The Archaeology of 17th-Century New Netherland Since 1985: An Update

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In 1985, a number of goals and research questions were proposed in relation to the archaeology of pre-1664 sites in the Dutch colony of New Netherland. Significant Dutch sites were subsequently excavated in Albany, Kingston, and other places from 1986 through 1988, while a series of useful publications continued to be produced after 1988. Excavations at historic period Indian sites also continued after 1988. Excavations in 17th-century sites from Maine to Maryland have revealed extensive trade contacts with New Netherland and the Dutch, while the Jamestown excavations have indicated the influence of the Dutch in the early history of Virginia. In 1996, after a nine-year period of minimal archaeological activity in Albany, the controversial Dormitory Authority project suddenly attracted widespread attention. Excavations in other parts of Albany followed, and other pre-1664 features, including a brickyard site, were uncovered. An important discovery in New York City was the evidence of the windmill that was standing on Governors Island in 1639. Further excavations at 17th-century sites have occurred in Kingston and on Shelter Island.


Introduction

The Colonial Dutch Studies Symposium held at New York on March 2, 1985, was a landmark conference that served not only as a review of previous research but also helped focus directions for future research on the Dutch presence in 17th-century North America. Archaeology is correctly a part of the interdisciplinary approach to the study of New Netherland, for archaeological sites especially have the potential to continue to provide new information and insight available from no other sources. At the same time, important archaeological sites, the primary sources of
archaeological research, are continually threatened with destruction due to new development. New Netherland, which existed until it was taken by the English in 1664, occupied the area between New England and Maryland, from the Connecticut to the Delaware Rivers, and this area is today probably the most heavily and extensively developed area of North America. An archaeological site from the New Netherland period that is bulldozed and destroyed without first being carefully excavated and recorded by historical archaeologists is like a volume of 17th-century Dutch documents that is burned without first being transcribed and translated, and much has already been irretrievably lost.

Among the goals and research questions outlined in 1985 relating to the pre-1664 Dutch in New Netherland was the need for continuing refinement of artifact typologies and dating, and much has been accomplished in this, especially by archaeologists in the Netherlands. Other goals in 1985 included the study of ethnic origins and differences in New Netherland, establishing further insights into the nature of trade contacts between the Indians and the Dutch, analyzing the transition from pre-1664 Dutch material to English merchandise, tracing the extent of Dutch trade and influence into New England and into Maryland and Virginia, interpreting differences, if any, between urban and rural sites, and identifying any evidence of the production of manufactured goods or other such economic diversification beyond the fur trade for domestic purposes (Huey 1988a: 67–70). There have been many gains as well as losses since 1985 in pursuing these goals. One of the greatest losses, however, occurred in December 1988 with the death of Bert Salwen, of New York University. He was a participant in the 1985 Symposium, and he was a leading light in the development of historical archaeology in the Northeast.

The Archaeology of New Netherland from 1985 Through 1991

Some significant discoveries and new insights from urban sites, contact Indian sites, and underwater wreck sites occurred soon after 1985. The City of Albany celebrated its Tercentennial in 1986, and, appropriately, during that year major archaeological excavations occurred at a 300–year–old site in Albany. Excavations at the future site of the new Key Bank building revealed remains of a 17th-century structure that had stood along the south side of the Rutten Kill in Beverwyck, the town that was later renamed Albany. It was a house built probably as early as 1647 by Volkert Jansen Douw, a wealthy trader and land speculator. It thus predated the establishment of the town of Beverwyck by Director-General Peter Stuyvesant in 1652, but it was included within the walls of the town. The house was rebuilt or remodeled in 1685 by the Dutch Reformed Church of Albany and became the city’s new almshouse, owned and operated by the Reformed Church. The excavations revealed stone cellar walls and wooden floors at two levels. In one area, a series of soil strata beginning about 1685, separated each by layers of successively later wooden floor boards, provided a unique record of cultural change into the early 18th century. Dutch clay tobacco pipes and other goods clearly continued to be imported and consumed long after 1664, while in the 1680s English ceramics, both utility wares and finer types, began arriving in great quantity. Of particular interest at this site is the extensive evidence of the making of wampum, raising the question whether this almshouse may also have functioned as a workhouse. It also appears that the almshouse soon came to serve more the needs of friendly Indians distressed by warfare on the frontiers than those of the Albany poor, who were diminishing in number (Huey 1991: 335–345).

Meanwhile, excavations also occurred directly to the south of the almshouse site and across Beaver Street. Here, at the site of a new parking garage, were found burials remaining from the original Dutch Reformed Church burial ground, mentioned as early as 1684 and probably dating much earlier. Wood coffins and burials were found stacked one on another, in tiers. Archaeologists carefully excavated a number of burials and retrieved the remains. Unfortunately a complete report on the remains apparently has never been prepared to document from them important information about health, diet, and ethnicity.
Figure 1: Delftware (faience) plate of about 1650-1675 excavated in Dordrecht with a sherd of a similar plate excavated in Albany from the lot once occupied by Teunis Teunissen, a mason, between 1659 and 1679. The plate measures 8.125 in (20.6 cm) in diameter (private collection).

Preliminary results of an analysis of one skeleton indicates, for example, that it is from a male aged about 50 who was a heavy, stout, extremely muscular manual laborer. Tooth wear indicates he smoked a pipe, and during childhood he suffered from a nutritional deficiency (Haddad 1987).

Other archaeological work soon followed in Albany during 1987. Testing at 104 State Street, on the south side of the street above Pearl Street, revealed a 17th-century trash deposit extending to a depth of 6 ft (1.8 m) and including tobacco pipes, pane tile fragments, ceramics, glass, and other material. It is believed the lot may have been owned by Myndert Harmensen van den Bogart, a gun-stock maker and trader, in 1674. The developer of the lot, however, cancelled plans for construction before further discoveries could be made (Bouchard 1987).

On the west side of Broadway in Albany between Steuben Street and Maiden Lane excavations also occurred in 1987 prior to the construction of a new office building at 540 Broadway. This area, just within the north stockade wall, included lots owned by shoemakers, wheelwrights, master carpenters, masons, rope makers, and other craftsmen in the 17th century (Collamer & Associates, Inc. 1988). The initial excavations were inconclusive; artifacts from the area included interesting ceramics, and further testing probably should have occurred. One sherd of a Dutch faience plate typical of the period 1650 to 1675, for example, was decorated with the drawing of a pear and perhaps other fruit. The fragment is from a plate that was almost identical to one from the same period that was excavated in Dordrecht in the Netherlands (Fig 1). It was found in a stratigraphically mixed deposit in a lot owned in 1876 by Martin L. Cutler.

