THE BULLETIN

Number 114 1998

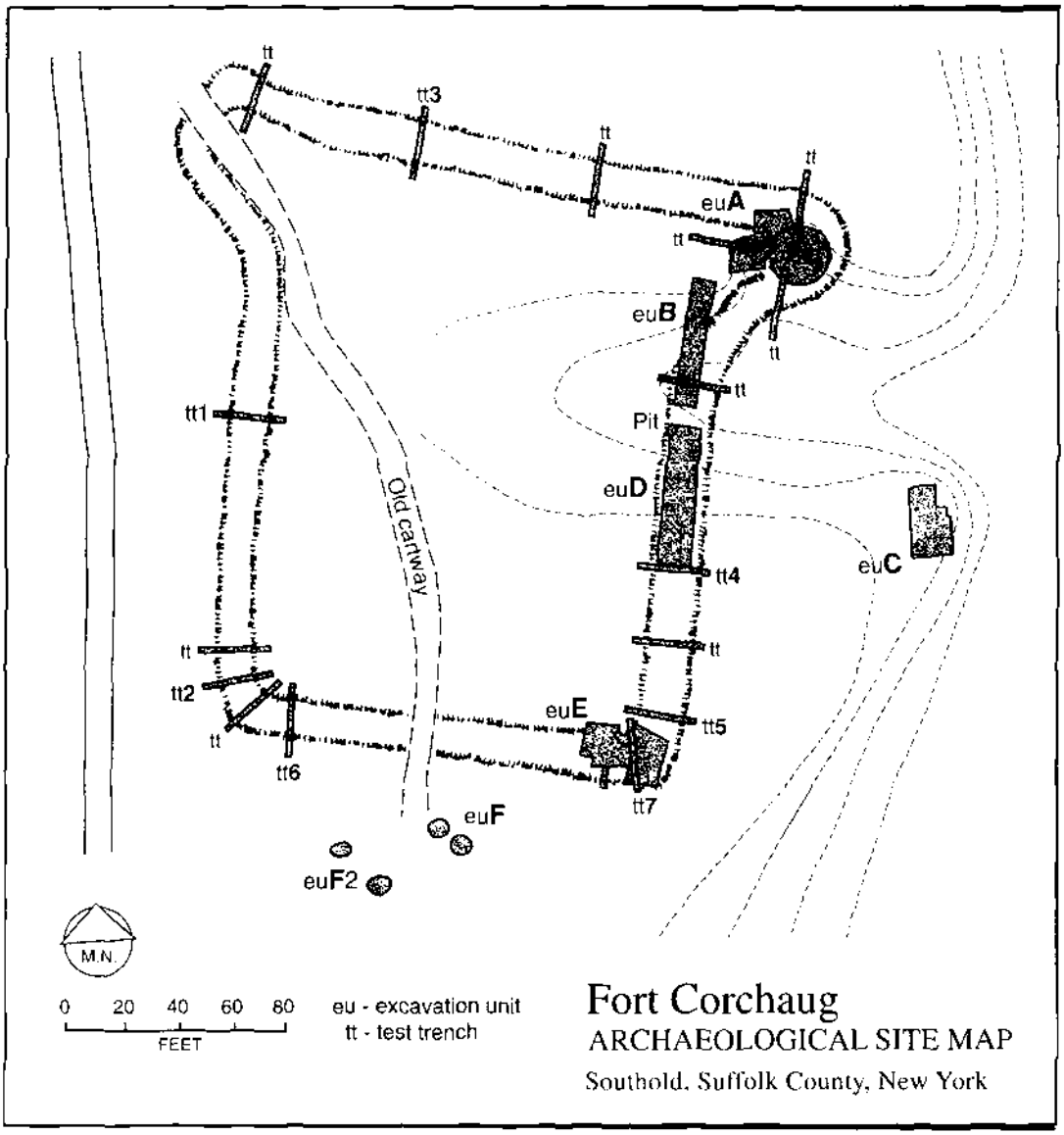
Historic Contact National Historic Landmarks in New York State

A Partnership Project of the
New York State Archaeological Association
and the National Park Service

Robert S. Grumet, Volume Editor

The Bulletin

Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association



Historic Contact National Historic Landmarks in New York State

A Partnership Project of the
New York State Archaeological Association
and the National Park Service

Number 114 **1998**

The New York State Archaeological Association

Officers

Publications

Researches and Transactions
The Bulletin
Occasional Papers

The Bulletin

Published by the New York State Archaeological Association.
Subscription by membership in NYSAA. For membership information write:
Annette Nohe, 7267 High View Terrace, Victor, NY 14564-9716

Back numbers may be obtained from
Publication Sales, Rochester Museum & Science Center,
657 East Avenue, Box 1480, Rochester New York 14603-1480

ISSN-1046-2368
Printed by Monroe Graphics, Rochester, New York.

America's National Archaeological Heritage

Francis P. McManamon
Chief Archeologist, National Park Service,
Departmental Consulting Archeologist, Department of the Interior; Washington, D.C.

This collection of articles based upon successful nominations of archaeological properties as National Historic Landmarks is another achievement in efforts that have focused on increasing the formal public recognition of nationally significant American archaeological properties. This effort began nearly 15 years ago and has resulted in professional cooperation, professional and avocational partnership projects, and many substantive professional and public products.

Archaeological properties now recognized as National Historical Landmarks include sites from the historic as well as prehistoric time periods. They include sites of a range of functional types, and they are located in all regions of the country. The nominations have resulted from the interest and efforts of private individuals and organizations, as well as public organizations at the local, state, and national levels of government. Professional archaeologists working in universities, for museums, as private contractors, and in public agencies all have played important roles in the nominations and listings.

Why are these new listings so important" There are several answers to this question. The most direct is that the list of National Historic Landmarks, which encompasses less than 3,000 properties throughout the nation, includes those properties recognized as nationally significant for a cultural or historical association with our country. Most of the properties listed are historic structures linked to events or individuals easily recognized as important the United States. Along with archaeological and historic units of the National Park System and National Monuments established by Congress or the President, National Historic Landmarks, which are designated by the Secretary of the Interior, stand as tangible, physical reminders of important points, patterns, and phases of our collective American history. Archaeological properties have been under-represented among National Historic Landmark listings since the inception of this listing, which is based upon the authorization in the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

For 12,000 years or longer, history of ancient America is only represented physically by archaeological properties. The under-representation of archaeological sites among National Historic Landmarks reflects the general lack of information about, and understanding of, ancient American history among most modern Americans. Similarly, since the ways of life and experiences of many Americans are not those of the economic, political, or social elite, their representation in the physical remains of American history is much more likely to be in archaeological deposits rather than in the historic structures like those that comprise most of the National Historic Landmark listings. By adding nationally significant archaeological properties to the list of National Historic Landmarks, we are correcting deficiencies.

By increasing archaeological NHLs, we also are enhancing the ancient and under-represented aspects of the American past that all modern Americans are related to. Coupled with modest, but increasing attention to these aspects of American history in the curricula of modern elementary and secondary schools, this increased attention to the physical remains emphasizes the complete range of America's human past.

The educational potential and realized value of archaeological NHLs also builds public support for the preservation and protection of archaeological sites generally. If some archaeological sites can be nationally important, is it not possible that many sites have educational, scientific, or commemorative value, that should be considered before they are damaged or destroyed? Spin-offs from the idea of national importance can improve the chances that at state, regional, and local levels, archaeological resources will be taken into account as part of environmental planning and community development.

The efforts that the National Park Service at the national, regional, and local levels have made to identify, describe, and increase public awareness of the importance of archaeological NHLs is part of a larger national plan to emphasize certain kinds of actions and programs for archaeological interpretation, preservation, and protection. Known as "The National Strategy for Federal Archeology," this listing of recommended activities encompasses the improvement of public education and outreach in archaeology; the protection of in situ resources, as well as archaeological collections, reports, and records; use of archaeological research and interpretations to improve our understanding of the past; and, improvements in the communication of technical as well as popular archaeological information.

It is a pleasure for me personally, professionally, and programmatically to recognize the successful efforts of Dr. Robert S. Grumet in organizing and overseeing the Historic Contact NHL theme study from which these articles are drawn. Also deserving of credit for supporting this activity and keeping it focused upon is Lloyd N. Chapman of the NPS Philadelphia office. At the NPS Washington office, Richard C. Waldbauer has been a leading supporter of and contributor to the archaeological NHL effort. Dr. David S. Brose, representing the Society for American Archaeology, has from the beginning of the archaeological NHL effort directed the work of a host of archaeologists in writing and reviewing nominations and theme study chapters. I thank them all and the hundreds of others who have contributed to this program.

I also thank the New York State Archaeological Association for allowing us to publicize the NHL effort and for providing such a fine venue for publishing some of the good work that has been achieved.

Bringing Public Archaeology to the Public

David S. Brose
Director; Schiele Museum of Natural History, Gastonia, North Carolina

All of the sites described in the articles published in this special issue of the New York State Archaeological Association Bulletin are remarkable for the richness and integrity of their archaeological deposits. They are also equally fortunate in having nearly unbroken historical archival records relating to their deposits. The lives and actions of those who worked, fought, and died at these sites are bold threads in the fabric of our nation's history.

This is why these six sites have been designated as National Historic Landmarks by the Secretary of the Interior, an honor accorded few prehistoric or early contact period archaeological sites. Of less than 3,000 National Historic Landmarks across the United States and its territories, no more than 120 are archaeological sites of any kind. Indeed, every National Historic Landmark exemplifies unique and nationally significant characteristics representing major themes in America's past.

To assess these characteristics, each nomination of a potential National Historic Landmark must identify and explicate the relevant historical themes which the site represents in exhaustive detail. Since 1984 every archaeological site proposed for National Historic Landmark consideration has been reviewed by a panel of professional archaeologists appointed by the Society for American Archaeology and the Society for Historical Archaeology. The panel's task is to ensure that the documentation of every nominated property meets stringent criteria of national significance and integrity. I have been a member of this panel since 1985, and served as its chair from 1986 to 1993 during the time when the Historic Contact theme study was developed. This massive undertaking, completed in 1995, coordinated the contributions of several hundred professional and avocational specialists and the efforts of state and federal agencies in a seventeen-state area of the Northeast. Four of the sites reported here, Fort Orange, Schuyler Flatts, the Mohawk Upper Castle, and Old Fort Niagara, served as exemplars of distinct classes of Historic Contact period sites in the region. Based on criteria established by that study, the two other sites reported here, Fort Corchaug and the Lower Landing, each with comparatively unique characteristics and each illuminating a different aspect of the era, were later determined to be worthy of designation as National Historic Landmarks; a new thematic study was not needed.

The value of this approach has been immediately apparent to public officials charged with managing cultural resources. But the public benefit goes well beyond bureaucratic efficiency. Publicly funded research conducted during this study is now far more widely available in a narrative version of the report published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1995. Now, in this special volume, six individual nomination reports of Historic Contact period archaeological National Historic Landmarks in New York State are also available to the public. With new maps and illustrations, and a bibliography documenting site information at an intensive level of detail, these nomination reports are brought into the world's archaeological literature through a unique partnership between the National Park Service and the New York State Archaeological Association. We are all made richer by this effort. Like artifacts exposed in the first shovel test of an undisturbed archaeological site, these reports show us something of the unexplored historic treasures buried in federal cultural resource management file

Introduction

Robert S. Grumet
Archeologist, Cultural Resources Group,
Stewardship and Partnerships Team, Philadelphia Support Office,
Northeast Region, National Park Service, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The six articles presented in this special issue of the New York State Archaeological Association *Bulletin* are revised versions of nomination forms used to designate six Historic Contact period archaeological resources in New York State as National Historic Landmarks. Each represents the work of dedicated investigators who have given years of their lives to study and preserve the archaeological heritage of our nation. It has been my privilege, as coordinator of the *Historic Contact in the Northeast National Historic landmark Theme Study*, to work with the authors to format and submit the nomination forms that have served as the vehicles for these National Historic Landmark designations.

These articles are a product of an innovative and ongoing partnership project begun in 1989 that continues to harness together the energies and efforts of the National Park Service, the Society for American Archaeology, the Society for Historical Archaeology, and State Historic Preservation Offices, state archaeological societies, and other archaeological community constituents in a 14-state region stretching across the northeast from Maine to Virginia. Supported by information and review comments supplied by more than 200 professional and avocational colleagues, project personnel identified more than 800 archaeological resources containing identifiable deposits associated with the period of Indian-European contact dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Over 50 of these sites were studied for potential nomination, and 19, including the 6 properties described in this volume, have been designated by the Secretary of the Interior as National Historic Landmarks preserving intact resources possessing the potential to yield scientific information of national significance relating to a major period of American history.

The National Park Service has utilized theme studies as vehicles to systematically designate groups of thematically related National Historic Landmarks for more than 50 years. Each has drawn upon key specialists and studies to produce designation documents representing state-of-the-art knowledge and assessments. Many have been written for general audiences, and several have been put into print, including *Historic Contact*, which was published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1995. This special issue represents a new effort to bring the highly detailed and exhaustively reviewed information contained in individual National Historic Landmark nomination forms to larger readerships. In the past, nomination forms generally have been locked away in file drawers accessible to small numbers of agency employees. The articles in this volume not only reveal the wealth of information contained in these forms, they also demonstrate how nominations prepared with an eye canted towards publication can be efficiently and effectively modified for presentation in scholarly journals. As products of tax-funded programs, individuals and groups can freely incorporate nomination and theme study text into brochures, exhibit labels, and other media capable of increasing public awareness of the importance of our archaeological heritage.

The articles published here are not the first nominations of Historic Contact National Historic Landmarks in New York to appear in print. The nomination used to designate Fort Massapeag in Nassau County was published in an earlier issue of *The Bulletin*. And the Archaeological Society of New Jersey published Jerome Jacobson's nomination of the Ward's Point site in Richmond County.

Many people and agencies have contributed time and resources to produce this special issue. Funding was provided by the New York State Archaeological Association and the Archeology and Ethnography Program of the National Park Service's National Center for Stewardships and Partnerships in Washington, D. C. All nominations were reviewed by the Archaeological National Historic Landmark Committee of the Society for American Archaeology and the Society for Historical Archaeology, the History Areas Committee of the Park Systems Advisory Board, and the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Each of the authors volunteered their time and expertise.

Charles Hayes and Martha Sempowski copy-edited all manuscript text. James Farrell of the National Park Service Philadelphia Support Office designed and drafted the cover illustration.

Fort Corchaug Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark

Ralph S. Solecki
Department of Anthropology, Texas A & M University, College Station, Texas

Lorraine E. Williams
Bureau of Archaeology and Ethnology, New Jersey State Museum, Trenton, New Jersey

The Fort Corchaug Archaeological Site was designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) on January 20, 1999, under Criterion 6: a property that has yielded or has the potential "to Yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States" by revealing and preserving information of major scientific importance associated with still poorly understood aspects of Montauk County Indian life and inter-cultural relations along the North Atlantic coast during the first half of the .seventeenth century.

This article is an abridged version of the NHL nomination form used to document the site's significance (Solecki, Williams, and Grumet 1998). Much of the information utilized in the nomination form was drawn from Solecki (1950) and Williams (1972).

Background and Overview

The Fort Corchaug Archaeological Site (hereinafter referred to as Fort Corchaug) is situated on the east side of Fort Neck, a level point of land jutting south into eastern Long Island's Peconic Bay in the hamlet of Cutchogue, Town of Southold, Suffolk County, New York. The site is located in an area of coastal mixed oak forest about one-half mile southwest of Cutchogue.

Fort Corchaug is identified in the *Historic Contact National Historic Landmark Theme Study* as the site containing the most intact and best documented known archaeological deposits preserving evidence of historically documented Indian life in Montauk Country (Grumet 1995:160). All other known aboriginal archaeological sites in eastern Long Island either pre-date or post-date the Historic Contact period, contain fragmentary Historic Contact components, or (in most cases), have been totally destroyed by erosion, development, or looting.

Systematic archaeological test excavations conducted at the locale at various times between 1936 and 1996 have repeatedly discovered closely associated Historic Contact period component diagnostic European and aboriginal artifacts. All have been found within an intact midden layer and associated pit, hearth, postmold, and trench features in and around the fort's earthen embankment. Analysis of these findings confirms archival records indicating that Eastern Algonquian-speaking Corchaug Indian people closely related to the neighboring Montauk, Manhasset, and Shinnecock communities erected, occupied, and abandoned Fort Corchaug between 1630 and 1660.

Archaeologist Ralph S. Solecki, whose research activities at Fort Corchaug began in 1936, recorded the first detailed measurements of the site after brush-clearing operations undertaken by the landowner revealed the low embankments of a roughly quadrangular oblong earthwork. The fort's northern and western walls measured 210 ft in length; the east wall was 180 ft long, and the south wall measured 160 ft in length. This embankment enclosed an area slightly less than three-quarters of an acre in extent.

The paucity of known deposits within the fort perimeter, the location of features suggestive of the complex baffle-gate pattern used in other Indian defensive works in the region in the stockade's southeastern corner, and the presence of circular depressions identified as house-patterns just beyond the southern embankment line indicate that the fort was primarily used as a temporary place of refuge by Corchaug people living immediately south of the fort. Discoveries of substantial amounts of whelk columnella (the tightly coiled central section of the whelk shell), other shell fragments, sandstone abrading stones, and finished white cylindrical wampum beads in and beyond the embankment walls further suggests that Corchaug people used the locale as a place for manufacturing wampum shell beads.

Meticulously crafted from hard clam and whelk shells abundant in eastern Long island waters, wampum played important roles in regional socio-political networks and trade relations. Indian people throughout eastern North America regarded wampum as a rare and spiritually significant substance. Wampum exchanges marked all important social occasions. Messengers carried strings of wampum to call people together. Wide bands bearing distinctive abstract designs known as belts came to both symbolize and record important events and actions. Recognizing in it characteristics of rarity, durability, uniformity, and portability prized in their own cur-

rencies, early European colonists used wampum as a form of money until sufficient amounts of metal coinage and paper specie became available (Ceci 1977; Orchard 1929; Williams and Flinn 1990).

The Corchaug Indians lived in the midst of what was the single most important wampum producing region in seventeenth-century America. The archaeological remains of Fort Corchaug are located at the southeastern corner of Fort Neck, a level expanse of sandy glacial outwash plain lying 20 ft above mean sea level. Fort Neck is one of several lobes of land on the North Fork of eastern Long Island jutting into Great Peconic Bay. Great Peconic Bay is a 16-mi-long and 4 mi-wide body of salt-water separated from Long Island Sound to the north by Long Island's North Fork, from the Atlantic Ocean to the south by the South Fork, and from Gardiners Bay to the east by Shelter Island.

Fort Corchaug deposits lie in upper levels of sandy silt loams first deposited atop fine gravel subsoils during the Ronkonkoma stage of the Wisconsin glaciation some 12,000 years ago. Downs Creek, a salt-water stream flowing into Peconic Bay, runs less than 150 ft east of the site. It is fed by a small fresh-water stream originating less than one-half of a mile farther north on the North Fork.

Investigators have found Late Archaic period chipped stone projectile points, Transitional Late Archaic/Early Woodland Orient Culture fishtail points and soapstone bowl fragments, and Early Woodland grit-tempered Vinette ceramics in and around Fort Corchaug. Some of these materials have been identified in deposits within the National Historic Landmark in soils underlying the fort's midden layer, in shovel test probes dug north of the fort, and as surface finds concentrated to the south of the embankment wall. Substantially larger assemblages of prehistoric material have been found just beyond the National Historic Landmark boundaries farther south at the Baxter site and immediately to the north at the South site. These findings indicate that Indian people lived along the shores of Downs Creek at various times for at least 6,000 years prior to European intrusion. Europeans are known to have sailed into Peconic Bay as New England colonists drifted towards war with the Pequot Indians living in eastern Connecticut just across Long Island Sound in 1636. Some of the Pequot captives given to eastern Long Island Indians by the English following their defeat of the Pequots in 1637 may also have settled among the Corchaugs.

Direct documentation explicitly mentioning Corchaug Indian people, however, only first appeared while another war ravaged the region (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[14]:60; Shurtlieff and Pulsifer 1854-61[9]:18-19). Fought between 1643 and 1645 and known as Governor Kieft's War, after the Dutch governor widely believed to have been its instigator, it was a violent conflict in which Dutch colonists and their English allies defeated and subjugated Indian communities throughout Long Island and the Hudson River Valley (Trelease 1960:60-84).

The entire known corpus of written records documenting the Corchaug Indians consists of a handful of deeds, council minutes, and brief notations made by Dutch officials and English colonists moving to the area from nearby New England in the years following Kieft's War (Case 1882[2]: 194, 229-30, 267). These documents reveal little more than some Corchaug place names and the names and relationships of a few prominent sachems and some other individuals. Prominent Long Island antiquarian William Wallace Tooker suggested that the name Corchaug derived from the Algonquian word *kehchauke*, "greatest or principal place" (Tooker 1911:58). Written records mentioning Corchaug people signed between 1640 and 1662 indicate close political and family connections with nearby Indian communities around Peconic Bay. The first Corchaug sachem recorded by name in English documents, for example, a man named Momoweta, was reportedly the brother of chief men at Montauk on the eastern tip of the South Fork, Shinnecock on the South Fork, and among the Manhasset, an Indian nation inhabiting Shelter Island (Strong 1997:229).

Corchaug lands were first colonized by Europeans shortly after the New Haven colony granted a charter to townsfolk interested in establishing a town of their own in the heart of Corchaug territory in 1649. Naming their new town Southold, they initially settled along its easternmost portions. Intent upon expanding their settlements, Southold colonists only began moving farther west to Cutchogue in 1660 after population losses caused by epidemics and Narragansett raids rendered the Corchaugs unable to resist intrusion onto their lands.

Although local traditions state that the first English settlers saw an Indian stockade on the east side of Fort Neck (Case 1882[1]:120-21), only one record, a 1662 deed, directly documents the site as within "Fourte Neck bounds from the Cartwaye to the spring over against where the fort did stand" (Case 1882[1]:1). Southold town records affirm that most Corchaug Indian people moved to land set aside for them at nearby Hog Neck just east of Fort Neck in 1664 (Case 1882[1]:365). Worsening relations with English neighbors compelled most of these people to relocate onto Indian Neck three miles farther east by 1685.

A census taken in 1698 recorded that 40 Indian people, "young and old," lived within the town of Southold (O'Callaghan 1849-51[1]:673). Although most Corchaug Indian people probably moved from Indian Neck to Indian reservations at Shinnecock, Montauk, and Poosepatuck (established by 1666 farther west in Mastic, Long Island) by

the time land there was thrown open to English settlement in 1719, Indians in Southold continued to press for return of their last lands in the final record documenting their presence in the town dated 1764 (O'Callaghan 1849-51[3]:392-394).

Archaeological Resources

Due to the extremely sparse nature of existing written documentation, intact archaeological resources represent the only other major source of information capable of shedding further light on Corchaug Indian history and culture. Happily, shallowly buried intact archaeological resources preserved at the Fort Corchaug Site represent one of the very few deposits in the region to escape significant damage from erosion, plowing, vandalism, or development. Also, unlike most other Long Island Indian archaeological sites, the location of Fort Corchaug was not forgotten after its abandonment. The fort's earthen embankment remained visible as ownership of the 200-acre farm containing the uncultivated wooded site passed through various owners from 1662 up to the present time.

Although visibility often acted as a beacon luring diggers and vandals to a locale, this was not the case at Fort Corchaug. All of the locale's property owners seem to have been aware of the site's historical significance. Although one farmer made a narrow cut west and south across the embankment to accommodate a dirt cartway that has since disappeared, all owners refrained from plowing or other activities capable of destroying the locale's shallowly buried and highly vulnerable archaeological deposits.

At least one owner, Henry Downs, is known to have actively protected Fort Corchaug by encouraging local interest in the site. Local records affirm that Downs, whose grandfather purchased the property in 1805, showed the site to at least two visitors during the late 1800s. One of these, town surveyor and local historian James Case, wrote after his visit that "the lines of the embankment and the trenches which surrounded the fort, are still to be traced" (Case 1882[1]:120-21). Downs also took the earlier-mentioned antiquarian William Wallace Tooker on a tour of the locale in 1891. Observing that the site remained visible under the heavy woods and dense brush covering the locale, Tooker recommended in the pages of the April, 1893 issue of Long Island Magazine (Tooker 1893) that Fort Corchaug be preserved and fenced as an historically significant monument.

Tooker was among several avocationalists known to have collected artifacts at Fort Corchaug during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The collection of one of these men, a Mr. Alburtus, is presently curated by the National Museum of the American Indian under the erroneous catalog heading of the Three Mile Harbor site. Solecki discovered the mistake when one of Alburtus's collaborators, a local collector named Charles F. Goddard, told him that the materials had actually come from Fort Corchaug, some ten miles to the northwest of Three Mile Harbor across Peconic Bay.

Solecki conducted his first test excavation at Fort Corchaug on April 15, 1936. Impressed by the site's research potential, he ultimately made 67 one-day field visits to the locale between 1936 and July 18, 1948 (Solecki 1950, 1992-93). Although he usually worked alone, Solecki was occasionally accompanied by Columbia University graduate students, friends, and colleagues like Carlyle S. Smith, Clifford Evans, and Betty Meggers. Obtaining some of their earliest field experience at Fort Corchaug, Solecki, Smith, Evans, and Meggers subsequently went on to make major contributions to the development of American archaeology (Figure 1).

Solecki excavated fourteen numbered test units at Fort Corchaug (Figure 2). Eleven of these, labeled Excavation Units A, B, D, E, and 1-7, were made at various places along the embankment. Two small units, F1 and F2, were excavated

Figure 1. Photograph of a test trench excavation at the southwest corner of the palisade embankment, 3 August 1947. Fort Corchaug Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark, Suffolk County, New York. Clifford Evans stands in the trench; Carlyle S. Smith takes notes on the right. (Photograph courtesy of Ralph Solecki).

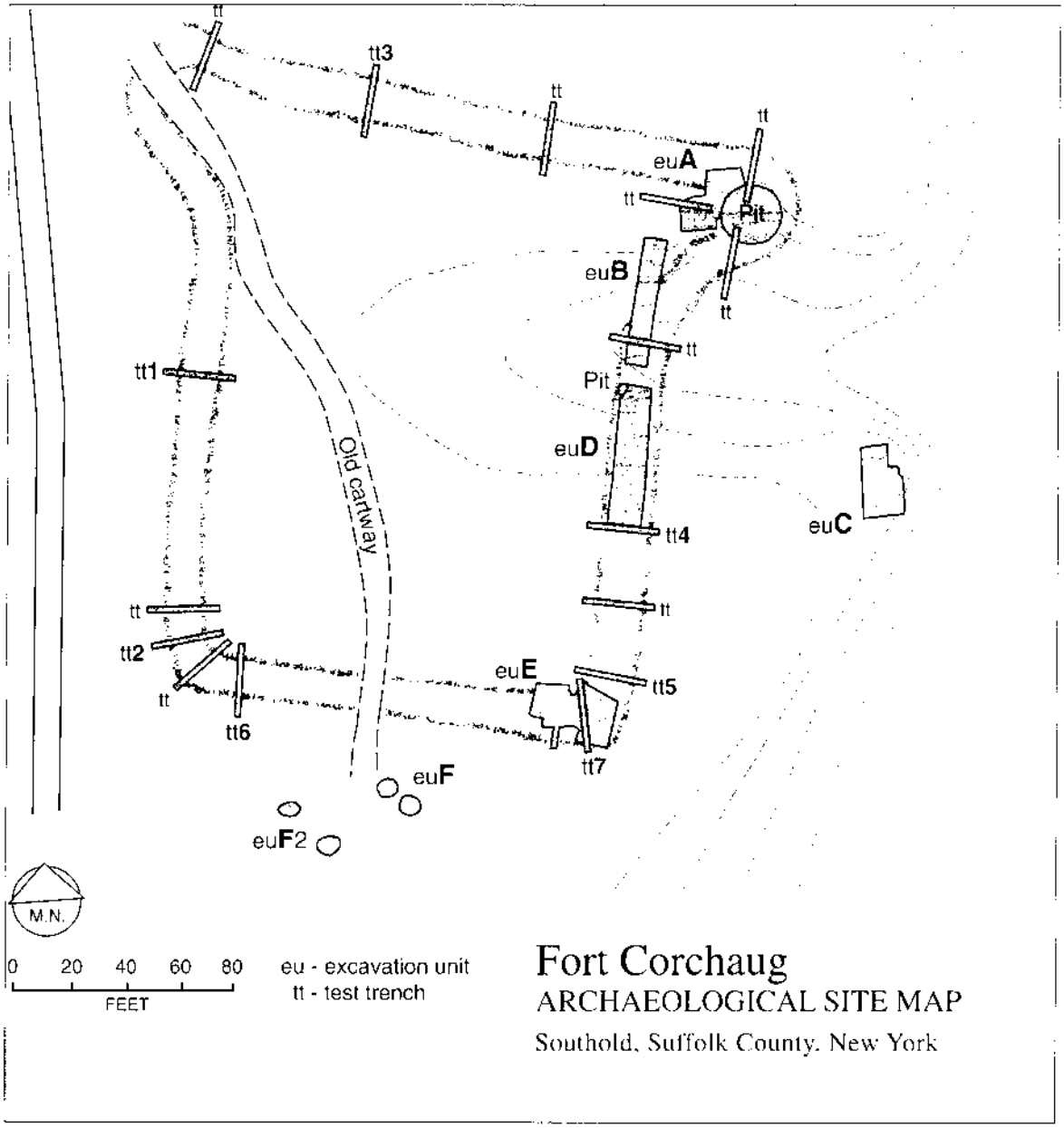


Figure 2. Map of Solecki test excavations, 1936-1948. Fort Corchaug Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark, Suffolk County, New York (Solecki 1950:16: Revised by James Farrell, National Park Service, Philadelphia, 1998).

40 ft beyond the fort's south wall. Another area, Excavation Unit C, was situated at a shell midden located above the banks of Downs Creek, approximately 140 ft to the east of the site.

Seven numbered 10 ft- to 25 ft-long narrow Test Trenches were situated at various places in the embankment wall. Solecki and his colleagues also dug nine smaller and narrower sondages into other parts of the embankment. Care was taken to disturb as little of the site as possible. Most work was confined to the perimeter wall area; less than one percent of the 34,000-sq-ft interior area was affected.

Solecki and his colleagues took extensive field notes and photographs. A total of 49 profile drawings were made of test trench and other site excavations (Figure 3). Most of these notes remain in Solecki's possession at this writing.

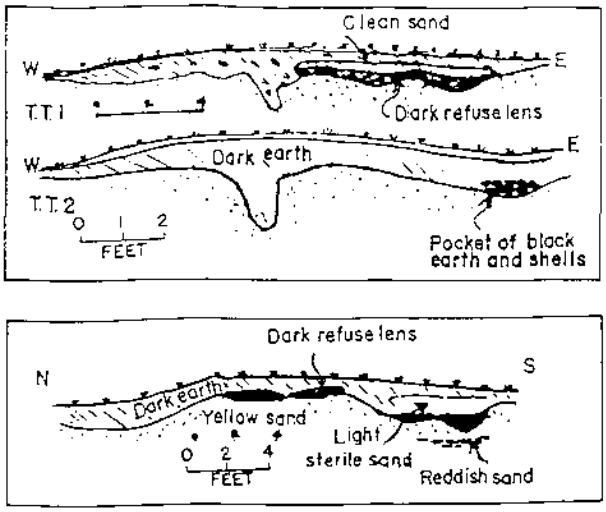


Figure 3. Test trench profile drawings. Fort Corchaug Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark, Suffolk County. New York. The upper drawings depict Test Trenches 1 and 2 excavated across the west embankment wall: the lower drawing depicts Test Trench 3 excavated across the north embankment wall (Solecki 1950:19).

Soil layers were removed by natural level. Most excavated soils were sifted through one-half inch screen. Midden soils were sifted through one-quarter in screen-mesh.

These excavations exposed postmolds and ditches of an oblong fort stockade with bastions at its northern ends, a double line of posts along its eastern side, and the earlier-mentioned parallel trenches believed to be the remains of the type of baffle entrance often used to secure entry into contemporary North Atlantic Indian forts (Figure 4). One large storage pit and several smaller pits and hearths were found near the embankment walls. Midden deposits examined in Excavation Unit C contained numerous shell fragments, artifacts of aboriginal and European manufacture, and fish, bird, and mammal bones. Two 8 ft-diameter circular areas of darkly stained soil were uncovered in Units F1 and F2 immediately south of the southern embankment wall. Extending up to 1 ft beneath the humus layer and containing postmolds, shellfish fragments, and hearth depressions, both were believed to represent remains of sunken circular houses of the type uncovered by Mark R. Harrington at the terminal Late Woodland Sebonac site in Southampton on the south shore of Peconic Bay (Harrington 1924:238-39).

Substantial amounts of cultural material were recovered from midden deposits encountered in all excavation units. Numerous deer and other mammal bones (including the jaw bone of a horse) were found mixed with bird bones, sturgeon plates and other fish remains, and thousands of shell fragments in darkly stained charcoal -flecked midden layer soils.

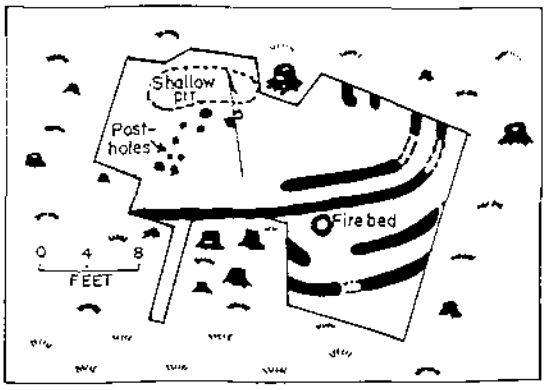


Figure 4. Plan view of Excavation Unit E, showing palisade and baffle-gate trench-lines. Fort Corchaug Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark. Suffolk County, New York (Solecki 1950:17).

The aboriginal assemblage recovered in these deposits included one terminal Late Woodland period diagnostic triangular chipped stone projectile point, a small number of other chipped and ground stone artifacts, several bone awls and needles, a conical antler projectile point, three finished cylindrical white wampum shell beads, and more than 1,000 whelk columnella representing all phases of wampum manufacture.

The sample of nearly 1,000 sherds of Shantok-type pottery comprises a particularly significant part of the site assemblage. A stylistically distinctive ware initially identified at Fort Shantok in nearby Connecticut (Rouse 1947), Shantok pottery is closely associated with Mohegan and Pequot potters producing these wares during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Possibly brought to Corchaug country by Pequot captives forced to settle in Long Island after 1637, Shantok pottery has since been found to be a highly sensitive temporal diagnostic indicator capable of identifying cultural affiliations and occupation dates of mid-seventeenth-century Indian occupations in eastern portions of Connecticut and Long Island.

Stems and bowl fragments of white clay tobacco smoking pipes dominated the European-made portion of the site assemblage. The bulbous bowl forms, EB maker's marks, and diagnostic stem diameter measurements observed in this sample revealed that all were of types exported from Holland during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Other European materials unearthed by Solecki at the locale included 13 pieces of lead-glazed redware, several cut nails, knives, needles, and other iron artifacts, a number of glass bottle fragments, a brass latten spoon handle, two metal mouth harps, five gunflints, and four metal projectile points.

Analysis of these findings, first presented in a Masters thesis submitted to the Columbia University Department of

Anthropology (Solecki 1948) and published two years later in the *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut* (Solecki 1950), affirmed that Fort Corchaug was the site of a stockade and wampum manufactory used by Corchaug Indian people between the 1630s and 1660s. Collecting and comparing archival and archaeological data on other North Atlantic Indian forts, Solecki's research findings at Fort Corchaug made additional significant contributions to the understanding of regional patterns of settlement, trade, and warfare.

Maintaining an enduringly strong research interest in the area, Solecki conducted further investigations in and around Fort Corchaug after 1950. In 1960 he conducted limited surface survey at the site while undertaking extensive excavations at the nearby Baxter Site with then Columbia University faculty colleague Bert Salwen (Salwen 1966). One year later, Solecki assisted New York State Archaeologist William A. Ritchie's work on the Orient component at the Baxter Site (Ritchie 1969:169-70). On February 20, 1985, Solecki relocated the palisade embankment line while conducting a surface condition assessment of the site with members of the Cutchogue-New Suffolk Historical Society (Solecki 1985:29-30). Visiting the site with Myra Case of the Cutchogue-New Suffolk Historical Society, Southold Town Supervisor Jean W. Cochran, and several local preservationists on July 2, 1997, Solecki re-identified the open depression at the northeastern corner of the embankment as the locale of the bastion and midden he first excavated nearly sixty years earlier (McQuiston 1997).

In 1965, Lorraine E. Williams, then a graduate student in anthropology at New York University studying under the direction of Bert Salwen, led a field crew to Fort Corchaug. Williams's team tested seven areas in and around the stockade area. Soil profiles revealed during these tests affirmed that the shallowly buried deposits reported by Solecki remained largely undisturbed. Dark sandy brown shell-filled midden layers found in two of the tested areas were subjected to more intensive wide area sampling.

Intensive investigations conducted at the first tested area, Excavation Unit IV, consisted of five contiguous 5 ft by 5 ft squares located along the eastern flank of the fort stockade line. Discovery of several linear stain patterns confirmed the continuing presence of the two parallel palisade ditches first discovered by Solecki. Williams's team also uncovered a small irregularly shaped, basin-like pit identified as the remains of earlier pot-hunting and two intact pit features along the eastern side of the unit just beyond the embankment line. The smaller of these features, a 22 in-diameter circular pit, extended 21 in beneath the bottom of the overlying midden level. The other feature was a larger but shallower, irregularly shaped 55 in-wide pit measuring 14 in at its maximum depth.

The second test area found to contain substantial intact deposits. Excavation Unit VI was situated immediately beyond the northern end of the fort embankment. Williams's crew excavated a 10 ft-long trench measuring 7 ft in width and an adjacent 5 ft by 5 ft square in this area. Two unstratified pit features and one pit contained stratified fill suggestive of two depositional episodes were discovered and tested in this area.

Artifact types and percentages comprising the assemblage recovered in these excavations closely resembled those reported by Solecki. Williams's team ultimately cataloged several pieces of quartzite debitage, four quartzite bifaces (including one triangular projectile point fragment), several hundred sherds of Shantok-type ware, and more than 450 whelk columnella. The European portion of the assemblage included a number of square cut nails, a tin-plated seal-top spoon handle, one lead musket ball, a fragment of lead sprue, three gray gunflints, 17 pieces of redware, a fragment of clear window glass, five pieces of dark green wine bottle glass, and 38 white clay tobacco smoking pipe stem and bowl fragments. Maps and field notes documenting these findings are currently in storage at the New Jersey State Museum in Trenton. Analysis of these materials, however, is reported in Williams's much-cited doctoral dissertation (Williams 1972). These findings confirmed Solecki's findings and affirmed Fort Corchaug's position as one of the most important sources for archaeological information documenting culture contact and change in the North Atlantic region.

In 1974, Fort Corchaug was listed in the National Register of Historic Places through the efforts of local community members organized by the aforementioned Myra Case (Rennenkampf 1974). Later that year, the Suffolk County Legislature unsuccessfully attempted to acquire the site as a county park from landowner William J. Baxter, Jr. In 1989, county and local officials authorized the use of Open Space Funds to tender an offer acceptable to Mr. Baxter. Land values dropped significantly before the agreement was finalized, and the landowner subsequently made plans to develop the property.

Responding to concerns voiced by local community members, Mr. Baxter funded Phase 1A archival research and Phase IB limited reconnaissance archaeological test investigations to determine if intact cultural deposits of national significance remained intact on the property (Cammisa 1994 and 1996). These investigations consisted of surface survey and widely placed shovel tests generally dug at 100 ft intervals along transect lines located in areas to the north, west, and south of the fort site. Surface finds of projectile points, scrapers, debitage, and other materials to the south of the fort and recovery of lithic debitage and buried shell and bone fragments in shovel test pits ST3 and ST13 to its north confirmed the

possibility that potentially significant archaeological resources remain intact in other parts of the 22.9602-acre site area (Coastal Environmental Corporation 1997 [2]: Appendix I B).

