.

Table 2. Purchases and Payments Associated with Christina, Anna, and Gerret van Schaick, 1805-1807

	Christina		Anna		Gerritt	
	Number of Purchases	Total Cost	Number of Purchases	Total Cost	Number of Purchases	Total Cost
Fruits and Vegetables	1	.27	5	2.49	15	20.81
Fish	0	0	0	0	18	9.775
Goose	0	0	0	0	2	.55
Tea	4	3.66	2	1.85	1	.81
Coffee	0	0	1	.75	0	0
Cash	4	38.00	8	42.86	11	25.41
Payments	1	40.00	11	29.06	3	2.87
Sugar and Chocolate	1	1.43	2	2.81	0	0
Clothing	0	0	5	21.80	1	33.00
Other durables	0	0	6	13.99	0	0
Total	11	83.36	31	115.61	51	93.23

Archaeology and the Material Culture of Heritage and Privilege, 1782-1830

Perhaps the most telling aspect of the archaeological assemblage may be the absence of some forms of material culture. Silver vessels were particularly important to the family. When the contents of Gerard's estate were sold, the silver pieces were listed as being purchased privately, mostly by family members (VSB 1833). Items sold at the public auction include mostly tools, furniture, and other sundry items. Not included in the sale are ceramics, paintings or engravings, and books. Ceramics are listed in the estate inventories, so these may have been passed down.

Ceramics are well represented in the archaeological assemblage from the yard south of the Van Schaick house (Table 3). Refined ceramics make up just over 60% (n=158) of the total ceramic assemblage. Molded, but otherwise undecorated, creamware (n=83) makes up roughly a third of all ceramics recovered from the yard, while only 9 whiteware sherds were recovered from the earliest south yard sediments. These data strongly suggest a pre-1830s refuse disposal, with the bulk of the material dating from the 1780s through the 1810s. This date range is consistent with Christina and Anna's management of the household.

The table was set primarily with molded creamware and a few pieces of transfer-printed pearlware. Noticeably absent are the edge-decorated pieces that were widely available during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Christina and Anna evidently chose not to purchase the cheap edge-decorated wares even for their everyday dishes. The silver and pewter sets listed in Christina's 1810 inventory were used in combina-

tion with the creamware plates and other vessels. The various ceramic wares are simply listed among miscellaneous "China Ware" in the inventory. Bohea and Hyson tea that Anna and Christina purchased in quantity was steeped in red stoneware or earthen pots and drank with Chinese hard-paste and English soft-paste porcelain, and brightly colored Whieldon cups (Figure 9) (VSPC 1800; VSB 1805).

Christina's inventory, coupled with the archaeological record, suggests that dining and tea service were important, whereas books were not. A fully stocked library had become an important sign of the family's status by the time her grand-



Figure 9. Tea Wares Recovered from the South Yard. Top, L to R: Chinese Export and European Soft Paste Porcelain Tea Cups; Bottom, L to R: Clouded Ware Tea Cup, Astbury Engine-Turned Teapot. Photo by Kristin O'Connell.

children had inherited the farm. Henry and Gerard boasted considerable libraries containing books on a wide variety of subjects. Perhaps the most telling are those instruction manuals on farming and gardening that situate the Van Schaick's within the social hierarchy of Albany and the new republic. Building a library was obviously an important status marker for the Van Schaick family. Henry van Schaick apparently constructed his library from scratch, purchasing over 200 books at auction a mere eight months before his death (VSF 1829). Amassing an entire library at once suggests a status-based purchase rather than accumulated knowledge consumption. Gerard van Schaick's library was equally impressive and both Henry and Gerard purchased many books from their brother Anthony's estate in 1822 (VSB 1822; VSPC 1822). English gardening books are featured in both inventories. This is note-

worthy in that these are the same type of books found in the libraries of Washington and Jefferson. Perhaps the Van Schaick brothers saw themselves as gentleman farmers like Jefferson with an overseer, but without Monticello's expansive enslaved workforce.

Some enslaved people worked in the basement preparing food for the Van Schaick family. They may have also lived in this space, and thus the basement was the primary space used by enslaved people within the household. Meals would have been prepared at the hearth in the basement. The rear door located in the northwest corner of the building provided access to the garden and orchard to the west and north of the house. This door also made supplies stored under the lean-to readily available for daily use. The combination of the lean-to, basement hearth, and rear door served to demarcate the spaces of slavery in the basement and rear and the spaces of freedom in the upper floors and front of the house. This segregation scheme was dismantled after 1830 when African-Americans no longer maintained the privileged lifestyle of the Van Schaick family.

End of the Homestead: 1833-1852

Van Schaick Island entered a long period of instability following the deaths of Henry (1829), Gerard (1830), Christina Holme (1830), Sally van Schaick (1833), Wessel (1833) and their father John (1828). In the course of two decades, the island's status as the Van Schaick homestead was lost as family members were replaced by tenants. The children of Gerard and Elizabeth (Eliza, Albert, and Gerard) inherited the south part of the island, including the house, and Henry and Sally's children (Anna, Catherine, Sarah, and Wessel) inherited the north half. All of these children were under age and thus unable to assume control of the Van Schaick properties.

Arraminta married William Adams in 1832, a few short years after Gerard's death and began a family that included her three stepchildren. Arraminta claimed her dower right to Gerard's estate in 1834, and she and William lived in the house while renting the island from the estate (VSB 1834). Maintenance of the children's needs, including clothing, shelter and education, was paid for out of the estate (VSB 1837).

William and Arraminta may have found the fertile grounds on the island profitable for a time, but the arrival of the railroad seems to have made living in the house intolerable. The Saratoga and Rensselaer Railroad secured a north/south right-of-way across Van Schaick Island in the 1830s. The path of the railroad took it directly in front of the Van Schaick house. This may have been the final straw for the Adams family as they moved away from the island to the town of Nelson in central New York sometime between 1837 and 1838. And at the same time the children of Gerard were displaced to other boarding arrangements off the island.

Van Schaick family control over the house on the island began to erode in 1830 when John Holme exerted control over the family's affairs. Christina Van Schaick married John

Table 3. Ceramic Sherds recovered from ca. 1760-1830 Sediments in the South Yard Units

Description	Count
Black TP WW	9
Brown Stoneware	3
Buff Paste Stoneware	6
CW Dipped	1
Delft Tile Blue	7
English Softpaste Blue painted Tea	2
Flower pot	9
Grey Stoneware	28
HP Chinese Porcelain, Blue painted Teas	8
Molded CW	83
PW Black and Green TP	2
PW Blue Paint	1
PW Blue TP	10
PW Dipped	1
PW Polychrome	1
PW Undec	11
Red Stoneware	2
Redware	53
Refined Redware	8
TG Painted Blue	1
Tinglaze	6
Tobacco Pipe	23
Uniden White Earthenware	3
White Saltglazed	5
Wheldon	2
Wheldon Tea	2
Yellow Glaze EW	3
Total	260

L. Holme sometime during the 1820s and when she died in January of 1830, Holme assumed control of her interest in the considerable Van Schaick properties around the state (ALR 1830, 273:31; VSB 1830; Anonymous 1830). Gerard, Sally, and John Holme were named the administrators of Henry's estate in October of 1829 (VSB 1829). Holme then became the sole executor of the estate after Gerard and Sally died and was also involved with the settlement of Gerard's portion of the island. It is clear, from the correspondence and financial documentation contained in the various Van Schaick papers, that Holme was managing Van Schaick Island from 1830 until 1852.

Holme was paid by Henry and Anna's estate to care for their children, Anna and Catherine, through the mid-1840s (VSB 1845a). Catherine and Anna boarded at Miss Pierson's house near Richmond, Massachusetts, while attending school as early as 1836, and at Mrs. C. Sedgewick's house in Lennox by 1838 (VSB 1836, 1838). Sometime between 1830 and 1840, Holme married Ann Baldwin who was kin to the Baldwin family of Guilford, Connecticut. By 1843, 18-year-old Catherine had been placed in the care of the Reverend David Baldwin and his wife Ruth of Guilford, Connecticut (VSB 1843a). Catherine's sister Anna died in 1845, leaving her the sole heir of Henry's estate, and she solidified a direct connection between the Baldwin and Van Schaick families by marrying David and Ruth's merchant son William in 1846 (VSB 1880; US Census 1850). This marriage included a prenuptial agreement that gave Catherine full control over the disposition of the estate (VSB 1846a). Catherine was living with her uncle John Holme in Lansingburgh, New York, in 1845, and it is likely that he influenced the initiation of the contract (VSB 1845b). It is unclear how Holme benefitted from the marriage, but he clearly benefited from his close management of the island and Henry's estate.

Correspondence between members of the Van Schaick family suggests unease with Holme. Writing to Catherine Van Schaick in 1841, Augustus Peebles wrote "Aunt Lucinda is about as usual. Corina intended and arranged to take her to Brooklyn to spend the winter. But Mr. Holme interfered. Nice arrangement was it not!" (VSB 1841). Arraminta was particularly vocal about her suspicions of Holme. In writing to her stepdaughter Eliza in 1845 on Holme's management of the island, Arraminta said "I am altogether satisfied with the arrangements your uncle Holme has made to keep us off the place, hope he is satisfied with himself" (VSB 1845c). Later, on the eve of the settlement of the estate in 1852, Arraminta wrote, "The time will soon come now when the business between all parties will be closed up and I hope good feelings will exist between all that have a right to be interested. In that remark I do not include John Holme, for I care nothing for him" (VSB 1852a).

At the time of his death in 1870, Holme boasted a personal estate of \$35,000 and real estate valued at \$18,000 (US Census 1870; Troy Weekly Times 1870). Not only this, but he had attained the title of Gentleman and kept 2 domestics and a "Man-Servant." Most importantly he achieved a status perhaps unattainable in his native England.

For 14 years someone other than the Van Schaick family was renting the ca. 1760 brick house on Van Schaick Island. So who was living in the House between 1838 and 1852? One possible tenant is someone in the Walters family. John G. Walters was associated with the family by 1788 when Christina van Schaick was charged for making and mending his shoes, and he is then listed as a separate head of household adjacent to Christina in the 1800 census (VSPC 1788; US Census 1800). John Walters had apparently moved off the island and was residing in Half Moon when he rented one of the small islands called "Platt" Island from Christina in 1802 (Huey 2016:223). John Walters seems to have worked as an overseer of the daily affairs at the island such as milling lumber (VSPC 1806). The Walters were back living on the island in 1820 when Anthony entered a 7-year lease agreement with Henry van Schaick for the farm and dwelling on the north half of the island (VSF 1820). Evidence of this structure was located during archaeological testing in 2003 and is clearly visible on the 1843 map (Schreyer and Curtin 2003; Figure 3).

The family of George Walters was living in the house in 1860 before the Baldwins relocated from Connecticut (US Census 1860). This is the only reference to George Walters and may in fact have been John "George" Walters. Anthony rented the 159-acre island farm from the estate of Henry van Schaick in 1846 for \$350, and John Walters was paid for repairs on the Baldwin house a year later (VSB 1848, 1846b). It also appears that John Walters may have been interested in purchasing the south half of the island in 1852 (VSB 1852b).

Either Anthony or John was in some way related to the Van Schaick family. For example, Arraminta Adams speaks of "uncle Walters" in her 1843 correspondence with her stepdaughter Eliza (VSB 1843b). Between 1835 and 1842 an annuity is paid to a "Mrs. Walters" out of the estate of Gerard Van Schaick (VSB 1843c). Perhaps his first wife Elizabeth was a Walters. Also, Anthony Walters was given a military hat and coat, and three pair of pantaloons from Anthony van Schiack's personal estate when he died in 1822 (VSF 1822). It is possible that Anthony Walters continued to live in the house he rented from Henry beginning in 1824 until Catherine moved back there in the 1860s. If so, then it is unclear who was living in the 1760 brick house on Van Schaick Island. Whoever was living at the house between 1838 and 1852, they were almost certainly tenants.

Archaeology and Tenancy, 1833-1852

The only archaeological materials recovered during the 2017 and 2018 excavations that firmly date to the period between 1838 and 1852 come from three units excavated inside of the rear addition to the house. A wide variety of artifacts were uncovered beneath the floorboards of the addition. Ceramics included mostly transfer-printed, painted, and edge-decorated white pasted earthen wares dating to the 1830s and 1840s (Figure 10). Other general household refuse included bottle glass, buttons, a thread spool, possible embroidery scissors,

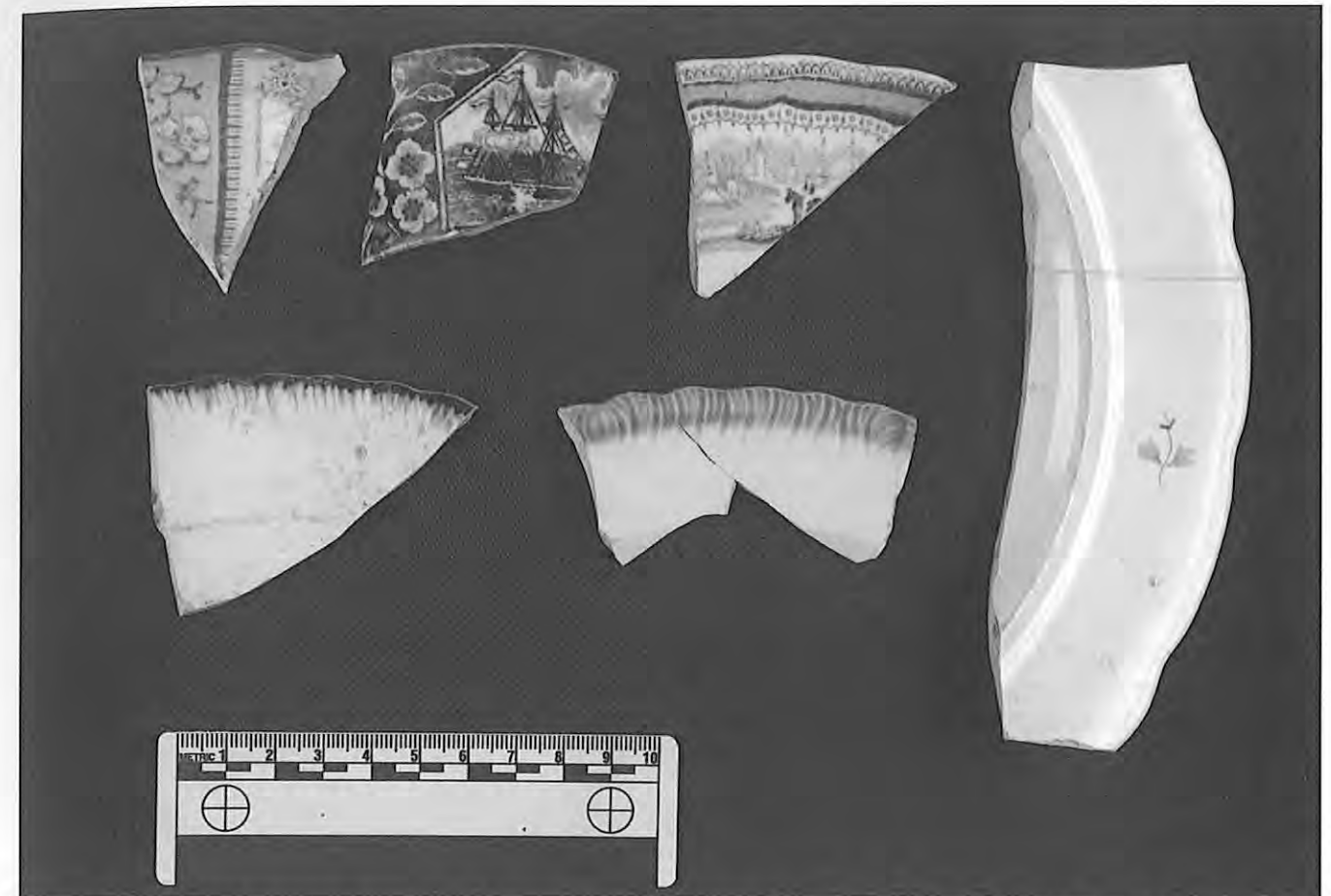


Figure 10. Ceramics Recovered Beneath the Wooden Floor of the Rear Addition. Top, L to R: Transfer-Printed Plates and Tea Cup; Bottom, L to R: Blue and Green Edge Decorated Plates and Sprig-Decorated Plate. Photo by Kristin O'Connell.

lamp chimney fragments, a buckle, an 1830 large cent, and other household objects (Figures 11 and 12; Table 4). There were also a variety of food remains recovered.

Faunal material recovered during excavations, and macro-botanical analyses, give a clear picture of the types of food being consumed by the tenants. Garden crops included watermelon, pumpkin, squash, cucumber, pepper, corn, tomato, and carrots (Mcknight 2019). The nearby orchard provided plums, cherries, apples, peaches, white grapes, raspberries, strawberries, and elderberries. Edible nuts included hickory, beech, butternut, and English walnuts (Mcknight 2019). Faunal material included chicken eggs, catfish, cow, pig, sheep/coat, chicken, turkey, goose, and clams.

The archaeological record generally suggests a diet rich in protein sources raised on the farm or procured at a local butcher. A variety of vegetables could have been raised in the household garden directly behind the house and fruits or berries could be harvested from the orchard located near the Van Schaick family cemetery to the north or one of the larger gar-

den plots along the river. Home production is suggested by the foods consumed, and tools for mending and producing clothing. This is not surprising for rural contexts, but not the type of higher end material expected from the Van Schaick family. Perhaps the most instructive aspect of the mid-nineteenth century assemblage is the fact that so much refuse was allowed to accumulate so close to the house. The MNI for the faunal collections is small, suggesting a rapid or periodic waste disposal rather than sustained dumping. Food remains, coupled with the minimum level of fragmentation of the ceramic vessels, suggests that the area served no other purpose than an area for refuse disposal. African-Americans who swept the shale bedrock floor clean for so many generations were no longer maintaining the property. It is possible that the last tenants of the house had little interest in maintaining the grounds. All of this changed with the return of the Adams family.

The general lack of third quarter of the nineteenth century artifacts suggests that the wooden floor was installed over the bedrock and debris shortly after the Adams family moved

back into the house in the early 1850s. The construction materials used in the floor itself are telling. First, at least one of the floor joists appears to have been taken from the jambless fireplace that was located on the north wall of the basement. Bricks used as a sill for the addition floor may have also been robbed out of this fireplace. If this hypothesis is correct, then the movement of the kitchen to the upstairs occurred in the 1850s, erasing the spatial segregation that the Van Schaick family had maintained for 60 years.