The history of this lot, and identification of the owner in whose house this faience plate might once have been used, serves as an excellent example of how it is essential to use not only deeds but also genealogy and court records as research tools in tracing the history of property in colonial New York and New Netherland. From Martin Cutler the history of the lot can be traced back with deeds through a series of owners to Richard Knowlson, who was born in England in 1797. He acquired the property though his marriage in 1822, his father-in-law having acquired the property in 1804 from three individuals. Until 1802 the lot was owned by Dirck ten Broeck, a son of Abraham ten Broeck who was a mayor of Albany during the Revolution and in the 1790s. Abraham ten Broeck evidently inherited the property from his father Dirck, who was mayor of Albany in the 1740s. Dirck was a son of Wessel ten Broeck, a baker, who married Caatje Loockermans in 1684. She was the heiress of Jacob Loockermans, who had acquired the lot from Laurence van Alen and Jan Jansen Bleecker about the time of his daughter's marriage. Van Alen and Bleecker acquired the lot in 1680 from Paulus Martensen van Benthuysen, a wheelwright, and Van Benthuysen purchased the house and lot in 1679 from Teunis Teunissen de Metselaer, a mason from Loenen in the province of Utrecht. Van Benthuysen may have purchased the house as early as 1676 but had difficulty paying for it. (Pearson 1978: 109;
Egbertjen Egberts, Teunis Teunissen’s wife, had previously operated an inn in Beverwyck, and she may have continued her business on this lot. Teunissen had acquired the property in 1659 from Thomas Jansen Mingael, to whom the property had been conveyed by Gillis Pietersen, a carpenter. The original owner was a Scandinavian named Hage Bruyns, who was granted the lot in 1654. He had difficulty building his house because of a shortage of nails, but in April 1656 he was ordered to build on the lot within one month. Bruyns already had a house at New Amsterdam, just outside the wall north of Maiden Lane near the East River, on land he acquired there in 1653 (Venema 2003: 304; Munsell 1871: 260; Gehring 1990: 114, 232, 252; Stokes 1922: 159–160, 263). An office complex was subsequently constructed on the Albany site, and one entire block of the original town of Beverwyck of 1652 was lost to new construction without further archaeological work. Seven years later the owners were forced to convey it to a bank in lieu of foreclosure, and the archaeological collections now cannot be located.

North of the original town of Beverwyck and outside the first stockade, preliminary research and testing was conducted in 1987 on two blocks of land east of Broadway at the proposed Norstar Financial Center site. This area, located near the course of the Vosen Kill, or Third Kill, was an area of tanneries and a few residences. It is likely the tanning industries did not develop until the late 17th century, after 1664. Deeply buried strata along Broadway produced prehistoric Indian artifacts as well as trade items such as glass beads and fragments of leather and bark perhaps from the tanneries (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 1987). The Financial Center was not constructed, but further archaeological work has been done there. The next year, testing occurred directly across Broadway for a proposed development project at 602 Broadway, but no 17th-century material was recovered nor was there any evidence of the tanning industry (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 1988).

Following the excavations in Albany in 1986 and 1987, research at sites elsewhere continued to make significant contributions. In 1988 at Crailo State Historic Site, across the river from Albany, further evidence was recovered supporting the hypothesis that Jeremias van Rensselaer had built a new house at this site early in the 1660s. Ceramics of that period as well as a Pine Tree Shilling from New England were found, but in 1990 further discoveries provided additional evidence of an even earlier Dutch and Indian occupation of the site before 1650. Indian pits and hearths of the early 17th century had already been uncovered in front of the Crailo house in the 1970s. The new discoveries included a sherd of majolica from a plate identical to one dating between 1625 and 1650 excavated at Wormer in North Holland, for example. This is consistent with the tradition that Domine Megapolensis built his house there in 1642, as directed, and he in fact wrote of his contact with Indians in and around his home (Harrington 1988: 21; Huey 1996: 142–144).

The excavations and discoveries at Crailo and at another early site, Senate House State Historic Site in the stockade area of Kingston, were publicized and presented to the public in a special public archaeological interpretive initiative beginning in 1988 developed by the Archeology Unit of the New York State Bureau of Historic Sites. Dozens of visitors to those sites were given literature and special presentations about the on-going archaeological research and survey work. Kingston, located near the Hudson River about 50 miles (80 km) south of Albany, was originally the town of Wiltwyck established by Stuyvesant in 1658. In 1991 Joseph Sopko of the Archeology Unit completed a study of artifacts excavated from the Senate House property and concluded that the lot was probably the corner lot leased from 1660 to 1666 by Peter Stuyvesant to Juriaen Westphalen.

When Alice P. Kenney’s article on the status of studies of Hudson Valley Dutch material culture was published in Winterthur Portfolio early in 1985, relatively few reports on previous archaeological research had yet been published (Kenney 1985: 61). The completion of theses and dissertations relating to the archaeology of the 17th-century Dutch, the publication of books and articles, and new
exhibits have since provided essential means of communicating results to the public, however. The publication of the special New Netherland Studies issue of the Dutch KNOB journal in June 1985 made available for the first time much new information about archaeology, architecture, and material culture in both the Netherlands and North America in the 17th century. In 1987 a useful companion volume, New World Dutch Studies, was published by the Albany Institute of History and Art containing papers presented at a symposium in 1986. The results of analysis of Dutch ceramics previously excavated in New York City were published in 1985 in an article by Meta F. Janowitz, Kate T. Morgan, and Nan A. Rothschild, and they determined that Dutch ceramic forms in utility wares had continued to be made and used after the English took control in 1664. They also developed a ceramic typology using Dutch genre paintings (Janowitz, Morgan, and Rothschild 1985). In 1986 a permanent exhibit of artifacts from Fort Orange, from the Schuyler Flatts, and from other Dutch sites was installed at Crailo State Historic Site to interpret New World Dutch material culture. Charlotte Wilcoxen’s book Dutch Trade and Ceramics in America in the Seventeenth Century published in 1987 by the Albany Institute of History and Art has greatly raised the level of awareness among other archaeologists of the significance of Dutch ceramics. Inspired in part by the material excavated at Fort Orange and other sites, this book has had perhaps the greatest impact of any book in the field. Fully illustrated with color and black and white photographs, the book presented many examples of Dutch ceramics from Fort Orange and from other sites including Indian contact sites and sites in the Netherlands (Wilcoxen 1987). Significant new contributions from the Netherlands of direct importance to archaeologists in America also occurred, particularly with the Rotterdam Papers series published by the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam. In 1986 and 1991 the Museum through this series and other publications contributed important and useful references on Dutch ceramics and other types of utensils (Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1986; Ruempol and van Dongen 1991).