During this time, Mr. Baxter worked with local preservationists, town and county authorities, and the Peconic Land Trust (a private non-profit organization dedicated to preserving open space in eastern Long Island) to broker an arrangement that would satisfy both preservation and development interests in the property. After several years of negotiation, the Trust successfully arranged for the town to purchase the northernmost portion of the tract for preservation as parkland (Caulfield 1997; McMahon 1997). A 22.9602 acre section of this tract, entitled the "Fort Area," has been set aside for preservation. The land immediately south of this area has been purchased by Russell McCall, a private developer. Sensitive to the possibility that potentially significant resources may be located on his property. McCall and two other adjoining landowners agreed to limit the extent of future development and signed Deeds of Conservation Easement specifying procedures to be followed to safeguard cultural and natural resources located on the land. These easement deeds are on file in the Suffolk County Hall of Records in Riverhead, New York and copies are located in the offices of the Peconic Land Trust in Southampton.

Virtually all archaeological materials and associated field notes recorded during systematic excavations at Fort Corchaug are currently curated in museum facilities meeting 36CFR79 standards. The Smithsonian Institution curates most artifactual and archival materials amassed by Ralph Solecki at the site. These may be located under Accession Number 209544 and Catalog Numbers 411468-411538. Solecki also donated small study collections to the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History in New Haven, Connecticut and the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Collections made during Lorraine Williams's field season are presently on loan from New York University to the New Jersey State Museum in Trenton, New Jersey. The small Alburtus Collection, still attributed to the Three Mile Harbor site, continues to be managed by the National Museum of the American Indian. Materials and documentation from Phase 1A and 1B investigations conducted by Alfred Cammisa (1994 and 1996) are presently stored in the Southold Indian Museum.

Site Significance

Cultural resources preserved within the Fort Corchaug Archaeological Site comprise the only known assemblage of deposits archaeologically documenting social, political, and economic relations between Corchaug Indian people and colonists on eastern Long Island during the first half of the 1600s. Information recovered from Fort Corchaug deposits has served as the basis for two extensively-cited graduate theses (Solecki 1948 and Williams 1972) and most major regional archaeological syntheses published during the past 50 years (cf., Ceci 1977; Grumet 1995; Ritchie 1969; Smith 1950; Solecki 1950; Strong 1997).

Today, the Fort Corchaug Site survives as one of the best preserved archaeological locales associated with seventeenth-century Indian life in the North Atlantic region. Built, occupied, and abandoned at a time when overwhelming demographic, social, and political changes were forcing Corchaug Indian people to sell their lands at Cutchogue and move elsewhere, Fort Corchaug has yielded and continues to possess the potential to yield information of major scientific significance.

Although no written description of the locale has yet been found, archaeological evidence of earthen embankments and bastions indicate that Fort Corchaug addressed needs for defense and security. Discoveries of triangular brass, iron, and chipped stone projectile points in site midden deposits indicates that fort occupants relied upon the bow and arrow to defend their lands and lives. The small number of gunflints, musket balls, and lead sprue, as well as the total absence of gun parts, mutely affirms documented Dutch and English efforts limiting the trade of firearms to Corchaug and other Indian people living near European settlements on and around Long Island during the seventeenth century.

Discoveries of substantial numbers of other artifacts confirm that Fort Corchaug contains the most extensive surviving assemblage of archaeological materials documenting trade relationships between Indians and Europeans in Montauk Country during the early seventeenth century. Analyses of aboriginal ceramics and lithics found at the site illuminate regional patterns of contact between Indian people living in Montauk Country and those living north of Long Island Sound in Pequot and Mohegan country. Midden deposits at the site preserve the largest body of archaeological evidence in eastern Long Island documenting wampum shell bead production which was so critically important in regional economic relations during the 1600s. "EB" white clay tobacco pipes, brass and iron mouth harps, glazed redwares, and other imported goods provide physical evidence corroborating European records documenting the local Indian trade.

Fort Corchaug enjoyed unimpeded access to Peconic Bay 2,000 ft to the south. The site's strategic position on the banks of a stream flowing into a wide sheltered bay, astride important coastal and interior transportation routes, had long drawn people to the locale. Carrying canoes across short portages across the North Fork divide separating the Peconic Bay drainage from Long Island Sound to the west at Mattituck or farther east at Orient, travelers could easily journey to the

nearby New England mainland and paddle farther east and west on the relatively placid waters of Long Island Sound. Trails also linked Fort Corchaug to other parts of Long Island. Traveling these routes, people living at Fort Corchaug exchanged raw materials, goods, ideas, and visits with other Indian people and Europeans first sailing to North Atlantic shores during the first centuries of Historic Contact in the region. Dugout canoes and other objects associated with the locale's role as a port may lie preserved in submerged wetland strata bordering or underlying Downs Creek.

Although quartz pebbles left behind by retreating Pleistocene ice sheets provided Fort Corchaug occupants with some raw materials for tools and implements, most other lithic resources had to be imported. Diorite ground stone tools found at the site, for example, suggest contacts with Indian people living farther north in present-day Connecticut. Aboriginal ceramics found at Fort Corchaug further document contacts with other Indian people. Discoveries of substantial numbers of shell-tempered Shantok-type pottery suggest contact with Pequot and Mohegan people from nearby eastern Connecticut and may help reveal further information illuminating poorly known aspects of their relations. Findings of small numbers of incised and cord-marked collared wares, for their part, are suggestive of less intensive contacts with Munsee people living farther west in western Long Island and the adjacent Hudson and Delaware river valleys.

Discoveries of extensive quantities of whelk shells used to produce wampum beads in intact deposits also containing objects of European origin affirm that Fort Corchaug's occupants participated in widespread trade networks involving neighboring Indian communities and English settlers moving to eastern Long Island during the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

As mentioned earlier, Corchaug Indians devastated by epidemic contagion, defeated in wars with nearby Narragansett, Niantic. and other New England Indian groups, dominated by more populous native neighbors like the Montauks, and overwhelmed by successive waves of English colonists, were compelled to sell their lands on Long Island's North Fork by 1662. The absence of archaeological evidence post-dating 1650 at Fort Corchaug corroborates written records showing that most Corchaug people moved to the small reservation set aside for them by Southold town freeholders at Indian Neck by the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Discoveries of diagnostic European artifacts at Fort Corchaug indicate that its native inhabitants built the earthwork sometime during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Like Indian people living near Fort Massapeag on western Long Island, native people living nearby used Fort Corchaug as a workshop and temporary place of refuge. The lack of deposits clearly postdating 1650 at Fort Corchaug corroborates written records stating that most Corchaug Indian people moved away from the locale to Indian Neck after selling their last lands in Southold.

Site Integrity

Barring discovery of presently unknown documentation, more complete understanding of these and other aspects of Historic Contact period Corchaug community life and history can only come from intact archaeological deposits. Recent surface survey and limited shovel test excavations carried out between 1985 and 1996 (Solecki 1985, 1992-93; Cammisa 1994 and 1996; Coastal Environmental Corporation 1997) confirm that shallowly buried deposits remain intact beneath the unplowed forest floor at Fort Corchaug. Past investigators have largely limited their excavations to relatively small test trenches or units in and near the fort earthwork. Solecki, for example, excavated 15 narrow trenches transversely placed at various points along the palisade embankment. These affected approximately 1,200 sq ft of the embankment area. A further five areas of open excavation were located along the eastern embankment wall. This area totaled 1,600 sq ft. Additional open excavations into the midden 80 ft east of the site along the banks of Downs Creek, and in the area thought to contain Indian houses 40 ft to the south of the southern embankment affected a total area of 450 sq ft.

Excavations directed by Lorraine Williams involved a total of 1,875 sq ft of embankment area. Williams's excavations included sections of embankment previously excavated by Solecki or damaged by pot-hunters. Shovel test units placed along transect lines outside of the fort embankment elsewhere within the National Historic Landmark boundary in 1996 affected less than 50 sq ft of the total site area.

Solecki's and Williams's excavations affected little more than one-third of the earthen embankment (5,125 sq ft of the total 15,200 sq ft embankment area). Most of the 34,000 sq ft area within the fort embankment perimeter, for its part, has not been significantly damaged by either random pot-hunting or systematic test excavations. And little more than 1,000 sq ft of ground beyond the embankment walls have been systematically excavated. The rest of the 22.9602 acre site, including more than two-thirds of the embankment and most of fort interior, remains substantially intact.

Dense coastal-zone mixed oak woodland of the type documented earlier in the century continues to cover all portions of the site area. Most of the site surface is obscured beneath leaves and bushes. A shallow pit lined with shell fragments located at the northeastern corner of the fort embankment represents the only visible area of disturbance. At present, traces of the earthen embankment are not clearly visible from the surface.

References Cited

Cammisa, Alfred
1994 Phase 1A Archaeological Research Assessments of the Baxter Property, Town of Southold, Suffolk County, New York. Prepared by Greenhouse Consultants, Inc., New York. New York for the Maguire Group, Inc., Medford, New York. Report on file, Town Hall, Southold, New York.
1996 Phase 1B Archaeological Research Assessments of the Baxter Property, Town of Southold, Suffolk County New York. Prepared by Greenhouse Consultants, Inc., New York, New York for the Maguire Group, Inc.. Medford, New York. Report on file, Town Hall, Southold, New York.

Case, James W., editor
1882 *Southold Town Records.* 3 vols. S. W. Green, Southold, New York.

Caulfield, Tim
1997 Fort Corchaug Protected. *Peconic Land Trust Newsletter* 9(2):1-2. Southampton, New York.

Ceci, Lynn
1977 The *Effect of European Contact and Trade on the Settlement Pattern of Indians in Coastal New York, 1524-1665:* The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation on file in the Department of Anthropology, City University of New York Graduate Center, New York.

Coastal Environmental Corporation
1997 *Draft Environment Impact Statement for Indian Shores at Cutchogue, Town of Southold*, New York. 2 vols. Report prepared by Coastal Environmental Corporation, Brightwaters, New York for the Town of Southold Planning Board, Southold, New York. Report on file, Town Hall, Southold, New York.

Grumet, Robert S.
1995 *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Harrington, Mark R.
1924 An Ancient Village Site of the Shinnecock Indians. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 22(5):227-83.

McMahon, James
1997 *Fort Corchaug Park Plan*. Report on file, Town Hall, Southold, New York.

McQuiston, John T.
1997 Sale of Indian Fort on L. I. Preserves a Piece of History. *Long Island Newsday*, July 3, 1997.

O'Callaghan, Edmund B., editor
1849-51 *Documentary History of the State of New York* 4 vols. Weed, Parsons, Albany, New York..

O'Callaghan, Edmund B, and Berthold Fernow, editors
1853-87 *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. 15 vols. Weed, Parsons, Albany, New York.

Orchard, William C.
1929 Beads and Beadwork of the American Indians: A Study Based Upon Specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation* 11. New York.

Rennenkampf, Lenore M.
1974 *Fort Corchaug Nomination Form*. Report on File, National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, Washington D.C.

Ritchie, William A.
1969 *The Archaeology of New York State*. Revised edition. American Museum of Natural History Press, Garden City, New York.

Rouse, Irving
1947 Ceramic Traditions and Sequences in Connecticut. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut* 21:3-9.

Salwen, Bert
1966 Sea Levels and Archaeology in the Long Island Sound Area. *American Antiquity* 28(1):46-55.
1978 Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period. In *Northeast: Handbook of North American Indians* 15, edited by Bruce G. Trigger, pp. 160-76. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Shurtlieff, Nathaniel B. and David Pulsifer, editors
1854-61 *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*. 12 vols. William White, Boston.

Smith, Carlyle S.
1950 The Archaeology of Coastal New York. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 43(2):95-200.

Solecki, Ralph S.
1948 *The Archaeological Position of Historic Fort Corchaug, L. I. and its Relation to Contemporary Forts*. Unpublished Master's Thesis on file in the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York.
1950 The Archaeological Position of Historic Fort Corchaug, L. I. and its Relation to Contemporary Forts. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut* 24:3- 40.
1985 Recent Field Inspections of Two 17th-Century Indian Forts on Long Island. Forts Massapeag and Corchaug. *Bulletin and Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association* 91:26-31.
1992-93 Indian Forts of the Mid-17th Century in the Southern New England-New York Coastal Area. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 22-23:64-78.

Solecki, Ralph S., Lorraine E. Williams, and Robert S. Grumet
1998 *Fort Corchaug Archeological Site National Historic Landmark Nomination Form*. Manuscript on file, National Register Program Office, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Strong, John A.
1997 *Algonquian Peoples of Long Island From Earliest Times to 1700*. Empire State Books, Interlaken, New York.

Tooker, William Wallace
1893 Indian Relics. *Long Island Magazine*, April, 1893. Brooklyn, New York.
1911 *Indian Place-Names on Long Island*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Trelease, Allen W.
1960 *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York [Reprinted in 1995 by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln].

Williams, Lorraine E.
1972 *Fort Shantok and Fort Corchaug: A Comparative Study of Seventeenth-Century Culture Contact in the Long Island Sound Area*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation on file in the Department of Anthropology, New York University, New York.

Williams, Lorraine E., and Karen A. Flinn
1990 *Trade Wampum: New Jersey to the Plains.* New Jersey State Museum, Trenton.

Fort Orange Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark

Paul R. Huey
New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation,
Bureau of 'Historic Sites, Waterford, New York

The Fort Orange Archaeological Site, a small single-component archaeological property in the City of Albany, Albany County', New York, was designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1993. One of the best preserved and most intensively documented Historic Contact period Euro-American archaeological assemblages in upstate New York, the Fort Orange Archaeological Site meets NHL significance Criterion 6 as a property that has "yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance. "

This article is an abridged version of the NHL nomination form used to document the site's significance (Huey and Grumet 1993). Much of the information utilized in the nomination was drawn from Huey (1984, 1985, 1988a, 1988b, and 1991).

Background and Overview

The Secretary of the Interior designated the Fort Orange Archaeological Site as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) on April 19, 1993. Fort Orange was one of 17 properties designated for their significance in documenting relations between Indian people and colonists in the Northeast in the Historic Contact Theme Study (Grumet 1995). This article is an abridged version of the designation form used to nominate the Fort Orange Archaeological Site as a NHL (Huey and Grumet 1993). The writer, currently Senior Scientist (Archaeology) with the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation's Bureau of Historic Sites, and director of investigations at the Fort Orange excavations between 1970 and 1971, provided documentation and reviewed both the nomination form and extensively revised the present text initially prepared by National Park Service Archeologist Robert S. Grumet. The nomination form was reviewed by Charles T. Gehring, Director of the New Netherland Project, and the joint Society for American Archaeology and Society for Historical Archaeology Archeological NHL Committee.

The Fort Orange Archaeological Site (NYS Site Number A00140.000396) is located at the intersection of Interstate 787 and U.S. Routes 9 and 20 below the approaches of the new Dunn Memorial Bridge in the City of Albany, Albany County, New York (Figure 1). Most of the site deposit is preserved in clay and alluvial silt strata beneath 17 ft of fill supporting the present roadway complex. Parts of the western portion of the site also lie buried underneath an area of paved streets and city blocks immediately west of Interstate 787 bordered by Pruyn Street on the north, Broadway on the west, and Madison Avenue on the south.

Fort Orange Archaeological Site deposits preserve remains of a small half-acre fortified wooden-walled earthwork military post occupied by Dutch garrisons from 1624 to 1664 and between 1673 and 1674, and British troops between 1664 and 1673 and from 1674 to 1676. Archaeological excavations corroborate written records showing the fort to have been a European-style quadrangular fort whose outward dimensions measured about 150 ft on each side. The fort was flanked on each corner by a bastion, surrounded by a dtch, and had a wooden curtain wall. Discoveries of a wheel-lock firearm part, a small section of chain mail, gunflints, lead shot, and two iron cannonballs further attest to the military character of the fort. Glass beads, European white clay tobacco pipes, and other diagnostic artifacts found within intact features identified during salvage excavations conducted from 1970 to 1971 independently verify written records documenting building and rebuilding episodes at the fort between 1624 and 1676.

Dutch West India Company employees first built Fort Orange on a narrow and fertile flat alluvial plain along the western shore of the Hudson River in 1624. Two years later, they established the capital of their New Netherland colony at New Amsterdam on the southern tip of Manhattan 150 mi south of the site at the mouth of the river. Then as now, the Hudson was the largest navigable waterway penetrating the mountain barrier separating the Atlantic coast from the continent's interior.

Fort Orange was situated astride major overland routes just below the heads of navigation of both the Hudson River and its largest tributary, the Mohawk River. The Dutch built the fort on a bend in the west bank of the river with an eye toward taking advantage of its commanding view of the site's southern approaches. From the fort parapets, it was possible to see watercraft carrying people and goods upriver from Atlantic shores to and from Iroquois towns farther west in and beyond the Mohawk River Valley, Abenaki and French settlements to the north along the Champlain and St. Lawrence

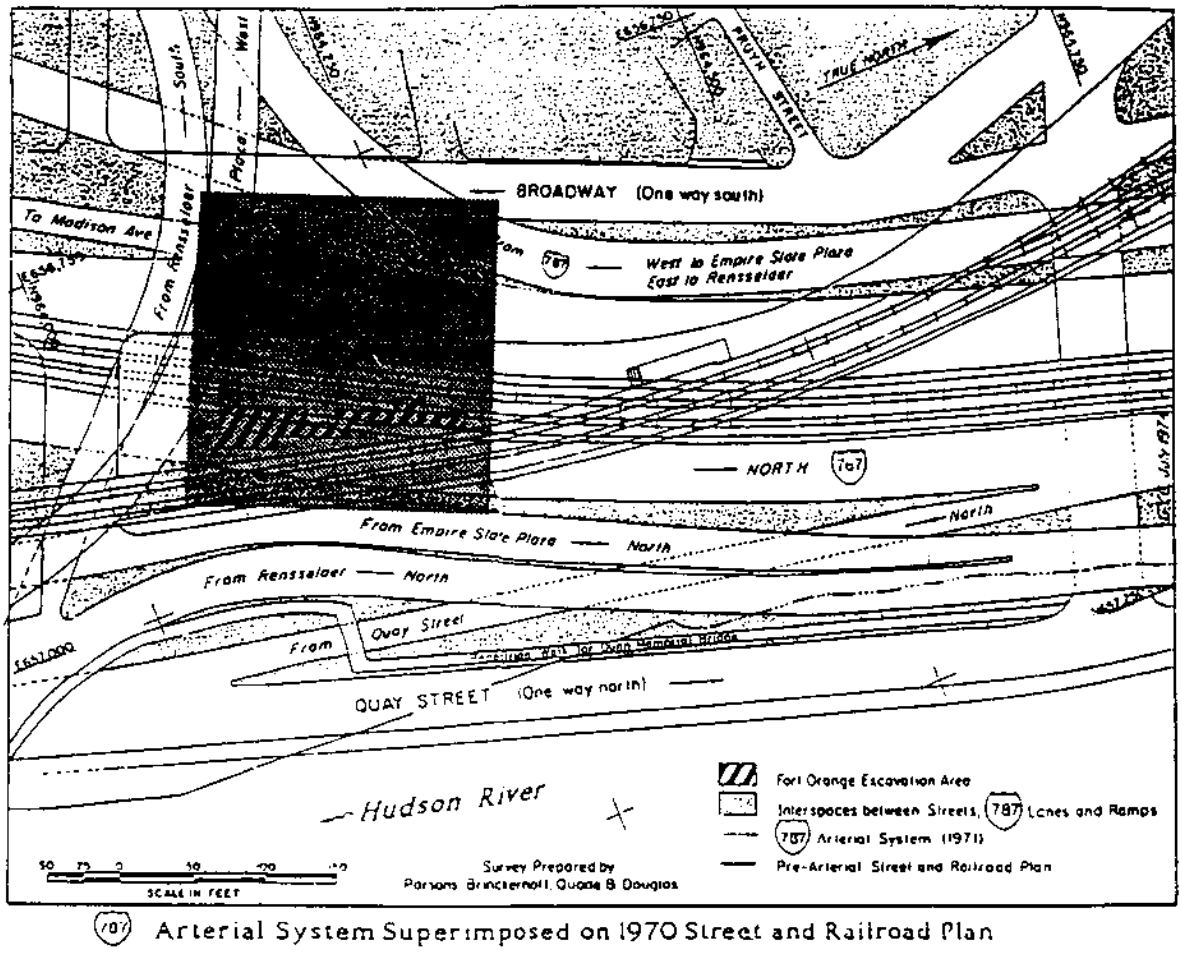


Figure l. Street plans before and after the construction of Interstate 787 in the area of the Fort Orange Archaeological Site. Albany. New York. The grey square marks the site of Fort Orange (Figure 58 in Huey 1988a:679).

Valleys, and Indian and English communities farther east in New England.

This position along one of the most strategic crossroads in the region made Fort Orange the single most important center of diplomacy and trade between the Dutch and Indian people in northeastern North America. Although the fort itself was abandoned in 1676, the town that grew near it continued to serve as a major focal point of regional social, political, and economic life throughout the colonial era. First called Beverwyck by the Dutch, it was given its modern name, Albany, when English forces sent by the Duke of York conquered New Netherland in 1664.

Archaeological evidence recovered during salvage excavations undertaken from 1970 to 1971 shows that site attributes had been drawing Indian people to the locale for at least 1.000 years when Henry Hudson, an English navigator employed by the Dutch, made the first recorded visit to the area in 1609. He was soon followed by other Dutch traders. Forming themselves into a corporation called the New Netherland Company in 1614, a cartel of prominent Dutch merchants authorized construction of a permanent trading post along the upper Hudson. A small wooden trade fort was soon erected on Castle Island at the mouth of the Normans Kill just south of the present Albany city limits. Named Fort Nassau, it was a square redoubt surrounded by an 18 ft-wide moat and walls measuring 58 ft in length on each side.

ort Nassau was located in the heart of the Mahican Indian homeland. Regarding the post as a rich resource, both they and their Iroquois-speaking Mohawk neighbors to the west soon found themselves competing to control access to the post. Traders at the fort were unable to avoid involvement in this struggle despite Company edicts prescribing strict neutrality. One group of three Fort Nassau traders, for example, was captured by Indians shortly after the fort opened for busi-

ness. Carried down the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, they were rescued by the Dutch under Cornelis Hendricksen, who was then exploring Delaware Bay.

Discouraged by floods periodically inundating the post and caught between hostile nations fighting a war endangering themselves and depressing commerce, the Dutch traders abandoned Fort Nassau in 1618. Traders traveling to the area during the next few years largely restricted themselves to brief visits or fleeting ship-borne encounters. This situation changed in 1621 when the Dutch government granted control over New Netherland to the newly chartered Dutch West India Company.

West India Company directors initially established settlements along the lower Delaware Valley. Although the Delaware River possessed a moderate climate attractive to European settlers, it was located too close to the competing colony of Virginia. Virginia claimed the valley for itself. Refusing to recognize the validity of the Dutch claim, Virginian traders sailing north from the Chesapeake could bypass the tiny West India Company outposts and trade directly with local Delaware Indians and more westerly Susquehannock people traveling down the Schuylkill River to its confluence with the Delaware at present-day Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The Dutch West India Company began locating settlers in the still uncolonized Hudson Valley midway between English Virginia and New England in 1624. Establishing their center of operations on Governor's Island, a small island just off the tip of Manhattan in New York Harbor, Dutch officials anxious to regain control of the strategic Hudson-Mohawk crossroads immediately sent some 18 Walloon families upriver to construct a new post near the site of old Fort Nassau.

The new post, named Fort Orange, was built two-thirds of a mile north of the old fort on narrow flats along the west bank of the river at the head of a trail leading directly to Mohawk country. The earliest known representation of the fort, an illustration from a map made about 1632, shows that the Walloons built the small wooden fort with the four bastions specified in Minuit's orders. They then erected homes and cleared fields just beyond the post walls as Company soldiers, traders, and artisans took up residence within the fort.

Establishment of Fort Orange intensified Mahican-Mohawk trade rivalry. Anxious to forge good relations with his closest Indian neighbors, fort commander Daniel van Krieckenbeeck openly sided with the Mahicans in open defiance of Company policy in the early spring of 1626. Some months later, Mohawk warriors killed both Krieckenbeeck and three of the six Company employees accompanying a Mahican war party in an ambush just three mi from the fort. Van Krieckenbeeck's successor immediately met with the Mohawks. Having sustained no losses in the encounter, the Mohawks quickly agreed to restore friendly relations with the Dutch. Turning their full attention to the Mahicans, the Mohawks managed to defeat and drive them away from lands around Fort Orange by 1628.

Regional commerce languished after the Walloons and other Company settlers left the area following Van Krieckenbeeck's debacle. In an effort to revive colonization and trade throughout New Netherland, the Company established the "patroonship" system. Under this system, the Company allowed wealthy investors to purchase tracts 12 mi along one side of a river or 6 mi on both banks from Indian owners. In return, these entrepreneurs, known as patroons, agreed to settle and administer their domains. One of the first charters establishing a patroonship in the colony was granted to Company director Kiliaen van Rensselaer in 1629. One year later, the new patroon purchased land on both sides of the Hudson River above and below Fort Orange from the Mahican people who still remained following their defeat by the Mohawks. Naming the tract "Rensselaerswyck," he claimed all lands around Fort Orange beyond its walls.

Although barred from the Indian trade, Rensselaerswyck settlers surreptitiously competed with fort personnel for Indian business. Continuing difficulties with the Mohawks and competition with French traders from Canada caused commerce to languish further at the fort. In an effort to remedy the situation, the newly-appointed director of Fort Orange, Marten Gerritsen, sent post surgeon Harmen Meyndertsen van den Bogaert and two other men on a diplomatic mission to Mohawk country during the winter of 1634. Meeting with Mohawk leaders and visiting their towns, the Dutch emissaries renewed trade contacts and pledged friendship with the Mohawk people. A journal attributed to Van den Bogaert contains the earliest known first-hand description, of Mohawk towns (Gehring and Starna 1988:3-10).

European chroniclers also penned several brief descriptions and drew schematic representations of Fort Orange during these years. One account noted that fort walls enclosed eight small houses dominated by "a handsome, large house with a flat roof and lattice work" (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[14]:17). Another written by French Jesuit missionary Isaac Jogues in 1643 described Fort Orange as "a miserable little fort,... built of logs, with four or five pieces of Breteuil cannon, and as many pedereros" (Jameson 1909:261-62). Contemporary cartographers depicted a four bastioned fort surrounded by a moat on the banks of the river (Figure 2). Other observers noted that relocation had not relieved the periodic flooding problem that had plagued the earlier Fort Nassau post.

Private traders began moving into the fort after Company officials threw the trade open to all colony residents in 1640. Continuing to inspect all shipments entering and leaving the

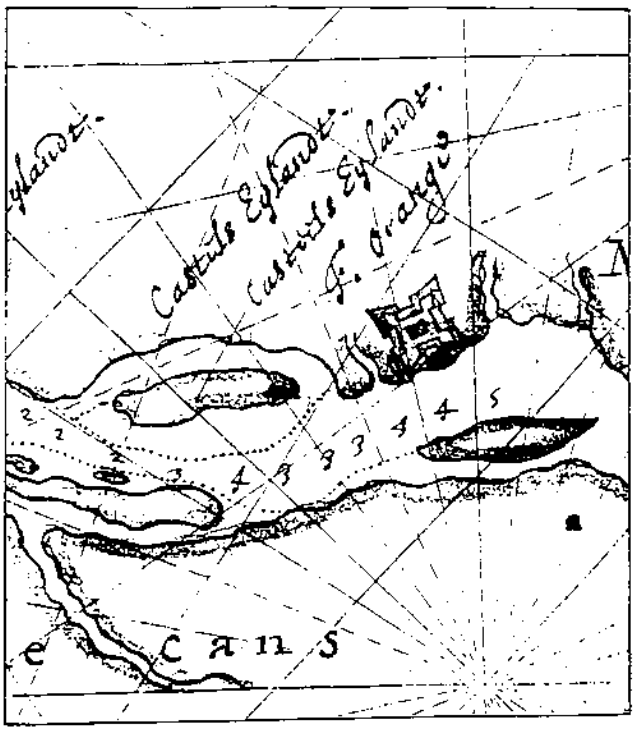


Figure 2. Fort Orange as depicted in a detail from a map of the Hudson Ricer published by Jan Vingboons in 1665. The image may depict the fort as it appeared in 1639 or 1648 (Figure 4 in Huey 1988a:625 from the original on file in the Library of Congress. Washington, D.C.).

district. fort personnel levied a 10 percent duty on furs exported from the region and on manufactured goods imported from Europe. They further retained their powers to collect other duties and regulate trade through the issuance of permits, licenses, and patents.

New Netherland's last governor, Peter Stuyvesant, found that Fort Orange was "in a bad condition" when he visited the place shortly after arriving in the colony in 1647 (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[12]:55). Damage caused by a particularly severe flood a year later led another official to note that the fort "was almost completely washed away by the high water and is highly in need of being repaired" (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[14]:92-93). Stuyvesant's repair orders specified that it be surrounded "with a wall of stone. instead of timber, so as to avoid the annual expense and repairs" (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[14]:101-02). Worried that a revitalized fort might diminish his influence, Van Rensselaer's representative, Brant van Slichtenhorst, tried to thwart the reconstruction by prohibiting stone quarrying by the Company within patroonship limits. Responding to the challenge, Stuyvesant and his council ordered the commander of the fort to take stone from any convenient unfenced or otherwise unimproved nearby locale.

Local traders had also compromised the fort's security by erecting buildings near its walls on land claimed as part of the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck. The environs of the fort, moreover, had become a center for illicit commerce. Unscrupulous traders smuggled firearms, gunpowder, and lead in defiance of laws prohibiting their sale to Indians. Indians complaining of assaults, thefts , high prices, and other abuses threatened vengeance. Stuyvesant quickly moved to correct the situation, and he directed officials in the fort to crack down on smugglers. The New Netherland council passed ordinances aimed at preventing and punishing abuses against Indian people. Houses located too close to the fort were pulled down. Meanwhile, new houses were permitted to be built within the north, east, and south curtain walls of the fort.

Dutch West India Company officials subsequently granted private lots to many individuals in a new town called Beverwyck laid out a suitable distance away from the fort. Appropriated from Van Rensselaer's domain just as war broke out with England in 1652, Beverwyck took in all land within a "cannon's shot," or 3.000 ft, of the fort's walls (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[14]:161-62). Security concerns heightened by the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch Naval War in 1652-54 helped Stuyvesant obtain support necessary to repair dilapidated defenses at Fort Orange.

The Company, in strengthening the fortifications, also erected a new guardhouse and courtroom within the fort as Dutch and English fleets faced one another on the high seas. Far from the fighting, and feeling secure from the threat of English attack, Fort Orange inhabitants evidently did not overly preoccupy themselves with security considerations. One order issued by the post commander prohibited `'people from letting chickens, hogs, or other animals come on the bastions and [required] said bastions to remain properly closed" (Gehring 1990:57). Another politely denied the request of a trader asking permission to cut a door through the fort's curtain wall to ease passage from his house to the outside of the post (Gehring 1990:161).

Reports reaching Stuyvesant in November 1654 shortly after the war ended told of another flood that devastated the post and almost washed away its bastions (Munsell 1870[3]:213). Although the guardhouse and courtroom were replaced by a more substantial brick structure with two stone cellars between 1657 and 1658, the fort itself rapidly tumbled into ruin. Living in a place "considered no more than a nest," Fort Orange's inhabitants increasingly relied upon the wall of flesh of their Mohawk allies for protection against possible French. English, or Indian attack. In return, Stuyvesant authorized the establishment of "a moderate trade in ammunition" with the Mohawks to be carried out as "secretly as possible" (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1953-87[13]:35-36). Armed with

Dutch guns and supplied with Dutch lead and powder, Mohawk and other Iroquois warriors renewed their warfare against Indian and European rivals along their borders. Within a few years, Iroquois war parties defeated the Eries and their allies to the west, launched attacks against Susquehannocks to the south and New England Algonquians to the east, and virtually cut New France off from its western Indian allies.

Alarmed by outbreaks of fighting between colonists and Esopus Indian people around the town of Wiltwyck, now Kingston, New York. 60 mi to the south, between 1659 and 1663, Fort Orange commander Johannes La Montagne could do little more than patch bastions and replace rotting gun carriages. Luckily for the Dutch, Mohawk diplomats helped keep the war from spreading north. Working through Mohawk and Mahican intermediaries, Fort Orange authorities helped to arrange truces and prisoner exchanges with the Esopus Indians. A final peace treaty with the Esopus people was finally arranged just months before an English squadron sailing into New York Harbor while Britain and Holland were at peace captured New Amsterdam without a fight during the summer of 1664. Fort Orange capitulated soon afterward.

Naming their new colony New York, the English changed the name of Beverwyck to Albany. Fort Orange, for its part, was renamed Fort Albany. The new commander of the fort quickly arranged for a treaty conference with the Mohawks at the fort. Mohawk diplomats were initially reluctant to establish friendly relations with the new English conquerors. Unwilling to abandon longstanding Dutch allies lightly, they were also displeased by English efforts to more rigorously enforce ordinances prohibiting trade of alcohol, firearms, and munitions to Indian people.

In an effort to avoid friction with the Dutch, the English quartered their troops in crumbling houses in the dilapidated fort. Although badly needed, fort repairs proceeded slowly. Orders directing repair of the fort guardhouse were received in 1668 (a new kitchen was added to the guardhouse five years later). Repairs commenced on the fortifications in 1671. Working to stretch their limited budget wherever possible, the soldiers used logs rather than sawn planks as they rebuilt fort walls and reconstructed its four bastions.

The small garrison stationed at the fort was unable to prevent it from being seized by a Dutch expedition recapturing New York shortly after the third and last Anglo-Dutch Naval War began in 1673. Renaming Albany Willemstadt, Dutch officials quickly renewed formal trade and diplomatic ties with the Mohawks at the old fort newly renamed Fort Nassau.

The Dutch surrendered Fort Nassau to the English for the last time when the colony was returned to England at the end of the war in 1674. English officials again changed the name of the post back to Fort Albany. And once again, Mohawk diplomats met with English officials at the fort to conclude a new treaty. Pledging renewed peace and friendship, English officials further agreed to restore trading privileges at the fort. Uncomfortably aware of its vulnerability even before the last war, Albany officials decided to build a new fort at a commanding location on a hill overlooking the town. Relocation plans were spurred on by the near approach of a large body of New England Algonquian warriors and their families during the winter of 1675-1676. Led by King Philip, they had fled into the Hudson Valley after suffering a series of setbacks in their war with the New England settlers. King Philip's followers tried to enlist their traditional Mohawk adversaries in a common struggle against the English. Fort Albany's wall of flesh held firm. Rejecting King Philip's overtures, the Mohawks attacked and dispersed his people in February 1676. One month later, New York Governor-General Edmund Andros ordered abandonment of old Fort Albany and construction of a new fort high on the hill just west of the growing English frontier city.

The visible remains of the abandoned earthwork lay unused but not forgotten in an open pasture just south of the city of Albany when New York State Surveyor-General Simeon DeWitt laid a street grid across the site in 1790. The grading of Court Street, later Broadway, along the riverbank leveled the easternmost bastions and curtain wall of the fort at this time. The Dutch Reformed Church of Albany, which had acquired the fort site and its environs in 1688. sold two lots containing remains of the northern end of the fort just west of the street to DeWitt in 1793 and 1794. The home he built on these lots became the "Fort Orange Hotel" soon after his death. Other home builders purchased lots containing the southern portion of the abandoned fort around this time. The area gradually became a focal point of Albany's nineteenth and early twentieth-century waterfront.

Cellar holes and water, sewer, and telephone lines excavated beneath structures in this area damaged some site deposits. More significant impacts occurred during construction of the old Dunn Memorial Bridge in 1932. The old hotel and other buildings fronting Broadway were demolished. Broadway itself was rerouted over their former locations. A thick, deep concrete abutment wall stabilizing fill beneath railroad tracks built over Broadway's former location destroyed archaeological remains of the eastern bastions and curtain wall.

Archaeological Resources

The exact location of Fort Orange had been long forgotten when archaeologists began testing the proposed right-of-way of a new arterial highway and rail line for the New York State Department of Transportation and the New York State Historic Trust (now absorbed in the New York State Office of Parks. Recreation, and Historic Preservation) in 1970.

Figure 3. Excavations at Ft. Orange. Heldeberg Workshop students working in early phase.

Conducting excavations under Broadway in front of the old DeWitt house cellar wall on October 20, 1970, archaeologists discovered glass beads, a mouth harp, a fleur-de-lis-marked white clay smoking pipe stem, tin-glazed earthenware, a Rhenish Westerwald salt-glazed stoneware sherd dated 1632, pieces of yellow brick, and other artifacts within a discernibly stratified deposit. These findings represented the first seventeenth-century European artifacts recovered archaeologically from an intact Dutch colonial site in North America (Figure 3).

Unable to relocate the proposed right-of-way, state officials worked with contractors to allow mitigation of the effects of construction activities on cultural resources in the project area. A system of 10-ft grid squares was soon laid out along a north-south datum line along the old eastern edge of Broadway. Working steadily until March 22, 1971, a crew of archaeologists directed by the writer fully excavated 14 10-ft squares and partially examined 17 adjoining test units (Figure 4). Most of the excavation was done by the writer and two crew members, Joseph E. McEvoy and R. Arthur Johnson, who remained with the project to its end. Thousands of artifacts dating to the seventeenth century were found within a complex stratigraphic context. Numerous features associated with Fort Orange and Fort Albany occupations were found. Pipe trenches and other later intrusions were identified.

The small archaeological crew excavated all strata, features, and associated artifacts by natural level. Numerous photographs were taken of all deposits at all phases of investigation. In addition, carefully measured profile and plan views were drafted showing all stratigraphic levels and features. Carefully cleaned and labeled, many of the archaeological materials removed during salvage excavations presently are on exhibit at the Fort Crailo State Historic Site: most, however, are stored in the archaeological laboratory facility of the Bureau of Historic Sites on Peebles Island in Waterford, New York.