Conclusions: Heritage Reconfigured

There are two prominent ruptures in trajectory of the Van Schaick Island narrative, and these breaks can be framed as crises in controlling the privileged heritage storyline. The first crisis happened when Goosen Gerritse van Schaick and Philip Schuyler wrested the island from the Mohican people in 1664. At that time the Van Schaick "homestead" was added

to Mohican ancestral "homeland" creating two competing heritage claims. The island became known as Adam's Island for a brief time during the latter nineteenth century but the moniker "Van Schaick" was eventually revived and exists to the present date. The second historical crisis happened between the late 1820s and early 1830s with the deaths of Gerard, Henry, and several other Van Schaick family members. These deaths left the ownership of the island to the minor children of Henry and Gerard. Administrator and guardian John Holme handled much of the affairs of the island while the children grew to adulthood. Most importantly, these children had all been placed in various boarding arrangements off the island by the late 1830s. The exodus of the Van Schaick children from the island perhaps served to diminish the sentiment for the island as the Van Schaick family homestead. Only three of the 26 marked graves in the family cemetery occur after the Adams family purchased the south end in 1852, and no one was buried there after 1855.

Table 4. Household Possessions Recovered from Units 5, 6, and 7 inside the Rear Addition

Class	Description	Count
Dining	Refined Tableware	45
	Spoon	2
Drinking		
	Bottle glass	73
	Refined Teaware	19
Storage		
	Coarse vessels	6
	Jar	4
Smoking	Can Lid	1
	Tobacco Pipe	4
Clothing		
	Button	9
	Buckle, Iron	2
	Clothing fastener	1
	Scissors	1
	Straight pin	1
	Leather fragment	1
Furnishings		
	Furniture Hardware	4
	Lamp chimney	11
Other	Mica Stove window	1
	Coin	2
	Gun Frizzen	1
	Key, Iron	1
	Musket ball	1

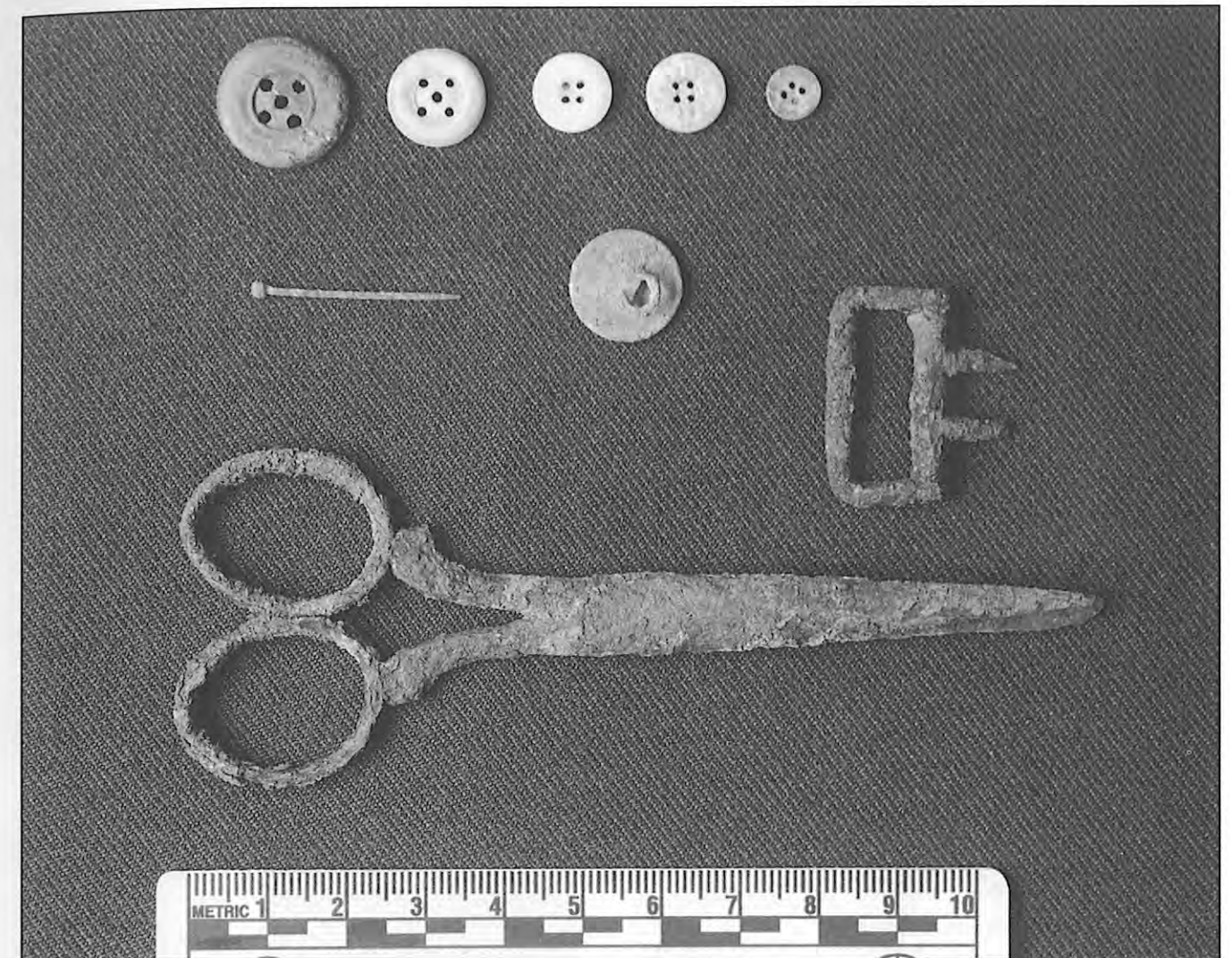


Figure 11. Clothing-related Objects Recovered Beneath the Wooden Floor of the Rear Addition. Top, L to R: Bone, Glass, and Shell Buttons; Middle, L to R: Straight Pin, Copper Shank Button, Iron Buckle; Bottom: Scissors. Photo by Kristin O'Connell.

The abandonment of the family graveyard was perhaps a sign of the waning use of private cemeteries, but it also signals the end of the island as the Van Schaick personal estate. This disconnection was heightened by a prolonged subdivision of the island starting during the 1870s. William and Arraminta Adams purchased the north side of the island from Catherine van Schaick Baldwin in 1875 and began rapidly selling off lots the following year (ALR 1875 259:496). This mass divestment changed the island from a private farm to a suburb, making its previous landscape unrecognizable today.

Commercial and residential development has obliterated some, but not all, of the archaeological record of the island's past. Geophysical testing, coupled with archaeological excavations completed between 2016 and 2018, were unable to locate the remains of a structure lying to the south of the 1760s house or other outbuildings on what remains of the Van Schaick property, but the archaeological and historical research did result in some important insights about the property. First, the

earliest artifacts from the excavations indicate an occupation no earlier than the 1750s. The historical record supports this conclusion. Second, only one Native American artifact was recovered from the excavations and the only sediments dating earlier than the mid-eighteenth century were located in a single unit near the historic cemetery. No artifacts were recovered from these earliest sediments. Third, the primary yard midden was located in a formerly wet area just south of the house and dates from the mid eighteenth through early nineteenth centuries, capped by a late-nineteenth to twentieth century coal clinker and clay layer. Fourth, the vegetable garden was located by geophysical testing directly behind the house to the west. Unfortunately we were unable to determine the date of construction and use of the garden. The historical record suggests that the primary vegetable garden was located along the river just to the south of the ca. 1760 house.

Units placed under the floorboards of the rear addition yielded an assemblage of domestic artifacts dating from the



Figure 12. Personal Objects Recovered Beneath the Wooden Floor of the Rear Addition. Top: Iron and Brass Keys; Middle, L to R: Brass Escutcheon Plate; Clay Tobacco Pipe Bowl; Bottom, L to R: 1830 Large Cent and 1888 Penny. Photo by Kristin O'Connell.

period when the house was likely occupied by tenants. The types of food consumed, the dishes used, and household activities such as sewing are represented in the assemblage. Yet, how this area was used is perhaps more instructive than the material culture itself. The archaeological record suggests that the rear of the house contained an open lean-to addition during the Van Schaick occupation of the house, with the bedrock floor serving as a base. Goods could be unloaded through the backdoor and non-perishable goods could be stored on the bedrock under the shelter of the addition. The archaeology suggests that this area remained without a floor until the Adams family moved back into the house in 1852. The debris uncovered under the floorboards represents a short time period when the addition was not being used for storage, and garbage was thus allowed to accumulate. This was also a time when there was still a kitchen in the basement floor.

The Adams owner-occupation of the house beginning in 1852 marks a physical departure from the privileged lifestyle the Van Schaick family enjoyed. African-Americans supplied the labor to manage the Van Schaick household. There is no evidence that white laborers were used as domestic servants at

any point before 1830. As late as 1820, the mentally, and perhaps physically, incapacitated John G. van Schaick was cared for by an elderly African-American man and woman (U.S. Census 1820). Perhaps these servants were a couple, and two of the five individuals held as slaves by the Van Schaick family a decade earlier. African-Americans never served subsequent owners, or lived in the Van Schaick house after the 1820s. The Van Schaick family relied on African-Americans to maintain the household for 60 years and there was a clear separation between household spaces. Meals were prepared by enslaved African-Americans in the basement. The basement also most likely served as a primary living space for generations of enslaved people brought to Van Schaick Island.

Without servants and the need to maintain racially demarcated spatial boundaries, the removal of the basement cooking hearth would have been a logical re-modeling step. The Adams family were by no means impoverished, but they did not enjoy the dynastic wealth and privilege of the Van Schaick family. Most importantly, the heritage of their family was not tied to the island, and when they acquired the remaining portion of the island from Catherine van Schaick Baldwin,

they cashed in on their good fortune. Anthony Van Schaick's 1737 will stipulated that the island should remain within the Van Schaick family. This request held for nearly 200 years until a series of sudden deaths culminated in the disintegration of the island as the physical manifestation of Van Schaick family heritage.

Today, the island is viewed by the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans as part of their sacred ancestral homeland. At the same time the Peter Gansevort Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution celebrate the colonial heritage of the site and its direct connection to the American Revolution. These competing heritage claims play out on a landscape that has been nearly entirely developed into a modern suburb. At the same time these heritage claims fail to acknowledge the history of economic and racial privilege sustained by the control and commodification of the island by the Van Schaick family. In the future, the Van Schaick Mansion may be reconfigured as a heritage site that acknowledges the consequences of privilege that the Van Schaick family enjoyed.

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The “Dismembered” 1757 Fort William Henry Shipwreck

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One of the defining events of the French & Indian War (1755-1763) was the August 1757 French destruction of Fort William Henry on the shore of Lake George in New York (Figure 1). Six months earlier, in March 1757, a French and indigenous peoples expeditionary force attacked the British fortification during a little-known battle of that conflict. However, the French-directed army failed to overrun the fort. Nevertheless, before retreating, the enemy burned the outer buildings, a few sloops, and hundreds of bateaux (Bellico 2001:37-56). Nearly a century-and-a-half later, in 1903, a local businessman raised one of those sunken sloops. Following its recovery, the historic warship was unceremoniously cut up and those fragments were sold as souvenirs. This article reports on the history of the sunken sloop, the story of repurposed artifacts fashioned from fragments of the warship, the archaeological recording of surviving vessel timbers, and a study of 1903 photographs of the recovered watercraft.

The March 1757 Raid on Fort William Henry

On March 15, 1757, a column of 1,200 French and Canadian troops along with 400 indigenous peoples departed Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) in the Champlain Valley to attack Fort William Henry. In command was Francois-Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. The soldiers were equipped with “Iron Creepers” to traverse the iced-over waterway. On the night of March 19, they struck the garrison (Bellico 2010:100).

The British outpost consisted of 346 healthy men and 128 invalid soldiers. Vaudreuil hoped to surprise the British, but a sentry heard noises. The attackers began burning British sloops and bateaux as well as nearby storehouses (Bellico 1995:51). For several days the siege continued, but eventually the invaders abandoned the fight. Casualties on both sides were minimal. Nonetheless, all outside structures were torched and 300 bateaux on shore and four sloops were set ablaze (Figure 2). A British officer later noted that “two of the Old Sloops” survived. One of the scorched and sunken sloops was “pierced for 16 guns” and had been on its stocks (Bellico 2001:39-41). Several months later in August 1757, a more formidable French, Canadian, and Native American force destroyed Fort William Henry. That event was immortalized in the 1826 novel, *The Last of the Mohicans*, by James Fenimore Cooper (Starbuck 2002:15).



Figure 1. Map showing the location of Lake George, New York (credit: Joseph W. Zarzynski).

The Colonial Armed Sloop

The colonial sloop was one of the most common sailing watercrafts of its era. These vessels were originally of Dutch design, but they were copied by the English (Goldenberg 1776:39). Generally, sloops of this period had a single mast, rigged with fore-and-aft sails, and were about 25 to 70 tons, their cargo-carrying volume (Chapelle 1935:11). The colonial sloop had a single main deck that sometimes included a quarter-deck, a raised aft deck. Traditionally, an 18th century British sloop-of-war (Figure 3) carried fewer than 18 cannons (Chapelle 1935:52-53).

The most prevalent warships on Lake George during the French & Indian War were bateaux (Figure 4) and, to a much lesser extent, whaleboats, row galleys, some sloops, and a few floating batteries called radeaux (Zarzynski 2002:77).



Figure 2. Computer-generated image depicting the March 1757 French raid on Fort William Henry (credit: John Whitesel & Pepe Productions).

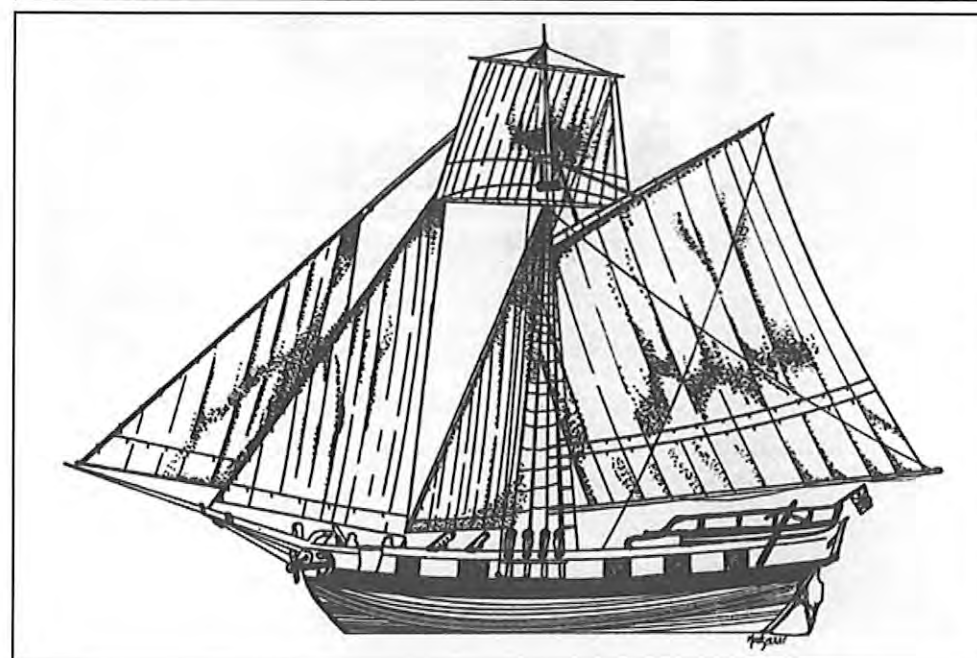


Figure 3. Drawing depicting a British naval sloop that was on Lake George during the French & Indian War (credit: Montserrat Centeno; courtesy Dr. Russell P. Bellico).

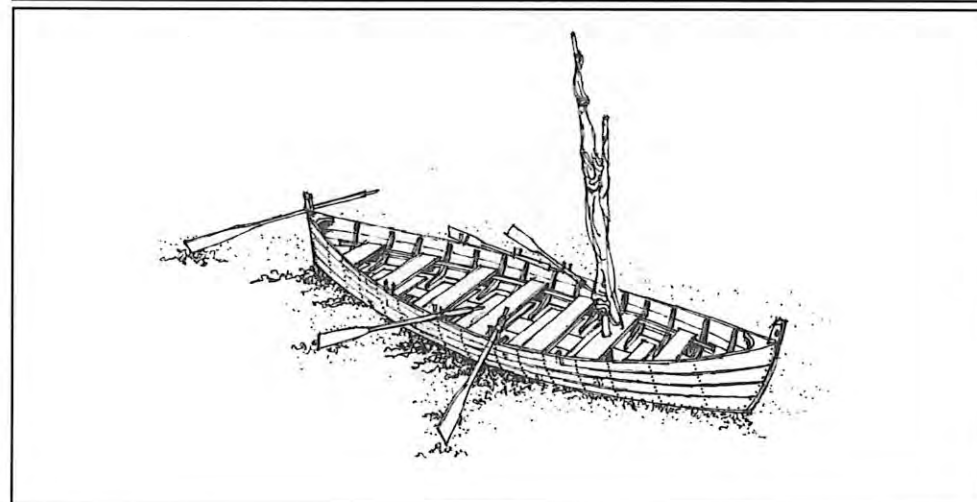


Figure 4. Drawing depicting a typical colonial bateau watercraft (credit: Mark Peckham).

1903: A 1757 Sloop Is Raised from Lake George

In 1892, the New York State Legislature granted permission to Alexander J. Howell, a New York City businessman, to raise at his own expense any sunken vessels in Lake George that sank prior to 1776 (*Geneva Gazette* 1892). Earlier in his career, Howell's business provided the concrete and masonry for the Statue of Liberty pedestal (*New York Daily Tribune* 1904). Howell's shipwreck-recovery authorization was in place through 1893. He desired to exhibit one or more vessels at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair (*Albany Morning Express* 1892). However, Howell did not know the locations of any of the shipwrecks and his enthusiasm for the venture soon dwindled (*Rome Daily Sentinel* 1892).

When Howell's permission was voided at the end of 1893, William S. Tuttle, a Glens Falls, New York, entrepreneur, persuaded the state legislature to grant him the rights to recover sunken colonial warships from Lake George (*The Morning Star* 1894). Legislative authorization was re-approved several times over the next decade (Padeni 2001:18-19). Tuttle believed that some shipwrecks held treasure (*Buffalo Courier* 1903). Two stipulations applied to Tuttle's proposed salvage. First, he had to pay all expenses. Second, any recovered shipwrecks had to be pre-1776 (*The Warrensburgh News* 1899).