The doctoral dissertation on the Fort Orange excavations was completed in 1988 (Huey 1988b), and in the same year the papers from the 1985 Symposium at New York University were published in one volume (Nooter and Bonomi 1988). Other important books included Nan Rothschild’s work on New York City neighborhoods, published in 1990, which traced the development of New York City from the 17th century into the 18th century and included information from archaeology (Rothschild 1990). David G. Barnet at Syracuse University in his M.A. thesis in 1989 analyzed the geographical structure of English rule over New Netherland after 1664 using Donald W. Meinig’s “imperial expansion” model, outlining specific mechanisms and courses of change that occurred. He also outlined the significance of research in architecture in studying culture change, and he noted the great potential for using archaeology in the analysis of the changing urban geography of Albany after 1664 (Barnet 1989). Elizabeth Peña analyzed material excavated in 1986 at the Key Bank site in Albany and finished her doctoral dissertation in 1990 on the evidence of wampum making in New Netherland and colonial New York (Peña 1990). Interest in the almshouse site and the subject of poor relief in the 17th century resulted, meanwhile, in Janny Venema’s thesis on poor relief in Beverwyck and Albany (Venema 1990). The next year, the useful volume of selected Rensselaerswijk Seminar papers, including several on archaeology, was published (Zeller 1991). Also in 1991 Elizabeth Chilton at the University of Massachusetts completed her thesis on the excavation in 1939 and 1940 of a rockshelter on Magdalen Island in the Hudson River near Tivoli, Dutchess County. The rockshelter contained evidence of not only prehistoric Indian occupation but also a separate 17th-century Dutch presence (Chilton 1991).

Archaeological research in this period increasingly shed new light on questions about 17th-century New World Dutch architecture, while efforts to locate, identify, study, and preserve many endangered examples of Dutch buildings were expanded. A noteworthy achievement was the organization of the Dutch Barn Preservation Society in 1985,
with its incorporation in 1986. This Society publishes a newsletter and maintains active contact with historical architects in the Netherlands. Useful and important articles by Dutch and American scholars on architecture appeared in the book *New World Dutch Studies* in 1987, already mentioned, and in *Winterthur Portfolio* (Zink 1987). Other major contributions to the study of New World Dutch architecture and furnishings and their Old World precedents in 1988 and 1990 include works by Roderic H. Blackburn and Ruth Piwonka and by Kevin L. Stayton (Blackburn and Piwonka 1988; Stayton 1990).

There was also major progress in this period in research on 17th-century Indian contact sites elsewhere in New York State. Gilbert W. Hagerty published his book on 17th-century sites in the Mohawk valley in 1985 (Hagerty 1985). Early in 1986 Charles E. Vandrei of the Rochester Museum and Science Center completed a useful analysis and report on the Seneca Iroquois Bosley’s Mills site in Livingston County, New York, dating about 1610 to 1635. Majolica and other Dutch ceramics at this site made it the earliest Seneca site where such ceramics had appeared (Vandrei 1986). The Rochester Museum and Science Center at this time initiated major studies of shell beads and wampum as well as other research to analyze and interpret the extensive archaeological material in its collections from post-contact Seneca sites (Harrington 1986: 17; Harrington 1987: 22). The next year, the Museum and Science Center published some of the results of this research program with an excellent volume on the Seneca Adams and Culbertson sites, dating about 1560 to 1575 (Wray, Sempowski, Saunders, and Cervone 1987). Also in 1987 James W. Bradley published his very valuable study of the Onondaga Iroquois from 1500 through 1655, with a focus on how the Indians selectively adapted European trade materials into their own culture (Bradley 1987).

Meanwhile, the University at Albany, SUNY, under Dean R. Snow had conducted research on the historic period Mohawk Iroquois, with excavations in 1987 in the Mohawk valley west of Albany at the Englands Woods site of about 1595 to 1615. The next two years, Snow directed excavations at Cayadutta, an earlier Mohawk contact site dating about 1525 to 1550 (Snow 1995a). Other contributions from Rochester followed with a study in 1991 of the Seneca Cameron and Tram sites, dating about 1575 to 1610 (Wray, Sempowski, and Saunders 1991). In 1991 the Museum also began excavations at the mid-17th-century Seneca Powerhouse site, and at least one longhouse location was determined in 1992 (Harrington 1993: 14).

Elsewhere on the fringes of New Netherland, excavations increasingly identified evidence of the widespread influence of the Dutch. Dutch artifacts were identified among the material excavated from 17th-century French Fort Pentagouet at Castine, Maine, with a report on that site published in 1987 (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987). In 1986 at New Castle, Delaware, Louise and Edward Heite uncovered mid-17th-century Dutch majolica and other ceramics at the site of Fort Casimir, built by the Dutch in 1651 and captured by the Swedes in 1654 (Heite and Heite 1986; Heite and Heite 1989: 28), and in 1987 Dennis J. Pogue published the results of excavations at the site of Charles Calvert’s residence on the Patuxent River near Chesapeake Bay in Maryland from about 1665 to 1700. Here an abundance of Dutch yellow bricks, pan tiles, and ceramics were found in addition to English artifacts (Pogue 1987). Further surveys occurred in New Castle, Delaware, in 1988 in search of Dutch sites, and in 1989 Louis Berger & Associates, Inc., completed their report on excavations in 1988 at the Compton site of about 1651 to 1684 in Calvert County, Maryland (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1989; Wittkofski 1988: 22). The large numbers of Dutch artifacts at this site provided unprecedented evidence of the highly intense Dutch trade in Maryland during the mid 17th century. Dutch trade with the Susquehannock Indians of Pennsylvania, likewise, is amply demonstrated in Barry Kent’s book published in 1989. He illustrates, for example, a Westerwald stoneware jug dated 1630 from the Susquehannock Frey-Haverstick site. The jug is nearly identical to one found at a 17th-cen-
Figure 2. Blue-decorated gray salt-glazed Westerwald stoneware jug with three molded seals each with the Arms of Amsterdam and dated 1630 excavated from a privy in Amsterdam. It
is nearly identical to a jug excavated at the Susquehannock Frey-Haverstick site in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and to one excavated at a Narragansett Indian
cemetery in North Kingstown, Rhode Island. The jug is 8 in (20.3 cm) in height (private collection).

tury Narragansett Indian cemetery in North Kingstown, Rhode Island. Both jugs have seals with the Arms of Amsterdam and the date 1630, and they are nearly identical to one (FIG. 2) excavated from a privy in Amsterdam (Kent 1989: 258; Robinson, Kelley, and Rubertone 1985: 121; ).