Stone debitage, bone refuse, and the grave of a small dog were found with ceramics and diagnostic chipped stone projectile points dating to Middle Woodland times at the lowest culture-bearing levels overlying sterile clay and alluvial silt strata. A charcoal sample from a prehistoric hearth at Fort Orange produced an uncalibrated radiocarbon date of 990± 60 years before 1950 A.D., which is entirely consistent with the

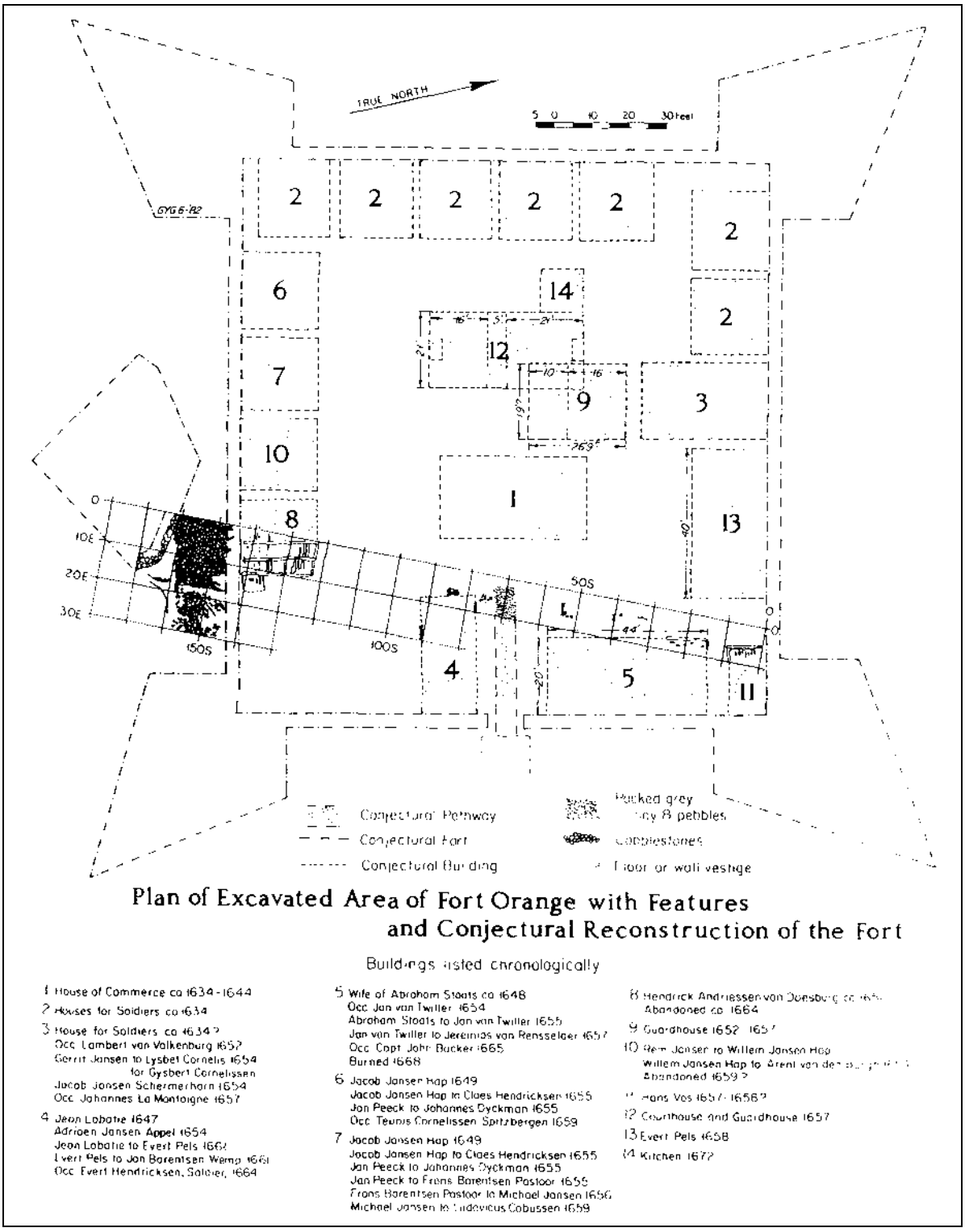


Figure 4. Fort Orange Archaeological Site excavation area and conjectural reconstruction. Albany, New York (Figure 6 in Huey 1991:46). Drawing by Gwen Gillette.

dating of c. 700 to 1000 A.D. (Middle to late Middle Woodland stages) for the earliest of three phases in the prehistoric occupation of the site. Further evidence of occupation during this phase included the base of a Jack's Reef Corner-Notched knife, a possible Point Peninsula Corded pottery sherd, a sherd tentatively identified as Black Rock Trailed. Pseudo-scallop-shell-like decorated wares, a possible Wickham Punctate sherd, a thinly worked dull black chert projectile point tip, and other artifacts possibly belonging to this phase were discovered in disturbed contexts (Huey 1988:206-08, 220-21; Huey 1990). Other deposits contained evidence of nearly continual Late Woodland occupation between 700 and 400 years ago.

Portions of several archivally documented features associated with Forts Orange and Albany were found above these deposits. Portions of at least four buildings formerly flanking the inner wall of the fort's eastern curtain were identified. Also uncovered were parts of the clay and pebble-paved roadway entrance from the eastern gate and the cobblestone-lined south moat. Excavation below the uppermost layer of cobblestones believed to represent the 1648 moat rebuilding episode revealed a deeper soil profile identified as the original moat of 1624. A wall constructed of quarried stone and believed to represent remains of the inner wall of an undocumented ravelin or outerwork was found along the moat's southern edge. No direct evidence of earthwork walls was encountered during salvage excavations. Indirect evidence of a log wall survives in the form of an artifact-free area between the upper edge of the south moat and brick and pan tile rubble from a house inside the fort that had evidently fallen against the wall. Dutch deeds and court records identify this structure as the house built by Hendrick Andriessen van Doesburgh sometime around 1651 and abandoned in or after 1664. A sailor born in Amsterdam, Van Doesburgh first came to New Netherland in 1642. Returning briefly to Amsterdam to marry in 1649, he returned to New Netherland and built his house in Fort Orange sometime between 1651 and 1654.

Archival research also helped identify short sections of shallow red brick foundation walls located to the northeast of the Van Doesburgh House as parts of a brewery built in 1647 by Jean Labatie in the same spot just south of the fort entranceway along the inner side of the eastern curtain wall. The later building constructed in 1647 was, according to records, larger in size, measuring 22 ft in width and 46 ft in length.

A narrow band of packed grey clay and pebbles located just north of the red brick foundation walls probably represents the remains of a portion of the fort entranceway. The large number of glass beads, white clay tobacco pipestems, and lead shot found in this area probably were discarded or lost by people congregating in an area of great activity. Iron slag probably had been thrown into the entranceway from a nearby forge. Pieces of lead sprue, and European flint chips were also found with these materials.

Other records suggest that remains of a shallow wood lined cellar found just north of the entranceway originally supported a 44 ft by 20 ft house built by Tryntie Jochems, the wife of Joachim Staats, in 1649. Evidence of another cellar found just north of this feature may represent remains of a house occupied in 1657 or 1658 by Hans Vos near the northeastern bastion of the fort.

Discoveries of red wall bricks, yellow chimney klinker bricks, and red earthen roofing pan tiles indicate that Vos and other residents erected substantial well-roofed brick buildings above perishable wood-lined cellars. Other findings indicate that some occupants of the fort carefully finished the interiors of their houses. Decorative delft wall tiles, square and triangular brown- and green-glazed red earthen floor tiles, and pieces of enamel-decorated leaded casement glass cut in circular shape, for example, were found within the Van Doesburgh house cellar.

Oyster shells, deer and elk teeth and bones, and pig remains, were found with glassware, earthenware, white clay tobacco pipes, and other objects in middens, pits, and other features. Almost all the ceramics found in the fort were imported from Europe. Dutch majolica and faience (delft) tin-glazed earthenwares predominated ceramic assemblages in all pre-1665 deposits except those found in the Van Doesburgh house. Most common in early deposits, majolica wares gradually were replaced by delft after 1640. Majolica plates were decorated with Chinese Wan-Li, Italian, or elaborate Dutch geometric design motifs. These colorful wares often were hung on walls for decoration. At least one damaged majolica dish had been carefully chipped and trimmed around its central design to make it suitable for hanging on the wall. Similarly re-worked Dutch majolica dishes have been frequently excavated in the Netherlands in Amsterdam, Wormer, De Ryp, Hoorn, and other places (Korf 1981:134-35, 219, 238, 241-47).

Dutch utility lead-glazed red earthenwares comprised the second most frequently encountered group of ceramics found in deposits from the fort. Most were common seventeenth-century vessels such as skillets, bowls, colanders, and a three-legged round pot with handles known as a grape. The site ceramic assemblage also included smaller numbers of sherds of unglazed Iberian storage jars and green-glazed micaceous orange-red earthenware, North Italian marbled ware, and English North Devon gravel-tempered ware. Three pieces of Chinese porcelain and the handle of an Iberian Hispano-Moresque lusterware escudilla resembling an English porringer also were found.

Excavations also revealed quantities of blue-decorated gray Westerwald and brown or tan salt-glazed Frechen or

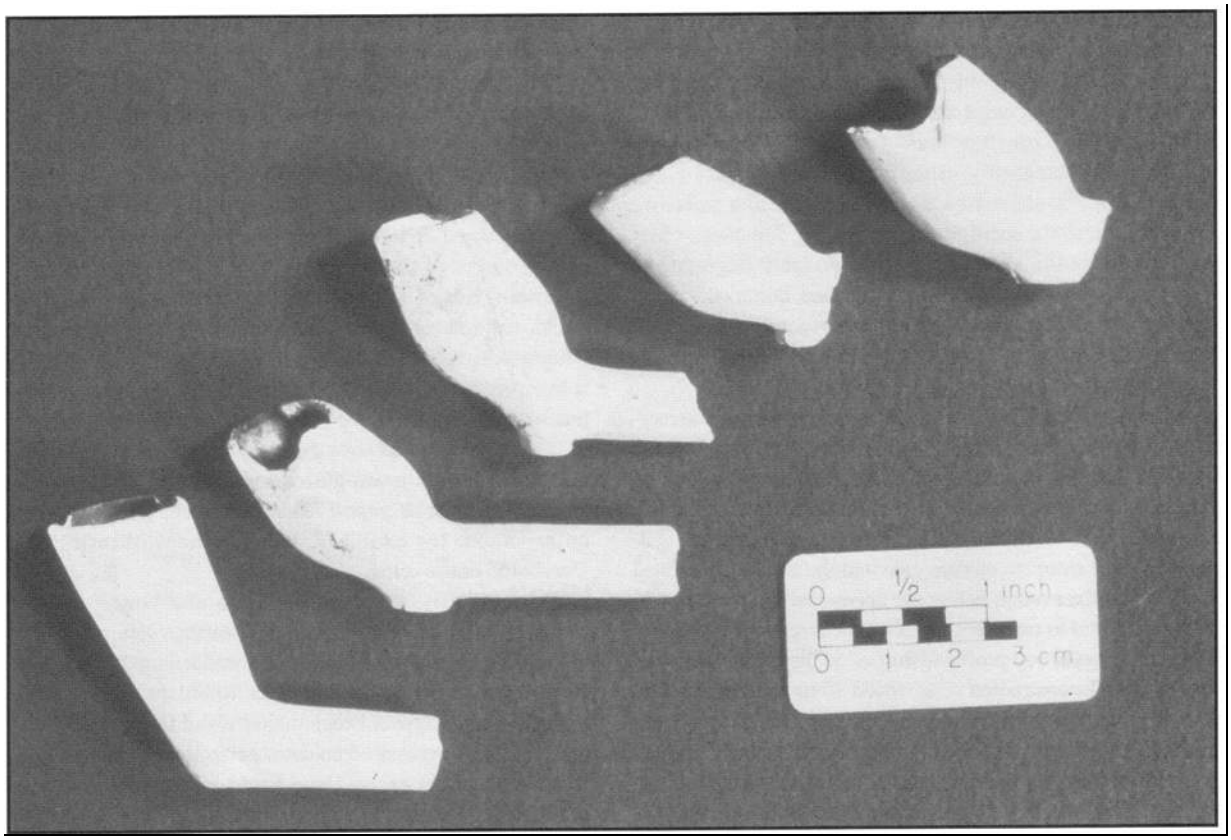


Figure 5. White clay pipes from Ft. Orange.

Raeren stoneware. All salt-lazed stoneware jugs adorned with bearded "Bellarmine" (named for Cardinal Bellarmine, who prosecuted the astronomer Galileo for heresy and imposed an unpopular beer tax) molded faces were found in the Van Doesburgh house. Westerwald wares predating 1647 were mostly found to the north of the entranceway. Similar wares postdating 1647 were found within the entranceway alongside Jean Labatie's brewery.

Substantial numbers of glassware fragments were found throughout the site. Most common were thin, delicate, hollow-stemmed Dutch- or German-made *roemer* drinking glasses with wide, flaring, coiled bases. The stems were adorned with rough-textured raspberry or strawberry-like globular projecting prunts fixed onto them. Clear glass *facon de Venise* (Venetian-style) beakers decorated with threads of red. white, and blue glass of a type made in Amsterdam by Venetian glass-makers also were found. The site glassware assemblage further included square-paneled glass bottles first appearing in early deposits dating before c. 1640. Fragments of squat, round, dark-green glass bottles first began to appear in a stratum dating from about 1648 to 1657. One of these latter bottles, bearing the inscription "F Loue ...e," evidently the name of New York Governor Francis Lovelace (1668-73). was found in the rubble of the collapsed Van Doesburgh house next to the South curtain wall: the house had been ordered rebuilt by Lovelace in 1671.

Large numbers of European white clay tobacco smoking pipe bowls and stems were found everywhere within the excavation trench (Figure 5). Most have bulbous or elbow-shaped bowls bearing incused initials or design motifs such as the crowned Tudor Rose, fleur-de-lis, tulip and leaves, or the star mark identifying them as products of Dutch and English pipemakers active in Amsterdam during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. A number of broken pipestems had been carved to make cylindrical beads or small whistles.

Over 300 glass beads were found in site deposits. Most were recovered in the entranceway area. Almost all of the 57 shell wampum beads found during the excavations, by contrast, were recovered from cellar deposits north and south of the entranceway. One string of eight white wampum beads was found in situ in a corner of the Van Doesburgh house.

Dates derived from analyses of the Fort Orange glass bead assemblage and the three coins found with them in the entranceway generally match the date range expressed in the

above-mentioned white clay tobacco smoking pipe assemblage. One of these coins. a Dutch *duit* set at the value of one white wampum bead between 1650 and 1664, had been pierced in such a way as to facilitate its use as a hanging ornament.

Several small, round, smooth black buttons of a type also found in contemporary Iroquois sites were found scattered at various points in the site. Several metal buckles and a number of lead cloth bale seals also were found. The excavators also recovered a number of round clay or stone marbles and several brass and iron mouth harps. Pieces of incised Late \\c,odland Indian pottery were found in various locales within the excavation trench. Although most of the pottery was similar to types found elsewhere in the Mohawk and upper Hudson river valleys, at least one sherd represented a shell-tempered ware most commonly encountered in coastal Connecticut Indian sites. An Iroquoian-style clay effigy tobacco smoking pipe of a type frequently found farther west in the sites of such Iroquois towns as the Oneida Thurston Site (c. 1625-37) and the Seneca Steele and Power House site, m. 1640-60) and the Dann Site (c. 1660-75) also was found in the entranceway area.

Site Significance

Cultural resources preserved in the Fort Orange Archaeological Site comprise the single most significant body of data documenting Dutch and early English relations with Indian people at one of the most critically important strategic locale along the seventeenth-century North Atlantic frontier. Fort Orange archaeological materials provide a cultural and chronological benchmark for Northeastern North American historical archaeology. Intact resources surviving within the walls of the fort potentially can provide "information on the site of the fort and dimensions of features within, use of the south moat as a tavern dump, changing diet of fort occupants, methods of construction of houses, types of furnishings and diversity of material culture, continuing function of the site as a crossroads for trade since prehistoric times, and changing trade relationships between Fort Orange, other sites in North America. and sites across the Atlantic" (Huey and Grumet 1993:8-1).

The Fort Orange Archaeological Site contains the remains of the most important trading post built by Europeans in the Hudson River Valley during the seventeenth century. A large body of written records shows that the ton served as the center of Dutch and early English fur trade in the region. Analyses of animal bone and teeth found in the post refuse deposits indicate that large numbers of deer and small amounts of elk and fish brought to the fort by Mahican and Mohawk people provided more than 90 percent of the meat consumed by the occupants during the first decades of European Occupation. Although Indian hunters and fishermen continued to furnish the fort with much of its fresh meat and fish, animal bone assemblages in later deposits indicate that pork represented as much as half the meat eaten at the post during its final 20 years of operation.

Fort Orange also was the primary center for European penetration into Indian country to the north and west of the Hudson River during the 1600s. Intact archaeological evidence still preserved in situ in Fort Orange deposits have high potential to shed new insights into such documented Dutch expeditions into Indian land as the earlier mentioned journey of Van den Bogaert and his companions to the Mohawk and Oneida towns in 1634.

Discoveries in Fort Orange deposits of Mohawk-style ceramics and a clay tobacco pipe of a type typically found in seventeenth-century Iroquois sites furnish physical evidence of documented alliances between Mohawk and Mahican people and their Dutch and the English Successors. Lead shot and sprue strips and a wheel-lock gun part found in Fort Orange features show that site deposits also have the potential to provide new insights into open and clandestine Dutch trade of firearms to Indian allies there. Such findings can furnish vital data elucidating still poorly understood aspects of the impact of firearms on documented efforts of Mahican and Mohawk Indian people to defend their homelands militarily during the seventeenth century.

Discoveries of trade goods of non-Dutch origin, such as German stoneware, unglazed Iberian storage jars and over-glazed micaceous orange-red earthenware, Hispanic majolica, North Italian marbled ware, Chinese porcelain. and English North Devon gravel-tempered ware, show that this site also can reveal new insights into the lamer web of international alliances that gradually enmeshed Indian people defending their homelands in the Northeast during the years of Dutch and early English colonization. White clay tobacco pipes, glass beads, purple and white wampum shell beads, brass and iron mouth harps, lead cloth bale seals, and other European goods recovered at Fort Orange, for their part, represent the largest and best documented assemblage of resources documenting trade between Indian people and Europeans in the most important European trade entrepot in New Netherland and early New York. Earlier mentioned discoveries of European goods imported from England. Germany, Italy, Spain, and China in Fort Orange deposits suggest the range and extent of Dutch and early English international trade connections. Recovery of domestically-produced red earthenwares and clay pipes manufactured in Virginia and New England, for their part, document seventeenth-century intercolonial trade relations in the region. Further study of this assemblage has the potential to contribute fuller understanding of documented temporal, qualitative, and quantitative differences in socio-economic relations between and among

Indian people and Europeans at this crucially important strategic trading center.

As the type site for seventeenth-century Dutch colonial technology in New Netherland, analysis of site ceramics, glasswares, and metalwares contained in this assemblage has provided and retains the potential to provide further information on the nature and effects of technology transfer to native people. Studies of wampum found in a site documented as one of the region's most important distribution centers, for example, may shed new light on the role of wampum in economic and symbolic life in both Indian and European communities throughout the colonial Northeast. Studies contrasting glass heads found in more westerly Iroquois sites with those found in well-dated contexts at Fort Orange, for their part, should help archaeologists determine relative rates and speeds of transmission and transfer of trade goods from coastal trading, centers to Indian communities in central New York and beyond.

Future investigation of Fort Orange Archaeological Site deposits also has high potential to shed new light on the effects of war, disease, and close contact with Europeans on still poorly documented aspects of Indian settlement and demography in the Hudson Valley. New archival and archaeological research can reveal information on the role of Fort Orange in particular changes in Mahican and Mohawk settlement movement pattern, and type during the first half of the seventeenth century. Such information can furnish new insights into the causes and consequences of documented periodic Mahican abandonment and reoccupation of ancestral lands around Fort Orange between the 1620s and 1670s. Site information also may provide further information elucidating the effects of the Mahican sale of their lands around the fort to Kiliaen van Rensselaer in 1630, the settlement strategies used by Mahican people returning to their lands near the fort, and the Impact of movements of Mohawk and other Indian people to small temporary settlements at Niskayuna and other places near the fort. Studies based cm such information call help us understand how and why Indian people from as far away as the Ohio Valley and Acadia journeyed to the upper Hudson Valley to trade, visit, or negotiate with the Dutch and their English successors at Fort Orange.

Site Integrity

Like most intact urban archaeological sites possessing high integrity, Fort Orange is deeply buried beneath landfill and Surface construction. And, like most surviving sites in urban contexts, burial has protected cultural resources preserved within Fort Orange deposits that otherwise would have been destroyed by development.

Development actions associated with the growth and expansion of the City of Albany began affecting Fort Orange cultural resources shortly after the post was abandoned in 1676. Local farmers mined above-round portions of the site for planting soil. More intensive impacts occurred when the construction of Court Street, later Broadway, cut through the easternmost bastions and curtain wall of the fort during the 1790s.

Foundations of the large house built by Simeon DeWitt on the west side of Court Street in 1793 and 1794 destroyed archaeological deposits located in the north central portion of the fort enclosure. Cellars, utility lines, and other excavations undertaken by builders developing lots just south of the DeWitt House also damaged more Southerly portions of the site. Construction of a thick, deep, concrete abutment wall to retain fill beneath railroad tracks built over Broadways former right-of-way extensively destroyed archaeological remains including the eastern bastions and curtain wall in 1932. Additional losses occurred when a gas station was constructed at the locale during the 1960s.

The site had long been thought destroyed when the first seventeenth-century artifacts were discovered during the initial phase of testing prior to highway construction across the site in 1970. Subsequent salvage operations conducted by teams of excavators led by archaeologist Paul R. Huey examined 10 percent of the site area between 1970 and 1971. Archival and field research conducted in conjunction with these salvage operations further indicated that as much as 35 percent of the site remains intact.

Working in close consultation with highway engineers, the writer supervised the reburial of the area of Fort Orange where stone and brick foundations and other features had been excavated during the salvage operations. Five to eight ft of clean brown sand was carefully laid above this area both to mark the site and to act as a cushion to protect remaining deposits from compaction by the overlying ten ft high landfill layer supporting Interstate 787. Load-bearing concrete pillars placed at intervals along the highway right-of-way further reduce the amount of pressure on surviving deposits.

Like other colonial-era archaeological deposits found at other locales in Albany surviving portions of Fort Orange site deposits situated just west of Interstate 787 undoubtedly lie beneath city streets and blocks. Both these deposits and those preserved beneath Interstate 787 are extensively documented and carefully marked on city engineering maps. Located under substantial new road construction and safe from looting and development threatening most other urban archaeological sites, documentation and marking will assure that impacts upon Fort Orange archaeological deposits will be considered in any future construction.

References Cited

Gehring, Charles T., editor
1990 *Fort Orange Court Minutes: 1652-1660*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse. New York.

Gehring. Charles T., and William A. Starna. editors
1988 *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635: The Journal of Harmen Meydertsz van den Bogaert*. Syracuse University Press. Syracuse. New York.

Grumet, Robert S.
1995 *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United State's in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Huey, Paul R.
1984 Dutch Sites of the Seventeenth Century in Rensselaerswyck. In The Scope of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of John L. Cotter, edited by David G. Orr and Daniel G. Crozier, pp. 63-85. Laboratory of Anthropology, Temple University. Philadelphia. Pennsylvania.
1985 Archaeological Excavations in the Site of Fort Orange, a Dutch West India Company Trading Fort Built in 1624. In *New Netherland Studies: An Inventory of Current Research and Approaches*. Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige 84(2-3):68-79.
1988a *Aspects of Continuity and Change in Colonial Dutch Material Culture at Fort Orange, 1624-1664*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of American Studies, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.
1988b The Archaeology of Colonial New Netherland. In *Colonial Dutch Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, edited by Eric Nooter and Patricia U. Bonomi, pp. 52-77. New York University Press. New York.
1990 *Prehistoric Radiocarbon Date, Fort Orange*. Copy of a Memorandum to Robert Funk dated April 16, 1990, on file in the Archaeology Unit files. Bureau of Historic Sites, New York State Office of Parks. Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.
1991 The Dutch at Fort Orange. In *Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective*, edited by Lisa Falk, pp. 21-67. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C.

Huey, Paul R.. and Robert S. Grumet
1993 *Fort Orange Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark Nomination Form*. Manuscript on file. History Division. National Park Service, Washington, D. C.

Jameson, J. Franklin, editor
1909 *Narratives of New Netherland: l609-1664*. Charles Scribner and Sons, New York.

Korf, Dingeman
1981 *Nederlandse Majolica*. De Haan. Haarlem.

Munsell, Joel, editor
1870 *Collections on the History of Albany*. 4 vols. J. Munsell, Albany, New York.

O'Callaghan. Edmund B., and Berthold Fernow. editors
1853-87 *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. 15 vols. Weed, Parsons. Albany.

Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District National Historic Landmark

Paul R. Huey
New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation,
Bureau of "Historic Sites, Waterford, New York

The Schuyler- Flatts Archaeological District, a small multicomponent archaeological property in the Town of Colonie, Albany County, New York, was designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1993. One of the best preserved and most intensively documented Historic Contact period Euro-American archaeological assemblages in upstate New York, the Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District meets NHL Significance criterion 6 as a property that has "yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance.

This article is an abridged version of the NHL nomination form used to document the district's significance (Huey and Grumet 1993). Much of the information utilized in the nomination form was drawn from Huey (1974, 1984, 1985, and 1987).

Background and Overview

The Secretary of the Interior designated the Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) on April 19, 1993. Schuyler Flatts was one of 17 properties designated for their significance in documenting relations between Indian people and colonists in the Northeast in the Historic Contact Theme Study (Grumet 1995). The nomination form was reviewed by Charles T. Gehring, Director of the New Netherland Project. and the joint Society for American Archaeology and Society for Historical Archaeology Archeological NHL Committee.

This article is an abridged version of the designation form used to nominate the Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District as a NHL (Huey and Grumet 1993). The writer, currently Senior Scientist (Archaeology) with the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation. and Historic Preservation, and director of archaeological investigations at the Schuyler Flatts between 1971 and 1974, provided documentation and reviewed both nomination form and revised text prepared by National Park Service Archeologist Robert S. Grumet.

The Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District (NYS Site Number A00104.000002) is located in the Town of Colonie, Albany County. New York. The District occupies 1.84 acres of archaeologically sensitive land located at the northern end of a 1 mi long area of low-lying level fertile land commonly called *de groote vlackte* by Dutch settlers moving to New Netherland during the early seventeenth century and the "Flatts" by the English after they seized the Dutch colony in

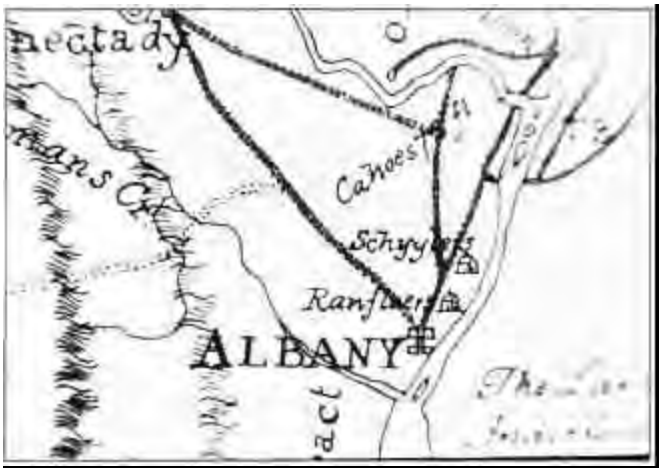


Figure 1. Schuyler House location, 1756. Detail from "A Map of the Grand Pass from New York to Montreal- drafted by Thomas Pownall in 1756. (Manuscript map on file. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario).

1664. Later named after the family who purchased the area in 1672, Schuyler Flatts contains the largest expanse of arable sandy loam soil along the main course of the Hudson River above Albany. Situated on the mainland, the Flatts are separated from the Hudson River by a long narrow island known as Breaker Island.

Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District deposits occur in an area of gravelly soils on the western bank of a low riverine terrace rising to an elevation of 10 ft above mean sea level. The District is located at the upper end of Little River, the small stream separating Breaker Island from the Hudson River. Schuyler Flatts is situated 5 mi north of Albany and 4 mi south of the mouth of the Mohawk River near the head of navigation of the Hudson River- (Figure 1). Astride the main communications corridor connecting the Hudson and Champlain Valleys, this strategic position commanded the northern and western approaches to the Fort Orange-Albany area during the Historic Contact period.

Archaeological deposits occurring at various locales throughout the Flatts area document more than 6,000 years of human occupation in the upper Hudson River valley. The 1.84-acre Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District at the northern end of this area contains intact features and artifactual evidence associated with three of the region's most influential European figures active in Indian trade and diplomacy during

Historic Contact times. The earliest of these features consists of the cellar with associated remains of a residential, administrative, and commercial compound built by New Netherland merchant-diplomat Arent van Curler in 1643. By all accounts a skillful diplomat and canny trader, Van Curler was perhaps the most effective Dutch colonial diplomat of his day. Traveling frequently to Indian communities, he played a major role in maintaining close economic and diplomatic ties with the Mohawks and Mahicans for the Dutch.

Van Curler first came to New Netherland in 1638 as an employee of his great uncle, the Dutch West India Company Director Kiliaen van Rensselaer, who founded the Rensselaerswyck patroonship in the upper Hudson Valley around Fort Orange in 1629. Establishing close relations with Mahican, Mohawk, and other Indian people doing business at Fort Orange after the Company relinquished its trade monopoly in 1639, Van Curler rose to the position of Rensselaerswyck *commis* or resident director by 1641. Two years later, he built a 30 ft long house at or near the place where Rensselaerswyck's *schout*, or sheriff, Adriaen van der Donck. the first known European settler at the Flatts, had built an unauthorized home of his own in 1642.

Directing Van der Donck to obey orders requiring him to settle farther south on Castle Island. Van Curler immediately commissioned carpenter Jan Cornelissen to build a more substantial stockade-fortified farmhouse and attached barn at the Flatts. Working through 1643, Cornelissen built a structure measuring 120 ft in length and 28 ft in width for Van Curler. Underlain by a 28 ft by 20 ft cellar, the first 40 ft of the house served as Van Curler's dwelling. The remaining 80 ft was an attached barn housing cattle, horses, and farm laborers. Extant archaeological and archival documentation suggest that the house was built either as a New World variant of the Northern European Medieval Aisled House, which rarely had basements (Huey 1984). or as an example of the Zeeland Barn Group, a later derivative of the Aisled House frequently underlain by cellars (Cohen 1992:42-43).

This combination residence and trading post soon became the administrative and commercial hub of the Rensselaerswyck patroonship. As Kiliaen van Rensselaer foretold in 1633, parties of Indian people traveling to the upper Hudson River to trade and fish soon began bypassing Fort Orange to visit Van Curler's establishment. Van Curler helped one of these visitors, the prominent French Canadian Jesuit priest, Isaac Jogues, who had been captured, adopted, and enslaved by the Mohawks in 1642, escape from his captors while at the Flatts during the summer of 1643 (Huey 1985).

Planting oats in a 25-acre field cleared just below his house, Van Curler obtained a six-year lease to the property from the Van Rensselaer family on September 30, 1647. By 1651, he expanded his holdings to include from 90 to 100 acres of land considered "the best farm" in Rensselaerswyck. Van Curler used the strategic location of his settlement astride the northern approaches to Fort Orange to support Van Rensselaer family efforts to dominate the Indian trade in New Netherland. In 1661, Van Curler further aided his employers by helping to establish the Schenectady community to intercept Indian traders corning to Fort Orange from the west.

Helping to set a pattern that would characterize future contact relationships in the region, Van Curler used trade as an instrument of diplomacy. Frequently acting as a neutral intermediary in disputes between hostile parties, he repeatedly traveled to Mohawk towns in the west and French settlements along the St. Lawrence. Van Curler drowned in Lake Champlain while on such a journey to Canada in 1667. Iroquois diplomats subsequently honored his memory by formally addressing all but one of New York's colonial governors in council by the ceremonial title "Corlaer."

Built atop a highly perishable wooden-walled basement, Van Curler's farmhouse fell into disrepair and collapsed into its cellar-hole by 1668. Albany trader, soldier, and magistrate Philip Pieterse Schuyler subsequently purchased the Flatts farm from the Van Rensselaer family for 700 beavers and 1,600 guilders in 1672. Like Van Curler, Schuyler was a prominent frontier diplomat with close ties to the Mohawk and Mahican Communities. And, like other frontier diplomats before and after him. Schuyler found himself caught between both peoples during their intermittent wars with each other. Unable to stop an outbreak of hostilities in 1677, Schuyler could do little as 100 Mohawk warriors attacked Mahican and other Indian people taking refuge at his farms at the Flatts and at Half Moon farther north near the mouth of the Mohawk River.

Schuyler arranged for the construction of a new, and much larger red brick farmhouse near the old Van Curler house-site shortly after purchasing the Flatts property. The new building initially included a brick chimney, a pantile roof, and leaded window panes. Rebuilt and modified over the years, this structure remained the nucleus of the Schuyler House up to the time of its destruction by fire in 1962.

Philip's son Peter inherited the Flatts farm when his father died in 1683. Three years later, he was appointed Albany's first mayor and head of its Board of Indian Commissioners. Already an experienced frontier diplomat fluent in several Indian languages, he was known among the Mohawks as, after their pronunciation of the name Peter.

Schuyler's farm at the Flatts assumed new importance as a frontier outpost after King William's War broke out in 1689. Located along the region's most strategically significant invasion corridor, the Flatts quickly became a major encampment area for English forces preparing to invade French Canada. Holding councils with Mohawk and other native leaders and warriors at the Flatts, Schuyler attempted to enlist the Support of Indians crucial to the success of any offensive or defensive operations along the vast border separating Iroquoia, New York, New England, and New France.

Schuyler succeeded in securing Mohawk participation in an abortive English invasion of Canada launched from the Flatts in 1691. Two years later, he gave refuge at the Flatts to Mohawk families driven from their homes by retaliating French raiders. Although archaeological evidence of this community has not yet been found, a map of an Indian town at the Flatts drafted in 1695 depicts a fortified community on the banks of Little River just south of a farmhouse (Figure 2). The five longhouses shown in this map were said to shelter 60 Indian people. Three other structures housed colonial troops. The entire settlement was surrounded by a square shaped wooden palisade wall with bastions on its northwestern and southeastern corners.

Ending in a draw in 1697, King William's War was the first of four conflicts fought between Great Britain and France for control of North America between 1689 and 1760. The Flatts served as a major assembly area for British armies and smaller parties in each of these struggles. Temporary facilities were erected as needed by the thousands of British soldier, and Indian warriors and their families who camped on the Flatts at various times during these wars.

Peter Schuyler held numerous councils with Indian leaders at the Flatts until his death in 1724. Moving to the Flatts farm, Peter's son Philip and his wife Margarita, saw to it that the site remained a center of frontier diplomacy. As widely acknowledged for her knowledge of frontier affairs as for her skills as a hostess, Margarita Schuyler became a particularly

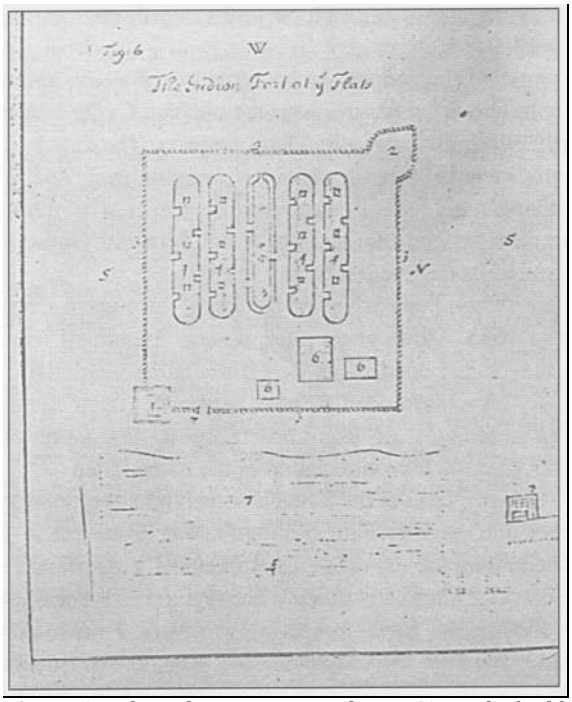


Figure 2. "The Indian Fort at Ye Flatts. 1695." The building and enclosed grounds directly above the northeastern corner of the fort may be the Schuyler House (1695 plat drafted by John Miller on file in the British Museum. London, England).

effective forest diplomat. As her entry in the *Dictionary of American Biography* states:

> Mrs. Schuyler was as well informed as her husband, and many an English official was indebted to her for invaluable advice on the traits of neighboring Indian tribes, the difficulties of transportation and the current state of relations with the French [Malone 1935(16):475].

Margarita's skills as diplomat-hostess of Schuyler Flatts proved particularly important to the British war effort when the final struggle with France for America began in 1755. Once again the Flatts became a vital assembly point and frontier listening post. Hundreds of Indian people passing through on their way to and from Canada met with the Schuylers while camping at the Flatts. Margarita took over this important role after her husband's death in 1758.

Forced from her house by a fire in 1759, she quickly had the Structure rebuilt and enlarged. Margarita subsequently leased the house and moved to Albany in 1765. The Flatts resumed its old importance as a frontier post when the War for Independence began in 1775, and American troops frequently camped there during the decisive 1777 Saratoga campaign. Margarita Schuyler died in Albany in 1782. Occupied by various tenants, the house remained a Schuyler family residence until 1910. Deteriorating with age and abandoned. it finally burned in 1962.

Archaeological Resources

The ruins of the Schuyler House lay neglected for almost ten years when private developers announced plans to build a restaurant and mall at the site in 1970. Responding to the threat posed by this proposed project, local high school students and teachers participating in the Heldeberg Workshop archaeology program began undertaking systematic excavations at the locale under the direction of the writer with the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation in 1971 (Figure 3).

Placing their first excavation units in and around the still visible Schuyler House cellar, the investigators encountered a brow it loam plowzone extending from 6 in to 8 in below the ground Surface. Plowzone deposits were underlain by a layer of yellow gravel varying from 6 in to 1 ft in thickness. A thin stratum of fine yellow sand directly beneath this layer was discovered above layers of yellow and brown gravel fill.

The investigators screening these soils quickly discovered diagnostic seventeenth-century artifacts in and around a dry laid stone wall later identified as the foundations of a building probably constructed by Philip Pieterse Schuyler. In the eighteenth century, perhaps about 1735, a new brick house was built nearby. This house burned in 1759 and again in 1762. A long, narrow, filled trench that was discovered and identified as a palisade wall trench is believed to represent the remains

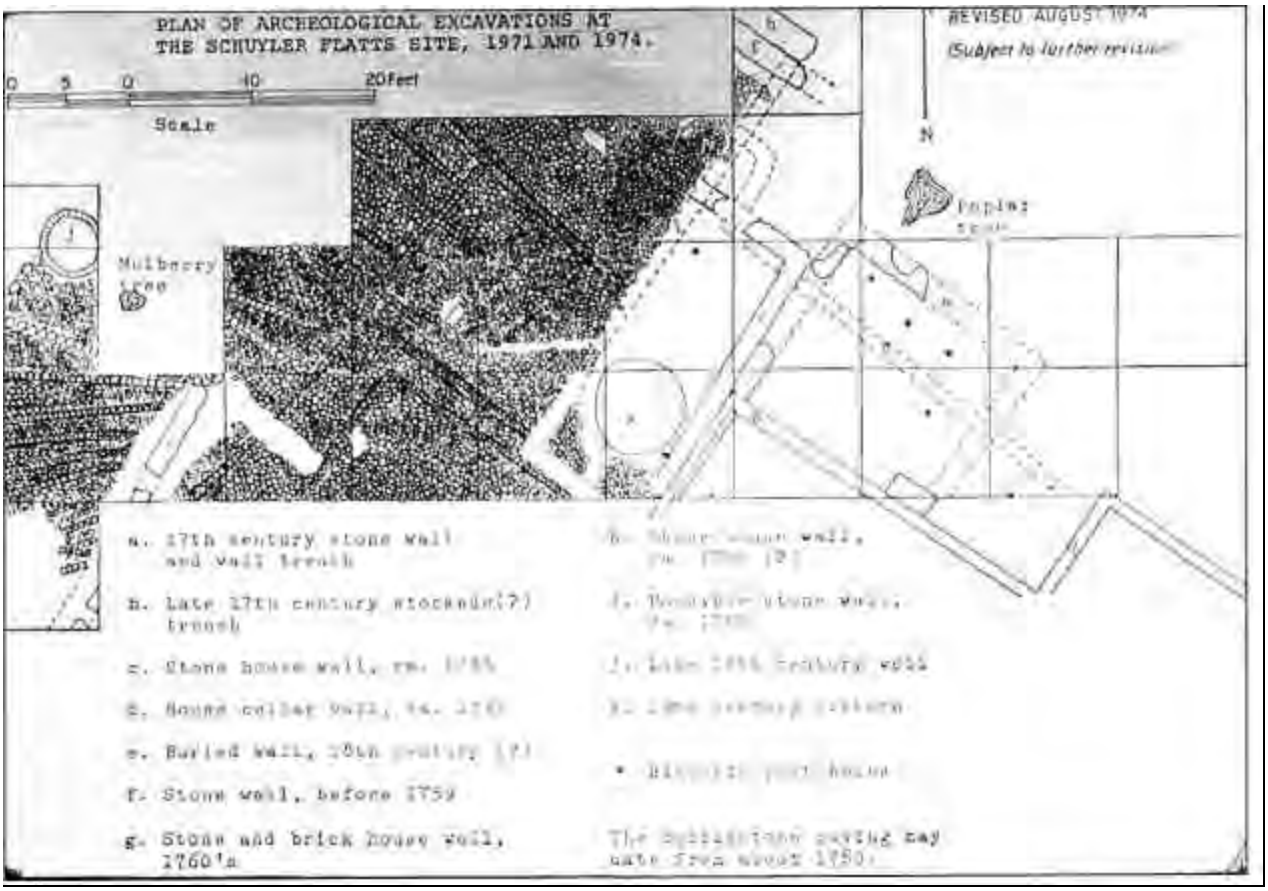


Figure 3. Plan view: Schuyler House excavations. 1971 and 1974, Schuyler Flats Archaeological District. Albany County, New York (Huey 1974:7).

of the stockade wall built around the new brick farm house by British troops, shortly after the outbreak of King George's War in 1744. A nearby stone foundation that cut through the filled trench was identified as the wall of a possible kitchen structure built behind the main house sometime after the war ended in 1748.