It was general knowledge in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that Lake George held many French & Indian War shipwrecks (Zarzynski 2002:77-78). In 1891, the Chatham Courier newspaper reported that a "blackened wreck...about forty feet long" could be seen in shallow water off Fort William Henry Hotel. That news story noted that in 1820, "two small cannons" had been retrieved from the submerged battle craft

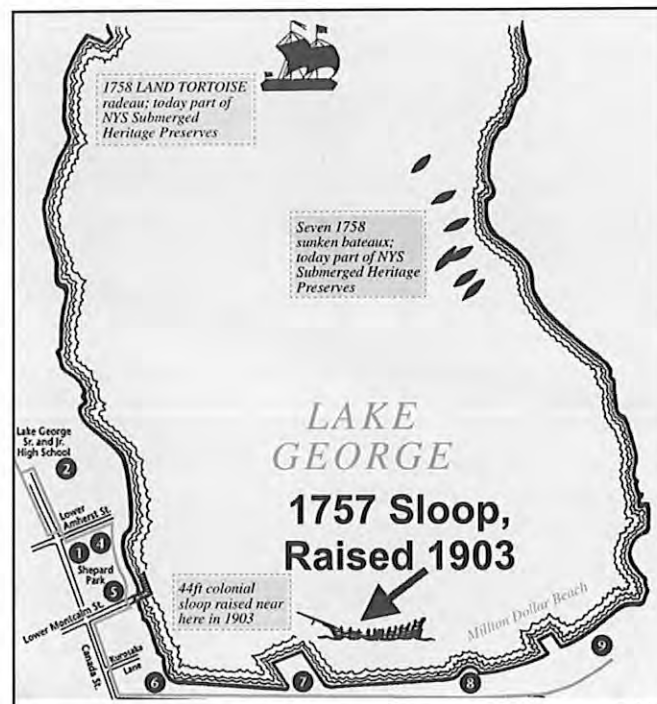
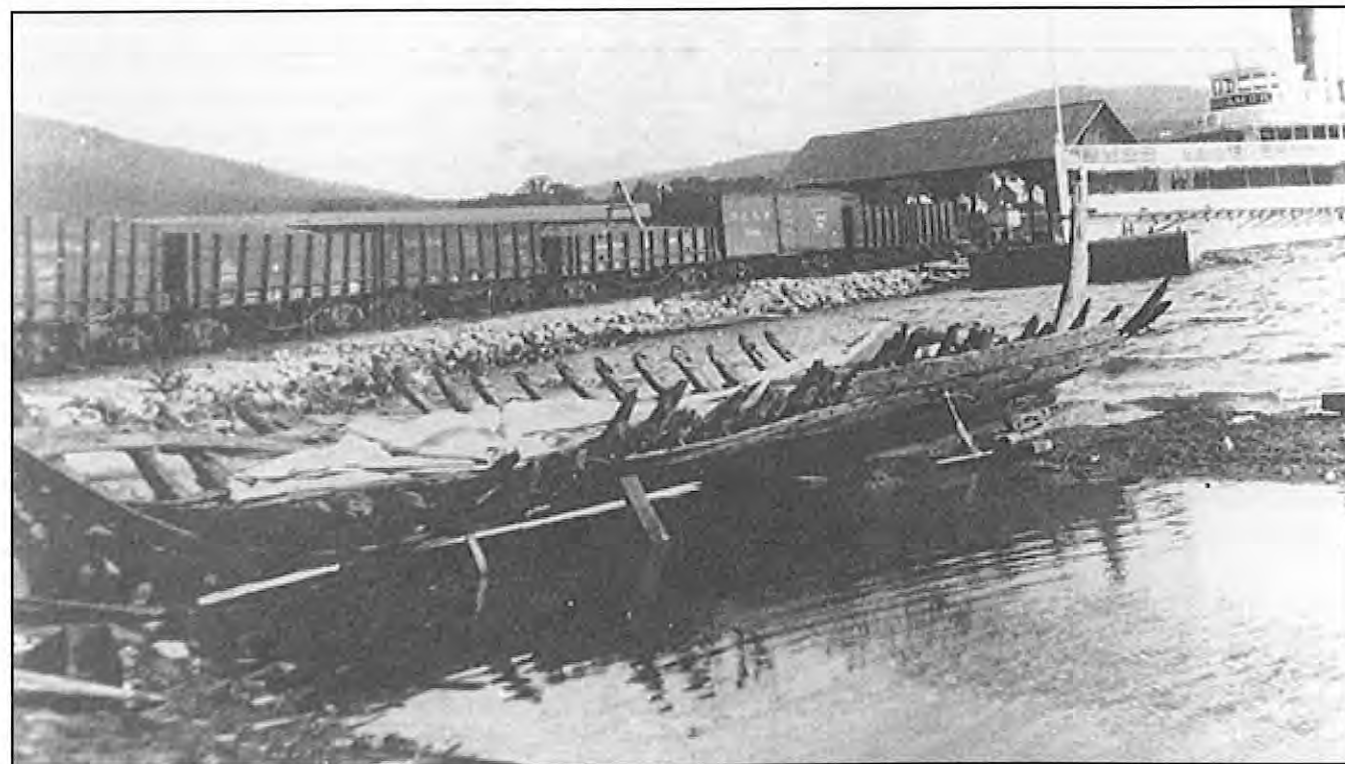


Figure 5 (above). A section of a walking tour map annotated to show the location where the 1757 British sloop shipwreck was raised from Lake George in 1903 (credit: Tim Cordell, Bateaux Below, and Lake George Battlefield Park (Fort George) Alliance).

Figure 6 (below). The 1757-sunk 1903-raised British sloop shortly after recovered from Lake George in July 1903 (credit: Joseph W. Zarzynski Collection).



(*Chatham Courier* 1891).

The sunken vessel rested off the Delaware & Hudson Company's pier in about 20 feet of water (Figure 5). Preparation for its recovery began in 1902. A hardhat diver removed 10 tons of cobble that had served as ballast. Finally, in early July 1903, Delaware & Hudson Company train engine 444 hauled the submerged sloop (Figure 6) onto shore (*Brooklyn Standard Union* 1903).

The Vessel

Early 20th century boat builders who observed the wooden juggernaut called it "a staunch craft" and "in an excellent state of preservation" (*Brooklyn Standard Union* 1903). The vessel was described as a "sailing craft" pointed at bow and stern, with white oak boards (planks) and black oak frames. Some ends of the oak frames were charred from the watercraft having burned to the water's edge (Bellico 2001:77). The hull measured 44 ft long, 14 ft wide, and 7 ft deep (*Brooklyn Standard Union* 1903). However, it is not known if this length measurement was recorded along the keel or as the overall hull length. Nevertheless, we can roughly approximate the vessel's length-to-breadth ratio as 3.14 to 1. Eighteenth century sailing vessels generally had a length-breadth ratio of between 3 and 4 to 1 (Riess and Smith 2015:6). Moreover, the width measurement of the 1903-raised sloop was of a vessel whose hull was distorted since it underwent its shipwreck formation processes.

The artifacts discovered inside the sloop provide insight into the lives of those aboard this colonial warship. The material culture included pewter spoons, smoking pipes, buttons, buckles, and a 1743 Spanish coin (Bellico 2001:77). It was not uncommon at this time for Spanish coins to be used by British soldiers, sailors, and non-military people. There were militaria artifacts aboard, too—a peck load of musket balls and approximately 50 cannon balls and grape shot (*Brooklyn Standard Union* 1903).

Following the warship's 1903 recovery, it was moved to nearby Fort William Henry Park for public viewing (*St. Lawrence Herald* 1903). It is uncertain if the ancient sloop was completely dismembered or if some hull structure was retained. In June 1920, *The Warrensburgh News* reported that an old abandoned vessel on shore was "removed and burned" during a beach cleanup (*The Warrensburgh News* 1920). Could this have been what remained of the 1757 wreck?

Hull Timbers Repurposed

Some timbers from this warship were repurposed. In 1916, O.M. Smith donated a pair of wooden gavels to an area Independent Order of Odd Fellows lodge. Today, the two gavels (Figure 7) are exhibited in the Warrenburgh [archaic spelling] Museum of Local History in Warrensburg, New York (Zarzynski 2014a:4-6).

In November 1916, the Lake George Lodge of Odd Fel-

lows presented visiting members of the St. Paul's Lodge of Odd Fellows from Schenectady, New York, with a gavel. It was fashioned from "wood of the war boats which were sunk in Lake George during the French and Indian war [sic]" (*The Saratogian* 1916).

On April 10, 1919, *The Saratogian* newspaper announced that Saratoga Springs, New York, resident W.L. Adey, a professional woodworker, had crafted two candlesticks and a clock "from timbers from a sloop" destroyed during Vaudreuil's 1757 raid. Adey's handicraft was then exhibited in a jewelry store in the "Spa City" (*The Saratogian* 1919). Unfortunately, W.L. Adey's artifacts have disappeared from the literature record (Post 2016:3).

On May 16, 1935, sixteen years after Adey shaped his wooden objects, *The Warrensburg News* reported that Beulah Brown donated a wooden gavel to the Order of the Eastern Star of Glens Falls. The donor's late father, Delbert Brown, made the gavel from a timber of the 1757 sloop (*The Warrensburg News* 1935).



Figure 7. Two gavels carved from hull timbers from the 1757-sunk 1903-raised sloop that are exhibited in the Warrenburgh Museum of Local History (credit: Joseph W. Zarzynski).

Hull Timbers in Museums

Fortunately, several timbers from the March 1757 sloop have survived and are in regional museums. Replica Fort William Henry opened in 1954. In its early years, three frame pieces from the historic sloop were acquired. An arsonist's fire at the replica fort in 1967 destroyed many of the facility's records and thus we are not sure when these hull timbers were received and from whom (Zarzynski 2014b). Luckily, the frames were not damaged in the 1967 blaze.

In the early 1990s, three other frame pieces were donated to the Lake George Historical Association (LGHA) in the Town of Lake George (Bellico 1992:5). Shortly afterwards, Bateaux Below's John Farrell completed drawings of two of them (Figure 8).

Figure 8 (right). Drawing of a 58 1/2 in long frame fragment from the 1757-sunk 1903-raised British sloop located in the Lake George Historical Association (credit: John Farrell/Bateaux Below).

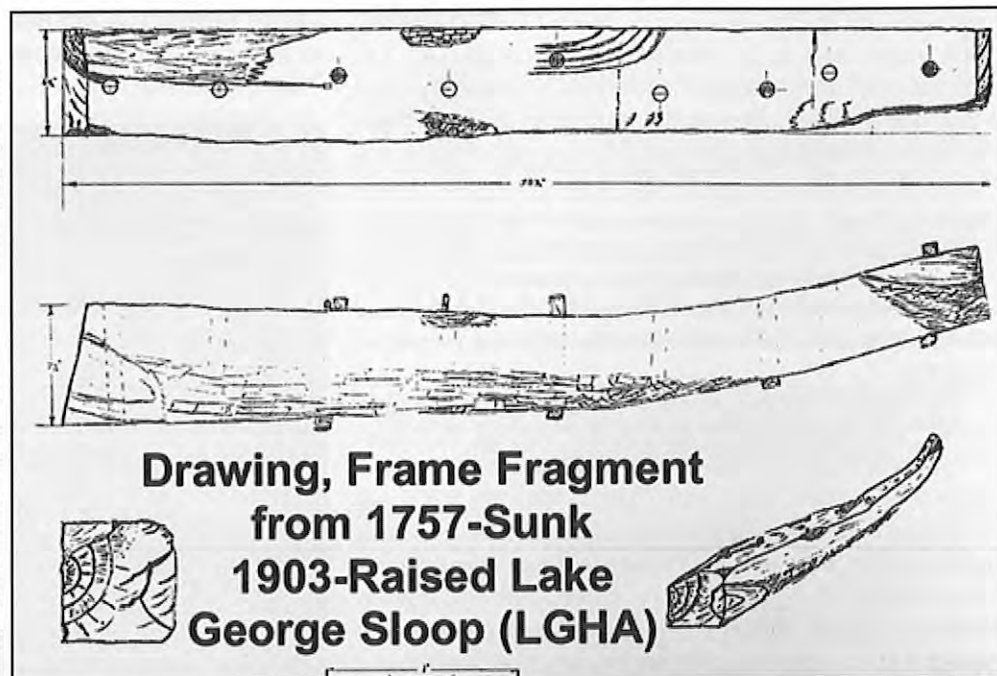


Figure 9 (below). From the John Lefner Collection, three of nine hull timbers from the 1757 Lake George sloop. Note how these were cut up for souvenirs; most appear to have been more recently sawn. Scale rod, 4 ft long with 1 ft segments (credit: Joseph W. Zarzynski).



In 2008, John Lefner, a Cleverdale, New York, real estate agent and antique collector, donated nine wooden fragments from the 1757 sloop to the State Museum in Albany (Figure 9).

1903 Photographs of the March 1757 Sloop

Several photographs of the 1757 wooden warship have survived (Figure 10). These images were taken on or around July 4, 1903, reportedly just two days after the shipwreck was raised from the lake (*Brooklyn Daily Standard Union* 1903). In late 2016, Brigid Shaw, an archaeologist and photographic specialist, initiated both an analysis of six of these photographs and a project to create a digital model of the shipwreck. During this endeavor, a seventh 1903 photograph was located, but it was not included in the computer study. It is believed that most,



Figure 10. One of the 1903 photographs of the 1757 British sloop shortly after raised from Lake George. Note the intact stern assembly (see left) and the British flag at the stern (see right) placed on the warship for this photograph (credit: A.N. Thompson; William L. Clements Library/University of Michigan).

if not all, six images were acquired by photographer A.N. Thompson, and they were shot from various angles around the sloop.

These six photographs were utilized to create a 3-dimensional model of the shipwreck as it was photographed shortly after raised. The images were first processed in Photoshop to lighten dark shadows, resolve details, and decrease noise wherever possible. The photos were then manually point-matched and processed with insight3d, free photogrammetry software, to create a basic 3D pointcloud (aka point cloud) of the sailing ship. Although six photographic angles are an insufficient amount of data for a 3d modeling algorithm to create a full model, the photographs provided enough data to create a skeleton on which to build.

The pointcloud from insight3d was imported into Blender, an open-source 3D graphics program. Photo angles for each of the six photographs were matched with these points (Figure 11). Finally, the 3D model of the sloop was fleshed out using the six camera angles to match planks and timbers in each of the photographs and individually model each piece of the recovered British warship.

Because we cannot know the details of the conditions

the photographs were taken under -- camera size, lens focal length, and position of the camera in relation to the watercraft -- this model can only be an approximation of the actual sloop's dimensions (Figure 12). Comparing the final dimensions of the digital model to the measured dimensions of the sloop (14 ft wide, 44 ft long, 7 ft deep) gives an error rate for measurements of $\pm 10\%$.

What the Archaeology Tells Us

Based upon an analysis of the surviving 1903 photographs of the 1757 British sloop and the 3D computer modeling, several details about the vessel's construction can be offered. First, from the known dimensions of the hull and from its appearance, this probably was a 30- to 40-ton sloop, that is, the vessel's overall internal volume. According to Dr. Russell P. Bellico, an eminent Lake George maritime and military historian, this may have been the 1756-built *Earl of Loudoun* (Bellico 2016).

It is likely the warship lost its mast and rigging during the March 1757 raid. When raised in 1903, its deck was gone. Because of the intense fire that destroyed the sloop's upper works in March 1757, we cannot accurately recreate the curvature of

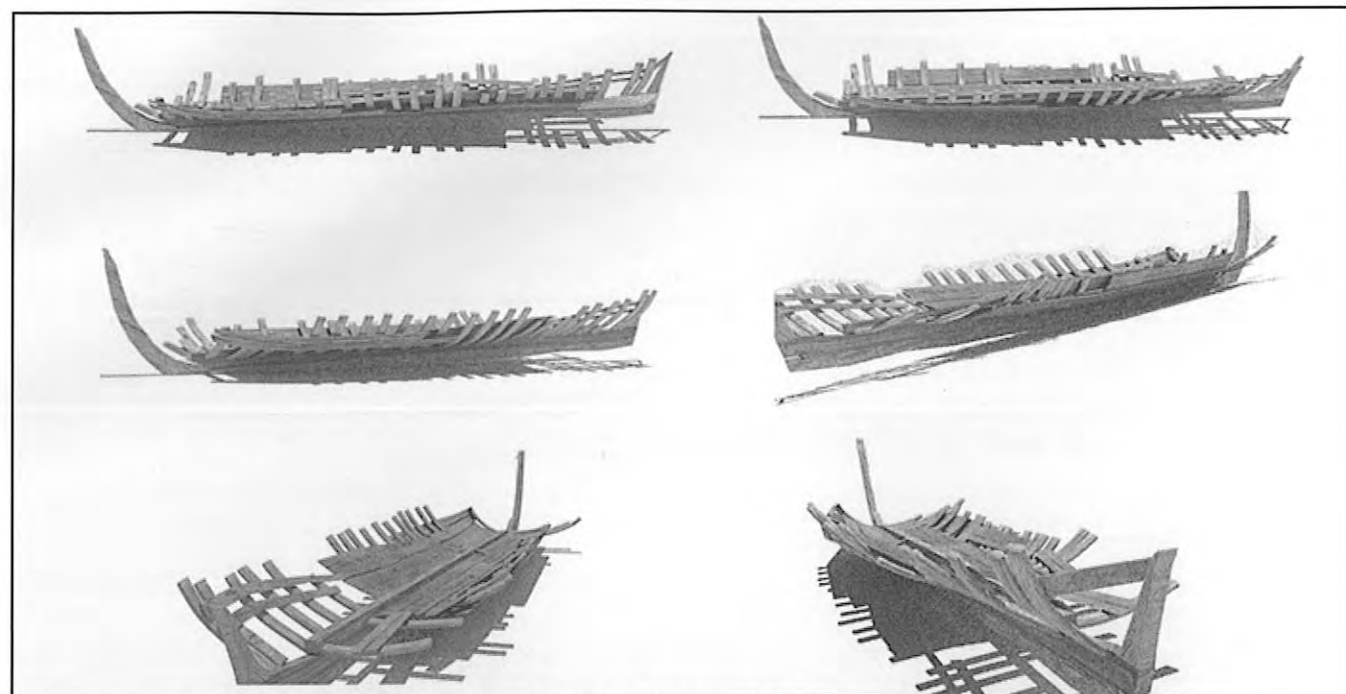


Figure 11. Six computer-generated images of the 1757-sunk 1903-raised sloop created by Brigid Shaw using photogrammetry techniques and Blender 3D software (credit: Brigid Shaw).