The Archaeology of New Netherland
After 1991

In the period beginning with 1992, important progress continued in the study of sites representing Dutch and Indian contact or trade. Susan Mayer continued her analysis of artifacts excavated at Fort Ninigret in Rhode Island, a 17th-century Niantic site. It appears that most of the trade items from that site are of Dutch origin (Mayer 1992). Indeed, a piece of ornamental cast copper alloy ferrule found at Fort Ninigret and probably from a sword scabbard precisely matches an intact example (FIG. 3) from the wreck of the Batavia, a Dutch ship sunk in 1629 in far-off western Australia (Stanbury 1974: BAT3132). From 1992–1994 in western New York, excavations at two Iroquoian sites near Lake Erie dating probably from about 1610–1630 and from 1630–1650 produced glass trade beads and other trade items that are probably French as well as Dutch in origin (Gramly 1996). In 1993 excavations at the highly important Goldkrest site on Cuyper Island just below Albany produced evidence of European contact with the Mahican Indians in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Papers were presented on this site and on the history of Cuyper Island at a symposium in 1994 in honor of Robert E. Funk; at the same time an article was published on the potential for historic Mahican sites to be found along the river farther south at Schodack (Huey 1996; Huey 1992-1993; Lavin, Mozzi, Bouchard, and Hartgen 1996). A number of other important papers at the 1994 Symposium addressed issues and questions relating to the study of Indian sites of the contact period. Happily, three major publications resulted in 1995 and 1996 from the years of previous research on Indian trade contact. In 1995 Robert S. Grumet’s volume on historic contact appeared, and it is a thorough synthesis of work that has been done in the

Figure 3. Cast copper alloy ferrule possibly from a sword scabbard from the wreck of the Batavia, a Dutch ship sunk on the coast of western Australia in 1629. A fragment of an identical ferrule was excavated at the site of Fort Ninigret in Rhode Island, a Niantic Indian site of the 17th century (Stanbury 1974: BAT3132).
Northeast (Grumet 1995). The same year, Dean R. Snow’s two volumes on his Mohawk Iroquois research were published (Snow 1995a; Snow 1995b). Finally, the papers from the 1994 Symposium were published as Volume 12 of the Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology (Lindner and Curtin 1996).

In the Hudson Valley, the Fort Orange archaeological site in Albany was made a National Historic Landmark in 1993, giving that site recognition and protection (Huey 1995). At the same time, Meta F. Janowitz had continued her analysis of material previously excavated in New York City with a focus on the evidence of Dutch foodways. She found that while Dutch foodways were modified with the addition of locally available plants and animals, the basic methods of food preparation remained essentially unchanged and probably continued after 1664. Her article on this was published in 1993 (Janowitz 1993a). In Yonkers, New York, the Archeology Unit of the New York State Bureau of Historic Sites continued its research in 1994 at Philips Manor Hall State Historic Site, finding evidence of 17th-century construction including Dutch green-glazed floor tiles and mortar made with burned oyster shells. The Manor Hall was built by wealthy Frederick Philipsse possibly in 1682, perhaps as early as 1672, but it stands overlooking the now-buried channel of the Neperhan River, where Adriaen van der Donck “erected a saw-mill, and laid out a farm and plantation” between 1646 and 1652 (Hall 1912: 33, 62, 243, 245).

North of Albany, the historic Schuyler Flatts archaeological site became a National Historic Landmark in 1993 (Huey 1995). In 1995 the Town of Colonie acquired from the County of Albany an additional 9.3 acres of the original Flatts farm to add to the 2.5 acres the Town had acquired in the 1970s, thereby completing the Town’s ownership of a site believed to be that of the farmhouse built by Arent van Curler in 1643. Finally, the largest parcel of the remaining farm area, 22 acres, was acquired by the Open Space Institute in 1998, making it possible for the Town of Colonie to move forward with plans to make this remnant of a once much larger 17th-century Dutch farm into a historical and recreational park. The locations of the wood-lined cellar of 1643 and of the later Schuyler house have been marked, outlined, and interpreted based on the archaeological evidence (Grondahl 1999). Also near Albany, but across the Hudson River, in 1995 another early 17th-century farm site was identified, adding to the small but growing number of known Dutch farm sites that were a part of the Colonie of Rensselaerswyck. This site is the Teunis Dirckse van Vechten site, occupied perhaps from 1639 to 1680.

Urban archaeology in Albany suddenly became the focus of attention in 1996 with the plans to build a new headquarters for the New York State Dormitory Authority in the block east of Broadway between Maiden Lane and Steuben Street, a part of the original Beverwyck. The builder initially offered only a few days for minimal archaeological rescue excavations, but more time was allowed because of the successful legal intervention by professional archaeologists (Hartgen 1997). This excavation, covering an entire block of Dutch Beverwyck, produced numerous 17th-century Dutch artifacts. These include sherds of Westerwald blue and gray stoneware, fragments of stoneware Bellarmine jugs, yellow bricks, ox-head corner delft tiles, EB-marked bulbous pipe bowls made by Edward Bird of Amsterdam, heel-less elbow-type trade pipes, tubular and rounded glass trade beads, and conch and clam shell wampum-making debris. An exhibit is located in the lobby of the new State Dormitory Authority building on the site.

In May 1997, excavations in Schenectady revealed remains of a stockade line dating perhaps as early as 1664 and before 1690. In two test trenches on Front Street stockade remains were found at a depth between 1 and 2 ft (0.3 and 0.8 m) below the street surface and consisted of double rows of post molds. The posts had been set in trenches. In a third excavation colonial artifacts including a brass kettle fragment were also found (Hartgen Archaeological Associates, Inc. 1997).