Discoveries of layers and lenses of charred wood and fire-reddened soil mutely attest to documented accounts of the lire that burned the interior of the brick house in 1759. Excavations also revealed an extensive layer of cobblestones above the filled trench and the stone outbuilding foundation. These deposits proved to be the paving of a large courtyard created behind the house when it was rebuilt during the early 1760s.

Intermittently working in the courtyard area from 1971 to 1974, investigators excavating ten 10 ft by 10 ft units ultimately exposed 600 sq ft of cobblestone paving. These excavations revealed the only known intact example of a courtyard of this type surviving in the region. Numerous artifacts dating to the middle decades of the eighteenth century, such as fragments of European white clay tobacco pipes, lead musket balls (one evidently bearing teeth marks), red earthenwares, and white salt-glazed stonewares, were found in this area. This assemblage comprises a unique body of data capable of yielding new insights into the use of public space in a strategically important Historic Contact period trading and diplomatic center.

The digging of sewer and power lines in the area just south of the Schuyler house excavations during the summer of 1972 prompted excavation of test units near those trenches. These excavations eventually revealed remains of a 6-ft to 7-ft-deep, L-shaped cellar hole nearly 29 ft in length and 14 ft wide on one end and 19 ft on the other (Figure 4). It had been filled with coarse yellow gravel (Figure 5). The cellar walls had

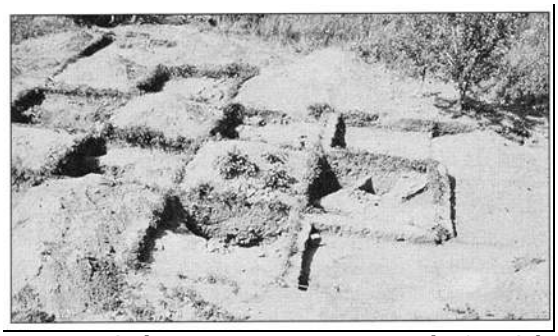


Figure 4. Van Curler House excavation unit grid, 1971, Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District, Albany County, New York. Photograph by Paul R. Huey.

been lined originally with horizontally-placed wooden boards nailed to upright posts. Wooden plank flooring was uncovered at the bottom of this cellar (Figure 6). Intrusive deposits of coarse brown gravel preserved evidence of two wall cave-ins. Artifacts found in the most recent of these associate it with the filling of this cellar sometime between 1690 and 1710. Other artifacts found in a layer of fine yellow gravel overlying these deposits indicate that the cellar hole was completely filled in by 1730.

Excavations at the floor level inside the cellar revealed shallow soft red brick footings at the ends of cach floor beam. These footings also supported the vertical wall-posts. With the completion of additional excavation units in this cellar in 1974, investigators discovered that the 19 ft end of the cellar formed a l0-ft-wide ell. A set of wooden steps descending to the cellar floor was found along the longest single wall of the cellar.

Early seventeenth-century European ceramics (Figure 7), glass roemer fragments and prunts, leaded window glass, glass beads, brass mouth harps, copper or brass tinkler cones, iron knives, gun parts, and European white clay tobacco pipes found within lowermost cellar deposits are probably associated with Van Curler's Occupancy. The bulk of the cellar deposit's ceramic assemblage (N=785) consists of almost equal amounts of tin-glazed Dutch faience (delft) and majolica earthenware (N=231), red earthenware (N=216), and Rhenish salt-glazed stoneware (N=233) sherds. Small amounts of porcelain (N=12) and white or buff earthenware (N=93) sherds also were found.

Discoveries of yellow ware pottery, glass beads, and European white clay tobacco pipes bearing "RT" marks within slump deposits probably document later Schuyler family occupation of the house near the site during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The absence of later artifacts in cellar deposits indicates that Schuyler house occupants finally stopped dumping trash in the abandoned cellar hole on or about the time Peter Schuyler accompanied three Mohawk leaders and the chief sachem of the River Indians to the Court of Queen Anne to drum up support for a British invasion of Canada during the height of Queen Anne's War in 1710.

Discoveries of wampum and glass beads, European white clay smoking pipes, glass bottles used to contain alcoholic beverages, lead shot, gunflints, and other goods in intact deposits in and around foundations of the Van Curler and Schuyler houses corroborate written records documenting the District's importance as a strategic Indian trading post on the New Netherland and later New York frontier.

As at Fort Orange, builders of the Van Curler house erected a substantial wooden framed structure atop a quickly rotting wooden cellar set in soft, wet alluvial soils. Such practices attest to attitudes of Dutch traders who regarded frontier homes as temporary places of residence to be occupied only long enough to acquire sufficient wealth to support moves elsewhere.

Built to last, the Schuyler house was a far more durable structure embodying permanent construction techniques, used in the homes of other prominent Northeastern frontier merchant-diplomats like Sir William Johnson and Conrad Weiser. Discoveries of wampum shell beads, glass beads, and other artifacts in or near the cobblestone courtyard behind the main house provide a unique body of archaeological evidence capable of yielding insights into the use of this space in Indian trade and diplomacy.

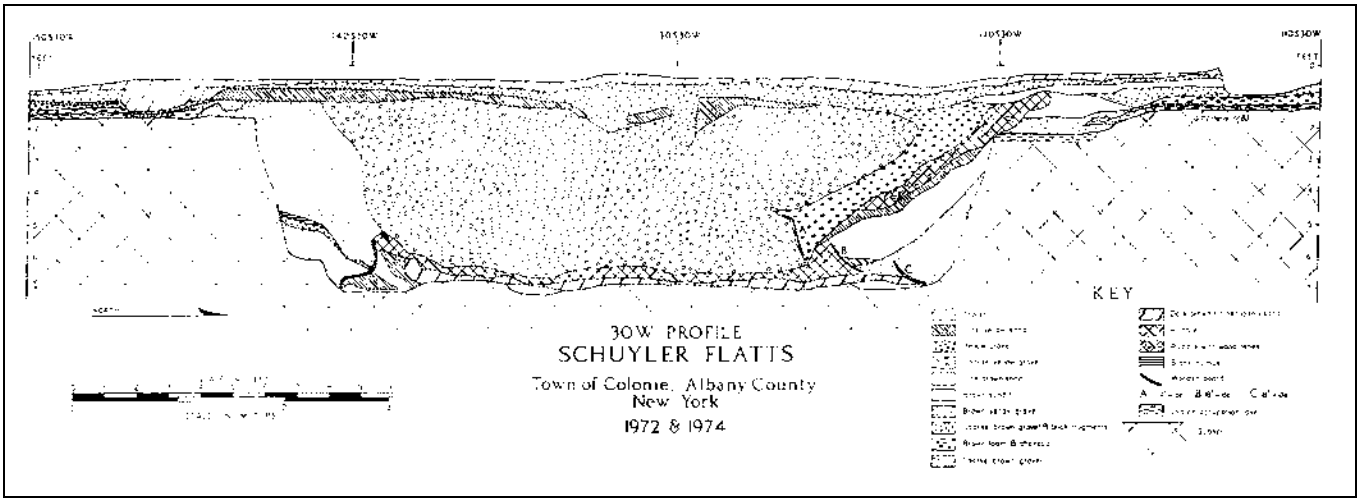


Figure 5. Profile view: Van Curler House cellar, Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District. Albany County, New York (Figure 7 in Huey 1984:78). Drawing by Gwen Gillette.

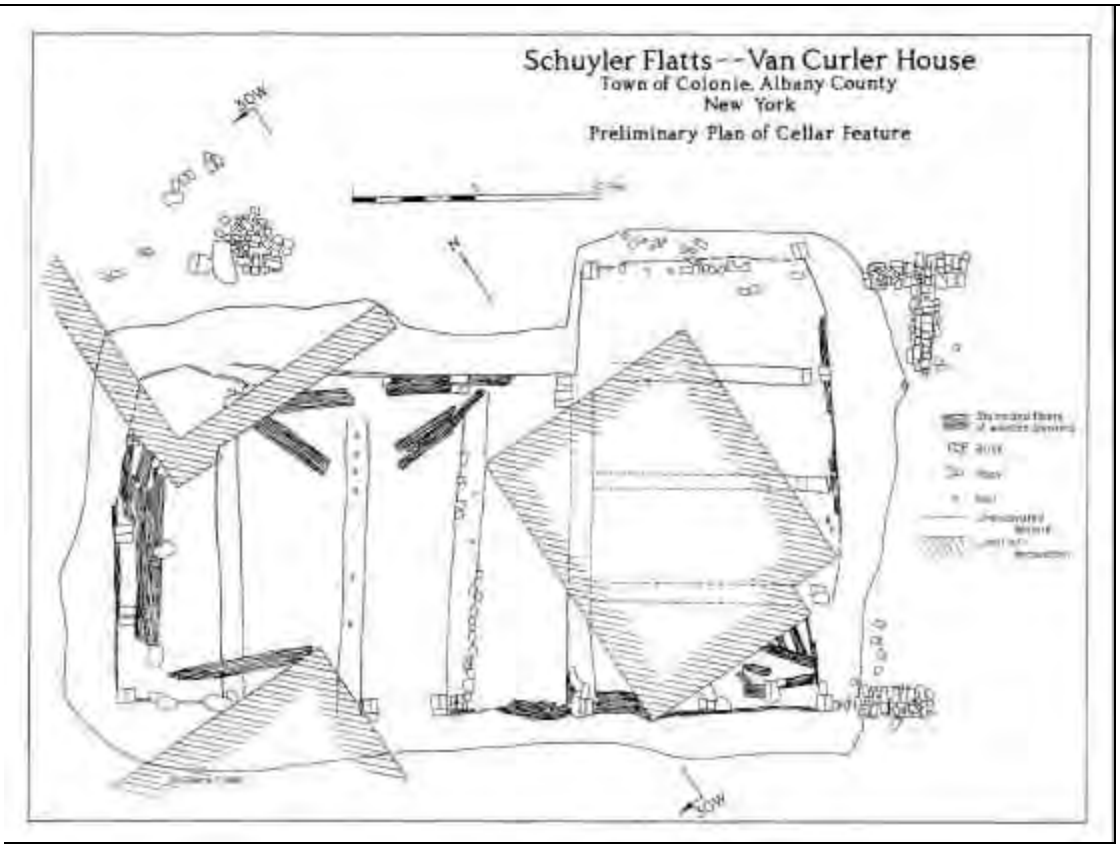


Figure 6. Planview: Van Curler House cellar. Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District. Albany County, New York (Figure 1 in Huey 1987:15). Drawby Gwen Gillette.

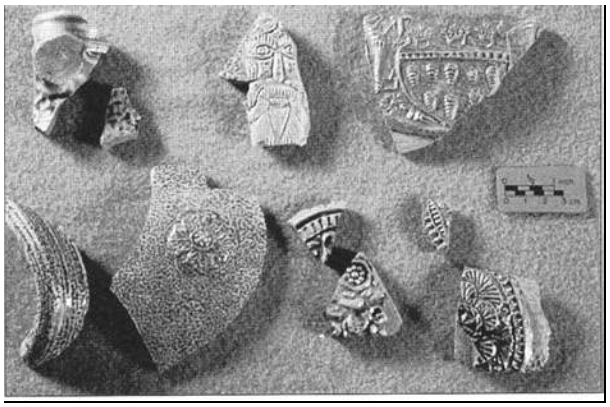


Figure 7. Rhenish stoneware sherds, Van Curler House cellar, Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District, Albany County, New York. Photograph by Paul R. Huey.

Significance of the District

Cultural resources still preserved in the Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District represent a rare group of archaeological deposits documenting contact relations between Indian, Dutch, and English people at a critically important strategic locale on the colonial North Atlantic frontier. Discovery of intact structural features associated with sealed deposits containing types of European goods traded to Indian people during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, corroborates written records documenting Schuyler Flatts as the location of a major strategic entrepot maintained by Dutch merchant-diplomat Arent van Curler from 1643 to 1667 and various prominent Historic Contact era frontier diplomats belonging to the Schuyler family living there after 1672. Moreover, some of the artifacts found at the Flatts provide evidence of illicit trade with Canada during the eighteenth century.

Indian visitors traveling to the Flatts from the north and west primarily traded beaver pelts, other furs, and corn for white clay tobacco pipes, glass beads, shell wampum beads, and other goods provided by European traders. Indians living at the Flatts for varying lengths of time worked in the fields, tended farm animals, hunted and fished for their hosts, and performed other tasks.

Schuyler Flatts functioned as a crucially important diplomatic center and military encampment area on the frontier separating Iroquoia, New York, New England, and New France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mohawk, Mahican, and other Indian leaders forged close

political. social, and economic relationships with such influential culture brokers residing, at the Flatts as Arent van Curler, Peter Schuyler, and Margarita Schuyler. Mohawks and other Iroquois members of the Covenant Chain alliance between New York and the League of Five Nations periodically traveled to Schuyler Flatts to adjudicate disputes, discuss land and trade issues, and conclude treaty agreements. Gathering at the Flatts during tines of war, they used the farm as an assembly point for scouting parties guarding the frontiers and for larger forces launching assaults against French Canada.

Discoveries of tin-lazed earthenware and salt-lazed stoneware ceramics, white clay tobacco pipes, coins, glass beads, and other European commodities show that Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District deposits can reveal important new insights into the impact of new technologies on the daily lives of Indian people living in both the North Atlantic and Trans-Appalachian regions. European artifacts similar to those found in Schuyler Flatts deposits have been found in Indian sites throughout both regions. Comparisons of these site assemblages can reveal significant new information on the ways Mohawk, Mahican, and other Indian people incorporated foreign goods obtained at places like Schuyler Flatts into their lives during the Historic Contact period.

Several bodies of archival evidence indicate that deposits located in and near the Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District have high potential to yield new information associated with these aspects of contact. Intact postmold patterns, pits, living, floors, hearths, and other features created by Indian people known to have camped or taken refuge in fortified communities at various times at Schuyler Flatts may be preserved at this locale. Analysis of artifact assemblages found in known Schuyler Flatts archaeological deposits also has the potential to illuminate further historically documented demographic and settlement shifts in nearby Mahican and Mohawk communities. Studies of biocultural deposits in and around Schuyler Flatts may shed particular light upon the causes and consequences of Mohawk visits to fish and trade at Schuyler Flatts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Well-known to local historians and relic collectors, and located in an undeveloped area within a densely populated and highly urbanized region, Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District deposits have been subject to varying degrees of disturbance since the Schuyler house burned down in 1962. Pothunters have illegally dug holes in and around District boundaries in search of glass bottles and other relics. Archaeological excavations from 1971 to 1974, conducted at a time when planned development threatened to destroy archaeological resources at the site, further affected portions of both Schuyler House and Van Curler cellar deposits.

Substantial portions of both deposits nevertheless survive intact. The archaeologists did not destroy the Schuyler house cobblestone paving, and foundation elements exposed during excavations have been reburied. A 100-sq-ft grid square situated at center of the Van Curler house site cellar also was left unexcavated. Other deposits are preserved intact in adjoining areas not encompassed by the archaeological test excavations. The sewer line cutting through a number of nearby prehistoric sites in 1974 did not damage deposits within present nomination boundaries. Although trash dumping disfigures the present appearance of the tract, such activities also inadvertently minimize the extent of visible exposed surface area vulnerable to site looting.

The archaeological investigations conducted from 1971 to 1974 provided documentation establishing a level of integrity sufficient to list Schuyler Flatts in the National Register of Historic Places on January 21, 1974, as a property possessing state level of significance. Later that year, the Town of Colonie acquired one acre containing the archaeological remains of the Schuyler house from a developer for $50,000 (Taylor 1977). Shortly thereafter title to acreage containing the Van Curler house site passed to the County of Albany. Systematically contrasted with inventoried contemporary resources in the region in the Northeast Historic Contact NHL Theme Study, Schuyler Flatts Archaeological District deposits have been found to possess a level of integrity sufficient to support nomination as a National Historic Landmark.

The District presently occupies a wooded area of undeveloped public land bordering on the northern end of fallow fields covered with dense secondary growth. Portions of the District area are littered with trash. Trails and unimproved dirt roads intersect the site in several places. A chain-link fence erected around the now-overgrown Van Curler house site had been knocked down by vandals and has been removed as part of a clean-up project by the Town of Colonie. Town officials have also arranged for the clearing of brush from the area of the Van Curler and Schuyler house sites.

The County of Albany presently is transferring title to its 9-acre parcel located immediately south of the 2.5-acre Lot 10 property owned by the Town of Colonie for the purposes of facilitating the development a town historical park to preserve and interpret District cultural resources (Feister 1985). Archaeological materials recovered during excavations at Schuyler Flatts from 1971 to 1974 are currently curated by the Archaeology Unit of the Bureau of Historic Sites, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford, New York. Some of these artifacts are on exhibit at the Fort Crailo State Historic Site. Current plans also call for the exhibition of other artifacts from Schuyler Flatts at Troy's Riverbank Visitor Center, a component of the New York State Heritage Area System. As rare material evidence documenting the lives and work-styles of seventeenth-century farm laborers, these artifacts will significantly enhance presentations focusing upon labor and industrial themes emphasized at the Riverbank Visitor Center installations.

References Cited

Cohen. David Steven
1992 *The Dutch-American Farm*. New York University Press, New York.

Feister. Lois M.
1985 Archaeology, in Rensselaerswyck: Dutch 17th Century Domestic Sites. In *New Netherland Studies: An Inventory of Current Research and Approaches* Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige 84(2-3):80-88.

Grumet. Robert S.
1995 *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Huey, Paul R.
1974 Archaeology at the Schuyler Flatts, 1971-1974. Published by the Town of Colonie, Colonie, New York.
1984 Dutch Sites of the Seventeenth Century in Rensselaerswyck. In *The Scope of Historical Archaeology Essays in Honor of John L. Cotter* edited by David G. Orr and Daniel G. Crozier, pp. 63-85. Laboratory of Anthropology. Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
1985 *An Historic Event at the Schuyler Flatts in 1643*. Unpublished typescript.
1987 Archaeological Evidence of Dutch Wooden Cellars and Perishable Wooden Structures at Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Sites in the Upper Hudson Valley. In *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America: 1609-1776*, edited by Robert H. Blackburn and Nancy A. Kelley, pp. 13-35. Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, New York.

Huey, Paul R., and Robert S. Grumet
1993 *Schuyler Flatts Archeological District National Historic Landmark Nomination Form*. Manuscript on file, History Division. National Park Service. Washington. D.C.

Malone, Dumas, editor
1935 *Dictionary of American Biography*. 20 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Taylor, Geoff
1977 Proposed Mall Near Historic Zone May Draw Opposition at Colonie. *Schenectady Gazette* February 17.

The Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District National Historic Landmark

Dean R. Snow
Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania

David B. Guldenzopf
U.S. Army Environmental Center, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland

The Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District, a large multicomponent property in Indian Castle, Herkimer County, New York was designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL.) in 1993. Containing both rare standing structures and one of the largest, most diverse, best preserved, and most intensively documented eighteenth-century archaeological assemblages in Iroquoia, the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District meets NHL significance criteria 2 and 6 as a property that "is associated with significant figures in American history and culture" and that has 'yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance."

This article is an abridged version of the NHL nomination form used to document the significance of the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District (Snow, Guldenzopf; and Grumet 1993). Much of the information utilized in the nomination form was drawn from Guldenzopf (1986) and Lenig (1977).

Background and Overview

The Secretary of the Interior designated the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) on April 19, 1993. The Mohawk Upper Castle was one of 17 properties designated for their significance in documenting relations between Indian people and colonists in the Northeast in the Historic Contact Theme Study (Grumet 1995).

This article is an abridged version of the designation form used to nominate the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District as a NHL (Snow, Guldenzopf, and Grumet 1993). Dean R. Snow, current head of the Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, who served as director of the State University of New York at Albany archaeological investigations at the Mohawk Upper Castle and David B. Guldenzopf, then a graduate student working as excavation field director under the supervision of Snow and who presently heads the Cultural Resource Section of the U.S. Army Environmental Center, provided documentation and reviewed both nomination form and revised article text prepared by National Park Service Archeologist Robert S. Grumet. The NHL's significance is based upon archaeological and architectural resources within the District reported in Guldenzopf (1986) and Lenig (1977). The nomination form was reviewed by Charles T. Gehring, William A. Starna, and the Joint Society for American Archaeology and Society for Historical Archaeology Archaeological NHL Committee.

The Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District is located in the village of Indian Castle, Town of Danube, Herkimer County, New York. Resources contributing to the national significance of the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District consist of archaeological and architectural evidence associated with Nowadaga, the most westerly part of the major eighteenth-century Mohawk Indian community of Canajoharie. Then as now, the people of the Mohawk Nation belonged to the easternmost constituent of the Iroquois Confederacy. During the eighteenth century, Mohawk people regarded Canajoharie as the most important community in the western half of Kanyenke, their name for the Mohawk River Valley heartland (Snow 1994, 1995:488-95).

Also called Upper Castle, Canajoharie was a large community stretching for a mile and a half along the southern bank of the Mohawk River from a point opposite the mouth of East Canada Creek west to the Nowadaga Creek outlet. One of the two main Mohawk Indian towns in Kanyenke at the time. Canajoharie also was the home of the influential and widely-known Mohawk leaders Theyanoguin or Hendrick, Molly Brant, and Joseph Brant. Canajoharie's Nowadaga locale also is the site of the Indian Castle Church and the Brant Family Barn. The Indian Castle Church is the only surviving standing example of the many religious structures built by Christian mission societies in Indian communities located in and around the Iroquois heartland during the historic contact period (Figures 1 and 2). The nearby Brant Family Barn is an extremely rare example of the Dutch-style pre-revolution barns formerly common in the Mohawk Valley in the years before the War of Independence.

Commanding the western approaches to the lower Mohawk and upper Hudson valleys, residents of this strategically located community figured prominently in relations between Indian people and colonists throughout the 1700s. This importance is reflected in the number and extent of references to Canajoharie and its people in contemporary accounts

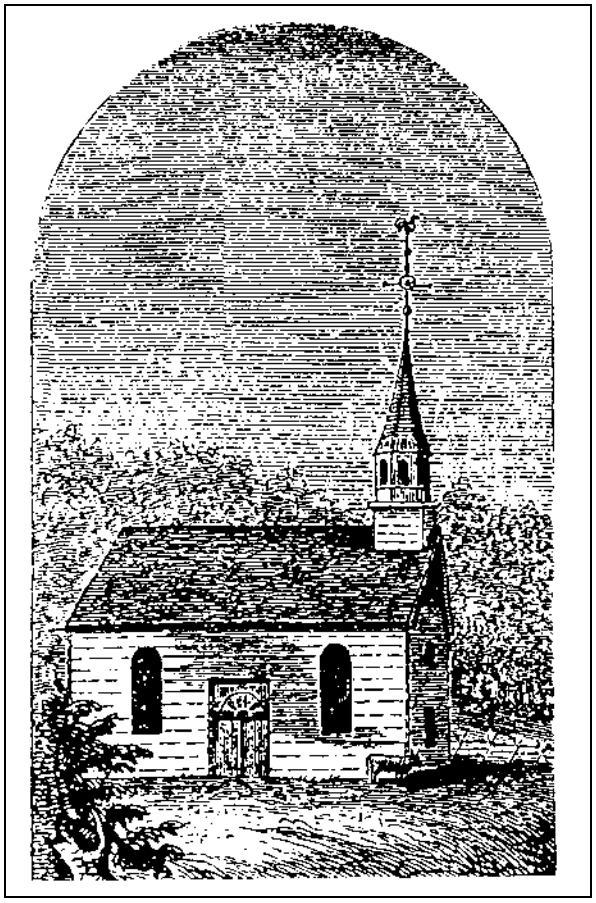


Figure 1. Indian Castle church before its rotation and relocation. From an 1838 sketch by Benson Lossing.

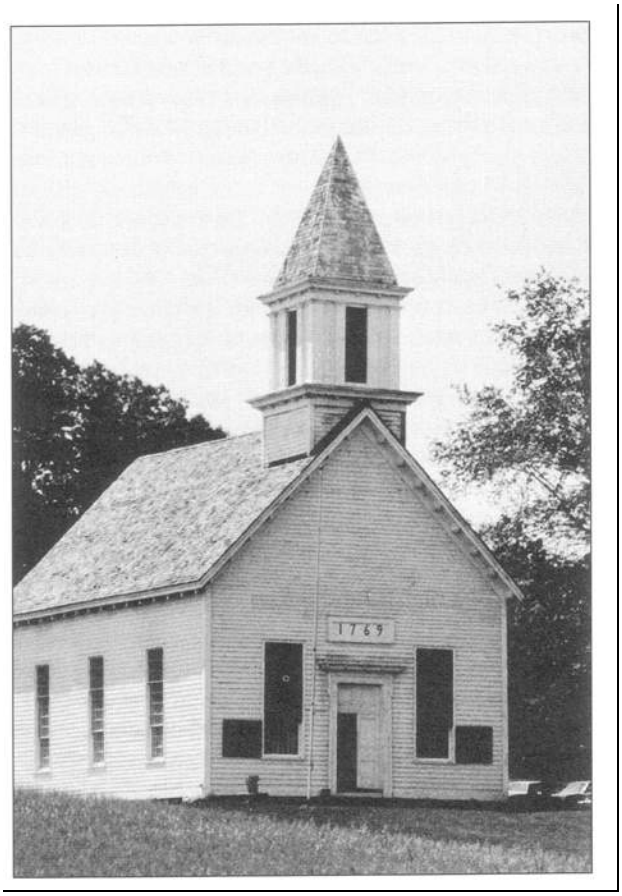


Figure 2. Indian Castle church as it appears today, rotated and relocated with the main door moved to the gable end.

appearing in Colden (1747), O'Callaghan (1849-50), O'Callaghan and Fernow (1853-87), and Sullivan et al. (1921-65) and in later regional historical and anthropological studies such as Fenton and Tooker (1978), Graymont (1972), Kelsay (1984), Lydekker (1938), and Stone (1838). Test excavations conducted by archaeologists at Canajoharie during the 1970s and 1980s showed that cultural resources capable of verifying extant documentation and revealing new information associated with eighteenth-century Nowadaga community life survived intact within the borders of the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District (Guldenzopf 1986; Lenig 1977).

Two properties clearly documenting eighteenth-century Mohawk Indian life at Nowadaga are preserved in the 51.5 acre portion of the Canajoharie community within the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District. One of these, a property consisting of two stone foundations, a stratified midden deposit, and the above-mentioned wooden-framed Dutch barn, contains resources associated with the Brant Homestead built sometime around 1754. The other includes the also above-mentioned Indian Castle Church, a wooden-framed Anglican chapel built for the Canajoharie Mohawk Indian community in 1769, and a Mohawk Indian cemetery. Archaeological remains of other buildings and structures possessing values contributing to the documentation of the national significance of this major eighteenth-century Canajoharie Mohawk Indian community also may survive in and around District boundaries.

Non-contributing properties located within these boundaries include archaeological remains of two nineteenth-century carriage houses flanking the Indian Castle Church and the present-day Welden family farm house complex northwest of the intersection of New York State Route 5-S and River Road. The modern Indian Castle Church cemetery, situated just south of the church on a 1.9 acre tract administered by the Town of Danube, is a publicly owned in-holding not included in the District.

The Upper Castle Church rests atop a knoll near the edge of a terrace rising steeply above Nowadaga Creek to the east.

Brant Homestead resources are located at the northern edge of a level terrace overlooking the broad Mohawk River floodplain to the north. Both properties are situated in an area of glacial outwash deposits generally consisting of gravelly, sandy, clayey, or silt loam soils. Altitude elevations within District boundaries range from densely forested uplands above 380 ft just behind the Indian Castle Church, to lower-lying Brant Homestead cultural resources in and around a section of unplowed open pasture land below 360 ft.

Nowadaga Creek and community appear in eighteenth century documentary records under such variant spellings as Anadagie in 1713, Icannanodago in 1731, Canouwadage in 1756, and Inchananedo in 1764 and 1789. Linguist Marianne Mithun traces the term Nowadaga to the Mohawk expression *Kanawarta:ke*, "on the creek" (Guldenzopf 1986). Mithun further supports Floyd Lounsbury's etymology (in Lounsbury 1960) tracing the name of the Mohawk town of Canajoharie to the toponym *Kanatsyohare*, "a washed kettle".

Canajoharie's English names, Indian Castle and Upper Castle, are both holdovers from an earlier time when Mohawk people lived in fortified communities surrounded by wooden palisade walls called "castles" by Europeans. Colonial records affirm that settlers in the Northeast frequently identified large or fortified Indian communities as Indian Castles. The term Upper Castle, for its part, specifically distinguished Canajoharie from the Mohawk Lower Castle, a somewhat larger town called Thienderego or Tionondorage by Mohawk people, located 30 mi downstream at the confluence of Schoharie Creek and the Mohawk River.

The primary focus of Mohawk townlife centered upon the Upper and Lower Castles after French soldiers and their Indian allies burned the three major Mohawk towns in Kanyenke during a raid launched from Canada at the height of King William's War in 1693 (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[4]:20, 654, 907). Eighteenth-century maps locating the Upper Castle community at its present geographic position clearly show that Europeans were well aware of Canajoharie's location and importance. A hand-drawn map and a field survey book penned in 1764 by surveyors platting Van Horne Patent boundaries set out in a deed signed a year earlier specifically delineated the main center of the Canajoharie Indian town (Van Vechten Papers n.d. 8-9). Chronicling the division of this patent into six allotment areas, these documents identify four contiguous 850-acre lots between streams listed as "Canady Kill" and "Inchananedo Brook" in the sixth and most westerly allotment as land "claimed by the Canajoharie Indians".

Like most eighteenth-century Iroquois towns, Canajoharie was a complex multi-ethnic community. Politically and socially, it was universally recognized as a major Mohawk community during the 1700s (Guldenzopf 1986; Fenton and Tooker 1978; Snow and Lanphear 1988). Despite this fact, relatively few of Canajoharies's residents could trace direct descent to Mohawk ancestors. War, epidemic disease, and emigration to Canadian mission towns like Caughnawaga had reduced the total population of Mohawk people living in Kanyenke from as many as 6,700 individuals at the beginning of the 1600s to little more than 600 people by the end of the century. Although most of the 200 to 300 people living at Canajoharie in 1700 regarded themselves as Mohawks (Guldenzopf 1984), linguistic evidence showing the influence of foreign Indian languages in dialect differences among eighteenth-century Mohawks (Lounsbury 1960:50) corroborates Mohawk family histories chronicling Huron, Mahican, Susquehannock, Canadian Algonquian, and other Indian ancestors.

Community complexity increased as Dutch, German, Irish, Scottish, and English settlers moved to the Upper Mohawk Valley. Palatine German families forced from homes at Schoharie and along the Hudson River by powerful New York landlords began building new communities for themselves near Canajoharie at places like German Flats and Stone Arabia during the 1720s. Dutch and British settlers from Schenectady, Albany, and other communities also started moving to the area at this time. Increasing in numbers as the century wore on, the total population of European immigrants settling around Canajoharie gradually grew from a few families to several hundred people by the time the War for Independence broke out in 1775 (Guldenzopf 1986; Snow and Lanphear 1988).

Mohawk Indian population, by contrast continued to drop during this same period. Periodic outbreaks of smallpox, typhoid fever, and other diseases ravaged Mohawk communities. Emigration to French Canadian settlements or to new Iroquois-dominated Upper Susquehanna Valley multi-cultural communities like Tioga further reduced population at Canajoharie and other places in the Kanyenke heartland.

Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department and Mohawk Valley immigrant Sir William Johnson tried to augment waning Mohawk numbers by relocating families of Hudson, Delaware, and Susquehanna Valley Mahican and Munsee refugees to Mohawk towns between 1755 and 1756 during the Seven Years War. Such efforts met with indifferent success (O'Callaghan 1849-50[2]:792; O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[7]:94-96, 111; Sullivan et al. 1921-65[2]:613, 623; [9]:903).

A British census undertaken in 1758 found 165 Indian women and children at Canajoharie (Sullivan et al. 1921-65[10]:49, 53). Assuming that the number of uncounted Indian men was slightly greater than the 76 women enumerated in the census, no more than 250 Mohawk people probably called Canajoharie home at the time. Crop failures and new outbreaks of epidemic disease following the end of the fight-

ing in 1760 further reduced the Mohawk population at Canajoharie and elsewhere in Kanyenke (Guldenzopf 1984, 1986; Snow and Lanphear 1988).

Canajoharie Mohawk people nevertheless repeatedly exerted an influence far out of proportion to their small numbers at critical junctures during the 1700s. The 100 or so warriors living in the town represented the only coherent permanent fighting force in the strategically important upper Mohawk Valley. Situated within a day's travel of the Carrying Place, a short overland portage linking the Mohawk Valley with Lake Ontario's Oswego River drainage, Canajoharie lay at a critical point along the long exposed forest borderland separating British New York from French Canada. Warriors from Canajoharie formed a first line of defense against invaders approaching the Mohawk Valley from the west. A convenient base for scouts guarding the northern and western approaches to the strategic Hudson Valley, Canajoharie also served as a springboard for strikes against French Canadian outposts on Lake Ontario and the upper St. Lawrence.

Iroquois Confederacy chiefs often worked to exploit the strategic position of Canajoharie and other League towns by pursuing an official policy of neutrality in the four wars fought between France and Great Britain from 1689 to 1760. Formally allied with Great Britain through their Covenant Chain alliance, Mohawks and other Iroquois League nations struggled to play French and British colonial administrators off against one another. In so doing, they managed to hold the balance of power between France and Great Britain for more than five decades.

Canajoharie's hereditarily appointed civil Confederacy chiefs struggled to maintain community cohesion as they worked to balance the interests of rival pro-French and pro-British factions. Compelled by geography and history to favor the policies and actions of their British neighbors, Confederacy chiefs could do little to stop pro-French community members from relocating to Caughnawaga and other expatriate Iroquois communities in French Canada. As guarantors of League neutrality, these same leaders had to limit the influence of aggressive and increasingly influential pro-British Canajoharie Mohawk leaders like Tejonihokarawa, Theyanoguin, and Joseph Brant.

Known among the British as Hendrick Peters, the Mohawk leader Tejonihokarawa first rose to international prominence as the skillful diplomat who traveled to England with three other "Indian Kings" (another may have been Joseph Brant's grandfather) and their provincial sponsors to obtain support for an invasion of Canada during Queen Anne's War in 1710. Creating a sensation wherever they went, Hendrick and his associates had an audience with Queen Anne, met with her ministers, and had their portraits painted by court painter John Verhelst. Enthusiastically endorsing the Canadian invasion scheme, they also asked that Anglican missionaries be sent to their towns.

The Canadian invasion attempt miscarried when promised support failed to materialize. Hendrick's request for a missionary, however, was quickly fulfilled. Well aware of the fact that the Anglican Church was a state religion whose liturgy called on celebrants to affirm loyalty to the British Crown, Queen Anne quickly authorized construction of a chapel in Mohawk country (O'Callaghan 1849-50[3]:902; O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[5]:279-80). The building subsequently was erected within the walls of Fort Hunter next to the Mohawk Lower Castle in 1712. Supporting fund-raising efforts to maintain a missionary in Mohawk country, the Queen donated a specially engraved silver communion service for use in the chapel. Led by Hendrick and other Anglican communicants, Canajoharie people soon began traveling to the Lower Castle to attend services at the new chapel.

A younger Hendrick Peters, Theyanoguin, and other Canajoharie leaders tried to rouse support for the British when King George's War broke out in 1744. Fearing French retaliation after the younger Hendrick led several raids against Canadian Outposts. Canajoharie leaders permitted the British to build a small blockhouse for their protection on a hill at the eastern end of their Upper Castle town across from the mouth of East Canada Creek in 1747. After the war, the blockhouse continued to be used as a trader's warehouse and as quarters for visiting gunsmiths and armorers commissioned by Sir William Johnson to repair the firearms of his Canajoharie Mohawk allies.

Johnson arranged for the construction of a more substantial fortification, "on the flatland out of gun shot from the hill where the old blockhouses now stand" in Hendrick's community, soon after the final war between France and Great Britain began in 1755. As he had done in earlier conflicts, Hendrick quickly rallied Mohawk support for the British war effort. Supporting their Mohawk allies, the British erected a new post at the locale in 1756. The fortification was named Fort Hendrick, in honor of the aged Canajoharie leader Theyanoguin, who had met his death while fighting alongside the British the year before at the Battle of Lake George.

Many scholars, including both of us, have long assumed that the two Mohawk men both known to the English as Hendrick Peters were in fact one person (Snow 1996). However, Barbara Sivertsen's (1996) meticulous genealogical research has shown that they were two men. Hendrick Peters Tejonihokarawa was a member of the Wolf Clan, while Hendrick Peters Theyanoguin was a member of the Bear Clan. Tejonihokarawa was born around 1660: Theyanoguin was born in 1692. Theyanoguin would have been an improbable 95 years old at the time of his death in battle at Lake George if he had been the same man who visited England in

1710. Separation of the two as distinct historic Mohawk figures also clarified what is a very confusing and inconsistent array of contemporary portraits (Garratt and Robertson 1985).

People living in Canajoharie and other Mohawk Valley Indian communities managed to avoid French raids that had devastated their towns during earlier Anglo-French conflicts. The Seven Years War was nevertheless a disaster for the Mohawk people. Mohawk Valley warriors fought against kinsfolk from Caughnawaga and other French Canadian Indian towns. Scores of Mohawk men fighting on both sides were killed in battle by the time the North American phase of the war ended in 1760.

Unknown numbers of other Mohawk people were killed in a series of smallpox and typhoid fever epidemics that ravaged native Northeastern communities during and after the war. Demoralized by these losses and pressured by colonists to sell their lands and move elsewhere, many Mohawk people immigrated to Canada or to new communities built along the frontiers of the Iroquois heartland in the Susquehanna and Allegheny river valleys. Those remaining at Canajoharie and other Mohawk Valley towns suffered from periodic famines brought on by game shortages and crop failures caused by drought, insect pests, and plant diseases. Neighboring colonists intent on forcing Indian people from their lands caused further problems by driving cattle across Mohawk fences and fields (Guldenzopf 1984).

By the winter of 1760, William Johnson's brother Warren wrote that the Mohawks were "prodigiously reduced" (Sullivan et al. 1921-65[13]:194). In 1769, the year the Anglicans constructed their chapel at Canajoharie, colonial chroniclers recorded the deaths of many Mohawk people from malnutrition and disease. One year later, Sir William Johnson estimated that Canajoharie's population had dropped to 180 people living in 38 houses. Situated in what was still the western fringe of British settlement in the Mohawk Valley, this tiny community of less than 200 people persisted in a county whose total White and Black population was reckoned at 42,706 in a census taken in 1771 (Guldenzopf 1986).

Life changed considerably in the Canajoharie community during these years. Unlike their ancestors, who had lived in 60-ft- to 100-ft-long bark-walled multi-family clan longhouses, most eighteenth-century Canajoharie townsfolk resided in small rectangular, one-room single-family log or bark cabins. Houses were lit by cooking and heating fires tended in open hearths located at the center of packed dirt floors. Smoke was usually vented through gaps in roof rafters. Possessions generally were stored in woven bags, clay pots, or splint baskets crafted by Mohawk women using tools and techniques introduced from Scandinavia and Eastern Europe during the 1720s.

Most Canajoharie houses were surrounded by planting fields and orchards. Small plots traditionally were tended by women using hoes and employing slash-and-burn shifting cultivation methods. Colonial officials began hiring neighboring colonists to plow and fence Indian fields during the 1700s. Increasing numbers of Mohawk people began adopting colonial agricultural techniques. By mid-century, most Mohawks were living in permanent houses, using European-style household implements, building barns, utilizing plows, harrows, draft animals, and wagons, and raising cattle, sheep, and horses (Guldenzopf 1986; Haldimand Papers n.d. [24]:299-305).