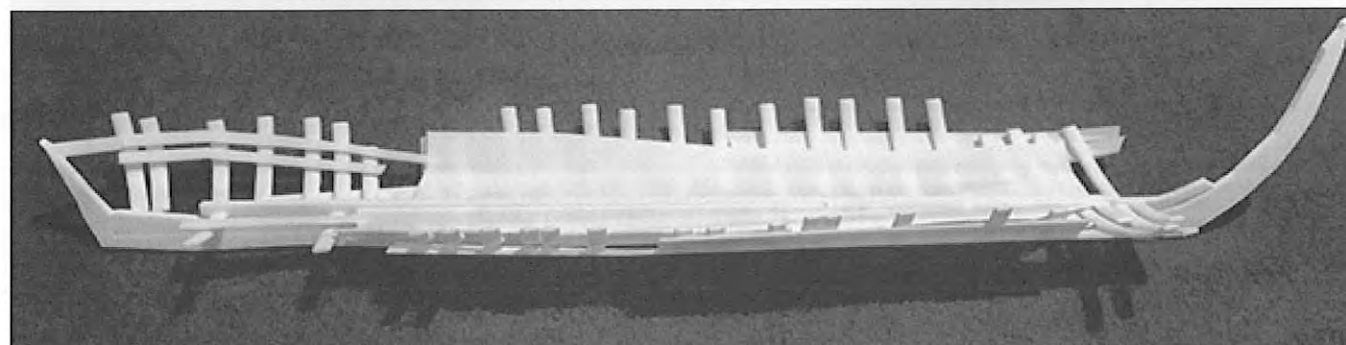


Figure 12. This 3-D model of the 1757-sunk 1903-raised British sloop was first created by photogrammetry computer technology and then produced using industrial quality 3-D printing (credit: Brigid Shaw).

Figure 13. A 1903 photograph showing the stern (see foreground) and bow (see background) of the March 1757-sunk British sloop (credit: A.N. Thompson; Joseph W. Zarzynski Collection).



Figure 14. Sloop Timber A from the Fort William Henry Museum collection. Note the spikes (metal fasteners) "standing proud" that were used to attach strakes (aka hull planks) to this frame component (credit: Joseph W. Zarzynski).

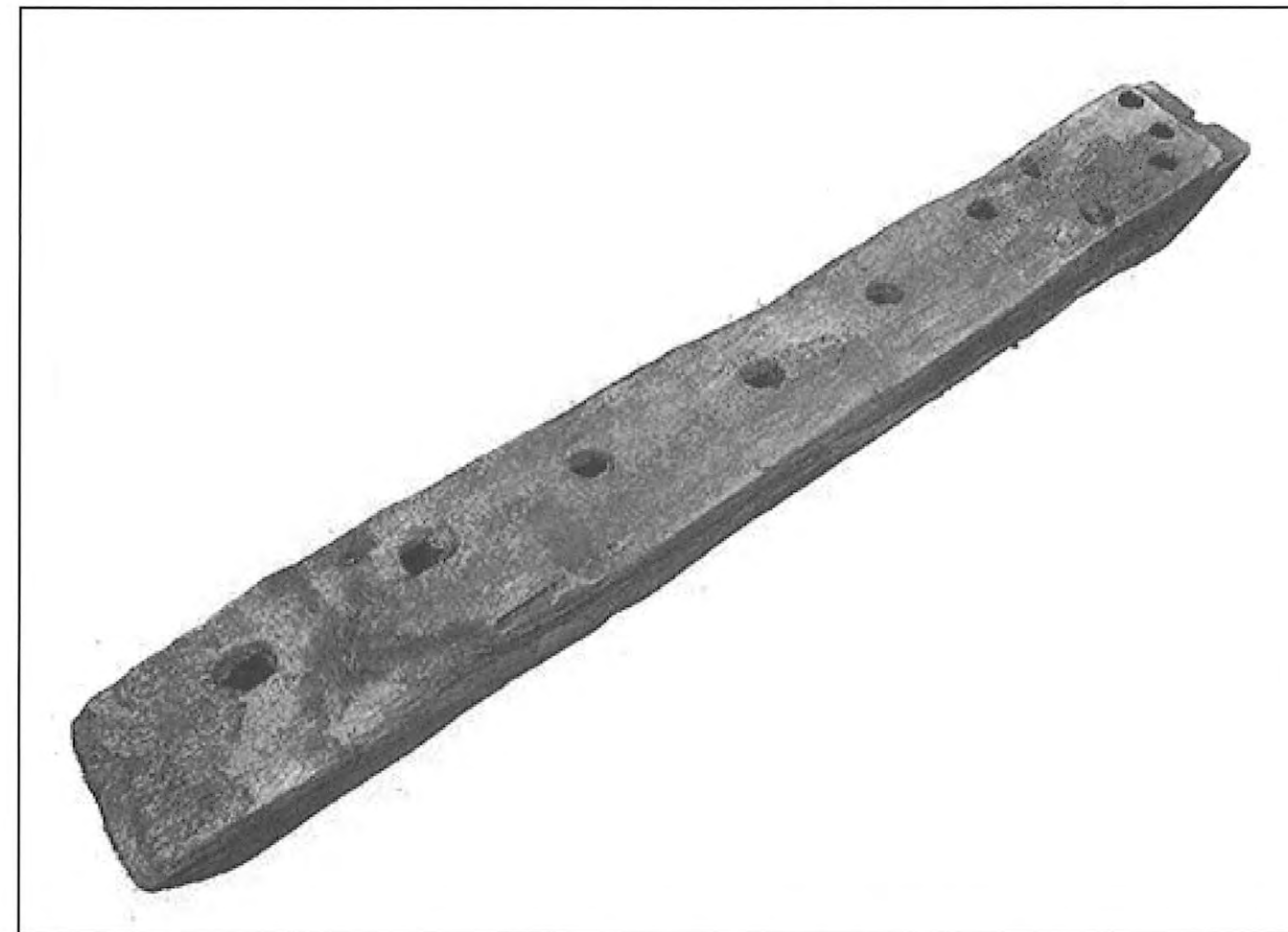


Figure 15. Sloop Timber B from the Fort William Henry Museum collection. This image was created by Ithaca College's Dr. Michael "Bodhi" Rogers using an Artec structured light 3-D scanner (credit: Dr. Michael "Bodhi" Rogers/Ithaca College).

the hull's sheer or the shape of its transom. One of the 1903 images showed the rudder missing (Figure 13), possibly removed during salvage attempts over the years. No cannons or swivel guns were visible in any of the 1903 photographs, and none were recorded as being present following the early 20th century raising of the colonial warship.

Essentially, the lower half of the hull was present after the British warship's 1903 recovery. Due to its rather short length, 44 ft, the vessel's keel most likely was cut from a single piece of oaken timber, two timbers at the most. This was the case with the 1759 *Boscawen*, a British sloop on Lake Champlain excavated by the Champlain Maritime Society beginning in 1984 (Cohn 1985:337-356 and Crisman 1985:357). Further, the 1757 British sloop probably had no false keel or "shoe," a timber or timbers sometimes attached to the bottom of a vessel's keel for protection during grounding.

Some of the hull's ceiling planks, the interior boards that covered the frames, were still intact. Along the keel was the mast step and its set of crutch braces that prevented the mast step from moving laterally. Mounted on top of the floor timbers over the keel was the keelson, a longitudinal support. Because camera angles of the 1903 photographs did not show some parts of the sloop and also due to the lack of high-resolution photographs, it is not possible to ascertain if the surviving keelson is a single piece of wood or multiple pieces. If the latter, the keelson would probably have been scarfed together, overlapping joinery, to connect the two timbers.

Some of the external hull planks, known as strakes, were still attached to the lower hull frames. Spikes were used to attach the ceiling planks and strakes to the frames. Because several spikes are still attached to one of the surviving frames, it indicates the possible thickness of the strakes were about 1 1/4 to 1 1/2 in (Figure 14). However, by 1903, the sloop's hull form had collapsed somewhat as the frames and fasteners were failing during decades underwater.

In the bow, the sloop had a raked stem, that is, it was inclined beyond the forward end of the keel. The stem assembly looks in the photographs to have been intact and appears to have been fashioned of multiple pieces of wood. These traditionally would have been the outer stem, the stempost, and an apron, the latter a section of internal wood that acted to reinforce the stem assembly.

From an examination of the 1903 photographs, no ballast stones were observed inside the hull. Ballast stones were placed inside the hold of a vessel to lower the center of gravity. The ballast was reportedly removed during the hardhat diving operations that prepared the sunken watercraft for recovery from the shallows of the lake in 1903.

Moreover, it is difficult to ascertain if there were any building shortcuts, sometimes undertaken during vessel construction on inland waterways during the colonial wars. Shipwrights and carpenters who worked on this craft undertook the formidable task of drilling hundreds of holes into the sloop's frames (Figure 15). Those floor timbers and futtocks, the component pieces of the frames, then received wooden

pegs called trunnels (aka treenails). On this sloop, the diameters of the trunnels measured about 1 1/8 in.

The finished floor timbers and futtocks indicate significant attention was exercised in building this armed sloop. The three surviving frame timber fragments in the Fort William Henry Museum collection, designated A, B, and C, varied somewhat in their sided dimensions, that is the measurement across the length, and their molded dimensions, that is, their height. Timber A measured 4 ft 9 7/8 in as its length and was 7 1/2 in sided and 7 1/4 in molded. Timber B measured 4 ft 8 in as its length and was 5 3/4 in sided and 7 7/8 in molded. Timber C measured 4 ft 10 in as its length and was 7 1/2 in sided and 7 5/8 in molded.

Some tool marks, probably from one or more shipbuilding tools, such as saws, adzes, axes, draw knives, and even mallets, are remarkably still visible on the hull timbers. This naval sloop appears to not be the work of novice boat builders.

Surprisingly, the three surviving frame timbers in the Fort William Henry collection that were cut for souvenirs in 1903 were of nearly identical lengths. These oak pieces ranged in length from 4 ft 8 in to 4 ft 11 in. This suggests that if these hull timbers were indeed cut up in 1903, the frames were not sawed to become small palm-sized collectibles for tourists and others. Rather, these longish segments may have been intended for woodworkers to repurpose into functional objects like gavels, candlesticks, clock cases, canes, furniture, and other items.

Conclusion

Lake George's March 1757 sloop, recovered from the waterway in July 1903, had not undergone rapid decay in its underwater grave of 146 years, which may be credited to the preservative freshwater conditions, the competence of its shipbuilders, and the quality of the structural materials used. Though a mid-18th century shipwreck was pulled from Lake George in 1903, our study revealed that for a vessel constructed at a provisional frontier shipyard and possibly hurriedly built, this was nevertheless a rather sturdy warship to patrol a strategic inland waterway.

Acknowledgements

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Rediscovery and Analysis of Copper Beads from Three Iroquoian Sites in Jefferson County, New York

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James W. Bradley, ArchLink
Jessica Vavrsek, New York State Museum
and Lisa Anderson, New York State Museum

In his Antiquities of Onondaga, Vol. 9, William Beauchamp documented four rolled copper beads from Iroquoian contexts in Jefferson County, New York. He described most of these beads as either "European" or "likely European." To date, there has been no verifiable association of European-derived artifacts from any Iroquoian component in Jefferson or St. Lawrence Counties. If these beads could be analyzed and verified, the documentation of European-derived artifacts from these two late precontact Iroquoian village sites would be a significant contribution to our study of chronology for northern New York. However, the recent rediscovery of these and other probable Iroquoian-provenienced beads in the New York State Museum collections, and their subsequent analysis, shows conclusively that they are fashioned of native copper. The analysis documents the first precontact copper artifacts from Iroquoian contexts in the region, evincing their participation in the "New Copper" trade network throughout the Great Lakes. It remains the case that there are no good associations of European artifacts with the Iroquoian occupations of northern New York.

Introduction

In his *Antiquities of Onondaga*, Vol. 9, William Beauchamp described three rolled copper beads from the Dry Hill/Morse site (#1011, 1012 and 1540) and one from the Gregg/Burrville site (#511) (Beauchamp 1896-1904). He described the Gregg site bead as "European," while two of the Morse site beads he described as "no doubt European." Of the other he simply said, "hard to say." He made his trademark drawings of four of the beads and listed measurements for one. No further provenience data was documented.

To date, there has been no verifiable good association of European-derived artifacts from any Iroquoian component in Jefferson or St. Lawrence Counties. If these beads could be analyzed and verified, the documentation of European-derived artifacts from these two late precontact Iroquoian village sites would be a significant contribution to our study of the chronology for northern New York. But where were the beads now?

Based on Beauchamp's descriptions, they came from the Loveland and Oatman collections. Robert Loveland (Quick 2002) and Charles Oatman were amateur archaeologists who

excavated extensively on sites throughout Jefferson County during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. After the New York State Museum fire of 1911, both sold most of their collections to the museum.

A search of the museum's catalog, however, showed no such items present in the collection. There was a possibility that the items may be laying in a drawer, their proveniences since lost. Jessica Vavrsek, a Dissertation Research Fellow at the museum and the one most familiar with the Jefferson County collections, was sure they were not in the Jefferson County drawers. Another possibility yet existed that they may be in the museum's dry storage where metal collections are housed. Finding them in there, however, would be like looking for needles in haystacks.

On a day in March 2018, Abel and Vavrsek began searching. After opening a few cabinets, it became apparent that the objects were ordered by county. As it turned out, Jefferson didn't have much, and its metal objects were in a mixed drawer with neighboring counties in the alphabet. But, in two small boxes were five rolled copper beads marked "Jefferson County, unknown township."

A check of the catalog numbers confirmed that they had come from the Loveland and Oatman collections. We compared them to Beauchamp's documentation and to Oatman's own hand-written inventory. The measurements for #1012 and the drawing for #1540 matched perfectly with NYSM cat 20529. The drawing of #1011 matched one of the beads from NYSM cat 27393. The two remaining beads from cat 27393 were matches for beads described by Oatman's notes as being from Morse and Goodenough. We concluded that these were the beads we were looking for.

The Morse Site

The Morse site, also known as Dry Hill, Cronk, Spies and UB 472 (Engelbrecht et al. 1990), was first documented by Ephraim Squier (1849:19-20). At the time, he surveyed a perimeter earthwork enclosing 3.2 ha and noted burials just outside of it to the north. The site was excavated extensively by both Loveland and Oatman for many years, whose collections Beauchamp documented in his *Antiquities of Onondaga*.

Robert Weber found the site again as part of a survey in

1967 under Marian White (Weber 1968). This led to testing and excavations in 1968 and 1972, the details of which remain unpublished. William Engelbrecht analyzed ceramics from the various collections of the New York State Museum, Rochester Museum and Science Center, Buffalo State College, University of Buffalo and Jefferson County Historical Society in an attempt to seriate the site with others in the area (Engelbrecht 1995).

The site is in Jefferson County on the edge of Dry Hill, an upland plateau, overlooking the Lake Ontario plain to the west (Figure 1). It is proximate to wetlands to the south and west and lies within the headwaters of the Mill Creek watershed. There are several other known Iroquoian village sites in the area that are believed to form a village sequence referred to as the Dry Hill Cluster.

Newly obtained high-precision AMS radiocarbon dates on maize from the SUNY Buffalo excavations and faunal remains from NYSM collections have securely dated the site to the last decades of the 15th century (Abel et al. 2019). This placement would be highly problematic should the copper beads from the site prove to be of European origin.

The Goodenough Site

The Goodenough site is also known as Bolio, Ski Run and UB 471 (Engelbrecht et al. 1990). It was first visited and mapped by Squier (1849:20) as having an earthwork enclosing 0.3 ha. The site was collected by both Loveland and Oatman for years. This was also among the sites rediscovered by Weber (1968), and White conducted testing excavations here in 1966. It was also included in Engelbrecht's seriation analysis.

The site lies on a terrace of Dry Hill, just below the Tug Hill Plateau (Figure 1). It is at the headwaters of Stony Creek which runs at the base of Dry Hill. There are numerous swamps and springs nearby. This site is also part of the Dry Hill Cluster. There is one AMS date from the site that places it in the late 15th century.

The Burrville Site

The Burrville site, also known as Gregg, Burr Mills, Lampson, Helsinki, Gibbs and UB 476 (Engelbrecht et al. 1990), was first visited and described by Rev. John Taylor during his 1802 missionary tour through the North Country (Taylor 1850[1802]). It was first mapped by Squier (1849:21). His survey of the site documented an earthwork-enclosed plateau promontory occupying 1.4 ha. Burials were noted to the north just outside the enclosure.

It was extensively excavated by amateur archaeologists starting with Loveland and Oatman in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Digging continued with Boy Scouts into the 1970s. Beauchamp documented Oatman's collection in his *Antiquities*. Collections from the site exist at the Museum of the American Indian, New York State Museum and Jefferson County Historical Society. Engelbrecht made an analysis of ceramics from this site as well.

The site is on an upland promontory overlooking Staplin Creek, a tributary of the North Branch Sandy Creek (Figure 1). There are wetlands to the south and northeast. The Burrville site is part of the Rutland Hollow Cluster of villages. There are no radiocarbon dates from the site, but ceramic seriation estimates place it earlier than Morse, probably c. AD 1470.

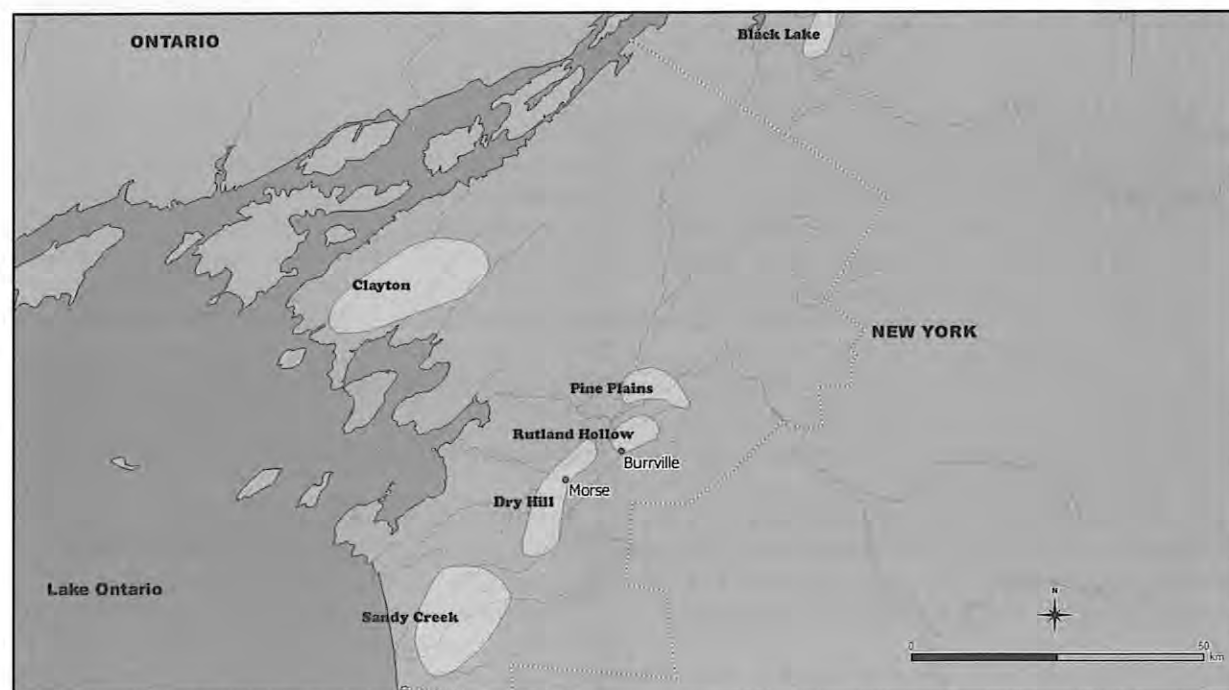


Figure 1. Locations of sites and Iroquoian village clusters in northern New York.