Major excavations in Albany continued in 1998 with the work by Hartgen Archeological Associates in two blocks east of Broadway and outside the original north gate of the city (FIG. 4). This area, located near the original Vosen Kill, or Third Kill, was an area of late 17th-cen-
Figure 4. Excavation areas in Albany in part of the 625 Broadway site in 1998, in the block between Montgomery, Columbia, and Water Streets. The pile of scrap glass left by Juriaen Teunissen Tappen was found in Area 7, while the wooden cellar, once near the bank of the Hudson River, was found in Area 9 (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2002: 1.17).

tury tanneries and other early industries, and much of it had been protected under 19th-century railroad yards. Several interesting pre-1664 features were found, including brick walls and a large pile of broken crown window glass, some of which had once been set in leaded windows. This glass was on the large lot originally patented to Juriaen Teunissen Tappen, a glazier, on October 25, 1653. He sold parts or all of his property in 1657 and 1659 and apparently moved, so the glass scrap would probably date from this occupation period. This deposit consisted of more than 100 pounds (45 kilograms) of glass, and associated with it was a clay pipe with a Tudor Rose mark. A short distance away, close
to the original bank of the Hudson River, remains of a mid-17th-century wood-lined cellar were found associated with glass beads, Westerwald stoneware, a Dutch half duit dated 16--, EB-marked clay pipes, and pipe stems with fleur-de-lis marks. This was evidently part of the house of a Dutch trader, and there was evidence of later Indian occupation on the site after the cellar collapsed (Venema 2003: 462; Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2002: 3.4-3.19, 4.3-4.5; Moody 2003).

That trader might have been Juriaen Teunissen, the glazier, who in 1654 was also listed as a tavern keeper. The Colonie of Rensselaerswyck granted him a lot in January 1652, before the town of Beverwyck was officially established, and it is not known when he arrived (Venema 2003: 303; Van Laer 1922: 181). The wooden cellar that was uncovered might have been a part of Teunissen’s tavern complex, and it was located suspiciously close to the north edge of the perimeter of jurisdiction and control around Fort Orange established by Stuyvesant in 1648 for defense purposes, when he ordered the construction of any buildings within a cannon shot of the fort to be stopped. This was part of an ongoing conflict between Stuyvesant and the Colonie of Rensselaerswyck, which claimed the land on which Fort Orange was located. Early in 1652 Stuyvesant proclaimed all sales of land within 3,000 ft (914 m) of Fort Orange to be null and void; the area was to be the liberty of and under jurisdiction of the fort, and construction of any buildings within this same area without approval was prohibited. Finally, on April 8 with his Council he issued a proclamation erecting the village of Beverwyck, located 1,500 feet (457 m) north of Fort Orange but within its jurisdiction (Huey 1988b: 49, 57-59). The trader’s house cellar discovered in 1998, however, was perhaps the site of one of those that competed with Fort Orange between 1648 and 1652.

Not far away, just to the north, further excavations in 2000 at the location of the future Quackenbush Square Parking Garage produced evidence of brick making in the 17th century. Brick wasters and the remains of an entire structure were found by Hartgen Archeological Associates in an area where brick and pan tile making had commenced probably as early as the 1650s. Among the 17th-century artifacts from the site is an elbow-type Dutch trade pipe stem with a 7/64-inch bore and a “posthorn” heel mark below the bowl (FIG. 5); pipes with this mark have not previously been found in Fort Orange or Beverwyck. The posthorn symbol in the mark is apparently derived from the coat of arms of Hoorn, North Holland, and Dutch pipes with this mark have been found in England (Atkinson and Oswald 1972: 182). Dutch pipes with this mark have also been found as far east as Erfurt, in eastern Germany (Noll 2004). The mark was used by Utrecht pipe makers from about 1640 to about 1670 and by Gouda pipe makers after 1660. Four different posthorn marks are recorded for Gouda pipe makers beginning in the 1660s, and at least two more started to appear in the 1670s (Duco 1982: 15, 65; Smiesing and Brinkerink 1988: 112-115). The elbow form of this pipe was somewhat earlier designed especially for the American trade, and this pipe, made perhaps in Gouda or Utrecht instead of Amsterdam, evidently represents the establishment of new sources of Dutch pipes in the 1660s. In Africa, at the Oudepost, a Dutch site occupied beginning in 1669, almost all the marked pipes among about 7,000 excavated fragments were made in Gouda (Schrire 1995: 101).

Another entire block of colonial Albany was excavated in 1998 east of Dean Street and

Figure 5. Elbow-type Dutch trade pipe with a “posthorn” heel mark below the bowl found associated with a 17th-century brick- and pan tile-making site at the future location of the Quackenbush Square Parking Garage in Albany (courtesy of Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc.)
south of Maiden Lane, but this work exposed primarily the 18th-century waterfront and did not go deeper. One interesting discovery, however, is an artifact that was found at this site that dates from the colonial Dutch period. It is a copper alloy pocket-sized Gunter quadrant dated 1650 (FIG. 6). This type of quadrant was invented in 1618, and its presence in Albany makes an interesting comment on science and astronomy in Beverwyck or early Albany. It was designed to tell time in one latitude, which for this quadrant is approximately 52 degrees. This corresponds with the Netherlands and quite closely with Amsterdam, and the quadrant would have been of no use for finding time in Beverwyck or Albany. On the other side is some form of astrological or calendrical instrument, with symbols running radially on an inner disk representing the planets, each of which rules the
first hour of a particular day of the week: the moon for Monday, Mars for Tuesday, Mercury for Wednesday, Jupiter for Thursday, etc. (Andrewes 1999).

In New York Harbor on Governors Island, another remarkable discovery occurred in 1998. Excavations in present Nolan Park by The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc., of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, uncovered features that provide convincing evidence of the wind-powered sawmill that stood there about 1625 or 1626 (Garman and Russo 1998). It is shown at this location on an early map. The West India Company leased the mill in 1639 to Evert Bischop, Sivert Claesen, and Harmen Bastiaensen Visscher, who were to use it to saw pine and oak boards. Claesen and Visscher were from Hoorn, and Visscher later settled in Beverwyck. Evert Evertsen Bischop was a carpenter (Pearson 1978: 143; Van Laer 1974: 44, 198, 225-226). He was probably English and was named Edward Bishop. If so, he perhaps serves as an example of some of the family linkages between Massachusetts and New Amsterdam. He may have had an older brother, John, a carpenter, shipwright, and miller who had settled in Newbury, Massachusetts, by 1637, built a mill which he sold in 1644, married, and then moved to Woodbridge, New Jersey. Edward, on the other hand, possibly moved from New Amsterdam to Salem, Massachusetts, where his father lived. There he was commonly called “the sawyer,” and Bridget, his second or third wife, was accused of witchcraft and eventually executed (Coldham 1984: 115; Pope 1900: 51; Upham 1959: 142-143, 191-192).