Conforming to matrilocal residence rules traditionally favored by Mohawk society, Canajoharie women generally remained in or near the homes of their mothers and female blood relations for much of their lives. Most managed households, raised children, farmed, made clothing, and worked for nearby colonists. Mohawk men, by contrast, tended to live lives of movement. Most adhered to residence customs requiring movement to other locales at various times in their lives. Moving to households of spouses or friends, Canajoharie men also continued to travel widely throughout the Northeast to hunt, trade, trap, and wage war against enemy nations. Many found employment among the British as warriors, scouts, and laborers as the fur trade declined during the middle years of the eighteenth century.

Mohawk men and women increasingly produced goods for export during these years. Men trapped furs and carved wooden bowls, spoons, ladles, and other utensils while women sewed skin moccasins and other articles of clothing and crafted baskets, brooms, and corn husk dolls and rugs. Both also gathered ginseng, medicinal herbs, and other woodland plants. Canajoharie people often exchanged these and other products for European metalwares, textiles, ceramics, and glasswares. Unable to make such items themselves, these imports become indispensable to Mohawk people who had long since stopped producing most aboriginal stone and ceramic tools and implements. Gifts and payments for services made by Sir William Johnson helped make up for some deficiencies. Land sales and rental or lease agreements with neighboring colonists provided additional income.

Upper Castle community leaders finally signed over most of their remaining lands around Canajoharie to Van Horne Patentees in 1763 in exchange for clear title to a 3,400-acre tract encompassing the heart of their town lands between East Canada and Nowadaga creeks. Although much of this tract remained communal property available to all members of the Mohawk community, extant records also indicate that increasingly influential warriors like Joseph Brant also acquired private title to substantial portions of Canajoharie acreage (Haldimand Papers n.d. [24]:299).

Joseph Brant was born in the Lower Castle in 1743 (Kelsay 1984). The Brant family first moved to Canajoharie shortly after Joseph's mother married her second husband,

Brant Canagaradunck, in the Anglican chapel at the Lower Castle in 1754. Joseph, whose Mohawk name was Thayendanegea, lived with his mother at Nowadaga. His older sister, Molly (her Mohawk name was Wary Ganwatsijayenni) lived with Sir William Johnson as his consort, mistress, and housekeeper at Johnson Hall in nearby Johnstown, New York for more than a decade. Shortly after his death in 1774, she moved into a new house at the Upper Castle constructed for her and the eight children she had by Johnson. In accordance with Mohawk matrilineal descent rules, Molly evidently inherited all of their mother's property at Upper Castle following the elder woman's death sometime during the early 1770s.

A Continental Army officer traveling to the Brant Farm in 1776 to purchase skin moccasins sewn by Molly and her daughters noted that the Brants lived more in the English manner than most other Mohawks. Mohawk Revolutionary War loss claims filed in 1783 (see below) list the total value of Molly Brant's property, which included her house, her mother's home (where Joseph Brant lived), and her barn, at 400 pounds. These figures stand in contrast to other listed claims. Fully 60 percent of all Mohawks listed in this inventory, for example, pressed claims for standing property evaluated at 50 pounds or less. These figures document a major shift from a traditional cooperative kinship-based economy to a system favoring private property and competitive economic relations (Guldenzopf 1986).

The Brants were among the many Canajoharie residents belonging to the Anglican church. Anglican missionaries periodically visiting Canajoharie often dispensed tools, medicines, and advice to congregants as they ministered to the spiritual needs of the Mohawk community. Prominent Canajoharie Mohawk families like the Brants had regarded membership in the Church of England as a mark of loyalty to the Crown since Anglican ministers established the first permanent mission at the Lower Castle in 1711. Initially, British authorities supported the Lower Castle mission as a counter to Catholic priests who had been successfully inducing Mohawk converts to settle in French Canadian mission communities like Caughnawaga since the middle decades of the seventeenth century.

New threats to British authority arose closer to home when New England missionaries critical of Crown policies began working in eastern Iroquois communities during the 1750s. Determined to prevent them from making inroads into Canajoharie society, Sir William Johnson, himself an Anglican and an honorary member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, completely underwrote construction of a chapel at the Upper Castle.

Beginning work in the fall of 1769 and laboring through the winter. Johnson's workmen erected a rectangular Georgian-style wooden frame building covered with lap-siding measuring "50 feet long, by 32 wide" (Sullivan et al. 1921-65[6]:639). Like most Mohawk Valley churches of the period, the chapel's longitudinal axis was oriented east to west. Surmounted by a steeply pitched roof capped by a simple wooden steeple, its entranceway faced north along the structure's long wall. Arches were located above the door and atop all windows along both long walls. Smaller rectangular lights were cut into the eastern and western ends of the building. All windows consisted of undecorated sheets of clear window glass simply framed with lead stripping (Lenig 1977:44).

Dedication services were held in the newly-completed chapel on June 17, 1770 (Lydekker 1938:128). Unable to find a missionary willing to live permanently at Nowadaga, Johnson paid to have Lower Castle missionary John Stuart preach frequently at the chapel (Lydekker 1938:131). Entries in Johnson's account books also indicate that he frequently furnished aid and support to Canajoharie Mohawk Anglican congregants displaying particular loyalty to the Crown (O'Callaghan 1849-50[4]:426).

Canajoharie people closely connected with powerful British imperial administrators like Johnson were able to exert increasing influence over Mohawk property and power relations during these years. Ancient patterns of reciprocity broke down as ambitious entrepreneurs, supported by influential British patrons, side-stepped the traditional hereditary Confederacy chiefly hierarchy. One family in particular, the Brants, was able to accumulate an extraordinary amount of wealth, prestige, and power through its close relations with Johnson.

Earlier-mentioned war loss claims (Haldimand Papers n.d. 1241:299-322) inventorying Mohawk Loyalist household goods and other property confiscated by Americans during the Revolutionary War graphically document distributions of wealth, land, and power emerging from this new system of clientage with British authorities. Joseph Brant, Johnson's mission-educated protégé who rose to international prominence as the most effective Indian military leader fighting on either side during the war, claimed losses totaling 1,500 pounds. Joseph's sister, Molly, recorded total losses of more than 1,200 pounds. These losses included two frame houses and a barn, substantial amounts of luxury items, household goods, cash, and landholdings. Together with the claim of Brant Johnson, one of Molly's sons by Sir William, Brant family losses collectively comprised more than 30 percent of all Mohawk war loss claims (N= 7,805 pounds).

These figures suggest that pro-British Mohawk military leaders financed by imperial patrons managed to concentrate increasing amounts of capital in their hands. Hereditary Confederacy civil chiefs, for their part, evidently continued to

redistribute the increasingly meager share of subsidies given them by British officials to family and followers.

Although Canajoharie Mohawk Indian people remained loyal to the British Crown following the outbreak of the War for Independence in 1775, most initially tried to uphold the traditional Iroquois neutrality policy. Surrounded by distrustful Whig neighbors and influenced by the strongly pro-British Brants, most Mohawks soon found themselves drawn into the conflict. Many of these people were compelled to abandon their homes at Canajoharie shortly after Mohawks, led by Joseph, who was by then a British army captain commanding Indian and non-Indian Loyalist troops, helped destroy a large body of Mohawk Valley militia and Oneida warriors marching to the relief of Fort Schuyler (the post at the Carrying Place in Rome, New York originally and currently called Fort Stanwix) at the Battle of Oriskany in 1777.

Most of these people joined the Brants in refugee camps at distant Fort Niagara, far from the reach of vengeful former Mohawk Valley neighbors. Under their leadership, many of these Mohawk Indian refugees joined mixed forces of Indian and non-Indian Loyalist rangers on raids led by Joseph and other commanders. Caught in an ever widening vortex of raids and reprisals, the Valley was devastated. Many houses and nearly all of the barns built before 1775 lay in ruins by the time the war ended in 1783 (Charles T. Gehring, personal communication, 1993).

Devastating as it was to non-Indians, the war caused the almost total dispossession of the Mohawk people. Continental Army troops on their way to attack more westerly Iroquois towns in 1778 arrested the few remaining Mohawks at Canajoharie as collaborators and spies. Throwing these people into prisons, they confiscated their property and that of absent Mohawk townsfolk. Much of this property was soon distributed to families of local patriots.

Unlike the homes of most other Mohawk people, the Brant Homestead escaped destruction during the war. Looted and pillaged by Rebel soldiers and their Oneida allies, two patriot families moved into the unoccupied farmstead. Other patriot families evidently also occupied the Mohawk Upper Church after rebel forces drove the last members of the Mohawk community away from Canajoharie (Guldenzopf 1986).

The few Indian people trying to return to their old Mohawk Valley homes after the end of the war found themselves unwelcome by old neighbors. Most soon moved elsewhere. The majority of these people moved with the Brants and main body of the Canajoharie community to what became known as the Six Nations Reserve along the banks of the Grand River in upper Ontario. Remaining a commanding figure, Joseph Brant continued to serve as a major leader of the Six Nations Reserve community until his death in 1807.

In 1789, the four lots originally set aside for the Mohawk Indian people at Canajoharie in the 1763 Van Horne deed were sub-divided into 32 lots and apportioned among prominent patriots. Most were soon purchased and occupied by newcomers who flooded into the Upper Mohawk Valley during the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Although Indian people no longer lived at Canajoharie, few local residents forgot that Upper Castle had been an important Mohawk town and the home of perhaps the most notable Indian military leader- in the late conflict. Quaker missionary Jeremy Belknap, for example, wrote in 1796 that he "passed by a church and a village which I suppose to have been the upper Mohawk castle... This was the residence of Joseph Brant before the war" (Snow et al. 1996:351).

The Brant house itself soon fell into ruin. No datable ceramics postdating 1820 were found in intact deposits beneath lavers of ash in the two Brant Homestead cellar holes subjected to test excavations in 1984 and 1985. Analysis of these findings indicates that both buildings burned down sometime between 1795 and 1820. Travelers passing by the locale in 1835 and 1878 subsequently noted that a sunken cellar hole and some apple trees were all that remained of the old Brant home at the times of their visits (Guldenzopf 1986).

Unlike the Brant homes, the Indian Castle chapel survived its occupation by Whig families. Regular services probably were resumed at the church sometime during the 1790s. Observing that the chapel remained intact, the peripatetic Belknap also noticed that "there are several graves around the church, enclosed with square cases of wood" as he traveled past the place in 1796 (Snow et al. 1996:351).

The chapel subsequently became a place of worship for a succession of Protestant congregations (Lenig 1977:44). A Dutch Reformed Church minister who also served the nearby Fort Plain community is known to have held services in the building between 1800 and 1820. An inter-denominational Union Congregation briefly using the building was succeeded by a short-lived Presbyterian Congregation. Lutheran congregants using the church from 1838 to 1855 were maintaining the structure when historian Benson J. Lossing sketched the church during his 1848 trip through the area. Publishing both the sketch and an account of his visit years later, Lossing noted that the chapel stood on land that had belonged to Joseph Brant (Lossing 1859). Describing the condition of the Brant Homestead at the time, he wrote that the long-vanished structure had originally "stood about seventy-five rods [1,240 ft] northward of the church. Bricks and stones of the foundation were still to be seen in an apple orchard north of the road, and the locality well defined when I visited it, by rank weeds, nowhere else in the field so luxuriant" (Lossing 1859[1]:261).

A new Union Church Society consisting of Methodists, Presbyterians, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Universalists began meeting at the Indian Castle chapel in 1855 (Lenig 1977:44). As eager to update the aged building's obsolescent style as

they were to restore its deteriorated structure, the new congregation quickly underwrote badly needed repairs. Renovations generally transformed the exterior of the building from the colonial Georgian to the then-popular Greek Revival style. Workers hired by the congregation began by turning the building 85 degrees on its axis so that its short walls faced north and south. Possessing neither the funding nor the inclination to reproduce the carefully crafted foundation of dressed stones laid by the church's original builders, workers placed the reoriented building upon hastily piled limestone walls. The main entrance was moved to the northern short wall facing the dirt road following the right-of-way of present New York State Route 5-S. Both this door and the building's arched Georgian windows were framed with rectangular moldings. Reusing the original structure's wooden frame and flooring, workers added a metal ceiling and replaced the old steeple with an open belfry surmounted by turrets.

The tract containing the remains of the Brant Homestead was purchased by members of the Green family during the early 1800s. Operating the property as a farm, the Green family sold the tract to Ralph Welden in 1940. Welden family members continue to farm on the 49.6-acre property.

Interested in protecting the cultural resources located on the tract, current property manager Charles M. Welden maintains places known to contain archaeological deposits as unplowed pastureland. Mr. Welden also maintains the Dutch barn, believed to be the only remaining standing structure associated with Brant family occupation at the site, as a lightly used storage facility (Figure 3).

The nearby Indian Castle Church has not been used for regular services since the Union Church Society disbanded in 1925 (Lenig 1977:44). Concerned citizens intent on saving the old church from destruction subsequently formed the Indian Castle Church Restoration and Preservation Society. Continuing to maintain the property as a non-profit organization chartered by the New York State Board of Regents, the Society sponsored research supporting the listing of the Indian Castle Church in the National Register of Historic Places on February 18, 1971. The Society continues to operate the church as a historic site open to the public. The modern Indian Castle Church Cemetery, a 1.4-acre in-holding not included within District boundaries, presently is owned and operated by the Town of Danube, New York as an active burial ground.

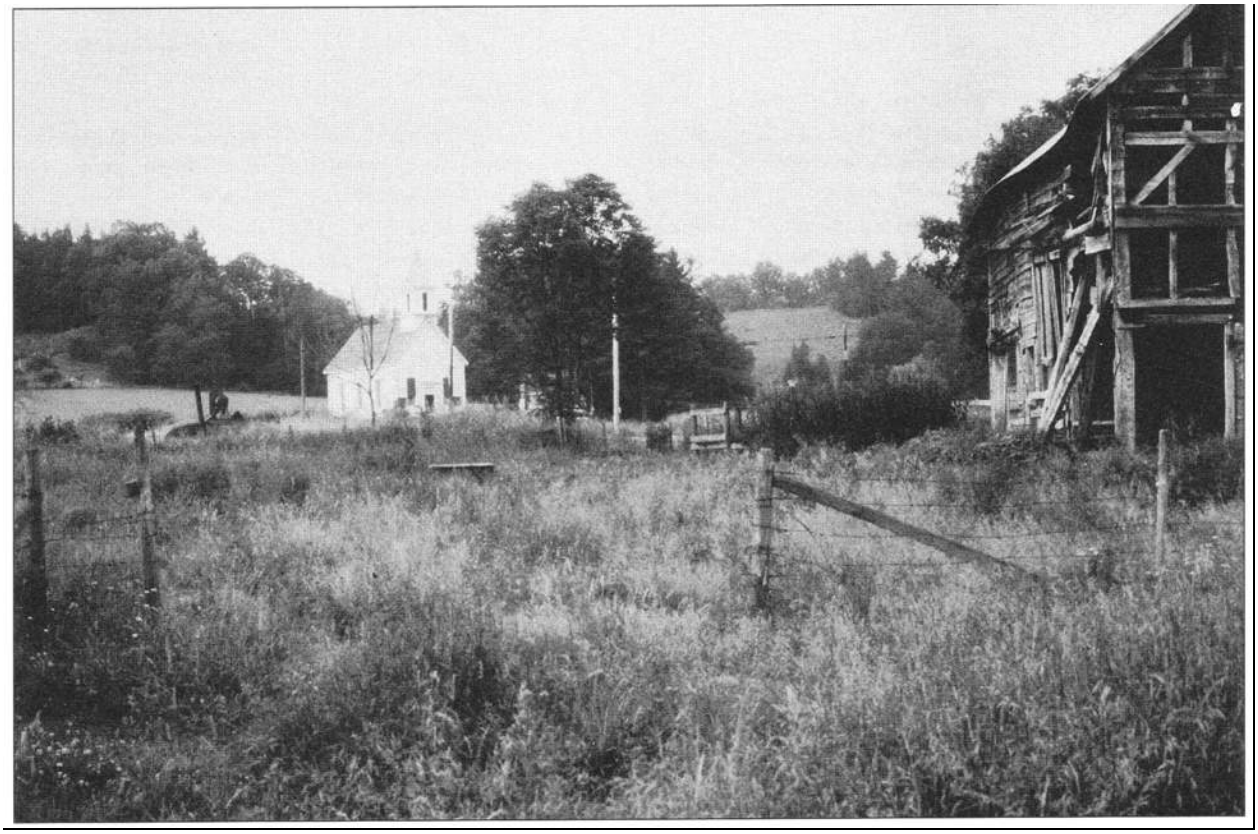


Figure 3. A corner of the Brant barn. with Indian Castle church in the background.

Cultural Resources

Brant Homestead

State University of New York at Albany archaeologists under the general direction of Dean R. Snow conducted excavations at the Brant Homestead site during the summers of 1984 and 1985 (Guldenzopf 1986). David B. Guldenzopf supervised excavations on site (Figure 4). Under Guldenzopf's supervision, field crews systematically excavated test units into the coarse alluvial loam glacial outwash soils at the locale. Placing excavation units at various places in and around two cellar hole depressions near the edge of the first outwash terrace by the present Welden family farmhouse, these crews ultimately investigated 133 sq ft of the site area. This sample comprised approximately five percent of known site deposits.

Located on very rocky soil unsuitable for plowing, land in this area has been used as an apple orchard and uncultivated pasture by farmers occupying the tract since the Brant family was forced to abandon their home at Nowadaga in 1777. Portions of stone foundation walls were found at the edges of both depressions (Figure 5). Charred wooden boards also were discovered beneath thick layers of ash at both locales.

The largest of these cellar depressions was identified as Structure I. Measurements of the lower courses of stone foundation walls that had fallen inward into the cellar hole indicate that they had originally supported a rectangular building at least 40-ft-long and 20-ft-wide. Discoveries of creamware, salt-glazed stoneware, a George III copper coin, and several wire-wound glass beads within intact portions of these foundation walls indicate that the building was constructed sometime between 1762 and 1780.

A layer of compacted sand believed to represent the cellar floor was found nearly three feet below the present ground surface. Charred planks, many still embedded with hand-cut rosehead nails, were found just above this sand layer. Bits of plaster found in the 3-in-thick layer of ash atop these boards suggests that the rooms of the house were lined with plaster walls. Analysis of ceramic sherds found in this layer further suggests that the house was burned sometime between 1795 and 1820.

Large flat fieldstones extending 6 ft into the cellar from the eastern foundation wall probably represent the base of the fireplace beneath the chimney commonly built at the end of Dutch-style colonial homes of the period. Chimneys were frequently located at the center of floorplans in contemporary German and later Georgian-style houses in the region.

Test excavations encountering 3-in- to 5-in-thick layers of sheet refuse around Structure I were found to contain diffuse deposits of ceramics, metalwares, and glasswares dating from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Similar artifacts were found in fill washed into the cellar hole covering the above mentioned ash layer.

Structure II represents the remains of a much smaller building located near Structure I. Measuring 10 ft by 15 ft, Structure II contains the same types of archaeological deposits found within Structure I. These findings suggest that both structures were built, occupied, and destroyed at or about the same time.

A 20-in-thick refuse midden discovered along the northern slope of the terrace between Structures I and II contained the only clearly stratified deposits encountered by archaeologists during the 1984-1985 field seasons. Artifacts dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were found in Level I, a 3-in-thick sod layer covering this deposit. Ceramics

Figure 4. Test excavation of the Brant house site in 1985 showing the New York State Thruway in the background.

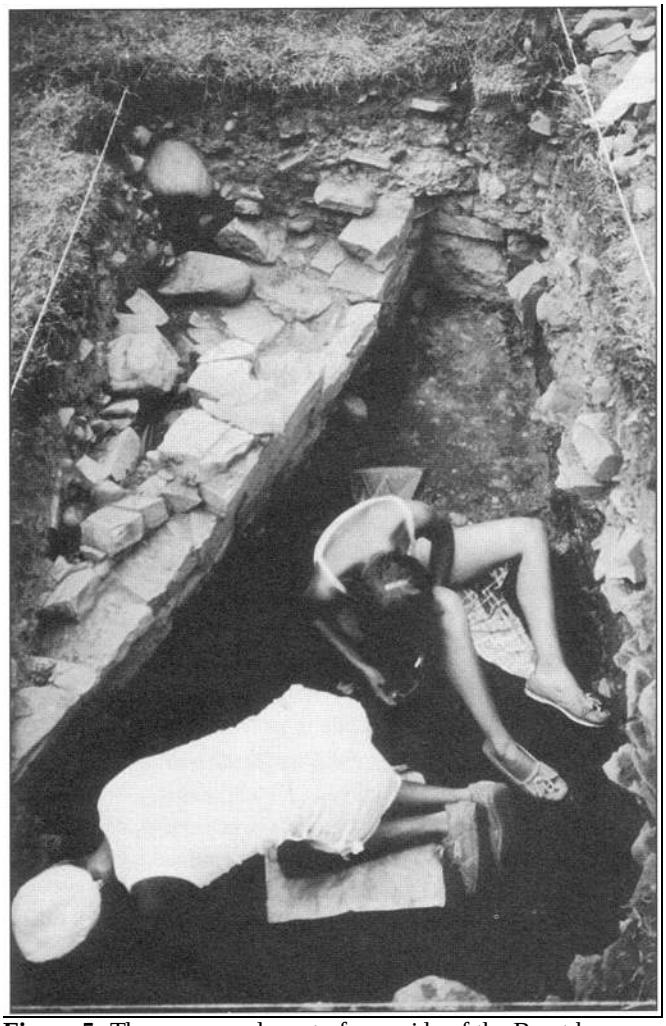


Figure 5. The corner and most of one side of the Brant house cellar wall during excavation.

dating from 1795 to 1820 were found within a 3-in-thick very dark brown gravelly silt loam layer beneath the underlying Level II stratum. These deposits lay above Level III, the lowermost midden stratum. Test excavations sampling portions of this 10-in-thick layer of very dark grayish brown gravelly sandy loam encountered catlinite and slate beads, a harness bell, a frizzen, European white clay tobacco pipe bowls, bone-handled tableware, an iron kettle fragment, and European ceramics dating from 1762 to 1780.

Discoveries of these and other artifacts dating to the third quarter of the eighteenth century corroborate written records identifying the locale as the site of the Brant Homestead. Differing from the earthen-floored earthfast house patterns found in nearly all other contemporary Mohawk Indian archaeological sites, the full cellars, limestone block foundation walls, wood plank floors, plaster fragments, and window glass sherds discovered in and around Structures I and II represent a type assemblage indicative of elite Mohawk residences of the period. Discoveries of such refined luxury ceramics as English Jackfield teawares, white salt-glazed stoneware plates, clouded wares, tin-enameled earthenwares, creamwares, and underglazed blue and over-lazed enameled Chinese porcelain in Level III deposits within the above mentioned stratified midden contrast strongly with redwares and other less refined earthenwares preserved in other late eighteenth-century Mohawk archaeological deposits. Comparisons of amounts and relative frequencies of kitchenwares, arms, items of personal adornment, and other objects recovered in Brant Homestead deposits with those from other contemporary Mohawk sites further reflects differences in material possessions of elite and less affluent members of Mohawk society documented in Revolutionary War loss claims.

Discoveries of artifacts dating from 1795 to 1820 in Brant Homestead archaeological features also confirms documentary records stating that several non-Indian families moved into the Brant houses after the family was forced to leave the Mohawk Valley in 1777. The absence of intact deposits containing artifacts post-dating 1820 in both the stratified midden deposit and mixed deposits within the house cellars indicates that Brant Homestead houses probably were demolished sometime around that time. Discoveries of more recent artifacts in sheet midden deposits located in upper soil stratum in and around excavated features show that later site occupants subsequently used the site's midden and exposed cellar holes as refuse dumps.

Other features preserved near these features also may represent resources associated with the Brant Homestead. A thus far untested rectangular depression at the intersection of New York State Route 5-S and the River Road to the south of the above mentioned excavation area, for example. may be the cellar hole of Molly Brant's house. The earlier mentioned Dutch barn located J north of this intersection, for its part, probably represents the sole, surviving, standing structure associated with the Brant Homestead at Nowadaga.

Oriented in a north-south direction, this barn is a wood-framed four bay structure 50 ft long and 46 ft wide. Each of the barn's 24 ft high 8.5 in by 13 in oak columns stands 23.5 ft from the other. Pinned and wedged, the structure's anchor beams have rounded tongues protruding up to 21 in beyond their outer faces. A high-level braced cross-tie extends 1 ft beneath the horizontal purlin-plate in the middle of the center bent. Widely considered diagnostic construction characteristics of eighteenth-century Dutch barns, the presence of these and other contemporary structural features in the present Welden Family Farm barn support its identification as the structure mentioned in Molly Brant's Revolutionary War loss claim inventory and the subsequent 1789 Cockburn survey of the former Brant property.

Modifications of contributing standing structures located within the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District, for their

part, have neither appreciably altered their basic structural plans, nor destroyed the original fabric of their primary architectural structural elements. Additions of a metal roof, concrete floor, and metal milking stanchions to the eighteenth century Dutch barn have neither destroyed its original wooden frame, nor obscured its basic and distinctive stylistic configuration. Renovations of the Upper Castle Church undertaken in 1855 resulted in the reorientation of the church building on its original site and stylistic alterations to its exterior. Although aspects of its surface appearance have been altered, the basic historic structure and setting of this resource remain intact.

Indian Castle Church

Archaeological test excavations sponsored by the Herkimer County Board of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES) were undertaken under the direction of avocational archaeologist Wayne Lenig (1977) during a two-week period in July, 1972. Local secondary school students and teachers aided by two college student volunteers served as the project field crew. Establishing a base line parallel to the church's present eastern wall, Lenig and his field workers laid out a 60 ft by 100 ft grid consisting of 5 ft squares over and around the church building (Lenig 1977:45). Workers initially excavated a 3-ft-wide test trench in three squares located just beyond the eastern wall of the church in an area believed to contain portions of original 1769 foundation walls.

Excavators working in this area immediately encountered a layer of gravel fill not mentioned in earlier documents. This gravel layer was later found to extend beneath the church. Containing bits of plaster from the original church's plaster walls, gravel fill overlay a soil stratum sloping downward to the east. Indicating that the original church stood atop a knoll overlooking lower ground to the east, these findings indicate that workers rebuilding the church in 1855 used gravel to raise the level of the ground supporting the new eastern end of the church foundation.

Field workers excavating in this area discovered a portion of the 1855 wall trench. Failing to find evidence of the original structure in these test units, they then turned their attention to the area beneath the standing church structure. Working in the crawl space beneath the church's wooden floor (the building has no basement), Lenig and his crew members used steel probe rods to locate buried foundation walls and other deposits. Test units were then excavated in the most promising areas.

Sections of carefully dressed limestone walls measuring from 2.5 ft to 3 ft in width were encountered in test units in the southwestern quarter of this area. Examination of roughhewn, irregular dry-laid courses of stone comprising the present foundation found 5 ft farther east showed that the later wall was less carefully laid and as much as 1 ft narrower than its predecessor. Similar differences between portions of old and new foundation walls were observed in other excavation units located to the west of the church structure's present location. These findings affirmed that workers devoted more substantial amounts of time, effort, craft, and material to the construction of the original church foundation than those rehabilitating and repositioning the building in 1855.

Only two artifacts possibly dating to the eighteenth century were found during test excavations. Both were located in disturbed deposits. The most clearly identifiable of these artifacts, a copper George II halfpenny minted in 1744 or 1757, was found in modern driveway fill near a 1954 Jefferson nickel. The other artifact, a set of metal carpenter dividers found atop plaster fragments covering the eastern wall of the 1769 foundation, cannot indisputably be assigned an eighteenth-century provenience (Lenig 1977:48).

Measurements contrasting the dimensions of the 1769 foundation with those constructed in 1855 confirm contemporary documents noting that the church measured "50 feet long, by 32 wide". The size and shape of these foundations further affirm written documents noting that the church's main frame and structural units were not substantially transformed when the building was turned on its axis during the 1855 renovation.

Archaeological test excavations were conducted in the area of the historic Mohawk burial ground near the church during the 1970s. Excavations in the area ceased after the discovery of human remains interred in a wooden coffin. Identifying the remains as those of an American Indian, the archaeologist immediately reburied the interment and ceased work in the area.

Later deposits found near the church include a midden containing numerous artifacts dating to the nineteenth century just beyond the northwestern corner of the original church foundation and two limestone foundation piers discovered in locations corresponding to locales of the two carriage houses depicted in early twentieth-century photographs.

Significance of the District

Cultural resources in the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District represent the only properties documenting the Indian role in establishing intercultural relations in Mohawk Country available for designation through the Northeast Historic Contact Theme Study. Documentation presented above further shows that cultural resources in the Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District have yielded and retain the potential to yield nationally significant information associated with a number of important research questions.

Cultural resources preserved within the Brant Homestead, for example, have yielded and retain the potential to yield further information capable of verifying extant records docu-

menting the role of the Brant family in defending the Mohawk homeland through their adherence to the Covenant Chain alliance with Great Britain during the critical years between the Seven Years War and the American Revolution. Comparative analyses contrasting relative ratios of European trade goods found in deposits associated with Joseph Brant at the Upper Castle with those associated with the contemporary home of John Deserontyon recently discovered during excavations at the Enders House Site in the Lower Castle at Fort Hunter can shed new light into the careers of these two major Mohawk war leaders. Other studies contrasting physical evidence associated with wealthy leaders like Brant with deposits documenting the lives and habitations of poorer or less influential Mohawk people can reveal information capable of more fully documenting the effects of still poorly understood changes in Mohawk status systems on the conduct and success of eighteenth-century Mohawk warfare and diplomacy.

The standing structure of the Indian Castle Church and its associated archaeological component, represents the only known surviving structural evidence documenting introduction of foreign religious systems to a Mohawk community during the eighteenth century. Studies of data associated with the Indian Castle Church can further document the social, political, and economic impacts of the British state religion on Indian Anglican adherents during the crucial final decade of Mohawk Indian occupation of their Kanyenke homeland.

Archaeological deposits preserved within the Brant Homestead represent one of the single largest, best preserved, and most clearly provenienced assemblages of imported late eighteenth-century European ceramics. metalwares, glasswares, and other imports thus far found in any locale associated with eighteenth-century Mohawk Indian occupation in Kanyenke. Physically corroborating written inventories and other documentary records, this assemblage collectively typifies the range and breadth of trade materials to be found in elite Mohawk Indian residences of the period. Analyzed in Guldenzopf (1986), this type collection has yielded and retains the potential to yield further information on changing patterns of trade relations between Indian people and European settlers at this strategic locale along the western border of Mohawk Country during historic contact times.

All contributing properties within the Upper Castle Historic District contain artifactual or biological evidence documenting the transfer of European technology to the Mohawk people. Discovery of large amounts of European trade goods in deposits in which small numbers of shell and catlinite beads comprise almost the entire portion of the assemblage manufactured by Indian people graphically exemplifies the extent and impact of European technological transfer on Canajoharie Mohawk Indian people during the eighteenth century.

Charred corn kernels, squash seeds, beans, and other plant remains preserved within Level III in the Brant Homestead midden deposit have both provided and retain the potential to furnish further crucial data necessary to more fully assess the effects of documented instances of plowing, fencing, and other agricultural assistance rendered by Mohawk Valley colonists hired by colonial administrators on Mohawk Indian food production during the late eighteenth century. Analysis of pig, cattle, and other animal bones found in Brant Homestead deposits can shed light upon the impacts of domesticated animals on Mohawk life. Further study of the Brant Homestead Dutch Barn, for its part, also can help corroborate written records documenting the rising importance of horses and horse drawn vehicles like wagons and sleighs in Mohawk life during the 1760s and 1770s.

Archaeological deposits preserved at Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District can also shed new light on the causes and consequences of the documented Mohawk settlement pattern shift from small nucleated settlements built on uplands and glacial terraces along the Mohawk River and its tributaries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to large decentralized towns erected on Mohawk River Valley floodplains during the eighteenth century. Analyses of biocultural remains preserved at this locale can provide insights into the demographic effects of war, disease, immigration, and emigration on a major Mohawk community.

Brant Homestead structural dimensions reflect the general shift from large extended family units living in longhouses to nuclear families living in smaller buildings occurring in Mohawk communities throughout Kanyenke during the 1700s. These structures and their associated features, moreover, represent a uniquely well documented and unusually well-preserved body of resources capable of supporting comparative analyses contrasting elite late eighteenth-century Mohawk residence patterns with those associated with members of the less affluent contemporary Mohawk majority. Analysis of data preserved in these deposits can shed new light on the effects of documented transformations of traditional redistribution systems and communal land ownership patterns on late eighteenth-century Mohawk demographic, settlement, and residence patterns. Other analyses contrasting Upper Castle deposits with those preserved in later Mohawk sites elsewhere in New York and in Canada can further illuminate the impact of the forced removal of Mohawk people from their homeland in the decades following the end of the Revolutionary War.

Archaeological materials from the Indian Castle Church are currently curated in the Fort Plain Museum, Fort Plain, New York. Brant Homestead materials are curated in the Laboratory of Archaeology, Department of Anthropology, University at Albany, SUNY, Albany, New York.

References Cited

Colden. Cadwallader
1747 *The History of the Fire Indian Nations of Canada, Which Are Dependent on the Province of New-York in America, And Are the Barrier Between the English and French in That Part of the World.* 2 vols. T. Osborne, London.

Fenton, William N. and Elisabeth Tooker
1978 Mohawk. In *Handbook of North American Indians* 15: Northeast, edited by Bruce G. Trigger. pp. 253-70. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Garratt, John G., and Bruce Robertson
1985 *The Four Indian Kings.* Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa. Ontario.

Graymont, Barbara
1972 *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York.

Grumet. Robert S.
1995 *Historic Contact: Indian People with Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*. University of Oklahoma Press. Norman.

Guldenzopf, David B.
1984 Frontier Demography and Settlement Patterns of the Mohawk Iroquois. *Man in the Northeast* 27:7994.
1986 *The Colonial Transformation of Mohawk Iroquois Society.* Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Albany.

Haldimand Papers
n.d. *Haldimand Papers: Series Q*. 232 vols. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

Kelsay, Isabel Thompson
1984 *Joseph Brant, 1743- 1807: Man of Two Worlds*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York.

Lenig, Wayne
1977 Archaeology, Education, and the Indian Castle Church. *The Bulletin and Journal of Archaeology for New York State* 69:42-51.

Lossing, Benson J.
18.59 *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution.* 2 vols. Harper, New York.

Lounsbury, Floyd G.
1960 *Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley*. Report of the New York- Vermont Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Basin. Legislative Document 9. pp. 23-66. Albany. New York.

Lydekker, John Wolfe
1938 *The Faithful! Mohawks*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

O'Callaghan. Edmund B.. editor
1849-50 *Documentary History of the State of New York.* 4 vols. State of New York, Albany.

O'Callaghan, Edmund B., and Berthold Fernow, editors
1853-87 *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York.* 15 vols. Weed and Parsons, Albany.

Sivertsen. Barbara J.
1996 *Turtles, Wolves and Bears: A Mohawk Family History.* Heritage Books, Bowie. Maryland.

Snow. Dean R.
1994 *The Iroquois*. Basil Blackwell, London.
1995 *Mohawk Valley Archaeology: The Sites*. The Institute for Archaeological Studies, State University of New York at Albany, Albany.
1996 Theyanoguin. In *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632-1816*, edited by Robert S. Grumet, pp. 208-26. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

Snow, Dean R., Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, editors
1996 *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives About a Native People*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York.

Snow, Dean R., David B. Guldenzopf, and Robert S. Grumet
1993 *Upper Mohawk Castle Historic National History Landmark Nomination Form*. Manuscript on file. History Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Snow, Dean R., and Kim M. Lanphear
1988 European Contact and Indian Population in the Northeast: The Timing of the First Epidemics. *Ethnohistory* 35(1):15-33.

Stone, William L.
1838 *Life of Joseph Brant-Thayendanegea.* 2 vols. Blake. Dearborn. New York.

Sullivan. James, et al., editors
1921-65 *The Papers of Sir William Johnson.* 14 vols. University of the State of New York, Albany.

Van Vechten Papers
n.d. *Van Vechten Family Papers*. Manuscript Group on file, New York State Library, Albany.

Historic Contact Archaeological Deposits Within the Old Fort Niagara National Historic Landmark

Patricia Kay Scott
1356 Charlesgate Circle, East Amherst, New York

Archaeological deposits associated with Historic Contact were formally recognized as contributing resources within the Old Fort Niagara National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1993. Located in the village of Youngstown in Niagara County, New York, the Old Font Niagara NHL contains one of the best preserved and most intensively documented Historic Contact period Euro-American archaeological assemblages in upstate New York. As such, the property meets NHL significance Criterion 6 as a property that has "yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance." This article is a revised version of the NHL nomination form used to demonstrate the site's significance.

Background and Overview

On April 19, 1993, the Secretary of the Interior formally acknowledged archaeological deposits associated with the Historic Contact period as contributing resources within the existing Old Fort Niagara Landmark property. Old Fort Niagara was one of 17 properties intensively studied for their significance in documenting relations between Indian people and colonists in the Northeast in the Historic Theme Study (Grumet 1995). The nomination was prepared by Robert Grumet from drafts and research notes of Stuart D. and Patricia Kay Scott while they were co-directing the Old Fort Niagara Archaeology in Progress Project. Review comments were provided by Douglas Seth Knight, who became the Director of Archaeology at Old Fort Niagara in 1992, and the Society for American Archaeology's and the Society for Historical Archaeology's Archaeological NHL Committee.

The Old Fort Niagara National Historic Landmark (hereafter referred to as Old Fort Niagara) is located in Youngstown within the Town of Porter, Niagara County. New York (Figure 1). The site is situated on a triangular point of land on the east hank of the Niagara River where it flows into Lake Ontario. Located 14 mi north of Niagara Falls on the Ontario Plain along the international boundary with Canada, the site occupies the northwestern portion of Fort Niagara State Park. The fort is a 29.9 acre portion of a 284 acre deactivated U.S. Military Reservation acquired by the State of New York for parkland in 1964. Archaeological deposits and standing structures located in and around the fort have yielded and

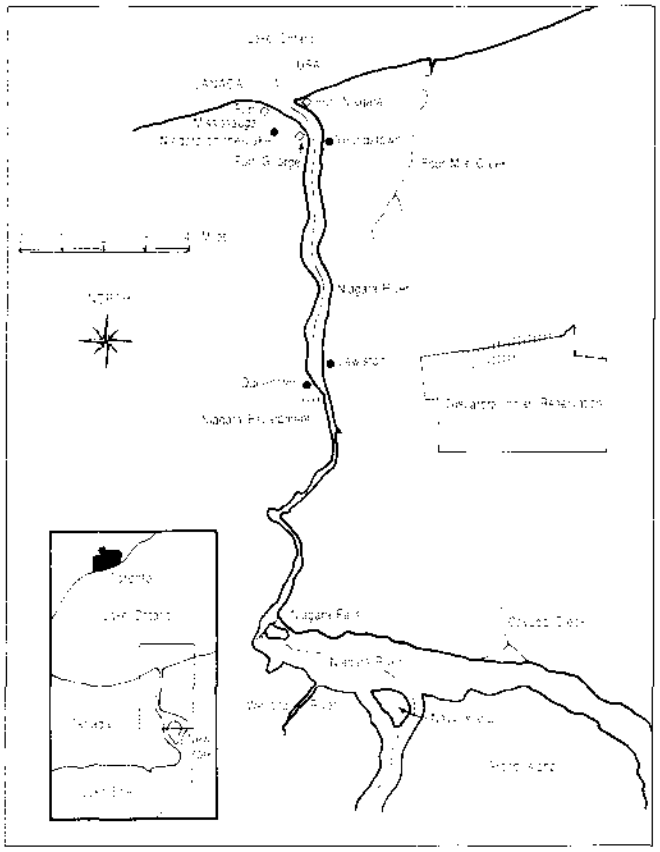


Figure l. Old Fort Niagara is located at the southwestern corner of Lake Ontario, seven miles north of the Niagara Escarpment where the northern terminus of the Niagara Portage, known as "The Lower Landing." is located.

possess the potential to yield further information of national significance about relations between Indians and Europeans during the Historic Contact period.