Figure 2. Beauchamp's *Antiquities* item #9-1012/1540. NYSM cat. no. 20529, Morse. Courtesy New York State Museum, Albany, N.Y.

The Beads

In March 2018, the authors made a detailed analysis of the beads, including metric, spectrographic and microscopic examinations. This resulted in detailed descriptions of each bead for size, manufacture and raw material attributes.

Bead 20529 (Figure 2) is a 2-ply rolled sheet O-type tubular copper bead (Figure 3), 71 mm in length and 7 mm in diameter. It matches the measurements Beauchamp gives for #1012 and the drawing for #1540. Based on these descriptions, this bead is from the Morse site. More precise provenience is unavailable.

Bead 27393-1 (Figure 4A) is a rolled sheet O-type tubular copper bead 26 mm long and 7 mm diameter (Figure 5). It matches Beauchamp's drawing for #1011. Based on his description, this bead is from the Morse site. Oatman's notes indicate that it was a surface find.

Bead 27393-2 (Figure 4B) is a rolled sheet O-type tubular copper bead 13 mm long and 6 mm diameter. It does not appear to be one described by Beauchamp. It does, however, match a bead described by Oatman's notes as coming from the Goodenough site. He indicates that it came from the surface. Bead 27393-3 (Figure 4C) is a rolled sheet O-type conical copper bead 7 mm long and 5 mm in diameter. It is also not described by Beauchamp but matches one described by Oatman as coming from the surface of Morse.

Bead 27393-4 (Figure 4D) is a rolled sheet O-type tubular copper bead 21 mm long and 5 mm diameter. Oatman's notes link it to the Morse site.

Oatman's notes describe the Gregg/Burrville site bead (Beauchamp's #511) as being 1 3/8 inches (34 mm) long and coming from a pit 10 inches deep. We do not know if this was an excavated pit or otherwise. Oatman lists the #511 bead as "probably lost." Vavrsek believes it never made it to the col-

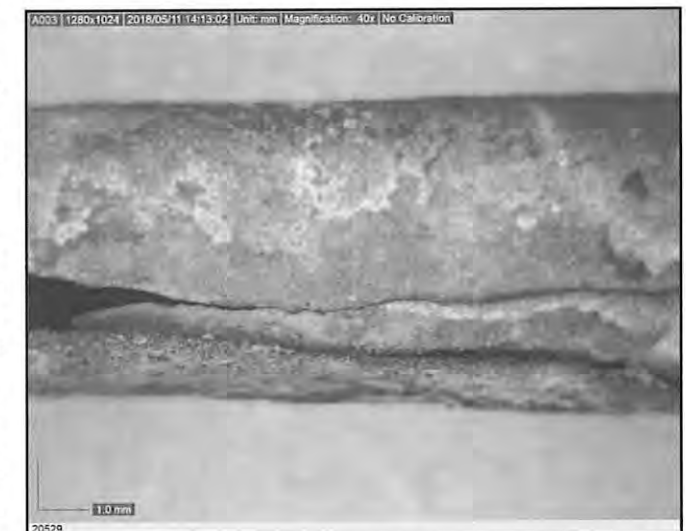


Figure 3. Microscopic view of 20529 showing 2-ply construction. Courtesy New York State Museum, Albany, N.Y.

lections.

One other bead described by Oatman as 1 1/8 inches (28 mm) long came from plowed context at the Morse site. It also is one that apparently never made it to the museum or is now lost in the collections.

Analysis

Past studies of metallic artifacts on contact-period sites in the Northeast have shown that European coppers can be recognized spectrographically by higher concentrations of lead and other elements (Fox et al. 1995; R. G. V. Hancock et al. 1991; Ronald G. V. Hancock et al. 1995; Mauk and Hancock 1998). Though lead has been found at levels around 300 ppm in na-



Figure 4. A-Beauchamp's *Antiquities* #9-1011 (NYSM 27393-1), Morse; B-NYSM 27393-2, Goodenough; C-NYSM 27393-3, Morse; D- NYSM 27393-4, Morse. Courtesy New York State Museum, Albany, N.Y.

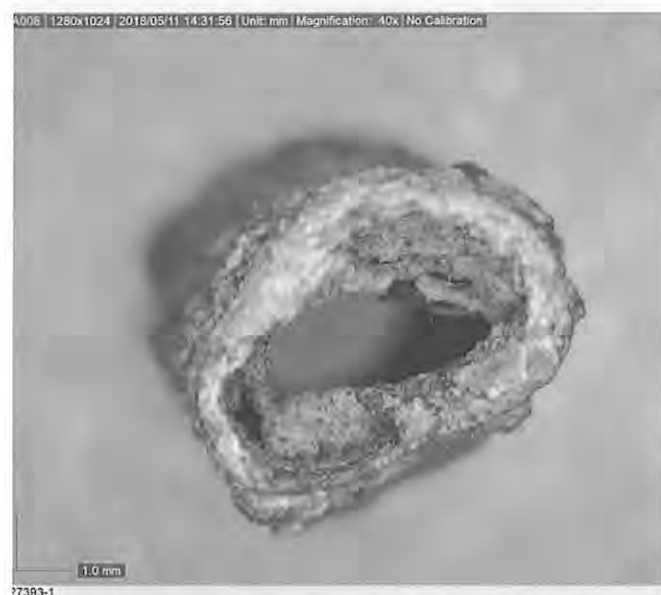


Figure 5. Microscopic end view of (NYSM 27393-1). Courtesy New York State Museum, Albany, N.Y.

tive Michigan samples (Cattin et al. 2011), its presence in European samples is much higher. The lead is easily detected by XRF (Abel and Burke 2014).

All the beads were analyzed with a Cu-filtered Bruker Tracer III-V pXRF for 10-minute runs at 40.00 kV and 3.00 μ A. There was no abrading or ablation of the beads done prior to analysis. Though some studies have shown mixed results between ablated and non-ablated samples (Ehrhardt and Kaiser 2011), this was not an issue for our purposes here since we were unconcerned with ppm counts. No trace elements other than copper were detected in any of the beads (Figure 6).

Based on the analysis, all the beads are made of native copper. The beads were also examined under 40x magnification to look for snip marks. None were found. This is also consistent with a native copper manufacture.

Discussion

Outside of a piece of folded copper or brass from the plow zone of the Swarthout/Wetterhahn site (Vandrei and Shieppati 1990), and unsubstantiated 19th century accounts of sword tips, cannon balls and iron arrow points found on a few sites, these beads are the only metal objects known from Iroquoian contexts in northern New York. That they are verified to be of native copper origin suggests that Jefferson County Iroquoians were involved in the precontact copper trade network that existed across the Great Lakes region (Anselmi 2003; Bradley 1987; Ehrhardt 2005; Fox et al. 1995). This is perhaps not surprising, given their role in trading steatite beads (Baron et al. 2016; Jones et al. 2018; Williamson 2016; Williamson et al. 2016), pipes (Wonderley 2005) and ideas (Hart et al. 2017) throughout greater Iroquoia as well.

The source of the bead copper is unknown, and more refined spectrographic studies would be required to determine that source. XRF isn't precise enough for this task. Levine (2007) has documented numerous possible sources of raw native copper across the Appalachian Uplands, in addition to sources in the upper peninsula of Michigan. Any one of these, or several of them, could have contributed the raw material for these beads.

It remains the case that there are no secure associations of European-derived material on any Iroquoian site in Jefferson County. This corroborates recent AMS dating that places the latest sites in the region before 1520 (Abel et al. 2019).

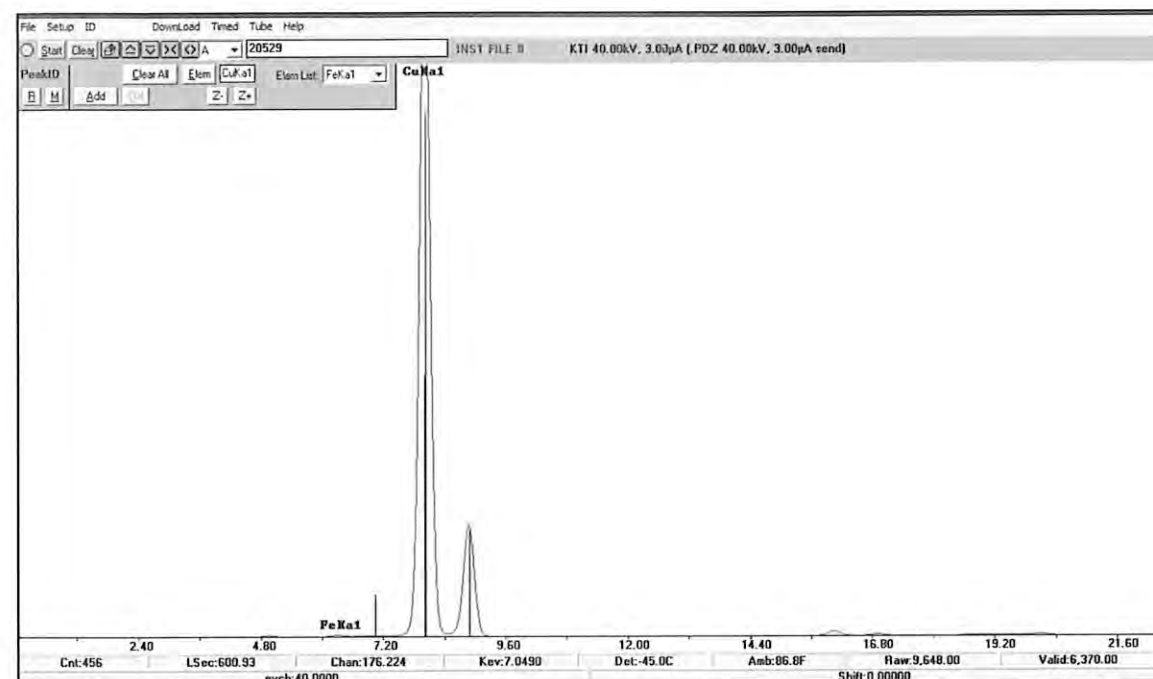


Figure 6. 10-minute run spectrum of NYSM 20529 showing copper K and L peaks. The iron (FeKa1) peak to the left of the CuKa1 peak is actually a copper escape peak. All the runs were identical to this. Courtesy New York State Museum, Albany, N.Y.

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Shrouded in Mystery: Burials at Fort William Henry

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The cemetery at Fort William Henry has fascinated summer visitors and archaeologists alike since 1953. After a series of excavations starting in 1953, there are still unanswered questions. Who were these people? Were they British Regulars, Colonial troops or even French? The cemetery is popularly assumed to date to the French & Indian War (1755-1759), but there was a substantial military occupation during the American Revolution. Would a study of changes in burial practices observed there be enlightening?

History

Fort William Henry was built at the southern tip of Lake George, New York, in the fall of 1755. In September, Colonial troops and Native allies moving northwards from Fort Edward had encountered the French and their allies on their way south, planning to attack Fort Edward. The Colonials prevailed and started work on a log-built fort to defend against any future French advances. Both Great Britain and France wanted control of the Lake Champlain/Lake George corridor because whoever controlled the waterways controlled northeastern North America.

British and Colonial troops held Fort William Henry for two years. In August 1757 it was burned by the French after a 10-day siege, and the ensuing massacre was made famous (or at least notorious) in James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*. The French were short on supplies (Steele 1990:96) and despite their victory returned to Canada. British and Colonial troops resumed control.

The high ground a few hundred feet to the east was the staging ground for a disastrous attack on Fort Ticonderoga in 1758. Construction of another fortification (Fort George) was started in 1759. Another attack on Ticonderoga was launched, this time a successful one. Fort George was held by a few British troops until the American Revolution, when it was claimed by the Continental Army in 1775. During the Revolution, Fort George was the site of an American General Hospital. In 1780 the fort surrendered again to the British and occupation ended.

Number of Casualties

The total number of casualties throughout the various occupa-

tions is difficult to estimate. The casualty count from the Battle of Lake George and Bloody Morning Scout alone is 243 (Steele 1990:53). This includes French and Native dead whose burial locations are uncertain, but Pomeroy reported that 136 Colonial dead were buried near the fort (Pomeroy 1926:115). As with most 18th-century armies, disease was as deadly as battle (Anderson 1984:100). For the summer of 1756, Anderson (1984:99) estimated a death rate of 57.4 per thousand for Bay Colony troops, numbering 2,681 altogether. Deaths during the siege were about 20 British and possibly 40 Colonials (Steele 1990:133-134); massacre victims numbered 69-184 (Steele 1990:144). The figures do not include camp followers or Indians. The French reported 13 killed (Unknown 1757:11). The unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga in 1758 resulted in 1944 killed or wounded (Bellico 2010:164). Some of the wounded were carried to Fort Edward, but enough remained at Fort George that cabins were built for them (Bellico 2010:165). By the end of the French & Indian War, the total number of deaths was probably several hundred.

The American Revolution, when the General Hospital was located at Fort George, probably accounted for several hundred more deaths. The largest number of casualties occurred in 1776. Two thousand survivors of the siege of Quebec, sick with smallpox and dysentery, were cared for at Fort George (Bellico 1992:134-135). The death rate from smallpox is estimated at 30% (Center for Disease Control 2016) but may have been higher in the troops who were already in poor condition (Vandrei 2019).

Excavation History

The history of excavation at Fort William Henry is almost as varied as its military history. Human remains in the collections are the result of three excavations and include some unprovenanced material. In 1953 excavations were carried out by Stanley Gifford prior to the development and construction of a replica fort as a tourist attraction. He discovered remains under the East Barracks, in a "crypt" within the fort, and excavated ten burials south of the fort (Figure 1). The remains in the crypt were left on display, and a log building was erected over the ten burials south of the fort (Figure 2) (Starbuck 2014:60-61). Unfortunately, most of Gifford's excavation records were destroyed in a fire in 1967 (Baker and Reith 2000:50), but a de-

tailed drawing of the cemetery did survive (Starbuck 2014:62). In 1993 Baker and Liston directed the removal from display of the ten burials excavated by Gifford (Figure 3) (Liston and Baker 1994:12). In 1995 they also excavated three previously undisturbed burials just to the west of the cemetery building (Baker and Reith 2000:50).

The crypt remains show evidence of extreme violence, certainly related to the massacre (Liston and Baker 1996:35-40). Gifford (1955:58) stated that the other 10 burials dated to the French & Indian War but gave no reason for this belief, although there might have been evidence in the lost excavation

records.

Given the lengthy military occupation of the area, and the discovery of a Revolutionary War cemetery on nearby Courtland Street (Anderson and Weatherwax 2019), it seemed possible that it could date to later in the French & Indian War period, or even to the American Revolution.

Extent and Location

The Gifford Cemetery is located about 100 feet from the southeast bastion of the fort. Burials extend to the edge of a ra-

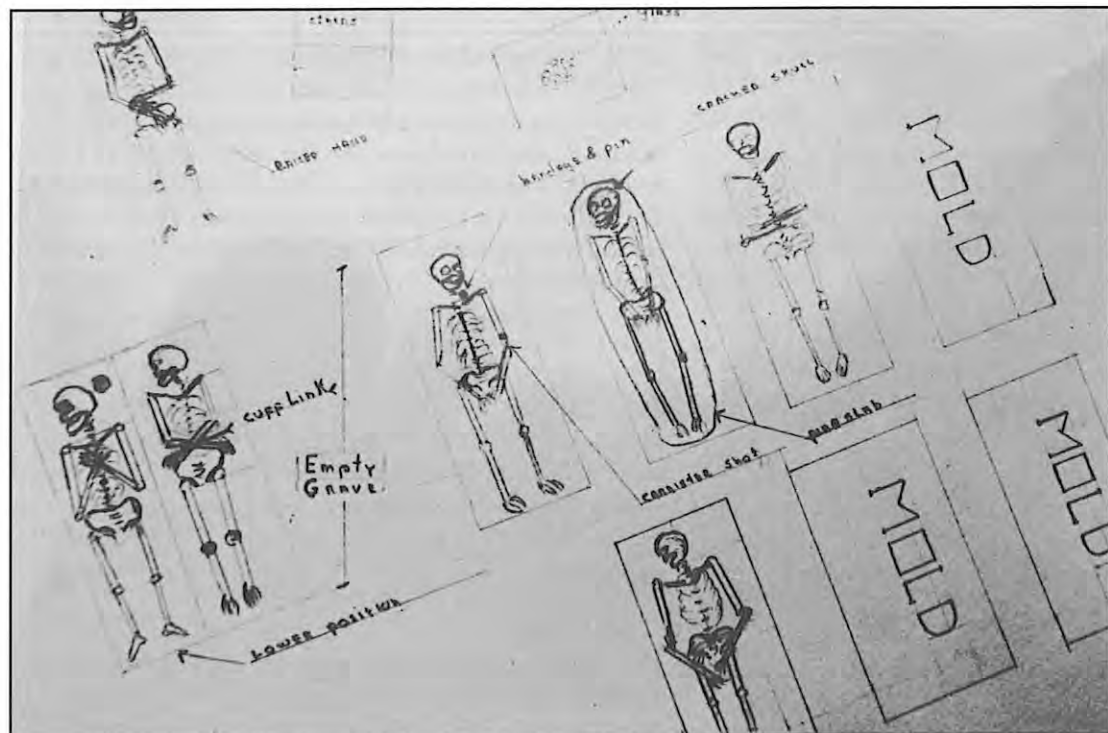


Figure 1. Stanley Gifford's 1953 map. Courtesy of Fort William Henry.