The first 17th-century artifact found in the testing of this site was a round, compound glass trade bead of Kidd and Kidd variety IVk4. Then, a series of rectangular post holes was found adjacent to a curving stain. It was soon apparent that these features represented part of a circular structure with a diameter of about 35 ft (11.2 m). Flint chips and hand-wrought iron nails were found. The structure had been destroyed by fire (Garman and Russo 1998: 58, 61-65).

Stephen Mrozowski, meanwhile, in July 1998 started excavations on Shelter Island, located near the east end of Long Island, at the site of Sylvester Manor dating from 1651. Possible remains of the original manor house were found, consisting of Dutch yellow bricks, pan tiles, floor tiles, and other building material. Excavations have continued to the present, producing a variety of 17th-century artifacts, including Dutch pipes and tin-glazed pottery (Anon. 1998; Wilford 1999). Across Long Island Sound, John Pfeiffer in 1998 and 1999 excavated at a site in Branford, Connecticut, described by Ezra Stiles in the 1760s as the “Dutch Fort.” Although the artifacts are few, including only a few ceramic sherds, a copper alloy button, some shell beads, glass beads, and musket balls, further research, documentary as well as in the field, may yet reveal the date and mysterious origin of this fort and whether it is actually of Dutch origin (Pfeiffer 1998; Weir 1999).

In Kingston, the original Dutch town of Wiltwyck established in 1658, excavations by Joseph E. Diamond provided the first close look at a pre–1664 urban Dutch site outside of Albany or New York City. The house lot on which stands the historic Matthews Persen house at the southeast corner of Crown and John Streets was investigated with test units inside and outside the house. The line of the 1661 stockade wall around the town was found, and a burned layer from the burning of the town by Indians on June 7, 1663, was also found (fig. 7). The Dutch-period occupation strata have provided a useful and significant variety of artifacts, including four 4-pounder cannon balls, gun flints, glass beads, wampum beads, marbles, a copper alloy bodkin, glass roemer fragments, and building material. Cannon balls of the same size (3 in, or 7.6 cm) were recovered from the site of Fort Orange, and a silver bodkin was also found at Fort Orange. The copper alloy bodkin from this Kingston lot, however, is much more elegant,
with a sculpted hand at the end that may have held a pearl or precious stone. Clay pipes include not only those marked EB, of both elbow and bulbous forms, but also one with a crowned HG mark, for Hendrick Gerdes, who married the widow of pipe maker Edward Bird of Amsterdam (Diamond 2004: 1, 101, 106, 108; Huey 1988b: 573).

The Persen house in Kingston stands on the lot that was originally occupied apparently by Gysbert van Imbroch, a surgeon. Before settling in Wiltwyck, Van Imbroch was a merchant in New Amsterdam. In 1655, he obtained permission to sell by lottery "a certain quantity" of books, and in 1657 he married Rachel, the daughter of Dr. Johannes la Montagne. Apparently the books did not sell, and by reading the books and studying under his father-in-law, he became a surgeon. In 1660 he sold his house on the east side of Broadway north of Beaver Street in New Amsterdam and evidently moved with his books to Wiltwyck, occupying a lot adjacent to the 1661 stockade wall enlargement of the town. Rachel van Imbroch was captured by the Indians in the attack on June 7, 1663, but she was rescued in July and provided valuable information for the Dutch counter attack. Rachel van Imbroch died in 1664, and Gysbert died in 1665. Soon after his death, on September 1, a complete inventory of his possessions was made. The inventory includes a surprising amount of clothing and personal effects, especially for women and children. However, the most remarkable aspect of the inventory is the listing of Van Imbroch's books, with almost 500 volumes. This must have been the largest collection of books in New Netherland (Anjou 1906: 22-28; Fried 1975: 66-72; Raesly 1965: 255-256; Stokes 1916: 233, 369; Versteeg 1976: 566-575). The guardians of the Van Imbroch children sold the property in 1673 to George Hall, and it was especially noted that "the guardians, also, will have to deliver the curtain wall appertaining to the same, at present in a satisfactory condition" (Kip, Beeqman, and Montagne 1673). George Hall married Elizabeth Bickerstaff, but he died in 1678. Widow Elizabeth and her father, Robert Bickerstaff, conveyed the property to her son, Thomas Hall, in 1689. In 1698 Thomas Hall transferred the property to Teunis Tappen; in 1728 Tappen's brother conveyed the property to Anthony Slecht; and in 1735 Slecht con-
veyed it to Cornelius Persen (Barricklo 2000: 11-12, 15).

The archaeological study of Dutch colonial sites in Kingston was also broadened with the completion in 2003 of a comprehensive synthesis by Lois Feister and Joseph Sopko of excavations conducted at Senate House State Historic Site between 1970 and 1997. Analysis of the artifact distribution across the site indicated that a house had been built on the lot probably about 1660 (Feister and Sopko 2003: 13). Copies of this report, as with other reports produced by the Archeology Unit of the Bureau of Historic Sites in New York, have been placed in the collections of various libraries including the New York State Library. Because they are considered State Documents, some reports are now available on-line as electronic versions (PDF files), and they can be reached through links provided in the on-line New York State Library Excelsior Catalogue. Earlier reports can be purchased from the State Library as microfilm or microfiche copies by contacting the State Library reference service through email.

Further interpretation of the Dutch material found at the sites on Chesapeake Bay in Maryland has been provided by James G. Gibb in his 1994 dissertation and his book on consumer behavior in 1996. Of 52 ceramic vessels found at the Compton site in southern Maryland dating from the 1650s and 1660s, 19 could be identified as of Dutch origin (Gibb and Balla 1993; Gibb 1994, 1996). The excavations at Jamestown in the 1990s have also produced an astounding number of Dutch artifacts. In that early period of Virginia history, the Dutch had already recognized that the Virginia colony could become a valuable new market for imported European goods (Shorto 2004: 195). In 1608 the States General granted leave for one year to Sir Thomas Gates, on garrison duty in the Netherlands, so that he could serve in Virginia, and in 1611 leave was also given to Captain Thomas Dale for three years to serve in that English colony. In 1614, at the request of King James, the States General extended Dale’s leave indefinitely. After Sir Thomas Gates returned, the States General generously paid him his entire wages during the time he was gone, and in 1618, after Dale returned, the States General agreed to pay his full wages also (O’Callaghan 1856: 2-3, 16-21). The military experience in the Netherlands of these and other English soldiers who went to Virginia was immensely important, and William Kelso has observed that “much of the force behind how Jamestown materialized in its first two decades came from the lessons of living and fighting in the Low Countries of continental Europe” (Kelso 1996: 11). Recently, part of a Grenzau blue-decorated salt-glazed stoneware jug excavated from a well at Jamestown dating from the first quarter of the 17th century was found to be encircled with panels depicting the story of the Prodigal Son, dated 1618 (Straube 2003). Fragments of an identical jug or tankard, however, have also been found at the Schuyler Flatts site north of Albany in the wood-lined cellar of the house built by Arent van Curler (Huey 1984: 76-77).