Old Fort Niagara is situated on a bluff comprised of glacial deposits overlying Queenston shale bedrock. Higher than the surrounding land, the bluff rises on its northern side 31 ft above Lake Ontario. A narrow shoreline strip runs along the western side of the bluff. This lowland, historically know as "The Bottoms," is now occupied by U.S. Coast Guard Station Niagara. The fort's naturally defensive position atop this high promontory overlooking both Lake Ontario and the lower Niagara River provided a commanding view allowing occupants to dominate what became one of the most critically

important strategic lines of trade and communication in North America during the Historic Contact period.

Numerous studies have surveyed the history of European occupation at Fort Niagara (Dunnigan 1986, 1987. and 1989; Dunnigan and Scott 1991; Howard 1968; Severance 1917). Archaeological investigations conducted in and around Old Fort Niagara since 1979, for their part, show that Indian people had been living in the region at various times for at least 10,000 years when Samuel de Champlain and other French colonists first heard descriptions of Niagara in the early 1600s. Although scholars continue to argue over the identities of Niagareas or Onguiarahronons, Kakouagogas or Kahkwas, Wenros, and other poorly known historic Niagara Frontier Indian communities noted on regional maps or in documents, most agree that the locale is situated in what by the 1640s was widely regarded as Neutral Indian territory (Pendergast 1991, 1994; White 1968, 1978a, and 1978b).

No evidence of large seventeenth-century Indian town sites has yet been found in or around Old Fort Niagara. These findings corroborate written records indicating that neither the Neutrals nor the Senecas, who conquered the area between 1648 and 1651, had erected anything at the mouth of the river more elaborate than small hunting, fishing, or foraging camps before Europeans explored the Niagara late in the seventeenth-century. Father Louis Hennepin, who accompanied the French explorer Rene-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle into the Niagara River in 1678, penned the earliest surviving eyewitness account of the place. He recorded only a small temporary Seneca fishing camp at the mouth of the river (Shea 1880:67; Thwaites 1903:325).

Exploiting a brief thaw in relations with the Iroquois, La Salle received permission from the Governor of New France to explore Indian country to the west of the St. Lawrence Valley. Interested in extending French power as well as trade, La Salle erected small fortified posts at strategic locales along his route. As his main base for storage of supplies, La Salle constructed a fort that became known as Fort Frontenac near the head of the St. Lawrence. From there he dispatched a small advance party to erect a post and storehouse on the Niagara. La Salle ordered a small wooden fort, named Fort Conti, to be placed at the mouth of the Niagara to serve as a secure link with Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence Valley while his men built a ship later christened the "Griffon" above Niagara Falls during the winter of 1678-79. Supplies needed to build the ship were carried across the Portage route by Senecas, who also fished and hunted for La Salle's men.

La Salle left a few men along the Niagara when he sailed westward in the summer of 1679. Fort Conti, however, burned down soon after La Salle departed and was not rebuilt. The place remained unfortified as La Salle and members of his party passed and repassed along the portage. Shortly thereafter, the point at the mouth of the river became the western terminus for a supply ship dispatched annually from Fort Frontenac to carry supplies to traders and bring back their furs.

The mouth of the Niagara River next became a focal point of French interest when relations with the Senecas again deteriorated during the mid-1680s. In 1684 a large force of western Indians allied to the French came to the mouth of the Niagara to support New France's Governor, Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre, in a planned raid on the Iroquois. The raid was not carried out, however, and both the Governor and his Indian allies left the Niagara to the Senecas. Resolving to destroy their power, La Barre's successor, Jacques-Rene de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, gathered together a large force of French and Indian troops. During the early summer of 1687, he marched this force into the Seneca heartland along the Genesee Valley. Finding that they had burned their settlements in front of his army, Denonville took his army to the mouth of the Niagara. Displeased by his failure to do more than pillage the smoldering remains of the Seneca towns, Denonville built a new post to dominate his enemies, secure the Niagara portage, and discourage intervention by English New Yorkers allied with the Senecas and other Iroquois.

The new wooden stockade placed on the site of Fort Conti was named after Denonville, who left a garrison of 100 men under the command of Captain Pierre de Troyes before returning with the rest of his army to Montreal before winter set in. The garrison found itself isolated at the mouth of the Niagara River. Cut off by harassing Senecas, provided with spoiled provisions by inefficient or venal quartermasters, unable to secure fresh food or even to hunt or fish, the soldiers suffered terribly. Several were killed while hunting or gathering wood. Many more died from disease and starvation. By spring, only 12 members of the garrison remained alive. A passing group of Miami Indians helped some of the survivors take a plea for assistance to Montreal. Although a force soon relieved the post, its remoteness, the power of the Senecas, insufficient support from the home country, and the anticipated new war with the English (King William's War, 1689-1697) compelled Denonville to order his troops to dismantle the fort's stockade and abandon the locale in September, 1688 (Severance 1899; O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[9]:368-85).

French traders tried to regain access to the strategic Niagara communication route after a comprehensive peace treaty with the Senecas and their Iroquois League confederates signed in Montreal in 1701 reopened trade throughout the region. By the early 1720s a skillful frontier diplomat named Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire helped to obtain Seneca permission to establish a trading post on the bank, of the Niagara River several miles south of the river's

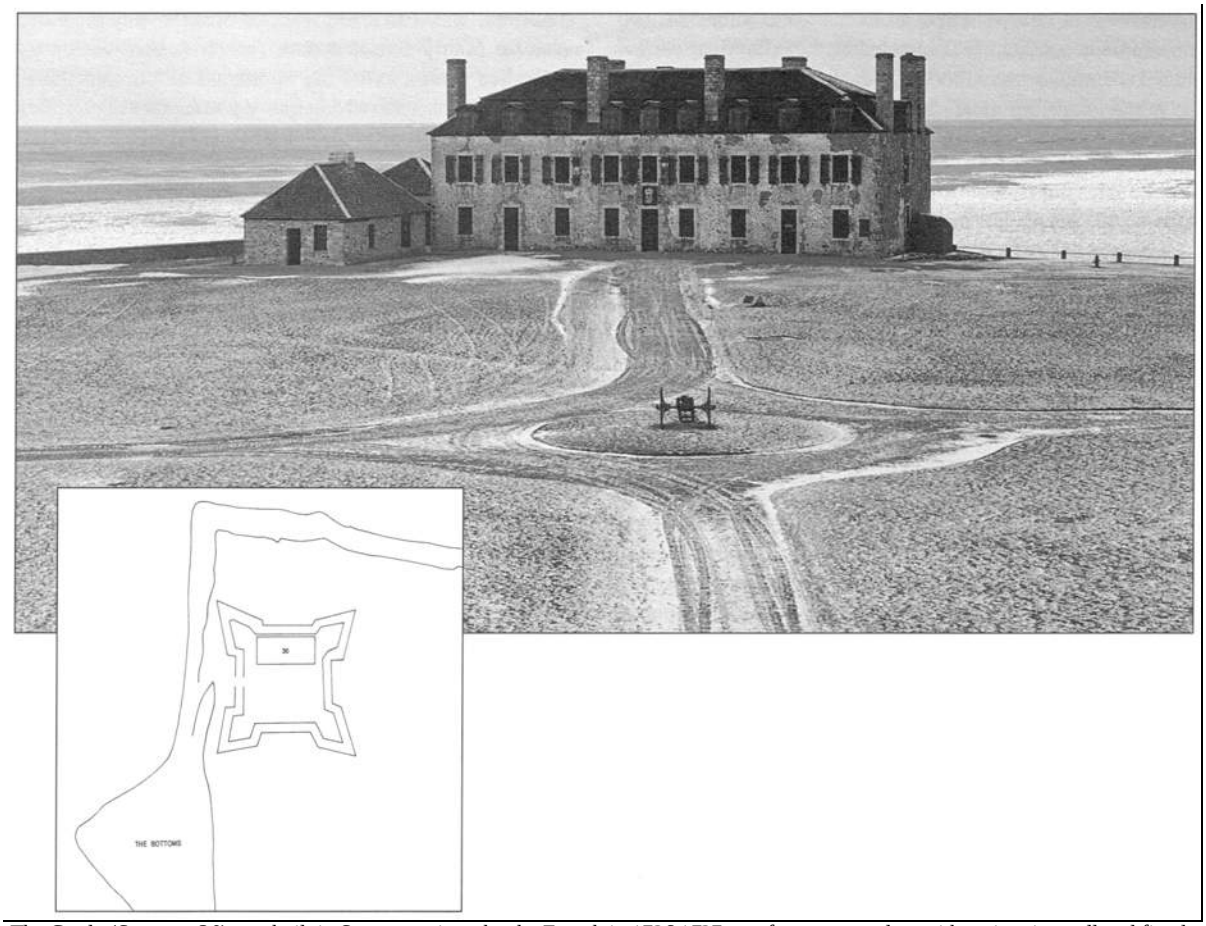


Figure 2. The Castle (Structurc 30) was built in Seneca territory by the French in 1726-1727 as a fortress complete with an interior well and fitted with a roof that could be removed to expose a third floor gun deck. It stood over 200 feet back from Lake Ontario, and after it was finished it was surrounded by a small stockade known is the "First Inner Stockade." Map by Patricia Kay Scott and James MacLeay adapted from DeLery's June 21, 1726 map. Original in the National Archives of Canada, NMC-16288. Photograph by Stuart D. Scott. 1980.

mouth. An account of the archaeological and archival record of this post, now also a National Historic Landmark, appears in the Lower Landing Archaeological District article in this volume.

Unlike his predecessors, who barricaded themselves behind fortified walls, Joncaire mingled openly with the Indians who established themselves around his post. He had been adopted by the Senecas as a young man, and was familiar both with their language and their customs. His trading at Niagara and his many visits to Seneca and other Indian villages played a vital role in maintaining French influence along the colonial Canadian frontier during the second quarter of the eighteenth century (Severance 1906).

Niagara assumed increased importance in French eyes after they learned that British authorities planned to establish a post on the eastern shores of Lake Ontario. Fearing that the British would use such a post to draw away their trade, French officials petitioned the Onondagas for permission to build a more substantial installation at the former site of Forts Conti and Denonville. Overriding Seneca objections, the Onondagas complied with the French request. Fort Niagara was started in 1726, just one year before the British built their post at the mouth of the Oswego River where they had been trading for several years (Dunnigan 1987:10-12).

French authorities dispatched the colony's chief engineer, Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery to design and oversee construction of Fort Niagara. During construction, Joncaire worked to allay Seneca misgivings by assuring them that the new post would be a "House of Peace" whose primary purpose would be trade and protection of French allies (Dunnigan 1987:1924). De Lery craftily designed a two-story structure known as the "Castle," that was in reality a stone citadel designed to be impregnable to Indian attack (Figure 2).

Fort Niagara soon became a vital link in a chain of forts stretching across the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. Fort Niagara's position astride perhaps the most strategically placed "transportation breaks" along this chain soon made the post one of the most important trade entrepots in the

Northeast. The Senecas and other Indians eagerly took advantage of trade opportunities presented by the post. Many established themselves near Joncaire's trading post and took jobs as porters carrying goods and supplies across the Niagara Portage - a nine mi route that skirted the Nagara Gorge around Niagara Falls. The Senecas interposed themselves as middlemen between Indian fur trappers to the north and west, and French and English fur buyers farther east.

Senecas and Frenchmen at Niagara generally lived peacefully if uneasily with one another for the next 30 years. Senecas maintained control of the Niagara primarily by limiting the French to trading activities and preventing the establishment of new settlements in the area. French blacksmiths at the fort mended Indian firearms while post officers traded or made gifts of ironwares, ceramics, glass beads, and other European imports. Senecas and other Indians provided furs and food to the French garrison, and continued to be the main source of man power for moving supplies over the Niagara Portage as the French expanded westward. Although French engineers enlarged the fort in the early 1740s (Figure 3), and strengthened Fort Niagara's defenses from time to time, garrison troops generally relied more on their Seneca and other Indian friends than their walls for protection.

Like other members of the Iroquois League, the Senecas were politically linked to the British through their Covenant Chain alliance. All Iroquois nations also were parties to the terms of the 1701 Montreal Treaty requiring them to remain neutral in all conflicts between France and Great Britain. The Senecas at Niagara worked to take full advantage of their position as powerful neutrals, maintaining friendship with the often mutually hostile French and British rivals.

Neutrality became increasingly difficult as various Seneca and fort personnel formed close economic, political, and social bonds. Linked by marriage, friendship, and mutual interest, Seneca warriors joined French detachments raiding the New York frontier during King George's War from 1744 to 1748. Farther east, Mohawks closely linked with the New York government fought alongside British troops. Unwilling to fully draw the Iroquois into the conflict, the combatants allowed the Iroquois to maintain their formal stance of neutrality even as both tried to sway warriors to their side.

Substantial numbers of Senecas and other Indians came to the aid of their French allies when war again broke out with Great Britain in 1755. Known today as the Seven Years War, it was locally called the French and Indian War by British American colonists. Seneca scouts warned the French of a British army gathering at Oswego during the summer of 1755 to attack Fort Niagara. Other Senecas brought news that delays prevented the army from marching on Niagara before the onset of cold weather put an end to all offensive operations on the lake.

Aware that British disorganization was the only thing that saved the poorly defended post, French authorities quickly dispatched troops under the command of Captain Pierre Pouchot to bolster Fort Niagara's defenses (Pouchot 1994). Arriving in the fall of 1755, Pouchot and his men soon transformed the simple palisaded frontier post into a classic example of an eighteenth-century European fortress (Figures 3 and 4). Pouchot's men erected sloping earthworks, deep ditches, bastions, and batteries along the landward side of the fort. As protective walls took shape, new barracks and other buildings were erected and the old wooden palisade was dismantled. The Castle and a small cluster of buildings built around it in earlier years became the post's headquarters' area. A drawbridge gate christened "Gate of the Five Nations" gave access to the post from the landward side. On the river side, another protected gate led down to a hut specially built at The Bottoms to house visiting Indians.

Altogether, these improvements resulted in an eightfold increase in the post's total area and transformed Fort Niagara from a small frontier outpost into a powerful bastion. Unintimidated by this unprecedented show of force, the Senecas continued to hold the balance of power in the area, controlling the hinterland and preventing erection of new settlements anywhere on the Niagara River. Only structures built for trade or defense were allowed at the portage terminals.

While the Iroquois League officially remained neutral, individual nations and warriors independently formed alliances. Fort Niagara became a major base sustaining Indians supporting the French against their British enemies. Visiting Indian diplomats sometimes stayed at the cabin on The Bottoms. Other stayed in camps set up beyond Pouchot's earthworks or farther upriver at the Lower Landing. Indians pursuing business at the fort also camped above Niagara Falls at the southern terminus of the Portage route. Also known as the Upper Landing, the French had erected a small post known as Little Niagara to guard the locale in 1751. Members of various Iroquois nations, Missisaugas, Ottawas, and other Indian traders, diplomats, warriors, and their families camped at these locales when coming to Fort Niagara.

The number of Indians visiting Fort Niagara gradually declined as the war ground on. Disheartened by French defeats and discouraged by their increasing inability to provide provisions to them and their families, some Indians began to abandon their allies. Others, however, remained faithful to the end. Several Senecas led by an influential chief named Kaendae, for example, were among the defenders of the fort surrendered to the besieging British army on July 25, 1759 (Dunnigan 1986).

The British won control of the Great Lakes and the interior trade following the final defeat of France's armies in America in 1760. Tensions, however, soon increased west of Niagara.

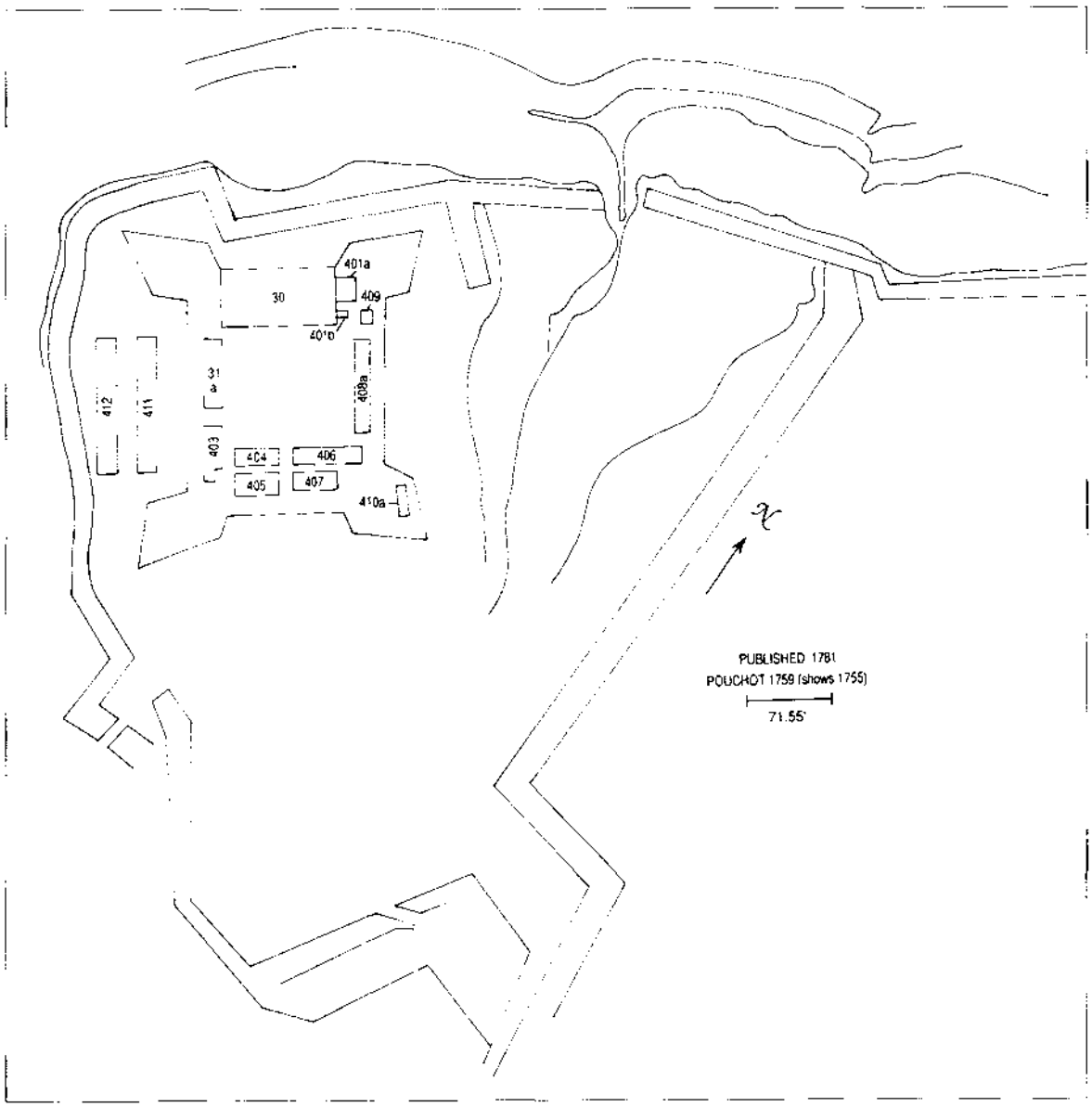


Figure 3. Old Fort Niagara showing the buildings within the "Second Interior stockade" and two temporary barracks (411-412) that Pouchot placed outside the stockade to house his troops during the 1755 expansion. Test Units 302-208 were located directly in front of the southwestern corner of the Castle (30), and Test Unit 352 was located in the southeastern bastion near Structure 410a, a blacksmith shop. To the east of the stockade is the gully that was filled in stages between 1755 and 1810, Computer generated map by Patricia Kay Scott and James MacLeay adapted from Pouchot's 1781 map showing the fort as it was in 1755 shortly after he arrived to enlarge it.

Angered by British refusal to honor earlier promises to abandon captured French forts like Niagara following the end of fighting, many Indians rose up to drive them away in 1763. Many Seneca warriors joined in this struggle, which today is often referred to as Pontiac's War.

Niagara became a key point of attack. On September 14, 1763, a substantial force of Senecas destroyed a convoy and two companies of British troops crossing the Niagara Portage at a place known as Devil's Hole. This and other attacks forced the British to call in their outposts and concentrate their forces at Fort Niagara. Beleaguered behind their walls, garrison troops tried to halt Seneca efforts meant to cut the critical supply line supporting Detroit farther west.

Things changed when a large British army under the command of Major General John Bradstreet arrived at the post during the spring of 1764. Fort Niagara was soon transformed from a beleaguered outpost to a staging area for westward operations. Supported by this powerful army, Sir William

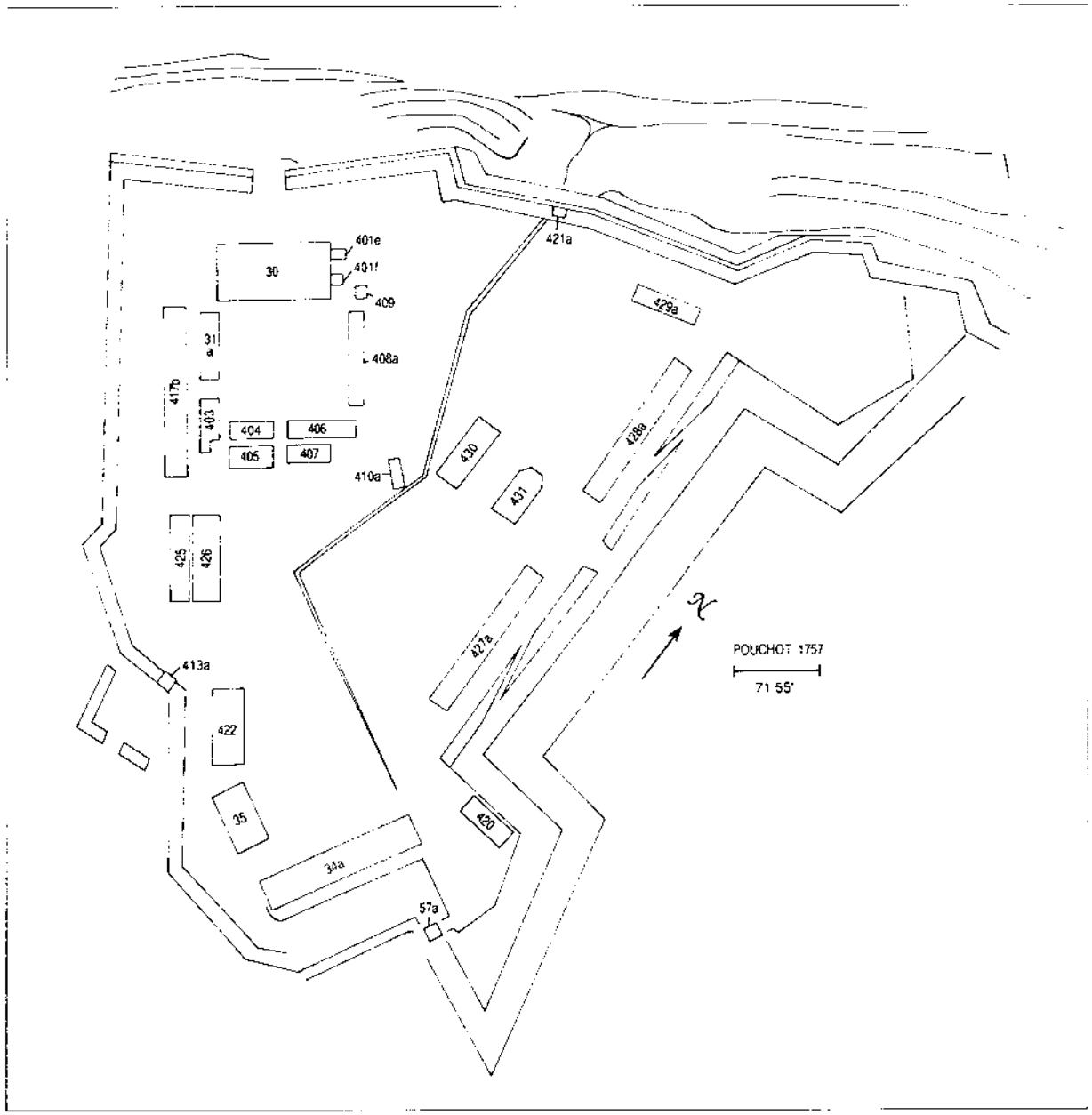


Figure 4. Old Fort Niagara as it was enlarged by Pouchot from I755-1757. The blacksmith shop Structure 410a was by 1757 replaced by Structure 430 across the gully next to the chapel (431). The line through the center of the parade represents French efforts to drain and partially fill the gully. Computer generated map by Patricia Kay Scott and James MacLeay adapted from Pouchot's 1757 "Niagara Cette Place a ete Commencee le 14 janvier 1756 et Finie le 12 Octobre 1757 avec 80 Travailleurs porours." Original: British Museum Crown Map, cxxi, 73.

Johnson, then Crown Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, quickly convinced the Senecas and their neighbors to make peace at the fort. Pushing farther westward, Bradstreet's army forced Western Great Lakes Indians to conclude similar treaties with the British.

Fort Niagara again became a focal point for frontier warfare when Great Britain went to war with her American colonies in 1775. Substantial numbers of Senecas, Mohawks, and other Iroquois were supplied through Fort Niagara as they sided with the British against the colonists. Fort Niagara became a base for the Butler's Rangers. Expeditions led by Butler, other Loyalists, and Joseph Brant, a Mohawk Indian protégé of Johnson's holding a commission in the British army, devastated outlying American settlements throughout the war. Their operations and other Indian affairs were administered by the British Indian Department that had been established before the war in several buildings on The Bottoms and a complex of merchants' row houses.

Increasing numbers of Indian refugees and their captives took shelter in temporary camps just beyond the fort's walls and along the river as more Iroquois were drawn into the war. Almost 200 Mohawk Indian Loyalists led by Joseph and Molly Brant moved to Fort Niagara after rebels forced them from their Mohawk Valley homes during the first years of the war. They were joined by more than 2000 Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas escaping from American armies burning their towns in 1779. Along with colonial Loyalists, many of these and other Indian allies and refu gees were relocated to Canada after the war ended in 1783. Indians staying on this side of the river moved to Tonawanda, Cattaraugus, and other western New York Seneca communities. Still others settled nearby on what today is the Tuscarora Indian Reservation (Figure 1).

The British did not immediately give up Fort Niagara or other Great Lakes posts when the war ended, but they did prepare to vacate it by continuing to develop their military and civilian complex across the river. Maintaining their headquarters at Niagara, the British Indian Department continued to support Miami, Shawnee, and other Indians struggling against American expansion into the Ohio River Valley. British negotiators finally gave up Fort Niagara and the other Great Lakes posts under the terms of the 1794 Jay Treaty demarcating the United States-Canada border. Great Britain formally turned Fort Niagara over to American troops on August 10. 1796.

Briefly recaptured by the British during the War of 1812, Fort Niagara was returned to the United States in 1815, and the fort subsequently served as a port of entry, training base, and military prison. Construction activities associated with these developments expanded the borders of the post beyond the old fort walls into a military reserve that had been established by the British. This development of the "New Fort Niagara." started in 1868, did little damage to the old fort complex that continued to be used through World War I. By the 1920s, however, natural erosion and neglect increasingly threatened the site's integrity.

Concerned by the possible destruction of a significant historic property, local preservationists organizing themselves as the Old Fort Niagara Association began restoring the Castle in 1926. Supported by private and government funds, they also began restoring the historic post compound with the help of soldiers stationed at New Fort Niagara. The rehabilitated or reconstructed post buildings, grounds, and fortifications of Old Fort Niagara were opened as a public museum in 1934. Briefly used by the U. S. Army during World War II, the Old Foil was reopened as a museum in 1946.

The Army surrendered title to the Old Fort to the State of New York between 1948 and 1949. New Fort Niagara continued as an active military base until 1963, and in 1964 most of it, except the Coast Guard Station and land related to the Light House, was also transferred to the State of New York. In 1965 most of the buildings within New Fort Niagara were razed or moved and Fort Niagara State Park, administered by the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, was created. Today, Old Fort Niagara is a state-owned National Historic Landmark site operated by the Old Fort Niagara Association. While use of the decommissioned Light House and land close to it has also been turned over to the State, the lowland known as "The Bottoms" is still an active Coast Guard Station. In 1985 the National Historic Landmark was extended to include not only Old Fort Niagara but also the Coast Guard land, parts of New Fort Niagara, and the adjacent underwater areas of Lake Ontario and the Niagara River.

Archaeological Resources in the Context of the Fort's History

Since 1979 archaeological test excavations and salvage projects cooperatively administered by the Old Fort Niagara Association and the New York State Office of Parks. Recreation, and Historic Preservation have been conducted within the walls of Old Fort Niagara, on The Bottoms, and in small areas of New Fort Niagara (Knoerl 1988; Ringrose 1981; S. Scott 1979; S. Scott and P. Scott 1981, 1983, 1986, 1988, 1989. 1990a, 1990b; S. Scott et al. 1991; and Utley and P. Scott 1988) These excavations, varying in depth from 3 ft to 12 ft below the present site surface, have revealed a series of stratigraphic layers overlaying culturally-sterile glacial clay subsoils. The cultural layers have diagnostic artifacts similar to contemporary assemblages found upriver at the Lower Landing Archaeological District at Artpark in Lewiston, New York. Collectively, the deposits at the Lower Landing, Fort Niagara and along the Niagara River document Paleo-Indian through Late Woodland Indian and seventeenth- through twentieth-century Indian and European land use (S. Scott et al. 1993).

The deposits of cultural material vary across Fort Niagara's parade ground, but in general five distinct soil levels are seen. This stratigraphic layering includes: (A) an upper level of dark brown silt. (B) a second level of mottled dark brown and yellow brown clayey silt, (C) a third layer of mottled brown and yellow brown silty clay, (D) a fourth level of ashy dark brown to black gritty soil, and (E) a fifth level of underlying dark yellow brown and gray clay. Each of these levels can be subdivided into datable layers by structural features, artifactual content, and lenses of mortar, charcoal, gravel, cinder, or ash. The layering is complex as deposits were often mixed by the many occupants or the activities related to the restoration of the fort. Nevertheless at various places within the fort, layers have been found above or dug into the

glacial clay (E) that can be dated to the Paleo-Indian to Late Woodland Periods (D3-D4), the French occupation (D2-D1), the British Occupation (C6-C4), and the American Occupation (C3-A I).

In places it is possible to further subdivide the French D2 - D1 deposits and identify those dating to 1678-1726, c. 1726, 1726 - early 1740s, c. 1743, early 1740s - 1755, and 1755-1759. A transitional layer (D1/C6) is sometimes found dating, to c. 1759 that has a mixture of late French and early British artifacts. The British C4 - C6 deposits can sometimes be divided into those dating to 1759-1768, 1768-1783, and 1783-1796. At times the pre-War of 1812 U. S. Army C3 deposits can be discerned, but often they are mixed with the very late British deposits or material from the 1813-1815 British occupation (C3/C2). The C2, C1 and B3 nineteenth-century U.S. deposits can often be dated to 1812/1815-1865, c. 1865, 1839-1843, early 1840s to c. 1865, 1865-1886, and 1886-1902. The twentieth-century B2, B1, A2 and A1 U.S. deposits can sometimes be dated to 1902-1927, 1927-1934, 1934-1950s, and 1950s present. However, most of the post Civil War deposits were disturbed when the fort was restored, and often these upper layers only represent landscaping episodes where soils from New Fort Niagara and other parts of the Old Fort have been redistributed.

Artifacts documenting relations between Indians and Europeans at Fort Niagara during the Historic Contact period have been found in excavations within the fort's walls, below the fort on The Bottoms, and underwater in its associated Cove area. To date, the clearest evidence for this interaction has been preserved in Test Units 202-208, 353, and 354 located in front of the southwest corner of the Castle and in Test Unit 332 toward the center of the parade. In Test Units 202 and 203, incised Late Woodland ceramics have been found in a fire bed beneath a thin layer containing debitage, stone tools, a Jesuit finger rings, glass beads, glass, white clay pipe fragments, and a few pieces of European ceramics such as tin-glazed earthenwares. This thin layer continues through Test Units 203-208 and was also noticed in the nearby Test Units 353 and 354. The stratigraphic position of these deposits, the Jesuit ring of a type that was common in the early 1700s, and identification of similar soil layers containing contemporary artifacts elsewhere within the fort compound collectively indicate that the layer overly in the Late Woodland fire-pit dates to the 1720-1726 "French Trade Period," a time when Joncaire was established at the Lower Landing and the French were negotiating to build at the mouth of the river. Further evidence for this dating is that this thin dark gritty layer extends under the Castle in Test Unit 354.

While the thin French lens in front of the Castle provides intriguing evidence for early French interaction with Indians at the mouth of the Niagara, restoration work and later utility installations have left only patches of this lens undisturbed. Luckily in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a large gully within the center of the fort that was filled in stages by the French, British, and U. S. forces. Within the gully fill and to either side of it there are deeper cultural layers that have been preserved undisturbed. Test Unit 352 was a six ft by six ft excavation near the center of the fort on the eastern edge of the gully near where OFN Structure 410a once stood. The largest and best preserved assemblage of aboriginal and European artifacts thus far found in Old Fort Niagara Occurs within C6, D1, and D2 French and British layers of this excavation that had cultural material to a depth of 4.80 it below the present parade grade (Figure 6).

The combined historical documentation and archaeological discoveries indicate that the area of Test Unit 352 was constantly changing. Archaeological evidence around the gully indicates use of this land by the Iroquois and earlier Indians. For example, Feature 43, the deepest cultural deposit of Test Unit 352, contains several Iroquoian pottery sherds, chert debitage, animal bone, a stone tool, a Madison point. a little mortar, and one piece of lead shot. Documents indicate that during the construction of the Castle the area of this unit was open. The artifacts from Features 42-31 dating to c. 1726 represent this building episode. The combination of charred wood, slag, metal scrap, mammal, bird, and fish bones, European white clay tobacco smoking pipes, Micmac-style stone pipes, glass beads, and sherds of tin-glazed earthenwares, green lead-glazed buff-bodied coarse earthenware, and coarse stoneware in these features affirm a period of interaction between the French building the Castle and Indians trading with them. Slag from metal working scrap metal, ash, and charcoal indicate that the area was used for blacksmithing. The blacksmithing evidence and pieces of chipped building stone in these features indicate that at least some of the metal furnishings for the Castle were produced in this locale and at least some of the final stone finishing for the Castle took place here.

As the first stockade was built around the Castle, posts of the southeastern bastion of the "First Inner Stockade" were placed where Test Unit 352 was later excavated. Several post molds running along the southwestern portion of Test Unit 352 in the French layers probably represent this bastion that stood from 1727 into the early 1740s. Features 30-19 date to this time frame and Features 18 and 15-16 probably date to c. 1743, by which time the stockade was probably taken down and replaced with a larger one as the fort was expanded. These features contain more evidence for blacksmithing and also include lead shot, animal bones, glass beads, gunflints, Micmac-style and other stone pipes, European white clay tobacco smoking pipes, French military buttons, an occasion-

-al stone tool, a metal projectile point, and European ceramics such as tin-glazed earthenware, and green lead-glazed buff bodied coarse earthenware. The green glazed ware is a type manufactured from 1690 into the 1770s, but in the Great Lakes region this was more extensively used by the French than the British. The mixture of artifacts indicates that Indians continued to interact with the French in this area of the fort into the early 1740s.

In the early 1740s, or at least by 1743, the French expanded Fort Niagara by enlarging the stockaded area and adding buildings (Figure 3). Test Unit 352 remained inside the enlarged southeastern bastion. Features 10, 11, 12, 13, 11/13, 10/14, and 14 dating from the early 1740s (c. 1743 to 1755) represent the deposits during the time the area was within the "Second Inner Stockade." These features continue to show evidence for blacksmithing and contain chert flakes, gunflints, lead shot, Micmac-style and other stone tobacco pipes, white clay tobacco smoking pipes, a stone celt, masses of mammal and fish bones, large numbers of glass beads, a catlinite bead, and more tin-glazed earthenwares and green-glazed buff-bodied coarse earthenware. These findings corroborate maps indicating that sometime before 1755 a blacksmith shop (OFN Structure 410a) was built in the southeastern bastion of the "Second Inner Bastion." Although these features dating from the early 1740s into the mid-1750s reveal an ever increasing amount of European items and very few Indian artifacts, the amount of blacksmithing refuse, animal bone, and glass beads suggests that the Indians were supplying meat to the fort in exchange for blacksmithing services and trade items.

The Second Inner Stockade was removed during Pouchot's 1755-1757 expansion. The blacksmith shop was enlarged or rebuilt to serve as a workshop or lodging following the construction of a new smithy (Figure 4, Structure 430) 100 ft to the east. Features 4, 5, 4/5, 6, and 9 of Test Unit 352 date to this expansion period. Artifacts found within these features include another French military button, a Jesuit finger ring, a metal triangular projectile point, chert debitage, stone tools, glass beads, shell wampum, an ivory bead, a bone rosary bead, Micmac-style and other stone pipes, white clay tobacco smoking pipes, animal bones, gunflints, including one typical of the type Indians manufactured, and lead shot. The European ceramics included tin-glazed earthenwares, Green lead-glazed buff-bodied earthenware, gray-bodied coarse stoneware, red-bodied fine stoneware, unglazed and green-glazed red-bodied coarse earthenwares, and white saltglazed fine stoneware. These finds further document continued contact between the Indians and French into what the site archaeologists call the "French Expansion Period." A noted increase in European ceramics and decrease in blacksmithing refuse suggest that by the end of the French expansion this area was used more for quarters than blacksmithing.

In the mid- to late 1750s the material culture of the French and British military was in many ways similar, in that the soldiers and officers were often using some of the same gunflints, ceramics, and trade items. Thus it is difficult to discern a clear break between the French and British deposits. Feature 2/3 seems to contain a mixture of late French and early British artifacts, perhaps dating from the late 1750s (c. 1757) to the mid-1760s. The feature contains no evidence for blacksmithing and in that way differs from the lower features. The mixture of artifacts includes animal bones, chert flakes, glass beads, including one piece of wampum, a French military button, a musket ball, lead shot, a brass gun part, a stone projectile point, and a stone knife or projectile point.

Although the number of animal bones and European white clay tobacco smoking pipes remains constant, the number of chert flakes, glass beads, and stone tobacco pipes falls off dramatically and the European ceramic sherd count increases. The sherds represent tin-glazed earthenwares, green leadglazed buff-bodied coarse earthenwares, unglazed red-bodied coarse earthenwares, fine red-bodied stonewares, fine white salt-glazed stonewares, Jackfield stonewares, and creamwares. The green lead-glazed buff-bodied coarse earthenwares are usually associated with the French in this area, and the creamwares are known to have been introduced after the British conquered the fort. The rest of the ceramics were often used by both forces, but more often than not the green glazed redwares found at Niagara are in French contexts. The ceramics may be related to the late French adaptive reuse of Structure 410a or to the early British use of a small officers' lodging and workshop (Figure 5, Structure 410c) that appears on maps drafted from 1762 to 1768 just west of the location of the original French blacksmith shop. For a time the area of Test Unit 352 may have actually been under this small structure. This may explain why there are very few deposits dating to the early British occupation in this area of the fort.

The general distribution of late French and early British artifacts in Test Unit 352 seems to indicate that toward the end of the French occupation, perhaps as the expansion work was completed, the area of the test unit was no longer a place of intense Indian and French interaction. Perhaps trading shifted to the new blacksmith shop near the Chapel. More likely, as tensions leading up to the French and Indian War escalated, fewer Indians were allowed inside the fort and trading was shifted to The Bottoms. More excavations in both areas could demonstrate where the trading activity was moved.