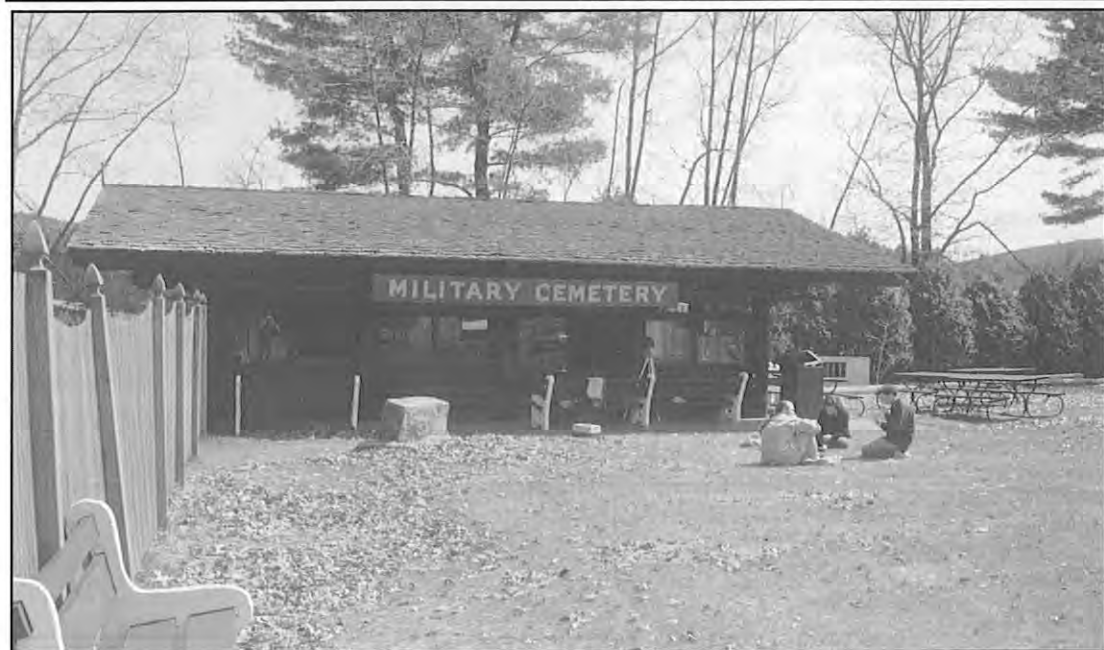


Figure 2. The log cemetery building built at Fort William Henry in the 1950s.



Figure 3. Mapping remains in the fort's cemetery in 1993.

vine (Baker and Reith 2000:51) shown on 18th-century maps (Eyre 1755). A comparison of the 18th-century and modern maps suggests that there has been little erosion to account for the nearness of the grave shafts to the ravine. It seems that the graves were deliberately crowded close to the edge.

The original extent of this cemetery is difficult to determine. The site map (Baker and Reith 2000:51) shows four test pits to the east. To the south, three grave shafts were found, but not fully excavated; and the area is limited by the ravine. To the north, three test pits revealed a prehistoric feature, but no graves. To the west, five shafts were found, and three were fully excavated. Further west was evidence of a trench (Baker and Reith 200:57) from Gifford's excavations. Carlton Dunn, who worked with Gifford, recalled finding no graves in the parking lot or lawn to the north (Personal communication, July 2014). Given the number of individuals who died in the area, it became obvious that there must be many burials in another location.

Searching newspaper accounts, personal reminiscences and old local histories proved useful. Many graves discovered during sewer work in the 1930s were reported in local newspapers; construction and highway department workers remembered finding burials; relatives recalled a resident who discovered burials and displayed the crania on his porch (Ellsworth 2018). More recently, a burial on Mohican Street (Starbuck 2011:94-97) and two on Birch Avenue were excavated by professionals (Lehmann 2003).

When these reported graves were mapped, it appeared that an extensive cemetery had existed, starting just west of Route 9 (Canada St.) and reaching to the north, south and west. Discoveries at Courtland Street in 2019 reinforced this

theory (Anderson and Weatherwax 2019). The conclusion that dozens, if not hundreds, of burials were well west of the fort again raised the question of why a few burials had been placed so close to the fort, crowded next to the ravine.

Burial Practices

A comparison with standard 18th century European burial practice proved useful in interpreting the Gifford map, as well as the 1995 excavations. Eighteenth-century Christian burials were usually placed on their backs, facing east, heads to the west, feet to the east (Pfeiffer and Williamson 1991:64).

Both the Gifford and 1995 cemeteries are oriented east-southeast, but the burials in the 1995 cemetery are on a slightly different axis than those in the Gifford cemetery. The perfect alignment and spacing of graves within each group indicates that the burials in each group were made within a short time of each other when the diggers could easily identify earlier graves; or that they were all dug at the same time (Noel Hume 1982:36-37). However, enough time elapsed between the digging of the Gifford and 1995 groups that outlines of the shafts in the first group were beginning to blur, and the alignment of those in the second was slightly different. No graves from either group intrude upon each other (Baker and Reith 2000:51).

Today people are usually buried in a favorite dress or best suit, but this was highly unusual prior to the late 18th or early 19th century (Litten 1991:72). Instead, bodies were placed in shrouds. The usual mid-century shroud was a loose shirt with sleeves (similar to a nightgown) (Litten 1991:76), but on campaign a sheet wrapped round the body probably sufficed.

Hands were folded on the abdomen or placed at the sides (Riordan 2009:89-90). Ankles were almost always tied together in a shroud burial (Litten 1991:78). The binding ensured that body position was stable after burial, even until the arrival of 20th-century archaeologists. After 250 years, it is still possible to distinguish shrouded and bound burials from unshrouded burials (Riordan 2009:88).

No signs of coffins were found (Baker and Reith 2000:57). Coffins were not always used at this time, even in civilian burials (Litten 1991:100). If an individual coffin was not available, a parish coffin could be used to carry the bodies to the gravesite (Litten 1991:124). This economical (in time and materials) method may have been useful at a frontier fort.

The easternmost burials of the Gifford Cemetery (B5-B10) perfectly conform with classic 18th century burial practice. The arms are crossed on the abdomen, the ankles close together, almost certainly tied (Figure 4). There is a possible indication of a shroud pin on burial B7 (Baker and Reith 2000:57). The arm and foot positioning becomes more relaxed in the western end of the Gifford Cemetery; legs are farther apart in B1-B4.

The placement of the arms and ankles appears even more random in the 1995 burials; for example, the arm position with the hand up by the ear in burial B11. The ankles are separated and show no evidence of binding; these remains were unlikely to have been shrouded (Riordan 2009:88).

The burials from the 1994 excavations were definitely not shrouded. They show strong evidence of clothing with buttons and even fabric remains. Insect remains preserved in the fabric indicate bodies had been exposed before burial (Baker and Reith 2000:57).

Summary

The easternmost burials in the Gifford group display the most classic 18th century burial practices; the westernmost were likely unshrouded. But even the unshrouded individuals are carefully placed, although B1-B4 were more casually positioned; and the 1995 group was the most un-classic of all, showing evidence of somewhat hurried burial, possibly because the bodies were decaying and unpleasant to handle.

Conclusions

Siege

One possibility is that the Gifford cemetery is the resting place of those who died during the 1757 siege. Therbu, a French engineer, mapped the fort and the French artillery emplacements; the fort garden is shown in the location where the cemetery was found. It was under the trajectory of the French guns, the ground soft, and gravedigging would have been relatively quick and easy (Therbu 1757) (Figure 5). Father Roubaud, a priest with the French army, even reported that an "Englishwoman ventured out to gather vegetables in a kitchen garden almost adjoining the trenches" (Hughes 2011:188).



Figure 4. One of the burials in the fort's cemetery in 1993, resting on a "pine slab."

As the bombardment intensified, the gravediggers may have started to hurry as they worked towards the west, being sensibly reluctant to linger outside the fort.

French

The French reported 13 deaths and 14 wounded, and there is always the possibility that some of the graves are of the French.

Elite

Another possibility, which could relate to either the French & Indian or Revolutionary War, is that the eastern Gifford burials are an "elite" group, perhaps officers, treated with greater care than the enlisted men at the western end. A comparable situation existed when officers and enlisted men were placed at opposite ends of the same mass grave after a skirmish near Halfway Brook (Holden 1905:10).

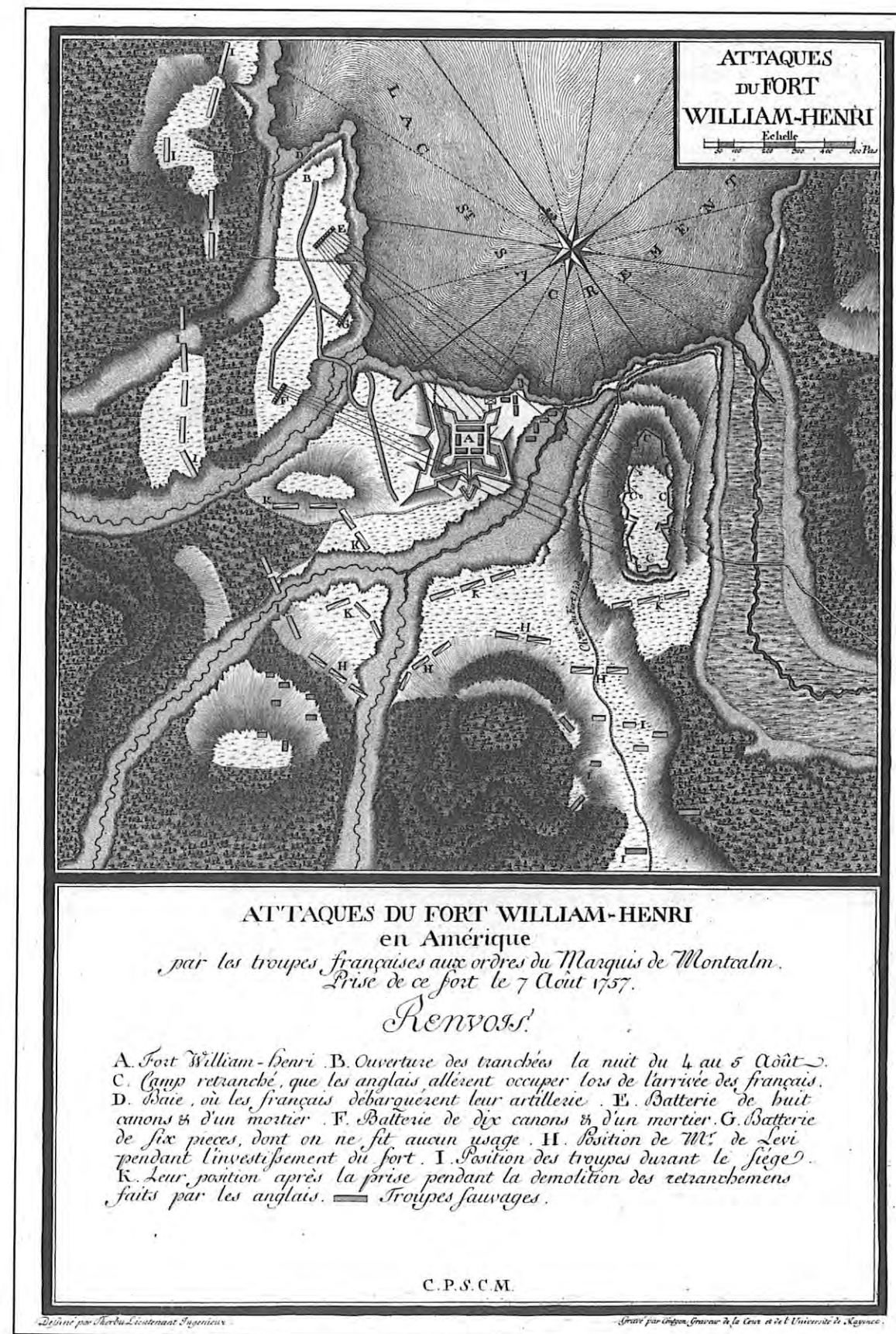


Figure 5. Therbu's map of the siege of Fort William Henry (Therbu 1757).

Delay in Burial: 1995 Group

If soldiers were killed in sorties outside the fort, especially during the 1757 siege, they might not have been buried immediately, as retrieving bodies from the no-man's land between the two armies would have been risky. In one example, Capt. Ralph Waldo led a group of 100 men outside the walls in an attempt to defend a water supply but was outflanked by Indians (Hughes 2011:183). If this is the case, one would expect the remains to show signs of trauma.

Another explanation is that they were individuals who died inside the fort during the later part of the siege, possibly of disease rather than injury; but conditions were so dangerous that no one ventured outside the fort to bury them until after the truce.

Rufus Putnam reported seeing bodies of "barbarously murdered" massacre victims on a trip to the fort to gather turnips on September 17th (Putnam 1886:46). He does not report if his unit buried any of the bodies. If the 1995 remains were massacre victims, again, they should show trauma similar to that which Baker and Liston reported on the crypt remains.

For the time being, the precise date of the burials at Fort William Henry is still a mystery. Perhaps the ongoing investigations at Courtland St., future discoveries, or future analysis will shed new light on these unknown soldiers.

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Why We Should Sometimes Return for "One More Season:" The Sutling House in Fort Edward

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When an excavation has "officially" ended and the final book has been published, how and where do you tell the story of going back for "one more season," especially when the new finds are some of the very best? This short essay describes returning to a 1750s' merchant's house on the Hudson River in the summer of 2013. This was the house (and tavern) of a civilian sutler, Edward Best, who sold supplies to the British army during the French & Indian War. Some very unexpected finds were made that summer.

Introduction

SUNY Adirondack and Plymouth State University have been excavating archaeological sites dating to the French & Indian War since 1991. In the summer of 1996, as we dug within the remains of the fort known as "Fort Edward," we learned of a nearby non-military site, the cellar hole from a house that had been occupied by a "sutler," a civilian merchant who sold supplies to the British army that was stationed in what is now the modern town of Fort Edward (Figure 1). Sutlers have no doubt functioned in military settings for thousands of years, and they were common during the American colonial period, selling food, alcohol and other supplies to the troops (Dello 1998). Seasonal encampments in Fort Edward were as large as 15 or 16,000 soldiers and officers in the late 1750s, and this would have been an ideal frontier setting in which a sutler could make very sizeable profits.

The cellar hole of our sutler's house had largely filled in over the centuries, but in the 1990s it was being heavily looted by collectors who were arriving by boat and digging trenches and craters that were as much as five feet deep. Few such sites have ever been excavated professionally, and we resolved to return when we could.

More seasons passed, and then we obtained property-owner permission and commenced modest excavations in 2001 that continued nearly every summer through 2010 when work was finally halted. Articles were published (Starbuck 2007, 2008), and then "final" results were presented in the book, *Excavating the Sutlers' House: Artifacts of the British Armies in Fort Edward and Lake George* (Starbuck 2010). Only the southwestern corner of the cellar had not been excavated, and part of the western wall, partially because a large tree with

an enormous root system grew there (and no one wanted to dig through its many roots!), but also because it was felt best to leave something for the future (Figure 2).

It is generally accepted today that it is always desirable to leave a portion of every site untouched, especially if it is not threatened in any way, in order to give future archaeologists—with new and better techniques—the opportunity to carry out their own work. However, we all know of examples where archaeologists truly did go back for "one more season," with the tomb of King Tutankhamun certainly being the best-known example, as Howard Carter sought one more season of funding from his patron, Lord Carnarvon, at which time he truly did find the pharaoh's tomb that he had long sought (Carter and Mace 1977; Reeves 1995). Perhaps a very modest comparison may be made with our own research team as we returned for one more season in the summer of 2013 after approval fell through for a different field school location. By returning to the sutling house, we knew that we might be leaving "nothing for the future." Still, because of extensive annual erosion and flooding of the bottom of the cellar hole every spring (with ground water and melted snow rising as much as 2-3 feet within the cellar), we did feel justified in making the argument that natural forces would leave little for the future if we did not take action quickly.

History

Our sutling house had been constructed on the east bank of the Hudson River, just south of the British fort known as Fort Edward, and it was the property of Edward Best. The diary of Jabez Fitch, Jr. indicates that Fitch was digging the cellar hole for the house in June of 1757 and bringing in pickets (wooden stakes to form a fence or palisade):

June 4th This Day I Workd for Mr Best First went to Work on His Seller [cellar] on ye Small Island...

June 9th Then I went to Work for Mr Best to Get Som Pickets...

June 10th In ye Morning Corpl Jacob Andrus &c Corpl Walbridg & I Went to Get Some Picets for Mr Best...

Figure 1 (right). Plan of Fort Edward, undated. The black arrow has been added to point to the sutling house that has been excavated since 2001. Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps, New York State Library.

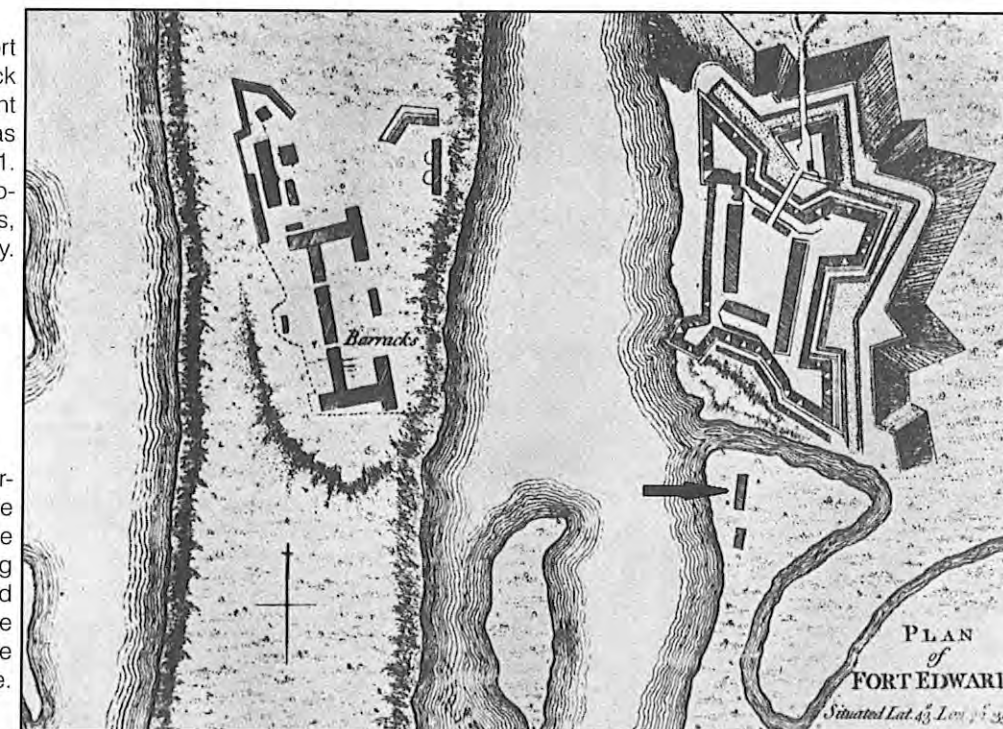


Figure 2 (below). A 2009 overview of the cellar hole of the sutling house, showing the tree in the southwest corner; facing north. As we worked around the edges, removal of the tree did not appear feasible at that time.