Outside of Albany, test excavations occurred in 2001 at a second Dutch farm site that evidently predates 1650. This work occurred in the Popstown Island area south of Albany. A test trench was excavated in one of two loci of the Van Buren site, and deeply buried features were found that apparently were flooded in the great flood of 1648. The corner of a wood-lined cellar was uncovered, and stone footings for a structure over the cellar were found adjacent to it. Dutch majolica, red earthenware, and the handle lug from a copper alloy kettle were among the associated artifacts. Stratigraphically above the remains of the earlier structure, the excavations uncovered the remains of a second, post-flood structure nearby. It included a wall consisting of a single course of stone. With it were artifacts including clay pipes with BC and EB heel marks, glass roemer prunts, fragments of Dutch faience and majolica, and a fragment of German stoneware (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 2001). The discovery of the earlier pre-1648 wood-lined cellar represents one more 17th-century example of a type of cellar that was built not only by Van Curler at the Flatts farm but also was used for buildings inside Fort Orange and continued to be used into the 18th century for structures on farms as well as in Albany (Huey 1987).

In recent years, a more global view of the archaeology of the Dutch has been an encouraging development. There has been much
important work at underwater wreck sites around the world, and in 1991 work began on the wreck of a ship near Santo Domingo that was carrying a cargo of Dutch clay pipes, marked EB and probably destined for New Amsterdam. The wreck dates from the 1650s, and Jerome Hall’s dissertation on this work was completed in 1996 (Hall 1996). Smithsonian Institution Press published the book *Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective* in 1991, with articles not only on Fort Orange but also on recent work in South Africa (Falk 1991). In 1993 Syracuse University began a research program under Christopher de Corse at Elmina Castle in west Africa, a site held by the Dutch for nearly 300 years (De Corse 2001).

Comparison of pre-1664 Dutch colonial material from Africa with material from New Netherland would be especially interesting. Doctoral dissertations in 1993 and 1994 by Meta F. Janowitz and Richard G. Schaefer, meanwhile, focussed on 17th-century Dutch ceramics excavated in Amsterdam, their typology, and their occurrence in America (Janowitz 1993b; R. Schaefer 1994). Fortunately, the Schaefer typology has been published by *British Archaeological Reports*. Work has also begun with efforts to distinguish imported Dutch earthenwares from locally made earthenwares using compositional analysis. A group of excavated sherds believed to be from imported red earthenware made in Bergen op Zoom was compared with a group of sherds of red earthenware believed to be made from New Jersey clay. The results indicate a clear separation between the two groups based on their elemental composition (Gilbert, Harbottle, and De Noyelles 1993: 48).

For American archaeologists, many useful archaeological reports on work in the Netherlands have now become increasingly available in recent years thanks to the efforts there of The Foundation for the Promotion of Archaeology, at Zwolle (*Stichting Promotie Archeologie*). Important books from the Netherlands on 17th-century Dutch ceramics, glass, and other artifacts based on excavated material also include Scholten’s *The Edwin van Drecht Collection* published in 1993 (Scholten 1993) and *Glass Without Gloss* by Harold E. Henkes published in 1994 as *Rotterdam Papers* 9 (Henkes 1994). In 1995 the exhibit catalogue *One Man’s Trash is Another Man’s Treasure* published by the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and the Jamestown Settlement Museum at Williamsburg, Virginia, included a number of useful articles and many illustrations (van Dongen, Bradley, Hamell, Francis, de Roever, Jacobs, Shattuck, Baart, Rothschild, Rose, and Dallal 1995). In 1996 another outstanding catalogue for an exhibit on Dutch material recovered from archaeological excavations in Edo, Tokyo, Nagasaki, Amsterdam, London, and New York was published in Tokyo (Pagano, Dallal, Wall, Michrob, Baart, Janowitz, Rothschild, Rousmaniere, Simmans, Wainstein, Smith, Bender, and Krook 1996). The monumental volumes of *Cities in Sherds* by Michiel Bartels appeared in 1999, while in the same year a very useful reference on thimbles from Dutch sites by Catherine A. Langedijk and Herman F. Boon was also published in the Netherlands (Bartels 1999; Langedijk and Boon 1999). In 2000, an important article by Jan Baart on the transition from Dutch majolica to faience appeared in *Rotterdam Papers* 11. Whereas previously it was believed that there was a slow transition from Dutch majolica to faience between 1625 and 1650, recent discoveries have shown that the production of faience, fired in saggars on pins, developed rapidly between 1610 and 1620 (Baart 2000: 51, 59-60). That the new Dutch faience rapidly found its way to English sites in North America is demonstrated by its presence at sites such as the Governor’s Land site in Virginia in the 1620s (Outlaw 1990: 117-120). The Governor’s Land ceramics deserve further study, and while it is possible some of the drug jars represented there are of English origin, some of the faience plates might actually be Portuguese (Baart 2005). A useful American book on toy marbles, meanwhile, has combined research from the Netherlands and from American sites (Gartley and Carskadden 1998). Marbles appear at 17th-century Dutch sites but not at English sites of that period and thus may be a useful indicator of ethnicity.