In 1768 the British again enclosed the Castle and a few buildings within a stockade (Figure 5). At this time Structure 410c in the area of Test Unit 352 was razed or moved and the area became associated with the southeastern bastion of the

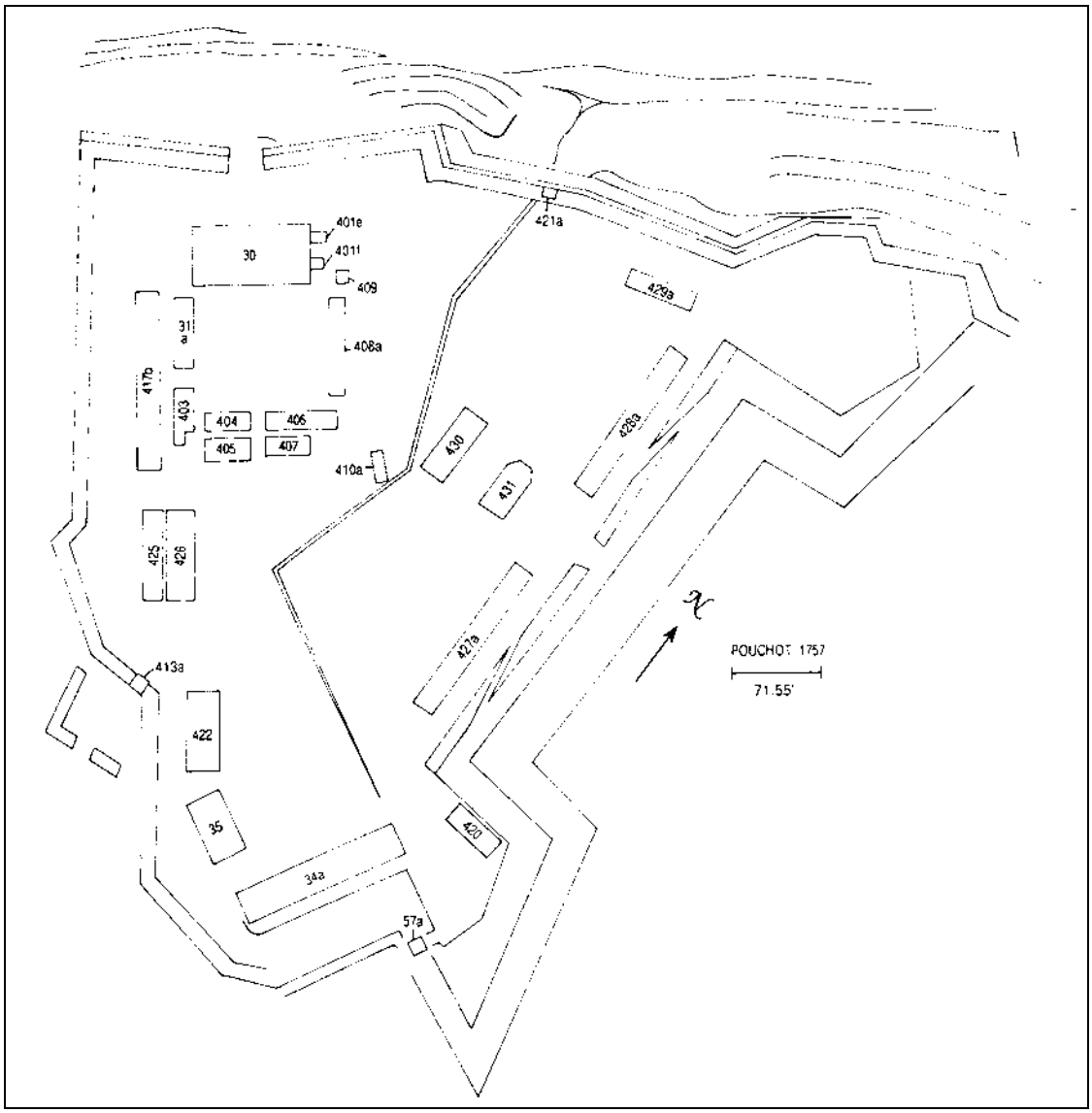


Figure 5. Montressor's 1768 map is a composite of the Fort as it was in 1768 before the "Third Inner Stockade" was constructed and as he planned it to be after the stockade, and the North (33) and South Redoubts (32) were added. The longer of the two drafted stockades was actually constructed and Structures 410c, 425, and 426 were removed along with other buildings such as 420 near the South Redoubt. Structure 410c once stood in the area of Test Unit 352. Once the stockade was built the supporting posts for a stairway leading up to a gundeck in the southeastern bastion would have been within the area of Test Unit 352.

"Third Inner Stockade." Two square post molds are thought to be the remnants of support posts for a stairway that led to the gundeck of this bastion. Soils in Test Unit 352 associated with the British occupation from the late 1760s are full of gravel and contain very few artifacts. These gravel lenses seem to represent the British policy of that time of policing their parade and trying to make military life even on the frontier more orderly. There is no evidence in these gravel lenses of Indian and British contact. After the stockade was removed in the early 1780s the area of Test Unit 352 again became an open central part of the parade.

Marker artifacts providing evidence of contact with Indian people completely disappear in later assemblages such as Features 1-3 and Levels I-IV uncovered in Test Unit 352 (Figure 6). This discovery, coupled with findings of artifacts representing later contact reported in The Bottoms and the adjoining Cove, corroborate maps and written records noting that British authorities shifted the focus of Indian contact

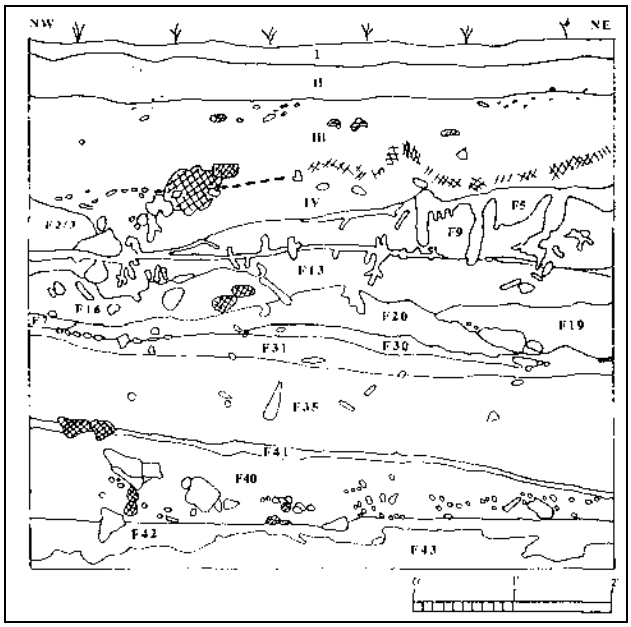


Figure 6. North wall profile of Test Unit 352 showing most of the features that contained evidence for Indian and European interaction at Old Fort Niagara from 1726 to the early to mid 1760s. adapted from August 16, 1991 field drawing by Douglas Seth Knight.

from inside the fort compound to places beyond the post walls after they captured the fort in 1759. The lack of evidence for interaction in deposits datable to the U. S. occupation reflects the fact that there was much less interaction with the Indians and Fort Niagara after the U. S. troops arrived, and by that time the material culture of the local Indians, except for special ceremonial items, was very similar in nature to that of the Americans.

In summary, Old Fort Niagara has been the site of continuous occupation for more than 250 years. The French and their British successors primarily used the Fort as a trading post, supply depot, military base, and administrative center. It guarded the major Niagara Portage route into the interior. Successive rebuilding episodes documented in written records are reflected in the complex stratigraphic record revealed by archaeologists working at Old Fort Niagara since 1979.

Erosion, battle damage, construction, demolition, reconstruction and normal occupational activities have taken their toll of site resources. Despite this fact, discoveries of previously undisturbed features containing Indian and European artifacts clearly show that intact deposits documenting historic contact between Indians and Europeans survive within Old Fort Niagara. The findings from Test Units 202-08 and 352-54 specifically confirm that intact deposits capable of yielding nationally significant information on Historic Contact exist within the parade ground area of the historic fort. Less than one percent of the Fort's parade has been excavated and even less area of The Bottoms or New Fort Niagara has been studied. Therefore, other deposits representing the Historic Contact Period as defined in the National Historic Landmark Theme Study may exist within the Fort, on the Coast Guard Station, and in Fort Niagara State Park.

The Old Fort Niagara Association works with the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation to administer an active cultural resource protection and preservation program. State park personnel and police regularly patrol park lands and enforce all laws protecting park resources. Officers and seamen of the Coast Guard are on duty next to the fort twenty four hours a day and help police the surrounding waterways. Archaeological staff employed by the Old Fort Niagara Association maintain an on-site archaeological laboratory and storage facility supporting ongoing site cultural research and management programs.

Site Significance

Old Fort Niagara originally was designated as a National Historic Landmark on October 9, 1960 under the theme of European Colonial Exploration and Settlement as "one of the best restored and preserved of America's historic military posts" (Shedd 1958). It has been described as containing "the most complete collection of extant eighteenth-century military architecture in the U.S." (Conlin 1985). As was mentioned earlier, the boundary of this Landmark was expanded in 1985 based on archaeological findings. The archaeological resources associated with Historic Contact between Indians and Europeans preserved within the Old Fort Niagara Historic Landmark conform to National Historic Landmark Program Significance Criterion 6 by yielding or having the potential "to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States" (35 CFR Part 65.4).

The cultural resources of this Landmark site represent the only known physical evidence of otherwise extensively chronicled relations between Indians and Europeans at the mouth of the Niagara River between 1678 and the years following the American War for Independence. These resources have revealed and continue to possess the potential to reveal further information of major scientific importance relating to Indian life along the Niagara River during the Historic Contact period.

References Cited

Conlin, John H.
1985 *Old Fort Niagara National Historic Landmark Boundary Study*. Report on file, History Division, National Park Service, Washington, D. C.

Dunnigan, Brian Leigh
1986 *Siege - 1759: The Campaign Against Niagara*. Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.
1987 *Glorious Old Relic: The French Castle and Old Fort Niagara*. Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.
1989 *Forts Within a Fort: Niagara's Redoubts.* Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.

Dunnigan, Brian Leigh, and Patricia Kay Scott
1991 *Old Fort Niagara in Four Centuries: A History of its Development.* Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.

Grumet, Robert S.
1995 *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Howard, Robert West
1968 *Thundergate: The Forts of Niagara*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Knoerl. Kurt
1988 Old Fort Niagara. *Stem to Stern* 4. East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina.

O'Callaghan, Edmund B., and Berthold Fernow, editors
1853-87 *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*. 15 vols. Weed, Parsons, Albany, New York.

Pendergast, James F.
1991 The Massawomeck: Raiders and Traders into Chesapeake Bay. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81(2). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
1994 The Kakouagoga or Kahkwas: An Iroquoian Nation Destroyed in the Niagara Region. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 138(l):96-144.

Pouchot, Pierre
1994 *Memoirs on The Late War in North America between France and England.* Translated by Michael Cardy; edited and annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan. Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.

Ringrose, Dale A.
1981 *Aerial Color Infrared Photography in Archaeological Research at Old Fort Niagara*. Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, New York.

Scott, Stuart D.
1979 *Old Fort Niagara - Proposed Sewage System Archaeological Test Survey, 1979*. Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.

Scott, Stuart D. and Patricia Kay Scott
1981 *Fort Niagara State Park -An Archaeological Historical Resource Study in the Area of Proposed Sanitary Sewer Construction, 1981*. Contract report on file at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.
1983 *United States Coast Guard Station Niagara Archaeological and Historical Survey*. Contract report on file at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.
1986 *Archaeology for Seawall Repairs: Old Fort Niagara*. Contract report on file at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.
1988 *1987 Salvage Archaeology: Old Fort Niagara TU 367*. Contract report on file at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.
1989 *State-Funded Archaeological Work at Old Fort Niagara, July-August 1988*. Contract report on file at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.
1990a A Fort Called Niagara. *Archaeology* 43(1).
1990b *Supplement to the 1983 United States Coast Guard Station Niagara, Archaeological and Historical Survey*. Contract report on file at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.

Scott, Stuart D., Patricia Kay Scott, James W. F. Smith, and James MacLeay
1991 Reorientation of Historical Maps of Old Fort Niagara Using Computer-Assisted Cartography. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 18(3).

Scott, Stuart D., Patricia Kay Scott, Paul Matthew Nasca, Christopher J. Hughes, Paul Nasca, and David Mauzy
1993 *An Archaeological Survey of Artpark and the Lower Landing, Lewiston New York*. The Edwin Mellon Press, Lewiston, New York.

Severance, Frank H.
1899 *The Paschal of the Great Prince: An Extract and Translation from Memoirs of the Chevalier de Tregay 1687-1688*. Niagara Historical Society, Lockport, New York.
1906 The Story of Joncaire, His Life and Times on the Niagara. *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 9:83-219.
1917 *An Old Frontier of France*. 2 vols. Dodd, Mead, and Company, New York.

Shea, John Gilmary, editor
1880 *A Description of Louisiana by Father Louis Hennepin* [1683]. New York.

Shedd, Charles F., Jr.
1958 *Old Fort Niagara*. National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings Inventory Form. Manuscript on file, History Division, National Park Service, Washington, D. C.

Thwaites, Rueben Gold, editor
1903 *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America by Father Louis Hennepin* [1698]. A. C. McClurg and Company, Chicago, Illinois.

Utley, William E. and Patricia Kay Scott
1988 1988 Underwater Archaeology Survey: Old Fort Niagara. Report on file at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.

White, Marian E.
1968 A Re-examination of the Historic Van Son Cemetery in Erie County, New York. *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences* 24:7-48.
1978a Neutral and Wenro. In *Handbook of North American Indians 15: Northeast*, edited by Bruce G. Trigger, pp. 407-11. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C.
1978b Erie. In *Handbook of North American Indians 15*: *Northeast*, edited by Bruce G. Trigger, pp. 412-17. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C.

Lower Landing Archaeological District National Historic Landmark

Stuart D. Scott
Associate Professor, Emeritus, Anthropology Department, State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York

Patricia Kay Scott
1356 Charlesgate Circle, East Amherst, New York

The Lower Landing, now occupied by Artpark in Lewiston, New York was the northern terminus of the Niagara Portage. Archaeological deposits associated with Historic Contact preserved within the Lower Landing Archaeological District are contributing properties within the newly, re-designated Colonial Niagara Historic District National Historic Landmark (NHL). The Lower Landing Archaeological District contains well preserved Euro-American archaeological assemblages that complement those of Old Fort Niagara, the fortress that protected the Niagara Portage from the early - seventeenth century, into the eighteen century. As such, the Lower Landing Archaeological District meets NHL significance criterion 6 as a property, that has "yielded or may, be likely to yield information of major scientific importance." This article is a substantially revised version of the NHL nomination form used to document the site's significance (S. Scott, P. Scott, and Grumet 1997).

Background and Overview

The Lower Landing Archaeological District (hereafter cited as the Lower Landing) became a National Historic Landmark on August 6, 1998 when the Secretary of the Interior signed documents that also created the Colonial Niagara Historic District NHL (hereafter cited as the Colonial Niagara NHL). The Lower Landing is a discontiguous property within the Colonial Niagara NHL. Old Fort Niagara, designated as a NHL in 1960 (Shedd 1958), is the only other component of Colonial Niagara NHL (Figure 1).

Located on the eastern bank of the Niagara River approximately 7 mi south of Old Fort Niagara and 7 mi north of Niagara Falls, the Lower Landing is situated on the only natural waterway joining Lakes Ontario and Erie. The Lower Landing is located at the base of a three-tiered section of the Niagara Escarpment referred to by the French as Les Trois Montagnes, "The Three Mountains." Here the base of a declivity variously known as "The Gully" or "The Historic Gully" provides a natural sheltered docking area where the Niagara River flows out of the steep, un-navigable Niagara Gorge. From this docking area the gully provided access partially up the lower tiers of the escarpment. The docking area, the natural steep pathway up the gully, and the land atop the gully formed the northern terminus of the Niagara Portage, a nine-mile-long route along the eastern side of the Niagara Gorge that connected to the Upper Landing above the falls.

The Niagara River was part of a major waterway linking New York and the St. Lawrence Valley with the Upper Great Lakes and the Ohio and trans-Mississippi valleys. The Niagara Portage was the shortest and most accessible route around Niagara Falls and the swirling waters of the Niagara Gorge that formed the only major "transportation-break" along this important route. Created long before Europeans arrived on the Niagara, the trail was adopted for Use by French, British, and early American explorers, traders, soldiers, merchants, and travelers from the seventeenth century until the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. During the Historic Contact period the portage and the surrounding region were controlled by the Senecas, who claimed the area by right of conquest after forcing the Neutral Indians from the area between 1648 and 1651.

Indian use of the Lower Landing substantially predates Seneca and Neutral occupations. Archaeological evidence from the site has shown that Indians hunted, fished. and lived there for at least 6,500 years. The first recorded European account of the Niagara occurs in the 1535 description of the falls heard by French explorer Jacques Cartier while he was along the lower St. Lawrence River (Biggar 1924). Another 143 years passed before Belgian-born Recollect friar Father Louis Hennepin penned the earliest known eyewitness description of the Niagara Falls and the Lower Landing (Thwaites 1903). Traveling ahead of the main body of Rene-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle's 1678 expedition into the Great Lakes, Hennepin described the land on both sides of the Niagara River. Although he noted the presence of a small temporary Seneca fishing camp at the river's mouth, he did not record occupation at the Lower Landing.

La Salle built a small storehouse at the Lower Landing to support construction of the "Griffon" above the Upper

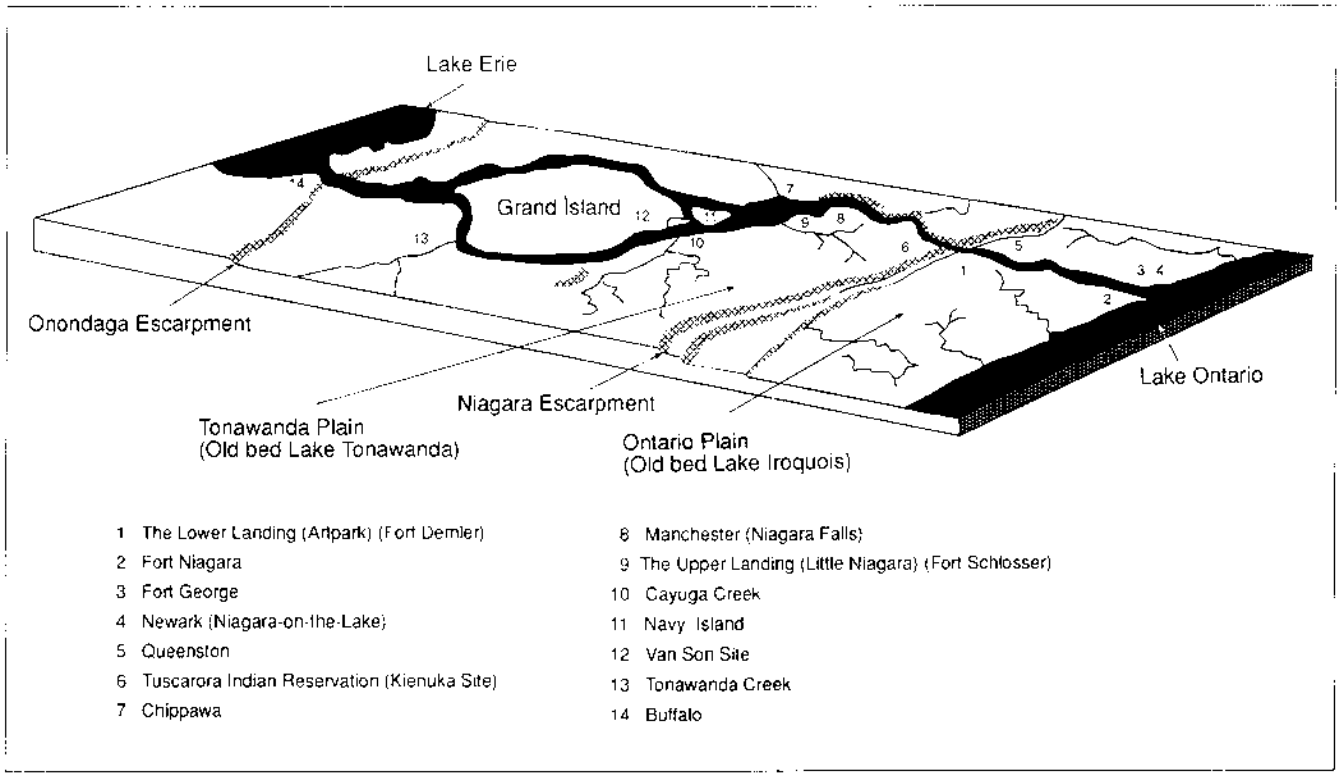


Figure 1. The Colonial Niagara Historic District National Historic Landmark extends, along the eastern banks of the Niagara River from Fort Niagara (2) to the area of the Upper Landing (9). The Lower Landing Archaeological NHL is located on the Ontario Plain at the base of the Niagara Escarpment (1). Map adapted from a 1832 illustration by H.M. Wilson.

Landing at the mouth of Cayuga Creek. The Griffon was the first sailing vessel to ply the waters of Lake Erie. Shortly thereafter, La Salle erected Fort Conti down-river at the site of present-day Old Fort Niagara. Materials to build the Griffon were transhipped from Fort Frontenac at the eastern end of Lake Ontario in present-day Kingston, Ontario. Supplies reaching the Lower Landing were carried over the portage to the shipbuilding site by La Salle's men and Seneca porters. There, provisioned with meat by Seneca hunters, La Salle's men completed construction of the Griffon by the spring of 1679. Launched into the Niagara River, the Griffon sailed into Lake Erie, where it reached the mouth of the Maumee River in western Ohio by August. La Salle built another post there to support expeditions that would ultimately penetrate into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys by 1681. The Griffon did not take part in these further efforts, and her final voyage is clouded in mystery.

Fort Conti burned shortly after La Salle's men departed. Some men were left on the Niagara at the shipbuilding site, but their fate and that of the small storehouse at the Lower Landing is unknown. Hennepin on a return trip through the river in May of 1681 noted that it was deserted (Thwaites 1903:214). In August of 1681 La Salle again came through the Niagara and again left some men behind, but what happened to these men, where they stayed, or how long they remained also is unknown (Severance 1917 [1]:74). Frenchmen continued to come to the river at various times during the early 1680s. Extant sources, such as the Abbe de Belmont's "Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale" (in Severance 1917[1]:83), note a marked increase in French trade from Fort Frontenac with people belonging to the Ottawa, Mississauga, Miami, and other Central Algonquian-speaking nations from the Upper Lakes at the mouth of the Niagara River during the early 1680s. By the mid-1680s Johannes Rooseboom and other traders from the English colony of New York also began traveling across the Niagara Portage on their way west to trade with the Ottawas and their neighbors.

Increased movement of Europeans through the Niagara exacerbated tensions between the French and English and those Iroquois closely allied with the New York government. Continuing to exercise control over the Niagara River and its trade, the Senecas harassed French traders and attacked their Indian allies as they tried to pass through the Niagara Portage (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[5 and 9]: *passim*). The rate and intensity of Iroquois attacks upon Canadians and their Indian allies also increased. A counter

action was planned in 1684 by New France's Governor Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre. To support La Barre's invasion of Iroquois territory, the frontier diplomat Nicholas Perrot, along with several French officers, assembled and led 600 Ottawa, Huron, Sac, and Fox Indian warriors and 150 Frenchmen from the Upper Lakes across the Niagara Portage. Their efforts proved futile. La Barre canceled the operation by the time these forces reached the mouth of the Niagara. French inaction encouraged the English to step up their own efforts to extend authority westward by controlling the strategic Niagara Portage.

Three years later, La Barre's more aggressive successor, Jacques Rene de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, established a new fort at the mouth of the Niagara after successfully raiding the Seneca towns in the Genesee Valley. Christening the post Fort Denonville, the French installed a small garrison of 100 men. Enraged Senecas blockading the post from the east compelled the garrison to seek supplies from French posts farther west. Although some help arrived, it was not sufficient to provide for the fort's needs. Most of the garrison did not survive the winter. Many were killed by Seneca warriors while hunting or foraging for fire-wood beyond the post walls. More died within the walls from malnutrition and disease. Those who survived the trials of the winter were saved by Miami Indians traveling across the Niagara Portage in the spring of 1688. As one of the survivors described the end of the ordeal:

> I opened my eyes upon a huge savage painted and bedaubed after their fashion... "The Iroquois," then I thought "have learned of our extremity and have broken in to finish all. So much the better," and I was sinking back upon the boards when the savage took from a little pouch a handful of the parched corn which they carry on their expeditions. "Eat" he said in the language of the Miamis, and then I knew that relief had come... [DeTregay's Memoirs in Severance 1899].

Shortly after it was re-supplied and reinforced, Fort Denonville was abandoned in 1688. Having successfully defended their rights to the area, the Senecas continued to control access to the Niagara Portage and for over a decade the French usually avoided the area by traveling to their western posts through the Ottawa River.

Anxious to establish peace with the Iroquois, Denonville's' successor, the Chevalier de Callieres, ordered agents traveling to Detroit in 1700 to avoid "the Niagara passage so as not to give umbrage to the Iroquois" (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[9]:711). Just one year later, after the signing of the Great Treaty of Peace with the Iroquois at Montreal, French convoys began once again to traverse the Niagara Portage in ever-increasing numbers. This route became favored by French going to Detroit.

Growing numbers of Frenchmen also came to trade with the Senecas and other Indians along the Niagara. Among these traders was Louis Thomas de Joncaire. Born in France in 1670, Joncaire had been captured by the Senecas while a soldier fighting in one of the late seventeenth-century campaigns. Adopted into a Seneca family, he became fluent in their language and knowledgeable about Iroquois culture by the time he was repatriated in 1694 along with twelve other prisoners (Abbe de Belmont in Severance 1906:88). Shortly thereafter, Joncaire, named *Sononchiez* by the Iroquois. began playing an increasingly important role in politics and commerce as a diplomat, interpreter, and trader (Severance 1906:94-97; 115). He and his sons became the Frenchmen most commonly associated with the history of the Lower Landing.

An unsigned proposal submitted to King Louis XIV in 1706 identified Joncaire as "an officer of the marine forces in Canada, who has acquired such credit among the Iroquois, that they have repeatedly proposed and actually suggest to him, to establish himself among them" (Anonymous in O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[4]:774). The document went on to suggest that he be sent to Niagara:

> without noise, going there as a private individual intending simply to form an establishment for his family, at first bringing only the men he will require to erect and fortify his dwelling, and afterwards on pretense of conveying supplies and merchandise there, increasing their number insensibly [Anonymous in O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87(4):775].

After describing the creeping gradualism that would characterize French penetration into the Niagara region during the next twenty years, the report concluded that "when the Iroquois would see that goods would be furnished them at a reasonable rate, far from insulting us, they would protect and respect us, having no better friends than those who supply them at a low rate."

A report written in 1709 indicates that at least by 1704 Joncaire began meeting with Indians at the mouth of the Niagara River to trade and talk at the former site of Forts Conti and Denonville (Pontchartrain in Severance 1917[1]:162-79). When Frenchmen actually established themselves on the Niagara is unknown, but an Indian complaint dated July -5, 1715 stating "...that there are some evil designs intended by the French, who keep a party of men at the Carrying Place of *Jagare*," indicates that the French were established at least seasonally at some place along the portage by this time (Wraxall, New York Indian Records [1754], in Severance 1917[1]:163). A document written by an unknown author dated 1718 entitled: "*Memoir on the Indians of Canada, as far as the River Mississippi, with*

remarks on their manners and trade, " describes the portage and the Lower Landing as follows:

> The Niagara portage is two leagues to three leagues long, but the road, over which carts roll two or three times a year, is very fine, with very beautiful and open woods through which a person is visible for a distance of six hundred paces. The trees are all oaks, and very large. The soil along the entire of that road is not very good. From the landing, which is three leagues up the river, four hills are to be ascended. Above the first hill there is a Seneca village of about ten cabins, where Indian corn, beans, peas, water-melons, and pumpkins are raised, all of which are very fine. These Senecas are employed by the French, from whom they earn money by carrying the goods of those who are going to the Upper Country: some for mitasses, others for shirts, some for powder and ball, whilst some others pilfer_ and on the return of the French, they carry their packs of furs for some peltry. The Portage is made for the purpose of avoiding the Cataract of Niagara, the grandest sheet of water in the world... [Severance 1906:118].

These sources affirm that the French seasonally maintained trading activities at the Lower Landing and other locales along the Niagara river during the first two decades of the 1700s. More permanent settlement began when Joncaire erected a permanent post at the Lower Landing in 1720. Working quickly, Joncaire and his men "built in haste a kind of Cabbin of Bark where they displayed the Kings Colors & honored it with the name of the `Magazin Royal'" (Durant in O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[5]:588). Laurence Claessen, an Albany trader sent by New York authorities to convince the Senecas to force the French to leave Niagara, described Joncaire's establishment as a cabin "Forty Foot long and thirty wide" (Claessen in Severance 1906:125-26). Protests also came from the Iroquois, including the Senecas, but even as these protests were being made the Jesuit priest Pierre Charlevoix visiting Niagara in May of 1721 described a compatible scene of Frenchmen and Indians. He noted that from the mouth of the Niagara:

> After sailing three leagues, you find on the left some cabins of the Iroquois, *Tsonnonthouaans* [Senecas] and of the *Mississagues* as at *Catarocoui* [Cataraqui, near Fort Frontenac]. The Sieur de Joncaire, lieutenant of our troops, has also a cabin at this place, to which they have before hand given the name of "Fort" for it is pretended that in time this will be changed into a great fortress [Charlevoix 1966:341].

Charlevoix notes with enthusiasm how the Indians "regaled" his party and an official delegation of Frenchmen who were there at the same time.

Unlike his predecessors, who often barricaded themselves within fortification walls, Joncaire lived openly among his Indian neighbors and adopted relatives (Severance 1906). Serving France as an official agent among the Iroquois and western Indians, Joncaire became an archetypical "Capitaine des Sauvages." Fluent in Indian languages and well acquainted with Indian politics and customs, he and other "Capitaines" played a vital role in maintaining French influence among the many Indian nations along the frontiers of New France, even as the social climate between the French and Iroquois often turned sour as allegiances vacillated between the French, British, and colonial governments. Maintaining a primary residence in Montreal, Joncaire periodically visited his trading post at the Lower Landing to trade privately, officially distribute presents to French Indian allies, and hold meetings with Seneca and other Indian diplomats (Severance 1906:159). He also used the post as a base for journeys to and from Seneca and other Iroquois towns farther east in the Finger Lake region of north-central New York.

As Charlevoix noted, the French intended Joncaire's post to be a stepping stone to a larger fort on the Niagara. Shortly after the construction of the "Magazin Royal" was finished, Joncaire, along with the Mayor of Montreal, Charles Le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil and his son, Captain Charles le Moyne, began to ask the Iroquois for permission to build a larger post (Dunnigan 1985:8-16). Although they succeeded in securing the support of the Onondagas, who did not themselves have rights to the place. the French had to begin construction of the new post at the northern mouth of the Niagara in 1726 in the face of Seneca protests. Original plans called for the post to be built at the Lower Landing "between the old stockade and the river bank, 170 feet from the former and 130 from the latter" (April 28, 1726 letter of Captain Charles le Moyne to his father, the Sieur de Longueuil in Dunnigan 1985:14). However, since the new fort was to protect the Niagara River and portage route, the engineer sent to oversee the construction of the fortress found that at the mouth of the river "the angle of the lake and river not only commanded the portage and all communication between the lakes, but enabled the French to keep watch over Lake Ontario, so as to prevent the English from going to trade on the north shore of that lake" (in Severance 1906:234).

The French christened the new post Fort Niagara. Using the new post as a base, Joncaire continued in his pursuit of forest diplomacy. By 1731, Joncaire's eldest son, Phillippe Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, joined his father on his diplomatic and trade missions in the region. Daniel, a younger son, became an interpreter at Niagara. Both men became French Indian agents after their father died at Fort Niagara on June 29, 1739 (Severance 1906:218-19).

How long the "Magazine Royal" stood after Fort Niagara was built is unknown, but the absence of documentary references to it after 1740 indicates that it may have seen adaptive reuse as a simple storehouse, fallen into disrepair, been burned, or collapsed in ruins. The Lower Landing, however, continued to be the main conduit for French and Indians traveling to and from what was becoming known as the Ohio Country. Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Miamis, Mingoes, and other displaced Indians established villages in the Ohio River and Lake Erie drainage and the British and French began to assert claims over the area. British colonists from Virginia and Pennsylvania began to cross the Appalachian Mountains to trade and claim land. The governor of New France responded to this challenge by dispatching a French force under the command of Pierre-Joseph Celoron de Blainville to directly stake claim to the region for France. During the summer of 1749, Celoron's force passed through the Lower Landing on its way to and from the Ohio Country to bury lead plates inscribed with France's claim at various points throughout the region (see Galbreath 1921) The Senecas assisted this venture by carrying supplies over the portage and by providing horses to the French, even as the same Indians protested the use of horses and soldiers assisting the movement of supplies.

In the following summer Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm stopped at the Lower Landing while ostensibly visiting the area to study its natural history. In describing his August 24th trip from Fort Niagara to Niagara Falls, Kalm wrote (in Benson 1987:696):

> After three French (about nine English) miles of hard rowing we stepped ashore to continue our trip on foot. It is difficult to come nearer with a boat, because of the number of steep rapids encountered. First we had to climb up the high, steep river banks, then proceed three French miles by land, which has two high and tolerably steep hills to be crossed. On this road we met a great number of Indians of both sexes, who were engaged in carrying their skins and other goods to Quebec. These goods had either been purchased originally from the Indians by the French and were being sent on, or the Indians were taking them to Quebec on their own initiative. Several natives had their own horses which carried such wares in return for pay. In as much as one cannot row a boat from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario because of Niagara Falls, boats have to be carried over land this distance (of nine English miles). Of course only birch canoes as boats can thus be conveniently transported. Today I saw four men carrying a birch canoe that was five and a half fathoms long and about five and half feet wide in the middle.

In an unpublished letter written to John Bartram of Philadelphia from Albany on September 2, 1750, Kalm reported the presence of 200 Senecas "at the carrying-place, who were employed in carrying on their backs over the portage, packs of bear and deer skins." He went on to write that the Senecas, in reference to the way porters clambered up the escarpment, called the place *"Duh' jih' heh' oh*, " meaning to walk on all fours (Kalm in Severance 1917[2]:378).

Tensions again grew in the region as France and Great Britain drifted toward war. Increasing numbers of Indians from the Upper Great Lakes came through the Niagara Portage, but bypassed trade at Fort Niagara in order to obtain the less expensive British goods elsewhere. More regular troops were dispatched to Niagara under the command of Captain Daniel Hyacinth de Beaujeau. In 1751 a small post, christened "Little Fort Niagara," was built a short distance upriver from the Upper Landing, and a shorter and better portage road was built (La Jonquiere in Severance 1917[2]: 375-77). Joncaire's youngest son, Daniel, who had been instrumental in obtaining permission to construct both the new fort and portage route from the reluctant Iroquois, was put in charge of the new post (Severance 1917[2]:375).

Fort Little Niagara was placed about a mile a half above the Falls. As described by Abbe Picquet (in Severance 1917[2]:379):

> Fort Little Niagara... was a trading house... surrounded by a triangular palisade, "badly made," with two kinds of bastions at the two angles of the side towards the roads which lead to [Fort] Niagara. A gate formed the third angle, on the upper side, the whole contrary to the rules of fortifications.

As first built, the post was only a trading house made of plank and bark surrounded by a palisade, but in the mid-1750s it was somewhat strengthened and stockaded in the more usual four-sided form. The French conducted an active commerce at the new post. For example, Severance points out that in 1751 "one band of Western Indians lingered a whole month at the Little Fort, awaiting the arrival at Fort Niagara of the barque bringing goods for trade" (Severance 1917[2]: 377).

Traffic increased at both the Upper and Lower Landings as troops and provisions passed across the portage following the outbreak of open warfare between France and Britain in 1754. Trade goods and gifts passing through the Lower Landing played a major role in securing the French support of many Ottawa, Mississauga, Seneca and other Indian allies (Severance 1917[2]:145-48, 399). Intent upon maintaining control of this vital corridor, the French governor dispatched Captain Pierre Pouchot with orders to strengthen Fort Niagara significantly. While at the post in 1755, Pouchot described the portage and noted the presence of three sheds at the Lower

Landing and another just above it at the top of the escarpment (Pouchot 1994[3]:172-73).

Daniel de Joncaire coordinated Indian diplomacy and facilitated troop movements over the portage from Fort Little Niagara during the first years of the French and Indian War. Helped by his brother Phillippe, Daniel worked hard to ensure harmonious relations with many Indian nations and splinter groups. Despite these efforts, several persistent problems surfaced at a conference held in Montreal in December, 1756. Indians complained about the high prices, poor selection, and low quality of many trade goods. Expressing displeasure over the way the French operated the portage, a Seneca speaker stated that:

> Formerly, when we were coming from war, we had the Niagara portage; 'twas promised us we should always possess it: 'tis now made by horses; we beg you to preserve that resource for us [Vaudreuil in O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87(10):503].

In an attempt to remedy this situation, Daniel de Joncaire was given absolute control over the Niagara Portage on April 12, 1758 (Severance 1917[2]:375). Although he worked to assure the Senecas that they would have continued employment as porters, British blockading squadrons at the mouth of the St. Lawrence prevented the landing of supplies for anyone to carry across the portage path. Then, as the British siege of Niagara started on July 6, 1759, the Landings were abandoned. Daniel had to burn Little Niagara, and, accompanied by Phillippe, who had recently returned from the Detroit area, he retreated to Fort Niagara along with a small garrison of soldiers and Indian allies (Dunnigan 1986a:34). No record has been found detailing what happened to the sheds Pouchot had noted at the Lower Landing, but if still standing, it can be assumed they were burned either by the retreating French or the advancing British.

French forces besieged at Fort Niagara hoped that reinforcements from the small French forts west of Niagara would save the post. However, on July 24, 1759, the French relief force was ambushed and destroyed in a ravine known as "La Belle Famille" located along the Portage path between the Lower Landing and the fort. Cut off from all prospect of further reinforcement, Captain Pouchot surrendered Fort Niagara the next day.

The British quickly moved troops westward across the portage as they pushed to seize French forts in the interior isolated by the fall of the fort. A small permanent post named Fort Schlosser was built above the Falls to support this push. Initially little more than a simple stockade, the fort soon contained a log house and storehouse (Walters to Amherst, October 1, 1760 and October 26, 1760, Amherst Papers: WO 34, Vol. 21). Stables were erected by the early fall of 1761 (Walters to Amherst, October 8, 1761, Amherst Papers: WO 34, Vo1. 21). More modifications followed, and this post, run as an outpost of Fort Niagara, greatly facilitated the movement of goods and supplies into the Upper Great Lakes.

In 1761 a similar protected storage facility was erected at the Lower Landing on the first embankment atop the gully. Christened Fort Demler, the new post consisted of a small two-room guardhouse and a 54 ft by 22 ft log storehouse surrounded by a timber stockade and shallow ditch. This post was initially garrisoned by a small platoon of eight soldiers led by a non-commissioned officer (Dunnigan 1985). In later years the number of men stationed at Fort Demler varied as circumstances required. In the 1760s the British quarried limestone at the Lower Landing and ferried building blocks down river for a new provision storehouse and new bakehouse within Fort Niagara. This quarrying activity continued into the late 1760s as stone was procured from the Lower Landing to build the 1770-71 North and South Redoubts at the Fort.

Peace did not return for long on the Niagara following the 1763 signing of the Treaty of Paris officially ending the war between France and Great Britain. Incensed by the British failure to abandon captured French posts and their refusal to fulfill other promises made during the fighting, Indian warriors rose up against British garrisons throughout the Upper Great Lakes in a series of attacks known as Pontiac's War. Within a few months, Indians captured and destroyed nearly every small British post on or near the Upper Great Lakes. Only Detroit, besieged by a large force of Indians, held out to the west of Niagara. The Niagara Portage soon became the only link capable of supplying the besieged post.

On September 14, 1763 Indian warriors intent upon disrupting the westward supply line annihilated most of a British wagon train passing at Devil's Hole on the Portage path just north of the Lower Landing. Members of two companies who were at Fort Demler while in transit to Detroit were shot down as they rushed north to help their embattled comrades. Two months later, Indian warriors mounting a direct attack upon Fort Demler, managed to kill half of its garrison before troops from Fort Niagara could come to the beleaguered post's aid (Dunnigan 1986b:216-17). Despite this and other attempts, the garrison held out, and Fort Niagara never fell under a direct attack.