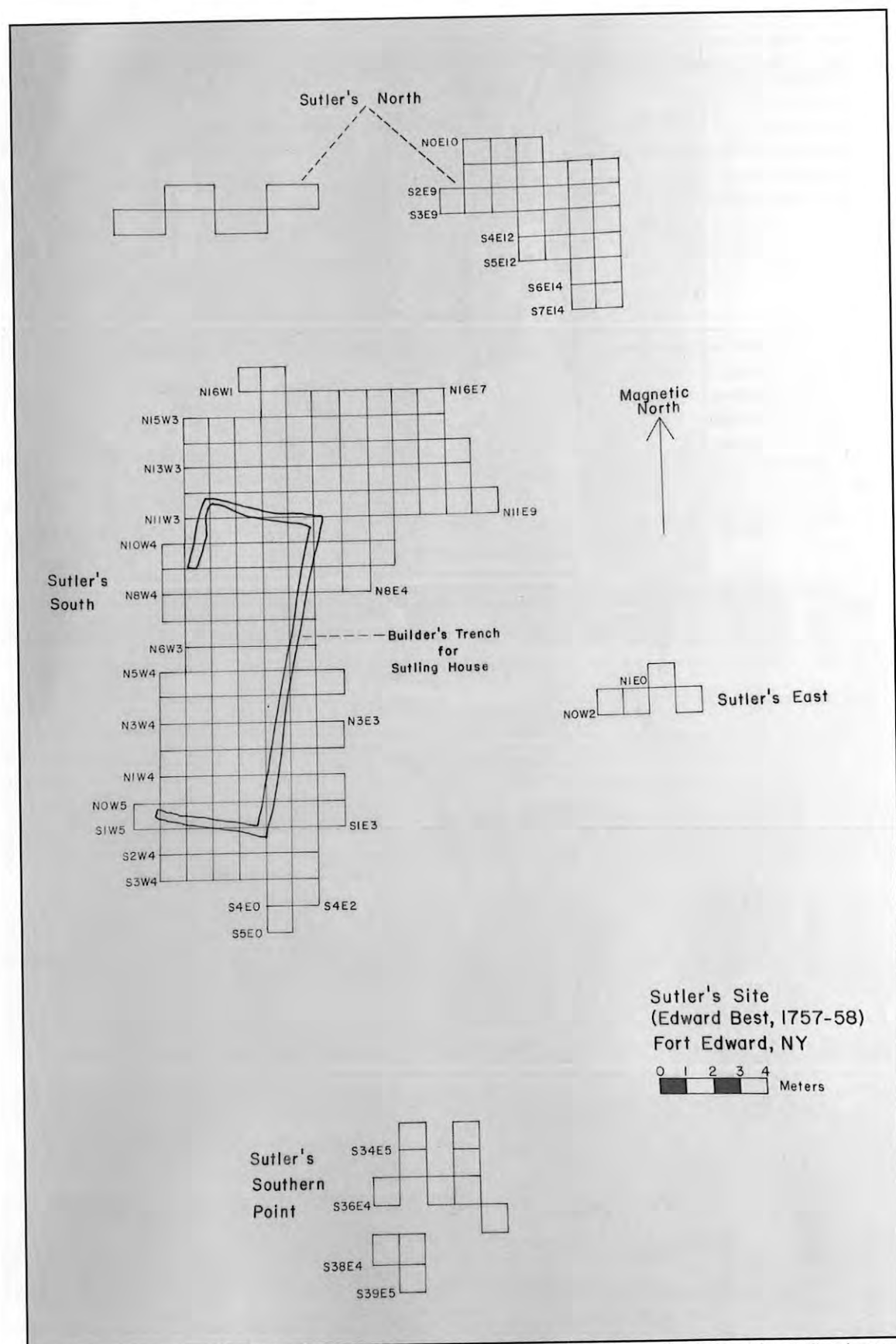


Figure 3. A map showing 1x1-meter test pits excavated in and around the cellar hole of the sutling house. "Sutler's South" contains the cellar hole that was excavated.

June 13th Corpl Walbridge & I went to Finish Getting Pickets for Mr Best But we Didn't Get any more So He Paid Each of Us 2s [shillings] for what we Had Don...

July 4th Then Corpl Thos Andrus & I went over to Mr Bests & Drinkd Some Jenava then I Came Home... [Fitch, Jr. 1968:3-10]

Later sources state that Mr. Best was on the run from his New York City creditors in May of 1758:

In May 1758, after having served as sutler with Maj. Robert Rogers' Corp of Rangers, Edward Best failed in business and became a fugitive from debts totaling 8,818 pounds owing to a group of New York City merchants represented by Waddell Cunningham and Gabriel Ludlow... [Truxes 2001:211, footnote 1].

It seems likely that the sutling house must have burned down by May of 1758, with much of its merchandise still inside, all intended for sale to British soldiers and officers. Edward Best had little hope of raising more than 8,000 pounds to satisfy his creditors, and thus he had departed, with the site having been occupied for less than one year. The sutling house was sufficiently large and permanent that only barracks buildings and probably some storehouses were larger within the extensive encampments of Fort Edward. Other sutlers resided

on the southern part of Rogers Island, but none had constructed houses as substantial as this.

However, it would appear that Edward Best returned at some point to Fort Edward because the Journal of Colonel James Montresor, a Royal Engineer, describes dining "at Best" on June 19, 1759 and December 3, 1759 (Scull 1882:77, 109), and on July 3rd 1759 Montresor "Gave Best a permit for 6 Barrels of Rum one Barrel of Jamaica Spirits, one Barrel of Brandy & one of Shrub for the Department of Engineers" (Scull 1882:79). It is unclear whether Best had returned by 1759 to his original place of business or was functioning elsewhere within the encampments in Fort Edward; however, the latter seems more likely. There also remains the question: Was the fire that brought down the sutling house an accident, or could it have been started by a rival sutler? We may never know.

Excavations Resume in 2013

Our years of excavation between 2001 and 2010 had shown that the sutling house of Edward Best measured 40 feet long (N-S) by 14 feet wide (E-W), with major fireplaces at both the northern and southern ends of the building, and with staircases descending into the cellar at both the northeast and southeast corners (Figure 3). The surviving full cellar is approximately seven feet deep, and considerable charcoal was found throughout the cellar, indicating that a fire had thoroughly destroyed the building. It was the last foot of debris, just above



Figure 4. The excavation team in 2013, preparing to excavate underneath the stump from the tree that had defied excavation up until that year; facing west.

the cellar floor, that contained the largest quantities of period artifacts; it does not appear that modern collectors (1990s and before) had ever dug to this depth.

One of our primary goals was to determine exactly what types of supplies were being sold to the army, and exceptional numbers of wine bottles and tobacco pipes were found that definitely suggest alcohol and tobacco were among the most popular commodities. In addition, we recovered sizeable numbers of buttons, buckles and clothing fasteners. The northern half of the building also contained numerous fragments of "drinking glasses and wine glasses, delft bowls, white salt-glazed stoneware bowls, cups and saucers, and quite a few bone-handled, two-tined forks and table knives" (Starbuck 2010:27), all suggesting that the northern half had served as a tavern for soldiers and officers.

Just before the excavation resumed in 2013, a professional logger was hired to remove the large tree from the southwest corner of the foundation (Figure 4), and we were then able to expose the burned west wall of the cellar (Figure 5), much more intact than the walls had been on any other side of the building. Vertical wood posts, set just outside the builder's trench and placed roughly every 24", supported horizontal planks nailed against them. Just as importantly, underneath the large tree that had been removed—now an enormous stump—our team began to discover artifacts that had been

"protected" over the years from collectors (and from us) by the extensive root system. There also was a sizeable pile of burned timbers in the southwest corner of the cellar, more intact than anywhere else within the building (Figure 6).

Underneath and surrounding the stump we found many of the same artifacts that had been recovered from throughout the cellar, including tobacco pipes, pottery and porcelain, wine bottle fragments, window glass, musket balls, lead shot, nails, hinges and more. However, of special interest were a pewter plate that had been melted by the fire, two bayonets (Figure 7), and two Spanish 8-real dollars (one dated 1749 and minted in Mexico City; the other dated 1756 and minted in Guatemala) (Figure 8). As we proceeded to excavate further under the stump, we discovered a row of seven complete wine bottles (Figures 9-10), several barrel hoops, and then steelyard balance scales for weighing merchandise (Figure 11). Just to the north of the tree stump, while troweling the surface of the builder's trench (11-12" wide) that extended along the western side of the cellar, we found a brass spigot just underneath one of the barrel hoops (Figure 12). (One interpretation is that the row of bottles we had found just to the south were meant to be filled from this barrel and through this spigot.)

Admittedly, after the discovery of the first two Spanish dollars—the first 8-real coins we had ever found in any of our French & Indian War excavations—there had been jok-

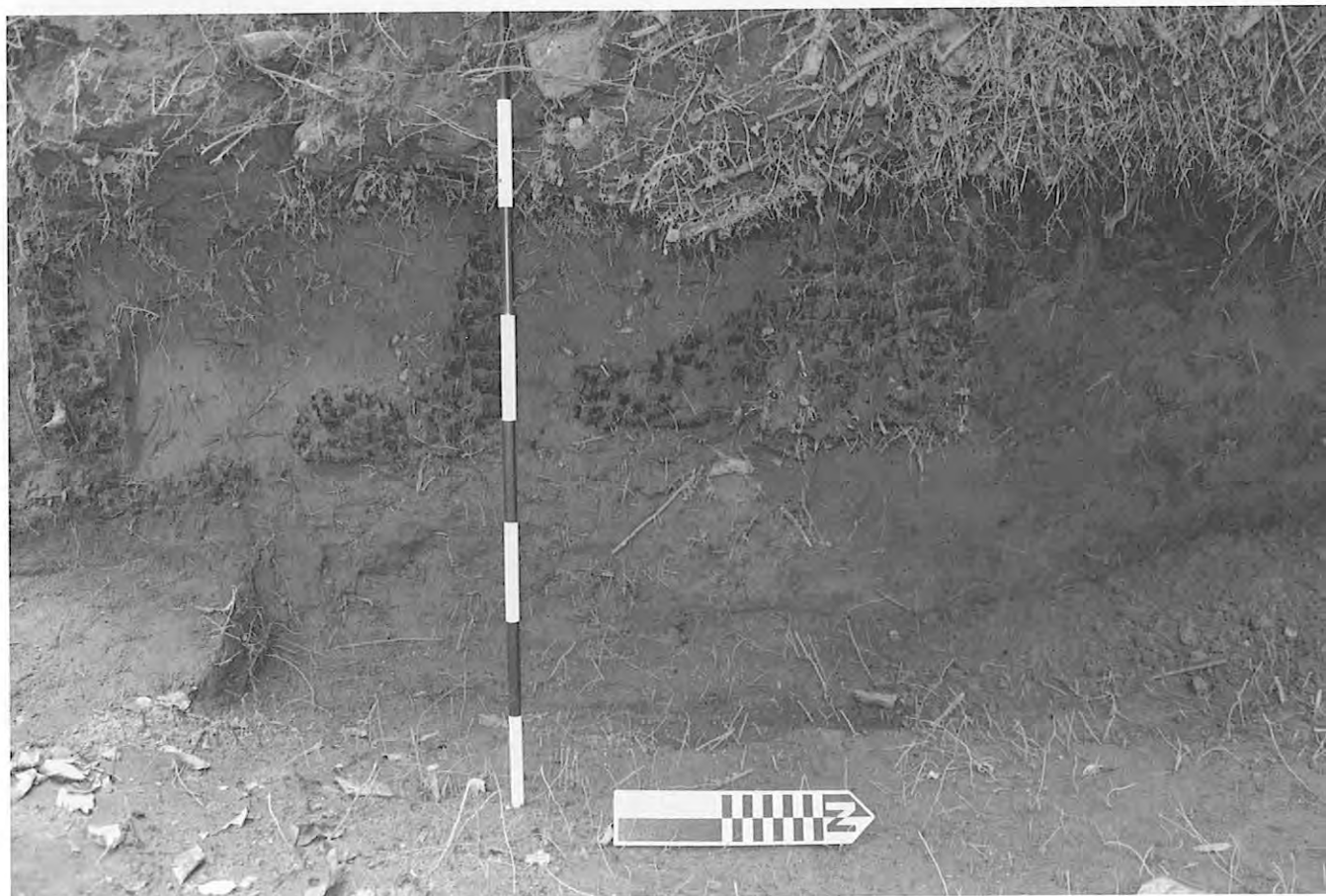


Figure 5. A section of burned cellar wall located just south of the tree stump; facing west.



Figure 6. Burned timbers lying in the southwest corner of the cellar hole; facing south.

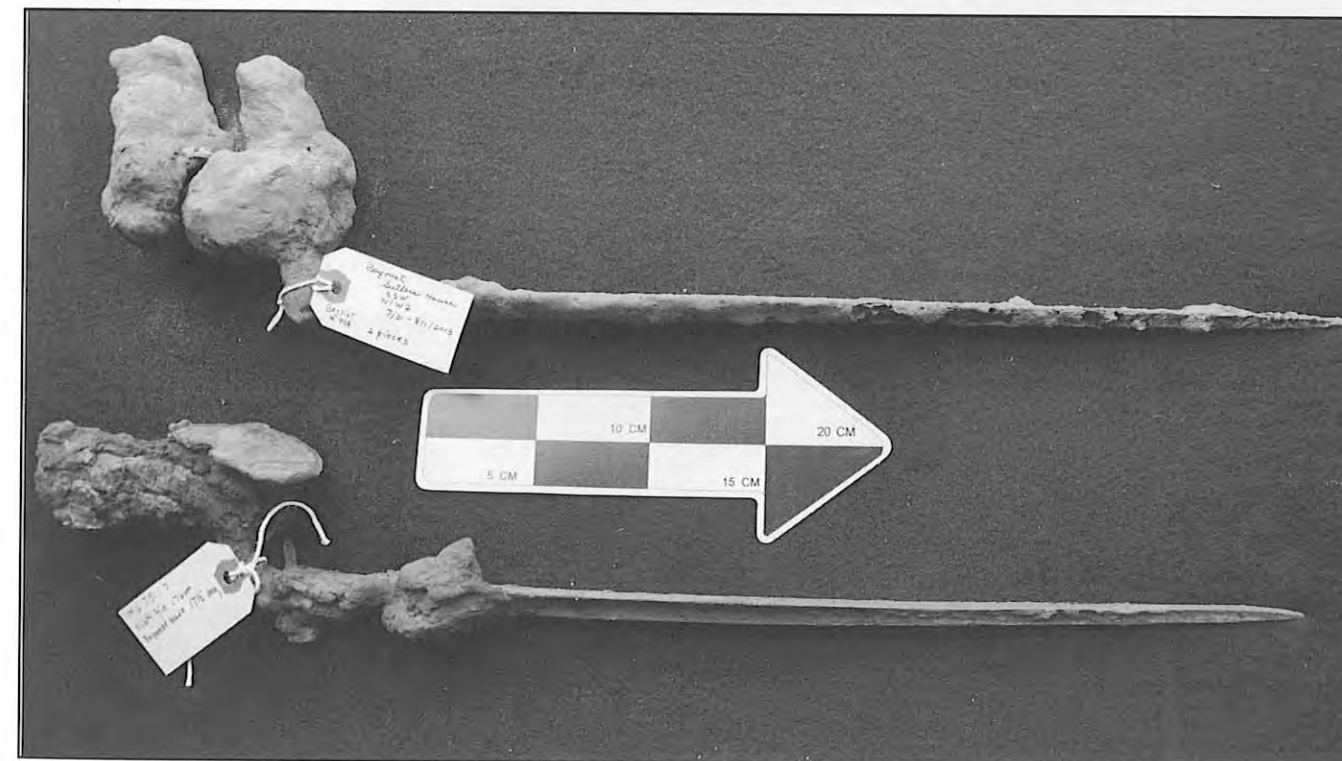


Figure 7. Bayonets found on the southern edge of the tree's root system.



Figure 8. The two Spanish dollars that were found literally underneath the center of the tree stump. The 1749 dollar rested directly on top of the 1756 dollar.



Figure 9. Wine bottles as they began to appear within the root system of the tree stump; facing northwest.



Figure 10. The seven wine bottles found underneath the tree stump; some were cracked, but all were complete. Most were upright and tightly clustered together.

Figure 11. Components of the heavily-corroded steelyard balance scale found under the tree stump.

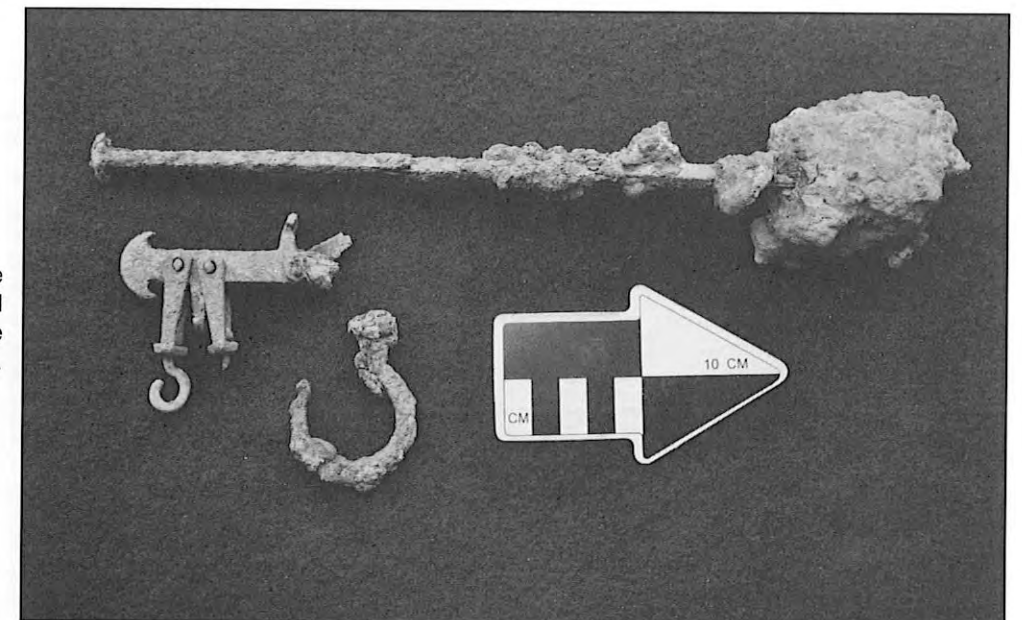


Figure 12. The brass spigot discovered on top of the western builder's trench that runs north from the tree stump; facing west.



Figure 13. The two stacks of Spanish silver dollars found just north of the tree stump. There was no evidence for the leather or cloth purse or bag they were probably buried in; facing west.