Productive research has also continued with the use of old collections. Robert Funk and Robert Kuhn completed an analysis of the material excavated at three 16th-century Mohawk Iroquois sites dating from about 1525.
to 1585, providing significant insights into the culture of the Mohawks on the eve of their extended period of contact with the Dutch. Only two of the sites contained any trade material: a scrap of copper alloy sheet at one site and a rolled copper alloy bead and a triangular iron projectile point at the other (Funk and Kuhn 2003). Richard Veit has taken a new look at artifacts that were excavated in the 1890s by Charles Conrad Abbott from a “Dutch trader’s house” site on Burlington Island in the Delaware River. Dutch red earthen pantiles and eb-marked clay pipes were found there, and Abbott correctly identified the site as a Dutch site from the 1660s. He was particularly interested in the structural remains of the building, and he noticed that of the bricks, “the larger red ones were generally perfect, but every yellow one was broken” (Veit and Bello 1999: 105–106; Veit 2002: 27–29). Curiously, the opposite was true at Fort Orange, where scavengers had clearly selected only the intact red bricks and left behind the yellow bricks after the fort was abandoned. In architectural research, David S. Cohen’s book The Dutch-American Farm published in 1992 has been an important and insightful contribution (Cohen 1992). The first part of the book Albany Architecture edited by Diana S. Waite and published in 1993 showed that the earliest evidence of Dutch architecture is purely archaeological and that the study of architectural history must begin with archaeology (Huey 1993). Vincent J. Schaefer’s book on Dutch barns appeared in 1994, and in 1996 Shirley W. Dunn and Allison Bennett published a useful book of rare photographs of Hudson Valley Dutch houses (Dunn and Bennett 1996; V. Schaefer 1994).

Conclusions

Archaeology has brought to light the variety, richness, and sophistication of the material culture of New Netherland before 1664. This research has demonstrated that when the English took New Netherland, they acquired a colony that was no mere frontier outpost but which embodied a material culture almost fully as sophisticated as that of the prosperous villages and farms of the mid-17th-century Netherlands. The results of archaeological research are consistent with conclusions recently developed by historians, who have found that transatlantic links between the Old World and America grew stronger rather than weaker throughout the colonial period. An “Atlantic perspective” has developed which, as Richard R. Johnson explained as early as 1986,

views the ocean as a bridge rather than a barrier; it turns away from our long-standing obsession with land masses and continentalism; and, applied to the modern period as a whole, it reveals the geographical and diplomatic isolationism of the nineteenth century to be the exception in American history rather than the rule (Johnson 1986: 539).

At the same time, artifacts such as the clay pipes at Fort Orange reveal direct evidence of a group of interrelated pipe makers in Amsterdam who must have virtually controlled the export of pipes to Fort Orange, not unlike other trade partnerships described by Oliver Rink (Huey 1988b: 607–608).

Significant contributions have been made in addressing the goals and research questions outlined in 1985. Dutch publications have contributed greatly in the refinement of artifact typologies and dating. Some artifacts, such as toy marbles, seem to represent ethnic differences in the 17th century. Excavations in Albany have produced evidence of changing trade patterns and the transition from Dutch to English material after 1664. There is abundant evidence of Dutch trade beyond the limits of New Netherland and at Indian sites. Additional farm sites of 17th-century Rensselaerswyck have been discovered and investigated, and evidence of pre–1664 Dutch crafts and industry have been found at Albany and New York City.

The colonial experiences of the various Dutch, British, Spanish, and French cultures in their settlement of North America in the 17th century is a rich field for further study, as demonstrated by Nan Rothschild in her Colonial Encounters in a Native American Landscape: The Spanish and Dutch in North America (Rothschild 2003). She has produced a much-needed study comparing the colonial experience of the Dutch in New Netherland with that of the Spanish in New Mexico. She makes ample use of archaeological data and helpfully re-examines evidence from the food remains found at Fort Orange. Clearly, the
"gentlemen on the frontier" interpretation, proposed by archaeologists as early as 1964 in relation to British sites of the 18th century (Petersen 1964), deserves further attention, and it has been further developed in relation to British cultures in David Hackett Fischer’s book Albion’s Seed (Fischer 1989). Fischer explains that the British brought with them in the 17th century far more than just their British heritage and argues that each of the regional British cultures in America were direct extensions of specific regional cultures in Britain. Modern historians, like archaeologists, are finding that "an increasingly specialized and fragmented literature on many aspects of the new societies created in America," while generating "enormous intellectual excitement," demands "new explanatory frameworks that would be compatible with the growing body of empirical data and would enable historians to make some general sense out of those data" (Greene 1991: 515, 517-518). The phenomenon of transatlantic cultural continuity as demonstrated particularly by the Dutch in the 17th century is still valid and worthy of further investigation and refinement.

Archaeological research has declined in some areas since 1985, while in other areas such as the continuing analysis of old collections there has been progress. In New York City, little, if any, excavation of 17th-century Dutch sites has occurred in the area that was once the land area of New Amsterdam since the Stadt Huys and Broad Street projects, with the exception of the discoveries on Governors Island (Cantwell and Wall 2001: 176). In the 1990s there were widespread serious and damaging reductions in university, museum, and government archaeological programs, the recovery from which is very slow and difficult. Moreover, with each new archaeological discovery inevitably come many problems, not the least of which are finding permanent repositories for collections, having artifacts conserved, and making certain that reports are eventually written. Too often, once the excavations are complete, sponsors avoid taking responsibility for these essential aspects of the proper completion of a project. There is a need to develop systematic strategies for research and rescue archaeology in urban areas and better means of communicating results to the public (Huey 2003). Archaeologists now more than ever must not lose sight of the high standards of good scholarship, close attention to detail, thorough documentary research, tightly controlled excavation procedures, and carefully conducted rescue excavation in advance of new construction. In the future, it will be increasingly necessary for archaeologists to apply the results of their work to addressing current issues in the fields of history as well as anthropology.

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Paul R. Huey received an M.A. degree in museum administration from the Cooperstown Program of the State University of New York at Oneonta. Subsequently he completed his Ph.D. in American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania. He developed and directed the Archeology Unit of the Bureau of Historic Sites in the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation from 1969 to 1995. The Bureau of Historic Sites is responsible for the preservation, management, operation, and public interpretation of more than 35 State Historic Sites and State Historic Parks in New York State. Dr. Huey has directed excavations at these sites both to rescue data and to facilitate research and improved interpretation. He has also directed excavations at 17th-century Dutch colonial sites including a part of Fort Orange in Albany and the historic 17th- and 18th-century Van Curler and Schuyler farm site at the Schuyler Flatts north of Albany. From 1995 to 2006 he served as the senior historical researcher for the Bureau and beginning in 2006 is once again director of the Archeology Unit.

Paul R. Huey
Archeology Unit
Bureau of Historic Sites
New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation
Peebles Island
Box 219
Waterford, N.Y. 12188
(518) 237-8643, ext. 3209
Paul.Huey@oprhp.state.ny.us