A young lieutenant of engineers named John Montressor arrived at Niagara with orders to oversee construction of new works along the Niagara Portage. Traveling to the Lower Landing in May of 1764, he oversaw the building of a mechanical cradle carrying device for moving goods up and down the gully (Montressor in Scull 1882:258-59). His journal reveals that by the 24th of May he had 656 "Canadian

Provencials, Indians Teamsters, and Artificers" involved in fortifying the forts at both Landings, constructing the cradles at the Lower Landing, building redoubts along the portage path, and building a log wharf at the base of the gully (Montressor in Scull 1882:258-61). Montressor ordered the mounting of cannon in strategic places, placing one above the Lower Landing in a small redoubt christened the "Post of Mount Pleasant." Supplies and men en route to the Ohio Valley were constantly moving through the portage, and Montressor arranged for the storage of provisions sufficient to support a small garrison for a year and a half (Montressor in Scull 1882:263).

Representatives from several Western Indian nations traveled across the Portage to discuss peace while Montressor's men were working along the Niagara River (Figure 3). Demoralized by failures to capture Detroit and the Niagara Portage, and in need of ammunition, clothing, and other goods only available from British traders, they joined Iroquois and other Eastern Indian communities at a series of peace treaties held at Niagara between May and August, 1764 (Montressor in Scull 1882:258-75). Separate treaties were made with each tribe. As part of their reparations for participating in the war against the British, Senecas claiming the area by right of conquest were forced to cede land on both sides of the Niagara River (O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-87[7]:642-53).

No longer needing to worry about attacks on their flanks and rear, British forces under the command of Colonel John Bradstreet safely passed through the Lower Landing and Portage path unmolested to raise the siege at Detroit. Calling in the remaining belligerent chiefs, he compelled them to make peace on August 12, 1764. With the coming of peace, the British withdrew the garrisons at both ends of the portage path in 1766. The two upper sections of the mechanical cradle also were abandoned; the lowest section extending down the gully, however, remained in use. That same year, Francis Pfister and John Stedman secured a commission giving them sole control of commercial operations along the portage. Fort Demler burned to the ground in 1767. Pfister and Stedman continued to use Fort Schlosser as a terminal for goods crossing the portage in either direction. In 1773 John Stedman acquired Pfister's interest and continued to run portage operations until 1781 when he turned it over to his brother, Philip Stedman, Sr. Philip later relinquished the operations to his son, Philip, Jr. (Dunnigan 1986b:221).

New developments farther east ensured that the strategically located Lower Landing did not remain unfortified for long. In the mid-1770s, as tensions grew between Great Britain and her American colonies, the Lower Landing was again guarded by troops from Fort Niagara. As in earlier conflicts, traffic of men and supplies passing through the portage quickly increased, The exact number of structures standing at the locale during this period is not known. However, a large storehouse was noted there in 1771, and the wharf and the lower part of the mechanical "cradles" were maintained. As Dunnigan notes:

> The Lower Landing was a busy place in the 1780's. The comings and goings of military convoys, traders, and people of the Six Nations of the Iroquois were constant. Watching over the scene was a sergeant's detachment of soldiers assigned from the garrison of Fort Niagara. In 1787 British Captain John Enys mentioned this detachment and a perquisite granted to its commander. Enys recorded that `the Serjeant who has the charge of [the Lower Landing was] permitted to keep a small public house' [Dunnigan 1985].

Niagara and its outposts became bases for raids against rebel settlements during the War for Independence. Fort Niagara became a headquarters for Loyalist Rangers led by John Butler and Indian allies under the command of Joseph Brant, a Mohawk leader holding a captain's commission in the British army. Both leaders found numerous recruits among Loyalist colonists and Indians forced to move to Niagara from homes farther east. The pool of potential recruits soared after more than 2,000 Iroquois took refuge at Niagara from American armies converging on their towns during the summer of 1779. Many of these refugees took shelter in tents, huts, caves, and even in shallow depressions in and around Fort Niagara, along the Portage path, and in the Niagara Gorge area. By the summer of 1782, a group of Mohawks and other Indians supporting the British established a community near the Lower Landing. Committed to retaking their homeland, many used their settlement and the Fort as a base of operations against the Americans until the war ended in British defeat in 1783.

Although claimed by the Americans, Niagara was one of the forts that remained in British hands for thirteen years after the end of the war. This period from 1783-96, known as the "Holdover Era," saw traffic continuing to access the portage through the gully at the Lower Landing. People and commerce moved between Detroit, Michilimackinac, and the St. Lawrence Valley. Many Loyalist families crossed from the Lower Landing to a new life in Upper Canada, and Indian allies of the British either moved across to the Grand River Valley to what became the Six Nations Reserve or settled within Indian communities in Western New York. As masses of Loyalists were leaving, British, Indian and U.S. delegations traveled through the portage to and from meetings held at Montreal, Albany, Buffalo Creek, and elsewhere where important issues such as boundary lines, the future of the Indians, and restitution for property damages were discussed.

A map drafted by Gother Mann in 1788 shows five buildings at the Lower Landing; two on the northern side of the gully and three to its south. About this time, Loyalist British soldiers began to improve an existing rough trail on the western banks of the river linking newly established communities at Queenston and Chippawa. By 1789 Loyalist merchants were using this trail on the western banks of the river to transport commercial goods around Niagara Falls even though it was three miles longer than the old one along the eastern banks (Siebel 1990).

A 1790 description of the old Lower Landing on the eastern banks notes "a dock, the base of the tramway, a few log huts belonging to the Mohawks, and one log tavern". It was at this time that Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, formally established a ferry crossing between the Lower Landing and Queenston. In 1791 a partnership of Robert Hamilton and others replaced Philip Stedman, Jr. as the designated portage contractors for the British government. The new roadway along the western banks also became the official British portage route at this time (Wilson 1983:69). British troops and private merchants soon established storage buildings along the new route at Queenston, Chippawa, and Fort Erie.

Indians continued to maintain a noticeable presence along the Niagara River. Many continued to travel along the Portage path. Nearby Tuscaroras continued to fish in the river, especially during nights when they speared fish from canoes by the light of torches (Simcoe in Innes 1983:111). The Governor's wife often noted in her journals that the Lower Landing was a hub of activity as Indians crossed over to ceremonies at Navy Hall, Fort George, or the outskirts of the town of Newark (present-day Niagara-on-the-Lake).

The Lower Landing gradually shrank in importance from a strategic entrepot into a local ferry terminus as the western side of the Niagara developed. A ferry house was built at the Lower Landing some time before the summer of 1793 when the governor and his wife crossed over to it from Queenston and breakfasted in an arbor covered by wild vines. They spent the morning on the site and on Mount Pleasant above the Lower Landing, and in the afternoon read books and wrote entries in their journals and diaries in the quiet seclusion of the vine-covered arbor (Simcoe in Innes 1983:100).

Only a small wharf and a single building, evidently the ferry house, appears at the Lower Landing on a 1796 map drafted the year the British finally surrendered Fort Niagara and the eastern bank of the Niagara to the Americans. A firm named Porter, Barton, and Company took over the operations of the eastern portage, but evidently did little building on the site. New settlers flooding into the region passed through without stopping. Only an American army veteran named Lemuel Cooke settled there, building a small cabin near the site of Joncaire's post about 1802.

In 1808, Porter, Bat-ton, and Company moved their primary docking facilities from the base of the gully at the Lower Landing to the foot of present-day Center Street in the village of Lewiston. From that time to the present, the new docking area has been called the "Landing," "East Landing," or the "Lower Landing," a fact that sometimes makes historical records of the early nineteenth century difficult to interpret.

Docking areas at both quickly became hubs of military activity when war with Great Britain again broke out in 1812. American Major General Stephen van Rensselaer used the high embankments near the gully for artillery emplacements supporting his unsuccessful attack on British troops across the river on the steep embankments of Queenston Heights on October 13, 1812. The British commander, Major General Isaac Brock, was killed during the engagement. Regarded as a gallant soldier by both sides, his memory is honored with a tall monument that can be seen today from the old and new Lower Landing sites.

Briefly taking and holding Fort George, the Americans burned it and the nearby town of Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) before withdrawing back across the Niagara River. On December 18, 1813, in retaliation for this needless destruction, the British crossed the Niagara down river from the Lower Landing, took Fort Niagara, and then proceeded to burn American settlements throughout the area. All structures near the gully, at the new docking areas, and in the Village of Lewiston evidently were destroyed.

The British once again controlled the eastern portage as they held Fort Niagara until the war ended in 1815. After the war, shipping resumed from the docks in the village. The ferry to Queenston again operated from the old Lower Landing. The Lewiston area became a popular gateway for tourists traveling to see the Falls after steamers began sailing on Lake Ontario in 1816. Local entrepreneurs operated limestone and sandstone quarries at the Landing where the British had previously taken stones for Fort Niagara.

An act of the New York State Legislature permitted subdivision of the Lower Landing in 1828. Private individuals began buying lots at the locale shortly thereafter. One of these people, a man named Seymour Scovell, erected a mansion, green house, coach house, and formal gardens on one of these lots high on the hilly knoll above where the Hopewell Mound still holds the remains of earlier residents or visitors. The quiet of his homestead was broken in 1837 when the horse-drawn train from Lockport started to roll past the front of his porch along what is now Tuscarora Street. Other railroads gradually cut across various sections of the Lower Landing area. One of these, the Great Gorge trolley line, crossed the gully as it wended its way along the river. This route remained a major tourist attraction until closed by a rock slide in 1935.

President William McKinley spent the morning of his last day in 1901 enjoying the spectacular views of the Niagara Gorge along this route. Just hours before he was shot in Buffalo, he had left the train near the gully where the trains daily embarked and disembarked passengers. There he was welcomed by crowds who had waited eagerly for his arrival.

An iron cable suspension bridge, considered at the time to be the longest in the world, was completed over the Niagara Gorge in 1851. Collapsing into the river in 1864, it was replaced by a second suspension span in 1899. The supporting towers for the cables of the second bridge were built around those of the first bridge. These stand today as part of Owen Morrel's sculpture, "Omega." In 1962 the second suspension bridge was replaced by the present steel arch structure slightly upriver. Some pieces of the old bridge approaches have been incorporated in the modern park roadway systems. Others survive as patches of overgrown asphalt in park lawns and woodlands.

The gully is said to have been used as a pathway to freedom in Canada for African-Americans escaping slavery. Local residents tell of family tales recounting the silent movement of Blacks along the secret Underground Railroad from the south across the river at this spot. Long neglected by historians, this aspect of Lower Landing history is only now being examined. In a less secret manner the gully later served as an entry point for rum-runners bringing in illegal liquor during the Prohibition Era.

Manufacturing concerns began constructing production facilities at the Lower Landing as electric power generated at Niagara Falls began to attract industry to the region during the first decades of the twentieth century. The evolution of the industrial use of the Lower Landing can be seen in the text, illustrations, and maps published in An Archaeological Survey of Artpark and the Lower Landing Lewiston, New York (S. Scott et al. 1993). The first of these enterprises, the Porter Fibre Bottle Works, was constructed at the Lower Landing in 1907 on the same level but slightly north of where Fort Demler had once stood. The plant did not prosper and was sold to the Child's Electric Wind Turbine Company of Rochester in 1911. Another firm, the Riverside Paper and Pulp Company, tried to operate the plant, but it too was forced to shut down in 1919. Left vacant after its acquisition by the Niagara Falls Power Company, the plant burned down on July 4, 1929.

The village of Lewiston began operating a waterworks at the base of the gully in 1916. The Chateau Gay Winery Company opened for business in 1933 just east of where the bottle plant had been located and closer to where Fort Demler once stood. Four years later both the waterworks at the mouth of the gully and the quarry were officially closed. The quarry was acquired in 1944 by the Stauffer Chemical Company, who used it to dump a variety of industrial waste products. Despite this fact, local residents built and occupied several private homes at the locale. A small number of modest tourist cabins were also operated as the Bunjo Motel at the site during the early 1950s. Much of the locale lay vacant and overgrown with weeds and small trees by this time. Lewiston residents as well as those living on the site regarded it as an informal park and used the gully as an access to favored fishing spots.

The tranquil but polluted setting became a hub of activity again in 1958 when trucks began rumbling over roadways built over deserted railroad beds. Rolling continuously until 1961, the trucks carried rock and spoil dredged and blasted from the site of the Niagara Falls Power Plant construction just upriver. It took 800,000 round-trips to dump more than 9.5 million cubic yards of rock and dirt into a vast 120-acre tumulus know as the "Spoil Pile." In the process, the historic "Three Mountains" was transformed into a lunar industrial landscape.

Only the protests of local citizens saved the site of Joncaire's Trading Post and other areas of the Lower Landing from being buried beneath untold tons of rock and dirt of the "Spoil Pile." In 1961, spurred on by local preservationists, the New York Power Authority cooperated with the State of New York to designate land saved from burial as Lewiston State Park. Shortly thereafter, the winery and the Oak Hill mansion burned, and several small residences were purchased and then razed or moved. In 1970 the Bunjo Motel cabins were loaded onto flatbed trucks and trundled to their present day location near the foot of Center Street.

Original park development plans called for erection of historical markers, historical building reconstructions, a museum, and historical pageants. These projects were shelved in favor of construction of a theater complex and, later, a studio for the arts at the locale. Under the sponsorship of Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, and with the strong support of State Senator Earl W. Brydges, the State of New York opened the theater in 1974. This theater was built on the south side of the gully just north of the old quarry area. A section of old Bridge Street parallels the river side of this theater complex that includes a raised lawn seating area and an open grassy amphitheater abutting onto and over the filled quarry. An elevated shelter built to shield outdoor artists demonstrations, known as the ArtEl, as has been built atop the old quarry. This wooden structure connects the brick theater to the top of the spoil pile, a flat expanse now used both as a landscaped recreation area and as the site of Parking Lots A and B. The first rise of the "Three Mountains" is now an open picnic area and the site of Parking Lot D. Parking Lot C is located upon a section of the old second tier.

Archaeological Resources

The Lower Landing is now known as Earl W. Brydges Artpark (Figure 2). Artpark has long been a place recognized for its historical significance and archaeological resources. Scattered chert debitage can still be seen in open areas at the top of the gully. Projectile points and other objects items also continue to wash out along the steep cut of the gully after hard rains. Points recovered from this area and other parts of the Lower Landing range in date from Archaic through Late Woodland types and even include triangular metal examples typical of the Historic Contact period.

The upper section of the gully was filled during the construction of the Artpark theater. Water that formerly flowed through this section was channeled into an underground drain. A system of grated storm sewers empty rain water into this drain. The original route of the gully can be followed along these grated openings around the northern side of Artpark's theater and across Parking Lot C to a landscaped area covering a natural spring (Figure 3). The spoil pile today covers those portions of the escarpment lying directly above the gully.

The top of the gully now opens onto what was the first tier of the "Three Mountains." The British built Fort Demler on its north side. This part of the gully is now on the river side of Artpark's Information Center and Parking Lot D. The area, now known as the Portage Site, was investigated by Richard McCarthy and members of the Ondiara Archaeological Society in the late 1950s. McCarthy recorded that fourteen stratified test units and a trench unit were carefully excavated at the site (McCarthy 1961). The excavators concluded that the trench was related to Fort Demler and the stratified finds in the various test units represent Indian, French, British, and American occupations. Stratified deposits exposed by test

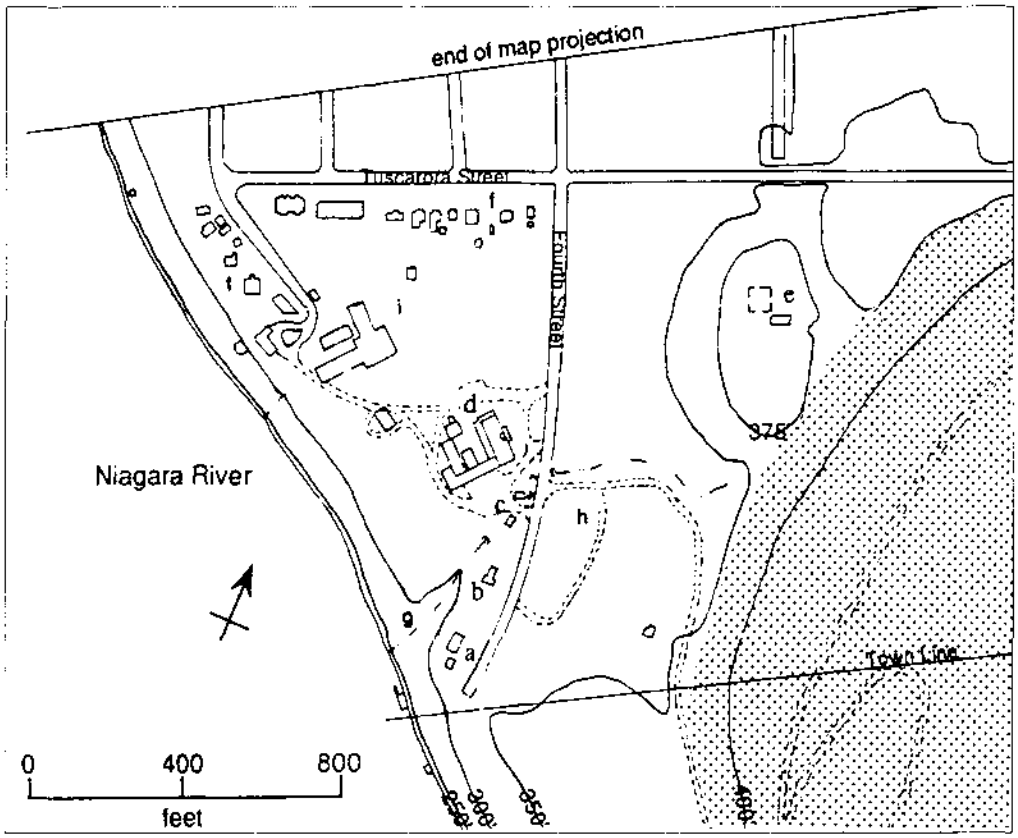


Figure 2. A composite map of the area of the Lower Landing NHL showing the locations of former private homes (a-b); storage building (c); winery (d); Scovell Mansion (e); and bottle factory. The extant historic gully is shown as (g), and the area of existing private homes not included in the landmark is shown as (f). The dotted area represents the approximate location of the "Spoil Pile." The Lower Landing NHL encompasses the land west and northwest of the "Spoil Pile" from approximately the Town Line to Tuscarora Street, excluding the area of private homes along Tuscarora and the far northwestern corner. Graphics by Christopher J. Hughes and Patricia Kay Scott adapted from a 1913 U.S. Geological Survey Map and a map by Krehbiel, Guay; Rugg, and Hall drawn c. 1960.

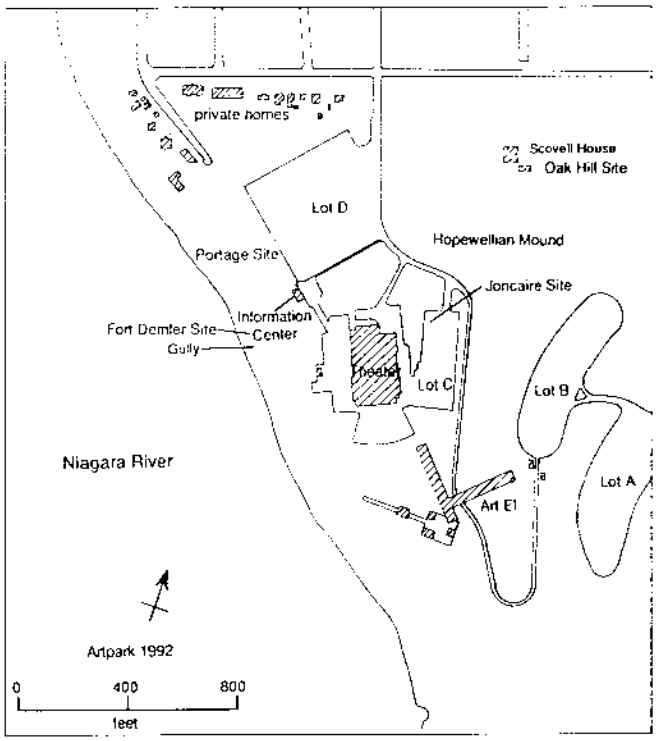


Figure 3. The major structures and parking areas of Artpark as it is today show in the locations of the gully, Fort Demler, Portage Site, Joncaire Site, Hopewell Mound, and the Scovell Mansion known as the Oak Hill Site. Graphics by Christopher J. Hughes adapted from a 1991 "Map of Existing Conditions," by Sasaki Associates.

unit excavations revealed an upper layer of very hard, stone-like soil containing numerous artifacts dating to the early American occupation. The second layer contained British military buttons, eighteenth-century coins, and other artifacts intermingled with Indian lithics, ceramics, and trade goods. This stratum was underlain by a layer of ash and charcoal containing French and Indian artifacts. Indian pottery, projectile points, flint knives, and other prehistoric materials were found in the lowest levels of the test units. Some of these latter materials were recovered from deep pits cut into hard clayey subsoils.

The projectile points, other chipped stone material, and the pottery sherds from the Portage Site excavations were examined and classified by Alfred K. Guthe of the Rochester Museum of Science. Copies of Guthe's detailed report, intended for publication by the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, but never put into print, were acquired by McCarthy. McCarthy, in turn, passed one of his copies to the authors of this article, who utilized it in their report on the Lower Landing (S. Scott et al. 1993). Guthe's findings clearly show that the gully and the Lower Landing were occupied during Archaic and Woodland times.

A small portion of the area of the Portage Site was disturbed by the construction of the winery. Excavations conducted during the construction of the Information Center in 1981, however, affirmed that extensive intact deposits are preserved in the area. Archaeological testing conducted by the authors of this article initially failed to reveal cultural material. However, as construction started it became apparent that the very hard rock-like layer that had been considered bedrock was in reality compacted sandstone, perhaps part of the old railroad and roadways in the area. Artifacts from all phases of the site's history were found to lie in intact stratified deposits beneath this layer. Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973 (Rennenkampf 1973a), the Portage Site is a contributing property within the Lower Landing District National Historic Landmark.

An earthen mound dating to Middle Woodland times lies north of the gully and east of Parking Lot D in a wooded section of Artpark. This mound was first excavated by British soldiers in the 1790s, then examined several other times by early local historians and avocational archaeologists. The last of these amateur explorations was conducted by McCarthy and the Ondiara Archaeological Society in 1962. New York State Archaeologist William A. Ritchie visited McCarthy's excavations. Using a sample obtained from the site to radiocarbon date the locale to A.D. 160 ±80, Ritchie suggested that the site, known as the Lewiston Mound, represented a local Middle Woodland cultural development in which Early Point Peninsula residents of the Niagara area adopted Hopewellian traditions originating farther west in the Ohio Valley (Ritchie 1969:216-20). The question remains as to whether the cultural traits that led to the mound's construction came from a diffusion of Hopewellian religious and social ideas out of the Ohio area, from a penetration of people into western New York, or from a combination of these factors. Soil was added to protect the mound during the 1973 construction of Artpark. Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973 (Rennenkampf 1973b), the Lewiston Mound is not a contributing property within the Lower Landing District National Historic Landmark.

On the hilltop beyond the mound is another non-contributing site in the Lower Landing District NHL. High on the top of the tree-covered hill are stone garden walls, foundations, and refuse deposits from the nineteenth-century Scovell mansion known as "Oak Hill." Paul R. Huey, from the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation conducted excavations around Oak Hill during the development of Artpark and collected a representative sample of artifacts from the site (Huey and Paul 1974). More recently, after evidence of pot hunting was discovered, Paul Nasca and Christopher Hughes were given permission by the State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation to salvage artifacts left by the looters (S. Scott et al. 1993). The resulting collection represents a type assemblage of eigh-

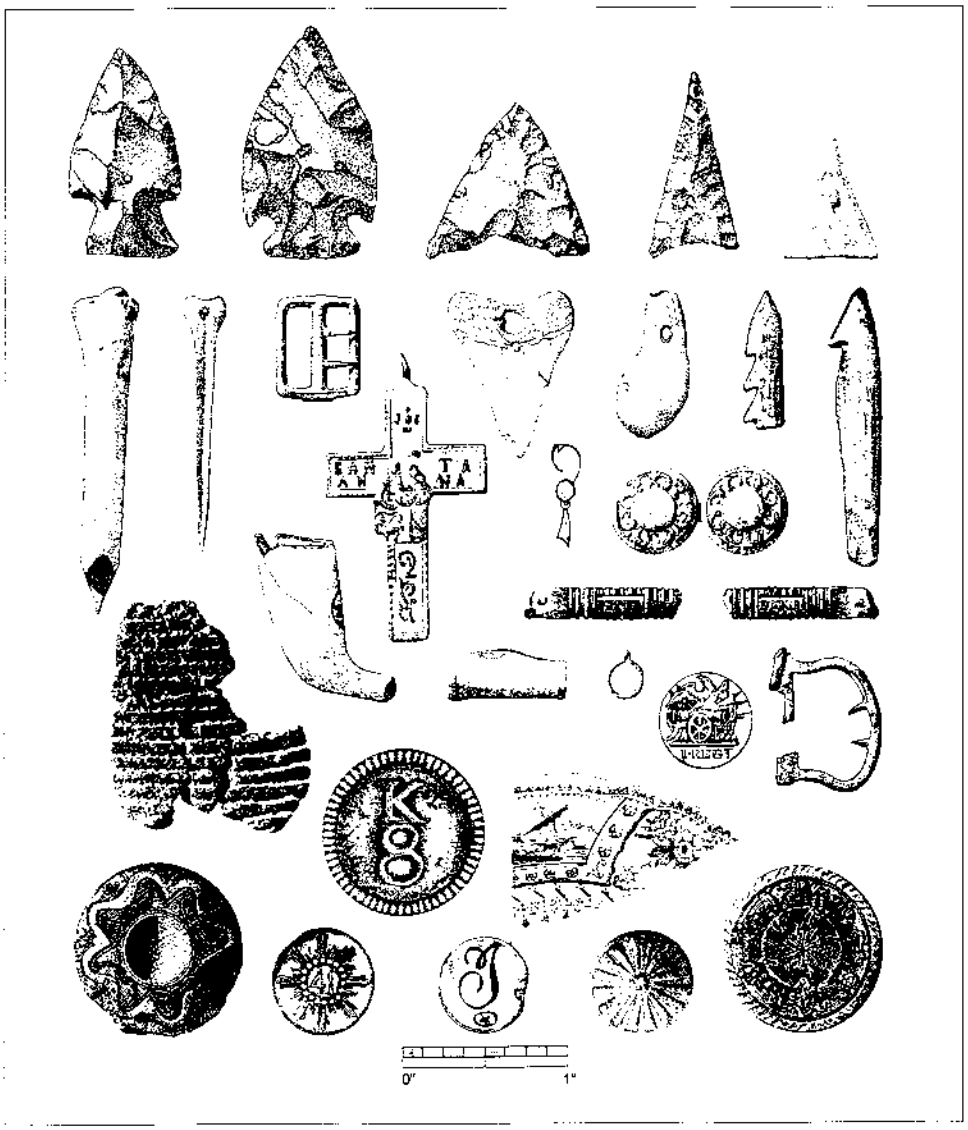


Figure 4. Artifacts from the Lower Landing NHL range from Archaic projectile points to nineteenth-century transfer printed ceramics. Drawings by Christopher J. Hughes, Marbud Prozeller, Sue Quinby, and Frank Tucci based on artifact collected at Artpark and military buttons from the Fort Niagara collection.

teenth- and early nineteenth-century ceramics and glasswares. It is presently curated at Old Fort Niagara.

Joncaire's site is under the northwestern part of Parking Lot C in an area once covered with the bark homes of Indian people. This site, a key contributing property within the Lower Landing District NHL, was located and named in 1956 when the owner of the Bunjo Motel uncovered artifacts while grading the area behind the cabins for a parking lot. McCarthy, a local avocational archaeologist named Harry Havens, and Clarence O. Lewis, who was then the Niagara County Historian, and others were called to salvage artifacts disturbed by the 500 sq-ft grading operation (S. Scott et al. 1993:8). An adjacent ungraded 1,500 sq-ft area subsequently cleared by these investigators exposed dark soil stains identified as postmolds, pits, and hearth features intruding into a tan intact clay subsurface stratum. Late Woodland stone tools and pottery were found with Chinese porcelains and European earthenwares, redwares, and stonewares in many of these features. Decorated metal buttons, white clay tobacco smoking pipes, a cross, cuff-links and earrings dating to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as well as earlier and later artifacts, were also found (Figure 4).

The excavators determined that the features and artifacts were related to Joncaire's trading post and thus the area

behind the Bunjo Motel became known as the Joncaire Site. In the years when the "Spoil Pile" was being created it was feared that what is now Parking Lot C would be covered and that Joncaire's post as well as the complex around it where many Indians over many centuries had lived would be forgotten. The protests were so strong that the "Spoil Pile" was stopped at the edge of the area where Joncaire had his post. During the construction of Artpark, McCarthy and many other local residents again urged that the site be protected and left undisturbed so that its archaeological resources could be preserved and its history interpreted. Their efforts were successful; the State agreed to protect the site by covering it with Parking Lot C. The area excavated in the 1950s is at the northwestern corner of the lot.

Archaeological investigations at the Lower Landing are chronicled in contemporary newspaper accounts, in brief field notes and maps now in the possession of the authors, in Guthe's unpublished reports, in several small articles published by the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society (McCarthy 1957, 1961, and 1962), and in contract reports in the files of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (Huey and Paul 1974; S. Scott and P. Scott 1981). Artifacts from the excavation of the Hopewell Mound, the Portage Site, and the Joncaire Site are curated in the New York State Museum in Albany. Some of the Joncaire site material is also stored in local museums and in private collections.

Site Integrity and Present Appearance

As noted above, the Lower Landing Archaeological District is currently used as Artpark, a major state park and cultural center. Park grounds are carefully maintained. Lawn areas are periodically mowed and wooded areas are maintained as undeveloped open space. The Lewiston Mound is marked and preserved as an interpretive park facility. The park is patrolled by New York State Park Police and prominently recognized as an historically significant locale by local and regional preservationists. Looters searching for historic glass bottles have pot-hunted some portions of the non-contributing Oak Hill Mansion in recent years, but preservationists and the local police maintain a vigilant lookout for such offenders. Cultural resources contributing to the national significance of the Lower Landing Archaeological District are unobtrusively preserved beneath mown lawns, historic rail-beds, paved roadways, paths, and parking lots in areas where it would be difficult for looters to dig without being observed.

While small areas have been disturbed by the commercial uses previously described, excavations post-dating those uses in the area of the Portage Site, the Lewiston Mound, the Oak Hill Mansion, and the Joncaire Site show that there is the potential to find still more deposits within the boundaries of the 33.7 acre NHL District. As shown above, at least two of the archaeological resources, the Portage Site to the riverside of Parking Lot D and the Joncaire Site under Parking Lot C, possess stratified deposits dating to the Historic Contact period. The concerns of local residents prevented these sites from being buried under the Niagara Power Authority's "Spoil Pile" in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and their vigilance can be expected in the future. Development plans recently drawn up for Artpark acknowledge the presence of significant cultural resources within the park's boundaries and require surveys of archaeologically sensitive areas in the event of any expansion. The most recent Final Environmental Report for Artpark provides for consultation with the New York State Historic Preservation Officer if impacts associated with future facility construction require mitigation (Ballou 1991:126-27, 135).

Potential Contributing Properties to the Colonial Niagara District NHL

The French built Old Fort Niagara in 1726 to protect the Niagara River waterway, the Niagara Portage, and its Lower and Upper Landings. While the fort has been a National Historic Landmark since 1960, National Park System Advisory Board recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior in 1998 resulted in the creation of a Colonial Niagara Historic District consisting of Old Fort Niagara and the newly designated Lower Landing Archaeological District. Other archaeological properties may possess the potential to yield information of national significance to the history of the Niagara Region and the development of the United States and North America. Several of these are located along the Portage route. Among them are La Belle Famille Battlefield, located between the Lower Landing and Fort Niagara; Devil's Hole Battleground, located several miles to the south of the Lower Landing; and the sites of the Upper Landing, Little Niagara, and Fort Schlosser located in an industrial area slightly upriver from Niagara Falls. Other sites include the Van Son Farm Archaeological Site, a seventeenth-century Indian occupation on Grand Island (White 1968) and the Kienuka Archaeological Site, located six mi west of the Lower Landing on the Tuscarora Indian Reservation. These sites possess the potential to be included within the Colonial Niagara Historic District under the theme of the Contact Period pending further study, landowner consent, and the application and acceptance of an official nomination for National Historic Landmark status.

References Cited

Amherst, Sir Jeffery
1740-83 *Official Papers and Correspondence*. Library of Congress, Public Records Office: List of Indexes, War Office Records. World Microfilms Publications (WO 34). London, England.

Ballou, Robert C.
1991 *Final Master Plan and Final Environmental Impact Statement: Earl W. Brydges Artpark, Lewiston, New York*. Report prepared for Earl W. Brydges Artpark, Lewiston, New York and the State of New York Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford, New York by Sasaki Associates, Inc., Watertown, Massachusetts. Report on file, the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.

Benson, Adolph B., editor
1987 *Peter Kahn's Travels in North America, The English Version of 1770*. Dover Books, New York.

Biggar, Henry P., editor
1924 The Voyages of Jacques Cartier [1843]. *Publications of the Public Archives of Canada* 11. Ottawa. Ontario.

Charlevoix, Pierre F X.
1966 *Journal of a Voyage Made by Order of the French King through North America [1761]*. March of America Facsimile Series No. 36. University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan (originally published by R. and J. Dodsley, London, England).

Dunnigan, Brian Leigh
1985 Dependencies of Niagara; The Lower Landing. *Old Fort Niagara Now and Then* 35(3), 35(6), and 35(8). Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.
1986a *Siege - 1759: The Campaign Against Niagara.* Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.
1986b Portaging Niagara. *Inland Seas: Journal of the Great Lakes Historical Society* 42(3):177-223.

Galbreath, C. B.
1921 *Celeron's Journal of the Expedition of Celeron to the Ohio Country in 1749*. F. J. Heer Printing Co., Columbus, Ohio.

Grumet, Robert S.
1995 *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Huey, Paul R., and Rosemary Paul
1974 *The Historical and Archaeological Significance of the Scovell Site, a 19th- Century Mansion Site at Lewiston State Park, Lewiston, New York*. Report on file, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.

Innes, Mary Quayle, editor
1983 *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary*. Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, Ontario.

McCarthy, Richard L.
1957 Discovering Joncaire's Post: A Report on the "Dig." *The Niagara Frontier: Journal of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society* 3. Buffalo, New York.
1961 The Lewiston Portage Site. *The Niagara Frontier: Journal of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society* 8(1):8-12. Buffalo, New York.
1962 The Portage Site at Lewiston, New York: A Supplement to the Lewiston Portage Site. *The Niagara Frontier: Journal of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society* 9. Buffalo, New York.

O'Callaghan, Edmund B., and Berthold Fernow, editors
1853-87 *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York.* 15 vols. Weed, Parsons, Albany.

Pouchot, Pierre
1994 *Memoirs on The Late War in North America between France and England.* Translated by Michael Cardy; edited and annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan. Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., Youngstown, New York.

Rennenkampf, Lenore M.
1973a *The Lewiston Portage Landing Site.* National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Manuscript report on file, National Register Branch, National Park Service. Washington, D.C.
1973b *The Lewiston Mound.* National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Manuscript report on file, National Register Branch, National Park Service. Washington, D. C.

Ritchie, William A.
1969 *The Archaeology of New York State*. Revised edition. American Museum of Natural History Press, Garden City, New York.

Scott, Stuart D., and Patricia Kay Scott
1981 *Construction of Artpark Comfort Station Archaeological Testing.* Report and Supplemental Letter on file, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Waterford.

Scott, Stuart D., Patricia Kay Scott, and Robert S. Grumet
1997 *Lower Landing Archeological District*. National Historic Landmark Nomination Form. Report on file, National Register Program Office, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Scott, Stuart D., Patricia Kay Scott, Paul Matthew Nasca, Christopher J. Hughes, and David Mauzy
1993 *An Archaeological Survey of Artpark and the Lower Landing, Lewiston, New York*. The Edward Mellen Press, Lewiston, New York.

Scull, G. D., editor
1882 The Montressor Journals. *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1881*. New York.

Severance, Frank H.
1899 *The Paschal of the Great Prince: An Extract and Translation from Memoirs of the Chevalier de Tregay 1687-1688*. Niagara Historical Society, Lockport, New York.

1906 The Story of Joncaire, His Life and Times on the Niagara. *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 9:83-219.

1917 *An Old Frontier of France*. 2 vols. Dodd, Mead, and Company, New York.

Shedd, Charles F., Jr.
1958 *Old Fort Niagara*. National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings Inventory Form. Manuscript on file, History Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Siebel, George A.
1990 *The Niagara Portage Road: A History of the Portage on the West Bank of the Niagara River*. The City of Niagara Falls, Canada, Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Thwaites, Rueben Gold, editor
1903 A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, by Father Louis Hennepin [1698]. 2 vols. A. C. McClurg and Co., Chicago

White, Marian E.
1968 A Re-examination of the Historic Van Son Cemetery in Erie County, New York. *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences* 24:7-48.

Wilson, G.
1983 The *Enterprises of Robert Hamilton: A Study of Wealth and Influence in Early Upper Canada, 1776-1812*. Carleton University Press, Ottawa, Ontario.

Past and Present NYSAA Award Recipients

The Achievement Award

Charles M. Knoll (1958)
Louis A. Brennan (1960)
William A. Ritchie (1962)
Donald M. Lenig (1963)
Thomas Grassmann O.F.M. (1970)
Paul L. Weinman (1971)
Robert E. Funk (1977) (1994)
Peter P Pratt (1980)
Herbert C. Kraft (1989)

Fellows of the Association

Monte Bennett
James W Bradley
Louis A. Brennan
William S. Cornwell
Dolores N. Elliott
William E. Engelbrecht
Lois M. Feister
Stuart J. Fiedel
Charles L. Fisher
Robert E. Funk
Thomas Grassmann O.F.M.
Alfred K. Guthe
Gilbert W. Hagerty
Charles F. Hayes III
Franklin J. Hesse
Jack Holland
Richard E. Hosbach
Paul R. Huey
R. Arthur Johnson
Edward J. Kaeser
Herbert C. Kraft
Roy Latham
Lucianne Lavin
Donald M. Lenig
Edward J. Lenik
Julius Lopez
Ellis McDowell-Loudan
Richard L. McCarthy
James F. Pendergast
Peter P. Pratt
Robert Ricklis
William A. Ritchie
Bruce E. Rippeteau
Donald A. Rumrill
Bert Salwen
Lorraine P. Saunders
Harold Secor
Martha L. Sempowski
Dean R. Snow
David Starbuck
David W. Steadman
Audrey J. Sublett
James A. Tuck
Stanley G. Vanderlaan
Paul L. Weinman
Thomas P Weinman
Marian E. White
Theodore Whitney
Charles F. Wray
Gordon K. Wright

Certificate of Merit

Thomas Amorosi
Roger Ashton
Charles A. Bello
Monte Bennett
Daniel M. Barber
Malcolm Booth
James W Bradley
Ralph Brown
Art Carver
Gordon De Angelo
Elizabeth M. Dumont
Lewis Dumont
William F. Ehlers
Dolores N. Elliott
Garry A. Elliot
Lois M. Feister
John Ferguson
Robert E. Funk
Joan H. Geismar
Stanford J. Gibson
Gwyneth Gillette
Robert J. Gorall
R. Michael Gramly
George R. Hamell
Elaine Herold
Franklin J. Hesse
Richard E. Hosbach
Paul R. Huey
Dale Knapp
Albert D. La France
Kingston Larner
Edward J. Lenik
William D. Lipe
Adrian Mandzy
John H. McCashion
Ellis E. McDowell-Loudan
Dawn McMahon
Jay McMahon
Brian L. Nagel
Annette Nohe
Alton J. Parker
Marjorie K. Pratt
Peter P Pratt
Louis Raymond
Saul Ritterman
Lucy Sanders
William Sandy
Barbara Sciully
Harold Secor
Annette Silver
Mead Stapler
David W. Steadman
Marilyn C. Stewart
Tyree Tanner
Neal L. Trubowitz
Charles E. Vandrei
James P. Walsh
George R. Walters
Beth Wellman
Henry P. Wemple
Roberta Wingerson
Stanley H. Wisniewski