Figure 14. The Spanish dollars on the day that the two stacks were being removed and documented.



Figure 15. The twenty Spanish dollars; the 8-real cob appears in the top row, second from right. There is water damage to some of the coins because they had rested below the water table for part of each year, probably since the 1750s.

ing about how one day we might find a purse or pouch that was literally full of Spanish dollars. This was idle chatter, but nothing prepared me for the day in late August when, while exposing the builder's trench just north of the tree stump, my trowel flipped a silver coin across the cellar, after which I returned the coin to its original position and began troweling a small pedestal to photograph this third dollar *in situ*. Two stacks of Spanish 8-real coins began to appear, and colleagues came to the site the next day to serve as witnesses to the find (Figures 13-14). Of the 20 Spanish dollars found here, deliberately buried in the cellar floor, 18 had been minted in Mexico City (with dates of 1742, 1743, 1747, 1748, 1751, 1751, 1752, 1752, 1753, 1753, 1753, 1754, 1754, 1754, 1755, 1755 and 1755); one had been minted in Lima, Peru (dated 1754); and one was an 8-real piece of cob money, from Potosi, Bolivia, with edges that had been "clipped" to steal some of the silver (Figure 15). Perhaps the stacks of coins were intended as Mr. Best's "traveling money," should he ever need to leave quickly, well-hidden but not accessible after fire had destroyed his house and dumped hundreds of pounds of burned debris into the cellar. He may have had no choice but to depart, fearing the arrival of his creditors.

Final Thoughts

For archaeologists, we pride ourselves in being story-tellers, a quality that perhaps helps ensure the survival of our field (!), and when asked by innumerable visitors to our summer digs "what was the best thing I ever found?" it has become easy to mention the Spanish 8-real dollars as being one of the two or three best, or at least the most unexpected, artifact assemblages that I have ever witnessed while in the field. For those of us who have lived our lives as field archaeologists, sometimes we can never forget that last season when suddenly everything fell into place, and the finds were really very special. We had completed our field work in 2010, published the "final" site report, and yet here we were, thoroughly surprised that by coming back for "one more season" we had made discoveries that went well beyond those of the previous ten years (Figure 16).

Acknowledgements

Many archaeologists, students and volunteers have worked at the sutling house since 2001, and a special thanks goes to Matthew Rozell who was the first from our team to investigate the site in the summer of 1996. We are greatly indebted to SUNY



Figure 16. An "in-progress" view of the southwest corner of the sutling house, with work essentially completed underneath the tree stump. The work had been challenging but rewarding.

Adirondack for sponsoring all of our summer digs at French & Indian War sites; to the Rogers Island Visitors Center for supplying us with excellent laboratory and meeting space every summer; and to Plymouth State University where much of the laboratory work has been conducted every winter. In the summer of 2013, our team consisted of Hannah Andrews, Mary Jane Breedlove, Frank Bump, Pam Collyer, Barbara DeAngelo, Victoria Hafner, Elizabeth Hall, Shannon Havens, Bruce Hedin, Eileen Klymn, John Kosek, John Kruse, Peter Lihatsch, Ginny Livsey, Jean Marie Millikin, Matthew Nolan, Sean O'Connell, John Rosmus, Matthew Rozell, Chris Saunders, Ben Smith, Don Thompson, Todd Valenti, Sarah van Ryckevorsel and Carolyn Weatherwax.

Finally, I wish to thank coin expert Dennis Ryan who examined all of our Spanish 8-real coins on October 27, 2013 and who provided me with extremely useful insights into the mints and the historical context in which Spanish silver coins came to be used among all the colonial powers.

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Figure 1. Ralph Solecki working in Shanidar Cave (1956). Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Ralph S. and Rose L. Solecki Papers, Series 1.7 (Box 57).

IN MEMORIAM

An Appreciation of Ralph S. Solecki (1917-2019)

By Edward V. Curtin,
Curtin Archaeological Consulting, Inc.
and Van Epps-Hartley Chapter

Ralph Solecki was born in Brooklyn, New York, on October 15, 1917. He passed away from pneumonia on March 20, 2019, in Livingston, New Jersey. His parents were immigrants from Poland, his father an insurance salesman and his mother a homemaker. Ralph became interested in archaeology as a child, reportedly during the excitement over the discovery and investigation of King Tut's tomb. He collected artifacts on Long Island as a youngster and teenager, attended high school in Queens, joined the Flushing Historical Society, graduated from the City College of New York (where he was a geology major), and after World War II military service, went on to anthropology graduate education at Columbia University and a prominent career in archaeology. His 1948 Master's thesis was on Long Island's Fort Corchaug, while his 1958 Ph.D. dissertation dealt with Upper Paleolithic culture in the Middle East. In 1952 he was involved in a pioneering aerial photography survey performed ahead of Missouri River Basin reservoir construction. Ralph was both pilot and director, flying his 2-seat Erocoupe monoplane into the necessary aerial maneuvers and telling the photographer when to shoot. In 1955 he married

archaeologist Rose Lilien; they worked together much of their careers, beginning with Ralph's continuing excavation of Shanidar Cave (Figure 1) and Rose's excavation of the nearby early village site of Zawi Chemi Shanidar. They have two sons, William, a geography professor and expert on sustainable cities at Hunter College, and John, a United Nations official dealing with refugee issues. Ralph was employed by the Smithsonian Institution, Columbia University, and Texas A&M University. His trowel is now part of the Smithsonian collections.

Field research took Ralph to Iraq, Syria, Nubia, Alaska, the Great Plains, and West Virginia, but he returned to coastal New York archaeology at various times in his career, and devoted considerable attention to it from the 1980s into the 2000s, particularly with respect to publishing and updating the results of his earlier research. During this period he published numerous reports in *The Bulletin, Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association*, as well as a volume (with Stanley Wisniewski) of the *Researches and Transactions of the New York State Archaeological Association*. At the same time he also contributed frequently to the *Newsletter of Professional Archaeologists of New York City, The Chesopian*, and other publications reporting on New York and Atlantic seaboard archaeology. In 2010 Ralph received a Theodore Whitney Commendation Award from the New York State Archaeological Association.

Ralph had a productive, diverse, and many-storied career. He is known to the world as the discoverer of Neanderthal skeletons at Shanidar Cave in Iraq and is famous specifically for his interpretations of these finds that led to a reconsider-

ation of Neanderthals, moving them conceptually in many people's minds away from brutes and toward thinking, loving, communicating cousins of ourselves. The Shanidar work is so well known that it is the centerpiece of Ralph's *New York Times* obituary, as well as the subject of a short, first-person account Ralph provided to *The Wall Street Journal* in 2013. Notably, Ralph's interpretation of the Shanidar Neanderthals has had a broad effect on popular culture. It not only inspired aspects of Jean Auel's novel *The Clan of the Cave Bear* (and thus also the movie starring Daryl Hannah), but it was featured recently in Elizabeth Kolbert's *The Sixth Extinction*. Here Kolbert quotes Ralph on the impact of studying the Neanderthals: "We are brought suddenly to the realization that the universality of mankind and the love of beauty go beyond the boundary of our own species." Less well known is the other great discovery at Shanidar Cave: approaching the end of the excavation, exemplifying a last-minute moment all-too-familiar to archaeologists, the Soleckis discovered a Proto-Neolithic cemetery. The results of the cemetery excavation, published in 2004 with co-author Anagnostis P. Agelarakis, represent another major contribution.

In addition to the Shanidar finds, Ralph is known among Paleolithic archaeologists for the reexamination of Yabroud Shelter I and its artifact assemblage. Yabroud I is among a group of rockshelter sites near Yabroud, Syria, that have drawn the attention of numerous archaeologists and allied scientists. Rose and Ralph led a Columbia University expedition to the site where they met with its discoverer, the legendary German archaeologist Alfred Rust, in order to develop a more detailed and comprehensive mapping of the shelter's stratigraphy. It seems a fair guess that the presence of Mousterian and pre-Mousterian tool industries at Yabroud I was an attraction to the Soleckis following the Neanderthal revelations of Shanidar Cave.

Ralph also was involved in the pre-CRM rescue or salvage archaeology of the 1930s-1960s, such as his work in Plains archaeology during the River Basin Surveys both before and after World War II. Rescue work also included leading a Columbia University expedition to Sudanese Nubia as part of UNESCO's response to the planned construction of the Aswan high dam; and it involved the epic, tight time-frame effort for the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), Smithsonian Institution, to salvage data from the Natrium Mound in Natrium, West Virginia, prior to expansion of a chemical plant. This work, conducted in biting cold weather during December 1948-January 1949, is documented in detail in Ralph's BAE report, while a popular account is provided in Robert Silverberg's book *Men Against Time*. In *Mounds for the Dead*, the story of the excavation of the Cresap Mound, Don Dragoo highlighted the importance of Ralph's Natrium Mound excavation to understanding the diversity of the Eastern Woodlands Adena culture.

New York State and New York City were long Ralph's home, and he and Rose returned to the New York metro area after living in Texas during the 1990s. A significant New York

sense of place grounded Ralph's career despite his international prominence and many research opportunities. This includes his work in, and dedication to, cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology in New York City, and his efforts to chronicle the archaeology of Long Island (in the broad sense of Brooklyn and Queens to Suffolk County). With respect to CRM, during construction of the World Trade Center, Ralph and Bert Salwen searched for the remaining portion of *The Tiger*, Dutch explorer Adrian Block's ship which had been partially recovered from below fill at this site decades earlier. Ralph was a founding member of Professional Archaeologists of New York City (PANYC), ca. 1979. He worked as a consultant on federally-funded sewer construction projects in Brooklyn in the 1970s and 1980s. It was during this work that Ralph found the Hessian hat plate, a relic of the Revolutionary War Battle of Brooklyn, and one of only three surviving artifacts of this type at the time. According to a story about this discovery, Ralph's survey companion picked up a flattened piece of metal and handed it to him, asking "Think this is worth anything Doc?" "No" was Ralph's reply after a thoughtful pause. "It's priceless."

Ralph conducted his youthful archaeological investigations during the 1930s with his friend Stanley Wisniewski. They hunted for Indian and colonial artifacts in fields near the shore at Maspeth, Queens, located on Newtown and Maspeth Creeks a short walk from their homes. At Maspeth Ralph and Stanley collected a large artifact assemblage and recorded information that eventually made a substantial contribution to coastal New York archaeology (through their 2010 monograph, *The Archaeology of Maspeth, Long Island, New York and Vicinity*). They investigated various prehistoric loci and a seventeenth century fireplace before the Maspeth survey area was eventually covered by landfill. Their Maspeth projectile point classification provides significant insights into the Archaic period chronology of western Long Island particularly because they adopted a contemporary (i.e., 21st century) view unhampered by uncorrected misunderstandings in the older archaeological literature.

In 1931 Ralph's father bought a house in Cutchogue, Suffolk County, first used as a summer home although later the family moved there. The Cutchogue home was near the 17th century Indian site of Fort Corchaug, which became another focus of Ralph's archaeological investigation. His interest in Fort Corchaug soon expanded to include field surveys of other Long Island fort sites (sometimes conducted with Carlyle Smith), most notably Fort Massapeag, which along with Fort Corchaug was the best preserved of the 17th century Long Island Indian forts. Much later, Ralph was instrumental in nominating these two sites to the National Register of Historic Places as National Historic Landmarks. Ralph's 1993 analysis of the 17th century Indian forts of Long Island and southern New England provides a comprehensive view of the diversity of these sites with respect to locational variation, modes of construction, suitability as refuges during times of attack, and association with wampum production and trade. He reached

the opinion that the interpretation of the forts as trading post defenses was correct in some cases but had been overextended to fortifications that had the broader purpose of protecting local village populations.

On a CRM-related trip we took to the Red Hook waterfront in Brooklyn during the mid-1980s Ralph remarked succinctly upon his fascination with local archaeology. He simply said, "I'm an old Brooklyn boy." Ralph's career has been a gift to the world. His life-long dedication to local field research and publication has been a most remarkable gift to New York State archaeology.

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- *Figures (with captions listed on a separate page)

Manuscripts should be written as clearly and succinctly as possible. They should be unjustified and double-spaced, on one side of 8 1/2" x 11" paper. Only one space should follow periods and pages should be numbered in the upper right hand corner. Endnotes are to be used instead of footnotes, but they should be used sparingly.

Headings

Primary headings should be flush left, bolded, and at the same font size as the text, with only the first letter of each word capitalized. Secondary headings should be flush left, unbolded, and at the same font size as the text, with only the first letter of each word capitalized. Tertiary headings should be flush left, in italics, and at the same font size as the text, with only the first letter of each word capitalized.

Measurement Units

In order to avoid errors in translation, measurements may be in either English or metric units, as appropriate to the content

of the article; however, for further clarification, one may wish to include conversions in parentheses. Commonly used units of measurement such as feet, yards, miles, meters, centimeters, kilometers, and hectares are abbreviated as follows (without periods):

inches	in	meters	m
feet	ft	centimeters	cm
yards	yd	kilometers	km
miles	mi	hectares	ha

In-Text Reference Citations

In-text reference citations should follow the simple *American Antiquity* style within parentheses immediately following the material to which the citation refers (for particulars, see *American Antiquity*, Volume 57, number 4, pp. 749-777). Simple citations should include author's last name and year of publication unseparated by a comma, and if appropriate, the page number(s) preceded by a colon (Smith 1978:222) or Smith (1978:222). Citations involving two authors should include both names; those involving three or more authors should use the first author's name followed by et al. (e.g., Brown et al. 1987). Where more than one publication is being referenced, they should be ordered alphabetically within the parentheses and separated by semi-colons (e.g., Barton 1986; Davis 1975; Wilson 1999). Where there are several references for the same author within a set of parentheses, these are separated by commas (e.g., Adams 1975, 1985; Brown 1988).

Quotations

Quotations of five lines or less should be included in the text; double quotation marks are used. The citation should follow the form indicated above for in-text reference citations but should always include page number(s). Quotes of more than five lines should be inset in a block and double-spaced without quotation marks. Citations, including page numbers, should follow in brackets.

Tables

If at all possible, tables should be set up in the same word processing format as the text. They should be as simple as possible and include a short descriptive title above the table itself. Tables should be numbered consecutively as they will appear in the text. All tables should be referenced in the text.

Figures

All photos and line drawings are designated as figures and numbered consecutively as they are referred to in the text.

Captions should be submitted on a separate page, not as

part of the illustration. A light pencil marking on the back of the photo or drawing should identify the particular illustration. Photos and drawings should be high quality images reproducible at sizes appropriate to the journal. Authors bear the responsibility for obtaining written permission for the reproduction of any materials protected by U.S. copyrights. Film-based photographic prints and original drawings are preferred, but figures may be submitted as digital image files *if they are suitable for publication*. Digital image files which do not meet the following specifications will be rejected. Photographs should be submitted as rgb or grey-scale tiff or pdf files only, 8" x 10" or 5" x 7" at a minimum of 300ppi. Line art should be submitted as bitmap tiff or pdf files at a minimum of 1000ppi. **No other formats, such as jpg, doc, etc. will be accepted.** If the graphic was created in digital form, submit individual files, not printouts, and **do not include the images in a Word document.** Contributors may be required to provide photographic prints or hard copy drawings if digital image files are not useable for publication. Photocopies, laser prints, and inkjet prints are never acceptable. If there are any questions, please contact Dennis Howe at earlyhow@myfairpoint.net before preparing any graphics for publication—**of late graphics submitted have been less and less suitable for publication, so discussion in advance can save a lot of time and reworking.**

References Cited

The list of references cited should include all references cited in the text (except personal communications), and conversely, only references cited in the text should be listed. **Authors bear the responsibility for double-checking the accuracy of each and every citation used.** The list should be alphabetized by the author's last name, then first name and middle initial. Multiple entries by the same author should be in chronological order with the earliest first. Do not use n.d. unless absolutely necessary—if the date is truly unknown. The format for references should follow the *American Antiquity Style Guide* (see *American Antiquity*, Volume 57, number 4, pp. 749-777). Examples of the most commonly needed formats are listed below:

1. Book with single author

Bradley, James W.
1987 *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change 1500-1655 A.D.* Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York.

2. Book with multiple authors

Burt, William H., and Richard P. Grossenheider
1976 *Peterson Field Guides: Mammals*. 3rd ed. Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

3. Edited book (author is editor)

Morris, William (editor)
1978 *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

4. Translated book

Van den Bogaert, Harmen Meyndertz
1988 *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country 1634-35*. Translated and edited by Charles Gehring and William Starna. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.

5. Reprinted book

Hale, Horatio E., editor
1963 *The Iroquois Book of Rites*. Reprinted with an Introduction by William N. Fenton, University of Toronto Press, Toronto. Originally published 1883, D.G. Brinton, Philadelphia.

6. Multivolume set

Thwaites, Reuben G., editor
1959 *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travel and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*. 73 vols. Reprinted, Pageant, New York. Originally published 1896-1901, Burrows Brothers, Cleveland.

7. Titled volume in a series

Wray, Charles F., Martha L. Sempowski, and Lorraine P. Saunders
1991 *Tram and Cameron: Two Early Contact Era Sites*. Charles F. Wray Series in Seneca Archaeology, Vol. II, edited by Charles F. Hayes III. Research Records No. 21. Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, New York.

8. Article in an edited book

Wade, Mason
1988 French Indian Policies. In *History of Indian-White Relations*, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 4, William G. Sturtevant, general editor, pp. 20-28. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

9. Article in a journal

Murray, Jean E.
1938 The Early Fur Trade in New France and New Netherland. *Canadian Historical Review* XIX:367.

10. Article in edited volume in a series

Noble, William C.
1992 Neutral Iroquois Smoking Pipes. In *Proceedings of the 1989 Smoking Pipe Conference*, edited by Charles F. Hayes III, Connie C. Bodner, and Martha L. Sempowski, pp. 41-49. Research Records No. 22. Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, New York.

11. Presented paper

Ceci, Lynn
1985 Shell Bead Evidence from Archaeological Sites in the Seneca Region of New York State. Paper presented at the Annual Conference on Iroquois Research, Rensselaerville, New York.

12. Dissertation or thesis

Drooker, Penelope B.
1996 *The View from Madisonville: Continuity and Change in Late Prehistoric Protohistoric Western Fort Ancient Interaction Patterns*. Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York, Albany. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

13. Manuscript in press

Brown, William T.
2000 Early Days in Livingston County. New Horizons Press. In Press.

14. Unpublished manuscript

Wray, Charles F.
1978 Field notes: Fugle Site. MS on file, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, New York.

15. Web pages and electronic documents

Sharp, John
2008 Washington District of Columbia Biographies: Louis Deblois. Electronic document, http://genealogytrails.com/washdc/bio_deblois_1.html, accessed July 15, 2009.